### Comments on the visit of Pausanias to Mycenae

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Classical Inquiries

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For example:
The focus here is on Pausanias 2.15.2–2.18.3. In this text the author, who lived in the second century CE, is telling about his travels through a region of the Peloponnese known as the Argolid, and a special point of interest for students of the ancient world today is what he says he saw when he visited Mycenae.

The focus here is on Pausanias 2.15.2–2.18.3. In this text the author, who lived in the second century CE, is telling about his travels through a region of the Peloponnese known as the Argolid, and a special point of interest for students of the ancient world today is what he says he saw when he visited Mycenae. I first show the overall text in the original Greek of Pausanias, quoting it in footnote 1.

Then I give a translation of the text, based on the rendering of W. H. S. Jones (1918), which I have extensively revised in the version I give here. In the footnotes following footnote 1, I offer comments. Following the comments in the footnotes is a general statement about the significance of the information provided by Pausanias.

Here, then, is the translation for Pausanias 2.15.2–2.18.3:

(2.15.2) From Kleonai to Argos are two roads; one is direct and only for men who are physically fit, the other goes along the pass called Trētos, is narrow like the other, being surrounded by mountains, but is nevertheless more suitable for vehicles. In these mountains is still shown the cave of the famous lion, and the place [khôrion] called Nemēá is distant some fifteen stadium-lengths. In Nemēá is a temple [nàos] of Nemean [Nemeios] Zeus, which is worth seeing [thēa], but I found that the roof had caved in and that there was no longer any statue [agallma] [of Zeus] left. Around the temple is a grove of cypress trees, and here it is, they say, that Opheltes was placed by his nurse in the grass and killed by the serpent [drakōn].

(2.15.3) The Argives offer-sacrifices [thuein] to Zeus the Nemean [Nemeios] in Nemēá, and elect a priest of Nemean Zeus; moreover they offer a prize for a race in armor at the winter celebration of the Nemean games. In this place is the tomb of Opheltes; around it is a fence of stones, and within the enclosure are altars. There is also a mound of earth which is the tomb of Lycurgos [Lykourgos] the father of Opheltes. The spring [pēgē] they call Adrasteia for some reason [ai̱tia] or other, perhaps because Adrastos found it. The land was named, they say, after Nemēá, who was another daughter of Asopos. Above Nemēá is Mount Apesas, where they say that Perseus first made-sacrifice [thuein] to Zeus of Apesas.
(2.15.4) Going upland to [the pass called] Trētos and then down again along the road to Argos, you see on the left the ruins [ereipia] of Mycenae. The Greeks are generally aware that its founder [oikístēs] of Mycenae was Perseus, but I will also write down the cause [aitiā] of its foundation [oikismos] and the pretext [prophasia] that the Argives gave when they at a later point destroyed Mycenae. In the region now called Argolis, some things most ancient are not memorialized [mnémoneunein] while other things are, and here is one such thing: they say that Inakhos was once their king and that he named the river Inakhos after himself and that he sacrificed to Hērā.

(2.15.5) There is also another tale [logos] told [legesthai] that goes like this . . . that Phoroneus was the first to be born in this land, and that Inakhos, the father of Phoroneus, was not a man but the river. This river, with the rivers Kephisos and Asterion, arbitrated [dikazein] concerning possession of the land between Poseidon and Hērā. They decided [krinein] that the land belonged to Hērā, and so Poseidon made their waters disappear. For this reason neither Inakhos nor either of the other rivers I have mentioned provide any water except whenever the god [= Zeus] makes rain. In summer their streams are dry except for those at Lerna. Phoroneus, the son of Inakhos, was the first to gather together humans [anthrōpōi] into a commonality [koinōn], who up to that time had been scattered and living-in-settlements [oikēn] all by themselves. The place into which they were first gathered was named the City [Astu] of Phoroneus.

(2.16.1) Argos, the maternal grandson of Phoroneus became king [basileus] after Phoroneus and gave his own name to the land. Argos fathered Peirasos and Phorbas, Phorbas fathered Triopas, and Triopas fathered Iasos and Agenor. Io, the daughter of Iasos, went to Egypt, whether the circumstances be as Herodotus writes or as the Greeks say. After Iasos, Krotos and the son of Agenor came to power [arkhē] and fathered Sthenelas, but Danaos sailed from Egypt against Gelaor the son of Sthenelas and put a stop to the succession of the descendants of Agenor to kingship. What followed is known to everybody, and Akrisios, through the agency of some superhuman force [apodeiknia], returned to Larisa. Being in the prime of life and proud of being the inventor of great deeds, withdrew to Larisa, by [the river] Pēneios. And Perseus, wishing at all costs to see the father of his mother and to greet him with fair words and deeds, visited him at Larisa. Being in the prime of life and proud of being the inventor of the discus, he showed off [apodeiknunthai] [his skill in throwing the discus] in front of everybody, and Akrisios, through the agency of some superhuman force [daimōn], stepped unnoticed into the path of the discus.

(2.16.2) Then there was Abas the son of Lynkeus, and his own sons Akrísios and Proitos divided the kingship [basilea] between themselves. Akrísios remained where he was at Argos, and Proitos took over the Héraion, Mideï, Tyrins, and the Argive coastal region. Traces [sēmeia] of the residence [oikēs] of Proitos in Tyrins remain to the present day. [2] Afterwards Akrísios, learning that Perseus himself was not only alive but accomplishing [metafugōn] great deeds, withdrew to Larisa, by [the river] Pēneios. And Perseus, feeling ashamed because of what was said [phēmē] about the homicide, and so, on his return to Argos, he induced Megapenthes, the son of Proitos, to make an exchange of kingdoms; taking over for himself the rule [arkhē] of the kindom of Megapenthes, he founded [ktizein] Mycenae. For on its site the pommel [myces = mkukês] fell out of his sword, and he regarded this as a sign [sēmeion] to establish the foundation [oikismos] of a citadel [polis]. I have also heard the following account. He was thirsty, and the thought occurred to him to pick up a mushroom [myces = mkukês] from the ground.*[3] Water flowed from that spot, and, taking delight in drinking from it, he gave to the place the name of Mycenae.

(2.16.3) So the prediction of the god to Akrísios found its fulfillment [telos], nor was the thing-that-had-been-prophesied [tō khreōn] prevented by his precautions against his daughter and the son of his daughter. Perseus felt shame because of what was said [phēmē] about the homicide, and so, on his return to Argos, he induced Megapenthes, the son of Proitos, to make an exchange of kingdoms; taking over for himself the rule [arkhē] of the kindom of Megapenthes, he founded [ktizein] Mycenae. For on its site the pommel [myces = mkukês] fell out of his sword, and he regarded this as a sign [sēmeion] to establish the foundation [oikismos] of a citadel [polis]. I have also heard the following account. He was thirsty, and the thought occurred to him to pick up a mushroom [myces = mkukês] from the ground.*[3] Water flowed from that spot, and, taking delight in drinking from it, he gave to the place the name of Mycenae.

(2.16.4) Homer in the Odyssey [2.120] mentions a woman [gynē] named Mycene [Mukēnē] in the following verse:

Τυρώ τ’ Άλκμην τ’ ἐκ Τύρταρόν τ’ Μυκηνῆ

Tyro and Alkmēnē and the fair-garlanded lady Mycene [Mukēnē], the-one-with-the-beautiful-garlands [eu-stēphanos].

She is said to have been the daughter of Inakhos and the wife of Arestrō in the [Hesiodic] poetry [epê] that the Greeks call the Great Ėhoaioi. So they say that the name of the citadel [polis] originated from her [= Mycene = Mukēnē]. But the tradition that is attributed to Acusilas (Akuśilas), that Myceneus [Mukēnēus] was the son of Sparton [Spartōn], and Sparton of Phoroneus, I cannot accept [apo-dekhēsthai], because the Lacedaemonians themselves do not accept it either. I say this because, although the Lacedaemonians have at Amyklai an image [eikōn] of a woman [gynē] named Spartē, even they would be amazed at the mere mention of a Spartōn, son of Phoroneus.

(2.16.5) It was envy that caused the Argives to destroy Mycenae. For at the time of the Persian invasion the Argives made-no-move [hēsukhazein], but the Mycenaenians sent eighty men to Thermopylae who shared in the achievement [ergon] of the Lacedaemonians. This act-of-eagerness-for-distinction [philō-timēma] brought ruin upon...
them by aggravating the Argives. There still remain, however, parts of the fortification-wall, including the gate [πύλη], above which stand lions.*[4] These [walls], too, are said to be the work of the Cyclopes, who made for Ptolemaios the walls at Tyrins.*[5]

{2.16.6} Inside the ruins [ereipia] of Mycenae is a spring [krēnē] called Perseia;*[6] there are also underground chambers [hupo-gaia oikodomēmata] of Atreus and his children, in which were stored the treasuries [thēsaurai] of their possessions.*[7] The tomb [taphos] of Atreus is there, along with the tombs of those who returned with Agamemnon from Troy and were murdered by Aigisthos after he had given them a banquet. As for the tomb [mnēma] of Cassandra [Kassandrā], there is a rival claim that is made to it by the Lacedaemonians who dwell [oikēn] in the vicinity of Amyklaia. There is [at Mycenae] another tomb [mnēma] [besides the tombs in the Treasury of Atreus] that specifically belongs to Agamemnon, and there is also another one belonging to Euryomedon his charioteer, while still another one is shared by Teledāmos and Peilops, twin sons, they say, of Cassandra,

{2.16.7} whom while they were still infants Aigisthos killed after he killed their parents. Electra has her tomb, for Orestes married her off to Pylades. Hellenicus adds that the children of Pylades by Electra were Medon and Strophios. Cythemenestra and Aigisthos were buried at some little distance from the wall.*[8] They were thought unworthy of a place within it [= the wall], where lay Agamemnon himself and those who were murdered with him.

{2.17.1} Fifteen stadium-lengths distant from Mycenae is on the left the Héraion. Beside the road flows the brook called Water of Freedom [Eleutherion]. The priestesses use it in purifications and for such sacrifices [θυσιαί] as are mystical [apo-rhētloi]. The sanctuary itself is on a lower part of Euboea. Euboea is the name they give to the hill here, saying that Asterion the river had three daughters, Euboea, Prosymna, and Akraia, and that they were nurses [trophi] of Hērā.

{2.17.2} The hill opposite the Hēraion they name after Akraia, the environs of the sanctuary they name after Euboea, and the land beneath the Hēraion after Prosymna. This Asterion flows above the Hēraion, and falling into a cleft disappears. On its banks grows a plant, which also is called asterion. They offer the plant itself to Hēra, and from its leaves weave her garlands [stephanoi].

{2.17.3} It is said that the architect of the temple was Eupolemos, an Argive. The sculptures carved above the pillars refer either to the birth of Zeus and the battle between the gods and the giants, or to the Trojan war and the capture of Ilium. Before the entrance stand statues of women who have been priestesses [hierai] of Hērā and of various heroes, including Orestes. They say that Orestes is the one with the inscription, which claims that it represents the Emperor Augustus. In the front part of the temple are on the one side ancient statues [agalmata] of the Graces [Kharites], and on the right a couch [klinē] of Hērā and a votive offering, the shield which Menelaos once took from Euphorbos at Troy.[9]

{2.17.4} The statue [agama] of Hērā is seated on a throne; it [= the statue] is huge, made of gold and ivory, and is a work of Polycleitus. She is wearing a garland [stephanos] with Graces [Kharites] and Seasons [Hērai] worked upon it, and in one hand she carries a pomegranate and in the other a scepter. About the pomegranate I must say nothing, for its story [ logos] is somewhat mystical [apo-rhētous].*[10] The presence of a cuckoo seated on the scepter they explain by telling how, when Zeus lustved for Hērā as virgin [parthenos], he changed himself into this bird, and she caught it to be her pet. This story [ logos] and similar things said about the gods I write down without accepting [apodekheasthai] them, but I write them down nevertheless.

{2.17.5} By the side of Hērā stands what is said to be a statue [agama] of Hēbē fashioned by Naukydes; it, too, is of ivory and gold. By its side is an old statue [agama] of Hērā on a pillar. The oldest statue is made of wild-pear wood, and was dedicated in Tiryns by Peirassos, son of Argos, and when the Argives destroyed Tiryns*[11] they carried it away to the Héraion. I myself saw it, a small, seated statue [agama].

{2.17.6} Of the votive offerings [anathēmata] the following are noteworthy. There is an altar [bōmōs] upon which is worked in relief the fabled marriage of Hēbē and Hēraklēs.

This is of silver, but the peacock dedicated by the Emperor Hadrian is of gold and gleaming stones. He dedicated it because they hold the bird to be sacred to Hērā. There are deposited here a golden garland [stephanos] and a purple robe [peplos], offerings of Nero.

{2.17.7} Above this temple are the foundations of the earlier temple and such parts of it as were spared by the flames. It had burned down because sleep overpowered Khrisyseis, the priestess of Hērā, when the lamp before the garlands set fire to them. Khrisyseis went to Tegea and supplicated Athena Alea. Although so great a disaster had befallen them the Argives did not take down the statue of Khrisyseis; it is still in position in front of the burned temple.
{2.18.1} By the side of the road from Mycenae to Argos there is on the left hand a hero-shrine \( hērōion \) of Perseus.* He gets honors \( tīm \)ai, as I discovered, from the local-population \( proskhōrioi \) here as well as \[ as inside the walls of Mycenae], but the greatest honors are paid to him in Seriphus and among the Athenians, who have a precinct \( temenos \) sacred to Perseus and an altar \( bōmos \) of Dictys and Klymene, who are called the saviors \( sōtēres \) of Perseus. Advancing a little way in the Argive territory from this hero-shrine \( hērōion \) one sees on the right the tomb \( taphos \) of Thyestes. On it is a ram \( krīos \) made of stone, because Thyestes obtained a golden lamb \( arēn \) after seducing his brother’s wife. Atreus was not restrained by prudence \( logismos \) from retaliating, but contrived the slaughter of the children of Thyestes and the banquet that is sung about in songs.

{2.18.2} But as to what followed, I cannot say for certain whether Aigisthos began the injustice \( adikia \) or whether Agamemnon was first to commit injustice in killing Tantalos, the son of Thyestes. It is said that Tantalos had lived-with \( sun-oikēîn \) Clytaemnestra, having received her from Tyndareus when she was still a virgin.* I myself do not wish to condemn them of having been wicked by nature \( phusis \); but if the pollution \( miasma \) of Pelops and the avenging spirit of Myrtilos dogged their steps so long, it was after all only consistent that the Pythian priestess said to the Spartan Glaukos, the son of Epikydes, who consulted her about breaking his oath, that the punishment \( dikē \) for this also comes upon the descendants.

{2.18.3} A short distance beyond the Rams \( krīoi \)—this is the name they give to the tomb of Thyestes—there is on the left a place \( khōrion \) called Mysia and a sanctuary \( hieron \) of Demeter Mysia, so named after a man Mysios who, say the Argives, was another one of those who acted as host \( xenos \) to Demeter. In any case, this sanctuary has no roof, but, inside it, there is another shrine \( nāos \), built of baked brick, and in it are wooden statues \( xoana \) of the Maiden \( korē \), Pluto \( Ploutōn \), and Demeter. Farther on is the river called Inakhos, and on the other side of it an altar \( bōmos \) of Hēlios \( the \ Sun\). After this you will come to a gate \( pulē \) named after the sanctuary \( hieron \) that is near it. This sanctuary belongs to Eileithuia.

What Pausanias says here at 2.18.3 about a tomb containing the body of Thyestes and located in a place called Krioi, meaning 'Rams', is relevant to what I observed in my posting for Classical Inquiries 2015.07.22 §31:

When I last considered the practices of cremation in a Mycenaean context, those practices were barely attested archaeologically.[14] But now, with the discovery of nine cremations at the site of Chánia , some three kilometers southwest of the acropolis of Mycenae, the picture has changed.[15] I note with special interest the splendor of the tumulus that contained these cremations, dated to the 12th century BCE.[16] The archeologist of record, Heleni Palaiologou, describes as "monumental" the stone tumulus with its circular "cyclopean" enclosure, and she notes that the ritual moment of the actual cremation, which
required vast pilings of firewood, must have been "spectacular."[17] This splendid tumulus, situated on a plain contiguous with Argos, was most visible to all: "it served as a landmark for the control of the commercial route to Argos and the cultivated area simultaneously."[18] By this time, in the 12th century BCE, the glory days of Mycenae and of its Achaean realm were becoming evanescent, but the vitality of Mycenaean culture was still a forceful presence, acknowledged and respected by the local population.

In the paragraph I just quoted, which came at the end of my essay of 2015.07.22, I added a final footnote that now becomes the end-point here as well, almost a year later:

Palaiologou 2014 describes in lively detail the continuity of the culture in the environs of Mycenae during the 13th and the 12th centuries BCE. I note also the illuminating comments of Palaiologou on the afterlife of Mycenaean traditions in the environs of Mycenae during the first millennium BCE, especially with reference to the sanctuary of Hērā and the hero-cult of Agamemnon.

The background for this posting of 2016.06.16 was an event in my life that I will always treasure. It was my visit, 2016.06.12, to the archaeological site that I have just described. On this visit, I was accompanied by participants in a travel-study program sponsored by Harvard University’s Center for Hellenic Studies together with the Harvard Alumni Association. My fellow visitors and I were hosted at the site by the excavator herself, Heleni Palaiologou, who has argued convincingly that this tumulus that once graced this site was identical with the ‘tomb of Thystes’ seen by Pausanias.[19]

This posting is dedicated to my fellow travelers Marina Cheilitis, Stephen Holmgren, Samantha Hurtado, Eda Kaceli, Frederick Kochak, Simon & Teresa & Austin & Audrey Lee, David Long, Safdar Mandviwala, Janet Oszolak, Forrest Schaaf, Yang Sciscent, Rebecca Shustef & Aleksandr Teytelman.

Bibliography


Notes

[1] {2.15.2} ἐκ Κλεανοῦ δὲ εἶχαν ἐξ Ἀργοῦ ὁδὸν δύο, ὥς ἰδοὺ ἄνδρας εὐξάμονος καὶ ἦσσιν ἐπίτυμος, ἢ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλομεῖνου Τριτοῦ, στενὴ μὲν καὶ αὐτῇ περιεχόντων ὀρῶν, ὁχύμα δὲ ἦσσιν ὄμη ἐπιπηδεύτερα. ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς ὀρείς τὸ πῆλαγος ἑτὶ δείκνυται τὸ λέοντος, καὶ ἢ Νεμέα τὸ χωρίον ἄπειροι σπασίται πάντων που καὶ δέκα. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ Νεμέας [τε] Δίας νοὸς ἐπὶ θόκος ἄξρος, πλήν ἄκος κατατηρεῖ τὰ ὄροφα καὶ ἀγάμα οὐδέν ἐπὶ ἐλεύθερον καταράσον ἐς ἄλος ἐπὶ περὶ τὸν ναὸ, καὶ τὸν Ὀμηλιοῦ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τὴς τροφοῦ τεθέντα ἐς τὴν πᾶν διαφάρμαν λέγουσιν {2.15.3} ὑπὸ τὴς δρακόντος. θύουσι δὲ Ἀργείως τῇ Δίῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ καὶ Νεμεῖ τὸν ἀρξάντων, καὶ δὲ δὴ δράκοντος προσπέλασον ἀγάμα ἄνδρας ἀκούσνοι Νεμέων πανηγύριος τῶν χειμερινῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἐς μὲν Ὀμηλοῦ τόφος, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν θρικοῖς λίθων καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ περίβουλον βουνοῦ ἐπὶ δὲ χάμα γῆς Λυκόρουν μνήμα τῆς Ὀμηλοῦ πατρὸς, τὴν δὲ παλιγγενήν ἄπειρος ἀνόμιξτοι εἰς ἐλλα τὰς ἀπίτια ἐκτὸς ἀνέμφοτος αὐτῶν ἄρδαστοι· τὸ δὲ ἄνομα λέγουσι τῇ χώρᾳ. Νεμέων δοῦμαι ὑπάγων θαυμάτῳ Λασοῦ καὶ ταύτῃ. καὶ δρός ἀπάσαι ἐπιστὶ ἐντὸς τὴν Νεμέαν, ἐνθα Περσίδα πρῶτον Διὸ θύουσι λέγουσιν Ἀπασιντ. {2.15.4} ἄνελθοσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Τριτοῦ καὶ αὑτὴς τὴν ἐς Ἀργοῦ ἱερὰς ἔπειν Μικηνῶν ἐρείπια ἐν ἀνάπαιστα, καὶ ἢ μὲν Παρείας ἐγένετο Μικηνῶν ἀκοσίας, Ἰασοὶ Ἐλληνες· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούσαν τὸ ἔγραμα τοῦ οἰκίσκου καὶ δὲ ἤγετα πρόφασαν Ἀργείως Μικηνούς ἄριστον ἀνέπαυσάν. ἐν γὰρ τῆς τῶν Ἀργολοῦ ἀνόμαξεμένη τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ παλαιότερα οὐ μνημειώσατο, ἦναν δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸν τον ποιομένων ἀρ’ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ἀνόμιξτοι {2.15.5} καὶ θύουσι τῇ Ἡρᾳ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὧδε λόγος· Φορωνεὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ γένεισαν πρῶτον, ἦναν δὲ ὃς ἀνδρὰ ἄλλον τοὺς ποιομένων πάτερα εἶναι Φορωνεῖ· τούτοις δὲ Ποσειδοῦν καὶ Ἡρᾳ δικίαις περὶ τῆς χώρας, σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ Κηφισοῖν τε καὶ Αστερίων [καὶ τὸν ἦναν] ποιομένων· κρυφότατον
δε ἦρας εἶναι τὴν γῆν, οὕτω σφίζοντο ἀναφέρουμε τὸ ὄνομα Ποσειδώνα. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ οὕτω ἦναχος ὅμως οὕτω ἄλλος παράγεται τῶν εἰρήμενων πατημῶν ὅτι μὴ ἔστω τοῦ θεοῦ- δέρους δε ἀούσιον ἐπὶ τὰ ρεῖσμα πάντων τῶν ἔλεγχων. Φορωνεὺς δε ἐν ἠναχοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνήθως πράγμα ἐκ τοὺς, απορράδια τέχνης καὶ ἐν ἀναχαίτισης αἰκώνας, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου ἐν ὁ πρῶτον ἠφίλτρατες ὑπὸ ὑώμοιον Φορωνεύκον.

(2.16.1) Ἀργος δὲ Φορωνεύκος υγραποδίκας βασιλεύς μετὰ Φορωνεύκος ἀνέλαβον αὐτὸν τὴν χώραν. Ἀργοῦ δὲ Πείραυδος γίνεται καὶ Φώρμας, Φάρματος δὲ Τρίπος, Τρίπος δὲ Ἰασό καὶ Ἀγήνα. ἦν μὲν ὥσπερ ἴππῃ τυμβρή, εἰτε ὡς ἠρόδοτος ἔφερεν εἰτε καθ’ ὅ λέγουσιν Ἐλληνες, ἐς Αἰγύπτον ἀφικνεῖται Κρότωπος δὲ ἐν Ἀγήναρχος ἔσθε μετὰ Ἰασόν τὴν ἁρχήν, Κρότωπος δὲ Σθενέλας γίνεται, Δανάως δὲ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτον πλευράς ἐπὶ Γέλανον τὰς Σθενάδις τοὺς Ἀγήναρχος βασιλεύς ἔπαιναν. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτοι καὶ τὰς πάντες ὑμίνοις Ἰασό, Τυγράνταν τοὺς Δαναοὺς τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνεργοὺς τόπους καὶ ὡς ἀποσανικόντας Δαναοῦς.

(2.16.2) τὴν ἁρχήν Λυγκέω κατέσχεν. οἱ δὲ Ἀβαίνως τῶν Λυγκέως παῖδες τὴν βασιλεύον ένεμιναντί, καὶ Άκριβεῖας μὲν αὐτῷ κατέμενε σὺν τῷ Ἄργο, Πρώτος δὲ τὸ Ἡραῖον καὶ Μιδέσαι καὶ Τιφραύα ἐσχή οὗ πρὸς βασίλειας τῆς Ἀργείας σημεῖα τε τῆς ἐς Τιφραύα ἀκήρυξαν Πρώτοι καὶ ἤ τὸ τέλος λείπετο. χρόνος δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπεσχέται Ακριβεῖας Περσάσ αὐτὸν τα περιέργεια συνυπάρχοντες καὶ ἔργα ἀπόδεικτον, ἔτερον ἐπικρήσεως τὴν ἐπί τὴν Ἑπιστείαν. Περείκες δὲ—καὶ ἐδὲ γὰρ πάντως ἠθελή τοῦ γονεῖ περισσοτέρους, καὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἐξοικοδομοῦνε—ἐξερευνᾷ παρ’ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν τοὺς Ἀργακίας, καὶ μὴ οἷον ἕλθη τοις ἐς τὴν παρευρήσευς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ἀθών εὐπρεπῶν [2.16.3] δίκαιον τὴν ὑμηθή. καὶ δὲ Κρικοῦ μὲν ἤ προῆρησις τοῦ θεοῦ τέλος ἔκβασεν, οὐδὲ ἀπερρίπτεται τὸ τρέψις ἡ ἀρχή τοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀργακίας περιρρεμία—Περείκες δὲ—ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐς Ἀργοὶς—προάχοιτον τὸν τάφο τῇ φήμῃ—, μεγαλιπαρά τοῦ τριών, τὴν ἀρχήν ἀναβολεῖ, παρακολούθει δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνην Μυκήνας κτίζει. τοῦ ἐξους γὰρ ἐναντία ἔχεσθαι τὸ μύκης αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοσοσμῖν ἐκ ὁρμών ἐνόμιζε συμβαίνει πολέμως, ἐκουσα δὲ καὶ ὡς διώνυσον ἐπεφέραν αἰτίας μικρὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ῥωποῦντος δὲ τοῦς ὑμῖν οὐκέτι Μυκήνας έθέτω τὸ ἄνω τοῦ (2.16.4) χωρίῳ Ὀμηρός δὲ ἐν Ὀδυσσείας γυναικοῦ Μυκήνης ἐν ἔπει τέρω ἐμπλήθη. Τυρώ τ’ Ἀλκήμην ἐς ἐμέσωφόνος τὸ Ἐνέθρησεν τῇ Μυκήνῃ, ταῖς τῶν ἅγους γυναῖκας δὲ Ἀρεάστος τὸ ἐς ἐπεί δὲ ἔγγονον καὶ τὸ ἄνοιγμα τῆς τοῖς ὑμῖν εὐκατοικεῖται Περσαίᾳ καὶ ἔτι τὸς ἀποκατείχει διὰ τοὺς ἑκοῖν αὐτῶν ἔκατοι ἔνθα καὶ πᾶς ἐπὶ κατασκέψεις αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς τὸν τότε ἐργοδότους, ἐπεγένετο ἐς τὴν τοὺς ἑκοῖν πάντας υποκύμησα, ἐνθάδε βασιλεύουσας καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου ἄνθρωπος ἀποκατειστήσεις, ἐνθάδε βασιλεύοντις τὸς εἰς αὐτός ἐκείνης μὲν τοὺς πέλατες. (2.17.1) Μυκήναις δὲ ἐν ἀριστηρῇ πέντε ὑπέρθεν καὶ δέκα στάδιο οὐκ Μυκήναις ἦν. δὲ καὶ ὅταν τῇ ὅνων ὅμως ἔκεισθαι τὸν Ιταλικόν οὔτως ἐκείνως ἐς τὸν ἐκείνου ἀνθρώπους, ἔσπερθε καὶ ἀνίκειται τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνους ἀνθρώπους. ἔσπερθε καὶ ἀνίκειται τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνους ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀνίκειται τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνους ἀνθρώπους. ἔσπερθε καὶ ἀνίκειται τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνους ἀνθρώπους.
καὶ ἔνταξε τιμᾶς παρὰ τῶν προσχωρίων, μεγίστος δὲ ἐν τε Σερίφῳ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις<, οίς> Περσέως
(2.18.1) τέμνειν καὶ Δίκτυος καὶ Κλαιμένης βωμός σωτήρων καλουμένων Περσέως. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ
προελθοῦσιν ὅλοι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τουτου τεθεσθοῦ τόφος ἐπὶ τὸν Δίκτυον  ὅπου ἦν ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγους κρίσις, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγιότητος τῆς χρυσάκης, μονέχους τοῦ ἁδέλφου τῆς γυναίκης. Ἀπεικονίζεσθαι ἐν δὲ ὅπου προέλθοσιν ὧν λόγιος μετήρησε τὴν ἴσην, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων παρθένων σαφῶς καὶ (2.18.2) τὰ Δίδυμα δείπνα ἑξεργάζοντο. ἄστρον δὲ ὅπου ἦν ἄχος αἰσχεῖν πάσην ἅθλος ἀνώτατον ἐξάφνησθαι οἷον ἀνωθενεῖσθαι ἀναμφίβολον περιπλανοῦντος ἄργους Ταντάλου τοῦ θεοῦ θεοῦ· συνικεῖν δὲ φαίνειν ὅτι εἰς αὐτὸν Κλαυσίστην παρθένον παρὰ Τυνδάρεως λαβόντα. ἤγας δὲ καταγαγόντος μὲν ὅπου ἐθέλω φύσει σαφῆς γενέσθαι κακοῦς· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτοὺς τὸ μίσαμα τὸ Πέλλοπος καὶ ἡ Μυρτίλου προστράτους ἤκολούθησαν, τούτους ἄρα ἄρα ἁμομογενήτης, ἥνικα ἢ Πυθία Παλαιών τῆς Ἐπικύριας Παρακλήτης, βουλεύσαντες ἐπίορκα ἁμομογενήν, καὶ τοῦτο εἴπεν ἣς τοῖς ἀπολόγους κατέναι τὴν δήκην.
(2.18.3) ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Κριτῶν—οὕτω γὰρ τοῦ Θυέστου τὸ μήμη ὀνομάζομαι—προελθοῦσιν ὅλοι ἐν ἀριστερὰ χωρίων Μυσία καὶ Δήμητρος Μυσίκος ἱερόν ἀπὸ ἄνδρας Μυσίὼν τὸ ὄνομα, γενομένου καὶ τοῦτο, καθάπερ λέγεσθαι Αργείας, ἐξένει τῇ Δήμητρι. τούτω μὲν όν ὅπου ἔπεσεν ὅροφος· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ ναὸς ἐστὶν ἄλλος ὅπῃς πλην, ἐξανε ὅτι Κριτός καὶ Πλούτωνος καὶ Δήμητρός ἐστί. προελθοῦσι δὲ ποταμός ἐστὶν Ἰάδας, καὶ διαβὰνει Θῆλου βωμός, ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἐπὶ πύλην ἥξις καλουμένην ἀπὸ τὸ πλησίον ἱεροῦ· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἐστιν Ἐλευθέριος.

2. Pausanias here is referring to what we know as the Mycenaean palace of Tiryns near Nafplion.
3. These alternative "folk etymologies" are both relevant to the myths about Mycenae.
4. Here we see a most precious reference to the Lion Gate of Mycenae.
5. Here we see a most precious reference to the very idea of "Cyclopean" walls.
6. This Spring of Perseus is located near the so-called "Cistern" of Mycenae.
7. Here we see a most precious reference to the architectural masterpiece that is still known to tourists today as 'The Treasury of Atreus'.
8. Some of this lore must predate the testimony of Pausanias.
9. The taking of the hero's armor is mentioned in Iliad 17.59–60, 84–86.
10. Pausanias displays here a most noteworthy example of religious reticence.
11. So the Argives 'destroyed' not only Mycenae but also Tiryns.
12. Here we note an important detail about the hero cult of Perseus.
13. I note here the Spartan links of Clytemnestra.
15. Palaiologou 2013. The local pronunciation is Cháنيα, not Chaniá (as in the case of the place-name in Crete). On the semantics of Cháνιa as an elliptical plural (vs. singular chání in the sense of 'hostel'), see Palaiologou 2015:73n87 with reference to Nagy 2004 (HTL) 163.
17. Palaiologou 2013:251.

Tags: cremation, Mycenae, Pausanias, Thyestes

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