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THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE DORIC
RACE, VOL. 1 OF 2***

The History and Antiquities
Of The
Doric Race
by Karl Otfried Müller
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Göttingen
Translated From the German by
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And
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Student of Christ Church.
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Extract From The Translators' Preface To The First Edition.

The History, of which an English translation is now offered to the public, forms the second and third volumes of a work by Professor C. O. Müller, entitled, "Histories of Greek Tribes and Cities." The first volume of this series was published separately under the name of "Orchomenos and the Minyæ;" and contains a most learned examination of the mythology and early history of Orchomenos and other towns of Bœotia, and of the migrations of the Minyæ, together with other questions more or less connected with these subjects. It is, in every respect, a distinct and separate work from the Dorians, comprised in the second and third volumes; nor was it more incumbent on us to publish a translation of that first volume, because it is often referred to in the subsequent volumes, than of the many other admirable works on Grecian history, equally referred to, which are inaccessible to persons not acquainted with the German language.

[iv]

At a time when a large part of the present translation had been completed, the translators communicated by letter to Professor Müller their intention with regard to his work on the Dorians, and requested him to read the manuscript of their translation before it was printed, in case they should have anywhere committed any errors, or failed to catch the import of his words. To this request Mr. Müller, though not personally known by either of the translators, not only acceded, but, with an unexpected, and indeed unhopèd-for liberality, expressed his willingness to contribute to our translation all the alterations and additions which his reading had suggested since the appearance of the original work. The manuscript was accordingly transmitted, and

carefully revised, corrected, and enlarged by the author. Of the value of these changes it would perhaps be improper that we should speak in the terms which they seem to us to deserve: of their number, however, as this can be brought to a certain test, we will venture to assert, that few books undergo so great changes after their first publication; and that the present work may be in strictness considered, not only a translation, but a new edition of the original. In making these changes, it was also the author's wish to clear up ambiguities or obscurity of meaning, either by a change in the expression, or a fuller development of the thought: and we cannot help hoping, that even to a person acquainted with German, our translation will thus be found in many places more explicit and satisfactory than the original text. [v]

Besides those alterations, which appear for the first time in the following translation, the additions and corrections published by the author in his "Introduction to a scientific System of Mythology" have been here incorporated; and a Dissertation on the early history of the Macedonian nation, published separately by the author, some time after the appearance of the Dorians, has been inserted in the Appendix.

Not only has the small map of Macedonia, appended to this Dissertation, been inserted in our translation, in addition to the map of the Peloponnese, which was alone contained in the original work, but also a map of northern Greece, which, together with the explanatory article inserted in the Appendix, is now for the first time given to the public. These three maps together furnish a complete geographical picture of ancient Greece, from the promontory of Tænarum to the north of Macedonia; and we may be allowed to say, that in accuracy and fulness of detail, they rival, if not excel, all other maps of the same regions¹. [vi]

¹ The map of Northern Greece was not received until that of the Peloponnese had been engraved; and being intended by the author for circulation in Germany, as well as in England, the names are given in Latin. This must serve as an apology for this want of uniformity in the two maps.

After the printing of the whole work (with the exception of the Appendix) had been completed, the sheets were sent to Mr. Müller, by which means not only the translation of the original, but also of the manuscript additions, have received the approbation of the author. Any discrepancies, therefore, which may appear between the translation and the original must be considered as sanctioned by the author. The translators at the same time think it right to state, in case Mr. Müller should be exposed to any misrepresentations in his own country, that in making their translation they did not consider themselves bound to follow the letter of the original, and have sometimes indulged in a free paraphrase: while in some places they suggested more considerable changes, on account of the difference between the opinions on many important subjects which generally prevail in England and Germany.

(1830.)

Advertisement To The Second Edition.

The First Edition of the present Translation has been revised by the Author; and he has supplied several corrections and additions, which have been inserted in their proper places.

The accounts of the geography of Peloponnesus and Northern Greece, which were inserted in the Appendix to the First Edition of the Translation, have been omitted in the present Edition.

April, 1839.

Introduction.

§ 1. Origin of the Dorians in the North of Greece. § 2. Northern boundary of Greece. § 3. The Macedonians. § 4. The Thessalians. § 5. Diffusion of the Illyrians in Western Greece. § 6. The Phrygians. § 7. The Thracians. § 8. The Hellenes, Achæans, Minyans, Ionians, and Dorians. § 9. The Hylleans. § 10. Relation of the above nations to the Pelasgians. § 11. Difference between the Pelasgic and Hellenic religions. § 12. Early language of Greece, and its chief dialects.

1. The Dorians derived their origin from those districts in which the Grecian nation bordered towards the north upon numerous and dissimilar races of barbarians. As to the tribes which dwelt beyond these boundaries we are indeed wholly destitute of information; nor is there the slightest trace of any memorial or tradition that the Greeks originally came from those quarters. On these frontiers, however, the events took place which effected an entire alteration in the internal condition of the whole Grecian people, and here were given many of those impulses, of which the effects were so long and generally experienced. The prevailing character of the events in question, was a perpetual pressing forward of the barbarous races, particularly of the Illyrians, into more southern districts; yet Greece, although harassed, confined, nay even compelled to abandon part of her territory, never attempted to make a united resistance to their encroachments. The cause of this negligence probably was, that all her views being turned to the south, no attention whatever was paid to the above quarters.

2. To begin then by laying down a boundary line (which may be afterwards modified for the sake of greater accuracy), we shall suppose this to be the mountain ridge, which stretches from Olympus to the west as far as the Acroceraunian mountains (comprehending the Cambunian ridge and mount Lacmon), and in the middle comes in contact with the Pindus chain, which stretches in a direction from north to south. The western part of this chain separates the furthest Grecian tribes from the great Illyrian nation, which extended back as far as the Celts in the south of Germany. Every clue respecting the connexion, peculiarities, and original language of this people must be interesting, and the dialects of the Albanians, especially of those who inhabit the mountains where the original customs and language have been preserved in greater purity, will afford materials for inquiry.² For our present purpose it will be sufficient to state, that they formed the northern boundary of the Grecian nation, from which they were distinguished both by their language and customs.

3. In the fashion of wearing the mantle and dressing the hair,³ and also in their dialect, the MACEDONIANS bore a great resemblance to the Illyrians; whence it is evident that the Macedonians belonged to the Illyrian nation.⁴ Notwithstanding which, there can be no doubt that the Greeks were aboriginal⁵ inhabitants of this district. The plains of Emathia, the most [003]

² See particularly Pouqueville's list of Albanian words. Compare Thunmann's *Geschichte der Europäischen Völker*, p. 250. Concerning the Illyrians, see App. 1, § 21, 28.

³ Strabo VII. p. 321 A.

⁴ Illyrian words in use among the Macedonians: σαυάδαι (*Sileni*) in Macedonian, δευάδαι in Illyrian; δράμις, *bread*, in Macedonian, δράμικης among the Athamans. *Orchomenos*, p. 254. Compare Hesychius in βατάρα. See the copious collection in Sturz de *Dialecto Macedonica*.

⁵ As this expression is often used in the following pages, I take this opportunity of stating, that by *an aboriginal people*, I mean one which, as far as our knowledge extends, first dwelt in a country, *before* which we know of no other inhabitants of that country.

beautiful district of the country, were occupied by the Pelasgians,⁶ who, according to Herodotus, also possessed Creston above Chalcidice, to which place they had come from Thessaliois.⁷ Hence the Macedonian dialect was full of Greek radical words. And that these had not been introduced by the royal family (which was Hellenic by descent or adoption of manners) is evident from the fact, that many signs of the most simple ideas (which no language ever borrows from another) were the same in both, as well as from the circumstance that these words do not appear in their Greek form, but have been modified according to a native dialect.⁸ In the Macedonian dialect there occur grammatical forms which are commonly called Æolic,⁹ together with many Arcadian¹⁰ and Thessalian¹¹ words: and what perhaps is still more decisive, several words, which, though not to be found in the Greek, have been preserved in the Latin language.¹² There does not appear to be any peculiar affinity with the Doric dialect: hence we do not give much credit to the otherwise unsupported assertion of Herodotus, of an original identity of the Doric and Macedonian (Macedonian) nations. In other authors Macednus is called the son of Lycaon, from whom the Arcadians were said to

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⁶ Justin, VII. 1. Compare Æsch. Suppl. 261.

⁷ Herod. I. 57. See *Orchomenos*, p. 444.

⁸ Compare, for example, δαίνειν *to kill*, δάνος *death*, with θανεῖν, θάνατος; ἐέλδω (ἐέλδωρ in Homer) with ἐθέλω; ἀδραία for αἰδρία, in which θ loses its aspiration, as φ does in κεφαλή (so in German *haubet* for *haupt*), ἀφροῦτις for ὄφρυς (*brow*), Βίλιππος, Βερενίκη, βαλακρός, &c. The aspirate is also frequently lost; ἐνδομενία or ἐνδυμενία, *furniture* (in Polybius), with a change of υ and ο.

⁹ E.g. the nominatives ἵπποτα, &c., which are also called Æolico-Bœotic, Doric, and Thessalian. Sturz *ut sup.* p. 28.

¹⁰ E.g. ζέρεθρα for βάραθρα.

¹¹ E.g. ταγῶν ἀγά, *the leading of the Tagus*, as in Thessaly; ματτύα, *dainties*, a Thessalian, Macedonian, and also Spartan word.

¹² E.g. βίρροξ, *hirsutus, hirtus*; γάρκαν, *virgam*; ἴλεξ, *ilix*. The want of aspirates also forms a point of comparison.

be descended;¹³ or Macedon is the brother of Magnes, or a son of Æolus, according to Hesiod and Hellanicus,¹⁴ which are merely various attempts to form a genealogical connexion between this semi-barbarian race, and the rest of the Greek nation.¹⁵

4. The THESSALIANS, as well as the Macedonians, were, as it appears, an Illyrian race, who subdued a native Greek population; but in this case the body of the interlopers was smaller, while the numbers and civilization of the aboriginal inhabitants were considerable. Hence the Thessalians resembled the Greeks more than any of the northern races with which they were connected: hence their language in particular was almost purely Grecian, and indeed bore perhaps a greater affinity to the language of the ancient epic poets than any other dialect.¹⁶ But the chief peculiarities of this nation with which we are acquainted were not of a Grecian character. Of this their national dress,¹⁷ which consisted in part of the flat and broad-brimmed hat *καυσία* and the *chlamys* (which last was common to both nations, but was unknown to the Greeks of Homer's time, and indeed long afterwards,¹⁸ until adopted as the costume of the equestrian order at Athens), is a sufficient example. The Thessalians, moreover, were beyond a doubt the first to introduce into Greece the use of cavalry. More important distinctions however than that first alleged are perhaps to be found in their impetuous and passionate

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¹³ Apollodorus, III. 8, 1.

¹⁴ Ap. Constant. Porph. de Themat. II. 2, p. 1453. Sturz *Hellan. Fragm.* p. 79. The passage of Hesiod is probably from the Ἡοῖαι, and there is no reason for supposing it spurious. The second verse should be read, *ὤϊε δύε Μάγνητα Μάκεδνόν θ' ἰπποχάρμην.*

¹⁵ Concerning the Macedonians, see Appendix I.

¹⁶ I allude here particularly to the ending of the genitive case of the second declension in οιο, which the grammarians quote as Thessalian.

¹⁷ See Appendix I. § 28. The ancient Macedonian coins represent precisely the same dress as the Thessalian.

¹⁸ Compare *Θετταλικά περὰ* in several grammarians, with Didymus in Ammonius in *χλαμύς*. More will be found on this subject in book IV. c. 2, § 4.

character, and the low state of their intelligence. The taste for the arts shown by the wealthy house of the Scopadæ proves no more that such was the disposition of the whole people, than the existence of the same qualities in Archelaus argues their prevalence in Macedonia. This is sufficient to distinguish them from the race of the Greeks, so highly endowed by nature. We are therefore induced to conjecture that this nation, which a short time before the expedition of the Heraclidæ, migrated from Thesprotia, and indeed from the territory of Ephyra (Cichyrus) into the plain of the Peneus, had originally come from Illyria. On the other hand indeed, many points of similarity in the customs of the Thessalians and Dorians might be brought forward. Thus for example, the love for the male sex (that usage peculiar to the Dorians) was also common among the Illyrians, and the objects of affection were, as at Sparta, called ἄνται;¹⁹ the women also, as amongst the Dorians, were addressed by the title of *ladies* (δέσποιναι), a title uncommon in Greece, and expressive of the estimation in which they were held.²⁰ A great freedom in the manners of the female sex was nevertheless customary among the Illyrians, who in this respect bore a nearer resemblance to the northern nations.²¹ Upon the whole, however, these migrations from the north had the effect of disseminating among the Greeks manners and institutions which were entirely unknown to their ancestors, as represented by Homer.

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5. We will now proceed to inquire what was the extent of territory gained by the Illyrians in the west of Greece. Great part of Epirus had in early times been inhabited by Pelasgians,²² to which race the inhabitants of Dodona are likewise affirmed

¹⁹ Compare Theocritus XII. 14, with Alcman quoted in the Scholia, and b. IV. c. 4, § 6.

²⁰ Hesychius in δεσποίνης. See book IV. c. 4, § 4.

²¹ According to Ælian, V. H. III. 15, the women of Illyria were present at banquets and wine-parties; Herod. V. 18, says the contrary of the Macedonians.

²² Strabo, V. p. 221.

by the best authorities to have belonged, as well as the whole nation of Thesprotians;²³ also the Chaonians at the foot of the Acroceraunian mountains,²⁴ and the Chones, Cœnотrians, and Peucetians on the opposite coast of Italy, are said to have been of this race.²⁵ The ancient buildings, institutions, and religious worship of the Epirots, are also manifestly of Pelasgic origin. We suppose always that the Pelasgians were Greeks, and spoke the Grecian language: an opinion in support of which we will on this occasion only adduce a few arguments. It must then be borne in mind, that all the races whose migrations took place at a late period, such as the Achæans, Ionians, Dorians, were not (the last in particular) sufficiently powerful or numerous to effect a complete change in the customs of a barbarous population;²⁶ that many districts, Arcadia and Perrhæbia, for instance, remained entirely Pelasgic, without being inhabited by any nation not of Grecian origin; that the most ancient names, either of Grecian places or mentioned in their traditions, belonged indeed to a different era of the dialect, but not to another language; that finally, the great similarity between the Latin and Greek can only be explained by supposing the Pelasgic language to have formed the connecting link. Now the nations of Epirus were almost reduced to a complete state of barbarism by the operation of causes, which could only have had their origin in Illyria;²⁷

²³ See particularly Stephan. Byzant. in Ἐφύρα.

²⁴ Alexander Ephesius ap. Stephan. Byz. in Χαονία.

²⁵ Niebuhr's Roman History, vol. i. p. 46, ed. 2, English tr. Hence many names were the same in both countries; as, *e.g.*, Pandosia (Justin, XII. 2), Acheron, Acherontia, &c.

²⁶ Herodotus also says, that the Ionians and Æolians had formerly been Pelasgians, having, as it were, swallowed up that nation; he must however assume that they changed their language (μετέμαθον τὴν γλῶσσαν), as the language of the Pelasgi who dwelt near Creston and Placia (which was probably nothing more than an ancient dialect) appeared to him barbarous. Æschylus (Suppl. 911) opposes them, as genuine Greeks, to the κάρβανοι, or barbarians.

²⁷ Thus, *e.g.*, the Amphilochians and Chaonians, according to Thucyd. II. 68, 80. The following ancient Greek forms occur in the Epirot dialect: γδοῦπτοο

and in the historic age, the Ambracian bay was the boundary of Greece. In later times, more than half of Ætolia ceased to be Grecian, and without doubt adopted the manners and language of the Illyrians;²⁸ from which point the Athamanes, an Epirot and Illyrian nation, pressed into the south of Thessaly.²⁹ Migrations and predatory expeditions, such as the Encheleans had undertaken in the fabulous times, continued without intermission to repress and keep down the genuine population of Greece.

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6. The Illyrians were in these ancient times also bounded on the east by the Phrygians and Thracians, as well as by the Pelasgians. The PHRYGIANS were at this time the immediate neighbours of the Macedonians in Lebæa, by whom they were called Brygians (Βρύγες, Βρύγοι, Βρίγες);³⁰ they dwelt at the foot of the snowy Bermius, where the fabulous rose-gardens of king Midas were situated, while walking in which the wise Silenus was said to have been taken prisoner. They also fought from this place (as the Telegonia of Eugammon related)³¹ with the Thesprotians of Epirus. At no great distance from hence were the Mygdonians, the people nearest related to the Phrygians. According to Xanthus, this nation did not migrate to Asia until after the Trojan war.³² But, in the first place, the Cretan traditions begin with religious rites and fables, which appear from the most ancient testimonies

for δοῦπος (Maittaire, p. 141), γνώσκω, nosco, Orion p. 42, 17. ἄσπετος Achilles, Plut. Pyrrh. 1. (ἀ-ἔπομαι).—The account in Strabo VII. p. 327, of two languages being spoken in some districts, doubtless refers to the coexistence of Grecian and Illyrian dialects.

²⁸ Polyb. XVII. 5, 8.

²⁹ *Orchomenos*, p. 253.

³⁰ According to Hesychius, Βρέκς (Βερεκόντιος) is the same word as Βρύξ. *Bruges* was also used by Ennius, and, as it appears, by Marcus Brutus (Plutarch, Brut. 45).

³¹ See the Chrestomathia of Proclus. *Briges*, or *Phryges*, in the region of Dyrrachium, Appian, Bell. Civ. II., 39.

³² Creuzer Fragment. Histor. p. 171. Strabo XIV. p. 680. Compare Conon in Photius I.

to have been derived from Phrygians of Asia;³³ and, secondly, the Armenians, who were beyond a doubt of a kindred race to the Phrygians,³⁴ were considered as an aboriginal nation in their own territory.³⁵ It will therefore be sufficient to recognise the same race of men in Armenia, Asia Minor, and at the foot of mount Bermius, without supposing that all the Armenians and Phrygians emigrated from the latter settlement on the Macedonian coast. The intermediate space between Illyria and Asia, a district across which numerous nations migrated in ancient times, was peopled irregularly from so many sides, that the national uniformity which seems to have once existed in those parts was speedily deranged. The most important documents respecting the connexion between the Phrygian and other nations are the traces that remain of its dialect. It was well known in Plato's time that many primitive words of the Grecian language were to be recognised with a slight alteration in the Phrygian, such as πῦρ, ὕδωρ, χύων;³⁶ and the great similarity of grammatical structure which the Armenian

³³ Concerning this point, see Hoeck's History of Crete, vol. I. p. 109, sqq.

³⁴ According to the opinion of their colonists, Herod. VII. 73. Eudoxus ap. Steph. in Ἀρμενία. Compare Heeren *De Linguarum Asiaticarum in Persarum Imperio Cognatione*, Comment. Gotting. vol. XIII.

³⁵ The Armenians frequently occur in the ancient traditional history of the oriental kingdoms; e.g., in Diod. II. 1 as conquered by Ninus. They are likewise represented as the original inhabitants in the native legends collected by Moses of Chorene.

³⁶ Plato, Cratyl. p. 410 A. It is remarkable that these words are also in the German language. Πῦρ (see Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik, vol. I. p. 584, 2d ed.) in ancient High German was *viuri*, in Low German *für*. Κύων, *canis*, *hund* (*d* added as in μῆν, μᾶν—Phrygian for *moon*—and *mahnd*, *mond*). Ὑδωρ, in High German *wazar*, in Low German *water*; the digamma is present the genuine Phrygian form βέδω, which, on account of ancient vicinity, was also a Macedonian and *Orphic* word (see Neanth. Cyzicen. ap. Clem. Alexand. Strom. V. p. 673. Jablonsky de Lingua Phrygia, p. 76), and is sometimes translated *water*, and sometimes *air*.

Lastly, the Phrygian inscription in Walpole's Memoirs, especially the words ΜΙΑΙ ΛΑ ΑΓΤΑΕΙ ΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ, prove that it had a great resemblance, both in radical forms and inflexion, with the Greek.

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now displays with the Greek, must be referred to this original connexion.³⁷ The Phrygians in Asia must, however, have been intermixed with Syrians, who not only established themselves on the right bank of the Halys, but on the left also in Lycaonia,³⁸ and as far as Lycia,³⁹ and accordingly adopted much of the Syrian language and religion.⁴⁰ Their enthusiastic and frantic ceremonies had doubtless always formed part of their religion: these they had in common with their immediate neighbours the Thracians: but the ancient Greeks appear to have been almost entirely unacquainted with such rites.

7. The THRACIANS, who settled in Pieria at the foot of mount Olympus, and from thence came down to mount Helicon, as being the originators of the worship of Dionysus and the Muses, and the fathers of Grecian poetry,⁴¹ are a nation of the highest importance in the history of civilization. We cannot but suppose that they spoke a dialect very similar to the Greek, since otherwise they could not have had any considerable influence upon the latter people. They were in all probability derived originally from the country called Thrace in later times, where the Bessians, a tribe of the nation of the Satræ,⁴² at the foot of Mount Pangæum, presided over the oracle of Dionysus. Whether the whole of the populous

³⁷ Thus the verb *sum* keeps in the Armenian or Haicanian the same fundamental form which it has in all the languages allied to the Greek (*yem, yes, e—sum, es, est*). And it is remarkable, that the three Phrygian Greek words noticed in the text have been likewise preserved in the Haicanian: *πῦρ* is *hur* (as *πατήρ hair, πέντε hink*); *ῥόδωρ, tschur* (as *θερμός tscherm*); *κύων* is *shun*. See Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 99.

³⁸ See Jablonsky de *Lingua Lycaon*. Opusc. vol. III. p. 119.

³⁹ That is, if the epic poet Chœrilus spoke of Lyctian Solymi in the well-known passage preserved in Josephus cont. Apion. vol. II. p. 454, ed. Haverc. &c. See Naeke's Chœrilus, p. 130, sq.

⁴⁰ E.g. *ἄδαγούς*, an androgynous deity (Hesych. in v.), from *Dagon*; the name *Adon* (Athen. XIV. p. 624); *βαλλήν king*, (Hesych. in v. Eustath. ad Od. τ. p. 680. Bas.) from *Baal*, &c. See Blomf. ad Æsch. Pers. 663.

⁴¹ See *Orchomenos*, p. 379-390.

⁴² Herod. VII. 111.

races of Edones, Odomantians, Odrysians, Treres, &c. are to be considered as identical with the Thracians in Pieria, or whether it is not more probable that these barbarous nations⁴³ received from the Greeks their general name of Thracians, with which they had been familiar from early times, are questions which I shall not attempt to determine. Into these nations, however, a large number of Pæonians subsequently penetrated, who had passed over at the time of a very ancient migration of the Teucrians, together with the Mysians.⁴⁴ To this Pæonian race the Pelagonians, on the banks of the Axius, belonged; who also advanced into Thessaly, as will be shown hereafter. Of the Teucrians, however, we know nothing, excepting that in concert with (Pelasgic) Dardanians they founded the city of Troy,—where the language in use was probably allied to the Grecian, and distinct from the Phrygian.⁴⁵ [011]

8. Now it is within the mountainous barriers above described that we must look for the origin of the nations which in the heroic mythology are always represented as possessing dominion and power, and are always contrasted with an aboriginal population. These, in my opinion, were northern branches of the Grecian nation, which had overrun and subdued the Greeks who dwelt further south. The most ancient abode of the HELLENES Proper (who in mythology are merely a small nation in Phthia⁴⁶) was situated, according to Aristotle, in Epirus, near Dodona, to whose [012]

⁴³ All their words with which we are acquainted are very unlike the Greek; e.g. the word βρία and βρέα for *city*, which frequently occurs, ζίλα *wine*, πιτύγες *treasure*, Schol. Apollon. Rhod. I. 933, &c.

⁴⁴ Herod. V. 13. VII, 20, 75. Compare Hellanicus *ut sup.*; where read, ἐφ' οἷ νῦν Μακεδόνες καλοῦνται μόνοι μετὰ Μυσῶν τότε οἰκοῦντες. This at the same time probably refers to the tradition, that the Mysians (as well as the Thynians and others) came from Thrace to Asia, according to Strabo, and Pliny H. N. V. 32, 41. VII. 57.

⁴⁵ Homer, Hymn. Ven. 113.

⁴⁶ Æginetica, pp. 12, 155. Compare also Phavorinus in Ἀχαιοὺς ἄρξωσιν. In the later times they were probably still in the territory of the Molossians, who were considered as Greeks, Herod. VI. 127.

god Achilles⁴⁷ prays, as being the ancient protector of his family. In all probability the ACHÆANS, the ruling nation both of Thessaly and of Peloponnesus, in the mythical times, were of the same race and origin as the Hellenes. The MINYANS, Phlegyans, Lapithæ, and Æolians of Corinth and Salmone, came originally from the districts above Pieria, on the frontiers of Macedonia, where the very ancient Orchomenus, Minya, and Salmonia or Halmopia were situated.⁴⁸ Nor is there less obscurity with regard to the northern settlements of the IONIANS; they appear, as it were, to have fallen from heaven into Attica and Ægialea: they were not, however, by any means identical with the aboriginal inhabitants of these districts, and had, perhaps, detached themselves from some northern, probably Achæan, race.⁴⁹ Lastly, the DORIANS are mentioned in ancient legends and poems as established in one extremity of the great mountain-chain of Upper Greece, viz. at the foot of Olympus; there are, however, reasons for supposing, that at an earlier period they had dwelt at its other northern extremity, at the furthest limit of the Grecian nation.

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9. We now turn our attention to the singular nation of the HYLLEANS (Ἵλληεις, Ἵλλοι), which is supposed to have dwelt in Illyria, but is in many respects connected in a remarkable manner with the Dorians. The real place of its abode can hardly be laid down; as the Hylleans are never mentioned in any historical narrative, but always in mythical legends; and they appear to have been known to the geographers only from mythological

⁴⁷ II. XVI. 233.

⁴⁸ See *Orchomenos*, pp. 139, 248, sqq. Buttmann, indeed, in his Memoir on the Minyæ (Berlin Transactions for 1820, p. 13), denies the existence of these places; but several of the passages which I have quoted are decisive.

⁴⁹ According to the genealogy from the Ἡοῖαι—Dorus, Xuthus (from whom Achæus and Ion), and Æolus; see Appendix II. The genealogy in Euripides, *Ion* 1608. viz. Xuthus, father of Ion, Dorus, and Achæus, is distorted to suit the national feelings of the Athenians. The passage from the Ἡοῖαι, however, although in a poetical garb, is more credible than the testimony of Herodotus, who considers the Ionians as *aborigines*.

writers. Yet they are generally placed in the islands of Melita and Black-Corcyra, to the south of Liburnia.⁵⁰ Now the name of the Hylleans agrees strikingly with that of the first and most noble tribe of the Dorians. Besides which, it is stated, that, though dwelling among Illyrian races, these Hylleans were nevertheless genuine *Greeks*. Moreover they, as well as the Doric Hylleans, were supposed to have sprung from Hyllus, a son of Hercules, whom that hero begot upon Melite, the daughter of Ægæus:⁵¹ here the name Ægæus refers to a river in Corcyra, Melite to the island just mentioned. Apollo was the chief god of the Dorians; and so likewise these Hylleans were said to have concealed under the earth, as the sign of inviolable sanctity, that instrument of such importance in the religion of Apollo, a tripod.⁵² The country of the Hylleans is described as a large peninsula, and compared to Peloponnesus: it is said to have contained fifteen cities, which, however, had not a more real existence than the peninsula as large as Peloponnesus on the Illyrian coast. How all these statements are to be understood is hard to say. It appears, however, that they can only be reconciled as follows: the Doric Hylleans had a tradition, that they came originally from these northern districts, which then bordered on the Illyrians, and were

⁵⁰ Concerning what follows, see Apollonius Rhod. IV. 521, sqq. Schol. ad l. et ad IV. 1125, 1149. Apollodorus ap. Stephan. Byzant. in Ὑλλεῖς (p. 434, ed. Heyn.) Scylax, p. 7. ed. Voss. Scymnus Chius 404, from Timæus (Fragm. 121. ed. Goeller) and Eratosthenes. Dionys. Perieg. 386, with Eustathius and the Scholia. Etymol. Magn. p. 776. 39, where they are called a Celtic nation (ἔθνος Κελτικόν). Compare Schoenemann Geograph. Argonaut. p. 53, and book III. c. 5.

⁵¹ Apollon. Rh. IV. 538, and others. Panyasis appears from the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhod. IV. 1149, to have mentioned two Hylluses, viz. the son of Melite and the son of Deianira. Compare Schol. Soph. Trachin. 53. Vales, ad Harpocrat. p. 126. In the Scholiast to Pindar Pyth. I. 120, Ὑλλος, ὃς ἐβασίλευσε τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκησάντων, where Hemsterhuis reads Οἰχαλίαν, Raoul-Rochette (Histoire de l'Établissement des Colonies Grecques, tom. II. p. 280) proposes, not without some probability, Ἰλλυρίαν.

⁵² Apollon. Rh. IV. 528.

afterwards occupied by that people; and there still remained in those parts some members of their tribe, some other Hylleans. This notion of Greek Hylleans in the very north of Greece, who also were descended from Hercules, and also worshipped Apollo, was taken up and embellished by the poets; although it is not likely that any one had really ever seen these Hylleans and visited their country. Like the Hyperboreans, they existed merely in tradition and imagination. It is possible also that the Corcyræans, in whose island there was an "*Hyllæan*" harbour,⁵³ may have contributed to the formation of these legends, as is shown by some circumstances pointed out above; but it cannot be supposed that the whole tradition arose from Corcyræan colonies.

10. Here we might conclude our remarks on this subject, did not the following important question deserve some consideration. What relation can we suppose to have existed between the races which migrated into those northern districts, and the native tribes, and what between the different races of Greece itself? All inquiries on this subject lead us back to the Pelasgians, who although not found in every part of ancient Greece (for tradition makes so wide a distinction between them and many other nations, that no confusion ever takes place),⁵⁴ yet occur almost universally wherever early civilization, ancient settlements, and worships of peculiar sanctity and importance existed. And in fact there is no doubt that most of the ancient religions of Greece owed their origin to this race. The Zeus and Dione of Dodona; Zeus and Heré of Argos; Hephæstus and Athené of Athens; Demeter and Cora of Eleusis; Hermes and Artemis of Arcadia, together with Cadmus and the Cabiri of Thebes, cannot properly be referred

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⁵³ Thucyd. III. 81.

⁵⁴ Especially the connected chain of Ætolians, Epeans, Locrians (concerning whose affinity see Boeckh ad Pind. Olymp. IX. 61. p. 191), and Lelegians (Hesiod ap. Strab. VII. p. 322); and if these, as some say, are the same as the Carian nation, to which the Lydians and a part of the Mysians belonged, they would seem to compose a very numerous race.

to any other origin. We must therefore attribute to that nation an excessive readiness in creating and metamorphosing objects of religious worship, so that the same fundamental conceptions were variously developed in different places; a variety which was chiefly caused by the arbitrary neglect of, or adherence to, particular parts of the same legend. In many places also we may recognise the sameness of character which pervaded the different worships of the above gods; everywhere we see manifested in symbols, names, rites, and legends, a uniformity of ideas and feelings. The religions introduced from Phrygia and Thrace, such as that of the Cretan Zeus and Dionysus or Bacchus, may be easily distinguished by their more enthusiastic character from the native Pelasgic worship. The Phœnician and Egyptian religions lay [016] at a great distance from the early Greeks, were almost unknown even where they existed in the immediate neighbourhood, were almost unintelligible when the Greeks attempted to learn them, and repugnant to their nature when understood. On the whole, the Pelasgic worship appears to form part of a simple elementary religion, which easily represented the various forms produced by the changes of nature in different climates and seasons, and which abounded in expressive signs for all the shades of feeling which these phenomena awakened.

11. On the other hand, the religion of the northern races (who as being of Hellenic descent are put in contrast with the Pelasgians) had in early times taken a more moral turn, to which their political relations had doubtless contributed. The heroic life (which is no fiction of the poets), the fondness for vigorous and active exertion, the disinclination to the harmless occupations of husbandry, which is so remarkably seen in the conquering race of the Hellenes, necessarily awakened and cherished an entirely different train of religious feeling. Hence the Zeus Hellanius of Æacus, the Zeus Laphystius of Athamas, and, finally, the Doric

Zeus, whose son is Apollo, the prophet and warrior,⁵⁵ are rather representations of the moral order and harmony of the universe, after the ancient method, than of the creative powers of nature. I do not however deny, that there was a time when these different views had not as yet taken a separate direction. Thus it may be shown, that the Apollo Lyceus of the Dorians conveyed nearly the same notions as the Zeus Lycæus of the Arcadians, although the worship of either deity was developed independently of that of the other. Thus also certain ancient Arcadian and Doric customs had, in their main features, a considerable affinity. The points of resemblance in these different worships can be only perceived by comparison: tradition presents, at the very first outset, an innumerable collection of discordant forms of worship belonging to the several races, but without explaining to us how they came to be thus separated. For these different rites were not united into a whole until they had been first divided; and both by the connexion of worships and by the influence of poetry new combinations were introduced, which differed essentially from those of an earlier date.

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12. The language of the ancient Grecian race (which, together with its religion, forms the most ancient record of its history) must, if we may judge from the varieties of dialect and from a comparison with the Latin language, have been very perfect in its structure, and rich and expressive in its flexions and formations; though much of this was polished off by the Greeks of later ages: in early times, distinctness and precision in marking the primitive words and the inflections being more attended to than facility of utterance. Wherever the ancient forms had been preserved, they sounded foreign and uncouth to more modern ears; and the language of later times was greatly softened, in comparison with the Latin. But the peculiarities of the pure Doric dialect are (wherever they were not owing to a faithful preservation of

⁵⁵ See book II. ch. 7.

archaic forms) actual deviations from the original dialect, and consequently they do not occur in Latin; they bear, if I may be allowed the expression, a *northern* character. The use of the article, which did not exist in the Latin language or in that of epic poetry, can be ascribed to no other cause than to immigrations of new tribes, and especially to that of the Dorians. Its introduction must, as in the Romance languages, be almost considered as the sign of a great revolution. The peculiarities of the Doric dialect must have existed before the period of the migrations; since thus only can it be explained how peculiar forms of the Doric dialect were common to Crete, Argos, and Sparta: the same is also true of the dialects which are generally considered as subdivisions of the Æolic; the only reason for the resemblance of the language of Lesbos to that of Bœotia being, that Bœotians migrated at that period to Lesbos. The peculiarities of the Ionic dialect may, on the other hand, be viewed in great part as deviations caused by the genial climate of Asia;⁵⁶ for the language of the Attic race, to which the Ionians were most nearly related, could hardly have differed so widely from that of the colonies of Athens, if the latter had not been greatly changed.⁵⁷

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⁵⁶ The ancients frequently say, that the Ionians in Asia ἐλυμήναντο τῆς διαλέκτου τὸ πάτριον. Photius in v. φαρμακός.

⁵⁷ Concerning the Doric dialect, see Appendix VI.

Book I. History Of The Doric Race, From The Earliest Times To The End Of The Peloponnesian War.

Chapter I.

§ 1. Earliest Settlement of the Dorians in Thessaly. § 2. Description of the Vale of Tempe. § 3. Of the Passes of Olympus. § 4. And of Hestiæotis. § 5. The Perrhæbians. § 6. The Lapithæ. § 7. Limits of the Territory in Thessaly occupied by the Dorians. § 8. Contents of the Epic Poem Ægimius. § 9. Doric Migration from Thessaly to Crete. § 10. Relation of the Dorians to the Macedonians.

1. "From early times the Dorians and Ionians were the chief races of the Grecian nation; the latter of Pelasgic, the former of Hellenic origin; the latter an aboriginal people, the former a people much addicted to wandering. For the former, when under the dominion of Deucalion, dwelt in Phthiotis; and in the time of Dorus, the son of Hellen, they inhabited the country at the foot of Ossa and Olympus, which was called Hestiæotis. Afterwards, however, being driven from Hestiæotis by the Cadmeans, they dwelt under mount Pindus, and were called the Macedonian nation. From thence they again migrated to Dryopis; and having passed from Dryopis into Peloponnesus, they were called the Doric race."⁵⁸

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⁵⁸ Herod. I. 56; concerning which passage see Salmasius, de Lingua Hellenica,

This connected account cannot be considered as derived immediately from ancient tradition; but can only be viewed as an attempt of the father of history to arrange and reconcile various legends. Nor indeed is it difficult to discover and examine the steps of the argument which led him to this conclusion. It is clear that he considers the genealogy of Hellen,⁵⁹ viz. that he was the son of Deucalion and father of Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus, as an historical fact; although it is at least more recent than the poems of Homer, where the name of Hellenes does not include these races, but is the appellation of a single nation in Phthiotis: and that his object is to establish the position, that the Dorians were the genuine Hellenes. Now since Deucalion, the father of Hellen and grandfather of Dorus, was supposed to have dwelt in Phthiotis,⁶⁰ Herodotus represents the Dorians as also coming from Phthiotis; although the people meant in these legends by the names of Deucalion and Hellen were the real ancient Hellenes, the Myrmidons,⁶¹ who were afterwards under the dominion of the Æacidæ,⁶² and are entirely distinct from the Dorians. Dorus was next represented as succeeding Hellen as king of the same people; and then, since the name of Dorus was in these fabulous accounts connected with Hestiæotis, he infers that the Dorians

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p. 276, and Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. XXV. p. 11-28. Compare VIII. 43. Ἔόντες Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες.

⁵⁹ See, on the subject of this genealogy, Appendix II.

⁶⁰ Apollod. I. 7, 2.

⁶¹ Thus Pindar, Olymp. VIII. 30, calls the Myrmidons Δωριεὺς λαὸς, in order, as I conceive, to oppose them as genuine Greeks to nations of a different origin.

⁶² From the circumstance that, in Homer, Achilles the Æacides is represented as chief of the Hellenes, and that the Æacidæ were also ancient princes of Ægina, the author has in a former work (*Æginetica*, p. 18) explained the name of the temple of Zeus in Ægina, Ἑλλάντιον, in later times called Πανελλήνιον. For this temple is assuredly more ancient than the time when all the Greeks were called Hellenes; and it must therefore be considered as a sanctuary of the original Hellenes, who also dwelt in Phthia, as an ancient national temple of the Myrmidons.

went thither from Phthiotis. But the modern mythologist must of course abandon this whole deduction as unfounded; and he can only adopt the datum from which the historian started; namely, that, according to ancient tradition, “Dorus dwelt at the foot of Olympus and Ossa.” Here then the real fact presents itself to us. The chain of Olympus, the divider of nations, whose lofty summit is still called by the inhabitants the *celestial mansion*, is the place in which the Dorians first appear in the history of Greece.

2. The mountain-valley, which in later times bore the name of Thessaly, was bounded to the west by Pindus, to the south by Othrys, to the east by Pelion and Ossa, and to the north by Olympus, under which name the ancient writers, for example Herodotus, also include the chain which in after-times (probably from an Illyrian word)⁶³ was called the Cambunian mount. The course of the Peneus is so situated as to divide the open plain to the south, the ancient Pelasgic Argos, from the mountainous district to the north; towards the north-east it breaks through the mountain-ridge, dividing Ossa from Olympus; here too the river creeps under the loftier heights of mount Olympus;⁶⁴ so that the path passes along the side of the more rugged and precipitous Ossa. This ravine was known by the ancient generic name of *Tempea* or *Tempe* (the *cut*, from τέμνω), and has been often poetically described, but seldom sufficiently considered as bearing upon the history of Greece.⁶⁵

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⁶³ Appendix I., last note.

⁶⁴ The height of mount Olympus, according to Bernouille, is 1017 toises, or 6501 English feet; of Ossa, according to Dodwell, about 5000 feet.

⁶⁵ A more accurate description of this valley than those of Ælian and Barthélemy is given by Bartholdy, *Bruchstücke zur Kenntniss Griechenlands*, p. 112; Clarke, *Travels*, part II. sect. iii. p. 273; Hawkins, in *Walpole's Memoirs relating to European Turkey*, p. 528; Holland, *Albania*, p. 291; Dodwell, *Travels*, vol. I. p. 103; and Pouqueville, tom. III. c. 73. Among the ancients, Theopompus, in his *Φιλιππικά*, gave an accurate description of Tempe. See Theo. Sophist. *Progymn.* II. p. 19; Frommel, in *Creuzer's Meletemata*, III. p.

Before entering the pass, the traveller crosses a small round valley, agreeably situated; at the end of which on the left hand, where the mountains approach one another on both sides, was the ancient fortress of Gonnus (or Gonni), distant 160 stadia from Larissa, the chief city of the plain.⁶⁶ From this point the mountains close upon one another more rapidly, until they rise on both sides of the glen in two rocky parapets, forming a gully, where in many places a path has been hewn along the river. About the middle of this path there stands now, upon a bold projection of Ossa, a fortress of Roman construction called Horæo-Castro, covering also a cross glen of that mountain: it was there probably that the strong-hold Gonnocondylum stood; which appears to have taken its name from the “windings” of the valley.⁶⁷ Not far from this spot is the narrowest part of the ravine, hardly 100 feet in width: which is stated in an inscription to have been fortified by L. Cassius Longinus, the proconsul and partisan of J. Cæsar; but, without the aid of fortification, a few armed men would probably have been able to stop the progress of a force many times their number. The region has nothing beautiful or agreeable in its appearance, but presents rather a look of savage wildness: the perpendicular masses of rock of the same kind of stone appear, as it were, to have been rent asunder, and are without any covering of trees or grass; the blackness of the shadows in the deep hollow, and the dull echoes, increase the gloominess of the impression: beneath bubble the silver waters of the Peneus (ἀργυροδίνης).⁶⁸ Not far from this narrow passage the defile opens towards the sea, to which the Peneus flows through marshes; and from hence may be seen the smiling country of Pieria, on the eastern side of Olympus, particularly the

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⁶⁶ XX. *m. p. in ipsis faucibus saltus*, Livy from Polyb. XVIII. 10, 2, on the side of Olympus. Meletius mentions here a place called Goniga.

⁶⁷ Liv. XXXIX. 25.

⁶⁸ Il. B. 753.

plains of Phila, Heracleum, and Leibethrum, which lead onwards to the southern parts of Macedonia.

3. This is the only road between Thessaly and the northern districts, which passes in its whole length along a valley; all the others are mountain-passes. Such was the other road to Macedonia, which crossed mount Olympus (ἔσβολή Ὀλυμπική).⁶⁹ This road, too, begins at the strongly-fortified city of Gonnus, the key of the country towards the north; and it then goes along the southern side of Olympus, till it reaches the cities of Azorum and Doliche. Between these two towns is a place where three ways met.⁷⁰ The chief road passes in a northerly direction over the summit of the Cambunian chain to the Macedonian highlands; and it was here that Xerxes set fire to the woods in order to open a passage for his army, which the Greeks had expected along the more practicable way through Pieria and the valley of Tempe; and it was often in the Roman wars traversed by large armies.⁷¹ From the south of Olympus two difficult mountain roads led over the heights of Olympus, connecting Northern Thessaly with Pieria. The one avoided the valley of Tempe, as it passed by the fortress of Lapathus to the north of that defile,⁷² then along the small lake of Ascurias, whence there was a view of the town of Dium on the sea-coast, at the distance of 96 stadia; after which it descended into the plains of Pieria. We should, however, more particularly notice the other road, taking a more northern direction, and passing over the lofty sides of Olympus, where formerly there stood the castle of Petra, and the temple of the Pythian Apollo, commonly called Pythium, together with a village of the same name,⁷³ the height of which

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⁶⁹ Herod. VII. 128, 173.

⁷⁰ Liv. XLIV. 6. Polyb. XXVIII. 11. 1. Ἀζορίου μεταξὺ καὶ Δολιχῆς.

⁷¹ See, besides Herodotus, Liv. XLIV. 2, and Plutarch, Æmil. 9.

⁷² Concerning the situation of this place see Liv. XLIV. 2 and 6.

⁷³ Πυθίου Ἀπολλωνος ἱερὸν, τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὴν Πέτρην Plutarch. Æmil. 15. *Pythoum* (Πυθῶνον) *et Petra* Liv. XLIV. 2, 32, 35. XLII. 53. That there was

Xenagoras, by a geometrical measurement, ascertained to be 6096 Grecian feet.⁷⁴ From this point there was a mountain-pass leading down to the coast to Heracleum and Phila in Pieria, and another way led along the ridge of Olympus by difficult and dangerous passages, as far as Upper Macedonia.⁷⁵

These mountain-passes and defiles have not been explored by any modern traveller; but it was important for our subject to discover their position from the writings of the ancients. Not only did Perseus and Æmilius Paulus here contend for the fate of Macedonia, but it was in this region that the Greek nations of the heroic age disputed the possession of the fertile Thessaly. There was once a time when through these passes the nations pressed down, to whose lot the finest parts of Greece were once to fall; here every step was gained with labour, while the sons of the mountain inured themselves to hardships in their incessant wars. Of the numerous citadels which in these districts cover every important point, the greater number were probably built at a very early period. Thus there were three fortresses⁷⁶ to defend the pass of Olympus, or the road from Gonnus to Azorum and Doliche, which two places, together with Pythium on the mountain, were comprehended under the name of the Pelagonian Tripolis.⁷⁷ [025]

4. The highlands which border on Macedonia are so rarely mentioned in Grecian history, that we find in them few names of places, while in the valley of the Peneus there were always

only *one* Pythium in this district is evident from an accurate examination of the marches. Mannert (vol. VII. p. 520, 563) has placed Pythium on the pass through the Cambunian mountains (above the modern Alesson and Sarviza), of which it lay far to the right. His opinion is contradicted by Liv. XLIV. 2. and Plutarch, *ubi sup.* Compare Stephanus in Πύθιον, Πυθιεῖς οἱ τὸ Πύθιον οἰκοῦντες, ἐν ᾧ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερον ἔστι, and in Βάλλα.

⁷⁴ 960 toises. See above.

⁷⁵ See Plutarch *ubi sup.* Liv. *ubi sup.* and XLIV. 7. comp. Polyb. XXVIII. 11.

⁷⁶ Liv. XXXI. 41. XXXVI. 10, 13. XLII. 67. XLIV. 2.

⁷⁷ Ptolemy includes it in Pelasgiotis. Unfortunately we have not the Greek original of the passage in Livy concerning the Tripolis, XLII. 53.

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some traditional and historical memorials extant. For although the northern mountains were not destitute of fountains, grassy slopes, and fertile pastures, still the nations continually pressed downward to the fertile lands of the valley. In this plain Gonnus and Elatea are succeeded by Mopsium upon the right, and Gyrtion and Phalanna on the left of the stream; and soon afterwards Larissa stood in the midst of the open country,⁷⁸ which had been once deposited from the stagnant waters of the Peneus, and being constantly irrigated, always produced a plentiful crop. To the west of Larissa, in a narrower part of the valley, where the hills approach the river more from the north side, there stood, 40 stadia from Larissa, the town of Argura,⁷⁹ and at the same distance again the fort of Atrax; on the northern bank of the river were the celebrated city of Pelinna⁸⁰ and the castle of Pharcedon;⁸¹ higher up on the left bank, where the mountains on the north begin to recede and form another plain, was the ancient city of Tricca.⁸² Between Tricca and Pelinna stood, as it appears, the city of Æchalia, so celebrated in mythology; the ruins of which have been perhaps discovered by a traveller in some ancient walls of massive structure,⁸³ of which Pouqueville saw many in this district. If now we follow the Peneus, which runs from the north-west, higher up the stream than Tricca, we come to the mountain district of Hestiaëotis. At about three and

⁷⁸ *Orchomenos*, p. 126.

⁷⁹ Liv. XXXII. 15. Strabo IX. p. 438, 440.

⁸⁰ Concerning Pelinna, see, besides Cellarius, Spanheim de Usu Numm. IX. p. 902. Salmasius ad Solin. p. 687. Wesseling ad Diodor. XVIII. 11. and Boeckh Comment. ad Pind. Pyth. X. p. 335.

⁸¹ Besides Strabo, see Diodorus XVIII. 56. In Polyænus IV. 2, 18, should be written, Φίλιππος ἐπολιόρκει Φαρκηδόνα πόλιν Θεσσαλικήν.

⁸² Concerning Tricca (Tricala 12-3/4 leagues from Larissa, according to Pouqueville) see Mannert, p. 569, and also Eustathius, vol. II. p. 250. ed. Basil. Tzetzes Chil. IX. 28.

⁸³ See II. B. 370, with the Scholia, and Eustathius. Pelinnus, a son of Æchalius, Steph. Byzant. in Πέλιννα.

a half hours from Tricca⁸⁴ is now situated the convent Meteora, whose name alludes to its singular situation upon lofty columns of rock.⁸⁵ from which place there were two ways, one leading higher up the Peneus in a westerly direction to Epirus, and the other passing through Stymphæa to Elimiotis in Macedonia,⁸⁶ [027] This was about the situation of the ancient fortress of Gomphi, which was near Pindus, and not very far from the sources of the Peneus.⁸⁷ It is, indeed, probable that the name Γόμφοι expresses the *wedge-shaped* form of these rocks. According to Strabo, Gomphi (in the north-west), Tricca (in the south-west), Pelinna (in the north-east), and the more recent city of Metropolis (in the south-east), formed a square of fortresses, in the middle of which was the ancient Ithome; which Homer, from the steepness of the rock on which it stood, calls the *precipitous* (κλωμακόεσσα or κλιμακόεσσα).⁸⁸ From Meteora the Peneus may be followed in a northerly direction to its origin from two small streams; whence there was a path which wound over the high chain of Pindus, and thus reached the country of Epirus. This was in ancient times the road which connected the two countries, and there still remain on it several Cyclopien walls, the strongholds of former ages.

5. There had dwelt in the valley of the Peneus from the earliest times a Pelasgic nation, which offered up thanks to the gods for the possession of so fruitful a territory at the festival

⁸⁴ Thus Pouqueville: according to Holland twelve miles, according to Vaudoncourt four hours.

⁸⁵ See Meletius, Pouqueville, Holland, Cockerell in Hughes' Travels, vol. I. p. 504.

⁸⁶ The latter according to Arrian I. 7; the former according to Liv. XXXI. 41. XXXII. 15. XXXVIII. 2. Compare Cæsar B.C. III. 80.

⁸⁷ Tempe was about 500 stadia from Gomphi, Plin. H. N. IV. 8, which distance should be thus divided: the length of Tempe 40 stadia, then to Larissa 160, to Tricca about 240, and to Gomphi 60.

⁸⁸ Strabo IX. p. 437. II. B. 729. Pausan. IV. 9, 1. Meteora cannot be Ithome; more probably the ruins of Kastraki. But the passage concerning Curialius and the temple of the Itonian Minerva, is a confusion of the geographer. Otherwise de la Porte du Theil Eclaircissement sur Strabon I. 76, p. 248.

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of Peloria.⁸⁹ Their habits were doubtless adapted to the nature of the country, which has still the same effect on the modern inhabitants; those who dwell near the river being of a soft and peaceable disposition, while the mountaineers are of a stronger and freer turn of mind.⁹⁰ Larissa was the ancient capital of this nation.⁹¹ But at a very early time the primitive inhabitants were either expelled or reduced to subjection, by more northern tribes.⁹² Those who had retired into the mountains became the PERRHÆBIAN nation, and always retained a certain degree of independence. In the Homeric catalogue the Perrhæbians are mentioned as dwelling on the hill Cyphus under Olympus, and on the banks of the Titaresius, which, flowing along the western edge of Olympus, is distinguished by its clear and therefore dark-coloured stream, from the muddy and white waters of the Peneus.⁹³ At the present day the inhabitants of its banks are remarkable for their healthy complexion, while the Peneus is surrounded by a sickly population.⁹⁴ The ancients however were reminded by the Titaresius of the Styx and of the infernal regions, not from any natural circumstance, but because both among these Perrhæbians and the Hellopian Pelasgians the name and worship of Dodona had been established.⁹⁵ Accordingly there seems to have been in both places a *Ψυχοπομπεῖον*, or oracle of the dead. The prince of these Perrhæbians was called Guneus. So

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⁸⁹ Athen. XIV. p. 639, 640.

⁹⁰ Pouqueville, p. 37.

⁹¹ *Orchomenos*, p. 126. Here also Acrisius of Argos dwelt. That it is this Larissa is plain from Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 40, compare Hellanicus fragm. 116. Pausan. II. 16. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 836.

⁹² Strabo, IX. p. 439.

⁹³ According to modern travellers. The ancients frequently misinterpreted Homer. In later times Eurotas, or Europus, as in the Excerpta of Strabo, *i.e.* the *dark-coloured*.

⁹⁴ Pouqueville.

⁹⁵ Thus the writers in Strabo VII. p. 328. Steph. Byzant. in *Δωδώνη*. See book II. ch. 11, § 3.

much may be gathered from the passage in Homer. Afterwards, in historical times, we find the Perrhæbians having extended their limits to the Cambunian mountains, the pass of Tempe, and the Peneus; and reaching to the west beyond the chain of Pindus.⁹⁶ Gonnus and Atrax were likewise Perrhæbian towns.⁹⁷ The Perrhæbians maintained themselves in the mountains, even when the Thessalians had seized upon the plain, not indeed as an independent, but still as a separate, and, until the Macedonian supremacy, as an Amphictyonic nation.

6. The plain on either side of the Peneus was however occupied by the LAPITHÆ, a race which derived its origin from Almopia in Macedonia, and was at least very nearly connected with the Minyans and Æolians of Ephyra.⁹⁸ If it be allowed to speak of this heroic race, of superhuman strength and courage, in the same terms as of a real nation, we should say that the towns Elatea, Gyrton, Mopsium, Larissa, Atrax, Æchalia, Ithome, and Tricca, were under their dominion. Our reason is, that the Lapithæ, Elatus, Cæneus, Mopsus, Coronus, Eurytus and Hippodameia, were considered by popular tradition as inhabitants of the above towns; a belief indicated by the names of several of these heroes. The two last of these towns were the native places of the Asclepiadæ, whom the genealogical and other legends always represent as connected with the Lapithæ. In Homer the inhabitants of Tricca, Ithome, and Æchalia are represented as following the sons of Æsculapius; those of Argissa, Gyrton, Orthe, Elone, and Oloosson are headed by the descendants of [030] the Lapithæ. Now from the researches mentioned by Strabo, it would seem that Orthe was the fortress of Phalanna, Argissa the town Argura, both on the river Peneus; Elone was a small town on mount Olympus, as also Oloosson;⁹⁹ and it appears that the

⁹⁶ Hieronymus, ap. Strab. IX. p. 443.

⁹⁷ Steph. Byzant. in Γόννος Liv. XXXII. 15.

⁹⁸ *Orchomenos*, pp. 248 sqq.

⁹⁹ If *Oloosson* is the modern *Allassona* on the road from Larissa to Macedonia,

Homeric catalogue agrees well enough with the other traditions, and supposes the Lapithæ to have occupied the valley of the Peneus, with some parts of the mountainous country to the north.

7. Thus much it was necessary to premise, in order to give a faithful description of the spot in which the Dorians first make their appearance in the traditions of Greece. They bordered on the Lapithæ, but inhabited the mountain district of Hestiæotis, according to Herodotus,¹⁰⁰ instead of the champaign country, like the latter race. Yet the same passage of that author implies that Tempe was within the territory of Hestiæotis, and belonged at that time to the Dorians; we shall see hereafter how much this account is confirmed by the altar of the Pythian Apollo in this valley.¹⁰¹ It will moreover be rendered probable that the Pythium above mentioned was situated on the mountain heights. Hence we may well suppose the whole Tripolis to have at one time belonged to the Dorians; since even Azorium was not always inhabited by Illyrian Pelagones, but had once been held by the Hellenes.¹⁰² It is also probable that Cyphus, a town said to have belonged to the Perrhæbians, was under the dominion of the Dorians; since this race possessed in their second settlement a town called Acyphas.¹⁰³ It is remarkable that no direct and positive account of any Doric town in this district has been preserved, a circumstance to be attributed to the loss of the epic poem of Ægimius.

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according to the opinion of the bishop of Thessalonica on II. B. p. 333. ed. Rom. δοκεῖ δὲ φυλάσσειν καὶ νῦν τὴν κλήσιν παραφθειρομένην βαρβαρικῶς, ἴσως γὰρ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἄρτι λεγομένη Ἐλασσών.

¹⁰⁰ See above, § 1. Andron ap. Strab. X. p. 475 E. τῆς Δωρίδος πρότερον, νῦν δὲ Ἑστιάωτιδος λεγομένης. The Dorians also dwelt in Hestiæotis to the west of Pindus, according to Charax ap. Steph. Byzant. in Δώριον. According to Schol. Pind. Pyth. I. 124, and Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 385 (as emended by Hemsterhuis, p. 115), they dwelt in Perrhæbia; and Perrhæbia nearly coincides with Hestiæotis.

¹⁰¹ See book II. ch. I, § 2.

¹⁰² There was a hero named Azorus, Hesychius in Ἄζωρος.

¹⁰³ Hemsterhuis incorrectly considers them as identical, ubi sup. p. 116.

8. This poem, written in the Hesiodic tone (although the author probably lived about the 30th Olympiad, 660 B.C. in the last period of epic poetry),¹⁰⁴ celebrated the most ancient exploits of the Doric race. Thus it sung how Ægimius, the Doric prince, whilst engaged in a difficult and dangerous war with the Lapithæ, called to his assistance the wandering Hercules, and by the promise of a third part of the territory obtained his alliance; by which means the enemies were beaten, their prince slain, and the disputed territory conquered.¹⁰⁵ The name of the poem is a sufficient proof that such would have been its contents.¹⁰⁶ Probably the heroes of Iolcus and the Phthiotans were also introduced as allies of the Lapithæ, and at least the adventures of Phrixus and Achilles.¹⁰⁷ The scene of the second book was Eubœa, the name of which island was there derived from the cow Io;¹⁰⁸ the attack of Hercules upon the Eubœan

¹⁰⁴ Athen. XI. p. 503 D. καὶ ὁ τὸν Αἰγίμιον ποιήσας, εἴθ' Ἡσιοδός ἐστιν ἢ Κέρκωψ ὁ Μιλήσιος. The confusion of the names of Hesiod and Cercops may, as it appears to me, be accounted for as follows. A verse concerning the desertion of Ariadne by Theseus for the sake of Ægle, is ascribed by Plutarch (vit. Thes. 20) to Hesiod, and by Athenæus (XIII. p. 557 A.) to Cercops; it is evidently from the Ægimius which was attributed to both these names. This verse was expunged from the poem by Pisistratus, as we learn from Hereas, quoted by Plutarch. The Ægimius therefore was at that time arranged and set down in writing, together with other epic poems. Consequently Cercops, an Orphic Pythagorean, who lived about the time of Pisistratus, cannot have been the author of it, though he might have been the διασκευαστής who arranged it in the same manner that Onomacritus did the other poems. Now it might easily happen, especially if his interpolations could be now and then discerned, that the *whole* poem should be attributed to him.

¹⁰⁵ Wesseling. ad Diod. IV. 37, p. 282.

¹⁰⁶ See Valckenaer ad Eurip. Phœn. p. 735.

¹⁰⁷ Schol. Apoll. Rhod. III. 584. IV. 816. The character of the ancient epic poetry, which never admitted of history arranged in a chronological order, cannot allow us to suppose that the Ægimius contained an account of the expedition of the Dorians, and of their colonies, down to the founding of Cyrene.

¹⁰⁸ This is the meaning of the passage in Steph. Byzant. Ἀβαντίς,—ὡς Ἡσιοδος

town of Œchalia also formed, as I conjecture, part of the subject. Ægimius was, however, supposed to reign in Hestiæotis, merely because the Dorians bordered in this direction upon the Lapithæ; he was easily carried over to the second settlements of the race under mount Œta.¹⁰⁹ This hero is in general the mythical progenitor and hero of the Doric nation; hence Pindar called the customs and laws of that people “the ordinances of Ægimius.”¹¹⁰ Nevertheless only two tribes of the Dorians are stated to be descended from him, viz. the Dymanes and Pamphylians; the third and most distinguished, viz. the Hylleans, was supposed to be descended from Hyllus the son of Hercules, and adopted by Ægimius. And as the land in the Doric states was equally divided between these three tribes, Hercules was fabled to have received for his descendants a third part of the territory, which belonged of right to the Hylleans. This triple division of the land was expressly mentioned by the epic poet, who used the word τριχάϊκες to express that the Dorians had obtained and shared among themselves, at a distance from their native country (chiefly in Peloponnesus),¹¹¹ a territory apportioned into three

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ἐν Αἰγυμίου δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἴουϋς;
 —Νήσω δ' ἐν Ἀβαντίδι δῆη,
 τὴν πρὶν Ἀβαντίδα κίκλησκον Θεοὶ αἰὲν ἑόντες
 τὴν ποτ' ἐπάνυμον Εὐβοίαν βοῶς ὠνόμασε Ζεὺς.

These are followed by the four verses concerning Argos and Io quoted by Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 1151. Apollodorus II. 1, 3, alludes to this passage. Also what he mentions from this poem in II. 1, 5, belongs to the Eubœan fables. Apollodorus, in both passages, quotes the Ægimius under the name of Cercops. Compare Fabric. Bibliothec. vol. I. p. 592. ed. Harles.

¹⁰⁹ See Ephorus ap. Steph. Byzant. in Δυμᾶνες (p. 96. ed. Marx.), followed by Strabo IX. p. 427.

¹¹⁰ Book III. ch. 1, § 7.

¹¹¹ Etymol. Magn. Τριχάϊκες.—Ἡσίοδος διὰ τὸ τριχῆ αὐτοὺς οἰκῆσαι, οἷον; Πάντες γὰρ τριχάϊκες καλέοντο Οὕνεκα τρισσὴν γαῖαν ἐκάς πάτρης ἐδάσαντο. Τρία γὰρ Ἑλληνικὰ ἔθνη τῆ Κρήτη ἐπόκησαν, Πελασγοὶ, Ἀχαιοὶ, Δωριεῖς. The last words must be considered as a mere ignorant addition; for the Dorians did not divide *their* territory into three parts, *because* two *other* Greek races went to Crete. It is, indeed, evident that a threefold division of the land

parts. An examination of the opinion, that the first race was distinguished from the other two as of different origin, will be found in a following chapter.¹¹²

We must also refer our reader to the investigation of the worship of Apollo, and the mythology of Hercules, in the second book, since from these alone can be collected the internal history of the Doric race during its earliest period. [034]

9. One event which, even if it had not been noticed by tradition, would still have been felt and recognised from the effects it produced, is the migration of the Dorians from the district of Olympus to Crete. It is, indeed, a wonderful migration, being from one end of the Grecian world to the other, and it presents a striking anomaly in the history of the ancient colonies. We must suppose that the Dorians, whilst in their first settlements, excluded from the plain, and pressed by want, or restless from inactivity, constructed piratical canoes, manned these frail and narrow barks with soldiers, who themselves worked at the oars, and thus being changed from mountaineers into seamen—the Normans of Greece—set sail for the distant island of Crete. The earliest trace of the migration in question is found in the Odyssey,

conquered by the Dorians is here spoken of, which, as is plain from the fables concerning Ægimius and Hercules, took place according to the three tribes. According to the present reading, this division took place at a distance from the native country of the Dorians. There might seem some difficulty in this, since Hercules is said to have given Ægimius the third part of the territory as a παρακαταθήκη in Hestiaëotis, the most ancient habitation of the Dorians (Diod. IV. 37, compare Apollodorus II. 7, 3). Hence πάτρης for πάτρης might be read in this sense: “The Dorians divided their territory into three parts for the families (of which the φυλαὶ or tribes consisted),” so that they then dwelt separately from one another (similarly Pindar Olym. p. VII. 74). This alteration, however, appears to be unnecessary; and the old reading is defended by the following explanation, viz., that according to the ancient fable Hyllus and his descendants did not *dwell* either near mount Ceta, or in Hestiaëotis together with the Dorians, but that they first received in the Peloponnese the third part of the territory, whither they came as colonists at a distance from their more ancient abodes (ἕκας πάτρης).

¹¹² Below, ch. 3, § 1.

in which poem it is mentioned that the *thrice-divided* Dorians formed a part of the population of Crete.¹¹³ Andron states, even with geographical accuracy, that these Dorians came to Crete from Hestiaëotis, at that time called Doris, under Tectaphus, the son of Dorus, together with Achæans and some Pelasgians who had remained in Thessaly.¹¹⁴ According to Dicæarchus, the Dorians migrated to Crete from Pelasgiotis;¹¹⁵ by which is meant the same district as that called by Andron Hestiaëotis, since Pelasgiotis and Hestiaëotis bordered on each other in the vicinity of Tempe. Again, Diodorus affirms that Asterius king of Crete, the adopted father of Minos, the legislator, was the son of Tectamus (Teutamus).¹¹⁶ The essential parts of these statements are rendered certain by two proofs: the first of these is, that the worship of Apollo was practised in Crete with precisely the same ceremonies as at Tempe, and connected with many of the same traditions; the second is, the very remote period at which the principles of the Doric constitution were systematized and established in Crete, so that they afterwards became a model and standard for other states of that race. This gives us the fullest right to consider Minos of Cnosus as a Dorian. We may assert, with still more reason, that the name of Minos indicates a period in which the Doric invaders united a part of the island into one state, and, by extending their power over the Cyclades and many maritime districts, obtained, according to the expression of

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¹¹³ Hom. Od. XIX. 174.

¹¹⁴ Ap. Strab. X. p. 475 D. and Stephan. Byzant. in Δώριον. Diodorus IV. 60. V. 80, gives nearly the same account, on the authority of Cretan historians, whom he mentions in V. 80.

¹¹⁵ This may be collected from the passage of Dicæarchus (which, indeed, is much mutilated) cited in Steph. Byz. in Δώριον. It is given most faithfully in Montfaucon's Biblioth. Coislin. p. 286, 59.

¹¹⁶ Τεύταμος appears to be the correct name, the same as that of an ancient prince of Larissa, on which the ancient Dorians bordered. The princes of the allied nations were doubtless confounded in tradition. See the author's *Etrusker*, vol. I. p. 94.

Herodotus, Thucydides, and Aristotle, the dominion of the sea. To discredit this Doric migration would be to reject the simple explanation of many facts recorded in later history. At the same time, however, we do not mean to throw any doubt upon the later migrations from Peloponnesus, when it had already fallen under the power of the Dorians.¹¹⁷ We only assert that these took place at too late a period to account for many unquestionable facts. The portion of Crete first occupied by the Dorians was, according to Staphylus, the eastern coast;¹¹⁸ or, to speak more accurately, the eastern side of the north coast. Here stood the Minoan town of Cnosus, with its harbour Heracleum and colony Apollonia. From this point the dominion, customs, and worship of the Dorians were at a very early period extended over the districts inhabited by the Eteocretans, Pelasgians, and Cydonians; and, with the help of later migrations, pervaded the whole island.¹¹⁹ And although the different dialects could still be distinguished at the time of Homer,¹²⁰ yet in later times the Doric appears to have been universally adopted.¹²¹ [036]

10. We now return to the passage of Herodotus, of which a part has been already quoted; “When however the Dorians were

¹¹⁷ The settlements which here come into consideration are, 1. the immigration, after the death of Minos (in the third generation before the siege of Troy), of various races, chiefly Hellenes, according to Herod. VII. 170; this is a mere tradition of the towns of Polichna and Præsus, and not a very credible one. 2. The colony of Althæmenes after the expedition of the Heraclidæ from Argos and Megara, and in connexion with Rhodes. 3. Dorians from Peloponnesus, Lyctus, Lampe, and other places settled from Sparta; Pharæ a colony of the Messenians; Gortyna of Amyclæans (Minyans); Phæstus colonized from Sicyon; other towns from Argos (Scylax, p. 18, Diod. V. 80). 4. Æginetans in Cydonia.

¹¹⁸ Strabo X. p. 475 C.

¹¹⁹ The Cretan cities were generally considered as Doric; Menander de Encom. XXXII. 1, p. 81, ed. Heeren. and others.

¹²⁰ Od. XIX. 175. ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλώσσα μεμιγμένη.

¹²¹ On this migration of the Dorians from their early settlements in the north of Greece to Crete, see Appendix III.

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driven out by the Cadmeans, they dwelt under Mount Pindus, and were called the Macedonian nation.” In this passage the author alludes to the legend, that the Cadmeans, being expelled from Thebes by the Argives, fled to the Encheleans of Illyria, where they bordered upon Homolè, a Magnesian mountain near the valley of Tempe. In this settlement they would certainly be in the neighbourhood of the Dorians. But we should bear in mind how perplexed is the fable which we have before us.¹²² The predatory excursion of the Encheleans to Phocis and Bœotia appears to admit of no doubt, as it was noticed by a Delphian oracle of tolerable antiquity, and by the tradition of the Thebans. The same horde may in its passage have also disturbed the Dorians in their settlements; but it is no less wonderful, that fugitive Thebans should have voluntarily taken refuge with the Encheleans in Illyria, than that this latter nation should have driven the Dorians from their settlements. It may be true that some northern hordes expelled the Dorians from mount Olympus, since at a later period we find the Pæonian (Teucrian) race of the Pelagones, who had descended from the Axius,¹²³ and made themselves masters of the Tripolis, Azorum, Doliche, and Pythium, in possession of their ancient settlements.

As to the statement of Herodotus, that the Macedonians, or ancient Macedonians (who in his lifetime inhabited the territory between the rivers Haliacmon and Lydias, from the mountains

¹²² *Orchomenos*, pp. 233, 234. According to Andron (Strabo X. p. 475) they came directly from Hestiazotis under mount Parnassus. According to Diodorus IV. 67, the Cadmeans drove out the Dorians, who then returned to Doris (Erineus, Cytinium, Boeum). Lycophron v. 1388, might be quoted in confirmation of Herodotus, since he calls the Dorians Λακμώνιοι (Λάκμων ὄρος Περραιβίας ἔνθα ὄκουσιν Δωριεῖς), Lacmon being the name of the ridge of Pindus and the Cambunian mountains. But Lycophron only alludes to their settlements in Hestiazotis.

¹²³ II. II. 849, XXI. 159. It is to this that Herodotus alludes, when he says that the Teucrians, to which race he refers the Pæonians, had penetrated as far as the Peneus (see the Introduction, and Appendix I. § 4).

to the coast),¹²⁴ were derived from the Dorians when dwelling under mount Pindus, he probably followed some accounts of the Macedonians, who, not satisfied with establishing the Doric origin of their royal family, wished to claim the same honour for the whole nation: but there does not appear to be any historical foundation for this statement. For the Macedonians, as was above remarked, were indeed for the most part Greeks, but neither their language or customs authorize us to consider them as Dorians.¹²⁵ [038]

Chapter II.

§ 1. Migration of the Dorians from Thessaly to the Valley of Cæta and Parnassus. § 2. District of Cæta. § 3. Limits of Doris.
 § 4. The Dryopians. § 5. The Malians. § 6. The Ænians.

1. "From thence," Herodotus proceeds to relate, "the race of the Dorians migrated to Dryopis, afterwards called Doris, or the Doric Tetrapolis." Here also it will be necessary to give some illustration of the geography of the country; beginning at Thermopylæ (the point at which mount Cæta comes in contact with the sea) to the broken ridge where it is swallowed up in Parnassus, and both ranges are lost in the mountains of Pindus, and where this latter, the grand chain of Greece, is separated and branches off in different directions.

Following the plain of Phocis, which lies between mounts Cæta and Parnassus, and is watered by the Cephissus, we presently find the mountains approaching each other from both sides, and contracting the valley of the river. The last towns of Phocis in this direction are, Amphicæa, Tithronium and Drymæa, still

to be recognised in ruins, and places bearing the name of *Palæocastro*.¹²⁶ Proceeding thence westward to the higher country, we soon arrive at the sources of the river Cephisus, which cannot be mistaken, since it immediately forms a stream of considerable size. The Cephisus indeed rises not in Æta but in Parnassus, and runs first to the north-east, in order to make a bend afterwards to the south-east.¹²⁷ The situation is particularly indicated by the ancient citadel of a town, situated close to the source, upon a steep projection of Parnassus; this place must be recognised as Lilæa. The scenery around is of a grand and bold description. Twenty stadia from hence was situated Charadra, where a mountain-torrent joined the Cephisus. But the river Pindus, which falls into the Cephisus not far from Lilæa, comes down from a much greater elevation. These valleys, lying to the north-west of Lilæa,¹²⁸ constitute the proper district of Doris, little described in detail by the ancients, and never till a short time since visited by modern travellers. The steep citadel, about an hour and a half's distance from Lilæa, situated upon a projection of Parnassus near the village of Mariolatis, is perhaps Bœum. The ancient walls in the valley towards the west near Stagni must be set down as the fortress of Cytinium.¹²⁹ Erineus should

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¹²⁴ See Appendix I. § 17.

¹²⁵ Introduction, § 3; Appendix I. § 25.

¹²⁶ Amphicæa near Dadja. See Leake in Walpole's Travels, p. 509. Clarke, p. 227. Gell, Itinerary, p. 210.

¹²⁷ I here chiefly follow Dodwell, vol. II. p. 133, and Gell: compare *Orchomenos*, p. 41. Pouqueville is completely in error. According to him the Cephisus rises 11-1/2 hours N.E. of Artotina, which he supposes to be Erineus, and flows from the north into the Pindus, which river (he says) runs into the Gulph of Corinth, contrary to all accounts of ancient writers.

¹²⁸ The old maps are all incorrect; see now Gell's map to his Itinerary. According to Strabo the Tetrapolis lay chiefly to the east of Parnassus, but it extended also round to the west, IX. p. 417. The river Pindus is now, according to Dodwell, the *Aniani*.

¹²⁹ See p. 40, note i. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote below to "the Locrians," that starts with "Thucyd. III. 95".]

probably be sought for in the defiles of Cæta, nearer the sources of the stream just mentioned.¹³⁰ Near Cæta was situated Acyphas,¹³¹ probably the same as the city of Pindus¹³² above Erineus, and of the same name as the river; both which names the Dorians had brought with them from their early settlements. This corner of land, placed under the chief mountain-chain of Greece, and hanging over the plains which extend from thence, was bounded by the upper districts of Ætolia, by the territory of the Ozolian Locrians, Phocis, and southern Thessaly.¹³³ From Cytinium a mountain-path led along the side of Parnassus to the country of the Locrians:¹³⁴ this also has been explored by modern travellers. This pass made the small stronghold of Cytinium so important as a military post, that Philip of Macedon, when he invaded Northern Greece before the battle of Chæronea, immediately occupied Elatea and Cytinium¹³⁵, evidently as a key to the [041] western districts. From Delphi another mountain-path (which was reckoned by an ancient traveller at 180 stadia¹³⁶) crossed over in the direction of Lilæa. The modern road to the north,

¹³⁰ See Strabo IX. p. 427. X. p. 476 A. Strabo distinguishes Erineus in Phthiotis from this town, IX. p. 434. Etymol. Mag. p. 373, 56, ὁ Ἐρινεὸς is the correct form. Mela however, and the scholiasts to Pindar and Aristophanes quoted below, call it *Erineum*.

¹³¹ Strabo IX. p. 427 B. p. 434. Steph. Byz. Ἀκύφας μία τῆς Δωρικῆς τετραπόλεως.—Ὁ Ἀκύφας, Gen. Ἀκύφα, *Dorice*, see Bekker's Anecdota, vol. III. p. 1313.

¹³² Scymnus Chius v. 591. Δωριεῖς Ἐρινεὸν, Βοῖδον, Κυτίνιον ἀρχαιοτάτας ἔχουσι, Πίνδον τ' ἔχομένην. Comp. Conon. hist. 27. In answer to those who deny that Pindus was situated in this Tetrapolis, it is sufficient to quote Herod. VIII. 43. Comp. du Theil Eclairc. sur Strabon IX. tom. III. p. 118. Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 252, IV. p. 392.

¹³³ Strabo IX. p. 427 C. arranges them in this manner: Ætoliens, Locri Hesperii, Dorians, Ænians, Locri Epicnemidii; compare pp. 425, 430 B.

¹³⁴ Thucyd. III. 95, 102. It is the Kakiscala between Stagni and Salona. Dodwell, vol. I. p. 149, and Gell, p. 206.

¹³⁵ See Philochorus ap. Dionys. ad Ammæum c. 11. Philoch. Fragm. ed. Siebelis p. 76.

¹³⁶ Pausan. X. 33, 2.

from the valley of Pindus, likewise goes along a mountain-pass through the defiles and ravines of Cæta, to the opposite side of the valley of the Spercheus, now called Hellada.¹³⁷ If this was passable in ancient times, it formed the communication between Doris and the country of the Malians.

2. Mount Cæta stretches in a westerly direction for the length of 200 stadia towards the Malian bay, which it reaches at Thermopylæ. It separates Doris, Phocis, and the Epicnemidian Locrians from the valley of the Spercheus. The passes connected with it are, first, the one just mentioned: secondly, another from Phocis to the rocky glen of Trachinia;¹³⁸ and, lastly, that of Thermopylæ, together with the upper path, made famous by the battle with the Persians. The pass of Thermopylæ is formed on one side by the steep declivity of the mountain, and on the other by a deep and impassable salt-marsh: these in the narrowest part are only 60 paces distant from each other:¹³⁹ in the middle arise the hot sulphurous springs, which gave the name to the defile. At no great distance from these lies the little plain of Anthela, breaking into two narrow parts of the pass. At the northern entrance of the passage there are still the ruins of a wall, which has perhaps served as a barrier against the invasions of Thessalian, Persian, and Roman armies. Near this spot the brook Asopus rises from the side of the mountain. At the southern end of the pass was the small town of Alpenus, its whole length being about five miles. From Thermopylæ the paved and raised military road leads northward over the Spercheus to Thessaly, southward by Alpenus, Scarpheia, and Thronium, and from thence to Elatea, and thus to the land of Phocis.

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¹³⁷ This road through Camara, Palæochori, and Neuropoli, is described by Dodwell, vol. II. p. 126. Gell, p. 241.

¹³⁸ Holland went over this road near Eleutherochori, p. 383, comp. Dodwell, p. 74. It is also the way alluded to by Procopius de *Ædif.* IV. 2.

¹³⁹ Liv. XXXVI. 15. For a description of Thermopylæ see *Orchomenos*, p. 486. Clarke, ch. 8, p. 240. Holland, ch. 18, p. 315. Gell, *Itinerary*, p. 239.

Although the broken and precipitous form of both mountain and valley rendered the chain of Cæta little suited for human habitation, yet there was in ancient times a considerable number of cities reaching in a line from the Doric Tetrapolis, as far as the sea. Amphanáa must have been built upon mount Cæta, but in the direction of Trachinia; so that, with a little latitude of expression, it was considered as in Thessaly.¹⁴⁰ Rhodontia and Teichius were fortified heights on the road over mount Cæta.¹⁴¹ Phricium was situated near Thermopylæ on the Locrian side; from this place some colonists went to the Æolian Cume, and Larissa Phriconis.¹⁴² On the other side, upon the slope of the mountain above the valley of the small streams Melas and Dyras, lay Trachis. Heraclea was situated six stadia from the ancient Trachis.¹⁴³ Not far from hence Ægoneia was probably situated.¹⁴⁴

3. Having now marked out the topography of this district by traces, which, although not as clear as could be wished, are yet perfectly accurate, we will next proceed to inquire concerning the small native tribes which at different periods settled in these parts, and particularly concerning the Dorians themselves. Doris, in the limited meaning of the term, was the valley of the river Pindus. Whenever the Doric *Tripolis* is mentioned, the three cities meant are Bœum, Cytinium, and Erineus;¹⁴⁵ which last place, as being the most considerable, appears to have been also called Dorium:¹⁴⁶ but when writers speak of a *Tetrapolis*, Acyphas

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¹⁴⁰ See Stephan. Byz. in Ἀμφανάι from Theopompus. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 386.

¹⁴¹ Strabo IX. p. 428. Liv. XXXVI. 16.

¹⁴² Steph. Byz. in Φρίκιον, and Hellanicus, *ibid*.

¹⁴³ Strabo *ubi sup*.

¹⁴⁴ See Lycophron, Hecataeus, Rhianus quoted by Stephanus.

¹⁴⁵ Thus Andron in Strabo X. p. 476. Thucyd. I. 107.

¹⁴⁶ Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 43, 24, τὸν ἤκοντα ἐκ Δωρίου καὶ Κυτινίου. [Dr. Cramer, Description of Ancient Greece, vol. II. p. 103, corrects Δωρικοῦ Κυτινίου in Æschines, after Thucydides, who in III. 95, speaks of Κυτινιον τὸ Δωρικόν. Transl.]

(or Pindus) is added as a fourth town.¹⁴⁷ This is the country which Dorus the son of Hellen is said to have inhabited, when he brought together his nation on the side of Parnassus;¹⁴⁸ a tradition which totally loses sight of the more ancient settlements of the Doric race. It appears, however, that the Dorians, whilst confined within these limits, did not rest content with the possession of this narrow valley, but occupied several places along mount Ceta, of which Amphanæa was one.¹⁴⁹ An unknown writer¹⁵⁰ named six Doric towns,—viz., Erineus, Cytinium, Bœum, Lilæum, Carphæa and Dryope: of which, by Lilæum is meant the town of Lilæa, by Carphæa probably Tarphe near Thermopylæ,¹⁵¹ and by Dryope the country which had once belonged to the Dryopians. There was therefore probably a time when the heights near the sources of the Cephissus, and a narrow strip of land along mount Ceta, as far as the sea, were in the possession of the Dorians. Nay this was even partly the case in the Persian war; for even

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¹⁴⁷ Theopompus ap. Steph. Ἀκούφας. Scymnus Chiusi ubi sup.

¹⁴⁸ Strabo VIII. p. 383. Conon. 27. Scymnus. To this also refers the statement in Apollodorus I. 7, 3. that Dorus the son of Hellen τὴν πέραν χώραν Πελοποννήσου ἔλαβεν. Vitruvius IV. 1, however, gives a different account, *Achaia Peloponnesoque tota Dorus Hellenis et Orseidis nymphæ* (a mountain nymph) *filius regnavit*.

¹⁴⁹ Hecatæus ap. Stephan.

¹⁵⁰ In the scholia to Pindar, Pyth. I. 121, in which, however, there is some transposition and confusion. There is nowhere else any mention of a city in Perrhæbia named Pindus. In Pindar Πινδόθεν is used generally for the earlier settlements; for Hestiaëotis and Doris both touch on the chain of Pindus. See Boeckh. Explic. p. 235. These scholia are probably followed by the scholiast on Aristoph. Plut. 385, and by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. v. 980. comp. v. 741; but without separating the erroneous parts.

¹⁵¹ Tarphe was near the Doric Tetrapolis between Ceta and Parnassus. It is mentioned in Iliad II. 533, as a Locrian town; according to Strabo IX. p. 426, it was afterwards called Pharygæ, which Plutarch, Phocion 33, includes in Phocis, and names near it a hill called Acrurion. Tarphe and Carphæa may be considered as different forms of the same name, *t* and *k* being often interchanged. Thus the mythological hero Talauis is sometimes Calaus. (Schol. Soph. Ed. Col. 1320.)

at that time Doris stretched in a narrow tongue of land thirty stadia broad, between the Malians and Phoceans, nearly as far as Thermopylæ.¹⁵² Scylax also mentions the Dorians as inhabitants of the sea-coast.¹⁵³ This district, however, near mount Ceta is that which the Dryopians had formerly inhabited (as may be shown from a passage of Herodotus)¹⁵⁴, before they were entirely dispossessed by the Dorians, their neighbours in the Tetrapolis. Thus, by means of this geographical investigation we have arrived at an historical event. It seems probable that the Dorians, having moved by slow degrees from Hestiæotis to mount Ceta, first gained possession of the furthest extremity of the mountain-valley, and thence gradually spread towards the coast over the land of the Dryopians. This race indeed generally did not press all at once, but passed slowly into districts which had been seized by some part of them at an earlier period.¹⁵⁵ [045]

4. The DRYOPIANS (the fragments of whose history we here introduce) are an aboriginal nation, which may be called Pelasgic, since Aristotle and others assign to them an Arcadian origin.¹⁵⁶ Their affinity with the Arcadians is confirmed by the worship paid by them to Demeter Chthonia, to Cora Melibœa, and Hades Clymenus: which bore a great resemblance to those of Phigaleia, Thelpusa, and other towns in Arcadia.¹⁵⁷ Their territory bordered upon that of the Malians, so that they extended into the valley

¹⁵² Herod. VIII. 31, comp. Plutarch. Themistocl. 9.

¹⁵³ P. 24. Διμοδωριεῖς.

¹⁵⁴ Herod. VIII. 31 and 43. ἐόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρηθέντες. According to this passage, therefore, Cytinium and Boeum may both have been inhabited by the Dryopians.

¹⁵⁵ According to Strabo IX. p. 434, there was a Dryopian Tetrapolis as well as a Dorian.

¹⁵⁶ Ap. Strab. p. 373. The scholia to Apollon. Rhod. I. 1283, furnish a genealogy, viz. Lycaon, Dia, Dryops. Followed by Tzetzes ad Lyc. 480, and Etymol. Mag. p. 288, 32. Pherecydes, however, quoted in the scholia to Apollonius, gives a different account.

¹⁵⁷ See book II. ch. 11, § 3.

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of the Spercheus beyond Ceta, and in the other direction as far as Parnassus;¹⁵⁸ to the east their settlements reached to Thermopylæ.¹⁵⁹ Their expulsion is related in a manner entirely mythical, being connected with the propagation of the worship of Apollo (which is intimately allied with the migrations of the Dorians), and also with the adventures of Hercules; but when a clue to this method of narration is once discovered, it will be found to be equally, or perhaps more, instructive, and to convey much fuller information than a bare historical narrative. In the present instance, the Pythian Apollo is represented as the god to whom the vanquished Dryopians are sent as slaves, and who despatches them to Peloponnesus;¹⁶⁰ and Hercules, in conjunction with the Trachinians, subdues and consecrates them to Apollo, or assigns to them settlements in Argolis, but allots their land to the Dorians or Malians.¹⁶¹

From this tradition we might perhaps infer that the Dryopians

¹⁵⁸ In the neighbourhood of the Malians and Myrmidonian Achæans, Pherecydes ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1823, pp. 93, 107, ed. Sturz. Aristotle ubi sup. At the foot of Mount Parnassus, Aristotle and Pausan. IV. 34, 6. Λυκωρείταις ὄμοροι. The μετοίκησις from the Spercheus to Trachis is merely a confusion of the scholiast to Apollonius. Callimachus had only mentioned the migration to Peloponnesus, Schol. Paris. Clavier's remarks (ad Apollod. p. 323) are very inaccurate. Dryops, the son of Spercheus, dwelt at the foot of mount Ceta, according to Antoninus Liberalis, 32.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. 4. Κραγαλεὺς ὁ Δρύοπος ᾧκει γῆς τῆς Δρυοπίδος παρὰ τὰ λουτρὰ τὰ Ἡρακλέους. In this strange account Melaneus, the son of Apollo, a king of the Dryopes, is represented as taking Epirus and Ambracia. It is a part of the same history as the migration of the Ænians and Neoptolemus to Molossis, *Æginetica*, p. 18.

¹⁶⁰ Book II. ch. 3, § 3.

¹⁶¹ Aristot. ap. Strab. ubi sup. Apollod. II. 7, 7. Diod. IV. 37. Pausan. IV. 34, 6. Servius ad Æn. IV. 146. Πράξεις Ἡρακλέους, p. 152. Marini Ville Albani. comp. *Æginetica*, p. 33. Heyne Exc. ad Æn. IV. 2, p. 610. Raoul-Rochette, tom. I. p. 434. Herod. VIII. 43, οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλιέων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναστάντες. A peculiar application of the tradition in Suidas in Δρύοπες, Κάριος. The verse of Callimachus preserved in Etymol. Magn. p. 154, 7, should apparently be thus

accompanied the Dorians in their migration to Peloponnesus, and settled there with them. But the situation of the places belonging to the Dryopians makes it necessary to seek some other explanation; for the colonies of this race lie scattered over so many coasts and islands, that they can only have been planted by single expeditions over the sea. In Argolis, for instance, they built Hermione, Asine, and Eion (Halieis), upon projecting headlands and promontories; in Eubœa, Styra and Carystus belonged to them;¹⁶² among the islands they had settlements in Cythnos¹⁶³ and perhaps Myconos; they had also penetrated as far as Ionia and Cyprus.¹⁶⁴ Hence it must be inferred that the Dryopians, harassed or dislodged by their neighbours, dispersed in various directions over the sea. It is, however, *historically* certain that a great part of the Dryopians were consecrated as a subject people to the Pythian Apollo (an usage of ancient times, of which there are many instances), and that for a long time they served as such; for even in the fragmentary history of the destruction of Crissa (Olymp. 47, 590 B.C.), we find *Craugallidæ* mentioned together with the Crissæans,¹⁶⁵ which was a name of the Dryopians derived from a fabulous ancestor.¹⁶⁶ The condition of the subjects of temples, and consequently of these Craugallidæ, will be treated of at large in another place.¹⁶⁷

5. But the Dorians, though hostile to their neighbours the

written, Δειλαίοις Ἀσινεῦσιν ἐπιτριπτῆρας ὀπάσας, the explanation is given by the etymologist himself. See above, p. 45, note k. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Parnassus," starting "In the neighbourhood of the Malians."]

¹⁶² Herodot. VIII. 46. Diodor. IV. 57. Thucydides VII. 57, however, considers the Styrians as Ionians.

¹⁶³ Herodot. ubi sup. Diodor. ubi sup. The fabulous war of Amphitryon against Cythnos is probably connected with it.

¹⁶⁴ Herodot. VII. 90. Diodor. ubi sup. Asine in Cyprus, Stephan. Byz. Also in Cyzicus, according to Strabo XIII. p. 586.

¹⁶⁵ See *Orchomenos*, p. 496. In Æschines adv. Ctesiph. p. 68, 40, according to Didymus and Xenagoras in Harpocration, Κραυγαλλίδαι should be written.

¹⁶⁶ Antonin. Liberal. 4.

¹⁶⁷ Book II. ch. 3, § 3.

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Dryopians, were on friendly terms with the MALIANS. This people dwelt in the valley of the Spercheus, enclosed on all sides by rocky mountains, and open only in the direction of the sea; they were divided into the inhabitants of the coast, the Sacerdotal, and the Trachinians.¹⁶⁸ The second of these classes probably dwelt near to the Amphictyonic temple at Thermopylæ, the third on the rocky declivities of mount Ceta. These are the people who were in such close alliance with the Dorians, that Diodorus speaks of Trachis as the mother-town of Lacedæmon.¹⁶⁹ The friendship between Ceyx and Hercules, together with that of his sons, is the mythical expression for this connexion. The Malians were always a warlike people, those persons only who had served as hoplites being admitted to a share in the government.¹⁷⁰ Their country was however chiefly famous for its slingers and darters.¹⁷¹

6. In after-times there came into these districts a nation which the ancient traditions of the country do not recognise, viz. the Hellenic ÆNIANES or Cætæans; the latter name denoting the region in which that nation was settled, the former their race,¹⁷² although I do not assert that the fourteen Cætæan communities¹⁷³ constituted the entire nation of the Ænians. For they also dwelt on the banks of the Inachus, and about the sources of the Spercheus, near the city of Hypata.¹⁷⁴ In early times they had inhabited the inland parts of Thessaly, and about the end

¹⁶⁸ Παράλιοι, Ἰερῆς, Τραχίνιοι Thucyd. III. 92. comp. Dodwell, II. p. 71. I may also remark that Scylax and Diodorus, XVIII. 11, appear to make a distinction between Melians and Malians; but in both places ΛΑΜΙΕΙΣ should be written for Μαλιεῖς and Μαλεῖς. Wesseling's opinion concerning the last passage is untenable, since there never was a town of the name of Malea. Diodorus is not quite accurate.

¹⁶⁹ Diodor. XII. 59.

¹⁷⁰ Aristot. Polit. IV. 13.

¹⁷¹ Thucyd. IV. 100.

¹⁷² See Tittmann's Amphiktyonenbund, p. 41.

¹⁷³ Strabo IX. p. 434.

¹⁷⁴ *Æginetica*, p. 17.

of the fabulous period they descended into those settlements, from which in later times they were dislodged by the Illyrian Athamanes.¹⁷⁵ Although the Ænians did not disavow a certain dependence on the Delphian oracle, and though they adopted among their traditions the fables respecting Hercules, anciently prevalent in their new settlements,¹⁷⁶ yet on account of their geographical position they lived in opposition and hostility to the Malians and Dorians;¹⁷⁷ who, as Strabo states, had been deprived by them of a part of their territory.¹⁷⁸ Nay more, it is probable that the emigration of the Dorians which conquered Peloponnesus, was in some way or other connected with the arrival of the Ænians in this region. There was an *ancient enmity* between the Lacedæmonians and the Cætæans.¹⁷⁹ It was chiefly on this account that Sparta founded the town of Heraclea in the country of Trachinia; which would doubtless have caused the revival of an important Doric power in this part of Greece, had not the jealousy of the Thessalians and Dolopians, and even of the Malians themselves, been awakened at its first establishment. [049]

Thus much concerning the situation of the Dorians in their settlements near mount Cæta. The subject however is not yet exhausted; for we have still to trace the origin of the great influence which the establishment of the Dorians at Lycorea upon Parnassus had on the religion of Delphi (for that Lycorea was a Doric town will be made probable hereafter), as well as to treat of the Amphictyonic league, in the founding of which a very large share doubtless belonged to the Dorians: but the discussion of both these points must be deferred to the second book.¹⁸⁰

As to the colonies of the Doric cities near mount Parnassus,

¹⁷⁵ *Orchomenos*, p. 253.

¹⁷⁶ Book II. ch. 3, § 12.

¹⁷⁷ Thucyd. III. 92.

¹⁷⁸ Strab. IX. p. 442.

¹⁷⁹ Thucyd. VIII. 3. Concerning the founding of Heraclea, see also Stephan.

Byz. in v. Δώριον, after the hiatus.

¹⁸⁰ Book II. ch. 1. § 8, ch. 3. § 5.

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Bulis on the frontiers of Phocis and Bœotia, on the Crissæan gulf, was probably founded from thence at the time of the Doric migration.¹⁸¹

Chapter III.

§ 1. Migration of the Dorians into Peloponnesus represented as the return of the descendants of Hercules. § 2. Improbability of the common account. § 3. Sources of the common account. § 4. Legends inconsistent with the common account. § 5. Common account. The Heraclidæ fly from Trachis to Attica, and are assisted by the Athenians against Eurystheus. § 6. Expeditions of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus. § 7. Junction of the Heraclidæ with the Dorians. § 8. The Heraclidæ pass into Peloponnesus by Rhium. § 9. Connexion of the Dorians with the Locrians and Ætolians. § 10. Tisamenus and the Peloponnesians defeated by the Dorians. § 11. Partition of Peloponnesus. § 12. Immediate consequences of the immigration of the Dorians.

1. The most important, and the most fertile in consequences, of all the migrations of Grecian races, and which continued even to the latest periods to exert its influence upon the Greek character, was the expedition of the Dorians into Peloponnesus. It is however so completely enveloped in fables, and these were formed at a very early period in so connected a manner, that it is useless to examine it in detail, without first endeavouring to separate the component parts.

The traditional name of this expedition is “*the Return of the descendants of Hercules.*”¹⁸² Hercules, the son of Zeus is (even in the Iliad), both by birth and destiny, the hereditary prince of Tiryns and Mycenæ, and ruler of the surrounding nations.¹⁸³ But through some evil chance Eurystheus obtained the precedency, and the son of Zeus was compelled to serve him. Nevertheless he is represented as having bequeathed to his descendants his claims to the dominion of Peloponnesus, which they afterwards made good in conjunction with the Dorians; Hercules having also performed such actions in behalf of this race, that his descendants were always entitled to the possession of one-third of the territory. The heroic life of Hercules was therefore the mythical title, through which the Dorians were made to appear, not as unjustly invading, but merely as reconquering, a country which had belonged to their princes in former times. Hence Hercules is reported to have made war with some degree of propriety, and subdued the principal countries of the Doric race (except his native country Argos), Lacedæmon and the Messenian Pylus, to have established the national festival at Olympia, and even to have laid the foundation of the most distant colonies. To esteem as real these conquests and settlements, these mythical forerunners of real history, is incompatible with a clear view of these matters; and we could scarce seriously ask even the most credulous, how, at a time when sieges were in the highest degree tedious, Hercules could have stormed and taken so many fortresses, surrounded with almost impregnable walls?¹⁸⁴

A severer criticism enjoins us to trace the mythical narrative to its centre, and attempt to ascertain whether the sovereign race

¹⁸¹ *Orchomenos*, p. 238. Compare in general with this chapter, Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 249.

¹⁸² ἡ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδος. Thucydides I. 12, says Δωριεῖς ξὺν Ἡρακλείδασι. Isocrates Archidam. p. 119 C. mentions an oracle enjoining them ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἰέναι χώραν.

¹⁸³ XIX. 105.

¹⁸⁴ See Pausan. VII. 25. 3.

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of the Dorians did really spring from the early sovereigns of Mycenæ; such being not only the epic account, but also the tradition countenanced in Sparta itself. Tyrtæus said, in his poem called the *Eunomia*, “*Zeus himself gave this territory (Laconia) to the race of Hercules; united with whom we (the Dorians) left the stormy Erineus, and reached the wide island of Pelops.*”¹⁸⁵ And a still more important proof is the reply of king Cleomenes, mentioned by Herodotus, who, when forbidden by the priestess in the Acropolis of Athens to enter the temple, as being a Dorian, answered, “I am no Dorian, but an Achæan,” referring to his descent from Hercules.¹⁸⁶ From this it would appear that there was amongst the Dorians an Achæan phratria, to which the kings of Argos, Sparta, and Messenia, and the founders and rulers of Corinth, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Ægina, Rhodes, Cos, &c., belonged; and which, in conjunction with the Dorians, only recovered by conquest its hereditary rights.¹⁸⁷

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2. It is certainly hazardous at once to reject an extensive and connected system of heroic traditions, for the sake of establishing in its place a conjecture which sacrifices reports recognised by ages prior to historical information, and celebrated by the earliest poets, to a mere theory of historical probability. We must, however, recollect that mythical legends present in general merely the views and opinions of nations on the origin of their

¹⁸⁵ Αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων, καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἦρης,
 Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν.
 Οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπόντες Ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόντα,
 Εὐρεΐαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

τήνδε πόλιν is Laconia. We mean the Dorians: Erineus the Tetrapolis. Strabo VIII. p. 362 has not correctly understood and applied these verses. (See below, note to ch. 7. § 10.) Tyrtæus also calls the Dorians generally Ἡρακλῆος γένος—whence Plutarch de Nobil. 2. p. 388.

¹⁸⁶ Herodot. V. 72. According to VI. 53, he might also have said, “I am an Egyptian.”

¹⁸⁷ A similar idea is entertained by Plato in his *Laws*, III. p. 682—viz., that the Dorians were properly Achæans, expelled from their own country after the Trojan war, and afterwards collected and brought back by one Dorieus.

actual condition; these opinions being at the same time more often directed and determined by religious and other notions, especially by a certain feeling of justice, than by real tradition, and therefore they frequently conceal, rather than express, historical truth. The following remarks, partly deduced from inquiries which will follow, may serve to contrast with each other the characteristics of history and mythology.

In the first place, if we consider the narrative in question as a plain historical statement, and consequently suppose the Heraclidæ to have been expatriated Achæans, the same supposition must be extended to the whole tribe of Hylleans. For Hyllus, the representative of the Hylleans, is called the son of Hercules; and it was with reference to that tribe that the third part of the territory was secured to the descendants of Hercules: hence also Pindar calls the Dorians universally the *descendants of Hercules and Ægimius*.¹⁸⁸ In this case, then, the Pamphylians and Dymanes would alone remain as Dorians proper. It is, however, by no means probable, that, if the most distinguished part of the Doric people had been of Achæan descent, the difference between the language, religion, and customs of these two races would have been so strongly and precisely marked.

In the second place, everything that is related concerning the exploits of Hercules in the north of Greece refers exclusively to the history of the Dorians; and conversely all the actions of the Doric race in their earlier settlements are mythically represented under the person of Hercules. Now this cannot be accounted for by supposing that there was only a temporary connexion between this hero and the Doric race. [054]

Lastly, if we compare as much of the fables concerning Hercules related below as refers to the Dorians, with those current among the ancient Argives, and if we separate in mind

¹⁸⁸ Pind. Pyth. V. 70. In Pyth. I. 61, he calls them descendants of Pamphylus and the Heraclidæ, not mentioning Dymas. Compare the fragment of the Isthmians, "Υλλου στρατὸς Δωριεύς.

the links by which the epic poets gave them an apparent historical connexion, we shall find no real resemblance between the two. The worship of Apollo, which can in almost every case be shown to have been the real motive which actuated the Dorians, was wholly foreign to the Argives. If then an Achæan tribe did arrive amongst the Dorians, bringing with it the story of Hercules, or a hero so called, this latter people must have applied and developed his mythology in a manner wholly different from those to whom they owed it. And after all, we should be obliged to suppose that long before their irruption into Peloponnesus, these Heraclidæ had been so intermixed with the Dorians, that their traditions were formed entirely according to the disposition of that race, since Hercules in Thessaly is represented as a complete Dorian. Here, however, we are again at variance with the fable, which represents the Heraclidæ as having fled to the Dorians a short time only before their entry into Peloponnesus.

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Thus we are continually met with contradictions, and never enabled to obtain a clear view of the question, unless we assent to the proposition that Hercules, from a very remote period, was both a Dorian and Peloponnesian hero, and particularly the hero of the Hyllean tribe, which in the earliest settlements of the Dorians had probably united itself with two other small nations, the Heraclidæ being the hereditary princes of the Doric race. The story of the Heraclidæ being descended from the Argive Hercules, who performed the commands of Eurystheus, was not invented till after Peloponnesus had been introduced into the tradition.

3. There is hardly any part of the traditional history of Greece whose real sources are so little known to us as the expedition of the Heraclidæ. No one can fail to perceive that it possesses the same mythical character as the Trojan war; and yet we are deprived of that which renders the examination of a mythical narrative so instructive, viz. the traditional lore scattered in such abundance throughout the ancient epic poems. This event,

however, early as it was, lay without the range of the epic poetry; and therefore, whenever circumstances connected with it were mentioned, they must have been introduced either accidentally or in reference to some other subject. In no one large class of epic poems was this event treated at length, neither by the cyclic poets, nor the authors of the Νόστοι. In the Ἡοῖαι attributed to Hesiod, it appears only to have been alluded to in a few short passages.¹⁸⁹ Herodotus nevertheless mentions poets who related the migration of the Heraclidæ and Dorians into Laconia.¹⁹⁰ Perhaps these belonged to the class who carried on the mythical fables genealogically, as Cinæthon the Laconian, and also Asius, who celebrated the descent of Hercules, and appears, from the character of his poems, to have also commemorated his descendants.¹⁹¹ Or they may have been the *historical poets*, such as Eumelus the Corinthian, although those alluded to by Herodotus cannot have composed a separate poetical history (as the former did of Corinth); since they would doubtless have followed the national tradition of Sparta; and this, with respect to the first princes of the Heraclidæ, differed from the accounts of all the poets with which Herodotus was acquainted, and was not the general tradition of Greece.¹⁹² And doubtless many such local

¹⁸⁹ See Pausan. IV. 2. 1. There are two other passages of Hesiod referring to the expedition of the Heraclidæ. Schol. Apollon I. 824.

Θεσσάμενος γενεὴν Κλεαδαίου κυδαλίμοιο,
the connexion of which is very obscure (see Bentley ad Callim. Cer. Calath. 48); and Schol. Pind. Olymp. XI. 79. *e cod. Vratisl.*

Τιμάνδην Ἔχεμος θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν.

From this passage Apollod. III. 10. 6. Pausan. VIII. 5. 1. draw their materials. This, however, might also occur among the actions of Hercules, particularly at the first Olympian festival, as may be seen from Pindar.

¹⁹⁰ VI. 52.

¹⁹¹ Compare Pausan. IV. 2. 1. with V. 17. 4. and Valckenar. Diatrib. Eurip. pp. 58, 59.

¹⁹² Herod. ubi sup. et c. 51. Wesseling misinterprets the first passage; its purport is, "*The Lacedæmonians give a different account from all the poets, who make Eurysthenes and Procles first come to Sparta.*" Schweighæuser does

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traditions were preserved amongst particular nations, concerning an event which for a long time determined the condition of Peloponnesus. Thus the Tegeatans¹⁹³ celebrated the combat of Echemus their general with Hyllus. Whether the early historians collected these accounts from oral record, or whether they derived them from the poets above mentioned (although the latter is more in their manner), cannot be determined; for there are only extant two fragments of these writers concerning the Heraclidæ, one of Hecataeus, the other of Pherecydes, which connect immediately with the death of Hercules, and therefore do not prove that these authors wrote any continuous account of the history of this migration. The early tradition received a fuller development in the Attic drama; but it was unavoidably represented in a very partial view. The Heraclidæ of Æschylus, and the Iolaus of Sophocles might, like the Heraclidæ of Euripides, have had on the whole the tendency to celebrate those merits which the Athenians are made to commend in Herodotus,¹⁹⁴ even before the battle of Plataea, viz., their good offices towards the Heraclidæ, at the time when they took refuge in Attica. The last-named tragedian, in his Temenidæ, Archelaus, and Cresphontes, went further into the history of the Doric states, and descended lower into the historical period, than any poet before his time; his reason having, perhaps, been, the exhaustion of the legitimate mythical materials.¹⁹⁵ Now these Attic tragedians manifestly took for their basis the narrative given by Apollodorus, himself an Athenian, as may be shown by some particular circumstances. Perhaps Ephorus rested more upon the earlier poets and historians, as far as we are acquainted with their statements; but his narrative, even if it were

not see the exact meaning of the second; the sense is, "*So far is the national tradition of the Lacedæmonians; in what follows, I relate the common tradition of Greece.*"

¹⁹³ Herodot. IX. 26.

¹⁹⁴ IX. 26.

¹⁹⁵ In general the tragic poets successively descend, according to their age, to a later date of mythological history.

extant, could, no more than those of the former, be considered as proceeding from a critical examination; since, in the first place, from a total misapprehension of the character of tradition, he forced everything into history, and then endeavoured to restore the deficiencies of oral narrative by probable reasoning; of the fallaciousness of which method we will bring forward some proofs. [058]

4. After what has been said, we will forbear to apologize for merely offering a few remarks on the origin and meaning of the traditions which concern the Doric migration, instead of endeavouring to give a history of that event. And, indeed, we might bring forward some most marvellous legends, but on that very account the better fitted to convince every one what is the nature of the ground on which we stand.

In the Ἡοῖαι attributed to Hesiod, it was stated that Polycaon the son of Butes, whose name represents the ancient (*i.e.* Lelegean) population of Messene, married Euæchme (Εὐαίχμη, *viz. celebrated for the spear*) the daughter of Hyllus, and granddaughter of Hercules. In this simple and unpretending manner the early tradition conveyed the idea that the Hylleans and Dorians had, by the power of the spear, made themselves masters of Messene, and united themselves with the original inhabitants.¹⁹⁶

In the Laconian village of Abia, there was a temple of Hercules, which was said to have been built by Abia the nurse of Glenus, the brother of Hyllus.¹⁹⁷ It was, therefore, supposed that Hyllus

¹⁹⁶ Pausan. IV. 2. 1.

¹⁹⁷ I take this opportunity of renewing the memory of one of these Doric-Heraclide leaders, who has been so far forgotten, that in the passage of Pausanias IV. 30. 1. his name has been driven from the text. It should be thus written from the MSS.: Ὑλλου δὲ καὶ Δωριέων μάχη κρατηθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν, ἐνταῦθα Ἀβίαν Γλήνου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τροφὸν ἀποχωρήσαι λέγουσι, &c. This Glenus occurs as the son of Deianira in Apollod. II. 7. 8. and Schol. Soph. Trachin. 53. Diodorus IV. 37. calls him Gleneus. Pherecydes ap. Schol. Pind. Isth. IV. 104. reckons him among the children of Megara by Hercules.

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and Glenus themselves came to Laconia. Pausanias endeavours to reconcile the local tradition with the received history, and assumes that Abia had fled hither after the death of Hyllus; which, however, is inconsistent with the common account that Peloponnesus was in the hands of the enemy, and that the battle in which Hyllus fell was at the Isthmus. We come now to the common relation of the order of events.

5. According to this account, the Heraclidæ, after the death of their father, were in Trachis with their host Ceyx, who generously protected them for a time, but was afterwards forced, by the threats of Eurystheus, to refuse them any longer refuge; Ceyx, according to Hecatæus,¹⁹⁸ was compelled to say to them, "I have not the power to assist you; withdraw therefore to another nation;" and upon this they sought an asylum in Attica. Those early historians, however, who stated that Hercules died as king in Mycenæ, gave an entirely different account of this circumstance, viz., that Eurystheus, after the death of Hercules, expelled his sons, and again usurped the dominion,¹⁹⁹ and they fled in consequence to Attica.

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At Athens they sat as suppliants at the altar of Pity, received the protection of Theseus or Demophon, dwelt in the Tetrapolis,²⁰⁰ and fought, together with the Athenians, under the command of Hyllus and Iolaus (to whose prayers the gods had granted a second youth), at the pass of Sciron, a battle against Eurystheus; Macaria (probably an entirely symbolical being, but here the daughter of Hercules) having previously offered herself as an

¹⁹⁸ Ap. Longin. 27. Creuzer. Fragment. p. 54. Apollodorus II. 8. 1. almost makes it appear that the Heraclidæ had been entertained by Eurystheus; but this does not agree with what precedes. Euripides Heraclid. 13. 195. represents them as flying first from Argos to Trachis, and to Achaia in Thessaly, and then to Athens.

¹⁹⁹ Thus Pherecydes in Antonin. Liber. 33. Sturz (Fragm. 50. p. 196.) does not quite understand this passage.

²⁰⁰ At Marathon, according to most authors. Diodorus IV. 57. mentions Tricorythus; Compare XII. 45.

expiatory sacrifice. In this action they conquered the Argive king, whom Alcmena with womanish vengeance put to death, and whose tomb the Athenians showed before the temple of the Pallenian Minerva.²⁰¹ This is the fable so much celebrated by the tragedians and orators, a *locus communis* as it were, which [061]

ad Eurip. Heracl. 103.) Heyne indeed (*ad Apollod.* II. 8. 1.) explains ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ of the tomb of Eurystheus in Pausan. I. 44. 14.; but this was in Megaris, and there never was any change in the boundaries of Corinth and Megaris. Heyne also considers the tomb near the temple of the Pallenian Minerva and that at Gargettus as identical; but this is not possible, on account of the situation of the two places.—Concerning Gargettus see the article *Attika* in Ersch's Encyclopædia, p. 222.

²⁰¹ The outline of the narrative is furnished by Pherecydes and Herod. IX. 27. the details by Euripides in the *Heraclidæ*, whose account was influenced by the circumstances of the time (Boeckh. *trag. Gr. princ.* p. 190). Whether the *Heraclidæ* of Pamphilus (Aristoph. *Plut.* 385. *Schol. ad I.* p. 112, Hemsterh.) was a *tragedy* or a *picture*, was frequently contested by the ancients. The latter appears to be most probable: see Winckelmann and Meyer *Kunstgeschichte*, p. 166. Pamphilus painted the battle of Phlius, one of those which took place in the 102nd or 103rd Olympiad; and it may be fairly supposed that he flourished about Olymp. 97, 4, the year in which the second edition of the *Plutus* was brought forward, and he might have lived to be the master of Apelles, who had obtained great celebrity in the reign of Philip.—Concerning the battle, see Elmsley *ad Eur. Heraclid.* 860; concerning the death of Eurystheus, Wesseling. *ad Diod.* IV. 57. and Staveren. *Misc. Obs.* vol. X. p. 383. Pallene is between Marathon and Athens;—according to Strabo VIII. p. 377.

the Athenians sometimes even mentioned in their decrees,²⁰² or wherever it served to show how poorly the Peloponnesians had requited their ancient benefactors. What credit a Lacedæmonian would have given to these stories, we know not; Pindar certainly knew nothing of them, for he states that Iolaus had near *Thebes* received a momentary renewal of youthful vigour for the purpose of putting to death Eurystheus, after which he immediately expired, and was buried by the Thebans in the family tomb of Amphitryon.²⁰³ In this account Eurystheus is represented as having been conquered in the neighbourhood of Thebes, and in consequence by a Theban army. It is not however necessary to esteem the Athenian tradition as altogether groundless, and purposely invented: it was probably founded on some actual event, and afterwards modified and embellished. The connecting link was without doubt the temple of Hercules in Attica. It was natural that, if the Athenians worshipped that hero, they should wish to have had the merit of protecting his descendants. Hence the sons of Hercules were said to have dwelt in the Tetrapolis at Marathon, where was the chief temple of Hercules in Attica, and in the neighbourhood of which flowed the fountain Macaria, represented as a daughter of that hero. It was on this account, as is reported, that the entire Tetrapolis was during the Peloponnesian war spared by the Lacedæmonians. Many circumstances, which will hereafter be brought forward, seem to show that an union and

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the tomb was at Gargettus on the western coast; according to Pausanias I. 40. in Megaris. Concerning Macaria, see Pausan. I. 32. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1148. Zenob II. 61. and other grammarians in v. βάλλ' εἰς Μακαρίαν. A totally different tradition is preserved by Duris ap. Schol. Plat. p. 134, Ruhnk. In the above quoted passage of Strabo, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν χωρὶς ἐν ΤΗΙ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΩΙ, ἀποκόψαντος αὐτὴν Ἰολάου περὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Μακαρίαν should probably be written ἐν ΤΡΙΚΟΡΥΘΩΙ; thus in VIII. p. 383. one MS. has Τρικόρινθος. (In this correction I now find that I was anticipated by Elmsley²⁰² Demosth. de Corona, p. 147.

²⁰³ It does not follow from Pindar Pyth. IX. 82. that Iolaus was restored to life, which must have been alluded to elsewhere. I follow the second Scholiast, ηὔξατο δὲ τῷ Διὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ὥραν ἠβῆσαι, &c. Compare Ovid. Met. IX. 408.

intercourse subsisted between the Dorians of Peloponnesus and some of the northern towns of Attica,²⁰⁴ the foundation of which appears to have been laid in the times of the Doric migration, by a settlement of Dorians and Bœotians in these towns. But this settlement had doubtless, when those fables were invented, been already lost in the mass of the Athenian people.

6. After this battle, won by the aid of the Athenians, the Heraclidæ are said (and with good reason, as they were assisted by the Athenians) to have obtained possession of all Peloponnesus, and to have ruled undisturbed for one year (or some fixed period); at the expiration of which, a pestilence (like a tragical catastrophe) drove them back again to Attica. The mythologists make use of this time to send Tlepolemus the Heraclide to Rhodes, in order that he may arrive there before the Trojan war. Of all this, however, Pherecydes could have known nothing, as he relates that Hyllus, having conquered Eurystheus, went to Thebes,²⁰⁵ without subduing Peloponnesus, and there with the other Heraclidæ formed a settlement near the gate of Electra, a circumstance which we shall advert to hereafter.²⁰⁶ In Peloponnesus, however, according to the traditions chronologically arranged, Eurystheus was succeeded by the Pelopidæ, who accordingly appear as the expellers of the legitimate sovereigns of the race of Perseus.²⁰⁷ Whether any such circumstance was known to the early poets is very much to be doubted; but it is at least clear, that in this case we are not in possession of the real tradition itself, but of scientific combinations of it. Against these new sovereigns were

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²⁰⁴ See book II. ch. 11. § 10.

²⁰⁵ Ap. Antonin. Lib. 33.—There is also a trace of another tradition in Apostolius XVIII. 7.

²⁰⁶ See book II. ch. 11. § 7.

²⁰⁷ Thus also Thucyd. I. 9. Plat. Leg. III. p. 686. In Schol. Eurip. Orest. 5. write αὐτοὺς μὲν (the Atridæ) ἀποστῆσαι Λακεδαιμόνες, τοὺς δὲ Πελοπίδας βασιλεῦσαι. Polyænus I. 10. is singular in mentioning Eurysthidæ in Sparta at the time of the migration; but by Eurysthidæ must be meant “*descendants of Eurysthenes*,” not “*Eurysthenes and his party*.” See Clinton F. H. vol. I. p. 333.

directed the expeditions of the Heraclidæ, of which it is generally stated that there were three. The account given of them follows the general idea of an entire dependence of the Dorians on the Delphian oracle;²⁰⁸ but the misconception of its injunctions, which embarrasses and perplexes the whole question, may, we think, be attributed entirely to the invention of the Athenians. The oracle mentioned the *third fruit*, and the *narrow passage by sea* (στενυγρᾶ), as the time and way of the promised return, which the Athenians falsely interpreted to mean the *third year*, and the *Isthmus of Corinth*. But the account given in Apollodorus, nearly falling into Iambic or Trochaic metre, leaves no doubt that he took his account of the oracle from the Attic tragedians,²⁰⁹ as was remarked above. Deceived by these predictions, Hyllus forced his way into Peloponnesus in the third year, and found at the Isthmus the Arcadians, Ionians, and Achæans of the peninsula already assembled. In a single combat with Echemus the son of Aëropus, the prince of Tegea, Hyllus fell, and was buried in Megara; upon which the Heraclidæ promised not to renew the attempt for fifty or one hundred years from that time.²¹⁰ Here every one will recognise the battle of the Tegeate with the Hyllean as an ancient tradition. But in the arrangement, by which it was contrived that the expeditions of the Heraclidæ should not be placed during the Trojan war and the youth of Orestes, we do not hesitate to suspect the industry of ancient systematic mythologists.

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7. When the Heraclidæ had been once separated from the

²⁰⁸ See particularly Plato ubi sup.

²⁰⁹ Apollod. II. 8. 2. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀντεῖπε τῶν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι. τοὺς γὰρ χρησμοὺς οὐ συμβάλλειν. λέγειν γὰρ οὐ γῆς ἀλλὰ γενεᾶς καρπὸν τρίτον καὶ στενυγρὰν τὴν εὐρυγᾶστορα, δεξίαν κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχοντι τὴν θάλασσαν. With the word εὐρυγᾶστωρ compare κύτους κοιλογᾶστωρ, Æschyl. Theb. 478. and 1026. In later times, however, these oracles were put into an epic form, as may be seen from CEnomaus ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. V. 20.

²¹⁰ See Herod. IX. 26. Pausan. I. 41. 3. I. 44. VIII. 5. 1. VIII. 45. 2. Diod. IV. 58. Schol. Pind. Olymp. N. 80. Van Staveren Misc. Observ. X. 3. p. 385.

Dorians as belonging to a different race, and Hyllus set down as only the adopted son of the Doric king, it immediately became a matter of doubt at what time the junction of the Dorians and Heraclidæ in one expedition should be fixed. Sometimes the Dorians are represented as joining the Heraclidæ before the first, sometimes before the second, sometimes before the third expedition; by one writer as setting out from Hestiaëotis, and by another from Parnassus.²¹¹ There were doubtless no real traditional grounds for any one report; and still less any sufficient to place the name Hyllus, and the events connected with it, at any fixed epoch. Hence also Hyllus is at one time called the contemporary of Atreus, and at another of Orestes;²¹² Pamphylus and Dymas are stated to have lived from the time of Hercules to the conquest of Peloponnesus.²¹³ Nor is there any absurdity in this, inasmuch as they are the collective names of races which existed throughout this whole period. The descendants of Hyllus, however, are no longer races, but, as it appears, real persons; viz., his son Cleodæus,²¹⁴ and his grandson Aristomachus. These names stood at the head of the genealogy of the Heraclidæ; as, for example, of the kings of Sparta; and they can hardly have been mere creations of fancy. From their succession is probably calculated the celebrated epoch of the expedition of the Heraclidæ, viz., 80 years after the Trojan war, which was without doubt determined by the early historians, since Thucydides was acquainted with it. The

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²¹¹ Pausan. VIII. 5. Apollod. II. 7. 7. Diod. IV. 58. Strabo IV. p. 427 C. Isocrat. Archidam. p. 119 B. τελευτήσαντος Εὐρυσθέως.

²¹² Manso, Sparta, vol. I. p. 61.

²¹³ Apollod. II. 8. 3. In Pausan. II. 28. 3. Orsobia, a daughter of Deiphontes of Epidaurus, is the wife of Pamphylus.

²¹⁴ He was mentioned by Hesiod; see above, p. 55. note k. [Transcriber's Note: No such note on that page, nor any reference to Cleodæus.] A different genealogy is given by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 804, viz., that Cleodæus was the son of Hyllus, the brother of Lichas and Ceyx, the husband of a certain Peridea, and the father of Temenus.

Alexandrine critics generally adopted it, as we know expressly of Eratosthenes, Crates, and Apollodorus.²¹⁵ But all that is recounted of the expeditions of these two princes, however small in amount,²¹⁶ cannot have been acknowledged by those who, like Herodotus, and probably all the early writers, stated the armistice after the death of Hyllus as lasting 100 years.²¹⁷

8. At length Apollo himself opens the eyes of the Heraclidæ to the meaning of the oracle. It was not across the *Isthmus*, but over the *Straits of Rhium*, that they were to cross into Peloponnesus, and after the third *generation* had died away. They therefore first sailed from Naupactus, to the Molycrian promontory (Antirrhium), and thence to Rhium in Peloponnesus, which was only five stadia distant.²¹⁸ That the Dorians actually came on that side into Peloponnesus, is a statement which may be looked on as certain; agreeing (as it does) with the fact that the countries near the Isthmus were the last to which the Dorians penetrated. The name *Naupactus* implies the existence of ship-building there in early times;²¹⁹ and there was a tradition that the Heraclidæ passed over on rafts, imitations of which were afterwards publicly exposed at a festival, and called *Στεμματιαῖα*, *i.e. crowned with garlands*.²²⁰ This festival was doubtless the

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²¹⁵ See Crates ap. Tatian. cont. Græcos, p. 107. ed. Oxf. Interpret. ad Vellei. I. 1.

²¹⁶ See particularly Ænomaus ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. V. 20.; and concerning the second see Apollod. II. 8. 2. Pausan. II. 7.

²¹⁷ Isocrates Archidam, p. 119, only supposes one expedition.

²¹⁸ Pausan. V. 3. Eusebius ubi sup. Polyæn. I. 9. Compare Heyne ad Apollod. p. 208.

²¹⁹ See Strab. IX. p. 427. Ephorus, p. 105. ed. Marx. Compare Stephanus and Suidas in Ναύπακτος.

²²⁰ Bekk. Anecd. Græc. p. 305. 31. στεμματιαῖον. μίμημα τῶν σχεδιῶν αἷς ἔπλευσαν οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι τὸν μεταξὺ τῶν Ῥίων τόπον. Hesychius, στεμματιαῖον. δίκηλον τι ἐν ἑορτῇ πομπῶν δαιμόνων (as should be read for δαίμονος, rather than πομπέως for πομπῶν with Siebelis ad Pausan. III. 20. 9). Δίκηλον is explained by Hesychius to be a Lacedæmonian word for "statue." These πομπεῖς δαίμονες, the "conducting deities," were probably

Carnea, since the Carnean Apollo was worshipped at Sparta under the name of *Stemmatias*. Now it is also stated that the Acarnanian soothsayer Carnus (who was reported to have founded the worship of the Carnean Apollo) was killed at the time of this expedition by Hippotes the son of Phylas, for which reason the Heraclidæ offered expiatory sacrifices to his memory.²²¹ We see from this that some rites of a peculiar worship of Apollo were observed at this passage, which were probably for the most part of an expiatory nature. Now I have shown elsewhere, that the Carnean or Hyacinthian worship of the *Ægidæ* originated at Thebes, and prevailed in Peloponnesus before the arrival of the Dorians, particularly at Amyclæ:²²² consequently, that prevalent near the straits of Naupactus might have been another, probably an Acarnanian²²³ branch of the religion of Apollo, which was afterwards incorporated in the Carnean festival; a supposition which, if admitted, would enable us to explain many statements of ancient authors. The religious rites and festivals are in fact often so intermingled and confused together, that it is necessary to trace their component parts to many and distant sources. [067]

9. At their passage from Naupactus the Dorians stood in great need of the friendship and assistance of the native races, the Ozolian Locrians and *Ætoli*ans. The Locrians occupied Naupactus in early times;²²⁴ the *Ætoli*ans were their immediate

Zeus Agetor (book III. ch. 12. § 5.) and the Carnean Apollo: and their festival doubtless was connected with the Carnea. At this solemnity then (as it seems) a boat was carried round, and upon it a statue of the Carnean Apollo (*Ἀπόλλων στεμματίας*), both adorned with lustratory garlands, called *δίκηλον στεμματιαῖον*, in allusion to the passage from Naupactus. Compare book II. ch. 3. § 1. ch. 8. § 15.

²²¹ Paus. III. 20. 9.

²²² See *Orchomenos*, p. 333. To the passages there quoted may be added Etymol. in *v. Ἀλήτης*. And see book II. ch. 8. § 15.

²²³ There were in later times Acarnanian soothsayers at Thermopylæ, Herod. VIII. 221. in the case of Pisistratus, and elsewhere.

²²⁴ Thucyd. I. 103. The city was afterwards *Ætolian*: Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 1756.

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neighbours, and their powerful city of Calydon was the mistress of the region. The Locrians are said to have aided the Dorians in their passage, by deceiving the Peloponnesians with false beacons;²²⁵ and we shall meet hereafter with traces of a lasting amity between the Locrians and Sparta. A most singular, but, doubtless for that very reason, a most ancient dress, has been given by mythology to the union of the Dorians and Ætoliens. This connexion, which was indispensable for the passage from Naupactus, is also found implied in other legends, the general character of tradition being to express the same thing in various ways. Of these we may mention the marriage of Hercules with Deianira, the daughter of Æneus the Calydonian.²²⁶ At this time the Dorians were ordered by the oracle to seek a person with three eyes for a leader. This person they recognised in Oxylyus the Ætolian, who either sat upon a horse, himself having one eye, or rode upon a one-eyed mule. Difficult as it is to rest satisfied with this interpretation of the oracle, so casual a circumstance having no connexion with the general course of events, yet it appears impossible to discover the true meaning of the word τριόφθαλμος.²²⁷ In all probability this expression for the whole Ætolian race was only delivered in a mythical shape, and the sorry explanation was not invented until a late period.²²⁸ The family of Oxylyus is stated to have come from Calydon; so that the Ætoliens (who in later times made themselves masters of Elis) appear to have come for the most part from that place.²²⁹

²²⁵ Polyb. Excerpt. lib. XII. ap. Mai, Script. Vet. Nov. Coll. vol. II. p. 386.

²²⁶ And of Pleuron with Xanthippe the daughter of Dorus, Apollod. I. 7. 7, although Ætolus is also represented as killing Dorus the son of Apollo.

²²⁷ Perhaps the Ætoliens had from early times worshipped the three-eyed Zeus (Ζεὺς τριόφθαλμος), which Sthenelus the Ætolian brought from Troy, according to Pausanias II. 24. 5.

²²⁸ Oxylyus is said to have contracted an alliance with the Heraclidæ in the island of Sphacteria (Steph. Byzant.); but this story is probably founded merely on the etymology of the name Sphacteria.

²²⁹ As also Pausanias, V. 1. says.

There existed, however, an ancient alliance and affinity between the inhabitants of Elis, the Epeans, and the Ætoliens who dwelt on the farther side of the Corinthian gulf; and Oxylyus himself was said to have originally belonged to Elis;²³⁰ hence it does not appear that there was any actual war between these two states, but only that the Ætoliens were received by the Eleans, and admitted to the rights of citizenship,²³¹ and at the same time the same honours were permitted to the heroes and heroines of the Ætoliens as to their own.²³² [069]

10. The systematised tradition next makes mention of a battle which took place between the united force of Peloponnesus, under the command of Tisamenus, the grandson of Agamemnon, and the sons of Aristomachus; in which the latter were victorious, and Peloponnesus fell into their possession. According as it suits the object of the narrator, this engagement is either represented to have been both by sea and land, and to have taken place at the passage,²³³ or after the march through Arcadia. We may fairly suppose that it was inferred merely on probable grounds that a battle *must* have been fought by Tisamenus, whom the tradition represented as prince of the Achæans at the capture of Ægialea.²³⁴ Many traditions agree in stating that the Heraclidæ

²³⁰ Pausan. ubi sup. Strabo X. p. 463. Compare II. ψ. 630.

²³¹ This is the representation given by Pausanias V. 4. 1. ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῶ τῆς χώρας.

²³² Pausan. V. 15. 7. Concerning the Tyrrhenians who accompanied them, see *Orchomenos*, p. 443. note 3, together with Pausan. II. 31. 3. Of the Thebans, who are said to have joined under Autesion, see a detailed account in the same place.

²³³ As, e.g., Apollodorus evidently.

²³⁴ The name of Tisamenus, as an epithet of his father (τισάμενος), corresponds to Eurysaces the son of Ajax, Telemachus and Ptoliporthus of Ulysses, Astyanax of Hector, Nicostratus the youngest son of Menelaus according to Hesiod, Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, Metanastes the son of Archander, Aletes of Hippotes; but it cannot be inferred from this that it was mere fiction, since this method of giving names existed in historic times (Polyæn. VI. 1, 6) even in the royal family of Macedon. See also what Plutarch de Malignit.

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at that time took the road through Arcadia; Oxylyus is said to have led them by this way, that they might not be envious of his fertile territory of Elis;²³⁵ Cresphontes is moreover stated to have been the brother-in-law of Cypselus king of Arcadia, who had his royal seat at Basilis, on the Alpheus, in the country of the Parrhasians.²³⁶

11. Next comes the division of Peloponnesus among the three brothers Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodamus, or his sons. We have to thank the tragedians alone for the invention and embellishment of this fable;²³⁷ that it contains little or no truth is at once evident; for it was not till long after this time that the Dorians possessed the larger part of Peloponnesus;²³⁸ and a division of lands not yet conquered is without example in Grecian history. At the same time it is related that, upon the altars whereon the brothers sacrificed to their grandfather Zeus, there was found a frog for Argos, a snake for Sparta, and a fox for Messenia.

Herodot. 39, says on the names of the children of Adeimantus the Corinthian. Names derived from a characteristic of the parent (an example of which occurs in Iliad IX. 562) were called φερώνυμα, according to Schol. Steph. in Dionys. Gramm. ap. Bekker Anecd. Gr. vol. II. p. 868.

²³⁵ Pausan. V. 4, 1. See below, ch. 7, § 6, note.

²³⁶ Pausan. VIII. 29, 4. It is related as a stratagem of Cypselus by Polyænus I. 7. Perhaps *Cypsela*, a fort in Parrhasia, near Sciritis in Laconia, is the same as Basilis, Thucyd. V. 33. It would not however be very accurate to say of Basilis that it lies ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιρίτιδι. An oracle referring to the amity with the Arcadians is preserved in Schol. Aristid. Panathen. p. 191, ed. Steph.; p. 33, ed. Frommel.

²³⁷ See *Æginetica*, p. 39, note ^e, and Euripides ap. Strab. VIII. p. 366. Sophocl. Aj. 1287. (comp. Suidas in v. δραπέτης), Hesychius in ἀνανομῆν and καταβολή.—Plato Leg. III. p. 686. Apollodorus, Polyæn. I. 6. The vase in Tischbein I. 7, represents an ἀγών ὑδροφορικὸς, and not this casting of lots, as Italinsky supposes. The same group indeed sometimes occurs on gems *armed* (*Gemmæ Florentinæ*, tom. II. tab. 29; compare Winckelmann Monum. ined. n. 164, vol. III. of his works, p. xxvii.); but I believe that an ἀγών ὑδροφορικὸς is equally meant, as, e.g., that of the Argonauts in Apollon. Rhod. IV. 1767, since the expedition of the Heraclidæ, early as it was, was not one of the usual subjects of art.

²³⁸ See below, ch. 5.

It seems however probable that these are mere symbols, by which the inventors (perhaps the hostile Athenians) attempted to represent the character of those nations. For it cannot be supposed that national arms or ensigns are meant; unless indeed we give credit to the pretended discovery of Fourmont, who affirms that he found in the temple of the Amyclæan Apollo a shield with the inscription of Teleclus as general (βάγος), with a snake in the middle; and another of Anaxidamus, with a snake and two foxes.²³⁹ But he has represented the shield of so extraordinary a form, with sharp ends, and indentures on the sides, that the fraud is at once open to detection; and consequently the supposition that the snake was the armorial bearing of Sparta remains entirely unfounded.²⁴⁰ [071]

12. Although we cannot here give a complete account of the great revolution which the irruption of the Dorians universally produced in the condition of the different races of Greece,²⁴¹ it may nevertheless be remarked, that a very large portion of the Achæans, who originally came from Phthia, retired to the northern coast of Peloponnesus, and compelled the Ionians to pass over to Attica. The reduction of the principal fortress of this country, the Posidonian Helice, is ascribed to Tisamenus; and that Helice was in fact the abode of the most distinguished families of the Achæan nation is evident from the legend, that Oxylus the Ætolian, at the command of the oracle, shared the dominion with Agorius, a Pelopid, who was descended from Penthilus the son of [072]

²³⁹ Boeckh Inscr. I. p. 81, 82.

²⁴⁰ In an oracle preserved by Plutarch de Pyth. Orac. 24, p. 289, the Spartans are called ὄφιοβόροι. The word of the oracle itself doubtless was ὄφιόδειροι (ὄφιόδειροι), as in Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. 23, which however might have been explained to have the same meaning as the former word, viz. "*drawing back the skin of serpents in order to eat them.*" The frog was the emblem of the Argives, as never coming out of their hole; compare ch. 8, § 7.

²⁴¹ Isocrates, Panath. p. 286 A., says far too generally, μάχη δὲ νικήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἡττηθέντας ἔκ τε τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐξέβαλον, which he afterwards modifies considerably.

Orestes, and dwelt at Helice.²⁴² The chronological difficulty of Oxylylus being called the cotemporary of a grandson of Penthilus is not of much importance. At Helice was also shown the tomb of Tisamenus, whose supposed ashes the Spartans (doubtless with the idea of thus making amends for the injustice of his expulsion) afterwards brought to their city, as they also did the corpse of Orestes at Tegea.²⁴³ But hereupon follows a series of migrations to Æolis in Asia, which was founded in later times, in which the numbers of the Achæan race predominated. Although Orestes is called a leader of the first expedition,²⁴⁴ he probably is only put for his descendants: Penthilus also is perhaps put only for that part of his descendants who went with the colony to Lesbos and Æolis. For all the Penthilidæ did not go; we find indeed Penthilidæ in Mitylene;²⁴⁵ and others at Helice, as we have just seen. Pisander, a Laconian Achæan, is also mentioned as having gone with the expedition of Orestes; and there were men of his family in Tenedos at the time of Pindar.²⁴⁶

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Chapter IV.

§ 1. Physical Structure of Greece and Peloponnesus. § 2. Physical Structure of Arcadia. § 3. Of Laconia. § 4. Of Argolis. § 5. Of Achaia and Elis. § 6. Improvement of the

²⁴² V. 4, 2. An *Achæan* from Helice occurs as the cotemporary of Hercules in Theocrit. XXV. 165; a greater inconsistency with the received chronology than poets usually permit themselves.

²⁴³ Pausan. VII. 1.

²⁴⁴ *Orchomenos*, pp. 398, 477.

²⁴⁵ Aristot. Pol. V. 8, according to the most probable reading.

²⁴⁶ Pind. Nem. XI. 32.

Soil by artificial means. § 7. Early Cultivation of the Soil by the Pelasgians and Leleges. § 8. Numbers of the Doric Invaders. § 9. Mode by which they conquered Peloponnesus.

1. So wonderful is the physical organization of Greece, that each of its parts has received its peculiar destination and a distinct character; it is like a body whose members are different in form, but between which a mutual connexion and dependence necessarily exists. The northern districts as far as Thessaly are the nutritive organs which from time to time introduced fresh and vigorous supplies: as we approach the south, its structure assumes a more marked and decided form, and is impressed with more peculiar features. Attica and the islands may be considered as extremities, which, as it were, served as the active instruments for the body of Greece, and by which it was kept in constant connexion with others; while Peloponnesus, on the other hand, seems formed for a state of life, occupied more with its own than external concerns, and whose interests and feelings centred in itself. As it was the extremity of Greece, there also appeared to be an end set by nature to all change of place and habitation; and hence the character of the Peloponnesians was firm, steady, and exclusive. With good reason therefore was the region where these principles predominated considered by the Greeks as the centre and acropolis²⁴⁷ of their countries; and those who possessed it were universally acknowledged to rank as first in Greece. [074]

2. This character of Peloponnesus will become more evident, if we examine the peculiar nature of its mountain-chains. Though the Isthmus of Corinth connected the peninsula with the continent by a narrow neck of land, yet it was not traversed in its whole length by any continuous chain of mountains; the Cœnean hills being entirely separated from the mountains of Peloponnesus.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ Peloponnesus is called the ἀκρόπολις γῆς in Phlegon de Olymp. p. 129, in Meurs. Op. vol. VII.

²⁴⁸ As Pouqueville several times remarks. The mountain-chains are more

The principal elevations in Peloponnesus form very nearly a circle, the circumference of which passes over the mountains of Pholoë, Lampe, Aroanius, Cyllene, Artemisium, Parthenium, and Parnon; then over Boreum, and from thence up to the northern rise of mount Taygetus, and finally over mount Lycaon along the river Alpheus. The highest ridge appears to be that part of Cyllene which looks to Parnon: the height of Cyllene, according to the statement of Dicæarchus,²⁴⁹ was not quite 15 stadia; according to another measurement, it was nine stadia wanting 80 feet;²⁵⁰ a considerable height, when it is remembered that the sea is near, and that Peloponnesus is the last link of the great chain, which runs down from the north of Macedonia. But the eastern plains also, for instance that of Tegea, are at a great height above the sea, and are often covered with snow late in the spring.²⁵¹ Now from the circle of mountains which has been pointed out, all the rivers of any note take their rise; and from it all the mountainous ranges diverge, which form the many headlands and points of Peloponnesus. The interior part of the country however has only one opening towards the western sea, through which all its waters flow out united in the Alpheus. The peculiar character of this inland tract is also increased by the circumstance of its being intersected by some lower secondary chains of hills, which compel the waters of the valleys nearest to the great chains either to form lakes, or to seek a vent by subterraneous passages.²⁵²

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connected by the Cænean promontory, and the mountains running westward from Sicyon and joining mount Cyllene.

²⁴⁹ Ap. Gemin. Elem. Astron. XIV. p. 55, in Petavius Uranolog. The passage is from the work of Dicæarchus, entitled *Καταμετρήσεις τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ὄρων*, concerning which see Pliny N. H. II. 65, and Suidas in *Δικαίαρχος*.

²⁵⁰ Apollodorus ap. Steph. Byz. (p. 400, ed. Heyne.) Eustath. ad Hom. p. 1951, 15. According to Capt. Peytier Cyllene is 7266 Paris feet in height, Taygetus 7434, Parthenion (Zagura) 6095. These measurements make Taygetus somewhat higher than Cyllene.

²⁵¹ Holland in Walpole's Travels, p. 426.

²⁵² Aristot. Meteorol. I. 13.

Hence it is that in the mountainous district in the north-east of Peloponnesus many streams disappear, and again emerge from the earth. This region is *ARCADIA*; a country consisting of ridges of hills and elevated plains, and of deep and narrow valleys, with streams flowing through channels formed by precipitous rocks; a country so manifestly separated by nature from the rest of Peloponnesus, that, although not politically united, it was always considered in the light of a single community. Its climate was extremely cold; the atmosphere dense, particularly in the mountains to the north:²⁵³ the effect which this had on the character and dispositions of the inhabitants has been described in a masterly manner by Polybius, himself a native of Arcadia.

3. *LACONIA* is formed by two mountain-chains running [076] immediately from Arcadia, and enclosing the river Eurotas, whose source is separated from that of an Arcadian stream by a very trifling elevation. The Eurotas is, for some way below the city of Sparta, a rapid mountain-stream; then, after forming a cascade, it stagnates into a morass; but lower down it passes over a firm soil in a gentle and direct course.²⁵⁴ Near the town of Sparta rocks and hills approach the banks on both sides, and almost entirely shut in the river both above and below the town:²⁵⁵ this enclosed plain is without doubt the "*hollow Lacedæmon*" of Homer.²⁵⁶ Here the narrowness of the valley, and the heights of Taygetus, projecting above in a lofty parapet, increase the heat of summer, both by concentrating the sun-beams, as it were, into a focus, and by presenting a barrier to the cool sea-breezes,²⁵⁷ whilst in winter the cold is doubly

²⁵³ See Polybius IV. 21, 1, who particularly mentions Cynætha. Close by was the cold spring of Λουῖσοι, or Λουῖσσα; and Sprengel in his translation of Theophrastus, vol. II. p. 383, well corrects in Theophrast. IX. 15, 8, τὸ δὲ κώνειον ἄριστον περὶ Λουῖσα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροτάτοις τόποις.

²⁵⁴ From the Journal of Fourmont the younger.

²⁵⁵ Polyb. V. 22.

²⁵⁶ According to the interpretation of the Venetian Scholiast and others.

²⁵⁷ Abaris is said to have appeased a pestilence, which had been occasioned by

violent. The same natural circumstances produce violent storms of rain, and the numerous mountain-torrents frequently cause inundations in the narrow valleys.²⁵⁸ The mountains, although running in connected chains, are yet very much interrupted; their broken and rugged forms were by the ancients attributed to earthquakes;²⁵⁹ one of which caused so great consternation at Sparta a short time before the war with the Helots. The country is not however destitute of plains; that indeed along the lower part of the Eurotas is one of the finest in Greece, stretching towards the south, and protected by mountains from the north wind: moreover, the maritime district, surrounded by rocks, from Malea to Epidaurus Limera (Malvasia), is extremely fertile.²⁶⁰ Nor are the valleys on the frontiers of Messenia less productive; towards the promontory of Tænarum however the soil continually becomes harder, drier, and more ferruginous. The error of supposing that this country was nearly a desert appears from the very large number of its vegetable productions mentioned by Theophrastus and others: Alcman and Theognis also celebrate its wines: vines were planted up to the very summit of mount Taygetus, and laboriously watered from fountains in forests of plane-trees;²⁶¹ the country was in this respect able to provide for its own wants. But the most valuable product, in the estimation of the new inhabitants, was doubtless the iron of the mountains.²⁶² More fortunate still was the situation of the country for purposes of defence, the interior of Laconia being only accessible from Arcadia, Argolis, and Messenia by narrow

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this heat; Jamblich. in Vit. Pythagor. 19. Compare Apollon. Dyscol. Hist. Mirab. c. 4, p. 9, ed. Meurs.

²⁵⁸ Theophrastus calls Laconia ῥοώδης, ἔπομβρος, καὶ ἔλειος (de causis pluviae III. 3, 4).

²⁵⁹ ῥωχμοὺς ἀπὸ σεισμῶν ἔχουσα, Eustath. ad Hom. p. 294, 10, p. 1478, 43, ed. Rom.

²⁶⁰ See Des Monceaux in Corneille le Bruyn, tom. V. p. 465.

²⁶¹ Alcman ap. Athen. I. p. 31 C. Theognis, v. 879 sq. ed. Bekker.

²⁶² Book III. ch. 2, § 3. Boeckh's Economy of Athens, book IV. ch. 19.

passes and mountain-roads; and the most fertile part is the least exposed to the inroads of enemies from those quarters: the want of harbours²⁶³ likewise contributes to the natural isolation of Laconia from other lands. Euripides has on the whole very successfully seized the peculiar character of the country in the following lines, and contrasted it with the more favoured territory of Messenia:²⁶⁴

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Far spreads Laconia's ample bound,
 With high-heap'd rocks encompass'd round,
 The invader's threat despising;
 But ill its bare and rugged soil
 Rewards the ploughman's painful toil;
 Scant harvests there are rising.

While o'er Messenia's beauteous land
 Wide-watering streams their arms expand,
 Of nature's gifts profuse;
 Bright plenty crowns her smiling plain;
 The fruitful tree, the full-ear'd grain,
 Their richest stores produce.

Large herds her spacious valleys fill,
 On many a soft-descending hill
 Her flocks unnumber'd stray;
 No fierce extreme her climate knows,
 Nor chilling frost, nor wintry snows,
 Nor dogstar's scorching ray.

²⁶³ Ἀλιμενότης, Xenoph. Hell. IV. 8, 7.

²⁶⁴ In Strabo VIII. p. 366. See Cresphont. fr. 1, ed. Dindorf.

For along the banks of the Pamisus (which, notwithstanding the shortness of its course, is one of the broadest rivers in Peloponnesus), down to the Messenian bay, there runs a large and beautiful valley, justly called *Macaria*, or “The Happy,” and well worth the artifice by which Cresphontes is said to have obtained it. To the north, more in the direction of Arcadia, lies the plain of Stenyclarus, surrounded by a hilly barrier. The western part of the country is more mountainous, though without any such heights as mount Taygetus; towards the river Neda, on the frontiers of Arcadia, the country assumes a character of the wildest and most romantic beauty.

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4. ARGOLIS is formed by a ridge of hills which branches from Mount Cyllene and Parthenium in Arcadia, and is connected with it by a mountain-chain, very much broken, and abounding in ravines and caverns (hence called Τρητόν),²⁶⁵ through which runs the celebrated *Contoporia*,²⁶⁶ a road cut out, as it were, between walls of rock, connecting Argos with Corinth. By similar passes Cleonæ, Nemea, and Phlius, more to the south, and eastwards Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Epidaurus, were connected; and this natural division into many small districts had a considerable effect upon the political state of Argos. The southern part of this chain ends in a plain, at the opening of which, and near the pass just alluded to, was situated Mycenæ, and in a wider part of it the city of Argos. The nature of this anciently cultivated plain is very remarkable; it was, as is evident, gradually formed by the torrents which constantly filled up the bay between the mountains; and hence it was originally little else than fen and morass.²⁶⁷ Inachus, “*the stream*,” and Melia, the daughter of

²⁶⁵ It has been beautifully said of this district that ὄφρυᾶ τε καὶ κοιλαίνεται, Strabo VIII. p. 381.

²⁶⁶ Polybius XVI. 16. 4. places it about west-south-west from Corinth. Comp. Athenæus II. p. 43 E. Pindar Olymp. XI. 30. means the same place.

²⁶⁷ Aristot. Meteor. I. 14. p. 755 C, and Aristides, Ægypt. vol. II. p. 351, ed. Jebb.

Oceanus, “*the damp valley*” (where ash-trees, μελίαι, grow), were called the parents of the ancient Argives; and the epithet “thirsty” (πολυδίψιον Ἄργος), which is applied to Argos in ancient poems, refers only to the scarcity of spring-water in the neighbourhood of the town. Yet, notwithstanding the rugged nature of the rest of Argolis, there are, both in the interior and near the sea, here and there, small plains, which by the fertility of their soil attract and encourage the husbandman; the south-eastern coast slopes regularly down to the sea. To the north of the mountain-ridge which bounded Argolis, extending from the Isthmus as far as a narrow pass on the boundaries of Achaia, there is a beautiful, and in ancient times highly-celebrated plain, in which Corinth and Sicyon were situated.²⁶⁸ [080] With respect to the progress of civilization at Argos, it is important to know that the mountains between that town and Corinth contain copper:²⁶⁹ accordingly, in the former town the forging of metals appears to have been early introduced; and hence arose the ancient celebrity of the Argive shields.²⁷⁰ But no precious metal has been ever found in any part of Peloponnesus: a circumstance which greatly tended to direct the attention of its inhabitants to agriculture and war, rather than commerce and manufactures.

5. That region which was in later times called ACHAIA, is only a narrow tract of land along the coast, lying upon the slope of the northern mountain-range of Arcadia. Hence most of the Achæan cities are situated on hills above the sea, and some few in enclosed valleys. The sources of the numerous streams by which the country is watered lie almost without exception in Arcadia, whose frontiers here reach beyond the water-line.

But the lowest slope of Peloponnesus, and the most gradual

²⁶⁸ Athen. V. p. 219 A. Lucian. Icaromenipp. 18. Nav. 20. Liv. XXVII. 31. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 969. Zenobius III. 57.

²⁶⁹ According to Fourmont's Journal and Gell's Argolis.

²⁷⁰ See Schol. Pind. Olymp. VII. 152. Boeckh Comment. Pind. p. 175. Siebelis ad Pausan. II. 25, 6.

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inclination to the sea, is on the western side; and it is in this quarter that we find the largest extent of champaign country in the peninsula, which, being surrounded by the chain beginning from mounts Scollis and Pholoë, was hence called the HOLLOW ELIS. It was a most happy circumstance that these wide plains enjoyed an almost uninterrupted state of peace. Towards the coast the soil becomes sandy; a broad line of sand stretches along the sea nearly as far as the Triphylian Pylos, which from this circumstance is so frequently spoken of by Homer as “*the sandy*.”²⁷¹ As this tract of country is very little raised above the level of the sea, a number of small lakes or lagoons have been formed, which extend along the greatest part of the coast, and are sometimes connected with one another, sometimes with the sea. Such being the nature of the country, the river Alpheus runs gently between low chains of hills and through small valleys into the sea. Towards the south the country becomes more mountainous, and approaches more to the character of Arcadia.

6. If now we picture to ourselves this singular country before the improvements of art and agriculture, it presents to the mind a very extraordinary appearance. The waters of Arcadia are evidently more calculated to fill up the deep ravines and hollows of that country, or to produce irregular inundations, than to fertilise the soil by quiet and gentle streams. The valleys of Stymphalus, Pheneus, Orchomenus, and Caphyæ in Arcadia required canals, dams, &c., before they could be used for the purposes of husbandry. One part of the plain of Argos was carefully drained, in order to prevent it becoming a part of the marshes of Lerna. In the lower part of the course of the Eurotas it was necessary to use some artificial means for confining the river: and that this care was at some time bestowed on it, is evident from the remains of quays,²⁷² which give to the river the

²⁷¹ Elis in general is a χώρα ὑπαμμος, according to Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. I. 6.

²⁷² Here follow the Journal of the younger Fourmont, which appears deserving

appearance of a canal. The ancient Nestorian Pylus was situated on a river (Anigrus), which even now, when it overflows, makes the country a very unhealthy place of residence; and no traveller can pass a night at Lerna without danger. Thus in many parts of Peloponnesus it was necessary, not merely for the use of the soil, but even for the sake of health and safety, to regulate nature by the exertions of art. At the present time, from the inactivity of the natives, the inevitable consequence of oppression, so bad an atmosphere prevails in some parts of the country, that, instead of producing, as formerly, a vigorous and healthy race, one sickly generation follows another to the grave. And that improvements of this kind were begun in the earliest periods, is evident from the fact, that the traces of primitive cities are discovered in those very valleys which had most need of human labour.²⁷³ This induction is also confirmed by the evidence of many traditions. The scanty accounts respecting the earliest times of Sparta relate, that Myles, the son of the earth-born Lelex, built mills, and ground corn at Alesiaë; and that he had a son named Eurotas, who conducted the water stagnating in the level plain into the sea by a canal, which was afterwards called by his name.²⁷⁴ Indeed the situation of Sparta seems to imply that the standing water was first drained off:²⁷⁵ nay, even in later times, it was possible, by stopping the course of the river, to lay most of the country between Sparta and the opposite heights under water.²⁷⁶

7. The consideration of these natural circumstances and traditions obliges us to suppose that the races which were looked on as the ancient inhabitants of Peloponnesus (the Pelasgians in the east and north, and the Leleges in the south and west) were the first who brought the land to that state of cultivation in

of credit: he also states that he saw iron rings on the blocks of stone.

²⁷³ Compare with this *Orchomenos*, chap. 2.

²⁷⁴ See Schol. Eurip. *Orest.* 626. comp. Manso, *Sparta*, vol. I. p. 11.

²⁷⁵ Strabo VIII. p. 363 A.

²⁷⁶ Polyb. V. 22. 6.

which it afterwards remained in this and other parts of Greece. And perhaps it was these two nations alone to whom the care of husbandry, cattle, and everything connected with the products of the soil, belonged through all times and changes. For, in the first place, the numbers of the invading Achæans, Ionians, and afterwards of the Dorians, were very inconsiderable, as compared with the whole population of Peloponnesus; and, secondly, these races conquered the *people* as well as the *country*, and enjoyed an independent and easy life by retaining both in their possession: so that, whatever tribe might obtain the sovereign power, the former nations always constituted the mass of the population. By means of these usurpations agriculture was kept in a constant state of dependence and obscurity, so that we seldom hear of the improvement of the country, which is a necessary part of the husbandman's business. Agriculture was, however, always followed with great energy and success. For in the time of the Peloponnesian war, when the population of Peloponnesus must have been very great, it produced more corn than it consumed, and there was a constant export from Laconia and Arcadia downwards to the coast of Corinth.²⁷⁷

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8. It is not with a view of founding any calculation upon them, but merely of giving a general idea of the numerical force of a Greek tribe (which many would suppose to be a large nation), that I offer the following remarks. At the flourishing period of the Doric power, about the time of the Persian war, Sparta, which had then conquered Messenia, contained 8000 families, Argos above 6000; while in Sicyon, Corinth, Phlius, Epidaurus, and Ægina, the Dorians were not so numerous, the constitution being even more oligarchical in those states. Although in the colonies, where they were less confined by want of sufficient space, and by the severity of the laws, the inhabitants multiplied very rapidly, yet the number of original colonists, as many of

²⁷⁷ Thucyd. I. 120. κατακομιδή τῶν ὠραίων.

them as were Dorians, was very small. Now since in the states of Peloponnesus, even after they had been firmly established, the number of inhabitants, particularly of Dorians, never, from several causes, much increased,²⁷⁸ it seems probable that at the time of their first irruption the whole number of their males was not above 20,000.²⁷⁹ Nor were the earlier settlements of Achæans and Ionians more considerable. For the Ionians, as is evident from their traditions, appear as a military race in Attica, and probably formed, though perhaps together with many families of a different origin, one, and certainly the least, of four tribes (the ὀπλιτεῖς²⁸⁰). The arrival of the Achæans is represented in ancient traditions in the following simple manner: “Archander and Architeles, the sons of Achæus, having been driven from Phthiotis, came to Argos and Lacedæmon.”²⁸¹ Their names signify “the ruler,” and “the chief governor.” Certainly the Achæans did not come to till the ground; as is also evident from the fact that, when dislodged by the Dorians, and driven to the northern coast, they took possession of Patræ, dwelt only in the town, and did not disperse themselves into the smaller villages.²⁸² [085]

It seems pretty certain that the Dorians migrated together with their wives and children. The Spartans would not have bestowed so much attention as they did on women of a different race; and all the domestic institutions of the Dorians would have been formed in a manner very unlike that which really obtained. This circumstance alone completely distinguishes the migration of the Dorians from that of the Ionians, who having, according to

²⁷⁸ See book III. ch. 10. § 2, 5.

²⁷⁹ Isocrates Panath. p. 286 C, says, that in the most ancient times there were only 2000 Dorians in Sparta; but his statement is too uncertain to found any calculation upon.

²⁸⁰ See Boeckh on the four ancient tribes of Attica, Museum Criticum, vol. II. p. 608.

²⁸¹ Pausan. VII. 1. 6, 7.

²⁸² Pausan. VII. 18. 3, book III. ch. 4, § 8.

Herodotus, sailed from Attica without any women, took native Carian women for wives, or rather for slaves, who, according to the same writer, did not even dare to address their husbands by their proper names. And this was probably the case with all the early settlements beyond the sea, since the form of the ancient Greek galley hardly admitted of the transport of women.

9. It would have been less difficult to explain by what superiority the Dorians conquered Peloponnesus, had they gained it in open battle. For, since it appears, that Homer describes the mode of combat in use among the ancient Achæans, the method of fighting with lines of heavy armed men, drawn up in close and regular order, must have been introduced into Peloponnesus by the Dorians; amongst whom Tyrtæus describes it as established. And it is evident that the chariots and darts of the Homeric heroes could never have prevailed against the charge of a deep and compact body armed with long lances. But it is more difficult still to comprehend how the Dorians could have entered those inaccessible fortifications, of which Peloponnesus was full; since their nation never was skilful in the art of besieging, and main force was here of no avail. How, I ask, did they storm the citadel of Acro-Corinthus, that Gibraltar of Peloponnesus?²⁸³ how the Argive Larissa, and similar fortresses? On these points, however, some accounts have been preserved with regard to the conquest of Argos and Corinth, which, from their agreement with each other, and with the circumstances of the places, must pass as credible historical memorials. From these we learn that the Dorians always endeavoured to fortify some post at a short distance from the ancient stronghold; and from thence ravaged the country by constant incursions, and, kept up this system of vexation and petty attack, until the defenders either hazarded a battle, or surrendered their city. Thus at a late period the places were still shown from whence Temenus and Aletes had carried

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²⁸³ Clarke's Travels, II. 2. p. 646, &c.

on contests of this nature with success.²⁸⁴ And even in historical times this mode of waging war in an enemy's country (called ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῆ χώρα) was not unfrequently employed against places, which could not be directly attacked.²⁸⁵

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Chapter V.

§ 1. Reduction of Argos by the Dorians. § 2. Of Sicyon. § 3. Of Phlius and Cleonæ. § 4. Of the Actè, Epidaurus, Ægina, and Trœzen. § 5. Independence of Mycenæ and Tiryns. § 6. Ancient homage of the towns of the Actè to Argolis. § 7. Territory of the Dryopians in Argolis. § 8. Reduction of Corinth by the Dorians. § 9. Ancient inhabitants of Corinth. § 10. Reduction of Megara by the Dorians. § 11. Reduction of Laconia by the Dorians under Aristodemus. § 12. Resistance of Amyclæ. Position of Sparta. § 13. Resistance of other Laconian towns to the Dorians. § 14. Traditions respecting Eurysthenes and Procles. § 15. Reduction of Messenia by the Dorians. § 16. Political state of Messenia.

1. Before the time of the Dorians, Mycenæ, situated in the higher part of the plain at the extremity of the mountain-chain, had doubtless been the most important and distinguished place in Argolis; and Argos, although the seat of the earliest civilization was dependent upon and inferior to it. At Mycenæ were the Cyclopien hall of Eurystheus,²⁸⁶ and the sumptuous palace of Agamemnon; and though, as Thucydides correctly says, the

²⁸⁴ Below, ch. 5. § 1 and 8.

²⁸⁵ See Thucyd. I. 122. III. 85, and the example of Decelea.

²⁸⁶ Εὐρύσθεος Κυκλώπια πρόθυρα, Pindar. Fragment. Incert. 48, ed. Boeckh.

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fortified town was of inconsiderable extent, yet it abounded with stupendous and richly-carved monuments, whose semi-barbarous but artificial splendour formed a striking contrast with the unornamented and simple style introduced after the Doric period.²⁸⁷ The Doric conquerors, on the other hand, did not commence their operations upon fortresses secured alike by nature and art, but advanced into the interior from the coast. For near the sea between Lerna and Nauplia, on the mouth of the Phrixus,²⁸⁸ there was a fortified place named Temenium, from which Temenus the son of Aristomachus, together with the Dorians, carried on a war with Tisamenus and the Achæans, and probably harassed them by repeated incursions, until they were obliged to hazard an open battle. From thence the Dorians, after severe struggles, made themselves masters of the town of ARGOS.²⁸⁹ It is related in an isolated tradition, that Ergiæus, a descendant of Diomed, stole and gave to Temenus the Palladium brought by his ancestor from Troy to Argos, which immediately occasioned the surrender of the city.²⁹⁰ Argos was therefore supposed to have been taken by Temenus himself.

2. The further extension of the Doric power is, however, attributed not to Temenus, but to his sons; for such the Doric tradition calls Ceisus, Cerynes, Phalces, and Agræus or Agæus.²⁹¹ Of these, Ceisus is represented to have governed at Argos, and Phalces to have gone to SICYON. The ancient

²⁸⁷ πολυχρυσοῖο Μυκίνης, Homer. Compare book IV. ch. 1.

²⁸⁸ Fourmont supposes that he has recognised Temenium in a citadel to the south of Lerna, but it must lie to the north.

²⁸⁹ See Callimach. Fragm. 108. ed. Bentr. from Schol. Pind. Nem. X. 1. Concerning the taking of Argos see Polyæn. II. 12.

²⁹⁰ Plutarch. Qu. Gr. 48. p. 404. Cf. Schol. Callim. Pall. 37.

²⁹¹ Pausan. II. 28. 3. The names given by Apollodorus II. 7. 6., viz. Agelaus, Euryphylus, and Callias, are probably from the Temenidæ of Euripides. Ceisus and Phalces are mentioned by Ephorus ap. Strab. VIII. p. 389. Scymn. Chi. V. 525 sq. Pausan. II. 6. 4. II. 12. 6. II. 13. 1. Ceisus is also mentioned by Hyginus, Fab. 124 (where read *Cisus* Temeni filius); but his account is very confused. See *Æginetica*, p. 40.

Meconè or Sicyon had in early times been in the power of the Ionians, and afterwards subject to the Achæans of Argos. The very copious mythology of this ancient city contains symbolical and historical elements of the most various nature: we will only touch upon a part of the story immediately preceding the Doric invasion. Phæstus, a son of Hercules, is stated to have been king of Argos before that event; and having gone to Crete, where he founded the town of his name,²⁹² to have been succeeded by his descendants Rhopalus, Hippolytus, and Lacedades, the last of whom lived on terms of friendship with Phalces. Between them, however, Zeuxippus, a son of Apollo and of the nymph Hyllis,²⁹³ is placed. We here perceive the traces of a connexion between Phæstus in Crete, and the introduction of the worship of Apollo and Hercules; this tradition, however, cannot authorise us to draw any chronological inferences. [089]

3. Whether PHLIUS (situated in a corner of Arcadia, in a beautiful valley, whence arise the four sources of the Asopus²⁹⁴) was founded from Sicyon or Argos, was a matter of contention between these two towns: the latter simply called Phlias the son of Ceisus.²⁹⁵ This *Phlias*, however, is nothing else than the country personified; the name being derived from φλέω or φλιδάω, and signifying “damp,” or “abounding in springs,” which appellation was fully merited by the nature of the spot. Hence Phlias was with more reason called the son of Dionysus (Φλεῦς, Φλεῶν), who loved to dwell in such valleys. There is, therefore, greater probability in the account of the Sicyonians, that Phalces and Rhegnidas were the founders of the Doric dominion;²⁹⁶ it being moreover easier to force a way to Phliasia [090]

²⁹² Pausan. II. 6. 3. Eustath. ad II. V. p. 520. Stephanus Byzant. says Φαῖστος Ῥοπάλου, Ἡρακλέους παῖδος.

²⁹³ Νύμφης Συλλίδος; I conjecture Ἰλλίδος.

²⁹⁴ Fourmont's Journal contains a detailed and accurate account of this river.

²⁹⁵ Pausan. II. 11. 2.

²⁹⁶ Pausan. II. 13. 1. ἐπ' ἀναδασμῶ γῆς.

from Sicyon along the Asopus, than from Argos. It is known, that Pythagoras the Samian derived his origin from a certain Hippasus, who had quitted Phlius on that occasion; and the Ionic town of Clazomenæ is said to have been partly founded by some inhabitants of Cleonæ and Phlissia, who had been expelled by the Dorians;²⁹⁷ from which two facts we are justified in inferring the existence of a connexion between the early inhabitants of these places and the Ionians. CLEONÆ, situated in a narrow valley, where the mountains open towards Corinth, and bordering upon Phlius, appears from this account to have been colonised at the same time with that town, but probably from Argos. For we find that the ruling power was there in the hands of the same Heraclide family, of which a branch went from Argos to Epidaurus.²⁹⁸

4. The ACTE (as the northern coast of Argolis, over against Attica, was called)²⁹⁹ was reduced, according to the account of Ephorus, by Deiphontes and Agæus.³⁰⁰ The former of these, who was called a descendant of Ctesippus, and son-in-law of Temenus, and whose fortunes afforded materials for the tragic poets, made himself master of the town of EPIDAUROS, and dislodged the Ionians from thence: these latter, under the command of their king Pityreus, crossed over to Attica, whence

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²⁹⁷ Pausan. ubi sup. and VII. 3. 5.

²⁹⁸ Pausan. III. 16. 5. Θερασάνδρου τοῦ Ἀγαμηδίδα, βασιλεύοντος μὲν ΚΛΕΕΣΤΩΝΑΙΩΝ, τετάρτου δὲ ἀπογόνου Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Since some Doric state must be here meant, ΚΛΕΩΝΑΙΩΝ, the conjecture of Kühn, seems most probable; and all doubt is removed by a comparison of Ælian N.A. XII. 31., where, however, Thersander is called the son of Cleonymus, not of Agamedidas. Perhaps Pausanias means "Thersander, the son of the son of Agamedes."

²⁹⁹ Sophocle. Acris. ap. Hesych. in ἀκτῆς. Scymnus Chius 526. from Ephorus, Polyb. V. 91. 8. Conon. 7. Diodor. XII. 43. XV. 32. XVIII. 11. Strab. VIII. p. 389. Ælian. V. H. VI. 1. Plutarch. Demetr. 25. Pausan. II. 8. 4. Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Τροϊζῖνοι, οἱ τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἀκτὴν ἔχοντες. It is different from the Ἀργολικὸς κόλπος, which is the south coast.

³⁰⁰ Concerning these doubtful names (Ἀγαῖος, Ἀγραῖος), see *Æginet.* p. 40. The name was common in Macedonia in later times; see Harpocrat. in Ἀργαῖος.

the king's son Procles went subsequently, at the general Ionic migration, to Samos.³⁰¹ Of the Dorians of Epidaurus, however, a part under the conduct of Triacon withdrew to ÆGINA,³⁰² in which place Hellenes of Thessaly had formerly ruled, and united the island and mother-state into one commonwealth, with equal rights, and the same magistrates. Now since besides Epidaurus, TRÆZEN alone belonged to the Actè, and since both Agæus and Deiphontes are mentioned as the Dorian colonisers of this coast, it was probably this Agæus who brought Træzen under the rule of the Dorians.³⁰³ In this city, too, he must have encountered some Ionians; since both the mythical genealogies and religious rites of the ancient Træzen attest a close connexion between its earlier inhabitants and the Athenians.³⁰⁴ For Træzen even shared with the Ionic cities in the peculiar worship of the Apaturian Athene, as the goddess of *phratriæ* and *gentes*;³⁰⁵ as also in that of Poseidon and his son Theseus.

5. The accounts already given show that Sicyon, Phlius, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Træzen, and Ægina received their share of Doric inhabitants either mediately or immediately from Argos. We can only regret the want of any accurate accounts respecting Mycenæ and Tiryns; the conquest of which cities must have been most difficult; but, when accomplished, decisive for the sovereignty of the Dorians. Pindar³⁰⁶ considers the expulsion of the Achæan Danai from the gulf of Argos, and from Mycenæ,

³⁰¹ This is stated by Pausanias. See also Jamblichus Pythagor. 2. concerning the Epidaurian colony in Samos. Aristotle ap. Strab. VIII. p. 314, states that the Ionians came *together with* the Heraclidæ from the Attic Tetrapolis to Epidaurus. The former account is by far the most probable.

³⁰² *Æginet.* p. 43.

³⁰³ Pausan. II. 30. 9.

³⁰⁴ Book II. ch. 2, § 8. According to Pausanias II. 30. 9. Anaphlystus and Sphettus, the sons of Træzen, passed over to Attica, and gave their names to the two boroughs so called. See Appendix II.

³⁰⁵ Pausan. II. 33. 1.

³⁰⁶ Pyth. IV. 49.

as identical with the expedition of the Heraclidæ; and Strabo states that the Argives united Mycenæ with themselves.³⁰⁷ Nevertheless we find that in the Persian war Mycenæ and Tiryns were still independent states, and it admits of a doubt whether they had previously belonged for any length of time to Argos. That some ancient inhabitants at least still maintained themselves in the mountains above Argos, is shown by the instance of the Orneatæ. The inhabitants of Orneæ, a town on the mountainous frontier of Mantinea, having long been hostile to the Dorians, and at war with the Sicyonians,³⁰⁸ were at length overpowered by Argos, and degraded to the state of *periœci*.³⁰⁹ Now, since it is more probable that such a proceeding took place against the people of a different race, than against a colony of Argos, and also as there is nowhere any mention of a Doric settlement at Orneæ, it is evident that the inhabitants of Orneæ had up to that time been either Achæans or Arcadians.

6. Although from the foregoing accounts it appears that Argos almost entirely lost its power over the towns which it had been the means of bringing under the rule of the Dorians, yet in early times there existed certain obligations on the part of these cities towards Argos, which at a later period became mere forms. There was in Argos, upon the Larissa, a temple of Apollo Pythæus, which had probably been erected soon after the invasion of the Dorians, as a sanctuary of the national deity who had led them into the country. It was a temple common to all the surrounding district, though belonging more particularly to the Argives.³¹⁰ The Epidaurians were bound at certain seasons to send sacrifices to it.³¹¹ The Dryopians in early times, and afterwards also, in

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³⁰⁷ Strab. VIII. p. 312. 377.

³⁰⁸ Plutarch. de Def. Orac. p. 620. Paus. X. 18. 4.

³⁰⁹ See book III. ch. 4, § 2.

³¹⁰ This is evident from Thucyd. V. 53. Κυριώτατοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι.

³¹¹ Ibid. According to Diodorus XII. 18. the Lacedæmonians were bound to send sacrifices to Apollo Pythæus (Πύθιοις); but his account is confused.

their character of Craugallidæ, or servants of the Delphian god, had at Asine and Hermione erected temples to Apollo Pythaëus, in acknowledgment of a similar dependence; and this was the only one spared by the Argives at the destruction of the former town.³¹²

7. The fragments preserved respecting the ancient history of the DRYOPIANS having been collected in a previous chapter,³¹³ we shall here only remark that this people possessed a considerable district in the most southern part of Argolis, the boundaries of which, so long as they remained inviolate, were defined by two points, viz. the temple of Demeter Thermesia on the frontier between Hermione and Trœzen, eighty stadia from Cape Scyllæum, and a hill between Asine, Epidaurus, and Trœzen,³¹⁴ and they may still be pointed out with tolerable certainty. Hercules, who, according to the Doric tradition, brought the Dryopians hither, had accurately marked out these boundaries. [094] It is, however, also related that the Dryopians established themselves beyond these limits at Nemea³¹⁵ in Argolis: this, however, as well as Olympia, was not any particular town, but merely the name of a valley, and particularly of a temple of Zeus there situated.

8. The history of the establishment of CORINTH, though marvellous and obscure, contains nevertheless some historical traces by no means unworthy of remark. In the first place, it is stated that this town did *not* receive its inhabitants from Argos. The purport of the tradition is as follows: “When Hippotes at the time of the passage of the Dorians from Naupactus slew the soothsayer, he was banished (according to Apollodorus for ten

³¹² Pausan. II. 35. 2. 36. 5. Compare book II. ch. 3. § 4.

³¹³ Above, ch. 2, § 4.

³¹⁴ Pausan. II. 28. 2. 34. 6.

³¹⁵ Steph. Byz. in Νέμεα, where, from the context, τῆσ Ἀργολίδος should be written for Ἡλίδος.

years),³¹⁶ during which time he led a roaming and predatory life;”³¹⁷ whence his son was called Ἀλήτης, or the *Wanderer*.³¹⁸ It is also recorded in the fragment of a tradition³¹⁹ that Hippotes, when crossing the Melian gulf, imprecated against those who wished to remain behind, “*That their vessels might be leaky, and themselves the slaves of their wives.*” In like manner his son Aletes passed through the territory at that time called Ephyra, where he received from scorn a clod of earth;³²⁰ which in the ancient oracular language was a symbol of sovereignty.³²¹ We might almost guess from these traditions that the Dorian warriors had harassed, and at length subdued the ancient Ephyreans, by ravaging their lands, and by repeated invasions. This is confirmed by the very credible account of Thucydides relating to this point.³²² There was in the mountainous country, about sixty stadia from Corinth, and twelve from the Saronic gulf, a hill called Solygius, of which the Dorians had once taken possession for the purpose of making war against the Æolian inhabitants of Corinth. This hill was, however (at least in the time of Thucydides), entirely unfortified. Here we may recognise the very same method of waging war as in the account of Temenus given above, a method which in the Peloponnesian war was adopted by the Spartans at the fortifying of Decelea. Again, it is related in a tradition connected with the Hellotian festival, that

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³¹⁶ II. 8.

³¹⁷ Conon. 26. Etymol. Mag. in Ἀλήτης.

³¹⁸ Compare p. 72, note f.

³¹⁹ Aristot. ap. Proverb. Vatic. IV. 4. Μηλιακὸν πλοῖον. Compare Apostol. XIX. 89, and Suidas, Diogenianus VII. 31, explains it differently.

³²⁰ Δέχεται καὶ βῶλον Ἀλήτης. See Duris in Plutarch. Prov. Alex. 48. p. 593. Diogenian IV. 27. Zenobius III. 22. Suidas in δέχεται, Schol. Pind. Nem. VII. 155. Perhaps Suidas in ἀδηλώσας refers to this story.

³²¹ *Orchomenos*, p. 352. See also Plutarch. Qu. Gr. 13. The delivery of a clod of earth (a common symbol of transfer of possession of land, Grimm Rechtsalterthümer, p. 110-21) also occurs in the history of the Ionic colony, Lycophron 1378. and Tzetzes Chil. XIII. p. 468. v. 112.

³²² Thucyd. IV. 42. Compare Polyæn. I. 39.

at the taking of Corinth the Dorians set fire to the town, and even to the temple of Athene, in which the women had taken refuge.³²³ In another it is stated that Aletes, being advised by an oracle to attack the city on a “crowned day,” took it during a great funeral solemnity by the treachery of the youngest daughter of Creon: these, however, are for the most part mere attempts at an historical interpretation of ancient festival ceremonies. As Aletes (according to his genealogy) lived one generation after the conquerors of Peloponnesus, the capture of Corinth was dated thirty years after the expedition of the Heraclidæ,³²⁴ whence probably also arose the error of supposing that there had [096] previously been Dorians at Corinth; as it was supposed that the Dorians had obtained their whole dominion over Peloponnesus at *one* time, by *one* expedition. The city appears to have received the name of Corinth at this time, instead of its former one of Ephyra;³²⁵ and it seems that the Dorians called it with a certain preference “*The Corinth of Zeus*;” although ancient interpreters have in vain laboured to give a satisfactory explanation of this name.

9. The early inhabitants of Corinth were, according to the expression of Thucydides,³²⁶ Æolians; and their traditions and religion show that they were very nearly connected with the Minyans of Iolcus and Orchomenus.³²⁷ Their kings were the Sisyphidæ, whose genealogy closes with Hyantidas and Doridas. We find in the last name the same confusion which has been pointed out (amongst others) in the legend of Thessalus the

³²³ Schol. Pind. Olymp. XIII. 56.

³²⁴ Didymus Schol. Pind. Olymp. XIII. 17. Conon ubi sup. Compare Diodorus in Euseb. Chronic. p. 35. (Fragment. 6. p. 635. Wessel.) Ephorus in Strab. VIII. p. 389 D, and Scymnus Chius, 526.

³²⁵ According to Velleius Patere.

³²⁶ IV. 42.

³²⁷ *Orchomenos*, p. 140. According to Conon ubi sup. Aletes found Sisyphidæ and Ionians mixed with them.

son of Jason,³²⁸ viz., that the arrival of a different nation was expressed by connecting the new comers genealogically with the heroes of the ruling race. Thus Doridas, *i.e.* the Dorians in a patronymic form, is the descendant of Sisyphus. Here begins the sovereignty of the Dorians; who, however, did not, as Pausanias³²⁹ states, altogether expel the ancient inhabitants, but formed the aristocratic class of the new state. Pindar and Callimachus, indeed, call the whole Corinthian nation *Aletiadæ*³³⁰ but merely by a poetical license; the only lineal descendants of Aletes being the ruling house, the Bacchiadæ, from which for a long time were taken the kings and Prytanés of Corinth and all its colonies. There were, however, at Corinth distinguished families of a different origin. The family of Cypselus, which afterwards obtained possession of the tyranny, was, according to Herodotus, of the blood of the Lapithæ, and descended from Cæneus.³³¹ They came, according to Pausanias, from Gonusa, near Sicyon, to assist the Dorians against Corinth.³³² Aletes, however, at the advice of an oracle, at first refused to receive them, but presently admitted them into the city, where they afterwards overthrew his own descendants. We shall allow this narrative, which contains a *post eventum* prophecy of the tyranny of the Cypselidæ, to rest on its own merits, remarking only that the Cænidæ had more reason to assist the ancient Æolians than the Dorians; and shall merely infer from it the existence of distinguished families in Corinth not of Doric descent.

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³²⁸ *Orchomenos*, p. 257.

³²⁹ II. 4. 3.

³³⁰ Pindar. *Olymp.* XIII. 11. Compare Boeckh's Commentary, p. 213. Callimachus ap. Plutarch. *Symp. Qu.* V. 3. p. 213. Ἀλητιάδαι παρ' Αἰγαιῶνι θεῶ Ἰθήσουσιν νίκης σύμβολον Ἰσθμιάδος Ζήλω τῶν Νεμείηθε.

³³¹ Herodot. V. 92. 2. This perhaps may afford some explanation of the ancient affinity between the Cypselidæ and Philaidæ (see Herodot. VI. 128.), by a comparison of the table, *Orchomenos*, p. 465.

³³² II. 4. 4. compare V. 18. 2.

10. As in this chapter we have hitherto rather followed a geographical than a chronological arrangement, we will now pass to the founding of MEGARA.³³³ That event is represented by the ancient tradition as connected with the expedition of the Peloponnesians against Athens;³³⁴ which is doubtless a correct statement, since Megara had before that epoch been closely united with Attica, and comprehended in Ionia. This [098] expedition was, according to most authors, undertaken by the whole Peloponnesus; by some, however, the Corinthians are called the real authors of it, and Aletes the leader, Althæmenes of Argos, the son of Ceisus, being nevertheless joined with him. The defeat of the Doric invaders, by the voluntary sacrifice of Codrus, has been a favourite subject both with poets and rhetoricians.³³⁵ It is sufficient for our purpose to oppose to this celebrated legend an obscure tradition that some Athenians, whom Lycophon calls Codri, had a share in the expedition of the Heraclidæ.³³⁶ Whether or not the Ionians and Dorians met at the borders on this occasion, thus much is certain, that Megara in consequence of this invasion became a Doric town, and indeed soon afterwards a Corinthian colony.³³⁷ It also remained for some time in complete dependence on Corinth, as Ægina upon Epidaurus; in proof of which it is mentioned that the Megarians were bound to mourn for every death that occurred in

³³³ See Blanchard Recherches sur la ville de Mégare, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. XVI. p. 121.

³³⁴ Herodot. V. 76. Lycurg. in Leocrat. p. 196. Strabo IX. p. 293. XIV. p. 653. Conon 26. Scymnus Chius, 503.

³³⁵ See Raoul-Rochette III p. 56. who has omitted the remarkable passage of Pausan. VII. 25. according to which the Lacedæmonians had partly taken Athens. There was at Athens a Delphian *gens* named Cleomantidæ, whose ancestor was said to have communicated to the Athenians the prophecy concerning the king's death, Lycurgus in Leocrat. p. 196.

³³⁶ Lycophr. 1388. and Tzetzes' note.

³³⁷ See particularly Schol. Pind. Nem. VII. 155. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 440. Pausan. I. 39. 4.

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the family of the Bacchiadæ at Corinth.³³⁸ When, however, the internal strength of Megara increased, it ventured to dissolve this connexion, and, in defiance of the Corinth of Zeus, to rout the Corinthians in the field.³³⁹ The border-wars of the Megarians and Corinthians were carried on without intermission.³⁴⁰ Megara appears not to have raised itself to the situation of a ruling city till after it had obtained its independence; since in earlier times it had been one of the five hamlets (κῶμαι) into which the country was divided, viz. the Heræans, Piræans, Megarians, Cynosyrians, and Tripodiscians.³⁴¹ These small communities also waged war with each other, but with a singular lenity, of which some almost marvellous accounts have been preserved; the conquerors carried their prisoners home, treated them as guests and companions, who were hence called δορύξενοι, in opposition to δορυάλωτοι.

11. We now turn to LACONIA, which, according to the above-mentioned legend concerning the division of Peloponnesus, fell

³³⁸ Schol. Pind. et Aristoph. ubi sup. According to Zenobius V. 8. the Megarians mourned for a daughter of their own king Clytius, and of Bacchius the Corinthian.

³³⁹ This event is always narrated in explanation of the proverb; see Schol. Pind. ubi sup. Schol. Plat. Euthydem. pag. 97. edit. Ruhnken. and Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 440 (from Demon). Compare Aristoph. Eccles. 828. Zenob. III. 21. Vatic. Prov. III. 13. Apostolius VII. 17. XIV. 97. Suidas, Hesychius, Dissen ad Pind. ubi sup. It is probably of this victory of the Megarians that Pausanias (VI. 19. 9.) had read in some document that it took place before the commencement of the Olympiads, when Phorbas was archon for life at Athens; but in my opinion he is incorrect in referring it to a treasury of Dantas the Lacedæmonian (Olymp. 60.), the inscription of which spoke indefinitely of a victory of the Megarians over the Corinthians, in which the Argives were supposed to have had a share. Phorbas was archon from the 173rd to the 148th year before the first Olympiad, according to Eusebius.

³⁴⁰ Thucyd. I. 103. Diod. XI. 79. Plutarch Cimon. 17. It was probably in some war of this kind that Orsippus of Megara enlarged the territory of his native city, according to Etymol. M. p. 242; he was conqueror in the 15th Olympiad, see book IV. ch. 2. note. Pausan. I. 44. 1. and the epigram in Anthol. Pal. II. App. 272. See Siebelis ad Pausan. ubi sup.

³⁴¹ See the account in Plutarch. Qu. Gr. 17. p. 387.

to the share of Aristodemus or his sons.³⁴² According to the common tradition (which was derived from the epic poets³⁴³) the twin brothers Eurysthenes and Procles³⁴⁴ took possession of Sparta after the death of their father; whereas the national tradition of Sparta, as Herodotus informs us, represented Aristodemus himself as having been the first ruler,³⁴⁵ and the double dominion of his children as not having been settled till after his death; the first-born, however, enjoying a certain degree of precedence.³⁴⁶ This is, indeed, contradicted by the account of Thucydides,³⁴⁷ who mentions as a Lacedæmonian tradition, that the kings who first took possession of Lacedæmon (*i.e.* Eurysthenes and Procles) were conducted thither with dances and sacrifices, an honour which at the command of the Delphian oracle was afterwards given to Pleistoanax at his restoration. This variation, however, is perhaps merely the effect of a pardonable negligence in the author. [100]

12. It is, however, far more difficult to ascertain what was the condition of Laconia immediately after the invasion of the Dorians. For it is plain that the history, as it was arranged by Ephorus, and derived from him to other authors, is in contradiction with many isolated traditions, but which for that very reason are of the greater importance. So far, indeed, from the whole of the Laconian territory immediately falling into the [101]

³⁴² Above, ch. 3. § 11.

³⁴³ See above, ch. 3. § 3.

³⁴⁴ Called in the Doric dialect Προκλέας, Kühn ad Pausan. III. 1. According to Polyænus I. 10. Procles and Temenus together conquered Lacedæmon.

³⁴⁵ Herod. VI. 52. and it is followed by Xen. Agesil. 8. Plutarch. Agesil. 19. [The same is preserved in a fragment of Alcæus (Mus. Crit. I. p. 432) ὡς γὰρ δὴ ποτε φασὶν Ἀριστόδαμον ἐν Σπάρτῃ λόγον οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον εἶπεῖν, as Niebuhr has remarked. History of Rome, vol. I. note 94. ed. 2.]

³⁴⁶ The words of the oracle, which Herodotus paraphrases, probably were μᾶλλον δὲ γεραίτερον ἔστι γεραίρειν.

³⁴⁷ V. 16. Also in Plato Leg. III. p. 683. Megillus the Spartan, to the question καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν—Λακεδαίμονος Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρύσθενης; answers, πῶς γὰρ οὐ, against his national tradition.

hands of the Dorians,³⁴⁸ it is certain that a powerful fortress of the ancient Achæans, at a short distance from Sparta itself, held out for nearly three centuries after the Doric invasion.

There was a saying, well known in antiquity, of the “silent Amyclæ;” thus called because its citizens had been so often alarmed by the report of the enemy coming, that they at last made a law that no one should give tidings of the enemy's approach; in consequence of which the town was at length taken.³⁴⁹ This proverb, and the story on which it was founded, prove the existence of a long and determined contest between the two neighbouring cities. They also confirm the account of Pausanias, that the Dorians in the reign of Teleclus built a temple³⁵⁰ to Zeus Tropæus, because they had at length, after a tedious and severe struggle, overcome the Achæans of Amyclæ and taken their city. This city of Amyclæ, one of the most ancient and considerable in Peloponnesus, of which there still remains a fort situated upon a rock on the side of mount Taygetus, was therefore so far from being reduced by the Spartans immediately, that it held out until the reign of Teleclus, 278 years after the invasion, a short time before the first Messenian war; and then was only taken after a tedious contest, which, from the proximity of Amyclæ and Sparta, must have been very dangerous to the latter city. Now it is not possible that before this victory Amyclæ and Sparta, distant only 20 stadia (2-1/2 miles) from each other,

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³⁴⁸ Pindar Pyth. I. 65. says that the Dorians, “coming down from Pindus, immediately took Amyclæ.” Compare Boeckh Comment, p. 479. This is equally fallacious with his other statement, that Pylos fell at the invasion, see below, § 15. According to Ephorus ap. Strab. p. 364 D., Philonomus the Achæan, who had betrayed Lacedæmon to the Dorians, received Amyclæ from them as a reward for his treachery, and held the νόμος Ἀμυκλαῖος (to which his name seems to allude) as a vassal. Compare Conon Narr. 36. Nicol. Damasc. p. 445. Vales.

³⁴⁹ Servius ad Æn. X. 564. and Lucilius, *ibid*, compare Heyne Excurs. II. ad Æn. X. Sosibius ap. Zenob. Prov. I. 54.

³⁵⁰ Pausan. III. 2. 6. *ib.* 12. 7. *ib.* 19. 5. The temple was still standing in his time. Compare *Orchomenos*, p. 313-321.

should have been engaged in constant war, as it must have soon ended in the destruction of one or the other city: their truces and armistices were, however, doubtless interrupted frequently by sudden incursions. The important territory near mount Taygetus belonged at that time to Amyclæ, and all this country was still in the possession of the Achæans, with whom some Minyans from Lemnos, and Cadmean Greeks, known by the name of Ægidæ, had united themselves. This is the territory from which the colonies of Thera, Melos, and Gortyna proceeded; so, according to Pindar, Amyclæ was the point from which the first colonies to Lesbos and Tenedos set out, and also (as may be inferred from other notices) those Achæans who took possession of Patræ.³⁵¹

Sparta, on the other hand, must have been of very slight importance before the Doric migration; by which event alone it was enabled to become the ruler of all the surrounding states. For, in the first place, Sparta was not built in the same manner as Mycenæ, Tiryns, and other ruling cities founded before the Doric invasion; the Acropolis is a hill of inconsiderable height, and easy of ascent, without any trace of ancient fortifications or walls. Secondly, it is remarkably deficient in monuments and local memorials of the times of the Pelopidæ and other mythical princes; much as the Spartans in other instances clung to traditions and records of this kind: while Amyclæ and Therapne had these in great abundance. Amyclæ, in a beautiful and well-wooded country,³⁵² was the abode of Tyndareus and his family; here were the tombs of Cassandra and Agamemnon, who, according to a native tradition (preserved by Stesichorus and Simonides),³⁵³ ruled in this city. At no great distance was situated the town of Therapne. Alcman calls it the “well-

³⁵¹ Pausan. VII. 6. 2. where Preuges, their leader, is stated to have been descended from Amyclas.

³⁵² Polyb. V. 19. 2.

³⁵³ Ap. Schol. Eurip. Orest. 46. Simonides fragm. 177. ed. Gaisford.

fortified Therapne;”³⁵⁴ Pindar mentions its high situation;³⁵⁵ by which they clearly imply a position and fortification similar to that of Tiryns. The latter also calls it the ancient metropolis of the Achæans, amongst whom the Dioscuri lived; here were the subterraneous cemeteries of Castor and Pollux,³⁵⁶ vaulted, perhaps, in the ancient manner; here also the temples of the Brothers and of Helen in the Phœbæum, and many remains of the ancient symbolical religion.³⁵⁷ It is also very remarkable, that on the banks of the Eurotas, in the district between Therapne and Amyclæ, there should have been discovered a building³⁵⁸ which resembles the well-known treasury at Mycenæ, and which affords a certain proof that the dominion of the Pelopidæ extended to this district.

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But although the local traditions make it probable that the ante-Doric rulers of the country dwelt in Amyclæ and Therapne, yet Homer describes Sparta as the residence of the Pelopidæ, transferring, apparently, the circumstances of his own time to an earlier period. Homer sometimes calls Lacedæmon the abode of Menelaus; by Lacedæmon meaning the entire country, and especially the valley round Sparta, which agrees far better with the epithet of “*hollow* Lacedæmon,” than the district of Amyclæ, which opens down to the sea.³⁵⁹ Sometimes he expressly

³⁵⁴ Εὔπυργος Θεράπια, ap. Priscian. p. 1328. Fragm. 1. ed. Welcker.

³⁵⁵ Isthm. I. 31.

³⁵⁶ Ἐν γυάλοις Θεράπνας Pindar Nem. X. 55. The δόκανα were, according to some, tombs of this description.

³⁵⁷ See Dissen's Commentary to Pindar ubi sup. p. 471.—Concerning Helen at Therapne, see Euripid. Hel. 211. and Tryphiod. 520. Schol. Lycophr. 143. Isocrat. Encom. Hel. p. 218 D. ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἐν Θεράπναις (Μενελάω καὶ Ἑλένῃ) θυσία ἀγίας καὶ πατρίους ἐπιτελοῦσιν οὐχ ὡς ἦρωσιν ἀλλ' ὡς θεοῖς. Concerning the Menelaia, see Athenagoras Leg. p. 14. A. Θεραπναῖος Ἀπόλλων Apollon. Rhod. II. 162. Therapne, according to some, was ἐν Σπάρτῃ, Schol. Apollon. et Pind. ubi sup.; according to other authors, referred to by Steph. Byz., it was Sparta itself. Both are in the wrong.

³⁵⁸ It was first discovered by Gropius.

³⁵⁹ Polyb. ubi sup. See ch. 4. § 3.

mentions Sparta as the city in which Menelaus has fixed his abode.³⁶⁰

13. Amyclæ, however, is not the only Achæan city which was not reduced by the Dorians till a late period. Ægys, on the frontiers of Arcadia, is said to have been taken from the Achæans by Archelaus and Charilaus a short time before Lycurgus; Pharis, together with Geronthræ, by Teleclus;³⁶¹ and Helos in the plains, near the mouth of the Eurotas, by Alcamenes, the son of Teleclus.³⁶² So long as these places belonged to the Achæans, the Spartans were shut out from the sea, and surrounded on all sides by the possessions of a different race. It appears, however, that other places besides Sparta were held by the Dorians themselves previously to their obtaining possession of the whole of Laconia; such were, for instance, Bœæ near Malea,³⁶³ and perhaps also Abia on the confines of Messenia.³⁶⁴ But of the numerous contests which doubtless took place at this period, little information has come down to us, as they just lie between the provinces of mythology and history. [105]

Thus much, however, we may with safety say, that Ephorus is clearly in error when he mentions a division of Laconia made by the Dorians, immediately after their conquest, for the sake of an undisturbed dominion over the country.³⁶⁵ The same historian

³⁶⁰ Od. B. 327. 359. A. 459. N. 412. 414. The passage in Od. A. 10. is also to be explained in this manner.

³⁶¹ Pausan. III. 2. 6.

³⁶² Pausan. III. 2. 7. Phlegon Trallianus ap. Euseb. Arm. p. 130. According to Strabo VIII. p. 365 A. however it was conquered by Agis. Concerning a war between Sparta and its periœci in the time of Lycurgus, see Nicol. Damas. fragm.

³⁶³ Pausan. III. 22. 9.

³⁶⁴ See above, ch. 3. § 4.

³⁶⁵ This is now evident from the restoration of the fragment of Ephorus in Strabo VIII. p. 364 D. Χρη̄σθαι δὲ ΛΑΙΜΕΝ ὁ[χυρώματι, Ἐπιδαύρω (or Γυθείω) δὲ ἐμπορίῳ διὰ τὸ εὐλίμενον, ΑΙΓΥΙ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους [ἐπιτειχισμῶ, ταύτην] γὰρ ὁμορεῖν τοῖς κύκλω [πολεμίους], ΦΑΡΙΔΙ δὲ [εἰς συνόδους] ἀπὸ τῶν ἔντος ἀσφάλειαν ἔχουση. Polybius II. 54. 3. calls Αἰγυῖτις a boundary-

further states that “Sparta was reserved by the Dorians as the seat of their own empire; that Amyclæ³⁶⁶ was granted to Philonomus, who had delivered the country to them by treachery, and that governors were sent into the other four divisions.” Also, that “the principal towns of these four provinces were Las, Epidaurus Limera (or Gytheium), Ægys, and Pharis; of which the first served as the citadel of Laconia,³⁶⁷ the second as an excellent harbour, the third as a convenient arsenal for the wars with Arcadia, and the fourth as an internal point of union. That the perieci dwelt in these towns, and were dependent upon the Spartans, though without losing their freedom.” This account doubtless suited the historical style of Ephorus; but it does not agree with the isolated but genuine traditions already mentioned.

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The division into six provinces is nevertheless, in my opinion, to be considered as an historical fact; only the arrangement could not have been made till a much later period. Of these provinces, the first comprehended the district of the city; the second, the mountain-chain of Taygetus, with the western coast; the third, the Laconian gulf; the fourth, perhaps the modern Zaconia, on the eastern side of the Eurotas; the fifth, the northern frontier; and the sixth, the lower valley of the Eurotas. The reality of such a division is also confirmed by the existence of a similar one in Messenia; which is spoken of by other writers besides Ephorus.³⁶⁸

district of Sparta, where no alteration is required. See Meursius ad Lycophr. 831.

³⁶⁶ The νόμος Ἀμυκλαῖος according to Nicol. Damasc.

³⁶⁷ See Steph. Byz. and Pausanias. The Διοσκοῦροι Λαπέρσαι are derived from this town.

³⁶⁸ Ὑαμεία πόλις Μεσσηνίων τῶν πέντε, Stephanus Byz. Compare Pausan. IV. 14. 3. Μεσόλα πόλις Μεσσηνίας μία τῶν πέντε. Νικόλαος τετάρτῳ, Stephanus. From this Ephorus in Strabo VIII. p. 361 C. should be thus restored, ὥστε τὴν Στενύκλαρον μὲν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς χώρας παύτης κειμένην ἀποδειξαι βασιλείον αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας, πέμψαι δὲ ἐς Πύλον τε καὶ Ῥίον [καὶ Μεσόλαν καὶ] Ὑαμίτιν ποιήσοντας ἰσονόμους πάντας τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τοὺς Μεσσηνίους. Compare Μεσόλα καθήκουσα εἰς τὸν μεταξὺ κόλπον τοῦ Ταυγέτου καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, Strab. VIII. p. 360; Ῥίον ἀπεναντίον Ταινάρου, *ibid*.

For this country is also said to have been divided by Cresphontes, so that Stenyclarus was the habitation of the Dorians and their king, under whose authority were placed the Messenian districts of Pylos, Rhium, Mesola, and Hyamia; of these, Pylos apparently comprehended the whole western coast; Rhium is the promontory of Methone and the neighbouring southern coast; Hyamia may perhaps be the shore of the Messenian bay nearest to the frontiers of Laconia; Mesola signifies the midland district³⁶⁹ near the Pamisus; and Stenyclarus is the northern plain of Messenia. [107]

14. We have now another instance of the arbitrary manner in which Ephorus composed his history by probable arguments. He proceeds upon the fact that Eurysthenes and Procles, although the founders of Sparta, were not honoured as such (as ἀρχηγέται), that they did not enjoy any divine honour, did not give their name to any tribe, &c. (Now the very first of these statements is false; for Eurysthenes and Procles, according to the native tradition, were *not* the founders of Sparta, as was shown above.) Hence Ephorus infers that they must have offended the Dorians; and he finds the cause of this offence in the adoption of foreign citizens, through whose assistance they had extended their power. This instance is a sufficient justification for our rejecting the historical system of Ephorus, and neglecting the results which he obtained by it.

There must have been many stories concerning Eurysthenes and Procles current in ancient times which have not come down to us. There was a general tradition of their continual discord; and we know that the military fame of Procles was as great as that of Eurysthenes was insignificant.³⁷⁰ There is, however, something peculiarly worthy of notice in an incidental remark of Cicero,³⁷¹

³⁶⁹ The same termination may be observed in the name of the ancient Laconian city Ἴππό-λα, Pausan. III. 26. 6. Steph. Byz.; and in the ancient gentile name of Argos, Ἀργό-λας.

³⁷⁰ See Herodotus, Pausanias, Cicero de Divin. II. 43.

³⁷¹ Cicero ut sup.

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that Procles died a year before Eurysthenes. Could there have been chronicles of so early a period, or is it possible that tradition should preserve such precise dates? It is also a remarkable statement that the wives of both kings were likewise twin sisters, Lathria and Anaxandra by name, daughters of Thersander king of the Cleonæans, whose descent we mentioned above.³⁷² Some great heroic actions of Soüs³⁷³ (the “violent”), the son of Procles, were also celebrated in Sparta.³⁷⁴ It was even said that he had carried on war against the Cleitorians; and it was related, that in the narrow valley of Cleitor, when surrounded by enemies, and oppressed by intolerable thirst, he promised to give up all his conquests, on the condition of himself and his army being allowed to drink from the fountain: that upon this he offered the crown to any one who would abstain from drinking, but, no one being willing to gain it at this price, he moistened himself with water from the fountain, and departed without drinking.³⁷⁵ But a Spartan king would hardly have ventured, even some centuries afterwards, to lead an army through the hostile territory of Arcadia, to a place at so considerable a distance as Cleitor, leaving behind so many hollow defiles, ravines, and mountains.

15. In the country which from this time forth obtained the name of MESSENIA,³⁷⁶ Pylos was before the Doric migration the most important town, whither the family of the Nelidæ had retired from the Triphylian territory.³⁷⁷ The Dorians under

³⁷² See above, p. 90. note n. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to “Epidaurus,” starting “Pausan. III. 16. 5.”]

³⁷³ See Valckenaer. ad Theocrit. Adoniaz. p. 266.

³⁷⁴ Plutarch. Lycurg. 2, 3.

³⁷⁵ Plutarch. Lycurg. 2. Lac. Apophth. p. 234.

³⁷⁶ From what is not clear, though probably from the Μέσση of the Homeric Catalogue, the position of which is however quite uncertain, since it is not connected with the *city* of Messene.

³⁷⁷ *Orchomenos*, p. 366. The territory of Pylos had, according to the tradition in Pausan. IV. 15. 4. once extended as far as Καπρού σῆμα, near Stenyclarus.

Cresphontes³⁷⁸ at first seated themselves in the opposite part [109] of the country, at Stenyclarus, in the midland region; they must however have soon pressed so closely upon Pylos, that part of the inhabitants was forced to emigrate. For that many of the noble families, both at Athens and in Asia Minor, came originally from Pylos, is placed out of doubt by the agreement of many national and family traditions; and it is equally certain that they did not leave Peloponnesus long before the Ionic migration. Mimnermus, the most ancient witness to this fact, says that the founders of his native city Colophon came from the Nelean Pylos;³⁷⁹ *i.e.*, he calls Andræmon, the founder of Colophon, a Pylian; where it almost seems that the poet meant a direct migration from that place. Pylos however (though it is generally considered to have been in the possession of the Dorians from this epoch) probably remained for some time an independent town, with a limited territory; even in the second Messenian war some Nestoridæ went as allies to the Messenians;³⁸⁰ and, after the defeat of the Messenians, the Pylians and the Methonæans were able to harbour them for a considerable time.³⁸¹

16. Of the internal condition of Messenia we cannot even know so much as of that of Laconia, since, at the cessation of its political existence, its monuments, and even its inhabitants, perished; and thus all means of perpetuating a knowledge of its former state were entirely lost. Yet, setting aside the accounts [110] of Ephorus, there remain some very simple circumstances from which we may form an idea of the condition of the country. It is

³⁷⁸ Cresphontes, as well as Aristomenes, were names in Messenia in late days, Boeckh Inscript. No. 1291.

³⁷⁹ Ap. Strab. p. 633 B. He was one of the Colophonians who had settled in Smyrna.

³⁸⁰ Strabo, p. 355 D. Pausanias IV. 3. 3. and others speak too generally of the expulsion of the Nestoridæ.

³⁸¹ Pausan. IV. 18. 1. IV. 23. 1. Pindar Pyth. V. 70. is not so accurate; Λακεδαιμόνι ἂν Ἄργει τε καὶ ζαθέῃ Πύλῳ ἔνασσεν ἀλκάντας Ἡρακλέος ἐγγόνους Αἰγίμιου τε (Ἀπόλλων).

related, that when Cresphontes was treacherously assassinated, the Arcadians, in conjunction with the kings of Sparta and Ceisus king of Argos, re-established in his place his son Æpytus,³⁸² who had been brought up with Cypselus the Arcadian, the father of his mother Merope,³⁸³ and who rendered himself so celebrated, that all his descendants were called Æpytidæ. The name of Æpytus is evidently connected with Æpytis, a district on the frontiers of Arcadia and Messenia, near the ancient Andania, the earliest seat of civilization and religious worship in the country. The names of his descendants, Glaucus, Isthmius, Dotades, Sybotas (swine-herd), Phintas (or Φιλητήρ), are in remarkable contrast with those of the Lacedæmonian kings, as Eurysthenes (widely-ruling), Procles (the renowned), Agis (the general), Soüs (the violent), Echestratus (the general), Eurypon (the widely-reigning), Labotas (shepherd of the people), and so forth; for, whilst the latter signify powerful warrior princes, there sounds in the former something peaceable and pastoral. What Pausanias relates of these Messenian princes refers almost exclusively to a peaceful office—viz., the establishment of festivals; the gods also to whom they were consecrated agree with the same general character. Glaucus and Isthmius, we are told, established or promoted the worship of Æsculapius at Gerenia and Pharæ: Sybotas joined to the ancient worship of the great gods at Andania the funeral sacrifices of the hero Eurytus, brought over from the Thessalian to the Messenian Æchalia; and others in the same

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³⁸² Apollod. II. 8. 5. Pausan. IV. 3. VIII. 5. 5. Isocrates Archidam. p. 120. represents the Lacedæmonians as having long governed Messenia, which had been given them by the sons of Cresphontes. Euripides in the Merope told the story as follows:—viz. that Polyphontes killed Cresphontes, and obtained possession of his queen Merope and of his empire: that on this her son Telephon, whom Merope had sent to a friend in Ætolia, returned, and, after various tragic scenes, slew the usurper by stratagem. See the fragments of the Merope, and Hyginus, Fab. 137, with the continuation in Fab. 184. The narrative of Apollodorus is made to coincide more with the national tradition.

³⁸³ The pedigree is, Æpytus—Cypselus—Merope—Æpytus—Æpytidæ.

manner. In fact this Cabirian worship of Demeter at Andania, allied to that prevalent in Attica at Eleusis and Phyla, was one of the most ancient in Peloponnesus, and at that time flourished in Messenia;³⁸⁴ whereas, according to Herodotus, the Dorians everywhere exterminated the ancient rites of Demeter.³⁸⁵ Hence also the mystical consecration of Andania was discontinued as long as Messenia was governed by the Spartans, and it fell into oblivion, until many centuries afterwards Epaminondas solemnly re-established it, either from the mere recollection of the inhabitants, or, if the account be true, upon the authority of an inscription on a tin plate found in a brazen urn, containing some obscure words referring to ancient mystic ceremonies.³⁸⁶

The re-establishment of Æpytus may, however, have been effected by the threefold alliance of both the princes and nations of Argos, Sparta, and Messenia, by which they guaranteed their respective rights, an alliance of which Plato has preserved a faint, though undoubted trace, marked out in the spirit of his political philosophy.³⁸⁷ [112]

From the settlements of the Dorians *within* Peloponnesus, we now turn to those *without* that peninsula.

Chapter VI.

- § 1. Doric colonies of Argos, Epidaurus, and Trœzen. §
2. Doric league of Asia Minor. § 3. Mythical accounts

³⁸⁴ As it is evident from several passages in the 4th book of Pausanias.

³⁸⁵ II. 171.

³⁸⁶ Pausan. IV. 20. 2. 26. 5, 6. 27. 4. 33. 5. It is to this time probably that Methapus the Athenian belongs, who restored the ancient worship of Andania, with some few changes, Pausan. IV. 1. 5.

³⁸⁷ Leg. III. p. 684.

of the colonization of Halicarnassus, Rhodes, Cos, Nisyros, Carpathos, and Casos. § 4. Rhodian colonies. § 5 and 6. Legends respecting the foundation of Mallus, Mopsuestia, Mopsucrene, and Phaselis. § 7 and 8. Colonies of Corinth. § 9 and 10. Colonies of Megara. § 11 and 12. Colonies of Sparta.

1. On account of the multiplicity of subjects which it will be now necessary to consider, we shall be compelled to shorten the discussion of several points, and to take for granted many collateral questions, except where we may be encouraged to enter into greater detail by the hope of disclosing fresh fields for the inquiries of others.

It will be the most convenient method to make the mother-states the basis of our arrangement, as these are known with far greater certainty than the dates of the foundation of their respective colonies; by which means we shall also be enabled to take in a regular order those settlements which lie near to, and were connected with, one another.

First, the colonies of ARGOS, EPIDAUROS, and TRÆZEN. We will treat of these together, as they all lie in the same direction, and as the colonies of the two last states more or less recognised the supremacy of Argos, and not unfrequently followed a common leader. These extend as far as the southern extremity of Asia Minor.

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The Dorians on the south-western coast of Asia Minor derived their origin, according to Herodotus,³⁸⁸ from Peloponnesus. And indeed they were generally considered a colony of Argos³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ In the following discussion, although beginning somewhat in advance, I still take for granted what is stated in my *Æginetica*, p. 42. The ancient expression Λιμοδωριεῖς was referred to this migration. See Hesychius, Plutarch, Prov. 34. p. 590. Yet Didymus in Hesychius calls the Dorians who dwelt under mount Ceta Λιμοδωριεῖς. See above, page 44. note e. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Dorians as inhabitants of the sea-coast."]

³⁸⁹ The Rhodians came from Argos, according to Thucyd. VII. 57. The Coans were also of Argive origin, according to Tacit. Ann. XII. 61.

(from which state Strabo derives Rhodes, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Cos), led by princes of the Heraclidæ, from whom the noble families of Rhodes—for example, the Eratidæ or Diagoridæ at Ialysus—claimed to be descended.³⁹⁰ This emigration was considered contemporary, and as having some connexion with the expedition of Althæmenes, the son of Ceisus, from Argos to Crete.³⁹¹ Now we know from Herodotus³⁹² that the Coans, Calydnians, and Nisyrians came from Epidaurus; yet, as is evident from arguments already brought forward, two different expeditions cannot be understood to have taken place. Thus also Ægina was called a colony of Argos as well as of Epidaurus. The account of Herodotus is confirmed by the similarity of the worship of Æsculapius at Cos and at Epidaurus, which was sufficiently great to prove a colonial connexion.³⁹³ We have also a tradition of some sacred missions between Cos and Epidaurus; a ship of the latter is said to have brought a serpent of Æsculapius to the former state.³⁹⁴ If this is considered as an historical fact, we may, as it appears, deduce more from it than is commonly inferred—viz. that the Doric colonists of Cos, Calydna, &c. remained in Epidaurus a sufficient time before their passage into Asia Minor to adopt the worship of Æsculapius. And since we find that the worship of Æsculapius also prevailed in Cnidus and

³⁹⁰ The Eratidæ refer to Argos, according to the note of Boeckh, *Explic. ad Pind. Olymp. VII. p. 165.* Cleobulus also was a Heraclide, according to *Diog. Laert. I. 6. § 89.*

³⁹¹ There were different ways of making the 100 towns of Crete mentioned in the *Iliad* agree with the 90 in the *Odyssey*, as may be seen from *Schol. Venet. Catal. 156.*—According to Ephorus, Althæmenes founded 10 cities in Crete, so that in the time of Ulysses there were only 90, but in Homer's time 100. Strabo X. p. 479. This was the manner in which Ephorus wrote history. "Pylæmenes the Lacedæmonian" in the Venetian Scholiast is probably only a corruption of the name. Conon 47. derives the Tripolis of Rhodes from Althæmenes.

³⁹² VII. 99.

³⁹³ We find in both the worship of serpents, incubation, the custom of votive tablets, &c.

³⁹⁴ Pausan. III. 23. 4.

Rhodes,³⁹⁵ it may be fairly inferred, that of the inhabitants of these islands a part at least passed through Epidaurus. This is further confirmed by the orator Aristides, who, on the authority of the national tradition, states of the Rhodians, “that from ancient times they had been Dorians, and had had Heraclidæ and Asclepiadæ for their princes.”³⁹⁶ Thus also there were families of the Asclepiadæ and Heraclidæ at Cos, to the former of which Hippocrates was related on his father's side, to the latter on his mother's.³⁹⁷ Contemporaneous with this migration from Argos and Epidaurus was that from Trœzen,³⁹⁸ in which Halicarnassus, *the citadel upon the sea* (ἄλι-κάρηνον), was founded; which fact also receives confirmation from the similarity of religious worship.³⁹⁹ And indeed there is reason for believing that it was only one Doric tribe, the Dymanes, which colonized this city,⁴⁰⁰ who strengthened themselves by collecting together the earlier inhabitants, the Leleges and Carians.⁴⁰¹

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2. Those towns, however, only which composed the Doric Tripolis of Rhodes (a number which probably originated from the division of the tribes), together with Cnidos, Cos, and Halicarnassus, formed the regular Doric league (before the

³⁹⁵ Sprengel's *Geschichte der Medicin*, vol. I. pp. 343. 326. new edit.

³⁹⁶ *Rhod. Orat.* II. p. 396.—Concerning the Asclepiadæ in Cnidos, see particularly Theopompus in Phot. cod. 176.

³⁹⁷ Sprengel, *ibid.* p. 554.

³⁹⁸ Vitruvius II. 8. 12. *Cum Melas et Areuanius ab Argis et Trœzene coloniam communem eo loco induxerunt, barbaros Caras et Leleges ejecerunt.*—The 1200 years, mentioned by Tacitus, from the time of its founding to Tiberius, must be taken as a round number.

³⁹⁹ The religious ceremonies of Halicarnassus, as shown on its coins, can be completely traced up to their origin. The head of Medusa, and of Athene, the trident, and head of Hephæstus, belong to the worship of Athene and Hephæstus at Trœzen and Athens: the tripod, lyre, and heads of Apollo and Demeter to the *sacra Triopia*. At *Cos* the insignia of Æsculapius predominated, besides those of Hercules as father of Pheidippus.

⁴⁰⁰ Callimach. ap. Steph. in v. Ἀλικάρνασσος, compare *Æginetica*, p. 140.

⁴⁰¹ Vitruvius, *ubi sup.*

separation of Halicarnassus called the Hexapolis, afterwards the Pentapolis). The members of this alliance met on the Triopian promontory to celebrate in public national festivals the rites of Apollo and Demeter, which last were of extreme antiquity;⁴⁰² its influence in political affairs was however probably very inconsiderable.⁴⁰³ But, besides those already mentioned, many towns and islands in this district were peopled by Dorians.⁴⁰⁴ The small island of Telos, near Triopium, was probably dependent upon Lindos.⁴⁰⁵ Nisyros and Calydna (or Calymna) have been already mentioned; the inhabitants were Epidaurian Dorians, who belonged to the colony of Cos:⁴⁰⁶ Carpathus also received some Argive colonists. It is said to have been taken by Ioclus, the son of Demoleon, an Argive by descent.⁴⁰⁷ Syme also was colonised from Cnidos: of this town we shall make further mention when speaking of the Laconian settlements. The inhabitants of Astypalæa were partly derived from Megara;⁴⁰⁸ their Doric origin is attested by the dialect of decrees now extant;⁴⁰⁹ and by the same circumstance we are enabled to recognise as a Doric colony Anaphe,⁴¹⁰ which is situated near the Doric islands of Thera, Pholegandros,⁴¹¹ and Melos; the position of these islands, together forming a chain across the southern part of the Ægæan sea, shows that they were colonized in a connected and regular

⁴⁰² See book II. ch. 3. § 5.

⁴⁰³ Dionys. Hal. Rom. Hist. IV. 25. probably ascribes to it too much influence.

⁴⁰⁴ Herodot. I. 144.

⁴⁰⁵ According to the account of Gelon's ancestors in Herodot. VII. 153.

⁴⁰⁶ Compare Herodotus with Diod. V. 54.

⁴⁰⁷ Diod. ubi sup.

⁴⁰⁸ Scymnus Chius, 549. Probably with the colony of Althæmenes.

⁴⁰⁹ *E.g.* ε [δοξε] ταυ βουλαι και τωι δαμωι φιλ ... θενευς επεσταται γνωμα πρυ [τανιωων], &c. from Villoison's papers.

⁴¹⁰ See the quotations in Villoison in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* tom. XLVII. p. 287. An inscription among his papers refers to the building of the temple of Apollo and Aphrodite at that place. The worship of Aphrodite appears to indicate a Laconian colony.

⁴¹¹ Concerning Pholegandros, see *Mém. de l'Acad.* tom. XLVII. p. 307. 339.

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succession. Myndus, however, upon the mainland had received inhabitants from the same town as Halicarnassus;⁴¹² perhaps Mylasa had also had some connexion with the Dorians.⁴¹³ Cryassa in Caria was colonised by inhabitants of the Doric island of Melos.⁴¹⁴ Even Synnada and Noricum, further to the interior in Phrygia, had inhabitants of Doric origin;⁴¹⁵ yet the Spartan settlement in Noricum is a fact which it is difficult to understand; and with regard to the former we are wholly unable to state how the Dorians could have penetrated thus far.

I have now, though not without in some measure forestalling the regular course of these investigations, given an account of all the known cities in this territory which were founded by Dorians of Peloponnesus; and if to these we add the colonies from Rhodes upon the opposite coast of Asia, and the cities of Lycia founded from the island of Crete, in which the Doric dialect was doubtless spoken, we shall have before us a very extensive range of colonies belonging to that race. Some of these were probably dependent upon the more considerable; many on the contrary stood entirely alone, some very early disagreements having, as it appears, separated and estranged them from the league of the six towns.⁴¹⁶ Hence the Calymnians (or Calydnians) at a later

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⁴¹² Paus. II. 30. 8. Raoul-Rochette is wrong in stating that Scylax declares Caryanda to have been Doric.

⁴¹³ Herodot. V. 121. Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανωλῖος, ἀνὴρ Μυλασεὺς as leader of the Carians.

⁴¹⁴ Plut. de Mul. Virt. p. 271. 4. Polyæn. VIII. 56. According to Lycophron, v. 1388. the Doric colony also possessed Thingrus and Satnium, which were places in Caria, according to Tzetzes, in whose notes Ἰκαρίας should be twice altered into Καρίας.

⁴¹⁵ Concerning Noricum, see below, § 11. The coins of Synnada have ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ ΔΩΡΙΕΩΝ; also ΣΥΝΝ. ΙΩΝΩΝ, and both together; also the expression Καστολοῦ (better Καστωλοῦ) πεδῖον Δωριεῶν, Stephan. Byz. Xenophon mentions it twice in the Anabasis, without precisely stating its position.

⁴¹⁶ Compare Steph. Byz. in Ἄραϊ, Ἴωνίας (this is false. They were situated between Syme and Cnidus, Athenæus VI. p. 262.) νῆσοι τρεῖς οὕτω λεγομέναι

period, on the occasion of embarrassing lawsuits, had recourse not to the larger states of the same race, but to the Iasians (who, though a colony from Argos, had afterwards learned the habits and character of the Ionic race by a settlement from Miletus),⁴¹⁷ which nation sent them five judges. This circumstance, however, may be accounted for by a temporary resemblance of their constitutions.⁴¹⁸

3. Having thus put together the most simple historical accounts respecting the foundation of these Doric cities, we have still to examine the mythical narrations with which they are accompanied, and which were invented by representing the same colonies under different names, and attributing a false antiquity to their establishment. That this was in fact the case is evident from the mythical account which is connected with the colony of Trœzen, viz. “that Anthes and his son Aëtius, ancient princes of the Trœzenians, had in early times founded Halicarnassus.”⁴¹⁹ This tradition, however, contradicts itself, when compared with the additional account in Callimachus,⁴²⁰ “that Anthes had taken out Dymanes with him;” which was *exclusively* a civil division of the Dorians. It is therefore far preferable to follow the statement of Pausanias,⁴²¹ that the descendants of Aëtius passed over to Halicarnassus and Myndus long after his death. It [119] must not, however, from this circumstance be inferred that these descendants of Aëtius were leaders of the colony, since it was

διὰ τὰς ἀρὰς, ἃς Δωριεῖς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τοὺς Πενταπολίτας, ὡς Ἀριστείδης. According to Dieuchidas in Athenæus, the curse was in the time of Triopas and Phorbas.

⁴¹⁷ Polyb. XVI. 12. 1.

⁴¹⁸ See the decree of the Jasians, which includes that of the Calymnians, in the Doric dialect: Boeckh. Corp. Ins. Gr. No. 2671.

⁴¹⁹ Strabo VIII. p. 374, endeavours to give the tradition an historical colouring by supposing that Pelops drove away *Anthes*. compare XIV. p. 656. Apollod. ap. Steph. in Ἀλικάρνασσοσ.

⁴²⁰ Ap. Steph. Raoul-Rochette also perceives this, tom. III. p. 31.

⁴²¹ II. 30. 8.

necessary that these should be Doric Heraclidæ. But they were in all probability a family which cultivated the worship of Poseidon in preference to any other, and carried it over with them to the colony. But that a family of this kind, and with it the tradition and name of Anthes, actually prevailed in Halicarnassus, is seen also from the poetical name of the Halicarnassians (Antheadæ).⁴²²

There is also a great similarity in the part which Tlepolemus bears in the history of the colonisation of Rhodes. In this case also the mythical hero is represented as coming from Argos,⁴²³ as well as the historical colony, only at an earlier period. But, it may be objected, the colony is related to have come immediately from Epidaurus, and not the hero. We have, however, still an evident trace of mythical genealogies of Rhodes, in which Tlepolemus was represented as immediately connected with the Heraclidæ of Epidaurus. For Pindar celebrates the Diagoridæ as descended on the father's side from Zeus, from Amyntor on the mother's, because both these were the grandfathers of Tlepolemus.⁴²⁴ Now Deiphontes of Epidaurus was also descended on his mother's side from Amyntor, and was therefore very nearly related to Tlepolemus. We may also probably suppose that there was in this Argive and Epidaurian colony a family which derived itself from Tlepolemus the son of Hercules, by which means the traditions concerning him were connected with this migration.⁴²⁵

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⁴²² Steph. Byz. in Ἀθηναί. Hence Athens is called the son of Poseidon, Paus. II. 30, &c. Concerning the Antheadæ as priests of Poseidon see an Halicarnassian inscription in Corp. Inscript. No. 2655, and Boeckh's Commentary. It is well known that Posidonia in the south of Italy received the worship of Poseidon and also its name, from a Træzenian colony.

⁴²³ Indeed Pindar appears to represent him as dwelling at Argos, the native place of the descendants of Hercules, at a time when all the Heraclidæ were there living together undisturbed; and from Argos he sails to Rhodes.

⁴²⁴ Olymp. VII. 24. Concerning the mother of Tlepolemus, see the epigram, quoted below, p. 121 note s. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "epigram of Aristotle," starting "Peplus Troj.".]

⁴²⁵ In Iliad E. 628 sqq. there is no necessity for assuming that the poet intended to represent Tlepolemus as a Rhodian. In the catalogue, indeed, four insular

The same want of consistency which we observed above, may here also be perceived in the statement of Homer, that the colony of Tlepolemus was divided into three parts, according to the different races of the settlers;⁴²⁶ whence it is evident that he was always considered as a Doric prince.

Thirdly, the colony of Cos, Nisyros, Carpathus, and Casos also possessed leaders or heroic founders, whose expedition is reported to have taken place at a time different from that at which the colony was founded, and is placed back in a remote period, viz. Phidippus and Antiphus, sons of Thessalus the Heraclide, or of Hercules himself. Their origin is derived by the fable [121] from the irruption of Hercules into Cos, where he made pregnant the daughter of Euryphylus; afterwards they are said to have migrated to Ephyra in Thesprotia, and their descendants to have gone from thence to Thessaly, where the Aleuadæ, the most distinguished and the wealthiest family of Larissa, claimed them as ancestors.⁴²⁷ Again, I do not deny that Heraclide families in exile at Cos derived their origin from both these heroes (it was indeed by this means that the name of Thessalus found its way into the Asclepiad family of Hippocrates); but that these

Greeks are mentioned, Nireus of Syme, Antiphus and Phidippus of Cos, and Tlepolemus of Rhodes (II. B. 653-680). But of these the three first are not elsewhere mentioned. Tlepolemus therefore remains the only Greek, of the Asiatic colonies, on the Achæan side, in the Iliad; and the connexion of the catalogue with the other parts of the poem does not seem to intimate as to prove this exception to have been intended by the writer of the fifth book. Tlepolemus must therefore be considered as a Grecian of the mother country. I feel convinced, that, according to Homer, no enemy of Troy comes from the eastern side of the Ægæan sea. Concerning the numerous differences between the catalogue and the genuine Homeric traditions, see the author's History of the Literature of ancient Greece, ch. 2, § 9.

⁴²⁶ II. B. 668. When Strabo XIV. p. 653, states that Tlepolemus did not lead out Dorians, but Achæans and Bœotians (as a Heraclide of Thebes), he does not follow any ancient tradition, but the chronological system of his times. The ancestors of Theron of Rhodes (Schol. Pind. Olymp. II. 14.) have no reference to this: and Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 272, mixes various accounts.

⁴²⁷ See book II. ch. 12. § 6.

families were born in the island of Cos itself, is evidently a patriotic invention of the Coans. There were, as we have seen, traditions respecting Phidippus and Antiphus in Cos, and also at Ephyra in Thesprotia; which traditions the fables and poems respecting the returns of the heroes from Troy, endeavoured to reconcile, by making Antiphus reach Ephyra, after a series of wanderings, instead of going directly to Cos; a supposition which will not gain many believers. It is also plain from the epigram of Aristotle,⁴²⁸ that, according to the traditions of Ephyra, that city was considered as the *native country*, and the domicile of the two heroes; and therefore was in direct opposition to the Coan tradition. Now that a Heraclide family should have gone from Cos to Ephyra in Epirus, is contrary to all other examples of the migrations of Greek races and colonies, and all that we know of the dispersion of Heraclide clans or families. On the other hand, a part of the mythology of Hercules, which appears to be of great antiquity,⁴²⁹ refers to this Ephyra in Epirus; and it was then quite natural, that with the conquest of Ephyra (a fabulous exploit of Hercules) the origin of a branch of the Heraclidæ should be connected, who then came with the Dorians into Peloponnesus, and by means of the Epidaurian colony to the island of Cos.

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4. The favourable situations of these Doric cities on islands and promontories, possessing roadsteads and harbours convenient for maritime intercourse, attracted in early times a considerable number of colonies. It is remarkable that the RHODIANS should have founded fewer and less considerable colonies on the coast of Asia Minor than in the countries to the west: for, with the exception of Peræa, which was not till later times dependent on this island, the only Rhodian towns in Asia Minor were Gagæ⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ Peplus Troj. Her. Epig. 27.

⁴²⁹ Book II. ch. 11. § 4.

⁴³⁰ See particularly Etymol. Mag. p. 219. 8. also Raoul-Rochette, tom. III. p. 157.

and Corydalla⁴³¹ in Lycia, Phaselis,⁴³² on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia, and Soli in Cilicia.⁴³³ On the other hand, in Olymp. 16. 4. 713 B.C., according to Thucydides, about the time of their colonising Phaselis, they founded in Sicily the splendid city of Gela, the mother-town of Agrigentum. This colony was sent from Lindus, which furnished its leader Antiphemus (or Deinomenes.)⁴³⁴ It was accompanied by inhabitants of the small island of Telos;⁴³⁵ and was at the same time joined by some Cretan emigrants. That however the numbers of those who came from the first-mentioned town predominated, is shown by the original name of the settlement, Λίνδιοι, and by the religion there established. Doric institutions were common to all the founders above mentioned, and were consequently established in their settlements.⁴³⁶ The connexion and intercourse with those islands continued without interruption; hence it was that, in later times, the family of Phalaris, coming from Astypalæa, found a welcome reception at Agrigentum;⁴³⁷ and the family of the Emmenidæ, which overthrew Phalaris, had come from the same region, viz. from Thera.⁴³⁸ Moreover, Parthenope, in the country of the

⁴³¹ Hecatæus ap. Stephan. Byz.

⁴³² As Raoul-Rochette, tom. III. p. 251. clearly shews from Herodotus and Aristænetus περὶ Φασηλίδος ap. Steph. Byz. in Γέλα and other words.

⁴³³ Eckhel D. N. III. p. 68. According to Strab. XIV. p. 671 D. Ῥοδίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, which Raoul-Rochette, tom. III. p. 379, proposes to refer to Achæa in Rhodes, and leave out καὶ, but the Gentile name would be rather Ἀχαιεὺς than Ἀχαιοῦς. Solon, the Lindian, of Rhodes, is called the founder of this Soli in Cilicia, Vita Arati, vol. I. p. 3. vol. II. p. 444. Buhle.

⁴³⁴ Both names in Etymol. Magn. in v. Γέλα.

⁴³⁵ Herodot. VII. 153. The coins of Telos have the head of Jupiter and the Crab, like those of Agrigentum; the last symbol is also on those of Cos and Lindus.

⁴³⁶ Thucyd. VI. 4.

⁴³⁷ According to the spurious letters, which are correctly treated of by Bentley in several passages of his Dissertation (without, however, noticing the historical connexion), and also by Lennep in the notes.

⁴³⁸ According to Hippostratus ad Pind. Pyth. VI. 4.

Osci, and Elpiæ, or Salapiæ, in the territory of the Daunians (in the founding of which the inhabitants of Cos had a share), were beyond a doubt settlements of the Rhodians; and indeed this same people penetrated even to Iberia at an early period, and there founded Rhode; and we have also traces of their presence at the mouth of the Rhone.⁴³⁹ Hence also, perhaps, arose the account of the expedition of Tlepolemus to the Balearic islands; which account, and the statement that Sybaris was founded by him, may be understood merely as mythical expressions for the voyages undertaken by the Rhodians in the western sea.

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5. It is, however, a matter even of still greater difficulty to determine the true history of several cities in Asia Minor, which are reported by tradition to have been colonies of Argos, and generally of the greatest antiquity. But it requires nothing short of absolute superstition to believe that Tarsus was founded by Io, or Perseus the Argive,⁴⁴⁰ who, with his descendant Hercules, was worshipped in this place as a tutelar deity;⁴⁴¹ or that Mallus, Mopsuestia, Mopsucrene, and Phaselis were founded by Argive soothsayers at the time of the Trojan war.⁴⁴² To these may be added Aspendus in Pamphylia, Curium in Cyprus, and even Ione, near Antiochia, in Syria,⁴⁴³ the founding of which place is attributed to the Argives. For, without considering the period at which the ancient Peloponnesians are represented to have undertaken such distant (and at that time impossible) voyages

⁴³⁹ Compare, besides Meursius, Heyne, Nov. Comment. Gotting. II. cl. philol. p. 40 sqq. That Lyons was a Rhodian colony, has, though without any grounds, been lately maintained, after Father Colonia, by count Wilgrin de Tailefer, Antiquités de Vésone.

⁴⁴⁰ See Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 124. who also believes in the victory of Perseus over Sardanapalus.

⁴⁴¹ See particularly Dio Chrysost. Orat. Tars. 33, pp. 394, 406, 408. Hercules was called ἄρχηγός, and on the day of his festival a funeral pile was built to his honour; compare Athenæus V. p. 215 B. on the Stephanephorus or priest of Hercules at Tarsus.

⁴⁴² Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 403 sqq.

⁴⁴³ Steph. Byz. in Ἴώνη.

round the Chelidonian islands, it is most singular that Argos, which is at no time mentioned among the maritime nations of Greece, should have planted upon that one line of coast a series of colonies in so connected an order, and so completely useless to herself. We will therefore venture to advance an hypothesis, to which, though perhaps no complete proofs of it can be adduced, we have still sufficient traces to lead us, viz. [125] that all these towns were colonised from Rhodes; but that, by a form frequently in use, they were led out in the name of Argos, the mother-country of Rhodes, and under the auspices of Argive gods and heroes.⁴⁴⁴ In the first place, Argives and Rhodians are mentioned together as founders; as in the instance of Soli, which nevertheless only defended the Rhodians as a sister state before the Roman senate.⁴⁴⁵ Of the manner in which heroes were adopted as founders, the city just mentioned furnishes a good instance. For the Argive soothsayer Amphilochus is said to have come hither, who, according to poems that went under the name of Hesiod, had been put to death by Apollo at Soli.⁴⁴⁶ The following example gives a still clearer notion of the manner in which these fables were formed. The Rhodians built Phaselis at the same time with Gela (Olymp. 16. 713 B.C.); the founder is called Ladius, whom the Delphian oracle had sent to the east, as it had Antiphemus to the west.⁴⁴⁷ Now it is shown in another part of this work⁴⁴⁸ that Ladius is a Cretan form for Rhacius; and this was the name of the husband of Manto, and father of Mopsus, the ancient mythical prophet of the temple at Claros. For, leaving no doubt that this person is intended, the

⁴⁴⁴ The arrival of Diomede the Argive among the Daunians may likewise refer to the founding of Elpiæ. He is said to have come with *Dorians*. Antonin. Liber. 37.

⁴⁴⁵ Polyb. Exc. Leg. XX. 7. II. Liv. XXXVII. 56.

⁴⁴⁶ Ap. Strab. XIV. p. 676.

⁴⁴⁷ Steph. Byz. in Γέλα. Compare Athen. VII. p. 297, from the Ὀροι Κολοφωνίων of Heropythus, and Philostephanus περι τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων.

⁴⁴⁸ Book II. ch. 2, § 7.

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tradition also says, that this Mopsus, the son of Rhacius, founded Phaselis:⁴⁴⁹ Pamphylia itself is called the daughter of Rhacius and of Manto;⁴⁵⁰ and lastly, the same Lacijs is represented as a contemporary of Mopsus, and as having been sent out by Manto as a founder at the same time with the latter.⁴⁵¹ The inference that we must draw is, that there was no such individual as Lacijs who led the Lindians in person to Phaselis, but that he was merely a mythical being, and represents the Clarian oracle, which seems to have co-operated on this occasion.⁴⁵² Those who are versed in the interpretation of mythical narratives will also hence infer, that the same was the case with his contrary, Ἀντιόφημος. In order, however, to give the mother-state, Argos, a share in the mythical account of the foundation of the Pamphylian colonies, it was necessary that Amphiloclus, who belonged to the family of the Amythaonidæ, should, together with Calchas, have some connexion with them all; and, in fact, it is not impossible that soothsayers from Argos, who called themselves descendants of this prophet and hero, were procured by the Rhodians for this service.

6. We may now penetrate somewhat deeper into the obscure traditions of the Cilician cities Mallus, Mopsuestia, and Mopsucrene. In the fables concerning the founding of these towns, Amphiloclus and Mopsus are always mentioned together; at the same time that the account of their Argive origin is very

⁴⁴⁹ Pompon. Mela I. 14. The tradition is very ancient. Strab. XIV. p. 668. from Callinus. τοὺς λαοὺς μετὰ Μόψου τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερθέοντας τοὺς μὲν ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ μείναι, τοὺς δ' ἐν Κιλικίᾳ μερισθῆναι καὶ Συρίᾳ, μέχρι καὶ Φοινίκῃς. Concerning Mopsus in Pamphylia, see also Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 334.

⁴⁵⁰ Strab. XIV. p. 675, and others.

⁴⁵¹ Philosteph. ubi sup.

⁴⁵² Rhodia, near Phaselis, is also without doubt a Rhodian colony; and Mopsus (Theopompus ap. Phot. cod. 176) was the founder merely in the above sense. In the same manner probably Lyrnessus; compare Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 404 sqq., who, however, has not perceived any thing of all this.

much brought into notice. Cicero calls both these prophets on this occasion kings of Argos.⁴⁵³ Here then we may also assume that soothsayers were brought from the mother-country, and suppose that the prophets of the Amphilochean oracle of Mallus were actually natives of Argos; and although, as will be shown below, the influence of the Clarian worship was also felt,⁴⁵⁴ yet the persons who were the real colonisers could only have been a sea-faring people, such as the Rhodians. In consequence, however, of these settlements having been founded at a very early period, when all colonies were as yet entirely dependent upon the oracles, and therefore were always under the direction of prophets, and as an inventive and imaginative spirit was then in full vigour, their true history has been enveloped in a thick cloud of mythological fiction, which we have at least begun to remove. [127]

7. We next proceed to the CORINTHIAN colonies, the geographical situation of which alone affords a remarkable result with regard to the maritime expeditions undertaken by the mother-country. For although Corinth had two harbours, Lechæum in the Crisæan, and Cenchreæ in the Saronic gulf, it is evident that all its colonies were sent out from the western port. They were founded, almost without exception, on the coasts of the Ionian sea; at the entrance of which the Corinthians had, perhaps at a very early period, founded the city of Molycreium.⁴⁵⁵ Notwithstanding this, the very first colony from Corinth, the date of which is known within a few years (Olymp. 5. 760-757 B.C.),⁴⁵⁶ ventured to cross the Ionian sea, and to found in the most beautiful part of Sicily the renowned city of Syracuse. [128] The founder was Archias a Heraclide, and probably also of the

⁴⁵³ De Div. I. 40.

⁴⁵⁴ Book II. ch. 2. § 7.

⁴⁵⁵ Thucyd. III. 102.

⁴⁵⁶ See § 10.

family of the Bacchiadæ;⁴⁵⁷ he was followed by Corinthians, chiefly from the borough of Tenea;⁴⁵⁸ and on the road was joined by some Dorians from Megara;⁴⁵⁹ the expedition was also accompanied by a prophet of the sacred family of Olympia, the Iamidæ, whose descendants flourished at Syracuse in the time of Pindar.⁴⁶⁰ It appears, however, that Syracuse at that time borrowed many religious institutions from Olympia, as is proved by the worship of Arethusa, of Artemis Ortygia, and of the Olympian Zeus.⁴⁶¹ These original founders built a town in the island of Ortygia, the name of which can be explained only from the worship of the goddess just mentioned. The lands taken from the aboriginal Sicilians they divided into lots, according to the number of the colonists. For the method universally observed in founding these colonies was, that the adventurers received before-hand a promise of a share in the territory—which also was called a lot. On the occasion of this very settlement, Æthiops, a Corinthian glutton, is said to have sold a promise of this kind to a companion for one honey-cake.⁴⁶² Eumelus the Bacchiad, the celebrated poet of Corinth, seems to have been one of these colonists,⁴⁶³ as he is mentioned in connexion with Archias.

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⁴⁵⁷ For what Plutarch. Amator. and Diodor. Exc. II. 228. p. 548. Wess. relate of the expulsion of Archias, is stated by the Scholiast to Apollonius IV. 1211, of the family of the Bacchiadæ. The former affirm the accidental murder of the son of Melissus to have been the cause of the founding of Syracuse, the latter of that of Corcyra. Yet this is contradicted by the Parian Marble, I. 47. Archias δέκατος ἀπὸ Τημένου, since the Bacchiadæ derived themselves from Aletes, not Temenus. In either case Archias is an Heraclide. See Boeckh. Explic. ad Pind. Olymp. 6. p. 153. Compare Göller de situ Syracusarum, p. 5. sq.

⁴⁵⁸ Strab. VII. p. 380 D.

⁴⁵⁹ Strab. VI. p. 269. Compare Scymnus Chius, v. 274.

⁴⁶⁰ See Boeckh's Introduction to the sixth Olympiad.

⁴⁶¹ Book II. ch. 9. § 4. ch. 10. § 1.

⁴⁶² Athen. IV. p. 167. from Demetrius Scepsius. Archilochus made mention of this Æthiops (Siebel. Fragm. p. 233).

⁴⁶³ Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 298. His προσόδιον was composed before the Messenian wars, about the same time.

Although the *demus*, or populace of the city, chiefly perhaps consisted of inhabitants of various nations, who put themselves under the protection of this colony, and although the territory around was peopled by Sicilian bondsmen, yet in its dialect, and probably for a considerable period in its customs also, Syracuse remained a purely Doric state: as the women in Theocritus say,⁴⁶⁴ “*Our origin is Corinthian, and therefore we speak the language of Peloponnesus. For it is permitted, I suppose, to the Dorians to speak Doric.*” Hence the Syracusans were so greatly pleased with an ambassador from Lucania, who had learnt to speak Doric in order to address them in their native tongue.⁴⁶⁵ Syracuse increased so rapidly in population and power, that seventy years after its foundation it colonized Acræ, and also Enna, situated in the centre of the island; twenty years after this, the town of Casmenæ; and in forty-five more, Camarina. Also some Syracusan⁴⁶⁶ fugitives named Myletidæ, together with Chalcideans from Zancle, are said to have founded Himera: hence the dialect there in use was a mixture of Chalcidean and Doric; but the institutions were entirely Chalcidean. [130]

8. The other Corinthian colonies, as has been already remarked, were all situated to the east of the Ionian sea. The nearest of these are, besides their colony of Molycreium, Chalcis in Ætolia,⁴⁶⁷ and Solium in Acarnania;⁴⁶⁸ further on, we find

⁴⁶⁴ Adoniaz. 53. compare Thucyd. VI. 77. ὅτι οὐκ Ἴωνες τάδε εἶσιν,—ἀλλὰ Δωριεῖς, ἐλεύθεροι ἀπ’ αὐτονόμου τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντες.

⁴⁶⁵ Dio Chrys. Or. XXXVIII. 4.

⁴⁶⁶ According to Thucyd. VI. 5. Raoul-Rochette, III. p. 319. supports the contrary opinion.

⁴⁶⁷ Thucyd. I. 108. where this Chalcis is evidently intended.

⁴⁶⁸ Raoul-Rochette, ib. p. 290. The coins of Alyzia do not necessarily prove it to be of Corinthian origin, since barbarous towns frequently adopted the devices of the neighbouring Greek cities. Herodotus IX. 28. does not afford any reason for supposing that Pale was a Corinthian colony; yet both here and in Thucyd. I. 27. it appears as closely united with Corinth.

that Ambracia was in very early times founded by Corinth,⁴⁶⁹ and accordingly was governed by a brother of Periander;⁴⁷⁰ by the influence of this settlement Amphilochian Argos changed its language and customs for those of the Greeks.⁴⁷¹ Anactorium was founded by the Corinthians, under the command of Periander, in conjunction with the Corcyræans. At the same time, and in connexion with the same persons, they occupied the island of Leucadia;⁴⁷² to the possession of which, however, the Corcyræans, as they were at that time subject to Corinth, had no just claim; and Themistocles unquestionably did wrong in attributing any such right to them;⁴⁷³ the Leucadians also always remained firm to their real parent-state. Next comes Corcyra itself, the founding of which by Chersicrates the Bacchiad⁴⁷⁴ is represented as having been a secondary branch of the colony sent to Syracuse;⁴⁷⁵ but it had at a very early period set itself up as a rival to the mother-state in the Ionian sea, whose ancient

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⁴⁶⁹ This I believe, because it was founded by Heraclidæ, *i.e.* by Bacchiadæ, according to Anton. Lib. 4; hence also the worship of Hercules existed there. Compare also concerning the Doric migration to Ambracia, the Epigram of Damagetus in the Palat. Anthol. VII. 231.

⁴⁷⁰ Γόργος is probably the most correct form of those in Plut. Conv. VII. Sap. 17. p. 42. Strab. X. p. 452, 7. p. 325. Scymn. Ch. 427. Antonin. Lib. I. 4. p. 23. Teuchn., who alone considers him as the brother of Cypselus. See book III. ch. 9. § 6. note. The form ΓΟΡΓΟΣ is also confirmed by a coin of Ambracia. See Raoul-Rochette, Annali dell' Instituto di corrisp. archeol. 1829, p. 316.

⁴⁷¹ Thucyd. II. 68.

⁴⁷² See Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 43.

⁴⁷³ Plutarch. Themist. 24.; but the whole history is inaccurately related.

⁴⁷⁴ Thus Schol. Apollon. IV. 1212., and from Timæus at V. 1216.

⁴⁷⁵ Yet Timæus ubi sup. places Chersicrates 600 years after the Trojan war, the date of which he fixed (according to Censorinus de Die Nat. 21.) 417 years before the first Olympiad; consequently the date which he gives to Chersicrates is Olymp. 46. 3. 594. B.C. in the time of the Cypselidæ. But since it is scarcely credible that Timæus could place the foundation of Corcyra so low down, it is probable that he fixed an earlier date for the Trojan war, according to Clinton F. H. vol. I. p. 135. ω. III. p. 490. Compare Mustoxidi Illustrazioni Corciresi, I. 5. p. 65.

power had been probably broken before the Persian war. On the opposite coast lay Epidamnus, which city was chiefly founded by Corcyræans, but under the command of Phalius, the son of Eratocleides, a Corinthian Heraclide, whom the Corcyræans, according to the ancient colonial law, had sent for, together with some of his countrymen (in Olymp. 38. 2. 629 B.C. according to Eusebius), and were afterwards strengthened by emigrants from Dyspontium in Pisatis.—Lastly, Gylax, a Corinthian, together with 200 of his own countrymen, and a greater number of Corcyræans, founded Apollonia in the time of Periander. Here ends the list of Corinthian colonies, which formed a strong and continuous chain along the coast; and thus even the barbarians of the interior, especially the Epirots of Thesprotia, were forced to maintain a perpetual connexion with Corinth:⁴⁷⁶ hence also the kings of the Lyncestæ in Macedonia esteemed it an honour to derive their origin from the Bacchiadæ.⁴⁷⁷ At a still further distance lay the island of Issa, which was colonized from Syracuse.⁴⁷⁸ Corcyra, however, possessed settlements as far as the Flanatian gulf.⁴⁷⁹ From these facts it is evident that there was a time when Corinth predominated in these seas; and by means of Corcyra and Ambracia, and other towns, ruled over many nations of barbarians. But the loss of Corcyra, which had been at war with its mother-state in the 28th Olympiad (about 668 B.C.),⁴⁸⁰ even before the time of Periander (though it was for a short time again reduced to subjection by the enterprising Cypselidæ), was an incurable wound for Corinth. The other colonies, however, showed a remarkable obedience to her.⁴⁸¹ It

⁴⁷⁶ Thucyd. I. 47.

⁴⁷⁷ Strab. VII. p. 326. Scymn. Ch. 620.

⁴⁷⁸ Scymn. Ch. 412. According to Raoul-Rochette, IV. p. 86. it was founded at the same time that Dionysius founded Lissus.

⁴⁷⁹ *Orchomenos*, p. 297.

⁴⁸⁰ Thucyd. I. 13.

⁴⁸¹ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀποίκων στεργόμεθα, the words of the Corinthians in Thucyd. I. 38. compare I. 26. Plutarch Timol. 3.

was not till after the loss of their maritime dominion in these quarters (an event which had nevertheless taken place before the Persian war) that the Corinthians appear to have founded Potidæa on the opposite side of Greece in Chalcidice, which colony they sought to retain in their power by continually interfering in its internal administration, and for this purpose sent thither every year magistrates named Epidemiurgi.⁴⁸²

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9. MEGARA, on the other hand, was induced by its situation to send even its first colonies to the opposite side of Greece on the Thracian coast. Thus in Olymp. 17. 3. 710 B.C. it founded Astæus in Bithynia,⁴⁸³ afterwards Chalcedon, on the entrance of the Bosphorus⁴⁸⁴ in Olymp. 26. 2. 675 B.C. (according to Eusebius); and 17 years later (Olymp. 30. 3. 658 B.C.) Byzantium in a more favoured spot, opposite to Chalcedon.⁴⁸⁵ The Argives also had a share in the foundation of this town; for which fact we may trust the general assertion of Hesychius of Miletus, that his circumstantial and fabulous history of the early times of this city was derived from ancient poets and historians. For the transmission of the worship of Here (whose temple both at Byzantium and Argos was on the citadel),⁴⁸⁶ and the traditions concerning Io, the attendant of the Argive Here, confirm in a manner which does not admit of a doubt, the pretensions of Argos to a share in this colony. Io, who was represented with horns on her forehead, is said to have here produced to Zeus a daughter, Ceroëssa the “Horned” by name (which is,

⁴⁸² I. 56. See book III. ch. 8. § 5.

⁴⁸³ According to Eusebius. See Raoul-Rochette, III. p. 233.

⁴⁸⁴ According to Hesychius Milesius de Constant, p. 48. the founder's name was Dineus.

⁴⁸⁵ The situation of Byzantium, in a political and commercial point of view, is well described by Polybius IV. 44.

⁴⁸⁶ Dionys. Byzant. de Thracio Bosporo in Hudson's Geogr. Min. vol. III. sacrifices were offered to her on the first day of the year. Heyne Comment. Rec. Gotting. tom. I. p. 62. has treated of the fables of Io at Byzantium with sufficient fulness, but without tracing the origin of the traditions.

however, only a different name for Io herself), who being suckled by the nymph Semestra, afterwards brought forth Byzas.⁴⁸⁷ Thence the fable of the cow swimming over the sea became peculiar to this place.⁴⁸⁸ In other respects the combinations [134] of religious ceremonies as found at Byzantium, almost exactly resembled that which existed in Megara. Nay, so carefully did the Byzantians, though far removed from their mother-state, preserve the remembrance of it, that they carried over almost all the names of their native country and the neighbouring region. We find on the coast a temple of Poseidon, whose son was named Byzas; also of Demeter and Cora; the Scironian rocks, an Isthmian promontory, with the tomb of Hipposthenes a Megarean hero, the temple of Apollo on the high promontory of Metopum; also an altar of Saron, a pretended hero, whose name referred to the Saronic gulf.⁴⁸⁹ Thus Byzantium was never estranged from its Peloponnesian ancestors, although it adopted a large number of additional colonists,⁴⁹⁰ and ruled over Thracian subjects. Moreover, the prevailing dialect, which occurs in some public decrees still extant, remained for a long time Doric.⁴⁹¹ The Byzantians, together with the Chalcedonians, either at the time of the expedition of Darius against the Scythians, or of the Ionic revolt, founded Mesambria on the Pontus,⁴⁹² which some consider as a colony of Megara. The Megareans had also

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ See, besides others, Palat. Anthol. VII. 169. Why does not Raoul-Rochette admit here as elsewhere, the supposition of an ancient colony under the guidance of Io, an Argive princess?

⁴⁸⁹ See Dionysius. There is something on this head also in Hesychius. Besides the names in the text, there are Athene Ecbasia—Artemis Dictynna (also *Lucifera in piscinis*), Ajax Telamoniuss, and Achilles—Rhea—Hecate and Fortune—The Dioscuri—Amphiaraus ἐν συκαῖς, Aphrodite the preserver of peace, and Aphrodite Πάνδημος.

⁴⁹⁰ With whom there were at times dissensions. See Aristot. Pol. V. 2. 10.

⁴⁹¹ See, besides the decrees in Demosthenes, Constantin. Porph. Them. I. p. 1452. in Meursii Opp.

⁴⁹² Μεσαμβριανων and Μεσαμβριανων on coins.

[135] founded Selymbria even before the settlement of Byzantium,⁴⁹³ and probably carried on from this place a war with the Samians at Perinthus,⁴⁹⁴ when that island was still governed by Geomori, before the time of Polycrates. Moreover, the Megareans had a large share in the founding of Heraclea on the Pontus; for although they were strengthened by some Tanagræans from Bœotia, their numbers so predominated that this city was in general considered as Doric.⁴⁹⁵

[136] 10. Megara, however, at the same time founded some very considerable colonies to the west, viz., in Sicily. It will be sufficient to state in general terms that Hybla in Sicily was a Megarean colony, established in the 13th Olympiad (about 728 B.C.), and was even called Megara.⁴⁹⁶ It probably kept up a constant intercourse with the mother-state; since Theognis, who was a Megarean from Sicily, according to Plato, dwelt nevertheless for a long time in the Megara near Athens, to which

viz. Olymp. 5. 3. Raoul-Rochette, III. p. 214, reckons on false suppositions. Compare Heyne Opusc. Academ. tom. II. pp. 259. sq.

⁴⁹³ According to Scymnus Chius, v. 714.

⁴⁹⁴ Plut. Qu. Gr. 57. *Æginetica*, p. 67. It is probable that Perinthus also at that time received a party of Doric colonists, as it is called an allied town by the Byzantians (Demosth. de Corona, p. 255), and the worship of Hercules was prevalent there. Compare Panofka Res Samiorum, p. 22, where, however, several passages are incorrectly applied.

⁴⁹⁵ Arrian, Periplus of the Pontus Euxinus, p. 14. Hudson. Compare Orelli Heracleot. p. 115. Raoul-Rochette places it as far back as the 30th Olympiad, but according to Scymnus Chius, 231, the founding took place in the time of Cyrus.

⁴⁹⁶ Megara was founded in the same year as Naxos, Olymp. 11. 3, according to Ephorus (in Strabo and Scymnus); according to the more exact Thucydides some time after, 245 years before its destruction by Gelon. Gelon reigned from Olymp. 72. 2, in Gela, from Olymp. 73. 4, till 75. 3, in Syracuse (Boeckh ad Pind. Olymp. I. Explic. p. 100). From the narrative of Herodotus VII. 156, it appears that he conquered Megara in the interval of Olymp. 74. 1-3; in which case the foundation would fall about Olymp. 13. 1, 728 B.C. According then to the account of Thucydides, the arrival of Lamis the Megarean must have been some years before. This event was contemporary with the founding of

state many of his poems refer.⁴⁹⁷ The founding of the small town of Trogius, and of the more important city of Thapsos, preceded the building of Megara. A century later, some inhabitants of Megara founded Selinus in the neighbourhood of that part of the island, which town was in early times held by the Phœnicians, in later times by the Carthaginians.

11. The colonies of SPARTA, which still remain to be considered, were more numerous than would be expected of a state so averse to maritime affairs. In the history of the migrations of the Heraclidæ, we find introduced the colonies of Thera, Melos, Gortyna, and Cyrene; which, although for the sake of honour they recognised Sparta as their mother-state, had been in fact founded by Achæans, Minyans, and Ægidæ, who dwelt at that time in a state of almost entire independence in a district of Laconia.⁴⁹⁸ All these states, however, retained the Doric name; and Cyrene, though even the founders married Libyan women,⁴⁹⁹

always preserved to the utmost of its power the institutions, customs, and language of its mother-country.⁵⁰⁰ The founding of Cnidos also took place at an early period, and was generally ascribed to the Lacedæmonians.⁵⁰¹ The leader of the colony was,

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Leontini, which was five years after that of Syracuse: this cannot, therefore, be reconciled with the account of Eusebius, who dates the building of Syracuse Olymp. 11. 4. (Hieron. Scal.) The statement of the Parian Marble agrees better,⁴⁹⁷ See Passow ad Theogn. 773. Welcker ad Alcman. p. 85, adds Schol. Platon. p. 220. See also Welcker's Theognis, p. 14. In literary history many instances occur of the same persons being called citizens of the mother-state, and of the colony; e.g., Archilochus was a Parian and Thasian; Protagoras and Hecateus the younger were citizens both of Teos and Abdera; Terpander belonged to Arne in Bœotia and Lesbos at the same time; Mimnermus was both a Colophonian and citizen of Smyrna, &c.

⁴⁹⁸ See *Orchomenos*, pp. 313-359. Thrice's *Res Cyrenensium* (1828), pp. 23-35. Concerning a family of the Heraclidæ, see the interesting passages of Synesius, Καταστ. (p. 10. Morell.) and of Theodorus Metochita in the Supplem. ad Nicol. Damasc. Orellii. The account of the latter is very confused.

⁴⁹⁹ Pind. Pyth. IX. Boeckh Explic. p. 325. Thrice *ibid*, 121 sq.

⁵⁰⁰ Δωρικοί τάφοι, Synesius, *ubi sup*.

⁵⁰¹ Herodot. I. 174. Diodorus V. 53. speaks of an Argive-Lacedæmonian

according to Diodorus, one Hippotes.⁵⁰² Syme also was at that time peopled from Cnidos.⁵⁰³ The principal religion of this city, that of Aphrodite⁵⁰⁴ (who was here worshipped in a three-fold capacity), was without doubt the same as that which existed at Cythera, having been carried over by the Lacedæmonian colonists. The splendid city of Cnidos, protected toward the east by an Acropolis, which both its Cyclopiian architecture⁵⁰⁵ and fabulous history prove to have existed before the time of the Dorians, was situated on a neck of land, with a harbour on each side, one of which was among the largest in Greece. Thus fitted by nature for commerce, Cnidos also founded colonies of its own, among which Lipara, established (in Olymp. 50, about 580 B.C.) upon one of the Æolian islands under the direction of descendants of Hippotes,⁵⁰⁶ overcame the Etruscans in several wars, and adorned Delphi with offerings of victory.⁵⁰⁷ Another colony from Cnidos, remarkable chiefly for its distance from

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colony in this district.

⁵⁰² V. 9. 53. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1388, calls him Ἰππότης ὁ Ἀλήτης, but I can hardly think that he is the same as the ancestor of the Corinthian Heraclidæ.

⁵⁰³ Diodor. V. 53.

⁵⁰⁴ Also at Nisyros, according to its coins.

⁵⁰⁵ I here speak on the authority of some beautiful drawings by M. Huyot, amongst which is a plan of Cnidos; an accurate plan of the harbour was shown me by Captain Beaufort. Compare Clarke, part II. § 1, plate 13.

⁵⁰⁶ It is stated by Diodorus V. 9, that the Cnidians in the 50th Olympiad (580 B.C.) sent a colony to Lipara under the guidance of three descendants of their countryman Hippotes, Gorgus, Thestor, and Epithersidas, who, in conjunction with 500 of the former inhabitants, founded a state. Now it was natural to call Æolus the god of the winds, who was supposed to reside on these islands, a son of the new national hero, Hippotes; and hence he became Αἶολος Ἴπποτάδης. If this is true, then the name Ἴπποτάδης in the Odyssey (K. 2. 36.) is certainly *later* than the Homeric age; which might be almost supposed from the statement of the learned Asclepiades, that the Æolus of Homer was the son of Poseidon (not of Hippotes), which he could hardly have said, if all the copies of the Odyssey had Ἴπποτάδης.

⁵⁰⁷ See particularly Pausan. X. 11. 3, from Antiochus, and Diodorus V. 9, probably from the same author.

the mother-country, is Black-Corcyra, on the coast of Illyria. Lacedæmon herself, however, is said to have sent out colonies to Phrygia, Pisidia, and Cyprus. In the former country, Pisistratus, a Spartan, is said to have founded Noricum near Celænæ on the river Marsyas.⁵⁰⁸ Selge in Pisidia is generally considered by the ancients to have been a Lacedæmonian colony, and we frequently find on coins of a late date this origin recognised. The representative of the state is Hercules the Doric hero: moreover, the free spirit, the bravery, and the good laws of the Selgæans (although the reverse is sometimes attributed to them) were derived from their mother-state.⁵⁰⁹ The wrestling youths in the act of grasping one another (ἀκροχειριζόμενοι) represented on their coins, bespeak a love for gymnastic exercises. It should, however, be remembered, that the founders of this colony were, according to a more exact statement, Amyclæans,⁵¹⁰ *i.e.* fugitive Perioeci, who perhaps had passed through Cnidos in their way to these districts. It appears that the Selgæans founded Sagalassus,⁵¹¹ [139] which city is styled on its coins *The Lacedæmonian*. Perhaps Praxander went at the same time from Therapne in Laconia, with Cephas of Olenus (both Achæans by birth) to the island of Cyprus, where they founded Lapathus and Ceronia.⁵¹²

12. But the most celebrated of all the Lacedæmonian colonies,

⁵⁰⁸ Pseud-Plutarch, de fluv. Mars. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 321.

⁵⁰⁹ See Strab. XII. p. 570. The inscription on their coins is Σεργέων Λακεδαιμονίων ὁμόνοια. Compare Mionnet Descript. III. p. 525. Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 427, with whom I do not entirely agree. See also Nicephorus Blemmidas, ed. Spohn. p. 13.

⁵¹⁰ Dionys. Perieg. 860, where I consider that "the Amyclæans" is not a mere poetical ornament, although the testimony is not to be much depended upon. Compare Eustathius ad 1.

⁵¹¹ See Raoul-Rochette's argument, tom. II. p. 428.

⁵¹² Lycophr. vv. 452, 593. Strab. XIV. p. 682. Λακεδαίμων ἐν Κύπρῳ Eustath. ad Homer. p. 293. 45. ed. Rom. Golgi in Cyprus was founded by *Sicyonians* (Steph. Byz. in Γόλγοι), and it was the *only* colony sent out by that state, with the exception of Phæstus in Crete, whither a Heraclide of Sicyon is said to have gone; see ch. 5. § 2.

and which really proceeded from Sparta, was Tarentum. The history of its origin is buried in fable, in the accounts of the first Messenian war; the accompanying circumstances will be mentioned below. The leader of this colony was Phalanthus, son of Aratus, a Heraclide.⁵¹³ Taras, on the other hand, is called the son of Poseidon, because this colony carried over the worship of that deity from Tænarum to Italy. These emigrants also brought with them other religious rites, as for instance the worship of Hyacinthus;⁵¹⁴ likewise many names from their native country, as that of the Eurotas, which they gave to the river Galæsus.⁵¹⁵ But the fruitful and luxuriant territory to which they had moved, its soft and voluptuous climate, and the commerce, for which Tarentum was well situated,⁵¹⁶ and always open (although it never carried it on in an active manner), helped to engender that effeminacy of character, which gave countenance to the fable of the founders having been the sons of unmarried women (παρθενίαι). Still, amidst all its degeneracy, Tarentum retained a certain degree of dependence on its mother-country: at the foundation of Heraclea the Tarentines allowed Cleandridas a Spartan to be one of the original colonists.⁵¹⁷ The friendship, moreover, of the Cnidians with the Tarentines,⁵¹⁸ as well as that with the Cyreneans, was founded on the recognition of a common origin. The colony of Croton (Olymp. 19. 2. 703 B.C., according to Eusebius) consisted indeed of Achæans, who came partly from

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⁵¹³ *Ut fertur, octavus ab Hercule*, Schol. Vetust. ad Hor. Carm. II. 6. 12; and so likewise Servius ad Virgil. Georg. IV. 125. Æn. III. 551. Compare, concerning the Phalantiadæ, Steph. Byz. in Ἀθήναι. Callimachus is referred to in a verse quoted by Schol. ined. ad Dionys. Perieg. (Spohn. Opusc. Niceph. Blemm. 29.) πάντες ἀφ' Ἡρακλῆος ἐτίττυμον ἔστε Λάκωνες according to Goettling's conjecture.

⁵¹⁴ Ἰακίνθου or Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰακίνθου τάφος, Polyb. VIII. 30. 2.

⁵¹⁵ Ib. VIII. 35. 8.

⁵¹⁶ Scymn. Ch. 330.

⁵¹⁷ Strabo VI. p. 264, from Antiochus.

⁵¹⁸ Herodot. III. 138. IV. 164.

the maritime town of Rhyphæ,⁵¹⁹ and partly from Laconia:⁵²⁰ it must, however, have been established under the authority of the Doric state of Sparta, since Apollo and Hercules, the Doric god and hero, were here worshipped with especial honour;⁵²¹ the early constitution was also Doric; and although in general we are not to look for truth in the poetry of Ovid, yet in this instance we may credit his statement that Myscellus the founder was a Heraclide.⁵²² In like manner the Locrians, who (in Olymp. 24. 2. 683 B.C.) founded Locri, must have procured Spartans as leaders,⁵²³ since (as their coins also show) they paid particular honours to the Dioscuri, in time of distress in war the statues of these gods having been sent to them from Sparta, as being a people of the same origin;⁵²⁴ and even in the Peloponnesian war they still adhered to the cause of Sparta.⁵²⁵ Of a nature wholly different were the rapid and transitory settlements of Dorieus the son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, which this noble adventurer founded in Sicily and Libya; when, scorning to submit to a worthless brother, and confiding in his own strength, he hoped to obtain by conquest a kingdom in a distant country.⁵²⁶ Finally,

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⁵¹⁹ Strabo VIII. p. 387.

⁵²⁰ Pausan. III. 3. 1. Jamblichus Vit. Pythag. 10. Raoul-Rochette, III. p. 187.

⁵²¹ See book II. ch. 3.

⁵²² Metam. XV. 15. *Grates agit ille parenti Amphitryoniadæ.*

⁵²³ See Pausan. ubi sup. The newly discovered fragments of Polybius confirm the participation of Sparta in the colonization of Locri, p. 384. Mai, inasmuch as they mention the sending of Locrian auxiliaries to the Spartans as the cause of the foundation of Locri in Italy.

⁵²⁴ Justin XX. 2.

⁵²⁵ Thucyd. VI. 44. Raoul-Rochette, p. 194, derives it from Dorians, who had previously settled at Cape Zephyrium: but even if there were Dorians there, they must have been Megareans.

⁵²⁶ It would lead us too far from our subject to explain the tradition concerning the Lacedæmonians among the Sabines and Samnites. It is remarkable that, according to Silius Italicus, these Lacedæmonians came from Amyclæ and Therapne, the ancient settlements of the Achæans. I must also pass over the Cretan colonies, for many reasons.

the Lyctians of Crete and other inhabitants of this island called themselves colonists of Sparta. In all probability many of the ancient Doric cities of this country received fresh settlers from Lacedæmon; which state, at the beginning of the Olympiads⁵²⁷ in the time of Alcámenes, and even during the life of Lycurgus,⁵²⁸ exercised a very considerable influence upon the internal affairs of Crete.

[142] Having taken a view of the Doric settlements without Peloponnesus, we now return to the history of that peninsula, which we will divide into two periods, namely, before and after the 40th Olympiad, or the year 620 B.C.

Chapter VII.

§ 1. Sources of the early history of Peloponnesus. § 2. Quoit of Iphitus, Registers of Victors at the Olympic and Carnean Games, Registers at Sicyon and Argos. § 3. Registers of the Spartan Kings. § 4. Spartan Rhetras, Land-marks. § 5. Lyric Poets, Oral Tradition, and Political Institutions. § 6. Mythical character of Lycurgus. § 7. Lycurgus founder of the sacred armistice of Olympia. § 8. and 9. Messenian wars: sources of the history of them. § 10. First Messenian war. § 11. Second Messenian war. § 12. Influence in Arcadia obtained by the Spartans. § 13. Limited ascendancy of Argos in Argolis. § 14. Disputes between Argos and Sparta. § 15. Pheidon of Argos. § 16. Further struggles between Argos and Sparta.

⁵²⁷ Paus. III. 2. 7.

⁵²⁸ A war with Cnosus is very improbable and almost impossible; Paus. II. 21. III. 11. Vell. Pat. I. 4. (*Lacedæmonii in Asia Magnesiam*), had probably some account of the share of the Spartans in these Cretan colonies, which will be discussed book II. ch. 3.

1. Before we begin to collect and arrange the accounts extant concerning the early history of Peloponnesus, it will be first necessary to ascertain what are our sources of information respecting the events of this period. For the epic poets, who carried on an uninterrupted series of traditions on the events of the mythical ages, and have thus thrown over this dark period some faint glimmerings which may in many places be condensed into a distinct and useful light, only touch on a few points of the period whose history we are about to examine. On the other hand, indeed, the art of writing was during this time introduced among the Greeks through their intercourse with Asia; but that a long time elapsed before it came into general use, is evident from the almost surprising imperfection of those written documents which [143] have been preserved to us of a date anterior to the 60th Olympiad, in comparison with the great perfection of the works of Grecian art. For this reason, writing was long regarded in Greece as a foreign craft, and letters were considered (for example in the Tean curses) as Phœnician symbols. Nevertheless, these few and scanty registers are the first materials for real history and chronology now extant. As such, the following have been made known to us from Peloponnesus.

2. The *Quoit of Iphitus*, upon which was inscribed in a circle the formula for proclaiming the sacred armistice of Elis, and in which Iphitus and Lycurgus were mentioned as the founders of it.⁵²⁹ There is no reason for doubting its genuineness, which was recognised by Aristotle, and the institution which it mentioned was considered by all ancient writers as a real fact.⁵³⁰ Secondly, the *lists of the conquerors at the Olympic games* brought down uninterruptedly from the victory of Chorcæbus,⁵³¹ which always

⁵²⁹ Pausan. V. 20. I, according to Clavier, Plutarch. Lycurg. I.

⁵³⁰ Λυκοῦργος ὑπὸ πάντων συμφώνως ἱστορεῖται μετὰ τοῦ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἡλείου τὴν πρώτην ἀριθμηθεῖσαν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θέσιν διαθεῖναι, Athen. XIV. p. 635 F.

⁵³¹ Pausan. V. 8. 3. ἐξ οὗ γὰρ τὸ συνεχές ταῖς μνήμαις ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσιν

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recorded the conquerors in the foot-race, and in later times at least those in the other games.⁵³² It is probable that they were originally engraved on single pillars, and afterwards collected under the inspection of the Hellanodicæ.⁵³³ Similar catalogues of conquerors in other games, besides the four great ones, were also probably not uncommon, but they were generally inscribed on separate pillars, and were therefore of little use to the historian.⁵³⁴ The names of the *conquerors at the Carnean games* at Sparta were also registered, so that Hellanicus was enabled to compose from them a work called Καρνεονῖκαι. The *register at Sicyon* contained a list of the priestesses of Here at Argos, and the poets and musicians of the games.⁵³⁵ But this also contained fabulous accounts: for example, the invention of playing and singing on the harp by Amphion. Nor were the *catalogues of the priestesses of Here*, which were probably kept at Argos, altogether free from fable, as may be perceived from the fragments of Hellanicus's chronological work on these priestesses, which was probably founded on the official catalogues.⁵³⁶

3. There were also at Lacedæmon public registers, in which Plutarch found mention of the daughters of Agesilaus;⁵³⁷ and in those of the earliest times the same author discovered the Pythian oracle concerning Lycurgus,⁵³⁸ the same that Herodotus refers to in his first book. These doubtless contained the names

ἐστί—

⁵³² γράμματα Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας, Pausan. V. 21. 5. VI. 2. 1.

⁵³³ See Aristodemus ap. Syncell. Chron. p. 196 C. Compare Goeller de Situ Syracusarum, p. 198.

⁵³⁴ Pind. Olymp. VII. 86. ἐν Μεγάροισίν τ' οὐχ ἔτερον λιθίνα ψᾶφος ἔχει λόγον. Compare Boeckh Explic.

⁵³⁵ Plutarch de Musica, 3. 8.

⁵³⁶ Sturz. Hellanici fragment. p. 79 sqq. ed. 2.

⁵³⁷ Agesil. 19.

⁵³⁸ In Colot. 17. p. 268. Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν περὶ Λυκούργου χρησμὸν ἐν ταῖς παλαιόταταις ἀναγραφαῖς ἔχοντες. Concerning this oracle see Theodoret Græc. Affect. 9. 10. Max. Tyr. Diss. XXIX. p. 72. The oracle in Cœnomaus (Euseb. Præp. Ev. V. p. 113.) is evidently a modern forgery.

of all the kings, and probably also the years of their reigns, as far back as Procles, who, according to a statement noticed above, died one year before his brother Eurysthenes.⁵³⁹ This fact could hardly have been derived from any other source than [145] some national annals, though it is not impossible that it was first transferred to them from oral narrative; in which case, however, it is difficult to understand how tradition, contrary to its general character, preserved dates. It was without doubt from these registers that Charon of Lampsacus, before the time of Herodotus, composed his work entitled, "*The Prytanes, or Rulers, of Lacedæmon*;"⁵⁴⁰ in which he also noticed the sacred offerings and monuments of ancient times.⁵⁴¹ With respect to the chronological labours of Timæus, Polybius⁵⁴² says that "this writer compared the ephors with the kings of Lacedæmon from the beginning, and the archons at Athens and priestesses at Argos with the conquerors at the Olympic games, and noted the errors which the cities had made in the registration, even when they only differed by three months." Eratosthenes and Apollodorus founded their chronology, especially before the Olympiads, upon the same list of the kings;⁵⁴³ they both nearly agreed in reckoning 327 or 328 years from the expedition of the Heraclidæ to the first Olympiad (776 B.C.),⁵⁴⁴ which calculation would have [146] been impossible if the duration of each king's reign had not

⁵³⁹ Above ch. 5. § 14. Eurysthenes, according to Eusebius, reigned 42 years.

⁵⁴⁰ Suidas in Χάρων.

⁵⁴¹ Athen. XI. p. 475 B. concerning the καρχήσιον.

⁵⁴² XII. 12. 1.

⁵⁴³ Plutarch. Lycurg. I. Diod. I. 5. who calls the ἀναγραφὴ of the kings a παράπηγμα. Eusebius says that at the beginning of the Olympiads *Lacedæmoniorum reges defecerunt*, which error arose from the lists ending here, which had been made for computing the preceding periods.

⁵⁴⁴ Apollod. ap. Diod. ubi sup. Eratosthenes ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 336. ed. Colon. Compare Tatian. adv. Græcos, p. 174. Censorinus de Die Natali 21. Euseb. Scalig. p. 23. Cicer. de Rep. II. 10. who also followed the Χρονικὰ of Apollodorus.

been known; for if this computation is made by generations, reckoning about three to a century, quite a different number comes out.⁵⁴⁵ Lycurgus, however, was placed by Eratosthenes 108 years before the first Olympiad;⁵⁴⁶ in which computation he certainly went on the authority of the Quoit of Iphitus; which agrees with the statement of Apollodorus, that Homer, who according to this chronologist flourished 148 years before the first Olympiad, was a contemporary of Lycurgus when the latter was a young man.⁵⁴⁷—It appears, however, that the name of Lycurgus was not preserved in any register of the kings, since in that case it would have been impossible that he should have been called by Herodotus the guardian of his nephew Labotas the Eurysthenid,⁵⁴⁸ by Simonides (who lived in great intimacy with king Pausanias)⁵⁴⁹ the son of Prytanis and brother of Eunomus the Proclid, and by others the son of Eunomus and guardian of his nephew Charilaus,⁵⁵⁰ had there existed any genealogy of

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Timæus escaped the difficulty by supposing that there were two Lycurguses. Xenophon disagrees the most (Rep. Lac. 10. quoted by Plutarch. Lyc. I.), as he says that Lycurgus lived κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας, *i.e.* κατὰ τὴν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον.

⁵⁴⁵ I do not contend that the chronological statements in the Spartan lists form an *authentic document*, more than those in the catalogues of the priestesses of Here and in the list of Halicarnassian priests (Boeckh Corp. Ins. Gr. No. 2655). The chronological statements in the Spartan lists may have been formed from imperfect memorials; but the Alexandrine chronologists must have found such tables in existence, since they could not have been produced by mere computation; and yet the date of 328 years before the 1st Olympiad was entirely founded upon them.

⁵⁴⁶ Ap. Clem. comp. Diod. de Virt. et Vit. p. 547, ed. Vales.

⁵⁴⁷ P. 411. Fragm. ed. Heyn. from Tatian and Clemens I. p. 327. comp. p. 309. Pausan. III. 2. 4. Eusebius's quotation of Apollodorus at the 18th year of Alcamenes is incorrect, as may be seen from Plutarch. Lycurg. I.

⁵⁴⁸ I. 65. Pausan. III. 2. 3.

⁵⁴⁹ Ælian. V. H. IX. 41.

⁵⁵⁰ Simonid. ap. Plutarch. Lyc. 2. and compare Schol. Plat. Rep. X. p. 474. 21 Bekker. The latter, also, according to Aristot. Polit. II. 7. 1. Ephorus ap. Strab. X. p. 482. Compare Dieuchidas, ap. Plutarch. Lycurg. 2. et Clem. Alex. Strom.

him which was sufficiently accredited. Hence we must infer that these catalogues only contained the names of the kings, and not even of the royal guardians or protectors, such as Lycurgus. On the other hand, the variations in the enumeration of the kings are unimportant, being confined to this, that in the pedigree of the Proclidæ Herodotus⁵⁵¹ (or his transcribers) leaves out the name of Soüs, which occurs in all the rest, and, contrary to Pausanias, changes the order of Eunomus and Polydectes. Since the name of Polydectes is entirely wanting in Simonides and Eusebius, it is probable that Polydectes and Eunomus are only different names of the same king; and that Polydectes was the proper name, and Eunomus a title of honour.⁵⁵² Upon this hypothesis we obtain the following series of kings of the Proclid line—Prytanis, Polydectes, Charilaus, with tolerable certainty. There must also have been registers of the names and years of the princes of Corinth, and the family of the Bacchiadæ, since no one could have had the boldness to invent them.⁵⁵³ Indeed there were altogether many pedigrees, particularly of the Heraclidæ: [148]

I. p. 328. ed. Colon, (p. 390 Potter). cf. Strab. X. p. 481. He took Lycurgus for a son of Polydectes and a younger brother of Eunomus, and placed him 290 years after the taking of Troy. Dionys. Hal. Arch. Rom. II. 49. calls Lycurgus the uncle of Eunomus, whom he probably places with Herodotus (VIII. 131.) *after* Polydectes. Thucydides I. 18. places Lycurgus not long before 800 B.C.
⁵⁵¹ VIII. 131.

⁵⁵² See Clinton, F. H. vol. I. p. 144. The same explanation also diminishes the difficulty about the relationship of Lycurgus; yet there still remains the great discrepancy between Herodotus (where the emendation proposed by Marsham does not suit the context) and Xenophon.

⁵⁵³ The dates of these are given, doubtless from Alexandrine chronologists, by Diodorus, fragm. 6 p. 635, where (with Wesseling after Didymus) 30 years must be assumed from the return of the Heraclidæ to the reign of Aletes, by which the computation comes out right. This has been overlooked by Eusebius, since he makes Aletes contemporary with Eurysthenes. See the Armenian Eusebius, p. 16. Mai.

as, for example, of families at Cyrene,⁵⁵⁴ and the Ptolemies;⁵⁵⁵ their authority, however, could not have been very great; in the latter, indeed, we cannot fail to recognise the unscrupulous hand of Alexandrine flatterers. The ancient chronicles of Elis, which Pausanias saw, appear to have contained complete pedigrees from Oxylus down to Iphitus;⁵⁵⁶ although the descendants of the former were not kings. The father of Iphitus was there stated to have been also named Iphitus, in contradiction to the common account.⁵⁵⁷

4. None of these registers appear to have contained anything beyond the names of conquerors at the games (which have seldom any reference to history), and princes with the years of their reigns. If anything more was noted down, it was perhaps here and there an oracle, as those belonging to the history of Sparta in Herodotus,⁵⁵⁸ which were without doubt brought by the Pythians to Sparta in writing, at a very early period. To these may be perhaps added some ancient *rhetras*;⁵⁵⁹ under which term the ancient Dorians included all political documents, laws, and treaties. The most ancient instance of the last kind is the treaty between the Eleans and the inhabitants of Heræa, discovered by sir William Gell,⁵⁶⁰ the writing of which is so extremely rude as to prove that they were little practised in that art when it was engraved. It is however very doubtful how the Spartan *rhetras* of Lycurgus were drawn up. By some it has been supposed that

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⁵⁵⁴ See above, p. 136. note t. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "district of Laconia."]

⁵⁵⁵ *Æginetica*, p. 62. Comp. Theocritus XVII. 27.

⁵⁵⁶ As may fairly be inferred from V. 4. 3.

⁵⁵⁷ V. 4. 4 In an inscription at Olympia (Brunck. Anal. II. p. 193.) he was called the son of Hæmon; according to common tradition, he was the son of Praxonides. In Eusebius (Hieronym.) should be written, *Iphitus Praxonidis vel Æmonis f.*

⁵⁵⁸ I. 66, 67.

⁵⁵⁹ Concerning this word see Boissonade, Classical Journal, vol. XX. p. 289.

⁵⁶⁰ Boeckh Inscript. No. 11.

they were originally composed in metre, in order to be chanted by the youth of Sparta;⁵⁶¹ but this is contradicted by the certain testimony⁵⁶² that Terpander of Antissa, whom the Spartans so highly esteemed, was the first who set these laws to music, and first gave them a metrical and poetical form; and Terpander did not live till after the 26th Olympiad, or 672 B.C.⁵⁶³ But the rhetra which Plutarch has preserved as the genuine constitutional formula bears a truly archaic character, since it contains a command of the Pythian Apollo to the lawgiver in the infinitive mood, and does not fall into verse. I do not perceive why it might not have been written, as well as the contemporaneous inscription on the Quoit of Iphitus, and the ancient oracles cited by Herodotus; at least we cannot in any other way account for the preservation of the words. The original rhetras, however, were very few, and formed merely the nucleus of a system of laws, more as a help to the memory than as a perfect code; hence the ancients could with propriety say, that Zaleucus was the first who committed laws to writing.⁵⁶⁴ The three rhetras, which were preserved besides the former one, were merely certain general formulas, and by no means explicit laws; they had the form of an oracle, as having proceeded from the Pythian god,⁵⁶⁵ but were written entirely in prose.⁵⁶⁶ [150]

⁵⁶¹ E.g. by Wolf Proleg. Homer. p. 67.

⁵⁶² Of Clem. Alexand. Strom. I. p. 308.

⁵⁶³ For the date of Terpander, see book IV. ch. 6. § 1. note.

⁵⁶⁴ Scymnus Chius, v. 313. Strabo VI. p. 259.

⁵⁶⁵ Plutarch. Lyc. 13. whose words should be thus understood, "*Lycurgus did not enact any written laws, but merely sanctioned existing customs.*" The ῥήτραι however were evidently not mere ἔθη, but oracular dicta, expressed in definite words, which had been preserved from ancient times. Plutarch. Agesil. 26. calls them Αἱ καλούμενα τρεῖς ῥήτραι, and also de Esu Carn. II. 1. ὁ θεῖος Λυκοῦργος ἐν ταῖς τρεῖσι ῥήτραις; consequently this was in a certain degree a fixed number.—One of these very regulations was μὴ χρῆσθαι νόμοις ἐγγράφοις.

⁵⁶⁶ Plutarch, de Pyth. Orac. 19. αἱ ῥήτραι, δι' ὧν ἐκόσμησε τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, πολιτείαν Λυκοῦργος, ἐδόθησαν αὐτῷ καταλογάδην.

Next in the list of public monuments come the ὄροι, or landmarks of territory. It is well known that we are in possession of such records of a later period, belonging to the sacred territory of the Pythian Apollo (in which earlier surveys of the Amphictyonic Hieromnemons, and ancient inscriptions on boundary-stones are appealed to), belonging to Cretan towns, and likewise to Samos and Priene, in which the inhabitants of Priene cite ancient records, preserved from the time of Bias in the temple of Athene.⁵⁶⁷ Historical works were also composed from these memorials.⁵⁶⁸ Now there must also have been records of this kind in Peloponnesus, although the inscriptions, by which the Messenians wished to prove to the Romans their original boundary towards Laconia, were evidently not made till after their re-establishment by Epaminondas.⁵⁶⁹

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5. These documents, if we were in possession of them, would afford a valuable foundation for an account of the three centuries before regular history begins; but merely an outline, which would require to be filled up from other sources. This might partly be done from the writings of the *Lyric poets*, who flourished at that time, as Eumelus, Thaletas, Tyrtæus, Alcman, and Terpander;⁵⁷⁰ which writers had frequent intercourse with the Spartans, and introduced the events of the time into their poetry to a much greater degree than the epic poets. And in fact we find in

⁵⁶⁷ The Delphian Inscription in Boeckh Corp. Inscript. n. 1711. The Cretan in Chishull Ant. Asiat. p. 135. The Samian and Prienian in Chandler Inscript. p. 1. 38. 1, 2, 3. Marm. Oxon. p. 25.

⁵⁶⁸ I agree with Creuzer Histor. Ant. Fragm. p. 122. that it is unnecessary *always* to alter writers concerning ὄροι into ὠρογράφοι, *i.e.* chronologists. The above Samian inscriptions expressly refer to historical works; and are we then to alter in Herodian p. 7. (where see the passages quoted), and in p. 39. ἐν Σαμίῳ ὄροις?

⁵⁶⁹ *Monumenta saxia sculpta et ære prisca*, Tacitus Annal. IV. 44.

⁵⁷⁰ I mention Eumelus in this place, as being a Lyric poet in the modern sense of the word, on account of his ἄσμα προσόδιον for the Messenian Theoria to Delos, Pausan. IV. 4. 1.

the fragments of Tyrtaeus and Alcman a lively representation of the feelings and manners of the period. The next source of information is *oral tradition*, which, though erring continually with regard to names and numbers, yet always relates something essential; and, finally, the *political institutions* continuing to exist in later times, which had their origin in this period.

These, and no other than these, can have been the means employed by the authors who wrote on the affairs of Laconia, in the century when history was approaching to maturity, such as Hellanicus, Charon, and Herodotus; and either directly or indirectly must have afforded materials to those who treated of the times of Lycurgus during the later age of Greek learning. But how little do we recognise the ancient simplicity and liveliness which characterise all the genuine remains of that time, in the historical style of Ephorus and Hermippus,⁵⁷¹ and their followers. The object of these writers was to assimilate, as much as possible, the notions of antiquity to those of their own time, and to attempt in some way or other to represent every act as proceeding from such motives as would have actuated their own contemporaries. They have with a truly unsparing hand rubbed off the venerable rust of ancient tradition, and, totally mistaking the most powerful springs of action then prevalent, moulded all events of which any records had been preserved, into a connected form more suited to a modern history. It is almost impossible to describe with what unlucky zeal Plutarch, where Lycurgus only embodied in laws the political feelings of his race and nation, ascribes to that legislator plans and views generally unsatisfactory, and often absolutely childish. [152]

6. If now we apply the method above stated to the history of Lycurgus, we shall find that we have absolutely no account of him as an *individual person*. Tradition very properly represents

⁵⁷¹ Περὶ νομοθετῶν. He must however have either invented himself, or adopted the inventions of others, if he mentioned the *names* of the twenty assistants and friends of Lycurgus, Plutarch. Lyc. 5.

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him as intimately connected with the temple of Delphi (by which the Dorians, and especially the state of Sparta, were at that time entirely led), and with Crete, the earliest civilized state of the Doric race. This connexion was generally represented under the form of a journey to both places; his tomb was also shown both at Cirrha and at Pergamia in Crete. It was easy to imagine that the reforms of Lycurgus were violently opposed, and produced tumults and disturbances.⁵⁷² But the story of Alcander putting out one of Lycurgus's eyes (probably a popular tale) is founded on a false explanation of the title of Pallas Optiletis.⁵⁷³ It was indeed an ancient tradition that he was guardian of a Spartan king; but the common report of this being Charilaus⁵⁷⁴ is not quite certain, as we have seen above; and in order to account for both his travels and regency, he was reported to have abdicated the latter in order to avoid suspicion.⁵⁷⁵ If we set aside all fictions of this description, which have almost the spirit of a moral tale, like the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, there remains very little traditional lore. Of his legislation we will treat hereafter.⁵⁷⁶

7. It is very singular that historians should have mentioned so little of the action of Lycurgus, which comes next in importance to that which has been just discussed;⁵⁷⁷ I mean the share that he had in founding the sacred armistice and games at Olympia, which event was without doubt the commencement of a more

⁵⁷² Plutarch. *Lyc.* 31. and 11.

⁵⁷³ See book II. ch. 10. § 2.

⁵⁷⁴ He was anciently celebrated for his mildness. Plutarch in the *Life of Lycurgus*, and *de Adul.* 16. On the other hand, Heraclides Ponticus 2. καὶ τὸν Χάριλλον (ΧΑΡΙΛΑΟΝ) τυραννικῶς ἄρχοντα μετέστησε.

⁵⁷⁵ Plutarch. *Lyc.*

⁵⁷⁶ Book III. ch. 1. The names of *Eunomus* as the father and of *Eucosmus* as the son of Lycurgus (*Pausan.* III. 16. 5.) belong to the class pointed out above, p. 69. note g. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "capture of Ægialea," starting "The name of Tisamenus."]

⁵⁷⁷ Only Plutarch. *Lycurg.* 23. and Heraclid. *Pont.* 2. καὶ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν τὰς ἐκεχειρίας (the Pythian are probably meant) κατέστησε. The account of Hermippus is evidently, in part at least, invented.

tranquil state of affairs in Peloponnesus. Lycurgus, as the representative of the Doric race, Iphitus, of the Ætolians and Eleans, and Cleosthenes,⁵⁷⁸ the son of Cleonicus of Pisa, the city to which the temple of Olympia properly belonged, and which had not then lost the management of it, in conjunction perhaps with several others, drew up the fundamental law of the Peloponnesian armistice. This contained two heads. First, that the whole territory of the Eleans (who acted as masters of the games, after the expulsion of the Pisatans, every year with more exclusive power) should remain for ever free from hostile inroads and ravages, insomuch that even armed troops were only to be allowed a passage on condition of first laying down their arms;⁵⁷⁹ secondly, that during the time of the festival a cessation of arms should also be proclaimed throughout the rest of Peloponnesus. But, since there was little agreement among the individual states in the computation of time, and as the Eleans alone were acquainted with the exact time at which the quadrennial festival came round, and perhaps also in order to make the injunction of the god more impressive, the Eleans always sent *feciales* round to the different states, “*heralds of the season, the Elean truce-bearers of Zeus*;⁵⁸⁰ these persons proclaimed the Olympic armistice, first to their own countrymen, and then to the other Peloponnesians: after which time no army was to invade another's territory.⁵⁸¹ The fine which was to have been paid by the Spartans in the Peloponnesian war for having

⁵⁷⁸ This Cleosthenes is mentioned in Phlegon Trallianus ap. Meurs. Opera, vol. VII. p. 128. and Schol. Plat. Rep. V. p. 246, 7. Bekker.

⁵⁷⁹ Συγχώρημα Ἑλλήνων ἱερὰν καὶ ἀπόρθητον εἶναι Ἠλείαν, Polyb. IV. 73. who calls the peaceable existence of the Eleans in early times a *ἱερὸς βίος*; Strab. VIII. p. 357. Diod. Excerpt, p. 547. Wessel., where very absurd motives are attributed to the Lacedæmonians.

⁵⁸⁰ Isthm. II. 23. Boeckh Explic. p. 494. Schneider Lexicon in v. et ad Xen. Hell. IV. 7. 2.

⁵⁸¹ The determination of this time was somewhat ambiguous. See Thuc. V. 49. ἐπαλλάλλειν is the proper word for the announcement.

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sent out soldiers after this period was two minas for each hoplite, the very sum which by the agreement of the Peloponnesians was required for the ransom of prisoners of war;⁵⁸² whence it is evident that the transgressors of the truce were considered as becoming slaves of the god, and were to be ransomed again from him. The decree was pronounced by the tribunal of the temple at Elis, according to the "Olympian law."⁵⁸³ The fine was divided between the Eleans and the treasury at the temple of Olympia. To this temple also were paid all penalties incurred by the infraction of treaties;⁵⁸⁴ nay, sometimes whole cities were bound to pay a fixed tribute every year to the god.⁵⁸⁵ By these and similar laws was the armistice protected, which doubtless was not intended merely to secure the celebration of the games from disturbance, but also to effect a peaceable meeting of the Peloponnesians, and thus to give occasion for the settling of disputes, and the conclusion of alliances. Even in the Peloponnesian war public business was transacted at this assembly.⁵⁸⁶ But one chief effect of the Olympian festival appears to have been the production of a more friendly connexion between the Ætolian and Doric races. This fact appears to be established by the tradition that Iphitus introduced the worship of Hercules at Elis, which therefore had previously been peculiar to the Dorians.⁵⁸⁷ Apollo, the Doric god, was also at this time regarded as the protector of the sacred armistice of Olympia, as we shall see hereafter.⁵⁸⁸

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8. We now proceed immediately to the *Messenian wars*, since it is hardly possible to find one independent event between the commencement of them and the time of Iphitus. These

⁵⁸² Herod. VI. 19. see also V. 77.

⁵⁸³ Thucyd. V. 49. comp. Pausan. V. 6, 4. VI. 3, 3.

⁵⁸⁴ As in the well-known treaty between the Eleans and Heræans, αἱ δὲ μά συνέαν, τάλαντόν κ' ἀργύρω ἀποτίνοιαν τῷ Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ.

⁵⁸⁵ Thuc. V. 31.

⁵⁸⁶ Thuc. III. 8, 14.

⁵⁸⁷ Pausan. IV. 4.

⁵⁸⁸ Book II. ch. 3, § 2.

however are really historical, since we have in Tyrtaeus a nearly contemporaneous account of the first, and one actually so of the second. The fragments and accounts of his poems are our principal guides for obtaining a correct knowledge of these transactions. And in these alone many circumstances appear in quite a different light from that in which they are represented in the romance of Pausanias. In the latter, the Spartans only are the aggressors, the Messenians only the subjects of attack; but, if we listen to Tyrtaeus, the former also had to fight for their own country. But, since even the ancients possessed few remains of Tyrtaeus, and as nearly all the historical part of his poems appears to have come down to us, whence did Pausanias derive his copious narrative, and the details with which he has adorned it? Was it from ancient epic poets? Yet of these there is nowhere any mention: and in general an historical event, if it could not be put into an entirely fabulous shape, like the stories of the origin and foundation of many colonies, lay altogether without the province of the early poetry. It is indeed possible that in the Naupactia, which are referred to for the mythical history of Messenia,⁵⁸⁹ some historical notices may have occasionally occurred, perhaps too in the works of Cinæthon and Eumelus: but the ancients, who disliked the labour of compiling a history from scattered fragments, probably gave themselves very little trouble to discover them. On the other hand, there existed a series of traditional legends, whose character announces their high antiquity; thus, that of the Messenians, that Aristomenes had *thrice* offered a *hecatomphonion*, or sacrifice for a hundred enemies slain in battle;⁵⁹⁰ whether or no of human victims is doubtful.⁵⁹¹ A share in this sacrifice was also performed by [157]

⁵⁸⁹ Pausan. IV. 2. 1.

⁵⁹⁰ Plutarch Romul. 25. Sympos. Qu. IV. 1. 1. Sept. Sap. Conviv. 16. Polyæn. II. 31. 2. Plin. H. N. XI. 70.

⁵⁹¹ See Fulgentius in Staveren Mythograph. Latin, p. 770. *Si quis enim centum hostes interfecisset, Marti de homine sacrificabat apud insulam Lemnum,*

Theoclus, who is called an Elean, because he belonged to a family of the Iamidæ, which, as it appears, was settled in Messenia; but this clan, though scattered about in different places, yet always retained their rights at Olympia.⁵⁹² The same character may also be perceived in the legend of Aristomenes thrice incurring the danger of death. On the first of these occasions, when thrown into the Ceadas, he was preserved by a fox, the symbol of Messenia; on the second, whilst his guards were asleep, he turned to the fire and burnt in two the cords that bound his limbs,⁵⁹³ a story more certainly derived from tradition than the love-adventure which supplies its place in Pausanias: the third time however that he fell into the hands of his enemies, they cut open his breast, and found a hairy heart.⁵⁹⁴

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9. Traditions of this kind were probably circulating in different forms among the victorious Lacedæmonians,⁵⁹⁵ amongst the refugee Messenians in Italy and Naupactus, the subject Messenians who remained in the country, and the other Peloponnesians, when they were recalled into existence by the re-establishment of the Messenian state by Epaminondas. Even before the battle of Leuctra, the Bœotians, on the advice of an

quod sacrificatum est a duobus, Aristomene Gortynensi et Theoclo Eleo, sicut Sosicrates scribit. Apollodorus ap. Porphyr. de Abstin. II. 55. p. 396. (comp. Meursius, Misc. Lac. II. 14.) says that the Lacedæmonians also had sacrificed a man to Mars.

⁵⁹² Paus. IV. 15. 5.

⁵⁹³ Polyæn. II. 31. 3. Plin. XI. 70. Valer. Maxim. I. 8. ext., 15.

⁵⁹⁴ Stephanus Byz., who quotes Herodotus, Rhianus, and Plutarch. Herodotus, however, does not mention the subject. What Stephanus says is taken from Plutarch de Herodot. Maled. 2. p. 291. where however for φησὶν αὐτόν should probably be written φασὶν αὐτόν.

⁵⁹⁵ Isocrates (Archidam. 11.) connects the Messenian war with the assassination of Cresphontes; and relates that the Spartans were much encouraged by the oracle: the narrative evidently had not at this time received the form in which it was afterwards represented. Yet he mentions the twenty years' siege (on the authority of Tyrtæus), § 66.

oracle, hung up as a trophy the shield of Aristomenes,⁵⁹⁶ the device of which was a spread eagle.⁵⁹⁷ and when Epaminondas recalled the Messenian fugitives from Italy, Sicily, and even from Libya, and had erected them, with numerous Helots and people collected from various quarters, into a new state,⁵⁹⁸ Aristomenes was especially invoked before the foundation of the city.⁵⁹⁹ In this manner the ancient traditions were enabled to gain a new footing, and to be developed in a connected form. Several writers now seized upon a subject which had begun to excite so great interest, of whom Rhianus the poet and Myron the prose-writer are known to us.⁶⁰⁰ Myron gave an account of the first Messenian war down to the death of Aristodemus; but, in the opinion of Pausanias, utterly regardless whether or no he related falsehood and incredibilities; thus, in the teeth of all tradition, he introduced Aristomenes, the hero of the second war, into the first; and he wrote with an evident bias *against* Sparta.⁶⁰¹ Rhianus, however, a native of Bena in Crete, celebrated the actions of Aristomenes, in the second war, from the battle near the Great Trench (Μεγάλη Τάφρος), until the end of the war, as Homer had done those of Achilles; and although Pausanias has disproved some of his statements of particular facts from Tyrtæus,⁶⁰² yet he has frequently followed him, and especially in the poetical embellishments of his narrative.⁶⁰³ He

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⁵⁹⁶ See Antip. Sidon. VII. 161. Anthol. Palat.

⁵⁹⁷ Pausan. IV. 16. 4. VI. 32. 5. IX. 39. 5.

⁵⁹⁸ Lycurgus in Leocrat. 15. p. 155. comp. Isocrates Archidam. 10.

⁵⁹⁹ Pausan. IV. 27. 4.

⁶⁰⁰ Also Æschylus of Alexandria wrote *Messeniaca*, Athen. XIII. p. 599 E.

⁶⁰¹ See Athen. XIV. p. 857 D. Diodorus probably follows him, since he represents Cleonnis in the first war and Aristomenes as fighting together, *Fragm. N.* p. 637, Wessel. In XV. 66. he means him among the ἔνιοι. Boivin and Wesseling endeavour in vain to reconcile the contradictions. The genuineness of the fragment of Diodorus is however doubtful.

⁶⁰² IV. 15. 1.

⁶⁰³ Concerning Rhianus see Jacobs in the *Index Auctorum* to the *Anthology*.

never mentions any historians, such as Ephorus, Theopompus, Antiochus, or Callisthenes.⁶⁰⁴ Rhianus, however, though he might not have exclusively adopted the Messenian account,⁶⁰⁵ yet, as far as we can judge from Pausanias, gave the reins to his fancy, and mixed up many circumstances and usages of later times with the ancient tradition.⁶⁰⁶ It is not therefore our intention either to divert the reader with a continued narration of these fictions, at the expense of truth, or fatigue him by a detailed criticism of them, but merely to lay before him the chief circumstances, as they are known with historical certainty.

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10. The first war is distinctly stated by Tyrtæus to have lasted nineteen years, and in the twentieth the enemy left their

capacity, and not at the command of the state, appears from Herodot. VI. 92. The oracle in IV. 9. 2. in iambic verses is of a late date, but nevertheless *more* ancient than the corresponding one in hexameters preserved by Eusebius Præp. Ev. V. 27. p. 130. ed. Steph. The verse in Pausan. IV. 12. 1. ἀλλ' ἀπάτη μὲν ἔχει γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός, refers to the fraud of Cresphontes at the original division. In the oracle in Pausan. IV. 12. 3. and Eusebius ubi sup. should be written, ἦ γὰρ Ἄρης κείνων εὐήρεα τείχη, καὶ τειχέων στεφάνωμα πικροῦς οἰκίτορας ἔξει. Whence these oracles were derived does not appear: nor is it easy to decide concerning the date of such short pieces. (The above oracle is differently, and perhaps more correctly, emended by Lobeck ad Phrynich. Par. p. 621.)

⁶⁰⁴ See Strabo, VIII. p. 362.

⁶⁰⁵ *E.g.* it was a *Messenian* account which Myron followed (Pausan. IV. 6. 2), that Aristomenes killed the king Theopompus (contrary to Tyrtæus, as may be seen from Plutarch Agid. 21.).

⁶⁰⁶ I will now point out some instances of modern fiction in the narrative of Pausanias. The account of Polychares and Euæphnus supposes a greater power in the Areopagus than it ever possessed; nor did the quarrel come at all within the province of the Argive Amphictyons. Besides Pausanias, see Diodorus Excerpt, p. 547, who generally follows the same authorities. The Cretan bowmen must have been introduced by Rhianus from his own country; it is

country, and fled from the mountain Ithome.⁶⁰⁷ The same authority also gives the time which elapsed between the first and second wars, viz., that the grandfathers were engaged in the first, the grandchildren in the second.⁶⁰⁸ The date of the first war is fixed by Polychares, who is stated to have been the author of it,⁶⁰⁹ having been conqueror in the race at the 4th Olympiad⁶¹⁰ (764 B.C.); and it agrees well with this date that Eumelus, who was contemporary with Archias the founder of Syracuse (in the 5th Olympiad), composed a poem for *free* Messenia. Pausanias places the commencement (we know not on what grounds) at Olymp. 9. 2, (743 B.C.) the termination nineteen years later, Olymp. 14. 1. (724 B.C.) The interval between the two wars he states (though on what authority we know not, and contrary to Tyrtæus) to have been thirty-nine years;⁶¹¹ so that the second would have lasted from Olymp. 23. [161]

certain that there were no mercenaries at so early a period. How could the Corinthians have gone to Laconia without passing through an enemy's country, and who would have allowed them a free passage? The flight of the initiated to Eleusis is contrary to all probability; and this the more, as in the second war they were quiet spectators, Pausan. IV. 16. 1. Yet we are told the sacred torchbearers (δαδοῦχοι) fought at Athens in military array. The disposition of the light-armed troops in separate bodies (IV. 7. 2.) is contrary to the account of Tyrtæus and to ancient usage, compare IV. 8. 4. Οἱ Μεσσήνιοι δρόμῳ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐχρῶντο (IV. 18. 1.) is contrary to Herodotus (VI. 112). Many events are attributed to very improbable causes, *e.g.* that they left the fortified cities (IV. 9. 1.) from want of money. There is absolutely no reason given for the subjection of Messenia. That the Argives came in a private

⁶⁰⁷ See the Fragments as arranged by Frank, *Callinus*, p. 168.

⁶⁰⁸ Ap. Strab. VIII. p. 362.

⁶⁰⁹ By Pausanias and Diodorus de Virt. et Vit. p. 540.

⁶¹⁰ Pausan. IV. 4. 4.

⁶¹¹ Justin. III. 5. says eighty years. Thirty-nine years are probably too short a period; for, as the Spartans did not marry before the age of thirty (book IV. ch. 4. § 3.), the difference between grandfathers and grandchildren must have been on an average sixty years. If the interval had been only thirty-nine years, most of those engaged in the second war would have been the *sons* of the conquerors

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4. to Olymp. 28. 1. (or from 685 to 668 B.C.)⁶¹² We shall, however, find hereafter that the date of this war was probably later by several years, though not so late as Diodorus fixed it, according to whom the war began in Olymp. 35. 3.⁶¹³ We also know from Tyrtaeus that the Spartan king who completed the subjugation of Messenia was Theopompus.⁶¹⁴ Now, with respect to the origin of this war, it may be first traced in the increase of power, which Sparta, before the beginning of the Olympiads, owed to the exertions of its king Teleclus; this prince having succeeded in subduing the neighbouring city of Amyclæ, and in reducing several other Achæan towns to a state of dependence on Sparta.⁶¹⁵ Indeed, if we correctly understand an insulated notice,⁶¹⁶ Teleclus razed the town of Nedon, on the frontiers of Messenia and Laconia,⁶¹⁷ and transplanted its inhabitants to the towns of Pœessa, Echeiæ, and Tragus. Hence arose border wars between the Dorians at Sparta and those at Stenyclarus.

of Ithome.

⁶¹² The same date is in the Parian Marble, Ep. 34. But Pausanias IV. 15. 1. proves *only from Tyrtaeus* that Rhianus was incorrect in calling Leotychides a contemporary of the *second* war; consequently the numbers cannot have much authority. Pausanias had however various means of judging: *e.g.* after the expulsion and subjugation of the inhabitants no Messenian occurred in the Ὀλυμπιονίκαι, Pausan. VI. 2. 5. Different writers however vary remarkably. Dinarchus in Demosth. p. 99. 29. places the subjection of the Messenians 400 years before their restoration (370 B.C.); Lycurgus in Leocrat. p. 155. 500; Isocrates Archidam. p. 121 B. only 300; but Bekker reads 400 from a manuscript, which agrees better with the early date of Isocrates for the subjection of the Messenians. Plutarch Reg. Apoph. p. 126. only 230 years before the liberation by Epaminondas.

⁶¹³ It has been proved by the succession of the excerpts of Diodorus that he placed the second Messenian war at the same time as Eusebius: Krebs *Lectiones Diodoreæ*, Epimetrum. Now Eusebius places the beginning of the second war at Olymp. 35. 3. (638 B.C.), and Tyrtaeus at Ol. 36. 3. (636).

⁶¹⁴ Pausan. IV. 6. 2. (comp. Frank, *Callinus*, pp. 172, 196. who proposes Polydôrô without any reason); see Polyæn. I. 15.

⁶¹⁵ See above, ch. 5. § 12, 13.

⁶¹⁶ Strabo VIII. p. 360.

⁶¹⁷ In the time of Augustus it was in Messenia. The name Nedon was only

The temple of Artemis Limnatis,⁶¹⁸ the possession of which was disputed between the two nations (though its festival was common to both), afforded, as may be discovered from the romance of Pausanias,⁶¹⁹ the immediate ground for the war. For even in the reign of Tiberius the Lacedæmonians supported their claim to this temple by ancient annals and oracles;⁶²⁰ while the Messenians, on the other hand, brought forward the document already quoted, according to which this temple, together with the whole territory of Dentheleatis, in which it was situated, belonged to them. Dissensions in Messenia must have hastened the breaking out of the war, since it is certain that Hyamia, one of the five provinces of Messenia, was given by the Spartans to the Androclidæ, a branch of the family of the Æpytidæ.⁶²¹ The history of the first war contains traces of a lofty and sublime poetical tradition: for example, that Aristodemus, though ready to appease the wrath of the gods by the blood of his own daughter,⁶²² yet was unable to effect his purpose; that the damsel was put to death in vain; and upon this, recognising the will of the gods that Messenia should fall, and being terrified by portentous omens, he slaughtered himself upon the tomb of his murdered child.⁶²³ The war seems to have been confined chiefly to the vicinity of Ithome, which stronghold, situated in the midst of the country, commanded both the plain of Stenyclarus and that of the Pamisus. The reduction of this fortress necessarily entailed the subjugation of the whole country, and many of the Messenians began to emigrate. With this event the Doric

preserved in that of Ἀθηνᾶ Νεδουσία.

⁶¹⁸ IV. 4. 2.

⁶¹⁹ Strabo V. p. 257. has nearly the same account as that of the *Lacedæmonians* in Pausanias; and so also Heraclides Ponticus, and Justin. III. 4.

⁶²⁰ *Annalium memoria vatumque carminibus*, Tacit. Annal. IV. 43.

⁶²¹ Pausan. IV. 14. 2. See above, ch. 5. § 13.

⁶²² Probably tradition had preserved some report of a sacrifice to Artemis Orthia (Iphigenia), concerning which see book II. ch. 9.

⁶²³ Plutarch also mentions the same expedition, de Superstit. 7. p. 71, Hutten.

colony of Rhegium is connected. Heraclides of Pontus⁶²⁴ merely relates, that some Messenians (who happened to be at this time at Macistus in Triphylia, in consequence of the violation of some Spartan virgins) united themselves to the Chalcidian founders of this town (who had been sent out from Delphi). He probably means those Messenians who wished to make a reparation for the violation of the Spartan virgins in the temple of Artemis Limnatis, and were in consequence expelled by their own countrymen.⁶²⁵ But, according to Pausanias,⁶²⁶ even this body of Messenians received the district of Hyamia; and the Messenians did not migrate to Rhegium until after the taking of Ithome under Alcidas, and again after the second Messenian war under Gorgus and Manticlus, son of Theoclus, one of the Iamidæ.⁶²⁷ Anaxilas the tyrant (who lived after Olymp. 70) afterwards derived his family from the Messenians,⁶²⁸ who constituted in general the first nobility of the town of Rhegium.⁶²⁹

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The establishment of Tarentum is connected with the history of the first Messenian war; but it is wrapped up in such unintelligible fables (chiefly owing perhaps to an ignorance of Lacedæmonian institutions), that all we can learn from them is, that Tarentum was at that time founded from Sparta.⁶³⁰

11. In a fragment of Tyrtaeus we find some very distinct traces of the condition of the subject Messenians after the first war,

⁶²⁴ Fragm. 25.

⁶²⁵ Pausan. IV. 4. Strabo VI. p. 257.

⁶²⁶ IV. 14. 2. 23. 3.

⁶²⁷ Hence Hercules Manticlus was worshipped at Messana, Pausan. IV. 23. 5. IV. 26. 3.

⁶²⁸ See particularly Thucyd. VI. 5.

⁶²⁹ Strabo ubi sup. The Rhegini considered the Messenians of Naupactus as kinsmen, Pausan. IV. 26. We may pass over the often corrected error of Pausanias concerning Anaxilas (last by Jacobs, Amalthea, I. p. 199. where Bentley is forgotten).

⁶³⁰ Yet it should be observed that Dionysius Perieg. 376. mentions Amyclæans as colonists in Tarentum, which is probably not a mere poetical embellishment.

which will be separately considered hereafter. The second war clearly broke out in the north-eastern part of the country, on the frontier towards Arcadia, where the ancient towns of Andania and Œchalia were situated. In all probability this tract of country had never been subjugated by the Spartans. Aristomenes, the hero of this war, was born at Andania,⁶³¹ from which town he harassed the Spartans by repeated inroads and attacks. In his first march he advanced as far as the plain of Stenyclarus; but after the victory at the Boar's Grave he returned to Andania. But this attempt of the Messenians to recover their independence became of serious importance by the share which the greater part of the states in Peloponnesus took in it. For Strabo,⁶³² quoting Tyrtaeus, states, that the Eleans, Argives, Arcadians, and Pisatans⁶³³ assisted the Messenians in this struggle. The Pisatans were led by Pantaleon the son of Omphalion, who celebrated the 34th Olympiad in the place of the Eleans,⁶³⁴ which fact enables us accurately to

⁶³¹ Ἀνδανία.—ἐκ ταύτης Ἀριστομένης ἐγένετο, Steph. Byz. The words οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μεσσηνία Ἀνδανία ἐκαλεῖτο, ἦν οἰκίαι φασι τινὰς τῶν μετὰ Κρεσφόντου καὶ οὕτω καλεῖσθαι, &c. contain two errors; comp. Pausan. IV. 26. 5.

⁶³² The whole of the following passage is evidently taken from Tyrtaeus, VIII. p. 362. τὴν μὲν πρώτην κατακτ. φησὶ Τυρταῖος—γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, καθ' ἣν ἐλόμενοι συμμάχους Ἠλείους καὶ Ἀργείους [καὶ Ἀρχάδας addendum] καὶ Πισάτας ἀπέστησαν, Ἀρκάδων μὲν Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ὀρχομενοῦ βασιλέα παρεχομένων στρατηγόν, Πισατῶν δὲ Πανταλέοντα τὸν Ὀμφαλίωνος. It is stated by Strabo, p. 355 C. that at the ἐσχάτη κατάλυσις τῶν Μεσσηνίων the Eleans assisted the Spartans. They must therefore have espoused the cause of the latter out of hatred towards Pisa. With Strabo agrees the article of Phavorinus in v. Αὐγείας, p. 134. viz. that “the Lacedæmonians deprived the Pisatans of this privilege for siding with Messenia, and gave it to the Eleans, who took their part.” But if Elis was friendly and Pisa hostile to the Spartans, Pantaleon can hardly have obtained the agonothesia, when Sparta had overcome all her enemies, and had ended the war victoriously. Accordingly, the 34th Olympiad, which Pantaleon celebrated without the Eleans, probably fell in the period of the second war.

⁶³³ According to Pausanias also the *Sicyonians*.

⁶³⁴ Pausan. VI. 22. 2.

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fix the time (644 B.C.).—At the head of the Arcadians was Aristocrates, whom Pausanias calls a Trapezuntian, the son of Hicetas, and mentions his treachery at the battle near the Trench, on the subsequent discovery of which the Arcadians deprived his family of the sovereignty of Arcadia.⁶³⁵ The same account is also given by Callisthenes,⁶³⁶ and both writers quote the inscription on a pillar erected near the mountain-altar of Zeus Lycæus in memory of the traitor's detection. Now we know from good authority⁶³⁷ that Aristocrates was in fact king only of Orchomenus in Arcadia,⁶³⁸ of which his family was so far from losing the sovereignty, that his son Aristodamus ruled over it, and also over a great part of Arcadia. The date of Aristocrates⁶³⁹ appears to have been about 680-640 B.C.⁶⁴⁰

The Lacedæmonians were therefore in this war really pressed by an enemy of superior force, a fact alluded to by Tyrtaeus.

⁶³⁵ Plutarch de sera Num. Vind. 2. p. 216. agrees with Pausanias, and states that the war lasted for more than twenty years.

⁶³⁶ Ap. Polyb. IV. 33. 2. The words of the inscription are as follows:—

πάντως ὁ χρόνος εὔρε δίκην ἀδικῶ βασιλῆι,
εὔρε δὲ Μεσσηνῆ σὺν Διὶ τὸν προδότην
ῥηιδίως. χαλεπὸν δὲ λαθεῖν θεὸν ἄνδρ' ἐπίορκον.
χαῖρε Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σάω Ἀρκαδίαν.

⁶³⁷ See *Æginetica*, p. 65.

⁶³⁸ Which city was still governed by kings in the Peloponnesian war, Plutarch Parallel. 32. p. 430. In this strange composition, arbitrary fictions are curiously mixed with learned notices.

⁶³⁹ See the genealogy of the Orchomenian, Epidaurian, and Corinthian princes below, ch. 8. § 3. note.

⁶⁴⁰ The battle ἐπὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ Τάφρῳ, περὶ Τάφρον (Polyb. IV. 33. Pausan. IV. 6. 1. 17. 2.), in which Aristocrates is supposed to have betrayed the Messenians, was also mentioned by Tyrtaeus; but the account which he gave of it quite differs from that in Pausanias, viz. that the Spartans were intentionally posted in front of a trench, that they might not be able to run away. Eustratius ad Aristot. Eth. Nic. III. 8. 5. fol. 46. καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν τάφρων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων παρατάττοντες. τοῦτο περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων λέγοι ἄν; τοιαύτην γὰρ τινα μάχην, ὅτε πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἐμαχέσαντο, ἐπολέμου, ἧς καὶ Τυρταῖος

Meanwhile Sparta was assisted by the Corinthians,⁶⁴¹ perhaps by the Lepreatans,⁶⁴² and even by some ships of the Samians;⁶⁴³ but chiefly by Tyrtæus of Aphidnæ, whom an absurd and distorted fable has turned into a lame Athenian schoolmaster. The fact of Sparta seeking a warlike minstrel in Aphidnæ, may be accounted for from its ancient connexions with this borough in Attica, which is said to have been in the hands of the Dioscuri. Whether or not Aphidnæ at that time belonged to Attica, and was subject to Athens, is a question we shall leave undecided; but there does not seem to be any reason for inferring with Strabo, from the passage of Tyrtæus itself, that the whole tradition was false, and that Tyrtæus was a Lacedæmonian by birth,⁶⁴⁴ though he doubtless became so by adoption. It is to be regretted that we have very little information concerning the war carried on by Sparta with the rest of the Peloponnesians;⁶⁴⁵ but the Messenians

looks like an etymological invention; Ἀρχίμβροτος, “the ruler of men.”
μνημονεύει.

⁶⁴¹ According to Pausanias.

⁶⁴² Pausan. IV 15. 4. What he says in IV. 24. 1. does not, however, agree well with this.

⁶⁴³ Herod. III. 41. That the Lacedæmonians, at the beginning of the second war, dedicated a statue of Jupiter, twelve feet in height, at Olympia, with the inscription in Pausan. V. 24. 1. is merely a conjecture of the ἐξηγηταί.

⁶⁴⁴ The passage of Strabo VIII. p. 362. should be arranged thus: “Tyrtæus says that the second conquest of Messenia took place,” ἡνίκα φησιν αὐτὸς στρατηγήσαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ γὰρ εἶναι φησιν ἐκέιθεν ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν Εὐνομίαν; Αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων—νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα. Ὡστε ἢ ταῦτα ἈΚΥΡΩΤΕΟΝ τὰ ἐλεγεία (for ἡκύρωται τὰ ἐλ. some MSS. have ΗΚΥΡΩΤΑΙΟΝΤΑ), ἢ Φιλοχόρῳ ἀπιστητέον καὶ Καλλισθένει καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσιν εἰποῦσιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἀφιδνῶν ἀφίκεσθαι. Comp. p. 52. n. d., and Porson's Adversaria, p. 39. But there is nothing surprising in Tyrtæus, who lived among the Dorians, speaking of the whole nation in the first person plural, without mentioning his own different origin. In the same manner Tyrtæus says of the Spartan nation as of a whole, Μεσσηνίην εἵλομεν εὐρύχορον, Pausan. IV. 6. 2. Compare the verses of Mimnermus in Strab. XIV. p. 634. The Laconian town of Aphidnæ, from which the Leucippidae

at a later period withdrew from Andania towards Eira, which is a mountain-fortress on the Neda, the border-stream towards Arcadia, near the sea-coast. When obliged to retire from this stronghold, they were received first by the Arcadians, their ancient and faithful allies (who, according to the tradition, gave them their daughters in marriage⁶⁴⁶); afterwards the exiles sought an asylum with their kinsmen at Rhegium. Aristomenes himself (if he was not put to death by the Spartans) is said to have died at Rhodes, in the house of the noble family of the Eratidæ.⁶⁴⁷

12. Besides the possession of Messenia, nothing was of such importance to the Spartans as the influence which they gained over the towns of Arcadia. But in what manner these came into their hands is very little known.⁶⁴⁸ During the Messenian war Arcadia was always opposed to Sparta. Hence, in the year 659 B.C., the Spartans suddenly attacked and took the town of Phigalea, in a corner of Messenia and Triphylia; but were soon driven out again by the neighbouring Oresthasians.⁶⁴⁹ But the place chiefly dreaded by Sparta, as being one of the most powerful cantons in Arcadia, and commanding the principal entrance to Laconia, was Tegea. Charilaus, one of the early

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are supposed to have come, has probably arisen from some misunderstanding. (Steph. Byz. in v.) Archimbrotus also, the father of Tyrtæus (Suidas in v.),

⁶⁴⁵ Concerning a defeat of the Spartans by the Argives, see below, § 13.

⁶⁴⁶ Callisthenes ap. Polyb. IV. 33. 2. Aristomenes, according to Pausan. IV. 24. married his sister and daughters to persons at Phigalea, Lepreum, and Heræa. This is alluded to in a verse from the fifth book of Rhianus in Steph. Byz. in v. Φιγάλεια, τὴν μὲν ἀνήγετ' ἄκοιτιν ἐπὶ κραναίῳ Φιγάλεια, viz. Tharyx.

⁶⁴⁷ This circumstance was narrated by Rhianus in the sixth (probably the last) book, in which Atabyrum, a town in Rhodes, was mentioned, Steph. Byz. in v. Ἀτάβυρον.

⁶⁴⁸ Aristotle Polit. II. 6. 8. speaks of wars with Argos, Arcadia, and Messenia, before the time of Lycurgus; but probably he is incorrect. According to Polyæn. VIII. 34. the Tegeatans took king Theopompus prisoner (provided the *king* is meant): and the same authority states II. 13. that Mantinea was taken by Eurypon.

⁶⁴⁹ Pausan. VIII. 39. 2.

kings of Sparta, is said to have been compelled, by the valour of the Tegeate women, to submit to a disgraceful treaty.⁶⁵⁰ At a later period also, in the reigns of Eurycrates and Leon the Eurysthenid,⁶⁵¹ Sparta suffered injury from the same state,⁶⁵² until it at last obtained the superiority under the next king, Anaxandridas. It was not, however, merely the ingenuity of a mountain-tribe, in protecting and fortifying its defiles, that made victory so difficult to the Spartans; but, although the pass which separates Tegea from Laconia, and even at the present time retains the vestiges of defensive walls, was of great service in repelling invasions from Laconia,⁶⁵³ yet Tegea was also formidable in the open field from her heavy-armed troops, which in later times always maintained the second place in the allied army of Peloponnesus.⁶⁵⁴

13. Argos never obtained so great authority in Argolis as Sparta did in Laconia, since, in the former country, the Dorians divided themselves into several ancient and considerable towns;⁶⁵⁵ and to deprive Dorians of their independence seems to have been more contrary to the principles of that race, than to expel them, as the Spartans did the Messenians. Argos was thus forced to content itself with forming, and being at the head of a league, which was to unite the forces of the country for common defence, and to regulate all internal affairs. An union of this

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⁶⁵⁰ Pausan. VIII. 48. 3. concerning ἸΑρης γυναικοθείας, compare III. 7. 3.

⁶⁵¹ Herod. I. 67. Pausan. III. 3. 5. comp. Dio Chrys. Orat. XVII. p. 251. C. the speech of the Tegeatans in Herodotus IX. 26. Polyænus I. 11.

⁶⁵² At this time probably the oracle was delivered, which held out such deceitful promises to the Spartans, Δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι, καὶ καλὸν πέδιον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι, Herod. I. 66. The ambiguity lies in the word ὀρχήσασθαι, which may be derived from ὄρχος. Also διαμετρήσασθαι signifies the condition of a Helot, or a Clarotes, who receives a measured-out piece of land to cultivate.

⁶⁵³ See the stratagem of king ἸΑλνης (ἸΑλεος Casaubon) in Polyæn. I. 8.

⁶⁵⁴ See below, ch. 9. § 1.

⁶⁵⁵ Above, ch. 5. § 1, 4, 5.

kind really existed, although it never entirely attained its end. It was probably connected with the temple of Apollo Pythæus, which, as we remarked above, was considered as common to the Epidaurians and Dryopians. An Argive Amphictyonic council is mentioned in the account of the Messenian war,⁶⁵⁶ and is evidently not a fiction, although erroneously there introduced. That it still continued to exist in the 66th Olympiad is clear from the fact, that, when the inhabitants of Sicyon and Ægina furnished Cleomenes with ships to be employed against Argos, each town was condemned to pay a fine of 500 talents.⁶⁵⁷ These penalties could not have been imposed by Argos as a single town, but in the name of a confederacy, which was weakened and injured by this act. We find that the Eleans could impose similar penalties in the name of the Olympian Zeus.⁶⁵⁸ But the very case here adduced shows how refractory was the conduct of the members of this alliance with regard to the measures taken by the chief confederate.

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14. To this internal discord were added the continual disputes with Lacedæmon. Herodotus states, that in ancient times (*i.e.* about the 50th Olympiad, or 580 B.C.) the whole eastern coast of Peloponnesus as far as Malea (comprising the towns of Prasix, Cyphanta, Epidaurus Limera, and Epidelium), together with Cythera, and the other islands, belonged to the Argives.⁶⁵⁹ According to the account of Pausanias the territory of Cynuria, a valley between two ranges of mountains, on the frontiers of Laconia and Argos, inhabited by a native Peloponnesian race, had been from early times a perpetual subject of contention

⁶⁵⁶ Pausan. IV. 5. 1. The Amphictyons decided concerning Thyrea, Plutarch Parallel. Hist. Gr. et Rom. 3.

⁶⁵⁷ Herod. VI. 92. sqq.

⁶⁵⁸ Concerning these Amphictyons, see S^{te} Croix *Gouvernements fédératifs anciens*, p. 100. who, however, treats the subject with his usual carelessness. See Boeckh Corp. Inscript. n. 1121. cf. n. 1124. Maffei in Muratori, 561.

⁶⁵⁹ I should not now venture to make such positive assertions as those made in my *Æginetica*, p. 54.

between the two states. The Lacedæmonians had subdued this district in the reigns of Echestratus and Eurypon.⁶⁶⁰ During the reigns of Labotas and Prytanis, the Spartans complained of an attempt of the Argives to alienate the affections of their Periœci in Cynuria.⁶⁶¹ as, however, we know not by what authority this statement is supported, we shall allow it to rest on its own merits. In the reign of Charilaus the Lacedæmonians wasted the territory of Argos.⁶⁶² His son Nicander made an alliance with the Dryopians of Asine against Argos. Accordingly this people were expelled by Eratus, the Argive king, from their town,⁶⁶³ and fled to their allies in Laconia; from whom they obtained, after the end of the first Messenian war, a maritime district, where they built a new Asine, and for a long time preserved their national manners,⁶⁶⁴ as well as their connexion with the ancient religious worship of their kinsmen, the inhabitants of Hermione.⁶⁶⁵

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15. A clearer point in the Argive and Peloponnesian history is the reign of Pheidon. The accounts respecting this prince having been collected and examined in another work, it is merely necessary to repeat the result.⁶⁶⁶ Pheidon the Argive, the son of Aristodamidas, was descended from the royal family of Temenus, the power of which had indeed since the time of Medon, the son of Ceisus, been much diminished, but yet remained in existence for a long time. Pheidon broke through the restrictions that limited his power, and hence, contrary however to the ancient usage of the term, was called a *tyrant*. His views were at first directed towards making the independent towns of

⁶⁶⁰ III. 2. 2. III. 7. 1.

⁶⁶¹ Paus. III. 2. 2. III. 7. 1.

⁶⁶² III. 7. 3. and hence perhaps CEnomaus ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 133. Steph.

⁶⁶³ II. 26. 5. III. 7. 5. IV. 8. 1. IV. 14. 2. IV. 43. 6.

⁶⁶⁴ Thus, according to Herodotus, Hermione and Asine ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ, which then probably was the nearest place of importance, belonged to the Dryopians; comp. Theopompus ap. Strab. p. 373.

⁶⁶⁵ See Boeckh. Inscript. n. 1193.

⁶⁶⁶ Æginetica, pp. 51-63.

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Argolis dependent upon Argos. He undertook a war against Corinth, which he afterwards succeeded in reducing. In all probability Epidaurus, and certainly Ægina, belonged to him; none of the other towns in the neighbourhood were able to withstand the bold and determined conqueror.⁶⁶⁷ The finishing stroke of his achievements was manifestly the celebration of the Olympic games, over which he, as descendant of Hercules (the first conqueror at Olympia), after having abolished the Ætolian-Elean Hellanodicæ, presided, in conjunction with the inhabitants of Pisa, the ancient town of Pelops, which at this time, and many centuries after this time, had not relinquished its claims to the management of the festival. This circumstance also enables us to fix with certainty the period of his reign, since, in the Elean registers, the 8th Olympiad was marked as having been celebrated by him (747 B.C.). But it was this usurpation that united the Eleans and Lacedæmonians against him, and thus caused his overthrow. While the undertakings of Pheidon thus remained without benefit to his successors, he has been denounced by posterity as the most rapacious of tyrants in Greece; but, had he succeeded in establishing a permanent state of affairs, he would have received equal honours with Lycurgus. Yet, notwithstanding his failure, some of his institutions survived him, which adorn his memory. He is known

⁶⁶⁷ With regard to the dominion of his brother in Macedonia, the relation of this narrative to that in Herodotus VIII. 137. appears to me to be as follows. Both describe the same event; but the latter is the rude native tradition of Macedon, formed among a people which had few historical memorials; the former is derived from an Argive tradition, and, though as well as the other not purely historical, is yet connected together in a more probable manner. Κάρανος is perhaps only another form of Κοίρανος; see Hesychius in Κόρανος. The account of Euripides, that Archelaus, the son of Temenus, took the city of Ægæ in Macedonia, whither he had come as a goatherd in great distress (Hyginus Fab. 219; Dio Chrysost. p. 70.), is the most unfounded. Whether Isocrates (ad Philipp. p. 88. D.) was acquainted with the tradition concerning Caranus, or followed the account of Herodotus, does not appear. There is also a discrepancy in the account of Constant. Porphy. Them. I. p. 1453. See Appendix I. § 15.

to have equalized all weights and measures in Peloponnesus, which before his time were different in each state; he was also the first who coined money. He was enabled to undertake both with the greater success, since the only two commercial towns at that time belonging to Peloponnesus lay in his dominions, viz. Corinth (whence he is sometimes called a Corinthian) and Ægina. According to the most accurate accounts he first stamped silver-money⁶⁶⁸ in Ægina (where at that time forges doubtless existed), and, after having circulated these, he consecrated the ancient and then useless bars of metal to Here of Argos, where they were exhibited in later times to strangers.⁶⁶⁹—Many of the most ancient drachmas of Ægina, with the device of a tortoise, perhaps belong to this period, since the Greek coins struck before the Peloponnesian war appear to indicate a progress of many centuries in the art of stamping money. Those however which we have are sufficient to show that the same standard was prevalent throughout Peloponnesus,⁶⁷⁰ a difference in weight, measure, and standard not having been introduced till after the Peloponnesian war. This again was a second time abolished by the Achæan league, and an equality of measures restored.⁶⁷¹ [174]

16. After the fall of Pheidon the old dispute with Lacedæmon still continued.⁶⁷² In the 15th Olympiad (720 B.C.) the war concerning the frontier territory of Cynuria broke out afresh;⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁸ Æginetica, p. 57. cf. Addenda, p. 199.

⁶⁶⁹ And *only* silver (not τό τε ἄλλο καὶ τὸ ἀργυροῦν, as Strabo says), since copper was not coined till a much later period, and gold was first coined in Asia. In the Etymologicum Gudianum, p. 549. 58. it is stated inaccurately that Phido reduced the measures.

⁶⁷⁰ See book III. c. 10. § 12. The ancient Macedonian coins were struck according to the same standard.

⁶⁷¹ Polyb. II. 37. 10.

⁶⁷² See in general Julian. Epist. ad Arg. 35. p. 407.

⁶⁷³ According to Eusebius, p. 1297. ed. Pont. Pausanias places τὸν περὶ τῆς Θυρατίδος ἀγῶνα at the end of the reign of Theopompus, at the same date; Solinus, c. 13. in the seventeenth year of Romulus.

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the Argives now maintained it for some time,⁶⁷⁴ and secured the possession of this district chiefly by the victory at Hysiaë in Olymp. 27. 4. (669 B.C.⁶⁷⁵) And they kept it until the time of Cræsus (Olymp. 58.), when they lost it by the famous battle of the three hundred, in which Othryadas, though faint with his wounds, erected the trophy of victory for Sparta:⁶⁷⁶ a history the more fabulous, since it was celebrated by sacred songs at the Gymnopædia.⁶⁷⁷ Inconsiderable in extent as was the territory⁶⁷⁸ for which so much blood was shed, yet its possession decided which should be the leading power in Peloponnesus. It was not till after this had taken place that Cleomenes, in whose reign the boundary of Lacedæmon ran near the little river Erasinus, was enabled to attack Argos with success.

The power of Argos in the neighbourhood of the city was very insecure and fluctuating. Towards the end of the second Messenian war Argos had conquered the neighbouring town of Nauplia; the Lacedæmonians gave Methone in Messenia to the

⁶⁷⁴ Otherwise Herodotus could not have said of the Cynurians, ἐκδεδωρίευνται ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνον. Compare *Æginetica*, p. 47.

⁶⁷⁵ Pausan. II. 24. 8.

⁶⁷⁶ In addition to the passages in *Æginetica* ubi sup. see the Epigrams of Simonides VIII. 431. of Dioscorides VII. 430. Damagetus 432. Nicander 526. Chæremón 720. Gætulicus 244. in the Palatine Anthology. According to Isocrates Archid. p. 136. D. 300 Spartans destroyed all the Argives. It is a remarkable continuation of the legend, that Perilaus, the son of Alcenor, who went away too soon (Herod. I. 82.), a conqueror at the Nemean games, slew Othryadas, Pausan. II. 20. 6.—The offerings of the Argives for the battle of Thyrea, as well as those of the Tegeatans for a victory over Sparta, at Delphi (Pausan. X. 9. 3, 6.), cannot, from the dates of the artificers, have been made before the 100th Olympiad (380 B.C.).

⁶⁷⁷ Hence their institution (according to Eusebius, Olymp. 27. 3. 678 B.C.) is derived from that event. See Athen. XIV. p. 631. Ruhnken ad Tim. p. 54. Hesychius in *Θυρατικῶν στέφανοι*. Apostolius VI. 56.—Compare Manso, Sparta, I. 2. p. 211.

⁶⁷⁸ Lucian *Icaromenipp.* c. 18. calls Cynuria, taking indeed a bird's-eye view, α χωρίον κατ' οὐδὲν φακοῦ Αἰγυπτίου πλατύτερον, "not wider than a bean."

expelled inhabitants.⁶⁷⁹ The temple of Nemea, in the mountains towards Corinth, was, from its situation, the property of the independent Doric town Cleonæ; the Argives took it from them before Olymp. 53. 1. 568 B.C.,⁶⁸⁰ and henceforth celebrated the games of Zeus. The Argives however again lost it; and some time before the 80th Olympiad the Cleonæans again regulated the festival,⁶⁸¹ a privilege which they probably did not long retain. It is likely that about 580 B.C. the town of Orneæ, between Argos and Sicyon, which had anciently carried on wars with the latter city, was rendered subject to the former, from which circumstance the Pericæci of Argos obtained the general name of *Orneatans*; to which class the Cynurians also belonged before the battle of Thyrea.⁶⁸² But these events properly belong to the period, on the history of which we are now about to enter, and which we will designate in general as *the time of the tyrants*. [176]

Chapter VIII.

§ 1. The Doric principles of government opposed to despotic (or tyrannical) power. § 2. Tyrants of Sicyon. § 3. Of Corinth. § 4. Of Epidaurus and of Megara overthrown by Sparta. § 5. Other tyrants overthrown by Sparta. § 6. Expedition of Cleomenes against Argos. § 7. Internal history of Argos. § 8. Contests between Megara and Athens.

⁶⁷⁹ Pausan. IV. 24. 1. IV. 35. 2.

⁶⁸⁰ According to Eusebius in Olymp. 51. 6. ed. Pontac. comp. Corsini Dissert. Agon. p. 51.

⁶⁸¹ As Dissen has shown, ad Pind. Nem. IV. p. 381.

⁶⁸² From this I have explained Herod. VIII. 73. in my *Æginetica*, p. 47, where however the *σύνοικοι* after the Persian war are not different from the former Pericæci.

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1. The subject of this chapter may be best expressed in the words of Thucydides.⁶⁸³ “The tyrants of Athens, and of the rest of Greece, of which many states had been governed by tyrants before the Athenians, were, with the exception of those in Sicily, in most instances, and especially in later times, overthrown by the Lacedæmonians, whose state was never under a despotic government, and who, having become powerful through the early establishment of their own constitution, were enabled to arrange to their own liking the governments of other states.” It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of Greece, that at the same period of time tyrants everywhere obtained the supreme authority in Doric, Ionic, and Æolic cities; a proof that, although these nations were derived from different races, the same stage in the progress of social life was every where attended with the same phenomena. Those states alone in which the features of the Doric character were most strongly marked, viz., Sparta and Argos, resisted this influence; and we shall in general find that it was by a subversion of the Doric principles that the tyrants obtained their power. This will be made evident by a consideration of the absolute monarchies in the Doric states of Peloponnesus.

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2. The inhabitants of SICYON appear in ancient times to have been distinguished from other Dorians by a lively and excitable temperament, and by a disposition which they had at an early period transferred to their mythical hero Adrastus, whose “tongue was softly persuasive.”⁶⁸⁴ This very disposition, however, under the actual state of circumstances, opened the way to tyranny. In this instance of Sicyon, as in many others,

⁶⁸³ I. 18. and compare I. 76. and I. 122. See also Herodotus V. 92. 1. ἄπειροι τυράννων καὶ φυλάσσοντες δεινότατα τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, Sosicles the Corinthian says to the Spartans, “Heaven and earth will be changed, before you abolish free governments (ἰσοκρατίαι) in order to introduce tyrannies.” See also Dionys. Halicarn. Lys. 30. p. 523. The Syracusans also overthrew many tyrants, before they had one of their own, Aristot. Polit. V. 8. 18.

⁶⁸⁴ Tyrtæus Fragm. 3. v. 8. Gaisford.

the tyrant was the leader of the lower classes, who were opposed to the aristocracy. It was in this character that Orthagoras came forward, who, not being of an ancient family, was called by the nobles a cook.⁶⁸⁵ But, notwithstanding its low origin, the family of this person maintained the supremacy for a longer period than any other, according to Aristotle⁶⁸⁶ for a century, as they did not maltreat the citizens, and upon the whole respected the laws. Their succession is Orthagoras, Andreas, Myron, Aristonymus, and Cleisthenes,⁶⁸⁷ of whom, however, the second and fourth never ascended the throne, or only reigned for a short time. Myron was conqueror at Olympia in the chariot-race in the 33d Olympiad (648 B. C), and afterwards built a treasury, in which two apartments were inlaid with Tartessian brass, and adorned with Doric and Ionic columns.⁶⁸⁸ Both the architectural orders employed in this building, and the Tartessian brass, which the Phocæans had then brought to Greece in large quantities from the hospitable king Arganthonius,⁶⁸⁹ attest the intercourse of Myron with the Asiatics; we shall presently see that this same correspondence was of considerable importance for the measures of other tyrants. Cleisthenes appears to have employed violence in obtaining the sovereignty,⁶⁹⁰ which he held undisturbed, partly

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⁶⁸⁵ Libanius in Sever, vol. III. p. 251. Reisk.

⁶⁸⁶ Polit. V. 9. 21.

⁶⁸⁷ The series is not, however, quite certain, as Herodotus VI. 126. only goes down as far as Andreas. Aristotle merely says, Ὀρθαγόρου παῖδες καὶ αὐτὸς Ὀρθαγόρας, and Plutarch, de sera Num. Vind. 7 (see Wyttenbach. p. 44). Ὀρθαγόρας καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων οἱ περὶ Μύρωνα καὶ Κλεισθένην. From the new Excerpta of Diodorus, VII-X. 14. Script. Vet. Nov. Coll. vol. II. p. 11. Mai, it appears that Andreas and Orthagoras are probably the same person: for Andreas is stated also to have been a cook, by whom the dynasty was first raised.

⁶⁸⁸ Pausan. VI. 19. 2. II. 8. 1. where for Πύρρων write Μύρων.

⁶⁸⁹ Herod. I. 163. and others.

⁶⁹⁰ Aristot. Pol. V. 10. 3. For what Aristotle says, μεταβάλλει καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα τυραννίς, ὥσπερ ἡ Σικυῶνος ἐκ τῆς Μύρωνος εἰς τὴν Κλεισθέτους, implies that the tyranny did not pass quietly from Myron to Cleisthenes, but that the

by creating terror through his military fame and exploits in arms, and partly by gaining the support of the people by the introduction of some democratic elements into the constitution. With regard to the latter measure, the singular alterations which he made in the tribes of Sicyon will be explained hereafter.⁶⁹¹ We will here only remark that Cleisthenes himself belonged to the subject tribe, which was not of Doric origin; and while he endeavoured to raise the latter, at the same time he sought to depress, and even to dishonour the Doric tribes, so that he entirely destroyed and reversed the whole state of things which had previously existed. For this reason Cleisthenes was at enmity with Argos, the chief Doric city of this district.⁶⁹² For the same reason he proscribed the worship of the Argive hero Adrastus, and favoured in its place the worship of Dionysus, a deity foreign to the Doric character; and lastly, prohibited the Homeric rhapsodists from entering the town, because Homer had celebrated Argos, and, we may add, an aristocratic form of government. These characteristic traits of a bold and comprehensive mind are gathered from the lively narrative of Herodotus. The same political tendency was inherited by his son-in-law Megacles, the husband of the beautiful Agariste, to obtain whose hand many rival youths had assembled in the palace of Cleisthenes, like the suitors of old, for that of Helen,⁶⁹³ and it was particularly manifested in Cleisthenes of Athens, who changed the Athenian constitution by abolishing the last traces of separate ranks. With regard, however, to the warlike actions of Cleisthenes, he must have been very celebrated for his prowess; since in the war of the Amphytyons against Cirrha, although denounced as a stone-slinger (that is, a man of the lowest rank),⁶⁹⁴ by the Pythian priestess, he shared the chief

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latter re-acquired it by force.

⁶⁹¹ Book III. ch. 4. § 3.

⁶⁹² Herod. V. 67. Ἀργείοισι πολεμῆσας.

⁶⁹³ See, besides Herodotus, Diodor. Exc. 2. p. 550. with Wesseling's Notes.

⁶⁹⁴ Herodotus, followed by Dio Chrysost. III. p. 43 B. I would now in this

command of the army with the Thessalian Heraclid, Eurylochus, and helped to conquer the city.⁶⁹⁵ This took place in the third year of the 47th Olympiad, or 592 B.C.⁶⁹⁶ Out of the plunder of the town Cleisthenes built a portico for the embellishment of Sicyon;⁶⁹⁷ he was also conqueror in the chariot-race at the second Pythiad (Olymp. 49. 3. 584 B.C.)⁶⁹⁸ It may perhaps be possible from the scattered accounts concerning this prince to form a notion of his character. Cleisthenes was undoubtedly a man who was able to seize the spirit of the time, which aimed at great liberty and excitement—the very contrary of the settled composure of the Dorians; and, combining talents and versatility with the love of splendour and pageantry, ridiculed many things hitherto looked upon with awe, and set no limits to his love of change. Notwithstanding these qualities, he was, as is probable from the general testimony of Thucydides, overthrown by Sparta, perhaps soon after 580 B.C.,⁶⁹⁹ nor was the ancient state of things restored at Sicyon till 60 years afterwards,⁷⁰⁰ during which interval another tyrant named Æschines reigned, belonging however to a different family. [181]

3. The CORINTHIAN tyrants⁷⁰¹ were nearly allied with those of Sicyon; since the former, not belonging to the Doric nobility,

passage of Herodotus (V. 67.) retain λευστήρα, where Casaubon proposed ληιστήρα; not, however, in a passive sense, but according to its grammatical form, for a stone-slinger, *i.e.* a γύμνης or ψιλοός, the great mass of light-armed soldiers being furnished with slings. Compare *e.g.* Thuc. I. 106. οἱ ψιλοὶ κατέλευσαν.—“Adrastus is king of the Argives, but thou art a common bond-slave,” says the oracle to Cleisthenes.

⁶⁹⁵ Pausan. II. 9. 6. X. 37. 4. Schol. Pindar. Nem. IX. 2. Polyæn. III. 5. It is remarkable that Sparta took no part in this war.

⁶⁹⁶ See Boeckh Explic. Pindar. Olymp. XII. p. 206.

⁶⁹⁷ Pausan. II. 9. 6.

⁶⁹⁸ Pausan. X. 7. 5.

⁶⁹⁹ For the tyranny lasted, according to Aristotle and Diodorus, p. 11. Mai, 100 years, *i.e.* from about the 26th to the 51st Olympiad, 676-576 B.C.

⁷⁰⁰ Herod. V. 68.

⁷⁰¹ Herod. VI. 128.

were placed in the same situation as the latter with regard to this class. In Corinth, before the commencement of the dynasty of tyrants, the ruling power was held by the numerous⁷⁰² Heraclide clan of the Bacchiadæ, which had changed the original constitution into an oligarchy, by keeping itself distinct, in the manner of a caste, from all other families, and alone furnished the city with the annual prytanes, the chief magistrates. Cypselus the son of Aëtion, the grandson of Echecrates, from a Corinthian borough named Petra,⁷⁰³ and not of Doric descent, although connected on his mother's side with the Bacchiadæ, overcame, with the assistance again of the lower classes,⁷⁰⁴ the oligarchs, now become odious through their luxury⁷⁰⁵ and insolence, the larger part of whom, either voluntarily or by compulsion, quitted Corinth;⁷⁰⁶ and Cypselus became tyrant about the 30th Olympiad (660 B.C.),⁷⁰⁷ from the inability of the people to govern itself independently. However violently the Corinthian orator in Herodotus accuses this prince, the judgment of antiquity in general was widely different. Cypselus was of a peaceable disposition, reigned without a body-guard,⁷⁰⁸ and never forgot that he rose from a demagogue to the throne. He also undertook works of building, either from a taste for the arts, or for the

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⁷⁰² Strab. p. 378. About 200 men according to Diodorus ap. Syncell. Cronograph. p. 178. Par.

⁷⁰³ Herod. V. 92. 2.

⁷⁰⁴ Aristot. Pol. V. 8. 4. V. 9. 22.

⁷⁰⁵ Ælian. V. II. I. 19.

⁷⁰⁶ Concerning a stratagem of Cypselus on this occasion, see Polyænus V. 31. 1. That a Bacchiad, Demaratus, should have gone at this time to Italy, is very probable; but that the Tarquins were descended from him is a fiction. See Niebuhr's History of Rome, vol. I. p. 215.

⁷⁰⁷ According to Eusebius, which agrees with the 447 years in Diodorus (Fragm. 6. p. 635. Wessel.), from the return of the Heraclidæ until Cypselus. It is not easy to see what were Strabo's grounds for reckoning the dominion of the Bacchiadæ at 200 years, VIII. p. 378. According to Diodorus they were Prytanes for only 90 years.

⁷⁰⁸ Aristot. ubi sup.

purpose of employing the people. The treasury at Delphi, together with the plane-tree, was his work.⁷⁰⁹ To him succeeded his son Periander, who was at first equally or more mild than his father.⁷¹⁰ Soon, however, his conduct became sensibly more violent, and, according to Herodotus, he was instigated by his correspondence with Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus, who counselled him by every method to weaken, or even to exterminate, the nobility of his city.⁷¹¹ Many of his actions were evidently prompted by the wish of utterly eradicating the peculiarities of the Doric race, which were closely connected with an aristocratic spirit. For this reason he abolished the public tables, and prohibited the ancient education.⁷¹² He awed the people by his military splendour, and maintained triremes on both coasts of the Isthmus;⁷¹³ his person he protected by three hundred body-guards.⁷¹⁴ To maintain the city at peace, and to avoid all violent commotions, was a principle, on the observance of which the security of his dominion depended, and upon which a complete system of regulations was founded. With this view he abolished a criminal court⁷¹⁵ for the condemnation of such as wasted their patrimony, inasmuch as persons in this situation were likely to become innovators. He interdicted immoderate luxury, and an extravagant number of slaves. Idleness he considered as especially dangerous. So little true did he remain to the democratic principles of his father, that

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⁷⁰⁹ Plutarch. Sept. Sapient. 21. cf. Sympos. Qu. VIII. 4. 4. p. 361.

⁷¹⁰ Herod. V. 92. 6. according to Schol. Plat. Hipp. Maj. p. 135 Ruhnk. he was πρῶτον δημοτικός, as should be read in Apostol. XX. 47.

⁷¹¹ Herod. ubi sup. Aristot. Pol. III. 8. 3. V. 8. 7. V. 9. 2.

⁷¹² Aristot. Pol. V. 9. 2.

⁷¹³ Nicolaus Damascenus.

⁷¹⁴ Aristot. Pol. V. 9. 22. Heraclid. Pont. 5. Nicol. Damasc.

⁷¹⁵ Βουλὴν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων, Heraclides. Compare Aristot. Pol. V. 6. γίνονται δὲ μεταβολαὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ ὅταν ἀναλώσωσι τὰ ἴδια, ζῶντες ἀσελγῶς. καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καινοτομεῖν ζητοῦσι, καὶ ἢ τυραννίδι ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοὶ, ἢ κατασκευάζουσιν ἕτερον.

he expelled the people from the city;⁷¹⁶ and in order the more readily to accustom them to agricultural and mechanical labour, only permitted them to wear the dress of peasants.⁷¹⁷ His own expenses were trifling, and therefore he required no other taxes than harbour-dues and market-tolls. He also avoided, where his projects did not require it, all violence and open injustice; and was even at times so strict a maintainer of public morality, that the numerous procuresses of the luxurious Corinth were by his orders thrown into the sea;⁷¹⁸ the hospitable damsels of Aphrodite⁷¹⁹ being protected by religion. He, as well as his father, made the construction of splendid monuments of art⁷²⁰ a means of taxing the property of the rich, and of employing the body of the people; though indeed his own refined taste took pleasure in such works. And in general, if considered in reference to the cultivation of taste and intellect, and the interests of agriculture and trade, the age of the tyrants was productive of a very great advancement in the Grecian states. The unpliant disposition, strict in the observance of all ancient customs and usages, was then first bent and subdued, and more liberal and extended views became prevalent. The tyrants were frequently in intimate connexion with the inhabitants of Asia Minor, whom Sparta despised for their luxury and effeminacy; and from the Lydian sultan in his harem at Sardes, a chain of communication, most important in its consequences, was established through the princes of Miletus and Samos with the countries in the immediate neighbourhood of Sparta. Periander was in correspondence not

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⁷¹⁶ Ibid.

⁷¹⁷ Book III. ch. 3. § 3.

⁷¹⁸ Heraclides. Perhaps for προαγωγοὶ should be written προσαγωγοὶ (like the ποταγωγίδες of Sicily, book III. ch. 9. § 7. note).

⁷¹⁹ See Book II. ch. 10. § 7.

⁷²⁰ Concerning the Colossi and offerings of the Cypselidæ, see Aristot. Polit. V. 9. 2. Theophrast. ap. Phot, in Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα. Ephorus ap. Diog. Laërt. I. 96. Pausan. V. 2. 4. Plato Phædr. p. 236 et Schol. p. 313. ed. Bekker. Strabo VIII. p. 353. 378. Plutarch de Pyth. orac. 13. See book III. ch. 10. § 12.

only with Thrasybulus, but also with Halyattes, the king of Lydia, and sent to the latter prince some Corcyraean youths to be castrated according to the oriental custom.⁷²¹ The names of his kinsmen, Psammetichus and Gordias, the latter Phrygian, the former Egyptian, are proofs of an hospitable intercourse with those countries. On the other side of Greece, the policy of the Cypselidæ led them to attempt the occupation of the coast of the Ionian sea as far as Illyria, and to establish a connexion with the barbarous nations of the interior.⁷²² Periander was of a daring and comprehensive spirit, and rivalled by few of his contemporaries, bold in the field, politic in council, though misled by continual distrust to undertake unworthy measures, and having too little regard for the good of the people when it interfered with his own designs; a friend of the arts, of an enlightened mind, but at the same time overcome by the strength of his passions; and, although devoid of awe for all sacred things, yet at times a prey to the most grovelling superstition. After the death of Periander, Psammetichus⁷²³ the son of Gordias, of the same family, succeeded to the sovereignty, but only reigned three years, having been, without doubt, overthrown by the Spartans

95 and Apollodorus (p. 411. Heyn. comp. Timæus ap. Strab. 13. p. 600. A. Aristot. Rhet. I. 15. 14.) that he decided between Athens and Mytilene concerning Sigeum, since Phrynon of Athens (victor in the 36th Olympiad, Afric.) had contended on this same point with Pittacus in Olym. 43. 1. (Eusebius), before the time of Pisistratus. Compare Polyænus I. 25. Plutarch de Herod. Malign. 15. Diog. Laert. i. 74. Festus in Retiar. Schol. Æsch. Eumen. 401. The narrative of Herodotus is not arranged *entirely* in a chronological order. Periander, however, was reigning, according to Herodotus I. 20. in the fifth year of the reign of Halyattes (Olymp. 41), and before his death sent him a present of Corcyraean boys, in the third generation (*i.e.* in the 16th Olympiad), before the siege of Samos by the Lacedæmonians (Olymp. 63.), as Panofka (*Res Samiorum*, p. 30.) has rightly corrected in Herod. III. 48. (γ' γενεῆ πρότερον) from Plutarch, de Malign. Herod. 22. Cypselus, according to Herodotus, reigned thirty years, and therefore ascended the throne in Olymp. 30. 3.; the Cypselidæ ruled altogether 76-1/2 years (according to my emendation of Aristot. Pol. V. 9. 22); Procles reigned from about the 35th to the 49th Olympiad; Aristocrates goes as far back as the 25th Olympiad.

in Olymp. 49. 3. 582 B.C.⁷²⁴

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4. Periander was married to the fair Melissa, whose beauty had captivated him in the house of her father, the tyrant Procles, while she was distributing wine to the labourers in a thin Doric dress.⁷²⁵ Procles was ruler of EPIDAUROS and the island of Ægina, which were at that time still closely united; he himself was related by marriage to the princes of Orchomenus, and appears from this circumstance, and from his connexion with the family of Cypselus, to belong to the number of tyrants, who, being hostile to the Dorian aristocracy, obtained their power by the assistance of the lower ranks.

And when we also add that Theagenes of MEGARA, the

⁷²¹ Herodotus. Compare Antenor and Dionysius of Chalcedon, in Plutarch, de Malign. Herod. 22. p. 302. and the elegant legend in Pliny H. N. IX. 41.

⁷²² See above, ch. 6. § 8. Besides Gorgus, there was also at Ambracia a tyrant named Periander, Aristot. Polit. V. 8. 9. Plutarch. Amator. 23. p. 60. perhaps the son of Gorgus.

⁷²³ Either to this person, or to Periander, or to Cypselus, the beautiful Rhadina of Samos was, according to Stesichorus (ap. Strab. VIII. p. 347.) sent as a bride, but she was killed out of jealousy. That it was the Ionic Samos is proved against Strabo by Pausan. VII. 5. 6.

⁷²⁴ There is some difficulty in the chronology of this family; the following is a genealogical table:—

[Transcriber's Note: Here are the relationships shown in the table:

Aristocrates of Orchomenus: Father of Aristodemus and Eristhenea.

Eristhenea married Procles of Epidaurus, and bore Melissa.

Ætion fathered Cypselus, who fathered Gorgus and Periander, who married Melissa.

Melissa and Periander parented Cypselus and Lycophron.]

There are also Gordias and Psammetichus, as to whom nothing is known. See Æginetica, p. 64. sqq. Periander ruled from Olymp. 38. 1. (Eusebius) to Olymp. 48. 4. (Sosicrates ap. Diog. Laërt. I. 74.), 44 years according to Aristotle. This is not inconsistent with the fact mentioned by Herodotus V.

⁷²⁵ Æginetica, p. 64.

father-in-law of Cylon the Athenian,⁷²⁶ precisely resembled the princes already mentioned in his conduct (since he likewise obtained his power by attacking the rich landed proprietors, and had killed their flocks upon the pastures of the river),⁷²⁷ and that like the others he endeavoured to please the people by embellishing the city, by the construction of an aqueduct, and of a beautiful fountain;⁷²⁸ it is easy to perceive in the dynasties of the Sicyonian, Corinthian, Epidaurian, and Megarian tyrants, a powerful coalition against the supremacy of the Dorians, and the ancient principles of that race, the more powerful, as they knew how to render subservient to their own ends the opinions which had lately arisen; and it is a matter of wonder that Sparta should have succeeded in overthrowing this combination. [187]

5. If, indeed, it is also borne in mind that the Ionic, as well as the Æolic and Doric⁷²⁹ islands and cities of Asia, and also Athens, together with Phocis, Thessaly, and the colonies in Sicily and [188]

Samians, he returned to his ancient country. He was followed by Epicharmus the comic poet, Suidas, in v. Ἐπίχαρμος. At his departure from Cos he gave the state its liberty, and instituted a senate (βουλή). He was a contemporary of Hippolochus the Asclepiad, and the ancestor by the mother's side of Thessalus. See the 7th Epistle of Hippocrates. In Sicily, Oleander and the family of Hippocrates, Gelon and Hieron, at Gela and then at Syracuse; Phalaris, and afterwards Theron, and Thrasidæus at Agrigentum; Anaxilas at Rhegium and Zancle; Panætius (Olymp. 41. 3. 614 B.C.) at Leontini. See Aristot. Pol. V. 8. 1. V. 10. 4. Perhaps also Aristophilidas of Tarentum (Herod. III. 136.) was a tyrant. Tyrants also existed in Italy, in Croton, Sybaris, and Cyme.

⁷²⁶ Who himself had aimed at the tyranny of Athens so early as the 42d Olympiad. Thucyd. I. 126. Heinrich, Epimenides, p. 83.

⁷²⁷ Aristot. Rhet. I. 2. 19. Polit. V. 4. 4.

⁷²⁸ Like the Enneacrunus of the Pisistratidæ. Pausan. I. 40. 1. I. 41. 2. Theognis v. 894. ὡς κυψελλίζον Ζεὺς ὀλέσειε γένος cannot well refer to a *factio Cypselidarum*, especially if it has any connexion with what precedes, concerning the Persian war; but κυψελλίζειν must mean "to be deaf," "to have the ears closed," from κυψέλη.

⁷²⁹ I will only mention the tyrants in Doric states.—Cleobulus at Lindos, who was similar to Periander, Plutarch, de EI 3. p. 118. comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. IV. p. 523 B. (the Diagoridæ however still continued at Ialysus). Cadmus in

Italy, were all in the hands of tyrants, who doubtless assisted one another, and knew their common interest; and that Sparta alone, in most instances at the instigation of the Delphian oracle, declared against all these rulers a lasting war, and in fact overthrew them all, with the exception of the Sicilian tyrants; it must be confessed, that in this period of Grecian history no contest took place either greater, or, by its extent as well as its principles, of more important political and moral consequences. The following tyrants are stated by ancient historians to have been deposed by the Spartans:⁷³⁰ the Cypselidæ of Corinth and Ambracia, the former in Olymp. 49. 3. (584 B.C.), the latter probably somewhat later; the Pisistratidæ of Athens, who were allied with the Thessalians, in Olymp. 67. 3. (510 B.C.);⁷³¹ their adherent Lygdamis of Naxos,⁷³² probably about the same time: Æschines of Sicyon, about the 65th Olympiad⁷³³ (520 B.C.); Symmachus of Thasos; Aulis of Phocis; and Aristogenes of Miletus, of whom

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the island of Cos, whose history must, from Herod. VI. 23. and VII. 164. be as follows. Scythes, the tyrant of Zancle, being driven out by the Samians (Olymp. 70. 4. 497 B.C.), fled to the king of Persia, and remained chiefly at his court. To Scythes' son, Cadmus, the king of Persia probably gave the island of Cos. For though it might be objected that Cadmus could not have been the son of Scythes *of Zancle*, since the latter, according to Herodotus, died in Persia (ἐν Πέρσῃσι), whereas Cadmus inherited the tyranny from his father (παρὰ πατρός); it may be answered that Scythes, *notwithstanding* that the king had given him the government of Cos, yet did not reside there, but at the Persian court, as we know to have been the case with Histæus. Afterwards, however, before the 75th Olympiad (480 B.C.), having made a treaty with the⁷³⁰ Ap. Plutarch, de Herod. Malign. 21. p. 308. Compare Manso, Sparta, I. 2. p. 308.

⁷³¹ Although they were the guests of Sparta, τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιοῦντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, Herod. V. 63. 90. Thuc. VI. 53. Aristoph. Lysist. 1150, &c.

⁷³² See Aristot. Pol. V. 5. 1. and his πολιτεία Ναξίων in Athenæus VIII. p. 348. According to Herod. I. 61. 64. Lygdamis was established in his government by Pisistratus, about the 60th Olympiad (540 B.C.). Comp. Heyne Nov. Comment. Gott. II. Class. Phil. p. 65.

⁷³³ See above, § 2. Sicyon gave ships to Cleomenes about the 65th Olympiad,

we know only the names;⁷³⁴ the larger number were dethroned under the kings Anaxandridas and Ariston, Cleomenes and Demaratus. Of these tyrants, some they deposed by a military force, as the Pisistratidæ; but frequently, as Plutarch says, they overthrew the despotism without “moving a shield,” by despatching a herald, whom all immediately obeyed, “as, when the queen bee appears, the rest arrange themselves in order.”⁷³⁵ In the time of Cleomenes also (525 B.C.) Sparta sent out a great armament, together with Corinthian and other allies, against Polycrates of Samos, the first Doric expedition against Asia, not, as is evident from the trivial reason stated by Herodotus, (viz. in order to revenge the plunder of a cauldron and a breastplate,) but with the intent of following up their principle of deposing all tyrants.⁷³⁶ But the besieging of a fortified town, situated upon the sea, and at so great a distance, was beyond the strength of Peloponnesus. The last expedition of Sparta against the tyrants falls after the Persian war, when king Leotychidas, the conqueror at Mycale, was sent for the purpose of ejecting the Aleuadæ of Thessaly, who had delivered up the country to the Persians in 470 B.C. or somewhat later. Aristomedes and Angelus were actually dethroned, but the king suffering himself to be bribed by others, the expedition did not completely succeed.⁷³⁷

We may suppose with what pride the ambassador of Sparta answered Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse (however brilliant and beneficial his reign may have been), when he required the command in the Persian war: “Truly the Pelopid Agamemnon would lament, if he heard that the supremacy was taken from the Spartans by Gelon and the Syracusans!”⁷³⁸ [190]

or 520 B.C.

⁷³⁴ Before the time of Histiaeus.

⁷³⁵ Lycurg. 30.

⁷³⁶ Herod. III. 54. Plutarch. de Herod. Malign. 21.

⁷³⁷ This follows from Plutarch ubi sup. and Cimon c. 16. Herod. VI. 12.

Pausan. III. 7, 8.

⁷³⁸ Herod. VII. 159.

6. To these important changes in the political history of that time we may annex the subordinate events in the interior of Peloponnesus.

Sparta, by the conquest of Cynuria, had obtained the key of the Argive territory. Soon after this, Cleomenes, the eldest son of Anaxandridas the Eurysthenid, succeeded to the throne, a man of great boldness and strength of mind, sagacious, enterprising, accustomed, after the manner of his age and country, to express himself in a concise and emphatic language, only too much inflated by family and personal pride, and in disposition more nearly resembling his contemporaries the tyrants than beseemed a king of Sparta. The first exploit of this prince⁷³⁹ was the expedition against Argos. He landed in some vessels of Sicyon and Ægina on the coast of Tiryns, overcame the Argives at the wood of Argos,⁷⁴⁰ slew the greater part of the men able to bear arms, and would have succeeded in capturing their city, had he not, from an inconceivable superstition, dismissed the allied army without making any further use of the victory, and contented himself with sacrificing in the temple of Here.⁷⁴¹ At

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⁷³⁹ According to Pausan. III. 4. 1. Therefore *before* Olymp. 65. 1. or 520 B.C. for Cleomenes was then king, as is evident from a comparison of Herod. VI. 108. with Thucyd. III. 68. He was in that year in the neighbourhood of Platea. According to Plutarch. Lacon. Apophth. p. 212. Cleomenes was regent in the 63rd Olympiad (525 B. C), when the Samians came to Sparta: this however would give too great a length to his reign, (which Herodotus states to have been of *short* duration,) viz., from about 525 to 491 B.C.

⁷⁴⁰ It appears that this wood was near Sepea in the territory of Tiryns. Apostolius IV. 27. states that the battle took place on the Ἄργους λόφος. The stratagem of Cleomenes is narrated after Herodotus by Polyænus I. 14.

⁷⁴¹ The marvellous narrative of Herodotus VI. 77 sqq. is also unconnected, from there being no explanation of the two first verses of the oracle, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια, which however must have referred to some real event. Or does Herodotus refer θήλεια to Juno? Pausanias II. 20. doubts whether Herodotus understands it. But the story of Telesilla in Pausanias, Plutarch. de Mul. Virt. 5. p. 269. and Polyænus VIII. 33. is very fabulous. The festival ὕβριστικά could not have had this historical origin, but must have belonged to the mystical rites of some elementary deities. The number of the Argives who were slain is stated

the same time Argos, in consequence of this defeat, remained for a long time crippled, and it was even necessary that a complete change in her political condition should take place, in order to renovate the feeble and disordered state into which she had fallen.

7. For after the bond-slaves or *gymnesii*⁷⁴² of Argos had for a time governed the state thus deprived of its free inhabitants, until the young men who had in the mean time arisen to manhood overcame and expelled them, the Argives, as Aristotle⁷⁴³ relates, saw themselves compelled, in order to restore the numbers of their free population, to collect about them the surrounding subjects of their city, the Periœci, and to distribute them in the immediate neighbourhood.⁷⁴⁴ The completion of this plan took place one generation after the fatal battle with Cleomenes, at the time of the Persian war, in which Argos, whose attention was wholly occupied with strengthening her affairs at home, took no part. At that time the Argives, in order to increase their own numbers, dispeopled nearly all the large cities in the surrounding country, and transplanted the inhabitants to Argos;⁷⁴⁵ particularly Tiryns, Mycenæ, Hyseæ, Orneæ, and Midea.⁷⁴⁶ Tiryns and Mycenæ were in the time of the Persian war free, and even independent communities, which followed the command of Sparta without the consent of Argos; the latter town indeed contested with Argos the right to the administration of the temple of Here, and the

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by Plutarch and Polyænus to have been 7777; by others 6000 (also a tradition of a seven days' armistice in Plut. Lac. Apoph. p. 211.). This is the battle ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἰσταμένου, but of *what* month we are ignorant, Pol. V. 2. 8. Plut. Mul. Virt. ubi sup. Others placed it at the νουμηνία of the fourth month, anciently Hermæus, but only because the ὕβριστικά were then celebrated. See Clem. Alex. Strom. IV. p. 522. ed. Sylb. Suidas in v. Τελέσιλλα.

⁷⁴² Concerning these slaves, see book III. ch. 3. § 2.

⁷⁴³ Polit. V. 2. 8. Plutarch confounds bond-slaves and Periœci.

⁷⁴⁴ See Schol. Ven. ad Il. B. 108. concerning the nine hamlets (islands) near Argos.

⁷⁴⁵ Pausan. VIII. 27. 1.

⁷⁴⁶ Strabo VIII. p. 376. distinguishes Orneæ κώμη τῆς Ἀργείας from the city near Sicyon, as also in the same place a κώμη named Asine, p. 373 B.

presidency at the Nemean games.⁷⁴⁷ The destruction of their city, which the Argives undertook in concert with the Cleonæans and Tegeates,⁷⁴⁸ was effected in the year 464 B.C. (Olymp. 79. 1). But of the Mycenæans, a few only followed the Argives, as the larger number either took refuge at Cleonæ (which city was at that time independent, and had for some time the management of the Nemean games)⁷⁴⁹, at Ceryneia in Achaia, and even in Macedonia.⁷⁵⁰ Of the Tiryinthians also some fled to Epidaurus, and some to Halieis in the territory of the Dryopians, in which place the expelled Hermioneans also found an asylum.⁷⁵¹ For Hermione, which Herodotus during the time of the Persian war considers as a Dryopian city,⁷⁵² was subsequently taken by the Argives.⁷⁵³ The other cities which have been mentioned, had however, as we know of Orneæ and also Hysiæ, previously belonged to Periceci, being subjects of Argos, and were only then

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⁷⁴⁷ Diod. XI. 65.

⁷⁴⁸ Strabo p. 377. Yet Cleonæ soon occurs again as a friendly state.

⁷⁴⁹ Ch. 7. § 15. Cleonæ was at that time engaged in a war with Corinth, Plutarch. Cimon. 17.

⁷⁵⁰ Pausan. VII. 25. 3. Comp. Diodorus XI. 65. It is remarkable how rapidly Mycenæ fell into oblivion among the Athenians. Æschylus does not once mention it; succeeding poets frequently confound it with Argos. In the *Electra* of Sophocles there is throughout the play the most confused notion of the locality; compare Elmsley ad Eurip. *Heraclid.* 188. Concerning the destruction of Mycenæ, see Brunck *Analect.* tom. II. p. 105. n. 248.

⁷⁵¹ Pausan. II. 25. 7. cf. II. 17. 5. VIII. 46. 2. Concerning the emigration, see Strabo VIII. p. 373 B. and Ephorus lib. VI. ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Ἀλιεῖς. ὅτι οὗτοι Τυρόνθιοί εἰσιν, &c. In Stephanus in v. Τύρωνες, as well as in Strabo ubi sup. the Hermioneans in Halieis are spoken of. There is much that is very singular in the oracle, ποῖ τὸ λαβῶν καὶ ποῖ τὸ καθίξω καὶ ποῖ τὸ οἰκήσιν ἔχων ἀλιέα τε κεκλήθηται. See App. V. § 11.

⁷⁵² Herod. VIII. 43. The Hermioneans however maintained their ancient connexions at a later period; see above, ch. 7. § 13.

⁷⁵³ Pausan. II. 34. 5. Strabo adds the destruction of Asine; but this took place at a much earlier period. The statement of Strabo (p. 373 D.) that the Mycenæans used Eiones as their ναύσταθμον, must, if it is correct, refer to some time

incorporated for the purpose of enlarging the metropolis.⁷⁵⁴ The Argives, by these arbitrary proceedings, secured themselves as well against external foes as against their former enemies the bond-slaves, and also acquired a large number of laborious and industrious inhabitants, who, by the continuance of peace, soon re-established the prosperity and wealth of Argos.⁷⁵⁵ The oracle has well marked out the principles which were then expedient for the welfare of that state, when it recommended it, as "*the enemy of its neighbours, and friend of the gods, to draw in its arms, and remain in watchful quiet, guarding its head; for that the head would save the body.*"⁷⁵⁶ At the same time, however, by these proceedings, a complete change in the constitution was brought about, and Argos, as we shall see hereafter, gradually lost the peculiar features of the Doric character. [194]

The other actions of Cleomenes of which we have any knowledge refer to the political changes at Athens, and could only be connectedly related in a history of the Athenian constitution, or in reference to the events in Ægina, which we have narrated elsewhere.

8. It is remarkable that during this whole time, in which Sparta founded her empire, we read of no serious contest between Dorians and Ionians. For although the border-states, Megara and Ægina (the latter after its revolt from Epidaurus), carried on a continued war with Athens, the whole race took no part in the contest, and Sparta herself fulfilled the office of an impartial arbitrator between Athens and Megara. Even before the time of Solon, the Athenians and Megarians fought in the territory of Eleusis.⁷⁵⁷ The chief struggle was for the island of Salamis, which Solon is supposed to have gained by the

before the 75th Olympiad, or 480 B.C.

⁷⁵⁴ Pausan. II. 25. 1.

⁷⁵⁵ Diod. XII. 75.

⁷⁵⁶ Herod. VII. 148.

⁷⁵⁷ Herod. I. 30. where the ἀστρυγίτορες are the Megarians, not the Eleusinians.

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well known stratagem,⁷⁵⁸ a fact however which was denied by Daimachus of Plataea.⁷⁵⁹ According to the Megarian account, some refugees from their own city (named Δορύκλειοι) betrayed the island to the Athenians.⁷⁶⁰ So much is certain, that five Spartan arbitrators (Critolaidas, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes), in obedience to ancient traditions and fables respecting the original owners of Salamis, adjudged the possession of Salamis to the Athenians. Yet in the troubles which succeeded the banishment of Megacles, this island was again lost, as well as the harbour Nisæa, which had been before conquered.⁷⁶¹ They soon however regained it, and Megara appears from that time forth to have given up all hopes of recovery: as in this age the power of Athens increased so rapidly, that Megara could no longer think of renewing her ancient contests.

Since it is not my object to give a continuous and general narration of facts, but only to extract what is most instructive for the condition of the Doric race, I shall not carry on the history of the Dorians out of Peloponnesus to a lower point, as their local connexions would lead us far astray into other regions. For the same reason I will only touch upon a few events of the Persian wars, confining myself to the internal affairs of Peloponnesus during that period, among which the supremacy of Sparta is the most important and remarkable.

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⁷⁵⁸ Pausan. I. 40, 45. Strabo IX. p. 271. Herod. Vit. Homer. c. 28. Polyæn. Strateg. I. 20. 1, 2. Diogen. Laërt. I. 48. Quintil. V. 11.

⁷⁵⁹ Plutarch. Comp. Solon, et Public. 4.

⁷⁶⁰ Pausan. I. 40. 4.

⁷⁶¹ Plutarch. Solon. 10. 12. confirmed by Ælian. V. H. VII. 19. There was at Delphi a statue of Apollo armed with a lance, mentioned by Plutarch Pyth. Orac. 16. p. 273. and Pausan. X. 15. 1. which was offered up by the Megarians after a victory over Athens, *i.e.* after that gained in Olympe. 83. 3. see book III. ch. 9, § 10.

Chapter IX.

§ 1. Sparta the head of the Peloponnesian confederacy. Its members and their order of precedence. § 2. Mode in which the supremacy of Sparta was exercised. § 3. Congress of the confederacy. § 4. Non-interference of the confederacy with the internal affairs of the confederate States. § 5. Sparta the head of the confederacy by general acknowledgment. § 6. Hellenic league during the Peloponnesian war. § 7. Sparta withdraws from the command of the Allied Army. § 8. Ionia never completely liberated by Athens from the power of Persia. § 9. War between Sparta and Arcadia. § 10. Revolt of the Helots; third Messenian war. § 11. Dissolution of the alliance between Sparta and Athens. Battles of Tanagra and Ænophyta. Five years' truce. Thirty years' truce. § 12. Origin of the Peloponnesian war. § 13. Opposite principles of the contending parties in the Peloponnesian war. § 14. Its influence upon Sparta.

1. Sparta, by the conquest of Messenia and Tegea, had obtained the first rank in Peloponnesus, which character she confirmed by the expulsion of the tyrants, and the overthrow of Argos. From about the year 580 B.C. she acted as the recognised commander, not only of Peloponnesus, but of the whole Greek name. The *confederacy* itself however was formed by the inhabitants of that peninsula alone, on fixed and regular laws; whereas the other Greeks only annexed themselves to it temporarily. The order of precedence observed by the members of this league may be taken from the inscription on the footstool of the statue of Zeus, which was dedicated at Olympia after the Persian war, the Ionians, who were only allied for a time, being omitted.⁷⁶² It is as follows: Lacedæmon, Corinth, Sicyon, Ægina, Megara, [197]

⁷⁶² Pausan. V. 23. 1. compare *Æginetica*, p. 126.

Epidaurus,⁷⁶³ Tegea, Orchomenus, Phlius, Trœzen, Hermione, Tiryns, Mycenæ, Lepreum, and Elis; which state was contented with the last place, on account of the small share which it had taken in the war. The defenders of the Isthmus are enumerated in the following order;⁷⁶⁴ Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasiens, Trœzenians, and Hermionians, nearly agreeing with the other list, only that the Arcadians, having been present with their whole force, and also the Eleans, occupy an earlier place; and the Megarians and Æginetans are omitted, as having had no share in the defence. This regular order of precedence is alone a proof of a firm union. The Tegeates, since they had joined the side of Lacedæmon, enjoyed several privileges, and especially the place of honour at the left wing of the allied army.⁷⁶⁵ Argos remained excluded from the nations of Peloponnesus, as it never would submit to the command of Sparta; the Achæans, indifferent to external affairs, only joined themselves momentarily to the alliance:⁷⁶⁶ but the Mantineans, though latterly they followed the policy of Argos,⁷⁶⁷ were long attached to the Peloponnesian league; for at the end of the Persian war they sent an army, which arrived too late for the battle of Platæa;⁷⁶⁸ having before, together with the other Arcadians, helped to defend the Isthmus;⁷⁶⁹ they had also been engaged in the first days of the action at Thermopylae;⁷⁷⁰ and they were at this time still the faithful allies

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⁷⁶³ They occur in the following order; Corinth, Sicyon, Megara, and Epidaurus, at a later period, after the destruction of Ægina.

⁷⁶⁴ Herod. VIII. 72.

⁷⁶⁵ Καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα καὶ—IX. 26. Thucyd. V. 67. Concerning the fidelity of Phlius towards Sparta, see Theodoret. Græc. Affin. IX. 16.

⁷⁶⁶ Thuc. II. 9.

⁷⁶⁷ Thuc. V. 29.

⁷⁶⁸ Herod. IX. 77.

⁷⁶⁹ Herod. VIII. 72.

⁷⁷⁰ Herod. VII. 202.

of the Lacedæmonians.⁷⁷¹ Their subsequent defection from Sparta may be attributed partly to their endeavours to obtain the dominion of Parrhasia, which was protected by Lacedæmon,⁷⁷² to their hostility with Tegea,⁷⁷³ which remained true to Sparta after the great war with Arcadia, which began about 470 B.C. and to the strengthening of their city (συνοικισμὸς), and the establishment of a democratic government, through the influence of Argos.⁷⁷⁴

2. The supremacy of Sparta⁷⁷⁵ was exercised in the expeditions of the whole confederacy, and in transactions of the same nature. In the first, a Spartan king—after it had been thought proper never to send out two together—was commander-in-chief, in whose powers there were many remains of the authority of the ancient Homeric princes. Occasionally, however, Sparta was compelled to give up her privilege to other commanders, especially at sea, as, for instance, the fleet at Salamis to Eurybiades. When any expedition was contemplated, the Spartans sent round to the confederate states,⁷⁷⁶ to desire them to have men and stores in readiness.⁷⁷⁷ The highest amount which each state could be called on to supply was fixed once for all, and it was only on each particular occasion to be determined what part of that was required.⁷⁷⁸ In like manner, the supplies in money and stores were regularly appointed;⁷⁷⁹ so that an army, with all its equipment,

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⁷⁷¹ παραστάται, Diod. XV. 12. See also Xen. Hell. V. 2. 3.

⁷⁷² Thuc. V. 29. 33.

⁷⁷³ Thuc. IV. 134. Concerning this internal war, see below, § 9.

⁷⁷⁴ Thuc. V. 29. See book III. ch. 4, § 7.

⁷⁷⁵ ἡγεῖσθαι, ἡγεμονεῦειν, Thuc. I. 71. The Corinthian orator says to the Spartans, τὴν Πελοπόννησον πειρᾶσθε μὴ ἐλάσσω ἐξηγεῖσθαι (*ad finem*) ἢ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῖν παρέδωσαν.

⁷⁷⁶ Thuc. II. 10. περιήγγελλον κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

⁷⁷⁷ Likewise ships, implements for sieges, &c. Thucyd. III. 16. VII. 18.

⁷⁷⁸ For expeditious without Peloponnesus τὰ δύο μέρη, *i.e.* two thirds of the whole, appear to have been the common proportion, Thuc. III. 15. Demosth. in Neær. p. 1379.

⁷⁷⁹ Ἀργυρίον ῥητόν. Thuc. II. 7.

could be collected by a simple summons. But agricultural labour, festivals, and the natural slowness of the Doric race, often very much retarded the assembling of this army. The contributions, chiefly perhaps voluntary, both of states and individuals, were registered on stone: and there is still extant an inscription found at Tegea, in which the war supplies of the Ephesians, Melians, &c, in money and in corn, are recorded.⁷⁸⁰ But the Lacedæmonians never exacted from the Peloponnesian confederacy a regular annual contribution, independent of circumstances; which would have been in fact a tribute: a measure of this kind being once proposed to king Archidamus, he answered, “that war did not consume according to rule.”⁷⁸¹ Pericles, however, properly considers it as a disadvantage to the Peloponnesians that they had no paid troops, and that neither in common nor in the several states they had amassed any treasure.⁷⁸² The object of an expedition was publicly declared: occasionally however, when secrecy was required, it was known neither to the states nor to their army.⁷⁸³ The single allied states, if necessity demanded it, could also immediately summon the army of the others;⁷⁸⁴ but it is not clear to what extent this call was binding upon them. The Spartan military constitution, which we will explain hereafter, extended to the whole allied army; but it was doubtless variously combined with the tactics of the several nations.⁷⁸⁵ To

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⁷⁸⁰ Boeckh Inscript. No. 1511. It is probably of the time of Lysander.

⁷⁸¹ Ὡς οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται πόλεμος, Plutarch. Cleomen. 27. (Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ παλαιός, *i.e.* the second, ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου.) Compare Plutarch. Demosth. 17. Crassus 17. Reg. Apophth. p. 126. and Lacon. Apophth. p. 202. Hutten. In this passage the apophthegm is incorrectly attributed to Archidamus the Third, although the Peloponnesian war is mentioned in connexion with it.

⁷⁸² Thuc. I. 141.

⁷⁸³ Thuc. V. 54. Cleomenes also, Herod. V. 14. conceals the real object; but the army is soon separated.

⁷⁸⁴ Thuc. *ubi sup.*

⁷⁸⁵ See book III. ch. 12. The army of the 10,000, although composed entirely of mercenaries, was in many respects like an allied army, and was under Spartan

the council of war, which moreover only debated, and did not decide, the Spartan king summoned the leaders of the several states, together with other commanders, and generally the most distinguished persons in the army.⁷⁸⁶

3. According to the constitution of the Peloponnesian league, every common action, such as a declaration of war, or the conclusion of a peace or treaty, was agreed on at a congress of the confederates. But, as there was no regular assembly of this kind, the several states sent envoys (ἄγγελοι), like the deputies (πρόβουλοι) of the Ionians, who generally remained together only for a short time.⁷⁸⁷ All the members had legally equal votes;⁷⁸⁸ and the majority sometimes decided against a strong opposition;⁷⁸⁹ Sparta was often outvoted, Corinth being at all times willing to raise an opposition.⁷⁹⁰ We have however little information respecting the exact state of the confederacy; it is probable indeed, from the aristocratic feelings of the Peloponnesians, that, upon the whole, authority had more weight than numbers; and for great undertakings, such as the Peloponnesian war, the assent of the chief state was necessary, in addition to the agreement of the other confederates.⁷⁹¹ When the congress was summoned to Sparta, the envoys often treated with a public assembly (ἔκκλητοι)⁷⁹² of the Spartans; although they naturally withdrew during the division. Of these envoys,

discipline.

⁷⁸⁶ Thucyd. II. 10.

⁷⁸⁷ I. 141.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁹ Thucyd. I. 125. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐψηφίσαντο. V. 30. κύριον εἶναι ὅτι ἂν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ξυμμάχων ψηφίσηται ἢν μὴ τι θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων κώλυμα ἦ. V. 17. the Megarians, Eleans, Corinthians, and Bœotians are outvoted. But, according to I. 40, 41, the vote of the Corinthians *alone* prevented the Peloponnesians from succouring the Samians, *i.e.* they gave the preponderance to the party opposed to war.

⁷⁹⁰ Besides Herodotus V. 93. see Dio Chrys. Orat. XXXVII. p. 459. 15.

⁷⁹¹ Thucyd. I. 67.

⁷⁹² Thuc. ubi sup. Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 11. 20.

besides Sosicles the Corinthian, we also know the name of Chileus of Tegea, who prevailed upon the ephors, after a long delay, to send the army to Plataea, and who did much to allay the differences existing between the members of the then numerous confederacy.⁷⁹³

4. But upon the *internal* affairs, laws, and institutions of the allied states, the confederacy had legally no influence. It was a fundamental law that every state (πόλις) should, according to its ancient customs (κατὰ πάτρια), be independent and sovereign (αὐτόνομος καὶ αὐτόπολις);⁷⁹⁴ and it is much to the credit of Sparta, that, so long as the league was in existence, she never, not even when a favourable opportunity offered, deprived any Peloponnesian state of this independence. Nor were disputes between individual states brought before the congress of the allies, which, on account of the preponderance of Sparta, would have endangered their liberty; but they were commonly either referred to the Delphian oracle, or to arbitrators chosen by both states.⁷⁹⁵ When Elis claimed an ancient tribute from Lepreum, both states agreed to make Sparta their arbitrator by a special reference. In this character Sparta declared that Lepreum, being an independent member of the confederacy, was not bound to pay the tribute: and Elis acted unjustly in refusing to abide by her agreement, on the plea that she had not expected the decision.⁷⁹⁶ For disputes between citizens of different states there was an entirely free and equal intercourse of justice (*commercium juris dandi repetendique*).⁷⁹⁷ The jurisdiction of

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⁷⁹³ Herod. IX. 9. where however he is distinguished from the ἄγγελοι. Compare Plutarch de Malign. Herod. 41. Polyæn. V. 30. 1. Plutarch Themistocl. 6.

⁷⁹⁴ See the treaty in Thucyd. V. 77, 79.

⁷⁹⁵ Thucyd. I. 28. cf. V. 79.

⁷⁹⁶ V. 31.

⁷⁹⁷ V. 7, 9. κατὰ πάτρια δίκας δίδοναι τὰς ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας. The expression κατὰ πάτρια does not at all refer to ancient treaties of the Dorians. The πατρώοι σπονδαὶ in Pausan. III. 5. 8. probably refer to the tradition mentioned above, ch. 5. § 16.

the states was also absolutely exempt from foreign interference (αὐτόδικοι).⁷⁹⁸ These are the chief features of the constitution of the Peloponnesian confederacy; the only one which in the flourishing times of Greece combined extensive powers with justice, and a respect for the independence of its weaker members.

5. Sparta had not become the head of this league by agreement, and still less by usurpation; but by tacit acknowledgment she was the leader, not only of this, but of the whole of Greece; and she acted as such in all foreign relations from about the year 580 B.C. Her alliance was courted by Cræsus: and the Ionians, when pressed by Cyrus, had recourse to the Spartans, who, with an amusing ignorance of the state of affairs beyond the sea, thought to terrify the king of Persia by the threat of hostilities. It is a remarkable fact, that there were at that time Scythian envoys in Sparta, with whom a great plan of operations against Persia is said to have been concerted; which it is not easy to believe.⁷⁹⁹ In the year 520 B.C. the Platæans put themselves under the protection of Cleomenes,⁸⁰⁰ who referred them to Athens; a herald from Sparta drove the Alcmaeonidæ from their city:⁸⁰¹ afterwards Aristagoras sought from the protector of Greece⁸⁰² aid against the national enemy: and when the Æginetans gave the Persians earth and water, the Athenians accused them of treachery before the Spartans: and lastly, during the Persian war, Greece found in the high character of that state the only means of effecting the union so necessary for her safety and success.⁸⁰³ [203]

6. In this war a new confederacy was formed, which was

⁷⁹⁸ Thucyd. ubi sup. τοῖς δὲ ἔταις κατὰ πάτρια δικάζεσθαι.

⁷⁹⁹ Herod. VI. 84.

⁸⁰⁰ VI. 108. ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς.

⁸⁰¹ V. 70.

⁸⁰² V. 49. 70.

⁸⁰³ According to Justin XIX. 1. the Sicilian states also applied to Leonidas for assistance against Carthage. How general the respect for Sparta was at that time in Greece, is shown by several passages in Pindar, which are not otherwise intelligible, e.g. Pyth. V. 73.

extended beyond Peloponnesus; the community of danger and of victory having, besides a momentary combination, also produced an union destined for some duration. It was the assembly of this league—a fixed congress at Corinth during, and at Sparta after, the war—that settled the internal differences of Greece, that invited Argos, Corcyra, and Gelon to join the league, and afterwards called upon Themistocles to answer for his proceedings.⁸⁰⁴ So much it did for the present emergency. But at the same time Pausanias, the regent of Sparta, after the great victory of Plataea (at which, according to Æschylus, the power of Persia fell by the Doric spear),⁸⁰⁵ prevailed upon the allies to conclude a further treaty. Under the auspices of the gods of the confederacy, particularly of the Eleutherian (or Grecian) Zeus, they pledged themselves mutually to maintain the independence of all states, and to many other conditions, of which the memory has been lost. To the Plataeans in particular security from danger was promised.⁸⁰⁶ The Ionians also, after the battle of Mycale, were received into this confederacy.⁸⁰⁷

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7. The splendid victories over the Persians had for some time taken Sparta, which was fitted for a quiet and passive existence, out of her natural sphere; and her king Pausanias had wished to betray his country for the glitter of an Asiatic prince. But this state soon perceived her true interest, and sent no more commanders to Asia, “that her generals might not be made worse:” she likewise decided to avoid any further war with the Persians, thinking that Athens was better fitted to carry it on than herself.⁸⁰⁸ The decision of the Spartans was doubtless influenced by the defection of the Ionians from Pausanias, and

⁸⁰⁴ See Appendix IV.

⁸⁰⁵ Pers. 819.

⁸⁰⁶ Thuc. II. 71. III. 58. 68.

⁸⁰⁷ Herod. IX. 106.—These σπονδαί are also probably the ζυθητικαί, according to which the Athenians wished δίκας δοῦναι at the beginning of the war, Thuc. I. 144, 145.

⁸⁰⁸ Thuc. I. 95.

their refusal to obey Dorcis, whom the Spartans had sent with a small body of men in his place. Nevertheless, the chief motives which determined them must have lain deeper; for without the Greeks of Asia Minor, they could, by the assistance of the naval powers of Peloponnesus, Corinth, Ægina, &c, have continued a war which promised more gain and plunder than trouble and danger. If the speech were now extant in which Hetoëmaridas the Heraclid proved to the councillors that it was not expedient for Sparta to aim at the mastery of the sea,⁸⁰⁹ we should doubtless possess a profound view, on the Spartan side, of those things which we are now accustomed to look on with Athenian eyes. Nor is it true that the supremacy over the Greeks was in fact transferred at all from Sparta to Athens, if we consider the matter as Sparta considered it, however great the influence of this change may have been on the power of Athens. But Sparta continued to hold her pre-eminence in Peloponnesus, and most of the nations of the mother-country joined themselves to her: while none but the Greeks of Asia Minor and the islands, who had previously been subjects of Persia, and were then only partially liberated, perhaps too much despised by Sparta, put themselves under the command of Athens.⁸¹⁰

8. But the *complete* liberation of Asia Minor from the Persian yoke, which has been considered one of the chief exploits of Athens, was in fact never effected. Without entering into the discussion respecting the problematical treaty of Cimon,⁸¹¹ we will merely seek to ascertain the actual state of the Asiatic Greeks at this period. Herodotus states, that Artaphernes, the satrap at Sardes under Darius, fixed the tribute to be paid by the Ionians

⁸⁰⁹ Diod. XI. 50.

⁸¹⁰ Thuc. VI. 82. αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ πρότερον ὄντων ἡγεμονες καταστάντες.

⁸¹¹ Of this Eichstädt has treated in his Notes to the translation of Mitford's History of Greece; also Mosche in a Dissertation *De eo quod in Cornelii Vitis faciendum restat*. Francof. 1802; and lastly, Dahlmann in his *Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Geschichte*, vol. I. p. 1-148. with great clearness and accuracy.

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as it remained until the time of the writer,⁸¹² *i.e.* about the end of the Peloponnesian war. It is evident that this was a tribute to be paid to the king of Persia: the exactions of the Athenians were clearly not regulated by any Persian register of property. Again, in the nineteenth year of the war, Tissaphernes sought for assistance against Athens, that he might be able to pay to the king of Persia the tribute due from the Grecian maritime towns, which the Athenians had prevented him from collecting.⁸¹³ From this it is plain that the shah of Susa was ignorant that the majority of those cities had for more than sixty years paid to the Athenians and not to him, and attributed the arrears only to the negligence of his viceroys. I say only the majority; for the Athenians had been far from completing the glorious work of the great Cimon; and after the war-contributions had become a most oppressive tribute, these cities might not themselves be very desirous to change their master. Hence Themistocles, as a vassal of Persia, possessed undisturbed, at the accession of Artaxerxes, the beautiful towns of Magnesia on the Mæander, Lampsacus, Myus, Percote, and ancient Scepsis.⁸¹⁴ At a still later period the descendants of king Demaratus, Eurysthenes, and Procles, ruled by the same title over Halisarna in Mysia.⁸¹⁵ The neighbouring towns of Gambrium, Palægambrium, Myrina, and Grynium had been given by Darius to Gongylus, and his descendants still dwelt there after the Peloponnesian war.⁸¹⁶ When Athens unjustly expelled the Delians from their island,

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⁸¹² Herod. VI. 42. See my Review of a work of Kortüm's, *Göttingische Anzeigen*, 1822. p. 117.

⁸¹³ Thuc. VIII. 5. cf. 46. ὅσοι ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ "Ἕλληνες οἰκοῦσι, an official expression of frequent occurrence.

⁸¹⁴ Plutarch. Themist. 29. Thucyd. I. 138. Diod. XI. 57. His sons also appear to have possessed them, according to Pausan. I. 26. 4.

⁸¹⁵ Xenoph. Hell. III. 1. 6. To this family Procles also belongs, who married the daughter of Aristotle (when the latter was at Atarneus), and had by her two sons, Procles and Demaratus, Sextus Empiricus adv. Mathem. p. 51 B. ed. Col.

⁸¹⁶ Xenoph. ubi sup.

they found a place of refuge at Adramytteum, on the coast of Æolis, which was granted them by the satrap Pharnaces.⁸¹⁷ Thus the Athenian empire did not prevent the vassals and subjects of the king of Persia from ruling over the Greeks of Asia Minor, even down to the very coast. We need not go any further to prove the entire falsehood of the account commonly given by the panegyrical rhetoricians of Athens.

9. Peloponnesus took the less concern in these proceedings, as internal differences had arisen from some unknown cause, which led to an open war between Sparta and Arcadia. We only know, that, between the battle of Plataea (in which Tegea, as also later still, showed great fidelity towards Sparta) and the war with the Helots (*i.e.* between 479 and 465 B.C.), the Lacedæmonians fought two great battles, the one against the Tegeates and Argives at Tegea, the other against all the Arcadians, with the exception of the Mantineans, at Dipæa in the Mænalian territory. Tisamenus, an Elean, of the family of the Iamidæ, was in both battles in the Spartan army; and in both Sparta was victorious.⁸¹⁸ Yet, in an epigram of Simonides, the valour of the Tegeates is praised, who by their death had saved their city from destruction;⁸¹⁹ probably after the loss of the first battle. As we find that Argos had a share in this war,⁸²⁰ it is possible that the views of that state were directed against the ascendancy of Sparta; perhaps also the independence of the Mænalians, Parrhasians, &c. had been, as was so often the case, attacked by the more powerful states of Arcadia, and was defended by the head of the Peloponnesian confederacy.

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10. This war had not been brought to a termination, when, in

⁸¹⁷ Thucyd. V. 1.

⁸¹⁸ Herod. IX. 35. Pausan. III. 11. Isocrat. Archid. p. 136 A. Hence also Leotychides in 469 B.C. went to *Tegea* in exile, Herod. VI. 72. Herodotus IX. 37. also mentions a dissension between Tegea and Sparta before the Persian war.

⁸¹⁹ Fragm. 21. Gaisford.

⁸²⁰ At that time also Tegea assisted Argos against Mycenæ; above, ch. 8. § 7.

the year 465 B.C., in the reign of Archidamus⁸²¹ and Pleistoanax, a tremendous earthquake (which is said to have been predicted by Anaximander⁸²²) destroyed Sparta, and a sudden ruin threatened to overwhelm the state of Greece. For, in the hope of utterly annihilating their rulers, many Helots (perhaps doubly excited by the late outrage on the suppliants at the altar of the Tænarian god),⁸²³ especially the ancient inhabitants of Messenia, and two cities of the Perioeci, revolted from Sparta; these rebels were all named Messenians, and the war was called the third Messenian war.⁸²⁴ The circumstances of this terrible contest are almost unknown to us; and we can only collect the few fragments extant of its history. Aëimnestus the Spartan, who had killed Mardonius, fought with 300 men at Stenyclarus against a body of Messenians, and was slain with all his men.⁸²⁵ This was followed by a great battle with the same enemy at Ithome,⁸²⁶ in which the Spartans were victorious. Most of the conquered Messenians then intrenched themselves on the steep summit of Ithome, which was even then sacred to Zeus Ithomatas; and they probably restored the ancient walls and defences which had fallen down. Upon this the Lacedæmonians, foreseeing a tedious siege, called in the aid of their allies; and this call was answered among

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⁸²¹ Polyænus I. 41. 5. confounds Archidamus III. and II. Plato Leg. III. p. 692. has not an accurate idea of the time of this war, of which Diodorus XI. 64, has given altogether an incorrect and inconsistent representation.

⁸²² Plin. H. N. II. 79, 81. Cicero de Divin. I. 50.

⁸²³ The ἄγος Ταϊνάριον. See Thucyd. I. 128. Ælian. V. H. VI. 7. Suidas in Ταϊνάριον κακόν. Apostolius XVIII. 92. Prov. Vat. IV. 12. Plutarch. Prov. Al. 54. Pausan. IV. 24. 2. who mentions Lacedæmonians instead of Helots.

⁸²⁴ Thucyd. I. 101. ἢ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες.

⁸²⁵ Herod. IX. 64.

⁸²⁶ If in Herod. IX. 35. the alteration πρὸς Ἰθώμῃ may be ventured. The expression of Pausanias III. 11. πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ Ἰθώμην ἀποστήσαντας is compounded of the passage of Herodotus, which he reads as we now have it, and Thucyd. I. 101. οἱ Εἰλωτες—ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπεστησαν.

others by the Æginetans,⁸²⁷ the Mantineans,⁸²⁸ the Plataeans,⁸²⁹ and the Athenians, who, at the request of the Spartan envoy Periclides, sent 4000 hoplites⁸³⁰ under the command of Cimon; the Spartans, however, dismissed them before the fortress was taken, in which they expected to be aided by the superiority of the Athenians in the art of besieging, not without showing their suspicion of the innovating spirit of their ally.⁸³¹ In the tenth year of the siege, 455 B.C., Ithome surrendered on terms; and the Messenians, together with their wives and children, [210] quitted Peloponnesus, under a promise of never again entering it. It appears that the war between Lacedæmon and Arcadia was concluded upon conditions, of which one was, that no person should be put to death for the sake of the Lacedæmonian party at Tegea; and another, that Sparta was to expel the Messenians from the country, but not kill them—which were inscribed on a pillar on the banks of the Alpheus.⁸³² The Athenians, however,

⁸²⁷ Thucyd. II. 27. IV. 56.

⁸²⁸ Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 3.

⁸²⁹ Thucyd. III. 54.

⁸³⁰ Aristoph. Lysistr. 1138. The 4000 hoplitæ, here mentioned by Aristophanes, were about the third part of the disposable forces of Athens (Thuc. II. 13); and since the Plataeans likewise sent τὸ τρίτον μέρος of their numbers to the assistance of the Spartans (ib. III. 54. ἴδια as opposed to the rest of Βεοτία), this was probably a contingent fixed for such cases. Plataea, it should be observed, had been on friendly terms with Sparta after the time of Pausanias, and been connected with that state by προξενία, to which the son of the Plataean general Arimnestus owed his name of Lacon, Thuc. III. 52, where we should read Ἀριμνήστου, or *vice versa* in Plutarch Aristid. 11. and 19. Ἀείμνηστος should be read for Ἀρίμνηστος.

⁸³¹ Thucyd. Compare Manso, Sparta, vol. I. p. 377. They must also at that time have been angry with the Athenians on account of Thasos.

⁸³² These συνθήκαι may, I believe, be safely referred to this time; from which Aristotle, quoted in Plutarch, Qu. Rom. 52. p. 343. and Qu. Gr. 5. p. 380. cites the passages in the text on account of the expression χρηστὸν ποιεῖν, for “to kill.” Compare Hesychius: χρηστοὶ οἱ καταδικασμένοι. That the Arcadians in a certain manner carried on war for the Helots is also implied in Zenobius Prov. I. 59.

gave the fugitives the town of Naupactus, which they had shortly before conquered, and which was conveniently situated for tempting them, against their promise, to make inroads and forays in Peloponnesus. The Messenians still continued, in the Peloponnesian war, to be distinguished from the neighbouring people by their Doric dialect.⁸³³

11. Immediately after the dismissal of the Athenians from Ithome, the people of Athens, in order to resent the affront, annulled the alliance with Sparta, which had subsisted since the Persian war;⁸³⁴ entered into a treaty with Argos, the enemy of Sparta, and also with the Thessalians; and even joined to itself Megara, which was dependent on its commercial intercourse. Then followed the war with the maritime towns of Argolis, in which Athens, after many reverses, at length succeeded in destroying the fleet of Ægina, and subjugating that island (457 B.C.).⁸³⁵ Sparta was compelled to be a quiet spectator of the subjection of so important a member of her confederacy, as she was still occupied with the siege of Ithome, and in the same year had sent out an army to liberate her mother country, Doris, from the yoke of the Phocians. But when, after the execution of this object, the Spartans were hastening back to Peloponnesus, they were compelled to force their passage home by the battle of Tanagra, which, with the assistance of the Thebans, they gained over an army composed of Athenians, Ionians, Argives, and Thessalians. This aid was afforded to them on the condition that they would help the Thebans to regain their supremacy in Bœotia, which the Thebans had lost by their defection from the Grecian cause in the Persian war.⁸³⁶ Sparta, however, after so decisive a

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⁸³³ Thucyd. III. 112. IV. 3. cf. VII. 57. οἱ Μεσσήνιοι νῦν καλούμενοι.

⁸³⁴ Thucyd. I. 102. The σπονδαὶ Παιουσάνιου still, however, remained in force (the συνθήκαι in cap. 144).

⁸³⁵ Æginetica, p. 179. and see Boeckh ad Pind. Pyth. VIII. Dissen ad Nem. VIII. 15.

⁸³⁶ See the excellent explanation of Boeckh ad Pind. Isthm. VI. p. 532.

victory, concluded a four months' armistice with Athens, during which that state conquered the Thebans at Œnophyta, finished the blockade of Ægina, subdued all Bœotia with the exception of Thebes, and Phocis, and extended its democratical constitution, which after the battle of Tanagra was nearly threatened with destruction,⁸³⁷ even to the city of Thebes. The inactivity of Sparta during these astonishing successes of her enemy (for when she concluded the armistice with Athens she must have partly foreseen its consequences) seems to prove that she was entirely occupied with the final capture of Ithome, and the settlement of her interests in Arcadia.⁸³⁸ But that the war, which was now renewed by Athens, nevertheless extended to the whole Peloponnesian league, is shown by the connected attacks of Tolmides on the Spartan harbour Gytheium, and the cities of Sicyon and Corinth, and also by the expedition of Pericles in the Corinthian gulf. The five years' truce in 451 B.C. was only an armistice between Athens and the Peloponnesian confederacy, which left Bœotia to shake off the Athenian yoke by its own exertions. This was also the time of the Sacred war, in which a Spartan and an Athenian army, one coming after the other, the first gave the management of the temple to the Delphians, and the second, against all ancient right,⁸³⁹ to the Phocians. At the end of these five years Megara revolted from the Athenians, and in consequence an invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians took place, which, though it did not produce any immediate result, was soon followed by the thirty years' truce, in which Athens ceded her conquests in Megaris and Peloponnesus,⁸⁴⁰ and on

⁸³⁷ On the oligarchical troubles in Olymp. 80. 4. (457 B.C.) and the probable share of Cimon in them, see the accurate discussion in Meier's *Historia Juris Attici de Bonis damnatis*, p. 4. n. 11.

⁸³⁸ Thuc. I. 118. τὸ δέ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξειργόμενοι.

⁸³⁹ See Boeckh's *Public Economy of Athens*, vol. II. p. 396, note.

⁸⁴⁰ Thucyd. I. 115. Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγᾶς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν; for in this order the words should be read. Achaia therefore is the district on the north of Peloponnesus, which indeed did not *belong* to Athens, but was enumerated in

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the mainland returned within her ancient boundaries; but she preserved the same power over her other confederates. For when the Athenians soon afterwards attacked the revolted island of Samos, the Peloponnesians indeed debated whether they should protect it, but the proposal of Corinth was adopted, that Athens should be allowed to deal with her allies as she pleased.⁸⁴¹

12. If now we consider the events which have been briefly traced in the foregoing pages, it will be perceived, that the principle on which the Lacedæmonians constantly acted was one of self-defence, of restoring what had been lost, or preserving what was threatened with danger; whereas the Athenians were always aiming at attack or conquest, or the change of existing institutions. While the Spartans during this period, even after the greatest victories, did not conquer a foot of land, subjugate one independent state, or destroy one existing institution; the Athenians, for a longer or for a shorter time, reduced large tracts of country under their dominion, extended their alliance (as it was called) on all sides, and respected no connexion sanctioned by nature, descent, or antiquity, when it came in conflict with their plans of empire. But the astonishing energy of the Athenian people, which from one point kept the whole of Greece in constant vibration, almost paralysed Sparta; the natural slowness of that state became more and more apparent: which having been, as it were, violently transplanted into a strange region, only began by degrees to comprehend the policy of Athens.

But when Athens saw the Peloponnesian confederacy again established, and as she could not, on account of the truce, attack it directly, she looked to the colonial law, which rested rather on hereditary feelings than on positive institution, for an opportunity

the lists of the contending parties as belonging to the Athenian side (concerning these lists see Thucyd. I. 31, 40.), and at this time passed over to that of the Lacedæmonians. See Thucyd. IV. 21. Compare the very confused account in Andocides *Περὶ εἰρήνης*, and that of Æschines borrowed from it.

⁸⁴¹ Thucyd. I. 40. See above, p. 200. note e. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "strong opposition," starting "Thucyd. I. 125."]

of an indirect attack. This was soon found in the defensive treaty with Corcyra, which state was engaged with its mother country Corinth in a war, according to ancient Greek principles, wholly unlawful and unjust. Besides this, however, it was an actual breach of the thirty years' truce.⁸⁴² And the same principles were expressed in the demand that Potidæa should, for the sake of the Athenian confederacy, give up its original connexion with the parent state. In both these cases it is manifest that the maxims of the Athenian policy were directly at variance with the general feeling of justice entertained by the Greeks, and especially with the respect for affinity of blood; and this fundamental difference was the true cause of the Peloponnesian war. [214]

13. As it would not be consistent with the plan of this work to give a detailed account of the influence of the Peloponnesian war upon the political and private character of the Greeks, we must be content to point out the following obvious points of opposition between the contending parties. In the first place, then, *Dorians were opposed to Ionians*; and hence in the well-known oracle it was called the Doric war.⁸⁴³ The individual exceptions are for the most part merely apparent;⁸⁴⁴ also when the Athenians attacked Sicily, all the Doric cities were opposed to them.⁸⁴⁵ On the side of Athens were ranged all the Ionians of Europe, of the islands, and of Asia, not indeed voluntarily, but still not altogether against their inclination. *The union of the free Greeks against the evil ambition of one state.* At the [215]

⁸⁴² The meaning of the article in the thirty years' truce, Thucyd. I. 35. can only be, States not included in the alliance may join whichever side they please, by which means they come within the treaty, and the alliance guarantees their safety. But if a state already at war with another state party to the treaty (ἔνσπονδος) is assisted, a war of this description is like one undertaken by the confederacy of the assisting state.

⁸⁴³ Thucyd. II. 54.

⁸⁴⁴ The Asiatic cities are not exceptions; in Rhodes also the Doric spirit rose against Athens in the person of the noble Dorieus.

⁸⁴⁵ Thucyd. III. 86. with the exception of Camarina.

beginning of the war the general voice of Greece was in favour of Sparta⁸⁴⁶ (which was heard through the Delphian oracle, when it promised that state assistance);⁸⁴⁷ nor did she compel any one to join in it. The allies of Athens, having previously been Persian subjects, were accustomed to obey; and on the present occasion forced to submit; the public assembly of Athens was the only free voice in so large a combination. *Land-forces against sea-forces*. According to the speech of Pericles, Peloponnesus was able, in an action with heavy-armed troops, to resist all the rest of Greece together; and Athens avoided coming to this mode of engagement with singular ingenuity. The fleet of the Peloponnesians, on the other hand, was at the beginning of the war very inconsiderable.⁸⁴⁸ Hence it was some time before the belligerent parties even so much as encountered one another. The land was the means of communication for one party, the sea for the other: hence the states friendly to Athens were immediately compelled to build *long walls* for the purpose of connecting the chief city with the sea, and isolating it from the land; as Megara before, and Argos and Patræ during the war.⁸⁴⁹ *Large bodies of men practised in war against wealth*. The Peloponnesians carried on the war with natives: whereas Athens manned her fleet—the basis of her power—chiefly with foreign seamen; so that the Corinthians said justly that the power of Athens was rather purchased than native.⁸⁵⁰ It was the main principle of Pericles' policy, and it is also adopted by Thucydides in the famous introduction to his History, that it is not the country and people, but moveable property, (χρήματα, in the proper sense of the word,) which makes states great and powerful. *Slow*

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⁸⁴⁶ Thucyd. II. 8. cf. 11.

⁸⁴⁷ Thucyd. I. 118. 123. Plutarch. Pyth. Or. 19. p. 276.

⁸⁴⁸ The Spartans were at first quite contemptible by sea; Alcidas in particular was destitute of all talent, Thucyd. III. 30, 31. sq.

⁸⁴⁹ Thucyd. I. 103. V. 82.

⁸⁵⁰ I. 121. cf. Isocrat. de Pace, p. 174, E. οἱ συνάγοντες ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς ἀργοτάτους—πληροῦντες τούτων τὰς τριήρεις.

and deliberate conviction against determined rashness. This is evident both from the different direction taken by the alliances of the two parties, and from their national character. It was with good reason that the oracle admonished Sparta to carry on the war with decision and firmness; for that state was always cautious of undertaking a war, and ready for peace.⁸⁵¹ *Maintenance of ancient custom as opposed to the desire of novelty.* The former was the chief feature of the Doric, the latter of the Ionic race. The Dorians wished to preserve their ancient dignity and power, as well as their customs and religious feelings: the Ionians were commonly in pursuit of something new, frequently, as in the case of the Sicilian expedition, but obscurely seen and conceived. *Union of nations and races against one arbitrarily formed.* As has been already shown, this difference was the cause of the war; and indeed Athens in the course of it hardly recognised any duty in small states to remain faithful to cities of the same race, and to their mother countries; otherwise, why was Melos so barbarously punished, for remembering rather that it was a colony of Sparta than an island? Thus also in the interior of states the Athenians encouraged political associations or clubs (ἑταιρίαι), while the Spartans trusted to the ties of relationship.⁸⁵² *Aristocracy against democracy.*⁸⁵³ This difference was manifested in the first half of the war by Athens changing, while Sparta only restored governments; for in this instance also the power of Sparta was in strictness only employed in upholding ancient establishments, as an aristocracy may indeed be overthrown, but cannot be formed in a moment. [217]

14. These obvious points of difference are sufficient to

⁸⁵¹ See particularly Thucyd. II. 11. V. 6.

⁸⁵² Thucydides has with great ingenuity, but with the most bitter coldness, laid down the principles of the Athenian policy in the Melian conference.

⁸⁵³ According to Thucyd. III. 82. πλήθους ἰσονομία πολιτική and ἀριστοκρατία are ὀνόματα εὐπρεπῆ as at that time they truly were; but not τὸ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια πολιτεύεσθαι.

substantiate the result which we wish to arrive at. It is manifest that the second of the two forces, which in each of these instances came into collision, must necessarily have always overcome the first. The slow, cumbrous, unwieldy body of the Spartan confederacy was sure to suffer under the blows of its skilful, forward, and enterprising antagonist. The maxims which, according to Thucydides, were current at this time,⁸⁵⁴ that rashness was to be called courage in a friend's cause, provident foresight hidden cowardice, moderation a cloak for pusillanimity, and that to be prudent in every thing was to be active in nothing, necessarily impeded and shackled the beneficial effects of the measures of the Doric party. The "honesty and openness" of the Doric character, the noble simplicity of the ancient times of Greece, soon disappeared in this tumultuous age.⁸⁵⁵ Sparta therefore and the Peloponnesians emerge from the contest, altered, and as it were reversed; and even before its termination appear in a character of which they had before probably contained only the first seeds.

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But in the second half of the war, when the Spartans gave up their great armaments by land, and began to equip fleets with hired seamen; when they had learnt to consider money as the chief instrument of warfare, and begged it at the court of Persia; when they sought less to protect the states joined to them by affinity and alliance, than to dissolve the Athenian confederacy; when they began to secure conquered states by harmosts of their own, and by oligarchs forced upon the people, and found that the secret management of the political clubs was more to their interest than open negotiation with the government; we see developed on the one hand an energy and address, which was first manifested in the enterprises of the great Brasidas, and on the other a worldly policy, as was shown in Gylippus, and afterwards

⁸⁵⁴ Ubi sup.

⁸⁵⁵ Τὸ εὐθηδες, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει, is the beautiful expression of Thucydides, *ib.* 83.

more strongly in Lysander; when the descendants of Hercules found it advisable to exchange the lion's for the fox's skin.⁸⁵⁶ And, since the enterprises conducted in the spirit of earlier times either wholly failed or else remained fruitless, this new system, though the state had inwardly declined, brought with it, by the mockery of fate, external fame and victory.⁸⁵⁷

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⁸⁵⁶ Plutarch, Reg. Apophth. p. 127.

⁸⁵⁷ In conclusion, I remark, that the possessions of the Peloponnesian states in this war, as they had agreed with one another at the commencement of it, and as Sparta maintained them (Thucyd. V. 31. cf. V. 29.), are represented in the accompanying map of Peloponnesus.

Book II. Religion And Mythology Of The Dorians.

Chapter I.

§ 1. Apollo and Artemis the principal deities of the Doric race.
§ 2. Traces of the worship of Apollo in Tempe. § 3. Route of the Theoria from Tempe to Delphi. § 4. Establishment of the worship of Apollo at Delphi; § 5. Crete; § 6. And Delos. § 7. Early history of Crissa. § 8. Doric population of Delphi. § 9. Opposition to the worship of the Delphian Apollo.

1. In turning from the history of the external affairs of the Dorians to the consideration of their intellectual existence, our first step must be to enquire into their religion; and for this purpose we will proceed to analyse and resolve it into the various worships and ceremonies of which it was composed, and to trace the origin and connexion of these as they successively arose.

Now it may with safety be asserted, that the principal deities of the Dorians were Apollo and Artemis, since their worship is found to have predominated in all the settlements of that race; and conversely the Doric origin can be either proximately or remotely traced wherever there were any considerable institutions dedicated to the worship of Apollo; insomuch that the adoration of this god may be shown from the most ancient testimonies of mythology to have gradually advanced with the extension of the

Doric nation. Yet we are not to understand that the worship of Apollo and the Doric race were so exactly co-extensive that the presence of the latter always proves either the previous or actual existence of the former. Indeed it is certain that in ancient as well as in modern times the worship of particular gods was not only propagated by migration and conquest, but that religious belief was also extended by peaceful intercourse, and, as it were, by moral contact.

In order to rest the claims of the Doric race to the worship of Apollo on a secure foundation, it is necessary first to give a direct contradiction to all those statements which assert its connexion with any race not of Hellenic descent. In the first place, then, Apollo was not a national deity of the aboriginal *Pelasgic* nations of Greece.⁸⁵⁸ Had this been the case, he would certainly have enjoyed frequent and distinguished honours in those countries where the numbers of that race remained undiminished; for example, in Arcadia. Now there were very few temples of Apollo in Arcadia; and moreover, the founding of most of these was either connected with a foreign hero, or else attributed to some external influence.⁸⁵⁹ Secondly, it has been supposed that the worship of this god was introduced from the *East* (an

⁸⁵⁸ Against Myrtilus in Dionysius Halic. I. 23. who however was probably deceived by confounding a Cabirus with Apollo (see *Orchomenos*, p. 455).

⁸⁵⁹ The temples are, first, that of Apollo Oncaeus at Thelpusa, in connexion with Hercules, Pausan. VIII. 25. 3. Antimach. p. 65. ed. Schellenberg. The native gods are in this case Demeter, Erinys, and Poseidon. Secondly, to the north of Pheneus the temples of Apollo Pythius and Artemis; they were said to have been built by Hercules after the conquest of Elis, Pausan. VIII. 15. 2.: compare Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. 59. and below, ch. 12. § 3. Thirdly, in Tegea the temple of Apollo Agyieus, in connexion with Crete, Pausan. VIII. 53. 1. Fourthly, the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Phigalea, built at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, Pausan. VIII. 41. 5. Fifthly, the Pythian or Parrhasian Apollo, near mount Lycæum, Paus. VIII. 38. 6. (the temple Πύθιον in Paus. *ibid.* Πύτιον in an Arcadian inscription, Boeckh, No. 1534.) would doubtless more properly be called Aristæus. Sixthly, Apollo Cereatas in Æpytis, near Carnium, probably came from Messenia, Paus. VIII. 34. 3.

opinion founded chiefly on the establishments of his religion in Lycia); but we shall presently show that its institution in this quarter was in fact derived from the Dorians. To this we may add, that amongst none of the *half-Grecian* nations, for example, the Leleges, Carians, Ætolians, Phrygians, and Thracians, the worship of this god can be proved to have been national. The same may be affirmed of the *Italian* nations. Apollo never occurs in the ancient *Etruscan* religion. Nor was *Rome* acquainted with this worship, until it was introduced by the Sibylline oracles; a sacred spot was then allotted on the Flaminian meadow; and the temple erected there (324 A.U.C.) was, up to the time of Cicero, the only one in Rome.⁸⁶⁰ Nay, that the Italians adopted Apollo altogether as a foreign deity is proved by the circumstance of their not having united him with their native Jupiter, or Mercury, as they did the Grecian Zeus, Hermes, &c. In our inquiries therefore into the origin of the worship of Apollo, we are limited to the races of purely Greek offspring. It remains only to be shown why we have selected the *Dorians* in particular from all these different tribes. And we merely make this preliminary remark, that the mythical genealogy, in which Dorus is called the son of Apollo,⁸⁶¹ was a simple expression for this fact.

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2. The most ancient settlements of the Doric race, of which any historical accounts are extant, were, as we before ascertained,⁸⁶² the country at the foot of Olympus and Ossa, near the valley of TEMPE. In this district there were two sanctuaries, bearing the character of the highest antiquity, viz., the Pythium, on the ridge of Olympus, near a steep mountain-pass leading

⁸⁶⁰ Liv. III. 63. IV. 25, 29. Asconius in Cicer. Orat. in toga cand. vol. II. p. 1. p. 525. ed. Orelli. The *sacra* of the Falisci on mount Soracte were, as well as others of that city, half Grecian, Virg. Æn. XI. 785. Plin. H.N. VII. 2. compare Spangenberg de Rel. Latin. p. 38. The Salian priests did not mention the name of Apollo, Arnobius adv. Gent. II. 13. *Aplu* upon Etruscan Pateras (Demster Etrusc. Reg. tab. 3. 4. Gori II. p. 93.) is the Thessalian name.

⁸⁶¹ Apollodorus I. 7. 6.

⁸⁶² Book I. ch. 1.

to Macedonia; and the altar in the ravine of the Peneus,⁸⁶³ from which the god himself was called Τεμπεΐτας; and in an inscription discovered near this spot, on the banks of the river between Tempe and Larissa, are the words ΑΠΛΟΥΝΙ ΤΕΜΠΕΙΤΑ, “To Apollo of Tempe.”⁸⁶⁴ From another inscription found in this district we gather an account of certain native Thessalian festivals, at which branches of laurel were carried round, that were doubtless procured from the groves in the valley of Tempe; whither also the Delphians every eight years, at the expiration of the sacred period, sent the Pythian theori, who, after the performance of a sacrifice, broke the expiatory branch from the sacred laurel-tree.⁸⁶⁵ According also to the admission of the Delphians themselves, the temple of Apollo at Tempe was more ancient than their own, since a perfect expiation could only be performed in that sanctuary. In accordance with the tradition that Apollo himself, after having slain the Python, fled to the altar at Tempe to be purified from the pollution, the sacred boy, at each return of the appointed day, went to Tempe by a certain path,⁸⁶⁶ in imitation of the god whom he honoured, in order to return home amidst the joyful songs of the choruses of virgins, as δαφνηφόρος, or *laurel-bearer*. The religious usages at this [223]

⁸⁶³ The valley of Tempe was a favourite place of Apollo; see Callimachus Hymn. in Del. 152. Horat. Carm. I. 21. 9. Melisseus also, in his historical work on Delphi, appears to have derived the worship of Apollo from the borders of Macedonia, as may be conjectured from the fragment cited by Tzetzes ad Hesiod. Op. 1. p. 29. ed. Gaisford. On account of the vicinity of this great temple, the worship of Apollo was very prevalent in Macedonia, on the coins of which country his symbols frequently occur.

⁸⁶⁴ Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 1767. The other inscription, found near the ancient Atrax (*Turnovo*) may be thus written in the common dialect: Ἀπόλλωνι Κερδ.... Σωσίπατρος Πολεμαρχιδαΐος ὁ θύτης ἀνέθηκε ἱερομνημονήσας καὶ ἀρχιδαφνηφορήσας. See Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 1766. and Expl. Pind. p. 336. Classical Journal, vol. XXVI. p. 393.

⁸⁶⁵ Δωραεΐα ἢ ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσι δάφνη. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Δηλία, Hesychius p. 1040. ed. Alberti. *Laurus Penei filius*, Fulgent. 13.

⁸⁶⁶ Κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν νῦν ἱερὰν καλοῦμεν, Plut. Quæst. Græc. 12.

festival will be investigated hereafter; here we will only consider the route which the procession took. It led through Thessaly and Pelasgia (that is, through the plain of the Peneus, which stretches to the south as far as Pheræ); then through the country of the Malians and Ænians, over mount Ceta, through Doris and the western part of Locris;⁸⁶⁷ avoiding in a remarkable manner the shorter and more frequented road from Thessaly through Thermopylæ, over Phocis, and through the pass of Panopeus and Daulis to Delphi. The reasons of this deviation may have been the opposition offered in early times by hostile tribes from the eastern side of Delphi to the peaceable march of sacred processions; and also that the theoria might in its progress pass through the second settlements of the Dorians, between Ceta and Parnassus, where doubtless the worship of Apollo had likewise prevailed.⁸⁶⁸

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3. The first half of the Pythian road, which goes through Thessaly, is very accurately determined by a combination of different testimonies. Its first stage was from Tempe to Larissa. Near this place was a village named Deipnias, where the boy who carried the laurel-branch first broke his long fast;⁸⁶⁹ as Apollo himself was reported also to have done. That the place received its name from this circumstance is a sufficient proof of the antiquity of the usage. The theoria next proceeded to Pheræ, where the boy, on his way to Tempe, and before his purification, represented the servitude of Apollo when a refugee at the palace of Admetus. This use of slavery as a preparative for the expiation of guilt, is doubtless taken from some very ancient tradition; and it is alluded to by the earliest epic poets; in the

⁸⁶⁷ Ælian V. H. III. 1. mistakes the succession of the districts.

⁸⁶⁸ A temple of Apollo and Diana at Libæa, Pausan. X. 33. 2.

⁸⁶⁹ Steph. Byz. in Δειπνιάς, with a fragment of Callimachus. The connexion of Larissa and Delphi is proved by the ancient offering mentioned by Pausan. X. 16. 4. It is not known whether Phyllus, with its temple of Apollo Phyllæus, and Ichne, with a temple of Themis, both towns in Thessalotis, were situated on this road, Strabo IX. p. 435.

Iliad the horses of Eumelus, the son of Admetus, are stated to have derived their excellence from having been under the care of Apollo at Pheræ.⁸⁷⁰ The harbour of Pheræ was Pagasæ, in the furthest recess of the Pagasæan bay, in which place there was a celebrated altar of the Pagasæan Apollo, situated in an extensive grove,⁸⁷¹ where there were large numbers of sacred ravens.⁸⁷² This sanctuary is the theatre of Hesiod's poem of the Shield of Hercules; and at no great distance the river Anaurus runs into the sea,⁸⁷³ which stream, swollen by violent storms of rain carried away the tomb of Cynus, the son of Mars; "*for thus Apollo, the son of Latona, willed it, because Cynus had plundered the hecatombs which the nations brought to the temple of Pytho.*"⁸⁷⁴ Hence it is evident that the Pagasæan sanctuary was situated on the road consecrated by the processions to and from Delphi; and we may perceive also in these words of Hesiod an allusion to a fable perhaps much celebrated by early poets, viz., that Cynus was slain for having profaned the temple of Apollo.⁸⁷⁵ Moreover, the legend related by Heraclides Ponticus,

⁸⁷⁰ Iliad. II. 766. cf. XXIII. 383 sqq. Πηρεΐη is mentioned as a place of pasturage; and is cited by the Scholia to this passage, Stephanus Byz. and Hesychius, as a place in Thessaly, but probably only from this passage. In the Orphic Argonautics the pastures are placed on the banks of the Amphryssus, which is near Pheræ.

⁸⁷¹ Hesiod, Scut. 17, 58. Παγασίτης Ἀπόλλων παρά Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Παγασαῖς καὶ παρά Θεσσαλοῖς, Hesychius. In Apollon. Rhod. I. 404, 411. the Argonauts are represented as building a temple of Apollo Actius and Embasius at Pagasæ.

⁸⁷² Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 133. where for ἡλίου write Ἀπόλλωνος, a common corruption, as both words were denoted by the same abbreviation. See Gaisford ad Hesiod. Theog. 709.

⁸⁷³ Scut. 477. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 389. Compare *Orchomenos*, p. 251. Cynus dwelt ἐν παρόδῳ τῆς θαλασσίας, according to Stesichorus ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. X. 19. (Mus. Crit. vol. II. p. 266.) Schol. II. Ψ. 346. from the Cyclic poets, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Παγασαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ, ὃ ἐστὶ πρὸς Τροιζῆνι, (read with Heinrich Τραχῖνι, see Scut. 469). Pausanias places the battle on the Peneus, I. 27. 7. See also Schellenberg's Antimachus, p. 67.

⁸⁷⁴ Scut. Herc. ad fin.

⁸⁷⁵ It is fair to suppose that Stesichorus so far altered the fable as to make

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that Trophonius founded the temple of Apollo at Pagasæ,⁸⁷⁶ points to the connexion with Delphi; the same Trophonius, a renowned architect of the mythical age, is also said to have built the most ancient temple of Pytho.

4. We thus arrive at DELPHI, the second grand station of the worship of Apollo, and, as it were, a focus, from which it diverged in numberless directions, and to which it was again partially reflected. Now although from early times the singular and striking character of the place might often have raised the feelings to ecstasy, and excited in the spectator dim and shadowy forebodings of the future; yet the establishment of a *fixed* institution, with its sacred regulations and rights, was intimately connected with the introduction of the worship of Apollo. At what time, however, did this first obtain a footing at Delphi? Probably when the Doric race came from Hestiatotis to Parnassus, and settled above Delphi, which event took place at a very early period. This supposition, to which we are led by the preceding inquiry, is not inconsistent with the celebrated tradition that Cretan navigators landed on this coast in the time of Minos, and there introduced the worship of Apollo. In order, however, to reconcile these two accounts, we must first examine the Cretan worship of that god.

5. The population of CRETE having been in early times composed of a heterogeneous mixture of different nations, it was natural that the worships of many different gods should prevail there; yet in many cases it is possible to ascertain the nation from which they severally originated. Amongst these, the Dorians, whose chief settlement was on the north-eastern coast near Cnosus (from which point, however, they very soon spread over other parts of the island), had brought over the worship of

Cycnus build *Apollo* a temple of skulls; and it is not necessary with Heyne ubi sup. to substitute Mars for Apollo. See also Sturz ad Hellenic. Fragm. 121. p. 137.

⁸⁷⁶ Tzetzes ad Hesiod. Scut. p. 194. ed. Heins.

Apollo from their settlements under Olympus. According to a tradition preserved in the Homeric hymn to Apollo, the ship, which Apollo in the shape of a dolphin conducted to Delphi, set out from the city of Cnosus. Of this city the chief temple was that of Apollo Delphinus.⁸⁷⁷ In its territory was situated a place called Apollonia; and the remarkable town of Amnisus, with the grotto of Eileithyia, where it was supposed that this goddess, who assisted at the birth of Apollo, was herself born.⁸⁷⁸ On the same coast are Miletus, where (as will be mentioned hereafter) the worship of Apollo prevailed, and Lato (Camira), whose name reminds us of the goddess Latona. It cannot be doubted that the same worship also prevailed in the ancient Doric town of Lyctus, in the interior of the island.⁸⁷⁹ Nearer to the southern coast was Gortyna, which, though founded by a different race, yet in later times recognised the dominion and worship of the same nation as Cnosus: accordingly, the most central point of this city was called *Pythium*.⁸⁸⁰ Immediately bordering on it was Phæstus, the birthplace of Epimenides, which town was said to have derived its origin and name from a Heraclid of Sicyon.⁸⁸¹ Here, together with Hercules, Apollo and Latona received particular honours.⁸⁸² Further on towards the west, in the mountains, was Tarrha, one of the most ancient and considerable temples of Apollo.⁸⁸³ Here, according to the Cretan tradition, dwelt

⁸⁷⁷ Chishull *Antiq. Asiat.* p. 134. *Æginetica*, p. 154. The coins of Cnosus have the head of Apollo. The Omphalian plain near Cnosus (*Callim. Hymn. Jov.* 45.) is connected with the stone of the Omphalos at Delphi, but *both* belong to the worship of Zeus.

⁸⁷⁸ *Odyss.* XIX. 188. *Pausan.* I. 18, 5. *Strabo* X. p. 476. See Boettiger's *Ilithyia*, p. 18. *Einatus*, whence *Ilithyia Einatinè*, was probably in the neighbourhood.

⁸⁷⁹ *Callim. Hymn. Apoll.* 33. The geographical position of the places is partly founded on the investigation in *Hoeck's Kreta*, vol. I. ch. 1.

⁸⁸⁰ *Steph. Byz.* in Πύθιον. Its coins have on them the head of Apollo.

⁸⁸¹ See book I. ch. 5. § 2.

⁸⁸² The latter under the title of φουρία, with a festival named Ἐκδύσια, *Antonin. Liberal.* 17. The wolf on its coins also refers to Apollo.

⁸⁸³ *Steph. Byz.* in Τάρρα. Compare *Theophrast. Hist. Plant.* II. 2. An oracle

Carmanor the father of the minstrel Chrysothemis, a priest who was said to have purified Apollo himself from the blood of the Python,⁸⁸⁴ which legend, when compared with the account of his expiation at the altar in the valley of Tempe, shows how the legends connected with the worship of Apollo crossed over to Crete, and there again took root. With the residence of Apollo when a refugee in the house of Carmanor, there is connected a tradition of his amour with Acacallis, who bore him Naxos,⁸⁸⁵ or Miletus,⁸⁸⁶ or Phylander and Phylacis, who, in a sacred offering of the Elyrians at Delphi, were represented as sucking the teat of a she-goat.⁸⁸⁷ This Elyrus, like most of the ancient towns of Crete, was situated in the mountains of the interior, probably not far from Tarrha.⁸⁸⁸ Although there have not been preserved accounts sufficient to lead to any general conclusion, yet those which we have adduced establish the position that it was not the original inhabitants of mount Ida or any supposed colonists from Phœnicia, but the Dorian invaders alone who made Crete the head-quarters of the worship of Apollo: we therefore assert that

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(preserved by Cœnomaus, Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 133 ed. Steph.) calls upon the inhabitants of Phæstus, Tarrha, and Polyrrhum, to make expiations (καθαρμοὶ) to the Pythian Apollo.

⁸⁸⁴ Pausan. II. 7. 7. X. 16. 3. comp. Tibullus IV. 1, 8.

⁸⁸⁵ Alexander's Κρητικά, lib. I. ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. IV. 1492. comp. Pausan. VIII. 53. 2.

⁸⁸⁶ Antonin. Liber. 30. comp. Verheyk.

⁸⁸⁷ Pausan. X. 16. 3. Hence the goat upon the coins of Elyrus. Also a she-wolf upon the coins of Cydonia, suckling the little Cydon.

⁸⁸⁸ Tarrha is the parent state of *Zappa*, the coins of which city have therefore Apollo or a lyre. Perhaps this place derived from this worship the right of asylum: see Spanheim de Præst. Num. p. 342. There are also other traces of the worship of Apollo in Crete, e.g. the temple of Allaria. Chishull. Ant. Asiat. p. 137. Oaxus was called the son of Apollo, Servius ad Virg. Ecl. I. 66. Upon the ancient coins of Eleutherna Apollo is holding in his right hand a ball (viz. an apple, μῆλα ἱερὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, Luc. Anach. 9), and in the left a bow. Also the coins of Rhitymna. On those of Tylissus is a youth with a goat's head in the right, and a bow in the left hand; which is certainly an Apollo. The same god is also on the coins of Præsus, Aptera, Chersonesus, and Rhaucus.

this worship (as originally founded in Crete), had not the slightest connexion with the enthusiastic (and probably Phrygian) orgies of the Idæan Zeus, with the Corybantes, &c. Yet from these ceremonies being celebrated at so short a distance from each other, confusions soon arose; so that in later times the Curetes were called the sons of Apollo.⁸⁸⁹ According to some writers, Corybas was the father of Apollo, and he was reported to have disputed the sovereignty of Crete with Zeus.⁸⁹⁰

6. From Crete, we will now proceed to DELOS. Virgil, on the authority (as it appears) of some ancient epic poet, calls the Cretans ministers of the Delian altars.⁸⁹¹ The voyages of Theseus from Cnosus to Delos is also founded on the same connexion, as will be more fully explained hereafter.⁸⁹² We must not, however, too hastily conclude, that in the age of Minos, when the Cretans were the dominant nation in the Greek Archipelago, Delos received the worship of Apollo from a Cretan colony.⁸⁹³ It may with greater probability be conjectured, that the Dorians in their first expedition to Crete (which could hardly have traversed so great a distance without leaving behind some traces of its existence) had founded the sanctuary at Delos; since the tradition of the transmission of sacred presents from the country of the Hyperboreans to that island, is most simply explained as a memorial of a religious connexion, which had once been long maintained, by means of sacred processions, with the northern settlements of the Dorians. [230]

7. Now respecting the presence of Cretans at Delphi, it was nothing more than an attempt of these islanders, who dwelt on

⁸⁸⁹ According to Apollodorus I. 3. 4, by Thalia; according to Strabo X. p. 473. by Rhytia (which refers to the city of Rhytium under mount Ida).

⁸⁹⁰ The statement of the *Theologi* in Cicero de Nat. Deor. III. 23. p. 616. ed. Creuzer.

⁸⁹¹ *Æn.* IV. 146. compare Heyne, vol. II. p. 736.

⁸⁹² Ch. 2. § 14.

⁸⁹³ Anius, the son and priest of Apollo, is called the viceroy of Rhadamanthus at Delos. Diod. V. 62. 79. Comp. Pherecydes Fragm. 74. ed Sturz.

the very verge of the Grecian territory, to gain for themselves the credit of a reciprocal influence upon the early settlements of their own race and religion. We find in the Hymn of Homer, that Apollo, descending from Olympus, himself founded his temple at Pytho, and afterwards obtained experienced priests, minstrels, and prophets⁸⁹⁴ from Cnosus; for which purpose he, in the shape of a dolphin, conducted a Cretan vessel to Crissa. Crissa, or Cirrha (for that the same place was originally signified by both names I consider as certain⁸⁹⁵), a fortified town in the inmost recess of the Crissæan bay, was probably a settlement of this Cretan colony, as the name Κρήσια seems to signify nothing else than a *Cretan* city (Κρησία πόλις).⁸⁹⁶ Although the Pythian sanctuary itself was situated in the territory of Crissa,⁸⁹⁷ yet the town of Crissa possessed, besides an altar of Apollo Delphinus on the shore, in early times one of the chief temples of Apollo:⁸⁹⁸ hence in Homer's Catalogue the *sacred* Crissa is mentioned, together with the rocky Pytho; and the Pythian sanctuary is called *Crissæa templa*, on the faith of some ancient tradition, by a Roman poet. This expression must have been borrowed from poems anterior to the destruction of Cirrha (about 585 B.C.) before this town had by its extortions and oppression of pilgrims deserved the wrath of the Amphictyonic confederacy; nor is it probable that it retained a share in the management of the Delphian temple up to the very last moment of its political existence, when it was

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⁸⁹⁴ ὄργινας, οἱ θεραπεύσονται Πυθοῖ ἐνὶ πετρηέσῃ, Ἱερά τε ῥέξουσι καὶ ἀγγελέουσι θέμιστας.

⁸⁹⁵ See *Orchomenos*, p. 493.

⁸⁹⁶ This etymology was known to ancient mythologers, Cornificius Longus ap. Serv. ad Æn. III. 332. *In memoriam gentis ex qua profectus erat* (Cretæ,) *subjacentes campos Crisæos vel Cretæos appellasse.*

⁸⁹⁷ In the Homeric Hymn to the Pythian Apollo, in vv. 90. 103. and other passages, Pytho is stated to be ἐν Κρήσῃ, that is, "in the territory of Crissa, within the Crissæan boundaries."

⁸⁹⁸ It is to this that verse 265 of the hymn probably refers. Concerning the tripod in the adytum at Crissa, see Epist. Hippocrat. VIII. There were statues of Latona, Artemis, and Apollo remaining in the time of Pausanias, X. 37. 6.

visited with a destruction so complete, as nearly to deprive us of all knowledge of its previous history. The unfortified town of Delphi, which, with the Amphictyons, obtained after that war the sole management of the temple, previously perhaps had not been a place of any importance; at least it is not mentioned in any earlier writings than one of the most recent hymns of Homer, and by Heraclitus of Ephesus.⁸⁹⁹

8. In ancient times the service of the temple, as appears from the Homeric Hymn, was performed both at Delos and Delphi by Cretans; but it is scarcely possible that they should have constituted the whole population of the country. For, in the first place, the extensive territory of the temple was cultivated by a subject people, of whom we shall speak hereafter, and who were certainly not of Doric, and probably in few cases of Cretan descent;⁹⁰⁰ besides whom there was a native nobility, whose influence over the temple was very considerable. These are the persons who, according to Euripides, “*sat near the tripod, the Delphian nobles, chosen by lot;*”⁹⁰¹ called also “*the lords and princes of the Delphians.*” They also formed a criminal court, which, by the Pythian vote, sentenced all offenders against the temple to be hurled from a precipice.⁹⁰² To the same persons also doubtless belonged the permission and superintendence of the ancient rite of expiation; and it was their duty (as it was that of the court of the Samothracian priests) to determine whether a homicide was expiable or not. Their influence over the oracle was so great, that they may be considered to have been the actual managers of it. Their political bias may be inferred from the fact, that Timasitheus the Delphian distinguished himself

⁸⁹⁹ Hymn. XXVII. 14. Heraclitus ap. Plutarch. Pyth. Orac. p. 404.

⁹⁰⁰ Below, ch. 3. § 3.

⁹⁰¹ Ion v. 418. (Matthiæ). οἱ πλησίον θάσσοι τρίποδος ... Δελφῶν ἀριστεῖς οὓς ἐκλήρωσεν πάλος.

⁹⁰² Κοίρανοι Πυθίκοι, v. 1219. Δελφῶν ἄνακτες, v. 1222. Πυθία ψήφος, v. 1250. cf. v. 1111. ἄρχαι αἰπιχώριοι χθονός.

by his boldness and resolution among the aristocratical party of Isagoras at Athens.⁹⁰³ It appears that these families originally came to Delphi from the mountainous country in the interior. Thus the chief-priests of the god, the five ὄσοιοι, were chosen by lot from a number of families who derived their descent from Deucalion,⁹⁰⁴ by which they probably meant to denote their origin from Lycoreia on the heights of Parnassus, founded (as was supposed) by Deucalion, the father of Hellen;⁹⁰⁵ from which town it is known that great part of the population of Delphi had proceeded.⁹⁰⁶ Now this place, of which traces still remain in the village of *Liacura* (now only inhabited in summer by mountain shepherds)⁹⁰⁷ was in all probability of Doric origin, since it formed the communication between the Tetrapolis and Delphi.⁹⁰⁸ The language spoken at Delphi was likewise a Doric dialect.⁹⁰⁹

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If then this was the case, Doric mountaineers from the heights of Parnassus, and Cretan colonists on the sea-coast, met together (according to a very uncertain computation about 200 years before the Doric migration into Peloponnesus), in order to establish the Delphian worship. The Doric dialect, it may be observed, which prevailed at Delphi, was common to both parties. It is known from many traditions and historical traces, that the connexion established by the Cretans continued for a

⁹⁰³ Herod. V. 72. Compare VI. 66. Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντου, ἄνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖσι δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον. Δυναστεύειν is also used by Herodotus of the Attic Eupatridæ (VI. 35.); compare VII. 141.

⁹⁰⁴ Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 9. p. 380.

⁹⁰⁵ Pausan. X. 6. 2.

⁹⁰⁶ Strabo IX. p. 418. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II. 711. Compare Callimachus ap. Steph. Byz.

⁹⁰⁷ Dodwell's Travels, vol. I. p. 189.

⁹⁰⁸ Lycoreia appears to have taken its name from the worship of Apollo Lyceius, or Lycoreus; see Callimach. Hymn. Apoll. 19. Λυκωρέος ἔντεα Φοῖβου, frequently in the Anthology, Suidas, &c.

⁹⁰⁹ See Appendix V. ad fin.

long time.⁹¹⁰ The ancient tents made of feathers, and a wooden statue of Apollo, perhaps one of the most ancient specimens of rude carving, were also reported to have been brought from Crete. The fabulous series of Delphic minstrels began with Chrysothemis, the son of Carmanor, the above-mentioned priest of Tarrha.⁹¹¹ Crete, however, did not merely send works of sculpture and hymns to Delphi, but sometimes even men,⁹¹² for the service of the Pythian Apollo. [234]

9. I know not whether these accounts are sufficient to afford an intelligible description of a time when the worship of Apollo, being established at the foot of Olympus, Parnassus, and in the distant island of Crete, and producing a certain degree of communication between these points, had not as yet penetrated to any part of Greece which lay to the south of Cæta and Parnassus.

It is evident, moreover, that the extension of this worship met with a long opposition. Apollo is in ancient traditions represented as himself protecting his own temple.⁹¹³ The Phlegians to the east, and the Ætolians to the west, appear to have been particularly adverse to the worship of the Delphian Apollo. That there was a national opposition caused by the Phlegians possessing the stronghold of Panopeus in the mountain-passes towards Bœotia, is shown by the legends, that Phorbas their leader wrestled there with Apollo; that Phlegyas burned the temple to the ground; and lastly, that Apollo exterminated their whole race with thunder

⁹¹⁰ Concerning this connexion see Zoëga, Bassirilievi, tom. I. on tav. 81. Æginetica, p. 154. Raoul-Rochette, Etablissement des Colonies Grecques, tom. II. p. 164. The name of Coretas also, the supposed discoverer of the oracle (κώρης for κούρης *Dorice*) is Cretan, Plutarch, de Defect. Orac. 21. 46. It appears that the names Κόρης (otherwise Κώρης, Κούρης,) Κορησσός in Ceos, with a temple of Apollo Smintheius, Κορησία λίμνη, in Crete (Steph. Byz.), Κορησσός, a sacred hill near Ephesus, Κρήσος, an Ephesian hero (Paus. VII. 2. 4.), and the name of Crete itself, are all etymologically connected.

⁹¹¹ Pausan. X. 7. 2.

⁹¹² ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχή, Plutarch, Thes. 16.

⁹¹³ Orac. ap. Pausan. X. 6. 6.

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and lightning.⁹¹⁴ The same people is here represented as waging war with the great deity of the Dorians, which, under the name of Lapithæ, opposed the Dorians themselves in Thessaly. And on the other side, Apollo was related in the Poems of Hesiod, and the Minyad, to have assisted the Locrian Curetes against the Ætoliens, and slain their prince Meleager.⁹¹⁵

Chapter II.

§ 1. Propagation of the worship of Apollo from Crete. § 2. in Lycia. § 3 and 4. in the Troad. § 5. in Thrace. § 6 and 7. on the Coast of Asia Minor. § 8. at Trœzen, Tænarum, Megara. § 9. Thoricus. § 10. and Leucatas. § 11 and 12. in Bœotia. § 13. 14. and 15. and in Attica.

1. But whilst the worship of Apollo was experiencing so much opposition in the north of Greece, the sea, with the neighbouring coasts and islands afforded ample opportunities for its propagation from the shores of Crete. This serves to account for the singular fact, that the most ancient temples of Apollo throughout the south of Greece, are found in maritime districts, and generally on promontories and headlands.

The colonies of Apollo branched out in various directions from the northern coast of Crete, carrying every where with them the expiatory and oracular ceremonies of his worship.⁹¹⁶ The remarkable regularity with which these settlements were established cannot, however, be regarded as the work of missions systematically carried on, or as part of the policy of Minos.⁹¹⁷

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⁹¹⁴ According to the Cyclic poets, see *Orchomenos*, pp. 188. sqq.

⁹¹⁵ Cited by Pausan. X. 31. 2.

⁹¹⁶ Κρητίδαι: μάντεισ ἀπὸ Κρήτης, Photius.

They are to be accounted for by the natural desire of the tribes of Crete, whilst migrating along the coast of the Ægean sea, to erect, wherever they touched, temples to that god, whose worship was blended with their spiritual existence.

We shall first advert to those settlements which (taking the coast of Crete as our centre) were founded in the direction of LYCIA, MILETUS, CLAROS, and the TROAD; the first and last of which were the most ancient, the others being perhaps a century later.⁹¹⁸

2. It is stated by Herodotus that Sarpedon migrated with some *barbarous* nations from Crete to Lycia or Milyas.⁹¹⁹ This unsupported and singular account is however probably not founded on tradition, the popular idea being that he was a brother of Minos the Cnosian, whom it represented as a prince of purely Hellenic blood. By these means the Cretan laws (that is, the Doric customs, which had been first fully developed in Crete), and also the Doric worship of Apollo, were spread over Lycia. For the situation of the chief temples is a sufficient proof that the settlers of Lycia came, not from the inland countries of Asia, but over the sea to the coast. Xanthus, a city renowned for the valour of its inhabitants,⁹²⁰ and situated on the river of the same name, was a Cretan settlement.⁹²¹ It seems to have been a Lycian tradition, that Xanthus was the father of Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon;⁹²² in this town was a temple sacred to Sarpedon,⁹²³ but it is uncertain whether to the elder

⁹¹⁷ As Raoul-Rochette supposes, although his work contains very valuable materials for this inquiry, *Histoire de l'Etabl. des col. Grecques*, tom. II. p. 137-173.

⁹¹⁸ On the connexion of Crete and Asia, see Heyne, *Excurs. ad Æn.* III. 102.

⁹¹⁹ I. 173. cf. VII. 92. According to Herodotus, Europa also came to Lycia (IV. 45.), *i.e.* the tradition.

⁹²⁰ Herod. I. 173. Comp. Boeckh ad Platon. *Min.* p. 55. Heraclid. *Pont.* 15.

⁹²¹ See Steph. *Byz.* in v. cf. Herod. I. 176.

⁹²² Augustinus de *Civ. Dei* XVIII. 12.

⁹²³ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* IV. 78.

Sarpedon, the brother of Minos, or to the younger, a hero of the same family mentioned in Homer, whose corpse Apollo rescued from the Greeks, and conveyed to his native country.⁹²⁴ Apollo was also worshipped under the title of Sarpedonius.⁹²⁵ Sixty stadia below the town, and ten from the mouth of the river Xanthus, was a grove sacred to Latona, near an ancient temple of the Lycian Apollo.⁹²⁶ To this spot the goddess had been conducted by wolves; here also she had bathed her new-born babes in the river,⁹²⁷ and been hospitably received by an old woman in a wretched hovel.⁹²⁸ These are the only remains of the national tradition, which in its general character was perhaps only another version of that prevalent at Delos. But the chief temple was one at Patara, in the southern extremity of Lycia,⁹²⁹ the winter habitation of the god, where he also gave out oracles through the mouth of a priestess.⁹³⁰ The oblations of cakes in the shape of lyres, bows and arrows, which were made to Apollo at Patara, remind us of similar customs at Delos, and furnish a fresh proof of the close connexion between the worships of these two countries.⁹³¹

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Further to the east was the oracle of Apollo Thyrxeus, near

⁹²⁴ II. XVI. 666.

⁹²⁵ Transplanted to Cilicia, Zosimus I. 57. Diodorus ap. Phot. Biblioth. cod. 244. p. 377. ed. Bekker.

⁹²⁶ On the former see Strabo XIV. p. 666. cf. p. 651., on the latter Diod. V. 56.

⁹²⁷ Menecrates in Lyciacis ap. Antonin. Liber, c. 35.

⁹²⁸ Σύεσσα καλύβη τις ἐν Λυκίᾳ ἀπὸ Συέσσης γραός τινος ὑποδεξάμενης τὴν Λητώ. Steph. Byz.

⁹²⁹ Both the derivations of the name *Patara*, the one from a son of Apollo (Hecataeus ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Cf. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 129. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 920.), and the other from πατάρρα, κιστίς, refer to the worship of Apollo.

⁹³⁰ Callim. Hymn. Del. 1. and Spanheim's note. Herodotus says indefinitely, ἐπεὶ γένηται, I. 182. Cf. Serv. ad Æn. IV. 143.

⁹³¹ Alexander ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Eustath. ubi sup. On the temple, see the inscriptions in Walpole's Travels, p. 541. and Beaufort's Caramania.

the Cyanean islands;⁹³² to the west lay Telmissus, with its interpreters of dreams, who attributed their origin to Apollo.⁹³³ Not only the towns just mentioned, but almost every other on the coast of Lycia, honoured the god, from whom even the name of the country was derived.⁹³⁴

Amongst these settlements we must probably also reckon that on the promontory of Corycus in Cilicia, since we find in its vicinity the temple of Zeus Sarpedon. The name of the place, if compared with that of the Corycian grotto on Parnassus, is of itself sufficient evidence that the worship of Apollo prevailed there, which is still further proved by the tradition that stags swam over from thence to Curium in Cyprus.⁹³⁵ Here also stood an altar of Apollo, of particular sanctity, which no one was allowed to touch on pain of being thrown from the rocks of the neighbouring promontory. In this punishment we shall presently recognise one form of the expiatory rites, which every where [239] accompanied the worship of Apollo.

3. No place contained so many temples of Apollo within so small a space as the coast of Troy; Cilia, in the recess of the Adramyttian gulf; Chryse, in the territory of the Hypoplacian Thebes;⁹³⁶ the Smintheum, in its immediate neighbourhood;⁹³⁷

⁹³² Pausan. VII. 21.3.

⁹³³ Herod. I. 78. Apostolius XVIII. 25. from Dionysius ἐν κτίσεσιν, Herodian. ap. Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. 860.

⁹³⁴ The coins of Patara, Phaselis, Xanthus, Cydna, Cragus, Apollonia, Corydalla, Limyra, and Olympus, have a head of Apollo, the tripod, lyre, the deer, and similar symbols. Cf. Steph. Byz. Δάφνη ἐν Λυκίᾳ. Apollo Ἐρεθύμιος among the Lycians, Hesych. in v. Perhaps this is a corruption of Ἐρυθίβιος, as Apollo was called in Rhodes, Strabo XIII. p. 613. See below, ch. 5. § 4.

⁹³⁵ See Strabo XIV. p. 683. from Hedylus, or some other poet. On the sacred deer of Apollo at Curium, see Ælian. Nat. Anim. XI. 7.

⁹³⁶ Strabo XIII. p. 611. Scylax, p. 26. Compare the obscure gloss of Hesychius in Πυθίων ἀνακτόρων.

⁹³⁷ On this temple, see Heyne ad Il. A. 39. According to Strabo XIII. p. 604. there were Sminthea near Hamaxitus in Æolis, near Parium, at Lindus

the island of Tenedos (whose religious ceremonies were by some unaccountable means transplanted to Corinth and Syracuse),⁹³⁸ are all mentioned in a few verses of the Iliad.⁹³⁹ No less celebrated was Thymbra, situated at the confluence of the Thymbrius and Scamander, where Cassandra was reported to have been brought up in the temple of Apollo, and thus to have learnt the art of prophecy.⁹⁴⁰ On the Trojan citadel of Pergamus itself was a temple of Apollo, with Artemis and Latona; and hence Homer represents these three deities as protecting the falling city.⁹⁴¹ It is however important to remark, that the inhabitants of Zelea, a town on the northern foot of mount Ida, and the native place of the archer Pandarus, the son of Lycaon, worshipped Apollo under the title of Lycius, or Lycegenes; and that Zelea was also called Lycia;⁹⁴² for these facts show that there was a real connexion between the name of Lycia and the worship of Apollo, and that it was the worship of Apollo which gave the name to this district of Troy, as it had done to the country of the Solymi. In Chryse also Apollo was called Lycæus.⁹⁴³ The origin of this worship can neither be attributed to the native Trojan and Dardan

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in Rhodes, and elsewhere. A certain Philodemus, or Philomnestus, wrote a treatise on the *Σμινθεΐα* in Rhodes, Athen. III. p. 74 F. 445 A.

⁹³⁸ The inhabitants of Tenea, a village near Corinth, were said to have been transplanted by Agamemnon from Tenedos. That they really worshipped Apollo *in the same manner* as the Tenedians, is testified by Aristotle ap. Strab. p. 380. Paus. II. 5. 3. And the worship of Apollo was carried by means of Archias from Tenea to Syracuse, Strabo, *ibid.* See book I. ch. 6. § 7.

⁹³⁹ A. 37-39.

⁹⁴⁰ Strabo XIII. p. 591. Hesych. in *Θύμβρα*. Schol. II. X. 430. Servius ad *Æn.* III. 85. compare Choiseul Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque*, tom. III. to pl. 25. Walpole's *Memoirs*, p. 609. The fable of Pan, the son of Thymbris, and teacher of Apollo in divination (Apollodor. I. 4. 1.), has also reference to this story.

⁹⁴¹ II. V. 446. VII. 83.

⁹⁴² II. II. 827. IV. 119. V. 105. with the Schol. Min.

⁹⁴³ Hesychius in *Λυκαῖον*. There are likewise many other signs of the worship of Apollo on this coast, Strabo XIII. p. 618; in Priapus, Schol. Lycophr. 29; Apollo *Πασπάριος* in Parium and Pergamum (Hesych. in v.); on the coins of Gargara, Germe, Lampsacus, Atarneus, Neandria, Abydos, and New Troy.

race, nor yet to the later Æolians, although these for the most part adopted it into their religious ceremonies.⁹⁴⁴ It is however certain, from an ancient tradition, that the Cretans also colonized this coast; though we are not aware what was the precise account of Callinus, the ancient elegiac poet,⁹⁴⁵ who preserved it. It was however the popular belief that Apollo Smintheus, and indeed the whole Trojan nation, were derived from Crete.⁹⁴⁶ The last notion, that all the Trojans were of Cretan origin, is in the highest degree improbable; but it will hardly be denied that there came [241] to Troy a Cretan colony in connexion with Apollo Smintheus. Indeed the Cretans who inhabited the district of Troy must often have been mentioned in ancient traditions, as a strange account of their strict administration of justice has been preserved.⁹⁴⁷ Could we but obtain a more authentic source of traditions relating to the religious worship than the deceitful accounts of poets, we might perhaps discover in it many confirmations of the historical traces to which we have just adverted. Even now we may perceive that the servitude of Apollo under Laomedon⁹⁴⁸ is the same fable as that of Admetus at Pheræ, the locality alone being changed.

4. By observing Homer's accounts of the worship of Apollo in different Trojan families, we may discover a remarkable consistency and connexion in the ancient tradition.

⁹⁴⁴ The Æolians built a temple to the *Cillæan* Apollo at Colonæ, Strabo XIII. p. 613. from Daes of Colonæ.

⁹⁴⁵ Strabo XIII. p. 604. τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἀφιγμένοις Τεύκροις, οὗς πρῶτος παρέδωκε Καλλίνος, &c. It does not appear that this can, with Frank, Callinus, p. 31, be understood only of a mention of the *name* of the Teucrians.

⁹⁴⁶ The latter fact is supported by the ancient name of Cephalion, an inhabitant of the Teucric city of Gergis (ap. Steph. Byz. in Ἀρίσβη. Eustath. ad II. p. 894.): but his Τρωικὰ was the forgery of an Alexandrine writer named Hegesianax (Athen. IX. p. 393 B). Lycophron, v. 1302. calls Teucer, Scamander, and Arisbe, Cretans.

⁹⁴⁷ In the fragments of Nicolaus Damascenus, p. 442. ed. Vales.

⁹⁴⁸ Iliad. VII. 452. XXI. 442. which passages do not agree. Hesiod in Her. Geneal. ap. Schol. Lycophr. 393. Hellanicus ap. Schol. II. XX. 145. Coluthus v. 309.

In the first place he represents it as belonging chiefly to the family of the Panthoidæ. Panthus (from whom a tribe in modern Ilium derived its name Πανθωϊς)⁹⁴⁹ was a priest of the god,⁹⁵⁰ and hence his sons were protected by Apollo in battle.⁹⁵¹ Hence also Euphorbus, the descendant of Panthus, is selected to kill Patroclus, who, as well as all the other Æacidæ, was in the heroic mythology represented as odious to Apollo.⁹⁵²

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The other family, described in the Iliad as connected with Apollo, is that of Æneas, whom, when wounded by Diomed, the god himself conducted to his temple on the citadel of Troy, and delivered over to the care of Latona and Artemis.⁹⁵³ Now that this history was not a mere arbitrary fiction of the poet may be distinctly proved. For we know that, after Troy had fallen, the remaining Trojans still maintained themselves in the mountains; they are mentioned by Herodotus as a separate state existing in the stronghold of Gergis, in the defiles of Ida,⁹⁵⁴ and, even after the Peloponnesian war, Dardan princes reigned here and at Scepsis.⁹⁵⁵ It can, we think, be shown that Homer's prophecy⁹⁵⁶ respecting the future dominion of the descendants

⁹⁴⁹ Inscription in Walpole's Memoirs, p. 104.

⁹⁵⁰ Æneid. II. 318. 430.

⁹⁵¹ Iliad. XV. 522.

⁹⁵² Achilles was slain by Apollo, according to Homer; Aretinus and Æschylus in the ψυχοστασία (Heyne ad Il. XXII. 359. Tychsen ad Quint. Smyrn. Comment. p. 61); Neoptolemus was killed at Pytho. For the same reason Achilles slays Tennes, the son of Apollo (Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 232.), in whose temple it was forbidden to pronounce the name of the Phthian hero (Plutarch Quæst. Gr. 28. p. 933).

⁹⁵³ Iliad. V. 446.

⁹⁵⁴ Herod. V. 122. VII. 43. It was situated in the territory of Lampsacus (Strabo XIII. p. 589.), in mount Ida (Athen. VI. p. 256 C.), opposite Dardanus (Herod.); the village of Mermessus, 240 stadia from Alexandria Troas (Pausan. X. 12. 2), was a κώμη Γεργιθία, Suidas in v. Also in Schol. Plat. Phædr. p. 61. Ruhnken. p. 315. Bekker. write, ἐν κώμη Μερμήσσω—περὶ τινα πολίχνην Γέργιθα or Γέργιθον for Μαρμυσσῶ and Γεργετίωνα.

⁹⁵⁵ Xenoph. Hell. III. 1. 10.

⁹⁵⁶ Iliad. XX. 307. Compare the remarks of A. W. Schlegel on this point in his

of Æneas over the remnant of the Trojan nation, refers solely to the town of Gergis, and perhaps to the neighbouring valleys. Now the chief temple at Gergis was that of Apollo,⁹⁵⁷ and in the same town there was an ancient Sibylline oracle, known by the name of the *Hellespontine* or *Mermessian*. We now see that the ancient poet, being well acquainted with the existence of the Æneadæ at Gergis, their festivals and sacrifices, felt himself bound, according to the spirit of mythology, to represent Apollo as the ancient guardian of that family. [243]

We shall seize this opportunity of briefly pointing out the results which may be drawn from these facts, in illustration of the fable of Æneas. We must first assume that the above oracle of Apollo at Gergis announced to the Trojan Gergithians the re-establishment of their nation under the dominion of the descendants of Æneas. Such a prophecy, in fact, agrees so exactly with the spirit and system of the ancient oracles, that its existence can scarcely be doubted. The hopes, the longing after a restoration of their ancient power, must necessarily have assumed this form among the distressed and conquered Trojans. Now a colony of Gergithians also inhabited the territory of the Æolian Cume,⁹⁵⁸ where Apollo possessed a magnificent temple;⁹⁵⁹ and if these oracles had been known to the Cumæans, they would readily have passed over to their kinsmen the Cumans of Campania. At this last place there was, on the summit of a rock, a temple of Apollo (one of the most ancient in the whole settlement, and, as it was pretended, built by Dædalus);⁹⁶⁰ underneath was the grotto of the sibyl. Here it was said that Æneas landed; and here, according to

celebrated Review of Niebuhr's Roman History.

⁹⁵⁷ Steph. Byz. in Γέργις, from Phlegon.

⁹⁵⁸ This may be collected from the confused account of Clearchus of Soli ἐν Γεργιθίῳ, in Athen. VI. p. 256. cf. XII. p. 524 A. Strab. XIII. p. 589 D.

⁹⁵⁹ Plin. H. N. XXXIV. 8.

⁹⁶⁰ Heyne Exc. ad Æn. VI. 3. The rock was called Ζωσστηρία κλιτὺς (Lycoph. 1278), as the Attic promontory with the temple of Apollo.

Stesichorus, he remained, and never went further to the north.⁹⁶¹ Nothing was more probable than that these oracles should in both cases have been applied locally, and that a new Troy should in consequence have been founded both in Asia and Italy. Hence, when the Greek sibylline oracles, in connexion with the worship of Apollo, became the state-oracles of Rome, all that had been prophesied of districts near the Hellespont was, without scruple or ceremony (though not without the ingenuity of commentators and interpreters), applied to Rome. It is evident that the origin of the strange fable of Æneas, the father of Romulus, and all that was afterwards added to it, may be explained in this simple manner.

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5. The most ancient temple of Apollo in THRACE was also founded by Cretans, as well as that at Ismarus or Maroneia;⁹⁶² Maron its priest being, according to tradition, a Cretan adventurer.⁹⁶³ With this sanctuary was probably connected the ancient oracular temple of Apollo at Deræa near Abdera,⁹⁶⁴ alluded to in the device on the coins of Abdera; on one side of which Apollo is seen with the arrow in his hand; and on the reverse is a griffin, a symbol which appears to have been adopted by the Teians in consequence of their having resided for some time in their colony of Abdera.

6. The Cretan worshippers of Apollo also established some considerable temples on the Ionian coast. The principal of these was the Didymæum, in the territory of Miletus. Before the Ionic migration, Miletus was a Cretan fortress, on the coast, in a country at that time called Caria.⁹⁶⁵ The disagreement of traditions as to whether Sarpedon or Miletus (the Cretan) was the founder, confirms, rather than weakens, the principal fact of its settlement

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⁹⁶¹ See the *tabula Iliaca*, ΜΙΣΗΝΟΣ.

⁹⁶² Od. IX. 197.

⁹⁶³ Diod. V. 79. compare Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 160.

⁹⁶⁴ Pindar, in Pæan. ap. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 445.

⁹⁶⁵ Ephorus ap. Strab. XIV. p. 634 D.

from Crete, both traditions describing the same fact in a different manner. With the founding of this stronghold was connected that of a temple, which is ascribed to Branchus, an expiatory priest⁹⁶⁶ of Delphi, whose name (which was well fitted for a prophet),⁹⁶⁷ moulded into a patronymic form, was afterwards adopted by the priests of the temple;⁹⁶⁸ the temple itself, and even the place (which was also called Didyma). Thus we here again see a fresh connexion between the Delphians and Cretans, there being indeed hardly any distinction between them before they were dispersed by the different migrations of the Doric race. The worship at Didyma was in fact the same with that of Crete and Delphi; expiatory ceremonies and prophecies being united, and the latter delivered with rites very similar to those observed at the Pythian oracle. Apollo was here called *Philesius* and *Delphinus*, which names were afterwards adopted by other Ionians;⁹⁶⁹ with him was connected Zeus, both, according to Callimachus, being the ancestors of Didyma; and also Artemis, who, in an ancient hymn ascribed to Branchus, is with Apollo addressed under the titles of *ἐκάεργος* and *ἐκάεργη*.⁹⁷⁰ The ruins of this temple, so highly honoured in Asia, still bear witness to its ancient fame and splendour. From the temple to the harbour⁹⁷¹ Panormus there was a sacred road adorned on both sides with more than sixty statues in a very ancient style of workmanship: amongst

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⁹⁶⁶ Callimachus apud Clem. Alex. Strom. V. p. 570. Strab. IX. p. 421. Conon Narr. c. 33, 44. Stat. Theb. VIII. 198. Gesner Comment. Soc. Gotting. vol. IV. p. 121. Ionian Antiquities, vol. II. new ed.

⁹⁶⁷ Quintilian. Inst. Orat. XI. 3. p. 305. Bipont. *Est interim et longus et plenus et clarus salis spiritus, non tamen firmæ intentionis, idemque tremulus. Id βράνχον Græci vocant.* This is exactly the voice of enthusiastic priests and prophets.

⁹⁶⁸ There was likewise a family of diviners named *Εὐαγγελίδαι*, Conon Narr. c. 44.

⁹⁶⁹ Strabo IV. p. 139 B. *Æginetica*, p. 151.

⁹⁷⁰ Clem. Alex. Strom. V. 8.

⁹⁷¹ On this see D'Orville ad Chariton. p. 349. and Quintus Smyrnæus I. 283.

these, an Egyptian lion attests the connexion of king Necho with the oracle.⁹⁷² The Ionians of Miletus, however, acknowledged the god of Branchidæ as the principal deity in their town, and introduced him into their numerous colonies, from Naucratis⁹⁷³ to Cyzicus,⁹⁷⁴ Parium,⁹⁷⁵ Apollonia Pontica,⁹⁷⁶ and the distant Taurica: the coins and inscriptions of which place agree in representing him as the guardian deity (προστάτης).⁹⁷⁷

7. The twin brother of the Didymæan god, both in origin and in the similarity of worship, is the Clarian Apollo. However fabulous the particular circumstances of its foundation, still it was impossible in ancient times to invent a religious colonial connexion where none in fact existed. The traditions manifestly imply a double dependence of the establishment at Claros: viz., upon Delphi and Crete. Manto, the daughter of Teiresias the Theban soothsayer, was, according to the epic poets, consecrated by the Epigoni to the Delphian Apollo after the taking of Thebes,⁹⁷⁸ and she was afterwards sent by Apollo to the spot on which the Ionians at a later period founded the city of Colophon; having, in obedience to the commands of the oracle, married on her way Rhacius the Cretan, whose name, according to the dialect

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⁹⁷² Herod. II. 159.

⁹⁷³ Pythius and Comæus. Athen. IV. p. 149 E. Ammian. Marcellin XXIII. 6.

⁹⁷⁴ Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 966. Hence the offerings of the Cyziceniens in the Didymæum, Chishull Ant. Asiat. p. 67. In the character of Ἐκβάσιος, Apollo has on coins his foot resting on a *fish*.

⁹⁷⁵ A coin of Parium, in the cabinet of M. Allier de Hauteroche, shows the statue of Apollo on the seashore, with the circumscription, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΑΚΤΑΙΟΥ ΠΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ, agreeing with Strabo XIII. p. 588.

⁹⁷⁶ Strabo VII. p. 319 B. Apollo Ἠῶος on the island of Thynias (Apollonia, Daphnusa). Apoll. Rhod. II. 686. Schol. ad 1. Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. 12. is probably Milesian: also Apollo Φιλίσιος at Trapezus on the Euxine sea, Arrian. Periopl. p. 2.

⁹⁷⁷ Collected in Raoul-Rochette's Antiquités Grecques du Bosphore Cimmérien, pl. 5, 7, 8.

⁹⁷⁸ The Cyclic Thebaid in Schol. Apoll. Rh. IV. 308. Apollod. III. 7. 4. Dioid. IV. 66. Pausan. VII. 3. 1. IX. 33. 1.

of Crete, had the double form Rhacius and Lacijs.⁹⁷⁹ Augias, the Cyclic poet, mentioned the tomb of her father Teiresias at Colophon,⁹⁸⁰ which was generally supposed to be in Bœotia. The offspring of this marriage was Mopsus, who was probably called the progenitor of the family from which, even in the Roman time, the priests of the oracle were selected.⁹⁸¹ The forms of prophecy were in this temple also similar to those at Delphi.

The other temples of Apollo on the coast of Asia Minor were generally connected with some one of the four already mentioned. The temple of Leucæ, between Smyrna and Phocæa (where the Cumæans celebrated a festival),⁹⁸² was probably a member of the Trojan family, to which the Grynean Apollo, in the territory of Myrina near Cume (where there was also an oracle), appears to be related.⁹⁸³ Apollo Malloeis, in the territory of Mytilene, in Lesbos, was an off-shoot of the Clarian worship.⁹⁸⁴ to the same branch also belonged the oracle of Apollo at Mallus in Cilicia,⁹⁸⁵ inasmuch as it was said to have been founded by Mopsus the son

⁹⁷⁹ He was called both Ῥάκιος and Λάκιος, because in the Cretan dialect Ῥάκος and λάκος were exchangeable forms, Schneider ad Nicand. Alexipharm. 11. p. 83. Compare book I. ch. 6. § 5.

⁹⁸⁰ Proclus Chrestomath.

⁹⁸¹ Strabo XIV. p. 675. Conon Narr. 6. Tacit. Ann. II. 54. On the temple see Locella ad Xenoph. Ephes. p. 128. ed. Peerlkamp.

⁹⁸² Diod. XV. 18. Strabo ubi sup.

⁹⁸³ Hecatæus ap. Steph. Byz. in Γρῦνοι. Strabo XIII. p. 622. Hermeias of Methymna wrote a treatise on the Grynean Apollo, Athen. IV. p. 149. E. Hence the temple of Apollo, the sibyl, and the Apollo δαφνηφόρος, on the coins of Myrina, which city also sent χρυσᾶ θέρη to Delphi, Plutarch. de Pyth. Orac. 16. p. 273.

⁹⁸⁴ Malus the son of Manto, Hellenicus ἐν Λεσβικοῖς apud Steph. Byz. in Μαλλόεις. Thucyd. III. 3. Likewise in Lesbos, Apollo Ναπαῖος (Hellenicus ap. Steph. Byz. in Νάπη. cf. Strab. IX. p. 429. Suid. in Ναπαῖος. Macrob. Sat. I. 17. coins of Nape with the image of Apollo in Mionnet's work), Λεπετύμνιος, Antigon. Caryst. 17. and Ἐρέσιος, Hesych. in v. In Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 144. for ΓΟΝΝΑΠΑΙΟΥ Ἀπόλλωνος write ΤΟΥ ΝΑΠΑΙΟΥ Ἀπόλλωνος.

⁹⁸⁵ Strabo XIV. p. 675 C. Arrian. II. 5. Hence perhaps the worship of Apollo came to Tarsus, Osann. Syllog. Inscr. p. 141.

of Manto.

8. The worship of Apollo also penetrated to several parts of European Greece, where it was established by Cretan adventurers on capes and headlands—particularly at Trœzen, Tænarum, Megara, and Thoricus.

TRŒZEN, as has been above remarked,⁹⁸⁶ shared with Athens both the race of her inhabitants and her worship, together with the connexion between Athens and Crete; the meaning of which will be explained hereafter.⁹⁸⁷ Hence we may conjecture the Cretan origin of the nine families, which were in existence at a late date at Trœzen, and in early times performed the rites of atonement and purification (of which Orestes was said to have been the first subject) near a laurel-tree in front of the temple of Apollo, and a sacred stone in front of the temple of the Lycean Artemis.⁹⁸⁸

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The expiatory establishment⁹⁸⁹ on the promontory of TÆNARUM was also said to have been founded by Tettix, a Cretan,⁹⁹⁰ who is merely a personified symbol of Apollo, like Lycus, Corax, Cynus, &c, in other places. Callondas is said to have purified the soul of the murdered Archilochus at this gate of the infernal regions. Considering the proximity of Delium in Laconia⁹⁹¹ and of the little island of Minoa to this temple, we may conclude that the origin of the above sanctuary was connected with these places.

⁹⁸⁶ Book I. ch. 5. § 4.

⁹⁸⁷ Pausan. II. 32. 2. Ἄρτεμις σῶπειρα, brought from Crete to Trœzen, ib. 31. 1.

⁹⁸⁸ Paus. II. 31. 7. 11. The temple of Apollo Thearius at Trœzen was, according to Pausan. ib. 31. 9. the most ancient in Greece. Apollo joined with Leucothea, Ælian. V. H. I. 18.

⁹⁸⁹ Called Ψυχοπομπεῖον, like the institutions in Thesprotia, at Phigalea and Heraclea Pontica. See book I. ch. 1. § 6.

⁹⁹⁰ Plutarch, de sera Num. Vind. 17. p. 256. Hesych. in τέττιγος ἔδρανον.

⁹⁹¹ Thus Strabo VIII. p. 368. the name being derived from Delos. Also called Ἐπιδήλιον.

In front of the harbour of MEGARA was another island called Minoa, and numerous legends had been there preserved in which the Cretans of Minoa (though probably only by a corruption of the original tradition) were represented as enemies and plunderers. Megara had two citadels: the Carian with the temple of Demeter, and a more modern one towards the sea, surmounted by temples of Apollo. This is said to have been built by Alcathous the son of Pelops, while Apollo stood by and played upon his lyre. A sounding-block of stone was exhibited at the place where the god lay down his lyre.⁹⁹² The same fable is also alluded to by Theognis of Megara.⁹⁹³ Here then there is a worship and temples of an earlier date than the Doric migration, and which certainly proceeded from Crete. On the former citadel stood a statue of Apollo Decatephorus,⁹⁹⁴ “the receiver of tithes,” whose name is explained by the fable that the daughter of Alcathous was once sent as a tribute to Crete, like the Athenian youths and maidens. Thus a fact which will be soon proved with respect to Athens, is also true of Megara—viz., that these missions always conveyed a sacred tithe.⁹⁹⁵ [250]

⁹⁹² Pausan. I. 42. 1. 2. conf. Epigram. Adespot. 3. p. 193. Brunck. Analect. Meziriac ad Ovid. Epist. vol. I. p. 448.—Also, Megareus the son of Apollo, in Steph. Byz. in Μέγαρα. comp. Dieuchidas of Megara in Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 517.

⁹⁹³ V. 773. Φοῖβε ἄναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην, Ἄλκαθῶω Πέλοπος παιδί χαριζόμενος.

⁹⁹⁴ Δεκατηφόρος, ὅς δεκάτην φέρει, *i.e.* here, “he who *receives* it,” Paus. I. 42. 1. 5. Compare an Argive inscription (Boeckh No. 1142. Δεξιστρατος Αρχιππ. Απολλωνι δεκατ—.) Apollo was likewise worshipped at Megara under the titles of Pythius (Schol. Pind. Nem. V. 84. Philostrate. Vit. Soph. I. 24. 3.), Archagetas, Prostaterius, Carnius and Agræus. The tripod and the Delphine on the coins of Megara see Pouqueville, tom. IV. p. 131. against Clarke, vol. II. sect II. p. 768.

⁹⁹⁵ From Megara *Calchedon* (see the coins) derived its worship and oracle of Apollo (Dionys. Byz. p. 23.) Not far off was Demonesus; and an Apollo of Demonesian brass is mentioned in Pseud. Aristot. de Mirab. 59. Jungermann ad Poll. V. 5. 39. *Byzantium* likewise, a Megarian colony, had a temple of Apollo on the promontory of Metopon, according to Dionysius de Bosp.

9. The process of our investigation will shortly lead us to examine the Attic legends, consisting of a confused mass of tradition, with which the worship of all the gods, including that of Apollo, was in that country perplexed.

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To commence then with the legends which are connected with the temple of Apollo at THORICUS. Thoricus, situated on the south-eastern coast of Attica, was one of the ancient twelve towns of that country, and always remained a place of consequence, of which there are still extant considerable remains. Favoured by its situation, it soon became a commercial station; Cretan vessels were accustomed in ancient times to anchor in its harbour.⁹⁹⁶ The fable of Cephalus and Procris appears, from some poetical and mythological accounts, to have been connected with Crete and the worship of Apollo.⁹⁹⁷ We know for certain that the Cephalidæ, who existed at a still later period in Attica,⁹⁹⁸ preserved some hereditary rites of Apollo: for when in the tenth generation Chalcinus and Dætus, the descendants of the hero, returned to the country which their ancestor had quitted in consequence of murder, they immediately built a temple to that god on the road to Eleusis.⁹⁹⁹

10. But the fable of Cephalus was also connected with another great temple of Apollo, which in the west of Greece looked down from the chalky cliffs of the promontory of Leucatas over the

Thrac. Byzantium, moreover, had evidently derived from its parent city, but in an exaggerated form, the tradition of the foundation of the city by Apollo, and that this god placed his lyre upon a tower. Hence the seven resounding towers (Hesych. Miles, ap. Codin. p. 2. 3. Dionys. Byz. p. 6. Dio Cass. LXXIV. 14): also the fable of the dolphin charmed by the sound of the lyre (Dionysius pag. 9. Gyllius de Constantinop. pag. 285.) evidently belongs to the Megarian worship.

⁹⁹⁶ Homer. Hymn. Cer. 126.

⁹⁹⁷ See Pherecydes ap. Schol. Od. XI. 320. Apollod. II. 4. 7. Observ. ad Apollod. p. 333.

⁹⁹⁸ Κεφαλίδαι γένος Ἀθήνησιν, Hesychius.

⁹⁹⁹ Paus. I. 37. 4.

Ionian sea, and of which there are ruins still extant.¹⁰⁰⁰ Now Cephalus, the hero of Thoricus, is said to have gained these regions in company with Amphitryon.¹⁰⁰¹ he is also said to have first made the celebrated leap from the rock of Leucatas.¹⁰⁰² This leap, doubtless, had originally a religious meaning, and was an expiatory rite. At the Athenian festival of Thargelia, a festival sacred to Apollo, criminals, crowned as victims, were led to the edge of a rock, and thrown down to the bottom; and the same ceremony appears to have been performed on certain sacred occasions at Leucatas.¹⁰⁰³ Here, however, the fall of the criminal was broken by tying feathers, and even birds, to his body; below, he was taken up, and conveyed to a distance, that he might carry away with him every particle of guilt. This was without doubt the original meaning of the leap of Cephalus, who was stained with the guilt of homicide, and on that very account a fugitive from his country. According to a legend noticed in an ancient epic poem, his purification took place at Thebes;¹⁰⁰⁴ whereas the Leucadian tradition doubtless represented his leap from the rock as the act of atonement.

In later times, indeed, the object of this leap was totally altered; it was supposed to be a specific for disappointed love.¹⁰⁰⁵ This singular application of the ancient custom gave a romantic colour to the legend connected with it. Cephalus and Procris were also

¹⁰⁰⁰ See Strabo X. p. 452. Thuc. III. 94. Propert. III. 9. ad fin. Servius ad Æn. III. 271. Dodwell, vol. I. p. 53. Hughes, vol. I. p. 402. has a Leucadian inscription, Ἀπολλωνιάται ὠκοδόμησαν.

¹⁰⁰¹ Aristot. in Ithac. Rep. ap. Etymol. M. in Ἀρκείσιος, Heraclid. Pont. 17 and 37. ed. Koehler. Heyne ad Apollod. II. 4. 7.

¹⁰⁰² Apollod. III. 15. 1. According to the ancient Charon of Lampsacus, Phobus of Phocæa was the first who took this leap, Plutarch. Virt. Mul. p. 289.

¹⁰⁰³ Κατ' ἐνίαυτον, Strabo X. p. 452. Ovid. Fast V. 630. Tristia *Leucadio* sacra peracta modo. Photius Lex. λευκάτης. σκοπελὸς τῆς ἠπείρου, ἀφ' οὗ ῥίπτουσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος οἱ ἱερεῖς.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Photius in Τευμησία, from the ἐπικός κύκλος.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Stesichorus apud Athen. XIV. p. 619. D. and Sappho. Compare Hardion. *Sur le sault de Leucade*, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. VII. p. 245.

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represented in after-times as tormented by love and jealousy. Probably the story partly obtained this form in Cyprus, the island of Aphrodite, whither the fable of Cephalus¹⁰⁰⁶ was early carried by Attic settlers. But in whatever manner it was perverted, we cannot doubt that the leap of Cephalus from the Leucadian rock was a part of the expiatory worship of Apollo.

These considerations refer to the Cretan rites solemnized at Thoricus. In Athens itself, the traditions of Crete and Delphi being found united together, it is necessary that we should first return to the latter place, and follow the Pythian worship through ΒΕΟΤΙΑ.

11. This indeed is neither the time nor place to relate how the Pythian worship, in spite of the opposition of hostile races, traced the route of the procession through the passes of Parnassus. The fact is indeed evident from an almost unbroken chain of temples and oracles, the links of which, viz., Thurium, Tilphossium, the temple of Galaxius, the oracle of Eutresis, the Ismenium, Tenerium, Ptoum, and Tegyra, are all connected either by tradition or religious rites with Delphi. Delium is probably the only place on the eastern coast founded from Delos. Pindar represents the establishment of several such temples under the form of a migration of the god himself.¹⁰⁰⁷

I shall content myself with noticing a few of the temples above-mentioned.

The first in order is the oracle at the fountain of Tilphossa under Mount Helicon, famous for the grave of Tiresias and the monument of Rhadamanthus, who is said to have dwelt here with Alcmena the mother of Hercules.¹⁰⁰⁸ To this spot were attached some remarkable traditions of the Cretan worshippers of Apollo, forming a branch of the colonization of Cirrha; which is alluded to in Homer's account of the Thracians' bringing Rhadamanthus

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¹⁰⁰⁶ See Hesych. in θόρικος, Ptolem. Hephæst. 7.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Fragment of the Παρθένια, p. 595. ed. Boeckh.

¹⁰⁰⁸ See below, ch. 11. § 8.

to Eubœa for the purpose of seeing Tityus;¹⁰⁰⁹—a remarkable passage, which I can only understand to mean that the Cretan hero was desirous to see Tityus, who was vanquished by Apollo.

Tegyra was a place of great importance in the Bœotian tradition, as being the birthplace of Apollo.¹⁰¹⁰ The Delphian oracle was more favourable to this tradition than to that of Delos. Pindar¹⁰¹¹ represents the youthful god as coming to take possession of Pytho from Tegyra, not, as the Attic poets, from Delos.

12. The identity of the Bœotian with the Delphian worship of Apollo was particularly striking in the temple of Ismene at Thebes. As at Delphi the Python was slain and the laurel broken anew every eight years, so at Thebes a procession of laurel-bearers took place at the same periods, the use of which, as a measure of time, is evident.¹⁰¹² Here also, as at Delphi, the statue of Athene was placed in front of the temple (πρόναος).¹⁰¹³ Tripods were the sacred vessels in both temples, though never employed in the latter for the purpose of prophecy. In later times the priests were contented with observing omens from the flame and ashes of sacrifices,¹⁰¹⁴ like the πυρχοί of Delphi;¹⁰¹⁵ although the mode of delivering oracles, from a mental enthusiasm, was prevalent also in Thebes at an earlier

¹⁰⁰⁹ Od. VII. 322.

¹⁰¹⁰ Plutarch, de Def. Orac. 5.

¹⁰¹¹ According to the emendation Τεγύρας for Τανάγρας in fragm. incert. 14. Boeckh.

¹⁰¹² See *Orchomenos*, p. 220. Boeckh in the Berlin Transactions on the Oration against Midias, below, ch. 8. § 4.

¹⁰¹³ Pausan. IX. 10. See Stanley ad Æsch. Eum. 21.

¹⁰¹⁴ Herod. VIII. 134. Soph. Œd. T. 21. μαντεία σποδῶ, Philochorus ap. Schol. ad 1.

¹⁰¹⁵ Hesych. in v. Also the lots burnt in the sacred fire, according to the same grammarian, φρυκτὸς Δελφοῖς κυῆρος. Compare Boeckh Explic. Pind. Ol. VIII. 2. and Plutarch de Frat. Am. 20. To this custom likewise refer the Φοίβου ἔσχάρα in Eurip. Phœn 292, and the name of the ancient priest of the Delphic oracle πύρκεων. See the Eumolpia in Paus. X. 5. 3.

period; at least Tiresias (whom we may consider as a prophet of the temple of Ismene)¹⁰¹⁶ does not, either in Homer or the tragedians, appear as a diviner from fire.

That, however, the whole worship of Apollo was not one of those originally instituted at Thebes, will be evident from the following observations. In the ancient legends respecting Cadmus, in which Demeter, Cora, Cadmus, and afterwards Bacchus, predominate in succession, Apollo never appears in a conspicuous character. For particular additions of the poets may be easily distinguished from the genuine popular tradition. The fable, that Cadmus, after the slaughter of the serpent, was, like Apollo, compelled to live *eight* years in slavery,¹⁰¹⁷ must be considered as a poetical transposition. Cadmus and Apollo had originally no points of resemblance to each other. The situation of the temple of Apollo at Thebes is a most convincing proof that his worship was totally distinct from any other. Those of the ancient national gods were built on the citadel of Cadmeia, whilst Apollo was not only not worshipped in the citadel, but even without the gates, in the temple of Ismene,¹⁰¹⁸ which, according to Pausanias, must have been situated opposite to the temple of Hercules and the house of Amphitryon. This proximity of the hero and god, as well as all other points of union between the two at Thebes, will be employed for the purpose of establishing further conclusions, when we explain the legend of Hercules.¹⁰¹⁹

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To settle with any accuracy, from the traditions concerning Tiresias and Hercules, the time at which the Bœotian temples of Apollo were founded, seems hardly possible, since the former

¹⁰¹⁶ The stone of Manto in front of the temple, Paus. IX. 10. μαντίων θῶκος. Pind. Pyth. XI. 6.

¹⁰¹⁷ The serpent of Cadmus is also by later writers called Castalius and Δελφίνιος, Creuzer ad Nonni Narr. in Melet. vol. I. p. 93.

¹⁰¹⁸ Apollo Polius was also without the gates at Thebes, Paus. IX. 12. 1. Apollo was likewise worshipped in the village of Calydna near Thebes, Androton ap. Steph. Byz. in Κάλυδνα.

¹⁰¹⁹ Below, ch. 11. § 7.

contain no chronological information, and the latter are entirely unconnected with the rest of the Theban mythology. A tradition respecting the establishment of the festival of the Daphnephoria places it at the time of the Æolian migration,¹⁰²⁰ whence it might perhaps be inferred that the Æolians introduced the worship of Apollo into Bœotia. This hypothesis would however involve us in endless perplexities; and it is most probable that its diffusion was gradually effected, soon after the settlement at Cirrha, about the time at which the worship of Apollo rose to importance at Athens.

13. The introduction of this worship into ATTICA coincides exactly with the passage of the Ionians into that country. The traditions respecting the most ancient kings, Cecrops, Erichthonius, and Erechtheus, chiefly refer to the temples, symbols, and festival rites of Athene; and this goddess, together with the other deities of the Acropolis, plays the principal part in them, particularly in her connexion with the blessings of husbandry. But with the reign of Ion the Attic mythology assumes quite a different character.¹⁰²¹ This seems to me a complete refutation of the assertion of the Ionians as to their identity with the aboriginal nation of the Pelasgians.¹⁰²² Still more evident is it then, that in proportion as the Ionians, being a warlike nation,¹⁰²³ separated themselves from the original inhabitants, whose employment was agriculture and pasturing, their Hellenic worship deviated from the ancient one of the country. Aristotle indeed speaks of the paternal Apollo (Ἀπόλλων πατρῶος) as being a son of Athene and Hephæstus;¹⁰²⁴ but this is nothing more than an endeavour to create a family connexion between

¹⁰²⁰ See *Orchomenos*, pp. 234, 393.

¹⁰²¹ See the author's work *De Minerva Poliade*, p. 2.

¹⁰²² Herodot. I. 56. VII. 94. VIII. 44.

¹⁰²³ Hence Ion is called the πολέμαρχος or στρατηγός of the Athenians, Herod. VIII. 44. Paus. I. 31. 2. II. 14. 2. VII. 1. 2. &c. hence also Euripides says (Ion 1319) that "the shield and spear was the whole patrimony of Xuthus."

¹⁰²⁴ Cicero de Nat. Deor. III. 22. 23. Lydus de Mens. p. 105.

the principal gods of the same town: for where do we ever find a temple dedicated conjointly to Athene and Apollo? what ceremonies and sacrifices were offered to them in common? and in what legends are they found connected? Till such an union of the two deities is discovered, we must consider Athene as an ancient and native deity, Apollo as one of much later introduction. The Athenians, indeed, maintained that an ancient hero of their country, Erysichthon, a son of Cecrops himself, erected the first statue of Apollo at Delos.¹⁰²⁵ but it is easy to recognise in this account the attempt of the Athenians to fortify their claims to the dominion of the Delian temple, and to represent their rights as prior to all others. In all that is related of the Ionian princes (to whom Ægeus¹⁰²⁶ and Theseus belong) with reference to religious institutions, mention is seldom made of the ancient Athenian deities, Athene and Hephæstus. The whole is taken up with accounts either of the establishment of the worship of Poseidon (which prevailed in the Ionian cities and in the places of their national assemblies), or the establishment and maintenance of an intercourse with the temples of Apollo at Delos, Delphi, and Cnosus.

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14. In the second place, the fabulous history of these heroes also concerns the worship of Apollo, in so far as the origin of the Pythian Theorias is contained in it. Ion is even a real son or adopted disciple of the Pythian god; and in all probability there was no more difference originally between his two fathers, Apollo and Xuthus,¹⁰²⁷ than between the two fathers of Theseus,

¹⁰²⁵ See Phanodemus ap. Athen. IX. p. 392. Plutarch, ap. Euseb. præp. ev. II. p. 99. fragm. 10. p. 291. ed. Hutten. Euseb. Canon. 497. comp. Paus. I. 18. 5. Legends of this kind were greatly amplified by Attic orators, who, like Hyperides before the Amphictyons, had to defend the claims of Athens upon Delos.

¹⁰²⁶ Μηδὲν προσήκων Ἐρεχθείδαις, Plutarch Thes. 13.

¹⁰²⁷ Ξοῦθος is the "bright" "shining" god, another form of ξανθός. See below, ch. 6. § 7. Αἰγυδὺς, from αἶγες, "the waves of the sea" is equivalent to Ποσειδῶν Αἰγαῖος.

Ægeus and Poseidon. Theseus consecrated his hair to the same god; a place at Delphi was called Thesea.¹⁰²⁸ It is also related of Ægeus, that his kingdom, embracing the plain of Attica, stretched as far as Pythium, where it bordered on Megaris.¹⁰²⁹ This Pythium was situated in the “sacred Cenoë,”¹⁰³⁰ a fortified borough town of the tribe Hippothoontis, on the frontiers of Megaris, Bœotia, and Attica,¹⁰³¹ to the north of the plain of Eleusis, and in a district of remarkable fertility.¹⁰³²

This temple was manifestly built on the frontiers in order to afford a resting-place to the sacred procession, which in the beginning of the spring went from Athens to Pytho. For if favourable omens had been observed in the town itself, and it was intended to despatch the procession, the prophet in the Pythium at Cenoë performed sacrifices every day, in order to procure a favourable journey, just as the Delian procession was regulated by omens observed in the Delium at Marathon.¹⁰³³ The families charged with the preparations for sending the procession (probably all of ancient Ionian extraction) were called Pythaistæ and Deliaistæ.¹⁰³⁴ The omens looked for were the *Pythian lightnings*, a very unusual mode of divination in Greece. The Pythaistæ took their station in the town, near the altar of Zeus Astrapæus, between the Olympieium and Pythium, both of

¹⁰²⁸ Plutarch Thes. 5.

¹⁰²⁹ Strabo IX. p. 392. after Sophocles and Philochorus. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Lys. 58. Vesp. 1218. Schol. Eurip. Hipp. 35.

¹⁰³⁰ Philochorus apud Schol. Soph. CEd. Col. 1047. ed. Elmsl.

¹⁰³¹ Compare Barbié du Bocage's *Histoire de la bourgade d'Ænoë la sacrée* at the end of Stanhope's Plan of Plataea.

¹⁰³² Hence Sophocles ubi sup. calls the district of Eleusis Πυθίας ἀκτάς. The Scholiast confounds the Cenoë of the tribe Hippothoontis with that of the tribe Aiantis. The situation of the Pythium is correctly treated by Reisig Enarr. CEd. Col. p. 134.

¹⁰³³ In the passage of Philochorus ubi sup. read οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους Πυθιάδα καὶ Δηλιάδα, for οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους Πυθίαι δὲ καὶ Δηλιάδες.

¹⁰³⁴ The Δηλιασταὶ occurred in the laws of Solon, Athen. VI. p. 234 E. the Πυθαῖσται are mentioned in Steph. Byz. in Πυθώ.

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which were among the earliest sanctuaries, although they first owed their magnificence to Pisistratus.¹⁰³⁵ From this spot it was the custom to watch for nine nights, during three months, a lofty peak of mount Parnes,¹⁰³⁶ called Harma; and it was only in case the wished-for lightnings flashed favourably over the heights that the embassy could proceed along the Pythian road. This road led from Athens, near mount Corydallus (on which there was a temple of Apollo),¹⁰³⁷ through the Eleusinian plain to Cenoë; from thence through the pass of Dryoscephalæ to Bœotia, where it touched either Thespiæ or Thebes, then Lebadeia and Chæronea, and then passed on by Panopeus and Daulis through the defile between Parnassus and Cirphis to Delphi: a mountain road which the Athenians declared that they had themselves opened,¹⁰³⁸ and which Theseus is said to have freed from robbers,¹⁰³⁹ in the same manner that he purified the road to the Isthmus from monsters. This was also the sacred road for the Peloponnesians, if we except that part of it which traversed Attica.¹⁰⁴⁰

There still remains to be mentioned a remarkable fact respecting Cenoë, which will greatly assist us in explaining the fable of the voyage of Theseus to Crete: I allude to the existence of a tomb of Androgeus, the son of Minos, whom the natives had put to death as he was passing on the Pythian

¹⁰³⁵ Strabo IX. p. 404 C. Eurip. Ion. 285. On the Pythium, see Thuc. II. 15. VI. 54. Isæus p. 113. 187. Suidas in Πύθιον. Suidas, Hesychnus, Prov. ἐν Πυθίῳ.

¹⁰³⁶ Strabo IX. p. 404. Steph. Byz. in ἄρμα. Eustath. ad Il. β' 499. Hesychn. in ἀστράπτει. Prov. in ὅταν δι' Ἄρματος.

¹⁰³⁷ Pausan. Dodwell vol. II. p. 170.

¹⁰³⁸ See Æsch. Eum. 12. πέμπουσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ σεβίζουσιν μέγα κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαιίστου. Compare Ephorus ap. Strab. IX. p. 422 D. Aristid. Panath. vol. I. p. 329. *Orchomenos* p. 36. 188.

¹⁰³⁹ This rare tradition is preserved in the Schol. Æsch. Eum. 13. Schol. Aristid. p. 107. ed. Frommel.

¹⁰⁴⁰ This explains Herod. VI. 34. ἰόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογοι τὴν ἰρὴν ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν. καὶ σφεας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων.

road.¹⁰⁴¹ A Cretan was murdered in the sacred way of the Cretan worship; Minos came to take vengeance for the violation of the sacred armistice; and hence Athens was obliged to send a tribute to Cnosus. Now the nature of this tribute may be perceived from a tradition preserved by Aristotle,¹⁰⁴² that the boys who were sent to Crete by the Athenians lived at Cnosus as slaves; and that afterwards, when the Cretans, in consequence of an ancient vow, sent a tithe of men to Delphi, the descendants of these slaves went with them, and subsequently passed from thence to Italy. From this it appears that the Athenians were compelled to send sacred slaves to the chief temple at Cnosus, viz., that of Apollo. For this reason these missions took place every eight years (δι' ἑννέα ἔτων);¹⁰⁴³ that is, probably at every Ennaëteris of the Cretan and Delphic festival; and for the same reason they consisted of seven young men and women, as this number was especially sacred to Apollo.¹⁰⁴⁴ [261]

It is well known how much this tradition was disfigured by the Athenians (originally perhaps in their popular legends, and afterwards by the poets), in what an odious light it was represented, and so mixed up with extraneous matter, that we should only render the problem too difficult if we attempted to investigate the whole of its component parts.

We may however affirm with certainty that the voyage of Theseus to Crete had originally no other meaning than the

¹⁰⁴¹ There is a trace of the correct tradition in Diod. IV. 60. cf. Serv. ad Æn. VI. 14. The funeral games of Laius were made by the poets the motive for this journey.

¹⁰⁴² Ἐν πολιτείᾳ Βοηθιαίων ap. Plutarch. Thes. 16. cf. Qu. Gr. 35. Conon. Narr. c. 25.

¹⁰⁴³ Plutarch Thes. 15. Diod. IV. 61. Ovid. Metaph. VIII. 171.

¹⁰⁴⁴ The chief passage on the septenary number of the boys and girls sent to Crete is Servius ad. Æn. VI. 21. *Septena quotannis* (κατ' ἑνιαυτὸν) *quidam septem pueros et septem puellas accipi volunt, quod et Plato dixit in Phædone* (p. 58.) *et Sappho in Lyricis* (p. 255. in Wolf's Poetr. Gr.) *et Bacchylides in Dithyramhis* (p. 17. ed. Neue.) *et Euripides in Hercule* (v. 1331.), *quos liberavit secum Theseus.*

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landings at Naxos¹⁰⁴⁵ and Delos, which were connected with it—viz., a propagation of religious worship.

The landing at Delos is a mythical type of the *theorias*, which the Athenians, in common with all the Ionian islands, had from early times sent to this place;¹⁰⁴⁶ moreover, the ship which conveyed Theseus home was always regarded as a sacred vessel. It was sent out at the Thargelia, after the priest, on the sixth day of Thargelion, had crowned the poop.¹⁰⁴⁷

Amongst other Delian rites the worship of Eilithyia was also at that time brought over to Athens, probably from the island of Crete, where an ancient cavern of the goddess, near Amnisus, has been already mentioned.¹⁰⁴⁸ One point at which the procession from Attica to Crete touched was the borough town and harbour of Prasiæ, on the eastern coast of Attica, where, besides the temple of Apollo, was the tomb of Erysichthon, the Delian and Athenian hero; and tradition represented the gifts of the Hyperboreans to have been transported from this port to that sacred island.¹⁰⁴⁹

Lastly, the origin of the Delphinian expiatory festival from Delphi and Crete is as evident as its introduction by the Ionian princes; for Ægeus dwelt in the Delphinium, and was there buried.

¹⁰⁴⁵ The visit to Naxos originally signified a transmission of the worship of Dionysus and Ariadne to that island, which rites had been kept up at the festival of the Ὀσχοφόρια, though confounded with the laurel-bearing procession of Apollo.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Boeckh *Economy of Athens*, vol. II. p. 150. Erysichthon is said to have sent the ξόανov with *theorias* to Delos, Plutarch *Fragm.* 10. p. 291. ed. Hutten.

¹⁰⁴⁷ This confirms a fact which we collected from other sources, viz., that the Thargelian Apollo was the same god as that worshipped at Delos and Crete.—There was an ancient writing on this subject preserved in the Daphnephoreum at Phyle in Attica, Theophrastus ap. Athen. X. p. 424 F. The origin of the Thargelia is also referred to Crete by a tradition, that this festival arose from the expiatory rites for the murder of Androgeus, Helladius ap. Phot. in Gronov. *Thes. Ant. Gr.* vol. X. p. 978.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Paus. I. 18. 5. τὰ μὲν δὴ δύο ξόανα εἶναι Κρητικά. See above, ch. 1. § 5.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Pyth. I. 31. Compare Dodwell, vol. I. p. 532.

To him was also ascribed the establishment of the Delphinian tribunal. Theseus, previously to his expedition to Crete, here placed the olive-branch, bound with wool, on the sixth day of Munychion,¹⁰⁵⁰ and purified himself from the murder of the Pallantidæ.¹⁰⁵¹ [263]

15. The political situation of the worship of Apollo at Athens still requires to be noticed. From our previous observations it is clear that the Ionians had adopted it from the Dorians; hence Ion himself is called the son of the Pythian god. The paternal deity of Athens was, as Demosthenes says, no other than the Pythian Apollo.¹⁰⁵² We may then assert, without hesitation, that the Ionians were the only race who had gentilitious rites of Apollo, and that they alone could properly be called γενῆται Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῶου. Thus, when the archons at the scrutiny swore, that besides Zeus Herceus, the household god, they worshipped also Apollo πατρῶος,¹⁰⁵³ this form of oath originated at a time when the Eupatridæ, that is, the noble Ionic and Hellenic families, were alone eligible to the dignity of the archonship. Nor was it till, by the timocracy of Solon and democracy of Aristides, the richer class in general and the whole people were admitted to this office, that Apollo πατρῶος was considered as a deity common [264]

¹⁰⁵⁰ Plutarch Thes. 12. 14. 18. cf. Paus. I. 19. 1. On his return Theseus sacrifices to Apollo and Diana as οὔλιοι θεοί, Pherecydes ap. Macrob. Sat. I. 17. frag. 59. ed. Sturz. comp. Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 40. 46.

¹⁰⁵¹ See Pollux VIII. 10. 119.

¹⁰⁵² Demosth. de Coron. p. 274. cf. Aristot. ap. Harpocrat. in Ἀπόλλων πατρῶος. The Athenians had πατρῶοι θυσίαι at Delphi, Demosth. Epist. p. 1481. Apollo's Attic title of πατρῶος is explained from his being the πατήρ of Ion; it is possible, however, that he was so called as being the god of the πάτραι of the Ionians. Apollo was also called λεσχηνόριος at Athens (Plutarch Eī 2. p. 217. Suidas in v.); perhaps as being the titular deity of the 360 Δέσχαι of the 360 γένη at Athens, Proclus ad Hesiod. Op. et Di. p. 116. Heins. Cleanthus ap. Harpocrat. in λέσχαι, Meursius ad Lycophr. 543.

¹⁰⁵³ γενῆται Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῶου καὶ Διὸς ἑρκείου, Demosth. adv. Eubulid. p. 1315. 15. Pollux VIII. 85.

to all families.¹⁰⁵⁴ The democratical judges of Athens also yearly took an oath before this deity:¹⁰⁵⁵ this ceremony was at first perhaps only required of the criminal judges of aristocratical descent, viz., the Ephetæ. It is however clear that originally the religion of Apollo was adapted for the military caste alone, the ancient Hopletes; hence he was not a god of artisans and husbandmen, but of warriors. Hence also Ion or Xuthus adopted him as the Athenian god of war (πολέμαρχος) at the festival of Boedromia,¹⁰⁵⁶ the name of which is derived from the onset of armed troops in battle.

As originally the Eupatridæ alone cultivated the worship of Apollo, they alone possessed the ceremony of purification, which is here, as elsewhere, mixed up with the rites of the Cretan worship. According to Plutarch,¹⁰⁵⁷ Ion had instructed the Athenians in religion, *i.e.*, in that of Apollo; and the same author relates,¹⁰⁵⁸ that Theseus established the Eupatridæ as administrators of the government, judges, and interpreters of the sacred rites (ἐξηγηταὶ ὁσίων καὶ ἱερῶν).

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By this we are to understand that it was their duty to give information respecting every thing which regarded the *jus sacrum*; which in ancient times especially comprehended expiations and excommunications for homicide. The rites necessary at purification were also entirely in the hands of

¹⁰⁵⁴ As appears from Plato, Euthyd. p. 302 B. cf. Schol. et Heindorf. p. 404.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Pollux VIII. 122.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 69. with the Schol. and Spanheim. Harpocrat. in Βοηδρομία. Suidas and Etym. M. in Βοηδρομεῖν. Hence the archon Polemarchus administered justice in the Lyceum, the temple of Apollo Lyceus, near the statue of a wolf, Suidas in ἄρχων. Bekker Anecd. vol. I. p. 449. Hesych. in ἐπιλύκιον. Λυκαμβίς ἀρχή of the polemarch, according to Cratinus, Hesych. in v. And in general all the courts at Athens were under the protection of the wolf, viz., Apollo, Eratosth. ap. Harpocrat. in δεκάζων, Lexic. and Paræmiogr. in λύκου δέκας. Etymol. M. in δεκασαί.

¹⁰⁵⁷ In Colot. p. 31.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Thes. 25. According to Plato Rep. IV. p. 427. Apollo is the πάτριος ἐξηγητής of the Athenians.

the Eupatridæ, (πάτρια);¹⁰⁵⁹ and this is the reason why in old times they took cognizance of every homicide, and in later times of manslaughter, the connexion of which duties with the worship of Apollo will be shown hereafter.¹⁰⁶⁰

I have been induced to place these points in as strong a light as possible, from the democratical tendency of Athenian poetry, which endeavoured to obliterate all traces of the forcible occupation of Attica, and of the foreign extraction of the families of the Eupatridæ. On this account the vacant period between the times of the Erechthidæ and Ægidæ was notoriously supplied by arbitrary insertions, and the fable of Ion represented in a thousand various ways. This tendency is also recognised in the tragedy of Ion by Euripides, the artful and ingenious plan of which cannot be sufficiently admired. According to the ancient tradition, Ion was the son of the hero Xuthus, or of the Pythian Apollo (who were originally considered as identical), and probably of Creusa, a native of Attica, which was a mode of expressing his new settlement there. Euripides, on the other hand, separates Ion from Xuthus,¹⁰⁶¹ who is always represented as somewhat rude and coarse, and even tyrannical,¹⁰⁶² and so alters the whole story, that the hero does not appear as a newcomer, but as the legitimate offspring of the female line of the race of the Erechthidæ. By this device the poet preserved the idea that the Athenians were an aboriginal nation, on which they so prided themselves,¹⁰⁶³ and set aside, in a manner most agreeable to their feelings, the fable which contradicted this claim to antiquity. Ion himself in the

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¹⁰⁵⁹ Hence Dorotheus (ap. Athen. IX. p. 410 A.) ἐν τοῖς τῶν εὐπατριδῶν (not τῶν θυγατριδῶν) πατρίοις treated of the purification of suppliants.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Below, ch. 8. § 6.

¹⁰⁶¹ By representing the notion that Xuthus was the father of Ion as a mere deceit of Xuthus.

¹⁰⁶² For example v. 668. Ὑμῖν δὲ σιγᾶν, δμωῖδες, λέγω τάδε, ἢ θάνατον εἰπούσαισι πρὸς δάμαρτ' ἐμήν.

¹⁰⁶³ V. 591. Εἶναι φασι τὰς αὐτόχθονας Κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας οὐκ ἐπέισακτον γένος, &c.

tragedy gives utterance to some very popular sentiments; and of the power of aristocracy, once so firmly established, the last faint memorial is almost buried in oblivion.¹⁰⁶⁴

Chapter III.

§ 1. Diffusion of the worship of Apollo in Peloponnesus by the Dorians. § 2. His Introduction by the Dorians at the Olympic festival. § 3. Influence of the Delphian oracle of Apollo. Subjects of the oracle. § 4. Migrations caused by the oracle. § 5. Connexion of the temple of Delphi with the Amphictyons of Thermopylæ. § 6. Worship of Apollo in Asia Minor and the islands. § 7. In Italy and Sicily, in Apollonia and Cyrene.

1. We now come to the *third* epoch of the propagation of the worship of Apollo. The first embraced the earliest migrations of the Doric nation, when the great temples at Delphi, Cnosus, and Delos were founded from Tempe. The second period is that of the maritime supremacy of Minos, when the coasts of Asia and Greece were covered with groves and expiatory altars of this god. The third comprehends the chief migration of the Dorians, and others occasioned by it. Through these means Apollo became the principal deity in Peloponnesus, where, in early times, we find few traces of his existence. That the Carnean Apollo of the Lacedæmonians, and the Apollo Nomius of the Arcadians, form no exceptions to our assertion, will be proved in a subsequent inquiry into the nature and origin of these worships.¹⁰⁶⁵

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¹⁰⁶⁴ The view taken in the text on the Ion of Euripides has been approved, since the first publication of this work, by Hermann, in the preface to his edition of that tragedy, p. 32.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Below, ch. 5, § 2. ch. 8. § 15.

After the Doric conquest of Peloponnesus, the chief temples were every where consecrated to Apollo. We have already spoken of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaëus, in which the Argive confederacy held their meetings;¹⁰⁶⁶ nor was the temple of Apollo Lyceus in the market-place less celebrated.¹⁰⁶⁷ The Spartans also worshipped this deity under the former name,¹⁰⁶⁸ and the inhabitants of Sicyon under the latter.¹⁰⁶⁹ Hecatus, it is pretended, was a soothsayer, who came with the sons of Aristodemus to Sparta; and his descendant, in the second Messenian war, held the same office:¹⁰⁷⁰ the name of this family refers to the worship of Apollo Hecatus (the far-darting god). At Sparta Apollo was the national deity; the kings sacrificed to him [268]

¹⁰⁶⁶ Book I. ch. 5, § 3. comp. Pausan. II. 24. 1. He was also called Δειραδιώτης, from the height. There was likewise divination there, Telesilla ap. Pausan. II. 35. 2-36. 5. Πυθαεὺς and Κρηταεὺς are Doric forms; the hero Pythaëus cannot be separated from the god. Zeus, Apollo, and Hercules, were the deities of the city of Argos, Liv. XXXII. 33.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Thucyd. II. 47. Sophocl. Electr. 7. Hence Λύκειος ἀγόρα, Sophocles, Hesych. in v. The Argive coins with the wolf refer to this statue, comp. Pausan. VIII. 40. 3. Here was also an oracle, Plut. Pyrrh. 31. 31. where write, ἡ τοῦ Λυκείου προφητὶς Ἀπόλλωνος. At Argos also stood the statue of Apollo Ζωτεάτας, Hesych. in v. A temple of Latona, Pausan. II. 21.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Alcman Fragm. 35, 36. ed. Welcker. Herod. I. 69. comp. Bast. ad Gregor. Corinth, p. 187. At Sparta, according to Hesychius, Λυκιάδες κόραι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τριάκοντα αἰ τὸ ὕδωρ κομίζουσαι εἰς τὸ Λύκειον (a kind of Hydrophoria).

¹⁰⁶⁹ Pausan. II. 9. 7. Respecting the ancient temple of Apollo there, and a brass statue, see Pseud.-Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. p. 59. Pausan. II. 11. 2. Polyb. XVII. 16. 2. The tradition respecting its foundation by Epopeus is not worth notice. Cleisthenes was the person who instituted the Pythian games, Schol. Pind. Nem. IX. 49, 76. comp. Boeckh and Dissen Explic. p. 451. Apollo had there an ἱερὰ χώρα; Polyb. ubi sup. Liv. XXXII. 40.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Pausan. IV. 15. 5. The Messenians at Naupactus had also a temple of

on the first and seventh days of every month;¹⁰⁷¹ the influence of the capital city had also caused its general extension throughout the country.¹⁰⁷² Corinth,¹⁰⁷³ Epidaurus,¹⁰⁷⁴ Ægina,¹⁰⁷⁵ and Troezen¹⁰⁷⁶ followed the same example.

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The name of the Delphian god had now attained throughout Peloponnesus the universal respect which it so long enjoyed: it had even led the way to the settlement and conquest of that peninsula, and hence Apollo was called by the Dorians their *leader and founder*.¹⁰⁷⁷ It was not till a later period that the kings of Messenia (who upon the whole adhered less strictly to the Doric customs than the Spartans) entered into a connexion with the sanctuary at Delos, which had then already fallen into the power of the Ionians. About the fifth Olympiad (760 B.C.) Eumelus, the Corinthian poet, composed an ode for a Messenian

Apollo (Thucyd. II. 91.); and the coins of the Messenians of Sicily afford proof of the same worship. Concerning the ancient temple at Æpea, Pausan. IV. 34. 4.

¹⁰⁷¹ Herod. VI. 57.

¹⁰⁷² Apollo Acreitas, Pausan. III. 12. 7. At Thornax Apollo Pythæus, III. 11. 2. Hesych. in Θόρναξ, cf. in θοράτης. Apollo Maleates, Pausan. III. 12. 8. Thucyd. VII. 26. Apollo Λιθήσιος, Steph. Byz. Suid. in v. comp. Pausan. II. 27. 8. Apollo at Geronthræ, Boeckh Inscript. No. 1334.

¹⁰⁷³ Herod. II. 32. Plutarch Arat. 40. Pausan. II. 5. 4. Hesych. in Ζωτελιστής. At Corinth, Apollo, as at Argos, was ἀγορῆς καλλίχορου πρύτανις, Simonides in Palat. Anthol. VI. 212. On the temple of Apollo at Sicyon, likewise in the market-place, Ampel. Liber. Memor. 8.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Pausan. II. 26. 3. comp. the inscriptions of the temple of Æsculapius, Boeckh. Inscript. Nos. 1175, 1176. The temple of Apollo Ægyptius belongs to the time of the Antonines.

¹⁰⁷⁵ In this island a temple of Apollo was connected with the Thearion (see Dissen ad Pind. Nem. III. p. 376.), with the worship of Apollo Δελφίνιος, Οἰκιστής, and Δωματίτης, and the festival of the Hydrophoria. Æginetica, p. 150. cf. 135.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Above, ch. 2. § 8. The Pythian games, according to Pausan. II. 32. 2. founded by Diomed, are probably of a later date.

¹⁰⁷⁷ ἀρχηγέτης, δωματίτης, οἰκιστής (Æginetica, p. 150, note ^k); for, as

chorus to that holy island.¹⁰⁷⁸ On the other hand, it was owing to the Dorians (particularly to the Spartans) that the Pythian sanctuary remained independent, in the hands of the Delphians; to preserve it in this state was one of the duties which they inherited from their fathers;¹⁰⁷⁹ and they protected it more than once, particularly against the Athenians.

2. The political power of the Dorians over the whole of Peloponnesus necessarily ensured the preponderance of their religious institutions; nevertheless we find that the Achæans and Arcadians possessed few temples of Apollo, and those not the principal ones in their cities.¹⁰⁸⁰ The worship of Apollo was however, through Spartan influence, held in great respect at Tegea (the customs of which town had indeed become almost entirely Doric), where there was also a tribe called Apolloneatis.¹⁰⁸¹ The country moreover being intersected in every direction by roads to Olympia and Delphi (to which place Peloponnesus despatched her hecatombs in the beginning of the spring),¹⁰⁸² must have been by this very circumstance induced to establish temples in honour of Apollo, an instance of which appears in that at Onceum. [270]

The principal deity of the Doric name soon obtained a conspicuous place in the national festival, held equally sacred by all Peloponnesians; I mean that of Olympia. The establishment of this festival is probably of early date; perhaps it took place during the time when the dominion of the Pelopidæ spread from Pisa and Olympia over most parts of the peninsula. Hence the Elean Ætolians, when they seized upon the presidency of these

Callimachus says (Hymn. Apoll. 55.), Φοῖβος ἀεὶ πολίεσσι φιλιθεῖ Κτιζομένης.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Pausan. IV. 4. 1. 33. 3. cf. V. 25. 1.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Thucyd. V. 18. IV. 118.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Among the Achæans of Patræ. Pausan. VII. 21. 4.—of Ægira. id. VII. 26. 3. comp. the tradition respecting Bolina, id. VII. 23. 3.

¹⁰⁸¹ Pausan. VIII. 53. 1.

¹⁰⁸² ἦρος ἐπερχομένου. Theognis of Megara, v. 777.

games, were, by the command of the oracle, at the same time obliged to take one of the Pelopidæ from the Achæan town of Helice for their prince.¹⁰⁸³ Moreover, the ancient rivalry between the Olympian and Isthmian worship, which occasioned the prohibition against any Elean contending at the Isthmus,¹⁰⁸⁴ can hardly have arisen at any other time than when (previously to the Doric usurpation) the Olympian Zeus was the chief god of the Achæans,¹⁰⁸⁵ the Isthmian Poseidon of the Ionians.

But it was not till the Dorians, for the purpose of assembling all the Peloponnesians, at least every four years, under the protection of their god, had taken possession of the temple at Olympia; nor till Iphitus the Ætolian, and Lycurgus the Dorian, had renewed these contests, or given them a greater degree of importance, that Apollo and Zeus are found in connexion with each other, and even contending in the course at Olympia. And as a further instance of change, the sacred armistice of Olympia went by the local name of Therma;¹⁰⁸⁶ and hence Apollo, as the patron and guardian deity of the institution, was called Thermius, and worshipped under that title in the grove of Altis.¹⁰⁸⁷ At this time Hercules (whose worship, once entirely unknown in Elis, was introduced by Iphitus)¹⁰⁸⁸ is also reported to have brought the wild olive-tree from the Hyperboreans to the Alpheus, and

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¹⁰⁸³ Pausan. V. 4. 2.

¹⁰⁸⁴ On this enmity, to which so many legends refer, see Pausan. V. 2. 4. VI. 16. 2.

¹⁰⁸⁵ That Zeus was the chief god of the Eleans is evident from the confederate temple at Ægium and elsewhere.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Hesychius in v.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Pausan. V. 15. 4.—τὸν μὲν δὴ παρὰ Ἡλείοις θέρμιον καὶ αὐτῷ μοι παρίστατο εἰκάζειν, ὡς κατὰ Ἀτθίδα γλῶσσαν εἶν θερμιον; for the last θέρμιον Buttmann corrects θέσμιον; and it is evident that θέρμα was Elean for θέσμα, "sacred ordinance or armistice." See Appendix V. § 2. Also Therma, the place of the Panætolia, derived its name from this word, which is probably of Ætolian-Elean origin. On its temple of Apollo, see Polyb. XI. 4. 2.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Pausan. IV. 4. 4.

planted the sacred grove of Altis with it.¹⁰⁸⁹ The important influence of the Delphian oracle on the Olympian games also occasioned the time of their celebration to be regulated by the Pythian cycle of eight years.¹⁰⁹⁰ For whereas the whole cycle of eight years consisted of ninety-nine lunar months, at the expiration of which time the revolutions of the moon and sun again nearly coincided; this period was at Olympia divided into two unequal parts of fifty and forty-nine months, so that the festival took place sometimes in the month of Apollonius, sometimes in Parthenius.

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The introduction of the worship of Apollo must have had no less influence on the families of the soothsayers, who ministered at the altars of the Olympic deities. These were the Clytiadæ, Iamidæ, and Telliadæ;¹⁰⁹¹ of which the Clytiadæ considered themselves as belonging to a clan, which produced very many soothsayers, viz., the Melampodidæ.¹⁰⁹² This explains the fable that Melampus received the gift of prophecy from Apollo on the banks of the Alpheus,¹⁰⁹³ in the place where it was exercised by his descendants the Clytiadæ.

3. The Doric migration gave rise to many others, which spread the worship of Apollo in various directions; no longer,

¹⁰⁸⁹ Perhaps this was the beginning of the connexion with Crete, to which the name of the Ἰδαίων ἄντρον at Olympia (Pind. Olymp. V. 42. Demetrius ἐν νεῶν διακόσμῳ in the Scholia. Boeckh ad Schol. and Explic. p. 150.), and the tradition that Clymenus, a descendant of the Idæan Hercules, came to Pisa soon after the flood of Deucalion, and there founded a temple, refer; comp. Pausan. V. 8. 1. VI. 21. 5. V. 14. 6.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Boeckh ad Pind. Olymp. III. 18. p. 138. Explic. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 41. does not speak of this event with the same exactness as the Schol. Pind. Olymp. III. 39. Comp. also Wurm de Ponderum, etc. § 90. p. 174.

¹⁰⁹¹ See particularly Philostratus Vit. Apollon. V. 25. p. 208. Cic. de Divin. I. 41. concerning the Telliadæ, Herod. IX. 37. VIII. 27. These diviners are called the μάντεις Ἡλείων πρόμολοι at the altar of Olympia in the oracle in Phlegon p. 129. in Meursii Op. vol. VII.

¹⁰⁹² Pausan. VI. 17. 4.

¹⁰⁹³ Pausan. V. 8. 1.

however, as a peculiar deity of the Dorians and Cretans, but, in a more extended sense, as the national god of the Greeks. This was chiefly occasioned by the influence of Delphi, which seems to have given the chief stimulus to that great migration. In fact, it became from this time invested with a power which hardly belonged to any subsequent institution. Apollo is represented as governing nations with an arbitrary power, compelling them, however unwilling, to undertake distant expeditions, and pointing out the settlements which they are to occupy. In order to convey a more distinct idea of this singular phenomenon, it is necessary that the condition of the immediate subjects of the Pythian temple should be more closely examined.

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When the district of the Cirrhæans had, by the Amphictyonic war, become forfeited to the temple of Delphi, the sacred lands belonging to it formed a very considerable territory. Two inscriptions contain surveys of the Hieromnemons respecting its boundaries: one relating to those towards Anticirrho in the east, the other to those in the direction of Amphissa to the west.¹⁰⁹⁴ Now it certainly appears that in ancient times, when Cirrho was in existence, none of these lands belonged to the temple, which must therefore have possessed little or no territory. But in spite of the generally received accounts of the Amphictyonic war, it can be satisfactorily proved, that in earlier times Cirrho and the temple, with its appendages, formed one state.¹⁰⁹⁵ Their territory indeed consisted for the most part of rock, mountain, and narrow glens;¹⁰⁹⁶ yet towards the south it embraced the spacious plain of Crissa, and in the north at least the luxuriant vineyards of Parnassus. By whom then was this territory cultivated? certainly neither by the Doric nobles nor the Cretan colonists, who in the Homeric hymn are derided by the god for thinking of the labours

¹⁰⁹⁴ Boeckh Corp. Inscript. No. 1711.

¹⁰⁹⁵ As appears from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo.

¹⁰⁹⁶ See Porphy. de Abstin. II. 17. comp. Apostol. VI. 93. and the story of Æsop; also the proverb, Δεληφὸς ἀνὴρ στέφανον μὲν ἔχει, δίψει δ' ἀπόλωλεν.

of agriculture, and commanded to employ themselves merely in sacrificing victims.¹⁰⁹⁷ Thus it is evident, that there were subjects of the temple, who, besides the humble employment of cultivating the soil, were also obliged to tend the herds belonging to the temple. These were the servants of the temple whom we so frequently find mentioned.¹⁰⁹⁸ The same class also existed in Crete, as we have before proved from the tribute sent by Athens; and Crete, in its turn, as well as Eretria and Magnesia,¹⁰⁹⁹ sent such “human firstlings” to the temple of Pytho. Mention is also made of a town in Crete composed of a thousand men, all sacred slaves.¹¹⁰⁰ Now these slaves of Delphi may have been procured in different ways, either as tribute (and that either of a city or of individuals), as voluntary bondsmen, or by purchase:¹¹⁰¹ the latter mode was probably of rare occurrence in early times. There still remain a considerable number of Delphian monuments, in which private individuals present or sell to the god those slaves [274]

¹⁰⁹⁷ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 535.

¹⁰⁹⁸ The λαὸς οἰκίτηρ θεοῦ, Eur. Androm. 1092.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Plutarch, de Pyth. Orac. 16. p. 273. The Thessalians vowed at least every year a hecatomb of men to Apollo Καταιβάτης. Schol. Eur. Phæn. 1416. Zenobius in θετταλῶν σόφισμα.

¹¹⁰⁰ Sosicrates ap. Suid. vol. I. p. 621. Hesych. p. 1026. Apostol. VII. 37. Prov. Vat. App. II. 94. and Steph. Byz. in Δούλων πόλις, with which he mentions the ἱερόδουλοι. We may probably discern a similar servitude in the gift of the golden tripods which the Θηβαγένεις were bound to bring at certain times to the Ismenia temple of Apollo, *Orchomenos*, p. 397. Apollo Nesiotes at Chalia in Bœotia also possessed Hieroduli, Boeckh. Inscript. No. 1607. The Delian Ἐκατηβέλεταιο θεράπναι (Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 157) were of the same description as the chorus in the Phænissæ. In the Didymæum (Inscript. in Walpole's Travels, p. 582) there were οἱ περι το μαντειον παντες και οἱ το ἱερον κατοικουντες και οἱ προσχωροι, boys sent thither as the spoil of war, Conon. Narr. c. 44.

¹¹⁰¹ ἀνάθημα πόλεως ἢ τινὸς πραθεῖς ὕπο.

Eurip. Ion. 322.

ἱερὸν τὸ σῶμα τῷ θεῷ δίδωμι ἔχειν.

Ver. 1299.

whom they wish to favour.¹¹⁰² The condition of these vassals corresponds to that of the Doric bondsmen;¹¹⁰³ but their servitude was probably of a milder nature; for we find it frequently stated that the sacred slaves lived inviolate under the protection of the god, although (at least in early times) they were entirely dependent on the sacred council of the temple. Originally, a great part consisted of prisoners taken in war. We collect from ancient epic poems that Manto the daughter of Tiresias was, after the war of the Epigoni, sent to the Pythian god as a share of the spoil¹¹⁰⁴ (ἄκροθίνιον): one individual, as is usual in the language of mythology, standing for many. The Gephyræans also are said to have been at that time decimated, sent from Thebes to Delphi, and thus to have arrived at Athens.¹¹⁰⁵ After the Persian war, an idea was actually entertained of reviving this punishment against the Thebans, whose enemies considered them, at a still later period, as in the eye of justice decimated, and given as slaves to Apollo.¹¹⁰⁶

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4. When the Pythian god was either unwilling or unable to retain within his territory the crowds who had been collected in this manner, he sent them out as colonists; without, however, entirely giving up all claim to their obedience. The early Grecian history affords several examples of this proceeding: the earliest is a Doric tradition respecting the Dryopes, which differs in some respect from their own account. Hercules, here represented as a Doric hero, had subjugated the Dryopes, and brought them to Delphi as an offering to Apollo, by whom he was commanded

¹¹⁰² Boeckh in Hirt *Ueber die Hierodulen*, p. 48.

¹¹⁰³ See book III. ch. 4.

¹¹⁰⁴ Diod. IV. 66. Pausan. VII. 3. 1. see above, ch. 2. § 7.

¹¹⁰⁵ Apostol. VII. 34. where for Ἀθηναίων read Ἀργείων. Suidas in δόρυ κρηυκεῖον. *Orchomenos*, p. 118.

¹¹⁰⁶ Herod. VII. 132. Xenoph. Hell. VI. 3. and 5. ἐλπὶς δεκατευθῆναι τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον Θηβαίους. Not the land, but the people themselves were to be decimated.

to settle them on the southern coast of Argolis.¹¹⁰⁷ That this nation, probably of Pelasgic origin, did not in early times worship the Doric god, is evident from the tradition that Leogoras the Dryopian violated the temple of Apollo.¹¹⁰⁸ But it is equally certain that they were henceforth compelled to serve Apollo as their chief deity, especially in his character of Apollo Pythaëus at Argos.¹¹⁰⁹ A part of this nation however remained at Delphi, where it is frequently mentioned in later times under the name of Craugallidæ, who, together with the Cirrhæans, appear as enemies to the temple;¹¹¹⁰ from which circumstance it may be inferred that most of these Cirrhæans were revolted subjects of the temple. [276]

The migration of the Magnesians approaches rather nearer to the historical age. This race, dwelling under mount Pelion, felt itself, about the time of the Thessalian migration, so pressed for want of territory, that it had recourse to the Delphian oracle, by whose advice it decimated its numbers; that is, it sent off a tenth part of the young male population, who (like a *ver sacrum* in Italy)¹¹¹¹ renounced their native land.¹¹¹² These young colonists

¹¹⁰⁷ See above, p. 46, note n. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "the Dorians or Malians," starting "Aristot. ap. Strab.,"] Etymol. M. p. 154. 7.

¹¹⁰⁸ Apollod. II. 7. 7. cf. Diod. IV. 37.

¹¹⁰⁹ Pausan. II. 35. 2. Apollo was also worshipped under the titles of Ὀπίος and Πλατανίστιος. Concerning the Dryopes as worshippers of Apollo see Pausan. IV. 34. 6. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 480. Prob. ad Virgil. Georg. III. 7. Anton. Liberal. c. 32. Etymol. M. p. 288. 32. Heyne ad Æn. IV. 143. vol. II. p. 736. ed. 3. According to Pausanias they also retained this worship in the Messenian settlements. According to Conon, c. 29. upon the occasion of the return from Troy they sent a tithe (δεκάτη).

¹¹¹⁰ See above, b. I. ch. 2. § 4.

¹¹¹¹ *Ver sacrum vovere, i.e. quæcunque vere proximo nata essent immolatueros*, Festus in v. Mamertin. *Trecenta millia hominum, velut ver sacrum, miserunt*, Justin. XXIV. 4.

¹¹¹² According to the remarkable account of Parthen. Erot. 5. they were δεκατευθέντες ἐκ Φερῶν ὑπ' Ἀδμήτου, and were conducted by Leucippus a Lycian. Strab. XIV. 647. reverses the story: Δελφῶν ἀπόγονοι, τῶν ἐποικησάντων τὰ Δίδυμα ὄρη (near Pheræ, *Orchomenos*, p. 192.) ἐν

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were mostly despatched to the worshippers of Apollo in Crete, where they founded the town of Magnesia, which Plato speaks of as a place that had been destroyed, and considers as a prototype of his ideal state, Apollo having been its only legislator.¹¹¹³ The intercourse of Crete with the coast of Asia Minor soon carried over these sojourners to the banks of the Mæander and the Lethæus, at the confluence of which rivers they had been settled some time before the Ionic migration;¹¹¹⁴ being, as was afterwards declared by a Panhellenic decree, the first Greeks who settled in Asia Minor.¹¹¹⁵ Still, although thus separated from their mother country, they maintained, as sacred colonists (ἱεροὶ ἄποικοι), a perpetual connexion with Delphi, and were bound, in ancient times, to provide all travellers with food and lodging.¹¹¹⁶ The Delphians could expect a similar reception at Delos:¹¹¹⁷ and indeed an extended exercise of the duties of hospitality formed one of the principal objects of this worship. Pausanias¹¹¹⁸ gives an account of this very important worship of Apollo in Magnesia as follows:¹¹¹⁹ “At Hylæ, a place in the territory of the Magnesians,¹¹²⁰ is a cavern consecrated to

Θεταλία.

¹¹¹³ Plato Leg. XI. p. 919 D. comp. Boeckh In Minoem et Leges, pag. 68. Magnesia, re-established according to Plato's fiction, consecrates to Apollo and Helius, κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον, three men as an ἀκροθίνιον, *ibid.* XII. p. 945. See also Apollod. Fragm. p. 386. Conon Narr. c. 29. Varro 3. Rer. Human. apud Prob. ad Virg. Ecl. VI. Cretans in the Asiatic Magnesia, Strab. XIV. p. 636. Schol. Apollon. Rhod. I. 584.

¹¹¹⁴ Parthenius mentions Κρητιναῖον and Leucophryne instead of Magnesia.

¹¹¹⁵ Boeckh Corp. Inscript. 2910; and see particularly Conon *ubi sup.*

¹¹¹⁶ Aristot. and Theophrast. ap. Athen. p. 173 F.

¹¹¹⁷ Semus ἐν Δηλιακοῖς ap. Athen. *ubi sup.*

¹¹¹⁸ It is to this that the Homeric hymn to the Pythian Apollo, v. 1. refers; also the coins of Magnesia (*Apollo supra Mæandrum stans*). There was also a place near Magnesia called Apollonia.

¹¹¹⁹ X. 32. 4.

¹¹²⁰ Hence the name of Apollo Hylates in Lycoph. 447; where Tzetzes is confused. Apollo Hylates at Amamassus in Cyprus, Steph. Byz. in v. In Athen. XV. p. 672 E. for ὙΒΑΑ ὙΛΑΙ. Query, whether Hiera. Come, Liv. XXXVIII.

Apollo; not, indeed, remarkable for its size; but it contains a statue of Apollo of great antiquity, and which confers strength for every kind of work. Certain devotees throw themselves, by the assistance of this image, from steep and lofty precipices; or tearing large trees up by the roots, walk with their burden down the steepest paths." We would attempt to trace more minutely the connexion of Magnesia with Crete and Delphi, had not all clue to history been necessarily broken off by the conquest of this proud and prosperous city by the Ephesians, and its complete destruction by the Treres, a Cimmerian tribe, in the time of the Lydian monarch Ardys.¹¹²¹ [278]

We have only time to notice some few other events of a similar nature. Thus the Ænians came to the oracle about the same time, and on a similar emergency as the Magnesians; dwelt for some years in the territory of Cirrha, and were afterwards sent to the banks of the Inachus in southern Thessaly.¹¹²² An example of historical authority is furnished by the Chalcideans in Eubœa, the youthful part of whose population was despatched by Apollo to Rhegium in Italy;¹¹²³ hence this town also celebrated the worship of the god with expiatory rites and festivals,¹¹²⁴ to which the Messenians of Sicily sent choruses of thirty-five boys across the straits.¹¹²⁵ [279]

12, 13. is the same place? Magnesia on the Sipylus also worshipped Apollo, τὸν ἐν Πάνδοις, Marm. Oxon. 26. 85.

¹¹²¹ See Frank Callinus, p. 89. Liebel Archil. p. 202. Concerning the founding of Magnesia see Ruhnken on Velleius I. 4. Kanne on Conon, c. 29. Raoul-Rochette, tom. II. p. 387.

¹¹²² Plut. Quæst. Græc. 13. 26.

¹¹²³ A Rhegian in Timæus (Strab. p. 260 C. Antig. Caryst. 1), ἱερούς εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐνθὲνδε ἐστάλθαι. cf. VI. p. 257 D. Creuzer Fragm. Xanth. p. 373. cf. p. 178.

¹¹²⁴ Respecting the ablutions in the seven rivers, the sacred laurel-tree, &c., see Varro ap. Prob. Præf. ad Virg. Ecl. and compare Hermann's excellent dissertation on the Glauci of Æschylus, Opuscula, vol. II. p. 59.

¹¹²⁵ Pausan. V. 25. 1. The coins of Rhegium have the head of Apollo, a lyre, a tripod, and cortina.

5. These events, which from their connected form cannot be poetical fictions, give some idea of the extensive influence of the temple of Delphi, the power of which was probably at its highest pitch in the time immediately succeeding the Doric migrations. Hence also this was the epoch of the greatest influence of the Amphictyons of Thermopylæ;¹¹²⁶ which confederation of Thessalian tribes, and of tribes derived from Thessaly, united the worship of the Doric temple of Apollo with that of Demeter at Thermopylæ, and thus an Hellenic and ancient Pelasgic worship were combined together,¹¹²⁷ probably not without a view of forming a more intimate union between the different races of Greece. The assembling in the spring of the year at Delphi was probably copied from the meeting of the neighbouring towns, in the spring festival, at Tempe, at which business of a political kind was sometimes transacted.¹¹²⁸ The power, however, of the Amphictyons of Thermopylæ was at no time actually political, and, with a very few exceptions, all their regulations and undertakings concerned the protection of the two temples in their rights and possessions, the rights of other temples in Greece, and the maintenance of some principles of international law (νόμοι Ἀμφικτυονικοὶ), founded upon religious notions.

6. The Dorian colonies introduced Apollo into Asia Minor as the principal deity of their national and federal festival on the promontory of Triopium,¹¹²⁹ where they probably first planted his worship, without, however, excluding the more ancient Pelasgic rites of Demeter and the infernal gods, which, although of a different nature, were united in the ceremonies

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¹¹²⁶ See particularly Tacit. Annal. IV. 14.

¹¹²⁷ Founded, according to Callim. Epigr. XLI. 2. by Acrisius the Pelasgian, to whom the establishment of the Amphictyonic council was *for that reason* attributed.

¹¹²⁸ Ælian. V. H. III. 1. Liv. XXXIX. 24. comp. Plutarch de Def. Orac. 14.

¹¹²⁹ On the towns included in the league see above, book I. ch. 6. § 2. On the games at the festival, Herod. I. 144.

at Triopium with those of Apollo.¹¹³⁰ In the same manner the twelve towns of the Æolians, with whom Apollo was by no means so nearly connected, celebrated in his honour, as it seems, their federal festival in the grove of Gryneum near Myrina.¹¹³¹ And though when the Ionians crossed over from Athens to Asia Minor they remained so constant to the worship of Poseidon that they consecrated to him their national festival at Mycale, and also built in the island of Tenos a splendid temple of Poseidon and Amphitrite, honoured with festivals and sacred embassies;¹¹³² yet the Cretan worship was so prevalent at Delos, when first overrun by the Ionians, that this island was itself the religious metropolis of the Cyclades,¹¹³³ at whose festivals and contests the higher classes of the islanders attended with their families, even in ancient times; which naturally gave rise to the establishment of temples to Apollo, the principal deity, in the rest of the Cyclades; as Cythnus,¹¹³⁴ Siphnus,¹¹³⁵ Ceos,¹¹³⁶

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¹¹³⁰ Neptune and the nymphs were also of the number of the Triopian deities, Schol. Theocr. XVII. 69. Comp. Boeckh ad Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 27. p. 314. Concerning the worship of Apollo at Halicarnassus, see Inscript. in Walpole's Travels, p. 576. Apollo Telchinius at Lindus (see Meurs. Rhod.), at Cameirus ἐπιγεννήτης and ἐπιμήλιος. Macr. Sat. I. 17. at Anaphe, Apollo Ægletes, Æginetica, p. 170. note a; comp. above, p. 116. note z.

¹¹³¹ I have adopted the opinion of S^{te}. Croix, Gouvernemens fédératifs, p. 156. that the federal festival of the twelve Æolian cities was at Gryneum, chiefly on account of the altars of the twelve gods, and the Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν at that place, and the statements of Scylax.

¹¹³² According to Strabo X. p. 487. there were here ἐστιατόρια, as at Delos, for the assembly; and in a Tenian inscription (Boeckh Corp. Ins. Gr. No. 2329), a citizen is eulogized for having undertaken a θεαροδοκία for the Delians, the office of receiving the θεωροί, a species of λειτουργία. Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Del. 325.

¹¹³³ Ἰστίη νήσων, Callim. Hymn. Del. 325. et Spanheim ad 1.

¹¹³⁴ Hom. Hymn. ad Apoll. Del. 141. The coins like those of Delos: the name also reminds us of mount Cynthus. (Hemsterh. ad Aristoph. Plut. p. 311.)

¹¹³⁵ An Apollonia in this island, Steph. Byz. Compare the coins.

¹¹³⁶ Particularly at Carthæa, Pind. Isthm. I. 6. Athen. X. p. 456 E. Probably a Δήλιον, according to Dissen. Explic. p. 484. Πύθια at the same place, Anton.

Naxos,¹¹³⁷ &c.

7. The principal places to be mentioned in Italy besides Rhegium are Croton and Metapontum. The former was an Achæan and Lacedæmonian colony; in the founding of which, according to tradition, the oracle had an important share;¹¹³⁸ the memory of which is preserved by temples of Apollo Pythius, Hyperboreus,¹¹³⁹ and Alæus,¹¹⁴⁰ within, and close to the town. Croton was peculiarly subject to the influence of Apollo, whose worship operated to an unusual extent on the character and customs of its inhabitants. On the founding of Metapontum our information is scanty. The inhabitants generally supposed themselves to be of Achæan origin; yet Ephorus has preserved a remarkable, though confused tradition, that Daulius the tyrant of Crissa was the founder of that town.¹¹⁴¹ It seems, then, that inhabitants of Daulis, in the narrow valley of Parnassus, and Crissæans, from the coast, had passed over to Italy in very early times. The inhabitants of Metapontum, as ancient subjects of Apollo, sent him golden ears of corn (χρυσοῦν θέρος) as a tithe of their harvest; we find on their coins the full ears of barley, which were paid as tribute, and on the reverse the god himself, armed

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Lib. c. 1. Concerning the choruses of Apollo at Carthæa see Boeckh Corp. Insc. Gr. Nos. 2361-3. A Smintheum at Coressus and Pœessa, Strabo X. p. 486.

¹¹³⁷ Apollo Tragijs, Steph. in Τραγῳαία. Apollo Ποίμνιος, Macr. Sat. I. 17. Hipponax ap. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 658. Α Δῆλιον at Naxos. Aristot. Plut. Virt. Mul. p. 289. ed. Hutten. Parthen. Erot. 9. comp. Obs. Misc. Bat. vol. VII. p. 24. Besides these, there were many other Ionic temples of Apollo, in Samos, Eubœa, &c.

¹¹³⁸ See above, book I. ch. 6. § 12.

¹¹³⁹ Ælian. V. H. II. 26. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 911. Wesseling corrects Ἀλαῖος for Ἄλιος in Aristot. ubi sup. comp. Heyne Opusc. Acad. vol. II. p. 178. with Creuzer Symbolik. II. p. 200. The bird on the coins is not an eagle but a raven (Mionnet Descr. planche 60), the *comes iripodum*.

¹¹⁴⁰ One hundred and twenty stadia from Croton, Aristot. Mirab. Ausc. p. 1098 C. Justin. XX. 1. Etym. Mag. in Ἀλιαῖος.

¹¹⁴¹ Ap. Strab. VI. p. 265 C.

with his helmet, arrow and bow, as a conqueror, and holding a branch of laurel; exactly coinciding with the symbols used in the temple of Delphi.¹¹⁴² Thus historical tradition and religious symbols both point to the same conclusion.¹¹⁴³

During the period of which we are treating, the regulation of colonies by the Delphian oracle was the chief instrument which extended the worship of Apollo on the coast of the Mediterranean. In honour of this deity the Chalcideans who founded Naxos, the first Greek colony in Sicily (Olymp. 5. 2. 759 B.C.), erected on the coast an altar of Apollo Archegetas, upon which the Sicilian Theori always sacrificed when they sailed to the temple of Apollo in their mother-country.¹¹⁴⁴

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Apollonia, the Corinthian settlement on the Ionian sea, was also supposed to have been founded by Apollo;¹¹⁴⁵ hence the above-mentioned custom of sending “*the golden summer*” to Delphi prevailed in this town.¹¹⁴⁶ We have in a former work¹¹⁴⁷ shown that the worship at Thera and Cyrene was paid to the deity of the Theban Ægidæ, viz., the Carnean Apollo; who, however, at the founding of the colony (Olymp. 37), was already

¹¹⁴² On the statue of Aristeas in the market-place of Metapontum, by the side of the statue of Apollo, see Herod. IV. 15. and on a brass laurel-tree in the same place, Athen. XIII. p. 605 C. In the temple of Apollo, Plutarch *περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρᾶν* 8.

¹¹⁴³ *Caulonia* in Italy is also remarkable for this worship, the ancient coins of which town exhibit Apollo bearing a laurel, or a bow, with a stag.

¹¹⁴⁴ Thucyd. VI. 3. ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑ ΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ, on the coins of Tauromenium and Enna. As to *Sicily*, there was a temple of Apollo Temenites Pythius at Syracuse, Cic. Verr. IV. 53. Steph. Byz. in *Συρακοῦσαι*. comp. Ælian. V. H. I. 18. Letronne *Topographie de Syracuse*, p. 26. Göller de *Situ Syrac.* p. 59. also of Apollo Δαφνίτας, *Etymol.* p. 250. 38. At Gela there was a colossal statue of Apollo in front of the town, Timæus apud Diod. XIII. 107. Apollinarian rites of the Erbitæans and their colony Alæsa, Diod. XIV. 16. *Inscript. ap. Castelli*, p. 109 sqq. At Lilybæum, according to the coins, Apollo Libyrtius near Pachynum. *Macr. Sat.* I. 17. The month *Dalius* in Sicily, *Castelli Prol.* 73.

¹¹⁴⁵ *Inscription at Olympia*, ap. Pausan. V. 22. 2.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Plut. de Pyth. Orac.* 16. p. 273. Also at Myrina in Æolis. *Comp. ch. 2. § 7.*

¹¹⁴⁷ *Orchomenos*, p. 327 sqq.

considered as the same with the Dorian god; hence the fountain of Apollo at Cyrene, its colony of Apollonia, &c. Mythology, which often first clothes the events of history in a fabulous garb, and then refers them to an early and unknown time, expressed the founding of Cyrene, under the guidance of the temple of Apollo, in the following elegant personification—That Cyrene, a Thessalian nymph, the favourite of Apollo, was carried by her divine lover to Africa, in his chariot drawn by swans.¹¹⁴⁸

We shall abstain from bringing down the colonization of this religion to a later period, since in after-times the lively principle which at first actuated the worshippers of Apollo was lost; and, instead of considering their actions as the effect of supernatural compulsion, men were rather disposed to regulate their conduct according to the dictates of reason and free-will.

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¹¹⁴⁸ A similar tradition in Sinope, Philostephanus ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 953. Diod. IV. 71.

Chapter IV.

§ 1. Connexion of the fable of the Hyperboreans with the worship of Apollo. § 2. Its connexion with the temples at Delphi; § 3. and Delos. § 4. Original locality of the Hyperboreans. § 5. Localities subsequently assigned by Poets and Geographers. § 6. The Hyperboreans considered a sacred people.

1. Wearisome as it is to follow up the chain of remote events which gave rise to the wide diffusion of the worship of Apollo, nevertheless the fable of the Hyperboreans, by referring a number of particular circumstances to one head, is very well qualified to arrest and fix our attention.

We assert, then, the connexion of this tradition with the original worship of Apollo. No argument to the contrary can be drawn from its not being mentioned either in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*; these poems not affording any opportunity for its introduction. Moreover, the Hyperboreans were spoken of in the poem of the *Epigoni*, and by *Hesiod*.¹¹⁴⁹ The fable, indeed, may not have come till late within the province of poetical mythology; as a local tradition, it must have arisen whilst that primitive connexion between the temples of *Tempe*, *Delphi*, and *Delos* (which was afterwards entirely dissolved) still existed in full vigour.

2. According to a Doric hymn of *Bœo*, a poetess of *Delphi*, quoted by *Pausanias*,¹¹⁵⁰ *Pagagus*, and the godlike *Agyieus*, the sons of the Hyperboreans, founded the celebrated oracle at *Delphi*. *Agyieus* is merely another name for *Apollo* himself. *Pagagus* refers to the *Pagasæan* temple on the sacred road.¹¹⁵¹ [285] With them came *Olen*, the first prophet and bard of *Apollo*. Two other Hyperborean heroes, *Hyperochus* and *Laodicus*, assisted in

¹¹⁴⁹ Herod. IV. 32. See also Homer. Hymn. VII. 29.

¹¹⁵⁰ X. 5. 4.

¹¹⁵¹ See above, ch. 1. § 3.

the slaughter of the Gauls at Delphi;¹¹⁵² and, in accordance with similar traditions, Mnaseas of Patara called all the inhabitants of Delphi descendants of the Hyperboreans.¹¹⁵³

Alcæus,¹¹⁵⁴ in a hymn to Apollo, related how “Zeus adorned the new-born god with a golden fillet and lyre, and sent him, in a chariot drawn by swans, to Delphi, in order to introduce justice and law amongst the Greeks. Apollo, however, ordered the swans first to fly to the Hyperboreans. The Delphians, missing the god, instituted a pæan and song, ranged choruses of young men around the tripod, and invoked him to come from the Hyperboreans. The god remained an entire year with that nation, and at the appointed time, when the tripods of Delphi were destined to sound, he ordered the swans to resume their flight. The return of Apollo takes place exactly in the middle of summer; nightingales, swallows, and grasshoppers sing in honour of the god; and even Castalia and Cephisus¹¹⁵⁵ heave their waves to salute him.”

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If Alcæus consecrated this pæan, as Pindar did his pæan, to the worship of the Delphian god, he would hardly have dared to do more than embellish the local traditions. Supposing, however, that this was not the case, he would still have taken the principal event (viz., the arrival of Apollo from the Hyperboreans) rather from a fable universally acknowledged, than the unauthorized

¹¹⁵² Thus I write for Ἀμάδοκος in Paus. I. 4. 4. and Λαοδόκος, ib. X. 23. 3. on account of the *Laodice* of Herodotus. Herodotus VIII. 39. mentions, on a similar occasion, the native heroes Phylacus and Autonus.

¹¹⁵³ Scholl. Apoll. Rh. II. 675. unless Cluver. Germ. Ant. I. p. 16, is right in correcting Κελτούς for Δελφούς.

¹¹⁵⁴ See the beautiful fragment in prose in Himerius Orat. XIV. 10. with which Cicero de N. D. III. 23. agrees; see Heindorf's note. It is to this ode, perhaps, that the words of Plutarch refer, De Mus. 14. δῆλον ἐκ τῶν χορῶν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ἃς προσήγον μετ' αὐλῶν τῷ θεῷ, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἄλκαϊος ἔν τινι τῶν ὕμνων ἴστορεῖ.

¹¹⁵⁵ In this part occurred what Pausanias X. 8. 5. cites from the προοίμιον ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα of Alcæus, that the water of Castalia came from the Cephisus.

fictions of poetry. The whole account, and even the time, are clearly drawn from the mysteries of the worship. According to the tradition of Delphi, Apollo, at the expiration of the great period, visited the beloved nation of the Hyperboreans, and danced and played with them from the vernal equinox to the early setting of the Pleiades; and when the first corn was cut in Greece, he returned to Delphi, as I suppose, with the full ripe ears, the offerings of the Hyperboreans.¹¹⁵⁶ Even the story of the swans was no addition of Alcæus; for the painted vases in the south of Italy (the extremity of the Grecian world) represent the same fiction as the Lesbian poet; nay, so exactly do they correspond, that we do not indeed recognise Alcæus, but the traditions upon which the account was founded, as they were perhaps related at Metapontum and Croton. The boy Apollo, the sceptre and goblet in one hand, and full ears of barley in the other (which allude to the offerings of the Hyperboreans, and the “golden summer”), is seated, with a mild aspect, on a car, the axles of which are bound with swans' feathers. Hyperborean women, with torches, and pitchers for sacred libations, conduct him.¹¹⁵⁷ The swans, with which Apollo here comes, occur elsewhere in the legends of Delphi, which refer to the Hyperboreans. The most ancient temple of Delphi, according to the assertion of the priests, was merely a low hut, built with branches of the sacred laurel of

¹¹⁵⁶ Diod. II. 47. where the period is alone falsely stated. That the harvest begins at the rising of the Pleiades, is stated by Hesiod. Op. et D. 381. Compare the story in Eratosth. Catast. 29.

¹¹⁵⁷ Tischbein I. 8. 9. with the correct explanation of Italinsky. As in the vase in Tischbein IV. 8. the tripod is represented as standing beside the figure, which is a certain proof that Apollo is in question.—Nevertheless, some very distinguished antiquarians are still of opinion that the figure is *Triptolemus*, and not Apollo; indeed the *Instituto di corrispondenza Archeologica* at Rome has lately published a painted vase (I. Distrib. pl. 4.), in which *Τριπτολεμος* is written by this figure in the same position, and with the same accompaniments; whence it seems to me probable that, in antiquity, the ideas attached to this composition were not fixed. A vase in Millin I. 46. represents Apollo *Daphnephorus* attended by a Hyperborean in the Arimasian costume.

Tempe; the second was a tent, which either the Hyperboreans or Pteras of Crete formed of swans' feathers and wax.¹¹⁵⁸ The Peneus flowed by the altar of Tempe; the notes of the swans on the banks of this river are mentioned in a short hymn attributed to Homer.¹¹⁵⁹ And allowing that these birds were here particularly numerous, it is evident that their brilliant colour and majestic motion peculiarly adapted them for symbols of Apollo.

3. We find the same tradition, with merely a few local alterations, at Delos.¹¹⁶⁰ Latona, in the first place, is said to have arrived in that island from the country of the Hyperboreans as a she-wolf, having completed the whole journey, pursued by Here, in twelve days and nights.¹¹⁶¹ Afterwards the young virgins, Arge and Opis, came with Apollo and Artemis; a lofty tomb was erected to their memory at Delos, upon which sacrifices were offered; an ancient hymn, which was attributed to the ancient minstrel Olen, celebrated their appearance.¹¹⁶² Afterwards the Hyperboreans sent two other virgins, Hyperoche and Laodice, the same names as occur above, and with them five men, who are called *perpherees*¹¹⁶³ (from their bringing the sacred gifts enveloped in wheaten straw): this exactly corresponds with “the golden summer” of the Delphians. The *perpherees* received great honours at Delos; and the Delian maidens before marriage laid

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¹¹⁵⁸ Paus. X. 5. 5.

¹¹⁵⁹ XXI. 3.

¹¹⁶⁰ Enomaus ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 133. Steph. quotes from a supposed oracle of a prophetess named Asteria, that the inhabitants and priests of Delos came from the Hyperboreans.

¹¹⁶¹ Aristot. Hist. An. VI. 35. Antig. Caryst. 61. p. 111. ed. Beckmann. Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 124.

¹¹⁶² Herod. IV. 35. Opis and Hecaërgus, according to Pseudo-Plato Axioch. pag. 371. A. Servius ad Æn. XI. 858. The circumstance of the θήκη of these virgins being turned to the east shows that it was of the Cretan time, since the Dorians laid their dead to the east, the Ionians to the west. See book IV. ch. 1. § 2.

¹¹⁶³ περφέρες, also ἀμαλλοφόροι and ὕλοφόροι. See Porphy. de Abstin. II. 19. Rhoer ad 1 and Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Del. 283.

on the tomb of the two Hyperborean virgins a spindle, the young men a branch, both entwined with locks of hair. The offering, however, of the Hyperborean women was, it was said, really intended for Ilithyia, the protectress of women in labour, in order to fulfil a vow made to that goddess for the birth of Apollo and Artemis. Now these missions, according to Delian traditions, always continued to be carried on. The Hyperboreans were supposed to pass them on to their neighbours the Scythians; from them they were transmitted through a chain of nations on the coast of the Adriatic, by Dodona,¹¹⁶⁴ through Thessaly, Eubœa, and the island of Tenos, and came accompanied with flutes and pipes,¹¹⁶⁵ to Delos.¹¹⁶⁶ This story cannot have been a mere poetical fiction; it doubtless originated in the active connexion kept up by means of sacred missions with the ancient settlements of the worship of Apollo in the north of Thessaly.¹¹⁶⁷ In Delos also, as at Delphi, there was a story of the god resting for some time amongst the Hyperboreans; though the scene was generally changed to Lycia.¹¹⁶⁸ A painted vase exhibits the god with a lyre in his hand, alighting near the palm-tree of Delos: a young woman, representing a whole chorus, receives him, playing upon a stringed instrument.¹¹⁶⁹ [289]

As the temple at Olympia was connected with Delphi, we find also here some traditions respecting the country of the

¹¹⁶⁴ Dodona was Hyperborean, according to Etymol. M. in Δωδωναῖος.

¹¹⁶⁵ Plutarch de Musica 14.

¹¹⁶⁶ According to Herodotus and Callim. ad Del. 281. cf. Plin. H. N. IV. 26. Mela III. 5. Salmasius considers the gifts as θυμάτων ἀπαρχαί, *proscitiæ hostiarum*, with Mela; but they were doubtless *primitiæ frugum*, Exerc. Plin. p. 147.

¹¹⁶⁷ No weight can be laid on the particular road, as Pausanias I. 31. 2. mentions one which touches Attica, where also there were rites or sanctuaries, τὰ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων, Chrysost. Epist. ad Tit. Rom. 3. vol. XI. p. 744 E. ed. Montfaucon. See below, § 6.

¹¹⁶⁸ Heyne Excurs. ad Æn. IV. 2. He also comes to Delos in the spring.

¹¹⁶⁹ Tischbein II. 12. Compare the coins of Chalcedon ap. Valliant. et Theupoli. A commentary is furnished by the beginning of Callimachus' hymn to Apollo.

Hyperboreans, as the native land of the wild olive-tree which flourished in the grove of Zeus.

4. Thus much concerning the places where the fable of the Hyperboreans really existed; we must next notice the situation generally assigned to that sacred nation. In this the name is our chief guide. In the first place it indicates a *northern* nation; which idea is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the worship of Apollo came from the most northern part of Greece, from the district of Tempe;¹¹⁷⁰ and although the actual distance was not great, yet the imagination might have been moved by this circumstance to conceive Apollo as coming from the most remote regions of the north. But, in the second place, the Hyperboreans are said to dwell *beyond* Boreas; so that this happy nation never felt the cold north wind: in the same manner that Homer represents the summit of Olympus as rising above the storms, nor ever covered with snow, but surrounded by an atmosphere of cloudless and undisturbed serenity.

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5. This is nearly the whole of our information on the origin of this fabulous people. Poets, however, and geographers, dissatisfied with such accounts, attempted to assign to it a fixed habitation in the catalogue of nations: and for this purpose connected multifarious and foreign accounts of the northern regions of the world with the religious fable of the Hyperboreans, and moulded the whole into an imaginary picture of a supposed real people.

Among these stories the most remarkable is that which connects the Hyperboreans with the Scythians. Herodotus found them mentioned in the Arimaspea of Aristeeas the Proconnesian, in which poem his ideas of the worship of Apollo were interspersed with obscure accounts of the northern regions.¹¹⁷¹ He came, led

¹¹⁷⁰ Above, ch. 1. § 2.

¹¹⁷¹ Herod. IV. 13. The statement of Herodotus is exactly confirmed by a fragment of Aristeeas in Tzetz. Chiliad. VII. 144. which may be genuine. In v. 688. for καὶ σφαῖς ἀνθρώπων should be written καὶ φαῖς ἀνθρώπους (φασί).

by the spirit of Apollo, through Scythia to the Issedones,¹¹⁷² [291]
 the one-eyed Arimaspians, the Griffins that kept watch over the
 gold, and thus at last reached the Hyperboreans who inhabited the
 shores on the further side of the ocean. Now Aristeas must have
 collected the tradition concerning these nations and monsters
 from the same sources as Herodotus; viz., from the Greeks
 dwelling on the Pontus and Borysthènes, and through these from
 the Scythians.

In the list of the fabulous nations of the north, the ancient
 Damastes exactly agrees with the Arimaspea of Aristeas.¹¹⁷³
 Beyond the Scythians he places the Issedones, then the
 Arimaspians, then the Rhipæan mountains, from which the north
 wind blows, and on the other side of these, on the sea-coast,
 the Hyperboreans.¹¹⁷⁴ Without doubt this geographer placed the
 Issedones in the districts to the north of the Euxine sea, and
 rather to the east of Greece.¹¹⁷⁵ And indeed neither Issedones,
 Arimaspians, nor Griffins could be placed in any other region
 than that which lies to the north of the Euxine sea, as all this tract
 had become known to the Greeks by means of the Scythians,
 who dwelt in these parts; it was only in this district that the
 Greeks heard of Arimaspians. The case is entirely different with
 respect to the Hyperboreans and Rhipæans. Of the former the
 Scythians, as Herodotus tells us, knew nothing; and the latter
 are a mere political fiction of Greece, since they derived their
 names from *hurricanes* (ῥίπαι), issuing from a cavern, which [292]
 they warded off from the Hyperboreans, and sent to more
 southern nations. For this reason the Hyperboreans could also
 be placed in another part, remote from Scythia; still however

¹¹⁷² Φοιβόλαμπτος. The Issedones were first mentioned by Alcman, who called them Ἰσσεδόνες, Steph. Byz. in Ἰσσίδονες. He also mentioned the Rhipæans, Schol. Soph. Œd. Col. 1312.

¹¹⁷³ Ap. Steph. Byz. in Ὑπερβόρειοι.

¹¹⁷⁴ The two last points are likewise mentioned by Hellanicus ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 305. Later authorities on this point I pass over.

¹¹⁷⁵ Herod. IV. 25.

they kept their original position in the *north*. Thus Pindar,¹¹⁷⁶ and also Æschylus in the Prometheus Unbound,¹¹⁷⁷ place the Hyperboreans at the source of the Ister. Now, if, with Herodotus, the Ister is conceived to be a river which runs through all Europe from its *western* extremity, the Hyperboreans, in spite of their name, must be placed in the regions of the *west*.¹¹⁷⁸ But there was in ancient times also an idea that the Ister was a vast stream descending from the extreme *north*;¹¹⁷⁹ and this notion was evidently entertained by the two poets just mentioned; thus Æschylus, in the Prometheus Unbound, represented Hercules as penetrating to the place where Boreas rushes from the mountains; and with this the Rhipæan mountains, the Hyperboreans, and the Ister were doubtless mentioned. Sophocles also placed the “*ancient garden of Phæbus*” *i.e.*, the country of the Hyperboreans, at the extremity of the earth, and near the dwelling of Boreas.¹¹⁸⁰ This natural conception of the Hyperboreans, and agreeing so well with the origin of the legend, is universal among the early poets; it is only in the works of later writers that we find certain traces of a translation of the Hyperboreans to Italy and other western countries, and of a confusion of the Rhipæans with the Alps and Pyrenees.

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6. We see then that notwithstanding the arbitrary license assumed by poets, the religious ideas respecting the

¹¹⁷⁶ Olymp. III. 14. cf. Olymp. VIII. 41. Pyth. X. 31. Isthm. V. 22.

¹¹⁷⁷ Ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. IV. 284.

¹¹⁷⁸ This is considered by Voss as the original notion, who supposes the whole fable of the happy Hyperboreans to be an invention of Spanish sailors, Ad Virg. Georg. II. p. 381. *Weltkunde*, Jena Journal Quart. II. p. 20, 29. sqq.: on the Griffins ib. Quart. IV. His opinions have been implicitly followed by Uckert, Géographie, vol. II. p. 237.

¹¹⁷⁹ See particularly Apollon. Rh. IV. 284. who, according to the Scholia, follows Æschylus.

¹¹⁸⁰ Boreas, according to Sophocles ap. Strab. VII. p. 204. carried Orithyia.

“Υπὲρ τε πόντον πάντ’ ἐπ’ ἔσχατα χθονός,
Νυκτός τε πηγὰς οὐρανοῦ τ’ ἀναπτυχὰς,
Φοίβου τε παλαιὸν κήπον.

Hyperboreans were every where preserved without the slightest variation. They were represented as a pious nation, abstaining from the flesh of animals, and living in perpetual serenity, in the service of their god, for a thousand years.¹¹⁸¹ “The muse,” says Pindar, “is not estranged from their manners. The choruses of virgins and sweet melody of the lyre or pipe resound on every side; and, twining their hair with the glittering laurel, they feast joyfully. Neither disease nor old age is the lot of this sacred race; while they live apart from toil and battles, undisturbed by the revengeful Nemesis.”¹¹⁸²

Respecting their festivals, which were supposed to take place in the open air,¹¹⁸³ it was related by Hecatæus the younger, of Abdera, that these were celebrated by three gigantic Boreadæ, whose songs and dances were accompanied by innumerable flocks of swans.¹¹⁸⁴ But the strangest account is that of Pindar, that whole hecatombs of asses were sacrificed at these festivals:¹¹⁸⁵ this however is borrowed from the real worship, [294] from one of the sacred rites of Delphi, where asses were sacrificed at the Pythian festival.¹¹⁸⁶ Lastly, the account given of the death of the Hyperboreans strongly reminds us of the rites of the Thargelia, and the leap at Leucate; we are told that, tired of a long existence, they leapt, crowned with garlands, from a rock

¹¹⁸¹ Hellanicus ubi sup. Simonides and Pindar ap. Strab. XV. p. 1038 B. Æschyl. Choëph. 371.

¹¹⁸² Pyth. X. 56.

¹¹⁸³ Compare the αἶθρια στέφη, Suidas in στέφος—τὰ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων κομιζόμενα, ὡς αἰεὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τιθέμενα. Cratinus ap. Hesych. in v. Bekker. Anecd. p. 355. 30. Classical Journal vol. VI. p. 369.

¹¹⁸⁴ Ap. Ælian. N. A. XI. 1. compare Creuzer Vet. Historic. fragm. p. 85. This Hecatæus still believed in the real existence of the Hyperboreans, Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 615. Steph. Byz. in Καραμβύκαι.

¹¹⁸⁵ Comp. Callim. fragm. 187. Bœus and Simmias ἐν Απόλλωνι ap. Anton. Liber, c. 20. Tzet. zes Chil. VII. 144. v. 677. (compare Brunck Anal. vol. II. p. 525.) Gesner comment. Soc. Gotting. vol. II. p. 33.

¹¹⁸⁶ Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 1688. lin. 14.

into the sea.¹¹⁸⁷

Chapter V.

§ 1. The Apollo of Tempe, Delphi, Delos, Crete, Lycia, Troy, Athens, and Peloponnesus, the same deity. § 2. Apollo Nomius of Arcadia rightly distinguished from the preceding. § 3. Apollo the father of Æsculapius likewise a distinct deity. § 4 and 5. Apollo not originally an elementary deity, or god of the sun. § 6. Origin of this idea. § 7. Rites of Apollo unlike those of the elementary deities.

1. Having treated of the extension and propagation of the worship of Apollo, and some of the most remarkable legends and fables connected with it, we next turn our attention to the nature and character of the religion itself.

In the first place, then, we shall remind the reader of a position sufficiently established by the foregoing inquiries; that the Apollo of Tempe, Delphi, Delos, Crete, Lycia, Troy, Athens, and Peloponnesus, is the same god, and not, as was very frequently the case in the religions of Greece, a combination of several deities under one name. This conclusion we supported as well by historical accounts respecting the foundation of his numerous temples, as by the evidence derived from a recurrence of the same names, rites, and symbols; such, for example, as the titles of Lycius and Lycia, Delphinus and Pythius; the oracles and sibyls; the purifications and expiations; the custom of leaping from rocks; decimations; the golden summer, and bloodless

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¹¹⁸⁷ Mela and Plin. ubi sup. cf. Hellenic. ubi sup. It is remarkable that this custom of leaping from high rocks occurs, in precisely the same manner as among the Hyperboreans, in Scandinavian legends. See Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 486.

oblations; the laurel-berries; the legend of the Hyperboreans, and the cycle of eight years. Hence the theologians mentioned by Cicero¹¹⁸⁸ were wrong in endeavouring without any authority to distinguish between the Athenian, Cretan, and Hyperborean Apollo.

2. It appears, however, that they were warranted in distinguishing from the rest the Apollo Nomius of Arcadia; although in their etymology of the name,¹¹⁸⁹ which made him a divine *lawgiver*, they by no means followed the most authentic sources of religious history. The correct account is without doubt that given by Pindar,¹¹⁹⁰ who calls Aristæus, conjointly with Zeus and Apollo, a protector of flocks, and guardian of huntsmen. In fact, Aristæus and his son Actæon were ancient deities of the early Pelasgic inhabitants of Greece.¹¹⁹¹ That god also protected agriculture and pasturing, warded off the scorching heat of summer, charmed by incantations the mild Etesian winds, and loved hunting and the care of bees. His chief haunts were the plains under mount Pelion and Iolcus—from [296] which place his worship was introduced into Cyrene—the fertile valley of Thebes, Parrhasia in Arcadia,¹¹⁹² and the Parrhasian island of Ceos;¹¹⁹³ at Cyrene, Apollo and Cyrene were called his parents.¹¹⁹⁴ The genealogy attributed to Aristæus varied considerably in different places; through the prevalence of Greek worship in Arcadia he was considered identical with Apollo. It

¹¹⁸⁸ De Nat. Deor. III. 23.

¹¹⁸⁹ So also Etymol. M. in νόμοι κιθαρ. p. 607. Referred to *music* (from νόμος, a strain) by Schol. Pind. Nem. V. 42. Procl. Chrestom. p. 282. 13. in Gaisford's Hephæstion.

¹¹⁹⁰ Pyth. IX. 64. Boeckh. Explic. p. 324.

¹¹⁹¹ *Orchomenos*, p. 348.

¹¹⁹² The Parrhasian Apollo on mount Lycæum (Paus. VIII. 38. 2.) was originally the Apollo Nomius.

¹¹⁹³ Cicero de Div. I. 57. 130. from Heraclides Ponticus.

¹¹⁹⁴ Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 500. partly from Bacchylides, Pherecydes fragm. 42. ed. Sturz.

was remembered that the Delphian god had also tended the herds of Admetus; and perhaps the national worship of Aristæus at Pheræ had partly contributed to the formation of this fable.¹¹⁹⁵ Deities, whose worship at an early period fell into disuse, were adapted and modified in various ways to suit the ruling powers: and even if a complete and consistent system of mythology was eradicated and destroyed as a whole, yet particular portions of it would combine themselves with the prevailing religion, and thus obtain a new existence. Thus also the ancient elementary deity, which had received the name of Apollo Nomius, was called the son of the ancient Silenus,¹¹⁹⁶ because his attributes seemed to resemble those of the attendants of Bacchus.¹¹⁹⁷ I shall take occasion hereafter to explain the connexion between the Carnean Apollo and this deity.¹¹⁹⁸

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3. It should also be observed that Apollo and Æsculapius were connected in fable and mythology; and this at an early period, for Hesiod called Æsculapius the son of Apollo;¹¹⁹⁹ but, as it appears, only in mythology, and not in any religious worship. Thus neither at Tricca, Lebadea, Epidaurus, nor Cos, were Apollo Pæan and Æsculapius intimately connected; nor do we ever find that they had altars, festivals, or sacrifices in common, except perhaps in a temple at the modern town of Megalopolis.¹²⁰⁰ This practical difference may be accounted for by the national origin of the two worships. For Phlegyas, the ancestor of Æsculapius,

¹¹⁹⁵ Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 514. cf. Schol. II. α. 766.

¹¹⁹⁶ Clem. Alex. Protrep. p. 8. cf. Porphy. Vit. Pythag. § 16. Cyrill. adv. Julian, p. 542.

¹¹⁹⁷ The statement that Pythagoras placed at Delphi on a grave an inscription of these words, "Apollo the son of Silenus," is a confused and fabulous story of late times, Porphr. ubi sup. The wild olive was sacred to Apollo Nomius, according to Theocritus XXV. 20; and he was considered the author of a kind of epilepsy, Hippocrat. de Morbo Sacro, p. 303.

¹¹⁹⁸ Below, ch. 8. § 15.

¹¹⁹⁹ Hesiod. fragm. 21. ed. Gaisford.

¹²⁰⁰ Paus. VIII. 30.

and the sons of Æsculapius mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue, belonged to races which were hostile both to the Dorians and the temple of Delphi; and the dispersion of the schools of the Asclepiadæ through Greece had nothing in common with the foundation of the temples of Apollo.

4. Having made these distinctions, we now return to the principal position established by the preceding inquiries; viz., that it was the Dorians among whom the religion of Apollo was the most ancient, important, and truly national worship.

The Dorians being an active and heroic people, it is natural that their peculiar religious feelings should have had a like tendency. Hence, as they displayed a perpetual aversion to the innocent employments of husbandry, and a love for active and military exertion, their national god was exactly the reverse of the elementary deities worshipped by the agricultural races. [298]

But this inference seems to be invalidated by an opinion entertained by many at least of the later Greeks, and by most modern writers on mythology, that Apollo was an elementary deity, the deified personification of the sun. On the whole of this difficult and doubtful subject it is not my intention now to enter; but I shall be satisfied with laying before the reader the principal arguments on both sides, and afterwards stating my own views on the subject.

5. In the first place, then, the accounts above given of Apollo returning from the Hyperboreans with the ripe ears of corn, and the tribute of the golden ears, certainly suggest the idea of a guardian of agriculture.¹²⁰¹ On the coins of Metapontum we frequently see these ears of corn, with the grasshopper, or mouse both in the act of creeping, upon the reverse. The same explanation is applicable to both symbols. The mouse and grasshopper are animals hurtful to the corn, which the god was

¹²⁰¹ Apollo is represented with a crown of ears on his head, in a gem in Lippert's Dactyliotheke I. p. 62. No. 145. Sometimes also on coins there is only a grain of corn with symbols of Apollo, *e.g.*, on those of Hephestia and Abdera.

supplanted to protect from their attacks. In like manner the Cretan Apollo Σμίνθειος was doubtless a destroyer of field mice (σμίνθοι);¹²⁰² and his statue was represented with one foot upon a mouse.¹²⁰³

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Again, in Rhodes he was called ἐρυθίβιος, “the averter of mildew;”¹²⁰⁴ which attribute was peculiarly suitable to him, as being one of the Triopian deities, one of whom was Demeter, the destroyer of Erysichthon. These are probably the chief reasons which can be adduced in favour of the position that Apollo was an elementary deity; reasons which are founded on the symbols and ceremonies of the real worship, and not on the opinions of later philosophers. But, first, the argument that Apollo was an elementary god, because he was a patron and protector of agriculture, is inconclusive; for he performs this office in his character of guardian and averter of misfortune generally. The case indeed would be otherwise, had Apollo been supposed either to call forth the seed from the earth or bring it to maturity; no trace however of these functions being attributed to him ever occurs. It is therefore unnecessary on this account to identify him with the sun. And it may be remarked likewise, that the chief festivals of Apollo were not connected with any remarkable epochs of the sun's course, but rather with the rising of the stars, particularly of the pleiads, and with the phases of the moon. Thus the new moon was sacred to Apollo, who hence received the name of

¹²⁰² Σμίνθοι ἀρουραῖοι, Æschylus ap. Ælian. Hist. An. XII. 15.

¹²⁰³ Strabo XIII. p. 604. Schol. II. α. 89. Ælian ubi sup. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 1302. Apollo bears a mouse in his hand on a coin of Hadrian, belonging to Alexandria Troas Mionnet. tom. II. p. 644. A painted vase in Tischbein II. 17. probably refers to the sacred mice of a Smintheum; concerning which see Heraclid. Pont. ap. Strab. ubi sup. According to Pollux IX. 6. 84. the Argives had a mouse on their coins (as an emblem of Apollo); Eckhel has none of this kind; Mr. Payne Knight's collection contains a very small ancient gold coin with this type. See Knight on the Symbolical Language of Mythology, § 128. note.

¹²⁰⁴ Strabo XIII. p. 613.

Νεομήνιος;¹²⁰⁵ and so likewise the first quarter, or the seventh day; and, finally, the full moon (διχομηνία), particularly in the island of Zacynthus.¹²⁰⁶ From these circumstances, however, no one will infer that Apollo was a god of the moon.

We do not, however, deny that Apollo and the god of the sun admitted in particular points of a comparison and parallel with each other; the source of external light might be a symbol of the “bright and pure” god; and indeed the Platonists favoured this supposition,¹²⁰⁷ which is not, however, supported by any historical authority. The worship of the sun was practised in the Acropolis of Corinth, at Rhodes, Athens, and in earlier times also at Calauria and Tænaram; but in none of these places was it connected with the rites of Apollo.¹²⁰⁸ [300]

6. This naturally leads us to inquire how any ideal connexion between Apollo and the sun, if it really existed, should have been entirely overlooked for so many centuries; how was it that these deities were not identified till the Grecian mythology had ceased to have any influence upon the ideas and feelings of mankind? Even when the Egyptian interpreters identified Horus with Apollo, they were in all probability guided only by the resemblance between the destroyer of the Python and the vanquisher of Baby (Typhon in Greek).¹²⁰⁹ The Persian magi, however, in discovering a connexion between the worship of Apollo and their religion (on which account Xerxes preserved from injury the island where Apollo and Artemis were born),¹²¹⁰ were influenced by a well-grounded comparison, which we shall

¹²⁰⁵ Philochorus ap. Schol. Vulg. ad Od. XX. 155. cf. ad XXI. 258.

¹²⁰⁶ Plutarch Dion. 23.

¹²⁰⁷ Plutarch de Defect. Orac. 7, 12. de Pyth. Orac. 12. Symp. Quæst. III. 10.

¹²⁰⁸ Æginetica, p. 27. The Apollo Ἡλῆϊος at Argos (Paus. VIII. 46. 2.) is hardly a Ἡλῆϊος.

¹²⁰⁹ The Træzenian Ὠρος (Paus. II. 30. 6.) was probably a god of the seasons, and afterwards the sun; but Ὠρα and the Ægyptian Horus cannot surely have any etymological connexion.

¹²¹⁰ Herod. VI. 97. Pseudo-Plat. Axioch. p. 371 A. comp. Æsch. Pers. 206.

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find occasion to confirm in a subsequent chapter;¹²¹¹ yet, in all probability, it was not the sun, but Ormuzd, whom they supposed to be Apollo. It was not until the philosophers of the Ionic school identified the deities of the popular creed partly with material powers and objects, and partly with the attributes of the universal intellect (νοῦς), that the doctrine was advanced of Apollo being the sun. From them Euripides, who called Zeus the air, and Vesta the earth, was naturally among the first to receive it. In the tragedy of Phaethon, the mother of the unfortunate youth complained against his father Helius as follows; “*Rightly does he who knows the secret names of the gods call thee Apollo*” (the destroyer);¹²¹² referring, without doubt, not to any doctrine connected with, or revealed in the mysteries, but to a philosophical interpretation. This opinion, thus adopted by Euripides, became still more general at Alexandria; and Callimachus blames those “who separate Apollo from the sun, and Artemis from the moon.”¹²¹³ Soon afterwards it was said to have originated in very early times; and the author of the astronomical treatise attributed to Eratosthenes¹²¹⁴ relates, that Orpheus the Thracian had from the top of a mountain, at break of day, prayed to the sun, whom he also called Apollo, as the greatest of all the deities.¹²¹⁵ Nevertheless, this statement does not authorize us to infer, that in the ancient Orphic Hymns, previous to Herodotus, Apollo and the sun were identified. For

¹²¹¹ See below, ch. 6. § 10. [Transcriber's Note: There is no such section in that chapter.]

¹²¹² Eurip. Phaeth. fr. 2. Matthiæ. Ἀπόλλω δ' ἐν βροτοῖς σ' ὀρθῶς καλεῖ Ὅστις τὰ σιγῶντ' ὀνόματ' οἶδε δαιμόνων.

¹²¹³ Fragm. 48. The same doctrine was followed by Apollodorus (Macrob. Sat. I. 17.) and Philochorus, according to whom there was a Helius-Apollo among the Tritopatores, ap. Strab. XIV. p. 655.

¹²¹⁴ C. 24. It is only the following narration which is taken from the Bassarides of Æschylus; comp. Timotheus περὶ κοσμοπούας ap. Euseb. Scalig. p. 4.

¹²¹⁵ This fact refers to the actual worship of the sun in Thrace, Sophocles in Tereo ap. Schol. Il. XV. 705.

this system of religious speculation was chiefly concerned about Bacchus; and in all the Orphic fragments of any antiquity Apollo is hardly ever noticed.¹²¹⁶ [302]

7. It seems, therefore, that whatever might have been the poetical attributes of Apollo in late times, in his religious character he was never an elementary deity, the essence of whose godhead is a personification of the creative powers of nature. None of the characteristic marks of such a religion are discoverable in his worship. So far from being a god of generation¹²¹⁷ and production, he remains unmarried and youthful; for it is easy to see that his poetical amour with the nymph Daphne, and his sons, mentioned in poetry and prophecy, have no connexion with his worship. In his sacred rites and symbols there is no trace of the adoration of the generative powers, like those occurring in the ancient Arcadian worship of Hermes, the Argive fables of Here, or the Attic legends of Hephæstus and Athene. The worship of Apollo is even still more widely removed from the boisterous and frantic orgies so conspicuous in the Thracian rites of Dionysus. And although this latter worship flourished by the side of Helicon and Parnassus, near the Pythian temple, and both kinds of religious worship were practised in the immediate neighbourhood of each other,¹²¹⁸ yet the religious feelings and rites which distinguished the services of the two gods always remained dissimilar. [303]

¹²¹⁶ The passages in which he is considered as the god of the sun, a fragment in J. Diaconus, and a hymn, are of the latest date. The Sibylline oracle in Zosimus II. 6. where Apollo is called Helius, is of the Alexandrine age; likewise the strange hymn in Brunck's *Analecta*, vol. II. p. 518. is of very late date. Moreover, the coins, in which Apollo is represented with rays round his head, are, as far as I can discover, all of the age of the emperors.

¹²¹⁷ The Apollo γενέτωρ of Delos was probably so called with a fixed though obscure reference, like the Apollo πατρώος, which the Orphic philosophers in Macrob. Sat. I. 17. also explained to be *progenitor* in general. See above, ch. 2. § 15.

¹²¹⁸ *Orchomenos*, p. 383. compare Schwarz *Miscell. Polit. hum.* p. 89. Creuzer *Symbolik*, vol. III. p. 166.

In the subsequent discussion we shall accordingly take for granted the original diversity of Apollo and the sun; and though the rites of the worship of Apollo, as preserved and recorded in later times, are doubtless of greater antiquity than any written documents which either we or the Greeks possessed, it will be convenient first to state the clearer and more intelligible accounts of Homer on the subject of Apollo, his divine character and worship.

Chapter VI.

§ 1. Homer's Conception of Apollo. § 2. Apollo as a punishing deity. § 3. Apollo as a beneficent deity. § 4. Explanation of the name Pæan. § 5. Of the name Agyieus. § 6. Of the name Apollo. § 7. Of the name Phœbus. § 8. Of the name Lyceus. § 9. Religious Attributes of Apollo.

1. Homer, as we have already seen, had, both from hearsay and personal observation, acquired a very accurate knowledge of the Cretan worship of Apollo in the Smintheum, in the citadel of Troy, in Lycia near mounts Ida and Cragus, as well as of Pytho and the Delian palm-tree. His picture of Apollo is, however, considerably changed by the circumstance of the god acting as a friend to the Trojans and an enemy to the Greeks, although both equally honour him with sacrifices and pæans. Yet he generally appears to the Greeks in a darker and more unfavourable view. "*Dread the son of Zeus,*" says the priest of Chryse to the Greeks, "*he walks dark as night; the sure and deadly arrows rattle on his shoulders.*" His punishments are sudden sickness, rapid pestilence, and death, the cause and occasion of which is generally unseen; yet sometimes he grants

death as a blessing.¹²¹⁹ His arrows are said to wound from afar, because they are unforeseen and unexpected. He is called the far-darting god,¹²²⁰ his divine vengeance never misses its aim. He appears in the terror of his might when from the heights of the citadel he stimulates the Trojans with a loud war-cry to the combat;¹²²¹ and leads them on, a cloud around his shoulders, and the ægis in his hand, into the thick of the battle,¹²²² like Ares himself,¹²²³ though far from showing the boisterous confidence of that deity. Achilles, to whom he is indeed particularly hostile, calls him the most pernicious of all the gods. Even when he appears amongst the gods, "*all tremble before him in the palace of Zeus, and rise from their seats; while Latona alone rejoices that she has produced so strong a son and so powerful an archer.*"¹²²⁴

It is remarkable how seriously Homer (who otherwise speaks of the gods, and particularly of those friendly to Troy, with some levity of expression)¹²²⁵ describes the character of Apollo. He is never represented as hurried on by blind fury. He never opposes the Greeks without reason, or through caprice, but only when they disregard the sacred rights of priests and suppliants, or assume an unusual degree of arrogance. But when the gods separate into two bodies, and descend to the contest, he,

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¹²¹⁹ Od. XV. 402. cf. III. 280. XI. 171. II. XXIV. 759. Artemis kills women for him, as in Pindar Pyth. V. 10. On Artemis and Apollo, as gods of death, see Nast's Opusc. Lat. P. 11. n. 12. p. 293 sqq.

¹²²⁰ "Ἐκατος, ἐκάεργος, ἐκηβόλος, ἐκατηβελέτης, ἀφίτωρ.

¹²²¹ II. IV. 508. VII. 21.

¹²²² XV. 308. XVI. 703.

¹²²³ See Pind. Pyth. IV. 86.

¹²²⁴ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. Del. 13.

¹²²⁵ Homer represents Aphrodite as the protector of Æneas and antagonist of Diomed, and Ares in battle for the Trojans, in a disadvantageous light; and describes, with evident irony, the weakness of the goddess, and the brutal confidence of the god. In like manner, Diana and the river-god Scamander sometimes play a very undignified part. Apollo, alone, always maintains his dignity.

unmoved by passion, shuns the combat, and speaks of the quick succession of the race of man in a manner which betokens the oracular deity of Pytho.¹²²⁶ A similar spirit is perceivable in his address to the daring Diomed: “*The race of the immortal gods resembles not that of mortals.*” Thus Apollo appears as the minister of vengeance, the chastiser of arrogance. Consistently with this character he destroys the proud Niobe,¹²²⁷ the unruly Aloidæ,¹²²⁸ Tityus and the Python, the enemies of the gods. His contests with Eurytus of Æchalia, and with Phorbas the Phlegyan, were grounded on historical facts; the former alluded to the enmity between the Dorians and Æchalians, the latter to that between the Pythian sanctuary and the Phlegyans.¹²²⁹

2. We will now examine the notions of other poets on the character of Apollo as a revenging and punishing deity, in which light he is introduced by Homer. Archilochus calls upon Apollo to “*punish and destroy the guilty as he is wont to destroy them.*”¹²³⁰ Hipponax, the successor of Archilochus in vituperative satiric poetry, prays that “*Artemis and Apollo may destroy thee;*”¹²³¹ and Æschylus, with manifest allusion to the name, says, Ἀπόλλων ἀπώλεσας;¹²³² which, however, can

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¹²²⁶ Il. XXI. 464. cf. XXIV. 40. ᾧ οὐτ' ἄρ φρένες εἰσὶν ἐναΐσιμοι.

¹²²⁷ Il. XXIV. 606.

¹²²⁸ Od. XI. 517.

¹²²⁹ Il. VIII. 227. He overcomes Phorbas in a boxing-match, Eurytus in a contest of archery, to which the latter had challenged all the gods; hence he is in general supposed to preside over contests with the cæstus (Il. XXIII. 660. Plutarch. Quæst. Symp. VIII. 4); and amongst the Dorians, who loved the sports of the field, was particularly considered as a patron of archery and huntsmen. Il. XXIII. 872. Soph. Œd. C. 1091. Pollux V. 5. 39.

¹²³⁰ ὦναξ Ἄπολλον, καὶ σὺ μὲν τοὺς αἰτίους Πήμαινε, καὶ σφᾶς ἄλλυ' ὥσπερ ἄλλύεις. Fragm. 79. ed. Gaisford. Compare Blomfield ad Æsch. Agam. 66. Gloss.

¹²³¹ Ἀπὸ σ' ὀλέσειεν Ἄρτεμις τε χῶπόλλων, Fragm. 16. ed. Welcker.

¹²³² Æschyl. Agam. 1091. Plato Cratyl. p. 405. and Eurip. Phaeth. (above, p. 306. note m. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to “wont to destroy them,” starting ὦναξ Ἄπολλον.”]) allude to the same derivation.

hardly entitle us to infer that the name of Apollo was really derived from ἀπολεῖν,¹²³³ for we should lose sight of one main point, viz., the object against which his destructive powers were directed, or be reduced to consider him an universal destroyer, a character which is ill adapted to mark the nature of a divine being of any kind whatsoever. Apollo slays, indeed, but only to inflict deserved punishment. At Megara was exhibited the tomb of Corœbus, who had slain the Fury sent by Apollo against that town, to punish the crimes of the fathers by destroying their children.¹²³⁴ After this action, Corœbus was ordered to carry in his arms a tripod from Pytho, and erect on the spot where he should fall down from exhaustion, a town (Tripodiscus) and a temple to the god. This explains why many sacred fines were at Corinth, Patara, and Amphipolis,¹²³⁵ paid into the temple of Apollo, who thus appears, in some measure, as enforcing his own judgments. Æschylus refers to his office of avenging murder, where he speaks of Apollo, Pan, and Zeus, as the gods who send the Furies;¹²³⁶ Zeus as ruler of the world, Pan as the dæmon that disorders the intellect, Apollo as the god of punishment. Hence it was not without reason that the Romans believed Apollo to be represented in a statue of the god Vejovis, a terrible god, equipped with arrows.¹²³⁷ At least there is some connexion between him and Apollo καταβάσιος, “who darts down in the lightning;” to whom the Thessalians vowed every year a hecatomb of men.¹²³⁸ At Argos it was the custom immediately after death for the relations to sacrifice to Apollo as a god of death; the priest of Apollo (the amphipolus) offered up

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¹²³³ Hermann *Ueber das Wesen der Mythologie*, p. 107.

¹²³⁴ Pausan. I. 43. 7. Anthol. Palat. VII. 154. On a coin of Prusia Apollo is represented with a scourge in his hand, Mionnet Descript. tom. II. p. 482.

¹²³⁵ Herod. III. 52. Walpole's Travels, p. 541. In an Asiatic inscription of the cod. Sherard. these fines are called ἱερὰ δραχμαί.

¹²³⁶ Agamem. 55.

¹²³⁷ Gellius N. A. V. 12.

¹²³⁸ Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 1446.

the victim, and for consuming the fragments of the sacrifice a new fire was always kindled. On the thirtieth day afterwards a sacrifice was offered to Hermes as the conductor of souls.¹²³⁹

3. Although we have thus dwelt upon the gloomy side of Apollo's character, it must not be supposed that he was considered in the light of a malevolent and destroying power. Thus Pindar declares that of all the gods "he is the most friendly to men."¹²⁴⁰ His titles, also, as connected with different temples, serve to remove that impression. Thus he was called the Healer at Elis,¹²⁴¹ the Assister at Phigaleia,¹²⁴² the Defender, the Averter of Evil,¹²⁴³ at Athens, and in many oracles.¹²⁴⁴ Although some of these names were perhaps not introduced until the Peloponnesian war, and the restriction of his avenging power to physical evil is first perceptible in Pindar and the tragedians,¹²⁴⁵ yet the idea of the healing and protecting power of Apollo must have been of remote antiquity. Under all these names Apollo does not so much appear bestowing positive good as assuaging and warding off evil; and in this character he was invoked (according to an

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¹²³⁹ Plut. Quæst. Græc. 24.

¹²⁴⁰ Plut. de Ei 21. p. 246. de Defect, Orac. 7. p. 309. non posse suav. vivi sec. Epicur. 23. p. 124. Perhaps, likewise, the Apollo Philesius should be referred to this head.

¹²⁴¹ Ἀκήσιος, Paus. VI. 24. 5. ἀκέστωρ, Eurip. Androm. 900.

¹²⁴² Ἐπακούριος, Paus. VIII. 32-41. 5.

¹²⁴³ Ἀλεξίκακος, *ibid.* I. 3. 3. Aristoph. Pac. 420. Compare Visconti, Museo Pio-Clement. I. p. 27.

¹²⁴⁴ Ἀποτροπαῖος, Orac. ap. Demosth. in Mid. p. 331. 27. Inscript. in Walpole's Travels, p. 547. No. 38. Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. I. p. 25. called προσάτης, in the colonies on the Pontus, above, ch. 2. § 6. comp. Soph. Trach. 208. with Hermann's note. He is invoked in his character of Προστατήριος to avert nightly terrors, in Soph. Elec. 638; in Aj. 187 he keeps off madness; in Eurip. Herc. Fur. 821, the fury. Πύθιοι καὶ σωτήριοι θεοί. Boeckh Corp. Inscript. No. 1693.

¹²⁴⁵ Pind. Pyth. v. 63. cf. IV. 270. Aristoph. Plut. 8. Soph. Œd. T. 149. Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 72. See, however, Il. XVI. 527. He was called Λοίμιος at Lindus, Macrobian Sat. I. 17. *Medicus* at Rome about 416 A.U.C. Ἱατρὸς, Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1206.

oracle) to send health and good fortune.¹²⁴⁶

4. The preceding arguments may perhaps receive confirmation from a description of the god PÆAN (Παιήων) in Homer. The name clearly betokens a healing deity, and though the poet indeed speaks of him as a separate individual, and the physician of Olympus,¹²⁴⁷ yet this division appears to have been merely poetical, without any reference to actual worship; since from very early times the pæan had, in the Pythian temple,¹²⁴⁸ been appointed to be sung in honour of Apollo.¹²⁴⁹ The song, like [309] other hymns, derived its name from that of the god to whom it was sung. The god was first called pæan, then the hymn, and lastly the singers themselves.¹²⁵⁰ Now we know that the pæan was originally sung at the cessation of a plague, and after a victory, and generally, when any evil was averted, it was performed as a purification from the pollution.¹²⁵¹ The chant was loud and joyous, as celebrating the victory of the preserving and healing deity.¹²⁵² Besides the pæans of victory,¹²⁵³ however,

¹²⁴⁶ Demosth. in Mid. ubi sup.

¹²⁴⁷ Il. v. 401, 899. with Schol. Venet. cf. Od. IV. 232. Aristarchus considered Apollo and Pæon in Homer as identical, yet Hesiod distinguishes them in the fragment in Eustath. ad Od. p. 1493. Schol. Min. ad I. (cf. Hemsterhuis in Gaisford's Poetæ Min. p. 551), and perhaps also in Brunck's Analecta, vol. I. p. 67.

¹²⁴⁸ Hom. Hymn, ad Apoll. Pyth. Eurip. Ion 128, 140. Pindar's Pæan in the Fragments.

¹²⁴⁹ Proclus apud Phot. *ιδίως ἀπέκειτο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι.*

¹²⁵⁰ Hom. Hymn. 272, 320.

¹²⁵¹ Proclus ubi sup. Hesych. In Soph. Œd. T. 152. a song of a chorus resembling a pæan has these words; Φοῖβος—σωτήρ θ' ἴκοιτο καὶ νόσου παυστήριος. cf. Schol. ad v. 114. et Suid. in *ἠρίων.*

¹²⁵² Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 21. Næniæ and pæans opposed to one another. Eurip. Iph. T. 183. The god of death was honoured with no pæan. Æsch. Niob. Frag. 5. Pæans to Hades, the Furies, &c. are an oxymoron; see Monk ad Eurip. Alc. 431.

¹²⁵³ Comp. the pæans of the Spartans at the Gymnopædia for the battle of Thermopylæ. Etymolog. Mag. p. 243, 4. Apollo and Artemis, gods of victory, Soph. Trach. 207.

there were others which were sung at the beginning of battle;¹²⁵⁴ and there was a tradition that the chorus of Delphian virgins had chanted “*Io Pæan*” at the contest of Apollo with the Python.¹²⁵⁵ The pæan of victory varied according to the different tribes; all Dorians, viz., Spartans, Argives, Corinthians, and Syracusans, had the same.¹²⁵⁶ This use of the pæan, as a song of rejoicing for victory, sufficiently explains its double meaning; it bore a mournful sense in reference to the battle, and a joyous sense in reference to the victory. Apollo, under this name, was therefore either considered as a destroying (from *παίω*), or as a protecting and healing deity, who frees the mind from care and sorrow;¹²⁵⁷ and accordingly the tragedians, by an analogical application of the word, also called Death, to whom both these attributes belonged, by the title of Pæan.¹²⁵⁸ And thus this double character of Apollo, by virtue of which he was equally formidable as a foe, and welcome as an ally,¹²⁵⁹ was authorized by the ambiguity of his name.

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5. On the other hand, the title AGYIEUS had a single signification.¹²⁶⁰ This appellation of Apollo was peculiar to the

¹²⁵⁴ See Æschyl. Theb. 250. The ὄλλυγμὸς (*ululatus*) which is here mentioned was in part the ἔλελεῦ, which according to Plutarch Theb. 22. occurred in singing the pæan and at the libation (in this passage σπένδοντες is evidently the right meaning). Hence Apollo is called ἔλελεῦς in Macrob. Sat. I. 17. From this also comes the ἐλελίζειν which Xenophon often mentions, but distinguishes it from the pæan, and represents it as performed to Enyalios or Ares, Anab. I. 8. 18. cf. V. 2. 14. Hell. II. 4, 17.

¹²⁵⁵ Callim. Apoll. 113. Apoll. Rhod. II. 710. cf. Athen. XV. p. 701 C. Duris ap. Etym. Mag. in ἡίε.

¹²⁵⁶ Thuc. VII. 44. cf. IV. 43.

¹²⁵⁷ Æsch. Agam. 99.

¹²⁵⁸ Eurip. Hippol. 1373. Æsch. ap. Stob. Serm. p. 121.

¹²⁵⁹ Æsch. Agam. 518.

¹²⁶⁰ Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 352.

Dorians,¹²⁶¹ and consequently of great antiquity at Delphi;¹²⁶² from which place, however, it was brought over to Athens at a very early period, and indeed partly at the command of an oracle.¹²⁶³ His statue was erected in court-yards, and before the doors of houses; that is, at the boundary of private and public property, in order to admit the god as a tutelary deity, and to avert evil. The symbol or image of the god was most simple, being a conical block of stone. The ancients knew not whether to consider it as an altar or statue.¹²⁶⁴ The worship consisted of a constant succession of trifling services and marks of adoration.¹²⁶⁵ Frankincense was burnt before the pillar;¹²⁶⁶ it was bedecked with wreaths of myrtle, garlands, &c. This was sufficient to remind, and at the same time to assure, the ancient Dorians of the protecting presence of their deity. The Athenians represented their Hermes in a similar manner. This god, although fundamentally distinct from Apollo, was invested

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¹²⁶¹ Dieuchidas in Megaricis ap. Schol. Aristophan. Vesp. 870. Harpocrat. In Tegea (derived from Sparta) Paus. VIII. 53. I. 2.

¹²⁶² Above, ch. 4. § 2.

¹²⁶³ Demosth. in Mid. p. 331. comp. Varro ap. Porphy. ad Horat. Carm. IV. 6. 28. *ex responso sui (Pythii) oraculi in viis publicis urbis suæ Athenienses statuis altaribus sacrificare Apollini instituerunt et Ageyum appellare.* Also Eurip. Ion 186. to which Eustath. ad Il. p. 166. Rom. refers. Varro is probably followed by Euanthius De Tragœdia et Comœdia: *Athenienses cum Apollini Nomio vel Ἀγυιάῳ* (as Osann. Auctar. Lex. p. 82. corrects), *i.e. pastorum vicinorumque* (read *vicorumque*) *præsidi deo constructis aris festum carmen sollemniter cantarent.*

¹²⁶⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 870. Thesm. 496. Eq. 1317. Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 634. Harpocrat. Hesych. Helladius ap. Phot. cod. 279. p. 1596. Plautus Mercat. IV. 1. 9. Steph. Byz. in ἄγυιά, also Otto de Diis Vialibus, et Zoëga De Obeliscis p. 210. The Agyieus often occurs on coins, instead of other emblems of Apollo, where numismatic writers have not recognised the symbol. See the coins of Apollonia in Epirus, Apta in Crete, Megara, Byzantium, Oricus, Ambracia, where the statue is surrounded with fillets.

¹²⁶⁵ Eurip. Ion. ubi sup.

¹²⁶⁶ κτισσῶν ἄγυιάς, Demosth. ubi sup. and Stephens's Thesaurus, ed. Lond. vol. I. p. 1048.

by them with the same offices: thus the statues of both gods were placed, as protecting powers, in front of the houses: both gods were supposed to confer blessings on those who either entered or left the house: both were represented by simple columnar statues. With Apollo, however, this protection was rather of a spiritual and inward nature: while the phallic form, which always distinguished the Hermæ of Athens, shows that this god was considered to afford, by increasing the fruitfulness of the fields and cattle, and generally all the products of nature, a more external and physical assistance.

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6. To these titles may perhaps be added the name of APOLLO itself. That we must search for its etymology in the Greek language alone, and that it could have been derived from no other source, is evident from the preceding investigations. In the first place, then, we cannot derive it from the sun, ΑΨΕΛΙΟΣ,¹²⁶⁷ since the digamma is never changed into Π. The derivation from ΟΛΩ we have already rejected, as being founded on a partial and occasional attribute of the god.¹²⁶⁸ On the other hand, we may observe that the ancient Doric Æolian form of the name was not Ἀπόλλων but Ἀπέλλων,¹²⁶⁹ which also obtained amongst the ancient Latins,¹²⁷⁰ and from which the Macedonian and Delphian month *Apellæus* evidently derived its name. Now if this is admitted to be the original form, Ἀπέλλων simply means the *avertter* or *defender*,¹²⁷¹ and belongs to the same class as

¹²⁶⁷ Ἀβέλιος, the Cretans and Pamphylians, Hesych. in v. Comp. Hemsterhuis ad Hesych. in θάβακον, Koen ad Greg. Corinth. p. 354. ed. Schæfer. βέλα ἥλιος καὶ ἀγῆ, a Laconism according to Hesychius.

¹²⁶⁸ The jocular etymology of Plato from πολεῖν, and the absurd one from ἀπολύς, mentioned by Cicero de Nat. Deor. II. 27. Plutarch, de Ei 9. p. 228 (because Apollo was τὸ ἔν, De Iside 76. p. 207). cf. Macrob. Sat. I. 17. and others in the Etymol. M., I may be excused from examining.

¹²⁶⁹ Maittaire, p. 152, 264.

¹²⁷⁰ Festus in v. Comp. Schneider, Lat. Gram. vol. I. 1. p. 12.

¹²⁷¹ There appear to be two radical forms, having nearly the same meaning, from which the word ΑΠΕΛΛΩΝ might be derived. First ΨΕΑ or ΨΕΑΨ, VOLVO,

Ἀλεξίκακος, Ἀποτροπαῖος, and other names mentioned above.

7. All these names, however, only indicate the attributes and actions of the deity; but the name PHÆBUS expresses more nearly his peculiar nature. From its original sense of “*bright*,” “*clear*,” its secondary sense of “*pure*,” “*unstained*,” is easily derived;¹²⁷² and hence the term φοιβάζειν (which perhaps is connected with the Latin *februare*), “to expiate.” Phoebus therefore is the clear and spotless god, often emphatically called the “pure and holy” (ἄγνός θεός).¹²⁷³ This name is particularly applied to him when he returns purified from Tempe.¹²⁷⁴ The same meaning is implied in the epithet ξανθός, which also signifies “pure,” and “clear;”¹²⁷⁵ hence the streams near the temples of Apollo in Troy and Lycia were called Xanthus,¹²⁷⁶ and amongst the Macedonians the expiatory festival of the army bore the title of *Xanthica*.¹²⁷⁷ In allusion to Apollo as a god of joy and gladness, Aeschylus frequently forbids that he should be invoked in sorrow.¹²⁷⁸ Several other passages from poets and grammarians might be adduced to support this idea.¹²⁷⁹ [313]

“to roll,” “to press together,” and ΕΛ, “to push, strike, drive,” &c. Ἐλάσαι, ἐλαύνειν, &c., are evidently derivatives of this ΕΛ; from which it is probable that ἀπέλλων or ἀπόλλων is derived, as Homer constantly uses ■ἐλ■ω, but ἐλάσαι, &c., as well as Ἀπόλλων, without the digamma.

¹²⁷² See Apollon. Lex. Hom. p. 833. ed. Villoison. Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 301.

¹²⁷³ Aesch. Suppl. 222. Pindar Pyth. IX. 66. Plutarch, de Ei 20. p. 243. De Exilio 17. p. 386. *Apollo sanctus*, Cicero Tusc. Quaest. IV. 34. Montfaucon Inscript. vol. I. pl. 52. No. 10. The term φοιβονομεῖσθαι was used of the Thessalian diviners, when they lived apart on the ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι, Plutarch, de Ei.

¹²⁷⁴ Plutarch. de Def. Orac. 2.

¹²⁷⁵ Theophrast. de Lapid. 37.

¹²⁷⁶ Compare φοῖβον ὕδωρ Apollon. Lex. in v. Lycophr. v. 1009.

¹²⁷⁷ Sturz. de Lingua Macedonica.

¹²⁷⁸ Agamemn. 1084, 1088. cf. Eurip. Alcest. 22.

¹²⁷⁹ Aesch. Theb. 696, 865. Eurip. ap. Plutarch, de Ei 20. p. 246. λοιβαὶ νεκίων φθιμένων αἰοδαὶ ἅς ὁ χρυσοκόμας Ἀπολλων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, which Hermann has received in Eurip. Suppl. 999. Hesych. in ἀκερσεκόμη. Creuzer Meletem. vol. I. p. 31.

8. We now come to the most enigmatical of all the titles of Apollo, viz., "LYCEUS." It was shown above, that Apollo Lycius was worshipped at Lycorea on mount Parnassus, in Lycia at the foot of mount Cragus, in Lycia under mount Ida, at Athens, Argos, Sparta, and Sicyon. This religion must have been of greater antiquity than the Greek colonies in Asia Minor, having been carried over thither at the time of their establishment. Homer was also acquainted with this title of Apollo.

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In explanation of this epithet we every where find traditions concerning wolves. The descendants of Deucalion, who survived the deluge, following a wolf's roar, founded Lycorea on a ridge of mount Parnassus. Latona came as a she-wolf from the Hyperboreans to Delos: she was conducted by wolves to the river Xanthus. Wolves protected the treasures of Apollo; and near the great altar at Delphi there stood an iron wolf with ancient inscriptions.¹²⁸⁰ The attack of a wolf upon a herd of cattle occasioned the worship of Apollo Lyceus at Argos, where a brazen group of figures, commemorating the circumstance, was erected in the market-place.¹²⁸¹ The Sicyonian tradition of Apollo "the destroyer of wolves" is certainly of less antiquity, as also the epithet *λυκοκτόνος* (*Lupercus*), which occurs in Sophocles and other authors.¹²⁸²

Now in inquiring into the meaning of the symbol of the wolf in this signification, it may be first remarked that it is a beast of prey. In this point of view it cannot but appear a remarkable coincidence that Apollo should in the Iliad assume the form of a hawk,¹²⁸³ and a species of falcon should be called

¹²⁸⁰ Paus. X. 14. 4. The names of the chief priestesses were here registered, Plutarch. Pericl. 21.

¹²⁸¹ Plutarch. Pyrrh. 32. For Athens see above, p. 264. note c. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "festival of Boedromia," starting "Callim. Hymn.]" On the sanctity of the wolf there, Schol. Apoll. Rh. II. 124.

¹²⁸² Elect. 6. cf. Schol. ad I. et ad Æsch. Theb. 147. Plutarch. de Sol. Anim. 9. p. 155. Hesych. in *λυκοκτόνος*. Paus. II. 9. 7.

¹²⁸³ Il. XV. 239. cf. Antonin. Liber. c. 28. Ælian. H. A. X. 14. Aristoph. Av.

his swift messenger.¹²⁸⁴ Thus also the tragedians frequently [315] represented Apollo, in his character of a destroyer, under the title of Lyceus.¹²⁸⁵ We are not, however, to suppose that it was this character of Apollo as a destroying power which gave a name, not only to innumerable temples, but even to whole countries; such a supposition would, contrary to history and analogy, make the early state of this religion to have been one of the grossest barbarism and superstition. It is far more probable that the name Lyceus is connected with the ancient primitive word *lux* (whence λευκός). The Greek word λύκη is preserved most distinctly in λυκάβας, *i.e. course of the light*;¹²⁸⁶ and by the epithet Λυκηγένης, applied to Apollo by Homer,¹²⁸⁷ and probably taken from some ancient hymns, we should (from the idiom of the Greek language) rather understand *one born of light*, than *the Lycian god*. That light and splendour are frequently employed, both in the symbols of worship and language of the poets, to express the attributes of Apollo, cannot be denied;¹²⁸⁸ and we only remind the reader of the belief that the fire which burnt on the altar of Apollo Lyceus at Argos had originally fallen from heaven:¹²⁸⁹ and thus the epithet Lyceus would seem to

516. [The translators conceive that nothing more is meant in the passage of Homer than that Apollo flew swiftly as a hawk flies swiftly.]

¹²⁸⁴ Od. XV. 525. Apollo γυπαειῦς, “the god of vultures,” was worshipped on the top of a hill near Ephesus, Conon, Narr. c. 35. There was also a kind of wolf called κίρκος, Oppian. Cyneg. III. 304.

¹²⁸⁵ Æsch. Theb. 147. καὶ σὺ, Λύκει' ἄναξ, λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῶ δαΐῳ, where see Blomfield. Comp. Agam. 1266, and Soph. Œd. T. 203. Λύκει' ἄναξ τὰ σὰ βέλεα. In a milder sense in Æsch. Suppl. 694. Soph. Œd. T. 920. Elect. 656. in which last tragedy Apollo throughout appears as armed with his highest and noblest attributes. See particularly v. 1379.

¹²⁸⁶ See Voss on Virgil's Georg. p. 408. Creuzer Comment. Herod. vol. I. p. 417.

¹²⁸⁷ Il. IV. 101, 119. cf. Heyne.

¹²⁸⁸ See Hom. Hymn. ad Apoll. Pyth. 266.

¹²⁸⁹ Schol. Soph. Elect. 6.

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belong to the same class as *Ægletes*, *Phæbus*, and *Xanthus*.¹²⁹⁰

It is not to be supposed that the wolf was made use of as a symbol of Apollo merely from an accidental similarity of name; but it is difficult to discover what analogy even the lively imagination of the Greeks could have found between the wolf and light. At a later period it was attempted to explain this symbol by the circumstance that all wolves produced their young within twelve days in the year, the precise time during which Latona was wandering as a she-wolf from the Hyperboreans to Delos.¹²⁹¹ This physical interpretation was, however, grounded on the fable, and not the fable on it. Perhaps the sharp sight of the wolf¹²⁹² (if we can trust the accounts of the ancients), or even the bright colour of the animal, may afford a better explanation.¹²⁹³

In the ancient Grecian worship, however, there is another example, and one in the highest degree remarkable, of the connexion between light and the wolf. On the lofty peak of Lycæum, a mountain of Arcadia, above the ancient Lycosura, there stood (as Pindar says) a lofty and splendid altar of Zeus Lycæus, with which were in some way connected all the traditions concerning Lycaon, who sacrificed his child to Zeus, and was in consequence transformed into a wolf. Now not only does the symbol of the wolf occur in this place,¹²⁹⁴ but there is also a reference to light. There stood here a sacred shrine or

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¹²⁹⁰ Perhaps the Apollo ἔναυρος in Hesych. in v. belongs to this class of attributes. Also there were temples of Apollo on the promontories of *Leuca*, *Leucatas*.

¹²⁹¹ Aristot. H. A. VI. 29 Otherwise Ælian. H. A. IV. 4. Apostol. XII. 18. comp. above, p. 287. note n. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "twelve days and nights," starting "Aristot. Hist. An. VI. 35."]

¹²⁹² Apostol. XII. 21.

¹²⁹³ Among the moderns see Payne Knight, *Symbol. Lang.* § 124. Gail Philologue, tom. I. p. 300, (comp. Boissonade in Millin's *Magasin Encyclopédique*, tom. 118. p. 346.) where Λοξίας is brought into connexion with Λυκεῖος. It seems to me probable that the word Λοξίας first expressed the oblique position of the archer, who always has ὄμματα λοξά.

¹²⁹⁴ Comp. Paus. VI. 8. 2.

adytum, supposed to be inaccessible; and the popular belief was, that whoever entered it cast no shadow; and in order to escape being sacrificed, the aggressor was obliged to escape as a deer: hence the pursuing god naturally appeared to the imagination as a wolf.¹²⁹⁵ We perceive that light was supposed to dwell within the sanctuary. Thus in this very ancient worship of the Parrhasians, which in other respects has little in common with the Doric worship of Apollo, we discover the same combination of ideas and symbols that exists in the latter, and cannot but consider it a vestige of some very ancient symbolical idea peculiar and general among the Greeks.

9. Having proceeded so far, we shall endeavour to unite and harmonize the different facts already collected. Apollo, as he is represented by Homer, exhibits the character of a destroying and avenging, as well as a delivering and protecting power. But he is the avenger of impiety and arrogance, and the punisher of injustice and sin, and not the author of evil to mankind for evil's sake. He was therefore always considered as attended with certain beings whose nature was contrary to his own; his character could only be shown in opposition with a system of hostile attributes and powers. As the *warring* and *victorious* god, he required enemies to combat and conquer: as the *pure* and *bright* god, he implies the existence of a dark and impure side of nature. In this manner the worship of Apollo resembled those religions, such as the ancient Persian, which were founded on the doctrine of *two principles*, one of good, the other of evil. At the same time he is no deified personification of the creative or generative powers of nature, nor of any natural object or phenomenon; and he has therefore nothing in common with the deities of the elementary religions. [318]

These ideas, which seem to be expressed with tolerable

¹²⁹⁵ Theopompus apud Polyb. XVI. 12. 7. Plutarch. Quæst. Gr. 39. p. 398. Paus. VIII. 38. 5. On the ἄβρατον see Amphis ap. Hygin. Poet. Astron. II. 1 p. 35. cf. IV. p. 362. ed. Muncker.

distinctness, in the most ancient epithets and symbols connected with the worship of Apollo, as well as in the images and fictions of poets down to the time of Euripides, we will first examine with reference to the mythical history and adventures of Apollo, and secondly we will endeavour to point out the influence which these notions exercised upon the worship itself.

Chapter VII.

§ 1. Zeus and Apollo originally the only two male deities of the Dorians. § 2. Birth of Apollo. § 3. Sanctity of the island of Delos. § 4. Pains of Latona. § 5. Spot of Apollo's birth. § 6. Battle with the Python. § 7. Apollo sings the Pythian strain. § 8. Bondage of Apollo. § 9. Combat with Tityus. § 10. Apollo's assumption of the oracular power.

1. Our present investigation renders it necessary to ascend to a period in which the primitive religion of the Dorians exhibited a distinct and original character, before it had been combined with the worship of other deities. At that time this nation had only two male deities, Zeus and Apollo: for the existence of the latter everywhere supposes that of the former, and both were intimately connected in Crete, Delphi, and elsewhere; though the Doric Zeus did not receive great religious honours. In the temple of Delphi, Zeus and Apollo were represented as Moiragetæ, accompanied by two Fates.¹²⁹⁶ The supreme deity, however,

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¹²⁹⁶ Pausan. X. 24. 4. Comp. Pindar Pyth. IV. 4. Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς was worshipped at Delphi, Xenoph. Anab. V. 9. 22. and also Ζεὺς εὐπνοος, Hesych. in v. Perhaps, too, the god Ἐλωδός, whom Hesychius (in v.) calls the Doric Hephæstus, may be the real Zeus; a conjecture which is confirmed by the circumstance that the temples of Zeus at Dodona and in Laconia were called Ἐλλά, Hesych. in v. cf. in Ἐλα. That this Elous might have been originally

when connected with Apollo, was neither born, nor visible on earth, and perhaps never considered as having any immediate influence upon men. But Apollo, who is often emphatically called the son of Zeus,¹²⁹⁷ acts as his intercessor, ambassador, and prophet with mankind.¹²⁹⁸ And whilst the father of the gods appears, indistinctly and at a distance, dwelling in ether, and enthroned in the highest heavens, Apollo is described as a divine hero, whose office is to ward off evils and dangers, establish rights of expiation, and announce the ordinances of Fate. It is our purpose to investigate these latter attributes, more especially in the mythology of Delos and Delphi.

2. The legend of the birth of Apollo at Delos was indeed recognised by the Ionians and Athenians, but neither by the Delphians, Bœotians, nor Peloponnesians;¹²⁹⁹ as is plain from the indifference which they generally showed for the temple in that island. We also know that the Bœotians represented Tegyra as the birthplace of Apollo. [320]

Apollo, says Pindar, was born with time;¹³⁰⁰—alluding to the many obstacles and delays experienced at his birth. These had been occasioned by the influence of an hostile power, the same which produced Typhaon from the depths of Tartarus,¹³⁰¹ called by the poets Here.

derived from the El or Eloha of the people of Israel, I do not deny; but it is an etymology which leads to nothing but hopeless and uncertain conjecture.

¹²⁹⁷ Ἐκατος Διὸς υἱός, Aleman ap. Hephæst. p. 66. ed. Gaisf.

¹²⁹⁸ Æsch. Eumen. 19. 616. compare the ἰέπεται in Macrobius Sat. V. 22. Schol. Soph. Œd. Col. 791. Soph. El. 660.

¹²⁹⁹ Concerning the exception of the Messenians see above, p. 151. note t, [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Terpander," starting "I mention Eumelus."] and for his birthplace at Tegyra above, ch. 2. § 11. Apollo was also said to have been born at Amphigenia in Triphylia, Steph. Byz. in v. and there was a temple of Latona, Strab. VIII. p. 349. Antimachus Fragm. 78. p. 111. ed. Schellenberg.

¹³⁰⁰ Ἐν χρόνῳ, *i.e.* "time was requisite for his birth;" "some time elapsed before Apollo could be born," Pindar ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 383. ed. Potter.

¹³⁰¹ Homer, Hymn. Apoll. 305. comp. Hygin. Fab. 54.

This power refused its assistance at the birth of Apollo, and compelled Latona to wander in the pains of childbirth over earth and sea until she arrived at the rocky island of Delos.

3. Hence the island of Delos itself became one of the subjects of mythology. Pindar, in an ode to Delos, addresses it as "*the daughter of the sea, the unshaken prodigy of the earth, which mortals call Delos, but the gods in Olympus the far-famed star of the dark earth;*"¹³⁰² and related how "*the island, driven about by the winds and waves, as soon as Latona had placed her foot on its shore, became fast bound to the roots of the earth by four columns.*"¹³⁰³ The fable of the floating island¹³⁰⁴ (which is, however, of a more recent date than the Homeric hymn to Apollo) indicated merely the restless condition which preceded the tranquillity and brightness introduced by the manifestation of the god. Henceforth Delos remained fixed and unshaken, immovable, according to the belief of the Greeks, even by earthquakes; for which reason, the whole of Greece was alarmed when this phenomenon happened before the Persian war.¹³⁰⁵ By the words "*the star of the dark earth,*" Pindar alludes to the idea that Delos (as the name shows) was considered as a pure and bright island, whose shores, too holy for pollution, were ever kept free from corpses, the sight of which is odious to the god. Hence also the tradition that Asteria, whose name is derived from ἀστὴρ, the offspring of the Titans, had cast herself into the sea,

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¹³⁰² Fragm. Prosod. I. p. 587. ed. Boeckh.

¹³⁰³ Pindar *ibid.*

¹³⁰⁴ Comp. Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Del. 36. 273.

¹³⁰⁵ Pindar Fragm. Prosod. 1. Boeckh. This ode must then have been written before the earthquake in Olymp. 72. 3. see Herod. VI. 98. which confirms the assertion of Dissen that Isthm. I. 4. is not alluded to, since this poem, as the same critic shows, was written after Olymp. 80. 3. Herodotus, again, had no knowledge of the earthquake which took place at the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. II. 8.), and Thucydides had never heard of the other, which occurred before his time, nor read the statement of Herodotus. Comp. Mucian. apud Plin. H. N. IV. 12. Aristid. Orat. VI. p. 77. 78. Spanheim ad Callim. Del. 11. &c.

and been petrified on the shore.

4. The birth of Apollo, being an epoch in mythology, was without doubt celebrated in ancient hymns, whose simplicity presented a striking contrast to the higher polish of the Homeric poems. A hymn of this description, ascribed to Olen, was addressed to Eileithyia, the worship of which goddess, together with other religious ceremonies, was brought over (as has been above remarked)¹³⁰⁶ from Cnosus to Delos, and from thence to Athens.¹³⁰⁷ In calling Eileithyia the mother of the god of love,¹³⁰⁸ Olen exceeded the regular bounds of tradition respecting Apollo, by confusing the worship of a strange god with that deity, and probably identified her with the ancient Aphrodite (Ἀφροδίτη ἀρχαία), whose altar Theseus is said to have erected at Delos.¹³⁰⁹ [322] In either case, the establishment of this ancient Attic worship on the sacred island, and its connexion with the Delian rites, illustrate the mention of Eros in the Delian hymn.

Nine days and nine nights Latona writhed in hopeless pains of childbirth, surrounded by the benevolent Titanidæ, Dione, Rhea, Themis, and Amphitrite, who finally (according to the hymn of Homer) prevailed upon Eileithyia by the promise of a golden necklace. Then the pains seized Latona; she cast her arms around the palm-tree, and brought forth her divine son. The explanations of the bribe offered to Eileithyia are all too far-fetched: probably pregnant women at Delos consecrated their necklaces to that goddess.

5. The exact spot where the birth of Apollo took place was shown in Delos, since the least circumstance connected with so important an event could not fail to excite interest. It must be looked for in the place where the torrent Inopus flows from

¹³⁰⁶ Above, ch. 2. § 13.

¹³⁰⁷ Pausan. I. 18. 5. VIII. 21. 2. IX. 27. 2. Comp. Herod. IV. 35. The confusion of Eileithyia and Fate, by Olen, is only a supposition of Pausanias.

¹³⁰⁸ Pausan. IX. 27. 2.

¹³⁰⁹ Spanheim ad Callim. Del. 308.

mount Cynthus.¹³¹⁰ Here there was a circular pool (the λίμνη τροχόεσσα), the form of which is often carefully mentioned.¹³¹¹ By its side grew two sacred trees, the palm and the olive, which are not elsewhere reckoned among those sacred to Apollo; as in Greece Proper the first does not grow at all, and the second not without great care. The Delian temple alone could boast of the palm, the use of palm-branches at the games having also originated in Delos.¹³¹²

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This island acquired so much sanctity by the birth of Apollo, that no living being was permitted either to be born or die within its boundary.¹³¹³ Every pregnant woman was obliged to go over to the neighbouring island of Rheneia, in order to be delivered. One of the ideas of the Greeks respecting religious purity (which may in general be traced to the worship of Apollo) was, that all intercourse with pregnant women polluted in the same manner as the touch of a corpse. The prohibition against keeping dogs had the same origin.¹³¹⁴ On the whole, the Delian traditions are not to be considered as of very great antiquity or credit; they contain, indeed, hardly any original source of information respecting Apollo, being generally composed of descriptions of the sanctity of the island itself; several legends, as that of its having once floated on the ocean, &c., appear to have been the invention of the Ionians; this race, even in fiction, allowing itself far greater latitude than the Dorians.

6. Apollo, according to the Attic legend, passed to Delphi from Delos through Attica and Bœotia; the Homeric Hymn to

¹³¹⁰ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 16. 19. Callim. Del. 206. compare the map of the island in Choiseul Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque, tom. I. pl. 31.

¹³¹¹ See Æschyl. Eumen. 9. Theognis v. 7. Herod. II. 170. Eurip. Ion 169. Iphigen. Taur. 1105. Call. Apoll. 59. Del. 261.

¹³¹² Pausan. VIII. 48. 2. conf. Hom. Odys. VI. 167. Schol. ad Eurip. Ion. 932. Ælian. V. H. v. 4. Hygin. Fab. 53. 140. Catull. XXXIV. 8. For the palm as an emblem of Delos on Greek vases, see Tischbein I. 24. II. 12.

¹³¹³ Strabo X. p. 486, &c.

¹³¹⁴ A fabulous reason is given by Callimachus, Fragm. 9. Hygin. fab. 247.

Apollo makes him come from the northern districts, but likewise through Bœotia: according to other traditions he came from the Hyperboreans. According to another, Latona was carrying the two babes, Apollo and Artemis, in her arms, when assailed by the Python,¹³¹⁵ the mother seeking refuge on a sacred stone near the plane-tree at Delphi:¹³¹⁶ in another, Apollo was a child at the time of this event,¹³¹⁷ and, accordingly, a Delphian boy, both whose parents were alive, represented the actions of the deity at the great festival. The destruction of the Python, however, always formed the chief event of the sacred fable. It was by this feat that Apollo gained possession of the oracular chasm, from which the goddess Earth had once spoken. It was not, however, without some resistance that she gave way to the claims of the youthful god, whom, according to Pindar, she even attempted to hurl down to Tartarus.¹³¹⁸ The serpent Python is represented as the guardian of the ancient oracle of the Earth,¹³¹⁹ and a son of the Earth itself, sprung from the warm clay that remained after the general deluge, and dwelling in a dark defile near a fountain, which was said to be supplied from the Styx.¹³²⁰ The serpent, as usual, represents an earthly being, by which is personified the rough and shapeless offspring of nature. It was supposed to be connected with the nature of water and the sea; and hence was

¹³¹⁵ When four days old, according to Hygin. fab. 140. cf. Eurip. Iphig. Taur. 1252. Macrob. Sat. 1. 17.

¹³¹⁶ Clearchus of Soli in Athen. XV. p. 701 C. Duris ap. Etymol. Mag. in Ἰήϊε, where for ἦλιον read Ἀπόλλωνα. comp. Bast ad Greg. Corinth, p. 834. This legend agrees with the compositions on the Greek vase in Tischbein III. 4. The plane-tree occurs also in Theophrast. Hist. Plant. IV. 13. Plin. H.N. XVI. 44. and in a bas-relief at the Villa Albani, Zoëga de Obeliscis, p. 212.

¹³¹⁷ Apoll. Rh. II. 707. comp. Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 10.

¹³¹⁸ Schol. Æsch. Eumen. 2.

¹³¹⁹ Comp. Hygin. fab. 140.

¹³²⁰ Plutarch de Pyth. Orac. 17. The fountain there spoken of, and not that of Castalia, is the one which the serpent was supposed to haunt. Comp. Hesych. in Τοξίου βούνο; a mound erected over the Python, in a ravine near Delphi, which is sometimes placed at Sicyon, Paus. II. 7. 7.

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called *Delphin*, or *Delphine*,¹³²¹ like the fish of the same name, which was particularly sacred to Apollo, and in all probability was also conceived to have been subdued by him. After this, the serpent that watched the oracle remained, although conquered, as a memorial of the ancient struggle, and of the victory of the god, and was placed near the rocky chasm at the foot of the tripod, in the inner sanctuary.¹³²²

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7. The battle with the Python being finished,¹³²³ Apollo himself breaks the laurel, to weave a crown of victory.¹³²⁴ Here too he was said first to have sung the pæan, as a strain of triumph. In the dramatic exhibition, by which the Delphians represented the adventures of Apollo, the Pythian strain (νόμος Πύθιος) was here introduced. This air, which was originally nothing more than a simple melody, soon received all the embellishment of art; and, being raised by Timosthenes to the dignity of a great musical composition,¹³²⁵ was (contrary to the ancient

¹³²¹ Apoll. Rhod. II. 706. Schol. (where also Δελφώνης is in the MS.) Dionys. Perieg. 441. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 208. Ἀν ἡμίθηρ κόρη, according to later writers, in Apollod. I. 6. 3.

¹³²² Lucian de Astrol. 23. The symbol of the goat is connected with the Python (since Αἰξ is called a child of the Python, Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 12.), also a river Αἰγᾶς, and the πεδίον Αἰγαίου at Delphi (Hesiod ap. Steph. Byz.), and the ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγαῖος, Hesych. in v. cf. Pausan. X. 11. 4. and Diod. XV. 26. The same animal was likewise sacred to Apollo at Elyrus in Crete (above, ch. 1. § 5.) and Tylissus; in the coins of which town Apollo is represented with a goat's head in his hand. At Delos the altar Κερατῶν, or Κεράτινος, was made of goat's horns by Apollo while a boy, Plutarch. Thes. 21. de Solert. Animal. 35. p. 201. Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 51. The same story was told of the Κεραιστῆς τόπος at Miletus (Callim. ap. Etym. Mag. 584. 10.), where there was a strange story of a he-goat which gave milk. It cannot be doubted that the goat was originally one of the unclean animals of the worship of Apollo.

¹³²³ Apollo, according to Simonides (ap. Eustath. ad Il. p. 52. 39.), slew the monster with an hundred arrows (as an explanation of ἑκατηβέλτης). The battle is represented on the coins of Croton; see Eckhel Num. Anecd. plate I. No. 13.

¹³²⁴ Callim. ap. Tertull. de Cor. 7.

¹³²⁵ See in particular Boeckh de Metr. Pind. III. 4. p. 182. Pollux IV. 10. 81.

custom) performed with flutes, lyres, and trumpets, without the accompaniment of the voice. The accounts concerning this festival are indeed copious, but unluckily of too late a date to give us an idea of its ancient and genuine character. In Plutarch's time¹³²⁶ it was not a hollow serpent's den, but an imitation of a princely house (καλιᾶς), that was erected in a court (ἄλωος), at every octennial festival.¹³²⁷ Into this building the women of a Delphian family¹³²⁸ led the boy by a secret passage (δολωνεία) with lighted torches, and fled away through the door, overturning the table, and setting fire to the house.

8. Although the destruction of the Python is characterized as a triumph of the higher and divine power of the deity, yet the victorious god was considered as polluted by the blood of the monster, and obliged to undergo a series of afflictions and woes. Tradition represented him as going immediately after the battle by the sacred road to Tempe; which the boy, who personified Apollo, afterwards took as leader of the religious procession.¹³²⁹ The direction of this road has been accurately stated above. The chief circumstance in this wandering was the bondage θήτευσις of Apollo under Admetus the Pheræan, to which the god subjected himself in order to expiate his guilt. This too was represented by the boy, who probably imitated the manner in which the god, as a herdsman and slave, submitted to the most degrading services.¹³³⁰ Perhaps it was the piety

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calls the performance ἄχορον αὔλημα Πύθιον.

¹³²⁶ Plutarch. Quæst. Gr. 12. p. 383. de Def. Or. 14. 21. Ephorus ap. Strab. IX. p. 422. also alludes to the burning of the καλιᾶς, which he calls σκηνή.

¹³²⁷ *Orchomenos*, p. 220.

¹³²⁸ In Plutarch de Def. Orat. 14. read ἔφοδος ἢ αἰ Ὀλεῖαι (also in Hesych. in αἰόδα) τὸν ἀμφιθαλῆ κόρον ἡμμέναισι δασὶν ἄγουσιν for ἔφοδος μὴ αἰόλα δὲ τὸν, the women having the same name as those of Orchomenus, Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 38. Compare *Orchomenos*, p. 166.

¹³²⁹ Above, ch. 1. § 2; and on the different tradition of Tarrha, ib. § 5.

¹³³⁰ In a verse of Sophocles, cited by Plutarch de Def. Orac. 14. Alcestis said of Apollo, οὐμος δ' ἀλέκτωρ αὐτὸν ἤγε πρὸς μύλην, "My husband led him to the

of Admetus, celebrated in tradition, which entitled him to the privilege of possessing such a slave; yet it must be doubted, whether, conformably to the spirit of the ancient mythology, an ideal being, and not a mortal hero, was not originally intended to be represented under this name. Ἄδμητος is an usual name for the god of the infernal regions; to whom, according to the original idea, Apollo became enslaved. The worship of this deity is connected with that of Hecate, who was called θεὰ Φεραία, and the daughter of Admetus.¹³³¹ Cannot we, in the rescuing of Alcestis from the infernal regions by Apollo¹³³² and Hercules, find some clue which may lead us to suppose that the fable of Admetus refers to a worship of the infernal deities? An ancient dirge, called the song of Admetus, was chanted in Greece, having, as was pretended, been first sung by Admetus at the death of his wife, originally perhaps addressed to Αἴδες ἄδμητος.¹³³³ How well does it suit the sublime character of the religious poetry in question, that the god, who had been polluted by the combat with the impure being, should be obliged, in order to complete his penance, to descend into the infernal regions. In confirmation of this, there have been preserved some obscure traditions, which represent Apollo as actually dying, that is, descending into the infernal regions.¹³³⁴ However, after eight years, the appointed time of bondage, the god wanders to the ancient altar of Tempe,

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mill.” The name of the tragedy seems to have been Ἄδμητος; see the words of Plutarch ubi sup. A tragedy, I say; for, although Hermann (Præf. ad Eurip. Alcest. p. xv.) thinks that the line is from a satiric drama, the verses quoted in Schol. Pind. Pyth. IV. 221. which appear to be from the same play, are evidently of a tragic complexion. On the imitation of the servitude of Apollo, see also the words of Plutarch ib. 15. αἶ τε πλάναι καὶ ἡ λατρεία τοῦ παιδὸς οἱ τε γιγνόμενοι περὶ τὰ Τέμπη καθαρμοί.

¹³³¹ Hesych. in Ἄδμήτου κόρη.

¹³³² See particularly Æschyl. Eumen. 726. Eurip. Alcest. 10. Apollod. I. 9.

¹³³³ See Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1231. (but the Scholion Ἄδμήτου λόγον, &c. has nothing to do with this point), and Zenob. Prov. Ἄδμήτου μέλος.

¹³³⁴ Eubemerus ap. Minut. Felic. c. 21. 2. Fulgent. Expos. Germ. Ant. p. 168. Porphy. Vit. Pyth. 16.

where, sprinkling with laurel-branches, and other expiatory rites, symbolically restore his purity,¹³³⁵ After this, the purified deity returns by the same road to Deipnias, near Larissa, and there breaks his long fast.

9. These Delphian traditions in very early times became the theme of epic poetry, in which however another cause was assigned for the slavery of Apollo; it was represented as a punishment inflicted by Zeus for slaying the Cyclops, who forged the lightning with which Zeus struck his son Æsculapius, because, not satisfied with recovering the sick, he even recalled the dead to life.¹³³⁶ Yet some of the poets also state that Phærae [329] was the place of his servitude, alluding to the Pythian road, and mention a *great year* (μέγαν ἐνιαυτὸν) as the time of his bondage;¹³³⁷ by which they mean the Delphian period. We may perhaps find a trace of a more ancient tradition in the story of amber being a petrified tear, which Apollo shed during the time of his slavery in his ancient abode amongst the Hyperboreans, in

¹³³⁵ Several coins appear to represent this lustration; e.g., one of Chalcedon, in Mionnet, No. 88; one of Perinthus, *ibid.* No. 329; see also those of Alexandria Troas in Mionnet, Nos. 109, 115, 116.

¹³³⁶ Thus Pherecydes ap. Schol. Eur. *Alcest.* 2. (cf. ap. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* III. 96.) who drew his information from Hesiod. Hesiod related this tradition in the part of the Ἡοῖα or catalogue which treated of the daughters of Leucippus, one of whom is said to have been the mother of Æsculapius. Tzetzes ad Hes. *Theogon.* 142. Compare Athenagoras *Legat.* p. 134. and Schol. Eurip. *ubi sup.* Apollod. III. 10. 4. I. 9. 15. Diod. IV. 71. Excerpt. p. 546. ed. Wesseling. Orph. *Argon.* 176, also Eurip. *Alcestis*, and Asclepiades in the Scholia. The *religious* tradition is given by Anaxandridas the Delphian in Schol. Eurip. *Alcest.* 2. (περὶ τῶν συληθέντων ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων, Vatic. Prov. I. 5.) and Plutarch, perhaps from the same authority. Those who in *Iliad* I. 399. wrote καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, attributed his banishment to a rebellion against Zeus. See also Æschylus ap. Plutarch *de Exilio* 17.

¹³³⁷ II. XXI. 443. θητεύσαμεν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν. Thus also Pherecydes and the others. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. p. 323. μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν, from an epic poet. Plutarch. *Amator.* 17. gives the whole verse; Ἀδμήτῳ πάρα θητεῦσαι μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν.

the land of the Celts.¹³³⁸

The combat with Tityus is nearly allied to that with the Python. This earth-born monster, dwelling at Panopea, a town situated on the sacred road, and hostile to the Delphians, laid hands upon Latona when passing through that place: but her children soon overcome the ravisher, and send him to the shades below; where a vulture incessantly preys upon his liver,¹³³⁹ the seat of inordinate desire.

10. The hostile part of nature now lying vanquished, and quiet having gained the victory over disturbance, Apollo begins to exercise the other office for which he was sent into the world. He mounts the tripod of the Delphian oracle, no longer to give utterance to the dark responses of the earth, but to proclaim the “unerring decree of Zeus.”¹³⁴⁰ For it is evident that, in the language of this religion, fate was considered as the will of Zeus (Διὸς νοῦς, Διὸς αἴσα), who was at Delphi called Μοιραγέτης, “leader of fate;” whilst the epic poets, from their custom of making each god a separate individual, generally (though the glimmering of a more exalted idea may be sometimes traced) made Zeus, like all other individuals, subject to fate. The prophetic powers of Apollo will be more fully treated of in the following chapter.

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Chapter VIII.

¹³³⁸ Schol. Apoll. Rhod. IV. 611; see the very confused account in Eratosth. Catast. 29. with Schaubach's note. p. 110.

¹³³⁹ Odyss. XI. 580 Pausan. III. 18. 7. (on the Amyclæan throne) X. 11. 1. Pind. Pyth. IV. 90.

¹³⁴⁰ Διὸς νημερτέα βουλὴν, Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 132. comp. Hymn. Merc. 471, 533.

§ 1. Ritual worship of Apollo. Bloodless offerings. § 2. Expiatory rites. § 3. Peace offerings. § 4. Festivals of Apollo. § 5. Traces of a festival calendar. § 6. Expiations for homicide. § 7. Rites of purification—use of the laurel therein. § 8. Prophetic character of Apollo. § 9. His modes of divination. § 10. Use of music in the worship of Apollo. § 11. Apollo represented as playing on the cithara. § 12. Contest of Apollo and Linus. Ancient plaintive songs. § 13. Ancient hymns to Apollo. § 14. The pæan and hyporcheme. § 15. The Hyacinthian and Carnean festivals. § 16. Apollo as represented by the sculptors. § 17. Ancient statues of Apollo. § 18. Apollo as represented by successive schools of sculptors. § 19. Political influence of the worship of Apollo. § 20. Its connexion with the Pythagorean philosophy.

1. Our intention in this chapter is to show that, besides the mythology, the ceremonies also of the worship of Apollo so agree and harmonize together, as to furnish a decisive proof of its regular and systematic development; after which we will endeavour to point out this agreement, and elucidate its relative bearings; although an attempt of this kind must necessarily be very imperfect, since the religion, which, in order to comprehend, we should regard with the ardour of devotion, is now merely the subject of cold and heartless speculation. [331]

First, with regard to the sacrifices, it is remarkable, that in many of the principal temples a particular sanctity and importance was attributed to *bloodless* offerings. At Delphi cakes and frankincense were consecrated in holy baskets;¹³⁴¹ at Patara, cakes in the form of bows, arrows, and lyres, emblems both of the wrath and placability of the deity.¹³⁴² At Delos, an altar, called the altar of the pious, stood behind the altar built of horns,

¹³⁴¹ Ælian. V. H. XI. 5. Also sacrifices of cakes at Athens, Harpocraton and Hesychius in ἔνθρυπτα, Suidas in ἔνθρυπτος Ἀπόλλων. comp. Hemsterhuis ad Lucian. vol. II. p. 411. ed. Bipont.

¹³⁴² See above, ch. 2. § 2.

on which were deposited only cakes of wheat and barley; this, according to tradition, was the only one on which Pythagoras sacrificed.¹³⁴³ In this island also at festivals were offered mallows and ears of corn;¹³⁴⁴ the simplest food of man, in remembrance of primitive simplicity and temperance. At Delphi the young women of Parnassus are said to have brought the first-fruits of the year to Apollo, immediately after the destruction of the Python.¹³⁴⁵ The pious offerings of the Hyperboreans, as has been remarked above, were the same as those last enumerated. And perhaps we may add to our list the custom, at the Attic autumnal festival of the Pyanepsia, of hanging grapes, fruits, and small jars of honey and oil, to branches of olive or laurel bound with wool, and carrying them to the doors of a temple of Apollo;¹³⁴⁶ though perhaps this rite belonged rather to Bacchus, the Sun, and the Hours,¹³⁴⁷ who shared the honour of this festival with Apollo.

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2. The above offerings doubtless express the existence of a pure and filial relation, like that in which the Hyperboreans stood to Apollo; it being quite sufficient for persons in so innocent a state to give a constant acknowledgment of the benevolence and power with which the god defends and preserves them. But as the pure deity was himself supposed to be stained with blood, so might the minds of his worshippers become tainted with sin,

¹³⁴³ Aristot. in Δηλίων πολιτεία ap. Diog. Laert. VIII. 13. Timæus ap. Censorin. de die nat. 2. (Tim. fragm. 62. ed. Goeller). Compare Macrobius Sat. III. 6. Clem. Alex. Strom. VII. p. 717. Porphy. de Abstinēt. II. 28. (see Rhoerp. 153.) Jamblichus Vit. Pythagor. 5. 7. Cyrillus in Julian. IX. p. 307 B. Concerning the horn altar, see above, p. 325, note d. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "inner sanctuary," starting "Lucian de Astrol. 23."]

¹³⁴⁴ Plutarch. Sept. Sapient. 14. The first-fruits of the year were also carried round at the Attic Thargelia, Hesychius in Θαργήλια.

¹³⁴⁵ Schol. Pindar. Argum. p. 298. ed. Boeckh.

¹³⁴⁶ See particularly Crates ap. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 725. Suidas in εἰρεσιώνη. Menecles ap. Suid. in διακόνιον. cf. in προηποσία. Thes. 22. Apostol. Prov. XXI. 24.

¹³⁴⁷ Also the χύτρα ἀθήρησ καὶ ἔτνουσ, which was used at this festival, referred more to the gods of husbandry.

and lose their internal quiet. When in this state, being as it were under the influence of a fiendlike and corrupting power (Ἄτη), the mind naturally wishes to put an end to its unhappy condition by some specific and definite act. This is effected by the solemn expiation and purification of the religion of Apollo. Expiatory rites were thus introduced into the regular system of worship, and formed a part of the ancient *jus sacrum*. It was soon however perceived that the usual routine of life sometimes needed the same ceremony, and hence expiatory *festivals* were connected [333] with the public worship of the god; by which not only individuals, but whole cities were purified. These festivals were naturally celebrated in the spring, when the storms of winter disappear, and nature bursts into fresh life.¹³⁴⁸ But in these the pious gifts of individuals no longer sufficed, nor even the sacrifice of animals; and the troubled mind seemed to require for its purification a greater sacrifice. At Athens, during the Thargelia, two men (or a man and a woman), adorned with flowers and fruits, having been rubbed over with fragrant herbs, were led in the most solemn manner, like victims, before the gate, and thrown with imprecations from the rock; but were in all probability taken up below, and carried beyond the borders. The persons used for these expiations (Φαρμακοὶ) were condemned criminals, whom the city provided for the purpose.¹³⁴⁹ This festival was common to all Ionians; it is particularly mentioned at Miletus¹³⁵⁰ and Paros;¹³⁵¹

¹³⁴⁸ The ancient Greeks considered the winter as the season when the gods of the infernal regions were predominant, and a state of impurity existed; while they looked on spring and summer as a pure and sacred season.

¹³⁴⁹ Meursii Græcia Feriata in Θαργήλια. Compare *Orchomenos*, p. 106. An historical tradition respecting the first φαρμακός, from a work of Istrus περὶ τῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιφανειῶν, is preserved in Harpocration and Etymol. Magn. in v.

¹³⁵⁰ Parthen. Erot. 9. Hesychius in Θαργήλια ad fin. where the correction of Hemsterhuis is disapproved by Welcker on Schwenck's *Mythologische Andeutungen*, p. 341.

¹³⁵¹ Archilochus fragm. 46. ed. Gaisford.

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and the same rites were also practised in the Phocæan colony of Massalia.¹³⁵² In Ionia the victims were beaten with branches of the fig-tree and with sea-onions; at the same time there was played on the flute a strain (called καρδίης), which, according to the testimony of Hipponax, was reduced by Mimnermus into elegiac measure.¹³⁵³ At Athens also the victims were crowned with figs and fig-branches, being probably the symbol of utter worthlessness. The antiquity of this manner of purification has been shown above, in our remarks upon the religious ceremonies of Leucadia.¹³⁵⁴

3. The *peace-offerings* (ἰλασμοί), by which Apollo was first appeased, and his wrath averted, should, as it appears, be distinguished from the *purifications* (καθαρμοί), by which he was supposed to restore the mind to purity and tranquillity. At Sicyon (where the religion of Apollo flourished at a very early period) it was related, that Apollo and Artemis had, after the destruction of the Python, wished to be there purified, but that, being driven away by a phantom (whence in after-times a certain spot in the town was called φόβος), they proceeded to some other place. Upon this the inhabitants were attacked by a pestilence; and the seers ordered them to appease the deities. Seven boys and the same number of girls were ordered to go to the river Sythas and bathe in its waters, then to carry the statues of the two deities into the temple of Peitho, and from thence back to that of Apollo.¹³⁵⁵ The Attic festival of Delphinia (on the sixth of Munychion) had evidently the same meaning; in this seven

¹³⁵² Servius ad Æn. III. 57. from Petronius. Apollo Delphinus was worshipped there, Strabo IV. p. 179 B.

¹³⁵³ See the verses of Hipponax in Tzetzes Chil. V. 743. also in Athen. IX. p. 370 A. and his testimony in Plutarch de Musica 8. comp. Hesychius in καρδίης.

¹³⁵⁴ Above, ch. 2. § 10.

¹³⁵⁵ Pausan. II. 7. 7. Perhaps there was a local tradition that the Python was killed in Sicyon; see above, p. 324, note b. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "supplied from the Styx," starting "Plutarch de Pyth. Orac. 17."]

boys and girls reverently conveyed the ἱκετηρία, an olive-branch bound with white fillets of wool, into the Delphinium.¹³⁵⁶ This [335] took place exactly one month before the Thargelia; and in all probability the peace-offerings and purifications (ἰλασμοὶ and καθαρμοὶ) were celebrated at the same period throughout the whole of Greece.

4. By comparing and arranging the scattered fragments of information respecting the time of the festivals belonging to these two classes, we shall obtain the following clear and simple account.¹³⁵⁷

In the commencement of the Apollinian year, in the first month of spring, called Bysius (*i.e.* Πύθιος) at Delphi, Munychion at Athens, Apollo was supposed to come through the defile of Parnassus to Delphi, and begin the battle with the Delphinè. He next assumes the character of the wrathful god, whom it was necessary to appease; and hence, on the sixth day of the month, the expiatory festival of Delphinia took place at Athens, and probably also at Miletus and Massalia; we may likewise suppose that it was the same month which in Ægina and Thera went under the name of Delphinus:¹³⁵⁸ on the seventh Apollo destroyed the Python.¹³⁵⁹ The pæan was now sung. This too was the [336] day on which, according to immemorial custom, the oracle first broke silence; at a late period it was also esteemed at Delphi

¹³⁵⁶ Plutarch. Thes. 18. The number is evident from the context.

¹³⁵⁷ In order to show the correspondence between the sacred seasons at Athens and Delphi, it should be remarked that at the latter place the nine months of spring, summer, and autumn were sacred to Apollo, and during them the sacrifice was accompanied by the pæan; while the three winter months were sacred to Bacchus, and hence in them the dithyramb was played at the sacrifices (Plutarch. de Ei 9. p. 229.); and that in Athens also the festivals of Bacchus were celebrated between Poseideon and Elaphebolion, and those of Apollo during the other months.

¹³⁵⁸ See Æginetica, page 152. That the *testamentum Epictetæ* belongs to Thera, is proved by Boeckh Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 2448.

¹³⁵⁹ Schol. Pind. Pyth. Argument.

as the birthday of Apollo.¹³⁶⁰ Immediately after, the Delphian procession moved on to Tempe; and at the same time the tithes of men were once despatched to Apollo in Crete.¹³⁶¹

In the second month of spring, called by the Ionians Thargelion, Apollo was purified at the altar at Tempe, and probably on the seventh day of the month; for the great expiatory festival of both deities, Apollo and Artemis, was at Athens celebrated on the sixth and seventh days; and Delos was at the same time purified; this ceremony was immediately followed by a feast of thanksgiving in honour of the god of light. According to Delian tradition, Artemis and Apollo (ἔβδομαγέτης)¹³⁶² were born on the sixth and seventh days of this month.¹³⁶³ On the same day however on which the Delphian boy broke the laurel and turned homewards, the purifying laurel-boughs (from which the festival of the Daphnephoria derived its name)¹³⁶⁴ were probably also carried round in Bœotia, and throughout the rest

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¹³⁶⁰ See particularly Callisthenes and Anaxandridas (the same person who is mentioned above) in Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 9. Thucydides V. 1. cf. 18. 24. also places the Pythian festival at the end of Elaphebolion. The first passage has been often misunderstood (e.g. by Manso, Sparta, vol. III. part II. p. 193.): its meaning is, "*The annual armistice remained suspended; there was again war, until the Pythian games.*" Without going further into the complicated inquiry concerning the time of the Pythia, and without denying that in later ages the festival was transferred to autumn, I think that the arguments in the text fully justify me in assuming that the celebration of the victory over the Python (which celebration was the chief subject of the Pythia) took place in spring.

¹³⁶¹ This is plain from the fable of Theseus, above, ch. 3. § 14. [Transcriber's Note: There is no such section in that chapter.]

¹³⁶² Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. 1. 2. p. 342. de Ei 17. p. 238. Proclus ad Hesiod. Op. 767. Dionys. Hal. de Art. Rhet. 3. p. 243. ed. Reisk. comp. Valckenaer de Aristobulo Judæo § 37. p. 13.

¹³⁶³ Diog. Laert. III. 2. II. 24. Apollod. fragm. p. 413. 415. ed. Heyn. It is probably a fiction that Socrates was born on the former, Plato on the latter day.

¹³⁶⁴ The κωπὼ of the Daphnephoria (Proclus ap. Phot. p. 987.) has some resemblance to the εἰρεσιῶνη, or olive-branch, which was also carried round at the Thargelia (Suidas in v.), and is also called a ἱκτηρία, Schol. Aristoph.

of Greece.¹³⁶⁵ Soon after this, the setting of the Pleiades took place (the day before the ides of May, according to the statement of Eudoxus);¹³⁶⁶ at which time Hesiod makes the harvest begin; then, as has been above remarked, on the testimony of Diodorus and ancient works of art,¹³⁶⁷ Apollo, having been presented with the first ears of corn, leaves the Hyperboreans, and appears in a milder and more noble character at Delphi.

If it was wished that the setting of the Pleiades should occur at a regular interval from the preceding festival, this could have been effected only by cycles, by which the lunar and sidereal years were made to agree. Now it was not difficult to observe, that, after ninety-nine lunar months, the setting of the Pleiades coincided pretty exactly with the same phase of the moon. From this circumstance arose the period of *eight years*, called by the Greeks ἐνναετηρίς, in conformity with which the great festivals of Apollo at Delphi, Crete, and Thebes were from the earliest times arranged.¹³⁶⁸

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5. These data afford a sufficient proof of a remarkable and by no means fortuitous connexion between the expiatory festivals of Apollo: we may discover the vestiges of a sacred calendar, once, without doubt, preserved entire, but which, through the various combinations introduced into the Grecian worship, became disjointed and broken. This was particularly the case in the Attic festivals, where the same festival is frequently,

Eq. 725.

¹³⁶⁵ The Athenians, according to Proclus as above, honoured the seventh day as Ἀπολλωνιακὴ, δαφνηφοροῦντες καὶ τὸ κανοῦν ἀποστρέφοντες (ἐπιστέφοντες Scalig.) καὶ ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεόν.

¹³⁶⁶ Pontedera Antiq. p. 208. According to Scaliger Emend. Temp. vol. I. p. 54, this was anciently the beginning of the year; which is denied by Petavius Doctrin. Temp. I. 34. p. 42. compare Dodwell de Cyclis V. 12. p. 256.

¹³⁶⁷ Above, ch. 4. § 2. It was then probably that the festival of the Theophania was celebrated, Herod. I. 51.

¹³⁶⁸ Concerning which see above, ch. 1. § 2. ch. 2. § 12. 14. ch. 3. § 1. And for the ancient octennial Pythian games see Demetrius of Phalerum in Eustathius ad Od. γ'. p. 1466. ed. Rom. Schol. Med. ad Od. γ'. p. 267.

as it were, doubled, and placed in different portions of the year. A remarkable instance, illustrative of the above remark, immediately occurs to us. As the months Munychion and Thargelion succeeded each other in the *second* half of the year, so did Boëdromion and Pyanepsion in the *first*. The sixth of Boëdromion was sacred to Artemis; the seventh, without doubt, to Apollo Boëdromius, *the martial god*; who therefore corresponds with the Delphinian Apollo, and the festival with the Delphinia. The Pyanepsia, however, were very similar to the Thargelia; the laurel-boughs wrapt with wool, carried round at the celebration of both, remind us of the Daphnephoria;¹³⁶⁹ only, as was above remarked, the worship of Bacchus, which Theseus is said to have established at Naxos, after his return from the islands, was mixed up with it, and is to be recognised in the carrying of boughs (ὄσχοφορία), which was introduced into this festival. Thus these four seventh days (ἑβδομαί) correspond with each other as follows:

7th Munychion.

7th Thargelion.

7th Boëdromion.

7th Pyanepsion.

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6. We turn from these expiatory festivals of universal occurrence to the expiations which the religion of Apollo enjoined for those who had incurred the guilt of homicide.¹³⁷⁰ We previously noticed some establishments of this nature connected with the temples at Tænarum, at Træzen, and of Branchidæ: a similar one also existed at Delphi, as may be gathered from the fable of Orestes, related by Æschylus, in which Apollo appears at the same time as leader of the avenging Furies, and as purifier

¹³⁶⁹ This too, as well as the olive-branch, was always borne by a παῖς ἀμφιθαλῆς, a boy who had both parents alive.

¹³⁷⁰ See a verse from an epic poet quoted by Plutarch, Præc. Reip. ger. 19. p. 178. Ἦκομεν οἱ κτείναντες, ἀπότερεπε λοιγὸν, Ἄπολλον.

of the murderer. Immediately after this deed, the matricide takes an olive-branch bound with woollen fillets,¹³⁷¹ and flies *like a frightened stag*¹³⁷² to Delphi, where Apollo himself purifies his blood-stained hands by the sacrifice of swine and ablutions;¹³⁷³ and thus liberates him from the Furies, as a defence against whom he had (according to Stesichorus) also given him a bow and arrows.¹³⁷⁴ After the purification of Orestes at Delphi, the Athenian poets affirm that he went to Athens, and, under the protection of the god, placed himself before the Areopagus, [340]

ch. 2. § 8. It was also supposed to have been performed at Rhegium; see the passages quoted above, p. 278, note o. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "rites and festivals," starting "Respecting the ablutions."] The ἐνιαυτισμός, or seclusion of Orestes, took place in Parrhasia, according to Schol. Eurip. Orest. 1678.

¹³⁷¹ Æsch. Choeph. 1035. Eumen. 43. στέμματα Δελφικά. Suidas in Ἐμπεδοκλῆς.

¹³⁷² Eumen. 326.

¹³⁷³ Ibid. 238, 280, 446, 581. This expiation is also represented on several vases; see Tischbein II. 16. and more completely in Millin Vases II. 68. Monumens inédits I. 29. where see the accurate explanation. Orestes sits, half kneeling, on the ὄμφαλος, covered with a net, exactly as Æschylus describes it: by his side are Athene and the Furies; next the tripod is the sacred laurel, with fillets, and votive tablets; and by it is Apollo, standing, with a laurel chaplet, and his mantle thrown back; the spirit of Clytæmnestra and Pylades in the background. On a vase in the British Museum (No. 102), Orestes is represented as kneeling, with a sword in his hand, and a travelling cap thrown from his head, before an altar; woollen fillets, in the form of a chain, fall from one arm; Apollo, with a branch of laurel and a patera in one hand, stands by him; and in the other, as it appears, a pair of shears, with which he is going to cut off a lock of his hair.

where Cephalus had also stood in a similar situation.¹³⁷⁵

At Athens likewise, as was remarked above, the expiatory rites of the worship of Apollo were connected with the criminal courts of justice, the aristocratic ephetæ being intrusted both with the ceremony of purification and the duties of judges. These were fifty-one men, of noble birth,¹³⁷⁶ who in early times had jurisdiction in five courts of justice (amongst which the Areopagus was of course included) over every description of homicide.¹³⁷⁷ Solon probably first separated the Areopagus from the other four courts; and in order to make it a timocratic tribunal, with cognizance over cases of wilful murder, he gave it great political, though not religious power; the latter he was not able to bestow. The jurisdiction of the ephetæ was now confined to cases of unintentional or justifiable homicide, and some others of no importance; thus remaining a singular remnant of the ancient judicial forms, in the midst of an universal change. We shall now describe the ceremonies in use at the expiation of homicides. It is necessary, however, in the first place, to distinguish the

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See also Museo Pio Clementino, V. pi. 22.

¹³⁷⁴ Ap. Schol. Eurip. Orest. 268. The purification of Orestes was likewise referred to the very ancient temple of Apollo at Træzen; in front of which there was a building called the *tent of Orestes* (σκηνή Ὀρέστου); where he lived secluded from the world, until he was purified, And from the materials used in the purification (what Homer calls λύματα), which were buried close by, a laurel was said to have sprung, Pausan. II. 31. 11. comp. I. 22. 2. and above,¹³⁷⁵ Hellenic. fragm. 98. ed. Sturz.

¹³⁷⁶ In later times the ephetæ decided cases of unpremeditated and justifiable homicide in the Palladium, Delphinium, Prytaneum, and Phreattys: while the Areopagus, the court for murder, was separate: but in early times these aristocratic judges appear to have sat in *all* the five courts, each armed with *full* jurisdiction. Demosth. in Macart. p. 1069. 7. They were ἀριστίνδην αἰρεθέντες, according to Pollux VIII. 125. Philochorus (ap. Maxim. Proœm. ad S. Dionys. Areop. p. 19. fragm. ed. Siebel.) gives the same number for the Areopagites, *i.e.*, as they were before the time of Solon.

¹³⁷⁷ Pollux ubi sup. This explains how the Areopagus might be of great antiquity (Aristot. Polit. II. 8. 2. &c), and yet *never* have been mentioned by Draco, who only spoke of the ephetæ, Plutarch, Solon. 29.

wilful murderer, who either left for ever his native land, losing all privileges and property therein, or who suffered the penalty of the laws, from the man who killed another without design, or with some good cause, to be approved by the sentence of the ephetaë. A person in the latter situation left his country by a particular road for a certain time; during which he also kept at a distance from places of public resort (ἀπενιαυτισμὸς).¹³⁷⁸ Afterwards, the reconciliation took place either with the kindred or certain chosen phratores; but only in case they were willing,¹³⁷⁹ and that it was only a homicide of the second description.¹³⁸⁰ The term used was αἰδέσασθαι, because an offender of this kind was an [342] unfortunate person, and therefore, according to the opinion of the ancient Greeks, worthy of respect. Afterwards, the perpetrator was purified from all guilt by sacrifices and expiatory rites. In early times the purification probably always took place abroad, frequently in the ancient settlements of the injured family. At Athens it was performed after the return of the criminal; and there the cases of atoneable murders were of course less frequent than in the heroic age; since, under a less regular government, and with closer family ties, there were more incitements and excuses for that crime. Hence at that time those institutions must have been of double importance, which checked the fearful consequences

¹³⁷⁸ Suidas in ἀπενιαυτίσαι. Hesychius in ἀπενιαυτισμὸς. Schol. Eurip. Hippol. 35. and see Barnes's note. The term of banishment was always called ἐνιαυτὸς (Apollod. II. 8. 3. cf. III. 4. 2.), and was generally eight years (an ἐνναετηρίς) in ancient times (see below, ch. 11. § 9.); but at Athens it was probably undetermined.

¹³⁷⁹ Ἐὰν θέλωσι Demosth. ubi sup.

¹³⁸⁰ Ἐὰν γνώσιν οἱ πενήκοντα καὶ εἴς ἄκοντα κτεῖναι *ibid.* cf. Pantænct. p. 983. 15. in Nausimach. p. 991. 3. where Reiske's alteration is wrong. See also particularly the θεσμοί in the speech of Demosthenes against Aristocrates. Plato, too, would have expiation and purification only in the case of involuntary homicide, de Leg. IX. p. 869. It was against every principle of law for the relations to compound for a wilful murder (see Pseudo-Demosth. in Theocrin. p. 1330. extr.); and thus, too, the case in II. VI. 632. is mentioned as an exception. See, however, Apollod. II. 7. 6.

of an unlucky act, quieted the workings of an uneasy conscience, and moderated the too eager thirst for revenge.¹³⁸¹

From this ancient connexion of the religious expiations and criminal jurisdiction, we easily perceive why at Athens Apollo should have presided over all the courts of justice;¹³⁸² and why he was also represented at Tenedos as armed with a double hatchet,¹³⁸³ the instrument used in that island for the execution of adulterers.¹³⁸⁴

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7. Apollo was likewise supposed to preside over purifications of houses, towns, and districts;¹³⁸⁵ and accordingly they were performed by Tiresias, the prophet of the Ismenium, at Thebes;¹³⁸⁶ as also in later times by Epimenides, in his character of a Cretan worshipper of Apollo, at Athens (after Olymp. 46. 1.), and at Delos at a still earlier period.¹³⁸⁷ This is the first purification of Delos of which we have any account; the second is that instituted by Pisistratus (about the 60th Olympiad); the third, that set on foot by Athens (Olymp. 88. 3. 426 B.C.), when the island was entirely freed from the corpses so odious to Apollo.¹³⁸⁸

¹³⁸¹ On this point more will be found below, in ch. 11. § 9. In this place I only observe, with reference to the assertion of Lobeck (de Præc. Myst. II. p. 6.), "that all expiations in the heroic mythology were invented by the historians," that, according to *Arctinus* (*Æthiopsis* ap. Prod. Chrestom. comp. Tychsen de Quinto Smyrnæo p. 61.), Achilles, after the murder of Thersites, fled to Lesbos, to be there expiated by Ulysses, after sacrifices to Apollo and Diana. It may indeed be shown from the Scholia to II. XXIV. 484. that the original reading in this passage was not ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἀφνειοῦ, but ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἀγνίτῳ, "*in the house of the expiator, or purifier.*" See Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, vol. I. p. 300. vol. II. p. 1351.

¹³⁸² Above, p. 264. note c. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "festival of Boedromia," starting "Callim. Hymn."]

¹³⁸³ Below, § 17.

¹³⁸⁴ See Book III. ch. 11. § 4.

¹³⁸⁵ *Æschyl. Eum.* 62.

¹³⁸⁶ *Theocrit. Id. XXIV.*

¹³⁸⁷ *Plutarch. Conviv. Sept. Sapient.* 14.

¹³⁸⁸ *Boeckh's Economy of Athens*, vol. II. p. 150. Compare also the fact

In all these rites we find frequent use of the *laurel* (the δάφνη Ἀπολλωνιάς),¹³⁸⁹ to which a power of warding off evil was ascribed, both when employed in sprinkling, and when merely carried round in procession.¹³⁹⁰ This tree also served several purposes in the delivery of oracles; a branch of it in ancient times distinguished the prophets,¹³⁹¹ and even the god himself as such,¹³⁹² hence his nurses were said by some to have been Κορυθάλεια,¹³⁹³ *i.e.* “*the laurel itself*,” and Ἀλήθεια, or “*the fulfilment of oracles*.”¹³⁹⁴ The reason why the laurel was supposed to have these powers is as obscure as the origin of the ancient symbolical language in general. Perhaps it was merely the appearance of the evergreen-tree, with its slender form and glittering leaves, that made it a symbol of Apollo. The laurel will bear a tolerably severe winter,¹³⁹⁵ and therefore nourished in the north of Greece; while the olive, the tree of Athene, belongs to its more southern regions. But, be this as it may, the situation of Tempe, where this shrub still grows with great luxuriance, certainly added much to the sanctity of the symbol:¹³⁹⁶ and for this reason the amour of the god with Daphne is often placed on

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mentioned in the first spurious Epistle of Æschines, p. 658. ed. Reisk.

¹³⁸⁹ Hesych. in v.

¹³⁹⁰ See Casaubon ad Theophrast. Char. 16.

¹³⁹¹ Hence Manto is also called Daphne; and one of the sons of Priam, a prophet, was named αἶσακος, *i.e.* a laurel-bough, Apollod. III. 12. 5. cf. Hesych. in v.

¹³⁹² Tischbein I. 33. Millin. Vases, tom. I. pl. 6.

¹³⁹³ Plutarch, Sympos. III. 9. 2. p. 148. ed. Hutten. Schol. Od. XIX. 86. διὰ τὸ κοροτρόφον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Compare Eustathius p. 683. 40. ed. Bas. Hesych. in κορυθαλία, where the olive-branch is so called. See also Creuzer's Symbolik, vol. II. p. 161.

¹³⁹⁴ Ἀλήθεια is often used in oracles to signify the confirmation by events of the prediction; thus Antiphon wrote a treatise περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, *i.e.* on the fulfilment of oracles. Apollo is called ἀληθῆς by Tryphiodorus v. 641. where see Wernicke's note. Diviners were called by the Spartans καταλαθισταί, Hemsterhuis ad Tim. p. 113.

¹³⁹⁵ See particularly Plin. jun. Epist. V. 6.

¹³⁹⁶ Above, ch. 1. § 2.

the banks of the Peneus.¹³⁹⁷ Indeed Apollo was supposed to love all groves, particularly of forest-trees, laurels, wild-olives, &c. The freshening coolness and holy silence of such places were thought to be proper preparatives for entering the sanctuary.¹³⁹⁸

8. It has appeared incomprehensible to many, why Apollo should be a god of prophecy, and how this office can be reconciled with his other attributes. Many have been satisfied with supposing an accidental association of music, prophecy, and archery, without being able to discover any principle of union. In the following pages we shall endeavour to account for the combination in the same deity of attributes apparently so unconnected.

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Prophecy, according to the ideas of the ancients, is the announcement of fate (of μοῖρα, αἴσα). Now fate was considered to be the right order of things, the established physical and moral harmony of the world, in which every thing occupies the place fitted for its capacities and function. Fate therefore coincides with supreme Justice (Θέμις); which notion Hesiod expressed by saying that Zeus married Themis, who produced to him the Fates. The pious, religious mind could not separate Zeus and Destiny: Fate was the will and thought of the highest of the gods. A man whose actions agreed with this established harmony, and who followed the appointed course of things, acted *justly* (κατ' αἴσιν, ἐνάσιμα); the violent and arrogant man endeavoured at least to break through the laws of Fate. Now it was this right order of events which the ancient oracles were supposed to proclaim; and hence they were called θέμιστες, ordinances

¹³⁹⁷ Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Hyginus *fab.* 203. where see Muncker's note. It is also related to have taken place at Amyclæ, at Claros, and also on the banks of the Ladon; the latter on account of Apollo Oncaeus. In several coins of Metapontum, *e.g.*, on two in the Paris cabinet, Apollo is represented as placing or planting a laurel on a low altar; and he is frequently drawn with a laurel in his hand, sometimes bound with woollen fillets.

¹³⁹⁸ See *Od.* IX. 200. XX. 278. *Pausan.* I. 21. 9.

or laws of *justice*.¹³⁹⁹ They were not imagined to be derived from a foreknowledge of futurity; but merely to declare that which, according to the necessary course of events, must come to pass. It cannot indeed fail to surprise us that the oracle was delivered by a woman in a state of ecstasy, and not as the result of serious reflection. But do we not find in the earlier period of Grecian philosophy (especially in the Ionic school) every new and profound discovery appearing as the work of sudden illumination and ecstasy, and indeed often accompanied with miraculous circumstances? And would not the mind in that age have naturally been raised to such an excited and rapturous state, when, endeavouring to escape from the narrow bounds of daily life, it recognised in the general course of events the influence of the gods? The means adopted to promote this inspiration, the vapour of the chasm, the chewing of the laurel-leaves, the drinking of the water of the well, are of the most innocent description. We do not however mean to deny that these ceremonies soon became an unmeaning form, the oracle being made subservient to political purposes. [346]

The custom of a woman giving utterance to the decrees of the god originated partly from the peculiar estimation in which women were held by the Dorians, and partly from the natural tendency of the female sex (so often remarked by the ancients) to fits of ecstasy. Prophetesses were elsewhere also frequently connected with temples of Apollo; as, for instance, Manto, during the fabulous age, with the Ismenian and Clarian temples, and Cassandra with that of Thymbra, whose nature was nearly allied to that of the sibyls, who likewise were always connected with temples of the same god. As to the manner in which the responses

¹³⁹⁹ See particularly Od. XVI. 403. and Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 394. compare Ælian V. H. III. 43, 44. Diod. V. 67. Harpocration in θεμιστεύειν, &c. Themis was worshipped, together with Apollo, at Delphi (which also seems to be stated in the corrupt gloss of Hesychius in θέμις), and in the Didymæum, Chishull Ant. Asiat. p. 67.

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of the Pythian priestess were delivered, Heracleitus of Ephesus says, that “*the god, whose oracle is at Delphi, neither utters nor conceals any thing, but gives signs;*”¹⁴⁰⁰ which at least serves to contradict the common idea of the designed ambiguity of this oracle.

This temple must however have lost much of its dignity, when it condescended, for the sake of rich offerings from the Lydian monarch, to answer enigmatically the insidious questions which Cræsus put to the Grecian oracles. In earlier times a Greek would not have dared, without the greatest faith in its responses, to approach the temple, which had regulated almost the whole political state of Greece, conducted its colonies, instituted the sacred armistices, and established by its authority the legislation of Lycurgus. For in general the god had not to announce what *would*, but what *should* take place; and he frequently declared events not as to happen independently of his injunction, but as the consequence of his answers. All Dorians were in a certain state of dependence on the Pythian temple; and as long as that race possessed the ascendancy in Greece, the hearth in the centre of the earth (μεσόμφαλος ἑστία), with its eternal fire, at Pytho,¹⁴⁰¹ was considered as the Prytaneum and religious centre of the whole of Greece.¹⁴⁰²

9. In ancient Greece, however, prophecy was by no means derived altogether from Apollo, but merely that species of it which proceeded from a rapturous and entranced state of the soul. Nevertheless, the enthusiastic and imaginative frame of mind, in which cool grottos, with their flowing waters and hollow echoes, seemed to transport the votary into a former world, was derived from the Nymphs: and the Bacidæ, who were considered

¹⁴⁰⁰ Ap. Plutarch, de Pyth. Orac. 21. p. 282. (p. 333. ed. Schleiermacher.) Herod. VII. 111. also appears to a certain degree to praise the simplicity of the Delphic oracles, as also Philostratus Vit. Apollon. VI. 11.

¹⁴⁰¹ Hom. Hymn. 24. Æsch. Choëph. 1037. Eurip. Ion 474. Plutarch. Num. 9.

¹⁴⁰² See Plato de Rep. IV. p. 179. 7. Leg. VI. p. 428. 12. ed. Bekker.

as under the influence of the Nymphs (νυμφόπληκτοι), have [348]
no more to do with Apollo than the σεληνιακοὶ, among whom
Musæus is reckoned.

Of the various modes of divination from omens,¹⁴⁰³ only two
or three were referred to this god, and that rather accidentally
than in accordance with any fixed principle:¹⁴⁰⁴ for example,
divination from lightning,¹⁴⁰⁵ from birds,¹⁴⁰⁶ from sacrifices,¹⁴⁰⁷
and from the drawing of lots, which, however, was either
disdained by him, as below his dignity, or transferred to
Hermes.¹⁴⁰⁸

Connecting the idea of Apollo, which we have now acquired,
with our preceding inquiries, we find the whole combine in an
easy and natural manner. Apollo, as a divine hero, overcomes
every obstacle to the order and laws of heaven; and those are
heavenly regulations and laws which he proclaims as the prophet
of Zeus. By these, also, tranquillity, brightness, and harmony,
are every where established, and every thing destructive of them
is removed. The belief in a fixed system of laws, of which Apollo
was the executor, formed the foundation of all prophecy in his
worship.

10. We have next to consider for what reason and to what extent
music was included among the solemnities (τιμῶν) in honour of
Apollo. On this point, however, we must guard against inferring [349]

¹⁴⁰³ The divination from dreams is also opposed by Euripides (Iphig. Taur. 1264) to the prophecies of Apollo; and he also refers to it the combat between the goddess Γαῖα and Phœbus.

¹⁴⁰⁴ All regular divination was of an early date, according to Pausan. I. 43. 3.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Above, ch. 2. § 14.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Hymn. Hom. III. 213, 544. Sophocl. Ed. T. 965. Alexander's Δελφικά. ap. Steph. Byz. in Πάρνασσος, Paus. X. 6. 1. comp. Plin. H. N. VII. 57.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Μάντεις Πυθικοὶ at the sacrifice, Eurip. Androm. 1107, 1116. see above, ch. 2. § 12. ch. 3. § 2.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Hom. Hymn. III. 552. Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 45, and Schol. Etym. Magn. p. 455. 51. Anecd. Bekk. p. 265. Zenobius V. 75. Steph. Byz. in Θρία. compare Hesychius in the obscure gloss θριῶ, and the vase in Millingen's Diverses Peintures 29. Κλήροι at Delphi are also mentioned by Plutarch de Et 16.

too much from the poets. By the ancients he was represented as playing on the cithara (φόρμιγξ), frequently in the midst of a chorus of Muses, singing and dancing;¹⁴⁰⁹ whose place in the Hymn to the Pythian Apollo is filled by ten goddesses, among whom "*Ares and Hermes vault and spring*" (perhaps like Cretan tumblers or κυβιστητήρες), "*whilst Apollo, in a beautifully woven garment, plays, and at the same time dances with quick motion of the feet;*" for Apollo was not considered as merely a god of music; thus Pindar addresses him as the god of dance.¹⁴¹⁰ But we are not warranted from this *poetical* fiction to infer a *religious* union of the Muses and Apollo, nor can such a connexion be any where traced; indeed the worship of these goddesses was, both in origin and locality,¹⁴¹¹ entirely different from that of Apollo. Besides, amongst the early writers, Apollo is never considered as the patron of poets, or invoked, as the Muses are, to grant poetical inspiration: players on the cithara alone were under his protection. The cithara was his attribute, both in many ancient statues¹⁴¹² and also on the coins of Delphi; it is his ancient and appropriate instrument; the deeper-toned lyre, with its arched sounding-board, Apollo received from Hermes:¹⁴¹³ the instances in which he is represented as bearing it are very rare.

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¹⁴⁰⁹ Il. I. 602. Hesiod. Scut. 200; and see Heinrich's note. So also on the chest of Cypselus, with the verses in Paus. V. 18. 1, and Pindar Nem. V. 24.

¹⁴¹⁰ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 200. Pindar Fragm. 115. ed. Boeckh. Apollo himself, as a boy, is represented dancing on a tripod in a coin of Cos (Mionnet tom. III. p. 401).

¹⁴¹¹ *Orchomenos*, p. 381.

¹⁴¹² See, *e.g.* Athen. XIV. p. 636 E. Hence the κίθαρος was a fish sacred to Apollo, Apollod. Fragm. p. 395. ed. Heyn.

¹⁴¹³ See the Homeric Hymn to Hermes. But even there the lyre is frequently confounded with the cithara (the *seven-stringed* in v. 51, which proves that this hymn is later than the time of Terpander). Comp. Apollod. III. 10. 2, where Apollod. is said to receive the pipe (σύριγξ) also from Mercury, and Eratosth. Catast. 24. The Æolian lyric poets made frequent mention of this fable, and hence it frequently occurs in Horace.

11. But for what reason is Apollo described as playing upon the cithara? for no other, assuredly, than that the music of the cithara was from times of remote antiquity connected with his worship; and that, because it appears best fitted to express a tranquil and simple harmony; the worship of Apollo, as we have frequently remarked, always endeavouring to produce a solemn quiet and stillness of the soul. Pindar beautifully says of this god that he “*invented the citharis and bestows the muse on whom he wills, in order to introduce peaceful law into the heart.*”¹⁴¹⁴ To this also refer the golden κληιδόνες, which, according to the account of the same poet,¹⁴¹⁵ were suspended from the roof of the brazen temple at Delphi; and they were without doubt intended as emblems of the mild and soothing influence of the god. This was naturally the chief object of music when used in purifications, and as an incantation (ἐπωδή); when passions were to be overcome, and pain soothed; and in ancient times this was one of its most important applications.¹⁴¹⁶ Chrysothemis, an ancient Pythian minstrel of mythology, was hence called the son of Carmanor, the expiatory priest of Tarrha;¹⁴¹⁷ as also Thaletas, the Cretan poet, purified Sparta by music, when attacked with the plague.¹⁴¹⁸ The Pythagoreans, who paid an especial honour to Apollo, went still further, and employed music as a charm to soothe the passions, attune the spirit to harmony, and cure both body and mind. Hence they much preferred the cithara to the flute,¹⁴¹⁹ as, according to Grecian ideas, there was something in the sound of the flute wild, and at the same time gloomy;

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¹⁴¹⁴ Pyth. V. 63.

¹⁴¹⁵ Fragm. Pæan. 2. ed. Boeckh.

¹⁴¹⁶ The frequent use of music in medicine in the most ancient times is certainly not a fiction; thus Apollo, when a player on the cithara and an ἰατρόμαντις, has offices nearly allied to one another, Æsch. Suppl. 261. Eumen. 62.

¹⁴¹⁷ Paus. X. 7. 2. According to Schol. Pind. Pyth. Argum. 3. he was himself the καθαρτής.

¹⁴¹⁸ Plutarch de Music. 42.

¹⁴¹⁹ Diog. Laert. VIII. 24. Jamblichus Vit. Pythag. 26, &c.

this, too, is the reason why Apollo disliked the music of that instrument.¹⁴²⁰ This also explains his contest with Marsyas, the Phrygian Silenus and flute-player, whose tough skin, having been stript off by the conqueror, always moved (according to the report of the inhabitants of Celænæ), with joy, as was believed, at the sound of flutes.¹⁴²¹

The flute was not an instrument of much antiquity among the Greeks; Homer only mentions it as used by the Trojans.¹⁴²² In the time of Hesiod it had been introduced at the *comus*, the band of noisy revellers.¹⁴²³ But the cithara alone for a long time kept its place as the instrument for the chorus: even in the time of Alcman flute-players came mostly from Asia Minor; and their names (Sambas, Adon, Telos¹⁴²⁴) frequently had, from this circumstance, a barbarous sound. This kind of music was principally adopted in places where Dionysus was worshipped; for instance, in Bœotia. It was of course also much used in the rites of the Phrygian Magna Mater, and of the Phrygian Pan:¹⁴²⁵ hence Pindar, who inherited the character of a flute-player from his father, dedicated a shrine to the mother of the gods, and to Pan.¹⁴²⁶ When, however, it had become common throughout Greece, it could not be excluded from a place so celebrated for music as Delphi, and Apollo's ear became less fastidious. Alcman and Corinna, indeed, were too partial to

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¹⁴²⁰ Hence no flute-player was allowed to enter the temple of Tennes the son of Apollo, Diod. V. 83.

¹⁴²¹ This fable, and the various representations of it in ancient art, are well known. See Bœttiger in Wieland's *Attisches Museum*, vol. I. p. 285. Visconti *Museo Pio-Clementino* V. 4. Millin. *Vases* vol. I. pl. 6. The accompaniments in the plate given by Tischbein IV. 6. show that Phrygia, those in I. 33. and Millingen pl. 6. that Delphi is meant.

¹⁴²² II. X. 13. The passage XVIII. 495. cannot be considered as equally ancient, see Eustathius and the Venetian Scholiast.

¹⁴²³ Hesiod. *Scut.* 281.

¹⁴²⁴ Athen. XIV. p. 624 B. Welcker ad Alcman. p. 6. *Fragm.* 86.

¹⁴²⁵ See *Marm. Par. Ep.* 10. and the commentators.

¹⁴²⁶ Boeckh ad Pindar. *Fragm.* p. 292.

that art (the former as being a Lydian, the latter a Bœotian), when they represented Apollo himself playing on the flute.¹⁴²⁷ This instrument, however, had at that time been adopted even in the sacred exhibition of the Delphian worship: a dirge on the death of the Python¹⁴²⁸ (nominally the production of Olympus a Phrygian musician, contemporary with, or somewhat later than, Terpander),¹⁴²⁹ was played on the flute in the Lydian strain, and probably formed a part of that dramatic representation. Moreover, this instrument was used to accompany Prosodia (songs which were sung on the way to a temple) in the procession to Tempe, and in the Pentathlon at the gymnastic contests.¹⁴³⁰ A peculiar species of flute, from being used in pæans, obtained the name of the *Pythian*:¹⁴³¹ yet the music of the flute, combined with singing (ἀλφῳδία), in lyric and elegiac measures, was excluded [353] from the Pythian games, after it had once been heard, as making too gloomy an impression:¹⁴³² for all sadness, and therefore all plaintive strains, were every where excluded from the worship of Apollo; and the music in his temples was always intended to have an enlivening and tranquillizing effect upon the mind.

12. From this view of the subject we may explain the singular story of the contest of Apollo with Linus, and of the defeat and consequent death of the latter.¹⁴³³ For this purpose it will be necessary to state shortly my ideas respecting the real character of Linus. Linus, then, the subject of the song called by his name, was originally a god of an elementary religion (in which

¹⁴²⁷ Alcman. Fragm. 38. ed. Welcker. Plutarch de Mus. 14.

¹⁴²⁸ Aristoxenus ap. Plutarch. de Mus. 15. The same musician also composed the νόμος Πολυκέφαλος in honour of Apollo, Plut. ib. 7. Boeckh ad Pind. Pyth. XII. p. 345.

¹⁴²⁹ See the author's History of Greek Literature, ch. 12. § 6.

¹⁴³⁰ Plutarch de Mus. 14. Paus. V. 7. 4. V. 14. 4. τὸ Πύθιον, Athen. XII. p. 538 F.

¹⁴³¹ Or *perfect* (τέλειοι ἀλφοί), Aristides de Music. 2. p. 101. ed. Meibom.

¹⁴³² Paus. II. 22. 9. X. 9. 3.

¹⁴³³ Paus. IX. 29. 3. Philochorus ap. Eustath. ad Il. p. 1163. 57. ed. Rom.

there were numerous symbols to signify the death of all animated life): he was nearly connected with Narcissus (*i.e.*, *the Torpid*), whose tomb was shown at Thebes and Argos, at which last place matrons and maidens bewailed him in the month Arneius, as a boy brought up among lambs and torn in pieces by dogs.¹⁴³⁴ The song of lamentation for the untimely death of Linus, the much-loved boy,¹⁴³⁵ was sung to the harp in a low and subdued voice, and listened to with pleasure in the times of Homer and Hesiod,¹⁴³⁶ although then, perhaps, the air was not always very melancholy. But in after times this was its predominant character, as is proved by the names Ἀλίνος and Οἰτόλινος.¹⁴³⁷ It was a great favourite with the husbandmen,¹⁴³⁸ who were generally aboriginal inhabitants. In this point there was a resemblance between the usages of ancient Greece and Asia Minor, where religious dirges of this description, different, indeed, in different districts, but having every where the same mournful tune, were customary.¹⁴³⁹ Such were, for instance, the lament of the tribe of Doliones;¹⁴⁴⁰ the Hylas, sung at fountains in the country of the

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¹⁴³⁴ Conon Narr. c. 19. Paus. II. 19, 1 (his tomb was in the temple of Apollo). comp. Propertius II. 10. 8. A θρηῖνος Ἀργεῖος is mentioned by Aristides Eleus. p. 259. Apollo is only his poetical father (Apollod. I. 3. 2. Theocritus, Eustathius); but his mother Psamathe and his brother Psamathus must have some meaning. With the ceremony mentioned in the text was connected a festival called *Armis* or *Cynophontis*, at which a number of dogs were publicly slaughtered. Ælian. N. A. XII. 34. Statius Theb. VI. 65. Conon ubi sup. Athen. III. p. 99 F. The dog, as was frequently the case in ancient mythology, evidently represents Sirius, and generally the scorching heat of summer, so fatal to all vegetation. It appears, therefore, that they destroyed the emblem of that power by which the death of Narcissus was occasioned.

¹⁴³⁵ Hesiod ap. Eustath. ubi sup.

¹⁴³⁶ Hom. II. XVIII. 569. Hesiod ubi sup. Euripides ap. Athen. XIV. p. 619 C.

¹⁴³⁷ See Stanley ad Æsch. Agam. 123. The proper name was perhaps οἶτος Αίνου, and the first words αἶ Λίνε.

¹⁴³⁸ Pollux I. 1. 38. cf. II. ubi sup.

¹⁴³⁹ Barbarian Ἀλίνου in Eurip. Orest. 1402.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Schol. Apoll. I. 1135.

Mysians and Bithynians¹⁴⁴¹ (probably the same as the Mysian song),¹⁴⁴² the song of the beautiful Bormus, whose watery death was deplored by the husbandmen of Mariandyne on the flute in the middle of summer;¹⁴⁴³ of Lityerses, whom the Phrygians bewailed yearly during the time of harvest at Celænæ, the native place of Marsyas;¹⁴⁴⁴ and which, with the melancholy Carian strain, was played to the Phrygian flute.¹⁴⁴⁵ Besides these there were the Gingras, or song of Adonis, and the Maneros, the rustic song of Pelusium in Egypt, which Herodotus compares with the Linus.¹⁴⁴⁶ And even at Cyprus the contest of the two opposite kinds of music was in some measure renewed; there being a tradition that Cinyras, the priest of Aphrodite, and composer of the mournful strains in honour of Adonis, had, like Marsyas and Linus, been overcome and put to death by Apollo.¹⁴⁴⁷ [355]

Thus we behold Apollo the representative of the severe, even, and simple music of the Greeks, in contest with that impassioned spirit, alternating between the extremes of fury and apathy, which the professors of an elementary religion sought to represent even in their music; and consequently this fable also harmonizes with the fundamental principles of the religion of Apollo.

13. Having now ascertained the general character of the music employed in the worship of Apollo, we shall endeavour to obtain a more accurate knowledge of its varieties.

One of the most ancient species of composition (in which

¹⁴⁴¹ *Orchomenos*, p. 293.

¹⁴⁴² *Æsch. Pers.* 1059 (where it is a melancholy tune to the lamentations of the chorus) and *Schol. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg.* 791.

¹⁴⁴³ *Æsch. Pers.* 941. and *Schol. Eustath. ubi sup.* *Pollux IV.* 7. 54.

¹⁴⁴⁴ *Schol. Theocrit. X.* 41. *Apostol. XII.* 7. *Hesychius in Μαρτιανδωνῶν θρηῆνος.*

¹⁴⁴⁵ *Pollux IV.* 10. 76.

¹⁴⁴⁶ *II.* 79. comp. *Clearchus ap. Hesych. Pollux ubi sup.*

¹⁴⁴⁷ *Eustath. ad II. A.* 20. The name Cinyras was changed so as to resemble *Κινυρός*. The love which Apollo bore him (*Pind. Pyth. II.* 16. cf. *Schol. Theocrit. I.* 109) merely signifies that he was fond of music.

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Chrysothemis the Cretan and Philammon were said to have contended at Delphi) was a hymn to Apollo;¹⁴⁴⁸ which we must suppose to have been composed in the ancient Doric dialect, and sung simply to the cithara. In reference to its musical execution, this hymn was also called a *nome*,¹⁴⁴⁹ the invention of which was ascribed to Apollo himself.¹⁴⁵⁰ At Delos also there were nomes, which were sung at the cyclic choral dances, and were attributed to Olen, another representative of the ancient poetry of hymns.¹⁴⁵¹ The general character of these was composure and regularity;¹⁴⁵² the measure was anciently (as we know from certain testimony) only hexameter:¹⁴⁵³ which agrees well with the fact that the origin of the hexameter was derived from Pytho.¹⁴⁵⁴ In the account that Philammon, the ancient composer of hymns, had placed choruses of young women round the altar, who sang the birth of Latona and her children in lyric measures (ἐν μέλεσι),¹⁴⁵⁵ the nomes of Philammon,¹⁴⁵⁶ as improved by Terpander the ancient lyric poet, appear to be confounded with the original ones; since these, after the fashion of the most ancient

¹⁴⁴⁸ Paus. X. 7. 2. Concerning the antiquity of the musical contests at Delphi see Plutarch Sympos. II. 4. 1. p. 83. Demetrius Phalereus quoted above, p. 338, note e. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote on page 337 to "earliest times arranged," starting "Concerning which see above."] Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. Tyan. VI. 10.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Proclus ap. Phot. Χρυσόθεμις ὁ Κρήσις πρῶτος στολῆ χρησάμενος ἐκπρεπεῖ, καὶ κιθάραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς μίμησιν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μόνος ἦσε νόμον.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Suidas in νόμος κιθαρωδός.

¹⁴⁵¹ Callim. Hymn. Del. 304. comp. Apoll. Rhod. I. 537.

¹⁴⁵² Proclus ubi sup.

¹⁴⁵³ Plutarch de Music. 4. from Timotheus.

¹⁴⁵⁴ See the passages quoted by Fabricius vol. I. p. 207. 210. ed. Harl. It was also called *versus Deliacus*, if the reading in Atilius Fortunatus, p. 2690. ed. Putsch. is correct. At *Miletus* also there were ancient hexameter hymns to Apollo and Zeus, which were attributed to Branchus, Terent. de Metris 5, 165. comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 647.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Heraclid. Pont. ap. Plutarch de Music. 3. comp. Schol. Od. XVI. 432. Syncellus Chronogr. p. 162. Fabricius vol. I. p. 214. ed. Harles.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Plutarch de Music. 5.

composers, contained only hexameters.¹⁴⁵⁷ The ancient religious poets mentioned in these accounts, Chrysothemis, Philammon, and Olen, may be looked on as Dorians with the same certainty as the founders of the temples of Tarrha, Delphi, and Patara, to which they particularly belonged.¹⁴⁵⁸ The language also of the poems ascribed to them must have been Doric; though indeed the fact of a poetical use of this dialect before the historic times will not agree with the predominant, though perhaps not well-grounded notions respecting the progress of poetry in Greece. [357]

14. That the *pæan* was a song of thanksgiving for deliverance has been mentioned above. With respect, however, to the manner in which it was performed, we learn from Homer that it was sung after the sacrificial feast,¹⁴⁵⁹ when the goblets were carried round after the sacred libation; and this was also the case at Sparta and Athens.¹⁴⁶⁰ It was generally sung in a sitting posture, although in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo that god is represented as accompanying the Cretans who sing in a measured step.¹⁴⁶¹ At Sparta it was danced in choruses.¹⁴⁶² On the whole it required a regular and sedate measure,¹⁴⁶³ even when it assumed a more

¹⁴⁵⁷ The hymns of Terpander were, like the most ancient songs, partly in hexameter metre, ἔπη (Plutarch Symp. III. 4. Proclus ubi sup.): yet Terpander was the first to introduce a great variety of metre.

¹⁴⁵⁸ The reason of Thamyris the Thracian being called the son of Philammon (Paus. IV. 33), is probably the near neighbourhood of the Delphians and Thracians of Parnassus.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Il. I. 473. cf. XXII. 391.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Plat. Symp. 4. Philochorus ap. Athen. XIV. p. 630 sq. cf. IV. p. 179. XI. p. 503 E. from Antiphanes, Xenoph. Symp. 2. 1. Hence τελεεσίερος, Hesych. in v.

¹⁴⁶¹ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 514 sqq. In Delos also pæans were sung round the altars, Eurip. Herc. Fur. 690.

¹⁴⁶² Xenoph. Ages. 2. 17. The passage of Athenæus XIV. p. 631 C. if properly written, does not refer to that point. There was always a person named ἐξάρχων who accompanied the song on an instrument. Thus Archilochus Fragm. 50. ed. Gaisford. αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς ἀλλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα (*after* the time of Terpander), Vit. Sophocl. μετὰ λύρας τοῖς παιανίζουσιν ἐξήρχε. Compare the verses on the chest of Cypselus quoted above, p. 349. note 2.

¹⁴⁶³ Plutarch de Et 16.

lively air, as for the nome, and the solemn σπονδειακόν, sung at libations.¹⁴⁶⁴

But the most lively dance which accompanied the songs used in the worship of Apollo, was that termed the *hyporcheme*.¹⁴⁶⁵ In this, besides the chorus of singers who usually danced around the blazing altar, several persons were appointed to accompany the action of the poem with an appropriate pantomimic display (ὑπορχεῖσθαι). Homer himself bears witness to the Cretan origin of this custom, since the Cnosian dance, represented by Hephæstus on the shield of Achilles, appears from the description to have been a kind of hyporcheme,¹⁴⁶⁶ and hence all dances of this description were called Cretan.¹⁴⁶⁷ From that island they passed at an early period over to Delos, where, even in Lucian's time, the wanderings of Latona and her island, with their final repose, were represented in the above manner.¹⁴⁶⁸ At the same time also probably took place the custom mentioned in the hymn to the Delian Apollo as characterizing the songs of the young women of that island; viz., that they represented the voices and gestures of every nation:¹⁴⁶⁹ perhaps they introduced the peculiar dances of the various countries which Latona visited in her wanderings. The ludicrous, and at the same time complicated dance (γέρανος) which Theseus is said first to have danced with his crew round the altar at Delos,¹⁴⁷⁰ was probably of the

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¹⁴⁶⁴ Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 25.

¹⁴⁶⁵ See Menander de Encom. p. 27. ed. Heeren.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Il. XVIII. 590. cf. Od. IV. 18.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Sosibius ap. Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 127. and Simonides ap. Athen. V. p. 181 B. Plutarch Sympos. IX. 15. explained by Boeckh ad Pind. Fragm. p. 597.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Lucian. de Saltat. 16.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 162. πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβαλιαστὸν μιμεῖσθαι ἴσασιν. Κρεμβαλιαστὸς means extravagant gestures, such as clapping of hands, striking of castanets, &c.

¹⁴⁷⁰ See Plut. Thes. 21. Callim. Hymn. Del. 317. with Spanheim's note. The leader of the dance was called γερανουλκός (Hesych. in v.) Blows also were given, and hence the expression Δήλου κακὸς βωμὸς (Hesych. in v.); and there were also various turnings and windings, παραλλάξεις and ἀνελιξεις

same description. All that can be clearly ascertained respecting [359]
 the rhythm of these compositions is that the hexameter was
 altogether unfitted to their playful and joyous character.¹⁴⁷¹ But
 both the hyporcheme and pæan were first indebted for their
 systematic improvement to the Doric musicians, Xenodamus of
 Sparta, and Thaletas of Elyrus in Crete (about 620 B.C.),¹⁴⁷² who
 first brought the Cretic or Pæonic metre into general use; which
 names point out beyond doubt its Cretan origin, and its use in
 pæans.¹⁴⁷³ Cretics form a quick and lively, though a pleasing
 and by no means inharmonious¹⁴⁷⁴ rhythm, being particularly
 adapted to rapid motion. Thus a joyous and agreeable harmony
 was added, at the festivals of Apollo, to the serious and solemn
 music, although the softness and insipidity of several Ionian and
 Asiatic tunes were, without doubt, always rejected.

Thus, if we except the purifying and propitiatory rites, the
 festivals of Apollo bore the character of a serene and joyful
 mind, every other attribute of the deity being lost in those of
 victory and mercy. Hence in his statues at Delphi¹⁴⁷⁵ and
 Delos¹⁴⁷⁶ he was represented as bearing in his hand the Graces, [360]
 who gave additional splendour and elegance to his festivals by

(Dicæarchus apud Plut. ubi sup.): when at rest, the chorus stood in a semicircle,
 with leaders at the two wings, Pollux IV. 4. 101.

¹⁴⁷¹ Athen. XIV. p. 630. Compare the extant fragments of the pæans of Pindar.

¹⁴⁷² Plutarch de Music. 9, 10. Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 127. That the hyporcheme
 was native in Sparta may be seen from Pindar Fragm. 8. p. 603. ed. Boeckh.

¹⁴⁷³ Plutarch de Music. 10. where for ΜΑΡΩΝΑ καὶ Κρητικὸν ῥυθμὸν should
 probably be written ΠΑΙΩΝΑ. A fragment of a pæan in pæons in Aristot. Rh.
 III. 7. 6.

¹⁴⁷⁴ It is called ἀβρόν τι μέλος by Bacchylides.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Pind. Olymp. XIV. 12. and the Schol.

¹⁴⁷⁶ There was at Delos an ancient statue, according to Plutarch de Music. 14.
 which Tectæus and Angelion appear to have imitated (Pausan. IX. 35. I.);
 whose work is perhaps copied in the Gem in Millin's Galerie Mythologique, p.
 33. No. 474. Comp. Macrob. Sat. I. 17. The Graces had a flute, a lyre, and a
 pipe in their hands. There was another ancient statue (ξόανον) at Delos, which
 was referred to Erysichthon, Plutarch, Fragm. 10. p. 291. ed. Hutten.

the dance, music, and banquet.¹⁴⁷⁷

15. We have as yet omitted the mention of two great national festivals celebrated at Amyclæ by the Spartans in honour of the chief deity of their race,¹⁴⁷⁸ viz., the *Hyacinthia* and the *Carnea*, from a belief that they do not properly belong to Apollo. That the worship of the Carnean Apollo, in which both were included, was derived from Thebes, whence it was brought over by the Ægidæ to Amyclæ, has been proved in a former work;¹⁴⁷⁹ our present object is to show, from the symbols and rites of this worship, that it was originally derived more from the ancient religion of Demeter than from that of Apollo. The youth Hyacinthus, whom the Carnean Apollo accidentally struck with a quoit,¹⁴⁸⁰ evidently took his name from the flower (a dark-coloured species of iris), which in the ancient symbolical language was an emblem of death; and the fable of his death is clearly a relic of an ancient elementary religion. Now the hyacinth most frequently occurs, in this sense, in the worship of Demeter; thus, for example, it was under the name Κοσμοσάνδαλος sacred to Demeter Chthonia at Hermione.¹⁴⁸¹ We find further proof of this in the ancient sculptures with which the grave, and at the same time the altar of Hyacinthus, was adorned: the artists indeed appear to have completely comprehended the spirit of the worship. We find Demeter, Cora, Pluto, and the Cadmean Dionysus, with Ino and Semele, and Hyacinthus himself, together with a sister named

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¹⁴⁷⁷ *Orchomenos*, p. 182. and see Panyasis Fragm. I. 14. 18. ed. Brunck.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Also the Hyacinthia in the Amyclæum, Strab. VI. p. 278. Hyacinthus was the son of Amyclas and of Diomede the daughter of Lapithas (so named from the Lapithæum in the neighbourhood), according to Apollod. III. 10. 2. Amyclas is mentioned, instead of Hyacinthus, by Simmias περι μινῶν, ap. Steph. Byz. in Ἀμύκλα.

¹⁴⁷⁹ *Orchomenos*, p. 327. The month Hyacinthus was also introduced into Sicily by the Ægidæ, Castelli Prol. XII. p. 74.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Hyacinthus is himself called Καρνεῖος in Coluthus Rapt. Hel. 237.

¹⁴⁸¹ Paus. II. 35. 4.

Polybœa.¹⁴⁸² Polybœa is hardly, if at all, distinct from Cora,¹⁴⁸³ whom Lasus of Hermione called Melibœa. To this may be added the sacrifices to the dead, and lamentations customary on the first day¹⁴⁸⁴ (which were forbidden at all other festivals of Apollo); nightly processions,¹⁴⁸⁵ and several other detached traces of the symbols of Demeter and Dionysus,¹⁴⁸⁶ which, by an attentive observer, may be easily distinguished from those of Apollo. The time of the festival was also different: it took place on the longest day of the Spartan month Hecatombeus, which corresponds to the Attic Hecatombæon,¹⁴⁸⁷ at the time when Hylas was invoked on the mountains of Bithynia, and the tender productions of nature droop their languid heads.

The Carnean festival took place, as it appears, in the following month to the Hyacinthian, equally in honour of Apollo of Amyclæ. But the Doric religion seems here to have preponderated, and to have supplanted the elementary symbols so evident in the Hyacinthia. The Carneia was, as far as we know, altogether a warlike festival, similar to the Attic Boëdromia. It lasted nine days, during which time nine tents were pitched near the city, in each of which nine men lived, for the time of the festival, in the manner of a military camp. There is no reference to an elementary religion except some obscure ceremonies of the priest Agetes and the Carneatæ.¹⁴⁸⁸ This leads us to suppose that

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¹⁴⁸² Paus. III. 19. cf. IV. 33. 5.

¹⁴⁸³ Hesychius in Πολύβοια; and see below, ch. 10. § 3.

¹⁴⁸⁴ A worship of the dead was also offered to the πάρθενοι "Υακινθίδες of Athea.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Eurip. Hel. 1490.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Crowns of ivy were given at the Hyacinthia, according to Aristot. ap. Macrob. Sat. I. 18. Hence perhaps the Κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων of Æschylus ap. Macrob. ibid. with Lobeck's correction ad Soph. Aj. 814. See Classical Journal XIX. p. 111.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Manso, Sparta, vol. III. part II. p. 201. has properly followed Dodwell on this point, whose arguments also convince me.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Hesych. Σταφυλοδρόμοι τινὲς τῶν Καρνεατῶν παρορμῶντες τοὺς ἐπὶ τρύγη. A different account is given in Bekker's Anecd. p. 305.

at the union of the Amyclæan worship, introduced by the Ægidæ, with the Doric worship of Apollo at Sparta, the Hyacinthia preserved more of the peculiarities of the former, the Carneia of the latter, although the sacred rites of both were completely united. At the same time we do not deny the difficulty of inquiring into the origin and primitive form of ceremonies the history of which is so complicated; and this alone must excuse the shortness of our account respecting these two festivals.

16. Finally, the manner in which Apollo is represented in *sculpture*, particularly by the ancient artists, may assist our investigation into the ideas and sentiments on which his worship was founded. Apollo was a subject peculiarly adapted for sculpture. Since his connexion with elementary religion was slight, and there was nothing mystic in his character, the sculptors were soon able to fix upon a regular cast of features, to distinguish him from other deities: for Apollo, not only in poetry, but in the fables most nearly connected with his worship, is generally represented as a human god, and in all his actions and sufferings more nearly connected with the heroes than any other divinity. But before this perfection and conventional uniformity of the art, the early sculptors were much assisted in characterizing the statues of Apollo by his numerous and significant symbols, such as the bow, the cithara, the laurel, &c.: and thus they were able, in some measure, to give an idea of the power and properties of Apollo, though merely in stiff and rude images of wood and stone.

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17. The simple Cippus of Apollo Agyieus did not represent any particular attribute, but was merely intended as a memorial of the presence of the protecting god.¹⁴⁸⁹ In endeavouring more fully to express his character, the symbols of power would naturally

¹⁴⁸⁹ Clemens of Alexand. (Str. I. p. 349.) infers from two verses of the ancient poem Europa that Apollo was also represented at Delphi as a κίων ὑψηλός; but they prove nothing; for the high column, on which arms and trophies were hung, was certainly not the god himself.

come next. His attributes of vengeance doubtless preceded those of mercy, although both, in fact, harmonized together: it must, however, have been long, before the surpassing beauty of the god (celebrated even in the Theogony of Hesiod) could be the subject of sculpture. The attribute, then, of strength, as also that of omniscience, the ancient Lacedæmonians wished to represent by the Apollo with four hands and four ears at Amyclæ.¹⁴⁹⁰ But the chief statue on the above spot was an image, which, besides the bow, bore a helmet and lance: of the same nature was also the statue on mount Thornax, the face of which had been gilded by the Lacedæmonians.¹⁴⁹¹ The Megarians also consecrated at Delphi a statue of Apollo bearing a lance;¹⁴⁹² and at Tenedos he was armed with the double hatchet,¹⁴⁹³ like the Labrandenian Zeus of the Carians.¹⁴⁹⁴ In a very ancient bas-relief, discovered by Dodwell on the mouth of a well at Corinth, and which we shall hereafter examine further, Apollo holds the cithara in his hand;¹⁴⁹⁵ his whole form too, as in all the ancient sculptures, is

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¹⁴⁹⁰ Called Κουρίδιος, Hesych. in v. Sosibius ap. Zenob. Prov. I. 54. Apostol. II. 54.

¹⁴⁹¹ Paus. III. 11. Perhaps this was the regular form of the Carnean Apollo, Paus. III. 26. 5.

¹⁴⁹² Above, p. 195. note k. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "before conquered," starting "Plutarch. Solon. 10. 12."]

¹⁴⁹³ Aristides ap. Steph. Byz. comp. Plutarch Pyth. Orac. 12. p. 266. Apostol. XVIII. 28. and the coins of Tenedos (Mionnet tom. II. p. 671.); those of Pitana (tom. II. p. 627. No. 722.) of Iasos (tom. III. p. 352.), and particularly those of Thyateira (Buonarotti Medaglie Antiche IX. 9.), in which the symbol of the axe is variously combined with Apollo.

¹⁴⁹⁴ The latter god was called by the title of Χρυσοαρμῆς (Strab. XIV. p. 660.); and consequently the epithet χρυσάωρ, as applied to Apollo, originally (*e.g.* in II. V. 509. see Heyne's note, and ad Apollod. p. 274.) signified his golden armour, although Pindar (Pyth. V. 104.) uses it for the golden ornaments of his cithara; but in an oracle of Bacis it is again applied to Artemis, *i.e.* to the armed goddess (Herod. VIII. 77. compare Mitscherlich and Ilgen ad Hom. Hymn. Cer. 4. Boeckh Explic. Pind. p. 293.)

¹⁴⁹⁵ Travels in Greece, vol. II. p. 200. pi. 7. Alcuni bassi-relievi della Grecia, Roma 1812. The Apollo upon the Capitoline Puteal appears to be a copy, but

stouter and more manly than usual.

18. On inquiring concerning the artists of the most ancient symbolical statues of Apollo, we find that the Cretans were the first sculptors, as well as musicians, of that worship. From Crete, an ancient wooden statue of Apollo, of the rudest style of workmanship, was brought to Delphi:¹⁴⁹⁶ from hence, too (about Olymp. 50, 580 B.C.), there came Dipœnus and Scyllis the Dædalidæ, who made for the Sicyonians statues of Apollo, Artemis, Hercules, and Athene, of which we will speak hereafter. The Pythian oracle greatly interested itself in the labours of these artists; for when the envy of the native artists had driven them from Sicyon, it compelled the inhabitants to recall them. The managers of the temple of Delphi appear indeed to have been, from very early times, great patrons of the art of sculpture, particularly in brass. The subterranean temple at Pytho (the existence of which has been doubted, but, in my opinion, without sufficient grounds) was covered with brass, as were several treasuries of the ancient princes of Greece. The temples and courts were fitted with numerous tripods; caldrons, goblets, and arms of brass were there arranged promiscuously, from periods of the highest antiquity. There was also a knife used in sacrifice called the *Delphian knife*,¹⁴⁹⁷ nor do the singing golden Κηληδόνες, which Pindar represents as suspended from the roof of the brazen temple, seem to be a mere poetical fiction.

But the Cretan school of sculpture produced Tectæus and Angelion, who erected the celebrated, and probably colossal statue of Apollo at Delos, which (as was before mentioned)

a far more modern copy, of the same original. The same shape of Apollo may be also observed in the reliefs with the carrying off of the tripod.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Pind. Pyth. V. 42. There was also shown at Tegea a gilt Apollo by Cheirisophus a Cretan, see Thiersch, Ueber die Kunstepochen, vol. II. p. 25.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Tryphiodor. 643. and see book IV. ch. 1. § 3. Concerning the Δελφική μάχατρα see Aristotle Polit. I. 1. 5. and Hesychius in v. Compare Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 535. At Tarsos also they used a sacred μάχατρα, tempered in the water of Cydnus, Plutarch de Defect. Orac. 41. p. 368.

held the Graces in one hand and a bow in the other. With the same school also, though in a more distant degree, was connected Canachus of Sicyon, who, about the seventy-third Olympiad, made a famous bronze statue for the Didymæum,¹⁴⁹⁸ and one of wood for the Ismenium. From the accounts and various imitations of this work of art we are enabled to form some idea of its character. The god was represented with a manly form, his breast broad and prominent, the trunk square, the legs almost like pillars, and in a firm position, the left leg being a little advanced. The hair, encircled with a fillet, lay in slender twisted curls over the forehead; over each shoulder were three platted tresses, and behind the hair fell in a broad cluster down the back. The countenance nearly resembled those in the marbles of Ægina. In the right hand, which was stretched straight forward, was a fawn (an obscure symbol which we shall not here attempt to explain); the left, not quite so much elevated, grasped a bow. The whole must have had an awful and imposing appearance, conveying the idea of sublimity and dignity far more than of grace or loveliness.¹⁴⁹⁹ We cannot suppose the style of the colossal statue of Apollo to have been very different which, several Olympiads later, was modelled in brass by Calamis for Apollonia on the Pontus, and which was afterwards brought to Rome by Lucullus:¹⁵⁰⁰ nor that of Apollo Alexicacus, erected at Athens by the same artist at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.¹⁵⁰¹ The Apollo which

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¹⁴⁹⁸ In this temple also there was a wooden statue of Apollo, θύϊος (probably θύϊνος) Ἀπόλλων, Hesychius.

¹⁴⁹⁹ For this account see a paper *Ueber den Apollon des Kanachos*, in the *Kunstblatt* for 1821, No. 16. This also serves to confirm the conjecture of Visconti that the bas-relief of the Museo Pio-Clementino V. 23. represents Menelaus dedicating the arms of Euphorbus to the Didymæan Apollo; for the god upon the pillar has nearly the form in question. To the copies of this Apollo many might now be added.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Strab. VII. p. 319 B. comp. Pliny N. H. IV. 27. XXXIV. 18.

¹⁵⁰¹ Pausan. I. 4. 3. The reader should guard against supposing with Visconti

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Onatas of Ægina, the contemporary of Calamis, executed for the inhabitants of Pergamus, was a colossal statue displaying great beauty of form, and, as it appears, of a more youthful appearance than was common for statues of Apollo at that time.¹⁵⁰² In this, Apollo was represented as καλλίτεκνος, as the beautiful son of Latona; under which name he was worshipped at Pergamus.¹⁵⁰³ It is not improbable that the union of strength and beauty so conspicuously exhibited in the ideal forms of the two children of Latona was suggested by the peculiar character of the Doric education; and that the artist represented the god as an Ephebus, whose skill in the chorus and on the field of battle was exactly equal.

But the figure which we are accustomed to consider as properly belonging to Apollo did not originate even in the school of Polycletus and Myron,¹⁵⁰⁴ but was the creation of a later period; since both the coins of a date prior to the time of Alexander,¹⁵⁰⁵ and single heads, which must be referred to the same period,¹⁵⁰⁶ do not indeed preserve the features ascribed to the work of Canachus, but still are quite different from the most celebrated of the statues now extant, having broader cheeks, a shorter and thicker nose; in a word, the proportions are what the ancients termed *quadrate*, or square. It was not till the times of Scopas, Leochares, Praxiteles, and Timarchides, that the Apollo appeared whom we may call the twin-brother of Venus, so similar are the

(Museo Pio-Clementino tav. I. p. 26. tav. 7. p. 93.) that these statues of Apollo in temples had the elegant proportions and light character of the later works of art.

¹⁵⁰² Æginetica, p. 106. Concerning the ancient statues of Apollo see also Winckelmann's *Kunstgeschichte* vol. I. p. 191. note. vol. III. p. 548.

¹⁵⁰³ This important statement is given in Aristides *Fragm. ap. Mai. Vet. Script. Nov. Syll. I. 3. p. 41.* It has first explained fully the epigram of Antipater to the Apollo of Onatas, *Brunck Analect. vol. II. p. 14. No. 30.*

¹⁵⁰⁴ A statue of Apollo by Myron is mentioned by Cicero in *Verr. II. 4. 43.*

¹⁵⁰⁵ *E.g.* those of Mytilene, Croton, and also those of Philip the First.

¹⁵⁰⁶ *E.g.* the head in the Louvre, No. 133. *Catalogue de Clarac.*

forms of both deities. The expression of inspiration and ecstasy, which several of the best statues exhibit, may also be shown to have first originated in the school of Scopas, since the earlier artists aimed rather at producing the appearance of tranquillity and composure than of transient excitement; and the exquisite taste with which these sculptors were able to express inspiration without extravagance, deserves the highest praise. Without detailing the particular productions of these and later artists, we shall only show how they may be best classified. The Apollo Callinicus of Belvedere stands by itself, swelling with the pride of victory:¹⁵⁰⁷ next comes the Apollo resting from the fight, with the right arm bent over the head, the left leaning on a pillar, holding the bow, which has evidently been used, or a cithara: being evidently a statue of the *resting Apollo* (Ἀπόλλων ἀναπαύμενος); but from the circumstance that a statue of this kind stood in the Lyceum at Athens¹⁵⁰⁸ it is usually called the “Apollo of the Lyceum:” then follows the Apollo Citharædus (playing on the harp), either naked, in different positions, or covered with the Pythian stola, and in an almost theatrical attitude.¹⁵⁰⁹ It would be foreign to our subject to enter into

¹⁵⁰⁷ A bronze found at Argos, of the same character, is mentioned by Pouqueville, *Voyage en Grèce*, tom. IV. p. 161. Heads having a great resemblance to the Belvedere Apollo occur in many collections, some of which have even more heroic forms.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Lucian. *Anachars.* c. 7. In a coin of Thessalonica the Pythian Apollo is represented in this position, with the laurel in his right hand, the cithara beside him, and the bow at his feet (Mionnet No. 396.); similar to those of Germe, Apollonia in Mysia, Chalcedon, and Cos.

¹⁵⁰⁹ The statue of this class in the Museo Pio-Clementino I. tav. 13. is, according to Vis conti's conjecture, a copy of the Palatine Apollo of Scopas, Plin. N. H. XXXVI. 4. 7. This form of the Apollo Musagetes was most in vogue in the time of Nero. There is a remarkable statue of this god described and figured by Raffei in his *Ricerche sopra un Apolline delta villa Albani*. He is represented as sitting, half-clothed, on a tripod covered with a skin, with his right hand on his knees (to be kissed, as was the custom in temples); in his left hand is a serpent; and his feet rest upon a *cortina*, also covered with a skin: by the side of this is a lion's skin; the hair is interwoven with laurel leaves, and falls in a

details respecting this class of statues, and those derived from them, as the Sauroctonus, Nomius, &c.

19. Finally, we would endeavour to trace the influence of the worship of Apollo on the policy and philosophy of Greece, if the question did not embrace so wide a field, lying, as it does in great measure, beyond the confines of history. We may, however, select, from what has been already said, as proofs of the influence of this worship on political concerns, the armistice connected with the festivals of Apollo, the truce observed in the sacred places and roads, the soothing influence of the purifications for homicide, together with the idea of the punishing and avenging god, and the great influence of the oracles in the regulation of public affairs.¹⁵¹⁰ It has, moreover, been frequently remarked how by its sanctity, by the dignified and severe character of its music, by all its symbols and rites, this worship endeavoured to lull the minds of individuals into a state of composure and security, consistently, however, with an occasional elevation to a state of ecstatic delight.

20. Lastly, the worship of Apollo was so nearly connected with a branch of Grecian philosophy that the one frequently established and explained scientifically that which the other left merely to the feeling; I mean the *Pythagorean system*. Pythagoras possessed hereditary rites of Apollo; he dwelt at Croton, where that god received such various honours;¹⁵¹¹ he lived mostly among Dorians, who were everywhere partial to that worship; and a Delphian priestess, by name Aristocleia, is mentioned among his followers.¹⁵¹² Thus it is not without

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broad cluster over the back. The style is neither very ancient nor good, but the symbols and position are singular in many respects.

¹⁵¹⁰ See Ephorus ap. Strab. IX. p. 423. and Julian (ap. Cyrill. p. 153.) on this subject.

¹⁵¹¹ Above, ch. 3. § 7. and book III. ch. 9. § 16.

¹⁵¹² Porph. Vit. Pythag. 41. According to Aristoxenus apud Diog. Laert. VIII. 21. he received the fundamental doctrines of his philosophy from Themistocleia, a Pythian priestess. See Fabric. Bibl. Græc. vol. I. p. 881. ed.

reason that the Pythagorean philosophy has in modern times been considered as Doric: in its political doctrines it followed Doric principles, and with the Doric religion it was united both externally and internally: besides which, the attempt to realize and disseminate national ideas and opinions may perhaps illustrate the rapid growth of the power of the Pythagorean league. The recondite principle of this philosophy always is, that the essence of things lies in their due measure and proportion, their system and regularity; that everything exists by harmony and symmetry alone; and that the world itself is an union of all these proportions (κόσμος, or order). The same abstraction from materiality also belonged to the religion of Apollo; for this too suggests the idea of order, harmony, and regularity, and in these it makes the nature and actions of the Deity to consist. Hence, too, music was one chief ingredient of the Pythagorean philosophy, as well as a necessary element of the worship of Apollo, as best expressing the harmony on which both were founded. In both the soothing and appeasing of the passions was aimed at and effected, that the mind might be quieted and strengthened at the same time.¹⁵¹³ But we must leave the full investigation of this subject to those [371] who have acquired a profounder knowledge of the philosophy of Pythagoras.

Chapter IX.

Harles. and Apostol. Prov. XVII. 86.

¹⁵¹³ One of the important parts of the Pythagorean worship was the *pæan*, which was sung to the lyre, in spring-time, by a person sitting in the midst of a circle of listeners: this was called the κάθαρσις, or purification. See Schol. Ven. II. XXII. 391. Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 25. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. 32. This is evidently an application of ancient rites of the worship of Apollo. The Pythian oracle likewise commanded the Greeks of Lower Italy to sing pæans in the spring as a means of atonement. Aristoxenus p. 93. ed. Mahn. apud Apollon. Hist. Mir. 40.

§ 1. Worship of Artemis. § 2. The Artemis connected with Apollo distinct from the other goddesses of that name. Her attributes. § 3. The Arcadian Artemis. § 4. Fable of Alpheus and Arethusa. The Peloponnesian Artemis. § 5. The Attic Artemis. § 6. Artemis Orthia, or Iphigenia. § 7. Rites of the worship of Artemis Tauria. § 8. The Artemis of Asia Minor. § 9. Her connexion with the Amazons.

1. We now proceed to consider the worship of Artemis; a subject which need not be so fully examined as that of Apollo, as it does not, like the worship of that god, everywhere present the same fundamental notions, and therefore cannot, in all its first beginnings, be derived from the religion of the Dorians. But as in general the Grecian mythology adopted the most various and inconsistent religious views and ideas, so in the name of the single goddess Artemis were united almost opposite branches of ancient worship, which we must attempt to separate. Lest, however, it should be supposed that we are unable to trace the association of ideas, which saw a simple character in the “various forms of that great goddess, who, having her origin in the interior of Asia, passed from thence into Greece, and was worshipped as the moon, the goddess of the woods, the huntress, the nurse of children, and a nurse of the universe, as well by the choruses of the virgins of Caryæ, as in the dances of the temples;”¹⁵¹⁴ we will endeavour to ascertain some historical criterion, which may distinguish the worship of Artemis from that of any other deity, and which must not be one of the ideas or symbols of the worship itself, since it is concerning the possibility or impossibility of their connexion that we are to inquire.

2. For this purpose it may be assumed, that the Artemis connected with Apollo belongs alone to the same system of religious notions: and consequently, the Artemis of Ephesus, Artemis Orthia, and Artemis Tauropolus, are of a different

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¹⁵¹⁴ See Creuzer's *Symbolik*.

nature, as Apollo is never represented as their brother: of this, however, more hereafter. Here we will first show, that in all the chief temples of Apollo, Artemis was worshipped as his sister, as the partner of his nature and of his actions, and, as it were, a part of the same deity. Thus both were children of Latona, and were equally the rulers of the temple of Delphi;¹⁵¹⁵ the victory over the Python, the flight, and the expiation, concern both;¹⁵¹⁶ both were honoured at the Pythian games of Sicyon, together with Latona;¹⁵¹⁷ as also in Crete,¹⁵¹⁸ Delos, Lesbos,¹⁵¹⁹ at Carthæa,¹⁵²⁰ in the Didymæum,¹⁵²¹ on the citadel of Troy,¹⁵²² in the worship of Lycia,¹⁵²³ as well as in that of Metapontum.¹⁵²⁴ The worship both of Apollo and Artemis is [373]

¹⁵¹⁵ Pindar. Nem. VI. 42. IX. 4. Compare Hymn. Homer. XXVII. 14. and the ἀρὰ Ἀμφικτυόνην in Æschin. Ctesiph. p. 70. 36. Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τᾶς Λατὸς καὶ τᾶς Ἀρτάμι[τος] in the great Delphian inscription in Boeckh No. 1688. The whole family was also in the temple at Cirrha, Pausan. X. 36. 7.

¹⁵¹⁶ See above, ch. 7. § 6.

¹⁵¹⁷ Pindar. Nem. IX. 4. At Sparta also Apollo Pythæus was joined with Latona and Artemis, Pausan. III. 11.

¹⁵¹⁸ Chishull's Antiq. Asiat. p. 133. The Artemis Cnagia at Sparta came from Crete, according to Pausan. III. 18. 3. Amnisian nymphs of Artemis, Callim. Hymn. Dian. 15. See above, ch. 1. § 5.

¹⁵¹⁹ Above, p. 342, note s. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "thirst for revenge," starting "On this point."]

¹⁵²⁰ Antonin. Liberal. c. 1.

¹⁵²¹ Inscription in Walpole's Travels, p. 578. ὕδροφόρος Ἀρτέμιδος Πυθίης.

¹⁵²² Above, ch. 2. § 3.

¹⁵²³ Σαρπηδονία in Cilicia, Strab. XIV. p. 676.

¹⁵²⁴ Hyginus fab. 186. Whether the Artemis of Rhegium (Thuc. VI. 44.) came from Delphi (above, ch. 3. § 5.) or from Eubœa (where she was worshipped under the name of Προσηῶα at Artemisium, of Amarynthia, near Eretria, on mount Cotylæum, and all along the Euripus, Callim. Hymn. Dian. 188.) is uncertain.

said to have been derived from the Hyperboreans;¹⁵²⁵ and the names of the Hyperborean priestesses, who brought the rites to Delos, *Arge* and *Opis*, according to others *Hecarge* and *Loxo*, are only epithets of Artemis. *Arge* probably means “the rapid;” *Opis*¹⁵²⁶ (Ὠπις, *Ionice* Οὐπις, the same as ὄπις) well characterises the spirit of this religion, as it signifies the constant watch and care of the goddess over human actions,¹⁵²⁷ while at the same time she inspires fear and veneration of herself.¹⁵²⁸ She was known also by the same name among the Dorians of Sparta,¹⁵²⁹ and celebrated as such in sacred chants:¹⁵³⁰ thus almost all the attributes and actions of Apollo are referred also to Artemis. She is also the goddess of sudden death;¹⁵³¹ which she sometimes

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¹⁵²⁵ Herod. IV. 33. where the worship of the Hyperborean Artemis is also ascribed to the Thracian and Pæonian women. Compare Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 936. The Hymn of Olen, Pausan. V. 1.4. represented Demeter Ἀχαιΐα as coming from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos; but the Achæan Demeter cannot be meant; and therefore I would write ΑΦΑΙΑ, as Artemis was called in Ægina. The ἀποδημίαι of Artemis in the Argive legend (Menander de Encom. 4. p. 38. ed. Heeren) perhaps referred to this.

¹⁵²⁶ See Callim. Hymn. Del. 292. Melanopus of Cume ap. Pausan. ubi sup. cf. I. 43. 4. Etymol. Mag. p. 641. 56. Concerning Οὐπις, see the English edition of Stephens' Thesaurus, vol. I. part 4. p. 551.

¹⁵²⁷ Thus Apollo was called Ἐπόψιος, Hesychius.

¹⁵²⁸ Thus Nemesis was also called Οὐπις, as in the inscription of Herodes Atticus.

¹⁵²⁹ Palæphat. 52. Apostolius VI. 44.

¹⁵³⁰ Sung among the Trœzenians, by whom Lyceia was worshipped, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 972.

¹⁵³¹ Od. XI. 171. Compare Il. VI. 428. Od. XX. 60. The reason why she kills Ariadne (Od. XI. 324.) is explained by Pherecydes in the Scholia. Λέων γυναιξὶ (Il. XXI. 483.) probably only as a goddess of death, and not as Pausanias IV. 30. 3. and Eustathius explain it. Ἄ γυναικῶν μέγ' ἔχει κράτος in the Attic Scolion is ambiguous.

inflicts in wrath, but sometimes without anger;¹⁵³² and hence she is represented as armed, not only with bow and arrows, but in the Doric states with a complete panoply.¹⁵³³ In ancient poets she is not only the destroyer of wild beasts, but also, like her brother, of sacrilegious men.¹⁵³⁴ Thus, with Apollo, she killed Tityus, and, by herself, the Aloidæ,¹⁵³⁵ and Orion, who dared to violate Opis when bringing the ears of corn to Delos.¹⁵³⁶ Hence she was to be appeased by expiatory rites; and had an equal share in Thargelia, and similar festivals.¹⁵³⁷ And for the same [375]

¹⁵³² Artemis in Homer is, in the first place, the complete image of her brother, as armed with a bow (ιοχέαιρα, χρυσηλάκατος, τοξοφόρος II. XX. 39, 71. XXI. 483. Od. IV. 122. VI. 102, &c.); as a beautiful and strong maiden (Od. IV. 122. VI. 151. XVII. 37. XIX. 54.); as killing women suddenly and without sickness (II. VI. 428. XIX. 59. Od. XI. 171, 323. XV. 476. XX. 61, 80.), sometimes mildly (Od. XV. 409. XVIII. 201.), at another time in anger (II. VI. 205.); as punishing with death the children of Niobe (II. XXIV. 606.) and Orion (Od. V. 123.); as κουροτρόφος, and therefore giving height to virgins (Od. XX. 71. cf. VI. 107.); as occasionally healing (II. V. 447.); as honoured by choruses of singers, and herself leading the chorus (II. XVI. 183. cf. Hymn. XXVII. 18.). Now, besides this, there is also the Arcadian notion of Artemis, the wood-nymph; her chorus plays in the woods (Od. VI. 106.); she rejoices in wild boars and stags (VI. 104.); and thus, being armed with a bow, becomes a *huntress* (II. V. 51. XXI. 485.). The Ætolian Artemis, who requires θαλύσια (II. IX. 533.), is again of a different kind.

¹⁵³³ Pausan. IV. 13. 1.

¹⁵³⁴ Callim. Hymn. Dian. 124.

¹⁵³⁵ Apollod. I. 7. 4.

¹⁵³⁶ Pausan. I. 4. 5. Euphoriion ap. Schol. Od. V. 120. Fragm. 108. ed. Meineke, &c.

¹⁵³⁷ Etym. Mag. p. 443. 20. At Melite in Phthia Artemis was, in some particular

reason the laurel was likewise sacred to Artemis.¹⁵³⁸ She was honoured with the song of the pæan.¹⁵³⁹ She is at the same time the destroyer and the preserver (λυκεία¹⁵⁴⁰ and οὐλία).¹⁵⁴¹ And even her name Ἄρτεμις¹⁵⁴² clearly corresponds with that of the protecting Apollo, since it signifies the “healthy,” the “uninjured.”¹⁵⁴³ Whether the art of music belonged to Apollo alone is not certain; at least the Lacedæmonians celebrated in honour of Artemis a musical contest called καλαμοιδία;¹⁵⁴⁴ and her singing is represented in the Iliad as delighting both gods and men.¹⁵⁴⁵ On reliefs which represent the victors in musical contests, Apollo is always accompanied by his mother and sister.¹⁵⁴⁶ Artemis had also a claim to the gift of prophecy, at least if we can attribute any antiquity to the tradition of her being a sibyl.¹⁵⁴⁷ Like Apollo, she is always represented as unmarried; and therefore not as the deity of an elementary religion, and originally not as goddess of the moon, although it cannot be denied that the worship of the moon was very nearly connected with other branches of the worship of Artemis.

But, it may be asked, if this Artemis always has the same characteristics as Apollo, and has none that are peculiar to

worship, called Ἄσπαλις, Ἄμειλίτη, Ἐκαέργη, Antonin. Liberal. 13.

¹⁵³⁸ She was worshipped under the title of Δαρναία at Las, Pausan. III. 24. 6. and of Δαρνία at Olympia, Strab. VIII. p. 343.

¹⁵³⁹ Etymol. M. p. 657. 6. Sophocl. Trach. 210. according to Seidler's punctuation; above, p. 309, note h. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to “in honour of Apollo,” starting “Proclus apud Phot.”]

¹⁵⁴⁰ At Træzen, Pausan. II. 31. 6.

¹⁵⁴¹ Above, ch. 6. § 3. Also προθυραία and προφυλαία, Spanheim ad Callim. Dian. 38.

¹⁵⁴² Etym. Mag. p. 356. 10. Gudian. p. 17. 23. Compare above, p. 312, note b. [Transcriber's Note: This is no such footnote number on that page.] Alcman used the form Ἄρτέμιτος, Eustath. p. 1618. 29. A month Ἄρταμίτιος in Crete, Chishull's Antiq. Asiat. p. 126; and in Sicily, see Castelli Proleg. ad Inscript. Sic. p. 69. Ἄρταμίτιος in Corcyra, according to inscriptions; Ἄρτεμιτία in Cyrene, Thrice Hist. Cyren. p. 218. Ἄρταμιτι in a Corcyraean inscription, Mustoxidi, Illustrazioni Corciresi, vol. II. p. 88. comp. Chandler. Inscript. p.

herself, why should there be two deities to express one idea? Wherefore both a male and female, if neither have any relation to sex? It is difficult to give a satisfactory answer to these questions.

This consideration may, however, in some measure assist; namely, that as soon as Apollo was once supposed to be as an earthly god, as the ideal of all human strength, it was necessary to add also a female being. And the near approximation of the male to the female deity may be accounted for by the condition of the Doric women, who were much more considered as independent beings, and possessed a capability for all those other things which adorn the other sex.

3. But the most difficult part of our problem still remains unsolved; viz. to ascertain what was the worship of Artemis, which had not the same origin and nature with that of Apollo. First of all we should mention the Arcadian. That goddess has nowhere so many temples as in Arcadia; she was there the national deity, and had been long revered, under the title of “*Hymnia*”, by all the races of that people.¹⁵⁴⁸ She was also introduced under the name of Callisto into the national genealogies, and called the daughter of Lycaon¹⁵⁴⁹ (*i.e.* of the Lycean Zeus), and mother of Arcas [377] (*i.e.* of the Arcadian people). For that Callisto is only another form of the name of Artemis Calliste, which is a common epithet of Artemis, is plain from the fact that the tomb of that heroine

82. No. 145. Koen. ad Greg. p. 305. Steph. Byz. in Ἀρτεμίσιον.

¹⁵⁴³ See Plato de Rep. p. 406. Strab. XIV. p. 635.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Hesychius in Καλαοΐδια.

¹⁵⁴⁵ II. XVI. 183.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Welcker ap. Dissen. Explic. Pind. p. 453.

¹⁵⁴⁷ See the verses in Clem. Alexand. Strom. I. p. 523. cf. Pausan. X. 12. 1.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Pausan. VIII. 5. 8. cf. 13. 1, 4. The temple was on the confines of Mantinea and Orchomenos 12. 3. It may be also seen from Polyæn. VIII. 34. that the Tegeates sent sacred processions to Artemis of Pheneus.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Eumelus ap. Apollod. III. 8. 2. Asius and Pherecydes give a different account.

was shown in the temple of the goddess,¹⁵⁵⁰ and that Callisto was said to be changed into a bear, which was the symbol of the Arcadian Artemis.¹⁵⁵¹ Afterwards, indeed, the fable was much altered; and it was related that Artemis changed Callisto into a bear merely from anger.¹⁵⁵² But that this ancient Arcadian deity was not the Doric Artemis is proved by the above-mentioned criterion; viz. that she has no connexion with Apollo.

Another circumstance, however, speaks even still plainer. Apollo and his sister seldom received any particular surnames from places where they were worshipped;¹⁵⁵³ whereas the other Artemis has almost innumerable names from the mountains, hills, fountains, and waters of Arcadia, and the other regions of Peloponnesus. Hence Alcman remarks that the goddess bears the names of thousands of hills, cities, and rivers.¹⁵⁵⁴ There must have been, therefore, something in the attributes of this Arcadian Artemis which produced such a number of local names; she must

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properly an Artemis, but Britomartis); Οἰνωᾶτις near Argos, Steph. Byz. in Οἶνη, Hesychius in Οἰνωᾶτις. Σαρωνίς near Træzen, Paus. II. 30. 7. Achæus tragicus ap. Hesych. in Σαρωνίς; Κορυφαία at Epidaurus, Paus. II. 28. 2. Steph. Byz. in Κορυφαῖον (Clarke, Travels, vol. II. part II. p. 603. found, by means of an inscription, what are probably the ruins of the temple upon mount Coryphæum);—Ἀλφειαία at Letrini, Paus. VII. 22. 5; Κοκκόκα at Olympia, ib. V. 15. 4; Τρικλαρία at Patræ, ib. VII. 19. 1. (an united temple of three ancient κῶμαι); Ἄκταία at Pellene, Plutarch. Arat. 32.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Pausan. VIII. 35. 7. Compare Sappho in Pausan. I. 29. 2. *Æginetica*, p. 31. Artemis was called, κατ' ἐξοχήν, the beautiful, ἀ καλὰ, Feder ad Æsch. Agam. p. 9.

¹⁵⁵¹ Callisto was called even by Hesiod the constellation of the Bear, Hygin. Poët. Astron. I. p. 356. Lactant. 6.

¹⁵⁵² It is easy to conceive that, as Apollo Lyceus was at Delphi represented in the form of a wolf, so likewise the bear was made the symbol of Artemis by the Arcadians.

¹⁵⁵³ The exceptions are few; for instance, perhaps, Apollo Cereatas in Ægyptis, Pausan. VIII. 34. 3.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Ap. Menand. de Encom. 3. p. 33. frag. 33. ed. Welcker. She was called Λυκοᾶτις on mount Mænalum, Paus. VIII. 36. 5. Κνακεᾶτις near Tegea, ib. 53, 5; Κεδρεᾶτις at Orchomenos, ib. 13. 2. (so named from a cedar on which

have been considered as united and connected with the country in which she was worshipped. This leads to the notion of an elementary goddess, of a similar, though more universal nature than nymphs of the mountains, rivers, and brooks. Accordingly we find that this ancient Peloponnesian Artemis was nearly connected with lakes, fountains, and rivers. She was worshipped in several places under the titles of Limnatis and Heleia.¹⁵⁵⁵ There were frequently also fountains in the temples of Artemis: [379] viz., at Corinth, Marius, Mothone,¹⁵⁵⁶ and near the district of Derrhiatis in Laconia.¹⁵⁵⁷ She likewise received great honours at the Clitorian fountain of Lusi.¹⁵⁵⁸ Among rivers, those she

the statue stood); Στυμφαλία at Stymphalus, *ib.* 22. 5. comp. Eustath. ad II. II. p. 228. ed. Basil; Σκιαδίτις at Scia, near Megalopolis, Paus. VIII. 35. 5; Κνακαλησία and Κονδυλεᾶτις at Caphyæ, *ib.* 23. 3; Νεμιδία at Teuthea, Strabo VIII. p. 342; in Laconia Δερρεᾶτις, Paus. III. 20. 7. Steph. Byz. in Δέρρα. The hymn to Artemis Derrhiatis, or Δερεᾶτις, was called Κάλαβις; there was also an indecent dance, Eupolis, ap. Athen. XIV. p. 619. Hesychius. Καρυᾶτις at Caryæ, Paus. III. 10. 8. Hesychius in Καρύαι. Ἴσσωρία near Pitana, Paus. III. 14. 2. Polyæn. II. 1. 14. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 172. Plutarch Ages. 32. and Hesychius (according to Pausanias the Artemis Issoria or Limnæa was not

¹⁵⁵⁵ As Λιμνᾶτις at Tegea, Paus. VIII. 53. 5; at Epidaurus Limeria, *ib.* III. 23. 6.; at Pitana, near Sparta, *ib.* 14. 2; at Λιμναία at Corinth, *ib.* II. 7. 6; and particularly in the celebrated λιμναῖον, on the frontier of Laconia and Messenia, Paus. IV. 4. 31. Tacit. Ann. IV. 43. Hence, according to Strabo p. 362. the Limnæum in Laconia was derived. At Træzen she was δέσποινα λίμνης and of the hippodrome, Eurip. Hippol. 230. As Ἐλεία in Messene, Hesych. in ἐλεία, probably ἐλεία; and at Alorium, on the borders of Arcadia, Strabo VIII. p. 350. where for Ἠλείας should probably be written Ἐλείας.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Paus. II. 3. 5. III. 22. 6. IV. 35. 6.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Paus. III. 29. 7.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Under the title of ἡμερησία, Paus. VIII. 18. 8. Pherecydes p. 132. ed. Sturz. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 235. Polyæn. IX. 34. 6. Concerning this fountain, see

was most connected with are the Cladeus and the Alpheus.¹⁵⁵⁹ The moist and watery district, through which this latter stream flows into the sea, was filled with temples of the nymphs of Aphrodite and Artemis, among which the sanctuary of the Alphean Artemis¹⁵⁶⁰ is most remarkable. There were in that temple paintings of Cleanthus and Aregon of Corinth, which were chiefly on subjects relating to religion; as, for instance, that of Poseidon presenting a thunny-fish to Zeus while in the act of producing Athene.¹⁵⁶¹ All this naturally suggests the idea of a goddess who produced a flourishing and vigorous life from the element of water; and hence we would not entirely reject the popular faith of the Phigaleans, that Eurynome, the goddess of fish, and herself represented as half a fish, was an Artemis.¹⁵⁶²

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4. The mention of the river Alpheus reminds us of Sicily, whither, in order to catch the fountain Arethusa, which was swallowed up in the land of Elis, he is said to have followed her under the sea, and to have first reached her in the island of Ortygia, near Syracuse.¹⁵⁶³ This singular fable may perhaps be explained by the following considerations. Syracuse was founded in the 5th Olympiad by Corinthians, with whom were some settlers from the district of Olympia, and particularly some members of the family of the Iamidæ, who held a sacred office

Callim. fragm. 75. Aristot. Mir. Auscult. p. 1102 B.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Paus. V. 15. 4. At Byzantium also there was *in piscina templum Dianæ Luciferæ et Veneris Placidæ*, Dionys. de Thrac. Bosphoro. In Samos also there was Artemis Χησιῶς and Ἰμβρασίη, Callim. Hymn. Dian. 228. Catullus calls her *amniū domina*, XXX. 12; Horace, *lætā foliis et nemorum coma*, Carm. I. 21. 5.—Apollonius Rhodius also calls her νηροσόος, I. 569; Callimachus, λιμένεσσιν ἐπίσκοπος, Hymn. Dian. 39.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Strab. VIII. p. 343. Paus. VI. 22. 5. Herodotus ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. V. 10. Dissen ad Nem. I. p. 350. Another temple of Artemis in this region is mentioned in Polybius IV. 73. 4.

¹⁵⁶¹ As is shown by Strabo, ubi sup. Comp. Demetrius Scepsius ap. Athen. VIII. p. 376 B.

¹⁵⁶² Paus. VIII. 41. 4.

¹⁵⁶³ Strab. VI. p. 270. Creuzer's Meletemata, vol. I. p. 78, &c.

at the altar of the Olympian Zeus.¹⁵⁶⁴ These joint colonists (συνοικιστῆρες according to the expression of Pindar) appear to have had sufficient weight in the new city to introduce their own religion and mythology. For, as we have seen above, Artemis was worshipped at Olympia as the goddess of the Alpheus, being generally considered in that country as presiding over lakes and rivers. She had in the grove of Altis an altar, together with Alpheus;¹⁵⁶⁵ and there was there a popular legend, that Alpheus had once loved Artemis. Now the settlers that went from this district to Syracuse, in their first expedition, confined themselves to the island of Ortygia. Here they built a temple to the river-goddess Artemis; a sanctuary of so great fame, that Pindar calls the whole island “the seat of Artemis, the river-goddess.¹⁵⁶⁶” There was, however, no river in Ortygia, and therefore Artemis was supposed to regret her beloved Alpheus. Hence arose the belief that Arethusa, a fountain near the temple, contained the sacred water of the Alpheus;¹⁵⁶⁷ a belief which was strengthened by the circumstance that large fish were found in the spring;¹⁵⁶⁸ and from this arose the fable that Alpheus had followed the goddess to Sicily. But Artemis was supposed to fly from the pursuit of Alpheus.¹⁵⁶⁹ This at least was the fiction followed by Telesilla, a poetess who lived in the 64th Olympiad;¹⁵⁷⁰ and the same fable was perhaps adopted by Pindar.¹⁵⁷¹ Afterwards,

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¹⁵⁶⁴ Pind. Olymp. VI. 5. 6. See Boeckh Exp. Pind. p. 152. sq.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Paus. V. 14. 5. Schol. Pind. Nem. I. 3. Olymp. V. 10.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Paus. VI. 22. 5.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Pind. Pyth. II. 7. comp. Boeckh Exp. p. 244. Concerning the temple at Ortygia, see D'Orville's Siculis, p. 196. and Boeckh, *ibid.* p. 243. The beautiful female heads on the tetradrachms of Syracuse, with the hair entwined with reeds, surrounded by four fishes, probably represent the river Artemis.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Ibycus ap. Schol. Theocrit. I. 117.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Diod. V. 3. Schol. Pind. Nem. I. 2.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Ap. Hesych. p. 36. 18.

¹⁵⁷¹ Pindar Nem. I. 1. calls Ortygia the resting-place of the Alpheus; and he too, perhaps, considers Artemis as the object of pursuit.

however, the precise meaning and origin of this fable were forgotten; and the fountain-nymph Arethusa took the place of Artemis, and became the object of the pursuit of the river-god.¹⁵⁷² Such appears to have been the origin of the elegant fable of Alpheus and Arethusa.

We now return to the Peloponnesian Artemis, and will mention some of her other symbols and attributes. Her statue stood next to that of Demeter, at Megalopolis, dressed in the skin of a deer, with a quiver on her back, holding a torch in one hand, and two serpents in the other, with a dog by her side.¹⁵⁷³ The connexion which existed between her and the Arcadian Demeter is probably more ancient than this statue; and indeed the symbol of the deer seems to have been common in Arcadia to both Artemis and Cora, called in Arcadia *despæna*.¹⁵⁷⁴ She was also worshipped with Bacchus;¹⁵⁷⁵ and, like him, had phallic festivals.¹⁵⁷⁶ From her connexion with fountains and rivers, and other rural objects, it was natural that this Artemis should be considered as the patron of wild animals. Thus Æschylus calls her “the protectress of young lions, and the whelps of other wild beasts.”¹⁵⁷⁷ In like manner

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¹⁵⁷² See the excellent note of Dissen ad Pind. Nem. I. p. 350.

¹⁵⁷³ Paus. VIII. 37. 2.

¹⁵⁷⁴ See Paus. VIII. 10. 4. Callim. Hym. Dian. 107. She had the name of Ἐλαφιαία in Elis, Paus. VI. 225. Hence the Ἐλαφρηβόλεια (Anecd. Bekk. p. 249.), a festival widely extended (*e.g.* Plutarch. Virt. Mul. p. 267.) The symbol of the deer, however, appears to have been common to all the different branches of the worship of Artemis; thus there is in Mr. Payne Knight's collection a coin in which she is represented bearing a stag's horns, which he ascribes to Delos.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Concerning human sacrifices to Artemis on the river Ameilichus, which were abolished by the worship of Dionysus Æsymnetes, at Patræ, see the description in Paus. V. 19. 1. Human sacrifices were also offered to the same goddess near Megalopolis, Tatian adv. Græcos I. p. 165 A. Compare Knight on the Symbolical Language of Mythology, § 143.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Λόμβαι. αἱ τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι θυσίων ἄρχουσαι ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν παιδιὰν σκευῆς, οἱ γὰρ φάλητες οὕτω καλοῦνται. Hesychius.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Agam. 144.

she was supposed to preside over the breeding of horses,¹⁵⁷⁸ and generally over the nurture of infants and children;¹⁵⁷⁹ it was therefore by a perversion of the original idea that she took the character of a huntress, the enemy and destroyer of wild animals. An analogous inconsistency to that before pointed out in the attributes of the *Doric* Apollo and Artemis, who were represented as both protecting and destroying.¹⁵⁸⁰ [383]

5. By the mythological symbol of Artemis Callisto, the bear, we are reminded of some ceremonies at Athens, where young girls, between the ages of five and ten years (who were consecrated to the Munychian and Brauronian Artemis), were called *bears*;¹⁵⁸¹ and the goddess herself, in some singular traditions, is represented as a bear calling for human blood.¹⁵⁸² When the Ionians went from Athens to Asia, they carried the worship of the Munychian goddess to Miletus and Cyzicus;¹⁵⁸³ and to the former city the kindred worship of Artemis Chitone,

¹⁵⁷⁸ Εὐρίππα at Pheneus, Paus. VIII. 14. 4. ἵπποσῶα, Pind. Olymp. III. 27. comp. Boeckh Expl. Pyth. II. 8. p. 244. Hence Artemis (χρυσήνιος) is frequently represented on vases in a chariot with horses; in Callimach. Hymn. Dian. 110. and in the bas reliefs of Phigaleia, she is attended by goats.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Under the title of κορυθαλλία at the Tiassa, near Sparta, near the Cleta, Athen. IV. p. 139; also κουροτρόφος, φιλομείραξ, Diod. V. 73. (and see Wesseling's note.) Paus. IV. 34. Hymn. Orph. XXXVI. 8. comp. Spanheim ad Callim. Dian. 6. These names may, however, be referred to the worship of Apollo; above ch. 8. § 7. She was worshipped under the general epithet of σῶτειρα at Pegæ (Paus. I. 44. 7.), Megara (I. 40. 2.), Bœæ (III. 22. 9.), Pellene (VII. 27. 1.), Phigaleia (VIII. 39. 3.), and at Syracuse, as we know from its coins. Comp. Dorville's Sicula, p. 327. sq.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Above, ch. 6. § 2, 3. ch. 9. § 2.

¹⁵⁸¹ Eurip. Hypsipyl. and Aristoph. Lemn. ap. Harpocrat. in ἀρκτηῦσαι. See *Orchomenos*, p. 309.

¹⁵⁸² Apostolius VIII. 19.

¹⁵⁸³ Boeckh not. Crit. ad Pind. Olymp. XIII. 109. There was also at Miletus a festival of Artemis called Νηληϊς, Plutarch Mul. Virt. p. 287. ed. Hutten. There was also a temple of Artemis at Pygela, near Ephesus, which was said to have been built by Agamemnon, Strab. XIV. p. 639. Also on coins of Miletus, Mionnet Description, &c. tom. III. p. 186.

as the goddess presiding over birth, whose wooden statues were made of fructiferous wood.¹⁵⁸⁴

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6. The consideration of the Attic festival of Artemis leads again to another variety of the worship of Artemis; viz., to that of Artemis Orthosia, Orthia, or Iphigenia. We will first give the traditions and facts as we find them. Iphigenia, coming from Tauria to Attica, was supposed to have landed at Brauron, and at the neighbouring Halæ Araphenides, and left behind her the ancient wooden image of Artemis.¹⁵⁸⁵ Here she was immediately interwoven with the heroic genealogy, and called the daughter of Theseus.¹⁵⁸⁶ In Sparta there was a temple of Artemis Orthia in a damp part of the city, called Limnæum, where was also shown a wooden statue, which had come from Tauria.¹⁵⁸⁷ As to the introduction of the worship, it is said that Astrabacus and Alopecus (the ass and fox), the sons of Irbus, descendants of Agis in the fourth generation (about 900 B.C.), had found the image in a bush, and had been struck mad by the sight of it; that the Limnatæ, and other villages of Sparta, had upon this offered sacrifices to them, when a quarrel arose, and murder ensued. A number of men were killed at the altar; and accordingly the goddess called for victims to atone for the pollution; instead of which, in later times, the scourging of boys was instituted, over

¹⁵⁸⁴ Callim. Hymn. Dian. 225. Schol. ad Callim. Hymn. Jov. 77. Χιτώνη Ἄρτεμις, Steph. Byz. in v.; among the Ionians κισθωνέα (probably κισθωνήη) Ἄρτεμις Hesych. in v. Also Artemis Χιτώνεα at Syracuse, Athen. XIV. p. 629 E.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Paus. I. 23. 9. I. 33. 1. cf. III. 17. 6. Eurip. Troad. 1462. sqq. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 173. Euphorion also placed the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Brauron, fragm. 81. ed. Meineke.

¹⁵⁸⁶ The Argives, Stesichorus, and Euphorion, according to Paus. II. 22. 7. Antonin. Liber. 27. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 183.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Paus. III. 16. 6. Hygin. fab. 261. Comp. Creuzer's Comment. Herod. p. 244. From this temple Helen was carried away, according to Plutarch Thes. 31. cf. Hygin. fab. 79; whose name reminds us of the Ἑλληνοφοροῦντες of Artemis of Brauron.

the severity of which the priestess presided.¹⁵⁸⁸ It is remarkable that this was immediately followed by a πομπή Λυδῶν, a Lydian procession.¹⁵⁸⁹

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From this narration it follows that the scourging was considered as a substitute for human sacrifice; and further, that the worship was looked upon as of a foreign origin: notwithstanding this, it was completely interwoven into the Lacedæmonian mythology. For it can be shown that the pretended daughter of Agamemnon, Iphigenia, is no other than the Taurian goddess, who was actually worshipped in several cities of Greece under the name of Ἰφιγένεια. Considered as a heroine, indeed, she became first, instead of the goddess thirsting for human sacrifice, the virgin sacrificed to her; and, secondly, her sacrificing priestess.¹⁵⁹⁰ According to the Cyprian poems (for Homer knew nothing of her) Iphigenia was sacrificed to Artemis; but was by her brought to Tauria, and made immortal, a deer (or, according to others, a bear, and also a bull) having been left in her place;¹⁵⁹¹ Hesiod also represented her as immortal, viz., as Hecate.¹⁵⁹² The sacrifice was supposed to have taken place at Aulis, because there was a temple (probably of the Orthosian Artemis) near the port, to whom sacrifices were made at the passage.¹⁵⁹³

This worship probably came to Laconia from Lemnos,¹⁵⁹⁴ one

¹⁵⁸⁸ The διαμαστίγωσις was preceded by the φούαξιρ, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας σωμασκία τῶν μελλόντων μαστιγοῦσθαι, Hesychius. The word φούαξιρ appears to be derived from φούα, Laconian for φύα, and ἄξιρ or ἄξις contracted from ἄσκησις. See App. V. § 4. Comp. Hemsterhuis and Valcknaer ad Adoniaz. p. 277. There were also other games at this festival, Boeckh. Inscript. No. 1416. ἐπὶ Ἀλκίππου νικάσας τὸ παιδικὸν κέλητι Ἀρτέμιτι Ὀρθία.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Plutarch. Arist. 17.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Prod. Chrestomath. ap. Hephæst. Gaisford.

¹⁵⁹¹ Ap. Etym. Mag. in Ταυρόπολον.

¹⁵⁹² Paus. I. 43. 1.

¹⁵⁹³ Theognis Paræn. 11. Dicæarch. Anagr. 88. Plutarch. Ages. 6. Etymol. Magn. p. 747. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 183. Siebelis ad Phanod. pp. 6. 9.

¹⁵⁹⁴ See the confused account in Plutarch. Mulier. Virt. 7. Quæst. Græc. 21.

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of its principal seats. In early tradition Lemnos was probably identical with Tauria,¹⁵⁹⁵ and the latter country derived its poetical name from the symbol of the bull, in the same manner as Lycia in later times took its name from the symbol of the wolf. In Lemnos also a great goddess was anciently worshipped with sacrifices of virgins; to which place the wooden image is said to have been brought from Brauron. This opinion becomes more evident by a comparison with the worship of Chryse. Agamemnon is said to have been the father of Chryse as well as of Iphigenia,¹⁵⁹⁶ and also, according to others, of a son Chryses, who went to Tauria with Orestes.¹⁵⁹⁷ Now it is certain that Chryse was a goddess, who had from early times been worshipped both at Lemnos and Samothrace. The Argonauts under Hercules and Jason were said to have sacrificed to her; and her ancient wooden image, raised over an hearth of unhewn stones, is often represented on ancient vases.¹⁵⁹⁸ Philoctetes is said to have been bitten by the viper¹⁵⁹⁹ when he discovered this altar.¹⁶⁰⁰ This goddess Chryse, who is also called Athene, was probably only a different form of her sister Iphigenia.

The worship of both these goddesses spread to other places, to the north of the Ægean sea. Thus on the coast of Byzantium there was an altar of Artemis Orthosia;¹⁶⁰¹ and opposite to it, at Chrysopolis, was the tomb of Chryses, the son of Agamemnon, who, in his search after Iphigenia, was said to have died there.¹⁶⁰²

Polyæn. VII. 49.

¹⁵⁹⁵ *Orchomenos*, p. 311.

¹⁵⁹⁶ *Etym. Magn.* p. 815, sq.

¹⁵⁹⁷ *Hygin. fab.* 121. on the two Chryses.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Uhdén, *Berlin Transactions for 1815*, p. 63. Millingen *Diverses Peintures*, planche 51. Welcker *ap. Dissen. Expl. Pind.* p. 512. Compare Buttmann *ad Sophod. Philoct. ad Argum. Metr.* p. 57.

¹⁵⁹⁹ The subject of a picture mentioned by Philostrat. *Icon.* 17. Dio Chrysost. *Or.* LIX. p. 577. 21.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Millingen *ibid.* planche 50.

¹⁶⁰¹ *Herod. IV.* 87.

¹⁶⁰² *Etym. Magn. ubi sup.* Dionysius de Bosphoro Thracio p. 22. ed. Hudson.

It is evident that this system of religious names was arbitrarily transferred to the genealogy of the Lacedæmonian kings, and most curiously interwoven with the Trojan mythology. The Greeks first became acquainted with Tauria by their voyages to Miletus; and they gave it a name already celebrated in their mythology. They found there some sanguinary rites of a goddess, which, by partly softening the name, they called *Oreiloche*;¹⁶⁰³ they also found human sacrifices, which they supposed to be offered to Iphigenia;¹⁶⁰⁴ their own worship of that deity bore so many marks of ancient barbarism, that they were willing to consider the northern barbarians as its authors. Yet it is certain that the Tauric Artemis was no more derived from the Taurians, than the Æthiopian Artemis from the Æthiopians,¹⁶⁰⁵ &c. In Asia Minor¹⁶⁰⁶ also there were modes of worship, which the Greeks compared with the rites of the Orthosian Artemis, of the similarity of which we shall presently treat.

7. Hitherto we have merely collected the fabulous narrations of the ancients, and attempted to show their connexion; we shall next speak of the ceremonies which attended the worship of this goddess or goddesses.

In the first place we will treat of the meaning and character of this truly mystical worship.¹⁶⁰⁷ We have a goddess adored with

Hesychius Milesius de Constantinopoli.

¹⁶⁰³ Ammianus XXII. 8. Antonin. Liberal. 27. Perizonius ad Ælian. V. H. II. 25. Hemsterhuis ad Poll. IX. 12. p. 982.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Herod. IV. 103. Comp. Scymnus Chius v. 88. Strab. VII. p. 508. XII. p. 535. Mannert's Géographie, vol. IV. p. 279. (ed. 1820).

¹⁶⁰⁵ See Callim. (fr. 417.) and Eratosthenes ap. Steph. Byz. in Αἰθιοπία, Hesychius in Αἰθιοπαῖδα.

¹⁶⁰⁶ A temple of Artemis Orthosia at Teuthrania on the Caicus, Plutarch, de Fluv.; of the Tauric Artemis at Tmolia on the Pactolus, *ibid.*; of Artemis Orthia in Cappadocia, Paus. III. 16. 6.; and of Iphigenia at Comana, Dion Cassius XXXV. 11. Comp. Steph. Byz. in Ἄμᾶνον, Plutarch de Fluv.; and particularly Strab. XII. p. 537. concerning Artemis Perasia at Castabala.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Æschylus had divulged something relating to the mysteries in the Iphigenia, Eustratius ad Aristot. Eth. Nic. III. 1. See above, § 4.

frantic and enthusiastic orgies, certain signs of an elementary religion, as well as with human sacrifices, which the character of the Greeks endeavoured only to moderate and to ennoble; it appears to have originally resembled the Arcadian worship of Callisto; but that it acquired at Lemnos, from the proximity of the Asiatic religion, a wilder and more extravagant form, which it retained after its return to Attica and Laconia. It cannot be a matter of doubt that Artemis Tauropolus is nearly identical with the Taurian goddess; this name of the goddess was established in Samos (where cakes of sesamy and honey were offered to her on solemn festivals),¹⁶⁰⁸ in the neighbouring island of Icarus,¹⁶⁰⁹ and at Amphipolis.¹⁶¹⁰ The ceremonies were undoubtedly enthusiastic, as the goddess herself was considered as striking the mind with madness,¹⁶¹¹ and bloody, because the worship at Aricia was considered like it.¹⁶¹²

8. We are now to consider those temples of Artemis which had a purely Asiatic, and not a Grecian origin, and are wholly distinct, not only from the Doric, but also from the Arcadian worship of Artemis.

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The Ephesian Artemis was doubtless found by the Ionians, when they settled on that coast, as already an object of worship,

¹⁶⁰⁸ Herod. III. 48. Steph. Byz. in Ταυροπόλιον. She was also there called Καπροφάγος, Hesychius in v. Compare Panofka Res Samiorum, p. 63.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Strab. XIV. p. 639. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 187. The Tauropolium in the island of Icaria in the Persian bay (where Apollo Tauropolus was also worshipped) was probably not established till after the time of Alexander, Ælian. N. A. II. 9. Dionys. Perieg. 611.

¹⁶¹⁰ Liv. XLIV. 44. and coins. Also in the neighbourhood of Magnesia on the Sipylus, Marm. Oxon. XXVI. 1. 60.

¹⁶¹¹ Sophod. Aj. 174.

¹⁶¹² See particularly Strab. V. p. 239. She is represented on coins sitting on an ox running, which Apollodorus explained of the periodic course of the goddess, with reference to the moon, p. 402. ed. Heyne. Comp. Etymol. M. in Ταυροπόλιον. Apostolius XVIII. 23. See also Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Dian. 174, 187.

in her temple,¹⁶¹³ situated in a marshy valley of the Cayster.¹⁶¹⁴ From some real or accidental resemblance in the attributes of the Munychian and Ephesian goddesses, they called the latter “Artemis;” yet, wherever her worship spread, she was always distinguished by the additional title of “Ephesian.”¹⁶¹⁵ Every thing that is related of the worship of this deity is singular and foreign to the Greeks. Her constant symbol is the bee, which is not otherwise attributed to Artemis; the other attributes, which adorned her statues in later times, are too far-fetched to admit of any conclusion being drawn from them. The bee, however, appears originally to have been the symbol of nourishment;¹⁶¹⁶ the chief priest himself was called ἑσσην, or the king-bee: some of the other sacerdotal names are of barbarous, and not Greek derivation.¹⁶¹⁷ The gods, by whom this great goddess¹⁶¹⁸ was surrounded, must also have been of a peculiar description. It is not probable that Latona was *originally* called her mother,¹⁶¹⁹ as Apollo is never joined with her.¹⁶²⁰ Her nurse appears to have

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¹⁶¹³ Concerning the situation of which see Locella ad Xenoph. Ephes. p. 87. Compare Caylus Mém. de l'Acad. tom. XX. pp. 428-441. Choiseul Gouffier Voyage pittoresque, tom. I. p. 191.

¹⁶¹⁴ Herod. II. 10. Artemis visited the son of the Cayster according to Callimachus fragm. 102. ed. Bentl.

¹⁶¹⁵ At Corinth, Paus. II. 2. 5. Alea, id. VIII. 23. 1. An Ephesium at Massilia, Strabo IV. pp. 179, 184. at the founding of which there was a priestess named Aristarche (compare the Ἀρισταρχεῖον of Artemis at Elis, Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 47).

¹⁶¹⁶ Of a peculiar character also were the sacrifices of parsley and salt at Dætis in Ephesus, Etym. Mag. in Δαίτις.

¹⁶¹⁷ The Megabyzi, so called as early as the time of Xenophon. Also Μύξος was a priest's name, Apostol. V. 44. The servants of the goddess were, according to their different grades, called μελλιεργῆς, ἰερῆς, and παριερῆς, according to Plutarch An Seni sit ger. Resp. 24. p. 130. ed. Hutten.

¹⁶¹⁸ πρωτοθρονίη, Paus. X. 38. 3.

¹⁶¹⁹ Latona is said to have given birth to her at Corissus in the Ephesia, Steph. Byz. in Κόρισσος.

¹⁶²⁰ The union of Apollo of Colophon, of the Ephesian Diana, and of the Nemesis of Smyrna on coins of these cities in the time of the emperors is only

been called *Ammas*.¹⁶²¹ Hercules is said to have proclaimed her birth from mount Ceryceum.¹⁶²² This Hercules may perhaps be some native demigod, possibly one of the Idæan Dactyli, whose names were, according to some, contained in Ephesian incantations, which were inscribed at the foot of her statues.¹⁶²³

9. Thus much concerns the character of this worship, which appears, like an isolated point, projecting from a religious system, otherwise confined to the western parts of Greece.

As to its origin, the unanimous tradition of antiquity is that it was founded by the Amazons, This legend had probably been mentioned in some of the ancient epic poems before it was alluded to by Pindar,¹⁶²⁴ and that it was also preserved on the spot appears from the celebrated contest of Phidias, Polycleitus, and other artists, to make statues of Amazons for the Ephesian temple: lately also a sarcophagus was found near Ephesus representing the battle of the Amazons.¹⁶²⁵ The traditions respecting the foundation of the cities of Smyrna, Cume, Myrlea, Myrina, Æolis, Priene, Mytilene, and Pitane also make mention of the Amazons.¹⁶²⁶ With respect to the meaning of Amazons,

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a mutual compliment. In the speech of the Ephesians in Tacitus Annal. III. 61. there is evidently much inaccuracy. The Ἀπόλλων Ἀμαζόνιος in Paus. III. 25. 2. is a singular curiosity.

¹⁶²¹ Ἀμμας, ἡ τρώφος Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ ῥέα καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ, Hesychius.

¹⁶²² Etymol. Mag. p. 511. 56. Gudian. p. 320. 26.

¹⁶²³ See Lobeck, Aglaophamus, vol. II. p. 1166.

¹⁶²⁴ Ap. Paus. VII. 2. 4. Fragm. Incert. 56. ed. Boeckh. See Callim. Hymn. Dian. 240. sqq. Paus. IV. 31. 6. Steph. Byz. in Ἐφεσος. cf. in Σίσυρβα, Κύννα. Etym. Mag. in Ἐφεσος. Plutarch Quæst. Græc. 56. p. 407. ed. Hutten. Hyginus fab. 223, 225. The contrary is stated in Eusebium Chron. n. 870. Ἀμαζόνες τὸ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἱερὸν ἐνέπρησαν.

¹⁶²⁵ Moses' Vases, plate 133.

¹⁶²⁶ Hecataeus ap. Steph. Byz. in Ἀμαζ. According to Heraclides Ponticus 33. their settlements reached from Mycale to Pitane, Diod. III. 55. from Dionysius of Samos, Ephorus ap. Strab. XII. p. 550. cf. XIII. p. 623, &c. See Steph. Byz. in Ἀναία of a place called Anæa opposite Samos, where an Amazon of that name was buried. The inhabitants were called Ἀναίται. Perhaps an Artemis

it has rightly (in my opinion) been supposed that the idea of them was suggested by the sight of the innumerable female slaves (ἱερόδουλοι) who were employed about the temples of Asia Minor.¹⁶²⁷ According to Callimachus also the Amazons danced to the sound of the pipe round the statue which had been newly raised on the trunk of an elm-tree. It is also stated as an historical fact, that, even in the times of the Ionians, women of the Amazon race dwelt round the temple;¹⁶²⁸ although virgins only were permitted to enter the sanctuary itself.¹⁶²⁹ It appears therefore that the goddess upon whom these Amazons attended, being represented as a beneficent and nourishing deity, was likewise supposed to have the attributes of war and destruction; a double and opposite character, which we have traced in other branches of the worship of Artemis. As to the native country of the Amazons, who were supposed to have founded this worship, it does not seem to have been Phrygia, as they are stated in the Iliad to have come from the east of the Sangarius, and to have [392] fought with the Phrygians.¹⁶³⁰ The Syrians, however, bordered on that people: and Pindar, who says that the Amazons led the Syrian army,¹⁶³¹ fully coincides with those who fix their origin on the banks of the Thermodon, Chadesius and Lycastus along the coast of Themiscyra.¹⁶³² The striking agreement of several authors in this statement, and its singular precision, render it of

Anaitis was here worshipped.

¹⁶²⁷ Proposed by Tölken, Ueber das Bas-relief, &c. p. 210. and approved by Boeckh in Hirt Ueber die Hierodulen, p. 55.

¹⁶²⁸ Paus. VII. 2. 5.

¹⁶²⁹ Achill. Tat. Clitoph. VII. p. 431.

¹⁶³⁰ Il. III. 185.

¹⁶³¹ Ap. Strab. XII. p. 819 C. fragm. incert. 57. p. 645. ed. Boeckh.

¹⁶³² Æschyl. Prometh. 723. Pherecydes ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II. 370. Herod. IV. 110. Arrian Peripl. p. 16. Scymnus Chius v. 229. Creuzer Vet. Histor. Græc. p. 80. According to Schol. Apoll. ubi sup. (cf. 990.) there were in the πεδῖον Δοϊάντρος in Phrygia (in the neighbourhood of Thermodon) three cities of the Amazons; not far off was Alcmonia (Acmonia Steph. Byz), where Harmonia produced the Amazons to Mars.

double importance. And what country could have been more probably the native place of the Ephesian Artemis, as well as of the warlike Hierodulæ, than Cappadocia; where there were, in the historical age, large numbers of sacred slaves, both male and female; where also there was an elementary religion, with frantic rites, and the principal divinity was at the same time a *Bellona* and a *Magna Mater*?

This same oriental worship had also been in other places adopted by the Greeks of Asia Minor. Among these are *Leucophryne*, who was worshipped in Phrygia, near a warm spring,¹⁶³³ and thence particularly honoured along the banks of the Mæander in Magnesia; and therefore also by Themistocles.¹⁶³⁴ She was represented in the same form as the Ephesian goddess.¹⁶³⁵ Her sacred animal was the buffalo.¹⁶³⁶ The Artemis of *Sipylyus* was worshipped with wanton games, from which she was also called at Olympia (according to Pausanias) *Cordaca*.¹⁶³⁷ The *Pergæan* Artemis known all over Greece by her itinerant priests,¹⁶³⁸ and of the same form as the Artemis *Leucophryne*;¹⁶³⁹ with many others.¹⁶⁴⁰ It was in the true spirit

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¹⁶³³ Xenoph. Hell. III. 2. 19.

¹⁶³⁴ Marm. Oxon. XXVI. 1. 84. Paus. I. 26. 4. III. 18. 6.

¹⁶³⁵ Heyne Antiquarische Aufsätze, vol. I. p. 109. Compare Paciaudi Monum. Pelop. vol. II. p. 13.

¹⁶³⁶ See the coins in Mionnet tom. III. p. 137.

¹⁶³⁷ VI. 22. 1. The Sicilian Greeks also celebrated to Artemis the effeminate Ionian dance. Pollux IV. 14, 104.

¹⁶³⁸ Scylax, p. 39. Strab. XIV. p. 667. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 187. Cicero in Verr. I. 20. III. 21. Hesychius, Suidas, Photius, &c. in Περγαία θεός. Apostolius IX. 91. where for παναγαία read περγαία. At Perge also the Syrian Adonis was worshipped under the name of Aboba, Hesychius in Ἀβωβα.

¹⁶³⁹ Represented on coins as a *signum informe*.

¹⁶⁴⁰ For example, Artemis Κινδυῶς of Bargylia, Polyb. XVI. 12. 3; Artemis Ἐστιάς; of Iasbus, ibid. ΑΣΤΙΑΣ Inscript. Chandler, p. 19. n. 57; the goddess of ἱερὰ κώμη; at Thyateira, called Ὀρεῖτις, Polyb. XXXII. 25. 11. Inscript. in Walpole's Travels, p. 575; the Mysian Artemis, Paus. III. 20. 8. cf. Callim. Hymn. Dian. 116; the Astyrene Artemis under mount Ida, Strab. XIII. p. 606, 613; the Boritine Artemis of Lydia, Eckhel Doct. Num. vol. III. p. 121;

of this worship that the musician Timotheus called Artemis “the raging and foaming, like a Bacchanalian;”¹⁶⁴¹ and the tragic poet Diogenes in a beautiful though not a very accurate passage of his *Semele* speaks of the Lydian and Bactrian virgins, who with soft strains worshipped the Tmolian Artemis on the banks of the Halys.¹⁶⁴²

I have now endeavoured to give the reader a general view of the different branches and forms of the worship of Artemis; in which some difficult and doubtful questions have of necessity been passed over: but I have preferred rather to reckon on the acquiescence of the reader in some uncertain propositions than to weary his patience by a detailed examination of all the debatable points.

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Chapter X.

§ 1. On the worship of deities other than Apollo and Artemis in Doric states. Worship of Zeus and Here. § 2. Of Athene. § 3 and 4. Of Demeter. § 5. Of Poseidon. § 6. Of Dionysus. § 7. Of Aphrodite, Hermes, Hephæstus, Ares, and Æsculapius. § 8. Of the Charites, Eros, and the Dioscuri. § 9. General character of the Doric religion.

1. Having considered the worship of those deities which either wholly or partially owed their origin to the Dorians, we must now, in order to complete our account of the religion of that race,

Artemis Adrasteia in Lesser Phrygia, Harpocraton in Ἀδράστεια, &c.

¹⁶⁴¹ Θυάδα, φοιβάδα, μαινάδα, λυσσάδα, Plut. de Superst. 9. p. 75.

¹⁶⁴² Athen. XIV. p. 636 A.

point out the various worships which they adopted from other nations.

This inquiry will be of value in two other respects than the plain and immediate result to which it leads; viz., from the light it throws on the history of the Doric colonies, and likewise on the Doric character upon which the mode of worship had a most powerful influence.

But since the subject embraced in its full extent would be almost endless (there being no part of ancient history on which there are such ample accounts as on the local worships), we must give up all attempt at completeness, and rest satisfied with a narrower view.

To begin then with ZEUS. It is remarkable that there was no great establishment of the worship of this god (except the Phrygian in Crete) in any Doric country, but wherever it occurred was connected with and subordinate to that of some other deity. The worship at Olympia¹⁶⁴³ appears to have been established by the Achæans, who in other places (*e.g.*, at Ægium) consecrated temples to Zeus alone: the worship of Zeus Hellanius at Ægina was introduced by the Hellenes of Thessaly. But the whole of Argolis and also Corinth were, from early times, under the protection of HERE, the character of whose worship resembled that of Zeus, although it was more pronounced. The chief temple was twelve stadia from Mycenæ, and forty from Argos, beyond the district of Prosymna;¹⁶⁴⁴ its service was performed

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¹⁶⁴³ From this temple was derived the Olympicum at Syracuse (see above, book I. ch. 6. § 7.), the priest of which, called Ἀμφίπολος, was the highest annual officer, Thucyd. VII. 65, 70. Diod. XVI. 70. Exc. Virt. et Vit. p. 558. Cic. Verr. II. 51.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Creuzer Symbolik, vol. II. p. 575. Ἡρας Προσυμναίας ἱερὸν, Pseudo-Plutarch de Fluv. Strab. p. 573, is probably not correct in distinguishing the temple of Here at Prosymna from the celebrated one. The names *Prosymna* and *Prosymnus* also occur at Lerna and at Gortyna in Arcadia. Inscription of Gortyna in Boeckh No. 1535, ἅ πατρα των προσυμναιων νικομαχην αριστοθεμιτος δαδουχησασαν.

by the most distinguished priestesses, and celebrated by the first festivals and games, being also one of the earliest nurseries of the art of sculpture. It appears that Argos was the original seat of the worship of Here, and that there it first received its peculiar form and character: for the worship of the Samian Here, as well as that at Sparta,¹⁶⁴⁵ was supposed to have been derived from Argos, which statement is confirmed by the resemblance in the ceremonies; and the same is true of the worship of the same goddess at Epidaurus,¹⁶⁴⁶ Ægina, and Byzantium. In the [396] early mythology of Argos her name constantly occurs; and the traditions concerning Io, so far as they were native, are only fabulous expressions for the ideas and feelings excited by this religion. Thus also the Corinthian fables of Medea refer to the indigenous worship of Here Acræa.¹⁶⁴⁷ Hence the Corinthians introduced into their colony of Corcyra, together with the religion of Here,¹⁶⁴⁸ the mythology and worship of Medea.¹⁶⁴⁹ The peculiarities of the worship of Here must partly be looked for in the symbolical traditions respecting Io and Medea, and other mythological personages of the same description, and partly in the various rites of the Samian festival. It was doubtless founded on some elementary religion, as may be plainly seen

¹⁶⁴⁵ Pausanias III. 13. Sturz Pherecydes, p. 79. See particularly Heyne ad II. Δ. 52. Eurydice the daughter of Acrisius was said to have built the temple. To the statement of Pausanias III. 15. 7. μόνοις δὲ Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμονίοις καθέστηκεν Ἥραν ἐπονομάζειν αἰγοφάγον καὶ αἶγας τῇ θεῷ θύειν (compare Hesych. in Αἰγοφάγος Χίρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ with Welcker on Schwenck's Etymologische Andeutungen, p. 294.), it may be objected that the same custom prevailed in Corinth; see Photius Lex. in ἡ δὲ αἶξ τὴν μάχαιραν, p. 613. Zenob. Proverb. I. 27. Diogen. Prov. I. 52.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Thucyd. V. 75.

¹⁶⁴⁷ See *Orchomenos*, p. 267.

¹⁶⁴⁸ The chief temple at Corcyra was that of Here, Thucyd. I. 24. III. 75, 79. Also at Syracuse, Ælian. V.H. VI. 11, &c.

¹⁶⁴⁹ *Orchomenos*, p. 297. The divinity of Medea there asserted is completely proved by the testimony of Athenagoras Legat. p. 14. that Hesiod and Alcman called her *goddess*.

from the tradition that Zeus had on mount Thornax in southern Argolis seduced Here in the shape of a cuckoo (whose song was considered in Greece as the prognostic of fertile rains in the spring). The marriage with Zeus (called ἱερός γάμος) is always a prominent feature in the worship of Here; she was represented veiled, like a bride; and was carried, like a bride, on a car, with other similar allusions.¹⁶⁵⁰ At Samos it was related that the statue of the goddess had been once entirely covered with branches; and this, as it appears, was also represented at festivals.¹⁶⁵¹ The Argive festival of Λέχερνα, *i.e.*, of the “bed of twigs,” had the same meaning.¹⁶⁵²

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2. In Argolis also the worship of ATHENE was of great antiquity, and enjoyed almost equal honours with that of Here; her temple was on the height of Larissa: and doubtless she had the same character and origin as the Athene Chalcioecus of Sparta.¹⁶⁵³ Their names were in both places nearly the same, as at Sparta she was called Ὀπτιλέτις,¹⁶⁵⁴ and in Argolis Ὀξυδέρκης, *the quick-sighted*,¹⁶⁵⁵ and though in both places the names were explained from historical events, it seems more accurate to compare them with the title of Athene at Athens and Sigeum, Γλαυκῶπις, and others of the same kind. At Argos a large part of the heroic mythology is associated with the worship of Athene: for Acrisius was fabled to have been buried in her temple on the citadel;¹⁶⁵⁶ and since Ἀκρία was a title of the goddess herself,¹⁶⁵⁷

¹⁶⁵⁰ She was worshipped under the titles of Εἰλήθυσια and Γαμηλή, Hesychius in Εἰλήθυσια, Eustath. ad Hom. p. 1156.

¹⁶⁵¹ Athen. XV. p. 672.

¹⁶⁵² Hesychius in v. See also Creuzer's Symbolik, whose chapter upon Here contains much in the spirit of the ancient religion, and Welcker on Schwenck, p. 268.

¹⁶⁵³ At Sparta there was also the Arcadian worship of Athene Alea, Xenoph. Hell. VI. 5. 27.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Pausan. III. 18.1. Plutarch Lycurg. 11.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Pausan. II. 24.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Clem. Alexand. Protrept. p. 29. ed. Sylburg.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Ἀκρία Ἄθηνᾶ ἐν Ἄργει. Also Here, Artemis, and Aphrodite, see Hesych.

it appears to me that the name Ἀκρίσιος may be satisfactorily explained in this manner: especially as it is plain from an analysis of the mythology of Acrisius, Perseus, and the Gorgons, that it is entirely founded on symbols of Athene. Corinth also had a part in these fables, as is clearly shown by the figures of Pegasus, of the head of Medusa and Athene herself upon the coins of this state and of its colonies Leucadia, Anactorium, and Amphilochian Argos.¹⁶⁵⁸

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There is also another branch of the worship of Athene in the Doric states, viz., that which extended from Lindus in Rhodes to Gela in Sicily, and from thence to Agrigentum and Camarina.¹⁶⁵⁹ In all these places Athene was the protectress of the citadel and the town, and was associated with Zeus Polieus (also with Zeus Atabyrius.¹⁶⁶⁰) As to the ceremonies with which she was honoured, we only know from Pindar that at Rhodes they offered fireless sacrifices to her, and that the ancient sculpture of Rhodes was connected with her worship. That of Hierapytna in Crete (the coins of which city have the Athenian symbols of Athene) more resembled the Rhodian worship, if what the envoys from Præsus stated at Rhodes was correct, viz., that at Hierapytna the Corybantes were called the offspring of the sun and of Athene.¹⁶⁶¹

in Ἀκρέα.

¹⁶⁵⁸ But with a particular reference to Bellerophon. From Pegasus was derived the goddess Hippias, Pind. Olymp. XIII. 97, whose altar was chiefly remarkable for the rite of incubation. Ἐλλωτία is, as we also learn from the Scholiast of Pindar, like Ἀλέα, the goddess of light. There was also the worship of Athene at Syracuse, Diod. de Virt. et Vit. p. 549. ed. Wesseling.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Boeckh Explic. ad Pind. Olymp. II. 1. p. 123. V. 9. p. 148, and particularly Polyb. IX. 27. 7. with Timæus in Steph. Byz. in Ἀτάβυρον. The Athene Polias of Træzen was introduced by the Ionians, as the other worships of that city show.

¹⁶⁶⁰ She was always called "the Lindian" even in the city of Rhodes, Meurs. Rhod. I. 6. Compare Apostolius XVII. 17.

¹⁶⁶¹ Strabo X. pag. 472. ὡς εἶεν Κορύβαντες δαίμονες τινες, Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡλίου παῖδες. This is the proper way of pointing these words.

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3. Although the worship of these deities, and of Here in particular, had probably been more prevalent before than after the Doric invasion, the religion of DEMETER was still more depressed. This worship was nearly extirpated by the Dorians, a fact which we know from Herodotus, who, in speaking of some rites of Demeter Thesmophoria which were supposed to have been founded by the daughters of Danaus, states that when the Peloponnesians were driven out by the Dorians, these rites were discontinued, and were only kept up by those Peloponnesians who remained behind, and by the Arcadians.¹⁶⁶² Consequently we meet with few traces of the worship of Demeter in the chief cities of the Doric name.¹⁶⁶³ Thus it appears that in Argos the ceremonies in honour of this goddess were on one side driven into the marshes of Lerna, and on the other to the eastern extremity of the peninsula, inhabited by the Dryopes. In the former of these two places some mystical rites were long performed, and in the latter the chief worship was that of the deities of the earth and the infernal regions (χθόνιοι θεοί). Some inscriptions found at Hermione, which besides Demeter and Cora mention the name of Clymenus,¹⁶⁶⁴ an epithet of Pluto, agree well with the beginning of the hymn which Lasus the Hermionean addressed to the deities of his native city: "I sing of Demeter and the Melibœan Cora, the wife of Clymenus, sounding the deep-toned Æolic harmony of hymns."¹⁶⁶⁵ And that the Hermioneans considered the temple of the earthly Demeter (which was connected with the entrance of the infernal regions supposed to be at Hermione) as the first in

¹⁶⁶² II. 171.

¹⁶⁶³ The Messenians alone made Demeter of Andania the chief goddess of the state; see book I. ch. 5. § 16.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Boeckh Corp. Inscript. Nos. 1197, 1198, 1199. Comp. Paus. II. 35. 3. Perhaps the name of Hermione also refers to the worship of the χθόνιοι θεοί, see Hesych. in Ἑρμιόνη.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Athen. XIV. pag. 624 E. Compare the hymn of Philicus of Corcyra, Hephæst. p. 53. ed. Gaisford. and the verses of Aristocles ap. Ælian, de N. A. XI. 4.

the city, is also evident from the fact that the Asinæans, expelled from Argolis and resident in Messenia, sent sacrifices and sacred missions from thence to their national goddess at Hermione.¹⁶⁶⁶

In ancient times also a worship was prevalent at Argos which we will designate by the name of the Triopian Demeter.¹⁶⁶⁷ All the fables concerning Triopas and his son Erysichthon (from ἐρυσίβη, *robigo*) belong to an agricultural religion, which at the same time refers to the infernal regions. The places where this religion existed in ancient times are the Thessalian plains of Dotium, Argos, and likewise Attica,¹⁶⁶⁸ and from the first-mentioned place it was transmitted to the south-western coast of Asia Minor by an early national connexion which is indicated in the account of an ancient Pelasgic colony from Dotium to Cnidos, Rhodes, and Syme,¹⁶⁶⁹ and here it formed the basis of the Triopian worship, on which were afterwards founded the federative festivals of the six Doric cities. In front of Triopium is the small island of Telos, whence a single family joined the Lindian colony that founded Gela in Sicily, and earned with it the *sacra Triopia*. A member of this family named Telines advanced this private worship of the infernal gods so greatly that it was incorporated in the national religion, and he was appointed to administer it as Hierophant; it was from this person that Hiero the king of Syracuse was descended.¹⁶⁷⁰ [400]

4. By this history of the colonial connexions, well attested from without, and having great internal probability, we have ascertained the origin of one of the branches of the worship of Demeter in Sicily. Another was probably introduced by the clan [401]

¹⁶⁶⁶ Boeckh Inscript. No. 1193.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Pausan. II. 22. 2. Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Πελασγίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσσαμένου Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Τριόπα.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Hellanicus ap. Athen. X. p. 416 A. et Steph. Byz. in v. Τριόπιον. Callimachus Hymn. Cer. 24. Inscript. Herod. Attici; and compare the excellent explanation of Boeckh ad Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 27. pag. 315.

¹⁶⁶⁹ See *Orchomenos*, p. 195.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Herod. VII. 153. Schol. Pind. ubi sup.

of the Emmenidæ,¹⁶⁷¹ which being originally of Theban origin came into Sicily with the colony of Gela: for it was probably owing to the traditions of this family alone that Agrigentum, as well as ancient Thebes, was called “a gift from Zeus to Persephone at their nuptial festival.”¹⁶⁷²

But from neither of these two sources can the celebrated worship of Demeter at Syracuse and its colony Enna (which in the eyes both of the inhabitants and of the Romans had made Sicily the native country of Ceres) be derived, since it differed in certain respects from both the above-named worships.¹⁶⁷³ From its importance we may infer that it was one of the most ancient religions of Syracuse, and established at the first foundation of that town; and since of these some came from Olympia,¹⁶⁷⁴ but the larger part from Corinth, and there is no reason for supposing that it was derived from the former place, it must have been brought over from the parent state. Now it is true that there was at Corinth a temple of Demeter and Cora, the priestesses of which also prophesied by means of dreams;¹⁶⁷⁵ but the worship of those goddesses was there of far less importance than in Sicily, where its preponderance may perhaps be accounted for by the fertility of the soil, which enabled it to produce wheat, while the Greeks had in their own country been accustomed to eat barley, and

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¹⁶⁷¹ *Orchomenos*, p. 337.

¹⁶⁷² *Ibid.* pag. 257. afterwards extended over the whole of Sicily. Boeckh *Explic. Pind. Olymp. II.* p. 123. Κόρης παρὰ Σικελιώταις Θεογάμια καὶ Ἀνθεσφόρια, *Pollux I.* 37. The Θεογάμια were probably connected with the festival ἀνακαλυπτήρια (*Schol. rec. ad Olymp. VI.* 160), and this festival was derived from Thebes. Cyzicus also, founded by Tyrrhenian Pelasgi (from Bœotia), was considered as an ἐμπορίκιον of Zeus for Proserpine, *Appian. Bell. Mithridat. 75. comp. Steph. Byz. in v. Βέσβικος.*

¹⁶⁷³ A festival Θεσμοφόρια at Syracuse (*Athen. XIV.* p. 647 A. Θεσμοφόρων τέμενος, *Plutarch Dio 56.* a month Thesmophorius, see *Castelli*), Κούρεια *Plutarch ubi sup. comp. Diod. V. 4. sqq.*

¹⁶⁷⁴ See book I. ch. 6. § 7. and above, § 1.

¹⁶⁷⁵ *Plut. Timoleon 8. Diod. XVI. 66.* Demeter ἐποικιδίη in Corinth according to *Hesychius.*

therefore stimulated the colonists to be especially thankful to the goddess of corn. When, however, it is remembered that Megara also had a large share in the colonising of Syracuse, it will hardly be doubted that this state was the real source from which the worship in question originated, since Demeter was there an ancient national deity, and was not disturbed in her sanctuary on the citadel of Caria even by the Doric invaders.¹⁶⁷⁶

In Laconia also the worship of Demeter had been preserved from ancient times, although it could not have been much respected by the Dorians in Sparta. For the Eleusinia of that country were chiefly celebrated by the inhabitants of the ancient town of Helos, who on certain days carried a wooden statue of Cora to the Eleusinium on the heights of Taygetus.¹⁶⁷⁷ The Lacedæmonians had also adopted the worship of Demeter under the title of *χθονία*, or earthly, from the Hermioneans, some of whose kinsmen had settled in Messenia.¹⁶⁷⁸

5. POSEIDON was not originally a god of the Doric race, but was suited rather to the character of the Ionians, who, from dwelling near the sea, had acquired a love for foreign communication and a great spirit of enterprise. We therefore find it only in a few places, for example, at Tænarum¹⁶⁷⁹ (whence it was carried to Tarentum), at Cyrene,¹⁶⁸⁰ in Ægina,¹⁶⁸¹ and particularly on the Corinthian isthmus; also at Trœzen and Calauria, which places

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¹⁶⁷⁶ Pausan. The mystical worship of *Damia* and *Auxesia* at Epidaurus and Trœzen was also connected with that of Demeter, as the manuscript Scholiast ap. Mitscherlich ad Hymn. in Cerer. 122. declares. But Δημήτηρ Ἀζήσια (Sophocl. ap. Hesych. in v. comp. Valcken. Adoniaz. p. 292) and Δημήτηρ Ἄμαία (Suidas in v.) must not be confounded with those goddesses.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Pausan. III. 20. 5. 6. compare Hesychius, Ἐλευσίνια ἀγῶν θυμελικὸς ἀγόμενος Δήμητρι παρὰ Λάκωσι.

¹⁶⁷⁸ III. 14. 5. Compare Hesychius in Ἐπιπολλὰ and Ἐπικρήναι.

¹⁶⁷⁹ The priests were probably called *Ταιναρισταί*, see Hesych. in v. *Ταιναρίας*.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Ἀμφιβαῖος, *i.e.* Ἄμφι—αῖος, Boeckh Explic. Pind. Pyth. IV. p. 268. also Πελλάνιος according to Hesychius.

¹⁶⁸¹ *Æginetica*, p. 148. and see Plat. *Sympos.* IX. 6. p. 410.

(as has been already shown) were among the ancient settlements of the Ionians on the Saronic gulf,¹⁶⁸² to which the legends concerning Theseus chiefly refer.¹⁶⁸³ From Trœzen the worship of Poseidon was transmitted to Posidonia in Magna Græcia, and also to Halicarnassus, chiefly by the family of the Antheadæ.

6. The worship of DIONYSUS did not enjoy equal honours among all the Dorians. It had indeed penetrated as far as Sparta, where it had driven even the Lacedæmonian women to phrensy;¹⁶⁸⁴ and the Delphic oracle itself had ordered the institution of a race of Bacchanalian virgins.¹⁶⁸⁵ But nothing is known of any sumptuous or regular ceremonies in honour of Dionysus; and we might indeed have supposed *à priori* that the austere and rigid notions of the Spartans would have been very averse to that deity. The same is probably true of Argos, which had for a long time wholly abstained from the worship of Dionysus, but afterwards dedicated to him a festival called τὺρβη (*turba*).¹⁶⁸⁶ The conduct of Corinth and Sicyon was in this respect altogether different. The former city had received from Phlius¹⁶⁸⁷ the worship of this god under the title of βακχεῖος, *i.e.*, “*exciting to phrensy*;” and also under that of λύσιος, the “*appeasing*” or “*soothing*,” from Thebes, whence it was said to have come at the time of the Doric invasion,¹⁶⁸⁸ and where it was celebrated with festivals, of which we have very ample accounts.¹⁶⁸⁹ In early

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¹⁶⁸² Hence also the sacred month Geræstius at Trœzen (Athen. XIV. p. 639), which points to Eubœa.

¹⁶⁸³ See above, ch. 3. § 2. on the ancient difference between the Isthmian and Olympic games.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Ælian V. H. III. 42. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 963. Pac. 1071.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Pausan. III. 13. 4. Here, too, as well as at Athens, there was Διόνυσος ἐν Λίμναις, Strab. VIII. p. 363. See above, ch. 9. § 3. concerning the Dymænæ.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Pausan. II. 23, 24. 37. Compare Hesychius in Ὑαργίδες.

¹⁶⁸⁷ See above, book I. ch. 5. § 3. Phlius, on account of this worship, was the birthplace of the σατυρικοὶ ποιηταὶ Aristeas and Pratinas.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Pausan. II. 7. 6. Also Διόνυσος Χοιροψάλης in that town, Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 25.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Concerning the crown ἰάκχα see Athen. XV. p. 678. Compare Hesychius

times some rude beginnings of tragedy had been formed from the dithyrambic choruses¹⁶⁹⁰ there performed, as the tradition of Epigenes informs us; though these were not regular dramas; there were likewise the tragic choruses transferred from Bacchus to some of the heroes, and Adrastus had been made the subject of these songs before the tyranny of Cleisthenes.¹⁶⁹¹ The worship of this god had also produced a native kind of comic and ludicrous entertainment, the Phallophori.¹⁶⁹² In the neighbouring city of Corinth, the same worship, with its musical and poetical accompaniments, prevailed;¹⁶⁹³ and it was in this town that, according to Pindar,¹⁶⁹⁴ the dithyramb was first established, although indeed under the direction of a foreigner (Arion). In the Doric colonies of Magna Græcia this worship preserved the same character of irregularity and excess; the whole town of Tarentum was (as Plato says) drunk at the festival of Bacchus. The painted vases give a perfect representation of the antics and masques of this ancient carnival. [405]

7. In Corinth, however, and Sicyon, the worship of APHRODITE as well as of Dionysus was established. It seems probable that the worship of that deity had indeed a native origin in Greece, but that it had been extended and modified by Phœnician settlers in some of the maritime towns. The institution of the “hospitable damsels,”¹⁶⁹⁵ whom the goddess their mistress herself ordered

in θιακχὰ and ἰάκχα.

¹⁶⁹⁰ The celebration of which appears to be referred to in the ancient epigram in Athen. XIV. p. 629 A.

¹⁶⁹¹ Herod. V. 67. The word ἀπέδωκε proves that the tragic choruses were originally celebrated to Bacchus. Perhaps the Adrastea were engrafted upon the Dionysia.

¹⁶⁹² Athen. XIV. p. 21, 622. It is to these that the Epigr. Onestæ 2. refers. Comp. Hermann ad Aristot. Poet. 3. p. 104.

¹⁶⁹³ Worshipped under the titles of Βακχεῖος and Λύσιος in that town, Pausan. II. 2. 5.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Olymp. XIII. 18. and see Boeckh's Explic.

¹⁶⁹⁵ πολύξενοι νεάνιδες, Pindar Schol. Fragm. 1.

to be at the disposal of strangers,¹⁶⁹⁶ was undoubtedly of Asiatic origin, and unknown to the ancient Greeks.¹⁶⁹⁷ Sicyon, however, appears to have derived the worship of these two deities from Corinth, the coins of which city generally have a dove,¹⁶⁹⁸ and frequently also a head of Aphrodite of ancient workmanship; and the native poetess Praxilla (452 B.C.) addressed Aphrodite as the mother of Dionysus,¹⁶⁹⁹ and sang of the joys and woes of the Phœnician Adonis.¹⁷⁰⁰ While again the Dorians of these maritime cities had a certain susceptibility, flexibleness, and softness of character, the very contrary of all these qualities distinguished the Spartans. For although that state came into connexion with a Phœnician establishment of the worship of Aphrodite in the island of Cythera, they transformed it while they adopted it, and had their own armed Aphrodite, and the chained and veiled goddess of marriage.¹⁷⁰¹ From the same island also they received the god Adonis under the name of Ciris.¹⁷⁰² Aphrodite, however, enjoyed greater honours in the Spartan colony of Cnidos, whence she went to Halicarnassus under the title of Acræa, and from thence to the mother city Trœzen.¹⁷⁰³ The worship of Aphrodite at Selinus in the west of

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¹⁶⁹⁶ σὺν δ' ἀναγκα πᾶν καλόν, Pindar *ibid.* Concerning the ἱερόδουλοι see Hirt *Ueber die Hierodulen* and others. I only add that some of them were called κατὰ κλειστοί, *i.e.*, shut up in single cells (Hesychius in *v.*); but the reason of this name is not evident.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Aphrodite Εὐδωσῶ (Hesych. in *v.*) and Aphrodite Βαιῶτις (*ibid.*) at Syracuse came from Corinth; see Clem. Alex. p. 25.

¹⁶⁹⁸ That is, on those which are falsely ascribed to the Siphnians and Seriphians (ΣΕ or ΣΙ), but are found in great numbers in the district of Sicyon.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Hesych. in Βάκχου Διώνης.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Zenob. Prov. IV. 21. Diogen. V. 21.

¹⁷⁰¹ Pausan. III. 15. 8. III. 23. 1. Plutarch *Instit. Lac.* p. 253. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 449. She was, however, also represented armed at Corinth, Pausan. II. 4. 7.

¹⁷⁰² Hesychius in *v.* According to the great etymologist Κίρρις is merely Cyprian. Compare Meurs. *Miscell. Lacon.* I. 3.

¹⁷⁰³ Pausan. II. 32. 6. and concerning the Trœzenian worship of Aphrodite see

Sicily¹⁷⁰⁴ was doubtless derived from the neighbouring town of Eryx, and was consequently also Phœnician; and the temple was probably one of the wealthiest of that once flourishing city.¹⁷⁰⁵

The worship of HERMES does not appear to have prevailed in any Doric state; in one respect he was superseded by Apollo Agyieus. The same may nearly be said of HEPHÆSTUS and ARES, the latter of whom was worshipped by the Spartans under the names of Theritas and Enyalios. Of the worship of ÆSCULAPIUS it has been already¹⁷⁰⁶ mentioned that it was derived to Cos, Cnidos, and Rhodes, from Epidaurus, which state again had in ancient times received it through the Phlegyans from Tricca.¹⁷⁰⁷ From Epidaurus, according to Pausanias,¹⁷⁰⁸ also came the worship of Sicyon, and the Cyrenæan at Balagræ,¹⁷⁰⁹ with which, as at Cos, an ancient school of physicians was connected.¹⁷¹⁰ [407]

8. We will just notice the worship of the CHARITES established in Crete and Sparta; first, as a fresh proof of the early religious connexion between those two countries,¹⁷¹¹ and as a sign of that hilarity and gladness which was the most beautiful feature of the religion of the Greeks. These goddesses were at Sparta called Cleta and Phaëna; their temple was on the road from the city to Amyclæ, on the river Tiasa.¹⁷¹² Allied to this was the worship of EROS, as practised by the Cretans and Spartans, with whom, before every battle, the most beautiful men assembled

Valckenaer ad Euripid. Hippolyt. 32. Concerning the sacrifices of a sow to Aphrodite in *Argos* at the ὑστίρια see Athen. III. p. 96 A. Callimach. Fragm. 102 ed. Bentl. Aphrodite was worshipped there with the title Περιβασίω, Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 24. ed. Sylburg.

¹⁷⁰⁴ See Timæus apud Zenob. Prov. I. 31.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Thuc. VI. 20.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Book I. ch. 6. § 1.

¹⁷⁰⁷ *Orchomenos*, p. 199.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Pausan. II. 10. 3.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Paus. II. 26. 7. Tacit. Annal. XIV. 18. comp. Callimach. Epigr. 58.

¹⁷¹⁰ Compare the somewhat different opinion of Boeckh Expl. Pind. p. 288.

¹⁷¹¹ See Heyne ad Apollod. III. 15. 7.

¹⁷¹² Paus. III. 18. 4. ib. 9. 35.

and sacrificed to that god:¹⁷¹³ not as the great uniter of heaven and earth, but as awaking mutual esteem and affection, which produce that fear of the disapprobation of friends which is the noblest source of valour.¹⁷¹⁴

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The most obscure, perhaps, of all the branches of religion whose origin we have to investigate is the worship of the DIOSCURI, or the sons of Zeus. It appears probable that it had a double source, viz., the heroic honours of the human Tyndaridæ, and the ancient Peloponnesian worship of the great gods or Cabiri; and in process of time the attributes of the latter seem by poetry and tradition to have been transferred to the former, viz., the name of the sons of Zeus, the birth from an egg, and the egg-shaped caps, the alternation of life and death, the dominion over the winds and the waves. As belonging to their worship at Sparta I may mention the ancient images called δόκνα, two upright beams with two others laid across them transversely;¹⁷¹⁵ the custom in military expeditions of taking either one or both of the statues of the Dioscuri according as one or both kings went with the army;¹⁷¹⁶ which places the Tyndaridæ in the light of gods of war; and the belief that they often appeared as assistants in time of need, or even merely as friendly guests,¹⁷¹⁷ which distinguishes them from most other heroes. Upon the whole

¹⁷¹³ Athen. XIII. p. 361.

¹⁷¹⁴ In an inscription found at Sparta Eleutheria, Poseidæa, and Erotidæa occur as festivals, Corp. Inscript. 1430. and see Boeckh's note.

¹⁷¹⁵ Plutarch de Amore Pat. I. p. 36. comp. Zoëga de Obeliscis, p. 225. above, p. 103. note a. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Castor and Pollux," starting "Ἐν γυάλις θεράπνας."] In Argos there were ancient figures of the Διοσκοῦροι by Dipænus and Scyllis, Paus. Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 31 A.

¹⁷¹⁶ As ἐπίκλητοι in Herod. V. 35. so likewise the Lacedæmonians probably sent the statues of the Tyndaridæ (οἱ ἐπὶ Σάγγρα) to the assistance of the Dorians, as the Æginetans sent the Æacidæ to Salamis, Æginetica, p. 163. The Κάστωρ Μιξαρχαγέτας of the Argives (Plutarch Quæst. Gr. 23. p. 393.) is very obscure.

¹⁷¹⁷ So among the Spartans Phormion, Paus. III. 16. 3. at the house of an Azanian of Pagupolis, Herod. VI. 127. Hence also the Θεοξένια of the Διοσκοῦροι at Agrigentum, Boeckh Expl. Pind. Olymp. III. p. 135.

we know that the Dorians found the worship and mythology of the Tyndaridæ established at Amyclæ, Therapne, Pephnos, and other places; and they adopted it, without caring to preserve its original form and meaning; rather, indeed, attempting to give to the worship of the sons of Tyndareus a *military* and *political* reference. [409]

9. Before we proceed to consider the heroic mythology of the Dorians, which is chiefly confined to Hercules, we will first attempt to sketch the principal features of the religious character of the Dorians, as seen in the several worships already enumerated. Both in the development of modes of religion peculiar to that race, and in the adoption and alteration of those of other nations, an ideal tendency may be perceived, which considered the deity not so much in reference to the works or objects of nature, as of the actions and thoughts of men. Consequently their religion had little of mysticism, which belongs rather to elementary worships; but the gods assume a more human and heroic form, although not so much as in the epic poetry. Hence the piety of the Doric race had a peculiarly energetic character, as their notions of the gods were clear, distinct, and personal; and it was probably connected with a certain degree of cheerfulness and confidence, equally removed from the exuberance of enthusiasm and the gloominess of superstition. Funeral ceremonies and festivals with violent lamentations, as well as enthusiastic orgies, were not suited to the character of the Dorians; although their reverence for antiquity often induced them to adopt such rites when already established. On the other hand, we see displayed in their festivals and religious usages a brightness and hilarity, which made them think that the most pleasing sacrifice which they could offer to their gods was to rejoice in their sight, and use the various methods which the arts afforded them of expressing their joy. With all this, their worship bears the stamp of the greatest simplicity, and at the same time of warmth of heart. The Spartans prayed the gods “to give them what [410]

was honourable and good;”¹⁷¹⁸ and although they did not lead out any splendid processions, and were even accused of offering scanty sacrifices, still Zeus Ammon declared that the “calm solemnity of the prayers of the Spartans was dearer to him than all the sacrifices of the Greeks.”¹⁷¹⁹ They likewise showed the most faithful adherence to the usages handed down to them from their ancestors, and hence they were little inclined to the adoption of foreign ceremonies;¹⁷²⁰ although in commercial towns, as, for instance, at Corinth, such rites were willingly admitted, from a regard for strangers of other races and nations.¹⁷²¹

Chapter XI.

§ 1. Legends respecting Hercules in the earliest settlements of the Dorians. § 2. Servitude of Hercules. § 3. Legends respecting Hercules in the second settlements of the Dorians. § 4. Legends respecting Tlepolemus, Antiphus, and Phidippus. § 5. Legend of Geryoneus. § 6. Legends respecting Hercules in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ. § 7, 8, and 9. Bœotian legends respecting Hercules. § 10. Attic legends respecting Hercules.

1. In the following attempt to unravel the complicated mythology of Hercules, we will begin with those fables in which this hero appears evidently as the progenitor of the Doric Heraclidæ,¹⁷²²

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¹⁷¹⁸ Pseudo-Plat. Alcib. II. p. 148. Plutarch. Inst. Lac. p. 253.

¹⁷¹⁹ Plat. ubi sup. cf. Plutarch, Lycurg. 19. Compare the corresponding expression of the Delphian oracle, Porphy. de Abstin. II. 15.

¹⁷²⁰ The worship of Ammon makes an exception, which was brought into repute in Sparta by Lysander, *Orchomenos*, p. 359.

¹⁷²¹ Hence the Thracian Cotytto, Eupolis ap. Hesych. Suid. in Θιασώτης, Κότυς.

¹⁷²² Ἡρακλῆς γενάρχας in a Spartan inscription, Boeckh, No. 1446.

as representative of the heroes of the Hyllean tribe, the highest order in the Doric nation.

We will first direct our attention to the locality described in the beginning of the first book, the ancient country of the Dorians in the most mountainous part of Thessaly, where this nation was continually at enmity with its immediate neighbours, the Lapithæ. In this war Hercules appears as the hero of the Hyllean tribe, according to the epic poem *Ægimius*, and gained for them a third part of the conquered territory. With this contest is, as it appears, also connected the celebrated conquest of *Æchalia*, the subject of an epic poem called *Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις*, which was ascribed to Homer or Creophylus.¹⁷²³ In this poem it was related how Eurytus of *Æchalia*, the skilful archer, who was said to have surpassed Hercules himself in this mode of fighting, and who dared to engage with Apollo,¹⁷²⁴ promised his daughter *Iole* as a prize to the person who should excel himself and his sons in archery; but Hercules having accepted the challenge, Eurytus refused to perform his engagement: upon which Hercules collected an army, conquered *Æchalia*, killed Eurytus and his sons, carried away *Iole* prisoner, and gave her in marriage to his son *Hyllus*.¹⁷²⁵

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The situation of this “well-fortified”¹⁷²⁶ *Æchalia* is an ancient

¹⁷²³ See Bentley *Epistol. ad Mill.* p. 503. Jacobs *Animadv. ad Anthol. Gr.* vol. I. 2. p. 286. Weichert *Ueber Apollonios*, p. 246. The poem is called a *Ἡρακλεία* in Paus. IV. 2. 2.

¹⁷²⁴ Od. VIII. 228. Theocrit. XXIV. 105. Apollod. II. 4. 9. cf. II. 4. 11.

¹⁷²⁵ The subject of the poem, the misfortunes of *Iole*, is given in general by Callimachus *Epig.* (Strab. XIV. p. 638). The detail is given by Apollodorus II. 6. 1. II. 7. 7, who agrees with Herodotus ap. Schol. Eurip. *Hipp.* 550. where likewise the *θηβαίων παράδοξα* of Lysimachus are cited, Soph. *Trach.* 205. Schol. ad v. 358. which follow Pherecydes and Menecrates, Diod. IV. 31, 37. Schol. II. V. 392. where for *βοιωτίας* write *εὐβοίας*. comp. Scythinus ap. Athen. XI. p. 461 F. Hyginus *Fab.* 29, 35. Plutarch *de Def. Orac.* 13. p. 322. The names of *Iole*'s relations vary. See Hesiod ap. Schol. *Trach.* 266. as emended by Bentley, Creophylus cited by Bentley and Diod. *ubi sup.*

¹⁷²⁶ Soph. *Trach.* 354, 858. comp. Hermann ad v. 326.

subject of controversy. There were three places of this name; one on the banks of the Peneus in Thessaly, in the ancient country of the Lapithæ, between Pelinna to the east and Tricca to the west, not far from Ithome:¹⁷²⁷ another in the island of Eubœa, in the district of Eretria.¹⁷²⁸ The third was a town in Messenia, which in latter times was called Carnasium, upon the boundary of Arcadia;¹⁷²⁹ in which region there was also a town named Ithome; and, as it is stated, another named Tricca; so that we must suppose that there was some early connexion between the inhabitants of this district and the tribes near the Peneus. Now it may be presumed that each of these Æchalias was considered by the respective inhabitants as the celebrated town of the great Eurytus; whence among the early poets there was a difference of statement on the subject. For the Messenian Æchalia is called the city of Eurytus in the Homeric catalogue,¹⁷³⁰ and in the Odyssey,¹⁷³¹ which statement was followed by Pherecydes;¹⁷³² the Eubœan city was selected by the writer of the poem called the Taking of Æchalia;¹⁷³³ as also probably in the Ægimius,¹⁷³⁴ and afterwards by Hecatæus of Miletus;¹⁷³⁵ the Thessalian, in another passage in the catalogue of the ships, apparently of considerable

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¹⁷²⁷ Book I. ch. 1. § 4.

¹⁷²⁸ Hecatæus ap. Paus. IV. 2. 2. Strabo X. p. 448.

¹⁷²⁹ Hence Pherecydes ap. Schol. Soph. Trach. 354. places it in Arcadia, ἐν Θούλῃ Ἀρκαδίας, perhaps ἐν ΘΩΜΗΙ, *i.e.* Ἰθώμῃ. Demetrius of Scepsis in Strabo VIII. p. 339. identifies Æchalia and Andamia, cf. X. p. 448. Strabo in this passage also mentions an Æchalia in Trachinia, and another in Ætolia, comp. Eustath. ad Il. p. 298. ed. Rom.

¹⁷³⁰ II. 594.

¹⁷³¹ XXI. 13.

¹⁷³² Ubi sup. Pausanias likewise follows the local tradition, IV. 33. 5. cf. 27. 4.

¹⁷³³ Schol. Soph. ubi sup.

¹⁷³⁴ Book I. ch. 1. § 8.

¹⁷³⁵ Ubi sup. Also Scythinus, Sophocles and Apollodorus ubi sup. According to Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 87. and Schol. Ven. ad Catal. 103. the νεώτεροι in general. Probably all these placed this exploit after the adventures in Trachinia, and immediately before his death, cf. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 50.

antiquity.¹⁷³⁶ Since, then, this question cannot be settled by authority, we can only infer (but with great probability) from the connexion of the traditions that the last-mentioned Œchalia was the city of the original fable. The contest for this city is evidently closely connected with the war with the Lapithæ; Eurytus, as well as the Lapithæ, was hated by Apollo. If Œchalia is placed on the banks of the Peneus, the conquest of it naturally falls in with the other tradition; if not, it stands isolated and unconnected. Again; Hercules, according to all traditions, conquers Iole for his son Hyllus; now Hyllus never occurs in mythology except in connexion with the Dorians; consequently the place of the battle must be looked for in the vicinity of the Doric territory.

Even before the time of this war (according to the common narration) Hercules had embroiled himself with the Œchaliens by killing Iphitus, the son of Eurytus, who demanded of him the restitution of some plundered cattle or horses. In the common version of this story, Peloponnesus was the scene of the encounter; for Hercules is said to have hurled him from the walls of Tiryns.¹⁷³⁷ But to expiate this murder, and the violation of the rights of hospitality, Hercules became a slave; and, in order to release himself from the guilt, he was compelled to pay to the father of Iphitus his own ransom. [414]

2. The meaning of this servitude cannot be rightly explained without observing the remarkable coincidence between some parts of the mythology of Hercules and Apollo, which we will here shortly elucidate. As Eurytus is represented sometimes as killed by Apollo, sometimes by Hercules, so in the poem of the Shield of Hercules¹⁷³⁸ this hero punishes Cycnus for profaning

¹⁷³⁶ Il. B. 730. comp. Steph. Byz. in Οἰχάλια. Eustath. ad Il. p. 330. ad Od. p. 1899. ed. Rom. and see the local tradition in Paus. IV. 2. 2.

¹⁷³⁷ Odysse. and Pherecyd. ubi sup. cf. Soph. Trach. 38. The Odyssey has, however, quite a different story; viz., that the death of Iphitus (which was, moreover, a peaceable death, ἐν δώμασιν, XXI. 33. but inflicted by Apollo VIII. 227.) preceded the slaughter of Iphitus.

¹⁷³⁸ Above, ch. 1. § 3.

the Pagasæan temple; thus, in another tradition, he slays Phylas and Laogoras, princes of the Dryopes, for violating the shrine of Delphi and other temples;¹⁷³⁹ and consecrates the whole nation to the Pythian Apollo.¹⁷⁴⁰ Nor do I believe that Euripides invented the fable of the restoration of Alcestis, and the contest between Hercules and death.¹⁷⁴¹ It is also perhaps fair to infer, from the legends of epic poets, in which Hercules is represented as a hero in brazen armour, who defended the sacred roads with his sword, and overthrew the violent sons of Ares that waylaid the sacrificial processions in the narrow passes and defiles, that in ancient fables he was considered not only as the defender of the Doric race, but also of the Doric worship.

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We may now proceed to consider the sale and servitude of Hercules; a point of primary importance in the various forms which the legends concerning this hero assume. In the present instance this degradation originated from the killing of Iphitus. Here also the parallel with the servitude of Apollo at Pheræ cannot fail to strike every one. The god and the hero were chosen, as examples, to impress the people in early times with a strong sense of the sacred character, and necessity of expiation for homicide.¹⁷⁴² By whom Hercules was supposed to have been purchased in the original legend of northern Thessaly we know not; at a later period Omphale was called his mistress, who (according to Pherecydes)¹⁷⁴³ bought him for three talents.

3. We will now proceed to the second settlements of the Dorians, which comprehend the towns between the ridges of Œta and Parnassus; viz., Erineus, Cytinium, Bœum, and Pindus.¹⁷⁴⁴

¹⁷³⁹ Apollod. II. 7. 7. Diod. IV. 37.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Above, ch. 3. § 3.

¹⁷⁴¹ Perhaps the Ἡρακλῆς Ἡπιάλητα πνίγων (the nightmare) of Sophron was a parody of this fable, Eustath. ad II. p. 571. ed. Rom.

¹⁷⁴² Æsch. Agam. 1038. καὶ παῖδα γάρ τοί φασιν Ἀλκμίνης ποτὲ Πραθέντα τλῆναι καὶ ζύγων θιγεῖν βίᾳ. Comp. below, § 8.

¹⁷⁴³ Schol. Od. XXI. 23. cf. Apollod. II. 6. 2.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Erineus was, according to a fable preserved in a strange and apocryphal

The neighbours of the Dorians in these settlements were, as has been already stated, the Dryopes, the Melians of Trachis, and the Ætolians. The first were hostile to the Dorians; the other two were for the most part friendly to them. These facts again are expressed with much clearness in the mythology of Hercules. Of the relation between the Dorians and Dryopians, and the manner in which it is expressed in the fables of Hercules, we have already given an account.¹⁷⁴⁵ Ceyx, the Trachinian, was a faithful friend of Hercules, and of his descendants; in one account, indeed, he is called the nephew of Hercules,¹⁷⁴⁶ who is said to have founded for him his town of Trachis.¹⁷⁴⁷ In this place was shown a grave of Deianira,¹⁷⁴⁸ the daughter of Ceneus, whose marriage with Hercules is evidently a mythological expression for the league which existed between the Ætolian and Dorian nations before the invasion of Peloponnesus.¹⁷⁴⁹ For Deianira was an inhabitant of Calydon;¹⁷⁵⁰ and the Calydonians had the principal share in this expedition. To this marriage is annexed a series of connected Ætolian fables concerning Hercules. For the peculiarity of this part of the heroic mythology is, that they readily passed from one nation to another; and wherever they

inscription, the place of a combat between Hercules and Calchas Mopsus. Boeckh, No. 1759. Κάλχαντα Μόψον δικαίως Ἡρακλῆς χλεύμενος (*i.e.* χολούμενος) περὶ ἔρινεοῦ, πλήξας αὐτὸν τῷ κολάφῳ καὶ ἀποκτείνας τέθαφεν ἐν Ἐρινεῶ. The transcript has δικαιοσ and τεθαψεν; for which Hermann has emended as above. The inscription itself is a fabrication either of the latest period of antiquity, or of the middle ages. The same legend is told, with additional circumstances, and a different locality, by Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 980. According to Hesiod, the contest was between the two prophets, Calchas and Mopsus, fragm. 14. ed. Gaisford.

¹⁷⁴⁵ . I. ch. 2. § 4. B. II. ch. 3. § 3.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Schol. Soph. Trach. 40.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Steph. Byz. in Τραχίς. Marm. Farnes. 1. 66. emended by Heyne ad Apollod. p. 191.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Paus. II. 23. 5.

¹⁷⁴⁹ B. I. ch. 3. § 9.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Apollod. Diod. &c. Sophocles, however, calls her a native of Pleuron, Trach. 7.

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obtained a firm ground, formed a large mass of traditions. Among these is the conquest of the bull Achelous,¹⁷⁵¹ and the adventure at the ford of the Euenus,¹⁷⁵² which afterwards occasioned the death of Hercules. It is also probable that the residence of Hercules at Olenus, in the house of Dexamenus, was connected with the Ætolian adventures; although even Hesiod does not in this legend mention the ancient Ætolian town Olenus in the neighbourhood of Calydon, but the Achæan city of the same name on the banks of the Pirus.¹⁷⁵³ Now Dexamenus is frequently placed in connexion with the Calydonian family of Ceneus;¹⁷⁵⁴ the wife of Ceneus came from Olenus, and was of the same family. The ancient legend represented him as a hospitable hero: which quality is also expressed in his name (Δεξάμενός, from δεξάμενος); in return for which, Hercules released him from his brutal guests, the Centaurs;¹⁷⁵⁵ to which fable the ancient battle of the Centaurs in the mythology of Hercules probably annexed itself. Lastly, Hercules is said to have led the Ætolians against the Thesprotians of Ephyra. This expedition was perhaps as much celebrated in ancient lays as the taking of Cæchalia. Ephyra, which is here spoken of, is an ancient city of Thesprotia,¹⁷⁵⁶ situated on the spot where the Acherusian lake flows into the sea through the river Selleeis (Acheron). In later times the name of this city was Cichyrus; but even at the present day remains

¹⁷⁵¹ Described by Archilochus, according to Schol. Ven. ad Il. XXI. 237.

¹⁷⁵² Archilochus ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1213. This scene is very coarsely represented on an ancient vase (Hancarville IV. 31.), with the inscription ΔΑΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ ΝΕΣΣΟΣ, as should be read.

¹⁷⁵³ See the verse in Strabo VIII. p. 342. Steph. Byz. in Ὠλενος, which, however, probably belongs to the story in Apollod. I. 8. 4.

¹⁷⁵⁴ According to Hyginus Fab. 31, 33. Deianira is the daughter of Dexamenus. The Schol. Callim. Hymn. Del. 102. call Dexamenus himself a Centaur; and thus on a vase of the best age Hercules is represented as wrestling with him for Deianira, with the inscription ΟΙΝΕΥΣ ΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΕΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ from left to right, Millingen Diverses Peintures 33.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Bacchylides ap. Schol. Od. XXI. 295. with Buttmann's note.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Raoul-Rochette, Etabliss. des Col. Grecques, tom. I. p. 219.

of the original Cyclopiian style of building, not unlike those of Tiryns, are extant.¹⁷⁵⁷ The whole district is celebrated in fables as the dwelling-place of Aidoneus: as the seat of an oracle where departed spirits were questioned, it was always regarded by the inhabitants with an awe, which was further increased by a belief that the natives were very skilful in the preparation of poison.¹⁷⁵⁸ [418] This city Hercules is said to have attacked as an ally of the Ætoliains; whence it appears probable that this circumstance gave occasion for introducing his contest with Hades, and his adventures in the infernal regions, such as the carrying away of Cerberus, the liberation of other heroes,¹⁷⁵⁹ &c. It must not, however, be thought, that in the style of Euhemerus, I suppose a king Aidoneus to have really once reigned in this district, who had a dog, or rather a general, named Cerberus, whom Hercules overcame in a battle, &c. The following appears to be a more probable method of accounting for the origin of this fable. The gloomy religious rites on the banks of the Acheron, which had always deterred the neighbouring nations from a participation in them, were at an early period contrasted with the free and active habits of the heroic tribes; the awe inspired by the presence of the unearthly spectres with the proud spirit and bold thoughts of a military life. If now the people themselves came into collision with each other, their gods necessarily did the same; the result of which was traditions of contest and war between themselves. On the other hand, it must not be thought that the fable has a

¹⁷⁵⁷ Hughes' Travels, vol. II. p. 313. Pouqueville, vol. I. p. 471.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Heyne ad Il. II. 659. Strabo's opinion, that in Homer, and the fable of Hercules, Ephyra in Elis is meant (VII. p. 328. VIII. 338.), is refuted by the passages of Homer himself.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Some of these fables were mixed up with the war against Pylos, and some (*e.g.*, the abduction of Cerberus) taken over to Tænarum and Heraclea Pontica; the latter probably first by Herodorus, who was a native of that Heraclea, see Heeren de fontibus Plutarchi, p. 17. Compare the coin of Heraclea in Mionnet, No. 160, in which Hercules is represented as bringing Cerberus to the statue of Demeter.

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purely symbolical meaning; and that Hercules was worshipped, together with Hades, merely as an enemy of Death, as a deity alleviating and removing the terrors of the infernal regions.

4. The rest of this fable, however, entirely loses its symbolical character; viz., the manner in which the birth of several Doric heroes is connected with the taking of Ephyra; who, though out of the confines of history, are nevertheless to be considered as real individuals. In the first place, Hercules is stated to have begotten Tlepolemus on Astyocheia, whom, according to Homer, he carried away from Ephyra, on the river Sellecis, after having destroyed many cities;¹⁷⁶⁰ Antiphus and Pheidippus also were said to have come from Ephyra in Thesprotia, the sons of Thessalus, and grandsons of Hercules, to whom the noblest families of Thessaly, as well as the Heraclidæ of Cos, referred their origin;¹⁷⁶¹ the latter, however, according to another and later tradition, sprang from the union of Hercules and the daughter of Eurypylus in Cos itself.¹⁷⁶² The origin of this intricate fable appears to be as follows: There were in the ancient country of the Dorians some noble families which referred their origin to the conquest of Ephyra; and these were designated by the names of Tlepolemus, Antiphus, and Pheidippus; those families went with the other Dorians to Peloponnesus, and passed through Argos and Epidaurus to Rhodes and Cos, where they partly new-modelled their original family legends. Now it was always admitted that the Thessalian people came also from Ephyra and Thesprotia; and when it settled among the Greeks, and sought to participate in their traditions, it was natural that Hercules, the conqueror of Ephyra, should be placed at the head of its genealogies.

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¹⁷⁶⁰ Iliad. II. 657.

¹⁷⁶¹ Strabo IX. p. 443. Polyæn. Strateg. VII. 44. Veil. Paterc. I. 3. 2. Schol. Apoll. Rh. III. 1089. See Boeckh Expl. Pind. Pyth. X. p. 332. The kings of the Molossi likewise supposed themselves descended from a certain Lanassa, the daughter of Cleodæus, of the Hyllean tribe, Plutarch Pyrrh. 1. Justin. XVII. 3.

¹⁷⁶² Iliad. II. 678. Compare b. I. ch. 6. § 3.

5. To the combat of Hercules and Pluto at Ephyra we will now annex the legend of Geryoneus. The cattle of Geryoneus and Pluto grazed together in the island of Erytheia;¹⁷⁶³ but they were supposed to belong to the Sun,¹⁷⁶⁴ and therefore were of a bright red colour. Now Erytheia was anciently believed to be near the kingdom of Hades. For the statement of Hecataeus, that Erytheia and Geryoneus belonged to Epirus and the region of Ambracia,¹⁷⁶⁵ could not have been owing to an attempt to give to mythology an appearance of reality: but he seems to have availed himself of some real tradition. This is certain, from the datum of Scylax, who would never have laid down Erytheia in his *Periplus*¹⁷⁶⁶ on the authority of a logographer. According to this writer it is situated between the territory of the Atintanes and the Ceraunian mountains, north of Epirus, on the borders of Greece, at no great distance from the earliest seats of the Dorians. Now it is a remarkable fact, that, even in historical times, there were in the same country, viz., near the Aous, a river running from mount Lacmon, herds sacred to the Sun, which were guarded in the daytime on the banks of that river, and in the night in a cave of the mountain, by men whom the inhabitants of the Greek city of Apollonia intrusted with this office as a particular honour.¹⁷⁶⁷ It is not probable that the Corinthians,

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¹⁷⁶³ Apollod. II. 5. 10.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Ib. I. 6. 4. where it is incidentally mentioned from an earlier tradition.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Ap. Arrian. II. 16. frag. p. 50. ed. Creuzer.

¹⁷⁶⁶ P. 23. ed. Gronov. The mountain *Abas* and river *Anthemoeis* in Erythea, according to Apollodorus, should probably also be referred to this district. At least there were Abantes in the exact spot where Erythea is placed, on the Aous, near Oricum. According to Aristot. *Mirab.* § 145. Erythea was in the territory of the Ænians. Hercules stole the oxen there from Cythera Persephassa. Compare Antonin. Liberal, c. 4. πολεμήσαντας γὰρ αὐτῶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Χάονας καὶ Θεσπρώτους καὶ σύμπαντας Ἑπειρώτας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρατηθῆναι, ὅτι τὰς Γηρυνίου βοῦς συνελθόντες (ἤθελον) ἀφελέσθαι. The *Celts* are introduced from some Geryonis; see Diod. V. 24. *Etymol. M.* p. 502. 50. See also Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II. 29.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Herod. IX. 93. Conon, *Narr.* c. 30. Two legends connected with this

who founded Apollonia, should have been the first to introduce this usage, although there are traces of an ancient worship of the Sun in the territory of Corinth;¹⁷⁶⁸ but we may fairly assume that the colonists merely retained a native custom. This hypothesis clears away all difficulty. The empire of Hades on this earth was conterminous with a district in which the worship of the Sun prevailed, and which contained innumerable herds of cattle, under the protection of the god; but the Greek hero, little caring for their sanctity, had driven them away, and devoted them to *his own* gods. Epirus was always distinguished for its excellent breed of cattle, which were said to have sprung from the herds of Geryoneus, which Hercules offered to the Dodonæan Zeus.¹⁷⁶⁹

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6. We were led to these considerations by the Ætolian legends respecting Hercules, from which we will now return to the Dorians, who possessed the mountainous tract along mount Ceta towards Thermopylæ. There was perhaps no region in the whole of Greece which abounded more in local fables of Hercules. It was in the pass of Thermopylæ that he caught those strange monsters the Cercopes;¹⁷⁷⁰ here it was that Athene caused a hot spring to issue for him from the ground;¹⁷⁷¹ on the top of

fable are remarkable; first, the punishment of blindness for any one who had neglected the worship of the Sun; secondly, the tale that the Greek gods themselves had sent wolves against their herds. The cattle of the Sun in the Odyssey are only those of Tænarum and Epirus transferred to a greater distance: there was likewise a fabulous reason for the νηθάλιοι θυσίαι of the Sun, as they were performed in many cities of Greece, Od. XII. 363.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Paus. II. 1. 6, &c.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Proxenus ἐν Ἠπειρωτικοῖς ἀρ. Suid. et Apostol. in λαρινοὶ βόες. Compare Lycus of Rhegion *ibid.* Ælian, N. H. XII., 11. III. 33.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Herod. VII. 216.

¹⁷⁷¹ Peisander ap. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1047. τῷ δ' ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη Ποίει θερμὰ λοετρὰ παρὰ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης, which verses are referred to by Zenobius Prov. VI. 49. Compare Ruhnken ap. Heyn. ad Æn. II. Exc. I. p. 287. Wesseling ad Diod. IV. 23. Herod. VII. 176. Phileas ap. Harpocrat. in Θερμοπύλαι. The fable was carried over to the hot spring near Himera in Sicily, Boeckh Explic. Pind. Olymp. XII. p. 210.

mount Ceta, on the Phrygian rock,¹⁷⁷² was raised the fatal pile, which the brook of Dyrras in vain strove to extinguish;¹⁷⁷³ and many adjacent cities claimed a connexion with his exploits:¹⁷⁷⁴ even the Ænians (who at a later period settled in this district) attempted to appropriate to themselves these traditions;¹⁷⁷⁵ and Heraclea Trachinia, not founded till the Peloponnesian war, and the neighbouring Cylicrani, were referred to the mythology of Hercules.¹⁷⁷⁶ It is certain that local traditions of this kind must have originated with the inhabitants of this district. Is it at least probable that the natives of Argos would have placed the death of their deified hero in a foreign region, if they had been the original inventors of this fiction? The career of the Doric hero doubtless closed on the funeral pile of Ceta; and this adventure ended a series of fables, of which there are now extant only some fragments. In this point of view we may perceive a connexion between many of the legends detailed above. [423]

The general tendency and spirit of these legends may be described in the following proposition: The national hero is represented as everywhere preparing the way for his people and their worship; and as protecting them from other races. Thus he opens a communication between Tempe and Delphi, between the fabulous worshippers of Apollo, the Hyperboreans, and the worshippers of his own age. At the same time his own person is an outward symbol of the national worship; he complies with

¹⁷⁷² Callim. Hymn. Dian. 159. Schol. ad 1. Arrian ap. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. p. 107. The Φρίκιον ὄρος should be distinguished from the place where Hercules slew a Centaur, Steph. Byz. in Φρίκιον.

¹⁷⁷³ Strabo IX. p. 428. The part of Ceta, where the funeral pile is said to have stood, was called *Pyra*; Theophrast. Hist. Plant. IX. 10. Livy XXXVI. 30.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Steph. Byz. in Τύφρηστος. The ἀσέλγηνα ὄρη of Trachis were mentioned in the fourteenth book of the Heraclea of Rhianus, Etymol. M. in v. Suidas in Πίανος.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Strabo XIII. p. 613. Diod. XII. 59. the coins in Eckhel Num. Anecd. tab. 6. p. 89. Dodwell's Travels vol. I. p. 76. Clarke's Travels vol. IV. p. 197.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Scythinus and Polemon ap. Athen. XI. p. 461.

its rites of expiation for homicide, being himself both the victim and the sacrificer.

7. We will next consider the Theban legends of Hercules; and will, for the sake of clearness, first state the propositions which the following discussion is intended to establish.

Hercules at Thebes is not to be considered as a Cadmean; and has no connexion with the ancient gods, and traditions of the Cadmeans; but his mythology was introduced into Bœotia partly by the Doric Heraclidæ, and partly from Delphi, together with the worship of Apollo.

To prove that Hercules has no connexion with the Cadmean gods, temples, and princes, it is only necessary to refer to a genealogical table of the Theban mythology, and a plan of Thebes sketched after Pausanias. From the former we perceive that Hercules (whose father is represented as having arrived as a fugitive from Mycenæ) is not made the relation either by blood or marriage of the Cadmeans, Creon (κρέων, the ruler), his supposed father-in-law, being only a fictitious personage, invented to fill up a chasm in the pedigree;¹⁷⁷⁷ from the latter, that the temples of Hercules were not only not in the citadel (like those of Cadmus, Harmonia, and Semele), or within the walls of the city, but were all without the gates. This fact is of great importance as to the antiquity of any worship in a city. The ancient and original deities, which enjoyed the honours of founders, possessed the citadel as their birthright; while all gods afterwards introduced enjoyed a less honourable abode in the suburbs of the town. Now it is known that the house of Amphitryon and the Gymnasium of Hercules stood in front of the gate of Electra, opposite the Ismenium;¹⁷⁷⁸ and to this

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¹⁷⁷⁷ Heyne ad Apollod. II. 4. 6. remarks with judgment, "*Herculis Thebani facta et fata ad Thebanas historias accommodare difficile est.*"

¹⁷⁷⁸ Annual sacrifices were here offered to the eight children of Hercules. See Pausan. Pind. Isthm. III. 79. and Chrysippus in the Scholia. The graves of Amphitryon, Iolau, and Alcmena, and the Gymnasium for the Iolaän or

we may add the account of Pherecydes¹⁷⁷⁹ respecting a village near that same gate, which the Heraclidæ had founded before their invasion of Peloponnesus, and where there was a statue of Hercules in the market-place. What can be clearer than that these Heraclidæ established the worship of their hero at Thebes? Near this place (it should be observed) was the Ismenian sanctuary of Apollo. Opposite to this temple Hercules was said to have been educated; and at a festival of Apollo to have carried the laurel before the chorus of virgins; and afterwards to have consecrated a tripod in the temple, as was the general custom in later times. This tripod is represented on the famous relief of the Argive apotheosis of Hercules, with the inscription Ἀμφιτρύων ὑπὲρ Ἀλκαίου τριπόδ' Ἀπόλλωνι.¹⁷⁸⁰ [425]

With this is evidently connected the story of the robbery of the Delphian tripod, of which the common version is as follows: Hercules was visited with a severe illness, as a punishment for the murder of Iphitus; and, in consequence, he had recourse for relief to Delphi; but as the Pythian priestess refused to answer the questions of one guilty of homicide, he threatened to plunder the temple, and carry off the tripod. Apollo accordingly pursued him, till Zeus separated the combat of his two sons by lightning.¹⁷⁸¹ The fable went on to say that a new consecration of the Delphian tripod took place, and a reconciliation of the god and hero: of this part we are only informed by works of art, these being indeed of tolerable antiquity.¹⁷⁸² But it is manifest that this is not the [426]

Heraclæan games, were in front of the gate of Prœtidæ, Pind. Pyth. IX. 82. Nem. IV. 20. Schol. et Dissen. Explic. p. 382. where the subject is very clearly explained.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Ap. Antonin. Liberal. c. 33.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Marini Ville Alban. p. 150. Compare Bœttiger's Amalthea, vol. I. p. 130.

¹⁷⁸¹ Other versions of this story may be seen in Cicero De Nat. D. III. 16. where see Creuzer's note, and in Paus. X. 13. 4. See also Visconti, Museo Pio-Clementino, II. 5. Zoëga, Bassirilievi, vol. II. p. 98.

¹⁷⁸² The reconsecration on the foot of a candelabrum at Dresden. The atonement, on a Corinthian *puteal*, in the genuine archaic style, published by Dodwell

genuine, ancient, and sacred tradition. How could this hero, who in other respects was entirely dependent on the mandates of the oracle, and who in so many ways protected and promoted the worship of Apollo,¹⁷⁸³ suddenly become a sacrilegious violator of his most holy and ancient temple? This carrying away of the tripod appears from other traditions to signify nothing else than a propagation of the worship of Apollo.¹⁷⁸⁴ Whither, then, is this tripod stated to have been first moved? By the Arcadians Hercules was said to have brought it to Pheneus, but was compelled again to restore it to Apollo.¹⁷⁸⁵ The hero, on his journey to Elis, is said to have built a temple to the Pythian Apollo;¹⁷⁸⁶ which, however, can scarcely be more ancient than the Doric migration. The foundation of this temple, as dependent on the Delphic oracle, was therefore by the tradition expressed under this image of the transportation of the tripod, the bearer of it being Hercules. But it is more important to our present purpose that, according to the Bœotian account,¹⁷⁸⁷ Hercules was supposed to have brought

in his Travels and his collection of Bas-reliefs, Rome, 1820. It afterwards came into the possession of the late lord Guilford. In this Apollo, Artemis, and Latona are met by Pallas, Hercules, and Alcmena, or some other woman: the Graces follow behind. Perhaps this is a copy of the Sicyonian group of Dipænus and Scyllis (Plin. H. N. XXXVI. 4.) unless this also represented the contest, as the one in Paus. ubi sup. There is a similar composition on a vase in Millingen's Vases de Coghill, pl. 11. Apollo *δαφνηφόρος*, sitting by the tripod with Artemis and Latona, receives Hercules; a goddess with a sceptre (Vesta, according to Zoega), and Hermes, are standing by. Hercules is always drawn as a youth in this subject.

¹⁷⁸³ Hence also his labours were represented on the metopes of the Delphian temple, Eurip. Ion. 196, 239.

¹⁷⁸⁴ See the legend of Tripodiscus in Paus. I. 43. 7. comp. above, p. 14.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Plutarch de sera Num. Vind. 12. p. 245.

¹⁷⁸⁶ He erected three statues of Demonesian brass; above, p. 250. note 1. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "sacred tithe," starting "From Megara."] Comp. Callim. fragm. 75. v. 5.

¹⁷⁸⁷ It can indeed be only collected from coins. See Visconti, Mus. Pio-Clement. tom. VII. 4. b. No. 11. Mionnet Descript. tom. II. p. 109. No. 94. and Planches LIII. 4. Pouqueville, Voyage, tom. IV. p. 208. I likewise saw a similar coin in

the tripod to Thebes, that is probably to the Ismenium. This fable therefore shows the connexion between the Ismenium and the great sanctuary of Apollo; and represents Hercules as the intermediate link between these two temples. [427]

8. Several other traditions current in Bœotia are connected with the above explanation of this tradition. The Cretan colony, which, setting out from Cirrha, established the Tilphosian temple at Ocalea in Bœotia, was represented under the person of Rhadamanthus.¹⁷⁸⁸ Rhadamanthus is said to have there dwelt with Alcmena, and to have instructed the youthful hero in the Cretan art of archery.¹⁷⁸⁹ For this reason also Zeus raised Alcmena from the dead, and conducted her to the islands of the blest as the wife of Rhadamanthus. A stone remained in her tomb, which was set up in her sacred grove at Thebes.¹⁷⁹⁰

9. The Theban traditions of Hercules are not all equally significant; but some, such as those just mentioned, had a religious, some a political¹⁷⁹¹ import, and others only express the bodily strength of that hero. The education of Hercules is confided to certain fabulous personages, most of whom were supposed to reside in Bœotia.¹⁷⁹² His most remarkable instructor is the minstrel Linus, whom (probably in execution of the will of Apollo) he put to death,¹⁷⁹³ justifying himself by the law of Rhadamanthus. The destruction of the lion of Cithæron is [428]

lord Northwick's collection.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Above, ch. 2. § 11. Hence the scene of the Rhadamanthus of Euripides was laid in Bœotia, fragm. 1.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Plutarch, Lysand. 18. De Socrat. Genio 5. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 50. Apollod. II. 4. 11. Pherecydes ap. Antonin. Liberal, c. 32. fragm. 50. ed. Sturz. comp. Visconti ad Herod. Att. Inscript. Triop. fin.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Pherecydes ubi sup. Paus. IX. 16. 4.

¹⁷⁹¹ *Orchomenos*, pp. 84. 208. On Hercules Ἴπποδέτης see the story in Plutarch, Parallel, p. 416.

¹⁷⁹² The passage most in point is in the Theocritean poem XXIV. 100. where, however, much Alexandrine fiction may be discerned.

¹⁷⁹³ See, among other writers, Alcidas Rhetor adv. Palamed. § 25. ed. Bekker. where for Τέννοϋ write Λίνοϋ, with two manuscripts.

an imitation of the legend of Nemea, of which we shall speak hereafter.¹⁷⁹⁴ After this adventure he went to Thespiæ, to the house of Thestius, where he deflowers in one or in fifty-seven nights the fifty daughters of his host, a fable which has perhaps an astronomical reference.¹⁷⁹⁵

With respect to the singular legend of Hercules murdering his children by Megara by throwing them into the fire,¹⁷⁹⁶ it cannot be denied that this had some symbolical meaning, derived from an ancient elementary religion. In general, however, this temporary fury is merely an exaggerated picture of that heroic mind whose courage and endurance had carried Hercules through so many dangers and difficulties for the good of mankind.¹⁷⁹⁷ According to the Bœotian version, it was a melancholy madness, in which Hercules, regardless even of all that was most dear to him, murdered his children, and was even on the point of slaying his father.¹⁷⁹⁸ Upon this the hero, oppressed with a deep melancholy, turned for relief to the atoning Apollo; and either to the god of the Ismenium¹⁷⁹⁹ or of Pytho.¹⁸⁰⁰ The oracle commands him to serve as a slave, in the same manner as Apollo himself had served after the destruction of the Python. In the broken narrative of Apollodorus a remarkable trace has been preserved as to the time during which, according to the Bœotian

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¹⁷⁹⁴ Below, ch. 12. § 1.

¹⁷⁹⁵ See Boeckh *Explic. Pind. Olymp. III. 18. above, ch. 3. § 2.* At Nemea honours were paid to the 360 supposed companions of Hercules, Ælian, V. H. IV. 5; evidently referring to the year of 360 days.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Heyne ad Apollod. *Dissen. Expl. Pind. p. 509.*

¹⁷⁹⁷ The madness of Hercules also occurred in the Κύπρια ἔπη, as appears from the extract of Proclus (at the end of Gaisford's *Hephæstion*); but in that poem it was, if I rightly apprehend the context, represented as caused by the love and seduction of Hercules.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Eurip. *Herc. Fur. Paus. IX. 11. 1.*

¹⁷⁹⁹ In this temple a λίθος σωφρονιστήης, which had restored him to his senses, was shown under the altar, Paus. IX. 11. 5.

¹⁸⁰⁰ It is to this that the verses of Panyasis refer, in which Hercules is described as coming over Parnassus to Castalia (*fragm. 7. ed. Gaisford*).

tradition, the slavery of Hercules lasted, viz., eight years and one month.¹⁸⁰¹ This cannot be considered as an accidental number; but it is probable that the Ennaëteris is signified, which was a period of eight years and three intercalary months; of which only the last month is here mentioned, because the two inserted in the middle were less conspicuous. Hercules, therefore, like Apollo at Pheræ, was supposed to have served for an ἄϊδιος ἐνιαυτὸς, for the octennial period of mythology and ancient astronomy.¹⁸⁰²

10. We will here add some observations on the Attic worship of Hercules, which was celebrated chiefly at Marathon in the Tetrapolis,¹⁸⁰³ in the three villages of Melite, Diomea, and Collytus,¹⁸⁰⁴ which lay close to one another in the vicinity of Athens; at Cynosarges¹⁸⁰⁵ in particular, which belonged to the demus of Diomea; at Acharnæ¹⁸⁰⁶ and Hephæstia,¹⁸⁰⁷ and in [430] the city itself; and likewise near the sea in the Tetracomæ, or “Four Hamlets.”¹⁸⁰⁸ The circumstance that those temples which

¹⁸⁰¹ Apollod. II. 5. 11. conf. Heyn. According to Herodorus apud Schol. Soph. Trach. 253. Hercules afterwards serves an ἐνιαυτὸς of three years; and so also Apollod. II. 6. 4. See above, ch. 11, § 2.

¹⁸⁰² Above, ch. 7. § 9. ch. 8. § 4. The verses from the Heraclea of Panyasis, Fragm. 4. ed. Gaisford, appear to have been spoken by Hercules as a consolation for his slavery. Comp. Iliad XXI. 443. They seem to be incorrectly applied by Heyne ad Apollod. II. 7. 3. p. 188.

¹⁸⁰³ Herod. VI. 116. Paus. I. 15. 4. 32. 4. Harpocrat. in Ἡρακλῆς. Schol. Pind. OI. IX. 92. XIII. 184. cf. Boeckh Explic. p. 193. Elmsley ad Eurip. Heraclid. 32.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Aristoph. Ran. 504. Schol. ad 1. et ad 664. Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1209. Harpocrat. in Μελίτη, Hesych. in ἐκ Μελίτης, Μήλων et Διομεία, Suidas in Διομεία. Tzetzes Chil. VIII. 192. Comp. Corsini Fast. Att. II. p. 335. where, however, there are some inaccuracies.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Together with Hebe, Alcmena, and Iolaus, Paus. I. 19. 3. This temple is frequently mentioned.

¹⁸⁰⁶ Paus. I. 31.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Diog. Laert. III. 41.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Steph. Byz. in Ἐχελίδαί. Hence, according to some writers, a dance called τετράκωμος derived its name, Pollux IV. 14. 99. 105. Athen. XIV. p. 618. Hesych. in τετράκωμος. There was a temple of Hercules, not far off, on the

were not situated in the vicinity of the city were all in the northern part of Attica, seems to prove that the worship was derived from the northern frontiers; and it was attributed to the presence of the Heraclidæ in Attica, though the fable of the great assistance which Athens lent to the Heraclidæ was peculiar to the Athenians.¹⁸⁰⁹ It is probable, however, that at some early period a division of the Doric people passed through Attica, and there founded that worship which, by the supremacy of the Dorians and their various connexions with other nations, increased in character and importance. If the Lacedæmonians really spared the Tetrapolis in the Peloponnesian war,¹⁸¹⁰ their forbearance must be attributed to the respect which they showed to their national hero. There is a tradition worthy of notice, that Theseus consecrated to Hercules all the temples which had been dedicated to himself;¹⁸¹¹ whence it may be inferred that the worship of the former demigod was thus transferred at some early period; only not, it should be observed, at the time of Theseus himself. That the worship of Hercules was only half-nationalized may (as it appears) be inferred from the custom of the Parasiti of that hero at Cynosarges being always Athenians, of whose parents one only was a citizen; a symbolical allusion to the half-foreign origin of their worship.

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Of the same description are the traditions which were peculiar to the villages of Aphidna, Decelea, and Titacidæ (likewise situated in the north of Attica), respecting the expedition of the Tyndaridæ; who were said to have conquered Aphidna with the aid of Decelus and Titacus.¹⁸¹² From this plunder, according to

road to Salamis, Plutarch Themist. 13.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Book I. ch. 3. § 5.

¹⁸¹⁰ Diod. XII. 45. Schol. Soph. Œd. T. 701.

¹⁸¹¹ Plutarch, Thes. 35. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 1333.

¹⁸¹² See the Κυκλικοὶ in Schol. II. T. 242. Herod. IX. 73. Paus. I. 41. 4. III. 18. 3. Isocrat. Encom. Helen, p. 211 E. Plutarch, Thes. 32. Steph. Byz. and Harpocrat. in Τιτακίδαί. To this also the verse of Callimachus refers, Frag. 234. ἄνδρ' ἐλαιοὶ (write Ἔλαον) Δεκελειόθεν ἀμπρεύοντες, "*dragging Elatus*

a Spartan legend, the very ancient temple of Pallas Chalcioæcus at Sparta was built. In this instance, likewise, the tradition was recognised as real history; for the Lacedæmonians always kept up a friendly intercourse with Decelea; nor was it, we may be assured, without some particular reason that in the Messenian war at the command of the oracle they called to their aid Tyrtæus, the man of Aphidna. But as the Tyndaridæ, *i.e.*, their images (as was mentioned above),¹⁸¹³ accompanied every Spartan army on its marches, it is probable that these stories originated in some Doric expedition into the northern parts of Attica, which left behind it these permanent traces and recollections.

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Chapter XII.

§ 1. Peloponnesian mythology of Hercules. Adventures of Hercules: his combats with wild beasts. § 2. His martial exploits. § 3. His establishment of the Olympic games. § 4. Complexity of the mythology of Hercules. § 5. Worship of Hercules carried from Sparta to Tarentum and Croton. § 6. Coan fable of Hercules. § 7. Hercules and Hylas. § 8. Identification of Hercules and Melcart. § 9. Human character of Hercules. § 10. His joviality and love of mirth.

1. We must now entreat the indulgence of our readers when we enter upon an obscure and difficult part of our subject, and

from Decelea," *i.e.*, as a guide to Aphidna. According to Alcman (Fragm. 3. ed. Welcker) and the inscription on the chest of Cypselus (Paus. V. 19. 1.) they even conquered Athens. How this is connected with the gloss in Hesychius, Ἀσαναίων πόλιν τὰς Ἀφίδνας, which probably refers to Alcman, does not appear.

¹⁸¹³ Above, ch. 10, § 8.

one lying beyond the limits of historical record. We allude to the Peloponnesian mythology of Hercules; a collection of legends doubtless for the most part invented subsequently to the Doric invasion, and intended by that nation in great measure to justify their conquest of the peninsula, and to make their expedition appear, not as an act of wrongful aggression, but as a re-assertion of ancient right. Some hero (perhaps even of the same name) must have existed in the Argive traditions in the time of the Persidæ, and the resemblance may have been sufficiently striking to identify him with the father of the Doric Hyllus. We shall therefore consider the destroyer of the Nemean lion as a native Argive hero; but the delay experienced at his birth, and his consequent exposure to want and toil, evidently belong to the Doric tradition, as well as the enmity of Here; fables which were partly borrowed from the worship of Apollo, and may partly have been intended to indicate the contrast between the ancient worship of Argos and that of the invading race.¹⁸¹⁴

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We shall now proceed without further preface to consider the different adventures of Hercules, which may be divided into two classes; the first consisting of his warlike exploits, the second of his combats with wild beasts. We shall commence with the examination of the latter.¹⁸¹⁵

Nemea was separated from the Argive temple of Here, the most ancient one in the country, by a chain of mountains and a long rocky ravine. It cannot be denied that the moon was often invoked in this worship, although it would not be safe to consider Here as the goddess of the moon. Now Nemea is called the daughter of the moon,¹⁸¹⁶ from which deity the Nemean lion

¹⁸¹⁴ See book I. ch. 3. § 2.

¹⁸¹⁵ The striking difference between the two has been remarked, amongst others, by Dio Chrysost. Orat. 47. p. 523. B.C. The Alexandrine fiction of the *twelve* labours is satisfactorily treated of by Zoega (Bassiril. II. p. 46.) and also by Ouwaroff, Examen critique de la Fable d'Hercule.

¹⁸¹⁶ Schol. Pind. Nem. Arg. p. 425. ed. Boeckh. Argus was also fabled to have

is also said to have sprung; the antiquity of which fable may be inferred from the circumstance that Anaxagoras availed himself of it, as being generally received, to account for the physical hypothesis of the Antichthon.¹⁸¹⁷ Connected with this is Hesiod's tradition that the goddess Here had herself brought up the lion, which she is by that poet represented as having done out of enmity to Hercules. Hence we detect the symbolical character of the fable, which resembles that of Perseus and Gorgo, &c.; although we can scarcely attempt to explain the whole legend in a similar manner. The combat with the Lernæan hydra may also be thus explained. Hercules is represented as employing in this contest the same sickle with which Perseus beheaded Medusa.¹⁸¹⁸ [434]

Whatever meaning we may attach to these combats, whether we consider them as symbolical, or as memorials of a remote antiquity, in which it was the hero's principal occupation to free Greece from monsters and wild beasts, it is nevertheless evident that they are as little adapted to the time assigned to them (shortly previous to the Pelopidæ) as to the character of the other parts of the fable. A mere consideration of Hercules' costume will sufficiently convince us of this fact. It is certain that the Hercules of the early poets was either a hero armed with a spear and buckler, as in the poem attributed to Hesiod,¹⁸¹⁹ or with a bow

there pastured the sacred cows of Here.

¹⁸¹⁷ Ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 498. comp. Orph. Fragm. 9. A fragment of Epimenides ap. Ælian. Nat. Anim. XII. 7. also mentions this fable, and Herodorus apud Tatian. I. p. 164. (ap. Justin. Martyr, ed. Col.), where for Ἡροδότου we should read Ἡροδώρου, and again by Euphorion Fragm. 47. p. 111. ed. Meineke. To the passages there collected add Hesiod. Theog. 331. Pindar Fragm. inc. 100. p. 660. ed. Boeckh. Callim. Fragm. 82. Plutarch de Facie in Orbe Lunæ 24. de Fluv. 18. 4. Steph. Byz. in Ἀπέσας, comp. Hygin. Fab. 30.

¹⁸¹⁸ Compare the vase published by Millin. II. tab. 75. with the description of the metopes on the temple at Delphi in Eurip. Ion. 196. On the chest of Cypselus, however, he is represented as slaying them with arrows.

¹⁸¹⁹ Heinrich Proleg. in Hesiod. Scut. pag. 69. Dissen. Explic. Pind. Isthm. V.

and sword, as in the *Odyssey*.¹⁸²⁰ The latter description occurs particularly in the battle of the giants; the former is founded on all the traditions which represent Hercules as the first of warriors and conquerors. Pisander and Stesichorus were the first who introduced him as a half-naked savage, with the lion's skin round his loins, the jaws covering his head instead of a helmet, and merely a club in his hand.¹⁸²¹ There were extant so late as the time of Strabo some ancient wooden statues of Hercules very different from this description. Pisander, too, was (as far as we know) the first who represented in detail the combats of Hercules with wild beasts, collected from scattered accounts in the *Theogony*, and who composed the "Labours of Hercules;" for which he perhaps availed himself of different local traditions.

2. We now come to the martial exploits of Hercules, which, as it appears, were intended to represent the conquests of the Dorians in Peloponnesus. We have only to direct our attention to the account that Hercules, towards the close of his life, being prince of Mycenæ,¹⁸²² delivered Sparta from the Hippocontidæ into the hands of Tyndareus, and, after conquering Pylos from Neleus, transferred, it to Nestor,¹⁸²³ in order to perceive the coincidence of tradition and history. The circumstances which have chiefly contributed to the formation of these traditions may best be traced in the combat at Pylos. The share which Hades had in this adventure, when that god was himself wounded by the bold son of Zeus,¹⁸²⁴ may be considered, according to the

p. 525. Buttman ad Soph. *Philoct.* 726. On the chest of Cypselus Hercules was represented with arrows, and also with a sword: he is called ἀρχμητής in Archilochus Frag. 60. ed. Gaisford.

¹⁸²⁰ *Odys.* XI. 600. cf. VIII. 224. II. V. 393.

¹⁸²¹ Athen. XII. p. 512 F. Strab. XV. p. 688. Eratosth. *Cataster.* 12. Suid. in Πείσανδρος comp. Schol. *Apoll.* Rhod. II. 1197. concerning the brazen club of Hercules mentioned by Peisander.

¹⁸²² See above, b. I. ch. 3. § 5.

¹⁸²³ *Comp.* *Isocr.* *Archid.* p. 119 D. *Marm. Farnes.* p. 152. in Marini and others.

¹⁸²⁴ I understand ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσι, II. III. 395 in the same manner as Pausanias does VI. 25. 3. *Apollod.* II. 7. 3. The wounding of Hades was also

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connexion established above, as having been transferred from Ephyra, where Hades had a greater inducement to the protection of oppressed cities than at Pylos.¹⁸²⁵ But Hercules is said to have destroyed Pylos because Neleus would not purify him from the murder of Iphitus;¹⁸²⁶ an act which Deiphobus afterwards performed in the temple of Apollo at Amyclæ.¹⁸²⁷ Here it seems to be assumed that Œchalia, the native city of Iphitus, was situated in Messenia, which, as we have shown above,¹⁸²⁸ was not the original tradition.

3. The influence of historical facts upon mythology is most clearly perceivable in the legend of Hercules having founded the Olympic games when he returned victorious from his expedition against Augeas of Elis.¹⁸²⁹ Afterwards the same hero celebrates the first Olympiad as a festival of all Peloponnesus, with various combats, in which heroes from Tiryns, Tegea, Mantinea, and Sparta were victorious.¹⁸³⁰ It was also Hercules who fixed the quinquennial period, and established the sacred armistice.¹⁸³¹ His bringing the wild olive-tree from the Hyperboreans, and

mentioned by Panyasis, Arnob. adv. Gent. IV. 25. According to the same author (ap. Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 25. ed. Sylb.) Here was also wounded at Pylus. The passage in the Iliad V. 392. leaves this undecided. Comp. Schol. Venet. ad Il. XI. 689. Lycophr. 39. with the Commentary of Tzetzes. The wounding of Ares is connected with the above by Hesiod Scut. 368. the battle with Apollo and Poseidon by Pindar Olymp. IX. 33. Boeckh Expl. p. 189.

¹⁸²⁵ Nevertheless there was also near Pylos Triphyliaicus a sanctuary of Hades on mount Minthe.

¹⁸²⁶ Schol. Il. V. 392. Venet. II. 336. from the *Κατάλογοι* of Hesiod. Diod. IV. 31.

¹⁸²⁷ Apollod. II. 6. 2. Schol. Venet. II. II. 88. Marm. Farnes. p. 151.

¹⁸²⁸ Ch. 11. § 1.

¹⁸²⁹ Olymp. XI. 57. The names of the conquerors were perhaps taken from public registers, ἀναγραφὰι, which usually went back to the mythical period, like those of the priestesses of Here at Argos (see book I. ch. 7. § 2). Comp. with ibid. v. 59. Etym. Mag. Δαιτήριον ἐν Ἰλιάδι, read ΗΛΕΙΑΙ; the spot where Hercules distributed the booty of the Elean war.

¹⁸³⁰ Provided that Doryclus is the Δορυκλῆς mentioned in Apollod. III. 10. 5.

¹⁸³¹ Polyb. XII. 26. 2 comp. above, ch. 3. § 2.

[437] planting it in the grove of Altis, was probably derived from the traditions of Northern Greece,¹⁸³² in which Hercules was represented as more closely connected with Apollo than in the common Peloponnesian legends. It should, moreover, be remarked that Hercules in his expedition against Elis is reported to have founded or visited several temples of Apollo at Pheneus and Thelpusa;¹⁸³³ both lying on the road which connected the isthmus and the north of Greece with Olympia.¹⁸³⁴ It would, however, involve us in no slight difficulties to date the tradition of Hercules founding the Olympic games later than the Olympiad of Iphitus; for as since that period the Eleans conducted the festival, and therefore showed a particular veneration for Hercules, it is scarcely probable that a war *against Elis* should have been considered as the cause of the establishment of this festival, had not the report been handed down from an earlier period. The continual claim of Pisa, that the presidency of the games should be restored to her as an ancient right, is, however, one of several circumstances which render it probable that she had once enjoyed this privilege before the festival had acquired its subsequent celebrity; and that Hercules, to whom a very ancient wooden statue had been erected at Pisa,¹⁸³⁵ was, even at this early

[438] period, regarded as the founder: to which facts the story of a war against Elis was easily subjoined. The combat with Augeas, a son of Helius, seems to have been in great part borrowed from

¹⁸³² See Pind. Olymp. III. 14. where the connexion seems to be as follows: Hercules, while chasing the hind of Artemis, arrives at the country of the Hyperboreans, at the source of the Ister, and there sees the beautiful olive-trees. Afterwards, when about to found the Olympic games, he remembers these trees, and procures some young shoots to plant the bare and sunny plains of Elis. On the κότινος of Olympia see Schneider Index Theophrast. vol. V. p. 424.

¹⁸³³ Pausan. VIII. 25. 5. 15. 2. comp. above, p. 220, note b. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "some external influence," starting "The temples are."]

¹⁸³⁴ See the map of Peloponnesus.

¹⁸³⁵ Apollod. II. 6. 3.

some Epirotan fable respecting Geryon.

4. In tracing the various steps which led to the formation of the Peloponnesian mythology of Hercules, it has by no means been our aim to enter minutely into the details of the subject, which would carry us far beyond the limits of the present inquiry; the distinction between the ancient and recent parts of the tradition being so undefined that an accurate separation of the two is almost impossible. Enough has been said to show how frequently the same legend reappears in different shapes; and consequently that some original version was variously modified in different places. We shall once for all remind those who imagine the northern legend of Hercules to have been of later date than the Peloponnesian because the latter is mentioned by the early epic poets, that some higher source must be sought for than a few passages of those poets which have been accidentally preserved: that it should be looked for (if anywhere) in some connected mythological tradition, to which the particular fables owed their rise and development.

The task is comparatively easy to examine the history of fables, the scene of which lies in colonies or countries with which the Greeks did not become acquainted till a late period, as the events on which they are founded took place within the era of our historical knowledge. At the same time the analogy of these facts, sufficiently ascertained, enables us to conjecture as to those which are enveloped in fabulous obscurity; we can reason from what we know to what we do not know. [439]

5. From Sparta the worship of Hercules spread to her colonies, particularly Tarentum¹⁸³⁶ and Croton. In the latter city Hercules enjoyed the honours of a founder,¹⁸³⁷ being reported to have established it on his return from Erythea.¹⁸³⁸ Afterwards the

¹⁸³⁶ See Heyne Excurs. 14. ad Æn. III. From hence the colony of Heraclea was sent.

¹⁸³⁷ ΟΙΚΙΜΤΑΜ on coins, *i.e.* οἰκιστής.

¹⁸³⁸ Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. 10.

tradition of his purification and atonement was transferred from Amyclæ in Laconia to Croton, an event to which the high reputation enjoyed by the worship of Apollo in the latter town greatly contributed. Hence we perceive on the coins of this place the youthful hero sitting with a bow, quiver, and arrows before a blazing altar, on which he scorches a branch of laurel.¹⁸³⁹ Connected with the above is the tradition of Philoctetes having deposited the arrows of Hercules in the temple of Apollo Alæus at Croton, from whence they were said to have been brought by the Crotoniats into the temple of Apollo within the precincts of their town.¹⁸⁴⁰ On the coins of that city Hercules is frequently seen with a goblet in his hand, either in a recumbent or erect posture. The allusion is explained by the following story: Hercules, who was always thirsty, had asked for some wine at Croton; but the woman of the house dissuaded her husband from tapping the cask for a stranger; on which account the women of that country never drank wine.¹⁸⁴¹

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6. Our readers are, we take for granted, well acquainted with the fable of Hercules in the island of Cos, as related by Homer.¹⁸⁴² The events which contributed to its formation are, in the first place, the existence of several noble families of Heraclide descent, whose origin, according to ancient traditions, was connected with the conquest of Ephyra, though they were afterwards said to have sprung from the supposed residence of Hercules in the island itself, where the ancestor of these families sprang from his connexion with a daughter of the king of the Meropians. This fiction of his abode in Cos took its rise in a mistaken view of certain ceremonies there practised: for the peculiarity of the worship in question, in which the priest at

¹⁸³⁹ Mus. Pembrock. P. II. tab. 16. Eckhel N. Anecd. tab. I. No. 13, from whose explanation mine differs in some respects.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Aristot. Mirab. Ausc. § 115.

¹⁸⁴¹ Athen. X. p. 441 A. from the Ἰταλικὴ of Alcimus.

¹⁸⁴² See book I. ch. 6. § 3.

the festival ἀντιμαχία, celebrated in the spring, put on a female dress (as Hercules is said to have disguised himself in woman's clothes,)¹⁸⁴³ betrays an Asiatic origin; which induced the poets of ancient times to consider Hercules of Cos as identified with the Idæan Dactyli.¹⁸⁴⁴ This dress was also probably worn in the Lydian worship of Sandon¹⁸⁴⁵ (who was called Hercules by the Greeks); for Omphale is said to have attired the effeminate hero in a transparent garment dyed with sandyx, a custom which evidently originated in the practice of some festival. The man described as the slave of a lascivious woman was a symbolical representation of a soft and voluptuous elementary religion; [441] while the same allegory was by the Greeks referred to the servitude of Hercules in the house of Eurystheus. This legend is first mentioned by Pherecydes, then by Hellanicus of Lesbos (who refers to the traditions current in the city of Acele),¹⁸⁴⁶ and also in Herodotus, whose genealogy of the ancient kings of Lydia—Hercules, Alcæus (from the Greek mythology, Belus, the god of Babylon), Ninus (Nineveh), Agron, &c., refers to the Assyrian origin of the ancient Lydian kings, and agrees remarkably with the statement that Hercules-Sandon or Sandes, was originally an Assyrian deity belonging to the same religious system as Belus.¹⁸⁴⁷

7. We now come to a fable of kindred origin, the fable of Hylas. Hylas was invoked during midsummer at the sides of fountains by

¹⁸⁴³ Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. 58. p. 409. Nicomachus ap. Lyd. de Mensibus, p. 93.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Dissen. Expl. Pind. Isthm. V. p. 525. It may, perhaps, be collected from Ovid. Metam. VII. 369. that at this festival the women were disguised as cows. Perhaps the festival of Hercules was connected with that of Here, concerning which see Athen. VI. p. 262.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Laur. Lydus de Magistr. III. 64. p. 268. On the connexion between the Lydian worship of Sandon or Sandes and the Hellenic worship of Hercules see a paper by the author in the *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. III. p. 22-39.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Steph. Byz. in Ἀκέλη.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Berosus ap. Agath. Hist. Justin. II. p. 62. ed. Vulcan.

the aboriginal inhabitants of Bithynia,¹⁸⁴⁸ long before the Greeks founded their city of Cios; but the latter adopted the story of the boy falling into the water, connecting it (as they worshipped Hercules as their founder)¹⁸⁴⁹ with the fable of that hero. Indeed a legend very similar had previously existed, the minion of Hercules being (according to Hellanicus) Theiomenes, the son of Theiodamas the king of the Dryopes.¹⁸⁵⁰ The death of Lityerses was in Phrygia the subject of an ancient song; and who else should have slain him, according to the tradition of the Greeks, than he whose power was dreaded throughout the countries of the barbarians?¹⁸⁵¹ The Greeks introduced such heterogeneous matter without hesitation into their mythology. Hercules, even in the spot where his worship originated, was represented as a hero of great power abroad: he was the protector of boundaries and (if I may be allowed the expression) of marches: afterwards, when his worship was adopted by the whole of Greece, he was considered as the general guardian of the Grecian colonists. Thus he is represented as contending for the territory of Heraclea on the Pontus, against the aboriginal Bebryces, and in defence of Cyrene against the native Libyans. For it seems very probable that the combat with Antæus,¹⁸⁵² who derived new vigour from touching the earth, was merely emblematical of the contests sustained by the Greek colonists against the Libyan hordes, which, though often conquered, always sallied forth from the deserts in increased numbers. Thus the fable of Hercules and Busiris was invented at a time when the Greeks first became

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¹⁸⁴⁸ Strabo XII. p. 564 B. Solinus 42, &c. comp. *Orchomenos*, p. 293.

¹⁸⁴⁹ Κτιστής on the coins.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 131. Hence this genealogy was afterwards transferred to Hylas. In the Spartan fable, Elacatus was represented as the παιδικὰ of Hercules (Sosibius ap. Hesych. in Ἡλακάτια).

¹⁸⁵¹ See the fragments of the Lityerses of Sositheus, Hermann, *Opuscula*, vol. I. p. 54. and above, ch. 8. § 12.

¹⁸⁵² Amongst the passages quoted in Creuzer's *Symbolik*, vol. I. p. 326. those of Pherecydes, Pindar, and Apollodorus should be particularly noticed.

known in Egypt, and had as yet only an imperfect acquaintance with that country; for which reason Herodotus ridicules it as a silly invention of the Ionians. Busiris appears to me to have been the name of the principal deity with the addition of the article. In this story he is described as a ferocious tyrant, who orders Hercules to be sacrificed, until the latter, recovering himself suddenly, slays the tyrant and his cowardly retinue.

8. While attempting to reconcile these discordant traditions, and mould them into one connected story, it was natural that the Greeks should find some affinity of character between Hercules and the Phœnician god Melcart, the son of Baal and Astarte (Ἀστερία). It was to the existence of a temple of Hercules at Gadira that the fable of this hero having there terminated his voyage after the battle of Geryon, owed its origin; and the neighbouring pillars of Hercules or Briareus¹⁸⁵³ were originally considered as the work of Melcart. The Hercules of the Carthaginians was also represented as a wanderer and conqueror;¹⁸⁵⁴ his particular province was the island of Sardinia;¹⁸⁵⁵ which island became also included in the Grecian mythology: he is likewise said to have passed through Spain.¹⁸⁵⁶ The discoverer of the purple dye, in the Tyrian tradition, is the same personage;¹⁸⁵⁷ the quail was sacred to him, the smell of that bird having resuscitated him from death.¹⁸⁵⁸ [443]

¹⁸⁵³ Aristot. ap. Ælian Var. Hist. V. 3. comp. Schwarz de Columnis Herculis, Opuscula, vol. II. p. 205. Peringer de Templo Herculis Gaditani. Concerning Hercules-Briareus, see also Zenob. Prov. οὗτος ἄλλος Ἡρακλῆς.

¹⁸⁵⁴ The African Hercules Maceris, according to Pausan. X. 17. 2; the Phœnician Δωδῶς, according to Euseb. Scal. p. 26. in the Greek text. Islands of Hercules near New Carthage in Spain, Athen. III. p. 121 A. We find also an Iolaus connected with the Carthaginian Hercules, Polyb. VII. 9. 2. Eudoxus ap. Athen. IX. p. 392 D.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Pausan. ubi sup.

¹⁸⁵⁶ Sallust. Bell. Jugurth. 21. which passage also mentions his death in Spain. Comp. Strabo XVII. p. 828.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Pollux I. 4. 45.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Eudoxus ubi sup. Eustath. ad Il. p. 1702. 50. Zenobius in ὄρωξ ἔσωσεν.

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Great as the confusion soon became between the Doric and Phœnician traditions respecting Hercules, they may still be easily distinguished from each other; and the first effect of their union may perhaps be traced in the wish of Dorieus, the son of Anaxandridas, to found a kingdom near mount Eryx, because Hercules had formerly conquered that country;¹⁸⁵⁹ now the worship and name of the Phœnician Aphrodite (Astarte) existed on mount Eryx, and probably also that of her son Melcart.

9. Notwithstanding the long digression into which the examination of our subject has led us, we are afraid that the following positions, attempted to be established as the result of the preceding investigation, will by no means carry with them conviction to all readers. We may, however, rest assured, that whatever traces of an elementary religion can be discovered in this fable, they were additions totally at variance with its original structure. The fundamental idea of all the heroic mythology may be pronounced to be a proud consciousness of power innate in man, by which he endeavours to place himself on a level with the gods, not through the influence of a mild and benign destiny, but by labour, misery, and combats. The highest degree of human suffering and courage is attributed to Hercules: his character is as noble as could be conceived in those rude and early times; but he is by no means represented as free from the blemishes of human nature; on the contrary, he is frequently subject to wild, ungovernable passions, when the noble indignation and anger of the suffering hero degenerate into phrensy.¹⁸⁶⁰ Every crime, however, is atoned for by some new suffering; but nothing breaks his invincible courage, until, purified from earthly corruption, he ascends mount Olympus, and there receives the beautiful Hebe for his bride, while his shade threatens the frightened ghosts

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Compare with these passages the very ingenious explanation of this fable in Heeren's *Ideen*, vol. I. part 2. p. 129.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Herod. V. 43. Paus. III. 16. 4.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Hence also the legend that Hercules was subject to epilepsy.

in Hades.¹⁸⁶¹ As in the fable of Apollo, the godhead descends into the circle of human life, so in Hercules a purely human power is elevated to the gods. Hercules also corresponds to the last-mentioned deity, in his divine attributes, as an averter of evil (ἀλεξίκακος and σωτήρ);¹⁸⁶² which the Cætæans carried so far as to worship him as the destroyer of grasshoppers (κορνοπίων), and the Erythræans as the killer of the vine-worm (ἰποκτόνος).¹⁸⁶³ We cannot, however, agree with Herodotus, who derives the deification of Hercules from a combination of the Phœnician or Idæan god, and the hero of Thebes, since Hercules also enjoyed divine honours at places (as Messene and Marathon¹⁸⁶⁴) where such an amalgamation can scarcely be imagined. But he is a deity representing the highest perfection of humanity, and therefore the model and aim of human imitation; and the summit of heroic energy was seen where the human passed into the divine nature. His life and actions on earth are in ancient mythology perfectly human; and those fables, which raise him above humanity, for

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¹⁸⁶¹ Od. XI. 605.

¹⁸⁶² This worship certainly originated at Delphi, since the Delphic oracle in Demosth. in. Mid. p. 531. 7. orders the Athenians to offer sacrifices περὶ ὑγιείας to the supreme Zeus, Hercules, and Apollo προστατήριος. Concerning Hercules ἀλεξίκακος see Libanius Ep. 12. Dio Chrysost. Orat. I. p. 17. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1375. and Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1218. comp. Marini Ville Alban. p. 141. No. 152. This character of the hero is generally alluded to in the exclamations Ἡράκλεις, Me Hercules; and as such, representations of sheep were offered to him (otherwise the usual sacrifices were swine); and he was called Μήλων at Thebes, Pollux I. 1. 27. 30. and at Melite in Attica.—See Apollod. ap. Zenob. V. 12. Hesych. in Μήλων. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 42. cf. 740. Suidas in Μήλιος.

¹⁸⁶³ Strab. XIII. p. 613. This, however, was not the original Grecian Hercules; above, § 8. Hercules ἀπόμυιος (the averter of flies) was worshipped at Rome, according to Clemens Alexand. Protrept. I. p. 24. ed. Sylb. a title of Zeus at Olympia.

¹⁸⁶⁴ According to Pausanias, who also gives an account of several Dædalian wooden images of Hercules. The divine worship at Sicyon (Paus. II. 10. 1.) may, however, be referred to the Idæan Dactylus, since this town was anciently connected with Phæstus.

instance, those alluding to the combat with the giants,¹⁸⁶⁵ betray a later origin.

10. How little the ancient mythology was desirous of divesting Hercules of any feelings of humanity may be collected from various features in his character. Hercules, whether invited or not invited, is a jovial guest, and not backward in enjoying himself. This explains the frequent allusions to him as a great eater (βουθοίνας) and tippler, and also the Herculean goblets and couches. The original source of all these fictions was the ancient tradition of the residence of Hercules with Ceyx and Dexamenus: nay, they may be traced to the ceremonies observed at his worship and festivals.¹⁸⁶⁶ The Doric,¹⁸⁶⁷ like the Athenian comic poets and satirists, merely adopted the general outline of the story, filling up the details to suit their own fancy and humour: the latter adding some jokes upon the gluttony of their Bœotian neighbours.¹⁸⁶⁸ It was Hercules, above all other heroes, whom mythology endeavoured to place in ludicrous situations; and sometimes made the butt of the buffoonery of others. This was the case in the fable of the Cercopes (treated of in a ludicrous epic poem ascribed to Homer),¹⁸⁶⁹ who are represented as alternately

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¹⁸⁶⁵ Pind. Nem. I. 67. (cf. VII. 90) represents Hercules as engaged in this contest with the gods, probably a short time before his deification. The first representations of Hercules the giant-destroyer occur on the throne of the Amyclæan Apollo. Pausan. III. 18. 7. and some very ancient vases.

¹⁸⁶⁶ In making libations to Hercules not a drop was left in the goblet, Athen. XII. p. 1512 F. Those who wished to make libations brought him a measure of wine, Hesych. in Οἰνιστήρια.

¹⁸⁶⁷ For instance, Epicharmus in the Busiris, and The Marriage of Hebe (frequently quoted in Athenæus), and Rhinthon in the Hercules. See Athen. XI. p. 500 F.

¹⁸⁶⁸ See *e.g.*, Eubulus ap. Athen. XIII. p. 567.

¹⁸⁶⁹ On this poem see Fabric. Biblioth. Gr. vol. I. p. 378. ed. Harles. Thermopylæ appears to have been the earliest locality of this fable (Herod. VII. 216. above, ch. 11. § 5.), but in this poem the scene was perhaps laid in Œchalia in Eubœa; at least Tzetzes, enumerating the poems attributed to Homer, mentions the Κέρκωπες next to the Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις (ap. Bentl. Epist.

amusing and annoying the hero. In works of art they are often represented as satyrs, who rob the hero of his quiver, bow, and club.¹⁸⁷⁰ Hercules, annoyed at their insults, binds two of them to a pole, in the manner represented on the bas-relief of Selinus,¹⁸⁷¹ and marches off with his prize. Happily for the offenders, the hinder parts of Hercules had become tanned by continued labours and exposure to the atmosphere: which reminded them of an old prophecy, warning them to beware of a person of this complexion;¹⁸⁷² and the coincidence caused them to burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter. This surprised Hercules, who inquired the reason, and was himself so diverted by it, that he set both his prisoners at liberty. And in general no company better agrees with the character of Hercules, even in his deified state, than that of satyrs and other followers of Bacchus, as might easily be proved by many works of Grecian art. It also seems that mirth and buffoonery were often combined with the festivals of Hercules: thus there was at Athens a society of sixty men, who, on the festival of the Diomean Hercules, attacked and amused themselves and others with sallies of wit.¹⁸⁷³ We shall hereafter

ad Mill. p. 505, ed. Lips.).—Hence Diotimus, in his poem on the labours of Hercules, called the Cercopes (Echalians, viz., in Eubœa, whence they ravaged the territory of Bœotia (Suidas in Εὐρύβατος, Apostol. IX. 33. Schol. Lucian. Alexand. 4. 71.): Æschron of Sardis, in his Ephesis, was probably the first who transplanted them to Lydia (Lobeck *de Cercopibus el Cobalis* p. 7.), and Xenagoras to the Pithecusæ (apparently in his treatise περὶ Νήσων, ap. Harpocrat. in Κέρκωπες. Lactant. Fab. XIV. 3. Zenobius, Apostol. XI. 24.). Among the Athenian comic poets Hermippus and Plato treated this fable; but the composition in Hancarville III. 88. in which Hercules reaches two monkey-shaped Cercopes in nets or cages to Eurystheus sitting on a throne, seems to be a representation of an Italian farce.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Millingen *Peintures Inédites* pl. 35. Tischbein III. 37. See Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 691.

¹⁸⁷¹ See Reinganum's Selinus, plate 3. (Leipsig. 1827).

¹⁸⁷² Μὴ τευ μελαμπύγου τύχοις. See the Parœmiographers, Photius, Suidas, &c., in this expression, Diod. IV. 31. and others. The proverb occurred in Archilochus, fragm. 106. ed. Gaisford.

¹⁸⁷³ Athen. VI. p. 260. from Hegesander, *ibid.* XIV. p. 615 D. from Telephanes.

show how these exhibitions originated in the propensity of the Doric race to the burlesque and comic.¹⁸⁷⁴

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Perhaps Hercules had παράσιτοι here as well as at Cynosarges and other demi.
See Diodorus of Sinope in Athen. VI. p. 239 E.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Book IV. ch. 6. § 9. 10. ch. 7.

Appendix I.

On the settlements, origin, and early history of the Macedonian nation.

*General outline of the country.*¹⁸⁷⁵

1. In the Thermaic bay, the modern *gulf of Salonichi*, three rivers of considerable size fall into the sea at very short distances from one another, but which meet in this place in very different directions. The largest of the three comes from the north-west, and is now called (as indeed it was in the time of Tzetzes and Anna Comnena) the *Bardares* (or *Vardar*), and was in ancient days celebrated under the name of *Axius*. Its stream is increased by large tributary branches on both sides, and chiefly by the *Erigon*, which flows from the mountains of *Illyria*.¹⁸⁷⁶ The river next in order runs from the west; it is now called in the interior of the country *Potova*, and on the coast *Carasmac*: its ancient name, as is evident from passages in *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, was *Lydias*, or *Ludias*.¹⁸⁷⁷ And, lastly, after many turnings and windings, [452]

¹⁸⁷⁵ Our knowledge of Macedonia has been much increased by the Travels of F. C. H. L. Pouqueville from Janina to Greveno and Castoria, of H. Pouqueville from Guilan to Mezzovo, and Barbié du Bocage's (the younger) Examination of the Ruins of Pella; although in the *Voyage dans la Grèce* (tom. II.) of the first-named writer some singular notions, arising from an imperfect knowledge of ancient geography (e.g., of *Haliacmonts*), somewhat confuse the description. But the *Carte de la Grèce Moderne*, by J. D. Barbié du Bocage, is a work of great accuracy, and it has been implicitly followed in the annexed Map.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Its rise in these mountains, and course through Pæonia (*Liv.* XXXIX. 53. *Strabo* VII. p. 327. cf. *Exc.* 9. p. 330. ed. Casaub. *Ptolem.* p. 82. ed. Montan.), prove that it is the modern *Cara-Sou*.

¹⁸⁷⁷ *Strabo* VII. 9. p. 330. states that the *Ludias* runs out of the lake on which Pella is situated; which is now the lake of *Jenidge*. (According to modern maps it is not true that the lake is formed by an ἀπόσπασμα of the *Axius*; but in ancient times also the marshes reached to the east of Pella, *Liv.* XLIV. 46.)

the Haliacmon, now called *Bichlista*, flows from the south-west; in the time of Herodotus it fell into the sea through the same mouth as the Lydias, probably being widened by marshes; and in modern maps the interval between the two rivers is represented as very small.¹⁸⁷⁸ It may be easily conceived that this whole maritime district must have been low and marshy; and by this means Pella, as Livy remarks, was of all towns in the country best fitted for being the fortress of the Macedonian kings, and the place of deposit for their treasure, since it lay, like an island, in the morasses and swamps formed by the neighbouring lakes and rivers. These marshes were called by the expressive name of βόρβορος, or *mud*.¹⁸⁷⁹

2. Although the mouths of these rivers were so near together, the extent of mountains, valleys, and plains which they encompassed in their course was very considerable, amounting, according to modern maps, to 140 geographical miles from north and south, and more than 60 from east to west. The Axios, together with its minor branches, runs from the great Scardian chain, which further on receives the names of Orbelus, Scomius, and Hæmus; while the course of the Haliacmon is close to the heights of mount Olympus (part of which ridge in later times was called the Cambunian mountains), and therefore to the borders of Thessaly. Both ridges run at right angles from the great mountain-

Compare Strabo VII. 8. p. 330. It is evident from Herodotus VII. 127. that the Lydias was next to the Axios. Λοιδίαζ was the reading found by Harpocration in Æschines de Fals. Leg. p. 44.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Herod. VII. 127. Scylax agrees with Herodotus, p. 26. ed. Hudson, where the places come in the following order: "Pydna, Methone, the mouth of the Haliacmon, Alorus, the Lydias, then Pella, the Axios, the Echeidorus, and Therma." On the other hand, Strabo, who represents the Haliacmon as falling into the sea near Dium (VII. 8. p. 330.), perhaps confounding it with the Helicon, (Pausan. IX. 30. 4.) is supported by Ptolemy, p. 82. "Thessalonice, the Echeidorus, the Axios, the Lydias, Pydna, the Haliacmon, Dion, Pharybas (read Baphyras), the Peneus."

¹⁸⁷⁹ Plutarch de Exilio 10.

chain which cuts the upper part of Greece in a direction from north-west to south-east, its southern parts bearing the name of Pindus, the ridge towards Thessaly and Epirus of Lacmon,¹⁸⁸⁰ and further to the north-west it is called the Candavian chain¹⁸⁸¹ and mount Barnus.¹⁸⁸² It stretches behind the whole of the district just named, and forms, as it were, the spine, to which the mountains of Illyria, Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly are attached like ribs. From this chain the two lines of mountains proceed, which separate the valleys of the Haliacmon and the Axios. The name of the ridge between the Haliacmon and the Lydias is known by the mention of mount Bermius above Berœa;¹⁸⁸³ and Berœa is certainly the modern Veria, or Cara Veria,¹⁸⁸⁴ near the northern bank of the Haliacmon. It will be shown presently that Dysorum was the name of the mountain which divided the Lydias and the Axios.¹⁸⁸⁵ And the ridge, which, stretching southward from the Scardian chain, parted the valley of the Axios from the plains to the east, was called (in one point at least), as we know from Thucydides'¹⁸⁸⁶ account of the Odrysian king's march, Cercine.

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¹⁸⁸⁰ Or Lacmus, in which mountain the Aous and the Inachus, a branch of the Achelous, have their source, Hecatæus ap. Strab. VI. p. 271. VII. p. 316. Steph. Byz. in *v. Λάκμων*. Sophocles ap. Strab. VI. p. 271. Herod. IX. 93. The *Lingus* of Livy XXXII. 13. is nearly the same mountain.

¹⁸⁸¹ Ptolemy. It seems plain that the *Καναλόουια ὄρη* of Ptolemy, in which the Haliacmon rises, and the *Κανδαουία ὄρη* before Lychnidus, in Strabo, Cæsar, Cicero, and the Tab. Peut. are the *same* name, and that the passage of Ptolemy is corrupt. The ridge is, indeed, broken by the Genusus.

¹⁸⁸² See next note.

¹⁸⁸³ Strabo VII. Exc. 11. p. 330. This *Bermius* is a continuation of mount *Barnus*, at the foot of which the Via Egnatia passes (Strab. VII. p. 323.), and the same as the *Bernus* of Diodorus, fragm. 27. p. 229. ed. Bipont, or the *Bora* of Livy XLV. 29. 30. where it must be distinguished between what properly belongs to a *regio* and what *adjicitur*. See below, p. 459, note n. [Transcriber's Note: There is no such footnote number on that page.]

¹⁸⁸⁴ Mannert's Geographie, VII. p. 516.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Below, § 17.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Below. § 11.

3. The valleys beyond the last-mentioned ridge are those of the Strymon and the Angites. As the Axios falls into the sea in a gulf to the west, so does the Strymon join the sea to the east of the Chalcidian peninsula. Not far from its mouth the Strymon forms a lake, into which the Angites runs; a stream of considerable size, its course lying westward of the Strymon. For that the eastern stream is the ancient Strymon (notwithstanding the opinion of most modern geographers) is, in the first place, evident from its size; secondly, from the name *Struma*, which it now bears; and, thirdly, from the statement of Herodotus,¹⁸⁸⁷ that the district of Phyllis reached southwards to the Strymon, and westward to the Angites; it lay, therefore, above the confluence of the two rivers and the lake which they formed by their junction. The ridge which lies to the east of the Strymon was called, at least where it widens along the coast, Pangæum.¹⁸⁸⁸

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Thus much is sufficient to give a general notion of the geographical structure of the region, the ancient inhabitants of which form the subject of the present inquiry.

Ancient names of the several districts.

4. We will now chiefly follow the full and accurate accounts of Herodotus respecting the districts situated near the mouths of the three rivers just mentioned. First, MYGDONIA, on the Thermaic bay, and round the ancient city of Therma, extended, according to Herodotus, to the Axios, which divided this district from Bottiaïs;¹⁸⁸⁹ and it agrees with this statement that the small river Echeidorus (probably the modern *Gallico*), which fell into the sea at the marshes near the Axios, in the lower part of its course passed through Mygdonia.¹⁸⁹⁰ To the east this district extended still further; lake Bolbe, beyond Chalcidice,

¹⁸⁸⁷ VII. 113.

¹⁸⁸⁸ Herodotus (ubi sup.) appears also to call the mountain between the Strymon and Angites, Pangæum.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Herod. VII. 123. cf. 127.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Herod. VII. 124.

was either in or near Mygdonia.¹⁸⁹¹ Thucydides, indeed, makes Mygdonia reach as far as the Strymon,¹⁸⁹² but this cannot be reconciled with the account of Herodotus (who appears to have possessed a very accurate knowledge of this region), that both the maritime district, west from the Strymon, in which was the Greek city of Argilus, and the land further to the interior, was called BISALTIA.¹⁸⁹³ On the other side, above Mygdonia, was situated (according to Herodotus) the district of CRESTONICA, from which the river Echeidorus flowed down to the coast.¹⁸⁹⁴

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5. Beyond the Axios, to the west of the stream, immediately after Mygdonia, came BOTTAIAI, which district was on the other side bounded by the united mouth of the Haliacmon and the Lydias;¹⁸⁹⁵ and thus towards the sea it terminated in a narrow wedge-shaped strip. On this tongue of land were the cities of Ichnæ and Pella,¹⁸⁹⁶ the first of which was celebrated for an ancient temple;¹⁸⁹⁷ while Pella became afterwards the royal

¹⁸⁹¹ Thuc. I. 58.

¹⁸⁹² II. 99.

¹⁸⁹³ Herod. VII. 115. Diodonis XXVII. p. 229. also places the Bisaltæ to the west of the Strymon; somewhat differently Liv. XLV. 29, 30. Compare Gatterer's excellent Dissertations *de Herodoti et Thucydidis Thracia*, and Commentat. Gotting. vol. 5. p. 33.

¹⁸⁹⁴ Herod. VII. 124. cf. 127. It is, however, singular that Xerxes should go from Acanthus to Therma in Mygdonia, beyond Pæonia (on the Axios?) and Crestonica. This Crestonica is probably quite different from the Crestonæi at the source of the Echeidorus, and is a district of Chalcidice. See the author's *Etrusker*, vol. I. p. 96. Ἐν τῇ Κρηστωνίᾳ παρὰ τὴν τῶν Βισαλτῶν χώραν, Pseud-Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. p. 710. ed. Casaubon.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Herod. VII. 127.

¹⁸⁹⁶ VII. 123. Βοττιαίδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στεινὸν χωρίον πόλις Ἴχναί τε καὶ Πέλλα. It does not follow that Pella was, in the opinion of Herodotus, a coast-town.

¹⁸⁹⁷ Of Apollo, according to Hesychius in Ἴχναίην. Macedonia had been called from it Ἴχναίη by some poet, Hesychius and Suidas in v. The city is mentioned by Eratosthenes ap. Steph. Byz. Plin. H. N. IV. 17. and Mela II. 3. Stephanus Byz. confounds with this town that in Thessaly. Themis was worshipped at Ichnæ, according to Strabo IX. p. 435.

residence, situated on the lake of the Lydias, at the distance of 120 stadia from the river's mouth,¹⁸⁹⁸ and may now be recognised by these marks of its position and some ruins. According to Strabo,¹⁸⁹⁹ also, the river Axius made the boundary of Bottiæa, and divided it from the district of Amphaxitis, which was the name of the opposite and more elevated side of the Axius.¹⁹⁰⁰ Thucydides also calls this tract of country Bottiæa;¹⁹⁰¹ and distinguishes it from the more recent settlements of the Bottiæans, near Olynthus, in Chalcidice,¹⁹⁰² which he calls *Bottica*.¹⁹⁰³

6. The united mouth of the Lydias and Haliacmon, according to Herodotus,¹⁹⁰⁴ divided Bottiæis from MACEDONIS; for he can only mean this common mouth when he says that “the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon divide the districts of Bottiæis and Macedonis, uniting their waters in the same channel.” Further on in the interior the Lydias alone must have been the boundary of Bottiæis, since otherwise this district would not end in a narrow strip of land; Macedonis, therefore, began on the western bank of the Lydias. In this place nothing more can be said as to the meaning of the word *Macedonis*, before the precise signification

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¹⁸⁹⁸ Strab. VII. 8. p. 330. compare Scylax and Æschines above, in notes c and d.

¹⁸⁹⁹ Strab. VII. 9. p. 330.

¹⁹⁰⁰ In Polybius V. 97. 4. Bottia and Amphaxitis are also mentioned together.

¹⁹⁰¹ Βοττία in II. 99. should probably be written Βοττίαία, as in II. 100. (or the reverse; see notes c and f in this page, and Etym. Mag. in v.) [Transcriber's Note: Note c begins “In Polybius V. 97. 4.” and note f begins “Thucyd. I. 65.”]

¹⁹⁰² See below, p. 465, note k. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to “according to Herodotus,” starting “VIII. 127.”]

¹⁹⁰³ Thucyd. I. 65, II. 79, 101. The passage of Theopompus ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Αἰόλιον should be thus written: πόλιν Αἰόλιον τῆς Βοττικῆς (vulg. Ἀττικῆς) μὲν οὖσαν, πολιτευομένην δὲ μετὰ τῶν Χαλκιδέων. The inhabitants, however, are always called Βοττιαῖοι in Thucydides. Βοττίαία for Βοττικῆ, Dionysius ad Amm. I. 9. The great etymologist in Βοττεία also notices the distinction between Βοττικῆ and Βοττίαία; where write Βοττικῆ ἢ Χαλκιδικῆ γῆ (ΧΑΛΚΙΔΙΚΗ for ΧΑΛΔΑΙΚΗ).

¹⁹⁰⁴ VII. 127. Compare the expression οἱ οὐρίζουσι γῆν Βοττίαίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, with VII. 123. ὃς οὐρίζει χώραν τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαίδα.

of some other names has been determined.

7. Proceeding along the coast, PIERIA borders upon Macedonis, the district under Mount Olympus,¹⁹⁰⁵ which ridge, where it approaches this coast, splits into two branches, the one stretching towards the mouth of the Peneus, the other towards those of the three rivers. Herodotus cannot make Pieria reach as far as the Haliacmon,¹⁹⁰⁶ as they are here separated by Macedonis Proper;¹⁹⁰⁷ he probably supposes it to begin just at the rise of mount Olympus, and divides the narrow plain on the sea-coast from the tracts to the interior. The southern boundary of Pieria is stated by Strabo¹⁹⁰⁸ and Livy¹⁹⁰⁹ to have been the district of Dium;¹⁹¹⁰ so that these writers leave a narrow and mountainous strip of land, stretching towards Tempe, which belonged neither to Pieria nor Thessaly. The chief place in Pieria was Pydna, also called Cydna (according to Stephanus Byz.), and in later times Citron (according to the epitomizer of Strabo),¹⁹¹¹ which name still remains in the same place.

8. Now that we proceed from the divisions of the coast to the interior, we are deserted, indeed, by the excellent account of Herodotus; but there are nevertheless statements sufficiently accurate to determine the ancient name of each district. The [457]

¹⁹⁰⁵ Pausan. IX. 30. 3. χώραν τὴν ὑπὸ ὄρος, τὴν Πιερίαν. Livy XLIV. 43. calls the mountain-forest above Pydna *Pieria sylvā*.

¹⁹⁰⁶ With Strabo VII. 8. p. 330. who makes Pæonia extend to the Axios (and so Ptolemy, p. 82.); though he afterwards places Alorus to the south of the Lydias, and yet in Bottiæa. There is, however, much confusion in this passage.

¹⁹⁰⁷ See below, § 17.

¹⁹⁰⁸ VIII. 8. p. 330.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Liv. XLIV. 9, 20. Hence also Pausanias (IX. 30. 3. X. 13. 3.) appears to distinguish Dium (τὸ ὑπὸ τῆ Πιερίᾳ), and Strabo (IX. p. 410. X. p. 471.) Leibethrum, from Pieria. On the other hand, Arrian. Anab. I. 11. places the ξόανον of Orpheus at Leibethra (Plutarch Alexand. 14.) in Pieria.

¹⁹¹⁰ I have placed Dium at the *ruines* in B. du Bocage; Platamona is perhaps the ancient temple of Hercules.

¹⁹¹¹ VII. 8. p. 330. comp. Wesseling ad Anton. Itin. p. 328. and Drakenb. ad Liv. XLII. 51. The *Citium* of Livy must be sought for near Edessa.

high and mountainous valley of the Haliacmon was, according to Livy,¹⁹¹² called ELIMEIA; the inhabitants Elimioti, who are included by Thucydides¹⁹¹³ among the Macedonians: the district is also called after their name Elimiotis.¹⁹¹⁴ From thence proceeds the road to Thessaly over the Cambunian mountains;¹⁹¹⁵ and another almost impracticable road to Ætolia over the mountainous country to the south of Elimeia.¹⁹¹⁶ To Elimeia succeeded PARAUÆA, a fertile district, near the sources of the river called Aous, Æas, or Auus;¹⁹¹⁷ and to the south again lay PARORÆA, which was crossed by the river Arachthus at the beginning of its course from under mount Stympha:¹⁹¹⁸ the country near this mountain was called STYMPHÆA (or Tymphæa), extending to the sources of the Peneus and the land of the Æthicians.¹⁹¹⁹ The ATINTANIANS reached beyond the country of the Parauæans, and within that of the Chaonians as far as Illyria.¹⁹²⁰ All these districts are indeed divided from Elimeia by the great chain of

¹⁹¹² XLII. 53.

¹⁹¹³ II. 99.

¹⁹¹⁴ Liv. XLV. 30.

¹⁹¹⁵ Liv. XLII. 53. Compare Plutarch. Æmil. 9. βιαζόμενον κατὰ τὰς Ἐλιμίας (the passes of Elimeia?).

¹⁹¹⁶ Liv. XLIII. 21. see above, § 2.

¹⁹¹⁷ Steph. Byz. in Παραναῖοι. According to Arrian I. 7. the ἄκρα Τυμφαίας and Παραναίας, between Elimeia and Thessaly. Plutarch Qu. Gr. 13. cf. 26. places Parauæa in Molossis, Stephanus in Thesprotis, as well as Tymphæ. Comp. Thuc. II. 80. It is now called *Zagori*. See *Geographische Ephemeriden*, vol. XVII. p. 429.

¹⁹¹⁸ Strab. VII. p. 325. cf. 326. The Paroræa in Pæonia, Liv. XLII. 51. Plin. IV. 17. should be distinguished from it.

¹⁹¹⁹ Strab. VII. p. 327. cf. 326. Liv. XLV. 30. According to Marsyas in Steph. Byz. in v. Αἰθικία, Æthicia lay between Tymphæa and Athamania. In Liv. XXXII. 13. should probably be written, *in Tymphæa terra Molottidis*, where you would arrive by mounting the course of the Aous. Plutarch Pyrrh. 6. connects Stymphæa and Parauæa: τὴν τε Στυμφαίαν καὶ τὴν Παραναίαν τῆς Μακεδονίας. Comp. Niebuhr's *Römische Geschichte*, vol. III. p. 536.

¹⁹²⁰ See particularly Polyb. II. 5. Scylax, p. 10. Comp. Thucydides, Livy, and Strabo as above. In Proxenus ap. Steph. Byz. in v. Χαονία, for Ταράυλιοι,

Pindus; but, from their connexion with that region, some account of them in this place was indispensable.

9. A small valley in the district of Elimeia, which lay to the north towards the Illyrian Dassaretians,¹⁹²¹ was inhabited by the Orestian Macedonians,¹⁹²² who doubtless were so called from the *mountains* (ὄρη) in which they dwelt, and not from *Orestes*, the son of Agamemnon. The valley of Orestis¹⁹²³ contained a lake, in which was the town Celetrum, situated on a peninsula.¹⁹²⁴ Its position coincides with that of the modern Castoria,¹⁹²⁵ and it cannot be doubted that the wild mountain-valley near the source of the Haliacmon was the ancient Orestis. Another valley in Elimeia was called ALMOPIA, or Almonia, an ancient settlement of the Minyans, situated on the confines of Macedonia and Thessaly, apparently not far from Pieria.¹⁹²⁶ [458]

10. Elimeia, together with the surrounding highlands, was

Ἀμόμονες read Παραναῖοι, Ἀτίντανες. It is mentioned in Pseud-Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. p. 704. ed. Casaub. that Atintania borders on Apolloniatis; and hence in p. 710. for Ἀτλαντίνων read Ἀτιντάνων, or Ἀμαντίνων.

¹⁹²¹ In Liv. XXXI. 40. Sulpicius goes from Elimeia to Orestis, and from thence to Dassaretis (on the lake Lychnidus, XXVII. 32. near Lyncestis, XXXI. 33. XXXII. 9. cf. Polyb. V. 108. Ptolem. p. 83.), and conquers Pelion on the Erigon (see Arrian I. 5.).

¹⁹²² Μακεδόνων οἱ Ὀρέσται, Polyb. XVIII. 30. Liv. XXXIII. 34. cf. XLII. 38.

¹⁹²³ Ὀρεστιάς, Strab. VII. p. 326.

¹⁹²⁴ Liv. XXXI. 40.

¹⁹²⁵ Mannert denies this (VII. p. 519.); but without the authority of any good map. See Pouqueville tom. II. p. 322. Orestia was beyond Macedonia, according to Steph. Byz.

¹⁹²⁶ This is evident from the following passages, Plin. H. N. IV. 15. *In Thessalia autem Orchomenos Minyeus ante dictus, et oppidum Almon ab aliis Salmon.* Schol. Apollon. II. 1186. δύναται δὲ καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ μνημονεύειν τοῦ μεθορίου Μακεδονίας καὶ Θεσσαλίας. Steph. Byz. Μινύα πόλις Θεσσαλίας ἢ πρότερον Ἀλμωνία; Diod. XX. 110. where Orchomenus and Diium are mentioned together as cities in existence in Olymp. 119. 3; Eustath. ad II. IX. p. 661. 4. ed. Bas. (cf. II. p. 206. 22.) who states that the Thessalian *or* Macedonian Orchomenus was in his time called Charmenas. See *Orchomenos*,

cold and rugged, and difficult of cultivation.¹⁹²⁷ The same was the case with the neighbouring district of LYNCESTIS, the country of the Lyncestæ, who had received their name, according to a Macedonian inflexion,¹⁹²⁸ from Lyncus.¹⁹²⁹ Lyncus was the name of the whole district, and not of any one city, as in early times there were only unfortified villages in this part.¹⁹³⁰ It was surrounded on all sides by mountains; a narrow pass between two heights being the chief road to the coast.¹⁹³¹ The position of Lyncus is accurately determined by the course of the Egnatian Roman road from Dyrrachium, which, after crossing the Illyrian mountains at Pylon (or the gateway), led by Heraclea Lyncestis, and through the country of the Lyncestæ and Eordians, to Edessa and Pella;¹⁹³² as well as by the fact that the *mons Bora* of

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pp. 139, 249. where it is also shown that the Halmopians, or Salmonians, were an ancient tribe of the Minyæ.

¹⁹²⁷ Livy XLV. 30. says of Eordæa, Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Atintania, Tymphæa, and Elimiotis, *frigida hæc omnis duraque cultu et aspera plaga est.*

¹⁹²⁸ Among the Macedonian gentile-names, such as Lyncestæ, Orestæ, Diastæ (Steph. Byz. in Δῖον), may also be included the Cyrrestæ (Plin. H. N. IV. 17.) of the region Cyrrhus (Thuc. II. 100. Diod. XVIII. 4. Steph. Byz. in Μανδαράϊ).

¹⁹²⁹ Thuc. IV. 83. 124, 129. Liv. XXVI. 25. XXXI. 33. see p. 459, note m, [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Edessa and Pella," starting "Strab. VII. p. 323."'] p. 460, note x, [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Lyncestis," starting "By the road."'] and § 27.

¹⁹³⁰ Thuc. IV. 124. τὰς τοῦ Ἀρριβαίου κώμας. Heraclea Lyncestis appears to have been a late settlement.

¹⁹³¹ Thuc. IV. 127.

¹⁹³² Strab. VII. p. 323. This road, which, according to the tab. Peutinger. and the Itin. Anton. p. 318, 329, passes through Lychnidus, Heraclea Lyncestis, Cellæ, Edessa, Pella, and Therma, evidently in the higher parts followed the direction of an *ancient pass*, the εὐπορος ὁδὸς διὰ τῆς Δασσαρήτιδος (see p. 458, note a [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Illyrian Dassaretians," starting "In Liv. XXXI. 40."]) κατὰ Λύγκον, Plut. Flamin. 4. and also Liv.

Livy, *i.e.* the Bermius, lay to the south of it.¹⁹³³ Consequently the Lyncestæ must have inhabited the mountains south of the Erigon, and a part of the valley in which that river flowed; which is confirmed by other accounts of ancient writers.¹⁹³⁴ The country of the EORDIANS is also determined by the direction of the Egnatian way; viz., to the east of Lyncus and west of Edessa, and therefore in the valley of the Lydias, to the north of Elimea¹⁹³⁵ and the Bermius.¹⁹³⁶ In order to go from the valley of the Erigon to Thessaly, the way passed first through Eordæa and then through Elimiotis.¹⁹³⁷

11. DEURIOPUS (ἡ Δευρίοπος) was the name of a tract of country along the Erigon,¹⁹³⁸ which was considered as belonging to Pæonia,¹⁹³⁹ and probably lay to the east of Lyncestis and north of Eordæa.¹⁹⁴⁰ In Pæonia also was situated the rugged district of PELAGONIA, to the north of Lyncestis,¹⁹⁴¹ having on its northern [460]

XXXII. 9. where for *Lychnidum* read *Lyncum*.

¹⁹³³ This follows from Liv. XLV. 29. *Quarta regio trans Boram montem* (with respect to which the *tertia regio* was *versus septentrionem*, and therefore *versus meridiem* of this), and XLV. 30. *Quartam regionem Eordæi et Lyncestæ et Pelagones incolunt*.

¹⁹³⁴ For example, the way in Livy XXVI. 25. cf. XXXI. 33. where the river *Bevus* is also mentioned, probably one of the branches, which, according to Strabo VII. p. 327, fall into the Erigon ἐκ Λυγκηστῶν.

¹⁹³⁵ In Liv. XLII. 53. Perseus goes from Pella through Eordæa to Elimea. The *lacus Begorrites* appears to be the lake Citrini.

¹⁹³⁶ See above, note n. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "south of it," starting "This follows from Liv."]]

¹⁹³⁷ Arrian I. 7. The river Eordaicus, *ibid.* I. 5, probably runs from Eordæa into the Erigon.

¹⁹³⁸ Liv. XXXIX. 53. Strab. VII. p. 327. Places, Bryanium, Alcomenæ, Stymbara (*Stubera* Livy, Στύβερα Polybius). In Livy XXXI. 39, 40. Sulpicius follows a mountain-road from Stubera to Eordæa, and then to Elimea; compare Polyb. XVIII. 6. 3.

¹⁹³⁹ Liv. XXXIX. 53.

¹⁹⁴⁰ See above, p. 459, note s. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "along the Erigon," starting "Liv. XXXIX. 53."]

¹⁹⁴¹ By the road *per Pelagoniam et Lyncum et Bottiæam in Thessaliam*, Liv.

frontiers narrow passes, which protected it from the incursions of the Dardanians.¹⁹⁴² As to other parts of the extensive territory of PÆONIA (in comparison with which Macedonia was originally very inconsiderable in size), it is only necessary to observe, that, beginning near the source of the Axios, the banks of which river had from early times been occupied by Pæonian tribes, a narrow strip of land extended down to Pella and the coast,¹⁹⁴³ though, according to Herodotus, it could not have actually reached the edge of the sea, as the frontiers of Bottiæis and Mygdonia at this point came into contact with one another.¹⁹⁴⁴ Immediately to the north of Lower Macedonia, *i.e.*, to the north of Macedonian Pæonia, Bottiæis, and Mygdonia, but without the confines of these provinces, was situated, as we learn from Thucydides,¹⁹⁴⁵ the Pæonian city of DOBERUS.¹⁹⁴⁶ The king of the Odrysians arrived, according to the same writer,¹⁹⁴⁷ at this place after having come from his dominions, which were bounded by the Strymon, over mount Cercine; in which passage he left the Pæonians to the right, and to the left the Sintes and Mædi (Thracian races, supposed by Gatterer to have penetrated hither when the Siropæonians and others crossed over to Asia).¹⁹⁴⁸ From which notices I have

XXVI. 25. That it borders on Deuriopus is shown by Liv. XXXI. 39.

¹⁹⁴² Liv. XXXI. 28, 33. comp. Gatterer Commentat. tom. VI. p. 67.

¹⁹⁴³ Thucyd. II. 99. τῆς Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἄξιόν ποταμὸν στενὴν τινα καθήκουσαν ἄνωθεν μέχρι Πέλλης καὶ θαλάσσης. The same strip of land was included by Æmilius Paulus in his *tertia regio*, according to Livy XLV. 29. *Adjuncta huic parti regio Pæoniæ, qua ab occasu præter Axium amnem porrigitur.*

¹⁹⁴⁴ See above, p. 454, note p. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "from Bottiæis," starting "Herod. VII. 123."]

¹⁹⁴⁵ II. 99. where Sitalces is going to make a descent into Lower Macedonia, the country of Perdiccas, from Doberus κατὰ κορυφὴν. He then invades (II. 100.) Eidomene, Gortynia, Atalante, and Europus (*Europos ad Axium amnem*, Plin. IV. 17.), probably places in Pæonia, but certainly not Bottiæa or Mygdonia.

¹⁹⁴⁶ II. 98. Παίονες Δόβηρες, Herod. VII. 113.

¹⁹⁴⁷ II. 98.

¹⁹⁴⁸ Herod. V. 15. Concerning the settlements of the Sintians, see Mannert. vol.

ventured to set down the mountain, the city, and nations just mentioned, as may be seen in the accompanying map.¹⁹⁴⁹

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Early history of the kingdom of Macedonia.

12. The subject of this dissertation made it necessary for us to enter into the above detail as to the several provinces and divisions of Upper and Lower Macedonia. We must now proceed to inquire into the gradual extension of the kingdom of Macedon; an investigation in which we are fortunately assisted by the clear and accurate account of Thucydides, who lived at no great distance from the country which he describes; and whose words I now transcribe as follows (II. 99.):

“Accordingly, the subjects of Sitalces mustered at Doberus, and prepared for a descent into Lower Macedonia, which country was under the rule of Perdiccas. For to the Macedonians belong¹⁹⁵⁰ the Lyncestæ and the Elimoiots, and other nations in the upper parts of the country, which are the allies and subjects¹⁹⁵¹ of these Macedonians,¹⁹⁵² but have nevertheless princes of their own. The present kingdom of Macedonia, extending along the sea,¹⁹⁵³ was first occupied by Alexander the father of Perdiccas, and his ancestors of the family of Temenus, who came originally from Argos; and ruled over it, having by force of arms expelled the Pierians from Pieria,¹⁹⁵⁴ and the Bottiæans from the district called Bottiæa. They also obtained in Pæonia a narrow tongue of land, extending along the river Axius down to Pella and the sea: and on the further side of the Axius they possess the district called Mygdonia, as far as the Strymon, of which they dispossessed the Edones. They also dislodged the Eordians from the country

VII. p. 502.

¹⁹⁴⁹ Doberus coincides with the modern *Doiran*. The Κερκινίτις λίμνη, Arrian I. 11, is probably the lake near Doiran.

¹⁹⁵⁰ τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων εἰσί.

¹⁹⁵¹ ὑπήκοα, as the Magnetes to the Thessalians.

¹⁹⁵² Those of Perdiccas.

¹⁹⁵³ τὴν παρὰ (according to Bekker) θάλασσαν νῦν Μακεδονίαν.

¹⁹⁵⁴ The substance of the clauses omitted is given below.

still called Eordia, and from Almopia the Almopians. These Macedonians also subdued those other nations which they now possess; viz., Anthemus, together with Crestonia and Bisaltia, and a large part of the Macedonians themselves. The whole of this country together is called Macedonia; and Perdiccas, the son of Alexander, was king of it when Sitalces made his invasion.”

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13. This chapter has not by any means been exhausted by those who have written on the growth and size of Macedonia; and therefore it will be convenient to set down some of the chief inferences which may be drawn from it.

In the first place, it is plain that the Macedonians, who made the conquest, and founded the kingdom of Macedon, were *not the whole Macedonian nation*, but only a part of it. There were in the mountainous districts Macedonian tribes, which had their own kings, and originally were not subject to the Temenidæ. These are the Macedonian highlanders of Herodotus,¹⁹⁵⁵ from whose district the road passed over mount Olympus (the Cambunian chain) into the country of the Perrhæbians;¹⁹⁵⁶ and it began, as has been already remarked, in Elimeia.¹⁹⁵⁷ The Elimioti were, according to Thucydides, one portion of these Macedonians, the Lyncestæ another; both which appellations were merely local, and the full title was “*the Macedonians in Lynceus*,” or “*the Macedonian Lyncestæ*.”¹⁹⁵⁸ Of the *remaining* Macedonian nations in the mountain-districts we only know the name of the Orestæ;¹⁹⁵⁹ at least there are no others who can with any certainty be considered as Macedonians.

¹⁹⁵⁵ VII. 128. cf. 131, 173.

¹⁹⁵⁶ See book I. ch. 1. § 3.

¹⁹⁵⁷ Above, p. 457, note s. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to “Cambunian mountains,” starting with “Liv. XLII. 53.”]

¹⁹⁵⁸ Thus Thuc. IV. 83. comp. Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 38.

¹⁹⁵⁹ Above, p. 458, note b. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to “Orestian Macedonians,” starting “Μακεδόνων οἱ Ὀρέσται.”] Thucydides II. 80. distinguishes the Orestæ from the Macedonians, viz., from those of Perdiccas.

14. The name of Macedonia was not therefore, as some have supposed, confined to the royal dynasty of Edessa, but was a *national appellation*; so much so, that it is even stated that those very kings subdued, among other nations, a large portion of the Macedonians. The tribes of Upper Macedonia were long governed by their own princes; thus Antiochus was king of the Orestæ at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war;¹⁹⁶⁰ the Lyncestæ were under the rule of Arrhibæus, the son of Bromerus,¹⁹⁶¹ the great grandfather, by the mother's side, of Philip of Macedon, who derived his descent (not altogether without probability) from the Bacchiadæ, the ancient rulers of Corinth;¹⁹⁶² and these kings, though properly recognising the supremacy of the Temenidæ, were nevertheless at times their nearest, and therefore most dangerous, enemies.¹⁹⁶³ [463]

15. The Macedonian kingdom of the Temenidæ, on the other hand, began from a single point of the Macedonian territory, concerning the position of which there are various traditions. According to Herodotus, three brothers of the family of Temenus, Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas, fled from Argos to Illyria, from thence passed on to *Lebæa* in Upper Macedonia, and served the king of the country (who was therefore a Macedonian) as shepherds. From this place they again fled, and dwelt in another part of Macedonia, near the gardens of Midas, in mount Bermius (near *Beræa*), from which place they subdued the neighbouring country.¹⁹⁶⁴ Thucydides so far recognises this tradition, that he likewise considers Perdiccas as the founder of the kingdom, reckoning eight kings down to Archelaus.¹⁹⁶⁵

¹⁹⁶⁰ Thuc. II. 80. Perhaps from his name he was of the family of the Aleuadæ.

¹⁹⁶¹ Thuc. IV. 79. 83.

¹⁹⁶² Strab. VII. p. 326. Comp. book I. ch. 7. § 15.

¹⁹⁶³ Περδίκκας ἦγεν ὧν ἐκράτει Μακεδόνων τὴν δύναμιν against Arrhibæus, Thuc. IV. 124.

¹⁹⁶⁴ Herod. VIII. 137, 138.

¹⁹⁶⁵ II. 100. These were, according to Herodotus, Perdiccas, Argæus, Philip, Aëropus, Alcetas, Amyntas, Alexander, and Perdiccas.

The other account, however, that there were three kings before Perdiccas, is unquestionably not the mere invention of later historians, but was derived, as well as the other, from some local tradition. According to this account the Macedonian kingdom began at *Edessa*,¹⁹⁶⁶ which had been taken by Caranus, of the family of the Temenidæ, and by him named after a goatherd, who rendered him assistance, *Ægæ* (or *Ægeæ*).¹⁹⁶⁷ Both narrations have equally a traditional character, and were doubtless of Macedonian origin, only that the latter appears to have been combined with an Argive legend of a brother of the powerful Phido having gone to the north. The claim of Edessa is also confirmed by the fact, that, even when it had long ceased to be the royal residence, it still continued the burial-place of the kings of Temenus' race, and, as Diodorus says, the *hearth* of their empire.¹⁹⁶⁸

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16. Edessa and the gardens of Midas were both situated between the Lydias and the Haliacmon, in the original and proper country of Macedonia, according to the account of Herodotus.¹⁹⁶⁹ The manner in which the dominions of the Temenidæ were extended along the sea-coast, and towards the interior, we learn from Thucydides, who comprises in one general view all the conquests of these princes until the reign of Alexander. For to suppose that Alexander, the son of Amyntas, made *all* these conquests, is an error which is even refuted by the words of Thucydides; although it is very possible that this prince, who

¹⁹⁶⁶ Edessa on the Via Egnatia, 28. m. p. from Pella, 62-66. from Heraclea Lyncestis (Antonin. Itinerar. pp. 319, 330; the tab. Peut. gives less accurately 45 and 77 m. p.) is probably the modern *Vodina*.

¹⁹⁶⁷ See Dexippus ap. Syncell. p. 262. Euseb. Scal. p. 47. cf. 37. Justin VII. 1. Solin. IX. 14. Dexippus quotes Theopompus for Caranus. Marsyas (perhaps the cotemporary of Alexander and Antigonos) related a fable concerning Cœnus, the successor of Caranus, Etym. Mag. p. 523. 40. Etym. Gud. p. 332. 41.

¹⁹⁶⁸ Diod. XIX. 52. XXII. p. 307. Bip. Plin. IV. 17. Solin. IX. 14. comp. Justin. VII. 2.

¹⁹⁶⁹ See below, § 17.

began his reign about 488 B.C., at the time of the Persian power, and was the brother-in-law of a Persian general,¹⁹⁷⁰ added considerably to the territory which he had inherited.¹⁹⁷¹ But when Xerxes undertook his great expedition against Greece, the power of Macedon was as great as it is described by Thucydides; nor was its territory much enlarged during the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars.¹⁹⁷² For at the time of the Persian war (481 B.C.) the Pierians were already settled in New Pieria, especially in the fortified towns of Phagres and Pergamus, at the foot of mount Pangæum,¹⁹⁷³ whither they retired, after having been driven out of Old Pieria by the Macedonian kings;¹⁹⁷⁴ in fact, this extension of the territory of Macedon must have taken place at an early period.¹⁹⁷⁵ Moreover, Olynthus was, according to Herodotus,¹⁹⁷⁶ at least *before* 480 B.C., in the hands of the Bottiæans, who had, as we learn from both Herodotus and Thucydides, expelled the Macedonians from the ancient Bottiæis; consequently this district had been under the rule of the Macedonians *before* the expedition of Xerxes. Thirdly, Amyntas [465]

¹⁹⁷⁰ Herod. V. 21. VIII. 136. Justin VII. 3.

¹⁹⁷¹ Consequently the story that Xerxes gave Alexander all the country between mounts Olympus and Hæmus (Justin VII. 4.) is not entirely fabulous.

¹⁹⁷² Gatterer Commentat. vol. IV. p. 96. vol. VI. p. 15. is more accurate on this point than Poppo Thucyd. vol. II. p. 421.

¹⁹⁷³ Herod. VII. 112. Although Ἡϊὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης in Thuc. IV. 7. cannot be that on the Strymon, yet Eustathius ad II. II. 566. p. 217. ed. Bas. is incorrect in distinguishing Ἡϊὼν in Pieria from that on the Strymon (comp. Steph. Byz. in Ἡϊὼν, Schol. Thuc. I. 98.); and Raoul-Rochette, Histoire des Colonies Grecques, tom. III. p. 207, should not have followed him, since Pieria, viz. New-Pieria, reaches in this point to the Strymon. But the Ἡϊὼν of Thucydides is not in Pieria, but in Chalcidice.

¹⁹⁷⁴ Thuc. II. 99.

¹⁹⁷⁵ The expression of Thucydides, καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερικὸς κόλπος καλεῖται, proves that the circumstance had taken place long before. Hence arose the fabulous genealogies of Pierus and Emathius, the sons of Macednus, &c; Marsyas ap. Schol. II. XIV. 226. comp. Pausan. IX. 29. 1.

¹⁹⁷⁶ VIII. 127. Thucydides also includes the Bottiæans, I. 57. (cf. IV. 57.) among those ἐπὶ Θράκης, Βοττιαῖοι ἐν Θράκη, Callimachus fragm. 75, 41.

the Macedonian, in 510 B.C., offered Anthemus in Chalcidice to the Pisistratidæ;¹⁹⁷⁷ the same argument therefore applies in this case also. Anthemus, however, could hardly have been obtained without Mygdonia: and that this district was then a part of the Macedonian dominions is probable also from the following reasons.¹⁹⁷⁸ According to Thucydides, the Macedonians drove out the nation of the Edonians¹⁹⁷⁹ from Mygdonia, between the rivers Axios and Strymon; and accordingly we find the Edonians always mentioned as dwelling to the east of the Strymon, at the foot of mount Pangæum. Now Ennea Hodoi, situated on the eastern bank of the Strymon, was, according to Herodotus,¹⁹⁸⁰ in the possession of the Edonians in the year 481 B.C.; and Myrcinus, in the same region, was found by Histæus, when he visited it, to be an Edonian district,¹⁹⁸¹ as it was at a later period by Brasidas.¹⁹⁸² The latter argument is not indeed of itself decisive, as it might be said that the Edonians were only driven together by the conquests of the Macedonians, and had *previously* been in possession of the further side of the Strymon; but when combined with the former facts, it offers an almost certain proof that the whole country, from lake Bolbè to within a short distance from the Peneus, was subject to the Macedonians before

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¹⁹⁷⁷ Herod. V. 94. Concerning the position of Anthemus, see Plin. H.N. IV. 17. Hence the τάγμα Ἀνθεμουσία of the Macedonian army, Hesychius in v. Ἰλη ἐταίρων Ἀνθεμουσία, Arrian II. 9. [See Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece, vol. V. p. 194. note.]

¹⁹⁷⁸ An objection which might be derived from Thucyd. I. 58. where, according to the old reading, Mygdonia is distinguished from the kingdom of Perdiccas, is removed by omitting the τε after Μυγδονία, which Bekker and Poppe have expunged, with good MSS.

¹⁹⁷⁹ The distinction taken by Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 419. between the Ἡδωνες and Ἡδωνοί, viz., that the former dwelt on the coast, the latter inland, cannot be supported. For instance, Thucyd. I. 100. calls those by Amphipolis Ἡδωνοί.

¹⁹⁸⁰ VII. 114.

¹⁹⁸¹ Herod. V. 11, 24.

¹⁹⁸² Thuc. IV. 107.

the expedition of Xerxes.¹⁹⁸³ Methone¹⁹⁸⁴ was on this coast the only interruption to the series of Macedonian possessions; this Eretrian colony had been, about 746 B.C.,¹⁹⁸⁵ together with the numerous Eubœan settlements in Chalcidice,¹⁹⁸⁶ at a period when the power of the Macedonians on this line of coast was very insignificant; and it preserved its independence until the reign of Philip the son of Amyntas.¹⁹⁸⁷

17. From the facts now ascertained, we may deduce a result of some importance with regard to the language of Herodotus. This historian clearly and precisely distinguishes between Bottiæis and Macedonia in the time of Xerxes,¹⁹⁸⁸ although it is certain that Bottiæis was then in the power of the Macedonians;¹⁹⁸⁹ Macedonia he classes as a district with Bottiæis, Mygdonia, and Pieria. He uses the word, therefore, not in a *political*, but in a *national* sense; *i.e.*, he restricts it to the territory originally possessed by the Macedonian nation, not applying it to countries which had been obtained by conquest or political preponderance. The Macedonia of Herodotus is consequently the territory of the Macedonians *before* all the conquests of the Temenidæ. It

¹⁹⁸³ But τὰ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνου ἔθνεα, Herod. VI. 44, are not the nations in Macedonia (Heyne Opuscul. Acad. IV. p. 164.), but those between Macedonia and Persia. See Boeckh's Economy of Athens, vol. II. p. 483. note.

¹⁹⁸⁴ Forty stadia beyond Pydna, Strabo.

¹⁹⁸⁵ Plutarch Qu. Gr. 11.

¹⁹⁸⁶ Aristot. ap. Strab. X. p. 447. Conon Narr. c. 20. Raoul-Rochette, Histoire des Colonies Grecques, tom. III. pp. 198 sqq.

¹⁹⁸⁷ *Pydna*, however, early belonged to the Macedonians, Thucyd. I. 137. Diod. XIII. 49. Scylax, p. 26. calls Pydna and Methone Greek cities; but that proves nothing for their independence.

¹⁹⁸⁸ Above, p. 455, note g. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "according to Herodotus," starting "VII. 127."] No one surely will distinguish between γῆ ἢ Μακεδονίς and ἡ Μακεδονία.

¹⁹⁸⁹ Above, § 16. Herodotus also mentions together, among the allies of Xerxes, VII. 185, the Eordians (in *Physca*, see below, p. 468. note k [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "*Physca* in Mygdonia," starting "According to Ptolemy, p. 83."]), the Bottiæans (near Olynthus), and the Chalcideans. Concerning the Brygians, see below, § 30.

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extended, according to Herodotus, in a narrow tongue down to the sea;¹⁹⁹⁰ a fact disregarded by Thucydides, when he states that the coast of Lower Macedonia was first reduced by the Temenidæ.¹⁹⁹¹ Further from the sea, however, the ancient Macedonia had a much wider extent, and included the districts of Edessa and Berœa, Lyncestis, Orestis, and Elimeia: for Macedonia is stated by Herodotus to have been on the one side bounded by mount Olympus (which ridge, where it borders on Pieria,¹⁹⁹² was called the Macedonian mountains),¹⁹⁹³ and on the other by mount Dysorum. This last fact is evident from the statement of the same writer, that a very short way led from the Prasian lake to Macedonia, passing first to the mine from which Alexander obtained an immense supply of precious metal; and then, that having crossed mount Dysorum, you were in Macedonia;¹⁹⁹⁴ *i.e.*, evidently in the *original* Macedonia, since he expressly excludes from it the mine which had been a subsequent accession. The Prasian lake was in Pæonia;¹⁹⁹⁵ but in what district of it is not known;¹⁹⁹⁶ mount Dysorum, however, can only be looked for to the north of Edessa and to the west of the Axius, Macedonia Proper not extending so far as that river. In this manner it is placed in the accompanying map; in which also the ancient boundaries of the Macedonian race are laid down according to the results obtained by these researches.

18. On the other conquests of the Macedonians little need be said. The occupation of Bisaltia and Crestonica was subsequent

¹⁹⁹⁰ Besides VII. 127. see also VII. 173. concerning the road from *Lower Macedonia* to Thessaly.

¹⁹⁹¹ πρῶτοι (πρῶτον Bekker) ἐκτίσαντο.

¹⁹⁹² Near the pass Volustana, Liv. XLIV. 2, which led to Elimeia, p. 457, note s. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Cambunian mountains," starting with "Liv. XLII. 53."]

¹⁹⁹³ VII. 131.

¹⁹⁹⁴ V. 17.

¹⁹⁹⁵ Herod. V. 15, 16.

¹⁹⁹⁶ See Poppo Thucyd. vol. II. p. 434. Mannert, vol. VII. p. 495.

to the expedition of Xerxes. The Thracian king of these districts fled away,¹⁹⁹⁷ and left his kingdom a prey to the ambition of Alexander, who thus extended his empire to the mouth of the Strymon, which was the boundary of Macedonia in the days of Thucydides and of Scylax, and remained so until the time of Philip. At what time the Macedonian kings reduced that part of Pæonia which stretched along the Axios, Eordæa, Almopia, and a large part of the Macedonians themselves, we are nowhere informed; and to infer from Thucydides that these conquests succeeded that of Mygdonia and preceded that of Anthemus, would be laying too much weight upon the order in which he arranges the events; in which, although he doubtless paid some regard to chronology, the context required that the conquests on the coast should be mentioned before those of the interior. Eordæa was probably subjugated at a very early period, since it lay, as it were, in a bay of the Macedonian territory; and a very credible tradition has been preserved by Dexippus,¹⁹⁹⁸ that Caranus had in early times made an alliance with the Orestæ against the Eordians, and founded his kingdom by the subjugation of that nation. In fact, the first nation with whom the king of Edessa had to contend was these Eordians. They were, according to Thucydides, nearly annihilated by a war of extermination; a small number of them escaped to Physca in Mygdonia;¹⁹⁹⁹ which district therefore was not as yet under the power of the Macedonians. [468]

19. Among those parts of Macedonia Proper which were reduced by the Temenidæ, Elimeia may be particularly mentioned, as is evident from the following circumstances.

¹⁹⁹⁷ Herod. VIII. 116.

¹⁹⁹⁸ In Syncellus and Eusebius Scal. the reading is Dardanians for Eordians; the latter, which is evidently the correct reading, is preserved in the Armenian Eusebius, p. 168. ed. Mai. who follows Diodorus.

¹⁹⁹⁹ According to Ptolemy, p. 83. In Steph. Byz. it should probably be written, Ἐορδαῖαι, δύο χῶραι, Μακεδονίας καὶ Μυγδονίας.

Perdiccas, the son of Alexander, was at war with his brother Philip, with whom he was to have divided his kingdom,²⁰⁰⁰ and also with Derdas.²⁰⁰¹ The brothers of Derdas, before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, in alliance with the Athenians, made a descent from the highlands, that is, from one of the districts Elimeia, Orestis, or Lyncus, into the dominions of Perdiccas.²⁰⁰² Now Derdas²⁰⁰³ was the son of Arrhibæus, and cousin of Perdiccas; and it is plain that the Temenidæ reduced Elimeia; and a branch of the same family received this district as their peculiar possession.²⁰⁰⁴ A separate king of Elimeia also existed in the time of Archelaus,²⁰⁰⁵ who doubtless belonged to the same family. For a later Derdas occurs as prince of the Elimiotis in the time of Agesilaus,²⁰⁰⁶ who perhaps was the same as, or rather was the father of, the Derdas, whose sister Phila Philip married.²⁰⁰⁷ In like manner, there was a separate sovereignty in Stymphæa and the neighbouring Æthicia, which was held by the family of Polysperchon, the general and guardian of the kingdom.²⁰⁰⁸ Although in later times all these separate sovereignties, both of the Temenidæ and of other princes, were suppressed, and Upper and Lower Macedonia were equally ruled from the city of Pella; yet the tribes of the highlands still remained to a certain degree distinct. Even at the battle of Arbela, the Elimiotis, Lyncestæ, Orestæ, and Tymphæans fought in separate bodies;²⁰⁰⁹ and several persons are denoted in the

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²⁰⁰⁰ Thuc. II. 100. cf. I. 57. VI. 7.

²⁰⁰¹ Thuc. I. 57.

²⁰⁰² I. 59.

²⁰⁰³ According to Schol. Thuc. I. 57.

²⁰⁰⁴ Hence perhaps we might separate ξύμμαχα καὶ ὑπήκοα in the beginning of the chapter, and refer the former rather to Lyncus, the latter to Elimeia.

²⁰⁰⁵ Aristot. Pol. V. 8.

²⁰⁰⁶ Xen. Hell. V. 2. 38.

²⁰⁰⁷ Athen. XIII. p. 557. C. cf. X. p. 436 C.

²⁰⁰⁸ To be inferred from Lycophron. Cass. 802. with Tzetzes.

²⁰⁰⁹ Diod. XVII. 7.

history of Macedon by the surname of Lyncestes. Perdiccas came from Orestis, Ptolemy from Eordæa.²⁰¹⁰ Those in the lowlands, on the other hand, were known by the general name of Macedonians; and it should be observed, that there were also Macedonians dwelling in Pieria, Bottiæis, Mygdonia, Eordæa, and Almopia,²⁰¹¹ who had, according to Thucydides, driven out the native inhabitants; while Pæonia and Bisaltia, together with Anthemus and Crestonica, remained in the possession of those tribes which had been settled there before the conquest of Macedonia.²⁰¹²

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On the national affinity of the original Macedonians.

20. From what has been already said it is plain that there was, independently of the extension of the empire of the Temenidæ, a Macedonian nation possessing from early times a territory of considerable size, viz., the Macedonia of Herodotus; the area of which in the accompanying map amounts to 2400 geographical square miles.

We now proceed to the most important question to be considered in this treatise, viz., to what national family these Macedonians belonged.

21. The ancient writers distinguish in these regions the following nations; and in so marked a manner that it is evident

²⁰¹⁰ Arrian VI. 28.

²⁰¹¹ Pliny H. N. IV. 17. mentions *Almopians*, together with Eordians, on the banks of the Axius; and in Ptolemy p. 83. Almopia is the country near Europus; it was to this place that the Almopians probably fled. This also explains the genealogical connexion with Pæon and Edonus. *Orchamēnos*, p. 250, note 2.

²⁰¹² Of ancient wars of the Macedonians, not mentioned by Thucydides, I may mention the fabulous battle between Caranus and *Cisseus* (Pausan. IX. 40. 4.), probably a king of *Cissus*, near Therma, which is the explanation given by Strabo VII. exc. 10. p. 330. of Cisseus the Thracian in Il. XI. 221. Euripides transferred this war, as well as the story of the goats, into his tragedy called *Archelaus*, perhaps only written from flattery, fragm. 33. ed. Musgr. Hyginus Fab. 219. See also Lycophr. 1237. Concerning the supposed war with the Phrygians, see below, § 30.

that they differed from one another in their costume, language, and mode of living.²⁰¹³

First, the THRACIANS. This great nation extended to the north as far as the Danube, where it included the Getæ;²⁰¹⁴ to the east beyond the sea, since the Thynians and Bithynians were Thracians;²⁰¹⁵ to the west within mount Hæmus as far as the Strymon, where it bordered on the Pæonians, widening still more as it receded from the coast, since it also included the Triballians.²⁰¹⁶ On the west bank of the Strymon the Sintians and Mædians were of Thracian origin;²⁰¹⁷ to which nation the Bisaltæ and Edones must also be referred.²⁰¹⁸ Thrace is often represented as having in early times extended to Thessaly and Bœotia²⁰¹⁹ but merely in reference to the settlements of the Pierians at the foot of Olympus and Helicon; and there are many reasons against considering these Pierians as of the same race as the *other* Thracians,²⁰²⁰ although they were called Thracians at an early period.²⁰²¹ Homer at least distinguishes between these two nations when he makes Here go from Olympus to Pieria, then to Emathia, and afterwards to the snowy mountains of the

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²⁰¹³ See Mannert, vol. VII. p. 281. In the catalogue of nations, however, in Appian Illyr. 2. Pæonian and Thracian (Mædi, Triballi) are mixed with Illyrian tribes.

²⁰¹⁴ Herod. IV. 93. V. 3. Menander ap. Strab. VII. p. 297. The language of the Getæ was Thracian, Strab. VII. p. 303.

²⁰¹⁵ Herod. VII. 75, &c.

²⁰¹⁶ According to Strabo VII. p. 305, 315. cf. VII. p. 323.

²⁰¹⁷ Strab. VII. p. 316. According to which passage they extended more to the north as far as the Illyrian Dardanians. The Thracians beyond Crestona, mentioned by Herodotus V. 3. are probably the same people.

²⁰¹⁸ Conon Narr. c. 20. calls the Bisaltæ Thracians (Ἄργιλος was also a Thracian name according to Heraclid. Pont. 41); and the Panæans, whom Thucydides II. 101. calls Thracians, were an Edonian nation according to Stephanus Byz.

²⁰¹⁹ Strabo X. p. 471. does not appear to make this supposition, but perhaps in VII. p. 321.

²⁰²⁰ By Thucydides II. 29. and by earlier writers.

²⁰²¹ See above, p. 11.

Thracians;²⁰²² by which he must mean the mountains of the Bisaltæ to the north of Edessa, since the goddess next rests her foot on mount Athos and the island of Lemnos.

Secondly, the PÆONIANS. A numerous race divided into several small nations,²⁰²³ inhabiting the districts on the rivers Strymon and Axios and the countries to the north of Macedonia,²⁰²⁴ together with Pannonia, according to the Greeks.²⁰²⁵ This race, according to *their own tradition* (if Herodotus's account is correct),²⁰²⁶ derived their origin from the ancient Teucrians in the Troad; in their passage from which country they had been accompanied, according to Herodotus, by the Mysians, the same people that afterwards gave their name of Mœsians to a great province.²⁰²⁷

Thirdly, the ILLYRIANS extended southward as far as the Acroceraunian mountains, eastward to the mountain-chain known in its southern parts by the name of Pindus, and northward as far as the Save and the Alps, if Herodotus is correct in considering the Venetians as of Illyrian origin.²⁰²⁸

Fourthly, *Nations of Grecian descent.*

22. Since the Macedonians evidently belonged to some one of these four races, our present object is to ascertain *which*. Now in the first place the *Greeks* may be excluded, since, although it is certain that a large portion of the Macedonian nation was of Grecian origin, the Macedonians were always considered by the

²⁰²² Iliad XIV. 225. sqq.

²⁰²³ Gatterer Commentat. VI. p. 37. Mannert, vol. VII. p. 487.

²⁰²⁴ Solin. IX. 2, &c.

²⁰²⁵ See particularly Appian Illyr. I. But as in later times Pæonians and Illyrians were confounded (Appian Illyr. 14.) the Paunonians also were called Illyrians.

²⁰²⁶ Herod. V. 13. comp. VII. 20, 75, and see *Prolegomena zur Mythologie*, p. 351. The legend concerning the great expedition of the Teucrians is well given in Lycophron v. 1341.

²⁰²⁷ Yet Strabo VII. p. 295. has the contrary tradition of the Mysians.

²⁰²⁸ I. 196.

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Greeks as barbarians.—Alexander the Philhellene,²⁰²⁹ the father of Perdiccas, represented himself to the Persians (according to Herodotus)²⁰³⁰ as a Greek, and satrap over Macedonians; the same person who was driven off the course at Olympia for being a barbarian, until he proved his Argive descent.²⁰³¹ The mouth of the Peneus, or the Magnesian mountain of Homolè, was on the eastern side considered as the boundary of Greece,²⁰³² unless Magnesia also was excluded. Fabulous genealogies, representing Macedon as the son of Zeus and Thyia the daughter of Deucalion, or of a descendant of Æolus, are of no weight against the prevailing opinion of the Greeks; nor are they necessarily of greater antiquity than the fortieth Olympiad (620 B.C.),²⁰³³ at which time Danaus and Ægyptus, and other races equally unconnected, were made the members of the same family, when the Scythians were derived from Hercules,²⁰³⁴ and even the whole known world was comprised in extensive genealogies. It would be unreasonable to suppose, on the credit of these genealogies, that there was any other migration of Greeks into Macedonia except that of the Temenidæ.

23. Secondly, with regard to the PÆONIANS: it may be shown that the Macedonians did not belong to that nation.²⁰³⁵

²⁰²⁹ Gottleber ad Thucyd. I. 57.

²⁰³⁰ Herod. V. 20.

²⁰³¹ Herodot. V. 22. and see Valckenaer's note. The Attic orators evidently exaggerate; there is, however, perhaps a slight hyperbole in what Weiske *de Hyperbole*, p. 19. says on the other side.

²⁰³² See Scylax, p. 12. and the metrical Dicæarchus, p. 3. Comp. Salmas. Exercit. Plin. p. 100 A.

²⁰³³ The passage of Hesiod appears to be from the Ἡοῖαι (above p. 4. note n [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Hesiod and Hellanicus," starting "Ap. Constant."]), and these poems come down as late as the 40th Olympiad (*Orchomenos*, p. 358). After Hesiod Solinus IX. 13. calls *Macedo Deucalionis maternus nepos*. comp. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 427.

²⁰³⁴ The account of the Greeks living on the Pontus, according to Herod. IV. 8-10.

²⁰³⁵ Although Mannert, vol. VII. p. 492. considers the Macedonians to be of

The possessions of the Macedonians in Pæonia are accurately described by ancient writers; these were, until the time of Perdiccas, only a narrow strip of land;²⁰³⁶ Pelagonia and Pæonia on the Axios were subdued at a later date. As the Pæonian race was not aboriginal in this district, its peculiarities were probably easy to be recognised in the time of Thucydides, and hence this national name occurs more frequently than those of the separate provinces. For this reason great importance should be attached to the circumstance that the ancients never refer the Macedonians themselves to the Pæonian race; and it should perhaps be considered as decisive. On the other hand, with aboriginal races having a large territory and numerous connexions, such a separation hardly warrants this inference, since otherwise the Macedonians, whom both Herodotus and Thucydides mention *together with* Thracians and Illyrians,²⁰³⁷ could not have belonged to either of those two tribes, and therefore to no great national division of the human race. It is, however, plain that the ancients frequently used the national name in a limited sense, merely for the chief mass of the people, and did not apply it to particular *portions of it* which had acquired a character different from that of the rest of their nation,²⁰³⁸ without by this meaning to express a diversity of origin. We have therefore now only to ascertain whether the Macedonians were of *Thracian or Illyrian* descent. [473]

Illyrian and Pæonian descent, Comp. p. 421.

²⁰³⁶ See above, p. 460. note z. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "and the coast," starting "Thucyd. II. 99."] Pliny H. N. IV. 17. appears to say that the Eordi were Pæonians; and it is not improbable that this was the fact, though the passage of Pliny is corrupt. Herodotus VII. 185. mentions together Thracians, Pæonians, Eordians, Bottiæans, Chalcidians, Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, and Perrhæbians.

²⁰³⁷ E.g. Thuc. IV. 124.

²⁰³⁸ E.g. Thucydides II. 96. mentions Thracians between mounts Hæmus and Rhodope, Getæ and mountain Thracians together, as if the Getæ were not Thracians. Instances of this use are very common; e.g. the common case of Ionians *and* Athenians.

24. We shall gain one step towards a conclusion by inquiring in what region were the original settlements of the Macedonians; a question which should carefully be distinguished from the former investigation as to the first station of the Temenidæ. Now in pursuing this inquiry, we soon perceive that even of Macedonia Proper, from which Bottiæa, Pieria, and Eordæa were conquered, a large part was not always in the possession of the Macedonians. Homer, for example, places Emathia, not Macedonia, between Pieria and Chalcidice.²⁰³⁹ Several writers state in general that Macedonia had anciently been called Emathia;²⁰⁴⁰ but, as will be presently shown, they do not so much mean the highlands as the country about the mouths of the three rivers and near Edessa.²⁰⁴¹ The fabulous name was renewed in later times; and Ptolemy²⁰⁴² even mentions the district of Emathia, in which were the towns of Cyrthus,²⁰⁴³ Eidomenæ, Gordynia, Edessa, Berrhœa, and Pella. According to Thucydides²⁰⁴⁴ and others, Eidomenæ and Gordynia must have been situated in the region

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²⁰³⁹ II. XIV. 226. And hence in the Hymn to the Pythian Apollo, v. 39. (according to Matthiæ's and Ilgen's conjecture), although Emathia does not suit very well there, and the preceding word (neither Λεύκον nor Λίγκον is in its place) remains uncertain. The Roman poets, as is well known, use the name in a very wide sense, Heyne ad Virg. Georg. I. 492.

²⁰⁴⁰ Plin. H. N. IV. 17. Justin. VII. 1. Gell. XIV. 6. 4. Solinus IX. 1. distinguishes between the Edonian, Mygdonian, Pierian, and Emathian territory, and IX. 12. derives the name of Emathia, as being that of the most ancient Macedonia, from an Autochthon *Emathius*. Tzetzes ad Hesiod. Op. I. Chiliad. VI. 90. states, from the Delphica of Melisseus, that Aëropus, the eldest son of Emathion, had reigned over Lyncus, which had previously been called Pieria,—a very confused account.

²⁰⁴¹ See Justin VII. 1.

²⁰⁴² Pag. 84.

²⁰⁴³ In Ptolemy the word is Κύριος. See above, p. 458. note h. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Macedonian inflexion," starting "Among the Macedonian."]

²⁰⁴⁴ II. 100. comp. Plin. H. N. IV. 17. The tabula Peutinger. which places Idomenæ 53 m. p. from Therma, and 35 from Stoboi (Istip), agrees very well with Thucydides, Ptolemy, and Pliny.

near the Axios, in the early subdued country of Pæonia;²⁰⁴⁵ whence it may be understood how Polybius²⁰⁴⁶ could say that Emathia, at a distance from the coast, had in early times been called Pæonia. For the ancient name of Emathia had evidently been extended to a tract of land belonging to Pæonia, which had, perhaps, previously to the Pæonian conquests, once borne the name of Emathia.

25. Now although the country round Edessa, and nearer to the sea, was not originally called Macedonia, yet we find traces of the existence of the name of the Macedonians under its ancient forms of Μακέται and Μακεδνοὶ, in the hill-country near the ridge of Pindus. Herodotus says that the Doric race, having been driven from Hestiæotis, and dwelling under mount Pindus, was called the *Macedonian nation*.²⁰⁴⁷ By this statement he plainly means that the Dorians were first known by that name in Peloponnesus;²⁰⁴⁸ and indeed his other notions on the progress of this people are only suited to the childhood of history. But notwithstanding the erroneous conclusions of the narrator, it is allowable to infer from his statement that the Macedonians had once dwelt at the foot of Pindus—*i.e.*, probably in one of the districts of Upper Macedonia; of which provinces Orestis may be considered (on the faith of a conjectural emendation) as the ancient Maceta.²⁰⁴⁹ For it cannot be a Thessalian district that is

²⁰⁴⁵ Since he entirely separates Bottiæa from Pieria.

²⁰⁴⁶ XXIV. 8. Liv. XV. 3. Justin VII. 1. says of Emathia, *Populus Pelasgi, regio Bæotia dicebatur*, where *Bottiæa* is a more probable correction than *Pæonia*, and is confirmed by the Vatican fragments of Diodorus, p. 4. Mai.

²⁰⁴⁷ I. 56. cf. VIII. 43. and see book I. ch. 1. § 10.

²⁰⁴⁸ I. 56. Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη. And yet, according to Herodotus himself, they were governed by Dorus in Hestiæotis.

²⁰⁴⁹ Constantin. Porphyrog. II. 2. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Μακεδονίας μοῖρα Μακέτα, ὡς Μαρσῦας ἐν πρώτῳ Μακεδονιακῶν. καὶ τὴν Ὀρεσιίδα (vulg. Ἡρέσειαν δὲ) Μακέταν λέγουσιν. See above, p. 458. note c. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "valley of Orestis," starting "Ὀρ'Ὀρεσιίας."] Scymnus calls the Macedonians γηγενεῖς, and makes them come from Macessa and Emathia, v. 657.

alluded to, since Maceta was, as we know from certain testimony, in fact a part of Macedonia. This hypothesis is also supported by the ancient patronymic surname of the Macedonian kings, “Argeadæ;” if it is rightly derived by Appian from Argos in Orestis.²⁰⁵⁰

The fact that the ancient country of the Macedonians was near the ridge of mountains on the confines of Illyria, and was at a considerable distance from Thrace, renders it probable that the Macetæ were of Illyrian blood; but this probability would yield to arguments drawn from the language, costume, and manners of the three nations. The question therefore is, whom did the Macedonians in the points most resemble, the *Illyrians* or the *Thracians*?

26. There is a passage in Strabo²⁰⁵¹ which, on account of its importance, I will give nearly at full length, omitting only those parts which are not necessary to the context. It contains an account of the population of Epirus.

“Of the nations of Epirus the Chaonians and Thesprotians inhabit the coast from the Ceraunian mountains to the Ambracian gulf; behind Ambracia is Amphilochean Argos. The Amphilocheans also are Epirots, together with the tribes lying more in the interior, and joining the mountains of Illyria—viz., the Molotti, the Athamanes, the Æthices, the Tymphæi, the Orestæ, the Paroræi, and the Atintanes, some dwelling nearer to the Macedonians, and others to the Ionian sea. With these the Illyrian nations were mixed which dwelt to the south of the hill-country, as well as those beyond the Ionian sea. For between Epidamnus and Apollonia and the Ceraunian mountains there

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²⁰⁵⁰ Appian Syr. 63. Ἄργος ἐν Ὀρεστείᾳ (ὅθεν οἱ Ἀργεῖαδαι Μακεδόνες). Concerning the name of the Argeadæ see Pausan. VII. 8. 5. and the note of Siebelis. Perhaps the entire legend of the Argive origin of the Macedonian kings properly refers to this Argos Orestikon.

²⁰⁵¹ VII. p. 324. sqq.

are the Bylliones,²⁰⁵² the Taulantii,²⁰⁵³ the Parthini,²⁰⁵⁴ and the Brygi,²⁰⁵⁵ and at a short distance, about the silver mines²⁰⁵⁶ of Damastium,²⁰⁵⁷ the Perisadies have established their dominion; the Enchelii²⁰⁵⁸ and Sesarasii²⁰⁵⁹ are also named as dwelling in these parts; and besides these, the Lyncestæ, the land of Deuriopus, the Pelagonian Tripolis,²⁰⁶⁰ the Eordi, Elimea, and Eratyra.²⁰⁶¹ Now in early times these tribes had severally rulers of their own; the Enchelians were governed by the descendants of Cadmus, the Lyncestæ were under Arrhibæus, and of the Epirots the Molotti were ruled by Pyrrhus and his descendants, while all the other nations of that tribe were governed by native princes. In process of time, however, as one nation obtained the dominion over others, the whole fell into the Macedonian empire, except a small tract beyond the Ionian sea. Also the country about Lyncestus, Pelagonia, Orestias and Elimea was once called Upper Macedonia, and at a later period the Independent. Some persons, moreover, give to the whole country as far as Corcyra the name of Macedonia, assigning, as their reason, that the inhabitants nearly resemble one another in the mode of wearing the hair, in

²⁰⁵² Bulini, near the modern *Valona*, Mannert, vol. VII. p. 388.

²⁰⁵³ Near Epidamnus, according to Thuc. I. 24. Appian. Bell. Civ. II. 39. and extending as far as the Dalmatians according to Appian Illyr. 24.

²⁰⁵⁴ Also near Epidamnus according to Liv. XXIX. 12. XLIII. 21. to the south of the Taulantians according to Plin. H. N. III. 26. Mela. II. 3. The country of the Parthini was called ἡ Πάρθος, Polyb. XVIII. 30. 12. as ἡ Λύγκος (Thuc. IV. 83.) ἡ Δευρίοπος above, § 11. ἡ Κύρρος.

²⁰⁵⁵ See below, p. 481, note k. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "with the Dassaretians," starting "Scymnus Chius."]

²⁰⁵⁶ Read πλησέον δέ που κατὰ (vulg. καὶ) τὰ ἀργύρια.

²⁰⁵⁷ Besides this passage Damastium is only known by its silver coins, Eckhel D. N. I. II. p. 164. Mionnet Descript. tom. II. p. 54.

²⁰⁵⁸ Here those in the neighbourhood of Apollonia are meant, see below, p. 483, note a. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "strange deities," starting "As the Encheleans."]

²⁰⁵⁹ Probably the Dassaretians (Sesarethians) near Lychnidus.

²⁰⁶⁰ In Northern Sicily.

²⁰⁶¹ Not mentioned elsewhere.

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their dialect, in the use of the chlamys, and in other points of this kind: some of them likewise speak two languages.”

27. Now, although the historical accounts of Strabo, collected at a time when these regions had been ravaged by conquest, and had undergone manifold changes, have not the value which the statements of Herodotus and Thucydides possess, yet it is possible to extract from them much information. In the first place it should be observed that the Epirots and the Illyrians are not considered as two wholly distinct nations. The Epirots, although in early times allied by blood with the Greeks, were always considered as barbarians,²⁰⁶² and Ambracia as the last city in Greece;²⁰⁶³ which fact, since the original inhabitants were the same as in Arcadia, that is, Pelasgians, can only be explained by supposing that there had been a mixture of Illyrians. Hence it might be at that late time difficult to distinguish between the Epirots and the Illyrians; and thus Strabo includes the Atintanes, who according to Scylax²⁰⁶⁴ and Appian²⁰⁶⁵ were Illyrians, among the Epirot nations. It is more singular that he should consider the Orestæ, whom Polybius²⁰⁶⁶ recognises as a Macedonian people, as Epirots; but it may be probably accounted for by the circumstance of their separation from the cause of the Macedonian kings, which procured them their independence in the year of the city 556.²⁰⁶⁷ But the other inhabitants of Upper Macedonia, the genuine Macedonians, such as the Lyncestæ and

²⁰⁶² See particularly Thuc. II. 80. Scymn. 444. Concerning their ἐκβάρβαρωσις see Plutarch Pyrrh. 1.

²⁰⁶³ Scylax, p. 12. Dicæarchus, p. 3.

²⁰⁶⁴ Pag. 10.

²⁰⁶⁵ Illyr. 7.

²⁰⁶⁶ See above, p. 458, note b. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to “Orestian Macedonians,” starting “Μακεδόνων οἱ Ὀρέσται.”]

²⁰⁶⁷ Polyb. XVIII. 30. Liv. XXXIII. 34. *Liberi Amantini et Orestæ*, Plin. H. N. IV. 17. Hence Steph. Byz. makes Orestis reach to Molossia, in v. Ὀρέσται. These have been generally followed by modern geographers. Lyncus alone is mentioned by Steph. Byz. in v. πόλιν Ἠπείρου.

Elimiots (who probably, from being mountaineers, had preserved their national distinctions more than the civilised tribes of the lowlands), were considered by Strabo, as the context plainly shows, as original Illyrians; and it can hardly be doubted that they still bore the characteristic marks of that nation.

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28. "Some again," as Strabo says, "give to the whole country as far as Corcyra the name of Macedonia." What country this is, is accurately known both from the testimony of other writers, and even of Strabo himself. The Romans called the whole region which opened to them the way to Macedonia²⁰⁶⁸ by the name of Macedonia; and made it reach from Lissus (now *Alessio*) on the river Drilon (now the *Drin*) either to the Egnatian road,²⁰⁶⁹ which begins between Dyrrhachium (or Epidamnus) and Apollonia, or, as Strabo states in the passage quoted in the text, for a short distance beyond.²⁰⁷⁰ The inhabitants of this tract of country were beyond all question Illyrians (Taulantii, Parthini, Dassaretii, &c.²⁰⁷¹); and it is of *their* dress and language that Strabo here speaks. The importance of these points for the discovery of national affinity is easily perceived. Indeed, many Grecian tribes might be distinguished merely by their mode of wearing the hair.²⁰⁷² The chlamys had come to the Greeks from the Thessalians, and Sappho was the first Grecian writer who mentioned it:²⁰⁷³ afterwards it became a military dress, and

²⁰⁶⁸ According to the probable supposition of Mannert, vol. VII. p. 390.

²⁰⁶⁹ Strab. VII. See Exc. 3. p. 329.

²⁰⁷⁰ This usage first occurs in Cæsar Bell. Civ. III. 34. although there it is not quite clear; on the other hand, Dio Cassius XLI. 49. distinctly says, ἐν τῇ γῆ τῇ πρότερον μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν Παρθινῶν, νῦν δὲ καὶ τότε γε ἤδη Μακεδονία νενομισμένη; the boundaries are given by Pliny N. H. III. 26. (from Lissus to Oricum) and Ptolemy.—Dexippus also, quoted by Constantinus Porphy. de Them. II. 9. includes Epidamnus in Macedonia, and the tabula Peutinger, has only Macedonia between Dalmatia and Epirus.

²⁰⁷¹ See e.g. Thuc. I. 24. Liv. XLV. 26.

²⁰⁷² It would lead me too far to treat here of the Thesean, Abantian, Laconian, and ancient Ionian κοῦρά.

²⁰⁷³ Book IV. ch. 2. § 4. The proper Thessalian appellation was, according to

supplanted the ἱμάτιον, as in Italy the *sagum* took the place of the *toga*, which was originally girt up for military use.²⁰⁷⁴ From this passage of Strabo we learn that it was the national habit of the Illyrian tribes above Epirus. In like manner the broad-brimmed, low, flat fur-cap, known by the name of *causia*, which was equally unlike the conical²⁰⁷⁵ *κυνέη* of the Bœotians and the low, tapering²⁰⁷⁶ *πέτασος*, was worn by these northern nations; it was the ancient dress of state among the Macedonians, and worn by their kings,²⁰⁷⁷ and it was likewise the dress of the Ætolians²⁰⁷⁸ and Molossians.²⁰⁷⁹ But the most remarkable circumstance is, that the same cap which is borne by the riders on the tetradrachms of the first Alexander also adorns the head of the Illyrian king Gentius.²⁰⁸⁰ Lastly, the similarity of dialect is a decisive proof. Now that all these things should have been introduced by the Macedonian kings seems highly improbable, when it is remembered that their rule did not even extend over the whole of this tract, that it was also often interrupted, and in general not of a nature to alter the character, language, and costume of the natives.²⁰⁸¹

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the Great Etymologist, ἄλληξ, whence *allicula*.

²⁰⁷⁴ See *Etrusker*, vol. I. p. 265.

²⁰⁷⁵ Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* III. 9.

²⁰⁷⁶ Schneider's *Lexicon* in *πέτασος*.

²⁰⁷⁷ Plutarch *Amat.* 16. *Pyrrh.* 11. *Herodian.* IV. 8. 5. *Dio Chrysostom.* *Or.* 72. p. 628. ed. Reisk. *Pollux* X. 162. *Valer. Max.* V. 1. ext. 4. *Antipater Thessal.* apud Brunck. n. 10. *Suidas* in *Καυσίν.* Compare Valcknaer ad *Adoniaz.* p. 345.

²⁰⁷⁸ *Polyb.* IV. 4. 5.

²⁰⁷⁹ *Heracl. Pont.* 17.

²⁰⁸⁰ *Eckhel Doct. Num.* I. 2. pp. 83. 155. 158. A clear notion of the *causia* may be obtained from the representations of Macedonian coins in *Pellerin Recueil de M. de Rois Pl.* 1. n. 1. of Ætolian in *Combe Numi Mus. Britann.* Pl. 5. 24. 25. and of Illyrian in *Eckhel Numi. Vet. Anecd.* (1775.) Pl. I. tab. 6. 22. 23.

²⁰⁸¹ Philip, the son of Amyntas, first conquered the country as far as the lake Lychnitis, *Diod.* XVI. 8. The Taulantians in the time of Alexander had their own king, *Arrian* I. 5. The Illyrian king Argon ruled (about 240 B.C.) as far as Epirus, and the Atintanes were his subjects, *Appian* *Illyr.* 7. 8. When the Romans first went to Illyria they were joined by the Parthini and Atintanes,

From these facts it may, I think, be safely inferred that the Macedonians, viz., the people originally and properly so called, belonged to the ILLYRIAN race.

On the mixture of the Macedonians with other, particularly Greek, races.

29. It is, however, certain, notwithstanding the result which has been established, that the Macedonians in their advance from the highlands dislodged, and partly incorporated other, and particularly Grecian, tribes.

The first to fall in their hands was the ancient Emathia, near Edessa, and downwards to the sea, which Herodotus [480] includes in *his* Macedonia. The name of the country appears to be Grecian;²⁰⁸² and since Justin²⁰⁸³ distinctly affirms that the ancient inhabitants of Emathia were Pelasgians, and as Æschylus, a poet greatly versed in traditional lore, also makes the kingdom of the Pelasgians extend through Macedonia as far as the Strymon,²⁰⁸⁴ it must be considered that, according to ancient tradition, the early inhabitants of this country were of the Pelasgic race. It is likewise fair, by the guidance of several parallel cases in the Greek mythology, to interpret the legend that Lycaon the Arcadian hero had once ruled in Emathia, and was the father of Macedon,²⁰⁸⁵ as signifying merely the succession, *according to order of time*, of the Pelasgians and Macedonians in the occupation of this country; which the language of mythology expressed by placing the respective races in a *genealogical*

Polyb. II. 11. Atintania was first conquered by Philip the son of Demetrius, Schweighæuser ad Polyb. II. 5. p. 356. In the peace he only lost Lychnidus (with Dassaretis, Polyb. V. 108.) and Parthus (*i.e.* the Parthini), Polyb. XVIII. 30. 12. Liv. XXXIII. 34. The only countries which even Perseus possessed beyond the mountains were Atintania and Tymphæa, Liv. XLV. 30. See also Palmer Græc. Ant. I. 14. p. 78.

²⁰⁸² From ἄμθος, sea-sand.

²⁰⁸³ V. II. 1.

²⁰⁸⁴ Suppl. 257.

²⁰⁸⁵ Apollod. III. 8. 1. Ælian de Nat. An. X. 48. Steph. Byz. in Ὀρωπός.

connexion. So Thessalus is called a son of Jason, although the Thessalians belonged to a different race from the early rulers of the country, the Minyæ of Iolcus, of whom Jason was one. Hence it is highly probable that at the first conquest of this tract of land, viz., of Macedonia Proper, nations akin to the Greeks were mixed with the Illyrians.

30. One of the earliest conquests of the Macedonians was the country of their neighbours²⁰⁸⁶ the Phrygians; *i.e.*, according to the most exact statements, the district about mount Bermius, where in the ancient gardens of king Midas, the son of Gordias (in which Silenus had been once taken prisoner), the hundred-leaved rose still flourished at the time of Herodotus.²⁰⁸⁷ It is exceedingly probable that, as Herodotus states, this district had been occupied by the Macedonians before the arrival of the Temenidæ;²⁰⁸⁸ with which the tradition of an ancient migration of the Phrygians coincides:²⁰⁸⁹ yet it is also stated that Caranus the Temenid expelled Midas.²⁰⁹⁰ That the Phrygians or Brygians were entirely incorporated in the Macedonian nation cannot be supposed, as we hear quite in late times of a tribe of Brygians (Βρύγοι) in these regions, who then dwelt near the Illyrian mountains beyond Lychnidus, not far from the Erigon, together with the Dassaretians.²⁰⁹¹ The tribe of Mygdonians, which was

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²⁰⁸⁶ σύνοικοι, Herod. VII. 73.

²⁰⁸⁷ Herod. VIII. 138. Conon Narr. I. Concerning these roses see also Nicand. Fragm. 2. p. 278. ed. Schneider. Conon *ibid.* and Apollodorus ap. Strab. XIV. p. 680. also speak of ancient mines near mount Bermius.

²⁰⁸⁸ It might be inferred from Thuc. I. 61. that Berœa had not even *then* become a Macedonian possession; but it seems that ἀπανίστανται merely signifies “they prepare to leave Macedonia.”

²⁰⁸⁹ In Herod. VII. 73. Conon *ubi sup.* Xanthus placed it after, but probably *soon* after the Trojan war.

²⁰⁹⁰ Justin VII. 1.

²⁰⁹¹ Scymnus Chius v. 433. Strab. pp. 326, 327. There were Βρύγες in Dyrhachium, according to Appian B.C. II. 39. who states that they returned from Phrygia; comp. Steph. Byz. in Βρύξ. Herodotus indeed plainly distinguishes from the Βρίγισσφρύγες (VII. 73.) the Βρύγοι Θρήικες (VI. 45.

allied to the Phrygians,²⁰⁹² must have been lost in other nations at an early period, since their territory had been occupied by the Edones before it became a part of the Macedonian empire.

31. In their further extension the Macedonians fell in with Grecian, with Pæonian, and with Thracian tribes, which they either subdued or dislodged; but no expulsion was probably so complete that some part of the former population was not left behind. Among the tribes thus driven out were the Bottiæans, who were reported to have come from Athens and Crete,²⁰⁹³ a tradition which could hardly have arisen, if they had not been a Grecian people. Notice should also be taken of the Grecian and Pelasgic names of the cities on the Axius, viz., Ichnæ, Eidomenæ, Gortynia, Atalante, and Europus,²⁰⁹⁴ which cannot have been given by the Pæonians, and therefore must be referred to the ancient Greek population of this region. Beyond the Axius, according to Herodotus,²⁰⁹⁵ was Creston, a settlement of Thessalian Pelasgians, whence they do not appear to have been expelled by the victorious Macedonians; which fate befell the Almopians, an ancient branch of the Minyæ.²⁰⁹⁶ It has been

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VII. 185.) in Macedonia, who revolted to Mardonius and came with Xerxes; and Strabo also appears completely to separate the Βρύγοι as an Illyrian people (in p. 327. write Βρύγων) from the Thracian Βρίγες, who are said to have entirely left Europe (VII. p. 295): still their names and settlements seem to establish a national affinity.

²⁰⁹² Mygdon, a prince of the Phrygians, is mentioned in Iliad III. 186. Comp. Strabo VII. p. 295.

²⁰⁹³ Aristotle ἐν τῇ Βοττιαίων πολιτείᾳ ap. Plutarch. Thes. 16. Qu. Gr. 35. A similar, though still stranger, legend concerning the Bottiæans may be seen in Strabo VI. pp. 279. 282. Compare Etymol. Magn. in Βόττεια. The Cretan traditions may perhaps have found a resting-place in the temple at Ichnæ.

²⁰⁹⁴ Thuc. II. 100. Plin. H. N. IV. 17. The name Europus (Justin. VII. 1. speaks of an ancient king Europus in this country, and according to Steph. Byz. Εὐρωπὸς and Ὀρωπὸς were the sons of Macedon) reminds us of Demeter Europa, the Hermionean Europs, and the Cretan Europa. The Cretan Ἴδομενεὺς implies the existence of a place named Ἴδομένη.

²⁰⁹⁵ I. 57. Compare *Orchomenos*, p. 444. note 1.

²⁰⁹⁶ See above, p. 458, note f. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "far

already shown that the common population of Leibethrum and Pieria was at least nearly related to the Greeks: the names of Λεῖβηθρα, for a well-watered valley, Πίμπλη for a full fountain, and of Ἐλικῶν for a winding stream, are evidently Grecian.²⁰⁹⁷

As to the Eordians, the ancient foes of Macedon, it is uncertain whether they should be considered as belonging to the Illyrian or the Pæonian race,²⁰⁹⁸ of this latter tribe, in earlier times, a small, and, in later, a considerable portion obeyed the Macedonian kings. And, lastly, the subjection of the Bisaltæ, who even in the time of Perseus formed one of the chief parts of the kingdom of Macedon,²⁰⁹⁹ joined to that nation a people of purely Thracian descent; and the Macedonians, in the political meaning of the word, ceased more and more to be a regular nation, or a body of men of the same origin and language.²¹⁰⁰

On the customs and language of the Macedonians.

32. In order to trace the national character and origin of the Macedonians, it is necessary to distinguish three things; first, their Illyrian descent; secondly, their extension over other, for the most part Grecian countries; and thirdly, the introduction by the ruling family, of the civilisation and refinements of the Greeks; which

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from Pieria," starting "This is evident."]

²⁰⁹⁷ Πύδνα occurs again in the sacred Pytna of Crete. The poetical associations chiefly clung to the district above Dium, where Pimple and Leibethrum were situated.

²⁰⁹⁸ See above, p. 472, note a. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "narrow strip of land," starting "See above."] Strabo, who calls the Eordi Illyrians (above, § 26.), yet speaks only of the Macedonian inhabitants of Eordia. Hesychius and Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1342. call the Eordi Macedonians. Stephanus Byz. in Ἀμυροῦς has a confused passage on the Amyri, who, according to Suidas, were Eordi.

²⁰⁹⁹ Liv. XLV. 30.

²¹⁰⁰ Compare now Heyne Opusc. Acad. IV. p. 165. *Macedonas e multis barbarorum populis, Thracum inprimis et Pelasgorum, quibus Græcorum exigua pars accesserat, coaluisse.* Schlözer Weltgeschichte, vol. I. pag. 290. *The Macedonians, brothers of the Thracians, and entirely different from the Greeks, among whom they were long called barbarians, wandered about their mountainous country, divided into 150 hordes, when a Heraclide, &c.*

must have gained great ground when Alexander the Philhellene offered himself as a combatant at the Olympic games, and honoured the poetry of Pindar;²¹⁰¹ and when Archelaus, the son of Perdiccas,—the same person who first established many fortresses and roads in his dominions, and formed a Macedonian army,²¹⁰² nay, even had it in view to procure a navy,²¹⁰³—had tragedies of Euripides acted at his court under the direction of that poet. These changes must have chiefly affected the regions near the sea; for they could not have equally extended to the Macedonians of Lynceus, &c., who, even in the time of Strabo, had the greatest resemblance to the Dassaretians, Taulantians, &c., and, until the overthrow of the Macedonian monarchy, preserved their ancient savage habits; which Livy only partially accounts for by their intercourse with neighbouring barbarians.²¹⁰⁴

33. Since the Illyrian tribes were never distinguished for that original invention which imagined new gods and established new modes of worship; while, on the other hand, they readily adopted strange deities;²¹⁰⁵ we find among the Macedonians more traces of foreign than native religion. Certain deities which the Greeks compared with the Sileni they called Sauadæ,²¹⁰⁶

²¹⁰¹ Solinus, IX. 16.

²¹⁰² Thuc. II. 100.

²¹⁰³ Solinus, IX. 17.

²¹⁰⁴ XLV. 30. *ferociores eos et accolæ barbari faciunt, nunc bello exercentes, nunc in pace miscentes ritus suos.* An intercourse in peace, among free and hardy nations, presupposes a certain degree of resemblance. At the present time the wild Orestæ are stated to be very different from the mild and social Zagoriots (Parauæans), *Geographische Ephemeriden*, vol. XVII. p. 430.

²¹⁰⁵ As the Encheleans appear to have carried from the Bœotian incursion (*Orchomenos*, p. 231.) the worship of Cadmus and Harmonia both to the region of Buthoë (Scylax, p. 9. Steph. Byz. in Βουθόη), and to the Ceraunian mountains (Dionys. Perieg. v. 391. Apoll. Rh. IV. 517. for there were Encheleans in both places). Compare Apollodorus III. 5. 4. Scymnus Chius v. 437. Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieg. v. 389. Interpret. Virg. Æn. I. 243. ed. Mai.

²¹⁰⁶ Amerias ap. Hesych. in v.

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as the Illyrians called them Deuadæ;²¹⁰⁷ a native Macedonian god of health was named Darrhon;²¹⁰⁸ there was also a god called Deipatyrus among the neighbouring Stymphæans.²¹⁰⁹ The wide extension of the worship of Bacchus must be ascribed to the vicinity of, and early intercourse with Pieria: the Macetian women were celebrated as wild and raging Bacchantes.²¹¹⁰ The worship of Zeus appears to have been early introduced among the Macedonians from mount Olympus.²¹¹¹ Hercules, the heroic progenitor of the royal family, was worshipped in their first residence at Edessa:²¹¹² he was called in Macedonia Aretus.²¹¹³ The worship of Apollo, which was prevalent in Macedonia at an early period,²¹¹⁴ probably was introduced from Pythium on mount Olympus:²¹¹⁵ that of Pan, at Pella, was perhaps derived from the Pelasgians.²¹¹⁶

34. Many barbarous customs of the northern nations, as, for example, that of tattooing, which prevailed among the Illyrians and Thracians,²¹¹⁷ must have fallen into disuse in Macedonia at a very early date: for the Greeks would not have forgotten

²¹⁰⁷ Hesychius in Δευάδαι.

²¹⁰⁸ Hesychius et Favorinus in v.

²¹⁰⁹ Hesychius in v.

²¹¹⁰ Plutarch Alex. 2. Polyæn. Stratag. IV. 1. Compare Athenæus V. p. 198 E. Etym. Mag. et Suidas in Κλώδονες, Lycoph. v. 1237. Conon Narr. 45. Creuzer's Symbolik, vol. III. p. 194. sq.

²¹¹¹ *Jovis templum, veterrimæ Macedonum religionis*, Justin XXIV. 2. Archelaus established Olympic games (Arrian I. 11.), who had himself been a conqueror at the Olympic games at Elis, Solin. IX. 18. Perhaps also Musea in Macedonia, according to Arrian ubi sup.

²¹¹² Hesych. in Ἑδεσσαῖος.

²¹¹³ Hesych. in Ἄρητος.

²¹¹⁴ See above, p. 455, note z. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "an ancient temple," starting "Of Apollo."]

²¹¹⁵ Book II. ch. 11. § 2.

²¹¹⁶ Eckhel D. N. I. 2. p. 74. The Macedonian Venus, Zeirene (Hesyvch. in v.) was perhaps the Zerynthian. Mars, according to Hesychius, was in Macedonia called Thaumus or Thaulus.

²¹¹⁷ Herod. V. 6. Strab. VII. p. 315. Comp. Salmas. Exerc. Plin. p. 169 A.

to mention such evident proofs of barbarian descent. Even the usage of the ancient Macedonians, that every person who had not killed an enemy should wear some disgraceful badge, had been discontinued in the time of Aristotle.²¹¹⁸ Yet at a very late date no one was permitted to lie down at table who had not slain a wild boar without the nets.²¹¹⁹ It is greatly to be lamented that we know much less of the ancient customs of the Illyrians than of the Thracians, of whose singular and almost Asiatic usages we are sufficiently well informed. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul in the worship of Zalmoxis, the lamentations of the Trausi at the birth of a man,²¹²⁰ and the slaughter of the dearest wife on the grave of her husband among the Sintes and Mædi,²¹²¹ point to a particular view of human life, foreign to the Grecian character, but familiar to many eastern nations.²¹²² The prevailing custom of polygamy,²¹²³ the buying and inheriting of women, the selling of children as slaves,²¹²⁴ and the delight in intoxication,²¹²⁵ are traces of a genuine barbarian character; no one of which, as far as I am aware, can be discovered among the Macedonians: with whom, moreover, the Thracian names (*e.g.*, Cotys, and those ending in *cetes* and *sades*) never occur.

35. On the other hand, a military disposition, which still distinguished the Macedonians in the time of Polybius, personal valour, and a certain freedom of spirit, were the national characteristics of this people. Long before Philip organised his phalanx, the cavalry of Macedon was greatly celebrated,

²¹¹⁸ Polit. VII. 2. 6.

²¹¹⁹ According to Hegesander ap. Athen. I. p. 18 A.

²¹²⁰ Herod. V. 4; according to Solinus X. 2. *apud plurimos*.

²¹²¹ Herod. V. 5. comp. Solinus X. 3.

²¹²² Solinus X. 1. concludes *Thracibus barbaris inesse contentum vitæ ex quadam naturalis sapientie disciplina*.

²¹²³ See besides Herod. V. 5. Heraclid. Pont. Polit. 27. Strab. VII. p. 297. Salmas. Exerc. Plin. p. 112 A.

²¹²⁴ Herod. V. 6. Heraclid. ubi sup. Solin. X. 4.

²¹²⁵ Solin. X. 5.

especially that of the highlands, as is shown by the tetradrachms of Alexander the First. In smaller numbers they attacked the close array of the Thracians of Sitalces, relying on their skill in horsemanship and on their defensive armour.²¹²⁶ Teleutias the Spartan also admired the cavalry of Elimea;²¹²⁷ and in the days of the conquest of Asia the custom still remained that the king could not condemn any person without having first taken the voice of the people or of the army.²¹²⁸

36. It is difficult to treat of the Macedonian language, as not only the *ancient* period of the native dialect must be distinguished from the *second*, in which the Grecian language was partially introduced, after Archelaus, Philip, and Alexander made their people acquainted with Athenian civilisation, but also from a *third*, in which many barbarous words were adopted from the mixture of the Macedonians with Indians, Persians, and Egyptians.²¹²⁹ Nevertheless it is possible to form a well-grounded opinion as to the form of the Macedonian language in the first period. In the first place, they had many barbarous words for very simple and common objects,²¹³⁰ which may be certainly considered as Illyrian, since among the *very scanty* relics of the Illyrian and Athamanian dialects²¹³¹ there are some

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²¹²⁶ Thuc. II. 100. The ἄνω ζύμαχοι are the Lyncestæ, &c.

²¹²⁷ Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 41. V. 3. 1. cf. Thuc. I. 61, 62.

²¹²⁸ Polyb. V. 27. 6. Curtius VI. 8. 25. (with Freinsheim's note) VI. 9. 34. Crophius Antiq. Maced. I. 6. II. 4.

²¹²⁹ Hence, for example, it cannot be inferred from the distinction between the Illyrian and Macedonian languages in Polyb. XXVIII. 8. 9. that the nations were originally of a different descent. Sturz *De Dialecto Macedonica et Alexandrina* has not sufficiently distinguished the third period from the two first.

²¹³⁰ For example, Steph. Byz. in v. Βορμίσκος—οὗς κύνας τῆ πατρώα φωνῆ ἐστερικὰς καλοῦσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες. The barbarous word σκοῖδος, signifying a kind of steward, which was used by Alexander in letters, and adopted by Menander (Photius, p. 523. 5.) can hardly be oriental. See also the collection of Sturz in the words ἄβαγνα, ἄδδαι, ἀδῆ, ἀκρέα, ἄξος, &c.

²¹³¹ The Athamanes were Epirots according to Strabo, Illyrians according to

words which are also mentioned as Macedonian.²¹³² Indeed, without supposing some barbarous foundation of this kind, we could hardly account for the Macedonian language being still unintelligible to the Greeks in the time of Alexander the Great.²¹³³ Yet it cannot be doubted that the Greek had passed into the Illyrian dialect *before* the introduction of Athenian literature, and that their combination produced the mongrel language which was afterwards called Macedonian. The nominatives in α, such as ἰππότα, πολῖτα, &c., could not have been derived from the Athenians; but the Thessalians, the Dryopians, and probably all the Pelasgians, used that form.²¹³⁴ That some mixture of Greek had taken place at an early period seems also to be proved by the great and almost inexplicable change which the Grecian words experienced in the mouth of the Macedonians, who appear to have been unable to pronounce the letters Φ and Θ, and hence they always substituted B for the former, and Δ for the latter,²¹³⁵ perhaps from a peculiarity of the Illyrian nation. On the other hand, the Macedonian language had a consonant OY or V, as *Volustana*, the name of the country round Olympus,²¹³⁶ the

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Steph. Byz. in v. The words are not Grecian.

²¹³² See above, Σανάδαι, and Athenæus III. p. 114 B. concerning the Macedonian and Athamanian word δράμις or δράμιξ.

²¹³³ This fact may be believed on the testimony of Curtius VI. 9. 35.

²¹³⁴ Apollonius de Construct. III. 7. calls it the Macedonian or Thessalian usage. Sturz, p. 28. 5. infers chiefly from this that the Macedonian language was originally nearly the same as the Dorian. The coins, I may remark incidentally, prove nothing, as they were struck for intercourse with the Greeks. Adelung, on the other hand, considers the Macedonians as Thracians (to which nation he also refers the Illyrians), with a tinge of Greek civilisation, Mithridat, vol. II. p. 359.

²¹³⁵ See above, p. 3. notes g and h. [Transcriber's Note: These are the footnotes to "native dialect," starting "Compare, for example," and to "Æolic," starting "E.g. the nominatives."]

²¹³⁶ Above, p. 467. note c. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "on Pieria," starting "Near the pass Volustana."] Hence the Cambunian mountains are now called Volutza.

Candavian mountains,²¹³⁷ &c., prove; and thus both in this and the former respect it approximated to the vocal system of the Latin.

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Note on the Map of Macedonia.

Since the annexed Map is entirely copied from that of Barbié du Bocage, as far as the country is concerned, I will only remark some important points in which Arrowsmith's great Map of Turkey, which is in part founded on quite different authorities, differs from it. In this Map the small lake to the east of Lychnis, or Lychnitis (the lake of Ochrida), is not connected with any river running to the coast, and the mountains to the west of it stretch uninterruptedly to the south. (Perhaps this is correct: see p. 453, note g. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Candavian chain," starting "Ptolemy."]) The Haliacmon rises rather more to the north than in Barbié du Bocage's Map. The Cara-Sou, which is certainly the Erigon, runs into the lake of the Lydias. (Incorrect, according to Strabo, quoted in p. 451, note b. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "mountains of Illyria," starting "Its rise in these mountains."]) The Lydias has a longer course, and rises in the Illyrian mountains. The modern river Gallico, which I make the Echeidorus, flows at some distance from the sea through a lake into the Axius. The tributary branch of the Achelous, called by the ancients the Inachus, rises further to the south, under the Pindus-chain (contrary to the authors quoted in p. 452, note f. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Epirus of Lacmon," starting "Or Lacmus."]). Upon the whole, Barbié du Bocage's Map is without doubt the more accurate.

²¹³⁷ Above, p. 453. note g. [Transcriber's Note: This is the footnote to "Candavian chain," starting "Ptolemy."] The first syllable of this name appears to be the same as of *Cambunii montes*, in which the second part is probably the word βούνοϛ, which in modern Greek still means "a hill." In the names of Macedonian mountains, *Barnus*, *Bermius*, and *Bertiscus* (Ptolemy), there is probably the same root.

Appendix II. Genealogy of Hellen.

There is a particular tendency which may be traced throughout all the accounts that have come down to us of early Grecian history, viz., of reducing everything to a *genealogical* form. It was much encouraged by the opinion of the later historians, that every town and valley had received its name from some ancient prince or hero; thus even Pausanias meets with persons who explained everything by means of genealogies;²¹³⁸ who, for example, out of the Pythian temple at Delphi made a son of Delphus Pythis, a prince of early times. This tendency, however, is manifestly founded on the genuine ancient language of mythology. With the inventors of these fabulous narratives, nations, cities, mountains, rivers, and gods became real *persons*, who stood to one another in the relation of human beings, were arranged in families, and joined to one another in marriage. Now although such fictions are in many cases easily seen through, and the meaning of the connexion may be readily deciphered, yet these genealogies, as there was nothing of arbitrary and fanciful invention in them, in after-times passed for real history; and were, both by early and late historians, with full confidence in their general accuracy, made use of for the establishment of a sort of chronology. On these principles, then, the genealogies which were formed in the age of the later epic poets, and perhaps even of the early historians, cannot be considered as pure invention; these too must have been founded on certain arguments and facts, which were generally believed at that time. We will endeavour to point this out in the famous genealogy of the chief races of the Greeks,

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²¹³⁸ Pausan. X. 6. 5. οἱ μὲν δὴ γενεαλογεῖν τὰ πάντα ἐθέλοντες, &c.

which was taken from the Ἡοῖαι of Hesiod.²¹³⁹

[Transcriber's Note: Here are the relationships shown in the table:

Prometheus and Pandora had Deucalion.

Deucalion and Pyrrha had Hellen.

Hellen had Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus.

Xuthus had Achæus and Ion.]

Now the passage of Hesiod only mentions the three brothers, Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus, without naming the sons of Xuthus; but it is evident that in this series Xuthus must also represent some race or races; and since no tribe ever bore the title of *Xuthi*, this name must have been used by Hesiod to signify the Ionians and Achæans, as in Apollodorus, and other writers.²¹⁴⁰ According to another tradition, perhaps of equal antiquity, Zeus, the father of gods and men, was, instead of Deucalion, the husband of Pyrrha.²¹⁴¹

It is evident that the above genealogy was intended to represent the chief races of the Hellenes, or Greeks, as belonging to one nation; and consequently could not have been made before the name Hellenes was applied to the whole nation; which in the *Iliad*²¹⁴² is only the name of a small tribe in Phthia.²¹⁴³ The more

²¹³⁹ "Ἕλληνας δ' ἐγένοντο θεμιστοπόλον βασιλῆες Δῶρός τε Ἐοῦθός τε καὶ Αἴολος ἰπποχάρμης. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 284. and Schol. Apoll. Rh. III. 1085. Other poems of Hesiod are made use of by Schol. Hom. Od. χ'. 2.

²¹⁴⁰ Apollodorus I. 7, 3. Pausan. V. 1, 2. &c. from the circumstance that Achæus and Ion are represented as the *only* sons of Xuthus, I have inferred above that the Ionians were probably of an Achæan race.

²¹⁴¹ Schol. Hom. Od. κ. 2. οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἕλληνα γόνω μὲν ἦν Διὸς, λόγῳ δὲ Δευκαλίωνος. Compare Pindar Pyth. IV. 167. who alludes to this fable, and Eurip. Melan. IV. 2.

²¹⁴² II. II. 684. and compare IX. 395, 474. XVI. 595. The verse ἐγγεῖρῃ δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς, II. 530, has been properly condemned by the Alexandrine critics.

²¹⁴³ Or rather "*near Phthia.*" Homer distinguishes Hellas and Phthia (II. IX. 395, 478, 479. Od. XI. 495.); the tetrarchy of Phthiotis in later times included both.

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extended use of the name falls in the period of the poems which went under the name of Hesiod:²¹⁴⁴ it is first thus used in the “Works and Days” of the real Hesiod,²¹⁴⁵ before which time, therefore, the above genealogy cannot have been formed. But that the author of it did not make an arbitrary fiction is evident from the circumstance that he put Xuthus instead of Achæus and Ion; by which he greatly deranged the symmetry of his genealogy. It is clear that he thought himself bound to respect the tradition, that Achæus and Ion were the sons of Xuthus; which prevented him from making Hellen their father. As yet, therefore, the other brothers were not recognised in tradition as having any fathers; and some obscure legends, such as that of Dorus, the son of Apollo,²¹⁴⁶ had not obtained a general belief. There can be no doubt that Hellen was recognised in the most ancient tradition. Now in the fictions of mythology the invention was bound by a sort of fanciful regularity; and in a fabulous genealogy the part was deduced from the whole, the species from the genus, as an inferior and subordinate being: thus in the Theogony the hills are the children of the earth, and the sun and the moon of light.²¹⁴⁷ Accordingly the poet (or whoever was his authority) sang of Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus, the progenitors of nations, being the sons of Hellen, the son of Zeus, or grandson of Prometheus. It is possible that before this entire genealogy others had been invented, *e.g.*, that *Dorus* was a son of Hellen; since, as early as the time of Lycurgus, the Spartans were commanded by the Pythian oracle to worship Zeus Hellanius and Athene

²¹⁴⁴ Æginetica, p. 155.

²¹⁴⁵ Hesiod. Op. et Di. 526. Βράδιον δὲ Πανελλήνεσσι φαεῖνει. Compare Strabo VIII. p. 370. It may be observed, that in the three most ancient passages in which the collective name of the Greeks occurs, viz., the verse in the Works and Days, the spurious line in the Iliad, and the passage in the Ἡοῖαι referred to by Strabo, they are called, not Ἕλληνες, but Πανελλήνες.

²¹⁴⁶ Apollodorus I. 7. 6.

²¹⁴⁷ Hes. Theog. 129. 371.

Hellania;²¹⁴⁸ and since both the judges in the Spartan army²¹⁴⁹ and the judges of the Olympic games were called Hellanodicæ. And when I consider the celebrated oracle just quoted, and the close connexion of Sparta and Olympia with Delphi, the sacred families of the Delphians (the ὄσιοι), who referred their origin to Deucalion,²¹⁵⁰ and on the other hand remember that a Bœotian poem, composed in the neighbourhood of the Pythian oracle, first uses the word “Hellenes” in this extended sense; I cannot help conjecturing that this national sanctuary of the Hellenic name had a large share in the formation of that really beautiful legend; by which all the different races of Greece, separated for so many centuries by violent and unceasing contention, were united into the peaceable fellowship of brotherly affection and concord.

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²¹⁴⁸ Ap. Plutarch. Lycurg. 6. according to a certain emendation. See book III. ch. 5. § 8.

²¹⁴⁹ Book III. ch. 12. § 5.

²¹⁵⁰ Book II. ch. 1. § 8.

Appendix III. The migration of the Dorians to Crete.

Cnosus,²¹⁵¹ the Minoian Cnosus, was, even so late as the time of Plato, the first city in Crete, and the chief domicile of the Cretan laws and customs: and Plato, in his Treatise on Laws, takes a Cnosian as the representative and defender of the Cretan laws in general;²¹⁵² although Cnosus about his time had declined from internal corruption, and the fame of having preserved the good laws of ancient Crete soon passed from her to Gortyna and Lyctus.²¹⁵³ In earlier times, however, the Cretan laws (Κρητικοὶ νόμοι), which Archilochus even mentions as being of a distinct character,²¹⁵⁴ were preserved in the greatest purity at Cnosus. Now when modern writers admit indeed that the Cretan laws were founded upon the customs of the Doric race, but affirm that this race did not penetrate into Crete before the expedition of the Heraclidæ, and that migrations subsequently took place from Peloponnesus; it is necessary for them first of all to show that *Cnosus* received its Doric inhabitants from that country, that is, probably either from Argos or Sparta. But had such been the case, the memory of these migrations would assuredly never have been lost: Argos and Sparta would have been too proud to possess such a colony. Cnosus must therefore have received its Doric inhabitants at an earlier date, in the dark ages of mythology; and the subsequent colonies from Peloponnesus

²¹⁵¹ See book I. ch. 1. § 9.

²¹⁵² See particularly Plato de Leg. I. p. 636. VI. p. 752. Κνωσίους πρεσβεύειν τῶν πολλῶν πόλεων.

²¹⁵³ See Strabo X. p. 476. compare p. 481. after Ephorus.

²¹⁵⁴ Archilochus ap. Heraclid. Pont. πολιτ. Κρητῶν. fragm. 86. Gaisford.

to Lyctus, Gortyna, and other places, helped to increase the Doric population, which in Homer's time²¹⁵⁵ was confined to a *part* of the island, over the *whole* of Crete; as was the case in late ages. And at the time which Homer describes, not only the language, but the customs and laws were probably also different; whereas Archilochus appears to mention the Cretan laws as prevalent over the whole island. Upon the whole, the Dorians in Crete—and this is a fact of great importance—never seem to stand, with regard to the Dorians of Peloponnesus, in the relation of a colony to its mother country. In Greece, the parent state—so great was the pride of higher antiquity—never condescended to take the institutions of a colony as models for its own, as was the case with Sparta and Crete; nor did the mother country ever procure priests from its colony, as was the case when the Pythian Apollo sent Cretan priests to Sparta.²¹⁵⁶ In short, everything seems to prove that the Doric institutions were of great antiquity in Crete, and that the distinction which has lately been taken between the laws of Minos and the Doric institutions and customs of Crete—a distinction directly opposed to the unanimous testimony of antiquity—is false and untenable. [494]

But in retaining his conviction respecting a Doric settlement in Crete before the migration of the Heraclidæ, and in viewing it as the only means of explaining many facts in the religious and political history of the Greeks, the Author does not imply that this Doric colony was exactly similar to a later migration of Dorians from Argos and Sparta. The condition of the Dorians in Hestiæotis must have been very different from that to which the same race attained in Peloponnesus. The mixture with other races, which had gone so far, that the head of the mythical settlement bears a Pelasgic name (Teutamus), does not agree with the character of the later Dorians. At that time no line of princes, calling themselves Heraclidæ, could have stood at the

²¹⁵⁵ Hom. Od. XIX. 175. sqq.

²¹⁵⁶ See book III. ch. 1. § 8.

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head of the Dorians; for in Crete, Heraclidæ only occur in cities which were colonised from Peloponnesus; for example, they do not occur in Cnosus. Moreover, a maritime, and especially a piratical life (upon which the maritime supremacy of Minos was founded) does not agree with the principles followed by the Dorians in Peloponnesus, where they relied upon a tranquil and secure possession of land. These principles, however, could not be developed so long as the Dorians were excluded from the rich plain of Thessaly, and were forced to eke out their scanty means by hunting and piracy. How different was the rough and perilous life of the ancient sea-kings of the Normans from the proud and secure existence of the barons in Normandy! Yet the eye of the observant historian can trace a unity of national character even in the most different circumstances. By a similar analogy, this remarkable expedition of Doric adventurers from Hestiæotis to Crete will explain the zeal of the Cretans for the worship of Apollo, the ancient connexion of Crete and Delphi, and the early existence in Crete of notions respecting a strict regulation of public life (κόσμος).

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Appendix IV. History of the Greek congress or synedrion during the Persian war.

1. In the present article it will be my object to trace the foreign influence which Sparta possessed at the time of the Persian war, and for what length of time her supremacy in Greece remained uncontested and unshaken. This is chiefly seen in the proceedings of the congress of the allied Greek states: to ascertain which with precision, it will be first necessary to fix the chronology of the successive stages of the Persian war.

In the course of the year 481 B.C. (Olymp. 74. 3/4) Xerxes set out from his residence at Susa (Herod. VII. 20), found the great army assembled in Cappadocia, and marched to Sardis, from which town he sent ambassadors to the Greek cities (ib. 32). Having wintered here, the army marched in the spring of 480 B.C. (Olymp. 74. 4) to Abydos;²¹⁵⁷ when it had reached the passes of Pieria, the Persian envoys returned (ib. 131). Soon after this they met at Thermopylæ the Greek forces, which had set out before the 75th Olympiad and the Carnean games, about June 480 B.C. Battles of Thermopylæ and Artemisium in μέσον θέρος (VIII. 12.) both perhaps a short time before the Olympic festival (VIII. 26). Conquest of Attica, four months after the beginning of the διάβασις τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου (VIII. 51). Battle of Salamis, a little after the time of the Ἰακχος, after the εἰκάς of Boëdromion Olymp. 75. 1., as the Etesian winds were either blowing or had ceased to blow (they last from the summer solstice to the [498]

²¹⁵⁷ The eclipse of the sun, however, mentioned by Herodotus, does not agree, and must be an error. VII. 37.

rising of the dog-star), VII. 168. Mardonius winters in Thessaly and Macedonia, the Persian fleet at Cume and Samos. Battle of Plataea on the 26th or 27th of Panemus (Metagitnion), Olymp. 75. 2. 479 B.C. at the same time as that of Mycale. The year ends with the taking of Sestos.

2. The Greeks certainly received early intelligence of the preparations in Persia (VII. 138), even if the story related by Herodotus (VII. 239.) about the secret message of Demaratus is not true. They either refused or gave earth and water to the envoys late in the year 481 B.C. (VII. 138.). The states which refused to submit held a congress;²¹⁵⁸ and they are now called by Herodotus, “the Greeks allied against the Persians,” (οἱ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, VII. 148.). This assembly of course was formed by deputies from the different cities: the manner of its formation may be inferred from the place at which it sat; and it will be shown presently that it first assembled at Corinth, which city belonged to the Peloponnesian confederacy. It appears therefore that Sparta must have convened an assembly at Corinth, to which the extra-Peloponnesian states, which had refused earth and water, sent envoys. This congress first put an end to the internal dissensions of Greece (VII. 145.), in which good service Chileus of Tegea and Themistocles are said to have earned the gratitude of their countrymen (Plutarch Themist. 6.). Secondly, when they heard that Xerxes was at Sardis, they despatched spies thither, and at the same time envoys to Argos, Sicily, Corcyra, and Crete. (VII. 145. 199.) The envoys are stated by Herodotus to have been sent by the Lacedæmonians and their allies.²¹⁵⁹ They also made a vow to decimate to the Delphian God all those Greeks who had unnecessarily given earth and

²¹⁵⁸ Συλλεγομένων ἐς τούτῳ τῶν περι την Ἑλλάδα Ἑλληνων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων, καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, Herod. VII. 145.

²¹⁵⁹ VII. 157. ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι [τε καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι] καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι. The words included in brackets are wanting in the family of the Passioneus and Florence MSS., and appear to be interpolated from c. 161.

water to the Persians (VII. 132.); the persons who made this vow [499] are called by Diodorus XI. 3. “the Greeks assembled in congress at the Isthmus,” οἱ ἐν Ἴσθμῳ συνεδρεύοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

3. In this narrative taken from Herodotus there still remains one contradiction, viz., that if the Greeks did not assemble till after they had refused earth and water (as appears from VII. 138. cf. 145.), the Argives had no longer any option whether they would join the league or not. Likewise the dismissal of the Greek envoys would fall too late in the unfavourable season for sailing, and there would scarcely be time for the messages to the oracles (c. 148, 169.), and the other proceedings. It is therefore probable that this congress was formed *before* the arrival of the Persian envoys, which was late in 481 B.C.: and Diodorus seems to be correct in stating that of the nations some gave earth and water, while the Persian army was in the valley of Tempe, and others after its departure (XI. 3.); and therefore none till early in 480 B.C.: previously the ambassadors were probably in the north; Herodotus in VII. 138. appears to mean only the ambassadors of Darius. With this the following statements agree, which he adds in VII. 172. “*As soon as* the Thessalians had heard that the Persians wished to invade Europe”—which they must have known in the winter of 481-80 B.C.—“they sent envoys to the Isthmus.” Ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ (*i.e.*, in the village which had grown up about the temple of Neptune), ἔσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι (plenipotentiaries, VI. 7.) τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Now this assembly, while the Persian king was at Abydos, and therefore very early in 480 B.C., sent the army to Tempe, which soon returned (VII. 173.), and indeed returned to the Isthmus, which must therefore have been the head-quarters of the allied army. When it returned, the congress was still sitting at the Isthmus.²¹⁶⁰ This syndedrion or assembly

²¹⁶⁰ Herod. VII. 176. where the words οἱ Ἑλληνας include both the troops and the congress.

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(which is again mentioned in this place by Diodorus XI. 4.) now resolved to defend the passes of Thermopylæ and Artemisium: and when the intelligence arrived that the Persians were in Pieria, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ (*i.e.*, departing from the Isthmus) ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξ Θερμοπύλας πεζῆ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον. But that the Isthmus was still the place in which the congress sat, is evident from the fact, that Sandoces, Aridolis, and Penthylus, who fell into the hands of the Greeks before the battle of Artemisium, were sent thither (VII. 195.). At this time indeed the Peloponnesians were celebrating the Olympiad, and the Spartans the Carneia, at their respective homes,²¹⁶¹ after which, as had been previously arranged, they were to take the field with all their forces (πανδημί, VII. 206. VIII. 26.). Nevertheless, the decree that the ships which came too late for Artemisium should assemble in the Trœzenian Pogon (VIII. 42.), as well as the other, that the Isthmus should be fortified (VIII. 40, 71.), which measure was not thought of before the battle of Thermopylæ, must have been passed in this interval. Diodorus (XI. 16.) mentions the synedrion in connexion with this decree. The fortification began after the Carneia (VIII. 72.). The fleet was commanded (as is evident from VIII. 2, 9, 56, 58, 74, 108, 111. IX. 90.) by the Spartan admiral and a council, a συνέδριον of the στρατηγοὶ or ἐν τέλει ὄντες (IX. 106.), in which the admiral τὸν λόγον προετίθει (VIII. 59.) put the question to the vote (ἐπεψήφισε, c. 61.), and gave out the decree. This commander was armed with very large powers, and Leotychidas concluded an alliance with the Samians (IX. 92.), and even the captains of the fleet debated on the projected migration of the Ionians (IX. 106.). Nor is it ever mentioned that the fleet received orders from the Isthmus. But the circumstance of the fleet's sailing to the Isthmus, after the battle of Salamis, for the decree on the ἀριστεῖα (VIII. 123.), is a proof that the

²¹⁶¹ The former in the first full-moon after the solstice, the latter about the second, Corsini Fast. Att. I. 2. p. 453.

Isthmus was still the seat of the confederate assembly. Diodorus likewise represents this decree as proceeding from the συνέδριον (XI. 55.); probably the “Greeks,” who refused to confirm the vote of the commanders (VIII. 124.), were the members of the league. The ships which had been engaged in the battle returned home without any decision. Late in the year, after the eclipse of the sun on the 2nd of October, Cleombrotus had led the great allied army from the Isthmus, and soon afterwards died (IX. 10.). The decree for the following year, that the fleet should go to Ægina (VIII. 131.), may have proceeded either from the syndrium of the preceding year, or from *Sparta*. For that there were no longer any deputies assembled at Corinth is evident from the circumstance that the Ionian envoys only went to Sparta and Ægina (VIII. 132.); nor is the Isthmus afterwards mentioned as the seat of an assembly, although it was fortified until the middle of summer, till the time of the Hyacinthia (IX. 7.). After this time, Athens, Plataea, and Megara sent their envoys to Sparta, where there were also Peloponnesian envoys, as for instance Chileus of Tegea (IX. 9.), who was mentioned above among the πρόβουλοι; and all these, together with the ambassadors of the three states just mentioned, are, as it appears, called by Herodotus οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπιγμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν, IX. 10. There must probably have been some joint act of the allies,²¹⁶² by virtue of which Pausanias was able to collect the great Peloponnesian army. After the battle of Plataea there was in the army a kind of council of war, doubtless a συνέδριον τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων, which regulated the number of the sacred offerings, divided the booty (IX. 81, 85.), and determined on the expedition against Thebes (c. 86.): the persons who were given up, Pausanias seems at Corinth to have ordered to execution on his own authority (c. 88.).

4. Such is the substance of the narrative of Herodotus; in which we can only be surprised, that of the most remarkable

²¹⁶² Diodorus speaks of a decree of this nature, but the oath on the Isthmus is a rhetorical invention, XI. 29.

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event, viz., the treaty of Pausanias, he should say not a word: a silence which can only be explained by supposing that he had intended to mention it in another passage of his unfinished work. When Pausanias, with the assistance of the allies, had won the battle of Plataea, he sacrificed in the market-place of Plataea to Zeus Eleutherius, and convened an assembly of all the Greeks, in which the Plataeans (who annually performed certain honorary rites to those who had fallen in the battle, Thuc. III. 58.) were promised that their country and city should remain independent, and that no one should attack them without lawful reason, or with intention to reduce them to subjection: and that, in case these conditions were not observed, all the allies then present would protect them (Thuc. VI. 71. cf. III. 56, 59.); an engagement which the Spartans themselves afterwards broke, on the ground that the Plataeans had first unjustly given up τὸ ξυνώμοτον (II. 74.). For in “the ancient treaty of Pausanias after the Persian war,” it was ordered that the allies in general, and the Plataeans among them, should remain at peace with each other (Thuc. III. 68. cf. II. 72.). The further conditions of this treaty may be collected from Thucyd. I. 67, (for it is evidently this treaty which is in question,) where the Æginetans complain that they are not independent, “according to the treaty;” for the thirty years' truce (I. 115.) cannot be meant, as it was not concluded till after the subjection of Ægina (the former in Olymp. 83. 3. the latter in Olymp. 80. 4.); whence it is likewise evident that the treaty, which was violated by the siege of Potidæa, and the exclusion of the Megarians from the market of Attica, (I. 67, 87. cf. c. 144.) was the same ancient act, only renewed by later treaties. Thus Plutarch states that the latter prohibition was “contrary to the common principles of justice, and the solemn oaths of the Greeks.”²¹⁶³ And in another place he mentions that, in a general assembly of the Greeks after the battle of Plataea,

²¹⁶³ Pericl. 39. παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς γεγενημένους ὄρκους τοῖς Ἕλλησι.

Aristides proposed a decree that the Greeks should annually send deputies and sacred messengers to Plataea, and that the Eleutheria should be solemnised every five years.²¹⁶⁴ Also, that it was agreed that an allied Greek armament should be organised against the Persians, consisting of 10,000 heavy-armed infantry, 1000 cavalry, and 100 ships: and that the Plataeans should be considered sacred and inviolable. From what has been stated above, it is clear how much of this account is true, and how much added by Athenian partiality. [503]

5. In the following years, when Sparta still continued the war against the Persians and their allies by means of Pausanias and Leotychidas, there must have been a congress, though not constantly sitting; since the Spartans would not have determined the amount of “the war contribution”²¹⁶⁵ on their own authority; and there is much probability in the account of Diodorus (XI. 55.), that the Spartans summoned Themistocles for his share in the treason of Pausanias before the common-council of the Greeks, which used at this time to assemble at Sparta. At least it is not contradicted by Thucydides; indeed his narrative (I. 135.) perfectly agrees in this point with that of Diodorus. The words ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, which are omitted in some MSS. of Diodorus, and suspected by Wesseling (yet, it should be observed, *only* these words), cannot be well spared; and, even if they were expunged, the whole chapter would show that the congress was sitting at Sparta; for it was evidently under Lacedæmonian influence, and therefore met in the Peloponnese; and, since the instance mentioned above, it does not appear that any of its meetings were held at the Isthmus.

This account likewise proves that, after Pausanias had

²¹⁶⁴ Aristid. 21. γενομένης ἐκκλησίας κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔγραψεν Ἀριστείδης ψήφισμα, συνιέναι μὲν εἰς Πλαταιὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἑνιαυτὸν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προβούλους καὶ θεωροὺς, ἄγεσθαι δὲ πενταετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἑλευθερίων.

²¹⁶⁵ ἀναφορὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, Plutarch. Aristid. 24.

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occasioned the defection of the Ionians and Æolians from Sparta, who were now considered as the separate allies of Athens, a confederate council, which included other states besides the Peloponnesians, continued to sit at Sparta; and affords fresh grounds for supposing that this abandonment of the Spartan alliance was not considered as a transfer of the chief command to Athens, but that Sparta only intrusted the Athenians, together with those Greeks who dwelt in the territory of the Persian king, with the continuation of the war in Asia, and the management of all affairs connected with it; and still considered Athens as under her command, until that state revolted in Olymp. 79. At last the internal wars of Peloponnesus, Olymp. 79-81, subverted all the relations of Athens and Sparta.

End Of Vol. I.

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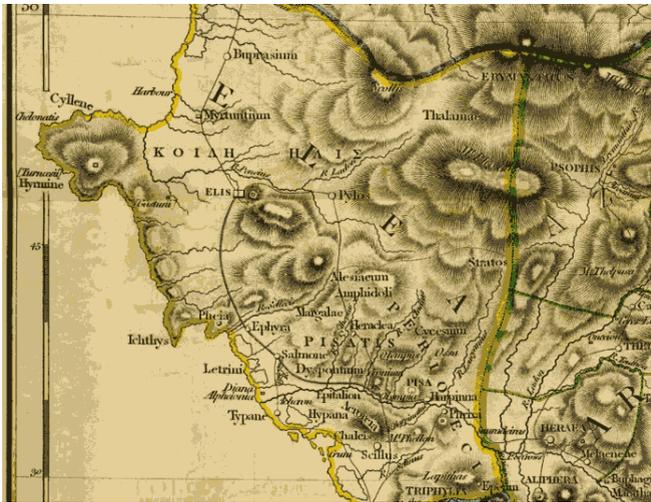
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C1	C2	C3	C4
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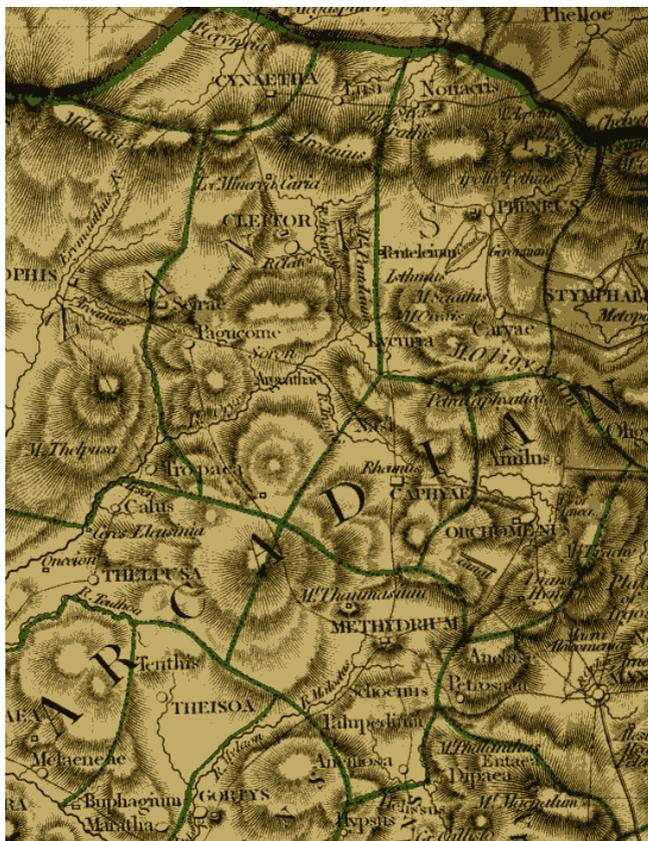
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Map section A2.



Map section B1.



Map section B2.



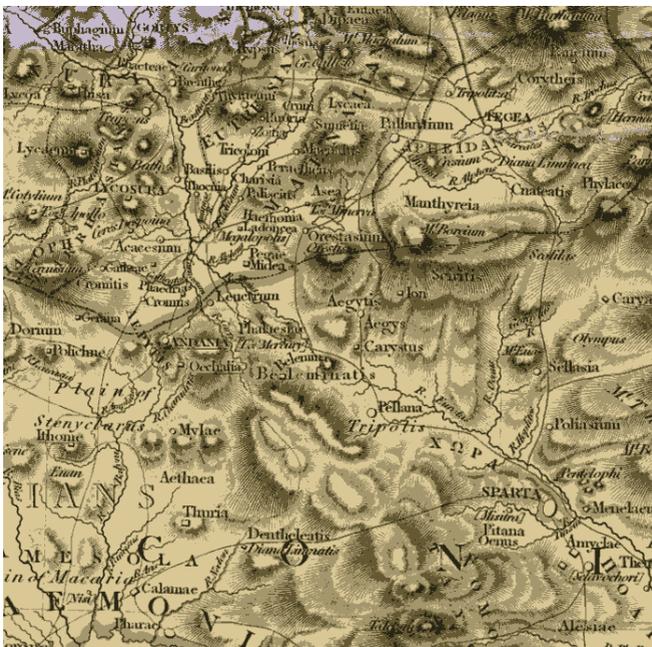
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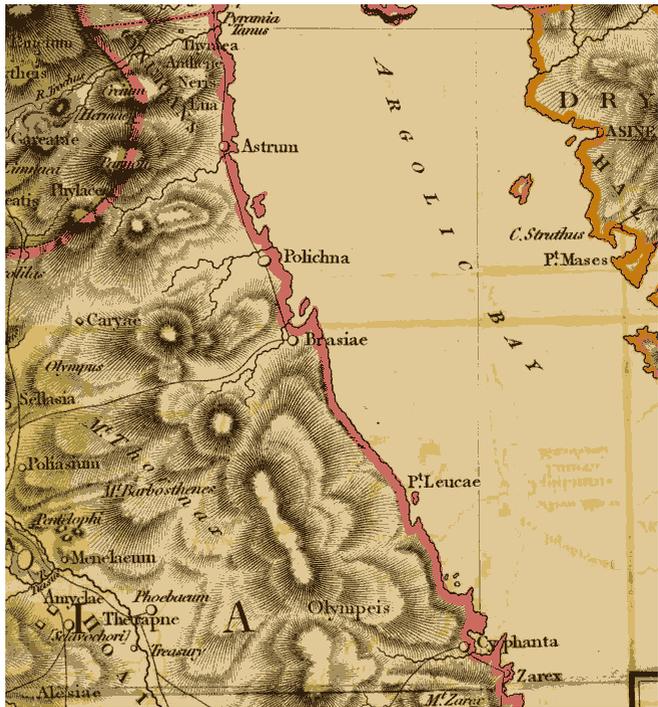
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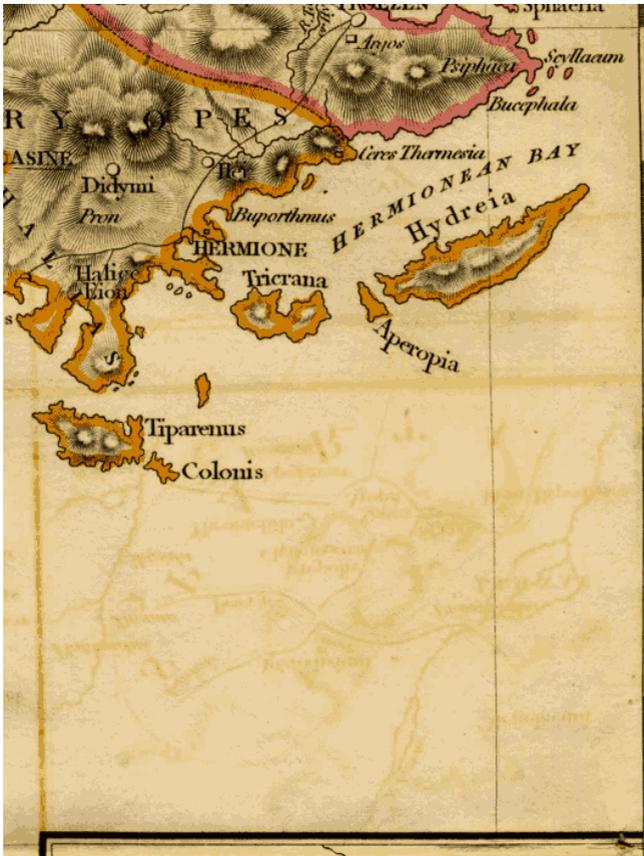
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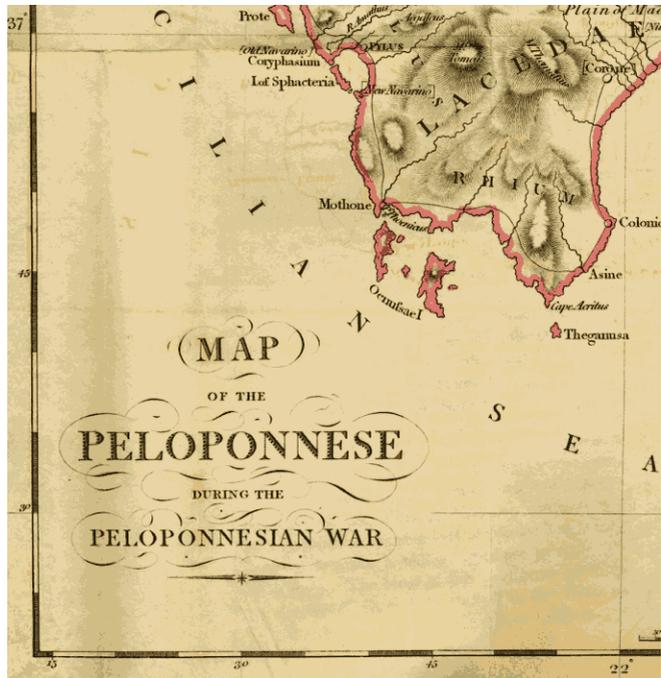
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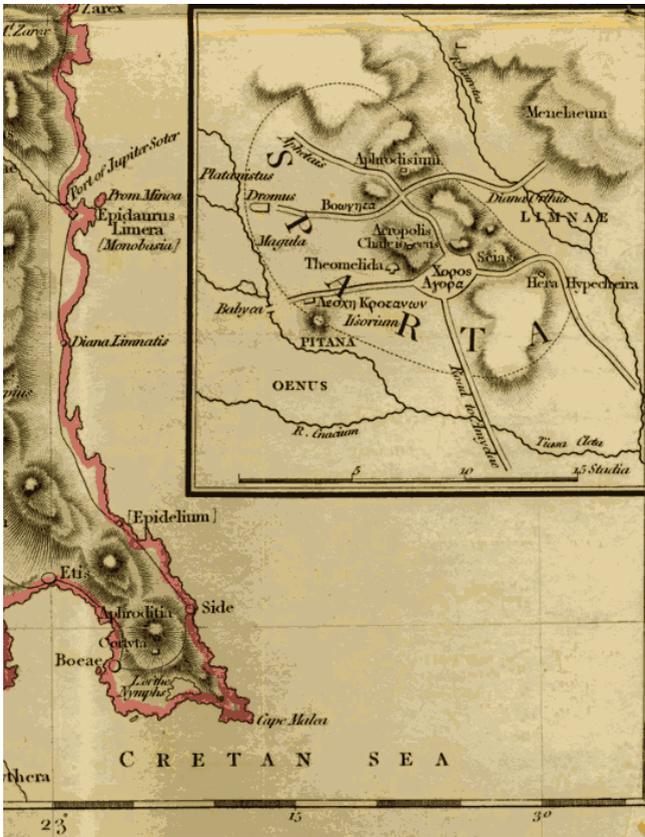
Map section D1.



Map section D2.



Map section D3.



Map section D4.

Footnotes

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