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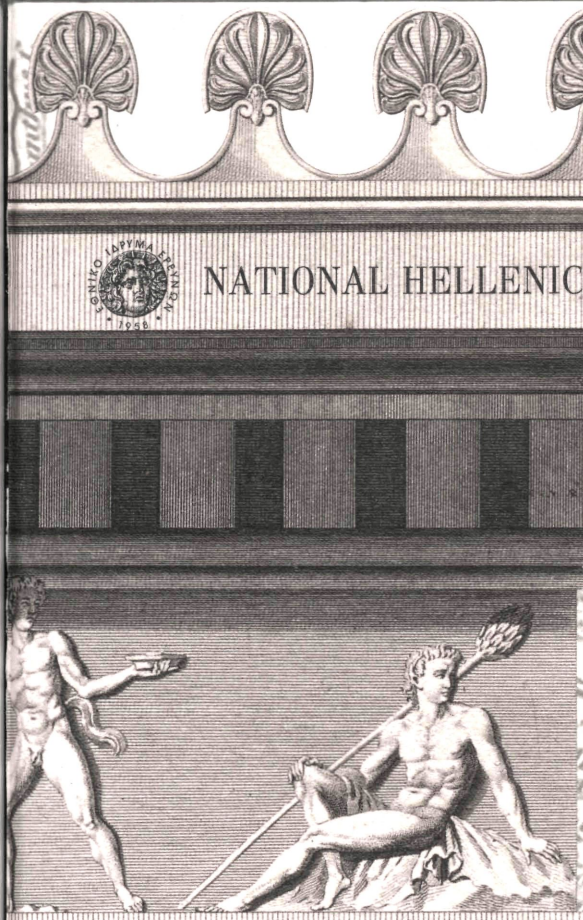

FOLLOWING PAUSANIAS

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2007

Following Pausanias
The Quest for Greek Antiquity

FOLLOWING PAUSANIAS

The Quest for Greek Antiquity

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The Quest for Greek Antiquity

Edited by
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Foreword

By the Director of the Institute for Neohellenic Research

Life in Greece is often literally a dialogue with the ancients: not necessarily a "Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns," but a complicated relationship nevertheless, not entirely free of unattractive features. I do not wish here to go into the complex and emotionally charged relationship between the modern Greeks and the classical past of their country, a historical relationship elaborated in successive stages since the rediscovery of Antiquity in the culture of Christian Greece under the impact of Enlightenment Classicism in the 18th century. The ideological elaboration of that relationship established the connection with the ancients as an almost normative tenet of modern Greek identity. The strength of this sense of affinity and its emotional underpinnings have not necessarily contributed to clarity of understanding, based on the development in modern Greece of strong traditions of critical scholarship in the various fields of classical studies with the exception of archaeology. Let me repeat, however, that provocative as these pointers might be, this is not the place to take them up. I have had the chance recently to discuss some aspects of the relationship of ancients and moderns in modern Greece in writing about the interplay of subservience and ambivalence in modern Greek attitudes toward the Cassics (2003), and for the moment I leave this subject at that.

There is another aspect of the dialogue with the ancients in Greece, which, I feel, is much more attractive and inspiring, an essential component of the quality of life in this sun-bathed corner of Europe. This is a physical relationship, which is mediated by the senses and has to do with the presence of ancient monuments and the splendor of the surviving works of art in the collective but also in individual sensibility in Greek society. Despite the serious wounds inflicted on the environment and on the natural and cultural landscape of the country by the multiform patterns of modern development, the presence of ancient monuments and the evocativeness of ancient Greek art, primarily architecture, but also sculpture and painting, has been and remains an integral part of the dialogue of the population of Greece with their environment. This is where Pausanias comes into the picture. How are we to appreciate this – moving in its harmonious beauty – heritage, free of the distorting subjectivism that emanates from the ideological stratigraphy that surrounds the archaeological heritage of the country? The answer to this question is provided by Pausanias. His descriptions of the monuments, of the historical topography in which they were located, of the cults with which they were associated and of the popular traditions of the society that focused its collective life upon them, supplies the key for deciphering the meaning of the classical heritage of Greece. The *Περιήγησις* is a map of meanings that can

make the dialogue with the ancients a direct empirical relation, and Pausanias as a guide can liberate our vision of ancient Greece from the distorting mirrors that ideology interjects between ancients and moderns. In view of the weight – very often oppressive and paralyzing – of Antiquity in modern Greek self-perception and self-definition, the empirical and liberated vision that Pausanias makes possible can be salutary, an invitation to a better-informed understanding of our historical environment and of ourselves.

The story to which I have alluded above is part of a vaster picture, whose content is Pausanias' reception in modern European culture. The presentation of Pausanias' reception in this volume brings into focus many of the intellectual processes of the recovery of Greek Antiquity and its incorporation in modern Western culture. The *Περιήγησις*, even before its *editio princeps* by Markos Musurus in Venice in 1516, proved a catalyst in the humanist perception of Greece. Consequently, by following Pausanias' fortune in modern Europe we observe the way Greece was canonized in Western culture. The following pages bring together an impressive range of evidence and source material, literary and visual, to document the ways Greece was perceived by humanists from the 15th to the early 19th centuries through Pausanias' eyes. I cannot resist the temptation to add to this staggering collection of sources a reminder of still one more author who drew on Pausanias: after Rabelais and before Racine, Michel de Montaigne recalls Pausanias in the *Essays* in order to illustrate how devious ways of learning can sometimes be: "And also that ancient lyre player, who, Pausanias tells us, was accustomed to force his pupils to go hear a bad musician who lived across the way, where they might learn to hate his discords and false measures." (1965: 703)

It is my pleasure in welcoming the reader to this volume to express my sincere appreciation to my colleagues from the Institute for Neohellenic Research of Greece's National Research Foundation for laboring to preserve at such a high level the scholarly character of an occasion that could easily have slid toward a form of tourist parade. Also sincere appreciation and heartfelt thanks are owed to the finest library in Greece, the Gennadeion of the American School of Classical Studies, and its director, Dr. Maria Georgopoulou, for supplying from its inestimable collections the material but also the knowledge that made this publication a veritable apprenticeship in humanism.

Paschalis M. Kitromilides
Professor of Political Science, University of Athens
Director, INR/NHRF

Pausanias and the Collections of the Gennadius Library

The exhibition "Following Pausanias: The Quest for Greek Antiquity" and the volume that accompanies it seek to highlight the dominant role that the *Periegesis* of Pausanias holds within the canon of travel literature. After placing Pausanias within the larger intellectual and historical framework of the 2nd century AD, the book focuses on the reception of the text of Pausanias in the Middle Ages and the early modern period as it is represented in the collections of the Gennadius Library in Athens. Pausanias served as a point of reference for many travelers who visited Greek lands, but naturally only few of the works that show his influence (about 100 books, engravings, manuscripts, paintings and maps from the Library's fine collections) are included in this volume. These were chosen because the words of their authors, the images that they include or the way in which their material is arranged contain clear (direct or indirect) references to Pausanias. In other words, they represent beyond any doubt the lasting legacy of Pausanias among European scholars and intellectuals in the early modern period.

The Roman Empire, in addition to establishing and maintaining a network of roads, bridges and navigable gateways that facilitated travel and trade, allowed its citizens the luxury to indulge in geographical speculation. Something similar happened in the early modern period when Europeans for the first time after the Fall of the Western Roman Empire had the opportunity to explore the Mediterranean basin and the lands of the Ottoman Empire in order to satisfy their historic or geographic intellectual pursuits. The books, maps, and manuscripts from the collections of the Gennadius Library form a bridge between these two periods, the Roman and the early modern, when the significance of the monuments and the art of classical Greece was considered paramount. They also represent the tradition of traveling, which continued unhindered throughout the early modern period even if modified according to specific cultural currents. This tradition, as exemplified by Pausanias, i.e. paying special attention to detail in the landscape, seeking out every piece of information and having direct contact with the place, gained more and more ground in the 19th and 20th centuries when the *Periegesis* looms large among travelers' texts and was used as an invaluable aid to archaeological pursuits in Greece.

Pausanias was one among many travelers to the land of Greece but at the same time he was unique. His text is emblematic for its sophistication and has been used by many others who followed in his footsteps. The erudition and attention to detail of the *Periegesis* of Pausanias assisted like no other text the "discovery" of Greek antiquities. For this reason, the increasing appeal of Pausanias' text to travelers is intimately connected with the rise of antiquarianism and the advent of archaeological exploration in the early modern period but also with the sense of historical perspective and the notion of the past as a distinct moment

in the succession of events. For this very reason the *Periegesis* serves as the inspiration and basis for a large part of the travel literature acquired by the founder of the Gennadius Library, Joannes Gennadius.

A diplomat, bibliophile and lover of Hellenism, the Athenian Ioannis Gennadios (1844-1932), in the forty years he spent as ambassador and minister to the court of St. James in London, assembled a unique collection of manuscripts, rare books, precious bindings, archives, and works of art about Greece. The driving force behind his collecting practices was his conviction in the unbroken continuity of Greek culture and civilization from Antiquity to the present. Thus, it was important for him to assemble works of the Greek Classics but also of Byzantine and modern Greek literature, as well as historical treatises concerning Greece from the early modern to the contemporary period in all relevant languages. Greek as a spoken language, as a language taught to the humanists and as the language of the Orthodox church was also a major concern of the collector, possibly because he led the life of an expatriot who appreciated the peculiarities of his native tongue. In 1922 he decided to offer his collection of 26,000 titles to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in perpetual trust. The Greek state offered the American School a lot on the slopes of Mount Lykabettus, and the School raised money from the Carnegie Foundation to construct a beautiful Neo-classical building to house the collection. The Library, named the Gennadeion, in honor of the father of the founder, Athenian intellectual George Gennadios, was officially inaugurated on April 23, 1926. Eighty years after its foundation it houses 113,000 titles, archives of major historical and literary figures in the history of Greece, works of art, and a significant collection of maps, as well as numerous scholarly periodicals.

One of the best-known collections of the Library is the so-called Geography and Travel collection. It consists of books, engravings, manuscripts and maps written by travelers who toured Greece and the general area of the Eastern Mediterranean from the 15th to the 19th centuries. Already in the 4th century AD travelers came to the area for religious reasons, primarily to visit the biblical pilgrimage sites in Palestine. Pilgrims' accounts focus on the description of the sites as well as of the places that they visited on their way to the Holy Land. In the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance merchants and traders added their own body of literature with a different set of information of a more practical nature. In the early modern era, with the rise of humanism and antiquarianism, the scope of the travels was modified to serve in addition to personal, religious, economic and political objectives, also intellectual concerns that included more specific details on history and archaeology. In this period Greece becomes a land with a past, indeed a glorious past. This is the time when the text of Pausanias reveals itself as an important document for consultation and inspiration. Like the descriptions of Pausanias, travel literature from the 16th to the 19th centuries records the adventure of traveling *per se*, details about the places visited but also the wonders that one observes on his way. Joannes Gennadius felt that the accumulation of travel books about Greece was one of the primary ways in which he could gather information about the continuous history of Hellenic culture. The close connection between these early modern books and antiquarianism feeds into another aspect of Genna-

dius' collecting interests, the history of archaeology. The illustrated copies of Pausanias merge the theme of travel and archaeology masterfully, as they combine the experience of the passage through the land of Greece – the travel – with detailed (even if at times imaginary) images of its antiquities.

A catalog of the important travel literature of the Gennadius Library was published in two volumes (1952-1953) by Shirley Weber, Director of the Library at the time. The exhibition "Following Pausanias" provides the Gennadius Library with the perfect opportunity to launch its *Travelers' Database*, a research program based on the Geography and Travel collection. This database, the fruit of the efforts of Ms. Aliki Asvesta, co-curator of this exhibition, indexes historical information from travelers' texts chronologically according to book, place, monument, occupation, etc, and offers scholars a historical panorama of travel literature. We hope that this program will function as a hub of information for scholars and will eventually be linked with other similar programs of digitization in order to provide the basis for a full indexing of this rich material.

Despite the fact that 1700 years separate Pausanias from Joannes Gennadius, there is an almost uncanny relationship between the two men. Both had an earthly bond with the land of Greece and sought to assemble material that validated their interest in this ancient land. Both had a passion for archaeology and travel; and yet, their curiosity embraced a domain much broader than antiquarianism as it also focused on the mundane, the curiosities, and even the local flora. They both had a perspective that betrays an almost visceral relationship with the place and both had a deeply felt, personal understanding of Hellenism. Both had a sense of history and an eagerness to "read" the past through contemporary eyes. Both sought to present the glories of Greece's achievements and their continuous effect on the life in the region. There is another coincidence that we need to stress: Pausanias' extant text focuses on the Peloponnese and Sterea Hellas, a portion of Greece that coincides with the modern Greek state at the time of Joannes Gennadius' birth. Furthermore, during both their eras, Athens and Greece in general experienced a period of renaissance: the monumentality of Hadrian's Athens can surely be compared with the revival of Neo-classical Athens in the late 19th century. Perhaps these coincidences drove both men to see Greece and Hellenism through a similar lens.

It is my great pleasure that this collaboration with the National Hellenic Research Foundation showcases many of the treasures of the Gennadius Library in a quest that goes beyond the boundaries of the collection assembled by Joannes Gennadius, while illustrating without a doubt the importance of his collection for any kind of scholarly investigation related to the continuity of Hellenism from Antiquity to our times. It is our hope that the program "Following Pausanias: The Quest for Greek Antiquity," which includes in addition to the exhibition a symposium and public lectures, will bring to light more facets of the significance that the text of Pausanias had in the development of travel literature, but also of antiquarianism and archaeology in Greece.

Maria Georgopoulou
Director, The Gennadius Library

Following Pausanias

Pausanias' *Periegesis* is the touchstone of humanism in the recovery of Greece. A valued monument of Antiquity and – at the same time – a useful modern tool, the *Periegesis* had a definite impact on the perception of Greece in Western Europe during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Thus we have not limited our investigation solely to the literary tradition of the text, but have rather extended it to the broader range of its reception by the early modern learned élite. We took into consideration a wide variety of material: editions and translations of the *Periegesis*, as well as its reworkings in the historical, geographical and antiquarian lore. We sought out its transformation into new creations – travel literature, antiquarian fiction and works of art – that gave it a new form and renewed popularity. We also studied the illustrations inspired by the work – maps, views and reconstructions based on Pausanias' descriptions – and examined their significance on the comprehension of the text and on the perception of Greece. In the first part of this volume, we provide details about Pausanias, his routes, and the structure of his work, while in the final section we present an appraisal of Pausanias' work by archaeologists now working at the sites Pausanias traveled to and described (Athens, Sparta, Olympia, Delphi, Messene).

As the process of regaining Greek Antiquity advanced, readers increasingly turned to Pausanias. Whether direct or indirect, learned or popularizing, the uses of Pausanias were of varied content and uneven density; they were driven by a variety of motives, according to the cultural priorities and the historical awareness of the age. Pausanias was thus successively transformed: from *honnête-homme* into antiquarian and connoisseur and from historian into topographer, travel guide and archaeologist. In the pages of this study we present our findings, in full knowledge that the field is yet to be fully explored, and that much remains to be added.

On behalf of the editorial committee,
George Tolias
Research Director, INR/NHRF
Head of the Project

The Golden Age of Greece, *detail of a lost painting by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, copy by W. Ahlborn. (Berlin, National galerie)*

Introduction

The Cultural Archaeology of Greece

The ties between a journey and learning, between knowledge and empirical observation, are essential, and they are at the very heart of Greek civilization (Hartog 1996: 54). Pausanias is a link in the long chain of writers of geographical descriptions, travel narratives and *periploi*, all of whose object was to describe the known world. Pausanias himself belongs among the *periegetes*, a category of writers who flourished during the Hellenistic period, and who devoted themselves to descriptions of the famous sites and wonders of every region (Frazer 1965: 125-138). From the end of the 4th century BC until the 2nd century AD, "antiquarian" travelers such as Diodorus, Heliodorus, and Polemon described the monuments of Athens and its environs in guides and scholarly works, in order both to teach the reader and guide the visitor (Casson 1974, André & Baslez 1993). Pausanias shares with his predecessors the same curiosity and approach. The descriptions of what he saw follow the route he took; comments and historical or mythological digressions of greater or lesser extent are added. The inserted comments that interrupt the flow of his route preserve the traces of earlier descriptions, linking the work to textual reminiscences, and lending it an encyclopedic character (Jacob 1990: 47).

The first surprise for the reader of the *Periegesis* has to do with the excess of objects that caught the eye of the *periegetes*; frequently, the work recalls a museum catalog. In a good number of cases, descriptions are limited to a strict, neutral recounting of objects, without any critical approach. The basic backdrop of the *Periegesis* consists of mentions of the topographical arrangement of things: "...I will describe the things that are most worth seeing on each of these roads..." (VIII 10, 1). Such references predominate and function as mnemonic scaffolding, so that the text is interwoven with the encyclopedic knowledge of the age, the "archives of society" (Jacob 1990: 45). The text employs a variety of narrative genres and displays a pervasive intertextuality. The reading of all the facts collected by the gaze of the *periegetes* activates older readings or narratives concerning political history, biography, and worship practices: "...Such are, in my opinion, the most famous of the Athenian traditions and sights: from the mass of materials I have aimed from the outset at selecting the really notable..." (I 39, 3). Pausanias' historiographic and travel

priorities converge to serve a unified plan: connecting the past with the present (Habicht 1985: 164).

If the "antiquarian" travelers who preceded him had focused on an inventory of votives and monuments, Pausanias sought to describe "all things Greek" (I 26, 4). Thus, he stands out both by reason of the breadth of his plan as well as by virtue of his independent spirit, which appears in the choice of the things he considered noteworthy. For Pausanias, locating and describing the things he encountered along his journey were the means of recovering the past. He was traveling in an open-air museum: the descriptions of the monuments he found and all the histories he cites that were connected with these form the historical memory of Greece. Pausanias' interest in the cultural heritage of Greece before the Battle of Chaironeia (338 BC) is typical. The collection of monuments he proposes – buildings, inscriptions, and works of art – constitute testimonies to the Greek way of life and its values. His patriotic pride remains entirely consistent with the framework of the Philhellenic inclination of the Antonines and the central role that Greek culture played for the Roman élite of the 2nd century AD.

The *periegetes'* gaze and stylus sought both to define and preserve a civilization. Pausanias stands before monuments marked by historical glory and linked to the very identity of places. His descriptions, as they attempt to elicit the traces of history preserved at a particular spot, emerge as a treasury of collective memory. All sorts of monuments function in Pausanias' work as memory vehicles, *semiophors* as Kryztzof Pomian called them (1987: 42-47). In the *Periegesis*, a monument notable for its style turns out to be even more important by reason of its history, and the myths or practices of worship with which it was linked. Finally, we should also note here Pausanias' interest in the rare, the admirable, or the exceptional, an interest that renewed the Greek tradition of examination of curiosities and the relation between art and worship (Frazer 1898, I: 36-37).

C.G.

Pausanias the Humanist

Descriptions of monuments and sanctuaries, historical and mythological readings, legends and beliefs, narratives of *exegetes* [local guides]: Pausanias recorded, without any criticism, things that did not interest his contemporaries. Indeed, his work

was not warmly received during his own age. As far as we know, only one direct reference to it has been preserved, in Claudius Aelian's *Variae historiae* (HABICHT 1985: 13). Nevertheless, the work survived, thanks to the successive gleams of Byzantine humanism and its care for the preservation of ancient texts (DILLER 1956). Pausanias' star would rise during modern times, with the definitive establishment of humanism and the elevation of Antiquity into the object of a new form of worship. The arrival of the work in the West would soon make it a basis for the recovery of Greek Antiquity: it would be widely disseminated through the educated circles of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment; it would constitute a model for antiquarians, a source of inspiration for artists and writers, a guide for travelers, and later, a handbook for archaeologists in Greece.

Pausanias' narrative bridged the distance separating the world of the humanists with that of lost Antiquity. Continual readings and elaborations of his work wove a network of connections with Greek Antiquity and its civilization, a network that connected the present to the past, while simultaneously linking all those involved in this interweaving with one another. As has been rightly observed, "an edifice of textuality" intervenes among Pausanias, ourselves and ancient Greece: "millennia of writing/reading have transformed a physical location into, as it were, a 'textual zone'" (CHERRY 2001: 248), where things are mingled with their descriptions.

The question of readings of Pausanias is an old one, though it was only posed explicitly in the late 19th century (HENDERSON 2001). Research has primarily attempted to interpret ancient readings of his work, actual or supposed, and it is only recently that it expanded to readings – especially British – of the work in the 19th and 20th centuries (ALCOCK, CHERRY & ELSNER 2001). As yet, no overall estimation of the fortunes of Pausanias has been attempted, and the result is that pervasive impressions, although unverified, continue to hold sway. The contribution of humanists in bringing the work to prominence has been underestimated, its role in forming the early modern image of Greek Antiquity has been ignored, and only a few aspects of its subsequent influence have been explored. Analyses of Pausanias' reception have been carried out in archaeological terms. This is due to the fact that Greek archaeology found in the *Periegesis* an exceptionally useful aid; archaeologists saw it as "the book of books for travelers in Greece" (SUTTON 2001: 175) and awarded it a canonical status. Undoubtedly, the *Periegesis* contains a rare wealth of details concerning ancient Greek monumental topography. On-site reading of the work and the critical comparison of ancient descriptions and modern finds constituted a turning-

point: it provided a significant spur to Greek studies and above all supported the archaeological discovery of Greece.

From the time of its appearance in the West, the work was assimilated in the humanist program of the recovery of Antiquity and thus held a central place in the creation of the modern picture of Greek Antiquity. Pausanias helped the humanists to understand that Greece was a historical reality, not just a scholarly idea regained through Latin reminiscences. Furthermore, the *Periegesis* was read in many ways: sometimes as a coherent whole – a synthetic panorama of Greek Antiquity – and at other times selectively, as an encyclopedic treasure trove of Greek civilization. Indeed, the circulation of the text, in manuscript or print form, in the original or in translation, was accompanied by its wide diffusion into historiography, geography, and political thought, into travel literature, archaeology, and the history of art, and finally, into art and literature.

The variety of readings of the *Periegesis* is due to its composite nature. Both empirical topographical investigation and an itinerant cultural geography of Greek Antiquity, Pausanias' work functioned as both model of antiquarian description and repository of narratives and images of an ideal, lost civilization. During the Renaissance, Pausanias was perceived as a historian. The *Periegesis* met the demands of Renaissance antiquarians, since it presented a universal approach to history and culture. In fact, it offered an original, authentic work of antiquarian investigation. Above all, however, Pausanias proposed a documented description of Greek Antiquity, verified both in local tradition and by the material evidence. Readers drew from the work a positive methodology for historical research, one that took equally into consideration the material and narrative evidence, as well as the myths and traditions, and interpreted them using the criterion of local cultural particularities. Therefore, from the mid-17th century and on, the *Periegesis* was perceived as a work of historical topography. Pausanias was to become the guide and companion to travelers, to support them in their attempt to approach Greece in its historical, geographical, and cultural reality. At the same time, readers of Pausanias during the modern era were interested in a variety of topics. The *Periegesis* nurtured the arts, letters, and sciences of humanism from the 15th to the 18th centuries, as Greek Antiquity was steadily becoming incorporated into the European cultural construct.

G. T.

The Book of Ancient Images

In 1731, the Abbé Gédoyn, translating Pausanias into a living language, wished to make available to the whole world "this treasure, which until now was accessible to only a small number of scholars" (1731: v). Gédoyn's edition was the first to be illustrated. Other versions would follow, also accompanied by illustrative materials. The 18th-century publishers of the *Periegesis* proposed Pausanias as simultaneously a good read and a spectacle. This is due to the fact that the two semiotic systems were considered interrelated. Illustrations multiply just when the presence of the Greek text and its Latin translation retreat. They did not suggest a complement to the text, but rather a new means of reading it, one that vividly projected the descriptions of the things Pausanias presented.

Illustrations performed a variety of functions. Their inclusion makes obvious the corresponding development in the readings of the text, the morphological progress of the printed book, as well as all the changing uses to which the text was put. The reading of a descriptive text like the *Periegesis* led to the creation of mental images (Arnheim 1969, Puech 1992), a process supported by the development of the technological possibilities of the printed image.

From the mid-18th century, the travelers who were "following in the footsteps of Pausanias" in Greece enhanced the understanding of the ancient text by endowing it with various types of illustrative materials: plans, drawings, maps, and topographical sketches. To these were added many reconstructions of ancient works of art *après Pausanias*. The *Periegesis* functioned like a palimpsest atop which successive images were superimposed. The travel narrative is a privileged field for illustrative applications, since it provides a substitute for direct viewing. Although the sketches, engravings or photographs were not exact reproductions of reality, they maintained and preserved an ideal relation to the text. If the presence of images is now taken for granted in modern editions of Pausanias, this is because the images are already present within the writer's words. Since the artists who illustrated Pausanias employed the aesthetic and the style of their own times, their illustrations constitute a continuously renewed discovery and a reinterpretation of the work itself. From Gédoyn's age to our own, this ongoing need to illustrate Pausanias, to "enliven" the text, has expressed our nostalgic bonds to lost Antiquity.

Since the *Periegesis* calls upon the reader to follow Pausanias' route, the most usual illustrative evidence accompanying the work is a map. The map, a reservoir of

information saved on a topographical canvas, permits mental control over space. Place names or the stylized representation of the landscape preserve narratives of genealogy, historical events, literary references, and the facts of geography, ethnography or religion. The map activates the content of the text, which justifies its stable presence in editions of Pausanias. Furthermore, the map serves as a guide for the reader, as it allows him to follow the traveler's itineraries in his imagination.

The insertion of attractive illustrations constituted part of the seduction and popularization strategies "of the publishers' ventures," as Étienne Clavier called them (1814: iv). While the presence of maps proposed a kind of scientific assurance, anachronistic reproductions and archaeological views garnered from modern travelers endeavored to render – through the image – what the ancient *periegetes* saw. The modern traveler's drawings approach the ancient text without the fear of anachronism, in order to buttress the authenticity of his descriptions. What Pausanias saw is in part preserved in their perspective, and the picturesque nature of the views they propose is appealing. Illustration flatters the aesthetic and intellectual sensitivity of art lovers and scholars alike. It exhibits objects that inspire admiration or awaken curiosity; it invests in aesthetic impression or in the change of scene. If, during the 18th century and even the 19th, some considered that the insertion of illustrations weakened the scholarly authority of the work, photographs and digital reconstructions have today become a requisite way of reading Pausanias.

C.G.

Pausanias' Transformations

From the early 15th century on, the Western cultivated élite learned to see Greece through Pausanias' eyes. Thus, Pausanias' fortune is connected to the slow maturation of historical awareness and the corresponding fortunes of Greek heritage. In the history of the work's reception we may clearly discern three high points that coincide to a large degree with parallel intensifications of Greek references in Western thought. The first such period was during the years of Renaissance humanism, with its climax between 1500 and 1550. These were the years during which the antiquarian image of Greece was being constructed on the methodological and factual bases that the *Periegesis* offered. A second flowering of the work can be noted between 1670 and 1730. This was the era in which the "Republic of Letters" ventured into the

East and the archaeological discovery of Greece was set in motion. The third high point, between 1770 and 1820, was within the context of late Enlightenment humanism. These were the years of the ideological revival of Greek Antiquity, the peak of antiquarian travel to Greece, and the rise of Greek nationalism. It is noteworthy that during the high points of Pausanias' authority, when the *Periegesis* served as the catalyst for the perception of Greece, the Greek intelligentsia was making use of the work to advance its patriotic claims.

A pilgrimage to the landmarks of Greek memory and history (HARTOG 2003: 171), the *Periegesis* was gradually transformed into a mnemonic theater, an encyclopedia, an atlas and a travel guide of a world slowly returning from oblivion. What readers of the book were seeking was a deep understanding of Greek Antiquity: a comprehension of its cultural, political, and aesthetic values, and their recovery for modern use. For this reason, Pausanias' lot in history has been peculiar. The devout, somewhat scholastic and tedious pilgrim to Roman Greece originally attracted no one's attention. In contrast, his subsequent transformation into the witty and restless traveler of humanism raised him into a pioneer and apostle for the recovery of the past.

G. T.

THE PERIEGETES PAUSANIAS AND HIS ERA

(2ND C. AD)

I

The Periegetes Pausanias and His Era (2nd c. AD)

The Antonines

The dynasty of Roman emperors known to us as the Antonines (96-192) or as the *provincial* emperors, while not the most glorious and powerful, was undoubtedly the most Philhellenic: Trajan (98-117), Hadrian (117-138), Antoninus (138-161) and Marcus Aurelius (161-180) compose the golden quartet, framed at both ends by two lesser figures, Nerva (96-98) and Commodus (180-192). After having been pushed into the background during the reigns of the *patrician* (14-68) and *bourgeois* (Flavian: 69-96) emperors, the Eastern Roman Empire – Greece, the Balkans, Asia Minor, the Middle East, and Egypt – now passed to center-stage and achieved such material and intellectual prosperity that can only be compared to that of the time of Alexander the Great and his successors. Trajan's victorious wars against the Dacians and Parthians brought new provinces into the Empire, in the northern Balkans and Mesopotamia; both areas remained in the ranks of the Empire thanks to the defense policy of Trajan's successor, Hadrian. These new acquisitions constituted an ideal environment for extensive economic exchange; at the same time, it is possible to observe a rise of Greek culture, which spread and became consolidated, signaling a renaissance of classical culture unprecedented in extent, climaxing in the so-called Second Sophistic. The foundation of new cities, the ensuing population movements, the blossoming of trade through new markets, intellectual uplifting and production, are just some of the direct benefits from the peace established by the Antonines. Thus, older settlement centers also recovered and revived their past and the one-time fame of far-distant history, as, for example, at Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Antiochia, Laodicea, Berytus, Palmyra, Athens, and Corinth or regions such as Bithynia (Nikomedia, Nicaea, Prusa) and the Pontus. Furthermore, the hellenization of the fringes of the Greek East expanded and became consolidated. On the other hand, both emperors and private citizens competed in benefactions and

☜ *Bust of the Emperor Hadrian: 130-140. (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, accession Eur. no. 3729)*

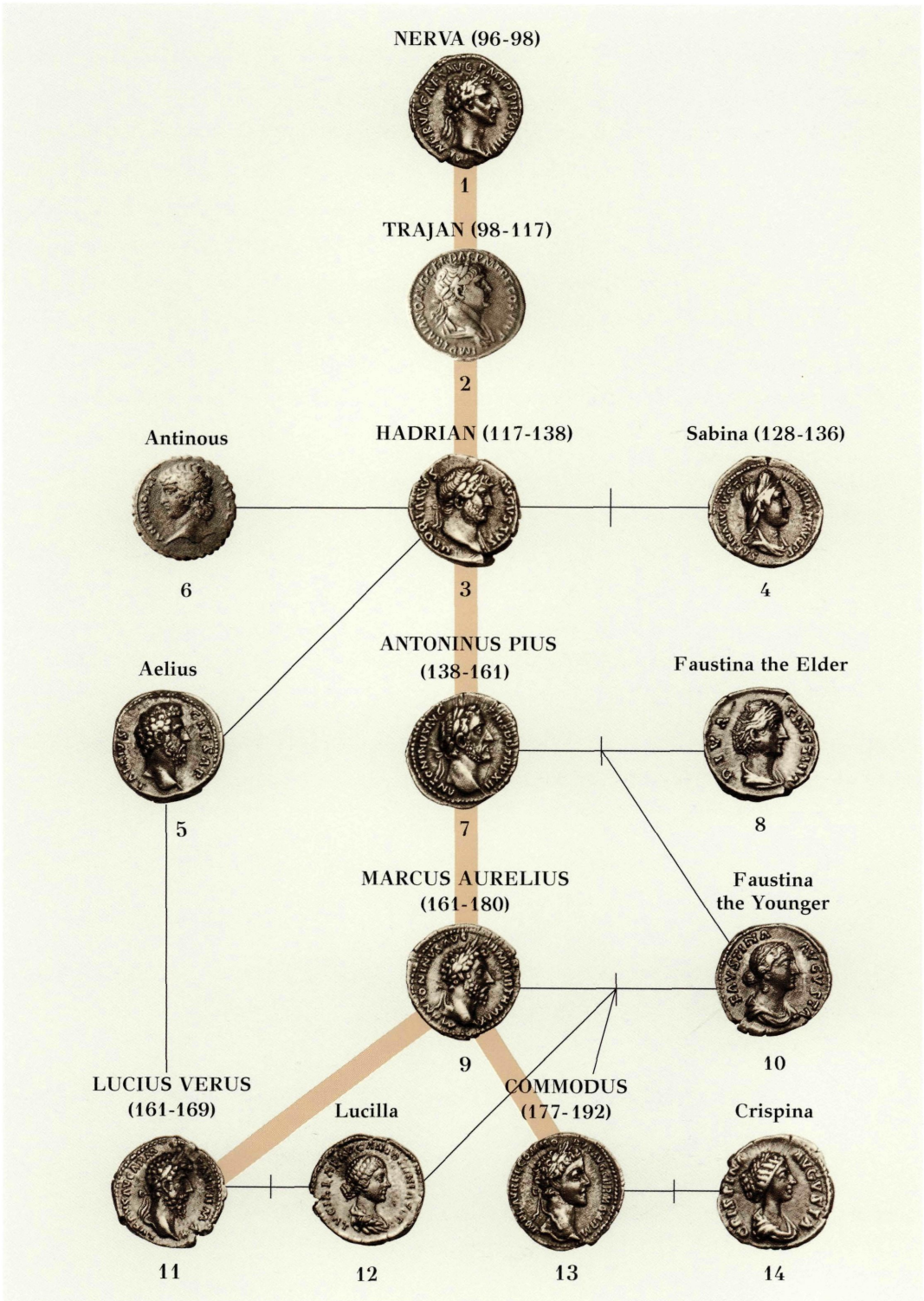
public works throughout the Empire, with Hadrian and Herodes Atticus as outstanding examples. Athens, for example, was completely refurbished and promoted to the status of intellectual capital. It was not accidental that Hadrian – the most authentic and passionate Philhellene emperor – spent most of his reign traveling in the provinces and remained there for long periods of time; he came to Athens three times, staying for months on end and taking an active part in its life and beautification.

It should be noted that although the Antonine period constitutes a golden age for the Roman Empire and certainly for the Greek East, particularly as regards public works, art and intellectual pursuits, it did not manage to have an equally catalytic effect on society: the economic inequality between the minority of the wealthy and the masses, who continually struggled to survive, increased; neither splendid public works in the cities nor unprecedented intellectual life yielded any direct results in bettering the living conditions of common citizens. Social tensions were always present and led to the use of violence at the slightest provocation. Wealthy citizens frequently undertook to supply a city with grain in hard times, or in many respects replaced – willingly or unwillingly – the sluggish and obdurate state administration, which was incapable of or indifferent to caring for its citizenry, but always ready to react and stomp out any deviation from the status quo. It was amidst this excessive state oppression, political corruption and total absence of interest in public affairs, together with the loosening of the connecting bonds of religion and family, that Christianity would find fertile ground for its zealous dissemination in this era.

[All dates are AD.]

Y.P.

1. Denarius of Hadrian: 119-128. (Athens, Numismatic Museum, [Zarifis Collection], no. 244)



2. Genealogical tree. (Stemma) of the Antonines.

1. *Nerva (96-98)*
   Denarius, date of issue: 97. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Zarifis Collection, no. 211.

2. *Trajan (Caesar: 97 under Nerva; Augustus: 98-117), adopted son of Nerva*
   Denarius, date of issue: 112-177. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Christomanos Collection

3. *Hadrian (117-138)*
   Denarius, date of issue: 119-128. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Zarifis Collection, no. 244

4. *Sabina (Augusta: 128-136), wife of Hadrian, daughter of Matidia*
   Denarius, date of issue: 128-138. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Zarifis Collection, no. 257

5. *Aelius (Caesar: 136-138 under Hadrian), adopted son of Hadrian, father of Lucius Verus*
   Denarius, date of issue: 137-138. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Zarifis Collection, no. 259

6. *Antinous, Hadrian's favorite*
   Bronze medallion of Tium (Bithynia), date of issue: 130-138. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Empedocles Collection.

7. *Antoninus Pius (Caesar: 138 under Hadrian; Augustus: 138-161), adopted son of Hadrian*
   Denarius, date of issue: 148-149. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Zarifis Collection, no. 263

8. *Faustina the Elder (Augusta: 138-140/1), wife of Antoninus Pius, aunt of Marcus Aurelius*
   Denarius, date of issue: post-141. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Zarifis Collection, no. 276

9. *Marcus Aurelius (Caesar: 139-161 under Antoninus Pius; Augustus: 161-180), adopted son of Antoninus Pius and successor of Hadrian*
   Denarius, date of issue: 165-166. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Zarifis Collection, no. 287

10. *Faustina the Younger (Augusta: 147-175/6), wife of Marcus Aurelius, daughter of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder*
    Denarius, date of issue: 161-176. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Zarifis Collection, no. 298

11. *Lucius Verus (Augustus: 161-169, co-emperor of Marcus Aurelius), son of Aelius, adopted son of Antoninus Pius and successor of Hadrian*
    Denarius, date of issue: 165-166. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Zarifis Collection, no. 309

12. *Lucilla (Augusta: 164-182/3), wife of Lucius Verus, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger*
    Denarius, date of issue: 164-169. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Zarifis Collection, no. 311

13. *Commodus (Caesar: 166-177 under Marcus Aurelius; Augustus: 177-192)*
    Denarius, date of issue: 177. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Zarifis Collection, no. 314

14. *Crispina (Augusta: 177-182/3), wife of Commodus*
    Denarius, date of issue: 180-183. Athens, Numismatic Museum, Zarifis Collection, no. 319

Brief Biographies of the Antonines

1. NERVA (96-98). Nerva, a senator descended from a family of successful lawyers, was elected emperor by the Senate after the assassination of Domitian. His brief reign was considerably more mild and tolerant in comparison to that of his predecessor. Since he was elderly and childless, he adopted Trajan, governor of Upper Germany, and named him his successor. With this act, the succession by inheritance, that had been in effect during the 1st century AD, was replaced by the system of transfer of power through adoption.

2. TRAJAN (Caesar: 97 under Nerva; Augustus: 98-117), adopted son of Nerva. Trajan was the first Roman emperor to come from the provinces, specifically from Baetica in Spain. A military genius and a political leader with vision, he realized precisely the immediate problems of the Empire and the external dangers that threated it. His military qualifications, as attested by the conquest of Dacia and his victories against the Parthians, as well as his administrative abilities, made him popular among all social classes. He died during a campaign against the Parthians.

Trajan the Elder, father of Trajan.

Plotina (Augusta: 105-122), wife of Trajan.

Marciana (Augusta: 105-112/4), sister of Trajan.

Matidia (Augusta: 112/4-119), niece of Trajan.

3. HADRIAN (117-138). Hadrian was proclaimed emperor upon Trajan's death. Following a policy aimed at preserving the Empire's territories, he abandoned the regions beyond the Euphrates and created a strong fortification system along the borders. At the same time, he took particular care to solve problems of governance, and to achieve complete Romanization of the Empire. A cosmopolitan emperor, he traveled extensively and visited all the provinces. He represented the bilingual culture of the Empire, and depended on the parallel, and often inseparable, develop-

ment of the Eastern and Western provinces. An admirer of Greek culture, he loved poetry and philosophy, and studied the remnants of the past with keen interest. (fig. p. 24)

4. Sabina (Augusta: 128-136), wife of Hadrian, daughter of Matidia.

5. Aelius (Caesar: 136-138 under Hadrian), adopted son of Hadrian, father of Lucius Verus.

6. Antinous, Hadrian's favorite (fig. 3).

7. ANTONINUS PIUS (Caesar: 138 under Hadrian; Augustus 138-161), adopted son of Hadrian. Antoninus Pius was the third or fourth choice to succeed Hadrian, who named him the guardian of his favorites, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Faithful to the memory of his predecessor, he received the title "Pius" due to his persistence in gaining the Senate's consent to the deification of Hadrian. But in contrast to Hadrian, he never left Italy during his long reign. A decisive man and capable ruler, he established internal peace, enacted important legislation, reduced taxation and founded many philanthropic institutions, actions which earned him high esteem among the population of the Empire.

8. Faustina the Elder (Augusta: 138-140/1), wife of Antoninus Pius, aunt of Marcus Aurelius.

9. MARCUS AURELIUS (Caesar: 139-161 under Antoninus Pius; Augustus: 161-180), adopted son of Antoninus Pius and successor of Hadrian. Marcus Aurelius was the nephew of Faustina the Elder, wife of Antoninus Pius, who also adopted him at the wish of Hadrian. A decisive administrator, he preserved peace within the state and subdued uprisings on the Empire's frontiers. He occupied himself with Stoic, Platonic, and Epicurean philosophy, by which he was greatly influenced in his life and rule of the state. He is known as the "philosopher emperor."

10. Faustina the Younger (Augusta: 147-175/6), wife of Marcus Aurelius, daughter of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder.

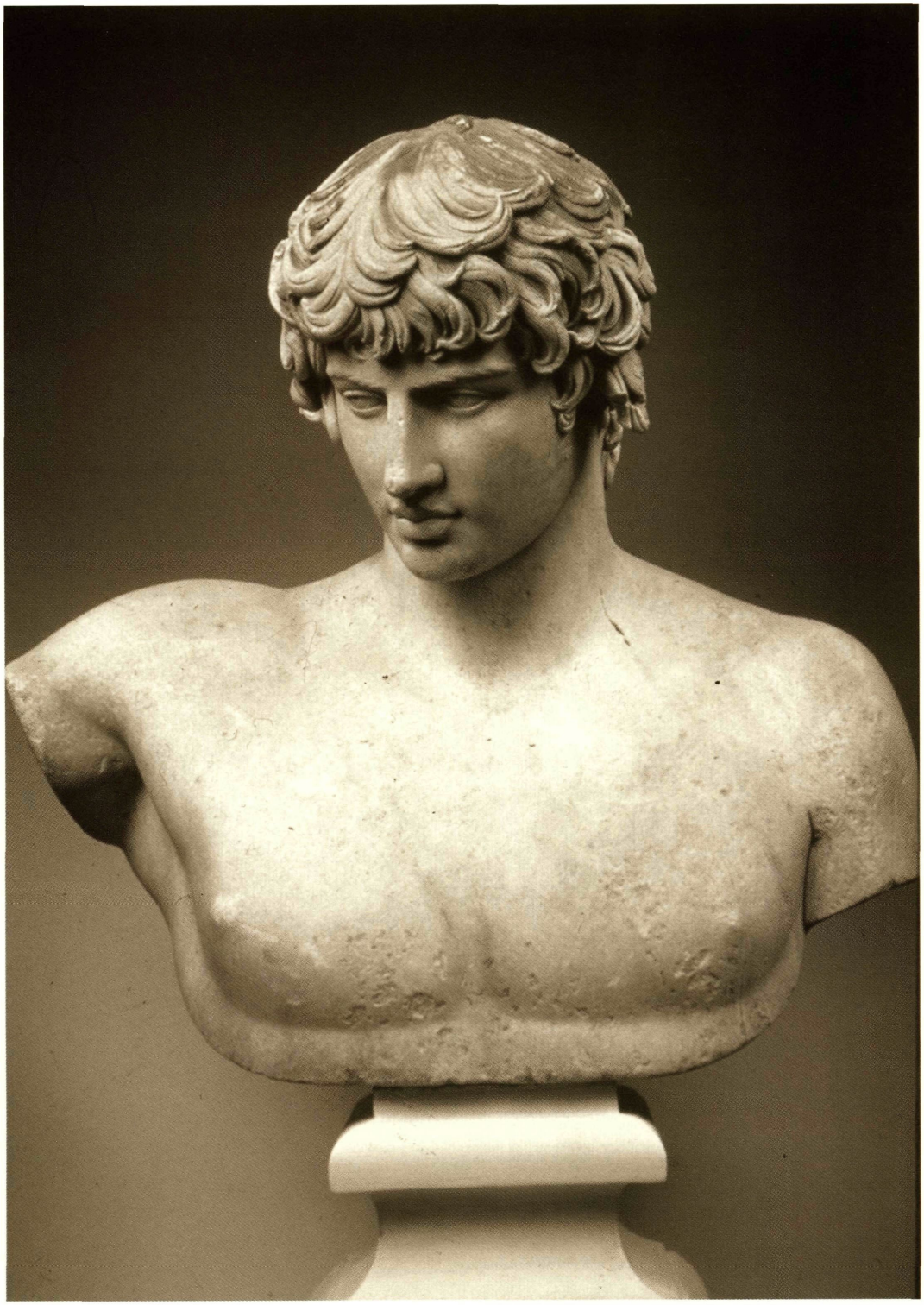
11. LUCIUS VERUS (Augustus: 161-169, co-emperor of Marcus Aurelius), son of Aelius, adopted son of Antoninus Pius and successor of Hadrian. Following the death of his father Aelius, at Hadrian's wish, Lucius Verus was adopted, as was Marcus Aurelius, by Antoninus Pius. His personality was very different than that of his co-emperor Marcus Aurelius, though his inclination for pleasure did not outweigh his qualifications. His victories against the Parthians and the destruction of their capital Ctesiphon attest to his military capabilities. In addition, he had a powerful sense of duty and devotion to Marcus Aurelius. He died at the age of 38 from a heart attack or apoplexy.

12. Lucilla (Augusta: 164-182/3), wife of Lucius Verus, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger.

13. COMMODUS (Caesar: 166-177 under Marcus Aurelius; Augustus: 177-192). Commodus, the only surviving son among Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger's 12 or 13 children, was crowned co-emperor in 177 and succeeded his father in 180 at the age of 19. Unworthy of continuing the accomplishments of his predecessors, he was fond of display and enjoyed identifying himself with Hercules. His 12-year reign was characterized by cruel and tyrannical acts, which were comparable to those of Caligula and Nero, and finally led to his murder.

14. Crispina (Augusta: 177-182/3), wife of Commodus.

P. Ts.



3. Bust of Antinous, 130-138. (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, accession Eur. no. 417)

4. Engraved composition of Roman weaponry. J. von Falke, Hellas und Rom. Eine Culturgeschichte des classischen Altertums, *Stuttgart, 1880, W. Spemann.*

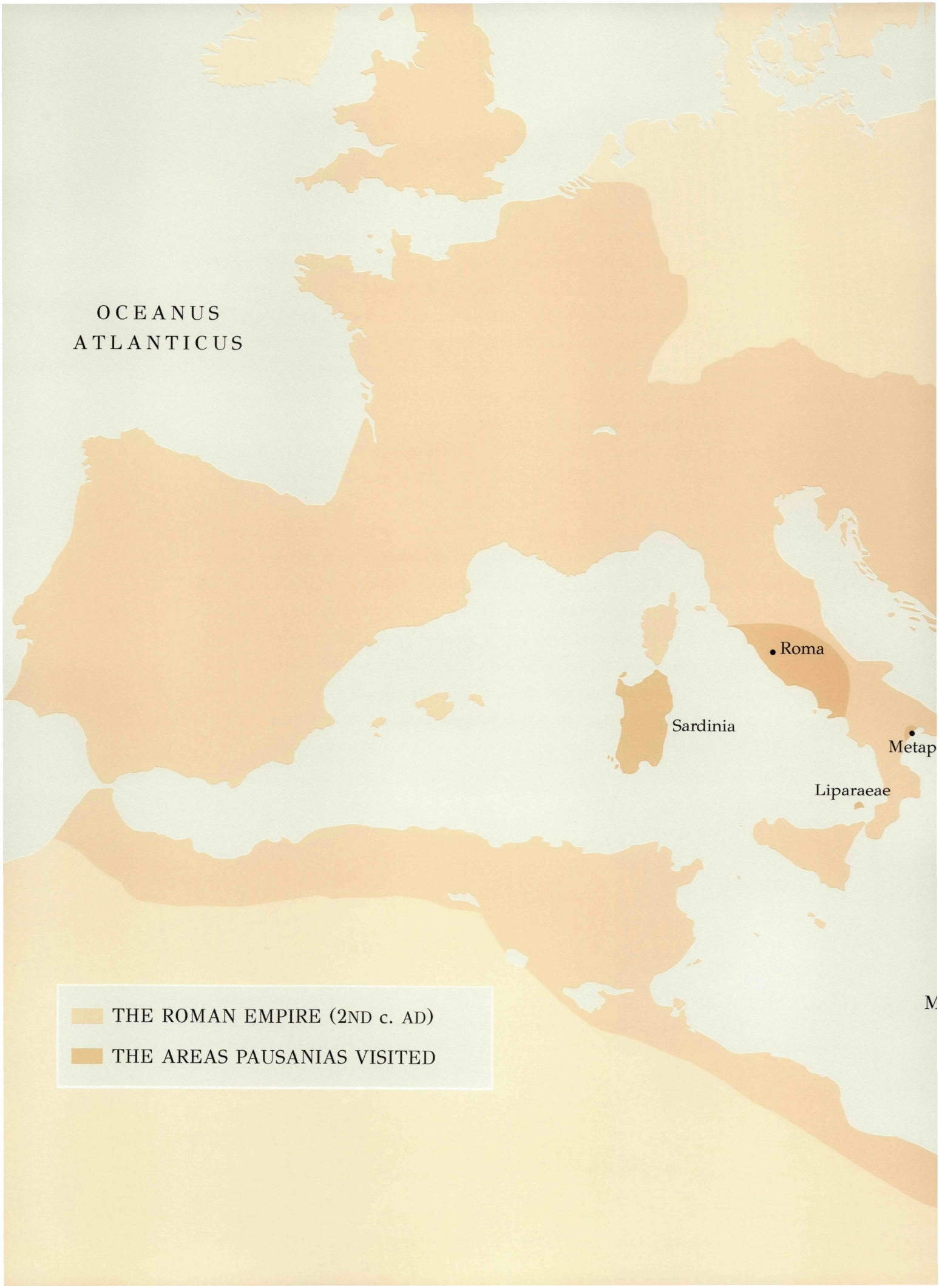
The Roman Empire

Immediately after the Trajanic wars, the Roman Empire was at the height of its power, controlling nearly all of the then-known world: it extended from the Iberian Peninsula and the Atlantic coastline as far as Mesopotamia (the Tigris and Euphrates), and from Britain (except for Scotland), southern Germany (bounded by the Danube) and Dacia (Romania) as far as Upper Egypt and the entire North African coast. Hadrian in particular, as well as his successors, preserved what had been acquired (cf. for example the walls between Britain and Scotland: that of Hadrian from Newcastle upon Tyne to Carlisle, and further north, that of Antoninus from Edinburgh to Glasgow), so that under the Antonines the entire Mediterranean as well as the greater part of the Black Sea were Roman "lakes". The boundaries of the Empire remained almost unchanged for a long time.

The *periegetes* Pausanias – as is noted directly below – traveled for an extensive period of time and came to know many parts of the Empire: all of western Asia Minor, parts of central and eastern Asia Minor as far as the Euphrates (although he did not get as far as Babylonia and Susa), Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Campania and Sardinia (but not Sicilia). He visited the most cosmopolitan centers, such as Rome, Athens, Corinth, Pergamum, Smyrna, Ephesus, Antiochia, Alexandria, etc. In addition, he knew at first hand Byzantium, Metapontum, the islands of Thasos, Rhodos, Delos, Andros and Aegina, and many other parts of central Greece that he did not include in his itinerary (see fig. 5, 6, and herein Routes and map, pp. 196-7).

Y.P.

5. The Roman Empire under the Antonines (between Trajan and Hadrian, first quarter of the 2nd c. AD. Background in Historia tou Ellinikou Ethnous, *vol. VI, pp. 58-59). The areas Pausanias visited are indicated.* ☞


OCEANUS
ATLANTICUS
Roma
Sardinia
Metap
Liparaeae
THE ROMAN EMPIRE (2ND c. AD)
THE AREAS PAUSANIAS VISITED

PONTUS EUXINUS
Byzantium
Thasos
Pergamum
Smyrna
Ephesus
Andros
Miletus
Delos
Antiochia
Rhodos
RE MEDITERRANEUM
Alexandria

Pausanias: Biography

If the 2nd century AD traveler by the name Pausanias were to be characterized as a "phantom persona," this would probably not be far from the truth. We literally know next to nothing about him, since he himself did not wish, or did not care, to leave us any relevant information in his work; furthermore, those who came after him were not interested in commenting on Pausanias in any way that would preserve some biographical details of him. In his work he himself does not refer to his name, patronymic, or birthplace. His name was preserved by the lexicographer Stephanus of Byzantium, the first person who is proven to have read Pausanias, 350 years later. Thus, any other biographical information about Pausanias has to be detected in his work itself in the form of scattered and often difficult to trace references, whose autobiographical nature is as a rule debatable. As a result, a great many attempts have been – and are still being – made, sometimes unsupported, to identify Pausanias with one of the writers of that time bearing the same name, without however persuasive results and, most importantly, without indisputable proof. On the basis of existing evidence, Pausanias cannot be identified with any known writer of the 2nd century AD; consequently, he remains an independent and unique personality, having produced only one written work, his itinerary of Greece.

Pausanias was born and raised in Asia Minor, more specifically in Lydia. We can be fairly certain of this hypothesis, because he knows Lydia better than any other region of Asia Minor and he frequently compares his experiences in Greece with those he had in Asia Minor. Experiences from his birthplace are regularly revived every time his journey gives him the chance to refer to them (passages V 13, 7, IX 22, 4, VII 24, 13). The evidence is indeed so strong that his birthplace is likely to be Magnesia ad Sipylum: for example, he is familiar with the events that occurred there during the Mithridatic war, nearly 250 years before his own time (I 20, 5).

Pausanias was born ca. 110/5 and by all accounts died after 180. He mentions, for example, that he did not see the favorite and lover of the Emperor Hadrian, Antinous, alive; Antinous drowned in the Nile on October 30, 130. On the other hand, we know that he was occupied with the writing of his work until at least 175/6, and the last emperor he refers to is Marcus Aurelius, who ruled until 180. Thus, this year constitutes an indisputable *terminus ante quem* for his life (VIII 9, 7. 43, 6).

Pausanias obviously came from a wealthy family, so he could study and travel

undistracted by the need to earn a living (see Routes, p. 196). He traveled to nearly all of coastal Asia Minor, and to part of central and eastern Asia Minor as far as the Euphrates; he visited Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, where he admired the pyramids, but he did not get as far as Susa and Babylonia. In any case, he had first-hand knowledge of Byzantium, the islands of Thasos, Rhodos, Delos, and Andros, as well as many parts of Greece that he did not include in his itinerary. He also passed through the capital of Rome, as well as Campania, Metapontum, and Sardinia, though not through Sicilia. In other words, he lived the kind of life that was dictated for all his wealthy and educated fellow-countrymen at that time. Among his contemporaries were Herodes Atticus, the Alexandrian geographer Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy), Lucian from Samosata on the Euphrates, the physician Galen from Pergamum, the lexicographer Polydeuces from Naucratis, and the writer Apuleius from Numidia in Africa. As noted above, this was the most glorious age of the Roman Empire under the leadership of the Antonines, from Trajan and Hadrian to Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius. During those years, i.e. the 2nd century AD, life for the wealthy citizens of Pergamum, Ephesus, Smyrna, Athens, Alexandria or Rome was cosmopolitan, its primary concern the return, in word and deed alike, to the past glories of Greece. Pausanias was no exception to the rule. With his love of learning as his guide, and armed with the necessary reading materials of his time, he traveled about Greece in search of its past, first for his own sake and secondly for the reader of his itinerary.

To complete our picture of Pausanias' personality, it should be stressed that he was pious and flawless in fulfilling his religious duties. Furthermore, although he was from Asia Minor by descent, he considered himself Greek in every respect. He cites a characteristic occurrence at the Asclepieion of Aegion in Book VII (Achaia) (VII 23, 7-8): when a Phoenician from Sidon attempted to persuade him that the Phoenicians were more conversant with religious matters than the Greeks, Pausanias refuted him tersely, telling him "but that is just what the Greeks say too."

Y.P.

PLACE

V 13,7 Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλου τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐνοικήσεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Ταντάλου μὲν λίμνη τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένη καὶ οὐκ ἀφανὴς τάφος, Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν, διαβάντι δὲ Ἕρμον ποταμὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐν Τήμνῳ πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθηλυίας· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Πέλοπα αὐτὸ παρειλήφαμεν μνήμῃ, προϊλασκόμενόν τε τὴν θεὸν καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἱπποδαμείας αἰτούμενον.

In my country there are still left signs that Pelops and Tantalus once dwelt in it. For there is a notable grave of Tantalus, and there is a lake called after him. Further, there is a throne of Pelops, on a peak of Mount Sipylus, above the sanctuary of Mother Plastene; and across the river Hermus there is an image of Aphrodite in Temnus, made of a growing myrtle-tree. Tradition says that Pelops dedicated the image to propitiate the goddess when he prayed that he might wed Hippodamia.

VII 24,13 Σείσαντος δὲ ἐξαίφνης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ σεισμῷ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναδραμούσης, καθείλκυσεν αὔτανδρον τὸ κῦμα τὴν Ἑλίκην. Τοιούτῳ γε δὴ κατέλαβεν, {καὶ} ἑτέρῳ τὴν ἰδέαν, {ἐν} Σίπυλον πόλιν ἐς χάσμα ἀφανισθῆναι· ἐξ ὅτου δὲ ἡ ἰδέα κατεάγη τοῦ ὄρους, ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ἐρρύη, καὶ λίμνη τε ὀνομαζομένη Σαλόη τὸ χάσμα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐρείπια πόλεως δῆλα ἦν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, πρὶν ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπέκρυψεν αὐτὰ τοῦ χειμάρρου. Σύνοπτα δὲ καὶ Ἑλίκης ἐστὶ τὰ ἐρείπια, οὐ μὴν ἔτι γε ὁμοίως, ἅτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἅλμης λελυμασμένα.

So what between the suddenness of the earthquake and the simultaneous rush of the sea, the billows sucked down Helice and every soul in the place. 7. A like fate befell a city on Mount Sipylus: it disappeared into a chasm, and from the fissure in the mountain water gushed forth, and the chasm became a lake named Saloe. The ruins of the city could still be seen in the lake until the water of the torrent covered them up. The ruins of Helice are also visible, but not so clearly as before, for they have been eaten away by the brine.

TIME

VIII 9, 7 *ναῶν δὲ <τῶν> ἐν Μαντινείᾳ νεώτατός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ Ἀντίνου ναός. Οὗτος ἐσπουδάσθη περισσῶς δή τι ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ μετ' ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἔτι αὐτὸν ὄντα οὐκ εἶδον, ἐν δὲ ἀγάλμασιν εἶδον καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς...*

...and his temple is the newest at Mantinea. The Emperor Hadrian was exceedingly attached to him. I never saw him in life, but I have seen statues and paintings of him.

(Death of Antinous on 30.10.130; consequently probable birth date of Pausanias placed ca. 110/5)

VIII 43, 6 *Ἀπέλιπε* (sc. *Ἀντωνῖνος*) *δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ παῖδα ὁμώνυμον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος οὗτος ὁ δεύτερος καὶ τούς τε Γερμανούς, μαχιμωτάτους καὶ πλείστους τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ βαρβάρων, καὶ ἔθνος τὸ Σαυροματῶν, πολέμου καὶ ἀδικίας ἄρξαντας, τιμωρούμενος ἐπεξῆλθε.*

He bequeathed the throne to a son of the same name, Antoninus the Second, who inflicted punishment on the Germans, the most numerous and warlike barbarians in Europe, and on the Sarmatian nation, both of whom had wantonly broken the peace.

(His latest reference to an Antonine emperor concerns M. Aurelius (161-180), therefore Pausanias lives until 180)

Indicative passages from Pausanias' work containing biographical evidence: two passages for place and time respectively. As to place, Magnesia ad Sipylum is suggested. For time, two termini *for his life are given: the death of Antinous on 30.10.130, therefore Pausanias was born ca. 110/5; the latest reference to an Antonine emperor is to Marcus Aurelius (161-180), so that we presume Pausanias lived until 180. (Translation of passages by J.G. Frazer)*

The Work: Dating and Structure

Pausanias recorded his impressions from his itinerary fully aware of to whom, and in what way, his work was addressed. He was certainly familiar with the long tradition of travel texts which dated back to the 3rd century BC. He simply diverged from the common trend – from what we can judge, given that the works of his fellow travelers have been only fragmentarily preserved: he did not limit himself to a single city or region, nor did he merely rely on what he read; rather, he proceeded to verify this information through time-consuming and painstaking on-site visits.

What we know of the character and form of his work is hunted down in the pages of the itinerary itself, in the form of indirect information both about the writer, as noted above, and about his writings. The original title of the work remains unknown. Today, the established title is that given upon three occasions by Stephanus of Byzantium: *Περιήγησις Ελλάδος* [Steph. Byz.: 50. 5, 108. 16, 594. 23. A total of 80 mentions: 3 full, 2 partial (6. 5, 705. 5) and 75 of Pausanias].

The *Periegesis of Greece* is indirectly dated on the basis of relevant information, which derives from its contents and provides the period 175-180 as a *terminus ante quem* for its composition; however, it remains unknown when approximately Pausanias began writing (V 1, 2, VIII 43, 6, X 34, 5 for the *terminus ante quem*). On the other hand, by placing in the same way the *terminus post quem* (II 27, 6, II 26, 9 and VII 5, 9, VII 20, 6) in the mid-150s, we may conclude that the writing of the work lasted nearly two decades, from 155 to 175.

The *Periegesis* has neither Prologue nor Epilogue. It begins directly from one region, the conclusion of one route constitutes the beginning of the next, and the work ends abruptly. Nevertheless, Pausanias had a well-developed method of writing. He records legends (*λόγοις*) and sights (*θεωρήμασιν*) (I 39, 3), i.e. what he had heard or read in connection with what he saw. He notes anything worth seeing, where "worth seeing" is defined by the widest possible parameters: the glorious past, a *sui generis* worship, a peculiar geographic phenomenon, a legend or belief, and whatever else. This does not mean of course that he notes everything; besides, his route was often

Indicative passages from Pausanias' work containing evidence of its dating for the terminus ante quem *and* terminus post quem, *from ca. 155 to 175 (from 130, 150 and 160 to 170/1, 173 and 175). (Translation of passages by J.G. Frazer)*

TERMINUS POST QUEM

II 27, 6 *ὁπόσα δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀνὴρ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐποίησεν, ἔστι μὲν Ἀσκληπιοῦ λουτρόν,...*
The buildings erected in our time by the Roman senator Antoninus include a bath of Aesculapius...
(Ca. 130, before the rise of Antoninus to the throne in 138)

II 26, 9 *ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περγαμηνῶν Σμυρναίοις γέγονεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀσκληπιεῖον τὸ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ.*
From the one at Pergamus has been built in our own day the sanctuary of Aesculapius by the sea at Smyrna.

VII 5, 9 *ἐποιήθη δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ Σμυρναίοις ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ μεταξὺ Κορυφῆς τε ὄρους καὶ θαλάσσης...*
And in our time the sanctuary of Aesculapius beside the sea at Smyrna was founded from the the one at Pergamus.
(It is known from another source (Aelius Aristides, 50.102) that the Asklepieion of Smyrna was built in 150)

VII 20, 6 *...ἀνὴρ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν Ἡρώδης ἐς μνήμην ἀποθανούσης γυναικός. Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ τὸ ἐς τοῦτο παρείθη τὸ Ὠδεῖον, ὅτι πρότερον ἔτι ἐξείργαστό μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἢ ὑπῆρκτο Ἡρώδης τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος.*
The latter was erected by the Athenian Herodes in memory of his dead wife. In my book on Attica this Music Hall is not mentioned, because my description of Athens was finished before Herodes began to build the hall.
(Regilla died in 160, therefore the book of *Attica* must have been written before 160)

TERMINUS ANTE QUEM

X 34, 5 *τὸ δὲ Κοστοβώκων {τε} τῶν λῃστικῶν τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιδραμὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν...*
The robber horde of the Costobocs, who overran Greece in my time, came to Elatea...
(The invasion of Costobocs is securely dated to 170/1)

V 1, 2 *Κορίνθιοι... τὴν γῆν παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν, εἴκοσι ἔτη καὶ διακόσια τριῶν δέοντα ἣν ἐς ἐμέ.*
The present Corinthians... it is two hundred and sevneteen years since they received their lands from the emperor.
(The subtraction of 44 from 217 gives us 173, the year in which he wrote the first (V) book of *Eliaca*)

VIII 43, 6 *ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος οὗτος ὁ δεύτερος καὶ τούς τε Γερμανούς, μαχιμωτάτους καὶ πλείστους τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ βαρβάρων, καὶ ἔθνος τὸ Σαυροματῶν, πολέμου καὶ ἀδικίας ἄρξαντας, τιμωρούμενος ἐπεξῆλθε.*
...Antoninus the Second, who inflicted punishment on the Germans, the most numerous and warlike barbarians in Europe, and on the Sarmatian nation, both of whom had wantonly broken the peace.
(Pausanias knows about the defeat of the Germans (170), but not that of the Sarmatians (175), so that 175 can be the latest chronological limit for the dating of his work)

determined by the main geographic hub of the time (since he normally used a city as his base, and covered the region following routes radiating outwards from this base) – the road network, a sea route, or the need to confirm a specific bit of information. In any case, Pausanias' agenda included all of Greece, as he explicitly states (I 26, 4), regardless of the fact that he did not accomplish his purpose.

The *Periegesis* is divided into ten books. There is considerable literature dealing with the possible existence of an eleventh book focusing on Euboea, but this hypothesis remains rather weak. In any event, the tenth book was probably never completed, or at least it has not been preserved intact. For example, although Pausanias promises that he will speak about Locris (IX 23, 7), he never does so. To judge from his own references – of a total of 101, 66 references point to previous pages and 35 to subsequent ones – one understands that in writing the tenth book, Pausanias was aware that he was writing the last one in his work, since there is not a single reference to something that was to come later.

The titles of the ten books correspond to the wider geographic regions of Greece they describe:

I. *Attica* [44 §§]: includes Athens, Attica, Megara, and Megaris.
II. *Corinthiaca* [38 §§]: includes Corinthia, 1-15 [Sicyonia and Phliasia], the Argolis, 15-38 [Nemea, Epidaurus, Troezenia, Hermionis, Thyreatis] and Aegina [29-30, 4].
III. *Laconica* [26 §§]: 1-10, 5 history, 11-18, 5 Sparta.
IV. *Messeniaca* [36 §§]: 1-29 history of the Messenians and 30-36 the *chora*.
V. and VI. *Eliaca* [27 & 26 §§]: 41§ Olympia and 12§§ Triphylia and Elis.
VII. *Achaica* [27 §§]: 1-6, 3 prehistory, 6, 3-17, 4 history, and 17, 5-27 the *chora*.
VIII. *Arcadica* [54 §§]: 1-6, 3 mythology, 6, 4-54 the *chora*.
IX. *Boeotica* [41 §§]: 5-7 and 8, 4-17 Thebae.
X. *Phocica* [38 §§]: 5, 5-32 Delphi, 38 Ozolian Locri (Epizephyrian Locri).

Y. P.

6. The map shows schematically the areas covered by the 10 books of Pausanias' Periegesis of Greece.

Pausanias' Interests

Readers of Pausanias, especially scholars, are frequently surprised by the traveler's descriptions, remain at a loss over what he omitted – or rather, what he did not mention – or are pleasantly surprised by his anecdotal asides. However, modern readers should bear in mind the parameters and peculiarities of both the era and the author. In his writing, Pausanias was aware, following a long tradition of *periegesis*-writing and travel texts, that he first and foremost addressed the reading public of his era, and secondly, that he recorded his travel experiences for his own personal satisfaction. Thus, by probing the work's contents and studying the text in every detail, the method, style, interests, preoccupations or even facets of the author's character can be made out, and as a result answers may be found to whatever doubts or even objections we have about this particular itinerary and its writer. In order to give the reader a fuller view, we cite here characteristic passages from the work that provide an adequate outline of the personality of Pausanias. We have decided to divide the quotations into two categories (each one with 3 representative passages), natural history and *mirabilia*.

Y.P.

NATURAL HISTORY

THE WHITE ANTS OF MESSENIAN MANE

III 26, 3 *τοῦτό τε δὴ θαῦμά ἐστι καὶ οἱ μύρμηκες αὐτόθι λευκότερον ἢ ὡς μυρμήκων τὸ χρῶμα φαίνουσι.*

This is a marvel; and the ants here are whiter than ants elsewhere.

THE COCKS OF TANAGRA

IX 22, 4 *Ἔστι δὲ καὶ γένη δύο ἐνταῦθα ἀλεκτρυόνων, οἵ τε μάχιμοι καὶ οἱ κόσσυφοι καλούμενοι. Τούτων τῶν κοσσύφων μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Λυδούς ἐστιν ὄρνιθας, χρόα δὲ ἐμφερὴς κόρακι, κάλλαια δὲ καὶ ὁ λόφος κατὰ ἀνεμώνην μάλιστα· λευκὰ δὲ σημεῖα οὐ μεγάλα ἐπί τε ἄκρῳ τῷ ῥάμφει καὶ ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἔχουσι τῆς οὐρᾶς. Οὗτοι μὲν τοιοῦτο παρέχονται τὸ εἶδος.*

There are two kinds of cocks at Tanagra, namely, game-cocks and the sort called blackbirds. These blackbirds are of the size of the Lydian birds, but in hue the bird is like a raven, while the wattles and comb are like an anemone; and they have small white marks on the tip of the beak and the tip of the tail. Such is their appearance.

THE BEAUTIFUL PEBBLES OF MONEMVASIA

III 23, 11 *...αἰγιαλὸς δὲ ὁ ταύτῃ παρέχεται ψηφῖδας σχῆμα εὐπρεπεστέρας καὶ χρόας παντοδαπῆς.*

...but the beach here affords pebbles of finer shape and of every hue.

MIRABILIA

THE WATER OF STYX

VIII 17.6. 18, 4-6

Καὶ ὕδωρ κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ στάζει, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸ ὕδωρ Στυγός. ...τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ... ἐσπίπτει μὲν πρῶτον ἐς πέτραν ὑψηλήν, διεξελθὸν δὲ διὰ τῆς πέτρας ἐς τὸν Κρᾶθιν ποταμὸν κάτεισι· θάνατον δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ φέρει τοῦτο καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ ζῴῳ παντί. ...Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐγνώσθη καὶ εἰ δή τι ἄλλο πρόσεστι τῷ ὕδατι τῶν ἐς θαῦμα ἡκόντων. Ὕαλος μέν γε καὶ κρύσταλλος καὶ μόρρια καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις ἄλλα λίθου ποιούμενα καὶ τῶν σκευῶν τὰ κεραμεᾶ, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Στυγὸς τοῦ ὕδατος ῥήγνυται· κεράτινα δὲ καὶ ὀστέινα σίδηρός τε καὶ χαλκός, ἔτι δὲ μόλιβδός τε καὶ κασσίτερος καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον ὑπὸ τούτου σήπεται τοῦ ὕδατος. ... καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οὐ δύναται τῆς Στυγὸς ὁπλὴν ἵππου βιάσασθαι μόνην, ἀλλὰ ἐμβληθὲν κατέχεταί τε ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ διεργάζεται τὴν ὁπλήν.

Water trickles down it, and the Greeks call it the water of Styx... The water that drips from the cliff by Nonacris falls first upon a high rock, and passing through the rock it descends into the river Crathis. This water is deadly to man and every living creature... Afterwards in course of time the other marvellous properties of the water became known. Glass, crystal, *morrhia*, and everything else made of stone, and earthen pots, are all broken by the water of the Styx; and things made of horn and of bone, together with iron, bronze, lead, tin, silver, and electrum, are corroded by it... it is remarkable, too, that a horse's hoof alone is proof against the water of the Styx, for it will hold the water without being destroyed by it.

THE CHEEPING FISH

VIII 21, 2 Εἰσὶ δὲ ἰχθῦς ἐν τῷ Ἀροανίῳ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ ποικιλίαι καλούμενοι· τούτους λέγουσι τοὺς ποικιλίας φθέγγεσθαι κίχλῃ τῇ ὄρνιθι ἐοικός. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀγρευθέντας μὲν εἶδον, φθεγγομένων δὲ ἤκουσα οὐδὲν καταμείνας πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐς ἡλίου δυσμάς, ὅτε δὴ φθέγγεσθαι μάλιστα ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἰχθῦς.

Amongst the fish in the Aroanius are the so-called spotted fish. They say these spotted fish sing like a thrush. I saw them after they had been caught, but I did not hear them utter a sound, though I tarried by the river till sunset, when they were said to sing most.

THE PLACE WITHOUT SHADOWS

VIII 38, 6 Τὸ δὲ ὄρος παρέχεται τὸ Λύκαιον καὶ ἄλλα ἐς θαῦμα καὶ μάλιστα τόδε. Τέμενός ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ Λυκαίου Διός, ἔσοδος δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνθρώποις· ὑπεριδόντα δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἐσελθόντα ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ πρόσω μὴ βιῶναι. Καὶ τάδε ἔτι ἐλέγετο, τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ τέμενους γενόμενα ὁμοίως πάντα καὶ θηρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ παρέχεσθαι σκιάν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ τέμενος θηρίου καταφεύγοντος οὐκ ἐθέλει οἱ συνεσπίπτειν ὁ κυνηγέτης, ἀλλὰ ὑπομένων ἐκτὸς καὶ ὁρῶν τὸ θηρίον οὐδεμίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θεᾶται σκιάν. ...τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ τέμενος τὸ αὐτὸ ἐς τὰς σκιὰς ἀεί τε καὶ ἐπὶ πασῶν πέπονθε τῶν ὡρῶν.

Of the wonders of Mount Lycaeus the greatest is this. There is a precinct of Lycaean Zeus on the mountain and people are not allowed to enter it; but if any one disregards the rule and enters, he cannot possibly live more than a year. It is also said that inside the precinct all creatures, whether man or beast, cast no shadows; and, therefore, if his quarry takes refuge in the precinct, the huntsman will not follow it, but waits outside, and looking at the beast he sees that it casts no shadow. Now, at Syene, on the frontier of Ethiopia, so long as the sun is in the sign of Cancer, shadows are cast neither by trees nor animals; but in the precinct on Mount Lycaeus the same absence of shadow may be observed at all times and seasons.

Pausanias' reports – often of great length – on the natural history, fauna, flora and geology, but also on everything he considers to be admirable and peculiar, take a special place in his work among the memorable features of each place. Characteristic passages providing a good picture of the traveller's interests are quoted here. (Translation of passages by J.G. Frazer)

Прпбный максимъ грекъ

From Antiquity to the Renaissance

II

From Antiquity to the Renaissance

The Survival of Pausanias' Text

While we do not have much information concerning the reception of Pausanias' *Periegesis* in the age in which it was written, the fortunes of the work during the Middle Ages are fairly well known. Indeed, up until the 6th century we find very few, and at that disputed, references to the work: a first reference in the *Variae historiae* by Claudius Aelianus (= Aelian; 170-235 AD), and perhaps another two, one of these in the work of Flavius Philostratus (170-246 AD), and another in Longus' *Poimenika* (2nd century) (Bowie 2001). Scholars have concluded that the *Periegesis* did not circulate in many copies during the era in which it was written (Diller 1956: 84-86). Most probably a single copy was deposited in some large library in the Greek world. With the end of the wave of Roman Philhellenism and the development of Christianity, it was natural for a work that examines primarily pagan myths and customs to sink into lethargy and to be gradually forgotten. Nevertheless, in the early 6th century in Constantinople, interest in ancient topography was revived and Pausanias found a new audience. Readers of the work in the Byzantine period coincided with successive cultural renaissances and each new flowering of learning. Around 535, Stephanus of Byzantium in his *Ethnika* showed interest in the geographical details included in the *Periegesis*. From a manuscript *scholion* we know that Arethas, Archbishop of Caesarea, read Pausanias around 900. Also, we encounter 26 excerpts from the *Periegesis* in the *Suda* lexicon, the great encyclopedic inventory compiled between 976 and 1025. The manuscript of Pausanias escaped the plundering of the libraries of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204. At the end of the 13th century, the *Periegesis* would be read by Maximus Planudes, who taught in a school at the Monastery of Chora in the north-west of Constantinople, and some decades later by Nikiforos Gregoras, in the library of the same monastery. It appears that an Italian traveler found it in this library and brought it to Italy, where we find it once again in the 15th century. This manuscript seems to have been the only copy of the work. It also appears that Byzantine scholars took care to ensure its replacement with a new

☜ *Maximus Graecus, drawing based on a miniature.*

copy each time natural wear and tear made this necessary. Thus, the *Periegesis* left the Byzantine Empire before the Ottoman conquest and made its way to Italy. Étienne Clavier, in the prologue to the 1814 edition of the work, was the first to suggest that the 18 preserved Renaissance manuscripts all stemmed – directly or indirectly – from a single copy that arrived in Florence in 1418, at the library of the humanist Niccolò Niccoli (1364-1437). This, the first manuscript of Pausanias' *Periegesis* in the West, was unfortunately lost.

C.G.

1. The Library of the San Marco Convent, Florence, commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici, to house Niccolò Niccoli's collection of manuscripts.

PAUSANIAS IN MODERN TIMES
(1418-1820)

III

Callimachus drawing the Corinthian order. Roland Fréart de Chambray, 1650.

☜ *Ancient Athens, detail from a painting by Leo von Klenze. (Munich, 1862)*

Pausanias in Modern Times (1418-1820)

Memory of the Antique

A nostalgic charting of images and narratives of the Greek world, Pausanias' *Periegesis* is an ancestor of humanism's antiquarian practices (Hunt 1984, Arafat 1992). Arnaldo Momigliano was the first to point out the analogy between the quest for Antiquity, as it was manifested during late Antiquity, and the Renaissance (1992: 66). For this reason, one would expect that an ancient work that continually meanders between worship and institutions or between art and topography, would have met with a resounding reception in the humanist environment. On the contrary, both older and more recent historians of art and geographical culture reckon that Pausanias did not play a significant role during the early Renaissance (Panofsky 1939: 49, Schlosser 1984: 46, Gentille 1999: 110-111).

The assessment of the rather anemic presence of Pausanias during the early modern period certainly reflects some aspects of the historical reality: the work was late in being translated and published compared to other ancient geographical and topographical descriptions; direct references to it during the 15th and 16th centuries were rather few; and its influence on arts and letters appears to have been minor. Indeed, the *Periegesis* did not possess the universal scope of other Greek geographical descriptions of late Antiquity, like those of Ptolemy or Strabo, which were absorbed directly and became active components of Renaissance culture. Furthermore, the humanists did not read Pausanias in the way that 19th-century archaeologists would, namely as a basic reference work for the study of architecture, city planning and monumental topography. Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture* had gained precedence in such endeavors as early as the age of Petrarch. With his complex narrative structure and the encyclopedic breadth of his curiosity, Pausanias could not compete with Vitruvius' technical work, which became the humanists' "bible" for the study of ancient monuments (Pagliara 1986, Watkin 1992).

A careful appraisal of the available evidence, however, reveals that the reception of Pausanias should be looked at under a different light. With its subject matter, the *Periegesis* originally interested the Hellenists and humanist scholars devoted to Greek letters. Their circle was not a negligible one; the 15th century was exception-

ally receptive to Greek, which overcame scholastic reactions, and was acknowledged as a major language of Antiquity (both pagan and Christian), even making its way into the curriculum (Dionisiotti & Grafton 1988, Saladin 2000). It was within this network that Pausanias' *Periegesis* circulated. Thanks to research by Aubrey Diller (1957: 163-182), we know that there were at least 18 Greek manuscripts of the work, and, naturally, many more must have existed that are now lost. The surviving manuscripts date to the 15th and early 16th centuries. Moreover, these manuscripts had many readers. The oldest mention of the *Periegesis* in the West is linked with the work's circulation, as Niccolò Niccoli, its first owner, loaned the manuscript in 1418 to the scholar Francesco Barbaro in Venice, where Guarino Veronese also read it. Research has identified scores of readers, copyists, and owners of Greek manuscripts of Pausanias, as well as many others who were in search of copies of the work. Among them were cardinals, rulers, magnates, thinkers, and humanists, in addition to Greek scholars of the diaspora (Guilmet herein: 74-77).

The large number of Greek manuscripts and their dissemination reveal the significant degree to which the work circulated. At the same time, the favorable comments about the work expressed in the correspondence among scholars of the era testify to the value the humanists assigned to the *Periegesis*. This esteem also found material expression in the exceptional sumptuousness of some of these manuscripts. Written on parchment, illustrated with elaborate miniatures and precious materials, they brought the ancient text into the hands of rulers. Thus, the *Periegesis* acquired additional prestige, marking a further inroad of humanism into the realms of power.

The types of owners of the Greek manuscripts provide indications concerning the ways in which the work was read. A first group of readers comprised all those involved in the business of Greek book production and collecting in the era of humanism – copyists, dealers, and collectors of Greek manuscripts. A second significant group was made up of Hellenists who commented on the text. Here, we are dealing with philological readings that aimed at restoring the text and correcting information contained within it with other available evidence. Citations and excerpts from Pausanias in other works by 15th-century humanists provide further confirmation of philological readings of the work (Diller 1956: 95-96).

Among the first readers of the *Periegesis*, the Greek scholars of the diaspora held a central place. For them, the *Periegesis* was the description of their twice-lost homeland. Markos Musurus summarized their longing in the *editio princeps* of the work (Venice, Aldus 1516, Staikos 1998). In his dedicatory letter to Janus Lascaris, the "au-

tochthon of elder Greece" [αυτόχθονα της πρεσβυτέρας Ελλάδος], Musurus described the *Periegesis* as a most learned and exhaustive description of countless blessed antique cities that had by his time been completely lost: a journey full of tales, myths, unknown episodes and rare incidents. Musurus concludes by praising Lascaris' love and zeal for his homeland, and expresses the wish that Greece may be liberated, so that "those fond of learning and of sightseeing" might travel unimpeded in the Peloponnese, and with Pausanias in hand, "at leisure will tour everything, and placing the writings close to the sights, they will be filled with the greatest pleasure."

Among readers of the work we also encounter the names of other devotees of Antiquity such as Pico della Mirandola and Angelo Poliziano. These readers of the *Periegesis* lead us to non-philological uses of the work, uses that sought in it information concerning ancient Greek religion, art, and mythology. I am not aware of any evidence linking the Renaissance revival of pagan ideas with readings of ancient worship described in the *Periegesis*. However, descriptions of ancient Greek iconography included in the work seem to have been of interest to Renaissance artists – to some of them long before the entire text was published in Latin translation in 1547 (Settis 1971, Sarchi 2003). These readings reveal a considerable familiarity with the text, since artists were able to locate, understand, and reproduce in modern visual representations ancient Greek works of art described by Pausanias.

A letter from Guarino Veronese to Niccolò Niccoli (ca. 1418-19) provides evidence about how the work was read during the early Renaissance. Guarino describes his pleasure in reading the *Periegesis*, since its descriptions bring to life "reminiscences" of Antiquity, allowing the early 15th-century humanist a vivid view of the land, temples, buildings, and artworks of the Greeks. Salvatore Settis acknowledged here the function of the mnemonic practices of the rhetorical art of the Renaissance (1971: 173). It is the now lost art of memory that stored memorized texts by classical poets and writers on a topographic canvas. This process, however complicated it may seem today, was necessary for societies before the Printing Age. According to theoreticians of the genre, the topographic canvas functioned as a mnemonic theater that facilitated the storage of knowledge acquired orally, the resort to texts learned by heart whenever necessary, and, at the same time, their interpretative classification (Rossi 1960, 2000, Yates 1966, Caruthers 1990, Bolzoni 2001). With its topographic structure, the *Periegesis* offered just such a canvas, something that explains the references of the work's first scholiasts to its value for the understanding of ancient authors and poets. As a composition, even the *Periege-*

sis itself may be connected to the mnemonic systems of the Second Sophistic (YANNISI 1999: 53-54). Be that as it may, the 15th-century humanists were able to approach the text in this manner; we know from Stefano Negri's *Dialogus* that Demetrius Chalcondyles could recite extensive passages from the *Periegesis* when necessity required (DILLER 1957: 179, NEGRI 1517).

In the *Dialogus* Negri presents Demetrius Chalcondyles teaching Pausanias to three Italian students of Greek. Unfortunately, we do not know whether Pausanias was part of Chalcondyles' teaching program in Milan. We do know that Calphurnius was teaching Pausanias in Padua in the first years of the 15th century (MARCOTTE 1992: 874) and that the 1550 Basel Latin edition of the work was intended for students (LOESCHER 1550: *prefatio*).

Interest in the wider diffusion of the work through its translation into Latin was characteristically late in making an appearance (CALDERINI, late 15th century), and the undertaking would not be completed until the mid-16th century (AMASEO, 1547), 150 years after the arrival of the Greek text in the West. Surprising as it may be, Pausanias' *Periegesis* seems to have been integrated into early humanism and to have been imposed in the original. Presumably its strictly Greek and exclusively antiquarian contents contributed to this: the long sojourn of the *Periegesis* in Greek reinforced, and in some fashion confirmed, its antiquarian sheen. This did not escape the sarcasm of Rabelais; in a letter to his son Pantagruel, Gargantua writes: "...Now all the disciplines have been restored, languages revived: Greek, without which it is shameful for a person to call himself learned: Hebrew, Chaldean, and Latin. [...] no one should now go out in public who has not been well polished in Minerva's workshop. I see the robbers, hangmen, freebooters and grooms of today more learned than the theologians and preachers of my day. What can I say? Even women and girls aspire to the honor and celestial manna of good learning. Things have changed so much that at my advanced age I have had to learn Greek, which I had not rejected like Cato, but which I had not had the leisure to learn in my youth; and I delight in reading the *Morals* of Plutarch, the beautiful *Dialogues* of Plato, the *Monuments* of Pausanias, and the *Antiquities* of Athenaeus as I await the hour at which it may please God, my Creator, to summon and order me to leave this world..." (1535, ch. III, translated by Paul Brians).

The delay in the translation of Pausanias is probably also related to the difficulties presented by the text in respect to its language, style, and contents. Abraham Loescher pointed out these difficulties, and declared with frank honesty that he pre-

ferred the work in Greek to his own translation (Basel, 1550). The importance of a successful translation attempt should not be underestimated: it presupposed a good working knowledge of 2nd-century Greek, familiarity with a *sui generis* style heaving with excursuses and topics touched on only *en passant*, as well as an understanding of many place names, descriptions of monuments, events, and situations not included in other sources.

The Antiquaries' Greece

A century and a half would be required before travelers "fond of learning and sightseeing" endeavored to compare the text with the reality of the sites themselves, as Musurus had envisioned in 1516. During this interval, the *Periegesis* reigned supreme, and on its base would be erected the modern edifice of Greek antiquarianism. Both panoramic, synthetic works on early modern antiquarianism (Momigliano 1992, Haskel 1993, Schnapp 1993) as well as studies dealing with the antiquarian perception of Greece (Weiss 1969, Stoneman 1987, Étienne & Étienne 1995, Schanks 1995) circumvent this critical and decisive phase in the history of Greek studies.

Nonetheless, the *Periegesis* impressed humanists, since it offered an authentic and vivid image of ancient Greek civilization: this is attested by the wide range of works it inspired as well as by the rapid succession of editions and reprints, in the original (Musurus 1516) and in Latin translation (Amaseo 1547, Loescher 1550), as well as in translation into Italian (Bonacciuoli 1593). In the 16th century alone, there were twelve editions of the work, seven of these between 1540 and 1560. At the same time, the *Periegesis* was enhanced by complementary materials, excerpts were published as independent books, and it served as the basis for a series of modern works of a scholarly, historical, and antiquarian nature.

The value of Pausanias is proclaimed in the prologues to editions and translations. The first to translate the book on Attica into Latin, Domizio Calderini (Venice, ca. 1500), characterized Pausanias as a "most meticulous author and indicator of Greek things" [*rerum graecarum scriptor et indicator diligentissimus*], while Musurus, in his dedication of the *editio princeps* to Pope Leo X, described the work as a "treasure of rare antique erudition" [*antiquae raraeque eruditionis thesaurus*], a journey to the brilliant ancient Greek cities, rich in detail concerning customs, institutions, genealogies, art, and architecture. Abraham Loescher, the first German to translate

the work into Latin (Basel, 1550), was even more eloquent: Pausanias noted with precision the locations of sites and the distances between them, and described the most important monuments of each region. In addition, he presented republican institutions, the succession of rulers, genealogies of kings, and so forth. Even in its title, Loescher's edition presents the *Periegesis* as a work encompassing nearly the whole of antiquarian interests in the 16th century. In an elegy published on the front cover, Abraham Loescher described the ancient glory and present abasement of Greece, and suggests to the reader to avoid the dangers of a long journey, and instead "take a tour" of Pausanias: the authority and completeness of the ancient description provides a substitute for dangerous and time-consuming modern antiquarian research and on-site inspection of the places themselves.

In 1583, in order to establish the fullest possible antique corpus of sources for Greek geography and topography, Friedrich Sylburg published the *Periegesis* prepared by Guilhelmus Xylander (†1576), in both Latin and Greek, complemented by excerpts from Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny related to Greece. This initial attachment of Greek antiquarian studies to Pausanias should not come as a surprise. The goal and purpose of the various antiquarian endeavors was to restore Antiquity across the widest possible range of its manifestations, and Pausanias' work offered this restoration in a complete and furthermore authentic, *antique*, version. For this reason, the *Periegesis* constituted the central axis around which was created the image of Greek Antiquity during the late Renaissance. The process was both complex and pervasive, and was carried out in the interrelated antiquarian concerns of the age: history, geography, and history of art and culture.

The *Periegesis* was read as the history of a civilization, in the tradition of Herodotus and Pliny, as well as that of the Renaissance cosmographers. As early as the 15th century, the work was understood as a "history" (Ulman & Stadter 1972: 261), and its author as a "historian" (Calderini ca. 1500). The first and – admittedly – forbiddingly scholastic historiographic reading of Pausanias was undertaken in Stefano Negri's *Dialogus* (1517): information drawn from Pausanias was incorporated and compared to other known mythographic materials in order to illuminate the obscure beginnings of Greek history. In the late Renaissance, the *Periegesis* was recognized chiefly as a historiographic model, since it provided a broad, encyclopedic approach, and at the same time proposed the regional distribution of the historiographic material.

The idea of combining history and topography was not new. Polybius, with whom

Renaissance humanism was familiar (MOMIGLIANO 1973), had already proposed the use of geography as a means for organizing and comprehending history (III 36). Renaissance historiography recognized in Pausanias' work a model for the topographic arrangement of historical material, as well as for historical synthesis. Indeed, Pausanias backed up antiquarian historiography in its basic pursuits, proposing a regional organization for ancient Greece and a *universal* view embracing topography, mythology, history, institutions, worship, art, and culture. Such was the influence of the work in humanistic historiography that Jean Bodin overlooked the limited geographic range covered by the *Periegesis* and classified it among the "Universal Geographic Histories," together with Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Raphael Voltera and Sebastian Münster (BODIN 1566).

From "Pausanias the historian" Renaissance humanists would isolate the biography of the Messenian leader Aristomenes, which was published both separately and as an addition to the *Lives* of Cornelius Nepus. Furthermore, many details concerning Polybius would also be extracted (VIII 30, 8-9, MOMIGLIANO 1973). The interest of late Renaissance historians in the *Periegesis* is also connected with the era's intensive research into the history of institutions, particularly the republican ones. The work was valuable in this regard, as it included a great deal of material concerning political institutions and systems in the Greek cities, of Athens in particular, but also of Sparta. The historian whose name can be associated the most to Pausanias is the Dutchman Johannes Meursius (1579-1639), historiographer of the Low Countries at the University of Leiden, which he himself called *Athenae Batavae*. "Republican" readings of Pausanias are further confirmed by the existence of composite volumes in which Guillaume Postel's essay on the institutions of ancient Athens (*De Magistratibus Atheniensium*, 1541) is bound together with Calderini's translation of Book I (*Attica*), reprinted in Basel that same year (1541).

Readings of Pausanias spread through the entire spectrum of early modern antiquarian endeavors. Thus we find readers of Pausanias in the field of humanist geography and cartography. Pausanias endowed late Renaissance antiquarian geographers with the plan of the regional organization of ancient Greece and at the same time provided them with a rich mine of toponyms. Readings that sought in the work information about ancient art also became more frequent in the late Renaissance, especially in the fields of iconography and emblematics. Humanists systematically based themselves on Pausanias' detailed descriptions and interpretations relating to the symbolic function of ancient works of art (herein: 97, 101). Simultaneously, there

was a greater number of selective readings of the work, drawing more – or less – critically from its rich resources. There were many and frequent readings of this type, which reveal that the work had by then been completely incorporated into the intellectual apparatus of the age, serving a broad spectrum of needs ranging from poetry to art, and from natural history to political thought.

During the age when the *Periegesis* had already been imposed as a model, the first efforts to move away from Pausanias' shadow are also observed. Late Renaissance antiquarians ventured to overcome Pausanias in terms of synthesis and structure, proposing modern reconstructions of Greek Antiquity. Geographers, cartographers, historians and iconographers included Pausanias' materials in modern syntheses (geographies, histories or maps), and tabulated them in geographic or iconographic dictionaries. The summing-up of the late Renaissance antiquarian approach to Greece would be proposed in 1697, with the publication of Jacobus Gronovius' *Thesaurus antiquitatum Graecarum*, a 13-volume work completed in 1702: Pausanias can be found throughout this monumental antiquarian corpus on Greece, since the *Thesaurus* includes various works based on the *Periegesis* or inspired by it, such as Nikolaos Sophianos' map of Greece (1540), Nicolaus Gerbel's historical geography (1545), and Johannes Lauremberg's antiquarian atlas (1660), as well as the majority of Johannes Meursius' essays.

Pausanias holds a central place in the antiquarians' construct of Greek Antiquity. Their attachment to him is explained by their shared methodology and is related to the absence of modern information on Greek Antiquity. The long delay in the antiquarian exploration of Greece was due to the political situation. The Ottoman conquest interrupted the on-site antiquarian investigations, inaugurated at the beginning of the 15th century by Christoforo Buondelmonti, Cyriacus of Ancona, and Pletho Gemistus, who, it should be noted, were not familiar with Pausanias' work (Colin 1981: 464, Diller 1937). Greek scholars fled to the West, and there were few Western scholars who would venture to visit the Greek hinterlands in the 15th and 16th centuries; most of those who did so traveled within official missions and limited their visits to the Empire's urban centers, or to the coastal and island bulwarks of Latin presence in the Greek East (Yerasimos 1991: 12, Vingopoulou 2004). At the same time, there spread the belief that the Ottoman conquest had caused the total ruin of Greek cities (Spencer 1954: 1-25), a widely disseminated commonplace, repeated by Markos Musurus in the *editio princeps* of Pausanias: the *Periegesis* presents "fortunate cities, of which today not even the ruins remain."

As a result, Pausanias nourished the antiquarian image of Greece for 250 years. This image was cultivated in the antiquarian studios in the modern "republics" (Florence, Venice, Basel and Leiden), through critical readings of the *Periegesis* and other ancient sources. The totality of works inspired by Pausanias' authority constitutes the Greek component of "the antiquaries' Europe," as Alain Schnapp (1993: 143-144) has aptly characterized the general turn of late Renaissance humanists to the historical study of civilization on a regional scale.

Topography and Civilization

In the 18th century, a new humanism came to contest the traditional one (MOMIGLIANO 1950: 285). New, cultivated connoisseurs would question academia and its scholastic attachment to the ancient texts, form academies and societies, and prefer travel experience and the material evidence to textual criticism. The connoisseurs made up a new audience for the *Periegesis*. They broadened, and deepened, topographic and aesthetic readings of the work that had been inaugurated by the humanists of the 15th and 16th centuries. As they were not proud of their knowledge of Greek or Latin, they took care to have Pausanias translated into modern languages. From Pausanias, they drew a positive methodology for humanist studies, based equally on the material evidence and historical narratives. Less scholastic and more methodical than their predecessors, they ensured that the work was disseminated to the more widely educated social strata, and absorbed by the new fields of knowledge that focused on human history, art, and culture. In contrast, Pausanias' presence in historiography lessened, as historians of the Enlightenment gradually turned towards political history. In Charles Rollin's *Ancient History* (1730), political history comprised the guiding rule, while cultural history was relegated to an appendix, where the relevant references to Pausanias were pushed.

The connoisseurs traveled to Greece, since from the mid-17th century and onward communication and travel were gradually reinstated. The Capitulations [Western commercial and religious privileges in the Ottoman Empire] were renewed, and the strategic penetration by the European West of the Ottoman East became more intensive. Ambassadors and representatives of trading companies established themselves in ports and commercial centers (Athens among them), while at the same time the Franciscans, Jesuits, and Capuchins spread through the Ottoman Empire. Western

diplomatic, commercial, and religious networks would expand to the Mediterranean provinces of the Empire; linked with metropolitan academic institutions, they soon became sources of information and reception sites for scholars (Babin 1674, Collignon 1913).

The "Republic of Letters" became firmly anchored in the East. Results from on-site visits and fresh information on Greek Antiquity arrived in ever-greater numbers in Western academic environments (Laborde 1854, Yacovaki 2006: 257-263). For instance, there was now sufficient material in France for Guillet de Saint Georges, the historian of the French king, to compose in 1675 and 1676 two spurious travel narratives to Athens and Sparta. Although Guillet's works were based solely on reports by Catholic monks and on Meursius, the historian convinced specialists and the general public alike that they were the results of thorough *in situ* investigations. During the same period, one of the most important antiquarians of the early Enlightenment, Jacob Spon of Lyons, traveled to Greece accompanied by the English physician George Wheler. Their journey would usher in the "topographic period" of Greek antiquarianism, as well as on-site readings of Pausanias (Étienne & Mossière 1993).

The new use of Pausanias by Spon and Wheler was both broad and systematic. Although they did not follow the routes suggested in the *Periegesis*, they used Pausanias systematically in identifying monuments as well as in preparing for on-site visits. Conversely, their inspections threw light on obscure passages in the *Periegesis*, i.e. points that remained unclear, misunderstandings or omissions. Pausanias' historical and mythographic material was also put to use. Spon cited extensive excerpts from the *Periegesis* concerning the mythological origins of Greek cities.

The study of Antiquity now became linked to the inspection of sites and monuments. Travelers' observations nourished academic research with new material, and academia for its part endeavored to provide guidance for antiquarian journeys. In 1679, Colbert, in his travel instructions to the Orientalist scholar Antoine Galland, pointed out the significance of Pausanias' work: "...While traveling in Greece, you must have Pausanias in hand to find those things of importance, for he once made the same trip, [motivated] by the same curiosity." (Omont 1902 I: 953). The Abbé Bignon, President of both Paris Académies, would give similar instructions to Tournefort in 1700 (Clarke 1973). The antiquarian Abbé Fourmont, a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (founded in 1663), traveled to Greece in 1729. He conducted research on the ancient cities of Attica and the Peloponnese following the text of Pausanias, and with Pausanias as guide he attempted to locate ancient inscriptions.

Upon returning to Paris, Fourmont spoke to his colleagues about his travels and lectured on philological and topographical questions raised by Pausanias' text (1729).

The topography of Greece was of concern to the scholars of academia, philologists, geographers, and antiquarians. A significant portion of the papers of J.B. Bougainville, Abbé Gédoyn, Nicolas Freret and J.-B.B. d'Anville is devoted to the *Periegesis* and to other ancient descriptions: excerpts from topographical descriptions, lists of toponyms or details concerning distances between the different sites (Broc 1981: 245). The ancient material was continually compared to measurements and reports from on-site inspections. Gradually, a complex, "comparative" and "critical" academic approach was shaped, which tended to invigorate the antiquarian disciplines through the incorporation of new information (Décobert 2006). The high point of this approach would be marked by the work of the Hellenist geographer Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage, a specialist in the historical geography of Greece. Barbié produced a detailed atlas to accompany the *Voyage du jeune Anarcharsis en Grèce* (1788, 2nd ed. 1799), as well as a historical geography of the Argolid, published posthumously (1834). From his workshop in Paris, he also provided guidance for travelers to Greece, and edited and prepared maps for travel volumes (Tolias 1993). In 1814 Barbié published a map of the modern Peloponnese. After summarizing his modern sources, he notes in the detailed commentary accompanying the map: "We never ceased to compare this material with Pausanias' 2nd-century description of Greece, a work that includes more thorough details about this country than those that modern travelers could offer us." (Barbié 1814).

The "Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns" does not seem to have affected Pausanias' authority. During this Quarrel, which helped the separation of past and present and therefore boosted historical awareness, the Moderns blamed the connoisseurs for their infatuation with Antiquity; *The Antiquary Ape* by Chardin (1740) is an eloquent illustration of their critique. Nevertheless, the antiquarians of the Enlightenment sought to recover from ancient heritage new models of politics and culture, which they proposed for modern use. Furthermore, they challenged Renaissance humanism's static and artificial image of Greek Antiquity: they suggested a new approach that endeavored to comprehend Antiquity within its historical, geographic, and human landscape. Pausanias was a precious aid in this renewal: Gilbert West prefaced his translation of the *Odes* of Pindar (1749) with a study of the Olympic Games based on Pausanias' descriptions (Aston 2002), while historians of religion made ample use of the detailed descriptions of myth and local practices of worship

cited in the *Periegesis* (David Hume 1757, Charles de Brosses 1760, N.A. Boulanger 1768, Pernety 1786). Indeed, Boulanger cites Pausanias more frequently than any other source, with the exception of the Bible and Plutarch (Sadrin 1986).

The reading of Pausanias was decisive in the study of the history of ancient Greek art, as connoisseurs attempted to establish art history as a specific branch of study (Pommier 2003). Alessandro Maffei based his studies of ancient sculpture (Rome, 1704) on the *Periegesis*, as did Caylus his research on ancient painting (1752). The Abbé Gédoyn and Christian Gotlob Heyne would also study ancient Greek painting on the basis of Pausanias' descriptions (1731 and 1770 respectively; Guilmet herein: 181-189). Winckelmann surely referred to Pausanias, without explicitly naming him, when he spoke of the value of detailed descriptions of works of ancient art (1783), while at the same time expressing his indignation at the almost exclusively topographical readings of Antiquity proposed by geographers and travelers. From the circle of Winckelmann, it was Pierre d'Hancarville who suggested (1770-76) the return to Pausanias and the restoration of ancient Greek art to its geographic, social, and religious context (Haskell 1989).

Pausanias clearly influenced 18th-century art. The reading of the *Periegesis* was included in the curriculum for artists, and Caylus suggested themes from the work for the *salons de peinture* (Grell 1995: 103, 154). Among those who responded was Fragonard, in 1765. Beginning in 1802, Joseph Michael Gandy created a series of works inspired by the *Periegesis* (Elsner 2001). The title P.J.-B. Chaussard gave to the painting exhibition of 1806, *Le Pausanias français, état des arts du dessin en France, Salon de 1806*, is indicative of the work's influence on the field of art.

At the same time, Pausanias reached a wider public through translations into living languages. The first to appear was the French translation by the Abbé Gédoyn (1731a), followed by a translation into German (Goldhagen 1766), two in English by Uvedale Price (1780) and Thomas Taylor (1794) respectively, and one in Italian (Nibby 1817-18). Two of these editions (those of Gédoyn and Taylor) were illustrated with impressive views and maps. The translators of Pausanias into modern languages allow us to define the kind of readings of the work by the 18th-century public. Gédoyn and Uvedale Price expressed the aesthetic inquiries of the age, with their corresponding (and definitive) studies on taste and the picturesque, while Taylor expressed the revival of Platonism and the renewed interest in ancient worship (Stoneman 1987).

Pausanias' revival was accomplished through literature. Here, we are referring to the publication of the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* by the Abbé Barthélemy

(1788). A great antiquarian, curator of the royal numismatic collection and a member of both Académies, Barthélemy breathed new life into Pausanias' description, pouring it into the mold of a travel narrative to ancient Greece. Anacharsis, a young Hellenized Scythian, is a "philosophical" version of Pausanias. Barthélemy presents the youth following Pausanias' course in Greece during the final years of the Classical age, referring systematically to the *Periegesis*, and inserting extensive excerpts from the work through the accounts of local guides [*exegetes*]. Barthélemy nourished the curiosity of the educated public with rich, detailed material concerning society, customs, and the material culture of ancient Greece, while at the same time he linked Antiquity with the social and political claims of his own age (Badolle 1926, Vidal-Naquet 2000: 209-216). Given its clear moral and political tone, the *Voyage* might aptly be characterized as the manifesto of late Enlightenment humanism. This work became a genuine bestseller of its era, enjoying scores of reprints. It was translated into most European languages (including Greek) and its charm held firm until the early 20th century. The *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* was accompanied by a detailed atlas of ancient Greece compiled by Barbié du Bocage, a work intended to familiarize the reading public with the geographic "theater" of Anacharsis' travels. The atlas offered a visual revival of Greek Antiquity, a complement to the literary revival that Barthélemy had proposed. Barbié's work was destined to lead an autonomous life of its own, given that it summarized the entirety of geographical evidence on Greece available at that time.

The antiquarians of academia found fault with the translations and adaptations of Pausanias, claiming that they betrayed and distorted the genuine spirit of the text (Dacier 1810: 35); well-informed travelers made the same accusations (Leake 1830 I: iv). Thus, in tandem with popularized versions and updates of the work, there were ever-increasing numbers of scholarly editions. Between 1794 and 1818, four critical editions of the work were published (Facius 1794-96, Siebelis 1818-19, Livia 1818, Clavier 1814-23); of these, three also included the Greek original.

The *Periegesis* was being read more and more. Whether in first- or second-hand versions, the number of Pausanias' readers, specialist or cultivated amateur, increased as the tide of neo-humanism rose throughout Europe. Here is not the place to attempt an analysis of the common denominator in the late Enlightenment's great turn towards Greece, as this assumed a different content within the context of each national culture (*retour à l'antique*, Greek Revival or *Neo-Humanismus*). What we should note here is that this turn brought Pausanias dynamically to the forefront.

Through Pausanias' Eyes

In his introductory remarks to *Anacharsis*, the Abbé Barthélemy states that he chose the genre of travel literature rather than history because it allowed him to include the detailed presentation of customs that historiography by definition did not permit. His observation reveals late Enlightenment travel literature as the field *par excellence* for the investigation of cultural history, a "philosophical" mutation of antiquarian interest in the history of civilization. Thus, it was this area in which Pausanias would be pre-eminent, to the extent that we can speak of a revival of his work.

Indeed, from 1750 onwards, Pausanias' *Periegesis* would become the common denominator for travel books dealing with Greece. The *Periegesis* served as the model for a journey in Greece, and Pausanias as the mentor of the emissaries of the "Republic of Letters." Supporting the dense wave of antiquarian travelers in Greece, there were always academic institutions, public as well as private. Most noteworthy travelers of the late Enlightenment were connected, in one way or another, with the academic institutions of their countries, particularly with the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, and the Society of Dilettanti, which had been founded circa 1732. Alongside these institutions, we must equally consider the activity of the Western embassies in Constantinople, particularly that of the French. The French Ambassador Choiseul-Gouffier (1784-1792), a member of the Académie des Inscriptions and a pupil of Barthélemy, organized in the French Embassy in Pera a small antiquarian academy under the guidance of Barbié du Bocage (Pingaud 1887). From the late 18th century onward, until the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence, the consulates of European powers in Athens became centers which received scholars, artists, curious travelers and collectors who flocked to the city in ever-increasing numbers.

Western travelers came to Greece with Pausanias as a guide, seeking to verify his words. Undoubtedly, the most methodical among them was the British Colonel W. M. Leake. In his travel narratives on the southern regions of Greece (1821 and 1830), Leake essentially offered restructured translations of the *Periegesis*, complemented by commentaries on the present condition of monuments and sites. For Colonel Leake, topographical investigation was transformed into critical corrections of and editorial commentary on the ancient text: "I have every day occasion to remark instances in which it is impossible to understand him correctly, or to translate his words, without actually following him through the country..." (Leake 1830 II: 287-88).

Leake sought in modern topography an interpretation of the obscurities in the

Periegesis, or proof of the work's reliability (WAGSTAFF 2001). The same was not the case for other travelers during the late Enlightenment. For them, Pausanias served as a "guide," though not in the sense of a traveling companion and "scout," for it was exceptionally difficult to follow his routes – given that the ancient roads no longer existed for one to follow, while the ancient cities were below modern ones, if they were not buried beneath hills. Pausanias served mainly as an aid to the identification of monuments, an *in situ* "explicator," just as the Abbé Barthélemy had transformed him in his *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*, and as Calderini had understood him at the end of the 15th century: he became something akin to Burckhardt's *Cicerone*.

The impact of Pausanias on the modern travelers' approach is complex and diverse. The most easily interpreted readings of the work are definitely those connected to the hunt for antiquities. Such readings seek information about rich "veins" of antiquities in the ancient text. As early as the brief Venetian conquest of the Peloponnese (1699-1715), a number of hasty excavations were attempted, with Pausanias as chief aid (PATON 1951: 145-154, MALLIARIS 1997). These readings of the work would be repeated regularly, becoming ever-more pronounced throughout the 18th century. In 1723, Bernard de Montfaucon, motivated by the enumeration of 203 statues of victors in the Olympic Games cited by Pausanias (VI 1-18), proposed the excavation of Olympia. This phenomenon would become more pronounced as the 18th century advanced, reaching its apogee in the first two decades of the following century, when antiquities-hunters in Ottoman Greece criss-crossed the country with Pausanias in one hand and a pickaxe in the other, to recall a characteristic image related by Joannes Gennadius (1930: 127). Even Veli Pasha, the Vali of the Morea (the Ottoman administrator of the Peloponnese), inquired – in Turkish – what Pausanias had written in order to facilitate his own archaeological undertakings (GELL 1823: 363).

References to the *Periegesis* are abundant in the narratives of foreign travelers in Greece, but a careful reading reveals that the majority were simply carried over from publication to publication, without this signifying new readings of the work itself. The study of travel descriptions of Nemea (SUTTON 2001) leads to the conclusion that travelers who came after the region's first visitor, the British scholar Richard Chandler (1766), simply repeated versions of Chandler's reading of Pausanias. The corpus of travelers' descriptions of Delphi leads to a similar conclusion. Here as well, Spon's description (1676) incorporates that of Pausanias, to become standardized through its successive repetitions in the texts of visitors who followed him (HELLMANN 1992, GUILMET 2005a).

Borrowed or authentic, the abundant references and citations are indicative of Pausanias' prestige. Richard Chandler, James Stuart, Pouqueville or Colonel Leake offer us many such examples, where Pausanias' descriptions are included in the travel narrative of the modern observer, frequently without any warning. Furthermore, ancient and modern descriptions are assimilated into a common perception of Greece (SUTTON 2001:176). The fact that observers saw Greece through Pausanias' eyes during the critical decades leading up to the Greek War of Independence is of decisive importance. The perception of Greece was basically a historical one; indeed, according to the criteria of the Roman imperial age. In the works of both Pouqueville and Leake, the "geography" of Greece was that of Ptolemy and Strabo, while its internal "chorography" and "topography" were those of Pausanias.

The recognition of ancient Greece, and by extension modern Greece, through the reading of Pausanias provided a perspective that would determine later developments. Its influence on the growth of the archaeology of Greece has already been mentioned (SHANKS 1996: 50-51, KOLONIA herein: 212). However, it also determined to a large extent the physiognomy of the free Greek state. Pausanias' nostalgic approach was compatible with the idea of the revival of a "free Greece," as it existed before the Battle of Chaironeia (338 BC) and as it appeared again after the Revolution of 1821.

This review of Pausanias' fortune during the modern era reveals him as a central catalyst for the recovery of Greek Antiquity. His work was incorporated into Western culture as the authentic and authoritative description of ancient Greece, an inexhaustible source of information and a model for its antiquarian exploration. Pausanias' seal is obvious on the way in which the image of Greece was constructed and incorporated into the European cultural legacy: he offered the basis for its successive reconstructions, and imposed his nostalgic view, one that preserves and bequeaths the image of a world, ideal and lost.

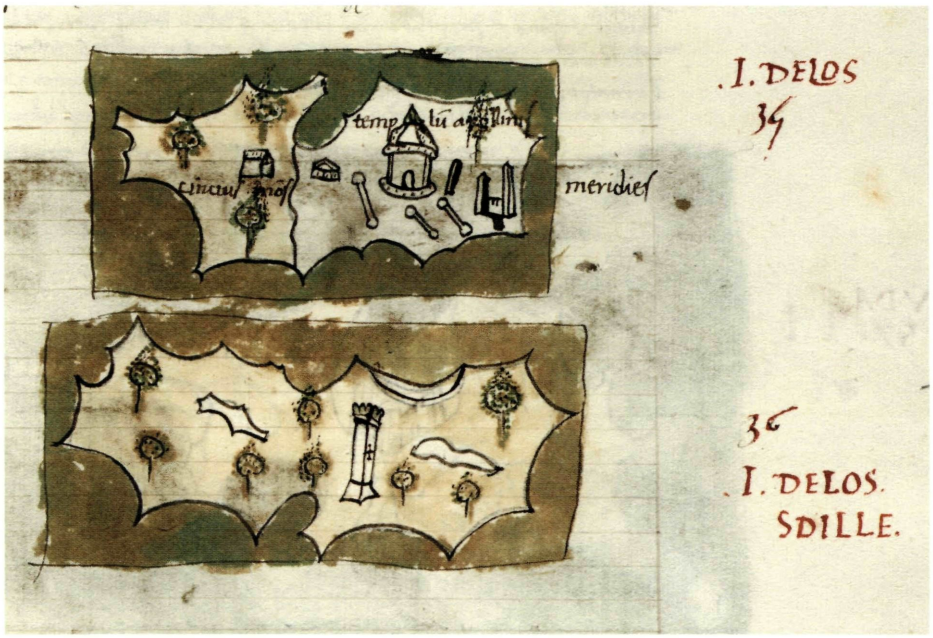
From the 15th century until the founding of the modern Greek state, the Western cultivated élite learned to see Greece through Pausanias' eyes. Enlightenment travelers would soon identify themselves with the ancient *periegetes*: they would seek – and find – in Ottoman Greece the nostalgic Greece of Pausanias. Successive archaeological discoveries and restorations of sites and monuments in the 19th and 20th centuries would endeavor to give material form once more to the ancient past, and to revive the world Pausanias had described. The Neo-classical kingdom would

be projected as the natural heir and successor to the free cities of Antiquity, and Pausanias would be transformed yet again, this time into guidelines for restorers and a tour guide for visitors. But all this belongs to another chapter, since it forms one small aspect of a larger discussion concerning the nature of modern Hellenism and its relations with Antiquity.

G. T.

Humanist Manuscripts of the Periegesis

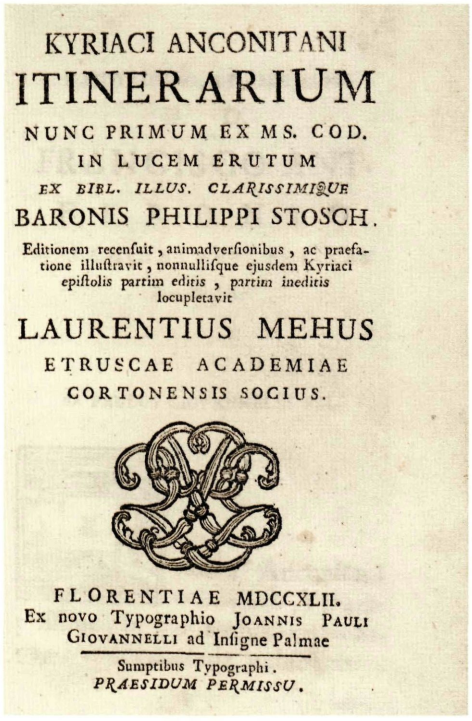
It is no accident that Pausanias' manuscript arrived in Florence. The city of Petrarch was one of the first hotbeds of humanism, and one of the first centers of Greek studies in Western Europe. Beside the study of the language, the Florentine humanists had collected many texts of Greek writers in the libraries of their city. Perhaps it was Giovanni Aurispa, Italian traveler, Greek teacher of Lorenzo Valla, and a ma-



1. Map and description of Delos Island. Christoforo Buondelmonti, Liber insularum archipelagi, *manuscript ca. 1420. (Gennadius Library MSS 71)*

jor manuscript collector, who brought the *Periegesis* from his trip to the East in 1413-1414 (MARCOTTE 1992: 872). Interest in the discovery of Greek manuscripts also inspired trips by the Florentine monk Christoforo Buondelmonti and Cyriacus of Ancona. But the work by these two travelers was not limited to preserving the texts; it represents a brilliant testament to the humanist movement's recovery of the geographic and material reality of Greek Antiquity. With his books *Liber insularum*

archipelagi (ca. 1420) (fig. 1) and the antiquities-related *Descriptio insulae cretae* (1416), Buondelmonti inaugurated the tradition of travel texts focused on geography, historical map-making, and the study of Antiquity. Cyriacus of Ancona began his career as a merchant, and traveled to Greece three times (1434-1435, 1444, 1447-1448, Colin 1981) (fig. 2). In his book *Antiquarum rerum commentaria*, he collected many inscriptions and painted, in a frequently naïve fashion, the monuments he encountered in his explorations. He became the unwitting successor to the work of Pausanias, searching for a lost world whose cultural and artistic heritage he wanted to preserve: "I was spurred on by a burning desire to visit the world [...] For some time, the main subject of my studies had been to record all those things that are daily falling into ruins through the slow decay of time and human neglect, things which nevertheless are wonderful." Cyriacus' correspondence makes it clear that he prepared for his trips by consulting the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy, Pliny's *Natural History*, and later, a copy of Strabo's *Geography*. We conclude from his erroneous conjectures regarding a number of sites that he had not read Pausanias. But reference to the sources was not a rule of scholarship at that time. Nonetheless, it may be noted that Cyriacus was connected to the first known owner of the *Periegesis*, Niccolò Niccoli, and to an important circle of humanists and political figures in Florence, who were in a position to speak to him about the text of Pausanias (Colin 1981: 394-401).


KYRIACI ANCONITANI
ITINERARIUM
NUNC PRIMUM EX MS. COD.
IN LUCEM ERUTUM
EX BIBL. ILLUS. CLARISSIMIQUE
BARONIS PHILIPPI STOSCH.
Editionem recenſuit, animadverſionibus, ac praefatione illuſtravit, nonnulliſque ejusdem Kyriaci epiſtolis partim editis, partim ineditis locupletavit
LAURENTIUS MEHUS
ETRUSCAE ACADEMIAE
CORTONENSIS SOCIUS.
FLORENTIAE MDCCXLII.
Ex novo Typographio Joannis Pauli Giovannelli ad Inſigne Palmae
Sumptibus Typographi.
PRAESIDUM PERMISSU.

2. Cyriacus of Ancona, Kyriaci Anconitani itinerarium nunc primum ex ins.cod.in lucem erutum ex bibl.illus.clarissimique baronis Philippi Stosch., Florentiae, *1742. (Gennadius Library GT 409B)*

A collector of antiquities and manuscripts, Niccolò Niccoli created an important collection of Greek manuscripts. We do not know precisely when, or in what fashion, he acquired the manuscript of the *Periegesis*. This humanist, a student of Manuel Chrysoloras, loaned his manuscript to another manuscript collector, the Venetian Francesco Barbaro, in 1418. When Niccoli died in 1437, his 800 manuscripts were turned over to the Convent of San Marco in Florence (fig. 1, p. 53). In the library's

3. Cardinal Bessarion, copper engraving. Jean-Jacques Boissard, Théodore de Bry, Bibliotheca chalcographica illustrium virtute atque eruditione in tota Europa clarissimorum virorum…, *Frankfurt, 1650-1654. (Private Collection)*

catalog, the manuscript of Pausanias is recorded ca. 1500 as the *Pausaniae historia im membranis*. Unfortunately, from this point onwards, traces of Niccoli's manuscript are lost. However, the work had been copied a number of times. The oldest copy (between 1450 and 1468) was done at the order of Cardinal Bessarion (fig. 3) and is in the San Marco Library in Venice (*Venetus marcianus* gr. 413, fig. 6)

Research has identified many users, readers, copyists, and owners of Greek manuscripts of Pausanias. Among them were cardinals, including Bessarion, Domenico Grimani, Nicolo Ridolfi, Egidio da Viterbo; the apostolic secretary Giovanni Lorenzi; rulers like Francis I and Catherine de' Medici; magnates like Ulrick Fugger and Lorenzo Pierfrancesco de' Medici; philosophers like Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Angelo Poliziano, Erasmus, and Johannes Sambucus; and humanist scholars like Guarino Veronese, Domizio Calderini, Aldus Manutius, Paolo da Canale, Valeriano d'Albino da Forli, Jerome Fondule, Niccolò Leonico Tomeo, and David Hoeschel; and finally, Greek scholars of the diaspora, including Janus Lascaris, Konstantinos Lascaris, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Ioannis Rossos, Markos Musurus, Michael Souliardos, and Maximos Margounios.

4. First page from Pausanias' Periegesis *(Attica), code 56,10, end of the 15th century. (Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana)*

Eighteen of these manuscripts are preserved today, and all stem directly or indirectly from the single lost manuscript; none predates 1450 (fig. 4, 5, 6). There are six copies of Niccoli's manuscript; of these, only three include the entire text. The large number of copies of the *Periegesis* constitutes an indicator of the work's wide circulation during the 15th and 16th centuries, i.e. the age in which humanism developed (Diller 1957).

C.G.

5. Pausanias' Periegesis. *Greek manuscript written by Ioannis Rossos in 1485 for Lorenzo de' Medici. (Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana, Plut. 56.11)*

6. First page from Pausanias' Periegesis *(Attica), ms 413. The manuscript was copied for Cardinal Bessarion. Second half of the 15th century. (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana)*

The First Edition of Pausanias' Ελλάδος Περιήγησις

The first edition of Pausanias' only work, which has come down to us bearing the title *Ελλάδος Περιήγησις*, was published by the printing press of Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1516, around two years after the death of Aldus himself, during a period in which the workshop had passed into the hands of his father-in-law, Andrea d'Asola. Aldus (fig. 1) had included Pausanias in his publication plan as early as 1497, even before the printing of the Latin translation of Domizio Calderini, dated to 1475 and published in Venice ca. 1500 by the press of Ottino da Luna. In the preface to the *Dictionarium graecum*, he informed readers that he planned to support the "Liberal Arts" through the publication of basic tools such as the *Etymologicum magnum*, the *Suda* (Suidas), the *Onomastikon* of Julius Pollux, and Pausanias' *Periegesis of Greece* (Didot 1875). In 1502 he returned to the issue of the publication of Pausanias in the preface to the first edition of Herodotus, addressing Giovanni Planza dei Ruffinoni (Giovanni Calfurnio), also known as Calphurnius. The latter, who held the chair of Latin rhetoric at the Studio of Padua, seems to have delivered courses on the topic of Pausanias' records of his travels; indeed, he had a manuscript of Pausanias in his own library (Marcotte 1992). Aldus, who had been searching in despair for manuscripts – even requesting them from the *Buchgräbern* – had no difficulty in borrowing Calphurnius' manuscript. He thanked him publicly for his kindness, and as a token of gratitude dedicated the *Nine Muses* of Herodotus to him (1503). The publication of Pausanias was announced once more in Aldus' second catalogue, in 1503, but the work would remain in manuscript form for another decade and more. Markos Musurus (fig. 3), Aldus' most significant collaborator and the greatest Greek philologist of the Renaissance, undertook the edition of the work (Geanakoplos 1962: 111-166). Aldus passed away on February 6, 1514 in Venice, and about a year later (1515) Musurus published the Greek grammar Aldus had written, under the title *Grammaticae institutiones graecae*. Musurus dedicated it to Jean Grolier – a great bibliophile, and the main supporter and financial backer of Aldus' publications – expounding for him the publication plans for the press in the era following Aldus' death. Among these were the valuable edition of Galen, Strabo's *Geography*, Polybius' *History*, Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, and Pausanias.

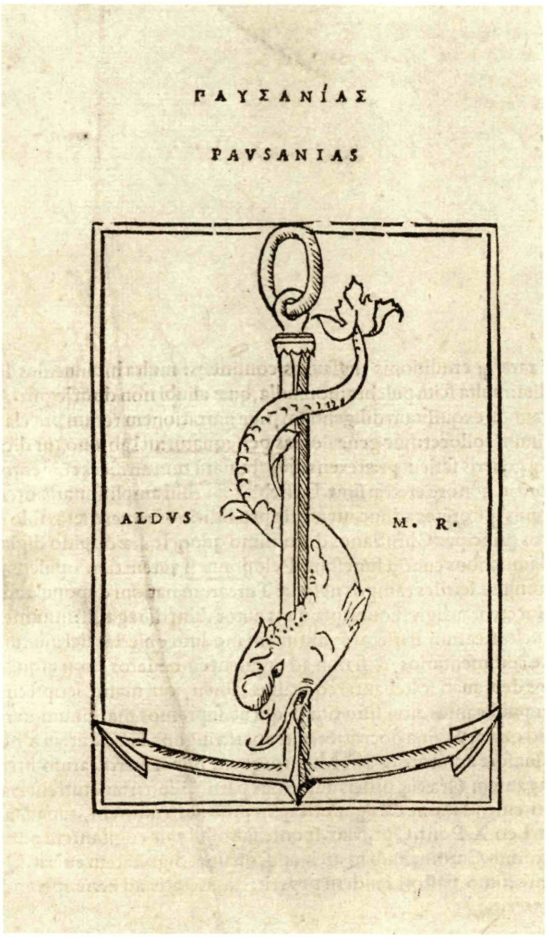
The *Ελλάδος Περιήγησις* was finally published in July 1516, and the colophon provides the clarification: *in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae soceri* (fig. 5). Two prefatory notes adorn the volume, an unsigned one in Latin, and another in Greek by Musurus, addressed to Janus Lascaris (LEGRAND 1885-1906 II: 148-149). The Latin preface is directed to readers and essentially publicizes the edition itself, lauding the author for his conscientiousness, exactitude and narrative abilities, and stressing the interest the ancient text presents, containing as it does "descriptions of glorious accomplishments." Finally, there is a reference to the reliability of the edition thanks to the contribution of Musurus, who had recently moved permanently to Venice and had proven to be the jewel of the "heroic letters" of ancient Greek authors.

1. Portrait of Aldus Manutius from an engraving. (Private Collection)

This text was clearly of a political nature. The Ottoman conquest had brought with it the destruction of many great and famous cities of Antiquity, and the image of ruins it presented could only call forth grief. "One is angered by the fact that Christian rulers engage in murderous battles to acquire insignificant towns, and yet leave the rich and fertile valleys of the Peloponnese in the hands of the impious Turks."

This preface comprises yet another Greek appeal, imploring the leaders of the West to conduct a new crusade against the Ottomans. Musurus had already addressed an appeal in verse to Pope Leo X (1513) in the preface to his edition of the *Opera omnia* of Plato. These appeals were not utopian, given that during that very period Leo X was attempting to persuade the king of France and the emperor of Germany to carry out a Christian campaign against the Ottomans (CORTESI & MALTESE 1992, SETTON 1984).

In the Greek preface, Musurus refers – almost epigrammatically – to Pausanias, praising his polymath nature and the wealth of information and narratives from the descriptions of his itinerary in Attica and the Peloponnese. At the same time, the preface is a hymn to Lascaris and the new spirit of the age. It is written in a particularly inspired style, and refers to the achievements of his contemporaries, while directing scathing remarks against the sterile approach to Antiquity that characterize others.



2. Printer's device of Aldus Manutius. Pausanias' editio princeps, 1516. (Gennadius Library GC 2864/B)

Musurus' prefatory note begins with a question: "Why do many people consider that nature was a loving mother to the ancients, and a wicked stepmother to ourselves? Is it not unjust, and imprecise, to maintain that the arts and sciences arrived at a higher level during Antiquity, and that today they are languishing and scorned, proceeding to their downfall?" After referring to the development of military and siege machinery, he speaks of the invention of printing, which permits multiple copies of a work, likening it to the fertile fruit from a tree, from which countless offshoots are born: "The gods could not have discovered a more valuable good for the human race, since we all know that books are nothing less than repositories of wisdom and knowledge."

Musurus then praises the man who first had the idea for this divine art of printing, and extols the possibility its "products" have given, through multiple reproductions of written works, for creating self-standing libraries accessible to all students. He highlights the contribution of the circle of Demetrius Chalcondyles and Lascaris to the reproduction of hundreds of copies of works of Homer, Lucian, and Apollonios, as well as the poets of epigrams, obviously referring to the monumental edition of the *Greek Anthology* of Maximus Planudes, printed in Florence in

1494 with Lascaris as editor. He considered their achievement as a shining beacon and reference point for the learned Aldus, who overcame every difficulty and followed in their footsteps in the publishing field, and who, with the collaboration of these "acolytes" of the Greek Muse, achieved many incomparable benefactions for all those thirsting after culture. And indeed, he was the first to bring to light poetic and rhetorical texts, and the preserved works of Aristotle and Plato.

Lascaris appears here as the protector of Greeks everywhere who found a refuge in the West, thus assuming the role played by Cardinal Bessarion until his death in 1472 (Knös 1945). Lascaris was at that period in Rome, and was occupied among other things with the operation of the Greek College, which thanks to the Philhellene Pope Leo X had been established on the Quirinal Hill. Students coming from various parts of the Greek world studied there (Fanelli 1951, Saladin 2000: 101-122). In the same year (1516) Pausanias was published, Musurus abandoned the Aldine press in Venice and came to Rome to teach Greek at the College; he died there in the same year.

3. Portrait of Markos Musurus, wood engraving. Paolo Giovio, Elogia virorum litteris illustrum, *Basel, 1577. (Private Collection)*

Musurus then proceeds to an encomium of Lascaris: "You, who are vigilant for the salvation of the Greeks; you, who approach kings and emperors, imploring them to release the Greeks from this most bitter enslavement; you, who day and night have this in mind, ignoring dangers, and even death. Your entire life aspires to the longed-for freedom of the Greeks and your exceptional nature and all the power of your soul is fixed on this. You are the one who proclaims that it is a shameful thing for the rulers and kings of Europe, in the name of Christendom, to fight among themselves over local claims and leave the infidels to reap the fruits of villages, cities and states in the East where fellow-Christians dwell. You labor to save Greece, and every Greek: every penniless student who wishes to study and is unable to obtain books

finds in your presence fatherly love and abundant generosity. Yes, everyone says that the door to your home is always open, and no Greek departs without receiving a gift. I daresay, Lascaris, that your behavior to the Greeks goes beyond the bounds of *kalokagathia*, with one excellent example being your initiative to bring from Crete, Corfu, and other coastal regions of the Peloponnese young men who are now studying in Rome, without lacking for anything, and with the sponsorship of the supreme priest of Rome Leo X."

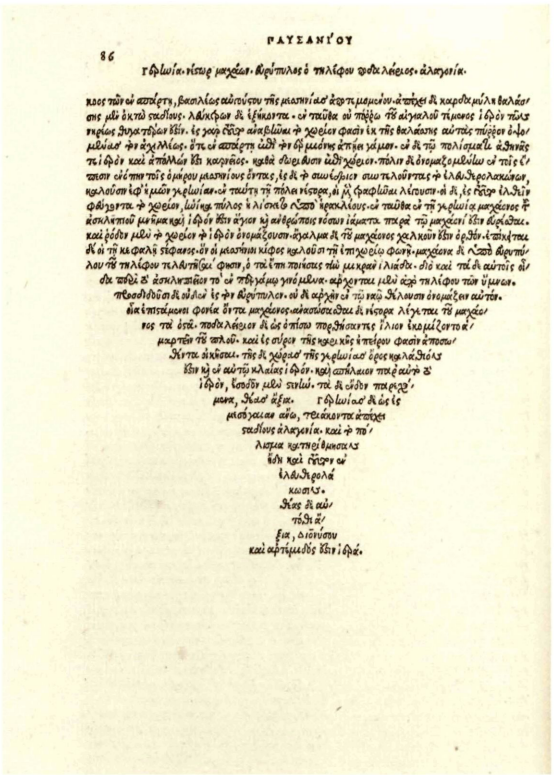
Continuing his encomium, Musurus speaks of what is to come, of all those whom Lascaris has benefited who in verse and prose would proclaim the splendor of the nation of which he is so proud. "They will sing the praises of the virtue of your forebears, the venerability of the Greek emperors, and will call you father of their words and renewer of the Greek Hippocrene fountain. For indeed, you have saved the poetic muse, neglected even by the Greeks, and after so many years have rendered it capable of singing once again. Nor will those who sing your praises be silent regarding your other virtues, for beyond your contributions to the world of books, your prudence and wisdom are acknowledged by rulers and kings, who have entrusted you to manage their nation's affairs. And finally, all will admire your forbearing and sometimes secretive and mysterious, concise and pure, accurate and timely style, which reveals so much in so few words. This distinctive trait is what causes all those who know you to have no designs whatsoever on your sacred person. And we, who do not have, and could not touch the importance of your language, since our mind does not dare to confront the fame of the great Lascaris, as brilliant as the dawn, shall pray on our knees to God, who sees and rules all, to take pity on the unspeakable debacle that has befallen the Greeks – of those who in olden times managed, through promoting the arts and sciences, and with their form of government, to train, even in their colonies and unto the ends of the earth, to educate, to civilize, and to be a credit to the human race. Today, however, by ill fortune, they neither hold the imperial scepter, nor have their own homeland (alas). May you fare well, Pope Leo and you, Lascaris, for if you desire it you shall succeed in freeing Greece, and then all those youths who love learning and magnificent sights will visit the Peloponnese without fear, with Pausanias in hand, and with pleasure travel everywhere with the ancient *periegetes* as their guide. May you fare well."

4. First page from Pausanias' Book IV (Messenia). Pausanias' editio princeps, *1516. (Gennadius Library GC 2864/B)*

Μεσσήνη χώρας οὐ πόλεως ὄνομα παρὰ ὁμήρῳ· αὐλαὶ αἱ κατὰ τὸν πολέ- 87
μιον σωρὸν τῶν σωθέντων ἐκ τῆς ἁμφισβητήσεως.

Μεσσηνίοις δὲ πρὸς πολεμοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ Κασπλίου εἰς Σπάρτην ἐλθεῖν λόγος τὸν Κάσπλιον εἰς Σπάρτην ἐλθεῖν λόγος ἐστὶ Λακωνικός, ὅρει κατὰ πολυγεροντίαν ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὀνομαζομένῳ χρίεος νάπη. ταύ-
μ την πολλὴν χώραν ὄρημον οὖσαν οὕτω καλοῦσιν οἱ περιοικοῦντες. ἀπο-
θανόντος λέλεγος ἐς Βασιλβυον τὴν νεῶ Λακωνικῇ, τότε δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνου λελεγία καλουμένη, μύλης μὲν πρεσβύτερος ὢν τῶν παίδων ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. πολυκάων δὲ νεώτερός τε ὢν ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ διαφορὰ ἰδιώτης· ἐς ὃ μεσσήνου τὸν τελευταῖον τοῦ φόρ-
βαντος ἔλαβε γυναῖκα. ὃς ἀρχὴν ἐφρόνησε δὲ ἡ μεσσήνη ὀλίγον τὸν πατέρα ἀξιώματι καὶ δυνάμει τῶν τότε πρὸ ἐχόντων ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἧσσον· ἦν αὔρα ἰδιωτεύειν. ἀθροίσαντες δὲ ἐκ τε ἀργοῦς δυνάμεις καὶ ἐκ λακεδαίμονος, ἀφίκοντο ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν· καὶ συμπίπτει μὲν ἐτέθη τῇ γῇ, μεσσήνη τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς πολυκάονος γυναικός. πόλεις δὲ ἄλλας τε ἐκτίσθησαν, καὶ οἵδε τὰ βασίλεια κατεσκευάσθη σφίσιν, αὐλαία· πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἣν ἐβαίοι πρὸς λακεδαιμονίους ἐμαχέσαντο οἱ λεύκτροις, καὶ τῶ οἱ κισμοῦ μεσσήνης τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, πόλιν οὐδεμίαν πω κλησθῆναι πρότερον δοκῶ μεσσή-
νην. ἐνοικίζω δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁμήρου τοῖς ἔπεσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ λόγῳ τῶν ἐς ἴλιον ἀφικομένων πύλον τὴν
) ἀρίστην καὶ ἄλλας κατὰ λέπτων, οὐδεμίαν πόλιν μεσσήνην ἐνοίκησεν. οἱ δὲ δυνατεία δὲ δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ οἱ
» τῶνδε ἔθνος καὶ οὐ πόλιν τοὺς μεσσηνίους ὄντας. μῆλα γοῦν ὧδε ἰθάκης μεσσηνίοις αὐθροῦσι φέρειν. σαφέστε-
» ρον δὲ ἔτι τῶνδε τὰ ἔπη λέγων ἢ ἰδίᾳ που. τὼ δ' οἱ μεσσήνη ξυμβλήτην ἀλλήλοιιν, οἵ κε σὺν ὁρμηλάσῃσι τῶν γὰρ ὀρτιλόχου ἦν οἶκον οἱ τῇ μεσσήνη πόλισμα εἴρηκε τὰς φηρὰς· καὶ τόδε ὀλίγῳ αὖθις οἱ τῇ
» πεισιστράτου παρὰ μελανέλαον ἀποδημίᾳ. ἐς φηρὰς δ' ἵκοντο διοκλῆος ποτὶ δῶμα. υἱὸς ὀρτιλόχοιο.
Γρῶσι δ' οἱ νῦν βασιλεύουσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ πολυκάονα τε ὁ λέλεγος· καὶ μεσσήνη γυνὴ τοῦ πολυκάο-
νος. παρὰ ταύτην πολὺ μεσσήνην τὰ ὄρεγα κομίζων τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν, καύκων ἦλθεν ὀλίγῳ ἔλαττόνος. ὁ
κελαινοῦ δ' φλυοῦ. φλυοῦν δὲ αὖθις ἀθλιαῖοι λέγουσι παῖδα εἶναι γῆς. ὁμολογεῖ δέ σφισι καὶ ὕμνος
μουσαίου λυκομίδαις ποιηθεὶς ἐς δήμητρα. πολὺ δὲ τελετὰ τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν, λύκος ὁ πανδίονος ἐλ-
λοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον καύκωνος προήκμαν ἐς τέλεον ἡμῆς. καὶ λύκου ὄρυμον ἔτι ὀνομάζουσιν. ὅθεν ἐκά-
θηρε τοὺς μύστας. ἡ δ' ὅτι μὲν ὄρυμός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ λύκου ἡλούμενος, ῥίανῳ τῷ κρητὶ δῆλα ποιεῖν
» μόνον. πάρεστι δηλαδὴ ἐλαιὸν κατὰ ὄρυμόν τε λύκοιο. ὡς δὲ ὁ πανδίονος οὗτος ἦν λύκος, δηλοῖ τὰ
ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι ἔπη τῇ μεθ' ἁπου. μετεκόσμησε γὰρ καὶ μέθαπος τῆς τελετῆς ἐστιν ἃ. ὁ δὲ μέθαπος γένους
μὲν ὢν ἀθηναῖος, τελετῆς καὶ ὀργίων καὶ παντοίων σωθέντος. οὗτος καὶ ἀθηναίοις τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν
πολὺ τελεωτάτην κατέστησε τὸν τε ἀνέθηκε ἡ καὶ ἐς τὸ κλεινὸν τὸ λυκομιδῶν, ἐπίνοια ἔσχεν ἐπίγραμμα. ἄλ-
λα τε λέγουσι· καὶ ὅσα ἡμῖν ἐς πίστιν σωτελεῖ τὸν λόγον. ἤγνωσται δὲ ὄρμοιο δόμοιο τε κέλευθα παρὸς
» μὴ πρωτογόνης κούρας. ὃ δὲ φασὶ μεσσήνην θεῖναι μεγάλαισι θεαῖσιν ἀκτὴν φλυάδα κλυσίου γόνα καυκω-
νιάδαο. θαύμασα δ' ὡς σύμπαντα λύκος πανδίονος φῶς ἀτ. δίδος ἱδρὰ ὄρια παρὰ αὐδάνη θέτο κελ-
νῆ. τοῦτο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ μὴ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ μεσσήνην ἀφίκοιτο ὁ καύκων ἀπόπτονος ὢν φλυοῦ. δηλοῖ
δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν λύκον τε ἄλλα, καὶ ὡς ἡ τελετὴ ἀρχαῖον ἦν αὐλαία. καί μοι δοκεῖ ἐκὼς ἐφαί-
νετο πολὺ μεσσήνην μὴ ἐτέθη, ἀλλὰ ὄθεν αὐτή τε καὶ πολυκάονα ὤκουν κατεσκευάσατο πολὺ τελετήν.
πυθέσθαι δέ που δὴ πάνυ ἐθέλησας, οἱ ἵνεδε παῖδες πολυκάονι ἐγένοντο ἐκ μεσσήνης, ἐπεξελεξά-
μην τάς τε ἡοίας καὶ μελάμπυγα· καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ναυπάκτια. πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁπόσα κινυάθων καὶ ἄ-
σιος ἐγενεαλόγησεν. οὐ μὴν ἔς γε ταῦτα ἦν σφισιν οὐδὲν πεποιημένον· ἀλλὰ ὕλλου μὲν τὸν ἡρακλέους
ἴυγατρὶ βιαίχμη συνοικῆσαι πολυκάονα ἰόν βουτυ λεγούσας τὰς μεγάλας οἶδα ἡοίας. τὰς δὲ
ἐς ἦν μεσσήνης ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν μεσσήνην, παρεῖται σφισι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ὡς ἦν τῶν πολυ-
κάονος οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἀπόγονος ἐς γενεὰς πέντε ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ προελθόντων καὶ οὐ πλέονας πδιμήρη ἦλ-
θολου, βασιλέα ἐποίησαντο. παρὰ δὲ ἔστιν ἀφίκεσθαι ὡς οἱ μεσσήνιοί φασι μελανθὶς, τοξεύειν αὖθις ἄγα-
θός. καὶ δὴ ἔστιν ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι νομιζόμενος. καὶ οἱ τῆς χώρας ἡ καρμάσιον. τότε δὲ οἰχαλίαν
κλησθεῖσαν ἀπένειμεν ὁ πδιμήρης οἰκιῆσαι. γενέσθαι δὲ ὄνομα οἰχαλίαν τῇ πόλει φασὶν ἀπὸ τῆς με-
λανέως τῆς γυναικός. θεσσαλοὶ δὲ καὶ βοιωτοὶ (ἥκει γὰρ δὴ ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν τῶν οἱ τῇ ἑλλάδι τὰ
πλείω) λέγουσιν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἡ βυρσίλιον χωρίον δὲ ὄρημον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὄντι ἡ βυρσίπον, πόλις ἡ ἀρχαῖον
ὢν καὶ ἐνοικεῖτο οἰχαλία. τῷ δὲ βυβοέως λόγῳ κρεώφυλος οὐ ἡρακλείας πεποίηκεν ὁμολογοῦντα. ἐ-
νοικεῖος δὲ ὁ μελήσιος οὐ σκιῷ μοῖραν τῆς ὀρεστείδος ἔγραψεν εἶναι οἰχαλίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ μεσ-
σήνιοι τά τε ἄλλα δοκοῦσί μοι μᾶλλον ἐκότα ἐκείνων λέγειν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ ὀστῶν εὑρεσις τῶν βυ-
ρύτου· ἃ δὴ καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖς ἐπέστειλα· πδιμήρει δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐκ γοργοφόνης τῆς
πδρσέως, ἀφαρβὶς καὶ λαβίνιππος. καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε πδιμήρης, ἔσχον οὗτοι πολλοὶ μεσσηνίων ἀρχάς,

Musurus' patriotic preface to Lascaris marks the end of an era, more specifically of the contribution of the Greek philologists to the editing and publishing of the great classical works. The arrival of Musurus in Rome was intended to revive Greek letters, with the warm support of Pope Leo X, that is Giovanni de' Medici, student of Lascaris, who sought to found at Rome something comparable to the New Academy of Aldus, and thus remove Venice from its leading role in the publishing world of Greek books. This is also the reason why Zacharias Kallierges abandoned Venice and as a teacher at the Greek College created his own press, in collaboration with Cornelio Benigni, entering into competition with Aldus (LAYTON 1994: 318-333). Musurus not only supported the teaching program of the College; he also supported the publishing program Lascaris had in mind to implement, as is made clear by the books the College's press published, all of which had a didactic character: *Scholia to Homer's Iliad*, the *Speeches of Isocrates*, *Scholia to the Tragedies of Sophocles*, *Apothegms of the Greek Philosophers* and others, published from 1517 onward.



5. The colophon of Pausanias' editio princeps, 1516. (Gennadius Library GC 2864/B)

Both the preface and the edition of Pausanias had an unwittingly symbolic character, as they represented Musurus' final editorial labor. No other preface written by him would adorn a Greek book, and those of the major Greek philologists who continued their publishing work after his death oriented their vision towards books that supported the spiritual needs of modern Greeks. Greek editions would henceforth be addressed not to the audience of humanists, but to the Greek audience, as the publication of religious and liturgical books gradually came to prevail. Apart from the books he edited at the College press in collaboration with Arsenios Apostolis, he published no other Greek books until his death in 1534. Demetrios Doukas, a collaborator of Aldus and later chief proponent of the Greek book at the University of

Alcalà in Spain, proceeded to publish a liturgical book containing the *Liturgies* of John Chrysostom (Rome, 1523). Only Zacharias Kallierges would include in his publishing venture two books directed at the humanist reading public: the first edition, with scholia, of the *Odes* of Pindar (1515), and the *Mega lexiko* of Varinus Favorinus (1523). All his other publishing ventures were directed at those learning Greek, and at the narrow circle of humanists in Rome, which was certainly a very small number of individuals.

Musurus sensed that with Aldus' death, a link between the humanist public in the West and the Greek element was lost. Only Lascaris had remained, who still possessed the prestige and international network of relations to support the vision of the liberation of even a small part of the once-powerful Byzantine Empire. Only Lascaris symbolized, represented, and stood for imperial Byzantine greatness, and just as Pausanias traveled and preserved noteworthy and admirable monuments of Attica and the Peloponnese, so Lascaris preserved monuments of classical literature: he recorded, edited, commented on and, through the printing press, circulated the written works of the ancients. The learned of his era would not have the opportunity to follow in his footsteps with Pausanias in hand – rather, they would have to be satisfied with his descriptions and reconstructions. On the other hand, Musurus would complete his own itinerary in the publishing world and, singing the praises of Lascaris as Hellenism's final hope in the West, would signal the turning-point for the change in orientation of the Greeks to an already established reality. Thenceforth, the Greeks would turn to preserving the unity of their people through cultivation of language and letters, and would support such cultivation through religious and liturgical books. Visions of reinstatement of the Greek Christian empire no longer had a place. Pausanias described a world that had completed its historical circle, and in his preface Musurus mourns an empire that would never be resurrected.

K. S.

The Dissemination of the Periegesis in Print, 16th - 17th Centuries

Despite the fact that knowledge of Greek was fairly widespread among humanist circles, the diffusion of Greek texts to the wider cultivated public necessarily passed through the channel of their translation into Latin. Translations of Greek works into Latin grew more numerous as they were encouraged by secular and religious rulers like Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici, humanist popes and, later, the leaders of the Reformation. Thus during the 15th and 16th centuries, Pausanias' *Periegesis* was translated three times into Latin, and once into Italian (KRISTELLER 1971: 215-20).

The first Latin translation of the work remained incomplete. This was a partial translation by Domizio Calderini, which covers only the *Attica* and the beginning of the *Corinthiaca*. Calderini became interested in the work after 1474, and his translation was printed in Venice in 1498. The Roman humanist Romolo Amaseo undertook a full translation some decades later (fig. 1, 2). This first complete rendering of the *Periegesis* into Latin became established and was circulated very widely until the 18th century. The first edition of Amaseo's translation may have been printed in Rome in 1547, but no copy has survived. We are certain only of the edition of 1551, done in Florence and reprinted many times, either as a self-contained text or accompanied by the Greek text. Amaseo was an important man of letters and was connected to the connoisseur and patron Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and his grandfather, Pope Paul III. His translation allows us to conclude that it was not based solely on Niccoli's copy.

There followed the publication of the translation by the German Protestant humanist Abraham Loescher, published in Basel in 1550, by the printing press of

1. Romolo Amaseo, Pausaniae Quinque regionum veteris Graeciae description, *Lyon, 1558. (Gennadius Library GC 2869B)*

2. First page of Pausanias' Book VI (Eliaca). Romolo Amaseo, Pausaniae Quinque regionum veteris Graeciae description, *Lyon, 1558. (Gennadius Library GC 2869 B)*

3. Abraham Loescher, Pausaniae de tota Graecia Libri decem: qvibvs non solvm vrbivm sitvs, ... / primùm in lucem editi Abrahamo Loeschero interprete, *Basel, 1550. (Gennadius Library GC 2507.2q)*

4. First page of Pausanias' Book VI (Eliaca). Abraham Loescher, Pausaniae de tota Graecia Libri decem: qvibvs non solvm vrbivm sitvs, ... / primùm in lucem editi Abrahamo Loeschero interprete, *Basel, 1550. (Gennadius Library GC 2507.2q, p. 221)*

PAVSANIAE
QVINQVE REGIONVM VETERIS GRAECIAE descriptio, Romulo Amasæo interprete.

TOMVS SECVNDVS.

Huic accessit rerum singularium Index locupletissimus.

LVGDVNI,
Apud hæredes Iacobi Iunta.
M. D. LVIII.

PAVSANIAE DE TOta Græcia Libri decem,

QVIBVS NON SOLVM VRBIVM SITVS, LOCOrumq; interualla accuratè est complexus, sed Regum etiam familias, bellorum causas & euentus, sacrorum ritus, Rerumpub. status copiosè descripsit: hactenus à nemine in linguam latinam conuersi, nunc{q} primùm in lucem editi:

ABRAHAMO LOESCHERO INTERPRETE.

Accessit rerum & uerborum locupletissimus Index.

AD LECTOREM.

Magna fuit quondam florentibus inclyta regnis
Græcia, diuitijs splendida, Marte potens.
Hospita Musarum, cultos immota pudoris,
Lætaq; frugiferi fertilitate soli.
Hanc non Pellæi uicina potentia regis,
Nec potuit Macedûm uincere sæua manus.
Auderat Gratias tenterata Persis uitres,
Auderat cultæ regna beata plagæ.
Nec mora, terribiles phareretato milite turmas
Congregat, in pugnas, in fera bella ruit.
In planum cessos audet deuolucre montes,
Pontibus æquoreas sternere tentat aquas.
Vim parat, & Gratis statuit subuertere sedes,
Hinc fera crudeli sumpserat arma manu.
Sed perijt tumidè superata potentia fastus,
Restitit ultricis Græcia clara manu.
Abstulit ingentis uictricia signa triumpho,
Seruauit patrium laudibus aucta decus.
Hanc tu, si prisci superesse signa uetoris,
Non cupperes posita, Lector, adire morâ?
An non per uitrei situosa uolumina ponti
Vrgeres tremulæ pendula uela ratis?
Desine, non opus est, celeres emitte carinas,
Perlege Pausaniam: quod petis, inde feres.
Perlege Pausaniam, nec in una parte uidebis,
Præclarum Græco quicquid in orbe fuit.
Perlege Pausaniam, prisca uestigia laudis
Agnoscet, prisci cernitur inde decus.

Cum Cæs. Maiest. gratia & priuilegio ad quinquennium.

BASILEAE, PER [illegible]
Oporinum.

PAVSANIAE ELIACORVM POSTERIOR SIVE LIBER SEXTVS.

POSTVLAT dehinc suscepti operis ordo, vt post votiuorum donariorum expositionem, equos certaminibus nobiles, & athletas, vel ordinarios etiam homines persequamur. Et eorum quidẽ, qui victores è ludis Olympicis discessere, non omnium positæ sunt statuæ. Nam illos mihi qui vel certantes præclarè se gesserunt, vel virtutis quouis alio modo specimen aliquod dedere, statuarum tamen honorem non sunt consecuti, prætereundos intelligo: Neque enim athletas omnes, qui vel in Olympicum stadium descendêre, quibúsve palma delata est, persequi mihi propositum, sed cum in reliquis donis, tum verò maximè in statuis exponendis hæc fuit opera sumenda. Quin ex iis etiam, quibus posita statua fuit, multos mihi prętermittendos censui,

A fabricasse Callonem Eleum. Boum gneorum alterũ Coreyrei dedicarunt, alterum Eretrici. Fabricauit Eretrieus Philesius. Qua de caussa autẽ Coreyræi *bouem unum in* Olympia dedicarint, alterum Delphis, *in* Phocensium historia declarabo. Sed quem in Olympia consecrarunt, ad eum tale quippiam accidisse audiui. Sedit sub boue hoc puer quispiam paruus, uultusq; in terram deflexo lusit. Cum autem subitò sese erexisset, & æri caput illisit, & diebus non ita multis pòst ex uulnere obijt. Elei itaq; bouem tanq; sanguinis reum, Alte decreuerunt efferre. Delphicus autem Apollo iussit, ut eisdem contra donarium instituerent purgationes, quibus Græci putent cædem inuitam esse expiandã. In Alte sub platanis iuxta medium potissimum ambitum, trophęum æneum est, & clypei trophæo addita inscriptio: Eleos id de Lacedęmonijs erexisse. In hac pugna uir iste occubuit, qui instaurato mea ætate lunonij templi tecto, cum armis ibi est repertus. Donarium Mendæorum ex Thracia non multum abest, quin imago esse uiri pentathli putetur. Positum est iuxta Eleum Anauchidem. Antiquas conti net masculas plumbeas, quibus saltatores utraq; manu se librabant, ut certius assilirent. Elegiacum item carmen habet femori inscriptum:

Mendæi me de spolijs posuere Tonantí,
Vt Sipten manibus diripuere suis.

Historia de puero elegã.

Id enim fuisse puto ex uetustate. Angelinus uetus de spolijs.

Sipte porrò castellum quoddam, aut oppidum uidetur esse in Thracia. Sed ipsi Mendæi & Græci sunt genere, & ex Ionia oriundi. Habitant in locis maritimis superioribus, ad oppidum Ænum.

B

PAVSANIAE DE REBVS ELEORVM LIBER SEXTVS, QVI SEcundus Eliacorum inscribitur.

ABRAHAMO LOESCHEro interprete.

SEquitur nũc in sermone de donarijs instituto, ut de equis etiam ad certamen assuefactis faciam mentionem: athletis deinde, & uiris similiter priuatis. Cæterùm non omnibus qui Olympia uicerunt, statuæ sunt positæ. Quanquã eẽ cõplures uel in ipso certamine facinora ediderint præclara, aut alij in alijs sese operib. strenuè gesserint, statuas tamen nõ sunt consecuti. Hi mihi ex instituto prętereundi sunt. Non enim futurus est athletarum catalogus, qui è ludis Olympicis uictoriam reportarunt: sed donariorũ tum aliorum, tum statuarum descriptio. Sed ne eos quidem omnes recensebo, quibus erectæ sint statuæ: cum exploratũ id habeam, quosdam *non roboris prestantia*, sed fortis corruptela, palmã abstulisse. Quicunq; uerò sua ipsorum uirtute aut laudem sunt aut statuas cõsequuti reliquis insigniores, horum ego quoq; faciam mentionem. Ad dextrã templi lunonij statua est luctatoris, qui genere fuit Eleus, socius Æschylı. Iuxta eũ Neolaidæ Proxeni, qui ex Arcadiæ oppido Pheneo fuit oriundus, & pueros cæstibus superauit. Archidami deinceps Xenij F. qui idem

Quid hoc libro sit edituris.

Johannes Oporin (fig. 3, 4). The chronological proximity of the two translations testifies to the parallel interest in the *Periegesis* both south and north of the Alps, in Catholic Rome and in Reformation Basel.

Loescher translated all of the *Periegesis* without having recourse to previous translations. The edition was an imposing folio, printed with exceptionally fine, easily legible fonts and lovely vignettes at the beginning of each book (fig. 4). The translation covers the entire page with marginal notes on the right. The title is followed by an extended elegy, concluding with the lines: "Stop, it is not necessary, forget the fast ships / Read Pausanias: thanks to him you will arrive where you want to go / Read Pausanias, and you will see in many points in the work / all the important things that existed in the Greek world. / Read Pausanias, and you will recognize the ruins of ancient glory / because the glorious past has been preserved by him." (fig. 3). If we agree with the judgment of Étienne Clavier, Loescher's translation was more faithful than that of Amaseo.

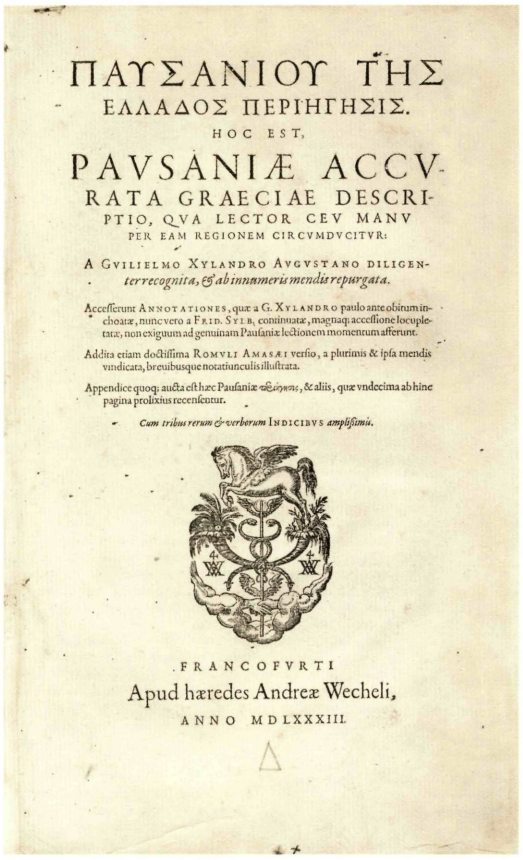
DESCRITTIONE
DELLA
GRECIA,
di Pausania.
NELLA QVALE SI CONTIENE
l'origine di essa, il sito, le Città, la Religione antica, i costumi, & le guerre fatte da que' Popoli.
INSIEME CO' MONTI, LAGHI, Fiumi, Fontane, Miniere, Statue, Colossi, Tempij, & tutte le cose marauigliose, che l'hanno illustrata.
Tradotta dal Greco in volgare dal S. Alfonso Bonacciuoli Gentilhuomo Ferrarese.
Con la Tauola copiosissima delle cose notabili, che in essa si contengono, & le postille nel margine.
Al Ser.mo Sig. il S. Donno ALFONSO d'Este Duca di Ferrara, &c.
IN MANTOVA,
Per Francesco Osanna Stampator Ducale.
M D X C I I I I .

5. Alfonso Bonacciuoli, Descrittione della Grecia, di Pausania: Nella quale si contiene l'origine di essa, il sito, le città, la religione antica, i costumi, & le guerre fatte da que' popoli..., *Mantua, 1593. (Gennadius Library GC 2869.5)*

At the end of the 16th century (1593) the first translation of the text into a living language, Italian, was published in Mantua by Alfonso Bonacciuoli (fig. 5). Bonacciuoli, who was interested in journeys and geography (he had translated Strabo's *Geography*), endeavored to make Pausanias' descriptions accessible to the wider public not familiar with Greek or Latin. The edition consisted of four volumes in small format, which ensured that the work would be read outside the library or the scholar's study. This was a short-lived return of the *Periegesis'* publication history to Catholic Italy, for henceforth – and for an extended period – editions were published only in German-speaking Reformation centers.

The German Editions of G. Xylander and J. Kuhn. One of the results of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) was that Greek studies, and Greek editions, came to a halt in Catholic Europe. At the beginning of the 16th century, the publishing of Greek texts was transferred from Italy to German-speaking countries. The Hellenists at the Universities of Heidelberg, Basel, and Frankfurt edited texts, corrected the proofs, made annotations, and wrote commentaries.

The first German edition of Pausanias was published in Frankfurt in 1583, and reprinted in Hannover in 1613. We owe this edition to Wilhelm Holtzmann, who Hellenized his name into "Xylander" (Gk. *Ξύλανδρος*) (fig. 10). A professor of Greek at Heidelberg, Xylander (1532-1576) edited works by Plutarch, Strabo, Dio, and Euclid, but did not complete his edition of Pausanias (he edited only the first five books). Friedrich Sylburg (1583), a scholar of humble origins who was an exceptional philologist and editor, completed Xylander's edition. It included the Latin version of Amaseo and the Greek version of Musurus, which it frequently corrects. Important notes and a grammatical commentary on the language of Pausanias enhanced the Greek and Latin edition (fig. 6). The volume itself was imposing. In a large folio format, decorated with beautiful vignettes (fig. 9), Pausanias' text was complemented by excerpts from other ancient writers related to Greece, such as Strabo's *Geography*, Ptolemy's *Geography*, and Pliny's *Natural History*. Xylander's effort to enhance the text of Pausanias confirms his era's interest in the geography and topography of ancient Greece. In order to facilitate reading of the work, he added indices. The Hannover edition also includes a brief text by Xylander on Pausanias and his age, oeuvre and travels, as well as his homeland, way of life, and so forth, with details


ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ
ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ.
HOC EST,
PAVSANIÆ ACCV-
RATA GRAECIAE DESCRI-
PTIO, QVA LECTOR CEV MANV
PER EAM REGIONEM CIRCVMDVCITVR:
A GVILIELMO XYLANDRO AVGVSTANO DILIGEN-
ter recognita, & ab innumeris mendis repurgata.
Accesserunt ANNOTATIONES, quæ a G. XYLANDRO paulo ante obitum inchoatæ, nunc vero a FRID. SYLB. continuatæ, magnaq; accessione locupletatæ, non exiguum ad geminam Pausaniæ lectionem momentum afferunt.
Addita etiam doctissima ROMVLI AMASÆI versio, a plurimis & ipsa mendis vindicata, breuibusque notatiunculis illustrata.
Appendice quoq; aucta est hæc Pausaniæ ἐξηγήσει, & aliis, quæ vndecima ab hinc pagina prolixius recensentur.
Cum tribus rerum & verborum INDICIBVS *amplissimis.*
FRANCOFVRTI
Apud hæredes Andreæ Wecheli,
ANNO MDLXXXIII.

6. Guilhelmus Xylander, Friedrich Sylburg, Pausaniae accurata Graeciae descriptio..., *Frankfurt, 1583. (Gennadius Library GC 2864.5q)*

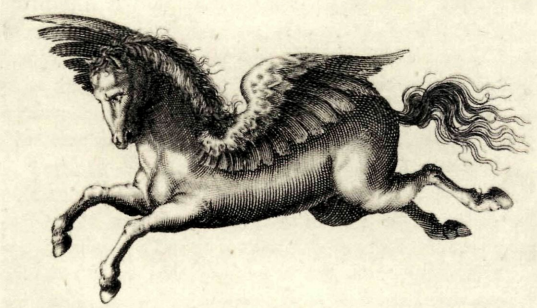
ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ
ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ.
hoc eſt,

PAVSANIAE
GRAECIAE DESCRIPTIO
ACCVRATA,

qua Lector ceu manu per eam regionem
circumducitur:

CVM LATINA
ROMVLI AMASAEI
INTERPRETATIONE.

Acceſſerunt
GVL. XYLANDRI & FRID. SYLBVRGII
ANNOTATIONES,
ac
NOVAE NOTAE
IOACHIMI KVHNII.



LIPSIAE,
APVD THOMAM FRITSCH.

M. DC. XCVI.

7. Joachim Kuhn, Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio accurata…, cum Latina Romuli Amasei interpretatione, *Leipzig, 1696. (Gennadius Library GC 2865q)*

CAP. I.

IN ea continentis Græciæ parte, quæ Cycladas insulas & Ægæum mare spectat, Sunium prominet Atticæ promontorium: in cuius ora, portus; in vertice, Suniadis Minervæ templum est. Hinc porro navigantibus brevis ad Laurium via, ubi olim argenti metalla Athenienſibus fuere. Proxime iacet parva ac deserta insula; Patrocli dicitur, quod Patroclus præfectus Ægyptiarum triremium, quas Ptolemæus Lagi filius Athenienſibus auxilio misit, clam occupatam, muro eam & vallo muniit, quum Antigonus Demetrii filius ipse cum exercitu agrum popularetur, & maritimam partem classe obsessam teneret. Piræeus vero, antequam Themistocles ad rempublicam accederet, non navale, sed curia fuit:

ΤΗΣ ἠπείρου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κατὰ νήσους τὰς Κυκλάδας, καὶ πέλαγος τὸ Αἰγαῖον, ἄκρα Σούνιον πρόκειται γῆς τῆς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ λιμήν τε παραπλεύσαντι τὴν ἄκραν ἐστὶ, καὶ ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Σουνιάδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τῆς ἄκρας. πλέοντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω Λαύριόν τέ ἐστι, ἔνθα ποτὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἦν ἀργύρου μέταλλα, καὶ νῆσος ἔρημος οὐ μεγάλη, Πατρόκλου καλουμένη. τεῖχος γὰρ ᾠκοδομήσατο ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ χάρακα ἐβάλετο Πάτροκλος, ὃς τριήρεσιν ὑπέπλει ναύαρχος Αἰγυπτίαις, ἃς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Λάγου τιμωρεῖν ἔξειλεν Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτε σφίσιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου στρατιᾷ τε αὐτὸς ἐσβεβληκὼς, ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν, καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐκ θαλάσσης κατεῖργεν. Ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς δῆμος μὲν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ· πρότερον δὲ, πρὶν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθη-

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Κυκλάδας) Operæ pretium fuerit audire, quæ de situ Atticæ disseruit Aristides Orat. Panath. πρόκειμαι, inquit, ἀντ' ἄκρας φυλακτηρίου τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τὴν γιγνομένην τάξιν ἔχουσα· πρώτη πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα προμήκης εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. *Prominet (Attica), & quem naturalem situm habet, is est præsidio reliquæ Græciæ: prima ad orientem excurrit in mare, & satis clare demonstrat, quod a Dijs facta sit fulcrum Græciæ &c.* Et paulo post: προβαίνει μέχρι πλέονος, τὸν θάλατταν ὑμερῶσα, καὶ ταῖς νήσοις ὑπαπαμίγνυται, θαμάτων ἥδιστον, ἤπειρος οὐ νήσοις καὶ τούτων ἰσίων τοτιωτέρω &c. αἱ δὲ ἐπίκειται πανταχόθεν πεποικιλμέναι Κυκλάδες καὶ Σποράδες περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ὥσπερ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς ἐπικτήσεις ἀνέσεις αὐτὴ προασεῖσι τῇ πόλει &c. Nam omnia, quamvis lectu digna exscribere nec vacat nec libet. Apponam potius, quod idem brevius de Attica memorat Orat. 2. Leuctrica, in fine: Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν μυχῷ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, καὶ θεωροῦσι τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς ζητεῖν· ἡ δὲ Ἀττικὴ πρόκειται ἔνθεν μὲν Θηβαίοις, ὁμοῦ θαλάσσης δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ. *Lacedæmonii in recessibus Peloponnesi siti ad suum perpetuo commodum sapiunt: Attica autem obiecta est hinc Thebanis, a mari vero regi Persarum.* Ergo ut Attica Græciæ, ita Atticæ πρόκειται promontorium Sunium, in cuius vertice condirum Mineruæ Suniadi iam olim sterit templum, uti colligere est ex illo Homeri Odyss. γ. Ἀλλ' ὅτε Σούνιον ἱερὸν ἀφικόμεθ' ἄκρον Ἀθηνῶν. Ubi Σούνιον ἱερὸν dicitur, quod Minervæ sacrum esset, templo etiam ibi condito. τὸ, παραπλεύσαντι τὴν ἄκραν ex Thucyd. est lib. 8. p. 612. K.

Λαύριον.) Scil. ὄρος. Thucyd. l. 2. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν πάραλον γῆν καλουμένην μέχρι Λαυρίου ὄρους, ἧ τὰ ἀργύρεια μέταλλά ἐστιν Ἀθηναίοις. K.

Πατρόκλου) etiamnum audit Πατρόκλεια. In vulgari Græco Γαϊδαρονίσι id est, *Asini insula* vel *Ebanonisi* dicitur, *Spon. Itiner. Tom. 2.* Ceterum quod Pausanias ait, Ptolemæum Lagi filium triremes misisse Athenienſibus id temporis, quum bello a Demetrii filio Antigono terra marique premerentur, id non satis intelligo. Mortuus est Ptolemæus Lagi, victo Demetrio Antigoni huius parente, Olymp. CXXIV, bellum vero, de quo hic sermo est Pausaniæ, incidit in Olymp. CXXIX; quomodo igitur Lagides potuit classem mittere Athenienſibus tanto ante mortuus? Ipse autor infra in Laconicis hoc bellum refert ad tempora Arei regis Lacedæmoniorum: ille vero ab extremis annis Ptolemæi Philadelphi propius abest, & ad Corinthum occubuit in prælio adversus Antigonum Demetrii filium. Huic difficultati occurritur facile, si verba hæc: Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Λάγου, subintellecto υἱωνὸς, *nepos*, capiamus de Philadelpho; vel concisius dictum Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Λάγου, pro, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου. Idque ipse infra significat: ὅτος, inquit, ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρηταί μοι, ναυτικὸν ἔστειλεν ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν ὑπ' Ἀντίγονον καὶ Μακεδόνας. Præcesserat autem historia de Ptolemæo Arsinoes & fratre & marito, id est, Philadelpho, cui mox subiicitur, ὅτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος &c. Verum equidem est, quod etiam primus Ægypti rex Ptolemæus classe missa iuvit Athenienses cum Demetrio Antigoni parente bellum gerentes; sed hæc antiquiora sunt, & nihil faciunt ad rem præsentem. Ceteroquin & Strabo meminit τοῦ Πατρόκλου χάρακος lib. 9. ubi in textu male est Πρόκλου. K.

δῆμος μὲν) pro *curia* in Græco est δῆμος, quod Lœscherus interpretatur *municipium*. Sigonius de Republ. Athenienſium l. 1. c. 2. *Populos*, inquit, *iampridem appellabant, quos illi δήμους vocarunt: quos, si rei rationem attendamus, vicos appellare non incommode fortasse possimus, siquidem Aristot. in Poet. scribit, quos alii κώμας (id est, vicos) dicerent, eos δήμους ab Atticis nominatos. Fuerunt autem oppidula vicique, quibus est universa terra Attica frequentata usque ad Theseum, qui eos ex agris in unam Athenarum urbem convocavit: neque tamen cogente Atticos in urbem Theseo, deserti propterea agri populique (sive vici) Atticæ sunt, sed semper frequentissime culti ac cibium multitudine frequentati.* Hæc Sigonius. Sed & Pausanias noster δήμους καὶ κώμας pro eodem accipit, dum incolas in Eleorum urbem coactos scribit Eliacor. l. 1. c. 4. ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῶν, id est, e vicis, easdemque κώμας postea δήμους appellat l. c. cap. 9. Sic Festus: *δῆμοι apud Atticos sunt, ut apud nos pagi.* Diodor. Siculus *oppidula* nominat p. 269. refert enim Eleos, quum ante πλείους καὶ μικρὰς πόλεις, id est, *complura oppidula* incoluisse, postea coiisse in unam πόλιν, nomine Elin. Porro ut Sigonius δήμους vertit etiam *populos*, ita Lucretium existimat Lambinus, quum in Atticæ pestis descriptione canit:

Inque alii alium populum sepelire suorum
Certantes,

8. First page from Pausanias' Periegesis *(Attica). Joachim Kuhn,* Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio accurata..., cum Latina Romuli Amasei interpretatione, *Leipzig, 1696. (Gennadius Library GC 2865q, p. 2)*

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΦΩΚΙΚΑ'.

ΓΗΣ δὲ τῆς Φωκίδος ὅσον μὲν περὶ Τιθορέαν καὶ Δελφοὺς ἐστιν αὐτῆς, ἐκ παλαιοτάτου φανερὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο εἰληφυῖά ἐστιν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Κορινθίου Φώκου τοῦ Ὀρνυτίωνος. ἔτεσι δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς ὀξενίκησε καὶ ἁπάσῃ γενέσθαι τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς καλουμένῃ Φωκίδι, Αἰγινήτων ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν χώραν διαβάντων ὁμοῦ Φώκῳ τῷ Αἰακοῦ. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπαντικρὺ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας, καθήκουσιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν οἱ Φωκεῖς, τῇ μὲν ἐς Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν, τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀντίκυραν πόλιν. Τὰ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Λαμιακοῦ κόλπου, Λοκροὶ σφᾶς παραθαλασσίους οἱ Ὑποκνημίδιοι καλύουσιν εἶναι· οὗτοι γὰρ δή εἰσιν οἱ ταύτην τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπροικοῦντες. Σκαρφεῖς μέν τοι τὰ ἐπέκεινα Ἐλατείας· ὑπὲρ δὲ Ὑάμπολιν καὶ Ἄβας, οἱ πόλιν τε Ὀποῦντα καὶ Ὀπουντίων ἐπίνειον νεμόμενοι Κύνον. Τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα Φωκεῦσιν ἔστιν ἐν κοινῷ ταῦτα. Πολέμου γὰρ τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ μετεχήκασι, καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐναντία ἐπολέμησαν πρότερον, ἢ ἐλάσαι τὸν Μῆδον ἐπὶ Ἕλληνας· ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐπεδείξαντο οἱ Φωκεῖς ἔργα ἐς μνήμην. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Ὑάμπολιν ᾗ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς προσεδέχοντο ἐμβαλεῖν σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὑδρίας κεράμου πεποιημένας κατορύξαντες, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς γῆν ἐπιφορήσαντες, ὑπέμενον τὴν ἵππον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν. οἱ δὲ ἅτε οὐ προπεπυσμένοι τῶν Φωκέων τὴν τέχνην, ἐπελάσαντες τοὺς ἵππους λανθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑδρίας, ἐνταῦθα ἀπεχωλοῦντο μὲν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ποδῶν ἐσπιπτόντων σφίσιν ἐς τὰς ὑδρίας, ἐκτείνοντο δὲ καὶ ἀπέπιπτον οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων. ὡς δὲ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ μείζονι ἢ τὰ πρότερα ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας χρώμενοι τῇ ὀργῇ,

PAVSANIÆ PHOCICA, SIVE LIBER DECIMVS.

PHOCIDIS[1] partem eam quę Tithoream & Delphos attingit, satis constat ab initio nomen à Phoco Ornytionis filio, homine Corinthio, sumpsisse: non ita multis vero post annis, Æginetis cum Phoco Æaci filio classe in ea loca appulsis, vt regio, quanta nunc est, Phocis *à coloniæ nouo autore perpetuo nomine* vocaretur, vsus obtinuit. Enimuero Phocenses, quà Peloponnesum ex aduerso prospectāt, quaque Bœotiā contingunt, maritimi sunt, inter Cirrham Delphorum nauale, & Anticyram vrbem medii. Nam quo minus ad mare proxime accedāt, ex ea parte qua est sinus Maliacus, prohibent Locri[2] Hypocnemidii, oram eam tenentes, quæ extremæ Phocidi adiuncta est. nā vltra Elatean sunt Scarphenses, & supra Hyampolin Abantes, qui Opuntem, & Opuntiorum nauale Cynum incolunt. Quæ Phocenses ad gloriam maxime illustria publicis opibus & consilio gesserunt, hæc fere commemorari possunt. Primum ad bellū Troianum auxilia misere: deinde ante Persarum in Græciam irruptionem cum Thessalis bellarunt; quo tempore insigne ad memoriam facinus ediderunt. Ad Hyampolim enim quà intra ipsorū fines inuasurum Thessalorum equitatum exploratum habebant, vrnas fictiles defodêre; iisq; terra superaggesta opertis, hostilis equitatus impetum sustinuerunt. Hostes, vt qui eas insidias non prouiderant, citatis equis excursione facta, incauti in eas vrnas inciderunt. ibi cum eo casu fracti & debilitati fuissent equorum pedes, viri ex equis prolapsi passim cæsi. Ea re vehementius quàm antè multo ira Thessali inflam-

drawn largely from Pausanias' work itself.

At the end of the 17th century, a new German edition of the *Periegesis* was prepared by Joachim Kuhn (1647-1697), a leading Hellenist at the University of Strasbourg who specialized in writers of late Antiquity (2nd and 3rd centuries AD); it was published a year before Kuhn's death (Leipzig, 1696) (fig. 7, 8). Joachim Kuhn reissued an improved edition of Xylander and Sylburg, which had been unavailable for some time, despite successive reprints. Kuhn's edition was also in large format. The choice was deliberate, in order both to maintain the unity of the text and to include the Greek original and the Latin translation. But this would be the last edition to circulate in the large format favored by humanists. The text was separated into two columns, with the Greek on the right and the Latin on the left (fig. 8). Reading the text was facilitated by its division into chapters, but as yet without sub-divisions into paragraphs. Kuhn revised Xylander's commentary, completed it, and proceeded to make a number of requisite corrections.

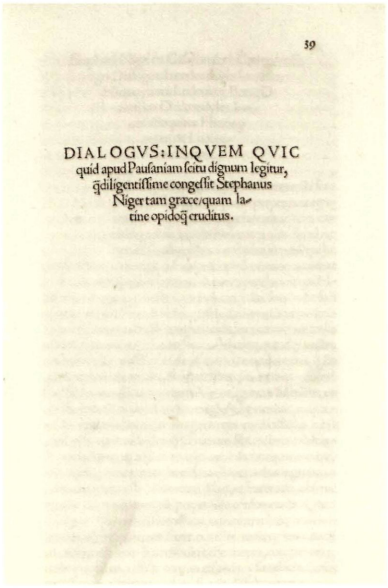
10. Guilhelmus Xylander, copper engraving. Jean-Jacques Boissard, Théodore de Bry, Bibliotheca chalcographica illustrium virtute atque eruditione in tota Europa clarissimorum virorum..., *Frankfurt, 1650-1654. (Private Collection)*

C.G.

9. Page with decorated initial. Guilhelmus Xylander, Friedrich Sylburg, Pausaniae accurata Graeciae descriptio..., *Hannover, 1613. (Gennadius Library GC 2864.6q, p. 609)*

The Resonance of the Periegesis during the 16th and 17th Centuries

The 16th and 17th centuries were the years of the *Periegesis'* distinguished reign of influence. Multiple editions and re-issues prescribed the work as an authentic model for antiquarian account, and at the same time led to a spectacular range of new readings. As early as 1517, one year following the publication of the *editio princeps*, Stefano Negri, a student of Demetrius Chalcondyles and his successor to the chair of Greek at Milan, published a sort of Latin "reader's digest" of the *Periegesis*, as an addendum to Philostratus' *Heroica* (fig. 1). This was an eccentric and pedantic dialogue among Negri, Chalcondyles (†1511), and three young students of Greek; its subject was the virtues of Pausanias. The purpose of this extremely long didactic work (350 octavo pages) was to prove that the *Periegesis* was a valuable educational aid and simultaneously an encyclopedia of ancient learning. Its reading could illuminate a variety of obscure points of Greek mythology, history, and topography, and present them in a comprehensible manner, in the form of an educational journey. This edition also included a very extensive introductory index, an early guide to Pausanias' complex text.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DIALOGVS:INQVEM QVIC
quid apud Pausaniam scitu dignum legitur,
ꝯdiligentissime congessit Stephanus
Niger tam græce/quam la-
tine opidoꝝ eruditus.

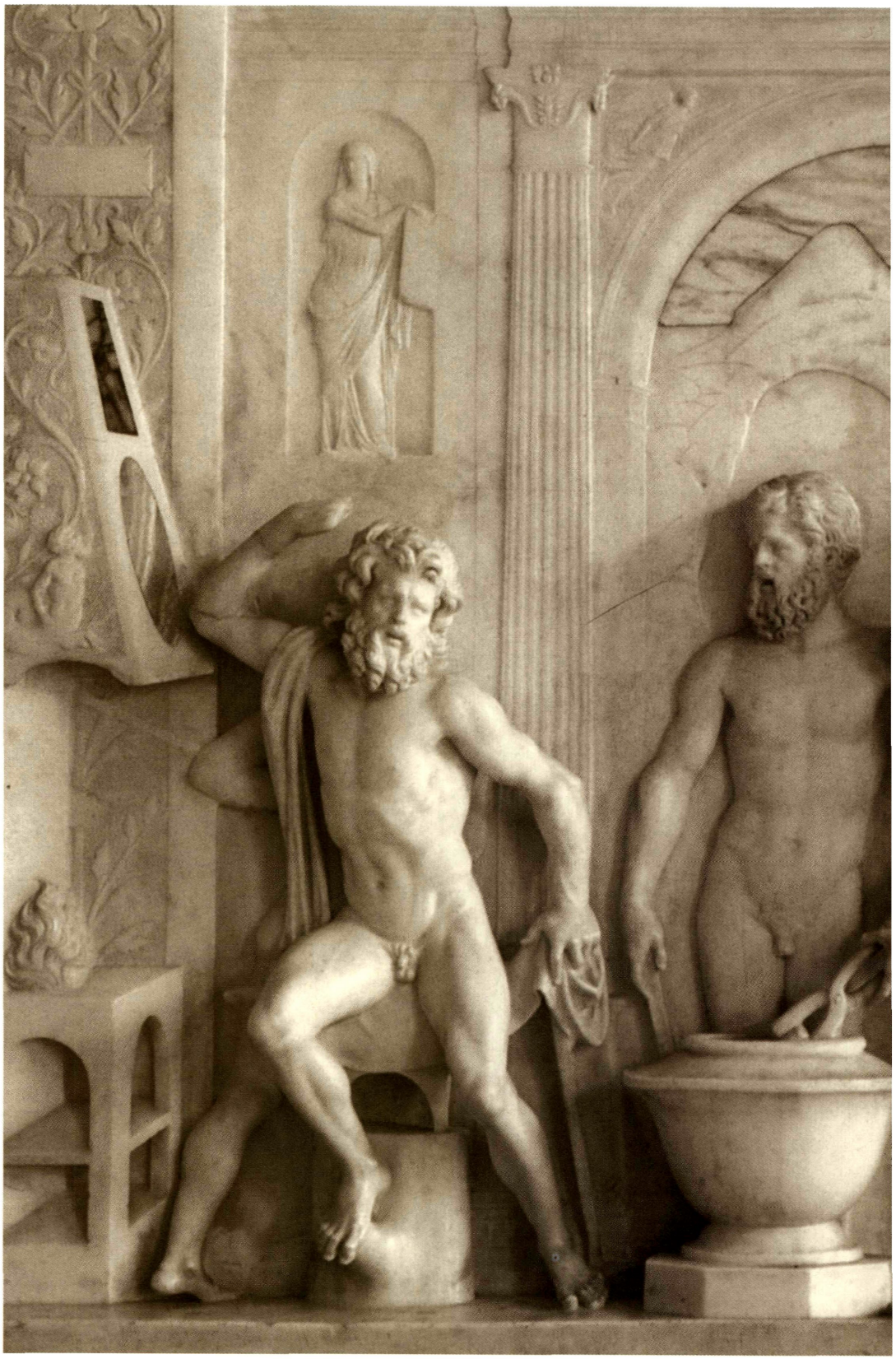
1. Stefano Negri, Heroica Philostrati & dialogus Stephani Nigri in quem quicquid apud Pausaniam scitu dignum legitur, *Milan, 1517. (Gennadius Library GC 3984.1 B)*

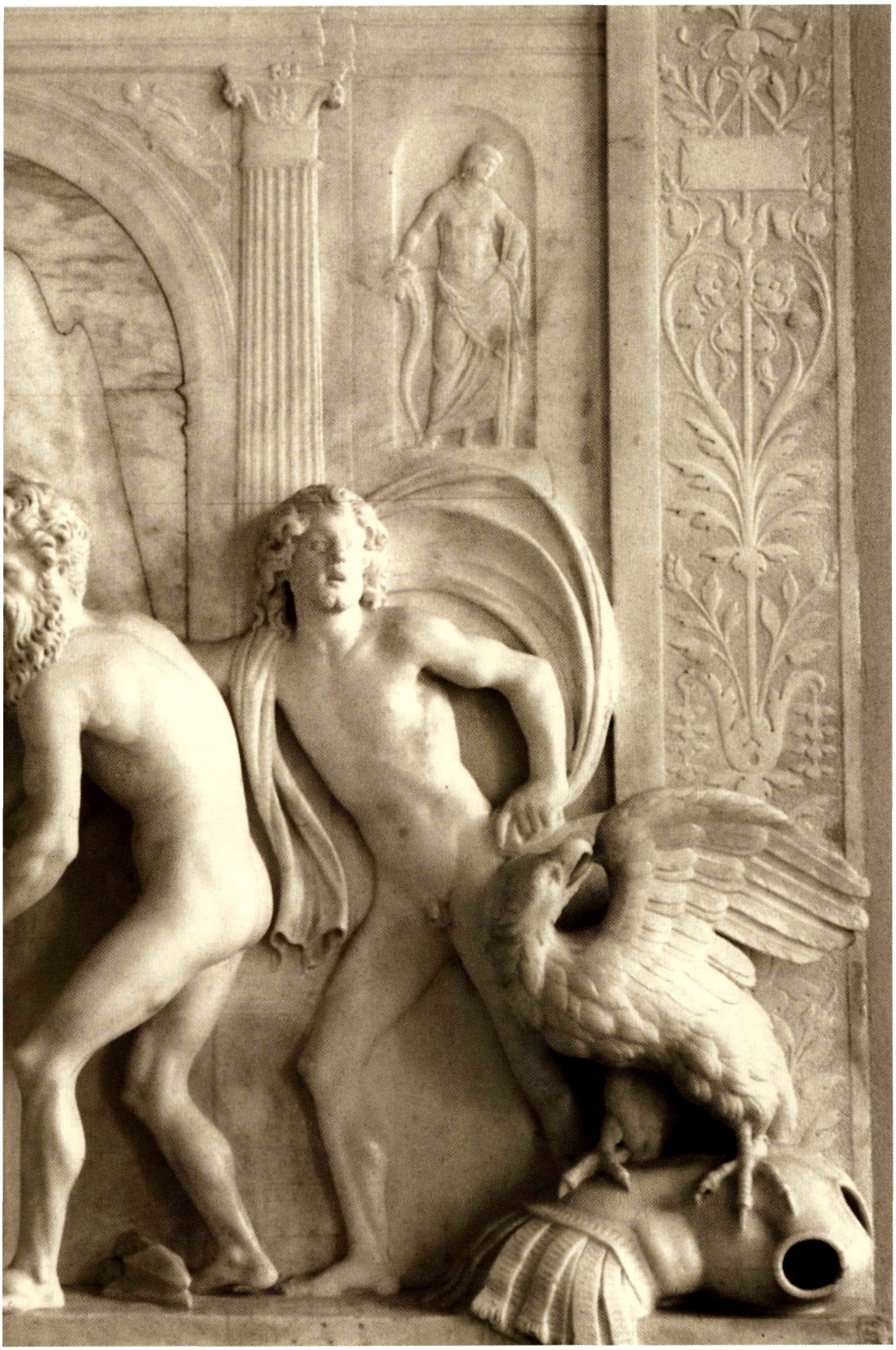
The first German translator of the work, Abraham Loescher, would also stress the educational character of the *Periegesis* in his introduction (Oporin, Basel, 1550). For Loescher, this character comprised the major reason why he undertook the translation of the work [*adolescentum studiis utilissimum*]. The educational use of Pausanias is owed to the breadth and variety of the information he provides, as well as to the narrative structure of his journey. Here we may note that humanists recognized the classical form of didactic geographical description, since the corresponding work by Dionysius Periegetes, *Oikoumenes periegesis* (*De situ habitabilis orbis*), was always a basic teaching handbook (Dainville 1940: 66-70).

Above and beyond its educational virtues, the *Periegesis* was perceived as an antiquarian panorama of the Greek world, rich in all kinds of information. The recognition of the *Periegesis* as source material and structural pattern for the study of Antiquity led to new attitudes towards the ancient text. Selective readings of the work appeared, aiming to complete the image of Greek Antiquity gradually constructed by late Renaissance humanism. This process was both complex and diffuse. We note here Nikolaos Sophianos' reading of Pausanias in order to draw requisite details for his map of ancient Greece, celebrated as Greece's restoration (Rome 1540) (fig. 5), as well as the reading by Nicolaus Gerbel, who composed a "Preface" to Sophianos' map, proposing the first modern geographical description of Greek Antiquity (Basel 1545 and 1550, Tolias 2006: 168-170) (fig. 3). Later humanist geographers and cartographers would systematically refer back to the *Periegesis*. Its contribution is obvious in the case of Abraham Ortelius' historical geographical lexicon (*Thesaurus geographicus*, 1587), in the concise descriptions of ancient and modern Greece by Philippus Cluverius and Philippe Briet (1642 and 1648 respectively) (Dainville 1940: 180-197), as well as in Johannes Lauremberg's historical atlas of ancient Greece (1660). Finally, the *Periegesis* formed the basis for the monumental (though incomplete) *Graeciae antiquae descriptio* by Jacobus Palmerius (1587-1670), who stated unequivocally that in regard to Greek matters, Pausanias was the most reliable source: *in rebus Graeciae praevalere debet Pausanias* (Baladié 1993: 327).

Humanists of the late Renaissance also turned to Pausanias for an understanding of ancient Greek iconography and emblematics (Screech 1980). In a pioneering study, Salvatore Settis recognized Pausanias as the source of the depiction of the armed Aphrodite in Angelo Poliziano's *Stanze per la Giostra* (late 15th century, Settis 1971: 172-75). Modern research has recognized Pausanias as the source for the series of reliefs created by the Venetian Antonio Lombardo in 1506-1508 for the *studio de' prede vive* in the ducal palace at Ferrara (Sarchi 2003: 292). This is an interesting depiction of the genealogical myth of Athens that connects – through Pausanias' description – the Renaissance ruler's court to the ancient city (fig. 2). The uses of Pausanias inaugurated by Angelo Poliziano and Antonio Lombardo would become more frequent and systematic in the course of the following centuries. Basic

2. The birth of Athena. Antonio Lombardo, relief from the studio de prede vive, *Ducal Palace, Ferrara, 1506-1508. Based on Pausanias' description of the Parthenon's carved decoration. (St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum)* ☞





ta Lacon cecinit. Contrà uerò Strabo in VIII. Phærarum portionem fuisse Messeniam affirmat. Vtrorunq;,& Messeniorum & Lacedæmoniorum finem terminumq;, Gerusiam Pausanias in Messeniacis posuit. Sed de regionis situ ac finibus hactenus. Lelegis, qui tum in Laconia res administrabat,duo fuerunt filij, Myles & Polycaon. Myles natu grandior, iuxta communem gentium morem, patre mortuo imperiũ suscepit. Polycaõ natu iunior,priuatus mansit. Is Messenen Phorbantis filiam Argiuam duxit uxorem: quæ patris sui potentia,tum authoritate,qua summa inter Græciæ populos polebat,excitata,non passa est Polycaonem maritum regno spoliatum in egestate contemptuq; uitam traducere. Imò maximis ex Lacedæmone atq; Argis coactis copijs,in Messeniam exercitũ adduxit. Vbi rebus ex animi sententia confectis, milites Messeniam à Messene Polycaonis coniuge nominauerunt. deinde pluribus in ea regione conditis urbibus,Andaniam totius regionis caput atq; regiam constituerũt. Sed de eius loci præcipua urbe Messene, quæ apud authores legendo inueni,commemorabo.

MESSENE.

PAusanias refert,ante Leuctricã pugnam, qua inter Thebanos et Lacedæmonios armis animisq; decertatum est, atq; ante id tempus quo incoluere Messeniani homines, ad suam usq; ętatem,nullam in ea eius nominis urbem extitisse. Atq; hoc Homeri tanquam iurati testis authoritate comprobat, qui in Catalogo locis oppidisq; plurib. in hac regione enumeratis, nullam prorsus Messenes urbis mentionẽ fecerit. Nam illud in authoribus uelut oraculum obseruatum inuenio,si cuius rei non meminerit Homerus, utpote qui nihil intactum reliquerit,eam prorsus illius temporibus non fuisse, certò asseuerẽt: rerum scilicet omnium antiquita-

3. Imaginary view of ancient Messene and a description of the town based on Pausanias. N. Gerbel, Nicolai Gerbelij Phorcensis, pro declaratione picturae siue descriptionis Graeciae Sophiani, libri septem, *Basel, 1550. (Gennadius Library GT 11.1, p. 64)*

works of the age, such as *Le imagini de i Dei degli* by Vincenzo Cartari (1556), were systematically based on the detailed descriptions and interpretations of Pausanias concerning the symbolic function of representations in Antiquity (fig. 4).

At the same time, selective readings of the work became more intensive, drawing more or less critically from its abundant documentary repositories. Readings of this type were many and frequent, a fact showing that the work had now been fully incorporated into the scholarly apparatus of the age, serving a wide variety of needs, from art and emblematics to poetry, natural history, and political philosophy. Ra-

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del Sole, fà, che elle vengono preste à leuare le briglie à velocissimi destrieri, così dicendo i nostra lingua.

Poscia scesso Thebo à l'Occidente
A gli ardenti destrier vallenta il corso
Nascondendosi sotto l'Oceano,
Le belle, e vaghe figlie di Nereo
Habitatrici del profondo mare
Gli sono intorno; e con veloci passi
A lui subito vengon l'Hore preste
A sciorre i freni da le spumose bocche
De i feroci cauai, ch'à le verdi herbe
Mandano poi acciothe le satiche
Ristorino del corso già passato,
Et alcune di lor spogliate la chioma,
Quai di luce, al mondo, de lei raggi,
Che l'adornano in forma di corona.

Nè altro sono le Hore, che le stagioni de i tempi: da che viene che le fanno essere quattro, si come quattro sono le parti dell'anno, così distinte dal Sole, & nominate parimente da lui: perche appresso de gli Egitij il Sole, oltre à molti altri nomi, che hebbe quasi, fu detto etiandio Horo. Onde scriue di loro Eusebio in questo modo. Le Hore, le quali dicono essere i quattro tempi dell'anno, & aprire, e serrar le porte del Cielo, sono date talhora al Sole, e tale altra a Cerere, & perciò portano ne esse, l'vna di fiori, per la quale si mostra la Primauera, l'altra piena di spiche, che significa la Estate. Et Ouidio parimente dice ne i Fasti, che queste stanno in compagnia di Giano alla guardia delle porte del Cielo: & quando poi raccontra di Flora, in potere della quale sono i fioriti pratj, dice che le Hore vestite di sottilissimi veli vengono in questi talhora a recogliere di nersi fiori da farsene belle ghirlande. E Pausania scriue, che gli antichi le metteuano sul capo a Giove, insieme con le Parche, volendo mostrare in questa guisa forse, che'l Fato altro non è che l'volere di Dio, dal quale vengono ancora le mutationi de i tempi. Ma più ho detto hornai dalla natura delle Hore, che quanto fa bisogno per sapere come si habbiano da dipingere. Venendo à questo dunque, io ne farò vn ritratto solo, secondo che ne dipinge Filostrato nella tauola, dicendo che le Hore fecse in terra vanno riuolgendo l'anno (il qual'è in forma di certa cosa rotonda) con le mani, dal qual riuolgimento viene, che la terra produce poi di anno in anno tutto quello, che nasce, & sono bionde, vestite di veli sottilissimi, e cominano sopra le astile spiche tanto leggiermente, che non ne compongono

Eusebio. Hore quante sono.
Ouidio.
Pausania.

De gli Antichi. 453

Imagine delle Hore dette anco da alcuni Gratie, & di Apolline, intese quelle per le quattro stagioni dell'anno, questo per il Sole che varia le stagioni, tenute ancora per Dee dell'amicitia, bellezza, venustà, & amabilità, Dee dell'allegrezza, gioco, & piacere, dinotano ancora la misericordia di Dio verso li colpeuali.

Ff 3

4. Representation of the Hours (right) based on the description of Pausanias (left). Vincenzo Cartari, Seconda novissima editione delle Imagini de i Dei de gli antichi, *Padua, 1626. (Gennadius Library A 1254b, p. 452-453)*

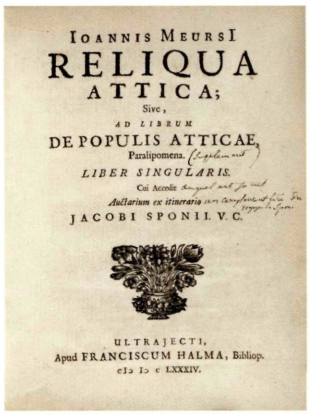
belais based the emblematic form of the winged Bacchus on information drawn from the *Periegesis* (Screen 1980), and Rubens frequently consulted Pausanias for the mythological subjects in his paintings (Georgievska-Shine 2004). Ambroise Paré drew evidence from the *Periegesis* about the history of the rhinoceros (1582), and Robert Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1620) systematically cited myths, legends, and events preserved in the *Periegesis*.

It would be redundant to enumerate the many and varied citations and references to the work of Pausanias in late Renaissance literature. We shall confine ourselves to one reader, who proceeded to a more systematic critical editing: Johannes Meursius,

TORONA
NICOPOLIS
ANACTORIVM
ELEA-POR
ACTIVM
ERICVSA
LEVCAS
ASTACVS
ACHELOVS F.
ARACHTHVS
OLENVS
PLEVRONA
CALYDON
AMPHISSA
EVATHIA
MOLYCRIA
NAVPACTVS
AZYLIA
OENIADES
CHERSONESVS P.
ANTIRRHIVM
ASTERIA
ITHACA
ECHINADES IN.
RHIVM P.
NEPTVNI SAC.
ERINEVS POR.
AEGIVM
SAMOS
PALIS
CRANII
ARAXVS P.
PATRE
PHERE
HELICE
DYME
CYLLENE
PENEVS F.
ELIS
TYPANIA
LOTOA
ZACINTHVS
CHELONATAS P.
CHELONATAS SINVS
CORYNE
LEPRIVM
OLYMPIA PISSA
ICHTHYS P.
ALPHEVS F.
HYPANIA
HEREA
STROPHADES
CYPARISSI
PROTE
CYPARISSIA P.
HALIARTVS
SELAS F.
PANISVS F.
PSOPHIS
PHIALIA
MANTINIA
SPHAGIA
PYLVS
CORYPHASIVM P.
ITHOMA
TROIZEN
METHONE
COLONE
MESSENE
PHERE
OENVSE
ABEAE
CORONE
ASINE
NIACVS
LEVCTRVM
ACRITAS P.
THIGANVSA

PH
ELATIA
BVLIA
DAVLIS
CI
DELPHI
PYTHIA
EGOS
THENIA
HE
LIC ON M
THISBE
ORCHOME
NVS
HYAM
POLIS
CORONIA
CHERONIA
LEBADIA
THESPIE
SIPHE
CREVSA
CRISSA
ANTICYRRA
ME
PAGE
MEGARA
60
GARIS
NISSEA
ELEVIS
ISMENVS F.
SALGA
NEVS
TANAGRA
THEBE
66
DELI
VM
AVLIS
OROPVS
PLAEA
ATHENE
62
ASOPVS F.
OENOE
RHAMNVS
MARATHON
65
ANAPHLY
STVS
CA
PIRAEVS
61
MVNYCH
HYPHOR
MVS POR
HIACVS SINVS
IVNONA
SAC
CO
RI
LECHEV
SARO
PSYTTALIA
SCHOENVS
POR
SALAMIS
25
CENCHREE
CORIN
THVS
34
AEGINA
27
BVCEPHA
LAS POR
NICVS
BELBINA
28
AEGIRA
SI
CY
SICYON
33
NI
THIA
PELLENE
PHLIVS
CLEONE
NEMEA
ATHENI
ENSIVM POR
SPIREVM P
EPIDAVRVS
CHERSO
NESVS
STYMPHA
LVS
LILEA
ARGOS
ASINE
TROEZEN
MEGAE
POLIS
CRO
LER
NA
MYCENE
NAVPLIA
56
SCYLLEVM P
58
CLITOR
THALAMA
HER
MIONE
PHLIVS
CALAVRIA
CYPHANTA
PRASIA
CYPHANTA
POR
55
ARGO
LICVS
SI
BEMINA
ZAREA
REX
GERENI
A
EPIDAVRVS
54
CRETI
CVM
LACEDE
MON
MYLA
EVROTAS F.
CO
S
MINOA POR
THVRIVM
OENOE
IOVISSALVA
TORIS POR
TRINA
SSVS
ACRIA
BIANDI
NA
BOE
GYTHIVM
ASOPVS
LAS
LACONI
ONVGNATHOS
53
MALEA P
TEVTHRONA
CENE
CVS SI
AEGIALIA
DREPANVM P
83
CYAMVM P
81
MINOA
CIDONIS
82
AMPHIMAHS
SINVS
84
DICTA
MVM
CIAMOS
12
APTERA
ARTACINA
POLYRRE
NIA
CORY
CVS
PHALA
SARNA
LEV
CI

a Hellenist and historian of Greek Antiquity at the University of Leiden. Meursius produced a very hefty work on the antiquities, history, and institutions of Greece and especially Athens. In fact, he was criticized for neglecting his teaching duties because of his devotion to the history of Greece (GRAFTON 2001: 127). There is no question that Pausanias held first place among his sources. Plutarch came next, followed by encyclopedic works dating from late Antiquity up to the *Suda* and Eustathius of Thessaloniki. Furthermore, the critical editing of the material permitted systematic corrections of sources, which Meursius summarized in special tables at the end of each of his books. It is noteworthy that corrections of the *Periegesis* are never included in these: Pausanias' work preserved its documentary authority intact.


IOANNIS MEURSI
RELIQUA
ATTICA;
Sive,
AD LIBRUM
DE POPULIS ATTICAE,
Paralipomena.
LIBER SINGULARIS.
Cui Accedit
Auctarium ex itinerario
JACOBI SPONII V. C.
ULTRAJECTI,
Apud FRANCISCUM HALMA, Bibliop.
CIↃ IↃ C LXXXIV.

6. Johannes Meursius, Reliqua Attica, *Utrecht, 1684. (Gennadius Library HG 130/ M597)*

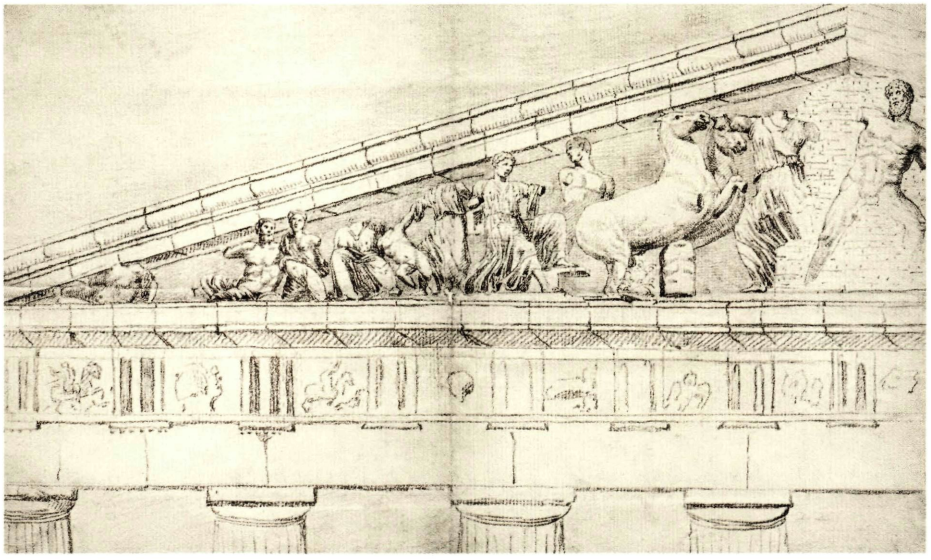
Meursius' Antiquity was a learned construct carried out in the scholar's study, based exclusively on literary sources (fig. 6): the beginnings of the ancient city were reconstructed (*Fortuna Attica*, 1622), as were worship practices (*Eleusinia*, 1619, *Graecia feriata*, 1619), institutions (*Atticarum lectionum libri VI*, 1626), and monuments and topograhy (*Athenae Atticae sive de praecipuis Athenarum antiquitatibus*, 1624). Meursius' works ushered philological knowledge of Greek Antiquity – especially of Athens – into its mature phase. It is the modern view of Greek Antiquity, encyclopedic and fragmentary, which undertakes persistent and specific thematic approaches. In the antiquarian's study, Greek Antiquity is treated as a static whole, broken down into its components. In the cabinet of late Renaissance antiquarians, the *Periegesis* was refined, while fresh images of Greece were created.

G. T.

☜ *5. Detail from Nikolaos Sophianos' Map of Greece (Rome, 1552). In the areas covered by Pausanias'* Periegesis *200 place names are recorded. Ancient monuments as described by Pausanias and Strabo are marked at Athens, Delphi, Actium, Rhion and Corinth. (London, British Library)*

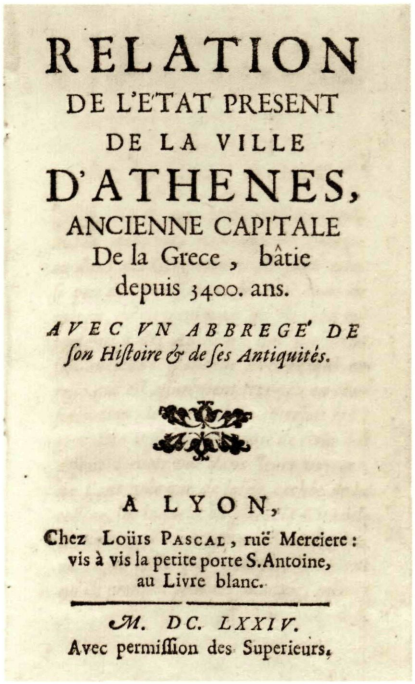
Pausanias and the Archaeological Turn in the Early Englightenment

At the end of the 16th century, the East became more accessible to Westerners. Pilgrims, numerous merchants and missionaries visited Greece on their way to Jerusalem or Constantinople. But the era of long journeys began in earnest after the mid-17th century, when rulers and wealthy men of learning who wished to enrich their collections with rare and precious objects would conduct organized missions. The pioneer in this new phase was Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel. It is said



1. Jacques Carrey, western pediment of the Parthenon. Henri Omont, Athènes au XVIIe siècle. Dessins des sculptures du Parthénon, attribués à J. Carrey, et conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale, accompagnés de vues et plans d'Athènes et de l'Acropole, *Paris 1898. (Gennadius Library A 175. 2q)*

that he wished to transfer Greece to England, and to turn his castle into a museum. France for her part employed her ambassadors to Constantinople, one of whom was the Marquis de Nointel. An informed lover of Antiquity, Nointel traveled through Greece in search of ancient treasures. Wherever he passed, he collected columns, reliefs, and inscriptions following Colbert's recommendation: "In traveling to Greece, one must have Pausanias in hand to find the important things, because he had once made the same journey, with the same curiosity. You should take views


RELATION
DE L'ETAT PRESENT
DE LA VILLE
D'ATHENES,
ANCIENNE CAPITALE
De la Grece, bâtie
depuis 3400. ans.
AVEC VN ABBREGE' DE
son Hiſtoire & de ſes Antiquités.
A LYON,
Chez Loüis PASCAL, ruë Merciere:
vis à vis la petite porte S. Antoine,
au Livre blanc.
M. DC. LXXIV.
Avec permiſſion des Superieurs.

2. Jacques Paul Babin, Relation de l'état présent de la ville d'Athènes, ancienne capitale de Grèce, bâtie depuis 3400 ans. Avec un abregé de son Histoire et de ses Antiquités, *Lyon, 1674. (Gennadius Library GT 2147B)*

from Tempe in Thessaly, from Parnassus, from the temple of Delphi and the ruins of Athens, in order to bring (back) as many ancient inscriptions as possible." (OMONT 1902 I: 953). In 1674, Nointel was on the Acropolis arranging for the drawing of 200 figures from the relief decoration of the Parthenon. These valuable documents, which were attributed to Jacques Carrey, the painter in the ambassador's retinue (fig. 1), depict the pediments, metopes and friezes, many of which were destroyed in the bombardment of the Parthenon by the Venetians in 1687 (OMONT 1898). Together with Pausanias' descriptions, they remain the only sources for the study of Pheidias' work on the Parthenon.

Apart from the ambassadors, archaeological interests were among the activities of the Catholic monastic orders that settled in the East. In Athens, the Capuchins acquired the choregic monument of Lysicrates, protecting it from possible destruction. They also made the first general topographic plan of the city, which was considered accurate for that era. Finally, the Jesuit missionary to Greece, Father Babin, composed a notable description of Athens (1672) (fig. 2). The Catholic monks cite Pausanias in order to proceed to identifications.

C.G.

Mentions of the Periegesis by 17th-century Travelers

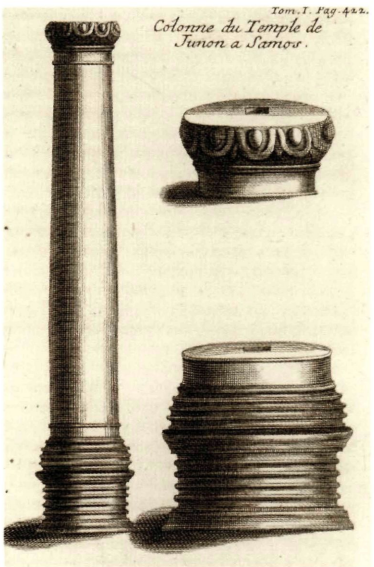
We encounter isolated and scattered mentions of Pausanias' work in the travel text of Du Loir (1654). Following the ambassador La Haye to Constantinople (1639), on his return he visited "the places most famed in Antiquity" and cited Pausanias in referring *en passant* to the monuments of Attica. A few years earlier (1630), a company of noble merchants (Sieurs de Fermanel, Stochove, Fauvel) made a trip to the East and published their impressions, although it is difficult to discern whether their

record was the result of on-site investigation or plagiarism. The edition and reprinting of their *Voyage*, wherein were recorded impressions regarding the other, different customs and beliefs as regards other institutions, and even religions, enjoyed success, as the editor notes in the revised edition of 1668, the time at which the turn towards the archaeological trip was occurring. In order that it might enjoy the same success as its predecessors, this revised edition was enhanced and provided the reading public with fresh information "of a curious nature," both mythological and

3. Cardinal Mazarin and his collection of antiquities. Engraving by P. van Schuppen, 1659. (Private Collection)

historical, concerning those regions of ancient Greece that had played a major role in its history. The publisher drew this information from ancient authors, including Pausanias. Greece was an indubitable example of the "instability of earthly affairs, when one painfully discovers the places that once ruled the entire world," the publisher noted, implying the chasm separating ancient from modern Greece. In the same year (1668), Des Mouceaux, treasurer in the French city of Caen, entrusted by Colbert and the newly founded Académie des Inscriptions to collect manuscripts and coins from the East for the royal collections (Omont 1902: 27), visited the Argolid as an aside to his main mission and referred to Pausanias (1728: 476). His diffi-

culty in orienting himself and his vague references to monuments in the area testify to rather casual and indirect contact with the work. The manuscript of his travel journal was published in 1728, approximately the same time that Fourmont's mission to the Peloponnese set forth.



4. The column of the Temple of Juno at Samos, copper engraving. Pitton de Tournefort, Relation d'un voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du roy / par M. Pitton de Tournefort..., *Paris, 1717. (Gennadius Library GT 620 B, vol. I, p. 423)*

The Académie des Inscriptions in Paris was an institution dedicated to the study of all aspects of Greek Antiquity. Its role *inter alia* was to dispatch members to the birthplaces of ancient civilizations in order to search out and bring ancient finds to France (YAKOVAKI 2006: 93). These finds had a variety of functions: they enriched the royal collections and lent them prestige, they illuminated aspects of Antiquity, providing hints as to the origins of peoples, customs and their mutual influences, and making ancient history more "readable" (fig. 3). The study of ancient finds intersected with the study of ancient written sources, including Pausanias and led to major historical and antiquarian synthetic works, like those of Charles Rollin (1730-1764) and the Comte de Caylus. The research that the Académie funded, especially through the announcement of its competitions, provided the spur for the journey to the East and cultivated a broader spectrum of inquiries, stimulating a special intellectual climate.

The naturalist Pitton de Tournefort, an emissary of the Académie des Inscriptions (1700), was also a reader of Pausanias. He consulted the ancient text for his own description of Samos (fig. 4). Tournefort did not follow in Pausanias' footsteps since he did not visit other sites in Greece described in the *Periegesis*. Nevertheless, the influence of Pausanias is obvious in Tournefort's work, which was based on first-hand inspections of sites, on discerning observation, and on personal curiosity. Furthermore, he managed to disengage his journey from religious and diplomatic motives and focus on thematic units familiar to Pausanias. It is the combination of the natural environment, geology, antiquarian studies, local traditions, beliefs, worship practices, political institutions and monuments that give meaning to Tournefort's *periegesis*. (VINGOPOULOU 2005: 66)

A. A.

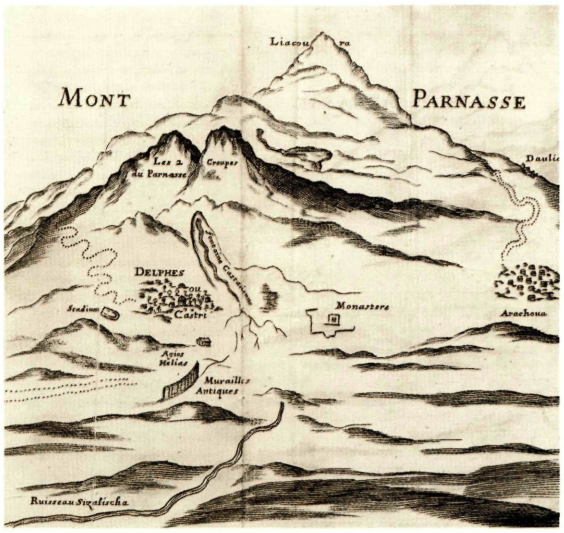
The Archaeological Explorations of Spon and Wheler

With Pausanias' *Periegesis* in one hand and Babin's description in the other, Jacob Spon (fig. 5), the antiquarian from Lyon, began his unofficial trip through Greece accompanied by the English botanist George Wheler (Constantine 1984). In 1676, the two of them carried out a genuine archaeological exploration of Athens. Moreover, Spon was the first person to use the term "archaeology" to describe the interest of humanists in the study of the material remains of Antiquity. Spon claimed that literary texts alone were no longer sufficient for the progress of history, and began a systematic recording and study of inscriptions. His method also included all the details provided to him by observation in the field, which he compared to the ancient texts. Inspired by the wish to see what Pausanias had seen, Spon and Wheler used Pausanias not only as a valuable topographical guide, but as a guide to the imagination as well: their travel narratives stand out from other similar texts in citing histories and myths from the *Periegesis* to give a fuller picture of the ancient cities. The two travelers trusted Pausanias and rarely questioned his descriptions. Furthermore, Spon and Wheler attempted to record their impressions in drawings. Though still lacking accuracy, the illustrations they published in 1678 in *Voyage de l'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* comprise a first serious illustrative dossier, including plans, architectural drawings, representations of coins, and inscriptions (fig. 7).

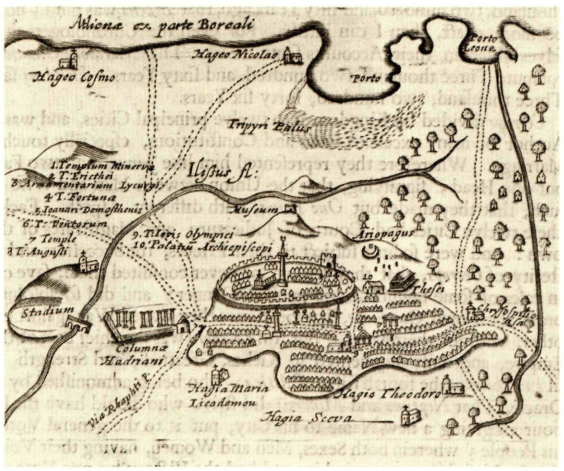
5. Jacob Spon, copper engraving. Jacob Spon, Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676..., *Lyon, 1678. (Gennadius Library GT 566B)*

RECHERCHES
CVRIEVSES
D'ANTIQVITÉ
M. Ogier delin.
Lugduni

The publication of Spon's travel narrative (fig. 8) and its ensuing translation into many languages formed a way-station in the development of the issues of interest to us. This work allocated an important place to representations and provided significant encouragement to the "scholarly" journey. Furthermore, it imposed archaeology as an "attitude." Spon's archaeological "attitude" required one to turn one's gaze to the past, examining all its remains, as Wheler captured it in a number of engravings that represent the two travelers examining monuments. This visual reference to the archaeologist's gaze is indicative, as it imposes study, recognition, and identification as moments worthy of illustration (fig. 6, 9, 10, 11).



7. Topographical plan of Delphi. Jacob Spon, Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676..., *Lyon, 1678. (Gennadius Library GT 566B, vol. II, p. 55)*



8. Map of Athens. George Wheler, A Journey into Greece...With a Variety of Sculptures...", *London, 1682. (Gennadius Library GT 571Bq)*

During the 18th century, the *Periegesis* was a valuable travelers' guide. Travelers had recourse to it in order to identify ancient sites in what had become an anonymous landscape, left to decay and desolation. Michel Fourmont collected a great number of inscriptions that had escaped the notice of Spon and Wheler. Traveling in 1729 "with Pausanias in hand," he identified many ancient sites in Attica and at Messene, Sparta and Argos, constantly trying to identify the modern landscape based on the

6. Frontispiece from Jacob Spon, Recherches curieuses d'antiquité, contenues en plusieurs dissertations, sur des médailles, bas-reliefs, statues, mosaïques & inscriptions antiques, *Lyon, 1683. (Gennadius Library A 2431)*

descriptions in the *Periegesis*: "In order to make certain that we were at the ruins of Megalopolis, we consulted Pausanias. Reading him, we understood that we were in fact at Megalopolis." (MOUREAU 1993: 23).

9. Frontispiece. Jacob Spon, Voyagie door Italien, Dalmatien, Grieckenland, en de Levant ... Gedaan in de Jaren 1675, en 1676 / Door den Heer Jacob Spon ... en Georgius Wheler ... Met figuuren versien, *Amsterdam, 1689. (Gennadius Library GT 569)*

The majority of official French missions aimed at acquiring medals and ancient manuscripts for the Royal Library. In 1720, Montfaucon composed an actual guide for the looting of Greece, proposing to travelers a list, arranged in order of importance, of the most sought-after objects they should bring home: among these were exceedingly rare manuscripts of Pausanias and Strabo.

A detailed and reliable tool for identification, Pausanias' description was soon acknowledged by most travelers, who considered it an honor to be following in his footsteps. At the same time, European travelers remained dissatisfied, since due to the state of the country and difficult travel conditions, they were unable to find everything described in the *Periegesis*, and they blamed the *periegetes* for not always being sufficiently clear.

C.G.

10. Jacob Spon and George Wheler in Delphi, copper engraving. Jacob Spon, Voyagie door Italien, Dalmatien, Grickenland, en de Levant..., *Amsterdam, 1689. (Gennadius Library GT 569, p. 187)*

11. Jacob Spon and George Wheler in Athens together with the French consul Giraud, copper engraving. Jacob Spon, Voyagie door Italien, Dalmatien, Grieckenland, en de Levant..., *Amsterdam, 1689. (Gennadius Library GT 569, p. 206-207)*

DELPHOS

ATHENEN

The Work of Pausanias and the Archaeological "Discovery" of the Peloponnese during the Years of Venetian Rule (1685-1715)

With the Venetian conquest of the Peloponnese, occurring gradually between 1684 and 1690, this part of the Greek mainland returned vigorously to the front and center of the European stage after two centuries of Ottoman rule, as part of the widely dispersed, though by this time truncated, Venetian domain in the Levant (fig. 1). The direct connection with Venice, and the overall activity of the Venetians in the Morea towards the reorganization of their newly-acquired territory, with the arduous efforts of a fair number of Venetian authorities who were administering the country, presented a number of phenomena that escaped the narrow limits of their administrative and financial responsibilities.

As appears from their reports, the Venetian officials who arrived in the Peloponnese to assume their administrative duties knew that they were being called upon to remain for a period in a country with a great historical past, which had left its seal on European culture, having been among the pre-eminent leaders of the Greco-Roman world and its culture. High officials in the country, such as the governor-generals (*proveditori generali*) of the Peloponnese, Marin Michiel, Francesco Grimani, and Antonio Nani, in their frequent obligatory reports to the center of Venetian power, the Senate, did not neglect to mention information concerning the distant historical past of the country, the ancient cities and monuments of the Peloponnese.

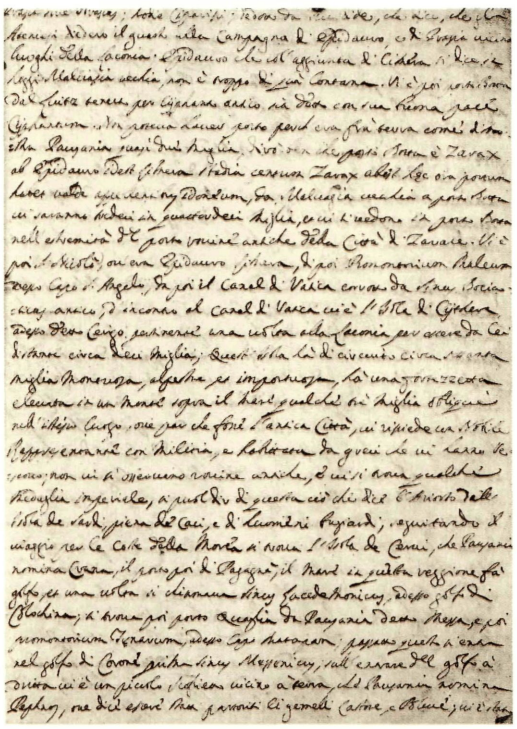
Some of these men were accompanied to the Peloponnese by Italian scholars who came to explore the new Venetian lands, or who in the course of their various duties alongside the Venetian authorities found the opportunity to satisfy their own investigations related to archaeology and Greek studies. One example that stands out is the physician of the Venetian fleet, Alessandro Pini, of Florentine extraction. He had studied medicine and philosophy at the University of Pisa, and worked for years in the Peloponnese, offering his medical services to the Venetian army by the side of Antonio Nani in the early 18th century (Malliaris 1997).

Pini, the compiler of a geographic and archaeological *Descrizione* of the entire Peloponnese in 1703, traveled around the provinces into which the Venetians had divided up the Peloponnese literally holding a copy of Pausanias under his arm; he

1. Bust of the commander-in-chief of the Venetian troops and conqueror of the Peloponnese, Francesco Morosini. Coronelli Vincenzo, Morea, Negroponte & adiacenze, teatro della guerra consacrato alla santita…, *Venice, 1708. (Gennadius Library GT 2060.1, vol. I, p. 8)*

described the general state of affairs in effect during his years of service, simultaneously recording the images of ancient monuments scattered throughout the peninsula, as well as ruins of cities that had been famous in the ancient world (fig. 2).

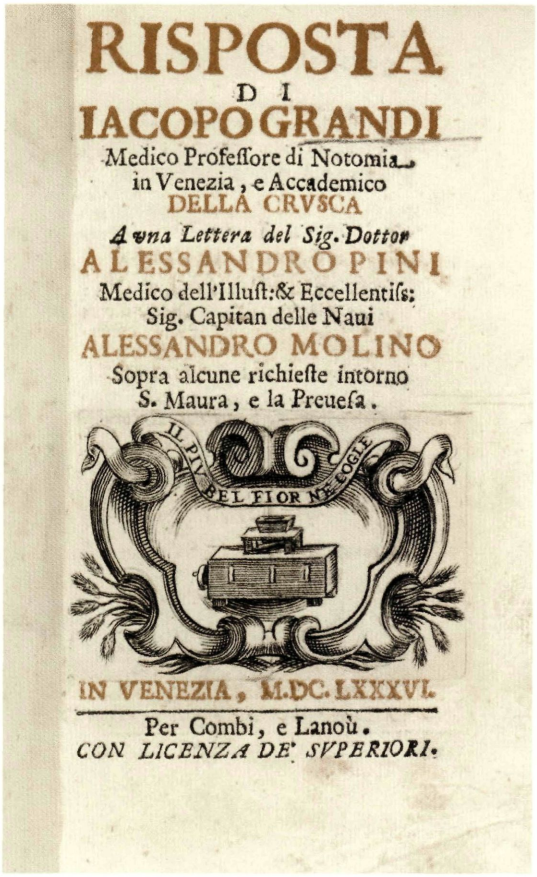
His text is full of references and brief citations of excerpts from the works of ancient, medieval, and modern authors. But pride of place was held by the work of Pausanias (and references to him greatly surpass those to other authors), whom Pini considered to be *the* authority and unerring guide to the identification of ancient cities and monuments in the Peloponnese. Furthermore, the very title of Pini's *Descrizione* explicitly states that he was essentially reproducing Pausanias' work, transferring it to the modern age: "Il Pelopponeso [sic] ovvero le sette province di quel Regno descritte da Pausania illustrate e ridotte al moderno." The circle of Italian scholars with whom Pini was connected also supported his preference for Pausanias. It is characteristic that Pini's intellectual mentor in Venice, the scholar Jacopo Grandi, founder of the Accademia Dodonea in Venice, in the correspondence the two men exchanged (fig. 3, 4), pointed out Pausanias' reliability in respect to Pini's efforts to investigate the ancient world of the Peloponnese. Primarily with the work of Pausanias in hand, though in Latin translation, Pini criss-crossed the entire Peloponnese, identifying – almost always successfully – visible monuments and the ruins of ancient cities, while at the same time proposing locations for ancient cities that were not visible, since their ruins were buried, and of course had not yet been excavated.



2. Archaeological description of the Peloponnese, written by hand, with references to Pausanias' work. Alessandro Pini, "Il Pelopponeso ovvero le sette province di quel Regno descritte da Pausania illustrate e ridotte al moderno", manuscript 1703. (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Archivio Proprio del Conte Schulemburg)

This work and Pini's presence in the Peloponnese resulted in archaeological excavations being carried out during this era in the Morea, primarily by the connoisseur of antiquities and offspring of a great family of collectors in Venice, the

Governor-General of the Peloponnese Antonio Nani (1703-1705), and a little earlier by Francesco Grimani (1698-1701), who was also Governor-General and a member of a Venetian family famous for its collections (POMIAN 1983, 1987, FAVARETTO 1990). The works that were found, like those that would be discovered by chance in the course of fortification works in the Peloponnese – statues, inscriptions, and coins – made their way to Venice, to enrich the collections of Venetian patricians, just as had happened earlier in similar cases in Venetian Crete (BESCHI 1972-1973, TSIKNAKIS 1989, 1990).


RISPOSTA
DI
IACOPO GRANDI
Medico Profeſſore di Notomia,
in Venezia, e Accademico
DELLA CRVSCA
A vna Lettera del Sig. Dottor
ALESSANDRO PINI
Medico dell'Illuſt:& Eccellentiſs:
Sig. Capitan delle Naui
ALESSANDRO MOLINO
Sopra alcune richieſte intorno
S. Maura, e la Preueſa.
IL PIV BEL FIOR NE COGLE
IN VENEZIA, M.DC.LXXXVI.
Per Combi, e Lanoù.
CON LICENZA DE' SVPERIORI.

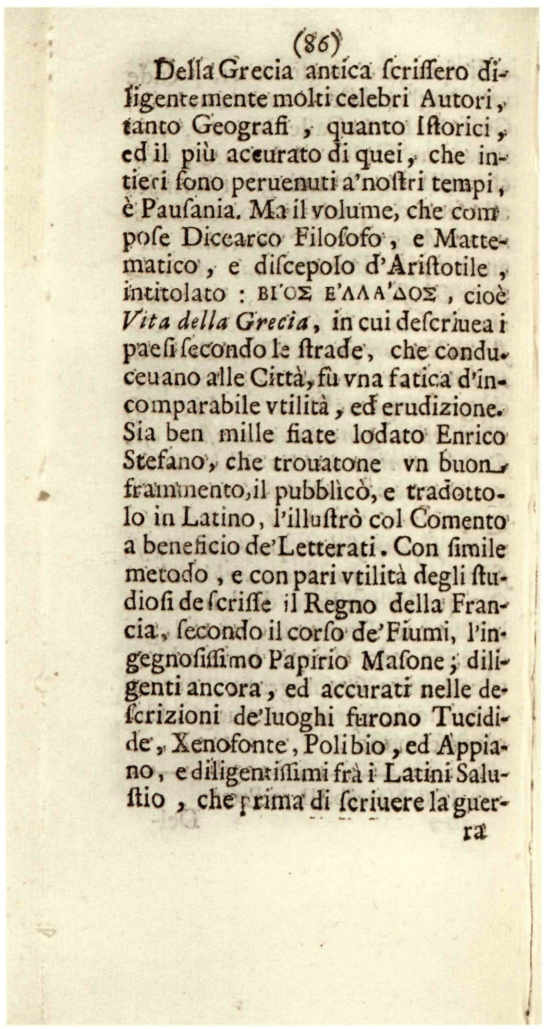
3. Jacopo Grandi, Risposta di Iacopo Grandi a una lettera del sig. dottor Alessandro Pini sopra alcune richieste intorno S. Maura, e la Preuesa, *Venice, 1686. (Gennadius Library GT 3358.1)*

In any case, it is characteristic that in regard to the employment of Pausanias in cases of excavations in the Peloponnese, the ancient objects that emerged from the excavations, as well as the ancient inscriptions that Pini records in his *Descrizione*, belonged chiefly to the Roman period and were composed in Latin. The Roman past of the Peloponnese appears to have monopolized the interest of the leading figures in this first modern "systematic" archaeological investigation of the Peloponnese. The direct historical and cultural connection between the Venetians and ancient Rome and the Roman world of the Italian peninsula, the legendary Roman descent and its "continuation" in the noble families of Venice, and the Venetians' self-evident membership in the Roman *latinitas* must have afforded the filter for the particular choices regarding the study of antiquity and archaeology in the Peloponnese.

The use of Pausanias as useful guide and authoritative source of documentation regarding issues involving the ancient topography of the Peloponnese predominated in all activities concerning the territory of the recent Venetian conquest, as well

as in Venetian publications that coincide chronologically with the short-lived period of Venetian rule in the Peloponnese.

The case of a reference drawn up within the context of a bureaucratic obligation by the Alberghetti brothers, both engineers, in briefing the Admiral of the Fleet of the Venetian forces, Alessandro Molin, in 1697 regarding their proposals for the emergency fortification of the vulnerable Isthmus of Corinth, is eloquent in this regard (Maltezou 1976-1978). They mentioned the unsuccessful attempt in Antiquity to open a passage across the Isthmus and the ancients' metaphysical preconceptions that such an action was opposed to divine will, referring to Pausanias to document their reference to the past (fig. 5).


(86)
Della Grecia antica ſcriſſero diligentemente molti celebri Autori, tanto Geografi, quanto Iſtorici, ed il più accurato di quei, che intieri ſono peruenuti a'noſtri tempi, è Pauſania. Ma il volume, che compoſe Dicearco Filoſofo, e Mattematico, e diſcepolo d'Ariſtotile, intitolato: ΒΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ, cioè *Vita della Grecia*, in cui deſcriuea i paeſi ſecondo le ſtrade, che conduceuano alle Città, fù vna fatica d'incomparabile vtilità, ed erudizione. Sia ben mille fiate lodato Enrico Stefano, che trouatone vn buon frammento, il pubblicò, e tradottolo in Latino, l'illuſtrò col Comento a beneficio de'Letterati. Con ſimile metodo, e con pari vtilità degli ſtudioſi deſcriſſe il Regno della Francia, ſecondo il corſo de'Fiumi, l'ingegnoſiſſimo Papirio Maſone; diligenti ancora, ed accurati nelle deſcrizioni de'luoghi furono Tucidide, Xenofonte, Polibio, ed Appiano, e diligentiſſimi frà i Latini Saluſtio, che prima di ſcriuere la guerra

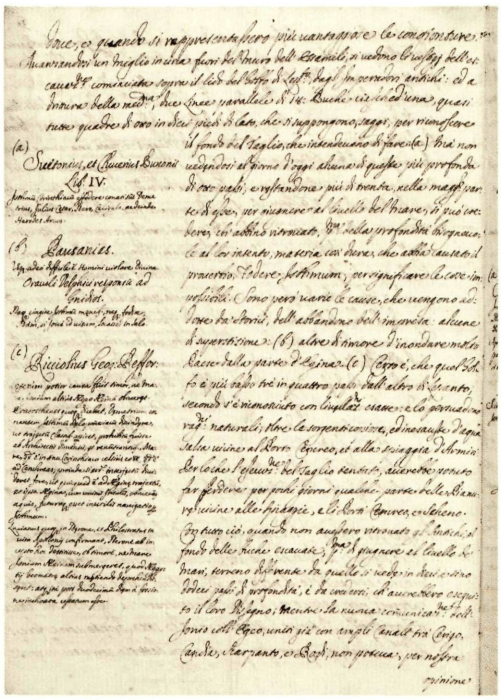
4. Jacopo Grandi, Risposta di Iacopo Grandi a una lettera del sig. dottor Alessandro Pini sopra alcune richieste intorno S. Maura, e la Preuesa, *Venice, 1686. (Gennadius Library GT 3358.1)*

Increased interest (chiefly on the part of the Venetians, but also that of the wider Italian public) in becoming better informed about this new conquest in the Levant (which in any event was not a land unknown to them, given that it had a previous Venetian past) led to a series of publications in Venice to facilitate better knowledge of the new conquest – geographical, demographic, and archaeological, by virtue of the country's momentous historical past. In these publications, the editors and compilers very frequently – in some cases, exclusively – refer to Pausanias' work in order to rescue from historical oblivion the ancient names of regions in the Peloponnese, which had changed over the centuries, with a succession of conquerors and the interference caused by various historical events and adventures in the region. Pausanias is employed for the more general geographical description of the

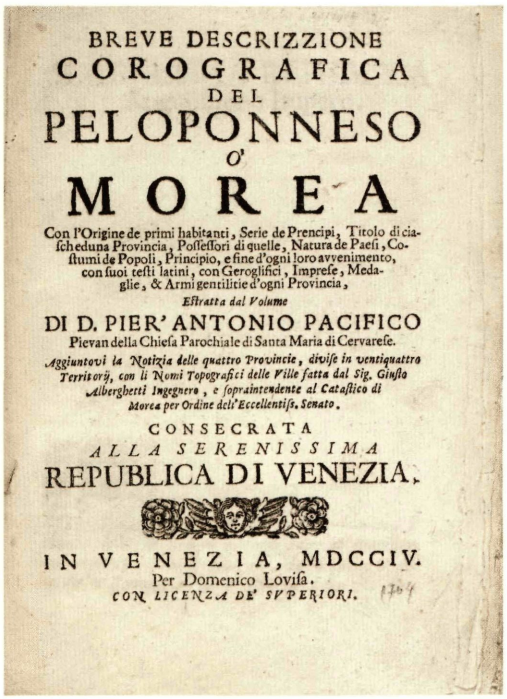
country, as well as in the mention of ancient history and mythology not only of the Peloponnese, but also of ancient Athens, wherever the latter was mentioned or considered. The writers frequently refer explicitly to Pausanias' work with such expressions as "Pausanias mentions [that]" or "according to Pausanias" (fig. 6).

Frequent references and quotations from Pausanias' work, occasionally *in extenso*, either in Latin or in Italian, no doubt indicate familiarity with the ancient *periegetes* and author, but at the same time they are also the result of the esteem in which he was held and the preference for this particular ancient author over his contemporaries and peers. This preference is in some cases expressed explicitly in the published texts of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, but it was also frequently the case that Pausanias' work was employed "naturally," unconsciously, almost automatically, as if it went without saying that he was the authoritative source for the removal of doubts and misunderstandings that the centuries had amassed around the historical reality of the ancient Peloponnese.

A. M.



5. The page 6 verso from Alberghetti's manuscript report on the fortifications of the Isthmus of Corinth with an extract from Pausanias, 1697 (Gennadius Library MSS 82.1)


BREVE DESCRIZZIONE
COROGRAFICA
DEL
PELOPONNESO
O'
MOREA
Con l'Origine de primi habitanti, Serie de Prencipi, Titolo di ciascheduna Provincia, Poſſeſſori di quelle, Natura de Paeſi, Coſtumi de Popoli, Principio, e fine d'ogni loro avvenimento, con ſuoi teſti latini, con Geroglifici, Impreſe, Medaglie, & Armi gentilitie d'ogni Provincia,
Eſtratta dal Volume
DI D. PIER' ANTONIO PACIFICO
Pievan della Chieſa Parochiale di Santa Maria di Cervareſe.
Aggiuntovi la Notizia delle quattro Provincie, diviſe in ventiquattro Territorij, con li Nomi Topografici delle Ville fatta dal Sig. Giuſto Alberghetti Ingegnero, e ſoprintendente al Cataſtico di Morea per Ordine dell'Eccellentiſs. Senato.
CONSECRATA
ALLA SERENISSIMA
REPUBLICA DI VENEZIA.
IN VENEZIA, MDCCIV.
Per Domenico Loviſa.
CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.

6. Pier' Antonio Pacifico, Breve descrizzione corografica del Peloponneso o' Morea..., *Venice, 1704. (Gennadius Library GT 2247)*

The French Translation by Nicolas Gédoyn

The French translation by the Abbé Gédoyn inaugurated the series of major new translations of the *Periegesis* into modern languages. It was published in two volumes in quarto format in 1731, by the publishing house of Didot, with the attractive title: *Pausanias ou Voyage historique de la Grèce* (fig. 1). This edition satisfied the reading public's preferences for travel literature and filled a gap in translated publications of the work. The ambition of Abbé Gédoyn, a member of the Académie des

PAUSANIAS,
OU
VOYAGE HISTORIQUE
DE
LA GRECE,
TRADUIT EN FRANÇOIS.
Avec des Remarques.
Par M. l'Abbé GEDOYN, Chanoine de la Sainte Chapelle, & Abbé de Bangenci, de l'Académie Françoise, & de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres.
TOME PREMIER.
A PARIS,
Chez DIDOT, Quay des Augustins, près le Pont Saint Michel, à la Bible d'Or.
M. DCC. XXXI.
AVEC APPROBATION ET PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

1. Frontispiece and title page from Nicolas Gédoyn, Pausanias, ou Voyage historique de la Grèce…, *Paris, 1731. (Gennadius Library GC 2871.1B)*

Inscriptions et Belles Lettres as well as the Académie Française, was to render the ancient texts accessible, adapting the language to better suit modern preferences. He was not so much interested in the philological attractions of the text as he was in offering a descriptive text in French that presented ancient Greece to all those interested in becoming better acquainted with its diversity (Prologue, p. v).

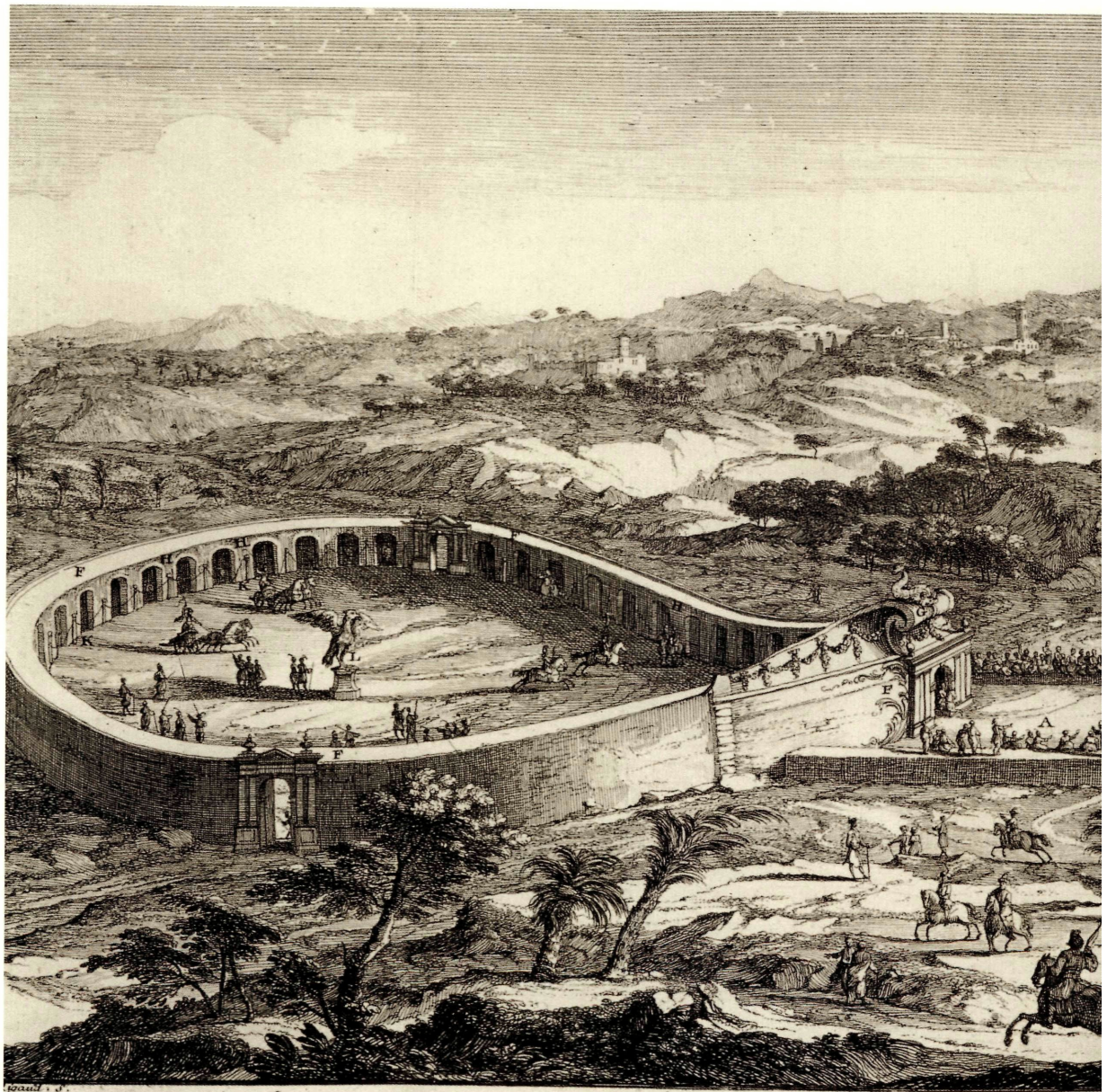
Abbé Gédoyn's translation was reissued twice, in 1733 and 1797, but it soon

proved inadequate. Criticism lodged against Gédoyn maintained that his translation adhered too closely to the Latin rendering by Romolo Amaseo. Whatever the case may be, this first French translation was a landmark in the dissemination of Pausanias' work in France. It was presented as a response to those who supported reading Pausanias in the original, as well as to those who believed that the *Periegesis* was unclear, poorly structured, and full of untruths.

This publication was famous for being the first illustrated edition of Pausanias. In his Prologue, Gédoyn expresses his regret that he was unable to include more illustrations for reasons of economy, suggesting that the reader refer to the luxuriously illustrated volume by Bernard de Montfaucon, *Antiquités grecques et romaines*.

2. Map of Greece. Nicolas Gédoyn, Pausanias, ou Voyage historique de la Grèce..., *Paris, 1731. (Gennadius Library GC 2871.1B)*

Nevertheless, Gédoyn included three maps of Greece (fig. 2), drawn by Philippe Buache, a member of the Académie des Sciences, and insisted that "they were more accurate than those we have seen up to now" (Prologue, p. xxiii). Gédoyn had understood the need to connect the text with images. From that time onward, the map became the indispensable complement to the *Periegesis*; Pausanias was a traveler whose routes were worth following on the map. The book was also illustrated by a



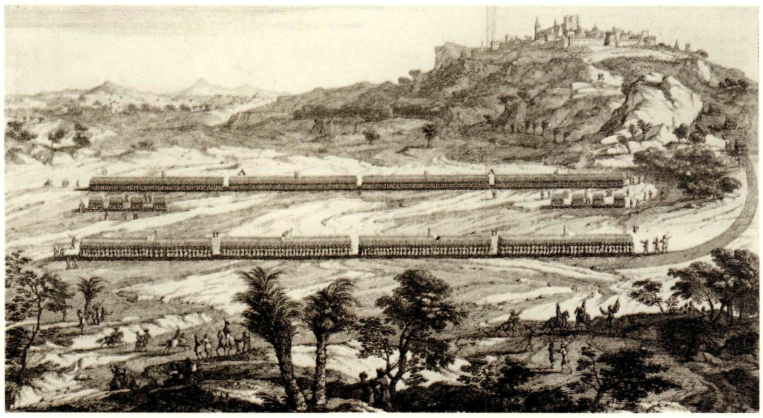
LA BARRIERE D'OLYMPIE TIRÉE

A Le Stade, ou Lices, B Siege des juges des jeux, C Autel servant de siege à la P
H Les Loges, K cable qui servent de barre, L Autel ou est l'aigle

LA DESCRIPTION DE PAUSANIAS. *Par M^r le Ch^r Folard.*

e de Ceres. D Place des Athlétes, E Tombeau d'Endimion, F la Barriere G le Dauphin.
ronze M, le genie Varaxippus, N, statue d'hippodamie, P. Temple de Ceres, Q, chars.

frontispiece: an amalgam of fantastic objects, the product of some learned imagination (fig. 1). Its illustration was completed by three battle representations, created and annotated by the Chevalier Follart, who had served as military advisor to Louis XIV, and who had a passion for the study of ancient warfare (fig. 4). Through his selection of illustrative material for his edition, Gédoyn sought both to instruct and delight. From this first illustrated edition we may single out the representation of the Hippodrome at Olympia (fig. 3), which is not extant (VI 20). This important ancient



4. The Battle of Mount Ithomi, copper engraving. Nicolas Gédoyn, Pausanias, ou Voyage historique de la Grèce…, *Paris, 1731. (Gennadius Library GC 2871.1B, vol. 2, p. 346)*

site was illustrated with imagination and naiveté, rendering in an exceptional manner the picture of Greece held in the 18th century. The artist identifies the ancient world with that which surrounds him, multiplying anachronisms, in order to finally offer an image of Olympia disguised in 18th-century fashion. With this false image, which must have given the viewer the thrill of history-cum-reality, Gédoyn aspired to give new birth to the "flourishing Greece" of Pausanias, "when it was the country of the muses, the home of the sciences, the center of good taste, the theater of countless wonders, and finally, the most famous land in the world." (Prologue, p. ix).

C.G.

☜ *3. The Hippodrome of Olympia, copper engraving. Nicolas Gédoyn,* Pausanias, ou Voyage historique de la Grèce…, *Paris, 1731. (Gennadius Library GC 2871.1B, vol. 2, p. 50)*

The Periegesis and the Iconography of Greek Antiquity

Spon and Wheler's *Journey*, with the on-site inspections and images it proposed, had a decisive influence on the development of antiquarian studies relating to Greece, and the formation of "archaeomania." The Benedictine Bernard de Montfaucon also wanted to show the importance of the image in the study of a culture (fig. 1). In 1719 he published the monumental work *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée*. The 15 volumes of this edition include a total of 1,200 thematic illustrations and over 30,000 drawings, showing images of every sort of object, with the corresponding *testimonia* from the ancient authors (Schnapp 1993: 240, Boriaud 1987) (fig. 2). Knowledge of Antiquity no longer was flowing exclusively through the channel of texts, but through a continuous dialogue between texts and images. As for the Comte de Caylus, he was more interested in techniques than in aesthetic values. He collected every sort of small object and fragment, which he called his "trinkets" and "old junk," publishing them in *Recueil d'antiquités*, in 7 volumes, between 1752-1767 (fig. 3). At almost the same moment, Winckelmann "invented" the history of art, and laid the foundations for the aesthetic theory of the quest for the "ideal beauty" (fig. 4, 5). Although he followed archaeological progress closely at Herculaneum and Pompeii, his wish to excavate the major ancient Greek sanctuaries following Pausanias would not be realized until much later, with the excavations of the foreign archaeological schools in Greece from 1850 onward.

1. Bernard de Montfaucon, copper engraving by Benoît Audran le jeune (18th century). (Musée historique de la bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève)

L'ANTIQUITÉ
EXPLIQUÉE.
ET
REPRÉSENTÉE
EN FIGURES.
TOME SECOND.
PREMIERE PARTIE
Le Culte des Grecs & des Romains.

Par Dom BERNARD DE MONTFAUCON
Religieux Bénédictin de la Congrégation de S. Maur.

A PARIS.
Chez { FLORENTIN DELAULNE, HILAIRE FOUCAULT, MICHEL CLOUSIER, JEAN-GEOFFROY NYON, ETIENNE GANEAU, NICOLAS GOSSELIN, Et PIERRE-FRANÇOIS GIFFART.
M. DCCXIX.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

HISTOIRE
DE
L'ART
CHEZ LES ANCIENS.

Par Mr. J. WINCKELMANN,

Président des Antiquités à Rome, Membre de la Société Royale des Antiquités de Londres, de l'Académie de Peinture de St. Luc à Rome, & de l'Académie Etrusque de Cortone, &c.

OUVRAGE TRADUIT DE L'ALLEMAND.

TOME PREMIER.

A AMSTERDAM,
Chez E. VAN HARREVELT,
MDCCLXVI.

N°. I.

WINKELMANN.

The *Ruins* of Julien David Le Roy. Beyond religious, commercial, and diplomatic interests, Greece held a crucial place in the imaginative world of travelers. There were many who sought to come into direct contact with this mythical land, and to compare and contrast recollections of their readings with the on-site reality. Travel narratives and drawings by these new touring antiquarians grew in number over time, becoming ever less academic in nature.

In 1755, Julien David Le Roy, an architect and scholar of the French Academy in Rome, took an educational trip to Greece, with the purpose of coming into direct contact with the ruins of famous cities. He delivered his description to the public in 1758 in a book entitled *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*. Le Roy depended on the text of Pausanias. According to what he said, his aim was to propose a rearticulated rendering of Gédoyn's translation of Pausanias, ignoring "all the useless digressions, so that the author's route may be better followed" (vol. 2, p. 32). With Pausanias strictly limited to topographical information, he located and identified the monuments referred to in the *Periegesis*.

Le Roy's drawings were accused of lacking accuracy and reliability (fig. 6, 7). But for the first time, a French architect depicted Greek buildings and studied the Greek Doric and Ionic orders and their development in relation to their proportions. Through this work, many generations of architects in France became familiar with the Greek monuments and disseminated the Greek architectural style (Pousin 1995: 9).

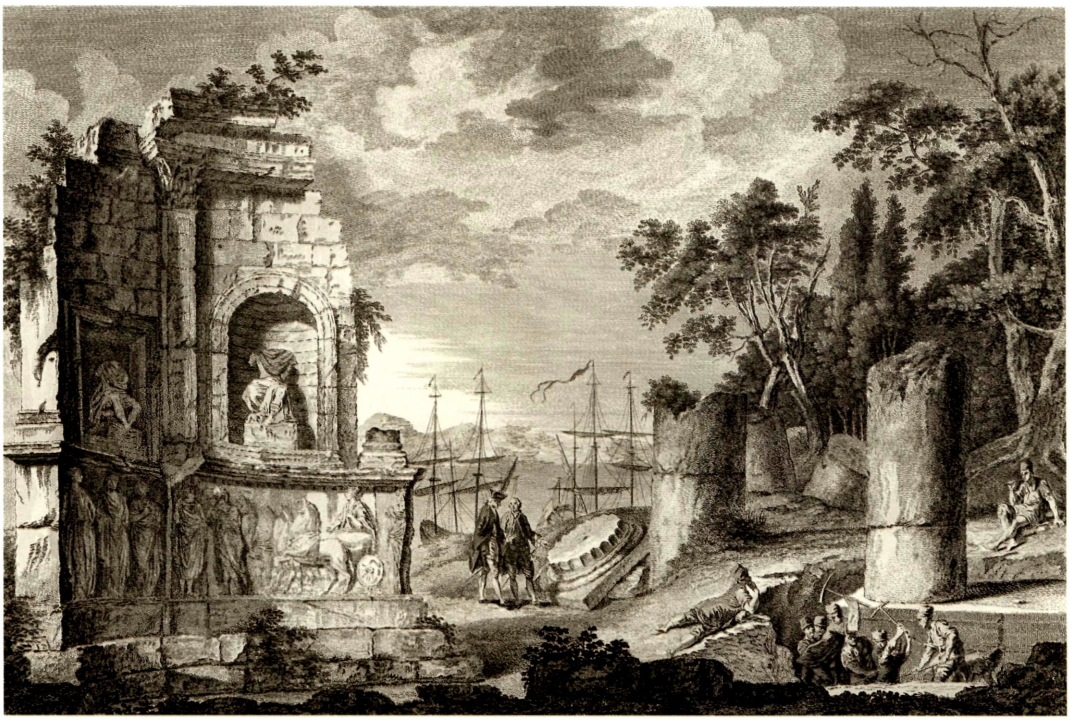
What ensured the success of Le Roy's *Ruins*, and simultaneously exposed the work to criticism, was surely its great diversity of illustrations. In this work, Le Roy combined the talents of the scholar and the artist. To the strictly architectural depictions, he added reconstructions and picturesque views that left considerable room for inventiveness and imagination. Obviously Le Roy was influenced by the trend in representing ruins, characteristic of the 18th-century sensibility that Pi-

2. Bernard de Montfaucon, L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures, *Paris, 1719. (Gennadius Library A48.3q)*

3. Frontispiece from Anne-Claude-Philippe, Comte de Caylus, Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines, *Paris, 1752-1767. (Gennadius Library A714.5, vol. 2)*

4. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Histoire de l'art chez les anciens, *Amsterdam, 1766. (Gennadius Library A218.2)*

5. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, copper engraving. Domenico Rossetti, Il sepolcro di Winckelmann in Trieste, *Venice, 1823. (Gennadius Library A220)*



ranesi and Panini contributed to spreading to the French Academy in Rome. With his views, Le Roy "stages" the ruins more than he presents them. His major concern was the search for the impressions that the ruins called forth; he did not care about the accuracy of his depiction. More than a simple "aesthetic of ruins," Le Roy sought to connect his drawing with theories of the "sublime" and the "picturesque." He wanted to introduce the role of sentiment into architectural theory. He insisted on the harmony of composition and the feelings it would create in the viewer: "Certainly I would not be in Greece merely to observe the relationship between architectural structures and their parts and the subdivisions of my leg... In the landscapes I rendered, these ruins occupy more space in the depiction than in the illustrations of Mr. Stuart; they also act more forcefully upon the viewer, transmitting to his soul all the admiration we feel when we see the monuments themselves." (Prologue).

Images of Pausanias in Literature and the Arts. In the 18th century, the text of Pausanias became an important source of inspiration for literature and the arts. Earlier references to Pausanias, especially by authors who knew classical Greek such as Rabelais (*Pantagruel*, Ch. 8, 1532) and Racine (*Les Plaideurs*, 3, 3, 1668; *Iphigénie à Aulis*, in the Prologue, 1674), make it clear that the *Periegesis* had already acquired the prestige of a reference work. The imagination of Pontus de Tyard proposed both a literary as well as a visual transformation of the work. In 1585, the poet of the Pléiade group published the *Douze fables de fleuves ou Fontaines*, into which he inserted some narrative texts from ancient authors, suggesting for each a "description for painting," i.e. some hints for the composition of visual depictions faithful to the ancient sources. These compositions were destined for the castle of Anet (Eure et Loir) and unfortunately have not been preserved, if in fact they were ever made at all. In all probability, these would have been the first depictions based on excerpts from Pausanias' *Periegesis*. From the reference to the myth connected to the Selemnus River (VII 23, 1-3), Pontus created a "myth of the river Selemnus, which quenches love's passion." He also drew inspiration from the myth of Coresus and Callirhoë that Pausanias narrates (VII 21, 1-5).

6. Sparta, copper engraving by L. J. Le Lorrain. Julien David Le Roy, Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce..., *Paris, 1770. (Gennadius Library A3q)*

7. Imaginary landscape of Greece, copper engraving by L. J. Le Lorrain. Julien David Le Roy, Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce..., *Paris, 1770. (Gennadius Library A3q)*

Much later, the same passage in Book VII was the basis of an opera by A.C. Destouches, presented in Paris in 1743. The same myth also inspired one of Fragonard's paintings in 1761 (fig. 8). According to Diderot, Fragonard's source was the Abbé Gédoyn's translation of Pausanias. In the 1765 Exhibition, the painting's theme was difficult to recognize. The bloody drama was transformed into an idealized and sensuous mythological setting. The choice of this theme testifies to the widening of the iconographic repertoire of painters during the second half of the

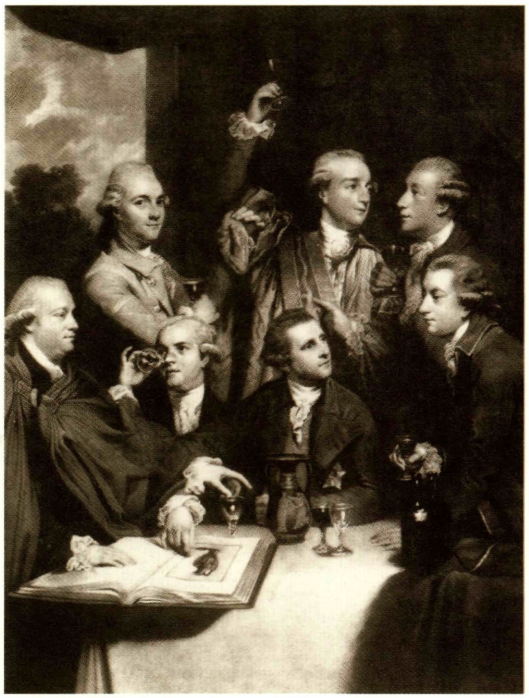
8. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, The Myth of Coresus and Calliroë, *1761. (Paris, Musée du Louvre)*

18th century. But Diderot had also been influenced by his reading of Pausanias before he saw the painting. Allowing himself to be led by his feelings upon reading the passage in Pausanias, he rewrote the myth in a personal version, reinforcing its fantastic and emotional content (LOJKINE 1992).

C.G.

The Dilettanti Readers of Pausanias

The Society of Dilettanti was founded in London, possibly in 1732, and would play a decisive role in the study of Greek Antiquity during the 18th century (fig. 1). The founding members of the Society were art-loving British aristocrats who had visited Italy. From the outset, the Dilettanti took a stance utterly opposed to scholastic pursuits dealing with Antiquity. However, since many of the members were distinguished for their prodigal lifestyles, the Society was late in acquiring its own distinctive profile. This happened when the Dilettanti adopted the proposal for a scholarly description of the monuments of Greece composed in 1748 in Rome by the artists James Stuart (1713-1788) and Nicholas Revett (1720-1804) (Stoneman 1987).

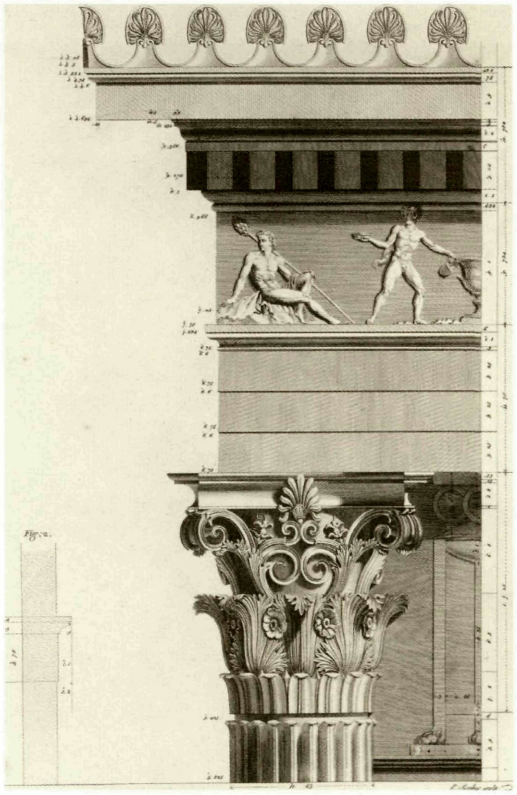


1. Sir Joshua Reynolds, The Society of Dilettanti, *1777-78. (London, The Society of Dilettanti)*

With the assistance of the Society, Stuart and Revett would remain in Greece (especially Athens) for two years (1751-52) to render Athens' monuments with a new scientific sense of responsibility for accuracy (fig. 2). Stuart and Revett's interest was more in the decorative role of the monuments and less in the architectural physiognomy of the city. For this reason, the first volume of *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762) included a *sui generis* selection of monuments, representative of the most important architectural styles the city had known. Their main reference work was Vitruvius rather than Pausanias. However, with the help of Pausanias they attempted to identify the monuments of the city, and, instead of an introduction, they published a translation from Pausanias' description of Athens. There was a considerable delay in the publication of the four volumes of *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762-1830).

The following mission funded by the Dilettanti included Richard Chandler (1738-1810), William Pars (1742-1782), and Nicholas Revett, who visited Asia Minor

and Greece in 1764-65. The guidelines given to the travelers primarily concerned archaeological studies, although they were also to study and inform the members about the present condition of the places they visited. The material they collected would be published in five monumental volumes, *The Antiquities of Ionia*, a publication that was completed after 150 years (1769-1915). In contrast, the travel narrative of Richard Chandler was published relatively quickly (1776). Chandler's *Travels in Greece* proposed the first methodical antiquarian investigation of Greece after that of Spon. In this publication, Chandler systematically refers to Pausanias in order to reconstruct the ancient topography, and cites extensive and well-assimilated segments of the *Periegesis*. The final part of Chandler's journey, from Corinth to Patras, was of particular interest since he followed, and described, the ancient route followed by Pausanias.



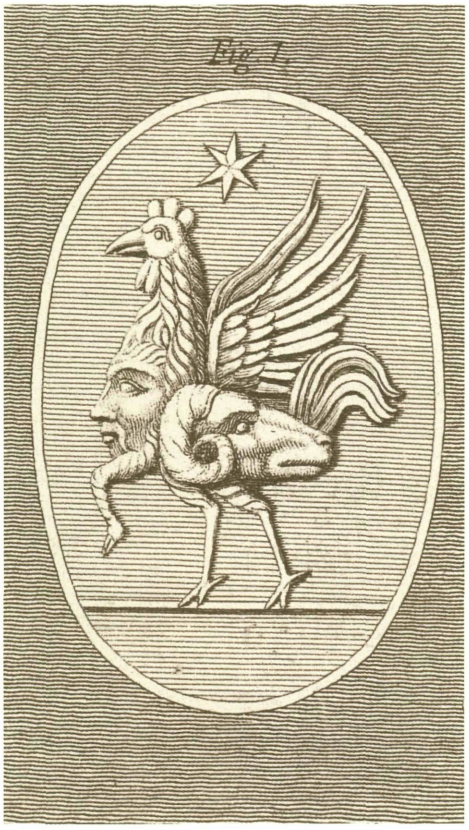
2. Monument showing the Corinthian order, engraving. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, The Antiquities of Athens Measured and Delineated, *London, 1762-1816. (Gennadius Library A 5q, vol. 1, ch. 4, plate 6)*

The pursuits of the Dilettanti had for the most part aesthetic priorities, and they influenced the formation of taste, especially in architecture. Their publications had a decisive impact on the spread of the "Greek Revival" style in architecture in Britain and the United States. At the same time, they lent support to the frenzy of amassing collections of Greek antiquities in Britain. In fact, from 1799 onwards, many of the Society's members would travel to Greece in search of antiquities with Pausanias as their guide (Taylor 1948, Bracken 1975).

Other Dilettanti missions to the Greek East were to follow. At the orders of the Society, Sir William Gell (1777-1836) would travel there in 1811, accompanied by John Peter Candy-Deering (1787-1850), Keppel Craven (1779-1851) and Francis Bedford (1784-1858). The fruit of this mission was the small volume *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica* (1817). The Society's missions to the East and the publications that followed

enhanced its prestige. Consequently, most Englishmen who were interested in Greek Antiquity became members. Among them were the painter Joshua Reynolds, the actor and theater manager David Garrick, Pausanias' translator Uvedale Price, and Richard Payne Knight, who offered an early study of ancient phallic rites of worship (1786), basing his conclusions equally on archaeological finds (the Hamilton and the Towneley collections) and on philological sources, among which Pausanias held a central place (fig. 3).

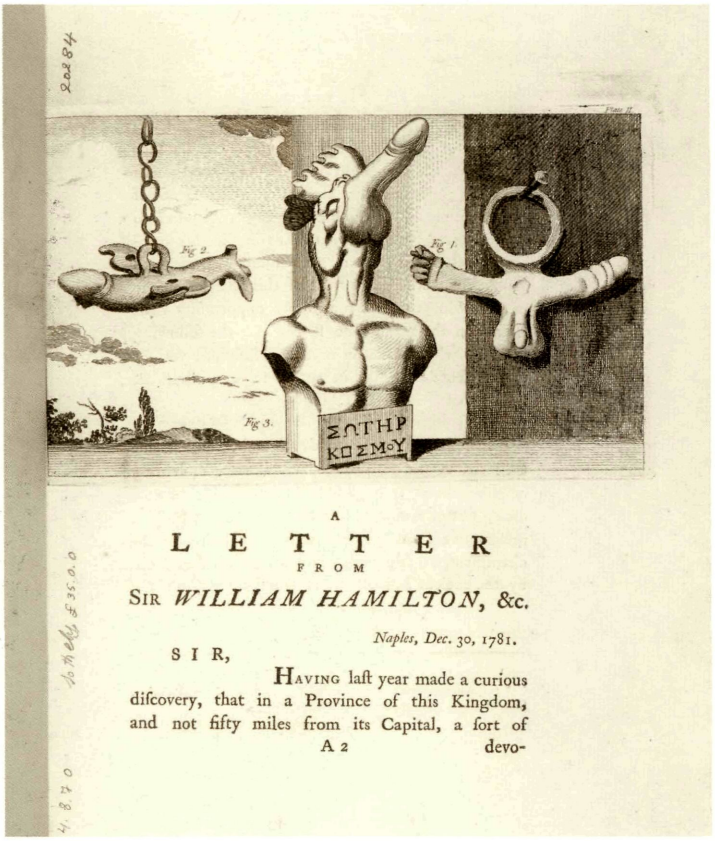
One of the most important British art-lovers and collectors of Greek antiquities was Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803). He served for a long period as the British Ambassador to the Kingdom of Naples (1764-1798); his collection was composed largely of painted vases and finds coming from Magna Graecia. He donated his collection to the British Museum in 1772, after it had served as the subject of an important publication edited by Pierre d'Hancarville (1719-1805) (fig. 7), in four volumes (1766-1776). The edition was a genuine masterpiece of publishing; Haskel considers it "one of the most beautiful books ever published" (fig. 4). In this work, particularly in the final two volumes (1776), d'Hancarville supported the view that works of ancient art were connected with worship, and that their history must be considered as a product of the tension between their symbolic function (sign) and their aesthetic one (form). D'Hancarville observed that in works of ancient Greek art the form, being more direct, gradually became predominant, while the reference



3. Seal with the emblematic figure of Ammon – Pan. Richard Payne Knight interpreted the symbolic meaning of the figure based on Pausanias. The seal was part of the Charles Towneley collection. Richard Payne Knight, Discourse on the Worship of Priapus, *London, 1786. (Gennadius Library A 1217, plate III)*

4. Painting on a Greek hydria. Based on Pausanias, d'Hancarville recognizes here a nuptial feast in Eleusis. Colored copper engraving. Pierre François Hugues d'Hancarville, Antiquités étrusques, grecques, et romaines, tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton, *vol. III, Naples, 1767. (Gennadius Library 67q, plate 47)* ☞

to their symbolic function became limited to accompanying symbols (attributes) (HASKEL 1989: 79-105). In the last two volumes of the edition, d'Hancarville laid aside in part the interpretation of ancient Greek painting, and devoted himself to an investigation of the symbolic content of ancient Greek works of art and their relation to worship practices. Since Pausanias dealt with the interpretation of symbols of worship he encountered in monuments, votive offerings and public works of art, he became d'Hancarville's permanent – practically his only – guide in this investigation.



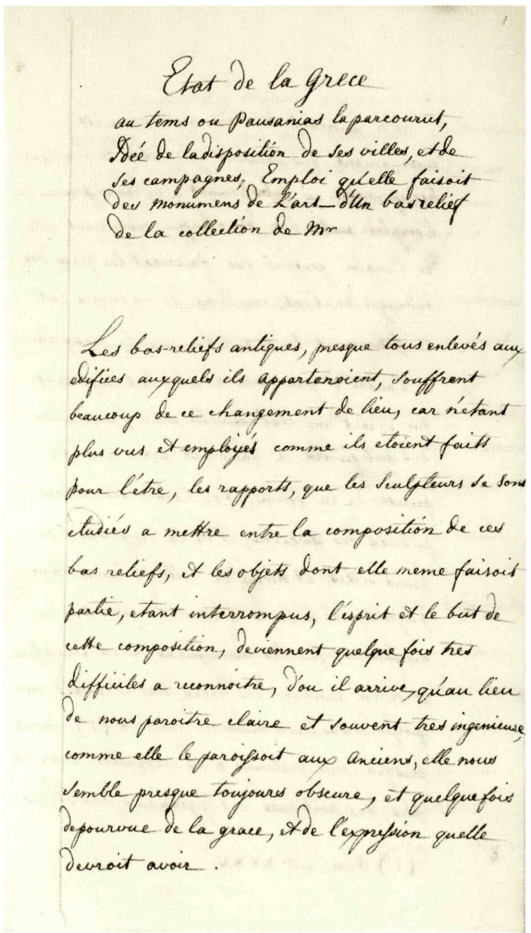
5. Richard Payne Knight, Discourse on the Worship of Priapus, *London, 1786. (Gennadius Library A 1217)*

A point that should also be stressed here is the fact that, under Winckelmann's influence, Hamilton, d'Hancarville, and also Payne Knight lent a sensual, even erotic dimension to the aesthetic approach to Greek art (fig. 5), something for which they were severely castigated (CARABELLI 1996: 84-94).

G. T.

Pierre d'Hancarville, "État de la Grèce au temps où Pausanias la parcourut"

The Gennadius Library owns a manuscript treatise (fig. 6) on ancient Greek art that was written ca. 1768 by Pierre d'Hancarville (1719-1805). In this work d'Hancarville endeavored to provide an intelligible reconstruction of ancient monuments and works of art that were at the time scattered, mutilated, or buried, and to reposition them in their places of origin. With Pausanias as his guide, d'Hancarville mentally relocated the antiquities that were now scattered in European collections in the space in which they were originally created or sculpted. He attempted to demonstrate the roles fulfilled by the antiquities and their creative symbolism, but also to restore the aesthetic expression and composition to its original form: "…Pausanias calls these basreliefs poems, because they were emblematic; we have, therefore, to search for the meaning to which they alluded…," (f. 45), observes d'Hancarville, echoing the aesthetic ideas of Lessing.


État de la Grece
au tems ou Pausanias la parcourut,
Idée de la disposition de ses villes, et de
ses campagnes, Emploi qu'elle faisoit
des monumens de l'art — D'un bas relief
de la collection de Mr

Les bas-reliefs antiques, presque tous enlevés aux
édifices auxquels ils appartenoient, souffrent
beaucoup de ce changement de lieu, car n'étant
plus vus et employés comme ils etoient faits
pour l'être, les rapports, que les Sculpteurs se sont
etudiés a mettre entre la composition de ces
bas reliefs, et les objets dont elle meme faisoit
partie, etant interrompus, l'esprit et le but de
cette composition, deviennent quelque fois très
difficiles a reconnoitre, Dou il arrive qu'au lieu
de nous paroitre claire et souvent très ingenieuse
comme elle le paroissoit aux Anciens, elle nous
semble presque toujours obscure, et quelquefois
depourvue de la grace, et de l'expression quelle
devroit avoir.

6. Pierre François Hugues d'Hancarville, "État de la Grèce au temps où Pausanias la parcourut", manuscript, ca. 1768, f. 1. (Gennadius Library MSS 68a)

The treatise was written in Italy, place of residence of the author, who was a cosmopolitan adventurer (fig. 7). He had just completed his monumental work, *Antiquités étrusques, Grecques, et romaines, tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton* (Naples, 1766-1767). We find ourselves in an era in which ancient Greek art was acquiring its autonomy as a field of study, and its aesthetic superiority was becoming recognized through the studies of Winckelmann, with whom d'Hancarville maintained friendly relations (HASKELL 1987). This new reception of ancient Greek art resulted in a heightened interest in acquiring Greek art

works. Many private collections were created in Western Europe, as were the first museums, housing Greek and Roman antiquities from Italy, or pieces brought directly from the East. The classification and arrangement of finds followed new aesthetic criteria, since the exhibits were now architectural elements detached from the monuments of which they had once been a part.

7. Pierre d'Hancarville, copper engraving. Isabella Albrizzi Theotoci, Ritrati scritti, *Padua, 1808. (Gennadius Library BG 916, p. 39)*

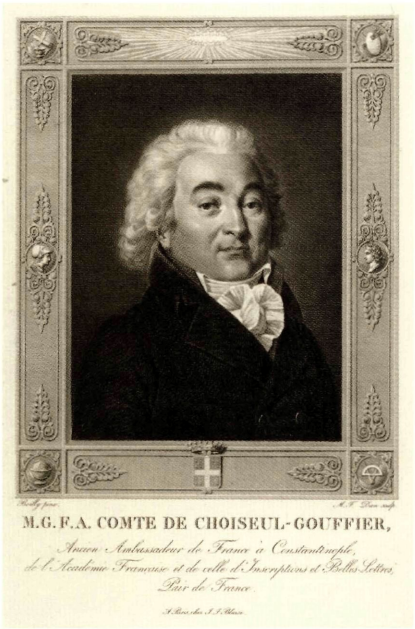
In his treatise the author refers to the years when Greece was being stripped of its monuments, which were brought to Rome, and later to Constantinople. He "tours" the Peloponnese and Attica, describing their monuments and focusing on Olympia. Based on Pausanias, he presents Olympia as a place of memory functioning like a kaleidoscope, with alternating images of gods and athletes, in the creators' workshops and at the sites of worship, on the streets and in the surrounding groves of a once-bustling sanctuary. Once again, d'Hancarville would express the urgent need for systematic excavation so that the superiority of ancient Greek art might become apparent; "...To reach this high target, which would be a new key to explain the antiquities, he would have to have an exact idea of the form and the object of the public edifices of the ancient and of the arrangement of their cities and still of their countryside."

A.A.

Concerning Anacharsis (1789-1820)

The Journey of Choiseul-Gouffier – Fauvel as Pausanias' Representative

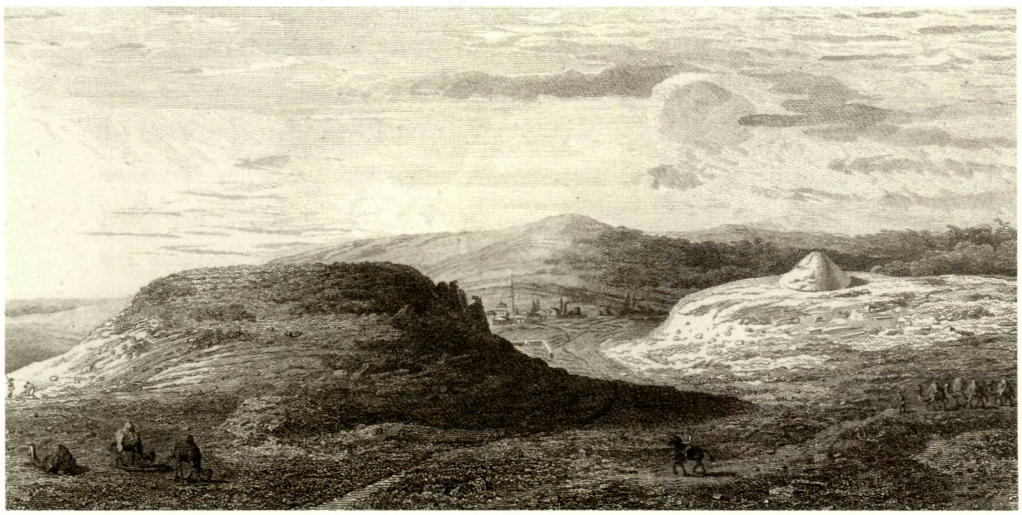
Cosmopolitan, aristocrat, passionate about ancient history, collector, and student of the Abbé Barthélemy, the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752-1817) at the age of 24 set out on a genuine scientific exploration of the world of ancient Greece (Pingaud 1887) (fig. 1). For this enthusiastic traveler, who wished to tour with the ancient texts in hand, Greece was a country filled with memories: "I was drawn by an insatiable curiosity, which I was to satisfy with wondrous things. I had previously had a taste of the pleasure of crossing this famous and beautiful region, holding a copy of Homer or Herodotus in one hand, to feel more intensely the various beauties of the Poet's images; looking myself upon the images that he had seen [...] and to more profitably reminisce about the important events of past centuries, looking upon the same places that had been the theater where they were enacted." (vol. 1, p. 27). In 1782, he published the first volume of the *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, a volume in large folio format, illustrated with maps, drawings, and engravings. An early form of Philhellenism runs through the book's introduction, and is also imprinted in its frontispiece. This is an allegory of the revival of Greece: a woman in chains, "who is surrounded by beautiful monuments built in honor of the great men of Greece, who were dedicated to freedom." (herein: fig. 6, p. 175).



1. M.G.F.A. de Choiseul-Gouffier. Frontispiece of M.G.F.A. de Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce, *vol. 2, Paris, 1809. (Gennadius Library GT 1289q)*

Choiseul-Gouffier was named ambassador of France to Constantinople (1784-1792). From this position, he collected information concerning a variety of subjects. To this purpose, he collected around him a brilliant group of experts and Hellenists. As early as 1780, in preparation for his book, he sent to Greece the engineer Foucherot and the antiquarian and painter Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel. There

followed the painter Louis-François Cassas, the engineer Kauffer, and Jean-Baptiste Hilaire, chief draughtsman for the team, and creator of exceptional, picturesque views. In this manner, Choiseul organized the largest interdisciplinary team, which also included the philologist Ansse de Villoison, the astronomer Tondu, the poet Jacques Delille, the Hellenist Jean-Baptiste Le Chevallier, and the geographer Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage, who was busy in Paris with the preparation of



2. View of Ilium. Engraving from M.G.F.A. de Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce, *Paris, 1782. (Gennadius Library GT 1289q, vol. 2, pt. 2, plate 36)*

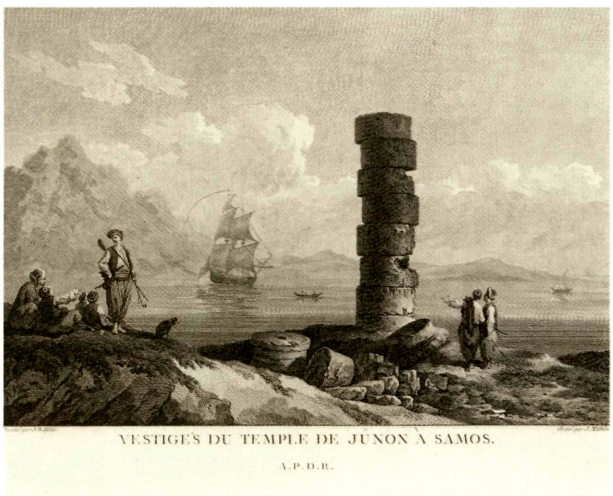
the cartographic material. All of these men had the same instructions: to look, to paint, to note everything, to collect drawings and impressions. The entirety of images in the *Voyage pittoresque* contributed to a more complete knowledge of important works of the Greeks in Greece and Asia Minor, reinforced admiration for the monuments, and disseminated architectural prototypes.

Choiseul read the *Periegesis*, but he used it less than his mentor, the Abbé Barthélemy, since he was more concerned with the Cyclades and Asia Minor. However, in the second volume (1809) he referred explicitly to Pausanias (IX 18), when, upon encountering the plain of Troy, he identified the tomb of Hector with an empty sepulchral mound (fig. 2): "How could I reject entirely the impression that was created, and how could I not believe that I was in the presence of the tomb of Hector, when I read in Pausanias that the Greeks came to fetch the ashes of this hero?" (*Voyage pittoresque*, vol. 2, Pt. 1, p. 240).

C.G.

Readings of Pausanias by Choiseul-Gouffier and Fauvel

For Choiseul-Gouffier, the reading of the *Periegesis* did not coincide chronologically with his journey to the Peloponnese (1776), as he himself noted in a letter to Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage. With the pretext of a topographical question concerning Messenia that was based on Pausanias, and with a proposal to Barbié that they tour the Peloponnese, he praises the reliability of the ancient *periegetes'* work in the highest terms. "When I visited the Morea (1776), I frequently heard people from the region who had accompanied the Abbé Fourmont (1730) on his routes repeating a phrase that wise man had been wont to use, viz., that one may tour the Peloponnese without any danger of going astray when one has Pausanias as his sole guide. Being too young at the time to grapple with such a work, I read Pausanias many years afterwards." (Gennadius Library, MSS 127, ca. 1787). The established reputation and circulation of Pausanias' work were enhanced by the rumors and hearsay of the Peloponnesians, who were familiar with the name and trustworthiness of the ancient *periegetes.*



3. J.B. Hilair, The ruins of Heraion of Samos. Engraving from M.G.F.A. de Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce, *Paris, 1782. (Gennadius Library GT 1289q, vol. 1, plate 52)*

Descriptions of Pausanias' work are interspersed in Choiseul-Gouffier's work from 1782, when the first volume of the *Voyage pittoresque* appeared (fig. 3). Choiseul believed that reading Pausanias was indispensable for the antiquarian enterprises of his representatives. In fact, Pausanias served to a great extent as guide for the members of his scientific team whose charge was to carry out every sort of mission related to antiquarian reconnaissance.

Choiseul himself (1776) and his associates Foucherot (1776, 1780-1) and Fauvel (1780-1781, 1786 etc.) traveled in the Peloponnese, Central Greece, and other regions of Greece and Asia Minor in order to collect information and produce drawings of sites and monuments for the publication of the book *Voyage pittoresque,* a

work whose purpose was to provide a detailed reconstruction of ancient and modern Greece. In it, the natural environment, Antiquity, and scenes from the daily life of inhabitants were presented together (KOUMARIANOU 1966).

The abundant material that Foucherot (1746-1813) and Fauvel (1753-1838) collected in the Peloponnese, following in Pausanias' footsteps, was not incorporated into the *Voyage pittoresque*. The flight of Choiseul, a royalist, to Russia and the commitments of the engineer Foucherot stopped any collaboration between the two men. Attempts by Choiseul-Gouffier to meet with Foucherot's partner Fauvel in order to arrange the material (1788) came to naught (LEGRAND 1897: 15), and their collaboration, recurring from 1802 onward, was unsuccessful (CHATEAUBRIAND 1946 I: 277, CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER 1809: 99).

Choiseul-Gouffier's study on the Hippodrome at Olympia, which was published in the *Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions* (1810), contains references to Pausanias. However, he failed to mention the assistance that Fauvel, the pioneer of on-site visits, provided, a fact that enraged Pouqueville (POUQUEVILLE 1826-27 V: 410). Olympia constituted but one (additional) source of discord between the two men, and further communication between them was permanently broken off.

For the most part, the archaeological, illustrative, and geographical work of L.F.S. Fauvel (1753-1838) followed in the footsteps of Pausanias, encompassing many of the same regions described in the *Periegesis*. An artist, antiquarian and antique dealer, Fauvel, Choiseul-Gouffier's envoy to Greece, carried out with the engineer Foucherot his initial topographical identifications in 1780-1781, when he sketched and made architectural drawings of monuments and landscapes.

Fauvel's systematic, first-hand inspection of Pausanias' routes and descriptions began in 1786, when he was a member of the general scientific team of his patron, Choiseul-Gouffier. In that year he settled in Athens, which served as the starting-point for most of his archaeological investigations, carried out both on behalf of Ambassador Choiseul and for the antiquarian and cartographical "workshop" of Greek studies in Paris (fig. 4), which operated under the supervision of Jean-Jacques

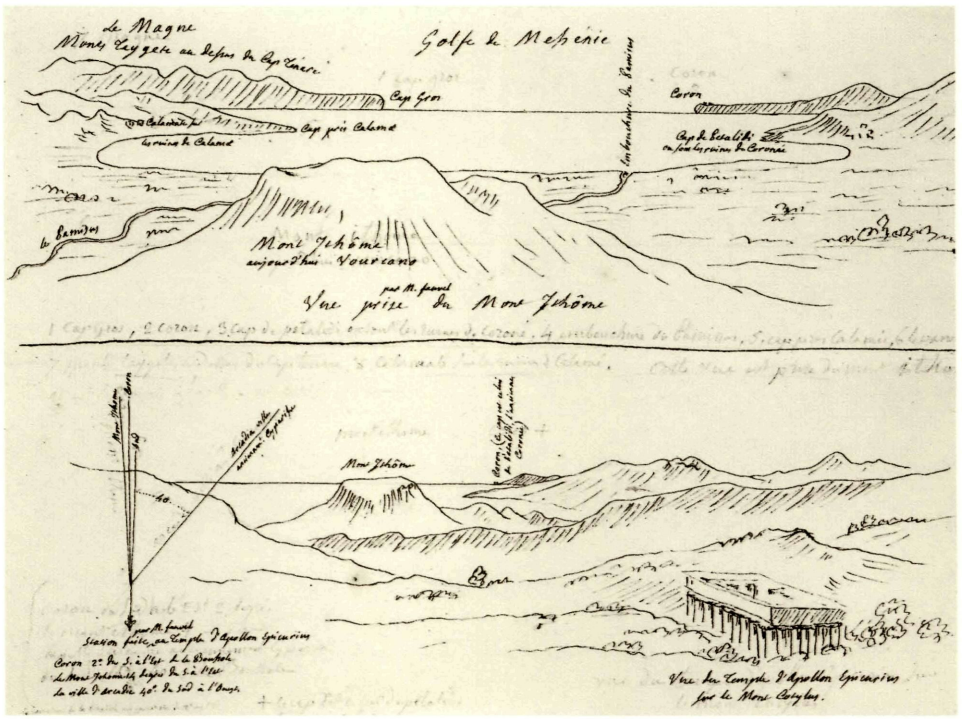
4. L.F.S. Fauvel, Map of Athens. From G.A. Olivier, Atlas pour servir au voyage dans l' Empire Othoman..., *Paris, 1807. (Gennadius Library GT 1001.2Bq)*

5. J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, Plan of Athens. From J.-D. Barbié du Bocage, Receuil des cartes géographiques, plans, vues et médailles de l'ancienne Grèce, relatifs au voyage du jeune Anacharsis..., *Paris, 1799. (Gennadius Library A.155q, plate 14)*

PLAN DE LA VILLE D'ATHÈNES.
Ancien Mur
Mont Anchesme
Temple de Thésée
Colline de l'Acropage
Pnyx
Colline du Musée
Chemin du Pentélique
Le Lycée
Panthéon d'Hadrien
Chemin de Phalère
Toises de France
Ilissus R.

PLAN
D'ATHÈNES
Pour le Voyage
du Jeune Anacharsis.
Mai 1784
Nivôse An VI.
MÉLITE
CÉRAMIQUE
Grande Place
Temple de Thésée
Areopage
CITADELLE
Odéum
LIMNÆ
ou les Marais
DROMOS
AGRÆ
MONT HYMETTE
MONT ANCHESME
Porte Sacrée
Porte Dioméa
Porte Dischariæ
Porte d'Egée
Porte Mélitide
Porte d'Acharnes
Porte Hippados
Colline du Musée
Ilissus R.
Stades Olympiques.
Toises de France.
Kilomètre Républicain.

Barthélemy with the collaboration of Barbié du Bocage and Jacques Foucherot. (Gennadius 1930: 205, Koumarianou 1985). We owe to the latter measurements of monuments of the citadel on the Acropolis, as well as the drawing of some maps for the *Voyage de jeune Anacharsis* (fig. 5) (Barbié du Bocage 1799: 6). Fauvel became a capable correspondent and partner good at carrying out others' instructions.

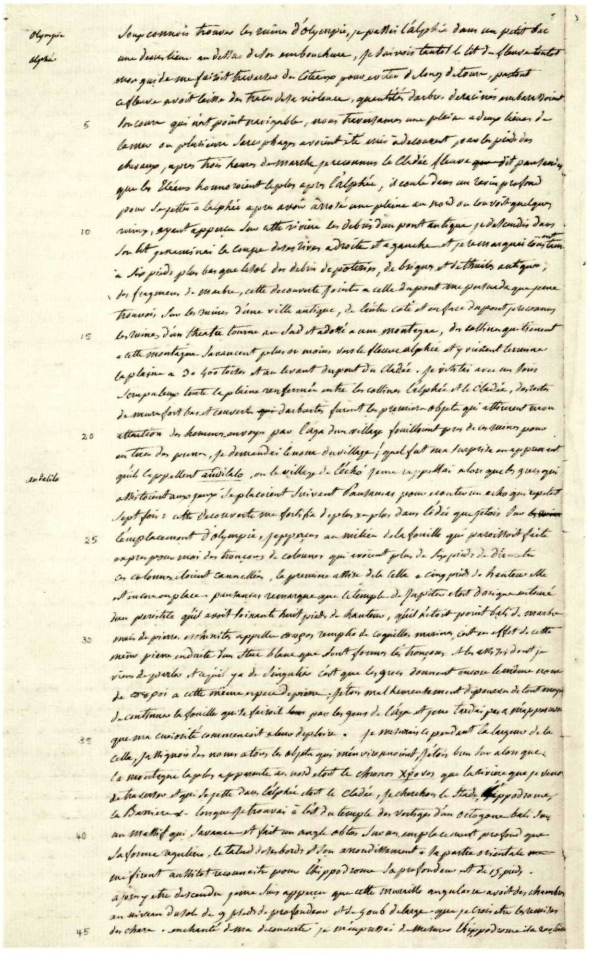


6. L.F.S. Fauvel, View of the Temple of Apollo Epicurus (below) and View of Mount Ithomi (above), ca. 1787, from the manuscript "Deuxième voyage de Fauvel en Grèce," 1802. (Gennadius Library MSS 133)

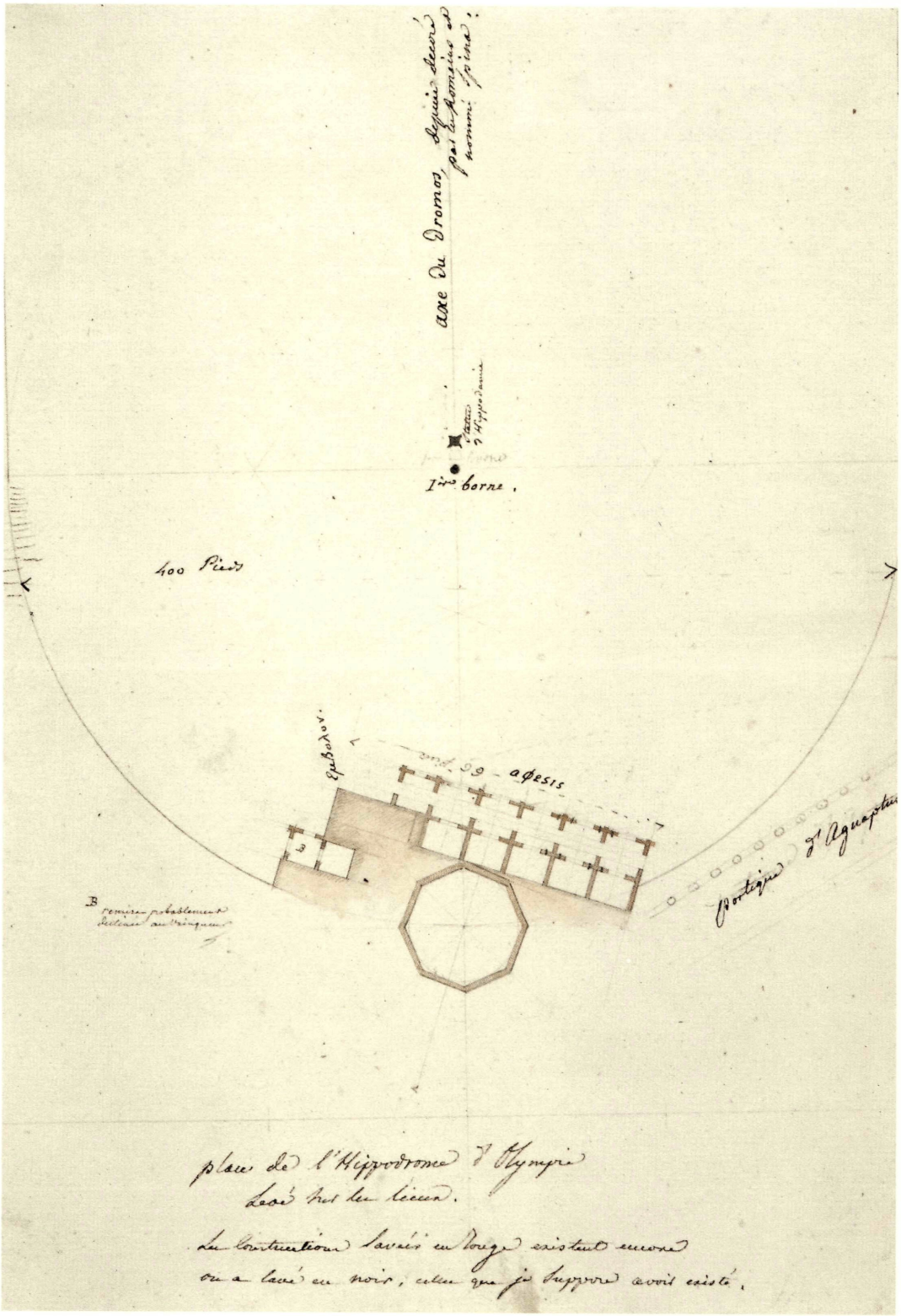
In his manuscript journal, written from memory in Paris in 1802, Fauvel refers to his investigations in Central Greece and the Peloponnese, frequently employing quotations from Pausanias for many places and monuments (Fauvel "Deuxième voyage de Fauvel en Grèce," Gennadius Library, MSS 133). He discusses his visit to the temple at Phigaleia, his tour in the Peloponnese and his identification of ancient Olympia (fig. 6, 7, 8). Indeed, he claims that he prevented locals from robbing fragments from the Temple of Olympian Zeus for the construction of another building. His biographer, Philippe Ernest Legrand, without underestimating his decisive role

in the topographic recognition of Olympia, which was according to Winckelmann "the mine of antiquities," observed: "Fauvel thought he saw much more than he actually did at Olympia." (LEGRAND 1897: 11). Excerpts from Fauvel's journal were published by Barbié du Bocage in the French edition of Richard Chandler (1806).

In 1803, Fauvel assumed the position of French vice-consul in Athens. Guided by Pausanias' descriptions, he would carry out systematic excavations in the city and in Attica, sending a few finds to Choiseul-Gouffier, selling more to travelers passing through, and creating his own collection (BESCHI 2001). Pausanias was employed as a basic reference text, as well as a link between Fauvel and Barbié du Bocage, since the famous cartographer frequently asked Fauvel to verify information on preliminary drawings of the maps he made for revised editions of his atlas of the *Jeune Anacharsis.* Fauvel returned the maps to him with corrections. The importance of these maps lies in the fact that they rendered key moments in the history of ancient Greece, while transmitting ideological messages, that echoed the ideas of the French Revolution, as well as those of the French Empire under Napoleon. The maps set memory in motion, highlighting points of strategic importance and determining with precision the locations of monuments. However, the finished maps were not the product of Fauvel's conceptions (as we may conclude from the correspondence of archaeological and topographical interest between Fauvel and Barbié du Bocage, published in the *Magasin encyclopédique*, TOLIAS 1997).

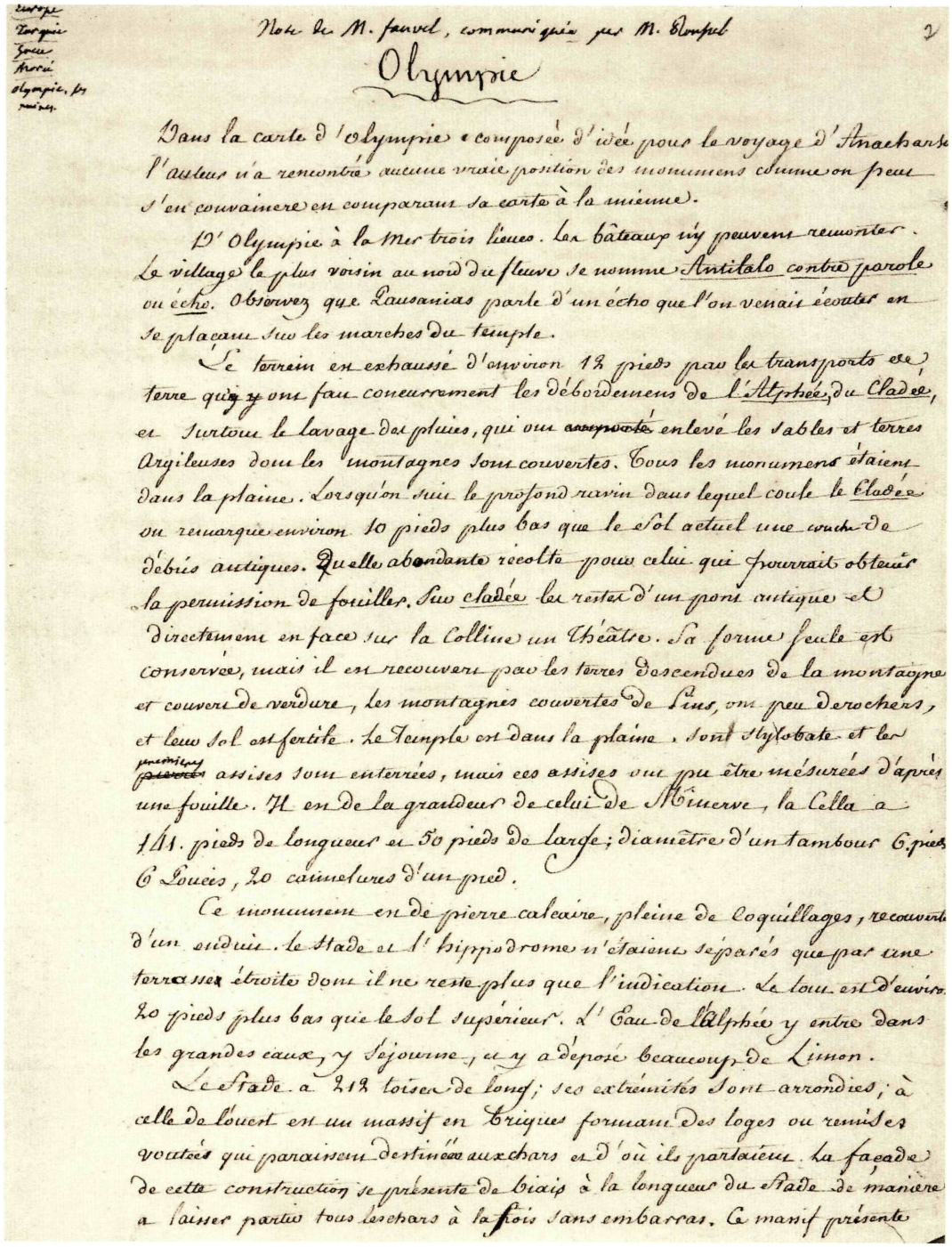


7. L.F.S. Fauvel, Manuscript notes referring to the discovery of ancient Olympia, following Pausanias' description. From the manuscript "Deuxième voyage de Fauvel en Grèce," 1802. (Gennadius Library MSS 133, p. 12)



Plan de l'Hippodrome d'Olympie
Levé tant bien que mal.

Les constructions tracées en Rouge existent encore
on a laissé en noir, celles que je suppose avoir existé.



Note de M. Fauvel, communiquée par M. Dumpel 2

Olympie

Dans la carte d'Olympie composée d'idée pour le voyage d'Anacharsis l'auteur n'a rencontré aucune vraie position des monuments comme on peut s'en convaincre en comparant sa carte à la mienne.

L'Olympie à la Mer trois lieues. Les bâteaux n'y peuvent remonter. Le village le plus voisin au nord du fleuve se nomme Antilalo contre parole ou écho. Observez que Pausanias parle d'un écho que l'on venait écouter en se plaçant sur les marches du temple.

Le terrein en exhaussé d'environ 12 pieds par les transports de terre qui y ont fait couvrement les débordemens de l'Alphée, du Cladée, et surtout le lavage des pluies, qui ont enlevé les sables et terres Argileuses dont les montagnes sont couvertes. Tous les monumens étaient dans la plaine. Lorsqu'on suit le profond ravin dans lequel coule le Cladée on remarque environ 10 pieds plus bas que le sol actuel une couche de débris antiques. Quelle abondante récolte pour celui qui pourrait obtenir la permission de fouiller. Sur Cladée les restes d'un pont antique et directement en face sur la Colline un Théâtre. Sa forme seule en conservée, mais il en recouvert par les terres descendues de la montagne et couvert de verdure, les montagnes couvertes de Pins, un peu de rochers, et leur sol est fertile. Le Temple est dans la plaine, son Stylobate et les premières assises sont enterrées, mais ces assises ont pu être mésurées d'après une fouille. Il est de la grandeur de celui de Minerve, la Cella a 141. pieds de longueur et 50 pieds de large; diamètre d'un tambour 6 pieds 6 Pouces, 20 cannelures d'un pied.

Ce monument est de pierre calcaire, pleine de Coquillages, recouverte d'un stuc. Le Stade et l'hippodrome n'étaient séparés que par une terrasse étroite dont il ne reste plus que l'indication. Le tout est d'environ 20 pieds plus bas que le sol supérieur. L'Eau de l'Alphée y entre dans les grandes eaux, y séjourne, et y a déposé beaucoup de Limon.

Le Stade a 213 toises de long; ses extrémités sont arrondies; à celle de l'ouest est un massif en briques formant des loges ou remises voutées qui paraissent destinées aux chars et d'où ils partaient. La façade de cette construction se présente de biais à la longueur du Stade de manière à laisser partir tous les chars à la fois sans embarras. Ce massif présente

8. L.F.S. Fauvel, Plan of the Hippodrome at Olympia (left), and [J. Foucherot], Itinerary from Olympia to Arcadia (right). (Gennadius Library MSS 145)

We do not know where or when Fauvel first read the *Periegesis*, but the facts suggest that Pausanias played an important role in Fauvel's quest for Antiquity. In the journal from his first trip (1780-1781) he stated: "We had as our guides Spon and Wheler, who opened the way to all those who have had the courage since then to travel to Greece, and they used Pausanias, the best guide of all." In 1787, however, he referred to Pausanias in order to identify the locations of the monuments of Olympia. And in 1806, Barbié forwarded to him Kuhn's edition via Choiseul-Gouffier, as Fauvel notes in the *Magasin encyclopédique* (May 1806). Among Fauvel's papers are also preserved notes from the translation of the *Periegesis* by Gédoyn, and later notes from the Clavier edition.

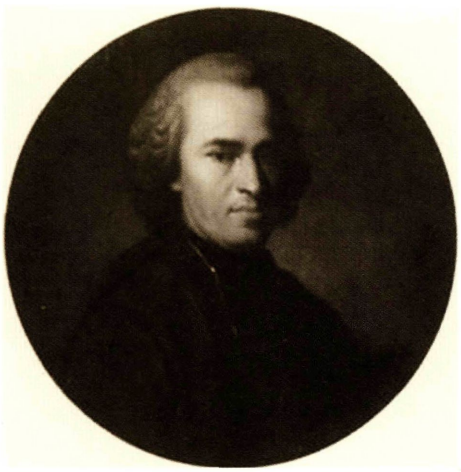
Fauvel's notes and plans provided guidance to the numerous important visitors he had in Athens. Chateaubriand toured Athens with the *défectueux* Pausanias translation in his hand, and Fauvel at his side (CHATEAUBRIAND 1946 I: 276). He returned with Gell to Boeotia in 1806. Pouqueville visited Mycenae and Nemea with Fauvel's views – based on Pausanias – in hand upon departing from Athens, where he had been hosted at the home of the "modern Pausanias," as he called Fauvel (POUQUEVILLE 1826-1827 V: 190, 301).

Fauvel guided foreign travelers around Athens. Count Forbin claimed that only Fauvel could "interpret" Pausanias and clarify obscure words and points in the text (FORBIN 1819: 27). Bartholdy went further, explaining that Fauvel had committed every line of Pausanias to memory (BARTHOLDY 1807 I: 88). In fact, during his exile in Smyrna, Fauvel suggested to his friends a tour of the Acropolis of Athens, with Pausanias as a guide and the model which he himself had prepared as a prop (D'ESTOURMEL 1848: 188-190, LABORDE 1854 I: 76).

A.A.

Anacharsis and Pausanias

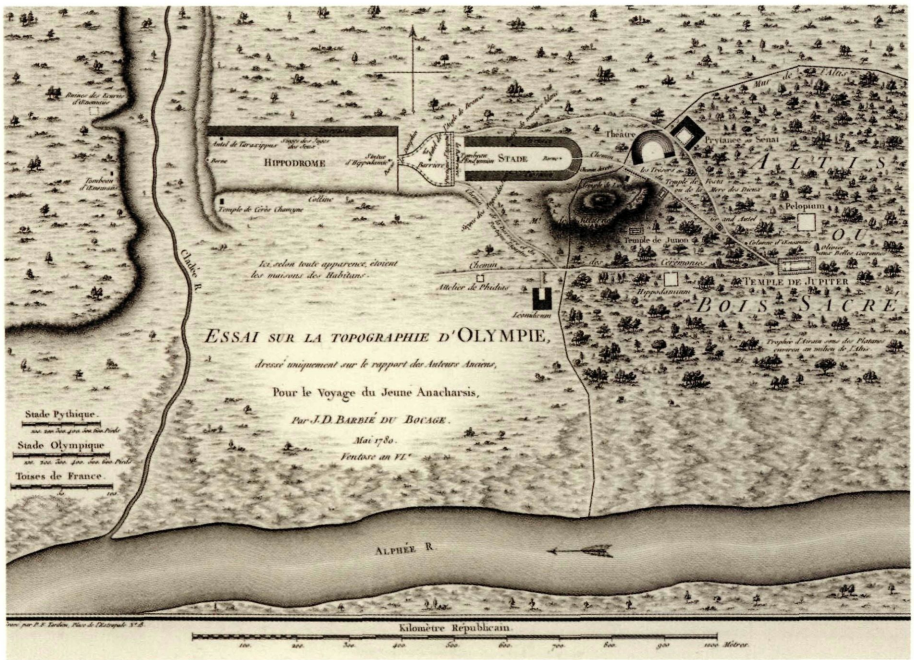
At the height of the "return to Antiquity" movement and the corresponding increase in the number of journeys to Greece, the scholar-antiquarian Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (fig. 9), a famous academic numismatist and decipherer of ancient languages, published, near the end of his own life and on the eve of the French Revolution, the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* (Paris, 1788). This was a complex imaginary travel narrative that in terms of genre moved among the novel, the historiographic composition, and travel literature. Barthélemy never traveled to Greece, but he knew Greek and Latin literature in depth. *Anacharsis* was without doubt the most powerful and completely documented 18th-century work dealing with ancient Greece, with the result that it enjoyed great success from its publication up until 1850 (BADOLLE 1926).

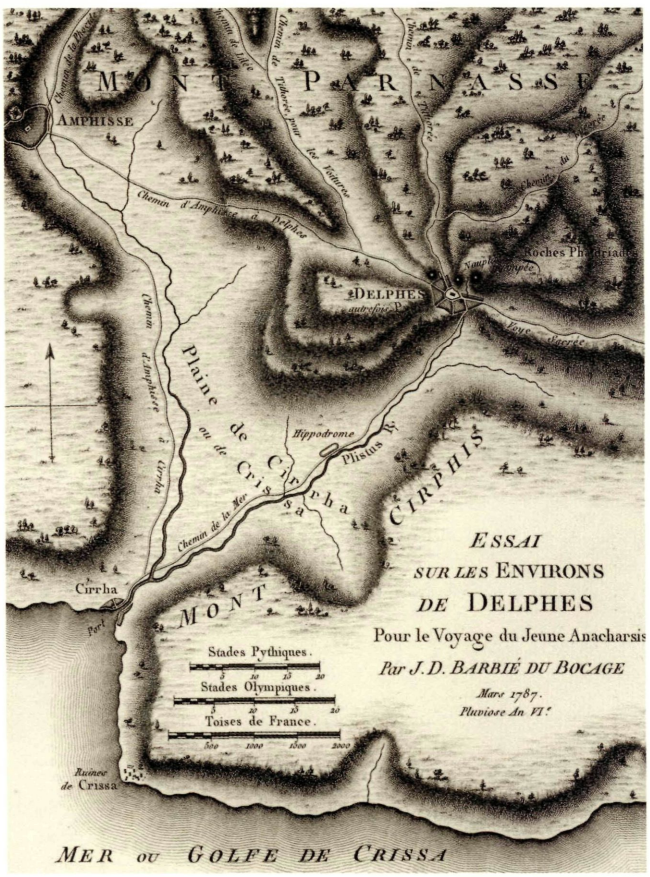


9. Jean-Jacques Barthélemy by J.A.D. Ingres. (Paris, Palais de l'Institut, Salle des Séances)

Supported by Pausanias' routes, Barthélemy attempted to construct a travel narrative that would be both geographically and chronologically authentic. Pausanias, Barthélemy's first and foremost source (he refers to him more than a hundred times), was an ideal guide, a careful observer, serving as Anacharsis' "eyes." Filled with curiosity, the imaginary youthful traveler walked the same roads, described the same works of art, retained every noteworthy site, and also cited the myths that laid the foundations for the grandeur of Greece. An examination of the footnotes shows that nearly all the references to temples, statues, and tombs are borrowed from Pausanias. At Delphi and Olympia, Barthélemy invented a guide for the young Anacharsis, who repeated Pausanias' descriptions word for word. Furthermore, Pausanias the "geographer" continually provided the *Anacharsis* with information about the location and condition of cities, distances between sites, and the countryside – in other words, with data that enhanced the impression of an authentic journey.

Despite the sixteen centuries separating the two authors from one another, both took advantage of the possibilities offered by the travel narrative to organize an informative text with a topographical canvas as backdrop. At the meeting of the two


HIPPODROME
STADE
Théâtre
Prytanée ou Sénat
ALTIS
OU
BOIS SACRÉ
Pelopium
Temple de Junon
Temple de Jupiter
Hippodamium
Cérémonies
Chemin
Attelier de Phidias
Léonidaeum
Temple de Cérès Chamyne
Colline
Ici, selon toute apparence, étoient les maisons des Habitans.
Cladée R.
ESSAI SUR LA TOPOGRAPHIE D'OLYMPIE,
dressé uniquement sur le rapport des Auteurs Anciens,
Pour le Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis,
Par J. D. BARBIÉ DU BOCAGE.
Mai 1780.
Ventose an VI.e
Stade Pythique.
Stade Olympique
Toises de France.
ALPHÉE R.
Kilomètre Républicain.
100. 200. 300. 400. 500. 600. 700. 800. 900 1000 Mètres.


MONT PARNASSE
AMPHISSE
Chemin de la Phocide
Chemin de Lilée
Chemin de Tithorée pour les Voitures
Chemin d'Amphisse à Delphes
Chemin d'Amphisse à Cirrha
Roches Phadriades
DELPHES
autrefois P.
Voye Sacrée
Plaine de Cirrha ou de Crissa
Hippodrome
Plistus R.
CIRPHIS
Chemin de la Mer
Cirrha
Port
MONT
ESSAI
SUR LES ENVIRONS
DE DELPHES
Pour le Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis
Par J. D. BARBIÉ DU BOCAGE
Mars 1787.
Pluviose An VI.e
Stades Pythiques.
Stades Olympiques.
Toises de France.
Ruines de Crissa
MER OU GOLFE DE CRISSA

authors' intentions is once more a civilization wishing to record and restate, and to recall the monuments, history, and grandeur of a past it both admires and claims. Pausanias and Barthélemy, with their wealth of descriptions and narratives, were both aiming to preserve ancient knowledge. Both chose to speak of Greece when it was free, the Greece that existed before the catastrophe of Chaironeia (I 25, 3) (fig. 12). This cultural and political heritage, for which both men express their preference, found an echo in the 2nd century AD as well as at the end of the 18th century. Pausanias' work tended to contribute to the preservation of Greek identity, and Barthélemy expressed the need to restate, at the onset of the French Revolution, the basic reference points of Greek Antiquity. Barthélemy may have fitted comfortably the mold offered him by the ancient model; however, beyond these similarities, Anacharsis speaks and thinks in the manner of the 18th century. Beneath his ancient garb, the imaginary traveler is a simple pretext for the expression of the progressive modern ideas of his creator (HARTOG 1996: 155).

12. Philip at Chaironeia. Engraving from Jean-Jacques Barthélemy, Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce vers le milieu du IVe siècle avant l'ère vulgaire, *Paris, 1860, vol. VII, p. 89. (Private Collection)*

C.G.

10. J.D. Barbié du Bocage, Essay on the topography of Olympia. From J.D. Barbié du Bocage, Recueil de cartes géographiques, plans, vues et médailles de l'ancienne Grèce, relatifs au Voyage du jeune Anacharsis, précédé d'une analyse critique des cartes, *Paris, 1799. (Gennadius Library A.155q, plate 29)*

11. J.D. Barbié du Bocage, Essay on the topography of Delphi. J.D. Barbié du Bocage, Recueil de cartes géographiques, plans, vues et médailles de l'ancienne Grèce, relatifs au Voyage du jeune Anacharsis, précédé d'une analyse critique des cartes, *Paris, 1799. (Gennadius Library A.155q, plate 21)*

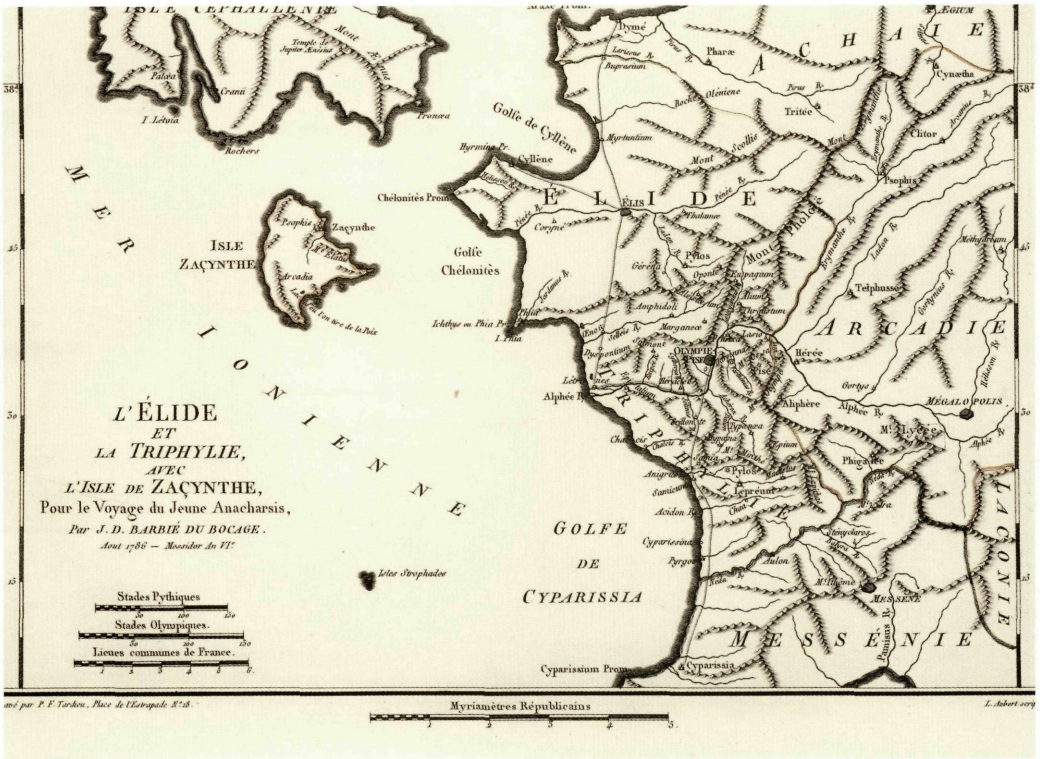
Barbié du Bocage and the Atlas for the Voyage du jeune Anacharsis

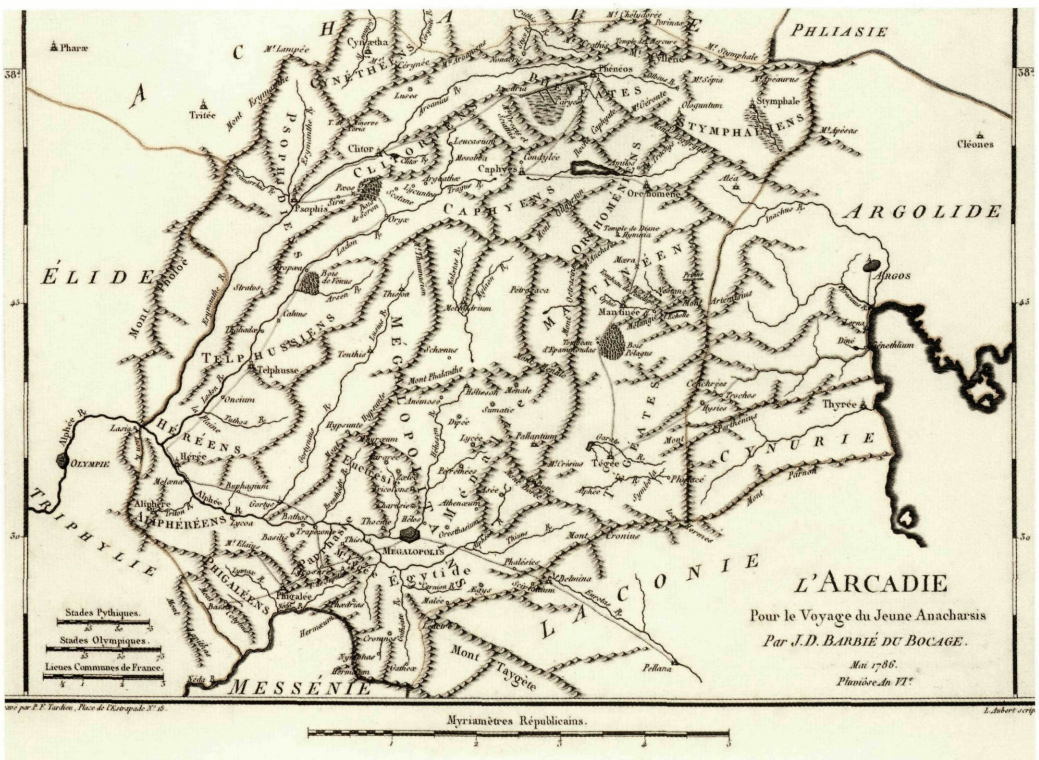
The *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* also contains a handsome atlas, which Barthélemy commissioned from Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage. An outstanding geographer, Barbié du Bocage (1760-1825) was the student of Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, who according to one of his biographers "knew the land without having seen it; in a manner of speaking, he had never left Paris." Barbié worked in the same manner in his own study. To put together accurate maps for the whole of Greece and its various regions, he relied on evidence of uneven quality, from details drawn from Pausanias and Strabo to information from modern travelers, most of whom were members of the Choiseul-Gouffier expedition.

If the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* was in some fashion a novelistic paraphrase of the *Periegesis*, Barbié du Bocage's *Recueil de cartes géographiques, plans et vues* (1788-1799) was its illustrated form. The main body of the work consisted of maps, which proved more useful for following the *Periegesis* of Pausanias than the travels of the young Anacharsis (fig. 10, 11, 13, 14). The *Recueil de cartes géographiques* primarily gathered maps of regions described in the ten books of the *Periegesis*; thus, the reader may there find all the regions Pausanias describes. On each map, the route noted between villages does not correspond to the route of the young Anacharsis; rather, it renders the routes of Pausanias in greater detail. In addition, the reader of Pausanias can find on Barbié du Bocage's maps toponyms, indications of the land contours, and the most important sites the traveler of the 2nd century AD described. For example, on the map of Arcadia, near Mantineia, are marked the grave of Epaminondas (VIII 11, 7-8), the "Pelagos Wood" (VIII 11), the "Ladder Pass" (VIII 6, 4), and the grave of Penelope (VIII 12, 5). Turning his gaze to the maps' details, the reader meets recollections of descriptions and narratives collected along the way by Pausanias. These maps became scholarly tools for use by art lovers, geographers, future travelers, as well as readers of Pausanias, as is further confirmed by its pres-

13. Map of Elis and Triphylia. J.D. Barbié du Bocage, Recueil de cartes géographiques, plans, vues et médailles de l'ancienne Grèce, relatifs au Voyage du jeune Anacharsis, précédé d'une analyse critique des cartes, *Paris, 1799. (Gennadius Library A.155q, plate 28)*

14. Map of Arcadia. J.D. Barbié du Bocage, Recueil de cartes géographiques, plans, vues et médailles de l'ancienne Grèce, relatifs au Voyage du jeune Anacharsis, précédé d'une analyse critique des cartes, *Paris, 1799. (Gennadius Library A.155q, plate 33)*


L'ÉLIDE
ET
LA TRIPHYLIE,
AVEC
L'ISLE DE ZAÇYNTHE,
Pour le Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis,
Par J. D. BARBIÉ DU BOCAGE.
Aout 1786 — Messidor An VI.
Stades Pythiques
Stades Olympiques.
Lieues communes de France.
Myriamètres Républicains
MER IONIENNE
ISLE ZAÇYNTHE
Golfe de Cyllène
Golfe Chélonitès
GOLFE DE CYPARISSIA
ÉLIDE
ACHAIE
ARCADIE
TRIPHYLIE
MESSÉNIE
LACONIE
Cyparissia
Cyparissium Prom.
Olympie
Alphée
Alphère
Mégalopolis
Messène
Pylos
Cyllène
Chélonitès Prom.
Zaçynthe
Isles Strophades


L'ARCADIE
Pour le Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis
Par J. D. BARBIÉ DU BOCAGE.
Mai 1786.
Pluviôse An VI.
Stades Pythiques.
Stades Olympiques.
Lieues Communes de France.
Myriamètres Républicains.
ÉLIDE
ACHAIE
PHLIASIE
ARGOLIDE
CYNURIE
LACONIE
MESSÉNIE
TRIPHYLIE
Pharæ
Tritée
Cynætha
Clitor
Psophis
Phénéos
Stymphale
Cléones
Caphyes
Orchomène
Argos
Mantinée
Tégée
Thyrée
Olympie
Alphère
Mégalopolis
Telphusse
Mont Taygète

ence in many later editions of the *Periegesis*. When Barbié du Bocage's new general map of Greece for the *Voyage* was published in 1811, Millin stressed that it was a requisite aid to all those reading the ancient authors (MILLIN 1811: 209).

C. G.

15. J.D. Barbié de Bocage, General Map of Greece and its Colonies, *Paris, 1811. Detail showing the cartouche (Gennadius Library A.155q, plate 1)*

The Periegesis and the Topographers (1800-1820)

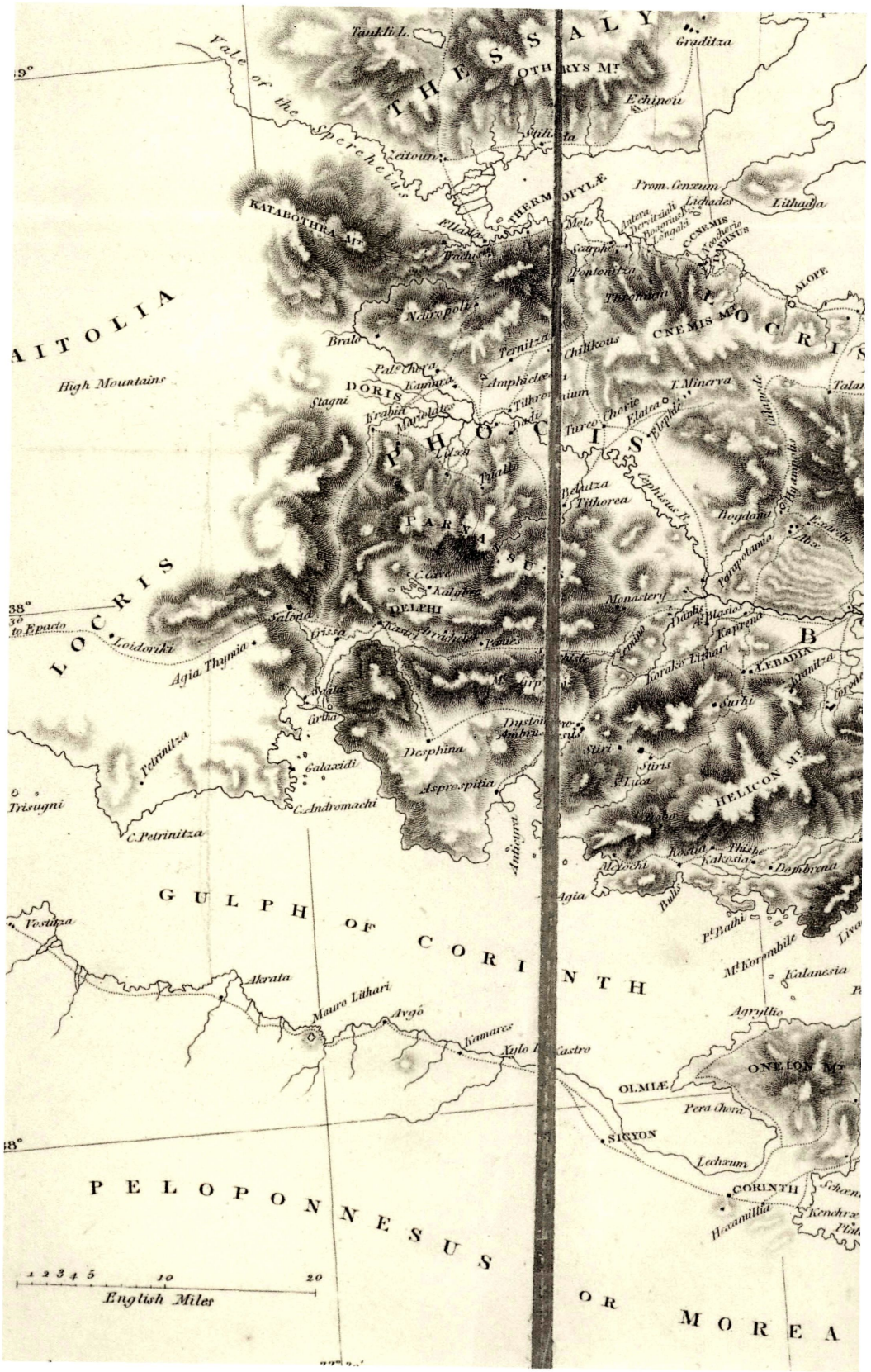
The Periegesis and Early Topographical On-site Visits (1800-1820)

The correct calculation of ancient units of measurement for distances, beginning in the mid-18th century (D'Anville 1769, Le Roy 1770), opened up new ways for understanding ancient descriptions, since it permitted ancient sites, mentioned in the *Periegesis* to be located with greater precision. Locations that appear in the wrong place on maps of ancient Greece were corrected, while at the same time the detailed recognition and recording of communication routes permitted access to and identification of points in Greece that had up to that time been inaccessible to foreign travelers.

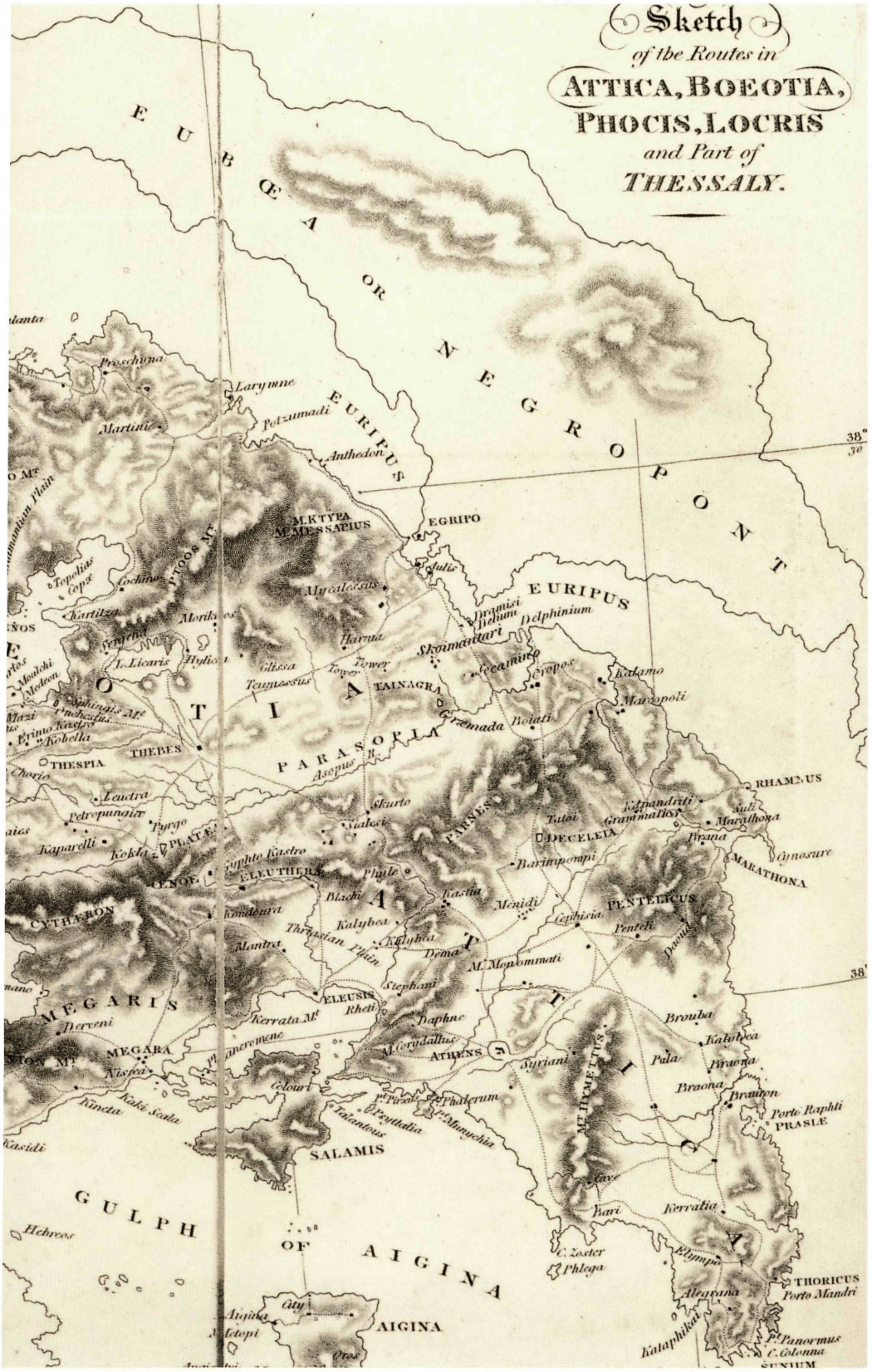
1. Map of the routes of the Peloponnese. Sir William Gell, Itinerary of the Morea: Being a Description of the Routes of that Peninsula, *London, 1817. (Gennadius Library GT 1783)*

In one sense, the itineraries of Sir William Gell (1817) went beyond the routes of Spon, Wheler, Fourmont, and Fauvel, forming a kind of guide for the numerous foreign travelers who flocked to the country in the quest for ancient Greece (fig. 1, 2, 3) (Navari 2003). The work of Pausanias was regularly used in a multiplicity of ways. The ancient monuments remained the purpose of and constant subjects for drawing, study, admiration and "appropriation" for many travelers (Stoneman 1987). They were illuminated through the description and explanations of

2. Sketch of the routes in Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris and part of Thessaly. Sir William Gell, The Itinerary of Greece: Containing One Hundred Routes in Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, and Thessaly..., *London, 1827. (Gennadius Library GT 1786)* ☞

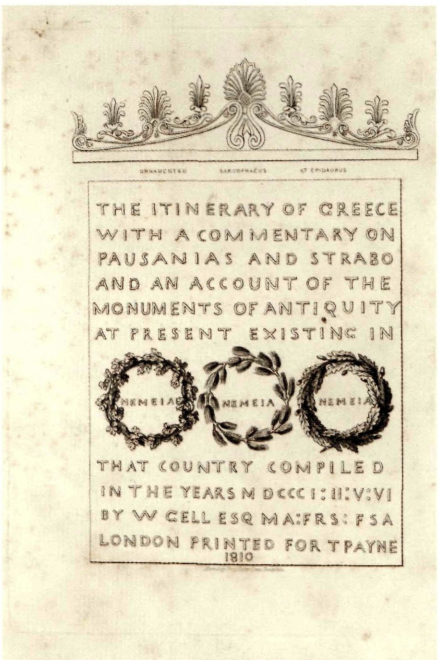


THESSALY
Vale of the Spercheius
Taukli L.
Graditza
OTHRYS Mt
Echinou
Zeitoun
THERMOPYLÆ
Prom. Cenæum
Lithadia
KATABOTHRA Mt
Ellada
Trachis
Molo
Scarphe
Pontonitza
Thronium
CNEMIS Mt
ALOPE
AITOLIA
High Mountains
Neuropolis
Bralo
Ternitza
Chilikous
Palæ Chora
Kamara
Amphicleæ
DORIS
Stagni
Krabia
Mariolates
Dadi
Tithronium
Turco Chorio
Elatea
T. Minerva
Elephie
Lilæa
Tuallo
Belutza
Tithorea
Cephisus R.
Bogdani
Parapotamia
PARNASSUS
C. Cave
Kalybea
DELPHI
Monastery
Salona
Crissa
Kastri
Arrachol
Pentes
Loidoriki
Agia Thymia
Korako Lithari
LEBADIA
Kranitza
Surhi
Artha
Desphina
Galaxidi
Petrinitza
Trisugni
C. Andromachi
Asprospitia
Stiri
Stiris
St. Luca
HELICON Mt
C. Petrinitza
Kostia
Thisbe
Kakosia
Dombrena
Metochi
Agia
Bulls
GULPH OF CORINTH
Vostitza
Akrata
Mauro Lithari
Avgó
Kamares
Xylo Kastro
Pt. Bathi
Mt. Korombile
Kalanesia
Agryllio
ONEION Mt
OLMIÆ
Pera Chora
SICYON
Lechæum
CORINTH
Hexamillia
Kenchræ
PELOPONNESUS OR MOREA
1 2 3 4 5 10 20
English Miles


Sketch
of the Routes in
ATTICA, BOEOTIA,
PHOCIS, LOCRIS
and Part of
THESSALY.
EUBŒA OR NEGROPONT
EURIPUS
EGRIPO
MYCALESSUS
MYCALESSIUS
ATTICA
PARASOPIA
TANAGRA
THEBES
THESPIA
PLATEA
ELEUTHERÆ
CENOE
CITHÆRON
MEGARIS
MEGARA
ELEUSIS
ATHENS
PARNES
PENTELICUS
DECELEIA
RHAMNUS
MARATHONA
BRAURON
PRASLE
THORICUS
SALAMIS
GULPH OF AIGINA
AIGINA
City
Aegina
Mt. Oros
Mt. Hymettus
Mt. Delphinium
Mt. Parnes
Mt. Pentelicus
Mt. Cithæron
Mt. Oeta
Mt. Zoster
Mt. Panormus
C. Colonna
SUNIUM
Porto Raphti
Porto Mandri
Kalamo
Marcopoli
Kalyvia
Kastri
Menidi
Dema
Stephani
Daphne
Phalerum
Piræus
Munychia
Keratia
Brouba
Pala
Braona
Kalyvia
Kerrata
Kerrata Mt.
Derveni
Megara
Nisæa
Rhetoi
Kaki Scala
Rhneta
Kasidi
Hebreos
Phlega
Alepiana
Kataphikai
Larymne
Petzumadi
Anthedon
Martini
Proschyna
Topolias
Kopæ
Lochino
Kartitza
Mt. Ptoos
Mt. Messapius
Harma
Tower
Glissa
Teumessus
Skoumaritari
Delphinium
Creamito
Crepos
Tatoi
Grammatikos
Marathona
Prana
Gynosure
Barimpompi
Kastri
Phyle
Skurto
Malesi
Thriasian Plain
Kalyvia
Kephalá
Dema
Mt. Menommati
Stephani
Rheti
Kerrata Mt.
Daphne
Mt. Corydallus
Athens
Ayriani
Pala
Braona
Braonen
Porto Raphti
Prasle
Cave
Vari
Keratia
Olympus
Thoricus
Porto Mandri
Alepiana
Kataphikai
Mt. Panormus
C. Colonna
Sunium
Phlega
C. Zoster
Aegina
City
Mt. Oros
Salamis
Gulph of Aigina
Thebes
Thespia
Leuctra
Petrepungia
Kaparelli
Kokla
Phyle
Eleutheræ
Cithæron
Megaris
Megara
Nisæa
Derveni
Kaki Scala
Rhneta
Kasidi
Hebreos
Mt. Parnes
Mt. Pentelicus
Mt. Hymettus
Mt. Delphinium
Mt. Cithæron
Mt. Oeta
Mt. Zoster
Mt. Panormus
C. Colonna
Sunium
Porto Raphti
Porto Mandri
Prasle
Thoricus
Rhamnus
Marathona
Gynosure
Prana
Marcopoli
Kalamo
Crepos
Creamito
Skoumaritari
Delphinium
Euripus
Egripo
Mycalessius
Mycalessus
Tanagra
Thebes
Thespia
Plataea
Eleutheræ
Cenoe
Attica
Parasopia
Boeotia
Phocis
Locris
Thessaly
Euripus
Negropont
Eubœa
38°
30'
38°

Pausanias. At the same time additional remains of monuments found in inaccessible spots were employed, always through the reading of Pausanias, as a means and a compass for locating various sites.

Pausanias' *Periegesis*, as well as information obtained from natives, guided Gell and Edward Dodwell, who traveled together for a period of time (1806). They identified points around Stymphalia and the mountainous region of Achaia. Following the description by Pausanias, and the directions he was given by a priest at Isari about "how to get to the *palaiokastro*," Dodwell arrived at the ruined fortifications of ancient Lykosoura (fig. 4) (1819 II: 394). Other indicative examples of identifications of ancient sites by the combination of Pausanias' descriptions and local informers are offered in the case of ancient Midea (Gell 1810: 84, 97) and Hysia (Leake 1830 II: 337) near Achladokampos, sites also investigated by Fauvel and partially by Fourmont.



3. Sir William Gell, The Itinerary of Greece: With a Commentary on Pausanias and Strabo and an Account of the Monuments of Antiquity at Present Existing in That Country; Compiled in the Years 1801-06, *London, 1810. (Gennadius Library GT 1782)*

Gell and Dodwell, always depending on Pausanias, toured the Argolid and visited its Cyclopean walls (fig. 5). Thus, they provided specific answers to the antiquarian study research projects carried out by the Institut National in Paris, such as the research related to the fortifications of ancient Greece and Italy (Petit Padel 1841). Bartholdy visited Mycenae (1803) for the same reason, having previously noted in the margins of the pages in his journal the corresponding passages in Pausanias. Indeed, Bartholdy observes that Mycenae was just as the ancient *periegetes* saw and described it (1807 I: 256, 265).

4. View of Lykosoura. Edward Dodwell, A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece: During the Years 1801, 1805, and 1806, *London, 1819. (Gennadius Library GT 1298, vol. II, p. 394)*

5. [Simone Pomardi], The interior of Atreus' Treasure. Edward Dodwell, Views and Descriptions of Cyclopic or Pelasgic Remains in Greece and Italy…as a Supplement to his Classical and Topographical Tour in Greece, *London, 1834. (Gennadius Library A 32.2q, plate 10)*

Early in the 19th century, following the looting of the Parthenon sculptures and in the maelstrom of the Napoleonic Wars, an intense diplomatic rivalry broke out, primarily between the French and the English, but also involving some Turkish officials. Veli Pasha was not only the recipient of requests by foreign travelers to facilitate them in matters archaeological, but he himself also undertook archaeological excavations (TURNER 1820 I: 269) with Pausanias as his guide (GELL 1823: 363). Veli sold his finds to antiquarian travelers, or employed them as a means of gaining allies (ANGELOMATIS-TSOUGARAKIS 2000: 41).

At the same time, with artistic renderings of landscapes and monuments on this multi-dimensional journey, and personal or imagined reminiscences in the footsteps of Pausanias, travelers frequently followed a converging course in more organized archaeological undertakings. Within the context of this archaeological policy and the archaeological endeavors that were organized and reached their peak in pre-revolutionary Greece, we may recall excavations at the Temple of Apollo Epicurius by the "group of foreign artists from Rome," excavations conducted with Pausanias' descriptions as their guide (fig. 6) (GAZETTE DE ZANTE 1812, COCKERELL 1903: 85, GENNADIUS 1930: 126, PROTOPSALTIS 1947). The novel-like discovery and export of the sculptures on Zakynthos is well known. This was an age in which archaeology and antiquities-hunting were for all intents and purposes synonymous (fig. 7) (*Gazette de Zante* 1812, TOLIAS 2004).

Lord Byron's traveling companion, the Philhellene John Cam Hobhouse, who later became an MP, visited areas of the Ottoman Empire in a parallel quest for ancient and modern Greece (1810). In his writings he expresses the sense of familiarity he feels in this broadly defined region of Hellenism, distinguishing lands into (a) regions included in the narrative of ancient authors, first and foremost Pausanias, and

☜ *6. Scene of the excavation of the Temple of Apollo Epicurius. Ornament of the title page. Otto Magnus von Stackelberg,* Der Apollotempel zu Bassae in Arcadien und die Daselbst Ausgegrabenen Bildwerke, *Frankfurt, 1826. (Gennadius Library A 29q)*

7. Excavation by the River Erkynas, near Livadia. H.W. Williams, Selected Views in Greece…, *London, 1829. (Gennadius Library GT 2000q, plate 21)*

8. Theater of Herodes Atticus, sepia sketch. William Haygarth, [A Collection of 120 Original Sepia Sketches of Greek Scenery], 1810-11. (Gennadius Library GT 2051q, n. 90)

9. Piraeus [Tomb of Themistocles], sepia sketch. William Haygarth, [A Collection of 120 Original Sepia Sketches of Greek Scenery], 1810-11. (Gennadius Library GT 2051q, n. 109)

(b) those excluded from their narratives. Through his reading of Pausanias, he ascertained the denuding or even disappearance of ancient monuments (1813: 213). A fellow traveller of Byron and Hobhouse was William Haygarth, whose work is pervaded by a similar Philhellenic and antiquities-loving spirit. He sketched landscapes and "noteworthy" monuments that attracted travellers (fig. 8, 9) (CONSTANTOUDAKI-KITROMILIDES 1982). In the notes to his poetic work he cites Pausanias' descriptions.

William Martin Leake perceived modern Greece in part through Pausanias' work, as he characteristically writes in his introduction (LEAKE 1830): "Although the description of the ancient cities of Peloponnesus, which I have extracted in an abridged form from Pausanias, relate in some instances to places, of which not a vestige now remains to illustrate the Greek topographer, I have nevertheless introduced them all, because...the reader is thus enabled to compare every part of Peloponnesus as Pausanias found it, with the view which is presented to the follower of his steps, after an interval of sixteen centuries." Nevertheless, the parallelism between Pausanias' Peloponnese and the Ottoman Morea also functioned as a pretext for Leake to draw the modern inhabitants of the Peloponnese into the spotlight, and to provide information about populations, settlements, resources, communication networks, daily life, and the connecting links between the new social and economic state of affairs in the area.

A.A.

The Role of the Periegesis in the Works of 19th-century Topographers

"I will quickly describe the ruins, in the same order they appear when we are proceeding from east to west, and I will base my narrative on that of Pausanias," Adolf Sturtzenbecker noted at Delphi (1948: 119). In the 19th century, the text of Pausanias constituted a point of reference for all travelers to Greece. For Pouqueville, Pausanias was a "safe and faithful guide" and the creator of an "immortal work" (1805: 98). For Henri Belle, the recollection of Pausanias was an embodied one: "to guide us, we had an old man from Delphi, a very intelligent man who had helped on numerous occasions in the excavations being carried out there; above all, we had a better and even older guide, Pausanias, who walked – we could say – before us, while all the thoughts his detailed description had called forth were revolving in our mind. From time to time, we lost his track among the ruins and modern huts, but we quickly picked it up again when we walked around the terrace..." (1881: 183).

Deeply desirous of following Pausanias, some were disappointed when they discovered a care-worn and desolate modern Greece: "Most of the ancient buildings, which were many in number at Argos and adorned the city so magnificently, have disappeared to such an extent that upon entering the city the traveler wants to inquire where the thirty temples, the precious tombs, the gymnasium, the stadium, and the many monuments and statues that Pausanias described are." (DODWELL 1819: 220). Illusion was obliterated. Chenavard found comfort in thinking that even "in the time of Pausanias, Thebes had been destroyed" (1849: 220). And Ernest Breton realized that the Temple of Zeus at Nemea no longer had either roof or statue (1868: 361). Under difficult traveling conditions, travelers regretted the *periegetes'* silences, strange omissions and his lack of precision, while on the contrary, they found him tedious when he spoke of the myths. However, most trusted him.

Travelers identified with Pausanias. They prepared for their trip by reading the *Periegesis*. They followed him step by step, attempting to recreate his route, allowing themselves to be led by his descriptions, and did not hesitate to copy or paraphrase him, frequently relying on the text of a previous traveler. Thus, without realizing it, Peter Laurent read Pausanias' description of the walls of Tiryns in a paragraph from the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* (1821: 137). The travel narratives are thus filled with references and footnotes referring to the ancient text. There are a great many conjectures and hypotheses based on Pausanias' description, as Pouqueville, who was familiar with the issues involved, characteristically notes. For him, it was easier to hypothesize the site of an ancient building than to proceed to a knowledgeable description of it (SÈVE 1993: 145). Travelers hastily interpreted ruins with the aid of Pausanias: "These rooms are probably those that Pausanias called the 'tomb of Crotopus', King of Argos. Those over there are the temple of Bacchus Cresius, and those others are the temple of Aphrodite Ourania." (SÈVE 1993: 249). The tendency to identify ruins got to the point of repeating Pausanias' mistakes, such as presenting the stadium at Delphi as being of marble, at a time when excavations had not located a trace of marble.

10. Walls of Tiryns. Edward Dodwell, Views and Descriptions of Cyclopic or Pelasgic Remains in Greece and Italy… as a Supplement to his Classical and Topographical Tour in Greece, *London, 1834. (Gennadius Library A 32.2q, plate 3)*

11. The ancient ruins in Lykosoura. Edward Dodwell, Views and Descriptions of Cyclopic or Pelasgic Remains in Greece and Italy…as a Supplement to his Classical and Topographical Tour in Greece, *London, 1834. (Gennadius Library A 32.2q, plate 1)*

WALLS OF TIRYNS .

Edwd Dodwell del. London. Published June 1.1819 by Rodwell & Martin. New Bond Street. Chas Heath sculp.

RUINS OF LYKOSOURA.

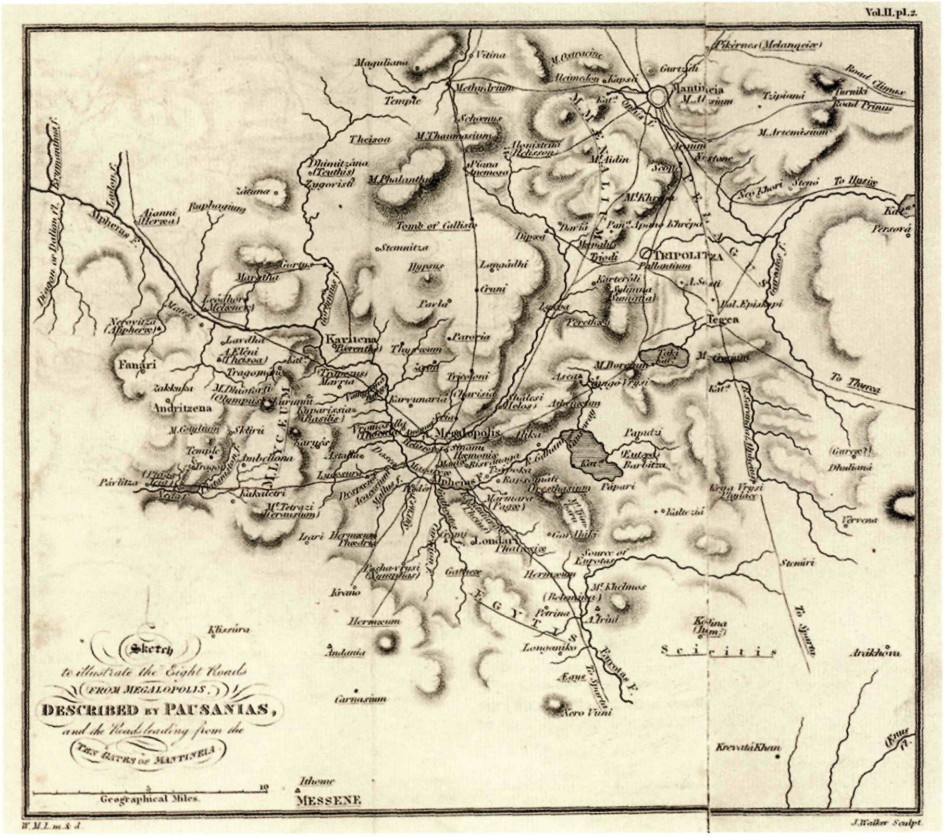
It was always a very emotional moment for the traveler to find the walls of Tiryns (AUPERT 1979: 66) (fig. 10), the Lion Gate at Mycenae, or the theater at Epidaurus as Pausanias had seen them. There are many examples: Giraudeau de Saint Servais observed that "Pausanias, who described the [Lion] Gate [at Mycenae] 1,600 years ago, saw it as we see it today" (1835: 241), and Ernest Breton that "Just as Pausanias saw them in the second century after Christ, thus today there still appear the walls (of Tiryns) before our astonished eyes." ([2]1868: 345).

12. The River Alpheios. Edward Dodwell, A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece: During the Years 1801, 1805, and 1806, *London, 1819. (Gennadius Library GT 1298, vol. II, p. 338)*

Reference to Pausanias added authenticity to a travel narrative; the Pausanias who observed and described is incorporated into the text. For one to walk "in Pausanias' steps" meant that he was following a prototype route, and offered assurance that he was on the right track, that he would see those things that "are worth one's seeing." Edward Dodwell thus made a stop at Lykosoura (fig. 11) and another at Orchomenos ("In the eastern foothills of the Acropolis, and north of Kefissos, are the remains of the treasure

13. The Ladon River. Otto Magnus Stackelberg, La Grèce. Vues pittoresques et topographiques, *Paris, 1834. (Gennadius Library GT 2003, plate 50)*

14. Plan of eight streets of Megalopolis. William Martin Leake, Travels in the Morea, *London, 1830. (Gennadius Library GT 1288.2, plate 2)*


Vol.II.pl.2.
Sketch
to illustrate the Eight Roads
FROM MEGALOPOLIS,
DESCRIBED BY PAUSANIAS,
and the Roads leading from the
TEN GATES OF MANTINEIA
Geographical Miles.
MESSENE
Mantinea
TRIPOLITZA
Tegea
Karitena
Andritzena
Fanari
Megalopolis
Sciritis
W.M.L.m.&d.
J.Walker Sculpt.

of Minyas, which Pausanias considered to be one of the wonders of Greece," 1819: 226), and Richard Farrer stopped at the Temple of Apollo Epicurius in Phigaleia [at Bassae] ("Pausanias refers to the building as one of the most beautiful temples in the Peloponnese after that of Tegea, and concerning its construction informs us that it was built by Iktinos, the architect of the Parthenon." 1880: 170). Reference to these noteworthy matters was requisite, since it was imposed by the prestige of the "father of travelers."

Landscapes, even anonymous ones, are pervaded by the traces of Pausanias' *Periegesis*. When he crossed the River Alpheios (fig. 12), Dodwell stated: "Pausanias appears to have crossed the river at the same point where we also crossed it." (340), and described a beautiful view of the river. There was also regular reference to Pausanias in Stackelberg's travel narrative. His watercolors exude emotion at the memories the *Periegesis* had left in these regions. The landscapes are offered to sensibility, for the pleasure of recollection, and for the delight of the imagination. Stackelberg wanted to find once again the points where Pausanias stood when he discovered the ruins of Mycenae or the beauty of the goddess of the Ladon River, an image which becomes persistent as he notes: "Pausanias says that the Ladon is the most beautiful river running through Greece and the barbarian countries." (1834: plate 44, fig. 13). The visitor comments on what he sees in relation to what he read in the *Periegesis*. Aesthetic and contemplative pleasure was surely mingled here with the intellectual and melancholy satisfaction at the revival of persons and things. These images render a picture of Greece intentionally situated outside of time.

The tone changes with Colonel Leake, a careful observer and meticulous topographer: "The works of Pausanias constitute irrefutable evidence that the author himself had thoroughly examined every part of the country, and no author provides more unshakeable proofs of truth and exactitude." (1841: 32). Leake was certainly one of those who understood Pausanias' plan best. He chides him for the brevity of his description of Athens, though he understands the author's difficulty when faced by the plethora of things he had to describe, by his effort not to repeat things that have been written about many times, as well by as his desire to complete a colossal plan. Leake had nine editions of the *Periegesis* in his library. He was interested in the *periegetes'* method of description, as well as in the work's organization of space, and he followed his routes most faithfully, especially in Athens and Megalopolis. Leake's references to the ancient text are always specific. His maps and topographical plans were acknowledged for their scientific honesty and would long be employed by cartographers of Greece (fig. 14).

C. G.

Greek Readings of the Periegesis and the Revival of "Free Greece"

"Ah! What a great shame it is for us, the descendents of Hecataeus, of Strabo, of Ptolemy, of Pausanias and so many of their like, to be having recourse to the descendents of the Scythians, the Celts, and the Goths to learn something of our own Greece." (*Νεωτερική γεωγραφία*, Prologue). With these words, the writers of the *Modern Geography* (1791), Daniel Philippidis and Grigorios Konstantas, summarized the state of Greek studies in geography at the end of the 18th century. Indeed, from the middle of the 16th century until the dawn of the 18th, Greek intellectual life fell into lethargy, with the consequence that curiosity regarding ancient geographical matters languished.

The antiquarian wave inspired by Pausanias would engulf the geography of Greece in the 17th and 18th centuries, and many geographical descriptions and detailed atlases devoted to ancient Greece were published. From the outset, Greek geographical endeavors would build on this tradition, endowing it with a patriotic, early nationalist character. The first, pioneering expression of Greek antiquarian geography was the volume *Ancient and Modern Geography (Γεωγραφία παλαιά και νέα*, Venice, 1728) by the Bishop of Athens, Meletios Mitrou (1661-1714) (fig. 1, 2).

To compose his work, which covers the whole world, Meletios depended on the Western bibliography of the 17th century, particularly on the geographical *Parallela* of Ph. Cluverius and Ph. Briet. An exception in this book was the description of Greece, which is original and at many points the result of personal inspections by the bishop. His main guide was Strabo; however, Meletios reveals himself as a methodical reader of Pausanias as well. He culls historical and mythological information from the *Periegesis* and has systematic recourse to Pausanias' work in identifying ancient sites, the ancient road network and distances between sites. It is worth observing here the fact that Meletios presupposed a certain level of familiarity on the part of his readers with Pausanias, since he frequently refers them to the work, as, for example, in the case of Delphi ("read in Pausanias the list of votive of-

1, 2. Frontispiece (left) and title page (right) from Meletios' Ancient and Modern Geography, *Venice, 1728. (Gennadius Library GT 134.4q)* ☞

N
R

ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΥ

ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΑ

ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΑ

Συλλεχθεῖσα ἐκ διαφόρων Συγγραφέων Παλαιῶντε καὶ Νέων,
καὶ ἐκ διαφόρων Ἐπιγραφῶν, τῶν ἐν λίθοις,
καὶ εἰς κοινὴν Διάλεκτον ἐκτεθεῖσα
χάριν τῶν πολλῶν τοῦ
ἡμετέρου Γένους.

ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΘΕΙΣΑ ΔΕ

Τῷ Ἐντιμοτάτῳ καὶ Εὐγενεστάτῳ
Κυρίῳ Κυρίῳ.

ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗ ΣΑΡΑΦΗ

Τανῦν πρῶτον ἐκδοθεῖσα τύποις, καὶ μετ'
ἐπιμελείας διορθωθεῖσα.

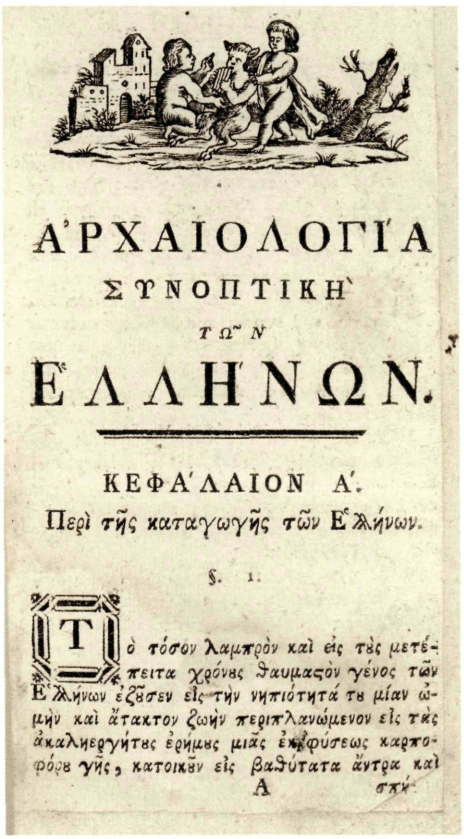
ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙ ,αψκη'.

Παρὰ Νικολάῳ Γλυκεῖ τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων.

Con Licenza de' Superiori, e Privilegio.

ferings there"), or in the case of the location of the "Leap of Glaukos," "concerning which, see Pausanias in his *Boeotica*."

At the very end of the 18th century, we find the next (partly) original Greek geographical work, the above-mentioned *Modern Geography* by Daniel Philippidis and Grigorios Konstantas (Vienna, 1791). The authors used Pausanias less frequently than Meletios did, since their work focused on modern geography. However, there was no absence of references occasioned by historical, mythological, and etymological issues. A few years later, in 1796, among the circle of Greek patriots gathered around Rigas Velestinlis (Rigas Feraios), references to the *Periegesis* increased. They did not correspond to proper readings of the work, since the references are to be found in translations of Western texts dealing with Antiquity: Georgios Sakellarios' translation (1796) of Daniel Modenhawer's *Einleitung in die Alterthümer* (fig. 3); Jean-Pierre de Bougainville's *Vues générales sur les antiquités grecques*; or in the translation of the Abbé Barthélemy's *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* (fig. 4) by G. Sakellarios, G. Ventotis, and Rigas (1796, although Rigas would make some additions based on ancient authors including Pausanias [TABAKI, 2000, 254]). We also find mediated "readings" of the *Periegesis* in the *Charta* of Rigas (1797), since it includes nine topographical plans from the atlas of Barbié du Bocage (fig. 7).


Α'ΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ
ΣΥΝΟΠΤΙΚΗ
ΤΩΝ
ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ.
ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Α'.
Περὶ τῆς καταγωγῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
§. 1.
Τὸ τόσον λαμπρὸν καὶ εἰς τὰς μετέ-
πειτα χρόνους θαυμασὸν γένος τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἔζησεν εἰς τὴν νησιότητά τε μίαν ὠ-
μὴν καὶ ἄτακτον ζωὴν περιπλανώμενον εἰς τὰς
ἀκαλλιεργήτους ἐρήμους μιᾶς ἐκφύσεως καρπο-
φόρε γῆς, κατοικῶν εἰς βαθύτατα ἄντρα καὶ
A σπή-

3. Georgios Sakellarios, Concise Archaeology of Greece, *Vienna, 1796. (Gennadius Library MGL 118.2)*

The *Charta* is a hybrid map. In it is recorded the dispersal of the Greek element in both time and space: from the ancient Greek colonial expansion to the Hellenistic kingdoms, and from the Byzantine Empire to Phanariot rule in the Balkans. In this work, the emerging idea of Greek nationalism was combined with complex im-

4. Greek translation by G. Sakellarios, G. Ventotis and Rigas of Abbé Barthélemy's Voyage du jeune Anacharsis, *Vienna, 1797. (Gennadius Library A 1144.52B)*

ΝΕΟΣ ΑΝΑΧΑΡΣΙΣ.

ΤΟΜΟΣ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΣ.

Μεταφρασθεὶς, τὰ μὲν 32. 33. καὶ 34. Κεφάλαια,

παρὰ τοῦ

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΒΕΝΤΟΤΗ ΖΑΚΥΝΘΙΟΥ.

Τὰ δὲ

35. 36. 37. 38. καὶ 39.

παρὰ τοῦ

ΡΗΓΑ ΒΕΛΕΣΤΙΝΛΗ

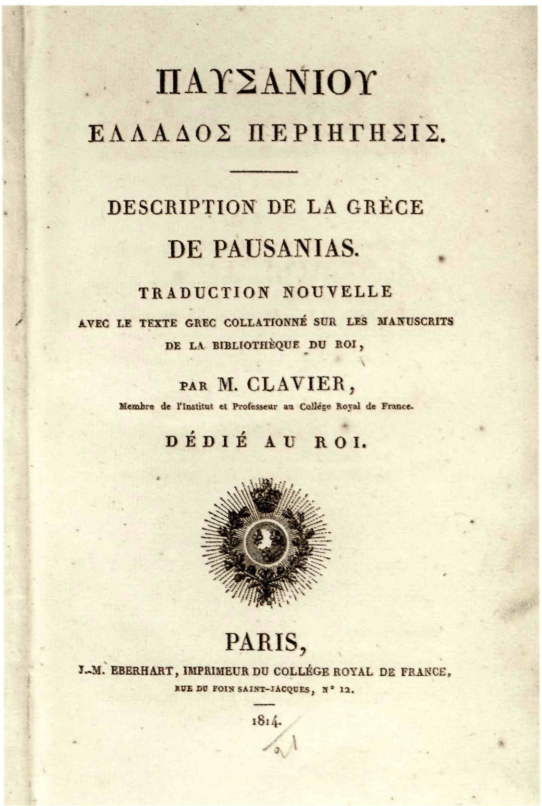
ΘΕΤΤΑΛΟΥ

Διορθωθεὶς καὶ ἐκδοθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Ἐν Βιέννῃ. 1797.

perial notions, mixing the ancient colonies with Byzantium or the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, through the ancient place names, historical notes, coins, and above all through topographical insets, loans from Barbié's atlas for the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*, the *Charta* refers to a "free Greece," as Anacharsis and Pausanias described it.

Whether direct or indirect, the presence of Pausanias in geographic, antiquarian or cartographic descriptions of modern Greece was steadily connected with the idea of the revival of "free Greece," that is to say, Greece before it was incorporated into imperial forms of rule, from the Battle of Chaironeia onward (338 BC). In this regard, the way in which the *Modern Geography* refers to the *Periegesis* when it comes to describe Chaironeia is characteristic: "Pausanias was here, and saw the tombs of those who lost their lives for the sake of Greece's freedom, but he saw no inscription since the age would not have admitted of something of the sort; instead they erected a statue of a lion, symbol of the courage of those who were slain."


ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ

ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ.

DESCRIPTION DE LA GRÈCE

DE PAUSANIAS.

TRADUCTION NOUVELLE

AVEC LE TEXTE GREC COLLATIONNÉ SUR LES MANUSCRITS DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU ROI,

PAR M. CLAVIER,

Membre de l'Institut et Professeur au Collége Royal de France.

DÉDIÉ AU ROI.

PARIS,

J.-M. EBERHART, IMPRIMEUR DU COLLÉGE ROYAL DE FRANCE, RUE DU FOIN SAINT-JACQUES, N° 12.

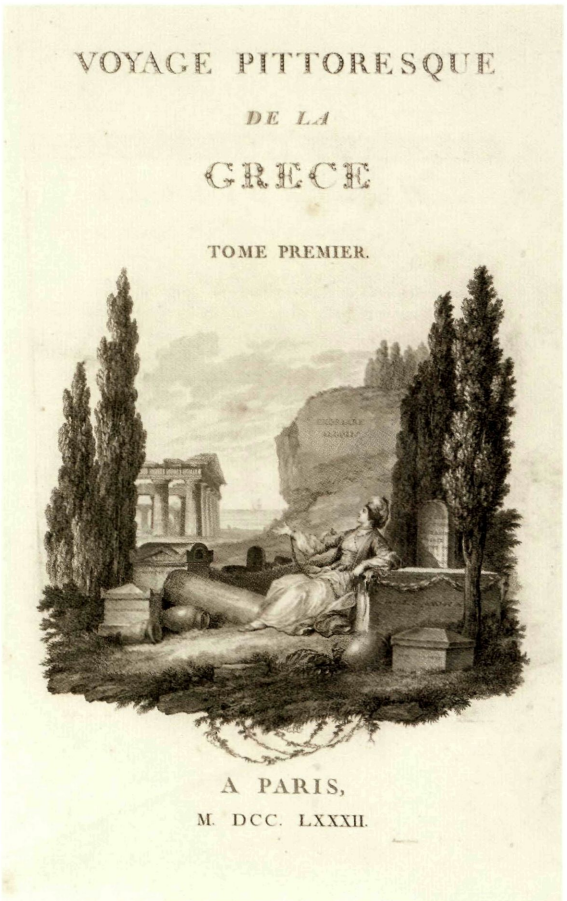
1814.

5. É. Clavier, Description de la Grece de Pausanias, *Paris, 1814. (Gennadius Library GC 2865.1)*

One of the dreams of humanism, "a promise given to the muses and to humankind" (Dacier 1810: 34), the idea of the revival of "free Greece," gained ever more ground in the consciousness first of the West and then of the Greek intelligentsia, as philosophers and poets of the caliber of Voltaire or Hölderlin became involved in the question of the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire, and the winds of a new humanism blew into Europe (fig. 6). Recollections of "free Greece" increased, especially after the French Revolution, and Pausanias found new readers among Greek intellectuals and patriots. In 1812, Anthimos Gazis, publisher of *Logios Hermes* (*Ερμής ο Λόγιος*), sought contributions from Greek intellectuals concerning "archaeological matters such as inscriptions; investigations of the location of an-

cient cities vis-à-vis modern ones; observations on the geographical information provided by Strabo, Pausanias, and Meletios; inquiries into the history of a certain region or city; and other such questions belonging to the archaeology of Greece." Scores of studies dealing with archaeology and a variety of ancient Greek topics were published in the pages of *Logios Hermes* (1811-1821). Some of them were original, but by and large they were translations; there were also frequent references to Pausanias.

This is not the appropriate place to present the variety of "archaeological" processes set into motion to hellenize Greek society and achieve the revival of "free Greece." What is of interest to us here is that Pausanias played an invisible yet central role in these developments, both by virtue of his nostalgic focus on classical, "free Greece," as well as by virtue of his authority in Western antiquarianism and travel literature. Adamantios Koraïs, a central propagandist for the idea of revival, became actively involved in the edition of Pausanias by Étienne Clavier, and undertook (with Paul-Louis Courrier) the completion of this edition following his student's untimely death in 1817 (fig. 5). Furthermore, Koraïs promoted the dissemination of the work in Greece. In his correspondence he often returned to the issue of the enrolment of Greek subscribers to the edition, repeating "that the work is notable and most useful, especially for us, goes without saying" (*Correspondence* III: 330).



6. Allegory of the resurgence of Greece. M.G.F.A. de Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce, *Paris, 1782-1824. (Gennadius Library GT 1289.1q)*

Readings of the *Periegesis* went as far as influencing the territorial physiognomy of the free Greek state. In 1828, when Ioannis Kapodistrias, the governor of revolu-

tionary Greece, was asked to determine the extent of the future state, he did not refer to the definition of Ptolemy and Strabo, who had described Greece by approximately its actual extent, as a region of the Roman Empire; Kapodistrias preferred to support his claim by referring to a limited and nostalgic archaeological definition: "...If we are to be guided by history, by the monuments of Antiquity preserved to our day, and by the opinion of the travelers and geographers..." (MAMOUKAS 1852 11: 256-257). Kapodistrias recognized as part of Greece the regions south of Mt. Olympus, a demand that was viewed as overly ambitious. The borders of the new country, as defined by the Treaty of London in 1831, included the regions south of Thessaly and Epirus, an area that largely coincides with the contents of the *Periegesis*.

G. T.

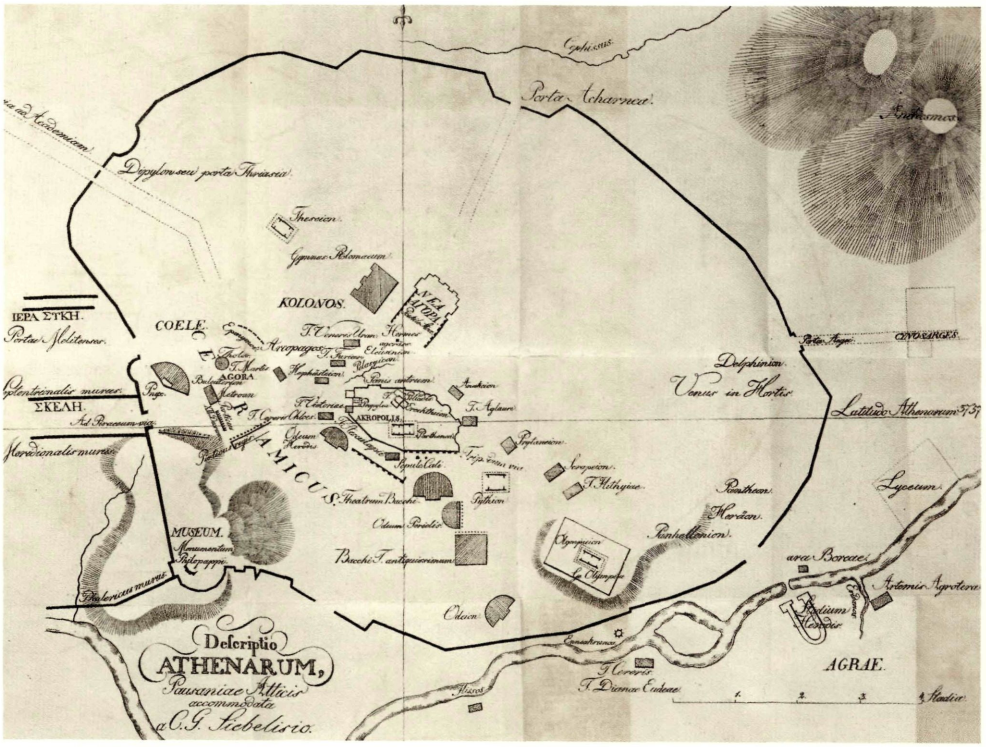
7. Sheet 10 of the Map of Rigas Velestinlis, Vienna, 1797, with the plans of Thermopylae and Sparta by Barbié du Bocage. (Gennadius Library GT 231 G)

Editions of Pausanias (1792-1889)

Editing of New Manuscripts and Publication of Translations. Published in Leipzig between 1794 and 1796, the edition by J.F. Facius inaugurated the scholarly German editions of the *Periegesis* in the 19th century. Facius' philological work is based on a comparison of fragmentary manuscripts stored in Vienna and Moscow, and is characterized by a disposition towards clarity, thanks to the text's division into paragraphs. This edition was in four small-format volumes. The age of imitating manuscripts had now passed. In many of the footnotes, variants are given that emerged from comparison of manuscripts, in addition to clarifications and bibliographic references. The edition also included a historical and topographical index.

In France, the new edition proposed by Étienne Clavier in 1814 included only the Greek text, despite the publisher's wish to include in the volume maps and plans that had been prepared in part by Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage. For this reason, Clavier urged readers to have recourse to the maps included in the atlas of the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* (1788-1799). A further step towards textual criticism was taken with the editions of Carl G. Siebelis (1818-1819, and 1822-1828) (fig. 1, 2), which were further improved through the verifications and corrections of Immanuel Bekker in 1826-1827, corrections based on the examination of other manuscripts. The culmination of the process of restoring the text in the 19th century was marked by the edition of J.H.C. Schubart and C. Walz (Leipzig, 1838-1839), and the editions of the work by Schubart only (1853-1854 and 1889) (fig. 3).

The increase in the number of translations of the *Periegesis* from the second half of the 18th century onward shows that Pausanias benefited from the curiosity about, and enthusiasm for, travel literature. In England we note the translation by Thomas Taylor, an active scholar who nurtured a genuine passion for Greek philosophy. Throughout his life Taylor translated works by Greek and Latin authors, among them Plato, Aristotle, and Pausanias (1793). His translation, a very hasty one, was of average quality, but it sold well and was corrected in the 1824 reprint. To enrich a text whose style he found tedious, Taylor accompanied his edition with two maps and five illustrations. The maps are copies of works by the geographer d'Anville. For the views, Taylor borrowed from the illustrations in *Antiquities of Athens* by his compatriots James Stuart and Nicholas Revett. Thus completed, Taylor believed that his book would educate the philologist as well as the historian, the critic, the naturalist,



ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ

ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ

PAUSANIAE

GRAECIAE DESCRIPTIO

EDIDIT, GRAECA EMENDAVIT, LATINAM AMASAEI
INTERPRETATIONEM CASTIGATAM ADIUNXIT ET
ADNOTATIONES ATQUE INDICES ADIECIT

CAROLUS GODOFREDUS SIEBELIS

VOLUMEN SECUNDUM

LIPSIAE
LIBRARIA WEIDMANNIA
G. REIMER
MDCCCXXIII.

ATHENS.

PAUSANIAE

DESCRIPTIO GRAECIAE.

RECOGNOVIT

JOANNES HENRICUS CHRISTIANUS SCHUBART.

VOLUMEN PRIMUM.

LIPSIAE
SUMPTIBUS ET TYPIS B. G. TEUBNERI.
MDCCCLXXXI.

The Monument of Lysicrates, commonly called the Lanthorn of Demosthenes at Athens.

THE

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE,

BY

PAUSANIAS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

WITH NOTES,

IN WHICH MUCH OF THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE GREEKS IS UNFOLDED FROM A THEORY WHICH HAS BEEN FOR MANY AGES UNKNOWN.

ILLUSTRATED

WITH MAPS AND VIEWS.

A NEW EDITION
WITH CONSIDERABLE AUGMENTATIONS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Victa jacet PIETAS.——
OVID.

LONDON:
RICHARD PRIESTLEY, HIGH HOLBORN.
MDCCCXXIV.

the poet, the painter, the sculptor, the architect, the geographer or the antiquarian (fig. 4, 5, 6).

Three Italian translations of Pausanias were published within a period of 50 years. We owe these to G. Desideri (1792-1793), Antonio Nibby (1817-1818), and Sebastiano Ciampi (1826-1841). The last was accompanied by a rich commentary and 24 illustrations, borrowed from works by geographers and scholars. Among the illustrations we may single out the maps drawn by Barbié du Bocage for the atlas of the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*, part of the illustrative material from the editions of Gédoyn and Siebelis, as well as a fair number of illustrations from the studies by Quatremère de Quincy. Ernst Wiedasch (1826-1833), a German, also illustrated his translation. From the illustrative evidence he chose, he singled out a topographic plan of Athens, a copy of that published by Siebelis, which (though less precise) was in turn based on a plan done by Barbié du Bocage. The topographic plan of the Altis at Olympia also came from the atlas of the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*. Maps, topographic plans, views from travel editions, charts of mythological genealogies – illustrations were of various types, and now found their place alongside Pausanias' text.

C. G.

☞ *1. Topographical plan of Athens. Carl Gottfried Siebelis,* Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio..., *Leipzig, 1818-1819. (Gennadius Library GC 2866, vol. I, p. 376)*

2. Carl Gottfried Siebelis, Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio..., *Leipzig, 1818-1819. (Gennadius Library GC 2866)*

3. Johann Heinrich Christian Schubart, Christian Walz, Pausaniae descriptio Graeciae, *Leipzig, 1881. (American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Blegen Library)*

4. The Monument of Lysikrates. Thomas Taylor, The Description of Greece, by Pausanias. Translated from the Greek..., *London, 1824. (Gennadius Library GC 143, p. 46)*

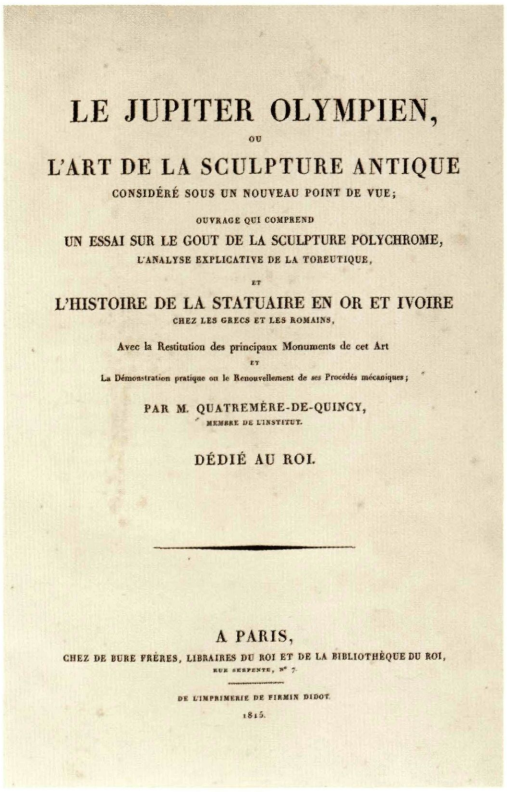
5. Thomas Taylor, The Description of Greece, by Pausanias. Translated from the Greek..., *London, 1824. (Gennadius Library GC 143)*

6. Map of Greece. Thomas Taylor, The Description of Greece, by Pausanias. Translated from the Greek..., *London, 1824. (Gennadius Library GC 143, p. 1)*

Representations Based on Pausanias

For Enlightenment scholars, the detailed descriptions of the *Periegesis* promised the idealized revival of works that had been forever lost. Despite its inadequacies and ineptitudes, the text of Pausanias would very quickly prove an important source for admirers of ancient art. Pausanias' unique *testimonia* concerning ancient art would comprise the core of intensive efforts to render the lost art works of Greek Antiquity in visual form. The passage to the image was encouraged by recent archaeological discoveries in South Italy and the consequent enrichment of the decorative repertoire.

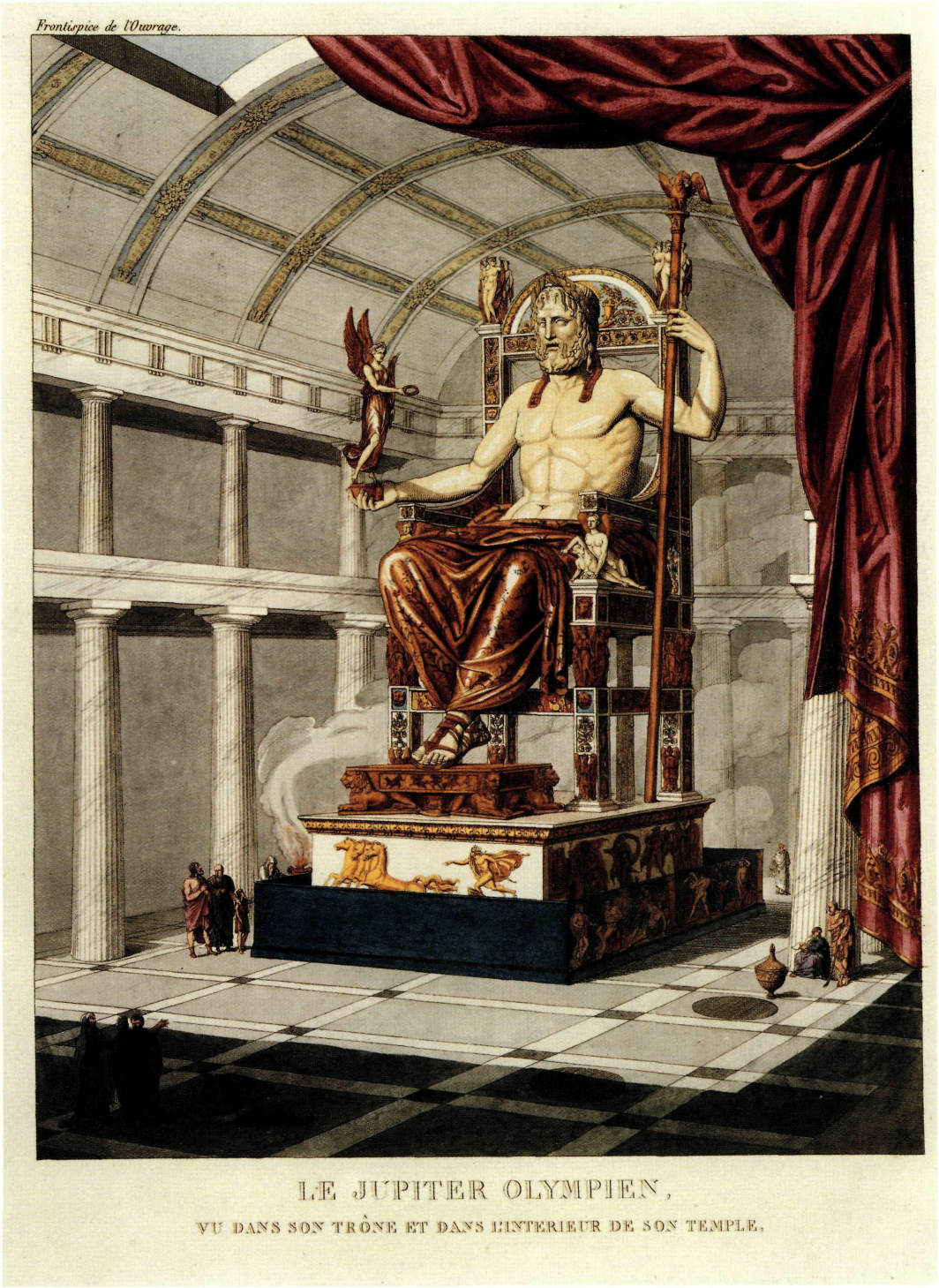
Quatremère de Quincy: Between Imitation and invention. The chief propagandist for imitation of the ancients, Quatremère de Quincy was interested in the sculptural compositions described by Pausanias, and proceeded to an important effort to render these (fig. 1). In his study *Le Jupiter Olympien ou l'art de la sculpture antique* (1814), Quatremère proposed approximately ten representations "on the basis of Pausanias," which aroused enthusiasm with their polychromy (fig. 2). He believed that the illustrative rendering of works of art on the basis of descriptions by Greek and Latin authors was "one means of enriching antiquities collections, from which we have not yet benefited sufficiently" (1818: 315).


LE JUPITER OLYMPIEN,
OU
L'ART DE LA SCULPTURE ANTIQUE
CONSIDÉRÉ SOUS UN NOUVEAU POINT DE VUE;
OUVRAGE QUI COMPREND
UN ESSAI SUR LE GOUT DE LA SCULPTURE POLYCHROME,
L'ANALYSE EXPLICATIVE DE LA TOREUTIQUE,
ET
L'HISTOIRE DE LA STATUAIRE EN OR ET IVOIRE
CHEZ LES GRECS ET LES ROMAINS,
Avec la Restitution des principaux Monuments de cet Art
ET
La Démonstration pratique ou le Renouvellement de ses Procédés mécaniques;
PAR M. QUATREMÈRE-DE-QUINCY,
MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT.
DÉDIÉ AU ROI.
A PARIS,
CHEZ DE BURE FRÈRES, LIBRAIRES DU ROI ET DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU ROI,
RUE SERPENTE, N° 7.
DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE FIRMIN DIDOT.
1814.

1. A.C. Quatremère de Quincy, Le Jupiter Olympien ou l'art de la sculpture antique…, *Paris, 1814. (Gennadius Library A 54q)*

Quatremère rarely disputed the 2nd-century *periegetes*, though he regretted his lack of method, omissions, and the unequal quality discernible in his descriptions. However, Pausanias remained the authority, since he appeared to "observe with a critical spirit the differences in the art

2. The Table of the Olympic Games, made of gold and ivory, based on the description of Pausanias. A.C. Quatremère de Quincy, Le Jupiter Olympien ou l'art de la sculpture antique…, *Paris, 1814. (Gennadius Library A 54q, plate 24, p. 360)*



3. The Throne of Jupiter. A.C. Quatremère de Quincy, Le Jupiter Olympien ou l'art de la sculpture antique…, *Paris, 1814. (Gennadius Library A 54q, plate 13, p. 274)*

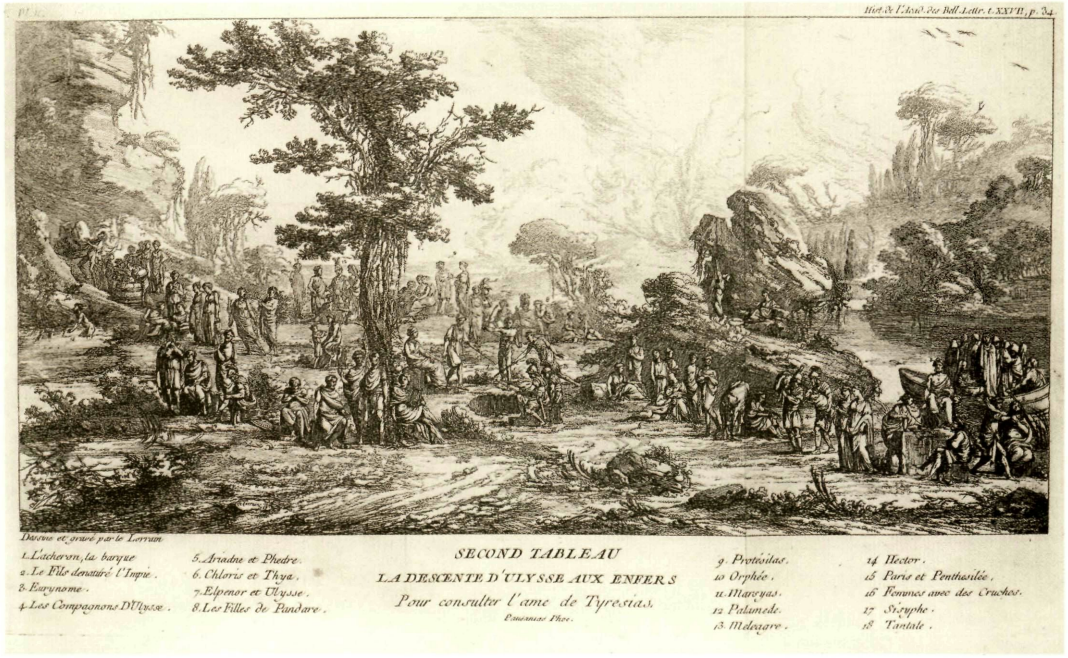
and style of the monuments" (1814: 189). Quatremère makes a great many references to Pausanias, attempting to interpret his silences and understand the logic of his description. Of the Chest of Kypselos he points out: "There is nothing easier for one to follow in drawing than the description of Pausanias." (1814: 131) (fig. 6). Thus, Quatremère wished to "mine the image from the description" (1814: 270), to "transform words into pictures" (1814: 274). The transformation of the text by Pausanias into images by Quatremère allowed the recreation of the splendor of the ancient heritage, and fed both the imagination and a genuine dispute concerning polychromy and the iconography of Greek sculpture.

Despite the learned commentary that accompanied them, these illustrations were always products of invention. The descriptions of the ancient writers, the parallelisms and analogies were still insufficient, according to Quatremère. Since we can no longer see these objects, making perceptible their beauty, shape, and the impression they aroused depends "on the power of the imagination alone" (1814: 269). Thus, Quatremère presented images that surprised, "fantasies or ghosts," as he

4. The departure of the Greeks, copper engraving by Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain. A.C.P., Comte de Caylus, "Description de deux tableaux de Polygnote, donnée par Pausanias," Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, *vol. XXVII, 1755-1757 (1761). (Gennadius Library A. 714, plate 1, p. 34)*

called them (1814: iv). For the Colossus at Olympia, he invented an architectural jewel-box the size of the statue, without following Pausanias' advice (fig. 3). He transformed the description into a living scene, with people worshipping Zeus, who had literally been enthroned behind a large fuschia curtain, which in turn transformed the representation into a "stage."

The Dispute over the Representation of Polygnotus' Paintings in the Cnidian Treasury at Delphi (Pausanias, X 25-31). In theory the text of Pausanias made easier the reconstruction of the now lost Delphi paintings of Polygnotus, which depicted the withdrawal of the Greeks after the sack of Troy and the descent to Hades. However, despite the clarity of the text in describing the groups of personages and Pausanias' insistence on details, both the composition of the paintings and the arrangement of the groups among themselves were debated. At just the moment when ancient painting becomes intriguing and the deep human sense of Polygnotus' painting becomes inspiring, the very same reference text generates rather dissonant images.



5. The descent of Ulysses into Hades, copper engraving by Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain. A.C.P., Comte de Caylus, "Description de deux tableaux de Polygnote, donnée par Pausanias," Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, *vol. XXVII, 1755-1757 (1761). (Gennadius Library A. 714, plate 2, p. 34)*

Disputes concerning the "recreation" of Polygnotus' works began in 1723, when Gédoyn presented his academician colleagues with a study on the paintings at Delphi. In 1757, Caylus re-opened the question, presenting two paintings done at his instruction by the painter Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain (1761: 34-35) (fig. 4, 5). According to the famed collector, a reconstruction on the basis of Pausanias' description, done as faithfully as possible, would permit everyone to judge the traveler's reliability and the merit of the 5th-century BC painter. But the personal interpretation of Le Lorrain was apparent, and Caylus was not happy. Indeed, there are not many Greek elements in this version, which seems to have corresponded more to the tastes of its draughtsman, who was trained in Rome.

6. The Chest of Kypselos based on the description of Pausanias. A.C. Quatremère de Quincy, Le Jupiter Olympien ou l'art de la sculpture antique..., *Paris, 1814. (Gennadius Library A 54q, plate 3, p. 124)*

Discussions between the sculptor Falconnet and Diderot concerning these representations grew sharper in their 1766 correspondence (DIDEROT 1985: vol. XIV). For the sculptor, the renderings of Polygnotus' works by Le Lorrain, these "ridiculous assemblages," these "gothic tapestries" had "no interest" (1985: Letter 10),

while Pausanias gave only a confused description of these works. For Diderot, Pausanias was "a cold human being," but "the idea he left behind is a great one". It was all the fault of Caylus, that "maniac for antiquities," collector "of cheap baubles," who "wrecked everything" (1985: Letter 11). Time passed, but we were still to witness a great deal more of all this bickering.

Between 1802 and 1823, the British architect Joseph Michael Gandy (1771-1843), a contemporary of Quatremère de Quincy, presented a number of watercolors depicting architectural reconstructions of monuments described in the *Periegesis* to the Royal Academy (Elsner 2001). The titles of Gandy's "architectural fantasies" contained clear references to the relevant sections of the *Periegesis*. For two decades, Pausanias served as a source of inspiration for the antiquarian architect. Free renderings of the ancient text by Gandy constitute evidence of grandiosity, imagination and Neo-classical idealism, in some sense sealed by scholarly references to the *Periegesis*. Once again, Pausanias became a pretext for visual recollections, which were pervaded by such an intense sense of grandeur that even the most accurate descriptions by the ancient *periegetes* could not manage to make the leap from text to image. Gandy's watercolors were as far from an objective appraisal as they were from the style and intentions of Pausanias.

In 1827, the Latin edition of Siebelis' *Periegesis* proposed a reconstruction of the

7. Epios throws down the walls of Troy (Pausanias X 26, 2). F. and I. Riepenhausen, Peintures de Polygnote à Delphes, dessinées et gravées, *vol. I, plate 12, Rome, 1829. (Private Collection)*

8. The grief of Nestor (Pausanias X 25, 11). F. and I. Riepenhausen, Peintures de Polygnote à Delphes, dessinées et gravées, *vol. I, plate 11, Rome, 1829. (Private Collection)*

first part of the paintings at Delphi in 18 scenes. Siebelis had thought of it as an ample ensemble of wall paintings. Later, the Riepenhausen brothers published their own version of the *Peintures de Polygnote à Delphes, dessinées et gravées d'après la description de Pausanias* in two albums with color plates that represent the leading figures in the Homeric episodes in detailed color scenes (fig. 7, 8, 9, 10). These illustrations, in the style of the illustrated Homer of John Flaxman, aimed to render a complete and convincing image. Nonetheless, more recent studies by Otto Jahn (1841), K.F. Welcker (1848), W.W. Lloyd (1851), W. Gebhardt (1872) and L. Michalek (1887) proposed new interpretations, incorporating new poses borrowed from ancient sculpture. As for the representations of the same theme in the work of Carl Robert, published in 1892 and 1893, these were based on a comparison to the forms on Attic vases produced during the same era as Polygnotus' paintings. In any case, uncertainty and doubts regarding the exact meaning of Pausanias' descriptions remained. In 1861, Charles Lenormant spoke of an "unruly text" (1864: 4). In order to correct the "inadequate and obscure" expressions of the *periegetes*, Lenormant in his study gave two synthetic graphs, which render the entire composition without indicating the iconography. Paul Weizsäker would do the same in 1895.

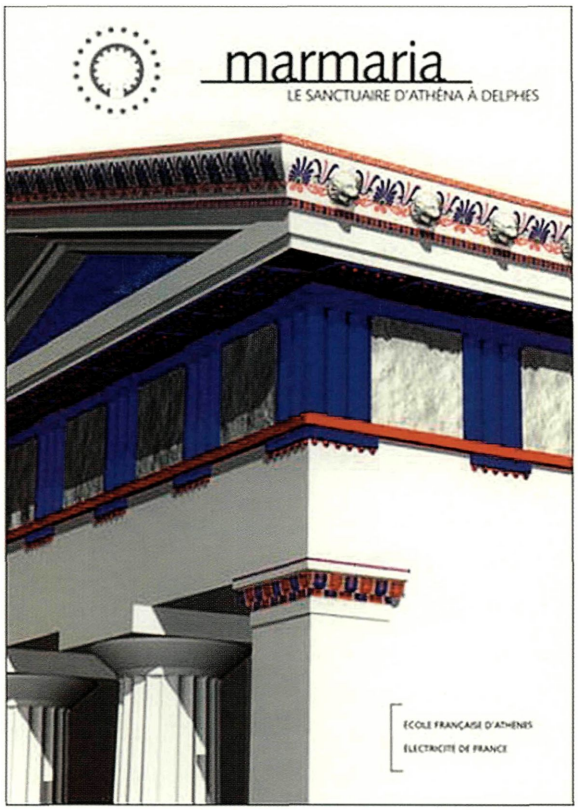
C. G.

9. The vow of Aiantas (Pausanias X 26, 3). F. and I. Riepenhausen, Peintures de Polygnote à Delphes, dessinées et gravées, *vol. I, plate 12, Rome, 1829. (Private Collection)*

10. Charon leading the souls to Hades. Tellis and Kleovia are beside them. (Pausanias X 28, 2-3). F. and I. Riepenhausen, Peintures de Polygnote à Delphes, dessinées et gravées, *vol. II, plate 8, Rome, 1829. (Private Collection)*

Texts and Images of Pausanias

Today, illustration constitutes a basic part of our perception of Pausanias' text. The development of photography and reproduction techniques accompanied the major excavation undertakings of the second half of the 19th century. Henceforth, each new edition of the *Periegesis* was accompanied by a methodical attempt at renewing its archaeological commentary. In 1880, Otto Jahn and Adolph Michaelis devoted an important study to Athens, gathering the texts of ancient authors and illustrating their commentary with detailed drawings, copies of coins, and so forth. In 1890, Margaret de G. Verall offered a partial translation of *Attica*, which was accompanied by an extensive archaeological and mythological commentary written by Jane E. Harrison; it incorporated a total of 251 illustrations. Aiming to illuminate the mythology of Athens by examining its monuments, the author of the commentary used Pausanias as her guide. Between 1896 and 1910, the German scholars Hermann Hitzig and Hugo Blümmer provided a full commentary on the text – grammatical, historical, mythological, archaeological, and topographical. But the edition that made history was without doubt that of James G. Frazer, published in six volumes (1898). Better-organized and clearer, with an English translation and a voluminous introduction, this great edition offered much more than a sound, archaeological commentary: the author put into it all his passion for mythology and the landscapes of Greece. The archaeological commentary was no longer just a guide to the reading of the *Periegesis*; it imposed itself both as an atlas and a guide to Greek topography and architecture.



1. Jean-François Bommelaer, Marmaria: Le sanctuaire d'Athéna à Delphes, *Paris, 1997. (Private Collection)*

With the progress of excavations, Pausanias' routes were commented upon and illustrated (Daux 1936, Roux 1958). However, the photographs were often mere decoration. The German translation by Ernst Meyer (1954) included photographs of ruins and landscapes that recall the point of view chosen by Stackelberg for his watercolors. The work by Jacques Lacarrière, *Promenades dans la Grèce antique* (1967, ²1978), was put together with excerpts from Pausanias; it contained comments for the general public and was adorned with lovely sepia photos. This edition was enormously successful. The second edition of Nikolaos Papachatzis (1974-1981), with its large format and high-quality printing, together with color illustrations, was simultaneously both a learned study and a commercial coffee-table book. The partial translation into French of the *Attica* by Marguerite Yon (1972, ²1983) was also a great success. The weight of its illustration fell primarily on 13 reproductions of engravings by François Pouqueville (*La Grèce*, 1835) and drawings by famous travelers. The editor acknowledged the disparity between the text and the charming images it provided. "But after all, Pausanias was an imaginative traveler, separated from Pericles by the same interval separating us from Philip the Fair. These works perhaps illustrate him better than all the ever so learned topographical plans and precision photographs" (Prologue, pp. 5-6). The illustration of Pausanias thus alternates between archaeological validation and charm – artistic, educational, even touristic (Xanthakis & Papapostolou 2002). The depiction of Pausanias' descriptions and the disputes about the renderings of lost works of art continue and benefit from the development of composite images and the moving digital image that permit us once more to find the personal scale of the *periegetes'* gaze, so that we can watch it over and over through Pausanias' eyes – this time, however, on our computer screens (fig. 1). Entering this virtual world, we do not simply follow Pausanias; we can alter his route, change the atmospheric lighting, and imagine artificial effects. All we have to do is "click" on the appropriate key.

C. G.

Gardellaca
Lusomana
Aquinco
Vetusallo
Annamaria
Altaripa
Botuio
Sonista
Piretis
Iuntulis
Iouia
Sirotis
Bolentio
Marinianis
Quadrata
Ad fines
Siscia
Burnomilia
Aserie
Sardona
Hedino
Castello Firmani
Cupra Maritima
Castro trentino
Polentia
Sacrata
Fiusor
Tuina
Firmo viceno
Fisternas
Cirulos
Pitinum
Priferno
Surpicano
Interocrio
Aque Cutillie
Reate
Ad nouas
Creto
Homento
Fidenis
Admartis
Palacrinis
Forvecri
Inter manana
Acquo Falsico
Farfar
Aqua uiua
Ad lucesimu
Ad rubras
Ad tine Recine
Interamnio
Ad sextum
Via clodia
Ponte Adriani
Veios
Carcias
Turres
Bebiana
Iorio
Via Aurelia
Pyrgos
Alsium
Gallum Gallinatium
Clucar
Thuburbiminus
Thuraria
Ad mercurium
Ad pertusa
Sicilibba
Tuburbomanus
Bibae
Risca
Seggo
Auula
Thasarte
Athasartho
Thusuros

Pausanias Today: An Evaluation

IV

Pausanias today

Today there is no one knowledgeable about Antiquity, nor even the informed antiquarian, who does not recognize the decisive contribution of Pausanias' itinerary to the reconstruction and documentation of the monumental and historical topography of ancient Greece, as well as to the clarification of issues related to the multivalent and multi-faceted ancient world. Such an axiomatic position would certainly have caused many doubts and objections in earlier times, when the traveler Pausanias did not figure among scholarly priorities and the study of Pausanias was first and foremost of a rather incidental, supplementary nature. However, research – or more properly, the interests of researchers – shifted to issues that go beyond the aesthetic analysis of the ancient world, the "fine" art of the few, the manifestations primarily of public life and related matters, to questions never treated in other periods, such as the multi-layered study of the countryside (i.e. of the area *extra muros*, in contradistinction to the area of the cities, *intra muros*, whose study prevailed until that time), the in-depth investigation of material culture, or the immersion in the routines of daily life, in the art and techniques of the many. This shift had as a result, among many others, not only the "adoption" of Pausanias, but what is more the renewed use of his work as a source seen from a different perspective, prism, and intention. The surveys carried out over the past 25 years in the Greek countryside – which normally last for years, and are implemented on an interdisciplinary, diachronic basis – in combination with local excavations, particularly in large urban centers and sanctuaries, as well as the individual thematic studies of his itinerary, have revealed the traveler's value as an entirely reliable informant, persistent and precise in his personal inspections and descriptions, fond of learning and tireless. Thus, today we have a fuller and, more importantly, well-documented picture of the settlement patterns in the countryside of many ancient states, as well as of their various "appendages," from peripheral sanctuaries, heroa and monuments to fountains and defense networks, as well as a secure reconstruction of the ancient road network. On the basis of our study of Pausanias, we are today attempting an interpretative restoration of the public center of Roman Sparta, and identifying the names and purposes of buildings in a city that rises, wonderfully restored, to a size unprece-

☜ *Tabula Peutingeriana (copy of a Roman map, 1265 AD): detail*

dented in Greece; and that is, of course, Messene. And there follow Athens, Olympia, and Delphi, to all of which Pausanias' rereading has made a decisive contribution, so as to provide us here, too, with a "different" picture. In these "readings" we consciously chose to approach the two poles of the city – sanctuary by focusing on the two most eponymous cities and the two sanctuaries with supra-regional appeal and ecumenical dimensions, so that the comparative contradistinction between them may function inductively. The extent of Pausanias' contribution to the overall quality of this picture is beyond doubt. We owe him a great deal for all that he has offered us, and continues to offer in perpetuity.

Praising Pausanias' contribution does not mean that we overlook whatever weaknesses or problems arise first and foremost from the genre of his work or from the author's experiences and temperament. There are obvious omissions, or even mistakes, in his itinerary, due either to incomplete information and knowledge (since he very often adopts the information given to him by his guides) or to oversight or to some other cause, unforeseeable and difficult to determine; these, however, in no way tarnish or devalue his work; they cannot demote Pausanias to a lesser, merely supplemental source of ancient literature.

Today, indisputable evidence of the importance and value of Pausanias' work is provided by the relevant publications of the past 25 years, which show a clear numerical increase, encompass a very broad range of topics, and provide a satisfactory assessment of what has been accomplished: a new text (that is, a new critical edition, once again by Teubner), new translations into the major European languages, commentaries on the itinerary updated with recent archaeological research, a number of monographs, and the proceedings of conferences devoted exclusively to the traveler and his work (see Bibliography).

Finally, in Greece today, reference to Pausanias' name no longer calls up in the minds of non-specialists images exclusively of trips and excursions – because of the tourist agency bearing his name. On the contrary, reference to the *periegetes'* routes and memorabilia has become fashionable, so as to form a driving force in the local economy: thus, floral "monuments" are named after him (*cf.* "Pausanias' vine" or "Pausanias' plane tree"!), recently built hostelries and restaurants serve the needs of Pausanias' modern imitators, or he is adopted by tourist organizations offering "new products." I believe it goes without saying that this "discovery" represents, albeit in an indirect and distant fashion, an echo of the re-examination and recognition of Pausanias in scholarly research.

Y.P.

The Routes

Based on the results of current research, all of the routes of Pausanias' 20-year-long trip through Greece are presented here. The scale of the map required schematic renderings of the routes (using straight lines rather than following the natural land contours), and the reduction of labels to the starting- and end-points of each route, while the points where there is a difference of opinion or obscurity concerning the *periegetes'* route are clearly marked. By observing the map of Pausanias' itinerary, the viewer can comprehend both the extent of his work – let us take into consideration how much time the modern traveler would need to cover the same territory, in spite of today's much greater ease of travel – as well as his planning and method. Taking as his point of departure the intellectual capital of Athens and its hinterland (*chora*), Attica, he covered the Peloponnese before passing on to eastern Central Greece. His method of employing as his "home base" the residential center of a region and visiting the hinterland in a series of routes radiating out from the center, so that he could come to know and describe it assiduously, is noteworthy. When the situation called for it, he then expanded into detailed descriptions, literally "losing" himself as he enumerated everything: the best example is the sanctuary of Olympia, to which he devoted two books, thus breaking his own rule that each geographic region should be accommodated in a single book.

Y.P.

1. The map (scale 1:1,300,000) shows the routes of Pausanias' travels in Greek territory.

ΚΑΡΠΕΝΗΣΙ
ΛΑΜΙΑ
ΑΜΦΙΣΣΑ
ΔΕΛΦΟΙ
ΜΕΣΟΛΟΓΓΙ
ΧΑΛΚΙΔΑ
ΘΗΒΑ
ΠΑΤΡΑ
ΑΘΗΝΑ
ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ
ΠΥΡΓΟΣ
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ
ΝΑΥΠΛΙΟ
ΤΡΙΠΟΛΗ
ΜΕΣΣΗΝΗ
ΚΑΛΑΜΑΤΑ
ΣΠΑΡΤΗ
Β
0 10 20 30 40 50 χλμ
Δημιουργία χάρτη: Γ.Α.Π. & ΑΝΑΒΑΣΗ

The Cities: a. Athens

Pausanias' *Periegesis* in Athens. Pausanias went up to Athens from Piraeus, and entered the city from the northwest, beginning his route from the Dipylon, having already observed remains of the walls of Conon and graves along the road; in addition, he has mentioned that there was also a road from Phaleron which ended at the monument of the Amazon Antiope at one of the entrances on the south side of the city (I 1, 5). His routes are presented below in general outline, with brief comments on the relevant archaeological data.

ROUTE 1

Dipylon (Pompeion, Temple of Demeter and Kore, stoas, votive offerings, house of Pulytion, Gymnasium of Hermes).

The Agora (Stoa Basileios, Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, Temple of Apollo Patroos, Metroon, Bouleuterion, Tholos, monument of the Eponymous Heroes, Temple of Ares, statues of the Tyrannicides, Odeion of Agrippa, Enneakrounos, Eleusinion, Temple of Eukleia).

Commentary

The Pompeion that Pausanias saw was the building of the Antonine period and not the original one, which had been destroyed by Sulla in 86 BC. The Temple of Demeter has not been located in the excavations of the Kerameikos, but it was probably situated near the Sacred Gate. The stoas on either side of the Panathenaic Way are dated to the Roman period (from the 1st to the 4th c. AD), and parts of these have been found during excavations on either side of modern-day Ermou and Adrianou Streets. Regarding the house of Pulytion, which is also known from other ancient sources, Pausanias notes that in his time the area was devoted to Dionysos. Pulytion is best known from the case of the desecration of the Eleusinian mysteries on the eve of the Sicilian expedition in 415 BC.

The *periegetes*' route in the Agora began from the northwest corner, proceeding southward along its western road. The public buildings and sanctuaries he saw have been excavated, and their identification has been confirmed. Since he describes the position of the monument of the Eponymous Heroes, which, as the excavations have shown, was located on the opposite side of the road, as *above the Tholos* (I 5, 1), I believe it is logical to assume that he has turned back and walks northwards while ob-

serving the monuments on the eastern side of the road and in the open square of the Agora. Pausanias saw the monument of the Eponymous Heroes in its later form, after the removal of the statues of the Macedonian royal house, and the addition of those of Attalus, Ptolemy, and his contemporary, the Emperor Hadrian. He most likely saw the Odeion of Agrippa in its first form, before its rebuilding around the mid-2nd century AD, when the well-known façade with the Giants and Tritons was added. Pausanias probably proceeded through the Odeion and the Middle Stoa, i.e. without going out onto the Panathenaic Way, in a southeasterly direction, where he saw a fountain belonging to the Peisistratid era. According to the Agora excavators, the so-called Southeast fountain house could be identified with the Enneakrounos of Pausanias. The identification of the precise location of the Enneakrounos and its relation to the fountain of Callirhoë was one of the most disputed issues of Athenian topography, especially in the first half of the 20th century. There is no evidence from excavations for the Temple of Eukleia, a votive offering for the victory against the Persians.

ROUTE 2

Agora (Hephaisteion, Temple of Aphrodite Ourania, a gate with a trophy from a cavalry battle, Stoa Poikile, Altar of Pity).

Area east of the Agora and north-northeast-east of the Acropolis (Gymnasium of Ptolemy, Theseion, Anakeion, precinct of Aglauros, Prytaneion).

Commentary

This part of the narrative also starts with the Stoa Basileios as reference point, a monument that Pausanias has already described. The Temple of Hephaistos, the best-preserved temple in mainland Greece, dominates the hill of Agoraios Kolonos. Both the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania as well as the Stoa Poikile are in the excavated area north of modern-day Adrianou Street. The identification of the Stoa Poikile, however, has not been unanimously accepted. The Altar of Pity has been identified with the Altar of the Twelve Gods, found within an enclosure in the north-central area of the Agora.

The location of the Hellenistic Gymnasium of Ptolemy remains unknown, despite earlier efforts to locate it directly east of the Stoa of Attalos (St. Miller [1995: 212-216] places it in the area of modern Lysiou Street in the Plaka). The Theseion and the Anakeion, or precinct of the Dioskouroi, known from other ancient sources, remain unattested by excavation, while the Sanctuary of Aglauros was identified with the cave on the east slope of the Acropolis after the discovery of a stele bearing a de-

cree of the 3rd century BC (SEG XXXIII. 115). How the *periegetes* found himself, from the north side of the Agora, on the east slope of the Acropolis remains a problem. The reference to the Prytaneion introduces us to the problem of the location of the agora before Solon's time. Recent studies converge to the view that the archaic Agora must have been located east-northeast of the Acropolis (SHEAR 1994: 226-228, ROBERTSON 1998: 284-286, SCHMALZ 2006).

ROUTE 3

Lower part of the city (Sarapeion, site of the agreement between Peirithous and Theseus for the expedition against Lakedaimon, Temple of Eileithyia).

Temple of Olympian Zeus and the area around the Ilissos (Temple of Kronos and Rhea, precinct of Olympian Gaia (Earth) with a chasm in the ground, grave of Deukalion, Temple of Hera and Zeus Panhellenios, Sanctuary of Pythian Apollo, Sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios, Temple of Aphrodite in the Gardens, Sanctuary of Herakles at Kynosarges).

Area of the Lykeion (Temple of Apollo Lykeios, Heroon of Nisos).

Eridanos, Ilissos.

Site where Boreas seized Oreithyia, Altar of the Ilissian Muses, Heroon of Kodros, Temple of Artemis Agrotera, Stadium.

Digression

Hadrianic works: Library of Hadrian, Pantheon and Gymnasium.

Commentary

The site of the Sarapeion and consequently that of the Temple of Eileithyia has been sought in the area of the Cathedral, but apart from some epigraphic evidence, there are no excavation data for these two sanctuaries. The *periegetes* would have seen the Temple of Olympian Zeus in its completed form, 15 years after its inauguration by the Emperor Hadrian himself in 131 AD. The Temple of Kronos and Rhea is probably to be identified with the Doric temple excavated south of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, while according to Travlos (1971, 290 and no. 187 on plan 379) the precinct of Gaia was situated southwest of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, atop a rocky outcrop.

Only the Library is known out of the Hadrianic works in Athens that are listed by Pausanias without any immediate topographical context. The Panhellenion might have been located south of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, while attempts have been made to identify the Pantheon with the remains of a monumental building of the Hadrianic period that have come to light in rescue excavations along Adrianou Street.

The Sanctuary of Pythian Apollo, known from other references and epigraphical sources, must have been located somewhere near the intersection of Iosif-ton-Rogon and Lembesi Streets, but this has not been confirmed by excavation. There is greater doubt regarding the site of the Gardens, an area somewhere on the right bank of the Ilissos and outside the walls, hosting a Temple of Aphrodite. The site of the Sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios could be determined with greater precision if the well-known gymnasium of the Lykeion is to be identified with the remains excavated near modern-day Rigillis Street (Lygouri-Tolia 2002: 203-212). Pausanias speaks of the place where Kodros, the last king of the Athenians, was killed, without noting the existence of the precinct known to us from inscription IG I^3 84 (precinct of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile). Having crossed the Ilissos, he saw the Temple of Artemis Agrotera and the Stadium, impressively renovated entirely in marble by Herodes Atticus only a few years earlier (140-144 AD). Architectural remains found on the south side of Ardettou Street are probably to be identified with the Temple of Artemis that is known to us from the drawings by J. Stuart and N. Revett (1762).

Route 4

South Slope (Street of the Tripods, Odeion of Pericles, Sanctuary of Dionysos with two temples, Theater of Dionysos, choregic monument of Thrasyllos, tomb of Kalos, Sanctuary of Asclepius, Temple of Themis, sepulchral mound to Hippolytus, Sanctuary of Ge (Earth) Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloe).

Commentary

Starting from the Prytaneion, his reference point for this next route, Pausanias spoke of the Street of the Tripods, with its famed choregic monuments. Apart from the still-standing Monument of Lysikrates in the square of the same name in Plaka, foundations of choregic monuments have also been found in the basements of buildings along the modern Street of the Tripods. Of the monuments on the South Slope referred to by Pausanias, the tomb of Kalos has not been located, while the Sanctuary of Themis could probably be identified with a small temple south of the archaic spring. The monument of Hippolytus had the form of piled-up earth, and for this reason would hardly leave any recognizable remains. Finally, the site of the Sanctuary of Earth Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloe has been identified with a small terrace beneath the Propylaia. It is obvious that the *periegetes* followed the *Peripatos*, the path around the Acropolis, and not one of the main roads leading to the entrance to the Sacred Rock.

ROUTE 5

Acropolis and North Slope (Propylaia, Temple of Apteros Nike, Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, Sanctuary of Zeus Polieus, Parthenon, Erechtheion, Temple of Athena Polias, the olive-tree of Athena, Pandroseion, Arrephorion, wall, Klepsydra, sanctuaries of Apollo and Pan in caves on the North Slope).

Areopagus (Sanctuary of the Semnai [Erinyes], tomb of Oedipus), the ship used in the Panathenaic procession.

Digression

Law courts of Athens.

Commentary

The description of the Acropolis, to which Pausanias devotes the following six chapters (I 22, 4 – I 28, 3), begins with the Propylaia and concludes with the monuments on the northwest slope. As regards the sanctuaries on the Areopagus, only surmises have been expressed concerning their location. At this point, Pausanias concludes his tour of the city within the walls.

ROUTE 6

The Academy (Sanctuary of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste, Temple of Dionysos Eleutherios, graves, enclosure of the Academy with altars).

Tower of Timon.

Kolonos Hippios, with altars and heroa (grove of Poseidon).

Commentary

Pausanias exited the city from the Dipylon and made his way to the northwest, following the wide road (Dromos) towards the Academy. A portion of an enclosure excavated at nr. 11 Plataion Street and epigraphic testimonies lead to the conclusion that the site of the Sanctuary of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste must have been on the western side of Plataion Street; however, we have no evidence from excavations for the location of the Sanctuary of Dionysos. The topography of the Academy, despite sporadic excavations, remains largely unknown.

ROUTE 7

Sacred Way (graves, precinct of Lakios, sanctuary of Demeter, Altar of Zeus Meilichios, Temple of Kyamites, Sanctuary of Apollo, Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Rheitoi, Eleusinian Kephissos).

Commentary

After a long digression on the demes of Attica, Pausanias returns to his description of Athens and mentions another exit, that of the Sacred Way. A large number of funerary monuments have been excavated along the Sacred Way, but none of the heroa or sanctuaries noted by the *periegetes* have been identified with certainty, with the exception of the excavated Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Daphni. After passing the Rheitoi and the Eleusinian Kephissos, he entered into the area of Eleusis, where he ended with a description of the Sanctuary of Demeter, and from there he took two routes, one towards Boeotia and the other towards Megaris, in order to finish his first book (*Attica*).

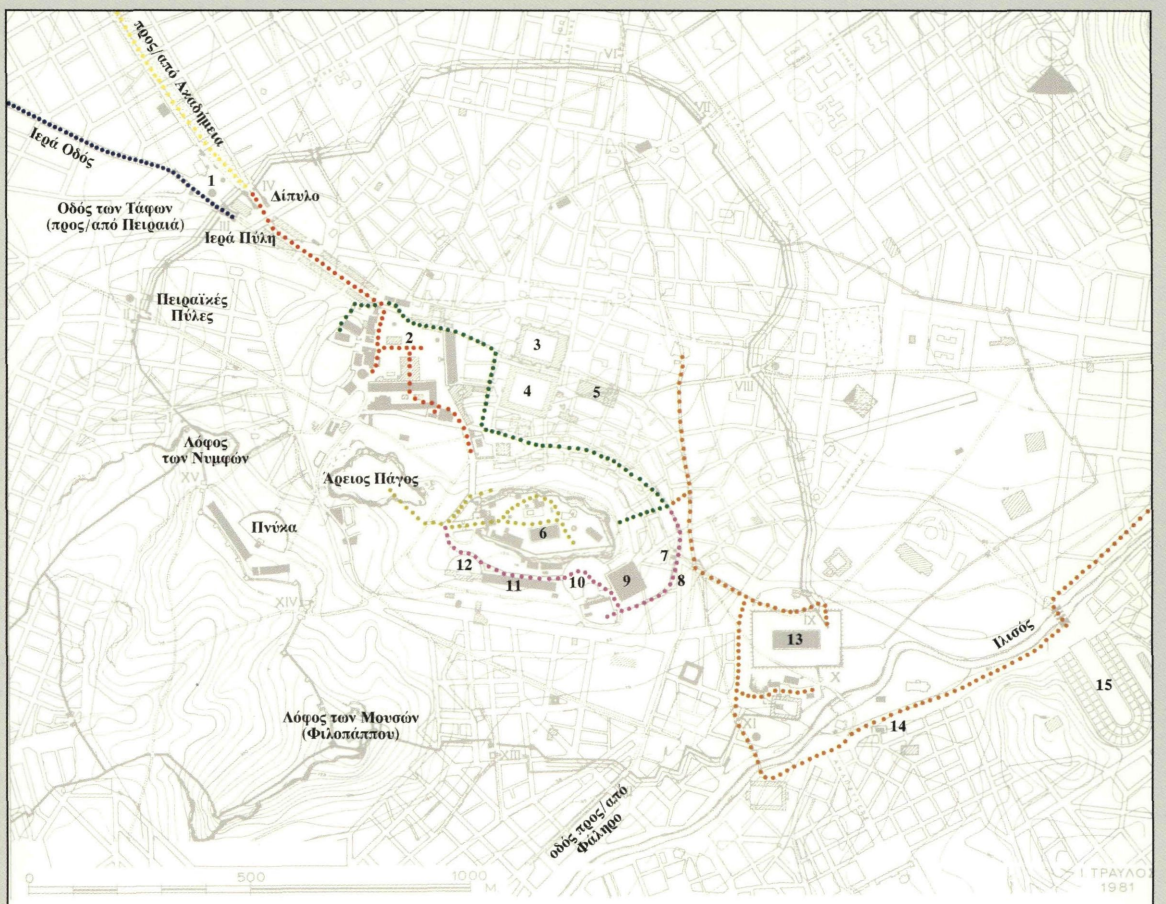
The *periegesis* of Athens certainly took place before 160 (VII 20, 6), and in all probability after 155 AD. Extensive regions of the city were omitted from Pausanias' description, especially from its southern, southwestern, and northern sections. He probably thought that these presented no particular interest for the purposes of his work, and chose to focus on the city's purely public and monumental areas. It is worth noting his most significant omissions, which include the Pnyx and the hills to the southwest of the city, the Hellenistic Diogeneion gymnasium, the Stoa of Attalos on the eastern side of the Agora, in front of which he certainly passed, as well as the Stoa of Eumenes on the South Slope.

It is also noteworthy that although he did not visit certain monuments along his route, he referred to them incidentally, when he considered that they belonged to a given thematic unit. For example, he mentions the "common sanctuary of the gods" (Pantheon) when he praises Hadrian (I 5, 5), without any topographical indication as to its location. He makes a brief reference to the Mouseion Hill with the funerary monument of Philopappos and the Macedonian fort at I 25, 8 while he is on the Acropolis in the context of his narrative of the events that took place in the time of Demetrios Poliorcetes. Finally, in his narrative of the ceremonial ritual of the arrephoroi, he might be referring to the existence of another sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens closer to the Acropolis (I 27, 3).

L.C.

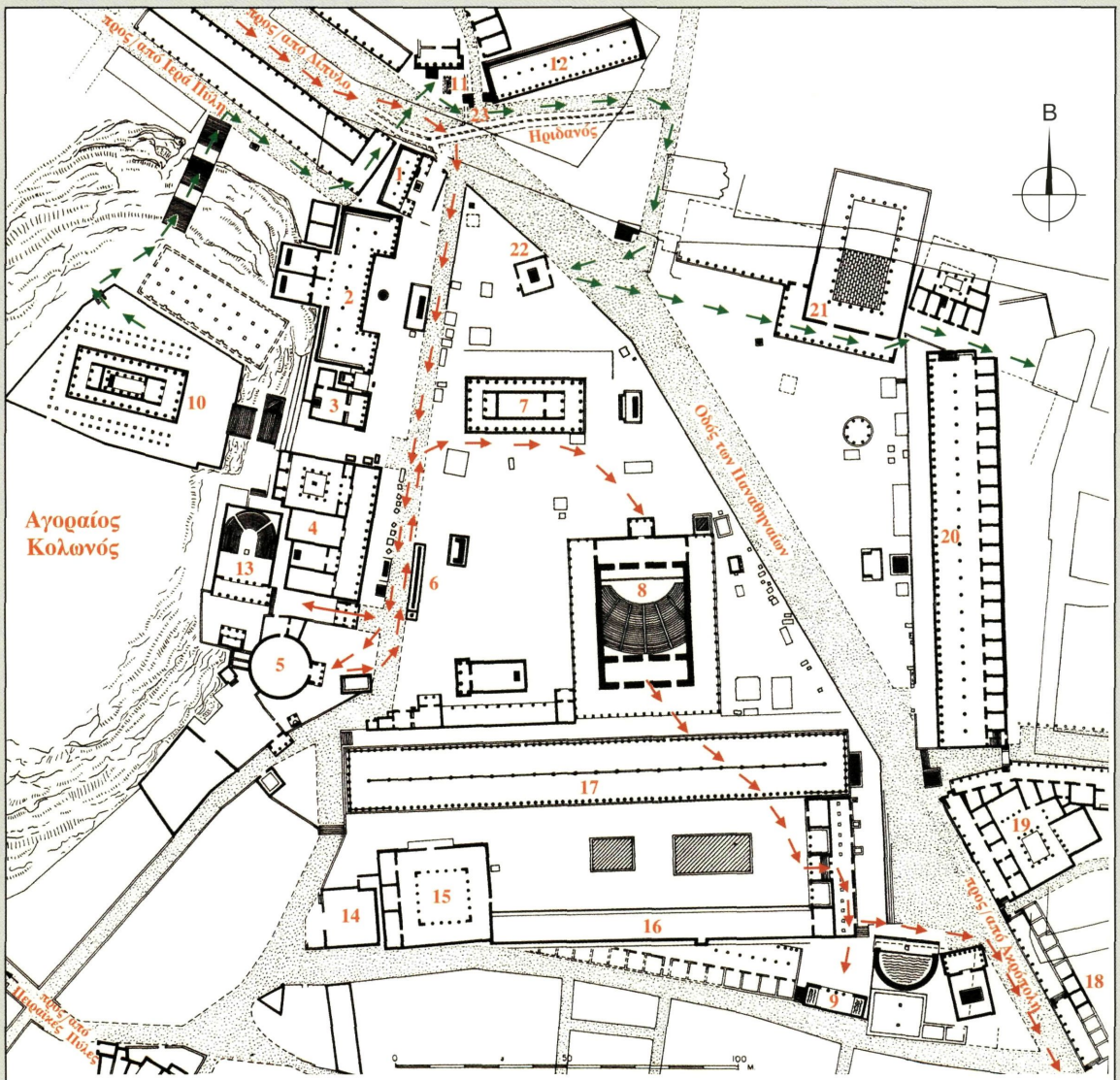
2. The routes of Pausanias in the city are marked on the plan of Athens as restored on the basis of his account. ☞ *(Map from J. Travlos,* Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika, *Tübingen, 1988, p. 34, fig. 29)*

3. Detail of Routes 1 and 2. The major monuments and the routes of Pausanias according to his account are marked on the plan of the Agora of Athens (2nd c. AD). Base plan from J. McK. Camp II, The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens, *London, 1986, p. 183, fig. 153)*



ROUTE 1
ROUTE 2
ROUTE 3
ROUTE 4
ROUTE 5
ROUTE 6
ROUTE 7

1: Kerameikos
2: Agora
3: Library of Hadrian
4: Roman Market
5: Pantheon (?)
6: Acropolis
7: Choregic monument of Lysikrates
8: Street of the Tripods
9: Odeion of Perikles
10: Theatre of Dionysos
11: Stoa of Eumenes
12: Odeion of Herodes Atticus
13: Temple of Olympian Zeus
14: Temple of Artemis Agrotera (?)
15: Stadium



1: Royal Stoa
2: Stoa of Zeus
3: Temple of Apollo Patroos
4: Metroon
5: Tholos
6: Monument of Eponymous Heroes
7: Temple of Ares
8: Odeion of Agrippa
9: Southeast fountain house
10: Temple of Hephaistos
11: Altar of Aphrodite Ourania
12: Stoa Poikile (?)
13: New Bouleuterion
14: Southwest fountain house
15: Aiakeion
16: South Stoa II
17: Middle Stoa
18: Southeast Stoa
19: Library of Pantainos
20: Stoa of Attalos
21: Basilica
22: Altar of the Twelve Gods
23: Gate with trophy

The Cities: b. Sparta

Pausanias in Sparta. The main source for the monumental topography of Sparta is Pausanias, who devoted nine chapters of his third book to the description of the city's monuments, while referring only to most noteworthy ones (*αξιολογώτατα*), as he himself stated (III 11, 1). Pausanias visited Sparta after his tour of the Argolid, most likely during the period 155-160 AD. He began the enumeration of the city's sights with its administrative and religious center, the Agora, which he visited first, as he had already done in the case of Corinth (II 2, 6), Argos (II 19, 3), and Troezan (II 31, 1). Then, having the Agora as his point of departure and based on regularly defined reference points, he followed four main routes, with short digressions, in order to visit the city's most important monuments.

His first route was along Aphetais Road, Sparta's oldest named urban road, starting from the Agora and ending in the area of the walls at the city's southern edge.

His second route was a tour of the hills to the north and northwest of the Agora.

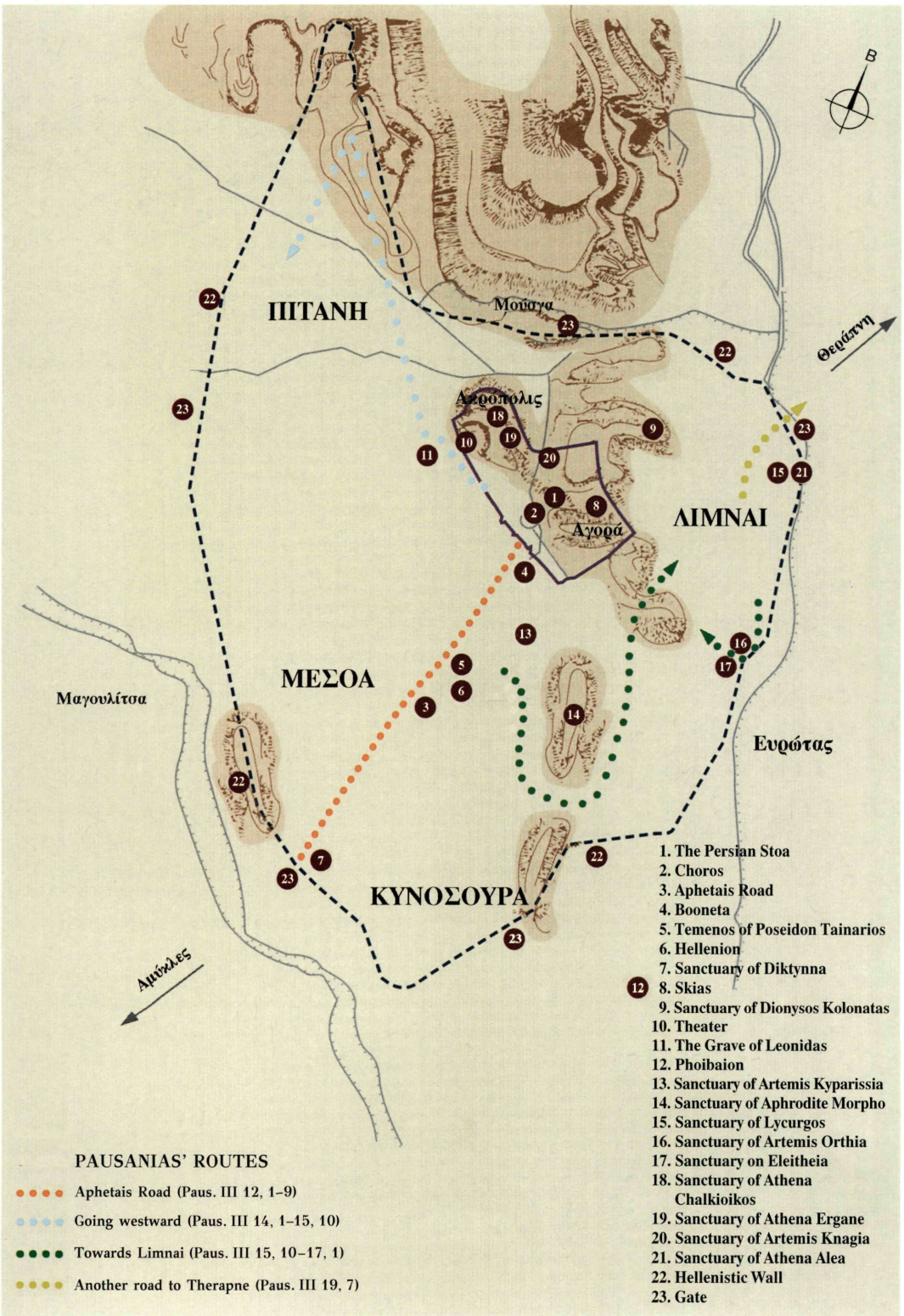
His third route was initially directed west/northwest, as he covered the sights of the western and southwestern area of the city; he then followed a northeasterly direction, covering the sights of the eastern area of the city, together with the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

His fourth route encompassed the area of the Acropolis and its monuments.

The number of monuments referred to by Pausanias during his visit to Sparta is impressive, even though these included *only* those "most worthy of mention." In the area within the walls he notes 63 temples, sanctuaries, and sacred precincts, 20 heroons, 22 tombs of important men, 7 xoana, 24 statues of divinities and heroes, 2 stoas, 7 altars, 2 gymnasiums, the Agora and its buildings, and a large number of other public spaces.

E. K.

4. Map showing the routes and most important monuments of Sparta in accordance with Pausanias' itinerary.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Μούαγα
Θεράπνη
Ακρόπολις
ΛΙΜΝΑΙ
Αγορά
ΜΕΣΟΑ
Μαγουλίτσα
Ευρώτας
ΚΥΝΟΣΟΥΡΑ
Αμύκλες
PAUSANIAS' ROUTES
Aphetais Road (Paus. III 12, 1–9)
Going westward (Paus. III 14, 1–15, 10)
Towards Limnai (Paus. III 15, 10–17, 1)
Another road to Therapne (Paus. III 19, 7)
1. The Persian Stoa
2. Choros
3. Aphetais Road
4. Booneta
5. Temenos of Poseidon Tainarios
6. Hellenion
7. Sanctuary of Diktynna
8. Skias
9. Sanctuary of Dionysos Kolonatas
10. Theater
11. The Grave of Leonidas
12. Phoibaion
13. Sanctuary of Artemis Kyparissia
14. Sanctuary of Aphrodite Morpho
15. Sanctuary of Lycurgos
16. Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
17. Sanctuary on Eleitheia
18. Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos
19. Sanctuary of Athena Ergane
20. Sanctuary of Artemis Knagia
21. Sanctuary of Athena Alea
22. Hellenistic Wall
23. Gate

The Sanctuaries: a. Olympia

Olympia in Roman Times. The admiration of the Roman emperors for Classical Greece was the reason for the winds of renaissance that blew through Olympia during the years of the early Empire. Their interest in the Olympic Games increased especially during periods of economic prosperity of the Roman Empire, a fact reflected in the intense building activity in the area of the Sanctuary and in the splendor with which the Games were conducted. The enormous building complexes, mainly baths and guesthouses occupying the western and eastern parts of the area, were built to serve the athletes as well as invited dignitaries arriving from all over the Roman Empire to attend the Games.

Repairs and improvements were made in the Temple of Zeus and the Stadium, while the Metroon was turned into an area for imperial worship, with statues of the Roman emperors placed in the temple's inner shrine. The Temple of Hera functioned as a kind of museum, where the sanctuary's valuable sculptures were stored. The area of the Altis was completely filled with portrait statues of Roman emperors and statues of eminent Roman citizens and officials. In any case, it is characteristic that Olympia remained an exceptionally conservative sanctuary, where Zeus always continued to be the main deity worshipped, without space ever being left for the introduction of Eastern religions, as occurred at other Greek sanctuaries during the Roman period.

A real explosion of building activity is observed at the site during the 2nd century AD. As part of the restoration of many buildings, the Prytaneion and Theokoleon (the priests' residence) were modernized, and radical changes took place in the Leonidaion, which was adjusted in accordance to the principles of Roman architecture and acquired a large decorative lake in the center of its open-air courtyard.

During the age of Hadrian or slightly later, the final change took place in the ancient Stadium: its southern embankment was raised and the exedra of the Hellenodikoi was widened. Herodes Atticus built an exceptionally important and imposing structure at Olympia during the same period (160 AD). This was a magnificent aqueduct, known as the Nymphaion or the Exedra of Herodes Atticus. It was the only secular building within the sacred space of the Altis, a fact that displeased a significant number of conservative Eleans at the time. However, this structure provided a definitive solution to the problem of lack of water at the site, especially during the

period when the Games were being held, when crowds of people inundated the region under conditions of great heat (in July and August).

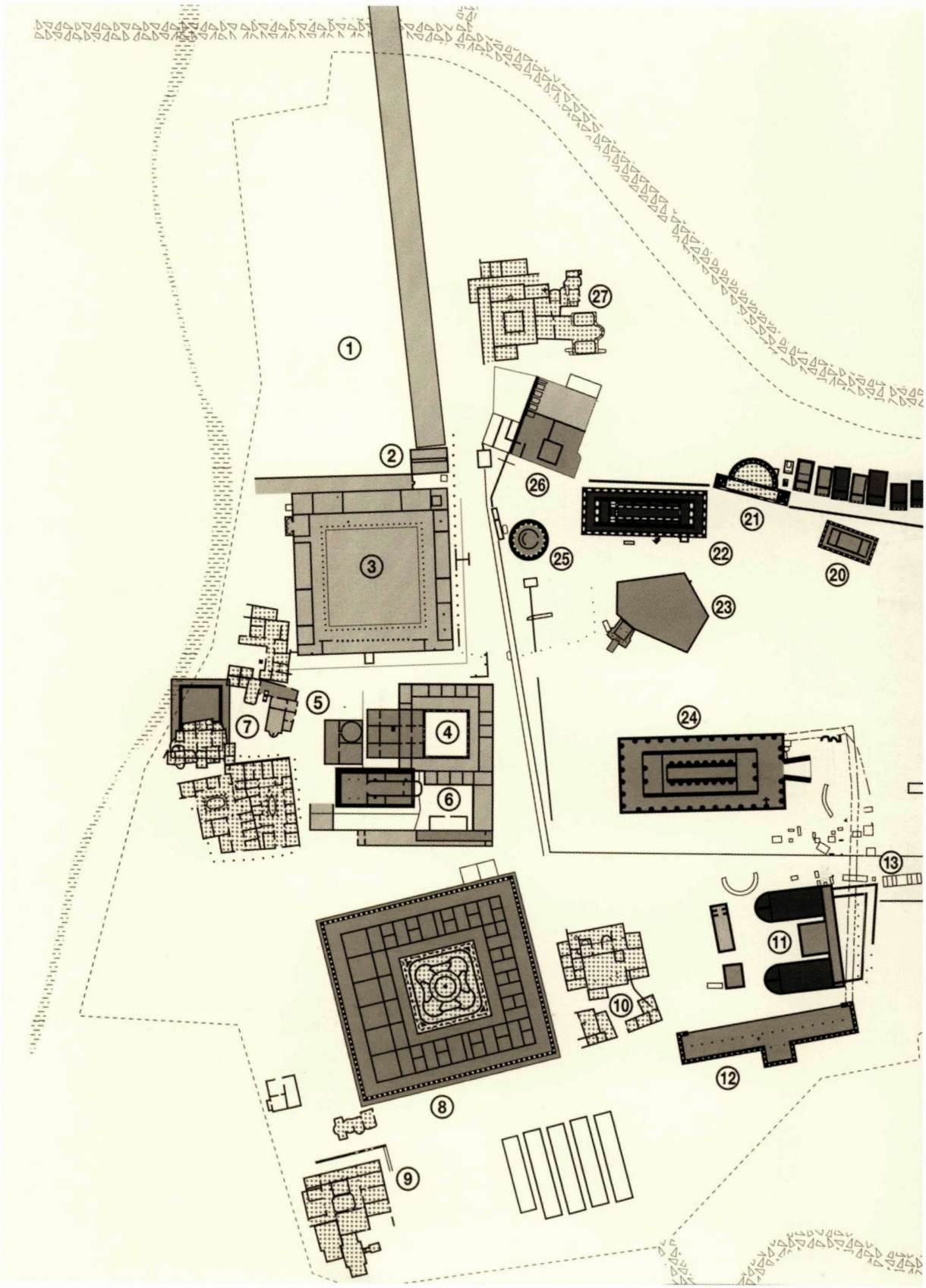
We have a detailed description of the site during this period from Pausanias (V-VI), who visited Olympia and conveyed in his text all the information he collected from the Sanctuary's interpreters.

A result of the exceptional development of Olympia was the transformation of the character of the Games, which were altered from "Panhellenic" to "Ecumenical," especially after Caracalla granted (212 AD) the rights of Roman citizenship to all the Empire's subjects. Thus, many athletes from Alexandria, Ephesus, Miletus, Syria, Phoenice, Babylonia, and even Armenia were proclaimed Olympic victors.

Olympia's renaissance did not last long, since the prosperity of the Hadrianic age had already begun to decline during the last years of Antonine rule. The following years no longer had the glory of the past, as the repercussions of the weakened economic condition of Rome reached Olympia too.

X.A.

5. Detailed plan of Olympia, from X. Arapogianni, Ολυμπία, *Athens, 2002.* ☞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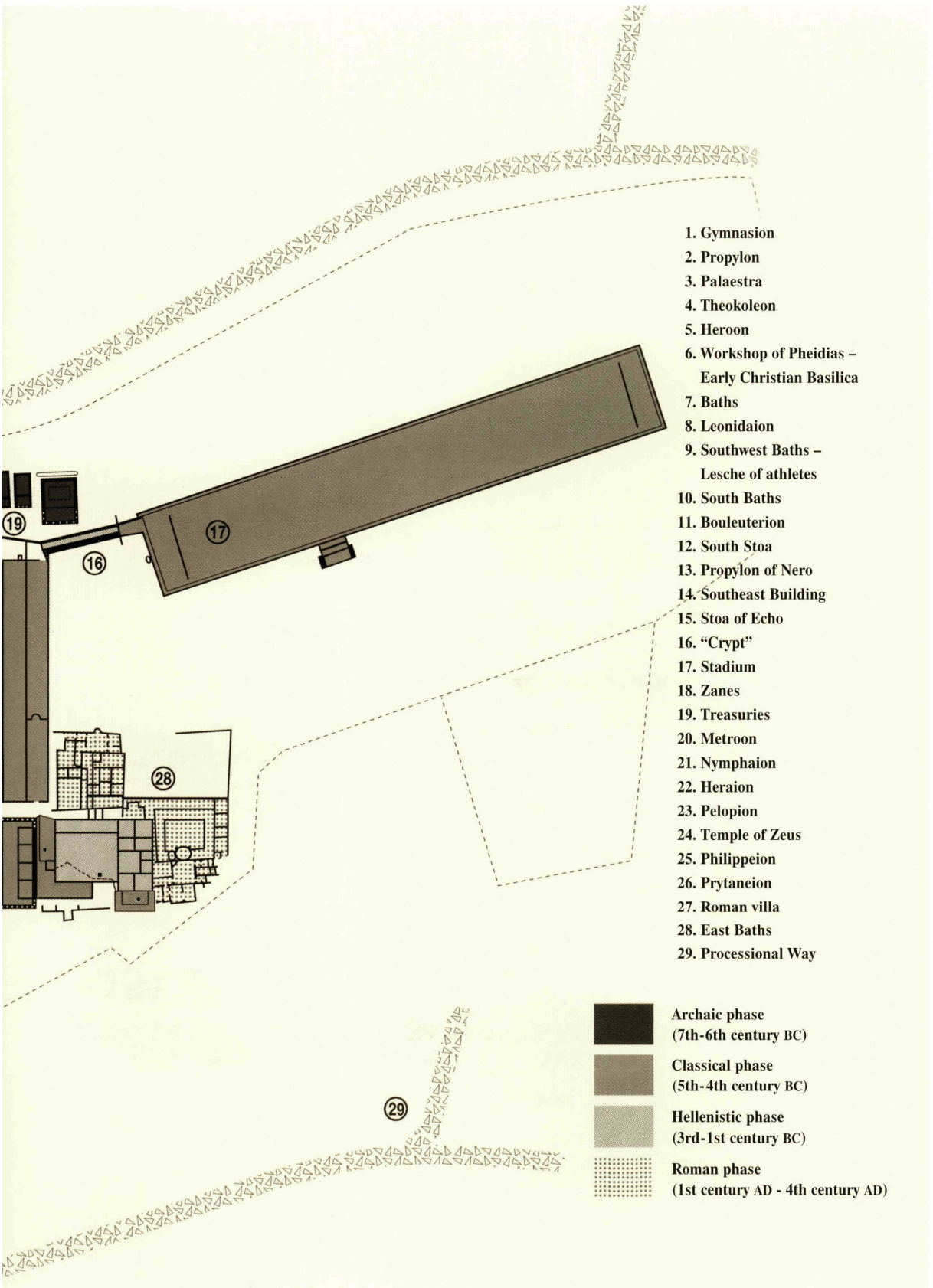

1. Gymnasion
2. Propylon
3. Palaestra
4. Theokoleon
5. Heroon
6. Workshop of Pheidias – Early Christian Basilica
7. Baths
8. Leonidaion
9. Southwest Baths – Lesche of athletes
10. South Baths
11. Bouleuterion
12. South Stoa
13. Propylon of Nero
14. Southeast Building
15. Stoa of Echo
16. "Crypt"
17. Stadium
18. Zanes
19. Treasuries
20. Metroon
21. Nymphaion
22. Heraion
23. Pelopion
24. Temple of Zeus
25. Philippeion
26. Prytaneion
27. Roman villa
28. East Baths
29. Processional Way
Archaic phase (7th-6th century BC)
Classical phase (5th-4th century BC)
Hellenistic phase (3rd-1st century BC)
Roman phase (1st century AD - 4th century AD)

The Sanctuaries: b. Delphi

Pausanias' tour of Delphi occupies the lion's share of his tenth and final book, in which the author included a brief description of Phocis and an ever briefer one of Locris, just as he had announced he would do in one of his previous books (VIII 37, 1). The description of the monuments of Delphi (X 8, 6-31, 12) follows an extensive report on the history of the Delphic shrine (X 5, 5-7, 1), the Pythian Games (X 7, 2-8), and the Amphictyonic League (X 8, 1-5). Apart from the four treatises on the history of the Sibyls (X 12), the excursion to Sardinia (X 17), the narration on the invasion of the Gauls (X 19, 5-22), and the very extensive description of the wall paintings by Polygnotus in the Cnidian treasury (X 25, 2-31), all kinds of discursive narratives, *logoi*, infiltrate the description of the Delphi monuments: geographical, mythical and hunting tales, as well as descriptions of customs and manners, all characteristic of the author's style. Pausanias' tour began from the precinct of Athena Pronaia. In the introduction to his report on the precinct of Apollo he sets forth two basic criteria that determine the selection of the sights he saw (*θεωρήματα*): he focuses only on the votive monuments that "seem most noteworthy," and omits the victors of the Pythian Games, since he had discussed most of them when he described the statues of victors at Olympia. His patriotic consciousness required him, however, to make one exception for the athlete Phaylus of Croton, whose exemplary participation in the conflict between Greeks and Persians is praised.

The major French excavations at Delphi (1892-1903) brought Pausanias' account on the pre-eminent Panhellenic sanctuary in confrontation with the archaeological reality for the first time. The excavation finds showed that at Delphi too the sights seen by Pausanias were an actual, not an artificial, framework for his descriptions and discourses, and this was a new challenge for those who had doubted the reliability of his text. For the excavators and the first "Delphologists," led by the French excavation director, Th. Homolle, and his German rival, H. Pomtow, Pausanias' account played the main "regulatory" role in their attempt to recognize the ruins, restore the position and arrangement of the votives, and reconstruct the topography of the site. Despite the deep annoyance that the situation created among the *ex cathedra* censors of the "naïve sophist" (e.g. Wilamowitz), identifications of the Delphic monuments came one after another to strengthen the arguments of those who supported Pausanias and the reliability of his *periegesis* at Delphi.

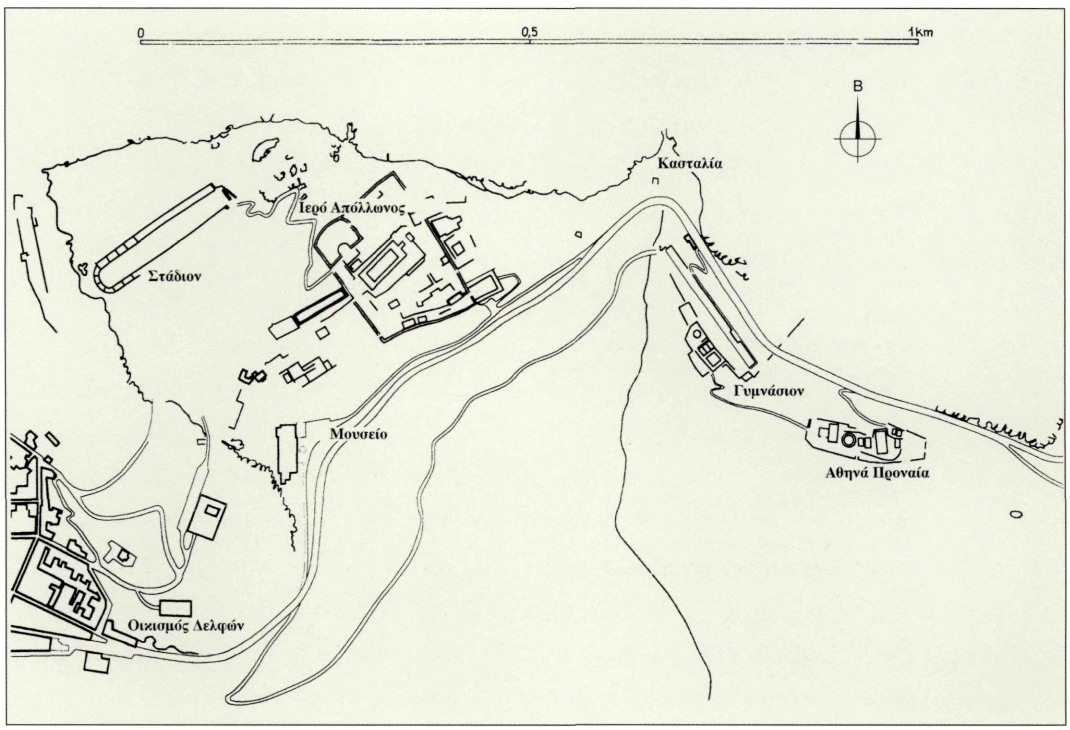
The excavations at the sanctuary of Delphi and accompanying research gave new life to many of the votives Pausanias saw, and to others that he did not see, because by the time of his visit to Delphi they were already buried beneath the earth – the Charioteer, the Column of the Dancing Girls, the valuable offerings from the repositories of Halos (circular square at the secret road) – and also confirmed the loss of important works that he himself had admired and described in scholastic detail, such as the wall paintings of Polygnotus. At the same time, however, comparison of the *periegetes'* words to the remains raised many problems, which begin even before Pausanias crossed the threshold of the two sacred precincts, and which have less to do with the grammar or the critical reconstruction of the literary text, and more with the author's personal style, alternating between the written account of the historian and the oral, frequently boring descriptions of the *periegetes*, *exegetes*, and *mystagogoi*, as well as with the quality of his written and oral information, his haste in inspecting the site, the difficulty he had in understanding ruins that were intertwined and overlapping, the criteria of his eclecticism, and above all with his mistakes and awkwardness at locating fixed topographical reference points, and providing a spatial synthesis of the host of monuments crowded on the successive terraces of the sacred precinct. Some of these problems, such as the omission of the tholos from the enumeration of the buildings in the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia or the reconstruction of the *periegetes'* route through the maze of votives situated in the most famous and conspicuous area of the sanctuary, the terrace of the Temple of Apollo, may never find definitive solutions. For others, such as the interminable discussion concerning whether the Treasury of the Athenians was built just before, or after, the Battle of Marathon, it would seem that we are still awaiting the final word.

However, ongoing research always holds surprises, which in most cases tend to justify the sincerity, conscientiousness and – more or less – accurate description of Pausanias. During recent years, the systematic re-examination of a series of sculptures that had been left ignored in the storerooms of the Delphi Museum since the era of the excavations, led to their unexpected identification with the statues from the two pediments of the 4th-century Temple of Apollo. The important reconstruction of the two pediment representations exactly as Pausanias described them (X 19, 4) today allows the *periegetes* to have the final word *vis-à-vis* his older critics, but also his supporters, who for many years doubted the accuracy of the description of the pedimental compositions provided by their sole commentator.

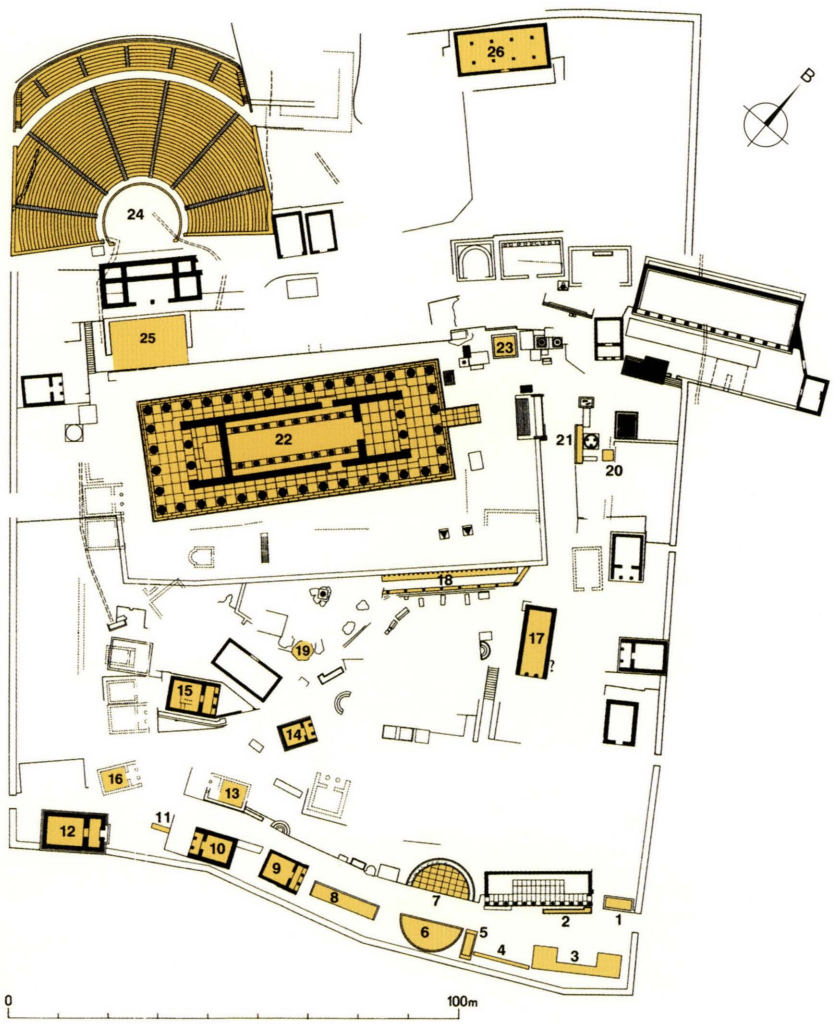
During his visit to Delphi, Pausanias guides us carefully to the revered monu-

ments of the past, the votives of the victors at Marathon, the treasuries and other dedications by Greek cities, and assigns not the slightest importance to the countless honorary decrees to the rulers of Hellenistic states, or to the statues of Roman senators and emperors. At his time, Delphi had become an outdoor museum of the brilliant glory of Hellenism with no contemporary life, a place where important events no longer occurred. Pausanias' interest in the renowned monuments of the past played a decisive role in the orientation not only of research at Delphi, but also in the reconstruction of Delphic monuments. Scholars turned their attention to monuments of the Panhellenic sanctuary's golden age, and like Pausanias undervalued important works of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. A characteristic example is the Column of Aemilius Paulus, which despite its unique historical and artistic significance, and the fact that it has been almost entirely preserved, was never promoted as its importance deserved.

R. K.



6. General topographical plan of Delphi.



1. Base of the bull (offered) by the citizens of Corcyra
2. Base of the offering by the Arcadians
3. Monument of the Lacedemonian Admirals commemorating their victory at Aegos Potamoi (404 BC)
4. Monument of Miltiades commemorating the Battle at Marathon (490 BC)
5. Base of the Trojan Horse offered by the Argives
6. Offering of "The Seven against Thebes" and "The Epigones" (dedicated) by the Argives
7. Monument of the Argive heroes and kings
8. Offering by the citizens of Taras
9. The Treasury of the Sikyonians
10. The Treasury of the Siphnians
11. Base of the offering by the citizens of Lipari
12. The Treasury of the Thebans
13. The Treasury of the "Megarians"
14. The Treasury of the Cnidians (?)
15. The Treasury of the Athenians
16. The Treasury of the Boeotians
17. The Treasury of the Corinthians
18. The Stoa of the Athenians
19. The Stone of Sibyl
20. The tripod commemorating the battle of Plataea
21. Base of the offering by the citizens of Taras
22. The Temple of Apollo
23. Base of the statue of Apollo Sitalkas
24. The theatre
25. The offering of Krateros
26. The Lesche of the Cnidians

7. The main Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. All monuments Pausanias mentions are noted.

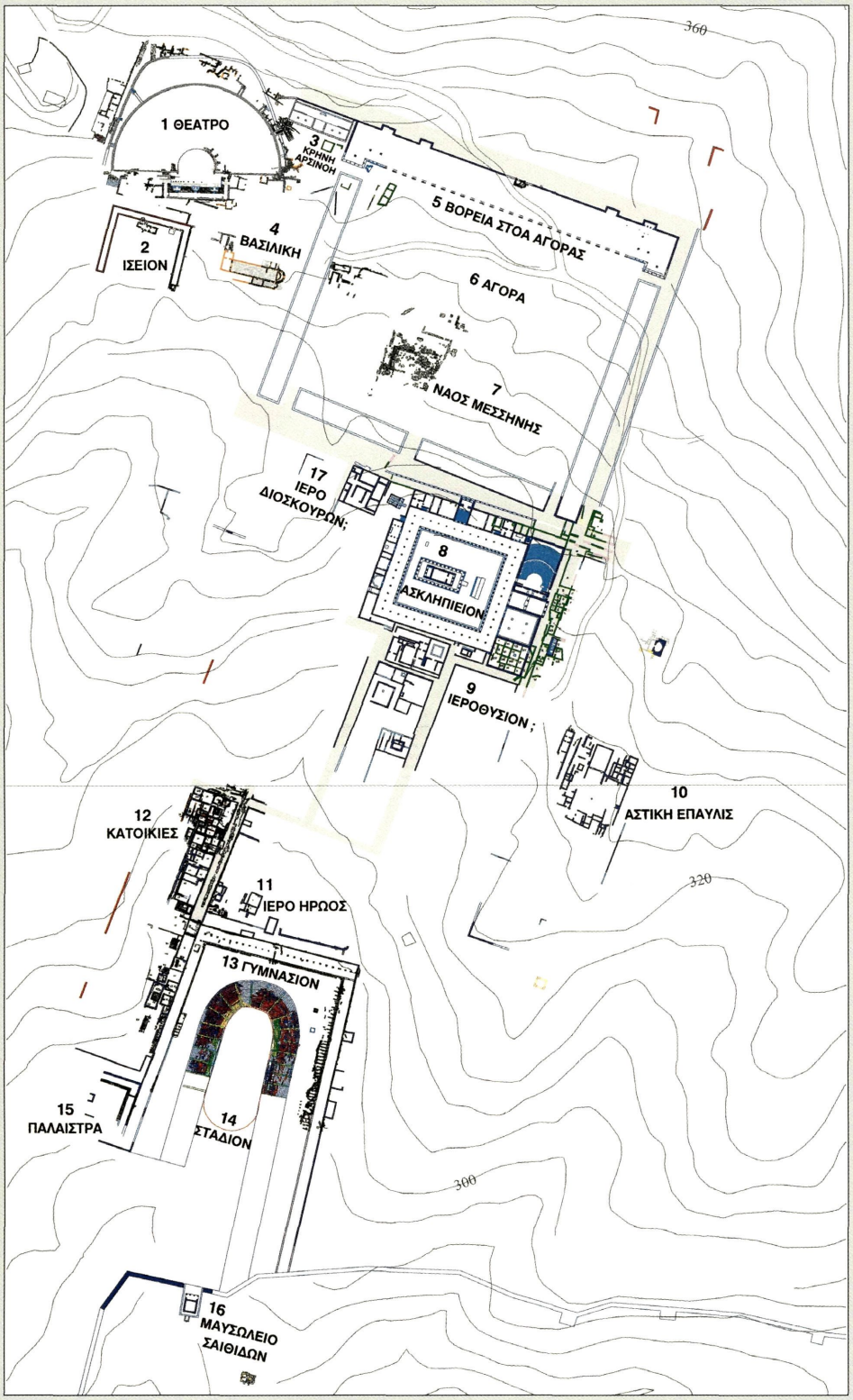
The Combination: Messene

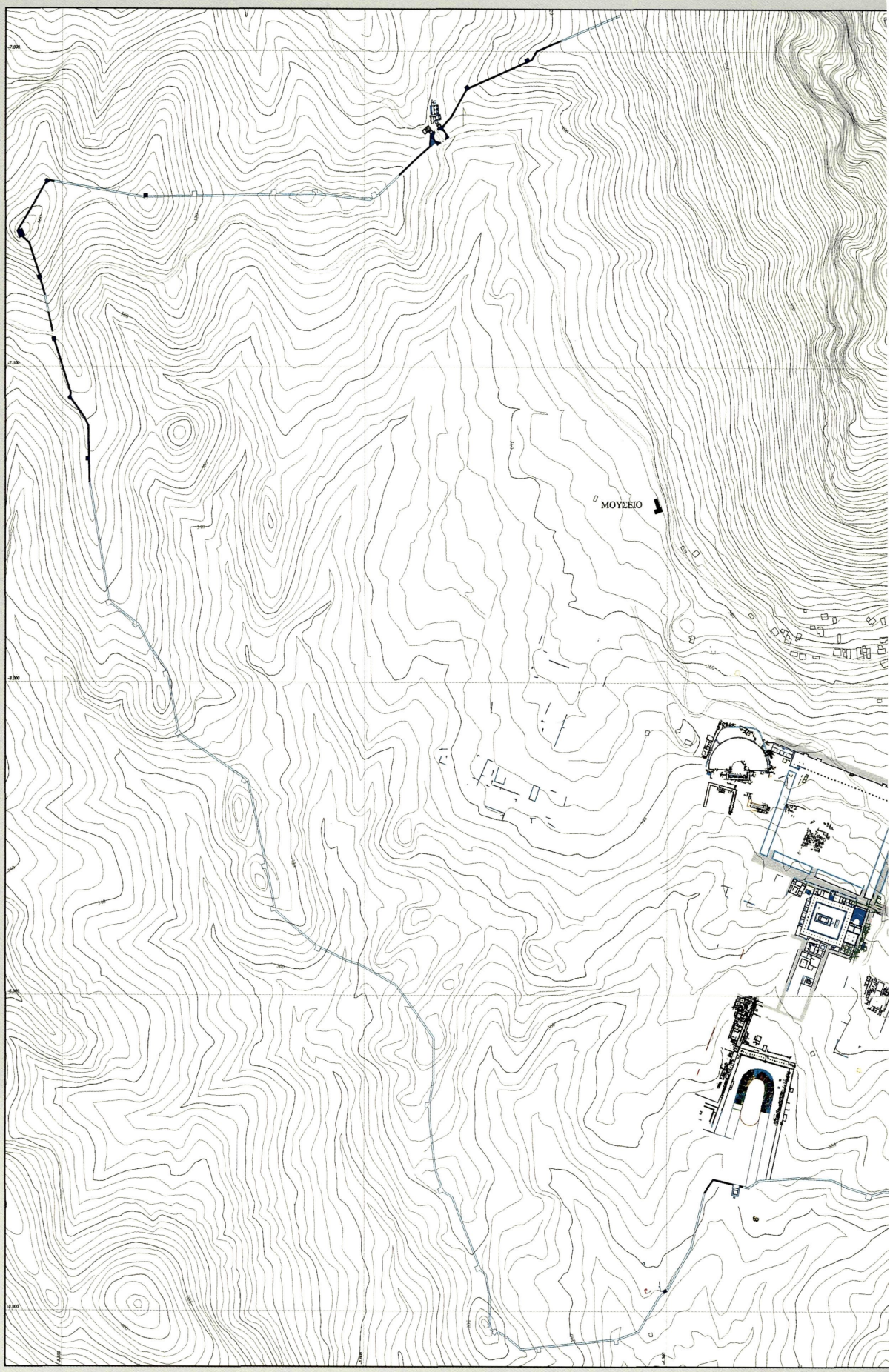
Pausanias at Messene. Founded in 369 BC, Messene was one of the largest cities in Greece with a circumference of 9 kilometers. Pausanias, who visited Messene between 155 and 160 AD, published a concise and substantial description of the city that accords well with the architectural remains brought to light by the Archaeological Society under the direction of Th. Sophoulis (1895), G. Oikonomos (1909 and 1925), A. Orlandos (1957-1975) and P. Themelis (1987-2007). The *periegetes* entered the city through the eastern Laconian Gate. Impressed by the mighty walls, still one of the most impressive ruins in Ancient Greece, he walked south to the Agora, from the Agora to the Asklepieion, the Hierothysion and then to the Gymnasium and the Stadium. From the Stadium he walked north to the Theatre and the Sanctuary of Isis and Sarapis, and from there to the Clepsydra Spring and the Sanctuary of Zeus Ithomatas on top of Ithome. He then left through the western Arcadian Gate and followed his way to the fertile plain of Stenyclerus and from there to Arcadia and Megalopolis.

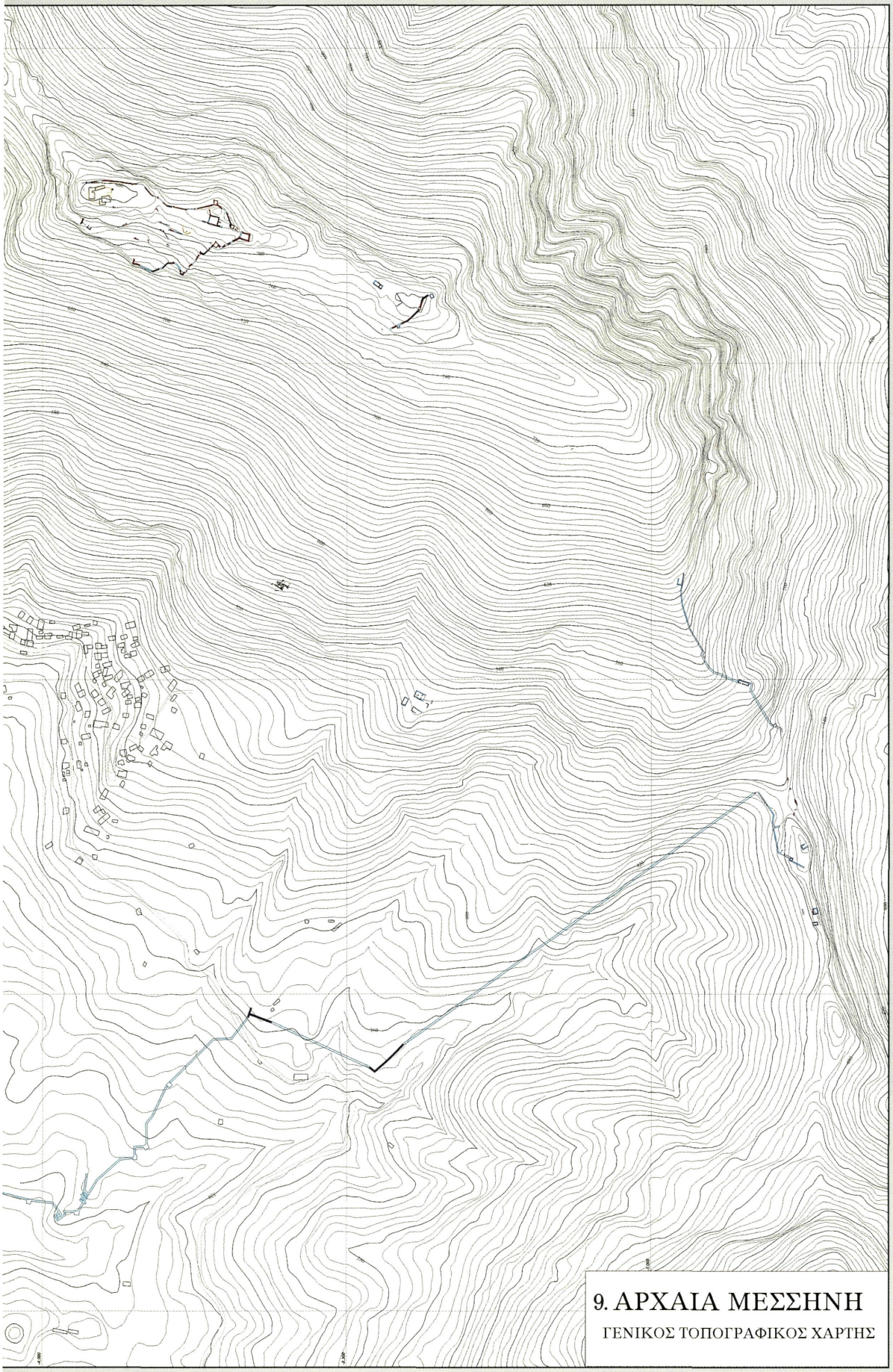
In the huge area of the Agora, measuring 186.87 x 178.92 meters and surrounded by stoas, Pausanias (IV 31, 6) first saw the statue of Zeus Soter, and then the Fountain House of Arsinoe, and the temples of Poseidon, Aphrodite and the Mother of the Gods. The sanctuaries of Laphria, Eileithyia and the Kouretes are vaguely mentioned by him and were not necessarily included in the Agora. Archaeological evidence is provided so far for the presence of the temples of Poseidon, Zeus Soter, and Messene in the Agora.

P. Th.

8. Topographical plan of the center of ancient Messene. The main public and private buildings that have been excavated are marked. Pausanias' contribution to their identification was decisive.

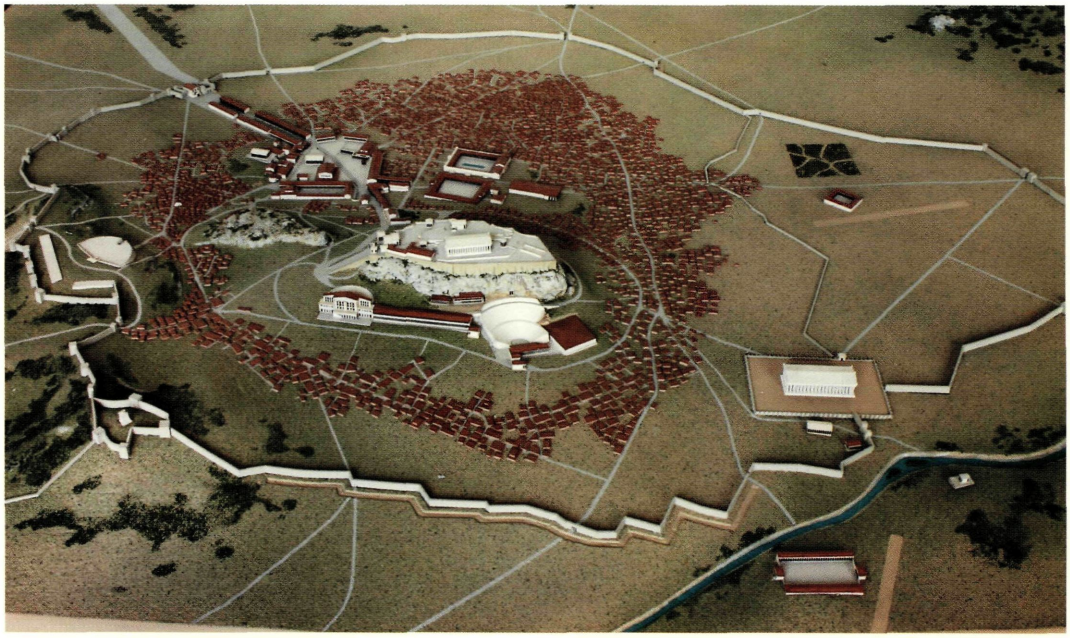

360
1 ΘΕΑΤΡΟ
3 ΚΡΗΝΗ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗ
5 ΒΟΡΕΙΑ ΣΤΟΑ ΑΓΟΡΑΣ
2 ΙΣΕΙΟΝ
4 ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ
6 ΑΓΟΡΑ
7 ΝΑΟΣ ΜΕΣΣΗΝΗΣ
17 ΙΕΡΟ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΩΝ;
8 ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΕΙΟΝ
9 ΙΕΡΟΘΥΣΙΟΝ ;
10 ΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΑΥΛΙΣ
12 ΚΑΤΟΙΚΙΕΣ
11 ΙΕΡΟ ΗΡΩΟΣ
320
13 ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΝ
15 ΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΡΑ
14 ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ
300
16 ΜΑΥΣΩΛΕΙΟ ΣΑΙΘΙΔΩΝ


ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟ

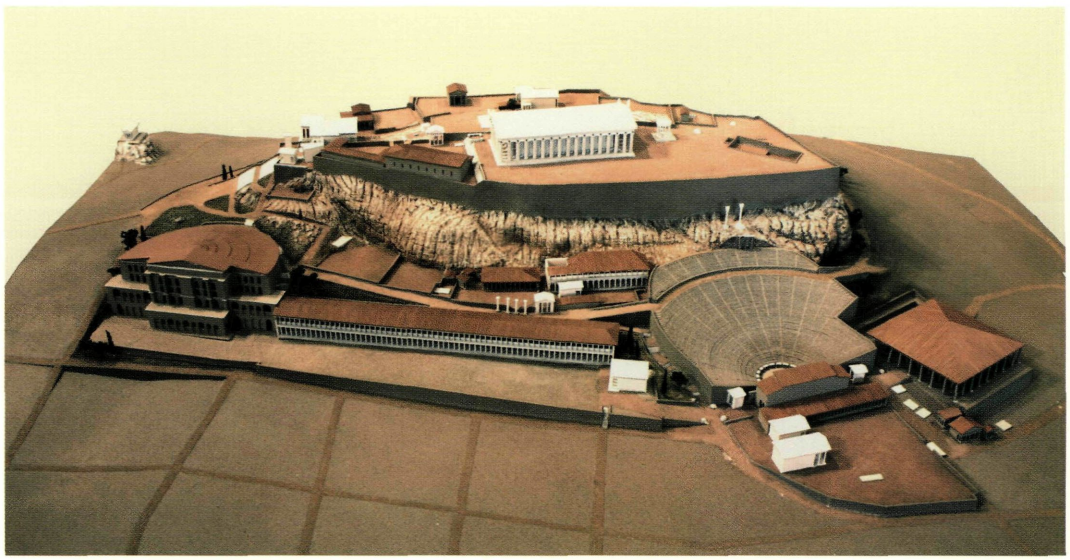


9. ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΜΕΣΣΗΝΗ

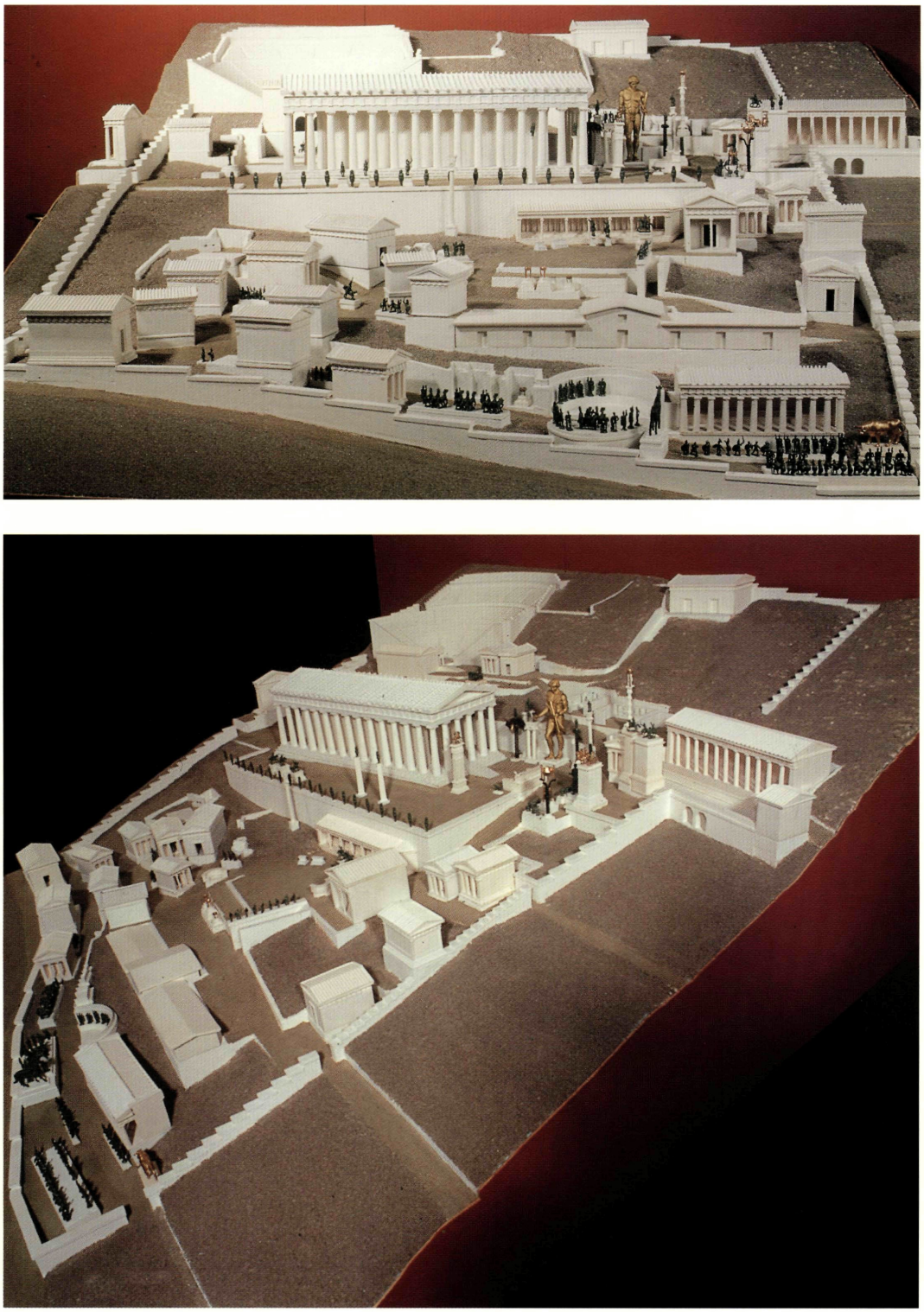
ΓΕΝΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΣ ΧΑΡΤΗΣ



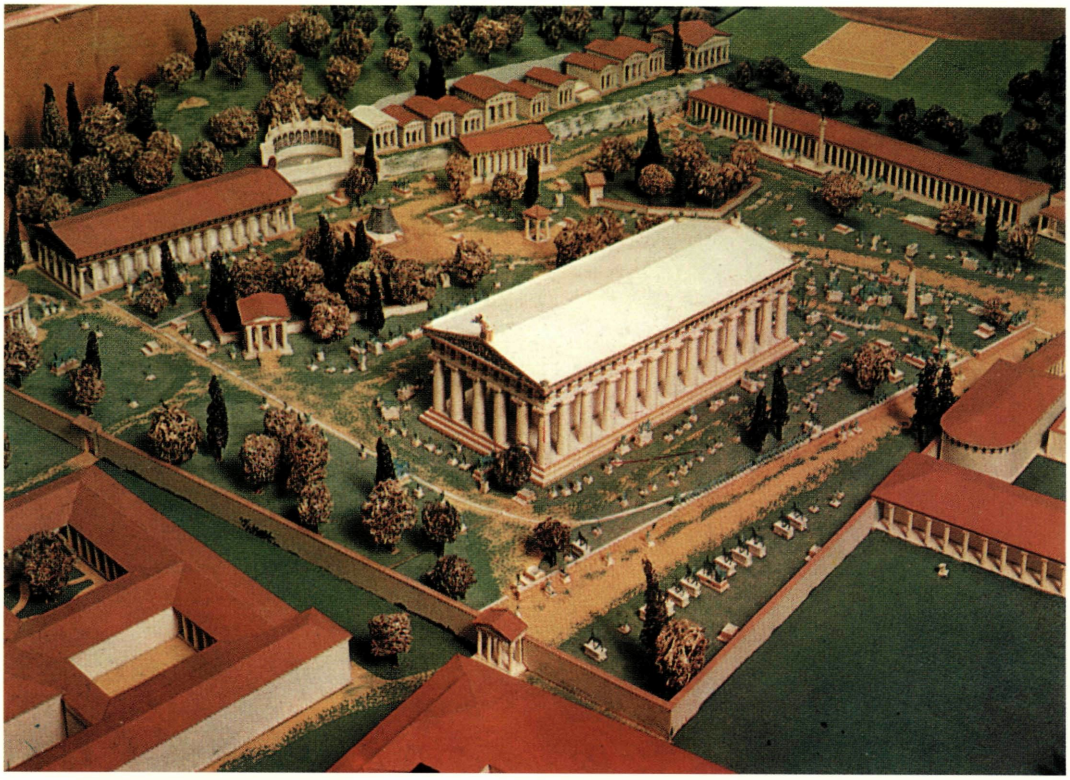
10. Model of the city of Athens in the 2nd century AD. View from south. Scale 1:500. (Study – supervision: M. Korres. Construction: P. Demetriadis)



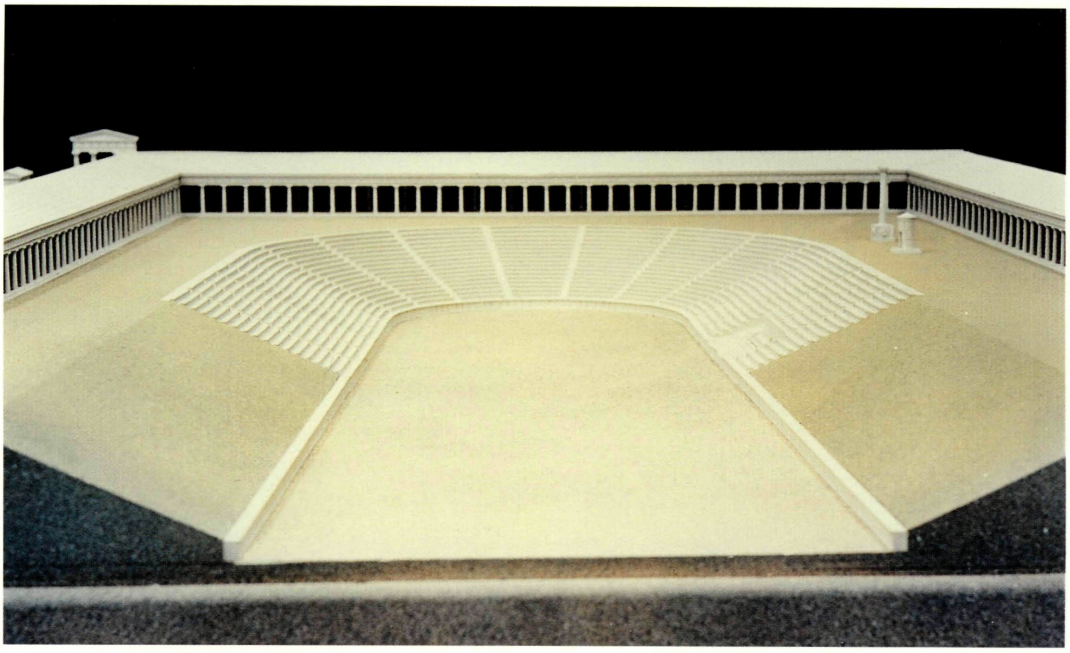
11. Model of the acropolis of Athens in the 2nd century AD. View from south. Scale 1:500. (Study – supervision: M. Korres. Construction: P. Demetriadis)



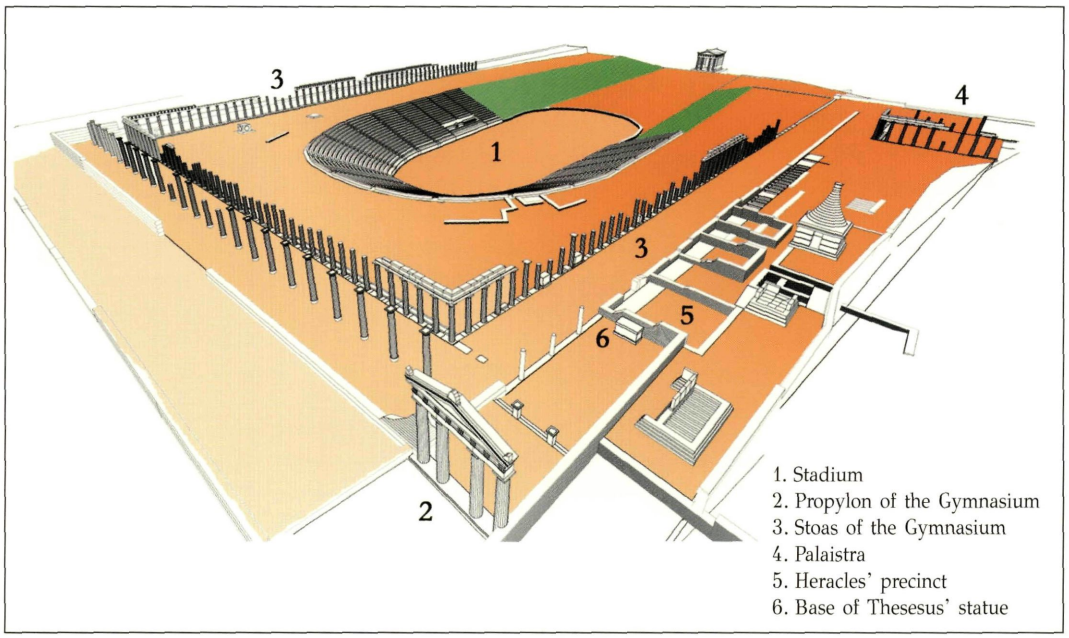
12. Model of Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi. (E.F.A./Ph. Collet)



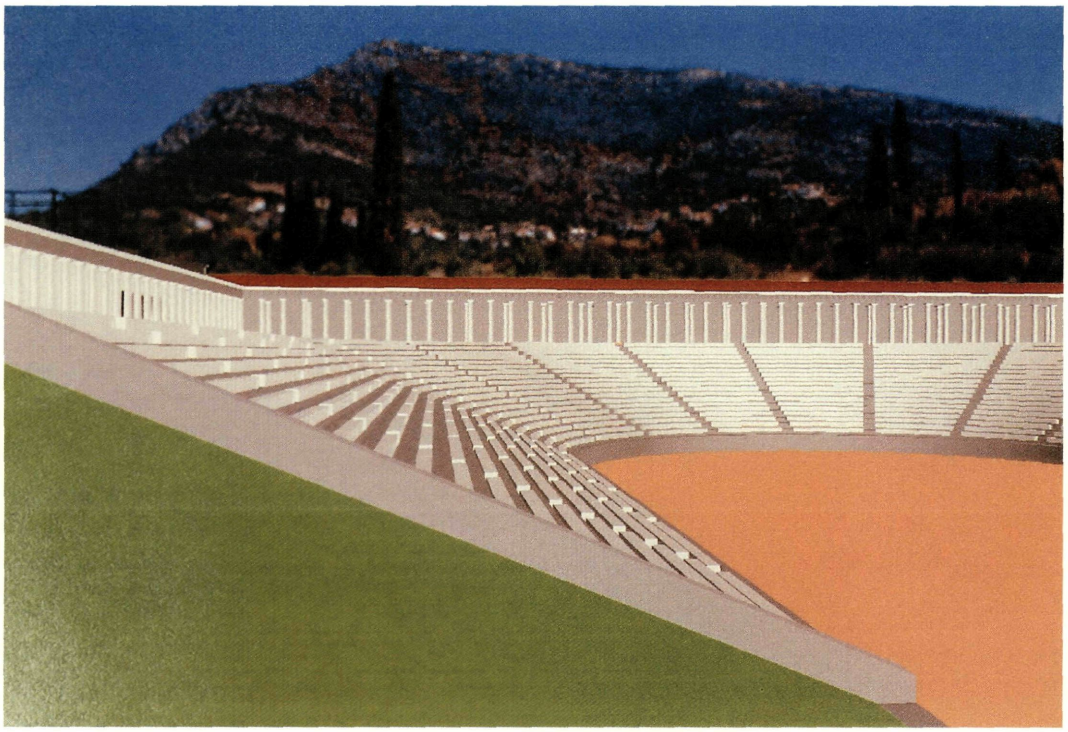
13. Model of Olympia's sanctuary.



14. Model of the stadium of ancient Messene.



15. Sketch of the Stadium and the Gymnasium of ancient Messene.



16. Virtual reconstruction of the Stadium of ancient Messene.

The Settlement Pattern

Pausanias constitutes a valuable guide for us in investigating and identifying every sort of ancient settlement (cities, towns, villages) in the areas, where he traveled. Related research by regions has advanced a great deal during recent years, despite the fact that there remain unsolved topographical issues in a good number of places. In any case, to demonstrate Pausanias' contribution, it should be noted that the *periegetes'* text has transmitted and preserved for us as many toponyms and microtoponyms for central Greece – i.e. the area where he traveled – as are relayed by all other ancient literary sources combined! Furthermore, his importance is shown in the reconstruction and documentation of the settlement pattern of regions he did *not* visit: e.g. it suffices to compare Arcadia with Thessaly to understand how decisive Pausanias' assistance has been in the identification of the settlement pattern: in Arcadia there remain only a few unidentified settlements and the picture of its network of settlements is to a large extent established, while in Thessaly at least one-third of the settlements remain either unidentified or of doubtful location, and there are regions where ambiguity and confusion reign supreme (e.g. the coast of the Pagasetic Gulf).

I return now to Arcadia (which, I confess, I know more fully), the description of which formed the longest book (VIII) in Pausanias' work. The *Arcadica* includes 54 chapters, in contrast to the fifth and sixth books, *Eliaca*, which total 53. The full list of settlements in Arcadia is created by Pausanias' references, as well as by those in the rest of ancient literature; these are the settlements characterized as "eponymous." To these are added the "anonymous" settlements, i.e. those known to us from occasional surveys or excavations, to which we are unable to attribute one of the names that has been passed down, i.e. to identify them with one of the names we have in our catalogue of toponyms. Research has progressively identified the majority of eponymous settlements.

An examination of the residential network in Arcadia of identified, eponymous settlements reveals beyond any doubt the decisive contribution of Pausanias to this particular research process. In actuality, the corpus of the settlement pattern of Arcadia – the same holds true for other geographical areas included in Pausanias' itinerary – has been created through the *periegetes'* references. I note that the remainder of ancient literature provides fewer than ten names of settlements not included in the *Arcadia*. These are either peripheral residential units – indeed, some of them are disputed – or sites

(*χωρία*), which do not even merit the status of settlement (in the sense of "a built-up space"): e.g. we may note Thucydides' *Βουκολίων* (IV 134, 2) or *Κύψελα* (V 33). There is only one demonstrable city – abandoned, however, in the Roman period, and furthermore extremely isolated and forgotten – that is not included in his itinerary: it is not by chance that Torthyneion [*Τορθύνειον*] (north of modern-day Vytina, near the village of Lasta) did not participate in the *Μεγαλοπολιτικόν*, first and foremost due to its unique geographical setting. On the other hand, one must note that Pausanias (and at second hand, the lexicographer Stephanus of Byzantium) has preserved scores of toponyms and settlement names for Arcadia alone. However, the most important thing is that Pausanias refers to the settlement pattern of Arcadia (and obviously, not only Arcadia) in a geographical order, as a rule according to the route his itinerary followed, so that with the analogous research and investigation it is possible to attribute a toponym, i.e. settlement name, to a site; or, to put it another way, it is possible to document the identification of corresponding archaeological remains by region. Thus, the *periegetes'* work is shown to be a definitive guide to the settlement pattern of a region, i.e. it constitutes the major contribution to such reconstruction, supplemented by the remainder of ancient literature. Thus, we can understand the frequently insurmountable difficulties that ensue in regions – outside his itinerary – where alas, we have no Pausanias to assist us, and, as I noted above, Thessaly constitutes an ideal example for such a comparison. Of course, I must confess that even Pausanias cannot always serve as a panacea for every problem in historical topography wherever he traveled in Greece and recorded what he saw. The extent of our knowledge, or more properly, our ignorance concerning a residential network or its various "appendages" (sanctuaries, cemeteries, springs, fortifications, etc.) varies by site, since it depends on a great number of factors: on research carried out to date (not every region has been adopted by researchers to the same extent, whether in terms of excavation or surveys), the help provided us by the rest of ancient literature, the extent to which the site remained untouched by the socio-economic development of the post-war years, which as a rule was achieved and carried out at the expense of the environment and the cultural heritage, and many others. Thus, to return to Arcadia, the *Tripolis* (*Kallia*, *Dipoena*, and *Nonacris*) known to Pausanias (VIII 27, 4), which participated in the *Μεγαλοπολιτικόν*, remains a ghost, and up to now its identification has remained a dream haunting every researcher, comparable to that of the Homeric triad – the ultimate "ghost" – in the Catalog of Ships (B 606: *Rhipe*, *Stratia*, and *Enispe*).

Y. P.

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