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Two Books on Pausanias *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, translated into English, with Notes and Index, by Arthur Richard Shilleto. Two Vols. George Bell and Sons. 1886. 10s. *Pausanias der Perieget*; Untersuchungen über seine Schriftstellerei und seine Quellen, von Dr. A. Kalkmann. Berlin, Reimer. 1886. 8 Mk.

H. F. Tozer

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putting of Greek terms in brackets, as here, is helpful, and might have been carried out all through the book.

This notice must be concluded with the often expressed apology of the critic that his space has been taken up in finding fault. Holding that technicalities are of real importance in a book which, after all, will be more interesting to classical students than to the 'modern world' for whom (Preface,

p. vii.) it is in part designed, I have thought it worth while to point out certain defects in the treatment of the technical groundwork of the subject. But it contains abundant evidence of the literary power and accurate scholarship for which the translator is well known; and I should be sorry to leave an impression that the book is not workmanlike, readable, and useful.

G. M. EDWARDS.

TWO BOOKS ON PAUSANIAS.

Pausanias' Description of Greece, translated into English, with Notes and Index, by ARTHUR RICHARD SHILLETO. Two Vols. George Bell and Sons. 1886. 10s.

Pausanias der Perieget; Untersuchungen über seine Schriftstellerei und seine Quellen, von DR. A. KALKMANN. Berlin, Reimer. 1886. 8 Mk.

A COMPLETE edition of Pausanias is one of the greatest *desiderata* of modern classical scholarship. The importance which is attached at the present day to epigraphy, as one of the most trustworthy sources of our knowledge of the life of the ancients, and the rapidly increasing study of archaeology and classic art, together with the kindred subjects of mythology and legendary history, tend more and more to increase the estimation in which his *Description of Greece* is held. But the time for such an edition has not yet come. The facilities which now exist for travelling and exploring in Greek lands are of comparatively recent date, so that the work of investigation is still in its infancy, while at the same time the numerous foreign Schools which have been established at Athens give promise of a rapid increase in our knowledge of what still lies concealed. A summary of the results of the researches that are being made, such as a commentary on Pausanias would involve, would be premature, until they are much further advanced than at present. It is also evident that, when that period arrives, the editor must be a many-sided man, for in addition to the wide fields of study already mentioned, he would need to possess a thorough acquaintance with Greek geography. Meanwhile, we hail with satisfaction every addition that is made to our knowledge of the author and his work, especially when it is as thoroughly scientific as the *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, which is being

published by Mr. Imhoof-Blumer and Professor Percy Gardner in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

The first of the two books now before us is Mr. Shilleto's translation of Pausanias. Such a work, if well executed, would be of value, for, notwithstanding that the Greek of Pausanias is easy, where the text is sound, yet there must be a considerable number of general readers, especially in the class of art-students, who would be glad to consult the book in their own language. This in fact is shewn by the existence of a German translation by Schubart, the editor of the most trustworthy text of the *Description Graeciae*. We commenced perusing Mr. Shilleto's work without referring to the Greek, and found it agreeable reading; but, unfortunately, when we came to compare it with the original, our estimate of it was greatly altered. Out of a number of passages, which we chose almost at random for comparison, there was hardly one which did not contain several inaccuracies. We do not so much complain of the looseness of rendering, which sometimes causes the translation to approximate to a paraphrase, as of wrong construing and faults of scholarship. The following are specimens: (v. 11, § 1), ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ δεξιᾷ [ὁ θεὸς] φέρει Νίκην ἐξ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ταύτην καὶ χρυσοῦ, ταυρίαν τε ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον, 'in his right hand he holds a Victory in ivory and gold, with a tiara and crown on his head'; μετὰ τοῖς πᾶσι, 'with all manner of precious stones'; τῷ δὲ ἱματίῳ ζῳδιά τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα ἔστιν ἐμπεποιημένα, 'on his robes are imitations of flowers, especially of lilies.' (x. 21, § 1), τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντας, 'the men that were left in the fields'; παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐντὸς Θερμοπυλῶν Ἑλλάδα, 'get into Greece by Thermopylae.' Mr. Shilleto's book may still be of service to persons who wish to make themselves acquainted with

the contents of Pausanias' work, but it certainly requires to be read with caution.

Dr. Kalkmann's book, *Pausanias der Perieget*, is one from the perusal of which we rise with a distressed feeling of perplexity. It is an unsparing, and singularly able, attack on that author. In reading it we feel as if an old and valued friend, in whose respectability we had implicit confidence, whatever we might think of his talents and judgment, had been placed in the dock, and were being charged with serious misdemeanours, involving a total loss of character, on evidence which we had no power of refuting. In Dr. Kalkmann's eyes Pausanias is an impostor to be exposed, a hypocrite to be unmasked, a plunderer to be compelled to disgorge. Let us examine the grounds on which this conclusion rests; and in so doing our object is to give the writer's arguments their full weight, premising at the same time that he relies in no slight degree on the cumulative force of numerous details, which cannot be given in a compressed form. He begins by dwelling on the fondness of Greek writers before Pausanias' time for fictitious histories, and narratives of adventure and of portents, professedly derived from personal observation, such as those which Lucian satirises in his *Vera Historia* and elsewhere: of these he gives amusing instances, and shows how these persons unblushingly appropriated statements taken directly from older writers, and put them forward as their own. Now Pausanias, he thinks, is a child of his period, and does not differ from his contemporaries in respect of borrowing, making statements at second-hand, and professing a religious belief which he did not entertain. Hence those features, which have been regarded as making Pausanias such a peculiar personality—his *naïveté* and somewhat witless simplicity, his *δεισιδαιμονία*, and his curiosity in investigation—are merely devices of art, intended to throw dust in the reader's eyes. The same is the case with his often-repeated asseverations, that he saw with his own eyes the objects he describes, and received directly from the lips of others the information which he gives. To him 'I heard' is an expression equivalent to 'they say,' and both are used of statements borrowed from ancient writers. From these again the transition is easy to introducing persons as witnesses; and so, when at the city of Elis or at Phigaleia 'an old man' is his informant, and when elsewhere he quotes 'a merchant,' 'an Egyptian,' 'a Phoenician,' &c., as his authorities, these

are, one and all, his own creations; and the local *cicerones* (ἐξηγηταί), to whom he is so fond of referring, are equally fictitious. Nor less untrue are his declarations that he was present on certain occasions, e.g. when excavations were being made. The point of these accusations Dr. Kalkmann sharpens by producing what appear to him crucial instances—a story that Pausanias professed to have heard from 'a man of Byzantium,' which is found in Plutarch; a description of a dolphin that he saw, which, in gratitude for having once been rescued, allowed a boy to ride upon him, whereas the same thing is told by two other ancient writers; and various other portents and curiosities, which he either himself beheld or obtained evidence of though they are related in earlier collections of *Mirabilia*. Something, perhaps, might be said by way of extenuation with regard to the wide circulation of such tales, to their becoming attached to more than one locality, and to unconscious appropriation on the writer's part, as so often happens with the retailers of good stories; but the amount of weight that is to be given to these considerations must greatly depend on the estimate that is formed of the evidence at large.

Dr. Kalkmann then proceeds to investigate the sources from which Pausanias drew for his crude compilation of second-hand book-learning, under the separate heads of archaeology, geography, art, and mythology. This part of his work is constructive as well as destructive, and we cannot but admire the varied learning displayed in it, which has a value quite independent of the subject on hand, from the light that it throws on the knowledge of these studies possessed by the ancient world. For the three great archaeological centres—Athens, Olympia, and Delphi, he finds that Pausanias' authority was Polemon, the geographer of the second century B.C. Here again his unreality is exposed. Pausanias' account of the town of Piræus, we are told, describes it as it appeared in Polemon's time, whereas its docks and chief buildings were subsequently destroyed by Sulla, and were never restored; and he takes no notice of the works of art at Athens that were set up between that period and Hadrian's reign. Elsewhere he seems to have derived his archaeological knowledge from local compilers, such as Callippus for Orchomenus, Sosibius, the Lacedæmonian grammarian, for Sparta, the *Argolica* of Deinias (or Agias) and Dercylus for Argolis, and the *Sicyonica* of Menaechmus for Sicyon. Passages from these writers,

chiefly derived from various Scholia, which correspond to statements in Pausanias, are carefully brought together by Dr. Kalkmann, and critically examined. His chief geographical authorities seem to have been Artemidorus and Eratosthenes, used at second-hand, and various *Lexica*; but all these refer to a period long past, so that Pausanias is thought to have described places, which in his time were either wholly or for the most part ruined and deserted, as if they were still flourishing. About art Pausanias obtained much information from the published catalogues of artists, to which he himself occasionally refers; and his numerous mythological notices are attributed to an earlier compendium of mythology. Dr. Kalkmann allows that Pausanias probably travelled in some parts of Greece, an admission which he turns against him by adding that he inserted here and there recollections of his travels, with the object of giving a modern colouring to his work; but he denies him all credit as an independent observer. Our consolation for the discrediting of one whom we respected as a truthful narrator is to be this—that much of what we find in his work is due, not to the hearsay of a somewhat dull traveller of the second century A.D., but to intelligent persons of an earlier period.

Now we can conceive that it may be urged in answer to this, that Pausanias may have been independent of the literary influences of his age, and that it would be no easy task to assume the mask so completely, as to leave the impression, which he does, that there was nothing counterfeit either in his

inquiries or his religion. It may be thought unlikely that he would have dared to take his materials wholesale from Polemon, when that writer's work was well known at the time, or that he would have exposed himself to the ridicule of his contemporaries by describing Athens as it existed some centuries before. Dr. Kalkmann has taken note of Pausanias' errors, but has omitted to speak of his general accuracy, which has served to guide modern explorers, and has called forth their praises, from the time of Leake to the present day; and such exactness is not easily attainable by one who copies from others and has not carefully examined for himself. It is allowed that he was an uncritical writer, and it is probable that he did not always distinguish between what he had heard and what he had read; and it is natural that he should have studied, and perhaps have carried with him on his journeys, the works of previous inquirers; this would account for some of the correspondences which are found between him and earlier writers, but would not justify the charge of wholesale appropriation. All this may fairly be urged, and should raise a presumption in Pausanias' favour; but we cannot honestly say that Dr. Kalkmann's able book can be refuted by such *à priori* considerations. If it is to be answered at all, it must be answered in detail, and to do so will be no easy matter. We leave this to his countrymen, many of whom are pledged, from the valuable aid which they have derived from Pausanias, to see that he is justly treated.

H. F. TOZER.

WHEELER ON GREEK ACCENTUATION.

Der Griechische Nominal-Accent. Von BENJAMIN J. WHEELER. Strassburg. Trübner. 3 Mk. 80.

THIS book marks a decided advance in the treatment of Greek accentuation—a very difficult subject, on which little has been written in England. Chandler's large book deals with the written, not the spoken, accent, and not at all with the history of it—so far as that history can be traced; in the second edition (1881) Wackernagel's brilliant guess (1877) is not mentioned. It is, therefore, worth while to point out in some detail what Wheeler has tried to do, and the

relation of his work to that of his predecessors.

Wackernagel (*Kuhn Z.* 23, 457) pointed out that the regular recession of the accent in the Greek verb (λείπωμαι, ἐλειπόμην, λείπωμαι, &c.)—as distinguished from the freedom in position shown in the infinitives (λείπεσθαι, λιπέσθαι), the participles (λείπων, λιπών), and, generally, in nouns—is due to the same cause as that of the Sanskrit verb. In Vedic the verb is, as a rule, unaccented in the main clause, accented in dependent clauses. This, for different reasons, may be assumed for the Indo-European. Therefore in Greek also the main verb was