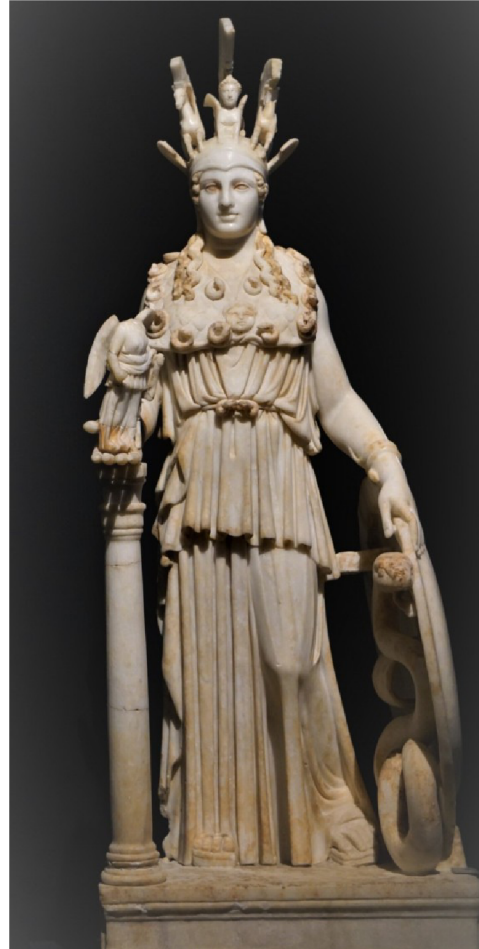




UNIVERSITÄT GRAZ
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Exploring the
Heartland:
Pausanias and
his Account on
Imperial
Greece's Pre-
Roman Cultural
Heritage

Speaker: Aaron Plattner

Description of Greece vs. Geography

Ptol. *geogr.* 1,1,2: Τῆς δὲ γεωγραφίας ἴδιόν ἐστι τὸ μίαν τε καὶ συνεχῆ δεικνύναι τὴν ἐγνωσμένην γῆν, ὡς ἔχει φύσεώς τε καὶ θέσεως, καὶ μέχρι μόνων τῶν ἐν ὅλαις περιεκτικωτέραις περιγραφαῖς αὐτῇ συνημμένων, οἷον κόλπων καὶ πόλεων μεγάλων, ἔθνῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν τῶν ἀξιολογωτέρων, καὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος ἐπισημοτέρων.

The property of geography is to represent the known land mass as one and continuous, as it has grown and is situated, and down to the individual elements that are connected with it within the most comprehensive outlines, such as gulfs and large cities, the more noteworthy populations and rivers, and what is more significant in terms of the respective shape.

Book 1: Attica

Book 2: Corinth

Book 3: Laconia

Book 4: Messenia

Book 5: Elis

Book 6: Elis

Book 7: Achaea

Book 8: Arcadia

Book 9: Boeotia

Book 10: Phocis, Ozolian Locris

Description of Greece vs. Chorography

Ptol. *geogr.* 1,1,1: [...] αὕτη [scil. Chorography] μὲν ἀποτεμνομένη τοὺς κατὰ μέρος τόπους χωρὶς ἕκαστον καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐκτίθεται, συναπογραφομένη πάντα σχεδὸν καὶ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν ἐμπεριλαμβανομένων, οἷον λιμένας καὶ κόμας καὶ δήμους καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ποταμῶν ἐκτροπὰς καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.

Chorography divides the places into sections and presents each one separately and on its own, registering almost everything, even the smallest included elements, such as harbours, villages, demes, the branches of the first-rank rivers and the like.

Book 1: Attica

Book 2: Corinth

Book 3: Laconia

Book 4: Messenia

Book 5: Elis

Book 6: Elis

Book 7: Achaea

Book 8: Arcadia

Book 9: Boeotia

Book 10: Phocis, Ozolian Locris

Added Value of Studying Pausanias

1. Major Greek source from 2nd century AD
2. Knowledge about Greek local culture (cf. Herodotus)
3. Basis for evaluation of Greek-Roman contacts
4. Comparison with the teaching poem of Dionysius from Alexandria

Structure of Today's Lecture

1. Introduction (author, work, modern scholarship)
2. Descriptive sections (4 different types)
3. Narrative sections (Galatian invasion 279 BC)
4. Pausanias' intention
5. *Description of the inhabited world* by Dionysius from Alexandria
6. Conclusion

1.1. The Author: Pausanias

- Born around 115 AD
- Writes from around 155 AD to before 180 A.D.
- Origin maybe Asia Minor (Sipylos / Magnesia)
- Reasonably wealthy
- Close to Second Sophistic Community

1.2. The Work: *Description of Greece*

Book 1: Attica

Book 2: Corinth

Book 3: Laconia

Book 4: Messenia

Book 5: Elis

Book 6: Elis

Book 7: Achaia

Book 8: Arcadia

Book 9: Boeotia

Book 10: Phocis, Ozolian Locris

Book 11?



1.3. Modern Scholarship

Phase 1: Before WWI

Phase 2: Second half of 20th century

Phase 3: After the turn of the millennium

2. Descriptive Sections

- Selection of 23 descriptions of objects, rituals, and sanctuaries
- Analytical category: immersive potential
- Term ‘topographeme’

Theon *prog.* 11 (242)

Terms

- Memorial
- Monument
- Sight
- θεώρημα (i.e., 'object of actual or mental contemplation')
- Lieu de mémoire

Typology of Descriptions

1. Objective topographemes (objects)
2. Performative topographemes (rituals)
3. Objective-performative topographemes (combination object-ritual)
4. Sacro-spatial topographemes (sanctuaries)

Type 1: The Paintings in the Stoa Poikile



Structural remains of the Stoa Poikile on the north-western edge of the ancient Agora in Athens. Photo: Aaron Plattner.

Paus. 1,15,1:

ιοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοάν, ἣν Ποικίλην
ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν [...]

If one goes towards the portico [*scil.*
coming from the west], which they call
'Coloured' from the paintings [...]

Paus. 1,15,1:

στοάν, ἣν Ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ
τῶν γραφῶν

the portico, which they call 'the colourful
one' because of the paintings

Type 2: The Chthonia Festival in Hermione



Imperial copper coin from Hermione with Fulvia Plautilla on the obverse showing a *victimarius* on the reverse leading a cow on a rope. Literature: IMHOOF-BLUMER / GARDNER 1886, p. 51 and Table M, no. 3. Image source: <https://www.numisbi ds.com/n.php?p=lot& sid=5218&lot=764>

Paus. 2,35,1:

παρελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸ τῆς
Ἑστίας [*scil.* ἱερὸν] [...]

To those who have passed
by to the temple of Hestia
[...]

Type 3: The Pelopion



Pelopion in the Altis of Olympia (view from NE).
Photo: Aaron Plattner.

Paus. 5,10,10:

τὰς θύρας δὲ ἐσιόντι τὰς χαλκᾶς
[*scil.* of the temple of Zeus] [...]

If one goes to the bronze doors of
the temple of Zeus [...]

Type 4: The Olympieion in Athens



Olympieion in Athens (view from the eastern tip of the Akropolis over Hadrian's Gate to the SE). Photo: Aaron Plattner.

Paus. 1,18,4

ἐντεῦθεν [*scil.* from the
prytaneion] ιοῦσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω
τῆς πόλεως [...]

To those who go downtown
from there [...]

Findings Descriptive Sections

- Overall distanced presentation
- Main focus on content and background information
- Perspectives:

- OT: visible evidence of political and cultural influence
- PT: socio-religious curiosities
- O-P T: destinations for pilgrims
- S-S T: religious centres

Self-understanding of
Greek communities from
before 2nd century AD

3. Narrative Sections

- Historical-ethnographic cuttings
- Factual manner
- Herodotean model
- Anchored in the round trip

The Galatian Invasion 279 BC

Narrative 1 (Paus. 1,3,4–6)

Narrative 2 (Paus. 10,19,5–10,23)

3 similarities:

- Context
- Starting point
- Purpose

Paus. 10,19,5

Γαλατῶν δὲ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιστρατείας ἔχει μὲν τινα μνήμην καὶ ἡ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἡμῖν τὸ Ἀττικὸν συγγραφή· προάγειν δὲ ἐς τὸ σαφέστερον τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἠθέλησα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Δελφούς, ὅτι ἔργων τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους τὰ μέγιστα Ἑλλησιν ἐνταῦθα ἦν. [...]

My report on the Attic Council building also contains a mention of the march of the Galatians to Greece, but I wanted to make it even clearer in the section on Delphi, because the greatest deeds of the Greeks against the barbarians took place at that time. [...]

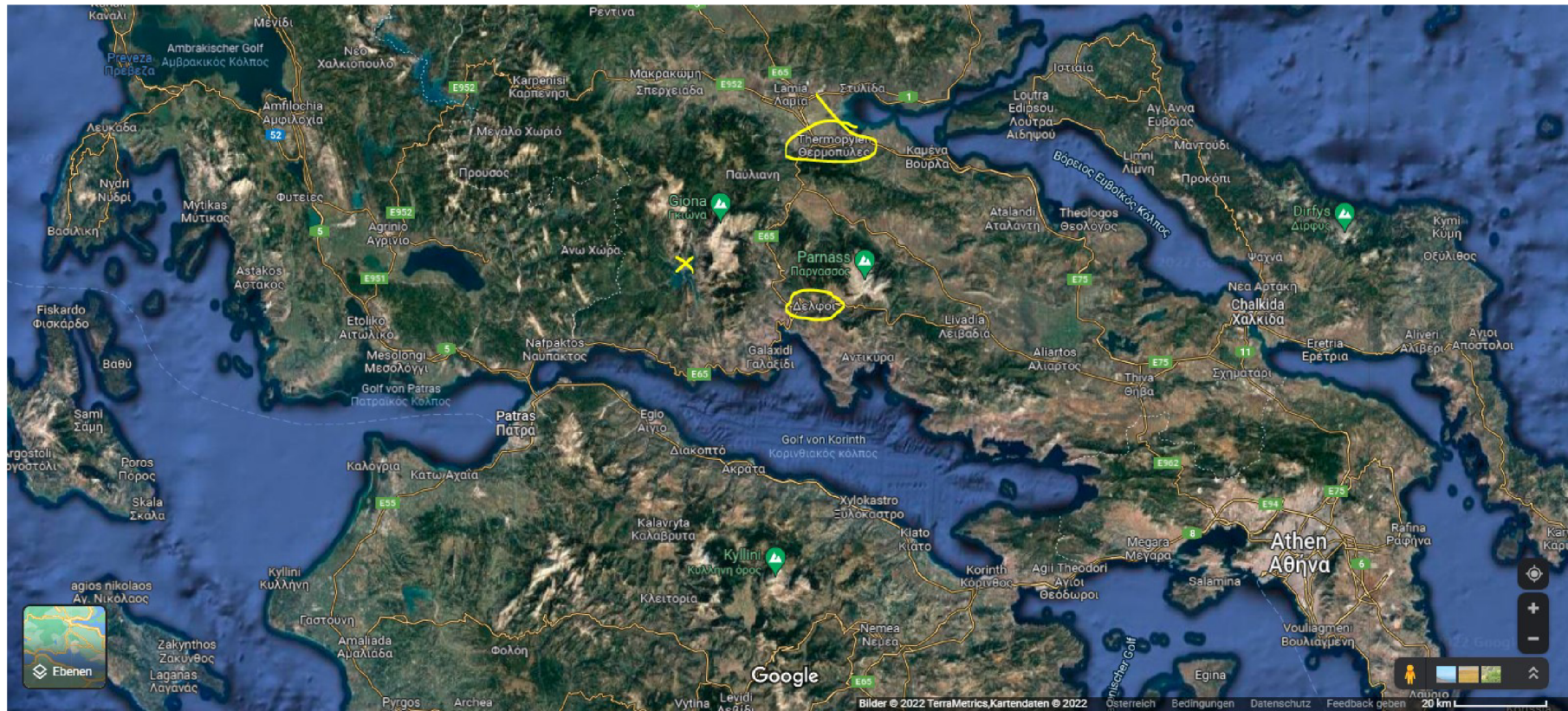
Paus. 10,20,1–5:

480 BC: 11 200 Greeks

vs.

279 BC: 24 690 Greeks

Aetolian City of Kallion (or Kallipolis)



Findings Narrative Sections

- About background of the textual world
- Voice of an omniscient narrator
- Manner: more or less distanced
- Purpose: conveying the significance of the related topographeme for the respective community
- Immersive potential?

4. Pausanias' Intention

Image of an imperial-era exhibition on 'The Cultural Heritage of Pre-Roman Greece'

- Content premise
 - Form premise
 - Historical context premise
- } Approach: historical-critical

Conclusion: **The intention is to make research accessible in order to educate.**

Pausanias = ἀρχαιολόγος, ιστοριογράφος, and περιηγητής

***5. Description of the inhabited world* by Dionysius from Alexandria**

Pausanias

- *Description of Greece*
- 2nd half 2nd century AD
- Almost fully extant
- Greek heartland
- Prose
- Intention: didactic

Dionysius

- *Description of the inhabited world*
- 1st half 2nd century AD
- Fully extant
- Oecumene
- Verse
- Intention: didactic

Potentially Typical Features of an Imperial-Period 'Genre Periegesis'

1. Selection of material according to criteria at the author's discretion
2. Predominant catalogue-like character of the arrangement of knowledge
3. Provision of an identification figure for the reader
4. Joint round trip of reader-identification figure and (homodiegetic first-person) narrator
5. Virtuality of the round trip

Dion. Per. *perieg.* 1166–1169:

Τόσσοι μὲν κατὰ γαῖαν ὑπέρτατοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν·
ἄλλοι δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κατ' ἠπείρους ἀλόωνται
μυρίοι, οὓς οὐκ ἂν τις ἀριφραδέως ἀγορευῆσαι
θνητὸς ἐών· μούνοι δὲ θεοὶ ῥέα πάντα δύνανται.

So many are the most important people on earth;
but others wander here and there across the continents,
infinitely many. No one could possibly name them clearly,
who is a mortal, only the gods find all things easy.

Paus. 1,39,3:

Τοσαῦτα κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀθηναίοις γνωριμώτατα ἦν ἔν τε λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασιν, ἀπέκρινε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος μοι τὰ ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα.

That's how much the Athenians had, in my opinion, in terms of remarkable stories and sights. From the beginning, my report filtered what was relevant to the writing from the vast material.

Provision of Identification Figure for the Reader

➤ Phrases denoting its movements

1. Participle in the dative singular or plural (often) in conjunction with a directional indication

e.g., Paus. 1,28,4: Καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια [...]

2. Finite verb in the second person singular (with additional participle or without) plus a directional indication

e.g., Dion. Per. *perieg.* 481–483: Ἄλλ' ὅπὸτ' Ἀδριάδος σκαιὸν πόρον ἀμφιτρίτης / εἰσελάσης ἐπὶ νηός, Ἰηπυγίην ἐπὶ γαίαν, / δήεις ἰφθίμου Διομήδεος αὐτίκα νῆσον.

- Translation: 'if one'

Joint Round Trip of Reader-Id. Figure and Narrator

- Institution of the Greek guide (περιηγητής)
- Acting ‘I’ = author
- Complementary ‘You’ = reader
- Akrostichon: Dion. Per. *perieg.* 112–134: ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΦΑΡΟΥ
- Dion. Per. *perieg.* 1185–1186:

[...] ἀλλά μοι ὕμνων
αὐτῶν ἐκ μακάρων ἀντάξιος εἶη ἀμοιβή.

[...] For my hymns
may I be justly rewarded by the gods!

Dion. Per. *perieg.* 172–173:

ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἂν γεραρός τε καὶ αἰδοιέστερος εἴης,
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀγνώσσοντι πιφασκόμενος τὰ ἕκαστα.

Then you should be venerable and more respectable,
if you tell these things in detail to an ignorant man.

Dion. Per. *perieg.* 881–886:

Ῥηϊδίως δ' ἂν τοι λοιπὸν πόρον αὐδήσαιμι
γαιάων Ἀσίας· ὁ δέ τοι λόγος ἐν φρεσὶν ἔστω,
μηδ' ἀνέμοις φορέοιτο πονηθέντων χάρις ἔργων.
Εἰ γάρ μοι σάφα τήνδε καταφράσσαιο κέλευθον,
ἧ τάχα κἂν ἄλλοισιν ἐπισταμένως ἀγορεύοις
καὶ ποταμοὺς πολίων τε θέσιν καὶ γαῖαν ἐκάστην.

Effortlessly could I name to you the paths
of the countries of Asia, but the words shall remain in your memory,
and not may the reward of hard labour be carried away by winds!
For when you see this path clearly before you,
– well, then perhaps you will be able to tell others
the rivers, the position of the cities and the individual countries.

Reception of Dionysius

- 4th century AD: Avienus
- 6th century AD: Priscian
- 12th century AD: Eustathius
- Until 15th and 16th century AD

Virtuality of the Round Trip

➤ Dion. Per. perieg. 1181–1185:

Ἑμεῖς δ' ἠπειροὶ τε καὶ εἰν ἄλι χαίρετε, νῆσοι, / ὕδατά τ' Ὀκεανοῖο καὶ
ἱερὰ χεύματα πόντου / καὶ ποταμοὶ κρῆναί τε καὶ οὖρεα βησσήεντα. / Ἦδη
γὰρ πάσης μὲν ἐπέδραμον οἶδμα θαλάσσης, / ἤδη δ' ἠπείρων σκολιὸν
πόρον· [...]

You continents and islands in the sea, farewell, / you waters of Okeanos,
sacred streams of the high seas, / you rivers, springs and mountains with
your gorges! / For I have now passed through every bulge of the sea / And
the circuit of the continents. [...]

References to Optical Perceptibility of the Textual World

➤ Pausanias:

e.g., ἐνταῦθα ἴδοις ἄν (Paus. 10,11,1), θεάσαιο δ'ἄν (Paus. 10,24,2 and Paus. 10,24,4), ὄψει (Paus. 10,29,7), ἀποβλέψαντι (Paus. 10,30,6), εἰ δὲ ἀπίδοις (Paus. 10,31,1)

➤ Dionysius:

finite form of a *verbum videndi* in the second person singular optative with or without the particle ἄν

e.g., 156: Ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἄν καὶ Πόντον ἴδοις διθάλασσον ἔοντα.

From there [scil. the cape with the name 'ram's forehead'] one would see that the Pontos is divided into two seas.

Dion. Per. *perieg.* 169–171:

Τοίη μὲν μορφὴ κυαναυγέος ἀμφιτρίτης·
νῦν δέ τοι ἠπείρου μυθήσομαι εἶδος ἀπάσης,
ὄφρα καὶ οὐκ ἐσιδὼν περ ἔχοις εὖφραστον ὀπωπὴν·

Such is the shape of the dark shimmering sea.

But now I want to tell you about the shape of each continent,
so that you may have a clear idea even without having seen it.

➤ φράζω (Engl. 'imagine'; 329; 1080; 1128)

Dion. Per. *perieg.* 985-986:

τόσσον ἀνευθεν ἐών, ὅσον ἑβδομον ἡμᾶρ ὀδεύσας
ἴφθιμος καὶ κραιπνὸς ἀνὴρ ἀνύσειεν ὀδίτης.

[The Tigris flows east of the Euphrates] at a distance,
which would take a strong and swift walker seven days.

➤ Pausanias is no travel guide

Dion. Per. *perieg.* 706–717:

Τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ Κασπίῃ κυμαίνεται ἀμφιτρίτη.
Ῥεῖα δέ τοι καὶ τήνδε καταγράψαιμι θάλασσαν,
οὐ μὲν ἰδὼν ἀπάνευθε πόρους, οὐ νηὶ περήσας·
οὐ γάρ μοι βίος ἐστὶ μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν,
οὐδέ μοι ἐμπορὴ πατρῷος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ Γάγγην
ἔρχομαι, οἷά περ ἄλλοι, Ἐρυθραίου διὰ πόντου,
ψυχῆς οὐκ ἀλέγοντες, ἴν' ἄσπετον ὄλβον ἔλονται,
οὐδέ μὲν Ὑρκανίοις ἐπιμίσσομαι, οὐδ' ἐρεεῖνω
Καυκασίας κνημῖδας Ἐρυθραίων Ἀριηνῶν·
ἀλλὰ με Μουσάων φορέει νόος, αἶτε δύνανται
νόσφιν ἀλημοσύνης πολλὴν ἄλα μετρήσασθαι
οὔρεά τ' ἠπειρόν τε καὶ αἰθερίων ὁδὸν ἄστρον.

The Caspian Sea surges against these peoples.
I could easily write to you about this sea, too,
without having seen it from afar or reached it by ship.
For the black ships are not my world,
I am neither a merchant from my father's side, nor do I sail to the
Ganges across the Red Sea as others do without concern
for their lives, to acquire untold riches;
I neither mingle with the Hyrcanians, nor am I in search of
the Caucasian greaves of the Erythraean Arians.
But I am carried by the wits of the muses who are able,
without wandering to cover much of the sea,
mountains, continents and all the way up to the stars.

Conclusion Comparison Pausanias – Dionysius

Criteria for evaluation of Pausanias: Quality of

1. Selection of material according to criteria at the author's discretion
 2. Predominant catalogue-like character of the arrangement of knowledge
-
3. Provision of an identification figure for the reader
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 5. Virtuality of the round trip

6. Conclusion

- Descriptions: factual communication of content
 - Narratives: information on background
- } Second Sophistic /
sacralisation of past
,Greekdom‘ and paideia

didactic intention

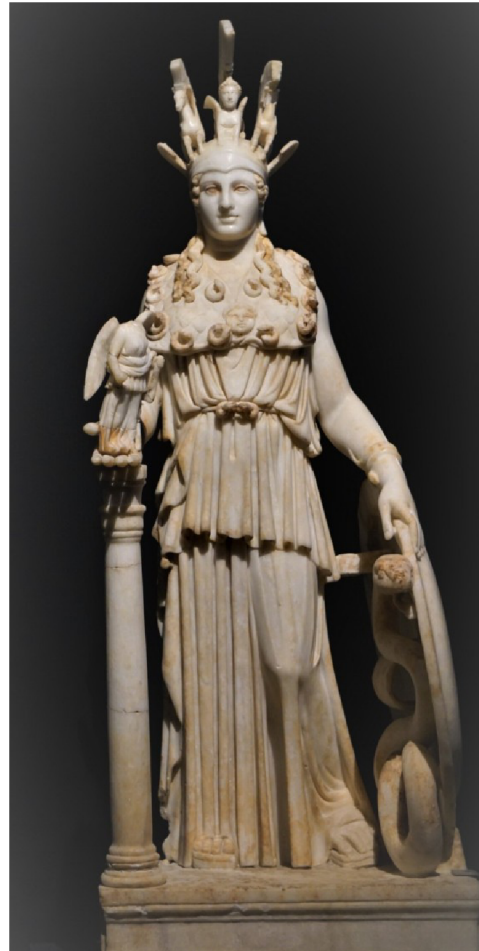
parallels to Dionysius' teaching poem

What is Pausanias' *Description of Greece*?

- Image of an imperial-era exhibition on 'The Cultural Heritage of Pre-Roman Greece'
- Benefit 1: fits museal / antiquarian character of contemporary literature
- Benefit 2: clearly and understandably expresses Pausanias' achievements:
 1. Knowledge on cultural heritage: great commitment
 2. Knowledge arrangement: awareness of ancient mnemonics and rhetorics
 3. Knowledge presentation: thought and concern for an appealing form, despite the naturally factual character (no miscellany literature)



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