Appendix A: Characteristics of the Women-only Amazon societies

Below is what the authors contemporary to the Women-only Amazons wrote about them as *societies* in terms of common possessions or characteristic behaviors of them as groups. It is ordered first by group of Amazons and then by author in chronological order.

Thermodon Amazons

Homer, *Iliad* (about 850-700 BCE)

Thermodon Amazons at Sangarius River: (Book 3, Lines 186-190)

Peers of men

Fought against the Phrygians, the people of Otreus and of Mygdon, and the Trojans

Arctinus of Miletus, *Aethiopis* (775-741 or possibly the first half of the 7th century BCE) cited by **Eutychios Proclus**, *Chrestomathia*, Section 2 (second half of 2nd century CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Fragment 1)

A queen, Penthesilia (the queen who led the Amazons to Troy in the Trojan War), was of the Thracian race

Mimnermus, Elegies (about 632-600 BCE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 2, Nanno, Fragment 21)

Maimed their male children by removing either a leg or hand

The Scythians, desiring to come to terms in their war against the Amazons, told the Amazons that they would find in them no maimed or mutilated bedfellows

The Amazon queen (responded that) lame men make lusty husbands

Hekataios of Miletus, *World Survey* (late 6th or early 5th century BCE) cited by Scholia of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, Book 2, Section 946 of about 10-17 CE (BNJ 1 F 34) found at Pownall, Frances. "Hekataios of Miletos (1)." Brill's New Jacoby. Editor in Chief: Ian Worthington (University of Missouri). Brill Online, 2016. Reference. 14 February 2016 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-jacoby/hekataios-of-miletos-1-a1. Text about the Amazon Sinope drinking alcohol is also attributed to Andron of Teos, *Circumnavigation*, written about 400-360 BCE, Fragment 2

Thermodon Amazons:

Drink alcoholic beverages [at least one, Sinope]

Speak the same dialect as the Thracians [thus an Indo-European language]

Aeschylus, Eumenides (458 BCE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Lines 681-695)

Worship Ares

Herodotus of Halicarnassus, The Histories (450s-425 BCE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 4, Sections 110-112)

Ride horses Shoot arrows Wield javelins Fight and kill in battle Hunt

Conduct robbery through raids

Sauromatae women kept original (Thermodon Amazon) way of life: (Book 4, Sections 116-117)

Go to war against enemies

Hunt on horseback with or without their husbands

Wear the same clothes as men

Must kill a male enemy before can marry

Hellanikos of Lesbos, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (*Fragments of the Greek Historians*) **FGrHist 4 F107** (second half of 5th century BCE)

Amazones a host of golden-shielded, silver-axed, man-loving, boy-killing females

Hippocrates of Kos, *On the Articulations* (about 400 BCE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Section 53)

Some tell stories that the Amazon women dislocate the joints of infant males so that they cannot rebel and can be

made to do any sedentary work such as shoemaker or brazier

Whether these things be true I do not know

Lysias, Funeral Oration (about 392 BCE)

Thermodon Amazones: (Section 4; also referred to as 2.4)

Were daughters of Ares [worshipped Ares]

Descended from the first of all to mount horses

Used horses to surprise foes and either capture those who flee or outrun pursuers

Were accounted as men for their high courage rather than as women for their sex

Seemed to excel men in their spirit and were relatively equal physically

They alone of the people around them were armed with iron

(Sections 5-6; also referred to as 2.5-2.6)

Ruled over many nations and had enslaved those around them

Established an alliance and attacked Athens for glory and territory

Lost their home country (Thermodon region) in addition to losing their war against Athens

Ctesias, *Persica*, Fragment 8a, about 393-380 BCE cited by (**Pseudo-)Demetrius**, *On Style* (*de Elocutione*) (either 297-283 BCE, the 1st century BCE, or the 2nd century CE)

Amazons: Chapter 4, Section 213

The women of the Saka (Sacae) fight in battle—on horseback—like the Amazons

Isocrates, Panegyricus (380 BCE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Section 68 - referred to as 4.68 and Section 70 - referred to as 4.70)

Were daughters of Ares [worshipped Ares]

There was a political overthrow back at Themiscyra-Thermodon because of the loss to the Athenians at Athens

Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* (first half of 3rd century BCE)

Chadesians (Thermodon Amazons): (Book 2, Lines 995-1001)

Throw darts (lances, javelins)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 2, Lines 1168-1175)

Worshipped at Ares Temple on Ares Island (Aretias, Giresun). Outside a roofless temple was an altar made of

pebbles; within stood a black stone to which all the Amazons prayed

[There is a black colored stone inside a roofless temple called the Hamza Stone that sits on the eastern coast of the small (4 hectares or 10 acres) island. Wikipedia article on Hamza Stone at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hamza Stone accessed on March, 23, 2016.]

Xenophon, Anabasis (about 370 BCE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 4, Chapter 4, Section 16) Used Persian bows and quivers and sagaris (short battle-axes)

Plato, Laws (probably in 350s BCE)

Amazons: (Book 7, Line 806B)

Skilled with bows

Bion of Smyrna of the late 2nd to early 1st century BCE as found in **Plutarch**, *Parallel Lives*, *Life of Theseus* (about 120-127 CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Chapter 26, Section 2)

Are naturally friendly to men

Diodorus Siculus, The Library of History (60-30 BCE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 2, Chapter 45, Sections 1-3)

The sovereignty was in the hands of a people among whom women hold supreme power [Booth translation says "governed always by women, as their queens"]

Women perform the services of war such as training just as did the men

Men performed spinning and other domestic duties and were subject to humiliation and slavery

Mutilated both legs and arms of male children, incapacitating them for war Seared the right breast of female children so that it would not interfere later

(Book 2, Chapter 46, Section 1)

Girls trained to the chase

Held great festivals honoring Ares and Artemis Tauropolus

Book 2, Chapter 46, Section 3)

When a Queen died, she was succeeded by a woman from her family or kin and was ratified by the Amazon women

(Book 2, Chapter 46, Section 4)

Heracles crushed the Thermodon Amazons [a different Heracles than the one who crushed the Libyan Amazons]

Pseudo-Apollodorus, *The Library and Epitome* (*Bibliotheca*) (about middle of 1st century BCE to very early 1st century CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 2, Chapter 5, Section 9)

Reared only female babies

Pinched off the right breast so that they don't interfere with throwing the javelin

But they kept the left breasts so that babies might suckle

Pompeius Trogus of about 30-10 BCE as found in **Justin**, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (with the Epitome probably written in the second century CE but possibly later)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 2, Chapter 4)

Ride and manage horses

Shoot arrows

Train for war

Hunt

Burn right breasts in infancy

Couple with men of neighboring tribes, keep the girl babies and kill the boy babies

Established a gynecocracy that was a diarchy and in which the two queens each had an army and conducted their wars and defended their borders separately and by turns

Virgil, Aeneid (29-19 BCE)

Thermodon Amazons:

(Book 1, Lines 490-493)

In their right hand the Amazons wield a pointed dart, and with their left hand they hold a lunar shield (crescent moon shaped with the points going up and called a Pelte) and they have a golden belt athwart their breast

(Book 5, Lines 311-313)

Amazon women's quivers are well supplied with feathered Thracian arrows

Thermodon Amazons were Thracian

(Book 11, Lines 648-663)

They had shields the shape of the moon (Pelte)

They fought on Phrygian soil

Ovid, Heroides (about 25-16 BCE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 4, Lines 112-120)

Wield battle axes

Metamorphoses (8 CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 12, Line 611)

Use two-bladed axes

Propertius Sextus, *Elegies* (about 25-15 BCE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 3, Chapter 11, Line 14; Chapter 14, Lines 16-17)

At least one (Penthesilia) was Maeotian [thus consistent with Trogus' origin story of Scythas migrating to the

Thermodon River region]

Bathe bare-breasted at the Thermodon River

Seneca the Younger, *Oedipus* (about 55 CE)

Warrior maidens from Thermodon (Amazons): (Lines 479-483)

Eventually gave up their light arrows (weapons)

Pliny the Elder, Natural History (77-79 CE)

A Thermodon Amazon queen, Penthesilea: (Book 7, Chapter 56, Section 201; alternatively referred to as Book 7, Chapter 57)

Invented the securim (a type of two-bladed battle-axe)

Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica (80s CE)

Maidens (Amazons) at the Thermodon River: (Book 5, Lines 108-146)

Sacrificed horses and offered battle-axes [apparently at rituals] when they returned to the Thermodon following a victory

Used chariots [and horses]

Used axes

Had the Chalybes as husbandmen, whose production [and apparently invention] of iron goods, especially swords, caused much warfare

Had the Massagetae and Medians as allies

Silius Italicus, *Punica* (about 83-101 CE)

Thermodotians: Book 2, Lines 79-83

Used crescent (or half) moon-shaped shields

Claudius Ptolemy, Tetrabiblios (about 127-148 CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 2, Section 3; also referred to as Section 69)

Shun commerce with men Love arms (weapons)

From infancy make masculine all their female characteristics by cutting off their right breasts for the sake of military

They bare these parts in the line of battle in order to display the absence of femininity in their natures

Arrian of Nicomedia, Fragment 48 (about 130-160 CE), cited by **Eustathius of Thessalonica**, probably his *Commentary on Homer's Iliad*, Section 772 (about 1150-1195 CE)

Amazons under Eurypyle undertook an expedition against the Assyrians in Mesopotamia

Lucian of Samosata, Anacharsis (about 145-160 CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Section 34 or p 207)

Considered to be Scythae as was Anacharsis or at least connected with the Scythae

Pausanias, Description of Greece (about 150 CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 7, Chapter 2, Section 7)

Worshipped the Ephesian Artemis goddess when at the sanctuary of Ephesus (which predated them) on two occasions: when the Amazons attacked and lost against Athens and when Heracles defeated them at Themiscyra

pseudo-Bardaisan, (probably written by Bardaisan's student Phillip) *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (about 200-222 CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Section The Law of the Amazons)

All without exception do not marry

Once per year in the Spring they go to a mountain and have a great festival

The men in the region come, spend 15 days with the Amazons, have frequent sex and eating, and then return to their homes

At birth the Amazons expose the males and raise the daughters

The daughters are thus all born at about the same time and grow up being strong and warlike

Lucius Flavius Philostratus of Athens or his son-in-law Philostratus of Lemnos, *On Heroes* (about 213-214 or possibly early 220s CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Chapter 6, Sections 56.11 to 57.16)

Were not killed by Achilles (the Greeks) at Troy who some of the poets say came to Troy to fight Achilles

Fought against King Priam (Trojans) and the Phrygians during the reign of King Mugdon (Mygdon)

Later came as allies to Ilion (the Trojans at Troy) against the Achaeans (Greeks)

Some Amazons dwell on the land around the Phasis (western Georgia) and Thermodon rivers

Worship Ares

Taught to be engaged in war and lived a life armed and on horseback

Many horses are tended in marshy meadows

Do not permit men to live in their country

They go to the River Halys (modern-day Kizilirmak) marketplace and have intercourse with men in any old place They carry to the border of their country the male children where the men claim their boys and make them their slaves

Girls are valued except that mother's milk is withheld from them

This is done so that the girls do not become effeminate and have breasts that hang down

The name Amazon comes from not being reared at the breast

They nurse infants with the milk of grazing horses and honey

One time some sailors and shipbuilders were captured by the Amazons and were kept locked up and fed at mangers The Amazons were going to sell the men prisoners to the Scythian cannibals but ultimately brought the men into their society

Dismounted from their horses, Amazons are female in gender and women in every respect

Amazons would engage in rowing and sailing

Amazons would sail from the outlets of the Thermodon at about springtime

With 50 ships they would sail to the sanctuary about 2000 stades (314 km or 195 miles) away. [Aretias is about 120 kilometers (75 miles or 760 stades) from the mouth of the Thermodon, which means the sanctuary was farther east, in the northwestern part of Turkey's Rize province, which was part of ancient Colchis.]

Tryphiodorus, The Taking of Ilios (The Sack of Troy) (3rd century CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Lines 35-39) Are dear to [worship] Ares Beat their breasts when mourning

Quintus of Smyrna (also called Quintus Smyrnaeus), *Posthomerica* (*Fall of Troy*) (probably latter part of 4th century CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 1, Line 22)

Come from Thermodon

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 1, Lines 180-185)

Use crescent-moon shaped shields that have the points (horns) pointing up (rim is like a rising moon's arching chariot rail) and that is half empty space between the horns

Thermodon Amazons: (Lines 610-630)

Are ruthless fighters

Train and endure hardship just like men and fight with the same spirit

Fall not short of men in anything

Amazons' bodies are labor-hardened and they are ready to fight

Ammianus Marcellinus, Roman History (Res Gestae) (about 385 CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 22, Chapter 8, Section 18) (referred to as Amazons of old)
Frequently raided their neighbors and then attacked Athens after fighting past many nations
Lost to Athenians and were scattered after a bitter conflict because they left the flanks of their cavalry unprotected

Lost to Athenians and were scattered after a bitter conflict because they left the flanks of their cavalry unprotected and all perished [according to Plutarch and Pausanias, there were survivors of the war]

Amazons back at the Thermodon region subsequently suffered extreme hardship because of deadly attacks by their neighbors

Moved [farther] up the Thermodon River

Descendants greatly increased their population because of numerous offspring

Returned to former domain with a powerful force and then terrorized many peoples

Nonnus of Panopolis, *Dionysiaca* (end of 4th or in 5th century CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 37, Section 117)

Possess bows, quivers, and demilune bucklers (crescent-shaped shields)

Paulus Orosius, Seven Books of History Against the Pagans (about 417 CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Book 1, Chapter 15, Paragraph 1-Chapter 16, Paragraph 1; Book 1, Chapter 21, Paragraph 1) Couple with men of neighboring tribes, raise carefully the girl babies, but kill the boy babies when they are born Burn right breasts in infancy so that they may shoot arrows without hindrance

Established a gynecocracy that was a diarchy and in which the two queens each had an army and conducted their wars and defended their borders separately and by turns

For almost a hundred years kept control of lands in Europe and Asia

Amazons accompanied by Cimmerians in 782 BCE made a sudden incursion into Asia and wrought severe, prolonged, and widespread devastation and carnage

John Tzetzes, *Antehomerica* (about 1140-1180 CE)

Thermodon Amazons: (Line 23)

Use crooked bows

Worship [are daughters of] Ares

Southern Caucasus Amazons

Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander* (about middle to later parts of 1st century CE describing events of 330 BCE)

Amazons: (Book 6, Chapter 5, Sections 27-30)

Clothing does not wholly cover the body for the left side is nude as far as the breast, but the other parts of the body are veiled

The fold of the robe, which they gather in a knot, does not reach below the knee

One nipple is left untouched and with it they nourish their female children

The right nipple is seared in order that they may more easily stretch their bows and hurl their spears Retain girl babies but return male babies to their father

(Book 10, Chapter 4, Section 3) Are skilled in horsemanship

Armed with round shields and axes

Arrian of Nicomedia, Anabasis of Alexander (about 130-160 CE describing events of 324 BCE)

Amazon-like women on the Nisaean plain of Media (western Iran) but from the Southern Caucasus Amazons: (Book 7, Chapter 13)

Equipped with the arms of male horsemen except they carried axes instead of spears and targets (probably peltes, small shields) instead of shields

They had the right breast smaller than the left, and they exposed it in battle

Appian of Alexandria, Roman History (Historia Romana) (not long before 162 CE describing events of 65 BCE)

Amazons (believed to be): (Book 12, Chapter 15, Section 103)

Women hostages and prisoners among the Iberian-Albanian armies defeated by the Roman army at the Cyrus (modern-day Kura) River suffered wounds no less than the men

Plutarch (Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus), *Parallel Lives*, *Life of Pompey* (about 100-127 CE describing events of 65 BCE)

Southern Caucasus Amazons: (Chapter 35, Sections 3-4)

Fight with shields and wear buskins (open-toed, lace-up, leather boots)

Consort for two months every year with the Gelae and Leges (Scythae tribes) then go away and live by themselves

Jordanes, *The Origin and Deeds of the Goths (Getica)* (about 551 CE) Chapter 7, Sections 49-51; Chapter 8, Sections 56-57

Goth (Scythae) women formed a company of women with two leaders. One queen stayed home while the other conquered various tribes in Asia and then settled in the Caucasus region, in particular the Caspian Gates (modern-day Derbent, Dagestan, Russia)

The Amazons stayed there for some time and strengthened. They then departed, crossed the Halys (modern-day Kizilirmak) River that flows by the city of Gangra (modern-day Cankiri, Turkey), and then subdued Armenia, Syria, Cilicia, Galatia, Pisidia (a significant portion of eastern and southern Turkey) and all the places of Asia.

They then turned to Ionia and Aeolia and made provinces of them after their surrender. They ruled for some time and even founded cities and camps that bear their name.

At Ephesus they built a temple for Diana.

The Amazons were devoted to archery and the chase.

These Scythia-born women who had gained control over Asia, held these for over a hundred years and then came back to their kinsfolk at the Caucasus Mountains.

The Amazons sought marriage with neighboring tribes. They appointed a day for meeting once in every year, so that when they should return to the same place on that day in the following year, each mother might give over to the father whatever male child she has borne, but should herself keep and train for warfare whatever children of the female sex were born.

Or else, as some maintain, they exposed the males, destroying the life of the ill-fated child with a hate like that of a stepmother. Among them, childbearing was detested.

Hercules, they say fought against them and overcame Menealippe [Melanippe?], yet more by guile than by valor. Theseus took Hippolyte captive and with her begat Hippolytus. And in later times the Amazons had a queen named Penthesilea, famed in the tales of the Trojan War.

These women are said to have kept their power even to the time of Alexander the Great.

Nart Sagas from the Caucasus: Legends from the Circassians, Abazas, Abkhaz, and Ubykhs, John Colarusso, 2002, Princeton University Press, Saga 26, Lady Nart Saga

Women would decorate themselves and sit on horses

They would saddle their horses, grab their lances and daggers, and ride forth with their menfolk to meet the enemy in battle

They would cut out an enemy's heart with their swords

They could counter the poison of a snake

They harbored great love for their men and would comfort them with their hands

Nart Sana was of them

(the name Amazon may come from the Circassian word Amazana, meaning Forest Mother)

Steppe Amazons

Strabo, Geography (7-23 CE)

Steppe Amazons who live north of the Caucasus Mountains: (Book 11, Chapter 5, Section 1)

Mostly live off by themselves

Plough, plant, and pasture (cattle and horses) and train horses

Hunt with horses

Train for war

Throw javelins

Also use bows, sagaris (light two-headed battle axes) and a light shield (pelte)

Use animals skins for clothing, helmets, and girdles

Burn the right breasts of all (girls) at infancy

Couple in anonymity with Gargarians for two months in spring, keep the girl babies and give the boy babies to the

Gargarians at their border in the northern foothills of the Ceraunian mountains

The Gargarians are said to have accompanied the Amazons from Themiscyra

Nomads (living in approximately that region): (Book 7, Chapter 3, Section 17)

Tents are made of felt and are fastened to wagons

Live surrounded by herds which provide milk, cheese, and meat

Periodically move following the herd

Live in marsh-meadows along the Sea of Azov in winter and on the plains in summer

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* (77-79 CE)

Steppe Amazons: (Book 6, Chapter 7, Section 19)

Married to (Latin word is conubia) the Sauromatae Gynaiko Kratumenoi

Statius - *Thebaid* (about 92 CE)

Warrior-maids at Sea of Azov: (Lines 519-539) [almost certainly Amazons]

Admit no thought of sex

Worship at shrine of unwedded Minerva (Athena Parthenos)

Other Amazon or Amazon-like groupings

Pausanias, Description of Greece (about 150 CE)

Amazons at Pyrrichus: (Book 3, Chapter 25, Section 3)

Amazons from Thermodon stayed their advance here and built sanctuaries to Artemis Astrateia and Apollo

Amazonius

Tegea women warriors: (Book 8, Chapter 48, Sections 4-5)

Fought well Worshipped Ares

Valerius Harpocration, Lexicon of the Ten Orators, Amazoneion (probably 2nd century CE)

In the vicinity of Dioklea was a place (Amazonon?) where the Amazones would perform a worship ceremony involving burnt offerings and sacrifices

Appendix B: 78 ancient authors who geolocated or described the Women-only Amazon societies

The authors are in chronological order.

Name	Relevant Work(s)	Approximate Date of Production
Homer	Iliad	probably in the span 850-700 BCE
Arctinus of Miletus	Aethiopis	775-741 or possibly the first half of the 7th century BCE
Mimnermus	Elegies	about 632-600 BCE
Hekataios of Miletus	World Survey Geneologies (Histories)	late 6th or early 5th century BCE
Cleidemus	Atthis	after 479 to 4th century BCE
Aeschylus (possibly son Euphorion)	Eumenides Prometheus Bound	458 BCE 480s to 430 BCE
Pindar	Olympian Ode Nemean Ode Fragment 174	between 488-456 BCE between 485-444 BCE between 498-438 BCE
Herodotus of Halicarnassus	The Histories	450s-425 BCE
Pherekydes of Leros (Athens)	Book 2 of an unknown manuscript	about 450s-420 BCE
Hellanikos of Lesbos	FGrHist 4 F107	second half of 5th century BCE
Euripides	Heracles	421-416 BCE
Hippocrates of Kos	On the Articulations On Airs, Waters, and Places	about 400 BCE
Ctesias of Cnidus	Persica	about 393-380 BCE
Lysias	Funeral Oration	about 392 BCE
Isocrates	Panegyricus Archidamus Areopagiticus Panathenaicus	380 BCE
Plato	Menexenus Laws	probably in 380s or 370s BCE probably in 350s BCE
Xenophon	Anabasis Memorabilia	about 370 BCE after 371 to possibly 354 BCE
Ephoros of Cyme	Histories	356-330 BCE
Demosthenes	Funeral Speech	August-September 338 BCE
Palaephatus of Abydos	Attica	2nd half of 4th century BCE

Cleitarchus	Fragment 9	late 4th or early 3rd century BCE
Demetrius	On Style (de Elocutione)	297-283 BCE to 2nd century CE
Callimachus	Hymns, Hymn to Diana	about 280-240 BCE
Apollonius Rhodius	Argonautica	1st half of 3rd century BCE
?	Parian Chronicle	probably relatively soon after 264-263 BCE
Lycophron	Alexandra (or Cassandra)	mid 3rd century BCE
Pseudo-Skymnos	Periodos to Nicomedes	about 144-100 BCE
Metrodorus of Scepsis	?	about 120-70 BCE
Bion of Smyrna	?	late 2 nd to early 1 st century BCE
Theophanes of Mytilene	?	65 BCE
Follower of Plato	Axiochus	about 1st century BCE
Hypsicrates	?	about middle of 1st century BCE
Diodorus Siculus	The Library of History	60-30 BCE
Pseudo-Apollodorus	The Library and Epitome (Bibliotheca)	about middle of 1st century BCE to very early 1st century CE
Sallust	Histories	about 45-35 BCE
(Gaius Sallustius Crispus)		
(Gaius Sallustius Crispus) Didymos Chalcenterus (of Alexandria)	Commentary on Pindar	about 40 BCE-10 CE
Didymos Chalcenterus		
Didymos Chalcenterus (of Alexandria)	Commentary on Pindar	about 40 BCE-10 CE second half of 1st century BCE to
Didymos Chalcenterus (of Alexandria) Thrasyllus of Mendes	Commentary on Pindar ?	about 40 BCE-10 CE second half of 1st century BCE to 36 CE
Didymos Chalcenterus (of Alexandria) Thrasyllus of Mendes Pompeius Trogus Virgil	Commentary on Pindar ? The Philippic History	about 40 BCE-10 CE second half of 1st century BCE to 36 CE 30 BCE-10 CE
Didymos Chalcenterus (of Alexandria) Thrasyllus of Mendes Pompeius Trogus Virgil (Publius Virgilius Maro) Dionysius Periegetes	Commentary on Pindar ? The Philippic History Aeneid	about 40 BCE-10 CE second half of 1st century BCE to 36 CE 30 BCE-10 CE 29-19 BCE
Didymos Chalcenterus (of Alexandria) Thrasyllus of Mendes Pompeius Trogus Virgil (Publius Virgilius Maro) Dionysius Periegetes (of Alexandria) Ovid	Commentary on Pindar ? The Philippic History Aeneid Periegesis Heroides	about 40 BCE-10 CE second half of 1st century BCE to 36 CE 30 BCE-10 CE 29-19 BCE 27 BCE-20 CE about 25-16 BCE
Didymos Chalcenterus (of Alexandria) Thrasyllus of Mendes Pompeius Trogus Virgil (Publius Virgilius Maro) Dionysius Periegetes (of Alexandria) Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso)	Commentary on Pindar ? The Philippic History Aeneid Periegesis Heroides Metamorphoses	about 40 BCE-10 CE second half of 1st century BCE to 36 CE 30 BCE-10 CE 29-19 BCE 27 BCE-20 CE about 25-16 BCE 8 CE
Didymos Chalcenterus (of Alexandria) Thrasyllus of Mendes Pompeius Trogus Virgil (Publius Virgilius Maro) Dionysius Periegetes (of Alexandria) Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso) Propertius Sextus	Commentary on Pindar ? The Philippic History Aeneid Periegesis Heroides Metamorphoses Elegies	about 40 BCE-10 CE second half of 1st century BCE to 36 CE 30 BCE-10 CE 29-19 BCE 27 BCE-20 CE about 25-16 BCE 8 CE about 25-15 BCE

Curtius (Quintus Rufus)	History of Alexander	about middle to later part of 1st century CE
Pomponius Mela	Description of the World	about 43 CE
Seneca the Younger	Oedipus	about 55 CE
Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus)	Natural History	77-79 CE
Valerius Flaccus	Argonautica	80s CE
Silenius Italicus	Punica	about 83-101 CE
Statius (Publius Papinius)	Thebaid	about 92 CE
Plutarch (Lucius Mestrius)	Parallel Lives Life of Pompey Life of Theseus Life of Alexander	about 100-127 CE
Claudius Ptolemy	Geography Tetrabiblios	about 127-148 CE
Arrian of Nicomedia	Anabasis of Alexander Circuit of the Black Sea (Periplous Ponti Euxini)	about 130-160 CE about 131-132 CE
Lucian of Samosata	Anacharsis	about 145-160 CE
Pausanias	Description of Greece	about 150 CE
Valerius Harpocration	Lexicon of the Ten Orators	probably 2nd century CE
Justin (Marcus Junianus)	Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus	probably 2nd century CE but possibly later
Appian of Alexandria	Roman History (Historia Romana)	not long before 162 CE
Eutychios Proclus	Chrestomathia	second half of 2nd century CE
pseudo-Bardaisan	Book of the Laws of the Countries	about 200-222 CE
Philostratus of Athens (possibly son-in-law Philostratus of Lemnos)	On Heroes	about 213-214 or possibly early 220s CE
Gaius Julius Solinus	De Mirabilibus Mundi (The Wonders of the World) also Collectanea rerum memorabilium ('Collection of Curiosities') and Polyhistor	early to middle 3rd century CE
Tryphiodorus	The Taking of Ilios (The Fall of Troy)	3rd century CE

Eusebius of Caesarea Chronicle about 326 CE (Chronicon) Quintus Smyrnaeus Posthomerica probably latter part of 4th (of Smyrna) (Fall of Troy) century CE Jerome Chronicle about 380 CE Ammianus Marcellinus Roman History about 385 CE (Res Gestae) Maurus Servius Honoratus late 4th or early 5th century CE Commentary on the Aeneid of Virgil Nonnus of Panopolis Dionysiaca end of the 4th or in the 5th century CE Paulus Orosius Seven Books of History about 417 CE Against the Pagans Anonymous Circuit of the Black Sea in the 5th or more likely 6th century CE (Periplus Pontus Euxini) Circuit of the Black Sea in the 5th or more likely 6th century CE and Maeotian Lake (Ponti Euxini et Maeotidis Paludis Periplus) Stephanus Byzantinus Ethnika early 6th century CE Jordanes The Origins and Deeds about 551 CE of the Goths (Getica) John Tzetzes Chiliades 1140-1180 CE Antehomerica Isaac Tzetzes Scholia on Lycophron 1140-1180 CE (co-author John Tzetzes)

Commentary on Homer's

Iliad

Eustathius of Thessalonica

1150-1195 CE

Appendix C: Thermodon Amazon locations

The Thermodon Amazons more than anywhere else were located near the Thermodon (modern-day Terme Cay) River and a city on or near the river named Themiscyra. Near to the river and extending to the west was a plain called by different authors the Thermodon, Themiscyran, or Doiantian plain. The sources are in chronological order. Other locations within the Thermodon Amazons' domain are in alphabetical order.

In Book 4, Section 101 of *The Histories*, Herodotus calculates a day's journey to be 200 stades. What are now called itinerary stades (those used in the measurement of a journey) are 157 meters or 172 yards long. That makes a day's journey 31.4 km or 19.54 miles. These distances are used in this appendix and Appendix F.

Themiscyra and Thermodon River locations

Hekataios, *Genealogies* (also called *Histories*), Book 2, from the late 6th or early 5th century BCE cited by **Stephanus Byzantinus**, *Ethnika*, Chadisia (early 6th century CE)

The plain of Themiskyra extends from Chadisia to the Thermodon

Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound, Lines 720-725 (480s-430 BCE-possibly son Euphorion)

Amazonon inhabit Themiscyra on the Thermodon

Pherekydes, of Leros (Athens), Book 2 of an unknown manuscript from about 475-450 BCE cited by the **Scholia** on Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* of about 10-17 CE found at BNJ 3 F 15 a and b (Morison, William S., "Pherekydes of Athens (3)", in: Brill's New Jacoby, Editor in Chief: Ian Worthington (University of Missouri). Consulted online on 23 September 2017

First published online: 2016)

Amazons inhabit the Doiantian plain [which is close by to the triple cities of the Amazons] Akmon's grove is around the Thermodon

Pindar (about 488-456 BCE) cited by Strabo, Geography, Book 12, Chapter 3, Section 9 (7-23 CE)

Themiscyra was an Amazon abode

Herodotus, The Histories, Book 4, Section 110 and Book 9, Section 27 (about 450s-425 BCE)

Amazons came from the River Thermodon

Lysias, Funeral Oration, Section 4 (about 392 BCE)

Amazons lived beside the Thermodon River

Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica, Book 2 Lines 369-374, 966-1001 (1st half of 3rd century BCE)

The plain of Doeas is near the Thermodon River and the three cities of the Amazons are near the plain The Amazons dwell scattered over the Doeantian plain (Themiscyran plain) and there are three tribes of the Amazons: Themiscyrans, Lakastians, and Chadesians **Diodorus Siculus,** *The Library of History*, Book 2, Chapter 45, Section 1; Book 4, Chapter 16, Section 1; Book 17, Chapter 77, Sections 1-3 (60-30 BCE)

Amazons lived in the country along the Thermodon River

The palace of the Amazons was in the city Themiscyra, which was near the mouth of the Thermodon River Amazon queen Thalestris ruled the territory from the Thermodon River to the Phasis River

Pseudo-Apollodorus, *The Library and Epitome* (*Bibliotheca*), Book 2, Chapter 5, Section 9 (about middle of 1st century BCE to very early 1st century CE)

Amazons dwelt about the River Thermodon and their city, Themiscyra, had a harbor on the river

Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus) *Histories* (about 45-35 BCE) cited by Maurus Servius Honoratus, *Commentary on the Aeneid of Virgil*, Book 11, Section 659 (late 4th or early 5th century CE)

Amazons lived around the Thracian Tanais River before traveling to the Thracian Thermodon River, which is testified to by Sallust saying, "The Amazons inhabit the Themiscyran plain, having come from the Tanais River, although we do not know the reason they migrated."

Pompeius Trogus of about 30 BCE-10 CE as found in **Justin**, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, Book 2, Chapter 4 (with the Epitome probably written in the second century CE but possibly later)

Scythas who became the Amazons established a settlement near the coast and the Thermodon River and lived on the adjacent Themiscyran plain

Dionysius Periegetes (of Alexandria), *Periegesis*, Lines 766-776 (about 27 BCE-20 CE)

Amazons lived at the Thermodon River

Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander*, Book 6, Chapter 4, Section 17; Book 6, Chapter 5, Sections 24-25 (about middle to later parts of 1st century CE)

Amazons lived near the Leucosyri

[who lived around the Halys (modern-day Kizilirmak) and Iris (Yesilirmak) rivers (which are adjacent to the Thermodon to the west)—from Scholia on Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, Book 2, Section 963]

A race of Amazons inhabited the Themiscyran plain about the Thermodon River

Pomponius Mela, *Description of the World*, Book 1, Chapter 19, Section 9 (alternatively Book 1, Section 105) (about 43 CE)

Themiscurum was on the Thermodon plain

Seneca the Younger, *Oedipus*, Lines 479-483 (about 55 CE)

Warrior maids from Thermodon

Pliny the Elder, Natural History, Book 6, Chapter 4 (Latin Chapter 3, Section 10) (77-79 CE)

Themiscyra - city about 60 stades (9.42 km or 5.86 miles) from the Themiscyran plain

Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, Book 5, Lines 108-146 (80s CE)

Maidens (Amazons) at the Thermodon River sacrificed horses and battle-axes when they returned to the Thermodon following a victory

They returned [from the territory north of the Caucasus Mountains] on chariots through the Caspian Gates (modern-day Derbent, Dagestan, Russia) accompanied by Massagetae and Medians

Plutarch, Parallel Lives - Life of Pompey, Chapter 35, Section 3 (about 100-127 CE)

Amazons came down from the mountains about the Thermodon

Claudius Ptolemy, Geography, Book 5, Chapter 6 (about 127-148 CE)

Themiscyra was at 66 30 43 12 (43 degrees, 12 minutes North latitude; 66 degrees, 30 minutes East longitude) while Pontus Polemoniacus at the mouth of the Thermodon River was at 67 0 43 40 (43 degrees, 40 minutes North; 67 degrees, 0 minutes East) meaning that Themiscyra was southwest of the river mouth [note that Ptolemy's distance measurements in this part of the world, especially in terms of longitude, are not trustworthy]

Arrian of Nicomedia, The Periplus of the Euxine Sea, Section 13 (about 131-132 CE)

Amazons are said to have dwelt upon the banks of the Thermodon River

Appian of Alexandria, *Roman History* (*Historia Romana*), Volume 1 the Foreign Wars, Book 12 the Mithridatic Wars, Chapter 10, Section 69 (before 162 CE describing situation in 73 BCE)

The region around the Thermodon River is called the Country of the Amazons

Lucius Flavius Philostratus of Athens or his son-in-law Philostratus of Lemnos, *On Heroes*, Chapter 6, Sections 56.11, 57.3, and 57.4 (about 213-214 CE or possibly early 220s CE)

Some poets say the Amazons came to Troy [during the Trojan War]

Some Amazons dwell on the land around the Thermodon River and around the Phasis (modern-day Rioni) River (in western Georgia) [time when this is the case is unclear]

Thermodon Amazons go to a marketplace at the Halys (modern-day Kizilirmak) River

Tryphiodorus, The Taking of Ilios (The Sack of Troy), Lines 35-39 (in 3rd century CE)

Amazons in Trojan War came from the Thermodon

Quintus Smyrnaeus (also called Quintus of Smyrna), *Posthomerica* (*Fall of Troy*), Book 1, Line 22 (probably latter part of 4th century CE)

Amazons came from the Thermodon to fight in the Trojan War

Nonnus of Panopolis, *Dionysiaca*, Book 37, Sections 115-120 (end of the 4th or in the 5th century CE)

Amazons lived along banks of the Thermodon River

Anonymous, Circuit of the Black Sea (Periplus Ponti Euxini), in S. F. Guil. Hoffmann, ed. Periplus ponti Euxini. Anonymi Periplus ponti Euxini, qui Arriano falso adscribitur. Anonymi Periplus ponti Euxini et Maeotidis paludis. Anonymi, Mensura ponti Euxini. Agathemeri Hypotyposes Geographiae. Fragmenta Duo Geographica. pp 118-119 (pdf pages 151-152), 1842 (in the 5th or more likely 6th century CE)

40 stadia (6.28 km or 3.91 miles) east of the Herakleion cape is the navigable Thermodon River The Thermodon is where the Amazons lived The city Themiscyra is at the mouth of the river The Thermodon River flowed through their community

Isaac Tzetzes and John Tzetzes, Scholia on Lycophron, Section 1330 (1140-1180 CE)

Themiscyra: The city Themiscyra and the country of the Amazons. There Themiscyrians are called by the name Amazons.

[The location for Themiscyra in the Google Earth database is my best estimate. It is based primarily on Ptolemy's locating Themiscyra to the southwest of the mouth of the Thermodon River. Added to that are Diodorus Siculus' statement that it is near the mouth of the river, pseudo-Apollodorus' statement that it has a harbor on the river, and Pompeius Trogus' statement that it was near the coast and the river. Finally, the depicted location is the highest point around for a considerable distance that satisfies those descriptions.]

Other locations in the Thermodon Amazon domain mentioned by the ancient authors were:

Amasya (Amasia)

Pliny, Natural History, Book 6, Chapter 4 (Latin Chapter 3, Section 10) (77-79 CE)

Amazon settlement

Amazonius/Amazonium

Mela, Description of the World, Book 1, Chapter 19, Section 9 (alternatively Book 1, Section 105) (about 43 CE)

Amazonius was an encampment on the Thermodon plain (not geolocated)

Pliny, Natural History, Book 6, Chapter 4 (Latin Chapter 3, Section 10) (77-79 CE)

Amazonium (settlement not geolocated)

Aretias (Ares Island, modern-day Giresun)

Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica, Book 2, Lines 384-387 and Lines 1168-1175 (1st half of 3rd century BCE)

Amazons built a stone temple of Ares (on Ares Island) when they went forth to war Amazons prayed to a black stone within a roofless temple of Ares at the Island of Ares (Aretias)

Pliny, Natural History, Book 6, Chapter 13 (77-79 CE)

Amazon location

Chadesia

Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica, Book 2, Lines 966-1001 (1st half of 3rd century BCE)

Amazon city

Anonymous, Circuit of the Black Sea (Periplus Ponti Euxini), in S. F. Guil. Hoffmann, ed. Periplus ponti Euxini. Anonymi Periplus ponti Euxini, qui Arriano falso adscribitur. Anonymi Periplus ponti Euxini et Maeotidis paludis. Anonymi, Mensura ponti Euxini. Agathemeri Hypotyposes Geographiae. Fragmenta Duo Geographica. pp 118-119 (pdf pages 151-152), 1842 (in the 5th or more likely 6th century CE)

40 stades (6.28 km or 3.91 miles) east from Lykastus 100 stades (15.7 km or 9.77 miles) further east to the port of Ancon at the mouth of the Iris (modern-day Yesilirmak) River

Comana Pontica

Pliny, Natural History, Book 6, Chapter 4 (Latin Chapter 3, Section 10) (77-79 CE)

Amazon settlement

Lykastus

Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica, Book 2, Lines 966-1001 (1st half of 3rd century BCE)

Amazon city

Anonymous, Circuit of the Black Sea (Periplus Ponti Euxini), in S. F. Guil. Hoffmann, ed. Periplus ponti Euxini. Anonymi Periplus ponti Euxini, qui Arriano falso adscribitur. Anonymi Periplus ponti Euxini et Maeotidis paludis. Anonymi, Mensura ponti Euxini. Agathemeri Hypotyposes Geographiae. Fragmenta Duo Geographica. pp 118-119 (pdf pages 151-152), 1842 (in the 5th or more likely 6th century CE)

20 stades (1.95 miles or 3.14 km) east from Amisos

Sinope (Sinop, Amazon domain begins just east of Sinope)

Hekataios, *World Survey*, of the late 6th or early 5th century BCE cited by the **Scholia of Apollonius Rhodius'** *Argonautica* of about 10-17 CE found at Brill's New Jacoby, BNJ 1 F 34

Near Amazons

Scholia of Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica Book 2, Section 965 of about 10-17 CE

Amazon domain begins just east of Sinope

Sotira (settlement not geolocated)

Pliny, Natural History, Book 6, Chapter 4 (Latin Chapter 3, Section 10) (77-79 CE)

Amazon settlement

Thermodon (settlement not geolocated)

Pliny, Natural History, Book 6, Chapter 4 (Latin Chapter 3, Section 10) (77-79 CE)

Amazon settlement

Trapezous (Trabizond, Trabzon) eastern end of Amazon domain

Scholia of Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica Book 2, Section 965 of about 10-17 CE

Amazon domain begins 3 stades (.29 miles or .47 kilometers) west of the Trapezous harbor

[There is one other settlement that should be included even though it was not explicitly stated to be an Amazon location: Cotyora (modern-day Ordu).]

Cotyora

Xenophon, Anabasis, Book 6, Chapter 1, Sections 1, 12-13

Cotyora lies within the Thermodon Amazon domain (between Themiscyra and Aretias) and in 401 BCE had women warriors living in the vicinity.

[There is one more settlement that will be mentioned because it serves as a reference point for locating Lykastus and Chadesia. That settlement is Amisos, in modern-day Samsun, Turkey.]

Key Dates

Eusebius of Caesarea, *Chronicle*, Book 2, Chronological Canons, Part 1 about 326 CE as found in **Jerome**, *Chronicle* about 380 CE.

Approximate Year	Event Recorded
1267-1265 BCE	Voyage of Jason and the Argonauts (passed by the Thermodon Amazon domain)
1208	(Thermodon) Amazon war against Thebes
1185	When (Thermodon) Amazons arrived at Troy during the Trojan War
1146	(Thermodon) Amazons burned down the temple at Ephesus
1077	(Thermodon) Amazons moved into Asia with Cimmerians

Appendix D: Descriptions of the Amazon war against Athens

The Thermodon Amazons with Thracian and Scythae allies attacked and briefly conquered much of mainland Greece, all of the way down to the southern tip of the Peloponnese, but were defeated at Athens and Celenderis. The date is unknown, but it appears to have been late in the 13th century, probably about 1208 BCE. The key battle began on Boedromia, the seventh day of the month of Boedromion (which ran from about September 12 to about October 13, thus the battle began about September 18) and a peace treaty was signed four months later (thus January-February 1207 BCE).

The descriptions are in chronological order in terms of when the text was written.

Homer, *Iliad*, Book 3, Lines 186-190 (about 850-700 BCE)

In Phrygia, on the banks of the Sangarius (modern-day Sakarya) River, Amazons came upon the Phrygians, the people of Otreus and of Mygdon, and the Trojans, and were the peers of men [this event occurred a number of years (10<years<35) before the beginning of the Trojan War (1194 BCE) and thus probably was part of the Amazons' march west to Greece that was about 1208 BCE, which was 14 years earlier]

Aeschylus, Eumenides, Book 2, Lines 681-695 (458 BCE)

Amazons who came to Athens camped at Hill of Ares (Areopagus) Amazons built a citadel with lofty towers and sacrificed to Ares

Herodotus, The Histories, Book 9, Section 27 (about 450s-425 BCE)

Amazons who attacked Athens came from the River Thermodon

Lysias, Funeral Oration, Sections 4-6 (also referred to as 2.4-2.6) (about 392 BCE)

Amazons from the Thermodon marched against Athens and lost badly Because of the disastrous war outcome, the Amazons ultimately lost control of their territory at the Thermodon River

Plato, Menexenus, Section 239b (probably in 380s or 370s BCE)

Amazons were repulsed by Athenians

Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, Sections 68 and 70 (referred to as 4.68 and 4.70) (380 BCE); also in *Archidamus*, Section 42 (referred to as 6.42); *Areopagiticus*, Section 75 (referred to as 7.75); *Panathenaicus*, Section 193 (referred to as 12.193) (about 380 BCE)

Amazons (Thracians with Amazons, who were leading Scythai) fought against Athens but lost None who fought at Athens returned home

The political regime at Themiscyra was overthrown because of the disaster

Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, Book 3, Chapter 5, Section 10 (after 371 to about 354 BCE)

Great victories in Athens' past include Theseus' wars against the Amazons and Thracians

Demosthenes, Funeral Speech, Section 8 (also referred to as 60 8) (August-September, 338 BCE)

Amazons after their defeat at Athens were driven back beyond the Phasis River (modern-day Rioni River) in western Republic of Georgia

?, Parian Chronicle, (text is on a marble stela, the Parian Marble) (probably relatively soon after 264-263 BCE)

Invasion of the Amazons into Attica happened in 1256-1255 BCE (Destruction of Troy happened in 1209-1208 BCE)

Diodorus Siculus, The Library of History, Book 4 Chapter 28, Sections 1-4 (about 60-30 BCE)

After Heracles defeated them, some Amazons still lived around the Thermodon river, and then moved against Athens with Scythians (Skython) as allies

They crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus [almost certainly the Thracian Bosphorus now called the Bosporus], advanced through Thrace, and camped at the Amazoneion (Amazoneum) (near the Hill of Ares) [it is highly unlikely that the Amazons marched all of the way around the Black Sea]

The Amazons were defeated at Athens and then driven out of Attica (the Grecian peninsula on which Athens lies) The Amazons who survived renounced their ancestral soil (alternative translation-despairing of ever being able to recover their country) and returned with the Scythians into Scythia and made their homes among that people

Pseudo-Apollodorus, *The Library and Epitome* (*Bibliotheca*), Chapter 1, Section 16 (about middle of 1st century BCE to very early 1st century CE)

Amazons attacked Athens and based themselves around the Areopagus (Hill of Ares)

Thrasyllus of Mendes, Fragment 3 (second half of 1st century BCE to 36 CE)

Amazon expedition to Athens took place in 1237 BCE (Destruction of Troy happened in 1191 BCE)

Pompeius Trogus of about 30 BCE-10 CE as found in **Justin**, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, Book 2, Chapter 4 (with the Epitome probably written in the second century CE but possibly later)

Because of Heracles attack upon them, the Amazons rallied to get revenge
The Amazons solicited and got aid from a Scythae king stating that they were of Scythae descent
Because of a disagreement, the Amazons were deserted by their auxiliaries and thus lost to the Athenians
The camp of the Amazons' allies provided a refuge for them, and the allies escorted the Amazons safely back to
their kingdom [at the Thermodon River]

Follower of Plato, Axiochus, Chapter 3 (about 1st century BCE)

The Statue of the Amazon is nearby the Itonian Gate [which was southwest of the Olympieion, the Temple of Olympian Zeus] in Athens

Plutarch, *Parallel Lives - Life of Theseus*, Chapter 26, Sections 1-2; Chapter 27, Sections 1-5 (about 100-127 CE) citing **Cleidemus**, *Atthis* (after 479 to 4th century BCE)

Sections 1-2--Theseus went to Themiscyra after Heracles and captured a queen

Section 1--Amazons fought Athenians in vicinity of the Pynx and Hill of Mouseion (Muses)

Section 2--They encamped almost in the heart of the city

Section 3--Amazon-Athens battle began on Boedromia, the seventh day of the month of Boedromion [which ran from about September 12 to about October 13, thus the battle began about September 18]—[Plutarch explicitly cites Cleidemus, *Atthis* regarding the battle locations]

The left wing of the Amazons moved towards the place which is yet called the Amazonium (where the Amazons camped)

The right (wing) moved towards the Pnyx, near Chrysa

That with this wing the Athenians, issuing from behind the Hill of Mouseion, engaged

The graves of those that were slain are to be seen in the street that leads to the gate called the Piraic (Piraean Gate), by the chapel of the hero Chalcodon

Section 4—Here the Athenians were routed, and gave way before the women, as far as the Temple of the Furies (Shrine of Eumenides)

But fresh supplies coming in from the Palladium (Parthenon), Ardettus, and the Lyceum, they charged their (the Amazons') right wing and beat them back into their tents, in which action a great number of the Amazons were slain

After four [not three as one translation says] months a peace was concluded

The pillar of the Amazon is by the sanctuary of Olympian Earth

Section 5--After the battle some Amazons went to Chalcis and some were buried at an Amazonion there The Horcomosium, next to the Theseum, was the place where the oaths implementing the peace treaty were taken There was also an ancient sacrifice to the Amazons the day before the feast of Theseus (thus on October 20)

Arrian of Nicomedia, Anabasis of Alexander, Book 7, Chapter 13 (about 130-160 CE)

Athenians had a glorious victory against the Amazons

Lucian of Samosata, Anacharsis, Section 34 (about 145-160 CE)

Thermodon Amazons—who were considered to be Scythian as was Anacharsis, or at least connected with the Scythians—marched against Athens with Thracians (Thrakon)

Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Book 1, Chapter 2, Section 1 and Book 7, Chapter 2, Sections 7-8 (about 150 CE)

Upon entering Athens on the road from Phalerum, there is a monument to the Thermodon Amazon Antiope (who fought and died with the Greeks against the Amazons)

[This is the same monument as described by the Follower of Plato and Plutarch above thus making it near the Itonian Gate.]

Thermodon Amazons arrived at the sanctuary at Ephesus during their campaign against Athens

Lucius Flavius Philostratus of Athens or his son-in-law Philostratus of Lemnos, *On Heroes*, Chapter 6, Section 56.11 (about 213-214 CE or possibly early 220s CE)

Trojans and Phrygians during the reigns of Priam and Mugdon (and before the Trojan War) fought against the Amazons [see Homer reference to this event above]

Ammianus Marcellinus, Roman History, (Res Gestae), Book 22, Chapter 8, Sections 18-19 (about 385 CE)

The Amazons (of old) at the Thermodon, after constant raids against their neighbors, broke through many nations and made war upon the Athenians.

They lost badly after a bitter contest because they left the flanks of their cavalry unprotected. All Amazons perished.

When news of the Amazon army's destruction arrived, the Amazons who had remained at the Thermodon were attacked by their neighbors and suffered extreme hardship, forcing the Amazons to move to a quieter abode on (farther up) the Thermodon, where they greatly increased in number and power and then returned. In later times the Amazons were a cause of terror to people of diverse nationalities.

Isaac Tzetzes and John Tzetzes, Scholia on Lycophron, Section 1332 (1140-1180 CE)

Thermodon Amazons made war against Attica, and embarrassingly, fled back to the Scythians And it is said that it is because of a girdle (wide belt) that the Amazons campaigned against Athens Hellanicus of Lesbos says that the Amazons washed themselves with water from the Cimmerian Bosporus The Amazons marched to Attica and Athens and battled against the Athenians for four crescent moons (thus months)

Lysias the Orator said nearly all [Athenian] men were mounted on horseback to meet the Amazon army. The Amazons proved themselves by fighting back towards the Athenians, but they were defeated.

Appendix E: Other locations associated with the Amazon war

These locations are those that were used or created at the time of the Amazon war against Athens and much of the rest of Greece. All but two are not in Athens. These locations are in alphabetical order with the sources for each location in chronological order.

Amastris

Stephanus Byzantinus, Ethnika, Amastris (early 6th century CE)

John Tzetzes, Chiliades, Book 13, Chapter 12 (Story 470) (about 1140-1180 CE)

Some say Amastris is named after an Amazon girl

Amazonion (Probably to the north or northwest of the Areopagus (Hill of Ares) in Athens)

Plutarch, Parallel Lives - Life of Theseus, Chapter 27, Section 3 (about 100-127 CE)

Amazons buried nearby, on the road to the Peiraic Gate

Celenderis

Pausanias, Description of Greece, Book 2, Chapter 32, Section 9 (about 150 CE)

Amazons, part of the same army that attacked Athens, were defeated by Theseus at Celenderis

Chaeronea

Plutarch, Parallel Lives - Life of Theseus, Chapter 27, Section 6 (about 100-127 CE)

Amazons buried on the banks of the Haemon River near Chaeronea

Chalcis

Plutarch, Parallel Lives - Life of Theseus, Chapter 27, Section 5 (about 100-127 CE)

Amazons buried at an Amazoneum

Didyma

Pindar, Fragment 174 in *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis* (between 498-438 BCE)

Amazons performed a sacrifice ritual at [the location of] the Temple of Apollo against Athens and Theseus

Ephesus

Callimachus, Hymns, Hymn to Diana (also Hymn to Artemis), Book 3, Lines 235-240 (about 280-240 BCE)

Amazons at Ephesus by the sea [alternate translation] Amazons on the Ephesian plain

Strabo, Geography, Book 11, Chapter 5, Section 4 and Book 12, Chapter 3, Section 21

Amazons at Ephesus with apparent neighborhoods Sisyrba and Samorna (7-23 CE)

Mela, Description of the World, Book 3, Section 87 (about 43 CE)

Temple of Diana at Ephesus reportedly dedicated by (Thermodon) Amazons, rulers of [probably should be in] Asia

Pliny, Natural History, Book 5, Chapter 31, Section 115 (77-79 CE)

Built by the Amazons; called Alope at time of Trojan War; has a temple of Diana

Pausanias, Description of Greece, Book 7, Chapter 2, Sections 7-8 (about 150 CE)

Pindar said that the sanctuary at Ephesus was founded by the Amazons during their campaign against Athens and Theseus, but it was actually founded by Coresus and Ephesus.

(Thermodon) Amazons went to the sanctuary at Ephesus and sacrificed to the Ephesian goddess (Artemis) when:

- They campaigned against Athens
- They had fled from Heracles

And some of them at an earlier time after they had fled from Dionysius (Father Liber) [which would be the Libyan Amazons who had migrated to the Aegean Sea]

Gaius Julius Solinus - De Mirabilibus Mundi ('The Wonders of the World') which circulated both under the title Collectanea rerum memorabilium ('Collection of Curiosities'), and Polyhistor (Chapter 40, Section 2) (early to middle 3rd century CE)

Amazons at Ephesus

[It should be noted that Ephesus had a previous name Alope or Alopes at the time of the Trojan War--Pliny (Book 5, Chapter 31, Section 115) and Hyginus, *Fabulae* (Section 14.3); this is probably the same Alope mentioned by Strabo (Book 12, Chapter 3, Section 22) citing Palaephatus, *Attica*, who wrote in the second half of the 4th century BCE saying that the Amazons of Alope now lived at Zeleia]

Horcomosium

Plutarch, Parallel Lives - Life of Theseus, Chapter 27, Section 5 (about 100-127 CE)

Adjacent to the Temple of Haphaestus (Theseum) in Athens and was where the oaths implementing the peace treaty between the Amazons and Athenians were taken

Kynna

Stephanus Byzantinus, Ethnika, Kynna (early 6th century CE)

Reich, Emil, 1908, General History of Western Nations from 5000 B.C. To 1900 A.D., p. 203

Settlement named after an Amazon

Megara

Plutarch, Parallel Lives - Life of Theseus, Chapter 27, Section 6 (about 100-127 CE)

Amazons were buried on the way from the marketplace to the Rhus [a stream that flowed through Megara]

Pausanias, Description of Greece, Book 1, Chapter 41, Section 7 (about 150 CE)

Amazon queen Hippolyte was buried in an Amazon-shield (crescent-moon) shaped tomb that is near the shrine of the hero Pendion and the grave of Tereus [which were in the territory between the citadel of Caria and the citadel of Alcathous and to the west of the Rhus]

Pyrrichus

Pausanias, Description of Greece, Book 3, Chapter 25, Section 3 (about 150 CE)

Amazons from the Thermodon stayed their advance here and built sanctuaries to Artemis Astrateia and Apollo Amazonius and wooden images of them [given that Pyrrichus is at the southern tip of the Peloponnese, this implies that the Amazons had at least temporarily conquered much of Greece]

Scotussa and Cynoscephalae (which are just 6.4 kilometers or 4 miles apart)

Plutarch, Parallel Lives - Life of Theseus, Chapter 27, Section 6 (about 100-127 CE)

Amazons were buried in the vicinity

Sparta

Bennett, Florence Mary, 1912, Religious Cults Associated with the Amazons, p. 31

Tegea

Pausanias, Description of Greece, Book 8, Chapter 48, Sections 4-5 (about 150 CE)

Amazon-like women warriors who worshipped Ares lived there They fought and defeated the Lacedaemonians (Spartans) near the hill called Phylactris (Sentry Hill, modern-day Akra)

Thebes

Eusebius, Chronicle, Book 2, Chronological Canons, Part 1 from Jerome (about 326 CE)

Amazon war against Thebes at about 1208 BCE

Thrace

Silius Italicus, Punica, Book 2, Lines 73-76 about 83-101 CE

Amazons traveled in the region of Mount Pangaeus, the Rhodope Mountains, and the Hebrus (modern-day Maritsa) River (far south-central Bulgaria and the adjoining territory in far northeastern Greece down to the Thracian Sea, the northern section of the Aegean Sea)

Appendix F: Southern Caucasus Amazon locations

The descriptions of this group of Amazons are in chronological order in terms of when they were written.

Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, Lines 415-419 (480s-430 BCE–possibly son Euphorion)

Maidens fearless in fight who dwell in the land of Colchis (land surrounding Phasis (modern-day Rioni) River)

Cleitarchus of the late 4th or early 3rd century BCE describing events of 330 BCE cited by **Strabo**, *Geography*, Book 11, Chapter 5, Section 4 (7-23 CE)

Amazon queen Thalestris traveled from the Caspian Gates and [or?] Thermodon to meet Alexander the Great [Caspian Gates were near the east end of the Southern Caucasus Amazon territory and were part of the Amazon domain. (see sections on Pompeius Trogus and Plutarch below)]

Theophanes of Mytilene describing witnessed events of 65 BCE cited by **Strabo**, *Geography*, Book 11, Chapter 5, Sections 1-3 (7-23 CE)

Amazons live in the mountains above (north of) the Albanians (Albanois) with the Gelae (Gelas) and Legae (Legas), Scythae (Scythas) tribes, living between the Amazons and the Albanians, with the Mermadalis River serving as a border between them

Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, Book 17, Chapter 77, Sections 1-3 (60-30 BCE describing events of 330 BCE)

Amazon queen Thalestris ruled all of the territory from the Thermodon to the Phasis rivers Thalestris went to meet Alexander the Great at Hyrcania

Pompeius Trogus as found in **Justin**, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, Book 12, Chapter 3; Book 42, Chapter 3 (about 30 BCE-10 CE describing events of 330 BCE)

Queen Thalestris, or Minithya, led 300 Amazons 35 [not 25, as in one translation] days to meet Alexander in Hyrcania by the Mardi.

[Traveling 35 days at 200 stades (31.4 kilometers or 19.54 miles using itinerary stades, which are 157 meters or 172 yards long) per day (Herodotus, *The Histories*, Book 4, Section 101) totals to 1099 kilometers or 684 miles.] [The Mardi were a people who lived in the Alborz (Elburz) Mountains on the southwest side of the Caspian Sea. The distance from the Thermodon to the Sefid-Rud River in Hyrcania is close to that number. (see sections on Cleitarchus above and on Plutarch below)]

Amazons live next to Caucasian Albanians

Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander*, Book 6, Chapter 5, Sections 24-32 and Book 10, Chapter 4, Section 3 (about middle to later part of 1st century CE describing events of 330 and 324 BCE)

Amazons under queen Thalestris ruled all from the Caucasus mountains to the Phasis River

Neighboring on Hyrcania was a race of Amazons [the western end of Hyrcania was where the Mardi lived and was along the southwest coast of the Caspian Sea]

Thalestris went to meet Alexander somewhere near or in Hyrcania

On the plains of Media (Nisaean plain, western Iran) Alexander the Great met 100 barbarian women believed to be Amazons or descended from Amazons skilled in horsemanship and armed with round shields and axes

Pomponius Mela, *Description of the World*, Book 1, Chapter 2, Sections 4-5 (alternate numbering Book 1, Section 12) (about 43 CE)

Amazones live beyond (north of) the Caspiani, who surround the Caspian Gulf (southern Caspian Sea), and live next to the Scythas (probably Gelae and Legae)

They also live farther up towards the Hyperboreans (far north) and towards the Cimmerian Bosporus (Strait of Kerch) to the west

[evidence that the Southern Caucasus Amazons are related to the Steppe Amazons as the description includes both domains]

Plutarch, Parallel Lives - Life of Alexander, Chapter 46 (about 100-127 CE describing events of 330 BCE)

Amazon queen supposedly met Alexander near the Orexartes (modern-day Syr Darya) River. [This river is 1600 km or 1000 miles northeast of Hyrcania and is almost certainly the wrong river. The encounter probably occurred near the modern-day Sefid-Rud River, which is in western Hyrcania and passes through the territory where the Mardi people lived. (see sections on Cleitarchus and Pompeius Trogus above)]

Plutarch, *Parallel Lives - Life of Pompey*, Chapter 35, Sections 2-4 (about 100-127 CE describing events of 65 BCE)

Amazon shields and boots found at battle at Abas (modern-day Arzani) River but no female bodies Amazons inhabit the parts of the Caucasus mountains that reach down to the Hyrcanian (Caspian) Sea Amazons live north of the Gelae (Gelai) and Legae (Leges) who in turn live north of the (Caucasian) Albanians

Arrian of Nicomedia, *Anabasis of Alexander*, Book 7, Chapter 13 (about 130-160 CE describing events of 324 BCE)

100 women warriors of the race of Amazons met Alexander the Great at the Nisaean plain in Media (western Iran)

Alexander ordered the Amazons to inform their queen that he was coming to her to procreate children with her

Appian of Alexandria, *The Roman History (Historia Romana)*, Volume 1 the Foreign Wars, Book 12 the Mithridatic Wars, Chapter 15, Section 103 (not long before 162 CE describing events of 65 BCE)

Women believed to be Amazons were hostages and prisoners among the armies of the Albanians and Iberians near the Cyrus (modern-day Kura) River to the south of the Caucasus Mountains (modern-day eastern Georgia)

Lucius Flavius Philostratus of Athens or his son-in-law Philostratus of Lemnos, *On Heroes*, Chapter 6, Section 57.3 (about 213-214 or possibly early 220s CE)

Some Amazons dwell on the land around the Thermodon River and around the Phasis (modern-day Rioni) River in western Georgia [time when this is the case is unclear]

Eusebius of Caesarea, Chronicle, Book 2, Chronological Canons, Part 1 from Jerome (about 326 CE)

Approximate Year Event Recorded

1077 BCE Amazons moved into Asia with Cimmerians

Jordanes, The Origin and Deeds of the Goths (Getica), Chapter 7, Section 49 (about 551 CE)

Goth (Scythae) women formed a company of women with two leaders. One queen stayed home while the other conquered various tribes in Asia and then settled in the Caucasus region, in particular the Caspian Gates (modern-

The Sarmatae, a Sauromatae subtribe, with women warriors and queens, and thus Amazon-like, were described living at the western end of the Southern Caucasus territory.

Strabo, Geography, Book 11, Chapter 2, Section 16 (7-23 CE)

Sarmatai are a major tribe around Dioscurias (modern-day Sukhomi, Abkhazia) on the Black Sea

Ammianus Marcellinus, Roman History (Res Gestae), Book 22, Chapter 8, Section 29 (about 385 CE)

There is another nation of the Sauromatae extending along the shore which receives the Corax (modern-day Bzyb) River into the Black Sea (near Inkiti, Abkhazia)

Appendix G: Steppe Amazon locations

The descriptions of this group of Amazons are in chronological order in terms of when they were written.

Herodotus, *The Histories*, Book 4, Section 110 (about 450s-425 BCE)

Amazons from the Thermodon arrived at Kremni on the Sea of Azov and merged with free Scythians (Scytheons) living there to form the Sauromatae (Sauromateon) who lived east of the sea around the Tanais (modern-day Don) River

Euripides, Heracles, Lines 408-412 (421-416 BCE)

Horse-riding Amazons lived around the Sea of Azov

Ephoros of Cyme, Fragment 103, (*Histories*, Book 9), about 356-330 BCE cited by **Stephanus Byzantinus**, *Ethnika*, Amazones, (early 6th century CE)

Amazones ethnos of Thermodon now called Sauromatidas

Ephoros of Cyme, Fragment 78, (*Histories*, Book 4), about 356-330 BCE cited by Pseudo-Skymnos, *Periodos to Nicomedes*, about 144-100 BCE in Fragment 16 (Lines 875-884); repeated by the anonymous author of the *Circuit of the Black Sea and Maeotian Lake* (*Ponti Euxini et Maeotidis Paludis Periplus*), Paragraph 45 (in the 5th or more likely 6th century CE)

Some Amazons after the battle of Thermodon long ago joined with men of the Iazamaton (Iaxamatae) tribe, who are descended (*genos*) from the Maeoton (Maeotae) (a family of tribes who lived to the east and southeast of the Sea of Azov)

The Iaxamatae are also a Sauromaton (Sauromatae) subtribe ethnically and culturally (*ethnos*) The Sarmatai (Sarmatae) are the first people (living around and east of) the Tanais (modern-day Don) River The Iaxamatae live next to (towards the south) of the Sarmatae

Because of this joining the Sauromatae are called Gynaiko Kratumenoi (ruled by women)

Metrodorus of Scepsis from about 120-70 BCE and **Hypsicrates** at about the middle of the 1st century BCE cited by **Strabo**, *Geography*, Book 11, Chapter 5, Sections 1-2 (7-23 CE)

Amazonon at northerly foothills of Ceraunian Mountains (northeast branch of the Caucasus Mountains) and beyond (north of) the Mermodas (probably modern-day Kuban) River

Dionysius Periegetes (of Alexandria), Periegesis, Lines 652-660 from about 27 BCE-20 CE

The Sauromatae [Gynaiko Kratumenoi?] descended from Amazons who mated with Sauromatae men. Sauromatae are then Scythai, who will be called perantadas [Sauromatae tribes including the Gynaiko Kratumenoi and Iaxamatae lived in the steppe territory around and to the east and south of the Tanais River]

Pomponius Mela, *Description of the World*, Book 1, Chapter 2, Sections 4-5 (alternate numbering Book 1, Section 12); Book 3, Chapter 5, Section 4 (about 43 CE)

Amazones live beyond (north of) the Caspiani, who surround the Caspian Gulf (southern Caspian Sea) The Caspiani live next to the Scythas (probably Gelae and Legae)

The Amazons also live farther up towards the Hyperboreans and towards the Cimmerian Bosporus (Straits of Kerch) to the west

[evidence that the Southern Caucasus Amazons are related to the Steppe Amazons as the description includes both domains]

Amazones called Sauromatidae lived to the interior away from the Caspian Sea

Pliny the Elder, Natural History, Book 5, Chapter 27, Sections 97-99; Book 6, Chapter 14, Section 36 (77-79 CE)

Amazonicus live near Ceraunian Mountains (northeast branch of the Caucasus Mountains); Amazonum domain extends to the Hyrcanian (northern Caspian) Sea (from a Black Sea reference point)

Statius, *Thebaid*, Lines 519-539 (about 92 CE)

Warrior-maids at Sea of Azov (could be Amazons or Sauromatae)

Ptolemy, *Geography*, Book 5, Chapter 8 (about 127-148 CE)

Amazones between the Rha (modern-day Volga) River and the Hippici Mountains [which run from the "neck" region between the Tanais (modern-day Don) and Volga rivers south to the Caucasus Mountains] They lived south of the Melanchmani tribe (who lived in the region just south of where the Volga River turns to the southeast)

Gaius Julius Solinus, *De Mirabilibus Mundi* (*The Wonders of the World*) which circulated both under the titles *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (*Collection of Curiosities*) and *Polyhistor* Chapter 17, Section 3 (early to middle 3rd century CE)

Amazonum (and Cimmerians) in the territory (north of the Caucasus Mountains) that extended to the Caspian Sea

Ammianus Marcellinus, Roman History (Res Gestae), Book 22, Chapter 8, Section 27 (about 385 CE)

Amazons some distance from the Sea of Azov to the Caspian Sea; they also live around the Tanais River

Orosius, Seven Books of History Against the Pagans, Book 1, Chapter 2, Sections 49-50) (about 417 CE)

[When describing the territory north of the Caucasus Mountains between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov and the Caspian Sea]: Amazonum beyond Caucasian Albania (modern-day Azerbaijan and southern Dagestan up to the Ceraunian Mountains) to the north near the Caspian Sea and the Caspian (Ceraunian) Mountains

Jordanes, The Origin and Deeds of the Goths (Getica), Chapter 5, Section 42 (about 551 CE)

Amazonarum lived from the Borysthenes (modern-day Dnieper) River to the Tanais River [these may have been Sauromatae]

Appendix H: Other Amazon locations

There are a few other locations in modern-day Italy and Turkey associated with Amazons. The first two of these locations are connected to the Thermodon Amazons. The next three locations may be from the Thermodon Amazons, but they may also be settlements of the Libyan Amazons. The source of information for each follows the location name. They are in alphabetical order with sources in chronological order.

Clete

Lycophron, Alexandra (also named Cassandra), Book 3, Sections 992-1007 (mid 3rd century BCE)

The steep Tylesian hills and sea-washed Linos' hilly promontory is the territory of the Amazons [this is the region around Caulo (below)]

Amazons led by Clete from the Pontus (Thermodon River region) after the Trojan War established a city Clete in this region

Men of Croton (modern-day Crotone, Italy) sacked the Amazon city of Clete

Isaac Tzetzes and John Tzetzes, Scholia on Lycophron, Sections 995-996 (1140-1180 CE)

Both a region and a city in Italy was called Clete after the Amazon who led a group of Thermodon Amazons to Italy (supposedly blown off course) after the Trojan War

The city was founded after they had occupied the territory and Clete ruled the region

Subsequent queens also named Clete ruled from the city

People from Croton with the help of many other groups attacked and killed one of those later queens (not the founder) and conquered the city Clete

Caulo

Servius Maurus Honoratus, *Commentary on the Aeneid of Virgil*, Book 3, Section 553 (late 4th or early 5th century CE)

Clitae, the Amazon Clete's son, founded Caulo (Caulonia, near modern-day Monasterace, Italy, which is just south of the Punta Stilo or Cocynthum promontory)

Dioklea

Valerius Harpocration, Lexicon of the Ten Orators, Amazoneion (probably 2nd century CE)

In the vicinity of Dioklea (southeast of Banaz, Turkey) was a place (Amazonon?) where the Amazones would perform a worship ceremony involving burnt offerings and sacrifices

Myrleia

Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnika*, Myrleia (early 6th century CE)

Settlement named after an Amazon

Zeleia

Palaephatus, *Attica*, who wrote in the second half of the 4th century BCE cited by **Strabo**, *Geography*, Book 12, Chapter 3, Section 22 (7-23 CE)

Amazons who then lived in Alope but now in Zeleia

[Alope was almost certainly Ephesus--see Pliny, *Natural History*, Book 5, Chapter 31 who said Ephesus used to be called Alopes at the time of the Trojan War and Hyginus, *Fabulae*, Section 15]

Thibais

One additional location, Thibais (Thiba), named after an Amazon, could not be geolocated because all we know is that it was on the Black Sea coast in northern Turkey according to:

- Pindar (about 498-438 BCE) cited by Didymos Chalcenterus (of Alexandria), *Commentary on Pindar*, Part I, Section 57, Segment 4 (p. 96) about 40 BCE-10 CE
- Stephanus Byzantinus, Ethnika, Thibais, early 6th century CE
- Eustathius of Thessalonica? about 1150-1195 CE

The information above encompasses almost all of what the ancient authors said about the women-only Amazons as societies. I say almost all because I have undoubtedly missed something.