

Frazer, J.G. 1913. Pausanias's Description of Greece, vol. 4, London, pp. 381-386.

Text

8. Thence you will ascend by a staircase to a sanctuary <sup>11</sup> of Pan. The sanctuary contains a colonnade and a small image. This Pan, equally with the most powerful of the gods, possesses the power of accomplishing men's prayers and requiting the wicked as they deserve. In his sanctuary burns a fire that is never quenched. 9. It is said that of old this god also gave oracles, and that his prophetess was the nymph Erato, who married Arcas, son of Callisto. They still remember some of Erato's verses, <sup>12</sup> which I have myself read. Here there is an altar of Ares, also a temple with two images of Aphrodite, the one of white marble, the other and older of wood. Likewise there are wooden images of Apollo and Athena; and there is also a sanctuary of Athena.

## XXXVIII

1. A little higher up is the circuit of the walls of Lycosura, which contains a few inhabitants. Of all cities on earth, whether on the mainland or on islands, Lycosura is the oldest, and it was the first city that ever the sun beheld. The rest of mankind learned to build cities on its model.

2. To the left of the sanctuary of the Mistress is Mount <sup>2</sup> Lycaeus, which they also call Olympus, while others of the Arcadians name it the Sacred Peak. They say that Zeus was reared on this mountain. There is a place on Lycaeus called Cretea: it is to the left of the grove of Parrhasian Apollo, and the Arcadians maintain that the Crete where, according to the Cretan legend, Zeus was reared, is this place, and not the island of Crete. 3. The <sup>3</sup> names of the nymphs by whom they say Zeus was reared are, according to them, Thisoa, Neda, and Hagno. A city in Parrhasia was named after Thisoa: in my time Thisoa is a village belonging to the district of Megalopolis. Neda gave her name to the river Neda; and Hagno gave her name to a spring on Mount Lycaeus, which like the river Danube flows with an equal body of water winter and summer. If there is a long drought, and the seeds in the earth and <sup>4</sup> the trees are withering, the priest of Lycaean Zeus looks to the water and prays; and having prayed and offered the sacrifices enjoined by custom, he lets down an oak branch to the surface of the spring, but not deep into it; and the water being stirred, there rises a mist-like vapour, and in a little the vapour becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia. 4. On Lycaeus there is a sanctuary of Pan, and round <sup>5</sup> about it a grove of trees; also there is a hippodrome, and in front of it a stadium. Here of old they celebrated the Lycaean games. Here, too, are bases of statues, but the statues are no longer there: an elegiac inscription on one of the bases states that the statue was that of Astyanax, and that he was of the stock of Arcas.

- 6 5. Of the wonders of Mount Lycaeus the greatest is this. There is a precinct of Lycaean Zeus on the mountain and people are not allowed to enter it; but if any one disregards the rule and enters, he cannot possibly live more than a year. It is also said that inside the precinct all creatures, whether man or beast, cast no shadows; and, therefore, if his quarry takes refuge in the precinct, the huntsman will not follow it, but waits outside, and looking at the beast he sees that it casts no shadow. Now, at Syene, on the frontier of Ethiopia, so long as the sun is in the sign of Cancer, shadows are cast neither by trees nor animals; but in the precinct on Mount Lycaeus the same absence of shadow may be observed at all times and seasons.
- 7 On the topmost peak of the mountain there is an altar of Lycaean Zeus in the shape of a mound of earth, and most of Peloponnese is visible from it. In front of the altar, on the east, stand two pillars, on which there used formerly to be gilded eagles. On this altar they offer secret sacrifices to Lycaean Zeus, but I did not care to pry into the details of the sacrifice. Be it as it is and has been from the beginning.
- 8 6. On the eastern side of the mountain is a sanctuary of Parrhasian Apollo: they also give him the surname of Pythian. They celebrate an annual festival in honour of the god, at which they sacrifice a boar in the market-place to Apollo the Succourer, and after the sacrifice they immediately convey the victim to the sanctuary of Parrhasian Apollo in procession to the music of a flute, and having cut out the thigh bones they burn them and consume the flesh of the victim on the spot. This is their regular practice.
- 9 7. To the north of Lycaeus is the land of Thisoa, the inhabitants of which hold the nymph Thisoa in chief honour. The district of Thisoa is intersected by the rivers Mylaon, Nus, Achelous, Celadus, and Naliphus, all of which fall into the Alpheus. Besides the Arcadian Achelous there are two other more famous rivers of the <sup>10</sup> same name. The one which flows through Acarnania and Aetolia, and falls into the sea at the Echinadian islands, is said by Homer in the *Iliad* to be the prince of rivers: another Achelous which flows from Mount Sipylus is mentioned by him, along with Mount Sipylus itself, in connection with the story of Niobe. The river at Mount Lycaeus is the third river that bears the name of Achelous.
- 11 8. On the right of Lycosura are the Nomian mountains, as they are called. There is a sanctuary of Nomian Pan on them, and they name the place Melpea, saying that here Pan invented the music of the pipe. It is most obvious to suppose that the Nomian Mountains were so called with reference to Pan's pastures (*nomai*), but the Arcadians themselves say they are named after a nymph.

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# Notes

to that of Osiris does not prove, as Lobeck supposed, that Onomacritus simply borrowed it from Egypt, substituting the Titans for Typhon. The prevalence of similar legends in distant parts of the world seems to show that they originated independently, perhaps in a custom of slaying the representative of the god.

See Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 616 sqq., 670 sqq.; K. O. Müller, *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, p. 390 sqq.; Fr. Lenormant, in *Gazette archéologique*, 5 (1879), p. 21 sqq.; A. Lang, *Myth, ritual and religion*, 2. p. 227 sqq.

**37. 6. Aeschylus** — taught the Greeks the Egyptian legend that Artemis is a daughter of Demeter. The play in which Aeschylus represented Artemis as a daughter of Demeter is lost. The theory that this genealogy was borrowed by Aeschylus from Egypt is due to Herodotus, who identified Demeter with Isis and Artemis with Bubastis, the daughter of Isis, and hence regarded as an Egyptian doctrine the view that Demeter was the mother of Artemis (Herodotus, ii. 156).

**37. 7. The Arcadians bring into the sanctuary the fruits — except the pomegranate.** Persons initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries were forbidden to eat pomegranates (Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iv. 16), and women engaged in celebrating the festival of the Thesmophoria took care not to taste pomegranate seeds (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 19. p. 16, ed. Potter). The reason given for such abstinences probably was that Proserpine, when carried off by Pluto to the nether world, had forfeited her right of returning to the land of the living by eating the seed of a pomegranate. See note on ii. 17. 4. The belief that a living person must not taste of the food of the dead under pain of being obliged to stay for ever in dead-land "is found in New Zealand, Melanesia, Scotland, Finland, and among the Ojibbeways" (Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2. p. 273, note). Thus in a Maori story a man named Hutu sets out for the spirit-land to fetch back the soul of his dead love. A mythical being shows him the road and gives him a basket of cooked food to take with him, saying, "When you reach the lower regions eat sparingly of your provisions that they may last, and you may not be compelled to partake of their food, for if you do you cannot return upwards again" (R. Taylor, *Te ika a mauī; or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 271). In a Melanesian story a living woman visits Panoi, the abode of the dead; there she meets her dead brother, who warns her to eat nothing, so she returns to the land of the living (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 277).

**37. 8. a little higher up — is what is called the Hall.** The Hall (*megaron*) probably occupied the summit of the knoll immediately above the temple of the Mistress. Here in 1890 I observed some large squared blocks, of which some were in a row; and here, apparently, the excavations of 1895 laid bare the remains of several buildings, in which some very archaic votive offerings were discovered (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 20 (1895), p. 376). The knoll above the temple cannot have been, as some have thought, the Acacesian hill, since its top is only a few feet above the temple, whereas the Acacesian hill was

distant from the temple 4 furlongs in the direction of the Alpheus (viii. 36. 9; viii. 37. 1).

**37. 9. it occurs in the poetry of Homer.** See *Iliad*, ix. 457, 569; *Odyssey*, x. 491, 494, 509, 534, xi. 47. Still the name of Proserpine (Persephone) seems to have been considered an awful one and people feared to pronounce it. Cp. Plato, *Cratylus*, p. 404 c d. Pausanias generally calls her the Maiden (*Kore*); the name Proserpine (Persephone) seems to occur only four times in his work (here and viii. 31. 2; viii. 42. 2; ix. 23. 3).

**37. 10. Above the Hall is a grove etc.** If the Hall (*megaron*) stood on the summit of the hillock, immediately above the temple, the sacred grove may have been on the ridge which connects the hillock with the hill of Lycosura or actually on the slope of the latter hill and so above the Hall. The altars of Poseidon and of other gods, which Pausanias mentions immediately, would then be still higher up the slope of the hill.

**38. 1. Lycosura.** See note on viii. 37. 1. Considerable portions of the circuit-wall of Lycosura still exist. They follow the edge of the flat top of the little hill, the sides of which, though not high, are steep and rocky, especially on the north and west. The wall is from 7 to 9 feet thick, but the style of masonry is inferior. The blocks are mostly squared, but on the outside are left rough. Some pieces of the wall appear to be mediaeval. A gate may be distinguished on the south side. Within the circuit of the walls is a ruined chapel of St. George, which contains some ancient fragments. From its high situation on the side of Mt. Lycaeus, Lycosura commands an extensive view over the plain of Megalopolis, with the Alpheus meandering through it. Prof. Curtius says: "If we consider the strong and healthy situation of this citadel, the springs at its foot which, with the perennial stream, supplied the town with water, the hill-slopes adapted for vineyards, the fine pastures on the mountains to north and south, the wooded heights which stretch away to the Alpheus, and lastly, beyond the Alpheus, only an hour away, the broad plain watered by the river and seemingly made for husbandry, we see that such a place was eminently suited to be the site of a very ancient town."

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 395; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 86; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, i. p. 265 sqq.; Curtius, *Pelop.* i. p. 298 sq.; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 237 sq.; Baedeker,<sup>3</sup> p. 323; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 307.

**38. 2. To the left of the sanctuary of the Mistress is Mount Lycaeus.** The temple of the Mistress, as the recent excavations have proved, faced eastward. Pausanias supposes himself facing east, and hence "on the left of the sanctuary" means to the north of it. For a like reason "to the right of Lycosura" (viii. 38. 11) means to the south of it.

Mount Lycaeus, now called *Diaphorti* or Mount *St. Elias* from a chapel of St. Elias near the summit, is situated about 5 miles north-north-west of Lycosura as the crow flies. The summit may be ascended in 35 minutes from the hamlet of *Karyaes*, which lies among the hills to



the south-east, or in an hour from *Ampeliona*, which lies to the south-west of it. The mountain has a double peak. The higher peak (1420 metres or 4660 feet high) is called *Stephani*; the other peak, a few feet lower than the former but in a more open and commanding situation, is Mt. *St. Elias* or *Diaphorti* and appears to be the Mt. Lycaeus of the ancients. It lies a little to the south-east of Mt. *Stephani*, from which it is divided by a depression. In this basin or crater-like depression between the two peaks, which is called *Kastraki* or *Skaphidia* ('troughs') by the natives, may be seen the remains of the hippodrome mentioned by Pausanias (§ 5). It runs from south to north. The parallel walls, 130 feet apart, which bounded it on the east and west, may be traced; they extend for a distance of 900 feet. At the upper (south) end and the adjoining parts of the long sides a considerable number of rows of seats are preserved. At the north end are remains of a building sunk in the ground, apparently a cistern or reservoir; it is 50 feet long from east to west and 6 or 8 feet deep down to the rubbish by which it is partly filled up. The lower courses of the walls of this structure are of regular masonry; the upper courses are irregular and almost polygonal. Adjoining this building on the west are other foundations and ruin-heaps.

At the south end of the hippodrome begins a gully which leads up to the summit. On either side of the entrance to this gully there are ancient remains. Those on the west side are known as *Helleniko* and consist chiefly of large flags of grey limestone. On the east side of the entrance to the gully are the remains of a Doric temple, including fragments of columns 18 inches thick, which were fluted only half their length. This perhaps was the temple of Pan (§ 5). Between these ruins we ascend through the gully in 12 minutes to the simple chapel of St. Elias, in and beside which are some ancient squared blocks. In a quarter of an hour from the chapel we reach the summit. It is a circular level, about 50 yards across, and plainly artificial, resembling one of the threshing-floors which are so common in Greece. Spread over it is a layer of potsherds and fragments of charred and partially fossilised bones. This was the site of the altar of Zeus (§ 7); and the bones are those of the animals and perhaps men who were sacrificed on it. The peasants have a story that these are the bones of men whom the ancients caused to be here trampled to death by horses, as corn is trodden by horses on a threshing-floor. The view, as might be expected, is extensive, including the plains of Megalopolis, Elis, and Messenia, and the mountains of Erymanthus on the north, Maenalus on the east, Taygetus on the south, and Ithome on the south-west. To the west the sea is visible as far as Zacynthus.

See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 106 sqq.; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 313 sqq.; *Expéd. scientifique de Morée: Architecture*, etc., par A. Blouet, 2. p. 37 sq., with plates 33, 34; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 162; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 91 sqq.; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 299 sqq.; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 105 sqq.; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 233 sqq.; Baedeker, 2. p. 303 sq.; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 305 sq.; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 330. Dodwell ascended Mt. *Tetrasi* or *Tetrasi* in the belief that it was Mt. Lycaeus. *Tetrasi* is a peak (4550 feet high) to the west of

*Lycosura* and about 5 miles to the south of *Diaphorti*, the true Lycaeus. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 389 sqq.

**38. 2. Lycaeus, which they also call Olympus.** A scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 599) enumerates six mountains which the Greeks called Olympus. Cp. Benloew, *La Grèce avant les Grecs*, p. 81 sq.

**38. 2. Cretea.** It has been conjectured that this place was somewhere above the village of *Karyaes* (L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 94; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 300). As to *Karyaes* see note on § 1. Cp. Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 236.

**38. 3. Thisoa.** See note on § 9.

**38. 3. Hagno.** A little above the south end of the hippodrome, in the gully which leads up to the summit of Mt. Lycaeus, there is a spring, the highest source of the stream which flows past *Karyaes* to join the Alpheus: this may be the spring called Hagno (Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 106; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 162; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 303; Beulé, *Études*, p. 110; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 306). A little to the north of the village of *Karyaes*, under the eastern foot of the summit of Mt. Lycaeus, there are abundant springs, which form the principal source of the stream just mentioned. L. Ross surmised (*Reisen*, p. 94) that these might be Hagno. Leake conjectured that Hagno was the copious source at the foot of the mountain, below the village of *Tragomano*; this source immediately forms a large stream which flows into the Alpheus (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 315). But it is far more probable that a spring, the water of which was used as a rain-charm, was at the top than at the foot of the mountain.

**38. 4. he lets down an oak-branch to the surface of the spring.** The oak-branch was used because the oak was the sacred tree of Zeus, the god of the mountain. Similarly in Halmahera or Gilolo, a large island to the west of New Guinea, the sorcerer makes rain by dipping the branch of a particular kind of tree in water and sprinkling the ground with it (C. F. Campen, 'De Godsdienstbegrippen der Halmaherische Alfoeren,' *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, 27 (1882), p. 447). In Ceram rain is made by dedicating the bark of a certain tree to the spirits and laying it in water (Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 114). Gervasius of Tilbury mentions a spring into which if a stick or a stone were thrown, rain would at once issue from it and drench the thrower (Gervasius von Tilbury, ed. Liebrecht, p. 41 sqq.) For more examples of rain-charms, see *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 13 sqq.

**38. 5. the Lycaean games.** These games were said to have been founded by Lycaon, to whom the invention of athletic sports was attributed (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* vii. 205; Paus. viii. 2. 1 note). They are mentioned by Pindar (*Olymp.* ix. 145, xiii. 157 sq.; *Nem.* x. 89). The ancients traced a resemblance between the Lycaean games and the Lupercalia at Rome (Plutarch, *Caesar*, 61; Dionysius Halic., *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 80; Livy, i. 5; Justin, xliii. 6 sq.) They included a foot-race in the double course, and a race between men in armour or carrying shields, as we learn from an inscription found in the Epidaurian sanctuary of Aesculapius (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 78,

No. 240). In Roman times the Lycaean games were combined with games held in honour of the imperial family, as we gather from an inscription at *Sinanou*, close to Megalopolis (*Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 139 sq., No. xxvi.)

**38. 6. inside the precinct all creatures — cast no shadows.**

The statement that persons who entered the precinct of Zeus on Mt. Lycaeus cast no shadow had the authority of Theophrastus (Polybius, xvi. 12. 7). Such persons were called 'deer': if they had entered the precinct voluntarily, they were stoned to death; if they had entered it unwittingly, they were sent away to Eleutherae (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 39). Cp. Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 1 and 4. The story of the loss of the shadow may have been told to explain the supposed fact that any person who entered the precinct would die within a year. Untutored people often regard the shadow as a vital part of a man and its loss as fatal. This belief is still current in Greece. It is thought that to give stability to a new building the life of an animal or a man is necessary. Hence an animal is killed and its blood allowed to flow on the foundation stone, or the builder secretly measures a man's shadow and buries the measure under the foundation stone, or the foundation stone is laid upon a man's shadow. It is supposed that the man will die within a year—obviously because his shadow is believed to be buried under the building (B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 196 sq.) In Austria it is thought that the person whose shadow does not appear on the wall when the family are seated at table on the eve of St. Silvester's day, will die next year (Vernalecken, *Mythen und Bräuche des Volkes in Oesterreich*, p. 341). Cp. *The Golden Bough*, i. p. 141 sqq.

Prof. W. H. Roscher would explain the story of the loss of the shadow on Mt. Lycaeus by pointing out that the mountain was also called Olympus (see § 2 of this chapter) and that the top of Olympus is described by Homer (*Od.* vi. 44 sq.) as cloudless and bathed in bright sunshine (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 38 (1892), pp. 701-709). The explanation seems insufficient.

**38. 6. at Syene, on the frontier of Ethiopia** etc. Syene in Upper Egypt is just outside the tropic of Cancer; hence at the summer solstice the sun is almost directly overhead and the shadows are so short as to be barely perceptible. There was a sacred well at Syene, in whose water the full disc of the sun was reflected "like a lid" at noon on the day of the summer solstice. The well was therefore used as a means of determining the day of the solstice. See Aristides, *Or.* xlvi. vol. 2. p. 462, ed. Dindorf; Strabo, xvii. p. 817; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* ii. 183; Eustathius, on Dionysius Periegetes, 222. Cp. Plutarch, *De defectu orac.*, 4; Lucan, ii. 587. The ancients, being acquainted with few places within the tropics, were much struck both with the absence of shadows in tropical lands at some seasons of the year and with their southward inclination at others. They knew that in some parts of India the hand of the dial cast no shadow at noon, and that at night the constellation of the Bear and even that of Arcturus were invisible (Diodorus, ii. 35; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* ii. 183-185). In the time of Augustus the frontier of the Roman empire was at Syene, which was held by three cohorts. But afterwards

the frontier was pushed farther south and a Roman garrison occupied Hiera Sycaminos (*Maharrako*). This appears to have been the only place within the tropics which was ever permanently held by a Roman garrison. See Strabo, *l.c.*; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 5. p. 594 sq.

**38. 7. In front of the altar, on the east, stand two pillars.**

May these columns have been set up for the purpose of determining the solstices and equinoxes by means of the length and direction of the shadows? On a height near Quito, on the equator, the Caras built a temple of the Sun, and in front of the eastern door of the temple were two tall columns for observing the solstices. See C. R. Markham, note on Garcilasso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, 2. p. 347; *id.*, in *Journal of the Royal Geogr. Soc.*, 41 (1871), p. 317. To ascertain the time of the equinox the Incas of Peru had a stone column erected in front of the temples of the Sun. The column was set up in the midst of a large circle across which a line was drawn from east to west. As the equinox drew near the priests watched the shadow from day to day; and when the shadow rested exactly on the line from sunrise to sunset and no shadow at all was cast at noon, they knew that the equinox had come. Then they adorned the column with flowers and placed the chair of the Sun upon it, saying that on that day the Sun with all his light sat on the pillar. As the Incas extended their conquests northwards towards the equator, they observed that the farther north they went the smaller was the shadow thrown by the columns at noon. Hence the columns were more revered the nearer they were to Quito on the equator; above all others the columns at Quito itself were venerated because, the sun being perpendicular over them, they cast no shadow at all at noon. The people said that these must be the seats which were most agreeable to the Sun, seeing that he sat square upon them, whereas on the others he sat sideways. See Garcilasso de la Vega, *op. cit.* i. p. 180 (Markham's translation). The Muyscas of Colombia also used columns as a rude sort of dial; human victims were sacrificed by being fastened to these columns and shot with arrows (*Colombia, being a geographical etc. account of that country* (London, 1822), i. p. 557). It is said that one of the stones in the circle at Stonehenge is known as the Pointer because, viewed from the centre of the circle, the sun is seen to rise exactly over it at the summer solstice (June 21st); many people are said to assemble on the spot every year on the morning of June 21st, to observe the phenomenon. See C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides* (London, 1883), p. 219. On Mount Cythnus, in the island of Delos, there is a grotto which is supposed to have been an early temple of Apollo. The east end of the temple is not closed, and on an April morning a ray of the sun pierces the cavern and fills it with light in a moment. As Apollo was supposed to winter in Lycia and return to Delos in spring, the sudden illumination of his grotto in that island would be the signal of his return. It has been suggested that the grotto may have been a station at which the revolution of the seasons was observed by noting the length and inclination of the sunbeams. See Jebb, 'Delos,' *Journal of Hellenic*



*Studies*, I (1880), p. 50 sq. If my conjecture as to the purpose of the two columns on Mt. Lycaeus prove to be true (and I merely offer it as a suggestion), it would be tempting to suppose that Lycaean Zeus was the god of light, deriving *lukaios* from the root *luk*, 'light.' See Curtius, *Griech. Etymologie*,<sup>5</sup> p. 160 sq. It would then be plain why persons who strayed into his precinct were believed to lose their shadows; they had entered the sanctuary of the god of light, where no darkness could abide. But this is probably fanciful. The connexion of Lycaean Zeus with wolves is too firmly established to allow us seriously to doubt that he is the wolf-god (from *lukos*, 'wolf'). See viii. 2. 3 and 6; Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, I. p. 41 sq. This makes the resemblance which the ancients traced between the Lycaean games and the Lupercalia (see note on § 5) all the more remarkable, for it seems certain that the first syllable of Lupercalia must be from *lupus*, 'wolf.' Cp. W. Mannhardt, 'Die Lupercalien,' *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 72 sqq.

In the gully which leads from the hippodrome to the summit of Mt. Lycaeus, the peasants excavated some fragments of large Doric columns of white marble, which they broke up and used in building their chapel. The flutes of some of these fragments, seen by L. Ross, were 5 inches wide. He conjectured that these were pieces of the two columns which once stood on the summit of the mountain. See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 92.

As to the gilt eagles which surmounted the columns, it is perhaps worth noting, after what has been said above, that in the temple of the Sun among the Taenças of Louisiana the bodies of two eagles were hung from the roof and turned toward the sun (De Tonti, 'Relation de la Louisianne et du Mississippi,' *Voyages au Nord*, 5 (Amsterdam, 1725), p. 123). Cp. above, viii. 30. 2.

**38. 7. they offer secret sacrifices** etc. Human victims were sacrificed to Lycaean Zeus, as we learn from Theophrastus (quoted by Porphyry, *De abstin.* ii. 27) and the pseudo-Plato (*Minos*, p. 315 c). From the guarded language in which Pausanias refers to the subject, we may perhaps infer that human sacrifices were still offered in his time. See note on viii. 2. 6. As to human sacrifices among the ancients, see Porphyry, *De abstin.* ii. 54-56; Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*,<sup>4</sup> p. 438 sqq. (p. 414 sqq., English trans.); Leist, *Graeco-italische Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 257 sqq.

**38. 8. a sanctuary of Parrhasian Apollo; they also give him the surname of Pythian.** This sanctuary is mentioned under the name of Pythium (Πύθιον) in an inscription of Megalopolis copied by Fourmont at *Karytaena*; the same inscription mentions 'the road to Lycosura,' which so far confirms the statement of Pausanias that this sanctuary of Apollo stood on the eastern side of Mount Lycaeus (C. I. G. No. 1534; *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 131, No. 8 c).

**38. 8. they sacrifice a boar in the market-place** etc. The market-place referred to is that of Megalopolis. See viii. 30. 3 sq.

**38. 9. the land of Thisoa.** As to the town of Thisoa compare § 3. It is not to be confounded with the Thisoa near Methydrium which belonged to Orchomenus (viii. 27. 4; viii. 28. 3). On the left

or western bank of the Alpheus, about 5 miles below *Karytaena*, and about 4 miles north-east of *Andritsena*, rises the steep, lofty, and rocky mountain of *Lavda* (2420 feet high), crowned with the ruins of an ancient town which some topographers have identified with Thisoa. The ruins are now known as the Castle of St. Helen or the *palaeokastro* (ruined fortress) of *Lavda* from the village of that name (*Lavda*) which is pleasantly situated among clumps of trees at the northern foot of the mountain within sight of, but at a considerable height above, the river. The summit of the hill, which commands a magnificent view ranging from Mt. Erymanthus on the north to the mountains of Laconia on the south, extends from north-west to south-east for a quarter of a mile or more; its breadth is less. It is enclosed by a double line of fortifications, an outer and an inner, of which the latter formed the citadel. The ground within the walls is not level, but rises to a sharp point, from which the citadel extends south for 200 yards or so. The town occupied a terrace which runs round the citadel at a lower level and is enclosed by the outer wall. This terrace is widest on the west and north-west, and narrowest on the east, where it is a mere strip between the citadel and the steep slope of the mountain towards the Alpheus. The chief approach to the town would seem to have been from the south-west, on the side away from the river, for in this direction the slope is long, uniform, and not very steep, and here there are remains of a gate. The outer wall was defended at intervals by square projecting towers, of which five may be distinguished. With its towers it is standing in places to a height of from 2 to 10 or 12 feet. The masonry varies in style; in general it is massive but rough and irregular. However, some pieces of the north wall on both sides of a gate or sally-port are better built; the style is here mainly quadrangular, with some polygonal pieces, and the blocks are more carefully hewn than elsewhere. The wall at this gate is 7 ft. 6 in. thick, and is standing to a varying height of four and six courses. The breadth of the gateway is 6 feet. About 9 feet to the west of this gateway, at the north-western angle of the fortress, is one of the square towers; it projects 12 ft. 8 in. from the curtain, and its outer face, which measures 21 feet in breadth, is standing to a height of six courses or about 7 feet. On the west face of the hill the outer wall has mostly disappeared, but towards its southern end there are considerable remains, comprising the ruins of a large gateway, 16 ft. 6 in. wide, which would seem to have been the principal gateway of the town. It opens to the south, and is defended on the west by a square tower built of exceedingly massive rough blocks. The tower measures 14 paces on its western face and is standing to a height of about 8 feet. Inside of the outer wall at this point there are some remains of an inner wall running parallel to the outer at a distance about equal to the breadth of an ordinary road; it is built of smaller stones and appears not to have been a fortification-wall. On the eastern side of the hill the outer fortification-wall is fairly preserved for a stretch of about 60 yards between two square projecting towers, of which one, standing to a height of four courses, is at the extreme south point of the wall.

The inner fortification-wall, forming the small citadel, is on the