

**A STUDY IN THE SOURCES
OF THE MESSENIACA OF
PAUSANIAS. A
DISSERTATION**

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649394654

A Study in the Sources of the Messeniaca of Pausanias. A dissertation by Hermann Louis Ebeling

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HERMANN LOUIS EBELING

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41326

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

BY

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BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.
1892.

**TO
MY DEAR PARENTS.**

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PREFACE.

It has long been recognized that the style of Pausanias' *Messenica* is an improvement on that of the other books of his *Descriptio Graeciae*, and very justly this improvement has been referred to the sources he had used.

Kohlmann, *Quaestiones Messeniaca*, 1866, has shown that these sources were to a large extent Myron of Priene, a rhetorician, and the epic poet Rhianus of Bene. Hoping to prove Pausanias' dependence upon Rhianus more in detail, I undertook to examine the *Messenica* with a view to poetic style. I compared with it the extant epigrams of Rhianus, but without success. A search for poetical words revealed one here and there, but these may be found in the other books as well. Moreover, that part of the fourth book which has been attributed to Myron is not without poetical color, owing no doubt somewhat to the sources which Myron himself had used. Myron also came in for a share of my attention. Kohlmann among other things cited a number of passages containing moral reflections, which he referred to the rhetorician as their source. But on further reading in Pausanias, moral reflections appeared very frequently in the other books, so that they offered no test of authorship.

Hoping still to throw some light on the style of the fourth book, which would enable me to mark off the different parts of it, I examined the style of Pausanias more generally. This only proved to me that Pausanias has a style of his own, such as it is, which seems to be characterized nowhere so well as in Gurlitt, *Über Pausanias*, 1890, p. 15 sqq. This view is supported by the fact that the multitude and variety of the sources which Pausanias used, made it necessary for him to resist at least a literal transfer.

C. Wernicke, *De Pausaniae Periegetae Studiis Herodoteis* (Berolini, 1884), has shown in parallel columns how Pausanias adopted matter from Herodotus. One may say of these passages that without exception they have been changed in diction and in structure, and Pausanias' desire to assimilate the material to his style can be seen most markedly in those passages where the borrowing is close. The same may be said on comparing Pausanias VIII, 49-51, with Plutarch's *Philopoemen* (see Nissen, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen des Livius*, p. 287 sqq., Berlin, 1863). Besides Pausanias shows considerable skill in extracting, condensing and combining his material, to which he seems ever ready to make some slight additions from memory. A certain amount of independence may also be seen in the alterations which he makes.

This independence, then, and the mosaic-like character of his work explains the difficulty of separating one part from the other by detecting differences of style. I therefore determined to make an attempt at defining the limits of the sources of the *Messenica* from internal evidence before continuing my study of the style.

The result has been the following study of the sources of the *Messenica*, in which it has been attempted to prove that Pausanias made a larger use of Myron's work than is generally supposed.

A SKETCH OF MESSENIAN HISTORY.

As it might assist the reader in understanding the arguments of the following discussion, I give below a short sketch of Messenian history according to Pausanias, to which I append a chronological table, giving some dates of important events in this history, as well as of those ancient writers whose testimony we have to consider.

Long before the siege of Troy Polycaon came to the unoccupied land that lay west of the Taygetus range of mountains and took possession of it. From his wife's name, Messene, the land was called Messenia. The government under Polycaon and his successors was on the whole peaceful; cities were founded and religious institutions established. At the return of the Heraclidae the Dorian Cresphontes drew lots for this fertile country with the sons of Aristodemus, and through an understanding with Temenus, king of Argos, to whom the lot drawing had been entrusted, Cresphontes had Messenia assigned to himself. This brought Messenia under Dorian rule, and although in an uprising Cresphontes was killed, his son Aepytus was placed on the throne by the help of the Arcadian king Cypselus and the above mentioned sons of Aristodemus, and so the family of Cresphontes ruled Messenia for many years until the race became extinct with the death of Euphaes, who was killed in the first Messenian war. It was during the reign of Phintas that the first occasion arose which caused a feeling of enmity between the Lacedaemonians and Messenians. They had been in the habit of worshipping together in the temple of Artemis Limnas, which was situated on the border of Messenia and Lacedaemonia. At one of such religious festivals a disturbance arose between the Messenians and Spartans, during which the Spartan king Teleclus was killed. Later on a difficulty arose between a