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Inscriptions as Literature in Pausanias' *Exegesis* of Hellas

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For Christian Habicht.

Inscriptions are engraved on every kind of material, except papyrus, in order to serve every need imaginable. Unlike manuscripts and texts on papyrus, epigraphical texts are attached to the object on which they are engraved, and, in turn, both object and accompanying text are attached to the purpose that prompted their creation. This fundamental methodological principle in the study of inscriptions constitutes a specific 'locative' context, within which first and foremost inscriptions are to be seen, read, and interpreted. When, however, epigraphical documents are incorporated verbatim or abridged in literary works, they are removed from their original 'locative' context and acquire a new 'broader' one, an area of research that has not received the attention it deserves, as the present collection certainly documents.[1] Undeniably, the work that has utilized the most epigraphical texts, quoted verbatim or referred to, and has survived in ten books, is Pausanias' *Hellados periêgêsis*. This work is not the first literary text that comes to mind, especially in relation to the Second Sophistic, where it is mentioned reluctantly, if at all.[2]

In what follows, Pausanias' epigraphical habit and his methodological principles in composing his extensive ten-book narrative are examined first, and then

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[1] For inscriptions in Herodotus, see West (1985), in Thucydides Smarczyk (2006); for other previous bibliography, see especially Ch. 1 in this volume.

[2] For introductions to Pausanias' work, see Musti in Musti and Beschi (1982) pp. ix–lv; Habicht (1998); the essays collected in Bingen (1996), in Knoepfler and Piérart (2001), in Alcock et al. (2001); Hutton (2005*a*); Pretzler (2007); Pirenne-Delforge (2008) especially 21–173.

two epigraphical examples are chosen from book 6 (*Ἠλειακῶν B*), in order to illuminate Pausanias' attitude towards inscriptions and his compositional technique, what he calls the *logos* and *suggraphê* comprising the *exêgêsis* of statues and dedications.

A number of observations that Pausanias offers throughout his text in relation to inscriptions—about their metre, dialect, state of preservation in his time, direction and method of inscribing, and the reinscribing of monuments—fall clearly within the scope of the epigraphist (*stêlokopas*).[3] Yet these observations per se do not prove an epigraphical zeal on Pausanias' part. The inscriptions are connected rather with the tradition or practice of the periegetic genre, or so it seems, and they are employed in order to support or reject an argument or story in which Pausanias is interested. This raises the most important question about Pausanias, his work, and his use of inscriptions, which also touches upon his methodology in composing his work, namely what value he saw in epigraphical texts that was significant enough for him to incorporate them in his work.

The single surviving work in ten books betrays a polymath and erudite author with multifaceted and diverse interests, whence his many characterizations: Pausanias the traveller, the tour guide/Baedeker, the (literary) scholar, the copyist/plagiarist, the philologist, the archaeologist, the art historian, the topographer/geographer, the flora and fauna ecologist, the antiquarian, the *stêlokopas*/epigraphist, the historiographer/historian in the broader sense of Herodotus or the more limited of Thucydides, the historian of religion,[4] the pilgrim.[5] All these

[3] For Pausanias' epigraphical habits, see Gallavotti (1978*a, b*), (1979); Habicht (1984), (1998); Tzifopoulos (1991) 1–23 (I cannot but agree with Anne Jacquemin (Casevitz et al. (2002) p. xiv n. 2) who wisely retains Athenaeus' (VI. 234d) MSS reading *στηλοκόπας*); Pritchett (1998–9); Chamoux (2001); Snodgrass (2001); and especially Whittaker (1991) and Zizza (2006) 81–114, 399–436 (although he limits the catalogue to only fifty-four inscriptions, i.e. epigrams, quoted verbatim by Pausanias).

[4] The bibliography is enormous, because Pausanias has a lot to offer to many different subjects and approaches; see e.g. Chamoux (1960), (1974), (1988), (1996); Musti (1984), (1996), (2001); Veyne (1988); Bultrighini (1990); Jacquemin (1991); Bearzot (1992), (1995), (2001); Castelli (1995); Alcock (1995), (1996); Ameling (1996); Knoepfler (1996); Moggi (1993), (1996), (2002); Arafat (1996); Cherry (2001); Cohen (2001); Segre (2004); Akujärvi (2005); Ellinger (2005); Hutton (2005*a*), (2005*b*), (2008), (2009), (2010); Pretzler (2004), (2005), (2007); Pikoulas (2007); Pirenne-Delforge (1998), (2001), (2008); Frateantonio (2009).

[5] Elsner (1992 (revised in 1995) 125–55) has been decisively influential in understanding Pausanias, his activity, and his narrative as 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage', and a number of studies have followed suit: Alcock (1993) 172–214; Dillon (1997); Rutherford (2000), (2001); Elsner and Rutherford (2005*b*); Hutton (2005*a*) 303–11 and (2005*b*) esp. 291–9; Pretzler (2007) 41–3. For sensitive and convincing arguments of the semantics of the terms 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage', which are not applicable to Pausanias and his activities, see Arafat (1996) 10–11; Scullion (2005); Jost (2006); Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 97–112, esp. 98–102; Frateantonio (2009) 25–9, all with extensive bibliography. The association of ancient *theôria* and *theôroi* with Pausanias' *theôrêmata* and his activity is indeed far-fetched and misleading, as the mainly political dimension of *theôria* is to be found seldom in forms of 'pilgrimage' (this much is implied by Pausanias' limited and specific use of the word, see Pirenne-Delforge and Purnell (1997) i, s.v.). It is not true that ancient Greek did not have a term for 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage', and if these terms must perforce be used, then they may translate instances of the terms *προσκυνῶ*, *προσκύνησις*, and *προσκυνητής* (terms markedly absent from the ten-book narrative of Pausanias, except once in 4. 27. 2, see Pirenne-Delforge and Purnell (1997) ii, s.v.); these terms are the closest analogues to what 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage' imply, as they describe the end-result of a pilgrimage, for which, see Lajtar (2006); Tzifopoulos and Litinas (2009); Tzifopoulos (2010).

epithets attest that Pausanias' work defies categorization, but if, as Mario Torelli has suggested,[6] all these areas of study are brought together, they constitute what is known as Classical Studies or *Altertumswissenschaft*. In this sense, the work of Pausanias is innovative both in conception and in style: 1) it does not fit any of the known literary genres of antiquity; hence the reluctance to include the work in discussions and studies of the Second Sophistic;[7] 2) the work has a definitive impact on, if it does not create anew, the travel genre and the writing of travel memoirs and later tour guides, the seeds of which were already sown in the *Odyssey*, although Pausanias' work itself is *not* a tour guide; and 3) the ten-book prose narrative, whose idiosyncratic style oscillates primarily but not exclusively between the standards of Herodotus' *historie*, *logoi*, and *opsis/theoria*, and those of Thucydides' *suggraphê*,[8] is the first, if you will, Handbook of or Companion to Antiquity and Classical Studies.

More specifically, Pausanias' work appears to follow the tradition, well established by his time, of a periegete, whose function at a major site in Greece would not have been much different from his modern equivalent, the tour guide or Baedeker.[9] Plutarch paints a vivid portrait of a Delphic periegete in his treatise, *De Pythiae Oraculis* (395c):[10] 'The periegetes were going through their prearranged program, paying no heed to us who begged that they would cut short their harangues (*τὰς ῥήσεις*) and their expounding of most of the inscriptions (*καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων*)' (trans. Babbitt (1936), modified). Though Plutarch's derogatory remark may still find a sympathetic audience, the most significant detail is the extensive use of inscriptions. No doubt, the periegete read aloud such texts in order to substantiate his oral presentation (*τὰς ῥήσεις*) which, one may assume, was carefully outlined ahead of time.

The problem, however, that this Plutarchean periegetic portrait creates is that Pausanias does not use any of the terms *periêgeomai, periêgêtês, periêgêsis* in the extensive ten-book narrative,[11] most probably because of the periegetes' disreputable reputation and activity, a sentiment he may have shared by experience. In fact, the only place where the word *periêgêsis* does occur is the work's title *Hellados periêgêsis*, which most likely is not Pausanias' own and certainly does not do him

[6] Torelli (2001) 53 and *passim*.

[7] Pausanias is absent from or receives cursory treatment in e.g. Bowersock (1969), (1974); Reardon (1971); Anderson (1993); Swain (1996); Whitmarsh (2001), (2005); Goldhill (2001). For Pausanias' rehabilitation in the Second Sophistic and particularly for the literary merits of his work, see Bowie (1996) and (2001); Porter (2001); Lafond (2001); Elsner (2001); Konstan (2001), (forthcoming); Sidebottom (2002); C. P. Jones (2004); Akujärvi (2005); Ellinger (2005); Hutton (2005*a*), (2009), (2010); Pretzler (2004), (2005), (2007); Pirenne-Delforge (2008).

[8] Hutton (2005*a*) 175-240, especially 190–213; Pretzler (2007) 54–7, 73–90; Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 21–40 (esp. 25–32: 'entre Hérodote et Thucydide'), all with extensive previous bibliography.

[9] See Casson (1974) 262–91 (ch. 17 'Sightseeing') and 292–9 (ch. 18 'Baedeker of the Ancient World'); on 'travel' literature before Pausanias, see Hutton (2005*a*) 241–72; Pretzler (2007) 32–56; Frateantonio (2009) 30–2, 138–60.

[10] See also 396c, 397d, 400d, 400f, 401e; *Quaestiones convivales* 675e, 723f, 724d; *De E apud Delphos* 386b. Plutarch mentions by name two periegetes, Diodoros (*Themistocles* 32. 5, *Cimon* 16. 1, *Theseus* 36. 5 = *FGrH* 372 F35, F37, F38 respectively) and Polemon (*Aratus* 13. 2), for which, see Pretzler (2007) 35–6.

[11] Pirenne-Delforge and Purnell (1997) ii, s.v.

justice.[12] For it is indeed awkward—to say the least, given the examples of Herodotus and Thucydides to mention just two authors whom Pausanias admired—that the word appearing in the title of a work as its 'seal' is nowhere to be found within the narrative of the text, because its author has consistently and intentionally avoided using it. Instead, Pausanias prefers the word *exêgêtês*,[13] a fact that has caused much debate. Thus, Wilhelm Gurlitt ((1890) 34) had proposed as a title of Pausanias' work *Ἐξήγησις Ἑλλάδος*, whereas Adolf Trendelenburg (1911) had lectured on Pausanias' *Ἑλληνικά*. Felix Jacoby has shown convincingly that the function of the *exêgêtai* in Athens is not related to, and cannot be interpreted using, the testimony of Pausanias.[14] Jacoby argues for a very limited and specific meaning of the word *exêgêtês*, that is, 'expounder of sacred rites or customs, modes of burial, expiation, etc.',[15] as his purpose is to dissociate the *exegetai* in Athens from the genesis of the Atthidographers. The primary meaning of the word, however, is 'one who leads, adviser' and in Pausanias' text the word has been understood as 'guide, cicerone, to temples, etc.'.[16] At Olympia there have been found inscriptions recording the official cult personnel, whom Pausanias mentions (5. 13. 2, 14. 4, 15. 10–11), perhaps after consulting the catalogues and/or the local exegetes, and among whom are listed an *exêgêtês* (twenty times)[17] and a *periêgêtês*

[12] See Habicht (1985) 5 and n. 28, although he accepts the conventional title (1985) 2 and n. 5). For the history of the transmission of Pausanias' work, see Diller's articles (1955), (1956), (1957); Musti, in Musti and Beschi (1982) pp. lix–lxxxv; Irigoin (2001); Rocha-Pereira (2001); Casevitz (2001); Casevitz, in Casevitz et al. (1992) pp. xxxi–xlvi. For Pausanias' *Nachleben*, see Wagstaff (2001); Sutton (2001); Georgopoulou et al. (2007) 52–191; Pretzler (2007) 118–49. A study of Pausanias' manuscripts and their Renaissance translations for the title(s) of his work remains a desideratum.

[13] See Pirenne-Delforge and Purnell (1997) i, s.v. The word 'exegetes' is found nineteen times in Pausanias: Book 1: 13. 8, 34. 4, 35. 8, 41. 2, 42. 4; Book 2: 9. 7, 23. 6, 31. 4; Book 4: 33. 6; Book 5: 6. 6, 10. 7, 15. 10, 18. 6, 20. 4, 21. 8–9, 23. 6; Book 7: 6. 5; Book 9: 3. 3; Book 10: 28. 7. See also Frazer (1898) i. pp. lxxvi–lxxvii; Habicht (1985) 4–8; Hutton (2005*a*) 242–7; Pretzler (2004) 204–7, (2005) 241–3. C. P. Jones (2001) 39 concludes that Pausanias follows the authors and documents in portraying his local 'guides', the use of the term 'exegete' being 'old-fashioned' and a 'quaint conservatism'; cf. Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 86 who aptly concludes on the subject of *logos*, *legein*, *muthos*, belief/disbelief: 'Pour puiser une fois encore aux distinctions opérées en anthropologie, Pausanias oscille entre un travail d'exégèse—qui est un discours de l'intérieur, participatif, dans un tradition vivante—et un travail d'interprétation—conçu comme un discours instaurant la distance critique de l'observateur extérieur'; and Frateantonio (2009) 160–80, especially 161–9 on Pausanias as 'hyper-exegete' and his narrative-exegesis as similar to narratives of *ecphrases*.

[14] Jacoby (1949) (8–70, 236 nn. 42–3; 236–304; 399, and the bibliography there) is mainly concerned with the three groups of *exegetai* in Athens, i.e. the *ἐξηγητὴς ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν*, the *ἐξηγητὴς ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν*, and the *ἐξηγητὴς πυθόχρηστος*, their relationship with the Atthidographers, and the genesis of the Atthis at Athens. His discussion and arguments are relevant to Pausanias, because Pausanias is often quoted as evidence for the various theories proposed before Jacoby. Winkler (1985) 234–42 reverted to the pre-Jacoby argumentation of the meaning of 'exegete', in order to connect Apuleius with the exegetes, *aretalogoi*, and confessors, thus bringing together all three groups. Pausanias is indeed Apuleius' contemporary, but his usage of the word 'exegete' is not as closely connected with the *aretalogoi* and confessors as Winkler suggests.

[15] LSJ s.v. *ἐξηγητής* II.

[16] LSJ s.v. *ἐξηγητής*.

[17] The number of times, twenty, is approximate, since in some of the inscriptions the word is partially restored: *IvO* 59 (line 22), 61 (line 2), 62 (line 15), 64 (line 20), 66 (line 3), 76 (line 4), 80 (line 8), 86 (line 10), 91 (line 14), 92 (line 15), 95 (line 12), 102 (line 13), 103 (line 18), 104 (line 16), 106 (line 14), 116 (line 14), 117 (line 16), 121 (line 16), 122 (line 13), 140 (line 2). The office is also mentioned by Pausanias in 5. 15. 10.

(four times).[18] Although very few of these inscriptions are completely preserved, they seem to show that at least in the sanctuary of Olympia the periegete and the exegete are not different offices, since the two officials never occur together on the same catalogue and are ranked after the *manteis*.

Even so, Pausanias apparently rejects the use of the word *periêgêtês* in his work as its semantics are misleading and denigrating, and instead he prefers the terms *exêgêtês*, *exêgêsis*, *exêgeomai* (see n. 13). This preference for the term *exêgêtês* is perfectly understandable given the derogatory remark in Plutarch about the *periêgêtês*, because in Plutarch the periegete rattles off many stories which he corroborates with epigrams with no attempt at explanation. The main difference between these two words, as Pausanias implicitly defines them, is that the periegete's knowledge is superficial and therefore he simply 'describes' something without any attempt at explanation; whereas the exegete 'knows' his subject and 'explains' what he is reporting. The repeated use of the word *exêgêtês,* with which Pausanias implicitly but definitely associates himself, certainly distinguishes and elevates Pausanias' work from that of earlier periegetes, whose works are so fragmentary that no helpful picture can be sketched about this genre.[19]

The absence from the text of the word *periêgêtês* cannot but be related to how Pausanias understands his activity and the methodology he is devising for the composition of 'all matters Hellenic' (1. 26. 4: *πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά*). Time and again, Pausanias states emphatically that he was confronted with a mass of material, and, as it was not feasible to include everything in his narrative, he was forced to devise the following criteria for selection: 'the most well known of *logoi* and *theôrêmata*' (*γνωριμώτατα ἔν τε λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασιν*), and 'those pertaining to the *suggraphê*' (*τὰ ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα*) (1. 39. 3);[20] 'the most worthy of *mnêmê*' (*<τὰ δὲ> μάλιστα ἄξια μνήμης*), 'the most worthy of *logos* traditions from out of the mass of stories unworthy of a narrative' (*λόγος ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίων ἀφηγήσεως . . . ἀποκρῖναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα*) (3. 11. 1). These programmatic statements are representative for understanding Pausanias' method of composition and hold true for all ten books.[21] Indeed they conform to

[18] *IvO* 77 (line 9), 83 (line 2), 110 (line 17), 120 (line 10). The office is not mentioned by Pausanias. The *IvO* editors (p. 141) explain the four instances of the *periêgêtês* instead of *exêgêtês* as 'wohl durch den populären Sprachgebrauch veranlasste Nachlässigkeit'; and C. P. Jones (2001) 37; but see Tzifopoulos (1991) 259–65 and nn. 13–14 above.

[19] Particularly informative for Pausanias' technique and methodology in composing his narrative of places and objects are Akujärvi (2005); Hutton (2005a) 241–72, (2010); Pretzler (2004), (2007) 91–117; Pirenne-Delforge (2008), esp. 21–173.

[20] The translations are modified from Frazer (1898); the text throughout is that of Rocha-Pereira (1973–81) whose readings, however, are based almost exclusively on the manuscripts, as she has paid attention only to those inscriptions that Pausanias explicitly states that he is reading and quoting. The edition by Hitzig and Blümner (1896–1910) is still valuable and is consulted particularly for the detailed and most useful *apparatus criticus*, as they were conscious of the peculiar nature of Pausanias' text and consistently employed the text of the inscriptions for its improvement—a guideline sensitively followed by the Italian team under D. Musti, M. Torelli et al. (Lorenzo Valla-Mondadori) and the French team under M. Casevitz, J. Pouilloux et al. (Les Belles Lettres-Budé) in their commentaries on Pausanias' text.

[21] For the programmatic statements in Pausanias (Book 1: 3. 3; Book 2: 13. 3, 14. 4, 29. 1, 34. 11; Book 5: 21. 1; Book 6: 1. 1–2, 17. 1, 23. 1, 24. 6; Book 8: 2. 5–7, 3. 6, 8.3, 10. 1, 54. 7; Book 10: 9. 1, 32. 1), see Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 21–173 with extensive previous bibliography.

the broad 'periegetic' principles which within a topographical canvas involve storytelling substantiated by a commentary on and interpretation of places, monuments, inscriptions, local exegetes, or literary sources.

Reaching Elis and Olympia Pausanias extends his narrative in two books (*Ἠλειακῶν A* and *B* or 5 and 6),[22] because upon entering the Altis the sheer number of what still remained for inclusion in the narrative, each piece with its own story to be told, presented a challenge and a daunting task, for which Pausanias had to devise more specific methodological principles:

> I will now proceed to present an *exêgêsis* of the statues and the votive offerings (*τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοι πρόεισιν ὁ λόγος ἔς τε τῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐξήγησιν*) . . . first I will narrate the *logos* of the dedicatory offerings and go over the most worthy of a *logos* (*ἐς δὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡμῖν τραπήσεται πρότερα ὁ λόγος, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα αὐτῶν ἐπερχομένοις*). (Paus. 5. 21. 1)

By wavering between the Herodotean catch-word *logos* and the Thucydidean one *suggraphê* as apt terms for his own work (see n. 8), Pausanias stresses more than once that his main objective is to include in his narrative what he deems worthy of a *mnêmê* and therefore worthy of *logos*,[23] either because of the fame of the dedicant, or because of the artistic quality of the dedication; or even as a mnemotechnique for his readers, since Pausanias 'overtly combines motion through imagined *loci* and stories that encapsulates the myths and history of classical Greece', as Konstan (forthcoming) argues cogently. The Altis with all that it contained in the middle of the second century AD presented the need for a more sophisticated narrative technique that would not completely overturn the topographical one.

If the narrative of the Altis, the Altis-*logos*, is the large narrative unit of Books 5 and 6, its synthesis in turn comprises smaller narrative units, smaller *logoi*, which focus on the *exêgêsis* of each object, be it an *anathêma*, *agalma*, *eikôn*, structure, building, local mythistory, literature, etc., grouped according to their type. Thus, Pausanias' unique and awkward expression '*exêgêsis* of the statues and votive offerings' in Book 5 must have been an intentional choice.[24] The semantics of the word and its cognates, as previously noted (see nn. 13–18), present a wide range: 'be leader of, govern, show the way, lead the way to a place, explain, expound, interpret, tell at length, relate in full'. All these meanings may arguably apply both literally and metaphorically to Pausanias' compositional technique for his short or long narrative units about a place or an object attached to that place.

Pausanias, therefore, may be better understood as an author who, within the broad framework of an *exêgêsis* of *panta ta Hellênika*, is following principles

[22] Trendelenburg (1914); Jacquemin (2001); Arapoyianni (2007).

[23] Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 103–8 and Frateantonio (2009) 28–30.

[24] Frazer (1898) i. ad loc., and W. H. S. Jones et al. (1918–35) ad loc. translate *ἐξήγησιν* 'describe'; Papachatzis (1974–81) iii. ad loc.: '*σε μια καταγραφή* (= listing)'; Meyer (1954) 277 ad loc.: 'Beschreibung'; Levi (1979) ad loc. somewhat awkwardly: 'explain'; Maddoli and Saladino (1995) 126–7: 'illustrare' (although in the commentary they note (312): 'Pausania abbandona la descrizione degli edifice dell' Altis, per passare alle statue . . .'); and Casevitz et al. (1999) 57 ad loc.: 'l'exposé des questions relatives'; the last three translations: 'to explain, illustrate, present an exposition' are closer to Pausanias' text. For the similar expression *ὁπόσα ἐξήγησιν ἔχειν* in 1. 14. 3, see Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 102 with n. 33.

similar to the periegete, but with a completely different and new(?) purpose in mind. He is purveying various stories (λόγοι) that survived to his time about, *inter alia*, the history, archaeology, religion and mythology, geography, and topography of a particular place or monument (θεωρήματα).[25] In that sense, Pausanias' *logos* and *suggraphê* of Greece is developed in a way similar to Herodotus' *logoi* for the territories surrounding Greece (see n. 8). By integrating, however, stories (λόγοι) from inscriptions, literary works, or the local exegetes, and by resolving, if possible, conflicting evidence about these *logoi*, he is advocating a new literary goal aimed at the exegesis of the sites and monuments and their stories—that is, a prose narrative comprising explanation and interpretation of the sites, monuments, and stories within their particular 'locative' context, the sum of which in ten books amounts to *panta ta Hellênika*.

For the smaller *logoi*/stories the most trustworthy evidence when available is that of the inscriptions, the standing monuments, and the local exegetes. Inscriptions, as Pausanias uses them, are the very story of a monument.[26] Most importantly, they are the only primary and contemporary evidence that Pausanias has in relation to these monuments and therefore an integral part of understanding them. Moreover, because what they communicate is in a written form, the inscriptions acquire a more authoritative aura than hearsay, and consequently Pausanias treats them as one of his most reliable sources. Indeed he seldom questions an inscription and is occasionally led astray by them.[27] For him inscriptions appear to have constituted for the most part objective and therefore trustworthy information that preserves and enlivens the history and customs of the past.

Of course Pausanias is not interested in everything inscribed, but only in those inscriptions instrumental for his *exêgêsis* of a monument, a story, a place that is the *most worthy of a logos and of mnêmê* according to his criteria. For example, the dedications to divinities by athletes, other individuals, and cities, and the signatures of artists, far outnumber any other type of inscription, be it a public decree, a catalogue, a (sacred or not) law, an honorary text, an epitaph, or a boundary marker,[28] which Pausanias must have seen travelling from city to city. Pausanias utilizes inscriptions in his narrative not because of their intrinsic value, or his epigraphical zeal, although he is the only author from antiquity who is sensitive to technical epigraphical matters on more than one occasion; when noted, these technical observations form the basis for arguments on chronology, on correcting his sources, on expanding previous knowledge, on setting the record straight.[29] For Pausanias the text inscribed on a monument, its caption as it were, is the very *exêgêsis* of that monument, its explanation and interpretation, a goal he strives to achieve in his narrative of 'all matters Hellenic'.

[25] For Pausanias' definition of his work as a narrative comprised of λόγοι and θεωρήματα, see Gurlitt (1890) 1–106; Habicht (1985) 20–7; and especially Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 41–173 and Frateantonio (2009) 10–15, 135–8, 169–80, all with extensive previous bibliography.

[26] See Tzifopoulos (1991) 3–23; Whittaker (1991); Zizza (2006) 21–114, 399–436.

[27] Whittaker (1991) 177–9.

[28] The number of inscriptions, which he claims to have read, is still very impressive, and it is not limited to Books 5 and 6, as Gallavotti (1978*a*) 3 has argued; see Whittaker (1991) 172–3; Zizza (2006) 63–79.

[29] Tzifopoulos (1991) 3–23; Whittaker (1991) 171–2; Zizza (2006) 97–114.

The two examples that follow, which thanks to the German Archaeological Institute's excavations in Olympia can be multiplied, will clarify and illuminate both Pausanias' compositional technique and the way inscriptions on objects, some of which Pausanias himself read, trigger stories and tales that constitute what Pausanias calls the *exêgêsis* of statues and dedications.

The first example is the athletic statue of Ergoteles:[30]

Ἐργοτέλης δὲ ὁ Φιλάνορος δολίχου δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τε καὶ Νεμείων ἀνηρημένος, οὐχ Ἱμεραῖος εἶναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καθάπερ γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησι, Κρὴς δὲ εἶναι λέγεται Κνώσσιος· ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ὑπὸ στασιωτῶν ἐκ Κνωσσοῦ καὶ ἐς Ἱμέραν ἀφικόμενος πολιτείας τ' ἔτυχε καὶ πολλὰ εὕρετο ἄλλα ἐς τιμήν. ἔμελλεν οὖν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς Ἱμεραῖος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀναγορευθήσεσθαι.

(Ergoteles, son of Philanor, won two victories in the long foot-race at Olympia, and as many more at Pytho, the Isthmus, and Nemea: he is said not to have been a Himeraean originally, as the epigram inscribed on the statue base states, but a Cretan from Cnossus; but being expelled by a faction from Cnossus he went to Himera, where he received the citizenship and many other honours. It was natural, then, that he should be proclaimed a Himeraean at the games.) (Paus. 6. 4. 11; trans. Frazer (1898) modified)

Pausanias in his narrative unit composed for the athletic dedication of Ergoteles seeks to set the record straight in one detail. If someone were to visit Olympia, stand in front of the statue, and read the epigram on the statue's base, he would go away misinformed, or partly informed, because the epigram states that Ergoteles' city was Himera in Sicily, even though, as Pausanias concludes, this is natural, since the athletes could not enter the games with two city-ethnics.

The left part of a bronze tablet (Olympia inv. no. B2488; Fig. 6.1a, 6.1b) with a hole, an indication that it was affixed on the statue's base, has been unearthed during the systematic excavations by the German Archaeological Institute in 1937–8 and was rediscovered after the Second World War, in 1953, when it was published.[31] It preserves the left part of the epigram that Pausanias read and that triggered what he calls the *exêgêsis* of statues and dedications (*CEG* 1. 393, dated post 464 BC since Ergoteles won the victories between 478 and 464 BC):

Ἐργοτέλης μ' ἀνέθηκ[ε υ — υυ — υυ — —],
Ἕλλανας νικῶν Πύθι[α — υυ —]
καὶ δύ' Ὀλυμπιάδας δ[υυ — υυ — υυ — —],
Ἰμέραι ἀθάνατον μν[ᾶμ υυ — υυ —].

(Ergoteles dedicated me . . . | Defeating the Hellenes at the Pythia . . . | and in two Olympiads . . . | to Himera immortal memory . . .)

(*CEG* 1. 393; trans. Bowie (2010) 352)

Apparently, the epigram did record all the victories of Ergoteles in the *dolichos dromos*, but it gave no hint as to Ergoteles' previous career. It is this information that Pausanias supplies with the verb *λέγεται*, but without disclosing his sources, one of which may have been Pindar's *Olympian* 12.[32] This epinician ode in one

[30] Frazer (1898) iv. 16 ad loc.; Hitzig and Blümner (1896–1910) ii. 463–4; Papachatzis (1974–81) iii. 336 ad loc.; Maddoli and Saladino (1995) 34–5 ad loc., 207; Casevitz et al. (1999) 14 ad loc., 122–4; Zizza (2006) 411–12.

[31] Kunze (1953); *SEG* 11. 1223a, 14. 900, 23. 254, 29. 414, 42. 396; Tzifopoulos (1991) 78–82 no. 8.

[32] For Pindar's ode see Silk (2007) with previous bibliography; for the epinician and the athletic statuary see Thomas (2007) and Smith (2007).

Fig. 6.1a. Inscription on the statue base of Ergoteles.

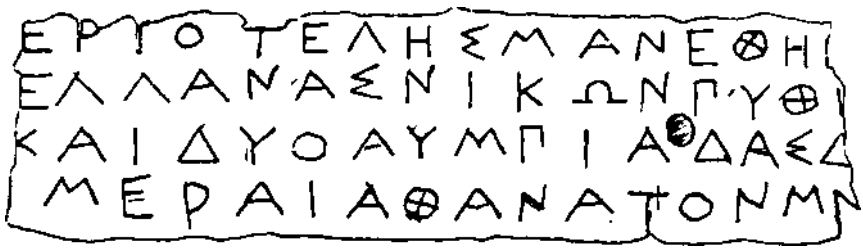

Fig. 6.1b. Drawing of the inscription on the statue base of Ergoteles (after Kunze 1953).

triad, although included in the Olympic victory odes of Pindar, was composed, just as the Olympic epigram, for the entire athletic career of Ergoteles, who also won victories in the Isthmian, Nemean, and Pythian Games (Pindar, *Olympian* 12. 19–20; *CEG* 1. 393, ll. 2–3), perhaps at a time when Himera's freedom by Hieron was recent and the city's and Ergoteles' fortunes turned for the better.

Leaving aside the complicated issue of Ergoteles' victories and the ambiguities the three texts pose on the subject, the case of Ergoteles' dedication illuminates Pausanias' methodology and attitude towards epigraphical texts. The statue of Ergoteles is worthy to be remembered and therefore worthy of a *logos*, and it requires *exêgêsis*, a kind of commentary. According to the sources (perhaps Pindar and an Olympic victors' list), the full story (λόγος) goes like this: a citizen of Cnossus, Ergoteles was involved in a political *stasis*, on account of which, after his party failed to gain political power, he was forced into exile to Himera (Pindar, *Olympian* 12. 1–2, 15–18). In his new city he turned his interest into athletic competition and excelled in long-distance running, a skill characteristic of Cretans and Spartans,[33] winning victories in all four Panhellenic Games between 478 and 464 BC. What the epigram affixed on Ergoteles' statue base relates, albeit naturally (*eikos*) according to Pausanias, is not the whole story/*logos* of this politician and athlete from Cnossus and Himera, and Pausanias is at pains to present in his narrative the entire *logos* of Ergoteles and his dedication inside the Altis, which includes an *exêgêsis*, for the benefit of his reader/'visitor'.

[33] On Cretan *dromeis*, see Tzifopoulos (1998).

The same is true in the second example, the statue of the sophist Gorgias standing in the Altis and dedicated by his grandson Eumolpos:[34]

ἀνδριάντας δὲ ἀναμεμιγμένους οὐκ ἐπιφα<νέ>σιν ἄγαν ἀναθήμασιν . . . , καὶ τὸν Λεοντῖνον Γοργίαν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν φησὶν Εὔμολπος ἀπόγονος τρίτος Δηικράτους συνοικήσαντος ἀδελφῇ τῇ Γοργίου. (8) *οὗτος ὁ Γοργίας πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Χαρμαντίδου, λέγεται δὲ ἀνασώσασθαι μελέτην λόγων πρῶτος ἠμελημένην τε ἐς ἅπαν καὶ ἐς λήθην ὀλίγου δεῖν ἥκουσαν ἀνθρώποις· εὐδοκιμῆσαι δὲ Γοργίαν λόγων ἕνεκα ἔν τε πανηγύρει τῇ Ὀλυμπικῇ φασι καὶ ἀφικόμενον κατὰ πρεσβείαν ὁμοῦ Τισίᾳ παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίους. καίτοι ἄλλα τε Τισίας ἐς λόγους ἐσηνέγκατο καὶ πιθανώτατα τῶν καθ᾽ αὑτὸν γυναικὶ Συρακουσίᾳ χρημάτων ἔγραψεν ἀμφισβήτησιν·* (9) *ἀλλά γε ἐκείνου τε ἐς πλέον τιμῆς ἀφίκετο ὁ Γοργίας παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ Ἰάσων ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ τυραννήσας Πολυκράτους, οὐ τὰ ἔσχατα ἐνεγκαμένου διδασκαλείου τοῦ Ἀθήνῃσι, τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπίπροσθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐποιήσατο. βιῶναι δὲ ἔτη Γοργίαν πέντε φασὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑκατόν· Λεοντίνων <δὲ> ἐρημωθεῖσάν ποτε ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων τὴν πόλιν κατ᾽ ἐμὲ αὖθις συνέβαινεν οἰκεῖσθαι.*

(Standing amid less illustrious offerings may be seen two statues: one . . . , the other, the statue of Gorgias from Leontinoi. Eumolpos, grandson of the Deicrates who married the sister of Gorgias, says [i.e. in the inscription][35] that it was he who dedicated the statue at Olympia. This Gorgias was a son of Charmantides, and he is said to have been the first to revive the study of rhetoric, which had been utterly neglected and almost forgotten. They say that Gorgias gained a reputation for eloquence at the Olympic festival [i.e. 393 or 388 BC] and at Athens, whither he had gone on an embassy with Tisias [i.e. 427 BC]. Yet Tisias had made various contributions to rhetoric; in particular, he wrote the most plausible speech of his time in support of the claim of a Syracusan woman to some property. But at Athens he was outshone by Gorgias. Indeed, Jason, tyrant of Thessaly [i.e. ante 375 BC], even put Gorgias above Polycrates, a leading ornament of the Attic school. They say that Gorgias lived a hundred and five years. Leontinoi was once laid waste by the Syracusans [i.e. 403 BC], but was again inhabited in my time.)

(Paus. 6. 17. 7–9; trans. Frazer (1898), modified)

Pausanias in composing his narrative unit for the sophist Gorgias follows the same method as in the previous example of Ergoteles' dedication.

The inscribed statue base of Gorgias (Olympia inv. no. *Λ*101; Fig. 6.2a, Fig. 6.2b) was discovered in 1876 and corroborated the correction of Gorgias' patronym from the corrupted form *Karmantides*, preserved in all manuscripts of Pausanias (see n. 34), to *Charmantides* (*IvO* 293 = *CEG* 2. 830, dated *post* 393 or 375 BC and *ante* 350 BC):

Χαρμαντίδου Γοργίας Λεοντῖνος.
vacat c.0.027
τὴμ μὲν ἀδελφὴν Δηϊκράτης τὴγ Γοργίου ἔσχεν,
ἐκ ταύτης δ᾽ αὐτῶι γίγνεται Ἱπποκράτης,
Ἱπποκράτους δ᾽ Εὔμολπος, ὃς ἐικόνα τήνδ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν
δισσῶν, παιδείας καὶ φιλίας ἕνεκα.
vacat c.0.06

[34] Frazer (1898) iv. 55 ad loc.; Hitzig and Blümner (1896–1910) ii. 500: *app. crit.*: Καρμαντίδου codd., *correxit* Hitzig and Blümner; Papachatzis (1974–81) iii. 361 ad loc.; Maddoli and Saladino (1995) 106–9 ad loc., 304–7; Casevitz et al. (1999) 53–4 ad loc., 22–7; Morgan (1994).

[35] Similarly, Papachatzis (1974–81) iii. 361 ad loc. translates: '*τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Γοργία λέει* (*ὁ ἴδιος στὸ ἐπίγραμμα*) *πὼς τὸν ἀνάθεσε στὴν Ὀλυμπία ὁ Εὔμολπος . . .*'

Γοργίου ἀσκῆσαι ψυχὴν ἀρετῆς ἐς ἀγῶνας
οὐδείς πω θνητῶν καλλίον' ηὗρε τέχνην·
οὗ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γυάλοις εἰκὼν ἀνάκειται
οὐ πλούτου παράδειγμ', εὐσεβίας δὲ τρόπων.
vacat c.0.15

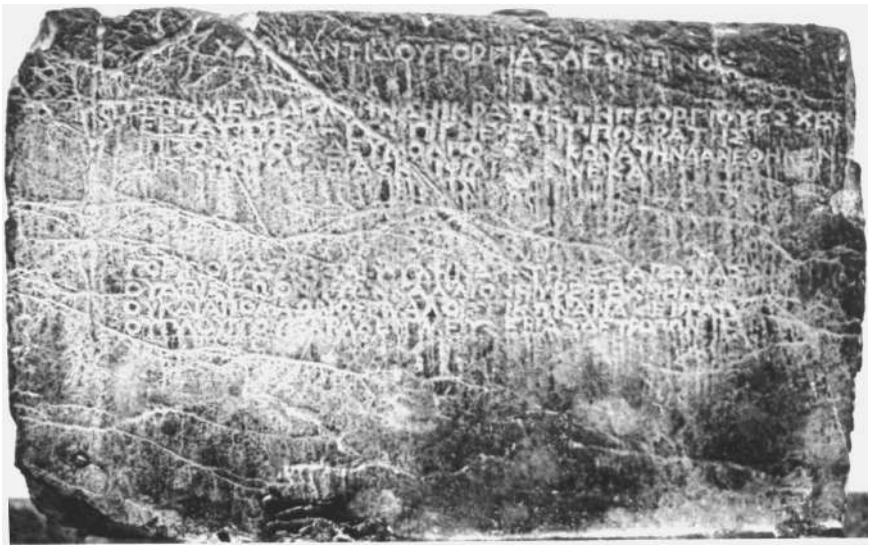

Fig. 6.2a. Gorgias' inscribed statue base.

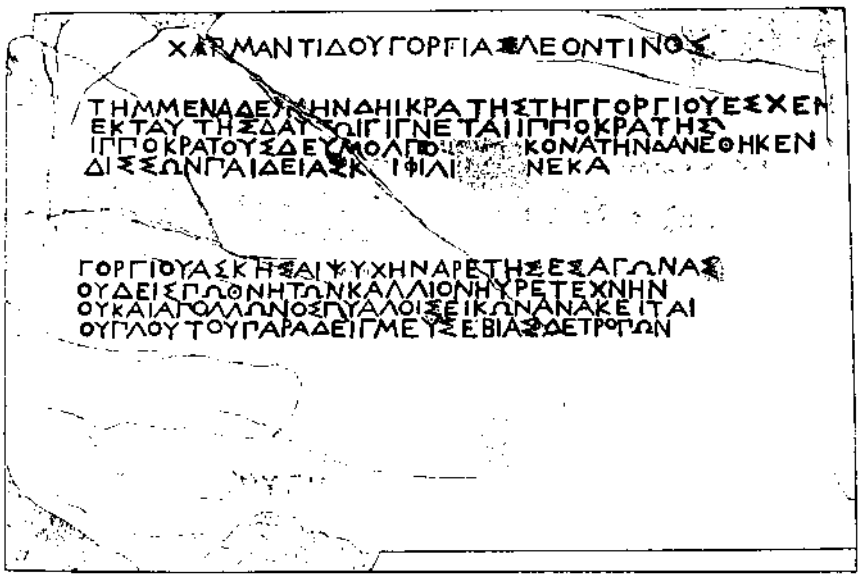

Fig. 6.2b. Drawing of Gorgias' inscribed statue base (after *IvO* 293).

(Gorgias, son of Charmantides, from Leontinoi. | Deikrates married Gorgias' sister | and they had a son, Hippokrates; | Hippokrates' son Eumolpos dedicated this statue | for two reasons, on account of *paideia* and *philia*. | So far, no mortal has discovered a more beautiful *technê* | to train the soul how to struggle for *aretê*, except Gorgias. | A statue of Gorgias is also set up in Apollo's valley | as a paradigm not of his wealth but of his pious character.) (Olympia inv. no. Λ101)

Pausanias does not make an explicit reference to the epigram as his source, as in the case of Ergoteles. The expression, however, *ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν φησὶν Εὔμολπος* (Eumolpos says that it was he who dedicated the statue at Olympia) cannot but refer to the text engraved on the statue base; this must be the text where Eumolpos, the subject of the verb *φησίν*, provides this information, since there is no other attestation of a work or works of Eumolpos. According to Pausanias' criteria, Gorgias' dedication is worthy to be included in his narrative in which an exegesis of the dedication is also included. The epigram consists of two sections, each of two elegiac couplets: in the first section, Eumolpos records his relation to Gorgias and the reason for setting up the dedication, on account of *paideia* and *philia*; in the third elegiac couplet, Gorgias' *technê* for teaching the soul ways to attain virtue is praised perhaps in a hyperbolic manner; and in the last couplet, Gorgias' statue at Delphi and the reason for its dedication is mentioned.

Leaving aside comments on the composition of this epigram, which utilizes many rhetorical figures and is reminiscent of the style of Gorgias, it appears at first sight that Pausanias does not utilize in his narrative the second part of the epigram, because the narrative in paragraphs 8 and 9 is based on other sources as the verbs *λέγεται* and *φασίν* (twice) indicate. And yet these paragraphs present Pausanias' detailed exegesis for the extraordinary claim made by Gorgias' grandson in the third elegiac couplet. If someone in the middle of the second century AD were to stand in front of Gorgias' dedication at Olympia and were to read the epigram, without any previous knowledge of who Gorgias was, then he would have reached the conclusion that the dedication was in honour of a certain Gorgias, son of Charmantides, from Leontinoi, one of the many rhetoricians who visited Olympia and set up statues; and perhaps he would also understand the third elegiac couplet as a rhetorical exaggeration. What Pausanias is attempting in the narrative unit of paragraphs 8 and 9 is nothing more than an exegesis, a detailed commentary on the third elegiac couplet: Gorgias' most beautiful *technê* for teaching the soul how to attain *aretê*, which thus does not seem to be a rhetorical exaggeration. The last couplet of the epigram had to await its appropriate place, the Delphic-narrative in Book 10, where, without additional comments or an exegesis, Pausanias simply notes:[36] 'there is a gilt statue, an offering of Gorgias of Leontinoi, representing Gorgias himself' (10. 18. 7: *ἐπίχρυσος δὲ εἰκών, ἀνάθημα Γοργίου τοῦ ἐκ Λεοντίνων, αὐτὸς Γοργίας ἐστίν*). The *logos* and the exegesis of Gorgias' dedication were already completed in Book 6.

[36] For information from inscriptions utilized 'out of their context' in more appropriate places of the narrative, see Whittaker (1991) 179–80.

These two examples (which can be multiplied), the narrative/*logos* and the *exêgêsis* of Ergoteles' and Gorgias' dedications, show Pausanias at work: epigraphical texts, wherever present, serve as a trigger-mechanism for composing a narrative unit, which, depending on the subject and the available sources for it, can be expanded or contracted, in order to provide a complete commentary, an exegesis of the dedications worthy of *mnêmê* and *logos* according to Pausanias' criteria. At first sight Pausanias appears as a skilled and reliable epigraphist, a *stêlokopas*. He is not interested however in simply copying the epigraphical texts, as did the periegetes before him trying their audience's patience, but in providing the appropriate context for better understanding them. But this is not all. The two narrative vignettes of Ergoteles and Gorgias in Book 6 also betray Pausanias' all-encompassing aim, which defies the then-known categories of genres, or comprises more than one genre. According to his own criteria for inclusion or exclusion of stories and their details worthy of *mnêmê* and *logos*, Pausanias, in addition to the monument and its inscription, for the narrative of Ergoteles and Gorgias also utilizes: historiography and political history, catalogues of the victors in Panhellenic games, Pindaric poetry, literary history, rhetoric and its political dimensions, etc. Narrative vignettes such as Ergoteles' and Gorgias' are what forms each book of Pausanias' work, and the end result of this Pausanian Companion to Antiquity is a new genre *in statu nascenti* as it were: Pausanias calls it a *logos* and an *exêgêsis* of (*panta ta*) *Hellênika*; but after him, the Byzantine and Medieval scribes and scholars called it the *Hellados periêgêsis* as it came to be known, because Pausanias' prose narrative of 'all things Hellenic' in ten books was or most probably became after him the model for periegetic and travel literature.

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