

[Phokis.01.001] Scroll X. Phocis, Ozolian Locri [1] It is plain that such part of Phokis as is around Tithorea and Delphi was so named in very ancient days after a Corinthian, Phokos, a son of Ornytion. Not many years afterwards, the name established itself as the received title of what is today called Phokis, when the Aeginetans had disembarked on the land with Phokos, the son of Aiakos.

[Phokis.01.002] Opposite the Peloponnesus, and in the direction of Boeotia, Phokis stretches to the sea, and touches it on one side at Cirrha, the port of Delphi, and on the other at the city of Anticyra. In the direction of the Lamian Gulf, there are between Phokis and the sea only the Hypocnemidian people of Lokris who are known as Hypoknemidioi. By these is Phokis bounded in this direction, by Scarpheia on the other side of Elateia, and by Opous and its port Kunos beyond Hyampolis and Abai.

[Phokis.01.003] The most renowned exploits of the people of Phokis were undertaken by the whole nation. They took part in the Trojan war, and fought against the Thessalians before the Persian invasion of Greece, when they accomplished some noteworthy deeds. PHOKIS, HISTORY Expecting that the Thessalians would invade their land at Hyampolis, they buried there earthen water-pots, covered these with earth, and so waited for the Thessalian cavalry. Ignorant of the stratagem of the men of Phokis, the Thessalians without knowing it drove their horses on to the water-pots, where stumbling into them the horses were lamed and threw or killed their riders.

[Phokis.01.004] The Thessalians, more enraged than ever against the people of Phokis, gathered levies from all their cities and marched out against them. Whereupon the people of Phokis, greatly terrified at the army of the Thessalians, especially at the number of their cavalry and the practiced discipline of both mounts and riders, dispatched a mission to Delphi, praying to the god that they might escape the danger that threatened them. The oracle given them was this: I will match in fight mortal and immortal, And to both will I give victory, but more to the mortal.

[Phokis.01.005] On receiving this oracle, the people of Phokis sent three hundred picked men with Gelon in command to make an attack on the enemy. The night was just falling, and the orders given were to reconnoiter without being observed, to return to the main body by the least known route, and to remain strictly on the defensive. These picked men along with their leader, Gelon, trampled on by horses and butchered by their enemies, perished to a man at the hands of the Thessalians.

[Phokis.01.006] Their disaster created such panic among the people of Phokis in the camp that they actually gathered together in one spot their women, children, movable property, and also their clothes, gold, silver, and images of the gods, and making a vast pyre, they left in charge a force of thirty men.

[Phokis.01.007] They were under orders that, should the men of Phokis chance to be worsted in the battle, they were first to put to death the women and the children, then to lay them like victims with the valuables on the pyre, and finally to set it alight and perish themselves, either by each other's hands or by charging the cavalry of the Thessalians. Hence all forlorn hopes are called by the Greeks 'the despair of the people of Phokis.' On this occasion, the men of Phokis forthwith proceeded to attack the Thessalians.

[Phokis.01.008] The commander of their cavalry was Daiphantes of Hyampolis, of their infantry, Rhoeus of Ambrossus. But the office of commander-in-chief was held by Tellias, a seer of Elis, in whom the people of Phokis invested all their hopes for salvation.

[Phokis.01.009] When the battle joined, the men of Phokis had before their eyes what they had resolved to do to their women and children, and seeing that their own salvation trembled in the balance, they dared the most desperate deeds, and, with the good will [tò eu-menes] of the gods [theoi], achieved the most famous victory of that time.

[Phokis.01.010] Then did all Greece understand the oracle given to the people of Phokis by Apollo. For the watchword given in battle on every occasion by the Thessalian generals was Itonian Athena, and by the generals of the people of Phokis, the watchword was Phokos, from whom the people of Phokis were named. Because of this engagement, the people of Phokis sent as offerings to Delphi statues of Apollo, of Tellias the seer, and of all their other generals in the battle, together with images of their local heroes. The figures were the work of the Argive, Aristomedon.

[Phokis.01.011] Afterwards, the men of Phokis discovered a stratagem quite as clever as their former ones. For when the armies were lying opposite each other at the pass into Phokis, five hundred picked men of Phokis, waiting until the moon was full, attacked the Thessalians on that night, first smearing themselves with chalk and, in addition to the chalk, putting on white armor. It is said that there then occurred a wholesale slaughter of the Thessalians, who thought this apparition of the night to be too unearthly to be an attack of their enemies. It was Tellias of Elis who devised

this stratagem also for the men of Phokis to use against the Thessalians.

[Phokis.02.001] When the Persian army crossed into Europe, it is said that the men of Phokis were forced to join the Great King, but deserted the Persian cause and ranged themselves with the Greeks at the battle of Plataea. Subsequently, it happened that a fine was inflicted on them by the Amphiktyones. I cannot find out the truth of the story, whether the fine was inflicted because of the misdeeds of the people of Phokis, or whether the Thessalians exacted the fine from the people of Phokis because of their ancient hatred.

[Phokis.02.002] As they were disheartened at the greatness of the fine, Philomelus, son of Theotimos, than whom not one of the men of Phokis stood higher in rank, his country being Ledon, a city of Phokis, took charge and tried to persuade them to seize the sanctuary at Delphi, pointing out that the amount of the sum to be paid was beyond their resources. He stated, among other plausible arguments, that Athens and Sparta had always been favorable to them, and that if Thebes or any other state made war against them, they would have the better owing to their courage and resources.

[Phokis.02.003] When Philomelus put all this before them, the men of Phokis were nothing loath, either because their judgment was blinded by the god [Phokis.theos], or because their nature was to put gain before reverence [eu-sebeia] for what is sacred. The seizure of Delphi by the men of Phokis occurred when Herakleides was president at Delphi and Agathokles was arkhōn in Athens, in the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, when Proros of Cyrene was victorious in the foot-race.

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[Phokis.02.004] When they had seized the sanctuary, the best mercenaries in Greece at once mustered to join them, while the Thebans, at variance before, declared open war against them. The war lasted ten successive years, and during this long time, victory often fell to the men of Phokis and their mercenaries, and often the Thebans proved the better. An engagement took place at the town of Neon, in which the men of Phokis were worsted, and in the rout Philomelus threw himself down a high precipice, and so lost his life. This was the very punishment fixed by the Amphiktyones for spoilers of the sanctuary.

[Phokis.02.005] After the death of Philomelus, the men of Phokis gave the command to Onomarkhos, while Philip, son of Amyntas, made an alliance with the Thebans. Philip had the better of the encounter, and Onomarkhos, fleeing to the coast, was there shot down by his own troops, who considered their defeat due to his lack of enterprise and inexperience as a general.

[Phokis.02.006] Such was the end which fate brought upon Onomarkhos, and his brother Phaylus was chosen as commander-in-chief. It is said that no sooner had this Phaylus come to rule over the people of Phokis when he saw the following vision in a dream. Among the votive offerings to Apollo was a representation in bronze of a man's body in an advanced stage of decay, with the flesh already fallen off, and nothing left but the bones. The Delphians said that it was an offering of Hippokrates the physician. Now the thought came to Phaylus that he resembled this offering. Forthwith he was attacked by a wasting disease, which so fulfilled the omen of the dream.

[Phokis.02.007] On the death of Phaylus, the sovereignty of the people of Phokis devolved on Phalaecus, his son. Phalaecus, accused of appropriating to his own use the sacred treasures, was deposed, and crossing with a fleet to Crete, accompanied by those men from Phokis who sided with him and by a part of his mercenaries, he sat down to besiege Kydonia, which refused to accede to his demand for money, and perished along with the greater part of his army.

[Phokis.03.001] In the tenth year after the seizure of the sanctuary, Philip put an end to the war, which was called both the War of Phokis and the Sacred War, in the year when Theophilus was arkhōn in Athens, which was the first of the hundred and eighth Olympiad at which Polykles of Cyrene was victorious in the foot-race. [3] The cities of Phokis were captured and razed to the ground. The tale of them was Lilaea, Hyampolis, Anticyra, Parapotamii, Panopeus, and Daulis. These cities were distinguished in days of old, especially because of the poetry of Homer. [4]

[Phokis.03.002] The army of Xerxes, burning down certain of these, made them better known in Greece, namely Erochus, Kharadra, Amphicleia, Neon, Tithronium, and Drymaea. The rest of the cities of Phokis, except Elateia, were not famous in former times, I mean Trakhis-in-Phokis, Medeon-in-Phokis, Ekhedameia, Ambrossos, Ledon, Phlygonion, and Stiris. On the occasion to which I have referred, all the cities enumerated were razed to the ground and their people scattered in villages. The one exception to this treatment was Abae, whose citizens were free from impiety, and had no share in the seizure of the sanctuary or in the war.

[Phokis.03.003] The people of Phokis were deprived of their share in the Delphic sanctuary and in the Greek assembly, and their votes were given by the Amphiktyones

135 to the Macedonians. Subsequently, however, the cities of Phokis were rebuilt, and their inhabitants restored from the villages to their native cities, save such as were prevented from being rebuilt by their original weakness and by their want of funds at the period of restoration. It was the Athenians and Thebans who brought back the inhabitants before the disaster of Khaironeia befell the Greeks.

140 [Phokis.03.004] The people of Phokis took part in the battle of Khaironeia, and afterwards fought at Lamia and Crannon against the Macedonians under Antipatros. No Greeks were keener defenders against the Gauls and the Celtic invaders than were the men of Phokis, who considered that they were helping the god of Delphi, and at the same time, I take it, that they were making amends for the old crimes they had committed.

145 [Phokis.04.001] PANOPEUS Such were the memorable exploits of the men of Phokis. From Khaironeia, it is twenty stades to Panopeus, a city of the people of Phokis, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theater, no marketplace, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine. Nevertheless, they have boundaries with their neighbors and even send delegates to the assembly of Phokis.  
150 The name of the city is derived, they say, from the father of Epeiios, and they maintain that they are not people of Phokis but were originally Phlegyans who fled to Phokis from the land of Orkhomenos.

155 [Phokis.04.002] A survey of the ancient circuit of Panopeus led me to guess it to be about seven stades. I was reminded of Homer's verses about Tityos, [5] where he mentions the city of Panopeus with its beautiful dancing floors, and how in the fight over the body of Patroklos, he says that Schedios, son of Iphitos and king of the people of Phokis, who was killed by Hector, lived in Panopeus. [6] It seemed to me that the reason why the king lived here was fear of the Boeotians; at this point is the easiest pass from Boeotia into Phokis, so the king used Panopeus as a fortified post.

160 [Phokis.04.003] The former passage, in which Homer speaks of the beautiful dancing floors of Panopeus, I could not understand until I was taught by the women whom the Athenians call Thyiads. The Thyiads are Attic women, who with the Delphian women go to Parnassos every other year and celebrate orgies in honor of Dionysus. It is the custom for these Thyiads to hold dances at places, including Panopeus, along the road from Athens. The epithet Homer applies to Panopeus is thought to refer to the dance of the Thyiads.

165 [Phokis.04.004] At Panopeus, there is by the roadside a small building of unburned brick, in which is an image of Pentelic marble, said by some to be Asklepios, by others, Prometheus. The latter produce evidence of their contention. At the ravine, there lie two stones, each of which is big enough to fill a cart. They have the color of clay, not earthy clay, but such as would be found in a ravine or sandy torrent, and they smell very like the skin of a man. They say that these are remains of the clay out of which the whole lineage of humankind was fashioned by Prometheus.

170 [Phokis.04.005] Here at the ravine is the tomb of Tityos. The circumference of the mound is just about one-third of a stade, and they say that the verse in the *Odyssey*: Lying on the ground, and he lay over nine roods, *Odyssey* 11.577 refers, not to the size of Tityos, but to the place where he lay, the name of which was Nine Roods.

175 [Phokis.04.006] Kleon of Magnesia on the Hermos used to say that those men were incredulous of wonders who in the course of their own lives had not met yet greater marvels. He declared that Tityos and other monsters had been as tradition says they were. He happened, he said, to be at Cadiz, and he, with the rest of the crowd, sailed forth from the island in accordance with the command of Herakles; [7] on their return to Cadiz, they found cast ashore a man of the sea, who was about five roods in size and burning away, because he was blasted with a thunderbolt sent by the god [theos].

180 [Phokis.04.007] DAULIS So said Kleon. About twenty-seven stades distant from Panopeus is Daulis. The men there are few in number, but for size and strength, no men of Phokis are more renowned even to this day. They say that the name of the city is derived from Daulis, a nymph, the daughter of the Kephisos. Others say that the place, on which the city was built, was wooded, and that such shaggy places [dasea] were called daula by the ancients. For this reason, they say, Aeschylus called the beard of Glaukos of Anthedon hypene daulos.

185 [Phokis.04.008] Here in Daulis the women are said to have served up to Tereus his own son, which act was the first pollution of the dining table among men. The hoopoe, into which they say Tereus was changed, is a bird a little larger than the quail, while the feathers on its head rise into the shape of a crest.

190 [Phokis.04.009] It is noteworthy that in Phokis swallows neither hatch nor lay eggs;

- 200 in fact, no swallow would even make a nest in the roof of a house. The people of Phokis say that even when Philomela was a bird, she had a terror of Tereus and so kept away from his country. At Daulis is a sanctuary of Athena with an ancient image. The wooden image, of an even earlier date, the Daulians say was brought from Athens by Procne.
- 205 [Phokis.04.010] NEAR DAULIS In the territory of Daulis is a place called Tronis. Here has been built a shrine of the founder hero. This founder is said by some to have been Xanthippos, a distinguished soldier; others say that he was Phokos, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphus. At any rate, he is worshipped every day, and the people of Phokis bring victims and pour the blood into the tomb through a hole, but the flesh they are wont to consume on the spot.
- 210 [Phokis.05.001] There is also an ascent through Daulis to the summit of Parnassos, a longer one than that from Delphi, though not so difficult. Turning back from Daulis to the straight road to Delphi and going forwards, you see on the left of the road a building called the Phocian Building of the People of Phokis, where assemble the delegates from each city of Phokis.
- 215 [Phokis.05.002] The building is large, and within are pillars standing throughout its length. From the pillars rise steps to each wall, on which steps the delegates of Phokis take their seats. At the end are neither pillars nor steps, but images of Zeus, Athena, and Hera. That of Zeus is on a throne; on his right stands Hera, on his left, Athena.
- 220 [Phokis.05.003] THE CLEFT ROAD Going forward from here, you will come to a road called the Cleft Road, the very road on which Oedipus slew his father. Fate would have it that memorials of the sufferings of Oedipus should be left throughout the length and width of Greece. At his birth, they pieced his ankles with goads and exposed him on Mount Cithaeron in Plataean territory. [8] Corinth and the land at the
- 225 Isthmus were the scenes of his upbringing. Phokis and the Cleft Road received the pollution of his murdered father's blood. Thebes is even more notorious for the marriage of Oedipus and for the sin of Eteokles.
- 230 [Phokis.05.004] The Cleft Road and the rash deed committed on it by Oedipus were the beginning of his troubles, and the tombs of Laios and the servant who followed him are still just as they were in the very middle of the place where the three roads meet, and over them have been piled unhewn stones. According to the story, it was Damasistratos, king of Plataea, who found the bodies lying and buried them.
- 235 [Phokis.05.005] DELPHI, MYTHICAL HISTORY From here, the high road to Delphi becomes both steeper and more difficult for the walker. Many and different are the stories told about Delphi, and even more so about the oracle of Apollo. For they say that in the earliest times, the oracular seat belonged to Earth, who appointed as prophetess at it Daphnis, one of the nymphs of the mountain.
- 240 [Phokis.05.006] There is extant among the Greeks an hexameter poem, the name of which is Eumolpia, and it is assigned to Musaeus, son of Antiophemus. In it, the poet states that the oracle belonged to Poseidon and Earth in common; that Earth gave her oracles herself, but Poseidon used Pyrcon as his mouthpiece in giving responses. The verses are these: Forthwith the voice of the Earth goddess uttered a wise word, And with her Pyrcon, servant of the renowned Earth-shaker. [Musaeus,] *Eumolpia* They say that afterwards Earth gave her share to Themis, who gave it to Apollo as a gift. It
- 245 is said that he gave to Poseidon Kalaureia, that lies off Trozen, in exchange for his oracle.
- 250 [Phokis.05.007] I have heard too that shepherds feeding their flocks came upon the oracle, were inspired by the vapor, and prophesied as the mouthpiece of Apollo. The most prevalent view, however, is that Phe-monoe was the first prophetess of the god, and first sang in hexameter verse. Boeo, a native woman who composed a hymn for the Delphians, said that the oracle was established for the god by comers from the Hyperboreans, Olen, and others and that he was the first to prophesy and the first to chant the hexameter oracles.
- 255 [Phokis.05.008] The verses of Boeo are: Here in truth, a mindful oracle was built By the sons of the Hyperboreans, Pagasus, and divine Agyieus. Boeo, work unknown After enumerating others also of the Hyperboreans, at the end of the hymn she names Olen: And Olen, who became the first prophet of Phoebus, And first fashioned a song of ancient verses. Boeo, work unknown Tradition, however, reports no other man as prophet but makes mention of prophetesses only.
- 260 [Phokis.05.009] They say that the most ancient temple of Apollo was made of laurel, the branches of which were brought from the laurel in Tempe. This temple must have had the form of a hut. The Delphians say that the second temple was made by bees from bees' wax and feathers and that it was sent to the Hyperboreans by Apollo.
- [Phokis.05.010] Another story is current, that the temple was set up by a Delphian,

265 whose name was Pteras, and so the temple received its name from the builder. After  
 this, Pteras, so they say, the city in Crete was named, with the addition of a  
 letter, Apterei. The story that the temple was built of the fern [pteris] that grows  
 on the mountains, by interweaving fresh stalks of it, I do not accept at all.  
 [Phokis.05.011] It is no wonder that the third temple was made of bronze, seeing that  
 270 Akrisios made a bedchamber of bronze for his daughter, the Lacedaemonians still  
 possess a sanctuary of Athena of the Bronze House, and the Roman forum, a marvel for  
 its size and style, possesses a roof of bronze. So it would not be unlikely that a  
 temple of bronze was made for Apollo.  
 [Phokis.05.012] The rest of the story I cannot believe, either that the temple was  
 275 the work of Hephaistos, or what they say about the golden singers, referred to by  
 Pindar in his verses about this bronze temple: Above the pediment sang Golden  
 Charmers. Pindar, work unknown These words, it seems to me, are but an imitation of  
 Homer's [9] account of the Sirens. Neither did I find the accounts agree of the way  
 this temple disappeared. Some say that it fell into a chasm in the earth, others that  
 280 it was melted by fire.  
 [Phokis.05.013] The fourth temple was made by Trophonios and Agamedes; the tradition  
 is that it was made of stone. It was burned down in the year when Erxikleides was  
 arkhōn in Athens, in the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad, when Diognetos of  
 Kroton was victorious. [10] The modern temple was built for the god by the  
 285 Amphiktyones from the sacred treasures, and the architect was one Spintharus of  
 Corinth.  
 [Phokis.06.001] They say that the oldest city was founded here by Parnassos, a son of  
 Kleodora, a nymph. Like the other heroes, as they are called, he had two fathers;  
 one, they say, was the god Poseidon, the human father being Kleopompos. After this,  
 290 Parnassos was named, they say, both the mountain and also the Parnassian glen. Augury  
 from flying birds was, it is said, a discovery of Parnassos.  
 [Phokis.06.002] Now this city, so the story goes on, was flooded by the rains that  
 fell in the time of Deukalion. Such of the inhabitants as were able to escape the  
 storm were led by the howls of wolves to safety on the top of Parnassos, being led on  
 295 their way by these beasts, and on this account, they called the city that they  
 founded Lykoreia (Mountain wolf city).  
 [Phokis.06.003] Another and different story is current that Apollo had a son Lykoros  
 by a nymph, Corycia, and that after Lykoros was named the city Lykoreia, and after  
 the nymph, the Corycian cave. It is also said that Celaeno was daughter to Hyamus,  
 300 son of Lykoros, and that Delphus, from whom comes the present name of the city, was a  
 son of Celaeno, daughter of Hyamus, by Apollo.  
 [Phokis.06.004] Others maintain that Kastalios, an aborigine, had a daughter Thyia,  
 who was the first to be priestess of Dionysus and celebrated orgies in honor of the  
 god. It is said that later on, men called after her Thyiads all women who rave in  
 305 honor of Dionysus. At any rate, they hold that Delphus was a son of Apollo and Thyia.  
 Others say that his mother was Melaina, daughter of Kephisos.  
 [Phokis.06.005] Afterwards, the dwellers around called the city Pytho, as well as  
 Delphi, just as Homer [11] so calls it in the list of the men of Phokis. Those who  
 would find pedigrees for everything think that Pythes was a son of Delphus and that  
 310 because he was king, the city was called Pytho. But the most widespread tradition has  
 it that the victim of Apollo's arrows rotted here and that this was the reason why  
 the city received the name Pytho. For the men of those days used puthesthai for the  
 verb "to rot," and hence, Homer in his poem says that the island of the Sirens was  
 315 full of bones, because the men who heard their singing rotted [eputhonto].  
 [Phokis.06.006] The poets say that the victim of Apollo was a dragon posted by Earth  
 to be a guard for the oracle. It is also said that he was a violent son of Krios, a  
 man with authority around Euboea. He pillaged the sanctuary of the god, and he also  
 pillaged the houses of rich men. But when he was making a second expedition, the  
 Delphians besought Apollo to keep from them the danger that threatened them.  
 320 [Phokis.06.007] Phemonoe, the prophetess of that day, gave them an oracle in  
 hexameter verse: At close quarters, a grievous arrow shall Apollo shoot At the  
 spoiler of Parnassos; and of his blood guilt The Cretans shall cleanse his hands;  
 but the renown shall never die.  
 [Phokis.07.001] It seems that from the beginning, the sanctuary at Delphi has been  
 325 plotted against by a vast number of men. Attacks were made against it by this Euboean  
 pirate, and years afterwards by the Phlegyan nation; furthermore, by Pyrrhos, son of  
 Achilles, by a portion of the army of Xerxes, by the chieftains of Phokis, whose  
 attacks on the wealth of the god were the longest and fiercest, and by the Gallic  
 invaders. It was fated too that Delphi was to suffer from the universal irreverence  
 330 of Nero, who robbed Apollo of five hundred bronze statues, some of gods, some of men.

- [Phokis.07.002] PYTHIAN GAMES, MYTHICAL HISTORY The oldest contest and the one for which they first offered prizes was, according to traditional memory, the singing of a hymn to the god. The man who sang and won the prize was Khrysothemis of Crete, whose father Carmanor is said to have cleansed Apollo. After Khrysothemis, according to traditional memory, Philammon won with a song, and after him, his son Thamyris. But they say that Orpheus, a proud man and conceited about his mysteries, and Musaeus, who copied Orpheus in everything, refused to submit to the competition in musical skill.
- [Phokis.07.003] They say too that Eleuther won a Pythian victory for his loud and sweet voice, for the song that he sang was not of his own composition. The story is that Hesiod too was debarred from competing because he had not learned to accompany his own singing on the harp. Homer too came to Delphi to inquire about his needs, but even though he had learned to play the harp, he would have found the skill useless, owing to the loss of his eyesight.
- [Phokis.07.004] PYTHIAN GAMES, HISTORY In the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, [12] at which Glaukias of Kroton was victorious, the Amphiktyones held contests for harping as from the beginning but added competitions for aulos playing and for singing to the aulos. The conquerors proclaimed were Melampos, a Cephallenian, for harping, and Ekhemprotos, an Arcadian, for singing to the aulos ['double-reed'], with Sacadas of Argos for aulos playing. This same Sacadas won victories at the next two Pythian festivals.
- [Phokis.07.005] On that occasion, they also offered for the first time prizes for athletes, the competitions being the same as those at Olympia, except the four horse chariot, and the Delphians themselves added to the contests running races for boys, the long course, and the double course. At the second Pythian Festival, they no longer offered prizes for events and hereafter gave a garland for victory. On this occasion, they no longer included singing to the aulos ['double-reed'], thinking that the music was ill-omened to listen to. For the tunes of the aulos ['double-reed'] were most dismal, and the words sung to the tunes were lamentations.
- [Phokis.07.006] What I say is confirmed by the votive offering of Ekhemprotos, a bronze tripod dedicated to the Herakles at Thebes. The tripod has as its inscription: Ekhemprotos of Arcadia dedicated this pleasant gift to Herakles When he won a victory at the Games of the Amphiktyones, Singing for the Greeks tunes and lamentations. In this way the competition in singing to the aulos ['double-reed'] was dropped. But they added a chariot race, and Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sikyon, was proclaimed victor in the chariot race.
- [Phokis.07.007] At the eighth Pythian Festival, they added a contest for harpists playing without singing; Agelaos of Tegea was garlanded. At the twenty-third Pythian Festival, they added a race in armor. For this, Timainetos of Phleious won the laurel, five Olympiads after Damaretos of Heraia was victorious. At the forty-eighth Pythian Festival, they established a race for two horse chariots, and the chariot that won belonged to Exekestides of Phokis. At the fifth Festival after this, they yoked foals to a chariot, and the chariot of Orphondas of Thebes came in first.
- [Phokis.07.008] The pankration for boys, a race for a chariot drawn by two foals, and a race for ridden foals, were many years afterwards introduced from Elis. The first was brought in at the sixty-first Pythian Festival, and Iolaidas of Thebes was victorious. At the next Festival but one, they held a race for a ridden foal, and at the sixty-ninth Festival, a race for a chariot drawn by two foals; [13] the victor proclaimed for the former was Lykormas of Larisa, for the latter, Ptolemy the Macedonian. For the kings of Egypt liked to be called Macedonians, as in fact they were. The reason why a garland of laurel is the prize for a Pythian victory is, in my opinion, simply and solely because the prevailing tradition has it that Apollo fell in love with the daughter of Ladon.
- [Phokis.08.001] AMPHITYONIC LEAGUE, MYTHICAL HISTORY Some are of opinion that the assembly of the Greeks that meets at Delphi was established by Amphiktyon, the son of Deukalion, and that the delegates were styled Amphiktyones after him. But Androtion, in his history of Attica, says that originally the councillors came to Delphi from the neighboring states, that the deputies were styled Amphictions (neighbors), but that as time went on, their modern name prevailed.
- [Phokis.08.002] They say that Amphiktyon himself summoned to the common assembly the following tribes of the Greek people: Ionians, Dolopes, Thessalians, Aenianians, Magnesians, Malians, Phthiotians, Dorians, people of Phokis, people of Lokris who border on Phokis, living at the base of Mount Knemis. AMPHIKTYONIC LEAGUE, HISTORY But when the men of Phokis seized the sanctuary and the war came to an end nine years afterwards, there came a change in the Amphiktyonic League. The Macedonians managed to enter it, while the people of Phokis and a section of the Dorians, namely the

Lacedaemonians, lost their membership, the people of Phokis because of their rash crime, the Lacedaemonians as a penalty for allying themselves with the men of Phokis. [Phokis.08.003] When Brennus led the Gallic army against Delphi, no Greeks showed greater zeal for the war than the men of Phokis, and for this conduct of theirs, recovered their membership of the League, as well as their old reputation. The emperor Augustus willed that the people of Nikopolis, whose city is near Actium, should be members of the Amphiktyonic League, that the Magnesians moreover and the Malians, together with the Aenianians and Phthiotians, should be numbered with the Thessalians, and that all their votes, together with those of the Dolopes, who were no longer a separate people, should be assigned to the people of Nikopolis. [Phokis.08.004] The Amphiktyones today number thirty. Nikopolis, Macedonia, and Thessaly each send six deputies; the Boeotians, who in more ancient days inhabited Thessaly and were then called Aeolians, the people of Phokis and the Delphians, each send two; ancient Doris sends one. [Phokis.08.005] The people of Lokris who are called Ozolian and the people of Lokris opposite Euboea send one each; there is also one from Euboea. Of the Peloponnesians, the Argives, Sikyonians, Corinthians, and Megarians send one, as Nikopolis send deputies to every meeting of the Amphiktyonic League; but each city of the nations mentioned has the privilege of sending members in turn after the lapse of periodic intervals. [Phokis.08.006] DELPHI When you enter the city, you see temples in a row. The first of them was in ruins, and the one next to it had neither images nor statues. The third had statues of a few Roman emperors; the fourth is called the temple of Athena Forethought. Of its two images, the one in the fore temple is a votive offering of the Massiliots and is larger than the one inside the temple. The Massiliots are a colony of Phokaia in Ionia, and their city was founded by some of those who ran away from Phokaia when attacked by Harpagus the Persian. They proved superior to the Carthaginians in a sea war, acquired the territory they now hold, and reached great prosperity. [Phokis.08.007] The votive offering of the Massiliots is of bronze. The gold shield given to Athena Forethought by Croesus the Lydian was said by the Delphians to have been stolen by Philomelus. Near the sanctuary of Forethought is a precinct of the hero Phylacus. This Phylacus is reported by the Delphians to have defended them at the time of the Persian invasion. [Phokis.08.008] They say that in the open part of the gymnasium, there once grew a wild wood, and that Odysseus, when as the guest of Autolykos he was hunting with the sons of Autolykos, received here from the wild boar the wound above the knee. Turning to the left from the gymnasium and going down not more, I think, than three stades, you come to a river named Pleistos. This Pleistos descends to Cirrha, the port of Delphi, and flows into the sea there. [Phokis.08.009] Ascending from the gymnasium along the way to the sanctuary you reach, on the right of the way, the water of Castalia, which is sweet to drink and pleasant to bathe in. Some say that the spring was named after a native woman, others after a man called Kastalios. But Panyassis, son of Polyarkhos, who composed an epic poem on Herakles, says that Kastalia was a daughter of Akhelōos. For about Herakles he says: Crossing with swift feet snowy Parnassos he reached the immortal water of Castalia, daughter of Akhelōos. Panyassis, work unknown [Phokis.08.010] I have heard another account, that the water was a gift to Castalia from the river Kephisos. So Alcaeus has it in his prelude to Apollo. The strongest confirmation of this view is a custom of the Lilaeanes, who, on certain specified days, throw into the spring of the Kephisos cakes of the district and other things ordained by use, and it is said that these reappear in Castalia. [Phokis.09.001] The city of Delphi, both the sacred enclosure of Apollo and the city generally, lies altogether on sloping ground. The enclosure is very large and is on the highest part of the city. Passages run through it, close to one another. I will mention which of the votive offerings seemed to me most worthy of notice. [Phokis.09.002] VOTIVE OFFERINGS AT DELPHI The athletes and competitors in music that the majority of mankind have neglected, are, I think, scarcely worthy of serious attention; and the athletes who have left a reputation behind them I have set forth in my account of Elis. [14] There is a statue at Delphi of Phaylus of Kroton. He won no victory at Olympia, but his victories at Pytho were two in the pentathlon and one in the foot race. He also fought at sea against the Persian, in a ship of his own, equipped by himself and manned by citizens of Kroton who were staying in Greece. [Phokis.09.003] Such is the story of the athlete of Kroton. On entering the enclosure, you come to a bronze bull, a votive offering of the Corcyraeans made by Theopropus of Aegina. The story is that in Corcyra, a bull, leaving the cows, would

- go down from the pasture and bellow on the shore. As the same thing happened every day, the herdsman went down to the sea and saw a countless number of tuna fish.
- 465 [Phokis.09.004] He reported the matter to the Corcyraeans, who, finding their labor lost in trying to catch the tunas, sent envoys to Delphi. So they sacrificed the bull to Poseidon, and straightway after the sacrifice, they caught the fish and dedicated their offerings at Olympia and at Delphi with a tithe of their catch.
- [Phokis.09.005] Next to this are offerings of the Tegeans from spoils of the
- 470 Lacedaemonians: an Apollo, a Victory, the heroes of the country, Kallisto, daughter of Lykaon, Arkas, who gave Arcadia its name, Elatos, Apheidas, and Azan, the sons of Arkas, and also Triphylos. The mother of this Triphylos was not Erato, but Laodameia, the daughter of Amyclas, king of Lacedaemon. There is also a statue dedicated of Erasmus, son of Triphylos.
- 475 [Phokis.09.006] They who made the images are as follows: The Apollo and Kallisto were made by Pausanias of Apollonia; the Victory and the likeness of Arkas, by Daidalos of Sikyon; Triphylos and Azan, by Samolas the Arcadian; Elatos, Apheidas, and Erasmus, by Antiphanes of Argos. These offerings were sent by the Tegeans to Delphi after they took prisoners the Lacedaemonians that attacked their city. [15]
- 480 [Phokis.09.007] Opposite these are offerings of the Lacedaemonians from spoils of the Athenians: the Dioskouroi, Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, and beside these, Poseidon, Lysander, son of Aristokritos, represented as being garlanded by Poseidon, Agias, soothsayer to Lysander on the occasion of his victory, and Hermon, who steered his flag ship.
- 485 [Phokis.09.008] This statue of Hermon was not unnaturally made by Theocosmus of Megara, who had been enrolled as a citizen of that city. The Dioskouroi were made by Antiphanes of Argos; the soothsayer by Pison, from Kalaureia, in the territory of Trozen; the Artemis, Poseidon, and also Lysander by Dameas; the Apollo and Zeus by Athenodoros. The last two artists were Arcadians from Kleitor.
- 490 [Phokis.09.009] Behind the offerings enumerated are statues of those who, whether Spartans or Spartan allies, assisted Lysander at Aigospotamoi. [16] They are these: Aracus of Lacedaemon, Erianthes a Boeotian ... above Mimas, whence came Astykrates, Kephisokles, Hermophantos, and Hikesios of Chios; Timarkhos and Diagoras of Rhodes; Theodamos of Knidos; Kimmerios of Ephesos and Aeantides of Miletus.
- 495 [Phokis.09.010] These were made by Tisandros, but the next were made by Alypos of Sikyon, namely: Theopompos the Myndian, Kleomedes of Samos, the two Euboeans Aristokles of Karystos and Autonomos of Eretria, Aristophantos of Corinth, Apollodoros of Trozen, and Dion from Epidauros in Argolis. Next to these come the
- 500 Achaean Axionikos from Pellene, Theares of Hermion, Pyrrhias of Phokis, Komon of Megara, Agasimenes of Sikyon, Telykrates of Leukas, Pythodotos of Corinth, and Euantidas of Ambrakia; last come the Lacedaemonians, Epikydidas, and Eteonikos. These, they say, are works of Patrokles and Kanakhos.
- [Phokis.09.011] The Athenians refuse to admit that their defeat at Aigospotamoi was fairly inflicted, maintaining that they were betrayed by Tydeus and Adeimantos, their
- 505 generals, who had been bribed, they say, with money by Lysander. As a proof of this assertion, they quote the following oracle of the Sibyl: And then on the Athenians will be laid grievous troubles By Zeus the high thunderer, whose might is the greatest, On the warships battle and fighting, As they are destroyed by treacherous tricks, through the baseness of the captains. The other evidence that they quote is taken from the oracles of Musaeus: For on the Athenians comes a wild rain Through the baseness of *their* leaders, but some consolation will there be For the defeat; they shall not escape the notice of the city but shall pay the penalty.
- 510 [Phokis.09.012] So much for this belief. The struggle for the district called Thyrea [17] between the Lacedaemonians and the Argives [18] was also foretold by the Sibyl, who said that the battle would be drawn. But the Argives claimed that they had the better of the engagement and sent to Delphi a bronze horse, supposed to be the wooden horse of Troy. It is the work of Antiphanes of Argos.
- [Phokis.10.001] On the base below the wooden horse is an inscription which says that the statues were dedicated from a tithe of the spoils taken in the engagement at
- 520 Marathon. They represent Athena, Apollo, and Miltiades, one of the generals. Of those called heroes there are Erekhtheus, Kekrops, Pandion, Leos, Antiokhos, son of Herakles by Meda, daughter of Phylas, as well as Aigeus and Akamas, one of the sons of Theseus. These heroes gave names, in obedience to a Delphic oracle, to tribes in Athens. Kodros, however, the son of Melanthos, Theseus, and Neleus, these are not
- 525 givers of names to tribes.
- [Phokis.10.002] The statues enumerated were made by Pheidias, and really are a tithe of the spoils of the battle. But the statues of Antigonos, of his son Demetrios, and of Ptolemy the Egyptian, were sent to Delphi by the Athenians afterwards. The statue

of the Egyptian they sent out of good will; those of the Macedonians were sent  
 530 because of the dread that they inspired.  
 [Phokis.10.003] Near the horse are also other votive offerings of the Argives,  
 likenesses of the captains of those who with Polyneikes made war on Thebes: Adrastus,  
 the son of Talaos, Tydeus, son of Oineus, the descendants of Proitos, namely,  
 535 Capaneus, son of Hipponous, and Eteoklos, son of Iphis, Polyneikes, and Hippomedon,  
 son of the sister of Adrastus. Near is represented the chariot of Amphiaraos, and in  
 it stands Baton, a relative of Amphiaraos who served as his charioteer. The last of  
 them is Alitherses.  
 [Phokis.10.004] These are works of Hyapatodoros and Aristogeiton, who made them, as  
 the Argives themselves say, from the spoils of the victory which they and their  
 540 Athenian allies won over the Lacedaemonians at Oinoe in Argive territory. [19] From  
 spoils of the same action, it seems to me, the Argives set up statues of those whom  
 the Greeks call the Epigonoi. For there stand statues of these also, Sthenelus,  
 Alkmaion, who I think was honored before Amphilokhos on account of his age, Promakhos  
 545 also, Thersandros, Aegialeus, and Diomedes. Between Diomedes and Aegialeus is  
 Euryalus.  
 [Phokis.10.005] Opposite them are other statues, dedicated by the Argives who helped  
 the Thebans under Epameinondas to found Messene. The statues are of heroes: Danaos,  
 the most powerful king of Argos, and Hypermnestra, for she alone of her sisters kept  
 her hands undefiled. By her side is Lynkeus also, and the whole family of them to  
 550 Herakles, and further back still, to Perseus.  
 [Phokis.10.006] The bronze horses and captive women dedicated by the people of  
 Tarentum were made from spoils taken from the Messapians, a non-Greek people  
 bordering on the territory of Tarentum, and are works of Ageladas the Argive.  
 Tarentum is a colony of the Lacedaemonians, and its founder was Phalanthus, a  
 555 Spartan. On setting out to found a colony, Phalanthus received an oracle from Delphi,  
 declaring that when he should feel rain under a cloudless sky [aithra], he would then  
 win both a territory and a city.  
 [Phokis.10.007] At first, he neither examined the oracle himself nor informed one of  
 his interpreters but came to Italy with his ships. But when, although he won  
 560 victories over the barbarians, he succeeded neither in taking a city nor in making  
 himself master of a territory, he called to mind the oracle and thought that the god  
 had foretold an impossibility. For never could rain fall from a clear and cloudless  
 sky. When he was in despair, his wife, who had accompanied him from home, among other  
 565 endearments placed her husband's head between her knees and began to pick out the  
 lice. And it chanced that the wife, such was her affection, wept as she saw her  
 husband's fortunes coming to nothing.  
 [Phokis.10.008] As her tears fell in showers, and she wetted the head of Phalanthus,  
 he realized the meaning of the oracle, for his wife's name was Aithra. And so on that  
 570 night, he took from the barbarians Tarentum, the largest and most prosperous city on  
 the coast. They say that Taras the hero was a son of Poseidon by a nymph of the  
 country, and that after this hero were named both the city and the river. For the  
 river, just like the city, is called Taras.  
 [Phokis.11.001] Near the votive offering of the the people of Tarentum is a treasury  
 of the Sikyonians, but there is no treasure to be seen either here or in any other of  
 575 the treasuries. The people of Knidos brought the following images to Delphi: Triopas,  
 founder of Knidos, standing by a horse, Leto, and Apollo and Artemis shooting arrows  
 at Tityos, who has already been wounded in the body.  
 [Phokis.11.002] These stand by the treasury of the Sikyonians. The Siphnians too made  
 a treasury, the reason being as follows. Their island contained gold mines, and the  
 580 god ordered them to pay a tithe of the revenues to Delphi. So they built the treasury  
 and continued to pay the tithe until greed made them omit the tribute, when the sea  
 flooded their mines and hid them from sight.  
 [Phokis.11.003] The people of Lipara too dedicated statues to commemorate a naval  
 585 victory over the Etruscans. These people were colonists from Knidos, and the leader  
 of the colony is said to have been a man from Knidos, whose name was Pentathlus  
 according to a statement made by the Syracusan Antiokhos, son of Xenophanes, in his  
 history of Sicily. He says also that they built a city on Cape Pachynum in Sicily but  
 were hard pressed in a war with the Elymi and Phoenicians and driven out, but  
 590 occupied the islands, from which they expelled the inhabitants if they were not still  
 uninhabited, still called, as they are called by Homer, [20] the Islands of Aeolus.  
 [Phokis.11.004] Of these islands, they dwell in Lipara, on which they built a city,  
 but Hieria, Strongyle, and Didymae, they cultivate, crossing to them in ships. On  
 Strongyle fire is to be seen rising out of the ground, while in Hieria, fire of its  
 own accord bursts out on the summit of the island, and by the sea are baths,

595 comfortable enough if the water receive you kindly, [21] but if not, painful to enter because of the heat.

[Phokis.11.005] The Thebans have a treasury built from the spoils of war, and so have the Athenians. Whether the people of Knidos built to commemorate a victory or to display their prosperity, I do not know, but the Theban treasury was made from the spoils taken at the battle of Leuktra, and the Athenian treasury, from those taken from the army that landed with Datis at Marathon. The inhabitants of Kleonai were, like the Athenians, afflicted with the plague, and obeying an oracle from Delphi, sacrificed a he-goat to the sun while it was still rising. This put an end to the trouble, and so they sent a bronze he-goat to Apollo. The Syracusans have a treasury built from the spoils taken in the great Athenian disaster; the Potidaeans in Thrace built one to show their piety to the god.

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[Phokis.11.006] The Athenians also built a portico out of the spoils they took in their war against the Peloponnesians and their Greek allies. There are also dedicated the figure heads of ships and bronze shields. The inscription on them enumerates the cities from which the Athenians sent the first fruits: Elis, Lacedaemon, Sikyon, Megara, Pellene in Achaea, Ambracia, Leucas, and Corinth itself. It also says that from the spoils taken in these sea battles, a sacrifice was offered to Theseus and to Poseidon at the cape called Rhium. It seems to me that the inscription refers to Phormion, son of Asopikhos, and to his achievements. [22]

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[Phokis.12.001] THE SIBYLS, MYTHICAL HISTORY There is a rock rising up above the ground. On it, say the Delphians, there stood and chanted the oracles a woman, by name Herophile and surnamed Sibyl. The former Sibyl I find was as ancient as any; the Greeks say that she was a daughter of Zeus by Lamia, daughter of Poseidon, that she was the first woman to chant oracles and that the name Sibyl was given her by the Libyans.

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[Phokis.12.002] Herophile was younger than she was, but nevertheless, she too was clearly born before the Trojan War, as she foretold in her oracles that Helen would be brought up in Sparta to be the ruin of Asia and of Europe and that for her sake, the Greeks would capture Troy. The Delians remember also a hymn this woman composed to Apollo. In her poem, she calls herself not only Herophile but also Artemis, and the wedded wife of Apollo, saying too sometimes that she is his sister and sometimes that she is his daughter.

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[Phokis.12.003] These statements she made in her poetry when in a frenzy and possessed by the god. Elsewhere in her oracles, she states that her mother was an immortal, one of the nymphs of Ida, while her father was a human. These are the verses: I am by birth half mortal, half divine; An immortal nymph was my mother, my father, an eater of wheat; On my mother's side of Idaean birth, but my fatherland was red Marpessus, sacred to the Mother, and the river Aidoneus.

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[Phokis.12.004] Even today, there remain on Trojan Ida the ruins of the city Marpessus, with some sixty inhabitants. All the land around Marpessus is reddish and terribly parched, so that the light and porous nature of Ida in this place is, in my opinion, the reason why the river Aidoneus sinks into the ground, rises to sink once more, finally disappearing altogether beneath the earth. Marpessus is two hundred and forty stades distant from Alexandria in the Troad.

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[Phokis.12.005] The inhabitants of this Alexandria say that Herophile became the attendant of the temple of Apollo Smintheus, and that on the occasion of Hecuba's dream, she uttered the prophecy, which we know was actually fulfilled. This Sibyl passed the greater part of her life in Samos, but she also visited Klaros in the territory of Kolophon, Delos, and Delphi. Whenever she visited Delphi, she would stand on this rock and sing her chants.

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[Phokis.12.006] However, death came upon her in the Troad, and her tomb is in the grove of the Sminthian with these elegiac verses inscribed upon the tombstone: Here I am, the plain speaking Sibyl of Phoebus, Hidden beneath this stone tomb. A maiden once gifted with voice, but now for ever voiceless, By hard fate doomed to this fetter. But I am buried near the nymphs and this Hermes, Enjoying in the world below a part of the kingdom I had then. The Hermes stands by the side of the tomb, a square-shaped figure of stone. On the left is water running down into a well and the images of the nymphs.

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[Phokis.12.007] The Erythraeans, who are more eager than any other Greeks to lay claim to Herophile, adduce as evidence a mountain called Mount Corycus with a cave in it, saying that Herophile was born in it and that she was a daughter of Theodoros, a shepherd of the district and of a nymph. They add that the surname Idaean was given to the nymph simply because the men of those days called idai places that were thickly wooded. The verse about Marpessus and the river Aidoneus is cut out of the oracles by the Erythraeans.

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[Phokis.12.008] The next woman to give oracles in the same way, according to Hyperochus of Cumae, a historian, was called Demo and came from Cumae in the territory of the Opici. The Cumaeans can point to no oracle given by this woman, but they show a small stone urn in a sanctuary of Apollo, in which they say are placed the bones of the Sibyl.

[Phokis.12.009] Later than Demo, there grew up among the Hebrews above Palestine a woman who gave oracles and was named Sabbe. They say that the father of Sabbe was Berosus, and her mother Erymanthe. But some call her a Babylonian Sibyl, others an Egyptian.

[Phokis.12.010] Phaennis, daughter of a king of the Chaonians, and the Peleiae (Doves) at Dodona also gave oracles under the inspiration of a god, but they were not called by men Sibyls. To learn the date of Phaennis and to read her oracles [...] for Phaennis was born when Antiokhos was establishing his kingship immediately after the capture of Demetrios. [23] The Peleiaes are said to have been born still earlier than Phemonoe and to have been the first women to chant these verses: Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be; O mighty Zeus. Earth sends up the harvest, therefore sing the praise of Earth as Mother.

[Phokis.12.011] It is said that the men who uttered oracles were Euklos of Cyprus, the Athenians, Musaeus, son of Antiophemus, and Lykos, son of Pandion, and also Bacis, a Boeotian who was possessed by nymphs. I have read the oracles of all these except those of Lykos. These are the women and men who, down to the present day, are said to have been the mouthpiece by which a god prophesied. But time is long, and perhaps similar things may occur again.

[Phokis.13.001] A bronze head of the Paionian bull called the bison was sent to Delphi by the Paionian king Dropion, son of Leon. These bisons are the most difficult beasts to capture alive, and no nets could be made strong enough to hold out against their rush. They are hunted in the following manner. When the hunters have found a place sinking to a hollow, they first strengthen it all round with a stout fence, and then, they cover the slope and the level part at the end with fresh skins, or if they should chance to be without skins, they make dry hides slippery with olive oil.

[Phokis.13.002] Next, their best riders drive the bisons together into the place I have described. These at once slip on the first skins and roll down the slope until they reach the level ground, where at the first they are left to lie. On about the fourth or fifth day, when the beasts have lost most of their spirit through hunger and distress,

[Phokis.13.003] those of the hunters who are professional tamers bring to them as they lie fruit of the cultivated pine, first peeling off the inner husk; for the moment the beasts would touch no other food. Finally, they tie ropes around them and lead them off.

[Phokis.13.004] This is the way in which the bisons are caught. Opposite the bronze head of the bison is a statue of a man wearing a breastplate, on which is a cloak. The Delphians say that it is an offering of the Andrians, and a portrait of Andreus, their founder. The images of Apollo, Athena, and Artemis were dedicated by the people of Phokis from the spoils taken from the Thessalians, their enemies always, who are their neighbors except where the people of Lokris who are called Epiknemidion come between.

[Phokis.13.005] The Thessalians too of Pharsalus dedicated an Achilles on horseback, with Patroklos running beside his horse: the Macedonians living in Dium, a city at the foot of Mount Pieria, the Apollo who has taken hold of the deer; the people of Cyrene, a Greek city in Libya, the chariot with an image of Ammon in it. The Dorians of Corinth too built a treasury, where used to be stored the gold from Lydia. [24]

[Phokis.13.006] The image of Herakles is a votive offering of the Thebans, sent when they had fought what is called the Sacred War against the people of Phokis. There are also bronze statues, which the people of Phokis dedicated when they had put to flight the Thessalian cavalry in the second engagement. [25] The Phliasians brought to Delphi a bronze Zeus, and with the Zeus, an image of Aegina. The Mantineians of Arcadia dedicated a bronze Apollo, which stands near the treasury of the Corinthians.

[Phokis.13.007] Herakles and Apollo are holding onto the tripod and are preparing to fight about it. Leto and Artemis are calming Apollo, and Athena is calming Herakles. This too is an offering of the people of Phokis, dedicated when Tellias of Elis led them against the Thessalians. Athena and Artemis were made by Khionis, the other images are works shared by Diyllus and Amyklaios. They are said to be Corinthians.

[Phokis.13.008] The Delphians say that when Herakles the son of Amphitryon came to the oracle, the prophetess Xenocleia refused to give a response on the ground that he was guilty of the death of Iphitos. Then Herakles took up the tripod and carried it out of the temple. Then the prophetess said: Then there was another Herakles, of

Tiryns, not the Canopian. For before this, the Egyptian Herakles had visited Delphi. On the occasion to which I refer, the son of Amphitryon restored the tripod to Apollo and was told by Xenocleia all he wished to know. The poets adopted the story and sing  
730 about a fight between Herakles and Apollo for a tripod.  
[Phokis.13.009] The Greeks in common dedicated from the spoils taken at the battle of Plataea a gold tripod set on a bronze serpent. The bronze part of the offering is still preserved, but the leaders of Phokis did not leave the gold as they did the bronze.  
735 [Phokis.13.010] The people of Tarentum sent yet another tithe to Delphi from spoils taken from the Peucetii, a non-Greek people. The offerings are the work of Onatas the Aeginetan, and Ageladas the Argive, and consist of statues of footmen and horsemen - Opis, king of the Iapygians, who had become an ally to the Peucetii. Opis is  
740 represented as killed in the fighting, and on his prostrate body, stand the hero Taras and Phalanthus of Lacedaemon, near whom is a dolphin. For they say that before Phalanthus reached Italy, he suffered shipwreck in the Crisaeian Sea and was brought ashore by a dolphin.  
[Phokis.14.001] The axes were dedicated by Periklytos, son of Euthymakhos, a man of Tenedos, and allude to an old story. Kyknos, they say, was a son of Poseidon and ruled as king in Colonae, a city in the Troad situated opposite the island  
745 Leucophrys.  
[Phokis.14.002] He had a daughter, by name Hemithea, and a son, called Tennes, by Procleia, who was a daughter of Klytios and a sister of Caletor. Homer in the Iliad [26] says that this Caletor, as he was putting the fire under the ship of  
750 Protesilaos, was killed by Ajax. Procleia died before Kyknos, and his second wife, Philonome, daughter of Cragasus, fell in love with Tennes. Rejected by him, she falsely accused him before her husband, saying that he had made love to her, and she had rejected him. Kyknos was deceived by the trick, placed Tennes with his sister in a chest, and launched it out to sea.  
755 [Phokis.14.003] The young people came safely to the island Leucophrys, and the island was given its present name from Tennes. Kyknos, however, was not to remain for ever ignorant of the trick and sailed to his son to confess his ignorance and to ask for pardon for his mistake. He put in at the island and fastened the cables of his ship to something - a rock or a tree - but Tennes in a passion cut them adrift with an  
760 axe.  
[Phokis.14.004] For this reason a byword has arisen, which is used of those who make a stern refusal: "So and so has cut whatever it may be with an axe of Tenedos." The Greeks say that while Tennes was defending his country, he was killed by Achilles. In course of time, weakness compelled the people of Tenedos to merge themselves with the  
765 Alexandrians on the Troad mainland.  
[Phokis.14.005] The Greeks who fought against the king, besides dedicating at Olympia a bronze Zeus, dedicated also an Apollo at Delphi, from spoils taken in the naval actions at Artemisium and Salamis. There is also a story that Themistokles came to Delphi bringing with him for Apollo some of the Persian spoils. He asked whether he  
770 should dedicate them within the temple, but the Pythian priestess ordered him to carry them from the sanctuary altogether. The part of the oracle referring to this runs as follows: The splendid beauty of the Persian's spoils Set not within my temple. Dispatch them home speedily.  
[Phokis.14.006] Now, I greatly marveled that it was from Themistokles alone that the  
775 priestess refused to accept Persian spoils. Some thought that the god would have rejected alike all offerings from Persian spoils, if like Themistokles the others had inquired of Apollo before making their dedication. Others said that the god knew that Themistokles would become a suppliant of the Persian king and refused to take the  
780 gifts so that Themistokles might not by a dedication render the Persian's enmity unappeasable. The expedition of the barbarian against Greece we find foretold in the oracles of Bacis, and Euklos wrote his verses about it at an even earlier date.  
[Phokis.14.007] Near the great altar is a bronze wolf, an offering of the Delphians themselves. They say that a fellow robbed the god of some treasure and kept himself  
785 and the gold hidden at the place on Mount Parnassos where the forest is thickest. As he slept, a wolf attacked and killed him, and every day went to the city and howled. When the people began to realize that the matter was not without the intervention of the god [theos], they followed the beast and found the sacred gold. So to the god, they dedicated a bronze wolf.  
[Phokis.15.001] A gilded statue of Phryne was made by Praxiteles, one of her lovers,  
790 but it was Phryne herself who dedicated the statue. The offerings next to Phryne include two images of Apollo, one dedicated from Persian spoils by the Epidaurians of Argolis, the other dedicated by the Megarians to commemorate a victory over the

795 Athenians at Nisaia. The Plataeans have dedicated an ox, an offering made at the time when, in their own territory, they took part, along with the other Greeks, in the defense against Mardonios, the son of Gobryas. Then there are another two images of Apollo, one dedicated by the citizens of Herakleia on the Euxine, the other by the Amphiktyones when they fined the people of Phokis for tilling the territory of the god.

800 [Phokis.15.002] The second Apollo the Delphians call Sitalkas, and he is thirty-five cubits high. The Aetolians have statues of most of their generals, and images of Artemis, Athena, and two of Apollo, dedicated after their conclusion of the war against the Gauls. That the Celtic army would cross from Europe to Asia to destroy the cities there was prophesied by Phaennis in her oracles a generation before the invasion occurred:

805 [Phokis.15.003] Then truly, having crossed the narrow strait of the Hellespont, The devastating host of the Gauls shall pipe; and lawlessly They shall ravage Asia; and much worse shall the god do To those who dwell by the shores of the sea For a short while. For right soon the son of Cronos Shall raise them a helper, the dear son of a bull reared by Zeus, Who on all the Gauls shall bring a day of destruction. By the son of a bull, she meant Attalus, king of Pergamon, who was also styled bull-horned by an oracle.

815 [Phokis.15.004] Statues of cavalry leaders, mounted on horses, were dedicated in Apollo's sanctuary by the people of Pherai after routing the Attic cavalry. The bronze palm tree, as well as a gilded image of Athena on it, was dedicated by the Athenians from the spoils they took in their two successes on the same day at the Eurymedon, one on land, and the other with their fleet on the river. The gold on this image was, I noticed, damaged in parts.

820 [Phokis.15.005] I myself put the blame on rogues and thieves. But Kleitodemos, the oldest writer to describe the customs of the Athenians, says in his account of Attica that when the Athenians were preparing the Sicilian expedition a vast flock of crows swooped on Delphi, pecked this image all over, and with their beaks, tore away its gold. He says that the crows also broke off the spear, the owls, and the imitation fruit on the palm tree.

825 [Phokis.15.006] Kleitodemos describes other omens that told the Athenians to beware of sailing against Sicily. The Cyrenaeans have dedicated at Delphi a figure of Battos in a chariot; he it was who brought them in ships from Thera to Libya. The reins are held by Cyrene, and in the chariot is Battos, who is being garlanded by Libya. The artist was a Cossian, Amphion, the son of Acestor.

830 [Phokis.15.007] It is said that, after Battos had founded Cyrene, he was cured of his stammering [27] in the following way. As he was passing through the territory of the Cyrenaeans, in the extreme parts of it, as yet desert, he saw a lion, and the terror of the sight compelled him to cry out in a clear and loud voice. Not far from the Battos, the Amphiktyones have set up yet another Apollo from the fine they inflicted on the people of Phokis for their sin against the god.

835 [Phokis.16.001] Of the offerings sent by the Lydian kings, I found nothing remaining except the iron stand of the bowl of Alyattes. This is the work of Glaukos the Chian, the man who discovered how to weld iron. Each plate of the stand is fastened to another, not by bolts or rivets, but by the welding, which is the only thing that fastens and holds together the iron.

840 [Phokis.16.002] The shape of the stand is very like that of a tower, wider at the bottom and rising to a narrow top. Each side of the stand is not solid throughout, but the iron cross strips are placed like the rungs of a ladder. The upright iron plates are turned outwards at the top, so forming a seat for the bowl.

845 [Phokis.16.003] What is called the Omphalus (Navel) by the Delphians is made of white marble, and is said by the Delphians to be the center of all the earth. Pindar [28] in one of his odes supports their view.

850 [Phokis.16.004] There is here an offering of the Lacedaemonians, made by Kalamis, depicting Hermione, daughter of Menelaos, who married Orestes, son of Agamemnon, having previously been wedded to Neoptolemos, the son of Achilles. The Aetolians have dedicated a statue of Eurydamos, general of the Aetolians, who was their leader in the war against the army of the Gauls.

855 [Phokis.16.005] On the mountains of Crete, there is still in my time a city called Elyrus. Now the citizens sent to Delphi a bronze goat, which is suckling the babies, Phylacides, and Philandros. The Elyrians say that these were children of Apollo by the nymph Acacallis and that Apollo mated with Acacallis in the house of Carmanor in the city of Tarrha.

[Phokis.16.006] The Euboeans of Karystos too set up in the sanctuary of Apollo a bronze ox, from spoils taken in the Persian War. The people of Karystos and the

860 Plataeans dedicated oxen, I believe, because, having repulsed the barbarian, they had won a secure prosperity, and especially a land free to plough. The Aetolian nation, having subdued their neighbors the Acarnanians, sent statues of generals and images of Apollo and Artemis.

[Phokis.16.007] I learned a very strange thing that happened to the Liparaeans in a war with the Etruscans. For the Liparaeans were bidden by the Pythian priestess to engage the Etruscans with the fewest possible ships. So they put out against the Etruscans with five triremes. Their enemies, refusing to admit that their seamanship was unequal to that of the Liparaeans, went out to meet them with an equal number of ships. These the Liparaeans captured, as they did a second five that came out against them, overcoming too a third squadron of five, and likewise a fourth. So they 870 dedicated at Delphi images of Apollo equal in number to the ships that they had captured.

[Phokis.16.008] Ekhekratides of Larisa dedicated the small Apollo, said by the Delphians to have been the very first offering to be set up.

[Phokis.17.001] Of the non-Greeks in the west, the people of Sardinia have sent a 875 bronze statue of him after whom they are called. In size and prosperity, Sardinia is the equal of the most celebrated islands. What the ancient name was that the natives give it, I do not know, but those of the Greeks who sailed there to trade called it Ichnussa, because the shape of the island is very like a man's footprint [ichnos]. Its length is one thousand one hundred and twenty stades, and its width extends to 880 four hundred and twenty.

[Phokis.17.002] SARDINIA, MYTHICAL HISTORY The first sailors to cross to the island are said to have been Libyans. Their leader was Sardus, son of Maceris, the Maceris 885 surnamed Herakles by the Egyptians and Libyans. Maceris himself was celebrated chiefly for his journey to Delphi, but Sardus it was who led the Libyans to Ichnussa, and after him the island was renamed. However, the Libyan army did not expel the aborigines, who received the invaders as settlers through compulsion rather than in goodwill. Neither the Libyans nor the native population knew how to build cities. They dwelled in scattered groups, where chance found them a home in cabins or caves.

[Phokis.17.003] Years after the Libyans, there came to the island from Greece 890 Aristaios and his followers. Aristaios is said to have been a son of Apollo and Cyrene, and they say that, deeply grieved by the fate of Actaeon, and vexed alike with Boeotia and the whole of Greece, he migrated to Sardinia.

[Phokis.17.004] Others think that Daidalos too ran away from Camicus on this 895 occasion, because of the invasion of the Cretans, and took a part in the colony that Aristaios led to Sardinia. But it is nonsense to think that Daidalos, a contemporary of Oedipus, king of Thebes, had a part in a colony or anything else along with Aristaios, who married Autonoe, the daughter of Kadmos. At any rate, these colonists too founded no city, the reason being, I think, that neither in numbers nor in strength were they capable of the task.

[Phokis.17.005] After Aristaios, the Iberians crossed to Sardinia, under Norax as 900 leader of the expedition, and they founded the city of Nora. The tradition is that this was the first city in the island, and they say that Norax was a son of Erytheia, the daughter of Geryones, with Hermes for his father. A fourth component part of the population was the army of Iolaos, consisting of Thespians and men from Attica, which 905 put in at Sardinia and founded Olbia; by themselves the Athenians founded Ogryle, either in commemoration of one of their parishes in the homeland or else because one Ogrylus himself took part in the expedition. Be this as it may, there are still today places in Sardinia called Iolaia, and Iolaos is worshipped by the inhabitants.

[Phokis.17.006] When Troy was taken, among those Trojans who fled were those who 910 escaped with Aeneas. A part of them, carried from their course by winds, reached Sardinia and intermarried with the Greeks already settled there. But the non-Greek element were prevented from coming to blows with the Greeks and Trojans, for the two enemies were evenly matched in all warlike equipment, while the river Thorsus, flowing between their territories, made both equally afraid to cross it.

[Phokis.17.007] However, many years afterwards the Libyans crossed again to the 915 island with a stronger army, and began a war against the Greeks. The Greeks were utterly destroyed or only a few of them survived. The Trojans made their escape to the high parts of the island and occupied mountains difficult to climb, being precipitous and protected by stakes. Even at the present day, they are called Ilians, 920 but in figure, in the fashion of their arms, and in their mode of living generally, they are like the Libyans.

[Phokis.17.008] SARDINIA, HISTORY Not far distant from Sardinia is an island called Cynrus by the Greeks, but Corsica by the Libyans who inhabit it. A large part of the population, oppressed by civil strife, left it and came to Sardinia; there they took

- 925 up their abode, confining themselves to the highlands. The Sardinians, however, call them by the name of Corsicans, which they brought with them from home. [Phokis.17.009] When the Carthaginians were at the height of their sea power, they overcame all in Sardinia except the Ilians and Corsicans, who were kept from slavery by the strength of the mountains. These Carthaginians, like those who preceded them, 930 founded cities in the island, namely, Caralis and Sulci. Some of the Carthaginian mercenaries, either Libyans or Iberians, quarrelled about the loot, mutinied in a passion, and added to the number of the highland settlers. Their name in the Cynrian language is Balari, which is the Cynrian word for fugitives. [Phokis.17.010] SARDINIA, GEOGRAPHY These are the people that dwell in Sardinia, and 935 such was the method of their settlement. The northern part of the island and that towards the mainland of Italy consist of an unbroken chain of impassable mountains. And if you sail along the coast, you will find no anchorage on this side of the island, while violent but irregular gusts of wind sweep down to the sea from the tops of the mountains. [Phokis.17.011] Across the middle of the island runs another chain of mountains, but 940 lower in height. The atmosphere here is on the whole heavy and unwholesome. The reason is partly the salt that crystallizes here, partly the oppressive, violent south wind, and partly the fact that, because of the height of the mountains on the side towards Italy, the north winds are prevented, when they blow in summer, from 945 cooling the atmosphere and the ground here. Others say that the cause is Cynrus, which is separated from Sardinia by no more than eight stades of sea and is hilly and high all over. So they think that Cynrus prevents the west wind and the north wind from reaching as far as Sardinia. [Phokis.17.012] Neither poisonous nor harmless snakes can live in Sardinia, nor yet 950 wolves. The he-goats are no bigger than those found elsewhere, but their shape is that of the wild ram which an artist would carve in Aeginetan style, except that their breasts are too shaggy to liken them to Aeginetan art. Their horns do not stand out away from the head but curl straight beside the ears. In speed, they are the swiftest of all beasts. [Phokis.17.013] Except for one plant, the island is free from poisons. This deadly 955 herb is like celery, and they say that those who eat it die laughing. That is why Homer, [29] and men after him, call unwholesome laughter sardonic. The herb grows mostly around springs, but does not impart any of its poison to the water. I have introduced into my history of Phokis this account of Sardinia, because it is an 960 island about which the Greeks are very ignorant. [Phokis.18.001] VOTIVE OFFERINGS AT DELPHI CONTINUED The horse next to the statue of Sardus was dedicated, says the Athenian Kallias, son of Lysimakhides, in the inscription, by Kallias himself from spoils he had taken in the Persian War. The Achaeans dedicated an image of Athena after reducing by siege one of the cities of 965 Aetolia, the name of which was Phana. They say that the siege was not a short one, and being unable to take the city, they sent envoys to Delphi, to whom was given the following response: [Phokis.18.002] Dwellers in the land of Pelops and in Achaea, who to Pytho Have come to inquire how ye shall take a city, Come, consider what daily ration, Drunk by the 970 folk, saves the city which has so drunk. For so ye may take the towered village of Phana. [Phokis.18.003] So not understanding what was the meaning of the oracle, they were minded to raise the siege and sail away, while the defenders paid no attention to them, one of their women coming from behind the walls to fetch water from the spring 975 just under them. Some of the besiegers ran up and took the woman prisoner, who informed the Achaeans that the scanty water from the spring that was fetched each night was rationed among the besieged, who had nothing else to quench their thirst. So the Achaeans, by filling up the spring, captured the town. [Phokis.18.004] By the side of this Athena, the Rhodians of Lindus set up their image 980 of Apollo. The Ambraciots dedicated also a bronze ass, having conquered the Molossians in a night battle. The Molossians had prepared an ambush for them by night. It chanced that an ass, being driven back from the fields, was chasing a she-donkey with harsh braying and wanton gait, while the driver of the donkey increased the din by his horrible, inarticulate yells. So the men in the Molossian ambush 985 rushed out, all frightened, and the Ambraciots, detecting the trap prepared for them, attacked in the night and overcame the Molossians in battle. [Phokis.18.005] The men of Orneae in Argolis, when hard pressed in war by the Sikyonians, vowed to Apollo that, if they should drive the host of the Sikyonians out of their native land, they would organize a daily procession in his honor at Delphi 990 and sacrifice victims of a certain kind and of a certain number. Well, they conquered

the Sikyonians in battle. But finding the daily fulfillment of their vow a great expense and a still greater trouble, they devised the trick of dedicating to the god bronze figures representing a sacrifice and a procession.

995 [Phokis.18.006] There is here one of the labors of Herakles, namely, his fight with the hydra. Tisagoras not only dedicated the offering, but also made it. Both the hydra and Herakles are of iron. To make images of iron is a very difficult task, involving great labor. So the work of Tisagoras, whoever he was, is marvellous. Very marvellous too are the heads of a lion and wild boar at Pergamon, also of iron, which were made as offerings to Dionysus.

1000 [Phokis.18.007] The people of Phokis who live at Elateia, who held their city, with the help of Olympiodoros from Athens, when besieged by Kassandros, sent to Apollo at Delphi a bronze lion. The Apollo, very near to the lion, was dedicated by the Massiliots as first fruits of their naval victory over the Carthaginians. The Aetolians have made a trophy and the image of an armed woman, supposed to represent Aetolia. These were dedicated by the Aetolians when they had punished the Gauls for their cruelty to the Kallians. A gilded statue, offered by Gorgias of Leontinoi, is a portrait of Gorgias himself.

1005 [Phokis.19.001] Beside the Gorgias is a votive offering of the Amphiktyones, representing Skyllis of Scione, who, the story [phēmē] says, dived into the very deepest parts of every sea. He also taught his daughter Hydna to dive.

1010 [Phokis.19.002] When the fleet of Xerxes was attacked by a violent storm off Mount Pelion, father and daughter completed its destruction by dragging away under the sea the anchors and any other security the triremes had. In return for this deed, the Amphiktyones dedicated statues of Skyllis and his daughter. The statue of Hydna completed the number of the statues that Nero carried off from Delphi. Only those of the female sex who are pure virgins may dive into the sea. [30]

1015 [Phokis.19.003] I am going on to tell a Lesbian story. Certain fishermen of Methymna found that their nets dragged up to the surface of the sea a face made of olive wood. Its appearance suggested a touch of divinity, but it was outlandish, and unlike the normal features of Greek gods. So the people of Methymna asked the Pythian priestess of what god or hero the figure was a likeness, and she ordered them to worship Dionysus Phallen. Then the people of Methymna kept for themselves the wooden image out of the sea, worshipping it with sacrifices and prayers, but sent a bronze copy to Delphi.

1025 [Phokis.19.004] TEMPLE OF APOLLON AT DELPHI The carvings in the pediments are: Artemis, Leto, Apollo, Muses, a setting Sun, and Dionysus together with the Thyiad women. The first of them are the work of Praxias, an Athenian and a pupil of Kalamis, but the temple took some time to build, during which Praxias died. So the rest of the ornament in the pediments was carved by Androstenes, like Praxias an Athenian by birth, but a pupil of Eukadmos. There are arms of gold on the architraves; the Athenians dedicated the shields from spoils taken at the battle of Marathon, and the Aetolians the arms, supposed to be Gallic, behind and on the left. Their shape is very like that of Persian wicker shields.

1030 [Phokis.19.005] INVASION OF THE GAULS, HISTORY I have made some mention of the Gallic invasion of Greece in my description of the Athenian Council Chamber. [31] But I have resolved to give a more detailed account of the Gauls in my description of Delphi, because the greatest of the Greek exploits against the barbarians took place there. The Celts conducted their first foreign expedition under the leadership of Cambaules. Advancing as far as Thrace, they lost heart and broke off their march, realizing that they were too few in number to be a match for the Greeks.

1035 [Phokis.19.006] But when they decided to invade foreign territory a second time, so great was the influence of Cambaules' veterans, who had tasted the joy of plunder and acquired a passion for robbery and plunder, that a large force of infantry and no small number of mounted men attended the muster. So the army was split up into three divisions by the chieftains, to each of whom was assigned a separate land to invade.

1040 [Phokis.19.007] Kerethrios was to be leader against the Thracians and the nation of the Triballi. The invaders of Paionia were under the command of Brennus and Acichorius. Bolgius attacked the Macedonians and Illyrians and engaged in a struggle with Ptolemy, king of the Macedonians at that time. It was this Ptolemy who, though he had taken refuge as a suppliant with Seleukos, the son of Antiokhos, treacherously murdered him and was surnamed Thunderbolt because of his recklessness. Ptolemy himself perished in the fighting, and the Macedonian losses were heavy. But once more, the Celts lacked courage to advance against Greece, and so the second expedition returned home.

1050 [Phokis.19.008] It was then that Brennus, both in public meetings and also in personal talks with individual Gallic officers, strongly urged a campaign against

Greece, enlarging on the weakness of Greece at the time, on the wealth of the Greek states, and on the even greater wealth in sanctuaries, including votive offerings and coined silver and gold. So he induced the Gauls to march against Greece. Among the officers he chose to be his colleagues was Acichorius.

[Phokis.19.009] The muster of foot amounted to one hundred and fifty-two thousand, with twenty thousand four hundred horsemen. This was the number of horsemen in action at any one time, but the real number was sixty-one thousand two hundred. For to each horseman were attached two servants, who were themselves skilled riders and, like their masters, had a horse.

[Phokis.19.010] When the Gallic horsemen were engaged, the servants remained behind the ranks and proved useful in the following way. Should a horseman or his horse fall, the slave brought him a horse to mount; if the rider was killed, the slave mounted the horse in his master's place; if both rider and horse were killed, there was a mounted man ready. When a rider was wounded, one slave brought back to camp the wounded man, while the other took his vacant place in the ranks.

[Phokis.19.011] I believe that the Gauls in adopting these methods copied the Persian regiment of the Ten Thousand, who were called the Immortals. There was, however, this difference. The Persians used to wait until the battle was over before replacing casualties, while the Gauls kept reinforcing the horsemen to their full number during the height of the action. This organization is called in their native speech trimarcisia, for I would have you know that marca is the Celtic name for a horse.

[Phokis.19.012] This was the size of the army, and such was the intention of Brennus, when he attacked Greece. The spirit of the Greeks was utterly broken, but the extremity of their terror forced them to defend Greece. They realized that the struggle that faced them would not be one for liberty, as it was when they fought the Persian, and that giving water and earth would not bring them safety. They still remembered the fate of Macedonia, Thrace, and Paionia during the former incursion of the Gauls, and reports were coming in of enormities committed at that very time on the Thessalians. So every man, as well as every state, was convinced that they must either conquer or perish.

[Phokis.20.001] Anyone who so wishes can compare the number of those who mustered to meet King Xerxes at Thermopylae with those who now mustered to oppose the Gauls. To meet the Persians, there came Greek contingents of the following strength. Lacedaemonians with Leonidas not more than three hundred; Tegeans five hundred, and five hundred from Mantinea; from Orkhomenos in Arcadia a hundred and twenty; from the other cities in Arcadia one thousand; from Mycenae eighty; from Phleious two hundred, and from Corinth twice this number; of the Boeotians there mustered seven hundred from Thespieae and four hundred from Thebes. A thousand men of Phokis guarded the path on Mount Oitê, and the number of these should be added to the Greek total.

[Phokis.20.002] Herodotus [32] does not give the number of the people of Lokris who live at the base of Mount Knemis, but he does say that each of their cities sent a contingent. It is possible, however, to make an estimate of these also that comes very near to the truth. For not more than nine thousand Athenians marched to Marathon, even if we include those who were too old for active service and slaves; so the number of the fighting men of Lokris who marched to Thermopylae cannot have exceeded six thousand. So the whole army would amount to eleven thousand two hundred. But it is well known that not even these remained all the time guarding the pass; for if we except the Lacedaemonians, Thespians, and Mycenaeans, the rest left the field before the conclusion of the fighting.

[Phokis.20.003] To meet the barbarians who came from the Okeanos, the following Greek forces came to Thermopylae. Of the Boeotians, ten thousand hoplites and five hundred cavalry, the Boeotarchs being Kephisodotos, Thearidas, Diogenes, and Lysander. From Phokis came five hundred cavalry with footmen three thousand in number. The generals of the men of Phokis were Kritoboulos and Antiokhos.

[Phokis.20.004] The men from Lokris stationed over against the island of Atalanta were under the command of Meidias; they numbered seven hundred, and no cavalry was with them. Of the Megarians came four hundred hoplites commanded by Hipponikos of Megara. The Aetolians sent a large contingent, including every class of fighting men; the number of cavalry is not given, but the light-armed were seven hundred and ninety, and their hoplites numbered more than seven thousand. Their leaders were Polyarkhos, Polyphron, and Lakrates.

[Phokis.20.005] The Athenian general was Kallippos, the son of Moirokles, as I have said in an earlier part of my work, [33] and their forces consisted of all their seaworthy triremes, five hundred horse, and one thousand foot. Because of their ancient reputation, the Athenians held the chief command. The king of Macedonia sent five hundred mercenaries, and the king of Asia a like number; the leader of those

sent by Antigonos was Aristodemos, a Macedonian, and Telesarkhos, one of the Syrians on the Orontes, commanded the forces that Antiokhos sent from Asia.

1125 [Phokis.20.006] When the Greeks assembled at Thermopylae [34] learned that the army of the Gauls was already in the neighborhood of Magnesia and Phthiotis, they resolved to detach the cavalry and a thousand light armed troops and to send them to the Spercheios, so that even the crossing of the river could not be achieved by the barbarians without a struggle and risks. On their arrival, these forces broke down

1130 the bridges and by themselves encamped along the bank. But Brennus himself was not utterly stupid nor inexperienced for a barbarian in devising tricks of strategy. [Phokis.20.007] So on that very night, he dispatched some troops to the Spercheios, not to the places where the old bridges had stood, but lower down, where the Greeks would not notice the crossing, and just where the river spread over the plain and

1135 made a marsh and lake instead of a narrow, violent stream. Here Brennus sent some ten thousand Gauls, picking out the swimmers and the tallest men; and the Celts as a people are far taller than any other. [Phokis.20.008] So these crossed in the night, swimming over the river where it expands into a lake; each man used his shield, his national buckler, as a raft, and

1140 the tallest of them were able to cross the water by wading. The Greeks on the Spercheios, as soon as they learned that a detachment of the barbarians had crossed by the marsh, forthwith retreated to the main army. Brennus ordered the dwellers around the Malian gulf to build bridges across the Spercheios, and they proceeded to accomplish their task with a will, for they were frightened of Brennus, and anxious

1145 for the barbarians to go away out of their country instead of staying to devastate it further. [Phokis.20.009] Brennus brought his army across over the bridges and proceeded to Herakleia. The Gauls plundered the country and massacred those whom they caught in the fields but did not capture the city. For a year previous to this, the Aetolians had forced Herakleia to join the Aetolian League; so now, they defended a city which they considered to belong to them just as much as to the people of Herakleia. Brennus did not trouble himself much about Herakleia but directed his efforts to driving away those opposed to him at the pass in order to invade Greece south of Thermopylae.

1150 [Phokis.21.001] Deserters kept Brennus informed about the forces from each city mustered at Thermopylae. So despising the Greek army, he advanced from Herakleia and began the battle at sunrise on the next day. He had no Greek soothsayer and made no use of his own country's sacrifices, if indeed the Celts have any art of divination. Then the Greeks attacked silently and in good order. When they came to close

1155 quarters, the infantry did not rush out of their line far enough to disturb their proper formation, while the light-armed troops remained in position, throwing

1160 javelins, shooting arrows, or slinging bullets. [Phokis.21.002] The cavalry on both sides proved useless, as the ground at the Pass is not only narrow, but also smooth because of the natural rock, while most of it is slippery owing to its being covered with streams. The Gauls were worse armed than the

1165 Greeks, having no other defensive armor than their national shields, while they were still more inferior in war experience. [Phokis.21.003] On they marched against their enemies with the unreasoning fury and passion of brutes. Slashed with axe or sword, they kept their desperation while they still breathed; pierced by arrow or javelin, they did not abate of their passion so long as life remained. Some drew out from their wounds the spears, by which they had been hit, and threw them at the Greeks or used them in close fighting.

1170 [Phokis.21.004] Meanwhile, the Athenians on the triremes, with difficulty and with danger, nevertheless coasted along through the mud that extends far out to sea, brought their ships as close to the barbarians as possible, and raked them with

1175 arrows and every other kind of missile. The Celts were in unspeakable distress, and as in the confined space, they inflicted few losses but suffered twice or four times as many, their captains gave the signal to retire to their camp. Retreating in confusion and without any order, many were crushed beneath the feet of their friends, and many others fell into the swamp and disappeared under the mud. Their loss in the

1180 retreat was no less than the loss that occurred while the battle raged. [Phokis.21.005] On this day, the Attic contingent surpassed the other Greeks in courage. Of the Athenians themselves, the bravest was Cydias, a young man who had never before been in battle. He was killed by the Gauls, but his relatives dedicated his shield to Zeus, God of Freedom, and the inscription ran: Here hang I, yearning for the still youthful bloom of Cydias, The shield of a glorious man, an offering to Zeus. I was the very first through which at this battle he thrust his left arm, When the battle raged furiously against the Gaul.

1185 [Phokis.21.006] This inscription remained until Sulla and his army took away, among

1190 other Athenian treasures, the shields in the porch of Zeus, God of Freedom. After this battle at Thermopylae, the Greeks buried their own dead and spoiled the barbarians, but the Gauls sent no herald to ask leave to take up the bodies and were indifferent whether the earth received them or whether they were devoured by wild beasts or carrion birds.

1195 [Phokis.21.007] There were in my opinion two reasons that made them careless about the burial of their dead: they wished to strike terror into their enemies, and through habit, they have no tender feeling for those who have gone. In the battle there fell forty of the Greeks; the losses of the barbarians it was impossible to discover exactly. For the number of them that disappeared beneath the mud was great.

1200 [Phokis.22.001] On the seventh day after the battle, a regiment of Gauls attempted to go up to Oitē by way of Herakleia. Here too a narrow path rises just past the ruins of Trakhis. There was also at that time a sanctuary of Athena above the Trachinian territory, and in it were votive offerings. So they hoped to ascend Oitē by this path and at the same time to get possession of the offerings in the temple in passing. They overcame the barbarians in the engagement, but Telesarkhos himself fell, a man devoted, if ever a man was, to the Greek cause.

1205 [Phokis.22.002] All the leaders of the barbarians except Brennus were terrified of the Greeks, and at the same time were despondent of the future, seeing that their present condition showed no signs of improvement. But Brennus reasoned that if he could compel the Aetolians to return home to Aetolia, he would find the war against Greece prove easier hereafter. So he detached from his army forty thousand foot and about eight hundred horse. Over these, he set in command Orestorius and Combutis,

1210 [Phokis.22.003] who, making their way back by way of the bridges over the Spercheios and across Thessaly again, invaded Aetolia. The fate of the Kallians at the hands of Combutis and Orestorius is the most wicked ever heard of and is without a parallel in the crimes of men. Every male they put to the sword, and there were butchered old men

1215 equally with children at their mothers' breasts. The more plump of these sucking babes the Gauls killed, drinking their blood and eating their flesh.

1220 [Phokis.22.004] Women and adult maidens, if they had any spirit at all in them, anticipated their end when the city was captured. Those who survived suffered under imperious violence every form of outrage at the hands of men equally void of pity or of love. Every woman who chanced to find a Gallic sword committed suicide. The others were soon to die of hunger and want of sleep, the incontinent barbarians outraging them by turns, and satisfying their lust even on the dying and the dead.

1225 [Phokis.22.005] The Aetolians had been informed by messengers what disasters had befallen them and, at once with all speed, removed their forces from Thermopylae and hastened to Aetolia, being exasperated at the sufferings of the Kallians and still more fired with determination to save the cities not yet captured. From all the cities at home were mobilized the men of military age; and even those too old for service, their fighting spirit roused by the crisis, were in the ranks, and their

1230 very women gladly served with them, being even more enraged against the Gauls than were the men.

1235 [Phokis.22.006] When the barbarians, having pillaged houses and sanctuaries, and having fired Kallion, were returning by the same way, they were met by the Patraeans, who alone of the Achaeans were helping the Aetolians. Being trained as hoplites, they made a frontal attack on the barbarians but suffered severely owing to the number and desperation of the Gauls. But the Aetolians, men and women, drawn up all along the road, kept shooting at the barbarians, and few shots failed to find a mark among enemies protected by nothing but their national shields. Pursued by the Gauls, they easily escaped, renewing their attack with vigor when their enemies returned from the

1240 pursuit.

1245 [Phokis.22.007] Although the Kallians suffered so terribly that even Homer's account of the Laestrygones and the Cyclops [35] does not seem outside the truth, yet they were duly and fully avenged. For out of their number of forty thousand eight hundred, there escaped of the barbarians to the camp at Thermopylae less than one half.

1250 [Phokis.22.008] Meanwhile, the Greeks at Thermopylae were faring as follows. There are two paths across Mount Oitē: the one above Trakhis is very steep, and for the most part precipitous; the other, through the territory of the Aenianians, is easier for an army to cross. It was through this that on a former occasion, Hydarnes the Persian passed to attack in the rear the Greeks under Leonidas. [36]

[Phokis.22.009] By this road the Herakleia and of Ainiania promised to lead Brennus, not that they were ill disposed to the Greek cause, but because they were anxious for the Celts to go away from their country and not to establish themselves in it to its ruin. I think that Pindar [37] spoke the truth again when he said that everyone is crushed by his own misfortunes but is untouched by the woes of others.

- 1255 [Phokis.22.010] Brennus was encouraged by the promise made by the Ainiania and of Herakleia. Leaving Acichorius behind in charge of the main army, with instructions that it was to attack only when the enveloping movement was complete, Brennus himself, with a detachment of forty thousand, began his march along the pass.
- 1260 [Phokis.22.011] It so happened on that day that the mist rolled thick down the mountain, darkening the sun, so that the men of Phokis who were guarding the path found the barbarians upon them before they were aware of their approach. Then the Gauls attacked. The men of Phokis resisted manfully, but at last were forced to retreat from the path. However, they succeeded in running down to their friends with a report of what was happening before the envelopment of the Greek army was quite
- 1265 complete on all sides.
- [Phokis.22.012] Then the Athenians with the fleet succeeded in withdrawing in time the Greek forces from Thermopylae, which disbanded and returned to their several homes. Brennus, without delaying any longer, began his march against Delphi without waiting for the army with Acichorius to join up. In terror, the Delphians took refuge
- 1270 in the oracle. The god ordered them not to be afraid and promised that he would himself defend his own.
- [Phokis.22.013] The Greeks who came in defense of the god were as follow: the men of Phokis, who came from all their cities; from Amphissa, four hundred hoplites; from the Aetolians, a few came at once on hearing of the advance of the barbarians, and
- 1275 later on, Philomelus brought one thousand two hundred. The flower of the Aetolians turned against the army of Acichorius, and without offering battle, attacked continuously the rear of their line of march, plundering the baggage and putting the carriers to the sword. It was chiefly for this reason that their march proved slow. Futhermore, at Herakleia Acichorius had left a part of his army, who were to guard
- 1280 the baggage of the camp.
- [Phokis.23.001] Brennus and his army were now faced by the Greeks who had mustered at Delphi, and soon, portents boding no good to the barbarians were sent by the god, the clearest recorded in history. For the whole ground occupied by the Gallic army was shaken violently most of the day, with continuous thunder and lightning.
- 1285 [Phokis.23.002] The thunder both terrified the Gauls and prevented them hearing their orders, while the bolts from the sky [ouranos] set on fire not only those whom they struck but also their neighbors, themselves, and their armor alike. Then there were seen by them ghosts of the heroes Hyperochus, Laodocus, and Pyrrhos; according to some, a fourth appeared, Phylacus, a local hero of Delphi.
- 1290 [Phokis.23.003] Among the many men of Phokis who were killed in the action was Aleximakhos, who in this battle excelled all the other Greeks in devoting youth, physical strength, and a stout heart, to slaying the barbarians. The people of Phokis made a statue of Aleximakhos and sent it to Delphi as an offering to Apollo.
- [Phokis.23.004] All the day, the barbarians were beset by calamities and terrors of
- 1295 this kind. But the night was to bring upon them experiences far more painful. For there came on a severe frost and snow with it; and great rocks slipping from Parnassos, and crags breaking away, made the barbarians their target, the crash of which brought destruction, not on one or two at a time, but on thirty or even more, as they chanced to be gathered in groups, keeping guard or taking rest.
- 1300 [Phokis.23.005] At sunrise, the Greeks came on from Delphi, making a frontal attack with the exception of the men of Phokis, who, being more familiar with the district, descended through the snow down the precipitous parts of Parnassos, and surprised the Celts in their rear, shooting them down with arrows and javelins without anything to fear from the barbarians.
- 1305 [Phokis.23.006] At the beginning of the fight, the Gauls offered a spirited resistance, especially the company attached to Brennus, which was composed of the tallest and bravest of the Gauls, even though they were shot at from all sides, and no less distressed by the frost, especially the wounded men. But when Brennus himself was wounded, he was carried fainting from the battle, and the barbarians, harassed on
- 1310 all sides by the Greeks, fell back reluctantly, putting to the sword those who, disabled by wounds or sickness, could not go with them.
- [Phokis.23.007] They encamped where night overtook them in their retreat, and during the night, there fell on them a "panic." For causeless terrors are said to come from the god Pan. It was when evening was turning to night that the confusion fell on the
- 1315 army, and at first, only a few became mad, and these imagined that they heard the trampling of horses at a gallop, and the attack of advancing enemies; but after a little time, the delusion spread to all.
- [Phokis.23.008] So rushing to arms, they divided into two parties, killing and being killed, neither understanding their mother tongue nor recognizing one another's forms
- 1320 or the shape of their shields. Both parties alike under the present delusion thought

that their opponents were Greek, men and armor, and that the language they spoke was Greek, so that a great mutual slaughter took place among the Gauls, caused by the madness sent by the god.

1325 [Phokis.23.009] Those men of Phokis who had been left behind in the fields to guard the flocks were the first to perceive and report to the Greeks the panic that had seized the barbarians in the night. The men of Phokis were thus encouraged to attack the Celts with yet greater spirit, keeping a more careful watch on their encampments, and not letting them take from the country the necessities of life without a struggle, so that the whole Gallic army suffered at once from a pressing shortage of  
1330 wheat and other food.

[Phokis.23.010] Their losses in Phokis were these: in the battles were killed close on six thousand; those who perished in the wintry storm at night and afterwards in the panic terror amounted to over ten thousand, as likewise did those who were starved to death.

1335 [Phokis.23.011] Athenian scouts arrived at Delphi to gather information, after which they returned and reported what had happened to the barbarians, and all that the god had inflicted upon them. Then the Athenians took the field, and as they marched through Boeotia they were joined by the Boeotians. Thus the combined armies followed the barbarians, lying in wait and killing those who happened to be the last.

1340 [Phokis.23.012] Those who fled with Brennus had been joined by the army under Acichorius only on the previous night. For the Aetolians had delayed their march, hurling at them a merciless shower of javelins and anything else they could lay hands on, so that only a small part of them escaped to the camp at Herakleia. There was still a hope of saving the life of Brennus, so far as his wounds were concerned; but,  
1345 they say, partly because he feared his fellow countrymen, and still more because he was conscience stricken at the calamities he had brought on Greece, he took his own life by drinking neat wine.

[Phokis.23.013] After this, the barbarians proceeded with difficulty as far as the Spercheios, pressed hotly by the Aetolians. But after their arrival at the  
1350 Spercheios, during the rest of the retreat, the Thessalians and Malians kept lying in wait for them, and so took their fill of slaughter that not a Gaul returned home in safety.

[Phokis.23.014] The expedition of the Celts against Greece, and their destruction, took place when Anaxikrates was arkhōn in Athens, in the second year of the hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad [279 BCE] when Ladas of Aigion was victor in the foot race. In the following year, when Demokles was arkhōn in Athens, the Celts crossed back again to Asia.

[Phokis.24.001] TEMPLE OF APOLLON AT DELPHI CONTINUED Such was the course of the war. In the fore temple at Delphi are written maxims useful for the life of men, inscribed by those whom the Greeks say were sages. These were: from Ionia, Thales of Miletus and Bias of Priene; of the Aeolians in Lesbos, Pittacus of Mitylene; of the Dorians in Asia, Kleoboulos of Lindus; Solon of Athens and Khilon of Sparta; the seventh sage, according to the list of Plato, [38] the son of Ariston, is not  
1360 Periandros, the son of Kypselos, but Myson of Chenae, a village on Mount Oitē. These sages, then, came to Delphi and dedicated to Apollo the celebrated maxims, "Know thyself," and "Nothing in excess."  
1365

[Phokis.24.002] So these men wrote what I have said, and you can see a bronze statue of Homer on a slab, and read the oracle that they say Homer received: Blessed and unhappy, for to be both were you born. You seek your fatherland; but no fatherland have you, only a motherland. The island of Ios is the fatherland of your mother, which will receive you When you have died; but be on your guard against the riddle of the young children. The inhabitants of Ios point to Homer's tomb in the island, and in another part to that of Clymene, who was, they say, the mother of Homer.

[Phokis.24.003] But the Cyprians, who also claim Homer as their own, say that Themisto, one of their native women, was the mother of Homer, and that Euklos foretold the birth of Homer in the following verses: And then in sea girt Cyprus there will be a mighty singer, Whom Themisto, lady fair, shall bear in the fields, A man of renown, far from rich Salamis. Leaving Cyprus, tossed and wetted by the waves, The first and only poet to sing of the woes of spacious Greece, For ever shall he be deathless and ageless. These things I have heard, and I have read the oracles, but  
1375 express no private opinion about either the age or date of Homer.  
1380

[Phokis.24.004] In the temple has been built an altar of Poseidon, because Poseidon too possessed in part the most ancient oracle. There are also images of two Fates; but in place of the third Fate, there stand by their side Zeus, Guide of Fate, and  
1385 Apollo, Guide of Fate. Here you may behold the hearth on which the priest of Apollo killed Neoptolemos, the son of Achilles. The story of the end of Neoptolemos, I have

told elsewhere. [39]

1390 [Phokis.24.005] Not far from the hearth has been dedicated a chair of Pindar. The chair is of iron, and on it they say Pindar sat whenever he came to Delphi, and there composed his songs to Apollo. Into the innermost part of the temple there pass but few, but there is dedicated in it another image of Apollo, made of gold.

1395 [Phokis.24.006] GRAVE OF NEOPTOLEMUS AT DELPHI Leaving the temple and turning to the left, you will come to an enclosure in which is the tomb of Neoptolemos, the son of Achilles. Every year, the Delphians sacrifice to him as to a hero. Ascending from the tomb, you come to a stone of no large size. Over it everyday, they pour olive oil, and at each feast, they place on it unworked wool. There is also an opinion about this stone, that it was given to Kronos instead of his child and that Kronos vomited it up again.

1400 [Phokis.24.007] SPRING OF CASSOTIS AT DELPHI Coming back to the temple after seeing the stone, you come to the spring called Cassotis. By it is a wall of no great size, and the ascent to the spring is through the wall. It is said that the water of this Cassotis sinks under the ground and inspires the women in the shrine of the god. She who gave her name to the spring is said to have been a nymph of Parnassos.

1405 [Phokis.25.001] PAINTINGS BY POLYGNOTUS AT DELPHI Beyond the Cassotis stands a building with paintings of Polygnotus. It was dedicated by the people of Knidos, and is called by the Delphians Lesche (Place of Talk), because here in days of old they used to meet and talk about the more serious matters and things that had to do with myth. That there used to be many such places all over Greece is shown by Homer's words in the passage where Melanthe abuses Odysseus:

1410 [Phokis.25.002] Inside this building the whole of the painting on the right depicts Troy taken and the Greeks sailing away. On the ship of Menelaos, they are preparing to put to sea. The ship is painted with children among the grown up sailors; amid ships is Phrontis the steersman holding two boat hooks. Homer [40] represents Nestor as speaking about Phrontis in his conversation with Telemachus, saying that he was the son of Onetor and the steersman of Menelaos, of very high repute in his craft, and how he came to his end when he was already rounding Sunium in Attica. Up to this point, Menelaos had been sailing along with Nestor, but now he was left behind to build Phrontis a tomb and to pay him the due rites of burial.

1420 [Phokis.25.003] Phrontis then is in the painting of Polygnotus, and beneath him is one Ithaemenes carrying clothes, and Echoeax is going down the gangway, carrying a bronze urn. Polites, Strophios, and Alphios are pulling down the hut of Menelaos, which is not far from the ship. Another hut is being pulled down by Amphialus, at whose feet is seated a boy. There is no inscription on the boy, and Phrontis is the only one with a beard. His too is the only name that Polygnotus took from the

1425 Odyssey; the names of the others he invented, I think, himself. [Phokis.25.004] Briseis is standing with Diomeda above her and Iphis in front of both; they appear to be examining the form of Helen. Helen herself is sitting, and so is Eurybates near her. We inferred that he was the herald of Odysseus, although he had yet no beard. One handmaid, Panthalis, is standing beside Helen; another,

1430 Electra, is fastening her mistress' sandals. These names too are different from those given by Homer in the Iliad, [41] where he tells of Helen going to the wall with her slave women. [Phokis.25.005] Beyond Helen, a man wrapped in a purple cloak is sitting in an attitude of the deepest dejection; one might conjecture that he was Helenos, the son of Priam, even before reading the inscription. Near Helenos is Meges, who is wounded in the arm, as Lescheos of Pyrrha, son of Aiskhylinos, describes in the Sack of Troy. For he says that he was wounded by Admetos, son of Augeias, in the battle that the Trojans fought in the night.

1440 [Phokis.25.006] Beside Meges is also painted Lykomedes the son of Creon, who has a wound in the wrist; Lescheos says he was so wounded by Agenor. So it is plain that Polygnotus would not have represented them so wounded, if he had not read the poem of Lescheos. However, he has painted Lykomedes as wounded also in the ankle and yet again in the head. Euryalus the son of Mecisteus has also received a wound in the head and another in the wrist.

1445 [Phokis.25.007] These are painted higher up than Helen in the picture. Next to Helen comes the mother of Theseus with her head shaved, and Demophon, one of the sons of Theseus, is considering, to judge from his attitude, whether it will be possible for him to rescue Aithra. The Argives say that Theseus had also a son Melanippos by the daughter of Sinis and that Melanippos won a running race when the Epigonoi, as they

1450 are called, held the second celebration of the Nemean Games, that of Adrastos being the first. [Phokis.25.008] Lescheos says of Aithra that, when Troy was taken, she came

stealthily to the Greek camp. She was recognized by the sons of Theseus, and Demophon asked for her from Agamemnon. He was ready to grant Demophon the favor, but said that Helen must first give her consent. He sent a herald, and Helen granted him the favor. So in the painting, Eurybates appears to have come to Helen to ask about Aithra, and to be saying what he had been told to say by Agamemnon. [Phokis.25.009] The Trojan women are represented as already captives and lamenting. Andromache is in the painting, and near stands her boy grasping her breast; this child Lescheos says was put to death by being flung from the tower, not that the Greeks had so decreed, but Neoptolemos, of his own accord, was minded to murder him. In the painting is also Medesicaste, another of Priam's illegitimate daughters, who according to Homer [42] left her home and went to the city of Pedaeum to be the wife of Imbrios, the son of Mentor.

[Phokis.25.010] Andromache and Medesicaste are wearing hoods, but the hair of Polyxena is braided after the custom of maidens. Poets sing of her death at the tomb of Achilles, and both in Athens and in Pergamon-on-the-Kaikos, I have seen the tragedy of Polyxena depicted in paintings. [Phokis.25.011] The artist has painted Nestor with a cap on his head and a spear in his hand. There is also a horse, in the attitude of one about to roll in the dust. Right up to the horse, there is a beach with what appear to be pebbles, but beyond the horse, the sea scene breaks off.

[Phokis.26.001] Above the women between Aithra and Nestor are other captive women, Clymene, Kreousa, Aristomache, and Xenodice. Now Stesichorus, in the Sack of Troy, includes Clymene in the number of the captives; and similarly, in the Returns, he speaks of Aristomache as the daughter of Priam and the wife of Kritolaos, son of Hicetaon. But I know of no poet, and of no prose writer, who makes mention of Xenodice. About Kreousa, the story is told that the mother of the gods and Aphrodite rescued her from slavery among the Greeks, as she was, of course, the wife of Aeneas. But Lescheos and the writer of the epic poem Cypria make Eurydikē the wife of Aeneas. [Phokis.26.002] Beyond these are painted on a couch Deinome, Metioche, Peisis, and Kleodike. Deinome is the only one of these names to occur in what is called the Little Iliad; Polygnotus, I think, invented the names of the others. Epeios is painted naked; he is razing to the ground the Trojan wall. Above the wall rises the head only of the Wooden Horse. There is Polypoetes, the son of Peirithous, his head bound with a fillet; by his side is Akamas, the son of Theseus, wearing on his head a helmet with a crest on it.

[Phokis.26.003] There is also Odysseus [...] and Odysseus has put on his corselet. Ajax, the son of Oileus, holding a shield, stands by an altar, taking an oath about the outrage on Cassandra. Cassandra is sitting on the ground, and holds the image of Athena, for she had knocked over the wooden image from its stand when Ajax was dragging her away from sanctuary. In the painting are also the sons of Atreus, wearing helmets like the others; Menelaos carries a shield, on which is figured a serpent as a memorial of the prodigy that appeared on the victims at Aulis.

[Phokis.26.004] Under those who are administering the oath to Ajax, and in a line with the horse by Nestor, is Neoptolemos, who has killed Elasmus, whoever Elasmus may be. Elasmus is represented as a man only just alive. Astynous, who is also mentioned by Lescheos, has fallen to his knees, and Neoptolemos is striking him with a sword. Neoptolemos is the only one of the Greek army represented by Polygnotus as still killing the Trojans, the reason being that he intended the whole painting to be placed over the tomb of Neoptolemos. The son of Achilles is named Neoptolemos by Homer in all his poetry. The epic poem, however, called Cypria says that Lykomedes named him Pyrrhos, but Phoenix gave him the name of Neoptolemos (young warrior) because Achilles was but young when he first went to war.

[Phokis.26.005] In the picture is an altar, to which a small boy clings in terror. On the altar lies a bronze corselet. At the present day, corselets of this form are rare, but they used to be worn in days of old. They were made of two bronze pieces, one fitting the chest and the parts about the belly, the other intended to protect the back. They were called guala. One was put on in front, and the other behind; then they were fastened together by buckles.

[Phokis.26.006] They were thought to afford sufficient safety even without a shield. That is why Homer [43] speaks of Phorcys the Phrygian as without a shield, because he wore a two piece corselet. Not only have I seen this armor depicted by Polygnotus, but in the temple of Ephesian Artemis, Kalliphon of Samos has painted women fitting on the guala of the corselet of Patroklos.

[Phokis.26.007] Beyond the altar he has painted Laodice standing, whom I do not find among the Trojan captive women enumerated by any poet, so I think that the only probable conclusion is that she was set free by the Greeks. Homer in the Iliad speaks

1520 of the hospitality given to Menelaos and Odysseus by Antenor, and how Laodice was  
 wife to Helicaon, Antenor's son. [44] [Phokis.26.008] Lescheos says that Helicaon, wounded in the night battle, was  
 recognized by Odysseus and carried alive out of the fighting. So the tie binding  
 Menelaos and Odysseus to the house of Antenor makes it unlikely that Agamemnon and  
 Menelaos committed any spiteful act against the wife of Helicaon. The account of  
 1525 Laodice given by the Chalcidian poet Euphorion is entirely unlikely. [Phokis.26.009] Next to Laodice is a stone stand with a bronze washing basin upon it.  
 Medusa is sitting on the ground, holding the stand in both hands. If we are to  
 believe the ode of the poet of Himera, Medusa should be reckoned as one of the  
 daughters of Priam. Beside Medusa is a shaved old woman or eunuch, holding on the  
 1530 knees a naked child. It is represented as holding its hand before its eyes in terror.  
 [Phokis.27.001] There are also corpses: the naked man, Pelis by name, lies thrown on  
 his back, and under Pelis lie Eioneus and Admetos, still clad in their corselets. Of  
 these Lescheos says that Eioneus was killed by Neoptolemos, and Admetos by  
 Philoctetes. Above these are others: under the washing-basin is Leokritos, the son of  
 1535 Poulydamas, killed by Odysseus; beyond Eioneus and Admetos is Coroebus, the son of  
 Mygdon. Of Mygdon, there is a notable tomb on the borders of the Phrygians of  
 Stectorium, and after him, poets are wont to call Phrygians by the name of Mygdones.  
 Coroebus came to marry Cassandra and was killed, according to the more popular  
 account by Neoptolemos, but according to the poet Lescheos, by Diomedes.  
 1540 [Phokis.27.002] Higher up than Coroebus are Priam, Axion, and Agenor. Lescheos says  
 that Priam was not killed at the hearth of the Courtyard God, but that he was dragged  
 away from the altar and fell an easy prey to Neoptolemos at the gate of his own  
 palace. As to Hecuba, Stesichorus says in the Sack of Troy that she was brought by  
 Apollo to Lycia. Lescheos says that Axion was a son of Priam, killed by Eurypylos,  
 1545 the son of Euaemon. According to the same poet, Agenor was slain by Neoptolemos. So  
 it would appear that Ekheklos the son of Agenor was slaughtered by Achilles, and  
 Agenor himself by Neoptolemos. [Phokis.27.003] The body of Laomedon is being carried off by Sinon, a comrade of  
 Odysseus, and Anchialus. There is also in the painting another corpse, that of  
 1550 Eresus. The tale of Eresus and Laomedon, so far as we know, no poet has sung. There  
 is the house of Antenor, with a leopard's skin hanging over the entrance, as a sign  
 to the Greeks to keep their hands off the home of Antenor. There are painted Theano  
 and her sons, Glaukos sitting on a corselet fitted with the two pieces, and  
 Eurymakhos upon a rock. [Phokis.27.004] By the latter stands Antenor, and next to him Crino, a daughter of  
 Antenor. Crino is carrying a baby. The look upon their faces is that of those on whom  
 a calamity has fallen. Servants are lading an donkey with a chest and other  
 furniture. There is also sitting on the donkey a small child. At this part of the  
 1560 painting, there is also an elegiac couplet of Simonides: Polygnotus, a Thasian by  
 birth, son of Aglaophon, Painted a picture of Troy's citadel being sacked.  
 Simonides, unknown location. [Phokis.28.001] The other part of the picture, the one on the left, shows Odysseus,  
 who has descended into what is called Hades to inquire of the soul of Teiresias about  
 his safe return home. The objects depicted are as follow. There is water like a  
 1565 river, clearly intended for Acheron, with reeds growing in it; the forms of the  
 fishes appear so dim that you will take them to be shadows rather than fish. On the  
 river is a boat, with the ferryman at the oars. [Phokis.28.002] Polygnotus followed, I think, the poem called the Minyad. For in this  
 poem occur lines referring to Theseus and Peirithous: Then the boat on which embark  
 1570 the dead, that the old ferryman, Kharon, used to steer, they found not within its  
 moorings. Minyad, an unknown work. For this reason then, Polygnotus too painted  
 Kharon as a man well stricken in years. [Phokis.28.003] Those on board the boat are not altogether distinguished. Tellis  
 appears as a youth in years, and Kleoboia as still a maiden, holding on her knees a  
 1575 chest such as they are wont to make for Demeter. All I heard about Tellis was that  
 Archilochus the poet was his grandson, while as for Kleoboia, they say that she was  
 the first to bring the orgies of Demeter to Thasos from Paros. [Phokis.28.004] On the bank of Acheron, there is a notable group under the boat of  
 Kharon, consisting of a man who had been undutiful to his father and is now being  
 1580 throttled by him. For the men of old held their parents in the greatest respect, as  
 we may infer, among other instances, from those in Catana called the Pious, who, when  
 the fire flowed down on Catana from Aetna, held of no account gold or silver, but  
 when they fled took up, one his mother and another his father. As they struggled on,  
 the fire rushed up and caught them in the flames. Not even so would they put down

- 1585 their parents, and it is said that the stream of lava divided itself in two, and the fire passed on, doing no hurt to either young men or their parents. These Catanians even at the present day receive honors from their fellow countrymen. [Phokis.28.005] Near to the man in Polygnotus' picture who maltreated his father and for this drinks his cup of woe in Hades, is a man who paid the penalty for sacrilege.
- 1590 The woman who is punishing him is skilled in poisonous and other drugs. [Phokis.28.006] So it appears that in those days men laid the greatest stress on piety to the gods, as the Athenians showed when they took the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus at Syracuse; they moved none of the offerings but left the Syracusan priest as their keeper. Datis the Persian too showed his piety in his address to the Delians, and in this act as well, when having found an image of Apollo in a Phoenician ship, he restored it to the Tanagraeans at Delium. So at that time all men held the divine in reverence, and this is why Polygnotus has depicted the punishment of him who committed sacrilege.
- 1595 [Phokis.28.007] Higher up than the figures I have enumerated comes Eurynomos, said by the Delphian guides to be one of the demons in Hades, who eats off all the flesh of the corpses, leaving only their bones. But Homer's *Odyssey*, the poem called the *Minyad*, and the *Returns*, although they tell of Hades and its horrors, know of no demon called Eurynomos. However, I will describe what he is like and his attitude in the painting. He is of a color between blue and black, like that of meat flies; he is showing his teeth and is seated, and under him is spread a vulture's skin.
- 1600 [Phokis.28.008] Next after Eurynomos are Auge of Arcadia and Iphimedeia. Auge visited the house of Teuthras in Mysia, and of all the women with whom Herakles is said to have mated, none gave birth to a son more like his father than she did. Great honors are paid to Iphimedeia by the Carians in Mylasa.
- 1605 [Phokis.29.001] Higher up than the figures I have already enumerated are Perimedes and Eurylokhos, the companions of Odysseus, carrying victims for sacrifice; these are black rams. After them is a man seated, said by the inscription to be Ocnus (Sloth). He is depicted as plaiting a cord, and by him stands a she-donkey, eating up the cord as quickly as it is plaited. They say that this Ocnus was a diligent man with an extravagant wife. Everything he earned by working was quickly spent by his wife.
- 1610 [Phokis.29.002] So they will have it that Polygnotus has painted a parable about the wife of Ocnus. I know also that the Ionians, whenever they see a man laboring at nothing profitable, say that such a figure is plaiting the cord of Ocnus. Ocnus too is the name given to a bird by the seers who observe birds that are ominous. This
- 1615 Ocnus is the largest and most beautiful of the herons, a rare bird if ever there was one. [Phokis.29.003] Tityos too is in the picture; he is no longer being punished but has been reduced to nothing by continuous torture, an indistinct and mutilated phantom. Going on to the next part of the picture, you see very near to the man who is
- 1620 twisting the rope a painting of Ariadne. Seated on a rock, she is looking at her sister Phaedra, who is on a swing grasping in either hand the rope on each side. The attitude, though quite gracefully drawn, makes us infer the manner of Phaedra's death. [Phokis.29.004] Ariadne was taken away from Theseus by Dionysus, who sailed against him with superior forces, and either fell in with Ariadne by chance or else set an ambush to catch her. This Dionysus was, in my opinion, none other than he who was the first to invade India and the first to bridge the river Euphrates. Zeugma (Bridge) was the name given to that part of the country where the Euphrates was bridged, and at the present day, the cable is still preserved with which he spanned the river; it
- 1625 is plaited with branches of the vine and ivy. [Phokis.29.005] Both the Greeks and the Egyptians have many legends about Dionysus. Underneath Phaedra is Chloris leaning against the knees of Thyia. He will not be mistaken who says that all during the lives of these women they remained friends. For Chloris came from Orkhomenos in Boeotia, and the other was a daughter of Kastalios from Parnassos. Other authorities have told their history, how Thyia had connection with Poseidon, and how Chloris wedded Neleus, son of Poseidon.
- 1630 [Phokis.29.006] Beside Thyia stands Procris, the daughter of Erekhtheus, and after her Clymene, who is turning her back to Chloris. The poem the *Returns* says that Clymene was a daughter of Minyas, that she married Cephalus the son of Deion, and that a son Iphiklos was born to them. The story of Procris is told by all men, how she had married Cephalus before Clymene, and in what way she was put to death by her husband.
- 1635 [Phokis.29.007] Farther within from Clymene, you will see Megara from Thebes. This Megara married Herakles but was divorced by him in course of time on the ground that he had lost the children he had by her and so thought that his marriage with her was
- 1640
- 1645
- 1650

unlucky. Above the heads of the women I have enumerated is the daughter of Salmoneus sitting on a rock, beside whom is standing Eriphyle, who is holding up the ends of her fingers along her neck through her tunic, and you will conjecture that in the folds of her tunic, she is holding in one of her hands the famous necklace.

1655 [Phokis.29.008] Beyond Eriphyle have been painted Elpenor and Odysseus. The latter is squatting on his feet, and holding his sword over the trench, towards which the seer Teiresias is advancing. After Teiresias is Anticleia, the mother of Odysseus, upon a rock. Elpenor has on instead of clothes a mat, such as is usual for sailors to wear.

1660 [Phokis.29.009] Lower down than Odysseus are Theseus and Peirithous sitting upon chairs. The former is holding in his hands the sword of Peirithous and his own. Peirithous is looking at the swords, and you might conjecture that he is angry with them for having been useless and of no help in their daring adventures. Panyassis the poet says that Theseus and Peirithous did not sit chained to their chairs but that the rock grew to their flesh and so served as chains.

1665 [Phokis.29.010] The proverbial friendship of Theseus and Peirithous has been mentioned by Homer in both his poems. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus says to the Phaeacians: And now I should have seen more men of former days, whom I wished very much to see, Theseus and Peirithous, renowned children of gods. *Odyssey* 11.631f And in the *Iliad*, he has made Nestor give advice to Agamemnon and Achilles, and speaking among others the following verses: I have never yet seen such men, and I am never likely to see As were Peirithoös, Dryas, shepherd of the folk, Kaineus, Exadios, god-like Polyphemos, And Theseus, son of Aigeus, like to the immortals. *Iliad* 1.262ff

1670 [Phokis.30.001] Next Polygnotus has painted the daughters of Pandareos. Homer makes Penelope say in a speech [45] that the parents of the maidens died because of the wrath of the gods, that they were reared as orphans by Aphrodite and received gifts from other goddesses: from Hera, wisdom and beauty of form; from Artemis, high stature; from Athena, schooling in the works that befit women.

1675 [Phokis.30.002] He goes on to say that Aphrodite ascended into the sky [ouranos], wishing to secure for the girls a happy marriage, and in her absence, they were carried off by the Harpies and given by them to the Furies. This is the story as given by Homer. Polygnotus has painted them as girls garlanded with flowers and playing with dice and gives them the names of Cameiro and Clytie. I must tell you that Pandareos was a Milesian from Miletus in Crete and implicated in the theft of Tantalos and in the trick of the oath.

1680 [Phokis.30.003] After the daughters of Pandareos is Antilokhos, with one foot upon a rock and his face and head resting upon both hands, while after Antilokhos is Agamemnon, leaning on a scepter beneath his left armpit, and holding up a staff in his hands. Protesilaos is seated with his gaze fixed on Achilles. Such is the posture of Protesilaos, and beyond Achilles is Patroklos standing. With the exception of

1685 Agamemnon, these figures have no beard.

1690 [Phokis.30.004] Beyond them has been painted Phokos as a youth, and Iaseus, well bearded, is taking off a ring from the left hand of Phokos. The story about this is as follows. When Phokos, the son of Aiakos, had crossed from Aegina into what is now called Phokis and wished to gain the rule over the men living on that part of the

1695 mainland and to settle there himself, Iaseus conceived a great friendship for him. Among the gifts that Iaseus gave (as friends will) was a seal ring, a stone set in gold. But when Phokos returned, not long afterwards, to Aegina, Peleus at once plotted to kill him. This is the reason why in the painting, as a reminder of their great friendship, Iaseus is anxious to look at the ring, and Phokos has let him take

1700 it.

[Phokis.30.005] Beyond these is Maera sitting on a rock. About her, the poem *Returns* says that she was still a maid when she departed this life, being the daughter of Proitos, son of Thersandros, who was a son of Sisyphus. Next to Maera is Actaeon, son of Aristaios, together with the mother of Actaeon; they hold in their hands a young

1705 deer and are sitting on a deer's skin. A hunting dog lies stretched out beside them, an allusion to Actaeon's mode of life, and to the manner of his death.

[Phokis.30.006] Turning our gaze again to the lower part of the picture we see, next after Patroklos, Orpheus sitting on what seems to be a sort of hill; he grasps with his left hand a harp, and with his right, he touches a willow. It is the branches that he touches, and he is leaning against the tree. The grove seems to be that of Persephone, where grow, as Homer thought, [46] black poplars and willows. The appearance of Orpheus is Greek, and neither his garb nor his headgear is Thracian.

1710 [Phokis.30.007] On the other side of the willow tree Promedon is leaning against it. Some there are who think that the name Promedon is as it were a poetic invention of Polygnotus; others have said that Promedon was a Greek who was fond of listening to

1715 all kinds of music, especially to the singing of Orpheus.

1720 [Phokis.30.008] In this part of the painting is Schedios, who led the men of Phokis to Troy, and after him is Pelias, sitting on a chair, with grey hair and grey beard, and looking at Orpheus. Schedios holds a dagger and is garlanded with grass. Thamyris is sitting near Pelias. He has lost the sight of his eyes; his attitude is one of utter dejection; his hair and beard are long; at his feet lies thrown a lyre with its horns and strings broken.

1725 [Phokis.30.009] Above him is Marsyas, sitting on a rock, and by his side is Olympus, with the appearance of a boy in the bloom of youth learning to play the aulos ['double-reed']. The Phrygians in Kelainai hold that the river passing through the city was once this great aulos player, and they also hold that the Song of the Mother, an air for the aulos ['double-reed'], was composed by Marsyas. They say too that they repelled the army of the Gauls by the aid of Marsyas, who defended them against the barbarians by the water from the river and by the music of his aulos ['double-reed'].

1730 [Phokis.31.001] If you turn your gaze again to the upper part of the painting, you see, next to Actaeon, Ajax of Salamis, and also Palamedes and Thersites playing with dice, the invention of Palamedes; the other Ajax is looking at them as they play. The color of the latter Ajax is like that of a shipwrecked sailor with the brine still rough on the surface of his skin.

1735 [Phokis.31.002] Polygnotus has intentionally gathered into one group the enemies of Odysseus. Ajax, son of Oileus, conceived a hatred of Odysseus, because Odysseus urged the Greeks to stone him for the outrage on Cassandra. Palamedes, as I know from reading the epic poem Cypria, was drowned when he put out to catch fish, and his murderers were Diomedes and Odysseus.

1740 [Phokis.31.003] Meleagros, the son of Oineus, is higher up in the picture than Ajax, the son of Oileus, and he seems to be looking at Ajax. Palamedes has no beard, but the others have. As to the death of Meleagros, Homer [47] says that the Fury heard the curses of Althaea and that this was the cause of the death of Meleagros. But the poem Eoeae, as it is called, and the Minyad agree in giving a different account. For these poems say that Apollo helped the Kouretes against the Aetolians and that Meleagros was killed by Apollo.

1745 [Phokis.31.004] The story about the brand, how it was given by the Fates to Althaea, how Meleagros was not to die before the brand was consumed by fire, and how Althaea burned it up in a passion—this story was first made the subject of a drama by Phrynichus, the son of Polyphradmon, in his Pleuronian Women: For chill doom he escaped not, but a swift flame consumed him, as the brand was destroyed by his terrible mother, contriver of evil. Phrynichus Pleuronian Women, unknown location. However, it appears that Phrynichus did not elaborate the story as a man would his own invention but only touched on it as one already in the mouths of everybody in Greece.

1750 [Phokis.31.005] In the lower part of the picture, after the Thracian Thamyris, comes Hector, who is sitting with both hands clasped about his left knee, in an attitude of deep grief. After him is Memnon, sitting on a rock, and Sarpedon next to Memnon. Sarpedon has his face buried in both hands, and one of Memnon's hands lies on Sarpedon's shoulder.

1755 [Phokis.31.006] All are bearded; and on the cloak of Memnon are embroidered birds. Their name is Memnonides, and the people of the Hellespont say that on stated days every year they go to the tomb of Memnon and sweep all that part of the tomb that is bare of trees or grass and sprinkle it with the water of the Aisepos from their wet wings.

1760 [Phokis.31.007] Beside Memnon is depicted a naked Ethiopian boy, because Memnon was king of the Ethiopian nation. He came to Troy, however, not from Ethiopia, but from Susa in Persia and from the river Choaspes, having subdued all the peoples that lived between these and Troy. The Phrygians still point out the road through which he led his army, picking out the shortest routes. The road is divided up by halting places. [48]

1765 [Phokis.31.008] Beyond Sarpedon and Memnon is Paris, as yet beardless. He is clapping his hands like a boor, and you will say that it is as though Paris were calling Penthesileia to him by the noise of his hands. Penthesileia too is there, looking at Paris, but by the toss of her head, she seems to show her disdain and contempt. In appearance, Penthesileia is a maiden, carrying a bow like Scythian bows, and wearing a leopard's skin on her shoulders.

1770 [Phokis.31.009] The women beyond Penthesileia are carrying water in broken pitchers; one is depicted as in the bloom of youth, the other is already advanced in years. There is no separate inscription on either woman, but there is one common to the pair, which states that they are of the number of the uninitiated.

1785 [Phokis.31.010] Higher up than these is Kallisto, daughter of Lykaon, Nomia, and Pero, daughter of Neleus. As her bride price, Neleus asked for the oxen of Iphiklos. Instead of a mattress, Kallisto has a bearskin, and her feet are lying on Nomia's knees. I have already mentioned that the Arcadians say that Nomia [49] is a nymph native to their country. The poets say that the nymphs live for a great number of years but are not altogether exempt from death. After Kallisto and the women with her is the form of a cliff, and Sisyphus, the son of Aeolus, is trying his hardest to

1790 push the rock up it.

[Phokis.31.011] There is also in the painting a jar and an old man with a boy and two women. One of these, who is young, is under the rock; the other is beside the old man and of a like age to his. The others are carrying water, but you will guess that the old woman's water jar is broken. All that remains of the water in the sherd, she is

1795 pouring out again into the jar. We inferred that these people too were of those who had held of no account the rites at Eleusis. For the Greeks of an earlier period looked upon the Eleusinian mysteries as being as much higher than all other religious acts as gods are higher than heroes.

[Phokis.31.012] Under this jar is Tantalos, enduring all the pains that Homer [50] speaks of, and in addition, the terror of the stone that hangs over him. Polygnotus has plainly followed the account of Archilochus, but I do not know whether Archilochus borrowed from others the story of the stone or whether it was an invention of his that he introduced into his poem. So great is the number of the figures and so many are their beauties in this painting of the Thasian artist.

1805 [Phokis.32.001] THEATRE AT DELPHI Adjoining the sacred enclosure is a theater worth seeing, and on coming up from the enclosure [...] and here is an image of Dionysus, dedicated by the people of Knidos. The Delphian race course is on the highest part of their city. It was made of the stone that is most common about Parnassos until Herodes the Athenian rebuilt it of Pentelic marble. Such in my day the objects

1810 remaining in Delphi that are worth recording.

[Phokis.32.002] THE CORYCIAN CAVE On the way from Delphi to the summit of Parnassos, about sixty stades distant from Delphi, there is a bronze image. The ascent to the Corycian cave is easier for an active walker than it is for mules or horses. I mentioned a little earlier in my narrative [51] that this cave was named after a

1815 nymph called Corycia, and of all the caves I have ever seen, this seemed to me the best worth seeing.

[Phokis.32.003] It would be impossible to discover even the mere number of caves whose entrances face the beach or the deep sea, but the most famous ones in Greek or in foreign lands are the following. The Phrygians on the river Pencelas, and those who came to this land originally from the Azanians in Arcadia, show visitors a cave called Steunos, which is round and handsome in its loftiness. It is sacred to the Mother, and there is an image of her.

[Phokis.32.004] Themisionium above Laodiceia is also inhabited by Phrygians. When the army of the Gauls was laying waste Ionia and the borders of Ionia, the Themisionians say that they were helped by Herakles, Apollo, and Hermes, who revealed to their magistrates in dreams a cave and commanded that in it should be hidden the Themisionians with their wives and children.

[Phokis.32.005] This is the reason why in front of the cave they have set up small images, called Gods of the Cave, of Herakles, Hermes, and Apollo. The cave is some thirty stades distant from the city and in it are springs of water. There is no entrance to it; the sunlight does not reach very far, and the greater part of the roof lies quite close to the floor.

[Phokis.32.006] There is also near Magnesia on the river Lethaios a place called Aulæ (Halls), where there is a cave sacred to Apollo, not very remarkable for its size, but the image of Apollo is very old indeed, and bestows strength equal to any task. The men sacred to the god leap down from sheer precipices and high rocks, and uprooting trees of exceeding height walk with their burdens down the narrowest of paths.

[Phokis.32.007] But the Corycian cave exceeds in size those I have mentioned, and it is possible to make one's way through the greater part of it even without lights. The roof stands at a sufficient height from the floor, and water, rising in part from springs but still more dripping from the roof, has made clearly visible the marks of drops on the floor throughout the cave. The dwellers around Parnassos believe it to be sacred to the Corycian nymphs and especially to Pan. From the Corycian cave, it is

1845 difficult even for an active walker to reach the heights of Parnassos. The heights are above the clouds, and the Thyiad women rave there in honor of Dionysus and Apollo.

[Phokis.32.008] TITHOREA Tithorea is, I should guess, about one hundred and eighty

1850 stades distant from Delphi on the road across Parnassos. This road is not mountainous throughout, being fit even for vehicles but was said to be several stades longer. I am aware that Herodotus [52] in his account of the Persian invasion gives the town a different name from that given to it in the oracles of Bacis.

[Phokis.32.009] For Bacis called the inhabitants Tithoreans, but the account of them in Herodotus states that during the advance of the barbarians, the people dwelling here fled up to the summit and that the city's name was Neon, Tithorea being the name of the peak of Parnassos. It appears then that at first Tithorea was the name applied to the whole district; but in course of time, when the people migrated from the villages, the city too came to be called Tithorea, and not Neon any longer. The natives say that Tithorea was so called after a nymph of the same name, one of those who in days of old, according to the story of the poets, grew out of trees and especially out of oaks.

1855 [Phokis.32.010] One generation before I was born, the superhuman force [daimōn] made the fortunes of Tithorea decay. There are the buildings of a theater, and the enclosure of a rather ancient marketplace. The most noteworthy objects in the city are the grove, temple, and image of Athena. There is also the tomb of Antiope and Phokos. I have already in my account of Thebes mentioned [53] how Antiope went mad because of the wrath of Dionysus, and the reason why she brought on herself the anger of the god;

1860 [Phokis.32.011] I have also told how Phokos, the son of Ornytion, fell in love with her, how she married him and is buried with him, and what Bacis the soothsayer says about this tomb in common with that of Zethus and Amphion at Thebes. I found nothing else remarkable in the town except what I have already mentioned. Running past the city of Tithorea is a river that gives the inhabitants drinking water. They go down to the bank and draw the water up. The name of the river is Cachales.

1865 [Phokis.32.012] NEAR TITHOREA Seventy stades distant from Tithorea is a temple of Asklepios called Arkhagetas (Founder). He receives divine honors from the Tithoreans and no less from the other people of Phokis. Within the precincts are dwellings for both the suppliants of the god and his servants. In the middle is the temple of the god and an image made of stone, having a beard more than two feet long. A couch is set on the right of the image. It is usual to sacrifice to the god any animal except the goat.

1870 [Phokis.32.013] About forty stades distant from Asklepios is a precinct and shrine sacred to Isis, the holiest of all those made by the Greeks for the Egyptian goddess. For the Tithoreans think it wrong to dwell round about it, and no one may enter the shrine except those whom Isis herself has honored by inviting them in dreams. The same rule is observed in the cities above the Maeander by the gods of the lower world; for to all whom they wish to enter their shrines they send visions seen in dreams.

1875 [Phokis.32.014] In the country of the Tithoreans, a festival in honor of Isis is held twice each year, one in spring and the other in autumn. On the third day, before each of the feasts, those who have permission to enter cleanse the shrine in a certain secret way and also take and bury, always in the same spot, whatever remnants they may find of the victims thrown in at the previous festival. We estimated that the distance from the shrine to this place was two stades.

1880 [Phokis.32.015] So on this day, they perform these acts about the sanctuary, and on the next day, the small traders make themselves booths of reeds or other improvised material. On the last of the three days, they hold a fair, selling slaves, cattle of all kinds, clothes, silver, and gold.

1885 [Phokis.32.016] After midday, they turn to sacrificing. The more wealthy sacrifice oxen and deer, the poorer people geese and guinea fowl. But it is not the custom to use for the sacrifice sheep, pigs, or goats. Those whose business it is to burn the victims [54] and send them into the shrine [...] having made a beginning must wrap the victims in bandages of coarse or fine linen; the mode of preparing is the Egyptian.

1890 [Phokis.32.017] All that they have devoted to sacrifice are led in procession; some send the victims into the shrine, while others burn the booths before the shrine and themselves go away in haste. They say that once a profane man, who was not one of those descending into the shrine, when the pyre began to burn, entered the shrine to satisfy his rash inquisitiveness. It is said that everywhere he saw ghosts, and on returning to Tithorea and telling what he had seen, he departed this life.

1895 [Phokis.32.018] I have heard a similar story from a man of Phoenicia, that the Egyptians hold the feast for Isis at a time when they say she is mourning for Osiris. At this time the Nile begins to rise, and it is a saying among many of the natives that what makes the river rise and water their fields is the tears of Isis. At that time then, so said my Phoenician, the Roman governor of Egypt bribed a man to go down

- 1915 into the shrine of Isis in Coptus. The man dispatched into the shrine returned indeed  
out of it, but after relating what he had seen, he too, so I was told, died  
immediately. So it appears that Homer's verse [55] speaks the truth when it says that  
it bodes no good to man to see godhead face to face.
- 1920 [Phokis.32.019] The olive oil of Tithorea is less abundant than Attic or Sikyonian  
oil, but in color and pleasantness, it surpasses Iberian oil and that from the island  
of Istria. They distill all manner of unguents from the oil and also send it to the  
Emperor.
- 1925 [Phokis.33.001] LEDON Another road from Tithorea is the one that leads to Ledon.  
Once Ledon also was considered a city, but in my day, the Ledontians owing to their  
weakness, had abandoned the city, and the dwellers on the Kephisos were about seventy  
people. Still, the name of Ledon is given to their dwellings, and the citizens, like  
the Panopeans, have the right to be represented at the general assembly of the people  
of Phokis. The ruins of the ancient Ledon are forty stades farther up from these  
dwellers on the Kephisos. They say that the city took its name from an aborigine.
- 1930 [Phokis.33.002] Other cities have incurred incurable harm through the sin of their  
own citizens, but Troy's ruin was complete when it fell through the outrage that  
Alexander committed against Menelaos, and Miletus through the lack of control shown  
by Histiaios, and his passionate desire, now to possess the city in the land of the  
Edonians, now to be admitted to the councils of Dareios, and now to go back to Ionia.
- 1935 Again, Philomelus brought on the community of Ledon the punishment to be paid for the  
crime of his own impiety.
- 1940 [Phokis.33.003] LILAEA Lilaea is a winter day's journey distant from Delphi; we  
estimated the length of the road, which goes across and down Parnassos, to be one  
hundred and eighty stades. Even after their city had been restored, its inhabitants  
were fated to suffer a second disaster at the hands of the Macedonians. Besieged by  
Philip, the son of Demetrios, they made terms and surrendered, and a garrison was  
brought into the city, until a native of the city, whose name was Patron, united  
against the garrison those of the citizens who were of military age conquered the  
Macedonians in battle and forced them to withdraw under a truce. In return for this  
good deed, the Lilaeans dedicated his statue at Delphi.
- 1945 [Phokis.33.004] In Lilaea are also a theater, a marketplace, and baths. There is also  
a sanctuary of Apollo, and one of Artemis. The images are standing, of Attic  
workmanship, and of marble from the Pentelic quarries. They say that Lilaea was one  
of the Naids, as they are called, a daughter of the Kephisos, and that after this  
nymph the city was named. Here the river has its source.
- 1950 [Phokis.33.005] It is not always quiet when it rises from the ground, but it usually  
happens that at about midday, it makes a noise as it wells up. You could compare the  
roar of the water to the bellowing of a bull. Lilaea has a temperate climate in  
autumn, in summer, and in spring; but Mount Parnassos prevents the winter from being  
correspondingly mild.
- 1955 [Phokis.33.006] CHARADRA & PARAPOTAMII Kharadra is twenty stades distant, situated  
on the top of a lofty crag. The inhabitants are badly off for water; their drinking  
water is the river Kharadros, and they have to go down about three stades to reach  
it. This river is a tributary of the Kephisos, and it seems to me that the town was  
named after the Kharadros. In the marketplace at Kharadra are altars of Heroes, as  
they are called, said by some to be the Dioskouroi, by others to be local heroes.
- 1960 [Phokis.33.007] The land beside the Kephisos is distinctly the best in Phokis for  
planting, sowing and pasture. This part of the district, too, is the one most under  
cultivation, so that there is a saying that the verse, And they who dwelled beside  
the divine river Kephisos Iliad 2.522 alludes, not to a city Parapotamii  
(Riverside), but to the farmers beside the Kephisos.
- 1965 [Phokis.33.008] The saying, however, is at variance with the history of Herodotus  
[56] as well as with the records of victories at the Pythian Games. For the Pythian  
Games were first held by the Amphiktyones, and at this first meeting a Parapotamian  
of the name of Aechmeas won the prize in the boxing match for boys. Similarly  
Herodotus, enumerating the cities that King Xerxes burned in Phokis, includes among  
them the city of Parapotamii. However, Parapotamii was not restored by the Athenians  
and Boeotians, but the inhabitants, being poverty stricken and few in number, were  
distributed among the other cities. I found no ruins of Parapotamii left, nor is the  
site of the city remembered.
- 1975 [Phokis.33.009] AMPHICLEIA The road from Lilaea to Amphicleia is sixty stades. The  
name of this Amphicleia has been corrupted by the native inhabitants. Herodotus,  
following the most ancient account, called it Amphicaea; but the Amphiktyones, when  
they published their decree for the destruction of the cities in Phokis, gave it the  
name of Amphicleia. The natives tell about it the following story. A certain chief,
- 1980

- suspecting that enemies were plotting against his baby son, put the child in a vessel, and hid him in that part of the land where he knew there would be most security. Now a wolf attacked the child, but a serpent coiled itself round the vessel, and kept up a strict watch.
- 1985 [Phokis.33.010] When the child's father came, supposing that the serpent had purposed to attack the child, he threw his javelin, which killed the serpent and his son as well. But being informed by the shepherds that he had killed the benefactor and protector of his child, he made one common pyre for both the serpent and his son. Now they say that even today the place resembles a burning pyre, maintaining that after
- 1990 this serpent the city was called Ophiteia.
- [Phokis.33.011] They celebrate orgies, well worth seeing, in honor of Dionysus, but there is no entrance to the shrine, nor have they any image that can be seen. The people of Amphicleia say that this god is their prophet and their helper in disease. The diseases of the Amphicleans themselves and of their neighbors are cured by means
- 1995 of dreams. The oracles of the god are given by the priest, who utters them when under the divine inspiration.
- [Phokis.33.012] DRYMAEA Fifteen stades away from Amphicleia is Tithronium, lying on a plain. It contains nothing remarkable. From Tithronium it is twenty stades to Drymaea. At the place where this road joins at the Kephisos the straight road from
- 2000 Amphicleia to Drymaea, [57] the Tithronians have a grove and altars of Apollo. There has also been made a temple, but no image. Drymaea is eighty stades distant from Amphicleia, on the left ... according to the account in Herodotus, [58] but in earlier days Naubolenses. The inhabitants say that their founder was Naubolus, son of Phokos, son of Aiakos. At Drymaea is an ancient sanctuary of Demeter Lawgiver, with a
- 2005 standing image made of stone. Every year they hold a feast in her honor, the Thesmophoria.
- [Phokis.34.001] ELATEIA Elateia is, with the exception of Delphi, the largest city in Phokis. It lies over against Amphicleia, and the road to it from Amphicleia is one hundred and eighty stades long, level for the most part, but with an upward gradient for a short distance quite close to the town of Elateia. In the plain flows the
- 2010 Kephisos, and the most common bird to live along its banks is the bustard.
- [Phokis.34.002] The people of Elateia were successful in repelling the Macedonian army under Kassandros, and they managed to escape from the war that Taxilos, general of Mithridates, brought against them. In return for this deed the Romans have given
- 2015 them the privilege of living in the country free and immune from taxation. They claim to be of foreign stock, saying that of old they came from Arcadia. For they say that when the Phlegyans marched against the sanctuary at Delphi, Elatos, the son of Arkas, came to the assistance of the god, and with his army stayed behind in Phokis, becoming the founder of Elateia.
- 2020 [Phokis.34.003] Elateia must be numbered among the cities of the people of Phokis burned by the Persians. Some disasters were shared by Elateia with the other people of Phokis, but she had peculiar calamities of her own, inflicted by fate at the hands of the Macedonians. In the war waged by Kassandros, it is Olympiodoros who must
- 2025 receive most credit for the Macedonians being forced to abandon a siege. Philip, the son of Demetrios, reduced the people of Elateia to the utmost terror, and at the same time seduced by bribery the more powerful of the citizens.
- [Phokis.34.004] Titus, the Roman governor, who had a commission from Rome to give all Greeks their freedom, promised to give back to Elateia its ancient constitution, and by messengers made overtures to its citizens to secede from Macedonia. But either
- 2030 they or their government were stupid enough to be faithful to Philip, and the Romans reduced them by siege. Later on the people of Elateia held out when besieged by the barbarians of Pontos under the command of Taxilos, the general of Mithridates. As a reward for this deed the Romans gave them their freedom.
- [Phokis.34.005] An army of bandits, called the Kostoboes, who overran Greece in my
- 2035 day, visited among other cities Elateia. Whereupon a certain Mnesiboulos gathered round him a company of men and put to the sword many of the barbarians, but he himself fell in the fighting. This Mnesiboulos won several prizes for running, among which were prizes for the foot-race, and for the double race with shield, at the two hundred and thirty-fifth Olympic festival. [59] In Runner Street at Elateia there
- 2040 stands a bronze statue of Mnesiboulos.
- [Phokis.34.006] The marketplace itself is worth seeing, and so is the figure of Elatos carved in relief upon a slab. I do not know for certain whether they made the slab to honor him as their founder or merely to serve as a tombstone to his tomb. A temple has been built to Asklepios, with a bearded image of the god. The names of the
- 2045 makers of the image are Timokles and Timarchides, artists of Attic birth. At the end of the city on the right is a theater, and an ancient bronze image of Athena. They

say that this goddess helped them against the barbarians under Taxilos.  
 [Phokis.34.007] About twenty stades away from Elateia is a sanctuary of Athena  
 2050 surnamed Cranaea. The road to it slopes upwards, but so gentle is the ascent that it  
 causes no fatigue—in fact one scarcely notices it. At the end of the road is a hill  
 which, though for the most part precipitous, is neither very large nor very high. On  
 this hill the sanctuary has been built, with porticoes and dwellings through them,  
 where live those whose duty it is to wait on the god, chief of whom is the priest.  
 2055 [Phokis.34.008] They choose the priest from boys who have not yet reached the age of  
 puberty, taking care beforehand that his term of office shall run out before puberty  
 arrives. The office lasts for five successive years, during which the priest boards  
 with the goddess, and bathes in tubs after the ancient manner. This image too was  
 made by the sons of Polykles. It is armed as for battle, and on the shield is worked  
 in relief a copy of what in Athens is wrought on the shield of her whom the Athenians  
 2060 call the Virgin.  
 [Phokis.35.001] ABABE To reach Abae and Hyampolis from Elateia you may go along a  
 mountain road on the right of the city of Elateia, but the highway from Orkhomenos to  
 Opus also leads to those cities. If then you go along the road from Orkhomenos to  
 Opus, and turn off a little to the left, you reach the road to Abae. The people of  
 2065 Abae say that they came to Phokis from Argos, and that the city got its name from  
 Abas, the founder, who was a son of Lynkeus and of Hypermnestra, the daughter of  
 Danails. Abae from of old has been considered sacred to Apollo, and here too there  
 was an oracle of that god.  
 [Phokis.35.002] The treatment that the god at Abae received at the hands of the  
 2070 Persians was very different from the honor paid him by the Romans. For while the  
 Romans have given freedom of government to Abae because of their reverence for  
 Apollo, the army of Xerxes burned down, as it did others, the sanctuary at Abae. The  
 Greeks who opposed the barbarians resolved not to rebuild the sanctuaries burned down  
 by them, but to leave them for all time as memorials of their hatred. This too is the  
 2075 reason why the temples in the territory of Haliartos, as well as the Athenian temples  
 of Hera on the road to Phaleron and of Demeter at Phaleron, still remain half-burned  
 even at the present day.  
 [Phokis.35.003] Such, I suppose, was the appearance of the sanctuary at Abae also,  
 after the Persian invasion, until in the war of the people of Phokis some of their  
 2080 men, overcome in battle, took refuge in Abae. Whereupon the Thebans gave them to the  
 flames, and with the refugees the sanctuary, which was thus burned down a second  
 time. However, it still stood even in my time, the frailest of buildings ever damaged  
 by fire, seeing that the ruin begun by the Persian incendiaries was completed by the  
 incendiaries of Boeotia.  
 2085 [Phokis.35.004] Beside the large temple there is another, but smaller in size, made  
 for Apollo by the emperor Hadrian. The images are of earlier date, being dedicated by  
 the Abaeans themselves; they are made of bronze, and all alike are standing, Apollo,  
 Leto and Artemis. At Abae there is a theater, and also a marketplace, both of ancient  
 construction.  
 2090 [Phokis.35.005] HYAMPOLIS Returning to the straight road to Opus, you come next to  
 Hyampolis. Its mere name tells you who the inhabitants originally were, and the place  
 from which they were expelled when they came to this land. For it was the Hyantes of  
 Thebes who came here when they fled from Kadmos and his army. In earlier times the  
 2095 city was called by its neighbors the city of the Hyantes, but in course of time the  
 name of Hyampolis prevailed over the other.  
 [Phokis.35.006] Although Xerxes had burned down the city, and afterwards Philip had  
 razed it to the ground, nevertheless there were left the structure of an old  
 marketplace, a council-chamber (a building of no great size) and a theater not far  
 2100 from the gates. The emperor Hadrian built a portico which bears the name of the  
 emperor who dedicated it. The citizens have one well only. This is their sole supply,  
 both for drinking and for washing; from no other source can they get water, save only  
 from the winter rains.  
 [Phokis.35.007] Above all other divinities they worship Artemis, of whom they have a  
 2105 temple. The image of her I cannot describe, for their rule is to open the sanctuary  
 twice, and not more often, every year. They say that whatever cattle they consecrate  
 to Artemis grow up immune to disease and fatter than other cattle.  
 [Phokis.35.008] STIRIS The straight road to Delphi that leads through Panopeus and  
 past Daulis and the Cleft Way, is not the only pass from Khaironeia to Phokis. There  
 2110 is another road, rough and for the most part mountainous, that leads from Khairōneia  
 to the city of Stiris in Phokis. The length of the road is one hundred and twenty  
 stades. The inhabitants assert that by descent they are from Phokis, but from Athens,  
 and that they came from Attica with Peteos, the son of Orneus, when he was pursued

- 2115 from Athens by Aigeus. They add that, because the greater part of those who accompanied Peteos came from the district [dēmos] known as Stireis, the city received the name of Stiris.
- [Phokis.35.009] The people of Stiris have their dwellings on a high and rocky site. For this reason they suffer from a shortage of water in summer; the wells are few, and the water is bad that they supply. These wells give washing-water to the people and drinking-water to the beasts of burden, but for their own drinking water the
- 2120 people go down about four stades and draw it from a spring. The spring is in a hole dug into the rocks, and they go down to it to fetch water.
- [Phokis.35.010] In Stiris is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Stiria. It is of unburned brick; the image is of Pentelic marble, and the goddess is holding torches. Beside her, bound [60] with ribbons, is an image of Demeter, as ancient as any of
- 2125 that goddess that exists.
- [Phokis.36.001] AMBROSSUS From Stiris to Ambrossus is about six stades. The road is flat, lying on the level with mountains on both sides of it. The greater part of the plain is covered with vines, and in the territory of Ambrossus grow shrubs, though
- 2130 not close together like the vines. This shrub the Ionians, as well as the rest of the Greeks, call kokkos, and the Gauls above Phrygia call it in their native speech hys. This kokkos grows to the size of what is called the rhamnos; the leaves are darker and softer than those of the mastich tree, though in other respects the two are alike.
- [Phokis.36.002] Its fruit is like the fruit of the nightshade, and its size is about that of the bitter vetch. There breeds in the fruit of the kokkos a small creature. If this should reach the air when the fruit has ripened, it becomes in appearance like a gnat, and immediately flies away. But as it is they gather the fruit of the kokkos before the creature begins to move, and the blood of the creature serves as a
- 2135 dye for wool.
- [Phokis.36.003] Ambrossus lies at the foot of Mount Parnassos, on the side opposite to Delphi. They say that the city was named after Ambrossus, a hero. On going to war with Philip and his Macedonians the Thebans drew round Ambrossus a double wall. It is made of a local stone, black in color and very hard indeed. Each ring of wall is a
- 2140 little less than a fathom broad, and two and a half fathoms in height except where it has broken down.
- [Phokis.36.004] The interval between the first ring and the second is a fathom. The building of towers, of battlements, or of any ornament, has been entirely neglected, as the only object the citizens had in constructing the walls was immediate
- 2145 protection. There is a small marketplace at Ambrossus, and of the stone statues set up in it most are broken.
- [Phokis.36.005] ANTICYRA The road to Anticyra is at first uphill. About two stades up the slope is a level place, and on the right of the road is a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Dictynnaean, a goddess worshipped with great reverence by citizens. The
- 2155 image is of Aeginetan workmanship, and made of a black stone. From the sanctuary of the Dictynnaean goddess the road is downhill all the way to Anticyra. They say that in days of old the name of the city was Kyparissos, and that Homer in the list of the men of Phokis [61] was determined to call it by this name, although it was called Anticyra in Homer's day, because Anticyreus was a contemporary of Herakles.
- [Phokis.36.006] The city is situated in front of the ruins of Medeon. I have
- 2160 mentioned in the beginning of my account of Phokis that the people of Anticyra were guilty of sacrilege against the sanctuary at Delphi. [62] They were driven from home by Philip, son of Amyntas, and yet once more by the Roman Otilius, because they were subjects of the Macedonian king Philip, son of Demetrios. Otilius had been despatched from Rome to help the Athenians against Philip.
- 2165 [Phokis.36.007] The mountains beyond Anticyra are very rocky, and on them grows hellebore in great profusion. Black hellebore sends those who take it to stool, and purges the bowels; the nature of the other, the white kind, is to purge by vomiting. It is the root of the hellebore which is used as a purging drug.
- [Phokis.36.008] In the marketplace at Anticyra are bronze statues, and at the harbor
- 2170 is a small sanctuary of Poseidon, built of unhewn stones. The inside is covered with stucco. The image, which is made of bronze, is a standing figure, with one foot resting on a dolphin. On this side he has one hand upon his thigh; in his other hand is a trident.
- [Phokis.36.009] Opposite the gymnasium, in which the baths have been made, is another
- 2175 gymnasium, an old one, in which stands a bronze statue. The inscription on it says that Xenodamos of Anticyra, a contestant in the pankration, won an Olympic victory in the match for men. If the inscription speaks the truth, it would seem that Xenodamos received the wild olive at the two hundred and eleventh Olympic festival. [63] But

- this is the only festival omitted in the Eleian records.
- 2180 [Phokis.36.010] Beyond the marketplace, there is in a well a spring of water. Over the well there is a roof to shelter it from the sun, with columns to support the roof. A little higher up than the well is a tomb built of any stones that were on hand. Here they say are buried the sons of Iphitos; one returned safe from Troy and died in his native land; the other, Schedios, died, they say, in the Troad, but his
- 2185 bones also were brought home.
- [Phokis.37.001] About two stades off the city there is, on the right, a high rock, which forms part of a mountain, with a sanctuary of Artemis built upon it. The image of Artemis is one of the works of Praxiteles; she carries a torch in her right hand and a quiver over her shoulders, while at her left side there is a dog. The image is
- 2190 taller than the tallest woman.
- [Phokis.37.002] BULIS Bordering on the territory of Phokis is a land named after Boulon, the leader of the colony, which was founded by a union of emigrants from the cities in ancient Doris. The people of Boulis are said of Philomelus and the men of Phokis ... the general assembly. To Boulis from Thisbe in Boeotia is a journey of
- 2195 eighty stades; but I do not know if in Phokis there be a road by land at all from Antikyra, so rough and difficult to cross are the mountains between Antikyra and Boulis. To the harbor from Antikyra is a sail of one hundred stades, and the road by land from the harbor to Boulis we conjectured to be about seven stades long.
- [Phokis.37.003] Here a torrent falls into the sea, called by the natives Herakleios. Boulis lies on high ground, and it is passed by travellers crossing by sea from
- 2200 Antikyra to Lekhaion in Corinthian territory. More than half its inhabitants are fishers of the shellfish that produces the purple dye. The buildings in Boulis are not so wondrous; among them is a sanctuary of Artemis and one of Dionysus. The images are made of wood, but we were unable to judge who was the artist. The god worshipped
- 2205 most by the people of Boulis is named by them Megistos 'the Greatest', a surname, I should think, of Zeus. At Boulis there is a spring called Saunion.
- [Phokis.37.004] CIRRHA The length of the road from Delphi to Cirrha, the port of Delphi, is sixty stades. Descending to the plain you come to a race-course, where at the Pythian Games the horses compete. I have told in my account of Elis [64] the
- 2210 story of the Taraxippos at Olympia, and it is likely that the race-course of Apollo too may possibly harm here and there a driver, for the superhuman force [daimōn] in every activity of man bestows either better fortune or worse. But the race-course itself is not of a nature to startle the horses, either by reason of a hero or on any other account.
- 2215 [Phokis.37.005] The plain from Cirrha is altogether bare, and the inhabitants will not plant trees, either because the land is under a curse, or because they know that the ground is useless for growing trees. It is said that to Cirrha - and they say that from Cirrha the place received its modern name. Homer, however, in the Iliad, [65] and similarly in the hymn to Apollo, [66] calls the city by its ancient name of Crisa. Afterwards the people of Cirrha behaved wickedly towards Apollo; especially in
- 2220 appropriating some of the god's land.
- [Phokis.37.006] So the Amphiktyones determined to make war on the Cirrhaeans, put Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sikyon, at the head of their army, and brought over Solon from Athens to give them advice. They asked the oracle about victory, and the Pythian
- 2225 priestess replied: You will not take and throw down the tower of this city, Until on my precinct shall dash the wave Of blue-eyed Amphitrite, roaring over the winedark sea. So Solon induced them to consecrate to the god the territory of Cirrha, in order that the sea might become neighbor to the precinct of Apollo.
- [Phokis.37.007] Solon invented another trick to outwit the Cirrhaeans. The water of the river Pleistos ran along a channel to the city, and Solon diverted it in another
- 2230 direction. When the Cirrhaeans still held out against the besiegers, drinking well-water and rainwater, Solon threw into the Pleistos roots of hellebore, and when he perceived that water held enough of the drug he diverted it back again into its channel. The Cirrhaeans drank without stint of the water, and those on the wall,
- 2235 seized with obstinate diarrhoea, deserted their posts,
- [Phokis.37.008] and the Amphiktyones captured the city. They exacted punishment from the Cirrhaeans on behalf of the god, and Cirrha is the port of Delphi. Its notable sights include a temple of Apollo, Artemis and Leto, with very large images of Attic workmanship. Adrasteia has been set up by the Cirrhaeans in the same place, but she
- 2240 is not so large as the other images.
- [Phokis.38.001] OZOLIAN LOCRI, MYTHICAL HISTORY The territory people of Lokris that is called Ozolian adjoins Phokis opposite Cirrha. I have heard various stories about the surname of these people of Lokris, all of which I will tell my readers. Orestheus, son of Deukalion, king of the land, had a bitch that gave birth to a stick

- 2245 instead of a puppy. Orestheus buried the stick, and in the spring, it is said, a vine grew from it, and from the branches (ozoi) of the stick the people got their name. [Phokis.38.002] Others believe that Nessus, ferrying on the Evenus, was wounded by Herakles, but not killed on the spot, making his escape to this country; when he died his body rotted unburied, imparting a foul stench to the atmosphere of the place.
- 2250 The third story says that the exhalations from a certain river, and its very water, have a peculiar smell; the fourth, that asphodel grows in great abundance and when in flower [...] because of the smell. [Phokis.38.003] Another story says that the first dwellers here were aboriginals, but as yet not knowing how to weave garments they used to make themselves a protection
- 2255 against the cold out of the untanned skins of beasts, turning outwards the shaggy side of the skins for the sake of a good appearance. So their own skins were sure to smell as badly as did the hides. [Phokis.38.004] AMPHISSA One hundred and twenty stades away from Delphi is Amphissa, the largest and most renowned city of Lokris. The people hold that they are
- 2260 Aetolians, being ashamed of the name of Ozolians. Support is given to this view by the fact that, when the Roman emperor [67] drove the Aetolians from their homes in order to found the new city of Nikopolis, the greater part of the people went away to Amphissa. The originated, however, from the people of Lokris. It is said that the name of the city is derived from Amphissa, daughter of Macar, son of Aeolus, and that
- 2265 Apollo was her lover. [Phokis.38.005] The city is beautifully constructed, and its most notable objects are the tomb of Amphissa and the tomb of Andraemon. With him was buried, they say, his wife Gorge, daughter of Oineus. On the citadel of Amphissa is a temple of Athena, with a standing image of bronze, brought, they say, from Troy by Thoas, being part of
- 2270 the spoils of that city. But I cannot accept the story. [Phokis.38.006] For I have stated in an earlier part of my work [68] that two Samians, Rhoecus, son of Philaios, and Theodoros, son of Telekles, discovered how to found bronze most perfectly, and were the first casters of that metal. I have found extant no work of Theodoros, at least no work of bronze. But in the sanctuary of
- 2275 Ephesian Artemis, as you enter the building containing the pictures, there is a stone wall above the altar of Artemis called Goddess of the First Seat. Among the images that stand upon the wall is a statue of a woman at the end, a work of Rhoecus, called by the Ephesians Night. [Phokis.38.007] A mere glance shows that this image is older, and of rougher
- 2280 workmanship, than the Athena in Amphissa. The Amphissians also celebrate mysteries in honor of the Boy Kings, as they are called. Their accounts as to who of the gods the Boy Kings are do not agree; some say they are the Dioskouroi, others the Kouretes, and others, who pretend to have fuller knowledge, hold them to be the Cabeiri. [Phokis.38.008] MYONIA These people of Lokris also possess the following cities. Farther inland from Amphissa, and above it, is Myonia, thirty stades distant from it. Its people are those who dedicated the shield to Zeus at Olympia. The town lies upon a height, and it has a grove and an altar of the Gracious Gods. The sacrifices to the Gracious Gods are offered at night, and their rule is to consume the meat on the spot before sunrise. Beyond the city is a precinct of Poseidon, called Poseidonium, and a
- 2290 temple of Poseidon is in it. But the image had disappeared before my time. [Phokis.38.009] OEANTHEIA These, then, live above Amphissa. On the coast is Oiantheia, neighbor to which is Naupaktos. The others, but not Amphissa, are under the government of the Achaeans of Patrae, the emperor Augustus having granted them this privilege. In Oiantheia is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and a little beyond the
- 2295 city there is a grove of cypress trees mixed with pines; in the grove is a temple of Artemis with an image. The paintings on the walls I found had lost their color with time, and nothing of them was still left worth seeing. [Phokis.38.010] NAUPACTUS I gather that the city got its name from a woman or a nymph, while as for Naupaktos, I have heard it said that the Dorians under the sons
- 2300 of Aristomakhos built here the vessels in which they crossed to the Peloponnesus, thus, it is said, giving to the place its name. [69] My account of Naupaktos, how the Athenians took it from the people of Lokris and gave it as a home to those who seceded to Ithome at the time of the earthquake at Lacedaemon, and how, after the Athenian disaster at Aigospotamoi, the Lacedaemonians expelled the Messenians from
- 2305 Naupaktos, all this I have fully related in my history of Messenia. [70] When the Messenians were forced to leave, the people of Lokris gathered again at Naupaktos. [Phokis.38.011] The epic poem called the Naupactia by the Greeks is by most people assigned to a poet of Miletus, while Kharon, the son of Pythes, says that it is a composition of Karkinos of Naupaktos. I am one of those who agree with the
- 2310 Lampsacanian writer. For what reason could there be in giving the name of Naupactia

to a poem about women composed by an author of Miletus?

2315 [Phokis.38.012] Here there is on the coast a temple of Poseidon with a standing image made of bronze; there is also a sanctuary of Artemis with an image of white marble. She is in the attitude of one hurling a javelin, and is surnamed Aetolian. In a cave Aphrodite is worshipped, to whom prayers are offered for various reasons, and especially by widows who ask the goddess to grant them marriage.

2320 [Phokis.38.013] The sanctuary of Asklepios I found in ruins, but it was originally built by a private person called Phalysios. For he had a complaint of the eyes, and when he was almost blind the god at Epidauros sent to him the poetess Anyte, who brought with her a sealed tablet. The woman thought that the god's appearance was a dream, but it proved at once to be a waking vision. For she found in her own hands a sealed tablet; so sailing to Naupaktos she ordered Phalysios to take away the seal and read what was written. He did not think it possible to read the writing with his eyes in such a condition, but hoping to get some benefit from Asklepios he took away  
2325 the seal. When he had looked at the wax he recovered his sight, and gave to Anyte what was written on the tablet, two thousand staters of gold.