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Seeing is Believing: Spatial Interactions and Visual Culture in Pausanias

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Abstract

This MA dissertation explores how Pausanias can be used as a tool in understanding spatiality and visuality in the ancient world. Contrary to previous scholarship on Pausanias, this paper will demonstrate how Pausanias can be analyzed and interpreted as a work of unique, improvised ekphrasis whereby Pausanias's intentional selection of objects and monuments "worth seeing" and his usage of active grammatical forms creates mental imagery as well as the cognition of movement in the mind of the reader of what Pausanias wants the reader to see. In other words, through his literary style and approach to writing, Pausanias produces a portrayal of the Greece which he deems important to remember and record in the *Periegesis*. The text and genre of the *Periegesis* is compared to other contemporary literary works in order to discover the similarities and differences between Pausanias and his peers. Pausanias's method and criteria is also analyzed in regards to his selection of the subject matter for his work in order to understand how his methodology was intended to function. Lastly, modern psychoanalytic theory and its effects on ekphrasis are explored in order to evaluate how they can be applied to Pausanias in order to update the perception of the text. What results is a comprehensive examination at how Pausanias blended elements of ekphrasis and real-world interactions with the sites he visited in order to project images in the mind of the audience of his iteration of the Greece worth knowing.

Acknowledgements

I first learned about Pausanias during my undergraduate studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill while learning about Delphi's Sacred Way and the topography of the site through Pausanias. To learn that somebody embarked on a journey over several years documenting various sections of Greece and that the text has survived to our times created an instant fascination with Pausanias. Some years later during my MA at Athens, Pausanias returned as an interesting topic for a term paper regarding the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. After continuing my research into Pausanias and the greater world of the Second Sophistic period and ekphrasis, the humble term paper evolved into an extensive study into the *Periegesis* and its function as a tool in understanding the ancient world. Firstly, I would like to thank Professor Dimitris Plantzos for his numerous contributions and continuous help throughout the creation of this work. I would also like to thank the Department of History and Archaeology at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens for providing me with the resources to research and complete this study. I also express my gratitude to the Department of Classics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for forming my foundational knowledge of classical archaeology and antiquity. Finally, I must thank my wonderful mother and father who have constantly stood by my side and supported me and my dreams to study the forever-captivating world of archaeology. For this, I am eternally grateful.

Table of Contents

<i>Abstract</i>	2
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	3
Chapter 1 – Introduction	5
Chapter 2 – Pausanias and His Context	8
2.1 – The Genre and Style of Pausanias	8
2.2 – Why Athens	14
Chapter 3 – Pausanias and His Method	18
3.1 – Things Worth Seeing	18
3.2 – Oral Tradition and Local Knowledge	23
3.3 – The Importance of a Guide.....	25
3.4 – A Case Study: Delphi and Olympia.....	26
Chapter 4 – Pausanias and Ekphrasis	31
4.1 – The Persons Found in Pausanias	31
4.2 – Deconstructing Ekphrasis.....	36
4.2.1 – The Mechanics of Speech	36
4.2.2 – The Importance of Visuality	38
4.3 – Combining It All Together.....	42
Chapter 5 – Conclusions	44
<i>Appendix</i>	48
<i>Bibliography</i>	50

Chapter 1 – Introduction

In discussions of identifying ancient sites in Greece, Pausanias has long been seen as an important source of information for archaeologists. Traditionally, archaeologists have viewed Pausanias as a window into the ancient landscape.¹ The phrases “Pausanias says” or “What does Pausanias say?” have inevitably been uttered within several lecture halls and classrooms to designate Pausanias a sort of infallible test of an object or landmark’s identity. Of course, that is not to say that Pausanias should not be used in the identification of archaeological remains as long as such an identification is plausible. What should be understood more widely by archaeologists is that Pausanias is not *only* a handy tool in identifying or a source of frustration when confronted with remains which Pausanias does not mention.

Scholarship has previously studied Pausanias under the lens of understanding life in the Greek East under Roman occupation.² Of course, for the time this was very legitimate and necessary scholarship for reading through a text like Pausanias how Greeks would have felt about the world run by Rome. However, this approach unnecessarily casted a political and borderline polemic shadow over Greco-Roman relations in the 2nd century AD. In trying to understand how someone like Pausanias would have viewed Rome, observing how Pausanias excludes Roman-made monuments throughout the *Periegesis* led to suggestions of Pausanias doing out of spite and malevolence towards Rome, effectively making a political statement against the actions which Rome had inflicted upon Greece. It is no secret that Pausanias devotes some time discussing notable events like Mummius’s sack of Corinth and Sulla’s destruction of Athens,³ but even then, anti-Roman sentiments are not projected as an intentional subliminal message which permeates the *Periegesis*. A notable example: while Plutarch dedicates several lines of text and vivid description to Sulla’s massacre of Athenians in the Kerameikos which “flooded” the neighborhood and the Dipylon Gate with blood, Pausanias briefly writes in two lines about the historical event, succinctly stating that Sulla killed one out of every ten troops by lot during their imprisonment.⁴ It is unlikely that Pausanias lacked any personal opinions on the matter, but the fact that he excludes

¹ This utilization of Pausanias continues in the present, as seen in Barringer 2021 and Boulogne et al. 2015.

² Most notable is the second half of Arafat 1996, which focuses on understanding Greek attitudes towards Roman rulers through Pausanias.

³ Arafat 1996, 92-105 provides a fine discussion of Mummius and Sulla in Pausanias.

⁴ Arafat 1996, 21-22. Paus. 1.20.6. Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 14.1-5.

them from his account suggests that the *Periegesis* was not intended for such political commentary on the Roman occupation even when he very much could engage in such activity.

When Pausanias was not seen as a subtle political opponent of Rome which showcased the lost Golden Age of Classical Greece against the harsh Roman rule, a fixation of Pausanias as someone solely interested in religious affairs and landmarks emerged. These views originate from the fact that religious landmarks and monuments do formulate a noticeable composition of the *Periegesis* overall.⁵ This is consequential to religious sites naturally consisting of a sizable portion of the cultural world of ancient Greece. To mention a brief example, it is not unlikely nor unbelievable for Pausanias to describe the Athenian Agora by mentioning the Metroon or the Temple of Ares while also including the New Bouleuterion and the Odeon.⁶ However, as this paper will demonstrate, Pausanias provides a much deeper look into the ancient world than just religious aspects. The interweaving of religious and civic landmarks and monuments creates a fuller image of the landscapes which Pausanias wanted to capture.

To establish some preliminary information, Pausanias was born AD c.110 – c.180, most likely in Magnesia ad Sipylum.⁷ As an educated, elite male from Asia Minor, his outlook on what Greece was influenced the creation of the *Periegesis*. As this paper will discuss later in greater depth, Pausanias's origins play an important part in understanding where he comes from and how the influences of his environment affected the manner in which he produced his *Periegesis*. His individual identity as an elite male from the Greek East but not mainland Greece gave Pausanias something of an outsider's perspective to the land of "ancient" Greece.⁸ Therefore, Pausanias's own foreign origins also drive him to capture the most important matters of Greece according to his own criteria. Furthermore, this paper will use the term *Periegesis* when referring to the written work created by Pausanias. This condition is important to qualify as the work itself does not have a title and comes with its own history of scholars determining what title to bestow upon the work. Past scholarship has investigated the question on whether or not we can call Pausanias's work a

⁵ For instance, Pretzler 2007, 19-20 states that it is "impossible" to separate questions of religion and the divine from studies of Pausanias.

⁶ Paus. 1.3.5-1.8.6.

⁷ This is almost undisputed by scholars, see Habicht 1988, 13-15; Bowie 2001, 24; and Arafat 8, 1996 for discussion concerning Pausanias's geographical origins.

⁸ Arafat 1996, 12.

“Periegesis”,⁹ but for the purposes of this paper, calling the work a *Periegesis* will not affect the overall research and conclusions.

This MA dissertation seeks to innovate and update the usage and perception of Pausanias as an informant to the past. Moving away from questions of political messages and religious motivations, this paper instead will apply an alternative approach to the *Periegesis*, one which focuses on the movement and imagery created by Pausanias which the audience visualizes when engaging with the work. First, the greater cultural context of Pausanias will be discussed in order to understand how Pausanias adapted to his cultural milieu of the Second Sophistic period, a group who practiced and emphasized all things Greek as a notable and important progenitor to their present, Roman-influenced times. This is necessary because the Helleno-centric attitudes of the Second Sophistic play an implicit role in motivating Pausanias to embark on this mission. The second chapter explores how Pausanias writes his *Periegesis*, analyzing his methodology and criteria for determining what is worth recording in the text. Attention is also given to the types of information which Pausanias devotes his efforts regarding local information before a case study of Olympia and Delphi demonstrates how Pausanias displays the information relevant for his purposes. Lastly, the third chapter seeks to identify and understand the characteristics of ekphrasis in order to link and develop ideas of how Pausanias creates ekphrasis with the *Periegesis*. This chapter is important in understanding how Pausanias crafts the different perspectives and the relationships between author and audience. The result of this study is an illustration of how Pausanias uses the *Periegesis* to craft his own unique and improvised ekphrasis, inspired by the genres and literary developments of his time but notable for its implementation of real-life landmarks and monuments to create the image of Greece which contains the greatest number of qualities and attributes of Greek culture for Pausanias. Ultimately, the focus of the *Periegesis* is the continuity of Greece and its culture, not the domination of Rome, and Pausanias promotes this message through the culturally significant landmarks and monuments which he documents, records, and projects in the mind of the audience.

⁹ See Pretzler 2007 2-3 specific discussions regarding what to label Pausanias’s work.

Chapter 2 – Pausanias and His Context

The first chapter of this study seeks to establish the different aspects of Pausanias's writing and context in order to understand how the *Periegesis* should be read. First, it will discuss the genre and typology of the *Periegesis* in relation to the greater historiographical tradition as well in relation to the contemporary works by his Second Sophistic peers. The discussion will then pivot to an analysis of how elements of the Second Sophistic mentality influenced Pausanias's own methodology and led him to his unique approach and, ultimately, the creation of the *Periegesis*.

2.1 – The Genre and Style of Pausanias

Pausanias stands out for his lack of an introductory preface explaining his process or the intentions of his literary work. This seems to have spited scholars over the years who have attempted to pin down Pausanias into a particular genre. On the one hand, some scholars wish to see Pausanias as being directly inspired by Herodotos and Thucydides and their historiographical tradition. For instance, Bowie claims that, "It is in the tradition of Herodotos that Pausanias clearly wishes to place himself."¹⁰ I disagree that Pausanias "clearly" wants to accomplish this and instead posit that this type of position devalues Pausanias's description of landscapes and his engagement with the spaces at the sites to which he travels. While there are hints that Pausanias had familiarity with Herodotos's technique in his recollections of historical asides which embellish the historical background of objects and monuments as well as his occasional proposal of altering viewpoints and behind these stories,¹¹ they are not the focal point of the *Periegesis* and should not be singled out in order to force the *Periegesis* to fit into the mold of a purely historiographical work. On the contrary, Pausanias's historical digressions complement the objects which he describes in order to deepen their cultural value and to aid the reader into visualizing the objects in relation to the site around it.¹² In other words, Pausanias does not include historical asides in order to create a flowing historical narrative, but rather, he includes them to provide a more descriptive view of the locations

¹⁰ Bowie 2001, 25.

¹¹ Bowie 2001, 25.

¹² Arafatt 1996, 11. Pretzler 2004, 237.

and objects which are the subjects of his discussions. This creates a dichotomy between his own personal visual experience with the greater historical or mythic backgrounds instigated by the objects seen which in turn highlights their position and relevance within the Greek world.

Similarly, according to previous scholarship, Pausanias's lack of an introduction does not coordinate well with contemporary literature. The existence of extended prose works from Pausanias's time such as Appian's *Roman History*, Cassius Dio's *Roman History*, and Philostratos's *Lives of the Philosophers* which do feature introductions have resulted in an urge to suggest that Pausanias must have had an introduction explaining his agenda and method, assuming that Pausanias worked as a historian.¹³ The solution to this dilemma is proposing that the *Periegesis* contained a preface which explained at least partly Pausanias's mission and/or his background that has not stood the test of time.¹⁴ However, the preservation of a preface or proof that such a preface ever existed should not hamper our understanding of Pausanias. Rather, Pausanias's intentions are clear from the text and the manner in which he writes. He does not need a preface because his writings on the monuments of ancient Greece do not need to be prefaced. Moreover, the elite audience for which Pausanias presumably wrote (explained in further depth below) would not have needed a primer of Greek history and geography before beginning their reading of the text as they already would have sufficient education and training in such matters and disciplines.

Roman investment in Greek art in the years before Pausanias set a precedent for writing about Greek culture but also differed from his definitive goal. During the initial stages of Roman expansion, Greek art infiltrated Roman society through the looting and presentation of spoils from the Greek cities in Magna Graecia in the 3rd century BC before expanding to the seizing of art from Greece proper and Macedon in the following century.¹⁵ The initial reaction amongst the traditional Romans was a negative one, viewing the influx of Greek art as detrimental to Roman society.¹⁶ Eventually, the once frowned-upon interest of Greek art evolved into a form of connoisseurship practiced by the upper levels of Roman society in order to display their cultural *connaissance* of the Greek world.¹⁷ Greek art then became a fixture within the upper-class, and this persisted into the 2nd century AD by the time Pausanias began his work.

¹³ Bowie 2001, 27.

¹⁴ Bowie 2001, 28.

¹⁵ See Plantzos 2019, 7-9 for a comprehensive discussion concerning the Roman looting of Greek art.

¹⁶ Plantzos 2019, 9.

¹⁷ See Pollitt 1983 74-81 for a valuable collection of sources pertaining to Roman connoisseurship in the Republic.

Pausanias's work differed from earlier Roman texts in regards to the cataloging and documenting of Greek art and culture. One of the most notable examples of this is the *Natural History* written by Pliny the Elder in the 1st century AD. This extensive work records much in the way of astronomy, botany, geology, among many other fields of natural science.¹⁸ While Pliny's goal was to record a "universal natural encyclopedia", his coverage on art itself compiles a small part of the text, only appearing in relation to different types of disciplines such as painting when describing natural pigmentation and stone-carving when discussing stone.¹⁹ Within these asides, Pliny includes discourse on art taking on a linear form with each notable artist falling within this line based on their attributes and contributions to Greek art.²⁰ For instance, in his chapter concerning the natural history of stones, Pliny provides his thoughts on the history of marble sculpting, declaring Phidias as the creator of marble sculpture and Praxiteles and his skill in marble working as superior to all other artists.²¹ While it is true that Pausanias does incorporate a degree of stylistic analysis and interpretation as part of his writing, what sets Pausanias apart from Pliny is that Pausanias does not include mention of artists and artistic development for the sake of art. Instead, Pausanias records this information as being essential to understanding his image of Greece as a whole. The execution and style of landmarks and objects made by Greek artists aid in the formation of an accurate image of what Pausanias saw while also solidifying Pausanias's case for portraying a landscape embedded with significant meaning *through* Greek art and culture.

Following the collection of Greek art and culture in Rome, a new movement, for whom Pausanias presumably wrote his *Periegesis*, emerged known as the Second Sophistic. This movement (dating from AD 50-250) deeply valued the preservation and practice of Greek cultural heritage and traditions and receives its name from Philostratos who coined the term in order to describe the performers of epideictic oratory, a type of oratory which focused on declamations "delivered for the occasion alone, to solicit the pleasure, admiration, and respect".²² These performances were rooted in theatricality intertwined with a profound scholastic knowledge of history and myth.²³ However, generally speaking, this period refers to the intentional cultural adoption of classical Greek writing styles as well as its culture and speech by the societal elite of

¹⁸ Plantzos 2019, 10.

¹⁹ Plantzos 2019, 10-11.

²⁰ Plantzos 2019, 11-13.

²¹ Plin, *HN* 36.15-21.

²² Whitmarsh, 2005. 3.

²³ Whitmarsh, 2005. 1.

the Greek East.²⁴ During this period, elite benefaction of money and property to the Greek cities in the East by wealthy nobles symbolized the different nature of these civil interactions in the acquisition of greater political and social status.²⁵ Simply put, at the core of this movement is a desire to embrace and encourage Greek culture and speech on a wider basis by the social elite.²⁶ For instance, the name of the period as assigned by Philostratos implies a type of continuity and lineage from the “ancient” past. Using Philostratos’s own criteria, the First Sophistic referred to the orators who engaged with philosophical matters like Kritias and Gorgias whereas the sophistry of his own time focuses on declamations and display oratory, which begins with Aeschines according to Philostratos.²⁷ Thus, Philostratos consciously links his own contemporary movement of high levels of Greek intellectual life with that which was practiced in Classical Athens.²⁸ This mentality reflects the centrality of Greece and Athens in the rest of the sophists and rhetors and in Pausanias as well who, as we will see, embraced mainland Greece specifically as the basis of his *Periegesis* in order to best convey his projection and image of Greece.

One aspect prevalent in the *Periegesis* and related to the underlying mission of the Second Sophistic world is the overt use of Atticism in the text. Atticism is the utilization and promotion of the syntax, grammar, and phonology of the dialect of Greek used by the Athenians during the Classical period.²⁹ This practice arose in contrast to the common, or *koine*, Greek spoken by the wider Greek-speaking world at the time of the Second Sophistic. This form of the Greek language corresponded with the Greek spoken by lower, uneducated classes originating from a simpler and easier version of Attic Greek created by the Macedonian administration during the Hellenistic period.³⁰ This resulted in the intentional use of grammatical rules practiced by the Classical Athenians such as the employment of the optative mood and the double *tau* in lieu of the double *sigma*.³¹ Evidently, Atticism played an important social role in separating the elite rhetors and sophists from the *koine*-speaking masses. As Whitmarsh explains, “The discriminating use of language was the fundamental marker of social identity: it defined whether one belonged to the

²⁴ Swain 1996, 2.

²⁵ Swain 1996, 1-2.

²⁶ Swain 1996, 2.

²⁷ Philostrata. *VS* 481, 507.

²⁸ Whitmarsh, 2005. 4.

²⁹ Swain 1996, 7.

³⁰ Whitmarsh 2005, 41-42.

³¹ Whitmarsh 2005, 42.

class of the ‘educated’ (*pepaideumenoi*)... or that of the ‘idiots’ (*idiōtai*) and ‘rustics’ (*agroikoi*).³² Thus, Atticism was profoundly important for the elite males of the Second Sophistic because it solidified their sociopolitical standing within their community while also codifying a “proper” way to write and publish their intellectual texts.³³ For instance, Philostratos himself bears witness to the presence of this social boundary in his work *On Heroes*. The premise of this work concerns the encounter between a Phoenician sailor and a vinedresser, and at one point of the text, the sailor asks the vinedresser where he learned how to speak so well, to which the vinedresser responds that he learned in the city (*ἐν ἄστει*) by means of attending lectures and studying philosophy (*διδασκάλους χρώμενοι καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντες*).³⁴ Therefore, in regards to the *Periegesis*, Pausanias’s usage of Attic Greek not only reflects his own tendencies and intentionality to abide by the practices of his elite peers as a result of his education, but also, it speaks to the encouragement of the wider Second Sophistic movement to embrace the writing style of the Athenians and Athens as the origin for the literary works from which they aimed to model their own work.

One of the most notable aspects of the Second Sophistic was the widespread popularity of ekphrastic works. According to Elsner, ekphrasis is a type of literary practice which describes a work of art.³⁵ However, the ancient rhetorical handbooks known as *progymnasmata*, which taught ekphrasis to the students of the Second Sophistic, contained guides to conducting ekphrasis on more than just works of arts – ekphrasis could be performed on people, places, events, and even plants and animals.³⁶ Ekphrasis had already existed before the Second Sophistic period, and it has been argued that ekphrasis has traceable origins to Homer, most notably in the description of the shield of Achilles from the *Iliad*, and continued on through Athenian tragedy and Hellenistic epigrams and pottery.³⁷ By the time of the Second Sophistic, discourses regarding ekphrasis seem to highlight the ekphrasis performed specifically on artwork as explained in great detail in works such as *Eikones* by Philostratos and *Peri Tou Oikou* by Lucian. Therefore, it seems that ekphrasis acted as a practice tool for rhetors to practice their display oratory since they would need to perform

³² Whitmarsh 2005, 42-43.

³³ Swain 1996, 7.

³⁴ Philostr. *Her*: 4.5-6.

³⁵ Elsner 2004, 157. This paper will later discuss why this definition is slightly problematic when taking a closer look at ekphrasis.

³⁶ Elsner 2002, 1.

³⁷ Elsner 2002, 3-9. Pretzler 2007, 110. Squire 2009, 141-143. For an in-depth study of ekphrasis in Homer, see Becker 1995.

illustrative speeches in a manner similar to an ekphrastic exchange.³⁸ Ultimately, the goal of ekphrasis is to describe an imaginary image in the mind of an audience which in turn creates an emotional response within the reader / listener.³⁹

Turning to Pausanias, it is true that if one examines Pausanias through the lens of ekphrasis, one will be disappointed that Pausanias's manner of description is not identical to those of his contemporary writers Philostratos or Lucian. For instance, Pretzler has noted how, compared to Lucian, Pausanias does not use the full extent of vocabulary available to him to describe the artwork of the *Periegesis*.⁴⁰ Moreover, she cites how Lucian critiques people who fail to provide quality descriptions of objects when they meticulously fixate on minute details instead of the overall beauty of an object; she further connects Lucian's point to the idea that Pausanias falls into this trap at the Statue of Zeus at Olympia.⁴¹ Firstly, I disagree with Pretzler's suggestion that Lucian's opinion of a lackluster description of the statue ignores its sheer prominence matches the one of Pausanias because Pausanias himself asserts that the people who previously recorded its dimensions, "fall short of the impression made by a sight of the image," implying that Pausanias was aware of the statue's immeasurable grandeur.⁴² Furthermore, while Pretzler is right in suggesting that Pausanias is not concerned with art historical matters to the same degree as an art critic or a contemporary sophist like Lucian, who is someone clearly invested in these matters, her analysis runs a little close to suggesting that Pausanias's manner of description holds less value to a traditional ekphrastic work. For instance, to quote Pretzler directly, she posits that Pausanias, "rarely pays attention to the impact of an artwork on the viewer," and that, "his main aim is to understand what the image can tell him about individual characters and the story as a whole."⁴³ I generally disagree with this aspect of her view and suggest that it needs to be nuanced in order to express that Pausanias chooses not to focus on artistic details because these details are not entirely necessary in creating an image of Greece. He is not trying to create a 1:1 photograph of Greece, but rather, he is painting what is important for him, namely the cultural meaning and symbolism of such objects within the landscape. Therefore, suggesting that Pausanias is trying to "decipher" paintings in his work is a misnomer – he is presenting what he sees in physical relation to the rest

³⁸ Pretzler 2007, 110.

³⁹ Elsner 2002, 1.

⁴⁰ Pretzler 2007, 109.

⁴¹ Pretzler 2007, 109. Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 27.

⁴² Paus. 5.11.9.

⁴³ Pretzler 2007, 112.

of spaces with which he interacts in order to convey these objects' associated significance to the greater Greek culture.

The takeaway from this discussion is that Pausanias's *Periegesis* does not fit into a purely historiographical nor ekphrastic model of writing. However, this is not a bad thing. Pausanias creates his own model in order to suit his own needs in his writing which focuses on the memory and cultural meaning embedded within the objects of Greece. Without a doubt, Pausanias was inspired and deeply influenced by the culture of the Second Sophistic around him which initially led him to embrace mainland Greece as the focus of his project. The main issue which stems from previous scholarship is the insistence that Pausanias falls short of these literary models and the relegation of Pausanias as an above-average tour guide who fails to write historiography and ekphrasis. Rather, we must accept Pausanias as incorporating elements from both of these writing styles in order to suit his own goal: the creation of a unique, improvised form of ekphrasis-like writing which directly interacts and captures the image which Pausanias records, thus blending both elements of historiography and ekphrasis within the text to capture his preferred image of Greece.

2.2 – Why Athens

Pausanias's decision to begin his work in Athens reflects his interest in establishing Athens as the figurative nexus of Greek culture. There is a historical and cultural precedent for Pausanias to make this decision. Firstly, by the time Pausanias wrote his text and had traveled to the locations that he discusses, the Greek speaking part of the Roman Empire had experienced a cultural boom. By this point in the history of the Roman Empire, the eastern half of the empire had become quite prosperous and had become heavily Romanized through its bureaucracy, administration, and cultural practices.⁴⁴ As a result, the Greek cultural elite directly benefitted from this prosperity, and with the added benefit greater stability and existence of emperors who favored Greece, in particular Hadrian, the Greek elite found themselves in a very comfortable position.⁴⁵ This was further exacerbated during the reign of Hadrian, since the eastern provinces received much in the way of

⁴⁴ Arafat 1996, 12.

⁴⁵ Swain 1996, 1.

construction projects launched by the emperor.⁴⁶ For instance, Pausanias could have been either thirteen or fourteen years old during Hadrian's first tour of the province of Asia in 123/124 AD and old enough to have visited Athens and seen the completion of the Temple of Olympian Zeus by Hadrian in 131/132 AD.⁴⁷ Perhaps the most direct impact made in Pausanias's life by Hadrian was the foundation of the Panhellenion, an association which linked the Greek-speaking cities in Greece, Asia Minor, and North Africa in 131/132 AD.⁴⁸ This quasi-consortium elevated Athens as the cultural exemplar for all the other cities of the league to follow and more formally linked the cities of Asia Minor with Greece proper and with the Roman Empire as a whole.⁴⁹ It also presented Hadrian as the new founder of Athens, linking him with Theseus and Rome as the Classical Athens of his present.⁵⁰ This is perhaps best personified in the inscriptions which adorn the architrave of Hadrian's Gate in Athens. The inscription on the southeast side of the monument (the angle where one can see the Acropolis through the arch from the Temple of Olympian Zeus) states, "This is the city of Hadrian and not the one of Theseus".⁵¹ All in all, it is reasonable to say that the presence of Hadrian and the Roman Empire and their actions as a whole left a profound impact on Pausanias's upbringing and formation which impacted his world view later in life.⁵²

Pausanias's own origins play an important role in understanding why he chose to begin his *Periegesis* with Athens. It is well-established that Pausanias most likely came from Asia Minor, specifically the city of Magnesia ad Sipylum.⁵³ It is then likely that Pausanias learned sophistic rhetoric in nearby cities such as Pergamon, Ephesos, and Smyrna which had become renowned locations for the education of higher-learning skills.⁵⁴ From these centers of learning, Pausanias, and all the rest of the rhetors and sophists in training, learned oratory and sophistic performance rooted in the Classical tradition.⁵⁵ What results then is Pausanias receiving a high level of education which views Greece, and Athens in particular, as the starting point of much of what he conceived to be highly important within his worldview.

⁴⁶ Arafat 1996, 12.

⁴⁷ Bowie 2001, 23

⁴⁸ Arafat 1996, 12-13.

⁴⁹ Arafat 1996, 13.

⁵⁰ Arafat 1996, 14.

⁵¹ *IG II²* 5185.

⁵² Bowie 2001, 24.

⁵³ Arafat 1996, 14. Bowie 2001, 24.

⁵⁴ Bowie 2001, 24.

⁵⁵ Whitmarsh 2005, 24-26.

On a broader level, the effects of Rome and Hadrian in particular were felt not just by Pausanias but also by the greater elite community known today as the Second Sophistic movement. As previously mentioned, Asia Minor was a hub of Greek literary activity focused on the teaching of rhetoric during the second century AD for the educated elite which manifested as the Second Sophistic. Their education hinged on the relationship which the sophists were creating for themselves to Classical Greek culture through their own pedagogy and curricula.⁵⁶ The men of this movement were also known as *pepaideumenoí* (literally meaning “the ones who have been taught”), and they embraced the teaching of different forms of rhetorical display such as declamation, which were demonstrations of effective advice-giving and epideictic speeches, which were written to praise people, buildings, cities, etc. of the present.⁵⁷ Simply put, the Second Sophistic formed itself around the cultural and political identity of the ancient Greeks through their language and their past.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the demonstrations of the sophists’ abilities required them to acquire a deep and well-taught knowledge of the past and express it, in particular the accomplishments and significance of Classical Athens.⁵⁹ The importance of acquiring a varied knowledge of the past and how it inspired a key facet of Pausanias’s mission will be explained later on, but for now it is important to note how the Second Sophistic movement exalted Classical Athens within their daily practices. It is also known that the Julio-Claudian and Antonine emperors studied at rhetorical academic centers, and even Hadrian founded his own school in Athens, thereby highlighting the Athenian-centric position held by Hadrian and his reign.⁶⁰ Thus, this explicit idolatry of Athens within the rhetorical schools reflects the intellectual climate of the Second Sophistic movement and how Pausanias was affected by this environment which viewed Classical Athens as the pinnacle of literature and speech.

Perhaps it would be useful to contextualize the Helleno-centrism of the Second Sophistic and the 2nd century AD with the inclusion of an archaeological find. In 1866 a marble headstone close to the Choragic Monument of Lysikrates was uncovered. The back of the slab had an inscription of the dedication of a votive offering dedicated by the people of Magnesia on the Meander to Hadrian.⁶¹ Moreover, the inscription named Hadrian with the epithet *Olympios*

⁵⁶ Swain 1996, 1.

⁵⁷ Arafat 1996, 14-15.

⁵⁸ Swain 1996, 9.

⁵⁹ Arafat 1996, 14-15.

⁶⁰ Arafat 1996, 15.

⁶¹ Pottier 1878, 416.

(Ολύμπιος). This epithet began to be used from AD 128-129 to describe Hadrian in order to further cement the link between him and Zeus in coordination with the new set of games that he established in Athens in the name of Zeus Olympios.⁶² Moreover, the location of this artifact was not far from the Temple of Olympian Zeus – this supports what Pausanias says about the whole sacred area of the temple being full of statues (ἀνδριάντων δὲ πλήρης), and more importantly, Pausanias records that each polis dedicated an image (εἰκόν) to Hadrian within this space.⁶³ Thus, not only is this artifact a likely remain from this large mass of statuary and dedications around the Temple of Olympian Zeus, but also, it provides a physical link for us to imagine just how many dedications must have existed in this space connected to Hadrian and his exaltation of Athens within the Roman empire and within the intellectual sphere of the sophists and their students.

All in all, the centrality of Athens within Pausanias's work indicates that Pausanias has a very specific agenda and goal that he aims to fulfill in his *Periegesis*. For Pausanias, beginning his work both textually and literally in Attica suggests a desire to demarcate Athens at the top of the Greek-speaking world in his mind. Strictly speaking, there is no need for Pausanias to begin his work here, but as previously discussed, the enhanced positioning of Athens within the Roman Empire under the reign of Hadrian directly influenced the sophistic schools from which Pausanias received his training and education in literature and rhetoric. Thus, the crowning of Athens within the Greek East ultimately creates the basis for Pausanias's project: he is searching for the objects and materials which created the culture that he and his Second Sophistic peers idealized and ultimately wishes to document and share his findings through his text. What results from his efforts is the capturing of a past world by means of the objects and their attached significance which had only been previously learned about in the academic contexts of Pausanias's circles, thereby strengthening the imagery even more through the contrast between past and present.

⁶² Arafat 1996. 162-163.

⁶³ Paus. 1.18.6.

Chapter 3 – Pausanias and His Method

In the previous chapter, we discussed and analyzed the different genres and cultural context of the Second Sophistic which influenced Pausanias and the execution of his work. We will now look closely at Pausanias and his text in order to see how and on what exactly does Pausanias choose to center his narrative. By looking at Pausanias’s methodology and process, we will establish Pausanias’s interests in order to comprehend the following questions: what is important about the items he chooses to record, how does he select them, and why are *these* the relevant objects and monuments for the *Periegesis*?

The title of the following subsection directly references Pausanias’s epithet for things he considered “worth seeing”. This title, or *theas axion*, describes the works based on his own personal criteria.⁶⁴ Even though Pausanias does not employ this term frequently in the *Periegesis*, its rarity should emphasize how important a particular landmark or monument is for Pausanias when it features in the text. Past scholars have suggested from this fact that it denotes a certain detached nature from Pausanias in terms of giving his own personal opinions on landmarks and monuments.⁶⁵ However, we should view this seemingly simple concept as one of the defining concepts on which Pausanias builds his narrative. In other words, by highlighting what is important to see and observe, Pausanias paints a picture which includes the most essential and meaningful landmarks and monuments necessary in comprehending a site through the *Periegesis*. The following will describe and analyze how Pausanias applied his approach and examine what can we, as the audience of the *Periegesis*, ascertain from his selective and intentional descriptions of landscapes in Greece.

3.1 – Things Worth Seeing

Pausanias did not have the time nor the space to include every single detail about every sight which he visited. It is presumed that his writing took place over several decades, beginning

⁶⁴ Plantzos 2019, 15.

⁶⁵ For instance, Pollitt 1974, 10 states that Pausanias “almost never” declared his own personal feelings about specific art works or monuments.

in the AD 130s with his first travels to mainland Greece and concluding no later than AD 180.⁶⁶ We then need to take a closer look to see what types of sites and objects Pausanias recalls in his narratives within his timeframe of activity. Some scholars have argued that Pausanias exclusively focuses on religious sites, objects, and symbols, imposing onto Pausanias the image of a “pious pilgrim” who was concerned only with recording the religiously significant items in the Greek world.⁶⁷ However, this view is rather limiting and reductive of Pausanias’s mission. Instead, Pausanias has a predisposition for religious items (including but not limited to altars, votive offerings, and cult statues) because of their age and inherent cultural value, not solely for their implications in local religious affairs.⁶⁸ It is thus from prominent religious structures and objects that Pausanias draws out what is culturally important for a particular Greek community within his narrative and, ultimately, the primary objective of his *Periegesis*.⁶⁹

To begin, we will first determine how Pausanias classified the objects and structures which he encountered during his travels and how he interpreted these objects on his travels in order to make sense of them in the greater context of Greek history and culture. It will become evident for anyone who reads the *Periegesis* that Pausanias understood the sharp distinction between his present and the times before his own. In fact, throughout the text, Pausanias refers to events or structures in relation to from his own era 144 times, using phrases like “in my time” (ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ) and “in our time” (ἐφ’ ἡμῶν) to indicate the difference in époques.⁷⁰ This in itself is important to comprehend because it marks a distinction between Pausanias’s time (what would be modernity in his eyes) and the past which for him consisted of many layers and periods: Pausanias applies this basic classification in order to record what is relevant in his narrative.

The analysis of artistic technique and innovation was a necessary part for Pausanias to create a sequence of periods in his mind which is ultimately reflected in his *Periegesis*. Whenever Pausanias highlights artistic objects (whether it be paintings, sculpture, or architecture), he displays of an awareness of art as a process which develops in a linear manner and highlights this nature as an essential point to his narrative. A fine example of this is found in his description at Delphi when he encounters the iron bowls and stand of the Lydian king Alyattes where he points out that “this

⁶⁶ Arafat 1996, 8. Bowie 2001, 23.

⁶⁷ See Elsner 1996 and Rutherford 2001 for arguments favoring Pausanias as a pilgrim.

⁶⁸ Arafat 1996, 10.

⁶⁹ Arafat 1996, 10-11.

⁷⁰ Habicht 1985, 176-180.

is the work of Glaukos of Chios, the man who discovered ironworking”(τοῦτο Γλαῦκου μὲν ἔστιν ἔργον τοῦ Χίου, σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἀνδρὸς εὐρόντος) before also describing in detail the construction of the stand itself and its qualities.⁷¹ Regardless if Pausanias is actually correct in his identification of Glaukos as the first person to engage in ironworking, the significance of the bowl and the stand at Delphi calls attention to the bowl and stand themselves as thematically relevant in the history of man as well as Delphi as the chosen location for such a significant marker of human innovation. Moreover, unlike the descriptions about inanimate materials like copper and ironmaking found in Pliny (discussed above in the previous chapter), Pausanias focuses on an artwork itself in order to provide an important detail about Delphi itself and not as an addendum to the development of ironworking as a whole. It is the individuality of Glaukos as the ironworking innovator that Pausanias underlines as the defining feature of the bowl and stand,⁷² and his brief episode on the structure as representations of Greek culture at such a prominent site which originate some number of years well before his travels, projects them as Greek innovations presented at a Greek site of utmost importance.

Another facet of Pausanias’s selection is awareness of a statue’s age depending on its stylistic attributes and core material. In the same vein, Pausanias is able to determine the identity of a sculptor by comparing two statues and analyzing their shared characteristics – this is how he deduces that a wooden statue of Athena Polias in her namesake temple at Erythrae comes from the sculptor Endoios because it shares similarities with nearby white marble statues of the Graces and the Seasons, “the ones which stand before the entrance in open air” (αἱ πρὶν ἐσελθεῖν ἐστήκασιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ) due to their close craftsmanship (ἐξ τὴν ἐργασιάν).⁷³ In this example, not only is Pausanias able to discern the shared origin of the statues, but also, he is not inhibited by the different materials of the statues to come to his conclusion. If Pausanias were only motivated by the fifth and fourth century “marvels” of sculpture, then it would not make sense for him to take time to analyze the sculpture of Endoios. On the contrary, the different material of the statues provides him with more material to enrich his description of the Temple of Athena Polias, and his knowledge of stylistic differences allows him to do so. In another instance, Pausanias notes that the cult statue of Apollo in Thebes matches the one in Didyma in both size (μεγέθει) and in shape

⁷¹ Paus. 10.16.1-2.

⁷² Arafat 1996, 46-47.

⁷³ Paus. 7.5.9. Plantzos 2019, 14.

(εἶδος), differing only in material, where the one in Thebes is cedar and the one in Didyma is made from bronze.⁷⁴ Moreover, he claims that with prior knowledge of one of the statues, one would be able to determine that the other was also made by Kanachos of Sicyon without great knowledge (οὐ μεγάλη ... σοφία) to do so.⁷⁵ Certainly, as Lapatin states, Pausanias's comparisons are logical to understand in our time because his methodology is akin to how we operate in art history or archaeology due to the prevalence of comparison and its importance in determining relative chronologies.⁷⁶ It should also not go unnoticed that Pausanias's descriptions have provided much for modern scholarship in understanding sculpture types and forms which have been lost to time.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, Pausanias employs methods of stylistic comparison and discussion to both record the physical appearances of sculptural art and to better create his landscapes by including statue types of many different forms and attributes for the reader to gain a fuller picture of Greece.

Generally speaking, Pausanias is keen to identify cruder, less technically innovative statuary as older in age and more developed and artistically complex pieces as later creations. For instance, while at the Temple of Hera at Olympia, he describes the statues of Zeus and Hera inside the temple as “simple” (ἀπλᾶ).⁷⁸ Even though he does not say more than this, considering what we know about the Temple of Hera being one of the older temples constructed in mainland Greece, we can posit that the “simple” form of these statues equated with works of much older origins in the eyes of Pausanias,⁷⁹ and as Pollitt explains, “simple” in this case likely suggests a severe style akin to the Archaic or Early Classical Period, thereby indicating an early date for these statues compared to Pausanias's present day.⁸⁰ Furthermore, Pausanias makes his identifications clear when he encounters wooden statues and those made of softer stone compared to full marble works. For instance, at the Temple of Athena Polias at the Akropolis, Pausanias mentions the presence of a wooden statue of Hermes originally dedicated by the first king of Athens Kekrops (Κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα).⁸¹ There are a few things here to unpack: first, the fact that the statue is wooden suggests that the chosen material of the statue is much older than the time when stone sculpture began, and linking the statue to the

⁷⁴ Paus. 9.10.2.

⁷⁵ Paus. 9.10.2. Plantzos 2019, 14-15.

⁷⁶ Lapatin 2012, 282-283.

⁷⁷ Lapatin 2012, 283.

⁷⁸ Paus. 5.17.1.

⁷⁹ Arafat 1966, 47.

⁸⁰ Pollitt 1974, 242-244.

⁸¹ Paus. 1.27.1.

mythical Athenian king Kekrops thus affirms the statue's old age with mythic history with older origins than Pausanias's present.⁸² These wooden statues, or *xoana*, represented an archaic manner of creating statuary which predates "modern" technology certainly by Pausanias's time.⁸³ Therefore, the placement of the statue within such a significant site like the Akropolis not only demonstrates the importance of the statue, but being made out of wood further enhances the age of the statue which, in combination with its mythic correlation, underscores the antiquity and cultural importance of this item within the greater context of Athenian religious practices and culture as a whole.

Lastly, I would like to conclude this section by returning to the Temple of Athena Polias and reviewing how the differing historical ages of votive offerings demonstrate Pausanias's perception of the past and the influence it had on the cultural presence. Aside from the wooden statue of Hermes, Pausanias also records a folding chair made by Daidalos as well as Persian spoils at the temple, specifically the breastplate of the calvary commander at Plataia Masistios and the sword of Mardonios.⁸⁴ In this instance, Pausanias flags these offerings as the ones "worth mentioning among the old ones" (*ἀναθήματα δὲ ὀπόσα ἄξια λόγου, τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων*).⁸⁵ First, as briefly mentioned above, this is just one of many examples throughout the text where Pausanias describes something as "worth seeing / noting." He does this not only to simplify his descriptions on a practical level, but also because it allows Pausanias to sculpt his narratives and select what exactly exhibits the major qualities and stories of a particular location.⁸⁶ Second, by grouping together the mythical origins of Daidalos's chair and the historically sound spoils from the Persian Wars, Pausanias shows that in his mind, myth and history were not mutually exclusive concepts – the legitimacy of the spoils perhaps verified the origins of the chair which, for the ancient Greek audience, could very much be the real chair of Daidalos.⁸⁷ Even though Pausanias attempts to create divisions between the various historical periods that he understood, he still viewed *all* forms of history as contributing to a location's cultural heritage and adding to its list of things "worth seeing".

⁸² Arafat 1996, 55.

⁸³ For a full treatment of *xoana*, see Donohue 1988.

⁸⁴ Paus. 1.27.1-2.

⁸⁵ Paus. 1.27.1-2.

⁸⁶ Arafat 1996, 43-44. Pretzler 2008, 9-11.

⁸⁷ Arafat 1996, 70-72. Arafat 1992, 406.

All in all, art in Pausanias evidently forms a clear progression which, although he may not necessarily be correct or highly accurate in his autopsies and identifications, provides a methodology for us to understand how Pausanias perceived his own world and consequently chose to depict it in his *Periegesis*. What results from his intentional selection of items and stories is the framing of those things which best illustrated for Pausanias the characteristics and qualities of “ancient” Greece worth recording and remembering.

3.2 – Oral Tradition and Local Knowledge

Another crucial aspect of Pausanias’s selection process is the relevance of oral and local tradition in his narrative. As established above, the various ages and stylistic executions of objects indicated in his text speak to a greater chronological understanding within Pausanias’s mind that helped him qualify and quantify a relative time sequence for the present at every site that he visited. Connected to the classification of objects in his timeframe is the local traditions and stories attached to them. These are particularly important to Pausanias’s process as local tales tend to have unique interpretations of mythologies specifically created to reflect a community’s identity. Considering his Second Sophistic background, Pausanias would have been for looking for information not typically known by his elite and educated colleagues.⁸⁸ From this point, scholars have argued that Pausanias actively searched for this information not just to enhance his own narrative but to project an image of an expert traveler who has successfully acquired interesting stories to “impress” his social circles.⁸⁹ While this point of view is not necessarily incorrect, I believe that this opinion paints Pausanias as rather self-interested and not invested in improving his own text as a necessary addition to the ancient corpus but rather a demonstration of everything that Pausanias knew and came across regarding mainland Greece. Instead, this perspective must be nuanced to explain that the promotion of local stories in the text served to elevate his narrative *so that* he could have a high-quality description of Greece and its various communities through which one could better visualize and imagine the landscapes and content of Greece and not just solely an exercise for his own satisfaction of “discovering” facts that were not common knowledge.

⁸⁸ Pretzler 2005, 238.

⁸⁹ Pretzler 2005, 238-239.

Therefore, the collection and dissemination of local stories in the *Periegesis* was an essential aspect of creating a holistic narrative which enriched the portrayal of objects and landscapes chosen by Pausanias in his travels.

The local stories and mythologies which Pausanias recorded in his text likely originated in oral tradition and local literary recording. Whether or not the stories remained oral or were written down for Pausanias to examine is not a hugely important matter,⁹⁰ but the sharing of these stories through local guides is what allowed Pausanias to listen and consequently record them in his text. Having said that, the circulators of local tradition most likely manifested in local guides (explained in depth below) and their knowledge of local events.⁹¹ What is immensely valuable for Pausanias is the possibility of a contradiction between a well-established myth or historical event and the local interpretation of them. The genuine nature of the local stories holds a secondary value for Pausanias because the illustration of a possible alternative version of events inspired by the locals' perception of a significant object or landmark provides a more valuable addition to his narrative.⁹² A quick example of the prevalence of local interpretations of items occurs in Pausanias's description of the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. While enumerating and identifying the figures of the pediment, Pausanias shares that the Troizenians name the charioteer of Pelops as Sphairos but the guide at Olympia says that his name is Killas.⁹³ Regardless of which group is correct in their identification, this is a direct example of the presence of two varying accounts of the identification of a single figure in the pediment. Pausanias decides to share the two options of identity with his audience because he wants to actively include them as examples for the different possibilities which alter the perception of the pediment. While he systematically discusses the pedimental sculpture of the temple, the inclusion of different statue identities allows the reader to take a step back (both literally and figuratively) and consider how the statue group would change based on which version they accept as the correct one. It would be a small change, but the addition of the local interpretations displays the variability of identities within such a traditional and foundational myth (the chariot race between Pelops and Oinomaos) depicted on the pediment, thereby influencing the image which one creates mentally about the pediment and, consequently, the Temple of Zeus itself.

⁹⁰ Pretzler 2005, 239-240.

⁹¹ Pretzler 2005, 242.

⁹² Pretzler 2005, 242.

⁹³ Paus. 5.10.7.

All in all, the existence of local knowledge transferred through oral tradition was crucial for the development of an extensive and detailed image of Greece in Pausanias's *Periegesis*. The historical veracity of the stories need not matter as they preserved a unique fragment of local traditions and beliefs in relation to the objects of a community – it is the unfamiliar variants of myth and history which Pausanias sought out to incorporate in his narrative to formulate the images of his narratives based on the landmarks and objects which he encountered.

3.3 – The Importance of a Guide

Local tour guides formed an important component of the composition of Pausanias's *Periegesis* due to their localized knowledge of a community's tradition and identity. Whenever there is a mention to a guide within the text, Pausanias prefers to describe them as an *exēgētēs* (ἐξηγητής), or “expounder,” and uses a possessive genitive in order to further clarify their connection to a specific region.⁹⁴ Moreover, Pausanias often chooses a verb in the imperfect tense when describing the information from the guides, known as the “imperfect of recollection”, in order to distinguish this form of oral information from written sources of information – this is due to the fact that Pausanias does not use the imperfect tense when citing information which originates from written sources.⁹⁵ The point of these guides is to intertwine unfamiliar local stories with the “big picture” of common knowledge regarding the sites covered in the *Periegesis*, and explicitly or implicitly, Pausanias makes extensive use of them throughout his narrative.

One of the more explicit examples of the usage of a guide occurs during the Olympia account while Pausanias describes the Temple of Hera. In this instance, Pausanias states his intention to recall the story told to him by his guide at Olympia named Aristarchos (Λόγον δέ, ὃν Ἀρίσταρχος ἔλεγεν ὁ τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐξηγητής, οὗ με εἰκὸς ἦν παριδεῖν).⁹⁶ Pausanias records from Aristarchos a rather unusual story about the discovery of the corpse of a hoplite found in the roof of the temple during restoration work – the positioning of the body is apparently the result of a soldier who climbed into a hidden part of the roof during a battle in between the Lakedaimonians

⁹⁴ Jones 2001, 33-34.

⁹⁵ Jones 2001, 34.

⁹⁶ Paus. 5.20.4

and the Eleians and died of his wounds in such a well-covered position that his body was not exposed to either summer heat or the cold of winter (οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἄρα οὔτε μνῆρος θέρους οὔτε ἐν χειμῶνι κρυμὸς ἔσεσθαι τῷ νεκρῷ βλάβος).⁹⁷ Lastly, Pausanias also says (courtesy of Aristarchos telling him this) that the corpse was removed from the Altis and buried outside of the area with his armor.⁹⁸

Here in this example, we can examine many of the characteristics associated with information provided from a local guide. First, Pausanias utilizes the verb *elegen* (ἔλεγεν) in the imperfect tense in connection with the guide, emphasizing the oral nature of the guide's information as opposed to a written source (as explained above). Furthermore, the unique nature of this story demonstrates the sort of unfamiliar tales that Pausanias searched for and desired to implement within his narratives of familiar places. Lastly, the story is not a random inclusion unrelated to the rest of the text but makes sense in the narrative and flow of the text. The story of the unknown soldier forms the very end of the description of the Temple of Hera and marks the point of transition between the temple and further discussion about buildings within the vicinity of the Alter of Zeus. Therefore, we can think of the guide's story as a sort of addendum or anecdote to close the section regarding the Temple of Hera which provides an extra insight into the different aspect of history which occurred at the temple, an unusual form of history where hoplites died in the atypical location of a roof of a temple. Also, the manner in which the story juxtaposes against all which Pausanias has described about the physical and spatial characteristics of the Temple of Hera allows one to imagine this unique piece of information in the same frame of the "traditional" image of the temple, ultimately strengthening his account of the temple as his own in combination with distinctive episodes such as this one.

3.4 – A Case Study: Delphi and Olympia

Now that we have discussed what sorts of objects Pausanias included in his *Periegesis* as well as his process in selecting them, we will now analyze his accounts of Olympia and Delphi in order to compare and contrast what properties he chooses to focus on while moving between

⁹⁷ Paus. 5.20.4-5.

⁹⁸ Paus. 5.20.5.

objects at the two sites. I will first focus on the wording and signaling that Pausanias uses in order to inform the audience about the objects he chooses to discuss in the narrative. First at Olympia, after completing his description of the Altar of Zeus, Pausanias explicitly declares that he will now discuss the other altars of Olympia according to the order in which the Elejans sacrifice at them (ἐπακολουθήσει δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι τῆ ἐς αὐτοὺς τάξει, καθ' ἥντινα ἡλεῖοι θύειν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν νομίζουσι).⁹⁹ Pausanias keeps his word and systemically covers these altars while also providing his characteristic asides depending if a particular altar has a story or significance attached to it that is worth explaining.¹⁰⁰ Most important for our purposes, however, is how Pausanias provides a sense of spatial awareness while shifting between the altars. Throughout this section, Pausanias uses phrases like “within the temple” (ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ), “near the temple” (πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ), and “by [the temple]” (παρ' αὐτὸν) in order to signal the positioning of all the altars in the Altis; he also uses the active participle “going” (ιόντες) to further emphasize the sense of motion and connection among the altars.¹⁰¹ As Elsner has noted, the enumeration of the altars requires Pausanias to backtrack and retrace his steps all over the Altis, and Pausanias consciously marks the moment when he leaves the Altis and returns onto its grounds once while also commenting on other structures like the workshop of Phidias and the Leonidaion (among others) present at Olympia as well as more altars.¹⁰² Thus, it is evident from this section of his account that Pausanias employs a systemic methodology when identifying and describing the altars and other notable buildings inside and outside of the Altis, thereby highlighting the physical space and interactions which one might take during a visit of Olympia.

The manner in which Pausanias recounts the altars and retraces his steps inside and outside of the Altis signifies his intention not only to record what he sees and their associated stories, but also to promote the spatiality of the site and its relevance in understanding the layout and physicality of Olympia. Elsner interprets this concept by positing that “the altars figure as elements in a ritual experience which combines bodily movement with devotion, mythological and historical information, and religious detail”.¹⁰³ He is correct to make this observation, but my only gripe with it is his emphasis on Pausanias observing the altars *for* their religious significance and not for

⁹⁹ Paus. 5.14.4.

¹⁰⁰ Paus. 5.4-10.

¹⁰¹ Paus. 5.14.5-6.

¹⁰² Elsner 2001, 13, Paus. 5.15.1-7.

¹⁰³ Elsner 2001, 13.

creating a cohesive image of Olympia in relation to the temples and other assorted buildings of the site. Elsner also claims that Pausanias's report on the altars is "entirely ritual centered",¹⁰⁴ but I find that this view projects onto Pausanias an interpretation of him and his mission as based on religious admiration and pilgrimage.¹⁰⁵

In a similar manner, Pausanias outlines his logic and approach to detailing and recording the various statues located at Olympia. Following his account of both the temples, altars, and mythology of Olympia, Pausanias begins his lengthy discussion of the numerous statues found on site and also prefaces it with a statement stating this progression in his narrative.¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, as part of his preface, Pausanias makes a tangible distinction between "statues" (τῶν ἀνδριάντων) and "votive offerings" (τῶν ἀναθημάτων) because he believes that not doing so would mix up their accounts (ἀναμῖξαι δὲ οὐκ ἄρεστὰ ἦν μοι τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λόγον) and that statues can be given as prizes to victors whereas offerings are dedicated to the gods.¹⁰⁷ From this point until the end of Book 5, Pausanias proceeds to enumerate all of the votive offerings within the Altis, including along the way mythical and historical asides inspired by a related votive offering.¹⁰⁸ At the beginning of Book 6, Pausanias continues to describe his method and reiterates how the next section will cover those statues of athletes and individuals not covered in the previous book, namely those of both racehorses and men (καὶ ἵππων ἀγωνιστῶν μνήμην καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀθλήτων τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ὁμοίως).¹⁰⁹ Pausanias also informs the audience about the inevitable absence of some statues because not every victor erected a statue and that some statues were the results of unfair victories in competition.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, Pausanias flags how he will only recall those statues which have some reputation or those which are made better than others (αὐτοῖς τι εἶχεν ἐς δόξαν ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν ὑπερχεν ἄμεινον ἐτέρων πεποιῆσθαι).¹¹¹ Lastly, his narrative about the athletic statues follows the same framework of utilizing phrasing which is relative to the positioning of statues throughout the sanctuary such as the statue of the wrestler Symmachos being to the right of the Temple of Hera (ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἥρας)

¹⁰⁴ Elsner 2001, 11.

¹⁰⁵ See Elsner 1992, Hutton 2005, and Rutherford 2001 for pro-pilgrim arguments regarding Pausanias.

¹⁰⁶ Paus. 5.21.1.

¹⁰⁷ Paus. 5.21.1.

¹⁰⁸ Paus. 5.21.2-27.12

¹⁰⁹ Paus. 6.1.1.

¹¹⁰ Paus. 6.1.2.

¹¹¹ Paus. 6.1.2.

and the statue of Neolaidas being alongside to that statue (παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν).¹¹² All in all, these qualifications concerning the statues of athletes at Olympia indicate how Pausanias interweaves what is “worth seeing” through various aspects, in this case the noticeable quality or distinction of a commemorative statue as well as statues which originate from respectable victories, and through his selection, Pausanias moves through the site, noting the physical location of these points of interest while also including associated stories or legends to each statue or building, which ultimately form *his* image of Olympia and, as a whole, Greece.

To conclude, I would like to include within this discussion Pausanias’s introduction to the site of Delphi itself regarding the statues of Delphi. Before beginning his description of Delphi, Pausanias once again prefaces with an explanation stating that he will include the votive offerings which appeared to him “most worthy of mention” (ὀπόσα δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων εἶναι μοι λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια ἐφαίνετο).¹¹³ This type of opening to the description of Delphi bears similarities with what he said regarding the statues of victors at Olympia (as explained above). However, at Delphi Pausanias further clarifies how the athletes and competitors in music who have not been remembered by man he does not find to be worthy of much attention (οὐ πάνυ τι ἡγοῦμαι σπουδῆς ἄξιους) and that the athletes who left behind a reputation he already highlighted in his account of Elis.¹¹⁴ Here, Pausanias establishes his own personal autopsy and manner of selection regarding which statues to include in his narratives based on their worth. Moreover, the extensive dialogue about all these types of statues also incorporates language of movement and spatial connectivity. For instance, Pausanias utilizes such phrases which declare how “going into the sacred enclosure” (ἐσελόντι δὲ ἐς τὸ τέμενος), one first sees the offering of a bronze bull made by Theopropos of Aigina for the Corcyrans and how next to this (ἐφεξῆς) are the offerings of the Tegeans from the spoils of the Lakedaimonians.¹¹⁵ However, unlike Olympia, Pausanias does not break up the narrative by categories of votive offerings and statues but instead describes what he sees (buildings included) while moving along the Sacred Way. Specifically, the first building which Pausanias records is the treasury of the Sicyonians which is “near” the votive offering of the Tarantines (πλησίον δὲ τοῦ ἀναθήματος τοῦ Ταραντίνων).¹¹⁶

¹¹² Paus. 6.1.3. This is just one example of a copious number of statues which Pausanias covers, which in itself underlines just how extensive his project was.

¹¹³ Paus. 10.9.1.

¹¹⁴ Paus. 10.9.2.

¹¹⁵ Paus. 10.9.5.

¹¹⁶ Paus. 10.11.1.

All in all, this comparison between Pausanias's descriptions at Delphi and Olympia displays his awareness in selecting buildings, religious monuments and offerings, and artworks as "worth seeing" due to circumstances of cultural and religious significance. The systematic rundown of statues and altars in and around the Altis compared to the more homogenous but still incredibly detailed description of all that he saw and chose to record along the Sacred Way reveal how Pausanias saw these buildings and forms of art as necessary enough in understanding Greek culture to include in his *Periegesis*. In essence, the Altis and Sacred Way act as focal points of cultural and religious importance for Pausanias to concentrate his narrative on the buildings and objects constructed along or within these zones. Thus, what results is a carefully created image of culturally significant lands within Greece, the meaning of which he draws from buildings, art, religious offerings, and their related stories and ultimately creates a landscape of their location and positioning at the sites in one's mind.

The next chapter will go into greater depth about the mechanics of ekphrasis and understanding the visuality and spatiality of Pausanias. Keeping in mind the concepts discussed in this chapter, the depiction of the *Periegesis* as a form of unique, hand-crafted ekphrasis which interacts with the real-world landmarks and monuments of Greece with the information included by Pausanias will take shape. This, along with an examination of the interactions between reader and author, ultimately determine how Pausanias creates an alternative form of understanding the ancient landscape through the *Periegesis*.

Chapter 4 – Pausanias and Ekphrasis

Thus far, we have discussed Pausanias's *Periegesis* within the context of his cultural environment of the Second Sophistic and how he employs his own unique method of autopsy and analysis in order to determine which landmarks and monuments qualify as "worth seeing" within his text. We will now take a closer look at the qualities of ekphrasis found in Pausanias's work in order to compare and determine how Pausanias utilizes ekphrastic qualities in order to paint his image of Greece in the mind of the reader in an improvised and personalized manner which intentionally does not attempt to replicate or mirror a "proper" ekphrasis created by his Second Sophistic peers like Lucian and Philostratos. Questions of textual interaction which concern the different persons within the text and those who interact with it as well as the role of the agency of the reader are also analyzed.

4.1 – The Persons Found in Pausanias

We begin our exploration by first looking at the different persons created within the *Periegesis*. First, there is the question of the personage of Pausanias expressed through the text, or as Akujärvi puts it, the "Ego". Simply put, different versions of "I" manifest in the form of the author and the narrator throughout the text depending on what Pausanias needs to express in any given moment.¹¹⁷ The author is the real person who creates the *Periegesis* while the narrator is his textual counterpart who is necessary in the "reading" of the text, as it were.¹¹⁸ We need to differentiate between Ego the author and Ego the narrator because we do not want to import the personality and characteristics of Pausanias the person (the extratextual Ego) onto the narrator of the text (the intertextual Ego) – we must think about them as two separate personages.¹¹⁹ Regardless of the case, Ego is highlighted by the usage of a first-person pronoun or verb.¹²⁰ There is also the λόγος and the λόγοι, the former represents the narrative of the text itself while the latter

¹¹⁷ Akujärvi 2005, 5.

¹¹⁸ Akujärvi 2005, 25.

¹¹⁹ Akujärvi 2005, 25.

¹²⁰ Akujärvi 2005, 27.

represents the stories within the narrative.¹²¹ The λόγος, as created by Ego, ultimately forms the frame narrative of the *Periegesis*, which in itself consists of the λόγοι and the θεωρήματα, the “sights” chosen by Ego just like the λόγοι.¹²²

In the case of the *Periegesis*, Ego the narrator appears both as the narrator and as the character of “I”.¹²³ Ego the narrator is introduced in the first-person in the narration; this creates an extradiegetic narrator who lies outside of the diegesis, the world created by the text.¹²⁴ This narrator takes on two roles: the writer, who produces the text itself as it is written, and the dater, who links the several objects and characters of the text to the present reality in which he writes the *Periegesis*.¹²⁵ On the other hand, Ego the character is introduced by Ego the narrator in two forms: the traveler and the researcher.¹²⁶ Both of these aspects of Ego the character are homodiegetic, meaning that they exist within the world of the frame narrative, and the researcher is responsible for gathering and commenting upon the collected stories while the traveler is responsible for relaying this information by explicit mentions of travel.¹²⁷ The Ego traveler completes this task in an impersonalized manner and is thus obliged to create the character of the “traveling-You”.¹²⁸

The traveling-You is the amorphous, impersonal character which the traveling-Ego creates to which he conveys the information of travel and movement.¹²⁹ The traveling-Ego accomplishes this by utilizing participles of verbs in either the genitive or dative case that indicate movement and lack a connected noun or pronoun.¹³⁰ The usage of dative participles is the most prominent manner to indicate movement spatially and geographically for the traveling-You in the *Periegesis*.¹³¹ In one instance, during the account of the Athenian Agora, the text records that one comes across a bronze statue of Hermes Agoraios while going (ιοῦσι) to the Stoa Poikile.¹³² In other words, the bronze statue appears *as long as* one goes towards the Stoa Poikile; if you do not go towards the Stoa, you will not see the statue, thereby indicating the directional importance of

¹²¹ Akujärvi 2005, 6.

¹²² Akujärvi 2005, 6.

¹²³ Akujärvi 2005, 30.

¹²⁴ Akujärvi 2005, 30.

¹²⁵ Akujärvi 2005, 31.

¹²⁶ Akujärvi 2005, 32.

¹²⁷ Akujärvi 2005, 33.

¹²⁸ Akujärvi 2005, 33.

¹²⁹ Akujärvi 2005, 33.

¹³⁰ Akujärvi 2005, 145.

¹³¹ Akujärvi 2005, 146.

¹³² Akujärvi 2005, 146. Paus. 1.15.1.

the dative participle within the text.¹³³ Overall, it seems that the narrator has a preference for using active expressions to indicate movement within space.¹³⁴ In another instance from the Agora, in order to indicate the transition into the Odeon of the Agora, the narrator writes that “having entered” (ἔσελθοῦσιν) the Odeon, there is a Dionysos worth seeing.¹³⁵ Once again, the dative participle conveys the sense of movement intended for the traveler-You and the subsequent result of the action should one enter the Odeon.¹³⁶ All in all, what the selective usage of participles and active expressions demonstrate is an intentionality in intertwining movement and directionality within the *Periegesis* in order to fill in the descriptions of locations with vivid realizations of spatiality.¹³⁷

What is most important to notice is that the traveling-You embodies the movement and spatiality created by Ego. Ego is not the one performing the traveling within the text – he records it and shares his knowledge in order to guide the traveling-You through the landscape which he expounds to “You,” an important distinction which allows the knowledge and visual experience of Ego become the experiences of the traveler-You.¹³⁸ Therefore, through the embodiment of the traveler-You, Pausanias is most effective in creating the images of Greece inside the mind of the viewer. The researcher, narrator, and author Ego work together so that the audience of the *Periegesis* can envision the landscapes which Pausanias encountered and recorded by taking on the role of the traveler-You.

To conclude this section, it is important to nuance our interpretation of the agency of the reader, or the “oneness” of the reading of the second person of the text. If one takes a more literal approach to Pausanias, one will notice how the aforementioned dative participles, strictly speaking, do not explicitly indicate the use of a second person pronoun. To return to the Painted Stoa example mentioned above, if one parses the participle “ιοῦσι” to examine its grammatical function, it can be identified as a plural, dative, masculine or feminine participle in the present tense. This means that the subject of the participle is, in a grammatical sense, a third-person subject. In practice, however, this suggests that the subject of the participial phrase is an indefinite figure.¹³⁹ Therefore,

¹³³ Akujärvi 2005, 146.

¹³⁴ Akujärvi 2005, 147.

¹³⁵ Paus. 1.14.1.

¹³⁶ Akujärvi 2005, 148.

¹³⁷ Akujärvi 2005, 148.

¹³⁸ Akujärvi 2005, 163.

¹³⁹ Akujärvi 2005, 132.

in translating the *Periegesis*, it would be fitting to add the English “one” or the French “on”, impersonal pronouns which imply an indefinite subject, to the text.¹⁴⁰ If we apply this framework to what we have already discussed, this means that the traveler-You becomes the traveler-One. Instead of forming the phrase, “as you go,” the change in meaning creates a phrase of “as one goes” to the composition of the text. Therefore, the reader of the *Periegesis* is not just the “You” who can travel, go, or see the landscapes described by Pausanias, an individual who engages with the text. It is the “One” who can perform these actions, the amorphous entity of *anyone* who reads the *Periegesis* can chose to heed Pausanias’s descriptions and allow him to paint such images in one’s mind.

Having established that the narrator, author, and traveler Ego work together to create the mental image in the reader through the creation of the traveler-One, it is now possible to discuss *how* Pausanias’s phrasing enables the reader’s agency within the grand scheme of the *Periegesis*. Firstly, within the confines of this paper, we will define agency as the manner in which a reader chooses to interact with the text.¹⁴¹ Having said that, the relationship between Pausanias’s phrasing and the agency of the reader can become apparent. Overall, it is important to note that Pausanias / Ego seemingly intended for readers to interact with the text.¹⁴² We can support this claim first from noting that Ego the writer takes serious concern in clarifying his methodology in selecting landmarks, monuments, and stories of the *Periegesis* while at the same time including why he does not include other points of interest.¹⁴³ As mentioned previously, Pausanias’s clarifications at Olympia and Delphi demonstrate his interest in categorizing certain types of statues based on the appropriateness and thematic relevance of each account exhibits his intentionality in selecting topics and themes throughout the narrative. If Pausanias was not concerned with the manner in which the reader might interact with the text, then it would not make sense for him to go to such lengths to clarify and explain his methodology throughout the *Periegesis*. Second, Ego the researcher’s occasional personal interjections and qualifications in phrases such as “I know” and “I think” allow the reader to judge for themselves whether to believe the account projected in front of them by Ego the researcher.¹⁴⁴ For instance, while describing the throne of Zeus within the

¹⁴⁰ Akujärvi 2005, 132.

¹⁴¹ See Whitley 2019 for an extensive and valuable discussion about agency within Greek art.

¹⁴² Akujärvi 2005, 175.

¹⁴³ Akujärvi 2005, 176.

¹⁴⁴ Akujärvi 2005, 176.

Temple of Zeus at Olympia, Pausanias mentions how he thinks (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) the Moon is driving a horse but that others say that it is actually a mule, citing what Pausanias calls a “silly story” (λόγον ... εὐήθη) as their evidence for this claim.¹⁴⁵ From this example, Pausanias provides two potential identifications for the figure and provides his own personal thoughts on the matter, but ultimately, it is up to the reader to decide which story to believe. The phrasing which Pausanias employs allows for the reader to have the agency to decide and interact both with the text and the image of the figure which he/she creates in his own head in order to come to his/her own conclusion on the identity of the figure.

Lastly, there is also a temporal element to understanding the reader's agency in the *Periegesis*. Underlying the creation of the text is the reality that the sites and monuments which Pausanias describes are only accurate to his present. Pausanias can describe and discuss the remains of the past to his heart's content, but his perspective is limited by his own time and modernity.¹⁴⁶ In other words, when Pausanias provides his descriptions, he does not account for how things may change between his time and the time of the reader.¹⁴⁷ In the same way Pausanias switches between his reality and the Greek past to make sense the images within the framework of his modern times, the reader, too, must switch between the images created by Pausanias and the current version of the landscapes contemporaneous with the reader him/herself.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, it is up to the reader to interpret the images created by Pausanias in the reader's own reality in order to determine their relevance to the present.¹⁴⁹ To refer back to the example of the horse or mule question at Olympia, if the reader who has read Pausanias undertakes a journey to the Temple of Zeus, it is up to him/her to determine whether the figure is a horse or mule based on what he sees while mentally consulting the image that Pausanias had created. The period of the reader's journey consequently affects the execution of this exercise should the image be defaced, removed, or totally destroyed by the time of the reader, all of which are circumstances Pausanias could not predict with certainty would happen, thus giving the reader the power to utilize the *Periegesis* to whatever lengths he/she deemed necessary.

¹⁴⁵ Paus. 5.11.9.

¹⁴⁶ Akujärvi 2005, 176.

¹⁴⁷ Akujärvi 2005, 174.

¹⁴⁸ Akujärvi 2005, 176, 178.

¹⁴⁹ Akujärvi 2005, 176.

4.2 – Deconstructing Ekphrasis

4.2.1 – The Mechanics of Speech

The following sections will further explain the characteristics of ekphrasis in order to understand how Pausanias created his own version of the genre and deconstructed it to suit the needs of his *Periegesis*. Questions of defining ekphrasis have circulated in scholarship across disciplines. As previously established in this paper, ekphrasis, at its core, is a description of a thing which needs to be descriptive and vivid for the audience to be able to formulate a mental image of said object.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, the *progymnasmata* teach how to conduct ekphrases of various subjects like people, places, events, among others.¹⁵¹ However, modern scholarship has displayed a tendency to define ekphrasis as descriptive rhetoric of works of art exclusively, seemingly ignoring the other potential subjects for discussion as mentioned by the ancient rhetoricians.¹⁵² Elsner himself falls into this trap, defining ekphrasis as “the description of works of art.”¹⁵³ Therefore, when defining ancient ekphrasis, it is crucial to remember this wide range of subject matter in order to analyze Pausanias alongside ekphrasis. Above all, the delivery of speech is absolutely necessary to conducting ekphrasis as it is speech which acts as the vehicle between the mind of the listener and subject described by the author.¹⁵⁴

It is also important to address an over-reliance on textual description as an explanation or illustration of an object in lieu of viewing an image for its own qualities. Squire has discussed how 19th and 20th century biases and assumptions that regarded textual description as a better and more accurate depiction of an image have covertly affected the modern cognition of images and texts.¹⁵⁵ For Squire, unless one lets go of these preconceptions, it is not feasible to understand image and text as complimentary expressions as the ancients did. For instance, the sheer amount of exposure ancient viewers would have had to images to deities and other cultural figures in both statuary and paintings would naturally forge a greater interplay between text and image within the ancient

¹⁵⁰ Elsner 2002, 1. Elsner 2004, 157-158.

¹⁵¹ Elsner 2002, 1.

¹⁵² Webb 1999, 8.

¹⁵³ Elsner 2004, 157.

¹⁵⁴ Webb 1999, 11-12.

¹⁵⁵ Squire 2009, especially 90-111.

world.¹⁵⁶ Thus, it is critical to view the ancient interaction between text and image as one that is less rigid than the modern preference for textual illustrations for images because images in the ancient world held greater importance in depicting or describing their subject matter without needing text to explain an image.¹⁵⁷ This concept is important to link to Pausanias so that we can address his lack of ultra-realistic categorization of everything which he saw. Instead of opting for extensive and literal verbal excursions, he favors a selective methodology which highlights landmarks and monuments with significant cultural value for a specific site. This is a far cry from a categorical report of everything present at any given site, much to the chagrin of archaeologists who have used Pausanias exclusively with the intention of identifying all the remains that they have uncovered with the *Periegesis*.¹⁵⁸ In fact, if one tries to emulate the exact pathways taken by Pausanias as suggested in his narrative, they do not necessarily suggest a topographically accurate path between monuments or locations precisely because Pausanias was not attempting to create a 1:1 mirror of what he saw.¹⁵⁹ Just as images of deities and myths vary between cities, so too do the collected stories of Pausanias and his selection of “things worth seeing” as he often reminds us, ultimately reflecting and painting in the mind of the viewer what Pausanias wants us to see.

Elsner has previously demonstrated how seeing and saying in ekphrastic works creates a triangular relationship between the speaker, the object being described, and the listener.¹⁶⁰ The speaker creates the description of the object for the listener while “excluding” the object from their conversation.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, Elsner’s criteria for ekphrasis posits that a visual axis connects a viewer and an object through speech which records the view of an object and that a verbal axis bridges a speaker and an audience through speech.¹⁶² He suggests that the ekphrasis itself functions to join the speaker and listener of the work in admiration of the object being described, an inactive agent in this triangular framework.¹⁶³ Elsner’s argument hinges on ekphrasis as a performance where the speaker carries out his rhetoric to an audience, both of which are a distant relationship with the object compared to the object being described which, in turn, receives the elaborate

¹⁵⁶ Squire 2009, 113-116.

¹⁵⁷ Squire 2009, 190.

¹⁵⁸ Akujärvi 2005, 19. Jacquemin 2001.

¹⁵⁹ Akujärvi 2005, 19-20.

¹⁶⁰ See Elsner 2004 for the complete explanation.

¹⁶¹ Elsner 2004, 159.

¹⁶² Elsner 2004, 157.

¹⁶³ Elsner 2004, 163.

ekphrastic descriptions, and he lists Lucian's *De Domo* and Philostratos's *Imagines* as examples of this in the Second Sophistic.¹⁶⁴

While Pausanias does not write his narrative as a dialogue between himself and the audience, this does not mean that Pausanias does not attempt his own interpretation of ekphrasis amongst the landscapes which he records. Unlike the "traditional" ekphrases of Lucian and Philostratos, Pausanias has the benefit of describing real-life objects not based in a world of subminimality, thereby accounting for his lack of ornate rhetorical displays of objects and landmarks throughout the *Periegesis*. Instead, Pausanias's inclusions of spatiality and movement complement the visual experience in the world which he creates in his narrative – they substitute for the grandiose performances of rhetoric which scholars have typically associated with "true" ekphrasis. On the other hand, this version of ekphrasis based on objects from the real world is seen in Lucian's *Imagines*, where he utilizes different aspects of acclaimed statuary in order to formulate a description of the most beautiful woman.¹⁶⁵ In essence, the *Periegesis* functions in a matter akin to this: through his deep interest in culturally significant monuments and landmarks, Pausanias selects which of these objects to record and embellish with his descriptions of movement and visuality as the narrative travels throughout Greece which work in turn with his historical digressions to create a greater depth to those things seen. The result of his project is an ekphrasis which intentionally demarcates the things which are worth seeing so that the audience can paint mental images of the landscapes which Pausanias describes without needing to visit these sites themselves.

4.2.2 – The Importance of Visuality

The final aspect essential in understanding ekphrasis in Pausanias is the role visuality plays within the *Periegesis*. We can look at visuality as the second aspect of ekphrasis in order to complete our study of Pausanias. On the one hand, there is the usage of speech which conveys the subject matter to the audience in a comprehensible form which has been discussed in detail above. On the other hand, the significance of the sight itself and the visual experience created through

¹⁶⁴ Elsner 2004, 159-163.

¹⁶⁵ Elsner 2004, 159-160.

ekphrasis ties into a more complete understanding of ekphrasis in Pausanias. Firstly, it is necessary to first account for the function of the gaze in Pausanias. Elsner argues that the gaze acts as a two-way street where the author himself receives the gaze of the audience while he, too, gazes at the audience while engaging in his rhetoric.¹⁶⁶ During this process, the author is able to react to the gaze of the audience by shifting and altering his speech since he is in control of the dialogue in the first place.¹⁶⁷ What formulates then is a combined and multi-leveled expression of speech about an object towards the audience while the speaker directs his gaze toward the object as well, or, as Elsner puts it, “as the sophist speaks, so the object of his ekphrasis (that is, also of his gaze) has a tendency to change in the flow of the sophist’s discourse”.¹⁶⁸

Elsner uses the example of Philostratos’s *Bosphoros* from the *Imagines* in order to demonstrate his argument. He focuses on this ekphrasis because the subject of the text shifts from a conversation about the painting itself to a discussion about the gaze which one holds on the painting.¹⁶⁹ This change in subject occurs because the focus of the narrative changes from numerous defined subjects in the forms of fishermen and fish from the perspective of a lookout in a tower to an unclear subject in the colors of the fish which become more undefined within the depths of the water.¹⁷⁰ Specifically, Philostratos describes how the watcher looks (βλέπει) onto the sea and witnesses the colors of the fish which are closer to the surface become black (μέλανες), those which are deeper become shadowy (σκιώδεις), and then those towards the bottom appear like the water (ὕδαρὸς ὑπονοῆσαι).¹⁷¹ In essence, the underlying theme in this section of the ekphrasis is the power of sight and the gaze of the watcher onto the water which ultimately mirrors the experience of the speaker.¹⁷² As the watcher/listener becomes unable to discern the colors of the fish, the ability of vision becomes highlighted as the primary visual link between subject and object in ekphrasis.¹⁷³

We can adapt this argument to our study of Pausanias. While Philostratos engages in ekphrasis by directly addressing the listener in his narrative framework in order to emphasize the gaze between subject and object, Pausanias expresses the nature of the gaze with his core concept

¹⁶⁶ Elsner 2004, 166.

¹⁶⁷ Elsner 2004, 166.

¹⁶⁸ Elsner 2004, 166.

¹⁶⁹ Elsner 2004, 167.

¹⁷⁰ Elsner 2004, 167. Philostr. *Imag.* 1.13.8-9.

¹⁷¹ Philostr. *Imag.* 1.13.9.

¹⁷² Elsner 2004, 167.

¹⁷³ Elsner 2004, 167.

of identifying things which are “worth seeing”. Because Pausanias chooses what is worth seeing, he creates a two-fold image in the mind of the audience. On one level, when Pausanias records what is worth seeing, it is a practical element which implies that something that is worth visiting in-person in the material world. On another level, the things are worth seeing because Pausanias declares that they are worth seeing in the mind of the reader. When Pausanias excludes monuments or buildings which have been proven to be present during his time, it is not just because he considered them unnecessary to understanding the cultural identity of a community. Rather, Pausanias alters the image of Greece through the selection of landmarks and monuments which are worth seeing, and by labeling them as “worth seeing”, Pausanias effectively molds his description of Greece to be one which fits his framework. In other words, out of all the potential things that Pausanias could have seen and encountered, the ones he chooses to record hold the highest cultural significance precisely because they are worth seeing and are the most important to see when creating one’s image of a particular sight.

Having established the role of speech and sight as performed by Pausanias, we can now analyze visuality as a concept within the *Periegesis* and how it manifests within the ancient world. We have looked at how Pausanias records statues mainly based on his own autopsy and criteria related to material, age, and stylistic execution. Related to this is the relationship between the image and the deity itself. The statue of a deity held just as much importance as the deity itself, resulting in a severe attention in maintaining the cult statue of a deity and the corresponding temple.¹⁷⁴ Of course, these practices reflect a great care towards the religious value of these statues and temples, but we should not constrain ourselves to viewing them *only* as items of religious importance. Pausanias allows us to understand visuality with a different lens separate from one of religious connotation and value. Elsner has utilized the previously-mentioned example of Pausanias describing the altars of Olympia as proof of Pausanias’s alleged favoritism towards ritually-centered landmarks and objects in the *Periegesis*.¹⁷⁵ However, what this does is mitigate Pausanias interest towards the cultural history of Greece over a purely religious approach. While it is true that Pausanias enumerates the altars based on “the order in which the Eleians sacrifice”,¹⁷⁶ the fact that he intertwines other buildings both inside and outside of the Altis such as the workshop

¹⁷⁴ Elsner 2000, 52.

¹⁷⁵ Elsner 2000, 53-55.

¹⁷⁶ Paus. 5.14.4.

of Phidias and the Leonidaion (as Pausanias notes when he enters or exits the Altis) demonstrates that Pausanias did not fixate on landmarks with a purely religious significance.¹⁷⁷ Instead, the combination of religious and non-religious structures, landmarks, and monuments support an image of Greece based on these two aspects of cultural life. We cannot argue against the reality that sanctuaries happened to be focal points for culturally significant areas and histories, but to propose that Pausanias ignores buildings which are not attached to explicit religious events or features takes away from the non-religious events and activities which are recorded in the *Periegesis*. The solution, then, is to incorporate religious and non-religious landmarks and monuments as equally essential parts of visuality within Pausanias. Instead of embracing Elsner's "striking instance of ritual-centered visuality",¹⁷⁸ civic building or histories must be given equal importance to those with religious significance in order to fully construct the visuality of Pausanias.

Lastly, *theoria* must be acknowledged and discussed in order to round out this analysis of visuality and speech in Pausanias. To begin, *theoria* is the travel to sanctuaries and the intellectual inquiry of the art at these locations.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, *theoria* inherently incorporates vision and sight as it is through vision which a visitor primarily experiences a sanctuary in the material world.¹⁸⁰ However, Rutherford has argued that *theoria* manifests in Pausanias adjacent to a proposed interest in pilgrimage because Pausanias originally intended in order to view and look upon the various sacred objects and works of art found in sanctuaries.¹⁸¹ He points out that Pausanias's account of the statue of Demeter Melaine in Phigalia is a prime example of Pausanias's avowed interest in visiting and observing the art of sanctuaries for the sake of religion and pilgrimage.¹⁸² Notably, Rutherford makes a very bold claim that "Every page of the *Periegesis* shows examples" of "ritual contemplation."¹⁸³ This is blatantly false as the story which Pausanias describes immediately after the one of the statue of Demeter is about the history of Pallantion, a primarily secular story about colonization and Roman historical developments.¹⁸⁴ Rutherford also proposes that since tourism existed in antiquity, the line between pilgrimage and tourism is blurry, so Pausanias could be a

¹⁷⁷ Paus. 5.15.1-3.

¹⁷⁸ Elsner 2000, 55.

¹⁷⁹ Plantzos 2019, 16.

¹⁸⁰ Rutherford 2001, 43.

¹⁸¹ Rutherford 2001, 43.

¹⁸² Rutherford 2001, 43.

¹⁸³ Rutherford 2001, 43.

¹⁸⁴ Paus. 8.43.1-6.

pilgrim who also engaged in tourism during his travels.¹⁸⁵ This is a weak claim and does not convincingly account for the inclusion of non-religious stories and landmarks in the narrative of the *Periegesis* alongside those firmly rooted in religious significance.

In order to truly understand *theoria* within the *Periegesis*, we must broaden our scope in defining *theoria* in order to consider Pausanias as more than a pilgrim embarking on a quest to observe and record religiously relevant places. The travel which Pausanias has accomplished is recorded in the narrative in order to recreate his visual experience. Through this process, Pausanias details a large variety of culturally significant landmarks and works of art that are worth seeing. These chosen details then generate the image of Greece which Pausanias specifically curates for the audience. Moreover, Pausanias's intellectual inquiries and interests reaffirm his journey by adding to the narrative historical digressions and asides which flesh out the locations he visits and their local histories. So, regarding *theoria*, Pausanias's experience in looking and viewing these points of interest is replicated in the mind of the reader all through the criteria of things worth seeing.

4.3 – Combining It All Together

In conclusion, what Pausanias accomplishes is an interactive ekphrasis in the mind of the narrative. The different persons created in the narrative of the *Periegesis* perform distinct roles in order to successfully create the intended images of landscape in Greece: the traveler, researcher, and narrator Ego collected all the information that he could so that the traveler-You can embark on the same journey as Pausanias without having to copy it in the physical world. Of course, it is not just “You” who travels in the *Periegesis*, it is also “One” who travels through the landscapes which Pausanias has captured in his narrative. Moreover, the reader is empowered to interact with the text through Pausanias's phrasing. Due to his intentional selection of landmarks and monuments and personal interjections of judgement throughout the text, Pausanias allows for the reader to determine for his/her own sake what monuments are really worth seeing and what stories should be believed. Furthermore, the agency of the reader is strengthened should he/she actually visit the sites in person and compare what he/she sees and experiences to the experience of Pausanias. Thus,

¹⁸⁵ Rutherford 2001, 43-44.

the potentiality and temporality of the reader produces his agency, the ability to determine and analyze for himself what is different and what remains significant at the landscapes of the *Periegesis*. On the other hand, the spatiality and visuality of the *Periegesis* generates imagery which specifically frames the things worth seeing in Greece. Through the different axes of visual interaction and the speech created between author and reader, it is then possible to surmise that Pausanias's narrative functions as a unique and improvised form of ekphrasis. This form of ekphrasis is not limited by the framework of a single instance of a person or painting, but rather, it is an incarnation of the world which Pausanias traveled and researched which he then projects to the reader. What results from Pausanias's project is a collection of *panta ta hellenika*, the sites which are for Pausanias the defining characteristics and aspects of his description of Greece.

Chapter 5 – Conclusions

This MA thesis began with an examination of previous scholarly attitudes towards Pausanias. Most of the previous scholarship of Pausanias yielded beneficial studies in Greco-Roman relations, in ancient religion, and in understanding of the ancient landscape in general, but these studies ultimately focused on trying to use the *Periegesis* to prove and validate larger themes in the ancient world instead of analyzing what Pausanias is actually accomplishing with his work.¹⁸⁶ What was missing from past studies is a focused attempt at understanding how Pausanias is writing and describing his landscapes and how they truly interact with the reader. Therefore, this thesis has proposed that Pausanias's *Periegesis* develops an interactive ekphrasis, a form of ekphrasis which substitutes elaborate rhetorical displays with the interactions of a visual and spatial nature within the real world, resulting in images of landscapes in the mind of the reader based on specifically selected landmarks, locations, and monuments.

The cultural atmosphere shaped by the Second Sophistic movement influenced Pausanias to craft his *Periegesis*. Being an elite upper-class male from Asia Minor, Pausanias most likely learned and experienced the education of the Second Sophistic rhetors which emphasized a fondness for “Ancient” Greece. Their outlooks idolized Greek history and culture and exalted Athens and Attic culture as the pinnacle of Greek culture. Practices like Atticism, which promoted the intentional usage of Classical Attic Greek grammatical forms within their own writings, personified the idolization of Athens by the Second Sophistic writers. These ideologies, combined with the Hellenic admiration by Rome from its elite citizens' developed interest in Greek art and culture, forged a perception of the Greek East where Greece represented the source of significant history and culture with Athens as its center. The initiatives of Hadrian which designated Athens as the capital of the Panhellenion further solidified this mentality. Therefore, the depiction of mainland Greece as the central focus of the *Periegesis* suggests that, for Pausanias, this was the part of Greece most worth recording and illustrating for audiences, an idea most likely influenced by his Helleno-centrist surroundings.

¹⁸⁶ Alcock 1995, 325-327 refers to this practice as a “mining operation” whereby scholars extract whatever information they want from the *Periegesis* without noting the greater context of the work.

In order to formulate the content of the *Periegesis*, Pausanias created a methodology which focused and codified the most notable and significant markers of culture and history within the narrative. His criteria included the recording of the things “worth seeing” in the Greek landscape, the landmarks and monuments across which represented items of notable cultural value such as temples, paintings, sculptures, civic buildings, and votive offerings. He sometimes uses the phrase *theas axion* to denote the significance of a site or object, but regardless if he includes this epithet, the locations and areas which Pausanias decided to include in the narrative must have yielded some significance in the first place. Pausanias details their importance by visually describing them, by recalling their associated stories, or by mentioning unique details about a particular object which are worth discussing. Furthermore, Pausanias’s selection of sites and locations typically utilizes local traditions which were not commonly known outside a particular community. These stories often provide different identifications for figures in more widely known historical events or mythologies or explanations for community-specific landmarks or monuments. Moreover, local guides, which sometimes appear in the text, were most likely the conveyors of this local knowledge to Pausanias. These details, on account of their unique nature, represent all the ideas and perspectives which Pausanias wanted to capture in his image of Greece.

Pausanias incorporates and molds ekphrasis and its properties in order to fit the framework of the *Periegesis*. Ekphrasis, a rhetorical practice which favored extensive descriptions of objects, was one of the subjects taught by the Second Sophistic scholars. This literary form required the engagement in creating vivid descriptions of several different subjects like art, nature, or manmade constructions. Scholars have mostly viewed the more famous instances of ekphrasis written by authors like Lucian and Philostratos as the definitive examples of the genre. However, even though Pausanias does not use verbose descriptions in his narrative, he instead substitutes them with his own approach based on the linking between the narrative and the physical landscape. Pausanias accomplishes his task through an intentional utilization of descriptive words and phrases which evoke feelings of movement and conjure the sense of spatiality as if one is truly present at these sites. This is an intentional effort by Pausanias because it allows him, as the writer and researcher of all the landscapes, to place “one” as the reader into these areas and project his experiences onto the reader through the channels of speech and sight. Consequently, the reader receives all the details and descriptions created by Pausanias and is ultimately empowered to engage with the text in whatever manner he/she considers acceptable. Combining all these factors uplifts the *Periegesis*

into a dynamic work which showcases visuality and movement through the incorporation of the landscape and the narrative.

From this study of Pausanias, it is possible to propose theories regarding the question of identity. Firstly, as has been established, the cultural environment of Pausanias's time idealized the past Greece through their extensive rhetorical education. In particular, the fact that these schools had a high concentration in Asia Minor is hard to ignore, especially when one considers how Pausanias was not Greek in the strictest sense. His Asia Minor origins certainly put an interesting spin when considering his focus on all things Greek.¹⁸⁷ Pretzler reminds us that linking foundational myths and stories from mainland Greece to the exterior could be a potential motivator for people from Asia Minor like Pausanias to embark on such journeys to formulate their own identity and to uncover their idealized Greece while Elsner suggests that Pausanias creates his own "myth-history" of Greece to explore the Greek identity.¹⁸⁸ These ideas are not necessarily false, but the reality is that we simply cannot properly explore Pausanias's internal thought process as he does not include any hints as to why he wrote the *Periegesis*. Funnily enough, it is very challenging to learn more alternative ancient perspectives about Pausanias as a historical figure since he is not mentioned by his contemporaries and only first reappears as a citation in the 6th century AD.¹⁸⁹ Thus, whether Pausanias was recording the things worth seeing in Greece *because* he found them essential in connecting himself and his audience with a Greek identity is up for debate.

All in all, this thesis has revealed that Pausanias can still teach us about the ancient mindset and outlook on interactions with landscape and the meaning of the landmarks and monuments within it. There is still space for future studies of Pausanias which could certainly examine and analyze more closely the ideas proposed in this study. For instance, a closer analysis of every book of the *Periegesis* and comparing whether certain types of statues, artworks, buildings, or other civic structures receive more attention in terms of historical asides or descriptions throughout the work would be worthwhile, or further comparison between the execution of the traditional ekphrases and Pausanias could also be explored. Therefore, what we are left with is a rather open range of possibilities to grapple with the *Periegesis*. Just as Pausanias does not include specific instructions for whom he intended to read the work, nor when it should be read, nor how it should be

¹⁸⁷ Arafat 1996, 12.

¹⁸⁸ Elsner 2001, 12. Pretzler 2007, 30.

¹⁸⁹ Akujärvi 2005, 1-2.

understood, so too are we able to and engage with him in new ways. Ultimately, like Pausanias, we are all looking for the things worth seeing in his work; it is just a matter of perspective in locating in its importance.

Appendix

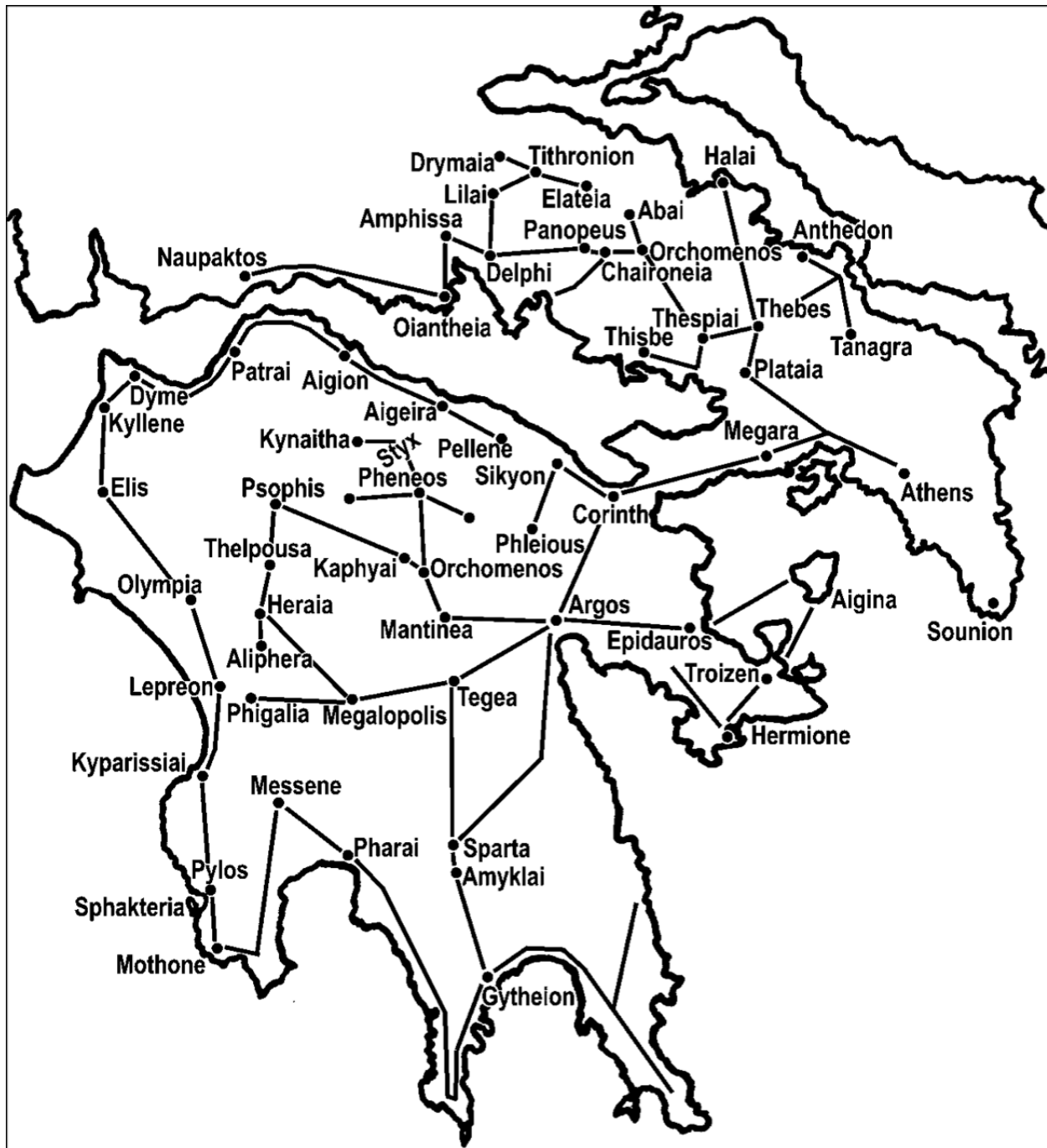


Figure 1: The locations visited by Pausanias. Source: Pretzler 2007, 4, Fig.2.



Map 1: The Roman Provinces of Achaia, Epirus, and Macedonia. Source: Alcock 1993, 15, Fig. 3.

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