

Handout: *Exploring the Heartland: Pausanias and his Account on Imperial Greece's pre-Roman Cultural Heritage*
Brno, 29th November 2022
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The lecture's structure:

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

Critical editions used:

NOBBE, C. (ed.) / DILLER, A. (introd.), *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, vol. 1–3, Leipzig 1843–1845 [reprography of the reprint Hildesheim 1966].

ROCHA-PEREIRA, M. (ed.), *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, vol. 1–3, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1989²–1990².

SPENGLER, L. (ed.), *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1854 [reprint Frankfurt am Main 1966].

ΤΣΑΒΑΡΗ, Ι. (ed.), *Διονυσίου Αλεξανδρέως οικουμένης περιήγησις*, Ioannina 1990.

The *Description of Greece* at a glance:

Book 1: Attica

Book 2: Corinth

Book 3: Laconia

Book 4: Messenia

Book 5: Elis

Book 6: Elis

Book 7: Achaia

Book 8: Arcadia

Book 9: Boeotia

Book 10: Phocis, Ozolian Locris



My typology of Pausanias' descriptions:

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

Topographeme = an element from the descriptive sections of the *Description of Greece*, which can be attributed an existence in the 2nd century AD.

Parallels in Pausanias and Dionysius:

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

My interpretation of the *Description of Greece*:

It is, metaphorically speaking, an imperial-era exhibition on the topic *The Cultural Heritage of Pre-Roman Greece*. Pausanias, as curator, so to speak, has gathered an enormous mass of information, selected it, criticised it and prepared it in a way that is reasonably appealing to the reader.

Literature cited:

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- CHAMOUX, F., *La méthode historique de Pausanias d'après le livre I de la Périégèse*, in: *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, vol. 41: *Pausanias historien. Huit exposés suivis de discussions* par Domenico Musti, François Chamoux, Mauro Moggi, Walter Ameling, Yves Lafond, Ewen L. Bowie, Susan E. Alcock, Denis Knoepfler. 15th–19th August 1994, Geneva 1996, pp. 45–69.
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- GURLITT, W., *Über Pausanias*, Graz 1890.
- HABICHT, CH., *Pausanias und seine ‚Beschreibung Griechenlands‘*, München 1985.
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- WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, U. VON, *Die Thukydideslegende*, in: *Hermes* 12 (no. 3, 1877), pp. 326–367.

TEXT PASSAGES / TABLES

Text 1: FRAZER 1898 i, p. lxix

“It is a loose, clumsy, ill-jointed, ill-compacted, rickety, ramshackle style, without ease or grace or elegance of any sort.”

Text 2: CHAMOIX 1996, p. 69

“La *Description de la Grèce* est toute autre chose qu’un simple guide. [...] Ce n’est pas l’attitude passive d’un simple compilateur. [...] La richesse et la variété de son enquête [*scil.* of Pausanias], qui remonte jusqu’aux origines et privilégie ce qui était, à son avis, le moins connu, confère à l’œuvre un caractère original, sans parallèle dans aucune autre de l’Antiquité. [...] sa valeur documentaire [...] est sans prix [...]”

“The *Description of Greece* is something quite different from a mere guide. [...] It is not the passive attitude of a mere compiler. [...] The richness and variety of his investigation [*scil.* of Pausanias], which goes back to the origins and privileges what was, in his opinion, the least known, gives the work an original character, without parallel in any other work of antiquity. [...] its documentary value [...] is priceless [...]”

Text 3: Theon *prog.* 11 (242)

[...] ἀρεταὶ δὲ ἐκφράσεως αἶδε, σαφήνεια μὲν μάλιστα καὶ ἐνάργεια τοῦ σχεδὸν ὀρᾶσθαι τὰ ἀπαγγελλόμενα, ἔπειτα τὸ μὴ τελέως ἀπομηκύνειν περὶ τὰ ἄχρηστα, τὸ δὲ ὅλον συνεξομοιοῦσθαι χρῆ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν, ὥστε εἰ μὲν εὐανθές τι εἴη τὸ δηλούμενον, εὐανθῆ καὶ τὴν φράσιν εἶναι· εἰ δὲ ἀύχμηρὸν ἢ φοβερὸν ἢ ὅποιον δὴ ποτε, μηδὲ τὰ τῆς ἐρμενείας ἀπάδειν τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν. [...]

[...] A description’s quality criteria are, above all, clearness and the illusion that the reported subjects are being seen from up close [or *nearly* being seen]; then then that one does not totally digress about the useless; one must completely match the description to the subjects, so that if what is being described is something blooming, the speech is also blooming and, if it is something dry or terrible or of whatever quality, that the interpretation’s traits do not dissent from the true nature.

Text 4: Description of the Paintings in the Stoa Poikile (Paus. 1,15,1–3)

[...] αὕτη δὲ ἡ στοὰ πρῶτα μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἔχει τεταγμένους ἐν Οἰνόῃ τῆς Ἀργείας ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων· γέγραπται δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἀκμὴν ἀγῶνος οὐδὲ τολμημάτων ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τὸ ἔργον ἤδη προῆκον, ἀλλὰ ἀρχομένη τε ἡ μάχη καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἔτι συνιόντες. [2] ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν τοίχων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θησεὺς Ἀμαζόσι μάχονται. μόναις δὲ ἄρα ταῖς γυναιξίν οὐκ ἀφήρει τὰ πταίσματα τὸ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφειδές, εἴ γε Θεμισκύρας τε ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους καὶ ὕστερον φθαρείσης σφίσι τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἣν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἔστειλαν, ὅμως ἐς Τροίαν ἦλθον Ἀθηναίους τε αὐτοῖς μαχομένους καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν Ἕλληνες εἰσιν ἠρηκότες Ἴλιον καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἠθροισμένοι διὰ τὸ Αἴαντος ἐς Κασσάνδραν τόλμημα· καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γραφὴ τὸν Αἴαντα ἔχει καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἄλλας τε καὶ Κασσάνδραν. [3] τελευταῖον δὲ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσιν οἱ μαχεσάμενοι Μαραθῶν· Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ Πλάταιαν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσον ἦν Ἀττικὸν ἴασι ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ταύτη μὲν ἐστὶν ἴσα (τὰ) παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ ἔργον· τὸ δὲ ἔσω τῆς μάχης φεύγοντές εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ἔσχαται δὲ τῆς γραφῆς νῆες τε αἱ Φοίνισσαι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ταύτας φονεύοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθῶν γεγραμμένος ἐστὶν ἦρω, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πεδῖον ὠνόμασται, καὶ Θησεὺς ἀνιόντι ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος Ἀθηναῖα τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς· Μαραθῶνιοις γάρ, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλῆς ἐνομίσθη θεὸς πρώτοις. τῶν μαχομένων δὲ δῆλοι μάλιστα εἰσιν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Καλλιμάχος τε, ὃς Ἀθηναίους πολεμαρχεῖν ἤρητο, καὶ Μιλτιάδης τῶν στρατηγούντων, ἦρω τε Ἐχέτλος καλούμενος, οὗ καὶ ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην.

[...] This portico first holds the Athenians as they face the Lakedaimonians in battle formation at Oinoë in the land of the Argeians; painted is not the event at the climax of the battle, nor yet in the phase of the demonstration of daring deeds, but how the battle begins and how they are still charging at each other. [2] In the middle of the wall, the Athenians and Theseus fight with the Amazons. These women alone could not be deprived of their relentless risk-taking when, despite the capture of Themiskyra by Herakles and the destruction of the force they had sent against Athens, they nevertheless came to Troy to fight against the Athenians themselves and all the Greeks. Subsequent to the Amazons, there are the Greeks after the capture of Ilion and the kings gathered because of Aias' iniquity against Kassandra; the painting contains Aias himself and, among other women prisoners of war, Kassandra as well. [3] The painting ends with those who fought at Marathon; the Boeotians, who rule Plataia, and the Attic contingent attack the barbarians. At this point, the shares of both sides in the event are equal; amidst the battle, however, there are the barbarians fleeing and pushing each other towards the swamp; on the margin of the painting there are the Phoenician ships and the Greeks murdering the barbarians fleeing there. There are also painted the hero Marathon, after whom the plain is named, and Theseus, like one who rises from the earth, as well as Athena and Herakles; for Herakles, as the Marathonians themselves say, was first taken for a god by the inhabitants of Marathon. Prominent among the combatants in the painting are the strategists Kallimachos, who was chosen by the Athenians as Polemarch, and Miltiades, and a hero called 'Echetlos', to whom I shall return later on [cf. Paus. 1,32,5].

Text 5: Grammatical indications of attempts to set the paintings in motion by linguistic means and thus to make them appear more vivid

- Finite activity verbs

Action	Agent	Passage
—	—	Paus. 1,15,1
(1) μάχονται	Athenians and Theseus	Paus. 1,15,2
(2) ἴασιν	Plataeans and Attic contingent	Paus. 1,15,3

- Participles derived from an activity verb

Action	Agent	Passage
(1) συνιόντες	Athenians and Lacedaemonians	Paus. 1,15,1
—	—	Paus. 1,15,2
(2) φεύγοντες (3) ὠθοῦντες (4) ἐσπίπτοντας (5) φονεύοντες (6) ἀνιόντι (ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος) (7) μαχομένων (8) στρατηγούντων	Persians Persians Persians Greeks Theseus Plataeans and Athenians generals	Paus. 1,15,3

- Nouns denotating / connotating action and movement

Noun	Agent	Passage
(1) ἔργον (2) μάχη	Athenians and Lacedaemonians	Paus. 1,15,1
—	—	Paus. 1,15,2

(3) ἔργον (4) μάχης	Plataeans, Athenians, and Persians	Paus. 1,15,3
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- References to past events within the respective story

Past event	Agent	Textstelle
—	—	Paus. 1,15,1
(1) Θεμισκύρας τε ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους (2) εἰσιν ἠρηκότες Ἴλιον (3) διὰ τὸ Αἴαντος ἐς Κασσάνδραν τόλμημα	Herakles Greeks at Troy Locrian Aias	Paus. 1,15,2
—	—	Paus. 1,15,3

- References to future events within the respective story

Future event	Agent	Passage
(1) γέγραπται δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἀκμὴν ἀγῶνος οὐδὲ τολμημάτων ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τὸ ἔργον ἤδη προῆκον, ἀλλὰ ἀρχομένη τε ἡ μάχη καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἔτι συνιόντες.	Athenians and Lacedaemonians	Paus. 1,15,1
(2) εἴ γε [...] ὅμως ἐς Τροίαν ἦλθον Ἀθηναῖοις τε αὐτοῖς μαχοῦμεναι καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν.	Amazones	Paus. 1,15,2
(3) ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθὼν γεγραμμένος ἐστὶν ἥρωσ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πεδῖον ὠνόμασαι	(unspecified)	Paus. 1,15,3

Text 6: Description of the Chthonia Festival in Hermione (Paus. 2,35,5–7)

Χθονία δ' οὖν ἡ θεός τε αὐτὴ καλεῖται καὶ Χθόνια ἑορτὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν ὥρα θέρους, ἄγουσι δὲ οὕτως. ἡγοῦνται μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς πομπῆς οἱ τε ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἐπετείους ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν, ἔπονται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες. τοῖς δὲ καὶ παισὶν ἔτι οὗσι καθέστηκεν ἤδη τὴν θεὸν τιμᾶν τῇ πομπῇ· οὗτοι λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχουσι στεφάνους. πλέκονται δὲ οἱ στέφανοί σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄνθους ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ ταύτη κοσμοσάνδαλον, ὑάκινθον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ χροῶ· ἔπεστι δὲ οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θρήνῳ γράμματα. [6] τοῖς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπουσιν ἔπονται θήλειαν ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῦν ἄγοντες διελημμένην δεσμοῖς τε καὶ ὑβρίζουσιν ἔτι ὑπὸ ἀγριότητος. ἐλάσαντες δὲ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν οἱ μὲν ἔσω φέρεσθαι τὴν βοῦν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνήκαν ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀναπεπταμένους ἔχοντες τέως τὰς θύρας, ἐπειδὴν τὴν βοῦν ἴδωσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, προσέθεσαν τὰς θύρας. [7] τέσσαρες δὲ ἔνδον ὑπολειπόμεναι γρᾶες, αὗται τὴν βοῦν εἰσὶν αἱ κατεργαζόμεναι· δρεπάνῳ γὰρ ἥ τις ἂν τύχη τὴν φάρυγγα ὑπέτεμε τῆς βοός. μετὰ δὲ αἱ θύραι τε ἠνοίχθησαν καὶ προσελαύνουσιν οἷς ἐπιτέτακται βοῦν {δὲ} δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην ἐπὶ ταύτη καὶ ἄλλην τετάρτην. κατεργάζονται τε δὴ πάσας κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ γρᾶες καὶ τόδε ἄλλο πρόσκειται τῇ θυσίᾳ θαῦμα· ἐφ' ἣντινα γὰρ ἂν πέση τῶν πλευρῶν ἡ πρώτη βοῦς, ἀνάγκη πεσεῖν καὶ πάσας.

'Chthonía' is the name of the goddess and the Chthónia festival is celebrated annually by them [scil. the people of Hermione] in summertime. They celebrate it like this: the procession is led by the priests of the gods and the annual ministers, followed by women and men. Some are still children and already honour the goddess in the procession; they wear white robes and have wreaths on their heads. Their wreaths are woven from the flower which the people there call 'delphinium', but which in my opinion, considering its size and colour, is a hyacinth; moreover, the letters for the lamentation [scil. AIAI] are to be found on it. [6] The procession participants are followed by those who lead a female ox from the herd, held by ropes and still raging with ferocity. As soon as they have driven it towards the temple, some release the cow from the ropes so that it moves into the sanctuary, while others hold the gates wide open until they see that the cow is inside the temple, and then close them. [7] Four old women left inside – these are the ones who kill the cow, the first one cutting the cow's throat from below with a sickle. Then the gates are opened and those in charge drive in a second, third and fourth cow. The old women really do kill them all in the same way and there is another astonishing aspect: on which side the first cow falls, that is where all the others must fall, too.

Text 7: Description of the Pelopion (Paus. 5,13, 1–3)

Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως καὶ Πέλοπι ἀποτετημένον τέμενος· ἡρώων δὲ τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπία τοσοῦτον προτετημένον ἐστὶν ὁ Πέλοψ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ὅσον Ζεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων. ἔστιν οὖν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ δεξιὰν τῆς ἐσόδου πρὸς ἄνεμον Βορέαν τὸ Πελόπιον, ἀφεστηκὸς μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ τοσοῦτον ὡς μεταξὺ καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ ἀναθήματα ἄλλα ἀνακεῖσθαι, παρήκει δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀπὸ μέσου μάλιστα ἀρξάμενον τοῦ ναοῦ· καὶ λίθων τε θριγκῶ περιέχεται καὶ δένδρα ἐντὸς πεφυκότα καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶν ἀνακείμενοι. [2] ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ πρὸς δυσμῶν ἐστὶν ἡλίου. τοῦτο ἀπονεῖμαι τῷ Πέλοπι Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος λέγεται· τέταρτος γὰρ δὴ ἀπόγονος καὶ οὗτος ἦν Πέλοπος, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἔθυσεν ἐς τὸν βόθρον τῷ Πέλοπι. θύουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ κατὰ ἔτος τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες· τὸ δὲ ἱερεῖόν ἐστι κριὸς μέλας. ἀπὸ ταύτης οὐ γίνεται τῷ μάντει μοῖρα τῆς θυσίας, τράχηλον δὲ μόνον δίδοσθαι τοῦ κριοῦ καθέστηκε τῷ ὀνομαζομένῳ ξυλεῖ. [3] ἔστι δὲ ὁ ξυλεὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῦ Διὸς, ἔργον δὲ αὐτῷ πρόσκειται τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας ξύλα τεταγμένον λήμματος καὶ πόλεσι παρέχειν καὶ ἀνδρὶ ιδιώτῃ· τὰ δὲ λεύκης μόνης ξύλα καὶ ἄλλου δένδρου ἐστὶν οὐδενός. ὅς δ' ἂν ἢ αὐτῶν Ἡλείων ἢ ξένων τοῦ θυομένου τῷ Πέλοπι ἱερείου φάγη τῶν κρεῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν οἱ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὸν Δία. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ Περγᾶμφ τῇ ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Καῖκου πεπόνθασιν οἱ τῷ Τηλέφῳ θύοντες. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀναβῆναι πρὸ λουτροῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν.

There is also a temenos demarcated for Pelops inside the Altis. Among the heroes in Olympia, Pelops receives special cultic veneration from the Eleians, just as Zeus does among the other gods. The Pelopion is located to the right of the entrance to the temple of Zeus towards the north, at a distance from the temple so that there are statues and other dedications in between, and it extends from the very centre of the temple towards the opisthodomē. It is surrounded by a stone wall and inside there are trees and statues. [2] Its entrance is to the west. Herakles, son of Amphitryon, is said to have dedicated it to Pelops. For he too was a fourth-generation descendant of Pelops, and it is also said that he sacrificed to Pelops into the pit. The annually appointed officials still sacrifice to Pelops today; the sacrificial animal is a black ram. The seer does not receive any portion of this offering and it is prescribed that only the neck piece is given to the so-called 'xyleus' (i.e. 'wood supplier'). [3] The xyleus is a servant of Zeus; it is his job to provide the wood for the sacrifices to cities and private individuals for a fixed amount of money. The wood pieces stem exclusively from the silver poplar and no other tree. Whenever someone of the Eleians themselves or any of their guests have eaten of the flesh of the animal offered to Pelops, they must not approach the Zeus inside the temple. The same must be done in Pergamon beyond the river Kaikos by those who sacrifice to Telephos, for they too are not allowed to go up to Asklepios until they have taken a bath.

Text 8: Description of the Athenian Olympieion (Paus. 1,18,6–8)

Πρὶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ἰέναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου – Ἀδριανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὸν τε ναὸν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα θεᾶς ἄξιον, οὗ μεγέθει μὲν, ὅτι μὴ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις εἰσὶν οἱ κολοσσοί, τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγάλματα ὁμοίως ἀπολείπεται, πεποιήται δὲ ἔκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἔχει τέχνης εὖ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος ὀρθῶσιν –, ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνες Ἀδριανοῦ δύο μὲν εἰσι Θασίου λίθου, δύο δὲ Αἰγυπτίου· χαλκαῖ δὲ ἐστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν κίωνων ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἀποίκους πόλεις. ὁ μὲν δὴ πᾶς περιβόλος σταδίων μάλιστα τεσσάρων ἐστίν, ἀνδριάντων δὲ πλήρης· ἀπὸ γὰρ πόλεως ἐκάστης εἰκὼν Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνάκειται, καὶ σφᾶς ὑπερεβάλλοντο Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κολοσσὸν ἀναθέντες ὄπισθε τοῦ ναοῦ θεᾶς ἄξιον. [7] ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαῖα ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ τέμενος <Γῆς> {τῆν} ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίας. ἐνταῦθα ὅσον εἰς πῆχυν τὸ ἔδαφος διέστηκε, καὶ λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος συμβᾶσαν ὑπορρυῆναι ταύτη τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐσβάλλουσί τε εἰς αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἄλφιστα πυρῶν μέλιτι μίξαντες. [8] κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ κίονος Ἴσοκράτους ἀνδριάς, ὃς εἰς μνήμην τρία ὑπέλειπετο, ἐπιπονώτατον μὲν ὅτι οἱ βιώσαντι ἔτη δυοῖν δέοντα ἑκατὸν οὐποτε κατελύθη μαθητὰς ἔχειν, σωφρονέστατον δὲ ὅτι πολιτείας ἀπεχόμενος διέμεινε καὶ τὰ κοινὰ οὐ πολυπραγμονῶν, ἐλευθερώτατον δὲ ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης ἀλγήσας ἐτελεύτησεν ἐθελοντῆς. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ λίθου Φρυγίου Πέρσαι χαλκοῦν τρίποδα ἀνέχοντες, θεᾶς ἄξιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ τρίπους. τοῦ δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς Δευκαλίωνα οἰκοδομησαὶ λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν, σημεῖον ἀποφαίνοντες ὡς Δευκαλίων Ἀθήνησιν ὄκησε τάφον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκότα.

Before entering the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios – the Roman emperor Hadrian consecrated both the temple and the statue, which is well worth seeing and to whose size the other statues equally lag behind, apart from the colossal statues of the Rhodians and Romans; it is made of ivory and gold and is remarkably beautiful considering its size – there are two portraits of Hadrian in Thasian marble and two in Egyptian marble. In front of the columns are bronze statues of the cities which the Athenians call 'Apoikiai' (i.e. 'colonies'). The peribolos is no more than four stadia in total and is full of statues; for an image is dedicated to the emperor Hadrian by each city and the Athenians surpassed them all by erecting the worthwhile colossus behind the temple. [7] Of old in the peribolos there is a bronze Zeus, a temple of Kronos and Rhea, and a temenos of the Ge called 'Olympia'. There the ground gapes about a cubit apart, and it is said that after the flood which occurred in Deukalion's time this is where the water flowed away; every year they [scil. the Athenians] throw wheat groats inside which they mix with honey. [8] On a column there is a dedicated statue of Isokrates, who left a threefold legacy: the greatest zeal, because he never ceased to have pupils during his ninety-eight-year life; the greatest prudence, because he kept aloof from politics throughout and did not occupy himself with public affairs; the greatest generosity, because in the face of the news of the battle of Chaironeia he voluntarily put an end to his life out of pain. There are also Persians of Phrygian marble bearing a bronze tripod; both they and the tripod are worth seeing. They [scil. the Athenians] say that Deukalion built the old temple for Zeus Olympios, and as evidence for this they cite that Deukalion lived in a tomb in Athens not far from the present temple.

Text 9: Narrative 1 – introducing the Galatians (Paus. 1,4,1)

Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται οὗτοι νέμονται τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πολλῇ καὶ ἐς τὰ πέρατα οὐ πλωίμῳ, παρέχεται δὲ ἄμπωτιν καὶ ραχίαν καὶ θηρία οὐδὲν εἰκότα τοῖς ἐν θαλάσῃ τῇ λοιπῇ· καὶ σφισι διὰ τῆς χώρας ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Ἑριδανός, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς Ἥλιου ὀδύρεσθαι νομίζουσι τὸ περὶ τὸν Φαέθοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν πάθος. ὁψὲ δέ ποτε αὐτοὺς καλεῖσθαι Γαλάτας ἐξενίκησεν· Κελτοὶ γὰρ κατὰ τε σφᾶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὠνομάζοντο. συλλεγεῖσα δὲ σφισι στρατιὰ τρέπεται τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίου, καὶ τό τε Ἰλλυριῶν ἔθνος καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἄχρι Μακεδόνων ᾧκει καὶ Μακεδόνας αὐτοὺς ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε Θεσσαλίαν τε ἐπέδραμε. [...]

These Galatians possess the outermost lands of Europe on a sea that is large and unnavigable at the edges. It has high and low tides and animals that are very different from those in the rest of the sea. Through their territory flows the river Eridanos, where the daughters of Helios are said to mourn what happened to their brother Phaethon. Sometime later it became accepted that they were called 'Galatians', for originally they were called 'Celts' both among themselves and by the others. They gathered an army and it set out towards the Ionian Sea, driving out the Illyrian people and everything that settled as far as the Macedonians, as well as the Macedonians themselves, and set out for Thessaly. [...]

Text 10: Narrative 2 – the Galatians against the Aetolian polis Kallion (Paus. 10,22,2–4)

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἡγεμόνες τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ ἄλλοι κατεπεπλήγισαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἠπόρουν ἅμα ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων, ἐς οὐδὲν σφισι πλέον προχωροῦντα ὀρῶντες τὰ ἐν χερσὶ· τῷ δὲ Βρέννω λογισμὸς παράστατο ὡς, εἰ ἀναγκάσει τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἀναχωρῆσαι, ῥάων ἤδη γενήσοιτο ὁ πόλεμος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἀπολέξας οὖν τῆς στρατιᾶς μυριάδας τοὺς πεζοὺς τέσσαρας καὶ ὅσον ὀκτακοσίους ἵππεας, Ὀρεστόριον τε αὐτοῖς καὶ Κόμβουτιν ἐπίστησιν ἄρχοντας· [3] οἱ ὀπίσω κατὰ τοῦ Σπερχειοῦ τὰς γεφύρας καὶ αὐθις διὰ Θεσσαλίας ὀδεύσαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν· καὶ τὰ ἐς Καλλιέας Κόμβουτις οἱ ἐργασάμενοι καὶ Ὀρεστόριος ἦσαν, ἀνοσιώτατά τε ὧν ἀκοῇ ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώπων τολμήμασιν ὅμοια. γένος μὲν γε πᾶν ἐξέκοψαν τὸ ἄρσεν, καὶ ὁμοίως γέροντές τε καὶ τὰ νήπια ἐπὶ τῶν μητέρων τοῖς μαστοῖς ἐφόνευσαν· τούτων δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ γάλακτος πιότερα ἀποκτείνοντες ἐπινόων τε οἱ Γαλάται τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἤπτοντο τῶν σαρκῶν. [4] γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ ὅσαι ἐν ὥρᾳ τῶν παρθένων, ὅσαι μὲν φρονήματός τι αὐτῶν εἶχον, ἑαυτὰς ἐφθίοντες ὡς ἠλίσκετο ἢ πόλις διειργασμένη· τὰς δὲ ἔτι περιούσας ἐς ἰδέαν ὑβρεως πᾶσαν μετὰ ἀνάγκης ἤγον ἰσχυρᾶς, ἅτε ἴσον μὲν ἐλέου, ἴσον δὲ τὰς φύσεις καὶ ἔρωτος ἀπέχοντες. καὶ ὅσαι μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν ταῖς μαχαίραις τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπετύγχανον, αὐτοχειρία τὰς ψυχὰς ἠφίεσαν· ταῖς δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν ὑπάρξειν τὸ χρεῶν ἔμελλεν ἢ τε ἀσιτία καὶ ἢ ἀπνία, ἀστέγων βαρβάρων ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις ὑβρίζόντων· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀφιείσας τὰς ψυχὰς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἤδη νεκραῖς συνεγίνοντο ὄμως.

The rest of the barbarian leaders were frightened by the Greeks and at the same time did not know how to proceed, because they saw that the present situation was not improving any further. But the thought occurred to Brennos that his war against the Greeks would finally be easier if he forced the Aetolians to go home to Aetolia. So he chose 40,000 foot soldiers and about 800 horsemen from the army and put Orestorios and Komboutis at their head as commanders. [3] They marched back over the bridges of Spercheios and through Thessaly and entered Aetolia. Komboutis and Orestorios were also the perpetrators against the inhabitants of Kallion, the most impious acts we have heard of, and not resembling the dares of men. They exterminated all representatives of the male sex and likewise murdered the old men and the babies at their mothers' breasts. The Galatians killed those

of them who were fatter through milk, drank of the blood and ate of the flesh. [4] Those women and girls who still had a remnant of spirit killed themselves beforehand during the taking of the city. Those who were still alive, the Galatians led to every kind of violence with strong coercion, because their nature was as far from compassion as it was from love. Those women who happened to come to the Galatians' knives put an end to their lives with their own hands. Some were to die of hunger and sleeplessness after a short time, because the unrestrained barbarians mistreated them in turn. Some had sex with women who were close to death, others with already dead ones.

Text 11: Narrative 2 – just punishment for the Galatians (Paus. 10,22,7)

Καλλιεύσι δὲ καίπερ δεινὰ οὕτω παθοῦσιν ὡς μηδὲ τὰ ὑπὸ Ὅμηρου πεποιημένα ἔς τε Λαιστρυγόνας καὶ ἐς Κύκλωπα ἐκτὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν ἀληθείας, ὅμως κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγένετο ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίκη· ἀπὸ γὰρ τεσσάρων μυριάδων προσόντων σφίσι {καὶ} ὀκτακοσίων ἐλάσσονες ἡμίσεων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ πρὸς Θερμοπύλαις ἀπεσώθησαν.

Although something so terrible happened to the inhabitants of Kallion that even what Homer wrote about the Laestrygones and the Cyclops does not seem far from the truth, they were duly avenged. For the barbarians brought less than half of their 40,800 men to safety in the army camp at Thermopylae.

Text 12: Narrative 2 – superhuman support for the Greeks (Paus. 10,23,1–4)

Βρέννω δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀθροισθέντες ἀντετάξαντο, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀντεσήμαινε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ταχύ τε καὶ ὧν ἴσμεν φανερώτατα. ἢ τε γὰρ γῆ πᾶσα, ὄσσην ἐπέϊχεν ἢ τῶν Γαλατῶν στρατιά, βιαίως καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐσειέτο τῆς ἡμέρας, βρονταί τε καὶ κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγένοντο· [2] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξέπληττον τε τοὺς Κελτοὺς καὶ δέχεσθαι τοῖς ὡσὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἐκόλυον, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐκ ἐς ὄντινα κατασκήψαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησίον καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐξῆπτε. τὰ τε τῶν ἡρώων τηνικαῦτά σφισιν ἐφάνη φάσματα, ὁ Ὑπέροχος καὶ ὁ Λαόδοκός τε καὶ Πύρρος· οἱ δὲ καὶ τέταρτον Φύλακον ἐπιχώριον Δελφοῖς ἀπαριθμοῦσιν ἤρωα. [3] ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸ ἔργον τῶν Φωκέων ἄλλοι τε ἀριθμὸν πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀλεξιμάχος, (ὄς) ἐν τῇ μάχῃ αὐτῆ μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων ἡλικίας τε τῷ ἀκμάζοντι καὶ ἰσχύι σώματος καὶ τῷ ἐρρωμένῳ τοῦ θυμοῦ κατεχρήσατο ἐς τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν φόνον· Φωκεῖς δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἀλεξιμάχου ποιησάμενοι ἀπέστειλαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δελφοὺς. [4] τοιοῦτοις μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡμέραν παθήμασί τε καὶ ἐκπλήξει συνέιχοντο· [...]

Brennos and his army were opposed by the Greeks who had gathered at Delphi, and to the barbarians the portents from the god showed themselves quickly and more clearly than those of which we know. For the whole ground which the army of the Galatians occupied shook violently and for the greater part of the day, and thunder and lightning thundered incessantly. [2] This circumstance frightened the Celts and prevented them from perceiving with their ears what was commanded. The lightning from the sky not only set fire to whom it struck, but also to the neighbouring men, both themselves and their weapons. Then the spirits of the heroes Hyperochos, Laodokos and Pyrrhos also showed themselves to them. Some count Phylakos, a hero native to Delphi, as the fourth. [3] In the course of the event, of the Phocians themselves, along with many others, Aleximachos died, who in this battle was the one of the Greeks who most used his bloom of youth, his physical strength and his strengthened courage to slaughter the barbarians.

The Phocians had an image made of Aleximachos and sent it to Apollo at Delphi. [4] Throughout the day, the barbarians were struck by such events and terrors. [...]

Text 13: Narrative 2 – the Galatian’s losses (Paus. 10,23,10)

πλῆθος δὲ τὸ ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι αὐτῶν ἀναλωθέν, ὀλίγω μὲν ἑξακισχιλίων ἐλάσσονες οἱ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ χειμερίῳ διαφθαρέντες νυκτὶ καὶ ὕστερον οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανικῷ δείματι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἄλλοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ.

The number of their losses in the Phocis region is as follows: a little less than 6,000 killed in the battles, more than 10,000 killed in the wintry night and afterwards during the panic, as well as the same number of deaths from hunger.