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The Attica of Pausanias

Carroll

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COLLEGE SERIES OF GREEK AUTHORS
EDITED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE AND THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR, EDITORS
CHARLES BURTON GULICK, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

THE ATTICA OF
PAUSANIAS

EDITED BY

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TO
THE MEMORY
OF
THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR
PREFACE

The text adopted in this volume is that of the Hitzig-Bluemner edition of Pausanias (Berlin, 1896), with certain changes in typography and punctuation to conform to the style of the series in which it appears. The Hitzig text presents a careful revision of the Schubart text and critical apparatus (which had not been corrected for forty years) in the light of new studies and discoveries up to 1896. The later text of Spiro (Teubner, 1903) differs from that of Hitzig only in minor details. As the present work is primarily archaeological in its purpose, textual criticism is avoided, and the reader is referred to the Hitzig-Bluemner edition for details in these matters.

In the preparation of the Introduction, Notes, and Excursuses, the editor is conscious of his indebtedness to the Hitzig-Bluemner commentary and to the monumental work of Frazer (Pausanias's Description of Greece, translated with a Commentary, in six volumes. London, 1898). So thoroughly have these scholars done their work that in the preparation of a college edition they may be relied on for an accurate summary of the literature on the Attica up to the time of the publication of their works, and the chief task of the editor is to appraise the matter they present in the light of later contributions, to bring the discussions up to date, and to select what is essential to meet the needs of students.

On account of the size and cost of these two important works, they are not readily accessible to any but specialists. This emphasizes the need of a more compact edition of the Attica — the most important of the ten books of Pausanias's Description of Greece — one which gives the text and presents concisely in the way of
commentary the results of modern scholarship concerning Athenian and Attic topography. Owing to the nature of the subject-matter, the commentary is mainly archaeological, but grammatical and stylistic peculiarities have not been neglected. The more important topics, which could not be adequately treated in the Notes, are considered at some length in a series of Excursuses. The Topical Outline of the Attica enables the student to follow the somewhat tortuous course of the author. The Select Bibliography in the Appendix presents the more important titles under appropriate heads.

Up to this time Pausanias has been seldom read in our colleges and universities, on the theory that strictly classical authors are better suited to the class-room. The increasing interest, however, in archaeological studies,—much of it being due, in America, to the work of the American School at Athens,—has encouraged the feeling that Greek students should have some knowledge of the topography and monuments of ancient Athens. This knowledge is most readily acquired by the study of the Attica of Pausanias, and it is hoped that this book may quicken the student’s interest in the intellectual and artistic aspects of Greek life.

In conclusion, the editor desires to express his hearty acknowledgments to the beloved and lamented Professor Seymour, who read a part of the proofs in the closing months of his fruitful life and made many important suggestions; to Professor Dörpfeld for introducing him to the study of Athenian topography and for permission to use the plans here reproduced; to Professor D’Ooge, Professor Bates, and Dr. Newcomer for reading portions of the subject-matter in proof, with many pertinent observations; and, above all, to Professor Gulick, whose editorial acumen and sympathetic criticism have contributed largely to the preparation of the work.

Mitchell Carroll

The George Washington University


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INTRODUCTION

PAUSANIAS THE PERIEGETE

1. Scope and character of Pausanias's work.—Aldus Manutius begins his preface to the editio princeps of Pausanias's Description of Greece, which appeared in 1516, by characterizing it as an "opus antiquae raraeque eruditionis thesauros continens." And invaluable it is because of its subject-matter, since it reveals to us numerous details, not only concerning "the city of the violet crown," but also about the other most celebrated sites of ancient Greece, when its monuments still retained some of the freshness and splendor of the older time.

The Περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος has come down to us in ten books. The work is a detailed account of the sites ordinarily visited and the objects ordinarily seen by the traveler in making an extensive tour of Greece. As the writer is supposed to be coming from over the Aegean Sea to the Greek mainland, his account begins with Sunium, the promontory of Attica. Thence he proceeds to Athens. Book I is devoted to the description of Athens and Attica. From Attica the traveler journeys southward by way of Megaris (also treated in Book I) and the Isthmus to Corinth and the Argolid (described in Book II). His Peloponnesian tour follows much the same route which travelers of our day usually take, embracing Laconia (Book III), Messenia (Book IV), Elis (Books V, VI), Achaea (Book VII) and Arcadia (Book VIII). Then follows a second tour to the principal cities of Central Greece, starting from Athens in the same manner as modern travelers would journey. Here the writer's chief attention is absorbed by Thebes in Boeotia (Book IX) and by Delphi in the district of Phocis (Book X). The regions of Western and Northern Greece, which had played no prominent part in the art and civilization of Hellas, Pausanias leaves out of consideration.
The territory chiefly described gives its name to the various books. Thus the first book has the title 'Ἄττικά' and includes Megaris; the second the title Ὀρυθεικά, and embraces, in addition to Corinth, Argos, Mycenae, Tiryns, and Epidaurus; the third Λακωνικά, the fourth Μεσσηνικά, the fifth and sixth (which describe Olympia) Ἡλιακά, the seventh Ἀχαικά, the eighth Ἀρκαδικά. The description of Central Greece is contained in the ninth book called Βοιωτικά, and in the tenth, the Φωκικά, which is devoted almost exclusively to Delphi. Topographical directions are not always exact; yet, by mentioning in order the names of demes, of places, and of monuments, Pausanias throws much light on the geography and topography of ancient Greece.

2. Date of the Periegesis. — Pausanias made his sojourn in Greece in the second century of our era, in the days of Hadrian and the Antonines. His date is fixed by 5, 1, 2, where he states that 217 years have elapsed since the restoration of Corinth. As this well-known event occurred in 43 B.C., the passage shows that the author was writing Book V in 174 A.D. Other intimations as to his date harmonize with this evidence. Thus, for example, in 5, 21, 15 images set up in 125 A.D. are spoken of as specimens of the art of his day; and 1, 5, 5 and 8, 9, 7 indicate that the writer was a contemporary of the emperor Hadrian. The latest historical event mentioned by him as occurring in his time (10, 34, 5) is the incursion of the Costoboci into Greece, which took place probably between 166 and 180 A.D. 1

Every discussion about the date of the separate books, especially of the Ἀττικά, must take as its starting-point 174 A.D., just mentioned as the only fixed date and the date of Book V. Pausanias (7, 20, 6) tells us that Book I was finished before Herodes Atticus built the Odeum at Athens, erected in honor of his wife Regilla, who appears to have died in 160 or 161 A.D. The Odeum was doubtless built not long after Regilla’s death, and therefore 160–161 A.D. constitutes the terminus ante quem of Book I. A reference to Herodes Atticus probably gives us also the terminus post quem, for according to 1, 19, 6, the stadium of Athens had already been rebuilt by him

1 See below, pp. 3–4.
INTRODUCTION

before 143 A.D. or a little earlier. Book I has, therefore, as its limits 143–160 A.D.

There are numerous indications that the Attica was written and published before the rest of the work. For instance, we have the writer's statement (7, 20, 6) that the Odeum is not mentioned in his work on Attica, because his description of Athens was finished before Herodes began to build. Further, in 8, 5, 1 he corrects a view which he had adopted in Book I (c. 41, 2) regarding the kingship of Achaea at the time of the attempted return of the Heraclidae to Peloponnesus. A third argument is that in subsequent books he makes additions to certain statements in Book I. Compare, for example, 5, 11, 6 with 1, 15, 3, accounts of the painting of the Battle of Marathon. In one case he supersedes the account of the Gallic invasion in 1, 3, 5 ff. by the fuller narrative in 10, 19, 5 ff., as if the first had proved inadequate. There also occur remarks in the later books which seem to have been occasioned by current criticisms of the Attica already published, as, for example, in 3, 11, 1 in reference to the plan of the book; in 4, 24, 3 in regard to digressions; cf. 8, 7, 4–8; 9, 30, 3; 9, 24, 3.

We must, accordingly, presuppose an interval of a few years between the publication of Book I and that of later books. Book II was probably written after 165 A.D., as the statement is made that the temple of Asclepius at Smyrna had already been founded (2, 26, 9), which according to other testimony was still unfinished in 165 A.D. A study of references which the author makes to various parts of his work shows that the books were written in the order in which they stand. We have already a fixed date for Book V, 174 A.D. Hence Books II–IV must date between 165 and 174 A.D. Book VIII, which refers to the German victories of Marcus Aurelius (8, 43, 6), must have been written after 166, when the war broke out, and may have been written in or after 176, when the emperor celebrated his triumph. Book X, with the allusion to the Costoboc invasion, was

1 Cf. also 5, 12, 4 with 1, 21, 3; 2, 30, 2, and 3, 15, 7, with 1, 22, 4; 6, 20, 14 with 1, 24, 3; 10, 21, 5 with 1, 3, 2.
2 Thus e.g. 2, 19, 8; 21, 4; 23, 6; 32, 3 show that the First Book was written before the Second, etc. See Frazer, Pausanias, I, Introduction, xvii n. 5.
written between 166 and 180, probably after 176. Thus Books VI–X may date between 174 and 180 A.D. The composition of the Description of Greece, therefore, extended over a period of not less than fourteen years (160–174 A.D.) and probably occupied a much longer period.

3. Pausanias, his life and work. — Though the work itself is so voluminous, our knowledge of the author is limited almost to his mere name. The book gives us his date, and some insight into his personality, but as to the author’s family, birthplace, citizenship, and pursuits in life we are left in almost total ignorance. An occasional allusion, however, conveys some intimation. If we inquire, for example, whence he came, he gives us a hint in 5, 13, 7, Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταυτάλου τῆς παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐνοικήσεως σημεῖα ἐτι καὶ ἐς τόδε λεύτεται κτλ., where it is suggested that his native land was the territory about Mount Sipylos in Lydia, and mention is made in what follows of natural features and monuments pertaining to this region. This statement is strengthened by many passages in which he recurs to the scenery and legends of Lydia.¹ We conclude, therefore, that he was a Lydian by birth; but whether he was a native of Magnesia, the important city at the northern foot of Mount Sipylos, or of Thyatira, or of some less known town, is not to be ascertained.

Late Greek writers mention two other authors of the same name, with whom our Pausanias is sometimes confused. Philostratus (Vit. Soph. 11, 13) speaks of a sophist named Pausanias, much esteemed in his time, who was a pupil of Herodes Atticus and teacher of Aspasiaus. So far as his date is concerned, we might readily identify him with the author of the Description of Greece. But the sophist came from Caesarea in Cappadocia, not from Lydia, and Suidas mentions Problemata by him, and a book on syntax, but no Periegesis. One can hardly conceive of our author with his crabbed style occupying the lectureship of eloquence at Athens. Hence the identity of the traveler and the sophist is altogether improbable.

Nor can he with any greater degree of probability be identified with the historian Pausanias, who wrote, among other works, a history of Antioch, and who is mentioned as δ ὁ σοφότατος χρονογράφος. The

¹ Cf. 1, 21, 3; 24, 8; 2, 22, 3; 5, 13, 7; 6, 22, 1; 7, 24, 18; 8, 2, 7; 17, 3.
historian was born at Antioch in Syria, not in Lydia. Stephanus of Byzantium cites the works of the two men, the Κρίσις Ἀντωνείας and the Περεγγεια, under the simple name Pausanias, but this proves nothing more than that in the fifth century the two writers of this name were not readily distinguished. We must therefore rest content with the knowledge that our author lived and traveled in the second century, and was born near Mount Sipylus in Asia Minor.

4. Aim and method of the Periegesis. — That Pausanias has given to the world a work of unique value is manifest to any one who notes its contents. We have here a book rich in antiquarian, mythological, historical, and artistic lore, and the very nature of the subject-matter arouses the question what was the author's aim in preparing his work. The answer is nowhere clearly given by him. He begins his book without a preface; he concludes without an epilogue. Probably his work was left unfinished and no opportunity was given to revise it; probably, while it served its purpose, the author felt there was no need of explanatory remarks. Hence the answer to our question is largely a matter of inference; but we can, at any rate, gather from utterances here and there what was the author's general purpose, and how his method developed as his grasp of the subject increased.

Thus, he tells us in 1, 26, 4 that it is his purpose to describe the whole of Greece, as he had the Acropolis, Δεί δὲ μὲ ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ λόγου πρόσω, πάντα ὅμοιως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά. Again, after he has concluded his account of Athens and Attica he adds (1, 39, 3): τοιαύτα κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀθηναίων γνωριμώτατα ἥν ἐν τε λόγω καὶ θεωρήμασιν. ἀπέκρινε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος μοι ἕν ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα. Later, as a preface to his description of Sparta, he refers to this statement, and outlines his aim and method more definitely (3, 11, 1): δεὶ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ μοι τῇ Ἀθηνίδε ἐπανόρθωμα ἐγένετο, μὴ τὰ πάντα μὲ ἐφεξῆς, τὰ δὲ μάλιστα ἄξια μνήμης ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰργήκειν, δηλώσω δὴ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐς Ἐπαρτιάτας. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐς ἀρχῆς ἠθέλησεν ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίων ἀφηγήσεως, ἀ ἐκαστος παρὰ σφύσι λέγοντα, ἀποκρίνεται τὰ δεξιολογώτατα. ὡς οὖν εὗ ἐβεβουλευμένο; οὐκ ἐστιν ὅπου παραβῆσομαι.1

1 See also 2, 13, 3; 6, 1, 2; 10, 32, 1.
From these passages and from a study of the contents of the work it becomes clear that "Pausanias intended to describe all the most notable objects and to narrate all the most memorable traditions which he found existing or current in the Greece of his own time."\(^1\)

This was a vast undertaking, especially so in the case of Attica, the first country he undertook to describe. Here he was bewildered by an embarrassment of riches before he had definitely decided on a method of treating the data he had at hand. Hence the author's method is not so clearly defined in the first as in the later books. Beginning with Book II, he regularly prefaces his account of every important city with a historical sketch and follows strictly the topographical order of description. But in the case of the *Attica* there is no historical introduction whatever; though the topographical order is in the main observed in describing Athens, it is not followed in his treatment of the rest of Attica. At times the course of description is confused, as when he interrupts his account of the Attic demes to describe the mountains of Attica (cf. 1, 32, 1 and 1, 35, 1 ff.). Again, he mentions fewer notable objects in proportion to the total number in Athens than he does in any other important centre of Greece, and his accounts of notable monuments in Athens are shorter than those in the remaining books. Contrast, for example, his description of Athens with that of Olympia, the former embracing only thirty chapters of one book, or seventy Teubner pages, while to the latter is devoted the larger part of two books, being forty chapters or one hundred and ten Teubner pages. Temples and statues in the whole of Athens, however, were far more numerous and imposing than in Olympia. The explanation of the defects of the *Attica* is, of course, that the author was finding himself in his new work, and had not altogether arrived at a definite plan.

The topographical method already adopted in the description of Athens reveals the author's purpose in preparing the work. Thus, he begins by describing the harbors of Athens, and the objects of interest on the roads leading from the harbors to the city. He next enters the principal gate and proceeds by a broad avenue to the Agora, which he treats in great detail. Thence he traverses the

\(^1\) Frazer, I, Introduction, xxiii.
INTRODUCTION

territory east of the Acropolis, known as the City of Hadrian. A description of the southern slope of the Acropolis finally brings him to its principal entrance, and, having entered, he devotes to the objects of interest in the sacred precinct the maximum of attention. He concludes his account of Athens by describing the suburbs of the city. Let us compare this description with the description of Athens in Baedeker’s Greece. The writer of this work gives first a historical sketch of the city. He then describes it in several sections: a, From the Royal Palace round the south side of the Acropolis; b, The Acropolis; c, From the Palace through the Town to the Theseum — the Hill of the Nymphs, Pnyx, and Museum; d, Modern Quarters of the Town; e, Walks near Athens.

Similarity of treatment shows that we have in Pausanias the prototype of Baedeker and Murray. The second century was an age of travel, like our own, and many needed systematic direction to help them on the way. The public-house system of the country was poor, but private hospitality, as in the earlier days, made some amends. Accordingly, the description of inns and other accommodations which Dionysus in the Frogs feels to be such a desideratum and which our Murray or Baedeker offers in great detail, is wanting; but in other respects the likeness between the ancient and the modern cicerone holds. Book I was meant primarily to be a guide-book for the Greek visitor to Athens and Attica, just as the whole volume was a guide-book for the generally frequented parts of Hellas, with special reference to works of art, like the modern Burckhardt. To gratify the intellectual curiosity of his readers, Pausanias fills his volume with mythical, antiquarian, and historical lore, and he doubtless felt that his work would be serviceable to the historian as well as the traveler. Yet his main purpose was, without doubt, to provide a guide-book for visitors to the historic sites of Greece.

5. Style of Pausanias. — The literary style displayed in the book before us is due partly to the nature of the subject-matter, partly to the character of the author as reflected in his work. Pausanias is revealed as an unimaginative man, but one deeply interested in antiquarian lore, who set out on his travels with the purpose of “doing” Greece and of giving others the benefit of his reading and
observation, and who kept it at with heroic persistence. He permitted no curious legend to escape him, and gathered information from every source. He carefully studied his predecessors in historical prose, especially Thucydides and Herodotus, and laboriously sought to cultivate a good style. But he falls hopelessly short of the vigorous expression of the former, and the sweetness and lucidity of the latter. There is a sense of strain about his style. As Frazer so well puts it, "The sentences are devoid of rhythm and harmony. They do not march, but hobble and shamble and shuffle along. At the end of one of them the reader is not let down easily by a graceful cadence, a dying fall; he is tripped up suddenly and left sprawling, till he can pull himself together, take breath, and grapple with the next."¹

Frazer thinks that these defects in Pausanias's style may perhaps be best explained by Boeckh's² hypothesis that Pausanias modeled his style on that of his countryman Hesias of Magnesia, a leader of the Asian school of rhetoric. Hesias aimed at variety of phrase, which often avoided monotony at the cost of simplicity and clearness, and led him into a jerky yet mincing style. Pausanias's indirect mode of statement often leads him in like manner to ambiguity, the chief defect of his style.

6. Pausanias's use of previous writers. — It is not essential to our purpose to enter fully into the discussion of Pausanias's trustworthiness and his use of previous writers, as Frazer has treated the subject most exhaustively and happily and has satisfactorily met all the more serious criticisms.

Scaliger characterized Pausanias as being "omnia Graecorum mendacissimum." In recent times his trustworthiness and literary independence have been energetically called in question by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (Hermes, XII, 346 ff.), but Pausanias found a vigorous champion against Wilamowitz in R. Schoell (Hermes, XIII, 432 ff.). Wilamowitz's charges, however, were followed up and exhaustively extended by A. Kalkmann (Pausanias der Perieget,

¹ Frazer, I, Introduction, lxix. The reader will greatly profit by close study of this excellent critique.
INTRODUCTION

Berlin 1886), who argued that Pausanias had traveled and seen very little in Greece, but had compiled the bulk of his work from the manuals of earlier writers and had added only a few hasty jottings of his own to give his descriptions a convincing atmosphere. He found his chief source, according to Kalkmann and Wilamowitz, in Polemon of Ilium, who lived in the second century B.C. The charges of Kalkmann, which were a severe impeachment of Pausanias's moral character, as well as his literary ability, were successfully refuted by W. Gurlitt (Ueber Pausanias, Graz 1890) and R. Heberdey (Die Reisen des Pausanias, Wien 1894).\textsuperscript{1} Kalkmann himself substantially retracts his earlier views by admitting that Pausanias saw with his own eyes all the objects that especially interested him (Arch. Anz. 1895, 12). Frazer, finally, disposes conclusively of the theory that Pausanias stole everything from Polemon. His inquiry, in which he draws the important distinction between the historical and the descriptive portions in Pausanias's work, is here summarized.

In regard to the historical passages he shows that Pausanias drew his accounts of the mythical and heroic ages largely from the poets; that Herodotus is the historian most frequently cited by him; that, notwithstanding there is only one direct reference to Thucydides (6, 19, 5) and one to Xenophon (1, 3, 4), he probably used these authors in several places where he does not mention their names. He also refers to numerous other historians, and cites several local histories, notably the histories of Attica by Androtion (6, 7, 6; 10, 8, 1) and by Clitodemus (10, 15, 5). He also made extensive use of inscriptions, consulted writers on art, and got information from local guides.

Regarding next the descriptive or topographical passages, Frazer considers whether Pausanias derived his knowledge from observation, from books, or from both. The author himself gives no full or direct answer to these questions. He neither professes to have seen everything he describes, nor does he acknowledge having borrowed any of his descriptions from previous writers, whom he barely alludes to

and never mentions by name. Yet he affirms that he saw personally
certain things he describes; and to have seen certain things implies
that he saw others. There are descriptions which Pausanias may
have taken from books, but there is no description extant so like in
form and substance to what Pausanias has written that one can say
he copied from it. Frazer considers in detail a number of passages
which, others have thought, bear traces of having been derived either
wholly or in part from written documents rather than from personal
observation, and concludes that in none are the indications so clear
as to amount to a proof of borrowing.

Frazer discusses in considerable detail the predecessors whom
Pausanias ought to have consulted, namely Pseudo-Dicearchus the
Messenian, Diodorus of Athens, Heliodorus, and Polemon, whose
writings are known through extant fragments. Of Polemon we have
more than one hundred fragments. These Frazer takes up one by
one and draws a minute comparison with Pausanias. He concludes
that not one fragment supports the theory that Pausanias copied
from Polemon, nor do they justify us even in supposing that he
was acquainted with the writings of his learned predecessor. Even
more true is this of his relation to the other antiquarians.

Another theory of Kalkmann's that obtained some vogue was that
our author did not describe Greece as it was in his own time, but as
it was a century or two earlier, when his alleged sources were com-
posed. This theory is more susceptible of verification, namely by prov-
ing that certain things Pausanias speaks of as existing had ceased
to exist before his time. Kalkmann, for example, thus attacks the
description of the Piraeus. It had been burnt in 86 B.C. and was in a
ruined condition when seen by Strabo; how then could Pausanias's
account of its temples and colonnades apply to his own time? Frazer,
in reply, shows what great changes were possible in two hundred
years, and how the Piraeus had regained prosperity under beneficent
Roman emperors. He also gives numerous proofs, from existing
monuments and otherwise, that Pausanias described Greece as it
was in his own age.

We may say, then, that at present a conservatively just view has
succeeded the bitter outcry against our author's alleged untrustwor-
theness. Pausanias cannot be regarded as an independent creative
spirit, originating a great work for the benefit of mankind. He is rather a true child of his time, a plodding collector, somewhat superficial and credulous, with a propensity for the archaic and the mystical, but withal an intelligent and inquisitive traveler who rambled through land and city and carefully noted what to him appeared worth seeing and recording. The extant monuments prove that his description of Athens is founded primarily on personal observation. He did not neglect his predecessors and got together historical and mythological material out of handbooks. He also consulted, as did Herodotus, local priests and guides in his eager search for information. As a result, he has handed down to modern times a readable and instructive description of travel, that presents a fairly coherent picture of ancient Athens, and a work indispensable to the traveler and investigator.
TOPOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE

I. Maritime Athens (1 1 — 2 3).

1 1. a. Coast from Sunium to Piraeus.
   Sunium.
   Laurium.
   Isle of Patroclus.

1 2–3. b. Piraeus.
   Precinct of Athena and Zeus.
   Shipsheds.
   Tomb of Themistocles.
   Long Colonnade — Statues of Zeus and Demus.
   Agora: upper and lower.
   Shrine of Aphrodite.

1 4. c. Munychia.
   Temple of Munychian Artemis.

d. Phalerum.
   Shrine of Demeter.
   Temple of Athena Sciras.
   Temples of Zeus.
   Altars of gods called Unknown.
   Altars of heroes.
   Altars of children of Theseus.
   Altar of Phalerus.
   Altar of Androgeos.

1 5. e. Cape Colias.
   Image of Coliad Aphrodite.
   Images of Genetyllides.

2 1. f. Road from Phalerum to Athens.
   Temple and Image of Hera.
   Tombs of Antiope and Molpadia — within the city.

2 2. g. Road from the Piraeus to Athens.
   Long Walls.
   Tombs: Menander, Euripides.
   Monument: warrior beside a horse.

a. From the Dipylum to the Market-Place.

24. The Pompeium.
   Temple of Demeter.
   Group of Poseidon and Polybotes.
   Colonnades bordering the Dromos.
   Bronze statues (πρὸ αὐτῶν).

25. Shrines of gods, gymnasium of Hermes, and house of Puleyion, sacred to Dionysus.
   Dedication of Eubulides — images of Athena Paenitia, Zeus, and others.
   Chamber with clay images (μετὰ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τίμενος).

b. The Market-Place: from Royal Colonnade to Enneacratus.

31. Royal Colonnade (πρὸτη ἐν δεῖφῳ).
32. Statues: Conon, Timotheus, Evagoras (πλησίων).
   Zeus Eleutherius (ἐνταῦθα).
33. Stoa ὑπωθεῖ (Eleutherius).
34. Euphranor’s painting.
   Temple of Apollo the Paternal.
   Statue of the god, by Euphranor (πλησίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ).
   Statues of Apollo by Leochares and Calamis (πρὸ τοῦ νεώ).
35. Metroum (Μυτρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν).
   Image by Phidias.
   Buleuterium of the 500 (πλησίων).
   [Zeus Bulaeus, αἷόνων.
   Apollo of Pisis.
   ἐν αὐτῷ — Demus of Lyson.
   Thesmothetae of Protogenes.
   Callippus of Olbiades.

4. Digression on the Galatae.
5 1–5. Tholus (τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλησίων).
   Statues of Eponymi (ἀνωτέρω).

5 5–8 1. Digression on Attalus and Ptolemy.
8 2–3. Images (μετὰ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπονύμων), including
   Amphiaras.
   Eirene and Plutus.
   Lycurgus.
   Callias.
   Demosthenes.
8 4–5. Shrine of Ares (τῆς τοῦ Δημοσθένου εἰκόνος πλησίον).
   \[ \text{Two images of Aphrodite.} \]
   \[ \text{Image of Ares by Alcamenes.} \]
   \[ \text{Image of Athena by Locrus of Paros.} \]
   \[ \text{Image of Enyo by sons of Praxiteles.} \]
   Heracles, Theseus, Apollo, Calades, Pindar (περὶ τῶν ναῶν).
   Harmodius and Aristogiton (οὐ πάρρω δὲ).

8 6. Theatre, called Odeum.
   Statues of Egyptian kings (πρὸ τῆς ἔσοδου).

9 1–3. Digression on the Ptolemies.


11 1. Statue of Pyrrhus.


14 1. Dionysus and other images (ἐς ... τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἐσελθόσιν Ὀλυμπίων).
   Enneaeramus (πλησίον).

14 2. The Market-Place: from Enneaeramus to Prytaneum.

   Image of Triptolemus.

15 1–4. Painted Colonnade.
   Hermes Agoraeus (ἰοῦσι πρὸς τὴν στοάν ἢν Ποικίλῃν ὅνομα-ζουσιν).
   Market gate (καὶ πύλη πλησίον).
   \[ \text{Battle of Theseus and Amazons.} \]
   Paintings \[ \text{Capture of Troy.} \]
   \[ \text{Battle of Marathon.} \]
   Statues \[ \text{Solon (πρὸ μὲν τῆς στοάς).} \]
   \[ \text{Seleucus (ὁλέγων δὲ ἄπωτέρω).} \]

16 1–3. Digression on Seleucus.
INTRODUCTION

17 1. An Agora, containing, besides other notable objects,
    Altar of Pity ('Ἀθηναῖος ἰδίᾳ τῇ ἁγορᾷ κτλ.).
17 2. Gymnasium of Ptolemy (τῆς ἁγορᾶς ἀπέχουσι οὗ πολυ).
    Stone Hermæ.
    Bronze statue of Ptolemy.
    Statue of Juba.
    Statue of Chrysippus.
    Shrine of Theseus (πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ).
        Fight of Athenians and Amazons.
    Paintings
        Fight of Centaurs and Lapithae.
        Theseus and Amphitrite.

18 1. Shrine of the Dioscuri.
2. Precinct of Aglauros (ὑπὲρ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερόν).
3. Prytaneum (πληρων).
    Laws of Solon.
    Image of Peace.
    Image of Hestia.
    Statues: Autolycus, Miltiades, Themistocles.

III. The City of Hadrian (18 4 — 19 6).
18 4. Serapeum (ἐντεῦθεν ἱούσιν εἰς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως).
    Pact of Theseus and Pirithous (οὗ πόρρω).
5. Temple of Ilithyia (πληρων).
6. περιβόλος of Olympian Zeus.
    Temple of Olympian Zeus.
    Chryselephantine statue of Zeus within the temple.
    Four statues of Hadrian, in front of the temple.
    A bronze statue of each of the colonies.
    A statue of Hadrian sent by each of the colonies.
    Colossus of Hadrian, at the back of the temple.
7. An ancient bronze Zeus.
    Temple of Cronus and Rhea.
    Temenus of Ge Olympia.
    Statue of Isocrates on a pillar.
    Statues of Persians holding a brazen tripod.
8. The tomb of Deucalion.
19 1. Statue of Apollo Pythius (μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διός τοῦ Ὄλυμπον).
    Another sanctuary of Apollo Delphinius.
2. The Gardens (Κηποι).
Temple of Aphrodite (in the Gardens).
Statue of Aphrodite (του ναου πλησιων).
3. Sanctuary of Heracles, called Cynosarges.
Altars of Heracles and of Hebe.
Altar of Alcmena and Iolaus.
4. Lyceum.
Monument of Nisus (Ὀνυθθεν του Λυκειου).
5. Rivers of Athens.
Ilissus.
Eridanus.
6. Agraee (δασβαι δε των Ελμοσων).
Temple of Artemis Agrotera.
Stadium.

IV. The Street of Tripods and Southern Slope of Acropolis (20 1—22 3).

20 1. a. The Street of Tripods (ἄδως ἀπὸ του Πρυτανείου καλομένη Τρίποδος).
2. Temples of gods, one supporting Satyr of Praxiteles.
Satyr and Eros of Thymilus (ἐν τω ναῷ τῷ πλησίῳ).
3. b. Oldest sanctuary of Dionysus, containing two temples (πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ).
Statues of Dionysus in the temples, one called Eleuthereus, the other made by Alcamenes.
Paintings in one of the temples.
4. c. Odeum of Pericles (πλησιων του τε ιεροῦ του Διονύσου και του θεάτρου κατασκευάσμα).


21 1–2. d. The Theatre of Dionysus.
Statues of tragic and comic poets.
3. e. Gilded head of Medusa (ἐπὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νοτίου καλομένου τείχους, ὁ τῆς ἄκρωπλεως ὡς τὸ θεάτρον ἐστι τετραμμένον).
f. Cave (Monument of Thrasyllos) (ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ θεάτρου).
g. Tomb of Calos (Ἰώνων ὡς τῇ ἄκρωπλεον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου).

4–9. h. Sanctuary of Asclepius.

22 1–2. i. Temple of Themis (Μετὰ . . . το ιερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ).
Tomb of Hippolytus (πρὸ αὐτοῦ).
INTRODUCTION

    k. Sanctuary of Ge Kourotrophos.
    l. Sanctuary of Demeter Chloe.

V. The Acropolis (22 4 — 28 3).

22 4.  a. Entrance to Acropolis (εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολίν ἐστὶν ἐσοδὸς μία).
    b. The Propylaea.
       Figures of horsemen.

5.  c. Temple of Nike Apterous.
    Heroum of Aegaeus.

       Rape of Palladium by Diomedes.
       Odysseus with bow of Philoctetes.
       Slaying of Aegisthus by Orestes.
       Sacrifice of Polyxena.
       Achilles in Skyros (?)
       Odysseus and Nausicaa (?)
       Alcibiades.
       Perseus with head of Medusa.
       Boy-carrying water-pots.
       Wrestler, by Timaenetus.
       Portrait of Musaeus.

c. Hermes Propylæus and the Graces, attributed to Socrates.

       Bronze statue of Leaena.
       Image of Aphrodite, by Calamis.
       Bronze statue of Diitrepheus.
       Image of Hygieia.
       Image of Athena Hygieia.
       Stone of Silenus.
       Bronze boy with lustral basin, by Lycius.
       Perseus, slaying Medusa, by Myron.

g. Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia.
       Image of Artemis Brauronia, by Praxiteles.

h. Between sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia and eastern end of
   Parthenon.
       Bronze copy of Wooden Horse.
       Statues of Epicharinus, of Oenobius, of Hermolycus, of Phormio (μετὰ τῶν ἵππων).
THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

24 1–2. Athena striking Marsyas (ἐνταύθα).
Theseus and the Minotaur (τούτων πέραν).
Phrixus and the ram.
Heracles strangling the snakes (and other statues).
Athena springing from the head of Zeus.
Votive bull of the Areopagus.

24 3. i. A temple, possibly of Athena Ergane, containing a σπουδαιῶν
dαιμόνιον.

Statues of Conon and Timotheus.
Procne and Itys, an offering of Alcamenes.
Athena and Poseidon.
Image of Zeus, by Leochares.
Image of Zeus Polieus.

The pediments — birth of Athena — contest of Athena and
Poseidon.
Chryselephantine image of Athena.
Statue of Emperor Hadrian (ἐνταύθα . . . μόνου).
Statue of Iphicrates (κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον).

24 8. k. Between Parthenon and South Wall (πρὸς . . . τῷ
teixe τῷ
νοτῷ).
Bronze Apollo Parnopius, by Phidias (τοῦ ναοῦ . . . πέραν).
Statues of Pericles and Xanthippus (on opposite sides, ἔτε-
ρωθί).
Statue of Anacreon.
Statues of Io and Callisto, by Dinomenes.


26 1–2. l. Votive Groups of Attalus, at the South Wall (πρὸς . . . τῷ
teixe τῷ νοτῷ).


26 4. m. Between the South Wall and the Erechtheum.
Statue of Olympiodorus.
Bronze image of Artemis Leucophryene (τῆς . . . εἰκόνος
πλησίων τῆς Ὀλυμπιοδόρου).
Seated image of Athena, by Endoeus.

26 5. n. The Erechtheum (αἰκήμα Ἐρέχθεων καλοῦμενον).
Altar of Zeus Hypatus (πρὸ . . . τῆς ἐσοδοῦ).
Altars of Poseidon with Erechtheus, of Butes, of Hephais-}
phaestus (ἐσελθοῦσα).
INTRODUCTION

Paintings of the Butades (ἐπὶ τῶν τούχων).
6. The old Athena image.
   The lamp of Callimachus.
27 1. a. Athena Polias Temple (ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος).
   A wooden Hermes, offering of Cecrops.
   A chariot, the work of Daedalus.
   The breastplate of Masisius.
   The dagger of Mardonius.
27 2. p. A temple of Pandrosus (τῷ ναῷ ... τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ... συνεχής).
27 3. q. Dwelling of Arephoric Maidens.
27 4. r. Between the Erechtheum and the Propylaea (27 4 — 28 2).
   Small figure of Lysimache (πρὸς ... τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς).
5. Statues of Erechtheus and Eumolpus.
6. Statues of Tolmides and his prophet.
   Old images of Athena injured by fire.
7. A representation of a boar-hunt.
   Fight of Heracles and Cycnus.
9. Bronze statue of Theseus lifting the stone.
   Theseus and the Marathonian bull.
28 1. s. The Acropolis Wall.
28 2. Bronze statue of Cylon.
2. Bronze image of Athena, from the spoils at Marathon.
   Bronze chariot, from the spoils of Boeotians and Chalcidians.
   Statue of Pericles.
   Statue of Athena Lemnia.
28 3. s. The Acropolis Wall.

VI. Western Slope of the Acropolis, and the Areopagus (28 4 — 29 1).
28 4. a. The Clepsydra (καταβάσει ... οὗκ ἐστὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν, ἀλλ' ὅσον
   ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ, πιθήκη τε ἤδαιος).
   b. Sanctuary of Apollo in a cave (πλησίον).
   c. Cave of Pan.
5. d. The Areopagus.
   Altar of Athena Areia.
6. Stones of Insolence and Shamelessness.
   Sanctuary of Semnae (πλησίον).
   Statues of Pluto, Hermes, and Ge.
7. Monument of Oedipus.
29 1. Panathenaic Ship (τοῦ Ἀρειοπόλεως πλησίον).
VII. Road from Athens to the Academy Suburb (29 2—30 4) (ἐξ θεοῦ πόλεως).

29 2. a. Sanctuaries of gods.
   Precinct of Artemis, with wooden images of Ariste and Kalliste.
   A small temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus.

3. b. The street of Tombs.
   Thrasybulus.
   Pericles, Chabrias, Phormio.


15. Conon and Timotheus.
   Zeno and Chrysippus.
   Nicias, the animal-painter.
   Harmodius and Aristogiton.
   Ephialtes.

16. Lycurgus.

30 1. c. The Academy.
   Altar of Eros (πρὸ ... τῆς ἱεράς τῆς ἡ Ἀκαδημίαν).

2. Altar of Prometheus ('Εν Ἀκαδημιά).  
   Altar of the Muses ('Εν Ἀκαδημιά).  
   Altar of Hermes ('Εν Ἀκαδημιά).  
   Altar of Athene and Heracles ('Εν Ἀκαδημιά).  
   Sacred olive trees.

3. Tomb of Plato (οὐ πόρρω).  

4. Tower of Timon.

d. Colonus Hippius.
   Altar of Poseidon Hippius and Athena Hippia.  
   Hero-chapel of Theseus and Pirithous.  
   Hero-chapel of Oedipus and Adrastus.

VIII. The Demes of Attica (31 — 33).

31 1. a. Halimus.
   Sanctuary of Thesmophorian Demeter, and Kore.
   At Zoster on the sea, an altar of Athena.

b. Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.

c. Prospalta.
   Sanctuary of Kore and Demeter.

d. Anagyrous.
   Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods.
INTRODUCTION

\(e\). Cephale.
   The Dioscuri.

\(31\) 2. \(f\). Prasiae.
   Temple of Apollo.
   Monument of Erisichthon.

\(31\) 3. \(g\). Lamptrae.
   Monument of Cranaus.

\(h\). Potami.
   Tomb of Ion, son of Xuthes.

\(31\) 4. \(i\). Phylai.
   Altars of Apollo, Artemis, Dionysus, the Ismenid Nymphs, and Ge.
   In another temple, altars of Demeter, Zeus, Athena, Kore, and the Semnai.

\(j\). Myrrhinus.
   Wooden image of Colaenis.

\(31\) 5. \(k\). Athmonia.
   Sanctuary of Artemis.

\(31\) 6. \(l\). Acharnai.
   Sanctuaries of Apollo Agyius and Heracles.
   Altar of Athena Hygieia.

\(32\) 3–7. \(m\). Marathon.
   Tumulus of Athenians.
   Tumulus of Plataeans and slaves.
   Monument of Miltiades.
   Trophy of white stone.
   Fountain Macaria.
   Marsh.
   Mountain of Pan.

\(33\) 1. \(n\). Brauron.
   Ancient wooden image of Artemis.

\(33\) 2–8. \(o\). Rhamnus.
   Sanctuary of Nemesis, with image made by Phidias.

\(\text{IX. Oropus (34)}.\)

\(34\) 1. \(a\). The deme of Oropus.
   2–5. \(b\). The Sanctuary of Amphiaraius.
      Temple, with image.
      Altar, dedicated to various deities.
      Fountain of Amphiaraius.
X. The Mountains and Islands of Attica (32 1–2, 35 — 36 2).

32 1–2. a. Mountains.
   Pentelicus, with image of Athena.
   Hymettus, with image of Zeus and altars of Zeus and Apollo.
   Parnes, with bronze image and altars of Zeus.
   Achesmus, with image of Zeus.

35 1 — 36 2. b. Islands.
   Patroclus.
   Helene.
   Salamis, with temple of Ajax and sanctuaries of Artemis and of Cychreus.
   Psyttalia, with wooden images of Pan.

XI. The Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis (36 3 — 38 7).

   Tomb of Molottus.
   Monument of Cephisodorus.

   Grave of Themistocles, son of Poliarchus.
   Graves of family of Acetius.
   Temenos of the hero Lacius and the deme Laciadae.
   Monument of Nicocles, the lyre-player.
   Altar of Zephyrus.
   Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.
   Tomb of Phytalus.
   Monument of Theodorus (προὶ... διαβηναυ τον Κηφισόν).
   Statues of Nemesimache.
   Ancient altars of Zeus Meilichius (δαβασω δέ τον Κηφισόν).
   Graves of Theodectes and Mnesitheus.
   Small temple of Cyamites.
   Monument of a Rhodian.
   Monument to Pythionice by Harpalus.
   Sanctuary with images of Demeter and Kore, Athena and Apollo.
   Temple of Aphrodite.

38 1–5. The Rheitoi.
   Heroum of Hippothoon.
   Heroum of Zarex.
INTRODUCTION

XII. *Eleusis and its Neighborhood (38 6–9).*

   - Temple of Triptolemus.
   - Temple of Artemis Propylaea.
   - Temple of Poseidon Pater.
   - Altar of Triptolemus.

38 8–9. b. Road from Eleusis to Eleutherai.
   - Temple and image of Dionysus.
   - Cave of Antiope.
   - Walls of Eleutherai.

39 1–3. c. Road from Eleusis to Megara.
   - Well, called Anthium
   - Sanctuary of Metanira.
   - Graves of Seven against Thebes.
   - Monument of Alope.
   - Palaestra of Cercyon.

XIII. *Megara (39 4 — 44).*


40 1. Fountain of Theagenes (*ἐν τῇ πόλει*).
2–3. An ancient Sanctuary (*τῆς . . . κρήνης . . . σῶ πόρρω*).
   - Bronze images of Artemis Soteira.
   - Statues of Roman emperors.
   - Images of the Twelve Gods.

4–5. Temenos of Zeus.
   - Temple called Olympieum.
   - Gold and ivory image of Zeus, not completed.
   - Bronze beak of a trireme.

6. The Acropolis, called Caria.
   - Temple of Dionysus Nyctelius.
   - Sanctuary of Artemis Epistrophia.
   - Oracle of Nyx.
   - Temple of Zeus Conius.
   - Images of Asclepius and Hygieia.
   - The Megaron of Demeter.

41 1. The Tomb of Alcmena (*ἐκ . . . τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κατιοῦσιν . . . πλησίον τοῦ Ὀλυμπιείου*).
   - Rhous.
   - Monument of Hyllus (*πλησίον*).
41 3. Temple of Isis (οἱ πόρρω ... τοῦ Ὑλλόν μνήματος).
   Temple of Apollo and Artemis (παρ' αὐτῶν).
3–6. Digression: Who killed the lion of Cithaeron?
7. The Heroon of Pandion (ἐκ τοῦτον ... τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατιούσι).
   Monument of Hippolyte (πλησίων).
8–9. Grave of Tereus (οὐ πόρρω).
42 1. The Acropolis, named after Alcathous (ΔΑΛΗ ΜΕΓΑΡΙΩΝ ἀκρόπολις
   ἀπὸ Ἀλκάθου τὸ ἄνωμα ξύσσα).
   Monument of Megareus (ἐς αὐτὴν ... τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνιώσιν ...
   ἐν δεξιᾷ).
   Hearth of gods called Prodomeis.
2–3. Stone of Apollo (τῆς ... ἔστις ἔγγος).
4. Buleuterium.
   Temple of Athena (ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως).
   Gold-and-ivory image of Athena.
   Sanctuary of Athena Nike.
   Sanctuary of Aiantis.
42 5. Old Temple of Apollo.
   Monument of Callipolis (κατιούσι ... ἐντεῦθεν).
7. Monument of Ino (κατὰ ... τὴν ἐς τὸ πρυτανείον ὕδων).
43 1. Heroon of Iphigenia.
2. The Prytaneum.
   Graves of Euippus and Ischepolis (Ἐν ... τῷ Πρυτανείῳ).
   The rock Anacletus (πλησίων).
3. Graves in the city of Megara.
   Of those killed in Persian Wars.
   A tomb of heroes, called Aesymnium.
4. The Heroon of Alcathous.
   Tomb of Pyrgo, his first wife.
   Tomb of Iphinoe, his daughter.
5. The Sanctuary of Dionysus.
   Grave of Astyrateia and Manto (παρὰ ... τὴν ἵσσον τὴν ἐς τὸ
   Διονύσιον).
   A wooden image of Dionysus.
   A Satyr by Praxiteles.
   Image of Dionysus, dedicated by Euchenor.
43 6. Temple of Aphrodite (Μητὰ ... τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἱερὸν).
   Ivory image of Aphrodite, surnamed Praxis.
INTRODUCTION

Peitho and Paregoros, works of Praxiteles.
Eros, Himeros, and Pothos of Scopas.
Sanctuary of Tyche (πληρίων).
Image, by Praxiteles.
Temple adjacent, containing
Muses and a bronze Zeus, by Lysippus.

43 7–8. The Grave of Coroebus (ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίων ἀγορῇ).
Figure of Coroebus killing Poine.

44 1. The Grave of Orsippus (πληρίων).
Sanctuary of Tutelary Apollo (Ἐκ... τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατιούσι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Εὐθείας καλουμένης).
Image of Apollo.
Images of Artemis, Latona, and others, the Latona and her children by Praxiteles.
The Old Gymnasium (πληρίων πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων).
Stone of Apollo Carinus.
Sanctuary of the Ilithyiae.

44 3. The Port called Nisaea.
Sanctuary of Malophorian Demeter.
The Acropolis of Nisaea.
The tomb of Lelex, beside the sea.
The Island of Minoa.

44 4–5. The mountainous district of Megara.
Pagae.
Rock shot at by the Medes.
Bronze image of Artemis Soteira.
Heroum of Aegialeus.
Aegosthena.
Sanctuary of Melampus.
Small figure of a man on a stele.
Erenea.

Tomb of Autonoe.

44 6–14. Road from Megara to Corinth.
Graves, among others, of Telephanes.
Tomb of Car
The Molurian Rock.
Temple of Zeus, the Hurler (ἐπὶ... τοῦ ὀρους τῇ ἀκρῇ).
Images of Aphrodite, Apollo, and Pan.
Tomb of Eurystheus.
Boundaries of Megaris and Corinth.
ΑΤΤΙΚΑ

1 Τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κατὰ νῆσους τὰς Κυκλάδας καὶ πέλαγος τὸ Ἀλγαῖον ἄκρα Σοῦνον πρόκειται γῆς τῆς Αττικῆς. καὶ λυμῆν τε παραπλεύσαντι τὴν ἄκραν ἐστὶ καὶ ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Συννάδος ἐπὶ κορυφῆ τῆς ἄκρας. πλέουσι δὲ 5 ἐς τὸ πρόσω Λαύριον τὲ ἐστὶν, ἐνθα ποτὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἦν


2. ἄκρα Σοῦνον: Cape Sunium, the southeast promontory of Attica, is a rugged headland of crystalline rock, rising two hundred feet above the sea. The earliest mention of Sunium is in Od. γ.278, where it is said that the pilot of Menelaus was struck down by Apollo’s shafts as the ship was passing the sacred headland of Sunium. The woods mentioned by Soph. Aj. 1217 ff. as covering the promontory have disappeared. The ancient fortification wall (cf. Thuc. 8, 4), with a circuit of over half a mile, may still be traced.

3. παραπλεύσαντι: dative of reference with verbs of motion, a favorite construction with the historians. Cf. Thuc. 1, 24 Ἐπίδαμνος ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ὑπελαυεῖ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον. 2, 96; Hdt. 1, 51; 1, 181; 6, 33; Xen. Anab. 3, 2, 22; 6, 4, 1; Cyr. 8, 26; etc. — 4. ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Συννάδος: upon the highest point of the promontory stand the ruins of a Doric peripteral temple, with six columns to front and rear and thirteen on the sides; nine columns on the southern side and two on the northern are still standing. The stylobate measures 102 x 44 feet.

The date, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, is somewhat later than the so-called Theseum. This temple has been usually identified as the temple of Athena. But Poseidon also was worshiped at Sunium (Συννάδα, Ar. Eq. 600, cf. Av. 868); and an inscription found in the temple a few years ago, containing a psephisma to be set up in the temple of Poseidon, proves that this temple really belongs to Poseidon. The foundations of the Athena temple have been identified. See A.M. XXIV (1899), 349; Berl. Philol. Woch. XIX (1899), 1087. — 5. Λαύριον . . . ἀργυροῦ μέταλλα: the hills of Laurium cover practically the whole of that part of the Attic peninsula south of a line drawn from Thoricus to Anaphystus, a district extending about eleven miles north and south and five miles east and west. The exact period in which the art of mining was introduced into Attica is unknown. Xen. de Vect. 4, 2 implies
that it was very remote, while at his time the mines were less productive than formerly (Mem. 3, 6, 12). In Strabo’s time they were almost exhausted (9, p. 399), and Diodorus (5, 37) says that in his day great sums were expended in mining here, but without adequate return. Pausanias speaks as if operations had ceased entirely in the second century. More than two thousand of the ancient shafts have been located. At present a French company and a Greek company are seeking to resmelt the old slag and extract lead from the ore. Very little silver remains. — 6. νήσος . . . Πατρόκλου: this island lies three miles west of Cape Sunium, and is now known as Gaidaronisi or Ass’s Island. A wall of rough stone, possibly that built by Patroclus, occupies the northeast corner; the ancient designation, as the palisade (χάραξ, Strabo, 9, p. 398) of Patroclus, has given to the coast territory adjacent the name of Charaku. The incident mentioned took place in the so-called Chremonidean War (208–263 B.C.). Cf. 1, 7, 8; 3, 6, 4. See Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, I, 627.

13. Παιρασίος δῆμος, κτλ.: the Piraeus consists of a rocky peninsula extending seaward from the Attic mainland two and one third miles from northeast to southwest, composed of two masses each about one and one-fourth miles wide united by a low and narrow isthmus. The southwest mass, known as Acte in ancient times, is 187 feet in height; the northeast mass, 280 feet at its highest point, is the hill of Munychia. In 409–402 B.C. Themistocles began the fortification of Piraeus; about 448 the Long Walls were completed; in 440 the seaport was laid out on a uniform plan by Hippodamus of Miletus; in 404 the Lacedaemonians destroyed the Long Walls and the Piraeus fortifications; during 394–391 the fortifications were restored, chiefly under Conon; in 86 Sulla razed the fortifications, which were never
THE PIRAEUS

Ch. 1, 3

Themistoklēs ἔκ ἔς ἡρέ — τοῖς τε γὰρ πλέουσιν ἐπιτηδεῖο—

20 τερος ὁ Πειραιαῖς ἐφαίνετο οἱ προκεῖσθαι καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς

ἀνθ' ἐνός ἐχει τοῦ Φαληροί — τοῦτο σφὶσι πέπνειον εἶναι

κατασκευάστω — καὶ νεός καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν οἶκοι καὶ πρὸς

τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους. φαβί γὰρ μεταμε-

λήσαι τῶν ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὡς οἱ προσήκου-

25 τες τὰ ὡστὰ κομίσακεν ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀνελόντες. φαίνονται

ὅταν ταί παιδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ κατελθόντες καὶ γραφὴν

ἐς τὸν Παρθενώνα ἀναθέτες, ἐν ἡ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐστὶ γεγραμ-

μένοις. θέας δὲ αξίων τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ μάλιστα Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶ 3

καὶ Δίως τέμνον. χαλκὸν μὲν ἄμφοτερα τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἔχει

rebuilt. — 22. νεός . . . οἶκοι: the ships-

sheds were regarded as one of the

glories of Athens. Isocr. 7, 66 says

they were built at a cost of 1000 tal-

ents, and were sold by the Thirty for

three talents. Dem. 22, 76 cites them

along with the Propylaea and the Par-

thenon. Lysias deplors the destroy-

tion of the dockyards (12, 99) and of

the shipsheds (30, 22) at the hands of

the tyrants. From 347 B.C. to 322

B.C. the Athenians engaged in re-

building docks and shipsheds (C.I.A. II,

270), and erected an arsenal, largely

through the efforts of Lycurgus. Con-

siderable remains of the ancient ship-

sheds are still to be seen in the harbors

of Zea and Munychia. — 23. τάφος Θε-

μιστοκλέα: cf. Plut. Them. 32, who

quotes Diodorus the Periegete's descrip-

tion of Themistocles's grave from his

work Περὶ μνημάτων. Tradition places

the site of the tomb on the shore of the

Aice peninsula near the modern lighth-

house, to the south of the approach to

the Great Harbor. Thuc. 1, 138 says

there was a monument of Themistocles

in the agora of Magnesia, but that his

relatives maintained that his bones had

been conveyed to Attic soil. — φαβί:

note change of construction and es-

pecially use of opt. after φαβί. Cf. Madvig,

Advers. Crit. I, 704. On this frequent

variation note the use of φαβί and other

expressions (a) with inf. and following

ὁς or ὁς + opt., as e.g. 1, 2, 3; 10, 3;

(b) with inf. and following ὁς or ὁς +

ind. of hist. tense, 1, 19, 4; 34, 2; (c) also

in 1, 20, 3, where after ὁς + opt. there

is first inf., then loss of dependence on

λέγεται.

28. Ἀθηνᾶς . . . καὶ Δίως τέμνον: this joint

precinct of Zeus and Athena

is mentioned in other ancient writ-

ers. See S.Q. CXI, 78. It is likely that

the two deities were worshiped in com-

mon and that there were two statues

with one sacred precinct. Cf. Lyc. c.

Leocr. 17 τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δίως τοῦ σωτῆρος

καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς σωτιφας. This was

the principal sanctuary of the Piraeus.

In the precinct were colonnades with

paintings and statues in the open air

(Strabo, 9, p. 306). The site has not

been definitely determined. — 29. ἀγάλ-

ματα: the two bronze statues of Athena
and Zeus were renowned. That of Athena was the work of Cephisodotus or Cephisodorus. See Pliny, 34, 74, Cephisodorus Minervam mirabilarem in portu Atheniensiium. Furtwängler defends the Mss. reading Cephisodorus which is adopted in the Teubner and Jex-Blake editions. There is no known Greek sculptor of this name, while there were two by name Cephisodotus. The date usually assigned is 394–391 B.C.; if the latter name is accepted, the work must be attributed to the elder Cephisodotus; so Overbeck, Murray, Milchhoefer, and Wachamuth. — 35. τῆς στοάς τῆς μακρᾶς: the Long Colonnade was probably one of the five mentioned Schol. Ar. Pae. 145, to the effect that in the harbor of Cantharus were "the docks, then the sanctuary of Aphrodite, then five colonnades round about the harbor" (S.Q. CXII). An inscription of Roman date quoted Ἐφ. Ἱρ. 1884, p. 170, mentions these in the same order. This stoa is doubtless identical with that described Thuc. 8, 90 as the largest colonnade, and as immediately adjoining the promontory of Eetonia. If so, it stood on the north side of the harbor, extending westward to where the town wall of Piraeus crossed the shallow bight over to Eetonia. It is probably identical with the often mentioned στοά ἀληθύσως (S.Q. CXVII, 56). The four other colonnades doubtless ran southward in a line along the eastern shore of the harbor, together forming the public mart or emporium. — 36. ἀγορά... ἀπωτέρῳ τοῦ λιμένος: this was the agora of Hippodamus, which occupied a spacious square, large enough for troops to muster in (Andoc. 1, 45). The road from Athens led into this square, and another wide avenue led from it up to the shrine of Artemis on Munychia (Xen. Hell. 2, 4, 11ff.). The house of the admiral Timotheus was near (Ps.-Dem. 49, 22). The site was probably the level ground to the east of the great harbor, where is located the modern Karaiskaki Square. Named after the architect who laid out the city, it constituted in ancient times the principal market of Piraeus. — 38. Ζεὺς καὶ Δήμος, Δεωχάρους ἔργον: for other works of Leocrates, cf. 1, 3, 4; 24, 4; 5, 20, 10. Leocrates (c. 350 B.C.) was one of the sculptors engaged with Scopas in
Ch. 1

praes de tη θαλάσση Kωνων ρδιόδρομησεν 'Aphroditys ierôν,

τριήρεις Λακεδαιμονίων κατεργασάμενος περί Kνίδου την

έν τη Καρική χερονήςφ. Kνίδιοι γάρ τμώσων 'Aphrodî-

tην μάλιστα, καὶ σφισιν ἐστιν ἱερὰ τῆς θεοῦ: τὸ μὲν γάρ

ἀρχαιότατον Δωρίδος, μετὰ δὲ τὸ 'Ακραίας, νεώτατον δὲ

ἡν Kνίδιαν οἱ πολλοί, Kνίδιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ καλούσιν Εὐπλοιαν.

"Εστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος 'Αθηναίως ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Μουνιχία λιμῆν 4

καὶ Μουνχίας ναὸς 'Αρτέμιδος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Φαληρῷ, καθὰ

καὶ πρότερον εἰρηται μοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν.

embellishing the mausoleum of Hali-
carnassus (Pliny, 36, 30); he is the au-
thor of the original of the Vatican
group of Ganymede and the eagle
(Pliny, 34, 79). The personification of
the Demus was a popular motif in Greek
art. Pausanias mentions in Athens a
statue of Demus by Lyson (1, 3, 5), and
a painting of Demus by Euphranor (1,
3, 3). Parrhasius painted a celebrated
picture of the Athenians, portraying
their fickle character (Pliny, 35, 99).
Other cities likewise were personified
in art, as e.g. the Antioch of the Vati-
can. — 39. 'Aphroditys ierôν: the
temple of Aphrodite, erected by Conon
after his naval victory off Cnidus (394
n.c.), lay somewhere between the docks
and the colonnades (cf. Schol. Ar. Pac.
145). This would place it to the south-
east of the harbor, most probably on
the promontory where the custom-
house now stands. Another shrine of
Aphrodite, dedicated by Themistocles,
was probably situated at the northern
extremity of Etionia (see S.Q. CVIII).
—

41. 'Aphroditys: Aphrodite is called Δω-
ρότης as the goddess of fruitfulness in
vegetation (cf. ζεύδωρος, ζηύδωρος, εὐκαρπος;
Furtwängler in Roscher, I, 398); 'Ακραία

as Goddess of the Height (cf. 2, 32, 6),
also a surname of Athena, Hera, and
Artemis (Hesych. s.v. 'Ακραία); Εὐπλοια,
in that she grants prosperous voyages
to mariners. This latter was probably her
surname at Piraeus (C.I.A. II, 1206).

45. ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Μουνιχία λιμῆν: on the
various harbors of Athens, see Ex-
cursus I. — 46. Μουνχίας ναὸς 'Αρτέ-
μιδος: the temple was situated on the
top of the hill above the Hippodamian
agora (Xen. Hell. 2, 4, 11) but its exact
site is not determined. Here Artemis
was worshiped as a moon and har-
bor goddess. On the cult see Preller-
Robert, Gr. Myth. I, 302 ff., S.Q. CVII,
22. Pausanias fails to mention two
Greek theatres on the peninsula of
Piraeus, one on the western slope of
the hill of Munychia, about half way
up the hill; the other to the west of
the harbor of Zea. The former is the
older and is mentioned Thuc. 8, 93,
1; Lys. 13, 32; and Xen. Hell. 2, 4, 32.
The latter was built during the second
century n.c. (C.I.A. II, 984). It was
excavated by the Greek Archaeological
Society in 1880. Parts of the stage-
building, orchestra, and auditorium
are in good condition. — 47. Δήμητρος
32  THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

Ch. 1, 5  ἔνταυθα καὶ Σκιράδος 'Αθηνᾶς ναός ἐστι καὶ Δίως ἀπωτέρω, ἐν μοὶ δὲ θεών τε ὄνομαζόμενον Ἀγνόστων καὶ ἤρων καὶ 50 παιδών τῶν Ἡσεώς καὶ Φαληροῦ· τούτων γὰρ τὸν Φαληρὸν 'Αθηναίων πλεύσας μετὰ Ἴασονος φασιν ἐς Κόλχους. ἐστι δὲ 5 καὶ Ἀνδρόγεω βωμὸς τοῦ Μίνω, καλεῖται δὲ ᾿Ηρως· Ἀνδρόγεω δὲ ὀνταύσιων οἳ ἐστιν ἐπιμελεῖς τὰ ἐγχώρια σαφεστερον ἀλλων ἐπισταθης. ἀπέχει δὲ σταδίους εἰκοσιν ἄκρα 55 Κωλιάς· ἐς ταύτην φθαρέντως τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῦ Μήδων κατηνεγκεν ὁ κλίβων τὰ νανάγια. Κωλιάδος δὲ ἐστιν ἐνταυθα

τορνόν: this shrine is one of the ναοί ἡμίκαυτοι mentioned (10, 35, 2) as burnt by the Persians and left in ruins for all time by the Greeks as perpetual memorials of their hatred of the barbarians. See Lyc. c. Leocr. 81 and W. N. Bates, Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil. XII, 320 ff. — 48. Σκιράδος 'Αθηνᾶς ναός: this temple was said to have been founded by a soothsayer from Dodona named Scirrus (1, 36, 4). See Milchh. S. Q. CXIX, 50. In A. M. I, 126, Lolling derives the surname from σκιράς, and connects it with the rocks and their white color. See also Preller-Robert, Griech. Myth. I, 204, and Robert, Hermes, XX, 349. — 49. Ἀγνόστων: Pausanias's language leaves it uncertain whether there was one altar to Unknown Gods or several, and whether, if several, each was dedicated to Unknown God or Gods. At Olympia was an Ἀγνόστων θεῶν βωμὸς (5, 14, 8). The apostle Paul mentions an altar at Athens with the inscription ΑΓΝΟΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΩ (Acts 17, 28). Oecumenius (quoted in Lomeier, de vetterum gentilium lustrationibus, p. 32) says the full inscription seen by Paul was: “To the gods of Asia and Europe and Libya, to the Unknown and Strange God.” Tertullian (ad nationes, 2, 9) mentions an altar at Athens dedicated to Unknown Gods. Philostratus (Vit. Apollon. 6, 3, 5) speaks of altars of Unknown Gods at Athens. Lucian makes one of his characters swear by the Unknown God at Athens (Philop. 9). Diog. Laert. 1, 10, 110, gives an explanation of the presence of such altars at Athens. Cf. Rendel Harris, “The Cretans Always Liars,” Expositor, October, 1906. — βωμὸς ... ἤρων: probably of Nausithous the steersman and Phaethon the lookout man of Theseus’ ship on his voyage to Crete. They had shrines at Phalerum beside the sanctuary of Scirrus. See Plut. Thes. 17. — 50. Φαληρῶν ... πλεύσα μετὰ Ἴασονος: Phalerus is also mentioned (Apoll. Rhod. 1, 90) as a participator in the Argonautic expedition.

52. Ἀνδρόγεω βωμὸς: see 1, 27, 10. — 54. ἄκρα Κωλίας: on the probable site of Cape Colias, see Excursus I. — 56. Κωλίαδος ... Ἀφροδίτης ἅγαλμα: on Coliad Aphrodite and her cult, see Roscher, Lex. s.v. Κολίας, and Schol. Ar. Nub. 52, where a temple of the goddess is mentioned and various explanations are given of the term Coliad. The priest of this deity had a seat in the theatre of Dionysus (C.I.A. III, 339).
CAFE COLIAS

Ch. 2, 1
"Αφροδίτης ἁγαλμα καὶ Γενετυλλίδες ὄνομαζόμεναι θεαὶ·
δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ Φωκαῖσι τοῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ θεάς, ἂς καλοῦσι οὐνεῖδας,
ἐναι ταῖς ἐπὶ Κωλιάδι ταῖς αὐτᾶς.—ἐστὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὅδουν
60 τὴν ἐθνὸς ἐκ Φαληροῦ ναὸς Ἡρας ούτε θύρας ἔχων ούτε
ὁροφον· Μαρδονίων φασιν αὐτὸν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν Γαβρύνου.
τὸ δὲ ἁγαλμα τὸ νῦν δὴ, καθα λέγοντιν, Ἀλκαμένους ἐστίν
ἐργον· οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο γε ὁ Μήδος εἰς λελωβημένος.

2 Ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Ἀντιόπης μνημα Ἀμα-1
ζόνος. ταῦτην τὴν Ἀντιόπην Πίνδαρος μὲν φησιν ὑπὸ Πει-
ρίθου καὶ ὘θέσεως ἀρπασθήναι, Τροιζηνίῳ δὲ Ἡγία τοιάδε ἐς
aυτὴν πεποίηται· Ἡρακλεά Θεμίσκυραν πολυρκώντα τὴν
5 ἐπὶ Θερμῶντοι ἐλεὺν μὴ δύνασθαι, ὘θέσεως δὲ ἐρασθείσων

— 57. Γενετυλλίδες ὄνομαζόμεναι θεαὶ: the Genetyllides are to be distinguished from Aphrodite as birth-goddesses in her service, Aphrodite herself having at times this title. According to Hesych. s.v. Γενετυλλίς, Genetyllis resembled Hecele, and dogs were sacrificed to her. See S. Q. s.v.; Usener, Götternamen, 124. — 59. κατὰ τὴν ὅδου τὴν ἐθνὸς ἐκ Φαληροῦ: Pausanias first traverses the route from Phalerum to Athens and describes monuments at the entrance of the city (1, 2, 1); he then traverses the route from Piraeus to Athens (1, 2, 2–3), and enters finally from this approach. — 60. ναὸς Ἡρας: mentioned (10, 35, 2) as one of the ναοὶ ἱμακαυτοῖς. Pausanias leaves the reader his choice of one of two inferences: (1) if the injury to the temple was inflicted by the Persians, the image was not the work of Alcamenes; (2) if the image was made by Alcamenes, the injury to the shrine was not inflicted by the Persians. The author manifestly inclines to the former inference.

2. The Amazon Antiopæ—Walls of Greater Athens — Court Poets — The Dipylon — Temples, Colonnades, and Statues from Gate to Agora — Attic Kings.

1 Ἐσελθόντων... Ἀντιόπης μνήμα Ἀμαζόνως: the statement implies that this tomb was just within the city wall of Athens. Plut. Thes. 27 defines the site more exactly, παρὰ τὸ Γῆς Ὠλυμπίας ἱερὸν. This sanctuary lay (Paus. 1, 18, 7) in the region of the Olympieum, but outside the peribolus-wall. Hence the gate through which the Phalerum road led into Athens was doubtless not far from the Olympieum. Now the tomb of Antiopæ was in all probability identical with the tomb of the Amazon mentioned by Ps.-Plato (Axioch. 364 ν–365 λ) as being near the Itonian gate. Hence it follows that the gate approached by the Phalerum road was the Itonian, and this lay near the Olympieum. See Plut. Thes. 26 ff. on the relations between Theseus and Antiopæ.
Ἀντιόπην — στρατεύσαι γὰρ ἀμα Ἦρακλεῖ καὶ Θησέα —
παραδόγμα τὸ χωρίον. τάδε μὲν Ἡγίας πεποίηκεν Ἀθηναίοι δὲ φασίν, ἐπεὶ τε ἦλθον Ἀμαζόνες, Ἀντιόπην μὲν ὑπὸ Μολπαδίας τοξευθῆναι, Μολπαδίαν δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ
10 Ἐσσέως καὶ μνήμη ἔστι καὶ Μολπαδίας Ἀθηναίοις.
Ἀνιώτων δὲ ἐκ Πειραίων ἐρέσσα τῶν τειχῶν ἔστιν ᾗ
2
Κόνων ὑστερον τῆς πρὸς Κινδων ναυμαχίας ἀνέστησε. τὰ
gὰρ Θεμιστοκλέους μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οἰκοδομήθη τὴν
Μηδών ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καθηρέθη τῶν τριάκοντα ὀνομα-
15 ζομένων. εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι κατὰ τὴν ὕδωρ γνωριμώτατοι Μεναν-
δρος τοῦ Διοφείδου καὶ μνήμη Εὐριπίδου κενῶν· τέθαπται
dὲ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Μακεδόνια παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα Ἕλθων Ἀρχέ-
λαου, ὁ δὲ οἱ τὸν θανάτου τρόπος — πολλοῖς γὰρ ἔστιν εἰρη-
μένος — ἔχετω καθὰ λέγουσιν. συνήθαι δὲ ἀρὰ καὶ τότε
20 τοῖς βασιλείσι ποιηταῖ καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ καὶ Πολυκράτει
Σάμου τυραννὸν Ἀνακρέων παρῆ καὶ ἐς Συρακοσσάς
πρὸς Ἰέρωνα Αἰσχύλου καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐστάλησαν. Διονυσίω

11. ἐρέσσα τῶν τειχῶν: on the Long Walls, see Excursus I. — 15. τάφοι...
Μενάνδρος... καὶ μνήμη Εὐριπίδου κε-

νῶν: the epitaph on Menander's tomb is preserved Anthol. Pal. 7, 370:

Βάκχῳ καὶ Μοῖσι τε μεμηλτὰ τῶν Διο-

πείδους,

Κυκροτίδην ὡς ἐμοί, ἔξιεν, Μενάνδρον

ἐχει,

ἐν πυρὶ τὴν ὀλίγην δὲ ἔχει κόψιν: εἰ δὲ

Μενάνδρον
dίσθαι, ἔδεις ἐν Δίὸς ἡ μακάρων.

The inscription on Euripides' cenotaph is said to have been composed by Thucydides or by Timotheus the musician. It is found Anthol. Pal. 7, 45:

Μνήμα μὲν Ἐλλάδος ἀπασ' Εὐριπίδου ὡστέα

δ' ἔχει

γῇ Μακεδών. ἢ γὰρ δίζατο τέρμα βλέψ.

ταῦρος δ' Ἐλλάδος Ἐλλάς, Ἀθῆναι. πλει-

στα δὲ Μοῖσας

tέρψας ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει.

The story goes that while being hospitably entertained by King Archelaus of Macedon, Euripides was accidentally torn in pieces by his hunting dogs. See
7, 61, and Allinson, Lucian, p. xiv. This story bears all the ear-marks of myth.
On tombs as an embellishment of roads in ancient times, see Curtius, Ges. Abh.
I, 74 ff.—19. ἔχετω καθὰ λέγουσι

a similar formula occurs 8, 38, 7. Cf.

Hdt. 1, 140; 2, 28.

20. τοῖς βασιλεύσι ποιηταῖ: Pausa-

nias here mentions a number of popular instances of poets who sojourned
Ch. 2, 3.

de, de ύστερον ετυράννησεν εν Σικελίᾳ, Φιλόζενος παρὴν καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντι Ἀνταγόρας Ῥόδιος καὶ Σολεύς Ἀρατός. Ἡσίωδος de καὶ Ὀμηρὸς ἦ συγγενεῖσαν βασιλεύσων ἦττυχεσαν ἦ καὶ ἐκόντες ὁλιγώργησαν, ὁ μὲν ἀγροκία καὶ ὁ νῦν πλάνη; Ὀμηρὸς de ἀποδημήσας ἐπὶ μακρότατον καὶ τὴν ὥφελευν τὴν ἐς χρήματα παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ὑστέραν θέμενος τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξης, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐστὶ Λικίῳ παρεῖναι Δημόδοκοι καὶ ὃς Ἀγαμέμνων καταλείποι τινά παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ ποιητῇ. — ἐστὶ δὲ τάφος οὗ πάρρω τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπίθημα ἤχων στρατιώτην ἢ προφητηκότα ὁντων μὲν, οὐκ οἴδα, Πραξιτέλης de καὶ τὸν ἱππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ἐποίησεν.

at the courts of kings and tyrants. It is strange that he passes over Pindar and Bacchylides. On Anacreon's sojourn with Polycrates, see Dht. 3, 121; Strabo, 14, p. 638. Aeschylus was at the court of Hiero between 471 and 469; see Vita Aesch., and Christ, Ber. d. bavar. Ak. 1888, 371 ff. On Simonides' sojourn with Hiero, see Xen. Hiero, Pa.-Plato, Ep. 2, 311 a, etc. On the sojourn of Antagoras and Aratus with Antigonus Gonatas in 276 B.C., see Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, pp. 53-61; Athen. 8, p. 340; Susemihl, Alex. Lit. L, 380. On Demodocus see Od. 8, 44; 28. — τάφος... ἐπίθημα ἤχων: it has been conjectured that this monument of a rider is identical with the shrine of the hero Chalcodon mentioned by Plutarch (Thea. 26) as being near the Piraeus gate at Athens. — οὗ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν: it is a much-disputed question by what gate Pausanias enters the city. There were four gates to the north and northwest of Athens available for travelers from the Piraeus: two within the Long Walls,—one in the saddle between the Museum and Pnyx hills, the other between the Pnyx and Nymphaeum hills; a third, called the Piraeus gate, just beyond the Nymphaeum hill; and the fourth the great gate of the city further north, known as the Dipyllum. Just as the roads leading from the first two gates converged within the walls, so the roads leading from the last two converged at a short distance from the city. We have noticed that Pausanias was approaching the city by the road to the north of the Long Walls; hence he could have entered by the Piraeus gate or the Dipyllum. It is generally accepted that Pausanias chose the latter, since the Dipyllum was the principal gate of Athens (cf. Livy 31, 24); and the road to the Dipyllum was a regular means of approach from the Piraeus to the agora; though somewhat longer, it was more level and more convenient than the lower road, and led through the principal avenue to the chief part of
the city (cf. Polyb. 16, 25; Lucian, Navig. 17, 46; Dial. Meretr. 4, 2, etc.); and finally because the monuments Pausanias proceeds to describe doubtless were along the avenue from the Dipylum to the agora. For a description of the extant remains of the Dipylum, see Excursus I.

35. οἰκοδόμημα ἡς παρασκευὴν... τῶν πομπῶν: this was doubtless the building elsewhere designated Πομπέων (Dem. 34, 39; C.I.A. II, 834 c, 2, a; Poll. 9, 45; Diog. Laert. 6, 22), used as a depository of the properties for the various processions, especially the Panathenaic, that started from this point. The building was embellished with paintings and statues, including a portrait of Isocrates (Vit. x Or. 4, p. 839 ε.), and a bronze statue of Socrates by Lysippus (Diog. Laert. 2, 5, 43). The site has been recognized in the foundations of a large quadrangular building, divided into three aisles, situated southwest of the Dipylum, inside the city wall. — 37. ναός... Δήμητρος: this temple is most probably identical with the Ιακχείων, in the neighborhood of which a grandson of the great Aristides (Plut. Aristid. 27) made his living by interpreting dreams, and where the dream-interpreters regularly resorted (Ael. lyciphr. 8, 59). Its location near the Dipylum accords with the fact that through this gate passed the sacred processions to Eleusis. Cf. Schol. Ar. Ran. 402; Hesych. s.v. ἄγορᾶς. — 38. ἄγαλματα...

...Πραξιτέλειος: these statues of Demeter, Persephone, and Iacchus are mentioned by Clem. Alex. Protrept. 4, 62, p. 52, ed. Ritter, and the Iacchus by Cicero (Verr. 4, 60), though neither mentions Praxiteles. The statement that the inscription on the wall was in "Attic characters" signifies that they were inscribed in the Attic alphabet of the fifth century before the archonship of Euclides (403–402 B.C.) when the old Attic alphabet was officially abolished in favor of the Ionic alphabet of twenty-four letters. Two explanations have been given of the statement that an inscription referring to the works of Praxiteles, whose acme could hardly have been prior to 365, should be in characters abolished in 403 B.C.: one being the hypothesis of the Elder Praxiteles, advocated chiefly by Furtwängler, the other that of Köhler, who finds the solution in the fact that the inscription was carved, not as usual on the base of the statue but on the wall, and was accordingly not inscribed by the artist. The old Attic alphabet, Köhler says, was revived in Hadrian's time and was used particularly for inscriptions and the like. He thinks that these statues may well be those dedicated by the physician Mnestheus (Paus. 1, 37, 4), who was contemporary with the comic poet Alexis, a younger contemporary of Praxiteles.
40 ἔργα εἶναι Πραξιτέλους. τοῦ ναὸς δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδών ἔστιν ἔφ’ ἵππου, δόρυ ἄφιες ἐπὶ γύαντα Πολυβώτην, ἐς δὲν Κόλως ὁ μῦθος ὁ περὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἔσχε τῆς Χελώνης. τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν ήμῶν τῷ εἰκόνα ἄλλω δίδωσι καὶ οὐ Ποσειδῶν. στοὰ δὲ εἰσών ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμειαν καὶ εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαὶ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἄνδρῶν, ὅσοις τι ὑπῆρχεν [ὡς τοις λόγοις] ἐς δόξαν. ἡ δὲ ἐτέρα τῶν ἵππων ἐτέρα τῶν ὑπὲρ ἁρμών, ἔχει δὲ γυμνάσιον Ἐρμοῦ καλούμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Πολυντῖων οἰκία, καθ’ ἂν παρὰ

Cf. A.M. IX (1884), p. 78 ff. — 40. Ποσειδών... ἔφ’ ἵππου κτλ.: an incident of the Battle of the Gods and Giants, related by Strabo (10, p. 489) and by Apollodorus (1, 6, 2) to the effect that Poseidon with his trident had rent a piece from the island of Cos, and hurled it at the giant Polybotes, burying him under it and forming the island of Nisyros off Cos. The combat is frequently represented on vase-paintings and other minor works of art. Pausanias mentions that the inscription had been altered. This was a common practice under the Empire, so that what had been the image (ἄγαλμα) of a god or hero might become the portrait statue (εἰκὼν) of a man. — 44. στοὰ... ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν: Himerius (3, 12) describes the procession of the Sacred Ship in the Panathenaic festival as follows: Ἀρχέται μὲν εἴθεν ἐκ Πυλῶν, οἷον οἱ τινος ἐδίδον λαμένοι, τῆς ἄπαντης ἡ ναῦς. κινηθείσα δὲ ἐκείθεν ἧδε, καθάπερ κατὰ τινος ἀκμάντου βαλάσῃς, διὰ μέσου τοῦ Δρόμου κομίζεται, ὡς εὐθυτελὴς τε καὶ λεῖος καταβάλων ἀναβεθεὶς σχίζει τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτῶ παραστατέμενα στοὰς, ἐφ’ ὃν ἀγοράζουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ οἱ λαοί. I understand Himerius’ statement that the street “makes a straight and gentle descent from the higher ground” as referring to the slope from the Agora to the gate. This removes Frazer’s difficulty in identifying the street described by Himerius as being the one described by Pausanias. From the two authors alike we learn that the entire avenue was lined with colonnades; Himerius refers to the buildings used for merchandise and the like; Pausanias, only to those devoted to sacred purposes, which were doubtless outnumbered by the secular buildings. — 45. εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαὶ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἄνδρῶν κτλ.: Gurlitt (p. 265) argues that the custom of lining a street before the colonnades with statues of illustrious men and women belongs to the Hellenistic Age, but Curtius (Stadtgesch. p. 178) shows that the custom arose in early times and flourished chiefly under Pericles. Such monuments to the benefactors of the state were placed in prominent places, especially on this parade street, that the visitor on the very threshold of the city might recognize that Athens was the centre of the higher life of Hellas.

48. Πολυντῖων οἰκία: the Athenians of “certain note” who profaned the mysteries in the house of Pulytion
were doubtless Alcibiades and his companions. Andoc. 1, 12, 14, and Isoc. 16, 6, also assert that the impious ceremonies took place in the house of Pyltion. Plato (Eryx. 394c, 400n) speaks of the magnificence of the mansion. Thuc. 6, 28 states that the accused parodied the Eleusinian mysteries. The house was confiscated by the state and dedicated to Dionysus Melpomenus. — 50. Διόνυσον . . . Μελπόμενον: Dionysus the Minstrel is referred to in various inscriptions (see S.Q. XXVIII, 1). It is thought that this τέμενος is identical with the τέμενος τῶν περὶ τῶν Διόνυσον τεχνῶν, mentioned Athen. 5, p. 212, the principal sanctuary of the company of theatrical artists, from whose number the priest of this deity was chosen (C.I.A. III, 274, 278). The other priest of this Dionysus was chosen from the family of the Eunidae. Each had a reserved seat inscribed for him in the theatre of Dionysus. — 52. Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγαλμα Παιανίας . . . ἔργον Εὐβουλίδου: the text leaves it uncertain whether Pausanias means to say that the whole group of statues or only the statue of Apollo was made and dedicated by Eubulides. In 1837 there was made in this territory an important find of a pedestal of great blocks of poros; also of a colossal marble head of a woman, a torso of a female statue, two male portrait heads of Roman date, and a large block of Hymettus marble with this inscription: [Εὐβουλίδης Εὐ]χειρος Κρα-πίδης ἑποίησεν (C.I.A. II, 1645). In 1874 a colossal female head of Pentelic marble, probably an Athena, was discovered in the same place. Authorities are divided on the question of regarding this find as the monument mentioned by Pausanias, but we must incline to the opinion that these fragments are parts of a great composite statue, made and dedicated by Eubulides. — 54. δαίμον τῶν ἀμφι Διόνυσον "Ἀκρατος: Acatus, one of the attendant sprites of Dionysus, was the daemon of unmixed wine. To this daemon Dicaeopolis (Ar. Ach. 1239) gulped down the "Amystis," — "the deep, long, breathless draught." — 56. τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τέμενος: usually regarded as identical with the house of Pyltion, mentioned as dedicated to Dionysus. — οἰκήμα ἀγάλματα ἔχον ἐκ πηλοῦ κτλ.: Curtius (Ges. Abb. I, 40) recognizes
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39

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άλλους τε θεοὺς ἐστίν καὶ Διόνυσον. ἐναύθα καὶ Πήγαρσός ἐστιν Ἑλευθερεύς, ὁς Αθηναίοις τὸν θεὸν ἐσήμαγε· συνετέ-50 λαβέτο δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαυτέιον ἄναμοῆσαν τὴν ἐπὶ

'Ικαρίου ποτὲ ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ θεοῦ. τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἀμφί-60 κτῶν ἔσχεν οὖσας. Ἀκταίων λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἀττικῆ βασιλεύσαι πρῶτον· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀκταίων Κέκροφ ἐκδε-χεται τὴν ἄρχην θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν Ἀκταίων, καὶ οἱ γίνονται

θυγατέρες μὲν Ἀρση καὶ Ἀγλαυρος καὶ Πάνδροσος, νῦς δὲ

'Ερυσίθηων· οὗτος οὖν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς ζωντός τελευτήσαι συνεβη, καὶ τὴν ἄρχην τὴν Κέ-

κροπος Κραναίς ἐξεδέξατο, Ἀθηναίων δυνάμει προύχων. Κραναῖο δὲ θυγατέρας καὶ ἄλλας καὶ Ἀτθίδα γενέσθαι

70 λέγουσιν· ἀπὸ ταύτης οὐνομάζουσιν Ἀττικὴν τὴν χώραν, πρῶτον καλουμένην Ἀκταίων. Κραναῖο δὲ Ἀμφικτύων ἐπαναστάτας, θυγατέρα οἷος ἔχων αὐτοῦ, παύει τὴς ἄρχης· καὶ αὐτὸς ὡσεσαν ὑπὸ Ἐρυθοῦνον καὶ τῶν συνεπαναστάτων

in the group of Amphictyon a portrayal of the admission of Dionysus into the community of Attic deities. The wine-
god was introduced from Eleutherai into Athens by Pegasus the priest (Schol. Ar. Ach. 243). Amphictyon is said to have learned from Dionysus the art of mixing water with wine (Athen. 2, p. 38c).—60. ἐπὶ 'Ικαρίου: cf. 1, 33, 8, and note.

51. τὴν δὲ... Ἀμφικτύων ἕσχεν οὖ-

τος: with the rest of chapter cf. Apollodorus 3, 14. The only difference between the two accounts is that Apollodorus makes Cecrops, not Actaeus, the first king of Attica, who married Aglauros, daughter of Actaeus. According to Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ακτή, Attica was originally called 'Ακτή after Actaeus; so too Strabo, 9, p. 397, where the king is called Actaeon. —65. Ἐρση kal "Ἀγλαυρος καὶ Πάνδροσος" see 1, 18, 2, and note. "Ἀγλαυρος is in inscriptions the original and better attested form. See C.I.G. 7710, 7718; C.I.A. III, 372. "Ἀγαμελος is found in the text of Eur., Apollod., and Steph. Byz. See Preller-Robert 1, 200, note 2; Usener, Götternamen, 136. —66. Ἐρυσίθηων: see 1, 18, 5; 1, 31, 12. —69. καὶ ἄλλας καὶ Ἀτθίδα: according to Apollod. 3, 14, 5, the other daughters were Cranae and Cranaechme. After the third daughter Atthis, Cranaus named the land Attis or Attike. See Strabo, 9, 397: "Ἀττικήν μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ 'Ακταίωνος φασίν, 'Ατθίδα δὲ καὶ 'Αττικήν ἀπὸ Ἀτθίδος τῆς Κραναιής. —

71. Ἀμφικτύων... ὑπὸ Ἐρυθοῦνον... ἐκπίπτει: according to Isocr. Panathy. 126 the childless Cecrops surrendered to Erichthonius the kingdom of Attica. —73. συνεπαναστάτων: this
and ἀντεσείζεσαι (4, 7, 7) are the only instances in Pausanias of a verb composed with three prepositions. See Aug. Grosspietsch, Bresl. Philol. Abh. VII, 5, pp. 11, 39, 68.


1. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὁ Κεραμεικός: what Pausanias here styles Ceramicus was not the whole deme bearing that name but only the spot (χωρίον) Ceramicus, i.e. the Agora. The deme Ceramicus derived its name ἀπὸ τῆς κεραμικῆς τέχνης καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Κεράμου τινὶ ἤρωι (Harpocr. s.v. Κεραμεῖς; cf. Suidas and Photius s.v. Κεραμίς). It consisted of two parts: (a) the Outer Ceramicus extending from the Dipylum toward the Academy and including the state cemetery called Ceramicus κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν (see Ar. Aves, 395, Thuc. 6, 57, Plato Parm. 127 ν, etc.), and (b) the Inner Ceramicus, which probably extended from the Dipylum to the Acropolis and embraced the whole of the Agora (see S. Q. LXX, 42; Wachs. I, 152; II, 258). It is impossible to determine absolutely the limits of the deme, or to define precisely the use of the term at different periods. With this passage begins Pausanias’s itinerary of the market-place. See Excursus II. — 2. Κεράμου: the prevalence of Dionysiac worship led to the invention of an eponymous hero for the Ceramicus — Ceramus, son of Dionysus and Ariadne. — 3. στὸς βασιλείως: as Pausanias is entering the market-place from the northwest, the Royal Colonnade in all probability stood on the west side of the market-place at the foot of the Theseum hill. The building served as the office of the archon king, and at times as the meeting-place of the Council of the Areopagus (Dem. in Aristog., 776). Dr. Dörpfeld writes me under date of Jan. 19, 1908, that the excavations of the Greeks on the east slope of the Theseum hill have laid bare a building with an apse, possibly the Royal Colonnade. The building formerly identified by Dörpfeld (A.M. XXI, 102 ff.; XXII, 225 ff.) as the Royal Colonnade he now thinks did not belong to the market, but was the last building before the “Ceramicus” of Pausanias. Only thus can the new building be the “first to the right.” — 6. ἀγάλματα ὅπτης γῆς . . . Ῥήγεις . . . Σκιρωνα κτλ.: similar groups of terra cotta
THE ROYAL COLONNADE

have been found elsewhere, and they seem to have been the usual ornament for the apexes of gables. This suggests that the colonnade terminated in gables, and that the two groups, one of Theseus hurling Sciron into the sea, the other of Hemera with Cephalus, occupied the apexes. On the subject of the first group, see 1, 44, 8. The death of Sciron, the mythical robber, was depicted on vases, and is the subject of one of the metopes of the so-called Theseum at Athens. — 7. Ἦμερα Κέφαλον: the story of the fair youth Cephalus, ravished by the goddess of day (Hemera) or of the morning (Eos, Aurora) is frequently touched on in classical authors. Apollodorus (3, 14, 3) and Ovid (Met. 7, 700 ff.) give the story at length; Hesiod (Theog. 986 ff.) and Hyginus (Fab. 189) more briefly. The subject is frequently depicted on vases, representing the goddess pursuing her favorite or carrying him in her arms. The latter was probably the attitude portrayed on the roof of the colonnade, as well as in the relief on the Amymelaen throne (3, 11, 2). — 8. οἱ παῖδα γενόσθαι Φαέθοντα: the usual legend makes Helios the father of Phaethon; but Pausanias follows Hesiod (Theog. 986 ff.) in naming Cephalus as his father. The former version is followed by Eur. Frag. 775 (Poet. Scen. Gr., ed. Dindorf), Plato (Tim. 22c), Lucian (Dial. deor. 25), Ovid (Met. 1, 751 ff.), etc., and by Pausanias himself elsewhere (1, 4, 1; 2, 3, 2). In most of these authors the mother of Phaethon is not Hemera, but Clymene, a daughter of Oceanus. Phaethon, "the shining one," is usually interpreted as the morning star, or the sun itself. — 10. Ἡσίοδος . . . ἐν ἐπει τοῖς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας: this poem of Hesiod's, which is not extant, is referred to by Pausanias in 1, 43, 1; 3, 24, 10; 9, 31, 5. In the last passage Pausanias mentions a doubt as to the authenticity of the poem. It is not certain what is the relation of this poem to the Great Eoeae (2, 2, 3) or to the Catalogue of Women, works ascribed to Hesiod. See Christ, Gr. Litt. p. 101; Rh. Mus., N.F., XXXIX (1884), 501–505.

11. πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοάς Κόνων: Isocr. 9, 57 says that statues of Conon and Evagoras were set up beside the image of Zeus Soter. Pausanias' statement accords with this, for Zeus Soter is the same as Zeus Eleutherius. See Harpocr., Hesych., and Suid., s.v. Ἐλευθέριος Ζεὸς. These statues are also referred to in Dem. 20, 70; Aesch. 3, 243; Nepos, Timoth. 2; etc. Conon, Timotheus, and Evagoras are very properly grouped as being the three heroes of the melancholy struggle of Athens with Sparta at the close of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries. See Isocr. Evag. 35 ff.;
nidos Konwnos kai basileus Kypriwn Evagorás, ós kai
tás trépeis tás Fowis ñas épraże para basilewos 'Arta-
èrëou dothnai Kówni. épraže de ñis 'Athetaioun kai to
15 ánkeabhen ek Salamíou, ëti kai genealogíon ës prýgónous
ánèbain Teükrou kai Kýrou thegatéra. éntaðha ëstthke
Zeus ónomaçómenos 'Eleuthérios kai basileus 'Aðriános, ës
állous te òn ërçen eýergesia kai ës tìn pòlín plýmata
apodeixámenos tìn 'Athetaiwn. stoà dè ðìsous ñkodómmatì 3
20 grafa èxousa theous tòus dòdeka kaluménon. ëti de tò

Antidosis, 101, 139. It is probable that
the statues of Conon and Evagoras
were set up soon after the battle of
Cnidus (394 B.C.) and that of Timo-
theus was added soon after the peace
of Callias in 371. — 14. tò ánkeabhen:
cf. 2, 18, 7; 37, 3; 3, 2, 2; 26, 10;
4, 3, 4 and 6; 5, 25, 12. So Hdt. 1,
170; tì ánkeabhen, 6, 35; 7, 221; with-
out article, 5, 66, etc. ánkeabhen in re-
lations of time, as seen above, is used
regularly of ancestry or origin. Some-
times génos is added adverbially, e.g.
Hdt. 5, 56, génos èntes tì ánkeaben Gex-
wpain. — 16. éntaðha ëstthke Zeus ónoma-
çómenos 'Eleuthérios: we learn from Isocr.
9, 57, and Hesych. s.v. 'Eleuthérios Zeos
that this image was also called Zeus So-
ter. According to Harpocr. s.v. 'Eleu-
thérios Zeos, the orator Hyperides derived
the name from the inference that the
colonnade in the rear had been built by
freedmen, but Didymus gave the much
more satisfactory reason that both
statue and colonnade were founded to
commemorate the deliverance from the
Persians. — 17. basilewos 'Aðriános . . .
èrçen: Hadrian received countless
honors at the hands of the Athenians,
as we shall see later. He was wor-
shiped at Athens under the title of
Erethuerius (Liberator), and probably
this worship was performed at an altar
before this statue. The juxtaposition
of Hadrian Erethuerius and Zeus Ere-
therius is noteworthy, as they also
divided honors in the Olympieum and
elsewhere. In the theatre a seat was
reserved for the priest of Hadrian the
Liberator (C.I.A. III, 253).

19. stoà dè ðìsous ñkodómmatì:
though Pausanias does not here men-
tion its name, the colonnade was known
as the Stoa Erethuerius, or Colonnade
of Zeus of Freedom, from the image of
the god (see 10, 21, 6; Xen. Oeon. 7,
1; Plat. Eryx. 392 ò; id. Theages,
121 ò, etc.). Pausanias indicates that
the two colonnades, the Basilicius and
the Erethuerius, were adjacent, and
other writers speak of them as beside
each other, ðìsos ðìlìas. See Harpo-
cr. and Suid. s.v. basilewos stoà.
This is doubtless the colonnade referred
to, Ar. Eccl. 686, as being beside the
Royal Colonnade, and we should locate
it, therefore, west of the Agora and to
the south of the Royal Colonnade. —
20. grafa èxousa theous tòus dòdeka
caluménon: Pausanias later mentions
two other paintings in this colonnade — the Cavalry Battle and the Theseus — and adds: ταῦτα τὰς γραφὰς Εὔφρανος ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίοις (4). We infer from Pausanias’s account that the Twelve Gods and the Theseus adorned the side walls, the Cavalry Battle the long back wall, of the colonnade. Pliny, N. H. 35, 129, mentions together these three works of Euphranor. These paintings were justly celebrated. Plutarch (De glor. Ath. 2) says that the Cavalry Battle was painted with much energy and fire; Lucian (Imag. 7) admired Hera’s hair, and Valerius Maximus (8, 11) preferred the Poseidon to the Zeus, in the painting of the Twelve Gods. Euphranor was at his acme about 360 B.C. He attained great reputation as painter, sculptor, and writer on art (see Pliny, N. H. 34, 50; 35, 128 ff., etc.). — 21. θεός ... καὶ Δημοκρατία τε καὶ Δῆμος: as to representations in art of the Demus, “the John Bull of Athens” (Frere), see note on 1, 1, 3. Pliny (25, 69 and 137) mentions personifications of the Demus in paintings by Parrhasius and by Aristotelaus. An Athene Demokratia is cited C. I. A. III, 165; and according to C. I. A. II, 470, l. 62, there was a statue of Demokratia at Athens, at which public decrees were sometimes exposed. — 31. ἐτεταρτην οἱ Θησεύδαι γενάν διέμεναν ἄρχοντες: Theseus is represented as the founder of democracy also by Isocr. 12, 129, Ps.-Dem. 59, 75, Plut. Thes. 25, etc. Aristotle (Resp. Ath. 41), on the contrary, states that the monarchical form of government under Theseus declined but little (μετὲρχεθανα τῇ βασιλείῃ). In fact, the political synoikismos was the only practical result of Theseus’s reforms (Thuc. 2, 15). Theseus was supplanted by Menestheus, but after the latter was slain at Troy the sons of Theseus regained the kingdom of Athens (1, 17, 5; Plut. Thes. 31–35) and held it for three generations, Theseus’ son Demophon, his grandson Oxyntes, and his great-grandson Thymoetes, being successively kings. See Plut. Thes. 28, Diod. 4, 62, Paus. 2, 18,
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Ch. 3,

4. αρχοντες. ει δε μοι γενεαλογειν ηρεσκε, και τους απο Μελανθου βασιλευσαντας και Κλειδικου τον Αισιμιδου και τουτον αν απηριθμησαμην.

35 'Ενταθα εστι γεγραμμενον και το περι Μαντινειαν 'Αθηναιων οι βοσρησοντες Λακεδαιμονιος επεμφθεσαν.

συνεγραφαν δε άλλου τε και ξενοφών τον πάντα πόλεμον, κατάληψιν τε της Καδμειας και το πταίσμα Λακεδαιμονίων το έν Δεύκτροις και ως έσς Πελοπόννησου εσέβαλον Βοιωτοι

40 και την συμμαχιαν Λακεδαιμονίων την παρ' 'Αθηναιων ελθοις.

αν. εν δε τη γραφη των ιππων εστι μαχη, εν τη γνωριμωτοι Γρυλος τε και ξενοφωντος εν τοις 'Αθηναιοις και κατα την ιππον την Βοιωτιαν 'Επαμεινώνδας ο Θηβαιος. ταυτας τας γραφας ευφρανωρ εγραφεν 'Αθηναιοις και πλησιον

19, etc.—32. τοις απο Μελανθου βασιλευσαντας ις Κλειδικου: Pausanias qualifies this statement in 4, 5, 10, by remarking that "at first the people only stripped the descendants of Melanthus, the Medontids, as they were called, of most of their power, and transformed them from kings into responsible magistrates; but afterwards they also fixed on ten years as the term of their magistracy." The Theseid was followed by a new foreign dynasty, inaugurated by Melanthus, a Messenian king, who was forced to retire from Messenia after the Dorian migration, according to tradition, and, coming to Attica, displaced Thymoetes, the last of the Theseids (see 2, 18, 9; Hdt. 5, 65, etc.).

41. εν δε τη γραφη ... Γρυλος ...

'Επαμεινώνδας ο Θηβαιος: Pausanias's account of the painting is inconsistent with the statements of others in regard to the battle of Mantinea, and either he or the painter is at fault. Diodorus (15, 87) states that Epaminondas received his death-wound while fighting among the infantry, whereas Gryulus was a member of the cavalry (Diog. Laert. 2, 6, 54), and Pausanias describes a cavalry engagement. Then there is much dispute as to the slayer of Epaminondas. Pausanias (8, 11, 5) says the Mantineans maintain that he was slain by Machaerion, a Mantinean, the Spartans by Machaerion, a Spartan; but Plutarch (Ages. 35) asserts it was a Laconian, Anticrates, who struck the blow. Pausanias (8, 11, 6), however, argues for the Athenian tradition and says that the Mantineans gave Gryulus a public burial and set up a monument to him on the spot, while the name of Machaerion has never received any special marks of honor from either Spartans or Mantineans. —44. πλησιον εστοιχευν εν τω ναι των 'Απόλλωνα Πατριωτων: the site of the temple of Apollo was doubtless on the west side of the market-place just to the south of the Stoa Eleutherius. The βωμω τω
Ch. 3, 5
45 ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἄπολλωνα Πατρῶν ἐπίκλησιν. πρὸ
de τοῦ νεῶ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον
Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν
ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοπονησίων πο-
λέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἑπανεῖν ἐκ Δελφῶν.
50 Ἡμικόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν ιερὸν, ἡν Φειδίας 5

Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῇ Ἀγορᾷ (P.—Plut. vit. x
Or. p. 843 u) stood presumably before
this temple. Apollo was probably
styled Paternal (Πατρῶος) as being the
mythical father of Ion, the founder of
the Ionian race. Apollo Patroös was
identical with the Pythian Apollo
(Dem. 18, 141, p. 274 ; Aristid. Or. 13,
vol. I, 181, ed. Dindorf). His priest is
mentioned in inscriptions (C.I.A. III,
687, 720 a, p. 501) and had a seat re-
served in the Dionysiac theatre (C.I.A.
III, 279). Nothing definite is known
as to the type of Euphranor's Apollo
statue. — 46. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῶ τὸν μὲν Δεω-
χάρης. Winter (A. Jb. VII, 104), and
other archaeologists, derive the Apollo
Belvedere from this image made by
Leochares. Yet there are in all three
Apollo statues of Leochares known,
so that any relation of the Belvedere
to this Apollo image, about which we
know absolutely nothing, is entirely
uncertain. See Overbeck, Kunstmyth.
IV, 97. — 46. δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκα-
κον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε: Ἀλεξίκακος =
Ἀκτέρων (6, 24, 6) = 'Επικοδής, 8, 41, 7.
Couze (Beitr. z. Gesch. d. gr. Plastik,
19) has conjectured that the so-called
"Apollo on the Omphalos," found in
the theatre of Dionysus, is a copy of
this statue of Apollo made by Calamis.
This conjecture has led to much discus-
sion. The statue (to which, however,
the Omphalos has been shown not to
belong) seems to date from the fifth
century, and to be a copy of a famous
statue, as several other copies are ex-
tant and the type is preserved on coins.
But there is no proof that it is even an
Apollo; Waldstein thinks it is a pugil-
list. For the bibliography of this ques-
tion, see Frazer, II, 66. Pausanias'
associating this statue with the great
plague of 430-429 is hardly possible, as
it conflicts with the recognized date of
Calamis (500-460 B.C.).
50. Ἡμικόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν
ιερὸν, ἡν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο: the san-
cuary of Rhea, the Mother of the Gods,
was usually called Metroum (see Pol-
lux, 3, 11; Bekk. Anec. I, 280, 6).
Pausanias now proceeds to describe
three buildings which he speaks of as
near each other, the Metroum, the
Buleuterium or Council House, and
the Tholus or Rotunda. Hence the
site of one, if determined, fixes that
of the three. The Metroum appears
to have stood to the south of the
market about the northwest foot of
the slope of the Areopagus. For Pau-
sanias later speaks of the statues of
the Eponymi as being higher up
(ἀνωτέρω); and Arrian (3, 16, 8), men-
tioning the statues of the Tyranni-
cides, says they were in the Ceramicus
on the regular road up to the
Acropolis, just opposite the Metroum.
Dürpfeld's excavations show that the
regular road from the Agora to the Acropolis wound round the west shoulder of the Areopagus, proceeded southeast between the Areopagus and the Pnyx, and then ascended the western slope of the Acropolis, thus avoiding the steep ascent to the east of the Areopagus. See A.M. XVI (1891), 444 ff.; XVII (1892), 90 ff.; Harrison, Ancient Athens, pp. 38 ff. There is no indication that the Metron was ever a temple. Pausanias calls it a sanctuary (tepos), Pliny a shrine (de lustrum, 38, 17). It was apparently a sacred precinct with an open-air altar, as Aeschines (see Timarch. 84) describes a runaway slave as coming into the Agora and seating himself on the altar of the Mother of the Gods. The Metron was later the repository of the public archives (Din. 1, 86; Lyc. c. Lecr. 66). — 51. θησεν των πεντακοσίων καλομέων βουλευτήριον: the Buleuterion or Council House of the Five Hundred seems to have been built within the precincts of the Metron (see Aeschin. 3, 187; Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 842 e). It probably contained images of both Zeus Buleaus and Athena Bulea (see Antiphon, 6, 45). We read of the sacred hearth of the Council House (Aeschin. 2, 45; Andoc. 1, 42, etc.), of the platform for the speaker (Antiphon, 6, 40), of the benches for the presidents (Lys. 13, 37), and of the railing barring off the public from the members (Ar. Eq. 640 ff.; Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 5). Here too were set up various public documents engraved on stone or metal, as e.g. the laws of Solon (see Harp. and Suid. s.v. ο κάτωθεν νόμος) and the list of the ephebi (Arist. Resp. Ath. 53). — 53. ἔθανον: derived from ἔθω, "to scrape, smooth, polish," may be applied to an image made of either wood, stone, or ivory (see Hesych. s.v. ἔθαι; Etymol. Magn. s.v. ἔθαιν, p. 611, l. 12 ff.). Strabo applies the word to the gold-and-ivory Zeus at Olympia (8, p. 353), to the gold-and-ivory Hera of Polyclitus (8, p. 372), to the marble statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus (9, p. 390), etc. Lucian uses the term of images in bronze and silver (Alex. 18; id. de dea Syria, 39). The term is, however, more properly restricted to images of wood (see Clem. Alex. Protrep. 4, 46, p. 40, ed. Potter, and Servius on Verg. Aen. 2, 225; 4, 56); and Pausanias appears to use it always in this restricted sense, and confines it to the wooden image of a deity. — Ἀπόλλων τέχνη Πειρηνός: nothing further is known of Pisias. — 54. Δήμος ἔργον Λύσων: see Pliny (34, 91) who speaks of Lyson as one of the sculptors who made statues of athletes, armed men, hunters, and persons sacrificing. — τοὺς δὲ θεσμόθετας ἱερας Πρωτογενής Καύνος: on the Thesmophorai, see Arist. Resp. Ath. 3 and 59–61. They were the six archons ranking below
the archon chief, the king, and the polemarch. Wachsmuth, II, 326, thinks that the allusion is to portraits of illustrious individual Thesmothetae. Protopgenes, a contemporary of Apelles, was one of the most celebrated artists of antiquity; he took enormous pains with his work and was remarkable for technical skill rather than for great expression. Cf. Pliny, 35, 81–83; 87; 101–106; Overbeck, S. Q. 1907–1936; Brunn, Gesch. d. Gr. Künstler, II, 233–243. — 55. Ὀλβιάδης διὶ Κάλλιπτον: on Callippus cf. 1, 4, 2; 10, 20, 5. The date of the irrigation of the Gauls into Greece (10, 23, 14) was 279 B.C. Of Olbiades nothing further is known.

4. Digression: — The Gauls — Their irrigation into Greece and retreat into Asia — The Pergamenes.

2. ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ πολλῇ... Ἡρωδών: the great sea meant is the Atlantic Ocean in the neighborhood of the Arctic Circle (cf. 33, 4; 35, 5). Pausanias seems to have regarded the Eridanus (cf. 5, 14, 3 and 5, 12, 7) as an actual river that flowed into the northern ocean, but Herodotus (3, 15) regards the river as fabulous. The Rhone and the Po were the two rivers from time to time identified with the Eridanus (see Pliny, 37, 32), but amber is not found at the mouth of either river. On the legend of the daughters of Helios bewailing the fate of their brother Phaethon beside the river Eridanus, cf. Eur. Hipp. 735 ff.; Apoll. Rhod. 4, 596 ff.; Ovid, Met. 2, 340 ff., etc. — 7. Γαλάται... Κέλτοι: the people we know as Celts were known to the ancients under three names, viz. Celts (Κέλτοι, Celtae), Galatians (Γαλάται), and Gauls (Galli). Cf. Procop. de aedif. 4, 5, ἐν Κέλτοις — οἱ τάνιν Γάλλου καλώνται, Apian, Hann. 4, ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ τῆς νῦν λεγομένῃ Γαλατίᾳ. Also Caesar (de B. G. 1, 1), qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur.— ἐξενικήσεως: in impersonal sense; already so used in Thuc. 1, 3, 2; frequent in Pausanias, e.g. 2, 29, 3; 3, 20, 6; 4, 6, 1; 34, 5; 6, 22, 10; 7, 17; 22, 4; 8, 5, 7; 23, 3; 47, 1; 9, 34, 10; 10, 1, 1. — 9. οὐρανία τρέπεται τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίων κτῆ.: Pausanias (10, 19–23) narrates at
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10 τό τε Ἰλλυρίων ἐθνὸς καὶ πᾶν ὄσον ἄχρι Μακεδόνων ζύγει καὶ Μακεδόνας αὐτοὺς ἀναστάτους ἔποιησε Θεσσαλίαν τε ἐπέδραμε. καὶ ὅς ἐγγὺς Θερμοπυλῶν ἐγίνοντο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἔλληνων ἐς τὴν ἔφοδον ἡσύχασον τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀπεί υπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλως καὶ Φιλίππου κακοθέντες πρῶτον. καθείλε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κάσσανδρος ὅστε τὸ Ἐλληνικόν, ὥστε ἔκαστοι δὲ ἀσθενείς οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἐνόμιζον ἀπείναι τὸ κατὰ σφάς τῆς βοσθείας. 'Αθηναίοι δὲ μάλιστα μὲν τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἀπειρήκασαν μὴκει 2 τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ πολέμου καὶ προσπαθεῖτε τὰ πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἐξείναι δὲ ὁμοῦ ὀρμήντο ἐς τὰς Θερμοπύλας σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσι τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ἐλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Κάλλισσαν τοῦτον ἡγεῖται. καταλαβόντες δὲ θετωσάματο Ἰων, τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἔργον τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνευρότες δὲ οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν ἀτραπόν Ἰων καὶ Μῆδους ποτὲ Ἐφιάλης ἡγήσατο τὸ Τραχύνοις καὶ βιασάμενοι Ἀχιλῶν τοὺς τεταγμένους ἐπ' αὐτῇ λαυθάνοντο τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ὑπερβαλόντες τὴν Οἰλην. ἔνθα δὲ πλείστον παρέσχοντο αὐτοῖς 'Αθηναίοι τοὺς Ἐλλήσιν ἄξιοις, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁς ἐκκυλώθησαν greater length the irruption of the Gauls into Greece. The fact that he gives two detailed accounts of the same events is an argument that portions of the work were published separately. Cf. 7, 20, 6, and Introduction, p. 3. — 13. ἡσύχασον: frequently used as the antonym of πολεμεῖν. Cf. 1, 13, 1 and 6, 25, 3; 2, 16, 5; 3, 9, 2; 7, 6; 4, 11, 8. Here Pausanias states as the ground of the hesititation of most of the Greeks the exhaustion caused by their wars with the Macedonians; to the contrary, he says in 4, 28, 3, that the Messeniains, and in 8, 6, 3, that the Arcadians, held back through fear of an incursion by the Lacedaemonians; and in 7, 6, 7, it is said of the Peloponnesians in general that they did not take part in the expedition to Thermopylae, because they imagined they could keep off the Galatians by building a wall across the Isthmus. — 14. μεγάλως: a noteworthy instance of hyperbatôn. Pausanias fancied that he attained a certain elegance of expression by unusual word-order. Cf. § 3 ναῦσιν ὑπὸ τὸ ὅπλων βαρείας καὶ ἀνδρῶν, § 4 τὰ πολέματα ἐλεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῇ λοιπῇ παγκόσμῳ, 3, 9, ὥμεν γι' τὸν Σέρβου καὶ πρῶτον ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Σκύθας Δαρείου καὶ ἐπὶ 'Αθηνας στρατον.
αμυνόμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ σφικτὶ ἐπὶ τῶν νεὼν

30 μάλιστα ἔταλακαίρου ἅτε τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Δαμακοῦ τέλη

ματος πρὸς ταῖς θερμοτύπλαις ὄντος· αἰτιον δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν
tὸ υδρω ταύτη τὸ θερμὸν ἐκρέων ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. μείζονα

οὖν εἰχον οὔτοι πόνων· ἀναλαβόντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ καταστρώματα τοὺς Ἐλληνας ναυσίν ὑπὸ τε ὀπλῶν βαρεῖας καὶ

35 ἀνδρῶν ἐβιαζόντο κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ πλεῖν. οὔτοι μὲν δὴ τοὺς Ἐλληνας τρόπων τὸν εἰρημένον ἐσωζον, οἱ δὲ Γαλάται

Πυλῶν τε ἐντὸς ἦσαν καὶ τὰ πολύματα ἐλείν ἐν οἴδενὶ τὰ

λοιπὰ ποιησάμενοι Δελφοὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ θεοῦ διαρ-

πάσαι μάλιστα εἰχον σπουδήν. καὶ σφικτὶ αὐτοῖ τε Δελφοῖ

40 καὶ Φωκέων ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ τὰς πόλεις περὶ τοῦ Παρνασ-

σοῦ οἰκούντες, ἀφικέτο δὲ καὶ δύσμας Λιτωλῶν· τὸ γὰρ

Αιτωλικὸν προείχεν ἀκμῆς νεότητος τοῦ χρόνου τούτου. ὡς
dὲ ἐς χεῖρας συνήσαν, ἑρταῦθα κεραυνοὶ τε ἐφέροντο ἐς
toὺς Γαλάτας καὶ ἀπορραγεῖσαι πέτραι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ,

45 δείματε τε ἄνδρες ἐφίσταντο ὅπλαί τοῖς βαρβάροις· τοῦ-
toῦ τοὺς μὲν ἐς 'Σπεριβόρεων λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν, 'Ὑπεροχον

καὶ Ἀμάδοκου, τοῦ δὲ τρίτου Πύρρον εἶναι τὸν Ἀχιλλέως·

ἐναγύζοντι δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Δελφοῦ τὴς συμμαχίας Πύρρῳ,

πρῶτον ἔχοντες ἃτε ἄνδρος πολεμίου καὶ τὸ μυῆμα ἐν

50 ἀτμίμα. Γαλατῶν δὲ ὁ πολλοὶ ναυσίν ἐς τὴν 'Ασίαν διαβαίν—
tes τὰ παραθαλάσσια αὐτῆς ἐλεγάτων. χρόνω δὲ νοστέρον

οἱ Πέργαμον ἔχουν, πάλαι δὲ Τευθρανίαν καλουμένην, ... ἐς
taύτην Γαλάτας ἐλαύνοντον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. οὔτοι μὲν δὴ

52. Πέργαμον ... πάλαι δὲ Τευθρα-

nίαν καλομένην: cf. 1, 11, 2, Πέργαμος
dὲ διαβὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀρεων δυναστεύ-

οντα ἐν τῇ Τευθρανίᾳ κτείνει μοιομαχεῖ-

σαντά εἰ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τῇ πολεί τὸ

δύναμ εδώκει τὸ τῶν ἀν' αὐτοῦ. Pausanias

apparently regarded Pergamus and Teuthrania as the same town, but we

know from other sources that Teuthrania was entirely distinct. See Xen.

Hellen. 3, 1, 6; Strabo, 12, p. 571; 13, p.

615; and Conze, "Teuthrania," A.M. XII (1887), 149–160. — ἐς ταύτην Γα-

λάτας ἐλαύνουσαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης: cf. 1, 8, 1; 1, 25, 2. Attalus, prince of Πε-

γαμος, defeated the Gauls in a great
battle at the springs of the Caicus river, and after the victory assumed the title of king, reigning as Attalus I, King of Pergamus. The exact date of the victory is uncertain. Niebuhr gives it as 230–229 B.C.; Droysen, between 238 and 235; Koepp, Rh. Mus., N.F., XL (1885), 114 ff., in 240. — 57. χρήσι Μίδου καλουμένη: cf. Xen. Anab. 1, 2, 13, who locates the fountain of Midas at Thymbrion by the wayside; the Macedonians, according to Hdt. 3, 38, affirm that Silenus was caught in Macedonia in the gardens of Midas; Bion (Athen. 2, p. 45 c) places it at Inna, between Paeonia and the land of the Maedi.

5. Τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον Θόλος ἐστὶ 1 καλουμένη, καὶ θύσοι τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ πρυτάνεις καὶ τῶι καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν ὅθεν ἐξέβη τοῦ λόγου.
THE TEN TRIBES

fire was kept burning on the hearth and where the presiding officers of the Council of Five Hundred dined together daily at the public expense, and offered sacrifices and libations (Arist. Resp. Ath. 43; Dem. 19, 190). Another name for the building, Skias or "umbrella," is the official designation in inscriptions (C.I.A. III, 1048; 1051,1.22). The chairman (epistates) of the prytanes, who kept the keys of the sanctuaries containing public treasures and records, was compelled to remain in the Tholus during his twenty-four hours of office, along with colleagues, chosen by himself (Arist. Rep. Ath. 44). Socrates here received a commission from the Thirty Tyrants to go to Salamis and arrest one Leon (Plat. Apol. 32c, 1); here the standard weights and measures were kept (C.I.A. II, 476, 1.37 ff.). Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, 315-320. — 3. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἥρων: the site of this group of statues was doubtless on the slope of the Areopagus above (ἀνωτέρω) and not far away from the Buleuterium and Tholus. Aristotle (Resp. Ath. 53) says that the bronze tablet with the list of ephebi was set up "in front of the Council House beside the statues of the eponymous heroes"; here was posted the list of men drawn for military service (Ar. Pac. 1183). Copies of proposed laws were here posted for public inspection (Dem. 20, 94; 24, 23). So too the names of men who deserved well of the state (Isoc. 18, 61; C.I.A. II, 550), and likewise the names of traitors (Isoc. 5, 38). It was a high distinction to have one's statue erected near the Eponymi (Lucian, Anach. 17). Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, 387-390. — 5. ὅτις δὲ κατατήρησε δὲκα ἀντὶ τεσσάρων φυλὰς κτλ.: cf. Hdt. 5, 66, 69. In 1, 29, 6 Pausanias names Cleisthenes as the founder of the new tribal division. There were originally four Attic tribes called Geleontes, Ilpoeides, Aigicoreis, and Argadeis. Cleisthenes abolished these and redivided the population into ten tribes. The date (Arist. Resp. Ath. 21) was in the archonship of Isagoras, 508-507 B.C. The ten new tribes, in their official order, were named as follows: Erechtheis, Aegis, Pandionis, Leonis, Acamantis, Oeineis, Cerepis, Hipppothontis, Aiantis and Antiochis. Cf. Mommsen, Philologus, XLVII (1889), 449-486; W. S. Ferguson, Cornell Studies, VII (1898).
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12. Δεός κτλ.: the legend is to the effect that once when Athens was afflicted with famine and the Delphic oracle declared a human sacrifice the only remedy, Leos, son of Orpheus, voluntarily surrendered for sacrifice his three daughters, Eubule, Praxithea, and Theope; according to another version the maids of their own free will offered themselves as victims. The sacrifice was effectual, the famine left the land, and the Athenians ever after worshiped the heroic maids of a shrine in the Agora, called the Leocorium. This became one of the famous places of Athens (Strabo, 9, p. 396); beside it fell Hipparchus when assassinated (Thuc. 1, 20; 6, 57). It is frequently mentioned by ancient writers (Milchh. S.Q. s.v.). Hence it is strange that Pausanias nowhere alludes to it. See Curtius, Ges. Abh. I, 465.

10. πρότερος . . . ἤρξε Κέκροφ . . . καὶ ἄστερος: Cleisthenes, in naming one of his tribes after Cecrops, doubtless had in mind the first Cecrops, reputed to be earth-born, half man and half serpent (Ps.-Dem. 9, 30), not his double, Cecrops II, said to be eldest son and successor of Erichtheus (Paus. 7, 1, 2), who was “a mere genealogical stop-gap” (Frazer).—21. Πανδιόν ἐθα-σιλευσέν κτλ.: cf. Apoll. 3, 14, 6–8; 15, 5. Pandion I was the son of Erichtho-nius, whom he succeeded, and a Naiad, Praxithea; he married Zeuxippe and was father of Procris and Philomela, and of Erichtheus and Butes. Pandion II was the son of Cecrops II and Metiades; he succeeded his father, was
Ch. 5, 4. καλομένων τοις Μεγαρών, ὁ Δαίμων ἐθρεφεν ὃν τοις Αθηναίων. 30 Αἰγέως προσβύτατος ἦς ἔσχε. θυγατέρας δὲ οὐ σὺν ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι ἐθρεφεν ὧς Πανδίων, οὐδὲ οἱ τιμωροὶ παιδεῖ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐλεύθεραν· καὶ τοις δυνάμεως γε ἑνεκα πρὸς τὸν Θαρκά τὸ κόσος ἐπονήσατο. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς τόπος ἐστίν ἀνθρώπων παραβήναι τὸ καθήκον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. λέγουσιν οὐ Τηρεῦς συνοικισμός·

κόν Πρόκηρ Φιλομήλην ὄσχυνεν, οὐ κατὰ νόμον δρᾶσας τὸν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ λοβησάμενος τῇ παιδῇ ἡγαγεν ἐς ἀνάγκην δίκης τὰς γυναίκας. Πανδίων δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνδριάς ἐστίν ἐν ἀκροτόλει θέας ἄξιος.

Οὐδὲ μὲν εἰσὶν 'Αθηναίοις ἐπώνυμοι τῶν ἀρχαίων. ὃστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων φυλὰς ἔχουσιν, Ἀττάλου τοῦ Μυσοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἡ Βασιλείῳ 'Αδριανοῦ τῆς τοῦ ἔθους τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλείστων ἐλθότος καὶ τῶν ἁρχομένων ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ μέγιστα ἐκάστους παρασχομένου. καὶ ἔς μὲν πόλεμον οὐδένα ἐκούσιος κατέστη,

40 Ἐβραίοις δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Σύρων ἐχειρώσατο ἀποστάντας.

expelled, and took refuge in Megara. Ps.-Dem. (9, 28) regarded Pandion I as the eponymous hero.

34. Τηρεὺς συνοικισμὸν Πρόκηρ Φιλομήλην ἄχοινεν: see 1, 41, 8 ff.; 10, 4, 8. The myth of Tereus transformed into a hoopoe, and of Procris and Philomela, who became a nightingale and a swallow, is familiar from the Birds of Aristophanes. Cf. Apoll. 3, 14, 8; Eustath. on Od. τ., 518, p. 1875. According to later writers, however, it was Procris who became a swallow, and Philomela a nightingale, whereas Tereus was transformed into a hawk. So Verg. Georg. 4, 15, 511; Ov. Met. 6, 424-475; Hyg. Fab. 45.

40. φυλάς... Ἀττάλου κτλ.: Pausanias fails to mention two new tribes, established in 307-306 B.C., in honor of Demetrius and Antigonus (Plut. Dem. 10) — the Demetrius and the Antigonus. They were later abolished, probably in 201 B.C. (Ferguson, The Priests of Asklepions, p. 143). It is generally accepted that the tribe Ptolemais was named after Ptolemy Philadelphus between 285 and 247 B.C., the limits of his reign; but Beloch (Plechh. Jrb. XXX, 481 ff.) argues that the Ptolemais was instituted after 229 B.C. in honor of Ptolemy Euergetes. The tribe Attalais was created in 200 B.C., when Attalus I visited Athens (Polyb. 16, 25; Paus. 1, 8, 1, etc.). The tribe Hadrianis is mentioned frequently in
ὅπωσα δὲ θεῶν ἱερὰ τὰ μὲν φικοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς; τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπεκόσμησεν ἀναθήματι καὶ κατασκευαῖς, καὶ δωρεαὶ ἀσ πόλεων ἔδωκεν Ἑλληνίσι, τὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς δεθεῖσων, ἐστιν οἱ πάντα γεγραμμένα Ἀθήνης ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν θεῶν ἱερῷ.

6 Τὰ δὲ ἐσ Ἀτταλοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου ἠλικίᾳ τε ἢν ἀρχαιότερα, ὡς μὴ μένευν ἔτι τὴν φύμην αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖ μενοί τοὺς βασιλεύσαντος ἐπὶ συγγραφῇ τῶν ἐργῶν καὶ πρότερον ἐτι ἡμελήθησαν· τούτων ἔνεκά μοι καὶ τὰ τόνδε ἐπῆλθε δηλώσαι ἡγαζόμενος τε ὡς ὕπαταν καὶ ὡς ὦ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν περιεχώρησεν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἡ Μυσῶν καὶ τῶν προσοικῶν ἀρχῆ.

Πτολεμαίου Μακεδόνες Φιλίππου παιδὰ εἶναι τοῦ Ἀμύνου του, λόγῳ δὲ Δάγου νομίζουσι. τῆν γὰρ οἱ μητέρα ἔχουσαν ἐν γαστρὶ δοθῶσα γυναικὰ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου Δάγῳ. Πτολεμαίου δὲ λέγουσιν ἄλλα τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ λαμπρὰ ἀποδείχασθαι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρῳ κυνδύνων ξυμβάντος ἐν Ὀξυδράκας μᾶλιστά οἱ τῶν ἑταῖρων ἀμύναι. τελευτῆσαντος δὲ Ἀλέξανδρου τοὺς ἐς inscriptions (C.I.A. III, 81–83, 1113, 1114, 1120, 1121).

6. Pausanias interrupts his itinerary to recount at considerable length (6, 1—7, 3) the history of the first two Ptolemies; 8, 1 is similarly devoted to Attalus; then, after the itinerary is resumed (8, 2–6), the mention of the statue of Ptolemaeus Philometor occasions a brief digression on his history (9, 1–3).

4. μοι . . . ἐπήλθε δηλώσαι: "it occurred to me"—a favorite phrase of Pausanias. Cf. 1, 12, 2; 29, 10; 2, 16, 3; 5, 4, 6; 7, 10, 6; 26, 3; 8, 17, 4.

9. ἔχουσαν ἐν γαστρὶ: used by Pausanias more frequently than κόσμος; e.g. 2, 22, 6; 26, 4; 28, 5; 3, 3, 9; 4, 9, 8; 33, 3; 8, 24, 2; 36, 2; 53, 1. —12. Ἀλ-
19. τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν: after having been brought with much pomp from Babylon to Memphis, the remains of Alexander were finally brought to Alexandria and laid in a magnificent tomb, where funeral games were celebrated in his honor and he was afterwards worshiped as a hero. Paus. 1, 7, 1, says this was under Ptolemy Philadelphus, but Diod. 18, 28, and Strabo, 17, p. 794, date it under Lagus. Here, up to the Christian era, the body was reposed in a crystal coffin which replaced the golden one that had been stolen. Nothing is known of its final disappearance.

35. φυγὴν λέγων... εἶναι: the same construction in 1, 32, 6.
καὶ τὸν κύδνυον οὐ παντάπασιν ἔθαρρει. ἔπει δὲ ἐς Διμήνυν ἐπίθετο στρατεύειν Πτολεμαίοιν ἄφεστηκότων Κυρηναίων,
40 αὐτικὰ Σύροις καὶ Φωικαῖς ἐλευ ἐς ἐπιδρομῆς, παραδοὺς δὲ Δημήτριῳ τῷ παιδί, ἦλικιάν μὲν νέω φρονεῖν δὲ ἥδη
dοκοῦντι, καταβαίνει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. πρὶν δὲ ἡ δια-
βήναι πάλιν ἤγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν, Δημήτριον ἄκουον
ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίον μάχῃ κεκρατήσθαι. Δημήτριος δὲ οὔτε
45 παντάπασιν ἔξωστηκε Πτολεμαίῳ τῆς χώρας καὶ τινὰς τῶν
Αἰγυπτίων λοχῆσας διέθεθεν οὐ πολλοὺς. τότε δὲ ἦκοντα
'Ἀντίγονον οὐχ ὑπομείνας Πτολεμαίοις ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς Αἰγυ-
πτον. διελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμώνος Δημήτριος πλεύσας ἐς
Κύπρον Μενελαον σταράπην Πτολεμαίον ναυμαχία καὶ αὖθις
50 αὐτὸν Πτολεμαίοι ἐπιδιαβάντα ἐνίκησε. φυγόντα δὲ αὐτοῦ
ἐς Αἰγυπτον. 'Ἀντίγονος τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ ναυσίν ἀμα ἐποιλιο-
ρκεὶ καὶ Δημήτριος. Πτολεμαίοις δὲ ἐς τὰν ἀφικόμενος κυ-
δύνου διέσωσεν ὃμως τὴν ἁρχήν στρατιά τε ἀντικαθήμενος
ἐπὶ Πηλουσίῳ καὶ τριήρεσιν ἀμνώμενος ἀμα ἐκ τοῦ ποτα-
μοῦ. 'Ἀντίγονος δὲ Αἰγυπτον μὲν αἱρήσειν ἐκ τῶν παρότων
οὐδεμίαν ἔτι εἰχεν ἐλπίδα, Δημήτριον δὲ ἐπὶ Ὁρδίους στρα-
τιὰ πολλὴ καὶ ναυσίν ἐστείλεν, ὡς εἰ οἱ προσγένοιτο ἡ νήσος
ὁρμητρῶν χρήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐλπίζων. ἀλλὰ
αὐτόι τε οἱ Ὁρδίου τομήματα καὶ ἐπιτεχνήσεις παρέσχοντο

40. παραδοὺς δὲ Δημήτριῳ τῷ παιδί: cf. Diod. 19, 80–81, Plut. Dem. 5, etc., and Droysen, Gesch. d. Hell. II, 2, 40 ff. Demetrius was at this time twenty-two years old. He gave battle to Ptolemy at Gaza and was defeated in 312 B.C.

48. Δημήτριος πλεύσας ἐς Κύπρον κτλ.: not however in 311, after an interval of a year, but in 306 did Demetrius sail to Cyprus, and not at sea but in a land battle was this signal victory. Thus Pausanias makes two mistakes.

Cf. Diod. 20, 47–53; Plut. Dem. 15–17, etc., and Droysen, II, 2, 125–137. — 51. 'Ἀντίγονος . . . ἐποιλιορκεῖ καὶ Δημήτριος κτλ.: this successful expedition against Egypt occurred in 306 B.C. and the memorable siege of Rhodes 305–304 B.C. The Rhodians gave Ptolemy the title Soter in recognition of the assistance he gave them at this time. Cf. Diod. 20, 73–96; Plut. Dem. 19–24; Droysen, II, 2, 146–174.
60 ἐς τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας καὶ Πτολεμαίος σφισιν ἐς ὅσον δυνάμεως ἦκε συνήρατο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀντίγονος δὲ Ρόδου τε ἀμαρτὼν καὶ Αἰγύπτου πρότερον, οὐ πολλῷ τοῖσιν ὠστερον ἀντιτάξασθαι Δυσμάχῳ τολμήσας καὶ Κασσάνδρῳ τε καὶ τῇ Σελεύκου στρατιᾷ, τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπώλεσε τὸ πολὺ καὶ 65 αὐτὸς ἀπέθανε ταλαιπωρήσας μάλιστα τῷ μὴ κεῖ τοῦ πρὸς Εὐμένης πολέμου. τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν καθελόντων Ἀντίγονον ἀνοσώτατον κρίνω γενέσθαι Κάσσανδρον, ὥσ τι Ἀντιγόνου τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ἀνασωσάμενον πολεμήσων ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἀνδρα εὐεργετήν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου 8
70 Πτολεμαῖος Σύρους τε αὖθις καὶ Κύπρου εἶλε, κατήγαγε δὲ καὶ Πύρρον ἐς τὴν Θεσπρωτία ἦπερον. Κυρήνης δὲ ἀποστάσις Μάγας Βερενίκης νῦν Πτολεμαῖος τότε συνοικούσιν ἦτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν εἶλε Κυρήνην. — εἰ δὲ ο Πτολεμαῖος οὗτος ἄληθεὶ λόγῳ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου παῖς 75 ἦν, ἵστω τὸ ἐπιμανεῖ εἰς τὰς γυναῖκας κατὰ τὸν πατέρα κεκτημένος, ὥσ Εὐρυδίκη τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου συνοικῶν ὅτι παιδῶν Βερενίκης ἐς ἐρωτα ἦλθεν, ἥν Ἀντιπάτρος Εὐρυδίκη συνέπεμψεν ἐς Αἰγύπτον. ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐρασθεὶς

61. Ἀντίγονος . . . ἀντιτάξασθαι Δυσμάχῳ τολμήσας: the reference here is to the momentous battle fought at Ipsus in Phrygia in 301 B.C. Antigonus was killed, his kingdom went to pieces, and the result of the battle was the four independent kingdoms of Cassander in Macedonia, Lysimachus in Thrace, Seleucus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt. The kingdom of Lysimachus, after a brief existence, was wiped out by the incursions of the Gauls. Cf. Diod. 20, 112; 21, 1; Plut. Dem. 28 ff., etc., and Droysen, II, 2, 215–219.

76. ἦν τῆς οἴκης ὕ τις ἀνάχαρος, ἤστω ἀποθανόν. Paus. 1, 29, 14; 2, 35, 8; 3, 27, 7; 5, 12, 3; 6, 13, 10; 16, 7; 16, 8. — 76. Εὐρυδίκη . . . Βερενίκης κτλ.: it is not known when Ptolemy’s marriage with Eurydice, daughter of Antipater, occurred. Berenice (Schol. Theocr. 17, 34) was a grand-niece of Antipater. Her children by her first husband, Philip, were Magas and Antigone, the wife of Pyrrhus (Plut. Pyrr. 4); her children by Ptolemy were Arsinoe, born not later than 316, and Ptolemy, born probably in 300 or 308. Ptolemy Philadelphus ascended the throne in 285; Lagus lived until 283.
paídas ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ὦς ἦν οἱ πλησίον ἡ τελευτή;
80 Πτολεμαῖον ἀπέλιπεν Αἰγύπτων βασιλεῶν, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ Ἀθη-
ναίοις ἐστὶν ἡ φυλή, γεγονότα ἐκ Βερενίκης ἄλλ’ οἶκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου θυγατρός.

7 Οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρα-
σθεὶς ἔγγειμεν αὐτήν, Μακεδόνιοι οὐδαμῶς ποιῶν νομιζόμενα, Ἀιγυπτίοις μεντοῖ δὲ ἢρχε. δεύτερα δὲ ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀργαῖον ἐπιδουλεύοντα, ὥς λέγεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου
5 νεκρὸν οὗτος ὁ καταγαγὼν ἦν ἐκ Μέμφιδος· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν γεγονότα ἐξ Ἐὐρυδίκης, Κυπρίων ἀφι-
στάντα αἰσθόμενος. Μάγας δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὁμομήτος Πτολε-
μαίου παρὰ Βερενίκης τῆς μητρὸς ἀξιωθεὶς ἐπιτροπεῖν Κυρήνην — ἐγεγονεὶ δὲ ἐκ Φιλίππου τῇ Βερενίκῃ Μακεδόνος
10 μὲν, ἄλλως δὲ ἀγνώστου καὶ ἐνὸς τοῦ δήμου — τότε δὴ
οὗτος ὁ Μάγας ἀποστήσας Πτολεμαίον Κυρήναιος ἠλαυνεῖ
ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτων. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν τὴν ἐσβολὴν φραξάμενος ὑπέμενεν ἐπίνοιας Κυρήναιος, Μάγα δὲ ἀπαγγέλλε-
ται καθ’ ὁδὸν ἀφεστηκέναι Μαρμαρίδας· εἰς δὲ Λιβύων οἱ
15 Μαρμαρίδαι τῶν νομάδων. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἀπηλ-
λάσσετο. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὡρμημένων διόκειν αἰτία τοιάδε
ἐπέσχεν. ἥνικα παρασκευάζετο ἐπινόια ἀμώνεσθαι Μάγαν,
ξένους ἐπιγάγετο καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Γαλάτας ἐς τετρακισχυ-
λίους· τούτους λαβὼν ἐπιδουλεύοντας κατασχέειν Αἰγύπτων,
20 ἀνήγαγε σφᾶς ἐς νῆσον ἔρημον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ οἱ μὲν

7. Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsi-
noe.

1. Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς
κτλ.: Arsinoe was first married some
time after the battle of Ipsus to Lysi-
machus (Droysen, II, 2, 236). After
the battle of Corupedion, in which
Lysimachus fell, she married her half-
brother, Ptolemy Ceraunus. The date
of her marriage with her full brother,
Ptolemy Philadelphus, is not definitely
known, but an Egyptian inscription
shows they were already married 273–
272 B.C. Cf. A. Wiedemann, Philol.
XLVII (1889), 84. Pausanias' state-
ment that the marriage of brother and
sister was customary among the Egyp-
tians is confirmed by Diod. 1, 27, 1,
HISTORY OF PTOLEMY II

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ενταῦθα ἀπόλοιντο ὑπὸ τε ἀλλήλων καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ. Μάγας δὲ τῇ γυναῖκα ἔχων Ἀπάμην Ἀντίοχον τοῦ Σελεύκου θυγατέρα, ἐπεισεν Ἀντίοχον παραβάντα ἃς ὁ πατήρ οἱ Σέλευκος ἐπονήσατο συνθήκας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἑλαύνειν ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτιον. 25 ὁρμημένον δὲ Ἀντίοχον στρατεύειν, Πτολεμαῖος διέπεμψεν ἐς ἀπαντάσιν ὅπερ ἔχων Ἀντίοχος, τοῦ μὲν ἀπεθανεστέρους ληστὰς κατατρέχειν τὴν γῆν, οἱ δὲ ἦσαν δυνατότεροι στρατιῶται κατείργησιν, ὥστε Ἀντίοχος μὴ ποτὲ ἐγγενέσθαι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτιον. οὖτος οὗ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ πρὸτερον εἰρήται μοι 30 ὡς ναυτικὸς ἐστείλειν ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν ἐπὶ Ἀντίγγον καὶ Μακεδόνας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ οὖν ἡ μέγα ἐγένοτο ἐς σωτηρίαν Ἀθηναίων. οἱ δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἐγένοτο ἐς Ἀρσινόης, οὐ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Λυσιμάχου δὲ θυγατρός. τὴν δὲ ἑν τοῦ συνοικίσασιν ἀδελφὴν κατέλαβεν ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἀποθανεῖν ἀπαιδᾶ, καὶ νομός ἐστιν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς Ἀρσινόης Αἰγυπτίος.

8 Ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος δηλώσαι καὶ τὰ ἐς Ἀτταλον ἤχοντα, οὐτὶ καὶ οὖτος τῶν ἐπονύμων ἐστιν Ἀθηναίως. ἀνὴρ Μακεδῶν

Philo Jud. de Special. Leg. Mang. 2, 303, etc.

34. ἀδελφὴν κατέλαβεν... ἀποθανεῖν ἀπαιδᾶ: κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν, a frequent expression, e.g. 1, 29, 6; 2, 6, 3; 3, 10, 5; 9, 5, 14; 10, 1. The formula is Herodotean, cf. Hdt. 3, 118; 6, 38. Similarly, we find ἡ τελευτή, τὸ χρεών, ἡ πετρωμένη, as subject of καταλαμβάνειν. So 1, 11, 4; 13, 5; 20, 7; 3, 13. Still more frequently are such words subject of εἰκασθῆλαμβάνειν. Cf. 1, 9, 3; 2, 9, 4; 20, 6; 22, 2; 30, 7; 34, 5.


1. Ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος: cf. 6, 1, 2, ἐκδεικάσθαι ὁ λόγος; 1, 39, 3, ἀπείκρινεν ὁ λόγος. — τὰ ἐς Ἀτταλον ἤχοντα: a favorite phrase borrowed from Herodotus. Cf. 1, 11, 6; 20, 7; 32, 3, with Hdt. 2, 53; 3, 16, 82, 126, etc. The fortunes of the Attalids were founded by Philætaerus, a eunuch of Bithynia, who was left by Lysimachus in charge of his treasury on the Acropolis of Pergamum. Philætaerus later went over to Seleucus when the latter defeated and killed Lysimachus in 281 B.C., and after the murder of Seleucus in 280 he succeeded in continuing master of the fortress and its treasures. When he died in 263 he left his nephew Eunæus in possession of Pergamum. Eunæus was succeeded in 241 B.C. by his cousin Attalus, who, after defeating the
Gauls, assumed the title of king and reigned as Attalus I.

13. 'Δαμφιάραος: Amphiaras is one of the tragic heroes of Greek mythology. Cf. Od. 6, 243, νεκρος; Aesch. Sept. 587 ff.; Eur. Supp. 925, etc. He was one of the "Seven against Thebes," the hero whom the earth swallowed up with his four-horse chariot and the gods made immortal. The place was afterwards called Παράμα, i.e. the chariot, and is one of the famous sites of Greece, on the road from Potniae to Thebes (Paus. 1, 34; 9, 8, 3). Consult, on the cult of Amphiaras, Harrison, Ancient Athens, pp. 62-65.

— Εἴρηθη φέρουσα Πλούτων παιδα: this group was by Cephsodotus (9, 6, 2), the father or elder brother of the great Praxiteles. It was probably set up after Timotheus's great victory at Leucas and the conclusion of peace between Athens and Sparta in 374 B.C., as from that date Peace (Εἰρήνη) was worshiped as a goddess (Isocr. 15, 109; Nepos, Timoth. 2). It is now generally accepted that the so-called Leucothea group in the Glyptothek at Munich is a copy of this work of Cephsodotus. It represents a woman clad in a long robe, bearing on her left arm a little naked boy. There are frequent copies of the group on Attic coins. Cf. Imhof-Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. 147, and plates.

— ἐνταύθα Δαυκόρυσος τε κατά χαλκοῖς: according to Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 852 A, a bronze statue to Lycurgus, the finance minister and orator, was set up ἐν ἄγορᾷ, in recognition of his services to the state, by a decree of Strato-ocles passed 307-300 B.C. Two fragments of an inscription containing the decree have been found. See Harrison, Ancient Athens, pp. 70-72, who also tells of the fragments of the pedestal found in 1888, with the inscription: Δαυκόρυσος Λυκ. ὁμορροφός Βο[ντάθης. Lycurgus deserved well of his country for his public works as well as for his financial administration. He completed the Dionysiac theatre, leveled and walled in the Panathenaic stadium, and built the gymnasium of the
STATUE OF DEMOSTHENES

61

Ch. 8, 3

Δυκούργος τε κεῖται χαλκοίς ὁ Δυκόφρονος καὶ Καλλίας, ὃς
15 πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου τοὺς Ἐλλησιν, ὡς Ἀθηναίων
οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ἔπραξε τὴν εἰρήνην. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημο-
σθένης, ὃν ἐσΥ Καλαυρείαν Ἀθηναίοι τὴν πρὸ Τροχήνος
νῆσον ἡμάγκασαν ἀποχρωσθέναι, δεξάμενοι δὲ ὑστερον διώ-
κουσιν ἄθις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λαμίᾳ πλήγην. Δημοσθένης δὲ ὃς 3

20 τὸ δεύτερον ἐφυγε, περαὶοῦται καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Καλαυρείαν,
ἔνθα δὴ πώς φάρμακον ἐτελεύτησε· φυγάδα τε Ἐλληνα
μόνον τοῦτον Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόνων ὧν ἀνήγαγεν Αρ-
χιάς. ὃ δὲ Ἀρχιάς οὖσος Θοῦρμος ὃν ἔργον ἠρατὸ ἀνόσιον·
ὂσοι Μακεδόνων ἔπραξαν ἐναίτια πρὸς ἥ τοῖς Ἐλλησι τὸ
25 πταύσιά (τού) ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ γενέσθαι, τούτους ἤγεν Ἀρχιάς

Lyceum; under his administration the
arsenal of Philo was built, and all the
docks and arsenals were put in excellent
condition. — 14. Καλλίας κτλ.: Callias
was the reputed author of the so-called
Peace of Cimon which, according to a
tradition of the fourth century and
later, was concluded with Persia in
445 B.C., whereby Artaxerxes pledged
himself to send no warships into the
Aegean sea, and to forbid his troops to
approach within three days' march or
one day's ride of the sea. Cf. Dem. 19,
273; Diod. 12, 4; Plut. Cimon, 13,
etc. Herodotus (7, 161) testifies that
Callias was sent to Persia, but neither
he nor Thucydides mentions such a
treaty. It is intrinsically improbable
that it should have been made, and if
it was made it was repeatedly broken.
Isoc. 4, 118-120, is the first writer to
allude to it (c. 380 B.C.). Theopompos
considered a copy of the treaty extant in
the fourth century a forgery (Harp. s.v.
Ἀρτικοῦς γράμματα). Even Pausanias
speaks doubtfully about it. — 16. ἔστι
δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης: this statue was
erected 280-270 B.C. on a decree moved
by Demochares, nephew of the orator
(Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. pp. 847 b and 850 c).
The sculptor was Polyceuctus. The
statue was of bronze, and represented
the orator standing with his hands
locked in each other. The site was
πλησίων τοῦ περιχουσίματος καὶ τοῦ
βωμοῦ τῶν δῶδεκα θεῶν. Plut. Dem. 31
says a large plane-tree stood near.
The well-known marble statue in the
Vatican is supposed to be a copy, with
some variations, of this statue. Cf. P.
Hartung, "Zur Statue des Dem.," Verh.
d. k. deutsch. Instituts, XVIII (1903),
Heft 1, 25. The altar of the Twelve
Gods mentioned as near the statue,
though not noticed by Pausanias, was
an important spot, as distances were
reckoned from it. It was set up by
Pisistratus and enlarged by the
democracy. Cf. Thuc. 6, 54, 6; Hdt. 2,
7; 6, 108; C.I.A. II, 1078, etc., and
Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, 434–
436.
Ch. 8, 4

'The Attica of Pausanias

30. 'Ares is not elsewhere mentioned except in inscriptions bearing on the cult of Ares (cf. S.Q. XV, 23). The site is not known with exactness. It probably lay on the south side of the Agora, along the north slope of the Areopagus. Various sites have been conjectured, but none convincingly. It was certainly not far (οἴς πάροι) from the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and on, or adjacent to, the Areopagus.

31. The sanctuary of Ares—two images of Aphrodite, an Athena of Locrus of Paros, otherwise unknown, and a statue of Enyo, by the sons of Praxiteles (cf. 8, 30, 10; 9, 12, 4).—34. περὶ τὸν ναόν ἑπτάσιν Ἡρακλῆς κτλ.: round the temple Pausanias mentions five statues, one a god, Apollo, two heroes, Heracles and Theseus, and two mortals, Calades and Pindar. Few particulars are given. Of Calades nothing further is known. The poet Pindar was represented καθήμενος ἐν ἱεροῖς και λόρα διάδημα ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων ἀπελεγέμενος μεταλλον (Ps.-Aesch. Epist. 4, 3). The date of the statue was probably long after the poet's death, as Isoc. 15, 160 does not allude to it in reciting the honors heaped on Pindar because of his eulogium of the city. He had addressed Athens as "O bright and glorious Athens, pillar of Greece" (Frag. 54, ed. Bergk). Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, 402, 407.
39. οὐ πάρρῳ δὲ ἐστὰσιν Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστο-κτ. It has been already noticed that the famous group of Harmodius and Aristogiton stood about opposite the Metron, on the way up to the Acropolis. Other evidence is to the effect that they stood in a conspicuous place used for festivals known as the “orchestra” (Tim. Lex. Plat. and Phot. Lex. s.v. ἄρχων). Ar. Lys. 633 and Eccles. 682 speak of them as being in the Agora. The “orchestra” was doubtless somewhere off from the northwest slope of the Areopagus, on the opposite side of the road. The statues were of bronze, fashioned by the sculptor Antenor (Arrian, Anab. 3, 16, 7; 7, 19, 2, etc.) shortly after the expulsion of Hippias, 510 n.c. They were carried off by Xerxes 480 n.c. and were finally sent back to Athens by Alexander the Great (Arr. Anab. 3, 16, 8; Pliny, N. H. 34, 70) or by Seleucus (Val. Max. 2, 10) or by Antiochus (Polya. 1, 8, 5). In the mean time, in 477 they were replaced by a new group fashioned by Critius and Nesiotes (Par. Chron. l. 370; Lucian, Philops. 18). After the restoration of the Antenor statues, the two groups stood side by side. The finest reproduction of the group is the famous pair of marble statues in the Naples Museum. It is still a moot question whether the Naples statues reproduce the group of Antenor or that of Critius and Nesiotes. For the discussion of this, see Frazer, II, 93–99.

46. Τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ δὲ καλοῦν Αἰδείον: this passage brings up three important questions in Athenian topography — the number of Odeums in Athens, the identification of the one here mentioned, and its site. Pausanias names three,—(1) the above, also mentioned 1, 14, 1; (2) one built by Pericles, 1, 20, 4; and (3) the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, 7, 20, 6. As the question of the identity and site of the structure here mentioned is involved with the consideration of the objects and places mentioned in c. 14, the discussion is reserved.
THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

64

Ch. 9, 1

άλλων ὁ μὲν Φιλάδελφος ἔστων οὐ καὶ πρότερον μνήμην ἐν
toις ἐπωνυμίως ἐποιήσαμην, πλησίον δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀρσινόης

9 τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν. ὁ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ καλούμενος οὖν όσος 1
μέν ἐστιν ἀπόγονος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Δάγου, τὴν δὲ ἐπίκλησιν
ἐσχεν ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ. οὐ γὰρ τινα τῶν βασιλεῶν μισθεύσαν
ἐσμεν ἐς τοσοῦτε ὑπὸ μητρός, διὶ προσβύτερον ὄντα τῶν
5 παῖδων ἡ μήτηρ οὐκ εἰα καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν, πρότερον δὲ
ἐς Κύπρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πεμφθηναι πράξασα· τῆς δὲ ἐς
tὸν παῖδα τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δυνούοιας λέγουσιν ἄλλας τε αἰτίας
καὶ ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν νεότερον τῶν παιδῶν κατῆκον
ἔσεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡπλεῖ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐλέσθαι βασιλέα
10 Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπείθεν Αἰγυπτίους· ἐναντιομένου δὲ οἱ τοῦ 2
πλῆθους, δεύτερα ἐς τὴν Κύπρον ἐστείλει Ἀλέξανδρον, στρα-
tηγοῦν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ δὲ ἐργῷ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖῷ φθὐ-
λοσα ἐμαθα ψευδοτέρα, τέλος δὲ κατατρώσασα ὡς μαλίστα
τῶν εὐνούχων ἐνόμιζεν εὖνοις, ἐπήγειτο σφᾶς ἐς τὸ πλῆθος
15 ὡς αὐτῇ τε ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοὺς εὐνο-
χους τοιαύτα ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου παθόντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρεῖς
ἀρμήσαν μὲν ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντες τὸν Πτολεμαίον, ὡς δὲ σφᾶς
ἐφθάσεν ἐπιβᾶς νεώς, Ἀλέξανδρον ἤκοντα ἐκ Κύπρου ποι-
οῦντας βασιλέα. Κλεοπάτρᾳ δὲ περιῆλθεν ἡ δύκη τῆς 3


1. ὁ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ: Ptolemy X Soter II Philometor II, with the nickname Lathyrus (Plut. Cor. 11) was the eldest son of Ptolemy IX Euergetes II, and succeeded his father in the 208th year of the Lagidae = 117–116 B.C. He reigned 117–108 and 80–81 B.C. —
3. εἰπὶ χλευασμῷ: added by Pausanias to explain the surname Φιλομήτωρ. Μητρόφωλος would rather meet Pausanias's idea. But his explanation is a mistake, as Φιλομήτωρ was an official title and could not be a nickname. —
5. οὐκ εἶα ἐπὶ πρότερον δὲ . . . πράξασα: it is a frequent occurrence in Pausanias in coordinate clauses with μὲν — δὲ, τε — καί, οὔτε — οὔτε, εὔτε —
eὔτε, to have in the first clause the participle, in the second the finite verb; but to have the reverse of this, as here, is extremely rare. Cf. 1, 12, 1; 2, 18,
3; 10, 1 (without μὲν); 3, 3, 3; 7, 10; 7, 19, 6; 10, 32, 7.
HISTORY OF LYSIMACHUS

20 Πτολεμαῖοι φυγῆς ἀποθανοῦσαν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὥς αὐτὴ βασιλεῖς ἐπράξεν Αἰγυπτίων. τοῦ δὲ ἔργου φαραγήτως καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβῳ τῶν πολιτῶν φεύγοντος, οὕτω Πτολεμαῖος κατῆλθε καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔσχεν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Θηβαῖος ἐπολέμησεν ἀποστάσιος, παραστησάμενος δὲ ἔτει
25 τρίτω μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐκάκωσεν, ὡς μηδὲ ὑπόμνημα λειφθῆναι Θηβαίοις τῆς ποτε εὐδαιμονίας προελθοῦσης ἐστοσοῦτον ὡς ὑπερβαλέοντα πλοῦτος τοῦς Ἐλλήνων πολυχρημάτως, τὸ τε ἦρον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀρχομενίους. Πτολεμαῖον μὲν οὖν ὅλῳ τούτων ὑστερόν ἔπελαβε μοῦρα ἡ
30 καθήκουσα. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν παθῶντες εὐ πολλὰ τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ἐξηγήσεως χάλκουν καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ Βερενίκην ἀνέθηκαν, ἡ μόνη γνησία οἱ τῶν παιδών ἦν.

Metà δὲ τούς Αἰγυπτίους Φιλίππου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρος ο ἔ
Φιλίππου κεῖται. τούτους μείξονα ὑπήρχε τως ἡ ἄλλον
35 πάρεργα εἶναι λόγου. τοίς μὲν οὖν ἄπ’ Αἰγυπτίου τιμῇ τε ἀληθεὶ καὶ ἐνεργέταις οὕσι γεγόνασιν αἱ δώρεαι, Φιλίππῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κολακεία μᾶλλον ἐσ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πλήθους,
ἐπεὶ καὶ Δυσίμαχον οὐκ εὐνοῖα τοσοῦτον ὡς ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρῆσιμον νομίζοντες ἀνέθηκαν.

40 Ὠ δὲ Δυσίμαχος οὗτος γένος τε ἦν Μακεδών καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρος ὄρους ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρος ποτε ὑπ’ ὄργῆς λέοντι ὀμοῦ καθείρξας ἐσ ὑκίμα κεκρατηκότα εὐρε τοῦθηρίου. τὰ τε ὅσι ἄλλα ἦδη διετέλει θαμμάξων καὶ Μακεδόνων ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄριστοις ήγεν ἐν τιμῇ. τελευτήσατος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἁρι-
45 κῶν ἐβασιλεύειν ὁ Δυσίμαχος τῶν προσώπων Μακεδόνων,
ὅσων ἦρξεν Ἀλεξάνδρος καὶ ἔτι πρῶτον Φιλίππος ἐίχεν

40. Ὠ δὲ Δυσίμαχος κτλ.: this story
is told at length by Justin, 15, 3, and
referred to by Plut. Dem. 27, Pliny,
N.H. 8, 54, etc. Q. Curtius, 8, 1, 17,
calls the story a fable, but thinks it
is based on an actual occurrence to the
effect that once, while hunting in Syria,
Lysimachus had killed single-handed a
gigantic lion; which, thought Curtius,
might be the origin of Pausanias’ story.
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6' ἀν οὖσι τοῦ Θρακίου μοῦρα οὐ μεγάλη. Θρακῶν δὲ τῶν πάντων οὐδὲνες πλείους εἰσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὃτι μὴ Κελτοὶ πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐν ἀντεξετάζοντι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲις τῶν πρῶτος Ἡρακας Ῥωμαίων κατεστρέφατο ἄθροος.

50 Ῥωμαίων δὲ Ἡράκη τε πᾶσα ἐστιν ὑποχείριος, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσον μὲν ἄχρειον νομίζουσι διὰ τε ὑπερβάλλον ψύχος καὶ γῆς φαυλότητα, ἐκουσίως παρὼν παρὰ σφυσι, τα δὲ ἀξιόκτητα ἐχοῦσι καὶ τούτων. τότε δὲ ὁ Δυσίμαχος πρῶτος τῶν περιοίκων ἐπολέμησεν Ὥδρύσας, δειστέρα δὲ ἐπὶ Δρομιχαίτην καὶ Γέτας ἐστράτευσεν. οἷα δὲ ἀνδράσι συμβαλὼν οὐκ ἀπειρον πολέμων, ἀριθμὼ δὲ καὶ πολὺ ὑπερβεβληκόσων, αὐτῶς μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐσχατὸν ἑλθὼν κυνδύνου διέφυγεν, ὃ δὲ οἱ παῖς Ἀγαθοκλῆς συνεπετρέμενοι τότε πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Γετῶν ἠλώνερα.

55 Δυσίμαχος δὲ καὶ ὑστερον προσπαθεῖς μάχαις καὶ τῆς ἀλωσιν τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ ποιούμενος συμβαίνετο πρὸς Δρομιχαίτην εἰρήνην, τῆς τε ἄρχης τῆς αὐτοῦ τὰ πέραν Ἰστροῦ παρείσ τῷ Γέτῃ καὶ θυγατέρα συνοικίσας ἀνάγκη τὸ πλέον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ Ἀγαθοκλέα, Δυσίμαχον δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλώνα λέγουσιν, ἀνασωθῆναι δὲ Ἀγαθοκλέους τὰ πρὸς τὸν Γέτην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξαντος. ὡς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν, Ἀγαθοκλῆς Δυσάνδραν γυναῖκα ἥγαγετο, Πτολεμαίοι τε τοῦ Λάγου καὶ Εὐφράκτης οὐσαν. διέβη δὲ καὶ ναυσὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν ἄρχην τὴν Ἀντιγόνου συγκαθεῖλε. 70 συναίκισε δὲ καὶ Ἐφεσίων ἀχρί θαλάσσης τὴν νῦν πόλιν,
HISTORY OF LYSIMACHUS

75 ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν Λε βεδίους τε σικτόρας καὶ Κολοφωνίους, τὰς δὲ ἐκεῖνων ἄνελων πόλεις, ὡς Φούινκα ιάμβων ποιητὴν Κολοφωνίων θηρήσαται τὴν ἄλωσιν. Ἐρμησιάνας δὲ ὁ τὰ ἑλεγεία γράψας οὐκέτι ἔμοι δοκεῖν περί ἣν πάντως γάρ

80 οὐ πιστὰ, Ἱερώνυμος δὲ ἐγραψε Καρδιανὸς Λυσίμαχον τὰς θήκας τῶν νεκρῶν ἄνελὼν τὰ ὁστὰ ἔκρυβαι. ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος οὔτος ἔχει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως δόξαν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν γράψαν τῶν βασιλέων πλὴν Ἀντιγόνον, τούτῳ δὲ οὐ δικαίως χαρίζεται. τὰ δὲ ἐτὶ τοὺς τάφους τῶν Ἦπειρωτῶν παντάπασιν

85 ἐστὶ φανερὸς ἐπιτηδείας συνθείς, ἀνδρα Μακεδόνα θῆκας νεκρῶν ἄνελείν. χωρὶς δὲ ἡπίστατο δὴ που καὶ Λυσίμαχος οὐ Πύρρου σφάς προγόνοις μόνον ἄλλα καὶ Ἀλέξάνδρου τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους δόμας. καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἡπειρώτης τε ἦν καὶ τῶν Αἰακίδων τὰ πρὸς μητρός, τε ὠστέρον Πύρρου

90 πρὸς Λυσίμαχον συμμαχία δηλοῖ καὶ πολεμίσασιν ἀδιάλεκτον γε οὕδεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γενέσθαι σφίσαι. τῷ δὲ Ἱερώνυμῷ τάχα μὲν που καὶ ἄλλα ἦν ἐς Λυσίμαχον ἐγκλήματα, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι τὴν Καρδιανῶν πόλιν ἄνελων Λυσιμάχειαν ἀντ᾽ αὐτῆς ὄκυσεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱσθμῷ τῆς Θρακίας χερσονήσου.

wife, but the old name finally prevailed.

80. Ἱερώνυμος...Καρδιανός: Hieronymus the Cardian composed a history of Alexander’s successors. He took a prominent part in the politics of the age. In 320 B.C. he headed an embassy sent by Eumenes to Antipater, and in 319 an embassy from Antigonus to Eumenes. He lived certainly as late as 272 B.C., for he tells of the death of Pyrrhus, which occurred in that year. Lucian (Macro. 22) says he reached the age of 104. Susemihl, I, 560 ff.

2. τῶν παιδῶν: the three sons of Cassander, king of Macedon, who succeeded him one after the other on the throne, were Philip, Antipater, and Alexander. — 3. περιελθούσης . . . ἄρχης: Demetrius son of Antigonus, who bore the surname Poliorcetes, or the Besieger, because of the famous siege of Rhodes, became master of Macedonia, October, 294. Alexander, then king of Macedonia, had intended to assassinate Demetrius, but Demetrius anticipated him. Cf. Plut. Dem. 36 ff.; id. Pyrrhus, 6 ff.; Justin, 16, 1; Droysen, Π, 2, 265 ff.
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Ch. 10, 4

χρόνον ἀντεῖχε τὰ Δημητρίου, διέμεινεν ἡ Πύρρου καὶ Λυσιμάχου συμμαχία· γενομένου δὲ ἐπὶ Σελεύκῳ Δημητρίου Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ Πύρρῳ διελύθη ἡ φιλία, καὶ καταστάντων ἐσπέρεμον Λυσίμαχος Ἀρτιγόνως τε τῷ Δημητρίου καὶ αὐτῷ Πύρρῳ πολεμήσας ἐκράτησε παρὰ πολὺ καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐσχεν, ἀναχωρήσας Πύρρον βιασάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἡπείρον. εἰώθαι δὲ ἀνθρώποις φύεσθαι δι' ἔρωτα πολλαὶ συμφοραί. 3 Λυσίμαχος γὰρ ἡλικίᾳ τε ἤδη προήκων καὶ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτός τε νομιζόμενος εὐδαίμων καὶ Ἀγαθοκλείς παίδων ὄντων ἐκ Λυσάνδρας Ἀρσινόην ἐγγέμεν ἀδελφὴν Λυσάνδρας. ταύτην τὴν Ἁρσινόην φοβουμένην ἔπι τοὺς παισί, μὴ Λυσιμάχου τελευτήσαντος ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλεῖ γέννωται, τούτων ἐνεκα Ἀγαθοκλεῖ ἐπιβουλεύσασι λέγεται. ἤδη δὲ ἐγραφαὶ καὶ ὡς Ἀγαθοκλέους ἀφίκοιτο ἐς ἔρωτα ἡ Ἁρσινόη, ἀποστυχάνουσα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ... βουλεύσας λέγουσιν Ἀγαθοκλεῖ ἡμᾶς. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς Λυσίμαχος αὐτῷ οὐστρο ὠστερὸν τὰ τολμηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς, εἰναι δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ οἱ πλέον ἡρμημένως φιλῶς ἐς τὸ ἐσχάτον. ὡς γὰρ ἡ τότε ὁ Λυσίμαχος 4 ἀνελεῖν τῶν Ἀγαθοκλέα Ἀρσινόη παρῆκε, Λυσάνδρα παρὰ Σέλενκον ἑκδιδράσκει τοὺς τε παῖδας ἀμα ἀγομένη καὶ τοὺς ἀδέλφους τοὺς αὐτῆς, ... οἱ περιέλθων τοῦτο ἐς Πτολεμαῖων καταφεύγονσι. τοῦτος ἑκδιδράσκουσι παρὰ Σέλενκον καὶ

49-52; id. Pyrrhus, 12; Droysen, II, 2, 307-312.

23. δι’ ἔρωτα πολλαὶ συμφοραί: for similar commonplace upon love, cf. 7, 19,3, μέτεστιν ἔρωτι καὶ ἀνδρώτων συνεχεῖα νόμιμα καὶ ἀπατρέψα τεθὲν τιμᾶς, and 7, 23, 3, where, says our author, if the waters of Selemmus actually bring forgetfulness of love, more precious than great riches to mankind are the waters of Selemmus.—30. ἡ Ἀρσινόη... βουλεύσα... Ἀγαθοκλεῖ κτλ.: the murder of Agathocles seems to have been perpetrated in 284 or 283 B.C. Justin (17, 1, 4) says that Arsinoe poisoned him; Strabo (13, 623) that Lysimachus was compelled to slay him because of domestic troubles; Memnon (Frag. Hist. Gr. III, 532, ed. Müller) that Lysimachus, deceived by Arsinoe, first attempted to poison Agathocles, and then cast him into prison, where Arsinoe’s brother Ptolemy Ceraunus murdered him. See Droysen, II, 2, 321 ff.
'Alexandros ἥκολούθησεν, νῦν μὲν Λυσιμάχου, γεγονὼς δὲ εξ Ὀδρυσίαδος γυναικὸς. οὖτοί τε οὖν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀναβεβηκότες ἱκέτευον Σέλευκον ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς Λυσιμάχου καταστήναι· καὶ Φιλέταρος ἀμα, ὥ τα χρήματα ἐπετέραπτο Λυσιμάχου, τῇ τε 'Αγαθοκλέους τελευτῇ χαλεπῶς φέρων καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς Ἀρσινόης ὑποπτα ἡγούμενος καταλαμβάνει

50 Πέργαμον τὴν ύπερ Καλκου, πέμψας δὲ κύρικα τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδιδον Σελεύκῳ. Λυσιμάχος δὲ ταῦτα πάντα πυθανόμενος ἔφθη διαβάς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἄρξας αὐτὸς πολέμου συμβαλόν τε Σελεύκῳ παρὰ πολύ τε ἐκρατήθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέθανεν. 'Alexandros δὲ, ὥς ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς Ὀδρυσίας ἐγεγονεί οἱ, πολλὰ Λυσιάνδραν παρατησάμενος ἀναρείται τε καὶ ύποτέκτων τούτων ἐς Χερρόνησον κομίσας θαφείς, ἐνθα ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν οἱ φανερὸς ὁ τάφος Καρδίας τε μεταξὺ κόμης καὶ Πακτύης.

11 Τὰ μὲν οὖν Λυσιμάχου τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ καὶ Πύρρου. οὕτως ὁ Πύρρος 'Alexándroς προσήκειν οὐδὲν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα κατὰ γένος· Αἰακίδου γὰρ τοῦ 'Αρύββου Πύρρος ἦν, 'Ολυμπιάδος δὲ 'Alexándroς τῆς Νεοπτολέμου, Νεοπτολέμω δὲ καὶ Ἀρύββα πατὴρ ἦν Ἀλκέτας ὁ Θαρύπου. ἀπὸ δὲ Θαρύπου ἔς Πύρρον τῶν 'Αχιλλεῶς

48. συμβαλὼν τε Σελεύκῳ . . . ἀπέθανεν: Lysimachus was defeated and killed in the battle of Corypedion in 281 B.C. Appian (Syr. 64) gives two accounts about the finding and care of his body, one that it was found and buried by Thorax, a Pharsalian, the other the account here given by Pausanias.


2. εἰκὼν . . . Πύρρου: this stood, in all probability, among the statues named in c. 8, before the Odeum. — 5. Ἀρύββα: Justin (7, 6, 11; 8, 6) says that Arybbas was expelled from his kingdom and died in exile. According to C.I.A. II, 116, he retired to Athens, where he was placed under public protection. — 6. Θαρύπου: Thrasybus is mentioned Thuc. 2, 80, 6, as being still a child (429 B.C.) under the guardianship of the regent Sabylinthus. He was educated at Athens and was the first to introduce Greek laws and customs among his people (Justin, 17, 3, 9-13; Plut. Pyrrhus, 1).
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πέντε ἀνδρῶν καὶ δέκα εἰσὶ γενεάς· πρῶτος γὰρ δὴ οὗτος ἀλούσης Ἰλίου τὴν μὲν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν οὐπερεῖδεν ἀναχώρησον, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἡπειρον κατάρας ἐνταῦθα ἐκ τῶν Ἐλένου χρη-10 σμῶν φίλησε. καὶ οἱ πάις ἐκ μὲν Ἐρμίδης ἐγένετο οὐδεὶς, ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης δὲ Μολοσσῶς καὶ Πέλεος καὶ νεώτατος ὁ Πέργαμος. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἐλένης Κεστρῶνος· τούτῳ γὰρ Ἀνδρομάχη συνώψησεν ἄποθανόντος ἐν Δελφῶι Πύρρου. Ἐλένου δὲ ὡς ἐτελεύτα Μολοσσῷ τῷ Πύρρου παραδόντος 2

tὴν ἀρχὴν Κεστρῶνος μὲν σὺν τοῖς θέλεσθαι Ἡπειρωτῶν τὴν ύπὲρ Θύαμον ποταμὸν χώραν ἔσχε, Πέργαμος δὲ δια-βᾶς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀρειον δυναστεύοντα ἐν τῇ Τευθρανίᾳ κτείνει μονομαχήσασι, οἱ περὶ τῆς ἄρχης καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ ὅνομα ἔδωκε τὸ ὅν πρὸ οὗτοί μοι ἄφθονοι· καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης—ἡκοθεῖ 20 γὰρ οἱ—καὶ νῦν ἔστων ἤρρων ἐν τῇ πόλει. Πέλεος δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέμενεν ἐν Ἡπειρῷ, καὶ ἐς πρόγονον τούτον ἄνεβανε Πύρρος τε ὁ Αἰακίδου καὶ οἱ πατέρες, ἄλλη οὖν ἐς Μολος-σόν. ἦν δὲ ἄρχη μὲν Ἀλκέτου τοῦ Θαρύτου ἐφ᾽ ἐνι βασιλεῖ 3 καὶ τὰ Ἡπειρωτῶν· οἱ δὲ Ἀλκέτου παῖδες, ὡς σφιθι στασιά-25 σασι μετέδοξεν ἐπ᾽ ίσης ἄρχειν, αὐτοὶ τε πιστῶς ἔχοντες διέμεναν ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὑστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Νεο-πολέμου τελευτησαντος ἐν Δευκάνοις, Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ διὰ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου φόβον ἐπανελθοῦσι ἐς Ἡπειρον, Αἰακίδης ὁ Ἀρύββου τά τε ἅλλα διετέλει κατήκοι οἷς ὤον Ὀλυμπιάδι 30 καὶ συνεστάτευσε πολεμήσων Ἀριδαίῳ καὶ Μακεδόσων,

27. Ὀλυμπιάδος... ἐπανελθοῦσι ἐς Ἡπειρόν: straightway after the death of Alexander, Olympias, in obedience to the wishes of her son, did not interfere with the plans of Antipater, but retired to Epirus to her brother's court. She was restored to Macedonia in 317 b.c. by the joint efforts of Polysperchon and Aeacides. Eurydice, the wife of Philip Aridaeus the king, attempted to give battle, but her troops deserted to Olympia. Both Philip and Eurydice and a large number of Macedonian nobles were put to death by Olympia. Hence her death at the hands of Cassander was deemed a just retribution. Cf. Diod. 19, 11, 50; Justin, 14, 5; Droysen, II, 1, 238 ff.
ούκ ἔθελόντων ἔπεσθαι τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν. Ὄλυμπιάδος δὲ ὡς 4 ἐπεκράτησεν ἀνόσια μὲν ἐργασμαίνης καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἀριδαίουν θάνατον, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι ἀνοσιώτερα ἐς ἄνδρας Μακεδόνας, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνάξια ὕστερον ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου παθεῖν νομοθείσης, Αἰακίδην κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔχθος ἔδεχοντο Ἡπειρώτα, εὐρομένου δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνων παρὰ τούτων συγγνώμην δεύτερα ἡμαντίοτο Κάσσανδρος μὴ κατελθεῖν εἰς Ἡπειρόν. γενομένης δὲ Φιλίππου τε ἀδελφοῦ Κασσάνδρου καὶ Αἰακίδου μάχησ πρὸς Οἰνιά- 
45 δαῖς, Αἰακίδην μὲν τρωθέντα κατέλαβε μετ’ οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἤχρεων· Ἡπειρώτα δὲ Ἀλκέταν ἐπὶ βασιλεία κατεδέξαντο, 5 Ἀριέβου μὲν παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφὸν Αἰακίδου πρεσβύτερον, ἀκρατὴ δὲ ἄλλωσ θυμοῦ καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ ἔξελαθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. καὶ τότε ἦκον ἐξελασμένοι εὐθὺς ἐς τούς Ἡπειρώτας, ἔς ὁ νύκτωρ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπαναστάντες ἔκτεναν. ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοῦτον Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου κατά- 40 γούσιν· ἦκοι δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπεστράτευε Κάσσανδρος, νέω τε ἡλικία οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὗ κατεσκευασμένῳ βεβαιός. Πύρρος δὲ ἐπίστων Μακεδόνων ἐς Αἰγυπτόν παρὰ Πτο- 
50 λεμαῖον ἀναβαίνει τὸν Λάγον· καὶ οἱ Πτολεμαῖοι γυναικαὶ τ’ ἔδωκαν ἀδελφὴν ὁμομητρίαν τῶν αὐτῶν παῖδων καὶ στόλῳ κατήγαγαν Αἰγυπτίων.

Πύρρος δὲ βασιλεύσας πρῶτος ἐπέθετο Ἕλληνων Κορκυ- 6 ραιός, κεμένην τε ὄροιν τὴν νήσου πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας καὶ ἄλλως ὀρμητήριον ἐφ’ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔθελων εἰναι. μετὰ δὲ ἀλούσαν Κόρκυραν ὡσα μὲν Δυσιμάχῳ πολεμήσας ἐπαθεὶς καὶ ὡς Δημήτριον ἐκβαλὼν Μακεδονίας ἤρξεν ἐς ὁ αὐτής ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Δυσιμάχου, τάδε μὲν τὸν Πύρρου μέγιστα ἐς ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν δεδήλωκεν ἡδη μοι τὰ ἐς Δυσιμάχου 60 ἔχοντα· Ὄρμαῖοι δὲ οὐδένα Πύρρου πρῶτερον πολεμήσαντα ἴσμεν Ἕλληνα. Διοιμήθει μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀργεῖων τοῖς
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σὺν αὐτῷ οὐδεμιὰν ἔτι γενέσθαι πρὸς Αἰνείαν λέγεται μάχην.

Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἀλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπισάιοι καὶ Ἰταλικῶν πάσαν καταστρέφασθαι τὸ ἐν Συρακοῦσαι πταῖσα, ἐμποδόων ἐγένετο μῆ καὶ Ἡρωίων λαβεῖν πείραν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος, γένοις τε ὄνων Πῦρρος τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤλικά πρεσβύτερος, ἀποθανὼν ἐν Λευκάνοις ἐβῆθη πρὸς ἐσχῆρας ἐλθεῖν Ἡρωίων. οὕτω Πῦρρος ἐστίν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῆς πέραν Ἰονίων διαβὰς ἐπὶ Ἡρωίων. διέβη δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐπαγαγομένων Ταραχτίων. τούτους γὰρ πρότερον ἐπὶ πρὸς Ἡρωίων συνειστήκει πόλεμος. ἂδυνατὸ δὲ κατὰ σφᾶς ὄντες ἀντισχεῖν, προὔπαρχοῦσης μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνεργείας ὅτι οἱ πολεμοῦντες τὸν πρὸς Κόρκυραν πόλεμον ναυ̣ι συνήραντο, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ πρόσβεσες τῶν Ταραχτίων ἄνεπεισαν τὸν Πῦρρον, τῇ τῇ Ἰταλίων διάσκοκς ως εὐδαιμονίας εἰνέκα ἀντὶ πάσης εἰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ὡς οὖν ὅσιον αὐτῷ παραπέμψαι σφᾶς φίλους τε καὶ ἵκετας ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἴκοντας. ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν πρόσβεσεως ματήμα τὸν Πῦρρον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐπιλήθη τῆς Ἰλίων, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταύτα ἡλίπε

63. Ἀθηναίων . . . ἔπισαίοι . . . Ἰταλικὰ πάσαν καταστρέψασθαι: Plutarch (Alcib. 17) says that it was the dream of Alcibiades that the conquest of Sicily should be merely a step toward the conquest of Carthage, Africa, Italy, and Peloponnesus. Again he tells us (Pericles, 20) that in the age of Pericles many Athenians looked forward to the conquest of Etruria and Carthage.

12. Pyrrhus’s War against the Romans — Elephants and Ivory — War against the Carthaginians.

1. Πῦρρος . . . Ἡρωίων: Pyrrhus’s expedition to aid the Tarentines against the Romans occurred 280 B.C. Cf. Plut. Pyrrhus, 13–16; Justin, 18, 1; Droysen, III, 1, 127 ff. — 4. ἂδυνατοὶ δὲ κατὰ σφᾶς ὄντες ἀντισχεῖν κτλ.: this sentence presents a decidedly bad case of anacoluthon. Ταραχτίων is naturally to be understood with ὑπέρ, and below one would naturally expect μᾶλιστα δὲ οἱ Ταραχτίως διὰ τῶν πρόσβεσιν ἄνεπειαν instead of οἱ πρόσβεσες τῶν Ταραχτίων ἄνεπειαν. On the coordination of the participle, προὔπαρχοῦσης μὲν, and the finite verb, μᾶλιστα δὲ — ἄνεπειαν, cf. c. 9, 1, note. — 6. οἱ πολεμοῦντι . . . πόλεμον . . . συνήραντο: πόλεμον here is object of πολεμοῦντι (cf. 1, 4, 6; 29, 14; 4, 10, 7). Pausanias also uses ἄραθα τόλμων, e.g. 3, 2, 3; 9, 10, but συνάρασθαι τινὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον (1, 6, 6).
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18. ἔργων ὑπομήματα: this statement has occasioned much conjecture, some writers taking it as referring to memoirs of Pyrrhus, prepared probably by himself or under his orders. It is apparent that in the phrase ἄνδρας ὑπὸ ἐπιφανείων ἐσεν γραφήν Pyrrhus is not meant; and that for a history of Pyrrhus the general title ἔργων ὑπομήματα would not be chosen. It was, doubtless, a general work of biography, perhaps like the Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri IX of Valerius Maximus, in which the exploits of a number of eminent commanders, among them Pyrrhus, were recounted.

— ἔτι: seems superfluous from the English point of view, but the Greek regularly uses this (to us) redundant ἔτι with words of naming and calling. Cf. 8, 31, 7, ὁ Πύρρος ἔτι ἔφεσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἡρακλείας. See note on 1, 5, 1.

— 23. γινομένης... ὅπως Ἠρακλείας: Pyrrhus's first battle with the Romans was fought near Heraclea in Lucania in 280 n.c. See Plut. Pyrrhus, 16; Justin, 18, 1, etc.; Droysen, III, 1, 140 f.
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35 ἐκ παλαιοῦ δῆλοι πάντες εἰδότες: αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ θερία, πρὶν ἡ διαβήνῃ Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, οὔτε ἔωράκεσαν ἄρχην πλὴν Ἰνδῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ Διβών καὶ ὅσοι πλησίο- χωροί τούτοις. δηλοὶ δὲ Ὁμήρος, ὃς βασιλεύοι κλίνας μὲν καὶ οἰκίας τοῖς εὐθαμονεστέροις αὐτῶν ἐλέφαντι ἐποίησε

40 κεκόσμημένας, θηρίου δὲ ἐλέφαντος μανήμην οὐδεμίαν ἐποίησεν τοῦτον: θεασάμενος δὲ ἡ πεπυμένης ἐμμημόνευσεν ἄν πολύ γε πρότερον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἡ Πυγμαίων τε ἄνδρων καὶ γεράνων μάχης. Πύρρον δὲ ἔσ Σικελιανόν ἀπήγαγε προσβεία Συρακοσίων. Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ διαβάντες τὰς Ἑλληνίδας τῶν

45 πόλεων ἐποίοιν ἀναστάτους. ἦ δὲ ἦν λοιπῆ, Συρακοσίωνιας πολιορκοῦντες προσεκάθιντο. ἃ τῶν πρέσβεων Πύρρος ἀκούον Τάραντα μὲν εἰα καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχοντας Ἰταλιωτῶν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελιανὴν διαβὰς Καρχηδονίους ἡμάγκασε αὐτον αὐτῶν Συρακοσίων. φρονήσας δὲ ἐφ’ αὐτῷ

50 Καρχηδονίων, οἱ θαλάσσης τῶν τότε βαρβάρων μάλιστα εἶχον ἐμπείρως Τύροι Φόινκες τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες, τούτων ἑναντία ἐπῆρθη ναυμαχίσαι τοῖς Ἡπείρωταις χρώμενοι, οἱ μηδὲ ἀλούσης Ἰλίου θάλασσαν οἱ πολλοὶ μηδὲ ἄλοιν

38. Ὅμηρος: see Od. 5, 72 ff.; τ, 55; ψ, 199. Pausanias is right in his statement that Homer nowhere mentions the elephant, although ivory is spoken of several times. — 39. αὐτῶν: pleonastic repetition of a preceding subject through the oblique cases of αὐτοίς is very frequent; usually, as here, when the general nature of the preceding plural is qualified by a following adjective. Cf. 1, 7, 2 and 6. — 42. Πυγμαίων τε ἄνδρων καὶ γεράνων μάχης: cf. II. Π, 3–6 κλάγγη γεράνων... αὶ κλάγγη ταῖς πέτονται ἐπ’ Ὁκεανοῦ ὄρασων, ἄνδρας Πυγμαίωνοι φόνων καὶ κηρὰ φέρουσαι. The war between the Pygmies and the cranes is often mentioned in ancient writers as a martial episode of curious interest. Note especially Athen. 9, p. 300 u; Aelian, Nat. Anim. 15, 29; Ovid, Met. 6, 90 ff.; Pliny, N. H. 7, 26.

43. Πύρρον δὲ ἔσ Σικελιανόν ἀπήγαγε: this occurred in the year 278. On this expedition of Pyrrhus to Sicily, cf. Plut. Pyrrhus, 22 ff.; Diod. 22, 7 ff.; Droysen III, 1, 162 ff.; A. Holm,
ηπίσταντό τι χρήσθαι. μαρτυρεὶ δὲ μοι καὶ Ὄμηρον ἐπος ἐν Ὄδυσσείᾳ· χι., 1.2.2 — 1.5.3.
οὐδὲ θάλασσαν ἀνέρες, οὐδὲ θ' ἀλεσσι μεμγιμένον εἴδαρ ἔδοσιν.

13 τάτε δὲ ὁ Πύρρος, ὁς ἤττηθα, ταῖς ναυσῖν ἐς Τάραντα ἀνήγετο ταῖς λοιπαῖς· ἐναὐθὰ πρὸς ἐποτέσσαρες μεγάλως καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν — οἱ γὰρ ἀμαχιὲς Ῥωμαίοις ἠπίστατο ἀφήσοντας — πορίζεται πρὸς τὸν καὶ τὸν τοὺς. [ὡς ἐπενήκων ἐκ Σικελίας ἢ ἤττηθη,] πρῶτον διέσεμε γράμματα ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, τοὺς μὲν στρατιὰν τῶν βασιλέων, τοὺς δὲ χρῆματα, Ἀντίγονον δὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα αἰτῶν· ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγελῶν, ὡς οἱ γράμματα ἀπεδόθη, συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῶν τε ἑκατέρων καὶ τῶν Ταραντίων, δὲν μὲν εἰχὲ τὰ βιβλία ἀνεγίνωσκέν, οὐδὲν ὧς ἦξεν συμμαχιὰν ἐλεγέν ταχύ δὲ καὶ ἑκὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἠλθὲ φήμη Μακεδόνας καὶ ἄλλα ἐδικαίωσαν τοὺς Ἀσίαν ἐς τὴν Πύρρον βοήθειαν· Ῥωμαίοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἁκοῦοντες ἠσύχαζον, Πύρρος δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιστάνθην περαιοῦσα νύκτα πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὂρων ἡ Κεραυνία ὑμοῦα.


13. Pyrrhus leaves Italy — Conquers Antigonus — Makes expedition against the Lacedaemonians — His death at Argos — Similar end of the three Aeadida.

2. προστάταις μεγάλως: at the battle of Beneventum in 275 B.C., whither he had marched to attack the Romans. This expression, repeated 13, 6, is Herodotean. Cf. Hdt. 1, 16; 5, 62; 6, 95; 7, 170, 210. 2, 161, προστάταις μεγαλωστὶ. 5. ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον: cf. Justin, 25, 3, 1—4. The position of τε after the preposition is the more frequent, e.g. 1, 1, 3; 1, 4, 1 and 3; 2, 9, 2; 10, 5; 3, 3, 8; 8, 51, 8. Yet τε now and then stands after the substantive. Cf. 10, 12, 5, ἐς Δηλόν τε καὶ ἐς δελφοὺς. So 2, 7, 5; 19, 5; 9, 6, 4. — 9. ὃ μὲν . . . ὃ δὲ: after a negative sentence with μὲν, the following clause is frequently introduced after the manner of the poets and Herodotus with ὃ δὲ, as if a new subject were opposed to that of the preceding sentence, while the contrast lies much more in the verb or object. Cf. Hdt. 1, 17, and Paus. 1, 14, 5; 2, 13, 6; 3, 6, 8, etc. — 10. ἀνεγίνωσκεν: exceptionally used instead of the more usual ἐπιλέγεσθαι. Cf. 1, 19, 3; 22, 7; 37, 4, etc.
METÀ DÈ TYN EN 'ITALIA PŁEŁGΗΝ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΑΣ TYN DYNAMIN 2 PROEİPEIN 'ANTIGONÔPÓ POLÉMION, ALŁA TE POIOÚMENOS EGKLΗMATA KAI MÁLΣTA TΗΣ ĖS 'ITALIÁN BOBHEÍAΣ DIAMARΤΙΑΝ. KRATΗ-
SAS DÈ TYN TE İDIAΝ PARASKEVΗN 'ANTIGONÔU KAI TÒ PÅR' AYTW
20 GΑΛΑΤΩΝ ΖΕΝΙΚΩΝ ΕΔΙΩΧΕΝ ĖS TÀΣ ĖP'I ΘΕΛΑΣΤΗΡΑ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ, ΑΥΤΩΣ
DÈ MΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΣ TE TΗΣ ĖN W KAI ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ ΕΠΕΚΡΑΤΗΣΕ. ΔΗ-
ΛΟΙ DÈ MÁLΣTA TÒ MEĞΕΘΟΣ TΗΣ MÁΧΗΣ KAI TΗΝ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΝ,
41 WΣ PÅRÀ POLÙ GÉONTO, TÀ ĖNATHEÎNTA ĞΠΛΑ TÔW KELΤΩΝ ĖS
TÒ TΗΣ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΣ IERÔN TΗΣ ΙΤΩΝIΑΣ ΦΕΡΩΝ MΕΤΑΞÙ KAI LΑΡΙŚΗΣ
25 KAI TÒ ĖPIGRAMMA TÒ ĖP'I ĖΝΤΑΙS:

TOUS ΘΥΡΕΟΥΣ Ö MΟΛΟΣΣΟΣ 'ΙΤΩΝΙΔΙ ΔΩΡΟΥΝ 'ΑΘΑΝΑ

ΠΥΡΡΟΣ ĖP'TÒ ΘΡΑΣΕΩΝ ΕΚΡΕΜΑΣΕΝ GΑΛΑΤΑΝ,
PÅΝΤΑ TÔN 'ANTIGONÔN KΑΒΕΛΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ. ÎΩ MÉΓΑ ΘΑΙΜΑ-
AÎΧΜΑΤΑI KAI ÊN KAI PÅRÒS ΛΑΙΚΙΔΑI.

30 TOÛTOUS MÈN DΗ ĖΝTAIΣΑ, TÅ DÈ EN ΔΩΔΩΝΗ ΔÌ MΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
ANÉTHKENE AYTWÔN TÀS ĖΣΠÎDAS. ĖPΙΓΕΡΑΠΑΙ TÅI KAI ΣΑΤΑI:

AÎDE PO' 'ΑΣIΩA GAĪAN ĖPO'RΘΗΣAN POLÛΧΡΥΣΟN,
AÎDE KAI 'ΕΛΛΑΣIΝ ΘΟΥΛΟΣΩΝ ÊPΩROU.

NÀN DÈ DIÒS NÀW PO'TI KÎWΝAS DΡopyright KĒI'TAI
TÅS MEGALΑUCHÎTÔW SKÛLA MΑΚΕΔΟΝIΑS.

ΠΥΡΡΟ Β MΑΚΕΔΟΝΑΣ ĖS ĖPÅN MΗ KATATRÊFASMATHAI PÅR' ÔLÌ- 4
GÔN ÔMÔS ΖΚÔUTI ĖGÊNETO KLEÔNIMOS AITIOS, ĖTÔMÔTERÒF KAI
41 ÂLLÔS ÔNÔI ĖLÈŚΘAI TÅ ĖN XERŚI. KLEÔNIMOS DÈ ÓÝTOS, Ö TÔN

18. KRATΗSASH... TÅN TE İDIAŅ PARAS-
SEVÎN 'ANTIGONÔN: see Plut. Pyrrhus,
26; DroyseN, III, 1, 20, on this vic-
tory of Pyrrhus over Antigonus and
his Gallic mercenaries (274 B.C.)—
28. TÅ ĖNATHEÎNTA ĞΠΛΑ: cf. Plut. Pyr-
rhus, 26; Diod. Exc. Vå. 1, 22, 3. In
both passages the first epigram is cited,
also in Anthol. Pal. 6, 130. In the
Anthol. note TÔV AÝTÔV, i.e. of Leon-
idas. Against this assignment nothing
can be urged. Cf. Susemihl, II, 535,
rem. 81. The second epigram, occur-
ring only in Pausanias, Susemihl like-
wise ascribes to Leonidas, but on insuf-
ficient grounds.
Πύρρον ἀπολιπόντα τὰ Μακεδόνων πείσας ἐσε Πελοπόννησον
ἐλθεῖν, Λακεδαιμόνιος ὡν Λακεδαιμονίως στρατὸν ἐς τὴν
χώραν πολέμου ἐπήγε δι’ αἰτίαν ἦν ἐγὼ τοῦ γένους ύστερον
τοῦ Κλεωνύμου δηλώσω. Παυσανίας τοῦ περὶ Πλάτανοι
τοῖς Ἐλλήσι τηγασαμένου Πλειστάναξ υἱὸς ἐγένετο, τοῦ
δὲ Παυσανίας, τοῦ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος, ὃς ἐναντία Ἐπαμεινώνδα
καὶ Θηβαῖος μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν ἐν Δεύκτροις. Κλεομβρό-
τον δὲ Ἀγησίπολις ἦν καὶ Κλεομένης, Ἀγησίπολίδος δὲ
ἀπαιδὸς τελευτήσαντος Κλεομένης τὴν βασιλείαν ἐσχε.
Κλεομένει δὲ παῖδες γίνονται πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀκρότατος, 5
νεότερος δὲ Κλεωπνύμος. Ἀκρότατον μὲν οὖν πρότερον κατέ-
λαβεν ἡ τελευτή. Κλεομένευς δὲ ἀποθανόντος ύστερον ἐς
ἀμφισβήτησιν κατέστη περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρείου ὁ Ἀκρο-
τάτον, καὶ Κλεωπνύμος ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ μετελθὼν ἐπάγει
Πύρρον ἐς τὴν χώραν. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ πρὸ μὲν τῆς ἐν
Δεύκτροις (μάχης) οὐδὲν ἐγεγόνει πταῖσμα, ὥστε οὐδὲ συνε-
χώρουν ἄγων ὑπὸ κεκρατήσατο πεζῷ. Λεωνίδα μὲν γὰρ νυ-
κῶντι οὖν ἔφασαν τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐς τελέαν ἐξαρκέσαι φθοράν
τῶν Μήδων, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δημοσθένους ἔργον πρὸς
τῇ νῆσῳ Σφακτηρία κλοπὴν εἶναι πολέμου καὶ οὐ νίκην.
πρώτης δὲ γενομένης σφώνυ συμφορὰς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς, ύστερον 10
Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι μεγάλως προσέπτασαν. τρίτως
dὲ ὁ Δημητρίου πόλεμος κακόν ἀνέλπιστον ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν
γῆν. Πύρρον δὲ ἐσβαλόντος τέταρτον δὴ τότε στρατὸν
ὁρῶντες πολέμοις αὐτοὶ τε παρετάσσοντο καὶ Ἀργείων ἡκου-
tes καὶ Μεσσηνίων σύμμαχοι. Πύρρος δὲ ὡς ἐπεκράτησεν,
διόνυσον μὲν ἦλθεν ἐλείν αὐτοβοεῖ τὴν τόλμη, δηλώσας δὲ τὴν

60. Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι μεγά-
λως προσέπτασαν: the battle referred
to is that of Megalopolis, in 330 B.C.,
when the Peloponnesians took up arms
against the Macedonian supremacy and
were utterly routed by Antipater. King
Agis was among the slain. Note use
of dat.'Ἀντιπάτρῳ. The usual construc-
tion is προσέπτασαν πρὸς τινα. So Hdt.
1, 65; 6, 45.
HISTORY OF PYRRHUS

9

Ch. 13, 9

γῆν καὶ λείαιν ἔλασας μικρὸν ἰσόχαζεν. οἱ δὲ ἐς πολιορκίαν
εὐτρεπίζοντο, πρότερον ἔτι τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου
τοῦ πρὸς Δημήτριον τάφροις τε βαθείας καὶ σταυρώσεις τετει-
χυσμένης ἰσχύοις, τὰ δὲ ἐπιμαχώστατα καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν.

70 ὑπὸ δὲ τούτου τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Δακωνι
κοῦ τριβὴν Ἀντίγονος τὰς πόλεις τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνασωσά-
μενος ἦπείγετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον οία ἐπιστάμενος Πύρρον,
ἡν Λακεδαίμονα καταστρέφεται καὶ Πελοποννήσιον τὰ πολλά,
οὐκ ἐς Ἡπειρον ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὲ Μακεδονίαν αὐθίς καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ

75 πόλεμον ἤξοντα. μέλλοντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τὸν στρατὸν ἔξ
Ἀργοὺς ἐς τὴν Δακωνικὴν ἄγειν, αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ Ἀργοὺς ἐληλύ-
θει Πύρρος. κρατῶν δὲ καὶ τότε συνεσπάστει τοῖς φεύγονσι
ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ οἱ διαλύεται κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἡ τάξις. μαχο-

80 μένων δὲ πρὸς ιεροῖς ἢδη καὶ οἰκίαις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενω-
ποὺς καὶ κατ’ ἀλλο ἄλλων τῆς πόλεως, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πύρρος
ἐμονόθηκα τῇ κεφαλῇ. κεράμῳ δὲ βλη-
θέντα ὑπὸ γυναικὸς τεθνάναι φασὶ Πύρρον. Ἀργείοι δὲ οὐ
gυναίκα τὴν ἀποκτείνασαν, Δήμητρα δὲ φασὶν εἶναι γυναίκι
eἰκασμένην. ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Πύρρου τελευτὴν αὐτῶν λέγουσιν.

85 Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐξηγητῆς Λυκέας ἐν ἐπεσιν
eἰρήκη· καὶ σφυσὶν ἔστι τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσατος, ἔνθα ὁ Πύρρος
ἐτελεύτησεν, ιερῶν Δήμητρος. ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Πύρρος
tέθαναι. θαῦμα δὴ ποιοῦμαι τῶν καλομένων Λικείων τρισὶ
catὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτήν, εἰ
gε Ἀχιλλέα μὲν Ὄμηρος ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου φησὶ τοῦ Πριά-
μου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπολέσθαι, Πύρρον δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως
ἡ Πυθία προσέταξεν ἀποκτείναι Δελφοῖς, τῷ δὲ Λικείων

81. On Pyrrhus's Peloponnesian expedi-
c 9. On Pyrrhus's Peloponnesian ex-
1, etc. Also Droysen, III, 1, 209–219.
90. Ἀχιλλέα μὲν Ὄμηρος κτλ.: see
Pyrrhus, 26–34; Justin, 25, 4, 6 — 5, II, X, 359 ff.
THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

Δυκέας ἐποίησε. διάφορα δὲ ὅμως ἐστὶ καὶ ταύτα δὲν Ἱερώ
μος ὁ Καρδιανὸς ἔγραψεν· αὐτὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖ συνόντα
ἀνάγκη πάσα ἐσ χάριν συγγράφεως. εἰ δὲ καὶ Φίλωτος
αὐτίαν δικαίαν εἰληφεν, ἐπειτίκων τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις κάθο-
δον, ἀποκρύψασθαι τῶν Διονυσίου τὰ ἀνοσίωτα, ἢ που
πολλὴ γε Ἱερωνύμῳ συγγνώμη τὰ ἐς ἤδουν Ἀντιγόνου

100 γράφειν.

14 Ἡ μὲν Ἡπειρωτῶν ἀκμὴ κατέστρεψεν ἐς τούτο· ἐς δὲ τὸ

Ἀθηναίων ἐσελθοῦσιν Ὀμιδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος κεῖται
θέας αξίως. πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν
Ἐννεάκρονον, οὕτω κοσμηθέοντα ὑπὸ Πεισουρτάτου· φρέ

5 ατα μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶ, πηγὴ δὲ αὐτὴ
μόνη. ναὸι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποίηται

14. Odoum — Enneacrunus — Temples of Demeter and Persephone, and of
Triptolemus — Epimenides and Thales

2. Ὀμιδεῖον κτλ.: see Excursus III.
— 3. κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐννεά-
κρονον: for the question as to the
site of this fountain and adjacent mon-
uments, and the discussion of what is
known as "the Enneacrunus Episode,"
see Excursus III. — 5. πηγὴ δὲ αὐτὴ
μόνη: Pausanias speaks of the foun-
tain (κρήνη) Enneacrunus as being the
only "spring" (πηγὴ), while there are
wells (φρέατα) διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως.
Yet he mentions 1, 21, 4, the κρήνη at the
Asclepieum and 1, 28, 4, the πηγὴ which
is known under the name Κλεψίδα.
Leake (I, 131) explains the inconsis-
tency by saying that Pausanias meant
only such springs as were desirable
for drinking-water; for according to
Vitruv. 8, 3, 6, most of the spring water
in Athens was bad and used for wash-
ing merely, while the well water served
for drinking purposes. πηγὴ signifies
a natural spring (2, 7, 4; 4, 34, 4, etc.);
κρήνη is an artificially constructed foun-
tain (1, 40, 1; 2, 2, 8, etc.) usually fed
by a natural spring; φρέατα are wells,
the water of which must be drawn
(Hdt. 6, 19). — 6. ναὸι . . . Ἐλευσί-
νων: the sanctuary Eleusinium doubt-
less included the two temples mentioned
above, the one of Demeter and Perse-
phone, the other of Triptolemus. Plu-
tarch (de exilii, 17) mentions the Eleu-
sinium along with the Parthenon as
one of the preeminently sacred places
of Athens. It was a precinct that could
be securely closed (Thuc. 2, 17). On
the day after the celebration of the
Eleusinian mysteries a sacred assem-
bly of the Council of the 500 met in
the Eleusinium (Andoc. 1, 3; C.I.A. II,
4, 31; III, 2). Decrees relating to the
Mysteries were here set up (C.I.A. II,
315; III, 5). On the site of the Eleu-
sinium, see Excursus III.
καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἀγαλματικά, τὰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὅποια λέγεται γράφω, παρεῖς ὁπόσον ἐστὶν. Ἐλλήνων οἱ μάλιστα ἄμφισβητοι. 2 τούτως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστὶν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ δόρα, ἀνάρτηθαι θεών ἰδίων ἐκείνων, εἰς ἣν Ἀργείων, καθάπερ δραμάτων Φρυγίων Αἰγύπτων, λέγεται οὖν ὁ Αἴγυπτος ἢ πολυάριστος Πελαγικός ὑπέβαλε τὸ πέτωκα καὶ ὡς Χρυσαυγῆς αὐτὴ ἀρπαγή ἐπισταμένη τῆς Κόρης διηγήσατο. ὡστερον δὲ Τροχίλοις ἱεροῖς φαντασμικός εἶναι ἄργους κατὰ ἑκάστων Ἀγίωρος ἐλθεῖν. 5 φαντασμικὸς εἶναι τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ γυναικεῖα τε ἐς Ἔλευσιν γῆμαι καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παιδάκης Ἐβδομαδαῖος καὶ Τριπτολέμου. ὡδὲ μὲν Ἀργείων ἐστὶς λόγος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ ὁσοὶ παρὰ τούτους ἴσοι ἢ πολὺς Τριπτολέμου τὸν Κέλεον πρῶτον σπείρας καρπῶν Ἄνδρον. ἐπὶ δὲ άσεται Μουσικός ἡ Ἱεροῦ, εἰ δὴ Μουσικόν καὶ ταύτα, Τριπτόλεμον παῖδα ὁ Μακεδόν καὶ ὁ Έδρος ἐστιν, ὁ Ὀρθέως δὲ, οὐδὲ ταύτα ὁ Ὀρθέως ἠμοι δοκεῖν ὡμία, Εὐβουλεῖ καὶ Τριπτόλεμῳ Δυσαυληθῆς πατέρα οὗ τιναί, μηνυθέντα δὲ σφιξαί περὶ τῆς παιδᾶς δοθήκη παρὰ Δήμητρος σπείρας τοῦς καρποὺς. Χωρίως δὲ Αθηναῖος δράμα ποιήσαι. Ἀλόπης ὡς εἰρήμενα Κερκύνας ἐστὶ καὶ Τριπτόλεμον άδελφοὺς, τεκεῖν δὲ σφαῖρας θυγατέρας Ἀρμοκτονούς, εἶναι δὲ πατέρα Τριπτολέμῳ μὲν Ραφίνον, Κερκύνας δὲ Ποσειδώνα. πρῶος δὲ Ἴναι μὲ πρωτημένος τοῦ τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὁπόσα ἐξήγησιν . . . ἔστιν 30 τὸ Αἴγυπτον ήρον, καλούμενον δὲ Ελευσίνων, ἐπέσχετο ὡς ὁμηρεύσας τοὺς. δὲ δὲ πάντας ὁποῖας ἄριστης, τοῦ ταύτα ἀποτρέψαμες τοῦ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸν ἄγαλμα, ἔστι βοῡς χαλκοῦς οὗτος οἷσιν ἄγομενος, πεποίηται δὲ καθήμενος Ἀπειμενίδης Κνώσσιος, ἧν ἐλθόντα ἂν

34. Ἀπειμενίδης Κνώσσιος: Epimenides, mentioned in connection with Triptolemus and the bronze steer, was originally identical with the Attic hero Bouzyges, the first driver of oxen (Hesych. s.v. bouzygê; Serv. ad Georg. 1, 10). The mythical form of this first ox tamer was, in the consciousness of
35 ἀγρῷν κομμᾶσθαι λέγουσιν ἐσελθόντα ἐς σπῆλαιον. ὁ δὲ ὕπνος οὐ πρότερον ἀνήκεν αὐτοῖς πρὶν ἡ οἱ τεσσαρακοστῶν ἓτος γενέσθαι καθεύδοντι, καὶ ὑστερον ἐπὶ τε ἐποίει καὶ πόλεις ἐκάθηρεν ἄλλας τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων. Θάλης δὲ ὁ Δακεδαμονίως τὴν νόσον παύσας οὔτε ἄλλως προσήκων
40 οὔτε πόλεως ἦν Ἑπιμενίδη τῆς αὐτῆς· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Κνώσσιος, Θάλης δὲ εἶναι φησί Γορτύνιον Πολύμναστος Κολοφώνιος ἐπὶ Δακεδαμονίως ἐς αὐτὸν ποιήσας.— ἔτι δὲ ἀπωτέρω ὁ ναὸς Εὐκλείας, ἀνάρθημα καὶ τούτῳ ἀπὸ Μήδων, οἱ τῆς χώρας Μαραθῶν έχθον. φρονήσας δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ταύτης μάλιστα εἰκάζω. καὶ δὴ καὶ Λισχύλος, ὃς οὐ τοῦ βίου προσδοκάτο ἢ τελευτή, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμφανώς εὐδενοῖς, δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτον ἕκων ἐπὶ ποιήσαι καὶ πρὸς Ἀρτέμισίῳ καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖν ναυμαχήσας· ὁ δὲ τὸ τε ὄνομα πατρόθεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγραψε καὶ ὃς τῆς ἀνδρίας μάρτυρας
50 ἔχοι τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἄλσος καὶ Μήδων τοὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβαίνεις.

43. ναὸς Εὐκλείας: the question of the identity of Eucleia with Artemis is closely bound up with the discussion of the site of this temple, and is therefore reserved for Excursus III.—45. Αἰσχύλος . . . ναυμαχήσας: the current tradition regarding the death of Aeschylus was that he was killed near Gela in Sicily by a tortoise which was dropped on his bald head by an eagle, which mistook it for a stone. Cf. Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, p. 120; Aelian, Nat. An. 7, 16; Pauly-Wissowa, I, 1068. His epitaph was as follows:

Λισχύλων Εὐφορλώνος Ἀθηναίον τῶ ἑράθη / μνήμα καταφθάνειν πυροφόρῳ Ἐλεά / ἀληθῆς δ’ εὐδοκιμῶν Μαραθῶν ἄλσος ἄν / ἐποίει καὶ βαθυχαίης Μήδων ἑποταμεῖν.

TEMPLE OF HEPHAESTUS

Ch. 14, 7

"Τπερ δε των Κεραμεικων και στοαν την καλουμενην βασι-6
λεων ναος έστιν 'Ηφαιστου. και οτι μεν άγαλμα οι παρε-
στηκεν 'Αθηνας, ουδεν θαυμα έποιομην των έπι 'Εριχθωνιν
έσταμενοι λόγον τε δε άγαλμα ρων της 'Αθηνας γλα-
κους έχουν τους όφθαλμους Διβων των μυθον οντα ευρσκον-
τοις γαρ έστιν ειρημενον Ποσειδώνος και λίμνης Τριτω-
νιδος θυγατέρα ειναι και δια τουτο γλαυκους εμαι ωσπερ
και τω Ποσειδών τους όφθαλμους. πλησιον δε ιερόν έστιν τη
'Αφροδιτης Ουρανιας. πρώτως δε άνθρωπων 'Ασπριών

52. ναός... 'Ηφαιστος: for a discussion of the identity of the temple
of Hephaestus with the so-called Theseum, and a description of the temple,
see Excursus IV. — οτι μεν άγαλμα οι παρεστηκεν 'Αθηνας κτλ.: the joint
worship of Hephaestus and Athena was very ancient in Attica (Plat. Criti-
tias, p. 109 c); their temple is also mentioned by Augustine (Civ. Dei, 18,
12). Pausanias refers to the Erichthonious legend as the link between He-
phaestus and Athena (Apollod. 3, 14,
6; Schol. Hom. II. B, 547; Aug. l.c.),
while others hold that the link was not
Erichthonious but Apollo the Paternal,
who was said to be a son of Hephaes-
tus and Athena (Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1,
22, 55; 23, 57; Clem. Alex. Protrept.
2, 28, p. 24, ed. Potter). — 54. τε δε
άγαλμα... της 'Αθηνας γλαυκούς έχου
τους όφθαλμους: this remark about the
γλαυκολ όφθαλμων suggests that the eyes
of ancient statues were set in, or that
they were painted. Homer's favorite
epithet of Athena is γλαυκώτης, "blue-
eyed." Dr. Schliemann (Troy, p. 54,
112 ff.) would translate the epithet
"owl-faced," deriving the word from
γλαυξ "owl" and δύ "face," supposing
the goddess was originally represented
with the face of an owl. R. Hildebrandt,
Philol. XLVI (1888), 201 ff., derives
it from γλαυκός "bright" or "blue"
and a root νηρό, "water," making the
compound designate a goddess of the
bright blue sea. Pausanias' statement
indicates that the Greeks understood
"blue-eyed" by the term, which hy-
pothesis is confirmed by Cicero (de Nat.
Deor. 1, 30, 83), who says the color of
Minerva's eyes was bluish-gray, and of
Neptune's sky-blue.

58. πλησιον δε ιερόν έστιν 'Αφροδι-
tης Ουρανιας: as this sanctuary was
near the temple of Hephaestus, it prob-
ably stood on the Colonus Agoraeus or
Market Hill. The worship of the god-
dess whom the Greeks called Aphro-
dite Urania was derived from the
Semitic peoples of Asia, being the
counterpart of the Baals of the vari-
ous cities, and known as Baalat or
Astarte. Like the male deity, Astarte
was regarded as the giver of fertility
to plants, animals, and men, and as
the goddess of heaven. Jeremiah (7,
18; 44, 18) calls her "the queen of
heaven." In her double aspect as god-
dess of love and of heaven, the Greeks
represented her as the Heavenly Aphrodite. See Roscher, Lex. s.v. Aphrodite Urania; Peller-Robert, I, 349, rem. 5.

15. The Stoa Poikile and its Paintings.

1. στοάν ... Ποικίλην ... 'Ερμής ... 'Αγοραῖος καὶ πόλη πλησίον: after describing in c. 14, 6–7, the temples etc. on the Market Hill to the west of the Agora, Pausanias now describes some objects of especial interest within the market-place, notably the Painted Colonnade, the Hermes of the Market, and a market-gate. As the site of the three is a disputed question, the consideration of it is reserved for Excursus II. The Stoa Poikile or Painted Colonnade was originally named Πεσιάνακτειος στοά after its founder Pesisanax, son-in-law of Cimon (Plut. Cim. 4; Diog. Laert. 7, 5). It was built probably after 457 B.C. Just as its site is not definitely known, so also its form is uncertain. Since it was intended to serve as a Lesche, i.e. as a lounging-place for the public, we may ascribe to it the customary form for Leschae, a long rectangular hall inclosed on three sides and open on one long side fronted with columns. Here Zeno met his disciples, who thus acquired the name of Stoics or "men of the Stoa" (Diog. Laert. 7, 1, 5). Lucian (Jupp. Trag. 16; Icarom. 34; Dial. Meretr. 10, 1; Pisc. 13) and Alciphron (Ep. 1, 3; 3, 53, 64) tell of philosophers and their followers discoursing and wrangling within or before the Colonnade.—απὸ τῶν γραφῶν: the Colonnade was embellished with paintings by Polygnotus and his associates Micon and Panaerus (Plut. Cim. 4; Pliny 25, 58; Harpocr. s.v. Πολύγνωτος). It is a mooted question whether the paintings were on the wall itself or on wooden tablets. Since Synesius (Ep. 54 and 135) toward the end of the fourth century uses the expression σαφῆς in stating that paintings had been removed from the colonnade by a Roman proconsul, some have regarded them as easel paintings, but the evidence
that Polygnotus and his contemporaries painted generally on walls is so convincing that there is but little doubt that they were fresco paintings (cf. Pliny N.H. 35, 59, 123; Paus. 6, 26, 3 and Frazer's note). — 2. 'Ερμής χαλκούς καλούμενος 'Αγοραῖος: the statue of Hermes Agoraeus or Hermes of the Market stood in the Agora beside the Painted Colonnade (Lucian, Jupp. Trag. 33 and schol.). It is known to have dated from before the Persian War (Hesych. s.v. ἀγοραῖος 'Ερμής), and Lucian (l.c.) states that it was of archaic style — εὐγραμμός, εὐπεπλεχτός, ἄρχαιος τὴν ἀνάδεσιν τῆς κόμης. Some have conjectured that the statue seen by Pausanias was a copy of the bronze original. Whether the original or a copy, the statue was a much-admired specimen of archaic art, and artists (Lucian l.c.) were continually making casts of it, so that it was never quite free from pitch. This Hermes was a very popular deity. The Aristophanic sausage-seller swears ἃ τὴν 'Ερμήν τὸν 'Αγοραῖον (Eq. 307). Lucian (l.c.) represents him rushing up among the gods to tell them of the impious things that were said in the Agora. — 6. πρῶτα μὲν... ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν τούχων: Pausanias describes at length four paintings in the Colonnade, the battles of Oenoe, of Marathon, of the Amazons, and of the Sack of Troy. As to the disposition of the paintings, it seems likely from Pausanias' statement that the first two were on the two short walls and the last two on the long back wall. There were other pictures in the Colonnade, as e.g. a portrait of Sophocles with his lyre (Biog. Gr., ed. Westermann, p. 127) and a picture by Pamphilus or Apollodorus of the Heracleids seeking the protection of the Athenians (Schol. Ar. Plutus, 385). The paintings were still in existence up to the fourth century, for Himerius (Or. 10, 2) speaks of the painting of the battle of Marathon as still extant in his time (A.D. 315-386), and Synesius' statements (ll.cc.) show that in 402 A.D. their removal had but recently taken place. — 'Αθηναῖος... τεταγμένος ἐν Οἰλίνῃ κτλ.: the subject of this painting has occasioned discussion. The battle of Oenoe, in which Athenians defeated Spartans, is mentioned again by Pausanias, 10, 10, 4, but by no other writer. Pausanias states (l.c.) that a group of statuary executed by the artists Hypatos and Aristototon was set up by the Argives in honor of the joint victory gained by Argives and Athenians against the Spartans at Oenoe in Argolis. From a Delphic inscription (C.I.G. 25), it is clear that these artists belong to the first half of the fifth century B.C. This gives an approximate date for the battle. The Athenian-Argive alliance was formed 463 B.C., after the breach with Sparta at Ithome
The final victory of the Spartans over the allies occurred at Tanagra in 468 B.C. Hence the battle of Oenoe doubtless occurred between these dates.

10. Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θησεύς Ἀμαζόσι μάχονται: from other sources we know this painting was by Micon (Arr. Anab. 7, 13, 10), and that the Amazons were depicted fighting on horseback (Ar. Lys. 678 and Schol.). Pausanias alludes to all three battles in which Amazons were engaged: (1) fight of Heracles with the Amazons in their own country (1, 2, 1); fight of Athenians against the Amazons at Athens (Plut. Thes. 26); and fight of Achilles with the Amazons before Troy.—

16. Ἑλληνες έλον γγνακας Τλιον: Plutarch (Cim. 4) mentions the current report that Polygnotus introduced the likeness of Cimon’s sister Elpinice into the painting as Laodice, who also appeared in Polygnotus’s great picture of the capture of Ilium in the Leisce at Delphi (10, 26, 7).

20. τελυταίοι δι τῆς γραφῆς εἰσιν οἱ μαχεσάμενοι Μαραθώνι: this painting seems to have been the joint work of Micon and Panaeus (cf. Paus. 5, 11, 6; Arr. Anab. 7, 13, 10). From Pausanias’s description, the action fell into three scenes: (1) The Greeks and Persians in conflict; (2) the flight of the Persians; (3) the attempted embarkation of the Persians. Pausanias mentions by name seven figures — Athena and Heracles, Theseus, Marathon and Echelus, Callimachus and Miltiades. Pliny (N.H. 35, 57), who argues that the portraits of the leaders were real likenesses, adds the names of one Athenian, Cynegirus (Hdt. 6, 14), and two Persians, Datis and Artaphernes. Many fancied they saw the phantom of Theseus charging the Persians.
THE PAINTED COLONNADE

Ch. 16, 1

Βοωτῶν δὲ οἱ Πλάταιαν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσον ἦν Ἀττικὸν ιασών ἐς χεῖρας τοὺς βαρβάρους. καὶ ταύτη μὲν ἐστὶν ἄσα τὰ παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ ἔργον· τὸ δὲ ἐσω τῆς μάχης φεύ-

25 γοντες ἐστὶν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὦθουντες ἀλλήλους, ἐσχατεὶ δὲ τῆς γραφῆς νησί τε αἱ Φοίνικεῖς καὶ τῶν βαρ-

βάρων τοὺς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ταύτας φονεύοντες οἱ Ἑλληνες. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθῶν γεγραμμένοι ἐστὶν ἥρως, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ πεδίον ὄνομαςτα, καὶ Θησεὺς ἀνέκτε ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος Ἦθηρα τε καὶ ᾿Ηρακλῆς. Μαραθωνίων γὰρ, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγου-

30 σιν, Ἡρακλῆς ἐνομίσθη θεὸς πρώτος. τῶν μαχομένων δὲ δήλοι μαλαστὰ ἐσίων ἐς τῇ γραφῆς Καλλίμαχος τε, ὅσ’ Ἀθη-

ναίοις πολεμαρχεῖς ἦρητο, καὶ Μιλτιάδης τῶν στρατηγοῦν-

των, ἥρως τε Ἐχέτας καλοῦμενος, οὐ καὶ ὄστερον παραώματι μνήμην. ἔνταῦθα ἄσπιδες κεῖται χαλκαῖ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν 4

35 ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα ἄπο Σκιωπαῖων καὶ τῶν ἔπικοιρων ἐνεῖα, ταῖς δὲ ἐπαληλιμμέναις πίσσης, μὴ σφάς ὅ τε χρόνος λυμή-

ταί καὶ ὁ ἰῶς; Δακεδαιμονίων ἐνεῖα λέγεται τῶν ἀλόντων ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ.

16 ᾿Ανδριάντες δὲ χαλκοὶ κεῖται πρὸ μὲν τῆς στοὰς Σόλων

(Plut. Thes. 35). Miltiades was re-

presented in front of all the other Ath-

enian generals, extending his hand

ward the enemy and cheering on

his forces (Aeschin. 3, 186 and schol.;

Aristid. Or. 46, p. 232).

34. ἄσπιδες ... χαλκαὶ ... ἀπὸ Σκιω-

παλῶν κτλ.: the successful revolt

of Scione from Athens occurred 423 B.C.,

but two years later the Athenians re-

captured it, slaughtered the men, and

sold into slavery women and children

(Thuc. 4, 120; 5, 132). Thucydides (4,

131) recounts the part their allies took

in the fate of the unfortunate city. The

captured shields were preserved in the

Painted Colonnade. — 37. Δακεδαιμο-


νίων ... τῶν ἀλόντων ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ

νήσῳ: the capture of the two hundred

and ninety-two Lacedaemonians on

the island of Sphacteria occurred 425

B.C. (Thuc. 4, 38). Their shields, to-

gether with the sword of Mardonius,

were regarded as among the most glo-

rious trophies of Athens (Dio. Chrys. 2,

p. 27); probably here too was the shield

of Brasidas lost at Pylus (Thuc. 4, 12;

Diod. 12, 6, 2).

16. Digression on Seleucus.

1. ᾿Ανδριάντες δὲ χαλκοὶ κτλ.: the

bronze statue of Solon is mentioned

also by Dem. 26, 24 and Aelian, Var.
88 THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

Ch. 16, 2

ό τοὺς νόμους Ἀθηναίως γράφας, ὄλγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Σέλευκος, ἡ καὶ πρότερον ἐγένετο εἰς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν μέλησαν σημεία ὅπικ ἀφανῆ. Σέλευκῷ γὰρ, ὡς ὁμοία ἐκ 5 Μακεδονίας σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, θυσίντι ἐν Πέλλῃ τῷ Διῳ τὰ ξύλα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ κείμενα προϊβῆ τε αὐτόματα πρὸς τὸ ἀγαλμα καὶ ἀνευ πυρὸς ἡφθη. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Σέλευκος Ἀντίγονον ἢ Βαβυλῶνα ἀφικόμενον δειόσας καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαίων φυγὼν τὸν Δάγον κατῆλθεν ἀλθὶς εἰς 10 Βαβυλῶνα, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐκράτησε μὲν τῆς Ἀντίγονου στρατιάς καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀντίγονον, εἰλὶ δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσαντα ὄστερον Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντίγονον. ὡς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα 2 προκεχωρήκει καὶ μετ' ὄλγον τὰ Λυσιμάχου κατεργάστο, τὴν μὲν εἰς τὴ Ἀσία πάσαν ἄρχην παρέδωκεν Ἀντίοχῳ τῷ 15 παϊδί, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἠπείγετο. στρατιά μὲν καὶ Ἐλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἢν παρὰ Σέλευκῳ. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἀδελφὸς μὲν Λυσιάνδρας καὶ παρὰ Λυσιμάχου παρ' αὐτὸν πεφευγὼς, ἀλλως δὲ τολμήσα τοῦχερος καὶ δι' αὐτὸ Κεραυνός καλοῦμενος, οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς προσιὼν ὁ Σέλευκος στρατὸς ἐγένετο κατὰ Λυσιμάχειαν, λαθῶν Σέλευκον κτείνει, διαρράσαι δὲ ἐπιτρέπει τὰ χρήματα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐβασιλεύσει Μακεδονίας, ἐς δὲ Γαλαταίς πρῶτος ὃν ἅμεν βασιλέων ἀντιτάξασθαι τολμήσας ἀναιρεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. τὴν δὲ ἄρχην Ἀντίγονος ἀνεσώστοι ὁ Δημήτριον.


27. Τόν χαλκοῦν ... Ἀπόλλωνα ἢ Βραγχίδας: on the bronze Apollo of Branchidae, cf. Paus. 2, 10, 5; 7, 5, 4; 8, 46, 3; 9, 10, 2, and Frazer's notes.
— 29. Σέλευκειαν οἰκίσας ἐπὶ Τύχης ποταμῷ: the foundation of Selucia as the seat of government of the dynasty led to the rapid decline of Babylon. Strabo (16, p. 738) speaks of it as larger than Babylon, whole sections of which lay desolate. Pliny (N. H. 6, 122) puts the population of Selucia at 600,000. About the beginning of the Christian era, its inhabitants were mostly Greeks, with many Macedonians and Syrians (Joseph. 18, 9, 8). It was still a powerful city in Tacitus's time (Ann. 6, 42).


1. οὐκ ἐστιν ἀπαντας ἐπίσημα: cf. 1, 27, 3, οὐκ ἐστιν ἀπαντας γνώριμα; 1, 4, 6, οὐκ ἐστιν ἀπαντας κεχώρηκεν ἡ φύσις; 5, 18, 4, δὴ ἡ ἀπαντας. — 2. Ἐλέου βομῶς: Wilamowitz (Aus Kydathen, p. 201, rem. 4) conjectures that the altar of Mercy is identical with the altar of the Twelve Gods, not mentioned by Pausanias. This conjecture is adopted by Miss Harrison, pp. 141–142. The altar of Mercy is frequently mentioned, because it served as a place of refuge. Statius (Theb. 12, 481 ff.) describes it as standing in a grove of laurel and olives. Adrastus, after the War of the Seven against Thebes, is said to have fled to Athens and taken refuge at the altar of Mercy (Apoll. 3, 7, 1). Likewise the children of Heracles, when persecuted by Eurytheus, fled to this altar (Apoll. 2, 8, 1; Schol. Ar. Eq. 1151). Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, 436–440. — 3. μόνοι ... 'Αθηναῖοι: this statement is not precisely true. Diodorus (13, 22, 7) says the Athenians were the first to set up an altar of Mercy; and Wachsmuth, II, 436 cites an 'Eleous βομῶς found in the precinct of Asclepius at Epidaurus.
THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

Ch. 17, 2

'Ελλήνων νέμουσιν Ἀθηναίων τούτων δὲ οὐ τὰ ἐς φιλανθρωπία πίαν μόνον καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὶς εὐσεβεύοις ἄλλων πλέον, καὶ γὰρ Αἶδος σφυῆ βωμὸς ἐστὶ καὶ Φήμης καὶ Ὀρμῆς δῆλα τε ἐναργῶς, δοσις πλέον τὶ ἑτέρων εὐσεβείας μέτεστιν, ἦν δὲ σφυῖς παρὸν τὸ χήρθης χρήστης. ἐν δὲ τῷ γνώμηι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὖ πολὺ, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ ἀπὸ τούτῳ κατασκευασμένου καλομένω, λίθων τε εἰσὶν ἔρμαὶ θέας

Cf. Wachsmuth l.c. on the φιλανθρωπία of the Athenians.—5. θεοὺς εὐσεβεύοις ἄλλων πλέον: cf. Acts 17, 22: κατὰ πάντα ὡς δευτεραιμονετέρων ἀκαθαρτῶν. —6. Αἶδος σφυῆ βωμὸς ἐστὶ καὶ Φήμης καὶ Ὀρμῆς: Eustathius (ad II. K. 461, p. 1279, 39) locates the altar of Modesty on the Acropolis παρὰ τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς νεόν (cf. Hesych. s.v. Αἶδος βωμὸς). Perhaps the other two altars mentioned were likewise located there. Cf. Wachsmuth, Π. 440. Αἶδος is the personification of good conduct, and is first mentioned by Hesiod, Ο. 200; upon the entrance of the Iron Age she flees with Nemesis from the earth; her daughter is Σωφροσύνη (C.I.A. II. 2336). A priestess of Modesty had a seat in the theatre (C.I.A. III, 367). With Φήμη cf. Ἅστυ Δώδεκα θεοίς ἔγγελοι II. B. 94; Od. 6, 413. Aeschines (1, 128) mentions the altar of Rumor and says, τῇ μὲν Φήμη δημοσίᾳ δώσων ὡς θεῷ (2, 145). Cf. Schol. Aeschin. 1, 128, where it is said that the altar of Rumor was erected shortly after the battle of the Eurymedon because the rumor of that great victory reached Athens the same day.

8. ἐν δὲ τῷ γεμνασίῳ κτλ.: Pausanias again leaves the Agora and describes two buildings "not far from it" and near each other. The first is the gymnasium of Ptolemy, the second the sanctuary of Theseus. The gymnasium was doubtless, like similar structures elsewhere, a spacious edifice with various apartments, colonnades, and open courts for recreation and exercise. The founder was probably Ptolemy Philadelphus. The Ephebi here attended lectures on philosophy (C.I.A. II. 470, l. 19). Cicero and his friends here listened to the philosopher Antiochus (De fin. 5, l. 1). The site of this building was doubtless to the east or north of the Agora, judging from the lie of the ground and the buildings later mentioned. Miss Harrison locates it to the northeast between the existing Colonnades of Attalus and Hadrian (Athens, p. 145 f.). —10. Ἔρμαὶ... εἰκὼν Πτολεμαίου χαλκός... Ἰθάκη... Χρόνιστος κτλ.: Pausanias mentions within the gymnasium stone Hermae, a bronze statue of Ptolemy, a statue of Juba the Libyan, and a statue of Chrysippus of Soli. Pausanias does not say which Juba was meant, but it was doubtless Juba II, who was patronized by Augustus and was the author of historical treatises. Cicero (De fin. 1, 11, 39) and Diogenes Laertius (7, 7, 182) mention a statue of Chrysippus in the market-place of Athens. There is nothing to show this was the one seen by Pausanias.—
SANDTURY OF THESEUS

Ch. 17, 3
άξιοι καὶ εἰκών Πτολεμαίου χαλκῆς καὶ ὁ τε Δίβυς Ἰόβας ἐνταῦθα κεῖται καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σωλεύς.

Πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ Θησεώς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν. γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν πρὸς Ἄμαζονας Ἄθηναίοι μαχάμενοι. πεποίηται δὲ
τὸν Ὠλυμπίον Δίὸς ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θησεώς ἱερῷ καὶ ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ Δαπιθῶν μάχη. Ὁσεῖν
μὲν ὁνὸς ἀπεκτονώς ἐστὶν ἡ ἴδῃ Κενταύρων, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐξ Ἰού καθέστηκεν ἐτὶ ἡ μάχη. τοῦ δὲ τρίτου τῶν τοῖχων ἡ 3
γραφὴ μὴ πυθομένως ἀλέγουσιν οὐ σαφῆς ἐστὶν, τὰ μὲν

13. Ἡσεώς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν: this sanctuary is said to have been expressly constructed to hold the bones of Theseus when they were brought (469 n.c.) from Scyros to Athens by Cimon after the Persian War (cf. Plut. Thes. 36; Thuc. 1, 98; Diod. 4, 62; 11, 60). It was surrounded by an extensive precinct (τέμενος τῆς Θησεώς, C.I.A. II, 440, l. 13) which served as asylum for the fugitive (Ar. Eq. 1311; Diod. 4, 62; Plut. Thes. 36), sometimes also as a place of assembly (Thuc. 6, 61, Arist. Resp. Ath. 15). Certain elections to office by lot regularly took place here (Aesch. 3, 130 and schol., Arist. Resp. Ath. 62). With regard to the site Plutarch (Thes. 36) says: κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει παρὰ τῷ νῦν γυμνασίῳ—doubtless the gymnasion of Ptolemy. The site was somewhere between the Colonnade of Attalus and the northwest slope of the Acropolis. See Excursus IV on the identity of the so-called Theseum with this sanctuary. — γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν κτῆλ.: it appears that the painter of the three pictures, namely (a) the fight of the Athenians and Amazons, (b) the fight

of Centaurs and Lapiths, and (c) the story of Theseus and Amphitrite, was Micon, though Harpocrates and Suidas (s.v. Πολύγνωσι) give Polygnotus the credit for them. It is probable that Polygnotus’s overshadowing reputation caused the works of Micon later to be ascribed to himself. The subject of the first painting, the Battle of the Amazons, was also that of one of the paintings in the Painted Colonnade (c. 15, note) and was represented on the shield of Athena Parthenos (6, 24, 7) and on the pedestal of the statue of Zeus at Olympia (cf. 5, 11, 7). — 17. Ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ Δαπιθῶν μάχη: as Pausanias states later that the third painting was on the third wall of the temple, this was probably on the second or rear wall of the temple, not on the same wall with the first painting.

19. ἡ γραφὴ . . . Μίνως . . . Θησεία . . . Ἀμφιτρίτης κτῆλ.: this story is told by Hyginus (Astron. 2, 5) and is the theme of the Sixteenth (Seventeenth) Ode of Bacchylides. It is also depicted on four well-known ancient vases that have come down to us: (1) a vase found at Caere, now in the Louvre, ascribed to
THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

92

Ch. 17, 4

tou dia ton xronon, ta de Mikes ou tov panta evrafe lógon. | Mines hnika Theosea kai tov allon stolon tov paedon hgen es Krhten, eoraseis Periboias, ois oi Theoseus malista hnanhtoto, kai alla upo orghis aperrwven es auton kai 25 paedai ouk eph Poseidwos einai, epei ou dynamotheTai tin sfragida, h au tos ferw evuch, afentia es thelason ana-
swsoi ois. Mines men legetai tauta eipton afinei tin sfragida. Theosea de sfragida te ekeiynh exounta kai stef-
fanon th moson, 'Amphiptith dwoi, anelethei legousin ek 30 ths thalassths. Es de tin telunth tin Theoses polla Hond 4 kai ouk hmolouvena eiryntai. Dedesthai te gar auton legou-
sin es tode ethos uf' Hrakleous anahthei, pithanota de dun hkoosa. Theoseus es Theoprotos embalon, ton basilews 35 ton Theoprotwn gunaika artpaswn, to polu tis stratias
ouwos apallusi, kai autos te kai Peirithous — Peirithous
gar kai ton gamon speudon estrapenein — hliosan, kai sfas
o Theoprotos hias eixe ev Kihroup. Hth de tis Theoprot
50 tidos esti mewn pou kai alla theas alexia, ierow te Dios ev

Euphronius; (2) a vase found at Gargi, now in the National Library at
Paris; (3) a vase in the Civic Museum at Bologna; and (4) a red figured vase
found at Truvo (M. d. arch. Inst., Röm. Abth., IX (1894), 229 ff. and Pl. VIII).
These are described and discussed by Frazer, II, 150-100. They were doubt-
less derived from the painting of Micon. — 25. er en ou dunastai tin sfrag-
ida: a sentence introduced by en in oratio obliqua often has its verb in the
infinitive. Cf. 1, 22, 6; 5, 28, 1; 7, 23, 8; 10, 7, 3. The same construction
occurs with as and relatives in oratio obliqua, as e.g. 3, 4, 4; 8, 53, 2; 9, 33,
4; 10, 4, 4; 10, 4, 6. This construction is frequent in Hdt., Thuc., and Plato.

30. Es de tin telunth tin Theoses: the legend of Theseus's descent into
Hades with his friend Pirithous and his rescue by Heracles is told by Diod.
4, 63; Hyginus, Fab. 79; Mythog. Gr., ed. R. Wagner, I, 181ff., etc. Cf. Paus.
59, 31, 5; 10, 29, 9.

38. Ierow te Dios en Degeia: on the excavations on the site of ancient
Dodona, see Carapanos, Dodone et ses ruines, 1878. The ruins lie seven
miles to the southwest of Janina in Epirus. The rustling of the leaves of
the sacred oak was regarded as the voice of Zeus, and these mysterious
sounds were interpreted by priestesses.
Cf. Hom. Od. 1, 327, 7, 219; Aesch.
Prom. 851; Steph. Byz. and Suid. s.v.
SANCTUARY OF THESEUS
93

Δωδώνη καὶ ἵερα τοῦ θεοῦ φηνός. πρὸς δὲ τῇ Κιχύρῳ λίμνῃ
40 τέ ἐστιν Ἀχεροσία καλουμένη καὶ ποταμός Ἀχέρων, ῥεῖ δὲ
cαὶ Κωκυτὸς ὕδωρ ἀτερπεστάτων. Ὁμηρός τέ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα
ἐσωρακός ἐς τὴν ἀλλήν ποίησαν ἀποτολμήσαι τῶν ἐν Ἁθανάτου καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Θησεῖς πρωτίδι θέσθαι. τότε δὲ ἔχομεν τὴν Ἡθείους στρατεύοντων
45 ἐς Ἁθανάτου Οἰονισίων παιδεῖς καὶ τὴν τε Ἡθείους αἵρευός καὶ Μενεσθέα ἐπὶ βασιλεία κατηγαγόν. Μενεσθέας δὲ τῶν 8
μὲν παιδῶν τῶν Ἡθείους παρὰ Ἐλεφθηρία ὑπεξελθόντων ἐς Ἐβδομαὶ ἔλεγεν οὐκέτα λόγον, Ἡθεία δὲ, εἰ ποτὲ παρὰ Θησείων ἀνακομιδήσατε, δυσανταγώνιστον ἦγομενος διὰ
50 θεραπείας τὰ τὸν θῆμου καθιστά, ὡς Ἡθεία ἀνασωθήναι ὑστερον ἀπωσθήναι. στήληται δὴ Ἡθείους παρὰ Δεικαλό
ων 8 καὶ Κρῆτην, ἐξενεχθέντα δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἐς Σκυρόν τὴν νήσον λαμπρῶς περιεῖπον οἱ Σκύριοι κατὰ γένους
δόξαν καὶ ἄξιωμα ὡς ἄυτὸς εἰργασμένος καὶ οἱ θανάτοι 55 Ἀσκοῦης διὰ ταῦτα ἐμβουλεύειν.

Ο μὲν δὴ Ἡθείως σηκὸς Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο υστερον Ἡ ἴδιοι
Μαραθῶν ἐσχον, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μυτινίδου Σκύριος ποιήσαν
tοσον ἀναστάτους δικεῖν δὴ τοῦ Ἡθείους θανάτου—καὶ τὰ ὀστά

Δωδώνη. — 39. λίμνῃ... Ἀχεροσία κτλ.: on the identification of these
mythological sites, see Frazer's note, II, 160–162. — 44. στρατεύοντων ἐς
Ἀφίδναν οἱ Τυνδάρεως παιδεῖς: the incursion of the Dioscuri into Aphidna
to rescue Helen is often mentioned. Cf. 1, 41, 4; 2, 22, 6; 3, 17, 2; 18, 4, 5; and Hdt. 9, 73; Isoc. 10, 19; Diod. 4, 63; Plut. Thes. 31, etc. Aphidna is
now identified with the hill of Kotrone, six miles east of Decelea, and thirteen
miles from Oropus.

56. Ο μὲν δὴ Ἡθείως σηκὸς: this is
the only passage in which the term
σηκὸς is used by Pausanias; also the
construction of σηκὸς Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο
is unusual. Pollux, 1, 6 thus defines
σηκὸς: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβείστερον σηκὰν τῶν
(νεῶν) τῶν ἡρώων λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ
c καὶ τῶν τῶν βεβεβεβ. In Plut. Cimon, 8,
the tomb of Theseus on Skyros is
called σηκὸς. — 58. τὰ ὀστὰ κομισάν
τοι ἐς Ἀθῆνας: for the story of the
bringing back of Theseus's body, see
Plut. Thes., 36; id. Cimon, 8; Paus.
3, 7; Diod. 4, 62. The oracle, in 476–
475 B.C., had commanded the Athenians
to bring back the bones of Theseus.
Accordingly they conquered Scyros in
18 κομίσαντος ἐσ' Ἀθήνας· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἦστιν 1 ἄρχαῖον, αὐτοὶ τε ἐστῶτες καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς καθήμενοι σφισω ἐφ' ὑπεν' ἐνταῦθα. Πολὺ γυνώτος μὲν ἔχουσα ἐσ' αὐτοὺς ἔγραψε γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Δεικτίππου, Μίκων δὲ τούς μετὰ Ἱάσσων ἐσ' Κόλχους πλεύσαντας· καὶ οἱ τῆς γραφῆς ἢ σπουδὴ μάλιστα ἐσ' Ἀκαστίον καὶ τοὺς ὑποὺς ἔχει τοὺς Ἀκάστου. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερὸν 2 Ἀγλαύρῳ τέμνενος ἦστιν. Ἀγλαύρῳ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς

470–469, under the leadership of Cimon, and brought back the relics the following year.


1. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων: the sanctuary of the Dioscuri was also called Ἀνακεῖον. Cf. Thuc. 8, 93; Andoc. 1, 45; Dem. 45, 80. Its site can be approximately determined, as it was near the Aglaaurus precinct (Paus. 1, 18, 2, and this is definitely located on the north slope of the Acropolis (see below). This is confirmed by Polyaen. 1, 21, 2, who states that Pisistratus, wishing to disarm the Athenians, bade them assemble in the Anaeum, whence their weapons were conveyed to the Aglaaurus precinct. Lucian (Pisc. 42) represents the needy philosophers clambering up into the Acropolis on ladders planted in this sanctuary. Its extent is indicated by the fact that troops of infantry and of cavalry assembled there (Thuc. 8, 93; Andoc. 1, 45). The Ἀνακές were here worshiped under the name of Saviors (Ael. Var. Hist. 4, 5, etc.). — 2. καὶ οἱ παῖδες έτελ.: the sons of Castor and Pollux were by name Anexis and Mnasinus (Paus. 2, 22, 5) or Anogon and Mnesileos (Apollod. 3, 11, 2). The reliefs on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (Paus. 3, 18, 3) also represented the sons on horseback. — 3. Πολύγνωτος... ἔγραψε γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Δεικτίππου: Hilaera (or Efaltera) and Phoibe, daughters of Leucippus, were betrothed to Lyceus and Idas, the sons of Aphaeas. But the Dioscuri, who were invited to the wedding, carried off the maids from Messene, Castor marrying Hilaera and Pollux Phoibe. Cf. Schol. Pind. Nem. 10, 112; Apollod. 3, 10, 3; 11, 2. — 4. Μίκων: it is not known what scene from the Argonautic expedition was selected by Micon, but most authorities think that the subject was the funeral games celebrated by Acastus in honor of his father Pelias. Cf. Miss Harrison, Ancient Athens, p. 162, and Murray, Handbook of Gk. Arch. p. 370.

8. Ἀγλαύρῳ τέμνενος: the site of the precinct of Aglaaurus is a cavern about 70 yards from the Cave of Pan on the northwest corner of the Acropolis (cf. 1, 28, 40 n.) and about 70 yards west of the Erechtheum. It is in the region
of the Long Rocks (Μακραὶ sc. Ἄλτρα), mentioned Eur. Ion, 402 ff. A secret staircase, some steps of which remain, led down from the Acropolis into this cavern. It has been suggested that by this staircase the Persians gained access to the Acropolis (cf. Hdt. 8, 53; Paus. 1, 18, 2). In this sanctuary the Ephebi took the oath of allegiance (Lyc. c. Leocr. 76; Plut. Alcib. 15; Dem. 10, 303).—"Ἀγλαύρφ ... Ἐριχθῶνιον: the myth has varying features with different writers. According to Eur. Ion, 22, Athena gives over Erichthonius to the Aglaurides, daughters of Aglaurus, wife of Cecrops; according to Apollod. 3, 14, 6, she assigns him to Pandrosus alone; in Hyg. Astron. 2, 13, to the daughters of Erechtheus. According to Antigonus of Carystus, Hist. Mir. 12, the obedient sister was not Pandrosus but Herse. In Apollod. l.c. the maidens were destroyed by the snake which protected the child. Erichthonius and Erechtheus were originally identical (cf. Schol. Hom. II. B, 547; Etym. Magn. p. 371 s.v. 'Ἐρεχθεύοις), and were doubtless appellations of the sacred serpent of Athena, guardian of the Acropolis, who lived in the Erechtheum and was fed with honey cakes once a month (cf. Hdt. 8, 4; Plut. Them. 10; Ar. Lys. 758 ff. and schol.). —10. καταθείσαι ἐκ κιβωτῶν, ἀπειποῦσαν: noteworthy is the lack of a connective between the two participles. If Pausanias had δοῦναι φαυνὶν or some such expression the passage would have been normal. Cf. Apollod. l.c. καταθείσαι αὐτὸν εἰς κλητὴν Πανδρόσῳ τῇ Κέρκυρᾳ παρακατέθετο, ἀπειποῦσα τὴν κλητὴν ἀνοίξειν. —12. ἀνοίξαι γὰρ: very frequently in Pausanias, as in Thucydides, a clause introduced by γὰρ is parenthetically thrown in for the explanation of a statement. So e.g. in Book 1: 1, 2; 2, 2; 12, 2; 13, 1; 20, 3; 21, 2; 22, 5; 23, 10; 25, 7; 26, 5; 27, 10; 31, 3; 33, 7; 43, 3; 43, 7.—14. ἐπαναβάντες Μήδοι κτλ.: with this compare the account in Herodotus, 7, 141-143; 8, 51-53, which Pausanias probably had before his eyes.

17. πλησιὸν δὲ Πρυτανείον ἔστιν: the Prytaneeum was the sacred centre of the life of the state, the town hall. When Theseus established the synoikismos, the Prytaneeum of Athens became the Prytaneeum of Attica (Thuc. 2, 15; Plut. Thes. 24). Its essential
feature was its hearth, where the perpetual fire burned, spoken of repeatedly as “the hearth of the city,” or “the common hearth” (Pollux 1, 7; 9, 40; Arist. Resp. Ath. 6, 8, etc.). In the Prytaneum was the statue of the goddess Hestia, counterpart of the Roman Vesta. Here foreign ambassadors and illustrious citizens were entertained at the public expense (Ar. Ach. 124; Eq. 700; Dem. 7, 20, etc.). Socrates fixed his penalty as perpetual maintenance in the Prytaneum (Plat. Apol. 36). As regards the site, Pausanias says the Prytaneum was near the Aglaurus precinct, and as he was going eastward it probably lay on the north slope of the Acropolis to the east of the Aglaurus precinct. It was certainly on high ground, for Pausanias speaks (1, 18, 4) of going thence εἰς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως. Near the Prytaneum was the Bucoleum, in which, before Solon’s time, the magistrate called Basilus resided (Arist. Resp. Ath. 3), and in which the sacred marriage of the King Archon’s wife to Dionysus continued to take place at least to the fourth century B.C. (Arist. 1.c.). —18. εἰ δὲ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνος κτλ.: these copies of the laws of Solon were engraved on quadrangular wooden tablets called axones, which turned on pivots so that they could be easily read. Copies of Solon’s laws engraved on tablets called kurbeis stood in the Royal Colonnade (1, 3, 1).

It is a disputed question whether the kurbeis and axones were similar. Cf. Harpocr. s.v. "Αξών; Etym. Magn. s.v. Κόρψες.—20. Αὐτόλυκος ο ἑαυτοκρατιαστής: cf. 9, 32, 8 and Frazer’s note. The statue was by the son and pupil of Myron (Pliny N. H. 34, 79, with Jex-Blake’s note). Autolycus was winner in the pancratium at the Panathenaic festival in 422 B.C., and was murdered in 404 by the Thirty Tyrants. He is a character in Xen. Symp. 1, 1.

—τὰς γὰρ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰκόνας: the practice of altering the inscriptions on old Greek statues so as to pass them off as the portraits of later personages seems to have been common under the Romans. Cf. Paus. 1, 2, 4; 2, 9, 8; 17, 3; 8, 9, 9. Dio Chrys. 37, p. 304, tells of a statue of Alicibades inscribed with the name of Achenobarus, and Plutarch (Anton. 60) of statues of Eumenes and Attalus inscribed with the name of Mark Antony.

22. ἐντεύθεν ἱεύστων: leaving the Prytaneum on the northern slope of the Acropolis, Pausanias now proceeds eastward as far as the stadium. It seems likely, therefore, that the sanctuary of Serapis was situated somewhere to the northeast of the Acropolis, probably in the neighborhood of the new Metropolitan church. Serapis was the dead Apis, or sacred bull, honored under the attributes of Osiris; he was
TEMPLE OF ILITHYIA

Ch. 18, 6

| εστιν ιερόν, ὃν Ἀθηναίοι παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον θεὸν ἐσηγάζοντο. Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ιερὰ Σαράπιδος ἐπιφανεστάτων μὲν ἔστιν Ἀλεξάνδρεύσιν, ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μέμφι: ἐς τούτῳ ἐσελθεῖν οὐτε ξένους ἔστιν οὐτε τοὺς ιερεύς, πρὶν ἀν τὸν Ἀπίν θάπτωσι. τοῦ δὲ ιεροῦ τοῦ Σαράπιδος οὐ πόρρω χωρίων ἔστιν, ἐνθα Πειρίθουν καὶ Θησέα συνθεμένους ἐς Δακεδαιμόνα καὶ ὑστερον ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς σταλήναι λέγοισι. πλησίον 5
dὲ φικοδόμητο νὰ Ἰλιθυήσια, ἦν ἐλθοῦσαν εὖ 'Τπερβορέων ἐς Δήλου γενέσθαι βοηθοῦν ταῖς Λητοῦς ὕδοις, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παρ' αὐτῶν φασι τῆς Ἰλιθυήσιας μαθεῖν τὸ ὄνομα: καὶ θύσιον τε Ἰλιθυήσια Δήλωι καὶ ἱμὼν ἁδουσίν Ὀλήνος. ᾿Κρήτης δὲ χώρας τῆς Κυκνοσίας ἐν ᾿Αμνισῳ γενέσθαι νομίζωσιν Ἰλιθύ—

30 τοὺς καὶ παῖδα Ὡρᾶς εἶναι: μόνοις δὲ ᾿Αθηναίοις τῆς Ἰλιθυήσιας κεκάλυπται τὰ ἔξομα ἐς ἀκροὺς τοὺς πόδας. τὰ μὲν δὴ δύο εἶναι Κρητικὰ καὶ Φαίδρας ἀναθήματα ἔλεγον αἰ γυναῖκες, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον Ἐρυσίχθιον ἐκ Δήλου κομίσατε.

Πρὶν δὲ ἐς τὸ ιερὸν έλενα τὸν Δίως τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου — ᾿Αδρια— 6

40 νὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὸν τε ναὸν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα

lord of the under world and was identified with the Greek Hades. His worship was a combination of Egyptian and Greek cults, and became popular in Greece and Rome. — 27. χρύσων . . . ἔνθα Πειρίθουν κτ.λ.: the agreement was to carry off Helen from Sparta, to draw lots for her, and he to whom she fell should aid the other in winning a wife. Cf. Plut. Theis. 31, according to whom the oath was taken in the neighborhood of Marathon. Soph. O.C. 1590 puts the site in the grove of the Eumenides at Colonus. There was a place in Athens near the Theseum called the Horcomosium, so named because on this spot Theseus had sworn peace with the Amazons (Plut. Thees. 25): this may have been the spot to which Pausanias refers. — 29. πλησίον δὲ φικοδόμητο νὰ Ἰλιθυήσια: the site is not definitely known, but it was doubtless northeast of the Acropolis, in the neighborhood of the present Metropolitan church, confirmed to some extent by the discovery at this point of the base of a statue dedicated to Ilithyia (C.I.A. Π, 1586). The goddess of childbirth had also a sanctuary in the suburbs of Agae to the southeast of Athens, as we learn from the inscription on one of the seats of the Theatre of Dionysus (C.I.A. ΠΙ, 319).

39. ἐς τὸ ιερὸν έλενα τὸν Δίως τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου: on the temple of Olympian Zeus, see Excursus V. — 40. τὸ ἀγαλμα
THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

Ch. 18, 7

θέας ἄξιον, οὐ μεγέθει μέν, ὅτι μὴ Ῥοδίως καὶ Ῥωμαίως εἰσίν οἱ κολοσσοὶ, τὰ λοιπὰ ἁγάλματα ὤμοις ἀπολεῖπται, πεποίηται δὲ ἐκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἔχει τέχνης εὐ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος ὀρῶσιν — ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνες Ἀδριανοῦ δύο 45 μὲν εἰσὶ Θασίων λίθοι, δύο δὲ Αἰγυπτίων. χαλκαὶ δὲ ἐστάσι πρὸ τῶν κιόνων ἀσ Ἀθηναίων καλοῦσιν ἀπόκοινοι πόλεις. ὦ μὲν δὴ πᾶς περίβολος σταδίων μάλιστα τεσσάρων ἑστί, ἀνδριάντων δὲ πλήρης. ἀπὸ γὰρ πόλεως ἐκάστης εἰκών Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνάκειται, καὶ σφᾶς ὑπερβάλλοντο 50 Ἀθηναίων τὸν κολοσσὸν ἀναθέντες ὅπισθε τοῦ ναοῦ θέας ἄξιον. ἐστὶ δὲ ἄρχαια ἐν τῷ περίβολῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ τὸ ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ τέμενος Γῆς ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίας. ἐνταῦθα ὅσον ἐς πῆχυν τὸ ἔδαφος διεστήκη, καὶ λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβιαν τὴν ἑπὶ Δευκαλίωνος συμβάσαν υπορ- ρυνά ταυτη τοῦ ὕδαρ, ἐσβάλλουσι τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἐς ἀλίτα πυρῶν μέλιτι μάξαντες. κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ κιόνων Ἰσοκράτους ἀνδριάδες, ὥς ἐς μνήμην τρία ὑπελίπτετο, ἐπιπονωτάτων

Thias άξιον: the statue was doubtless copied from the famous Zeus of Phidias at Olympia, and the type is in turn reproduced on Athenian coins. These represent the god sitting, nude to the waist, with a Nike in his right hand and the sceptre in his left. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, pp. 137, 138, with pl. BB, iv.

52. ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ 'Πλαῖς: the language of Pausanias would imply that this temple also was in the peribolus of the Olympicum. Yet cf. Bekk. Anec. 1, 275, 20, Κρόνου τέμενος τὸ παρὰ τὸ νῦν Ὀλυμπιον μεχρὶ τοῦ μητρόδου τοῦ ἐν ἄγορᾳ, where the editors, following Wachsmuth, Rh. Mus. XXIII, 17, read for ἄγορα, ἐν 'Αγρα. So the sanctuary probably stretched up to the Ilissus and in part outside the peribolus.

— τέμενος Γῆς: this precinct and cult of Ge Olympia are closely associated with the sanctuary of Zeus Olympius near the Ilissus, and are to be distinguished from the sanctuary of Ge sur- named Kourotrophos just west or southwest of the Acropolis referred to by Thuc. 2, 1 and Paus. 1, 22, 3. Plut. Thes. 27 locates a hieron of Ge in the neighborhood of the stele of the Amazon Antiope, which we have seen was near the Itonian gate. See on Paus. 1, 2, 1. On the site of the various sanctuaries of Ge, see Excursus III.

56. Ισοκράτους ἀνδριάδες κτλ.: according to Plut. vit. x Or., p. 839 b, this statue of bronze was set up by Aphaereus, the adopted son of the
HADRIAN'S BUILDINGS

Ch. 18. 9
μὲν ὁι βιώσαντι ἄη δυνὸν δεόντα ἐκατὸν οὕποτε κατελύθη
μαθητάς ἔχεν, σωφρονέστατον δὲ ὅτι πολυτείας ἀπεχόμενος
διέμεινε καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ὦ πολυπραγμονών, ἐλευθερώτατον δὲ
ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνεία μάχης ἀληθῶς
ἐπελεύθησεν ἐθελοντῆς. καὶ τοῖς δὲ καὶ λίθουν Φρυγίου Πέρσαι
χαλκῶν τρίποδα ἀνέχοντες, θέας ἄξιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ
τρίπος. τού δὲ Ὠλυμπίου Δίως Δευκαλίωνα ὅικοδομήσαι
65 λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥεόν, σημεῖον ἀποφαίνοντες ὡς Δευκα-
λίων Ἀθηναίων ἤκτη τάφον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ νῦν ὦ πολὺ
ἀφεστηκότα. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκεύασασθα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα 9
Ἀθηναίων, καὶν ἴσως καὶ Δίως Πανελλήνιοι καὶ θεοὶ τοῖς
πᾶσιν ἱερῶν κοινῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἐκατὸν ἐἰσι κῶνες
70 Φρυγίου λίθου· πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ
ὁι.τοῖχοι. καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταῦθα ἐστιν ὀρόφῳ τε ἐπιχρύσῳ
καὶ ἀλαβάστρῳ λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκυσμημένα καὶ

orator. What follows is the traditional
story of Isocrates's death, but is con-
tradicted by the apparently genuine
letter (No. 3) to King Philip, in which
Isocrates sees in the career of the
victor the fulfillment of a united Hel-
las at war against the Persians. See
L. Blau, Rh. Mus., N.F., XX (1865),
100–116; Jebb, Attic Orators, II,
31 ff. — 62. λίθου Φρυγίου Πέρσαι κτλ.: Phrygian marble wa
a hard limestone,
known to-day under the name of Pavo-
nazzetto. See Blümner, Technol. III,
52 f. It was used in architecture in
Hellenistic times, but not in sculpture
before the Roman period. This work
therefore was probably a present of
Hadrian's. Phrygian marble "is char-
acterized by a very irregular venation
of dark-red with bluish and yellowish
tints, ramifying through a translucent
alabaster-like base, which is sometimes
almost opaline in its play of colors" (Century Dictionary).

67. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκεύασασθα μὲ
καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίως κτλ.: the other
buildings of Hadrian at Athens, from
the words of Pausanias, seem to be
as follows: (1) the Panhellenion — in
which Hadrian and the Empress Sa-
bina were worshiped as Zeus and
Hera; cf. Dio Cass. 19, 16; (2) the
Pantheon, already referred to (1, 5,
5) as containing the catalogue of all
the buildings of Hadrian in Greek and
other cities; (3) the Colonnade of 100
columns — with the Library, singled
out by Jerome as a wonderful work
Schöne); (4) the Gymnasium, also
with 100 columns. The ruins known
as the stoa of Hadrian could belong
either to the gymnasium or the library,
more probably to the latter.
γραφαῖς· κατάκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία. καὶ γυμνασίων ἐστὶν ἐπώνυμον Ἀδριανοῦ· κιόνες δὲ καὶ ἑνταῦθα ἐκατόν
λιθοτομίας τῆς Διβύων.
19  Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πλησίον ἀγαλματικῷ ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Δελφινίου. λέγοντι δὲ ὡς ἐξειργαθομένου τοῦ ναοῦ πλὴν τῆς ὄροφῆς ἀγνὸς ἔτι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφίκοιτο Θησεῦς· σεῦς ἐς τὴν πόλιν· οἵ δὲ χιτῶνα ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ ποδήρη καὶ πεπλεγμένης ἐς εὑρήσεις οἱ τῆς κοίμησις, ὡς ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Δελφινίου ναὸν, οἱ τὴν στέγην οἰκοδομοῦσις ἤρωτος σῶν χλέας ὁ τῷ δὴ παρθένῳ ἕν ὀρφαγόμου πλανᾶται μόνη. Θησεῦς δὲ ἄλλο μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐδήλωσεν οὐδὲν, ἀπολύσας δὲ ὡς λέγεται τῆς ἀμάξης τοὺς βοῦς, ἡ σφίξι παρῆγε τὸν ὄροφον, ἀνέρρυσεν ἐς ἴμπλότερον ἡ τῷ ναῷ τὴν στέγην ἐποιοῦντο. — ἐς δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ὁ Κήπους ὄνομάζοιται, καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ οὐδὲς λεγόμενος σφικτὶ ἐστὶ λόγος· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἡ τοῦ ναοῦ πλησίον ἐστηκε. ταύτης γὰρ σχῆμα μὲν τετράγωνον κατὰ ταύτα καὶ τὸς Ἐρμαῖος, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα σημαίνει τὴν Ὀιρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην τῶν

1. ἀγαλματικῷ Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου: the image was doubtless in a sanctuary of Pythian Apollo, in this quarter. An altar was erected in the Pythium by Pisistratus, son of Hippias (Thuc. 6, 54); the inscription once upon this was found in 1877, and, where intact, exactly agrees with Thucydides’ copy of it. The Pythium was probably located where the inscription was discovered, namely, on the right bank of the Ilissus, below the spring Callirrhoe and to the southwest of the Olympicum. There was also a Pythium on the Acropolis slope. See Excursus III. — 2. ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Δελφινίου: the Delphinion is said to have been founded by Aegeus, who dedicated it to the Delphian Apollo and Artemis (Pollux, 8, 19). We have no monumental evidence as to the site, but we are doubtless justified in concluding that it lay to the east of the Olympicum.
12. Κήπους: the district called The Gardens is usually identified with the low ground to the east of the Olympicum, on the right bank of the Ilissus.
Cynosarges—Lyceum

Ch. 19, 3
καλουμένων Μουρών εἶναι προσβυτάτην. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἐν Κήποις ἔργον ἔστιν Ἀλκαμένου καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν οἴκιοις θέας ἄξιον. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἡρακλέους 320 ἱερὸν καλουμένον Κυνόσαργες· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν κύνα εἰδέναι τὴν λευκῆν ἐπιλεξαμένης ἐστὶ τῶν χρησμών, βωμοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Ἡβης, ἢν Δίὸς παιδα οὕσαν συνοικεῖν Ἡρακλεὶ νομίζουσιν. Ἀλκμήνης τε βωμὸς καὶ Ἰολάου πεποίηται, ὅσ τὰ πολλὰ Ἡρακλεὶ συνεπόνησε τῶν ἔργων. 25 Δύκειον δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Δύκου τοῦ Παῦλου ἔρχετο ὁ ὅνωμα,

This section is still green and luxuriant.—17. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἐν Κήποις ἔργον . . . Ἀλκαμένου: Lucian (Imag. 4, 6) speaks of the Aphrodite as the most beautiful of all the works of Alcamenes; he admired particularly the cheeks and the front of the face, the graceful turn of the wrists, and the delicate tapering of the fingers. Pliny (N. H. 30, 16) also speaks of it as a famous statue, and adds that Phidias is said to have given the finishing touches to it. The style of this statue is best represented in the Venus Genetrix of the Louvre, of which the work of Alcamenes is now generally supposed to be the prototype. It represents the goddess lightly draped, holding an apple in her left hand, and gracefully lifting her robe above her shoulder with her right hand.

19. Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν: Cynosarges, as is known from references in ancient authors, was situated outside the city walls (Plut. Them. 1), not far from the gate (Diog. Laert. 6, 1, 13), in the deme Diomea (Schol. Ar. Ran. 651), near the deme Alopecce. It was therefore northeast of Athens in the direction of the modern Ampelokipi, near the site of the American and English schools. Cynosarges included a gymnasium as well as a sanctuary, and was surrounded by a grove. The use of the gymnasium was reserved for youths without the full rights of citizenship. Themistocles, as the son of an alien mother, used to exercise here, but he lessened the disgrace by persuading some well-born youths to join with him (Plut. Them. 1). Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school of philosophy, lectured here, and according to some the sect derived its name from Cynosarges (Diog. Laert. 6, 1, 13).—25. Δύκειον: the sanctuary of Apollo called Lyceum took its name from the epithet Δύκειος applied to the god (Lucian, Anacharsis, 7) not from an imaginary Lyceus, as Pausanias would have it. Wolves were dear to Apollo and appear frequently in the myths told of him. Here was the most famous gymnasium at Athens; the date of the foundation is disputed. Here Aristotle discussed with his disciples his philosophy, pacing the shady walks of the Lyceum, and from this habit his followers were called the Peripatetics. The site is known to
The Attica of Pausanias

Ch. 19. 4

'Apollwnos dé ierôn éx árhois te evóis kai kath' hímais énomy-
ζeité, Lúkeiós te ó theós éntathá aiónomásth prôton. Légetai
dé òti Térmilas, ées ou̇s ëlithen ó Lúkos feýgwn Aǐgêa,
kaì toûitous aútís èstí Lúkious áp' aútôn kakeís̱bāi. Ëstí dé 4

30 òpisthèn toû Lúkeioun Níson mu̇ma, òn àpòtathnûnta ùpò Mínw
basiλéîonta Megá̇rwn komís̱ntes 'Athnaiôn tautí̇a haptous-
sw. ès toûtòn toû Níson èxèi logós tri̇khas èn t'̇ kefáḻh
oî porφymas èi̇nai, chrínai dé aûtûn telē̇tamin èpí tautais
apokaré̇s̱wes. òs dé oî Krí̇tes ëlithon ès t'̇n gê̇n, tâs mé̇n

35 allâs ès eî̇dromȯî̇hès ëmroun tâs èn t'̇ Megarídû̇s pòleis, ès dé
èn t'̇n Nísaian kataphré̇gwnûnta tû̇n Níson ëpò̥lôrî̇kon. èn̴tathá

tou Níson légetai thugatêra èρas̱tî̇nai Mínw kai òs èpê-
kepre tâs tri̇khes tû̇ patrò̇s.

Tauta mé̇n ou̇tû̇ gevéṉshai légonû̇. pȯ̇tâmos dé 'Athnaiôn 5

40 ré̇ou̇n ICLES tê kai 'Hrídâ̇n̔̇w tû̇ Keltikô̇ kata tâ aûtâ
ò̇numa èxhoun, ekdídous ès tû̇n 'Îliosôn. ó dé 'Îliosôn èstîn ou-
tos èn̴tha páiẕou̇san 'Oreídoun ùpò ànêmu̇n Boreón fàsu̇n
áρ̱pasȯn̴nai. kai suvou̇keîn 'Oreídunû̇n Boreâ̇n kai sfignon dià
tû̇ kheidès àmû̇naita tû̇n trî̇phron tû̇n Bæ̇bâ̇ri̇kôn àpolè̇sai

45 tàs pòllàs. è̇ð̱loû̇nti dé 'Athnaiôn kai allû̇n theû̇n ierôn
ènai tû̇n 'Îliosôn, kai Moru̇w̱n bò̇mu̇s êp' aûtû̇ èstîn 'Îliosâ-
dwun. deû̇kunûtai dé kai èn̴tha Pèḻpou̇nî̇sî n̴ Kôdrôn tû̇n Me-
λánthou̇n basiλéîonta 'Athnaiôn kteî̇nû̇n. diaβă̇sî dé tû̇n 6

have been east of Athens, and outside the walls, but the exact locality has
not been determined.

30. pȯtâmos: the Illissus rises in Mt.
Hymettus to the east of Athens, flows
on the southern side of the city, and,
after passing between the Museum hill
and a rocky height rising on its southern
bank, disappears in the plain. There
are now no plane-trees on its banks, as
when Socrates discoursed with Phae-
drus (Plat. Phaedrus, 230 n, c).
The Eridanus is identified by Dr. Dörp-
fel food (A.M. XIII (1888), 211 ff.; XIV
(1880), 414) as a stream formed by
one or more springs at the foot of Mt.
Lycabettus, which flowed through the
city north of the Acropolis westwardly,
passed through the city wall a little south
of the Dipylum, and, bending round the
northwest spur of the Pnyx, joined the
Illissus (cf. Plato, Critias, p. 112 s).
TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AGROTERA

Ch. 20, 1

"Αγραίον καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς Ἀγροτέρας ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. Ἑντάβα "Αρτέμιν πρῶτον θηρεύσαι λέγουσιν ἐλθόσαν ἐκ Δήλου, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα διὰ τοῦτο ἔχει τὸν. τὸ δὲ ἀκούσας μὲν οὐχ ὄρμως ἐπαγαγόν, ἡμὰς δ’ ἰδούσι, στάδιον ἐστὶ λευκοῦ λίθου. μέγεθος δέ αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀν τὶς μάλιστα τεκμαῖροιτο. ἀνωθεν ὄρος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰλισοῦν ἄρχομεν ἐκ μηναείδους καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὀχθὴν εἰθύ τε καὶ διπλωῦν. τοῦτο ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Ἡρώδης ὕκοδομησε, καὶ οἱ τὸ πολὺ τῆς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντέλησιν ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομήν ἀνηλάθη.

20 Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πρυτανείου καλομένη Τρίποδος. 1 ἀφ’ οὗ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, ναὸι ὅσον ἐστὶ τοῦτο μεγάλοι ... καὶ

49. "Αγραίον: the district Agrae was situated on the left bank of the Ilissus, and was known indifferently as Agrae or Agra. Every year on the anniversary of the battle of Marathon five hundred goats were here sacrificed to Artemis Agrotera. The Lesser Mysteries of Demeter were performed at Agrae in Anthesterion. The site of the shrine of Artemis Agrotera has not been determined, nor has that of the shrine of Demeter in Agrae. —

53. στάδιον: the stadium is situated on the left bank of the Ilissus, about six hundred yards east of the Olymposium, in a valley between two parallel slopes, running from southeast to northwest; at the eastern extremity it is closed by a semicircular artificial embankment. The stadium was first built by Lycurgus, shortly before 330 B.C.; in the third century B.C. it was repaired or improved by a certain Heraclitus; in the second century A.D. Herodes Atticus fitted up the entire stadium with marble. The total length was two hundred and four meters, and breadth thirty-three and thirty-six hundredths meters. A marble parapet ran round the outer edge of the race-course. There seem to have been sixty tiers of seats, with room for 50,000 persons.


1. "Εστὶ δὲ ὁδὸς: the line of this street to the east of the Acropolis is determined by the surviving choregic monument of Lysicrates, one of the temples described by Pausanias as lining the street. This monument stands on level ground, one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty yards from the eastern cliff of the Acropolis. As the inscription faces southeast, the street must have run on this side. It is a small circular temple of the Corinthian order, resting on a quadrangular base thirteen feet high. The circular part of the monument is twenty-one and a half feet high by nine feet in
σφισων ἐφεστήκασι τρίποδες χαλκοὶ μὲν, μνήμης δὲ ἄξια μάλιστα περιέχοντες εἰργασμένα. σάτυρος γὰρ ἐστιν ἐφ᾽ ὃ
5 Πραξιτέλην λέγεται φρονήσαι μέγα· καὶ ποτε Φρύνης
αἰτούσης ὦ τι ὁ κάλλιστον εἴη τῶν ἔργων, ᾠδολογεῖν μὲν
φασίν οἷα ἐραστὴν διδόναι, κατειπεῖν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὦ τι
κάλλιστον αὐτῷ ὦ φαινοντο. ἐσδραμὼν οὖν οἰκέτης Φρύνης
ἔφασκεν οἴχεσθαι Πραξιτέλει τὸ πολὺ τῶν ἔργων πυρὸς
10 ἐσπεσόντος ἐς τὸ οἴκημα, οὐ. μὲν οὖν πάντα γέ ἀφαινοθή-
ναι. Πραξιτέλης δὲ αἰτίκα ἔθει διὰ θυρῶν ἐξω καὶ οἰ καμόντι
2 οὐδὲν ἔφασκεν εἶναι πλέον, εἰ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σάτυρον ἡ φιλοῖ
καὶ τὸν Ἐρωτα ἐπέλαβε. Φρύνη δὲ μένειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέ-
λευε· παθεῖν γὰρ ἀνικηροῦν οὐδὲν, τέχνη δὲ ἀλόντα ὀμολογεῖν
τὰ κάλλιστα ὅν ἐποίησε. Φρύνη μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἐρωτα αἱρε-
ται· Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίων Σάτυρός ἔστι παῖς
καὶ δίδωσιν ἐκπωμα· Ἐρωτα δ᾽ ἐστηκότα ὁμοῦ καὶ Διόνυσον
Θυμίλος ἐποίησεν.

Diameter, and is of Pentelic marble. Six Corinthian columns support the en-
tablature, consisting of the architrave, a frieze ten inches high depicting the
punishment of the pirates by Dionysus, and the circular roof surmounted
by the base on which the tripod stood.

3. μνήμης δὲ ἄξια μάλιστα περιέχον-
tes εἰργασμένα: the statue was placed
on top of the monument, underneath
the tripod, so that the three legs of
the latter enclosed it and the caldron
served as a roof. Cf. Paus. 3, 18,
8; 4, 14, 2.—4. σάτυρος: Athenaeus,
13, p. 591 n, tells how Praxiteles gave
Phryne her choice of the statue of
Eros or the statue of the Satyr in the
street of Tripods, and that she chose
the Eros; but he does not tell of the
ruse. Pliny, N. H. 34, 60, mentions a
bronze statue of a satyr known as
periboëtos or "celebrated," but it was
part of a group. Possibly a replica of
this is seen in the Marble Faun of the
Capitoline Museum in Rome, made
famous by Hawthorne, one of a series
of copies of an antique work thoroughly
Praxitelean in style. The finest copy is
a torso in the Louvre, which the late
H. Brunn sought to identify as an
original work of Praxiteles.

16. Διονύσῳ: some archaeologists
have held that this is the same satyr
mentioned above, but this is not con-
sonant with the phrase ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ
πλησίῳ. There is nothing to show that
this satyr, which formed part of a group,
was by Praxiteles. Furtwängler is in-
clined to identify a wine-pouring satyr
extant with this statue described by
Pausanias as offering a drink, to attrib-
ute the original to Praxiteles, and to
Ch. 20, 3

Τοῦ Διόνυσου δὲ ἦστι πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον 3
ιερὸν· δύο δὲ εἰσὶν ἐν τούτῳ περιβόλου ναοὶ καὶ Διόνυσοι,
ὁ τε Ἑλευθερεύς καὶ ἕν 'Αλκαμένης ἐποίησεν ἐλέφαντος καὶ
χρυσοῦ. γραφαὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ Διόνυσος ἦστιν ἀνάγων ὁ 'Ἡφαι-
στος ἐς οὐρανὸν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, ὄς ὁ Ἥρα
ῥώματι γενόμενον Ἡφαίστον, ὃ δὲ οἱ μυησικάκων πέμψα
dὸρον χρυσῶν θρόνον ἀφανεῖς δεσμοὺς ἐχόμενα, καὶ τὴν
μὲν ἐπεὶ τε ἐκαθέξιτο δεδέσθαι, θεῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀλλων
οὐδὲν τῶν Ἡφαίστον ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι, Διόνυσος δὲ —
μάλιστα γὰρ ἐς τοῦτον πιστὰ ἦν ὁ Ἡφαίστω — μεθύσας αὐ-
tὸν ἐς οὐρανὸν ἤγαγε· ταῦτα τε ὑπὸ γεγραμμένα εἰσὶ καὶ
Πενθεὺς καὶ Δυκοῦργος ὃν ἐς Διόνυσον ὑβρισάν διδόντες

make it a group with Thymilus's Eros
and Dionysus.

19. Τοῦ Διόνυσου δὲ ἦστι πρὸς τῷ
θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ιερὸν: on the
identification of the most ancient san-
cuary of Dionysus, see Excursus III.
It is necessary to identify or distinguish
(1) this precinct beside the theatre,
(2) the sanctuary of Dionysus ἐν ἱλίμναι,
and (3) the Lenaeanum. On the theatre
of Dionysus, see Excursus VI.—20. δύο
δὲ εἶναι . . . ναοῖς: immediately south
of the stage-buildings of the theatre
are the remains of two small temples,
doubtless those mentioned here. The
older abuts on the south wall of the
stage-building at its western end, and
its orientation is east and west. In this
temple was probably the image of Eleu-
therian Dionysus, doubtless the ancient
wooden one said to have been brought
to Athens from Eleutheræae (1, 38, 8) by
Pegasus (1, 2, 5). A few feet south of
this temple are the remains of the later
temple, larger in size, and with some-
what different orientation, consisting
of a cella with a fore-temple and an
antechamber. In the cella are the re-
 mains of a large base, which probably
supported the gold-and-ivory image
of Dionysus by Alcamenes. The date
of this temple was probably not earlier
than 420 B.C. The statue is inferred to
have been a seated figure of colossal
size.—29. ὁς οὐρανὸν ἤγαγε: the re-
turn to heaven of Hephaestus is de-
picted on many red-figured Attic
vases, and the manner of representing it was
probably influenced by the picture in
the temple here described. See Bau-
meister's Denkmäler, pp. 643–645; Ro-
scher's Lexikon, I, 2054–2056. Homer
gives two different versions of the fall
of Hephaestus from heaven, one that
he was flung over the ramparts by Zeus
for interference in a family quarrel
with Hera (II. A, 590 ff.), the other
that Hera at his birth, in disgust at
his lameness, cast him from heaven
into the sea, where Thetis and Eury-
nome received him (II. 2, 394 ff.).—
30. Πενθεὺς καὶ Δυκοῦργος: the murder
δίκαια, 'Αριάδνη δὲ καθεύδουσα καὶ Θησεύς ἀναγόμενος καὶ Διόνυσος ἦκων ἐς τῆς 'Αριάδνης τὴν ἀρπαγήν.

'Εστι δὲ πλησίον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατασκεύασμα, ποιηθήκα τοῦ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτοῦ ἐς μίμησιν τῆς Ξέρσου λέγεται: ἐπονήθη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον, τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον στρατηγὸς Ρωμαίων ἐνέπρησε Σύλλας Ἀθηναῖς ἔλων. αἰτία δὲ ἦδε τοῦ πολέμου. Μιθριδάτης ἐβασίλευε βαρβάρων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὔξειον. πρόφαται μὲν δὴ δὴ ἦτοινα Ῥωμαίων ἐπολέμησε καὶ ὅπον τρόπον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη καὶ ὅσας ἦ πολέμῳ βιασάμενος πόλεις ἔσχεν ἡ φίλας ἐπονήσατο, τάδε μὲν τοῖς ἐπίστευσας τὰ Μιθριδάτου θέλονσι μελέτω. Ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσον ἐς τὴν ἀλωσιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἤκει δηλῶσι. ἦν Ἀριστίων Ἀθηναῖος, δποτος ἔποιησεν Ἀθη- ναίους Μιθριδάτην θέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ἐπίπροσθεν. ἀνέπεισεν

of Pentheus by the Maenads for his insolence to Dionysus is the theme of the Bacchae of Euripides. It is frequently represented on vase-paintings and sculptured reliefs. Various stories are told as to the punishment of Lycurgus, king of the Edonians in Thrace. Homer (Il. Z, 180) says he was blinded by Zeus and died soon after; according to others Dionysus himself blinded and crucified him (Diod. 3, 65), or exposed him to panthers (Hyg. Fab. 132); Sophocles (Antig. 955) has him immured by the offended god in a rocky prison.—31. 'Αριάδνη δὲ καθεύδουσα: this incident is the subject of other paintings described in ancient writers, and figures largely in vase-paintings. Thus Philostratus, Imag. 14 (15), describes a similar picture in more detail. It also forms the subject of one of the Pompeian wall-paintings. From the nature of the subjects Helbig thinks these paintings could not date earlier than the time of Zeuxis and Parrhasius, nor later than towards the end of the fourth century B.C. (Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei, p. 257).

34. κατασκεύασμα: this was the Odeum of Pericles, said to have been built in imitation of the tent of Xerxes (Plut. Pericles, 13). It was a round building with a conical roof. The comic poet Cratinus compared the high peak-shaped head of Pericles to the Odeum. It was built by Pericles to be the scene of the musical contests at the Panathenaic festival (Plut. l.c.). Here too, the tragedies which were to be exhibited at the Great Dionysiac festival were rehearsed. The situation was doubtless immediately east of the theatre.
δὲ οὐ πάντας, ἀλλ’ ὅσον δὴμος ἦν καὶ δήμου τὸ ταραχῶδες. Αὐτῆς δὲ ἦν τὸ καταδιώκειν, Ἀρχέλαον δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστὶν Πειρεία. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὕτως ἦν, δὴ πρὸς τῶν πλείστων Μάγνητες οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἰκονόμοι σφάζεται ἐπεκδράμωσαται αὐτοί τε τιτρωσκοῦντο καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς. Αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστὶν Πειρεία. Μιθριδάτου δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὕτως ἦν, δὴ πρὸς τῶν πλείστων Μάγνητες οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἰκονόμοι σφάζεται ἐπεκδράμωσαται αὐτοί τε τιτρωσκοῦντο καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς. Αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστὶν Πειρεία. Μιθριδάτου δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὕτως ἦν, δὴ πρὸς τῶν πλείστων Μάγνητες οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἰκονόμοι σφάζεται ἐπεκδράμωσαται αὐτοί τε τιτρωσκοῦντο καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς. Αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστὶν Πειρεία. Μιθριδάτου δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὕτως ἦν, δὴ πρὸς τῶν πλείστων Μάγνητες οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἰκονόμοι σφάζεται ἐπεκδράμωσαται αὐτοί τε τιτρωσκοῦντο καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς. Αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστὶν Πειρεία. Μιθριδάτου δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὕτως ἦν, δὴ πρὸς τῶν πλείστων Μάγνητες οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἰκονόμοι σφάζεται ἐπεκδράμωσαται αὐτοί τε τιτρωσκοῦντο καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς. Αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστὶν Πειρεία. Μιθριδάτου δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὕτως ἦν, δὴ πρὸς τῶν πλείστων Μάγνητες οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἰκονόμοι σφάζεται ἐπεκδράμωσαται αὐτοί τε τιτρωσκοῦντο καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς. Αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστὶν Πειρεία. Μιθριδάτου δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὕτως ἦν, δὴ πρὸς τῶν πλείστων Μάγνητες οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἰκονόμοι σφάζεται ἐπεκδράμωσαται αὐτοί τε τιτρωσκοῦντο καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς. Αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστὶν Πειρεία. Μιθριδάτου δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὕτως ἦν, δὴ πρὸς τῶν πλείστων Μάγνητες οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἰκονόμοι σφάζεται ἐπεκδράμωσαται αὐτοί τε τιτρωσκοῦντο καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς.
21. Statues of comic and tragic Poets in the theatre — Gorgoneum on the south wall of the Acropolis — Cavern above the theatre with Tripod — Niobe — Calos and Daedalus — Temple of Asclepius — The Sarmatians — Linen corselets in the Apollo temple at Gryneum.

2. εἰκόνες: the statue of Astydamas, a writer of numerous tragedies, set up by himself, is an example of this practice (Diog. Laert. 2, 5, 43). Athenaeus (1, p. 19ε) mentions the statue of an obscure Euryclides which stood with the statues of Aeschylus and his fellows. Here too were statues of Themistocles and Miltiades, and beside each that of a Persian captive (Aristides, Or. 47, vol. 2, pp. 215 ff., ed. Dindorf). Twelve statues of the emperor Hadrian were set up by the twelve Attic tribes, and of these the inscriptions of four have been found (C.I.A. III, 406–409). — ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ: for a historical sketch and description of the theatre at Athens, see Excursus VI. — 5. τραγωδίας: the statues seen by Pausanias were probably the bronze statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, set up on the motion of Lycurgus (Ps. Plut. vit. x Or. p. 841 f.). After telling parenthetically the anecdote about Sophocles, Pausanias mentions the statue of Aeschylus. The Sophocles story is told more fully by the anonymous author of the life of Sophocles (Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, p. 130), who says that the poet was buried in the family tomb near Decelea.
THE GORGON MEDUSA—CALOS

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πείθεσθαι γὰρ ἐθέλειν — ῥᾶστα ἂν ὁμόφωνος ποιεῖν. οὕτως μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Νοτίου καλουμένου 3

τείχους, ὁ [τῆς ἄκροπόλεως] ἐστὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐστὶ τετραμμέ-

20 νον, ἐπὶ τούτου Μεδόυσης τῆς Γοργόνος ἐπίχρυσος ἀνάκει-

ται κεφάλη, καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν αἰγίς πεποίηται. ἐν δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ

τοῦ θεάτρου στήλαιον ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἄκρο-

πολιν· τρίτον δὲ ἐπέστη καὶ τοῦτο· Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ

καὶ Ἀρτεμίς τοὺς παίδας εἰσὶν ἀναῳοῦντες τοὺς Νιόβης.

25 ταύτην τὴν Νιόβην καὶ αὐτῶς εἶδον ἀνελθὼν ἐς τὸν Σύπυλον

τὸ ὤρος· ὅ δὲ πλησίον μὲν πέτρα καὶ κρημνὸς ἐστὶν οὐδὲν

παρόντι σχῆμα παρεχόμενος γυναῖκος οὔτε ἄλλος οὔτε πεν-

θοῦσας· εἶ δὲ γε πορρωτέρω γένους, δεδακρυμένην δόξας

ὀρᾶν καὶ κατηφῆ γυναῖκα.

30 'Ἰόντων δὲ Ἀθήνην ἐς τὴν ἄκροπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου 4

τέθαπται Κάλως· τοῦτον τὸν Κάλων ἀδελφῆς παίδα ὅτα καὶ

20. Μεδόυσης τῆς Γοργόνος ἐπίχρυ-

σος ἀνάκειται κεφάλη: this was set

up by king Antiochus. See 5, 12, 4.

Frazer suggests that the Gorgon head

was thus placed in a prominent posi-

tion on the wall of the Acropolis to

serve as a charm against the evil eye.

— 22. στήλαιον: this cave is still to

be seen in the Acropolis rock, directly

above the theatre, and has long been

used as a chapel dedicated to the Vir-

gin of the Cave (Panagia Spiliotissa).

Until the beginning of the nineteenth

century, its mouth was adorned by

a Doric portico, forming the choreic

monument of Thrasylus, an elegant

structure about twenty-nine feet five

inches high by twenty-five feet wide,

consisting of three Doric pilasters rest-

ing on two steps and supporting an

epistyle, which is in turn surmounted

by a frieze. Above the frieze were

three pedestals of gray marble, the

central one of which once supported a

seated statue now in the British Mu-

seum. An inscription sets forth that

the monument was dedicated by Thra-

sylus of Decelea, in commemoration

of a victory which he had won with a

chorus in the archonship of Neaechmus

(320–319 B.C.). The other two pedes-

tals bear inscriptions commemorating

victories of Thrasecles, son of Thra-

sylus. The monument doubtless sup-

ported a bronze tripod, and the statue

was probably inclosed within the legs

of the tripod. The group of Apollo,

Artemis, and the children of Niobe

was probably in the portico.

31. τθῆπται Κάλως: the nephew of

Daedalus is commonly called Talos by

ancient writers, but Clement of Alex-

andria (Protrept. 4, 47, p. 41, ed. Pot-

ter) and Suidas (s.v. Πέρδικος ἐρήμων)
agree with Pausanias in naming him Calos. Others give him the name of Perdix ("partridge"). See Ovid, Met. 8, 236; Hyginus, Fab. 39, 244, and 274. Daedalus is said to have murdered him by throwing him from the Acropolis, because Calos had surpassed him in mechanical ingenuity by inventing the saw, compasses, and potter’s wheel. The grave of Calos was on the southern slope of the Acropolis between the theatre and the sanctuary of Asclepius. — 34. τὸ ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ: the sanctuary of Asclepius was just west of the theatre precinct, bounded by the rock of the Acropolis on the north, and by a retaining-wall still extant on the south. There still exist considerable monumental remains of a colonnade within the precinct; and through an arched doorway in the back wall of the colonnade admission is given to a small round chamber hewn in the Acropolis rock, with a dome-shaped roof, in which is a spring of pure water, doubtless the fountain mentioned by Pausanias. The colonnade was doubtless intended for the patients of the god, who slept here with the hope of revelations in dreams and of marvelous cures (cf. Ar. Plutus, 659 ff.). South of the west end of the colonnade are the foundations of what was probably the temple of Asclepius. Somewhat to the west are the foundations of a building which was probably the house of the priests and other officials of the sanctuary. Two long inscriptions furnish interesting lists of votive offerings found on the site (C.I.A. II, 835, 836), as gold and silver representations of hands, feet, teeth, ears, and the like. It is noteworthy that in describing the south side of the Acropolis Pausanias makes no mention of (1) the Colonnade of Eumenes, and (2) the Music Hall of Herod Atticus, two important extant monuments.
τοὺς δόρασιν αἰχμᾶς ὀστεῦνας ἀντὶ σιδήρου φοροῦσι, τοξα
tε κρανέων καὶ ὄστους καὶ ὀστεῦνας ἀκίδας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄστους;
καὶ σειραῖς περιβαλόντες τῶν πολεμίων ὀπώσους καὶ τῷ
χοιεν, τοὺς ἵππους ἀποστρέφαντες ἀνατρέπουσι τοὺς ἐνσχε-
θέντας ταῖς σειραῖς. τοὺς δὲ θώρακας ποιοῦνται τὸν τρόπον 6
τοῦτον. Ἰπποὺς πολλὰς ἐκαστὸς τρέφει, ὥς ἄν οὕτε ἐς ἱδρυ-
τῶν κλήρος τῆς γῆς μεμερισμένης οὕτε τι φεροῦσι πλῆν
عظيم ἀγρίαις ἂτε ὅντων νομάδων. ταῦτας οὓς ἐς πόλεμον
χρώνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὶ θύουσιν ἐπιχωρίους καὶ ἄλλως
σιτοῦνται. συλλεξάμενοι δὲ τὰς ὀπλὰς ἐκκαθήραντες τε καὶ
διελόντες ποιοῦν ἀπ᾿ αὐτῶν ἐμφερῆ δρακόντων φολίσων:
ὅστις δὲ οὐκ εἰδεὶ πω ὑφάκοντα, πίτυος γε εἰδε ἱππον χλω-
ρῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ τῆς πίτυος φαινομέναις ἐντο-
μαίς εἰκάζον τῷ ἑργον τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὄπλης οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι.
ταῦτα διατηρήσαντες καὶ νεύροις ἵππων καὶ βοῶν συρράμα-
τες χρώνται θώραξιν οὕτε εὐπρεπεία τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποδεό-
σὸν οὕτε ἀσθενεστέρος, καὶ γὰρ σύστασιν τυπτόμενοι καὶ
βληθείσες ἀνέχονται. οἱ δὲ θώρακες οἱ λυνοὶ μαχομένοις 7
μὲν οὐχ ὀμοίως εἰς τὸ χρήσιμοι, διασὶ γὰρ [καὶ] βιαζόμενοι
tὸν σίδηρον. θηρεύοντας δὲ ὀφελοῦντι, ἐναποκλώταν γὰρ
65 σφιζει καὶ λέοντων ὀδόντες καὶ παρδάλεων. θώρακας δὲ λυ-
νοὺς ἰδεῖν ὐν τὰ ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς ἐστών ἀπακεμένους καὶ ἐν Γρη-
νεῶ, ἐνθα' Ἀπόλλωνος κάλλιστον ἄλογος δένδρων καὶ ἡμέρων
καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἀκάρπων ὀσμῆς παρέχεται των ἡ θέας ἤδονην.

22. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπείου ταύτη πρὸς τὴν ἀκρό-
πολιν ἱοὺς Θέμιδος ναὸς ἔστι. κέχωσται δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ

2. Θέμιδος ναὸς: the temple of Themis, together with the sanctuaries of Aphrodite Pandemos, Ge, and Demeter Chloe, mentioned below, were doubtless situated at the southwestern foot of the Acropolis, somewhere between the Odeum of Herodes Atticus.
μνήμα Ἰππολύτων. τού δὲ οἱ βίοι τὴν τελευτην συμβήναι λέγουσιν ἐκ καταρων. δῆλα δὲ, καὶ ὁστὶς βαρβάρων γλῶσσαι σαν ἔμαθεν Ἕλληνων, ὃ τε ἐρωτεί τῆς Φαϊδρας καὶ τῆς τροφοῦ τὸ ἐς τὴν διακονίαν τόλμημα. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνών Ἰππολύτου τάφος. ἔχει δὲ σφυσὶν ὅδε ὁ λόγος. Θησεύς ως ἐμελλέν ἀξίσθαι Φαϊδραν, οὐκ ἐθέλων εἰ οἱ γένουσι παιδεῖς οὐτὲ ἀρχεσθαι τὸν Ἰππόλυτον οὐτε βασιλεύειν ἄντι αὐτῶν, πέμπει παρὰ Πυθεα τραφησόμενον αὐτὸν καὶ βασιλεύσοντα Τροιζήνων. χρόνῳ δὲ ύστερον Πάλλας καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς ἐπανεστησαν Θησεί. τούτους κτείνας ἐς Τροιζήνα ἔρχεται καθαρσίως εἰκενα, καὶ Φαϊδρα πρῶτη ἐνταῦθα εἰδεν Ἰππόλυτον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν θάνατον ἐρασθεὶσα ἐβούλευσε. μυρσίνη δὲ ἐστὶ Τροιζηνών τὰ φύλλα διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα τετρυπνημένα. φυναὶ δὲ οὗτος ἀρχῆς τουαυτην λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐργον γεγενηθαι τῆς ἐς τὸν ἔρωτα ἁσθὲς καὶ τῆς περούνης ἢν ἐπὶ ταῖς θριξίν ἐκεν ἡ Φαϊδρα. Ἀφροδίτην δὲ τὴν Πάνδημον, ἐπεὶ τῇ Αθηναίους Θησεύς ἐς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων πόλιν, αὐτὴν τε σέβεσθαι καὶ Πειθῶν κατέστησε: τὰ μὲν δὴ παλαιὰ ἀγάλματα οὐκ ἢν ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ τεχνιτῶν ἢν οὐ

and the Acropolis entrance, but the exact site of none of them has as yet been determined. — 3. μνήμα Ἰππολύτων: for the story of Hippolytus and Phaedra, see Euripides, Hippolytus, especially 43 ff., 887 ff., 1106 ff.

18. Ἀφροδίτην δὲ τὴν Πάνδημον: Alphiodorus quoted by Harpocr. s.v. πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη says that this was “the name given at Athens to the goddess whose worship had been established somewhere near the ancient agora.” This indicates, in conjunction with the statement of Pausanias, that the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos was close to the west slope of the Acropolis. Inscriptions and statues belonging to her cult have been found on this site. No trace of the actual sanctuary remains. Miss Harrison, Ancient Athens, pp. 105–110, defends this Aphrodite against the slurs cast on the title Pandemos, and shows that she was a great and holy goddess, giver of increase, one of the ancient Oriental Trinity (Paus. 9, 16, 3), of which the other two were Heavenly Aphrodite and Aphrodite the Averter. — 20. Παθά: the Athenians annually offered a sacrifice to the goddess Persuasion (Isocrates, 15, 240), and a special seat was, it seems, assigned to her
THERE ACROPOLIS

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tων ἀφανεστάτων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς Κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης. τὰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπωνυμίας ἄστιν αὐτῶν δια-χθήναι τοῖς ἱερεύσιν ἠλθόντα ἐς λόγον.

25 Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρότολιν ἐστὶν ἐσοδος μία. ἔτεραν δὲ ρύ παρέ-4 χεσα, πάσα ἀπότομος οὐδα καὶ τείχος ἐξουσα ἐξυροῦν! τὰ δὲ προπύλαια λίθου λευκοῦ τὴν ὄροφὴν ἔχει καὶ κόσμῳ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν λίθων μέχρι γε καὶ ἐμοῦ προεῖχε. τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰκόνας τῶν ἵππεων οὐκ ἕχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἰτε οἱ παίδες

priestess in the theatre (C.I.A. III, 351).—22. Γῆς Κουροτρόφου: Solon spoke of Earth as the "buxom Nursing-Mother" (Frag. 43 in Bergk's Poetae Lyrici Graeci, II, 438). According to Suidas s.v. κουροτρόφος, Erichthonius was the first to sacrifice to Earth the Nursing-Mother on the Acropolis; and the Ephebi seem to have kept up the custom (C.I.A. II, 481, l. 58 sq.). This sanctuary was either at the southwest corner or else due west of the Acropolis, and somewhere along the winding road followed by Pausanias.

—Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης: from the evidence of ancient passages and of inscriptions it is clear that the sanctuary of Demeter Chloe was close to the western entrance to the Acropolis. Aristophanes (Lysistrata, 831 sqq.) describes a man hurrying up the Acropolis slope beside the sanctuary of the Verdant Goddess. Schol. Soph. Oed. Col. 1600 locates this sanctuary "near or beside the Acropolis," and quotes a passage from Eupolis, "I will go straight to the Acropolis; for I must sacrifice a ram to Verdant Demeter." The name had reference to the natural hue of foliage.

25. Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρότολιν: the Acropolis of Athens is a long and precipitous

mass of rock extending east and west. The north and east sides are naturally steep and inaccessible; the south side slopes more gradually, and needed especially strong fortifications, while on the western side the Acropolis slopes gently toward the Areopagus, this forming the natural approach. The Acropolis surface is a plateau, rising toward the east with its highest point (five hundred and twelve feet above the sea) to the northeast of the Parthenon. Its length from east to west is about three hundred and twenty-eight yards; its greatest breadth from north to south is about one hundred and forty-eight yards. See Excursus VII.—26. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια: for description of the Propylaea, see Excursus VIII.—28. τὰς . . . εἰκόνας τῶν ἵππων κτλ.: portions of the inscribed bases and pedestals of statues of horsemen have been found, which faced each other on opposite sides of the way leading up to the Acropolis. An inscription shows that they were dedicated in honor of a cavalry victory, and mentions the names of three cavalry officers, among them a Xenophon; and it is clear that the original statues were not set up later than 437 B.C. Another inscription on one of the pedestals shows that the
horseman was later converted into a statue of Germanicus. Pausanias's conjecture was the merest guesswork, showing that he did not carefully read the inscription. The sons of Xenophon were not yet born, and the date is too early for the Xenophon of the inscription to be the historian.—31. Νίκης ...

38. Αἰγέως: the story of the death of Aegaeus is similarly told by Diodorus (4, 61), Plutarch (Thes., 17 and 22) and Servius (ad Verg. Aen. 3, 74). At the southern foot of the bastion on which the temple of Athena Victory rests, a quadrangular space on the Acropolis rock has been leveled as if to receive some building. This was doubtless the site of the heroum of Aegaeus.

42. οἶκημα ἕχων γραφάς: this chamber still preserves its walls with the cornice, though the roof is gone. There has been much discussion whether the paintings in this chamber were wall-paintings or easel-paintings. There are no indications whatever that the walls were painted; nor are there any holes in the walls to show that the paintings were hung from nails. The title of Polemo's treatise on the pictures in the Propylaea, περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς προσπυλαίοις πινάκων, in its use of πινάξ rather than γραφή, is in favor of the view that the pictures were easel-pieces rather than wall-paintings. The careless style of Pausanias makes it impossible to determine with exactness the list of paintings mentioned, and their authorship, but the list seems to be as follows:

(1) Rape of Pallas's image by Diomedes; (2) Odysseus carrying off the bow of Philoctetes; (3) Slaying of Agisthus by Orestes, and of sons of Nauplius by Pylades; (4) Sacrifice of Polyxena; (5) Achilles among the maidens of Scyros; (6) Odysseus and Nausicaa with her maidens; (7) Portrait of Alcibiades with trophies of victory at Nemea; (8) Perseus carrying the head of
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ο χρόνος αὐτός ἀφανεῖν εἶναι, Διομήδης ἢν καὶ Ὅδυσσεύς,
ὅ μεν ἐν Δήμων τῷ Φιλοκτήτου τόξον, ὃ δὲ (Διομήδης) τὴν
'Αθηνάν ἀφαίρομενος ἐξ Ἰλίου. ἐνταῦθα [ἐν ταῖς γρα-
φαις] Ὅρεστὴς ἔστιν Ἀιγισθόν φονεύων καὶ Πυλάχθης τῶν
παίδων τοὺς Ναυπλίου βοηθούς ἐλθόντας Ἀιγισθῷ. τοῦ δὲ
'Αχιλλέως τάφου πλησίον μέλλοντα ἐστὶ σφαξεῖσθαι Πολυ-
ζένη. Ὀμήρῳ δὲ εὗ μὲν πάρειθη τόδε τῷ ὁμοῖοι οὕτως ἔργον·
εὗ δὲ μοι φαίνεται ποιῆσαι Σκύρον ὑπὸ 'Αχιλλέως ἀλού-
σαι, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ ὁσοὶ λέγουσιν ὁμοῦ ταῖς παρθένοις
'Αχιλλέα ἔχειν ἐν Σκύρῳ διατάγαν, ἀ δὴ καὶ Πολύγυνωτος
ἐγραψεν. ἐγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ ταῖς ὁμοίοι
Ναυ-
σικᾶ πληνούσας ἐφιστάμενον Ὅδυσσέα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καθὰ
δὴ καὶ Ὁμήρος ἐποίησε. γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλαι καὶ Ὁ

Medusa; (9) Boy with water-pots; (10) Wrestler, by Timanetus; (11) Portrait of Musaeus.—43. Διομήδης
ἡν καὶ Ὅδυσσεύς: the language of Pau-
sanias implies that Odysseus carried off
the bow of Philoctetes. This is the
story as told by the Attic tragedians,
Sophocles in the Philoctetes, and Ae-
schylus and Euripides in their lost
tramas on the same subject (Dio Chrys.
Or. 52). But the older tradition fol-
lowed by Lesches in his Little Iliad
ascribes this achievement to Diomedes
(Proclus in Epic. Græc. Fragm., ed.
Kinkel, p. 36). As to the carrying off
of the Palladium, the common tradi-
tion represents Diomedes as playing the
chief part but assisted by Odysseus.
So-Lesches in the Little Iliad. Thus
Diomedes on the Tabula Iliaca is seen
carrying the Palladium, while Odys-
seus follows him. Other versions and
monuments give Odysseus the chief
part in this achievement.—52. Ἀχιλ-
λέα ἔχειν ἐν Σκύρῳ διατάγαν: the story
that the young Achilles wore female
attire and lived among the daughters
of Lycomedes, king of Scyros, is told
by Hyginus, Fab. 96; Bion, 2, 15 sq.;
Schol. Hom. II. I, 968.—53. Να-
σικᾶ: see Homer, Od. 5, 85 sqq., for
the account of the meeting of Odys-
seus and Nausicaa.

55. γραφαὶ . . . καὶ Ἁλκιβιάδης:
Athenaeus, 12, p. 534 v, κ, quoting
Satyrus, states that Alcibiades dedi-
cated two pictures by Aglaophon, one
representing himself crowned by Olym-
piaos and Pythias, personifying Olym-
pia and Delphi, the other Nemea seated
with Alcibiades on her lap. Plutarch
(Alcibiades, 16) mentions a painting by
Aristophon of Nemea with Alcibiades
in her arms. Both doubtless refer to
the picture here mentioned by Pau-
sanias. It is necessary, therefore, to
account for the discrepancy in author-
ship. Aristophon was brother of Poly-
gonotus; their father was named Agla-
phon. He probably had a grandson
of the same name, and Pliny (N.H. 35, 60) mentions a painter of this name, who flourished 420–417 B.C., a date that accords with this explanation. He probably painted the Alcibiades. — 57. Περσεύς: for the story of Perseus, see Schol. Pindar, Pyth. 10, 72; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1515; Strabo, 10, p. 487; Ovid, Met. 5, 242 sqq.; Hyginus, Fab. 64.— 63. πεποίηκεν αὐτὰ Ονομάκρυτος: Onomacratus, invited to edit the so-called oracles of Museus, was expelled by Hipparchus from Athens for having been convicted of forging an oracle, and fled to the coast of Persia (Hdt. 7, 6). He is also said to have forged poems in the name of Orpheus (Clem. Alex. Strom. 1, 21, 131, p. 307, ed. Potter). See Epic. Graec. Fragm., ed. Kinkel, pp. 238 ff. 66. Ἐρμή... καὶ Χάρτης: also mentioned by Pausanias in 9, 35, 7, Σωκράτης τε ὁ Σωφρονίσκου πρὸ τῆς ἐστὶν ἀκρόπολιν Ἐρμής καὶ Χάρτην εἰργάσατο ἀγάλματα Ἀθηναίοις. Diog. Laert. 2, 5, 10, speaks of Socrates as having been a sculptor, and refers to these same figures of the Graces. See also Pliny, N. H. 36, 32, and Schol. Ar. Nub. 773. The Chiaramonti relief in Rome is supposed to be a copy of the relief attributed to Socrates. There are also other copies, a fact which suggests a celebrated original. Compare also an archaic relief in the Acropolis Museum representing Hermes and the Graces. Considerable doubt rests on the relation of any of these to the work ascribed to Socrates. — 67. Σωκράτης: see Plato, Apology, 20 e–21 a; Diog. Laert. 2, 5, 37; E. Zeller, Die Philosophie der Griechen³, II, 50, concerning the story of the response of the oracle.
23. The Seven Sages of Greece —
Hippias and Leaena — Diotrephes —
Other objects of interest on the Acropolis,
among them the Temple of Brauronian
Artemis and the Wooden Horse
— Thucydides — Phormio.

1. ἵππαι...σοφοῖς: for a list of the
Seven Sages, see Paus. 10, 24, 1, who
names Thales of Miletus, Bias of Pri-
ene, Pittacus of Mitylene, Cleobulus
of Lindus, Solon of Athens, Chilon
of Sparta, and as the seventh, in the
place of Periander of Corinth, follows
Plato (Protag. 343 a) in naming Myson
the Chelian. Periander was discredited
by Hdt. 5, 92, but he is usually
counted among the Seven Sages. Cf.
Diog. Laert. 1, 13; Anthol. Pal. 7, 81.
— 7. Δέαναν: Pausanias was evidently
not aware that the story about Leaena
had already been told by Pliny (N. H.
34, 72) and Plutarch (De garrulitate,
8). Cicero also seems to have told the
story and mentioned the lioness in his
lost work "On Glory" (see Philargyrius,
ad Verg. Ecl. 2, 63). The anecdote also
appears in Polyænus, 8, 45; Clem.
Alex. Strom. 4, 19, 122, p. 618,
ed. Potter; Athen. 13, p. 596 f.; and
Lactantius Divin. Instit. 1, 20. Plu-
tarch and Polyænus mention that the
lioness stood in the Propylæa, and
that she had no tongue to commemo-
rate the fact that Leaena betrayed none
of her associates. From the order in
which it is mentioned, the statue prob-
ably stood in the southern end of the
eastern portico of the Propylæa.

14. ἀγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης: what is
probably the pedestal of this statue
has been found on the Acropolis. It
beats the inscription, Καλλίας Ήππο-
νικοῦ ἄνθος[ε]υ (C.I.A. I, 392), in old
Attic characters, and dates from some
THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

Πλησίων δὲ ἐστὶ Διυτρέφους χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς ὡστοῖς βε- 
βλημένοις. οὕτως ὁ Διυτρέφης ἅλλα τε ἐπραξαὶ ὑπόσα λέγου-
σιν Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Θράκες μισθοτοὺς ἀφικομένους ὑστερον 
ἡ Δημοσθένης ἔς Συρακούσας ἐξέπλευσε, τούτως ὡς ὑστερη-
20 σαιν ὁ Διυτρέφης ἀπῆγεν ὑπόσιω. καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν Χαλκιδικὸν 
ἔσχεν Εὐριποῦ, ἔνθα Βοιωτῶν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πόλεις Μυκαλῆσ-
σῶς ἦν. ταῦτην ἐπαναβᾶς ἐκ θαλάσσης ὁ Διυτρέμης εἶλε. 
Μυκαλῆσεὼς δὲ ὡς μόνον τὸ μάχιμον ὦ Θράκες ἅλλα καὶ 
γυναῖκας ἐφόνευσαν καὶ παίδας. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι. Βοιωτῶν 
25 γὰρ ὅσους ἀνέστησαν Θηβαιοὶ, ὦκοϊντο αἱ πόλεις ἐπὶ ἔμοι, 
διαφορώτων ὑπὸ τὴν ἀλωσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. εἰ δὲ καὶ 
Μυκαλῆσιοι οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ πᾶσιν ἀποκτείνατε ἐπέξηλ-
θόν, ὑστερον ἄν τὴν πόλιν ἀπελάβον ὀι λειβέντες. τοσοῦ-
τον μὲν παρέστη μοι βαίμα ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Διυτρέφους, 
30 ὃ ποτε ὀστοῖς ἐβέβλητο, Ἡλληνεὶς ὦτι μὴ Κρητῆν ὦκε ἐπιχώρων 
ὅν τοξεύων. δοκροῦσ εἶν τοὺς Ὀπουντίους ὀπλευθοῦν 
ἡδη κατὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἱσμεν, οὐς Ὀμηρος ἐποίησεν ὄς φερό-
μενοι τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας ἐς Ἰλιον ἑλθοιεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ 
Μαλιέου παρέμενε μελέτῃ τῶν τόξων, δοκῶ δὲ οὐτὲ πρότε-
35 ῶν επιστασθαὶ σφαῖρα πρὶν ἡ Φιλοκτήτην, παύσασθαι τε ὡς 
διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ δὲ Διυτρέφους πλησίον — τὰς γὰρ εἰκόνας 
τὰς ἀφαιστέρας γράφειν ὀκε ἔθελο — θεῶν ἀγάλματα ἐστὶν 
Τυκείας τε, ἢ Ἠσκληπιοῦ παιδα ἐίναι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς

by a fall from the Propylaia. Athena, according to the legend, communicated to Pericles in a dream the treatment by which the man was cured. Pliny, N. H. 22, 44, tells a similar story, associated however with the Parthenon. The pedestal is still in place, just outside the eastern portico of the Propylaia, with the inscription 'Αθηναίων τεί: Αθηναίας τεί: Τυγείας Πύρρος ἑπότης Ἀθηναίας (C.I.A. I, 335). Pliny also mentions a statue of Athena Hygieia by Pyrrhus (N. H. 34, 80). The inscription and the discrepancies throw doubt on the story of Plutarch. On representations of the goddess Hygieia in ancient art, see W. Wroth, "Hygieia," J.H.S. V (1884), 82-101; F. Koepp, "Die Attische Hygieia," A.M. X (1885), 255-271.

60. χαλκοῦν παίδα: after leaving the Propylaia, Pausanias goes southeastward to the precinct of Artemis Brauronia. As the perirrhanterion was a
basin containing water which stood at the entrance of every sanctuary that worshipers might sprinkle themselves before entering the precinct (Pollux, 1, 8; 1, 26; 1, 32), it has been conjectured that this bronze statue of the boy with the basin may have been placed for this purpose at the entrance to the precinct of Brauronian Artemis. — 61. Μύρωνος Περσέα: cf. 2, 27, 2. Pliny mentions a statue of Perseus by Myron (N. H. 34, 57), which may be the same as this. Furtwängler (Meisterw. pp. 382–388) conjectures that two extant heads of Perseus, one in Rome and one in the British Museum, are replicas of this common original. — 62. Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν: southeast of the Propylaea is a terrace in the shape of an irregular quadrangle, one hundred and fifty-seven and one half feet from east to west, which was doubtless the ancient precinct of Artemis. There is no evidence of the existence of a temple. It was probably merely a precinct with images and an altar. — Πραξίτελους: the image of the Tauric Artemis, which Iphigenia was said to have brought from the Thracian Chersonese to Brauron in Attica, was equally claimed by Brauron, Sparta, Comana in Cappadocia, and Laodicea in Syria. See 1, 33, 1; 3, 16, 7–11; 8, 46, 3. Pausanias himself elsewhere locates the real image at Sparta (3, 16, 7–11). Inscriptions indicate that as early as 346–345 B.C. there were two images in the Brauronian sanctuary at Athens (C.I.A. II, 751, 754, 755–758), one designated the idol (hédon), the other the image (agálmá). The latter was the statue attributed to Praxiteles. — 65. Ἰππος . . . Δούρως: this statement is confirmed by Hesychius (s.v. δόρως Ἰππος), who also mentions the four men peeping out of the wooden horse. Aristophanes (Ares, 1128) speaks of “horses as big as the Wooden Horse,” and the scholia mention the Acropolis statue. Blocks of the pedestal have been found on the Acropolis, bearing an inscription which states that it was dedicated by Chaerephon of Coele and made by Strongylion.
Pausanias elsewhere (9, 30, 1) speaks of Strongyliou as extremely skilful in modeling oxen and horses.

73. Ἐπιχαρίνου: the base of this statue has been found, bearing an inscription (C.I.A.I, 376), which records that it was dedicated by Epicharinus himself and was made by Critius and Nesiotics, the sculptors of the group of the tyrannicides (1, 8, 5). Inscriptions show that the true spelling was Κρίτιος, not Κρίτιας, as the manuscripts have it here and in 6, 3, 5. — 74. Οἰνοβίω: Pausanias implies, without expressly saying, that there were on the Acropolis statues of Oenobius, Hermolycus, and Phormio. Thucydides was banished in 424 B.C., and was in exile twenty years (Thuc. 4, 104; 5, 26), so that his return was in 404 B.C. Pausanias' statement implies that he did not return under the general amnesty of that year, but by a special decree secured by Oenobius. He may have been excepted from the general amnesty. (Cf. Classen, Thukydides, Einleitungen, pp. xxiii ff.) The accounts of Thucydides' death are discrepant: one says that he died in Thrace (Plut. Cleon, 4), a second that he was murdered in Athens (Marcullinus, Vit. Thucyd. 31-33, 55), a third that he died a natural death in Athens (Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, pp. 202 sq.).

78. Ὑμᾶλυκον τὸν παγκρατιστὴν: Herodotus (9, 105) tells of Hermolycus the pancratist who distinguished himself at the battle of Mycale, and was afterward killed in battle at Cyrus in Euboea and buried at Geraestus. — 79. ἐς δὲ Φόρμιωνα: this anecdote about Phormio is related with some variations in Schol. Ar. Παξ. 347, on the authority of Androton in the third book of his Attica; Androton was a pupil of Isocrates and a contemporary of Demosthenes (Suidas, s.v. Ἀνδρότων; Frag. Hist. Gr., ed. Müller, I, lxxiiii).

1. Αθηνᾶ... Μαρσυάν παίονσα: the story is that Marsyas picked up the pipes which Athena had thrown away in disgust, and afterwards attained such skill in playing upon them that he challenged Apollo himself to a musical contest. See Hyg. Fab. 165; Plut. de cohib. ira, 6; Athen. 14, p. 616 ε, v. It has been conjectured that this group was identical with a work of Myron, mentioned by Pliny, N. H. 33, 57. There are several representations of the satyr which are doubtless copies of some famous original, probably the one here mentioned. The best of these is the Marsyas of the Lateran.—4. Ῥοῦσσος μάχη: Theseus's fight with the Minotaur is frequently represented on coins and vase-paintings, both red-figured and black-figured; also in one of the metopes of the so-called Theseum. The Minotaur is portrayed regularly with the body of a man and the head of a bull.

7. Φρίζος: probably the statue by Naucydes of a man sacrificing a ram, mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 34, 80), is the one here mentioned.—11. Ηρακλέους... τοὺς δράκοντας: cf. Pind. Nem. 1, 50; Theocr. 24, 1; Apoll. 2, 4, 8.—12. Αθηνᾶ: on the representations of the birth of Athena, which was the subject of the sculptures on the east pediment of the Parthenon, see Excursus X. —13. ταύρος ἀνάθημα:
Athena Ergane—Earth

Ch. 24, 3
ánathéma τῆς βουλής τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ἐφ᾽ ὅσῳ δὴ ἄνε
15 θηκεν ἡ βουλή· πολλὰ δὲ ἂν τις ἐθέλων εἰκάζει. λέξεται δὲ
μοι καὶ πρότερον ὥς Ἀθηναῖος περισσότερον τι τοῦ ἡ
ἀλλος ἐστὶ τὰ θεῦα ἐστὶ σπουδής· πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶν
ἐπωνόμασαν Ἐργάνην, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀκόλουθος Ἐρμᾶς, . . . ὀμοί δὲ
σφυτὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ . . . σπουδαῖα δαίμων ἔστιν. ὅσις δὲ τὰ
20 σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα ἐπιπροσθεν τίθεται τῶν ἐς ἄρχαιοτῆτα
ἡκόντων, καὶ τάδε ἐστιν οἱ θεάςασθαι. κράνος ἔστιν ἐπικεί-
μενος ἀνὴρ . . . Κλεοῖτων, καὶ οἱ τοὺς οὐνύχας ἀργυροὺς ἐνε-
ποίησεν ὁ Κλεότας· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς ἀγαλμα ἱκετευόσθης

The bull was of bronze, and was generally known as "the bull on the Acropolis" (cf. Athen. 9, p. 396 D; Hesych. s.v. βως ἐν πόλει). Near by was the figure of a ram in silver bronze, coupled with the Wooden Horse by the comic poet Plato on account of its size (Hesych. s.v. κραῖος ἀσαλύκερων).

17. Ἀθηνᾶν . . . Ἐργάνην: this remark was probably elicited by the sight of an image, altar, or temple of Athena Ergane, or the Worker, an epithet applied to the goddess as patroness of the useful arts. There is much discussion as to the site of this image, altar, or temple, some authorities locating it between the Artemis Brauronia precinct and the Parthenon, others to the north of the Acropolis. Five inscriptions have been found containing dedications to Athena the Worker (C.I.A. II, 1428, 1429, 1434, 1438; IV, 373-371, 205).—18. ἀκόλουθος Ἐρμᾶς: cf. 4, 33, 3. Thuc. 4, 27 mentions the stone images of Hermes, shaped like square pillars, commonly placed in the doorways of private houses and of sanctuaries in Attica.—19. σπουδαῖων δαί-
μων: this image is mentioned as a third instance of the piety of the Athenians. There is much dispute as to the correctness of the text and as to the temple here alluded to. The natural implication is that there was a temple of Athena Ergane between the precinct of Artemis Brauronia and the Parthenon along the road followed by Pausanias, but there is no monumental evidence of this. Here actual remains of a building known as the Chalkotheke or "storehouse for bronzes" (C.I.A. II, 61) have been laid bare. On this whole question, see Dörpfeld, A.M. XIV (1889), 304–313, "Chalkothek and Ergane-Tempel," and Michaelis, Der Parthenon, p. 306. —22. Κλεοίτων: according to 6, 20, 4, where the inscription on this statue is quoted, Cleoetas was famous for having invented a method for starting horses at the Olympic games. His ingenuity was shown in silvering the nails of the statue.—

23. Γῆς ἀγαλμα: an inscription, Γῆς καρποφόρου κατὰ μαθείαν, cut in the rock about thirty feet north of the seventh column on the north side of the Parthenon, counting from the west, determines the site of this image. The
there is nothing more than a peaceful colloquy. Probably the group mentioned here by Pausanias was of the latter type. In this the two deities show their tokens and calmly await the issue. Poseidon has his left foot advanced and resting on a rock, while with his right hand he grasps his trident; Athena rests her right hand upon the olive tree, and behind her are her serpent and shield. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Num. Comm. on Paus., pp. 130 ff. with pl. Z, xi-xvi. This group closely resembles a marble relief now in Smyrna (see Frazer, II, 302, Fig. 23).

29. τί τε Δειογέρων καὶ ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Πολυεύς: coins also probably preserve the types of these two statues, the older being the xoanon, or an archaic copy of it in stone, the later by Leochares an idealized copy of it. In the one, Zeus strides forward, the left hand extended, the right drawn back and grasping the thunderbolt in the act of hurling it; in the other, Zeus stands in an easy attitude, the left knee bent, the right hand holding the thunderbolt half down, the left extended over an altar round which is entwined a serpent. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Num. Comm. on Paus., pp. 137 ff. with pl. BB, i, ii, iii. — 30. τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐς τὴν θυελαν κτλ.: this account
THE PARTHENON

40 Taüta meν tρόπον tòn eιρημένoν δρῶσιν: ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν ὁν Παρθενώνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐσιοῦσιν ὅπωσα ἐν 5 τοῖς καλομένοις ἄτοις κέιται, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ὀθήνας ἔχει γένεσιν, τὰ δὲ ὀπίσθεν ἡ Ποσειδώνος πρὸς Ὀθήναν ἐστίν ἐρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς: αὐτὸ δὲ ἐκ τὸ ἑλέφαντος τὸ ἀγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποίηται. μέσῳ μὲν οὖν ἐπίκειται οἱ τῷ κράνει Σφιγγός εἰκόν—ἂν δὲ ἐς τὴν Σφίγγα λέγεται, γράφων προ- ελθόντος ἐς τὰ Ἱσσώτικα μοι τοῦ λόγου—καθ’ ἐκάτερον δὲ τοῦ κράνους ἡρώτησε ἐστὶν ἐπειραγμένου, τούτους τοὺς γρῦ- 8 πας ἐν τοῖς ἑπεσιν Ἄριστες ὁ Προκονήσιος μάχεσθαι περὶ 50 τοῦ χρυσοῦ φήσιν Ἀρμασστοῖς τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἰσσηδώνων· τὸν δὲ χρυσόν ὁν ψυλλάσσουσιν οἱ γρῦται ἀνέναι τὴν γῆν· εἶναι δὲ Ἀρμασστοῖς μὲν ἄνδρας μονοβηθάλιον πάντας ἐκ γενετῆς, γρῦται δὲ ἑτήρια λέοντα σικεσμένα, περαὶ δὲ ἑκεῖν καὶ στόμα ἄετοῦ· καὶ γρυπῶν μὲν περὶ τοσάτα εἰρήσθων· 55 τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα τῆς Ὀθήνας ὅρθον ἐστίν ἐν χιτῶν ποδήρει 7

of the Bouphonia or Diopolia, as this ancient ceremony of Zeus was indifferently called, is supplemented by Paus. I, 28, 10, and is described more fully by Theophrastus, quoted by Porphyry (De abstinencia, 2, 29 sq.). The day on which the sacrifice took place was the 14th of Scirophorion (June–July). See Miss Harrison, Prolegomena, pp. 30 ff. —40. ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν . . . Παρθενώνα: on the Parthenon, see Excursus X. —41. ὅπωσα ἐν τοῖς καλομένοις ἄτοις κέιται: see Excursus X for an account of the pediment sculptures of the Parthenon. —44. τὸ ἀγαλμα: see Excursus X.
1a. Πανδώρας γένεσις: there seems to have been a close connection in mythology and ritual between Pandora and Athena. According to Suidas s.v. Παρθένον, Pandora was a daughter of Erechtheus. Philochorus is quoted to the effect that whoever sacrificed an ox to Athena was obliged to sacrifice a sheep to Pandora (Harpocr. and Suid. s.v. Ἐπίβουοι; Etymol. Magn. p. 358, s.v. ἐπίβουοι). For the legend of Pandora, the first woman, see Hesiod, Theog. 501 sqq.; Opp. 47 sqq. — 64. εἰκόνα . . . 'Αδριανοῦ: the inscribed pedestal of a statue of Hadrian has been found between the Parthenon and the Propylaea (C.I.A. III, 488). — εἰκόνα . . . 'Ιφικράτους: this statue was bestowed in recognition of Iphicrates' services in cutting to pieces a Spartan regiment in 392 n.c. (Xen. Hell. 4, 5, 10 sqq.). It was of bronze (Dem. 23, 130, p. 663). Iphicrates himself alluded to it in a fragment of a speech preserved by Aristotle (Rhetoric, 2, 23, p. 1397 b). In the Parthenon were also painted portraits of Themistocles (Paus. 1, 1, 2) and Heliodorus Halis (Paus. 1, 37, 1). Here too was kept the silver-footed seat in which Xerxes sat watching the battle of Salamis (Harpocr. s.v. ἄργυρους δίφθορας).

67. Παρνόπιον: the worship of Apollo Parnopius was prevalent among the Aeolic Greeks of Asia (Strabo, 13, p. 613). With the epithet Parnopius, Locust, cf. Smintheus, the Mouse-God, also applied to Apollo (II. A, 39). Furtwängler (Meisterw. pp. 659–671) attributes the statue to the elder Praxiteles.
25. Other statues on the Acropolis — Olympiodorus — Athens after the battle of Chaeronea — Confederation of Greek states against the Macedonians — Leosthenes — Demetrius of Phalenum — Laches.

2. Περικλῆς ὁ Ἐανθίππος: this statue may have been the one made by Cresilas which Pliny mentions (N. H. 34, 74). What is probably a part of the pedestal has been found, in a fragment of Pentelic marble, bearing the inscription [Περικλῆς Κρεσίλας ἔρυθρος (C. I. A. IV, 403 a, p. 154). Three ancient busts of Pericles are extant, all copies of one original, which is conjectured to be Cresilas' statue. They represent Pericles bearded and helmeted, with serene and noble countenance. The best of the three is in the British Museum. See Furtw. Meisterw. d. griech. Plastik, pp. 270–274. — αὐτὸς Ἐανθίππος: a few years ago a potsherd was found on the Acropolis, bearing the inscription ΕΑ-ΘΠΠΟΣ Ἀρρήφων (C. I. A. IV, 570, p. 192 sq.) and in 1891 a potsherd similarly inscribed was found in Athens near Piraeus Street (C. I. A. IV, 571). These were doubtless used in voting the ostracism of Xanthippus (see Aristotle, Resp. Athen. 22). Pausanias is mistaken in speaking of the battle of Mycale as a sea-fight; it was a land-battle. Xanthippus commanded the Athenian forces on that occasion. See Hdt. 9, 98–100, 114; Plut. Pericles, 3. — 5. Ἀνακρέων: there is in the Jacobsen Collection at Copenhagen a statue of Anacreon, formerly in the Villa Borghese at Rome. It represents the poet as a bearded man in the prime of life, standing and playing on the lyre. The original was doubtless a fifth-century work, and one well known, as there are extant four replicas of the head, the best one being in Berlin. Kekulé assigns the original to Cresilas, Furtwängler to Phidias, and both judge it the statue on the Acropolis here mentioned. Against this identification is the fact that Pausanias says the statue represented the poet as drunk, while the Copenhagen statue represents him as sober. See Kekulé, Jrb. d. arch. Inst. VII (1892), 119–126; Furtwängler, Meisterw. p. 92 sq. — 8. Διενομοῦντα: Pliny (N. H. 34, 50)
12. Πρὸς δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ νοτὶ Πιγάντων, οἱ περὶ Θράκην 2
ποτὲ καὶ τὸν ἱσθμὸν τῆς Παλλήνης ὄκησαν, τούτῳ τῷ
λεγόμενον πόλεμον καὶ μάχην πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας Ἀθηναίων
καὶ τὸ Μαραθώνιο πρὸς Μήδους ἐργὸν καὶ Γαλατῶν τὴν ἐν
Μυσίᾳ θορὰν ἀνέθηκεν Αταλός, ὅσον τε δύο πηχῶν ἐκα-
στον. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος μεγέθει τε ὡν ἐπραξε
λαβὼν δόξαν καὶ οὖχ ἡκιστα τῷ καιρῷ, φρόνημα ἐν ἀνθρώ-
ποις παρασχόμενοι συνεχῶς ἐπικόσι καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ οὐδὲ
20 ἐν χρυστὸν οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐλπίζουσι. τὸ γὰρ ἀντὶ
χῆμα τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἀπασὶ τοῖς Ἐλλησιον ἤρξε κακοῦ καὶ
οὖχ ἡκιστα δούλους ἐποίησε τοὺς ὑπερδοῦντας καὶ ὅσοι
μετὰ Μακεδόνων ἔταχθησαν. τὰς μὲν δὴ πολλὰς Φίλιππος
τῶν πόλεων ἔλεγεν, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ λόγῳ συνιθεμένοι ἐργὰ
25 σφᾶς μάλιστα ἐκάκωσε, νήσους τε ἀφελόμενοι καὶ τῆς ἐς
τὰ ναυτικά παῦσας ἀρχῆς. καὶ χρόνου μὲν τινα ἡσύχασαν
Ἀθηναῖοι Φιλίππου βασιλεύσαντος καὶ ὑστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου
τελευτήσαντος δε Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνες μὲν βασιλεύσεων
εἰλοντο Ἀριδαῖον, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἐπετέραπτο ἡ πᾶσα ἀρχῆ,

mentions a sculptor Dinomenes, who flourished Ol. 95 (about 400 B.C.).

12. Πιγάντων: these figures were doubtless dedicated by Attalus I, king
of Pergamus, to commemorate his victories over the Gauls (cf. 1, 4, 5).
They were located, as Pausanias states, on the south wall, and doubtless
directly over the theatre, as Plutarch (Anton. 60) relates how the figure of
Dionysus in the group representing the giants was blown from its place by a
hurricane and fell into the theatre.

The material was probably of bronze. Marble copies of figures of these groups
are preserved in the museums of Eu-

-3 322-325; Harrison, Ancient Athens,

pp. 474-477. — 17. From here to 26, 3
follows a digression on Olympiodorus
and the contest with the Macedonians.
30 καὶ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκέτι ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο εἰ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἔσται ἐπὶ Μακεδόνι μᾶς Ἐλληνικόν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖ τε πολεμεῖν ἀρμῇ καὶ ἀλλοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἤγειρον. ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ 4 μετασχοῦσαι πόλεις Πελοποννησίων μεῖν Ἀργοὺς Ἑπίδαυρος Σικυών Τροίζην Ἡλείοι Φλιάσω Μεσσήνη, οἱ δὲ ἔξω τοῦ Κο- 35 ρυθίων ἱσθμοῦ Δοκροὶ Φωκεῖς Θεσσαλοὶ Κάρυστος Ἀκαρ- νάνες ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν συντελοῦντες. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ Θηβαῖων ἡρμημερεύνων τὴν γῆν τὴν Θῆβαις νεμόμενοι δεῖμι μὴ Θῆβας ἀδικεῖ Ἀθηναῖοι σφινν ἑποκιώζων οὔτε ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐτάσσοντο καὶ ἐς ὅσον ἦκον δυνάμεως τὰ Μακεδόνων ἦξον. 40 τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ταχθέντας κατὰ πόλεις τε ἐκα- στοὺς ἦγον στρατηγοῖ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχεῖν ἡρήσατο Ἀθη- ναῖος Λεωσθένης πόλεως τε ἀξιώματι καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι δοκῶν πολέμων ἐμπειρός. ὑπήρχε δὲ οἱ καὶ πρὸς πάντας εὐεργεσία τοὺς Ἑλλήνας· ὅποιοι γὰρ μυσθοῦ παρὰ Δαρείῳ καὶ σπαρά- 45 παίς ἐστρατεύοντο Ἑλληνες, ἀνοικίσας σφᾶς ἐς τὴν Περσίδα ἐθελόταν Ἀλεξάνδρου Λεωσθένης ἐφθα κομίσας ναυσίν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἄν ἐς αὐτὸν ἦλθον ἐργὰ λαμπρότερα ἐπιδειξάμενοι παρέσχεν ἀποθανόν ἀθυμήσας πάσι καὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἦκεσα σφαλήνα· φρουρά τε Μακε- 50 δόνων ἐσηλθεν Ἀθηναίοις, οἱ Μουννικῖαν, ὠστρον δὲ καὶ Πειραιᾶ καὶ τείχις μακρὰ ἔσχον. Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ ἀποθανοῦ—στος Ὁλυμπίας διαβάσα εἰς Ηπείρου χρόνον μὲν ταῖν ἢρξεν ἀποκτείνασα Ἀριδαίον, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ῥυθμόν ἐκπολιορκη- θεῖται ὑπὸ Κασσανδροῦ παρεδόθη τῷ πλῆθει. Κάσσανδρος 55 δὲ βασιλεύσας—τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπέδειξε μοι μόνα ὁ λόγος—Πάνακτον τείχος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ Σαλαμίνα εἶπε τύραννόν τε Ἀθηναίοις ἐπράξε γενέσθαι Δημήτριον τῶν

66. Πάνακτον τείχος: situated on the borders of Boeotia, and captured in 322 B.C. by the Boeotians, who dismantled it (Thuc. 5, 3, 42; Dem. 19, 326). Cassander later garrisoned it, but Demetrius Poliorcetes recaptured it and restored it to the Athenians (Plut. Demetrius, 23).
Φανοστράτου, [tà πρὸς] δὸξαν εἰληφότα ἐπὶ σοφία. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τυραννίδος ἐπαυσε Δημήτριος ὁ Ἄντιγόνου, νέος τε ὁ Ἐλληνικόν διακείμενος. Κάσο-7 σανδρος δὲ—δευνὸν γὰρ τι ὑπὲρ οἱ μῦσας ἐσ τῶν Ἀθηναίων—ὁ δὲ αὖθις Δαχάρην προεστηκότα, ἐσ ἐκείνῳ τού δήμου, τοῦτον τὸν ἀνδρα οἰκεωσάμενος τυραννίδα ἔπεισε βουλεύσαι, τυράννων ὡς ἱμέρες γάρ τε ἐσ ἀνθρώπους μᾶλιστα ἀνήμερον καὶ ἔσ τὸ θείον ἀφειδέστατον. Δημήτριῳ δὲ τῷ Ἄντιγόνον διαφορὰ μὲν ἢν ἐσ τὸν δήμου ἡθή τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καθεὰλ δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὴν Δαχάρους τυραννίδα. ἀλισκόμενου δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκει Δαχάρης ἐσ Βοωστών, ἀτε δὲ ἀσπίδας ἐξ ἀκρόπολεως καθελὼν χρυσᾶς καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἀγαλμα τῶν περιαριστῶν ἀποδύσας κόσμων ἅπω-πτευτέο εὐπορεῖν μεγάλως χρημάτων. Δαχάρην μὲν οὖν τοῦ-8 τῶν ἐνεκα κτείνουσιν ἀνδρὲς Κορωναίου. Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Ἄντιγόνον τυραννων ἐλευθερώσας Ἀθηναίους τὸ τε παραντικα μετὰ τὴν Δαχάρους ψυχῆν οἰκ ἀπεδωκέ σφις τὸν 75 Πειραιὰ καὶ υστερον πολέμῳ κρατήσας ἑσθήγαγεν ἐσ αὐτὸ φρουρᾷν τὸ ἀστυ, τὸ Μουσεῖον καλούμενον τεχήσας. ἐςτὶ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου τὸ Μουσεῖον ἀπαντικρυ τῆς ἀκρόπολεως λόφος, ἐνία Μουσαίον ἢδεων καὶ ἀποθανόντα γῆρα ταφῆναι λέγουσιν υστερον δὲ καὶ μνήμα. 80 αὐτὸθι ἀνδρὶ ψέκοδομήθη Σύρῳ. τὸτε δὲ Δημήτριος τεχήσας 26 εἰχε χρώνῳ δὲ υστερον ἀνδρὰς ἐσπήλθεν οὐ ποιλῶν [καὶ] 1

67. τὴν Δαχάρους τυραννίδα: see Droysen, Gesch. d. Hell. II, 2, 251–253. He removed from the Parthenon the three hundred Persian shields sent by Alexander the Great to Athens to be dedicated to Athena (Arrian, Anab. 1, 16, 7; Plut. Alexander, 10). Athenaeus (9, p. 405g) quotes a comic poet as saying that Laches “had made Athena naked.”

76. τὸ Μουσεῖον: Pausanias omits from his description the hill district southwest of the Acropolis embracing the Pnyx, the hill of the Nymphs, and the Museum hill, but here incidentally mentions the last. The monument here mentioned is still conspicuous.

26. Olympiodorus — Artemis Leucophryene — Statue of Athena by Endoeus — The Erechtheum — Image of
μνήμη τε προγόνων καὶ ἐσὶ οὖν μεταβολήν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἱκα
τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτίκα τε ὡς εἶχον αἰροῦνται στρατηγὸν
'Ολυμπιόδωρον. ὁ δὲ σφῆν ἔπι τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἤγε καὶ
5 γέροντας καὶ μειράκια ὁμοίως, προθυμίαν πλέον ἢ ῥώμη
κατορθοῦσαν τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐλπίζουσι. ἐπεξελθόντας δὲ τοὺς
Μακεδόνας μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ φυγόντων ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον
τὸ χωρίον ἔλεγεν. Ἀθήναι μὲν οὖτος ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἂλης 10
θερόθησαν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πάντων ἀγωνισαμένοις ἀξίως λόγον
πρὸς τὸ ἔργον. πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέβη, πρῶτος
6 δὲ ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον ἐσήλατο, καὶ οἱ πεσόντι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τιμᾷ
παρ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀλλαὶ γεγόνασι καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνέθεσαν
τῷ Διῷ τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ, τὸ ὅνομα τοῦ Δεώκριτοῦ καὶ τὸ κατόρ-
θωμα ἐπιγράφασεν. Ὄλυμπιόδωρφῷ δὲ τὸ ἐς τὸ ἔργον 15
5 μέγιστον χωρίς τούτων ὅν ἐπέκαθε Πειραιᾶ καὶ Μουσικίων ἀνασπωσάμενος. ποιομένων δὲ Μακεδόνων καταδρομὴν ἐς
'Ελευσίναι Ἐλευσινίους συντάξας ἐνίκα τοὺς Μακεδόνας.
πρῶτον δὲ ἐτί τούτων ἐσβαλόντος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Ἀσ-
5 σάνδρον πλεύσας Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ἐς Λιτωλίαν βοηθεῖν Λιτω-
λοὺς ἔπευξε, καὶ τὸ συμμαχικόν τοῦτο ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίων
αὐτῶν μάλιστα διαφυγεῖν τὸν Κασσάνδρου πόλεμον. Ὁλυμ-
πιόδωρῳ δὲ τούτῳ μὲν ἐς Ἀθήνας εἰσίν ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολει καὶ
ἐν πρυτανείῳ τιμᾷ, τούτῳ δὲ ἐν 'Ελευσίνι γραφῇ καὶ Φωκέων
20 οἱ Ἐλάτειν ἔχοντες χαλκοῦν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνέ-
θεσαν, ὅτι καὶ τοῦτος ἤμουν ἀποστὰσι Κασσάνδρου.
4. Ὅλυμπιόδωρον: Plutarch (Demetrius, 46) mentions this revolt, which

28. Ἀπεκκατάστασις: this title was

given Artemis from Leucophys, a
town in the valley of the Maeander.
The Attica of Pausanius

Δε οι παῖδες οί Θεμιστοκλέους. Μάγνητες γάρ, διν ήρχε Θεμιστοκλῆς λαβὼν παρὰ βασιλέως, Δευκοφυηήνην Ἀρτέμιν άγουσι εν τιμῇ.

Δεί δε με αφικέσθαι τον λόγον πρόσω, πάντα ὅμοιως ἐπεξιόντα τά Ελληνικά. Ἐνδοιοις ἦν γένος μὲν Ἀθηναῖος, Δαιδάλου δὲ μαθητής, ὃς καὶ φεύγοντι Δαιδάλῳ διὰ τοῦν Κάλω θάνατον ἐπηκολούθησεν ὡς Κρήτην. τούτου καθήμενον ἔστιν Ἀθηναῖς ἀγαλμα, ἐπίγραμμα ἔχουν ὡς Καλλίας μὲν ἀναθείη, ποιήσειε δὲ Ἐνδοιοις. — ἐστι δὲ καὶ οὐκήματο Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἔσοδου Διός ἐστι βωμὸς Ἰτάτου, ἐνθα ἐμφυχον θύουσιν οὐδὲν, πέμματα δὲ θείτες οὐδὲν ἐπὶ οὐν χρήσασθαι νομίζουσιν. ἐσεθοῦσι δὲ εἰσὶ βωμοὺ, Ποσειδώνος, ἐφ’ οὐ καὶ Ἐρεχθεῖ θύουσιν ἐκ τοῦ μαντεύματος, καὶ Ἰρων Βούτου, τρῖτος δὲ Ἡφαίστου γραφαὶ.

Xenophon (Hell. 3, 2, 19; 4, 8, 17) mentions her sanctuary there. The temple at Magnesia on the Maeander, alluded to by Pausanias, was an Ionic structure built by the architect Hermogenes (Vitruv. 3, 2, 6; 7, praef. 12). According to Strabo (14, p. 647) ‘it was the third largest temple in Asia, and, though inferior in size and number of votive offerings to the Artemis temple at Ephesus, was far superior in its architectural features. The remains of the temple were excavated in 1891–1893 by the German Archaeological Institute.—33. Ἐνδοιοις: although Pausanias speaks of Endoeus as an Athenian, there is some ground for thinking he was an Ionian Greek, as two inscribed bases of statues by him found in Athens are in Ionic characters (C.I.A. I, 477, Δελτόν δρχ. 1888, 206 sq.). He is also known to have made images for temples in Ionia, including the image of Artemis at Ephesus. He flourished at Athens in the latter part of the sixth century B.C., the age of Pisistratus. A seated statue of Athena, now in the Acropolis Museum, is usually ascribed to him. The Callias who dedicated it was probably the opponent of Pisistratus mentioned by Herodotus (6, 121).

37. οὐκήματο Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον: on the Erechtheum, see Excursus XI.—41. βωμὸς: the Athenians frequently identified Erechtheus with Poseidon (Hesych. s.v. Ἐρεχθεύος). An inscription (C.I.A. I, 387) has a dedication to Poseidon Erechtheus. This priesthood was styled that of Poseidon Erechtheus (Ps.–Plut. Vit. x Or. p. 843 b, c; C.I.A. III, 805). The seat reserved in the theatre was for “the priest of earth-holding Poseidon and Erechtheus” (C.I.A. III, 276).—42. Ἰρων Βούτου: Butes was either a twin brother of
dè épi tòn toîxwn tòu gêvous eîsi tò Boutratôw kai — di-
plôwv yar èstti tò oûkêma — [kaî] ùdwr èstiv èidôn thalâs-
son èn phrêati. toûto mèn thâuma ou méga· kai yar òsoi
mesôgian an oikósw, ãllous te èsti kai Karstiv 'Afrôði-si'ë-
siv· ãllà tôde tò phrêar ès syggrafhì parèxetai kumátovn
ìxvon èpì vó tô pnevôsannti. kai tríaînhs èstitv èn tì pètrà
sçhîma. tauta dè légetai Poseidôwv màrtûria ès tìn àmphi-
svbhtêsw tìs ìwras fahvnavi.

Ièrâ mèn tìs 'Aðnàs èstitv è te ãllh pòlis kai èt pàsâ ò
òmòwos yh — kai yar òsois theous kathêtkev ãllous èn
tois démosi sêbeiv, ou'dèn ti ìsou tìn 'Aðnàv àgountwv
èn timh — tô dè àgûatótan èn kouvò pollois. próteron no-
misthèè èstesw èn ìwvhliouv àpò tôv òìmowv èstitv 'Aðnàs
àgalma èn tì vòn ákropòléi, tôte dè ónòma zomènh pòlèi-
phìh dè ès àutò èxei peseiv èk tòu oûrânov. kai tôutò mèn
òuk èpèxeimì eîte ou'tas eîte ãlllwv èxei. lûxvon dè tì thèw

Erechtheus (Apolhod. 3, 14, 8) or a son
of Poseidon (Eustath. on Homer Il. A, 1,
Boutrâsai and Boutrâh). The ancient
family of the Butads or Eteobutads
furnished both the priests of Poseidon
Erechtheus and the priestesses of
Athena Polias (Aeschin. 2, 147; Har-
pocr. and Phot. s.v. 'Ereoboutrâsai et al.).
The statesman Lycurgus was of this
family.

55. 'Aðnàs àgalma ktl.: this re-
mark is evidently intended to explain
the epithet Polias (from πâlias) which
was the regular title of the Athena
of the Erechtheum (see Frazer, II, 573
sqq., Appendix). The phraseology was
suggested by Thuc. 2, 15, who says
that in early times the word πâlias was
restricted to mean the Acropolis. Cf.
C.I.A. I, 1, 4, 139. The image was
made of olive-wood (Schol. Dem. 22,
13, p. 507). As to the type, there is
some dispute whether the goddess was
represented seated or standing. — 58.
lûxvon: the lamp with its perpetual
light in the Erechtheum is mentioned
by Strabo (9, p. 396). During the siege
of Athens by Sulla it was allowed to
go out for lack of oil (Plut. Numa, 3;
Sulla, 13). The date of Callimachus is
not positively known, but he probably
belongs to the close of the fifth cen-
tury. To him is attributed the inven-
tion of the Corinthian capital (Vitruv.
4, 1, 9). He made a seated image of
Hera at Plataea (9, 2, 7). Pliny (N. H.
34, 92) says that the epithet kàkîs-
texhos, "Refiner away of Art," was
applied to him because of his excessive
fastidiousness; Vitruvius (4, 1, 9) that
it was on account of "the elegance and
THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

134

Χρυσοῦν Καλλίμαχος ἐποίησεν ἐμπλήσαντες δὲ ἐλαίου 7
tὸν λύχνον τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄτομος ἀναμένουσιν ἡμέρα

60 ἔλαιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸν μεταξὺ ἐπαρκεῖ χρόνον τῷ λύχνῳ
cατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν ἡμέρα καὶ νυκτὶ φαίνοντι. καὶ οἱ λύνον

Καρπασίων θρυαλλὶς ἔγραψεν, ὅ δ᾽ ἐπὶ πυρὶ λύνων μόνον ὅπως

ἔτσιν ἀλώσιμον. φοίνικες δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λύχνου χαλκοὺς ἀνήκουν

65 ἐς τὸν ὅροφον ἀνάσσα τὴν ἀτμίδα. ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ὁ τὸν

λύχνον ποιήσας, ἀποδέων τῶν πρῶτων ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τέχνην,

οὕτω σοφία πάντων ἔστιν ἀριστος ὡστε καὶ λίθους πρῶτος

ἐτρύπησε καὶ ἄνωμα ἐδεικτός κατατηξίετεχνιον, ἡ θεμέλεων ἄλλων

κατέστησεν ἐφ᾽ αὐτῷ.

Κατ. 31, τερ. 16, εσ.

27 Ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἐρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκρο-

πος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθῆμα, ὅποι κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνο-

πτον. ἀναθήματα δὲ ὅποσα ἄξια λόγου, τῶν μὲν ἄρχαίων
dίφρος ὀκλαδίας ἢςτι Δαιδάλου ποίμα, λάθυρα δὲ ἄπο

5 Μηδέων Μασιστίου θώραξ, ὃς εἶχεν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τὴν ἡγε-

μονίαν τῆς ἱπποῦ, καὶ ἀκινάκης Μαρδονίου λεγόμενος εἶναι.

Μασίστιος μὲν δὴ τελευτήσαντα ὅπο τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἶδα

ἱππέων. Μαρδονίου δὲ μαχασαμένου Λακεδαίμονιοι ἐναντία

καὶ ὅπο άνδρος Σπαρτίατον πεσόντος οὐδὲ ἄν ὑπεδεξαντο

10 ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ ἵππος Ἀθηναίων παρῆκαν φέρεσθαι Λακεδαίμο-

νοι τὸν ἀκινάκην. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἔλαιας οὐδὲν ἐχουσιν ἀλλο ἐν


1. ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος: on the Old Athena Temple, see Excursus XII.

11. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἄλαιας: Pausanias does not tell the site of the sacred olive, but from other sources we learn that it was in the Pandrosium to the west of the Erechtheum (see Dion. Hal. de Dinarcho judicium, 3; Apol. 3, 14, 1). Herodotus (8, 55) speaks of it as within the precincts of the Erechtheum. Pliny (N. H. 16, 240) and Hyginus (Fab. 104) speak of this sacred olive as existing in their time. Herodotus’s account of the burning and sprouting again is not so marvelous
(8, 55).—17. Πανδρόσου ναός: as to Pandrosus, see 1, 18, 2. The temple was situated just east of the Erechtheum. The Epheboi sacrificed to Athena Polias and to Pandrosus (C.I.A. III, 481). The pedestal of a statue to one of the girls called Arrephoroi bears an inscription that she had served Athena Polias and Pandrosus (C.I.A. III, 887; cf. C.I.A. II, 1390). Thallo, one of the seasons, was worshiped along with Pandrosus (9, 35, 2).

20. παρθένου δύο...ἀρρηφόροι: the Arrephoroi were four girls of noble birth, between the ages of seven and eleven, chosen by the king archon to perform the service described by Pausanias. They wore white robes, and gold ornaments if worn by them became sacred. Two of the Arrephoroi began the weaving of the sacred robe presented periodically to Athena. The festival here described was called Arrephoria, and was held in the month of Seirophorion (June–July). (Cf. Ar. Lys. 641 sq., and Schol.; Etymol. Magn. p. 149, s.vv. ἀρρηφόροι and ἀρρηφορεῖν; Hesych. and Suid. s.v. ἀρρηφορία, etc.)
33. εὕρησις πρεσβύτης... Λυσιμάχη: this is probably the statue, made by Demetrius, of Lysimache who was priestess of Athena for sixty-four years (Pliny, N. H. 34, 76). Plutarch (de vitioso pudore, 14) tells an anecdote of her. Demetrius was a realist who cared more to produce a good likeness than a beautiful work of art (Lucian, Philops. 18-20; Quint. 12, 10, 9). He probably flourished in the first half of the fourth century B.C. This statue was doubtless one of a series of figures of priestesses of Athena, which stood near the Erechtheum. Inscribed bases of some have been found (C.I.A. II, 1377, 1378, 1386, 1392 n, 350) and perhaps the archaic female statues in the Acropolis Museum were of this group.

40. Τολμίδη: with the following account of Tolmides cf. Thuc. 1, 108 and 113; Diod. 9, 84; 12, 6; Plutarch, Pericles, 18. The battle of Coronea in which Tolmides fell was fought in 447 B.C. He and his men were buried in the outer Ceramicus (1, 29, 14).
Ch. 27, 9

μελάντερα δὲ καὶ πληγῆν ἐνεγκεῖν ἑστιν ἀσθενέστερα. ἐπέ-

λαβε γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἡ φλοξ, ὅτε ἐσβεβηκότων ἐς τὰς ναῦς

'Αθηναίων βασιλεὺς εἶπεν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὴν πόλιν.

ἐστι δὲ συνὸς τῆ θῆρα, περὶ οὗ σαφὲς οὐδὲν οἶδα εἰ τοῦ Καλυ-

δωνίου, καὶ Κύκνος 'Ἡρακλεὶ μαχόμενος. τούτων τὸν Κύκ

νον φασὶν ἄλλοις τε φονεύσαι καὶ Λύκων Ὄρκα προτεθέντων

σφίζει μονομαχίας ἀθλῶν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν τὸν Πηνείδαν

ἀπέθανεν ύψ' Ἡρακλέους.

Τῶν δὲ ἐν Τροιζήνι λόγων οὐς ἐσ Ὄσσεα λέγουσιν ἑστὶν ἵ

ώς Ἡρακλῆς ἐς Τροιζήνα ἐλθὼν παρὰ Πιθέα καταβεθίτο ἐπὶ

τῷ δεῖπνῳ τοῦ λέοντος τὸ δέρμα, ἐσέλθοιεν δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν

ἀλλοι τε Τροιζήνων παῖδες καὶ Θησεὺς ἐβδομον μάλιστα

gεγονὼς ἔτος. τοὺς μὲν δὴ λοιποὺς παῖδας, ὡς τὸ δέρμα

ἐδον, φεύγοντας φασὶν ὄχεσθαι, Ὄσσεα δὲ ὑπεξελθόντα

οὐκ ἁγαν σών φοβὸς παρὰ τῶν διακόνων ἁρπάσαι πέλεκυν

καὶ αὐτόκα ἐπιέναι σπουδῆ, λέοντα εἶναι τὸ δέρμα ἡγούμε-

νον. οὔ δὲ μὲν τῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐσ αὐτὸν ἑστὶ Τροιζήνων· ὥς

ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ, κρησίδας Αἰγέα ὑπὸ πέτρα καὶ ξίφος θεῖναι

γνωρίσματα εἶναι τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀπολεῖν,

Θησέα δὲ, ὡς ἔκτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐγείρονε, τὴν πέτραν

ἀνώσαντα ὀχεσθαι τῇ παρακαταθήκῃ τὴν Αἰγέως φέροντα.

τούτων δὲ εἰκὼν ἐν ἄκροπόλει πεποίηται τοῦ λόγου, χαλκοῦ

πάντα ὁμοίως πλὴν τῆς πέτρας· ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο Θη-

σέως ἐργον, καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει. Κρησὶ τὴν τε


71. κρηπίδας Αἰγέα: cf. 2, 32, 7; Plut. Theb. 3, 6; Diod. 4, 59. The subject of Theseus lifting the rock and finding under it the tokens of his birth is represented on coins of Ath-

ens and on other ancient monuments. See Baumeister, Denkmäler, p. 1786; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Num. Comm. on Paus. p. 146, with pl. DD, ii.

76. ἄλλο Θησεως ἐργον: on Theseus's capture of the Marathonian bull, see Plut. Theb. 14; Diod. 4, 59; Ilygi-

nus, Fab. 38. Pausanias says Theseus sacrificed the bull to Athena; the other
allην γῆν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Τεθρίν ναύρος ἐλυμαίνετο. πάλαι δὲ ἄρα τὰ θηρία φοβερότερα ἦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς ὁ τ' ἐν Νεμέα λέων καὶ ὁ Πορνάσιος καὶ δράκοντες τῆς Ἑλλάδος τολμάζου καὶ ὑς περὶ τε Καλυδώνα καὶ Ἐρυμανθῶν καὶ τῆς Κορινθίας ἐν Κρομύων, ὡστε καὶ ἐλέγετο τὰ μὲν ἀνεύαι τῆν γῆν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ιερὰ εἴη θεῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τιμωρίαν ἀνθρώπων ἀφεῖσθαι. καὶ τούτον οἴ Κρήτης τὸν ναύρον ἐς τὴν γῆν πέμψας σφίζει Ποσείδώνα φασίν, ὅτι θαλάσσης ἀρχῶν Μήνως τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς—οὐδενός Ποσείδώνα ἤγεν ἀλλον θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἐν τιμῇ. κομίσθηναι μὲν δὲ τὸν ναύρον τούτῳ 10 φασίν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐκ Κρήτησ καὶ Ἡρακλει τῶν δώδεκα καλομέμενων ἐνα καὶ τούτου γενέσθαι τὸν ἄθλον· ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἀφεῖθα τῷ Ἀργείων, φεύγει διὰ τοῦ Κορινθίου ἴσθμοῦ, φεύγει δὲ ἐς γῆν τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς δήμον τῶν Μαραθώνων, καὶ ἄλλους τε ὀπόσοισ ἐπέτυγχε καὶ Ἔλυμον παύδα Ἀνδρόγεων ἀπέκτεινε. Μήνως δὲ ναυσίν ἐπί Ἀθήνας πλεύσας—οὐ γὰρ ἐπείδητο ἀναιτίου εἶναι σφάς τῆς Ἀνδρόγεως τελευτής—ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκάκωσαν, ἐς δ` συνεχώρηθη οἱ παρθένοις ἐς Κρήτην ἐπτα καὶ παῖδας ἰζους ἄγεν τῷ λεγομένῳ Μίνω ναύρῳ τὸν ἐν Κυνοσφῶ Λαβύρινθον οἰκήσας τὸν δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθώνι ταύρον ὑστερον Θήσεως ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔλασαν καὶ θύσαι λέγεται τῇ θεῶ, καὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα 100 ἐστὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Μαραθώνων.

authorities, to Apollo. This exploit was represented on one of the metopes of the so-called "Theseum"; and on a fine red-figured vase in the British Museum (J.H.S. II, 1881, 64, with pl. X).

97. τὸν ἐν Κυνοσφῶ Λαβύρινθον: on the story of the Cretan Labyrinth, see Roscher, Lexikon, II, 1778 ff. The Labyrinth has in recent years been identified as the palace of King Minos in Cnossus, and has been thoroughly excavated by Mr. Arthur Evans. See Annual of the British School at Athens, Nos. vi-xi (1890–1905); Roland M. Burrows, The Discoveries in Crete, London, 1907. The excavations brought to light numerous clay tablets, sculptures, frescoes, and the like, and have made known a pre-Mycenaean civilization, called the Minoan, which will probably prove to be the connecting link between the arts of Egypt and of Greece.
28. Cylon — Athena of Phidias —
Reliefs on the shield of the Promachos
— Bronze chariot and Lennian Athena of Phidias — Walls of the Acropolis —
Clepsydra — Caves of Apollo and Pan
— The Aereopagus — Sanctuary of the
Sennai — Statues of Pluto, of Hermes,
and of Ge — Grave of Odysseus — Ex-
curser on the Athenian courts.

1. Κύλωνα: Pausanias’s explanations
are hardly right. In all probability the
statue was set up as an expiatory offer-
ing for the massacre of Cylon’s follow-
ers in violation of promises given to
them when in sanctuary on the Acropo-
ilis. See Hdt. 5, 71; Thuc. 1, 126;
Plut. Solon, 12. Cylon’s Olympic vic-
tory was won in Ol. 36, 640 B.C. (See
J. H. Wright, Harv. Stud. in Class.
Phil. III, 1 ff.)

7. ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν: this is
the image styled by Demosthenes (19,
272) “the great bronze Athena,”
and usually known as the Promachos or
champion, though this epithet was first
applied to it in Schol. Dem. 22, 13, p.
597. (Cf. C.I.A. III, 638.) It was prob-
ably set up at the close of the Persian
war. Observe that Pausanias does not
say the point of the spear and the crest
of the helmet were visible from Sunium,
but on the voyage from Sunium to Ath-
ens. The Acropolis can be seen only
after Cape Zoster is passed. The mis-
conception of this passage has led to the
false calculation formerly given as to
the height of the statue, namely seventy
feet or thereabout. Michaelis (A.M.
II (1877), 89 sq.) calculates that it was
about twenty-five feet, or with the ped-
estal thirty feet high. W. Gurlitt (Ana-
lecta Graecensia, Graz, 1883, pp. 101–
121) presents an interesting argument to
the effect that the bronze Athena was
preserved at Constantinople down to
1205 a.d. and has been described in detail
by a Byzantine author. A quadrangular
platform, suitable for a pedestal about
eighteen feet in diameter, which is cut
in the Acropolis rock about thirty feet
from the Propylaea, is usually identi-
fied as the site of the statue. — 10. το-
πειράς Μού: Athenaeus (11, p. 782 n)
speaks of Mys as famous for chasing or
working in relief on metal, and men-
tions a cup representing in relief the
sack of Troy with an inscription attrib-
uting the design to Parrhasius and the
workmanship to Mys. Mys is mentioned as a famous artist in his line by Pliny (N. H. 33, 155), by Propertius (4, 9, 14, ed. Paley), and by Martial (8, 34 and 51; 14, 95). He doubtless flourished in the latter part of the fifth century. Cf. H. Brunn, Gesch. d. griech. Künstler, II, 97, 409 sq. — 14. ἄρμα: the victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians occurred about 507 B.C. The prisoners were kept in chains until ransomed, when their fetters were hung on the Acropolis. Out of the tithe of the ransom the Athenians made the four-horse chariot of bronze. Herodotus (5, 77) says it stood on the left as one entered the Propylaia, and quotes the inscription in elegiac couplets. From fragments of the inscription that have been found (C.I.A. IV, 334λ, 78; I, 334) Frazer infers that the original chariot set up about 507 B.C. was carried off by the Persians, and that a new chariot was set up in its place after 450 B.C. The chariot must have been moved between the time of Herodotus and that of Pausanias from outside to within the Acropolis precinct. — 16. Περικλῆς: see on 1, 25, 1. — 18. Λημνίας: Lucian (Imagines, 4, 6) speaks of this statue in extravagant terms as the most praise-worthy of Phidias's works, and for his ideal of feminine beauty select from the Lemnian Athena "the outline of the whole face, and the tenderness of the cheeks, and the shapely nose." For similar exalted praise cf. Aristides, Or. 1, Vol. II, 554, ed. Dindorf; Pliny, N. H. 34, 54; Himerius, Or. 21, 5; Anthol. Append. Planud. 169 and 170. Furtwängler (Meisterw. pp. 3sqq., with pls. i, ii, iii, xxxii, 2) argues that copies of the Lemnian Athena are to be seen in two marble statues of Athena in Dresden, another at Cassel, and a head in Bologna. The Dresden statues and the Bologna head are in the style of Phidias, he argues, and copies of a bronze original. He thinks the statue was dedicated by the Athenian colonists in Lemnos before they set out from Athens, between 451 and 447 B.C. — 18. τῇ ἄκροπολεῖ: the southern wall of the Acropolis was built out of the produce of the spoils won from the Persians by Cimon, especially at the great victory of the Eurymedon (Plut. Cimon, 13; de glor. Ath. 7; Corn. Nepos, Cimon, 2). The ancient
masonry of the circuit wall is still standing, though in some parts obscured by a mediaeval or modern casing. At the southeast corner a piece of Cimon's wall is visible, forty-five feet in height. Westward of this point it is pretty well hidden by the later casing and buttresses. The north wall is ancient Greek work, probably of Themistocles's or Cimon's time; pieces of the colonnade of the old Athena temple, destroyed 480 B.C., are built into it. The eastern wall seems to have been entirely rebuilt on the old foundations in the Middle Ages. Besides these extensive remains of Cimon's wall, there exist at various points pieces of a much older fortification wall. Thus a well-preserved section, twenty feet thick, extends from the Propylaeum to the southern wall. Other pieces have been uncovered at the southeast corner of the Acropolis and to the southwest of the Parthenon. This primitive wall is built of polygonal, almost unhewn blocks, measuring from three to four and one half feet in length. It probably ran originally all round the edge of the Acropolis. This prehistoric fortification is doubtless the Pelasgic wall here mentioned by Pausanias. Other writers speak of this Pelasgic or Pelargic wall (Hdt. 6, 137; Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. 1, 28; Photius s.v. Πελαργικόν; Schol. Ar. Aves, 832, 1139; Etymol. Magn. p. 659, s.v. Πελαργικόν; Bekker, Anecd. Graec. p. 299, l. 16 sqq.). This Pelasgic wall appears to have had nine gates (Suidas, s.v. ἀπεδα; Bekker, Anecd. Graec. p. 419, l. 27 sqq.; Schol. Soph. Oed. Col. 489). These were probably arranged within each other at the western entrance of the Acropolis, where the wall may have been trebled or quadrupled. It seems to have subsisted as a fortress as late as 510 B.C., when Hippias was besieged "in the Pelasgic fortress" (Hdt. 5, 64; Arist. Resp. Ath. 19). If not already pulled down by the Athenians, it was doubtless dismantled by the Persians in 480 B.C. (Hdt. 8, 53; 9, 13). Yet a precinct to the northwest of the Acropolis continued to bear down to Roman times the name of Pelasgicum or Pelargicum (Thuc. 2, 17; Lucian, Piscator, 42, 47). — 20. Πελασγοῦς οἰκή-
σαντᾶς ποτὲ υπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν: both Herodotus (6, 137) and Strabo (9, p. 401) state that the Pelasgians dwelt at the foot of Mt. Hymettus.

25. πηγή: Pausanias, passing through the Propylaea, turns to the right and descends by a stairway to the spring called the Clepsydra. The spring is still to be seen, situated on the northwest face of the Acropolis rock and reached by a narrow flight of steps
ieròν ἐν σπηλαίῳ. Κρεοίσῃ δὲ θυγατρὶ 'Ερεχθέως 'Απόλλωνα ἐνταῦθα συγγενέσθαι νομίζουσι. ... ὡς πεμφθείη Φιλιππίδης ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄγγελος ἀποβεβηκότων Μήδων ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἐπανήκων δὲ Λακεδαμονίους ὑπερβαλέσθαι φαίη 30 τὴν ἐξοδον, εἶναι γὰρ δὴ νόμον αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον μαχομένους εξιέναι πρὶν ἡ πλήρη τὸν κύκλον τῆς σελήνης γενέσθαι. τὸν δὲ Πάνα ὁ Φιλιππίδης ἔλεγε περὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐντυχόντα οἱ τὸ Παρθένον φάναι τε ὡς εὖνοι 'Αθηναίους εἶναι καὶ ὅτι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἦσει συμμαχήσων. οὕτως μὲν οὖν ὁ 35 θεὸς ἐπὶ ταῦτῃ τῇ ἁγγελίᾳ τετίμηται: [καθὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀρείος πάγος.] ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ 'Aρείος πάγος καλούμενος, ὅτι πρῶτος ὁ Αρης back of the pedestal of Agrippa. For ancient references to it, see Ar. Lys. 911 sqq. and Schol., and Hesychius, s.v. Κλεψύδρα; Schol. Ar. Aves, 1694; Plut. Antonius, 34. — Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν: for the tale of Apollo, Creúsa, and the infant Ion, see Eur. Ion, 10 sqq., 283 sqq., 492 sqq., 936 sqq., 1398 sqq., 1482 sqq. After the mention of Apollo's cave there is a lacuna, but the subsequent account of Pan leaves no doubt that Pausanias had mentioned Pan's cave, which was adjacent. Cf. Eur. Ian, 938: ἐνθα Πανὸς ἄειντα καὶ βωμοί πέλας. The two caverns which are side by side at the northwest corner of the Acropolis just beyond the Clepsydra are usually identified as the caves of Apollo and Pan. On the sanctuary of Apollo, see Excursus III and Miss Harrison, Primitive Athens, pp. 66–83. Herodotus (6, 105) tells the story of the institution of the worship of Pan in Athens. Lucian (Bis Acc. 9) locates the cave of Pan a little above the Pelargicum. Aristophanes (Lys. 911) couples it with the Clepsydra.

35. Ἀρείος πάγος: the site of the Areopagus or Mars' Hill is determined by Herodotus (8, 52), who says that it was opposite the Acropolis, occupied by the Persians when they laid siege to Athens; by Aeschylus (Eum. 686 sqq.), who says the Amazons occupied it in their contest with Theseus; and by Lucian, who represents Pan sitting in his cave and listening to the speeches in the court of the Areopagus (Bis Acc. 12). Hence it is the rocky height, three hundred and seventy-seven feet high, west of the Acropolis, from which it is separated by a depression. On the top of the hill are the remains of some rock-hewn seats where assembled the court of the Areopagus in the open air (Pollux, 8, 118). E. Curtius thinks that the apostle Paul was taken not to the Areopagus hill, but before a committee of the council seated before the Royal Colonnade (Ges. Abh. II, 527 sqq.). — 36. ὅτι πρῶτος Ἀρης ἐνταῦθα ἐκρίθη: Euripides (Electra, 1258 sqq.) agrees with Pausanias in saying that Ares was the first to be tried on this hill. Cf. Dem. 23, 66, p. 641; Bekker, Anecd. Gr. I, 444, 1. 7 sqq. According
to Hellanicus (cited by Schol. Eur. Or. 1648, 1651) Ares was the first to be tried on the Areopagus; next, three generations afterwards, Cephalus for the murder of his wife Procris; then, after three more generations, Daedalus for the murder of his nephew Talus; then, after three more generations, Orestes for the murder of his mother Clytaemnestra. It has been suggested that Areopagus means "the hill of cursing," the first part of the compound being from ἀρὰ "a curse," with reference to the Furies, who had a sanctuary on the hill, and were sometimes known as "Arai." The derivation is possible.—42. τὸν μὲν Ἄρεως τὸν δὲ Ἀναβείλας: according to Zenob. 4, 36, Theophrastus wrote of the altars of Injury and Ruthlessness. Cicero, de leg. 2, 11, 28, speaks of a Contumeliiæ fanum et Impudicitiae. Euripides (Iph. Taur. 961) represents Orestes as occupying one seat, while the eldest of the Furies took the other.

44. Σεμνᾶς: on this euphemistic name, cf. 2, 11, 4: ναὸς θεῶν ἂς Ἀθηναίοι Σεμνᾶς, Σειστόνιοι δὲ Εὕμεριδας ὅνωμαζον. The situation is determined by Aesch. Eum. 804 sqq.; Eur. Electra, 1270; Iph. Taur. 961; Orest. 650 et al. See Milchh. S.Q. XXIX, 16 sqq. The place is doubtless the deep chasm at the foot of the low precipice on the northeast side of the hill. On the names, worship, and sanctuaries of the Furies, see Roscher's Lexikon, I, 1330 sqq. According to Schol. Aeschin. 1, 188; Schol. Soph. O.C. 39; Clem. Al. Protr. 47, 1, 13 (Sylb.), there were three statues of the Furies, two by Scopas of Parian marble, the third an older work by Calamis. On a votive relief from Argos they appear as three maidens of mild aspect clad in long robes, each
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52. **μνήμα Οἰδίποδος**: according to Val. Max. 5, 3, ext. 3, it was situated *inter ipsum Arium pagum... et... Minervae arcem*. After the Areopagus was included in the city through the building of the wall of Themistocles, the grave of Oedipus with the entrance to the lower world and the Semnai was transferred to the Colonus Hippius. See v. Wilamowitz, Aus Kydaten, p. 103.

53. **ἔλλα δικαστήρια**: the excursus on the Athenian law courts is occasioned by the mention of the Areopagus. The term *δικαστήριον* is applied both to the aggregate judges sitting in court and to the place in which they held their sittings. Pausanias's reference is primarily to the latter. He enumerates ten courts: 1. Areopagus; 2. Parabystum; 3. Trigonum; 4. Batrachium; 5. Phoenicium; 6. Heliaea; 7. Palladium; 8. Delphinium; 9. Prytanenum; 10. Phreatys. Kalkmann, pp. 65 sq., seeks to prove that the source of Pausanias was the same as that of Pollux, book 8, namely a manual originating from Caecilius. Gurlitt, p. 274, also recognizes the use of a literary source.—58. **Παράβυστον**: said to have received its name from its position in a remote quarter of the city. Cf. Etymol. Magn. p. 651, 50. It is mentioned also in Poll. 8, 121, and Schol. Ar. Vesp. 120, etc., who also name the *Τρίγωνον*. —61. **Βατραχιόν ἢ καὶ Φωκικοῖον**: the Green Court and the Red Court, not elsewhere mentioned. Arist. Resp. Ath. p. 33 confirms the distinction of certain Athenian courts by color. Possibly these designations have obscured their real names, and these two are identical with the Metichon and the court *ἐτὶ ὄψιν* mentioned in Pollux's list, as the other eight in the two lists are the same. —63. **Ἑλιαῖον**: this, the greatest court of Athens, which frequently gave its name to all the courts.
collectively, lay probably in the neighborhood of the Areopagus, to the east side of the political agora between the upper part of the Thesaeum precinct and the gymnasium of Ptolemy. See Judeich, Topog. p. 315. The derivation of the word is uncertain. See Wacksmuth, II, 361 ff. — 64. ἡ Παλλάδια: the Palladium, a sacred place in the southeastern part of Athens (ἀπὸ Παλλάδιον καὶ Ἀρδητοῦ καὶ Λυκελοῦ, Plut. Thes. 27). According to Aristotle (Resp. Ath. 57) cases tried in the court of the Palladium were "involuntary homicide, and conspiracy (against life), and the killing of a slave, a resident alien, or a foreigner."
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καλούμενον, ἕνθα τῷ σιδήρῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀφίχοις
85 δικάζουσιν, ἕπι τῶν ἀρξασθαὶ νομίζω. ᾿Αθηναίων βασιλεύ
οντος Ἑρεχθεώς, τότε πρῶτον βοῶν ἔκτευεν ὁ βουλφόνος ἐπὶ
tοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Πολιείως Διός· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπολιπὼν ταύτη τῶν
πέλεκυν ἀπήλθεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας φεύγων, ὁ δὲ πέλεκυς παραν
τικα ἀφεῖθα ἐς θάλασσαν· κρίθεις καὶ ἐς τόδε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος
90 κρίνεται. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀφίχων αὐτόματα 11
ἐπιθεῖαι σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τιμωρίαν ἀνθρώποις· ἔργον δὲ καλ
λιστόν καὶ δόξῃ φανερώτατον ὁ Καμβύζου παρέσχετο ἀκι
νάκης. ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦ Πειραιῶς πρὸς θαλάσση Φρεαττός
ἐνταῦθα οἱ πεφυγότες, ἵνα ἀπελθὼνται ἐπειδῆ ἐπιλάβη σφάς
95 ἔγκλημα, πρὸς ἀκρωμένους ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ νεὼς ἀπολο
γούνται· Τεῦκρον πρῶτον λόγος ἔχει Τελαμών. οὕτως ἀπο
λογήσασθαι μηδὲν ἐς τὸν Αἴαντος θάνατον εἰργάσθαι. τάδε
μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι τῶν ἕνεκα, ὡς τέσσερι στουδῆς
γνῶναι τὰ ἐς τὰ δικαστήρια. Ἰτοῦ δὲ Ἀρείου πάγου πλησίον 1
δείκνυται ναὺς ποιηθείσα ἐς τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων πομπῆς.

person who threw the thing is not
known, but they do know and are in
possession of the thing which killed
the man, then the thing is brought to trial
at the court of the Prytaneum."

29. Ἐρεχθεώς: Milchhoefer (Karten
v. Att. Text i, 56 f.) locates Phre-
atyss at the extreme point of the
peninsula which bounds the entrance
of the harbor of Zea on the east,
contrary to the earlier view of Ulrichs,
Reisen und Forschungen, I, 173ff., who
puts it at a point on the shore a little
to the southeast of the entrance to Zea.
Dem. 24, 77 ff. states that before this
court were tried men who, banished
for an involuntary homicide, were ac-
cused of another and voluntary homici
cide, and that the accused spoke from
the ship while his accusers listened
from the shore; if convicted he was
punished with death, if acquitted he
returned into banishment. Cf. Arist.
Resp. Ath. 57.

29. The Panathenaic Ship — The
Academy — Grove of Artemis with im-
ages of Artemis, Artemis Ariste, and
Artemis Kalliste — Temple of Dionys-
sus Eleutherus — Tombs in the outer
Ceramicus on the street from the Dipy-
lum to the Academy.

2. ναύς: the ship was moved on
wheels, and to its mast was fastened
the new robe, embroidered with scenes
from the battles of the Gods and Giants,
which was presented to Athena every
fourth year at the great Panathenaic
festival. The crew of the ship consisted
ROAD TO ACADEMY

Ch. 29, 2
καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἥδη ποὺ τις ὑπερεβάλετο· τὸ δὲ ἐν Δήλῳ
πλοῖον οὐδένα πω νικήσαντα οἶδα, καθήκον εἰς ἐννέα ἐρέτας
ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων.

Ἀθηναίων δὲ καὶ ἔξω πόλεως ἐν τοῖς δήμοις καὶ κατὰ τὰς
όδους θεῶν ἐστιν ἱερὰ καὶ ἡρώων καὶ ἀνδρῶν τάφοι· ἐγγυν-
tάτω δὲ Ἀκαδημία, χωρίον ποτὲ ἄνδρος ἰδιώτου, γυμνάσιον
dὲ ἐπὶ ἐμοῦ. κατοῦν δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν περίβολος ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμι-
10 δος καὶ ἕσσαν Ἀριστῆς καὶ Κάλλίστης· ὡς μὲν ἐν ἄγῳ δοκῶ
καὶ ὀμολογεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ Πάμφω, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐσον ἐπι-
κλήσεις αὐταί, λεγόμενον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐς αὐτὰς λόγον εἰδώς
ὑπερβησομα. καὶ νὰς οὐ μέγας ἐστίν, ἐς δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου

of priests and priestesses wearing golden crowns and garlands of flowers. According to Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2, 1, 7, the route followed by the procession with the ship was from the Ceramicus to the Eleusinium, then round the Eleusinium to the Pythium, identified by Dörpfeld with the Cave of Apollo, where the ship was moored. Cf. A. G. Leacock, de pompis graecis, in Harv. Studies, XI, 1 ff., and the derivation of carnival there given (p. 6, note).

6. ἔξω πόλεως: Pausanias has now completed his account of the city itself, and, quitting Athens by the Dipylum, he describes the monuments of the Ceramicus. Of important omissions made by him, perhaps the most noteworthy is that of the Ρυξ, or place of public assembly, the site of which is in all probability determined, being on the northeast slope of the low rocky hill lying between the Museum hill, the Areopagus, and the Hill of the Nymphs. Here are extensive remains indicating the use of the site as a meeting-place.

— 8 Ἀκαδημία: the road to the Academy, which Pausanias now follows, left Athens by the Dipylum (Livy, 31, 24; Cic. De fin. 5, 1, 1; Lucian, Scythia, 2). So Pausanias quit Athens by the same gate by which he had entered. Three roads started from the Dipylum gate; one northwest to the Academy; one west to Eleusis; and one southwest to Piraeus. The suburb outside the Dipylum was called the Ceramicus, or Potters' Quarter. As the adjoining quarter, inside the walls, bore the same name, modern writers call the one the Outer Ceramicus, the other the Inner Ceramicus. In the former the remains of the Athenians who fell in battle were buried by the state. Public graves lined the road on both sides, and inscriptions bore the names of the dead and told where they had fallen. — 9. Ἀρτέμιδος: this Artemis appears to have been identified with Hecate. Cf. Hesych. s.v. Καλλιστή: ἡ ἐν τῷ Κε-
ραικῶν ἱδρυμένη Ἕκατη, ἢ ἐν τῶ Ἀρτέμιν λέγουσι.—13. νὰς οὐ μέγας: as to the image of Eleutherian Dionysus, see 1, 20, 3, note. This procession seems to have taken place at the city Dionysiac festival in the month of Elaphebolion.
THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

Ch. 29, 3

τού Ἑλευθερέως τὸ ἀγαλμα ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζοντων ἐν 15 τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις. ιερὰ μὲν σφισὶ ταύτῃ τοσαύτα ἐστὶ, 3 τάφοι δὲ Θρασυβούλου μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ Λύκου, ἀνδρός τῶν 20 τε ὑστερον καὶ ὅσοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασιν Ἀθηναίων λόγω- μοι τὰ πάντα ἄριστον—παρέντι δὲ μοί τὰ πλεῖό τοσάδε ἐς 25 πίστιν ἄρκεσε τοῦ λόγου· τυραννίδα γὰρ ἔπαυσε τῶν τριά- κοντα κολομένων σὺν ἀνδράσιν ἐξήκοντα τοῦ κατ’ ἀρχάς ὁμερθείς ἐκ Θηβῶν, καὶ Ἀθηναίων στασιάζοντας διαλλα- γὴν καὶ συνθεμένους ἔπευσε μείναι—πρῶτος μὲν ἐστίν οὕτος τάφος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Περικλέους τε καὶ Χαβρίου καὶ 30 Φορμίωνος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πάσι μνήματα Ἀθηναίων ὁπόσους 4 ἀποθανεὶν συνεπέσεν ἐν τε ναυμαχίαις καὶ ἐν μάχαις πεζαῖς πλῆθος ὅσοι Μαραθῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνθρωποι τοῦ τάφῳ γὰρ κατὰ χώραν εἰσίν οἱ τάφοι διὰ ἀνδραγαθίαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλω κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κεῖται τὴν ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν, καὶ σφῶν ἐστάσεν ἐπὶ τῶν τάφων στῆλαι τὰ ὅνοματα καὶ τὸν χήμον ἐκάστου λέγουσαι.

(March-April). Cf. Mommsen, Feste der Stadt Athen, pp. 394 ff. The return procession took place in the evening; and the epheboi after sacrificing at the shrine escorted the image by the light of torches to the theatre (C.I.A. II, 470, 471). A gay troop of dancers, disguised as Seasons, Nymphs, and Bacchanals, appear to have attended the image, moving to the music of flutes (Phil. Vit. Apollon. 1, 21).

16. Ἐρασυβούλου: Thrasybulus took part in the victory of Cynossema (411 n.c.), reduced the revolted cities of Thrace (407 n.c.), was superseded after the battle of Notium (407 n.c.), but took part in the victory of Arginusae (406 n.c.). He was banished by the Thirty Tyrants, but, collecting a small band at Thebes, took Phyle, then with a larger force gained the Piraeus and Munychia, and overthrew the Thirty (403 n.c.). He brought about an alliance between Athens and Thebes (395 n.c.), and, after doing good service for Athens at Byzantium, Chalcedon, and Lesbos, was killed at Aspendos (389 n.c.). Pausanias seems to have been ignorant of, or ignored, the treasonable charges brought against Thrasybulus. Cf. Lysias, 28 and 29. —

23. Περικλέους τε καὶ Χαβρίου καὶ Φορμίωνος: according to Cic. de fin. 5, 2, 5, the tomb of Pericles lay to the right of the road. Pericles died in 429 n.c. Chabrias defeated the Spartans in Aegina (388 n.c.) and the Spartan fleet off Naxos (376 n.c.); he was killed at the siege of Chios (357 n.c.). Phormio won the naval victory off Naupactus (429 n.c.), and died shortly after.
Graves of Heroes

30. πρώτοι δὲ ἐτάφησαν οὐς ἐν Θράκῃ ποτὲ ἐπικρατοῦντας μέχρι
Δραβησκοῦ τῆς χώρας Ἡδωροῦ φονεύουσιν ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπι-
θέμενοι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁς κεφανυὶ πέσοιεν ἐς αὐτοὺς.
στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἦσαν καὶ Λέαγρος, ὃ μάλιστα ἐπε-
tέραπτο ἡ δύναμις, καὶ Δεκελεὺς Συτάγης, ὃς τὸν Ἀργείων
35 ποτὲ πεύκαθεν Νεμείων ἀνηρμένου νίκην ἀπέκτεινεν Ἑὐρ-
βάτην βοηθοῦντα Αἰγινήταις. στρατὸν δὲ ἔξω τῆς Ἐλλά-
δος Ἀθηναῖοι τρίτον τοῦτον ἔστελαν. Πριάμῳ γὰρ καὶ
Τρομὸι πάντες Ἐλληνες ᾧ κοινοὶ λόγοι κατέστησαν ἐς
πόλεμον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἴδια μετ' ᾽Ιολάου τε ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ δευτέ-
40 ραν ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἱωνίαν ἐστράτευσαν καὶ τρίτον δὴ τότε ἐς τὴν
Θράκην. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐκπροσθεν τοῦ μνήματος στήλη μαχομένους
ἔχουσα ἵππεις. Μελάνωπος σφισῴς ἐστὶ καὶ Μακάρτατος
νόματα, οὓς κατελάβεσαν ἀποθανείν ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων
καὶ Βοιωτῶν τεταγμένους, ἐνθά τῆς Ἐλευνίας εἰς χώρας
45 πρὸς Ταναγράιους ὅροι. καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τάφος ἐστὶν ἰππεῖν
κατὰ παλαιὰν φιλίαν ἐλθόντων, ὅτε σὺν ᾽Αρχιδάμῳ Πελο-
pονησίου πρῶτον ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατιὰ, καὶ
πλησίων τοξόταις Κρητῶν. αὕτη δὲ ἐστιν ᾽Αθηναίων μνή-
ματα Κλεισθένους, ὃ τὰ ἐς τὰς φυλὰς ἀν νῦν καθεστᾶσιν
50 εὐφέρη, καὶ ἰππεύσιν ἀποθανοῦσιν ἥμικα συνεπελάβοντο οἱ

30. πρώτοι δὲ ἐτάφησαν . . . μέχρι
Δραβησκοῦ κτλ.: about 465 B.C. ten
thousand of the Athenians and their
allies, who had been sent to colonize
Amphipolis, were cut to pieces by the
Edonians at Drabescus or Datum
(Thuc. 1, 100 ; 4, 102 ; Hdt. 9, 75 ; Isoc.
8, 86). Leagrus and Sophanes were the
leaders of this expedition. Eurybates,
the pentathlete, who led a thousand
Argive volunteers to aid the Aegea-
tans against Athens, killed three adver-
saries in single combat, but was himself
slain by Sophanes, a challenge to mor-
tal combat having been given and ac-
cepted (Hdt. 6, 92 ; 9, 75).

42. Μελάνωπος . . . καὶ Μακάρτατος:
Melanopus and Macartus probably
fell in the battle (457 B.C.) in which the
Peloponnesians and Boeotians were
engaged against the Athenians, Argives,
and Thessalian cavalry. The Thessa-
lians deserted early in the action.—
45. Θεσσαλῶν τάφος: see Thuc. 2, 18-
22. The first invasion of Attica by the
Peloponnesian army under Archidamu-
mus took place in 431 B.C. — 49. Κλε-
ισθένους: Cleisthenes increased the Attic
51. Κλεοναιοί: these men took sides with the Athenians at the battle of Tanagra (457 n.c.). There exists an inscription (C.I.A. I, 441) which is conjectured to be a list of the Cleonaic tribes from four to ten. See Hdt. 5, 66, 69; Aristot. Resp. Ath. 21.

52. Μελησανδρός: on Melesander see Thuc. 2, 69. During the winter of 430–429 B.C. he was sent to the coasts of Caria and Lycia with six ships to levy contributions and put down the enemy's privateers. He landed in Lycia, but was defeated and slain with some of his men.

53. 'Αργείων: at the battle of Tanagra (457 n.c.) one thousand Argives fought with the Athenians against the Lacedaemonians (Thuc. 1, 107 sq.; Diod. 11, 80). Pausanias here follows Thuc. 1, 101 sq., who tells the occasion of the alliance between Athens and Argos.
GRAVES OF HEROES

Ch. 29, 11

Dakadaimonoi boethous kai alLouvs kai para 'Athenaiovs metep-
emponto. oi de sphiw epilektous andras apóstelloous kai
stathgyn Kivon aîhaiw 9

70 oi Dakadaimonoi pro's upoipion. 'Athenaios de ouk anekta
epaiveto perisaprioth, kai ws ekomiwntoi opiwv symmash
epousantio 'Argeiones Dakadaimonivn exbros tivn apanta
ouxi chronon. wsteron de melloynhsh 'Athenaiwn ev Tanaag
ginveswai pro's Bovtwwn kai Dakadaimonivn maxhsh, afikonw

' 'Athenaios 'Argieios boithous. kai paraunika mei exoutas
pleon tous 'Argieious vize epelbovsafa afelito to safeis tis
vikhsh, eis de tivn wsteraian uphrhr krateita Dakadaimonivus
Theosalon prodontwv 'Athenaiow. katalexeis de mou kai 10
tousde epilhven. Apollodourov xewn hgemwma, ou 'Athenaios
mei hin, ekpemphiwes de ypo 'Arstinou satrapoiv tis efh
Ellh.-

75 stoivw Phrignias diefaleixe Peribias tihn polin esbevlh-
kotos eis tihn Peribias Filippou stratw. ohtos te oih
entrathna tebpsaia kai Evbousos o Spinvários kai andres ois
agnous ouwv ouk etpkołouthse tikh chresth, tois mei epiv-

80 themenvous tvranwnti Lacharvi, ou de tou Peraimos katalephn
epouleuswv Makewon frowrovwv, prin de eirgosbhai to
érwov yvo tivn suwdeivtwv muvtheiotes apalocontro. kathai de
kai ois peri Korinvtov pseontes. edhloswe de ouw hikwta o
theos entrathna kai aúthis ev Leuktrois tovs ypo 'Ellhwn
kaloumévous andreious to muðewn áneu Tikhsh einai, ei de
Dakadaimoniv, Korinvtów tòte kai 'Athenaiow, eti de kai
'Argeion kai Bovtwwn krateonta, wsteron ypo Bovtwvn

82. ei thn Periánhv: see Diod. 16, 75-77. Perinthos was besieged by
Philip in 340 n.c. The Persian king,

alarmed at the growth of Philip's
power, commanded his satraps to aid
the city. Accordingly they threw into
Perinthos a force of mercenaries, with

supplies. The next year Philip was
obliged to raise the siege.—83. Eub-
boulos: Eubulus, the adversary of
Demosthenes, was an able demagogue
and orator (Dem. 18, 21, p. 253; 21,
207, p. 581; Aeschin. 2, 8 and 184; 3,
25; Din. 1, 96; Plut. Phocion, 7).
94. ἐν Κορίνθῳ: the Lacedaemonians defeated the allied army of Athenians, Argives, Boeotians, and Corinthians at Corinth in 394 B.C. The Athenian force numbered six thousand foot and six hundred horse; their losses were heavy. See Xen. Hell. 4, 2, 9–13. Demosthenes (20, 52, p. 472) spoke of this fight as “the great battle” at Corinth. C.I.A. II, 1073, gives a partial list of Athenians engaged. Among them was Dexileus, whose private monument is preserved in its original position, with an inscription (C.I.A. II, 2084).—

95. ἐν Εὔβοιᾷ καὶ Χίῳ: the reference to Euboea is probably to the subjugation of the whole island by Pericles in 445 B.C. (Thuc. 1, 114). Upon the revolt of Chios from Athens in 412 B.C. an expedition was sent by the Athenians which landed in Chios, defeated the rebels, besieged them in the capital, and ravaged the island (Thuc. 8, 14 sq., 24, 55, etc.). The reference is doubtless to those who fell in this expedition rather than to the second revolt of Chios in the Social War (357–355 B.C.), when the force dispatched probably consisted of mercenaries (Diod. 16, 7; Corn. Nep. Chabrias, 4).

98. πλὴν Νικίου: the account of the conduct of Nicias during the last terrible days in Sicily, as given by Thucydides (7, 76–85), does not justify the harsh criticism of Pausanias. It is true, however, that the responsibility of the disaster rested mainly on him, and if he had listened to Demosthenes the Athenian force would probably have escaped destruction. This apparently the Athenians had in mind in omitting his name from the roll of honor.

105. περὶ Θρᾴκην καὶ ἐν Μεγάραις: as to the fallen in Thrace, cf. C.I.A. IV, 2, 440a. In 445 B.C. the Megarians revolted from Athens and put the garrison to the sword (Thuc. 1, 114).—

107. Ἀλκιβιάδης: in 429 B.C. Alcibiades effected an alliance between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis. In the
GRAVES OF HEROES

Ch. 29, 13

Θράκιην καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις καὶ ἡνίκα Ἀρκάδας τοὺς ἐν Μαντινεῖα καὶ Ἡλείους ἔπεισεν Ἀλκιβιάδης Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστῆναι καὶ οἱ πρὶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφικέσθαι Δημοσθένην τοῦ Συρακούσῶν κρατήσαντες. ἔταφησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ναμαχήσαντες καὶ ὅσοι Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἡγωνίσαντο ἐν Χαρωνείᾳ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Κλέωνος ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατεύσαντες, οἱ τε ἐν Δηλίῳ τῷ Ταναγραίῳ τελευτήσαντες καὶ ὅσους ἐς Θεσσαλίαν Δεσποτήν ἦγαγε καὶ οἱ πλεύσαντες ἐς Κύπρον ὀμοί Κήρων, τῶν τε σὺν

summer of 418 B.C. the Lacedaemonians defeated the allies in the battle of Mantinea. See Thuc. 5, 43—47, 63—74. A fragment of the treaty of alliance, of which Thucydides gives us the complete text, was found engraved on a slab of Pentelic marble between the theatre of Dionysus and the Odeum of Herodes Atticus (C.I.A. IV, 46b, 14 sq.). Thucydides's copy may be from this very stone. — 109. κρατήσαντες: before the arrival of Demosthenes (413 B.C.) with large reinforcements the Athenians had been successful in several engagements with the enemy (Thuc. 6, 67—71, 98—102; 7, 5, 22 sq.). — περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήσποντων: a tombstone, found in Athens about 1882, in all probability stood over the grave of these men in the Ceramicus. It is a slab of Pentelic marble, five feet high and twenty inches wide. The inscription contains a list of men, arranged according to tribes, who fell in the Chersonese, in Byzantium, and “in other wars,” and underneath it is an epigram to the effect that they perished in the flower of their youth. They probably fell in the campaign of 409 B.C. when Alcibiades captured Selym- bria and Byzantium, laid siege to Chalcodon, and levied contributions about the Hellespont. See Xen. Hell. 1, 3; Diod. 13, 60 sq.; Plut. Alcib. 29—31; for the inscription, C.I.A. IV, 440a, 108 sqq. — 110. ὅσοι Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἡγωνίσαντο ἐν Χαρωνείᾳ: Lycurgus (c. Leocr. 142) says that one thousand Athenians fell in the battle, and that they received a public burial; he also speaks of the inscriptions carved on their tombstones at the entrance of the city. — 111. ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν: see Thuc. 5, 7—11. The Athenians lost six hundred men; the enemy only seven. Both generals were slain, Cleon from a stab in the back as he was fleeing, Brasidas while charging at the head of his men. — 112. ἐν Δηλίῳ: see Thuc. 4, 91, 101. The Athenians were defeated by the Boeotians, with the loss of about one thousand regular infantry. — 113. Δεσποτήν: see i, 1, 3; 1, 25, 3—5. — 114. ἐς Κύπρον: Cimon sailed with a fleet to Cyprus, where, after defeating the Persians and capturing a number of cities, he died. After his death the Athenian fleet and army won another great victory by sea and land over the Persians at Salamis in Cyprus. See
THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

115 Ὄλυμπιοδώρῳ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλόντων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἄν-
δρες οὐ πλείους. φασὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὁμοροῦν 14
τινα πολεμοῦσι πόλεμον στρατιάν οὐ πολλὴν πέμψαι, καὶ
ὔστερον ναυμαχίας Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Καρχηδονίους γινομένης
τριήρεις πέντε Ἀττικαὶ παρεγένοντο. ἔστιν οὖν καὶ τούτους
ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ τάφος. Τολμῆδου δὲ καὶ τῶν συν
αὐτῷ δεδήλωσα μὲν ἢδη μοι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ὅν τρόπον ἐτελεύτη-
σαν. ἰστώ δὲ ὅτῳ φίλοι δειμένουι σφάς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην.
κεῦται δὲ καὶ οἱ σύν Κίμωνι τὸ μέγα ἔργον πεζῷ καὶ ναυσί
ἀθηνηρὸν κρατήσαντες. τέθαται δὲ καὶ Κόωνι καὶ Τιμό-
θεος, δεύτεροι μετὰ Μιλτιάδην καὶ Κίμωνα οὕτω πατήρ καὶ
παῖς ἔργα ἀποδειγμαίης λαμπρά. κεῦται δὲ καὶ Ζήνων
ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μινασέου καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεύς, Νικίας τε ὁ
Νικομήδου ζῇ ἄριστος γραφαὶ τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἀρμό-
διος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παῖδα Ἰππαρ-
χον ἀποκτείναντες, ῥήτορες τε Ἐφιάλτης, ὃς τὰ νόμμα
τὰ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ μάλιστα ἑλυμῆνατο, καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὁ

— 115. Ὅλυμπιοδώρῳ: see 1, 26, 1 sq.
120. Τολμῆδου: see 1, 27, 5.—123. τὸ
μέγα ἔργον: on the great victory over
the Persians at the mouth of the Eury-
medon in Pamphylia, see Thuc. 1, 100;
Diod. 11, 61; Plutarch, Cimon, 12 sq.
As a monument of this victory, the
Athenians dedicated a bronze palm-
tree at Delphi (10, 15, 4). The date
assigned this victory varies among his-
torians from 469 to 465 B.C.
120. Ζήνων: Diog. Laert. 7, 11 and
29, gives a decree of the Athenians “in
which the thanks of the state are ren-
dered to Zeno in his lifetime for his
services in the cause of virtue, and it
is provided that a tomb shall be built
for him in the Ceramicus at the public
expense; in this tomb the philosopher
was afterwards laid.”—127. Νικίας τε
ὁ Νικομήδου: the expression here used,
ζῇ ἄριστος γραφαὶ τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, is
commonly understood to mean “the grea-
est figure-painter of his time,” ζῇ
meaning either human or animal fig-
ures. See Brunn, Gesch. d. gr. Künstler,
Π, 194–200. Pliny (N. H. 35,
130–133) gives a list of his subjects,
most of which are mythological, and
says also that he painted dogs very suc-
cessfully.—131. Δυκοῦργος: the par-
ticulars as to the public services of
Lycurgus are probably derived from
the decree of the Athenians in his
honor, proposed by Stratoecles in the
archons of Anaxichrates (307–306
ACADEMY

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Δυκόφρωνος. Δυκούργῳ δὲ ἐπορίσθη μὲν τὰλαντα ἐστὶ δὴμός 10 σιον πεντακοσίων πλείονα καὶ ἕξακισχιλίως ἡ ὅσα Περικλῆς ὁ Ἐανθίππου συνήγαγε, κατασκεύασε δὲ ποιμεία τῆς θεώ καὶ 135 Νίκας χρυσᾶς καὶ παρθένους κόσμου ἑκατον, ἐς δὲ πόλεμον ὀπλα καὶ βέλη καὶ τετρακοσίας ναυμαχοῦσιν εἶναι τριήρεις· οἰκοδομήματα δὲ ἐπετέλεσε μὲν τὸ θέατρον ἐτέρων ὑπαρξα- μένων, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ἡ ὁποδόμησεν ἐν Πει- ραιεί νεὼς εἰσιν οἶκοι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῷ Δυκείῳ καλουμένῳ 140 γυμνάσιον. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἄργυρον πεποιημένα ἦν καὶ χρυ- σῶν, Λαχάρης καὶ τάπα ἐσύλησε τυραννήσας· τὰ δὲ οἰκο- δομήματα καὶ ἐς ἥμας ἦτο ἦν.

30 Πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς Ἅκαδημίαν ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ἑρωτος 1

b.c.). For a copy, perhaps condensed, see Ps.-Plut. Vit. x. Or. pp. 844, 862. After enumerating his many services, the decree concludes with a list of honors to be conferred on the memory of Lycurgus, and a provision that all decrees in his honor should be engraved on stone tablets and set up on the Acropolis. For extant fragments, see C.I.A. II, 240. The various buildings of Lycurgus here mentioned have been already noticed by Pausanias (1, 1, 2; 1, 19, 3; 1, 19, 6; 1, 21, 1), or referred to in the notes.


1. Ἔστιν Ἀκαδημίαν: tradition assigns the name of Academy to a place three quarters of a mile northwest of the Dipylum, in the broad belt of olive wood bordering the banks of the Ce- phus. The exact spot is just south of the rocky knoll, identified as Colonius Hippius, on which are the graves of Charles Lenormant and K. O. Müller. The testimony of ancient writers accords well with tradition (Paus. 1, 30, 4; Cic. De fin. 5, 1, 1; Livy, 31, 24). No remains of buildings once upon this site have been discovered. The Academy derived its name from one Academicus or Hecademus, whose shrine, as a hero, was noticed in the Academy (see 1, 29, 2; Schol. Dem. 24, 114, p. 730; Schol. Ar. Nub. 1005, etc.). The first mention of it in historical times is when Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, built a wall around it at great expense, which he compelled the Athenians to pay (Suidas a.v. τὸ Ἱππόρχον τεῖχον). Cimon first converted it from a dry and dusty place into a well-watered grove with trim avenues and shady walks (Plut. Cimon, 13; cf. id. Sulla, 13; Diog. Laert. 3, 7). Read the beautiful description of it in Aristophanes, who mentions the gymnasium it contains.
13. Προμηθέως βωμός: Apollodorus, quoted in Schol. Soph. Oed. Col. 56, gives a fuller description of this altar. He states that it was dedicated jointly to Prometheus and Hephaestus. The altar was at the entrance to the Academy, and from this altar the torch-race appears to have started.—15. Λαμπάδας: torch-races were held at eight Athenian festivals at least, namely the Panathenaea, the festivals of Prometheus, Hephaestus, Pan, Bendis, Hermes, Theseus, and the festival in honor of the dead. See Frazer's note. The course in the Ceramicus, probably that here mentioned, was followed in the first three. Pausanias mentions one way of running the race; the other way was to have lines of runners posted at intervals, and the first man after lighting his torch at the altar ran with it at full
Ch. 30, 4
μηδε τουτω και τω, ο τριτος έστιν ο κρατων· ει δε και πασιν
αποσβουσθην, ουδεις έστιν ότως καταλειπεται η νυκη. έστι δε
20 Μουσων τε θυμος και έτερος 'Ερμου και ένδον Άθηνας, των
dε 'Ηρακλεος εποιησαν· και φυτων έστιν έλαιας, δευτερον
τουτο λεγομενον φανηναι.

'Ακαδημιας δε ου πορρω Πλατωνος μημα έστιν, φορος
τε εστιν ο θεος ο μεταλλον τα ες φιλοσοφιαν εσεσθαι· προε-
25 σημαινε δε ουτω. Σωκρατης την πρωται νυκτη η Πλατων
εμελλεν εσεσθαι οι μαθητης εσπηναι οι κύκνον ες τον κολ-
pον ειδεν ονηρον· έστι δε κύκνος τον ορυτηθη Μονωσικης δοξα,
την Λυγων των Ήρωνος περαν υπερ γης της Κελτικης Κυκνου
ανδρα μονωσικον γενεσθαι βασιλεα φασι· τελευταστα δε
30 Απολλωνος γνωμη μεταβαλειν λεγοντας αυτων ες τον ορυτη.
εγω δε βασιλευσαι μεν πειθομαι Λυγων άνδρα μονωσικον,
γενασθαι δε μοι αποστον ορυθα απ' ανδρος. κατα τουτο της
35 χωρας φανεται πυργος Τιμωνος, δε μονος ειδε μηδενα τρο-
pον ευδαιμοναι ειναι γενεσθαι πλην τους άλλους φευγοντα
ανδρωπους. δεικνυται δε και χωρος καλομενος Κολωνος

speed and passed it on to the second, he to the third, etc.—21. δειας: the
sacred olive trees called μορραι grew in the
Academy; their number was at first
twelve, and they were believed to be
offshoots of the original olive tree on
the Acropolis (1, 27, 2; Ar. Nub. 1005;
Schol. Soph. Oed. Col. 701; Suidas and
Photius, Lexicon, s.v. μορραι). The
penalty for injuring one of the sacred
olives was originally death, later ban-
ishment; the case was tried by the
court of the Areopagus (Lysias, 7, 41;
Ar. Resp. Ath. 60). The penalty was
not enforced in Aristotle's time.

23. Πλατωνος μημα: according to
Pausanias it was not far from the Acad-
emy; according to Diog. Laert. 3, 41,
it was situated εν τη 'Ακαδημια. —
27. ονιρον: this story is told more
fully by Diog. Laert. 3, 5; Biogr. Gr.,
ed. Westermann, p. 389; Apuleius, De
dogmate Platonis, 1, 1.

33. τυργος Τιμωνος: cf. Biogr. Gr.,
ed. Westermann, p. 393, where it is
said that Plato established a school
near the abode of Timon the misan-
thrope, who, though he was embittered
against all men, bore the society of Plato
with much benignity.—35. Κολωνος
τηπος: Thucydides (8, 67) locates Co-
lonus about ten furlongs outside of
Athens. Hence it has been identified
with a rocky knoll about fifty feet high,
about a mile and a quarter north-north-
west of the Dipylum. Here Sophocles
placed the scene of the Oedipus at Colonus. He describes its luxuriant vegetation (Oed. Col. 668 sqq.); he himself belonged to the township of Colonus (Suidas s.v. Σωφακλής). He speaks of the spot as sacred ground, the possession of Poseidon, and inhabited also by Prometheus; here also was a sanctuary of the Furies (Soph. Oed. Col. 37 sqq.).

31. Objects of interest in the smaller demes of Attica — The Hyperboreans — Artemis Colaeus and Anaryaia.

1. Δήμοι: leaving Athens and its suburbs to the northwest, Pausanias now takes up the description of the rest of Attica embraced in cc. 31, 1—39, 3; the rest of the book (1, 39, 4—1, 44, 10) is devoted to Megara, the city and its territory. He first mentions the chief points of interest in the small Attic demes (1, 31, 1—1, 32, 1); he then names the Attic mountains (1, 32, 2); then describes more demes (1, 32, 3—1, 33, 8); then Oropus (1, 34); then the islands of Attica (1, 35, 1—1, 36, 2); then the road from Athens to Eleusis (1, 36, 3—1, 38, 5); next Eleusis itself (1, 36, 6–7); then the road from Eleusis to Boeotia (1, 38, 8–9); finally the road from Eleusis to the borders of Megara (1, 39, 1–3). Thus the order is not strictly topographical (see Introduction, pp. 6, 7). The system of demes or townships in Attica, local divisions with independent municipal government, was first organized or at least fully developed by Cleisthenes in 508 n. c. (Aristot. Resp. Ath. 21). The number instituted by him is uncertain; it is inferred from II dt. 5, 60, to have been one hundred. At a later time we hear of one hundred and seventy-four demes (Strabo, 9, p. 300). The names of one hundred and forty-five are authenticated by inscriptions or the testimony of ancient writers. Out of these one hundred and forty-five demes, we know the location of twenty-eight with tolerable exactness, and of thirty-seven more approximately; while the sites of the remaining eighty are still undetermined (see A. Milchhoefer, Sitzungsbl. Preuss. Akad., Berlin (1887), p. 42; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Attika). Pausanias mentions about twelve in this and following chapters. Elsewhere he names a few more, namely Sunium (1, 1, 1), Piraeus (1, 1, 2), Phalerum (1, 1, 2), Ceramicus (1, 3, 1), Aphidna (1, 17, 6), Colonus (1, 30, 4), Laciadae (1, 37, 2), Scamnonidae (1, 38, 2), Anaphyllustus (2, 30, 9),
DEMES OF ATTICA

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οἰκισθεῖς, τάδε ἐς μνήμην παρείχοντο. Ἀλιμνοῦσιοι μὲν Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἔστιν ἱερόν, εἰν Ζωστῆρι δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ βωμὸς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέ-δροι καὶ Δητοὺς. τεκείν μὲν οὖν Λητῷ τοὺς παιδας ἐνταῦθα οὗ φασι, λύσασθαι δὲ τὸν ζωστῆρα ὡς τεξομένην, καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ διὰ τούτο γενέσθαι τὸ ὅνομα. Προσπαλτίους δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τούτως Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν. Κεφαλῆσι δὲ οἱ Διόσκουροι νομίζονται μάλιστα, Μεγάλους γὰρ σφᾶς οἱ ταύτῃ θεοὺς ὄνομάζουσιν.

Sphettus (ib.), Decelea (3, 8, 6), and Stirlia (10, 35, 8). — 2. Ἀλιμνοῦσιοι: Halimus was a deme of the tribe Leon- tis. According to Strabo, 9, 398, it lay between Phalerum and Aixone, at a distance of thirty-five stadia from Athens (Dem. 57, 10, p. 376). In accordance with our location of Phalerum, Halimus must be along the coast between St. George (Trispyrgi) and St. Cosmas (see Excursus I). The historian Thucydides belonged to Halimus (Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, pp. 199, 203). — 3. Ζωστῆρι: according to Strabo, 9, p. 398, Zoster was the name of a cape on the south coast of Attica, to the south of Aixone, the deme south of Halimus; and he adds that off the cape there is an island called Phabra. — 7. Προσπαλτίους: Prospalta was a deme of the tribe Acamis (Dem. 43, 64, p. 1071; Harpocr. and Suid. s.v. Προσπάλτιος). Eupolis named one of his comedies The Prospaltians, after the inhabitants who had the reputation of being litigious (Athen. 7, p. 326α). This deme was doubtless on or near the site of the modern village of Kalyvia Kuvara, which is in the interior of Attica about midway between Athens and Sunium. To the west of this village ancient blocks and vestiges of walls have been found, and also inscriptions bearing the names of men of Prospalta. See Milchhoefer, A.M. XII (1887), 281–286; Karten von Attika, Text iii–vi, 12. — 8. Ἀναγυρασίοι: Anagyrus was a deme of the tribe Erechtheis (Harpocr. and Suid. s.v. Ἀναγυρά-σιοι). Strabo (7, p. 398) locates it on the south coast of Attica, between the demes of Halae Alexander and Thora. It is commonly placed at Vari, a small village to the east of Cape Zoster. See Milchhoefer, A.M. XIII (1888), 300–302; Karten von Attika, Text iii–vi, 15. — 9. Κεφαλῆσι: Cephale was a deme of the tribe Acamis (Schol. Ar. Aves, 476; Harpocr. and Suid. s.v. Κεφαλῆσι). Cephale is located near Keratea, a village in the interior of Attica eleven or twelve miles north of Sunium. Here sepulchral inscriptions have been found containing the names of natives of Cephale (C.I.A. II, 2151, 2154); also a stone bearing the inscription “boundary of Aphrodite at Cephale.” See Milchhoefer, A.M. XII (1887), 286–291; Karten von Attika, Text iii–vi, 12, 19.
11. ἐν δὲ Πρασεῦων: Prasiae was a deme of the tribe Pandionis (Steph. Byz. s.v. Πρασίται). It was situated on the east coast of Attica, on the spacious bay now called Porto Rathú, about sixteen miles northeast of Sunium, between the demes of Potamus on the south and Stiria on the north. It was in ancient times a port of Attica (Scho. Ar. Pac. 242; Thuc. 8, 95; Livy, 31, 45). — Ὑπερβορέων: Herodotus (4, 33) gives, on the authority of the Delians, an entirely different route by which the offerings of the Hyperboreans were forwarded to Delos. He has them conveyed first to the Scythians; thence westward from people to people until they reached the Adriatic sea; thence southward to the people of Dodona who transmitted them over to the gulf of Malea and across to Euboea; thence from city to city to Carystus, and finally by the Carystians to Tenos, whence the Tenians took them to Delos. Frazer thinks Herodotus gives us the original Delian version, Pausanias the revised Athenian version of the fifth century B.C. — 18. μετὰ τὴν θεορίαν ἐκ Δήλου: the "sacred embassy" referred to is the one which the Athenians sent annually to Delos. The ship in which Theseus was believed to have sailed to Crete conveyed the envoy to Delos; in the ship were also the chorus that was to sing the hymn to Apollo, and the victims for sacrifice. Before the sailing of the ship the priest of Apollo crowned its stern; and from that moment till the ship returned no one might be put to death in Athens. This gave a respite to Socrates. See Plato, Phaedo, 58 a-c, 59 b; Xen. Mem. 4, 8, 2; Plut. Thea. 23; id. Nicias, 3.

22. Δαμπτρεία: this deme belonged to the tribe Erechtheis; it included two villages, Upper Lampræa and Lower (or Seaside) Lampræa (Harpocr., Suid., and Phot. Lex. s.v. Δαμπτρεία; Hesych. s.v. Δαμπτρα). It was on the southern coast of Attica, between the demes of Thorae and Aegilia (Strabo, 9, p. 398). Upper Lampræa has been identified
with the modern Lambrika, a deserted village about four miles northeast of Vari.—27. Ἐν Ποταμίῳ: Potami was a deme of the tribe Leontis (Harpocr. s.v. Ποταμός; Suid. s.v. δραχαρνί). It lay on the east coast of Attica between Thoricus and Prasiae (Strabo, 9, p. 398; Pliny, N. H. 4, 24). It comprised three Potami, known as Upper, Lower, and Diradiotian (Schol. Hom. II. Ω, 545; C.I.A. II, 804. See A.M. X (1886), 105 sqq.). It is commonly identified with some ruins边境ing on the bay of Daskalio, south of Prasiae. Pausanias fails to mention the deme of Thoricus.

28. Φλυεὴ: this deme belonged originally to the tribe Cecropis, and was afterwards transferred to the new tribe Πτολεμαῖς (Steph. Byz. s.v. Φλυεὴ; Suid. s.v. Φλυεῖα; Harpocr. s.v. Φλυεῖα). Euripides was a native of Phlya (Harpocr. l.c.). Phylia is identified on the authority of inscriptions with the modern Chalandri, a thriving village about five miles northeast of Athens, and about three and one fourth miles south of Cephisia. It bordered on the deme Athmonia, which was certainly on the site of the modern Marusi, two miles north of Chalandri. (See C.I.A. III, 61 a, col. 2, l. 18; II, 2646; II, 1113.)

—Μυρρυνουσίος: this deme belonged to the tribe Pandionis (Steph. Byz. and Phot. Lex. s.v. Μυρρυνοῦς). It was on the site of Merenda, a ruined village in the interior of Attica, east of Mt. Hymettus, about one and three fourths miles southeast of the large village of Markopoulo. (See C.I.A. II, 575; A.M. XII (1887), 277 sq.).

—34. 'Αθμονία: Athmonia or Athmostum was a township of the tribe Cecropis (Harpocr. s.v. 'Αθμονία; Suid. s.v. 'Αθμονία; Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Αθμονία). At a later time, apparently, it was transferred to the new tribe Attalis (Schol. Ar. Pac. 100; cf. 1, 5, 5). Inscriptions prove that Athmonia was on or near the site of Marusi, a village in the Athenian plain, seven miles northeast
of Athens, and one and one half miles south of Cephisia. Marusi obviously preserves the surname of Amarysian Artemis. See C.I.A. II, 1722, 1723, 1724.

37. "Amaruntos en Eboloi: Amarynthus was a village distant seven stadia from Eretria (Strabo, 10, p. 448), where an annual festival was held by the Carystians as well as the Eretrians in honor of the Amarynthian Artemis (Livy, 35, 38). Cf. Strabo l.c. on the part of the Eretrians in this festival. The site of the sanctuary has been identified, with some probability, in the foundations of some buildings to the east of Eretria (see Lolling, A.M. X (1885), p. 354).

45. "Acharna Demos: Acharnae belonged to the tribe Oeneis (Steph. Byz. s.v. "Acharnae). It was the largest of all the demes of Attica, and furnished to the Athenian army at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War no less than three thousand infantry (Thuc. 2, 20). It was situated sixty stadia from Athens (id. 2, 21), in a fertile and well-cultivated district (Luc. Icarom. 18). The people dealt in charcoal (Ar. Ach. 34 and 332, and Schol. Ach. 34); they were regarded as stout soldiers (Ar. Ach. 180 sq.). From Thuc. 2, 1, 20, and Diod. 14, 32, it follows that Acharnae was seven miles northwest of Athens at the foot of Mt. Parnes. It doubtless occupied with its suburbs the territory embraced by the villages of Menidi and Epano-Liosia, one and one half miles from each other, where traces of an ancient township and ruins have been found. On Acharnae see Leake, Athens, II, 35–38; Bursian, Geogr. I, 334; Milchh. Karten von Attika, Text ii, 42; and A.M. XIII (1888), 337 ff.
32. Mountains of Attica with their images and altars — Marathon and its objects of interest — The spring Macaria — The marsh.

1. Πεντελικόν: the correct ancient name for Pentelicus was Brilessus (Thuc. 2, 23; Strabo, 9, p. 399, etc.), but it was sometimes called Pentelicus, as by Pausanias and Vitruvius (2, 8, 9), a name derived from Pentele, an Attic deme (Steph. Byz. s.v. Πεντελῆς) on the southern slope of the mountain, near which were the quarries (Strabo, l.c.; Theop. De lapid. 1, 6; cf. Xen. De vectig. 1, 4; Livy, 31, 26). Mt. Pentelicus is the pyramid-like mountain, at the northeast extremity of the Athenian plain, ten miles from Athens. The white surface of the ancient quarries can be clearly seen from the Acropolis. Its height is three thousand six hundred and thirty-five feet. The monastery of Mendeli borders on the site of the ancient deme Pentele. The quarries are in the gullies above the monasteries. — 2. Πάρνης: Parnes was one of the three chief ranges of mountains in Attica, the other two being Hymettus and Brilessus or Pentelicus (Theop. De sign. temp. 3, 43). As the location of these two is known, it follows that Parnes is the still loftier range (four thousand six hundred and thirty-five feet) which bounds the plain of Athens on the north, forming with its offshoots the great mountain barrier between Attica and Boeotia. This is confirmed by ancient authorities. Cf. Plato, Critias, p. 110 ν, with Schol.; Thuc. 4, 96; Athen. 5, p. 210 λ, etc. On the west Parnes joins Mt. Cithaeron. The modern name of the range is Osea. See also Thuc. 2, 23; Ar. Nub. 324; Aristot. Resp. Ath. 19; Strabo, 9, p. 399; Lucian, Bis acc. 8; id. Icarom. 11; Stat. Theb. 12, 620 sq.; Steph. Byz. s.v. Πάρνης. — 3. Ὑμηττος: Hymettus is the regular, flattopped chain of hills which bounds the plain of Athens on the east. It rises south of Mt. Pentelicus, from which it is divided by a valley about three miles wide, and extends southward almost in a straight line until it ends at Cape Zoster. The higher portion of the range (three thousand three hundred and seventy feet) north of the glen of Pirnari, which divides the chain into two, was called in ancient times the Great Hymettus; the lower part to the south of the glen was called the Lesser or Waterless (Anydrus) Hymettus (Theop. De sign. temp. 1, 20). The honey of Hymettus was renowned (Hor. Odes, 2, 6, 13 sqq.; id. Sat. 2, 2, 15; Cic. De fin. 2, 34, 112; Ovid, Met. 10, 284 sq.; Strabo, 9, p. 399, etc.). The story goes that when Plato was a babe the bees of Hymettus filled his mouth with honey (Aelian, Var. Hist. 10, 21; Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, pp. 382, 390). Poets spoke of the flowery and fragrant Hymettus (Ovid, Met. 7, 72; Stat. Theb. 12, 622). Hymettus was also famous for its marble, which is a bluish-gray streaky marble, far inferior to Pentelic in quality (Strabo, 9, p. 399; Hor. Odes, 2, 18, 3 sq. Pliny, N. H.
of Athens, and one and one half miles south of Cephisia. Marusi obviously preserves the surname of Amarysian Artepis. See C.I.A. II, 1722, 1723, 1724.

37. Ἀμαρνθος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ: Amarnthus was a village distant seven stadia from Eretria (Strabo, 10, p. 448), where an annual festival was held by the Carystians as well as the Eretrians in honor of the Amarysian Artemis (Livy, 35, 38). Cf. Strabo l.c. on the part of the Eretrians in this festival. The site of the sanctuary has been identified, with some probability, in the foundations of some buildings to the east of Eretria (see Lolling, A.M. X (1885), p. 354).

45. Ἀχαρναῖ δῆμος: Acharnae belonged to the tribe Oenels (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀχαρναῖ). It was the largest of all the demes of Attica, and furnished to the Athenian army at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War no less than three thousand infantry (Thuc. 2, 20). It was situated sixty stadia from Athens (id. 2, 21), in a fertile and well-cultivated district (Luc. Icarom. 18). The people dealt in charcoal (Ar. Ach. 34 and 332, and Schol. Ach. 34); they were regarded as stout soldiers (Ar. Ach. 180 sq.). From Thuc. 2, 1, 20, and Diod. 14, 32, it follows that Acharnae was seven miles northwest of Athens at the foot of Mt. Parnes. It doubtless occupied with its suburbs the territory embraced by the villages of Menidi and Epano-Liosia, one and one half miles from each other, where traces of an ancient township and ruins have been found. On Acharnae see Leake, Athens, II, 35–38; Bursian, Geogr. I, 334; Milchh. Karten von Attika, Text ii, 42; and A.M. XIII (1888), 337 ff.
PENTELICUS — PARNES — HYMETTUS

32. Mountains of Attica with their images and altars — Marathon and its objects of interest — The spring Macaria — The marsh.

1. Πεντέλικον: the correct ancient name for Pentelicus was Bribessus (Thuc. 2, 23; Strabo, 9, p. 399, etc.), but it was sometimes called Pentelicus, as by Pausanias and Vitruvius (2, 8, 0), a name derived from Pentele, an Attic deme (Steph. Byz. s.v. Πεντέλη) on the southern slope of the mountain, near which were the quarries (Strabo, l.c.; Theoph. De lapid. 1, 6; cf. Xen. De vectig. 1, 4; Livy, 31, 26). Mt. Pentelicus is the pyramid-like mountain, at the northeast extremity of the Athenian plain, ten miles from Athens. The white surface of the ancient quarries can be clearly seen from the Acropolis. Its height is three thousand six hundred and thirty-five feet. The monastery of Mendeli borders on the site of the ancient deme Pentele. The quarries are in the gullies above the monasteries. — 2. Πάρνηθα: Parnes was one of the three chief ranges of mountains in Attica, the other two being Hymettus and Bribessus or Pentelicus (Theoph. De sign. temp. 3, 43). As the location of these two is known, it follows that Parnes is the still loftier range (four thousand six hundred and thirty-five feet) which bounds the plain of Athens on the north, forming with its offshoots the great mountain barrier between Attica and Boeotia. This is confirmed by ancient authorities. Cf. Plato, Critias, p. 110 ν, with Schol.; Thuc. 4, 96; Athen. 5, p. 216 λ, etc. On the west Parnes joins Mt. Cithaeron. The modern name of the range is Okea. See also Thuc. 2, 23; Ar. Nub. 324; Aristot. Resp. Ath. 19; Strabo, 9, p. 399; Lucian, Bis acc. 8; id. Icarom. 11; Stat. Theb. 12, 620 sq.; Steph. Byz. s.v. Πάρνηθα. — 3. Υμηττός: Hymettus is the regular, flat-topped chain of hills which bounds the plain of Athens on the east. It rises south of Mt. Pentelicus, from which it is divided by a valley about three miles wide, and extends southward almost in a straight line until it ends at Cape Zoster. The higher portion of the range (three thousand three hundred and seventy feet) north of the glen of Pirnari, which divides the chain into two, was called in ancient times the Great Hymettus; the lower part to the south of the glen was called the Lesser or Waterless (Anydrus) Hymettus (Theoph. De sign. temp. 1, 20). The honey of Hymettus was renowned (Hor. Odes, 2, 6, 13 sqq.; id. Sat. 2, 2, 15; Cic. De fin. 2, 34, 112; Ovid, Met. 10, 284 sqq.; Strabo, 9, p. 399, etc.). The story goes that when Plato was a babe the bees of Hymettus filled his mouth with honey (Aelian, Var. Hist. 10, 21; Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, pp. 382, 390). Poets spoke of the flowery and fragrant Hymettus (Ovid, Met. 7, 72; Stat. Theb. 12, 622). Hymettus was also famous for its marble, which is a bluish-gray streaky marble, far inferior to the pentelic in quality (Strabo, 9, p. 399; Hor. Odes, 2, 18, 3 sq. Pliny, N. H.
'Αλαζώνων. 'Αλαζώσι γὰρ συνήθεις ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς 5 νομὰς ιὸντιν εἰσὶν ἄφετοι καὶ μέλισσαι, οὖδε σφᾶς ἐς σύμ-
βλους καθείρξαντες ἐχουσιν· αἴ δὲ ἐργάζονται τε ὡς ἄναξ
τῆς χώρας καὶ συμφέος τὸ ἔργον αὐταῖς ἔστων, ἰδία δὲ οὕτε
κηρον οὕτε μέλι ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ποιήσεις. τούτῳ μὲν τοιοῦτον
ἐστιν, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τὰ ὅρη καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα ἔχει · Πεντε-
10 λῆσθι μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐν Ἰμηττῷ δὲ ἀγαλμά ἔστιν Ἰμηττίου
Διός, βωμοὶ δὲ καὶ Ὀμβρίου Διός καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐσι
Προοψίῳ. καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνηθίως Ζεὺς χαλκοῦ ἐστι
καὶ βωμὸς Σημαλέου Διός· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος
βωμός, θύσει δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τοτὲ μὲν Ὀμβρίου τοτὲ δὲ Ἀπή-
15 μον καλοῦντες Δία. καὶ Ἀγχησίμος ὅρος ἔστιν οὐ μέγα καὶ
Δίος ἀγαλμα Ἀγχησίμου.

Πρὶν δὲ ἧ τῶν νήσων ἐς ἀφήγησιν τραπέζαθαι, τὰ ἐς τοὺς 3
δήμους ἐχουσα αὖθις ἐπέζεμι. δήμος ἐστι Μαραθῶν ἱσόν

17, 6; 36, 7, 114). Hymettus is still, as
of old (Ovid, Ars Am. 3, 587), remarkable
for the wonderful purple glow
which comes over it as seen from Ath-
ens by evening light. Socrates drained
the cup of hemlock at the hour when
the sunset glow was on Hymettus
(Plato, Phaedo, 116 n, c).

15. Ἀγχησίμος: this mountain, not
elsewhere mentioned in ancient writ-
ers, is probably the range of hills now
known as Tourko-Youni, extending
northward from Athens in the direc-
tion of Cephasia, which forms the water-
shed of the Athenian plain. The chain
terminates in the conical rocky hill
which towers aloft northeast of Ath-
ens, nine hundred and ten feet above
the sea, and is doubtless the ancient
Iycabettus (cf. Plato, Critias, p. 112 a;
s.v. Πάρμης, etc.). Pausanias fails to
mention Mt. Aegaleus, a chain of hills,
extending southwest from Mt. Parnes
to the strait of Salamis. It forms the
western boundary of the Athenian
plain, dividing it from the Thriasian
plain, in which is Eleusis.

18. δήμος ἵστι Μαραθῶν: Marathon
was a member of an ancient confer-
deracy called the Tetrapolis, consisting of
Marathon, Oenoë, Probolinthus, and
Tricorythus (Strabo, 8, p. 383; Steph.
Byz. s.v. Τετράπολις; Plut. Theseus,
14; Diod. 4, 57), four towns said to
have been founded by Deucalion and
later merged by Theseus into a single
state with the other petty communities
of Attica. Three of these towns were
situated between Prasiae and Rham-
nus on the east coast of Attica, in the
following order from south to north:
Probolinthus, Marathon, Tricorythus
(Strabo, 9, p. 309). Oenoë was near
the others, but somewhat inland. The plain of Marathon, in which occurred the famous contest in 490 B.C. between Athenians and the Persians, is a crescent-shaped stretch of flat land curving round the shore of a spacious bay, and bounded westward by a semicircle of steep mountains rising abruptly from the plain. The northeast corner is a narrow rocky promontory running southward far into the sea, now known as Cape Stomi or Cape Marathon; the southern end of the plain is terminated by Mt. Agrieliki, an eastern spur of Mt. Pentelicus. The length of the plain from northeast to southwest is about six miles; its breadth varies from one and one half to two and one half miles. The shore is a shelving, sandy beach, well suited for the disembarkation of troops. A great swamp occupies most of the northern end of the plain. —

22. τάφος: this is to be recognized in a mound conical in shape, of light reddish mold, about thirty feet high and two hundred paces in circumference, situated in the southern part of the plain, about half a mile from the sea and about three fourths of a mile north of the marsh. It is now popularly called Soros. It was excavated by the Greek government in April-June, 1890. At a depth of about nine feet below the present surface of the plain was found an artificial floor about eighty-five feet long and twenty feet broad, upon which rested a layer of ashes, charcoal, and human bones. Also later a trench was discovered containing the remains of the victims sacrificed to the heroic dead. The black-figured vases found with the bones and ashes of the dead belong to the period of the Persian wars; hence there is no doubt that the human remains are those of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenians who fell at Marathon (Hdt. 6, 117). No traces have been found of the mound over the remains of the fallen Plataeans and slaves.

26. Μιλτιάδου: Hdt. 6, 132-136, and Corn. Nep. Miltiades, 7 sq., narrate the events which led to the trial and death of Miltiades. — 30. οὐκ ἦσιν ὅτε συνήφης: cf. Hdt. 6, 117, where it is related that in one instance blindness was the
ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΝ ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς Ἑράκλεος ἐπί τῆς Μαραθώνος περιοχής νόμον γίνεται καί ἔτι ἔστω ἂν τῶν δαμάσκων όργήν. σέβονται δὲ οἱ Μαραθώνοι τούτοις τε οἱ παρά τὴν μάχην ἀπεθανὼν ἥρωας ὅνομάζοντες καὶ Μαραθώνα ἄρ' οὗ τῷ δήμῳ τὸ ὅνομά ἔστι καὶ Ἡράκλεα, φάμενοι πρῶτοι Ἑλληνες ἵνα σφίσων 'Ἡρακλέα θεδ' νομοθέτην. συνέβη δὲ ὡς λέγονταί τοῖς ἄλλοις: ἐν τῇ μάχῃ παρείναι τὸ εἴδος καὶ τὴν σκέψιν ἀγρονομον. οὕτως τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς καταφονεύσας ἀρότρως μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἵνα ἀφαιρῇ. ερωμένοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἄλλο μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχρισεν οὐδέν, τιμάν δὲ Ἐκείνου ἐκέλευσεν ἥρωας· πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τρόπων λίθου λευκοῦ. τοὺς δὲ Μήδους Ἀθηναίοι μὲν θάμαξε λέγοντιν ὡς πάντως ὅσον ἀνθρώπων νεκρὸν γῆ κρύπται, τάφον δὲ οὐδένα εὑρεῖν ἐκυνάμιν. οὕτως γὰρ χῶμα οὕτω ἀλλὰ σημεῖον ἕνα ἤνείν, ἐς οὖργα δὲ φέροντες σφάς ὡς τύχωσεν ἐσέβαλον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθώνει τῷ περί τῆς Καλομένης Μακαρίας, καὶ τοιάδε ἐς αὐτῆς λέγοντιν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ καὶ Τίρυνθος ἐφευρεν Ἑυρυσθέα, παρὰ Κήνα φίλον ὃντα μετοικίζεται βασιλεύοντα Τραχίνοις. ετείνει δὲ ἀπελθόντος εἰς ἀνθρώπων Ἡρακλέους ἐξῆτε τοὺς παιδας Ἑυρυσθέας· εἰς Ἀθηναίας πέμπει σφάς ὁ Τραχίνοις ἅσθενεῖαν τοῖς λέγοντι τῷ αὐτῶ καὶ Ἱστόποποιον οὖν ἀδύνατον εἶναι τιμωρεῖν· ἅφηκόμενοι δὲ οὓς παιδεῖς ἠκύρων πέπτωτον τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις τοιούτοι πόλεμον πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις, Θησεὼς σφάς οὖν ἐκδόντος αὐτοῦν Ἑυρυσθέα. λέγοντι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι

result of meeting a hero; cf. Schol. Ar. Av. 1490. —32. σιβονται. . . Ηρακλεια: cf. 1, 15, 3. This was one of the two most revered shrines of that hero in Attica; the other was at Cynosarges (Harpocr. s.v. Ηράκλεια). Hdt. 6, 108, 116, tells how, before the battle, the Athenians encamped in the precinct of Heracles at Marathon. Here games were celebrated in honor of the hero; the prizes were silver cups (Pind. Olymp. 9, 134 sqq., and Schol.).

45. Μακαρία: the story of Eurystheus’s defeat and death in Attica, whither he had marched against the children of Heracles who had found a refuge in the Tetrapolis, is told also by Strabo, 8, p. 377; Diod. 4, 57; and is the theme of Euripides’s Iphicalidæ. Cf. Thuc. 1, 9; Isoc. Paneg. 58 sq.
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χρησμον των παιδων αποθανειν χρησιν των Ἡρακλεους των Ἐθελοντην, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐκ εἶναι νίκην σφίσων ἐνταῦθα Μακαρία Δημανέρας καὶ Ἡρακλεους θυγάτηρ ἀποσφάξασα ἐαυτὴν ἐδωκεν Ἀθηναίοις τε κρατήσαι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα ἁφ' αὐτῆς. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθώνι λίμνης τὰ πολλὰ ἐλάδης ἑς ταύτην ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν ὄδων φεύγουνες ἐσπήπτοσον οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ σφίν τὸν φόνον τὸν πολὺν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑυμπήναι λέγουσιν ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν λίμνην φάτναι εἰσὶ λίθου τῶν ἱππῶν τῶν Ἀρταφέρνους καὶ σημεία ἐν πέτραις σκηνῆς. μεῖ δὲ καὶ ποτάμιος ἐκ τῆς λίμνης, τὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ Βοσκήμασιν ὤδωρ ἐπιτήδειον παρεχόμενον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑκβολὴν τὴν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀλμυρός ἄδη γίνεται καὶ ἱχθύων τῶν θαλασσών πλῆρης. ὅλον δὲ ἀποτέρω τοῦ πεδίου Πανός ἐστιν ὅρος καὶ στῆλαις θέας ἄξιον ἄσως μὲν ἐς αὐτό στενὴ, παρεκληθείν δὲ εἰςν οἶκοι καὶ λουτρά καὶ καλούμενον Πανός ἀπόλοιν, πέτραι τὰ πολλὰ αἰξίν εἰκασμέναι.

33. Μαραθώνος δὲ ἀπέχει τῇ μὲν . . . Βραυρῶν, ἐνθα Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐκ Ταύρων φεύγουσαν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀγομένην τὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀποβιβάζει λέγουσιν, καταληπτοῦσαν δὲ

58. λίμνη: cf. 1, 15, 3. This swamp occupies most of the northern end of the plain. It is now covered with reed-grass, and is separated from the sea by a narrow strip of sandy beach. Between the marsh and the mountain slopes is the modern village of Kato-Souli. Herodotus, in his account of the battle, does not mention the marsh, but it was represented in the painting of the Painted Porch (1, 15, 3) and is mentioned Schol. Plat. Menex. 358, and Aristid. Panath. p. 203.


1. Βραυρὼν: Brauron was one of the twelve confederate towns of Attica before Theseus’s time (Strabo, 9, p. 397). Strabo (9, p. 399) locates it on the east coast of Attica between the demes of Prasai and Storia to the south, and Myrrhinus, Probainthus, and Marathon to the north of it. Its position on the coast is known from Hdt. 4, 145; 6, 138; and there was a river Erasinus at Brauron (Strabo, 8, p. 371). This leads to its identification with Vraona, a village which meets the conditions
and the name of which appears to be the modern equivalent of Brauron. —
5. ξιανον: see 1, 23, 7; 3, 16, 7–11; 8, 46, 3, with Frazer’s notes.
8. Ραμνος: Rhamnus was a deme of the tribe Aiantis (Steph. Byz. s.v.
Παμνος), situated on the northeastern coast of Attica, north of Tricorythus (Strabo,
9, p. 399). It was one of the fortresses of Attica into which the people collected their property when in dread of
Philip of Macedon (Dem. 18, 38, p. 238).
The place was chiefly famous for its temple and image of Nemesis (Strabo,
9, pp. 396, 399; Pliny, N. H. 36, 17; Hesych., Suid., and Phot. Lex. s.v.
Παμνος Νεμεσις, etc.). The orator Antiphon belonged to Rhamnus (Suid.
s.v.v. ‘Αντιφων and Παμνος). It is about six and one half miles north of Kato-
Souli, which agrees well with the sixty stadia estimated by Pausanias. The
site is an isolated rocky height of considerable natural strength, jutting out
into the sea, and upon which are the ruins of the fortress. Not far away
on a terrace at the head of a deep and woody glen are the ruins of two tem-

els, that of Nemesis and a smaller one, probably of Themis. — 10. Νεμε-
σις . . . ιερόν: upon the terrace already mentioned, one hundred and
fifty feet wide and facing the sea, lie the remains of the two temples. They
stand side by side, but not quite parallel to each other, the larger being on
the north side toward the sea. The larger temple is seventy-one feet long
by thirty-three feet broad on the stylobate. It was a peripteral hexastyle
Doric temple, with twelve columns on each of the long sides. The outer col-
umns are unfluted except for a very small distance at the top and near the
bottom, which indicates that the temple was never finished. The interior
consisted of pronaos, cela, and opisthodomos, arranged in the usual way.
The lower portions of seven columns on the south side and one in the pro-

naos are still standing. The architectural features render it probable that
the temple was built about the middle of the fifth century B.C. The discovery
of an inscription (C.I.A. III, 811) on a statue dedicated to Nemesis, and of
fragments of the sculptures described by Pausanias, prove that this was the
sanctuary of Nemesis. The smaller temple was a templum in antis, con-
sisting of cela and pronaos, thirty-five feet long by twenty-five feet wide.
In-
scriptions and statues found in the temple prove that it was in use at least
from the fifth to the second century B.C. and was in all probability a temple of
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Theον μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ὑβρισταῖς ἐστὶν ἀπαραίτητος.

ὅτε θεόν ἄποβασιν ἐς Μαραθῶνα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαντήσαι μήν με ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης. kataφρονήσαντες γὰρ ἡμῖν σφόνι έμποδον εἶναι τὰς Ἀθηναῖας ἔλειν, λίθον

15 Πάροιν ὡς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις ἦγον ές τροπαίου ποίησιν. τούτων Φειδίας τὸν λίθον εἰργάσατο ἄγαλμα μὲν εἶναι Νεμές σεώς, τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ ἐπεστὶ τῆς θεοῦ στέφανος ἐλάφους ἔχων καὶ Νίκης ἄγαλματα οὐ μεγάλα. ταῖς δὲ χερσίν ἔχει τῇ μὲν κλάδου μηλέας, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ φιάλην, Αἰθιόπες δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ τεποίηται. συμβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸ ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιόπες οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχον οὔτε ἀπεδεχόμην τῶν συνεῖναι πειθομένων, οἱ πεποιηθείςα σφάς ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ φασί διὰ ποταμὸν άικανόν· οἰκεῖν γὰρ Αἰθιόπες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, Νεμέας δὲ εἶναι πατέρα άικανόν. άικανῷ γὰρ οὐ ποταμῷ, θαλάσσῃ δὲ ἐσχάτῃ τῇ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πλεομένης προσοκούσω Ἰβηρίας καὶ Κέλτοι, καὶ νῆσον άικανός ἔχει τὴν Βρεττανῶν. Αἰθιόπων δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ Συνῆς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἑσχατοῦ τὴν Ἐρυθραία κατοικούσων Ἰχθυοφάγοι, καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὁν περιοικούσων Ἰχθυοφάγων ὄνομάζεται. οἱ δὲ δικαιότατοι Μερόπην πόλιν καὶ πεδίον

30 Αἰθιοπικῶν καλούμενον οἰκούσιν. οὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν ἡλίου τράπεζαν εἰσιν οἱ δεικνύτες, οἵτινες σφόνι ἐστὶν οὔτε ἡ θάλασσα οὔτε

Themis. Some authorities hold that it was the original sanctuary of Nemesis; if so, it continued in use after the larger temple was built.

16. Νεμέας: the image of Nemesis was ten cubits high (Zenob. v. 82; Hesych. s.v. Ραμνοῦσια Νεμέας), and was much admired for its beauty and size (Strabo, 9, p. 396; Pliny, N. H. 36, 17). Ancient writers disagree as to the sculptor of the image. According to Pausanias, Zenobius (l.c.), the lexicographers, and others, the image was by Phidias; according to Pliny and Strabo (l.c.) it was the work of Agoracritus of Paros, a pupil of Phidias. Probably it was by the latter under the supervision of Phidias. The story of the block of marble is doubtless a popular fable. Part of the colossal head of the statue is in the British Museum, and fragments of reliefs from the pedestal are in the National Museum at Athens. Furtwängler conjectures that the Ceres of the Vatican is a copy of the Nemesis of Rhamnus (Meisterw. p. 119).

30. τὴν ἡλίου τράπεζαν: cf. 6, 26, 2. The Table of the Sun was in the land
potamōs ἄλλος γε ἡ Νεῖλος. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πρόσοικοι. Μαυροὶς Αἰθίοπες ἀχρι Νασαμώνων παρῆκοντες. Νασαμώνες γάρ, οὐς Ἀθλαντας Ἡρόδοτος, οἱ δὲ μέτρα φάμενοι γῆς εἰδέναι Διξίτας καλοῦσι, Διβύων οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς Ἀθλαντι σεῖκοσι σπείροντες μεν οὐδὲν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἀμπέλων ξώντες ἀγρίων. ποταμὸς δὲ οὐδὲ τούτως τοῖς Αἰθίοις οὐδὲ τοῖς Νασαμώσιν ἐστιν οὐδεῖς. τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τῷ Ἀθλαντι ὕδαρ, τρισὶ παρεχόμενον ἀρχαὶ ἰφύσιν, οὐδὲν τῶν ἰφυσιῶν ποιεῖ ποταμόν, ἄλλα πάν ὁμοίως αὐτίκα ἔχει συλλαβοῦσα ἡ ψάμμος. οὕτως Ἀἰθίοπες ποταμῷ γε οὐδεὶν προσοικοῦσιν Ὀκεανῷ. τὸ δὲ ὕδαρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθλαντοῦ θολερὸν τῇ ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ κροκόδειλοι διπτήχεων ἤσαν οὐκ ἐλάσσους, προσιόντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεδύντο ἐς τὴν πηγήν. παριστάτο δὲ οὐκ ὁλίγος τὸ ὕδαρ τούτο ἀναφαίνομεν αὖθις ἐκ τῆς ψάμμου ποιεῖν τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγυπτίως. ο δὲ Ἀτλας ὁ ὅρος ὑψηλόν μὲν ἐστιν οὕτως ὡστε καὶ λέγεται ταῖς κορυφαῖς ψαπεῖ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἀβαστον δὲ ὑπὸ ὕδατος καὶ δενδρών ἀ διὰ παντὸς πέφυκε. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Νασαμῶνας αὐτοῦ γινώσκεται, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὐδένα ποι παραπλεύσαντα ὑσμεν. τάδε 7 μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον εἰρήμωθο πτερά δ’ ἔχουν οὔτε τούτο τὸ ἄγαλμα Νεμέσεως οὔτε ἄλλο πεποίητα τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐπεὶ μηδε Σμυρναῖος τὰ ἀγιότατα ζῶαν ἔχει πτερά. οἱ δὲ υστεροὶ ἐπιφανεισθαί γὰρ τὴν θεον μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔραν ἐθέλουσιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Νεμέσει πτερὰ ὡσπερ Ἐρωτι ποιοῦσιν. νῦν δὲ ἴδῃ διείμι ὁπόσα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐστιν

of the long-lived Ethiopians, who dwelt on the Indian ocean. "It was said to be a meadow in the suburb of their city; every night the rulers set forth great piles of the boiled flesh of all kinds of quadrupeds, and every day all who chose came and partook of the meat, in the belief that it was produced spon-
taneously from the ground." According to Hdt. 3, 17 sq., and others, King Cambyses sent spies to see and report on it.
33. Νασαμώνες: cf. Hdt. 4, 184, 172 and 182, who says that the inhabitants of Mt. Atlas were called Atlantes, but does not identify them with the Nasa-
monians, whom he describes separately.
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eîrgasmeôna, tosoûnde ἐς τὸ σαφὲς προδηλώσας. Ἐλένη Νέ-
μεσιν μητέρα εἶναι λέγουσιν Ἑλλήνες, Λήδαν δὲ μαστὸν
ἐπισχείν αὐτῇ καὶ θρέψαι. πατέρα δὲ καὶ οὐνοὶ καὶ πάντες
κατὰ ταύτα Ἐλένης Δία καὶ οὐ Τυνάρεων εἶναι νομίζουσι.
ταῦτα ἀκηκοῦσι Φειδίας πεποίηκεν Ἐλένην ὅπο Λήδας ἄγο-
μένην παρὰ τὴν Νέμεσιν, πεποίηκε δὲ Τυνάρεων τε καὶ τοὺς
παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρα σὺν ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα Ἰππέα ὄνομα.
ἐστι δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος καὶ Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως,
πρῶτος οὖσιν Ἐρμόνην τὴν Ἐλένης γυναίκα λαβὼν. Ὁρέ-
στης δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν μητέρα τάλμη παρείθη, παραμεινά-
σης τὲ ἐς ἀπαν Ἐρμόνης αὐτῷ καὶ τεκούσης παῖδα. ἔξης
δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ καὶ Ἐποχός καλούμενος καὶ νεανίας ἐστὶν
ἐτέρος. ἐς τούτους ἀλλὸ μὲν ἢκουσα οὐδὲν, ἀδέλφοις δὲ εἶναι
σφᾶς Οινόνης, ἀφ’ ἦς ἐστι τὸ ὄνομα τῷ δήμῳ.

34 Τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν Ὀρωπίαν μεταξὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Τανα-
γρικῆς, Βοιωτίαν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὖσαν, ἐχοσων ἐφ’ ἡμῶν

57. Ἐλένη Νέμεσιν μητέρα: for the story that Nemesis, and not Leda, was
the mother of Helen, see Apollod. 3, 10, 7; Tzetzes, Schol. Lycomphr. 88.

70. Οινόνης, ἀφ’ ἦς ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ δήμῳ: there were two demes in Attica
called Oenea, one near Marathon, which is probably here referred to, and one
on the Boeotian frontier, four miles southeast of Eleutherai (see 1, 15, 1, 
ote; Hdt. 5, 74; Thuc. 2, 18).

34. Oropus—Temple of Amphiaraurus
—The Dream Oracle.

1. Ἐρωπίαν: the district of Oropus was long a bone of contention be-
tween Attica and Boeotia (Strabo, 9, p. 399). Originally it was Boeotian. It
fell into the hands of the Athenians probably at the end of the sixth cen-
tury (Hdt. 5, 77), and continued under
their control until the fortification of
Decelea (Thuc. 8, 60), when the Boe-
tians recovered it. Probably in 383
n.c. the Oropians voluntarily surren-
dered their land to the Athenians (Isoc.
14, 20), but in 366 n.c. the Boeotians
regained possession (Diod. 15, 76; Xen. 
Hell. 7, 4, 1; Aesch. 2, 85); but in 338
n.c., after his conquest of Thebes, 
Philip restored Oropus to Athens. 
There were further changes of control,
as in Strabo's time, when it was Boe-
tian (Strabo, 9, pp. 391, 403), but after-
wards it became and continued Athen-
ian, as in Pausanius's day. The plain
of Oropus extends along the shore for
about five miles; inland it narrows to
a point two or three miles from the
shore where the Asopus issues from a
beautiful defile. The site of the town
of Oropus is now occupied by Skala Oropou, a hamlet on the shore of a bay within sight of Eretria, from which it is separated by a strait forty stadia in width. — 7. ἵππον τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου: the sanctuary of Amphiaraurus is distant about four miles southeast of Oropus. The distance is greatly understated by Pausanias. The place is now called Mavrodhilissi. The ruins of the sanctuary were excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1884–1887. The remains of the temple are in the western end of the precinct. It appears to have been a Doric temple, about ninety-five feet long by forty-three feet wide, consisting of a cella, fronted by a portico of six columns between two antae; it was not peripteral. In front of the temple, about thirty feet from it, are the foundations, twenty-eight feet by fourteen feet, of the large altars here described by Pausanias. Amphiaraurus, the seer and hero, took part in the Calydonian boar hunt, the Argonautic voyage, and the expedition of the Seven against Thebes.

17. ὁ βωμός: the great altar was divided into five parts, dedicated to various gods and heroes here enumerated. The existing remains seem to show that it was formed by uniting several
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μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ τῷ Ἀμφιλόχῳ τιμὴν ἔχει. τετάρτη δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ μοῦρα Ἀφροδίτῃς καὶ Πανακείας· ἐτὶ δὲ Ἰασών καὶ Ἄγεας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Παιωνίας· πέμπτη δὲ πεποίηται 25 νύμφαις καὶ Πανί καὶ ποσαμόις Ἀχελώῳ καὶ Κηφισῷ. τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βωμὸς καὶ Κυλλίας ἐν Μαλλῷ μαντεῖον ἀφευδέστατον τῶν ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ. ἐστὶ δὲ Ὀρωπίοις πηγὴ πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, ὡς Ἀμφιαράου 4 καλοῦσιν, οὐχ ὑάντες οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐτ’ ἐπὶ καθάρσιος ἦ 30 χέρυμβι χρήσθαι νομίζοντες· νόσου δὲ ἀκέσθεισις ἀνδρὶ μαν- τεύματος γενομένου καθέστηκεν ἀργυρὸν ἀφεῖναι ἡ χρυσὸν ἔπιστημον ἐς τὴν πηγήν, ταῦτα γὰρ ἀνελθὼν τῶν Ἀμφιαραῶν λέγοντος ἡδὴ θεόν. Ἰοφών δὲ Κνώσσιος τῶν ἐξηγητῶν χρη- σμοὺς ἐν ἕξαμέρῳ παρέχετο, Ἀμφιαράους χρήσαι φάμενος 35 τοὺς ἐς Θήβας σταλείσιν Ἀργείων. ταῦτα τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐς τὸ 50 πολὺς ἐπαγωγὸν ἀκρατῶς εἶχε· χωρὶς δὲ πλὴρ ὡςεύς ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος μανὴν λέγοντι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, μάντεων γ’ οὐδεὶς χρησμολόγος ᾧν, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ὀνείρατα ἐξηγησάσθαι καὶ δια- γυνώναι πτήσεις ὄρνιθων καὶ σπάλαγχνα ἱερεῖν. δοκῶ δὲ 5 40 Ἀμφιαράου ὀνειράτων διακρίσει μάλιστα προσκείονται. δῆ- λος δὲ, ἡνίκα ἐνομίσθη θεοῦ, δι’ ὀνειράτων μαντικῆν κατα- στησάμενος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν καθήρασθαι νομίζουσιν ὅστις ἦλθεν Ἀμφιαράῳ χρησόμενος· ἐστὶ δὲ καθάρσιον τῷ θεῷ

Deor. concil. 12), while Amphiaraurus at Oropus charged not less than nine obols (C.I.G.G.S. 235).

28. πηγή: the custom of throwing money, as a thank offering, into springs and rivers is often mentioned in ancient writers. The younger Pliny (Ep. 8, 8, 2) speaks of coins at the bottom of the Clitumnian spring. Romans threw money annually into the Lacus Curtius in fulfillment of a vow made for the health of Augustus (Suet. Augustus,
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θύειν, θύουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ πάσιν ὅσιοι ἔστωτεν ἐπὶ τῷ
45 βωμῷ τὰ ὄνόματα. προεξεργασμένων δὲ τούτων κρίνῃ θύ-
santες καὶ τὸ δέρμα ὑποστρωσάμενοι καθεύδουσιν ἀναμέ-
vοντες δῆλωσιν οὐνέρατοι. 35  Νῆσοι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὐ πόρρω τῆς χώρας εἰσίν, ἣ μὲν 1
Πατρόκλου καλομένη—τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἔστω ἤδη μοι δεδηλωται
—ἄλλη δὲ ὑπὲρ Σουνίου τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐν ἀριστερὰ παρα-
πλέουσιν. ἐσ ἀτύπην ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν Ἐλένην μετὰ τὴν
5 ἀλωσῖν τῆν Ἰλίου, καὶ διὰ τούτο ὅνομά ἔστων Ἐλένη τῇ
νήσῳ. Σαλαμῖς δὲ κατὰ Ἐλευθέραν κειμένη παρήκει καὶ ἐς
2 τὴν Μεγαρίκην. πρῶτον δὲ τῇ νήσῳ... θέσθαι τοῦτο ἀπὸ
τῆς μητρὸς Σαλαμίνος τῆς Ἀσωποῦ, καὶ ύστερον Ἀιγινήτας

57). The Egyptian priests, at a certain festival, threw money into the Nile (Sen-
eca, Quaest. Nat. 4, 2, 7).

35. The Attic islands: Patroclus, Helene, Salamis—History of Salamis—
Objects of interest on the island—Vast size of Ajax—Geryones and Hyllus.

1. Νῆσοι: on the island of Patro-
clus, see 1, 1, 1, note. The island be-

ond Sunium is now called Makronisi,
and lies off the southeast coast of At-
tica. It is bare and rugged, nine hun-
dred and twenty feet above the sea at
its highest point, and about eight miles
long from south to north. Strabo (9,
p. 399) and Pausanias (8, 14, 12) speak
of it as desert. The isle of Cranae,
according to Homer (II. 1, 445), was
the retreat of Paris and Helen. Paus-
sanias elsewhere (3, 22, 1) identified
Cranae with an island off Gytheum.
Others, however, identified it with this
island off Sunium (Eur. Helena, 1670
sqq.; Strabo, 9, p. 399; Schol. Hom.
II. 1, 445).

6. Σαλαμῖς: the island of Salamis is

in the shape of an irregular crescent,
with its horns facing westward. Its
length from north to south is about
nine miles; its greatest breadth from
east to west is about ten miles; the
highest point is about twelve hundred
and fifty feet above the sea. In ancient
times the island produced honey and
olives (Eur. Troad. 794–799) and cheese
(Strabo, 9, p. 395). The town of Sal-
amis was on the Bay of Ambelaki, fac-
towards Piraeus. Strabo (9, p. 393)
says there was a still older city called
Salamis, facing towards Aegina. In
the agora of Salamis was a statue of
Solon, erected in the early part of the
fourth century B.C. (Aeschin. 1, 26;
Dem. 10, 251, p. 420). Some ruins on
the northwest promontory near the
monas-tery of the Panagia Phanaromene
have been identified as those of the
fort Budorum, captured in 429 B.C.
by the Peloponnesians, who were, how-
however, compelled to evacuate it the next
day (Thuc. 1, 93 sq.; Diod. 12, 49). —
8. τῆς Ἀσωποῦ: Diodorus (4, 72) says
that Salamis, one of the twelve daughters of Asopus, was carried off by Poseidon to the island which afterwards bore her name, where she bore to the god a son Cychreus, who became king of the island. The island is said to have been once called Sciras and Cychrea after the heroes Scirius and Cychreus (Strabo, 9, p. 383; Steph. Byz. s.v. Κυχρεώς πάγος). Aeschylus (Pers. 570) speaks of "the Cychrean shores."—

9. Φίλαιον: when the Lacedaemonians acted as arbitrators between Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis, Solon is said to have alleged that Phialaeus and Euryaces, two sons of Ajax, received the Athenian citizenship and surrendered the island to Athens (Plut. Solon, 10). Pausanias makes Phialaeus a son of Euryaces and grandson of Ajax. But Phercydes (quoted Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, p. 187) and Herodotus (6, 85), with whom later writers agree, make Phialaeus a son of Ajax. Cf. J. Töpffer, Attische Genealogie, pp. 269 sqq. —

10. τούς συν Τελαμώνι ἐποικήσατο. Φίλαιον δὲ τὸν Εὔρυσάκους τοῦ Αἰαντος παραδούναι λέγουσιν Ἀθηναίοις τὴν νῆσον, γενόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίοι. Σαλαμίνιοι δὲ Ἀθηναίοι τούτων ύστερον πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀναστάτους ἐποίησαν, καταγνώντες ἐθελοκακήσατο σφαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Κάσσανδρον καὶ τὴν πόλιν γνώμη τὸ πλέον Μακεδόνων ἐνδούναι. καὶ Λισχητάδου τε κατέγυωσαν θάνατον, δὲ τότε ἤρθο τέ τὴν Σαλαμίνα στρατηγὸς, καὶ ἐς τὸν πάντα ἐπώμοσαν χρώνον Σαλαμίνιος ἀπομνημονεύσεως προδοσίαν. ἐστὶ δὲ ἄγορας τε ἐτί ἐρείπια καὶ ναὸς Αἰαντος, ἀγαλμα δὲ ἐξ ἔβενον ξύλου. διαμένουν δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε τῷ Αἰαντὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τιμαὶ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Εὔρυσάκει, καὶ γὰρ Εὔρυσάκους βωμὸς τοὺς: the surrender of Salamis to Cassander seems to have happened in 318 B.C. (Polyaen. 4, 11; Droysen, Gesch. d. Hell. II, 1, 230). For the next ninety years it was probably held by a Macedonian garrison. In 229 B.C. Aratus restored it to Athens (Plut. Aratus, 34; Paus. 2, 8, 6; Droysen, III, 2, 57).

At this time the punishment here alluded to may have been inflicted.

19. τῷ Αἰαντῷ: the Athenian epheboi regularly took part in the annual festival of Ajax on the island of Salamis, when the features were a procession, a sacrifice to Ajax, athletic sports, and a regatta. (Hesych. s.v. Αἰαντεία; C.I.A. II, 467–471.) See Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. I, 926 sqq. s.v. Αἰαντεία. — 20. Εὔρυσάκους βωμὸς ἐστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις: the τέμενος of Euryaces, named Εὔρυσάκεως, was in the quarter of Melite, in the neighborhood of the Colonus Agora, beside or in the agora. (Harpocr. s.vv. Εὔρυσάκεως and Κολωνέτας; Suid. s.v. Εὔρυσάκης, etc.)
έστων ἐν Ἀθήναις. ἐν τούτων ὑδάτων ὑπὸ πόρρω ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμένος. ἐπὶ τούτου καθήμενον Τελαμώνα ὁ ἄραν λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἄποπλεοῦσιν οἱ τῶν παιδών ἐς Ἀὐλίδα ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἐλλήνων στόλον. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὴν Σαλα-ντος σφιὼν ἐν τῇ γῇ τότε φανῄναι πρώτων. λευκὸν ἔστων, ὑπέρμηθην, κρύνου καὶ αὐτὸ ἔλασον καὶ τὰ φύλλα. γράμματα δὲ ἐπεστῶν οἷα τοῖς ἔναμῳ καὶ τούτω. λόγον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀἰολέων τῶν ὑστηρῶν οἰκησάντων Ἰλίου ἐς τὴν κρίσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἡκουσα, οἱ τῆς ναυαγίας ὁδυσσεί συμβάσεως ἐξενεχθῆναι κατὰ τὸν τάφον τῶν Ἀιαντος τὰ ὁπλα λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαθος αὐτοῦ Μυσός ἔλεγεν ἀνήρ. τοῦ γὰρ τάφου τὰ πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἔφασκεν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν ἁλαςάσαν καὶ τὴν ἐσόδον ἐς τὸ μνήμα ὑπὸ χαλεπὴν ποὺς, καὶ με τού νεκροῦ τὸ μέγε-θος τεκμαίρεσθαι τῇ ἐκέλευ. πεντάθλου γὰρ παῖδος ἐκεῖ ὁ κατὰ δύσκολο μάλιστα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ὅστὰ, καλομέ-νας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁιτρῶν μύλας. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὅποιοι μὲν οἰκοῦσιν ἐσχάτου Κελτῶν ἔχουσεν ὁμορον τῇ διὰ κρυμον ἐρήμω, οὐς Κασσαρεῖς ὁνομάζοντε, τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἔθαψασα τὸ μήκος, οὐ νεκρῶν οὐδεν τι διαφόρως ἔχουσιν Αἰγυπτίων. ὅποσα δὲ ἀξία ἐφαίνετο ἐκεῖ μοι θέας, διηγήσομαι. Μάγνησι τοῖς ἐπὶ Ληθαίῳ Πρωτοφάνης τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνείλετο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.
SALAMIS

Ch. 36. 1 νίκαις ἡμέρας μιᾷ παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης. τούτου λησταὶ κερδανεῖν ποῦ τι δοκοῦντες ἐσῆλθον ἐς τὸν τάφον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς λησταῖς ἐσῆταν ἡ δήθεν θεασώμενοι τὸν νεκρὸν τὰς πλευρὰς οὐκ ἔχοντας διεστώσας, ἀλλὰ οἱ συμφυνὲς ἦν ὅσον ἀπ' ὦμων ἐς τὰς ἐλαχιστὰς πλευρὰς, καλουμένας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ιατρῶν νόθας. ἔστι δὲ Μιλησίως πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Λάδη νήσου, ἀπερρώγησε δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς υποίδες. Ἀστέριον τὴν ἐτέραν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὸν Ἀστέριον ἐν αὐτῇ ταφῆναι λέγουσιν, εἶναι δὲ Ἀστέριον μὲν Ἁνακτος, Ἁνακτα δὲ Γῆς παῦδα. ἔχει δ' οὖν ὁ νεκρὸς οὐδὲν τι μεῖον πηχῶν δέκα. τὸ 7 δ' ἐμοὶ θαῦμα παρασχοῦν, Δυνίας τῆς ἀνω πόλεως ἔστιν οὖλ μεγάλη Τημένου θύρα. ἐνταῦθα περιφραγμένος λόφον διὰ χειμῶνα ὡστὰ ἐφάνη τὸ σχῆμα παρέχοντα ἐς πίστιν ὅς ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου, ἐπι διὰ μέγεθος οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς ἀν ἔδοξεν. αὐτύκα δὲ λόγος ἦλθεν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Γηρυώνου τοῦ Χρυσάορος εἶναι μὲν τὸν νεκρόν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον. καὶ γαρ θρόνος ἀνδρὸς ἔστιν ἐνευραγμένος ὃρους λιθώδει προ-

βολῇ καὶ κείμαρρόν τε ποταμὸν Ὅκεανὸν ἐκάλουν καὶ βοῶν ἤδη κέραισιν ἐφασάν τινας ἐντυχεῖν ἀρωντας, διότι ἔχει λόγοις βοῶς ἀρίστας θρέψα τὸν Γημυώνην. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφισων ἐναὶ 8 πτούμενος ἀπέφασον ἐν Γαδείροις εἶναι Γημυώνην, οὐ μνήμα μὲν οὐ, δένδρῳ δὲ παρεχόμενον διαφόρους μορφάς, ἐνταῦθα 65 οἱ τῶν Δυνίαν ἐξηγήταν τὸν ὅποτα ἐδείκνυν λόγον, ὡς εἴη μὲν ὁ νεκρὸς Ὅλλον, παῖς δὲ Ὅλλος εἶχῃ Γῆς, ἀπὸ τοῦτον δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὐνομάσθη. Ἦρακλεᾶ δὲ διὰ τὴν παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ ποτὲ ἐφασαν διάηταν Ὅλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλέσα τὸν παῦδα.

36 Ἐν Σαλαμῖν δὲ — ἐπάνειμι γὰρ ἐς τὸν προκείμενον λόγον — τοῦτο μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστιν ἱερόν, τοῦτο δὲ τρόπαιον

36. Other antiquities on Salamis—Psyttalia—Monuments on the sacred way to Eleusis—Anthemocritus—Molottus—The seer Sciris—Cephisodorus—War of Athenians with Philip, son of Demetrius.

2. τρόπαιον . . . ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἣν θεμιστοκλῆς κτλ.: during the festival
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ζητηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἢν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους αἰτίος ἔγένετο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησί. καὶ Κυρήως ἑστὶν ἱερῶν. 5 ναυμαχοῦντων δὲ Ἄθηναίων πρὸς Μηδίους δράκοντα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ λέγεται φανῆναι. τούτον ὁ θεὸς ἑξῆρξεν Ἄθηναιος Κυρής εἶναι τὸν ἱέρω. νῆσος δὲ πρὸ Σαλαμίνος ἐστὶ καὶ 2 λοιμένη Ψυττάλεια. ἐς ταύτην τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσον τετρακοσίως ἀποβῆναι λέγοντι, ἤπτωμένοι δὲ τὸν Ξέρξου ναυτικοῦ 10 καὶ τοῦτος ἀπολέσθαι φασίν ἐπιδιαβάστων ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ σὺν τέχνῃ μὲν ἑστὶν οὐδέν, Πανός δὲ ὃς ἕκαστον ἑτυχε ἔδεαν πεποιημένα.

Ἰούσι δὲ ἐπὶ Ἑλευσίνα έξ ᾧ Ἄθηνῶν ἢν Ἄθηναιοι καλοῦν 3 σὺν ὅδιν ἱερῶν, Ἀνθεμοκρίτου πεποίηται μνήμα. ἐς τούτον

of Ajax at Salamis the ephbeoi would row to the trophy and offer sacrifice to Zeus of the Trophy. For ancient accounts of the battle of Salamis see Aesch. Persae, 350 sqq.; Hdt. 8, 78 sqq.; Diod. 11, 15 sqq. — 4. Κυρήως: Cychreus enjoyed divine honors at Athens (Plut. Thes. 10). There are various forms of the legend connecting Cychreus with the serpent. According to Apollod. 3, 12, 7, and Diod. 4, 72, he slew an enormous serpent which devastated Salamis; according to Hesiod, cited by Strabo, 9, p. 393, the serpent was bred by Cychreus, and called the serpent of Cychreus, but it was expelled by Eurylochus because it ravaged the island; Demeter, however, received it at Eleusis. A later explanation, found in Steph. Byz. s.v. Κυρήως πάγος and elsewhere, is that Cychreus was himself surnamed Serpent (Ophis) on account of his cruelty, for which he was expelled by Eurylochus. Pausanias’ story of his appearance as a serpent in the battle, with these tales, point to the conclusion that in the original myth Cychreus was himself the serpent.

8. Ψυττάλεια: Psyttalia, now called Leipsokoutali, is a rocky island about a mile long, but low and narrow, at the southern entrance to the strait of Salamis. Cf. Strabo, 9, p. 395, who calls it “the eyesore of Piraeus.” See Aesch. Persae, 447 sqq.; Hdt. 8, 76 and 95; Plut. Aristides, 9, for accounts of the massacre of the Persians on the island. Pausanias alone mentions the number of the Persians who landed on the island.

14. ὅδιν ἱερῶν: after treating the islands, Pausanias returns to Athens and proceeds thence to Eleusis along the Sacred Way. This is the road by which the initiates in the Mysteries went from Athens to Eleusis (Harpocr. s.v. ἱερά ὅδος; Athen. 13, p. 594). The distance is about twelve miles. The present highroad from Athens to Eleusis follows closely the Sacred Way. It starts from the Dipylum, running in a northwesterly direction, and
15 Μεγαρεύσιν ἐστιν ἀνοσιώτατον ἔργον, οἵ κηρυκα ἐλθόντα, ὡς μὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ τήν χώραν ἐπεργάζοντο, κτείνουσιν Ἀνθεμοκρίτου· καὶ σφισυ ταῦτα δράσαι παραμένει καὶ ἔστε μῆνα ἐκ τῶν θεῶν, οἷς οὔδε Ἀδριανὸς [ὁ] βασιλεὺς ὁστε καὶ ἐπιανεκθήναι μόνοις ἐπηρκέσεν Ἑλλήνων. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ 4

20 Ἀνθεμοκρίτου τὴν στήλην Μολοττοῦ τε τάφος ἐστὶν ἀξιωθέντος Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦτον στρατηγεῖν, ὅτε Πλούταρχος βοηθοῦντες διέβησαν ἐς Εὔβοιαν, καὶ χαρίν Σκίρων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄμοι καλόμενον. Ἐλευσινίοις πολεμοῦσι πρὸς Ἕρακλεᾶ ἀνήρ μάντις ἤλθεν ἐκ Δωδώνης ὄνομα Σκῖρος, ὃς καὶ τῆς 25 Σκιράδος ἱδρύσατο Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ Φαληρῷ τὸ ἄρχαῖον ἱερὸν.

after passing the deserted monastery of Daphni, descends rapidly towards the shore, which, after entering the Thriasian plain, it skirts the rest of the way to Eleusis.

20. Ἀνθεμοκρίτου: Anthemocritus was sent by Pericles, shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, to Megara and Sparta to complain that the Megarians were encroaching on the sacred land. He died on the embassy and the Athenians, charging that the Megarians had murdered him, declared war against Megara, and voted that Anthemocritus should be buried beside the Thriasian Gate, that is, the Dipyllum. See Plut. Pericles, 30; Harpocr. s.v. Ἀνθεμόκριτος. — Μολοττοῦ τε τάφος: according to Plutarch, Phocion, 12–14, Phocion, who was sent to the relief of Plutarch tyrant of Eretria when the latter was threatened by Philip in 350 B.C., was superseded by Molottus, who fell into the hands of the enemy. —22. Σκίρων: Scirum is manifestly located beside a torrent at some point on the Sacred Way between the Dipyllum and the Ce-phissus, which Pausanias does not reach till 1, 37, 3. There are some traces of a stream which crossed the Eleusis road about one and one half miles from the Dipyllum, the probable site of Scirum. See Milchh. Kart. 1α and Text ii, 15. The place had a bad reputation as the haunt of prostitutes and gamblers (Steph. Byz. s.v. Σκίρων; Alciph. Epist. 3, 8, 25; Harpocr. σκιράφα). At the festival of Scira, on the twelfth day of Scirophorion, the priestess of Athena, the priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus, and the priest of Helios went in procession from Athens to Scirum (Harpocr. and Suid. s.v. Σκίρων; Schol. Ar. Eccles. 18). — 24. ἐκ Δωδώνης: that Scirum was from Dodona is stated only here. Philochorus, frag. 42, speaks of him as an Eleusinian seer named after Athene Sciras. The Megarians, on the other hand, contended that the name of the seer was from their notorious hero Sciron (cf. 1, 39, 6; 1, 44, 6 and 8; Harpocr. s.v. Σκίρων). Suidas and Photius, Lex. s.v. Σκίρων, derived the name from the Salaminian hero Scirius. — 25. Σκιράδος... Ἀθηνᾶς: already mentioned, 1,
πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ θάπτουσιν Ἑλευσίνιοι πλησίον ποταμοῦ χειμάρρου, καὶ τῷ τε χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱρωσίς ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ. πλησίον δὲ πεποίηται Κηφισο-δόρου μνῆμα δήμου προστάντος καὶ Φιλίππω τῷ Δημητρίου

30 Μακεδόνων βασιλεύνοντες ἐστὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐναντιωθέντως. συμμάχους δὲ ἐπήγερο Κηφισοδώρος Ἀθηναίος γενέσθαι βασιλείς μὲν Ἀτταλοῦ τὸν Μυσὸν καὶ Πτολεμαίον τὸν Αιγύπτιον, ἔθνη δὲ αὐτοῦ Μιαυλίδος καὶ νησιώτων Ροδίων καὶ Κρή-τας. ὡς δὲ καὶ εἰς Αιγύπτιον καὶ Μυσίας καὶ παρὰ τῶν 6

35 Κρητῶν τὰ πολλὰ ὑστέρηζον αἱ βοήθειαι, Ῥωμαίοι δὲ μόνοι ναυσὶν ἵσχύουσε πρὸς ὀπλῖτας τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐ μεγάλα ωφέλουν, ἐνταῦθα Κηφισοδώρος ἐστὶ Ἰταλίας σὺν ἄλλοις Ἀθη-ναίων πλεύσας ἰκέτευεν ἀμύναι Ῥωμαίοις. οἱ δὲ σφικτοὶ δύνα-μιν καὶ στρατηγοῦν πέμπουσιν, οἱ τὰ Φιλίππων καὶ Μακεδόνων

40 ἐς τοσοῦτο καθεῖλον ὡς ὑστεροῦσαν Περσέα τὸν Φιλίππου τῇν τε ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλείν καὶ αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀρχήν-ναι. Φιλίππος δὲ ἦν οὕτως ὁ Δημητρίου. πρῶτος γὰρ ταύ-της τῆς οἰκίας ἔσχε Δημητρίος τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ἀποκτείνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Κασσάνδρον παῖδα, ὡς τὰ πρό-

45 τερον ἔχει μοι τοῦ λόγου.

37 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Κηφισοδώρου τὸ μνῆμα τέθηκεν μὲν 1

1, 4 and note. Some late writers (Pollux, 9, 96, et al.) speak of a sanctuary of Sciridian Athena at Scirum, but they probably confused Scirum with the Phalerum temple. If one had been here, Pausanias would probably have mentioned it; other geographical writers are equally silent (Strabo, 9, p. 393; Steph. Byz. s.v. Σκίρος).

28. Κηφισοδώρου μνήμα κτλ.: cf. Polyb. 17, 10, who speaks of the embassy of Cephisodorus to Rome as taking place in Ol. 145, 3 (198-197 B.C.), shortly before the battle of Cynoscephalae, in which Philip V of Macedo-
nia was defeated by the Romans under Flamininus. We have no information concerning Cephisodorus beyond what Pausanias tells us here. On the death of Alexander, see 1, 10, 1.

37. Other monuments of distinguished men on the Sacred Way — Acestium — Phylalus — Antiquities across the Ce-
phisus — Temple of Ganytes — Har-
palus — Temple of Apollo — Cephaleus and his descendants.
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2. Ἡλιόδωρος Ἀλις· τούτου γραφὴν ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· τεθαμμένα δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς Πολιάρχου, τρίτος ἀπὸ γονέων Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ Ἐξρήχη καὶ Μήδοις ἑννέα τία ναυμαχήσαντος. τοὺς δὲ κατωτέρω τοῦ γένους πλὴν Ἄκεστίου παρῆσον τοὺς ἄλλους. Ἄκεστίῳ δὲ τῇ Ἐνοκλέους τοῦ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ Δέοντος τούτου τε ἐστὶν τὸν τέταρτον πρόγονον Ἀριστοκράτους πάντας ὑπῆρξε γενέσθαι, καὶ παρὰ τὸν βιοῦ τὸν αὐτῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σοφοκλέα εἰς θαυμασθοῦντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν ἄλλο Θεμιστοκλέα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦτον Θεόφραστον τὸν παύτον. ταύτῃ μὲν τῷ χρόνῳ τοιαύτῃ συμβῆναι λέγοντι προελθοῦσι δὲ ὁλῖς γονῶν Λακίου τεμενός ἐστὶν ἢρως καὶ δήμος ὁνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦτον, καὶ Νικοκλέους Ταραντίνου ἐστὶ μνήμα, δὲ ἐπὶ μέγιστον δάξης κυθαρῳδών ἀπάντων ἠλθεν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ζεφύρου τε βωμὸς καὶ Ἰήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ τῆς παιδός· σὺν δὲ σφισών Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἱεροῦ τιμᾶς. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλον φασιν οἶκω Δήμητρα δεξασθαί, καὶ τὴν

2. Ἡλιόδωρος: nothing further is known of this man. Pausanias's expression leaves it uncertain whether the picture was a portrait of Heliodorus or a painting by him. Michaelis (Parthenon, 41 a.), Preller (Ausz. Aufs. p. 120), and Schubart (Jb. f. Ph. LXXXVII, 301) took the latter view. - 6. Ἄκεστίῳ: Acestium is also mentioned in a list of noble women preserved, C.I.A. II, 966 ('Ἀκεστίου Σενοκλέους Ἀχαρνῶν'). Another inscription (C.I.A. II, 1414), found in the precinct of Demeter at Eleusis, mentions a statue of Sophocles, brother of Acestium, set up there by his wife. Acestium and her brother probably lived about the beginning of the first century B.C. The office of torchbearer (δαδοῦ-χωρὶς) was the second most important in the Eleusinian mysteries, the first being the hierophant. It was hereditary in the family of the Ceryces (1, 38, 3). 13. Λακιάδας: the deme Laciadai belonged to the tribe Oeneis (Steph. Byz. and Photius, Lex. s.v. Λακιάδαι). Among its members were Miltiades and Cimon (Plut. Cimon, 4; id. Alcib. 22). - 18. Φύταλον: the spot where Phytalus was believed to have received the first fig-tree from Demeter was called Hierac Syce (ἰερὰ σῦκη, cf. s.vv. Photius, Etymol. Magn., Athen. 3, p. 74 ν, etc.). Here the processions rested on their return from Eleusis; and here Apollonius the sophist was buried (Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2, 20, 3). The incorrect form Δήμητραν in the second
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θεῶν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναι οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ
20 μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τάφῳ·

ἐνθάδε ἀναξ ἦρως Φυτάλος ποτε δέξατο σεμνὴν
Δήμητραν, ὅτε πρῶτον ὅπωραν καρπὸν ἔφηνεν,
ἡν ἰερὰν συκῆν θυητῶν γένος ἕξονομάζει·
ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμᾶς Φυτάλου γένος ἐσχεν ἀγήρως.

25 Πρὶν δὲ ἡ διαβῆναι τὸν Κηφισόν Θεοδάρου μνημά ἐστι 3
τραγῳδίαν ὑποκριναμένου τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀριστα. ἀγάλματα
dὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Μνησιμάχης, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ἀνάθημα κευ-
ρομένου οἱ τὴν κόμην τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστὶ τῷ Κηφισῷ· καθε-
στάναι δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ τοῖς πάσι τούτος Ἐλλησι τῇ Ὄμη-
30 ροὺ τις ἄν τεκμαίροντο ποιῆσει, ὅς τὸν Πηλέα ἐξασθαῖ φησιν
tῶ Σπερχεῖῳ κερεῖν ἀνασωθέντος ὡς Τροίας Ἀχιλλέως τὴν
κόμην.

Διαβάση δὲ τὸν Κηφισόν βωμός ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος Μειλίχιον 4
Διός· ἐπὶ τοῦτο Θησεύς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Φυτάλου

line of the epitaph quoted by Pausanias proves that the inscription was of late origin.

25. Πρὶν δὲ ἡ διαβῆναι τὸν Κηφισόν: the sources of the Cephisus are at the south foot of Mt. Parnes and the west foot of Mt. Pentelicus. Thence it flows southwest through the green stretches of olive groves the length of the Athenian plain. At the point where the road to Eleusis crosses it probably stood the ancient bridge built for the convenience of the pilgrims by Xenocles of Lindus (Anthol. Palat. 8, 147). As the procession was filing over this bridge occurred the fire of jeers and jibes, often mentioned as one of its characteristic features (Ar. Ran. 384 sqq.; Strabo, 9, p. 400; Hesych. s.v. γεφυρισταί). — Ἐθεδάρου: Theodorus lived in the first half of the fourth century B.C. He often played the Antigone of Sophocles; Aeschines in his youth acted with him, taking inferior parts (Dem. 19, 246, p. 418). His pathetic playing brought to tears the cruel tyrant Alexander of Pherae (Aelian, Var. Hist. 14, 40). His voice was renowned for its naturalness, and its adaptation to the character he was representing (Arist. Rhet. 3, 2, 22sqq. p. 1404 b).—27. Μνη-
σιμάχης: see Apoll. 2, 5, 5, who tells of her delivery by Hercules from the centaur Eurytion, whom she was being forced to marry.

33. βωμός: the site of this ancient altar, according to Milich. Kart. II, 16, is to the west of the Cephisus,
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35 καθαρσίων ἔτυχε, λῃστὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἀποκτέων καὶ Σίμων τὰ πρὸς Πιτθέως συνηγενη. τάφος δὲ ἦτο μὲν αὐτῷ Θεοδέκτοι τοῦ Φασηλίτου, ἦστι δὲ Μησισθέου· τῶν λέγουσιν ἰατρόν τε ἄγαθον γενέσθαι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἀγάλματα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Ἰακχος πεποίηται. ψυκομήται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὑδάν ναὸς οὐ μέγας καλούμενος Κυμίτος· σαφὲς δὲ οὐδὲν ἵνα λέγειν εἰτε πρῶτος κυάμοις ἔσπειρεν οὕτως εἰτε τινὰ ἐπεφήμισαν ἣρωα, ὅτι τῶν κυάμων ἀνενεκείν οὐκ ἦστι σφίσιν ἐσὶ Δήμητρα τὴν ἐφρεσίν. ὡστε δὲ ἢδη τελετὴν Ἑλεουσίν οἴδην ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Ὁρφικὰ ἐπελέξατο οἴδην δὲ λέγω. μνημάτων δὲ ὁ μάλιστα ἐς μέγεθος καὶ κόσμον ἢκε, τὸ μὲν ἄνδρός ἦστι Ὁρδίου μετουκήσαντος ἐς Ἀθῆνας, τὸ δὲ Ἀρταλὸς Μακεδόν ἐποίησεν, ὃς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποδράς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας διέβη ναυσίν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἀφικόμενος δὲ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ὑπ' αὐτῶν συνελήφθη, διαφθείρας δὲ χρήμασιν ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς ᾿Αλέξανδρου φίλους ἀπέδρα, πρῶτερον δὲ ἦτι Πυθονίκην

where now stands the church of St. Sabas. As to Zeus Meilichius, see 2, 9, 6; 2, 20, 1. He was especially appealed to in expiatory and purificatory ceremonies. When Xenophon returned from the expedition of the ten-thousand, he offered burnt offerings to Zeus Meilichios (Anab. 7, 8, 3–5). The festival of the Diasia in his honor was annually celebrated outside Athens on the 23d of Anthesterion (February–March) (Thuc. 1, 126; Schol. Ar. Nub. 408). See Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth. I, 130; Miss Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, pp. 13 ff.—36. Θεοδέκτοι: the tomb of Theodectes is also mentioned, Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 887 c, according to which the altar had fallen into ruins at the time of the writer. He was a rhetorician, a pupil of Isocrates, who afterwards wrote tragedies (Suid. a.v. Θεοδέκτοι).—40. Κυμίτος: nothing is known of the hero Cyamites beyond what Pausanias tells us here (cf. Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 887 c; Hesych. Phot. Lex. s.v. Κυμίτος). The site of this shrine may be that of a small chapel of St. George, at the western edge of the olive wood on the north side of the road to Eleusis.

50. Πυθονίκην: Athenaeus (13, p. 596 ᾽ἀ, ἃ, c) tells at length of the infatuation of Alexander's treasurer Harpalus for the Athenian hetaera Pythonice, and of the two sumptuous tombs erected by him to her memory, one at Babylon, the other on the Sacred Way to Eleusis. Cf. Diod. 17, 108. Plutarch (Phocion, 22) mentions the cost of the latter tomb as thirty talents (about $32,500). Dicaearchus, quoted Athen. 13, pp. 594 κ–596 Α, describes the exact site of
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55 ἔγημεν, γένος μὲν οὐκ οἶδα ὡπόθεν, ἔταιροῦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ: ταύτης ἔστω τοσοῦτον ἐρωτοσ πρὸ ὅληθεν ὡς καὶ μνῆμα ἀποθανοῦσης ποιήσαι πάντων ὑπὸσα Ἐλλησίων ἐστὶν ἄρχαια θέας μάλιστα ἅξιον.

60 τέως ἐν Θήβαις φεύγοντα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν διὰ τῶν Πρόκριδος τῆς γυναικοῦ φόνου. δεκάτη δέ ὕστερον γενεὴ Χαλκῖνος καὶ Δαῖτος ἀπόγονοι Κεφάλοις πλεύσαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς ἤτων τὸν θεὸν κάθοδον ἐς Ἀθηναῖα· ὁ δὲ σφίσει κελεύει θύσαι πρῶτον τἴ Απόλλων ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐνθα ἄν ἴδωσιν ἔπει τῆς γῆς τριήρη θέουσαν. γενομένους δὲ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ ποικίλον καλωύμενον ὅρος δράκων ἐφάνη σπουδὴ κατὰ τὸν φωλεῖν ἰῶν. καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι τε θύσιμον ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὕστερον σφάς ἐμπόντας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀστοὺς ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηναίοι. — μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τεῖχος ἄργων λίθων θέας ἅξιον.

56. ιερὸν: the site of this sanctuary of Apollo is probably occupied by the picturesque mediaeval monastery of Daphni, which stands at the middle of the pass over Mt. Aegaleus, on the south side of the road. The monastery was probably founded in the thirteenth century by the Burgundian dukes of Athens, and is renowned for its Byzantine mosaics. — 57. Κέφαλον: this legendary connection of the Attic hero Cephalus with the island of Cephalenia is as old as Aristotle, who spoke of Cephalus as residing in the islands called Cephalenian after him (Arist. frag. 507, ed. Vd. Rose). Strabo (10, p. 456) also tells the story of the joint expedition of Cephalus and Amphitryo, and the subsequent settlement of Cephalus in Cephalenia. The legend is probably based merely on the similarity of the names.

60. Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς: the remains of this temple of Aphrodite are to be seen in the pass of Daphni about a mile west
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38. Oi de 'Peitoi kaloymienva rei'ma monon paréxontai pota-mow, epei to ge 'Udwr thalasssa esti sofisi. peidouto de an tis kai ois apò tou ToXalkideWn Exupítopon reousin upo tis ghs eis thalasssan koulotéran empítountes. légonTai de ois 'Peitoi 5 korhs ieroi kai Dhmptros eivai, kai tois iXhous eis authn tois iereous estin aírein monous. outo to arxaiou, ois eiswn pedhánomai, proo 'Athetaioun tois allous oroi tis ghs 'Elenwinois ësan, kai diadvati tois 'Peitous prwtois fíkei 10 Krókwn, éntha kai vín épi basileia kaleitai Krókwnos. tou

tou 'Athetaioun tov Krókwna Keloú thugatirí sunoikízai Suna-sárha légonsw: légonsw de oú pántes, all' osoi tou dhímon tou Skambwvndwv eisw: eisw de Krókwnos mén áneurwv of the monastery, on the north side of the road. Many inscriptions are cut in niches in a rugged wall of rock to the rear of the sacred precinct, containing dedications to Aphrodite (C.I.G. 507–509; C.I.A. III, 3823). The precinct was excavated in 1891 and 1892 by the Greek Archaeological Society. Outside the precinct at its southeastern corner are the foundations of a large quadrangular building, eighty-two feet by thirty-eight feet, composed of rude masses of stone, as at Týrns, doubtless “the wall of unwrought stones” mentioned by Pausanias.


1. Oi de 'Peitoi: the Rhiti at the present time consist of a large pond of clear salt water fed by a number of copious salt springs, formed by damming up the water of these springs by means of a stone dike. It is probable that in ancient times the water of the salt springs was not dammed up, but was allowed to flow directly into the sea in brooks. Here took place the first skirmish of the Peloponnesian war, resulting in the defeat of the Athenian cavalry (Thuc. 2, 19).

9. Krókwnos: Crocon was the legendary ancestor of the priestly family of the Croconids at Athens. He is here spoken of as husband of a daughter of Celeus, which is inconsistent with the tradition that Crocon was son of Triptolemus, who was a son of Celeus (Paus. 1, 14, 2). See Bekker’s Anec. I, 273; Harpocr. s.v. Króvndai; Suid. s.v. Króvndai. Cf. J. Töpffer, Attische Genealogie, pp. 101 sqq. — 11. tov dhí- moutov Skambwvndwv: Scambonidae was the principal deme of the tribe Leontis (Harpocr. and Steph. Byz. s.v. Skambwvndai). Its site has been much disputed. Hitzig-Bluemner, following K. O. Müller, Attika, 223, locates it in the Eleusinian plain, directly behind the Rhiti.
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tάφον οὐχ οίος τε ἐγενόμην, τὸ δὲ Εὐμόλπου μνήμα κατὰ ταιντά.
'Ελευσινίος ἀπέφαινων καὶ 'Αθηναῖοι. τοῦτον τὸν Εὐμόλπον
15 ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐκ Θράκης Ποσειδώνας παῖδα ὑντα καὶ
Χιώνης: τὴν δὲ Χιώνην Βορέου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ
'Ωρεθνίας φασίν εἶναι. 'Ομήρῳ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ γένος ἐστὶν
οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον, ἐπονομάζει δὲ ἀγήνορα ἐν τοῖς
ἐπει τὸν Εὐμόλπον. γενομένης δὲ 'Ελευσινίος μάχης πρὸς 3
20 'Αθηναίοις ἀπέθανε μὲν Ἐρεχθεὺς 'Αθηναίων, ἐστὶ
ἀπέθανε δὲ Ἰμμαράδος Εὐμόλπον. καταλύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο
δὲ τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς 'Ελευσινίος ἐς τὰ ἄλλα 'Αθηναίων κατη-
κόνους ὑντας ἱδία τελείων τὴν τελετήν. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τῶν θε-
σῶν Εὐμόλπος καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες δρῶσιν αἱ Κελεοῦ, καλοῦσιν
25 δὲ σφᾶς Πάμφως τε κατὰ ταιντά καὶ ὁμηροὶ Διογένειαν
καὶ Παμμερόπην καὶ τρύγην Σαυσάραν· τελευτήσαντος δὲ

See Milchh. Text ii, 48. By others it
was regarded as a city-deme, located
either to the northwest of Athens, per-
haps at the beginning of the Sacred
Way (so Frazer, l.c.; Milchh. Deme-
ordnung des Kleisthenes, p. 19; v.
Wilamowitz, Hermes, XXII (1887),
120 sq.), or south or southeast of the
city (Lolling, Topogr. 308, 3, and Loe-
per, A.M. XVII, 376 f.). Judeich puts
it directly north of the Acropolis, just
beyond Cydathenaion at the south-
west foot of Mt. Lycaebettus. See
Topogr. 160.—14. Ἐμμολων . . ἐκ
Θράκης Ποσειδώνας παῖδα ὑντα καὶ
Χιώνης: for a similar tradition, see
Lyc. c. Leocr. 98; Apollod. 3, 15, 4;
say simply that he was a son of Posei-
don (Isoc. 4, 68; 12, 193; Hyg. Fab.
46). See J. Töpffer, Attische Gene-
alogie, pp. 24 sqq.—19. τὸν Εὐμό-
λων: Pausanias doubtless refers to the
Homerian hymn to Demeter, v. 154,
where we read in our texts ἄμμοιος
Εὐμόλπων, but the epithet mentioned by
Pausanias occurs in the following line,
being there applied to Celeus, πατρὸς
ἀγήνου. In the text used by Pausa-
nias the epithets were perhaps trans-
posed. Eumolpus is not mentioned at
all in the Iliad or the Odyssey.

19. 'Ελευσινίος μάχης: the legend-
ary war between Athens and Eleusis
probably had its basis in fact. The
usual tradition is that the general of
the Eleusicians was Eumolpus (Thuc.
2, 19; Plat. Menex. p. 239 a; Isoc. 4,
68; 12, 193; Lyc. c. Leocr. 98) and
that he was slain by Erechtheus (Apol-
Pausanias asserts here and elsewhere
(1, 5, 2; 1, 27, 4) that not Eumolpus
but his son Immardus was slain by
Erechtheus. — 25. Ὀμηροὶ: our text
of the hymn to Demeter mentions
four daughters of Celeus, as follows: Kallidike and Kleistidike Deme o' erousa Kallidike o', o tov proaggevostat o' h oix anasteav (vv. 106 sqq.). Various explanations have been given of the utter inconsistency. It would seem that Pausanias's text differed from ours, or that the text of Pausanias is erroneous, or that Pausanias through inadvertence said Homer when he meant possibly Orpheus or some other poet. — 27. Κηρυξ: other traditions are to the effect that Ceryx was by Hermes a son of Herse (C.I.G. 0280) or Pandoeas (Pollux, 8, 103; Schol. Hom. II. A, 334), the other daughters of Cecrops. See J. Töpffer, Attische Genealogie, pp. 80-92.

30. 'Ippodōwntos ἱρων: cf. 1, 5, 2; 1, 39, 3. His shrine is mentioned by Hesychius (s.v. 'Ippodōwntos) and by Steph. Byz. (s.v. Zarpex), who here copies Pausanias.

35. Κηφισός πρὸς 'Eleusinon: the Eleusinian Cepheus rises in Mt. Cithae-ron, near Eleutheran, and flows into the sea a little to the east of Eleusis. For most of the year the bed of the stream is almost dry, but occasionally it is filled with a violent torrent, which overflows its banks and devastates the plain. Dem. 54, 28, p. 1279, speaks of the havoc wrought by these destructive floods. Hadrian caused an embankment to be raised for the protection of Eleusis (Euseb. Chron. 2, p. 106, ed. Schöne). — 37. 'Ερυνόν: see Plat. Theat. p. 143 n, where Euclides escorts the sick and wounded Theaetetus from the port of Megara as far as Erineus on the road to Athens, a distance of about fourteen miles. — 39. λητήν Πολυπήμονα δόνα, Προκρουότητα: Ovid (Met. 7, 438) also names the Cepheus as the dwelling-place of Procrustes, but Plutarch (Thes. 11) and Diodorus (4, 69) locate the hold of the robber at Hermes or Hermus on Mt. Corydal-lus. The famous story of the beds of Procrustes is given by Apollodorus.
40 ἔπικλησιν, Ὀσεὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. Ἐλευσινίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν ὁ Τριπτολέμου ναός, ἐστὶ δὲ Προπυλαῖας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Πο- σείδώνος Πατρὸς φρέαρ τε καλουμένον Καλλίχορον, ἐνθα πρῶτον Ἐλευσινίων αἱ γυναικεῖς χορὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ἦσαν ἐς τὴν θεόν. τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ἡράμον σπαρῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσιν καὶ πρῶτον αὐξῆσαι καρποὺς, καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐλαῖς ἐς αὐτοῦ χρήσθαι σφιχὶ καὶ ποιεῖται πέμματα ἐς τὰς θυσίας καθέ- στηκεν. ἐνταῦθα ἄλως καλομένη Τριπτολέμου καὶ βωμὸς

(Επιτόμα Βατ., ed. R. Wagner, pp. 54 sq.).

40. Ἐλευσινίοις: Eleusis, now known as Lesseia, a town of about twelve thousand inhabitants, is situated near the southwest corner of the Thriasian plain, at the east end of a low rocky hill a mile long, which runs parallel to the seashore at a distance of a few hundred yards. The ridge of the hill was the acropolis of Eleusis; the town lay on the level ground at its foot. The remains of the sanctuary of Demeter are at the eastern foot of the hill. Here the rock has been leveled to form an artificial terrace, on which the group of buildings which composed the sanctuary was placed. The site has been completely excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society, 1882–1887. In the Homeric hymn to Demeter (vv. 270 sqq.) the goddess bids the people of Eleusis build her a great temple and altar. The old temple was burned by the Persians in 480 or 479 B.C. (Hdt. 9, 65). The new sanctuary was built or at least begun under Pericles, and Strabo (9, p. 395) and Vitruvius (7, praef. 16) name Ictinus as the architect. Plutarch (Pericles, 13) mentions Pericles's part, but ascribes the work to other architects. The building ranked in antiquity among the finest examples of temple architecture. The site of the temple of Triptolemus mentioned by Pausanias is altogether uncertain. —

41. ναός: this is, with great probability, conjectured to be the small temple whose foundations are preserved about thirty paces northeast of the Great Propylaea. It consists of a cela with two porticoes, having two Doric columns between antae. — 42. φρέαρ τι καλουμένον Καλλίχορον: the well, Callichorum, is mentioned in the Homeric hymn to Demeter (vv. 270 sqq.). It was discovered in 1892 just south of the Great Propylaea. Solemn oaths were sworn by women beside the well (see Alciph. 3, 69). — 44. τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ἡράμον: see Homeric hymn to Demeter (vv. 450 sqq.) concerning the Rharian plain, which lay waste and leafless while Persephone was under ground, but became abundantly fertile with the return of spring. The exact situation is not known. The name of the plain is from Rharus, father or grandfather of Triptolemus, who had received Demeter hospitably on her wanderings in search of Persephone. Cf. Suidas s.v. 'Παπλατ.
κυνταί. τά δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ίεροῦ τὸ τε ὀνειρον ἀπείπε γράφειν, καὶ τοῖς οὖ τελεσθείσιν, ὁπόσων θέας εἰργοῦν ταῖς, δῆλα δήπου μηδὲ πυθόσαι μετείναι σφίσιν. Ἕλευσίνα δὲ ἦρωα, ἀφ’ οὗ τὴν πόλιν ὄνομάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἐρμοῦ παιδα εἶναι καὶ Δαίρας Ὁμεανοῦ θυγατρὸς λέγουσι, τοῖς δὲ ἐστὶ πεποιημένα Ὑγιγον εἶναι πατέρα Ἕλευσίνην. οἱ γὰρ ἅρχαιοι τῶν λόγων ἀτε οὐ προσόντων σφίσιν ἑπὼν ἄλλα τε πλάσασθαι δεδώκασι καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὰ γένη τῶν ἑρώων.

Ἐκ δὲ Ἕλευσίνος τραπομένους ἐπὶ Βοωτῶν ἐστὶν ὅμορος αἱ Πλαταίως. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ Ἕλευσερεῦσιν ὅροι πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦσσαν. προσχωρησάντων δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τούτων, οὕτως ἦδη Βοωτίας ὁ Κιθαρών ἐστὶν ὅρος. προσεχεὶσθαι δὲ Ἕλευσερεῖς οὐ πολέμως βιασθέντες, ἀλλὰ πολυτείας τε ἐπιθυμήσαντες παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ κατ’ ἔχθος τὸ Ἡβαίων. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ ναὸς ἐστὶ Διονύσου, καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐνευθεῖν Ἀθηναίοις ἑκομίσθη τὸ ἅρχαιον. τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἕλευθεραῖς (τὸ) ἐφ’ ἧμων ἐς μύησιν ἐκείνου πεποίηται.

48. τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ιεροῦ: τείχος as usual designates a fortification wall, which, as the excavations have shown, surrounded the sacred precinct.

50. Ἕλευσίνα δὲ ἦρωα: another form of the name is Eleusinus (Harpocr. and Suid. s.v. Ἕλευσίνα). According to one legend Eleusis, or Eleusinus, was the king who received Demeter when she came to the city in search of her daughter, but in the common legend it was Cel- eus who received Demeter. See Hom. Hymn to Dem. vv. 96 sqq.; Paus. 1, 39, 6; Schol. Ar. Eq. 698.

57. ὅροι: from Eleusis the road to Eleutheræa, which is at the same time the highroad from Athens to Thebes, goes northwest across the plain. The gray walls and towers of Eleutheræa are at the entrance of the pass over Mt. Cithaeron. The ruins of Eleutheræa are important as one of the finest extant specimens of Greek fortification. Both Strabo (9, pp. 411 sqq.) and Pausanias (here, and 9, 1, 1, 6) represent Eleutheræa as the frontier town of Attica and immediately adjoining Plataea in Boeotia. Eleutheræa claimed to be the birthplace of Dionysus and to have been founded and named by him (Diod. 3, 66, 1; 4, 2, 6). Here tradition placed the graves of Argives slain in the war of the Seven against Thebes (Eur. Suppl. 758-759; Plut. Thes. 29). — 62. ναὸς . . . Διονύσου: see 1, 20, 3 and note.
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66. πηγή: a copious spring at the western foot of the hill of Eleutheræa is usually identified as this spring, in which the twin babes Amphiôn and Zethus were washed by the shepherd who had found them in the neighboring cave. For the legend of Antiopë, see Paus. 2, 6, 1–4; Apollod. 3, 5, 5; Dio Chrys. Or. 15, p. 261.


1. Ἑτέρα δὲ ὄδòς: the distance from Eleusis to Megara by road or railway is about fourteen miles. After passing along the low ridge which terminated in the acropolis of Eleusis, the road skirts the shore for the rest of the way. From two pointed summits of Mt. Cithaeron known as Mt. Cerata, or "the horns," a chain of hills advancing southward one third of the way from Eleusis formed the boundary between Attica and the territory of Megara (Strabo, 9, p. 395; Diod. 13, 65; Plut. Them. 1). — 2. φρέαρ ... Ἀντίον καλούμενον: this is perhaps the spring now called Vlika, one and one half miles west of Eleusis. The Flowery Well is doubtless the Παρθένων φρέαρ (Hom. Hymn to Dem. vv. 98 sqq.), beside which the goddess sat, sad at heart, underneath an olive-tree. The stone on which Demeter sat was known as ἄγλαστος πέτρα (Schol. Ar. Eq. 785; Apollod. 1, 5, 1; Hesych. s.v.). Pausanias places the meeting of the goddess outside the city, not at the well Callichorum in the city, as some writers supposed (see 1, 38, 6, note).

8. ἱερὸν Μετανήρας: on Metanira see Hom. Hymn to Dem. 161 and 206; Nonn. 19, 82; Apollod. 1, 5, 1. — τάφοι τῶν καὶ Ἐββάς: the common soldiers of the Argive army under the Seven
against Thebes were buried at Eleutherae (Eur. Suppl. 756-759; Plut. Thes. 29), but the generals were buried near Eleusis (Plut. Thes. 29). Euripides (Suppl. 634 sqq.) tells the story of Theseus compelling the Thebans by force of arms to give up the Argive dead for burial, but Plutarch (I.c.) follows the story acceptable to the Thebans, that it was by persuasion.

17. 'Alópēs μνήμα: see Hyg. Fab. 187 for the story of Alope and Hippothoon. It was the theme of one of Euripides's tragedies (Harpocr. s.v. 'Alópēs). Hippothoon gave his name to an Attic tribe (1, 5, 2; 1, 38, 4). Poseidon turned Alope at her death into a spring named for her (Hyg. I.c.), which was at Eleusis (Hesych. s.v. 'Alópēs). — 24. παλαιστικὴ γὰρ τέχνην εὑρε Θησεύς : according to Polemo the Athenian Phorbas, the trainer of Theseus, invented the art of wrestling; but Ister, whom Pausanias perhaps followed, ascribed the invention to Theseus himself (Schol. Pind. Nem. 5, 89). — 27. Τοσαῦτα . . . ἀνήκοντα: at this point ends the description of Attica,
and there follows up to the close of the book the description of Megara (ἡ Μεγαρή συγγραφή, 2, 19, 8; ἡ συγγραφή ἡ Μεγαρίτης, 9, 19, 2).

31. τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἢν καὶ αὐτή κτλ.: cf. 1, 42, 2. Pausanias here sides with the Attic tradition, so that the whole section is a polemic against the domestic Megarian tradition. The proof that Megara originally belonged to Attica is not given, for the statement that the Megarian king Iylas left the land to the Athenian Pandion merely indicates that Megara was for a time governed by Attic princes. Strabo (9, p. 392) also maintains that Attica and Megara originally belonged together, but he presents better evidence than Pausanias. — 32. τάφος...Πανδίων: see 1, 5, 3; 1, 41, 6. — 36. Κόδρου...βασιλεύοντος στρατεύοντι ἐπὶ 'Ἀθήνας Πελοποννήσιον: Hdt. 5, 76, and Strabo, 9, p. 303, agree with Pausanias’s account of the conquest of Megara by the Dorians.

46. Μεγαρίτης: the paternity of Megareus is in dispute. Hyg. Fab. 167 says he was a son of Poseidon by Oeneope, daughter of Epopeus; Apollod. 3, 15, 8, that he was a son of Hippomanes and came from Orchestus to help Nisus, but was killed by Minos;
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kaι τη ρολει Μεγαρα ὠνομα ἀπὸ τοῦτον γενέσθαι, πρώτερον
50 Νίσα καλουμένη. δωδεκάτη δὲ ύστερον μετὰ Κάρα τῶν Φορω- 8
νέως γενεὰς λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς Λέλεγα αὑρικόμενον ἢς
Ἀγάπτου βασιλεύσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κληθήμας Λέλε-
γας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ. Κλήσωνος δὲ τοῦ Λέλεγος γενε-
σθαι Πύλαι, τοῦ Πύλαι δὲ Σκίρωνα· τοῦτον συνοικήσαι
55 Πανδίνονος θυγατρί, καὶ ύστερον Νίσω τῷ Πανδίνοις ἐς
ἀμφισβήτησιν ἐλθεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς [Σκίρωνα] καὶ σφίσων Ἀλκάν
δικάσαι, βασιλείαν μὲν δίδοντα Νίσω καὶ τοῖς ἀπο-
γόνοις, Σκίρωνος δὲ ἣγεμονίαν εἶναι πολέμου. Μεγαρέα δὲ
τὸν Ποσειδώνος θυγατρὶ Νίσον συνοικήσαντα Ἰφινὸν διαδέ-
60 ξασθαὶ τῆς τοῦ Νίσου φασὶν ἀρχῆν· τὸν δὲ Κρητικὸν πόλε-
μον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Νίσου βασιλεύοντος ἅλωσιν τῆς πόλεως
οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν εἰδέναι.

40 Ἐστι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει κρήνη ἡν σφίσων φικοδόμησε

Steph. Byz. s.v. Μέγαρα, that he was a son of Apollo; Plut. Quaest. Gr. 16, that he was a son of Onchestus.

51. Δέλεγα ἀμφικόμενον ἢς Ἀγάπτου
βασιλεύσαι: cf. 1, 44, 3. Hence Ovid speaks of “the Lelegian Walls” and “the Lelegian shores” of Megaris (Met. 7, 443; 8, 6). A colony of Leleges from Megara, led by Pylus son of Cleon, was said to have founded Pylus in Messenia (4, 36, 1).—54. Σκίρωνα: the Athenians represented Sciron as a murderer and robber slain by Theseus (1, 3, 1; 1, 44, 8). Megarian writers, on the contrary, assert that he was an excellent man, the friend of the good and the foe of the bad (Plut. Thes. 10).

He made the highroad from Megara to the Isthmus of Corinth (1, 44, 6). The Athenians distinguished between Sciron the robber and Scirus an early settler of Salamis, but the Megarians identified them (see 1, 35, 2, note; Plut. l.c.; Harpocr. s.v. Σκίρων). The Megarians admitted that he was slain by Theseus, not however when he was robber-hunting, but when he wrested Eleusis from the Megarians (Plut. l.c.; Paus. 1, 30, 4).


1. Ἐστι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει κρήνη: the modern town of Megara occupies the site and preserves the name of the ancient city. It is on the slopes of a hill with a double summit, about one and one half miles from the sea. The plain about Megara is six or seven miles long
by as many wide, and is inclosed by
hills except toward the sea. Of the
two citadels mentioned by Pausanias
(1, 40, 6; 1, 42, 1), the eastern and
lower hill was doubtless the acropolis
called Caria, the higher western hill was
the Acropolis of Alecathous. The an-
cient remains are extremely scanty.
Megara was noted in antiquity for the
size of its private houses and the
massive style of its public buildings
(Isocr. de Pace, 117).—2. Theagēnēs
... θυγατέρα... Κύλων: see 1, 28,
1. —6. θυαρ... Σιθνίδων νυμφῶν:
an aqueduct, half a mile north of
the western hill, furnishing a copious
supply of water, may be the water
of the Sithnidian nymphs. (Baedeker,
Greece, p. 153.) —10. τρόπος τὰ ἄκρα τῆς
Γερανίας: see for similar explanation
of the name Gerania, Etymol. Magn.
p. 228, s.v. Γεράνεια. It probably origi-
nated in the work of a native Mega-
rian named Dieuchidas, who began his
history of Megara at the point where
Hellenicus's work on Deucalion's flood
left off. (See Frag. Hist. Gr., ed. Mül-
ler, IV, 388.) Mt. Gerania is the
range of mountains traversing Mega-
ris from sea to sea, and forming a
natural boundary between Central
Greece and Peloponnesus. The high-
est summit is four thousand five hun-
dred feet above the sea-level. The
region is very wild, with only three
passes across the mountain, all of which
are difficult. The railway passes over
the third along the sea-cliffs of the
southern coast.

14. εἰκόνες: many of the inscriptions
carved on the pedestals have been
found, with the names of Julius Caes-
sar, Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, Hadrian,
Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla, and Galli-
enus; Hadrian, as a benefactor of Me-
gara, was especially popular. See
Ancient Greek text translated:

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χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπικλήσιν Σωτείρας. φασὶ δὲ ἄνδρας τοῦ Μαρδονίου στρατοῦ καταδραμόντας τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἁπαχωρεῖν ἐς Θῆβας ὑπὸ σοῦ παρὰ Μαρδώνιον ἔθελεν, γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος νῦν τε ὁδοποιοῦν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ σφᾶς ἀμαρτώντας ἐς τὴν ὄρειν τραπέζησαι τῆς χώρας, πειραμένους δὲ ἐν στράτευμα ἐγγὺς εἰς πολέμιον ἀφιέναι τῶν βελῶν, καὶ τὴν πλησίον πέτραν στενευμένην, τοὺς δὲ αὐθεν ὀμόμενον προμηφόροι πλέον. τέλος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναλαμβάνει τὸ γράμμα τούτος ἐς ἄνδρας πολεμίους τοξεύειν νομίζουσιν ἡμέρα τε ὑπεφαίνετο καὶ οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἔπησαν περικόλος δὲ ὑπελαῖον καὶ οὐδὲ βελῶν ἐπιφοροῦντες ἐτί φοβεύονται αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τόδε Σωτείρας ἀγάλμα ἐποιήσαντο Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐν τῆς τῶν δῶδεκα ὄνομαξομένων θεῶν ἄγαλμα ἐργάζεται ἐναῖω Ἱερομένα Πραξιτέλησι. τὴν Ἀρτεμίν τοῦ Στρυγγυλίων ἑποίησε.

Μετὰ ταύτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἑσελθοῦσι καλοῦμενον Ὀλυμπιακοῖς ναὸς ἄστι θέας ἄξιος· τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα υπὲρ γάλακτος τοῦ Διὸς, ἐπιλαβόντος τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίον, ἐν ὃ καὶ ναυσιν ἀνὰ πάν ἐσθο καὶ στρατῷ τέλους: archaeologists who believe in two sculptors named Praxiteles (see 1, 2, 4, note) attribute these images to the elder Praxiteles. This seems to Frazer (note 1.c.) and others a gratuitous and baseless assumption. Pausanias mentions other statues by Praxiteles at Megara (1, 43, 5 and 6; 1, 44, 2). If there were two sculptors of this name and works of both were here, why did not Pausanias distinguish between them as between the elder and the younger Polyclitus (6, 6, 2)?

27. Σωτείρας ἀγάλμα: this image was by Strongylos (§ 3), and a replica of it was at Paae (1, 44, 4). Coins of the two cities give an identical type of Artemis, which may therefore be that of this statue. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. pp. 4, 8 sq., with pl. A, i. — 30. Πραξιτέλους:
of the eastern acropolis. Here many inscriptions have been found mentioning the Olympicum. See C.I.G.G.S. 1-14; Mitth. VIII, 183 sq.—35. φθείροντες Μεγαρεύσων Ἀθηναίοι τὴν χώραν τά τε κοινὰ ἐκάκωσαν καὶ ἰδίω τοὺς οἴκους ἴγαγον ἐς τοῦ ἑσχατον ἀσθενείας. τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Δίως πρόςωπον ἐλέφαντο καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πηλοῦ τὲ ἐστὶ καὶ γήψου. ποιήσαι δὲ αὐτὸ Θεόκοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριῳ, συνεργάσασθαι δὲ οἱ Φειδίαν. ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Δίως εἰσὶν Ὄμαρ καὶ Μοῖραι. δὴ δὲ πᾶι τὴν Πεπρωμένην μόνῳ οἱ πείθεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἡρας τοὺς θεῶν τούτον νέμειν ἐς τὸ δήον. ὀποσθέ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα· ταῦτα ἐμελλέν ὁ Θεόκοσμος ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσοῦ κοσμήσας τὸ ἀγαλμα ἐκτελέσειν τοῦ Δίως. ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ τρύπους ἀνάκειται χαλκοῖς ἐμβολοὶ ταύτην τὴν ναὸν λαβεῖν φασὶ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχησάντες πρὸς Μεγαρεύσων ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ Αθηναίοι χρόνων τινά Μεγαρεύσιν ἀποστῆναι τῆς νήσου, Σάλωνα δὲ ύστερον φασὶν ἐλεγεία ποιήσαντα προτρέψαι σφᾶς, καταστῆναι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτων ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν λέγουσι, κρατήσαντες δὲ πολέμῳ Σαλαμῖνα αὖθις ἔχειν. Μεγαρεῖς δὲ παρὰ σφῶν λέγουσιν ἄνδρας φυγάδας, οὓς Δορυκλείουσ

in the attitude of the Zeus at Olympia, grasping a sceptre in his raised left hand and holding an eagle or a Victory in his outstretched right hand. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. pp. 4 sq., with pl. A, iii.

48. Σάλωνα: this is an allusion to the story that Solon, to arouse the Athenians from their lethargy, composed verses inciting them to engage in the struggle once more for the possession of Salamis, and, feigning madness, rushed into the market-place and recited his verses. The people were stirred, once more fought with Megara, and conquered Salamis. See Plut. Solon, 8; Dem. 19, 252; Diog. Laert. 1, 2, 48 sq.
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δὲν μάζουσιν, ἀφικομένους παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμίνι κληροφύχους προδοοῦντα Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναίοις.

55 Ἔναὶ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ τέμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέλθοντι ἐκείνην ἀπὸ Καρία τοῦ Φορωνέως καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐστὶ κατ' ἐν μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου, πεποίηται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπιστροφίας ἔρευν καὶ Νυκτὸς καλομεμενον ἐστὶ μαντεῖον, καὶ Διὸς Κοινὸς ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὅροφον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀκκλημοῦ τὸ ἀγαλμα Βρυαξίς καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν 'Τυγείαν ἐποίησεν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ καλομέμενον Μέγαρον· ποιησαὶ δὲ αὐτὸ βασιλεύοντα Κάρα ἔλεγον.

41 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κατιοῦσιν, τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον τέτραπται 1

55. ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ... Καρία: Steph. Byz. s.v. Καρία makes a similar statement, perhaps copied from Pausanias. — 57. Νυκτελίου: see Verg. Aen. 4, 308; Ovid, Met. 4, 16. In the nocturnal rites of Dionysus the mystery of the death and resurrection of the god seems to have been set forth. Licentious orgies under the cloak of these rites were put down by the Romans. See Servius on Virgil I.c. — Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπιστροφίας: Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth. I, 308, interprets Ἐπιστροφία (from ἐπιστρέφειν, to turn towards) as meaning "she who turns the hearts of man to love." The converse of Epistrophic Aphrodite was Apostrophian Aphrodite (9, 16, 3 sq.). There was another sanctuary of Aphrodite at Megara (1, 43, 6). — 58. Νυκτὸς: Rohde, Psyche, 342, rem. 1, brings this in close connection with Dionysus Nyctelius, and recalls that Dionysus was established at Delphi before Apollo. See also Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la divination dans l’antiquité, II, 256. — 60. Βρυαξίς: Bryaxis was a contemporary and rival of Scopas. He sculptured the frieze on the north side of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (Pliny, N. H. 36, 30 sq.). Columella (de re rustica, i, praef. 31) mentions him as one of the great masters of sculpture, along with Lysippus, Praxiteles, and Polyclitus. A considerable number of his works are known to us by name. See Brun, Gesch. d. gr. Künstler, I, 383 sqq. An Asclepius by Bryaxis is mentioned also by Pliny (N. H. 34, 73). Both Asclepius and Hygieia, separately and jointly, appear on coins of Megara, and the types were probably modeled after these statues of Bryaxis. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. pl. A, vi, vii; Wroth, Jour. Hell. Stud. V, 90. — 61. τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ καλομέμενον Μέγαρον: for Megarian coins with image of Demeter, see Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, pl. A, xii.

the χωρίον, μνήμα ἐστιν Ἀλκμήνης πλησίον τοῦ Ὀλυμπείου. βαδίζουσιν γὰρ ἐς Θήβας ἐς Ἀργοὺς τελευτᾶσαι καθ’ ὄδον λέγοντιν αὐτήν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις, καὶ τοὺς Ἡρα-δικλείδας ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν ἔλθειν, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Ἀργοὺς ἐθέλοντας ὅποιον κομίσαι τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ἀλκμήνης, τοὺς δ’ αὐτῶν ἐς Θήβας. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς Ἡρακλέους παῖσ᾽ τοῖς ἐκ Μεγάρας τάφον εἶναι καὶ Ἀμφιπτρύωνος ἐν Θήβαις. ὁ δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἦδος ἔχρησε θάφαι Ἀλκμήνην ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις ἄμενον εἶναι σφίσιν. ἐντεύθεν ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡμῖν ἔξηγητός ἡ ἤγειτο ἐς χωρίον Ροῦν ὁς ἐφασκὼν ὅνομαζόμενον, ταύτη γὰρ ὑδωρ ποτὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ῥύθηκε. Θεαγένης δὲ, ὃς τότε ἐπουρανίζετο, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐτέρωσε τρῆβας βωμῶν ἐνταῦθα Ἀχελώῳ ἐποίησε. καὶ Ὁλλον πλησίον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους μνημα ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ Ἀρκάδῳ Ἑχέμῳ τῷ Ἀερόπολος μονομαχῆσαντος. καὶ ὅστις μὲν Ἑχέμος οὖν ἀπεκτείνει Ὁλλον, ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου δηλώσω, τέθαπται δὲ καὶ Ὁλλος ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις. αὐτή καλοῖτο ἀν ὀρθῶς στρατεύσα τῶν Ἡρακλείδων ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἕπι Ὁρέστου βασιλείουντος.

2. μνήμα... Ἀλκμήνης: the story of the death of Alcmene in the territory of Megara and of the contest of the Heraclidae occurs only in Pausanias. According to Therscydes in Anton., Lib. 33 (fr. 39), she died in Thebes, where, however, there was no grave of her (9, 16, 7). According to another legend, her grave was at Halartus in Boeotia (cf. 9, 32, 5; Plut. Lys. 28; de genio Socr. 5, p. 578.).

11. ἐς χωρίον Ροῦν: cf. Plut. Thes. 27, who says that the Megarians pointed out a grave of the Amazons in their city, on the way from the agora to the place called Rhous. The grave of the Amazons here mentioned by Plutarch is probably the tomb of Hippolyte mentioned by Pausanias (1, 41, 7). — 14. Ἀχελώῳ: the river god Achelous was worshiped also at Oropus. Ephorus, quoted by Macrobius, Saturn. 5, 18, 6 sqq., says that Achelous is the only river-god worshiped by all men, as the proper name Achelous is used in a general sense to designate water. This designation was given by the oracles of Dodona (Schol. II. Ω, 616). There was a sanctuary of Achelous near the Ilissus at Athens (Plato, Phaedrus, p. 230 η). — Ὁλλον: cf. 1, 44, 10, and see 8, 5, 1, where Pausanias corrects his present statement by saying that this invasion took place in the reign of Echon, not of Orestes. So Herodotus (9, 28) represents Echon, the conqueror of
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20 οὖ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ἡλλοῦ μνήματος Ἰσιδος ναὸς καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀρτέμιδος. Ἀλκάθους δὲ φασὶν ποιήσαι ἀποκτείναντα λέοντα τῶν καλοῦμενοι Κιθαιρώνων. ὑπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ λέοντος διαφθαρῆναι καὶ Ἀλλοὺς καὶ Μεγαρέως φασὶν τοῦ σφετέρου βασιλέως παῖδα Εὐιππον, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων αὐτῶν Τύμαλκον ἔτι πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Θησέως, στρατεύοντα ἐστὶ Αφιδναν σὺν τοῖς Διοσκοῦροις. Μεγαρέα δὲ γάμον τε ὑποσχέσθαι θυγατρὸς καὶ ὁ διάδοχον ἔξει τής ἀρχής ὡς τῶν Κιθαιρώνων λέοντα ἀποκτείναι. διὰ ταύτα Ἀλκάθους τὸν Πελοπὸς ἐπιχειρήσαντα τῷ θηρίῳ κρατήσατε τε καὶ ὡς ἐβασίλευε τὸ ιερὸν ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, Ἀγροτέραν Ἀρτέμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀγράιον ἐπονομάσαντα. ταῦτα μὲν [οὖν] οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ γράφεω μὲν ἑβελοὶ Μεγαρεύσιν ὁμολογοῦντα, οὕτως ἑξῆς δὲ ὡς ὑπομενόμενοι τὰ πάντα σφίαν, ἀλλὰ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν λέοντα 35 ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶν ὑπὸ Ἀλκάθου πειθομαί. Μεγαρέως δὲ Τύμαλκον παίδα τής μὲν ἐστὶ Αφιδναν ἐλθεῖν μετὰ τῶν Διοσκοῦρων ἐγραφεῖ; πῶς δὲ ἄν ἀφιδομενος ἀναρεθήναι νομίζοιτο ὑπὸ Θησέως, ὅποιο καὶ Ἀλκμάν ποιήσας ἁγίμα ἐς τοὺς Διοσκοῦροις, ὡς Άθηνας ἔλοικε καὶ τὴν Θησέως ἀγάγοιεν 40 μητέρα αἰχμαλώτων, ὁμοίως Θησέα φηοῦν αὐτὸν ἀπείναι; Πώς δὲ τούτοις τε κατὰ ταύτα ἐποίησε καὶ γαμβρὸν τοῖς Διοσκοῦροις Θησέα εἶναι βουλόμενον ἐς ὁ ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν Πειρίθος τὸν λεγόμενον γάμον συμπράξαντα. ὡς τοῖς δὲ ἐγενεαλογήσε, δῆλον ὡς πολλὰ τοῖς Μεγαρεύσι σύνοιδεν

Hyllus, as king of Tegea. According to Diod. 4, 58, Hyllus challenged Echemus, not Echemus Hyllus.
33. Μεγαρεύσι: according to the Megarian tradition as given by Pausanias, Timalcus was a contemporary both of Theseus, who slew him, and of Alcathous, who married his sister. This, Pausanias argues, was impossible, since Alcathous was the son, and Theseus the great-grandson, of Pelops through his mother Aethra.
45 εὐθεῖαν, εἰ ἴν Ἡσσεὺς ἦν ἀπόγονος Πέλοπος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸν ὄντα λόγῳ οἱ Μεγαρεῖς εἰδότες ἐπικρύπτουσιν, οὐ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν ἀλώνια σέμισιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄρχης τῆς Νίσου τὴν πόλιν, διαδέξασθαι δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν γαμβρὸν Νίσου τε Μεγαρέα καὶ αὖθις Ἀλκάθουν Μεγαρέως. φαίνεται δὲ τελευτήσαντος 6
50 Νίσου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων Μεγαρεύσιν ἐφθαρμένων ὑπὸ τοῦτον Ἀλκάθους ἀφικόμενος τὸν καιρὸν ἐξ Ἡλίδος· μαρτύριον δὲ μοι· τὸ γὰρ τεῖχος ψικοδόμησεν ἐξ ἄρχης ἀτε τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἄρχαίου καθαρεύοντος ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν.

Ἀλκάθου μὲν καὶ τοῦ λέοντος, εἰτε ἐν τῷ Κυθαιρῶν αὐτῶν 55 εἰτε καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἀποκτείνας ναὸν Ἀγροτέρας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐποίησεν Ἀγραίου, ἐς τοσόνδε ἐστω μνήμη. ἐκ τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατιοῦσι Πανδίουός ἐστιν ἡρῴου. καὶ ὁτι μὲν ἑτάφῳ Πανδίων ἐν Αἰθνίας Ἀθηνᾶς καλομένου σκοπελώ, δεδηλωκέν ὁ λόγος ἥδη μοι· τιμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει 60 παρὰ Μεγαρέων ἔχει.

Πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πανδίουος ἡρῴου μνήμα Ἰππολύτης· γράψω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ὅποια Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσιν. ὅτε Ἀμαξόνες ἐπὶ Αθηναίους στρατεύσασε διʼ Ἀντιόπην ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ Θησεῶς, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς συνεβὴ μαχομένας 65 αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, Ἰππολύτην δὲ ἀδελφὴν ὁδεγὸν Ἀντιόπης

58. Αἰθνίας Ἀθηνᾶς: cf. 1, 5, 3. Hesych. s.v. ἐν δ’ Αἰθνία says that Athena was worshiped by the Megarians under the title Αἰθνία, “diver-bird,” because, transforming herself into a diver and hiding Cecrops under her wings, she had carried him to Megara. Lycophron (Alexandra, v. 350) refers to Athena under this title. The bluff of Athena Athinaia is perhaps the spit of land now called Skala, jutting into the sea on the south side of the hill of Nisaea.

61. μνήμα Ἰππολύτης: the tomb seems to have been called the Rhomboid (Plut. Thes. 27), but Bursian, p. 376 A, 1, would here translate ἱππολυτίδες kreiselförmi. The Amazonian shield is represented as a crescent in shape on some works of art. See Baum, Denkm. pp. 62, 369, 2015. It also appears in art as an oval shield with two notches, one on each side (Baum op. cit. p. 59), or as an unbroken oval. See also Baum, p. 2088; Roscher’s Lexikon, I, 272.
καὶ τότε ἦγουμένη τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν τῶν ὀλγαίς ἐσ ὜εγαρα, ἀτε δὲ κακῶς οὕτω πράξας τῷ στρατῷ τοῖς τε παρουσίν ἄθυμως ἔχουσαν καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐκαδε ἐσ τῆς Θεμίστικης μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀπορούσαν ὑπὸ λύτης τελευτῆς. 

70 σαί καὶ θάψας αὐτὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν, καὶ οἱ τοῦ μνήματος σχήμα ἔστιν Ἀμαζονίης ἁστίδι ἐμφερές. τούτου δὲ ἔστιν 8 ὁ πόρρω τάφος Τηρεώς του Πρόκηνη γῆμαντος τῆς Πανδιώνος. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ὁ Τηρεύς, ὁς μὲν λέγουσι οἱ Μεγαρείς, περὶ τὰς Παγάς τὰς καλουμένας τῆς Μεγαρίδου, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ τε δοκῶ καὶ τεκμήρια ἐς τὸ δεῖπνυται, Δαυλίδος ἴρχε τῆς ὑπὲρ Χαιρωνείας. πάλαι γὰρ τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Ἑλλάδος βάρβαροι τὰ πολλὰ ὄμησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤν καὶ Τηρεῖ τὰ ἐς Φιλομήλην ἐξευρήσασθε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἱτυν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ... ἔλειν σφὰς ὁ Τηρεύς οὐκ ἐδύνατο καὶ ὁ μὲν 9 ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις αὐτοχείρια, καὶ οἱ τάφον αὐτικά ἔχουσαν καὶ θύουσιν ἀνά πᾶν ἡτος ψηφίσων ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ ἀντὶ οὐλῶν χρώμενοι καὶ τὸν ἐποπα τοῦ ὄρυθα ἐνταῦθα φανὴρ πρῶτον λέγουσιν. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐς μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς ἀφικοντο, θρηνοῦσαν δὲ οἰα ἐπαθον καὶ οἰα ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ δακρύων διαφθέρουται, καὶ σφικτῷ τὴν ἑς ἄγδονα καὶ χελιδόνα μεταβολὴν ἐπεφήμισαν ὅτι οἴμαι καὶ αὕτη αἱ ὀρνιθεῖς ἠλευνόν καὶ θρήνῳ ὄμοιον ἠδονών.

42 Ἠστι δὲ καὶ ἀλλη Μεγαρέων ἀκρόπολις ἀπὸ Ἀλκάθου 1 τὸ ὄνομα ἔχουσα. ἐς ταύτῃ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνιόουσιν ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Μεγαρέως μνήμα, ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τῶν Κρητῶν εὕμμαχος σφισίν ἠθεν ἐξ Ὕγχηστοι. δείκνυται 5 δὲ καὶ ἑστία θεῖων Προδομέων καλουμένων. θύσαι δὲ σφισίν

72. τάφος Τηρεώς: on the story of Tereus, Procris, and Philomela, see 1, 5, 4 and note.
'Αλκάθουν λέγουσι πρώτων, ότε τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ τείχους ἐμελεῖν ἄρχεσθαι. τῆς δὲ ἐστίς ἐγγὺς ταύτης ἐστὶ λίθος, ἐφ’ οὗ καταθεῖναι λέγουσιν Ὄπολλωνα τὴν κυθάραν Ἀλκάθου τὸ τείχος συνεργαζόμενον. . . . δηλοῖ τέ μοι καὶ τόδε ὡς συνετέλουν ἐσ’ Ἀθηναίους Μεγαρείς: φαίνεται γὰρ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλκάθους Περίβοιον ἅμα Θησείθε πέμψαι κατὰ τὸν δασμὸν ἐς Κρήτην. τότε δὲ αὐτῷ τείχζοντι, ὡς φασίν οἱ Μεγαρείς, συνεργαζότειν τε Ὅπολλων καὶ τὴν κυθάραν κατέθηκεν ἑπὶ τὸν λίθον. ἢν δὲ τὸ χεῖρ βαλὼν τές ψηφίδι, κατὰ ταῦτα οὐτός τε ἥχησε καὶ κυθάρα κρουσθείσα. ἐμοί δὲ ταρεσχε μὲν καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσας, παρεσχε δὲ πολλῷ μᾶλλον Ἀιγυπτίων ὁ κολοσσός. ἐν Θῆβαις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις, διαβάσαι τὸν Νείλον πρὸς τὰς Σύργγας καλομένας, εἶδον.
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Ch. 42, 5
ἐπὶ καθήμενον ἄγαλμα ἦχον — Μέμνονα ὄνομάζουσιν οἱ
20 πολλοὶ, τούτον γάρ φασιν ἐὰς Αἰθιοπίας ὀρμηθῆναι ἐὰς Αἴγυ-
πτον καὶ τὴν ἄχρι Σουών. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ Μέμνονα οἱ Ὀ-
βαίοι λέγουσι, Φαμέωφα δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχυρῶν οὐ τούτο τὸ
ἄγαλμα ἦν, ἦκουσα δὲ ἦδη καὶ Σέσωστριν φαμέων εἶναι
25 κεφαλῆς ἐς μέσον σωμάς ἐστιν ἀπερριμμένον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν
κάθηται τε καὶ ἀνὰ πάσαν ἡμέραν ἀνίσχοντος ἦλιον βοᾷ,
καὶ τὸν ἦχον μάλιστα εἰκάσει τις κιθάρας ἡ λύρας Ῥαγείης
χορῆς.

Μεγαρεὺς δὲ ἔστι μὲν βουλευτήριον, Τιμάλκου δὲ ἦν 4
30 ποτε ὡς λέγουσι τάφος, ὃν πρότερον ὄλιγον τούτων οὐκ ἔφη
ὑπὸ Θησέως ἀποθανεῖν. ψιδόμενται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς
ἀκροπόλεως ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐστιν ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ πλῆ
χειρῶν καὶ ἀκρων ποδῶν· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐστιν
ἐλεφαντος. καὶ ἔτερον ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς πεποίηται
35 καλομενής Νίκης καὶ ἀλλο Αιαντίδος· τὰ δὲ ἐστι Μεγα-
ρέων μὲν παρεῖται τοῖς ἐξήγηταις, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποια νομίζω γενέ-
σθαι γράφω. Τελαμὼν ὁ Αἰακοῦ θυγατρὶ Ἀλκάθου Περιβοία
συντάξειν· Αἰαντα ὁ Ὄνν ἐν ἁρχὴι τῆς Ἀλκάθου διαδεξά-
μενον ποιῆσαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἦγούμαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

40 Τοῖς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος πλῖν δείχνου μὲν ὃν ὁ ἀρχαιος ναὸς· ὑστε-
ρον δὲ βασιλεὺς ψιδόμενος Ἀδριανὸς λίθου λευκοῦ. ὃ μὲν
δὴ Πύθιος καλομενὸς καὶ ὁ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Ἀἰγυπτίωις
μάλιστα ἐοίκασι ξοάνοις, ὅν δὲ Ἀρχηγητὴν ἐπονομάζοντον,

40. πλῖνθος: as to the use of the un-
burnt brick in ancient Greek archi-
tecture, see Frazer’s note on 6, 16, 1.
An inscription (C.I.G.G.S. 42) dating
between 242 B.C. and 223 B.C. speaks
of the repair of the temple of Apollo
at Megara. Here was also another
sanctuary of Apollo (1, 44, 2). — 41.

'Αδριανὸς: Hadrian was a lavish patron
of Megara (cf. 1, 44, 6) and in return
the Megarians named a tribe after him
(C.I.G.G.S. 72, 74, 101) and erected
many statues in his honor (note on
1, 40, 2). — δ... Πύθιος... καὶ ὁ Δε-
κατηφόρος τοῖς Ἀἰγυπτίωι... ἐοίκασι
ξοάνοις: this passage has been cited,
THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

204

Aignyntikois érgous estin ómous. ébénov de panta ómous
45 tepoinhtai. ἥκουσα de ándros Kuprion diakrinai pósas é
ánthrwpton iasén eidoitó, ós tén ébénov phulta ouk éph
phyew oude éinai karptón oudeýa ap' autí én oude órás thai to pará
pwn autín upo ἢλιον, ρίζas de úpogaious éinai, taútas de
órwsew tovs Aithiopas kai ándras éinai sfisw ou tén
50 ébénov ûsas énuiriseun. eìsti de kai Dýmptros ierón Thè-
6 smeróforon. katoioun de éntewhein Kallýpolidos mnêmá éstin
'Alkávous paiados. égenveto de kai állos 'Alkáthis presebú-
teros vidos 'Ishchelous, òn ápéstelven ó pathe Mелеágrw to
én Aitwlia ðhríon synexeirísonta. ápobainontos de éntaitha
55 prwto teðvewta éptwtho ó Kallýpolis, anadrwmon de é
τήν ákrópolin — tenvkaíta de ó pathei oi tov 'Apollwni
énékaen — ápormpitéi tα ùlta ápò tou ðwmoù. 'Alkávous
de ánkhkos wv épi τής 'Ishchelídos televnth kateúkaxen
ou poieîn osia ton Kallýpolin kai eîthwos òs eîxen órghis
60 ápékteen paírgas éς τήν kefalhn tôn ápormphéntwn ápò tou
ðwmoù ùllo.

Kata de tēn éς to prutaneiôn òdòn 'Iouis éstin ἦρων, 7
peri de autô thrgkós lîwv. pefrîkasi de ép' autô kai
êlaîai. mónoi de éisv 'Ellhñon Megareîs oi légonntes tôn
65 nekw ton tēs 'Iouis éς tα parathalásstai sfisw ðkpeisw
tēs xwras, Klprò de kai Taúrópolin eûrîn te kai thámai —

on very insufficient grounds, to prove
the direct dependence of early Greek
art on the art of Egypt. See Overbeck,
Gesch. d. gr. Plastik, I, 37 sq.; A. S.
Murray, History of Greek Sculpture,4
I, 76 sq. This dependence, however,
has been maintained on other grounds
by some writers. Thus the archaic
male figures known as the Apollos
of Orchomenos, Tenea, etc., are be-
lieved by these authorities to have been
modeled, directly or indirectly, on
Egyptian statues. See Collignon, His-
toire de la Sculpture Grecque, I, 117 sq.;
Furtwängler, Meisterw. d. gr. Plastik,
pp. 712 sqq. — 46. phulâ ouk éph phîn:
this absurd belief was not shared by
Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. 4, 4, 6) or
Pliny (N. H. 12, 17 sqq.). Cf. Paus.
2, 19, 3; 4, 32, 1; 7, 5, 5.

64. τόν νεκρόν τῆς Ἰουτιᾶς: cf. 1, 44,
7 sq.; 4, 34, 7.
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θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι Κλήσωνος τοῦ Δέλεγος — καὶ Δευκόθεαν τε ὁνομασθήναι παρὰ σφίσι πρώτοις φασίν αὐτὴν καὶ θυσίαν ἀγείν ἀνὰ πάν ἔτος.

43  Δέγοσι δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἰφιγενείας ἦρῴων· ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ καὶ ταύτην ἐν Μεγάροις. ἔγω δὲ ἡκούσα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον ἐστὶν Ἰφιγενείαν λόγον ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων λεγόμενον, οἶδα δὲ Ἡσίοδου ποιήσαντα ἐν κατάλογῳ γυναικῶν Ἰφιγενείαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, 5 γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ὕπατην εἶναι· τούτοις δὲ Ἡρόδοτος ὀμολογοῦντα ἔγραψε Ταύρους τοὺς πρὸς τῇ Ἀκτικῇ θύειν παρθένως τοὺς ναυαγοὺς, φάναι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὴν παρθένον Ἰφιγενείαν εἶναι τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος. ἔχει δὲ παρὰ Μεγαρεὺσι καὶ Ἀδραστος τιμᾶει· φασὶ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν παρὰ σφίσι καὶ 10 τούτων, οὐκ ἦλθαν Θήβας ἀπῆγεν ὁπίσω τὸν στρατόν, αὕτι πάντων παρῆκαν τὴν Θησείαν καὶ τὴν Άντιαλέως γενέσθαι τελευτήν. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ιερὸν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐποίησεν, ἡμῖν ἦλθε Κάλχαντα ὀικοῦντα ἐν Μεγάροις ἐστὶν Ἡλίαν ἑπεσθαί πεισμὸν. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρυτανείῳ τεθάφθαί μὲν Εὐππον Μεγαρέως παιδα, 2 ἐξελοῦν ἡμέρας ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Αλκάθου λέγοσιν Ἡσιπόλειν. ἐστι δὲ τοῦ


1. Ἰφιγενείας ἦρῴων: on the Iphigenia legend, consult Roscher, Lexikon s.v. Hdt. 4, 108 relates the story here referred to him. Strabo, 7, p. 308, mentions a sanctuary of the Virgin in the city of Tauric Chersonese, and says that on a cape called Parthenium, about eleven miles from the city, there was a temple with an image of her. Herodotus does not mention the identification of Iphigenia with Hecate. — 9. Ἀδραστος: Dieuchidas, the native historian of Megara, quoted by Schol. Pind. Nem. 9, 30, says that the actual grave of Adrastus was in Megara, while a cenotaph of him was at Sicyon. — 12. Ἀρτέμιδος ιερόν: not identical with the temple of Artemis Soteira mentioned above, but situated probably in the neighborhood of the Prytaneum.

14. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρυτανείῳ: it is perhaps to be inferred that when a hero enjoyed especial honor, his grave also was placed in a prominent position.
πρυτανείου πέτρα πλησίον· Ἀνακληθρίδα τὴν πέτραν ὄνομαζουσιν, ὡς Δημήτηρ, εἰ τῷ πιστά, ὅτε τὴν παίδα ἐπλανάτῳ ξητοῦσα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν. ἐσκότα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δρῶσιν ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ αἱ Μεγαρέων γυναῖκες.

20 Ἐστὶ δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρέων ἐν τῇ πόλει· καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῖς 3 ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, τὸ δὲ Λισύμνου καλούμενον μνῆμα ἥν καὶ τῶν ἢρώων. Ἄπειρονος δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος — αὐτὸς γὰρ Μεγαρέων ἐβασιλεύεσθαι ὑστατος — τούτοι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Σανδίωνος διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ὧβριν, βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐδόκει σφίσιν, εἶναι δὲ ἄρχοντας αἱρετοὺς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀκούειν ἀλλήλων. ἐνταῦθα Λισύμνος οὐδενὸς τὰ ἐς δὸξαν Μεγαρέων δεύτερος παρὰ τὸν θεόν ἔλθεν ἐς Δέλτοφος, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἠρώτα τρόπον τίνα εὐδαιμονίησομαι· καὶ οἱ καὶ ἄλλα ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε καὶ Μεγαρέας εἰ πράξεων, ἥν μετὰ τῶν πλεονῶν βουλεύσατο. τοῦτο τὸ ἐπος ἐς τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἐχεῖν νομίζοντες βουλευτήριον ἐνταῦθα φιλοδομήσαν, ἵνα σφίσιν ὁ τάφος τῶν ἢρώων ἐντὸς τοῦ βουλευτήριον γένηται.

Ἐνεύθειν πρὸς τὸ Ἀλκάθου βαδίζοντος ἡμῶν, ὁ Μεγαρεὺς 4

16. Ἀνακληθρίδα: in the Etymol. Magn. p. 96, s.v. Ἀνακλῆθρις, this rock is called Anaclethris, and a similar story is told of the origin of the name.

20. τάφοι Μεγαρέων: only the heroic and worshiped dead were buried within the walls of a city. The account shows that the men who fell in the battles against the Persians were regarded as heroes in the religious sense. The epitaph composed by Simonides on the Megarian dead is preserved (C.I.G. G.S. 53). Of other great Greeks, Coroebus and Orsippus were buried in the agora of Megara (1, 43, 8; 1, 44, 1); Thersander in that of Elaea (9, 6, 14); Euphor in that of Sicyon (Xen. Hell. 7, 3, 12); Philopoemen in that of Megalopolis (C.I.G. 1536); and Brasidas in front of the agora of Amphipolis (Thuc. 5, 11).—22. τὸ δὲ Ἀλούμνον: according to Pausanias the Aesymnium, which was the grave of the heroes, must have been within the Council House. It was probably a chamber in which the officials called Αἰσυμνῆτα (C.I.G.G.S. 15) met. Here was probably a tomb of Aesymnus, a mythical personage invented to explain the name. See Pauly-Wissowa, Ἰ, 1090, s.v. Αἰσυμνῆτας; Busolt, Griech. Staats-und Rechtsaltertümern, pp. 46 ff.
35 έσ γραμμάτων φυλακὴν ἔχρωντο ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ, μνήμα ἔλεγον 
τὸ μὲν Πυργοῦς εἶναι γυναικὸς Ἀλκάθου πρὶν ἡ τὴν 
Μεγαρέως αὐτῶν λαβεῖν Ἔναίχημην, τὸ δὲ Ἰφινῦς Ἀλκάθου 
θυγατρός· ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν φαίνει ἐπὶ παρθένον. καθέστηκε 
δὲ ταῖς κόραις χοάς πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἰφινῦς μνήμα προσφέ 

40 ἰτὶ πρὸ γάμου καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν τριχῶν, καθὰ καὶ 
τῇ Ἐκαέργη καὶ Ἡμιθάλης αἱ θυγατέρες ποτὲ ἀπεκείροντο ἀἱ 

dηλίων. παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσοδομήν τὴν ἐσ τὸ Διονύσιον τάφος ἐστὶν ὁ 
Ἀστυκρατείας καὶ Μαντούς· θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Πολυείδου 
τοῦ Κοράνου τοῦ Ἀβαντοῦ τοῦ Μελάμπωδος ἐς Μέγαρα 
45 ἐλθόντος Ἀλκάθου επὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῷ Καλλίπόλιδος καθήραι 
τοῦ παιδός. φύκοδομῆσε δὴ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὸ ἱερὸν Πολυει 

dος καὶ ξόαναν ἀνέθεκεν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἐφ’ ἠμῶν πλὴ 

του προσώπου· τούτῳ δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ φανερὸν. Σάρυνος 
δὲ παρέ 


50 στηκεν αὐτῷ Πράξετέλους ἤργων Παρίου λίθων. τούτων 
μὲν δὴ Πατρόφων καλοῦσιν· ἐτερον δὲ Διόνυσον Δασύλλιον 
ἐπονομάζοντες Εὐχήνορα τοῦ Κοράνου τοῦ Πολυείδου τὸ 
ἀγαλμα ἀναθέειν λέγουσιν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἱερὸν ἢ 
ἔστιν Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς, ἀγαλμα δὲ ἐλέφαντος Ἀφροδίτης πε 


55 ποιημένον Πράξεις ἐπικλησιν. τούτο γέ στίν ἀρχαιότατον ἐν 

τῷ ναῷ· Πειθώ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα θεός, ἦν Παρῆγορον ὅνομάζουσιν,
love. Peitho is frequently portrayed in art, especially on vases, but Praxiteles is not elsewhere mentioned. — 56. ἔρως καὶ Ἰμέρος καὶ Πόθος: see Preller-Robert, p. 502, concerning these personifications of Love, of Desire, and of Yearning. Ulrichs, Skopas, p. 89, conjectured that these three images of Skopas stood facing the old ivory image of Aphrodite and the two images of Peitho and Paregorus by Praxiteles, each triplet of images being placed on a single pedestal. — 58. Τύχη: the type of Fortune on coins of Megara, representing the goddess as a draped woman standing with a cup in her right hand and a horn of plenty in her left, may be copied from Praxiteles' statue. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. p. 7, with pl. A, xiv. — 60. Δύσιππος: probably a pedestal found in Megara, consisting of a number of ancient blocks of gray marble, and bearing the inscription Θηραμένης Τιμωξέως ανέθηκε, Δύσιππος ἐποίη, supported this group of statuary. The inscription seems to date from the end of the fourth century B.C. See A. M. X (1885), 145–150.

61. Κοροιβος τάφος: τα δι ές αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κτλ.: Statius, Theb. 1, 579 sqq., and Conon, Narrat. 19, tell the story of Coroebus and Psamathes, with more picturesque details.
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τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἐνθα ἄν ἐκπέσῃ οἱ φέροντι ὁ τριτός, ἐνταῦθα
75 Ἀπόλλωνος οἰκοδομήσαι ναὸν καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκήσαι. καὶ ὁ
tρίτος κατὰ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Γερανίαν ἀπολισθῶν ἔλαθεν αὐτοῦ ἐκπεσόν; καὶ Τριποδίσκων κώμην ἐνταῦθα οἰκίσαι. Κο-
ροῖβῳ δὲ ἐστὶ τάφος ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέως ἁγορᾷ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐλεγεία τὰ ἐς Ψαμάθην καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχουσα Κόροιβοι, 80 καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπίθημα ἐστὶ τῷ τάφῳ Κόροιβος φονεύων τὴν
Πουῆν. ταῦτα ἀγάλματα παλαιότατα, ὀπόσα λίθου πεποιη-
μένα ἐστίν Ἑλληνική, ἰδὼν οἶδα.
44 Κοροίβου δὲ τεθαπταί πλησίον ὁ Ὀρσιππός, ὁς περιεξωσμένοι

77. Τριποδίσκων κώμην: Thucydides (4, 70) speaks of this as a village in the territory of Megarit at the foot of Mt. Gerania. The remains of the village are to be seen about six miles northwest of Megara, at the entrance to the pass which leads through the mountains to the Isthmus of Corinth. Three forms of the name occur, Tripo-
discus (Thuc. i.c.), Tripodiscium (Strabo, 9, p. 394), and Tripodisci (Paus.).

78. γέγραπται σὲ ὅληγεια κτλ.: these verses are preserved in Anthol. Palat. 7, 154.

44. Ὀρσιππός — Temple of Apollo
Prostaterius with statues — A Gymna-
sium with antiquities — Antiquities of
Nisaea and of Pagne — Worship of
Melanthus in Aegosthena — Grove of
Autonoe in Erenia, and of the flute-
player Telephanes — The Scironian Way
and the rock Moliris — Ino and Meli-
certes — The robber Sciron — Temple
of Zeus Aphesius — Images of Aphro-
dite, of Apollo, and of Pan — Tomb of
Eurystheus — Temple of Latoan Apollo.

1. Ὅρσιππος: a copy of the epitaph on Orsippus’s grave was found in Me-
gara in 1769 engraved on a block of stone, in the Megarian dialect (C.I.G. 1050; C.I.G.G.S. 52). This epitaph was manifestly the source of Pausa-
nias’s information. The victory of Or-
sippus was won in Ol. 15 (720 B.C.).
See Euseb. Chron. vol. 1, p. 195, ed. Schöne. The war in which Orsippus

gained distinction was probably waged
against Corinth, which claimed, under
the Bacchid dynasty, suzerainty over
Megara, till the Megarians revolted and
8. "Ἀπόλλωνος ιερόν: two inscriptions, dating from the third century B.C., with dedications to Tutelary Apollo have been found at Megara (C.I.G.G.S. 39, 40).—12. Δητώ καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς: there were also images of Latona and her children by Praxiteles in a temple at Mantinea (§ 9, 1). The one group was perhaps a replica of the other. Coins of Megara present a group of Apollo standing between Latona and Artemis, probably a copy of the Praxitelian group. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. pp. 7, 154, with pls. A, x, FF, ii.—13. Νυμφάδων: since Pausanias, after mentioning the old gymnasium, quits Megara and proceeds to the port, the Gate of the Nymphs must have been on the south side of Megara, and probably through this the road to the port passed. An inscription (C.I.G.G.S. 31) mentions a certain Matro xenus, who was "master of the gymnasium in the Olympieum." This gymnasium in the Olympieum (1, 40, 4) was probably the new one. —14. πυραμίδος σχήμα: on some coins of Megara an obelisk appears between two dolphins, probably a copy of the pyramidal image of Apollo. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. p. 6, with pl. A, viii.—15. Εἰλιθείων...ιερόν: Homer (II. A, 270) mentions these goddesses in the plural.

16. ἐσ ὑπὸ τὸ ἐπίνειον: Thuc. 4, 66 says the distance from Nisaea to Megara was about eight stadia. When Megara joined the Athenian alliance about 459 B.C., the Athenians constructed and garrisoned two long walls between Megara and Nisaea (Thuc. 1, 103). But in 424 B.C. the Megarians seized the walls and razed them to the ground. Phocion rebuilt them in the following century (Plut. Phocion, 16); and Strabo speaks as if they still existed in his time. At present hardly any remains of these walls can be pointed out. The hill of St. George on the eastern side of the harbor appears to have been the acropolis of Nisaea, mentioned by Pausanias. Ruins of the fortifications may
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άλλα ἐς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους πρόβατα ἐν τῇ γῇ
20 θρέφαντας Δήμητρα οἰνομάζαι Μαλοφόρον, καταρρηναὶ δὲ
tῷ ἱερῷ τῶν ὄροφων τεκμαίρωτο ἀν τις ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. καὶ
ἀκρόπολις ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ὀνομαζόμενη καὶ αὐτὴ Νίσαια,
καταβαίνει δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροτόλεως μνήμα ἐστι πρὸς θαλάσσῃ
Δέλεγος, ὃν ἀφικομένον βασιλεύσαι λέγουσιν ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου,
25 παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Λιβύης τῆς Ἐπάφου. παρῆ-
κει δὲ παρὰ τὴν Νίσαιαν νῆσος οὐ μεγάλα Μινώα· ἐνταῦθα
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Νίσον παρώματο τὸ ναυτικὸν τῶν
Κρητῶν. ὡς δὲ ὀρεινή τῆς Μεγαρίδος τῆς Βουωτῶν ἐστιν 4
ὁμορος, ἐν δὲ Μεγαρέως Παγαὶ πόλις, ἐτέρᾳ δὲ Αἰγόσθενα
30 ὀξισται. οὐσὶ δὲ ἐς τὰς Παγαῖς ἑκτραπομένους ὀλίγον τῆς
λεωφόρου πέτρα δείκνυται διὰ πάσης ἕχουσα ἐμπεπηγότας

be traced.—26. νῆσος οὐ μεγάλα Μι-
νώα: the lower hill on the western side
of the harbor appears to have been
what Thuc. 3, 51, and Pausanius call
the island of Minoa. Thucydides (l.c.)
speaks of it as an island off Megara,
not far from the shore, to which it was
united by a bridge built over a shoal.
The Megarians used the island as a
fort, but in 427 B.C. it was captured by
the Athenians and fortified by them,
with a view to blockading Megara. In
424 they captured Nisaea also (Thuc.
4, 69). In the treaty of 423 they re-
tained Minoa and Nisaea but under
rigid restrictions (Thuc. 4, 118).

29. Παγαί: Pagae or Pegas (so, Attic
writers and others, Thuc. 1, 103, 107,
111, 115; Plut. Pericles, 19) was a port
on the west coast of Megaris, on the Gulf
of Corinth. The distance from Pagae
to Nisaea was one hundred and twenty
stadia (Strabo, 8, p. 334). When Me-
gara joined Athens in 460 B.C., the
Athenians took and held Pagae for
some years, but evacuated it in 445 B.C.,
when they concluded the Thirty Years’
Peace with Sparta (Thuc. l.c.).—Α-
γόσθενα: the ruins of Aegosthena are
to be found on the west shore of Mega-
ris, at the head of a bay now called
Porto Germano, formed by a western
projection of Mt. Citharion on the
north and by the mountains of Megara
on the south. The walls of the town are
amongst the finest and best preserved
of ancient Greek fortifications. The
place is rarely mentioned by ancient
writers. Xen. Hell. 5, 4, 17 sq. tells of
a storm which in 378 B.C. wrought
havoc in a Lacedaemonian army under
Cleombrotus as they were approaching
Aegosthena; and Xen. Hell. 6, 4, 25sq.
tells how the Lacedaemonian army,
retreating after the disaster at Leuctra,
were met at Aegosthena by reinforce-
ments under Archidamus.—31. πέτρα:
Pausanias has now turned northward
and is following the road to Pagae,
a port on the Gulf of Corinth. In the
οιστούσ, ἐς ἦν οἱ Μῆδοι ποτε ἐτόξευον ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Παγαίς θέας ὑπελείπτετο ἄξιον Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτέρας ἐπικλήσιων χαλκῶν ἀγαλμα, μεγεθεὶ τῷ παρὰ Μεγαρεύσιον ἵππῳ καὶ σχῆμα οὐδὲν διαφόρως ἔχον. καὶ Αιγιαλέως ἐνταῦθα ἐστιν ἥρων τοῦ Ἀδράστου. τούτων γάρ, ὅτε Ἀργείων τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Θήβας ἐστράτευσαν, ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην μάχην πρὸς Γλασαντὶ ἀποθανόντα οἱ προσήκοντες ἐς Παγαῖς τῆς Μεγαρίδος κομίσαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ Αιγιαλεῖον ἔτι καλεῖται τὸ ἥρων. ἐν Αἰγοσθένου δὲ Μελάμπτος τοῦ Ἀμυθάνους ἤ ἐστιν ιερὸν καὶ ἀνήρ οὐ μέγας ἐπειραγμένος ἐν στήλῃ· καὶ θύουσι τῷ Μελάμπτῳ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι. μαντεύεσθαι δὲ οὕτω καὶ ὁνειράτων αὐτῶν νῦν ἄλλως λέγουσιν. καὶ τόδε δὲ ἄλλο ἡκουσα ἐν Ἐρενείᾳ τῇ Ἔγρεα ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων κώμῃ.

Αὐτοῦρην τὴν Κάδμου τῷ τε Ἀκταίωνος θανάτῳ, συμβάντι ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τῷ πάση τοῦ οἰκοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ περισσοτέρου ἀλγοῦσαν ἐνταῦθα ἐκ Θηβῶν μετοικήσαι. καὶ Αὐτοῦρης μνήμα ἐστιν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ.

Ἰουσι δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων ἐς Κόρινθον ἅλλοι τε εἰσὶ τάφοι καὶ ἐς τοῦρ Σαμίου Τηλεφάνους. ποιήσαι δὲ τὸν τάφον Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμφινοῦ λέγουσι. καὶ Καρδοὺ τοῦ Φορωνέως μνήμα ἔστι, τὸ μὲν εἰς ἀρχῆς χώμα γῆς, ὑστερον δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος ἐκοσμήθη λίθῳ κοχήτη. μόνοις δὲ neighborhood of Tripodiscì there rises on the south of the road a height now called Karydi ("walnut-tree"), on the rocky summit of which there are many holes. These holes gave rise to the fable which is cited here by Pausanias.

40. Μελάμπτος: Mr. A. B. Cook, Cl. Rev. VIII (1894), 381 sqq., presents some specious reasons for holding that Melampus was originally a goat deity.

49. ἐκ Μεγάρων: from Megara Pausanias proceeded to Corinth by the route now followed by the highroad and railway, along the southern shore close to the sea. He therefore passed through the necropolis now to be seen a little to the southwest of Megara.

— 60. Τηλεφάνους: Telephanes, the Samian flute-player, was a contemporary of Demosthenes, who speaks well of him (21, 17, p. 520). He is mentioned also in Athen. 8, p. 351 ε. The epitaph on his tomb by Nicarchus is preserved in Anthol. Palat. 7, 159. — 58. λίθῳ κοχήτη: Dodwell (Tour, II, 178) thus describes this stone: "A soft and
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Ch. 44, 8

'Ελλήνων Μεγαρεύσων ὁ κογχίτης οὐτός ἐστι, καὶ σφισύν 55 [καὶ] ἐν τῇ πόλει πεποίηται πολλὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἐστὶ δὲ ἄγαν λευκός καὶ ἅλλου λίθου μαλακότερος· κόγχοι δὲ αἱ θαλάσσιαι διὰ παντὸς ἐνεμίζοντο. οὕτως μὲν τοιοῦτος ἐστὶν ὁ λίθος· τὴν δὲ ὄνομαξομένην ἀπὸ Σκύρωνος καὶ ἐς τὸ δέ <ὁδὸν> Σκύρων, ἡνίκα Μεγαρεύσων ἐπολεμάρχει, πρῶτος ὡς λέγονσιν 60 ἐποίησεν ἀνδράσιν ὅδειν εὐξώνοις· Ἀδριανὸς δὲ [ὁ] Βασιλεύς καὶ οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἄρματα ἐναντία ἐλαύνῃ ταῖς τε καὶ ἐπιτυγδεῖαν ἐναί.

Δόγοι δὲ εἰσιν ἐς τὰς πέτρας αἱ κατὰ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ 7 μάλιστα ἀνέχουσιν, ἐς μὲν τὴν Μολούριδα, ὡς ἀπὸ ταύτης 65 αὐτὴν ἐς θάλασσαν Ἰνὼ ρύθαι Μελικέρτην ἔχουσα τῶν παίδων τὸν νεότερον· τὸν γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτερον αὐτῶν Δέαρχον ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ πατὴρ. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ μανέντα δρᾶσαι ταύτα Ἀθάμαντα, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἰνὼ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας χρήσατο ἀκρατεῖ τῷ θυμῷ τῶν συμβάντα· ὂρη 70 χομενίοις λιμῶν καὶ τὸν δοκοῦντα Φρίξου θάνατον αἰσθόμενος, οὗ τὸ θεῖον αἰτίον οὐ γενέσθαι, βουλεύσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτως πᾶσιν Ἰνὼ μητρώιαν οὐσαν· τότε δὲ φεύγουσα ἐς θάλασσαν 8

porous compound of petrified shells and marine substances, that are easily decomposed and crumbled into dust." Cf. Curtius, Peloponnesus, I, 8.—58. τὴν δὲ ὄνομαξομένην ἀπὸ Σκύρωνος καὶ ἐς τὸ δέ κτλ.: Strabo (9, p. 391) describes the difficulties and dangers of this famous pass along the sea-cliffs, known in antiquity as the Scironian road (Hdt. 8, 71). Alciphron (3, 70) speaks of the robbers who here lay in wait for travelers. It was easy to make such a pass impassable. Hence, after the annihilation of Leonidas and his men at Thermopylae, the Peloponnesians blocked the Scironian road and built a fortification-wall across the isthmus (Hdt. 8, 71).

64. ἦσ μὲν τὴν Μολούριδα . . . Ἰνῷ . . . Μελικέρτην: Schol. Pind. Isthm. Introd. p. 515, ed. Boeckh, and Schol. Lycephon, 229, agree in saying that Ino fled with the infant Meliceretes over Mt. Gerania and flung herself and him from the Molurian rock into the sea. Cf. Zenob. 4, 38; Lucian, Dialogi Martinii, 8, 1. — 68. λέγεται: this is the well-known story of Helle and Phrixus, who were on the point of being killed through the wiles of their stepmother Ino, and who were carried away through the air on the ram with the golden fleece. It is
told at greater length by Zenobius (4, 38) and Hyginus (Fab. 2).

76. τὸν Ἰσθμίου: cf. 2, 1, 3. Schol. Pind. Isthm. Introd. p. 514, ed. Boeckh, explains that when the corpse of Melicertes was washed ashore on the Isthmus, a famine befell Corinth, and an oracle declared it would not cease until the people paid the due obsequies to Melicertes and honored him with funeral games. When they afterwards omitted the games, the famine came again, and the oracle told them that the honors paid to Melicertes must be eternal. All the most famous Greek games—the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympic, and Pythian—appear to have been originally funeral games.—80. χελώνη: hence Sciron was said to feed the tortoise (Schol. Eur. Hippol. 979). The death of Sciron is depicted on vase-paintings, and in some of them the tortoise is represented as waiting below for its prey. It is also the subject of one of the sculptured metopes of the so-called Theseum at Athens.

85. Διός . . . Ἀφεσίων καλομένου ναὸς: the site of this sanctuary, about an hour and a half southwest of Megara, on an eminence above the road to Corinth, was excavated in 1889. The temple was a tiny building, about twenty feet long and fourteen feet wide, consisting merely of a cella with a portico facing southeast. See A. M. XIV (1889), 327; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890, pp. 36 sqq., 63 sq.
91. **Eurystheus**: according to Apollod. 2, 8, 1, Eurystheus, after his defeat in Attica, fled in his chariot, but was overtaken at the Scironian rocks and slain by Hyllus, who cut off his head and brought it back to Alcmena. According to Eur. Heracl. 859 sqq., Iolaus took Eurystheus prisoner at the Scironian rocks, and brought him back to Alcmena, who had him put to death.

94. **'Apollos nos ierov**: after passing the long line of the Scironian cliffs the road descends into a little plain beside the sea, where at present is a small settlement named *Kínta*. The sanctuary of Latoan Apollo was probably in this neighborhood.

95. **'Ilov**: see 1, 41, 2, note.
APPENDIX

A. MANUSCRIPTS

The text of Pausanias has been handed down to us in wretched condition. It contains a number of bad faults and a great many lacunae for which the author is not to blame. The extant manuscripts are without exception of late date and were not transcribed by the best copyists. Schubart, to whom we are indebted for the first careful collation of the manuscripts, has shown that they go back to one archetype, but that there already existed in the archetype a varia lectio, introduced above the lines and on the margin, so that the copyists had really two recensions to choose from. In some instances they preferred the reading of the text; in others they chose the marginal reading; and at times they even took both, either by noting the variation on the margin or by embodying the two ideas in the text. The manuscripts are more than twenty in number and date chiefly from the 15th century. Hitzig has brought the critical apparatus of the Schubart-Walz edition up to date and has revised the text in the light of forty years of modern scholarship. For a full discussion of the manuscripts consult the prefaces of Schubart, Hitzig, and Spiro. The principal manuscripts are divided by Hitzig into three classes, in order of excellence as follows:

Class I.—Codex Leidensis 16 K, La, of the 15th and 16th centuries; in five parts by four different hands.
Codex Parisinus 1410, Pc, written by Michael Suliardus in 1491; closely related to La.
Codex Parisinus 1411, Pd, of the 15th century; closely related to Pc.
Codex Angelicus 2 c ii, Ag, of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century; akin to La and Pd.
Codex Laurentianus Plut. LVI 10, Fa, of the 15th century, with marginal glosses; it accords very frequently with Ag.
Codex Laurentianus Plut. LVI 11, Fb, of the 15th century; it is perhaps copied from Fa.

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Class II. — Codex Vaticanus 56, Vt, of the 16th century.
Codex Mosquensis, M, probably of the 14th century.
Codex Monacensis 404, Mo, of the 16th century; it is almost identical with M.
Codex Venetus 413, Vn, of the 15th century.
Codex Leidensis 16 L, Lb, of the 15th century.

Class III. — Codex Parisinus 1399, Pa, of the 15th century.
Codex Neapolitanus iii A 16, N, of the 15th century.
Codex Vindobonensis Hist. Gr. XXIII, Va, of the 16th century.
Codex Vindobonensis Hist. Gr. LI, Vb, of the 16th century.

B. EDITIONS

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C. TRANSLATIONS

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D. COMMENTARIES AND WORKS BEARING ON PAUSANIAS

1. WHOLE BOOKS AND LARGER TREATISES

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viii, 1887, 6–68); *Kalkmann, A.:* Pausanias der Perieget, Untersuchungen über seine Schriftstellerei und seine Quellen, Berlin 1886; *Gurlitt, W.:* Ueber Pausanias, Graz 1890; *Bencker, M.:* Der Anteil der Periegese an der Kunstschriftstellerei der Alten, Munich 1890; *Heberdey, R.:* Die Reisen des Pausanias in Griechenland (Abh. d. arch. epigr. Seminars der Universität Wien x, Vienna 1894).

2. IMPORTANT ARTICLES


3. SELECT DISSERTATIONS


E. ATHENS AND ATTICA

1. GENERAL WORKS

On the older literature pertaining to Athenian topography, consult *Léon, Comte de Laborde,* Athènes aux xve, xvié et xviié siècles, Paris 1854, and *Judeich,* Topographie von Athen, pp. 14 ff. We give below the more important works that have appeared since the beginning of the seventeenth century.
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2. PERIODICALS

American Journal of Archaeology, founded 1885: Series i, vols. i-xi (1885–1896); Series ii, since 1897. (A. J. A.)
Annual of the British School at Athens, since 1894–1895.
Antike Denkmäler, a collection of valuable plates published at irregular intervals. (Ant. Denkm.)
Archäologische Zeitung, vols. i-xl (1843–1885). (Arch. Zeit.)
Archäologischer Anzeiger: appendix to the Jahrbuch, but pagged separately. (Arch. Anz.)
Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique, since 1877. (B. C. H.)
'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική, published at irregular intervals from 1837 to 1888, and since then annually. (Εφ. 'Αρχ.)
Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich-Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, since 1886. (A. Jb.)
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Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien, mit Beiblatt, since 1898. (Jh. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.)

Journal of Hellenic Studies, since 1880. (J. H. S.)

Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich-Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung, founded 1876, since 1886 with slight change of title. (A. M.)

Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: vols. i–vi (to 1897).

Πρακτικά τῆς Ἐ.Α.Ρ.Α.Ε., vol. i published in 1871. (Πρ.)


Revue des Études grecques, since 1888. (R. Ét. Gr.)

3. ATLASES, MAPS, PLANS, VIEWS


4. SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR EXCURSUSES

(1) WALLS AND FORTIFICATIONS

For the earlier literature, consult Wachsmuth, Curtius, Frazer, and Hitzig-Bluemner (ll. cc.).

APPENDIX

The literature on the Agora is most fully given by Wachsmuth, ii, 305, note 1, and Hitzig-Bluemner, note on Paus. 3, 1. The most important references are:


(3 a) “THE ENNEACRONUS EPISODE”

For a more complete statement of the literature on the EnneacrONUS question, consult Hitzig-Bluemner, i, 166 ff., and Frazer, Pausanias. ii, 114, 117 f. Here follow the more important titles:

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(3b) THE DIONYSIUM IN LIMNIS


(4) THE SO-CALLED THESEUM


(5) THE OLYMPIUM

(6) THE THEATRE OF DIONYSUS


(7) THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS


(8) THE PROPYLAEA

Wheeler: Journey in Greece, 358 f.; Stuart and Revett: ii (1787), 37 ff., with pl. i–xiii; Leake: Athens, i, 527 f.; Beulé: L’Acropole d’Athènes, i, 162 ff.; Ivanoff: Sulla grande Scalina da' propilei dell’Aeropoli d’Atene, Annali dell’Istituto, xxiii (1861), 275–293; Dyer: Ancient Athens,
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(9) THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKE


(10) THE PARTHENON

The literature on the Parthenon is given fully in Jahn-Michaelis, Arch, 53 ff.1 We give only the principal titles:


1 For subsequent literature see Frazer, ii, 310 f.; Hitzig-Bluesner, i, 271–273; Judeich, 225–237, 1–7.
APPENDIX


(11) The Erechtheum


(12) The Old Athena Temple


EXCURSUSES

[For Bibliography see Appendix E]

EXCURSUS I. THE HARBORS AND FORTIFICATIONS OF GREATER ATHENS

In this discussion it may be said that I accept the following:

1. The site of Old Phalerum is to the west of the Bay of Phalerum, on the eastern slope of the hill of Munychia and extends eastward along the Bay, the view held by Leake and Gardner. Other topographers locate it either (a) at Trispurgi, crowned by the chapel of St. George at the southeast corner of the Bay, as Ulrichs and Frazer, or (b) on a conspicuous rocky elevation about one and one fourth miles north of St. George and 1400 yards from the sea, near the chapel of the Savior, as Milchhoefer and Judeich.

2. Where Thucydides and Pausanias refer to the three harbors of the Piraeus, they always mean (a) the greater harbor, (b) the oval basin southwest of the hill of Munychia, now known as the harbor of Zea or Pashalimani, and (c) the small harbor, southeast of Munychia and west of the Bay, the old harbor of Phalerum now known as Munychia or Fanari.

3. Cape Colias was what is now known as the promontory of St. George, at the southeast corner of the Bay, frequently falsely called the site of Old Phalerum.

4. The so-called Third Long Wall of Athens, usually called the Phaleric Wall, has never existed except in the fancy of certain topographers, notably Wachsmuth, Curtius, Frazer, and Judeich. In this I agree with Leake, Angelopoulos, and Gardner.

For a complete discussion of these views and of the passages in ancient authors involved, see my paper, "The Site of Ancient Phalerum," The George Washington University Bulletin, Vol. III, no. iii, pp. 82-90, October, 1904.

A. History. — Three periods are to be distinguished in the history of the fortifications of Athens: (1) The period of the Acropolis fortifications, dating from prehistoric times; (2) that of a pre-Persian city wall in
addition to the Acropolis fortifications; and (3) that of the fortifications of Greater Athens, including Piraeus, dating from the rebuilding of the city after the Persian Wars.

1. The fortifications of the Acropolis date from prehistoric times, but were not of any practical importance after the Persian Wars, when the Acropolis ceased to be a citadel and became the sacred precinct of Athena. The primitive wall about the hill was similar to the walls about the citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns, and the story goes that the Athenians employed the Pelasgians to fortify the Acropolis. The wall was known as the Πελαργικός τάχος, or Πελαργικόν, later Πελικαρχικόν. It followed the natural contours of the rock, and its course may be traced on plans of the Acropolis, where remains are indicated on the south, east, and west sides. At the west end was a kind of terraced outwork, known as the Enneapylon, or the Nine Gates, to which the name Pelargikon was given par excellence. The exact arrangement of the gates is not known, but they were doubtless set within one another in a series of bastions or terraces.

The Pelargikon doubtless existed intact up to the sixth century B.C. The Pisistratidae made use of the Acropolis with its fortifications as their citadel. After their occupation the Pelargikon was held to be under a curse and was no longer used for profane purposes. It was either demolished by the Persians or was removed for the embellishment of the Acropolis as a sacred precinct. It was never restored, but considerable portions of the outworks doubtless survived to imperial times.

2. The Pelargikon was for a long time the only fortification of Athens. It is probable that in the seventh century, certainly not later than the time of Solon, the enlarged city was surrounded with a wall. The course and extent of this wall cannot be determined in detail, as actual remains fail us, but we can in general identify its course. We infer that it was of narrower compass than the Themistoclean Wall (Thuc. 1, 93), that the older city developed round the Acropolis (Herod. 7, 140), and that the rivers, the Ilissus and the Eridanus, were recognized as boundaries to the south and north respectively (Plat. Critias, p. 112 A). An important factor for the course of the earlier wall is the gate of Hadrian with its inscriptions, which distinguish "the city of Theseus" from "the city of Hadrian." A similar landmark to the north is seen by some topographers in the gate mentioned by Paus. 1, 15, 1, at the north entrance of the market. (Judeich.)

Assuming these two points as fixed, on the northeast and southwest sides, we can conjecture the course of the wall from the configuration of
the land. Thus the wall probably ran from where the arch of Hadrian was built later, westward to the Philopappus hill, thence northwest over the Pnyx to the Hill of the Nymphs, thence over Market hill to the northwestern gate. From there it ran in semicircular fashion, first eastward, then southeast, then southwest, to the Arch of Hadrian. Thus could originate very well the oracle's observation regarding the wheel-formed city, with the Acropolis as the hub. The entire course was about three miles. Others regard the Dipylum as the site of the northwest gate of the early city wall as well as of the later, basing their argument on Thucydides's (6, 57) narrative of the assassination of Hipparchus. Hippias is superintending the arrangements for the Panathenaic festival "outside in the Ceramicus (εξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμείκῳ καλομένῳ)." The conspirators, fearing they have been betrayed, rush within the gates (ἐσω τῶν πυλῶν) and slay Hipparchus near the Leocorium. This would make the circuit somewhat greater. Concerning the material and the style of building we can only conjecture, but probably they were much the same as in the later wall. This wall was probably neglected in the sixth and early part of the fifth centuries, as it seems to have afforded no protection whatever against the Persians. After the Persian War very little of it was left standing. Cf. Thuc. 1, 89, 3, τὴν πόλιν ἀνουκοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχά εἰστίκει κτλ.

3. The first strong fortification of Athens falls in the time when the enthusiasm of the Athenians was stirred over the victories of Salamis and Plataea, and is coincident with the expansion of the city which began soon after those battles. We have an account of the rebuilding in Thuc. 1, 93: τοῦτο τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἔτειχίζοντο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καὶ δήλῃ ἡ ἀνουκοδομία ἐτί καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὑπὸ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ συνεργασμένων ἐστὶν ἧ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑκαστοὶ ποτε προσέφερον, πολλὰς τε στήλας ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθου εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγχοντας, μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχ' ἐξήκθη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τούτο πάντα ὄρμως κινοῦντες ἦπείγοντο. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιᾶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνουκοδομεῖν. ύπήκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἦς κατ' ἐνακτίνον Ἀθηναίως ἡρεῖ. καὶ ἀνουκοδομησάντω τῇ ἐκείνῳ γνώμῃ τὸ πάχος τοῦ τείχους ὅπερ νῦν ἐτί δὴλον ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν Πειραιῶν κτλ.

The date of Themistocles's archonship during which he induced the Athenians to begin the fortification of the Piraeus was 493-492 B.C. It is likely, however, that the work was not prosecuted in earnest until after the Persian Wars, when the city walls were being built and brought to a finish. The work of fortification was inaugurated under Themistocles,
continued under Cimon, and completed under Pericles. Similarly the north wall of the Acropolis dates from the time of Themistocles. The south and east walls were built by Cimon out of the spoils won by him from the Persians at the battle of the Eurymedon in 468 B.C.

The construction of the Long Walls was a later work. According to Thuc. 1, 107, the Athenians began to build the Long Walls to the sea, namely the wall to Phalerum and the wall to Piræus, about 460 B.C. The walls were completed within four years, apparently soon after the battle of Oenophyta in 456 B.C. (Thuc. 1, 108; Plut. Cimon, 13). Those who hold to the construction of a Middle Wall, usually known as the South Piræic Wall, date its construction in 445 B.C. on the untrustworthy evidence of Andocides (3, 7) and Aeschines (2, 174). For a full discussion of the so-called Third Long Wall, see the paper already mentioned, pp. 88–90. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the fortifications were still intact (Thuc. 2, 13). The Piræus fortifications and the Long Walls were demolished by the Lacedaemonians after the defeat at Aegospotami in 404 B.C. (Plut. Lysander, 14; Diod. 13, 107; 14, 85). The walls of Athens were apparently spared.

During 394–392 B.C. the Piræus fortifications and the Long Walls were restored, chiefly under Conon (Xen. Hell. 4, 8, 9–10, Diod. 14, 85). The Long Walls may have been destroyed again in 256 B.C. by Antigonus when he withdrew his garrison from Athens (Paus. 3; 6, 6): at any rate they were half in ruins in 200 B.C. when Philip V of Macedon attacked Athens (Livy, 31, 26). During this time the city wall had undergone extensive improvements after the battle of Chaeronea, 338 B.C. (Aeschin. 3, 27, 31; Liban. ad Dem. 30, 221, 1), and had been restored, according to inscriptions, under Habron, the son of Lycurgus, in 307/306 B.C. (C.I.A. II, 167), and under Euryclides and Micron (C.I.A. II, 379). The final ruin occurred when Sulla in 87–86 B.C. assailed Athens. He razed the fortifications of the Piræus and burnt the arsenal and the docks; he utilized what was left of the Long Walls in building the mound against the city close to the Dipylum; and he destroyed the city wall from the Dipylum to the Piræus gate (Plut. Sulla, 14; Appian, Mithrid. 41; Strabo, 9, p. 396). Probably from that time the Piræus fortifications and the Long Walls were a memory only. The extension of the city circuit occurred under the Emperor Hadrian. This enlargement of the city to the south and southeast is confirmed by the inscription on the gate of Hadrian, and by actual remains of the wall, which enable us to trace its course. The extension measured nearly 1½ miles. With the Hadrian Wall, the story of the ancient
fortifications is completed. Not to antiquity but to the later Middle Ages belongs what has been usually known as the "Valerian Wall," which connected the northern part of the city with the Acropolis (see W. Vischer, Kl. Schr. II, 385 Anm. 1, and Judeich, Topographie, 103 and 154).

B. Description.—The fortifications of Greater Athens naturally fall into three sections, which we shall treat in the following order: (1) The Extent and Course of the City Wall; (2) Fortifications of the Piraeus and its Harbors; (3) The Construction of the Long Walls uniting the city with its port.

1. To determine the line of the wall, we must rely partly on the literary evidence, partly on the study of the configuration of the land and of extant remains. We naturally begin at the Dipylum, where substantial remains of the Themistoclean wall, with later additions, were excavated in 1872–1874. The Dipylum was a double gate, that is, there was an outer and an inner entrance, separated by an inclosed court about 135 feet long; and each of these entrances consists of two gates, each about 11 feet wide, hinging on a pillar in the middle. The outer gate stands about 25 feet back from the outer surface of the city wall, and the approach to it is flanked by towers on both sides. So strong a defense was doubtless constructed because the low land about this gate made it the most vulnerable spot of the city. Here Philip V of Macedon in 200 B.C. made his unsuccessful assault (Livy, 31, 24); with a body of cavalry Philip forced his way through the outer gate into the court, where the missiles of the enemy poured down upon him, and he had great difficulty in extricating himself; beside this gate Sulla built the mound by which he captured the city (Plut. Sulla, 14).

The same excavations brought to light what was taken to be another gate, southwest of the Dipylum at a distance of 60 yards. Some have named it the Sacred Gate, but Dörpfeld believes it was merely an opening in the wall for the passage of the Eridanus, and that the term "Sacred Gate" is merely another name for the Dipylum, as through it the sacred processions passed on their way to Eleusis. (A. M. XIII, 1888, p. 214; XIV, 1889, pp. 414 f.)

Between the Dipylum and the so-called Sacred Gate there are considerable remains of the old city walls, consisting of an inner wall of polygonal limestone blocks nearly 8 feet thick, and an outer wall, built at a later time to strengthen the inner, about 14 feet thick, composed of an outer and inner facing of conglomerate blocks with the space between filled with earth. Beyond the Sacred Gate to the southwest both walls are
prolonged for about 40 yards to the rocky slope of the Athanasius hill, where they come to an end. Here the inner wall, mostly of limestone, reaches at times the height of 13 feet. The outer wall is about 30 feet distant from the inner; it consists of quadrangular blocks of conglomerate, and is preserved in part to a height of sixteen courses. Northeast of the Dipyllum the inner and the outer wall may be traced for about 55 and 40 yards respectively; the inner wall is well preserved, but the outer is in a ruinous condition. Of these walls and gates, the lower polygonal part of the inner wall dates from Themistocles's fortifications. The Dipyllum was probably built by Pericles. The outer wall probably dates from the Macedonian period.

From the Athanasius hill, the course of the wall up to the Hill of the Nymphs is clearly marked. Thence it ran in a southeasterly direction, following the configuration of the land, over the Hill of the Nymphs, along the ridge of the Pnyx to the Hill of the Muses. Beyond this point we can conjecture its course partly from certain landmarks, partly from literary evidence. Thus the wall continued eastward from the summit of the Hill of the Muses, and probably included the terrace of the Olympieum, the southeast corner of which seems to have formed the angle whence the wall turned northward (see Strabo, 9, 404, and Judeich l.c.). Its course northward probably extended in the direction of the present English Church, thence northwestern on the line of the present Stadion Street as far as the Police Court on the Οδός Ναυμαχοποιίου, where there was unmistakable evidence of its presence. Thence, making a turn, it proceeded in a southwesterly direction in a line parallel with the Piraeus Street, until it met the double wall extending northeast from the Dipyllum.

2. In spite of the ruin effected by time and the hand of man, enough has been preserved to enable one to trace the line of fortification-wall almost entirely round the peninsula of Piraeus. The sea-wall skirts the shore at a distance of about 20 to 40 yards. It is from 9 to 12 feet thick and consists of carefully cut blocks of native limestone without mortar; in some parts the wall is still standing to a height of 9 feet, and is flanked by towers at intervals of 55 to 66 yards.

The mouths of the harbors were contracted by moles which ran out to meet each other and left only a narrow entrance between their extremities. Thus the harbor of Cantharus, which has a mouth 336 yards wide, was protected by moles each 141 yards in length, narrowing the entrance to about 54 yards. As Zea consisted of a circular basin extending inland with a mouth only about 108 yards broad, it needed less elaborate fortifications. Walls ran along the channel leading to the basin on each side,
and at the inner end of the channel on either side were towers of solid masonry built out into the water. Munychia, being semi-elliptical in shape, was originally altogether too accessible, and required extensive constructions to convert it into a harbor that was safe in time of war. Its mole have been regarded as the most magnificent specimen of ancient Greek fortification that has survived. The southern mole built on a reef is about 206 yards long; the northern mole, resting partly on a spit of land, partly in the sea, is about 31 feet wide and 184 yards long. The entrance to the harbor, between towers terminating each mole, was 40 yards in width. In times of danger heavy chains, coated with tar, were stretched across the entrances of the harbors from tower to tower. The wall running round the peninsula joined the harbor fortifications.

On the landward side, the wall started from the northeast corner of the Munychia harbor, ran along the coast a short distance northward, ascended the hill and followed the plateau first westward and then northward, connected with the Long Walls, then turned westward across a bight of the harbor, and then followed the rocky promontory of Eetonia southwestward to the sea. Four gates can be distinguished on the landward side, the principal one being just outside the northern Long Wall.

The hill of Munychia was from early times the acropolis of Piraeus. In the latter part of the sixth century a strong fortress was here constructed by the tyrant Hippias (Arist. Resp. Ath. 38). After the Spartan occupation it was seized by Thrasylalus and his band of patriots who restored the democracy. Demetrius Poliorcetes (294 B.C.) demolished the Munychian fortress, and built a fortress on the Museum hill at Athens.

3. Though but scant traces of the Long Walls can now be detected, remains were visible to seventeenth and eighteenth century travelers. In 1676 Wheler noticed the foundations in many places (Journey, p. 420). A century later Stuart (Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, 188) saw remains of the walls 12 feet thick, with square towers at intervals. Leake (I, 295 ff.) traced the foundations of the northern Long Wall for a mile and a half, beginning half a mile from the head of the great harbor, and running in the direction of the entrance to the Acropolis. These foundations, 12 feet thick, consisted of large quadrangular blocks of stone. The southern Long Wall was not so easily traceable, except at its junction with the wall about Munychia, and for half a mile thence toward Athens. See Leake, I, 417 ff. The modern highroad from Athens to Piraeus, constructed in 1835, is largely laid on the foundations of the northern Long Wall (Wachsmuth, II, 188).
THE AGORA

The southern Long Wall joined the landward Piraeus Wall directly north of the summit of the Munychia hill, and west of the Bay of Phalerum; the northern, where the Piraeus Wall turned westward, toward the north of the harbor. Starting northeastward, they first converged, then ran parallel to each other at a distance of 550 feet until they approached Athens, when they again diverged. "The northern wall seems to have joined the ring-wall of Athens on the west side of the Nymphaeum hill near the modern Observatory; while the southern wall joined the city wall on the summit of the Museum hill. At the point where the Long Walls began to diverge as they approached Athens, they were joined by a cross-wall in which there was a gate."

Thucydides's estimate (2, 13) of the extent of the fortifications of Greater Athens is as follows: Circuit of city (exclusive of space between Long Walls), 43 stades; Piraeus Wall, 40 stades; Phaleric Wall, 35 stades; circuit of Piraeus peninsula, 60 stades, of which 30 were guarded. Gardner (p. 71) shows that, as judged by extant remains and geographic conditions, the circuit of the city wall as stated by Thucydides is far too great; the length of both the Long Walls is too short; the figures given for the circuit of Piraeus is about correct. He says the discrepancy may be adjusted by taking the figure for the city walls to include the portions of the Long Walls down to where they became parallel, and where a cross-wall is marked in Curtius's map. Roughly measured, the circuit of the old city wall was 28 stades; the additional piece thus added is about 15 stades, making a total of 43 stades. This enables the two Long Walls to diverge more widely at the Piraeus so that about half the wall might be left undefended, as Thucydides states.

By the completion of the Long Walls the city of Athens and its port were converted, as the orator Aristides says (13, vol. I, 305, ed. Dindorf) into one vast fortress a day's journey in circumference. Taking Thucydides's figures the total was 178 stades or nearly 20 miles.

EXCURSUS II. THE AGORA OF ATHENS

The determination of the site of the ancient Agora of Athens and its monuments is the turning-point of almost the whole study of Athenian topography. Yet it is this section of the city which presents the most difficult problems to the archaeologist, and about which there exists the most uncertainty. This is due to a number of causes. Of all parts of the city, the market-place and its neighborhood have been most sensitive to changes
of population, most subject to growth and decay, and thus its appearance has changed with every important epoch of Athenian history—Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Venetian, Frank, and Turkish. Of the many buildings in and about the Agora of the fifth century only one remains, an evidence of the destruction and decay that have here taken place. Again, with the passing centuries the lie of the land has changed, and relief-maps of Athens of the fifth century and of the twentieth century would show decided differences of level. Furthermore, while literary references to the market-place are numerous, they tell us of its life, of its frequenter and their occupations, but give scant information as to its site, its extent, and the relative location of its buildings and monuments. Even Pausanias’s hints as to direction are indefinite and obscure, and throw little light on many questions of the utmost importance to modern scholars.

Finally, archaeologists and topographers differ among themselves in their interpretation of the testimony of antiquity. Basing their conclusions upon the description of the one authority, Pausanias, they have so differed in their interpretations of the same statements that we have eight or more ground-plans meant to show the relative location of the various buildings.

The topography of the Agora is accordingly uncertain, and it will require further excavations to put it on a basis of sound knowledge. In the meantime we shall follow the lead of Dr. Dörpfeld.

A. Historical Development of the Agora.—The Agora of Athens, like the Roman Forum, was at all periods the centre of the political and commercial life of the city. There are likewise many analogies in the historical and topographical development of the Agora and the Forum.

When the Greeks first established communities they were in danger of robbers by land and of pirates by sea. Hence they built their settlements upon a rock which they fortified against the attacks of their enemies.

Thus originated the citadels, or 'Ακρόπολις, of primitive Greece, of which the Acropolis of Athens became the most celebrated. The low ground nearest to the citadel became the place of parley and of barter with neighboring tribes. And this constituted the primitive 'Αγορά, a term first used to denote a gathering of the people at the call of the king or chief, then the place of such gatherings, and later the general place of meeting for commercial and political purposes.

Thucydides (2, 15) says that before the centralization under Theseus the Acropolis constituted the primitive city, together with the ground lying under it, especially to the south. In proof of this statement he cites the location of a number of ancient sanctuaries, and of the spring which
Fig. 1. The Athenian Agora (Antike Denkmäler, II, 37)
furnished water for the early inhabitants. From this it seems clear that the hollow ground to the southwest of the Acropolis, bounded by the Areopagus, Pnyx, and Museum hills, was the site of the original Agora. The Roman Forum presents a striking analogy. The hollow ground between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, with its spring of Juturna and its primitive cults, there became the place of parley and of barter, the embryo centre of the later political and commercial life of Rome.

Thus the Agora, at first a place of truce-making and of buying and selling, became with the growth of the city the place for law courts, for shrines of the gods, for business centres—for in ancient times law and religion and commerce went hand in hand. But as society became more highly organized, the Agora for business would gradually separate from the Agora of politics and religion, and thus the territory covered by the various activities of the market-place would gradually spread.

B. Course and Extent of the Agora. — We can trace in general terms the course of the Athenian Agora. The centre of the growing city gradually shifted northward and westward. Hence, as law and politics and business demanded greater accommodations, the Areopagus became the centre round which the market spread, chiefly round its western slope, until the district lying north and northwest of it was entirely devoted to public buildings. The political Agora naturally kept as much as possible to its old haunts, while the business Agora spread in a northwesterly direction, toward the principal gate of the city — the Dipylum.

Hence the Agora is not to be regarded as a rectangular space carefully laid off, as in the plans of Curtius and of others, but rather as a long rambling quarter of the town, approached by the avenue from the Dipylum, with the Colonus Agoraeus as its northwest limit; east of this hill and north of the Areopagus was its principal section, but it stretched round the western slope of the Areopagus and embraced the older sites between the Areopagus and the Pnyx and extending toward the Acropolis.

C. Site of Buildings and Monuments mentioned by Pausanias. — We shall now endeavor to locate the buildings and monuments mentioned by Pausanias.

Pausanias entered Athens at the Dipylum, and proceeded along the Dromos, a broad avenue extending in a southeasterly direction, until he entered the Ceramicus at the foot of the Colonus Agoraeus. He then mentions as the first building on the right-hand side the Royal Colonnade, and in its immediate neighborhood the Colonnade of Zeus the Deliverer and the temple of Apollo the Paternal. These three buildings were doubtless in a line just beneath the Colonus hill, as indicated on the plan. (See Fig. 1, facing p. 236.)
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The next group, which Pausanias expressly says were near each other,—the Metronum or sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, the Buleuterium or Council House of the 500, and the Tholos or Rotunda,—appear to have stood at the southern end of the market-place, just at the northern foot of the slope of the Areopagus, for reasons given in the Notes. Above this group of buildings on the northern slope of the Areopagus stood the statues of the Eponymi. Pausanias now follows the main thoroughfare round the western slope of the Areopagus, with these buildings to his left, while opposite, on his right, in a conspicuous spot known as the "orchestra," were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

The next group — the Odeum, the fountain Enneacrinus, the temples of Demeter, Persephone, and Triptolemus or the Eleusinium, and the temple of Eucleia — are discussed in Excursus III. As is there argued (p. 251), the Enneacrinus is at the foot of the Pnyx hill, the Odeum near it on the traveler's right, the temples of the Eleusinian deities to the south of the Areopagus, and the temple of Eucleia a little farther on.

After visiting the Eucleia shrine, Pausanias turns directly back and gives us a clew to his movements by stating that the monuments he next visits are above the Ceramicus and the Royal Colonnade. These are the temple of Hephaestus, and the shrine of Aphrodite Urania located on the Colonus hill, as shown in Excursus IV, the former being identical with the so-called Theseum.

After describing these temples to the west of the Agora, Pausanias once more enters the market-place and describes three objects whose site has aroused considerable discussion — the Painted Colonnade, the Hermes Agoraeus, and a market-gate with a trophy upon it.

The exact site of the three depends upon (1) the site of the buildings earlier mentioned, (2) the point at which Pausanias again entered the market-place, and (3) whether we assume that the Agora was single in its form or double, consisting of a business and a political section.

Another factor to be taken into consideration is one not mentioned by Pausanias, namely a row of Hermae noted in Harpocration s.v. Ἔρμαι: ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στοιχεῖα εἶναι οἱ Ἔρμαι καλοὶ ἔρμαι. In what direction, then, did these Hermae run? Other important passages for the solution of this important topographical question are Xen. Hipparch. 3, 2, where the Hermae are mentioned as the starting and concluding point for the sacred processions; Schol. Aristophanes, Eq. 297, which says that the Hermes Agoraeus stood ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἄγορᾷ; and Lucian Jupp. Trag. 33, which locates the Hermes as ὁ ἄγοραῖος ὁ παρὰ τὴν ποικίλην.
The Harpocratio passage has been variously interpreted, and the theories as to the site of the Painted Colonnade, and in fact as to the form of the market-place, have turned largely on the direction given the row of Hermæ.

1. Some take it to mean that the row of Hermæ connected the Royal with the Painted Colonnade. So Curtius (Att. Stud. II, 25, Stadtgesch. p. 170), who locates the latter on the east side of the market, just below the Colonnade of Attalus. The market-gate he locates between the Painted and the Attalus Colonnades, with the Hermes Agoraecus just before it.

2. Many topographers, however, set the Painted Colonnade on the west border of the market, north of the Royal Colonnade, the gate between the two halls, with the Agoraecus close by, and the row of Hermæ extending across the market from the two colonnades. See Wachsmuth, I, 201 ff., Lange, Haus und Halle, p. 64, Bursian, De Foro, p. 12.

3. Lolling (p. 314) and Miss Harrison (p. 126) locate the Painted Colonnade on the northern boundary of the market; the former has the Hermæ running from the market-gate right and left to the two Colonnades; Miss Harrison, however, has it meet at its right corner the north side of the Colonnade of Attalus, while west of this is the gate with the Hermes Agoraecus, but she has the Hermæ extending in two rows from the northwest corner of the market, one eastward to the Painted Colonnade, the other southward to the Royal Colonnade.

Thus there is considerable doubt as to the site of this celebrated Colonnade. The choice seems to lie between the north side and the southern half of the east side, just below the Colonnade of Attalus. The advantage of the latter hypothesis is that it permits the row of Hermæ to run from west to east, dividing the market into a political and a commercial section, the Colonnade of Attalus being at the southeast corner of the latter. This would account for Pausaniaecus's failure to mention this Colonnade, and this view is perhaps open to fewest objections. But the whole question is problematical, and can only be settled, if at all, by excavations.

D. Sites in the Neighborhood of the Agora, mentioned by Pausaniaecus. — Pausaniaecus now fairly leaves the Agora, and passes to the description of two buildings not far distant to the east — the gymnasion of Ptolemy and the sanctuary of Theseus. All we know as to their site from Pausaniaecus is that they were near each other and "not far from the Agora." Further on he comes to the Anaceum or sanctuary of the Dioscuri, while near at hand just above the Anaceum lay the precinct of Aglaecus, the site of which can be approximately determined, and which serves as a fixed point for the
determination of all the monuments mentioned as in its vicinity. About
65 yards west of the northern porch of the Erechtheum is the staircase used
by the Arrephori in descending to the precinct of Aglaurus on the northern
slope of the Acropolis. Hence the monuments previously mentioned were
at intervals north of the Acropolis and east of the Agora. Hard by was
the Prytaneum, the centre and hearth of the state. As Pausanias is mov-
ing regularly eastward, it probably lay a little to the east of the Aglaurus
precinct, and it doubtless stood somewhat high on the Acropolis slope,
since when Pausanias leaves it to go to the Serapeum he speaks of de-
scending to the lower parts of the city.

E. Sites and Monuments of the Agora, not mentioned by Pausanias. — It is
natural that Pausanias should not mention every building and statue in the
region of the Agora, especially as he leaves the commercial market alto-
gether out of consideration. We append therefore a brief list of objects
known from other topographical and literary sources as being in or near
the Agora at the time of his visit:

i. The Colonnade of Attalus, to the east of the market, of which exten-
sive remains still exist.

ii. The Colonnade of Hadrian, east of the Attalus Colonnade and north
of the Acropolis—the northern side of the western façade of which is still
in good condition, consisting of a wall before which stand a row of det-
tached Corinthian columns, originally eighteen in number.

iii. A Propylaeum of four columns, known as the Propylaeum of Athena
Archegetis, regarded as the entrance to a Roman market-place. The gate and
broken columns of the market still stand south of the Hadrian Colonnade.

iv. The Tower of the Winds, or the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrr-
rhestes, one of the most conspicuous extant monuments of Athens, east
of the Roman market-place.

v. The Altar of the Twelve Gods, erected by Pisistratus in the market-
place, to which the various roads of Attica converged and from which miles
were measured. Of this there are no remains and the site is uncertain.

vi. The Leocorium, in the neighborhood of which Harmodius and
Aristogiton slew Hipparchus. Its site, though it cannot be definitely
fixed, was certainly in the Agora.

F. The Commercial Agora. — The commercial market surrounded the
political Agora on all sides excepting the south, as we conclude from Pau-
sanias’s description, from certain approximately determined limits of the
market, and from the site of the Colonnade of Attalus. More accurate
boundaries cannot be determined. We must regard the whole commercial
market, in the manner of oriental bazaars, as a quarter of the city intersected by narrow streets, lined with stalls or booths. At least in classical times it had this form, and preserved it in large measure in Hellenistic and Roman times. The sections for shops were called κύκλα (Harpocr., Hesych., s.v. κύκλος, Suid. s.v. κύκλος, Schol. Ar. Eq. 137, Poll. 10, 18, 82, etc.), or σκηνάι (Harpocr., Suid., s.v. σκηνής, Isoc. 19, 33, Dem. 18, 169, 54, 7, etc.), or κλήνα (Theophr. Char. 23, 8). In them stood the counters (τράπεζαν, Plat. Apol. p. 17 c, Hipp. Min. p. 368 b, Theoph. Char. 9, 4), with the wares of the merchants. The market-halls came relatively late, chiefly after the middle of the fourth century (Xen. de Vect. 3, 13), and previously to that time were used only for flour and grain.

As in the bazaar of to-day, only certain goods were sold in certain κύκλαι, and the sections took the name of the goods offered for sale in them. Unfortunately, we cannot determine the exact location of any of them, except, perhaps, of the metal and iron market (τὰ χαλκᾶ, Bekk. Anecd. I, 316, 23, ὁ σίδηρος Xen. Hell. 3, 3, 7), on the Market hill, and the rag market, Κερκύστων άγορά, near the Heliaea, apparently to the southeast of the political Agora (Hesych. s.v. Κερκύστων άγορά).

The names of the κύκλαι preserved to us are very numerous. This is especially true of provisions of all sorts. The general name for the provision market was probably τὸ ὀφοῦ (Aeschin. 1, 65 Schol.). Provisions were sold in separate κύκλαι, as e.g. meats (τὰ κρέα, cf. Theophr. Char. 9, 4, 22, 7, Poll. 7, 25), birds (οἱ ὄρνηθες, Dem. 19, 245, Ar. Av. 13 and Schol.), and fish (οἱ ἵδες, Alciph. Ep. 1, 3, 2). In the great fish market (ἰχθύστωλις sc. ἄγορά, Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 849 ν), single groups were distinguished, as that of salt fish (ταρταρώλις, Athen. 3, p. 120 ι, Theophr. Char. 6, 9, 4, 15), and that for cheap sea fish (αἱ μελβράδες, Ar. Vesp. 493, etc.).

In the vegetable market (τὰ λάχανα, Ar. Lys. 557, etc.), were separate stalls for garlic (τὰ σκόροδα, Schol. Ar. Ran. 1068), onions (τὰ κρόμμα, Eustath. Od. θ, 260), etc. We might name also the κύκλαι for fresh cheese (χλωρὸς τυρός, Lys. 23, 6), perfumeries (τὰ ἀρώματα, Schol. Ar. Pac. 1158), pottery (αἱ χύτραι, Ar. Lys. 557), clothing (ἵματιστωλὶς or σπειρόσωλις ἄγορά, Poll. 7, 78), etc. An especial place was assigned to the bankers (αἱ τράπεζαι, Theophr. Char. 5). There was, finally, also a horse market (οἱ ἱππαν, Theophr. Char. 23, 7) and a slave market (τὰ ἀνθρώπῳδα, Poll. 7, 11, 10, 19).

The great territory covered by the commercial market, apart from the circles and rows of booths, was itself intersected by streets, dwellings, and public buildings. Most prominent of all were the streets leading to the
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Thriasian gate and the great Dromos leading to the Dipylum. The buildings along this are known especially from Pausanias's description (1, 2, 4–6). Traces of single buildings mentioned by him are found, as for instance of the Pompeium, near the gate, and of the monument of Eubulides. Another fixed point is the northeast corner of the Market hill. The northern boundary is uncertain. From the Dipylum to the Market, colonnades lined the Dromos, before which were bronze statues of eminent men and women (Paus. 1, 2, 4, cf. Himerius, 3, 12). They served as places of barter and trade, which alternated with sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias. Of the places on the southern side of the Dromos we hear nothing from Pausanias, but near the end of the Dromos we may with certainty set the Long Colonnade (Μαχρά Στοά). This was doubtless the same as the Stoa Alphitopolis, the great grain-hall of Athens. On the Market hill directly behind the Long Colonnade was the Hephaesteum. On the southwest corner of the hill was located the Euryseceum (C.I.A. IV, 2, 597 d 22), in which the son of Salaminian Ajax was honored.

What we know of the territory north and east of the Dromos all arranges itself apparently along the old street extending from the Thriasian gate.

EXCURSUS III. THE ENNEACRUNUS AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD

There is great truth in Leake's statement (Topography, p. 45) that "the fountain Enneacrunus is the most important point in Athens for the elucidation of the topography of Pausanias." The discussion that has centred about the site of this fountain, mentioned by Pausanias in 1, 14, 1, has involved many other important monuments and has occasioned so much debate that the so-called "Enneacrunus Episode" has called forth a vast amount of literature and a countless number of divergent views from classical scholars and archaeologists.

Fortunately, the actual discovery of the original Callirrhoe and the investigation into the system of water-works installed by Pisistratus — the result of Dr. Dörpfeld's scientific work — have made possible the final solution of the problem and have caused many other difficulties in Athenian topography to disappear. With the greater light we now possess it seems surprising how far afield the early topographers were. Yet they did not have the benefit of those excavations which have made pre-Persian Athens almost as well known to us as the Athens of the Periclean age.
ENNEACRUNUS

The questions involved in the Enneacrunus investigation have been so thoroughly discussed by Miss Harrison (who presents Dr. Dörpfeld's views) in her latest work, Primitive Athens as Described by Thucydides, Cambridge, 1906, that it will be necessary in this Excursus merely to state the points at issue and the results attained, referring the reader to this work for the arguments. As I agree with Dr. Dörpfeld and Miss Harrison in all particulars, with one important exception, my statement is largely a summary of their views.

The problem that vexed the earlier topographers was this: The place in the text devoted to Pausanias's description of the fountain Enneacrunus, earlier called Callirrhoe, and the adjacent buildings, naturally demands that the fountain and these monuments should be in close proximity to the objects in the market-place described in adjoining chapters. Yet tradition and classical authors locate a fountain Callirrhoe, called at times Enneacrunus, on the banks of the Iliissus, and Thucydides (1, 15) speaks of a sanctuary of Olympian Zeus (and other shrines) as being in its neighborhood — naturally identified with the celebrated Olympieum and adjacent sanctuaries.

The explanations that have been given may be classified as follows: 1. Leake, Curtius, and others, relying chiefly on Thucydides 1, 15, hold that the Enneacrunus was certainly in the valley of the Iliissus, and believe that the fountain and the other buildings mentioned as adjacent to it are for some reason inserted here out of the topographical order. Various theories are propounded to justify the break in the narrative. 2. Wachsmuth, Frazer, and others who agree with Leake as to the position of the Enneacrunus, but who cannot accept so great a deviation from the topographical order in Pausanias's description, think that Pausanias must have seen or been shown some other spring close to the end of the Agora, which he mistook for Enneacrunus. 3. Dr. Dörpfeld, on the contrary, both insists on the topographical order, and takes the testimonies of Thucydides and Pausanias as evidence of the presence of the fountain called Enneacrunus within the limits of the Agora, adjacent to the Pnyx hill. Proving his faith by his works, he made excavations to find it, and in so doing he has not only discovered what he believes to be the fountain Callirrhoe-Enneacrunus, but has also demonstrated the ancient system of water-works installed by Pisistratus.

The difficulties involved have been removed by showing that the nature of the primitive city required the fountain to be not far from the Acropolis; that the statements of Thucydides and Pausanias are entirely in accord;
that there were really two fountains named Callirrhoe, one of which—that in the market-place—changed its name, with its enlarged functions, to Enneacrunus; that there was a duplication of certain sanctuaries about the Acropolis and adjacent to the Ilissus; and finally that excavations have laid bare and explained the Pisistratian water-system and proved the accuracy of Pausanias.

In this Excursus it will suffice to notice, first, the statements of ancient writers bearing on Enneacrunus; second, the probable sites of adjacent shrines; third, the results of excavations.

A. ANCIENT WRITERS ON ENNEACRUNUS

1. The famous passage in Thucydides, 2, 15, 3–6,1 is to this effect:

Before the synoikisms under Theseus, “what is now the Acropolis was the polis, together with what is below it, especially towards the south” (τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦτον ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὐσα πόλις ἤν, καὶ τὸ ὅπου αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μᾶλλον τετραμμένον), the latter phrase being added evidently as a detail or afterthought. Then follow many reasons in proof of this statement. τεκμηρίον δέ· τὰ γάρ ἵστα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκρόπολει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστι. “The sanctuaries are on the Acropolis itself, those of other deities as well (as of the Goddess).” Then proceeding: καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἱδρυται τὸ τε τοῦ Δίως τοῦ Ὄλυμπου καὶ τὸ Πύθων καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν λίμνῃς Διονύσου, κτλ. “And the sanctuaries outside are situated toward this part of the city more than elsewhere, as that of Zeus Olympus, and the Pythium, and that of Ge, and that of Dionysus in the Marshes, etc.” The usual interpretation, making πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως refer exclusively to πρὸς νότον above, is obviously incorrect. Thucydides is arguing that the ancient city was limited to a certain portion of the later city, namely the Acropolis and its slopes especially southwards, and proves it by naming certain primitive shrines in or near this section. “Furthermore,” he proceeds, “other ancient sanctuaries are situated here” (ἱδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἵστα ταύτης ἀρχαίων). Then follows the statement about the Enneacrunus: καὶ τῇ χρήσει τῆς νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὔτω σκεπασάντων Ἐννεακρόνης καλομένην, τὸ δὲ πόλις φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὖσον Καλλιπρόφῳ ὁμομελῆς, ἐκεῖνοι τὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ τὰ πλείστοι ἀξιὰ ἔχοντο, καὶ νῦν ἢτι ἄπο τοῦ ἁρχαίου πρὸ τε γαμάκων καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομιζόμενα τῷ ὄντι χρήσιμα, —’“And the spring which is now called Enneacrunus, from

1 On the interpretation of this passage, see A. W. Verrall, Class. Rev. xiv (1900), 274 ff.; Mitchell Carroll ibid. xix (1905), 325 ff.; Judeich, Topographie, 51-56 and n. 4; Miss Harrison, Primitive Athens, 7 ff.; Capps, Class. Philol. li (1907), 25 ff.
the form given to it by the tyrants, but which formerly, when the wells were visible, was named Callirrhoë — this spring, being near [i.e. to the Acropolis district], they used for the most important purposes, and even now it is still the custom derived from the ancient (habit) to use the water before weddings and for other sacred purposes." The concluding sentence adds an argument from the local use of language: καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτη κατοικήσιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦτο ἐτὶ ἦν Ἀθηναίων πόλις, "And furthermore the Acropolis is still to this day called by the Athenians, because of the ancient settlement here, the polis."

Thus the whole argument was merely to prove that the primitive city comprised the Acropolis together with such territory about it, especially but not entirely towards the south, as could in a loose and popular way be regarded as actually pertaining to and included in the Acropolis. Thucydides states that those ancient sanctuaries which are outside are placed towards this part of the city more than elsewhere and that the Enneaeunus is near.

It seems then, on the face of it, that a settlement stretching from the Acropolis to the Ilissus, half a mile off, would be much too large for primitive Athens. Hence this passage calls for the determination of ancient sanctuaries of Zeus Olympia, of Pythian Apollo, of Ge, and of Dionysus in the Marshes, on the slopes of the Acropolis, and of the Enneaeunus fountain near at hand.

2. Pausanias, after his account of the statues of the Tyrannicides and his mention of the Odeum, speaks thus of Enneaeunus (1, 14, 1): πλησίον δὲ ἦτοι κρήνη, καλοῖς δὲ αὐτῇ Ἰτινάκρονον, οὕτω κοσμηθέντων ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου. φράτα μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐστι, πηγὴ δὲ αὐτῇ μόνη. He next speaks of temples above the fountain: ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμητρας πατόται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπολέμου κεῖσθαι ἐστιν ἄγαλμα. After thus mentioning temples of Demeter and Kore, and of Triptolemus, Pausanias continues (1, 14, 1–4) in a way that suggests, though it does not assert, that these temples were in a precinct known as the Eleusinum. In section 5 Pausanias remarks, "Still farther on is a temple of Eucleia" (ἐτὶ δὲ ἀπωτέρω ναὸς Εὐκλείας). Hence the narrative of Pausanias calls for evidence as to the site of (1) the Odeum, (2) the temples of Demeter and Kore, and of Triptolemus, and (3) the temple of Eucleia — all of which were in the Enneaeunus neighborhood.1

1 Other important passages bearing on Callirrhoë are as follows:

Hdt. 6, 137: αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων λέγομεν . . . φοιτῶν γὰρ ἄνευ τῶν σφετέρων θυγατέρας ἐπὶ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρονον . . . δικαὶ δὲ ἐλθον οὕτως Πελασγός κατακημένως
B. SITES OF MONUMENTS IN NEIGHBORHOOD OF ENNEACRONUS

1. The Olympium.—This is one of the sanctuaries mentioned in the passage of Thucydides as being "outside" the Acropolis, but towards this part of the city (τὰ ἐξω πρὸς τὸυτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον κτλ.), in conjunction with the Pythium and the sanctuaries of Ge and of Dionysus in the Marshes. Cf. Paus. 1, 18, 6–8, where the great precinct of Olympian Zeus near the Ilissus is described in detail, with which also a Pythium is associated. Till recently it was inferred that this was the sanctuary Thucydides had in mind; if this is too remote we must show there is evidence for another Olympium and another Pythium in Athens, adjacent to the Acropolis. Dörpfeld cites, as proof of such a sanctuary northwest of the Acropolis, Strabo, 9, p. 404, where we are told the Athenians watched the Harmone on Mt. Cithaeron for the lightning ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ ἄστραπάλων Δίῳs which is ἐν τῷ τείχῳ μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὅλυμπίου. There is convincing evidence of a Pythium on the Long Rocks northwest of the Acropolis, and Dörpfeld interprets this passage as referring to the Acropolis Wall. Though there are no certain remains of this Olympium, it must have been adjacent to the Pythium, the exact site of which has been determined.

ὑπὸ τῷ Ὅλυμπου... βιώσαθι σφεαὶ. This naturally refers to a spring adjacent to the primitive fortified settlement and gives the later name.

Ps-Plat. Alex. p. 364 A: ἔξισθκα μοι καὶ Κυνάσαργες καὶ γενομένῳ μοι κατὰ Ὅλυμπόν... Κλειναίν ὁρῶ τὸν Ἀθηνάου θέοντα ἐπὶ Καλλιρρόην—a manifest reference to the spring by the Ilissus.

Etymol. Magn. s.v. Ἐννεάκρονος: κρήνη Ἀθηναίων παρὰ τὸν Ὅλυμπον ἢ πρότερον Καλλιρρόης ἐσκεῖν. Πολύζης Ἐννεάκρονον ἔχειν. (Com. Att. Frgm., ed. Kock, I, p. 790, 2) "ἐν προς Ἐννεάκρονον, εὐθὺς τὸν τόπον." This and similar statements of late date may result from a confusion of the Callirhoe with the Enneacronus tradition. By the time this work was compiled, the old Callirhoe at the Pnyx had been long forgotten. Over against this set the statement of another lexicographer, Suidas, s.v. νυμφικὰ λούτρα: τὰ εἰς γάμωσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ κρήνης λαμβανόμενοι.

- Cratinus, frgm. 186, in Schol. Ar. Eq. 526: "Ἀνάξ Ἀπολλον, τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν μειμάτων καναχήθης Πηγαί διαδεκάρονον τὸ στήμα, Ὅλυμπος ἐν τῇ φάρνη. Frazer considers this certainly an allusion to the Enneacronus, though the poet speaks of twelve instead of nine jets of water.

Hierocles Hippiat. praef.: Ταραττίνος δὲ ιστορεῖ τὸν τοῦ Δίως νεῶν κατασκευαζοντας Ἀθηναίους Ἐννεάκρονον πλησίον εἰσελθόντες ψηφίσασθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ζηύς ἄπαντα κτλ., discussed by Miss Harrison, pp. 154–158, who shows that Tarantius, an author of uncertain date, tells of the Olympium a story told by others of the Parthenon; he is not worthy of credence.
2. *The Pythium.* — The Pythium is the second sanctuary named by Thucydides (2, 15, 4). Pausanias (1, 19, 1) speaks of an image of Apollo near the great temple of Olympian Zeus (Μετὰ δὲ τῶν ναῶν τοῦ Δίων τοῦ Ὀλυμπίων πλοιῶν ἄγαλμα ἐστιν Ἄπτολλων Πυθίου) and we know there was a Pythium or sanctuary of Pythian Apollo in that quarter of Athens (see note l.c.).

But literary evidence of itself proves that there was another Pythium, naturally that referred to by Thucydides, somewhere on the Long Rocks at the northwest end of the Acropolis. Pausanias (1, 28, 4) speaks of “a sanctuary of Apollo in a cave” on the Acropolis slope, and another writer applies to it the name of Pythium (cf. Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2, 1, 7, where it is stated that the route followed by the ship in the Panathenaic procession was from the Ceramicus to the Eleusinium, then round the Eleusinium and past the Pelargicum to the Pythium, where the ship was moored). As Pausanias (1, 29, 1) says the ship was kept near the Areopagus, this cannot well be the Pythium on the Ilissus. Cf. also Eur. Ion, 7 ff., 285 ff., where the caves of the Long Rocks are made the scene of the nuptials of Apollo and Creusa.

The actual cave of Apollo has also been found and thoroughly cleared out, and numerous votive offerings with inscriptions have come to light which make the identification certain. The Olympieum probably lay some what east of the Pythium, but there is no archaeological evidence to prove it. It stands or falls with the Pythium. See Miss Harrison, Primitive Athens, pp. 67–82, for an extended description of the Pythium.

3. *The Sanctuary of Ge.* — This is the third sanctuary cited by Thucydides (2, 15, 3). In 1, 18, 7 Pausanias mentions the temenos of Ge Olympia within the peribolus of the great Olympieum; and in 1, 22, 3 he speaks of the shrine of Ge Kourotraphos and Demeter Chloe, in describing his approach to the Propylaea along the southern slope of the Acropolis. The sanctuary of Ge was probably at the southwest corner of the Acropolis, presumably somewhere along the winding road followed by Pausanias. It is doubtful to this latter sanctuary that Thucydides refers.

4. *The Odeum* (Paus. 1, 8, 6; 1, 14, 1). — This is the first object of interest mentioned by Pausanias after leaving the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton on the northwest slope of the Areopagus. Frazer (note l.c.), Dörpfeld in A. M. xvii (1892), 252–260, and Judeich (Topographie, 312) agree in concluding that “the theatre called Odeum” (Paus. 1, 8, 6) was identical with the theatre in the Ceramicus called the Agrippaeum mentioned by Philostratus (Vit. Soph. 2, 5, 4; 8, 4). Dörpfeld thinks it occupied the
site of the old market orchestra, southwest of the Areopagus and north of the Hill of the Nymphs. Cf. Tim. Lex. Plat. Ὄρχηστρα τόπος ἐπιφανής εἰς πανήγυριν, ἐνθα Ἁρμοδίων καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐκώνες. Those who place Enneacrunus and adjacent structures along the Ilissus consider this a suburban Odeum, situated in Agrae. There are no definite data as to such a site. The two other well-known Odeums are the Odeum of Pericles near the theatre (Paus. 1, 20, 4) and the Odeum of Herodes Atticus on the southern slope of the Acropolis. "Near the Odeum," says Pausanias, "is a fountain called Enneacrunus" (1, 14, 1).

5. The Temples of Demeter and Persephone, and of Triptolemus. — "Above the fountain," continues Pausanias, "are temples; one of them is a temple of Demeter and Kore, in the other is an image of Triptolemus" (1, 14, 1-3). He then proceeds to tell the story of Triptolemus and says he purposed to describe all the objects "in the sanctuary at Athens called the Eleusinium," but was prevented by a vision in a dream.

All who see in Enneacrunus the Callirrhoe on the Ilissus distinguish the two temples from the Eleusinium, and locate them in Agrae where the μυκρὰ μυστήρια were celebrated (see Milchh. S. Q. xxiv). Dr. Dörpfeld and Miss Harrison, on the contrary, believe that the two temples were comprised in the Eleusinium. Judeich, p. 257, locates the temples somewhere south of the Areopagus, but asserts they were not in the Eleusinium. The site of the Eleusinium is well attested as being south of the Areopagus and west of the Acropolis. Cf. Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 13, who speaks of the Eleusinium "which was beneath the Acropolis"; Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2, 1, 5, who in describing the Panathenaic procession says that "the ship, starting from the Ceramicus with a thousand oars, sailed up to the Eleusinium, and, having made the circuit of it, passed the Pelargicum." The natural inference is that the two temples were comprised in the Eleusinium.

6. Temple of Eucleia. — "Further on" (τὴν ἐν Ἀτη), says Pausanias, after his account of the Eleusinium, "is a temple of Eucleia" (1, 14, 5).

The goddess Eucleia, or Good Fame, is identified with Artemis Eucleia by Dr. Dörpfeld and Miss Harrison on the authority of Plutarch (Aristid. 20), who think this temple is identical with a shrine of Artemis Aristoboule dedicated by Themistocles and located "in Melite near to his own house (Plut. Them. 15, 22)." Others deny the identification and locate the temple of Eucleia on the left bank of the Ilissus. Hitzig-Bluemner (note l.c.) think the identification altogether uncertain, as in inscriptions Eucleia is joined with Eunomia (see S. Q. xxix). Judeich, pp. 355, 336, also regards
the identification as unprovable and improbable, but locates the temple somewhat distant from the Triptolemus temple, and certainly not far from that of Artemis Aristoboule.

7. The Dionysium in Limnis.—This is the last of the sanctuaries mentioned by Thucydides (2, 15), as being "outside" the Acropolis, but within the limits set for the primitive city.

We observe that up to this point in the discussion there have developed in different localities two Callirrhoe, two sanctuaries of Zeus, two of Apollo, two of Ge, two or more of the Eleusinian deities, two or more Odeums, and two Eucleias. Fortunately there is only one Dionysium in Limnis, and if we can determine the site of this we have the key to the whole topographical situation. True, there have been many sites assigned to it. The early topographers and the latest authority on the Dionysiac cult, Paul Foucart (Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique, Paris, 1905), locate it in the Dionysus precinct containing the theatre, on the southwest slope of the Acropolis. Others located it in the Ilissus neighborhood or outside the city. Dr. Dörpfeld, on the contrary, is firmly convinced that he has excavated its site and determined the authenticity of it in the territory excavated by the German school, between the Areopagus, Pnyx, and Acropolis. Miss Harrison devotes pp. 83–100 of Primitive Athens to proving this identification and to describing the precinct.

The precinct in question is northwest of the ancient road laid bare by Dr. Dörpfeld, just south of the western end of the Areopagus. It is triangular in shape, being bounded by three streets, and is about 600 square yards in area. It is surrounded by a limestone wall which shows several styles of construction from the Cyclopean to the quadrangular. It consists of two parts, divided by a wall with a door, the southern section being the smaller. In the southern part is a small temple; in the middle of the northern part is a table-like altar, and in the northwest corner is a wine-press. Above a considerable portion of the precinct are the foundations of a building of Roman date, which contained a large hall with two rows of columns, dividing it into a central nave and two aisles. Here was found an altar decorated with scenes from the worship of Dionysus, and the drum of a column on which is an inscription giving the statutes of a club of persons calling themselves Iobakchoi, and showing the name of the hall to be the Bakcheion. No inscriptions of an earlier date were found anywhere in the precinct, and no orchestra has come to light. The altar, the wine-press, and the small temple of very early date are taken as sufficient evidence that this is the Dionysium in Limnis.
Dr. Dörpfeld and Miss Harrison present their arguments so cogently that the reader feels impelled to accept their conclusions without hesitation; but when he reviews once more the literary evidence cited by them he finds that what applies strictly to the Dionysium in Limniss does not afford conclusive proof of this identification, any more than do the archaeological remains. If this precinct is not the Dionysium in Limniss, what is it then? This question I am not prepared to answer, but I shall summarize the arguments to prove that the Dionysium in Limniss was embraced in the Dionysiac precinct on the southwest slope of the Acropolis, referring the reader to my paper in the Classical Review, xix (1905), 325–328, for a fuller statement.

1. The oft-quoted passage in Thucydides mentions four sanctuaries, three of which we have seen to be on the Acropolis slopes, namely, the Olympieum to the northwest, the Pythium west of it, the sanctuary of Ge on the southwest; then follows the Dionysium in Limniss in regular order from northwest to southeast, and here it is on the southeast slope. This order suggests that Thucydides was thinking of the site of the Dionysiac theatre, and not a locality some distance away southwest of the Areopagus. Did not Thucydides add the phrase πρὸς νότον μάλιστα, "chiefly to the south," so as to include this site?

2. Pausanias (1, 20, 3) says: Τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ ἐστι πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἄρχαιοτατον ιερόν, κτλ. The ἄρχαιοτατα Διονύσια of the Thucydides passage were celebrated ἐν τῷ ἄρχαιοτάτῳ ιερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀγνωτάτῳ ἐν Λύμναις (Ps.-Dem. 59, 76), and Pausanias tells us that τοῦ Διονύσου . . . τὸ ἄρχαιοτατον ιερόν was πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ. Though Pausanias does not mention the Dionysium in Limniss by name, he doubtless had the Thucydides passage in mind, and the Pseudo-Demosthenes passage serves as a connecting link to justify this interpretation.

3. I hold with M. Foucart (p. 109), in regard to the famous chorus of the Frogs (218 ff.),

that the scene of the Frogs is the actual theatre itself, where the play was celebrated, with the neighborhood. The word λύμναι probably denotes the sacred pools, round which Xanthias runs instead of crossing in a ferry boat.

The statement that the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes was opened once only in each year on the 12th of the month Anthesterion, as
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given in Ps.-Demosthenes l.c., is no conclusive objection to this interpretation, as the primitive shrine was probably closed, not the whole sacred precinct which contained also the orchestra and the temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus.

C. EXCAVATIONS

Excavations made in the bed of the Iliissus on the traditional site of Callirrhoe by the Greek Archaeological Society, in 1893, reveal artificial methods of embellishment which, Frazer and others believe, may have caused the water to issue from nine spouts in such a way as to justify the name Enneacrunus. But, as Judeich (p. 182) and Miss Harrison (p. 153) point out, these remains show conclusively that in classical times no considerable fountain could have existed there; and there are no traces of an artistic treatment and no evidence whatever that the work was of an early date.

Dr. Dörpfeld's excavations, however, have revealed the Pisistratean system of water-works and have given the unanswerable solution to the Enneacrunus problem. It is beside our purpose to describe in detail the artificial water supply of ancient Athens. Suffice it to say that in the Pnyx rock, as indicated on the plan facing p. 236, is the spring Callirrhoe. It has been reënforced by water from the district of the Iliissus, brought in a conduit laid by Pisistratus. In front of the ancient Callirrhoe once stood a fountain house called Enneacrunus, or Nine Spouts. Several stones have been found which belonged to this artificial fountain. That these remains belong to the Pisistratean epoch is indicated by the materials, the stamps, and the similarity of construction with other Pisistratean buildings and with the fountains of Megara and Corinth of similar date. The plan gives the general dispostion of the place of the Enneacrunus, showing the spring Callirrhoe in the Pnyx rock, the large reservoir, immediately in front of it the draw-well, and to the right of the reservoir, and equally fed by it, the fountain house, Enneacrunus. In front of the fountain house is a great open space, which was at one time the heart and centre of the Agora.

Conclusion. — On the whole the balance of evidence seems to justify the following inferences:

1. Pausanias and Thucydides are in accord in locating the Enneacrunus in the neighborhood of the Acropolis, and Pausanias did no violence to the topographical order of his narrative.

1 See especially Fr. Gräber, Die Enneakrunos, A.M. xxxi (1903), 1-64.
2. Of the sites mentioned by Pausanias and Thucydides in connection with Enneaeocrinus, there were primitive sanctuaries of Olympian Zeus, of Pythian Apollo, and of Ge, on the Acropolis slopes as well as along the Ilissus, and Thucydides doubtless referred to the former; the Odeum was doubtless in the Agora just southwest of the Areopagus; there were sanctuaries of the Eleusinian deities both west of the Acropolis, south of the Areopagus, and in Agra across the Ilissus, but the Eleusinium was in the former locality; if Eucleia is Artemis Eucleia, her sanctuary was in the Areopagus region, but if the shrine mentioned by Pausanias was of Eucleia merely, the site is uncertain; the Dionysium in Limmis is either where Dr. Dörpfeld locates it, south of the western end of the Areopagus, or more probably it is identical with the theatre precinct where Pausanias locates the most ancient sanctuary of Dionysus.

3. The excavations of Dr. Dörpfeld and the recent investigations into the water supply of ancient Athens, together with the testimony of ancient writers, afford conclusive evidence that the site of the Enneaeocrinus of Pisistratus has been identified at the foot of the east slope of the Pnyx hill.

EXCURSUS IV. THE THESEUM

It has been already stated that the Royal Colonnade was doubtless situated at the eastern foot of the hill known as Colonus Agoraesus, on which the Doric temple commonly known as the Theseum now stands. Now Pausanias informs us: Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Κεραμεικῶν καὶ στοίχη τῆς καλομέλης βασιλέως ναὸς ἦτον Ἡφαίστου (1, 14, 6). Hence it seems evident that the temple of Hephaestus "above" the Agora and Royal Colonnade must have been on this hill. Add the testimony of Harpocratian (s.v. Κολωνέτας) that the Hephaesteum and the Euryseceum stood on the Colonus Agoraesus near the Agora, and that the Euryseceum was in the quarter Melite (s.v. Εὐρυσκείων), which we know from other sources lay to the west and southwest of the market-place.

Since the evidence is strong that the temple of Hephaestus was on the Colonus Agoraesus, it raises the interesting question whether the temple still standing there, known as the Theseum, is not actually the Hephaesteum.

This temple, the best-preserved architectural relic of the ancient world, has been the subject of an interesting controversy as to its identity. It has been by various writers at different times attributed respectively to Ares, Apollo, Heracles, Aphrodite, the Amazons, Theseus, and Hephaestus. But before entering upon this controversy let us briefly describe the temple.
The so-called Theseum is a peripteral hexastyle in antis. It stands upon a marble stylobate raised three steps from the ground, the lowest step being of Piraeus limestone. The building is 104 feet long, and 45 feet wide. To front and rear are six Doric columns, and at the sides are thirteen, the corner columns being twice counted.

The columns are 19 feet in height, varying in diameter from 3 feet 5 inches at the base to 2 feet 7 inches at the top; they are accordingly somewhat more slender than those of the Parthenon. The intercolumniation is $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, at the corners $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Above the architrave runs a Doric frieze of triglyphs and metopes, encircling the whole building; only a few of these, however, are sculptured. Above the frieze is the usual cornice and pediment.

The cela, which is about 40 feet in length by 20 feet in breadth, has a fore-chamber (pronaos) at the east end and a back-chamber (opisthodomus) at the west end, formed by the prolongation of the side walls terminating in antae; at each end a pair of columns occupied the space between the antae.

Of the sixty-eight metopes only eighteen were embellished with sculptured reliefs, namely, the ten on the east front, and the four on the north and south sides respectively at the eastern end. The metopes of the east front represent the labors of Heracles. The scenes from left to right are as follows: (1) Heracles and the Nemean lion; (2) Heracles and the Lernaean hydra; (3) Heracles and the Cerynean hind; (4) Heracles and the Erymanthian boar; (5) Heracles and the horses of Diomedes; (6) Heracles and Cerberus; (7) Heracles and Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons; (8) Heracles and Eurytion; (9) Heracles and Geryon; (10) Heracles and one of the Hesperides. The eight reliefs on the side walls, which are better preserved, celebrate the achievements of Theseus. Those on the south side, beginning from the east, are: (1) Theseus and the Minotaur; (2) Theseus and the bull of Marathon; (3) Theseus and the robber Sinis; (4) Theseus and Procrustes. Those on the north, beginning from the east, are: (1) Theseus and the robber Periphetes; (2) Theseus and the Arcadian Cereyon; (3) Theseus and Sciron; (4) Theseus and the Crommyonian sow.

There is also a sculptured frieze at each end of the cela, over the inner columns, the western frieze extending merely from anta to anta, while the eastern frieze extends beyond the antae to meet the epistyle. The west frieze is about 25 feet long; the east frieze is about 37 feet long. The subject of the former is the battle between the Centaurs and Lapiths; of the latter, a battle fought in the presence of six seated deities divided into two groups of three each. The subject is uncertain.
The date of the temple and its sculptures is agreed to be about the middle of the fifth century B.C.; but whether it falls soon before, or soon after, or contemporaneous with, the Parthenon, is disputed. Dörpfeld and other architects would place it later, because of its more advanced tendencies to Ionicism in architectural details. The sculptures, furthermore, favor the later date, as for example the resemblances between the west frieze of this temple and the metopes of the Parthenon. Similarly certain Attic vase-paintings suggest the later date, as the metopes are frequently imitated on Attic vases, but never of an earlier date than 430 B.C., whereas the Parthenon dates from 447–432 B.C. It has been conjectured from the style of the metopes that the sculptures were the work of Myron or of pupils of Myron; but the names of the sculptors are not known.

Frazer thus summarizes the arguments for and against the view that this Doric temple is actually the Theseum, described by Pausanias (1, 17, 2–6), προς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ θεσσάρων ἱστιν ἱερόν, κτλ.

In favor of its being the Theseum are, (1) the tradition which for some centuries at least has designated the temple as the Theseum; (2) the evidence of the sculptured metopes, representing the deeds of Theseus, and of the west frieze, representing the contests of Centaurs and Lapiths, in which Theseus took part; (3) the fact that the inside walls are covered with stucco, which suggests that they were once embellished with paintings, as we know from Pausanias to have been true of the Theseum.

In regard to (1), the anonymous author of a Greek tract on the topography of Athens, of the fifteenth century, preserved in the Paris library, was the first writer in modern times to call the temple Theseum. Henceforth the temple bore this name without question until the middle of the nineteenth century, when Ross proposed to identify it with the temple of Ares (Paus. 1, 8, 2), a name earlier suggested by the traveler Cyriacus of Ancona.

The arguments against its being the Theseum are, (1) Theseus was not a god but a hero. The heroum of the latter was always sharply distinguished from the naos of the former. The terms used by Pausanias (1, 17, 2 and 6) for the Theseum and other memorials of Theseus better suit a heroic shrine. Besides, this temple is a regular temple facing east with three steps, whereas the heroum has two steps and faces west. (2) This temple, as we have seen, is of the age of Pericles, while the Theseum was built in the age of Cimon and seems to have been begun not later than 493 B.C. (see 1, 17, 6, note). (3) The evidence as to the site of the Theseum derived from Aristotle, Plutarch, and Pausanias (note l.c.) is in favor of
placing it to the east of the Agora, and north of the Acropolis. (4) The argument based on the fact that eight of the metopes and at least one of the friezes represented the exploits of Theseus is met by showing that the subject of metopes and friezes had no necessary relation to the deities of the temples, as e.g. the labors of Heracles on the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, and the Centaurs on the Parthenon metopes.

On the whole the preponderance of evidence is against identifying the temple with the Theseum.

If not, then, the Theseum, to what god was the temple dedicated? Various have been the answers given: (1) Ross thought it was the temple of Area (see 1, 8, 4, note). (2) Wachsmuth and Curtius identified the temple with the famous sanctuary of Heracles, Averter of Evil, in Melite (cf. Schol. Ar. Ran. 501). But Pausanias makes no mention of a temple of Heracles. (3) Köhler, Loeschke, and Milchhoefer make it a temple of Apollo the Paternal. But that temple, as we have seen (see 1, 3, 4, note), was in the Agora. (4) Lange would regard it as the sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania (Paus. 1, 14, 7, note), and (5) Dr. Dyer conjectured it might have been the sanctuary of the Amazons (see Plut. Theseus, 27). (6) Finally, the proposal first made by Pervanoglu, to identify the so-called Theseum with the temple of Hephaestus described by Pausanias (1, 14, 6), has been accepted by Lolling, Dörpfeld, and Miss Harrison.

Arguments in favor of the temple being a Hephaesteum are as follows: (1) It fits the topographical requirements. We know from Pausanias that the temple of Hephaestus stood on high ground, above the market-place and the Royal Colonnade, and from other sources that together with the Euryseceum it stood on the hill Colonus Agoraes. The hill on which the so-called Theseum stands has been identified as the Market hill. The only objects mentioned as being on this hill are the naos of Hephaestus, the hieron of Aphrodite Urania, and the Euryseceum. As this temple is a naos, this is strong evidence that it was the Hephaesteum. (2) There was a natural fitness in having the temple of Hephaestus overlook the potter's quarter. (3) An inscription of 440-416 B.C. speaks of the revival or institution of the worship of Hephaestus and Athena, and the setting up of an altar or an image to Hephaestus. This would harmonize with the date approximately assigned to this temple. (4) In answer to the objection that in none of the sculptured metopes nor in the frieze is there any reference to Hephaestus, it may be said that, as we have seen, these sculptures appear to have often had little or no relation to the god of the temple, while the pediment sculptures, which generally had a direct reference to the temple
deity, have entirely disappeared; Bruno Sauer connects them with the Hephaestus legend.

The balance of probabilities, therefore, seems in favor of identifying as the temple of Hephaestus the temple popularly known as the Theseum, and we shall provisionally accept this designation.

EXCURSUS V. THE OLYMPIEUM

Sixteen imposing Corinthian columns sixty feet in height, situated on a broad plateau to the southeast of the Acropolis, form one of the most conspicuous features in the landscape of Athens. These columns form two groups: eastward are thirteen surmounted by an architrave; separated from these by a gap of 100 feet are three others, two standing, one prostrate. During the Middle Ages the name given these remains of antiquity was the palace of Hadrian; among the modern Greeks the ruin is popularly known as Stae Kolonnae (εἰς ταῖς κολώννας, "at the columns").

The grounds for identifying these massive ruins with the Olympieum are fortunately beyond doubt. (1) The great size of the columns and of the foundation of the structure comports with the statements of Livy (41, 20, 8, unum in terris inchoatum pro magnitudine dei) and of Aristotle (Pol. 5, 11), who compares them with the works of the Cypselidae in Corinth, the pyramids of Egypt, and the public buildings of Polycrates of Samos. (2) Vitruvius says that the temple of Olympian Zeus was dipteral of the Corinthian order (7, praeaf. 15, 17) and octostyle (3, 1, 8), as is the case here. (3) Pausanias states that the peribolus was full of statues of Hadrian; and among the ruins have been found many bases with dedicatory inscriptions to this emperor (C.I.A. III, 479–482, 484, 486, 487, 491, 494). (4) The four sides of the peribolus are 668 m. in length, which agrees roughly with Pausanias' statement (1, 18, 6) that the whole enclosure was four stadia in circuit. And, finally, (5) Vitruvius states that the architect selected by Antiochus was named Cossutius, and the base of a statue has been found with the inscription: Δέκμος Κουσούτιος Ποπλίου Ρωμαίος (C.I.A. III, 561).

The site was hallowed from the earliest time, for here, as says Pausanias, was the primitive sanctuary of Zeus founded by Deucalion in the neighborhood of the cleft through which the water of the flood disappeared. This primitive sanctuary probably gave way in early times to a temple in which was kept the bronze statue of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias. But the work of building the massive temple we are considering
THE OLYMPIEUM

belongs to three epochs separated by long intervals: (1) under Pisistratus and his sons; (2) under Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria; (3) under the Roman Emperor Hadrian.

About 530 B.C. the tyrant Pisistratus began on this site the erection of a temple of such massive proportions as to rival the temples of Hera at Samos and of Artemis at Ephesus. He employed four architects, Antistates, Callaeschrus, Antimachides, and Formus (Vitruv. 7, praefer. 15). The original style employed was Doric, as is evident from its early date and its colossal size. Aristotle charges (Pol. 5, 11, 8) that the building of the temple was a device of the tyrant to keep the minds of the people diverted from revolutionary projects. The work was stopped at the expulsion of the Pisistratidae in 510 B.C., and it is impossible to determine how far it had progressed.

The interval between the expulsion of the tyrants and the reign of Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, of Syria (510–175 B.C.) is a blank in the history of the Olympieum. During the acme of Athenian greatness the temple was disregarded, and we have no mention of it whatever in classical literature. At length, about 174 B.C., Antiochus determined to continue the work of building the temple at his own expense. Vitruvius (I.c.) gives the particulars. A Roman Cossutius was the architect who planned and superintended the construction of the temple, cella, columns, epistyle, and ornamentation; he chose the Corinthian order and surrounded it with a double row of columns. The death of Antiochus put an end to the work, which must have been very far advanced. From the evidence of the earlier Greek taste seen in the carving of the capitals and the curve of the abacus, the extant columns belong to this period, and we may conclude that the entire peristyle was set up by Antiochus.

Much, however, remained to be done—certainly the roofing, the finishing of the interior, the sculptural embellishment of the whole. Yet almost three centuries passed by, leaving the half-finished temple substantially unchanged. Strabo speaks of it (9, p. 396) as half-finished; Plutarch (Solon, 32) compares it to Plato's Critias as an unfinished work; and Lucian (Icarom. 24) represents Zeus as impatiently asking whether the Athenians ever meant to complete his temple. Sulla in 86 B.C. carried off some columns, probably from the cella, for use in building the temple of Capitoline Jupiter in Rome (Pliny, N. H. 36, 45).

The temple was finally completed by the Emperor Hadrian at his own expense (Philost. Vit. Soph. 1, 25, 6; Dio Cass. 69, 16; Schol. Lucian I.c.) and was dedicated by him in person during his second visit in Athens in
130 or 131 A.D. By command of the Emperor, the sophist Polemo, the most popular orator of the day, delivered the inaugural address. The temple was dedicated to the honor and worship of Hadrian as it was of Zeus. Pausanias saw the temple in its full beauty, and it is unfortunate that he gives so brief a description of it.

The later history of the temple is very obscure, nor do we know the cause of its destruction. When Cyriacus of Ancona visited Athens about 1450 A.D., only 21 columns were standing with their architraves (Wachsmuth, Die Stadt Athen, I, 127). These had been reduced to 17 in the seventeenth century, and about 1760 the Turkish governor pulled down one of these to make lime for building a mosque. Of the surviving sixteen, the prostrate column was thrown down by a hurricane in 1852.

The temple rested on a platform of solid masonry, strengthened with buttresses on the south side. This platform is 676 feet long by 426 feet broad. The stylobate of the temple itself measured 354 feet in length by 135 feet in breadth. The temple was octostyle (Vitruv. 3, 2, 8), dipteral. The peristyle comprised more than 100 Corinthian columns, with double rows of 20 each on the northern and southern sides, and triple rows of 8 each at the east and west ends. The columns were 56 feet 7 inches in height, and 5 feet 7 inches in diameter at the base, with 24 flutings. The total height of the front is estimated to have been 91 feet. The existing columns are of Pentelic marble. The thirteen surmounted by the architrave are at the southeastern angle; the remaining three, one of which has fallen, are of the interior row of the southern side not far from the southwest corner, and are at a distance of about 100 feet from the thirteen mentioned.

The excavations of Mr. Penrose laid bare walls and pavement and a number of unfluted drums of large columns of common stone. One of these drums has a diameter of not less than 7 feet 6 inches. These are attributed to the temple begun by Pisistratus, of which the cela was estimated to be 116 feet long and 50 feet wide. The orientation differed from that of the later temple, which was exactly east and west. A rough wall of still earlier date, of hard limestone, was attributed by Mr. Penrose to the primitive temple ascribed to Deucalion.
EXCURSUS VI. THE THEATRE OF DIONYSUS

On the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, in the precinct sacred to the wine-god, is the ancient theatre of Dionysus — the cradle of the dramatic art of Hellas. The remains are not extensive, consisting merely of the orchestra, a portion of the stone seats and retaining-walls of the auditorium, and the front of the late Roman stage and the foundations of the stage buildings, but what is left is sufficient to enable us to determine with considerable accuracy the historical development and the construction of the best-known of all Greek theatres. For our knowledge of the theatre we are most largely indebted to Dr. Dörpfeld.

Of all ancient theatres, the Dionysiac theatre at Athens has had the most continuous history, going back almost to the very beginning of drama, and continuing in use until late Roman times. We shall, therefore, first notice the most important stages in its development, so that in studying its architectural remains we may be prepared to attribute to the different periods what properly belongs to each.

In the sixth century B.C., at the dawn of Athenian drama, there was in the sacred precinct on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis a circular dancing-place, or orchestra, consisting of beaten earth surrounded by a ring of stones, used for the chorus of the wine-god. Within the circle was an altar on the platform of which stood the coryphaeus or leader of the chorus. All arrangements for spectators or performers were of a purely provisional character.

In the following century, when dramatic art reached its acme under Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, the theatre also underwent great development and reached the form which obtained in its main features during its subsequent history. According to a statement made by Suidas (s.v. Πρατίνας) the first permanent theatre was erected in consequence of an accident which occurred in Ol. 70 (500-497 B.C.). Aeschylus, Pratinas, and Choerilus were contending for the tragic prize, when the wooden benches (ἰκώνα) on which the spectators were seated collapsed. This led the Athenians to build a more substantial theatre.

Dr. Dörpfeld is of the opinion that this earliest theatron consisted of a massive retaining-wall of stone and earth to support wooden seats, as we have no evidence of the existence of stone seats in any fifth-century theatre. In digging down into the foundations of the present auditorium it has been found that there are two layers: the upper one, as shown by the fragments of pottery buried in it, of the fourth century, and the
lower, by the same evidence, of the fifth. In place of the provisional arrangements for the actors, in the early part of the century a wooden stage building was erected—an innovation attributed by Dr. Dörpfeld to Aeschylus. This consisted merely of a quadrangular chamber, whose façade represented a palace or a temple. It is manifest that the theatre of the great period of Attic drama was a much less imposing structure than is usually assumed.

In its third stage of development the theatre of Dionysus, from being a simple structure with wooden seats and wooden skene, became a magnificent edifice with stone seats and an imposing stage building of the same material. We have many references in Greek literature pointing to the fact that about the middle of the fourth century or later a new theatre of unusual splendor was constructed. This building was completed under the administration of the finance minister and orator Lycurgus. (Paus. 1, 29, 16; Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. pp. 841 c, 852 b; C.I.A. II, 240; Hyperides, ed. Blass, Frag. 121). This must have occurred before 325 B.C., the year of the death of Lycurgus. Dr. Dörpfeld shows on technical grounds that in the main the existing theatre is that of Lycurgus. Most of its walls and foundations, as shown by the material used and the character of the work, belong to this epoch. The Piraeus limestone and Hymettus and Pentelic marble in use are combined in a manner customary in buildings of this period. The technique of some of the work corresponds to that of the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus, whose date is known to be 321 B.C. The evidence gathered from all sources indicates that the theatre was begun about the year 350, and completed not later than 326 B.C.

After the fourth century the literary record is very imperfect, and our knowledge of the development of the theatre rests largely on technical grounds. In the time of Lycurgus and earlier, stage scenery was represented by movable proscenia, i.e. scenery painted on canvas on wooden panels stretched between posts. In Hellenistic times, however, when the New Comedy prevailed, a stone proscenium was built, i.e. a permanent scene or background, adorned with columns about ten or twelve feet high, in which the scene was varied by changing the pinakes, or panels of wood, that were placed between the stone columns.

From certain walls of the foundation, the fragments of a façade, and an inscription extant on a piece of the architrave, it is evident that an extensive reconstruction of the stage building and orchestra took place in the first century A.D., at the command of the Roman Emperor, Nero. A stage was built with its front adorned with reliefs after the manner of
Fig. 2. The Theatre of Dionysus
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Asia Minor and Roman theatres, the orchestra was paved, and other minor changes were made.

Finally, about two centuries later, a certain archon Phaedrus lowered and moved forward the stage of Nero, cutting down its façade as shown by the extant reliefs, and commemorating the fact by an inscription (C.I.A. III, 239) to be seen on the highest of the five steps leading from the orchestra to the top of the stage, translated as follows:

Phaedrus, Zoilus' son, in life-giving Attica ruler,
Built in thine honor this beautiful stage,
Thou god of the orgy.

Here ends the ancient history of the theatre. For centuries all record of it ceases. Buried under the deep accumulation of soil, the theatre of Dionysus disappeared so completely from view that seventeenth-century travelers were entirely in the dark as to its site. Even as late as 1748, Stuart speaks of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus as "the theatre of Bacchus." Robert Chandler, in 1765, was the first to suspect the true site. Leake, by calling attention to a coin in the Payne-Knight collection in the British Museum, removed all doubt as to its identity, for the coin shows the east front of the Parthenon above the theatre. In 1862 excavations were begun by the German architect Strack, who exposed to view large portions of the auditorium. Taking up his work, the Greek Archaeological Society cleared the whole sacred precinct. Further excavations, as of the western retaining-wall, were made in 1877. Finally, in 1886, 1889, and 1895, Dr. Dörpfeld completed the work of excavation by laying bare the foundations of the building in its various epochs.

We shall now briefly describe the theatre, considering first the actual remains and then its three natural divisions—the auditorium, the orchestra, and the stage buildings. Observe Dr. Dörpfeld's plan, reproduced in Fig. 2, p. 261.

The precinct of Dionysus is bounded on the north by the Acropolis rock; on the west by the precinct of Asclepius; on the south by the modern road; on the east the boundary is not definitely determined. Within the precinct are the foundations of two temples. The older is near the stage buildings of the theatre and limited the extent of the colonnade at the rear; the remains show that it dates from before the Persian War. The later temple, to the south of this, is somewhat larger. Both consisted merely of naos and pronaos. The later temple was probably erected at the close of the fourth century (Plut. Nicias, 3).
THE THEATRE OF DIONYSUS

The actual remains of the theatre consist of a confusing mass of foundations and walls of various periods. Of the sixth century is the section of a wall of hard limestone, forming part of the circular boundary of the original orchestra, somewhat to the south of the later orchestra. Of the fifth century is a portion of a straight wall, which was probably part of the supporting wall of the earlier auditorium. The great bulk of the foundations and walls belong to the Lycurgus theatre erected, as we have seen, in the fourth century. The remains of the stone proscenium are of Hellenistic times. Worthy of note, also, are the Roman foundations under Nero and what survives of the stage erected under Phaedrus.

The auditorium was built on the slope of the Acropolis, which served as an elevation for the tiers of seats. Yet artificial substructions were necessary. These retaining-walls consisted of two stout walls in parallel lines, with cross-walls at intervals, the intervening space being filled in with dirt. These walls are of considerable strength and thickness, the outer being of Piraeus limestone, the inner of conglomerate. The two wings of the auditorium are terminated by two walls of unequal length, the eastern being about 111 feet, the western only 88 feet. The unsymmetrical circumference of the auditorium is due to the conformation of the ground. Side entrances or paraskenia between the south walls of the auditorium gave admittance to spectators and performers.

The inside boundary is a semicircle, with its two sides prolonged. The distance between the inside corners is 72 feet. The interior consisted of a series of stone seats, with marble chairs in the front row, rising tier above tier to the bounding walls of the theatre. All that remain are from twenty to thirty rows at the bottom and portions of a few rows at the top. The curve of the seats did not correspond to the curve of the orchestra. Fifty-eight of the sixty-seven marble seats originally in the front row remain. Behind the line of marble seats, after an interval of about three feet, began the first of the ordinary tiers of seats, which continued in the same style to the limits of the auditorium. The seats were about fifteen inches in height; lines cut in the stone indicate the space devoted to each person. Fourteen passages, running in divergent lines like the spokes of a wheel from the orchestra to the outside boundary, two being along the bounding walls, divided the auditorium into thirteen sections called kerkides. In addition to the vertical aisles, the auditorium was divided into three parts by two curved longitudinal passages called diazo-mata. Only the upper diazoma is now recognizable; it is about fifteen
feet wide. Dr. Dörpfeld calculates that the theatre would comfortably accommodate about 17,000 spectators.

The circular orchestra is not only the mathematical but also the ideal centre of the Greek theatre. The present orchestra occupies the identical site of the orchestra of Lycurgus, but it appears as if it was after considerable changes were made in the time of Nero, who limited its extent to the south by erecting a stage the front of which was on a line connecting the two corners of the auditorium. A marble pavement was put on the orchestra, which was previously of solid earth. The gutter bounding the orchestra, intended to drain off the water from the auditorium, dates from Lycurgus. The pavement consists of slabs of Pentelic and Hymettus marble, variegated with strips of a reddish marble. In the centre the marble is arranged in a large rhomboidal figure, with a circular depression in the centre, intended to receive the altar of Dionysus. A marble balustrade surrounded the orchestra, and the gutter was covered over with slabs of marble. The width of the orchestra is about 78½ feet; and its depth from the stage-front of Phaedrus to the front row of spectators is about 58½ feet.

The stage buildings constitute the third and last division of the Greek theatre. The term for these was skene; originally the tent or booth in which the single actor of the Thespian period prepared for the performance, the word continued in use to express the large and elaborate stage buildings of later periods.

The skene of Lycurgus had as the principal room a large rectangular hall, the roof of which was perhaps borne by interior columns, with a total length of about 152 feet, and depth of about 21 feet. At each end were two projecting wings facing north, 23 feet by 16½ feet, called paraskenia. The space between the wings was about 66 feet. The central part and the wings were adorned with a façade of Doric columns, of which there are remains. The total height of the columns, architrave, triglyph frieze, and cornice was about 13 feet. A provisional proscenium was put up between the skene and the orchestra. In the Lycurgus theatre there was no trace of a logeion. The orchestra drawn as a complete circle just touched the front line of the paraskenia. For about three centuries the stage buildings of Lycurgus remained unchanged. At length in Hellenistic times a stone proscenium was erected, the foundations of which can be traced; its top formed a podium or platform about 13 feet high and 9 feet deep. Also the paraskenia were drawn in a few feet.

The foundations of the skene and proscenium of Nero's reconstruction can be traced on the plan, as well as the paraskenia to right and left. He
also built a logeion extending forward from the skene to the line indicated on the plan. Of this the existing sculptured marble blocks formed the façade. These have been cut down about five inches, so that the stage of Nero was about five feet, the usual height of a Roman logeion. As stated, this stage was in the third or fourth century moved forward about eight yards and lowered by Phaedrus, so as to stretch across the orchestra between the inner corners of the two wings of the auditorium. The western half of the front of this stage, adorned with four groups of figures in high relief, is preserved.

EXCURSUS VII. THE ACROPOLIS

The Athenian Plain is triangular in shape, extending in a southwesterly direction from Mt. Pentelicus to the sea. Mt. Parnes and its spur Aegeus form the north and northwest side of the triangle, Pentelicus the apex, Hymettus the south and southeast side, and the Saronic Gulf the base. Down the centre of the plain there stretches a range of hills, now called Tourko Vouni, forming the watershed of the Cepheus and the Iliissus, and terminating in the lofty peak of Lycabettus (900 feet). Nearly a mile to the southwest, and separated from Lycabettus by a broad valley, lies a precipitous rock, about 512 feet above the sea and 250 feet above the surrounding plain. This rock is the Acropolis of Athens.

Geologically considered, the rock consists of a coarse semi-crystalline limestone with which red schist is mixed. Its form is very irregular and its surface jagged and broken. The surface of the rock is by no means a flat table-land surrounded by precipitous sides. In its long axis from west to east there is from the Propylaia to the Parthenon a rise of nearly forty feet, so that the capitals of the columns of the one are about on a line with the bases of the columns of the other. The conformation of the surface is largely artificial. The seemingly level surface from north to south is due to the numerous fillings in that have been made from time to time. The length from west to east is about 328 yards, the width from north to south about 148 yards.

Grottoes and caverns and projecting cliffs abound on three precipitous sides of the rock, while the fourth descends in a terraced slope. The north side especially contains prominent cliffs and deep hollows. Starting from the northeast corner and coming west there is a remarkable line of outlying rocks containing numerous small grottoes used in antiquity as niches for shrines and votive offerings. Further west is a long cavern, with underground steps from the Erechtheum above, which has been identified as the
Sanctuary of Aeglaurus. Toward the northwest are the Long Cliffs, called Maakai. These form the scene of the early legends embodied in the Ion of Euripides, and embrace the grotto of Pan, the grotto of Apollo, and the ancient spring Clepsydra.

At the eastern side, the rock runs out in two bold projections like natural bastions; the space between has been in great part artificially filled up. The largest of all the caves is to be found on this side; how it was utilized has not been definitely determined. The southern side, precipitous at the east end, slopes gradually westward forming three terraces. First are found the sacred precinct of Dionysus and the theatre, with the choregic monument of Thrasyllus above on a projecting rock. Westward, on the lowest terrace, are the Odeum of Herodes Atticus and the Colonnade of Eumenes; on the middle terrace is the precinct of Asclepius; and still higher is a small terrace with the shrines of Ge, Demeter, and perhaps other deities. The west side slopes gradually toward the Areopagus, and forms the natural approach to the Acropolis.

The history of the Acropolis falls naturally into eight periods:

A. Primitive Athens. — Relics of the Stone Age indicate that the Acropolis was the abode of man from an inconceivably remote period. Mycenaean remains are extensive; the Acropolis takes rank as a Mycenaean citadel along with Tiryns and Mycenae, and as Thucydides states, "what is now the citadel was the city." Cecrops is the first mythical king, who is supposed to have migrated from Egypt and to have established himself on the rock with his retainers. Erechtheus is the next king of prominence, who dwelt in his prehistoric palace, wherein was the shrine of Athena. The worship of Zeus, Athena, and Poseidon was already established. Finally came the Ionians, Aegeus and his son Theseus; the latter consolidated the twelve Attic townships into his famous synoikismos, and the Acropolis became the centre of the political life of Attica.¹

B. The Epoch of Pisistratus. — With King Codrus (1068 B.C.) the historical period of Athenian history is supposed to begin, but we hear almost nothing of the Acropolis until the time of Pisistratus. The old pediment reliefs in the Acropolis Museum prove conclusively that long before his time there existed on the Acropolis temples of Athena and other deities. The tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons is a most momentous period in the history of the Acropolis. Here they took up their residence, and strengthened the fortifications. The finds of archaic sculptures, and of the

¹ Thucydides, ii, 15, discussed in Excursus III. Cf. Miss Harrison, Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides, Cambridge, 1906.
columns and pediment sculptures of the Old Athena Temple, embellished by Pisistratus, indicate the attention paid to art under this enlightened tyranny. Sculptors and architects were summoned from a distance to assist the native artists in their work. This epoch naturally closes with the sack by the Persians in 480 B.C., when temples were burnt, votive sculptures were thrown down and broken, and general havoc was wrought on the Acropolis.

C. The Periclean Age. — After the victory of Salamis and the recognition of Athens as the foremost state of Hellas, the Athenians undertook to rebuild their ruined city in a manner adequate to their increasing importance. Cimon and Themistocles began the movement to make the Acropolis a fit dwelling-place for the goddess Athena. The fortifications of the citadel were extended and strengthened; the surface was leveled up by filling in the hollow spaces with the débris of the Persian sack. A new portal or entrance-way was begun and the colossal bronze Athena of Phidias was set up. Then followed the golden age of Athens under Pericles (461–429 B.C.), who wished the Acropolis to become the concrete expression of the greatness of the Athenian empire. Phidias was his chief adviser in carrying out his plans. The results were the building of (1) the Parthenon (447–438 B.C.), by the architects Ictinus and Callicrates; (2) the Propylaea, with Mnesicles as architect (437–432 B.C.); (3) the temple of Athena Nike, planned 450 B.C. but probably not built until after the Propylaea; (4) the Erechtheum — doubtless planned by Pericles, as his building operations were interrupted by the Peloponnesian War, but not erected until 409–395 B.C.

D. The Acropolis in Hellenistic Times. — From the death of Pericles (429 B.C.) to the battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.) the Acropolis underwent no material change. From that date its history is involved in the history of the foreign patrons and foes of Athens. From the close of the third century the Acropolis profited greatly by the gifts of foreign benefactors. King Attalus I of Pergamum (241–197 B.C.) made many dedicatory gifts, especially the groups commemorating his victory over the Gauls; Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria (175–164 B.C.), who began rebuilding the Olympieum, hung a Gorgon’s head as an apotropaion on the south wall; and Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.) of Pergamum erected the colonnade bearing his name, between the two theatres on the southern slope.

E. The Acropolis under the Romans and the Byzantines. — Rome, recognizing the intellectual preéminence of Athens, took pride in adorning the city. A circular temple of Rome and Augustus was built to the east of the
Parthenon about the beginning of the Christian era. M. Vipsanius Agrippa was honored with an equestrian statue to the left of the approach to the Propylaea, the pedestal of which is still standing. The marble steps leading up to the Acropolis probably date from this time. Hadrian (117–138 A.D.), the most generous of Athenian patrons, adorned the theatre with statues, and completed the Olympieum, but does not seem to have devoted especial attention to the Acropolis. The acceptance of Christianity by the Roman emperors and their changed attitude toward paganism contributed largely to the mutilation of the Acropolis. Theodosius II (408–450) is supposed to have removed the gold and ivory image of Athena; in 435 he issued a decree commanding heathen temples to be torn down or converted into churches. The Parthenon, in consequence of this policy, became in the latter part of the fifth or the early part of the sixth century the church of St. Sophia, and extensive changes were made in the interior. The name was later changed to the church of the Mother of God. The Erechtheum suffered a similar fate. Of the fortunes of Athens between the sixth and twelfth centuries, very little is known.

F. The Acropolis under the Franks and Florentines. — On the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, Bouiface, Marquis of Montferrat, obtained the sovereignty of Hellas, with the title of King of Thessalonica. The following year he appeared in Athens with his victorious Burgundians and Lombards, and his vassal, Otho de la Roche, was installed as Duke of Athens. The Greek churches on the Acropolis became Latin, but we know nothing of other changes on the Acropolis made by Otho and his descendants, who held the city from 1205 to 1311; nor under their successors, the usurping Catalans, who were in power for the next twenty years; nor during the Sicilian domination, when the city was governed by regents of Frederick of Aragon and his successors.

In 1387 Athens fell into the hands of the Florentine Nerio Acciajuoli, Lord of Corinth. Nerio took up his residence in the Propylaea, which, under him or his successor Antonio, was transformed into a castle. The six Doric columns of the west portico were joined by a wall, with one entrance, and the four side doors of the portal were walled up, thus forming a large vestibule. The Pinacotheca was turned into executive offices, and another story was built above the entablature. At the same time the huge tower was built on the southwest wing from blocks of this wing and from neighboring buildings—a tower that long remained one of the most picturesque features in the Acropolis. This period was, in consequence, not favorable to the preservation of monuments.
G. The Acropolis under the Turks.—In 1456 Franco, last duke of Athens, after two years' heroic defense, surrendered the Acropolis to Omar, general of Mohammed II, who had conquered Constantinople in 1453. The Propylaea became the residence of Dsadar Aga, the Turkish governor. The Sultan Mohammed, who himself visited Athens in 1459, at first treated Athens with great moderation, even letting the Parthenon remain a Christian church, but after an insurrection against him he ruled with great severity and in 1460 had the Parthenon converted into a mosque. The Turks made but few changes in the building, merely removing the sacred image of the Virgin, whitewashing the walls, on which were pictures of saints, and building a minaret in the southwest corner. For nearly two centuries we hear almost nothing of the Acropolis. At length, in 1656, lightning struck a heap of powder, stored by Isuf Aga the commander in the east court of the Propylaea in preparation for cannonading a Christian church on the morrow. A frightful explosion followed, killing Isuf, and demolishing a large portion of the Propylaea. The architrave was shattered, the rich ceiling fell, columns were thrown down, and the portal was reduced almost to its present condition.

In 1674 the Marquis de Nointel, French Ambassador at Constantinople, had drawings made of the pediment sculptures and frieze of the Parthenon, which are usually attributed to the artist, Jacques Carrey. About 1676 Spon, the antiquarian, and Wheler, the naturalist, visited Athens, and the accounts of their journey, appearing in 1678 and 1682, are important sources of information about the Acropolis at this period. In 1686 drawings of the Parthenon were made by French officers under Gravier d'Ortières.

In 1687 the Venetian commander, Francesco Morosini, laid siege to the Acropolis, placing cannon on the Areopagus, the Museum hill, and the Pnyx. A Turkish deserter gave information that the Parthenon was being used by the Turks as a powder magazine. The guns were aimed at the Parthenon: and on Friday, the 26th of September, 1687, at half past seven, the Parthenon of Pericles was rent in twain. For two days and nights a fearful conflagration continued. On October 3 the Turkish garrison capitulated, but the Acropolis was reoccupied in April, 1688, by the Turks, who were not again dislodged from their possession of the citadel until 1822, when they were compelled to surrender to the Greek insurgents. The Greek garrison on the Acropolis was forced in 1827 to capitulate to the Turks, who did not finally depart from it until 1833, the year in which Prince Otho of Bavaria was proclaimed King of Greece.
A few important archaeological events occurred during this interval. In 1750 Stuart, the painter, and Revett, painter and architect, visited Athens, under the auspices of the Society of the Dilettanti, and in 1762 appeared the first volume of their "Antiquities of Athens," which marks the beginning of the scientific study of Athenian monuments. In 1765 the second expedition of the Society of the Dilettanti was sent out. In 1790 appeared the second volume of the "Antiquities of Athens." In 1801 Lord Elgin, British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, removed to London almost all the frieze, a number of metopes, and nearly all the extant pediment sculptures of the Parthenon, a caryatid and column of the Erechtheum, and various smaller marbles, which were finally placed in the British Museum and are now universally known as "the Elgin Marbles."

H. The Acropolis and the New Greek Kingdom.—In 1835, upon the removal of the Greek government from Nauplia to Athens, the Acropolis was delivered over to King Otho, with appropriate ceremonies, and forever ceased to be a citadel. The following dates are important for archaeological work since done: —

1833. First excavations, by private subscription.
1835. Ludwig-Ross, Conservator of Antiquities, removed the fortifications, rebuilt the Niké temple, and cleared the west front of the Propylaea.
1836. Pittakis, Ross' successor, completed the clearing of the Propylaea, and laid bare the foundations of the Erechtheum.
1853. The Beulé Gate and marble stairway were cleared.
1862. Excavations by a Prussian Expedition consisting of Bötticher, Curtius, and Strack.
1885. Excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society.

EXCURSUS VIII. THE PROPYLEA\textsuperscript{1}

The Propylaea, the great portal of the Acropolis, was built by the architect Mnesicles on the foundations of an earlier gateway;\textsuperscript{2} it was begun in the archons'hip of Euthymenes (437–436 n.c.), and was never completed, as the work was interrupted by the Peloponnesian War. The sum expended on it was said to be 2012 talents, or something over $2,000,000 (see IIaρπocr. and Suid. s. v. \(\pi ροστάλαια\); Plut. Pericles, 13; Diod. 12, 40; cf. Thuc. 2, 13). It was always regarded, along with the Parthenon, as

\textsuperscript{1}See Dörpfeld's restoration of the ground plan of the Propylaea, given in Fig. 3, p. 273.

one of the glories of Athens (Dem. 22, 13; 23, 207; Plut. de glor. Ath. 7, 8; Aeschin. 2, 105; Dio Chrys. Or. 2, vol. I, 27, ed. Dindorf, etc.). Fragments of inscriptions giving accounts of moneys expended are extant (C.I.A. I, Nos. 314, 315; IV, No. 315 a, b, c; Jahn-Michaelis, p. 39).

The approach to the Propylaea is through an ancient gate between two quadrangular towers. This gate is known as the Beulé Gate, because it was in 1853 discovered and excavated by the French archaeologist Beulé, who freed it from the Turkish bastions that previously concealed it. Dr. Dörpfeld has shown that materials for the gate were taken from a choreic monument of Nicias, dating from the archonship of Neaechmus, 320–319 B.C. He thinks the monument was removed from its original site at the time of the building of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, between 160 and 177 A.D., and that the gate was most probably built soon after. Passing through the gate, we observe the remains of a great marble staircase 72 feet in width. The staircase and the towers facing the gate date from the first half of the first century after Christ. The staircase probably replaced a winding approach going back to primitive times. On the left is the pedestal of the statue of Agrippa; on the right is the huge bastion, on which rests the temple of Athena Nike.

To understand the plan of the Propylaea let us imagine first of all a cross-wall running north and south between two parallel walls, which it meets at right angles. The cross-wall is 50 feet in length, and is pierced by five gateways, the central of which is 24 feet 2 inches high by 18 feet 8 inches wide; the two on either side of this are 17 feet 8 inches high by 9½ feet wide; and the two extreme gateways are 11 feet 3 inches high by 4 feet 9 inches wide. Through the middle gateway ran the road for processions; the four side gateways were approached by a flight of five steps, four of marble, the fifth of black Eleusinian stone.

At their western and eastern extremities the cross-walls have placed before them porticoes of six Doric columns. The outer or western portico is very deep, measuring 59 feet in width by 49 feet in depth. Besides the six Doric columns along the front, we have at right angles to them two rows of three Ionic columns each, flanking the central passage through the portico to the middle gateway, and supporting originally the marble roof ornamented with golden stars, the wonder of ancient travelers. The roof is gone, and all the Ionic columns have lost their capitals. The inner portico facing east is of the same width, but is very shallow, being only 19 feet deep. Five of the six Doric columns fronting it retain their capitals, and two are united by an architrave block.
This is the main portion of the structure. But the whole breadth of rock here is 178 feet, whereas what we have already described takes up only about 60 feet. Dr. Dörpfeld has reconstructed the ground plan of Mnæsicles to cover the field, though only a portion of the subordinate sections of the Propylæa was completed.

Adjoining the main portico at right angles to it north and south, two wings were planned, only one of which, however, was completed. The northwest wing consists of a chamber nearly square, being 35 feet 3 inches wide by 29 feet 5 inches deep, with a portico on its southern side, 13 feet deep, fronted by three Doric columns between antæ.

Above the columns is an architrave with a plain frieze of triglyphs and metopes. The main chamber was lighted by a door 14 feet high by 9½ feet wide and by two small windows. This chamber was the ancient Pinacotheca or picture gallery.

The southwest wing, as we have it, consists of merely a portico facing north with no rear chamber. The front consisted of three Doric columns between antæ, corresponding exactly to the front of the northwest portico. Yet the rear wall stops not opposite the northwest anta, but the third column, thus leaving the anta stranded. This is evidence that the architect has made a change in his plans, and Dr. Dörpfeld has endeavored to recover the original design by a study of the architectural details, especially the antæ. His conclusion is that Mnæsicles contemplated for the southwest wing a structure of the same dimensions as the opposite wing, but with this difference: the chamber with its portico was to be entirely open to the west facing the Nike temple, and instead of a wall as in the northwest wing, four columns between two antæ should face west. The difference of plan was due to the fact that the Pinacotheca abutted on a precipice, while the southwest wing could serve as a colonnade before the Nike temple.

Besides the two western wings Dr. Dörpfeld has shown from a study of architectural details that the original plan provided also for two eastern wings. Thus, the anta at the northeast corner of the east portico is double, thus calling for a row of columns running north, as well as the extant row running south. The eastern wall of the northwest wing juts beyond the rest of the building. If continued to the Acropolis wall it would furnish the western wall of the northeast colonnade.

Similar arguments prove that a colonnade of like dimensions was projected as the southeast wing of the Propylæa. But these great ideas were never carried out, most likely on account of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, and the consequent lack of funds.
EXCURSUS IX. THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKE

The temple which Pausanias (1, 22, 4; 3, 15, 7; 5, 26, 6) ascribes to Wingless Victory is more appropriately styled the temple of Athena Nike, that is, Athena in the character of Victory (Harpocr. and Suid. s.v. Νίκη 'Αθηνα ; Soph. Philoct. 134; Eustath. on Hom. II. Φ, 410; C.I.A. I, p. 88 f., No. 189 a; II, Nos. 163, 471). Victory was regularly personified with wings in Greek art. As Athena is always represented wingless it is natural that here too, though under a special type, she should be wingless.

The temple has had an interesting modern history. It was seen and described by Wheler in 1676. It was pulled down by the Turks, about 1687, and the material was used in making a battery on the site. In 1835 the temple was discovered by Ross, Schaubert, and Hansen, who rebuilt it as it now stands. The roof is almost gone, and the gables are wanting. Yet the temple is fairly well preserved.

The temple rests on a massive bastion 26 feet high to the south of the staircase. The material is Pentelic marble. The temple is of the Ionic order, amphiprostyle tetrastyle. It rests on a base of three steps, the stylobate being 27 feet 2 inches long from east to west by 18 feet 3½ inches broad from north to south. The height of the columns including base and capital is 13 feet 4 inches; the diameter, 1 foot 10 inches; the shaft of each column is of a single block of marble, with 24 flutes. The height of the entablature is 3 feet 8½ inches. The frieze, 86 feet in length and 1 foot 5½ inches high, sculptured in high relief, runs all round the temple. The cela is 16 feet long; the entrance was between two pillars connected with the antae by a balustrade.

The date of the temple has been long disputed: some archaeologists attributed it to the Cimonian period, others to the Age of Pericles, others to the middle of the Peloponnesian War. An inscription discovered a few years ago by Cavvadias, and dating probably about 450 B.C., calls for the construction of a gate, a temple, and an altar of marble, according to the specifications of the architect Callicrates. Both Dörpfeld and Cavvadias think that the temple referred to can be no other than that of Nike. They hold that this temple was actually built soon after the middle of the century. The style of the sculptures and architectural refinements strongly contradicts this view, as they point rather to the period after the Parthenon and the Propylaea. It is likely that the decree of 450 B.C. was not immediately carried out and that the temple was erected after the Propylaea had
been begun, if not completed. See 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, 174 ff.; A. M. XXII (1897), 226 ff.; Judeich, 200 ff.

The Ionic frieze was sculptured in high relief. The scene portrayed on the east front was an assembly of gods, with Athena in the midst; on the other three sides are scenes of battle, Greeks fighting with Persians on the north and south sides, Greeks against Greeks on the west side. A portion of the frieze was carried off by Lord Elgin, and is in the British Museum; it has been replaced by a terra-cotta replica. Within the temple, says Pausanias (3, 15, 7), there was an ancient wooden image representing Athena wingless, with a pomegranate in her right hand, and a helmet in her left. Round the three precipitous sides of the temple along the edge of the bastion ran a breast-high parapet of marble slabs, with reliefs on the outer surface. A number of these slabs are preserved in the Acropolis Museum. One represents a winged Victory kneeling upon an ox, about to plunge a knife into its body; another, two Victories leading a cow; a third, a Victory tying her sandal. The reliefs are renowned especially for the graceful proportions of the figures, and the delicate treatment of the drapery.

EXCURSUS X. THE PARTHENON

The Parthenon is situated on the highest part of the Acropolis, about half way between its eastern and western limits, but much nearer the southern than the northern wall. It has suffered much in the passing centuries. There remain the stylobate complete; the double rows of columns at the two ends, and much of the colonnade on the northern and southern sides, with the exception of the central portions; the entablature at the eastern and western ends; most of the west pediment and a portion of the east pediment; and the walls of the west cela and portico, with only portions of the rest of the walls.

The foundations, which are very deep at the southeast corner, are the foundations of an earlier temple never erected, which have been extended to meet the change of form adopted for the new temple. This substructure is 250 feet long by 105 feet broad, while the stylobate of the Parthenon is 228 feet long by 101 feet broad, its proportions being as 4 to 9. Dr. Dörpfeld at first ascribed this earlier construction to Cimon (A. M. XVII, 157 ff.), but at length after a closer study of the foundations he has carried back the origin of the building to pre-Persian times, basing his theory on a study of the marks of fire on the stones. These led him to the conclusion that the scaffolding was standing when the Persian sack of the Acropolis took
place, and he now ascribes the inauguration of the undertaking to the new
democracy founded by Cleisthenes shortly before the Persian War. This
theory well accords with the extension and embellishment of the Old
Temple of Athena. See A.M. XXVII (1902), 382 ff. The Periclean
Parthenon took over the foundations of the earlier building, but adapted
them to its change of form and dimensions.

The Parthenon was built to be a concrete expression of the glory and
power of Athens incident to the rise in its fortunes as a result of its vic-
tories in the Persian Wars. Pericles was the father of the idea, and
Phidias was his counselor. Inscriptions show that the present Parthenon
was begun in 447 B.C. See A.M. XVII (1892), 158 ff.; B.C.H. XIII (1889),
174 ff. It was so far completed that the gold and ivory statue of Athena
was dedicated at the Panathenaic festival in 438 B.C. (Schol. Ar. Pax, 605).
The architects were Ictinus and Callicrates, but the general supervision
was exercised by Phidias, who made the gold and ivory statue (Plut.
Pericles, 13; Strabo, 9, pp. 395, 396; Paus. 8, 41, 9).

Although in inscriptions the name Parthenon was restricted to the west
chamber, it became in time the popular designation of the whole temple.
Demosthenes was the first who is known to have used it thus. See Dem.
Müller, 1, p. 98); Rhet. Gr., ed. Walz. 7, p. 4; Strabo, 9, pp. 395, 396;
Plut. Pericles, 13; Demetrius, 23; Philostratus, Vit. Apollon. 2, 10.

The Parthenon is of the Doric order, octostyle peripteral. Three steps
run all round the building. Upon the stylobate rises the temple, with
eight columns to the front and rear and seventeen on the sides, the first
known example of this arrangement. The average height of the col-
umns is 34½ feet; their lower diameter, 6 feet 3 inches; the upper, 4 feet
10 inches. The flutes of the columns are 20 in number. The capitals
of the columns consisted of the cushion-shaped echinus, and the abacus
or plinth.

The architrave consisted of a series of three blocks of marble placed
beside each other from the centre of one column to that of the next, about
4½ feet in height. The triglyph frieze rose above this to a like height, the
metopes of which were adorned with sculptures in high relief. Above the
triglyph frieze at the east and west ends rose the pediments, the inclosing
lines of which were at an angle of 13½° with the horizontal cornice. The
top and bottom members of the pediment project, framing the tympanum,
or field of the pediment, which recedes 3 feet from the inclosing cornice.
The tympanum is 93 feet long, and 11½ feet high in the centre.
Fig. 4. Foundations of the Parthenon
The temple proper, as distinguished from the peristyle, formed a handsome amphiprostyle temple of the Doric order, 194 feet long and 71 feet wide, with 6 columns at each end, 33 feet in height. All round the top of its outer walls, and above the architrave over these columns, ran a frieze, or sculptured belt, nearly 3 feet 4 inches high.

The temple interior consisted of four parts, namely, the pronaos or eastern portico; the naos or cella, being the eastern chamber 96 feet long and 63 feet wide; the western chamber, called Parthenon in the restricted sense; and the western portico, probably called the opisthodomos. The naos was also known as the Hekatompedos from the fact that its length, including the thickness of the partition wall (51 feet), is exactly equal to 100 ancient Attic feet.

The cella was divided longitudinally into three aisles by two rows of Doric columns. In the central aisle, on a spot marked by a quadrangular space of Piraeus limestone, towards the west end of the chamber, stood the chryselephantine statue of Athena. There was no door between the cella and the western chamber. The great door at the eastern entrance admitting to the cella was about 16 feet wide and 33 feet high, and afforded sufficient light for the chamber.

The architectural features of the exterior of the temple invited sculptural embellishment in three parts of the building, namely the metopes, the pediments, and the frieze; and when it was completed no other building was comparable to it in the extent and variety of its sculptures.

The metopes are the flat slabs of marble between the triglyphs running round the building above the architrave. In the Parthenon all the ninety-two metopes were adorned with sculptures in high relief, representing usually single combats. The subject on the metopes of the east front is generally taken to be contests of Gods and Giants, on the west of Greeks and Amazons. The metopes on the south side had suffered comparatively little when Carrey drew them in 1674, and fifteen of the best of these are among the Elgin marbles. The metopes toward each end represented Lapiths and Centaurs, engaged in the struggle that ensued at the marriage feast of Pirithous, while the metopes in the middle of the series contained figures of stately women. The metopes on the north side had the same subject, but with the order of composition inverted.

The pediments were adorned with sculptures in the round. Pausanias tells us that the scene represented on the eastern end was the birth of Athena, on the western the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the supremacy of Attica. The principle of composition in each case was a
great central group, flanked on each side by secondary characters. The west pediment group, though now the greater wreck, is better known to us through the drawings ascribed to Carrey. The two contending deities were conceived as present on the Acropolis beside the actual olive tree and pool which they had created, and their charioteers and chariots are also present. The groups of interested spectators in the two wings have been variously interpreted, either as deified followers of Athena and Poseidon respectively, or as local heroes, or as personifications of the mountains and coast of Attica. Of this group only one torso remains, usually known as the river-god Cephus. The two mutilated figures still on the pediment are supposed to be Cecrops and one of his daughters.

Of the east pediment we have no drawing to show what the great central group, now missing, was like. The great void in the centre, doubtless, was occupied originally by the deities regarded as present at the birth of the goddess Athena from the head of her father Zeus. The two central figures are usually represented as Zeus seated, with Athena standing beside him, full grown and full armed. The arrangement of the two angle groups is known from Carrey's drawing, and fortunately they are all preserved among the Elgin marbles. The scene is located on Mt. Olympus, and the extreme figures are Helios rising from the sea in the left angle and Selene descending behind the hills in the right. The reclining male figure next to Helios, popularly known as Theseus, is now generally regarded as the personification of Mt. Olympus. The three draped women in the left angle are generally identified as Horae, or as two Horae and Iris, the messenger goddess, and the three draped women in the right angle as the three Fates, appropriately present at a birth, or as Hestia, Ge and Thalassa (Waldstein), or as the three peculiarly Attic personifications of morning dew, Aglaaurus, Herse, and Pandrosus (Murray).

The frieze consisted of a band in low relief running along the walls of the temple and over the inner rows of six columns of the east and west ends, just beneath the roof of the peristyle. The total length was 522 feet 10 inches, of which 240 feet 6 inches are among the Elgin marbles. The western frieze is still in situ. The height of the frieze was 3 feet 4 inches, and the average depth of the relief is 1½ inches. The subject portrayed was the great Panathenaic procession. The west frieze represented the stage of preparation; the north and south portions that of progress; and the east frieze the culmination of the procession. The slab just over the entrance to the temple represents the delivery of the sacred peplus to
the high priest or chief magistrate, and on each side of this is a group of slabs representing the Olympic deities present on the Acropolis to witness the ceremony.

Winckelmann’s characterization—“noble naiveté and placid grandeur” aptly describes the art of the Parthenon sculptures. All the external decorations of the temple were intended to give honor to the goddess Athena, sublimely represented by the colossal gold and ivory image within the cella.

Pausanias describes the image of Athena Parthenos in great detail. From him we learn that the goddess stood upright, clad in a tunic reaching to the feet; that on her breast was the head of Medusa and on her head a helmet adorned with griffins and a sphinx; that she held in one hand a Victory four cubits high, and in the other a spear, while at her feet was set a shield, and beside her spear a snake; and that the birth of Pandora was represented on the pedestal. Pliny (N. H. 36, 18) adds some important particulars: “He wrought on the convex side of the shield the Battle of the Amazons, on the concave the Battle of the Gods and Giants, on the sandals the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs... On the basis the subject carved is what they call ‘the birth of Pandora,’ and the gods present at the birth are twenty in number.” From other passages and inscriptions (cf. Overbeck, Schriftquellen, pp. 645 ff.) we learn that the height of the image was twenty-six cubits, that the face, feet, and hands were of ivory, and the pupils of precious stones. In addition to these literary sources the following works of art add to our knowledge of the image, namely: the Varvakeion and Lenormant statuettes in the National Museum at Athens; the Strangford shield in the British Museum; the Hermitage medallion at St. Petersburg, and various Athenian coins.

EXCURSUS XI. THE ERECHTHEUM.

The temple generally known as the Erechtheum is situated on the northern side of the Acropolis, not far from the wall, in a slight depression about half way between the east and west ends.

As we observe from the study of the ground plan, the form of the Erechtheum is unique. The main structure is a quadrangular edifice 65½ feet long and 37 feet wide, resting on a basis of three steps. This main building has three vestibules (προορίαται), on the east, north, and south, forming entrances to the temple. As the temple was on a slope, the stereobate of the north and west sides is about 9 feet lower than that of the south
and east sides. At the eastern end we have a portico lined with six Ionic columns; at the northwest corner is a portico, with four Ionic columns in front, and one on each side behind the corner column; and at the southwest corner is a small porch with the roof supported by six Korai or Carya-tides. The eastern portico, being fronted by six Ionic columns, gives the building the appearance of an Ionic hexastyle temple. At present the northernmost column is missing, having been carried off by Lord Elgin.

The Ionic columns of the east portico are about 2½ feet in diameter, and 22 feet high. The base consists of two convex moldings (tori), separated by a trochilus or hollow molding. The upper torus is provided with 4 horizontal flutings. The shaft has 24 flutes separated by narrow fillets. As to the capital, the neck has a beaded molding and a frieze of palmettes; above this is an egg-and-tongue molding, and a plain band supporting the echinus or central cushion of the capital, which is adorned with
flutes and beads; the volutes are strongly marked with a double channel, and above this is a narrow abacus, enriched with an egg-and-tongue molding. The architrave consists of three horizontal members, as is usual in Ionic buildings, the second projecting a little beyond the first, and the third beyond the second. Above this is the frieze, about 2 feet in height, which ran completely round the building. The background is of black Eleusinian marble, to which were fastened figures sculptured in white marble. Owing to the mutilated condition of the fragments, the subject of the frieze has not been definitely determined. Stevenson, in A.J.A. X (1906), 47–71 [pl. vi–ix], has shown that the east wall was provided with windows, contrary to the usage of Greek temples.

The northwest portico is in the depression facing the north wall of the Acropolis. It is approached from the east by a flight of twelve steps, leading down to a paved area. The porch is bordered by six Ionic columns, four on the front, and one on each side between the corner column and the anta of the wall. The columns are larger and more beautiful even than those of the east front, exhibiting much more ornamental carving. On them rested the architrave, the frieze, and the cornice. The beautiful doorway has been frequently imitated. It narrows slightly as it approaches the top. Noteworthy are the heavy door-jambs with their enriched moldings and carved rosettes; the lintel of a similar ornamental nature with an additional molding on the top; the cornice with a richly carved band of ornament along its face; two carved brackets or consoles, one of which is now missing; and finally, above two courses of plain marble, a band of richly carved honeysuckle ornament and enriched molding forming a continuation of the capitals of the antae, immediately below the heavy-beamed and coffered ceiling.

Along the southern wall, at the southwest corner, is a third portico, much smaller than the other two. The roof is supported by six figures of maidens somewhat larger than life, standing on a parapet 8½ feet high, which incloses the porch. Inscriptions call these figures simply korai, "maidens," and the portico is very properly styled "the portico of the maidens." However, the term caryatid has come to be regularly applied to female figures serving as supports in architecture (cf. Vitruv. 1, 1, 5). The figures are arranged four in front, and two at the sides behind each corner figure. Two of the figures have been restored; one is a terra-cotta copy of the original carried off by Lord Elgin; the other three are the original figures in situ. The arms and hands of all six are missing. The figures form an admirable substitute for columns. The folds of the drapery
THE ERECHTHEUM

correspond to the flutings of a column; the rich masses of hair give an architectural roundness of outline similar to the echinus, so that the maidens seem fully equal to the burden they have to bear.

At the western end there is not an opisthodomos, as is usual in Greek temples, but the façade consists of a parapet of considerable height, on which rest four engaged columns, with rectangular windows in the intercolumniations. A small door in the wall admits to the western hall of the Erechtheum.

In the interior of the building we have the foundations of a cross-wall running from north to south just east of the great doorway opening to the north porch. Further, there are indications of the existence of the foundations of a cross-wall, or, more probably, a row of columns, a little more than half way between the first cross-wall and the west end of the temple. Thus the building was divided into three parts which may be conveniently called the east cella, the west cella, and the west hall. The east cella was entered from the east, the west cella and hall from the north portico. There was also a door in the cross-wall, and a row of steps leading down into the west cella from the east cella.

Under the north porch is a small crypt, entered from the interior of the building through a small door in the foundations of the north wall. The floor of the crypt is the native rock, and upon this are some irregular fissures which are supposed to be the marks shown in antiquity as those of Poseidon's trident (Paus. 1, 26, 5; Apollod. 3, 14, 1; Strabo, 9, p. 396). Some think the crypt may possibly have been the abode of the sacred serpent (Ar. Lysistr. 758; Hdt. 8, 41; Plut. Themistocles, 10).

In the west wall is a huge block of marble, 5 feet in thickness, one end of which rests on the same foundations as the caryatid portico. Beneath the middle of this block is a vacant space, later filled in with rough masonry of mediaeval date. The purpose of the block was manifestly to support the weight of the southwest corner of the Erechtheum, so as to keep intact some object below it. The presumption is that here was the Cecropium—probably a primitive vaulted tomb, mentioned in inscriptions (C.I.A. I, 322, 2).

Under the west hall are remains of a cistern, which was probably the θάλασσα formed by Poseidon when he struck the rock with his trident (Hdt. 8, 55).

West of the Erechtheum we have indications of the boundaries of a sacred precinct, running westward about 100 feet. This inclosure was doubtless the Pandrosium, or precinct of Pandrosus, mentioned by Pausanias (cf. C.I.A. I, 322, ll. 44, 45). In this precinct was the sacred
olive-tree of Athena, which sprang up in her contest with Poseidon, and, though burnt by the Persians, was found to have sprouted a cubit’s length on the following day. Cf. Hdt. 8, 55; Philochorus, frag. 146 (Dion. Hal. de Din. 3); Apollod. 3, 14, 1, 2.

Pausanias is our chief authority as to the uses of the building and the relative position of the various sacred objects which it contained. In spite of the arguments of Dr. Dörpfeld and of Miss Harrison, it seems certain that the Old Athena Temple did not exist in Pausanias’s time and that the whole of the text from 26, 6 to 27, 4 is a description of the building now known as the Erechtheum.

It is altogether probable that by the phrase ὀίκημα Ἐρέχθεων καλούμενον Pausanias referred merely to the west cella and hall, not to the whole building. The word Ἐρέχθεων occurs elsewhere only in Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 843 ε, where it refers apparently to the chamber dedicated to Erechtheus. This is the view of Michaelis and Furtwängler. See also Schubart (Philol. 15, 385), who discusses Pausanias’s usage of the word ὀίκημα. The designation Ἐρέχθεων came to be used, however, for the whole building, just as did the term Parthenon for the greater temple.

Pausanias’s description falls, therefore, into two parts, (1) the Erechtheum (1, 26, 5) or west cella and hall, (2) the naos of Athena Polias or the east cella (1, 26, 6–1, 27, 1). Adjacent was the sanctuary of Pandrosus (1, 27, 2). Now Pausanias speaks of the Erechtheum as double. In the west cella were doubtless (1) the altars to Poseidon-Erechtheus, to Butes, and to Hephaestus, and (2) the paintings of the Butadae; in the west hall was the salt well of Poseidon, or “the sea of Erechtheus” as it was also called (Apollod. 3, 14, 1; Hdt. 8, 55; Paus. 8, 10, 4), and in the crypt beneath were shown the marks of Poseidon’s trident (cf. Strabo, 9, p. 396). Thence passing up the steps through the central door he entered the east cella, which was known as the naos of Athena Polias, where he saw chief of all (1) the old Athena agalma, (2) the lamp of Callimachus, and (3) various votive offerings.

Such was the construction of the Erechtheum as it was left unfinished by its architect, and as it exists to-day. Its plan has puzzled archaeologists and architects of every period, for it is obviously anomalous. As in the case of the Propylaea, so in the case of the Erechtheum, it has been Dr. Dörpfeld’s 1 good fortune to reconstruct the complete design as it was probably conceived in the mind of its architect.

1 See Dörpfeld, “Der ursprüngliche Plan des Erechtheion,” A.M. xxix (1904), 101 ff. and Taf. 6, reproduced above, p. 281.
THE ERECHTHEUM

Dr. Dörpfeld holds that the temple was intended to consist of two cellas each fronted by a pronaos. The east cella is styled on the plan "Athena-Polias Temple," the west cella "opisthodomos." Between the east and west cellas is a building consisting of three chambers, bearing the designation "Poseidon-Erechtheus Temple." The middle chamber of this central portion is approached by two porticoes — the well-known northwest porch and the caryatid porch to the south. Thus the temple is given a symmetrical though somewhat complex form.

The complexity of form was occasioned by the fact that the temple was designed to replace both the Old Athena Temple and the old temple of Erechtheus with its manifold uses. Dr. Dörpfeld believes he has found traces of the old Poseidon-Erechtheus temple running diagonally under the western part of the new Erechtheum. The remains of the Old Athena Temple just to the south are well known. In supplanting the earlier temples by a common sanctuary Pericles planned that the east cella of the Old Athena Temple should be replaced by the east cella of the combined structure, and the opisthodomos of the old temple by the opisthodomos of the new. The old Erechtheum was reproduced in the building with three chambers, between the two parts of the structure, that took the place of the Old Athena Temple. The two porches to the north and south formed entrances to the Erechtheum proper, and at the same time gave suitable recognition to the mark of Poseidon’s trident and the grave of Cecrops.

The sublime conception of the architect was not to be carried out. The new temple was doubtless begun before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. When it was found to be impossible to carry out the plan in its entirety a compromise was effected. The east cella was completed; two of the three chambers of the middle building were finished with the one to the west slightly reduced in size, and the western wall with its windows between engaged columns was given the form with which we are familiar.

Such is the theory of Dr. Dörpfeld in regard to the building of the Erechtheum. For historical evidence on this subject we are chiefly indebted to the famous Chandler inscription (C.I.A. I, 322), the date of which is 409 B.C. This inscription tells of the appointment of a commission to examine into the state of the building in order to ascertain what was still necessary for its completion. It shows that the work was already far advanced, and in all probability the temple was completed during the following year. The temple described is spoken of as that "in which is the ancient image," referring primarily to the east cella.
Xenophon (Hell. 1, 6, 1) states that the ancient temple on the Acropolis was set on fire, the date being 406 B.C. This probably referred to the Erechtheum which had replaced the old temple. The damage was not repaired immediately, as it appears to have been still incomplete in 395 B.C. (C.I.A. II, No. 829), but it must have been finished by 376 B.C. (C.I.A. II, No. 672). In Christian times the Erechtheum was turned into a church, with the necessary changes in its internal arrangements. The Turks used it as a dwelling-house, and to make an extra room the columns of the north portico were walled up. The building underwent great damage during the siege of the Acropolis by the Turks in 1827. It was repaired to some extent in 1838 and 1846, but in 1852 a storm blew down the engaged columns and the wall between them on the west end.

Within the past few years extensive restorations have been made on the Erechtheum, in order to preserve intact what has survived to us from ancient times.

EXCURSUS XII. THE OLD ATHENA TEMPLE

In 1885–1886, during the excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society, in the rectangular space long regarded as a sacred precinct just south of the Erechtheum, the foundations of a large ancient temple were discovered and excavated. Dr. Dörpfeld, who superintended the excavations, soon identified these remains with the sanctuary of Athena that had been burnt by the Persians when they sacked the Acropolis in 480 B.C., and styled it the "Old Athena Temple," which has become its popular designation. Fortunately from time to time architrave blocks, drums of column, broken statues, and other architectural and sculptural fragments, many of which were built into the north wall, have come to light, and have been identified as belonging to this temple. As a result of these discoveries, a rather complete reconstruction of the building in all essential details has been made by Dr. Dörpfeld and his associates. The first ground plan of the temple appeared in the Antike Denkmäler of 1886. The results of the study of the architectural remains and of the fragments of sculpture preserved in the Acropolis Museum were given in the Athenische Mittheilungen of 1886 and succeeding years; and a complete account of this pre-Persian Doric temple, with elaborate illustrations, is given in Wiegand-Schrader-Dörpfeld, Poros-Architektur der Akropolis, Leipzig 1904. In this excursus we sketch merely the results of nearly a score of years of study as presented by the authors of this work.
THE OLD ATHENA TEMPLE

The surface of the Acropolis where the temple was located was not naturally level, but sloped from southeast to northwest. Hence the site had to be artificially leveled. At the southeast corner the stylobate lay directly on the rock; on the northwest, however, foundation walls were built to the height of about ten feet; along the sides the height of the foundation walls steadily decreases from the northwest to the south and east, and their preservation is in proportion to their height. From a study of the ground plan determined by the actual remains, we observe that there is a rectangular foundation wall surrounding the whole temple, on which rested the peristyle. Within this is a somewhat smaller rectangle which is divided by cross-walls into several compartments. At the east we have a rather narrow portico leading into the cela of the temple which is nearly square (33½ ft. × 33 ft.); at the west, behind the portico, there is a somewhat larger chamber (38.3 ft. × 33 ft.) which contains two smaller rooms to the east, lying north and south of each other. The partition wall between the cela and the west chamber was without a door, suggesting that the former was for religious, the latter for secular purposes. From a study of the remains it is evident that we have here a temple about 100 Attic feet in length and 41 feet in breadth, around which was built a colonnade of the Doric order, with six columns at each end and twelve at each side, making it a hexastyle peripteral temple. Owing to its length the sanctuary was known as the Hekatompedon.

The foundation walls of the temple are not all of the same material. The foundations of the colonnade, including the stylobate, are of limestone from Kará at the foot of Mount Hymettus; those of the temple proper, of the bluish limestone of the Acropolis. The remains of columns, architrave blocks, and triglyphs are of poros; the metopes and pediment blocks are of a white coarse-grained marble. There are similar differences in technique between the colonnade and the building it surrounds. Both the material and the workmanship show that the naos was an early temple dating certainly not later than the seventh century, and that this primitive sanctuary of Athena was enriched with a colonnade and its marble embellishments during the supremacy of Pisistratus.

Thanks to the discovery of Athenian sculptures hidden away in the débris of the Acropolis after the Persian Wars, we can speak with definiteness of the plastic adornment not only of the enlarged temple of Pisistratus but also of the simpler amphiprostyle temple that existed long before his time. We shall take up first sculptures of the pediments of the pre-Pisistratean cela.

1 See Fig. 5, p. 281.
In the Acropolis Museum are several groups of highly colored poros pediment sculptures that undoubtedly belonged to primitive temples on the Acropolis. Certain of these are attributed by Wiegand and Schrader on good grounds to this earlier temple. The design of the western pediment fell into two parts. In one angle Heracles was represented as wrestling with the huge serpent Triton; the right-hand portion of the pediment was occupied by the strange figure with three human heads and bodies uniting in one snaky coil, extending to the end of the pediment, whose correct mythological name is supposed to be "Typhon." Yet he was no protagonist, only an interested spectator. The centre of the pediment was doubtless occupied by accessories, as the stem of a tree on which hung the bows and arrows and superfluous raiment of Heracles.

The eastern pediment was even more gorgeous in its embellishment. It may be briefly described as follows: Athena was seated in the apex; to her right was a seated and crowned figure which survives, and which must be regarded as a king or a god. The balancing figure to the left of the goddess is gone; the extant figure is usually called Zeus, but it was probably a subordinate god or a hero. Possibly Athena was represented as seated between Poseidon and Erechtheus. In each angle there was a great snake, the one blue and orange, the other a vivid emerald green, which were in all probability the two guardian snakes of the Acropolis, sometimes identified with Cecrops the snake king and his daughter Pandrosus.

When the colonnade was provided by Pisistratus, these rude poros sculptures were replaced by more imposing works in marble, and of these several figures of the group that were in the west pediment are in the Acropolis Museum. These consist of a colossal statue of Athena, and three figures of giants, besides other fragments, showing that the scene portrayed was the Battle of the Gods and Giants. Schrader concludes that the composition originally consisted of eight figures, of two of which we have no fragments whatever preserved. In the centre Athena bends over a fallen giant with the plume of his helmet grasped in her left hand. The two corners of the triangle were each filled by a giant, leaning forward with body supported on one knee and by one hand. As to the intervening parts between the centre and the extremities of the pediment, Schrader supplies to the right and left of Athena two groups consisting of a god standing and a giant fallen on one knee. The gods, probably Zeus and Heracles, rush from the centre against their adversaries who recoil toward the extremities. These eight figures would fairly occupy the space of the pediment.
THE OLD ATHENA TEMPLE

Herodotus, 8, 53–55 records the burning and mutilation of the Old Athena Temple by the Persians. A sixth-century inscription (C.I.A. IV, pp. 137 ff.) speaks of a temple known as the Hekatompedon, and contains a provision that the chambers shall be opened by the treasurers. Dr. Dörpfeld holds that the reference here is to the compartments of the western end of this temple, which in his opinion were used as a treasury, while the naos contained the wooden image of Athena that fell from heaven. After the Persian Wars the poros and marble blocks of the colonnade were used in repairing the north wall, but the temple itself was restored and was the principal sanctuary on the Acropolis until the completion of the Parthenon in 438 B.C. We have already considered Dr. Dörpfeld's ground plan of the great marble temple which Pericles intended should replace the two poros temples of Athena and Erechtheus and embrace the holy "signs" and the grave of Cecrops. It is not known when the Old Athena Temple ceased to exist. Dr. Dörpfeld holds that the temple without the peristyle was restored shortly after the Persian War, serving as the principal temple on the Acropolis until the completion of the Parthenon, and that it continued to exist until the Roman or Byzantine period.
# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES, INTRODUCTION, AND APPENDIX

## PROPER NAMES AND TITLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Aeschin.</td>
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<td>A. Jb.</td>
<td>Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts</td>
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<td>A.M.</td>
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

H.N. = Pliny, Historia Naturalis
Hom. = Homerus
Il. = Homer's Iliad (A, B, C, etc., are used in referring to the different books)
Isocr. = Isocrates
Jb. f. Ph. = Jahrbücher für Philologie
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies
Lat. = Latin
Long. = Longus
Longin. = Longinus
Luc. = Lucianus
LXX = Septuagint
Lys. = Lysias
L. & S. = Liddell and Scott's Lexicon
Menand. = Menander
Od. = Homer's Odyssey (a, b, c, etc., are used in referring to the different books)
Paus. = Pausanias
Plat. = Plato
Plut. = Plutarch
Poet. Scen. Gr. = Poetae Scenici Graeci
Poll. =Pollux
Polyb. = Polybius
Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
Roscher = Ausführliches Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie, edited by W. Roscher
Schol. = scholiast
Simon. = Simonides
Soph. = Sophocles
S. Q. = Schriftquellen zur Topographie von Athen, by Milchhoefer, in Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen, by E. Curtius, pp. i-cxxiv
Steph. Byz. = Stephanus of Byzantium
Stesich. = Stesichorus
Stob. = Stobaeus
Suid. = Suidas
Theoc. = Theocritus
Theoph. = Theophrastus
Thuc. = Thucydides
Tyrt. = Tyrtaeus
Verg. = Vergilius
Vitr. = Vitruvius
Xen. = Xenophon
Xenoph. = Xenophanes

In abbreviating the names of Greek authors and of their works, Liddell and Scott's List has been generally followed.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

App. = Appendix
ch. or chap., chaps. = chapter, chapters (when numerals follow)
etc. = and so forth
f., ff. = following (after numerical statements)
gen. = genitive
ibid. = in the same place
id. = the same
i.e. = that is
inv. = imperative
intr. = intransitive, intransitively
κτλ. = καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
l.c. = loco citato
p., pp. = page, pages
Rem. = remark
sc. = scilicet
s.v. = sub voce
viz. = namely
v.l. = varia lectio
§, §§ = section, sections
# INDEX

This Index names only the principal places and temples. See the Topographical Outline for detailed references to all the monuments cited by Pausanias. The numbers give chapter and section of the text of Pausanias, under which is the note desired. Reference is made also to the Excurses.

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