THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

I
PREFACE

Professor John Robert Sitlington Sterrett, the eminent scholar who was originally chosen by the Editors of the Loeb Classical Library to prepare this edition of Strabo, died suddenly on June 15, 1914. His many friends and colleagues in the world of scholarship were greatly disappointed that he was thus prevented from bringing to a happy completion a task which would have been a fitting consummation of a long and notable career. In accordance with a desire he expressed to me shortly before his death, and at the invitation of the Editors, I have ventured, not without misgivings, to carry on the work from the point where his labours ceased.

The Introduction and the Bibliography remain substantially as they were left by Professor Sterrett; and the translation of the first two books, contained in Volume I., not only is indebted to him for much of its diction, but reveals in other elements of style many traces of his individuality. Nevertheless the
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present version, a fairly literal one perhaps, is so remote from the free rendering of Professor Sterrett, above all in the technical passages, that it would be unjust to hold him responsible for any mistakes or infelicities which the reader may now detect. The Editors, it is true, at first requested me merely to revise and see through the press the first two books as Professor Sterrett had left them, and then to proceed independently with the remaining fifteen; yet upon a closer examination of his work both they and I decided that to revise it for publication would be impossible without destroying its quality and aim, at all events for a new translator of the whole. The Editors then decided, in view of the purposes of the Loeb Library and for the sake of unity in the work as a whole, to proceed as the title-page indicates; and hence, in order to avoid the danger of attributing to Professor Sterrett a method of interpretation for which he should not be held accountable, the present translator has been forced to assume all the responsibility from the beginning—for the first two books as well as the rest.

In constituting the Greek text I have tried to take into account the work that has been done by scholars, not only since the appearance of Meineke's edition, but prior to that edition as well. The map vi
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of The Inhabited World according to Strabo (drawn by Mr. L. A. Lawrence of Cornell University) is adapted partly from the Orbis Terrarum secundum Strabonem of C. Müller and partly from that of W. Sieglin.

I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to my colleagues, Professor Lane Cooper and Professor Joseph Quincy Adams, of Cornell University, for their criticism of the translation; and also to Professor Ora M. Leland, for assistance in technical problems related to astronomy. But above all, I desire to record an incalculable debt of gratitude to my lamented friend, Professor Sterrett, who, in the relation first of teacher and later of colleague, was to me, as to many others, an unfailing source of inspiration and encouragement.

H. L. J.

April, 1916.
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INTRODUCTION

What is known about Strabo must be gleaned from his own statements scattered up and down the pages of his Geography; this is true not merely of his lineage, for we also learn much by inference concerning his career and writings. Dorylaus, surnamed Tacticus or the General, is the first of the maternal ancestors of Strabo to be mentioned by him, in connexion with his account of Cnossus (10. 4. 10). This Dorylaus was one of the officers and friends of Mithridates Euergetes, who sent him on frequent journeys to Thrace and Greece to enlist mercenary troops for the royal army. At that time the Romans had not yet occupied Crete, and Dorylaus happened to put in at Cnossus at the outbreak of a war between Cnossus and Gortyna. His prestige as a general caused him to be placed in command of the Cnossian army; his operations resulted in a sweeping victory for Cnossus, and great honours were heaped upon him in consequence. At that juncture Euergetes was assassinated at Sinope, and as Dorylaus had nothing to hope for from the widowed queen and young children of the dead king, he cast in his lot permanently with the Cnossians. He married at
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Cnossus, where were born his one daughter and two sons, Lagetas and Stratarchas. Their very names indicate the martial proclivities of the family. Stratarchas was already an aged man when Strabo saw him. Mithridates, surnamed Eupator and the Great, succeeded to the throne of Euergetes at the early age of eleven years. He had been brought up with another Dorylaus, who was the nephew of Dorylaus the general. When Mithridates had become king, he showed his affection for his playmate Dorylaus, by showering honours upon him, and by making him priest of Ma at Comana Pontica—a dignity which caused Dorylaus to rank immediately after the king. But not content with that, Mithridates was desirous of conferring benefactions upon the other members of his friend's family. Dorylaus, the general, was dead, but Lagetas and Stratarchas, his sons, now grown to manhood, were summoned to the court of Mithridates. "The daughter of Lagetas was the mother of my mother," says Strabo. As long as fortune smiled on Dorylaus, Lagetas and Stratarchas continued to fare well; but ambition led Dorylaus to become a traitor to his royal master; he was convicted of plotting to surrender the kingdom to the Romans, who, it seems, had agreed to make him king in return for his treasonable service. The details of the sequel are not known; for all that Strabo thinks it worth while to say is that the two men went down into obscurity and discredit along with Dorylaus (10. 4. 10). These ancestors of Strabo
were Greeks, but Asiatic blood also flowed in his veins. When Mithridates annexed Colchis, he realized the importance of appointing as governors of the province only his most faithful officials and friends. One of these governors was Moaphernes, the uncle of Strabo’s mother on her father’s side (11. 2. 18). Moaphernes did not attain to this exalted station until towards the close of the reign of Mithridates, and he shared in the ruin of his royal master. But other members of the family of Strabo escaped that ruin; for they foresaw the downfall of Mithridates, and sought cover from the impending storm. One of them was Strabo’s paternal grandfather, Aeniates by name (if the conjecture of Ettore Pais be accepted). Aeniates had private reasons for hating Mithridates, and, besides that, Mithridates had put to death Tibius, the nephew of Aeniates, and Tibius’ son Theophilus. Aeniates therefore sought to avenge both them and himself; he treasonably surrendered fifteen fortresses to Lucullus, who made him promises of great advancement in return for this service to the Roman cause. But at this juncture Lucullus was superseded by Pompey, who hated Lucullus and regarded as his own personal enemies all those who had rendered noteworthy service to his predecessor. Pompey’s hostility to Aeniates was not confined to the persecution of him in Asia Minor; for, when he had returned to Rome after the termination of the war, he prevented the Senate from conferring the honours promised by
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Lucullus to certain men in Pontus, on the ground that the spoils and honours should not be awarded by Lucullus, but by himself, the real victor. And so it came about that Strabo’s grandfather failed of the reward of his treason (12. 3. 13). A further proof of the existence of Asiatic blood in the veins of Strabo is the name of his kinsman Tibius; for, says Strabo, the Athenians gave to their slaves the names of the nations from which they came, or else the names that were most current in the countries from which they came; for instance, if the slave were a Paphlagonian, the Athenians would call him Tibius (7. 3. 12). Thus it appears that Strabo was of mixed lineage, and that he was descended from illustrious Greeks and Asiatics who had served the kings of Pontus as generals, satraps, and priests of Ma. But by language and education he was thoroughly Greek.

Strabo was born in Amasia in Pontus in 64 or 63 B.C. (the later date being the year of Cicero’s consulate). It is plain that his family had managed to amass property, and Strabo must have inherited considerable wealth; for his fortune was sufficient to enable him to devote his life to scholarly pursuits and to travel somewhat extensively. His education was elaborate, and Greek in character. When he was still a very young man he studied under Aristodemus in Nysa near Tralles in Caria (14. 1. 48) His parents may have removed from Amasia to Nysa in consequence of the embarrassing conditions xiv
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brought about by the victories of Pompey, the enemy of their house; but the boy may have been sent to study in Nysa before the overthrow of Mithridates the Great; and, if so, he was probably sent thither because one of his kinsmen held high office in the neighbouring Tralles. Ettore Pais points out that, when Mithridates the Great ordered the killing of the Roman citizens in Asia, Theophilus, a Captain in service in Tralles, was employed by the Trallians to do the killing. It seems probable that this Theophilus was the kinsman of Strabo, and the same person who was afterwards executed by Mithridates, an execution that caused Strabo’s paternal grandfather to betray the king and desert to Lucullus.

In 44 B.C. Strabo went to Rome by way of Corinth. It was at Rome that he met Publius Servilius, surnamed Isauricus, and that general died in 44 B.C. (This was also the year of the death of Caesar.) Strabo was nineteen or twenty years old at the time of his first visit to Rome. In connexion with his account of Amisos (12. 3. 16) we read that Strabo studied under Tyrannion. That instruction must have been received at Rome; for in 66 B.C. Lucullus had taken Tyrannion as a captive to Rome, where he gave instruction, among others, to the two sons of Cicero. It is Cicero (Ad Att. 2. 6. 1) who tells us that Tyrannion was also a distinguished geographer, and he may have guided Strabo into the paths of geographical study. It was probably also at Rome that Strabo had the good fortune to attend
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the lectures of Xenarchus (14. 5. 4), the Peripatetic philosopher; for he tells us that Xenarchus abandoned Seleucia, his native place, and lived in Alexandria, Athens, and Rome, where he followed the profession of teacher. He also tells us that he "Aristotelized" along with Boëththus (the Stoic philosopher of Sidon), or, in other words, under Xenarchus in Rome (16. 2. 24). Strabo knew Poseidonius (7. fr. 60, quoted from Athenaeus 14. 75. p. 657), and it has been argued from that statement that Poseidonius, too, was one of Strabo's teachers. But in spite of the fact that his teachers were Peripatetics, there can be no doubt that he was himself an adherent of Stoicism. He confesses himself a Stoic (7. 3. 4); he speaks of "our Zeno" (1. 2. 34); again, he says: "For in Poseidonius there is much inquiry into causes and much imitating of Aristotle—precisely what our School avoids, on account of the obscurity of the causes" (2. 3. 8). Stephanus Byzantius calls him "the Stoic philosopher." Strabo lets his adherence to Stoicism appear on many occasions, and he even contrasts the doctrines of Stoicism with those of the Peripatetic School. What had brought about his conversion cannot be ascertained. It may have been due to Athenodorus; for in his account of Petra he says that it is well-governed, and "my friend Athenodorus, the philosopher, has spoken to me of that fact with admiration" (16. 4. 21). This philosopher-friend was the Stoic Athenodorus, the teacher and friend of Augustus. Strabo makes his xvi
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position in regard to the popular religion quite clear in several passages; he insists that while such religion is necessary in order to hold the illiterate in check, it is unworthy of the scholar. "For in dealing with a crowd of women, at least, or with any promiscuous mob, a philosopher cannot influence them by reason or exhort them to reverence, piety, and faith; nay, there is need of religious fear also, and this cannot be aroused without myths and marvels. For thunderbolt, aegis, trident, torches, snakes, thyrsus-lances,—arms of the gods—are myths, and so is the entire ancient theology" (1. 2. 8). In speaking of the supposed religiosity of the Getans (7. 3. 4) he quotes Menander to the effect that the observances of public worship are ruining the world financially, and he gives a somewhat gleeful picture of the absence of real religion behind those same observances of public worship. Yet Strabo had a religion, and even though he believed that causes are past finding out, he nevertheless believed in Providence as the great First Cause. He sets forth the Stoic doctrine of "conformity to nature" at some length in speaking of Egypt (17. 1. 36), and he also adverts to it in his account of the river-system of France (4. 1. 14).

As for his political opinions, he seems to have followed Polybius in his profound respect for the Romans, with whom, apparently, he is in entire sympathy; he never fails to show great admiration, not only for the political grandeur of the Roman
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Empire, but for its wise administration as well; he is convinced of the necessity of a central monarchial power: "The excellence of the government and of the Roman Emperors has prevented Italy (which has often been torn by civil war from the very time when it became subject to Rome), and even Rome itself, from proceeding further in the ways of error and corruption. But it would be difficult for the Romans to govern so vast an empire in any other way than by entrusting it to one person—as it were, to a father. And certainly at no other period have the Romans and their allies enjoyed such perfect peace and prosperity as that which the Emperor Augustus gave them from the very moment when he was clothed with autocratic power, a peace which Tiberius, his son and successor, continues to give them at the present moment; for he makes Augustus the pattern in his policy and administration; and Germanicus and Drusus, the sons of Tiberius, who are now serving in the government of their father, also make Augustus their pattern" (6. 4. 2). And he constantly takes the Roman point of view. For instance, in leading up to his account of the destruction of Corinth by Mummius, he tells us that the Corinthians had perpetrated manifold outrages on the Romans; he does indeed mention the feeling of pity to which Polybius gave expression in telling of the sack of Corinth, and says that Polybius was horrified at the contempt shown by the Roman soldiery for the sacred offerings and the masterpieces xviii
of art; "for Polybius says he personally saw how paintings had been thrown to the ground and saw the soldiers playing dice on them." But Strabo gives us to understand that his own private feeling is that the Corinthians were merely paying for the many insults they had heaped on the Romans (8. 6. 23). He is equally dispassionate in telling of the Roman conquest of his own native country (12. 3. 33). He seems to be thoroughly Roman at heart; for the Romans have united the world under one beneficent administration (1. 1. 16); by the extinction of the pirates the Roman peace has brought prosperity, tranquillity, security to commerce, and safety of travel (3. 2. 5; 14. 3. 3; 16. 2. 20); a country becomes prosperous just as soon as it comes under the Roman sway (3. 3. 8), which opens up means of intercommunication (2. 5. 26); friendship and alliance with Rome mean prosperity to the people possessing them (3. 1. 8; 4. 1. 5); so does the establishment of a Roman colony in any place (6. 3. 4).

We have seen that Strabo went to Rome in 44 B.C., and that he was nineteen or twenty years old at that time. He made several other journeys to Rome: we find him there in 35 B.C.; for that is the date of the execution of Selurus (6. 2. 6), which Strabo witnessed. He was then twenty-nine years old. He was in Rome about 31 B.C.; for he saw the painting of Dionysus by Aristeides (one of those paintings seen by Polybius at the sack of Corinth) in the temple of Ceres in Rome, and he adds: "But
recently the temple was destroyed by fire, and the painting perished” (8. 6. 23). It is known from Dio Cassius (50. 10) that the temple of Ceres was burned in 31 B.C. He was thirty-two or thirty-three years old at that time. We know of still another journey to Rome: “I landed on the island of Gyaros, where I found a small village inhabited by fishermen; when we sailed from the island, we took on board one of those fishermen who had been sent on a mission to Augustus (who was then at Corinth, on his way [from Egypt] to celebrate his triumph after his victory at Actium). On the voyage we questioned this fishermen, and he told us that he had been sent to ask for a diminution of the tribute” (10. 5. 3). Here we find Strabo journeying from Asia Minor, by way of the island of Gyaros and Corinth, and the clear inference is that he was on his way to Rome at the time. This was in 29 B.C., and Strabo was thirty-four or thirty-five years old. Augustus had just founded Nicopolis in honour of his victory at Actium (7. 7. 6), and it is not unlikely that Strabo visited the new city on that voyage. In 25 and 24 B.C. he is in Egypt, and accompanies Aelius Gallus up the Nile, proceeding as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia (2. 5. 12). At that time he was thirty-nine years old. He was still in Egypt when Augustus was in Samos in 20 B.C. (14. 1. 14). He was then forty-four years old. Accordingly he lived for more than five years in Alexandria, and we may infer that it was in the xx
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Alexandrian library that he made from the works of his predecessors those numerous excerpts with which his book is filled. We find him again in Rome about 7 B.C.; for in his description of Rome he mentions buildings that were erected after 20 B.C., the last of them being the portico of Livia, which was dedicated in 7 B.C. (5. 3. 8). This was perhaps his final visit to Rome, and he was then fifty-six or fifty-seven years old. It seems that he lived to be eighty-four years old, for he chronicles the death of Juba in 21 A.D., but the last twenty-six or twenty-seven years of his life were spent far from Rome, and probably in his native Amasia. His residence at this remote place made it impossible for him to follow the course of recent political events and to incorporate them in the revised edition of his book.

Strabo thought that he had travelled much. He says: "Now I shall tell what part of the land and sea I have myself visited and concerning what part I have trusted to accounts given by others by word of mouth or in writing. I have travelled westward from Armenia as far as the coasts of Tyrrhenia opposite Sardinia, and in the direction of the South I have travelled from the Euxine Sea as far as the frontiers of Ethiopia. And you could not find another person among the writers on Geography who has travelled over much more of the distances just mentioned than I; indeed, those who have travelled more than I in the western regions have not covered as much ground in the east, and those who have travelled
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more in the eastern countries are behind me in the western countries; and the same holds true in regard to the regions towards the South and North” (2. 5. 11). And yet it cannot be said that he was a great traveller; nor can it be said that he travelled for the purpose of scientific research—the real reason for his journeys will presently appear. He saw little even of Italy, where he seems to have followed without much deviation the roads Brindisi-Rome, Rome-Naples-Puteoli, and Rome-Populonia. It does not appear that he lived for any very long stretch of time at Rome; and it cannot be maintained with positiveness that in Greece he saw any place other than Corinth—not even Athens, strange as this may seem. In the South and the East his travels were more extensive: in the South he visited the Nile valley as far as the frontiers of Ethiopia; he was at Comana Aurea for some time; he saw the river Pyramus, Hierapolis in Phrygia, Nysa in Caria, and Ephesus; he was acquainted with Pontus; he visited Sinope, Cyzicus, and Nicaea; he travelled over Cilicia and much of Caria, visiting Mylasa, Alabanda, Tralles, and probably also Synnada, Magnesia, Smyrna, the shores of the Euxine, and Beirut in Syria. Though we may not limit the places he saw to the places actually mentioned as having been seen by him, still it is clear that his journeys were not so wide as we should have expected in the case of a man who was travelling in the interest of science.

Ettore Pais seems to make good his contention that
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the work of Strabo was not written by a man who was travelling on his own account and for scientific reasons, but by one who seized every occasion to study what circumstances and the pleasure of others gave him an opportunity of knowing. He contends, further, that it was for the sake of others that Strabo made his journeys; that he was instructor and politician, travelling perhaps with, and certainly in the interest of, persons of the most exalted rank; that he was the teacher and guide of eminent men. Strabo never fails to mention the famous scholars and teachers who were born in the East—the list is a long one; and we are fain to believe that he occupied a similar social position. He insists that his Geography is political: The greater part of Geography subserves the uses of states and their rulers; Geography as a whole is intimately connected with the functions of persons in positions of political leadership (1. 1. 16); Geography is particularly useful in the conduct of great military undertakings (1. 1. 17); it serves to regulate the conduct and answer the needs of ruling princes (1. 1. 18). Presumably it was with just such people that he travelled. But Pais joins issue with Niese and others in their contention that the men with whom and in whose interest he travelled were Romans, and he makes out a good case when he argues that Strabo wrote his Geography in the interest of Pythodorus, Queen of Pontus. Even the great respect shown by Strabo for Augustus, Rome, and Tiberius is to be explained
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by the circumstances in which he found himself; for subject-princes had to be obsequious to Rome, and as for Pythodorus, she owed her throne to Augustus fully as much as to Polemon. It was good business, therefore, that necessitated the retouching of the book and the insertion in it of the many compliments to Tiberius—all of which were added after the accession of that prince, and for fear of him, rather than out of respect for him.

The question as to when and where Strabo wrote his geographical work has long been a burning one in circles interested in Strabo criticism. Niese seemed to settle the question, when he maintained that Strabo wrote his Historical Geography at Rome, at the instigation of Roman friends who occupied exalted positions in the political world of Rome; and that he acted as the companion of those friends, accompanying one of them, Aelius Gallus, from Rome to Egypt, and returning with him to Rome; and further that it was at Rome that he wrote his Geography, between the years 18 and 19 A.D. In the main, scholars had accepted the views of Niese, until Pais entered the field with his thesis that Strabo wrote his work, not at the instigation of politicians at Rome, but from the point of view of a Greek from Asia Minor, and in the interest of Greeks of that region; that the material for the Geography was collected at Alexandria and Rome, but that the actual writing of the book and the retouching of it at a later period were done at Amasia, far from Rome—xxiv
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a fact which accounts for his omissions of events, his errors, his misstatements, his lack of information concerning, and his failure to mention, occurrences that would surely have found a place in his book if it had been written in Rome; it accounts, too, for the surprising fact that Strabo’s Geography was not known to the Romans—not even to Pliny—although it was well-known in the East, for Josephus quotes from it.

To go somewhat more minutely into this question, it may be stated that Strabo mentions Tiberius more than twenty times, but the events he describes are all connected with the civil wars that occurred after the death of Caesar and with the period in the life of Augustus that falls between the Battle of Actium (in 31 B.C.) and 7 B.C. He rarely mentions events in the life of Augustus between 6 B.C. and 14 A.D., and, as he takes every opportunity to praise Augustus and Tiberius, such omissions could not be accounted for if he wrote his Geography about 18 A.D. The conclusion reached by Pais is that Strabo wrote the book before 5 B.C. and shortly after 9 B.C., or, in other words, about 7 B.C. Such matters as the defeat of Varus and the triumph of Germanicus were not contained in the original publication of the work, and were inserted in the revised edition, which was made about the year 18 A.D. The list of the Roman provinces governed by the Roman Senate, on the last page of the book, was written between 22 B.C. and 11 B.C., and Strabo himself says that it was
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antiquated; it was retouched about 7 B.C., not at Rome, but far from Rome. The facts are similar in the mention he makes of the liberality of Tiberius to the cities of Asia Minor that had been destroyed by earthquakes; in the case of the coronation of Zeno as king of Armenia Major (18 A.D.), and in the case of the death of Juba, which occurred not later than 23 A.D., Strabo made no use of the map of Agrippa—an omission with which he has been reproached—for the very good reason that the map of Agrippa had not been completed in 7 B.C.

If Strabo first published his Geography in 7 B.C., it appeared when he was fifty-six or fifty-seven years old, at a time when he was still in full possession of all his physical and mental powers. But if we say, with Niese and his followers, that the work was written between 18 and 19 A.D., we thereby maintain that Strabo began to write his Geography when he had passed the eighth decade of his life. He himself compares his book to a colossal statue, and it is incredible that he could have carried out such a stupendous work after having passed his eightieth year.

Strabo is so well-known as a geographer that it is often forgotten that he was a historian before he was a geographer. Indeed it may be believed that he is a geographer because he had been a historian, and that the material for his Geography was collected along with that for his Historical Sketches, which comprised forty-seven books (see xxvi
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1. 1. 22–23, and 2. 1. 9, and footnotes). But his Geography alone has come down to us. In this connexion it will be useful to read Strabo's own account of his Historical Sketches and his Geography: "In short, this book of mine should be generally useful — useful alike to the statesman and to the public at large—as was my work on History. In this work, as in that, I mean by 'statesman,' not the man who is wholly uneducated, but the man who has taken the round of courses usual in the case of freemen or of students of philosophy. For the man who has given no thought to virtue and to practical wisdom, and to what has been written about them, would not be able even to form a valid opinion either in censure or in praise; nor yet to pass judgment upon the matters of historical fact that are worthy of being recorded in this treatise. And so, after I had written my Historical Sketches, which have been useful, I suppose, for moral and political philosophy, I determined to write the present treatise also; for this work itself is based on the same plan, and is addressed to the same class of readers, and particularly to men of exalted stations in life. Furthermore, just as in my Historical Sketches only the incidents in the lives of distinguished men are recorded, while deeds that are petty and ignoble are omitted, so in this work also I must leave untouched what is petty and inconspicuous, and devote my attention to what is noble and great, and to what contains the practically useful, or memorable, or
entertaining. Now just as in judging of the merits of colossal statues we do not examine each individual part with minute care, but rather consider the general effect and endeavour to see in the statue as a whole is pleasing, so should this book of mine be judged. For it, too, is a colossal work, in that it deals with the facts about large things only, and wholes, except as some petty thing may stir the interest of the studious or the practical man. I have said thus much to show that the present work is a serious one and one worthy of a philosopher" (1. 1. 22–23).

The Geography of Strabo is far more than a mere geography. It is an encyclopaedia of information concerning the various countries of the Inhabited World as known at the beginning of the Christian era; it is an historical geography; and, as Dubois and Tozer point out, it is a philosophy of geography.
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MANUSCRIPTS

Strabo was not much read in antiquity: in a sense he was discovered in Byzantine times; copies of his work were rare, and apparently at one time the only manuscript extant was the so-called archetype, from which all the manuscripts now extant are descended. This seems clear because all the mistakes, the changes in the text, the transposed sentences, all the gaps, particularly the great gap at the end of the seventh book, are reproduced in all the manuscripts. The modern editions, beginning with that of G. Kramer, are based on the Paris manuscript No. 1397 for the first nine books (it contains no more), while books 10 to 17 are based on the Vatican manuscript No. 1329, on the Epitome Vaticanæ, and on the Venetian manuscript No. 640. But the Epitome, which goes back to the end of the tenth century, was based on a manuscript which still contained the end of Book VII.


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THE

GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

BOOK I
ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝΟΣ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ

Α'

I

C 1 1. Τῆς τοῦ φιλοσόφου πραγματείας εἶναι νομίζομεν, εἴπερ ἄλλην τινά, καὶ τὴν γεωγραφικὴν, ἢν νῦν προηγήμεθα ἐπισκοπεῖν. ὅτι δ' οὐ φαύλως νομίζομεν, ἐκ πολλῶν δὴλον. οὐ τε γὰρ πρῶτοι θαρρῆσαντες αὐτὴς ἀψαθαι τοιοῦτοι δὴ τινὲς ὑπήρξαν. "Ομηρός τε καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Ἑκαταῖος, ὁ πολέτης αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης φησί· καὶ Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ

C 2 Εὐδοξός καὶ Δικαίαρχος καὶ Ἐφορὸς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείον· ἐτε δὲ οἱ μετὰ τούτους, Ἐρατοσθένης τε καὶ Πολύβιος καὶ Ποσείδώνιος, ἄνδρες φιλόσοφοι. ἢ τε πολυμάθεια, δι' ἢς μόνης ἐφικέσθαι τούδε τοῦ ἔργου δυνατόν, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἐστιν, ἢ τοῦ τὰ θεία καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβλέποντος, ὁπερ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιστήμην φασίν. ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ ἡ ὀφέλεια ποικίλη τις ὑστα, ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονικὰς πράξεις, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἐπιστήμην τῶν τέ οὐρανίων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ζώων καὶ κρατῶν καὶ τῶν

1 τοιοῦτοι δὴ τινὲς, Corais, on MS. authority, for τοιοῦτοι τινὲς.
2 τὰς πολιτικὰς, Spengel, for τὰ πολιτικά.
THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

BOOK I

I

1. The science of Geography, which I now propose to investigate, is, I think, quite as much as any other science, a concern of the philosopher; and the correctness of my view is clear for many reasons. In the first place, those who in earliest times ventured to treat the subject were, in their way, philosophers—Homer, Anaximander of Miletus, and Anaximander's fellow-citizen Hecataeus—just as Eratosthenes has already said; philosophers, too, were Democritus, Eudoxus, Dicaearchus, Ephorus, with several others of their times; and further, their successors—Eratosthenes, Polybius, and Poseidonius—were philosophers. In the second place, wide learning, which alone makes it possible to undertake a work on geography, is possessed solely by the man who has investigated things both human and divine—knowledge of which, they say, constitutes philosophy. And so, too, the utility of geography—and its utility is manifold, not only as regards the activities of statesmen and commanders but also as regards knowledge both of the heavens and of things on land and sea, animals, plants, fruits, and everything else to be seen in
Ἀλλάνων, ὡσα ἰδεῖν παρ’ ἐκάστοις ἐστὶ, τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπογράφει ἄνδρα, τὸν Φρουτίζουτα τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον τέχνης καὶ εὐδαιμονίας.

2. Ἀναλαβόντες δὲ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐπισκοπῶμεν τῶν εἰρημένων ἔτι μᾶλλον, καὶ πρῶτον ὁτι ὀρθῶς ὑπειλήφαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐστι καὶ Ἰππαρχος, ἀρχηγότητι εἶναι τῆς γεωγραφικῆς ἐμπειρίας. Ὤμηρον ὡς οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν ἀρετῇ πάντας ὑπερβέβληται τοὺς πάλαι καὶ τοὺς ὑστερον, ἀλλὰ σχεδόν τι καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν πολιτικῶν, ἀφ’ ἂς οὐ μόνον περὶ τὰς πράξεως ἐσπούδασεν ἐκεῖνος, ὡς ὁτι πλείστας γνωθὶ καὶ παραδώσει τοῖς ὑστερον ἐσο-μένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς τόπους τοὺς τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστα καὶ τοὺς κατὰ σύμπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων αὐτῆς περάτων ἀφίκετο τῇ μνήμῃ κύκλῳ περιφέρων.

3. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῇ ὁκεανῷ περίκλυστον, ὡσπερ ἐστὶν, ἀπέφαυνεν αὐτῷ· ἐπειτα δὲ τῶν χωρίων τὰ μὲν ἀνώμαξε, τὰ δὲ ὑπηρέτητο τεκμη-ρίοις τις, Διβύνη μὲν καὶ Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ Σιδώνι-ους καὶ Ἐρεμβούς, οὐδὲ εἰκός λέγειν Τρῳγλοδύτας Ἄραβας, ῥητῶς λέγων, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατο-λαῖς καὶ δύσεσιν ἀλωττόμενος ἐκ τοῦ τῆς ὁκεανω- κλύζεσθαι, ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἀνίσχοντα ποιεῖ τὸν

1 For Strabo's definition of Libya see 17. 3. 1.
various regions—the utility of geography, I say, presupposes in the geographer the same philosopher, the man who busies himself with the investigation of the art of life, that is, of happiness.

2. But I must go back and consider each one of these points in greater detail; and, first, I say that both I and my predecessors, one of whom was Hipparchus himself, are right in regarding Homer as the founder of the science of geography; for Homer has surpassed all men, both of ancient and modern times, not only in the excellence of his poetry, but also, I might say, in his acquaintance with all that pertains to public life. And this acquaintance made him busy himself not only about public activities, to the end that he might learn of as many of them as possible and give an account of them to posterity, but also about the geography both of the individual countries and of the inhabited world at large, both land and sea; for otherwise he would not have gone to the uttermost bounds of the inhabited world, encompassing the whole of it in his description.

3. In the first place, Homer declares that the inhabited world is washed on all sides by Oceanus, and this is true; and then he mentions some of the countries by name, while he leaves us to infer the other countries from hints; for instance, he expressly mentions Libya, Ethiopia, Sidonians, and Erembians—and by Erembians he probably means Arabian Troglydotes—that whereas he only indicates in general terms the people who live in the far east and the far west by saying that their countries are washed by Oceanus. For he makes the sun to

2 "Cave-dwellers." They lived on the western shores of the Red Sea.
Ηλιον καὶ δυόμενον εἰς τοῦτον, ὡς δ᾿ αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ἄστερα.

Ἡλίους μὲν ἐπειτὰ νέον προσεβάλλειν ἄροφρας, ἐξ ἀκαλαρρέιταο βαθυρρόου Ὡκεανοῦ.

(Π. 7. 421)

ἐν δ᾿ ἐπεσ' Ὡκεανῷ λαμπρόν φῶς ἡλίουο, ἐλκον νῦκτα μέλαιναν.  

(Π. 8. 485)

καὶ τοὺς ἄστερας δὲν λευκομένους εξ Ὡκεανοῦ λέγειν. (Π. 5. 6)

4. Τῶν δ᾿ ἐστεριῶν ἄνδρῶν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐμφάνιζε καὶ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τοῦ περιέχοντος, πεπυσμένος, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν πλούτου, ἐφ᾿ ὄν καὶ Ηρακλῆς ἐστράτευσε καὶ οἱ Φοῖνικεῖς ὦστερον, οἵπερ ἄρχὴν καὶ κατέσχον τὴν πλείστην μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ρωμαίοι. ἑνταῦθα γὰρ αἱ τοῦ Ζεφύρου πνοαὶ. ἑνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ ᾍλύσιον ποιεῖ πεδίον ὁ ποιητής, εἰς ὃ περιφθάσθαι φησὶ τοῦ Μενέλαον ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν.

ὅλλα σ᾿ ἐσ Ὅλυσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαῖς ἅθανατοι πέμψας, ὥθη ξανθὸς Ταδάμανθις, τῇ περ ῥήστητι βιοτῆ πέλειν. οὐ μιστὸς, οὔτ' ἄρ χειμῶν πολύς, ἀλλ᾿ αἰεὶ Ζεφύρου λυγὺ πνείοντος ἀήτας Ὡκεανὸς ἀνίησι.

(Οδ. 4. 563)

5. Καὶ αἱ τῶν μακάρων δὲ νήσοι πρὸ τῆς Μαυρουσίας εἰς τῆς ἐσχάτης πρὸς δύσιν, καθι

1 ἄροφρας, the reading of B, for ἄροφας.
2 Meineke deletes both quotations; C. Müller, Cobet, approving; A. Miller defends the quotations.
3 δὲ, Cobet inserts, after ἄστερα.
rise out of Oceanus and to set in Oceanus; and he refers in the same way to the constellations: "Now the sun was just beating on the fields as he climbed heaven from the deep stream of gently-flowing Oceanus." "And the sun's bright light dropped into Oceanus, drawing black night across the earth." And he declares that the stars also rise from Oceanus "after having bathed in Oceanus."

4. As for the people of the west, Homer makes plain that they were prosperous and that they lived in a temperate climate—doubtless having heard of the wealth of Iberia, and how, in quest of that wealth, Heracles invaded the country, and after him the Phoenicians also, the people who in earliest times became masters of most of the country (it was at a later date that the Romans occupied it). For in the west the breezes of Zephyrus blow; and there it is that Homer places the Elysian Plain itself, to which he declares Menelaus will be sent by the gods: "But the deathless gods will convey thee to the Elysian Plain and the ends of the earth, where is Rhadamanthys of the fair hair, where life is easiest. No snow is there, nor yet great storm; but always Oceanus sendeth forth the breezes of the clear-blowing Zephyrus."

5. And, too, the Islands of the Blest lie to the westward of most western Maurusia, that is, west

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1 What is now Portugal and Spain.
2 See page 107.
3 Strabo has in mind the Canary Islands.
4 That is, Morocco, approximately.

4 ἀφχήν, A. Miller transposes, from its position after τὴν πλεοστην, and makes it the adverb.
5 λιγην πνεεντος, Sterrett, for λιγηπνεεντας.
δ μέρος συντρέχει καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τὸ ταύτης πέρας. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὀνόματος δήλου, ὡς καὶ ταύτας ἐνόμιζον εὐδαιμονας διὰ τὸ πλησιάζειν τοιούτοις χωρίοις.

6. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε καὶ οἱ Αἰθιόπες ἐπὶ τῷ ὦκεανῷ ἐσχατοί, δηλοῦ· ὅτι μὲν ἐσχατοί,

Αἰθιόπες, τοῖς διηθθὲς δεδαίαται, ἐσχατοὶ ἀνδρῶν,

(Od. 1. 23)

οὐδὲ τοῦ "διῆθη δεδαίαται" φαύλους λεγομένου, ὡς δειχθῆσθαι ὑστεροῦ· ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ὦκεανῷ.

Zeus γὰρ ἐῴκειαν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπίας κηθίζει ἐβη μετὰ δαίτα.

(Π. 1. 423)

ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς ταῖς ἀρκτοῖς ἐσχατία παρω-κεινῖτις ἔστιν, οὔτως ἠνίξατο εἰπών περὶ τῆς ἀρκτοῦ.

οὗτ δὲ ἀμυρὸς ἐστὶ λοετρῶν Ὁκεανοῦ.

(Π. 18. 489 ; Od. 5. 275)

dia μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἀρκτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀμάξεις τῶν ἀρκτικῶν δήλοι· οὐ γὰρ ἄν τοσούτων ἱερῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ περιφερομένων τῶ νότοι φαινομένου ἀμυροῦν εἰπε λοετρῶν ὥκεανοῦ. ᾧτ' οὐκ εὖ ἀπειρίαν ἀγαθοῦ καταγωγόσκουσιν, ὡς μίαν ἀρκτοῦ ἄντι δυνῶν εἰδότος· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκός ἦν ποί μν ἐν τῆς ἑτέρᾳ ἔστρωτος, ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Φολικεῖς ἐσπημεώσαντο καὶ ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν, παρελθεῖν καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ελλήνας τὴν διάταξιν ταῦτην, ῥᾴδερ καὶ τὸν Βερενίκης πλόκαμον, καὶ τὸν Κάρυβδον, ἐκθέος καὶ πρόην κατωνομασμένον

1 τῷ, Jones inserts,
of the region where the end of Maurusia runs close to that of Iberia. And their name shows that because those islands were near to blessed countries they too were thought to be blessed abodes.

6. Furthermore, Homer assuredly makes it plain that the Ethiopians live at the ends of the earth, on the banks of Oceanus: that they live at the end of the earth, when he speaks of “the Ethiopians that are sundered in twain, the farthest of men” (and indeed the words “are sundered in twain” are not carelessly used, as will be shown later on); and that they live on the banks of Oceanus, when he says “for Zeus went yesterday to Oceanus, unto the noble Ethiopians for a feast.” And he has left us to infer that the farthest land in the north is also bounded by Oceanus when he says of the Bear that “She alone hath no part in the baths of Oceanus.” That is, by the terms “Bear” and “Wain” he means the “arctic circle”¹; for otherwise he would not have said of the Bear that “She alone hath no part in the baths of Oceanus,” since so many stars complete their diurnal revolutions in that same quarter of the heavens which was always visible to him. So it is not well for us to accuse him of ignorance on the ground that he knew of but one Bear instead of two; for it is likely that in the time of Homer the other Bear had not yet been marked out as a constellation, and that the star-group did not become known as such to the Greeks until the Phoenicians so designated it and used it for purposes of navigation; the same is true of Berenice’s Hair and of Canopus, for we know that these two constellations have received

¹ For the meaning of the term “arctic circle” among the ancients, see 2. 2. 2 and footnote.
ίσμεν,¹ πολλοὺς δ’ ἐτὶ νῦν ἁνωνύμους ὄντας, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀρατός φησιν (Phæn. 146). οὐδὲ Κράτης ὁ ὁρθῶς γράφει,

οἷος δ’ ἀμμορός ἐστι λιστρῶν

φεύγων τὰ μὴ φευκτά. βελτίων δ’ Ὡράκλειτος καὶ ὁμηρικότερος, ὁμοίως ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρκτικοῦ τὴν ἄρκτον ὄνομάζων "ἡ οὕς καὶ ἐσπέρης" τέρματα ἡ ἄρκτος, καὶ ἀντίον τῆς ἄρκτου ὅπερος αἰθρίοι Δίος.” ὁ γὰρ ἀρκτικός ἐστι δύσεως καὶ ἀνατολῆς οὸς ὅρος, οὐχ ἡ ἄρκτος. διὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἄρκτου, ἢν καὶ ἀμαξαὶ καλεῖ καὶ τὸν Ὄμισσαν δοκεῖν εἰς φησί (Od. 5. 274), τὸν ἀρκτικὸν δηλοῖ· διὰ δὲ τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ τὸν ὄρξοντα, εἰς ὃν καὶ εἴς οὐ τὰς δύσεις καὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ποιεί.² εἰπὼν δὲ αὐτοῦ στρεφθαί καὶ ἀμοιρεῖν τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ οἴδεν ὅτι κατὰ σημεῖον τὸ ἀρκτικώτατον τοῦ ὄρξοντος γίνεται ὁ ἀρκτικός. ἀκολούθως δὴ τούτῳ τὸ ποιητικὸν ἀρμόσαντες τὸν μὲν ὄρξοντα ὀφείλομεν δέχεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οἰκείως τῷ ὁκεανῷ, τὸν δ’ ἀρκτικὸν τῆς γῆς ἀπτόμενον ὡς ἄν πρὸς αἴσθησιν κατὰ τὸ ἀρκτικώτατον τῆς οἰκῆς τῶν σημείων ὡςτε καὶ τούτῳ τῷ μέρος τῆς γῆς κλύζοιτ’ ἂν τῷ ὁκεανῷ

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¹ ἵσμεν, A. Miller inserts; A. Vogel approving in part.
² ἐσπέρης, Corais, for ἐσπέρας; Meineke following; O. Müller, Cobet, approving.
³ ποιεῖ, A. Miller, for ποιεῖται; A. Vogel approving.
their names quite recently, and that there are many constellations still unnamed, just as Aratus says. Therefore Crates is not correct, either, when, in seeking to avoid what needs no avoidance, he alters the text of Homer so as to make it read, "And the arctic circle alone hath no part in the baths of Oceanus." Better and more Homeric is Heracleitus, who likewise employs "the Bear" for "the arctic circle": "The Bear forms limits of morning and evening, and over against the Bear fair breezes blow from fair skies"; for the arctic circle, and not the Bear, forms a boundary beyond which the stars neither rise nor set. Accordingly, by "the Bear," which he also calls "the Wain" and describes as keeping watch upon Orion, Homer means the "arctic circle," and by Oceanus he means the horizon into which he makes the stars to set and from which he makes them to rise. And when he says that the Bear makes its revolution in that region without having a part in Oceanus, he knows that the arctic circle touches the most northerly point of the horizon. If we construe the poet's verse in this way, then we should interpret the terrestrial horizon as closely corresponding to Oceanus, and the arctic circle as touching the earth—if we may believe the evidence of our senses—at its most northerly inhabited point. And so, in the opinion of Homer, this part of the earth also is

1 Crates emended Homer's feminine form of the adjective for "alone" (οὖν) to the masculine form (οὖσ), so as to make it agree with "arctic circle" and not with "Bear."

2 Heracleitus, with his usual obscurity, divides the heavens roughly into four quarters, viz.: the Bear (north), morning (east), evening (west), and the region opposite the Bear (south). Strabo's interpretation of Heracleitus as regards the "arctic circle" is altogether reasonable.
καὶ αὐτὸν. καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δὲ οἶδε τοὺς προσβόρους μᾶλιστα, οὐδὲ ἀνομαστῇ μὲν οὖν δὴ λοι (οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ποινὶν αὐτοῖς ἀνομα κεῖται πάση), τῇ διαίτῃ δὲ φράζει, νομάδας αὐτοῖς ὑπογράφων καὶ "ἀγαυοὺς ἰππημολγοὺς γαλακτο-φάγους ἀβίους" τε (II. 13. 5, 6).

7. Καὶ ἄλλως δ’ ἐμφαίνει τὸ κύκλο περικεῖσθαι τῇ γῇ τὸν ὦκεανόν, ὅταν οὖτω φῇ ἢ Ἡρα.

εἰμὶ γὰρ ὁφομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης Ὁκεανοῦ τε θεῶν γένεσιν. (II. 14. 200, cf. 301) τοῖς γὰρ πέρασι πάσιν συνήθησαι3 λέγει τὸν ὦκεανὸν τὰ δὲ πέρατα κύκλο περικεῖται (II. 18. 607). ἐν τῇ ὑπολογίᾳ τῆς Ἀχιλλείας ἀστίδος κύκλῳ περιτίθησι τὸν ὦκεανὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑτος. ἔχεται δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς φιλοπραγματικῆς καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν τὰ πεῖρας πλημμυρίδας τοῦ ὦκεανοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀμ-πώτεις, "ἀψορρόον Ὁκεανόι" (II. 18. 399) λέ-γοντα4 καὶ

πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τ’ ἀνίησιν ἐπ’ ἡματι, τρὶς δ’ ἀναροβδεῖ. (Od. 12. 105)

καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τρῖς, άλλα δίς, τάχα τῆς ἱστορίας παραπάσαντος,6 ἢ τῆς γραφῆς διημαρτημένης: ἄλλ’ ἢ γε προαίρεσις τοιαύτη. καὶ τὸ "ἐξ ἀκα-λαρείτα" (II. 7. 422) δὲ ἔχει τινὰ ἐμφασιν τῆς πλημμυρίδος, ἑχουσώς τὴν ἐπίβασιν πρααίαν καὶ

1 προσβόρους, Meineke, for προσβόρεως; C. Müller approving.
2 Αβίοι is a proper name in Homer.
3 συνήθησαι, Madvig, for συνήθη; Cobet approving.
4 λέγοντα, editors before Kramer (who reads λέγοντι); Meineke restores; C. Müller approving.
5 παραπάσαντος, Cobet, for παρακατεύθυντος.
washed by Oceanus. Furthermore, Homer knows of the men who live farthest north; and while he does not mention them by name—and even to the present day there is no common term that will embrace them all—he characterises them by their mode of life, describing them as “nomads,” and as “proud mare-milkers, curd-eaters, and a resourceless folk.”

7. In other ways, too, Homer indicates that Oceanus surrounds the earth, as when Hera says as follows: “For I am going to visit the limits of the bountiful earth, and Oceanus, father of the gods.” By these words he means that Oceanus touches all the extremities of the earth; and these extremities form a circle round the earth. Again, in the story of the making of the arms of Achilles, Homer places Oceanus in a circle round the outer edge of the shield of Achilles. It is another proof of the same eagerness for knowledge that Homer was not ignorant about the ebb and flow of the tide of Oceanus; for he speaks of “Oceanus that floweth ever back upon himself,” and also says: “For thrice a day she spouts it forth, and thrice a day she sucks it down.” For even if it be “twice” and not “thrice”—it may be that Homer really strayed from the fact on this point, or else that there is a corruption in the text— the principle of his assertion remains the same. And even the phrase “gently-flowing” contains a reference to the flood-tide, which comes with a gentle

1 Homer here refers to Charybdis. Strabo himself seems to be doing Homer an injustice by confusing the behaviour of Charybdis with the tides of Oceanus.

2 See 1. 2. 16, where Polybius is referred to as making a similar statement.
où τελέως ροώδη. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ καὶ έκ τοῦ σκοπέλους λέγειν τοτε μὲν καλυπτομένους, τοτε δὲ γυμνομυνένους, καλ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φάναι τὸν ὦκεανὸν εἰκάζει τὸ ῥοώδες αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας ἐμφανίζεσθαι (II. 14. 245). τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον εῦ, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον οὐκ ἔχει λόγον οὔτε γὰρ ποταμῷ βεῦματι ξοικεῖν ἡ τῆς πλημμυρίδος ἐπίβασις, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ ἀναχώρησις οὖ τοιαύτη, ὡ τοῦ Κράτης τοὺς λόγους διδάσκει τι πιθανότερον. βαθὺρροοῦ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄνφορον (Od. 11. 13; 20. 65) λέγει, ὄμως δὲ καὶ ποταμὸν τὸν ὦλον ὦκεανὸν λέγει δὲ καὶ μέρος τοῦ ὦκεανοῦ τι ποταμὸν καὶ ποταμοῖο ρόου, οὖ τοῦ ὦλου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μέρους, ὅταν οὔτω φης:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ποταμοῖο λίπεν ρόου ὦκεανοῖο νῆς, ἀπὸ δ’ ἴκετο κῦμα θαλάσσης εὐρυτόρουο.

(Od. 12. 1)

οὐ γὰρ τὸν ὦλον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ ὦκεανῷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ρόου μέρος ὄντα τοῦ ὦκεανοῦ, ὣν φησιν ὁ Κράτης ἀνάχυσιν τινα καὶ κόλπον ἐπὶ τὸν νότιον πόλον ἀπὸ τοῦ χειμερινοῦ τροπικοῦ διήκοντα. τούτων γὰρ δύνατ’ ἄν τις ἐκλίψῃ ἐτὶ εἶναι ἐν τῷ ὦκεανῷ· τῶν δὲ ὦλου ἐκλίποντα ἐτὶ εἶναι ἐν τῷ ὦλῳ, οὐχ οἴων τε. "Ομηρος δὲ γε οὔτω φησὶ·

"ποταμοῖο λίπεν ρόου, ἀπὸ δ’ ἴκετο κῦμα θαλάσσης."

ἡτς οὖκ ἄλλη τῆς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ὦκεανός. γίνεται οὖν, ἕαν ἐλλαξάς δέχῃ, ἐκβάς ἐκ τοῦ ὦκεανοῦ, ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν ὦκεανόν. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν μακροτέρας ἐστὶ διαίτης.
swell, and not with a violent current. Poseidonius conjectures both from Homer’s reference to the headlands as sometimes covered with the waves and sometimes bare, and from his calling Oceanus a river, that by the current of Oceanus Homer is indicating the flow of the tides. The first conjecture of Poseidonius is correct, but the second is unreasonable. For the swell of the tide is not like a stream of a river, and still less so is the ebb. The explanation given by Crates is more plausible. Homer speaks of the whole of Oceanus as “deep-flowing” and “back-flowing,” and, likewise, as being a river; he also speaks of a part of Oceanus as a river, or as a “river-stream”; and he is speaking of a part of Oceanus, and not of the whole, when he says: “Now after the ship had left the river-stream of Oceanus, and was come to the wave of the wide sea.” Not the whole, I say, but the stream of the river, which stream is in Oceanus, being therefore a part of it; and this stream, Crates says, is a sort of estuary or gulf, which stretches from the winter tropic in the direction of the south pole. Indeed, one might leave this estuary and still be in Oceanus; but it is not possible for a man to leave the whole and still be in the whole. At any rate Homer says: “The ship had left the river-stream, and was come to the wave of the sea,” where “the sea” is surely nothing other than Oceanus; if you interpret it otherwise, the assertion becomes: “After Odysseus had gone out of Oceanus, he came into Oceanus.” But that is a matter to be discussed at greater length.

1 Strabo placed the “summer tropic” and “winter tropic” respectively at 24° north and south of the equator. They correspond, therefore, pretty closely to our Tropic of Cancer and Tropic of Capricorn.
8. ὅτε δὲ ἡ οἰκουμένη νῆσός ἐστὶ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆς αἰσθήσεως καὶ τῆς πείρας ληπτέον. πανταχῇ γὰρ, ὅπουποτοῦν ἐφικτὸν γέγονεν ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τὰ ἐσχάτα τῆς γῆς προελθεῖν, εὐφράσκεται θάλαττα, ἢν δὴ καλοῦμεν ὁκεανὸν. καὶ ὅπου δὲ τῇ αἰσθήσει λαβεῖν οὐχ ὑπήρξεν, ὁ λόγος δείκνυσι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔσωθιν πλευρῶν, τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸ ἐσπέριον, τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰβηρας καὶ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους, περιπλέεται πάν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ τε νοτίου μέρους καὶ τοῦ βορείου· τὸ δὲ λευτόμενον ἀπλουν ἡμῖν μέχρι νῦν τὸ μὴ συμμίαζε μηδένας ἀλλούς τῶν ἀντιπεριπλέοντων οὐ πολὺ, εἰ τις συντίθεσιν ἐκ τῶν παραλλήλων διαστημάτων τῶν ἐφικτῶν ἡμῶν. οὐκ εἰκός δὲ διὰ θάλασσαν εἴναι τὸ πέλαγος τὸ Ἀτλαντικὸν, ἱσθμοῖς διειργόμενον οὐτοὶ στενοὶ τοῖς καλύουσι τοῖς περιπλοῦν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σύρροιε καὶ συνεχές. οὐ τε γὰρ περιπλεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντες, εἰτα ἀναστρέφαντες, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἴσιερὸν τινὸς ἀντιπεπτοῦσης καὶ καλυούσης τὸν ἐπέκεινα πλοῦν ἀνακρουσθῆναι φασίν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ἀπορίας καὶ ἑρμίας, οὐδὲν ἤττον τῆς θαλάττης ἐχούσης τὸν πόρον. τοῖς τε πάθεσι τοῦ ὀκεανοῦ τοῖς περὶ τὰς ἀμπώτεις καὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας ὁμολογεῖ τούτῳ μᾶλλον, πάντη γοῦν ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος τῶν μεταβολῶν ὑπάρχει καὶ τῶν αὐξήσεων.

1 ἐπιχειρήσαντες, the reading of the MSS., is retained; O. Müller approving. Düchner and Meincke read ἐγκειρήσαντες.

2 τε, A. Miller deletes, before μεταβολῶν.
8. We may learn both from the evidence of our senses and from experience that the inhabited world is an island; for wherever it has been possible for man to reach the limits of the earth, sea has been found, and this sea we call "Oceanus." And wherever we have not been able to learn by the evidence of our senses, there reason points the way. For example, as to the eastern (Indian) side of the inhabited earth, and the western (Iberian and Maurusian) side, one may sail wholly around them and continue the voyage for a considerable distance along the northern and southern regions; and as for the rest of the distance around the inhabited earth which has not been visited by us up to the present time (because of the fact that the navigators who sailed in opposite directions towards each other never met), it is not of very great extent, if we reckon from the parallel distances that have been traversed by us. It is unlikely that the Atlantic Ocean is divided into two seas, thus being separated by isthmuses so narrow and that prevent the circumnavigation; it is more likely that it is one confluent and continuous sea. For those who undertook circumnavigation, and turned back without having achieved their purpose, say that they were made to turn back, not because of any continent that stood in their way and hindered their further advance, inasmuch as the sea still continued open as before, but because of their destitution and loneliness. This theory accords better, too, with the behaviour of the ocean, that is, in respect of the ebb and flow of the tides; everywhere, at all events, the same principle, or else one that does not vary much, accounts for the changes both of high tide and low
καὶ μειώσεων, ἥν ὑπὸ πολὺ παραλλάττων, ὡς ἂν ἐφ' ἐνὸς πελάγους τῆς κινήσεως ἀποδιδομένης καὶ ἀπὸ μᾶς αἰτίας.

9. Ἰππαρχὸς δ’ οὐ πιθανός ἔστιν ἀντιλέγων τῇ δόξῃ ταύτη, ὥς οὖθ’ ὁμοιοπαθοῦντος τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ παντελῶς, οὔτ’ εἰ δοθεὶ τοῦτο, ἀκολουθοῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ σύρρους εἶναι πᾶν τὸ κύκλῳ πέλαγος τὸ Ἀτλαντικὸν, πρὸς τὸ μῆ ὁμοιοπαθεῖν μάρτυρι χρόμενος Σελεύκῳ τῷ Βαβυλώνῳ. ἦμεν δὲ τὸν μὲν πλεῖον λόγον περὶ τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ καὶ τῶν πλημμυρίδων εἰς Ποσειδώνιον ἀναβαλλόμεθα καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρον, ίκανός διευκρινήσαντας τὸν περὶ τουτοῦ λόγον πρὸς δὲ τὰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον λέγομεν, ὡς πρὸς τῇ ὁμοιοπάθειαν οὕτω βέλτιον νομίσατο τά τε οὐράνια συνέχοντι ἄν κρείττον ταῖς ἐντεύθεν ἀναπεμάτεσιν, εἰ πλείον εἰς τὸ ὕγρον περιεχυμένον.

10. Ὑπερ’ οὖν τὰ ἐσχάτα καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς οἰκουμένης οἶδε καὶ φράζει σαφῶς ὁ ποιητής, οὕτω καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης τῆς ἐντός. περιέχει γὰρ τάς ἀπὸ Στηλῶν ἀρξαμένους Διβύη τε καὶ Ἀγνυπτος καὶ Φοινίκη, ἡσὶ γὰρ περαιὰ τῆς Κύπρου, εἴτα Σόλυμοι καὶ Λυκίοι καὶ Κάρεσ, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἡ μεταξὺ Μυκάλης καὶ τῆς Τροφάδος ἱών καὶ αἱ προκείμεναι νῆσοι, ὁν

1 ἐφ’, Corais, for ἐπί; C. Müller approving.
2 διευκρινήσαντας, R. Hercher and Piccolos independently, for διακρατήσαντας; C. Müller and A. Vogel approving in part. Corais reads διακρατήσαντας, C. Müller approving; Kramer διακράτησαντας; Meineke διακριβώσαντας (E. Stempflinger, L. Kayser, approving) or διασαφήσαντας; Madvig διασφήσαντας.
3 περαιά, Madvig, for πέριξ. 4 ἱών, Meineke, for ἱών.
tide, as would be the case if their movements were produced by one sea and were the result of one cause.

9. Hipparchus is not convincing when he contradicts this view on the ground, first, that the ocean does not behave uniformly throughout, and, secondly, that, even if this be granted, it does not follow that the Atlantic Ocean runs round the earth in one unbroken circle. In support of his opinion that the ocean does not behave uniformly he appeals to the authority of Seleucus of Babylon. But for a further discussion of the ocean and its tides I refer the reader to Poseidonius and Athenodorus, who have examined the argument on this subject with thoroughness. For my present purpose I merely add that it is better to accept this view of the uniform behaviour of the ocean; and that the farther the mass of water may extend around the earth, the better the heavenly bodies will be held together by the vapours that arise therefrom.

10. Homer, then, knows and clearly describes the remote ends of the inhabited earth and what surrounds it; and he is just as familiar with the regions of the Mediterranean Sea. For if you begin at the Pillars of Heracles, you will find that the Mediterranean Sea is bounded by Libya, Egypt, and Phoenicia, and further on by the part of the continent lying over against Cyprus; then by the territory of the Solymi, by Lycia, and by Caria, and next by the seaboard between Mycale and the Troad, together with the islands adjacent thereto; and all these lands are

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1 See 1. 3. 7. and 1. 3. 12.  
2 A doctrine of the Stoics.  
3 See 3. 5. 5 for the different conceptions of what the Pillars were.
ἀπάντων¹ μέμνηται καὶ ἑφέξης τῶν περὶ τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου² μέχρι Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς Ἰάσονος στρατείας. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Κιμμερικὸν βόσπορον οἴδε, τοὺς Κιμμερίους εἶδός· οὐ δήποτε τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῶν Κιμμερίων εἶδός, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀγνοῶν, οὐ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἡ μικρὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ βοσπόρου πᾶσαν. αἰνίττεται γοῦν καὶ τὸ κλῖμα τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ξοφῶδες ὄν, καὶ ὃς φησίν,

ἡρὶ καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένον οὖδὲ ποτ’ αὐτοὺς Ἡέλιος φαέθων ἐπιδέρκεται,³

ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ νῦς ὅλη τήταται. (Od. 11. 15, 19)

gνωρίζει δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, μεμνημένος γε⁴ Μυ-σῶν, ἔδυος Θρακίου παροικοῦντος τὸν Ἰστρον. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς παραλίαν οἴδε, Θρακίαν οὖσαν, μέχρι Πηνειοῦ, Παιονίας τε ὄνομάζων καὶ Ἀθω καὶ Λέσδον καὶ τὰς προκειμένας τῶν νῆσος. ἐξῆς δὲ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παραλία μέχρι Θεσπρωτῶν, ἡ ἀπάντησις μέμνηται. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄκρα οἴδε, Τεμέσην καλῶν καὶ Σικελούς,⁵ καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄκρα καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτῶν, ἢν ἅρτιος ἔφαμεν. εἰ δὲ τινὰ ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ διαλείμματα φαινεται, συγγνώθη τις ἄν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ γεωγραφῶν ἄνως πολλά παρα-ίσοι τῶν ἐν μέρει. συγγνώθη δ’ ἄν, καὶ εἰ μυθόδη τινὰ προσπέπλεκται τοῖς λεγομένοις ἰστορικῶς

¹ ἀπάντων, Casaubon, for ἀπασῶν; Kramer, Groskurd, Forbiger, Tardieu, Meineke, following.
² τά, Meineke deletes, before μέχρι; C. Müller approving.
³ ἐπιδέρκεται, C. Müller restores, for the usual reading καταδέρκεται, from the MSS. of the Odyssey.

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mentioned by Homer, as well as those farther on, about the Propontis and the Euxine Sea as far as Colchis and the limits of Jason's expedition; more than that, he knows the Cimmerian Bosporus, because he knows the Cimmerians—for surely, if he knows the name of the Cimmerians, he is not ignorant of the people themselves—the Cimmerians who, in Homer's own time or shortly before his time, overran the whole country from the Bosporus to Ionia. At least he intimates that the very climate of their country is gloomy, and the Cimmerians, as he says, are "shrouded in mist and in cloud, and never does the shining sun look upon them, but deadly night is spread o'er them." Homer also knows of the River Ister, since he mentions Mysians, a Thracian tribe that lives on the Ister. More than that, he knows the sea-board next to the Ister, on the Thracian side, as far as the Peneus River; for he speaks of Paeonians, of Athos and Axios, and of their neighbouring islands. And next comes the sea-board of Greece, as far as Thesprotia, which he mentions in its entirety. And yet more, he knows the promontories of Italy also, for he speaks of Temesa and of Sicily; he also knows about the headland capes of Iberia, and of the wealth of Iberia, as I have stated above. If between these countries there are some countries which he leaves out, one might pardon him; for the professed geographer himself omits many details. And we might pardon the poet even if he has inserted things

1 Danube.  2 Salambria.  3 The River Vardar.

4 τοῦ, before Μυκῶν, Kramer deletes; Meineke following.
5 Reference is made to Od. 1. 184, but that Temesa is in Cyprus.
καὶ διδασκαλικῶς, καὶ οὐ δεὶ μὲμφεσθαι. οὖδὲ
γὰρ ἀληθὲς ἔστιν, ὃ φησὶν Ἑρατοσθένης, ὅτι
ποιητῆς πᾶς στοχάζεται ψυχαγωγίας, οὐ διδα-
σκαλίας· τάναντι γὰρ οἱ φρονιμώτατοι τῶν περὶ
ποιητικῆς τι φθεγξαμένου πρώτης τινὰ λέγουσι
φιλοσοφιῶν τὴν ποιητικήν. ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἑρατο-
σθένη μὲν αὖθις ἔροιμεν διὰ πλείονων, εἰν οἷς καὶ
περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ πάλιν ἔσται λόγος.

11. Νυνὶ δὲ ὅτι μὲν Ὅμηρος τῆς γεωγραφίας
ήρξεν, ἀρκεῖτω τὰ λεγόμενα. φανερὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ
ἐπακολουθήσαντες αὐτῷ ἄνδρες ἀξιόλογοι καὶ
οἰκεῖοι φιλοσοφίας· ὃν τοὺς πρῶτους μεθ’ Ὅμηρον
dύο φησὶν Ἑρατοσθένης, Ἀναξίμανδρόν τε, Θαλὸν
γεγονότα γνώριμον καὶ πολιτίτιν, καὶ Ἐκαταιοῦ
τοῦ Μιλήσιου· τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον
gεωγραφικὸν πάνακα, τὸν δὲ Ἐκαταιοῦ κατα-
lυπεῖν γράμμα, πιστούμενον ἑκείνου εἶναι ἐκ τῆς
Ἄλλης αὐτοῦ γραφῆς.

13. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε δεὶ πρὸς ταῦτα πολυ-
μαθείας εἰρήκασι συνχωρ. εὖ δὲ καὶ Ἰππαρχος
eῖν τοὺς πρὸς Ἑρατοσθένη διδάσκει, ὅτι παντὶ, καὶ
ἰδιώτη καὶ τῷ φιλομαθοῦντι, τῆς γεωγραφικῆς
ἱστορίας προσηκούσης ἀδύνατον μεταλαβεῖν1
ἀνεὶ τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκλειστικῶν
τηρήσεων ἐπικρίσεως· οἶνον Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν
πρὸς Ἁγιάστῳ, πότερον ἀρκτικοτέρα Ἡβρυλῶνος
ἡ νοτιωτέρα, λαβεῖν οὐχ οἶνον τε, οὔτ' ἐφ' ὅποσον
dιάστημα, χωρὶς τῆς διὰ τῶν κλιμάτων ἐπισκέ-

1 Strabo discusses the point more fully in 1. 2. 3.
2 Hipparchus took as a basis of calculation for latitudes
and longitudes a principal parallel of latitude through the
Pillars of Heracles and the Gulf of Issus, and a principal
meridian through Alexandria. He then drew parallels of
of a mythical nature in his historical and didactic narrative. That deserves no censure; for Eratosthenes is wrong in his contention that the aim of every poet is to entertain, not to instruct; indeed the wisest of the writers on poetry say, on the contrary, that poetry is a kind of elementary philosophy. But later on I shall refute Eratosthenes at greater length, when I come to speak of Homer again.

11. For the moment what I have already said is sufficient, I hope, to show that Homer was the first geographer. And, as every one knows, the successors of Homer in geography were also notable men and familiar with philosophy. Eratosthenes declares that the first two successors of Homer were Anaximander, a pupil and fellow-citizen of Thales, and Hecataeus of Miletus; that Anaximander was the first to publish a geographical map, and that Hecataeus left behind him a work on geography, a work believed to be his by reason of its similarity to his other writings.

12. Assuredly, however, there is need of encyclopaedic learning for the study of geography, as many men have already stated; and Hipparchus, too, in his treatise Against Eratosthenes, correctly shows that it is impossible for any man, whether layman or scholar, to attain to the requisite knowledge of geography without the determination of the heavenly bodies and of the eclipses which have been observed; for instance, it is impossible to determine whether Alexandria in Egypt is north or south of Babylon, or how much north or south of Babylon it is, without investigation through the means of the "climata." In latitude through various well-known places, and thus formed belts of latitude which he called "climata." By means of the solstitial day he determined the width of each "clima," differences of latitude, and so on. But Strabo uses the term primarily in reference to the parallels of latitude themselves.
ψεως· ὁμοίως τὰς πρὸς ἑως προσκεκχωρηκυλᾶς ἢ πρὸς δύσιν μᾶλλον καὶ ἤττον οὐκ ἂν γυνὴ τις ἀκριβῶς, πλὴν εἰ διὰ τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν ἔλλοι καὶ σελήνης συγκρίσεων. οὕτως δὲ δὴ ταὐτά ἡγεῖν.

13. Ἅπαντες δὲ δὴ δοσι τῶπων ἰδιότητας λέγειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν οἰκείως προσάπτονται καὶ τῶν ὑπορανίων καὶ γεωμετρίας, σχῆματα καὶ μεγέθη καὶ ἀποστήματα καὶ κλίματα δηλοῦντες καὶ θάλπη καὶ ψύχη καὶ ἀπλώς τὴν τοῦ περιέχουσος φύσιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ οἶκους κατασκευάζουν οἰκοδόμος ταῦτα ἃν προορότο καὶ πόλειν κτιζών ἄρχιτέκτων, μὴ τί γε ὄλην ἐπισκοπῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἄνηρ: πολὺ γὰρ τούτῳ προσήκει μᾶλλον. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μικροίς χωρίοις τὸ πρὸς ἄρκτος ἢ πρὸς νότον κεκλίσθαι παραλλαγὴν οὐ πολλήν ἔχει, ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ κύκλῳ τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὸ πρὸς ἄρκτον μὲν μέχρι τῶν ὑστάτων ἐστὶ τῆς Σκυθίας ἢ τῆς Κελτικῆς, μέχρι δὲ τῶν ὑστάτων Ἀλβίδων τὰ πρὸς νότον· τούτῳ δὲ παμπόλλην ἔχει διαφοράν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ παρ᾽ Ἰνδοῖς οἰκεῖν ἢ παρ᾽ Ἰβηρίσιν· ἄν

14. Πᾶν δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων κινήσεως τὴν ἄρχην ἔχον καὶ

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1 προσκεκχωρηκυλᾶς, Corais, for προσπαρακεκχωρηκυλᾶς.
2 εἰ, Corais, for ἢ, after πλὴν; Meineke following.
3 δὲ, Casaubon inserts, after Ἅπαντες.
4 τὸ πρὸς ἄρκτον μὲν, Corais, for πρὸς ἄρκτον μὲν τό.
like manner, we cannot accurately fix points that lie at varying distances from us, whether to the east or the west, except by a comparison of the eclipses of the sun and the moon.\(^1\) That, then, is what Hipparchus says on the subject.

13. All those who undertake to describe the distinguishing features of countries devote special attention to astronomy and geometry, in explaining matters of shape, of size, of distances between points, and of “climata,” as well as matters of heat and cold, and, in general, the peculiarities of the atmosphere. Indeed, an architect in constructing a house, or an engineer in founding a city, would make provision for all these conditions; and all the more would they be considered by the man whose purview embraced the whole inhabited world; for they concern him more than anyone else. Within the area of small countries it involves no very great discrepancy if a given place be situated more towards the north, or more towards the south; but when the area is that of the whole round of the inhabited world, the north extends to the remote confines of Scythia and Celtica,\(^2\) and the south to the remote confines of Ethiopia, and the difference between these two extremes is very great. The same thing holds true also as regards a man’s living in India or Iberia; the one country is in the far east, and the other is in the far west; indeed, they are, in a sense, the antipodes of each other, as we know.

14. Everything of this kind, since it is caused by the movement of the sun and the other stars as well

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\(^1\) That is, by a comparison of the observations of the same eclipse, made from the different points of observation.

\(^2\) France, approximately.
ἐτι τής ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον φορᾶς, ἀναβλέπειν ἀναγκάζει πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα παρ᾽ ἐκάστους ἡμῶν τῶν οὐρανίων· ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐξαλλάξεις ὑρῶνται παραμεγέθεις τῶν οἰκήσεων. τίς ἂν οὖν διαφορὰς τόπων ἐκτιθέμενος καλῶς καὶ ἰκανῶς διδάσκοι, μη φροντίζας τούτων μηδὲν μὴν ἐπὶ μικρόν; καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ δυνατὸν κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπαντα ἀκριβῶς διὰ τὸ ἐλαι πολιτικωτέραν, τὸ γε ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον καὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ παρακολουθεῖν δυνατόν, προσήκοι ἂν εἰκότως.

15. Ὁ δ᾽ οὕτω μετεωρίσας ἦδη τὴν διάνοιαν οὕδε τῆς ὅλης ἀπέχεσαι γῆς. φαίνεται γὰρ γελοῆν, εἰ τὴν οἰκουμένην γλυκάριον σαφῶς ἐξεπείν τῶν μὲν οὐρανίων ἐτόλμησεν ἄφασθαι καὶ χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν διδασκαλίαν, τὴν δ᾽ ὄλην γῆν, ὡς μέρος ἡ οἰκουμένη, μὴ ὅπως, μὴ ὅπολα τις, μὴ ὅπολοι κείμενη τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, μηδὲν ἐφρόντισε· μηδὲν, εἰ καθ᾽ ἐν μέρος οἰκεῖται μόνον τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς, ἢ κατὰ πλεῖον, καὶ πόσα· ὡς δούτως καὶ τὸ ἀοίκητον αὐτής πόσον καὶ ποῖόν τι καὶ διὰ τί. ἔοικεν οὖν μετεωρολογικῇ τνιπ πραγματείᾳ καὶ γεωμετρικῇ συνήφθαι τὸ τῆς γεωγραφίας εἴδος, τὰ ἐπίγεια τοῖς οὐρα- 

1 μηδὲν, Corrais, for μηδὲν; Meineke following; C. Müller approving.
2 ἢ, Corrais deletes before καὶ πόσα, Meineke following.
as by their tendency towards the centre,\(^1\) compels us to look to the vault of heaven, and to observe the phenomena of the heavenly bodies peculiar to our individual positions; and in these phenomena we see very great variations in the positions of inhabited places. So, if one is about to treat of the differences between countries, how can he discuss his subject correctly and adequately if he has paid no attention, even superficially, to any of these matters? For even if it be impossible in a treatise of this nature, because of its having a greater bearing on affairs of state, to make everything scientifically accurate, it will naturally be appropriate to do so, at least in so far as the man in public life is able to follow the thought.

15. Moreover, the man who has once thus lifted his thoughts to the heavens will surely not hold aloof from the earth as a whole; for it is obviously absurd, if a man who desired to give a clear exposition of the inhabited world had ventured to lay hold of the celestial bodies and to use them for the purposes of instruction, and yet had paid no attention to the earth as a whole, of which the inhabited world is but a part—neither as to its size, nor its character, nor its position in the universe, nor even whether the world is inhabited only in the one part in which we live, or in a number of parts, and if so, how many such parts there are; and likewise how large the uninhabited part is, what its nature is, and why it is uninhabited. It seems, then, that the special branch of geography represents a union of meteorology\(^2\) and geometry, since it unites terrestrial and celestial phenomena as

\(^1\) See § 20 (following), and footnote.

\(^2\) The Greek word here includes our science of astronomy as well as our science of meteorology.
νίσισι συνάπτουν εἰς ἑν, ὡς ἐγγυτάτω ὂντα, ἀλλὰ μὴ διεστῶτα τοσοῦτον,

δὲςον οὐρανός ἐστ’ ἀπὸ γαῖης. (Πl. 8. 16)

16. Φέρε δὴ τῇ τοσαύτῃ πολυμαθείᾳ προσβω-μεν τὴν ἐπίγειον ἱστορίαν, οἷον ξώοι καὶ φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς χρήσιμα ἢ δύσχρηστα φέρει γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα; οἶμαι γὰρ ἐναργές ἂν γενέθθει μᾶλλον ὁ λέγω. πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαύτα παρασκευαὶ τινες εἰς φρόνησιν μεγάλαι: τῷ μαθεῖν δὲ τῆς χώρας τῆς φύσιν καὶ ξώοι καὶ φυτῶν ἱδέας προσθείναι δεῖ καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἀμφίβιοι γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ ἐσμεν καὶ ὃς μᾶλλον χερσαίοι ἢ θαλάττιοι. ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄφελος μέγα παντὶ τῷ παραλαβόντι τὴν τοιαύτην ἱστορίαν, ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης δῆλον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου. οἳ γοῦν ποιηταὶ φρονυμωτάτους τῶν ἡρώων ἀποφαίνουσι τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας πολλα-χοῦ καὶ πλανηθέντας· ἐν μεγάλῳ γὰρ τίθενται τὸ "πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱδεῖν ἄστεα καὶ νόον γνῶναι" (Od. 1. 3), καὶ ὁ Νεστωρ σεμνύνεται, διὸτι τοῖς Δαπίθαις ὁμῶσεν, ἐλθὼν μετάπεμπτος

τῆλθεν εἴς ἄπιας γαῖης· καλέσαντο γὰρ αὐτοῖ. (Πl. 1. 270)

καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος ὁσαύτως,

Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Διηνυτίους ἐπαληθεῖς Ἀθλησιᾶς θ’ ἱκόμην καὶ Σιδινίους καὶ Ἐρέμβους καὶ Διαθήνην, (Od. 4. 83)

1 Piccolos reads and punctuates μεγάλαι· τῷ μαθεῖν δὲ τῆς χώρας τῆς φύσιν καὶ ξώοι καὶ φυτῶν ἱδέας προσθείναι δεῖ καὶ τὰ
being very closely related, and in no sense separated from each other “as heaven is high above the earth.”

16. Well, then, to this encyclopaedic knowledge let us add terrestrial history—that is, the history of animals and plants and everything useful or harmful that is produced by land or sea (this definition will, I think, make clear what I mean by “terrestrial history”). In fact all such studies are important as preliminary helps toward complete understanding. And to this knowledge of the nature of the land, and of the species of animals and plants, we must add a knowledge of all that pertains to the sea; for in a sense we are amphibious, and belong no more to the land than to the sea. That the benefit is great to anyone who has become possessed of information of this character, is evident both from ancient traditions and from reason. At any rate, the poets declare that the wisest heroes were those who visited many places and roamed over the world; for the poets regard it as a great achievement to have “seen the cities and known the minds of many men.” Nestor boasts of having lived among the Lapithae, to whom he had gone as an invited guest, “from a distant land afar—for of themselves they summoned me.” Menelaus, too, makes a similar boast, when he says: “I roamed over Cyprus and Phoenicia and Egypt, and came to Ethiopians and Sidonians and Erembians and Libya”

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* A. Miller transposes the words πάντα γὰρ τὰ...ἡ βαλάντιοι to this place from a position before καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλεία (line 9, p. 30); A. Vogel, Starrett, approving.
προσθεῖς καὶ τὸ ἱδίωμα τῆς χώρας,¹

ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ὄηβῶν·

(τῇ πλείστα φέρει ξείδωρος ἄρουρα; (Od. 4. 229) καὶ)

αὐτὸ ἐκατόμπτυλοι εἰσὶν, διηκόσιοι δὲ ἄν' ἐκάστην ἄνερες ἐξοικνεύσι σὺν ἑπταῖσιν καὶ ὀχεσφιν.

(II. 9. 383)

καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἰκὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς ἐμπειρίας τε καὶ ἱστορίας λεχθῆναι

μεγάλων ἐπιστορά ἐργον. (Od. 21. 26)

ἐκ τε δὴ τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου μαρτυρεῖται τὰ λεχθέντα ἐν ἀρχαῖς ύφ᾽ ἰμῶν. διαφερόντως δ᾽ ἐπάγεσθαι δοκεῖ μοι πρὸς τὰ νῦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ λόγος, διότι τῆς γεωγραφίας τὸ πλέον ἐστὶ πρὸς τὰς χρείας τὰς πολιτικὰς. χώρα γὰρ τῶν πράξεων ἔστι γῆ καὶ ³ θάλαττα, ἣν οἰκούμενι τῶν μὲν μικρῶν μικρά, τῶν δὲ μεγάλων μεγάλη· μεγίστη δ᾽ ἡ σύμπασα, ἥν περ ἰδίως καλοῦμεν οἰκουμένην, ὡστε τῶν μεγίστων πράξεων αὐτῇ ἄν εἰη χώρα. μέγιστοι δὲ τῶν στρατη- λατῶν, ὃσοι δύνανται γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχεῖν, ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις συνάγοντες εἰς μίαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ διοίκησιν πολιτικήν. δῆλον οὖν, ὅτι ἡ γεω-

¹ A Miller transposes the words προσθεῖς καὶ τὸ ἱδίωμα τῆς χώρας to this place from a position after τελέθουσι; Sterrett approving.
and at this point he added the distinctive peculiarity of the country—"where lambs are horned from the birth; for there the ewes yean thrice within the full circle of a year." And in speaking of Thebes in Egypt, he says that Egypt is the country "where earth the grain-giver yields herbs in plenty"; and again he says: "Thebes of the hundred gates, whence sally forth two hundred warriors through each, with horses and chariots." And doubtless it was because of Hercules' wide experience and information that Homer speaks of him as the man who "had knowledge of great adventures." And my contention, made at the outset, is supported by reason as well as by ancient tradition. And that other argument, it seems to me, is adduced with especial force in reference to present-day conditions, namely, that the greater part of geography subserves the needs of states; for the scene of the activities of states is land and sea, the dwelling-place of man. The scene is small when the activities are of small importance, and large when they are of large importance; and the largest is the scene that embraces all the rest (which we call by the special name of "the inhabited world"), and this, therefore, would be the scene of activities of the largest importance. Moreover, the greatest generals are without exception men who are able to hold sway over land and sea, and to unite nations and cities under one government and political administration. It is therefore plain that geography as a whole has a direct bearing upon the activities of commanders; for it describes continents

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2 ἐκ τε, Meineke, for ἐκ δι.
3 ἡ, Corais deletes, before ἐδαπάγα; Meineke following; C. Müller approving.
Ηγεμονικά, διαπερσόν λεπάνη τά μέν ἐντός, τα δέ ἐκτὸς τῆς συμπάθης οἰκουμένης. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ἡ διάβεσις, οἷς διαφέρει ταύτα ἔχειν οὕτως ἢ ἑτέρως, καὶ γνώριμα εἶναι ἢ μὴ γνώριμα. βέλτιον γὰρ ἂν διαχειρίζοιευ ἐκαστα, εἰδότες τὴν χώραν ὑπόσχετος καὶ οὕτως κειμένη τυχαίνει καὶ τίνας διαφοράς ἱσχούσα, τάς τ' ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι καὶ τάς ἐν αὐτῇ. ἄλλων δὲ κατ' ἄλλα μέρη δυναστευόντων καὶ ἄπ' ἄλλης ἔστιας καὶ ἀρχῆς τάς πράξεις προχειριζομένων καὶ ἐπεκτεινόντων τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας μέγεθος, οὐκ ἐπ' ίσης δυνάτων οὕτω ἐκεῖνοι ἀπαντά γνωρίζειν οὕτω τοῖς γεωγραφοῦσιν ἀλλὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἤπττον πολύ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις καθορίται τούτοις. μόλις γὰρ ἂν τὸ ἐπ' ἴσης πάντ' εἶναι φανερὰ συμβαίνῃ τῆς συμπάθης οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχήν καὶ πολιτείαν υπηγμένης: ἄλλ' οὐδ' οὕτως, ἄλλα τὰ ἐγγυτέρω μᾶλλον ἄν γνωρίζωτο. καὶ προσήκοι1 ταῦτα διὰ πλείονοι ἐμφανίζειν, ἵν' εἴη γνώριμα: ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τῆς χρείας ἐγγυτέρω ἐστίν. ὡστ' οὐκ ἂν εἴη θαυμαστὸν, οὐδ' εἰ ἄλλος μὲν Ἰνδοῖς προσήκοις χωρογράφος, ἄλλος δὲ Λιθώσιν, ἄλλος δὲ Ἐλλησι καὶ Ρωμαίοις. τὸ γὰρ ἂν προσήκοι τῷ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς γεωγραφήσαται ταῖς ψηλαῖς ἐν τῷ Βοιωτοῖς οὕτω φράζειν, ὡς "Ομῆρος:

οἶ θ' Ἱππίν ἐνέμεντο καὶ Αὐλίδα πετρήσαν
Σχοίνον τε Σκόλον τε' (II. 2. 496)

ὁμίν δὲ προσήκειν τα δὲ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς οὕτω καὶ τα καθ' ἐκάστα συνεκτεί. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ χρεία

1 προσήκοι, C. Müller, on MSS. authority.
and seas—not only the seas inside the limits of the whole inhabited world, but also those outside these limits. And the description which geography gives is of importance to these men who are concerned as to whether this or that is so or otherwise, and whether known or unknown. For thus they can manage their various affairs in a more satisfactory manner, if they know how large a country is, how it lies, and what are its peculiarities either of sky or soil. But because different kings rule in different quarters of the world, and carry on their activities from different centres and starting-points, and keep extending the borders of their empires, it is impossible either for them or for geographers to be equally familiar with all parts of the world; nay, the phrase "more or less" is a fault much in evidence in kings and geographers. For even if the whole inhabited world formed one empire or state, it would hardly follow that all parts of that empire would be equally well known; nay, it would not be true even in that case, but the nearer regions would be better known. And it would be quite proper to describe these regions in greater detail, in order to make them known, for they are also nearer to the needs of the state. Therefore it would not be remarkable even if one person were a proper chorographer for the Indians, another for the Ethiopians, and still another for the Greeks and Romans. For example, wherein would it be proper for the Indian chorographer to add details about Boeotia such as Homer gives: "These were they that dwelt in Hyria and rocky Aulis and Schoenus and Scolus"? For me these details are proper; but when I come to treat India it is no longer proper to add such details; and, in fact, utility does
ἐπάγεται μέτρου δ' αὐτὴ μάλιστα τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπειρίας.

17. Καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν μικροὶς ἐνδηλοῦν ἕστιν, οἷον ἐν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις. ἀμείων γὰρ ἂν θηρεύσει ἡ τις εἰδώς τὴν ὦλην, ὥσπερ τις καὶ πόση καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαι δὲ καλῶς ἐν χώραν τοῦ εἰδότος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐνεδρεύσαι καὶ ὑδεύσαι. ἂλλ' ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐστι τηλαγανίστερον, ὀσφυρέ τα 'ἄθλα μείζω τα τῆς ἐμπειρίας καὶ τα σφάλματα τα 'ἐκ τῆς ἀπειρίας.  ὁ μέντοι Ἀγαμέμνονος στόλος τὴν Μυσίαν ὡς τὴν Τρωϊδὰ πορθῶν ἐπαλινδρόμησεν αἰσχρῶς. Πέρσαι δὲ καὶ Λίβνες, τοὺς πορθμοὺς ὑπονοήσαντες εἶναι τυφλοὺς στενωποὺς, ἐγγὺς μὲν ἦλθον κινδύνων μεγάλων, τρόπαια δὲ τῆς ἀνοίας κατέληπτον· οἱ μὲν τὸν τοῦ Σαλαγνέως τάφον πρὸς τῷ Εὐρίπερ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ τοῦ σφαγῆντος ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ὡς καθοδηγήσαντος φαύλως ἀπὸ Μαλεών ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐρίπον τὸν στόλον· οἳ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Πελώρου μυῆμα, καὶ τούτου διαφθαρέντος κατὰ τὴν ὦμοιαν αἰτίαν· πλήρης τε ναυαγίων ἡ Ἑλλάς ὑπήρξε κατὰ τὴν Σέρβου στρατείαν, καὶ ἡ τῶν Αἰολέων δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἰώνων ἀποικία πολλὰ τοιαύτα πταίσματα παραδέδωκεν. ὦμοιως δὲ καὶ κατορθώματα, ὅπου τὶ κατορθωθῆναι συνεβη σαρὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν τόπων· καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Θερμοπύλαις στενοῖς ὁ Ἐφιάλτης

1 ἐνδηλοῦν, Madvig, for μὲν δῆλον.
2 ἀνοίας, the MSS. reading is restored, for Casaubon's ἀγνολας; C. Müller approving.
not urge it—and utility above all things is our standard in empirical matters of this kind.

17. The utility of geography in matters of small concern, also, is quite evident; for instance, in hunting. A hunter will be more successful in the chase if he knows the character and extent of the forest; and again, only one who knows a region can advantageously pitch camp there, or set an ambush, or direct a march. The utility of geography is more conspicuous, however, in great undertakings, in proportion as the prizes of knowledge and the disasters that result from ignorance are greater. Thus Agamemnon and his fleet ravaged Mysia in the belief that it was Troy-land, and came back home in disgrace. And, too, the Persians and the Libyans, surmising that the straits were blind alleys, not only came near great perils, but they left behind them memorials of their folly, for the Persians raised the tomb on the Euripus near Chalcis in honour of Salganeus, whom they executed in the belief that he had treacherously conducted their fleet from the Gulf of Malis\(^1\) to the Euripus, and the Libyans erected the monument in honour of Pelorus, whom they put to death for a similar reason\(^2\); and Greece was covered with wrecks of vessels on the occasion of the expedition of Xerxes; and again, the colonies sent out by the Aeolians and by the Ionians have furnished many examples of similar blunders. There have also been cases of success, in which success was due to acquaintance with the regions involved; for instance, at the pass of Thermopylae it is said that Ephialtes,

\(^1\) Lamia. See 9. 2. 9.
\(^2\) Pelorus tried to conduct the Carthaginians through the Strait of Messina.
λέγεται δεῖξας τὴν διὰ τῶν ὄρων ἀπατῶν τοὺς Πέρσας ὑποχειροῦσα αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι τοὺς περὶ Λεωνίδαν καὶ δεξασθαί τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰσώ Πυλῶν. ἔσασι δὲ τὰ παλαιά, τὴν νῦν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύαν ἐπὶ Παρθναίους ίκανον ἤγουμαί τοὺς τεκμήριον ὡς δ' αὖτως τὴν ἐπὶ Γερμανοὺς καὶ Κελτοὺς, ἐν ἔλεοι καὶ δρμοῖς ἄβατοις ἔρημαις τε τοπομαχοῦντων τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὰ ἔγγυα πόρρω ποιοῦντων τοὺς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ τὰς ὀδοὺς ἐπικρυπτομένων καὶ τὰς εὐπορίας τροφῆς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

18. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πλέον, ὡσπερ εἴρηται, περὶ τῶν ἡγεμονικοὺς βίους καὶ τὰς χρείας ἔστων ἔστιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡθικῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ πολιτικῆς τὸ πλέον περὶ τῶν ἡγεμονικοὺς βίους. σημεῖον δὲ τὰς γὰρ τῶν πολιτειῶν διαφορὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν διακρίνομεν, ἄλλην μὲν ἡγεμονίαν τιθέντες τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἦν καὶ βασιλείαν καλοῦμεν, ἄλλην δὲ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν, τρίτην δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν. τοσούτας δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας νομίζουμεν, ὡμο- νύμως καλοῦντες ὡς ἄν ἄν ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἄρχην ἐχοῦσας τῆς εἰδοποίας: ἄλλοις ἀρά νόμος τοῦ βασιλέως πρόσταγμα, ἄλλοις δὲ τὰ τῶν ἀρίστων,
by showing the Persians the pathway across the mountains, put Leonidas and his troops at their mercy, and brought the Persians south of Thermopylae. But leaving antiquity, I believe that the modern campaign of the Romans against the Parthians \(^1\) is a sufficient proof of what I say, and likewise that against the Germans and the Celts, for in the latter case the barbarians carried on a guerilla warfare in swamps, in pathless forests, and in deserts \(^2\); and they made the ignorant Romans believe to be far away what was really near at hand, and kept them in ignorance of the roads and of the facilities for procuring provisions and other necessities.

18. Now just as the greater part of geography, as I have said, has a bearing on the life and the needs of rulers, so also does the greater part of the theory of ethics and the theory of politics have a bearing on the life of rulers. And the proof of this is the fact that we distinguish the differences between the constitutions of states by the sovereignties in those states, in that we call one sovereignty the monarchy or kingship, another the aristocracy, and still another the democracy. And we have a corresponding number of constitutions of states, which we designate by the names of the sovereignties, because it is from these that they derive the fundamental principle of their specific nature; for in one country the will of the king is law, in another the will of those of highest rank, and in another the will of the

or if the above reference was inserted in a revised edition about 18 A.D. (p. xxv), then we might assume that allusion is made to the destruction of the Roman legions under Varus in 9 A.D.—to which Strabo refers in 7. 1. 4.
καὶ τὸ τοῦ δήμου. τύπος δὲ καὶ σχῆμα πολιτείας ὁ νόμος. διὰ τούτο δὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον εἰσπόν τινες τὸ τοῦ κρείσσων συμφέρον. εἴπερ οὖν ἢ πολιτικὴ φιλοσοφία περὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὸ πλεῖον ἐστὶν, ἢστι δὲ καὶ ἡ γεωγραφία περὶ τὰς ἡγεμονικὰς χρέειας, ἢχοι ὃν τι πλεονέκτημα καὶ αὐτὴ παρὰ τούτο. ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν τὸ πλεονέκτημα πρὸς τὰς πράξεις.

19. Ἐχει δὲ τινα καὶ θεωρίαν οὐ φαύλην ἢ πραγματεία, τὴν μὲν τεχνικὴν τε καὶ μαθηματικὴν καὶ φυσικὴν, τὴν δέ ἐν ιστορία καὶ μῦθους κειμένην, οὐδὲν οὐσὶ πρὸς τὰς πράξεις· οἶον εἰ τίς λέγοι τὰ περὶ τὴν 'Οδυσσέας πλάνην καὶ Μενελάου καὶ Πάσονος, εἰς φρόνησιν μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν συλλαμβάνειν δόξειν, ἢν ὁ πρῶτος ζητεῖ, πλὴν εἰ καταμίσχοι καὶ τῶν γενομένων ἀναγκαίων τὰ παραδείγματα χρήσιμα· διαγωγὴν δ' ὅμως πορίζοι ἄν οὐκ ἀνελεύθερον τῷ ἐπιβάλλοντι ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους τοὺς παρασχόντας τὴν μυθοποιίαν. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ζητοῦσιν οἱ πράττοντες διὰ τὸ ἑνδοξον καὶ τὸ ἦδυ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ· μᾶλλον γὰρ σπουδᾶσθαι, ὡς εἰκὸς, περὶ τὰ χρήσιμα. διόπερ καὶ τῷ γεωγράφῳ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνων ἐπιμελητέων. ὡς δ' αὐτῶς ἔχει καὶ περὶ τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ περὶ τῶν μαθημάτων καὶ γὰρ τούτων τὸ χρήσιμον ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ληπτέον καὶ τὸ πιστότερον.

1 The definition ascribed to Thrasymsachus, Plato's Republic, 1. 12.
2 Strabo has in mind his theory (which he often takes occasion to uphold) as to the comparative mythical and historical elements in Homer and other poets.

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people. It is the law that gives the type and the form of the constitution. And for that reason some have defined "justice" as "the interest of the more powerful." If, then, political philosophy deals chiefly with the rulers, and if geography supplies the needs of those rulers, then geography would seem to have some advantage over political science. This advantage, however, has to do with practice.

19. And yet, a work on geography also involves theory of no mean value, the theory of the arts, of mathematics, and of natural science, as well as the theory which lies in the fields of history and myths—though myths have nothing to do with practice; for instance, if a man should tell the story of the wanderings of Odysseus or Menelaus or Jason, it would not be thought that he was making any contribution to the practical wisdom of his hearers—and that is what the man of affairs demands—unless he should insert the useful lessons to be drawn from the hardships those heroes underwent; still, he would be providing no mean entertainment for the hearer who takes an interest in the regions which furnished the scenes of the myths. Men of affairs are fond of just such entertainment, because the localities are famous and the myths are charming; but they care for no great amount of it, since they are more interested in what is useful, and it is quite natural that they should be. For that reason the geographer, also, should direct his attention to the useful rather than to what is famous and charming. The same principle holds good in regard to history and the mathematical sciences; for in these branches, also, that which is useful and more trustworthy should always be given precedence.
20. Μάλιστα δὲ δοκεῖ, καθάπερ εἴρηται, γεωμετρίας τε καὶ ἀστρονομίας δεῖν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὑποθέσει. καὶ δεῖ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς· σχήματα γὰρ καὶ κλίματα καὶ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τούτοις οἰκεῖα οὕς οἰὸν τε λαβεῖν καλῶς ἀνευ τῆς τοιαύτης μεθόδου. ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν τῆς ὀλῆς γῆς ἐν ἄλλοις δεικνύοντι, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑποθέσαι δεῖ καὶ πιστεύσαι τοὺς ἐκεῖ δειχθέσιν, ὑποθέσαι δεὶ καὶ σφαιροειδῆ μὲν τὸν κόσμον, σφαιροειδῆ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς γῆς, ἐτι δὲ τούτων πρὸτερον τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν σωμάτων φορὰν· αὐτὸ μόνον, εἰ τι ἡ ἀισθήσεως ἡ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοίων ἐγγύς ἐστιν, εἰ ἄρα, ἐπισημανάμενοι ἐπὶ κεφαλαίῳ μικρά· οἴον δὲ τῇ γῇ σφαιροειδῆς, ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον φοράς πάροδος ἦν ὑπόμνησις καὶ τοῦ ἑκαστοῦ σώμα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀρτημα νέων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κατὰ πελάγη καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν φαινομένων ἐγγύθεν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀισθήσεως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν δύναται καὶ ἡ κοινὴ ἐννοια. φανερώς γὰρ ἐπιπροσθέτει τοῖς πλέονσιν ἡ κυρτότης τῆς θαλάτης, ὡστε μὴ προσβάλλειν τοῖς πόρρω φέγγεσι τοῖς ἐπὶ ἵσον ἐξηρμένοις 1 τῇ ὀψει. ἐξαρθέντα γοῦν πλέον τῆς ὀψεως ἐφάνη, καὶ τοι πλέον ἀπο-

1 See footnote 2, page 22.
2 Strabo uses the word in its literal sense of "sphere-shaped," and not in its geometrical sense. The spheroidicity of the earth in the modern sense appears not to have been suspected until the seventeenth century. (See 2. 5. 5.)
3 Strabo here means all the heavenly bodies. According to his conception, the earth was stationary and all the heavenly bodies revolved about the earth from east to west, the heavens having the same centre as the earth. The Greek
20. Most of all, it seems to me, we need, as I have said, geometry and astronomy for a subject like geography; and the need of them is real indeed; for without such methods as they offer it is not possible accurately to determine our geometrical figures, "climata"¹, dimensions, and the other cognate things; but just as these sciences prove for us in other treatises all that has to do with the measurement of the earth as a whole and as I must in this treatise take for granted and accept the propositions proved there, so I must take for granted that the universe is sphere-shaped,² and also that the earth's surface is sphere-shaped, and, what is more, I must take for granted the law that is prior to these two principles, namely that the bodies tend toward the centre³; and I need only indicate, in a brief and summary way, whether a proposition comes—if it really does—within the range of sense-perception or of intuitive knowledge. Take, for example, the proposition that the earth is sphere-shaped: whereas the suggestion of this proposition comes to us mediately from the law that bodies tend toward the centre and that each body inclines toward its own centre of gravity, the suggestion comes immediately from the phenomena observed at sea and in the heavens; for our sense-perception and also our intuition can bear testimony in the latter case. For instance, it is obviously the curvature of the sea that prevents sailors from seeing distant lights at an elevation equal to that of the eye; however, if they are at a higher elevation than that of the eye, they become visible, even though they be at a

word ἄρτημα, here used figuratively, means a weight suspended by a cord or otherwise. Strabo means that each body is moored, as it were, from its own respective position of suspension to the centre of the earth.
Strabo

σχόντα αὐτῆς ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ μετεωρίσθεισα εἴδε τὰ κεκρυμμένα πρότερον. ὅπερ δὴλοί καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἔστι καὶ τὸ

ὁξὺ μάλα προϊδών, μεγάλου ὑπὸ κύματος ἀρθείς. (Od. 5. 393)

καὶ τοῖς προσπλέουσι δὲ ἄεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπογυμνοῦται τὰ πρόσγεια μέρη, καὶ τὰ φανέντα ἐν ἀρχαίς ταπεινὰ ἔξαιρεται μᾶλλον. τῶν τε οὐρανίων ἡ περιφορὰ ἐναργής ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως καὶ ἐκ τῶν γνωμονικῶν ἔκ δὲ τούτων εὐθὺς ὑποτείνει καὶ ἡ ἐννοια, ὅτι ἐρριζωμένης ἐπὶ ἀπειροῦ τῆς γῆς οὐκ ἂν ἡ τοιαύτη περιφορὰ συνέβαινε. καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν κλιμάτων δὲ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν οἰκήσεων δεικνυται.

21. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔξ ἔτοιμον δεῖ λαβεῖν ἔννοια, καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὅσα τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ τῷ στρατηλάτῳ χρήσιμα. οὐτὲ γὰρ οὗτω δεῖ ἁγνοεῖν τὰ περὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τὴν θέσιν τῆς γῆς, ὅστις ἐπειδὰν γένηται κατὰ τόπους, καθ’ οὕς ἐξῆλθαν των τῶν φαινομένων τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ταράτσεσθαι καὶ τοιαύτα λέγειν.

ὁ φίλοι, οὐ γὰρ τ’ ἠδεμα δηνὶ ξόφος, οὐδ’ ὑπὶ ἡώς,

οὐδ’ ὑπὶ ἡλίους φαεσίμβροτος εἴσ’ ὑπὸ γαῖαν,

οὐδ’ ὑπὶ ἀννεῖται. (Od. 10. 190)

οὐθένος ἀκριβῶς, ὅστε τὰς πανταχοῦ συνανατολάς τε καὶ συγκαταθύσεις καὶ συμμεσοπραγμ-
greater distance from the eyes; and similarly if the eyes themselves are elevated, they see what was before invisible. This fact is noted by Homer, also, for such is the meaning of the words: "With a quick glance ahead, being upborne on a great wave, [he saw the land very near]." So, also, when sailors are approaching land, the different parts of the shore become revealed progressively, more and more, and what at first appeared to be low-lying land grows gradually higher and higher. Again, the revolution of the heavenly bodies is evident on many grounds, but it is particularly evident from the phenomena of the sun-dial; and from these phenomena our intuitive judgment itself suggests that no such revolution could take place if the earth were rooted to an infinite depth.\(^1\) As regards the "climata"\(^2\), they are treated in our discussion of the Inhabited Districts.

21. But at this point we must assume off-hand a knowledge of some matters, and particularly of all that is useful for the statesman and the general to know. For one should not, on the one hand, be so ignorant of the heavens and the position of the earth as to be alarmed when he comes to countries in which some of the celestial phenomena that are familiar to everybody have changed, and to exclaim: "My friends, lo, now we know not where is the place of darkness, nor of dawning, nor where the sun, that gives light to men, goes beneath the earth, nor where he rises"; nor, on the other hand, need one have such scientifically accurate knowledge as to know what constellations rise and set and pass the

\(^1\) This was the doctrine of Xenophanes and Anaximenes. See footnote 2, page 22.
σείς καὶ ἐξάρματα πόλων καὶ τὰ κατὰ κορυφὴν σημεῖα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὰς μεταπτώσεις τῶν ὄριξ ὁποῖων ἁμα καὶ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν διαφέροντα ἁπαντά, τα μὲν πρὸς τῆν ὄψιν, τὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ φύσει, γνωρίζειν ἁπαντα: ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μηδὲ ὅλως φροντίζειν, πλὴν εἰ θεας φιλοσόφου χάριν, τοῖς δὲ πιστεύειν, καὶ μὴ βλέπῃ τὸ διὰ τὸ καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τοῦ φιλοσόφουτος μόνου, τῷ δὲ πολιτικῷ σχολῆς οὐ τοσαύτης μέτεστιν, ἢ οὐκ ἀεί. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οὖν οὕτως ὑπάρχειν ἀπλοῦν δεῖ τὸν ἐντυποχάνοντα τῇ γραφῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἄργον, ὡστε μηδὲ σφαλραί ἰδεῖν, μηδὲ κύκλους ἐν αὐτῇ, τοὺς μὲν παραλλήλους, τοὺς δὲ ὀρθοὺς πρὸς τούτους, τοὺς δὲ λοξούς· μηδὲ τροπικῶν τε καὶ ἵσημερινοῦ καὶ ξωδικοῦ θέσιν, δι’ οὐ φερόμενος δ’ ἥλιος τρέπεται καὶ διατάσσει διαφοράς κλιμάτων τε καὶ ἀνέμων. ταύτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὄριξ ὁποῖας καὶ τοὺς ἀρκτικοὺς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀγωγήν τὴν εἰς τὰ μαθήματα παραδίδοται κατανοήσας τῆς ἄλλως πως δύναται παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς λεγομένους ἐνταῦθα. ὁ δὲ μηδ’ εὐθεῖαν γραμμὴν ἢ περιφερῆ, μηδὲ κύκλου εἰδώς, μηδὲ σφαιρικὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἢ ἐπίπεδον, μηδ’ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ μηδ’ τοὺς ἔπτα τῆς μεγάλης ἀρκτοῦ ἀστέρας καταμαθών, μηδ’ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων μηδέν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν

1 διατάσσει, Madvig, for διδάσκει.
meridian at the same time everywhere; or as to know the elevations of the poles, the constellations that are in the zenith, and all other such changing phenomena as meet one according as he changes his horizons and arctic circles,¹ whether those changes be merely visual, or actual as well. Nay, he should pay no attention at all to some of these things, unless it be in order to view them as a philosopher. But he should take some other things on faith, even if he does not see a reason for them; for the question of causes belongs to the student of philosophy alone, whereas the statesman does not have adequate leisure for research, or at least not always. However, the reader of this book should not be so simple-minded or indifferent as not to have observed a globe, or the circles drawn upon it, some of which are parallel, others drawn at right angles to the parallels, and still others oblique to them; or, again, so simple as not to have observed the position of tropics, equator, and zodiac—the region through which the sun is borne in his course and by his turning determines the different zones and winds. For if one have learned, even in a superficial way, about these matters, and about the horizons and the arctic circles and all the other matters taught in the elementary courses of mathematics, he will be able to follow what is said in this book. If, however, a man does not know even what a straight line is, or a curve, or a circle, nor the difference between a spherical and a plane surface, and if, in the heavens, he have not learned even the seven stars of the Great Bear, or anything else of that kind, either he will have no use for this book, or else

¹ See 2. 2. 2, and footnote.
δέοιτο τῆς πραγματείας ταύτης ἢ οὐχὶ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις ἐντυχών πρῶτον, ὃν χωρὶς οὐκ ἂν εἶχε γεωγραφίας οἰκείος. οὕτως δὲ καὶ οἱ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τοὺς περίπλους καλομένους πραγματευθέντας ἀτελῆ ἡ ἐπισκεψίων ποιοῦνται, μὴ προστιθέντες ὡσα ἐκ τῶν μαθημάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανιῶν συνάπτειν προσήκε.  

22. Ἀπλῶς δὲ κοινῶν εἶναι τὸ σύγγραμμα τούτο δεῖ καὶ πολιτικῶν καὶ δημοφιλέσ ὁμοίως, ὡσπερ τὴν τῆς ἱστορίας γραφῆν. κακεῖ δὲ πολιτικὸν λέγομεν οὐχὶ τὸν παντάπασιν ἄπαθεντον, ἀλλὰ τὸν μετασχόντα τῆς τε ἐγκυκλίου καὶ συνήθους ἀγωγῆς τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν οὔδὲ γὰρ ἀν οὕτως ψέγειν δύνατο καλῶς οὔτε ἐπαίνειν, οὔδὲ κρίνειν ὡσα μνήμης ἀξία τῶν γεγονότων, ὅτως μηδὲν ἐμέλησεν ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονίσεως καὶ τῶν εἰς ταύτα λόγων.

23. Διόσπερ ἤμεις πεποιηκότες ὑπομνήματα ἱστορικά χρήσιμα, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνομεν, εἰς τὴν ἡθικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ἐγνωρίσαμε προσθέτοντας καὶ τήροντας τὴν σύνταξιν ὁμοιοιδῆς γὰρ καὶ αὐτῆς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνδρας, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς. ἔτι δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὁπερ ἐκεῖ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας καὶ βίους τυγχάνει μνήμης, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ ἀδοξά

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1 The words οὕτως δὲ καὶ ... συνάπτειν προσήκε are transposed to this place from the end of § 22 by Meineke, following the suggestion of Corais; O. Müller approving. Sielenkeas deletes the ἄ before συνάπτειν; Corais, Meineke, following; O. Müller approving.

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1 Strabo refers to his historical work (now lost) as his Historical Sketches and also as his History. The work contained both of these, and comprised forty-seven books, cover-
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not at present—in fact, not until he has studied those topics without which he cannot be familiar with geography. And so those who have written the treatises entitled Harbours and Coasting Voyages leave their investigations incomplete, if they have failed to add all the mathematical and astronomical information which properly belonged in their books.

22. In short, this book of mine should be generally useful—useful alike to the statesman and to the public at large—as was my work on History. In this work, as in that, I mean by “statesman,” not the man who is wholly uneducated, but the man who has taken the round of courses usual in the case of freemen or of students of philosophy. For the man who has given no thought to virtue and to practical wisdom, and to what has been written about them, would not be able even to form a valid opinion either in censure or in praise; nor yet to pass judgment upon the matters of historical fact that are worthy of being recorded in this treatise.

23. And so, after I had written my Historical Sketches, which have been useful, I suppose, for moral and political philosophy, I determined to write the present treatise also; for this work itself is based on the same plan, and is addressed to the same class of readers, and particularly to men of exalted stations in life. Furthermore, just as in my Historical Sketches only the incidents in the lives of distinguished men are recorded, while deeds that are petty and ignoble are omitted, so in this work ing the course of events prior to the opening and subsequent to the close of the History of Polybius. The first part was merely an outline of historical events, while the latter part presented a complete history from 146 B.C. to the time of the Empire.
παραλείπεται, καντανθα δει τα μικρα και τα άφαινη παραπέμπειν, εν δε τοις ευδόξιοι και μεγάλοις και εν οις το πραγματικον και ευμνημόνευτον και ήδυ διατριβειν. καθάπερ τε1 καλ εν τοις κολοσσικοις έργοις ου το καθ' έκαστον άκριβες ξητούμεν, άλλα τοις καθόλου προσέχομεν μάλλον, ει καλώς το ολον σωτος και τούτοις δει ποιεισθαι την κρίσιν. κολοσσουργία γάρ της και αυτής, τα μεγάλα φράζουσα πώς εχει και τα άλα, πλην ει τι κινεων δύναται και των μικρων των φιλειδήμονα και των πραγματικον. δοτι μεν ουν στουδαλον το προκειμενον έργον και φιλοσόφοι πρέπον, ταυτα ειρήσθω.

II

1. Ει δε πολλων προειπόντων ἐπιχειρούμεν και αυτολ λέγειν περι των αυτων, ουτω μεμπτεόν, δω μη καλ των αυτων τρόπον διελεγχόμεν ἐκανοις άπαντα λέγοντες. ύπολαμβάνομεν δ' ἀλλων ἀλλυ τι κατορθωσάντων ἄλλο πολυ μέρος ετι του έργου λειπεσθαι προς οις δω και μικρων προςλαβεων δυνηόμεν, ικανην δει τιθεσθαι πρόφασιν της ἐπιχειρησεως. και γαρ δι πολυ τι τοις νυν η των Ρωμαιων ἐπικράτεια και των Παρθυναων της τοιαυτης ἐμπειριας προσδέδωκε καθάπερ τοις προτέροις μεγα τι η 'Αλεξάνδρου στρατεία,2 ους φησιν 'Ερατοσθένης. ο μεν γαρ της 'Ασίας

1 τε, Meineke, for γε.
2 καθάπερ τοις προτέροις μεγα τι η 'Αλεξάνδρου στρατεία, C. Müller, for καθάπερ τοις μετα την 'Αλεξάνδρου στρατείαν.
also I must leave untouched what is petty and inconspicuous, and devote my attention to what is noble and great, and to what contains the practically useful, or memorable, or entertaining. Now just as in judging of the merits of colossal statues we do not examine each individual part with minute care, but rather consider the general effect and endeavour to see if the statue as a whole is pleasing, so should this book of mine be judged. For it, too, is a colossal work, in that it deals with the facts about large things only, and wholes, except as some petty thing may stir the interest of the studious or the practical man. I have said thus much to show that the present work is a serious one, and one worthy of a philosopher.

II

1. If I, too, undertake to write upon a subject that has been treated by many others before me, I should not be blamed therefor, unless I prove to have discussed the subject in every respect as have my predecessors. Although various predecessors have done excellent work in various fields of geography, yet I assume that a large portion of the work still remains to be done; and if I shall be able to make even small additions to what they have said, that must be regarded as a sufficient excuse for my undertaking. Indeed, the spread of the empires of the Romans and of the Parthians has presented to geographers of to-day a considerable addition to our empirical knowledge of geography, just as did the campaign of Alexander to geographers of earlier times, as Eratosthenes points out. For Alexander
πολλὴν ἀνεκάλυψεν ἡμῖν καὶ τῶν βορείων τῆς Ἑυρώπης ἀπαντα μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ: οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ἐσπέρια τῆς Ἑυρώπης ἀπαντα μέχρι. Ἀλβίος ποταμοῦ τοῦ τῆς Γερμανίαν δίχα διαρροῦντος, τὰ τε πέταν Ἰστρον τὰ μέχρι Τύρα ποταμοῦ: τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα μέχρι Μαιωτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς Κόλχους τελευτῶσις παραλίας Μιθριδάτης ὁ κληθεὶς Ἐυπάτωρ ἐποίησε γνώριμα καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου στρατηγοὶ: οἱ δὲ Παρθιαῖοι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἰρκανίαν καὶ τῆς Βακτριανῆν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων Ῥωμαῖων ἀνιστρόφουσιν ἡμῖν ἐποίησαν, ἢττου γνωριζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν πρότερον ὡςτε ἔχοιμεν ἃν τι λέγειν πλέον τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν. ὥραν δὲ ἔσται τούτο μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν, ἢττου μὲν τοὺς πάλαι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς μετ’ Ἐρατοσθένη καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνου: οὕς εἰκὸς ὡς ἐστι πολυμαθέστεροι τῶν πολλῶν γεγονασι, τοσοῦτος ὄντως μεγαλῶς λέγωσιν. εἰ δὲ ἀναγκασθησάμεθα ποιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀντιλέγειν, ὡς μάλιστα ἐπακολούθοιμεν κατὰ τάλλα, δὲί συγγραφή ἔχεω. οὔ γὰρ πρόκειται πρὸς ἀπαντασ ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐὰν, ὡς μηδὲ ἀκολουθεῖν ἄξιον ἐκεῖνοι δὲ διατίναν, οὕς ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις κατωρθοκότας ἔσμεν. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀπαντασ φίλο-

1 μέχρι, Meineke, for μέχρι.
2 κατὰ τάλλα, Cobet, for κατ’ ἀλλα.

1 Danube. 2 Elbe. 3 Dnieper. 4 Sea of Azov. 5 Southern Caucasus.
opened up for us geographers a great part of Asia and all the northern part of Europe as far as the Ister \(^1\) River; the Romans have made known all the western part of Europe as far as the River Albis \(^2\) (which divides Germany into two parts), and the regions beyond the Ister as far as the Tyras \(^3\) River; and Mithridates, surnamed Eupator, and his generals have made known the regions beyond the Tyras as far as Lake Maeotis \(^4\) and the line of coast that ends at Colchis \(^5\); and, again, the Parthians have increased our knowledge in regard to Hyrcania and Bactriana, and in regard to the Scythians who live north of Hyrcania and Bactriana, all of which countries were but imperfectly known to the earlier geographers. I therefore may have something more to say than my predecessors. This will become particularly apparent in what I shall have to say in criticism of my predecessors, but my criticism has less to do with the earliest geographers than with the successors of Eratosthenes and Eratosthenes himself. For it stands to reason that because Eratosthenes and his successors have had wider knowledge than most geographers, it will be correspondingly more difficult for a later geographer to expose their errors if they say anything amiss. And if I shall, on occasion, be compelled to contradict the very men whom in all other respects I follow most closely, I beg to be pardoned; for it is not my purpose to contradict every individual geographer, but rather to leave the most of them out of consideration—men whose arguments it is unseemly even to follow—and to pass upon the opinion of those men whom we recognize to have been correct in most cases. Indeed, to engage in philosophical
σοφεὶν ἄξιον, πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένη δὲ καὶ Ἰππαρχοὺ καὶ Ποσείδώνιον καὶ Πολύβιον καὶ ἄλλους τοιούτους καλὸν.

2. Πρώτον δὲ ἐπισκέπτεον Ἐρατοσθένη, παρατηθέντας ἁμα καὶ τὴν Ἰππαρχοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιλογίαν. ἔστι δ’ ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης οὐθ’ οὗτος εὐκατατρόχαστος, ὡστε μηδ’ Ἀθήνας αὐτὸν ἱδεῖν φάσκειν, ὁπερ Πολέμου ἐπιχειρεῖ δεικνύων οὐτ’ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον πιστὸς, ἐφ’ ὅσον παρεδεξαντό τινες, καίπερ πλείστους ἐντυχόν, ὡς εἰρήκειν αὐτὸς, ἀγαθοῦς ἀνδράσιν. ἐγένοντο γὰρ, φησίν, ὡς οὐ- δέποτε, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ύφ’ ἐνα περίβολον καὶ μίαν πόλιν οί̂ κατ’ Ἀρίστωνα καὶ Ἀρκε- σίλαον ἀνθήσαντες φιλόσοφοι. οὖχ’ ἴκανον δ’ οἴμαι τούτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ κρίνειν καλῶς, οἷος μᾶλλον πειστέον.6 ο’ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλαον καὶ Ἀρίστωνα τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀνθησάμωντος κορυφαίοις τίθησιν, Ἀπελλῆς τε αὐτὸ πολὺς ἐστὶ καὶ Βίων, ὑπὸ φησιν πρώτον ἀνθήνα περιβαλεῖν φιλόσοφίαν, ἀλλ’ ὅμως πολλάκις εἰπεῖν ἀν τινα ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τούτο.

οἴην ἐκ βακέων ὅ Βίων. (Od. 18. 74)

ἐν αὐτῶς γὰρ ταῖς ἀποφάσεσι ταύταις ἴκανὴ ἀσθένειαν ἐμφανίζει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης. ἦ τοῦ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Κιτιέως γνώριμος γενόμενος Ἀθήνηςι

1 “Ἰππαρχοῦ καὶ Ποσείδώνιον, Spengel, for Ποσείδώνιον καὶ Ἰππαρχοῦ; Meineke following.
2 πρώτον, Spengel, for πρῶτερον; Meineke following.
3 οὖθ’, Meineke, for οὖχ.
4 καὶ, Xylander deletes, after οἱ; Meineke following.
5 πειστέον, the correction of the prima manus, Spengel, A. Vogel, prefer, for πρωστέον.
discussion with everybody is unseemly, but it is honourable to do so with Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Poseidonius, Polybius, and others of their type.

2. First, I must consider Eratosthenes, at the same time setting forth the objections which Hipparchus urges against the statements of Eratosthenes. Now Eratosthenes is not so open to attack as to warrant my saying that he never saw even Athens, as Polemon undertakes to prove; nor, on the other hand, is he so trustworthy as some have been taught to believe that he is—notwithstanding the fact that he had been associated with many eminent men, as he himself tells us. "For," says he, "philosophers gathered together at this particular time, as never before within one wall or one city; I refer to those who flourished in the time of Ariston and Arcesilaus." But I do not think that sufficient; what we need is a clear-cut judgment as to what teachers we should choose to follow. But he places Arcesilaus and Ariston at the head of the scholars who flourished in his day and generation; and Apelles is much in evidence with him, and so is Bion, of whom he says: "Bion was the first to drape philosophy in embroidered finery"; and yet he states that people frequently applied to Bion the words: "Such a [thigh] as Bion [shews] from out his rags." ¹ Indeed, in these very statements Eratosthenes reveals a serious infirmity in his own judgment; and because of this infirmity, although he himself studied in Athens under Zeno of Citium, he makes

¹ The original allusion is to "the old man" Odysseus, Od. 18. 74.
τῶν μὲν ἐκείνων διαδεξαμένων οὐδενὸς μέμνηται, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνω διενεχθέντας καὶ ὁ διαδοχὴ οὐδεμία σώζεται, τούτους ἀνθίσαι φησὶ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνων. δὴ λοι ἢ καὶ ἡ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκδοθείσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραγματεία καὶ μελέται καὶ εἰ τὶ ἄλλα τοιοῦτο τὴν ἀγωγὴν αὐτοῦ· διότι μέσος ἦν τοῦ τε βουλομένου φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ τοῦ μὴ βουλομένου ἐγχειρίζεται ἕαυτόν εἰς τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ταύτην, ἄλλα μόνον μέχρι τοῦ δοκεῖν προϊόντος, ἢ καὶ παράβασιν τινα ταύτην ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐγκυκλίων πεπορισμένου πρὸς δ.ἀγωγὴν ἢ καὶ παιδιάν τρόπων δὲ τινα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐστὶ τοιούτος. ἄλλα ἐκεῖνα εἰάσθω·

3. Ποιητὴν γὰρ ἐφη πάντα στοχάζεσθαι ψυχαγωγίας, οὗ διδασκαλίας. τούναντιον δ' οἱ παλαιοὶ φιλοσοφίαν τινὰ λέγουσι πρῶτην τὴν ποιητικὴν, εἰσάγουσαν εἰς τὸν βίον ἦμας ἐκ νέων καὶ διδασκόντων ἡθή καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις μεθ' ἡθονῆς· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι καὶ μόνον ποιητὴν ἐφασαν εἶναι τὸν σοφὸν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς παιδεῖν αἰ τῶν Ἐλληνῶν πόλεως πρῶτοστα διὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς παιδεύουσιν, οὐ ψυχαγωγίας χάριν δὴπουθεν  

ψιλῆς, ἄλλα σωφρονισμοῦ· ὅπου γε καὶ οἱ μουσικοὶ ψάλλειν καὶ λυρίζειν καὶ αὐλεῖν διδάσκοντες

1 εἰάσθω, Cobet, for εἴασθω.
no mention of any of Zeno's successors, but speaks of those men who dissented from the teachings of Zeno and who failed to establish a school that lived after them as "flourishing" at that particular time. His treatise entitled *On the Good*, also, and his *Studies in Declamation*, and whatever else he wrote of this nature, go to show his tendency, namely, that of the man who is constantly vacillating between his desire to be a philosopher and his reluctance to devote himself entirely to this profession, and who therefore succeeds in advancing only far enough to have the appearance of being a philosopher; or of the man who has provided himself with this as a diversion from his regular work, either for his pastime or even amusement; and in a sense Eratosthenes displays this tendency in his other writings, too. But let this pass; for my present purpose I must correct Eratosthenes' geography as far as possible; and first, on the point which I deferred a while ago.

3. As I was saying, Eratosthenes contends that the aim of every poet is to entertain, not to instruct. The ancients assert, on the contrary, that poetry is a kind of elementary philosophy, which, taking us in our very boyhood, introduces us to the art of life and instructs us, with pleasure to ourselves, in character, emotions, and actions. And our School goes still further and contends that the wise man alone is a poet. That is the reason why in Greece the various states educate the young, at the very beginning of their education, by means of poetry; not for the mere sake of entertainment, of course, but for the sake of moral discipline. Why, even the musicians, when they give instruction in singing, in

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3 Page 23.  
2 See Introduction, page xvi.
μεταποιοῦνται τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτης· παίδευτικοί γὰρ εἴναι φασὶ καὶ ἐπανορθωτικοὶ τῶν ἥθων. 
ταῦτα δ' οὐ μόνον παρὰ τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἀκούειν ἐστὶ λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀριστόζενος οὕτως ἀπο-
φαίνεται. καὶ Ὁμηρὸς δὲ τοὺς ᾠιδοὺς σοφρο-
νιστῶς εἴρηκε, καθάπερ τὸν τῆς Κλυταμνήστρας 
φῦλακα,

ὅ πόλλα ἐπέτελλεν

Ἱππείδης Τροίηνδε κιῶν εἰρυσθαί ἄκοιτιν,

(Ὅδ. 3. 267)

τὸν τε Αὔγισθον οὐ πρῶτον αὐτῆς περιγενέσθαι, 
πρὶν ἡ

τὸν μὲν ᾠιδὸν ἄγων ἐς νήσου ἐρήμην 
κάλλιπετεν;

τὴν δ' ἐθέλων ἐθέλουσαν ἀνήγαγεν ὅπει δόμοινδε.

(Ὅδ. 3. 270)

χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης ειαυτῷ μάχεται 
μικρὸν γὰρ πρὸ τῆς λεχθείσης ἀποφάσεως ἐναρ-
χόμενος τοῦ περὶ τῆς γεωγραφίας λόγου φησίν 
ἀπαντας κατ' ἀρχάς φιλοτήμως ἔχειν εἰς τὸ μέσον 
φέρειν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν θοιοῦτων ἱστορίαν. Ὁμηροῦ 
γοῦν ὑπὲρ τε τῶν Αἰδιότων δόγμα ἐπύθετο κατα-
χωρίσαι εἰς τὴν ποιήσιν καὶ περὶ τῶν κατ' 
Αὔγι-
πτον καὶ Λιβύην, τὰ δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ 
tοὺς σύνεγγυς τόπους καὶ λίαν περιέργως ἕξεχνη-
χέναι, πολυτρήμων μὲν τὴν Θίσβην λέγοντα 
(Π. 2. 502), Ἀλίαρτον δὲ ποιήσαντα (ib. 503), 
ἔσχατοσαν δὲ Ἀνδυδώνα (ib. 508), Ἀἴλαιαν δὲ 
πηνῆς ἐπὶ Κηφισσῶι (ib. 523), καὶ οὐδεμίαν 
προσβήκην κενῶς ἀπορρίπτειν, πότερον ὁμ' 
τὸν ταῦτα ψυχαγωγοῦντι ἕοικεν ἡ διδάσκοντι;

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lyre-playing, or in flute-playing, lay claim to this virtue, for they maintain that these studies tend to discipline and correct the character. You may hear this contention made not merely by the Pythagoreans, but Aristoxenus also declares the same thing. And Homer, too, has spoken of the bards as disciplinarians in morality, as when he says of the guardian of Clytaemnestra: “Whom the son of Atreus as he went to Troy strictly charged to keep watch over his wife”; and he adds that Aegisthus was unable to prevail over Clytaemnestra until “he carried the bard to a lonely isle and left him there—while as for her, he led her to his house, a willing lady with a willing lover.” But, even apart from this, Eratosthenes contradicts himself; for shortly before the pronouncement above-mentioned, and at the very beginning of his treatise on geography, he says that from the earliest times all the poets have been eager to display their knowledge of geography; that Homer, for instance, made a place in his poems for everything that he had learned about the Ethiopians and the inhabitants of Egypt and Libya, and that he has gone into superfluous detail in regard to Greece and the neighbouring countries, speaking of Thisbe as the “haunt of doves,” Haliartus as “grassy,” Anthedon as “on the uttermost borders,” Lilaea as “by the springs of Cephisus”; and he adds that Homer never lets fall an inappropriate epithet. Well then, I ask, is the poet who makes use of these epithets like a person engaged in entertaining, or in
νή Δία, ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν οὕτως εὔρηκε, τὰ δ' ἔξω τῆς αἰσθήσεως καὶ οὕτως καὶ ἄλλοι τερατολογίας μυθικισ ἐπεξηγάσαιν. οὐκοῦν ἔχρην οὕτως εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ποιητὴς πᾶς τὰ μὲν ψυχαγωγίας χάριν μόνον ἐκφέρει, τὰ δὲ διδασκαλίας· ὁ δ' ἐπήρειγεν, ὅτι ψυχαγωγίας μόνον, διδασκαλίας δ' οὖ. καὶ προσπερεγράζεται τε, 1 πυνθανόμενος τι συμβάλλεται πρὸς ἀρετὴν ποιητοῦ πολλῶν ὑπάρξαι τοῖ- πων ἐμπειρῶν ἡ στρατηγίας ἡ γεωργίας ἡ ῥητορικής ἡ οἷα δὴ περιποιεῖν αὐτῷ τίνες ἐβουλήθησαν; τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄπαντα ξητεῖν περιποιεῖν αὐτῷ προεκ- πέπτοντος ἄν τις θείη τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ, ὡς ἄν εἰ τις, φησίν ὁ Ἰππαρχος, Ἀττικῆς εἰρετικῆς καταρτώσις 2 καὶ ἃ μὴ δύναται φέρειν μὴλα καὶ ὅγχις, οὕτως ἐκείνου πᾶν μάθημα καὶ πᾶσαν τέχνην. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ὅρθως ἄν λέγοις, ὁ Ἐρατόσθενες· ἐκεῖνα δ' οὐκ ὅρθως, ἀφαιρούμενος αὐτὸν τὴν τοσαύτην πολυμάθειαν καὶ τὴν ποιητικὴν γραώδη μυθολογίαν ἁποφαίνων, ἦ δέδοται πλάντειν, φησὶν. 3 

C 17 δ' ἄν αὐτῆ φαίνηται ψυχαγωγίας οἰκεῖον. ἄρα γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀκρομένοις τῶν ποιητῶν οὐδὲν συμβάλλεται πρὸς ἀρετὴν· λέγω δὲ τὸ πολλῶν ὑπάρξαι τοῖπων ἐμπειρῶν ἡ στρατηγίας ἡ γεωργίας ἡ ῥητορικῆς, ἀπερ ἡ ἀκρόασις, ὡς εἰκός, περιποιεῖ.

1 προσπερεγράζεται τε, Τουρπ, for προσεπερεγράζεται γε (προσ- επερεγράζεται γε); Meineke (Vind. 239) approving, but not inserting.
2 καταρτώσις, Madvig, for κατηγορολή; A. Vogel approving.
3 φησί, Groskurd, for φησίν; Forbiger following.

1 The “eirecione” was an olive (or laurel) branch adorned with the first-fruits of a given land and carried around to the accompaniment of a song of thanksgiving and prayer.
instructing? "The latter, of course," you reply; "but while these epithets have been used by him for purposes of instruction, everything beyond the range of observation has been filled, not only by Homer but by others also, with mythical marvels." Eratosthenes, then, should have said that "every poet writes partly for purposes of mere entertainment and partly for instruction"; but his words were "mere entertainment and not instruction." And Eratosthenes gives himself quite unnecessary pains when he asks how it contributes to the excellence of the poet for him to be an expert in geography, or in generalship, or in agriculture, or in rhetoric, or in any kind of special knowledge with which some people have wished to "invest" him. Now the desire to "invest" Homer with all knowledge might be regarded as characteristic of a man whose zeal exceeds the proper limit, just as would be the case if a man—to use a comparison of Hipparchus—should hang apples and pears, or anything else that it cannot bear, on an Attic "eiresione"; so absurd would it be to "invest" Homer with all knowledge and with every art. You may be right, Eratosthenes, on that point, but you are wrong when you deny to Homer the possession of vast learning, and go on to declare that poetry is a fable-prating old wife, who has been permitted to "invent" (as you call it) whatever she deems suitable for purposes of entertainment. What, then? Is no contribution made, either, to the excellence of him who hears the poets recited? I again refer to the poet's being an expert in geography, or generalship, or agriculture, or rhetoric, the subjects in which the poet naturally "invests" the hearer with special knowledge.
4. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ταύτα γε πάντα ὀ ποιητής Ὅδυσσει προσήψεν, ὅν τῶν πάντων μᾶλλον ἀρετή πάση κοσμεῖ· οὕτος γὰρ αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω,  

(Οδ. 1. 3) 

οὕτος τε δὲ ἐξώς παντοίους τε δόλους καὶ μῆθεα πυκνά.  

(Il. 3. 202) 

οὕτος δὲ ὁ “πτολύπορθος” ἀεὶ λεγόμενος καὶ τὸ Ἰλιον ἔλαθον 

βουλὴ καὶ μῦθοι καὶ ἡπεροπηδία τέχνη· τούτων γάρ ἐσπομένου καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰδομένου ἄμφω νοστήσαμεν,  

(Il. 10. 246) 

φησίν ὁ Διομήδης. καὶ μὴν ἐπὶ γε τῇ γεωργίᾳ σεμανύνεται· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀμητῷ, ἐν πολύ· δρέπανον μὲν ἑρῶν εὐκαμπτὲς ἐχοίμι, καὶ δὲ σὺ τοῖον ἐχοῖσ.  

(Οδ. 18. 368) 

καὶ ἐν ἄροτῳ, 

τῷ κέ μ’ ἵδους, εἰ ὅλκα διηνεκέα προταμοίμην.  

(Οδ. 18. 375) 

καὶ οὐχ ὁμηρὸς μὲν οὕτω φρονεῖ περὶ τούτων, οὐχὶ δὲ πάντες οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι μάρτυρι χρώναι τῷ ποιητῇ, ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγοντι, περὶ τοῦ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπειρίαν εἰς φρόνησιν συντείνειν μᾶλλον.  

5. Ἡ δὲ ῥητορικὴ φρονησίς ἐστὶ δήπον περὶ λόγους· ἴν ἐπιδείκνυται παρ' ὅλην τήν ποίησιν Ὅδυσσεῖς ἐν τῇ Διαπείρα, ἐν ταῖς Διεται, ἐν τῇ Πρεσβείᾳ, ἐν ἦ φησίν.  

(Il. 2 ; 9 ; 3) 

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4. Assuredly Homer has attributed all knowledge of this kind, at least, to Odysseus, whom he adorns beyond his fellows with every kind of excellence; for his Odysseus "of many men the towns did see and minds did learn," and he is the man who "is skilled in all the ways of wile and cunning device." Odysseus is continually spoken of as "the sacker of cities" and as the capturer of Troy "by means of his counsels and his persuasiveness and his deceitful arts"; and Diomedes says of him: "But while he cometh with me, even out of burning fire might we both return." More than that, Odysseus prides himself on being a farmer. For instance, with regard to reaping he says: "In the deep grass might the match be, and might I have a crooked scythe, and thou another like it"; and with regard to ploughing: "Then shouldst thou see me, whether or no I would cut a clean furrow unbroken before me." And not only does Homer thus possess wisdom about these matters, but all enlightened men cite the poet as a witness whose words are true, to prove that practical experience of this kind contributes in the highest degree to wisdom.

5. Rhetoric is, to be sure, wisdom applied to discourse; and Odysseus displays this gift throughout the entire Iliad, in the Trial, in the Prayers, and in the Embassy, where Homer says: "But when
STRABO

άλλ' ὁτε δὴ ὅπα τε μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος εἴη καὶ ἐπεα νυφάδεσσιν ἑοικότα χειμερίσσιν, οὐκ ἄν ἐπειτ' Ὀδυσσῆ' ἥ' ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος. (Π. 3. 221)

τίς ἂν σὺν ὑπολάβοι τοῦ δυνάμενον ποιητὴν εἰσάγειν ῥητορεύοντας ἑτέρους καὶ στρατηγοῦντας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιδεικνυμένους τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα, αὐτὸν εἶναι τῶν φλυάρων ἕνα καὶ τῶν θαυματοποιῶν, γονητεύειν μόνον καὶ κολακεύειν τὸν ἀκροατήν δυνάμενον, ὕφελεν δὲ μηδέν; προτέραν 1 δ' οὖν ἀρετὴν ποιητοῦ λέγοιμεν ἂν ἡμιυοῦν ἄλλην, ἡ τὴν μυθικὴν τοῦ βίου διὰ λόγων. πῶς ἂν σὺν μιμοῖτο ἀπειρὸς δὴ τοῦ βίου καὶ ἄφρων; οὐ γὰρ οὕτω φαμέν τὴν τῶν ποιητῶν ἀρετὴν ὡσεὶ 2 τεκτόνων ἡ χαλκέων ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν οὐδενὸς ἔχεται καλοῦ καὶ σεμνοῦ, ἡ δὲ ποιητοῦ συνεξενικαὶ τῇ τοῦ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐχ οἷον τε ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι ποιητὴν, μὴ πρότερον γειτθέντα ἄνδρα ἁγαθῶν.

6. Τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν ποιητῆς τελέως ἀφειδοῦντος ἡμῶν ἐστὶ, τί γὰρ οὕτω ῥητορικῶν, ὡς φράσις; τί δ' οὕτω ποιητικῶν; τίς δ' ἁμέλειν Ὀμήρου φράσαι; νὴ Δία, ἀλλ' ἐτέρα φράσις ἡ ποιητική. τῷ γε εἶδει, ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ποιητικῇ ἡ ἀρχικῇ καὶ ἡ κωμικῇ, καὶ ἐν τῇ πεζῇ ἡ ἱστορικῇ καὶ ἡ δικανικῇ ἁρὰ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ γενικός, οὐ εἴδη

1 προτέραν, Meineke, for πότεραν; O. Müller approving.
2 ὡσεὶ, Corais, for ὡς ἡ; Meineke following; O. Müller approving.

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he uttered his great voice from his chest, and words like unto the snowflakes of winter, then could no mortal man contend with Odysseus.” Who, then, can assume that the poet who is capable of introducing other men in the rôle of orators, or of generals, or in other rôles that exhibit the accomplishments of excellence, is himself but one of the buffoons or jugglers, capable only of bewitching and flattering his hearer but not of helping him? Nor can we assume that any excellence of a poet whatever is superior to that which enables him to imitate life through the means of speech. How, then, can a man imitate life if he has no experience of life and is a dolt? Of course we do not speak of the excellence of a poet in the same sense as we speak of that of a carpenter or a blacksmith; for their excellence depends upon no inherent nobility and dignity, whereas the excellence of a poet is inseparably associated with the excellence of the man himself, and it is impossible for one to become a good poet unless he has previously become a good man.

6. So, then, to deny the art of rhetoric to Homer is to disregard my position entirely. For what is so much a part of rhetoric as style? And what is so much a part of poetry? And who has surpassed Homer in style? “Assuredly,” you answer, “but the style of poetry is different from that of rhetoric.” In species, yes; just as in poetry itself the style of tragedy differs from that of comedy, and in prose the style of history differs from that of forensic speech. Well then, would you assert that discourse is not a generic term, either, whose

1 Phrasis. 2 Phræsein.
ὁ ἐμμετρὸς καὶ ὁ πεζὸς; ἡ λόγος μὲν, ῥητορικὸς δὲ λόγος οὐκ ἔστι γενικὸς καὶ φράσις καὶ ἀρετὴ λόγου; ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὁ πεζὸς λόγος, ὃ γε κατεσκευασμένος, μίμημα τοῦ ποιητικοῦ ἔστι. πρῶτα γὰρ ἡ ποιητικὴ κατασκευὴ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ εὐδοκίμησεν· εἶτα ἐκείνην μμούμενον, λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τάλλα δὲ φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικὰ συνέγραψαν οἱ περὶ Κάδμου καὶ Φερεκύδη καὶ Ἐκαταιῶν· εἶτα οἱ ύστεροι, ἀφαροῦντες αἰεὶ τι τῶν τοιούτων, εἰς τὸ νῦν εἶδος κατήγαγον, ὡς ἂν ἄπε ὑψοὺς τινὸς καθίσματι τός καὶ τὴν κωμῳδίαν φαίνει λαβέων τὴν σύστασιν ἀπὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας, καὶ τούτῳ κατ’ αὐτὴν ὑψοὺς καταβιβασθείσαν εἰς τὸ λογοειδὲς νυνὶ καλοῦμενον. καὶ τὸ ἀείδειν δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ φράζειν τιθέμενον παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι ταῦτα τούτο ἐκμαρτυρεῖ, διότι πηγὴ καὶ ἀρχὴ φράσεως κατεσκευασμένης καὶ ῥητορικῆς ὑπήρξεν ἡ ποιητικὴ. αὕτη γὰρ προσεχρῆσατο τῷ μέλει κατὰ τὰς ἐπι- δείξεις· τούτῳ δ’ ἦν λόγος μεμελισμένος ὡς φθήνον, ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ βασφραγίαν τ’ ἔλεγον καὶ τραγῳδίαν καὶ κωμῳδίαν. ὥστ’ ἐπειδὴ τὸ φράζειν πρωτίστατα ἐπὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἑλέγετο φράσεως, αὕτη δὲ μετ’ ὕφθης ὑπήρξε παρ’ ἐκείνοις, τὸ ἀείδειν αὐτοῖς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ φράζειν ἀκολουθεῖ 2 καταχρησιμότητας ἡ ἀντίθετος

1 λόγος μεμελισμένος ὡς φθήν, Α. Miller, ἀκολουθεῖν τὸν λόγον μεμελισμένον.
2 ἀκολουθεῖν τὸν λόγον μεμελισμένον τῷ φράζειν ἀκολουθεῖν τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ φράζειν, Spengel, διὸ καί ἀκολουθεῖ τὸν λόγον μεμελισμένον τῷ φράζειν ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ φράζειν καταχρησιμότητας καὶ αὐτοῖς τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ φράζειν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ φράζειν καταχρησιμότητας καὶ αὐτοῖς τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ φράζειν καταχρησιμότητας.
species are metrical discourse and prose discourse? Or, rather, is discourse, in its broadest sense, generic, while rhetorical discourse is not generic, and style excellence of discourse are not?—But prose and discourse—I mean artistic prose—is, I may say, an imitation of poetic discourse; for poetry, as an art, first came upon the scene and was first to win approval. Then came Cadmus, Pherecydes, Hecataeus, and their followers, with prose writings in which they imitated the poetic art, abandoning the use of metre but in other respects preserving the qualities of poetry. Then subsequent writers took away, each in his turn, something of these qualities, and brought prose down to its present form, as from a sublime height. In the same way one might say that comedy took its structure from tragedy, but that it also has been degraded—from the sublime height of tragedy to its present "prose-like" style, as it is called. And further, the fact that the ancients used the verb "sing" instead of the verb "tell"\(^1\) bears witness to this very thing, namely, that poetry was the source and origin of style, I mean ornate, or rhetorical, style. For when poetry was recited, it employed the assistance of song; this combination formed melodic discourse, or "ode"; and from "ode" they began to use the terms rhapsody, tragedy, and comedy. Therefore, since "tell"\(^1\) was first used in reference to poetic "style"\(^2\) and since among the ancients this poetic style was accompanied by song, the term "sing" was to them equivalent to the term "tell"; and then after they had misused the former of these two terms by applying it to prose

\(^1\) Phraxein.  \(^2\) Phrasis.
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἐπὶ θάτερου ἡ κατα-χρησις διέβη. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πεζὸν λεχθήμαι τὸν ἄνευ τοῦ μέτρου λόγον ἤμφαίνει τὸν ἀπὸ υψος τινὸς καταβάντα καὶ ὄχήματος εἰς τοῦδαφος.

7. 'Αλλ' οúde τὰ σύνεγγυς μόνον, ὀσπέρ Ἐρατοσθένης εἰρήκε, καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς "Ελλησίω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πόρρω πολλὰ λέγει· καὶ δι' ἀκρι-βείας" Ὀμηρος καὶ μᾶλλον γε τῶν υστερον μυθο-λογεῖται, οὐ πάντα τερατευόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστήμην ἀλληγορὸν ἢ διασκεδάζων ἢ δημα-γωγῶν ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν 'Οδυσσεώς πλάνην περὶ ἂς πολλὰ διαμαρτάνει, τοὺς τ' ἐξηγητὰς φλυάρους ἀποφαίνων καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ποιητήν· περὶ ὧν ἄξιον εἰπεῖν διὰ πλειόνων.

8. Καὶ πρῶτον ὅτι τοὺς μῦθους ἀπεδέξαντο οὐχ οἰ ποιηταὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ πόλεις πολὺ πρῶτερον καὶ οἱ νομοθέται τοῦ χρησίμου χάριν, βλέψαντες εἰς τὸ φυσικὸν πάθος τοῦ λογικοῦ ξέφων φιλειδήμων γὰρ ἀνθρωπος 1 προοί-μιον δὲ τούτου τὸ φιλόμυθον ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ἄρχεται τὰ παιδία ἀκροάσθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν λόγου ἐπὶ πλειόν. αὕτιον δ', ὅτι καινολογία τῆς ἐστὶν ὁ μῦθος, οὐ τὰ καθεστηκότα φράξων, ἀλλ' ἐστερα παρὰ ταῦτα· ἢ δὲ τὸ καίνον καὶ διὰ πρῶτον ἐγὼ τῷ· τούτῳ δ' αὐτῷ ἐστι καὶ

1 ἀνθρωπος, Meineke, for ἀνθρωπος; Cobet also independently.

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discourse, the misuse passed over to the latter term also. And, furthermore, the very fact that non-metrical discourse was termed "pedestrian" indicates its descent from a height, or from a chariot, to the ground.

7. Nor, indeed, is the statement of Eratosthenes true that Homer speaks only of places that are near by and in Greece; on the contrary, he speaks also of many places that are distant; and when Homer indulges in myths he is at least more accurate than the later writers, since he does not deal wholly in marvels, but for our instruction he also uses allegory, or revises myths, or curries popular favour, and particularly in his story of the wanderings of Odysseus; and Eratosthenes makes many mistakes when he speaks of these wanderings and declares that not only the commentators on Homer but also Homer himself are dealers in nonsense. But it is worth my while to examine these points more in detail.

8. In the first place, I remark that the poets were not alone in sanctioning myths, for long before the poets the states and the lawgivers had sanctioned them as a useful expedient, since they had an insight into the natural affections of the reasoning animal; for man is eager to learn, and his fondness for tales is a prelude to this quality. It is fondness for tales, then, that induces children to give their attention to narratives and more and more to take part in them. The reason for this is that myth is a new language to them—a language that tells them, not of things as they are, but of a different set of things. And what is new is pleasing, and so is what one did not know before; and it is just this that makes men eager to
τὸ ποιοῦν φιλειδήμονα. ὅταν δὲ προσῇ καὶ τὸ
θαυμαστὸν καὶ τὸ τερατώδες, ἐπιτείνει τὴν
ἡδονήν, ἦπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ μανθάνου φίλτρον. κατ'
ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἀνάγκη τοιοῦτος δελέασι χρῆσθαι,
προἴσισθης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων
μάθησιν ἀγειν, ἦδη τῆς διανοίας ἐφρωμένης καὶ
μηκέτει δεομένης κολάκων. καὶ ἰδιώτης δὲ πᾶς
καὶ ἀπαίδευτος τρόπον τινὰ παῖς ἐστὶ φιλομυθεί
tε ὕσαυτος: ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ ὁ πεπαιδευμένος
μετρίως: οὕτῳ γὰρ οὗτος ἴσχυε τῷ λογισμῷ,
πρόσετι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ παιδὸς ἔθος. ἐπει δ' οὐ
μόνον ἦδυ, ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβερὸν τὸ τερατώδες,
ἀμφοτέρων ἐστὶ τῶν εἰδῶν χρεία πρὸς τε τῶν
παιδῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ: τοῖς τε γὰρ παιῶν
προσφέρομεν τοὺς ἰδεῖς μῦθους εἰς προτροπὴν,
εἰς ἀποτροπὴν δὲ τοὺς φοβεροὺς. ἢ τε γὰρ
Δάμια μῦθος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Γοργώ καὶ ὁ Ἑφαίστης
καὶ ἡ Μορμολύκη. οὐ τε πολλοὶ τῶν τὰς πόλεις
οἰκούντων. εἰς μὲν προτροπὴν ἄγονται τοῖς ἰδέσι
τῶν μύθων, ὅταν ἀκούσι τῶν ποιητῶν ἀνδραγα-
θίματα μυθῶδη δηγουμένων, οἷον Ἡρακλέους
ἀθλοὺς ή Ἡθοςέως, ή τιμᾶς παρὰ θεῶν νεμομένας,
ἡ νῆ Δία ὅρως γραφᾶς ή ξόανα ή πλάσματα
tοιαύτην τινὰ περιπέτειαν ὑποσημαίνοντα μυ-
θῶδη: εἰς ἀποτροπὴν δὲ, ὅταν κολάσεις παρὰ
θεῶν καὶ φόβοις καὶ ἀπειλᾶς ή διὰ λόγων ή διὰ
tύπων ἄστρων 1 τινῶν προσδέχωνται, ἢ καὶ

1 ἄστρων, Kramer, Meineke, for ἄστρων, above which at is written in Δ. See Classical Journal 1814, 113.
learn. But if you add thereto the marvellous and the portentous, you thereby increase the pleasure, and pleasure acts as a charm to incite to learning. At the beginning we must needs make use of such bait for children, but as the child advances in years we must guide him to the knowledge of facts, when once his intelligence has become strong and no longer needs to be coaxed. Now every illiterate and uneducated man is, in a sense, a child, and, like a child, he is fond of stories; and for that matter, so is the half-educated man, for his reasoning faculty has not been fully developed, and, besides, the mental habits of his childhood persist in him. Now since the portentous is not only pleasing, but fear-inspiring as well, we can employ both kinds of myth for children, and for grown-up people too. In the case of children we employ the pleasing myths to spur them on, and the fear-inspiring myths to deter them; for instance, Lamia\(^1\) is a myth, and so are the Gorgon, and Ephialtes,\(^2\) and Mormolyce.\(^3\) Most of those who live in the cities are incited to emulation by the myths that are pleasing, when they hear the poets narrate mythical deeds of heroism, such as the Labours of Heracles or of Theseus, or hear of honours bestowed by gods, or, indeed, when they see paintings or primitive images or works of sculpture which suggest any similar happy issue of fortune in mythology; but they are deterred from evil courses when, either through descriptions or through typical representations of objects unseen, they learn of divine punishments, terrors, and threats—or even

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1 A familiar female goblin, devourer of children, in the ancient nursery-legends.
2 The giant whose eyes were put out by Apollo and Heracles.
3 A female goblin.
πιστεύωσι περιπεσεῖν τινας: οὐ γὰρ ὁχλον γε1 γυναικῶν καὶ παντὸς χυδαίου πλῆθους ἐπαγαγείν λόγῳ δυνατὸν φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ προκαλέσασθαι2 πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ ὄσιότητα καὶ πίστιν, ἄλλα δὲι καὶ3 δεισιδαμονίας: τούτο δ’ οὔκ ἀνευ μυθοποιίας καὶ τερατείας. κεραυνὸς γὰρ καὶ αἰγὶς καὶ τρίανα καὶ λαμπάδες καὶ δράκοντες καὶ θυρσόλογχα, τῶν θεῶν ὄπλα, μύθου καὶ πάσα θεολογία ἀρχαίη· τάυτα δ’ ὑπεδέξαντο οἱ τᾶς πολιτείας καταστησάμενοι μορφολύκας τινὰς πρὸς τοὺς νηπιάδορους. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς μυθοποιίας οὕσης καὶ καταστρεφοῦσης εῖς τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν τοῦ βίου σχῆμα καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἱστορίαν, οἱ μὲν ἄρχαιοι τὴν παιδικὴν ἀγωγὴν ἐφύλαξαν μέχρι τῶν τελείων ἡλικίων, καὶ διὰ ποιητικῆς ἱκανός σωφρονίζεσθαι πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ὑπέλαβον· χρόνοις δ’ ύπτερον ἡ τῆς ἱστορίας γραφὴ καὶ ἡ μῦν φιλοσοφία παρελήλυθεν εἰς μεσον. αὐτὴ μὲν οὖν πρὸς ὅλους, ἢ δὲ ποιητικὴ δημοφιλεστέρα καὶ θέατρα πληροῦν δυναμένη· ἢ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ὑπέρβαλλοντος. καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι δὲ ἱστορικοὶ καὶ φυσικοὶ μυθογράφοι.

9. "Ατε δὴ πρὸς τὸ παιδευτικὸν εἴδος τοὺς μύθους ἀναφέρων ὁ ποιητής ἐφρόντιζε4 πολὺ μέρος τάληθος· "ἐν δ’ ἐτίθει" (I. 18. 541) καὶ ψεύδος, τὸ μὲν ἀποδεχόμενος, τῷ δὲ δημαγωγοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῦ τὰ πλήθη.

1 γε, Meineke, for τε; C. Müller approving.
2 προκαλέσασθαι, is retained against Meineke’s προσκαλ-έσασθαι; A. Miller and C. Müller approving.
3 δὲι, Cobet deletes, before δεισιδαμονίας.
4 ἐφρόντιζε, Cobet, from the margin of A, for ἐφρόντιζε.
GEOGRAPHY, i. 2. 8–9

when they merely believe that men have met with such experiences. For in dealing with a crowd of women, at least, or with any promiscuous mob, a philosopher cannot influence them by reason or exhort them to reverence, piety and faith; nay, there is need of religious fear also, and this cannot be aroused without myths and marvels. For thunderbolt, aegis, trident, torches, snakes, thyrsus-lances,—arms of the gods—are myths, and so is the entire ancient theology. But the founders of states gave their sanction to these things as bugbears wherewith to scare the simple-minded. Now since this is the nature of mythology, and since it has come to have its place in the social and civil scheme of life as well as in the history of actual facts, the ancients clung to their system of education for children and applied it up to the age of maturity; and by means of poetry they believed that they could satisfactorily discipline every period of life. But now, after a long time, the writing of history and the present-day philosophy have come to the front. Philosophy, however, is for the few, whereas poetry is more useful to the people at large and can draw full houses—and this is exceptionally true of the poetry of Homer. And the early historians and physicists were also writers of myths.

9. Now inasmuch as Homer referred his myths to the province of education, he was wont to pay considerable attention to the truth. "And he mingled therein" a false element also, giving his sanction to the truth, but using the false to win the favour of the populace and to out-general the masses. 71
ὡς δ' ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνήρ,
(Od. 6. 232)

οὗτως ἑκεῖνος ταῖς ἀληθείᾳ περιπετείαις προσετίθει μῦθον, ἡδύνων καὶ κοσμῶν τὴν φράσιν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ καὶ τοῦ τὰ ὄντα λέγοντος βλέπων. οὗτω δὴ τὸν τε Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον γεγονότα παραλαβὼν ἐκόσμησε ταῖς μυθοποιίαις, καὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσέας πλάνην ὡσαύτως· ἐκ μηδενὸς δὲ ἀληθοῦς ἀνάπτειν κενὴν τερατολογίαν οὐ χ' Ὀμηρικὸν. προσπίπτει γὰρ, ὡς εἰκός, ὡς πιθανότερον ἀν οὗτος τὶς ψευδότα, εἰ καταμίσοι τι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀληθινῶν· ὅπερ καὶ Πολυβίος φησὶ περὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσέας πλάνης ἐπιχειρῶν· τοιούτο δ' ἔστι καὶ τὸ

ἔσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοιοιν ὀμοία·
(Od. 19. 203)

οὐ γὰρ πάντα, ἀλλὰ πολλά, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἀν ἢν ἐτύμοιοιν ὀμοία. ἔλαβεν οὖν παρὰ τῆς ἱστορίας τὰς ἀρχὰς. καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀιώλον δυναστεῦσαι φησὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Λιπάραν νήσου, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀἰτνη καὶ Δεοῦτην Κύκλωπας καὶ Δαμισεργόνας ἀξένους τινάς· διὸ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀπροσπέλαστα εἶναι τοῖς τότε, καὶ τὴν Χάρυβδιν καὶ τὸ Σκύλλαν ὑπὸ ληστῶν κατέχεσθαι. οὗτω δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ὑπὸ Ὀμηροῦ λεγομένων ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις ἱστοροῦμεν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὺς Κυμμέριους εἶδος οἰκούντας

1 προσετίθει, Corais, for προσετίθει; Cobet independently.
2 On the passage οὗτω δη... ἀληθινῶν, see R. Zimmermann, Hermes 23, 125.
3 Ἀιώλον, Meinecke, for Ἀιώλον.
"And as when some skilful man overlays gold upon silver," just so was Homer wont to add a mythical element to actual occurrences, thus giving flavour and adornment to his style; but he has the same end in view as the historian or the person who narrates facts. So, for instance, he took the Trojan war, an historical fact, and decked it out with his myths; and he did the same in the case of the wanderings of Odysseus; but to hang an empty story of marvels on something wholly untrue is not Homer's way of doing things. For it occurs to us at once, doubtless, that a man will lie more plausibly if he will mix in some actual truth, just as Polybius says, when he is discussing the wanderings of Odysseus. This is what Homer himself means when he says of Odysseus: "So he told many lies in the likeness of truth;" for Homer does not say "all" but "many" lies; since otherwise they would not have been "in the likeness of truth." Accordingly, he took the foundations of his stories from history. For instance, history says that Acolus was once king over the islands about Lipara, and that the Cyclopes and the Laestrygonians, inhospitable peoples, were lords over the region about Aetna and Leontine; and that for this reason the region about the Strait might not be visited by men of that time, and that Charybdis and the Rock of Scylla were infested by brigands. And from history we learn that the rest of the peoples mentioned by Homer lived in other parts of the world. And, too, it was on the basis of Homer's actual knowledge that the Cimmerians lived
τοῦ Κιμμερικοῦ βόσπορον πρὸς βορρᾶν 1 καὶ ξο-φώδη μετηγαγεν οίκείως εἰς σκοτεινών τινα τόπων τῶν καθ' Ἀιδην, χρύσιμον δυστε πρὸς τὴν μυθο-ποιάν τῆς ἐν τῇ πλάνῃ. ὅτι δ' οἴδεν αὐτούς, οἱ χρονογράφοι δηλοῦσιν, ἡ μικρὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῆς τῶν Κιμμερίων ἐφοδιάν ἡ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀναγρά-φοντες.

C 21 10. Ὀσαύτως 2 καὶ τοὺς Κόλχους εἰδὼς καὶ τῶν Ἰάσωνος πλοῦν τῶν εἰς Αλαν καὶ τὰ περὶ Κήρης καὶ Μηδείας μυθενόμενα καὶ ἱστορούμενα περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας καὶ τῆς ἀλλής ὁμοιοτροπίας, συγγενείας τε ἐπλασε τῶν ὦντω διωκασιμένων, τῆς μὲν εν τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ Πόντου, τῆς δ' εν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ ἐξωκεανισμὸν ἀμφοῖν, τάχα καὶ τοῦ Ἰάσωνος μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας πλανηθέντος· δεί-κυναι γάρ τινα 3 καὶ περὶ τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἀδριαν καὶ εν τῷ Ποσειδωνιάτῃ κόλπῳ καὶ ταῖς πρὸ τῆς Τυρρηνίας νήσοις τῆς τῶν Ἀρ-γοναυτῶν πλάνης σημεία. προσέδοσαν δὲ τι καὶ αἱ Κυάνεαι, ἀσπερ Συμπληγάδας καλοῦσι πέτρας τινές, τραχύν ποιοῦσαι τὸν διέκπλουν τὸν διὰ τοῦ Βυζαντικοῦ στόματος· ὡστε παρὰ μὲν τὴν Αλαν ἡ Αλαίη, παρὰ δὲ τὰς Συμπληγάδας αἱ Πλαγκταί,

1 πρόσβορρον, Madvig, for πρὸς Βορρᾶν.
2 ὁσαύτως, the reading of the MSS., is retained by Kramer and Meineke; C. Müller approving.
3 σημεία after τινα, Meineke deletes, following suggestion of Müller-Dübner.
about the Cimmerian Bosporus, a gloomy country in the north, that he transferred them, quite appropriately, to a certain gloomy region in the neighbourhood of Hades—a region that suited the purpose of his mythology in telling of the wanderings of Odysseus. The writers of chronicles make it plain that Homer knew the Cimmerians, in that they fix the date of the invasion of the Cimmerians either a short time before Homer, or else in Homer's own time.

10. And likewise it was on the basis of Homer's actual knowledge of the Colchians, of Jason's expedition to Aea, and of the stories of fact and fiction told about Circe and Medea regarding their use of magic potions and their general similarity of character, that he invented a blood-relationship between the two, although they lived so very far apart, the one in the remote recess of the Pontus, and the other in Italy, and also invented a residence for both of them out by Oceanus, though it may be that Jason wandered as far as Italy; for there are some indications that point to the wanderings of the Argonauts in the region of the Ceraunian Mountains, about the Adriatic Sea, in the Gulf of Poseidonia, and in the islands that lie off Tyrrenhia. And the Cyaneae also, which some call the Symplegades, furnished the poet an additional matter of fact, in that they made the passage through the mouth of the strait at Byzantium very difficult; so that when we compare the Aeaea of Circe with the Aea of Medea, and Homer's Planetae with the Symplegades,

1 The Kimara Mountains in Albania.
2 See 7. 5. 9.
3 Gulf of Salerno.
4 Dark Blue Rocks.
5 Clashing Rocks.
6 Wandering Rocks.
καὶ ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν πλοῖς τοῦ Ἰάσωνος πιθανῶς ἐφάνη·
παρὰ δὲ τὴν Σκύλλαν καὶ τὴν Χάρυβδιν ὁ διὰ τῶν
σκοπέλων πλοῖς. ἀπλῶς δ' οί τότε τὸ πέλαγος
τὸ Ποντικὸν ὥσπερ ἄλλου τινὰ ὥκεανον ὑπε-
λάμβανον, καὶ τοὺς πλέοντας ἐκεῖσε ὁμοίως
ἐκτοπίζειν ἐδόκουν, ὡσπερ τοὺς ἐξὸν Στηλῶν ἐπὶ
πολὺ προϊόντας· καὶ ὅταν μέγιστον τῶν καθ'
ἡμᾶς ἐνομίζετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατ' ἐξοχήν ἰδίως
πόντον προσηγόρευον, ὡς ποιητὴν ὁ Ὀμηρὸν. ἦσος
οὖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετήνεγκε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου
πρὸς τὸν ὥκεανον ὡς εὐπαράδεκτα διὰ τὴν
κατέχουσαν δόξαν. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν Σόλυμων
τὰ ἀκρα τοῦ Ταύρου τὰ περὶ τὴν Δυκίαν ἔως
Πισιδίας κατεχόντων τὰ ὑψηλότατα, καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ
τῆς μεσομβρίας ὑπερβολὰς ἐπιφανεστάτασ παρε-
χόντων τοῖς ἐντός τοῦ Ταύρου, καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς
περὶ τὸν Πόντον, καθ' ὁμοιότητά τινα καὶ τούτοις
ἐξωκεανισθῆναι· φησὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλέοντος ἐν τῇ
σχεδίᾳ,

τὸν δ' ἐξ Αἰδιότων ἀνιδῶν κρείων Ἐνοσίχθων
τηλόθεν ἐκ Σόλυμων ὅρεων ἴδεν. (Od. 5. 282)

τάχα δὲ καὶ τοὺς μονομάτους Κύκλωπας ἐκ
τῆς Σκυθικῆς ἱστορίας μετενήμοχε· τοιούτους γὰρ

1 Draw a north and south line from the poet’s point of observation (near the Black Sea) through the Solymian Mountains and through Egypt to the Ethiopians on Oceanus south of Egypt. Then draw a north and south line from Odysseus’ point of observation (on his raft, west of Greece) to the Ethiopians living on Oceanus due south of the raft. Homer transfers the Solymi and their mountains from his own due-south line of vision to an analogous position on Odysseus’ due-south line of vision. Just as these mountains,
Jason's voyage through the Planctae was clearly plausible also; and so was Odysseus' passage between the Rocks, when we think of Scylla and Charybdis. Again, the men of Homer's day, in general, regarded the Pontic Sea as a kind of second Oceanus, and they thought that those who voyaged thither got beyond the limits of the inhabited world just as much as those who voyaged far beyond the pillars of Heracles; the Pontic Sea was thought to be the largest of the seas in our part of the world, and for that reason they applied to this particular sea the term "The Pontus," just as they spoke of Homer as "The Poet." Perhaps it was for that very reason that Homer transferred to Oceanus things that were true of the Pontus, in the belief that such a change would prove acceptable because of the prevailing notions in regard to the Pontus. And I think that since the Solymi occupied the loftiest peaks of the Taurus Range, I mean the peaks about Lycia as far as Pisidia, and since their country presented to people who lived north of the Taurus Range, and particularly to those who lived about the Pontus, the most conspicuous altitudes on the south—for this reason, on the strength of a certain similarity of position, these people too were transferred to the position out by Oceanus; for in speaking of Odysseus sailing on his raft he says: "Now the lord, the shaker of the earth, on his way from the Ethiopians espied Odysseus from afar, from the mountains of the Solymi." 1 Perhaps Homer also borrowed his idea of the one-eyed Cyclopes from the history of Scythia;

to Homer, arose on the northern border of the Mediterranean, so to Odysseus they arose on the northern border of Oceanus. Strabo again refers to this on page 127.
τινας τούς 'Αριμασπόνας φασίν, οὕς ἐν τοῖς 'Αριμασπείοις ἔπεσιν ἐνδέδωκεν Ἀριστέας ο Προκοπ.νήσιος.

11. Δεὶ δὲ ταῦτα προὐποθέμενον σκοπεῖν, τί λέγουσιν οἱ φήσαντες περὶ Σικελίαν ἢ Ἰταλίαν γενέσθαι τῷ Ὀδυσσεί τὴν πλάνην καθ" Ὁμηρον1 ἔστι γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως τοῦτο δέχασθαι, καὶ βέλτιον καὶ χείρον. βέλτιον μὲν, ἀν οὕτω δέχηται τις, ὅτι πεισθέλει ἐκεῖ τὴν πλάνην τῷ Ὀδυσσεί γενέσθαι, λαβών ἀληθῆ ταύτην τὴν ύπόθεσιν ποιητικῶς διασκεύασε τοῦτο γὰρ οἰκείως ἄν λέγουτο περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ μόνον γε περὶ Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς Ἱβηρίας ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν ἥχυν τῆς ἐκείνου πλάνης καὶ ἄλλων πλείων, χείρον δὲ, εάν τις καὶ τὴν διασκευὴν ὁς ἱστορίαν δέχηται, ἐκείνου ἄκεινδον καὶ Ἄδην καὶ Ἡλίου βόας καὶ παρὰ θεᾶις ξενίας καὶ μεταμορφώσεις καὶ μεγέθη Κυκλώτων καὶ Δαιστρυγόνων καὶ μορφῆς Σκύλλης καὶ διαστήματα πλοῦ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω τοιαύτα τερατογραφοῦντος φανερώς. οὔτε δὲ πρὸς τούτων ἄξιον ἀντιλέγειν, οὔτω φανερῶς καταψευδόμενον τοῦ ποιητοῦ, καθάπερ οὖδ', εἰ φαίη, τούτων τῶν τρόπων γενέσθαι τὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰθάκην κατάπλουν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ τὴν μνηστικοφονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγροῦ συστάσαν μάχην τοῖς Ἰθακησίοις πρὸς αὐτοῦ· οὔτε πρὸς τὸν δεξάμενον οἰκείως προσπλέκεσθαι δίκαιον.

1 ἢ μή γενέσθαι, Meineke deletes, after καθ" Ὁμηρον; Forbiger, Kramer, C. Müller approving.
for it is reported that the Arimaspians are a one-eyed people—a people whom Aristeas of Proconnesus has made known in his Arimaspian Epic.

11. Having made these preliminary remarks, I must ask what people mean when they affirm that Homer places the wanderings of Odysseus in the region of Sicily and Italy? It is possible to accept this view in two senses, one better and the other worse. The better is to assume that Homer was convinced that those regions were the scene of the wanderings of Odysseus, and that, taking this hypothesis as fact, he elaborated the story in poetic fashion. So much may be said with propriety about Homer; at any rate one may find traces of the wanderings of Odysseus, and of several others, not only in the region of Italy, but also as far as the extreme frontiers of Iberia. But the worse is to accept Homer’s elaboration of the story as history also, because the poet is obviously indulging in marvels when he tells of Oceanus, Hades, cattle of Helius, entertainment by goddesses, metamorphoses, huge Cyclopes and huge Laestrygonians, Scylla’s shape, distances traversed on the voyage, and many other things of a similar nature. But, on the one hand, it is not worth while to refute one who so obviously misinterprets the poet—any more than it would be if one should contend that the return of Odysseus to Ithaca, the massacre of the suitors, and the fight which took place out in the country between the Ithacans and Odysseus, all happened precisely as described by the poet; nor, on the other hand, is it right to quarrel with the man who interprets Homer in a proper fashion.
12. ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ἀποφάσεις ἀπῆνηκεν οὐκ εὗ. πρὸς μὲν τὴν δευτεραν, ὅτι πειράται διαβάλλειν φανερῶς ψευδῆ καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου διὰ μακρῶν πρὸς δὲ τὴν προτέραν, ποιητὴν τε ἀπαντα ἀποφήμας φλύαρον, καὶ μήτε τόπων ἐμπερίαν μήτε τεχνῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν συντείνειν νομίσας τῶν τε μύθων τῶν μὲν ἐν τόπωις οὐ πεπλασμένοις πεφημισμένουν, ὅλον ἐν Ἰλίῳ καὶ Ἰδή καὶ Πηλώ, τῶν δὲ ἐν πεπλασμένοις, καθάπερ ἐν οἷς οἱ Γοργόνες ἢ ὁ Γηρύων, ταύτης φησὶ τῆς ἱδέας εἶναι καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ὀδυσσέως πλάνην λεγομένους, τοὺς δὲ μὴ πεπλάσθαι λέγοντας ἀλλ' ὑποκείσθαι εἰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μὴ συμφωνεῖν ἐλέγχεσθαι ψευδομένους· τὰς γονὲς Σειρήνας τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Πελοριάδος καθιδρύειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Σειρηνουσσῶν πλείουσ' ἢ δισχελίους διεχουσῶν σταδίους· εἶναι δ' αὐτὰς σκόπελον τρικόρυφον διεξόγοντα τὸν Κυμαίου καὶ Ποσειδωνίατην κόλπον. ἀλλ᾽ οὐθ' ὁ σκόπελος οὕτως ἐστι, τρικόρυφος, οὐθ' ὅλως κορυφοῦται πρὸς ύψος, ἀλλ' ἀγκῶν τις ἐκκενται μακρὸς καὶ στενὸς ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Συρρετοῦν χωρίων ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Καπρίας πορθμόν, ἐπὶ θάτερα μὲν τῆς ὀρεινῆς τὸ τῶν Σειρήνων ἱερὸν ἔχων, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ πρὸς τῷ Ποσειδωνίατη κόλπῳ νησίδια τρία προκείμενα ἔρημα πετρώδη, ἀ καλοῦσι Σειρήνας· ἐπὶ αὐτῷ

1 Κυμαίου, Meineke, for Κύμαιου ; C. Müller approving.
2 οὐθ' ὁ, Meineke, for οὐδὲ ὁ.
3 Συρρετοῦν, Meineke, for Σύρρετον ; C. Müller approving.
12. Eratosthenes, however, has taken issue with both these answers to my question, and in so doing he is wrong; he is wrong as regards the second answer, in that he attempts to misrepresent things that are obviously fictitious and that do not deserve protracted discussion; and he is wrong as regards the first, because he declares that all poets are dealers in absurdities and thinks their knowledge either of places or of arts does not conduce to virtue. Again, because Homer lays the scenes of his myths not only in non-fictitious places, such as Ilion, Mt. Ida, and Mt. Pelion, but also in fictitious places, such as those in which the Gorgons and Geryon dwell, Eratosthenes says that the places mentioned in the story of the wanderings of Odysseus, also, belong to the category of fiction, and that the persons who contend that they are not fictitious but have a foundation in fact, stand convicted of error by the very fact that they do not agree among themselves; at any rate, that some of them put the Sirens on Cape Pelorias, while others put them more than two thousand stadia distant on the Sirenussae, which is the name given to a three-peaked rock that separates the Gulf of Cumae from the Gulf of Poseidonia. But neither does this rock have three peaks, nor does it run up into a peak at all; instead it is a sort of elbow that juts out, long and narrow, from the territory of Surrentum to the Strait of Capreac, with the sanctuary of the Sirens on one side of the hilly headland, while on the other side, looking towards the Gulf of Poseidonia, lie three uninhabited rocky little islands, called the Sirens, and on the Strait of Capreac itself.

1 Cape Faro, Sicily. 2 Bay of Naples. 3 Gulf of Salerno.
δὲ τῷ πορθμῷ τῷ 'Αθηναίου, ὁπερ ὁμωνυμεῖ καὶ ὁ ἀγκών αὐτὸς.

13. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἔσθ᾽ ἐμὴ συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ τῆν ἱστορίαν τῶν τόπων παραδίδοντες εὐθὺς ἐκβάλεις δεῖ τὴν σύμπασαν ἱστορίαν. Ἀλλ᾽ ἔσθ᾽ ὁτε καὶ πιστοῦσθαι τῷ καθόλου μᾶλλον ἔστιν. οἷον ἡ λέγω, ξητομένου, εἰ κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἡ πλάνη γέγονε, καὶ εἰ αἱ Σειρῆνες ἐνταῦθα ποὺν λέγονται, ὅ μὲν φῆσας ἐν τῇ Πελοπονήσῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Σειρηνοῦσσαις διαφωνεῖ, ἀμφότεροι δὲ πρὸς τὸν περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν λέγοντα οὐ διαφωνοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζω πίστιν παρέχουσιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ φησιν. ἔσθ᾽ ῥητορικῶς οἱ περὶ την ἤμοιαν, μᾶς τῶν Σειρηνῶν, ἐτι πλείων ἐπισχέσεων πίστις, καίτοι τριῶν τινῶς λεχθέντος τούτου τοῦ τόπου. ἅμα ἔτι ἐν τὸν τῷ κόλπῳ, τῷ ὑπὸ Ἐρατοσθένους λειχθέντι Κυμαῖς, δευτερόλοιον εἰς Σειρηνοῦσσαν, καὶ ἡ Νεάπολις ἢδυται, μεθαυτότεροι πιστεύουμεν τῷ περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους γεγονέναι τὰς Σειρήνας. οὗτο γὰρ τὸν ποιητὴν ἀκριβῶς ἐκαστὰν πιθῆσθαι, οὔθ᾽ ὑμεῖς παρ᾽ ἔκεινον ἠητομένει τὸ ἀκριβὲς, οὐ μὴν οὖδ᾽ οὕτως ἔχομεν όσον ὑπολαμβάνειν, καὶ μηδὲν

1 οὖδ᾽, Meineke, for οὖθ᾽.

1 That is, Cape Minerva.
is situated the sanctuary of Athene, from which the elbow takes its name.¹

13. However, even if those who hand down to us our knowledge of the regions under consideration do not agree among themselves, we should not on that account set aside the entire body of that knowledge; indeed there are times when the account as a whole is all the more to be accepted for this reason. For example, suppose the question is raised whether the wanderings took place in the regions of Sicily and Italy, and whether the Siren Rocks are anywhere thereabouts: the man who places the Siren Rocks on Cape Pelorias is in disagreement with the man who places them on the Sirenussae, but neither disagrees with the man who says that the Siren Rocks are placed in the neighbourhood of Sicily and Italy; nay, they even add to the credibility of the third witness, because, though they do not name the self-same spot for the Rocks, yet, at all events, they have not gone beyond the regions of Italy and Sicily for them. Then, if some one adds that a monument of Parthenope, one of the Sirens, is shown in Neapolis, we have still further proof, although a third site has been introduced into the discussion. Furthermore, the fact that Neapolis also lies on this gulf (called by Eratosthenes the gulf of Cumae), which is formed by the Sirenussae, induces us to believe all the more firmly that the Sirens were in the neighbourhood of these places; for we do not demand of the poet that he should have inquired accurately into every detail, nor do we in our School demand scientific accuracy in his statements; yet, even so, we surely are not entitled to assume that Homer composed the story of the
πεπυσμένον περὶ τῆς πλάνης, μήθ᾽ ὅπου μήθ᾽ ὅπως γεγένηται, ῥαψοδεῖν.

14. Ἑρατοσθένης δὲ Ἡσίοδον μὲν εἰκάζει πεπυσμένον περὶ τῆς Ὅδυσσεώς πλάνης, ὡς κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν γεγένηται, πιστεύσαντα τῇ δόξῃ μὴ μόνον τῶν ὕψ, Ὄμηρον λεγομένων μεμνημοσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λατινῆς καὶ Ὀρτυγίας, τοῦ πρὸς Συρακούσαις ὕψιστοι, καὶ Τυρρηνῶν. Ὅμηρον δὲ μήτε εἰδέναι ταῦτα, μήτε βούλεσθαι ἐν γνωρίμοις τόποις ποιεῖν τὴν πλάνην. πότερον οὖν Λατινῆς μὲν καὶ Τυρρηνία γνώριμα, Σκύλλαιον δὲ καὶ Χάρυβδις καὶ Κίρκαιον καὶ Σειρηνοῦσας ὑπὲρ πάνω; ἢ καὶ Ἡσιόδορ καὶ Ἑρατοσθένης, μὴ ἐπρεπεῖ μὴ φλυαρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς κατεχούσαις δόξαις ἀκολουθεῖν, Ὅμηρος δὲ “πῶς, ὅ τι κέν ἐπὶ ἀκαρίμως γλώσσαν ἤη, κελαδεῖν.”

χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν λευχεθέντων περὶ τοῦ τύπου τῆς πρεπούσης Ὅμηρος μυθοποιιάς, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συγγραφέων τῶν ταῦτα θρυλούστων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς τόπους ἐπιχωριαξοῦσης φήμης διδάσκειν δύναται, διότι ταῦτα οὐ ποιητῶν πλάσματα ἐστὶν οὐδὲ συγγραφέων, ἀλλὰ γεγενημένων ἵππη καὶ προσώπων καὶ πράξεων.

15. Καὶ Πολύβιος δ' ὀρθῶς ὑπονοεῖ τα περὶ τῆς πλάνης. τοῦ γὰρ Αἰδόλου, τὸν προσημάναντα τῶν ἐκπλους ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν τόποις ἀμφιδρόμοις οὐσι καὶ δυσέκπλοις διὰ τὰς παλιρ-

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1 κέν, Cobet, for ἐν; and γλώσσαν (which Meineke inserts) for γλάτταν, in keeping with the proverb attributed to Pindar. See Bergk's note on Fr. Adesp. 86 a.
wanderings without any inquiry at all, either as to where or as to how they occurred.

14. But Eratosthenes conjectures that Hesiod learned by inquiry that the scene of the wanderings of Odysseus lay in the region of Sicily and Italy, and, adopting this belief, mentioned not only the places spoken of by Homer, but also Aetna, Ortygia (the little island next to Syracuse), and Tyrrenhia; and yet he contends that Homer knew nothing about these places and had no intention of placing the wanderings in any known regions. Now were Aetna and Tyrrenhia well-known places, but Scyllaeum, Charybdis, Circeaeum, and the Sirenuusae wholly unknown? Or was it the proper thing for Hesiod not to talk nonsense and to follow prevailing opinions, but the proper thing for Homer to "give utterance to every thought that comes to his inopportune tongue"? For apart from what I have said concerning the type of myth which it was proper for Homer to employ, most of the writers who discuss the same topics that Homer discusses, and also most of the various local traditions, can teach us that these matters are not fictions of poets nor yet of prose writers, but are traces of real persons and events.

15. Polybius also entertains correct views in regard to the wanderings of Odysseus, for he says that Aeolus, the man who taught navigators how to steer a course in the regions of the Strait of Messina, whose waters are subject to a constant ebb and flow and are difficult to navigate on account of the
Ταῦτα δὲ εἰσὶν διηγεῖται τῶν γαλεωτῶν θηραν, ἢ συνισταται περὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον· σκοποῖς γὰρ ἐφέστηκε κοινὸς υφορμοῦσιν ἐν δικώποις σκαφίδιοις πολλοῖς, δύο καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν σκαφίδιον, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔλαυνε, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτας ἑστήκει δόρυ ἐχουσὶν σημήναντος δὲ τοῦ σκοποῦ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ γαλεωτοῦ (φέρεταί δὲ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐξαλοῦ τὸ ξύλον) συνάψαντος τε τοῦ σκάφους ὁ μὲν ἐπληξεν ἐκ χειρὸς, εἰτ ἐξέσπασεν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τὸ δόρυ χωρίς τῆς ἐπιδοράτιδος· ἀγκιστρώθης τε γὰρ ἔστι καὶ χαλαρῶς ἐνήμερος τῷ δορατὶ ἐπιτηδεῖς, καλώδιον δὲ ἔχει μακρὸν ἐξημμένον. τοῦτ' ἐπιγαλάξας τὸ τρωθέντι τέως, ἔως ἃν κάμη σφαδάξαν καὶ ὑποφεύγουσιν· τότε δὲ ἔλκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἢ εἰς τὸ σκάφος ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἦδαν μὴ μέγα ἡ τελέως τὸ σῶμα. καὶ ἐκπέσῃ δὲ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν τὸ δόρυ, οὐκ ἀπόλωλεν· ἔστε γὰρ πη- 
κτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὕμνες καὶ ἐλάτης, ἀστε βαστιζομένου

1 δὲ, A. Miller inserts, as it is written in A "prima manu" above σημήναντος.
2 τε, A. Miller, for δὲ.
schools by the coast of Italy, meet with the current from the strait and are prevented from reaching Sicily, they fall a prey to the larger sea-animals, such as dolphins, dog-fish and cetaceans in general; and the "galeotae" (which are called both sword-fish and dog-fish) grow fat from the chase of the tunny-fish. Indeed, the same thing occurs here, and at the rise of the Nile and other rivers, as happens when there is a conflagration or a forest fire, namely, the assembled animals attempt to escape the fire or the flood and become prey of animals more powerful than themselves.

16. After making this statement Polybius goes on to describe the hunting of the "galeotae," which takes place off the Scyllaean Rock: one man on the look-out acts for all the fishermen, who lie in wait in many two-oared skiffs, two men in each skiff, one rowing and the other standing in the bow with his spear poised in hand. And when the man on the look-out signals the appearance of the "galeotes" (the creature swims along with a third of its body out of the water), and when the skiff draws near it, the man in the bow strikes the fish at close range, and then withdraws the spear-shaft, leaving the spear-head in the body of the fish; for the spear-head is barbed and loosely attached to the spear-shaft on purpose, and has a long line fastened to it. They pay out this line to the wounded fish until he becomes tired out by his struggles and his attempts at escape; then they tow him to the shore, or take him aboard the skiff—unless he be of enormous size. If the spear-shaft fall into the water, it is not lost; for it is made of both oak and pine wood, so that
τοῦ δρυίνου βάρει μετέωρον εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ

O 25 ευανάληττον. συμβαίνειν δὲ ποτε καὶ τυτρώσκε-σθαι διὰ τοῦ σκαφιδίου τῶν κωπηλάτην διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ξίφους τῶν γαλεωτῶν καὶ τὸ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ ξίφους συναγρῶθη εἶναι καὶ δηκτηρίαν. ἦκε τε δὴ τῶν τοιούτων εἰκάζοι τίς ἄν, φησὶ, περὶ Σικελίαν γενέσθαι τὴν πλάνην κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρον, ὅτι τῇ Σκύλλῃ προσήψε τὴν τοιαύτην θήραν, ἡ μάλιστ' ἐπιχώριος ἐστὶ τῷ Σκυλλαίῳ καὶ ἐκ τῶν περὶ τῆς Χαρύβδεως λεγομένων ὁμοίων τοῖς τοῦ πορθμοῦ πάθεσι, τὸ δὲ

τρὶς μὲν γὰρ τ' ἀνίησιν, (Od. 12. 105)

ἀντὶ τοῦ δὲς, γραφικὸν εἶναι ἀμάρτημα ἢ ἱστο-ρικον.

17. Καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Μήνιγγι δὲ τοῖς περὶ τῶν Δωτοφάγων εἰρημένοις συμφωνεῖν. εἰ δὲ τινα μὴ συμφωνεῖ, μεταβολὰς αἰτίάσθαι δειν ἢ ἀγνοιαν ἢ καὶ ποιητικὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἢ συνεστήκην εἰς ἱστορίας καὶ διαθέσεως καὶ μύθου. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἱστορίας ἀλήθειαν εἶναι τέλος, ἡς ἐν Νεῶν καταλύγη τὰ ἐκάστοις τόποις συμβεβηκότα λέγοντος τοῦ ποιη-τοῦ, τὴν μὲν πετρήσαν, τὴν δὲ ἐσχατῶσαν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἢ δὲ πολυτρήμων, τὴν δ' ἄγχιαλον, τῆς δὲ διαθέσεως ἐνέργειαν εἶναι τὸ τέλος, ὡς ὅταν μαχομένους εἰσάγην μύθου δὲ ἡδονὴν καὶ ἐκπλη-

1 ξίφους, Sterrett, for ξίφου.
2 δηκτηρίαν, Madvig, for τὴν θήραν; Sterrett following.
although the oaken end sinks because of its weight, the rest stays afloat and is easily recovered. It sometimes happens, says Polybius, that the man who rows the skiff is wounded through the bottom of the boat because of the great size of the sword of the "galeotae" and because the edge of the sword is sharp and biting like the wild boar’s tusk. So, from such facts as these, Polybius concludes, one may conjecture that the wanderings of Odysseus took place in the neighbourhood of Sicily according to Homer, inasmuch as Homer attributed to Scylla that sort of fish-hunting which is most characteristic of Scyllacum; and also from Homer’s statements in regard to Charybdis, which correspond to the behaviour of the waters of the Strait. But the use of the word "thrice" instead of "twice" in the statement "for thrice a day she spouts it forth" is either an error of a copyist or an error of fact.

17. Furthermore, the facts about Meninx,¹ continues Polybius, agree with what Homer says about the Lotus-Eaters. But if there be some discrepancy we must ascribe it to the changes wrought by time, or to ignorance, or to poetic license—which is compounded of history, rhetorical composition, and myth. Now the aim of history is truth, as when in the Catalogue of Ships the poet mentions the topographical peculiarities of each place, saying of one city that it is “rocky,” of another that it is “on the uttermost border,” of another that it is the “haunt of doves,” and of still another that it is “by the sea”; the aim of rhetorical composition is vividness, as when Homer introduces men fighting; the aim of myth is to please and

¹ The Island of Jerba, off the northern coast of Africa.
ξιν. τὸ δὲ πάντα πλάττειν οὐ πιθανόν, οὐδ’ Ὄμηρικόν’ τὴν γὰρ ἐκείνου πολίσηιν φιλοσοφήμα πάντας νομίζειν, οὐχ ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης φησί, κε- λεύον μὴ κρίνειν πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν τὰ ποιήματα, μηδ’ ἱστορίαν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ζητεῖν. πιθανότερον τε τὸ ἐνθεν δ’ ἐννήμαρ φερόμην ὅλοις ἀνέμοισιν

(Od. 9. 82)

ἐν βραχεῖ διαστήματι δέχεσθαι (οἱ γὰρ ὅλοι οὐκ εὐθύδρομοι) ἢ ἐξωκεανίζειν, ὡς ἂν οὐρίων πτεόν- των συνεχῶς. συνθεὶς δὲ τὸ διάστημα τὸ ἐκ Μαλεῶν ἐπὶ Στῆλας στατίων δισμυρίων καὶ δισ- χιλίων πεντακοσίων, εἰ, φησί, τούτο θείμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐννέα ἡμέραις διηνύσθαι ἱσοταχῶς, ἐκάστης ἂν ἡμέρας ὁ πλοῦς συμβαίνοι στατίων δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων. τίς οὖν ἱστορήκεν ἐκ Λυκίας ἢ Ῥό- δου δευτεραιὸν τινὰ ἀφιγμένον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὅντος τοῦ διαστήματος στατίων τετρακισχιλίων; πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας, πῶς τρὶς εἰς Σικελίαν ἑλθὼν οὖδ’ ἀπαξ διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ πέπλευκεν Ἡδυσσεύς, ἀπολογεῖται, διότι καὶ οἱ ἅπερ οὐκ ἐφευγὼν ἄπαντες τὸν πλοῦν τούτον.

18. Τοιαῦτα μὲν εἴρηκεν. ἔστι δὲ τάλλα μὲν C 26 εὐ λεγόμενα: ὅταν δ’ ἀνασκευάζῃ τὸν ἐξωκεαν--σμὸν,1 καὶ πρὸς ἀκριβή μέτρα τῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν πλούν ἀνάγγει καὶ διαστήματα, ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ

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1 ἐξωκεανίσμον, the old reading, is retained for the ἐξωκεανίσμον of Kramer and Meinike; C. Müller approving.
to excite amazement. But to invent a story outright is neither plausible nor like Homer; for everybody agrees that the poetry of Homer is a philosophic production—contrary to the opinion of Eratosthenes, who bids us not to judge the poems with reference to their thought, nor yet to seek for history in them. And Polybius says it is more plausible to interpret the poet’s words, “Thence for nine whole days was I borne by baneful winds,” as applying to a restricted area (for baneful winds do not maintain a straight course), than to place the incident out on Oceanus, as though the phrase had been “fair winds continually blowing.” Now, if we reckon the distance from Cape Malea to the Pillars of Heracles at twenty-two thousand five hundred stadia, and if, says Polybius, we suppose that this distance was traversed at an even speed for those nine days, the distance covered each day would be two thousand five hundred stadia. But where do we find it recorded that anyone ever arrived at Alexandria from Lycia or Rhodes on the second day, though the distance is only four thousand stadia? And to those who ask the further question how it came about, if Odysseus touched Sicily three times, that he never once sailed through the Strait, Polybius replies that it was for the same reason that all later navigators have avoided that passage.

18. Such are the words of Polybius, and what he says is in the main correct. But when he demolishes the argument that places the wanderings of Odysseus on Oceanus, and when he reduces the nine days’ voyage and the distances covered thereon to exact measurements, he reaches the height of
ἀπολείπει τῆς ἀνομολογίας. ἀμα μὲν γὰρ παρα-
τίθησι τὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἑπῆ.

ἐνθὲν δ' ἐννήμαρ φερόμην ὅλοοὶς ἀνέμοισιν,
(Οδ. 9. 82)

ἀμα δ' ἐπικρύπτεται· καὶ γὰρ ταύτα τοῦ ποιητοῦ,
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ποταμοῖο λίπεν ῥόον Ὡκεανοῦ
υῆς,
(Οδ. 12. 1)

καὶ τὸ

νήσῳ ἐν Ὡγυγίᾳ, ὅθεν τ’ ὄμφαλὸς ἐστὶ θαλάσ-
σης.
(Οδ. 1. 50)

καὶ ὅτι ἐνταῦθα οἶκει Ἀτλαντὸς θυγάτηρ· καὶ τὸ

περὶ τῶν Φαιάκων,

οἰκέομεν δ' ἀπάνευθε πολυκλύστῳ ἐν πόντῳ
ἔσχατοι· οὐ δὲ τις ἄμμι βροτῶν ἐπιμέλησται
ἄλλος.
(Οδ. 6. 204)

ταύτα γὰρ πάντα φανερῶς ἐν τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ

πελάγει πλαττόμενα δηλούται.1 ὃ δὲ ταύτ',

ἐπικρυπτόμενος τὰ φανερῶς λεγόμενα ἀναίρει.

τούτῳ μὲν οὖν οὐκ εὖ· τὸ δὲ περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ

Ἰταλίαν γεγονέναι τὴν πλάγην ὄρθως, καὶ ὑπὸ

τῶν τοπικῶν τὰ2 τοῦ ποιητοῦ βεβαιοῦται. ἐτέλ

ἐς ἑπείσε ποιητὴς ἡ συγγραφέως Νεαπολίτας μὲν

λέγειν μνήμα Παρθενόπης τῆς Σειρήνος, τοὺς δὲ

ἐν Κύμῃ καὶ Δικαλαρχείᾳ3 καὶ Οὐσεοῦρῳ Πυρ-

φλεγέσσοντα καὶ Ἀχερουσίαν λίμνην καὶ νεκυ-

μαντείου τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἀόρνῳ καὶ Βάιον καὶ Μεσηνὸν

τῶν 'Οδυσσέως ἐταίρων τινᾶς; οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰ

1 δηλούται, Meineke, für δηλοῦνται.
inconsistency. For at one moment he quotes the words of the poet: "Thence for nine whole days was I borne by baneful winds"; and at another moment he suppresses statements. For Homer says also: "Now after the ship had left the river-stream of Oceanus"; and "In the island of Ogygia, where is the navel of the sea," going on to say that the daughter of Atlas lives there; and again, regarding the Phaeacians, "Far apart we live in the wash of the waves, the farthestmost of men, and no other mortals are conversant with us." Now all these incidents are clearly indicated as being placed in fancy in the Atlantic Ocean; but Polybius by suppressing them destroys what the poet states in express terms. In so doing he is wrong; but he is right in placing the wanderings in the neighbourhood of Sicily and Italy; and the words of the poet are confirmed by the geographical terms of those regions. For what poet or prose writer ever persuaded the Neapolitans to name a monument after Parthenope the Siren, or the people of Cumae, of Dicaearchia,¹ and of Vesuvius, to perpetuate the names of Pyrphlegethon, of the Acherusian Marsh, of the oracle of the dead at Lake Avernus, and of Baius and Misenus, two of the companions of Odysseus? The same question may be asked regarding Homer's stories of the

¹ Puteoli.

² τῶν τοῦκατ τά, C. Müller inserts.
³ Δικαιαρχεία, Meineke, for Δικαιαρχία.
περὶ Σειρηνούσσας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν πορθμῶν καὶ Σκύλλαν καὶ Χάρυβδιν καὶ Αἴδλον ἀπερ οὔτ’ ἀκριβῶς ἑξετάζειν δεῖ οὔτ’ ἀρρίζα καὶ ἀνέστια εἶν, ἀληθείας μηδὲν προσαπτόμενα μηδ’ ὀφελείας ἰστορικῆς.

19. Καὶ αὐτῶς δὲ ὑπονοήσας τοῦτο ὁ Ἐρατο-
σθένης, ὑπολάβοι τις ἂν, φησί, τῶν ποιητῆς
βούλεσθαι μὲν ἐν τοῖς προσεπερίοις τόποις τῇ
πλάνῃ τῷ Ὁδυσσεῖ ποιεῖν, ἀποστήναι δ’ ἀπὸ
tῶν ὑποκειμένων, τὰ μὲν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς πεπυσμένον,
tὰ δὲ οὐδὲ προελάμβανον οὔτως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ δεινό-
tερον καὶ τὸ τερατωδέστερον ἑκαστὰ ἔξαγειν.

tοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸ εὖ, τὸ δ’ οὐ χάριν τοῦτ’ ἐποίει
cακῶς δεξάμενος· οὐ γὰρ φλυαρίας, ἀλλ’ ὀφελείας
χάριν. ὥστε δίκαιος ἐστιν ὑπέχειν λόγον καὶ
περὶ τούτου καὶ διότι φησὶ τὰ πόρρω τερατο-
λογεῖσθαι μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ εὐκατάψευστον. πολλο-
τὸν γὰρ μέρος ἐστὶ τὰ πόρρω τερατολογοῦμενα
τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐγγὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος· οἷα
dὴ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους ἄθλους καὶ Θησέως
καὶ τὰ ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ Σικελίᾳ μυθεύμενα καὶ ταῖς
Ἄλλαις νῆσοις, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Κιθαιρώνα καὶ
Ἑλικώνα καὶ Παρνασσὸν καὶ Πήλιον καὶ τὴν
C 27 Ἄττικήν ὀλην καὶ Πελοπόννησον” οὐδεὶς τε ἐκ
τῶν μύθων ἀφοιναν αἰτιᾶται τῶν μυθοποιῶν. ἤτι
δὲ, ἐπεὶ οὐ πάντα μυθεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ πλείω προσ-
μυθεύουσι, καὶ μᾶλιστα ὁ Ὁμήρος, ὃ ξητῶν τὰ οἱ
96
Sirenussae, the Strait, Scylla, Charybdis, and Aeolus—
stories which we should neither scrutinize rigorously, 
nor set aside as baseless and as without local setting, 
having no claim to truthfulness or to utility as 
history.

19. Eratosthenes himself had a suspicion of this, 
for he says one may suppose that the poet wished 
to place the wanderings of Odysseus in the far 
west, but abandoned his purpose, partly because 
of his lack of accurate information, and partly 
because he had even preferred not to be accurate 
but rather to develop each incident in the direction 
of the more awe-inspiring and the more marvellous. 
Now Eratosthenes interprets rightly what Homer 
actually did, but wrongly his motive in doing it; for 
Homer's object was not to indulge in empty talk, 
but to do useful service. It is therefore right that 
Eratosthenes should submit to examination both on 
this point and on his assertion that far distant places 
are made the scenes of Homer's marvellous stories be-
cause of the fact that it is safer to fabricate about them. 
For his stories of marvels whose scenes are laid in 
distant places are very few in number in comparison 
with those laid in Greece or in countries near Greece; 
as such I may mention the stories about the labours of 
Heracles and Theseus, and the myths whose scenes 
are laid in Crete and Sicily and in the other islands, 
and on Cithaeron, Helicon, Parnassus, Pelion, and 
in various places in Attica or in the Peloponnesus. 
No one accuses the myth-makers of ignorance because 
of the myths they create; furthermore, since the 
poets, and Homer in particular, do not narrate pure 
myths simply but more often use mythical elements 
as additions to fact, the man who investigates what
παλαιολ προσμυθεύουσιν οὐ ξητεί, εἰ τὰ προσμυθεύσματα ὑπήρξεν ἢ ἔστω, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον, οἷς προσμυθεύεται τόποις ἢ προσώποις, περὶ ἐκείνων ξητεῖ τάληθες οἰον τὴν Ὁδυσσέως πλάνην, εἰ γέγονε, καὶ ποῦ.

20. Τὸ δ’ ὄλον οὐκ εὗ τὸ τῆν Ὅμηρον ποιήσων εἰς ἐν συνάγειν τῇ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσβείοις ἀπονέμειν ἐὰς τε ταλλὰ καὶ εἰς αὐτά τὰ νῦν προκειμένα, τὰ τῆς γεωγραφίας. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τόν γε Τριπτόλεμον τὸν Σοφοκλέους ἢ τὸν ἐν ταῖς Βάκχαις ταῖς Εὐρυπίδου πρόλογον ἐπελθόντα καὶ παραβαλόντα τὴν Ὅμηρον περὶ τὰ τοιαύτα ἐπιμέλειαν, ῥάδιον ἢν αἰσθέσθαι τὴν ἐπιπολαίαν τῆς διαφοράς. 2 ὅπου γὰρ χρεία τάξεως ἄν μέμνηται τῶν, φυλάττει τήν τάξιν "Ομήρος ὁ μοιοὸς μὲν τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν, ὁμοῖος δὲ τῶν ἀπωθεῖν.

"Οσσαν ἐπ’ Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ’ Ὅσσῃ
Πῆλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον. (Od. 11. 315)

"Ἡρη δ’ ἄξιασα λίπεν ὅλων Οὐλύμπῳ,
Περίπνι δ’ ἐπιβάσα σα καὶ Ἡμαθῆν ἐρατείνην
σευτ’ ἐφ’ ἅπαν Ὀρχάκων ὄρεα νυφόεντα:
εξ Ἀθόω δ’ ἐπὶ πόλιν. (Il. 14. 225)

καὶ ἐν τῷ Καταλόγῳ τὰς μὲν πόλεις οὐκ ἐφεξῆς

1 καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσβείοις ἀπονέμειν, A. Miller transposes to this place from a position after γεωγραφίας.
2 ῥάδιον ἢ αἰσθέσθαι τὴν ἐπιπολαίαν τῆς διαφοράς, A. Miller, for ῥάδιον εἶναι θέσαι τὴν ἐπιβολήν ἢ τὴν διαφοράν; A. Vogel approving, but suggesting the omission of τῆς.
3 "Ομήρος, A. Miller inserts.
mythical additions the ancients make does not seek to discover whether the additions were once true or are true to-day, but rather seeks to discover the truth in regard to the places to which, or the persons to whom, these mythical elements are added; for instance, in regard to the wanderings of Odysseus, whether they took place and, if so, where.

20. Generally speaking, it is wrong to place the poetry of Homer on the same level with that of other poets, and to decline to rank him above them in any respect, and particularly in the subject that now occupies our attention, namely, geography. For if you did no more than go over the Triptolemus of Sophocles or the prologue to the Bacchae of Euripides, and then compare Homer’s care with respect to geographical matters, it would be easy for you to perceive this difference, which lies on the surface. Indeed, wherever there is need of an orderly sequence in the places he mentions, Homer is careful to preserve that order, not only in regard to places in Greece, but equally in regard to those beyond the limits of Greece: “They strove to pile Ossa on Olympus, and on Ossa Pelion with the trembling forest leaves”; “And Hera, rushing down, left the peak of Olympus, and touched on Pieria and pleasant Emathia, and sped over the snowy hills of the Thracian horsemen; and she went from Athos across the sea.” In the Catalogue of Ships he does not, indeed, mention the cities in their order, for that was not necessary,
Γέγεν μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ἐφεξῆς. ὅμως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπωθεῖν: Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθεῖσι Ἀἰθιοπάς θ᾽ ἵκομην καὶ Σιδώνιους καὶ Ἐρεμβοῦς καὶ Λιβύην. (Od. 4. 83)

ἂπερ καὶ Ἰππαρχὸς ἐπισημαίνεται. οἳ δ', ἐφ' ὄν τάξεως χρεία, ὦ μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπιόντα τὰ ἔθνη φράζον, δ ὃ τὸν Τριπτόλεμον τὴν καταστροφήν γήν, τὰ μὲν πολὺ διεστῶτα συνάπτουσιν ἐγγύς, τὰ δὲ συνεχῶς διασπώσι.

λυπῶν δὲ Λυδῶν τὰς πολυχρόσους γύας Φρυγῶν τε Περσῶν θ᾽ ἥλιοβλήτους πλάκας Βάκτρια τε τείχῃ, τὴν τε δύσχειμον χόνα Μῆδων ἐπελθῶν Ἀραβίαν τ' εὐδαίμονα.

(Eur. Bacch. 13)

tοιαύτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ποιεῖ. κἂν τοῖς κλίμασι δὲ κἂν τοῖς ἀνέμοις διαφαίνει τὸ πολυμαθές τὸ περὶ τὴν γεωγραφίαν Ὁμηρος, ἐν ταῖς τοποθεσίαις λέγων ἂμα καὶ ταῦτα πολλαχοῦ.

αὕτη δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτη εἰν ἀλλ' κεῖται πρὸς ξόφου: αὖ δὲ τ' ἀνευθείᾳ πρὸς ἥδω τ' ἥλιον τε. (Od. 9. 25)

δὲ δὲ τέ οἱ θύραι εἰσίν, αἴ μὲν πρὸς Βορέαν, αἴ δ' αὖ πρὸς Νότον. (Od. 13. 109)

εἶτ' ἐπὶ δεξὶ ἱωσὶ πρὸς ἥδω τ' ἥλιον τε,
εἶτ' ἐπὶ ἀριστερά τοῖς γε ποτὶ ξόφου. (I. 12. 239)

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1 Strabo does not mean to attribute to Homer a knowledge of “climata” in the technical sense as employed by Hipparchus (see footnote 2, page 22), but merely a knowledge of...
but he does mention the peoples in their order. And so in case of the peoples remote from Greece: "I roamed over Cyprus and Phoenicia and Egypt, and reached the Ethiopians and Sidonians and Eremites and Libya"; Hipparchus also noted this fact. But Sophocles and Euripides, even where there is need of orderly sequence—the latter when he describes the visits of Dionysus to the various peoples, and the former when he tells of Triptolemus visiting the earth that is being sown with seed—both poets, I say, bring near together regions that are very widely separated, and separate those that are contiguous: "I have left behind me," says Dionysus, "the gold-bearing glades of Lydia and of Phrygia, and I have visited the sun-stricken plains of Persia, the walled towns of Bactria, the wintry land of the Medes, and Arabia the Blest." And Triptolemus does the same sort of thing. Again, in the case of the "climata" and of the winds, Homer displays the breadth of his geographical knowledge; for in marking the sites of places he often touches upon both these points too: "Now Ithaca lies low, uppermost on the sea-line toward the darkness, but those others face the dawning and the sun"; "Two gates there are, the one set toward the north wind, but the other toward the south"; "Whether they fare to the right, to the dawn and to the sun, or to the left, to darkness." In point of fact, Homer the general principle involved—the inclination of the earth's surface.

2 Strabo would take this passage as referring to Ithaca's geographical position, not its topography. Thus "low" would mean "next to the mainland"; and "uppermost," "farthest up on the earth's surface." And "darkness," according to Strabo, means "north," not "south." See § 28 following; and 10. 2. 12.
καὶ μὴν τὴν ἀγνοιὰν γε τῶν τοιούτων τελειαν ἥγειται σύγχυσιν τῶν ἀπάντων·

ω φίλοι, οὐ γὰρ τ’ ἵδομεν, ὅτη ξόφος, οὐδ’ ὅπη ἦσ’
οὐδ’ ὅπη ἥλιος.

(Οδ. 10. 190)

κανταῦθα δ’ εἰπόντος εὐ τοῦ ποιητοῦ,

Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τῶ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄγητον,

(Π. 9. 5)

οὔκ εὖ δεξάμενος ὁ αὐτὸς συκοφάντει, ὡς καθόλου λέγοντος, ὅτι ὁ Ζέφυρος ἐκ Θράκης πυεῖ, ἐκείνου λέγοντος οὐ καθόλου, ἀλλ’ οταν κατὰ τὴν Θρα-κίαν χαλασσαν συμπέσασι περὶ τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον αὐτοῦ τοῦ Αἰγαίου μέρος οὐσιν. ἐπιστροφὴν γὰρ λαμβάνει πρὸς νότων ἀκρωτηρια-ξουσα ἡ Θράκη, καθ’ ἃ συνάπτει τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, καὶ προπίπτουσα εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, τοὺς Ζεφύρους ἐντεῦθεν πνεοῦντας ἀποφαίνει τοῖς ἐν Θάσῳ καὶ Δήμῳ καὶ 'Ιμβρῷ καὶ Σαμοθράκῃ καὶ τῇ περὶ αὐτῶς θαλάττῃ, καθαύτερ’ καὶ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀκειρωνίδων πετρῶν, ἀφ’ ὄν καὶ Ἀκειρώνων καλοῦνται οἱ Ζέφυροι, καὶ μᾶλιστα οἱ Ἀργεῖοι. οὔκ ἐνώσει δὲ τούτῳ Ἐρατοσθένης, ὑπενόησε δ’ ὸμως. αὐτὸς γοῦν ἐξηγεῖται τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν, ἢν λέγω, τῆς χώρας’ ὡς καθόλου οὐν δέχεται, εἰτ’ ἀπειρίαν αἰτιᾶται τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὡς τοῦ Ζεφύρου μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας πνεοῦτος καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῆς δὲ Θράκης ἐκεῖσε μὴ διατεινούσης. πότερον οὖν τὸν Ζέφυρον ἀγνοεῖ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας πνεοῦτα;
regards ignorance of these matters as tantamount to utter confusion in all particulars: "My friends, lo, we know not where is the place of darkness or of dawning, nor where the sun." In still another passage Homer is accurate when he speaks of "the north wind and the west wind that blow from Thrace"; but Eratosthenes puts a false interpretation upon these words and falsely accuses the poet, as though he were making the universal statement that the west wind blows from Thrace; whereas Homer is not speaking in a universal sense, but refers to the time when these two winds meet in the Gulf of Melas \(^1\) upon the Thracian Sea, which is a part of the Aegean itself. For Thrace, running out into a promontory at the point where Thrace borders on Macedonia, takes a turn towards the south, and, thus projecting into the sea, gives the impression to the people in Thasós, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, and on the sea that lies round about those islands, that the west winds actually blow from Thrace; precisely as, for Attica, they seem to come from the Scironian Rocks; and it is from these that the west winds, and particularly the north-west winds, get their name "Scirones." But Eratosthenes did not perceive this, though he suspected it; at any rate he himself describes the turn of the coast which I have mentioned. In any case, he interprets Homer's verse as a universal statement, and then charges the poet with ignorance, on the ground that, while the west wind blows from the west and from Iberia, Thrace does not extend so far west. Now is Homer really unaware that the west wind blows from the west? But Homer

\(^1\) Gulf of Saros.
ἀλλ’ ὅταν οὔτω φη, φυλάττει τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτὸν τάξιν.

σὺν δ’ Εὔρος τε Νότος τε πέσον Ζέφυρος τε
dυσαίς
καὶ Βορέης. (Od. 5. 295)

ἡ τὴν Θράκην οὐκ οἴδε μὴ προπίπτουσαν πέρα
γιὰ τὸν Παιονίκων καὶ Θεταλικῶν ὁρῶν; ἀλλὰ καὶ
ταὐτὴν τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Θρᾶκας καὶ τὴν ἑφεξῆς
εἶδος καὶ εὖ κατονομαζὼν τὴν τε παραλίαν καὶ
tὴν μεσόγαιαν Μάγνητας μὲν τινας καὶ Μαλλεῖς
καὶ τοὺς ἑφεξῆς 'Ελληνας καταλέγει μέχρι Θεο-
πρωτῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς Παισίου τοὺς ὁμό-
ρους Δόλοπας καὶ Σελλούς περὶ Δωδώνην μέχρις
Ἀχελώου, Θράκων δ’ οὐ μέμνηται περαιτέρω.
εὐπτιφόρως δὲ ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἑγγυτάτην καὶ γνω-
ριμωτάτην ἕαυτον θάλατταν, ὡς καὶ ὅταν φη.

κινήθη δ’ ἀγορῇ ὡς κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης
πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο. (Π. 2. 144)

21. Εἰςὶ δὲ τινες, οἱ φασίν εἶναι δύο τοὺς
κυριωτάτους ἀνέμους, Βορέαν καὶ Νότον, τοὺς
δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ μικρὰν ἑγκλωσιν διαφέρειν τὸν
μὲν ἀπὸ θεριῶν ἀνατολῶν Εὔρον, χειμερινῶν
δὲ Ἀπηλώτην. δύσεων δὲ θεριῶν μὲν Ζέφυρον,
χειμερινῶν δὲ Ἀργεστὴν. τοῦ δὲ δύο εἶναι τοὺς
ἀνέμους ποιοῦνται μάρτυρις Ἐρασύλληκην τε καὶ
τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτὸν τῷ τὸν μὲν Ἀργεστὴν τῷ Νότῳ
προσνέμειν.

ἀργεστᾶο Νότοιο, (Π. 11. 306)

1 πέρα, Cobet, for πέραν.
2 κατὰ τοὺς Θρᾶκας καὶ τὴν ἑφεξῆς, A. Miller, for ἑφεξῆς κατὰ
toὺς Θρᾶκας.
3 εὖ, T. G. Tucker, for οὖ.
keeps it in its own proper place when he says: "The east wind and the south wind clashed, and the stormy west and the north." Or is he unaware that Thrace does not extend westward beyond the mountains of Paeonia and Thessaly? But he knows and correctly names the Thracian country as well as the country contiguous to it, both the sea-coast and the interior; and while he lists Magnesians, Malians, and the Hellenes next after them as far as the Thesprotians, and likewise the Dolopians and Sellans about Dodona, next neighbours to the Paeonians, as far as Achelois, yet he mentions no Thracians further west. And besides, Homer has a special fondness for the sea that lies nearest his home and is best-known to him, as is shown when he says: "And the assembly swayed like high waves of the Icarian deep."

21. There are some writers who say that there are only two principal winds, Boreas and Notus; and that the rest of the winds differ from these only by a slight variation of direction—Eurus blowing from the direction of summer sunrise,\(^1\) Apeliotes from the direction of winter sunrise,\(^2\) Zephyrus from the direction of summer sunset,\(^3\) Argestes from the direction of winter sunset.\(^4\) And to prove that there are only two winds they adduce the testimony of Thrasyalces\(^5\) and of Homer himself, on the ground that Homer assigns Argestes to Notus in the phrase "of Argestes Notus," and Zephyrus to

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\(^1\) North-east. \(^2\) South-east. \(^3\) North-west. \(^4\) South-west. \(^5\) See 17. 1. 5.
τὸν δὲ Ζέφυρον τῷ Βορέᾳ.

Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τῷ τε Θρήκηθαι ἄρτουν.  

(Il. 9. 5)

φησὶ δὲ Ποσειδώνιος, μηδένα οὖτως παραδεδω- 
kέναι τοὺς ἀνέμους τῶν γνωρίμων περὶ ταῦτα, οἴον Ἀριστοτέλην, Τιμοσθένην, Βίωνα τὸν ἀστρολόγον.  

ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ θερινῶν ἀνατολῶν Καικίαν, τὸι δὲ τούτω κατὰ διάμετρον ἐναντίον Λίβα, ἀπὸ δύσεως ὡς χειμερινῆς πάλιν δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ χειμερινῆς ἀνατολής Ἑδροῦ, τὸν δὲ ἐναντίον Ἀρ- 

γέστην τοὺς δὲ μέσους Ἀπηλιώτην καὶ Ζέφυρον.  

τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν δυσαθῆ μὲν Ζέφυρον λέγειν τὸν ὕφε 

ἡμῶν καλούμενον Ἀργέστην, λύγα δὲ πνέουσα 

Ζέφυρον τὸν ὕφε ἡμῶν Ζέφυρον, ἀργέστην δὲ 

Νότου τὸν Δευκόντον οὕτος γὰρ ὄλγα τὰ νέφη 

ποιεῖ, τοῦ λοιποῦ Νότου ὀλεροῦ "ποὺ ὄντος:

ὡς ὁπὸτε Ζέφυρος νέφεα στυφελλῇ 

ἀργεστάδῳ Νότου, βαθεία λαίλαπτι τύπτων.  

(Il. 11. 305)

τὸν γὰρ δυσαθῆ Ζέφυρον νῦν λέγει, δὲ εἰσέλθε δια- 

σκιδώναι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δευκόντον συναγώμενα ἄσθενη ὡς τα, ἐπιθέτως τοῦ Νότου νῦν ἀργέστου 

λεγομένου. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πρῶτον 

τῶν γεωγραφικῶν εἰρημένα τοιαύτην τινὰ τὴν 

ἐπανάρθωσιν ἔχει.  

22. Ἐπιμένων δὲ τοῖς περὶ Ὀμήρου ψευδῶς 

ὑποληφθεῖσι καὶ ταυτά φησιν, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ τοῦ 

Νείλου στόματα οἶδε πλεῖον ὄντα οὔδ᾽ αὐτὸ 

τούνομα, Ἡσίοδος δὲ οἶδε μέμνηται γάρ. τὸ μὲν 

"ολεροῦ, Kramer suggests, for Ἑδροῦ, but does not 

insert. Meineke inserts; C. Müller, A. Vogel approving. 

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Boreas in the verse: "Boreas and Zephyrus that blow from Thrace." But Poseidonius says that none of the recognised authorities on these matters, such as Aristotle, Timosthenes, and Bion the astrologer, have taught any such doctrine about the winds; rather do they maintain that Caecias is the name of the wind that blows from the direction of summer sunrise, while Lips is the name of the wind that blows diametrically opposite to Caecias from the direction of winter sunset; and again, that Eurus is the name of the wind that blows from the direction of winter sunrise, while Argestes is its opposite; and that the winds that lie between these are Apeliotes and Zephyrus. They say further that when Homer speaks of "the boisterous Zephyrus" he means what we call Argestes; that Homer's "clear-blowing Zephyrus" is what we call Zephyrus, and that Homer's "Argestes Notus" is our Leuconotus; for Leuconotus causes very few clouds, while Notus proper is somewhat cloudy: "Even as when Zephyrus driveth the clouds of Argestes Notus, smiting with deep storm." Homer here means "the boisterous Zephyrus," which usually scatters the thin clouds assembled by Leuconotus; for in this passage "Argestes" is applied to "Notus" as an epithet. Such, then, are the corrections that must be made to the remarks of Eratosthenes at the beginning of the first chapter of his Geography.

22. But, persisting in his false assumptions, Eratosthenes says that Homer does not even know that there are several mouths of the Nile, nor yet does he know the real name of the river, though Hesiod knows, for he mentions it. Now, as to the
οὖν ὅνομα εἰκὸς μῆπω λέγεσθαι κατ’ αὐτόν τὰ δὲ στῶματα εἰ μὲν ἦν ἁφανὶ καὶ ὑλίγους γνώριμα, ὅτι πλεῖω καὶ οὖξ ἐν, δοῖ τις ἄν μὴ πεπύσθαι αὐτῶν εἰ δεὶ τῶν κατ’ Ἀιγυπτοῦ τὸ γνωριμώτατον καὶ παραδοξότατον καὶ μᾶλιστα πάντων μυήμης ἅξιον καὶ ἱστορίας ὁ ποτάμος καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστων, ὅσι δ’ αὐτῶς αἱ ἄναβασεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ στῶματα, τίς ἄν ἦ τοὺς ἀγγέλλοντας αὕτῳ ποταμὸν Ἀἴγυπτον καὶ χώραν καὶ Θῆβας, Ἀἴγυπτιας καὶ Φάρον ὑπολάβου μὴ γνωρίζειν ταῦτα, ἢ γνωρίζοντας μὴ λέγειν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ γνώριμον; ἐτι δ’ ἀπιθανότερον, εἰ τὴν μὲν Ἀἰθιοπίαν ἔλεγε καὶ Σιδῶνίους καὶ Ἑρεμβῶν καὶ τὴν ἐξωθάλασσαν καὶ τὸ διφθα δεδασθαί τοὺς Αἰθιοπας, τὰ δ’ ἐγγὺς καὶ γνώριμα μὴ ἴδει.1 εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐμνήσθη τούτων, οὐ τούτο σημεῖον τοῦ ἄγνοιαν (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος ἐμνήσθη οὐδὲ πολλῶν ἄλλων) ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰ λίαν γνώριμα ὄντα φαίη τις ἄν δόξαι μὴ 2 ἀξία μνήμης εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς εἰδότας.

23. Οὐκ εὖ δὲ οὐδὲ τούτῳ προφέρουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ περὶ τῆς νῆσου τῆς Φαρίας, ὅτι φησὶ πελαγίαν, ὡς κατ’ ἄγνοιαν λέγοντι. τοῦναντίον γὰρ κἂν μαρτυρίῳ χρήσατο τις τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἄγνοιας εἰσθαί μὴ δὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν εἰρημένων

1 ἴδει, Jones inserts.
2 τὰ λίαν γνώριμα ὄντα φαίη τις ἄν δόξαι μὴ, Meineke, for τοῦ λίαν ἢ γνώριμα ὄντα φαίη δόξειν.
name, it is likely that in Homer's time it was not yet in use; but as to the mouths, if the fact that there were several, and not one only, was unnoticed or known to only a few, one might grant that Homer had not heard of it. But if the river was then, as it still is, the best-known and most marvellous thing in Egypt and decidedly the most worthy of mention and of historical record—and the same applies to its inundations and its mouths—who could ever assume either that those who brought to Homer the story of the River "Aegyptus" and the country "Aegyptus," and Egyptian Thebes, and Pharos, did not know about these mouths, or that if they knew, did not tell about them—except for the reason that they were already well known? But it is more incredible still that he mentioned Ethiopia, Sidonians, Erembians, the sea beyond, and the fact that the Ethiopians are "sundered in twain," and yet did not know about what was near at hand and well known. The fact that he did not mention them is no sign that he did not know about them—he does not mention his own native country, either, nor many other things—but rather would one say that Homer thought the best-known facts were not worth mentioning to those who already knew them.

23. Equally unjust is the reproach they cast upon Homer in the matter of the island of Pharos, because he says that it is "in the open sea"—as though he said this in ignorance. On the contrary, one might use that statement as bearing witness to the fact that not one of the things which we have just been talking about regarding Egypt was un-

1 The Atlantic Ocean.
άρτίως περὶ τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίου. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἂν οὕτως ἄλαξὺν δὴ πᾶς ὁ πλάνη σῶν αὐτοῦ διηγούμενος τοῦτων δὲ ἦν καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος, ὁς ἀναβεβηκὼς μέχρις Αἰθιόπων ἐπέπυστο τὰς ἀναβάσεις τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τὴν χών, ὅσην ἐπιφέρει τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῶν στομάτων πόρον, ὃσον ἦδη προσκόποσας τῇ ἑπείρῳ προστεθεικεν, ὡςτε εἰκότως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρόδοτον καὶ τὴν ὄλην Ἀἰγυπτίου τοῦ ποταμοῦ δώρων λέγεσθαι καὶ εἰ μὴ 1 τὴν ὄλην, τὴν γε ὑπὸ τῶν Δέλτα, τὴν κάτω χώραν προσαγορευμένην. ἑστόρησε δὲ καὶ τὴν Φάρου πελαγίαν οὕσαν τὸ παλαιόν προσεψεύσατο δὴ καὶ τὸ πελαγίαν εἶναι, καίπερ μηκέτι πελαγίαν οὕσαν, ὁ δὲ ταῦτα διασκενάξων ὁ ποιητής ἦν· ὅστ' ἐκ τοῦτων εἰκάζειν, ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἀναβάσεις ἤδει καὶ τὰ στόματα τοῦ Νείλου.

24. Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ ἀμαρτία καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀγνοεῖν τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὸν μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἀἰγυπτίου πελάγους καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου καὶ περὶ τοῦ ψευδῶς λέγεσθαι

Αἰθιόπας, τοῦ διχθά δεδαλαται ἐσχατος ἀνδρῶν

(Od. 1. 23)

καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ ἐκεῖνον λέγοντος καλῶς, ἐπιτιμῶσων οἱ ὄστερον οὐκ εὖ. τοσοῦτον γὰρ δεῖ τούτ' ἄληθές εἶναι, τὸ ἀγνοεῖν "Ομηρον τὸν ἰσθμὸν τοῦτον, ὡςτε ἐκεῖνον μὲν φημι μὴ εἶδενα μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι ἀντικρυς, τοὺς δὲ γραμματικοὺς μηδὲ

1 τε, Corais deletes, after μή; Meineke following; C. Müller, A. Miller, approving.
known to the poet. You might convince yourself of it in the following way: Everybody who tells the story of his own travels is a braggart; to this class belonged Menelaus, who had ascended the Nile as far as Ethiopia, and had heard about the inundations of the Nile and the quantity of alluvial soil which the river deposits upon the country, and about the large extent of territory off its mouths which the river had already added to the continent by silting —so that Herodotus\(^1\) was quite right in saying that the whole of Egypt is “a gift of the River Nile”; and even if this is not true of the whole of Egypt, it certainly is true of the part embraced by the Delta, which is called Lower Egypt; and Menelaus was told that the island of Pharos had been “in the open sea” in ancient times; so he falsely added that it was still “in the open sea,” although it was no longer “in the open sea.” However, it was the poet who elaborated this story, and therefore from it we may conjecture that Homer knew about the inundations of the Nile and about its mouths as well.

24. The same mistake is made by those who say that Homer is not acquainted with the isthmus that lies between the Egyptian Sea and the Arabian Gulf, and that he is in error when he speaks of “the Ethiopians that are sundered in twain, the farthest of men.” Men of later times are wrong when they censure Homer for saying that, for it is correct. Indeed, the reproach that Homer is ignorant of this isthmus is so far from being true, that I affirm not only that he knows about it, but that he describes it in express terms, and that the grammarians beginning with

\(^1\) Herod. 2. 5.
λέγοντος ἐκείνου αἰσθάνεσθαι ἀπὸ Ἀριστάρχου ἀρξαμένου καὶ Κράτητος τῶν κορυφαίων ἐν τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ταύτῃ. εἰπόντος γὰρ τοῦ ποιητοῦ.

Αἰθίοπας, τόλ ἄκαθα δεδαλαταί ἐσχατοί ἀνδρῶν,

(Οδ. 1. 23)

περὶ τοῦ ἑπιφερομένου ἔπους διαφέρονται, ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος γράφων,

οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ἱππείρονος, οἱ δὲ ἀνίοντος,

(Οδ. 1. 24)

ὁ δὲ Κράτης,

ἡμὲν δυσομένου Ἱππείρονος, ἥδι ἀνίοντος,

(Οδ. 1. 24)

Ο 31 οὐδὲν διαφέρον πρὸς τὴν ἐκατέρω ὑπόθεσιν οὗτος ἢ ἐκείνως γράφειν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ, ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς μαθηματικῶς λέγεσθαι δοκοῦσι, τὴν διακεκαμένην ζώνην κατέχεσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ· παρ’ ἑκατέρων δὲ ταύτης εἶναι τὴν εὐκρατοῦν, τὴν τε καθ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερον μέρος. ὅσπερ οὖν οἱ παρ’ ἡμῖν Αἰθίοπας οὗτοι λέγονται οἱ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν κεκλιμένοι παρ’ ὅλην τὴν ὁκουμένην ἐσχατοῖς τῶν ἄλλων παροικοῦντες τῶν ὁκεανῶν, οὕτως οἴεται δεῖν καὶ πέραν τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ νοείσθαι τινας Αἰθίοπας ἐσχάτους τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἔτερᾳ εὐκράτῳ, παροικοῦντας τὸν αὐτὸν τούτον ὁκεανὸν. δυτίκως δὲ εἶναι καὶ διχθὰ δεδάσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ. προσκεῖσθαι δὲ τὸ

ἡμὲν δυσομένου Ἱππείρονος, ἥδι ἀνίοντος,

(Οδ. 1. 24)

ὅτε τοῦ Ζωδιακοῦ κατὰ κορυφήν ὁντος ἀεὶ τῷ ἐν

1 ἀρξαμένος, Η. Kallenberg inserts, after Ἀριστάρχον. It is inserted in the margin of q "secunda manu" after Κράτητος.
Aristarchus and Crates, the leading lights in the science of criticism, even though Homer speaks of it, do not perceive that he does. The poet says: "the Ethiopians that are sundered in twain, the farthermost of men." About the next verse there is a difference of opinion, Aristarchus writing: "abiding some where Hyperion sets, and some where he rises"; but Crates: "abiding both where Hyperion sets and where he rises." Yet so far as the question at issue is concerned, it makes no difference whether you write the verse one way or the other. For Crates, following the mere form of mathematical demonstration, says that the torrid zone is "occupied" by Oceanus and that on both sides of this zone are the temperate zones, the one being on our side, while the other is on the other side of it. Now, just as these Ethiopians on our side of Oceanus, who face the south throughout the whole length of the inhabited world, are called the most remote of the one group of peoples, since they dwell on the shores of Oceanus, so too, Crates thinks, we must conceive that on the other side of Oceanus also there are certain Ethiopians, the most remote of the other group of peoples in the temperate zone, since they dwell on the shores of this same Oceanus; and that they are in two groups and are "sundered in twain" by Oceanus. Homer adds the words, "abiding both where Hyperion sets and where he rises," because, inasmuch as the celestial zodiac always lies in the zenith above its corresponding

1 For the purposes of demonstration Crates identified the limits of Oceanus with those of the torrid zone, an assumption which was not strictly true.
γῆ Ζωδιακῆ, τούτου δ' οὐκ ἐκβαίνοντος ἔξω τῆς Αἰθιόπων ἁμφοῦ τῇ λοξώσει, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν πάροδον τοῦ ἡλίου πάσαν ἐν τῷ πλάτει τούτῳ νοεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ τὰς δύσεις συμβαίνειν ἐνταῦθα ἄλλας ἄλλους καὶ κατ’ ἄλλα ἡ ἄλλα σημεῖα. εἴρηκε μὲν οὕτως, ἀστρονομικῷ-τερον νομίσας· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀπλοῦστερον εἰπεῖν αὐτὸ σώζοντα τὸ οὕτω διηρήσθαι δίχα τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, ὥς εἴρηται· ὅτι ἐφ' ἡλίου ἀνιόντος μέχρι δύσεως ἐφ' ἕκάτερα παρῆκουσι· τῷ ὁκεανῷ Αἰθιόπες. τί οὖν διαφέρει πρὸς τὸν νοῦν τούτου ἡ οὕτως εἰπεῖν, ὡσπερ αὐτὸς γράφει, ἦ ὡς Ἀρίσταρχος,

οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ἡπείρους, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος;

(Od. 1. 24)

καὶ γὰρ τούτ' ἠστὶ καὶ πρὸς δύσιν καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ οἶκεῖν. ὁ δ' Ἀρίσταρχος ταύτην μὲν ἐκβάλλει τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, δίχα δὲ μεμερισμένους οἴεται λέγεσθαι τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς Αἰθίοπας, τοὺς τοῖς Ἐλλησί πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐσχάτους. τούτους δὲ μὴ μεμερίσθαι δίχα, ὡστε εἶναι δύο Αἰθιοπίας, τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν, τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν· ἄλλα μίαν μόνην, τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν κειμένην τοῖς Ἐλλησί, ἱδρυμένην δὲ κατ' Ἀγγυπτον. τούτο δὲ ἀγνοοῦντα τὸν ποιητὴν, ὡσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡσα εἴρηκεν Ἀπολλό-

1 παρῆκουσι, the reading of AChi MSS., Madvig apparently prefers το παροικοῦσι.
terrestrial zodiac and inasmuch as the latter does not by reason of its obliquity\(^1\) extend outside the territory of the two Ethiopias, we must conceive that the entire revolution of the sun takes place within the width of this celestial zone, and that his risings and his settings take place herein, appearing differently to different peoples, and now in this sign and now in that. Such, then, is the explanation of Crates, who conceives of the matter rather as an astronomer; but he might have put it more simply—still saving his point that this was the sense in which the Ethiopians are "sundered in twain," as Homer has stated—namely, by declaring that the Ethiopians stretch along both shores of Oceanus from the rising to the setting of the sun. What difference, I say, does it make with respect to this thought whether we read the verse as Crates writes it, or as Aristarchus does—"abiding some where Hyperion sets and some where he rises"? For this, too, means that Ethiopians live on both sides of Oceanus, both towards the west and towards the east. But Aristarchus rejects this hypothesis of Crates, and thinks that the people referred to as divided "in twain" are the Ethiopians in our part of the world, namely, those that to the Greeks are most remote on the south; but he thinks these are not so divided "in twain" that there are two Ethiopias, the one lying towards the east and the other towards the west, but that there is just one, the one that lies south of the Greeks and is situated along Egypt; and he thinks that the poet, ignorant of this fact, just as he was ignorant of those other matters which

\(^1\) Compare "the obliquity of the ecliptic"—which is now about 23\(^\circ\).
δώρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Νεών καταλόγου δευτέρῳ, καταψευσάσθαι τῶν τόπων τὰ μὴ ὄντα.

25. Πρὸς μὲν οὖν Κράτητα μακροῦ λόγου δεί, καὶ ἵσως οὖν ὄντος πρὸς τὰ νῦν. Ἀριστάρχου δὲ τούτῳ μὲν ἐπαίνοψαμεν, 1 διότι τὴν Κρατήτειον ἀφεῖς ὑπόθεσιν, δεχομένην πολλὰς ἐνστάσεις, περὶ τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς Ἀθιοπίας ὑπονοεῖ γεγονέναι τὸν λόγον τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα ἐπισκοπᾶμεν. καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὃτι καὶ αὐτὸς μικρολογεῖται μάτην περὶ τῆς γραφῆς, καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὄποτέρως 2 γράφηται, δύναται ἐφαρμότετες τοῖς νοῆμασι αὐτοῦ. τὸ γὰρ διαφέρει λέγειν ἢ οὕτως, "δύο εἰσὶ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς Ἀθιοπεῖς, οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, οἱ δὲ πρὸς δύσεις," ἢ οὕτως, "καὶ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς δύσεις"; ἐπειδὴ ὃτι ψευδοῦσ προϊσταται δόγματος. φέρε γὰρ τὸν ποιητὴν ἀγνοεῖν μὲν τὸν ἵσθμόν, τῆς δὲ κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον Ἀθιοπίας μεμνήσθαι, ὅταν φη.

Ἀθιοπεῖς, τοῦ δικτὰ δεδαλαταί. (Od. 1. 23)

πῶς οὖν; οὐ δικτὰ δεδαλαται οὕτως, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγνοοῦν οὕτως εἴρηκεν ὁ ποιητὴς; πότερ οὖν ἡ Ἀἴγυπτος, οὐδὲ οἱ Ἀἴγυπτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Δέλτα ἄρξάμενοι μέχρι πρὸς Συήνην ὑπὸ τοῦ Νείλου δίχα διήρηται,

οἱ μὲν δυσομένους Ἰπερίωνος, οἱ δ᾽ ἀνιόντος; (Od. 1. 24)

τῷ δ᾽ ἄλλο ἡ Ἀἴγυπτος ἐστὶ πλῆθυν ἡ 3 ποταμία, 4 ἢν ἐπικλύζει τὸ ύδωρ; αὕτη δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἐκάτερα τοῦ

1 ἐπαίνοψαμεν, Cobet, for ἐπαίνωμεν.
2 ὄποτέρως, Corais, for ὃς ἐξέρχεσθε; C. Müller approving.
3 πλῆθυν ἡ, Corais, for πλῆθυν ἡ; Groskurd, Forbiger following.
Apollodorus has mentioned in the second book of his work entitled "On the Catalogue of Ships," told what was not true about the regions in question.

25. To reply to Crates would require a long discourse, which would perhaps be irrelevant to my present purpose. As for Aristarchus, I approve of him in this, that he rejects the hypothesis of Crates, which is open to many objections, and inclines to the view that the words of Homer have reference to our Ethiopia. But let us examine Aristarchus on the other points; and, in the first place, take the fact that he too indulges in a petty and fruitless discussion of the text. For if the verse be written in either of the two ways, it can fit his thought on the subject. For what difference does it make whether we say: "On our side of Oceanus there are two groups of Ethiopians, some in the east and some in the west," or, "both in the east and in the west"? In the second place, take the fact that Aristarchus champions a false doctrine. Well, let us suppose that the poet is ignorant of the existence of the isthmus, but is referring to the Ethiopia on the confines of Egypt when he speaks of "Ethiopians that are sundered in twain." What then? Are they not thus "sundered in twain"? And did the poet make that statement in ignorance? Is not Egypt also, are not the Egyptians also, from the Delta up to Syene, "sundered in twain" by the Nile, "some where Hyperion sets and some where he rises"? What is Egypt but a river valley, which the water floods? And this valley

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4 νῆσσα, after ποταμά, Kramer wishes to delete; Meineke deletes; Forbiger following; C. Müller approving.
ποταμοῦ κεῖται πρὸς ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσων. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡ Ἀιθιοπία ἐπὶ εὐθείας ἐστὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ παραπλησίως ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φύσιν τῶν τόπων. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη στενή τε ἐστὶ καὶ μακρὰ καὶ ἐπίκλυστος. τὰ δ' ἔξω τῆς ἐπικλύστου ἦρμα τε καὶ ἄνυδρα καὶ σπανίως οἰκεῖοι δυνάμενα, τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἔως, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δύσιν κεκλιμένα. πῶς οὖν οὕχι καὶ δίχα διήρηται; ἢ τοῖς μὲν τὴν 'Ἀσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰβύθης διαφοράν ἄξιόλογον τούθ' ὄριον ἐφάνη ὁ Νεῖλος, μῆκος μὲν ἀνατεῖνων ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν πλειώνῳ ἢ μυρίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ, ὡστε καὶ νῆσους ἀπολαμβάνειν μυριάνδρους, διὰ μεγίστην ἡ Μερόη, τὸ βασίλειον καὶ μητρόπολις τῶν Ἀιθιόπων· αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ἀιθιοπίαν οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἦν διαφορῶν δίχα; καὶ μὴν οὐ γε ἐπιτιμῶντες τοῖς τὰς ἡπείρους τῷ ποταμῷ διαφορὸς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τοῦτο μέγιστον προφέρουσι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὴν Αἰγύπτον καὶ τὴν Ἀιθιοπίαν διασπώσει καὶ ποιοῦσι τὸ μέν τι μέρος ἐκατέρας αὐτῶν Λιβυκόν, τὸ δ' Ἀσιατικόν ἢ εἰ μὴ βούλονται τοῦτο ἢ οὐ διαφοροῦσι τὰς ἡπείρους, ἢ οὐ τῷ ποταμῷ.

26. Ἡ χώρας δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως διαφορῶν τὴν Ἀιθιοπίαν. πάντες γὰρ οἱ παραπλησίως διαφορῶν τῷ ὀκεανῷ τῇ Ἀἰβύθῃ, οἳ τε ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Στηλῶν, μέχρι τοσοῦ προελθόντες
lies on both sides of the river, toward the east and toward the west. But Ethiopia lies directly beyond Egypt and it is analogous to Egypt in its relation both to the Nile and the other physical characteristics of the regions in question. For it, too, is narrow, long, and subject to inundations; and its parts that lie beyond the territory subject to inundations are desert, without water, and habitable only in spots, both on the east and on the west. Of course, then, Ethiopia also is "sundered in twain." Or, again, did the Nile seem important enough for those who were drawing a boundary-line between Asia and Libya to serve as that boundary-line (since in length it stretches toward the south for more than ten thousand stadia, and is of such width that it contains islands with many thousands of inhabitants, the largest of which is Meroë, the residence of the King and the metropolis of the Ethiopians) and yet was not important enough to "sunder" Ethiopia itself "in twain"? And furthermore, the critics of the men who make the River Nile the boundary-line between the continents bring this against them as their most serious charge, that they dismember Egypt and Ethiopia, and that they reckon one part of each country to Libya and one part to Asia; or that, if they do not wish such dismemberment, then either they do not divide the continents at all, or else do not make the river the boundary-line.

26. But Ethiopia may be divided in still another way, quite apart from this. For all those who have made coasting-voyages on the ocean along the shores of Libya, whether they started from the Red Sea or from the Pillars of Heracles, always turned back, after they had advanced a certain distance, because
eiτα ἀνέστρεψαν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀποριῶν καλυμμαν, ὡστε καὶ πιστῶν κατέλησσαν τοὺς πολλοῖς, ὡς τὸ μεταξὺ διείργητο ἱσθμὸ καὶ μην σύρρους ἡ πᾶσα Ἀτλαντικὴ θάλασσα, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν. Ἀπαντεῖς δὲ οὖν τὰ τελευταῖα χωρία, ἐφ’ ἂν πλέωντες ἦλθον, Αἰθιοπικὰ προσήγορευσαν καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οὔτως. τί οὖν ἂλογον, εἶ καὶ Ἡμηρος ὑπὸ τοιαῦτης ἀκοῆς ἀχθεὶς δίχα διήρει, τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν λέγων, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς δύσων, τῶν μεταξὺ οὐ γινωσκομένων, εἰτε εἰς τὸν ἴππον; ἄλλα μὴν καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἱστορίαν εὑρικένεσθαι παλαιῶν Ἰβηροῖς, ἢ οὐκ ἂλογον ἑντυχεῖν καὶ Ἡμηρον. λέγεσθαι γὰρ φησὶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ταρτσσίων Αἰθιοπικας τὴν Διβύνην ἐπελθόντας μέχρι Δύρεως τοὺς μὲν αὐτοὺς μεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τῆς παραλίας κατασχεῖν πολλήν τεκμαίρεται δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ Ἡμηρον εἰπεῖν οὔτως.

Αἰθιοπικας, τοῖς διεθά δεδαίαται ἑσχατοι ἀνδρῶν. (Od. 1. 23)

27. Ταῦτά τε δὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἄρισταρχων λέγοι ἄν τις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ, καὶ ἄλλα τούτων ἐπιεικέστερα, ἀφ’ οὗ τὴν πολλὴν ἄγνοιαι ἀφαιρήσεται τοῦ ποιητοῦ. φημὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἐλλήνων δόξαν, ἄσπερ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν μέρη τὰ γνώριμα ἐν ὁνόματι Σκύθας ἐκάλουν ἢ Νομάδας, ὡς Ἡμηρος, ὑστερον δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς εσπέραν γινωσκομένων Κελτοὶ καὶ

1 Δύρεως, C. Müller, for δύσεως.
2 τε, Corais, for δέ; Meinocke following; C. Müller approving.
they were hindered by many perplexing circumstances, and consequently they left in the minds of most people the conviction that the intervening space was blocked by an isthmus; and yet the whole Atlantic Ocean is one unbroken body of water, and this is particularly true of the Southern Atlantic. All those voyagers have spoken of the last districts to which they came in their voyagings as Ethiopian territory and have so reported them. Wherein, then, lies the absurdity, if Homer, too, was misled by a report of this character and divided the Ethiopians into two groups, placing the one group in the east and the other in the west, since it was not known whether the intervening people really existed or not? Furthermore, Ephorus mentions still another ancient tradition, and it is not unreasonable to believe that Homer also had heard it. Ephorus says the Tartessians report that Ethiopians overran Libya as far as Dyris,¹ and that some of them stayed in Dyris, while others occupied a great part of the sea-board; and he conjectures it was from this circumstance that Homer spoke as he did: “Ethiopians that are sundered in twain, the farthest of men.”

27. These arguments one might urge in reply to Aristarchus and his followers, and also others still more convincing, and thus set the poet free from the charge of gross ignorance. I maintain, for example, that in accordance with the opinion of the ancient Greeks—just as they embraced the inhabitants of the known countries of the north under the single designation “Scythians” (or “Nomads,” to use Homer’s term) and just as later, when the inhabitants of the west also were discovered, they were called

¹ The barbarian name for the Atlas mountains. See 17. 3. 2.
'Ἰβηρες ἡ μικτῶς Κελτίβηρες καὶ Κελτοσκύθαι προσηγορεύοντο, ὡς ἐν ὄνομα τῶν καθ' ἐκαστὰ ἕθνων ταττομένων διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν, οὕτω τὰ μεσημβρινὰ πάντα Αἰθιόπταν καλείσθαι τὰ πρὸς ὦκεανῷ. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ὅ τε γὰρ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεί τῷ λυομένῳ φησὶν οὕτω:

φοινικόπεδον τ' ἐρυθρὰς ἱερὸν χεδών θαλάσσης,
χαλκομάραυγόν τε παρ' Ῥικεανῷ
λίμνην παντοτρόφον Αἰθιόπων,
τοῦ ὀ παντόπτων Ἡλίος αἰεὶ
χρῶτ' ἀδάνατον κάματόν τ' ἵππων
θερμαῖς ὕδατος
μαλακοῦ προχοαίσ ἀναπαύει.

(fr. 192, Nauck)

παρ' ὀλον γὰρ τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κλίμα τοῦ Ῥικεανοῦ
tαὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἡλίου ἰσχυστὸς τὴν χρείαν καὶ
tὴν σχέσιν, παρ' ὀλον καὶ τοὺς Αἰθιόπας τάττων
φαίνεται. ὅ τ' Ἑὔριπίδης ἐν ἱ τῷ Φαέθοντι τὴν
Κλυμένην δοθήναι φησι

Μέροπι τῆς ἁνακτί γῆς,
ἤν ἐκ τεθριπτῶν ἀρμάτων πρώτην χθόνα
"Ηλίος ἁνίσχων χρυσέα βάλλει φλογὶ
καλοῦσι δ' αὐτῆς γείτονες μελάμβροτοι
"Εσῳ φαεννᾶς 'Ηλίου θ' ἱπποστάσεις. (fr. 771)


νῦν μὲν δὴ κοινὰς ποιεῖται τὰς ἱπποστάσεις τῇ τε
'Ἡλίῳ καὶ τῷ 'Ηλίῳ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔξης πλησίον αὐτάς
φησιν ἐξαι τῇ οἰκήσει τοῦ Μέροπος· καὶ ὅλῃ γε

C 34 τῇ δραματουργίᾳ τούτῳ παραπέπλεκται, οὐ δὴ
ποὺ τῆς κατ' Ἀλυκττεν ἠδίον ἴν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς

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“Celts” and “Iberians,” or by the compound words “Celtiberians” and “Celtiscythians,” the several peoples being classed under one name through ignorance of the facts—I maintain, I say, that just so, in accordance with the opinion of the ancient Greeks, all the countries in the south which lie on Oceanus were called “Ethiopia.” And there is the following testimony to this statement. Aeschylus, in his *Prometheus Unbound*, speaks thus: “The sacred flood of the Red Sea with its bed of scarlet sands, and the mere on the shore of Oceanus that dazzles with its gleam of brass and furnishes all nourishment to Ethiopians, where the Sun, who sees all things, gives rest to his tired steeds and refreshes his immortal body in warm outpourings of soft water.” For since Oceanus renders this service and maintains this relation to the sun along the whole southern belt, Aeschylus obviously places the Ethiopians also along this whole belt. And Euripides, in his *Phaëthon*, says that Clymene was given “to Merops, the king of this country which is the first country that the Sun, as he rises in his chariot and four, strikes with his golden flame. And the swarthy men who dwell upon the confines of that country call it the bright stables of Dawn and Sun.” In this passage Euripides assigns the stables jointly to Dawn and Sun, but in what immediately follows he says that these stables are near to the dwelling of Merops, and indeed this is woven into the whole structure of the play, not, I am sure, because it is a peculiarity of the Ethiopia which lies next to Egypt, but rather

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1 Χαλκομάριαννον, G. Herrmann, for Χαλκοκέραννον.
2 ἐν, Meineke, for ἐνι.
παρ’ ὅλον τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κλίμα διηκούσης παραλίας.

28. Μηνύει δὲ καὶ Ἑφορὸς τὴν παλαιὰν περὶ τῆς Ἁιθιοπίας δόξαν, ὡς φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἑλρώτης λόγῳ, τῶν περὶ τὸν ὑπαρχόν καὶ τὴν γῆν τῶν εἰς τέταρτα μέρη διηρημένων, τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἀπηλώτην Ἰνδοὺς ἔχειν, πρὸς νῆτον δὲ Ἁιθιοπίας, πρὸς δύσιν δὲ Κέλτος, πρὸς δὲ βορράν ἀνέμον Σκύθας. προστίθησι δ’, ὧτι μεῖζων ἡ Ἁιθιοπία καὶ ἡ Σκυθία. δοκεῖ γὰρ, φησί, τὸ τῶν Ἁιθιώπων ἔθνους παρατείνειν ὡς ἀνατολῶν χειμερινῶν μέχρι δυσμᾶν, ἡ Σκυθία δ’ ἀντίκειται τοῦτῳ, ὧτι δ’ ὁ ποιητὴς ὀμόλογος τούτου, καὶ ἐκ τῶν δὴ δῆλον, ὧτι ἡ μὲν Ἰθάκη κεῖται

"πρὸς ξύφου" (ὀπερ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀρκτον) "αἱ δὲ τ’ ἀνευθὺ πρὸς ἡ ὡ τ’ ἥλιον τε," (Od. 9. 26)

ὁλον τὸ νότιον πλευρὸν οὕτω λέγων καὶ ἐπὶ, ὅταν φῇ.

εὖτ’ ἐπὶ δεξί’ ἱσσι πρὸς ἡ ὡ τ’ ἥλιον τε,
εὖτ’ ἐπ’ ἀριστερὰ τοῦ γε ποτὶ ξύφον ἑρόευτα.
(Π. 12. 239)

καὶ πάλιν.

ὁ φίλοι, οὐ γὰρ τ’ ἰδμεν, ὅπῃ ξύφος, οὐδ’ ὅπῃ ἡ ὡς,
οὐδ’ ὅπῃ ἥλιος φαεσίμβροτος εἰς ὑπὸ γαῖαν,
οὐδ’ ὅπῃ ἀνεύται. (Od. 10. 190)

περὶ δὲν λέγεται καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς Ἰθάκης
λόγοις σαφέστερον. ὅταν οὖν φῇ.

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὀμεανὸν μετ’ ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆς
χθιῶδ’ ἔβη, (Π. 1. 423)

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because it is a peculiarity of the sea-board that stretches along the entire southern belt.

28. Ephorus, too, discloses the ancient belief in regard to Ethiopia, for in his treatise On Europe he says that if we divide the regions of the heavens and of the earth into four parts, the Indians will occupy that part from which Apeliotes blows, the Ethiopians the part from which Notus blows, the Celts the part on the west, and the Scythians the part from which the north wind blows.¹ And he adds that Ethiopia and Scythia are the larger regions; for it is thought, he says, that the nation of the Ethiopians stretches from the winter sunrise to sunset,² and that Scythia lies directly opposite in the north. That Homer is in agreement with this view is also clear from his assertion that Ithaca lies “toward the darkness”—that is, of course, toward the north—“but those others face the dawning and the sun”; by which he means the whole country on the southern side. And again this is clear when he says: “Whether they fare to the right, to the dawn and to the sun, or to the left, to mist and darkness”; and from this passage too: “My friends, Io, now we know not where is the place of darkness or of dawning, nor where the sun that gives light to men goes beneath the earth, nor where he rises.” But about all these passages I shall speak more fully in my account of Ithaca.³ And so, when Homer says, “For Zeus went yesterday to Oceanus, unto the noble Ethiopians,” we

¹ On the winds, see page 105.
² That is, on the due east and west line drawn from the south-east point of the sky to the south-west point.
³ See 10. 2. 11 f.
κοινότερον δεκτέον καὶ τὸν ὁκεανὸν τὸν καθ’ ὅλον τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κλίμα τεταμένου καὶ τοὺς Ἀιθιόπας. ὥς γὰρ ἄν τόπῳ τοῦτῳ κλίματος πρὸς βάλεις τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὁκεανῷ ἔσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀιθιοπίᾳ. οὕτω δὲ λέγει καὶ τὸ τὸν δὲ ἐξ Ἀιθιόπων ἄνιδον τηλόθεν ἐκ Σολύμων ὤρέων ἰδεν, (Od. 5. 282) ἵσον τῷ ἀπὸ μεσημβρινῶν τόπων, Σολύμων λέγων οὐ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Πισιδίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔφην πρότερον, πλάσας1 τινὰς ὁμωνύμους, τοὺς ἀναλόγους ἔχοντας πρὸς τε τὸν πλέοντα ἐν τῇ σχεδίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μεσημβρινοὺς, ὡς ἂν Ἀιθιόπας, ὡς οἱ Πισιδικοὶ πρὸς τε τὸν Πόντου καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀλγύπτου Ἀιθιόπας. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν γεράνων λόγον κοινὸν ποιοῦμενός φησιν: 

αἳ τ’ ἔπειλ ὁὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἄθεσφατον ὀμμέζουν, 

κλαγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ’ Ὄκεανοῖο ῥοάων, 

ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοις φόνον καὶ κηρὰ φέρουσι. (Il. 3. 4) 

οὗ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα τῶν ὥραται φερομένη ἢ γέρανος ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἢ Ἰβηρίαν οὐδὰμος ἢ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Κασπίαν καὶ Βακτριανήν. κατὰ πᾶσαν ὁὖν τὴν μεσημβρίαν παραλίαν τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ παρατεῖνοντος, ἐφ’ ἀπασαν δὲ καὶ χειμοφυγόντων, δέχεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τοὺς Πυγμαίους μεμυθευμένους κατὰ πᾶσαν. εἰ δ’ οἱ ύστερον ἐπὶ

1 πλάσας, A. Miller, for πλάσαι.
must understand both words in a more general sense, "Oceanus" meaning the body of water that extends along the entire southern belt, and the "Ethiopians" meaning the people along the same extent; for upon whatever point of this belt you fix your attention, you will be both on Oceanus and in Ethiopia. And this is the meaning also of the words: "On his way from the Ethiopians he espied Odysseus from afar, from the mountains of the Solymi"—which is equivalent to saying "from the regions of the south"; for he does not mean the Solymi in Pisidia, but, as I said before, he invents a people of the same name whom he depicts as occupying the same position relatively to the sailor on his raft and the people to the south of him (who would be the Ethiopians) as the Pisidians occupy relatively to the Pontus and to the Ethiopians that lie beyond Egypt. And in like manner Homer puts his assertion about the cranes in general terms: "When they flee from the coming of winter and sudden rain, and fly with clamour toward the streams of Oceanus, bearing slaughter and doom to the Pygmy men." For it is not the case that the crane is seen migrating toward the south only in Greek lands, and never in Italy or Iberia, or in the regions of the Caspian Sea and Bactriana. Since, then, Oceanus stretches along the entire southern sea-board, and since the cranes migrate in winter to this entire sea-board, we must admit that the Pygmies also are placed by mythology along the entire extent of that sea-board. And if

1 See page 77 and footnote.
τοὺς κατ’ Ἀγυπτοῦν Ἀἰθίοπας ῥυπόνεος μετήγαγον καὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν Πυγμαίων λόγον, οὔτεν ἂν εἴη πρὸς τὰ πάλαι. καὶ γὰρ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἀργεῖους οὐ πάντας μὲν νῦν φαμεν τοὺς στρατεύσατας ἐπὶ "Ἰλιον, Ὅμηρος δὲ καλεῖ πάντας. παραπλήσιον δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ λέγω καὶ περὶ τῶν δίχα διηρημένων Ἀἰθιόπων, ὦτι δὲ δέχεσθαι τοὺς παρ’ ὅλην δια- 
τεύνοντας τὴν ἄκεανίτιν ἄφ’ ἦλιον ἄνωτός μέχρι ἦλιον δυομένου. οἱ γὰρ οὕτω λεγόμενοι Ἀἰθιόπες δίχα διήρηται φυσικῶς τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ, ὡς ἂν μεσημβρινόν κύκλου τμῆματι ἄξιολόγω, ποταμοῦ δίκην ἐν μήκει σχεδὸν τῷ και πεντακισὶ χιλιόν 
σταδίων ἐπὶ τοῖς μυρίοις, πλάτει δ’ οὐ πολὺ τῶν χιλίων μεῖζον τῷ μεγίστῳ πρόσεστι δὲ τῷ μήκει καὶ τὸ τῶν μυχῶν τοῦτο τοῦ κόλπου διέσχει τῆς κατὰ Πηλώσιον θαλάσσης τριῶν ἡ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν ὄδον, ἦν ἔπεχει ὁ ἱσθμός. καθάπερ οὖν 
οἱ χαριέστεροι τῶν διαυρών τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης ὅρου εὑρίσκεον ἄγονται τοῦτον τῶν ἑπείρων ἄμφων τὸν κόλπου, ἢ τὸν Νεῖλον (τὸν μὲν γὰρ διήκειν παρ’ ὅλων παντελῶς ἀπὸ 
θαλάσσης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, τὸν δὲ Νεῖλον πολλα- 
πλάσιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄκεανοῦ διέσχει, ὡστε μη 
διαρεῖν τὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης); 
τοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνω τὸν τρόπον κἀγὼ τὰ μεσημ-
βρινὰ μέρη πάντα καθ’ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην δίχα 
διηρήθαι νομίσαι τῶν ποιητῶν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ. 2 
τῶς οὖν ἡγνύει τὸν ἱσθμόν, διὸ οὐτὸς ποιεῖ πρὸς τὸ 
Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος;

1 ἐστερον ἐπὶ τοὺς κατ’ Ἀγυπτοῦν Ἀἰθίοπας, Madvig, for ἐστερον τοὺς Ἀἰθίοπας ἐπὶ τοὺς κατ’ Ἀγυπτοῦν.

2 τοῦτω, is omitted in the Dübner edition without an apparent reason.

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men of later generations restricted the story about
the Pygmies to the Ethiopians next to Egypt alone,
that would have no bearing on the facts in ancient
times. For nowadays we do not use the terms
“Achaeans” and “Argives” of all who took part in
the expedition against Troy, though Homer so uses
them. Now what I contend in the case of the
Ethiopians that are “sundered in twain” is similar
to this, namely, that we must interpret “Ethiopians”
as meaning that the Ethiopians extend along the
whole sea-board of Oceanus from the rising to the
setting sun. For the Ethiopians that are spoken of
in this sense are “sundered in twain” naturally by
the Arabian Gulf (and this would constitute a con-
siderable part of a meridian circle) as by a river,
being in length almost fifteen thousand stadia, and
in width not much more than one thousand stadia,
I mean at its greatest width; and to the length we
must add the distance by which the head of this
gulf is separated from the sea at Pelusium, a journey
of three or four days—the space occupied by the
isthmus. Now, just as the abler of the geographers
who separate Asia from Libya regard this gulf as a
more natural boundary-line between the two con-
tinents than the Nile (for they say the gulf lacks but
very little of stretching from sea to sea, whereas the
Nile is separated from Oceanus by many times that
distance, so that it does not separate Asia as a whole
from Libya), in the same way I also assume that the
poet considered that the southern regions as a whole
throughout the inhabited world were “sundered in
twain” by this gulf. How, then, can the poet have
been ignorant of the isthmus which the gulf forms
with the Egyptian ¹ Sea?

¹ Mediterranean.
STRABO

29. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τελέως ἀλόγον, εἰ τὰς μὲν Ἀγυμπττοὺς Θῆβας ἤδει σαφῶς, αἱ δὲ ἔχουσι τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττης σταθέντες μικροὺς ἀπολείποντας ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακισχιλίων, τὸν δὲ μυχῶν τῷ Ἀραβίου κόλπῳ μὴ ἤδει, μηδὲ τὸν ἱσθμὸν τὸν καὶ αὐτὸν, πλάτος ἔχοντα οὐ πλείονον ἡ χιλίων σταθέντων. πολὺ δὲ ἀν ἀλογότερον δόξειν, εἰ τὸν μὲν Νεῖλον ἤδει ὁμονύμως τῇ τοσαύτῃ χώρᾳ λεγόμενον, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν μὴ ἐώρα τούτου μᾶλλον γὰρ ἂν προσπίπτοι τὸ ῥηθέν υφ’ Ἑροδότου, διότι δῶρον ἢν ἡ χώρα του ποταμοῦ καὶ διὰ τούτο ἦξιοντο τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄνοματος. ἀλλ’ ὡς τέ τῶν παρ’ ἐκάστοις ἱδίων ταύτ’ ἐστὶ γνωριμώτατα, καὶ παραδοξίαν ἔχει τινά, καὶ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πάσιν ἐστὶ τοιούτων δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ἢ τοῦ Νεῖλου ἀνάβασις καὶ ἡ πρόσκωσις τοῦ πελάγους. καὶ καθάπερ οἱ προσαχθέντες πρὸς τὴν Ἀγυμπττον οὐδὲν πρότερον ἰστοροῦσι περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἡ τὴν τοῦ Νεῖλου φύσιν, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους μήτε κανώτερα τούτων λέγειν ἐχειν πρὸς ἄνδρας ἐξένωσι, μὴτ’ ἐπιφανέστερα περὶ τῶν παρ’ αὐτοὺς (τῷ γὰρ ἰστορήσαντε περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατάδηλος καὶ ἡ χώρα γίνεται πάσα, ὅποια τῆς ἐστὶν), οὔτω καὶ οἱ πόρρωθεν ἀκούοντες οὐδὲν πρότερον ἰστοροῦσι τούτου. προστίθει σὺν τούτῳ καὶ τὸ φιλεἰδημον τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ τὸ φιλέκδημον, ὅπερ αὐτῷ μαρτυροῦσιν ὅσοι τὸν βίον ἀναγράφουσι, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ λαμβάνεται τῶν ποιημάτων πολλὰ παραδείγματα τοῦ τοιούτου. οὔτως μὲν οὖν ἐκ πλείονων ἐλέγχεταί καὶ εἰδὼς καὶ λέγων ῥητῶς

1 τετρακισχιλιῶν, Gosselin, for πεντακισχιλίων; Groskurd, Forbiger following; C. Müller approving.

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29. And indeed it is in the highest degree unreasonable that the poet had accurate knowledge about Thebes in Egypt, which is distant from the Mediterranean Sea but a trifle less than four thousand stadia, and yet had no knowledge about the head of the Arabian Gulf, or about the adjoining isthmus, whose width is not more than one thousand stadia; but it would seem to be much more unreasonable that he knew the Nile bore the same name as the vast country Aegyptus and yet did not see the reason therefor; for the thought which has been expressed by Herodotus \(^1\) would occur to one at once, namely, that the country was "a gift of the river" and laid claim for this reason to the same name as the river.\(^2\)

Moreover, those peculiarities of each several country which are in some way marvellous are most widely known, and manifest to everybody; such is the case with the rising of the Nile as also the silting up of the sea. And just as those who visit Egypt learn no fact concerning the country before they learn the nature of the Nile, because the natives cannot tell foreigners anything more novel or more remarkable about their country than these particulars (for the nature of the entire country becomes quite clear to one who has learned about the river), so also those who hear about the country at a distance learn this fact before anything else. To all this we must add the poet's fondness for knowledge and for travel, to which all who have written on his life bear witness; and one may find many illustrations of such a predilection in the poems themselves. And so it is proved, on many grounds, that Homer both knows and expressly says what is to be said, and that he

\(^1\) Herod. 2. 5. \(^2\) Compare 15. 1. 16.
τὰ ῥητὰ καὶ συγών τὰ λιαν ἐκφανῆ ἢ ἐπιθέτως λέγων.

30. Θαυμάζειν δὲ δεῖ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων καὶ Σύρων, πρὸς οὐς νῦν ἤμων ὁ λόγος, εἰ μηδ' ἐκείνου λέγοντος τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιχώρια συνιᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγνοιαν αἰτιῶνταί, ἣ αὐτοῦς ἐνόχους δείκνυσιν ὁ λόγος. ἀπλῶς δὲ τὸ μὴ λέγειν οὐ τοῦ μὴ εἶδεναι σημεῖον ἐστιν: οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰς τροπὰς τοῦ Ἑβρίπου λέγει, οὐδὲ τὰς Θερμοπύλας, οὐδὲ ἄλλα πλεῖον τῶν γνωρίμων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησσιών, οὐ μὴν ἠγνώει γε. ἄλλα καὶ λέγει, οὐ δοκεῖ δὲ τοῖς ἑθελοκωφοῦσιν· ὅστε ἐκείνους αἰτιατέον. ὁ ποιητὴς τοῖς διωπτέας καλεῖ τοὺς ποταμοῦς, οὐ τοὺς χειμάρρους μόνους, ἄλλα καὶ πάντας κοινῶς, ὅτι πληροῦνται πάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμβρίων ὕδατών· ἄλλα τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' ἔξοχην ὅδιον γίνεται. ἄλλως γὰρ ἃν τὸν χειμάρρουν ἀκούοι τις διωπτῇ καὶ ἄλλος τῶν ἄνευν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ διοπτασίας πως ἢ ἔξοχη. καὶ καθάπερ εἰσὶ τινες ὑπερβολαι ἐπὶ ὑπερβολάς, ὡς τὸ κοινότερον ἐναι φελλοῦ σκιάς, δειλότερον δὲ λαγὸς Φρυγός, ἐλάττω δ' ἔχειν γῆν τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐπιστολῆς Δακωνίκης· οὕτως ἔξοχη ἐπὶ ἔξοχη συντρέχει ἐπὶ τοῦ διωπτῆ τοῦ Νεῖλου λέγεσθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ χειμάρρους ὑπερ-
keeps silent about what is too obvious to mention, or else alludes to it by an epithet.¹

30. But I must express my amazement at the Egyptians and Syrians,² against whom I am directing this argument, that they do not understand Homer even when he tells them about matters in their own countries, and yet actually accuse him of ignorance—a charge to which my argument shows that they themselves are subject. In general, silence is no sign of ignorance; for neither does Homer mention the refulent currents of the Euripus, nor Thermopylae, nor yet other things in Greece, that are well-known, though assuredly he was not ignorant of them. However, Homer also speaks of things well-known, though those who are wilfully deaf do not think so; and therefore the fault of ignorance is theirs. Now the poet calls the rivers "heaven-fed"—not merely the winter torrents, but all rivers alike—because they are all replenished by the rains. But the general epithet becomes particular when applied to things in relation to their pre-eminence. For one would interpret "heaven-fed" in one way of the winter torrent and in quite another way of the ever-flowing stream; and in the latter case the pre-eminence is, one may say, twofold.³ And just as there are cases of hyperbole on hyperbole—for example, "lighter than the shadow of a cork," "more timid than a Phrygian hare," "to own a farm smaller than a Laconian letter"—just so there is a parallel case of pre-eminence on pre-eminence when the Nile is spoken of as being "heaven-fed." For while the winter torrent surpasses the other specifically to precipitate descent; in the latter case the epithet has reference to volume and duration.

¹ The Phrygian slave was a proverbial coward.
βέβληται τοῦς ἀλλοὺς ποταμοὺς τῷ διυπτῆς εἶναι: ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος καὶ τοὺς χειμάρρους ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον πληροῦμενος καὶ πλῆθος καὶ χρόνου. ὡστ' ἐπεῖ καὶ γνώριμον ἦν τὸ πάθος τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῷ ποτήρι, ὡστέρ ¹ παραμεμνημέθα, καὶ κέχρηται τῷ ἐπιθέτῳ τούτῳ κατ' αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἀλλος δεκτέων ἢ ὡς εἰρήκαμεν. τὸ δὲ πλείοσι στόμασιν ἐκδιδόναι κοινῷ καὶ πλείονῳ, ὡστ' οὐκ ἄξιον μνήμης ὑπέλαβε, καὶ ταύτα πρὸς εἰδότας: καθάπερ οὐδ' Ἀλκαῖος, καίτοι φήσας ἀφίξθαι καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Λίγυπτον. αἱ δὲ προσχώσεις καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰναβάσεων μὲν δύνανται ὑπονοεῖσθαι, καὶ ἔξ ὧν δὲ εἶπε περὶ τῆς Φάρου. ὁ γὰρ ἱστορῶν αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς Φάρου, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ κοινὴ φήμη, διότι μὲν τὸτε τοσοῦτον ἀπείχεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου, ἐφ' Ῥ ὅσου φησὶ, δρόμον νεῶς ἡμερήσιον, οὐκ ἂν εἴη διατερπηλημένη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐψευσμένως. οἷον ὁ ἡ ἀνάβασις καὶ αἱ προσχώσεις τοιαῦτα των, κοινὸτερον πεπύσθαι εἰκὸς ἢν' ἐξ ὧν συνεδρεῖ ο ποιητῆς, ὅτι πλέον ἡ τότε ἀφειστήκει τῆς γῆς ἢ νῆσος κατὰ τὴν Μενελάου παρουσίαν, προσέθηκε παρ' ἑαυτῷ πολλαπλάσιον διάστημα τοῦ μυθώδους χάριν. αἱ δὲ μιθοποιεῖ οὐκ ἄγνοιας ἁμαίναι ⁴ δῆτον, οὖν ὡδ' εἰς τὸ περὶ τοῦ Πρωτέως καὶ

¹ ὡστέρ, A. Miller, for ὡστε; A. Vogel approving.
² ἐφ', Capps inserts.
³ χάριν, Coraias deletes, after ἄγνοιας; Meineke, Forbiger, following; C. Müller approving.
⁴ σημεία, is retained, against the σημεία of Coraias and Meineke. γάρ, after σημεία, Groskurd deletes; Forbiger following; C. Müller approving.
⁵ γάρ, after οὔδε, Groskurd deletes; Forbiger following; C. Müller approving.
rivers in respect of being "heaven-fed," the Nile, when at its flood, surpasses even the winter torrents to just that extent, not only in the amount of its flood but also in the duration thereof. And so, since the behaviour of the river was known to the poet, as I have urged in my argument, and since he has applied this epithet to it, we cannot interpret it in any other way than that which I have pointed out. But the fact that the Nile empties its waters through several mouths is a peculiarity it shares with several other rivers, and therefore Homer did not think it worthy of mention, particularly in addressing people who knew the fact; just as Alcaeus does not mention those mouths, either, although he affirms that he too visited Egypt. But the matter of the silting may be inferred not only from the risings of the river but also from what Homer says about Pharos. For the man who told Homer about Pharos—or rather, I should say, the common report that it was so and so far from the mainland—this report, I say, would not have got abroad falsified to such an extent as the distance which Homer gives, namely, a day's run for a ship; but as for the rising and silting, it is reasonable to suppose that the poet learned as a matter of common knowledge that they were such and such; and concluding from these facts that at the time of the visit of Menelaus the island was more distant from the mainland than it was in his own times, he added a distance many times as great on his own responsibility for the sake of the fabulous element. Moreover, the fabulous creations are not, I take it, a sign of ignorance—not even those stories about Proteus and the Pygmies,
τῶν Πυγμαίων, οὔτε αἱ τῶν φαρμάκων δυνάμεις, οὔτε εἰ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον οἶ ποιηταὶ πλάττουσιν ὁ γὰρ κατ᾽ ἄγνοιαν τῶν τοπικῶν λέγεται, ἀλλ᾽ ἡδονῆς καὶ τέρψεως χάριν. πῶς οὖν καὶ ἀνυδρον οὕσαν φησίν ὑδρὸν ἔχειν;

ἐν δὲ λιμήν εὐόρμος, ὅθεν τ᾽ ἀπὸ νῆας ἐίσας ἐς πόντου βάλλουσιν ἀφυσσάμενοι μέλαν ὑδρῷ.

(Od. 4. 358)

ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε τὸ ὑδρεῖον ἐκλιπεῖν ἀδύνατον, οὔτε τὴν ὑδρέλαιν ἐκ τῆς νῆος γενέσθαι φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀναγωγὴν μόνην διὰ τὴν τοῦ λιμένος ἀρετὴν, τὸ δ᾽ ὑδρῷ ἐκ τῆς περαιάς ἀρύσασθαι παρῆν, ἐξομολογομένου πῶς τοῦ ποιητοῦ δὲ ἐμφάσεως, ὅτι πελαγίαν εἶπεν οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν καὶ μυθοποιίαν.

31. Ἔπει δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς πλάνης τῆς Μενελάου λεχθέντα συνηγορεῖν δοκεῖ τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ τῇ περὶ τούς τόπους ἐκεῖνος, βέλτιον ἱσως ἔστι, τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσί τούτοις ζητούμενα προεκθεμένους ἀμα ταῦτα τε διαστείλαι καὶ περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἀπολογήσασθαι καθαρότερον. φησὶ δὲ πρὸς Τηλέμαχον ὃ Μενέλαος θαυμάζαντα τῶν τῶν βασιλείων κόσμων.

ἡ γὰρ πολλὰ παθῶν καὶ πόλλ᾽ ἐπαληθεῖς ἦγαγόμην ἐν νησί, καὶ ὅγδοατῳ ἔτει ἦλθον, Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθεῖς, Αἰδίοπάς θ' ικόμην καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἐρεμβοὺς καὶ Διβύνην.

(Od. 4. 81)

C 38 ζητοῦσι δὲ, πρὸς τίνας ἦλθεν Αἰδίσπας, πλέων 136
nor the potent effects of magic potions, nor any other such inventions of the poets; for these stories are told, not in ignorance of geography, but in order to give pleasure and enjoyment. How does it come, then, that Homer says that Pharos has water, when it is without water: "And therein is a good haven, whence men launch the well-proportioned ships into the deep when they have drawn a store of black water"? Now, in the first place, it is not impossible that the source of the water has dried up; and, in the second place, Homer does not say that the water came from the island, but merely that the launching of the ships took place thence—on account of the excellence of the harbour; but the water itself may have been drawn from the opposite mainland, since, in a way, the poet by implication confesses that, when he applied the term "in the open sea" to Pharos, he did not use it in a literal sense, but as an hyperbolical or mythical statement.

31. Now, since it is thought that Homer's account of the wanderings of Menelaus, also, argues for ignorance of those countries on his part, it is perhaps better to make a preliminary statement of the questions called forth by those poems, and then at once to separate these questions and thus speak more clearly in defence of the poet. Menelaus says, then, to Telemachus, who has marvelled at the decorations of the palace: "Yea, after many a woe and wanderings manifold, I brought my wealth home in ships, and in the eighth year came hither. I roamed over Cyprus and Phoenicia and Egypt, and came to Ethiopians, Sidonians, Erebians, and to Libya." Now they ask to what Ethiopians he came in thus
ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου ὦντε γὰρ ἐν τῇ καθ’ ἡμᾶς θαλάττῃ ὁἰκουσὶ τινὲς Αἰθιοπεῖς, ὦντε τοῦ Νείλου τοὺς καταράκτας ἧν διελθεῖν ναυσὶ· τίνες τε οἱ Σι- δόνιοι· οὐ γὰρ οἱ γε ἐν Φοινίκῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸ γένος προθείς τὸ εἶδος ἐπήνευκε· τίνες τε οἱ Ἐρεμβοῖ· καίνυν γὰρ τὸ ὅνομα. Ἀριστόνικος μὲν οὖν ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς γραμματικὸς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς Μενελάου πλάνης πολλῶν ἀναγέγραφεν ἀνδρῶν ἀποφάσεις περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἐκκεμένων κεφαλαίων· ἡμῖν δ’ ἀρκέσει κἂν ἐπιτέμνουσιν λέγωμεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ πλεύσαι φήσαντες εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, οἱ μὲν περὶπλουν διὰ τῶν 1 Γαδέιρων μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἰσάγουσιν, ἀμα καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῇ πλάνῃ συνοικειούστες, δὴν φησιν, ὅτι ὅγκοςτο ἔτει ἤθλουν· οἱ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον· οἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν διωρύγων τινὸς· οὔτε δ’ ὁ περὶπλος ἀναγκαίος, ὅτι Κράτης εἰσάγει, οὐκ ὡς ἀδύνατος εἴη ἄν 2 (καὶ γὰρ ἡ Ἄδυσσεως πλάνη ἂν ἦν 3 ἀδύνατος), ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὕτω πρὸς τὰς ύποθέσεις τὰς μαθηματικὰς χρήσιμος, οὕτω πρὸς τὸν χρόνον τῆς πλάνης. καὶ γὰρ ἀκούσιοι διατρβαλ κατέσχον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ δυσπλοίας, φήσαντος ὅτι ἀπὸ ἐξήκουσαν νεῶν πέντε ἐλείφθησαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκούσιοι χρηματισμοῦ χάριν φήσι γὰρ ὁ Νέστωρ· δὲς ὁ μὲν ἐνθὰ πολὺν βίοτον καὶ χρυσὸν ἀγείρων ἡλικὸν ἔτοι νησί·

(Od. 3. 301)

Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπιλη-θείς.

(Od. 4. 83)

1 διὰ τῶν, Madvig, for τῶν διὰ; A. Vogel approving.
2 εἶναί, Sterrett, for εἶναι, adapting the suggestion in Madvig’s conjecture.
3 ἂν ἦν, B. Niese inserts, before ἀδύνατος.

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sailing from Egypt (for no Ethiopians live in the Mediterranean Sea, nor was it possible for ships to pass the cataracts of the Nile); and who the Sidonians are (for they are certainly not those that live in Phoenicia, since he would not have put the genus first and then brought in the species); and who the Erembians are (for that is a new name). Now Aristonicus, the grammarian of our own generation, in his book *On the Wanderings of Menelaus*, has recorded opinions of many men on each one of the points set forth; but for me it will be sufficient to speak briefly on these questions. Of those who say that Menelaus "sailed" to Ethiopia, some propose a coasting-voyage by Gades as far as India, making his wanderings correspond exactly to the time which Homer gives: "In the eighth year I came back"; but others propose that he sailed across the isthmus that lies at the head of the Arabian Gulf, while still others propose that he sailed through one of the canals of the Nile. But, in the first place, Crates' theory of a coasting-voyage is unnecessary—not that such a voyage would be impossible (for the wanderings of Odysseus would have been impossible), but because it serves no purpose either as regards Crates' mathematical hypotheses or as regards the time consumed in the wanderings. For Menelaus was detained against his will because of the difficulties of sailing (he himself says that out of sixty ships only five were left to him), and he also made intentional stops for the sake of trafficking. For Nestor says: "Thus Menelaus, gathering much substance and gold, was wandering there with his ships"; [to which Menelaus adds:] "having roamed over Cyprus and Phoenicia and Egypt." Again, the
ο τε διὰ τοῦ ἵσθμοῦ πλοῦς ἢ τῶν διωρύγων λεγόμενος μὲν ἥκονετο ἂν ἐν μῦθον σχῆματι, μὴ λεγόμενος δὲ περιττῶς καὶ ἀπιθάνως εἰσάγοντο ἂν. ἀπιθάνως δὲ λέγω, δι' πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν οὐδεμία ἡν διώρυξ. τὸν δὲ ἐπιχειρήσαντα ποιήσαι Σέσωστριν ἀποστήναλ φασί, μετεωρτέαν υπολαβόντα τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιφάνειαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὖν ὤσπο ἵσθμὸς ἢ πλοῖομος. ἀλλ' εἰκάζει ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης οὐκ εὖ. μὴ γάρ πω τὸ ἐκρηγμα τὸ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας γεγονέναι νομίζει. ὥστε ἐνταῦθα1 συνάπτειν τὴν εἴσω θάλασσαν τῇ ἐκτὸς2 καὶ καλύπτειν τὸν ἵσθμον μετεωρτέαν οὐσαν, τοῦ δ' ἐκρήγματος γενομένου ταπεινωθήσαν καὶ ἀνακαλύψαι τὴν γῆν τὴν κατὰ τὸ Κάσιου καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον μέχρι τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς. τίνα οὖν ἔχομεν ἱστορίαν περὶ τοῦ ἐκρήγματος τούτου, διότι πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν οὔπω ὑπήρχειν; ἦσως δ' ὁ ποιητής ἀμα μὲν τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ταύτη διεκπλέοντα εἰς τὸν ῥκεανὸν πεποίηκεν, ὡς ἢ ἢ ἐκρήγματος γεγονότος, ἀμα δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν τὸν Μενέλαον ἐκ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου ναυστολεί, ὡς οὖπω γεγονότος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Πρωτέα εἰσάγει λέγοντα αὐτῷ.

ἀλλὰ σ' ἐς 'Ηλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πέλατα γαίης ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσι. (Od. 4. 563)

1 Groskurd inserts μὴ before συνάπτειν (Kramer, Meineke, Forbiger, Dübner-Müller following), thus referring ἐνταῦθα to the Pillars; A. Vogel shows that ἐνταῦθα refers to the Isthmus and that μὴ is wrong.
2 Groskurd writes τὴν εἴσω θάλασσαν τῇ ἐκτὸς for τὴν έξω θάλασσαν τῇ ἐντάς; Dübner-Müller, Forbiger following. Meineke, too, follows except that he writes εἴσω for έξω; A. Vogel approving.
voyage through the isthmus or one of the canals would, if Homer mentioned such a voyage, be interpreted as a kind of fiction; but since he does not mention such a voyage it would be gratuitous and absurd for one to propose it. It would be absurd, I repeat, since before the Trojan War there was no canal; and the person who undertook to build one—I mean Sesostris— is said to have abandoned the undertaking because he supposed the level of the Mediterranean Sea was too high. Furthermore, the isthmus was not navigable either, and Eratosthenes’ conjecture is wrong. For he thinks that the breaking of the channel at the Pillars of Heracles had not yet taken place and that in consequence the Mediterranean Sea, since it was of a higher level, joined the exterior sea at the isthmus and covered it, but after the breaking of the channel took place at the Pillars, the Mediterranean Sea was lowered and thus exposed the land about Casium and Pelusium, as far as the Red Sea. Now what historical information have we regarding this break at the Pillars to the effect that it did not yet exist before the Trojan War? But perhaps—you will say—the poet has represented Odysseus as sailing through the strait at the Pillars into the ocean (as though a channel were already in existence) at the same time that he conveys Menelaus by ship from Egypt into the Red Sea (as though a channel were not yet in existence)!

Furthermore, Homer brings in Proteus as saying to Menelaus: “Nay, the deathless gods will convey thee to the Elysian Plain and to the end of the

1 See 17. 1. 25; also Herodotus, 2. 158, and 4. 39.
ποια οὖν; καὶ ὦτι ἐσπέριόν τινα λέγει τόπουν τούτουν ἐσχατον, ὁ Ζέφυρος παραθεῖς δηλοῦ·

ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ Ζεφύρου οὐ γίνετο πνεύμονος ἁγίας Ὡκεανὸς ἀνίκησι. (Od. 4. 567)

ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτόγματος πλήρη.

32. Εἰ δ’ οὖν καὶ σύρρουσ ποτὲ ὑπάρξαυτα τὸν ἱσθμὸν τούτουν ὁ ποταμὸς ἱστορήκει, πόσῳ μείζονα ἂν ἐχοίμεν πίστιν τοῦ τούς Ἀθηναίων διεχθα διηρήσθαι, πορθμῷ τηλικοῦτῳ διεργομένους; τίς δὲ καὶ χρηματισμὸς παρὰ τῶν ἔξω καὶ κατὰ τῶν ὤκεανῶν Ἀθηναίων; ἀμα μὲν γὰρ θαυμάζουσιν τοῦ κόσμου τῶν βασιλείων οἱ περὶ Τηλέμαχον τὸ πλήθος, δ’ ἐστι

χρυσοῦ τ’ ἢλέκτρου τε καὶ ἀργυροῦ ἡ’ ἑλέφαντος. (Od. 4. 73)

τοῦτων δ’ οὖδενδ’ πληθν ἑλέφαντος εὐπορία παρ’ ἐκεῖνους ἐστίν, ἀπορωτάτους τῶν ἀπάντων οἰσι τοῖς πλεῖστοις καὶ νομάσι. νη Δία, ἀλλ’ ἡ ‘Αραβία προσήν καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς ‘Ινδικῆς τοῦτων δ’ ἡ μὲν εὐδαίμων κέκληται μόνη τῶν ἀπασών, τὴν δέ, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὄνομαστι καλοῦσιν οὖτως, ὑπολαμβάνουσι γε καὶ ἱστοροῦσιν, ὡς εὐδαίμονεστάτην τὴν μὲν οὖν ‘Ινδικῆν οὐκ οἴδεν “Ομηρος, εἰδὼς δὲ ἐμέμνητο ἃν’ 2 τῆς δ’ ‘Αραβίαν, ἥν εὐδαίμονα προσαγορεύουσιν οἱ νῦν,3 τότε δ’ οὗκ ἤν πλουσία, ἀλλ’ καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπόρος καὶ ἡ πολλή αὐτῆς

1 καλοῦσιν οὖτως, with a comma after οὖτως, A. Miller, for καλοῦσιν, οὖτως; A. Vogel approving.
2 Keelhoff deletes εἰδὼς δὲ ἐμέμνητο ἃν as a marginal gloss.
3 Meineke, Cobet delete Groskurd’s οἴδε μὲν (which Kramer, Dübner-Müller, Forbiger follow) after οἱ νῦν.

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earth." What end of the earth, pray? Why, the citing of "Zephyrus" shows that he means by this remote region a place somewhere in the west: "But always Oceanus sendeth forth the breezes of the clear-blowing Zephyrus." Really, these matters are full of puzzling questions.

32. If, however, the poet had heard that this isthmus was once submerged, should we not have all the greater reason for believing that the Ethiopians, since they were separated by so great a strait, were really "sundered in twain"? And how could Menelaus have gotten treasures from the remote Ethiopians who lived along Oceanus? For at the moment when they marvelled at the ornaments themselves in the palace of Menelaus, Telemachus and his companions marvelled at the great quantity of them—"of gold and of amber and of silver and of ivory"; but with the exception of ivory, there is no great store of any of these things among those people, most of whom are the poorest of all peoples and are wandering shepherds. "Very true," you say; "but Arabia and the regions as far as India belonged to them; and though Arabia alone of all these countries has the name 'Blest,' India is supposed and reported to be in the highest degree 'blest,' even though people do not so call it by name." Now as to India, Homer did not know of it (for had he known of it, he would have mentioned it); but he did know the Arabia which is to-day called "Blest." ¹ In his time, however, it was not rich, and not only was the country itself without resources but most of it was occupied by

¹ That is, Arabia Felix, east of the Red Sea. Strabo defines it in 16. 3. 1.
σκηνιτῶν ἀνδρῶν· ὄλγη δ’ ἡ ἀρωματοφόρος, δι’ ἄν καὶ τούτῳ τούνομα εὑρετο ἡ χώρα διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν φόρτον εἶναι τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν σπάνιον καὶ τίμιον. νυνὶ μὲν οὖν εὑποροῦσι καὶ πλουτοῦσι διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἐμπορίαν εἶναι πυκνήν καὶ δαυρίλη, τότε δ’ οὐκ εἰκός. αὐτῶν δὲ χάριν τῶν ἀρωμάτων ἐμπόρῳ μὲν καὶ καμηλίτη γένοιτ’ ἀν τίς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων φορτίων εὑπορία. Μενελάω δὲ λαφύρων ἢ δωρεῶν ἔδει παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ δυναστῶν, ἔχοντων τε ἀ δώσοντι καὶ δουλομένων διδόναι διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐκλείαν. οί μὲν οὖν Αἰγυπτιοί καὶ οἱ πλησίον Αἰθίοπες καὶ Ἀραβὲς οὐθ’ οὔτω τελέως ἀβίοι, οὔτ’ ἀνήκου τῆς τῶν Ἀτρείδων δόξης, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν κατόρθωσιν τοῦ Ἰλιακοῦ πολέμου, ὡστ’ ἐλπὶς ἢν τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ωφελείας· καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ θώρακος τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος λέγεται,

tὸν ποτὲ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινύην εἶναι·
πεύθετο γὰρ Κύπρου οὐκα μέγα κλέος. (Π. 11. 20)
kαὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλεῖον χρόνου τῆς πλάνης λεκτέον
μὲν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν καὶ
Ἀγυπτιον καὶ Δυσύην γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ περὶ
Κύπρου χωρία καὶ ὅλως τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς παραλίαν
καὶ τὰς νῆσους· καὶ γὰρ ξένων παρὰ τούτοις καὶ
tὸ βίον καὶ τὸ ἐκ λεξιλασίας πορίσασθαι, καὶ
μάλιστα παρὰ τῶν συμμαχησάντων τοὺς Τρωσίν,
ἐντεῦθεν ἢν. οἱ δ’ ἐκτὸς καὶ πόρρω βάρβαροι

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1 The Troglodytes on the western side of the Arabian Gulf (1. 1. 3).  
2 See 16. 2. 21.  
3 See 16. 2. 1.

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dwellers in tents. The part of Arabia that produces the spices is small; and it is from this small territory that the country got the name of "Blest," because such merchandise is rare in our part of the world and costly. To-day, to be sure, the Arabs are well to do and even rich, because their trade is extensive and abundant, but it is not likely to have been so in Homer's time. So far as the mere spices are concerned, a merchant or camel-driver might attain to some sort of wealth by trafficking in them, whereas Menelaus needed booty or presents from kings or dynasts who had not only the means to give, but also the good-will to make him presents because of his distinction and fame. The Egyptians, however, and the neighbouring Ethiopians and Arabs,\(^1\) were not wholly destitute of the means of livelihood, as were the other Ethiopians, nor wholly ignorant of the fame of the sons of Atreus, particularly in view of the successful issue of the Trojan War, and hence Menelaus might hope for profit from them. Compare what Homer says of the breastplate of Agamemnon: "The breastplate that in time past Cinyras gave him for a guest-gift; for afar in Cyprus did Cinyras hear the mighty tale." Furthermore, we must assert that Menelaus' time in his wanderings was spent mostly in the regions about Phoenicia,\(^2\) Syria,\(^3\) Egypt, and Libya, and in the countries round Cyprus, and, generally speaking, along the Mediterranean sea-board and among the islands. For Menelaus might procure guest-gifts among these peoples and also enrich himself from them by violence and robbery, and more particularly from those who had been allies of the Trojans. But the barbarians that lived outside these regions or at a distance could

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οὐδεμίαν τοιαύτην ὑπηγόρευον ἐλπίδα. εἰς οὖν
tὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ἀφίχθαι λέγεται ὁ Μενέλαος, οὐχ
ὅτι εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν τὸ ὅντο ἀφίκτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι 1
μέχρι τῶν ὄρων τῶν πρὸς Ἀιγύπτων. τάχα μὲν
γὰρ καὶ πλησιαίτεροι ἦσαν ταῖς Ὑβαίας οἱ τότε
ὄροι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ νῦν πλησίον εἰσίν, οί κατὰ
Συήνην καὶ τὰς Φίλας· ὁμ η μὲν τῆς Ἀιγύπτου
ἐστίν, αἱ δὲ Φίλαι κοινῇ κατοικίᾳ τῶν Αἰθιόπων
καὶ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων. ὁ οὖν εἰς Ὑβαίας ἀφυμένος
εἰ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὄρων ἀφίκτο ἡ καὶ περαιτέρω
tῶν Αἰθιόπων, καὶ ταύτα τῇ βασιλικῇ ξενίᾳ
χρώμενος, οὐδὲν ἄλογον. οὔτω δὲ καὶ Κυκλώπων
εἰς γαίαν ἀφίχθαι φησιν ὁ Ἐνυσσέως, μέχρι τοῦ
σπηλαίου προεληλυθὼς ἀπὸ θαλάττης· ἐπ' ἐσχα-
tιᾶς γὰρ ἱδρύθη αὐτὸν λέγει. καὶ εἰς Αἰολίαν δὲ
καὶ Δανοστρυγόνας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅπου ποτὲ
kαὶ καθωρμῖσατο, ἐκείσε φησιν ἀφίχθαι. καὶ ὁ
Μενέλαος οὖν οὕτως εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν ἦκεν, οὕτω δὲ
καὶ εἰς Διβύην, ὅτι προσέσχε τόποις τισίν ἄφ' ὦ
καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὴν Ἀρδανίδα 2 λιμήν τὴν ὑπὲρ
Παραυτονίου Μενέλαος καλεῖται.
33. Εἴ δὲ Φοίνικας εἰπὼν οὐσμᾶξει καὶ Σιδο-
vίους, τὴν μητρόπολιν αὐτῶν, σχήματι συνήθει
χρῆται, ὡς
Τριῶν τε καὶ "Εκτορα νησὶ πέλασσε"

(Il. 13. 1)

1 εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν τῷ ὄντι ἀφίκτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι, Casaubon inserts; Forbiger, Sterrett, following; Kramer approving.
2 Ἀρδανίδα, Kramer, for Ἀρδανίαν.
prompt in him no such expectations. Now Homer says that Menelaus "came to" Ethiopia, not meaning that [he really came into Ethiopia, but that] he reached its frontier next to Egypt. For perhaps at that time the frontier was still nearer Thebes\(^1\) (though to-day it is quite near)—I mean the frontier that runs by Syene and Philae. Of these towns the former belongs to Egypt, but Philae is inhabited alike by Ethiopians and Egyptians. Accordingly, when Menelaus came to Thebes, it need not cause surprise if he also came as far as the frontier of the Ethiopians or even farther, especially since he was enjoying the hospitality of the king of Thebes.\(^2\) And it is in the same sense that Odysseus says he "came to" the country of the Cyclopes, although he did not get any further away from the sea than the cave; for he says that the cave lay "on the edge"\(^3\) of the country, I believe; and again in referring to the country of Aeolus, to the Laestrygonians and the rest—wherever, I say, he so much as came to anchor, he says he "came to" the country. It is in this sense, therefore, that Menelaus "came to"\(^4\) Ethiopia and in this sense to Libya, too, namely, that he "touched at" certain points; and it is from his having touched there that the harbour at Ardanis above Paraetonium\(^5\) is called "Menelaus."

33. Now if Homer, in speaking of the Phoenicians, mentions Sidonians also, who occupy the Phoenician metropolis, he is but employing a familiar figure of speech, as when he says: "Now Zeus, when he had brought the Trojans and Hector to the ships"; and,

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\(^1\) See 17. 1. 46. \(^2\) Od. 4. 126. \(^3\) Od. 9. 182. \(^4\) Od. 4. 84. \(^5\) Now, Baretoun.
καὶ
οὗ γὰρ ἐτ᾽ Οἶνιος μεγαλῆτορος νῦες ἦσαν,
οὔῳ ἀρ’ ἐτ’ αὐτὸς ἔην, θάνε δὲ Ξανθὸς Μελέ-
αγρος. (II. 2. 641)
καὶ “Ἰδην δ’ ἱκανεν” καὶ “Γάργαρον.” (II. 8. 47)
καὶ “οὐ δ’ Εὔβοιαν ἔχον” καὶ “Χαλκίδα τ’ Εἰρέ-
τριάν τε.” (II. 2. 536).
καὶ Σαπφώ:

ἡ σε Κύπρος ἢ Πάφος ἢ πάνορμος.¹

καίτοι καὶ ἄλλο τι ἢν τὸ ποιῆσαν, καίπερ ἢδη
μισθέντα τῆς Φοινίκης, ἰδίως πάλιν καὶ τὴν
Σιδῶνα συγκαταλέξαι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τὰ ἐφεξῆς
ἔθνη καταλέξαι ἰκανὸς εἰχεν οὖτως εἴπειν,

Κύπρου Φοινίκην τε καὶ Ἀιγυπτίους ἐπαληθεῖς
Αἰθιοπάς θ’ ἱκόμην. (Od. 4. 83)

C 41 ἦνα δ’ ἐμφήνη καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Σιδωνίοις ἀπο-
δημίαν, καλῶς εἰχέν εἰτ’ ἀναλαβεῖν εἴτε καὶ
παραλαβεῖν, ἢν ἐπὶ πλέον γενομένην ἐμφαίνειν;²
diα τῶν ἐπαίνων τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῖς εὐτεχίας καί
tου τὴν Ἐλένην προεξενώσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
μετὰ ’Αλεξάνδρου διόπερ παρὰ τῷ ’Αλεξάνδρῳ
πολλὰ τοιαύτα ἀποκείμενα λέγει.

ἐνθ’ ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυ-
ναικῶν

Σιδωνίων, ὡς αὐτὸς ’Αλεξάνδρος θεοειδῆς
ηγαγε Σιδωνίηθεν
tὴν ὄδον, ἢν Ἐλένην περ ἀνήγαγε. (II. 6. 289)

¹ ἢ πάνορμος, Casaubon, for ἢ Πάνορμος; Corais, Groskurd, following.

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“For the sons of great-hearted Oeneus were no more, neither did he still live, and the golden-haired Meleager was dead”; and, “So fared he to Ida” and “to Gargaros”; and, “But they possessed Euboea” and “Chalcis and Eretria”; and likewise Sappho, in the verse: “Either Cyprus or Paphos of the spacious harbour holds thee.” And yet there was another reason which induced Homer, although he had already mentioned Phoenicia, to repeat Phoenicia in a special way—that is, to add Sidon to the list. For merely to list the peoples in their proper order it was quite enough to say: “I roamed over Cyprus and Phoenicia and Egypt, and came to Ethiopia.” But in order to suggest also the sojourn of Menelaus among the Sidonians, it was proper for Homer to repeat as he did, or even add still more than that; and he suggests that this sojourn was of long duration by his praise of their skill in the arts and of the hospitality formerly extended to Helen and Paris by these same people. That is why he speaks of many Sidonian works of art stored up in the house of Paris—“where were her embroidered robes, the work of Sidonian women, whom godlike Alexandros himself brought from Sidon, that journey wherein he brought back Helen to his home”; and in the

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2 The reading of the MSS. is: ἀποδημιάν τὴν ἐπὶ πλέον γενομένην ἐμφαίνει διὰ τῶν ἐπαίνων τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῖς εὐτυχίας, καλῶς εἰχὲν εἰτ’ ἀναλαβεῖν εἶτε καὶ παραλαβεῖν εὐτεχνίας καὶ. As a result of the conjectures of Casaubon and Corais it appears in the editions of Kramer and Dübner as: ἀποδημιάν τὴν ἐπὶ πλέον γενομένην, καλῶς εἰχὲν εἰτ’ ἀναλαβεῖν εἶτε καὶ παραλαβεῖν ἐμφαίνει [δὲ] διὰ τῶν ἐπαίνων τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῖς εὐτυχίας [καὶ] εὐτεχνίας καὶ. Spengel, Meineke, C. Müller, Cobet, delete εὐτεχνίας [καὶ], and with this as a basis Madvig reads as given in the text above.
καὶ παρὰ τῷ Μενελάῳ λέγει γὰρ πρὸς Τηλεμάχον,
δῶσο τοι κρητήρα τετυμένου· ἀργύρεος δὲ ἐστὶν ἄπας, χρυσὸ δὲ ἐπὶ χείλεα κεκράνται.
ἐργον δὲ Ἡφαίστου· πόρεν δὲ ἐς Φαίδιμος ἡρως Σιδώνιων βασιλεὺς, δὴ ἕως δόμος ἀμφικάλυψε κεῖσι με νοστήσαντα. (υα. 4. 615; Οδ. 15. 115)

δεὶ δὲ δεξασθαί πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν εἰρημένον τῷ Ἡφαίστου ἐργον, ὡς λέγεται Ἀθηνᾶς ἐργα τὰ καλὰ καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Μούσῶν. ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ὁι ἄνδρες ἃςαν καλλίτεχνοι, δηλοὶ τὸν κρατήρα ἐπαινών, ὅν ὁ Εὐνεως ἐδώκεν ἀντὶ Δυκάονος· φησὶ γὰρ,

κάλλει ἐνικά πᾶσαν ἐπὶ αἶαν
πολλὸν· ἐπεὶ Σιδώνες πολυδαίδαλοι εὗ ἡσκησαν,
Φοίνικες δ' ἄγον ἄνδρες. (Ιλ. 23. 742)

34. Περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἑρεμβῶν πολλὰ μὲν εἰρηταῖ, πιθανότατοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ νομίζοντες τοὺς Ἀραβὰς λέγεσθαι. Ζῆνων δ' ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ γράφει οὕτως·

Ἀθιοπᾶς ἃ ἰκώμην καὶ Σιδώνιος Ἀραβᾶς τε.
(Οδ. 4. 84)

τὴν μὲν οὖν γραφήν οὐκ ἀνάγκη κινεῖν, παλαιὰν οὖσαν· αἰτιάσθαι δὲ βέλτιον τὴν τοῦ ὅνοματος μεταπτωσιν, πολλὴν καὶ ἑπιστολάιαν οὖσαν ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἐθνεσι. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ ποιοῦσί τινες παραγραμματίζοντες. ἀριστα δ' ἀν δόξειν εἰπεῖν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος, κἀνταῦθα ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἑθῶν συγγενείας καὶ κοινότητος ἐτυμολογῶν. τὸ γὰρ

1 Φαίδιμος, Sterrett, for φαίδιμος.
house of Menelaus too, for Menelaus says to Telemachus: "I will give thee a mixing-bowl beautifully wrought; it is all of silver, and the lips thereof are finished with gold, the work of Hephaestus; and the hero Phaedimus, the king of the Sidonians, gave it me, when his house sheltered me on my coming thither." But the expression "the work of Hephaestus" must be regarded as a case of hyperbole, just as beautiful things are spoken of as "works of Athene," or of the Graces, or of the Muses. For Homer makes it clear that the Sidonians were makers of beautiful works of art, by the praise he bestows on the bowl which Euneos gave as a ransom for Lycaon; his words are: "In beauty it was far the best in all the earth, for artificers of Sidon wrought it cunningly, and men of the Phoenicians brought it."

34. Much has been said about the Erembians; but those men are most likely to be correct who believe that Homer meant the Arabians. Our Zeno 1 even writes the text accordingly: "And I came to the Ethiopians and Sidonians and Arabians." However, it is not necessary to change the reading, for it is old. It is better to lay the confusion to the change of their name, for such change is frequent and noticeable among all nations, than to change the reading—as in fact some do when they emend by changing certain letters. But it would seem that the view of Poseidonius is best, for here he derives an etymology of the words from the kinship of the peoples and their common characteristics.

1 See Introduction, page xvi.
τῶν 'Αρμενίων ἔθνος καὶ τὸ τῶν Σύρων καὶ 'Αράβων. πολλὴν ὁμοφύλιαν ἐμφασίως, κατὰ τὴν διάλεκτον καὶ τοὺς βίους καὶ τοὺς τῶν σωμάτων χαρακτήρας, καὶ μάλιστα καθὸ πλησιόχωροι εἶσι. δὴ λοί δὴ Ἡ Μεσοποταμία ἐκ τῶν τριῶν συνεστῶσα τούτων ἔθνων μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τούτωι ἡ ὁμοιότης διαφαίνεται. εἰ δὲ τις παρὰ τὰ κλίματα γίνεται διαφορὰ τοῖς προσβόρροις ἐπὶ πλέον πρὸς τοὺς μεσημβρινοὺς καὶ τοῦτοι πρὸς μέσους τοὺς Σύρους, ἀλλ' ἐπικρατεῖ γε τὸ κοινὸν. καὶ οἱ Ἀσσύριοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀριανοὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀραμαίοι παραπλησίως πως ἔχουσι καὶ πρὸς τούτους καὶ πρὸς ἀλλίους. εἰκάζει γε δὴ καὶ τῶν τῶν ἔθνων τούτων κατονομασίας ἐμφασίως ἀλλήλαις εἶναι. τοὺς γὰρ ὧν ἡμῶν Σύρους καλουμένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Σύρων Ἀρμαίους καὶ Ἀραμαίους καλείσθαι τούτω δὴ ἐν οἷν οἱ Ἀρμενίως καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβάς καὶ Ἐρεμβούς, τάχα τῶν πάλαι Ἑλληνῶν οὗτοι καλοῦντων τοὺς Ἀραβάς, ἀμα καὶ τοῦ ἐπίυμα συνεργοῦντος πρὸς τοῦτο. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἔραν ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς Ἐρεμβοὺς ἐτυμολογοῦν σκείνως οὗτοι οἱ πολλοὶ, οὐς μεταλαβώντες οἱ ὑστερον ἐπὶ τὸ σαφέστερου Τρωγλοδύτας ἐκάλεσαν οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶν Ἀράβων οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερον μέρος τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου κεκλιμένοι, τὸ πρὸς Ἀιγύπτων καὶ Ἁλθινίας τοῦτω δὲ εἰκὸς μεμιῆσθαι τὸν ποιήτην καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἀφιχθαι λέγειν τὸν Μενέλαον, καθ' ὅν τρόπον ἐίρηται καὶ πρὸς τοὺς

1 Σύρους, A. Miller, for σρους ; A. Vogel approving.
2 Several MSS., including A., have καὶ οἱ Ἀρμενίοι after Ἀριανοί. Groskurd reads Ἀραμαίοι. For this Sterrett reads Αραμαίοι, which has MS. authority.
3 Ἀρμαίους, Groskurd, for Ἀρμενίουs.
For the nation of the Armenians and that of the Syrians and Arabians betray a close affinity, not only in their language, but in their mode of life and in their bodily build, and particularly wherever they live as close neighbours. Mesopotamia, which is inhabited by these three nations, gives proof of this, for in the case of these nations the similarity is particularly noticeable. And if, comparing the differences of latitude, there does exist a greater difference between the northern and the southern people of Mesopotamia than between these two peoples and the Syrians in the centre, still the common characteristics prevail. And, too, the Assyrians, the Arians, and the Aramaeans display a certain likeness both to those just mentioned and to each other. Indeed, Poseidonius conjectures that the names of these nations also are akin; for, says he, the people whom we call Syrians are by the Syrians themselves called Arimaeans and Aramaeans; and there is a resemblance between this name and those of the Armenians, the Arabsians and the Erebians, since perhaps the ancient Greeks gave the name of Erebians to the Arabians, and since the very etymology of the word "Erebian" contributes to this result. Most scholars, indeed, derive the name "Erebian" from eran embainein, a name which later peoples changed to "Trogloidytes" for the sake of greater clearness. Now these Trogloidytes are that tribe of Arabians who live on the side of the Arabian Gulf next to Egypt and Ethiopia. It was natural for the poet to mention these Erebians and to say that Menelaus "came to" them, in the same sense in which he says that Menelaus "came to" the Ethiopians (for they too

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1 To go into the earth.  
2 Cave-dwellers.
Αἰθλοπας· τῇ γὰρ Θηβαίδι καὶ οὕτωι πλησία
ξουσὶν ὅμως ὅν κέργασίας οὔδὲ χρηματισμὸς
χάριν τούτων ὄνομαζομένων (οὐ πολὺ γὰρ ἦν
τούτο), ἀλλὰ τοῦ μήκους τῆς ἀποδημίας καὶ τοῦ
ἔνδοξου· ἔνδοξον γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἐκτοπίσαι· τοιοῦ-
τον δὲ καὶ τὸ

πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόοι ἔγνω·
(Οd. 1. 3)

καὶ τὸ

ἡ γὰρ πολλὰ παθῶν καὶ πόλλ’ ἐπαληθεῖς
ἡγαγόμην.
(Οd. 4. 81)

'Ήσίόδος δ’ ἐν Καταλόγῳ φησί

καὶ κούρην Ἀράβοιο, τὸν Ἐρμάων ἀκάκητα
γείνατο καὶ Θρούην, κούρη Βήλου ἀνακτος.
fr. 23 (45)

οὕτω δὲ καὶ Ἐνησίχορος λέγει· εἰκάζειν οὕν ἔστιν,
ὅτι ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ ἡ χώρα Ἀραβία ἦδη τότε
ὀνομάζετο· κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἤρωας τυχόν ἴσως οὕτω.

35. Οἱ δὲ πλατύτωτος Ἐρμέβους ἴδιον τι ἐθνοὺς
Αἰθιοπικὸν καὶ ἄλλο Κηφήνων καὶ τρίτον Πυν-
μαϊῶν καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ὡτῶν ἂν πιστεύοιτο,
πρὸς τῇ μὴ ἄξιοπίθτῳ καὶ σύγχυσιν τινα ἐμφαἰ-
νοντες τοῦ μυθικοῦ καὶ ἱστορικοῦ σχήματος.
ὁμοίοι δ’ εἰσὶ τούτως καὶ οἱ Σιδοίους ἐν τῇ κατὰ
Πέρσας θαλάττῃ δυνηούμενοι, ἢ ἄλλοθι ποῦ τοῦ
ὡκεανοῦ, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μενελάου πλάνην ἐξωκεα-
νίζουτε· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φοῖνικας. τῆς δ’
ἀπιστίας αὐτίου οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἔστι τὸ ἐναυτοῦ-
θαι ἀλλάλοις τοὺς λέγοντας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ

1 ὅμως, Corais, for ὅμως.
are near the territory of Thebes); however, they were mentioned not on account of their handicraft nor yet on account of the profit Menelaus made among them (for that could not amount to much), but on account of the length of his sojourn among them and the fame of having visited them; for it was a famous thing to have travelled so far abroad. This is the meaning of: "Many were the men whose towns he saw and whose mind he learnt"; and of: "Yea, and after many woes and wanderings manifold, I brought [my wealth home in ships]." Hesiod in his Catalogue speaks of "the daughter of Arabus, the son of guileless Hermamon\(^1\) and of Thronia the daughter of king Belus." And Stesichorus says the same thing. Therefore, we may conjecture that at the time of Hesiod and Stesichorus the country was already called Arabia from this "Arabus," although it may be that it was not yet so called in the times of the heroes.

35. Those scholars who invent the explanation that the Erembians are some particular Ethiopian tribe, or, again, a tribe of Cephenians, or thirdly, a tribe of Pygmies—or a host of other tribes—are less deserving of credence, since in addition to the incredibility of their theories they betray a tendency to confound myth and history. Like them are the writers who tell of Sidonians on the Persian Gulf, or somewhere else on Oceanus, and who place the wanderings of Menelaus, and likewise place the Phoenicians, out in Oceanus. And not the least reason for not believing them is the fact that they contradict one another. For some of them say that

\(^1\) Hermes.
τοὺς Σιδώνιους τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀποίκους εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀκεανῷ φασὶ, προστιθέντες καὶ διὰ τί Φοίνικες ἐκαλοῦντο, ὅτι καὶ ἡ θάλαττα ἐρυθραῖα οἱ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τούτων. εἰσὶ δ' οὐ καὶ τὴν Λιθωπίαν εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς Φοίνικην μετάγονσι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐν Ἰόπῃ συμβῆναι φασίν· οὐ δήποτε κατ' ἄγνοιαν τοπικήν καὶ τούτων λεγομένων, ἀλλ' ἐν μυθου μᾶλλον σχήματι καθάπερ καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἡσιόδων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δ' προφέρει ο' Ἀπολλόδωρος, οὐδ' ἢν τρόπον παρατίθησι τοῖς Ὄμηρου ταῦτα εἰδὼς. τὰ μὲν γὰρ Ὅμηρον, τὰ περὶ τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὴν Λιθωπίαν, μηλαπίσχησις ἄγνοιαν αἰτιώμενος, ὡς λέγειν μὲν τὰ ὄντα βουλομένου, μὴ λέγοντος δὲ τὰ ὄντα, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα κατ' ἄγνοιαν. Ἡσιόδον δ' οὔκ ἀν τις αἰτιάσατο ἄγνοιαν, Ὅμηρον πλέοντος καὶ Μακροκεφάλους καὶ Πυγμαίους· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς Ὅμηρος ταῦτα μυθεύοντος, διὰ εἰσὶ καὶ οὕτως οἱ Πυγμαίοι, οὕτω Ἀλκμάνος Στεγανόποδας ἱστοροῦντος, οὐδ' Ἀισχύλου Κυνοκεφάλου καὶ Στερνοφθάλμους καὶ Μονομμάτους, ὅπου γε οὕτως τοῖς πεζῆς συγγράφουσιν ἐν ἱστορίας σχήματι προσέχομεν περὶ πολλῶν, καὶ μὴ εξομολογώνται τὴν μυθογραφίαν. φαίνεται γὰρ εὔθυς, ὅτι μῦθους παραπλέκουσιν ἔκοντες, οὔκ

1 οὐδ', Corais, for oθ'; Meineke following.
even the Sidonians who are our neighbours are colonists from the Sidonians on Oceanus, and they actually add the reason why our Sidonians are called Phoenicians,\(^1\) namely, because the colour of the Persian Gulf is “red”; but others hold that the Sidonians on Oceanus are colonists from our Phoenicia. And there are some who transfer Ethiopia also to our Phoenicia, and who say that the adventure of Andromeda took place in Joppa, though the story is surely not told in ignorance of its local setting\(^2\) but rather in the guise of myth; and the same is true of the stories that Apollodorus cites from Hesiod and the other poets without even realising in what way he is comparing them with the stories in Homer. For he compares what Homer says about the Pontus and Egypt and charges him with ignorance, on the ground that, though he wanted to tell the truth, he did not do so, but in his ignorance stated as true what was not true. Yet no one could charge Hesiod with ignorance when he speaks of “men who are half-dog,” of “long-headed men” and of “Pygmies”; no more should one charge Homer with ignorance when he tells these mythical stories of his, one of which is that of these very Pygmies; nor Alcman when he tells about “web-footed men”; nor Aeschylus when he speaks of “dog-headed men,” or of “men with eyes in their breasts,” or of “one-eyed men”\(^3\); since, at all events, we do not pay much attention to prose writers, either, when they compose stories on many subjects in the guise of history, even if they do not expressly acknowledge that they are dealing in myths. For it is self-evident that they are weaving in myths intentionally, not through
άγνοία τῶν ὄντων, ἀλλὰ πλάσι τῶν ἀδυνάτων τερατείας καὶ τέρησεως χάριν δοκούσι δὲ κατ’ ἀγνοιαν, ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ πιθανῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα μυθεύουσι περὶ τῶν ἁδηλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄγνουομένων. Θεόπωμπος δὲ ἔξωμολογεῖται φήσας ὅτι καὶ μῦθους ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐρεί, κρείττον ἢ ὡς Ὑπόδοτος καὶ Κτησίας καὶ Ἐλλάνικος καὶ οἱ τὰ Ῥουκίκα συγγράφαντες.

36. Ἡπὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ ὄκεανοῦ παθῶν εὑρήται μὲν ἐν μῦθον σχῆματι καὶ γὰρ τούτων στοχάζεσθαι δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀμπώτεσθαι καὶ τῶν πλημμυρίδων ἡ Χάρυβδις αὐτῷ μεμύθεται, οὐδὲ αὐτῇ παντάπασιν Ὁμήρου πλάσμα οὔσα, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ τῶν Σικελικῶν πορθμῶν διεσκευασμένη. εἰ δὲ δίς τῆς παλαρροίας γνωμένης καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἐκείνος τρὶς εὑρήκει,

τρὶς μὲν γὰρ τ’ ἀνίχνησιν ἐπ’ ἡματι, τρὶς δὲ ἀναροίβδεϊ, (Od. 12. 105)

λέγοιτ’ ἀν καὶ οὕτως’ οὐ γὰρ κατ’ ἀγνοιαν τῆς ἱστορίας ὑποληπτέουν λέγεσθαι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τραγῳδίας χάριν καὶ φόβον, δυ στὴ Κήρυκα τολύν τοῖς λόγοις προστίθεσιν ἀποτροπὴς χάριν, ὡστε καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος παραμύνυσθαι. ἐν αὐτοῖς γοῦν τοῖς ἐπεσι τούτοις εὑρήκε μὲν οὕτως η Κήρυκα.

τρὶς μὲν γὰρ τ’ ἀνίχνησιν ἐπ’ ἡματι, τρὶς δὲ ἀναροίβδεϊ.
GEOGRAPHY, i. 2. 35–36

ignorance of the facts, but through an intentional invention of the impossible, to gratify the taste for the marvellous and the entertaining. But they give the impression of doing this through ignorance, because by preference and with an air of plausibility they tell such tales about the unfamiliar and the unknown. Theopompus expressly acknowledges the practice when he says that he intends to narrate myths too in his History—a better way than that of Herodotus, Ctesias, Hellanicus, and the authors of the Histories of India.¹

36. What Homer says about the behaviour of Oceanus is set forth in the guise of a myth (this too is a thing the poet must aim at); for he borrowed the myth of Charybdis from the ebb and flow of the tides; though even Charybdis herself is not wholly an invention of Homer, for she was dressed up by him in accordance with what had been told him about the Strait of Sicily. And suppose that by the words, "For thrice a day she spouts it forth, and thrice a day she sucks it down," Homer does affirm that the refluent tide comes in three times within the course of each day and night (although it comes in but twice), he might be permitted to express it in this way; for we must not suppose that he used these words in ignorance of the facts, but for the sake of the tragic effect and of the emotion of fear upon which Circe plays largely in what she says to Odysseus in order to terrify him; and for that reason she mingled the false with the true. At any rate, in these very lines Circe has said: "For thrice a day she spouts it forth and thrice a day she sucks it

¹ Deimachus, Megasthenes, Onesicritus, Nearchus and others. See 2. 1. 9.
δεινών· μὴ σὺ γε κείθι τύχοις, ὦτε ροιβδήσεις
οὐ γάρ κεν ρύσαιτό σ’ ύπεκ κακοῦ οὐδ’ Ἠνο-
σίχων. (Od. 12. 105)
καὶ μὴν παρέτυχε τε τῇ ἀναρροβδήσει ὦ Ὄδυς-
σεύς καὶ οὐκ ἀπώλετο, ὡς φησίν αὐτός:

ή μὲν ἀνερροβδήσε θαλάσσης ἀλμυρὸν ὑδάρι
αὐτὰρ ἐγώ, ποτὶ μακρόν ἐρινεδὼν ὑψόσ’ ἀερθεῖς,
tὸ προσφύς ἐχόμην, ὡς νυκτερίς. (Od. 12. 431)
ἐίτα περιμένας τὰ ναυάγια καὶ λαβόμενος πάλιν
αὐτῶν σώζεται, ὥστ’ ἐψεύσατο ἡ Κύρκη. ὡς οὖν
tούτο, κάκεινο τὸ "τρὶς μὲν γὰρ τ’ ἀνύψων ἔπ’
ἡμαί τ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ δίς, ἀμα καὶ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῆς
tοιαύτης συνήθους πᾶσιν οὐσίας, τρισμακαρίους
cal τρισαθλίους λεγόντων καὶ ὁ ποιητής:

τρισμάκαρες Δαναοί, (Od. 5. 306)
καὶ
ἀσπισίη τρίλλιστος, (II. 8. 488)
καὶ
τριχθά’ τε καὶ τετραχθά. ’(II. 3. 363)

ἴσως δ’ ἂν τις καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρας τεκμηριώτθη, ὅτι
ὑπαινίττεται πώς τοῦ ἄλλης· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐφαρ-
μόττει 1 τῷ δίς γενέσθαι τὴν παλιέρριαιν κατὰ τὸν
συνάμφω χρόνον, τὸν ἐξ ἥμερας καὶ νυκτός, ἡ τῷ
τρίς, τὸ 2 τοσόῦτον χρόνον μεῖναι τὰ ναυάγια
ὑποβρύχια, ὡς δὲ ἀναβληθῆται ποθοῦντι καὶ
συνεχῶς προσισχομένου τοῖς κλάδοις·

υνλεμέως δ’ ἐχόμην, ὄφρ’ ἐξεμέσειεν ὄπλῳσω
ιστὸν καὶ τρόπιν αὐτίς, ἐξελδομένῳ δὲ μοι ἢλθον 3
ὄψ’. ἢμοι δ’ 4 ἐπὶ δόρπον ἅπηρ ἄγορηθεν ἄνεστη,

1 ἐφαρμόττει, Corais following kno, for ἐφαρμόττοι.
down—a terrible sight! Never mayest thou be there when she sucks the water, for none might save thee from thy bane, not even the Earth-Shaker.” Yet Odysseus later on was present when she “sucked it down,” and he did not perish; as he himself says: “Now she had sucked down the salt sea-water, but I was swung up on high to a tall fig-tree, whereto I clung like a bat.” Then waiting for the pieces of wreckage and laying hold of them again, he saved himself on them; and so Circe lied. And as she lied in this statement, so she lied in that other statement, “for thrice a day she spouts it forth,” instead of “twice a day,” although it is true, at the same time, that this kind of hyperbole is familiar to everybody—as, for instance, when we say “thrice-blessed” and “thrice-wretched.” The poet himself says: “Thrice-blessed those Danaäns”; and again: “Welcome, thrice-prayed for”; and yet again: “Into three, yea, into four pieces.” Perhaps one might infer also from the time involved that Homer is, in a way, hinting at the truth; for the fact that the pieces of wreckage remained so long engulfed and were only tardily cast up for Odysseus, who was longing for them and constantly clinging to the limbs of the tree, better suits the assumption that the refluent tide came in twice, rather than thrice, during the twofold period, consisting of a day and a night: “Steadfastly I clung,” he says, “till she should vomit forth mast and keel again; and late they came to my desire. At the hour when a man rises up from the assembly and goes to supper,

2 τό before τοσοῦτον, Corais inserts, following g; Madvig independently.
3 ἡλθον, Sterrett, for ἡλθεν. 4 δ’, Sterrett, for τ’.
κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ δικαζομένων αἰξηῶν, καὶ τὸτε δὴ μοι δοῦρα Χαρύβδιος ἔξεφανθη.
(Od. 12. 437)

πάντα γὰρ ταύτα χρόνου τινὸς ἐμφασιν ἀξιολόγον δίδωσι, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐπιτείναι, μὴ κοινῶς εἰπόντα, ἡνίκα ὁ δικαστὴς ἀνύσταται, ἀλλ' ἡνίκα κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ, ὅστε βραδύναι πλέον τι. καὶ ἄλλως δὲ οὖ πιθανὴν ἄν ὑπέτεινε τῷ ναναγῷ τὴν ἀπαλλαγήν, εἰ, πρὶν ἀποσπασθήναι πολύ,1 αὐτίκα εἰς τοῦτο ὑπ’ εὐρίσκουσι μετέπιπτεν.

37. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ἐπιτιμᾶν Καλλιμάχῳ, συνηγορῶν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἑρατοσθένην, διότι, καίτερ γραμματικὸς ὄν, παρὰ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν ἄποθεσιν καὶ τὸν ἐξωκεανισμὸν τῶν τόπων, περὶ οὖσ τὴν πλάνην φράζει, Γαύδου καὶ Κόρκυραν ὀνομάζει. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν μηδαμοῦ γέγονεν ἡ πλάνη, ἀλλ' ὅλου πλάσμα ἐστὶν Ὀμήρου τοῦτο, ὅθ' ἡ ἐπιτίμησις· εἰ, εἰ γέγονε μὲν, περὶ ἄλλους δὲ τόπους, ἔδει2 λέγειν εὐθὺς καὶ περὶ τίνας, ἐπανορθούμενον ἄμα τὴν ἀγνοίαν. μήτε δὲ ὅλου πλάσματος εἶναι πιθανὸς λεγομένου, καθάπερ ἐπεδέκισθη, μήτ' ἄλλων τόπων κατὰ πίστιν μελ' ὑμεῖς δεικνυμένων, ἀπολύοιτ' ἀν τῆς αἰτίας ὁ Καλλιμάχος.

1 kal, Corais deletes, before αὐτίκα; Groskurd, Forbiger, following. 2 ἔδει, Corais, for δὲ.
the arbiter of many quarrels of the young men that plead their cases, at that hour the timbers came forth to view from out Charybdis.” All this gives the impression of a considerable lapse of time, and particularly the fact that the poet prolongs the time to the evening, for he does not merely say in general terms, “at the hour when the judge rises up,” but he adds “arbiter of many quarrels”; hence he had been detained somewhat longer than usual. And another consideration: the means of escape which the poet offers the shipwrecked Odysseus would not be plausible, if each time, before he was carried far away by the tide, he was immediately thrown back by the refluent tide.\(^1\)

37. Apollodorus, agreeing with Eratosthenes and his school, censures Callimachus, because, though a scholar, Callimachus names Gaudos \(^2\) and Corcyra as scenes of the wanderings of Odysseus, in defiance of Homer’s fundamental plan, which is to transfer to Oceanus the regions in which he describes the wanderings as taking place. But if the wanderings never took place anywhere, and if this is wholly a fiction of Homer’s, then Apollodorus’ censure is just. Or if the wanderings did take place, but in other regions, then Apollodorus should have said so at the outset and should have told in what regions they took place, thus at once correcting the ignorant view of Callimachus. But since the story cannot with plausibility be called wholly a fiction, as I have shown above,\(^3\) and since no other places are pointed out that have a greater claim to our credence, Callimachus might be absolved from censure.

\(^2\) The island of Gozo, south of Sicily, which Callimachus makes the Isle of Calypso.  
\(^3\) 1. 2. 9 ff.
38. Οὐδ᾿ ὁ Σκῆψις δὲ Δημήτριος εὗ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλοδόρῳ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐνίων αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος κατέστη. πρὸς γὰρ Νεινθὴ τὸν Κύκλικνὸν, φιλοτιμοτέρως ἀντιλέγων, εἰπόντα ὅτι οἱ Ἀργοναύται πλέοντες εἰς Φάσιν τῶν ύφ᾽ Ὀμήρου καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ὡμολογοῦμενον πλούσιν, ἱδρύσαντο τὰ τῆς Ἰδαίας μητρὸς ἐπὶ πέρι Κύκλεως, ἱρχὴν φησὶ μηδ’ εἰδέναι τὴν εἰς Φάσιν ἀποδημίαι τοῦ Ἰάσωνος Ὀμήρου. τοῦτο δ’ ὦ μόνον τοῖς ύφ᾽ Ὀμήρου λεγομένοις μάχεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ύπ’ αὐτοῦ. φησὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα Λέσβων μὲν πορθῆσαι καὶ ἄλλα χωρία, Δήμουν δ’ ἱπποσχέσθαι καὶ τῶν πελεσίων νῆσων διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἰάσωνα καὶ τὸν νιὸν Ἐὔνεων συνυγενεῖαν τὸν ¹ τοῦτε τὴν νήσου κατέχονται. πῶς οὖν ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦτο μὲν ἤδει, διότι συνυγενεῖς ἢ ὡμοθενεῖς ἢ γείτονες ἢ ὑπωσοῦν οἰκεῖοι ὑπήρχον ὦ τε Ἀχιλλεύς καὶ ὁ Ἰάσων (ὤπερ ύποδιόθην ἀλλοθεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ Θετταλόου ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι συνεβαίνει, καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἰόλκιοιν, τὸν δ’ ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος Ἀχαιώδους ὑπάρχουσιν), τοῦτο δ’ ἤγνων, πόθεν ἐπῆλθε ² τῷ Ἰάσωνι, Θετταλῷ καὶ Ἰωλκίῳ ὑπάρχοντι, ἐν μὲν τῇ πατρίδι μηδεμίᾳ καταλυπεῖν διαδοχήν, Δήμουν δὲ καταστήσας κύριον τὸν νιὸν; καὶ Πελίαν μὲν ἤδει καὶ τὰς Πελιάδας καὶ τὴν Ἀλκηστίν ³ τὴν ἀρίστην αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν νιὸν αὐτῆς

Εὐμηλον, τὸν ὑπ’ Ἀρμήτῳ τέκε διὰ γυναικῶν Ἀλκηστίς, Πελίαο θυγατρῶν εἴδος ἀρίστης.

(I. 2. 714)

1 τὸν, H. Kallenberg inserts, before τοῦ.
2 ἐπῆλθε, Cobet, for ἔλθε; Bernadakis, A. Vogel, approving.
3 τὴν Ἀλκηστίν, Kramer inserts.

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38. Nor is Demetrius of Scepsis right; on the contrary, he is the cause of some of the mistakes of Apollodorus. For in his excessive eagerness to refute the statement of Neanthes of Cyzicus that the Argonauts erected the sanctuary of the Idaean Mother \(^1\) in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus when they were sailing to Phasis \(^2\) on the voyage which is admitted by Homer and other writers, Demetrius says that Homer knew absolutely nothing about the voyage of Jason to Phasis. Now this is opposed not only to Homer’s statements but to the statements made by Demetrius himself. For Demetrius says that Achilles sacked Lesbos and other places, but spared Lemnos and the islands adjacent thereto on account of his kinship with Jason and with Jason’s son Euneos who at that time possessed the island of Lemnos. Now how comes it that the poet knew this, namely, that Achilles and Jason were kinsmen or fellow-countrymen, or neighbours, or friends in some way or other (a relationship that could not be due to any other fact than that both men were Thessalians, and that one was born in Ioleus and the other in Achaean Phthiotis), and yet did not know what had put it into the head of Jason, a Thessalian and an Iolcian, to leave no successor on the throne of his native country, but to establish his son as lord of Lemnos? And did he know about Pelias and the daughters of Pelias, and about Alcestis, the noblest of them, and about her son “Eumelus, whom Alcestis, fair among women, bare to Admetus, Alcestis that was most Beauteous to look upon of the daughters of Pelias,” and yet, as regards the

\(^1\) Cybele. See 10. 3. 12-13.
\(^2\) See 11. 2. 16-18.
τῶν δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἰάσωνα συμβάντων καὶ τὴν Ἀργῶ καὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναῦτας, τῶν μὲν ὁμολογομένων παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνήκοος ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀκεανῷ τὸν παρ᾽ Ἀιήτου πλοῦν ἐπλαττεν, ἄρχην μηδεμίαν ἐξ ἱστορίας λαβών;

39. Ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἀπαντεῖς λέγουσιν, ὦ τε ἐξ ἀρχής πλοῦς ὁ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ἔχει πιθανὸν τι, τοῦ Πελίου στείλαντος, καὶ ἡ ἐπάνως καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ παράπλω νῆσον ὡσεὶ ἐπικράτεια καὶ νὴ Δία ἢ ἐπὶ πλέον γενθεῖσα πλάνη, καθάπερ καὶ τῷ Ὄδυσσεῖ καὶ τῷ Μενελάῳ, ἐκ τῶν ἐτὶ νῦν δεικτιμένων καὶ πεπιστευμένων, ἐτὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ὀμήρου φωνῆς. ἢ τε γὰρ Δία δείκνυται περὶ Φᾶσιν πόλις καὶ ὁ Ἀιήτης πεπιστευται βασιλεύσαι τῆς Κολχίδος, καὶ ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐκεί τούτι ἐπιχώριον τοῦνομα. ἢ τε Μηδεία φαρμακίς ἱστορεῖται, καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς ἐκεί χώρας ἐκ τῶν χρυσείων καὶ ἀργυρεῖων καὶ ιδιηρείων καὶ χαλκείων ὁ δικαλαν τινὰ ὑπαγορεύει πρόφασιν τῆς στρατείας, καθ᾽ ἦν καὶ Φρίξος πρότερον ἔστειλε τὸν πλοῦν τούτον καὶ ἐστὶν ὑπομνήματα τῆς ἀμφοῦ στρατείας, τὸ τε Φρίξεων τὸ ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις τῆς τε Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, καὶ τὰ Ἰασώνεια, ἢ πολλάχοι καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μηδίας καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων αὐτάς τόπων δείκνυται. καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ

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1 ὀ τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλοῦς, Corais, for ὦτε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ πλοῦς; Madvig approving.
2 ὁ, H. Kallenberg inserts, before ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν.
3 ἢ τε δὲ, Madvig, for ἢτιν.
4 ιδιηρείων καὶ χαλκείων δικαλαν, A. Miller, for ιδιηρείων καὶ δικαλαν; A. Vogel approving.

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adventures of Jason and the Argo and the Argonauts, had never heard of the things that are agreed upon by everybody, but invented the voyage away from Aeëtes' country and placed it on Oceanus, without any foundation for his story in history?

39. For, as all admit, the original voyage to Phasis ordered by Pelias, the return voyage, and the occupation, however considerable, of islands on the coasting-voyage thither, contain an element of plausibility, as do also, I am sure, the wanderings which carried Jason still further—just as there is an element of plausibility in the wanderings of both Odysseus and Menelaus—as evidenced by things still to this day pointed out and believed in, and by the words of Homer as well. For example, the city of Aea is still shown on the Phasis, and Aeëtes is believed to have ruled over Colchis, and the name Aeëtes\(^1\) is still locally current among the people of that region. Again, Medea the sorceress is a historical person; and the wealth of the regions about Colchis, which is derived from the mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper, suggests a reasonable motive for the expedition, a motive which induced Phrixus also to undertake this voyage at an earlier date. Moreover, memorials of both expeditions still exist: the sanctuary of Phrixus,\(^2\) situated on the confines of Colchis and Iberia, and the sanctuaries of Jason, which are pointed out in many places in Armenia and Media and in the countries adjacent thereto. More than that, it is

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\(^1\) Aeëtes was a patronym of a dynasty of Colchian kings. See Xenophon, *Anab.* 5. 6. 37.

\(^2\) On this sanctuary and Iberia (east of Colchis) see 11. 2. 18.
Σινώπην καὶ τὴν ταύτην ἔποιεσαν καὶ τὴν Προ-
pontída καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου μέχρι τῶν κατὰ
tὴν Δήμουν τῶν λέγεται πολλὰ τεκμηρία τῆς
tῆς Ιάσουνος στρατείας καὶ τῆς Φρίξου· τῆς δὲ
Ιάσουνος καὶ τῶν ἐπιδιωξάντων Κόλχων καὶ μέχρι
τῆς Κρήτης καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τοῦ Ἀδριοῦ, ὅν
ἐνὶ καὶ ὁ Καλλίμαχος ἐπισημαίνεται, τοτὲ μὲν

Αἰγυλῆτην Ἀνάφην τε Δακωνίδει γείτονα Θήρη

λέγων ἐν ἔλεγεία, ἤς ἡ ἄρχη·

"Αρχιμνος, ὡς ἠρεις ἀπ' Ἀλήταο Κυταίου,

ἀντὶς ἐσ ἄρχην ἐπλεουν Ἀιμονίην·
tοτὲ δὲ περὶ τῶν Κόλχων,

οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἰλλυριοῖο πόρου σχάσσαντες ἐρετμὰ

λάα πάρα ξανθῆς Ἀρμονίης τάφιον

ἀστυρον ἐκτίσσαντο, τὸ κεῖνον Φυγάδων τῆς ἐνισποί

Γρακός, ἀτὰρ κείων γλώσσα ὅνομη unde Πόλασ.

tων δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰστροῦ ἀναπλεύσαες βασιν μέχρι

πολλοῦ τοὺς περὶ τῶν Ἰάσωνα, οἱ δὲ καὶ μέχρι
tου Ἄδριου, οἱ μὲν κατὰ ἄγνοιαν τῶν τῶν τῶν, οἱ

dὲ καὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστροῦ ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰστροῦ

τῆν ἄρχην ἔχοντα ἐκβάλλειν εἰς τοῦ Ἄδριαν βασι:

τάλλα δὲ οὐκ ἀπιθάνων οὐδ' ἀπίστως λέγοντες.

40. Τοιαύταις δὴ τισιν ἀφορμαὶς ὁ ποιητὴς

χρησάμενος τὰ μὲν ὅμολογεί τοῖς ἰστορομένοις,

1 ἀνάφης, Meineke (Vind. 4), for ταύτης; A. Vogel approving.
2 ἐν ἔλεγεία, ἤς ἡ ἄρχη, Meineke (Vind. 5) inserts, after

λέγων; Forbiger, C. Müller, Tardieu, following.
3 Ἰλλυριοῖο, Meineke, for Ἰλλυρικοῖο; C. Müller approving.
4 τάφιον, Bentlely, for ἄφιος; Meineke following.
5 τὸ κεῖν, Corais, for τοῦ μὲν; Meineke following.
6 τάλλα, Groskurd, for τά; Forbiger approving.
said that there are many evidences of the expeditions of Jason and of Phrixus in the neighbourhood of Sinope and the adjacent sea-board and also about the Propontis and the Hellespont as far as the regions about Lemnos. And there are traces of the expedition of Jason, and of the Colchians who pursued him, as far as Crete and Italy and the Adriatic Sea, some of which Callimachus notes when he says, "Aegletes\textsuperscript{1} and Anaphe hard by Laconian Thera,\textsuperscript{2}" in an elegy whose opening words are, "At the outset I shall sing how the heroes sailed back from the kingdom of Aeëtes of Cytacea to ancient Haemonia.\textsuperscript{3}" In another place Callimachus speaks about the Colchians, who "stayed their oars in the Sea of Illyria beside the tomb-stone of blonde Harmonia, and there built a little city, which a Greek would call 'the city of the exiles,' but which their language has named Polae.\textsuperscript{4}" Some say that Jason and his companions even sailed up the Ister\textsuperscript{5} a considerable distance, while others say that he ascended as far as the Adriatic Sea; the former make their statement in ignorance of these regions, whereas the latter make the assertion that a river Ister branches off from the great Ister and empties into the Adriatic Sea; but apart from this, what they say is neither improbable nor incredible.

40. Accordingly, it is by availing himself of some such basis of fact that Homer tells his story, agreeing in some respects with matters of history,

\textsuperscript{1} "The radiant one," epithet of Apollo. To save the Argonauts he caused the island of Anaphe, now Nanfi, to rise from the sea. The Argonauts erected a temple there to "Apollo Aegletes." 
\textsuperscript{2} In Cyrene. See 8. 3. 19.
\textsuperscript{3} Thessaly. See 9. 5. 23.
\textsuperscript{4} See 5. 1. 9.
\textsuperscript{5} Danube.
προσμυθεύει δὲ τούτως, ἔθος τί φυλάττων καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ἑδιον. ὁμολογεῖ μὲν, ὅταν τὸν ¹ Αἰήτην ὀνομάζῃ, καὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα καὶ τὴν Ἀργώ λέγη, καὶ παρὰ τὴν Αλαν ² τὴν Αλαίνην πλάτη, καὶ τὸν Ἐλυσοῦν ἐν Δήμῳ καθδρύῃ, καὶ ποιή τὸ Ἀχιλλεί φίλην τὴν νήσου, καὶ παρὰ τὴν Μιῆδειαν τὴν Κίρκην φαρμακίδα ποιή

αὐτοκασιγνήτην ὅλοφρονος Αἰήταος·
(Od. 10. 137)

προσμυθοποιεῖ δὲ τὸν ἐξωκεαινισμὸν τὸν κατὰ τὴν πλάνην συμβάντα τὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου τοῦ πλοῦ. ἐπεὶ κάκεινο, ὑποκειμένων μὲν τούτων, εὖ λέγεται,

'Αργώ πασιμέλουσα, (Od. 12. 70)

ὡς ἐν γνωρίμωις τόποις καὶ εὐανδρούσι τῆς γαυν- στολίας γενομένης· εἰ δ’, ὡσπερ ὁ Σκηνίχιςς
φησὶ παραλαβῶν μάρτυρα Μίμνερμον, δς ἐν τῷ ὕκεανθο ποιήσας τὴν οἴκησιν τοῦ Αἰήτου προς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἐκτὸς πεμφθῆναι φησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελίου τὸν Ἰάσονα καὶ κομίσαι τὸ δέρος, οὔτ’ ἄν
ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ δέρος ἐκεῖσε πομπὴ πιθανὸς λέγοιτο εἰς ἀγνώτας καὶ ἀφανεῖς τόπους οὕσα,3 οὔθ’ ὁ δ’ ἐρήμων καὶ ἀοίκων καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτον ἐκτε- τοπισμένων πλοῦ. οὔτ’ ἐνδοξὸς οὔτε πασιμέλων.

C 47 (οὐδὲ κατ’ ἀν μέγα κως ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς
'Ηήσων
ἐξ Αἰής, τελέσας ἀληγοδέσσαν ὁδόν,

¹ τὸν, Corais inserts, before Αἰήτην.
² τὴν Αλαν, Corais inserts before τὴν Αλαίν (or τὸν Αἰήτην); Kramer, Forbiger, Meineke, following.
³ οὕσα, B. Niese inserts, after τόπουs.
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but adding to them an element of myth, thus adhering to a custom that is not only his own but one common to poets. He agrees with history when he uses the name of "Aëttes,"¹ when he tells of Jason and the Argo, when, with "Aea" in mind, he invents "Aeaea,"² when he establishes Euneos in Lemnos, when he makes the island of Lemnos beloved of Achilles, and when, with Medea in mind, he makes the sorceress Circe "own sister to the baleful Aëttes." But he adds an element of myth when he transfers to Oceanus the wanderings that follow the voyage to Aëttes' country. For if the facts above-mentioned be assumed, then the words, "the Argo that is in all men's minds," are also properly used, inasmuch as the expedition is supposed to have taken place in well-known and populous regions. But if the facts were as Demetrius of Scepsis maintains, on the authority of Mimnermus (Mimnermus places the home of Aëttes in Oceanus, outside the inhabited world in the east, and affirms that Jason was sent thither by Pelias and brought back the fleece), then, in the first place, the expedition thither in quest of the fleece would not sound plausible (since it was directed to unknown and obscure countries), and in the second place, the voyage through regions desolate and uninhabited and so out-of-the-way from our part of the world would be neither famous nor "in all men's minds." Mimnermus says: "Never would Jason himself have brought back the great fleece from Aea, accomplishing his mind-racking journey and fulfilling the

¹ Od. 12. 70.
² Od. 11. 70; 12. 3. Homer's "Aeaea" (home of Circe) was an invention based upon "Aea," which he actually knew. Strabo alludes to the same thing in I. 2. 10.

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Strabo

ὑβριστὴ Πελίη τελέων χαλεπηρέσ ἁεθλοῦν,
οὔδ' ἂν ἐπ' Ὄκεανοῦ καλὸν ἰκοντο ῥῶν
καὶ υποβάς,

Ἀλήταο πόλιν, τόθι τ' ὁκέος Ἡελίουo
ἀκτῖνες χρυσέω κείαται ἐν ταλάμω
'Οκεανοῦ παρὰ χείλεσ', ἵν' ὁχετο θεῖος Ἰησοῦν.)

III

1. Οὐδὲ τούτ' εὖ Ἔρατοσθένης, ὅτι ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀξίων μνήμης ἔπι πλέου μέμνηται, τά μὲν ἐλέγχων, τά δὲ πιστεύων καὶ μάρτυρι χρώμενος αὐτοῖς, οἶον Δαμάστη καὶ τοιοῦτος ἄλλοις. καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι λέγουσιν ἀλήθες, οὐ μάρτυσι γε ἐκείνοις χρηστέων περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ πιστευτέον διὰ τούτο· ἄλλα ἔπι τῶν ἄξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν μόνων τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ χρηστέου, οὐ πολλὰ μὲν εἰρήκασιν εὖ, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παραλειπότασιν ἢ οὐχ ἰκανῶς ἐξεῖπον, οὐδὲν δ' ἐφευσμένως. οδ' Δαμάστῃ χρώμενος μάρτυρι οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ καλοῦντος μάρτυρα τὸν Βεργαῖον ἢ τὸν Μεσσήνιον Εὐημερον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐς αὐτὸς εἰρήκε διαβάλλων τῇ φλυαρίαν. καὶ τούτου δ' ἕνα τῶν λήρων αὐτὸς λέγει, τὸν μὲν

1 These lines are regarded as a marginal note by Kramer, Meineke, C. Müller.

1 Since Antiphanes of Berga, in Thrace, was the typical romancer, "Bergaean" became a proverbial epithet for writers of his type. It is not known whether Euhemerus was from Messene in Sicily, or from Messene in the Peloponnesus. He made extensive journeys by order of Cassander, King of Macedonia (316-297 B.C.). In his work on "Sacred
difficult task for insolent Pelias, nor would they have come even to the fair stream of Oceanus"; and further on he says: "To the city of Aeëtes, where the rays of the swift Sun lie in a chamber of gold beside the lips of Oceanus, whither glorious Jason went."

III

1. Eratosthenes is wrong on this point too, that he makes mention at too great length of men who do not deserve mention, censuring them in some things, while in other things he believes them and uses them as authorities—for instance, Damastes and others of his type. For even if there is an element of truth in what they say, we should not on that account use them as authorities, or believe them, either; on the contrary, we should use in such a way only men of repute—men who have been right on many points, and who, though they have omitted many things, or treated them inadequately, have said nothing with false intent. But to use Damastes as an authority is no whit better than to cite as authorities the "Bergaean"—or rather the Messenian—Euhemerus ¹ and the other writers whom Eratosthenes himself cites, in order to ridicule their absurdities. Eratosthenes himself tells us one of the absurd stories of Damastes, who assumes that the History" he gave a fanciful account of his travels, and, on the basis of various inscriptions which he said he saw, attempted to rationalize the whole system of Greek mythology.

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Αράβιον κόλπον λάμυνη ὑπολαμβάνοντος εἶναι, 
Διότιμον δὲ τὸν Στρομβίχου πρεσβείας Ἀθηναίων 
ἀφηγούμενον διὰ τοῦ Κύδνου ἀναπλεύσαι ἐκ τῆς 
Κυλκίας ἐπὶ τὸν Χοάστην ποταμόν, ὅσ παρὰ τὰ 
Σοῦσα ἑβεί, καὶ ἄφικέσθαι τεσσαρακοσταῖον εἰς 
Σοῦσα. ταῦτα δ’ αὐτῷ διηγήσασθαι αὐτὸν τὸν 
Διότιμον. εἶτα θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τὸν ᾿Εὐφράτην καὶ 
τὸν Τίγριν ἢν δυνατὸν διακόψαντα τὸν Κύδνου εἰς 
τὸν Χοάστην ἐκβαλὲν.

2. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτ’ ἀν τις ἐπισημήναι το, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῶν πόντων οὐδὲ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν τῷ 
γνώριμα εἶναι φήσας τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστα ἥκριβο-
λογούμενα, καὶ κελεύσας ἣμίν μὴ ῥαδίως τοῖς 
tυχοῦσι πιστεύειν, καὶ τὰς αὐτιὰς διὰ μακρῶν 
ἀποδοὺς, δ’ ἂς οὐδὲν πιστευτέον μυθολογοῦντι 
περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὸν ᾿Αδρίαν, 
αὐτὸς ἐπίστευσε τούς τυχοῦσι. τοιγάρτοι τὸν μὲν 
῾Ισσικὸν κόλπον ἐπίστευσαν ἐωθινωτάτον τῆς καθ’ 
ἡμᾶς θαλάττης σημεῖον, τοῦ κατὰ Διοσκουρίαδα 
tὴν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πόντου μυχῶν σχεδὸν τί καὶ 
τρισχιλίως στάδιοι ἐωθινωτέρου ὄντος καὶ κατ’ 
αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ σταδιασμοῦ οὐ φήσι’ τοῦ τε 
᾿Αδρίαν καὶ τὰ ἀρκτικά καὶ τὰ ἐξοχατα διεξίων 
οὐδενὸς ἀπέχεται μυθώδους. πεπίστευκε δὲ καὶ 
περὶ τῶν ἔξω στηλῶν ῾Ηρακλείων πολλοῖς 
μυθώδεσιν, Κέρυν τε νῆσον καὶ ἀλλοὺς τόπους

1 On θαυμάζειν see H. Berger (Die geog. Frag. des Erat., p. 44) and C. Frick (Bursian’s Jahresb. 1880, p. 552).
2 πόντων, Kramer conjectures, for τόπων; C. Müller, Forbiger, Tardieu, following.
3 φήσας, A. Miller, for φησί; A. Vogel approving.
4 οὐδενὶ, A. Miller, for οὐδὲ; and μυθολογοῦντι, for μεθ’ ὧ 
λέγει οὔτε, for which Siebenkees’ οἷν appears in the editions.

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Arabian Gulf is a lake, and that Diotimus, the son of Strombichus, sailed, at the head of an embassy of the Athenians, from Cilicia up the Cydnus River to the Choaspes River, which flows by Susa, and reached Susa on the fortieth day; and Eratosthenes says that Damastes was told all this by Diotimus himself. And then, Eratosthenes adds, Damastes wonders whether it was really possible for the Cydnus River to cut across the Euphrates and the Tigris and to empty into the Choaspes.

2. Not only might one disapprove of Eratosthenes for telling such a story, but also for this reason: after admitting that the exact details about the seas were not yet known even in his own time, and although he bids us not to be too ready to accept the authority of people at haphazard, and although he gives at length the reasons why we should believe no one who writes mythical tales about the regions along the Euxine and the Adriatic, yet he himself accepted the authority of people at haphazard. So, for example, he believed that the Gulf of Issus is the most easterly point of the Mediterranean; whereas the point at Dioscurias in the extreme corner of the Euxine Sea is farther east by almost three thousand stadia, even according to Eratosthenes himself, if we follow the reckoning by stadia which he gives. And when he describes the northernmost and extreme parts of the Adriatic Sea there is nothing fabulous about them from which he holds aloof. And he has also given credence to many fables about the regions beyond the Pillars of Heracles, mentioning an island named Cerne and other countries which are
δομομάζων τοὺς μηδαμοῦ νυνι δεικνυμένους, περὶ δὲν μνησθησόμεθα καὶ ὠστερον. εἰπὼν τε τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους πλεῖν μὲν 1 κατὰ ληστείαν ἡ ἐμπορίαν, μὴ πελαγίζειν δὲ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ γῆν, καθάπερ τὸν Ἰάσωνα, ὀντερ καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ Μηδίας ἐκ τῶν Κόλχων στρατεύσαι ἀφέντα τὰς ναῦς, ὠστερόν φησὶ τὸ παλαιὸν οὔτε τῶν Ἐυξεινοῦν θαρρεῖν τινα πλεῖν, οὔτε παρὰ Διβύην καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τοὺς πάλαι τοὺς πρὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας λέγει μνήμης, οὔδεν ἐμοὶ μέλει περὶ ἐκείνων λέγειν, οὔτε εἰ ἐπλεοῦν, οὔτε εἰ μὴ. εἰ δὲ περὶ τῶν μνημονευμένων, οὐκ ἂν ἀκνήσας τις εἰπεῖν ός οἱ παλαιοὶ μακροτέρας ὁδὸς φανοῦνται καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν τελέσαντες τῶν ὠστερον, εἰ χρῆ προσέχειν τοῖς λεγόμενοις οἴον Διὸνυσος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰάσων, ἔτι δ' οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγόμενοι, Ὁδυσσεὺς καὶ Μενέλαος. καὶ Θησέα δὲ καὶ Πειρίθουν μακρὰς εἰκός ἐστι στρατεύσαι υπομέναντας καταλιπεῖν δόξαν περὶ ἐαυτῶν ός εἰς "Αἰδοὺ καταβάντας, τοὺς δὲ Διοσκούρους ἐπιμελητὰς τῆς θαλάσσης λεχθή- ναι καὶ σωτήρας τῶν πλεοντῶν. ἢ τε Μίνω θαλασσοκρατία θρυλεῖται καὶ Ἡ Φοινίκων νυντίλια, οὐ καὶ τὰ ἔξω τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἑπάλθον καὶ πόλεως ἐκτισαν κάκει καὶ περὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς Διβύης παραλίας μικροῦ τῶν Τρωικῶν ὠστερον. Ἀινείαν δὲ καὶ Ἀντήνορα καὶ Ενετοὺς καὶ ἀπλῶς

1 μὲν, Bornhardy, Groskurd, B. Niese, for kal; Forbiger, A. Vogel, approving.
nowhere pointed out to-day—matters about which I shall speak later on. And although Eratosthenes has said that the earliest Greeks made voyages for the sake of piracy or of commerce, not, indeed, in the open sea, but along the coast—as did Jason, who actually abandoned his ships and, starting from the Colchians, penetrated as far as Armenia and Media—he says later on that in ancient times no one had the courage to sail on the Euxine Sea, or along Libya, Syria, or Cilicia. Now if by "the ancients" he means those who lived in the times of which we of to-day have no records, then I am in no wise concerned to speak about them, as to whether they made voyages or not. But if he means men who are mentioned in history, then one would not hesitate to affirm that the ancients will be shown to have made longer journeys, both by land and by sea, than have men of a later time, if we are to heed what tradition tells us: for instance, Dionysus, and Heracles, and Jason himself; and, again, Odysseus and Menelaus, whose stories are narrated by the poet. And again, it is doubtless because Theseus and Pirithous had the hardihood to make such long journeys as they made that they left behind them the reputation of having gone down to Hades, and that the Dioscuri were called "guardians of the sea" and "saviours of sailors." Again, the maritime supremacy of Minos is far-famed, and so are the voyages of the Phoenicians, who, a short time after the Trojan War, explored the regions beyond the Pillars of Heracles and founded cities both there and in the central parts of the Libyan sea-board. As to Aeneas, Antenor, and the Enetians, and, in a word,
μὲν ὅλην γῆν οὐδὲν ἔξαλλάττουσιν (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς
μεγάλοις ἐναφανιζέται τὰ οὕτω μικρά), τῆς δὲ
οἰκουμένης διαθέσεις ἐτέρας καὶ ἐτέρας τινὰς
ἀπεργάζονται, καὶ τὰς προσεχεῖς αὐτίς ἄλλας
καὶ ἄλλας ἔχουσι.

4. Μάλιστα δὲ φησὶ ξήτησιν παρασχεῖν, πῶς
ἐν δισχιλίοις καὶ τρισχιλίοις ἀπὸ θαλάττης
σταδίων κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιαν ὄραται πολλαχοῦ
κόγχων καὶ ὀστρέων καὶ χηραιμύδων πλῆθος καὶ
λιμνοθάλαττα, καθάπερ φησὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸ τοῦ
Ἄμμωνος καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ὁδὸν τρισχιλίων
σταδίων οὐσαν πολλὴν γὰρ εἰναι χύσιν ὀστρέων,
ἄλλας τε καὶ νῦν ἔτι εὐρίσκεσθαι πολλοὺς, ἀνα-
φυσήματα τέθαλαττης εἰς υψὸς ἀναβιλλεῖν, πρὸς
δὲ καὶ ναάγια θαλαττίων πλοῖων δείκνυσθαι,
ἀ ἐφασαν διὰ τοῦ χάσματος ἐκβεβράσθαι, καὶ
ἐπὶ στυλιδίων ἀνακείσθαι δελφίνας ἐπιγραφὴν
ἔχοντας Κυρηναίων θεωρῶν. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν τὴν
Στράτωνος ἐπαινεῖ δόξαν τοῦ φυσικοῦ, καὶ ἔτι
Εάνθου τοῦ Λυδοῦ. τοῦ μὲν Εάνθου λέγοντος ἐπὶ
Ἀρταξέρξου γενέσθαι μέγαν αὐχμών, ὅστ' ἐκλι-
πεῖν ποταμοὺς καὶ λίμνας καὶ φρέατα αὐτῶν τε
ἰδεῖν τοῦ πολλαχῆ πρόσω ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης λίθους
τε κογχυλιώδεις καὶ ὀστρακα κτενώδεα καὶ
χηραιμύδων τυπώματα καὶ λιμνοθάλατταν ἐν
Ἀρμενίων καὶ Ματηνών καὶ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ τῇ κάτω,

1 ἐπ' αὐτῷ, A. Miller, for ἐπ' αὐτῷ, and Cascorbi's ἐπ' αὐτῷ.
2 διὰ τοῦ, Corais, for διὰ τοῦ.
3 ἵδειν, Corais on the authority of ghno, for εἰδέναι; Cobet
independently; Bernadakis, A. Vogel, approving.
4 λίθους τε κογχυλιώδεις, the old reading of the editors on
the authority of B is retained by Corais, for the λίθου τε καὶ
κογχυλιώδη of 1A; Kramer, Meineke, Müller-Dübner, follow-
ing, but omitting the καὶ.

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not in any particular alter the earth as a whole (changes so insignificant are lost in great bodies), though they do produce conditions in the inhabited world that are different at one time from what they are at another, and the immediate causes which produce them are different at different times.

4. Eratosthenes says further that this question in particular has presented a problem: how does it come about that large quantities of mussel-shells, oyster-shells, scallop-shells, and also salt-marshes are found in many places in the interior at a distance of two thousand or three thousand stadia from the sea—for instance (to quote Eratosthenes) in the neighbour- hood of the temple of Ammon and along the road, three thousand stadia in length, that leads to it? At that place, he says, there is a large deposit of oyster-shells, and many beds of salt are still to be found there, and jets of salt-water rise to some height; besides that, they show pieces of wreckage from seafaring ships which the natives said had been cast up through a certain chasm, and on small columns dolphins are dedicated that bear the inscription: "Of Sacred Ambassadors of Cyrene." Then he goes on to praise the opinion of Strato, the physicist, and also that of Xanthus of Lydia. In the first place he praises the opinion of Xanthus, who says that in the reign of Artaxerxes there was so great a drought that the rivers, lakes, and wells dried up; that far from the sea, in Armenia, Matiene, and Lower Phrygia, he himself had often seen, in many places, stones in the shape of a bivalve, shells of the pecten order, impressions of scallop-shells, and a

5 οστρακα, Madvig, for τά.
6 λιμνοθάλασσαν, Meineke, for λιμνοθάλασσαν.
δῶν ἕνεκα πεῖθεσθαι τὰ πεδία ποτὲ θάλατταν
gενέσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Στράτωνος ἐτί μᾶλλον ἀπο-
μένον τῆς αἰτιολογίας, ὅτι φησίν οἶεσθαι τοῦν
Εὐξεινον μὴ ἔχειν πρότερον τὸ κατὰ Βυζάντιων
στόμα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς βιάσασθαι καὶ ἀνοίξαι
τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐμβάλλοντας, εἰτ’ ἐκπεσεῖν τὸ
ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον.
tο δ’ αὐτὸ συμβῆναι καὶ περὶ τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς
θάλατταν· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸν κατὰ Στήλας
ἐκραγῆναι πόρον, πληρωθείσης υπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν
τῆς θαλάττης, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔκρυσιν ἀνακαλυφθῆναι
τὰ τεναγώδη πρότερον. φέρει δ’ αἰτίαν, πρῶτον
μὲν ὅτι τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τούδαφος
ἐτερὸν ἐστὶν, ἔπειθ’ ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ταινία τῆς
ὕφαλος διατέτακεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν
Διβύνην, ὡς ἀν μὴ μᾶς οὕσης πρότερον τῆς τε
ἐντὸς καὶ τῆς ἐκτός. καὶ βραχύταται μὲν εἶναι τὰ
περὶ τὸν Πόντον, τὸ δὲ Κρητικὸν καὶ Σικελικὸν
καὶ Σαρδῆν πέλαγος σφόδρα βαθέα. τῶν γὰρ
ποταμῶν πλεῖστων καὶ μεγίστων βεότων ἀπὸ
tῆς ἀρκτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἰλύος
πληροῦσθαι, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ μένειν βαθέα. διὸ καὶ
γλυκυτάτην εἶναι τὴν Ποντικῆν θάλατταν, τὰς τ’
ἐκρύσεις γίνεσθαι εἰς οὕς ἐγκέκλιται τόπους τὰ
ἐδάφη. δοκείν δὲ καὶ χωσθῆναι τὸν Πόντον ὅλου
eἰς ὕστερον, ἂν μὲνωσιν αἱ ἐπιρρύσεις τοιοῦταν·
καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἡδὴ τεναγώζειν τὰ ἐν ἀριστερὰ τοῦ
Πόντου, τὸν τε Ἁλκμενίδησον καὶ τὰ καλούμενα

1 Western side. 2 See 7. 6. 1.
salt-marsh, and therefore was persuaded that these plains were once sea. Then Eratosthenes praises the opinion of Strato, who goes still further into the question of causes, because Strato says he believes the Euxine Sea formerly did not have its outlet at Byzantium, but the rivers which empty into the Euxine forced and opened a passage, and then the water was discharged into the Propontis and the Hellespont. The same thing, Strato says, happened in the Mediterranean basin also; for in this case the passage at the Pillars was broken through when the sea had been filled by the rivers, and at the time of the outrush of the water the places that had hitherto been covered with shoal-waters were left dry. Strato proposes as a cause of this, first, that the beds of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean are on different levels, and, secondly, that at the Pillars even at the present day a submarine ridge stretches across from Europe to Libya, indicating that the Mediterranean and the Atlantic could not have been one and the same formerly. The seas of the Pontus region, Strato continues, are very shallow, whereas the Cretan, the Sicilian, and the Sardinian Seas are very deep; for since the rivers that flow from the north and east are very numerous and very large, the seas there are being filled with mud, while the others remain deep; and herein also is the reason why the Pontus is sweetest, and why its outflow takes place in the direction of the inclination of its bed. Strato further says it is his opinion that the whole Euxine Sea will be silted up at some future period, if such inpourings continue; for even now the regions on the left side\(^1\) of the Pontus are already covered with shoal waters; for instance, Salmydessus,\(^2\) and
Στῇθη ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτικῶν τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἰστροῦν καὶ τὴν Σκυθῶν ἔρημιαν. τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος ἱερὸν πρὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ὅπερ ἐκρύβως γενομένης ὑπὸ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ κεῖσθαι. εἰκάζει τὸ μαντεῖον ἐυλόγως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γενέσθαι ἐπιφανεῖς τε καὶ γνώριμον ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ ὅπερ τὸν τε ἐπὶ πολὺ οὕτως ἐκτοπισμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης οὐκ ἐυλογοῦν ποιεῖν τὴν ὑπὸ οὕσαν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δόξαν τὴν τὸν Ἀἰγυπτὸν τὸ παλαιὸν θαλάσσῃ κλύζεσθαι μέχρι τῶν ἑλῶν τῶν περὶ τὸ Πηλόσιον, καὶ τὸ Ἰάσιον ὅρος καὶ τὴν Σιρβωνίδα λίμνην ἐτι γοῦν καὶ ὑπὸ τὰ τὴν Ἀἰγυπτὸν τῆς ἀλμυρίδος ὀρυττομένης ύφάμμους καὶ κογχυλιώδεις εὐρύσκεσθαι τοὺς βόθρους, ὡς ἂν τεθαλασσωμένης τῆς χώρας καὶ τοῦ τῶν ποιτῶν τοῦ περὶ τὸ Ἰάσιον καὶ τὰ Γέρρα καλοῦμενα τεναγίζοντος, ὡστε συμπέπτειν τῷ τῆς Ἑρῳδῆς κόλπῳ ἐνδούσης δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνακαλυφθῆναι, μεῖναι δὲ τὴν Σιρβωνίδα λίμνην, εἰτ' ἐκραγηναι καὶ ταύτην, ὡστε ἐλάδη γενέσθαι. ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ τῆς καλομένης Μοῖριδος ἡμί ς τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς αἰγιαλοῖς θαλάσσῃς μᾶλλον ἡ ποταμοῦ προσευκέναι. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπικλύζεσθαι ποτὲ πολὺ μέρος τῶν ἡπείρων ἐπὶ καιροὺς τινας καὶ πάλιν ἀνακαλύπτεσθαι δον' τις ἄν' ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν ἀνόμαιλου εἰναι τὴν γῆν ἀπασαν τὴν ὑπὸν ύφαιλον, καθάπερ γε τῇ Νία καὶ τὴν ἕξαλον, ἐν γ' οἰκούμενον, τοσαύτας δεχομένην, ὡσας αὐτῶς

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1 δὲ, Corais, for δή.
2 καλομένης Molpídos, Corais, for Ἀλμυρίδος.
3 aigialoίς, Corais inserts, after aigialoús; Meineke following; C. Miller, A. Vogel, approving.
4 te, Meineke deletes, after τοσαύτας; A. Miller approving.

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the land at the mouth of the Ister, which sailors call "the Breasts," and the desert of Scythia; perhaps too the temple of Ammon was formerly on the sea, but is now situated in the interior because there has been an outpouring of the sea. Strato conjectures that the oracle of Ammon with good reason became so distinguished and so well-known as it is if it was situated on the sea, and that its present position so very far from the sea gives no reasonable explanation of its present distinction and fame; and that in ancient times Egypt was covered by the sea as far as the bogs about Pelusium, Mt. Casius, and Lake Sirbonis; at all events, even to-day, when the salt-lands in Egypt are dug up, the excavations are found to contain sand and fossil-shells, as though the country had been submerged beneath the sea and the whole region round Mt. Casius and the so-called Gerra had once been covered with shoal water so that it connected with the Gulf of the Red Sea; and when the sea retired, these regions were left bare, except that the Lake Sirbonis remained; then the lake also broke through to the sea, and thus became a bog. In the same way, Strato adds, the beaches of the so-called Lake Moeris more nearly resemble sea-beaches than river-banks. Now one may admit that a great part of the continents was once covered by water for certain periods and was then left bare again; and in the same way one may admit also that the whole surface of the earth now submerged is uneven, at the bottom of the sea, just as we might admit, of course, that the part of the earth above water, on which we live, is subject to all the changes mentioned by

1 See 7. 4. 5.  2 Birket-el-Kerun. See 17. 1. 35.
Ερατοσθένης είρηκε μεταβολάς· ὥστε πρὸς γε τὸν Ξάνθου λόγον οὐδέν ἄν ἔχοι τις προσφέρειν ἀτοπον.

5. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Στράτωνα λέγοιτ' ἂν, ὅτι πολλῶν αἰτίων ὄντων ἄφεις ταῦτα τὰ μὴ ὄντα αἰτιάται. πρῶτην γὰρ αἰτίαν φησίν, ὅτι τῆς ἑντὸς θαλάττης καὶ τῆς ἐκτὸς οὔ ταυτὸν τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ ὁ βυθὸς. πρὸς γὰρ τὸ μετεωρίζεσθαι ταύτην καὶ ταπεινοῦσθαι καὶ ἐπικλύσεις τόπους τινάς καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐ τοῦτο ἐστὶν αἰτίων, τὸ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἔδαφη ταῦτα μὲν ταπεινώτερα εἶναι τὰ δὲ ὑψηλότερα, ἄλλα τὸ αὐτὰ τὰ ἔδαφη ποτὲ μὲν μετεωρίζεσθαι, ποτὲ δ' αὖ ταπεινοῦσθαι καὶ συνεξαίρεις ἢ συνενδιδόναι τὸ πέλαγος· ἔξαρθνε μὲν γὰρ ἐπικλύσαι ἄν, ταπεινωθέν δὲ ἀναδράμωι ἄν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν κατάστασιν. εἰ γὰρ οὖν, δεσσεὶ πλεονασμῷ τῆς θαλάττης αἰφνιδίῳ γενομένῳ τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν συμβαίνειν, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς πλημμυρίσιν ἢ ταῖς ἀναβάσει τῶν ποταμῶν, τοτὲ μὲν ἐπενεχθέντος ἐτέρωθεν, τοτὲ δ' αὐξηθέντος τοῦ ὑδατος. ἄλλ' οὖθ' αἱ αὐξήσεις ἀθρόαι καὶ αἰφνίδιοι οἴδαινται, οὖθ' αἱ πλημμυρίδες τοσοῦτον ἐπιμένουσι χρόνον, οὔτ' ἀτακτοί εἰσιν, οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπικλύσουσι θαλάτταν, οὔτ' ὄπου ἐτυχε. λοιπὸν οὖν αἰτιᾶσθαι τὸ ἔδαφος

1 τό, Corais inserts, before ἀλλα καὶ ἄλλα; Meineke following; C. Müller approving.
2 αὐτά τά, Sterrett, for τά αὐτά.
3 Sterrett deletes the ὀντ' inserted by Kramer before οὖν; Meineke, C. Müller, Forbiger, following Kramer.
4 ἐν ταῖς πλημμυρίσιν, omitted by the type-setters in the edition of Kramer, and left uncorrected in the edition of Meineke.
5 οἴδαινται, C. Müller, for δύνανται.
Eratosthenes himself; and therefore, so far as the argument of Xanthes is concerned, one cannot bring against it any charge of absurdity.

5. Against Strato, however, one might urge that, although there are many real causes of these changes, he overlooks them and suggests causes that do not exist; for he says their primary cause is that the beds of the Mediterranean Sea and of the Atlantic Ocean are not on the same level, and that their depth is not the same. But I reply that the cause of the rising and the falling of the sea, of its inundation of certain tracts of country, and of its subsequent retirement from them, is not to be sought for in the varying levels of the beds of the sea, in that some are lower and others higher, but in the fact that the beds of the sea themselves sometimes rise, and, on the other hand, sometimes sink, and in the fact that the sea rises or recedes along with its beds; for when the sea is lifted up, it will overflow, and when it is lowered, it will subside to its former level. Indeed, if what Strato says is true, then the overflow will necessarily follow every sudden increase in the volume of the sea; for instance, at every high tide of the sea or whenever the rivers are at their flood—in the one case the water having been brought in from other parts of the sea, in the other case the volume of water having been increased. But neither do the increases from the rivers come on all at the same time and suddenly and thus cause a swelling of the sea, nor do the tides persist long enough to do so (they are not irregular, either), nor do they cause inundations either on the Mediterranean Sea or anywhere else. Therefore, it remains for us to find the cause in the floor of the sea, either that which under-
ἡ τὸ τῆς θαλάττης ὑποκείμενον ἢ τὸ ἔπικλυζόμενον, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὑφαλον. πολὺ γὰρ ἐυκινητότερον καὶ μεταβολάς θάττους δέξασθαι δυνάμενον τὸ ἐνυγρον· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πνευματικὸν τὸ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων αὐτίον πλέον ἐνταῦθα. ἀλλ', ὡς ἔφη, τῶν τοιούτων ἀπεργαστικῶν ἔστι παθῶν τὸ αὐτά τὰ1 ἐδάφη ποτὲ μὲν ἐξαίρεσθαί ποτὲ δὲ ψύξιν λαμβάνειν, οὐ τὸ τὰ μὲν εἶναι ψηλὰ τὰ δὲ ὑπερ· ὡ δὲ τούτο λαμβάνει, νομίζων ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν συμβαίνει, τούτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπαντάν, τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων τόπων εἶναι τὴν ρύσαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν τού κατὰ Βυζάντιον ῥοῦ τὸ ἐδαφος ἦταντο, λέγον ψηλότερον τὸ τοῦ Εὐξείνου ᾦ τὸ τῆς Προποντίδος καὶ τοῦ ἔξης πελάγους, ἀμα καὶ αὐτίαν προστιθέεις· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀλοχος τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν καταφερμείνης πληροῦσθαι τὸν βυθὸν καὶ βραχὺν γίνεσθαι, διὰ τούτο δὲ καὶ βείν εἰς τὰ ἐκτός. τὸν δ' αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἠμετέραν θάλατταν σύμπασαν μεταφέρει πρὸς τὴν ἐκτός, ὡς καὶ ταύτης μετεωρότερον τούδαφος ποιούσης τοῦ ὑποκείμενου τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ πελάγει· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἐκ πολλῶν ποταμῶν πληροῦται, καὶ τὴν ὑποστάθμιν τῆς ἀλοχος δέχεται τὴν ἀνάλογον. ἐχρήν οὖν καὶ τὸν ἐίσορουν ὁμοίων γίνεσθαι τῷ κατὰ Βυζάντιον τὸν κατὰ Στήλας καὶ τὴν Κάλπην. ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν ἐδ' ἐροῦσι γὰρ κάκει

1 αὐτά τὰ, Sterrett restores, the reading of the MSS., against the τὰ αὐτά of Corais and subsequent editors.

1 The Rock of Gibraltar. See 3. 5. 5.
2 That is, the current of the Mediterranean should be toward the Atlantic just as that of the Euxine is toward
lies the sea or that which is temporarily flooded, but preferably the submarine floor. For the floor that is saturated with water is far more easily moved and is liable to undergo more sudden changes; for the air-element, which is the ultimate cause of all such occurrences, is greater there. But, as I have said, the immediate cause of such occurrences is that the beds of the sea themselves are sometimes elevated and sometimes undergo a settling process, and not that some of the beds are high, while others are less so. Strato, however, assumes this, believing that what happens in the case of rivers occurs also in the case of the sea, namely, that the flow is away from the high places; otherwise, he would not have suggested that the bed is the cause of the current at Byzantium, saying that the bed of the Euxine is higher than that of the Propontis and the sea next after the Propontis, and at the same time adding the reason, namely, that the deeps of the Euxine are being filled up by the mud which is carried down from the rivers, and are becoming shallow, and that, on this account, the current is outward. He applies the same reasoning to the Mediterranean Sea as a whole as compared with the Atlantic Ocean, since, in his opinion, the Mediterranean Sea is making its bed higher than that which lies beneath the Atlantic Ocean; for the Mediterranean Sea, too, is being filled up with silt from many rivers, and is receiving a deposit of mud similar to that of the Euxine Sea. It should also be true, then, that the inflow at the Pillars and Calpe\textsuperscript{1} is similar to the inflow at Byzantium.\textsuperscript{2} But I pass this point by, for people the Aegean, and the amount of the two inflows should be proportional to the deposits received.

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τοῦτο συμβαίνειν, περιστάσθαι δὲ υπὸ τῶν ἀμπώτεων καὶ τῶν πλημμυρίδων καὶ ἐπικρύπτεσθαι.

6. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ πυνθάνομαι, τί ἐκώλυε, πρὶν ἀνεφγέναι τὸ στόμα τὸ κατὰ Βυζάντιον, ταπεινώτερον διὸ τὸ τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἔδαφος τοῦ τῆς Προποντίδος καὶ τῆς ἔξης θαλάττης πληρωθηκαί ὑπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν, εἴτε θάλαταν οὕσαν καὶ πρότερον εἴτε λίμνην μείζω τῆς Μαιώτιδος; εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο συγχωροῖτο, προσερήσομαι καὶ τούτο· ἀρα γε ἡ ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ ὑδατός ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ τῆς Προποντίδος οὐχ οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡστε, μέχρι μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ ἦν, μὴ βιάζεσθαι πρὸς ἐκρυσων διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἴσης ἀντέρεισιν καὶ θλήσιν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ υπερτόλασεν ἡ ἐντός, βιάσασθαι καὶ ἀπερᾶσαι τὸ πλεονάξων· ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενέσθαι σύρρουν τὸ ἔξω πέλαγος τῷ ἐντός, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐκείνην λαβεῖν, εἴτε θάλαττίῳ εἴτε λιμναίῳ μὲν πρότερον οὕτως, θαλαττίῳ δὲ ύστερον, διὰ τὴν μέξιν καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοῦτο δώσουσιν, ἡ μὲν ἐκρυσις οὐκ ἄν κωλύσω ἡ νῦν, οὐκ ἀπὸ υπερτέρου δὲ ἔδαφος οὐδὲ ἐπικλινοῦσι, ὀπερ ἡξίον Στράτων.

7. Ταῦτα δὲ δεῖ ἕνεκα μεταφέρειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ὅλην τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλατταν καὶ τὴν ἐκτός, μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι καὶ ταῖς ἐπικλίσεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν αὐτίαν τοῦ ἐκρου τιθεμένους, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς· ἔπει

1 δεῖ, Corais inserts; Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, Dübner-Müller, following; A. Vogel, L. Kayser, approving.
will say that the same thing does occur here, but that the inflow is lost in the ebb and flow of the tides and thus escapes observation.

6. But what I wish to learn is this: supposing the bed of the Euxine Sea was lower\(^1\) than that of the Propontis and of the sea next after the Propontis before the opening of the outlet at Byzantium, what was there to prevent the Euxine from being filled up by the rivers, whether it was previously a sea or merely a lake greater than Lake Maeotis? If this point be conceded, then I shall go on to ask this question too: Is it not true that the water-levels of the Euxine and the Propontis were such that, so long as they remained the same, there could be no straining for an outflow, for the reason that resistance and pressure were equal, but that, as soon as the inner sea reached a higher level, it set up a strain and discharged its excess water? And is not this the reason why the outer sea became confluent with the inner sea and why it assumed the same level as the inner sea—regardless of whether the latter was originally a sea or once a lake and later a sea—simply because of its mingling with the inner sea and prevailing over it? For if this point be granted as well as the first, the outflow that now takes place would go on just the same, but it would not be away from a higher sea-bed, or from a sloping one, as Strato contended.

7. Now we must apply these principles to the whole of the Mediterranean Sea and to the Atlantic Ocean, finding the cause of the outflow not in their beds, nor in the sloping of their beds, but in the rivers. For according to Strato and

\(^1\) Strabo has assumed (§ 4 preceding) that the bed was higher.
οὐκ ἀπίθανον κατ' αὐτούς, οὐδ' εἰ τὴν ὅλην θάλατταν τὴν ἑμετέραν λίμνην πρότερον εἶναι συνέβαινε, πληρουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν, ἐπιπολάσασαν ἐκπεσεῖν ἕξω διὰ τῶν κατὰ Στῆλας στενῶν, ὡς ἐκ καταράκτου· ἐπαυξομένην δὲ ἄει καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκείνην τὸν θάλατταν σύρρους γενέσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ συνδραμεῖν εἰς μίαν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἐκθαλαττωθῆναι δὲ ταύτην διὰ τὴν ἑπικράτειαν. οὐ φυσικὸν δ' ὅλως τὸ τῶν ποταμῶν εἰκάζειν τὴν θάλατταν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ φέρονται κατὰ ἐπικλίνεις ρεῖθρου, ἡ δὲ ἀκλίνης ἐστικεν. οἱ δὲ πορθμοὶ βευταίζονται κατ' ἄλλου τρόπου, οὐ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἴλνυ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν προσχοῦν τὸν τοῦ πελάγους βυθὸν. ἡ γὰρ πρόσχωσις περὶ αὐτὰ συνισταται τὰ στόματα τῶν ποταμῶν, οἷον περὶ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ τὰ λεγόμενα Στῆλη καὶ ἡ Σκυθῶν ἐρημία καὶ ὁ Σαλμυνδησσός, καὶ ἄλλων χειμώρων συνεργοῦντων πρὸς τοῦτο, περὶ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Φάσιδος ἡ Κολχικὴ παραλλα, διάμοι καὶ ταπεινή καὶ μαλακὴ οὐσα, περὶ δὲ τὸν Θερμώδοντα καὶ τὸν Ἰριν ὅλη Θεμύσκυρα, τὸ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων πεδίον, καὶ τῆς Σιδηρῆς τὸ πλέον· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ἄπαντες γὰρ μιμοῦνται τὸν Νείλου, ἔξηπτεοῦντες τὸν πρὸ αὐτῶν πόρου, οἱ μὲν μᾶλλον, οἱ δὲ ἦττον· ἦττον μὲν οἱ μῆ πολλὴν καταφέροντες τὴν ἴλνυ, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ πολλὴν τε καὶ μαλακόγειον χώραν ἐπίωντες καὶ χειμάρρους δεχόμενοι πολλοὺς, ὁμ ἐστὶ καὶ

1 ἐκείνην, Forbiger inserts.
2 ταύτην, Forbiger inserts; improving on Groskurd’s ἐκείνην.
3 τά, Corais, for οὕτε; Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, following; C. Müller approving.
Eratosthenes, it is not improbable that our whole Mediterranean Sea (even granting that in former times it was a lake) became flooded by the rivers, overflowed, and poured its waters out through the narrows at the Pillars as over a waterfall; and that the Atlantic Ocean, swollen ever more and more, was finally made confluent by it, and united with it on one sea-level; and that thus the Mediterranean basin was turned into a sea because the Atlantic prevailed over it. It is wholly contrary to physical science,¹ however, to liken the sea to rivers; for the rivers are carried down a sloping course, whereas the sea has no slope. But the current through the straits is accounted for by another principle, and is not due to the fact that the mud carried down by the rivers silts up the deeps of the sea. For this silting up occurs only at the very mouths of the rivers, as for example the so-called "Breasts" at the mouth of the Ister, the Scythian desert, and Salmydessus—where other violent streams also contribute to this result; and, at the mouths of the Phasis, the Colchian seaboard, which is sandy, low-lying and soft; and, at the mouths of the Thermodon and the Iris, the whole of Themiscyra, that plain of the Amazons, and the most of Sidene. The same is true of the other rivers also; for they all imitate the Nile in that they keep converting the channel just in front of them into land, some to a greater and others to a less extent; to a less extent those that do not bring down much mud, but to a greater extent those that flow for a great distance through a country with a soft soil and have many torrents as tributaries. To the

¹ On page 181 Strabo has referred to Strato as "the physicist."
ὁ Πύραμος ὁ τῇ Κιλικίᾳ πολὺ μέρος προσθείς, ἐφ' οὔ καὶ λόγιον ἐκπέπτωκε τι τοιοῦτον.

C 53 ἔσσεται ἐσσομένοις, ὦτε Πύραμος ἀργυροδίνης ἡδόνα προχόων ἰερὴν ἐς Κύπρον ἴκηται.

ἐκ μέσων γὰρ τῶν τῆς Καταούνιας πεδίων ἐνεχθεὶς πλωτὸς καὶ διεκπαισάμενος διὰ τῶν τοῦ Ταύρου στενῶν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐκδιδώσαν εἰς τὸν πρὸ ταῦτης τε καὶ τῆς Κύπρου πόρον.

8. Αὐτιον δὲ τοῦ μὴ φθάνει τῇν χοῦν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος προϊόσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν κατα-φερομένην τὸ τῆν θάλατταν ἀνακόπτετον αὐτὴν εἰς τοῦπίσω, παλιρροόοσαν φύσει. ἔσσεται γὰρ τοῖς ξύλοις, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα συνεχῶς ἀναπνεύτει τε καὶ ἐκπνεύτει, τὸν αὐτοῦ πρόπον καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς τε καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὴν συνεχῶς παλινδρομικὴν τινα κινουμένη κίνησιν. δῆλον δὲ τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐστῶτι κατὰ τὴν κυμάτωσιν ἀμα γὰρ κλύζονται οἱ πόδες καὶ γυμνοῦνται καὶ πάλιν κλύζονται, καὶ τοῦτο συνεχῶς. τῷ δὲ κλύδων καὶ κύμα ἐπιτρέχει, δ᾽ καὶ γαληνότατον ἢ, ἐπιφερόμενον έχει τινὰ βίαν πλεῖω, καὶ ἀπορρίπτει πάν τὸ ἀλλότριον εἰς τὴν γῆν.

πολλὸν δὲ παρεξ ἀλὰ φύκος ἔχειε. (II. 9. 7)

μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀνέμῳ συμβαίνει τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ

1 ἀργυροδίνης, Meineke, for εὐρυδίνης; O. Müller, L. Kayser, approving. 2 προχόων, Sterrett, for προχέων.

3 δῆλον, Casaubon, for δηλοῖ; Siebenkees, Corais, Meineke, Forbiger, following; O. Müller, L. Kayser, approving.

4 δ', Casaubon inserts, after ἐπιτρέχει; Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, following; Corais, O. Müller, approving.

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latter class belongs the Pyramus, which has added much land to Cilicia, and it is to this fact that the following oracle refers: "Men that are yet to be will experience this at the time when the Pyramus of the silvery eddies shall silt up its sacred sea-beach and come to Cyprus." The Pyramus, making its course as a navigable stream from the midst of the plains of Cataonia, and then breaking a passage for itself into Cilicia through the gorges of the Taurus Mountains, empties into the strait that lies between Cilicia and Cyprus.

8. Now the reason why the alluvium brought down by the rivers does not reach the open sea in its forward course is that the sea, which is naturally reffluent, drives it back again; for the sea is like animated beings, and, just as they inhale and exhale their breath unremittingly, so in like manner the sea too is subject to a certain recurrent motion that proceeds from itself and returns to itself unremittingly. This is apparent to any one who stands on the beach at the time when the waves break; for no sooner are one's feet washed than they are left bare by the waves, and then again they are washed, and this goes on unremittingly. And close upon the wash comes a wave also, which, however gentle it may be, possesses a certain increase of power as it rushes in, and casts all foreign matter out upon the land—"and casteth much tangle out along the sea." Now while this takes place to a greater extent when there is wind, yet it occurs

1 It has to prepare the way for itself gradually. The following illustration concerning the action of the waves does not mean that the alluvium cannot eventually build its way over the whole bottom of the sea—a possibility admitted by Strabo in § 9.
καὶ ἐν ὑπεμία καὶ ἐν ἀπογαίος πνεύμασιν οὔτεν γὰρ ἦττον ἐπὶ γῆν φέρεται τὸ κύμα ὑπεναντίως τῷ ἀνέμῳ, ὡς ἂν ἴδιαν τινὰ τῆς θαλάττης κύσηςιν συγκινούμενον αὐτῇ. Τοιοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὸ

ἀμφὶ δὲ τῇ ἀκρας

κυρτὸν ἐδῶ κορυφοῦται, ἀποστῦει δὲ ἀλὸς ἀχινην·

(II. 4. 425)

καὶ τὸ

ἥτινες βοῶσιν ἐρευγομένης ἀλὸς ἔξω.1 (II.17.265)

9. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐφοδιὸς τοῦ κύματος ἔχει τινὰ βίαν, ὡστ' ἀπωθεῖσθαι τὸ ἀλλότριον. καὶ δὴ καὶ καθαρσίν τινὰ τῆς θαλάττης ταύτην φασί, καθ' ἢν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ σῶματα καὶ τὰ νανάγια εἰς γῆν ἐκκυμαίνεται. ἡ δ'2 ἀναχώρησις οὐκ ἔχει τοσαύτην βίαν, ὡστε νεκρὸν ἢ ξύλου ἢ τὸ κούφωτον, φελλόν, ὡπὸ τοῦ κύματος εἰς γῆν ἀναβληθέντα ἐκ τῶν πλησίων αὐτῆς τῶν ἕως τὸ πέλαγος προσπεσεῖν ὑπολειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος.3 οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν χοῦν καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτῇ τεθελομένου ύδωρ ἐκκυμαίνεσθαι συμβαινεῖ, καὶ τοῦ βάρους ἀμα συνεργοῦντος, ὡστε θάττον κατενεχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν γῆν κάτω, πρὶν εἰς τὸ πρόσω πέλαγίσαι. καὶ γὰρ ἢ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βία παῦεται, μικρὸν προελθοῦσα τοῦ στόματος. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐνδε—

1 The words Τοιοῦτον ... ἀλὸς ἔξω are deleted by Meineke on the ground that they prove the contrary of what the writer desires; G. Müller approving.

2 δ', Meineke, for τ'.

3 The MSS. have ὡστε νεκρὸν ... ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος εἰς γῆν ἀναβληθέναι, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν πλησίων αὐτῆς τῶν ἕως τὸ πέλαγος προσπεσεῖν ὑπολειφθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος, without meaning. Attempts at a reconstitution of the passage have been made.
both when there is a calm and when the winds blow from the land; for the wave is carried to the land none the less even against the wind, as though it were subject, along with the sea itself, to the sea’s own motion. This is what Homer means when he says: “And goeth with arching crest about the promontories, and speweth the foaming brine afar,” and “The shores cry aloud as the salt sea belches forth.”

9. Accordingly, the onset of the wave has a power sufficient to expel foreign matter. They call this, in fact, a “purging” of the sea—a process by which dead bodies and bits of wreckage are cast out upon the land by the waves. But the ebb has not power sufficient to draw back into the deep sea a corpse, or a stick of wood, or even that lightest of substances, a cork (when once they have been cast by the wave upon the land) from the places on the shore that are near the sea, where they have been stranded by the waves. And so it comes about that both the silt and the water fouled by it are cast out by the waves, the weight of the silt co-operating with the wave, so that the silt is precipitated to the bottom near the land before it can be carried forward into the deep sea; in fact, even the force of the river ceases just a short distance beyond the mouth. So, then, it is possible

1 *Catharsis*: commonly used of (1) the purification of the soul by sacrifice, or (2) the purging effect of tragedy upon the emotions, or (3) as a medical term for various bodily discharges.

by Kramer, Groskurd, Meineke, C. Müller, A. Miller, Madvig, and A. Vogel. That by A. Vogel has been adopted and placed into the text above. But none is really satisfactory.
χεταὶ προσχωσθῆναι τὸ πέλαγος πᾶν, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγιαλῶν ἀρξάμενον, ἂν συνεχεῖς ἔχῃ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν εἴπερρύσεις. Τούτῳ δ’ ἂν συμβαίνῃ, κἂν τοῦ Σαρδουνίου πελάγους βαθύτερον ὑποθώμεθα τὸν Πόντον, ὃπερ λέγεται τῶν ἀναμετρηθέντων βαθύτατον, χιλίων ποὺ ὀργυῶν, ὃς Ποσειδώνιος φησὶ.

10. Τὴν μὲν οὖν τοιαύτην αἰτιολογίαν ἦττον ἂν τις ἀποδέξαιτο μᾶλλον δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν φανερωτέρων καὶ τῶν καθ’ ἡμέραν τρόπον τυνὰ ὀρωμένων ἀναπτέον τὸν λόγον. καὶ γὰρ κατακλυσμοὶ... ¹ καὶ σεισμοὶ καὶ ἀναφυσῆματα καὶ ἀνοιδήσεις ἡς υφάλου γῆς μετεωρίζουσι καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἂς δὲ συνυζήσεις ταπεινοῦσιν αὐτὴν. οὐ γὰρ μύδριοι μὲν ἀνενεχθῆναι δύνανται καὶ μικρὰ νῆσοι, μεγάλαι δ’ οὐ· οὐδὲ νῆσοι μὲν, ἦπειροι δ’ οὐ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ συνυζήσεις καὶ μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλαι γένοιτ’ ἂν, ἐπερ καὶ χάσματα καὶ καταπόσεις χωρίων καὶ κατοικίῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ Βούρας τε καὶ Βιζώνης καὶ ἄλλων πλειόνων, ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ γενέσθαι φασὶ· καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἀπορρῶγα τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰκάζου τις ἂν, ἡ ἀναβληθείσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰντναίου πυρὸς ἐκ βυθοῦ συμμείναι· ὁσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὰς Διπαραίων νῆσους καὶ Πιθηκούσσας.

¹ A. Miller points out that something has fallen out after or before κατακλυσμοῖ, because it is absurd to say κατακλυσμοῖ... μετεωρίζουσι καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, and the statement contrads the argument of the paragraph above.

² ἀνοιδήσεις, Meineke, for ἀνοιδήσεις; Forbiger, O. Müller, A. Miller, Tozer, following.
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for the sea, beginning at its beaches, to be entirely silted up, if it receives the inflow from the rivers uninterruptedly. And this would be the result even if we assume that the Euxine Sea is deeper than the Sea of Sardinia, which is said to be the deepest of all the seas that have been sounded—about one thousand fathoms, as Poseidonius states.

10. However, one might be rather disinclined to accept such an explanation, and so it is necessary for me to bring my discussion into closer connection with things that are more apparent to the senses and that, so to speak, are seen every day. Now deluges [as we have seen, are caused by upheavals of the bed of the sea]; and earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and upheavals of the submarine ground raise the sea, whereas the settling of the bed of the sea lowers the sea. For it cannot be that burning masses may be raised aloft, and small islands, but not large islands; nor yet that islands may thus appear, but not continents. And in a similar way settlings in the bed of the sea, both great ones and small, may also occur, if it be true, as people say, that yawning abysses and engulfments of districts and villages have been caused by earthquakes—as happened in the case of Bura and Bizone and several other places; and as for Sicily, one might conjecture that it is not so much a piece broken away from Italy as that it was cast up from the deeps by the fire of Aetna and remained there¹; and the same is true both of the Lipari Islands and the Pithecussae.

¹ But compare 6. 1. 6, where Strabo discusses this subject again and leaves a different impression.
11. Ὅ δ' οὖτως ἦδύς ἔστιν, ὡστε καὶ μαθηματικὸς ὁν σοῦ τὴν Ἀρχιμήδους βεβαιοὶ δόξαν, ὅτι φησὶν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ὄχουμένων, παντὸς ὕγρον καθεστηκότος καὶ μένοντος τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν σφαιρικὴν εἶναι, σφαιρὰς ταῦτα κέντρον ἐχούσης τῇ γῇ. ταῦτῃ γὰρ τὴν δόξαν ἀποδέχονται πάντες οἱ μαθημάτων πως ἄφαμενοι. ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς θάλατταν, καίπερ μίαν οὖσαν, ὡς φησίν, οὐ νομίζει ὑπὸ μίαν ἐπιφάνειαν τετάχθαι, ἀλλὰ οὖν ἐν1 τοῖς σύνεγγυς τόποις. καὶ μάρτυρας γε τῆς τοιαύτης ἀμαθίας ἀρχιτεκτονικας ἀνδρᾶς ποιεῖται, καίτοι2 τῶν μαθηματικῶν καὶ τῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς μέρους τῆς μαθηματικῆς ἀποφημαμένων. φησὶ γὰρ καὶ Δημήτριον διακόπτειν ἐπιχειρήσαι τὸν τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἱσθμὸν πρὸς τὸ παρασχεῖν διάπλουν τοῖς στόλοις, κωλυθήναι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων ἀναμετρησάντων καὶ ἀπαγγελόντων μετεωροτεραν τὴν ἐν τῷ Κορινθιακῷ κόλπῳ θάλατταν τῆς κατὰ Κεγχρεὰς εἶναι, ὡστε, εἰ διακόψειε τὸ μεταξὺ χωρίου, ἐπικλυσθήναι ἀν ἀπαντα τὸν περὶ Αἰγίναν πόρον καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν3 Αἰγίναν καὶ4 τὰς πλησίον νῆσους, καὶ μηδὲ τὸν διάπλουν ἄν γενέσθαι χρήσιμον. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς εὐρί-

1 ἐν, Corais inserts.
2 καίτοι, Corais, for καὶ, following B and τ.
3 τὴν, Cobet inserts, before Αἰγύπτων (Corais reads καὶ τὴν Αἰγίναν, omitting αὐτήν, as in editions before Kramer).
4 αὐτὰς, before τὰς, Kramer prefers to delete; Meineke deletes; C. Müller approving.
11. But Eratosthenes is so simple that, although he is a mathematician, he will not even confirm the doctrine of Archimedes, who, in his treatise *On Floating Bodies* says that the surface of every liquid body at rest and in equilibrium is spherical, the sphere having the same centre as the earth\(^1\)—a doctrine that is accepted by every one who has studied mathematics at all. And so, although Eratosthenes himself admits that the Mediterranean Sea is one continuous sea, yet he does not believe that it has been brought under a law of one continuous surface, even in places that lie close together. And as authorities for such an ignorant opinion as this he summons engineers, although the mathematicians have declared that engineering is a branch of mathematics. For he says that Demetrius, too, attempted to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth in order to provide a passage for his fleets, but was prevented by the engineers, after they had taken measurements and reported to him that the sea in the Corinthian Gulf was higher than at Cenchreae, so that, if he should cut through the intervening land, the whole strait about Aegina, Aegina itself, and the neighbouring islands would be submerged, and the canal would not be useful, either. And Eratosthenes says that this is the reason why the narrow straits have

\(^1\) Chapter 1, Theorem 2: "Of every liquid body perfectly at rest, the surface is spheroidal and has the same centre as the earth." Archimedes says "spheroidal," and not "spherical" as Strabo quotes him; but Archimedes used his term in the literal and not the geometrical sense, and the term is equivalent to "spherical" when it is applied to "a liquid body perfectly at rest." Compare the use of "spheroidal" by Strabo himself on page 41.
ποὺς ῥοώδεις εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν κατὰ Σικελίαν πορθμὸν, ὅν φησιν ὁμοιοπαθεῖν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν ὀκεανὸν πλημμυρίσει τε καὶ ἀμπώτεσι. διὸς γὰρ μεταβάλλειν τὸν ῥοῦν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, καὶ καθάρετο τὸν ὀκεανὸν διὸς μὲν πλημμυρεῖν, διὸς δὲ ἀναχώρειν. τῇ μὲν οὖν πλημμυρίδει ὁμολογεῖν τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους εἰς τὸ Σικελίκου καταφερόμενον ὡς ἂν ἢκ μετεωροτέρας ἑπίφανείας, ὅν δὴ καὶ κατίονται ὁνομάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖν δὲ ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἀρχεται τε καὶ παύεται καθ' ὅν αἰ πλημμυρίδες· ἀρχεται μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὴν δύσιν, λήγει δὲ ὅταν συνάπτῃ τῇ μεσομέσιν ἐκατέρα, τῇ τε ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ τῇ ὑπὸ γῆς τῇ δὲ ἀμπώτει τὸν ἐναυτόν, ὅν ἐξίοντα καλεῖσθαι, ταῖς μεσομεσινήσεσι τῆς σελήνης ἀμφότεραις συναρχόμενον, καθάρετο δὲ καὶ ἀμπώτεις, ταῖς δὲ συνάψεσι ταῖς πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς καὶ δύσεις παύμενον.

12. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πλημμυρίδων καὶ τῶν ἀμπώτεων εἰρήκασιν ἱκανῶς Ποσειδώνιος τε καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος. περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν πορθμῶν παλιρροίας, ἐχοντων καὶ αὐτῶν φυσικότερον λόγον ἦ κατὰ τὴν νῦν ὑπόθεσιν, τοσοῦτον εἰπέων ἀπόχρη, ὅτι οὖθ' εἰς τρόπος τοῦ ῥοώδεις εἶναι τοὺς

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1 te, Meineke deletes, before γάρ; C. Müller approving.
2 καὶ, Corais inserts, before καθάρετο.
3 δὲ, Corais, for τε; Groskurd, following; C. Müller approving.
4 ὅν, Corais inserts; all following.
5 συναρχόμενον, Madvig, for ἑναρχόμενον.
6 ἦ, Corais inserts, before κατα, and punctuates after ὑπόθεσιν; Meineke following; C. Müller approving.
7 οὖθ', Corais, for οὔθε; Meineke, C. Müller, approving.
strong currents, and in particular the strait off Sicily, which, he declares, behaves in a manner similar to the flow and the ebb of the ocean; for the current changes twice within the course of every day and night, and like the ocean, it floods twice a day and falls twice a day. Now corresponding to the flood-tide, he continues, is the current that runs down from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Sicilian Sea as though from a higher water-level—and indeed this is called the "descending" current—and this current corresponds to the flood-tides in that it begins and ends at the same time that they do, that is, it begins at the time of the rising and the setting of the moon, and it stops when the moon attains either meridian, namely, the meridian above the earth or that below the earth; on the other hand, corresponding to the ebb-tide is the return-current—and this is called the "ascending" current—which begins when the moon attains either meridian, just as the ebbs do, and stops when the moon attains the points of her rising and setting.

12. Now Poseidonius and Athenodorus have satisfactorily treated the question of the flow and ebb of the tides; but concerning the refluent currents of straits, which also involve a discussion that goes deeper into natural science than comports with the purpose of the present work, it is sufficient to say that neither does one principle account for the straits' having currents, the principle by which
πορθμούσι, ὃ γε κατ' εἶδος· οὐ γὰρ ἀν ὁ μὲν ἵκελεικός δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρας μετέβαλλεν, ὡς οὐν τοιούτῳ φησιν, ὁ δὲ Χαλκιδικὸς ἑπτάκις, ὁ δὲ κατὰ Βυζάντιον οὐδὲ μετέβαλλεν, ἀλλὰ διετέλει τὸν ἔκρουν μόνον ἔχων τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ποντικοῦ πελάγους εἰς τὴν Πρωτοτίδα, ὡς δὲ "Ἰππαρχὸς ἱστορεῖ, καὶ μονᾶς ποτὲ ἑποιεῖτο· οὐτ' εἰ τρόπος εἰς εἰς, ταῦταν ἄν ἔχω τὴν αἰτίαν, ἢν φησιν ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης, ὅτι ἡ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα θάλαττα ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην ἐπιφάνειαν ἔχειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῦτο γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ καταράκτας ἔχοιεν ἔχοντες δὲ οὐ παλιρροούσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ ταπεινότερον ἄλλο φέρονται. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει διὰ τὸ κεκλιμένον εἶναι τὸ ῥέμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ, πελάγους δὲ τίς ἂν φαίνῃ κεκλιμένην ἐπιφάνειαν; καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς σφαιροποιούσας ύποθέσεις τὰ τέταρτα σώματα, ὁ δὲ καὶ στοιχεῖα φαίνει. ὡστ' οὖχ ὅτι παλιρροοῦντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθεστώτας καὶ μένοντας, συρροίλας μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐσίας, μή μιᾶς δὲ ἐπιφανείας, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ὑψηλοτέρας, τῆς δὲ ταπεινότερα.1 οὐ γὰρ ὁσπέρ ἡ γῆ κατὰ ἐξίαν ἐσχημάτισται στερεά οὖσα, ὡστε καὶ κοιλάδας ἔχειν συμμενοῦσας καὶ ἀναστήματα, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ὑδώρ, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ τῇ κατὰ τὸ βάρος ῥοπῇ τὴν

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1 The editors transfer ὡστ' οὖχ . . . ταπεινότερα to a position before πελάγους. Jones follows both reading and order of the MSS.
they are classified as straits (for if that were the case, the Strait of Sicily would not be changing its current twice a day, as Eratosthenes says it does, but the strait of Chalcis seven times a day, while the strait at Byzantium makes no change at all but continues to have its outflow only from the Pontus into the Propontis, and, as Hipparchus reports, even stands still sometimes), nor, if one principle should account for the currents, would the cause be what Eratosthenes alleges it to be, namely, that the two seas on the sides of a strait have different levels. Indeed this would not be the case with the rivers either, except when they have cataracts; but since they have cataracts, they are not refluent, but run continuously toward the lower level. And this, too, results on account of the fact that the stream and its surface are inclined. But who would say that a sea-surface is inclined? And particularly in view of the hypotheses by which the four bodies (which, of course, we also call "elements") are made spheres. And so not only is a strait not refluent, but it is also not subject to standing still without any current at all, since, although there is a confluence therein of two seas, yet there is not merely one level, but two of them, one higher, the other lower. The case of the water, indeed, is not the same as that of the earth, which, being solid in character, has taken shape accordingly; and therefore it has hollows that keep their shape, and elevations as well; but the water, through the mere

1 A Pythagorean doctrine: “The bodies of the four elements” (water, earth, air, and fire) “are spherical, fire only excepted, whose figure is conical” (Plutarch, De Placeitis Philosophorum 1. 14).
ὀχρον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ποιεῖται, καὶ τοιαύτην λαμβάνει τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, οὕτων ὁ Ἀρχιμήθης φησὶν.

13. Ἑπιφέρει δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἀμμομονος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνῆς ῥήθεισιν, ὦτε δοκοῖ καὶ τὸ Κάσιον ὅρος περικλύζεσθαι θαλάττη, καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον, ὅπου νῦν τὰ καλούμενα Γέρρα καθ’ ἐκαστα,1 τεναγίζειν συνάπτοντα τῷ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς κόλπῳ, συνελθούσης δὲ τῆς θαλάττης ἀποκαλυφθῆναι. τὸ δὴ τεναγίζειν τὸν λεχθέντα τόπον συνάπτοντα τῷ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς κόλπῳ, ἀμφίβολον ἔστων ἐπειδὴ τὸ συνάπτειν σημαίνει καὶ τὸ σύνεγγυς καὶ τὸ ψαύειν, ὥστε, εἰ ὑδατα εἰη, σύρρουν εἶναι θάτερον θατέρῳ. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν δέχομαι2 τὸ συνεγίζειν τὰ τενάγη τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάττῃ, ἐὼς ἀκμὴν ἐκέκλειστο τὰ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας στενά, ἐκραγεντων δὲ τὴν ἀναχάρησιν γενέσθαι, ταπεινωθείσης τῆς ἡμετέρας θαλάττης διὰ τὴν κατὰ τὰς Στήλας ἐκρυσιν. Ἰππαρχος δὲ ἐκδεξάμενος τὸ συνάπτειν ταύτον τῷ σύρρους γενέσθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν θαλάτταν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ διὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν, αὕτη τὰ δὴ ποτὲ οὐχὶ τῇ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας ἐκρύσει μεθυστάμενη ἐκεῖσε ή καθ’ ἡμᾶς θάλαττα συμμεβίστα καὶ τὴν σύρρους αὐτῆ γενομένην τὴν

1 τέ, after ἐκαστα, Corais omits ; so Meineke.
2 καὶ, Corais deletes, after δέχομαι ; A. Miller approving.

1 A little town in Egypt between Pelusium and Mt. Casius; not the Arabian Gerrha.
influence of gravity, rides upon the earth and assumes the sort of surface which Archimedes says it does.

13. Eratosthenes adds to what he has said about Ammon and Egypt his opinion that Mt. Casius was once washed by the sea, and also that all the region where the so-called Gerrha \(^1\) now is, was in every part covered with shoal-water since it was connected with the gulf of the Red Sea, and that it became uncovered when the seas \(^2\) came together. Now it is ambiguous to say that the region mentioned was covered with shoal-water since it was connected with the gulf of the Red Sea, for "to be connected with" means either "to come near to" or "to touch"; so that, if we were referring to bodies of water, the phrase would mean, in the latter sense, that one body of water is confluent with another. My interpretation, however, is that the shoal-waters "came near to" the Red Sea as long as the narrows at the Pillars of Heracles were still closed, and that after the narrows had been broken through, the retirement of the shoal-water took place because the level of the Mediterranean Sea had been lowered by the outflow at the Pillars. But Hipparchus, interpreting the phrase "to be connected with" to be the same thing as "to become confluent with," that is, that our Mediterranean Sea "became confluent with" the Red Sea because of its being filled up with water, finds fault by asking why in the world it is that, at the time when our Mediterranean Sea, because of the outflow of its waters at the Pillars, underwent its change in that direction, it did not also cause the Red Sea, which had become confluent

\(^1\) The Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

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"Ερυθράν, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ διέμενεν ἐπιφανείᾳ, μὴ ταπεινομένη· καὶ γὰρ κατ’ αὐτὸν 'Ερατοσθένης τὴν ἐκτὸς θάλατταν ἀπασαν σύρροις εἶναι, ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἐσπέριον καὶ τὴν 'Ερυθράν θάλατταν μίαν εἶναι. τούτῳ δὲ εἰσπόν ἐπιφέρει τὸ ἀκόλουθον, τὸ τὸ αὐτὸ ὕψος ἔχειν τὴν τε ἐξω Στηλῶν θάλατταν καὶ τὴν 'Ερυθράν καὶ ἐτί τὴν ταύτη γεγονυῖαν σύρροις.

14. Ἀλλ’ οὖτ’ εἰρηκέναι τούτο φησίν 'Ερατοσθένης, τὸ σύρροις γεγονεῖν κατὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν τῇ 'Ερυθρᾷ, ἀλλὰ συνεγγύσαι μόνον, οὐτ' ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ μιᾷ καὶ συνεχείς θαλάττῃ τὸ αὐτὸ ὕψος ἔχειν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ τὴν καθ’ ἀλλ’ ἡμᾶς, καὶ νὴ Δία τὴν κατὰ τὸ Δέγαλον καὶ τὴν περὶ Κεγχρεάς. ὡσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰππαρχος ἐπισημαίνεται ἐν τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγῳ εἰδός οὖν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην ἱδία τί πρὸς αὐτὸν λεγέτω, καὶ μὴ ἔξ ἐτοίμου λαμβανόν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ φήσας μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐξω θάλατταν σύμφησι καὶ ὅτι μία ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἡ ἐπιφάνεια.

15. Ψευδὴ δ’ εἶναι φήσας τῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δελφίσιν ἐπιγραφὴν Κυρηναιῶν θεωρῶν αἰτίαν ἀποδίδοσιν οὐ πιθανῆν, ὅτι ἡ μὲν τῆς Κυρήνης κτίσεως ἐν χρόνοις φέρεται μμιμομοιουμένος, τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον οὐδεὶς μεμνηται ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ποτὲ ὑπάρξῃ. τι

1 That is, the gulfs of Corinth and Aegina, west and east, respectively, of the Isthmus of Corinth.
2 That is, at the oracle of Ammon. See page 181.
3 The dolphin was to the Greeks the symbol of a seaport town. It would seem to us that the ambassadors from Cyrene set up the dolphin as a symbol of their own town,
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with it, to make the same change, and why in the world the Red Sea continued at the same level instead of being lowered with the Mediterranean? For, says he, even according to Eratosthenes himself the whole exterior sea is confluent, and consequently the western sea and the Red Sea form one sea. After saying this, Hipparchus adds his corollary: that the Sea outside the Pillars, the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean Sea, too, which has become confluent with the Red Sea, all have the same level.

14. But Eratosthenes replies to this that he has not said that the confluence with the Red Sea took place at the time the Mediterranean Sea had become filled, but merely that the Mediterranean Sea had come near to it; and, besides, that it does not follow from the notion of one continuous sea that it has the same height and the same level—just as the Mediterranean has not, and as most assuredly its waters at Lechacum and those about Cenchreae have not. This very point Hipparchus himself makes in his book against Eratosthenes; since, then, he knows that such is the opinion of Eratosthenes, let him give some argument of his own against Eratosthenes, and let him not assume off-hand that, forsooth, if a man says the exterior sea is one, he at the same time affirms also that its level is everywhere the same.

15. Again, when Hipparchus says that the inscription on the dolphins, made by sacred ambassadors of Cyrene, is false, he gives an unconvincing reason when he says that although the founding of Cyrene falls within historical times, yet no historian has recorded that the oracle was ever situated on a sea.

and that it had no bearing on the question whether or not the oracle of Ammon was once on the seashore.
γὰρ εἷς μεθελς μὲν ἱστορεῖ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τεκμηρίων, εἶ δὲν εἰκάζομεν παράλλων ποτε τῶν τόπων γενέσθαι, οὐ τε δελφῖνες ἀνετέθησαν καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Κυρηναίων θεωρῶν; συγχωρήσας δὲ τῷ μετεωρίσμῳ τοῦ ἐδάφους συμμετεωρεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐπικλύσαι τοὺς μέχρι τοῦ μαυτείου τόπους, πλέον τι ἅπανθαλάττης διέχοντας τῶν τρισχιλίων σταδίων, οὐ συγχωρεῖ τὸν μέχρι τοσούτων μετεωρισμοῦ, διότι καὶ τὴν Φάρον ὁλὴν καλυφθῆναι καὶ τὰ πολλά τῆς Δικυάπτου, ἄσπερ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ὄντος τοῦ τοσοῦτον ὑφών καὶ ταῦτα ἐπικλύσαι. φήσας δὲ, εἰπερ ἐπεπλήρωτο ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡ καθ' ἡμαῖς θάλαττα πρὶν τὸ ἔκρηγμα τὸ κατὰ Στήλης γενέσθαι, ἐφ' ὅσον εὑρηκεν ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης, χρήσαι καὶ τὴν Δειβήνα πᾶσαν καὶ τῆς Ἐυρώπης τὰ πολλά καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας κεκαλύφθαι πρότερον, τούτως ἐπιφέρει, διότι καὶ ὁ Πόντος τῷ Ἀδρία σύρρους ἄν υπῆρξε κατὰ τινας τόπους, ἀτε ἒ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Πόντον τόπων σχιζομένου καὶ ἰχνὸς εἰς ἐκατέραν τὴν θάλατταν διὰ τῆς θέσων τῆς χώρας. ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Πόντον μερῶν ὁ Ἰστρος τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τάναντι ἀπὸ τῶν υπέρ τοῦ Ἀδρίου ὄρων, οὔτ' εἰς ἐκατέραν τὴν θάλατταν ἰχνή, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν Πόντον μόνον, σχιζεῖται τε πρὸς αὐτοῖς μόνον τοῖς στόμασι. κοινὴ δὲ τῶν τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄγων ταύτην ἅγνοικεν, ὑπολαβώσαν εἰναι τινά ὁμώνυμον τῷ Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἐκβάλλοντα εἰς τὸν Ἀδριαν ἀπεσφυσμένον αὐτοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ γένος

1 τι, T. G. Tucker, for ἕ.
GEOGRAPHY, i. 3. 15

Well, what if no historian does record the fact, and yet, according to the evidence on which we base the conjecture that the region was once coast-land, the dolphins were in fact dedicated and the inscription was engraved by sacred ambassadors of Cyrene? Again, although Hipparchus has admitted that, along with the elevation of the bed of the sea, the sea itself was elevated, and that it inundated the country as far as the oracles, a distance of somewhat more than three thousand stadia from the sea, he does not admit the elevation of the sea to such a point that both the whole island of Pharos and the greater part of Egypt were covered—just as though so high an elevation of the sea were not sufficient to inundate these districts too! And again, after saying that if, before the outbreak of the waters at the Pillars took place, the Mediterranean Sea was really filled to such an extent as Eratosthenes has stated, the whole of Libya and the greater part of Europe and Asia must first have been covered, he adds thereto that the Pontus would then have been confluent with the Adriatic in some places, for the reason that the Ister,¹ as he supposes, branches off from the Pontus regions and thus flows into both seas, on account of the lie of the land. But neither does the Ister rise in the Pontus regions (on the contrary, it rises in the mountains above the Adriatic), nor does it flow into both seas, but into the Pontus alone, and it branches off near its mouths only. However, this mistake of Hipparchus is shared with him by some of his predecessors, who supposed that there was a river of the same name as the Ister, which branched off from it and emptied into the Adriatic, and that the tribe

¹ The Danube.
"Ιστρων, 1 δι’ οὗ φέρεται, λαβεῖν τὴν προσηγορίαν, καὶ τὸν "Ιάσουν ταύτη ποιήσασθαι τὸν ἐκ τῶν Κόλχων ἀνάπλουν.

16. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀθαναμαστίαν τῶν τοιοῦτων μεταβολῶν, οἷς ἔφαμεν αὐτίας εἶναι τῶν ἐπικλύσεων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν, οἵα εἰρηται τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σικελλίαν καὶ τὰς Λιόλου νῆσους καὶ Πιθηκούσσας, ἄξιον παραθεῖναι καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖο τῶν ἐν ἑτέροις τόποις ὀντῶν ἡ γενομένων ὁμολογοῦσι. ἀρόμα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδείγματα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τεθέντα παύσει τὴν ἐκπληξίαν. νυνὶ δὲ τὸ ἄθηδες 2 ταράττει τὴν αὐσθησίαν καὶ δείκνυσιν ἀπειρίαν τῶν φύσει συμβαίνοντων καὶ τοῦ βίου παντός, οἷον εἰ τις λέγοι τὰ 3 περὶ Θήραν καὶ Θηρασίαν νῆσους ἱδρυμένας ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ πόρῳ Κρήτης καὶ τῆς Κυρηναίας, ὅπως ἡ Θήρα μητρόπολις ἐστὶ τῆς Κυρήνης, καὶ τὴν Ἀγγυπτον καὶ πολλὰ μέρη τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἀνὰ μέσον γὰρ Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας ἐκπεσοῦσαν φλόγες ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ἐφ’ ἡμέρας τέτταρας, 4 ὡστε πᾶσαν ξεῖν καὶ φλέγεσθαι τὴν θάλατταν, ἀνεφύσησαν καὶ ὀλύουν ἔξαιρες μένην ὡς ἀν ὀργανικὸς καὶ συντιθημένην ἐκ μύδρων νῆσον ἐπέχουσαν δώδεκα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον.

1 "Ιστρων, Meineke, for "Ιστρων.
2 νυνὶ δὲ τὸ ἄθηδες, Xylander, for νῦν εἰ δὲ τὸ ἄθηδε ; editors following.
3 τὰ, Groskurd, for τὰς; Kramar, Forbiger, Meineke, following.
4 τέτταρας, Meineke, for τέσσαρας.
of Istrians, through whose territory this Ister flows, got their appellation from it, and that it was by this route that Jason made his return voyage from the land of the Colchians.

16. Now, in order to promote the virtue of not marvelling at such changes as I have declared to be responsible for deluges and for such operations of nature as I have spoken of in the case of Sicily, the islands of Aeolus, and the Pithecussae, it is worth while to set forth still other instances of things similar thereto that exist, or else have taken place, in other regions. For if a large number of such instances are placed in view, they will put a stop to one’s amazement. But, as it is, the unfamiliar thing disturbs the senses and shews one’s ignorance of natural occurrences and of the conditions of life generally; for instance, suppose one should tell the story of Thera and Therasia (islands situated in the roadstead between Crete and Cyrenae, the first of which, Thera, is the mother-city of Cyrene), and of Egypt, and of many such places in Greece. For midway between Thera and Therasia fires broke forth from the sea and continued for four days, so that the whole sea boiled and blazed, and the fires cast up an island which was gradually elevated as though by levers and consisted of burning masses—an island with a stretch of twelve stadia in circum-

1 Compare Horace’s “Nil admirari” (Epist. 6). Also 1. 3. 21 (below); and Cicero, De Finibus 5. 8. 23 and 5. 29. 87. The Stoic philosophers attached great importance to the virtue of “marvelling at nothing.” Strabo’s present purpose is, by heaping up instances of marvellous occurrences, to promote that virtue in the student of geography, and thus to remove doubt and encourage the scientific spirit.

2 Page 199.
μετὰ δὲ τὴν παῦλαν τοῦ πάθους ἐθάρρησαν πρῶτοι Ὁρίοι θαλαττοκρατοῦντες ἐπιπροσπλεύσαι τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ Ποσειδώνος Ἀσφαλίου

Ο 58 ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι κατὰ τὴν νῆσον. ἐν δὲ τῇ Φοινίκη φησὶ Ποσειδώνος γενομένου σεισμοῦ καταποθῆκαν πόλιν ἱδρυμένην ὑπὲρ Σιδῶνος, καὶ αὐτὴς δὲ Σιδῶνος σχεδὸν τι τὰ δύο μέρη πεσεῖν, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἄθρως, ὥστε μὴ πολὺν φθόρον ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι. τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ πάθος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν ὅλην διέτεινε, μετρίως δὲ πως. διέβη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τινας νῆσους τὰς τῇ Κυκλάδας καὶ τῇ Εὔβοιαν, ὥστε τῇς Ἀρεθούσης (ἐστὶ δ᾽ ἐν Χαλκίδι κρήνη) τὰς πηγὰς ἀποτυφλωθῆναι, συχναὶς δ᾽ ἡμέραις ύστερον ἀναβλύσαι κατ᾽ ἄλλο στόμιον, μὴ παῦεσθαι δὲ σεισμένην τὴν νῆσον κατὰ μέρη, πρὸν ἡ χάσμα γῆς ἀνοιχθὲν ἐν τῷ Δηλάντῳ πεδίῳ πηλοῦ διαπύρου ποταμοῦ ἐξῆμεσε.

17. Πολλῶν δὲ συναγωγὰς ποιησαμένων τοιάρτας, ἀρκέσει τὰ ὡς τὸν Σκηνίδου Δημητρίου συνηγμένα οἰκείως παρατεθέντα. μνησθεὶς γὰρ τῶν ἐπὸν τούτων,

κρονῦν δ᾽ ἵκανον καλλιερρῶν, ἐνθα τῇ πηγᾷ
dοιαλ ἀναίσσουσι Σκαμάνδρου δινῆντος.
ἡ μὲν γὰρ θ᾽ ὑδατὶ λιαρῆ,
ἡ δ᾽ ἐτέρη θέρει προρέει εἰκονιά χαλάζη,

(Π.22.147)

οὐκ ἐὰν θαυμάζων, εἰ μὲν ἡ μὲν τοῦ ψυχροῦ
ὑδατος μὲνει πηγῇ, ἡ δὲ τοῦ θερμοῦ οὐχ ὀράται,
δειν γὰρ φησιν αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν ἐκθέλψιν τοῦ

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ference. After the cessation of the eruption, the
Rhodians, at the time of their maritime supremacy,
were first to venture upon the scene and to erect on
the island a temple in honour of Poseidon Asphalios.¹
And in Phoenicia, says Poseidonius, on the occasion
of an earthquake, a city situated above Sidon was
swallowed up, and nearly two-thirds of Sidon itself
was engulfed too, but not all at once, so that no
considerable destruction of human life took place.
The same operation of nature extended also over the
whole of Syria, but with rather moderate force; and
it also passed over to certain islands, both the Cyclades
and Euboea, with the result that the fountains of
Arethusa (a spring in Chalcis) were stopped up,
though after many days they gushed up at another
mouth, and the island did not cease from being
shaken in some part or other until a chasm in the
earth opened in the Lelantine Plain and vomited
forth a river of fiery lava.

17. Though many writers have made collections
of such instances, those collected by Demetrius of
Seepsis will suffice since they are appropriately cited.
For example, he mentions these verses of Homer:
“And they came to the two fair-flowing springs,
where two fountains rise of deep-eddying Scamander;
the one floweth with warm water, while the other in
summer floweth forth like hail”; and then he does
not allow us to marvel if at the present time the
spring of cold water is still there, whereas the one of
hot water is no longer visible. For, says he, we
must lay the cause to the shutting off of the hot

¹ Poseidon, “Securer” of travel by sea, and of the foundations of the earth.

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θερμοῦ ὁδατος. μιμησκεται δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ὑπὸ Δημοκλέους λεγομένων, σεισμοὺς τινας μεγάλους τοὺς μὲν πάλαι περὶ Λυδίαν γενομένους καὶ Ἰωνίαν μέχρι τῆς Τριφάδος ἱστοροῦντος, ὡς ὁν καὶ κώμαι κατεστήσαν καὶ Σύπυλος κατεστράφη, κατὰ τὴν Ταυτάλου βασιλείαν. καὶ εὖ ἐλών λέμαι ἐγένοντο, τὴν δὲ Τροίαν ἐπέκλυσε κῦμα. ἢ δὲ Φάρος ἢ καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἢ ποτὲ πελαγία, νῦν δὲ τρόπον τινὰ χερσόμηνοις γέγονεν; ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ Τύρος καὶ Κλαξομεναί. ἡμῶν δ' επιθησομένων ἐν Ἁλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Αἰγύπτου, περὶ Πηλούσιον καὶ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος μετεωρισθέν τὸ πέλαγος ἐπέκλυσε τὴν γῆν καὶ νῆσον ἐποίησε τὸ ὄρος, ὡστε πλωτὴν γενέσθαι τὴν παρὰ τὸ Κάσιον ὄνδο τὴν ἐς Φοινίκην. οὐδὲν οὖν βαυμαστόν, οὐδὲ εἰ ποτὲ διαστὰς ὁ ἱσθμὸς ἢ Ἅγια λαβῶν ὁ διείργων τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἀποφαίνει πορθμόν, καὶ σύρροιν ποιήσει τὴν ἐκτὸς θάλασσαν τῇ ἐντὸς, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατὰ τὰς Ἡρακλέους στήλας πορθμοῦ συνέβη. εἰρηται δὲ περὶ τῶν τιούτων τινὰ καὶ ἐν ἄρχαις τῆς πραγματείας, ὃ δὲι συμφέρειν εἰς ἐν καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἑσυχρᾶν κατασκευάζειν τῶν τε τῆς φύσεως ἑργῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλως γενομένων μεταβολῶν.

18. Τὸν τε Πειραιὰ ἤσσιαξοντα πρότερον καὶ οὗ εἰς νάπερ τῆς ἀκτῆς κείμενον οὕτως φασίν ὄνομα-

1 τῇ, Corais, for τῆς, before ἐντὸς; Meineke following; C. Müller approving.

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water.\(^1\) And he recalls on this point the words of Democles, who records certain great earthquakes, some of which long ago took place about Lydia and Ionia as far north as the Troad, and by their action not only were villages swallowed up, but Mt. Sipylus was shattered—in the reign of Tantalus. And lakes arose from swamps, and a tidal wave submerged the Troad. Again, the Egyptian Pharos was once an island of the sea, but now it has become, in a sense, a peninsula; and the same is true of Tyre and Clazomenae. And when I was residing in Alexandria, in Egypt, the sea about Pelusium and Mt. Casius rose and flooded the country and made an island of the mountain, so that the road by Mt. Casius into Phoenicia became navigable. Hence it is nothing to marvel at even if, at some time, the isthmus should be parted asunder or else undergo a settling process—I mean the isthmus that separates the Egyptian Sea from the Red Sea—and thus disclose a strait and make the outer sea confluent with the inner,\(^2\) just as happened in the case of the strait at the Pillars of Heracles. I have already said something about such things at the beginning of this treatise\(^3\); and all these instances must needs contribute to one result, namely, to fix strong our belief in the works of nature and also in the changes that are being brought to pass by other agencies.

18. And as for the Peiraeus, it was because the Peiraeus was formerly an island and lay "over against"\(^4\) the mainland, they say, that it got the

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\(^1\) See 13. 1. 43, where Strabo again refers to these springs.
\(^2\) Compare the Suez Canal.
\(^3\) 1. 3. 4.
\(^4\) Peran.
σθήμασεν ὑπεναντίος δ’ ἡ Λευκᾶς Κορινθίων τὸν ἱσθμὸν διακοψάντων νῆσος γέγονεν, ἀκτὴ προτεροῦσα· περὶ ταύτης γὰρ φασὶ λέγειν τὸν Δαέρτην,

οἷς Νῆρικον¹ εἶλον ἐνκτίμενον πτολέμερον, ἀκτὴν ἡπείρου. (Od. 24. 377)

ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διακοπαὶ χειρότητοι γεγόνασιν, ἀλλαχῶθι δὲ προσχώσεις ἡ γεφυρώσεις, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς Συρακούσας νῆσου νῦν μὲν γέφυρά ἐστιν ἡ συνάπτουσα αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν ἡπείρον, πρὸτεροῦ δὲ χώμα, ὅς φησὶν Ἰβυκὸς, λογαίοι λίθου, δυν καλεῖ ἐκλεκτὸν. Βοῦρα δὲ καὶ ᾿Ελίκη, ᾿ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ χάσματος, ᾿ὅ δ’ ὑπὸ κύματος ἡφανίσθη. περὶ Μεθώνην δὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ ᾿Ερμιονίκω κόλπῳ ὄρος ἄπταστάδιον τὸ ὤψος ἀνεβλήθη γευσθέντος ἀναφυσήματος φλογῶδους, μεθ’ ἡμέραν μὲν ἀπρόσιτον ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τῆς θειόδους ὀξυς, νῦκτωρ δ’ ἐκλάμπου πόρρω καὶ θερμαίνων, ὡστε ξεῖν τὴν θάλατταν ἐπὶ στάδιος πέντε, θολεράν δ’ εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκκος στάδιος, προσχωσθήμας δὲ πέτραις ἀπορρῳξὶ πύργων ωκὲ ελάττωσιν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Κοπαίδος λίμνης ἦ τε

¹ Νῆρικος, Corais, for Νήριτος; C, the Epitome, and modern editors also.
² ὄρος, Kramer adds, from the Epitome; Groskurd, Meineke, Müller-Dübner, following.
³ έκλάμπω, before έκλάμπου, Corais deletes; Meineke following; C. Müller approving.

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name it has; but contrariwise Leucas, since the Corinthians cut a canal through the isthmus, has become an island, although it was formerly a headland. Indeed, it is with reference to Leucas, they say, that Laertes remarks: "As I was when I took Nericus, the well-built castle on the headland of the continent." Here, then, a partition cut by hand has been made; in other places man has built moles or bridges—just as, in the case of the island next to Syracuse, there is at the present time a bridge which connects it with the mainland, whereas formerly there was a mole, as Ibycus says, built of selected stones, which he calls stones "picked out." Then there are Bura and Helice; Bura disappeared in a chasm of the earth, and Helice was wiped out by a wave from the sea. And about Methone in the Hermionic Gulf a mountain seven stadia in height was cast up in consequence of a fiery eruption, and this mountain was unapproachable by day on account of the heat and the smell of sulphur, while at night it shone to a great distance and was so hot that the sea boiled for five stadia and was turbid even for twenty stadia, and was heaped up with massive broken-off rocks no smaller than towers. And again, by Lake Copaïs both Arne and Mideia

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1 Ibycus says: "picked out by mortal hands."
2 Both were in Achaia. The earthquake took place 373 B.C.
3 We should have expected Strabo to say "Saronic" Gulf. The form which he elsewhere gives to the Hermionic Gulf (see 8. 6. 1), making it reach as far north as Aegina and Epidaurian territory, is strange indeed; but in accordance with his definition Methone comes within the Hermionic Gulf.
4 In Boeotia (Lake Topolia).
Στράβον

'Αρνη κατεπόθη καὶ Μίδεια, ὡς ὁμόμακεν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τῷ Καταλόγῳ

οὗ τε πολυστάφυλον 'Αρνην ἔχοι, οὗ τε Μίδειαν.

(IL. 2. 507)

καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Βιστονίδος δὲ καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἀφινίδος
λήμνης ἐδιοίκασι κατακεκλύθαι πόλεις τινὲς
Θρακῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ Τρηρῶν, ὡς συνοίκων τοῖς
Θραξίν ὄντων. καὶ ἡ πρότερον δὲ Ἀρτεμίτα
λεγομένη μία τῶν Ἐχθινίδων νήσων ἤπειρος
γέγονε. καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῶν περὶ τῶν Ἀχελώον
νησίδων τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος φασὶ παθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ
tοῦ ποταμοῦ προσχώσεως τοῦ πελάγους, συν-
χοῦται δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαί, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἡμῖν
καὶ Αὐτωλίκαί δὲ τινὲς ἄκραι εἰς ἰππίζουσαι
πρότερον, καὶ ἡ 'Ἀστερία ἡ ἤλλακται, ἢν 'Ἀστερίδα
φησὶν ὁ ποιητής.

ἔστι δὲ τῆς νήσου μέσῃ ἄλλη πετρήσασα,
'Ἀστερίας, οὗ μεγάλη, λιμένες δὲ ἐνὶ ναῦλοχοι αὐτῇ
ἀμφίδυμοι.

(Od. 4. 844)

νυνὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἁγκυροβόλων εὐφυνὲς ἔχει. ἐν τε τῇ
Ἰθάκῃ οὐδὲν ἔστων ἄντρον τοιοῦτον, οὐδὲ Νυμ-
φαῖον, οἰόν φησιν 'Ὀμηρος· βέλτιον δὲ ἀιτίασθαι
μεταβολὴν ἢ ἄγνοιαν ἢ κατάψευσιν τῶν τόπων
κατὰ τὸ μυθόδες. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ἄσαφες ὁν
Ο 60 ἐὼ ἐν κοινῷ σκοπεῖν.

1 Ἡρόδοτος, Corais, for Ἡσίοδος; Meineke, Forbiger, Tozer, Tardieu, following.

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were swallowed up, places which have been named by Homer in the Catalogue of Ships: “And they that possess Arne rich in vineyards, and they that possess Midea.” And by Lake Bistonis 1 and by the lake which they now call Aphnitis 2 certain cities of Thracians appear to have been overwhelmed; and some say cities of Trerans also, thinking they were neighbours of the Thracians. And, too, one of the Echinades Islands, which used to be called Artemita, has become part of the continent; and they say that still others of the little islands about the mouth of the Acheloüs have suffered the same change from the silting up of the sea by the river; and the rest of them too, as Herodotus 3 says, are in process of fusion with the continent. Again, there are certain Aetolian promontories which were formerly islands; and Asteria has been changed, which the poet calls Asteris: “Now there is a rocky isle in the mid-sea, 4 Asteris, a little isle; and there is a harbour therein with a double entrance, where ships may lie at anchor.” But at the present time it has not even a good anchorage. Further, in Ithaca there is no cave, neither grotto of the Nymphs, such as Homer describes; but it is better to ascribe the cause to physical change rather than to Homer’s ignorance or to a false account of the places to suit the fabulous element in his poetry. Since this matter, however, is uncertain, I leave it to the public to investigate.

1 In Thrace (Lake Lagos).
2 The other name was Dascylitis (see 13. 1. 9). It was in Bithynia; and according to the best authority, it was not the lake now called Maniys or that called Abullonia, but a third lake which has disappeared.
3 2. 10.
4 Asteris lay “midway between Ithaca and rugged Samos,” says Homer; but scholars have been unable to identify it.
19. Ἡ δὲ Ἀντισσα νῆσος ἦν πρότερον, ὡς Μυρσίλος φησὶ· τῆς δὲ Δέσβου καλουμένης πρότερον Ἰσσῆς, καὶ τὴν νῆσον Ἀντισσαν καλεῖσθαι συνεῖβη νῦν δὲ τῆς Δέσβου πόλις ἐστὶν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν Δέσβου τῆς Ἰδῆς ἀπερρωγέναι πεπιστεύκασι, καθάπερ τὴν Προχύτην καὶ τὴν Πιθηκοῦσσαν τοῦ Μισησοῦ, τὰς δὲ Καπρέας τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, τὴν Σικελίαν δὲ τῆς Ρηγύνης, τὴν Ὀσσαν δὲ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα τοιαύτα μεταβολαί. καὶ ὁ Λάδων δὲ ὁ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἐπέσχε ποτὲ τὸ βρέμα. Δούρις δὲ τὰς Ράγας τὰς κατὰ Μηδίαν ὄνομάσθη φησὶν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν βαγέσθης τῆς περὶ τὰς Καστίους πύλας ήγες, ὡστε ἀνατραπῆναι πόλεις συνήρα καὶ κόμας καὶ ποταμοῖς ποικίλας μεταβολάς δέξασθαι. 'Ἰων δὲ περὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας φησὶν ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ Σατύροις:

Εὐβοίδα μὲν γῆν λεπτὸς Εὐρώπου κλύδων
Βοιωτίας ἔχωρις', ἀκτὴν έκτερον
προβλῆτα πορθμῷ.

(ἔρ. 18, Ὁνοκ)  

20. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Καλλατιανὸς τοὺς καθ' ὅλην τὴν Ἐλλάδα γενομένους ποτὲ σεισμοὺς δυναμένον αὐτὸ περὶ τῇ Διαφάδοισίν, καὶ τῇ Κηναῖον τὰ πολλὰ καταδύναι φησὶ, τὰ τε θερμὰ τὰ ἐν Αἰδηψῷ καὶ Θερμοπούλαις ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπιστηθέντα πάλιν ῥυόντα, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ Αἰδηψῷ καὶ καθ' ἑτέρας ἀναρραγῆναι πηγάς. Ὡρεοῦ δὲ τὸ πρὸς θαλάττη τεῖχος καὶ τῶν οἰκίῶν περὶ ἔπτα-

1 That is, the island opposite Issa (Lesbos) was called Antissa (Anti-Issa).
2 See 8. 8. 4.
GEography, i. 3. 19-20

19. Antissa was formerly an island, as Myrsilus says; and since Lesbos was formerly called Issa, it came about that this island was called Antissa; but now Antissa is a city of Lesbos. And some believe that Lesbos itself is a fragment broken off from Mt. Ida, just as Prochyta and Pithecussa from Misenum, Capri from the Promontory of Athene, Sicily from the district of Rhegium, and Ossa from Olympus. And it is a fact that changes of this sort have also occurred in the neighbourhood of these places. And, again, the River Ladon in Arcadia once ceased to flow. Duris says that Rhagae in Media has received its name because the earth about the Caspian Gates had been “rent” by earthquakes to such an extent that numerous cities and villages were destroyed, and the rivers underwent changes of various kinds. Ion says of Euboea in his satyr-drama Omphale: “The slender wave of Euripus hath separated the land of Euboea from Boeotia, in that by means of a strait it hath cut a projecting headland away.”

20. Demetrius of Callatis, in his account of all the earthquakes that have ever occurred throughout all Greece, says that the greater part of the Lichades Islands and of Cenaeum was engulfed; the hot springs at Aedepsus and Thermopylae, after having ceased to flow for three days, began to flow afresh, and those at Aedepsus broke forth also at another source; at Oreus the wall next to the sea and about

2 The root of the verb here used is rhag.
4 Between Euboea and Locris.
5 A promontory in north-western Euboea, opposite Locris.
6 A city in north-western Euboea.
7 A city in north-eastern Euboea.
κοσίας συμπεσέων. Ἐξίνον τε καὶ Φαλάρων καὶ Ἡρακλέας τῆς Τραχίνους, τῶν μὲν πολὺ μέρος πεσεῖν, Φαλάρων δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐνδάφους ἀνατραπῆναι τὸ κτίσμα. Παραπλήσια δὲ συμβήναι καὶ Δαμι- εύσι καὶ Δαμισαλούς καὶ Σκάρφειαν δ’ ἐκ θεμε- λίων ἀναρριφῆναι, καὶ καταδύναι σώματα χιλίων καὶ ἐπτακσίων οὐκ ἔλαττως, Θρούνους δ’ ὑπὲρ ἰμισον τούτων κυμά τε ἐξαρθὲν τριχῇ, τὸ μὲν πρὸς Τάρφην ἐνεγχῆναι καὶ Θρόνουν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Θερμοτύλας, ἀλλ’ δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἔως τοῦ Φωκικοῦ Δαφνούντος. Πηγάς τε ποταμῶν ἐξαρρι- φῆναι πρὸς ἦμερας τυνάς, τὸν δὲ Σπερχείουν ἀλλάζαι τὸ ᾠδόροι καὶ πονῆσαι πλωτὰς τὰς ὅδους, τὸν δὲ Βοάγριον κατ’ ἁλλής ἐνεγχῆναι φάραγγο, καὶ Ἀλόπης δὲ καὶ Κύπου καὶ Ὀπούν- τος πολλὰ καταβλαβῆναι μέρη, Οἶον δὲ τὸ ὑπερ- κείμενον φρούριον τῶν ἀνατραπῆναι, Ἐλατείας δὲ τοῦ πείχους καταρραγῆναι μέρος, περὶ δὲ Ἀλπωνοῦ θεσμοφορίων ὄντων πέντε καὶ ἐκκόσι παρθένους ἀναδραμούσας εἰς πύργου τῶν ἔλλι- μενίων κατὰ θέαν, πεσόντος τοῦ πύργου, πεσεῖν καὶ αὐτῶς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀταλάντης τῆς πρὸς Εὐβοία τὰ μέσα, ρήγματος ἐγενόμενον, διάπλουν δέξασθαι μεταξὺ, καὶ τῶν πεδίων ἐνα καὶ μέχρι ἐκκοσι στάδιων ἐπικλυ-
seven hundred of the houses collapsed;¹ and as for Echinus and Phalara and Heracleia in Trachis, not only was a considerable portion of them thrown down, but the settlement of Phalara was overturned, ground and all. And, says he, something quite similar happened to the people of Lamia and of Larissa; and Scarphia, also, was flung up, foundations and all, and no fewer than seventeen hundred human beings were engulfed, and over half as many Thronians; again, a triple-headed wave rose up, one part of which was carried in the direction of Tarphe and Thronium, another part to Thermopylae, and the rest into the plain as far as Daphnus in Phocis; fountains of rivers were dried up for a number of days, and the Sphæcheius changed its course and made the roadways navigable, and the Boagrius was carried down a different ravine, and also many sections of Alope, Cynus, and Opus were seriously damaged, and Oeum, the castle above Opus, was laid in utter ruin, and a part of the wall of Elateia was broken down, and at Alponus, during the celebration of the Thesmophoria, twenty-five girls ran up into one of the towers at the harbour to get a view, the tower fell, and they themselves fell with it into the sea. And they say, also, of the Atalanta near Euboea that its middle portions, because they had been rent asunder, got a ship-canal through the rent, and that some of the plains were overflowed even as far as twenty stadia, and

¹ The places subsequently named in this paragraph—except Atalanta—are all on the mainland of Greece, more or less in proximity to the Euboean Sea.
σθῆναι, καὶ τριήρη τινὰ ἐκ τῶν νεωρίων ἐξαρ-
θείσαν ὑπερπεσεῖν τοῦ τείχους.
21. Προστιθέασι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν μετα-
στάσεων μεταβολὰς ἐπὶ πλέον τὴν ἀθαυμαστίαν
ἡμῶν κατασκευάζειν ἐδέλουτες, ἦν ύμνεῖ Δημό-
κριτος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι πάντες παρά-
κειται γὰρ τῷ ἀθαμβεῖ καὶ ἀταράχω καὶ
ἀνεκπλήκτησι οἶνον Ἰβήρων μὲν τῶν ἐσπερίων
εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πῶντου καὶ τῆς Κολχίδος
τόπους μετωκισμένων (οὗς ὁ Ἀράξης, ὡς φῆσιν
Ἀπολλόδωρος, ἀπὸ τῆς Αρμενίας ὀρίζει, Κύρος
δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τὰ ὅρη τὰ Μοσχικὰ), Ἀγυπτίων
δὲ εἰς τε Αἰθιοπικὰ καὶ Κόλχους, Ἐνετῶν δὲ ἐκ
Παφλαγονίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδριαν. ἀπερ καὶ ἐπὶ
τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν ἐδινὼν συνέβη, Ἰώνων καὶ Δα-
ριέων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Αἰολῶν καὶ Ἀινάνες
οἱ νῦν Ἀιτωλοὶ ὄμοροι περὶ τὸ Δῶτιον φικουν
καὶ τὴν Ὀσσαν μετὰ Περραιβῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ
Περραιβὸι μετανάσται τινὲς. πλήρης δὲ ἐστὶ
tῶν τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων ἡ νῦν ἐνεστώσα
πραγματεία, τινὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ πρόχειρα τοῖς
πόλλοῖς ἐστιν; αἱ δὲ τῶν Καρών καὶ Τηρῶν
καὶ Τεῦκρων μεταναστάσεις καὶ Γαλατῶν, ὃμοι
δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων οἱ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐκτοπισμοὶ,
Μάδυος τε τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ καὶ Τειρκῶ τοῦ Αἰθιοπος
καὶ Κώβου τοῦ Τηρῶς καὶ Σεσώστριος καὶ

1 ἔπρεπείταν, Madvig, for ἔπρεπείται; Tozer following.
2 ἐστιν, Meineke, for εἰσιν.

1 Diodorus (12. 59) says that Atalanta was once a penin-
sula and that it was broken away from the mainland by an
earthquake, though he does not refer to the occurrence
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that a trireme was lifted out of the docks and cast over the wall.\textsuperscript{1}

21. Writers also add the changes resulting from the migrations of peoples, wishing to develop in us, to a still greater extent, that virtue of not marvelling at things (a virtue which is lauded by Democritus and all the other philosophers; for they put it in a class with freedom from dread and from perturbability and from terror).\textsuperscript{2} For instance: the migration of Western Iberians\textsuperscript{3} to the regions beyond the Pontus and Colchis (regions which are separated from Armenia by the Araxes according to Apollodorus, but rather by the River Cyrus and the Moschican Mountains); and the migration of Egyptians to Ethiopia and Colchis; and that of Enetians\textsuperscript{4} from Paphlagonia to the Adriatic. This is what took place in the case of the Greek tribes also—Ionians, Dorians, Achaeans, and Acolians; and the Aenianians that are now neighbours of the Aetolians used to live about Dotium and Mt. Ossa among the Perrhaebians; and, too, the Perrhaebians themselves are emigrants. And the present treatise is full of such instances. A number of them, to be sure, are matters even of ready knowledge to most people, but the emigrations of the Carians, Trerans, Tenerians, and Galatians, and likewise also the expeditions of the princes to lands far remote (I refer to Madys the Scythian, Tearko the Ethiopian, Cobus the Treran, Sesostris and Psammitichus the mentioned by Strabo. Both apparently have in mind the earthquake of 426 B.C.

\textsuperscript{2} See § 16 above, and the footnote.

\textsuperscript{3} That is, "Western" as distinguished from the new, or "Eastern," Iberia beyond the Pontus.

\textsuperscript{4} Compare "Venetians"; and see 5. 1. 4.
Ψαμματίχου τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Περσῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Κύρου μέχρι Ξέρξου οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐν ἑτοίμῳ πᾶσιν εἶσιν. οὐ τε Κιμμέριοι οὐδὲ Τηρίης ὅνομα-ζουσιν, ἡ ἐκείνων τί ἔθνος, πολλάκις ἐπέδραμον τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τὰ συνεχῶς αὐτοῖς, τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ Παφλαγόνας, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ Φρύγας ἐβαλόντες, ἣνικα Μίδαν αἷμα ταῦρου πιόντα φαίνεται ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ χρεών. Λύγδαμος δὲ τούς αὐτοὺς ἄγων μέχρι Λυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας ἡλικε καὶ Σάρδεις ἐξείλον, ἐν Κυκλικῇ δὲ διεφθάρη. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ οἱ Κιμμέριοι καὶ οἱ Τηρίες ἐποίησαντο τὰς τοιαύτας ἐφόδους· τοὺς δὲ Τηρίας καὶ Κώβουν ὕπο τὸ Μάδους τὸ τελευταῖον ἐξελαθήματας φασὶ τοὺς τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱ βασιλεῖς. ταῦτα μὲν εἰρήσθω πρὸς ἀπασαν κοινῷ τὴν περίοδον τῆς γῆς ἐχοῦσα σικείαν ἠστορίαν.

22. Ἐπάνωμεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, ὥσχ' ὁμ παρέβημεν. τοῦ γὰρ Ἡροδότου μηδένας Ῥπερβορείους εἶναι φίλανδος, μηδὲ γὰρ Ῥπερνυτίων, γελοίοις φησὶν. Ὁ 62 εἶναι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν καὶ ὁμολόγον ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης τῷ σοφίσματι τούτῳ, εἰ τις λέγων μηδένας εἶναι ἐπικαρεκάκος, μηδὲ γὰρ ἐπιχαραγάδους· κατὰ τῦχην τε εἶναι καὶ Ῥπερνυτίων· κατὰ γοῦν τὴν Ἀθηναίαν μὴ πνεῦν Νότον, ἀλλὰ κατωτέρω.

1 Σκυθῶν, Penzel, Larcher, for Κιμμερών; Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, following; Kramer, C. Müller, approving.
2 γελοίοιν, Tyrwhitt, for λέγων ἄν; editors following.
3 The old reading without ἂν is restored by Kramer, Meineke, C. Müller.
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Egyptians, and to Persians from Cyrus to Xerxes) are not likewise matters of off-hand knowledge to everybody. And those Cimmerians whom they also call Trerans (or some tribe or other of the Cimmerians) often overran the countries on the right of the Pontus and those adjacent to them, at one time having invaded Paphlagonia, and at another time Phrygia even, at which time Midas drank bull’s blood, they say, and thus went to his doom. Lygdamis, however, at the head of his own soldiers, marched as far as Lydia and Ionia and captured Sardes, but lost his life in Cilicia. Oftentimes both Cimmerians and Trerans made such invasions as these; but they say that the Trerans and Cobus were finally driven out by Madys, the king of the Scythians. Let these illustrations be given here, inasmuch as they involve matters of fact which have a bearing upon the entire compass of the world in general.

22. I now return to the points next in order, whence I digressed. First, as for the statement of Herodotus that there are no Hyperboreans because there are also no Hypernotians. Eratosthenes says the argument presented is absurd and like the following quibble: suppose some one should say "There are none who rejoice over the ills of others because there are also none who rejoice over the blessings of others." And, adds Eratosthenes, it so happens that there are also Hypernotians—at all events, Notus does not blow in Ethiopia, but farther north. But it

1 King of the Cimmerians.
2 At § 16 Strabo digressed from the order of discussion purposed by Eratosthenes.
3 Herod. 4. 36.
4 People who live beyond Boreas (North Wind).
5 People beyond Notus (South Wind).
θαυμαστών δ’, εἰ, καθ’ ἐκαστον κλίμα πνεύοντος ἀνέμου, καὶ πανταχοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας Νότου προσαγορευομένου, ἔστι τις οἰκήσις ἐν ᾗ τούτῳ μῆ συμβαίνει. τούναντίον γὰρ οὐ μόνον Αἰθιοπία ἔχοι ἀν τὸν καθ’ ἥμας Νότου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἀνωτέρω πάσα μέχρι τοῦ ἱσημερινοῦ. εἰ δ’ ἄρα, τοῦ Ἡροδότου τούτ’ ἐχρῆν αὐτιᾶσθαι, ὅτι τοὺς Τρηπερβορείους τούτους ὑπέλαβε λέγεσθαι, παρ’ οἷς ὁ Βορέας οὐ πνεῖ. καὶ γὰρ εἰ οἱ ποιηταὶ μνημικῶτερον οὕτω φασίν, οἳ γ’ ἐξηγούμενοι τὸ υγιὲς ἀν ἀκούσαieν, ὩΤρηπερβορείους τοὺς βορειο- τάτους λέγεσθαι.1 ὁρός δὲ τῶν μὲν βορείων ὁ πόλος, τῶν δὲ νοτίων ὁ ἱσημερινὸς· καὶ τῶν ἀνέμων δ’ ὁ αὐτὸς ὁρός.

23. Ἐξῆς δὲ λέγει πρὸς τοὺς φανερῶς πεπλα- σμένα καὶ ἀδύνατα λέγοντας, τὰ μὲν ἐν μῆθου σχῆματι, τὰ δ’ ἱστορίας, περὶ ἣν οὐκ ἄξιον μεμνησθαι. οὐδ’ ἐκείνον ἐχρῆν ἐν ὑποθέσει τοιαύτῃ φλυάροις ἐπισκοπεῖν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη διέξοδος αὐτῷ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τοιαύτη.

IV

1. Ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ πειράται διόρθωσιν τινα ποιεῖσθαι τῆς γεωγραφίας, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ λέγει

1 φασί, after λέγεσθαι, Groskurd deletes; editors following
is a marvellous thing if, although winds blow in every latitude, and although the wind that blows from the south is everywhere called Notus, there is any inhabited place where this is not the case. For, on the contrary, not only might Ethiopia have the same Notus as we have, but even the whole country further south as far as the equator might have it. However that may be, this charge should be laid against Herodotus, that he assumed that by "Hyperboreans" those peoples were meant in whose countries Boreas does not blow. For even if the poets do speak thus, rather mythically, those, at least, who expound the poets should give ear to sound doctrine, namely, that by "Hyperboreans" were meant merely the most northerly peoples. And as for limits, that of the northerly peoples is the north pole, while that of the southerly peoples is the equator; and the winds too have the same limits.

23. Next in order, Eratosthenes proceeds to reply to those whose stories are plainly fictitious and impossible, some of which are in the form of myths, and others in the form of history—persons whom it is not worth while to mention; neither should he, when treating a subject of this kind, have paid heed to persons who talk nonsense. Such, then, is Eratosthenes' course of argument in the First Book of his Commentaries.

IV

1. In his Second Book Eratosthenes undertakes a revision of the principles of geography; and he declares his own assumptions, to which, in turn, if

1 Literally, "borean." 2 Literally, "notian."
υπολήψεις: πρὸς ἃς πάλιν, εἰ ἔστι τις ἐπανόρθωσις, πειρατέων προσφέρειν, τὸ μὲν οὖν τὰς μαθηματικὰς ὑποθέσεις εἰσάγειν 1 καὶ φυσικὰς εὐ λέγεται, καὶ ὅτι εἰ σφαιροειδῆς ἡ γη, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ κόσμος, περιοικεῖται, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα. εἰ δὲ τηλικαύτη, ἤλικην αὐτὸς εἰρήκειν, οὕτως ὀμολογοῦσιν οἱ ὑστερον, οὐδὲ 2 ἐπανωθοῦν τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν. ὅμως δὲ πρὸς τὴν σημείωσιν τῶν κατὰ τὰς οἰκήσεις ἐκάστας φαινομένων προσχρήται τοῖς διαστήμασιν ἐκείνοις Ἰππαρχὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ διὰ Μερόπης καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειας καὶ Βορυθένους μεσημβρινοῦ, μικρῶν παραλλάττων φύσεως παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. καὶ περὶ τοῦ σχήματος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς διὰ πλειόνων καταδεικνύσι 3 ὅτι σφαιροειδῆς καὶ ἡ γῆ σὺν τῇ ύψη, φύσει καὶ ὁ οὐρανός, ἀλλοτριολογεῖν ἄν δοξεῖν ἀρκεῖ γὰρ τὸ ἐπὶ μικρῶν.

2. Ἐξῆς δὲ τὸ πλάτος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀφορίζων φησὶν ἀπὸ μὲν Μερόπης ἐπὶ τοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς μεσημβρινοῦ μέχρι Ἀλεξάνδρειας εἰναι μυρίους, ἐνθεύει δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἐλλησποντον περὶ ὀκτακισχίλιων ἑκατῶν, εἰτ' εἰς Βορυθένειν πεντακισχίλιους, εἰτ' ἐπὶ τὸν κύκλον τὸν διὰ Θούλης (ἡν φησὶ Πυθέας ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχειν πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἐγγὺς δὲ εἰναι τῆς πεπηγνίας βαλάττης)

1 εἰσάγειν, Corais, for ἐγέως; editors following.
2 οὐδ', Csbahon, for δὲ; editors following.
3 καταδεικνύς, T. G. Tucker, for (καὶ) δεικνύς.

1 252,000 stadia in circumference at the equator. See 2.5.7.
2 The Dnieper; Strabo means, as usual, the mouth of the river.
there is any further revision to be made, I must undertake to supply it. Now his introduction of the principles of mathematics and physics into the subject is a commendable thing; also his remark that if the earth is sphere-shaped, just as the universe is, it is inhabited all the way round; and his other remarks of this nature. But as to the question whether the earth is as large as he has said, later writers do not agree with him; neither do they approve his measurement of the earth. Still, when Hipparchus plots the celestial phenomena for the several inhabited places, he uses, in addition, those intervals measured by Eratosthenes on the meridian through Meroë and Alexandria and the Borysthenes, after saying that they deviate but slightly from the truth. And, too, in Eratosthenes' subsequent discussion about the shape of the earth, when he demonstrates at greater length that not only the earth with its liquid constituent is sphere-shaped but the heavens also, he would seem to be talking about things that are foreign to his subject; for a brief statement is sufficient.

2. Next, in determining the breadth of the inhabited world, Eratosthenes says that, beginning at Meroë and measuring on the meridian that runs through Meroë, it is ten thousand stadia to Alexandria; and thence to the Hellespont about eight thousand one hundred; then to the Borysthenes five thousand; then to the parallel circle that runs through Thule (which Pytheas says is a six days' sail north of Britain, and is near the frozen sea)

3 Strabo means that the hypotheses of physics and astronomy should be accepted at once by geographers. Compare 2. 5. 2.
3. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα διαστήματα δεδόσθω αὐτῷ: ὁμολογηται γὰρ ἱκανῶς· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένου ἐπὶ τὸν διὰ Θούλης κύκλον τῆς ἀν δοιχνοῖν ἔχων; δὲ τε γὰρ ἱστορῶν τὴν Θούλην Πυθέας ἀνὴρ ψευδίστατος ἐξήτασται, καὶ οἱ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν καὶ Ἡρώνην ἴδοντες οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς Θούλης λέγουσιν, ἄλλας νῆσους λέγουσιν μικρὰς περὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν. αὐτῇ τε ἡ Βρεττανικὴ τὸ μῆκος ἵσως πῶς ἐστὶ τῇ Κελτικῇ παρεκτεταμένη, τῶν πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων οὐ μείζων, καὶ τοὺς ἄκρους τοὺς ἀντικειμένους ἀφοριζομένη. ἀντίκειται γὰρ ἄλληλοι τά τε ἔφα ἄκρα τοὺς ἔφοιτος καὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια τοῖς ἐσπερίουσι, καὶ τὰ γε ἔφα ἐγγὺς ἄλληλων ἐστὶ μέχρις ἐπόνεσι, τὸ τῇ Κάντιων καὶ αἰ τοῦ Ρήμου ἐκβολαῖ. δὲ πλειώνων ἡ δισμυρίων τὸ μῆκος ἀποφαίνει τῆς νῆσου, καὶ τὸ Κάντιων ἡμερῶν τινῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχειν τῆς Κελτικῆς φήνας· καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ὀστυμίους δὲ καὶ τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ρήμου τὰ μέχρι Σκυθῶν πάντα κατέψευσται τῶν τόπων. ὅστις οὖν περὶ τῶν γνωριζομένων

1 καὶ, Kramer inserts; editors following.

1 Strabo elsewhere speaks of this island as “the island of the fugitive Egyptians.” See 2. 5. 14 (and note), 16. 4. 8, and 17. 1. 2; also Pliny, Nat. Hist. 6. 35.
about eleven thousand five hundred more. Accordingly, if we add three thousand four hundred stadia more to the south of Meroë, in order to embrace the Island of the Egyptians,\(^1\) the Cinnamon-producing country, and Taprobane,\(^2\) we shall have thirty-eight thousand stadia.

3. However, with one exception, let all the distances of Eratosthenes be granted him—for they are sufficiently agreed upon; but what man of sense could grant his distance from the Borysthenes to the parallel of Thule? For not only has the man who tells about Thule, Pytheas, been found, upon scrutiny, to be an arch-falsifier, but the men who have seen Britain and Ierne\(^3\) do not mention Thule, though they speak of other islands, small ones, about Britain; and Britain itself stretches alongside of Celtica\(^4\) with a length about equal thereto, being not greater in length than five thousand stadia, and its limits are defined by the extremities of Celtica which lie opposite its own. For the eastern extremity of the one country lies opposite the eastern extremity of the other, and the western extremity of the one opposite the western of the other; and their eastern extremities, at all events, are near enough to each other for a person to see across from one to the other—I mean Cantium\(^5\) and the mouths of the Rhine. But Pytheas declares that the length of Britain is more than twenty thousand stadia, and that Cantium is several days' sail from Celtica; and in his account both of the Osttimians and of what is beyond the Rhine as far as Scythia he has in every case falsified the regions. However, any man who has told such

\(^1\) Ceylon.
\(^2\) Ceylon.
\(^3\) France, roughly.
\(^4\) Ireland.
\(^5\) Kent.
τόπων τοσαύτα ἐφευρσθαί, σχολή γά ἂν περὶ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων παρὰ πάσιν ἀληθεύειν δύνατο.

4. Τὸν δὲ διὰ τοῦ Βορυσθένου παράλληλον τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ διὰ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς εἰκάζουσιν "Ἰππαρχὸς τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τοῦ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν διὰ Βυζαντίου τῷ διὰ Μασσαλίας· δυν γὰρ λόγον εἰρήκη Πυθέας ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς γνώμους πρὸς τὴν σκιάν, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ "Ἰππαρχὸς κατὰ τὸν ὁμόνυμον καὶ φησίν ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ φησίν. Εἰς τὴν Μασσαλίας δὲ εἰς μέσην τὴν Βρεττανικὴν οὐ πλέον τὸν πεντακισχιλίων ἕστε σταδίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Βρεττανικῆς οὐ πλέον τῶν τετρακισχιλίων προελθῶν εὖροις ἄν ὁικήσιμων ἄλλως τῶς (τοῦτο δὲ ἂν εἰς τὸ περὶ τῆς Ιέρυμην), ὅτε τὰ ἑπέκεισα, εἰς ἀ τὸ ἐκτοπικεῖ τὴν Θεύλην, οὐκέτι οἰκήσιμα. τίνι δὲ ἂν καὶ στοχασμῶς λέγοι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ Θεύλης ἔως τοῦ διὰ Βορυσθένους μυρίων καὶ χιλίων πεντακισχιλίων, σύχ ὀρῶ.

5. Διαμαρτῶν δὲ τοῦ πλάτους ἡμάγκασται καὶ τοῦ μῆκος ἀστοχεῖν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πλέον ἢ διπλάσιον τὸ γνώριμον μῆκός ἐστι του γνώριμου πλάτους, ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ οἱ ύστερον καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν οἱ χαριστατοί λέγοι δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρῶν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκρα τῆς Ἰβηρίας τοῦ ἀπ. Αἰθιοπῶν ἔως τοῦ κατὰ Ιέρυμην κύκλου.

1 Πυθέας, Spengel inserts; Meineke, Forbiger, following; C. Müller approving.
2 εὖροις, Corais, for εὑροι; Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, following; C. Müller approving.
3 παλαιῶν, Corais, for ἄλλων; Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, Tardieu, following; C. Müller approving.
4 τὸ, Xylander inserts, before ἄπτ᾽; Meineke following; Kramer, C. Müller, approving.
5 ἄπτ᾽, Meineke inserts.
great falsehoods about the known regions would hardly, I imagine, be able to tell the truth about places that are not known to anybody.

4. The parallel through the mouth of the Borysthenes is conjectured by Hipparchus and others to be the same as that through Britain, from the fact that the parallel through Byzantium is the same as that through Massilia\(^1\); for as to the relation of the dial-index to the shadow, which Pytheas has given for Massilia, this same relation Hipparchus says he observed at Byzantium, at the same time of the year as that mentioned by Pytheas. But it is not more than five thousand stadia from Massilia to the centre of Britain. Furthermore, if you were to proceed not more than four thousand stadia north from the centre of Britain you would find a region that is inhabitable only after a fashion (which region would be in the neighbourhood of Ierne); and so, as for the regions farther on, far out where Eratosthenes places Thule, you would find places no longer habitable. But by what guesswork Eratosthenes could say that the distance from the parallel through Thule to that through the mouth of the Borysthenes is eleven thousand five hundred stadia, I do not see.

5. And since he entirely missed the breadth of the inhabited world, he has necessarily failed to guess its length also. For, in the first place, that the known length is more than double the known breadth is agreed to by the later writers as well as by the most accomplished of the early writers (I mean the distance from the extremities of India to the extremities of Iberia, double that from Ethiopia up to the parallel that runs by Ierne). Again, after

\(^1\) Marseilles.
όρίσας δὲ τὸ λεξθὲν πλάτος, τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑσχάτων Ἀιθιοπῶν μέχρι τοῦ διὰ Θούλης ἐκτείνει πλέον ἢ δει τὸ μήκος, ἢν ποιήσῃ πλέον ἢ δυσπλάσιον τοῦ λεξθέντος πλάτους. φησὶ γοῦν τὸ μὲν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μέχρι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ στενότατον σταδίων μυρίων ἕξακοσικιλίων· τὸ γὰρ ἔπει τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τεῖνον τρισχιλίοις εἶναι μεῖζον· τὸ δὲ ἔνθεν ἐπὶ Κασπίους πύλας μυρίων τετρακισικιλίων, εἰτ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑυφράτην μυρίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑυφράτου πεντακισικιλίων, ἄλλους δὲ χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων· μέχρι Καναβίκου στόματος, εἶτα μέχρι τῆς Καρχηδόνος μυρίων τρισχιλίων πεντακισικιλίων, εἶτα μέχρι Στηλών ὀκτακισικιλίων τουλάχιστον ὑπεραληθειν δὴ τῶν ἐπτὰ μυριάδων ὀκτακισικιλίων· δειν δὲ ἔτι προσθεῖσαι τοῦ ἐκτὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν κύρτων τῆς Ἑυρώπης, ἀντικείμενον μὲν τοῖς Ἰβηρισι, προπετωκός δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν, σὺν ἐλαττον σταδίων τρισχιλίων, καὶ τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ τῶν Ὀστιμίων, ὅ ταῦτα τὰ συμπεποίησεν, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸτο Γάλακτος, διὰ τὴν ἑσχάτην Ὀξισάμην φησὶν Πινέας ἀπέχειν ἦμερῶν τριῶν πλοῦν. ταύτα δὴ εἰπὼν τὰ τελευταία οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ μήκος συντείνοντα προσέθηκε τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων καὶ τῶν Ὀστιμίων καὶ τῆς Ὀξισάμης καὶ διὰ φησὶν νῆσών· (ταύτα γὰρ πάντα προσάρκεια ἐστὶ καὶ Κελτικά, οὐκ Ἰβηρικά, μᾶλλον δὲ Ἰνδικόν πλαίσιμα ἐρμημένους τοῦ μήκους

1 γοῦν, A. Miller, for τις οὖν.
2 τριακοσίων, Gosselin, for πεντακισίων.
3 ὀκτακισίως, Sterrett restores, the reading before Kramer.
GEOGRAPHY, t. 4. 5

Eratosthenes has determined the said breadth, namely, that from extreme Ethiopia up to the parallel of Thule, he extends the length beyond the due measure, in order to make the length more than double the aforesaid breadth. At all events he says that the narrowest part of India up to the river Indus measures sixteen thousand stadia (for the part of India that extends to its capes will increase this length by three thousand stadia); and the distance thence to the Caspian Gates, fourteen thousand; then, to the Euphrates, ten thousand, and from the Euphrates to the Nile five thousand, and on to its Canobic mouth thirteen hundred more; then, to Carthage, thirteen thousand five hundred; then, to the Pillars, at least eight thousand; there is, accordingly, he says, an excess of eight hundred stadia over seventy thousand stadia. We must still add, he says, the bulge of Europe outside the Pillars, which lies over against Iberia and leans westward, reaching not less than three thousand stadia; we must also add all the capes, but in particular that of the Ostimians, called Cabaeum,1 and the islands about it—the outermost of which, Uxisame,2 Pytheas says, is a three days’ sail distant. And after mentioning these last places, though all of them in their stretch add nothing to the length of the inhabited world, he has added the regions in the neighbourhood of the capes, of the Ostimians, of Uxisame, and of all the islands he names. (In fact, these places all lie towards the north and belong to Celtica, not to Iberia—or rather they are inventions of Pytheas.) And he adds to the

1 Or Gabaeum (Ptol. 2. 8. 1); apparently Pointe du Raz.
2 Ushant (Ouessant); the Axanthos of Pliny, Nat. Hist. 4. 16 (30).
diastēmasin ἄλλους σταδίους δισχίλιους μὲν πρὸς τῇ δύσει, δισχίλιους δὲ πρὸς τῇ ἀνατολῇ, ἵνα σώσῃ τὸ μὴ¹ πλέον ἢ ἥμισυ τοῦ μήκους τὸ πλάτος.

6. Παραμυθούμενος δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον, ὥστε κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν διάστημα μείζον λέγειν, κατὰ φύσιν φησὶν εἶναι ἃπὸ τῆς ἐω πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν μακρότεραν εἶναι τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ ², καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν, ὡς οἱ μαθηματικοὶ, φησίν, κύκλων συνάπτειν, συμβάλλουσαν αὐτὴν ἕαυτὴν ὡστ' εἰ μὴ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Ἄτλαντικοῦ πελάγους ἐκώλυσε, κἂν πλεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος παρὰ τὸ λεχθὲν διάστημα ὑπὲρ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ὅπι τοῦ ὅλου κύκλου· εἴτεπερ ὁ δὲ Ἅθηνών ³ ἐλάττων ἐστὶν εἰκοσι μυριάδων, ὅπου πεποίημεθα τὸν εἰρημένον σταδιασμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν. οὔτε ταύτα οὐν εὔ λέγειν, οὔτος γὰρ ὁ λόγος ⁴ περὶ μὲν τῆς εὐκράτου καὶ

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1 μὴ, Kramer inserts; Forbiger following.
2 καὶ, Jones inserts.
3 The old reading was διὰ Θηνών; but AC have Θηνών. Kramer rightly reads as above. (cf. readings of MSS. on 1. 4. 6, 2. 1. 1, 2 1. 2, 2. 1. 5, and 2. 1. 24.)
4 τὸ, after λόγος, Corais deletes; Meineke following.

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1 The inhabited world is thought of as an arc, which, when produced, completes a circle. Even Aristotle had discussed the question whether the inhabited world, in its length, could be connected by an arc of latitude drawn from Spain westward to India (Meteor. 2. 5. 13).
2 Eratosthenes means by “the aforesaid distance” his length of the inhabited world, 77,800 stadia.
aforesaid length-distances still other stadia, namely, two thousand on the west, and two thousand on the east, in order to keep the breadth from being more than half the length.

6. Again, attempting still further to appease us by saying that it is "in accordance with nature" to call the distance from east to west greater, he says it is "in accordance with nature" that from the east to the west the inhabited world is longer, and, "just as I have already stated in the manner of the mathematicians," he says, "it forms a complete circle, itself meeting itself; so that, if the immensity of the Atlantic Sea did not prevent, we could sail from Iberia to India along one and the same parallel over the remainder of the circle, that is, the remainder when you have subtracted the aforesaid distance, which is more than a third of the whole circle—if it be true that the circle that runs through Athens, along which I have made the said reckoning of stadia from India to Iberia, is less than two hundred thousand stadia in circuit." However, Eratosthenes is not happy in this statement, either; for although this argument might be used in the

2 It has been assumed by various scholars that Eratosthenes' parallel of latitude, above referred to, ran 25,450 stadia north of the equator, which would be at 36° 21' 25½". In this case the circumference of this parallel works out to be 202,945 stadia—if we count 700 stadia to the degree, following Eratosthenes' method. But Strabo fails to quote Eratosthenes on one section of the distance (from the equator to the southern limit of the inhabited world), and the 25,450 is reached only by a computation based on a statement of Ptolemy (Mathematica Syntaxis 1. 10), wherein Ptolemy refers to Eratosthenes' estimate of the distance between the tropics. That estimate was inaccurate and so is this; but even in his round numbers Eratosthenes is usually close to the truth.
καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡώνης λέγοντ' ἂν κατὰ τοὺς μαθηματικούς, ὡς μέρος ἡ οἰκουμένη ἐστί, περὶ δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης—καλοῦμεν γὰρ οἰκουμένην ἡν οἰκοδομεῖ καὶ γνωρίζομεν· ἐνδέχεται δὲ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ εὐκράτῳ ἡώνη καὶ δύο οἰκουμένας εἶναι ἡ καὶ πλείους,1 καὶ μάλιστα ἐγγὺς τοῦ δι' Ἀθηνῶν κύκλου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ἀτλαντικοῦ πελάγους γραφομένου, πάλιν δὲ ἐπιμένου τῇ περὶ τοῦ σφαιροειδῆ τῆς γῆς εἶναι ἀποδείξει τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως ἂν τυγχάνοι, ὅσ δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ὅμηρον οὗ παύεται περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν διαφερόμενως.

7. Ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἑπείρων εἰπὼν γεγονέναι πολὺν λόγον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοὺς ποταμοὺς διαφέρειν αὐτὰς, τῷ τε Νεῖλῳ καὶ τῷ Ταμνίδι, νῆσοις ἀποφαίνοντας, τοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἱσθμοὺς, τῷ τε μεταξὺ τῆς Κασπίας καὶ τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῷ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ τοῦ Ἐκρήγματος, τούτους δὲ χερσονήσους αὐτὰς λέγειν, οὐξ ὅραν φησι, πῶς ἂν εἰς πράγμα τι2 καταστρέφοι ἡ ζήτησις αὐτή, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἔριν διαιτώντων μᾶλλον κατὰ Δημόκριτον εἶναι. μὴ δύτων γὰρ ἀκριβῶν ὄρων καθάπερ Κολυμπῆ καὶ Μελίτης, οἷον στηλῶν ἢ περιβόλων, τοῦτο μὲν ἔχειν φάναι ἡμᾶς, διότι τούτο μὲν ἐστὶ Κολυμπῆς, τοῦτι δὲ Μελίτης, τοὺς ὄρους δὲ μὴ ἔχειν εἰπεῖν. διὸ καὶ συμβαίνει κρίσεις πολλάκις

1 ei, Corais deletes, before καί; Kramer, C. Müller suspecting; Meineke following.
2 πράγμα τι, Cobet, for πράγματα; Α. Miller apparently approving.
treatment of the temperate zone (that is, our zone) from the point of view of mathematics (since the inhabited world is a fraction of the temperate zone), yet in the treatment of the inhabited world—why! we call "inhabited" the world which we inhabit and know; though it may be that in this same temperate zone there are actually two inhabited worlds, or even more, and particularly in the proximity of the parallel through Athens that is drawn across the Atlantic Sea. And again, by dwelling on his demonstration of the spheroidal shape of the earth he might meet with the same criticism as before. And in the same way also he does not cease to quarrel with Homer about the very same things.

7. Next, after saying that there has been much discussion about the continents, and that some divide them by the rivers (the Nile and the Tanaïs), declaring them to be islands, while others divide them by the isthmuses (the isthmus between the Caspian and the Pontic Seas, and the isthmus between the Red Sea and the Ecregma), and that the latter call the continents peninsulas, Eratosthenes then says that he does not see how this investigation can end in any practical result, but that it belongs only to persons who choose to live on a diet of disputation, after the manner of Democritus; for if there be no accurate boundaries—take the case of Colyttus and Melite—of stone posts, for example, or enclosures, we can say only this, "This is Colyttus," and "That is Melite," but we should not be able to point out the boundaries; and this is the reason also why disputes often arise

1 Literally, the "Outbreak"; the outlet of Lake Sirbonis into the Mediterranean.  
2 Attic demes, or townships.
περὶ χωρίων των, καθ’ ὑπέρ Ἀργείων μὲν καὶ Δακεδαιμονίων περὶ Θυρέας, Ἄθηναίων δὲ καὶ Βοιωτοί περὶ Ὄρωποῦ. ἄλλως τε τοὺς Ἐλλήνας τὰς τρεῖς ἥπερος ὑνομάζει, οὐκ εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀποβλέψαντας, ἀλλ’ εἰς τε τὴν σφετέραν καὶ τὴν ἀπαντικρ ἡν τὴν Καρικῆν, ἐφ’ ἣ νῦν Ἰωνες καὶ οἱ ἔξης Χρονὶς δὲ ἐπὶ πλεον προδότας αἰὲν καὶ πλεονῶν γνωριζομένων χωρῶν εἰς τοῦτο καταστρέψατο τὴν διαίρεσιν. πότερον οὖν οἱ πρώτοι διορισαντες τὰς τρεῖς, ὅνα ἀπὸ τῶν ἑσχάτων ἄρξομαι διειστός τὴν ἐρυν μὴ κατὰ Δημόκριτον, ἀλλὰ κατ’ αὐτόν, οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ πρώτοι τὴν σφετέραν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀντικειμένης τῆς τῶν Καρίων διορίσατο ξητοῦντες; ἢ οὗτοι μὲν τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἐπενδόουν μόνην καὶ τὴν Καρίαν καὶ ὅλην τὴν συνεχὴ, οὗτε δ’ Ἐυρώπην οὗτε Ἀσίαν

Ο 66 ὠσμανός οὗτε Διβίου, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπιόντες ὅση ἤν ἰκανή ὑπογράψαι τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπίγνωσιν, οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ εἰς τρία διαιροῦντες; πῶς οὖν οὐ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐποιούστο διαίρεσιν; τίς δὲ τρία μέρη λέγων καὶ καλῶν ἥπερον ἐκαστοῦ τῶν μερῶν οὐ προσεπιποιεῖ τὸ ὅλον, οὐ τὸν μερισμὸν ποιεῖται; εἰ δ’ ἐπινοεῖ μὲν μὴ τὴν οἰκουμένην, μέρους δὲ τινος αὐτῆς τῶν μερισμῶν ποιοῦτο, τίνος ἄν τις μέρους τῆς οἰκουμένης μέρος εἶπε τὴν

1 δὴ... ὑπογράψατο, Corais, for δὴν ἰκανοὶ ἐπιγράφατο; Groskurd, Forbiger, Meineke, following.
concerning districts, such as the dispute between the Argives and the Lacedaemonians about Thyrea, and between the Athenians and the Boeotians about Oropus; and the Greeks named the three continents wrongly, because they did not look out upon the whole inhabited world, but merely upon their own country and that which lay directly opposite, namely, Caria, where Ionians and their immediate neighbours now live; but in time, ever advancing still further and becoming acquainted with more and more countries, they have finally brought their division of the continents to what it now is. The question, then, is whether the "first men" who divided the three continents by boundaries (to begin with Eratosthenes' last points, dieting upon disputation, not after the manner of Democritus, but after that of Eratosthenes) were those "first men" who sought to divide by boundaries their own country from that of the Carians, which lay opposite; or, did the latter have a notion merely of Greece, and of Caria and a bit of territory that is contiguous thereto, without having, in like manner, a notion of Europe or Asia, or of Libya, whereas the men of subsequent times, travelling over what was enough of the earth to suggest the notion of the inhabited world—are these the men, I say, who made the division into three parts? How, pray, could they have failed to make a division? And who, when speaking of three parts and calling each of the parts a continent, does not at the same time have a notion of the integer of which he makes his division into parts? But suppose he does not have a notion of the inhabited world, but should make his division of some part of it—of what part of the inhabited world, I ask, would anyone have said Asia
Ἀσίαν ἢ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἢ ὅλως ἥπειρον; ταῦτα γὰρ εἰρήνη παχυμερῶς.

8. Εἰπὶ δὲ παχυμερέστερον τὸ φῆσαντα μὴ ὅραν, εἰς τὶ πραγματικὸν καταστρέφει τὸ τοὺς ὅρους ζητεῖν, παραθέων τὸν Κολυμπῆς καὶ τὴν Μελίτην, εἰτ' εἰς τὰν καταστρέφεται. εἰ γὰρ οἱ περὶ Θυρεῶν καὶ Ὁρωποῦ πόλεμοι διὰ τὰς τῶν ὅρων ἁγνοίας ἀπέβησαν, εἰς πραγματικὸν τὶ καταστρέφου τὸ διαχωρίζει τὰς χώρας; ἢ τοῦτο λέγει, ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν χωρίων, καὶ νῦν Δία τῶν καθ' ἐκαστὰ ἐθνῶν πραγματικὸν τὸ διορίζειν ἀκριβῶς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἥπειρων περίττον; καίτοι οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἦτον οὐδὲν γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἡγεμόνι πλακατοῖς ἀμφισβήτησις, τῷ μὲν ἔχοντι τὴν Ἁσίαν, τῷ δὲ τὴν Διεθύνην, ὀποτέρου δὴ ἐστιν ἡ Ἀγάμπτος δὴλονότι ἡ κάτω λεγομένη τῆς Ἀγάμπτου χώρα. καὶ ἔσπῃ δὲ τοῦ τούτω διὰ τὸ σπάνιον, ἄλλως φατέον διαρρέον τὰς ἥπειρους κατὰ μέγαν διορισμὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην ἀναφερόμενον καθ' ὅν οὐδὲ τούτων φρουτεῖτεν, εἰ οἱ τοῖς ποταμοῖς διορίσαντες ἀπολείποντο τῷ χωρίᾳ ἄδιόριστα, τῶν ποταμῶν μὴ μέχρι τοῦ ὕκεανοῦ διηκόνων, μηδὲ νῆσος ὡς ἄλληθος ἀπολειπόντων τὰς ἥπειρους.

9. Ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τοῦ ύπομνήματος οὐκ ἐπαυνέσας τοὺς δίχα διαιροῦντας ἀπαν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρω-

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1 δὴ, Meineke, for δ'.
2 καὶ ἔσπῃ, for κατάνα, Paetz; Forbiger, Meineke, following.
3 μηδὲ, for τὰς μὲν δὴ, Comnus; Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, following; Kramer, C. Müller, suspecting.

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was a part, or Europe, or a continent in general?—Indeed these points of his have been crudely stated.

8. Still cruder is it, after he has said that he does not see what practical result there can be to the investigation of the boundaries, to cite Colyttus and Melite, and then turn round to the opposite side of the question. For if the wars about Thyrea and Oropus resulted through ignorance of the boundaries, then the separation of countries by boundaries is a thing that results in something practical. Or does Eratosthenes mean this, that in the case of the districts and, of course, of the several nations it is practical to divide them by accurate boundaries, whereas in case of the continents it is superfluous? And yet, I answer, not even here is it any the less practical; for there might arise also in case of the continents a controversy between great rulers, for example, one ruler who held Asia and another who held Libya, as to which one of them really owned Egypt, that is to say, the so-called "Lower" country of Egypt. Moreover, if anyone dismisses this example on account of its rarity, at all events it must be said that the continents are divided according to a process of grand division which also has relation to the whole inhabited world. In following that principle of division we must not worry about this point, either, namely, that those who have made the rivers the dividing lines leave certain districts without dividing lines, because the rivers do not reach all the way to the ocean and so do not really leave the continents as islands.

9. Now, towards the end of his treatise—after withholding praise from those who divide the whole multitude of mankind into two groups, namely,
πων πλήθος εἰς τε Ἑλλήνας καὶ βαρβάρους, καὶ
tοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρον παραινοῦντας τοῖς μὲν Ἑλλήσιν
ὡς φίλοις χρησθαί, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις ὡς πολέ-
μοις, βέλτιον εἶναι φησιν ἁρετῇ καὶ κακίᾳ δια-
ρεῖν ταῦτα. πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
eῖναι κακοὺς καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀστείους, καθά-
περ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Ἀριανοὺς, ἔτι δὲ Ῥωμαίους καὶ
Καρχηδονίους, οὕτω θαυμαστῶς πολιτευομένους.
dιότερ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀμελήσαντα τῶν παρα-
νοῦντων, ὅσους ὅλων τῇ ἀποδέχεσθαι τῶν
C 67
εὐδοκίμων ἄνδρῶν καὶ εὐθρητεῖν. ὡσπερ δὲ
άλλο τι τῶν οὕτω διελόντων, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ψόγῳ
τοὺς δ' ἐν ἐπαίνῳ τιθεμένων, ἡ διότι τοῖς μὲν
ἐπικρατεῖ τὸ νόμμον καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν1 καὶ τὸ
παιδείας καὶ λόγων οἰκεῖον, τοῖς δὲ τάναντία.
καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὖν, οὐκ ἀμελήσας τῶν παρα-
νοῦντων ἄλλο ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν γνώμην, τὰ
ἀκόλουθα, οὗ τὰ ἐναντία, ἔποιει, πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν
σκοπῶν τὴν τῶν ἐπεσταλκότων.

1 καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν, omitted by Kramor, and also by
Meineke, Dübner-Müller, and Tardieu.
GEOGRAPHY, i. 4. 9

Greeks and Barbarians, and also from those who advised Alexander to treat the Greeks as friends but the Barbarians as enemies—Eratosthenes goes on to say that it would be better to make such divisions according to good qualities and bad qualities; for not only are many of the Greeks bad, but many of the Barbarians are refined—Indians and Arians, for example, and, further, Romans and Carthaginians, who carry on their governments so admirably. And this, he says, is the reason why Alexander, disregarding his advisers, welcomed as many as he could of the men of fair repute and did them favours—just as if those who have made such a division, placing some people in the category of censure, others in that of praise, did so for any other reason than that in some people there prevail the law-abiding and the political instinct, and the qualities associated with education and powers of speech, whereas in other people the opposite characteristics prevail! And so Alexander, not disregarding his advisers, but rather accepting their opinion, did what was consistent with, not contrary to, their advice; for he had regard to the real intent of those who gave him counsel.
BOOK II
1. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν γεωγραφικῶν καθιστάμενος τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης πύνακα γραμμῆς τινὶ διαρεῖ δίχα ἀπὸ δύσεως ἐπὶ ἀνατολῆν παραλλήλῳ τῇ ἐσθημερίνῃ γραμμῇ, πέρατα δὲ αὐτῆς τίθεσι πρὸς δύσει μὲν τὰς 'Ἡρακλείους στῆλας, ἐπὶ ἀνατολῆ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα καὶ ἑσχατὰ ὅρη τῶν ἀφοριζόντων ὀρῶν τὴν πρὸς ἄρκτον τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πλευρᾶν. γράφει δὲ τὴν γραμμὴν ἀπὸ Στηλῶν διὰ τε τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν ἄκρων τῆς τε Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς 'Ἀττικῆς, καὶ μέχρι τῆς 'Ροδίας καὶ τοῦ Ἰσσικοῦ κόλπου. μέχρι μὲν δὴ δεύο διὰ τῆς θαλάττης φησὶν εἶναι τὴν λεχθεῖσαν γραμμήν καὶ τῶν παρακεκμένων ἡπείρων (καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔλην τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς θάλατταν οὕτως ἐπὶ μῆκος τετάσθαι μέχρι τῆς Κιλικίας), εἶτα ἐπ᾽ εὔθείας ποὺς ἐκβάλλεσθαι παρ’ ἕλην τὴν ὀρεινὴν τοῦ Ταύρου μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὸν γὰρ Ταύρον ἐπὶ εὐθείας τῇ ἀπὸ Στηλῶν θαλάττη τεταμένον δίχα τὴν Ἀσίαν διαρεῖν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ μῆκος, τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς μέρος βόρειοι ποιοῦντα, τὸ δὲ νότιον ὄσοθ’ ὀμοίως καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δὲ Ἀθηνῶν ἱδρύσθαι παραλλήλου καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Στηλῶν μέχρι δεύορ θάλατταν.

1 δ᾽ Ἀθηνῶν, Kramer, for διὰ θεᾶν; see note 3, page 240.
BOOK II

I

1. In the Third Book of his Geography Eratosthenes, in establishing the map of the inhabited world, divides it into two parts by a line drawn from west to east, parallel to the equatorial line; and as ends of this line he takes, on the west, the Pillars of Heracles, on the east, the capes and most remote peaks of the mountain-chain that forms the northern boundary of India. He draws the line from the Pillars through the Strait of Sicily and also through the southern capes both of the Peloponnesus and of Attica, and as far as Rhodes and the Gulf of Issus. Up to this point, then, he says, the said line runs through the sea and the adjacent continents (and indeed our whole Mediterranean Sea itself extends, lengthwise, along this line as far as Cilicia); then the line is produced in an approximately straight course along the whole Taurus Range as far as India, for the Taurus stretches in a straight course with the sea that begins at the Pillars, and divides all Asia lengthwise into two parts, thus making one part of it northern, the other southern; so that in like manner both the Taurus and the Sea from the Pillars up to the Taurus lie on the parallel of Athens.
2. Τάυτα δ' εἴπὼν οἶεται δεῖν διορθώσαι τὸν ἀρχαῖον γεωγραφικὸν πίνακα. πολὺ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους παραλλάττειν τὰ ἐωθινὰ μέρη τῶν ὀρῶν κατ' αὐτὸν, συνεπισπᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἄρκτικωτέραν ἡ δεὶς γινομένην. πίστιν δὲ τούτου φέρει μίαν μὲν τοιαύτην, ὅτι τὰ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀκρα τὰ μεσημβρινώτατα ὁμολογοῦσι πόλλοι τοὺς κατὰ Μερόην ἀνταίρειν τόπους, ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἄρεων καὶ τῶν οἰκανίων τεκμαίρομενοι, ἐντεύθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ βορειότατα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Καυκασίους ὄρεσιν Πατροκλῆς, ὃ μάλιστα πιστεύεσθαι δίκαιος διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἱδιότητι εἶναι τῶν γεωγραφικῶν, φησὶ σταδίους μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Μερόης ἐπὶ τὸν δὲ Ἀθηνῶν παραλληλοῦ τοσοῦτον πῶς ἔστω, ὡστε τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰ προσάρκτικα μέρη συνάπτοντα τοὺς Καυκασίους ὄρεσιν εἰς τοῦτον τελευτᾷν τὸν κύκλον.

3. Ἀλλὰν δὲ πίστιν φέρει τοιαύτην, ὅτι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσσικοῦ κόλπου διάστημα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν τὴν Πουντικῆν τρισχιλίων πῶς ἔστι σταδίων πρὸς ἄρκτον ἐντὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀμισοῦ τὴ Σινώπην τόπους, ὅσον καὶ τὸ πλάτος τῶν ὀρῶν λέγεται· ἐκ δὲ Ἀμισοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἱσημερίνην ἀνατολὴν φερομένω πρῶτοικ πολὺν ἡ Κολχίς ἔστιν, ἐπειτὰ ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλικὰν θάλασσαν ὑπέρθεσις καὶ ἡ ἐφεξῆς ἡ ἐπὶ Βάκτρα καὶ τοὺς ἐπικείμενα Σκύθας.

1 ἡ δεὶς, Groskurd, for ἡ δεὶ.
2. After Eratosthenes has said that, he thinks he must needs make a complete revision of the early geographical map; for, according to it, he says, the eastern portions of the mountains deviate considerably towards the north, and India itself is drawn up along with it, and comes to occupy a more northerly position than it should. As proof of this he offers, first, an argument to this effect: the most southerly capes of India rise opposite to the regions about Meroë, as many writers agree, who judge both from the climatic conditions and from the celestial phenomena; and from the capes on to the most northerly regions of India at the Caucasus Mountains, Patrocles (the man who has particular right to our confidence, both on account of his worthiness of character and on account of his being no layman in geographical matters) says the distance is fifteen thousand stadia; but, to be sure, the distance from Meroë to the parallel of Athens is about that distance; and therefore the northerly parts of India, since they join the Caucasus Mountains, come to an end in this parallel.

3. Another proof which he offers is to this effect: the distance from the Gulf of Issus to the Pontic Sea is about three thousand stadia, if you go towards the north and the regions round about Amisus and Sinope, a distance as great as that which is also assigned to the breadth of the mountains; and from Amisus, if you bear towards the equinoctial sunrise, you come first to Colchis; and then you come to the passage which takes you over to the Hycaranian Sea, and to the road next in order that leads to Bactra

2 The Indian Caucasus, now Hindu Kush.
3 Caspian.
ὁδὸς δεξιὰ ἔχουσι τὰ ὄρη, αὐτῇ δ’ ἡ γραμμὴ διὰ Ἁμισθοῦ πρὸς δύσιν ἐκβαλλομένη διὰ τῆς Προ-ποντίδος ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησσάκου. ἀπὸ δὲ Μερόης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσακον οὐ πλείον εἰσὶ τῶν μυρίων καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων σταδίων, ὅσοι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ πλευρᾶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πρὸς τὰ περὶ τοὺς Βακτρίους μέρη, προστεθέντων τρισεκιλίων τοῖς μυρίως καὶ πεντακισχιλίως, ἂν οἱ μὲν τοῦ πλάτους ἦσαν τῶν ὅρων, οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς.

4. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀπόφασιν ταύτην ὁ Ἰππαρχὸς ἀντιλέγει διαβάλλου τὰς πίστεις: οὔτε γὰρ Πατροκλέα πιστῶν εἶναι, δυνέϊν ἀντιμαρτυροῦντων αὐτῷ Δημιάνου τε καὶ Μεγασθένος, οὐκ θεὶ τὸις μὲν τόποις διεμπρός εἶναι σταδίων τὸ διάστημα φασί τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ μεσημβριαν θαλάττης, καθ’ οὕς δὲ καὶ τρισεκιλίων τούτους γε δὴ τοιαύτα λέγειν, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πίνακας τούτως ὁμολογεῖν. ἀπίθανον δὴ ποὺ νομίζει τὸ μόνῳ δεῖν πιστεύειν Πατροκλέι, παρέντας τοὺς τοσοῦ- τους ἀντιμαρτυροῦντας αὐτῶ, καὶ διορθοῦσθαι παρ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοὺς ἀρχαίους πίνακας, ἄλλα μὴ ἔκαν ὅτως, ἔως ἂν τι πιστοτέρον περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμενος.

6. Οἴμαι δὴ πολλὰς ἤχειν εὐθύνας τούτων τῶν λόγων. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πολλὰς μαρτυρίας ἔκαλεν χρησιμένοι, μᾶν φησὶ τῇ Πατροκλέους αὐτὸν χρήσθαι. τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ φάσκοντες τὰ μεσημβρινὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀνταίρειν τοῖς κατὰ Μερόην; τίνες δ’ οἱ τὸ ἀπὸ Μερόης διάστημα μέχρι τοῦ δὲ Ἀθηνῶν παραλληλοῦ τοσοῦτον
and to the Scythians on beyond, keeping the mountains on your right; and this line, if produced through Amisus westwards, runs through the Propontis and the Hellespont; and from Meroë to the Hellespont is not more than eighteen thousand stadia, a distance as great as that from the southern side of India to the parts round about the Bactrians, if we added three thousand stadia to the fifteen thousand, some of which belonged to the breadth of the mountains, the others to that of India.

4. As for this declaration of Eratosthenes, Hipparchus contradicts it by throwing discredit on the proofs. In the first place, says he, Patrocles is not trustworthy, since two men bear testimony against him, both Deimachus and Megasthenes, who say that in some places the distance from the southern sea is twenty thousand stadia and in other places even thirty thousand; so these two men, at least, make such a statement, and the early maps agree with them. It is an incredible thing, of course, he thinks, that we have to trust Patrocles alone, in disregard of those whose testimony is so strong against him, and to correct the early maps throughout as regards the very point at issue, instead of leaving them as they are until we have more trustworthy information about them.

5. Now I think this reasoning of Hipparchus is open to censure on many grounds. In the first place, although Eratosthenes used many testimonies, he says that Eratosthenes uses only one—that of Patrocles. Who, pray, were the men that affirmed that the southern capes of India rose opposite to the regions of Meroë? And who the men that said the distance from Meroë up to the parallel of Athens
λέγοντες; τίνες δὲ πάλιν οἱ τὸ τῶν ὄρων πλάτος, ἢ οἱ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐπὶ τὴν 'Αμισόν τὸ αὐτὸ τούτῳ λέγοντες; τίνες δὲ οἱ τὸ ἀπὸ 'Αμισοῦ διὰ Κόλχων καὶ τῆς 'Τρκανίας μέχρι Βακτρίων καὶ τῶν ἐπέκεινα εἰς τὴν ἔως τὰ ἀλατταν καθηκοῦν-
των ἐπ᾿ εὐθείας τε εἰναι λέγοντες καὶ ἐπ᾿ ἱσχυ-
μερινὰς ἀνατολάς καὶ παρὰ ¹ τὰ ὅρη ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐχοντεί αὐτά; ἢ πάλιν τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν ἐπ᾿ εὐθείας ταύτη τῇ γραμμῇ, διότι ἐπὶ τὴν Προπον-
tίδα ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντού; ταύτα γὰρ ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης λαμβάνει πάντα ὡς καὶ ἐκμαρτυ-
ροῦμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τόποις γενομένων, ἐν-
τευθυνόμενον ὑπομνήμασι πολλοὺς, ὁν ἐνέπορει βιβλιοθήκην ἔχων τηλικαύτην ἥλικην αὐτὸς Ἔπιπαρχὸς φησι.

6. Καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ τοῦ Πατροκλέους πίστεις ἐκ πολλῶν μαρτυριῶν σύγκειται, τῶν βασιλέων τῶν 
πεπιστευκότων αὐτῷ τηλικαύτην ἄρχην, τῶν ἑπακολουθησάντων αὐτῷ, τῶν ἀντιδοξούντων, ὁν 
αὐτὸς ὁ Ἔπιπαρχος κατοικομάζειν οἱ γὰρ κατ’ ἐκεῖ-
νων ἔλεγχοι πίστεις τῶν ὑπὸ τούτοις λεγομένων 
εἰσίν. οὐδὲ τούτο δὲ ἀπῆθανον τοῦ Πατροκλέους, 
ὅτι φησὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συστρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ-
δρομάδην ἰστορήσας ἐκαστα, αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον 
ἀκριβᾶσαι, ἀναγραφάντων τὴν ὠλην χώραν τῶν 
ἐμπειροτάτοις αὐτῷ τῇ δὲ ἀναγράφην αὐτῷ

¹ παρὰ, Corais, for περὶ; Groskurd, Forbiger, Meineke following.
was such a distance? And who, again, the men that gave the breadth of the Taurus Mountains, or the men that called the distance from Cilicia to the Amisus the same as that of this breadth? And who said as regards the distance from Amisus, through Colchis and Hypocoria up to Bactria and through the regions beyond Bactria which reach down to the eastern sea, that it was in a straight line and toward the equinoctial east and that it was alongside the mountains which you keep on your right hand? Or, again, as regards the distance towards the west in a straight course with this line, that it was towards the Propontis and the Hellespont? Why, Eratosthenes takes all these as matters actually established by the testimony of the men who had been in the regions, for he has read many historical treatises— with which he was well supplied if he had a library as large as Hipparchus says it was.1

6. Further, the trustworthiness of Patrocles, itself, rests upon many testimonies; I refer to the Kings2 who had entrusted to him such an important office; to the men who followed him, to the men who oppose him, whom Hipparchus himself names; for the tests to which those men are subjected are but proofs of the statements of Patrocles. Neither does this statement of Patrocles lack plausibility, namely, that those who made the expedition with Alexander acquired only cursory information about everything, but Alexander himself made accurate investigations, since the men best acquainted with the country had described the whole of it for him; and this description was later presented to

1 The library at Alexandria.
2 Seleucus I. and Antiochus I.
δοθήματ φησιν ἕστερον ὑπὸ Ξενοκλέους τοῦ γαζοφύλακος.

7. 'Ετι φησιν ο Ἴππαρχος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ύπο-
μνήματι αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἐρατοσθένης διαβάλλειν τήν
τοῦ Πατροκλέους πίστιν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Μεγασθένης
διαφωνίας περὶ τοῦ μήκους τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τοῦ κατὰ
τὸ βόρειον πλευρὸν, τοῦ μὲν Μεγασθένου λέ-
γοντος σταδίων μυρίων ἕξακισχιλίων, τοῦ δὲ
Πατροκλέους χίλιων λέπτων φαμένον· ἀπὸ γὰρ
τινος ἀναγραφῆς σταθμῶν ὁρμηθέντα τοῖς μὲν
ἀπιστείν διὰ τὴν διαφωνίαν, ἐκείνη δὲ προσέχειν,
eἰ οὖν διὰ τὴν διαφωνίαν ἑνταῦθα ἀπιστοῦ ὁ
Πατροκλῆς, καίτοι παρὰ χιλίων σταδίων τῆς
διαφορᾶς οὕσης, πόσῳ χρή μᾶλλον ἀπιστείν ἐν
οἷς παρὰ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἢ διαφορά ἐστι, πρὸς
dύο καὶ ταῦτα ἀνδρας συμφωνοῦντας ἀλλήλοις,
τῶν μὲν λεγόντων τὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πλάτος δισμυ-
ρίων σταδίων, τοῦ δὲ μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων;

8. Ἐροῦμεν δ' ὅτι οὐ ψιλῆν τὴν διαφωνίαν
ὑπόστατο, ἀλλὰ συγκρίνων πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν
καὶ τὴν ἀξιοπιστίαν τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν σταθμῶν.
οὐθαυμαστῶν δὲ, εἰ πιστοῦ γίνεται τι πιστότερον,
καὶ εἰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν ἔτεροις μὲν πιστεύομεν, ἐν
ἔτεροις δ' ἀπιστοῦμεν, ὅταν παρὰ τινος τεθῇ τι
βεβαιότερον. γελοῖον τε τὸ τῆς παρὰ πολὺ
dιαφωνίαν ἀπιστοτέρους ποιεῖν νομίζαι τοὺς

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Patrocles (so Patrocles says) by Xenocles, Alexander's treasurer.

7. Hipparchus further says, in his Second Book, that Eratosthenes himself throws discredit on the trustworthiness of Patrocles, in consequence of Patrocles' disagreement with Megasthenes about the length of India on its northern side, which Megasthenes calls sixteen thousand stadia, whereas Patrocles affirms that it is a thousand short of that; for, having started from a certain "Itinerary" as basis, Eratosthenes distrusts both of them on account of their disagreement and holds to the "Itinerary." If, then, says Hipparchus, Patrocles is untrustworthy on account of the disagreement at that point, although the discrepancy is only a matter of a thousand stadia, how much more should we distrust him where the discrepancy is a matter of eight thousand stadia, as against two men, and that, too, men who agree with one another; for both of them call the breadth of India twenty thousand stadia, whereas Patrocles calls it twelve thousand?

8. My answer will be that it was not the bare disagreement with Megasthenes that Eratosthenes found fault with, but he found fault when he compared their disagreement with the harmony and trustworthiness of the "Itinerary." Yet we should not be surprised if one thing proves to be more trustworthy than another trustworthy thing, and if we trust the same man in some things, but distrust him in others, whenever greater certainty has been established from some other source. Again, it is ridiculous to think that the amount by which the authorities disagree makes the parties to the disagreement less trustworthy. Why, on
διαφωνοῦντας: τούναντίον γὰρ ἐν τῷ παρὰ μικρὸν
συμβαίνειν τὸῦτο μᾶλλον ἐσικε, παρὰ μικρὸν γὰρ
ἡ πλάνη συμβαίνει μᾶλλον, οὐ τοῖς τυχόσι
μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πλέον τι τῶν ἑτέρων φρο-
νοῦσιν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς παρὰ πολὺ ὁ μὲν τυχῶν ἀμάρτω-
τι ἂν, ὁ δ' ἐπιστημονικότερος ἦττον ἀν τοῦτο πάθοι
διὸ καὶ πιστεύεται θάττον.

9. "Ἀπαντεῖς μὲν τοῖς ὁπερ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς
γράψαντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ φευδολόγοι γεγόνασιν,
καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ Δηῖμαχος· τὰ δὲ δεύτερα λέγει
Μεγασθένης· 'Ομησίκριτος δὲ καὶ Νέαρχος καὶ
ἀλλοι τοιούτοι παραψελλέντες ἤδη· καὶ ἡμῶν
δ' ὑπήρξεν ἐπὶ πλέον κατιδεῖν ταῦτα, ὑπομνηματι-
ζομένους τᾶς 'Αλέξάνδρου πράξεις· διαφέροντως
δ' ἀπιστεῖν ἢξιον Δηῖμάχῳ τε καὶ Μεγασθένει.
οὕτω γὰρ ἐσιν οἱ τοὺς 'Ἐνυτοκοίτας καὶ τοὺς
'Αστόμους καὶ 'Αρρίνας ἱστοροῦντες, Μονοφθάλ-
μους τε καὶ Μακροσκέλεις καὶ 'Οπισθοδακτύλους
ἀνεκαίνισαν δὲ καὶ τὴν 'Ομηρικὴν τῶν Πυγμάων
γερανομαχίαν, τρισπιθάμους εἰπόντες. οὕτω δὲ
καὶ τοὺς χρυσωρύχους μύρμηκας καὶ Πάνας
σφηνοκεφάλους ὅφεις τε καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἑλάφους
σὺν κέρασι καταπίνοντας· περὶ δὲ ἑτέρου τῶν
ἑτέρου ἑλέγχει, ὀπερ καὶ 'Ερατοσθένης φησίν.

1 Which formed a part of Strabo's Historical Sketches (see footnote on page 46). Both Onesicritus and Nearohus accom-
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the contrary, this is more likely to be the case
where the matter of disagreement is slight; for
if the matter of disagreement is but slight, error
is more likely to result, not merely among ordinary
writers, but even among writers who are somewhat
superior to the other class; but where the matters
of disagreement are considerable, though the ordinary
man would go astray, the more scientific man would
be less likely to do so, and for that reason he is more
quickly trusted.

9. However, all who have written about India
have proved themselves, for the most part, fabri-
cators, but preëminently so Deimachus; the next
in order is Megasthenes; and then, Onesicritus, and
Nearchus, and other such writers, who begin to
speak the truth, though with faltering voice. I,
too, had the privilege of noting this fact extensively
when I was writing the "Deeds of Alexander." ¹
But especially do Deimachus and Megasthenes de-
serve to be distrusted. For they are the persons
who tell us about the "men that sleep in their
ears," and the "men without mouths," and "men
without noses"; and about "men with one eye,"
"men with long legs," "men with fingers turned
backward"; and they revived, also, the Homeric
story of the battle between the cranes and the
"pygmies," who, they said, were three spans tall.
These men also tell about the ants that mine gold
and Pans with wedge-shaped heads; and about
snakes that swallow oxen and stags, horns and
all; and in these matters the one refutes the other,
as is stated by Eratosthenes also. For although they
panied Alexander. Strabo alludes to his own stay at the
Alexandrian Library.

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Επέμφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλλίμβοδρα, δὲ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοττον, δὲ δὲ Δημιαχος πρὸς Ἀλλιτροχάδην τὸν ἐκείνου νιόν, κατὰ πρεσβείαν ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέληπον τοιαῦτα, ύφ’ ἡς δὴ ποτε αἰτίας προαχθέντες. Πατροκλῆς δὲ ἦκιστα τοιούτος· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ μάρτυρες οὐκ ἀπίθανοι, οίς κέχρηται ὁ Ἔρατοσθένης.

10. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ διὰ 'Ρόδου καὶ Βυζαντίου μεσημβρινὸς ὀρθὸς εἰλημέται, καὶ ὁ διὰ τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀμισοῦ ὀρθὸς ἂν εἴη εἰλημμένος· φαίνεται γὰρ τὸ παράλληλον ἐκ πολλῶν, ὅταν μηδετέρωσεν συμπτωσις ἀπελέγχεται.

11. "Ο τε ἐξ Ἀμισοῦ πλοῦς ἐπὶ τὴν Κολχίδα ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ἱσημερινὴν ἀνατολήν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλέγχεται καὶ ὅραις καὶ καρποῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς αὐταῖς· ὅς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν Κασπίαν ὑπέρβασις καὶ ἡ ἐφεξῆς ὁδὸς μέχρι Βάκτρων, πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἡ ἐνάργεια καὶ τὸ ἐκ πάντων συμφωνούμενον ὄργανον πιστότερόν ἐστιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰππαρχὸς τὴν ἀπὸ Στηλῶν μέχρι τῆς Κιλικίας γραμμήν, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ἐνθείας καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ ἱσημερινῆς ἀνατολῆς, οὐ πᾶσαι

1 μηδετέρωσε, A. Miller, for μηδετέρως ἦ.
were sent on an ambassadorial mission to Palimbothra (Megasthenes to Sandrocottus, Deimachus to Allitrochades the son of Sandrocottus), still, as memoirs of their stay abroad, they have left behind such writings as these, being prompted to do so by—I know not what cause! Patrocles, however, is by no means that sort of man. And also the other witnesses whom Eratosthenes has used are not lacking in credibility.

10. For instance, if the meridian through Rhodes and Byzantium has been correctly drawn, then that through Cilicia and Amisus will have been correctly drawn too; for from many considerations the parallel relation of lines is obvious whenever it is proved by test that there is no meeting in either direction.²

11. Again, that the voyage from Amisus to Colchis lies in the direction of the equinoctial east³ is proved by the winds, by the seasons, by the crops, and by the risings of the sun themselves; and thus, in the same way, both the pass that leads over to the Caspian Sea and the road from there on to Bactra. For in many cases the way things appear to the sight and the agreement of all the testimony are more trustworthy than an instrument.⁴ Indeed, even the same Hipparchus, in taking the line from the Pillars on to Cilicia to be in a straight course and to be in the direction of the equinoctial east, did

upon "the other witnesses" that Eratosthenes based that "second argument," as is indicated in § 5. Strabo then proceeds, in § 10, to illustrate the credibility of these witnesses by defending Eratosthenes on points wherein they were involved.

² An echo from Greek geometry.
³ That is, due east.
⁴ Compare § 35 (below).
δραματικῶς καὶ γεωμετρικῶς ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ὅλην τὴν ἀπὸ Στηλών μέχρι πορθμοῦ τοὺς πλέουσιν ἐπὶ- στευσθεὶν, ὡστε οὐδὲ ἐκείνος ἔλαβεν εὸν λέγει τὸ ἕπειδη οὐκ ἔχομεν λέγειν οὐθ' ἡμέρας μεγάστος πρὸς τὴν βραχυτάτην λόγον οὗτε γνώμονος πρὸς σκιᾶν ἐπὶ τῇ παρωρείᾳ τῇ ἀπὸ Κιλικίας μέχρις Ἰνδῶν, οὐδὲ εἰ ἐπὶ παραλλήλου γραμμῆς ἐστιν ἢ λόξωσις, ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔδω ἀδιόρθωτον, λοξὴν φυλάξαν- τες, ὡς οἱ ἄρχαίοι πίνακες παρέχουσιν. Ὡς τοῦτο
μὲν γάρ τὸ μὴ ἔλευς εἰπεῖν ταῦταν ἐστιν τῷ ἔπεξειν, ὁ δ' ἐπέχουν οὐδὲ ἐπέρωσε ἥπετε, ἐὰν δὲ κελεύων, ὡς οἱ ἄρχαιοι, ἐκείστε ἥπετε. μᾶλλον δ' ἀν τάκολουθον ἐφύλαττεν, εἰ συνεβούλευεν μηδὲ γεωγραφεῖν ὅλους οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ὅρων τᾶς θέσεις, οἰόν Ἀλπέων καὶ τῶν Πυρηναίων καὶ τῶν Ὁρακίων καὶ Ἰλλυρικῶν καὶ Γερμανικῶν, οὕτως ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν. τὰς δ' ἀν ὡς πράποτο πιστοτερος τῶν ὑστερον τοὺς παλαιοὺς τοσαύτα πλημ- μελήσαντας περὶ τὴν πινακογραφίαν, ὅσα εὖ διαβέβληκεν Ἐρατοσθένης, ὃν οὐδενὶ ἀντείρηκεν Ἰππαρχος;

12. Καὶ τὰ ἔξος δὲ πλήρη μεγάλων ἀποριῶν ἐστιν. ὁρὰ γάρ, εἰ τούτο μὲν μὴ κινοῦτι τις τὸ τὰ

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1 ἐκεῖνο, Scaliger, for ἐκείνος; Corais, Meineke, Dübner-Müller, Groskurd, Forbiger, following.
2 εὖ λέγει τὸ, Xylander, for εὖ λογεῖτο; Meineke following.
3 μέχρι, Meineke, for μέχρις.
4 παρέχουσι, Kramer, for περιέχουσι; Meineke, Forbiger, Tardieu, following.
5 εὖ, Corais, for εὖ; editors following.

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not depend wholly on instruments and geometrical calculations, but for the whole line from the Pillars on to the Strait\(^1\) he trusted the sailors. So that this statement of his is not good, either, where he says: “Since we cannot tell either the relation of the longest day to the shortest, or of gnomon to shadow, along the mountain-side that runs from Cilicia on to India, neither can we say whether the slant of the mountains lies in a parallel line,\(^2\) but we must leave the line uncorrected, keeping it aslant as the early maps give it.” For, in the first place, “cannot tell” is the same thing as to withhold opinion, and the man who withholds opinion also inclines to neither side; but when Hipparchus bids us leave the line as the ancients give it, he inclines to that side. Rather would he be “keeping” the consistent course, if he also advised us not to treat geography at all; for we “cannot tell” in that way\(^3\) the positions of the other mountains, either—for instance, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Thracian, the Illyrian, and the German Mountains. But who would think the early geographers more trustworthy than those of later times, since in their map-drawing the ancients made all those blunders that Eratosthenes has rightly accused them of and not one of these blunders has been objected to by Hipparchus?

12. Again, the next remarks of Hipparchus are full of great difficulties. For example, see how many absurdities would arise if one should not disallow the

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\(^1\) Of Sicily.

\(^2\) That is, whether the line of these mountains, which in the early maps makes an acute angle to the north with a parallel of latitude, should lie on a parallel. Compare §2 (above).

\(^3\) That is, by instruments and geometrical calculations.
άκρα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰ μεσημβρινὰ ἀνταίρειν τοὺς κατὰ Μερόντην, μηδὲ τὸ διάστημα τὸ ἀπὸ Μερόντης ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα τὸ κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον, ὅτι ἐστὶ περὶ μυρίους σταδίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους, ποιοὶ δὲ τρισμυρίων τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν Ἰνδῶν μέχρι τῶν ὅρων, διὰ τὴν συμβαίνη ἄτοπα, τὸ πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἶπερ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ παράλληλος ὁ διὰ Βυζάντιου τῷ διὰ Μασσαλίας (καθάπερ εἰρήκειν Ἰππαρχὸς πιστεύσας Πυθέα), ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ μεσημβρινός ἐστιν ὁ διὰ Βυζάντιου τῷ διὰ Βορυσθένους, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ δοκιμάζει ὁ Ἰππαρχὸς, δοκιμάζει δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Βυζάντιου διάστημα ἐπὶ τὸν Βορυσθένη σταδίους εἶναι τρισχιλίους ἐπτακοσίους, τοσοῦτοι ἄν εἶναι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἐπὶ τὸν διὰ Βορυσθένους παράλληλον, ὡς γε διὰ τῆς Κελτικῆς παρωκεαντίδος ἄν εἰη τοσοῦτος γάρ πως διελθόντες συνάπτουσι τῷ ὄκεανῳ.

13. Πάλιν δὲ ἐπεὶ τὴν Κινναμωμοφόρον ἐσχάτην ἵσμεν οἰκουμένην πρὸς μεσημβρίαιν, καὶ καθ' Ἰππαρχὸν αὐτὸν ὁ δὲ αὐτῆς παράλληλος ἄρχῃ τῆς εὐκράτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶ, καὶ διέχει τοῦ ἱσημερινοῦ περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους· ἐπεὶ οὖν φησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱσημερινοῦ τὸν διὰ Βορυσθένους διέχειν τρισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους σταδίους, εἶναι ἄν λοιπόν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος τὴν διακεκαυμένην

1 See footnote on page 254.
statement that the southern capes of India rise opposite to \(^1\) the regions of Meroë, or the statement that the distance from Meroë to the mouth of the strait at Byzantium is about eighteen thousand stadia, but yet should make the distance from Southern India to the mountains thirty thousand stadia. Why, in the first place, if it be true that the parallel which runs through Byzantium is the same as that which runs through Massilia (as Hipparchus has stated, on the authority of Pytheas), and that the meridian which runs through Byzantium is the same as that through the Borysthenes (which very thing, also, Hipparchus approves), and if he also approves the statement that the distance from Byzantium to the Borysthenes is three thousand seven hundred stadia, then this last number would be the number of stadia from Massilia to the parallel that runs through the Borysthenes\(^2\); which parallel, of course, would run through the sea-coast of Celtica, for on going about this number of stadia through Celtica you reach the ocean.\(^3\)

13. Again, since the Cinnamon-producing Country is the most remote inhabited country towards the south, as we know, and since, according to Hipparchus himself, the parallel that runs through it is the beginning of the temperate zone and of the inhabited world, and is distant from the equator about eight thousand eight hundred stadia; and further, since, as Hipparchus says, the parallel through the Borysthenes is thirty-four thousand stadia distant from the equator, there would remain twenty-

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\(^1\) Strabo frequently refers to the mouth of the Borysthenes as merely "Borysthenes."

\(^2\) That is, going toward the north.
καὶ τὴν εὐκρατοῦ εἰς τὸν διὰ Βορυσθένους καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς παρωκεανίτιδος στάδιον δισμύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι διακόσιοι. δὲ γε ἄρα τῆς Κελτικῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον πλοῦς ἔσχατος λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς νῦν ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱέρυνη, ἐπέκεινα μὲν οὕσαν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, ἄθλίως δὲ διὰ ψύχος οἰκουμένην, ὡστε τὰ ἐπέκεινα νομίζειν ἀοίκητα. οὐ πλέον δὲ τῆς Κελτικῆς τὴν Ἱέρυνη διέχειν χαλὶ τῶν πεντακισχίλιων, ὡστε περὶ προσμυρίου εἰς τὸν μικρότερον πλέον οἱ πάντες οἱ τὸ πλάτος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀφορίζουσι.

14. Φέρε δὴ τὴν ἀνταίρουσαν τῇ Κινναμωμοφόρῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου πρὸς ἕως κειμένην ὑποβάθμιν, αὐτὴ δ' ἑστὶν ἡ περὶ τὴν Ταπροβάνην ἡ δὲ Ταπροβάνη πεπίστευται σφόδρα, ὅτι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πρόκειται πελαγία μεγάλη νῆσος πρὸς νότον μηκύνεται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἁλθισίαν πλέον ἡ πεντακισχίλιοι στάδιον, ὡς φασίν, ἐξ ὧς καὶ ἑλέφαντα κομίζεσθαι πολύν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐμπόρια καὶ χελάνεια 1 καὶ ἄλλοι φόρτοι. ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ νῆσῳ πλάτος προστεθέν τὸ ἀνάλογον τῷ μέγει καὶ διάρμα τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τῶν μὲν τρισχίλιων στάδιον οὐκ ἄν ἐλαττόν πολύσει διάστημα, δόσον ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρου τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰς Μερόην, εἴπερ μέλλει τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀνταίρειν τῇ Μερόην πιθανώτερον δὲ ἑστὶ καὶ πλείους τῶν τρισχίλιων τιθέναι. εἰ δὴ τοῦτο προσθελὴ τις τοῖς προσμύριοις, οἶς φησίν

1 χελάνεια, Meinake, or χελάνεια.
five thousand two hundred stadia for the distance from the parallel that divides the torrid from the temperate zone to the parallel that runs through the Borysthenes and the sea-coast of Celtica. And yet the voyage from Celtica to the north is nowadays called the remotest voyage to the north; I mean the voyage to Ierne,¹ which island not only lies beyond Britain but is such a wretched place to live in on account of the cold that the regions on beyond are regarded as uninhabitable. And Ierne is not farther from Celtica, they say, than five thousand stadia; so that about thirty thousand stadia all told, or perhaps a few more, would represent the breadth of the inhabited world.

14. Well, then, let us pass on to the country that rises opposite to the Cinnamon-producing Country and lies toward the east on the same parallel. This is the region about Taprobane.² We have strong assurance that Taprobane is a large island in the open sea, which lies off India to the south. It stretches lengthwise in the direction of Ethiopia for more than five thousand stadia, as they say; and from it, they say, much ivory is brought to the markets of India, and also tortoise-shell and other merchandise. Now if we assign to this island a breadth that is proportional to its length, and if we add thereto the expanse of the sea between it and India, the sum would be a distance of not less than three thousand stadia—as much as the distance from the border of the inhabited world to Meroë—that is, if the capes of India are to rise opposite to Meroë; but it is more plausible to set down still more than three thousand stadia. So if you should add these three thousand

¹ Ireland. ² Ceylon.
ο Δημιαχος μέχρι τῆς εἰς Βακτρίους καὶ Σογδιανοῦς υπερθέσεως, ἐκπέσοι ἄν πάντα ταύτα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῆς εὐκράτου. τίς ἄν οὐν θαρρήσει ταύτα λέγειν, ἀκούων καὶ τῶν πάλαι καὶ τῶν νῦν τὴν εὐκρασίαν καὶ τὴν εὐκαρπίαν λεγόντων πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τῶν προσβόρρων Ἰνδῶν, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ 'Τρκανίᾳ καὶ τῇ 'Αρίᾳ καὶ ἐφεξῆς τῇ τε Μαργιανῇ καὶ τῇ Βακτριανῇ; ἀπασαι γὰρ αὐτάι προσεχεῖς μὲν εἰς τῇ βορεῖφ πλευρᾷ τοῦ Ταύρου καὶ ἥ γε Βακτριανῇ καὶ πλησιάζει τῇ εἰς Ἰνδῶν υπερθέσει, τοσαύτῃ δὲ εὐδαιμονίᾳ κέχρηται, ὡστε πάμπολυ τι ἀπέχειν τῆς ἀοικίτου. ἐν μὲν γε τῇ 'Τρκανίᾳ τὴν ἀμπέλου μετρητὴν οὖν φέρειν φασί, τὴν δὲ συκῆν μεδίμνους ἔξηκοντα, τὸν δὲ σιτοὺν ἐκ τοῦ ἐκπεσόντος καρποῦ τῆς καλάμης πάλιν φύεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δεύδρεσι συμπουργείσθαι καὶ τῶν φύλλων ἀπορρεῖν μέλι, ὅπερ γίνεσθαι μὲν καὶ τῆς Μηδίας ἐν τῇ Ματιανῇ καὶ τῆς 'Αρμενίας ἐν τῇ Σακασηνῇ καὶ τῇ 'Ἀραξηνῇ. ἀλλὰ ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐκ ἐπὶ ἱστης θαυμαστῶν, εἰπερ εἰςι νοτιότεραι τῆς 'Τρκανίας, καὶ εὐκρασίας διαφέρουσαι τῆς ἀλλής χώρας· ἐκεῖ δὲ μᾶλλον. ἐν δὲ τῇ Μαργιανῇ τῶν πυθμένα φασίν εὑρίσκεσθαι τῆς ἀμπέλου πολλάκις δυνῶν ἀνδρῶν ὀργυιαῖς περιληπτῶν, τὸν δὲ βότρυν δίπηχυν. παραπλησίαν δὲ λέγουσι καὶ τὴν 'Αρίαν, εὐοινία
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stadia to the thirty thousand stadia which Deimachus gives as the distance to the pass that leads over to Bactriana and Sogdiana, then all these peoples would fall outside the inhabited world and the temperate zone. Who, pray, would venture to maintain this, when he hears men of both ancient and modern times telling about the mild climate and the fertility, first of Northern India, and then of Hyrcania and Aria, and, next in order, of Margiana and Bactriana? For, although all these countries lie next to the northern side of the Taurus Range, and although Bactriana, at least, lies close to the pass that leads over to India, still they enjoy such a happy lot that they must be a very long way off from the uninhabitable part of the earth. In Hyrcania, at any rate, they say that the vine produces one metretes\(^1\) of wine, the fig-tree sixty medimni\(^2\) of figs, the wheat grows again from the waste seed of the stubble-field, bees have their hives in the trees, and honey drips from the leaves; and this is also true of Matiana, a province of Media, and of Sacasene and of Araxene, districts of Armenia. But in the case of the latter districts this is not equally amazing, if it be true that they lie further south than Hyrcania, and are superior to the rest of the country in mildness of climate; but in the case of Hyrcania it is more amazing. And in Margiana, they say, it is oftentimes found that the trunk of the grape-vine can be encircled only by the outstretched arms of two men, and that the cluster of grapes is two cubits long. And they say that Aria also is similar, but that it even excels in good

\(^1\) A little less than nine gallons.  
\(^2\) The medimnus was about a bushel and a half.
δὲ καὶ ὑπερβάλλειν, ἐν ἂν γε καὶ εἰς τρυγονίαν¹ παραμένειν ἐν ἀπτιττότωις ἁγγεσί τὸν οἶνον· πάμφορον δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὴν Βακτριανὴν πλῆν ἐλαίου, πλησίον τῇ Ἀρίᾳ παρακειμένην.

15. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ψυχρὰ μέρη τῶν τόπων τούτων ἔστιν, ὡσα ψηλὰ καὶ ὅρεινα, οὐδὲν δὲι θαυμάζειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μεσημβρινοῖς κλίμασι τὰ ὅρη ψυχρὰ ἔστιν· καὶ καθόλου τὰ μετέωρα ἐδάφη, κἂν πεδιὰ ἂν. τῆς γοὺς Καππαδοκίας τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ἐυξείνῳ πολὺ βορειότερά ἐστι τῶν πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ· ἀλλὰ ἢ μὲν Βαγαδανία,² πεδίον ἕξαισιον μεταξὺ πῦττων τοῦ τῇ Ἀργαίου ὄρους καὶ τοῦ Ταύρου, στάνουν εἰ ποῦ τὶ τῶν καρπίμων δενδρῶν φύοι, καὶ πρὸς νοτιότερον τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάττης στάδιον τρισχιλίως, τὰ δὲ τῆς Σινώπης προϊστεια καὶ τῆς 'Αμισοῦ καὶ τῆς Φαναρολᾶς τὸ πλέον ἐλαιόφυτά ἔστι. καὶ τῶν 'Ωξον δὲ τῶν ὀρίζοντα τὴν Βακτριανὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Σογδιανῆς οὕτω φασίν εὑπλοῦν εἶναι, ὡστε τὸν Ἰνδικὸν φόρτον ὑπερκομισθέντα εἰς αὐτῶν ῥαδίως εἰς τὴν Ὀρκανίαν κατάγεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς τόπους μέχρι τοῦ Πόντου διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν.

16. Τὸν ἄν οὖν τοιαύτην εὐροῖς εὐδαμονίαν περὶ Βορυσθενῆ καὶ τὴν Κελτικῆν τὴν παρωκεαινίων, ὅπου μιθῆς φύεται ἀμπελος ἢ μὴ τελεσφορεῖ; ἐν δὲ τοῖς νοτιώτεροι τούτων καὶ

¹ τρυγονίαν, Cobet, for τρυγένειαν; Bernadakis, Cascorbi, approving.
² Βαγαδανία, Casaubon, for Βαγαδανία; Corais following; W. M. Ramsay approving.

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vintage, since there, at all events, the wine actually keeps for three generations in unpitched casks; and that Bactriana, too, which lies on the border of Aria, produces everything except olive-oil.

15. But if all the parts of these regions that are high and mountainous are also cold, we should not be amazed; for even in the southern latitudes the mountains are cold, and in general all high-lying lands, even if they be plateaux, are cold. At any rate, in Cappadocia the regions next to the Euxine are much farther north than those next to the Taurus; but Bagadaonia, an enormous plain which falls between the Argaenus Mountain¹ and the Taurus Range, only scantily (if anywhere) produces fruit-trees, although it is three thousand stadia farther south than the Pontic Sea, whereas the suburbs of Sinope and Amisus and the greater part of Phanaroea are planted with olive-trees. And further, the River Oxus, which divides Bactriana from Sogdiana, is so easily navigable, they say, that the Indian merchandise packed over the mountains to it is easily brought down to the Hyrcanian Sea, and thence, on the rivers, to the successive regions beyond as far as the Pontus.²

16. Now what comparable blessings of nature can you find round about the Borysthenes or in the part of Celtica that lies on the ocean, where the grape either does not grow at all, or else does not bear fruit? In the more southern districts of these

¹ In Cappadocia; now Mt. Erdjias.
² According to this statement the Oxus, which now empties into the Aral Lake, flowed into the Caspian Sea. Thence, by the Kur and other rivers, the merchandise was carried to western points. See 11. 7. 3.
ἐπιθαλαττιδίοις¹ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Βόσπορον τελεσφορεῖ, ἐν μικροκαρπία δὲ, καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος κατορύττεται. οἱ δὲ πάγοι παρ' αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτοι τινὲς εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιώτιδος, όστ' ἐν χωρίῳ, ἐν ἰ χειμῶνος ὁ τοῦ Μυθριδάτου στρατηγὸς ἐνίκησε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἱππομαχῶν ἐπὶ τῷ πάγῳ, τοὺς αὐτοὺς κατα-
C 74 ναυμαχήσας θέρους, ὁδήγησε τοῦ πάγου. ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ τοῦ πυγμαμμα προφέρεται τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ τῷ Παντικαπαλέων ἐπὶ τῇ ῥαγείῳ χαλκῇ ὕδρια διὰ τὸν πάγον·
εἰ τις ἄρ' ἀνθρώπων μὴ πείθεται οἷς παρ' ἠμῶν γίγνεται, εἰς τὴνδε γυμνῶ τίδον ὕδριαν·
ἡν οὐκ ὅσ ἀνάθημα θεοῦ καλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπίδεικνμα χειμῶνος μεγάλου θῆς ἱερείς Ἐπτατίος.²

ὅπως ὁὐν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Βοστόρῳ συγκριτέον τὰ ἐν τοῖς διαριθμηθεῖσι τόποις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Ἀμυσῷ καὶ Σινώπῃ (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνων ἐνκρατοτέρους ἀν εἶπον τοῖς), σχολὴ γ' ἀν παραβλάλλουντο τοῖς κατὰ Βορυσθένη καὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Κελτοῖς, μόλις γὰρ ἀν ταυτοκλινεὶς ἐλευ τοῖς κατ' Ἀμυσὸν καὶ Σινώπην καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ Μασσαλίαν, οἱ τοῦ Βορυσθένους καὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ὠμολόγηνται νοτιώτεροι σταδίοις ἀρισχίλους καὶ ἐπτακοσίους.

¹ ἐπιθαλαττιδίοις, Friedemann, for ἐπιθαλαττιδίοις or ἐπιθαλαττιδίας; Meineke following; Kramer, C. Müller, approving. ² Ἐπτατίος, Meineke, for Ἐπτατίος.

¹ That is, to keep them from freezing. See 7. 3. 18.
countries, both on the Mediterranean Sea and in the regions about the Bosporus, the vine does bear fruit, but the grapes are small, and the vines are buried during the winter. The frosts are so severe at the mouth of Lake Maeotis that, at a certain spot where, in winter time, Mithridates' general conquered the barbarians in a cavalry engagement fought on the ice, he afterwards, in summer time, when the ice had melted, defeated the same barbarians in a naval engagement. And Eratosthenes brings forward, also, the following epigram from the temple of Asclepius at Panticapaeum, which was inscribed on the bronze water-jar that had been burst by freezing: “If any man is incredulous in regard to what happens in our country, let him look at this water-jar and know the truth; which, not as a fair offering unto God but as an illustration of our severe winters, has been dedicated by Stratius the priest.” Since, therefore, the climatic conditions in the Asiatic regions that I have enumerated are not to be compared even with those at the Bosporus, nay, not even with those at Amisus and Sinope (which places one would call milder in climate than the regions at the Bosporus), those Asiatic regions could hardly be thrown on the same parallel with those about Borysthenes and with the country of the northernmost Celts. In fact, the Asiatic regions could hardly be in the same latitude as the regions about Amisus, Sinope, Byzantium, and Massilia, which are conceded to be thirty-seven hundred stadia farther south than the Borysthenes and the Celts.

2 Strabo refers to battles fought on the Strait of Yenikale, or Kerch, by Neoptolemus, the general of Mithridates the Great (Eupator). Compare 7. 3. 18.

3 Now Kerch, at the mouth of the Sea of Azov.
17. Οἱ δὲ γε περὶ Δημάχου τοῦς τρισμυρίους ἔαν προσλάβωσι τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ταπροβάνην καὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς διακεκαμψένης, οὕς οὐκ ἐλάττουσ τῶν τετρακισχιλίων θετέων, ἐκτοπίσχθησα τὰ τε Βάκτρα καὶ τὴν Ἀρίαν εἰς τοὺς ἀπέχοντας τόπους τῆς διακεκαμψένης σταδίους τρισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους, ὡς τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ἐπὶ Βορυσθένης φησιν εἶναι ὁ Ἰππαρχος. ἐκπεσοῦνται ἀρα εἰς τοὺς βορειότερους τοῦ Βορυσθένους καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς σταδίους ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους, ὡς νοτιώτερος ἐστίν ὁ ἰσημερινὸς τοῦ ὁρίζοντος κύκλου τῆς διακεκαμψένης καὶ τῆς ἐκκρατοῦν, ὃν φαμεν διὰ τῆς Κινναμομοφόρου ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτριήσθαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ γε ἐπεδέκκυμεν μέχρι τῆς Ἡρυνὴς μόλις οἰκήσιμα ὡντα τὰ ὑπὲρ τήν Κελτικήν, ἀπερ οὖ πλείω τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἑστὶν οὗτος δ' ἀποφαίνει ὁ λόγος τῆς Ἡρυνης ἐτι βορειότερον εἶναι τινα κύκλον οἰκήσιμον σταδίους τρισχιλίος ὀκτακισχιλίους. ἔσται δὲ Βάκτρα καὶ τοῦ στόματος τῆς Κασπίας θαλάττης, εἰτε Ἡρκαλνᾶς, πάμπολυ τι ἀρκτικότερα, ὡς τοῦ μυχοῦ τῆς Κασπίας καὶ τῶν Ἀρμενικῶν καὶ Μηδικῶν ὄρων διέχει περὶ ἕξακισχιλίους σταδίους, καὶ δοκεῖ αὐτής τῆς παραλίας μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀρκτικότερον εἶναι σημεῖον καὶ περὶπλοῦν ἔχειν

1 Ἰνδικῆς, before μάλιστα, is discarded by the various editors.
2 ἔσται, Kramer, for ἔστι; Forbiger, Meineke, following.
3 αὐτῆς τῆς, Groskurd, for τῆς αὐτῆς; Meineke, Forbiger, following; L. Kayser approving.

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17. Now if Deimachus and his followers add to the thirty thousand stadia the distance to Taprobane and to the boundary of the torrid zone, which must be put at not less than four thousand stadia,\(^1\) they will thus be placing both Bactra and Aria outside the inhabited world in the regions that are thirty-four thousand stadia from the torrid zone—the number of stadia Hipparchus gives as the distance from the equator to the Borysthenes. And so Bactra and Aria will be thrown outside into the regions that are eight thousand eight hundred stadia farther north than the Borysthenes and Celtica—the number of stadia by which the equator is south of the circle that divides the torrid zone from the temperate; and this circle we say is drawn, in a general way, through the Cinnamon-producing Country. Now I myself was pointing out that the regions beyond Celtica as far as Ierne were scarcely habitable, and that this distance is not more than five thousand stadia\(^2\); but this argument of Deimachus declares that there is a habitable parallel of latitude three thousand eight hundred stadia still farther north than Ierne! Thus Bactra will be a very considerable distance farther north than even the mouth of the Caspian (or Hyrcanian) Sea; and this mouth\(^3\) is about six thousand stadia distant from the inmost part of the Caspian Sea and from the Armenian and Median mountains (and it seems to be a more northerly point than the coast-line itself that runs thence to India; and to offer a practicable route of

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\(^1\) In § 14 Strabo said "not less than 3,000 stadia."

\(^2\) § 13.

\(^3\) Strabo thought that the Caspian Sea opened into "the northern sea."
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς δυνατῶν, ὡς φησιν ὁ τῶν τόπων ἡγησάμενος τούτων Πατροκλῆς. ἔτι τοῖς ἦ Βακτριανὴ χίλια στάδια ἐπὶ τῆν ἄρκτον ἐκτελεῖται· τὰ δὲ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἔθνη ἕνοικοι καὶ πολὺ μείζον ταῦτα ἔπεκεινα χώραν νέμεται, καὶ τελευτᾶ τρὸς τὴν βόρειον βάλατταν, νομιδικῶς μέν, ζώντα δὲ ὅμως. τῶς οὖν, εἰπέρ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ Βάκτρα ἦδη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκπλήθει, εἰδὼς ἂν τὸ διάστημα τούτο ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου μέχρι τῆς βορείας θαλάττης τῆς διὰ Βάκτρων ὅλης πλεόνων ἡ τετρακισχιλίων; ταῦτα δὴ προστεθέντα τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰέρυμης ἐπὶ τὰ βόρεια σταδιασμὸ ποιεῖ τὸ πᾶν διὰ τῆς ἀοικικοῦ διάστημα ἐπὶ τοῦ διὰ τῆς Ἰέρυμης σταδιασμοῦ σταδίων ἑπτακισχιλίων καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων· εἰ δὲ ἐάσειε τις τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους σταδίους, αὐτὰ γε τὰ πρὸς τῷ Καυκάσῳ μέρη τῆς Βακτριανῆς ἔσται βορειότερα τῆς Ἰέρυμης σταδίους τρισχιλίων καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων, τῆς δὲ Κελτικῆς καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένου ὀκτακισχιλίως καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίως.

18. Φησὶ δέ γε ὁ Ἰππαρχὸς κατὰ τὸν Βορυσθένη καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐν ὅλαις ταῖς θεριναῖς νυξὶ παρανυγάζεσθαι τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου περιστάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ταῖς δὲ ἔθνη, Kramer suggests, after Σκυθῶν; Meineke following.

1. That is, beyond the mouth of the Caspian into the uninhabited world. This whole argument against Deimachus and his school is a reductio ad absurdum.

2. And thus, according to Strabo, they really reach no farther, approximately, than the mouth of the Caspian.
circumnavigation from India, according to Patrocles, who was once governor of these regions). Accordingly, Bactriana stretches out still farther for a thousand stadia toward the north. But the Scythian tribes inhabit a much larger country than Bactriana, on beyond it, and they end at the northern sea; who, though it be as nomads, still manage to live. How, then, if even Bactra itself is now thrown outside of the inhabited world, could this distance from the Caucasus up to the northern sea, measured on the meridian line through Bactra, be slightly more than four thousand stadia? If these stadia, then, be added to the stadia-reckoning from Ierne to the northern regions, they make the total distance through the uninhabitable region, on the stadia-reckoning made through Ierne, seven thousand eight hundred stadia. But if one should leave out the four thousand stadia, at least the very parts of Bactriana that are next to the Caucasus will be farther north than Ierne by three thousand eight hundred stadia, and farther north than Celtica and the Borysthenes by eight thousand eight hundred stadia.

18. Hipparchus says, at all events, that at the Borysthenes and Celtica, throughout the nights in summer-time, the light of the sun shines dimly, moving round from the west to the east, and at

3 The figure of 4,000 is quoted from Deimachus and his school. Strabo continues to meet them upon their own ground with his favourite form of argument.

4 That is, the 3,800 stadia above-mentioned.

5 Hence, not the Armenian Caucasus. The mountains from Ariana on were also called Caucasus (11. 8. 1.).

6 In connection with this paragraph, read 2. 5. 34-43. Strabo finds another "absurdity" (compare § 12).
χειμεριναὶς τροπαίς τὸ πλείστον μετεωρίζεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ πῆχεις ἐννέα: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπέχουσι τῆς Μασαλλαίας ἔξακισχίλιοι καὶ τριακοσίοις (οὐς ἐκείνοις μὲν ἔτι Κελτοὺς ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐγὼ δὲ οἱμαι Βρεττανοῦς εἶναι, βορειότερους τῆς Κελτικῆς σταδίους δισχίλιοι πεντακοσίοι) πολὺ μᾶλλον τούτο συμβαίνειν ἐν δὲ ταῖς χειμεριναῖς ἡμέραις ὁ ἥλιος μετεωρίζεται πῆχεις ἕξ, τέταρτας δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀπέχουσι Μασαλλαίς ἐνακισχίλιοι σταδίους καὶ ἐκατόν, ἐλάττους δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπέκεινα, οὐ δὲ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον πολὺ ἀν εἰεν ἀρκτικότεροι τῆς Ἰέρυμης. οὕτως δὲ Πυθεὰ πιστεύων κατὰ τὰ νοτιώτερα τῆς Βρεττανικῆς τὴν οἰκησιν ταύτην τίθησι, καὶ φησιν εἰναι τὴν μακροτάτην ἐνταῦθα ἡμέραν ὅρων ἐσθερινῶν δέκα ἐννέα, ὀκτωκαιδεκά δὲ, ὅποιν τέταρτας ὁ ἥλιος μετεωρίζεται πῆχεις. οὐς φησιν ἀπέχειν τῆς Μασαλλαίας ἐνακισχίλιοι καὶ ἐκατόν σταδίους. ἦσθ' οἱ νοτιώτατοι τῶν Βρεττανῶν βορειότεροι τούτων εἰσίν. ήτοι οὕν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

1 ἐνακισχίλιοι, Meineke, for ἐνακισχίλιοι; A. Jacob approving.  
2 καὶ, Penzel deletes, before κατὰ; Du Theil, Groskurth, Meineke, Forbiger, Tardieu, following.  
3 νοτιώτερα, as A. Jacob proves, must not be changed to ἀρκτικότερα (as has been done since Du Theil's time), since the argument is rigorously correct and in keeping with οἱ νοτιώτατοι τῶν Βρεττανῶν below. T. G. Tucker suggests τανώτερα.

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1 The astronomical cubit was two degrees.  
2 At 6,300 stadia north of Marseilles.  
3 "This inhabited country" of Hipparchus means the
the winter solstice the sun ascends at most only nine cubits; but that among the people who are six thousand three hundred stadia distant from Massilia (people who live two thousand five hundred stadia north of Celtica, whom Hipparchus assumes still to be Celts, though I think they are Britons) this phenomenon is much more marked; and on the winter days there the sun ascends only six cubits, and only four cubits among the people who are distant from Massilia nine thousand one hundred stadia; and less than three cubits among the people who live on beyond (who, according to my argument, would be much farther north than Ierne). But Hipparchus, trusting Pytheas, puts this inhabited country in the regions that are farther south than Britain, and says that the longest day there has nineteen equinoctial hours, but that the longest day has eighteen hours where the sun ascends only four cubits; and these people, he says, are distant from Massilia nine thousand and one hundred stadia; and hence the most southerly of the Britons are more northerly than these people. Accordingly, country that is beyond 9,100 stadia north of Marseilles. To Strabo, this country is uninhabited.

4 The solar day is not constant; and so the ancients, being dependent upon the sun-dial, took as a unit the hour computed at the time of an equinox. Hence "equinoctial hour"—a term not used in modern astronomy.

4 That is, at 9,100 stadia north of Marseilles. By comparing this and other passages in Strabo we find that Hipparchus' data were: Borysthenes, 9 cubits, 16 hours; 6,300 stadia north of Byzantium (or Marseilles, which Hipparchus placed in the same latitude as Byzantium), 6 cubits, 17 hours; 9,100 stadia north of Byzantium (or Marseilles), 4 cubits, 18 hours; the "inhabited country" on beyond, less than 3 cubits, 19 hours.
παραλλήλου εἰς τοὺς πρὸς τῷ Καυκάσῳ Βακτρίας ἢ ἐπὶ τινος πλησιάζοντος· εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς περὶ Δήμαχον συμβηστεῖται βορειοτέρους εἶναι τῆς ᾿Ιέρυνθος τοὺς πρὸς τῷ Καυκάσῳ Βακτρίων σταδίως τρισχιλίως ὀκτακοσίους· προστεθέντων δὲ τούτων τοῖς ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας εἰς ᾿Ιέρυνθον, γίνονται μέριμοι δισχίλιοι πεντακόσιοι, τίς οὖν ἑστάρηκεν ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ τόποις, λέγω δὲ τοῖς περὶ Βάκτρα, τούτῳ τὸ μῆκος τῶν μεγίστων ἡμερῶν ἢ τὸ ἑξάρμα τοῦ ἡλίου τοῦ κατὰ τὰς μεσουρανήσεις ἐν ταῖς χειμεριναῖς τροπαίαις· ὀφθαλμοφανῆ γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα καὶ ἕνεκεν μαθηματικῆς σημειώσεως, ὡστε συνεργάζαν ἃν πολλοὶ καὶ τὸν παλαιόν τὸν τὰ Περσικὰ ἱστοροῦντο καὶ τῶν ὑστερον μέχρι καὶ εἰς ἤμας. πῶς δὲ ἀν ἡ λεχθεῖσα εὐδαιμονία τῶν τῶν τόπων ὄμωλονετο 2 τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ φαινομένως; ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρήμενῶν δῆλον, ὡς καὶ σοφῶς ἀντιλέγει πρὸς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ὡς ἰσοδυναμοῦντων τῶν ξητουμένων λαμβάνοντο πρὸς τὸ ἀποδείξει τὸ ξητούμενον.

19. Πάλιν δὲ ἐκείνου τοῦ Δήμαχον ἰδιώτην ἐνδείξασθαι βουλομένου καὶ ἀπειρον τῶν τοιού·

1 καὶ, Corais inserted; Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, Tardieu, following.
2 ὀμολογεῖτο, Δ. Jacob, for ομολογητον.

1 Compare §§15–16. 2 4 cubits, 18 hours, etc.
3 The fallacy is that of "begging the question" (petitio principii). On the question of the most northerly latitude of the inhabited world, Eratosthenes and Hipparchus are 284
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they are either on the same parallel as the Bactrians that live near the Caucasus or on some parallel close to it; for, as I have stated, according to Deimachus and his followers our result will be that the Bactrians that live near the Caucasus are more northerly than Ierne by three thousand eight hundred stadia; and if these stadia be added to those from Massilia to Ierne, we get twelve thousand five hundred stadia. Now who has ever reported in these regions (I mean the regions about Bactra) such a length of the longest days, or such a meridian height of the sun at the winter solstice? Why, all such phenomena are obvious to the eye even of a layman and do not require mathematical notation; so that many men, both of the early writers of Persian history and of their successors on down to our own times, could have compiled them. Again, how could the above-mentioned happy lot of these regions be conceded to those regions that have such celestial phenomena? And so from what I have said it is clear how very cleverly Hipparchus contradicts the demonstration of Eratosthenes on the ground that the latter (although their objects of inquiry are in effect equivalent) were taking the object of inquiry for granted as an aid to his demonstration thereof!

19. And so, again, where Eratosthenes wishes to show that Deimachus is a layman and inexperienced both wrong in that they place the limit too far north, Strabo thinks. Among other things, they both assume in their reckonings that Marseilles is as far north as Byzantium (Strabo places Marseilles much farther south). Hence the ironical remark, that only with poor grace could Hipparchus meet the demonstration of Eratosthenes by accusing him of begging the question.

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τῶν οἴσθαι γὰρ τὴν 'Ἰνδικὴν μεταξὺ κεῖσθαι τῆς τε φθινοπωρινῆς ἱσημερίας καὶ τῶν τροπῶν τῶν χειμερινῶν, Μεγασθένει τε ἀντιλέγειν φῆσαντι ἐν τοῖς νοτίων μέρεσι τῆς 'Ἰνδικῆς τὰς τε ἄρκτους ἀποκρύπτεσθαι καὶ τὰς σκιὰς ἀντιπίπτειν μηδέτερον γὰρ τοῦτον μηδαμοῦ τῆς 'Ἰνδικῆς συμβαίνειν ταῦτα δὴ φάσκοντος ἄμαθῶς λέγεσθαι τοῦ τε γὰρ τὴν φθινοπωρινὴν τῆς ἑαρινῆς διαφέρειν οἶσθαι κατὰ τὴν διάστασιν τῆς πρὸς τὰς τροπὰς ἄμαθές, τοῦ τε κύκλου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς τοῦ τε διαστήματος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τροπικοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱσημερινοῦ, ὃν μεταξὺ τίθησε τὴν 'Ἰνδικὴν ἐκεῖνος, δειχθέντος ἐν τῇ ἀναμετρήσει πολὺ ἐλάττωνος τῶν διαμεριῶν σταδίων, συμβῆναι ἂν καὶ κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, ὅπερ αὐτὸς νομίζει, οὐχ δὲ ἐκείνος· δειχθὲν μὲν γὰρ ἢ καὶ τριῶν μυριάδων ὀυκαν τὴν 'Ἰνδικὴν οὐδὲ πεσείν μεταξὺ τοσοῦτον διαστήματος, ὡσοψ δὲ αὐτὸς εἴρηκε, πεσείν ἂν τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας εἶναι καὶ τὸ μηδαμὸ τῆς 'Ἰνδικῆς ἀποκρύπτεσθαι φάσκειν τὰς ἄρκτους μηδὲ τὰς σκιὰς ἀντιπίπτειν, ὅτε γε καὶ πεντακισχιλίους προελθόντε ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρείας εὐθὺς συμβαίνειν ἀρχεται. ταῦτα δὴ εἰπόντα, ¹

¹ εἰπόντα, Corain, Du Theil, for eἰπόνταs.

¹ Strabo’s “winter tropic” and “summer tropic” correspond roughly to the tropic of Capricorn and the tropic of Cancer. The former was placed at 24°, at Syene. ² That is, to the south as well as to the north—which would be true of all points in the torrid zone.

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in such matters. For he says Deimachus thinks that India lies between the autumunal equinox and the winter tropic, and contradicts the statement of Megasthenes that, in the southern parts of India, the Bears set and the shadows fall in the opposite directions, asserting that neither phenomenon takes place anywhere in India; and so, says Eratosthenes, when Deimachus asserts this, he speaks ignorantly, since it is mere ignorance to think that the autumnal equinox differs from the vernal equinox in distance from the tropic, because both the circle and the rising of the sun are the same at the equinoxes; and, since the distance between the terrestrial tropic and the equator, between which Deimachus places India, has been shown in the measurement of the earth to be much less than twenty thousand stadia, the result would be, even according to Deimachus himself, precisely what Eratosthenes thinks, and not what Deimachus thinks; for if India be twenty, or as much as thirty, thousand stadia in breadth it could not even fall within such a space. But if India has the breadth which Eratosthenes himself has given it, then it would fall therein; and that it is also a mark of the same ignorance for Deimachus to assert that in no part of India do the Bears set or the shadows fall in the opposite directions, since, at any rate, if you proceed only five thousand stadia south from Alexandria the phenomena begin at once to take place.

3 The circle in which they each lie is that of the (celestial) equator.
4 Counting 700 stadia to the degree, Eratosthenes' measurement of the earth being 252,000 stadia, the tropic at 24° would be 16,800 stadia from the equator.
5 Between the tropic and the equator.
εὐθύνει πάλιν οὖς εὖ ὁ Ἰππαρχος, πρῶτον ἀντὶ τοῦ χειμερινοῦ τροπικοῦ τοῦ θερινοῦ δεξάμενος, εἰτ’ οὐκ οὐδέμενος δεῖν μάρτυρι χρῆσθαι τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἀναστροφολογίτω ἀνθρώπω, ὡσπερ τοῦ Ἑρατοσθένους προηγούμενος τὴν ἐκείνου μαρτυρίαν ἐγκρίνοντος, ἀλλ’ οὐ κοινῷ τινὶ ἔθει χρώμενον πρὸς τοὺς ματαιολογῶντας. εἰς γὰρ τις τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ματαιῶς ἀντιλέγοντας ἑλέγχων ἐστίν, ὅταν αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπόφασιν, ὅποια ποτὲ ἔστι, δεῖξωμεν ἡμῖν συνηγοροῦσαν.

20. Νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ὑποθέμενοι ὅ τοις κατὰ Μερόνῃ, ὅπερ εἰρήκασι πολλοὶ καὶ πεπιστεύκασι, ἐπεδείξαμεν τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἄτοπα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἰππαρχος, οὔδεν ἀνεπίπτον τῇ ὑποθεσεῖ ταύτῃ νυνὶ, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ὑπομνήματι οὐ συγχωρεῖ, σκεπτέον καὶ τούτον τὸν λόγον. ὁμιλεῖ τοῖς, ἀνταίροντων ἄλληλοις τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου κειμένων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μεταξὺ ἦ μέγα διάστημα, μὴ δύνασθαι γνωσθῆναι αὐτὰ τούτα, ὅτι εἰςὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου οἱ τόποι, ἀνευ τῆς τῶν κλιμάτων συγκρίσεως τῆς κατὰ θάτερον τῶν τόπων. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Μερόνῃ κλίμα Φίλωνα τε τὸν συγγράφαντα τὸν εἰς Ἄιδιοπιάν πλοῦν ἰστορεῖν, ὅτι πρὸ πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν τῆς θερινῆς τροπῆς κατὰ κορυφὴν γίνεται ὁ Ἴλιος, λέγειν δὲ καὶ τῶν λόγως τοῦ γνώμονος πρὸς τε

1 ἀντὶ, Corais, Penzel, Pätz, for ἀπό; Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, Kärcher, Tardieu, following; C. Müller approving.
2 τῶν, Casaubon inserts, before ἀντὶ; Corais, Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, following; C. Müller, L. Kayser, approving.
3 τῶν τόπων, Corais, for τῶν τόπων, on the authority of ιν. 

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So Hipparchus is again not right in correcting Eratosthenes on that statement, because, in the first place, he interprets Deimachus as saying "the summer tropic" instead of "the winter tropic," and because, in the second place, he thinks we should not use as a source of evidence on mathematics a man who is unversed in astronomy—just as if Eratosthenes were reckoning in the evidence of Deimachus above that of other men and not merely following a common custom used in replying to men that talk foolishness. For one way of refuting men who contradict foolishly is to shew that the very declaration they make, whatever it may be, pleads our case.

20. Up to this point, then, having taken as hypothesis that the most southerly regions of India rise opposite the regions about Meroë—which many have stated and believed—I have pointed out the absurdities that result from this hypothesis. But since Hipparchus up to this point offers no objection to this hypothesis, and yet later on, in his Second Book, will not concede it, I must consider his argument on this matter, too. Well, then, he says: If only the regions that lie on the same parallel rise opposite each other, then, whenever the intervening distance is great, we cannot know this very thing, namely, that the regions in question are on the same parallel, without the comparison of the "climata" as observed at the other of the two places; now as for the "clima" at Meroë, Philo, who wrote an account of his voyage to Ethiopia, reports that the sun is in the zenith forty-five days before the summer solstice and tells also the relations of the gnomon to the shadows.

1 See footnote 2, page 22.
τὰς τροπικὰς σκιᾶς καὶ τὰς ἴσημερινὰς, αὐτόν τε Ἑρατοσθένην συμφωνεῖν ἐγγιστα τῷ Φίλωνι, τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ κλίμα μηδένα ἱστορεῖν, μηδ' αὐτὸν Ἑρατοσθένην. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ αἱ ἄρκτοι ἐκεὶ ἀμφότεραι, ὡς οὐσιν, ἀποκρύπτονται, πιστεύοντες τοῖς περὶ Νέαρχου, μὴ δυνατὸν εἶναι ἐπὶ τούτῳ παραλλήλου κείσθαι τὴν τε Μερόντην 1 καὶ τὰ ἀκρα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς. εἰ μὲν τοῖνοι περὶ τῶν ἄρκτων ἀμφότερων, ὧν ἀποκρύπτονται, συναποφαίνεται τοῖς εἰποῦσιν Ἑρατοσθένης, πῶς περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ κλίματος ὁδεῖς ἀποφαίνεται, οὔτ' αὐτὸς Ἑρατοσθένης; οὔτος γὰρ ὁ λόγος περὶ τοῦ κλίματος ἐστιν. εἰ δ' οὐ συναποφαίνεται, ἀπηλλαχθὼ τῆς αὐτίας. οὐ συναποφαίνεται δὲ γε, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Δημιάχου φήσαντος μηδαμοῦ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μήτ' ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὰς ἄρκτος μητ' ἀντιπίπτειν τὰς σκιὰς, ἀπειλήφθην ὁ Μεγασθένης, ἀπειρίαν αὐτοῦ καταγγελόσκει; τὸ συμπεπλεγμένον νομίζων ψεύδος, ἐν δ' ὀμολογομένος καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰππαρχοῦ τὸ γε μὴ ἀντιπίπτειν τὰς σκιὰς ψεύδος ἐμπέπλεκται. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τῇ Μερόντῃ ἀνταίρει, τῆς γε Σύνηνς νοτιώτερα εἶναι τὰ ἀκρα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς συγχρόων φαίνεται.

21. Καὶ εὖ τοῖς ἔξης δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιχειρών ἢ ταύτα λέγει τοῖς ἐξελεγχθείσιν ύπ' ἦμῶν, ἢ λήμμασι προσεχρητι ψευδέσιν, ἢ ἐπιφέρει τὸ μὴ ἀκολουθῆσαι. οὔτε γὰρ τῷ ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς

1 taûta, Corais deletes, before καὶ; Meineke following.
both in the solstices and the equinoxes, and Eratosthenes agrees very closely with Philo; whereas nobody reports the "clima" in India, not even Eratosthenes himself; however, if it is really true that in India the Bears set (both of them, as they think, relying on Nearchus and his followers), then it is impossible that Meroë and the capes of India lie on the same parallel. Now if Eratosthenes joins those who have already so stated in reporting that both Bears do set, how can it be that nobody reports about the "clima" in India, not even Eratosthenes himself? For this statement concerns the "clima." But if Eratosthenes does not join them in the report, let him be free from the accusation. No, he does not join them in the report; nay, because Deimachus said that the Bears do not set and the shadows do not fall in the opposite direction anywhere in India (as Megasthenes assumed), Eratosthenes convicts him of inexperience, regarding as falsehood the combined statement, wherein by the acknowledgement of Hipparchus himself the false statement that the shadows do not fall in the opposite direction is combined with that about the Bears. For even if the southern capes of India do not rise opposite to Meroë, Hipparchus clearly concedes that they are at least farther south than Syene. 1

21. In what follows, also, Hipparchus, in attempting proofs on the same questions, either states again the same things that I have already disproved, or employs additional false assumptions, or appends conclusions that do not follow. In the first place, take the state-

1 5,000 stadia directly north of Meroë. To one travelling north from the equator the Lesser Bear is first wholly visible at Meroë, according to Hipparchus (2. 5. 35).
Θάψακον εἶναι σταδίους τετρακισχιλίους ὀκτακοσίους, ἐντεύθεν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἐπὶ τὰ Ἀρμένια ὅρη δισχιλίους ἑκατόν, ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπὶ τοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς μεσημβρινοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄρκτικὰ ὅρη πλείους εἶναι τῶν ἕξακισχιλίων οὔτε τὸ ἀπὸ Θάψακον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρη δισχιλίων καὶ ἑκατόν φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης, ἀλλ' εἶναι τι λουπὸν ἀκαταμέτρητον, ὡς ἕξης ἐφοδος ἐκ μὴ διδομένου λήμματος οὐκ ἂν ἐπεραίνετο. οὔτ' ἀπεφήνατο οὐδαμοῦ Ἐρατοσθένης τὴν Θάψακον τῆς Βαβυλῶνος πρὸς ἄρκτους κείσθαι πλείους ἢ τετρακισχιλίως καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίοις.

22. Ἐξῆς δὲ συνηγοροῦν ἔτι τοῖς ἄρχαίοις πίναξιν οὖ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους προφέρεται περὶ τῆς τρίτης σφραγίδος, ἀλλ' ἕαυτῷ κεχαρισμένως πλάττει τὴν ἀπόφασιν πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν εὐφυή. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκολουθῶν τῇ θέσει τῇ προειρημένῃ τοῦ τε Ταύρου καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ Στηλῆς θαλάττης, διελὼν τῇ γραμ민ή ταύτῃ τῆς οἰκουμένης δίχα, καὶ καλέσας τὸ μὲν βόρειον μέρος, τὸ δὲ νότιον, πειράται τούτων ἐκάτερον τέμνειν πάλιν εἰς τὰ δυνατὰ μέρη καλεῖ δὲ ταύτα σφραγίδας. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ νοτίου μέρους πρώτην εἰπὼν σφραγίδα τῆς Ἡνδικής, δευτέραν δὲ τῆς Ἀριανῆς, ἔχοισας τι εὐπερίγραφον, ἵσχυειν ἀμφοτέρων ἀποδοῦναι

1 See footnote, page 306.
2 That is, which he charges to Eratosthenes.
ment of Eratosthenes that the distance from Babylon to Thapsacus is four thousand eight hundred stadia, and thence northwards to the Armenian Mountains two thousand one hundred; it does not follow from this that the distance from Babylon measured on the meridian through it to the northern mountains is more than six thousand stadia. Secondly, Eratosthenes does not say that the distance from Thapsacus to the mountains is two thousand one hundred stadia, but that there is a remainder of that distance which has not been measured; and hence the ensuing attack, made from an assumption not granted, could not result in a valid conclusion. And, thirdly, Eratosthenes has nowhere declared that Thapsacus lies north of Babylon more than four thousand five hundred stadia.

22. Next, still pleading for the early maps, Hipparchus does not produce the words of Eratosthenes in regard to the Third Section, but for his own gratification invents his statement, making it easy to overthrow. For Eratosthenes, pursuing his aforementioned thesis about the Taurus and the Mediterranean Sea, beginning at the Pillars, divides the inhabited world by means of this line into two divisions, and calls them respectively the Northern Division and the Southern Division, and then attempts to cut each of these divisions again into such sections as are possible; and he calls these sections "Sphragides." And so, after calling India Section First of the Southern Division, and Ariana Section Second, since they had contours easy to sketch, he was able to represent not only length and breadth of

3 2. 1. 1.
4 See paragraph 35 following and footnote.
καὶ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος, τρόπον δὲ τινα καὶ σχῆμα ὡς ἀν γεωμετρικὸς. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰνδικὴν ῥομβοειδῆ φησὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν πλευρὸν τὰς μὲν θαλάττῃ κλύζεσθαι τῇ τε νοτίῳ καὶ τῇ ἐσφ. μὴ πάνω κολπώδεις ἁόνασ ἐποιεῖσθη, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς, τὴν μὲν τῷ ὅρει, τὴν δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ, κάνταυθα τοῦ εὐθυγράμμου σχῆματος ὑπὸ τι σωζόμενον τὴν δ' Ἀριανῆν ὁρῶν τὰς γε τρεῖς πλευρὰς ἔχουσαν εὐφυεῖς πρὸς τὸ ἀποτελέσαι παραλληλόγραμμον σχῆμα, τὴν δ' ἐσπέριον οὐκ ἔχων σημείωσ ἀφορίσαι διὰ τὸ ἐπαλλάττειν ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔθνη, γραμμῆς τιν' ὅμοις δηλοῖ τῇ ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Καρμανίας τελευτώσῃ τὰ συναπτοῦτα πρὸς τὸν Περσικὸν κόλπον. ἐσπέριον μὲν οὖν καλεῖ τούτο τὸ πλευρὸν, ἐφον δὲ τὸ παρά τὸν Ἰνδόν, παρᾶλληλα δ' οὐ λέγει, οὔδε τὰ λοιπά, τὸ δὲ τῷ ὅρει γραφόμενον καὶ τῷ τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἄλλα μόνον τὸ μὲν βόρειον, τὸ δὲ νότιον.

23. Οὕτω δ' ὁλοσχέρει τινὶ τύπῳ τὴν δευτέραν ἀποδίδουσι σφραγίδα, πολὺ ταύτης ὁλοσχερέστερον ἀποδίδοσι τὴν τρίτην σφραγίδα катὰ πλείους αἰτίας. πρώτην μὲν τὴν λεχθεῖσαν, ὅτι οὐκ εὐκρινῶς ἀφώρισται ἡ ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν ἐπὶ Καρμανίαν, ἄτις κοινῆ ἐστὶ τῇ τρίτῃ πρὸς τὸν δευτέραν σφραγίδα πλευράς ἐπειδ' ὅτι εἰς τὴν

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1 Strabo discusses this point again in 15. 1. 11.
2 The Taurus.
3 Indus.
In §§ 23-29 Strabo shews that Hipparchus applies the figures of Eratosthenes to rectangular dimensions \((TCKM)\), placing Thapsacus at \(T\), Caspian Gates at \(C\), the point on the Carmanian frontiers at \(K\), Babylon at \(B\), and so on; and that

the dotted lines, including the Euphrates, represent what Eratosthenes meant in his rough estimates. Of course it is easy to show the impossibility of Eratosthenes' figures in their mutual relations if they be applied as Hipparchus applied them.
both sections, but, after a fashion, shape also, as would a geometrical. In the first place, India, he says, is rhomboidal, because, of its four sides, two are washed by seas (the southern and the eastern seas) which form shores without very deep gulfs; and because the remaining sides [are marked], one by the mountain and the other by the river, and because on these two sides, also, the rectilinear figure is fairly well preserved. Secondly, Ariana. Although he sees that it has at least three sides well-suited to the formation of the figure of a parallelogram, and although he cannot mark off the western side by mathematical points, on account of the fact that the tribes there alternate with one another, yet he represents that side by a sort of line that begins at the Caspian Gates and ends at the capes of Carmania that are next to the Persian Gulf. Accordingly, he calls this side "western" and the side along the Indus "eastern," but he does not call them parallel; neither does he call the other two sides parallel, namely, the one marked by the mountain, and the one marked by the sea, but he merely calls them "the northern" and "the southern" sides.

23. And so, though he represents the Second Section merely by a rough outline, he represents the Third Section much more roughly than the Second—and for several reasons. First is the reason already mentioned, namely, because the side beginning at the Caspian Gates and running to Carmania (the side common to the Second and Third Sections) has not been determined distinctly;

4 That is, they merge confusedly with one another across the imaginary line representing the common boundary between Section Second and Section Third.

5 In mathematics, a dotted line.

6 See figure and note on page 296.
νότιον πλευρὰν ὁ Περσικὸς ἐμπίπτει κόλπος, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸς φησιν, ὡστε ἤναγκασται τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλώνος λαβεῖν γραμμὴν, ὡς ἄν εὐθείαν τινα διὰ Σοῦσων καὶ Περσεπόλεως κέχρη τῶν ὀρῶν τῆς

C 79 Καρμανίας καὶ τῆς Περσίδος, ἢ δυτικὸς ἢν εὐρείας μεμετρημένην ὀδὸν, σταδίων οὔσαν τὴν ὀλὴν μικρὸ πλειόνων ἢ ἐννακισχίλιων. ἦν νότιον μὲν καλεῖ πλευράν, παράλληλου δ' ὁ νότος τῆς ἄπορα ἔχει. δῆλον δ' ὅτι οὗτο ὁ Εὐφράτης, ὃ τὸ ἐσπέριον ἀφορίζει πλευρὰν, σύνεγγυς ἔστιν εὐθείας γραμμῆς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν μειώσει, εἰτ' ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ἑαυτὸ καὶ πάλιν πρὸς νότον μέχρι τῆς εἰς θάλατταν ἐκβολῆς. δῆλοι δὲ τὸ μῆν εὐθύπορον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, φράζον τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, ὃ ποιοῦσι συμπίπτοντες εἰς ἐν ὅ τε Τίγρις καὶ ὁ Εὐφράτης, ὑπηρεσίων ἄρτι παραπλήσιοι, ὡς φησιν. καὶ μην τὸ ἀπὸ Θασσάκου μέχρι τῆς 'Ἀρμενίας οὐδὲ πάνω μεμετρημένον ἔχει τὸ ἐσπέριον πλευρὰν τὸ ἀφοριζόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου, ἀλλὰ φησιν τὸ πρὸς τῇ 'Αρμενία μέρος καὶ τοῖς ἀρκτικοῖς ὀρεσί μη ἔχειν εἴπειν₁ πόσον ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ ἀμέτρητον εἶναι. διὰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα τυπωδὸς φησιν ἀποδίδονται τῇ τρίτην μερίδα καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ διαστήματα ἢν εἰκολθῶν συναγαγεῖν₂ τῶν τοὺς σταθμοὺς πραγματευσομένων ὅν τινας καὶ ἀνεπιγράφους

₁ εἴπειν, Meineke inserts, after εἴχειν; Corais, Kramer, had already suggested it.

₂ ἢ, Siebenkees, Du Theil, delete, before φησιν; Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, following.

₃ συναγαγεῖν, Corais, for συνάγειν; Meineke following.

₄ τινας, Corais inserts, before τινας; Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, following; O. Müller approving.

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secondly, because the Persian Gulf breaks into the southern side, as Eratosthenes himself says, and therefore he has been forced to take the line beginning at Babylon as though it were a straight line running through Susa and Persepolis to the frontiers of Carmania and Persis, on which he was able to find a measured highway, which was slightly more than nine thousand stadia long, all told. This side Eratosthenes calls "southern," but he does not call it parallel to the northern side. Again, it is clear that the Euphrates, by which he marks off the western side, is nowhere near a straight line; but after flowing from the mountains towards the south, it then turns eastward, and then southward again to the point where it empties into the sea. And Eratosthenes makes clear the river's lack of straightness when he indicates the shape of Mesopotamia, which results from the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates—"like a galley," as he says. And besides, as regards the stretch from Thapsacus to Armenia—Eratosthenes does not even know, as a distance that has been wholly measured, the western side that is marked off by the Euphrates; nay, he says he does not know how great is the stretch next to Armenia and the northern mountains, from the fact that it is unmeasured. For all these reasons, therefore, he says he represents the Third Section only in rough outline; indeed, he says that he collected even the distances from many writers who had worked out the itineraries—some of which he speaks of as actually
καλεῖ. ἀγνωμονεῖν δὴ δόξειεν ἂν ὁ Ἰππαρχὸς πρὸς τὴν τοιαυτὴν ὀλοσχέρειαν γεωμετρικῶς ἀντιλέγων, ἐν ὦ χάριν εἰδέναι δὲ τοὺς καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἀπαγγεῖλασιν ἡμῖν τὴν τῶν τόπων φύσιν. ὅταν δὲ δὴ μηδὲ εἶ δὲν ἐκείνος λέγει λαμβάνῃ τὰς γεωμετρικὰς ὑποθέσεις, ἀλλ' ἐαυτῷ πλάσας, ἐκφανέστερον ἂν τὸ φιλότιμον καταμηνύσωτο:

24. Ὅ μὲν δὴ οὕτως φησὶ τὴν τρίτην μερίδα τυπώδας ἀποδίδοσθαι μυρίων σταδίων ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔφρατην, κατὰ μέρος δὲ διαρρόθην, ὡς ἀναγεγραμμένην εὑρεῖ τὴν μέτρησιν, οὕτω τίθησιν, ἐμπαλὼν τὴν ἄρχην ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποιησάμενος καὶ τῆς κατὰ Θάψακον διαβάσεως αὐτοῦ. μέχρι μὲν δὴ τοῦ Τίγριδος, ὅπου Ἀλέξανδρος διέβη, σταδίους δισχίλιους καὶ τετρακοσίους γράφειν ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξῆς τόπων διὰ Γανγαμήλων καὶ τοῦ Λύκου καὶ Ἀρβήλων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων, ἢ Δαρείου ἐκ τῶν Γανγαμήλων ἔφυγε μέχρι Κασπίων πυλῶν, τοὺς μυρίους ἐκπληροὶ, τριακοσίους μόνον πλευνάσας. τὸ μὲν δὴ βόρειον πλευρὸν οὕτω καταμετρεῖ, οὐ παράλληλον τοῖς ὀρεσί θείς, οὐδὲ τῇ διὰ Στηλῶν καὶ Αθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου γραμμῆς ἢ γὰρ Θάψακος πολὺ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀφέστηκε, συμπίπτει δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Θαψάκου ὀς ἐπὶ τὰς Κασπίους πύλας. καὶ τὰ γε προσάρκτια μέρη τοῦ ὄρου ταύτ' ἔστιν.
without titles. So, then, Hipparchus would seem to be acting unfairly when he contradicts with geometrical accuracy a mere rough outline of this nature, instead of being grateful, as we should be, to all those who have reported to us in any way at all the physiography of the regions. But when Hipparchus does not even take his geometrical hypotheses from what Eratosthenes says, but fabricates on his own account, he betrays his spirit of jealousy still more obviously.

24. Now Eratosthenes says that it is only thus, "in a rough-outline way," that he has represented the Third Section, with its length of ten thousand stadia from the Caspian Gates to the Euphrates. And then, in making subdivisions of this length, he sets down the measurements just as he found them already assigned by others, after beginning in the inverse order at the Euphrates and its passage at Thapsacus. Accordingly, for the distance from the Euphrates to the Tigris, at the point where Alexander crossed it, he lays off two thousand four hundred stadia; thence to the several places in succession, through Gaugamela, the Lycus, Arbela, and Ecbatana (the route by which Darius fled from Gaugamela to the Caspian Gates) he fills out the ten thousand stadia, and has a surplus of only three hundred stadia. This, then, is the way he measures the northern side, not having first put it parallel with the mountains, or with the line that runs through the Pillars, Athens, and Rhodes. For Thapsacus lies at a considerable distance from the mountains, and the mountain-range and the highway from Thapsacus meet at the Caspian Gates.—And these are the northern portions of the boundary of the Third Section.
25. Ἀποδοὺς δὲ τὸ βόρειον ὦτῷ πλευρῷ, τὸ δὲ νότιον, φησὶ, παρὰ μὲν τὴν θάλασσαν οὐκ ἐστὶ λαβεῖν διὰ τὸ τὸν Περσικὸν ἐμπίπτειν κόλπον, ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δὲ διὰ Σοῦσων καὶ Περσεπόλεως ἐς τὸν ὄριον τῆς τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τῆς Καρ-μανίας στάδιον εἶναι ἕναν κισχίλιον καὶ δια-κοσίων, νότιον μὲν λέγων, παράλληλον δ’ οὐ λέγων τῷ βορεῖῳ τῷ νότιοι. τὴν δὲ διαφωνίαν τοῦ μήκους φησὶ συμβαίνειν τούτῳ τῷ βορεῖῳ τεθέντος πλευροῦ καὶ τοῦ νοτίου, διὰ τὸ τὸν Ἐυφράτην μέχρι τινὸς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ῥυόντα πρὸς τὴν ἐως πολὺ ἐγκλίνειν.

26. Τῶν δὲ πλαγίων πλευρῶν τὴν ἑσπερίαν λέγει πρῶτον ἣν ὅποια τῆς ἐστιν, εἰτε μία εἰτε δύο, ἐν μέσῳ πάροικοι σκοπεῖν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς κατὰ Θαψακὸν φησὶ διαβάσεως παρὰ τὸν Ἐνφρά-την εἰς μὲν Βαβυλῶνα στάδιον εἶναι τετρακισ-χιλίων δικτάσιων, ἐνεύθειν δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς ἑκβολὰς τοῦ Ἐνφράτου καὶ πόλιν Τερηδόνα τρισχιλίους τὰ δ’ ἀπὸ Θαψάκου πρὸς τὰς ἁρκτους μέχρι μὲν τῶν Ἀρμενίων πυλῶν καταμετρήσθαι καὶ εἶναι ὡς χιλίους ἑκατόν, τοὺς δὲ διὰ Γορίνναιων καὶ Ἀρμενίων μηκέτει διὸ δὴ παραλείπειν αὐτοὺς. τοῦ δὲ ἐως πρὸς ἐκ πλευροῦ τὸ μὲν διὰ τῆς Περσικῆς κατὰ μήκος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς ὡς ἐπὶ Μηδίαν καὶ τὰς ἁρκτους οὐκ ἐλαττον εἶναι δοκεῖ τῶν ὁκτα-κισχιλίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τινῶν ἀκρωτηρίων καὶ υπὲρ τῶν ἕνανκισχιλίους, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν διὰ τῆς Παρα-τακηνης καὶ Μηδίας ἐπὶ Καστίους πύλας ὡς

1  ἢ πετ., Cobet, for kal (for which Groskurd substitutes μέχρι; Meineke, Dübner-Müller, Forbiger, following); Bernadakis approving.
25. After having thus represented the northern side, Eratosthenes says it is not possible to take the southern side as along the sea, because the Persian Gulf breaks into it; but, says he, from Babylon through Susa and Persepolis to the frontiers of Persis and Carmania, it is nine thousand two hundred stadia—and this he calls “southern side,” but he does not call the southern side parallel to the northern. As to the difference in the lengths of the estimated northern and southern sides, he says it results from the fact that the Euphrates, after having flowed southwards to a certain point, makes a considerable bend towards the east.

26. Of the two transverse sides Eratosthenes speaks of the western first; and what the nature of this side is, whether it is one line or two, is a matter open to consideration. For from the passage at Thapsacus, he says, along the Euphrates to Babylon, it is four thousand eight hundred stadia, and thence to the outlet of the Euphrates and the city of Teredon, three thousand; but as regards the distances from Thapsacus northward, the stadia have been measured up to the Armenian Gates and amount to about one thousand one hundred; whereas the stadia through Gordyene and Armenia are still unmeasured, and so for this reason he leaves them out of consideration. But of the side on the east, that part which runs through Persis lengthwise from the Red Sea, approximately toward Media and the north, is, he thinks, no less than eight thousand stadia (though, if reckoned from certain promontories, even above nine thousand stadia); and the remaining part, through Paraetacene¹ and Media to the Caspian

¹ For the position of Paraetacene see 15. 3. 12.
προσχλίσων τόν δὲ Τίγριν ποταμὸν καὶ τόν Εὐφράτην ρέουτας ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, ἐπειδὰν παραμείνουσαν τὰ τῶν Γορδιαίων ὄρη, κύκλον μέγαν περιβαλλόμενον καὶ ἐμπεριλαβόντας χώραν πολλὴν τήν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐπιστρέφειν πρὸς χειμερινὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τήν μεσημβρίαν, πλέουν δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην γενόμενον δὲ τοῦτον ἔγγυον ἀεὶ τοῦ Τίγρειδος κατὰ τὸ Σεμιράμιδος διατέχισμα καὶ κόμην καλουμένην Ὀπίν, διασχόντα ταύτης ὅσον διακοσίους σταδίους, καὶ ρυέταν διὰ Βαβυλῶνος ἐκπυττέειν εἰς τὸν Περσικὸν κόλπον. ὄμωται δὴ, φησί, τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Βαβυλωνίας ὑπηρεσίας παραπλήσιων. δὲ μὲν δὴ Ἐρατοσθένης τοιαύτη εὕρηκε.

27. Περὶ δὲ τῆς τρίτης σφραγίδος καὶ ἄλλα μὲν τῶν ἀμαρτήματα ποιεῖ, περὶ δὲν ἐπισκεψόμεθα, ἃ δὲ Ἰππαρχὸς προφέρει αὐτῷ, οὐ πάντως, σκοπῶμεν δὴ δὲ λέγει. Βουλόμενος γὰρ βεβαιοῦν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτι οὐ μεταθετέον τὴν Ἰουδαίην ἐπὶ τὰ νοτιώτερα, ὥστερ Ἐρατοσθένης ἁξίος, σαφὲς δὲν γενέσθαι τοῦτο μᾶλλον φθονῷ ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἑκεῖνος προφέρεται τῇ γὰρ τρίτην μερίδα κατὰ τὴν βόρειον πλευρὰν εἰπότατα ἀφορίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην γραμμῆς σταδίων μυρίων οὐσίας, μετὰ ταύτα ἐπισφέρειν ὅτι τὸ νότιον πλευρὸν τὸ ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Καρμανίας μικρὸ πλειόνων ἐστὶν ἢ ἐννακισχίλιων, τὸ δὲ πρὸς δύσει πλευρὸν ἀπὸ
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Gates, about three thousand stadia. The Tigris and the Euphrates, he says, flow from Armenia southwards; and then, as soon as they pass the mountains of Gordyene, they describe a great circle and enclose a considerable territory, Mesopotamia; and then they turn toward the winter rising of the sun and the south, but more so the Euphrates; and the Euphrates, after becoming ever nearer to the Tigris in the neighbourhood of the Wall of Semiramis and a village called Opis (from which village the Euphrates was distant only about two hundred stadia), and, after flowing through Babylon, empties into the Persian Gulf. “So it comes to pass,” he says, “that the shape of Mesopotamia and Babylonia is like that of a galley.” Such, then, are the statements which Eratosthenes has made.

27. Now, as regards the Third Section, although there are certain other errors which Eratosthenes makes—and I shall discuss these—still he does not err at all in the matters for which Hipparchus reproaches him. Let us see what Hipparchus says. In his desire to establish his initial statement, namely, that we must not shift India farther to the south, as Eratosthenes requires, he says it will be particularly obvious from Eratosthenes’ own utterances that we must not do so; for after first saying that the Third Section is marked off on its northern side by the line drawn from the Caspian Gates to the Euphrates, a distance of ten thousand stadia, Eratosthenes adds, later on, that the southern side, which runs from Babylon to the frontiers of Carmania, is slightly more than nine thousand stadia in length, and the side on the west from Thapsacus along the

1 See footnote 2, page 105.
Θαψάκου παρά τον Ευφράτην ἔστιν εἰς Βαβυλώνα τετρακιοχύλιοι ὀκτακόσιοι στάδιοι, καὶ ἐξής ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τρισχύλια, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον ἀπὸ Θαψάκου, τὸ μὲν ἀπομεμέτρηται μέχρι χιλίων ἑκατῶν, τὸ λοιπὸν δ’ οὐκέτι. ἔπει τοίνυν, φησὶ, τὸ μὲν βόρειων ἐστὶ πλευρὸν τῆς τρίτης μερίδος ὡς μυρίων, ἢ δὲ τούτῳ παράλληλος ἀπὸ Βαβυλώνος εὐθεία μέχρι ἀνατολικοῦ πλευροῦ συνελογίσθη μικρὸ πλεύσων ἢ ἐννακιοχύλιων, δήλον ὅτι ἡ Βαβυλών οὐ πολλῷ πλεύσειν ἢ χιλίων ἐστὶν ἀνατολικωτέρα τῆς κατὰ Θάψακον διαβαίνει.

28. Ἐρεύμεν δ’ ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μεσημβρινῆς εὐθείας ἐπὶ ἀκριβὲς ἐλαμβάνοντο αὐτὲς τάς Κασπίου πύλαι καὶ οἱ δροι τῶν Καρμανίων καὶ Περσῶν, πρὸς ὅρθος τοῦ ἡγούμενο ἀπὸ τῆς λεχθείσης μεσημβρινῆς εὐθείας ἢ τῇ ἐπὶ Θάψακον καὶ ἢ ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα, συνέβαινεν ἀν τούτῳ. ἡ γὰρ προσεκβαλλομένη τῇ διὰ Βαβυλώνος μέχρι τῆς διὰ Θαψάκου εὐθείας μεσημβρινῆς, ἵστα ἢν πρὸς αἰσθησιν ἢ πάρισος γε τῇ ἀπὸ Κασπίου πυλῶν εἰς Θάψακον ὃστε τῇ υπεροχῇ ἐγίνετ' ἀν ἀνατολικωτέρα ἡ Βαβυλών τῆς Θαψάκου, ἢ υπερέχει ἢ ἐκ Κασπίων πυλῶν εἰς Θάψακον τῆς ἐκ τῶν Καρμανίων δροιν εἰς Βαβυλώνα. ἀλλ’ οὔτε

1 Of course Hipparchus' argument is sound if his hypotheses be granted. Hipparchus assumes that Eratosthenes' figures refer to latitudinal and longitudinal distances; and by drawing a rectangle whose sides are formed by meridians through Thapsacus and the Caspian Gates, respectively, and by parallels of latitude through Thapsacus and the Caspian Gates, and through Babylon, he easily convicts Eratosthenes of inconsistency. That is, by a reductio ad absurdum, he forces Eratosthenes' Babylon much farther west than
Euphrates to Babylon is four thousand eight hundred stadia, and, next, from Babylon to the outlet of the Euphrates is three thousand stadia, and as for the distances north of Thapsacus, one of them has been measured off as far as one thousand one hundred stadia, while the remainder is still unmeasured. Then, says Hipparchus, since the northern side of the Third Section is about ten thousand stadia, and since the line parallel thereto, straight from Babylon to the eastern side, was reckoned by Eratosthenes at slightly more than nine thousand stadia, it is clear that Babylon is not much more than a thousand stadia farther east than the passage at Thapsacus.¹

28. My reply will be: If, with geometrical precision, we took the Caspian Gates and the frontiers of Carmania and Persis as upon the same straight meridian, and if we drew the line to Thapsacus and the line to Babylon at right angles with the said straight meridian, then that conclusion of Hipparchus would be valid. Indeed, the line through Babylon,² if further produced as far as the straight meridian through Thapsacus, would, to the eye, be equal—or at all events approximately equal—to the line from the Caspian Gates to Thapsacus; and hence Babylon would come to be farther east than Thapsacus by as much as the line from the Caspian Gates to Thapsacus exceeds the line from the Carmanian frontiers to Babylon! But, in the first

Eratosthenes meant it to be (cp. § 36 below on this point). Strabo proceeds to show the fallacy of Hipparchus' reasoning, and even to show that Hipparchus might have proved, on the same premises, still greater absurdity on the part of Eratosthenes.

¹ That is, the line drawn perpendicular to the meridian that passes through the Carmanian frontier.
τὴν διόρθωσαν γραμμὴν ἐσπέριον πλευρῶν τῆς Ἀρμανίης ἐπὶ μεσημβρινοῦ κειμένην εἰρήκεν ἔρατοσθένης, οὗδε τὴν ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν ἐπὶ Θάψακον πρὸς ὀρθὰς τῇ διὰ τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν μεσημβρινῆς, ἀλλὰ μάλλον τὴν τῷ ὄρει γραφομένην, πρὸς ἡ ἐπὶ Θάψακον γωνίαν ποιεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου κατηγμένη, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἢ τοῦ ὄρους γραμμῆς. οὖθ' ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα ἡγμένη ἀπὸ τῆς Καρμανίας παράλληλος εἰρηται τῇ ἐπὶ Θάψακον ἡγμένης οὔθ' εἰ παράλληλος ἦν, μὴ πρὸς ὀρθὰς δὲ τῇ διὰ Κασπίων πυλῶν μεσημβρινῆς οὔδεν ἄν ἐγίνετο πλέον πρὸς συλλογισμοῦ.

29. Ὅ δὲ ταύτα λαβὼν ἐξ ἔτοιμον καὶ δείξας, ὥσ προετοίμασαί, διότι ἡ Βαβυλῶνα κατὰ Ἕρατοσθένη Θαψάκου ἀναπολεκτεῖται ἐστὶ μικρῷ πλεῖσθεν ἦν χιλίους στάδιοιν, πάλιν ἄλλως πλάτεια λήμμα ἐαυτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐξής ἀπόδειξιν, καὶ φησιν, εἰδώ ἐνυπονθῆ ἀπὸ Θαψάκου ἐπὶ μεσημβριαν εὐθεῖα ἁγμένη καὶ ἀπὸ Βαβυλώνως ἐπὶ ταύτην κάθετος, τριγώνων ὀρθογώνων ἔστεθαι, συνεστηκός ἐκ τε τῆς ἀπὸ Θαψάκου ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα τεινούσης πλευρᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ Βαβυλώνως καθέτου ἐπὶ τῆς διὰ Θαψάκου μεσημβρινῆς γραμμῆς ἡγμένης καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς διὰ Θαψάκου μεσημβρινῆς. τούτου δὲ τοῦ τριγώνου τῷ μὲν ὑποτελοῦσαν τῇ ὀρθῇ τῆς ἀπὸ Θαψάκου εἰς Βαβυλώνα τίθησιν, ἵνα φησι τετρακισχιλίων ὀκτακοσίων εἴναι. τῇ δ' ἐκ Βαβυλώνως εἰς τὴν διὰ Θαψάκου μεσημβρινῆς γραμμῆς
place, Eratosthenes has not spoken of the line that bounds a western side of Ariana as lying on a meridian; nor yet of the line from the Caspian Gates to Thapsacus as at right angles with the meridian line through the Caspian Gates, but rather of the line marked by the mountain-range, with which line the line to Thapsacus forms an acute angle, since the latter has been drawn down from the same point as that from which the mountain-line has been drawn. In the second place, Eratosthenes has not called the line drawn to Babylon from Carmania parallel to the line drawn to Thapsacus; and even if it were parallel, but not at right angles with the meridian line through the Caspian Gates, no advantage would accrue to the argument of Hipparchus.

29. But after making these assumptions off-hand, and after showing, as he thinks, that Babylon, according to Eratosthenes, is farther east than Thapsacus by slightly more than a thousand stadia, Hipparchus again idly fabricates an assumption for use in his subsequent argument; and, he says, if we conceive a straight line drawn from Thapsacus towards the south and a line perpendicular to it from Babylon, we will have a right-angled triangle, composed of the side that extends from Thapsacus to Babylon, of the perpendicular drawn from Babylon to the meridian line through Thapsacus, and of the meridian itself through Thapsacus. Of this triangle he makes the line from Thapsacus to Babylon the hypotenuse, which he says is four thousand eight hundred stadia; and the perpendicular from Babylon to the meridian line through Thapsacus, slightly more than a thousand stadia—

1 That is, with a divergence toward the south.
κάθετον μικρῷ πλειόνων ἡ χειλών, ὄσων ἦν ἡ ὑπεροχή τῆς ἐπὶ Θάψακον πρὸς τὴν μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος. ἐκ δὲ τούτων καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τῶν περὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν συλλογιζέται πολλαπλάσιον οὖσαν τῆς λεχθείσης καθέτου. προστίθησι δὲ ταύτη τὴν ἀπὸ Θαψάκον πρὸς ἁρκτόν ἐκβαλλομένην μέχρι τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὀρῶν, ἦς τὸ μὲν ἐφ᾽ ἐμετρήσθαι Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ εἶναι χιλίων ἕκατον, τὸ δὲ ἀμέτρητον ἐὰν οὕτως δὲ ἐπὶ τούτων ὑποτίθεται χιλίων, ὡστε τὸ συνάμφος δυσχειλῶν καὶ ἑκατὸν γύρως τοίς προσθεῖσι τῇ ἐπὶ εὐθείᾳ πλευρᾷ τοῦ τριγώνου μέχρι τῆς καθέτου τῆς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος πολλῶν χειλιδιών συλλογίζεται διάστημα τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὀρῶν καὶ τοῦ δὲ Ἀθηνῶν παραλλήλου μέχρι τῆς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος καθέτου, ἠτίς ἐπὶ τοῦ διὰ Βαβυλῶνος παραλλήλου ἱδρυται. τὸ δὲ γε ἀπὸ τοῦ δὲ Ἀθηνῶν παραλλήλου ἐπὶ τοῦ διὰ Βαβυλῶνος δείκνυσιν οὐ μείζον ὑπὸ σταδίων δυσχειλῶν τετρακοσίων, ὑποτεθέντος τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ παντῶς τοσοῦτων σταδίων, ὅσων Ἐρατοσθένης φησίν. εἰ δὲ τούτῳ, οὐκ ἦν ἄν τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἀρμενία καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ταύρου ἐπὶ τοῦ δὲ Ἀθηνῶν παραλλήλου, ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς χειλίαις σταδίων ἀρκτικῶτερα κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑκείνου. ἐνταῦθα δὴ πρὸς

1 From the Caspian Gates.
2 From the Carmanian frontier.
the amount by which the line to Thapsacus\(^1\) exceeded the line up to Babylon\(^2\); and then from these sums he figures the other of the two lines which form the right angle to be many times longer than the said perpendicular. And he adds to that line the line produced northwards from Thapsacus up to the Armenian mountains, one part of which Eratosthenes said had been measured and was one thousand one hundred stadia, but the other part he leaves out of consideration as unmeasured. Hipparchus assumes for the latter part a thousand stadia at the least, so that the sum of the two parts amounts to two thousand one hundred stadia; and adding this sum to his straight-line side\(^3\) of the triangle, which is drawn to meet its perpendicular from Babylon, Hipparchus computes a distance of several thousand stadia, namely, that from the Armenian Mountains, or the parallel that runs through Athens, to the perpendicular from Babylon—which perpendicular he lays on the parallel that runs through Babylon. At any rate, he points out that the distance from the parallel through Athens to that through Babylon is not more than two thousand four hundred stadia, if it be assumed that the whole meridian is the number of stadia in length that Eratosthenes says; and if this is so, then the mountains of Armenia and those of the Taurus could not lie on the parallel that runs through Athens, as Eratosthenes says they do, but many thousand stadia farther north, according to Eratosthenes’ own statements. At this point,\(^a\)

\(^a\) In §26 Strabo indicates clearly that Eratosthenes did not say the western side was one straight line. But Hipparchus took this for granted.
τῷ τοῖς ἀνεσκευασμένοις λήμμαι προσχρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὁρθογωνίου τριγώνου τάξιν, καὶ τοῦτο λαμβάνει τὸ μὴ διδόμενον, τὸ τὴν ὑποτείνουσαν τῇ ὀρθῇ γωνίᾳ τὴν ἀπὸ Θαψάκου γραμμῆς εὐθείαν εἶναι μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος ἐν πετρακισχύλλοις ὀκτακοσίοις. παρά τε γὰρ τὸν Ἐὐφράτην φησίν εἶναι τὴν ὀδὸν ταύτην ὁ Ἑρατοσθένης, καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν συν τῇ Βαβυλῶνία μεγάλῳ κύκλῳ περιέχεσθαι λέγων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τύρρηδος, τὸ πλέον καὶ ἐν περιοχῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐὐφράτου συμβαίνειν φησίν ὡσθ' ἢ ἀπὸ Θαψάκου εἰς Βαβυλῶνα εὐθεία συν αὐτῷ ἄν παρὰ τὸν Ἐὐφράτην εἴη, ὑπὸ τοῦτον σταδίων συν ἐνεγυν. ἀνατέταρται οὖν ὁ συνυλλογισμός καὶ μὴν εἰρητικὴ γε, ὅτι οὐχ οἶνον τε δυνῆ δεδομένων γραμμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν κατάγεσθαι τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ Θαψάκου, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων δρῆ τὰ κατάλληλα τῇ Θαψάκῳ, ἀπέχουσα τῆς Θαψάκου τοῦ λάχιστον κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰππαρχοῦ δισχυλίων καὶ ἕκαστον σταδίους, ἀμφότερα παραλληλότερος εὑρίσκεται καὶ ἄλλης καὶ τῇ διὰ Βαβυλῶνος, ἡν νότιον πλευραν Ἑρατοσθένης ἑκάλεσεν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔχων καταμετρημένην εἰσείη τὴν παρὰ τὰ δρῆ ὀδὸν, τὴν ἄπο Θαψάκου ἐπὶ Κασπίων πύλας ταύτην εἴπτε, καὶ προσεθήκε τὸ ὡς τυπωδῶς εἴπτειν ἄλλως τε τὸ βουλομένῳ τὸ μήκος εἴπτειν τῆς μετὰ τὴν Ἀρμανίαν μέχρι Ἐὐφράτου χώρας οὐ πολύ διέφερε ταύτην ἡ ἑκεῖνην καταμετρείν. ὁ δ' ὡς παραλληλότερος ὑπακούων

1 δ', Madvig deletes, after πλέον.
2 δ', before ἀπό, Jones deletes.

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then, in addition to making further use of his now demolished assumptions for the construction of his right-angled triangle, he also assumes this point that is not granted, namely, that the hypotenuse—the straight line from Thapsacus to Babylon—is within four thousand eight hundred stadia. For Eratosthenes not only says that this route is along the Euphrates, but when he tells us that Mesopotamia, including Babylonia, is circumscribed by a great circle, by the Euphrates and the Tigris, he asserts that the greater part of the circumference is described by the Euphrates: consequently, the straight line from Thapsacus to Babylon could neither follow the course of the Euphrates, nor be, even approximately, so many stadia in length. So his argument is overthrown. And besides, I have already stated that, if we grant that two lines are drawn from the Caspian Gates, one to Thapsacus, the other to that part of the Armenian Mountains that corresponds in position to Thapsacus (which, according to Hipparchus himself, is distant from Thapsacus at the least two thousand one hundred stadia), it is impossible for both these lines to be parallel either to each other or to the line through Babylon, which Eratosthenes called "southern side." Now because Eratosthenes could not speak of the route along the mountain-range as measured, he spoke of only the route from Thapsacus to the Caspian Gates as measured, and he added the words "roughly speaking"; moreover, since he only wished to tell the length of the country between Ariana and the Euphrates, it did not make much difference whether he measured one route or the other. But Hipparchus, when he tacitly assumes
λέγεσθαι τελέως ἂν δόξειε καταγωγώσκειν παιδικῆν ἀμαθίαν τάνθρωπον. ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἔαν δεῖ ὁς παιδικά.

30. "Α δ’ ἂν τις αὐτιάσαιτο τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους τοιαύτα ἐστί. καθάπερ γὰρ ἢ κατὰ μέλος τομῇ τῆς ἄλλως κατὰ μέρος διαφέρει (διότι ἢ μὲν καὶ τὰ μέρη λαμβάνει περιγραφήν ἔχουτα φυσικῆν, ἀρθρώσει τινὶ καὶ τύπῳ σημειώδει, καθ’ δ’ καὶ τούτο εἴρηται,

τὸν δὲ διὰ μελειπτὶ ταμῶν,

(Od. 9. 291, Π. 24. 409)

ἡ δ’ οὐδὲν ἔχει τοιοῦτον), χρώμεθα δ’ οἰκεῖως ἐκατέρα, τὸν κατὰ καὶ τὴν χρείαν σκοποῦντες, οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν γεωγραφικῶν δεῖ μὲν τομὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μερῶν, τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστα ἐπιτῶν, μυείσθαι δὲ τὰς κατὰ μέλος τομὰς μᾶλλον ἣ τὰς ὡς ἐτυχε. τὸ γὰρ σημειώδες καὶ τὸ εὑπερι- ὀριστὸν ἐκεῖθεν λαβεῖν ἔστιν, ὦν χρείαν ἔχει οἱ γεωγράφοι. εὐπεριοριστὸν δὲ, ὅταν ἢ ποταμοῖς ἢ ὄρεσιν ἢ θαλάσσῃ δυνατῶν ἢ, καὶ ἔθνει δὲ ἢ ἔθνεσι καὶ μεγέθει ποσῷ καὶ σχήματι, ὅπου τούτῳ δυνατῶν. πανταχοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ γεωμετρικῶς τὸ ἀπλῶς καὶ ὀλοσχερῶς ἱκανόν. μέγεθος μὲν οὖν ἱκανόν ἔστιν, ἄν τὸ μέγιστον ἐπὶ τῆς μῆκος καὶ πλάτος, ὡς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπὶ τὰς μυριάδων εἰ τύχοι μῆκος, πλάτος δ’ ἐλαττὸν ἢ ἠμέσῳ μικρῷ τοῦ μῆκους. σχῆμα δ’, ἄν τῶν γεωμετρικῶν τινὶ σχημάτων εἰκάσης, ὥς τὴν Σικελίαν τριγώνῳ, ἢ

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that the lines are spoken of by Eratosthenes as parallel, would seem to charge the man with utterly childish ignorance. Therefore, I must dismiss these arguments of his as childish.

30. But the charges which one might bring against Eratosthenes are such as follow. Just as, in surgery, amputation at the joints differs from unnatural piece-meal amputation (because the former takes off only the parts that have a natural configuration, following some articulation of joints or a significant outline—the meaning in which Homer says, “and having cut him up limb by limb”—whereas the latter follows no such course), and just as it is proper for us to use each kind of operation if we have regard to the proper time and the proper use of each, just so, in the case of geography, we must indeed make sections of the parts when we go over them in detail, but we must imitate the limb-by-limb amputations rather than the haphazard amputations. For only thus it is possible to take off the member that is significant and well-defined, the only kind of member that the geographer has any use for. Now a country is well-defined when it is possible to define it by rivers or mountains or sea; and also by a tribe or tribes, by a size of such and such proportions, and by shape where this is possible. But in every case, in lieu of a geometrical definition, a simple and roughly outlined definition is sufficient. So, as regards a country’s size, it is sufficient if you state its greatest length and breadth (of the inhabited world, for example, a length of perhaps seventy thousand stadia, a breadth slightly less than half the length); and as regards shape, if you liken a country to one of the geometrical figures (Sicily, for example, to a triangle), or to one of the
τῶν ἄλλων γνωρίμων των σχημάτων, οίον τὴν Ἰβηρίαν βύρση, τὴν Πελοπόννησον πλατάνου

31. Ἡ μὲν οὖν οἰκουμένη διὰ διήρηται τῷ τε Ταύρῳ καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ Στήλαις θαλάττῃ καλῶς. καὶ
tοῦ νοτίου μέρους, ἡ μὲν Ἰνδικὴ περιώρισται
tολλοῖς καὶ γὰρ ὅρει καὶ ποταμῷ καὶ θαλάττῃ
cαι ἐν ὅνυματι, ὡς ἄν ἐνὸς ἔθνους· ὡστε καὶ
tετράπλευρος ὅρθως λέγεται καὶ ῥομβοειδὴς.

ἡ δὲ Ἀριανὴ ἦττον μὲν τὸ εὐπερίγραφον ἔχει διὰ
tὸ τὴν ἐστερίαν πλευρὰν συγκεχυσθαί, διόρισται
δ’ ἐμὸς ταῖς τε τρισὶ πλευραῖς, ὡς ἄν εὐθείαις,
cαι τῷ ὅνυματι, ὡς ἄν ἐνὸς ἔθνους. ἡ δὲ τρίτῃ
σφραγῖς τελέως ἀπερίγραφος ἔστιν, οὐτὸς ἡ
ἀφορισθείσα· ἡ τε γὰρ κοινὴ πλευρὰ αὐτῇ τε καὶ
tῇ Ἀριανῇ συγκέχυται, ὡς προεκρηται, καὶ ἡ

1 Ἐν. Paetz, Grokurd, for ἔθνος.
2 οὖτω, Spergel, for οὖτο; Meineke following; C. Müller
approving.
other well-known figures (for instance, Iberia to an oxhide, the Peloponnesus to a leaf of a plane-tree). And the greater the territory you cut into sections, the more rough may be the sections you make.

31. Now the inhabited world has been happily divided by Eratosthenes into two parts by means of the Taurus Range and the sea that stretches to the Pillars. And in the Southern Division: India, indeed, has been well-defined in many ways, by a mountain, a river, a sea, and by a single term, as of a single ethnical group—so that Eratosthenes rightly calls it four-sided and rhomboidal. Ariana, however, has a contour that is less easy to trace because its western side is confused,¹ but still it is defined by the three sides, which are approximately straight lines, and also by the term Ariana, as of a single ethnical group. But the Third Section is wholly untraceable, at all events as defined by Eratosthenes. For, in the first place, the side common to it and Ariana is confused, as I have previously stated. And the southern side has been taken very inaccurately; for neither does it trace a boundary of this section, since it runs through its very centre and leaves out many districts in the south, nor does it represent the section’s greatest length (for the northern side is longer), nor does the Euphrates form its western side (it would not do so even if its course lay in a straight line), since its extremities do not lie on the same meridian. In fact, how can this side be called western rather than southern? And, quite apart from these objections, since the distance that remains between this line and the Cilician and Syrian Sea is slight, there is no convincing reason why the section should

¹ See § 22, above.
θανόν, τῆς τε Σεμεράμιδος καὶ τοῦ Νίνου Σύρων
λεγομένων, ὡν τῆς μὲν ἡ Βαβυλῶν κτίσμα καὶ
βασίλειον, τοῦ δὲ Νίνος, ὡς ἂν μητρόπολις τῆς
Συρίας, καὶ τῆς διαλέκτου δὲ μέχριν ὑπὸ διαμεσοῦντος
tῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς τε ἐκτὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῖς
ἔντος. τὸ 1 δὲ 2 ἐνταῦθα μέντοι τοιούτῳ μερισμῷ
διασπάν ἔθνος γνωριμώτατον καὶ τὰ μέρη συν-
ἀπτειν τοῖς ἀλλοεθνεῖσι ἴκνοια ἂν πρέπει. οὐδὲ
γὰρ ὑπὸ μεγάλου ἀπηναγκάσθαι λέγοι ἂν καὶ
γὰρ τὸ μέχρι θαλάττης οὐ μὴν ποι ἂν ἐξισάξοιτο
τῇ Ἰνδικῇ, ἀλλ’ οὔδε τῇ Ἀριανῇ, προσλαβῶν καὶ
τὸ μέχρι τῶν ὅρων τῆς εὐδαιμονος Ἀραβίας καὶ
tῆς Αἰγύπτου· ὡστε πολὺ κρείττον ἢν μέχρι
δεύρο προελθεῖν, τῆς τρίτης εἰσόντα σφραγίδος
tοσαύτη προσθήκη τῇ μέχρι τῆς Συριακῆς θα-
λάττης τὸ μὲν νότον πλευρὸν οὕς ὁσπερ ἐκεῖνος
eἰπεν ἔχον, οὐδ’ ἐπ’ εὐθείας, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῆς Καρ-
μανίας εὐθὺς τὴν δεξιὰν παραλίαν εἰσπλέοντι
παρὰ 3 τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς
τοῦ Εὐφράτου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ῥόϊοις τῆς
Μεσημβρίας καὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας συνάπτου, ἦπερ
ἐστὶν ἄρχη τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τοῦ διωρίζοντος τῆς εὐδαι-
μονα Ἀράβιαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἑπείρου, εἰτ’
ἐφεξῆς αὐτῶν τοῦτον διεξέσθαι, διηκόν τε μέχρι τοῦ
μυχοῦ τοῦ Ἀράβιν κόλπου καὶ Πηλούσιου, καὶ
ἐτὶ τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ στόματος τοῦ Νείλου τοῦτο

1 τὸ, Corais, for τά, before ἐνταῦθα; Meineke following.
2 δὲ, Madvig inserts, after Corais’ τὸ.
3 παρὰ, Siebenkees and Corais, for γὰρ, after εἰσπλέοντι,
following o.
not be extended thereto, both because Semiramis and Ninus are called Syrians (Babylon was founded and made the royal residence by Semiramis, and Nineveh by Ninus, this showing that Nineveh was the capital of Syria) and because up to the present moment even the language of the people on both sides of the Euphrates is the same. However, to rend asunder so famous a nation by such a line of cleavage in this region, and to join the parts thus dissevered to the parts that belong to other tribes, would be wholly improper. Neither, indeed, could Eratosthenes allege that he was forced to do this by considerations of size; for the addition of the territory that extends up to the sea\(^1\) would still not make the size of the section equal to that of India, nor, for that matter, to that of Ariana, not even if it were increased by the territory that extends up to the confines of Arabia Felix and Egypt. Therefore it would have been much better to extend the Third Section to these limits, and thus, by adding so small a territory that extends to the Syrian Sea, to define the southern side of the Third Section as running, not as Eratosthenes defined it, nor yet as in a straight line, but as following the coast-line that is on your right hand as you sail from Carmania into and along the Persian Gulf up to the mouth of the Euphrates, and then as following the frontiers of Mesene and Babylonia, which form the beginning of the Isthmus that separates Arabia Felix from the rest of the continent; then, next, as crossing this Isthmus itself, and as reaching to the recess of the Arabian Gulf and to Pelusium and even beyond to the Canobic mouth of the Nile. So much for the

\(^1\) The Mediterranean.
μὲν τὸ νότιον πλευρὸν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐσπέριον τῇν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ στόματος μέχρι τῆς Κελικίας παραλλαγ.

32. Τετάρτη δ' ἂν εἴη σφραγίς ἡ συνεστῶσα ἐκ τῆς εὐδαλμονος Ἀραβίας καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου καὶ τῆς Ἀγύπτου πάσης καὶ τῆς Αἰθιο-πλαίας. παύτης δὲ τῆς μερίδος μῆκος μὲν ἔσται τὸ ἀφοριζόμενον ὑπὸ δυνεῖν μεσημβρινῶν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ γράφεται διὰ τοῦ δυσμικώτατον σημείου τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ὁ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἐωθιωτάτου πλάτους δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ δυνεῖ παραλλήλων, ὡν τὸ μὲν γράφεται διὰ τοῦ βορειώτατον σημείου, ὁ δὲ διὰ τοῦ νοτιώτατον· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνωμάλων σχημάτων, ἐφ' ὧν πλευρᾶς οὐ δυνατόν ἀφορίζει πλάτος καὶ μῆκος, οὔτω τὸ μέγεθος ἀφορίστεον. καθόλου δὲ νοητέου, ὅτι οὐχ ὀφαυτῶς λέγεται μῆκος καὶ πλάτος ἐπὶ ὅλων καὶ μέρους· ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅλων μὲν τὸ μείζον διάστημα καλείται μῆκος, τὸ δ' ἐλαττον πλάτος, ἐπὶ μέρους δὲ μῆκος μὲν τὸ παράλληλον τῷ τοῦ ὅλων μῆκει τμῆμα ἐκείνου, ὅπως ἄρα καὶ τὸ ληφθὲν διάστημα ἐν τῷ πλάτει μείζον ἑ τοῦ ληφθέντος ἐν τῷ μῆκει διαστήματος. διὸ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἂν ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν μηκυνομένης, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄρκτων ἐπὶ νότων πλατυνομένης, καὶ τοῦ μὲν μήκους ἐπὶ παράλληλον τῶν τῶν ἱσημερινῶν γραφομένου, τοῦ δὲ πλάτους ἐπὶ μεσημβρινοῦ, δεῖ καὶ τῶν μερῶν λαμβάνεσθαι μῆκη μὲν τὰ παράλληλα τῷ μῆκει τμῆμα αὐτῆς, πλάτη δὲ τῷ πλάτει. οὔτω γὰρ ἂν ἁμεινὼν ὑπογράφοιτο.
southern side; the remaining, or western, side would be the coast-line from the Canobic mouth of the Nile up to Cilicia.

32. The Fourth Section would be the one composed of Arabia Felix, the Arabian Gulf, all Egypt, and Ethiopia. Of this section, the length will be the space bounded by two meridian lines, of which lines the one is drawn through the most western point on the section and the other through the most eastern point. Its breadth will be the space between two parallels of latitude, of which the one is drawn through the most northern point, and the other through the most southern point; for in the case of irregular figures whose length and breadth it is impossible to determine by sides, we must in this way determine their size. And, in general, we must assume that "length" and "breadth" are not employed in the same sense of a whole as of a part. On the contrary, in case of a whole the greater distance is called "length," and the lesser, "breadth"; but, in case of a part, we call "length" any section of a part that is parallel to the length of the whole—no matter which of the two dimensions is the greater, and no matter if the distance taken in the breadth be greater than the distance taken in the length. Therefore, since the inhabited world stretches lengthwise from east to west and breadthwise from north to south, and since its length is drawn on a line parallel to the equator and its breadth on a meridian line, we must also, in case of the parts, take as "lengths" all the sections that are parallel to the length of the inhabited world, and as "breadths" all the sections that are parallel to its breadth. For by this method we can better indicate,
πρῶτον μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης, ἐπειτα καὶ ἡ διάθεσις καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν μερῶν, καθ’ ἀ μὲν ἀπολείπειν, καθ’ ά δὲ πλεονάζειν φαινομένου τῇ τοιαύτῃ παραδέσει.

33. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τὸ μὲν τῆς οἰκουμένης λαμβάνει μῆκος ἐπὶ τῆς διὰ Στηλῶν καὶ Καστίων πυλῶν καὶ Κακάσου γραμμῆς, ὡς ἂν εὐθείας, τὸ δὲ τῆς τρίτης μερίδος ἐπὶ τῆς διὰ Καστίων πυλῶν καὶ Θαφάκου, τὸ δὲ τῆς τετάρτης ἐπὶ τῆς διὰ Θαφάκου καὶ Ἡρώων πόλεως μέχρι τῆς μεταξύ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου, ἢν ἀνάγκη κατα-στρέφειν εἰς τοὺς περὶ Κάνωβου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τόπους· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἔστι τὸ ἐσχατον στόμα τὸ καλούμενον Κανωβικόν τε καὶ Ἡρακλεωτικόν, εἰτ’ οὖν ἐπ’ εὐθείας ἀλλήλους τὰ μῆκη τίθησιν, εἰθ’ ὡς ἂν γωνίαν ποιοῦντα κατὰ Θαφάκου, ἀλλ’ ὅτι γε οὐ παράλληλου συνέτερου τῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης μῆκεί, φανερόν ἔστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἢν εἰρηκεν αὐτὸς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς οἰκουμένης μῆκος διὰ τοῦ Ταύρου γράφει καὶ τῆς ἐπ’ εὐθείας μέχρι Στηλῶν ὑπαλλήλης κατὰ γραμμῆς τῆς διὰ τοῦ Κακάσου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἄβηνῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ Ῥόδου εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατὰ τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν μεσημβρινόν οὐ πολὺ ἐλάττων τῶν τετρακισχιλίων φησὶν εἶναι σταδίων· ὡστε τοσοῦτον καὶ οἱ παράλληλοι διέχοιεν ἃν ἀλλήλων ὁ τε διὰ Ῥόδου καὶ ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρειας. ὁ δ’ αὐτός πῶς ἔστι τούτῳ ὁ διὰ τῆς Ἡρώων πόλεως, ἢ νοτιώτερος γε τούτου 322
firstly, the size of the inhabited world as a whole, and, secondly, the position and the shape of its parts; because, by such comparison, it will be clear in what respects the parts are deficient and in what respects they are excessive in size.

33. Now Eratosthenes takes the length of the inhabited world on the line that runs through the Pillars, the Caspian Gates, and the Caucasus, as though on a straight line; and the length of his Third Section on the line that runs through the Caspian Gates and Thapsacus; and the length of his Fourth Section on the line that runs through Thapsacus and Heroönpolis to the region between the mouths of the Nile—a line which must needs come to an end in the regions near Canobus and Alexandria; for the last mouth of the Nile, called the Canobic or Heracleotic mouth, is situated at that point. Now whether he places these two lengths on a straight line with each other, or as though they formed an angle at Thapsacus, it is at any rate clear from his own words that he does not make either line parallel to the length of the inhabited world. For he draws the length of the inhabited world through the Taurus Range and the Mediterranean Sea straight to the Pillars on a line that passes through the Caucasus, Rhodes, and Athens; and he says that the distance from Rhodes to Alexandria on the meridian that passes through those places is not much less than four thousand stadia; so that also the parallels of latitude of Rhodes and Alexandria would be just this distance apart. But the parallel of latitude of Heroönpolis is approximately the same as that of Alexandria, or, at any rate, more to the south than the latter; and hence the line that intersects
ὅσθ' ἡ συμπίπτουσα γραμμὴ τούτῳ τε ἡ παραλλήλῳ καὶ τῷ διὰ Ἡρόδου καὶ Κασπίων πυλῶν, εἶτ' εὐθεία εἶτε κεκλασμένη, οὐκ ἂν εἰς παράλληλος οὐδετέρα. οὐκ εὖ γοῦν λαμβάνεται τὰ μήκη. οὐκ εὖ δὲ οὐδὲ αἱ διαβόρειοι λαμβάνονται μερίδες.

34. 'Αλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ἱππαρχον πρότερον ἐπανῑοντες τὰ ἐξῆς ἰδωμεν. πάλιν γὰρ πλάσας ἑαυτῷ λήμματα γεωμετρικῶς ἀνασκευάζει τὰ ὑπ' ἑκείνου τυπωδῶς λεγόμενα. φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγειν τὸ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς μὲν Κασπίους πύλας διάστημα σταδίων ἐξακισχιλίων ἐπτακοσίων, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Καρμανίας καὶ Περσίδος πλεῖον ἡ ἐνακισχιλίων, ὅπερ ἐπὶ γραμμῆς κεῖται πρὸς ἑσημερίνας ἀνατολᾶς εὐθείας ἀγομένης. ἔνεσθαι δὲ ταύτην κάθετον ἐπὶ τήν κοινήν πλευρὰν τῆς τε δευτέρας καὶ τῆς τρίτης σφραγίδος, ὡστε κατ᾽ αὐτὸν συνίστασθαι τρίγωνον ὀρθογώνιον, ὁρθάν ἔχουν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Καρμανίας, καὶ τὴν ὑποτείνουσαν εἶναι ἐλάττῳ μᾶς τῶν περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆν ἐχουσῶν δεῖν οὖν τὴν Περσίδα τῆς δευτέρας ποιεῖν σφραγίδος. πρὸς ταύτα δ' εἰρηται, ὅτι οὔθ' ἡ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν Καρ- μανίαν ἐπὶ παραλλήλου λαμβάνεται, οὔθ' ἡ διορι- ξοῦσα εὐθεία τὰς σφραγίδας μεσημβρινὴ εἰρηται· ὅστ' οὐδὲν εἰρηται πρὸς αὐτὸν. οὐδὲ τὸ ἐπὶ-

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1 te, Meineke, for γε.
2 ἐνακισχιλίων, Meineke, for ἐνακισχιλίων.
both the parallel of latitude of Heroönpolis and that of Rhodes and the Caspian Gates, whether it be a straight line or a broken line, cannot be parallel to either. Accordingly, the lengths are not well taken by Eratosthenes. And, for that matter, the sections that stretch through the north are not well taken by him.\footnote{That is, the sections that stretch north of the Taurus Range.}

34. But let us first return to Hipparchus and see what he says next. Again fabricating assumptions on his own account he proceeds with geometrical precision to demolish what are merely the rough estimates of Eratosthenes. He says that Eratosthenes calls the distance from Babylon to the Caspian Gates six thousand seven hundred stadia, and to the frontiers of Carmania and Persis more than nine thousand stadia on a line drawn straight to the equinoctial cast, and that this line comes to be perpendicular to the side that is common to the Second and the Third Sections, and that, therefore, according to Eratosthenes, a right-angled triangle is formed whose right angle lies on the frontiers of Carmania and whose hypotenuse is shorter than one of the sides that enclose the right angle\footnote{See the figure and the note on page 328.}; accordingly, adds Hipparchus, Eratosthenes has to make Persis a part of his Second Section! Now I have already stated in reply to this that Eratosthenes neither takes the distance from Babylon to Carmania on a parallel, nor has he spoken of the straight line that separates the two sections as a meridian line; and so in this argument Hipparchus has made no point against Eratosthenes. Neither is his subsequent conclusion
φερόμενον εὖν εἰρηκότος γὰρ ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν εἰς μὲν Βαβυλῶνα τοὺς λεχθέντας, εἰς δὲ Σοῦσα σταδίους εἶναι τετρακισχιλίους ἐνακοσίους,1 ἀπὸ δὲ Βαβυλῶνος τρισεκισίων τετρακισίωσις, πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀρμηθεὶς ύποθέσεων ἀμβλυγώνων τρίγωνου συνίστασθαί φησι πρὸς ταῖς Κασπίοις πύλαις καὶ Σοῦσοις καὶ Βαβυλῶνι, τὴν ἀμβλείαν γωνίαν ἔχουν πρὸς Σοῦσοις, τὰ δὲ τῶν πλευρῶν μήκη τὰ ἐκκείμενα· εὖτ' ἐπιλογίζεται, διότι συμβηστεῖ κατὰ τὰς ὑποθέσεις ταύτας τὴν διὰ Κασπίων πυλῶν μεσημβρίαν γραμμὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ διὰ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Σοῦσων παραλλήλου δυσμικωτέραν ἔχειν τὴν κοινὴν τομὴν τῆς κοινῆς τομῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν καθηκούσης εὐθείας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τοὺς τῆς Καρμανίας καὶ τῆς Περσίδος πλείοσι τῶν τετρακισχιλίων καὶ τετρακισίων σχεδὸν δὴ τι πρὸς τὴν διὰ Κασπίων πυλῶν μεσημβρίαν γραμμὴν ἡμίσειαν ὀρθὴς ποιεῖν γωνίαν τὴν διὰ Κασπίων πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς τε Καρμανίας καὶ τῆς Περσίδος, καὶ νεὼν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς τε μεσημβρίας καὶ τῆς ἱσημερίνης ἀνατολῆς ταύτη δ' εἶναι παράλληλον τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων ὀφεῖ ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν βεῖν, ὡς φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης, ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἱσημερίνης ἀνατολῆς, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις πόλεις καταγέγραπται. τὰς οὓς συγχωρήσει τὸ νῦν συσταθὲν τρίγωνον ἀμβλυγώνων εἶναι, μὴ

1 ἐνακοσίους, Meineke, for ἐνακοσίους.
Taking advantage of the rather loose estimates of Eratosthenes, and aided by false assumptions, Hipparchus again follows the process of *reductio ad absurdum* by applying the figures of Eratosthenes to latitudinal and longitudinal distances. Thus, Hipparchus forces Eratosthenes' Caspian Gates to be 4,400 stadia to the west of its real position; and hence Persis would fall into the Second Section. However,

Eratosthenes' line from Babylon to Carmania, Strabo means, would not be the line $A D$, but a line drawn from $A$ and diverging considerably to the south from $A D$. Of course, if Hipparchus' assumptions be granted, the Indus would have to be parallel to $ED$, and it would make an angle with the parallel $EF$ of slightly more than 45°, though the Indus should really run about due south.
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correct. For, because Eratosthenes had given the distance from the Caspian Gates to Babylon as the said six thousand seven hundred stadia, and the distance from the Caspian Gates to Susa as four thousand nine hundred stadia, and the distance from Babylon to Susa as three thousand four hundred stadia, Hipparchus, again starting from the same hypotheses, says that an obtuse-angled triangle is formed, with its vertices at the Caspian Gates, Susa and Babylon, having its obtuse angle at Susa, and having as the lengths of its sides the distances set forth by Eratosthenes. Then he draws his conclusion, namely, that it will follow according to these hypotheses that the meridian line that runs through the Caspian Gates will intersect the parallel that runs through Babylon and Susa at a point further west than the intersection of the same parallel with the straight line that runs from the Caspian Gates to the frontiers of Carmania and Persis by more than four thousand four hundred stadia; and so the line that runs through the Caspian Gates to the frontiers of Carmania and Persis will form almost a half of a right angle with the meridian line that runs through the Caspian Gates and will lean in a direction midway between the south and the equinoctial east; and that the Indus River will be parallel to this line, and that consequently this river, also, does not flow south from the mountains as Eratosthenes says it does, but between the south and the equinoctial east, precisely as it is laid down on the early maps. Who, pray, will concede that the triangle now formed by Hipparchus is obtuse-angled without also conceding that the triangle that
συγχωρῶν ὄρθογώνιον εἶναι τὸ περιέχου ἀυτό; τίς δὲ ἐπὶ παραλλήλου κειμένην τὴν ἀπὸ Βασιλάων εἰς Σούσα μίαν τῶν τὴν ἀμβλειαν περιεχοσῶν, τὴν ὄλην μὴ συγχωρῶν τὴν μέχρι Καρμανίας; τίς δὲ τῷ Ἰνδῷ παράλληλον τὴν ἀπὸ Καστίων πυλῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς Καρμανίας; ὅν χωρίς κενὸς ἂν εἶχῃ ὁ συλλογισμὸς. χωρίς δὲ τούτων κάκεινος εἰρήκεν ὅτι ῥομβοειδεῖς ἐστὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς· καὶ καθάπερ ἡ ἕωθινὴ πλευρὰ παρέσπασται πολὺ πρὸς ἐκτικόν καὶ μάλιστα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ἀκρωτηρίῳ, καὶ πρὸς μεσομεγαλύτερον προσπάθεια πλέον παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἡμῖνα, οὕτω καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πλευρά.

35. Πάντα δὲ ταύτα λέγει γεωμετρικῶς, ἐλέγχων οὐ πιθανῶς. ταύτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἐπενεγκας ἀπολούσας, φήσας, εἰ μὲν παρὰ μικρὰ διαστήματα ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ἐλέγχος, συγγροῦναι ἂν ἦν ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρὰ χιλιάδας σταδίων φαίνεται διαπίπτων, οὐκ εἶναι συγγρωστά· καίτοι ἐκεῖνον γε καὶ παρὰ τετρακοσίους σταδίους αἰσθητὰ ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὰ παραλλάγματα, ὡς ὅπλος δὲ τοῖς Ἄθηναῖοι παραλλήλου καὶ τοῖς διὰ Ἰθαγόνοι, ἐστι δὲ τὸ πρὸς αἰσθησιν οὐχ ἀπλοῦν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐν πλάτει μείζον τὸ δὲ ἐν ἐλάττων. μείζον μὲν, ἂν αὐτῷ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ πιστεύωμεν ἡ καρποῖς ἡ

1 If the line EB (p. 328) be produced to Eratosthenes' Susa (on his line drawn from A to Carmania), we shall then have a right-angled triangle AEB' that comprehends the obtuse-angled triangle AEB.

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comprehends it is right-angled?\footnote{1} And who will concede that one of the sides which enclose the obtuse angle (the line from Babylon to Susa) lies on a parallel of latitude, without also conceding that the whole line on to Carmania does? And who will concede that the line drawn from the Caspian Gates to the frontiers of Carmania is parallel to the Indus? Yet without these concessions the argument of Hipparchus would be void. And it is without these concessions that Eratosthenes has made his statement that the shape of India is rhomboidal; and just as its eastern side has been stretched considerably eastwards (particularly at its extreme cape, which, as compared with the rest of the sea-board, is also thrown farther southwards, so, too, the side along the Indus has been stretched considerably eastwards.

35. In all these arguments Hipparchus speaks as a geometrician, though his test of Eratosthenes is not convincing. And though he prescribed the principles of geometry for himself, he absolves himself from them by saying that if the test showed errors amounting to only small distances, he could overlook them; but since Eratosthenes’ errors clearly amount to thousands of stadia, they cannot be overlooked\footnote{2}; and yet, continues Hipparchus, Eratosthenes himself declares that differences of latitude are observable even within an extent of four hundred stadia; for example, between the parallels of Athens and Rhodes. Now the practice of observing differences of latitude is not confined to a single method, but one method is used where the difference is greater, another where it is lesser; where it is greater, if we rely on the evidence of the eye itself, or of the crops,

\* Compare § 40, following.
krásēsēn àéōn πρὸς τὴν τῶν κλιμάτων κρίσιν. ἐλάττων δ', ἄν δεὶ ὄργανον γυνωμονικῶν ἢ διοπτρικῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν δεὶ Ἀθηνῶν παραλληλος γυνωμονικῶς ληφθείς καὶ ὁ διὰ Ῥόδου καὶ Καρίας, εἰκότως ἐν σταδίοις τοσούτωι αἰσθητὴν ἐποίησε τὴν διαφοράν. ὁ δ' ἐν πλάτει μὲν τρισχείλων σταδίων, μήκει δὲ καὶ τετρακισμυρίων ὄρους, πελάγους δὲ τρισμυρίων λαμβάνων τὴν ἀπὸ δύσεως ὡς ἰσημερινὰς ἀνατολὰς γραμμῆς, καὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἐκάτερον τὸ μέρος τὰ μὲν νότια ὄνομαζον, τὰ δὲ βόρεια, καὶ ταύτα πλινθία καλῶν καὶ σφραγίδας, νοείσθω πῶς καὶ ταύτα λέγει καὶ πλευρὰ τὰ μὲν ἄρκτικα, τὰ δὲ νότια, καὶ πῶς τὰ μὲν ἐσπέρια, τὰ δὲ ἐωθινὰ· καὶ τὸ μὲν παρὰ πολὺ διαμαρτανόμενον παρορῶν ὑπεχέτω λόγον (δίκαιον γάρ), τὸ δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν οὐδὲ παριδῶν ἑλεγκτέος ἐστίν. ἐνταύθα δ' οὐδετέρως αὐτῷ προσώγεται τις ἑλεγχος. οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ἐν τοσούτῳ πλάτει γεωμετρική τῆς δύναι ἀν εἶναι ἀπόδειξις: οὔτ'  

1 οὐτ', Casaubon inserts, after δύνατ' ἀν; Siebenkees, Corais, Meineke, Forbiger, following; L. Kayser approving.

1 It was a common device of Eratosthenes and other ancient geographers to visualize countries and sections by comparing them to well-known objects—for example, Spain to an ox-hide, the Peloponnesus to a plane-leaf, Sardinia to a human foot-print. In this case the Greek words "plinthia" ("tiles") and "sphragides" ("seals," "gems") are used in a general sense as convenient terms for sections which presented, respectively, tile-shaped and seal-shaped appearances. (In 2. 1. 22, however, Strabo attributes only the latter word to
or of the temperature of the atmosphere, in our judgment of the "climata"; but where it is lesser, we observe the difference by the aid of sun-dials and dioptrical instruments. Accordingly, the taking of the parallel of Athens and that of Rhodes and Caria with the sun-dial showed perceptibly (as is natural when the distance is so many stadia) the difference in latitude. But when the geographer, in dealing with a breadth of three thousand stadia and with a length of forty thousand stadia of mountain plus thirty thousand stadia of sea, takes his line from west to equinoctial east, and names the two divisions thus made the Southern Division and the Northern Division, and calls their parts "plinthia" or "sphragides," we should bear in mind what he means by these terms, and also by the terms "sides that are northern" and "that are southern," and again, "sides that are western" and "that are eastern." And if he fails to notice that which amounts to a very great error, let him be called to account therefor (for that is just); but as regards that which amounts only to a slight error, even if he has failed to notice it, he is not to be condemned. Here, however, no case is made out against Eratosthenes on either ground. For no geometrical proof would be possible where the cases involve so great a breadth of latitude; nor does Eratosthenes; and, furthermore, this is the word he himself often employs in the same sense.) Eratosthenes meant to convey by "sphragides" the notion of irregular quadrilaterals (as shows 15. 1. 11); but in his more specific description of a given section—India, for example—he refers to it as "rhomboidal," and, in the case of the Second Section, he refers to "three of its sides" as "fitting into a parallelogram" (see 2. 1. 22).
ἐν οἷς ἐπιχειρεῖ γεωμετρεῖν, ὅμολογουμένους χρή-
tαι λήμμασιν, ἀλλ' ἐαυτῷ πλάσας.

36. Βέλτιων δὲ περὶ τῆς τέταρτης λέγει μερίδος-
προστίθησι δὲ καὶ τὸ. τοῦ φιλανθίου καὶ τοῦ-
μένοντος ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὑποθέσεων ἢ τῶν παρα-
πλησίων. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμᾶ, διότι μῆ-
κος ὄνομάζει τῆς μερίδος ταύτης τήν ἀπὸ
Θαψάκου μέχρι Αλγυπποῦ γραμμῆς, ὡσπερ εἰ
τής παραλληλογράμμου τήν διάμετρον μῆκος
αὐτοῦ φαίνει. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου
κεῖται ἢ τε Θάψακος καὶ ἡ τῆς Αλγυπποῦ παρα-
λία, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διεστῶτων πολὺ ἄλληλων· ἐν δὲ τῷ
μεταξὺ διαγώνιος πως ἀγεται καὶ λοξῆ ἢ ἀπὸ
Θαψάκου εἰς Αλγυπποῦ. τὸ δὲ θαμμάζειν, πῶς
ἐθάρρησεν εἰς τε ἐξαισχυνίων σταδίων τὸ ἀπὸ
Πηλοουσίου εἰς Θάψακον, πλειόνων ὄντων ἢ ὀκτα-
κισχίλιων, οὐκ ὀρθῶς. λαβὼν γὰρ δὲ ἀποδείξεως
μὲν, διτὶ ὅ διὰ Πηλοουσίου παράλληλος τοῦ ὅ διὰ
Βαβυλῶνος πλεῖσιν ἢ διαχιλίως καὶ πεντα-
κισχίλιως σταδίως νοτιώτερός ἐστι, κατ᾽ Ἐρατο-
σθένη δὲ (ὡς οἴεται), διότι τοῦ ὅ διὰ Βαβυλῶνος ὅ
διὰ τῆς Θαψάκου ἀρκτικότερος τετρακισχίλιως

1 τὸ, Casaubon inserts, after καὶ; Siebenkees, Corais,
Meineke, following; C. Müller approving.

1 "Lemma," the Greek word here used, is, according to
Proclus, a proposition previously proved, or hereafter to be
proved; it is, therefore, for any proposition in hand, an
assumption which requires confirmation.
Hipparchus, even where he attempts geometrical proof, use admitted assumptions, but rather fabrications which he has made for his own use.

36. Hipparchus discusses Eratosthenes' Fourth Section better; though here, too, he displays his propensity for fault-finding and his persistent adherence to the same, or nearly the same, assumptions. He is correct in censuring Eratosthenes for this, namely, for calling the line from Thapsacus to Egypt the length of this section—which is as if one should call the diagonal of a parallelogram its length. For Thapsacus and the coast-line of Egypt do not lie on the same parallel of latitude, but on parallels that are far apart from each other; and between these two parallels the line from Thapsacus to Egypt is drawn somewhat diagonally and obliquely. But when he expresses surprise that Eratosthenes had the boldness to estimate the distance from Pelusium to Thapsacus at six thousand stadia, whereas the distance is more than eight thousand, he is incorrect. For having taken it as demonstrated that the parallel that runs through Pelusium is more than two thousand five hundred stadia farther south than the parallel that runs through Babylon, and then saying—on the authority of Eratosthenes, as he thinks—that the parallel through Thapsacus is four thousand eight hundred stadia farther north than the parallel through Babylon, he says that the distance between Pelusium and Thapsacus amounts

2 Both Eratosthenes and Strabo gave Pelusium a higher latitude than Babylon.


ὅκτακοσίως, συμπλήττειν φησὶ πλείονες τῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων. πῶς οὖν κατ' Ἕρατοσθένη δείκνυται ἡ τοσαῦτη ἀπόστασις τοῦ διὰ Βαβυλῶνος παραλλήλου ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ Θαψάκου, ἕπτῶ. ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Θαψάκου ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα τοσοῦτον ἦστιν, εἰρηκεν ἐκείνος· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ ἕκατέρου παραλλήλου ἐπὶ τὸν διὰ θατέρου, οὐκ εἰρηκεν· οὔδὲ γὰρ, ὡς ἐπὶ ταύτων μεσημβρίων ἦστιν ἡ Θάψακος καὶ ἡ Βαβυλών. τάναντα γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰππαρχος ἐδείξε κατ' Ἕρατοσθένη πλείοσιν ἡ δισχιλίως στάδιοι συμβαίνειν ἀνατολικώτεραν εἶναι τὴν Βαβυλώνα τῆς Θαψάκου. ἡμεῖς τε παρετίθεμεν ἡ Ἕρατοσθένους ἀποφάσεις, ἐν αἷς τὸν Τύγριν καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐγκυκλούσθαι

1 παρετίθεμεν, Corais, for παρετίθεμεν; Meineke, Tardieu, following.

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1 On the assumptions of Hipparchus, Eratosthenes' Thapsacus is made to lie at a latitude 7,300 stadia north of Pelusium (see figure, p. 337); and hence, computing the hypotenuse of the right-angled triangle for the distance between the two places, we get approximately 8,500 stadia. Hipparchus' argument is, as usual, a reductio ad absurdum, and his fallacy again lies, Strabo means, in his applying Eratosthenes' estimates to parallels of latitude and to meridians.
to more than eight thousand stadia.\(^1\) I ask, then, how is it shown on the authority of Eratosthenes that the distance of the parallel through Babylon from the parallel through Thapsacus is as great as that? Eratosthenes has stated, indeed, that the distance from Thapsacus to Babylon is four thousand eight hundred stadia; but he has not further stated that this distance is measured from the parallel through the one place to the parallel through the other; neither indeed has he stated that Thapsacus and Babylon are on the same meridian. On the contrary, Hipparchus himself pointed out that, according to Eratosthenes, Babylon is more than two thousand stadia farther east than Thapsacus.\(^2\) And I have just cited the statements of Eratosthenes wherein he says that the Tigris and the Euphrates

\(^1\) Compare §§ 27-29 (above), where Hipparchus, by his usual form of argument, forces Eratosthenes' Babylon to be 1,000 stadia farther west.
τὴν τε Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, καὶ τὸ πλέον γε τῆς ἐγκυκλώσεως τὸν Ἐὐφράτην
ποτείνω ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἄρκτων ἐπὶ μεσημβριῶν ὑμέντα ἐπιστρέφειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς, ἐκπίπτειν
δὲ ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων ὄδος ὡς ἄν μεσημβρινοῦ τινὸς ἐστιν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ἐπιστροφὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλώνα ἐκνευσίς τέ ἐστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ εὐθείας διὰ τὴν ῥηθεῦσαν ἐγκυκλώσεων, τὴν δὲ γε ὄδον εἴρηκε τετρακισχιλίων καὶ ὀκτακοσίων σταδίων τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα ἀπὸ Θαψάκου παρὰ τὸν Ἐὐφράτην προσθεῖς, καθάπερ ἐπιτηδείς, τοῦ μὴ τινὰ εὐθείας αὐτὴν ἐξασθαι καὶ μέτρου τοῦ μεταξὺ δευτεραλλήλων διαστήματος. μὴ διδομένου δὲ τούτου, κενὸν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἐφεξῆς δείκνυσθαι δοκοῦν, ὅτι συνισταμένων ὁρθογωνίου τριγώνου πρὸς τὸ Πηλούσιον καὶ Θαψάκο καὶ τῇ τομῇ τοῦ τε διὰ Θαψάκου παραλλήλου καὶ τοῦ διὰ Πηλούσιον μεσημβρινοῦ, μία τῶν περὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ, μείζων ἐσται τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ὀρθήν, τῆς ἀπὸ Θαψάκου εἰς Πηλούσιον. κενὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ συνάπτω τούτῳ, ἀπὸ μὴ συνχωρουμένου λήμματος κατασκευαζόμενον. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι διδοται τὸ ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπὶ τὸν διὰ Κασπίων πυλῶν μεσημβρινὸν εἰσαί δια-
στήμα τετρακισχιλίων ὀκτακοσίων. ἐλήλεγκται

1 In the figure on p. 337 draw a parallel of latitude through B (Thapsacus) and a meridian through A (Pelusium), and let them intersect at a point O'. Then AC' (= BC = 4,800 stadia) becomes greater than AB (6,000 stadia)—that is, Eratosthenes’ estimates lead to this result, says Hipparchus.

2 The Greek verb here used corresponds to the noun
encircle Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and that the Euphrates does the greater part of the encircling, in that, after flowing from the north towards the south, it turns towards the east, and finally empties southwards. Now its southward course from the north lies approximately on some meridian, but its bend to the east and to Babylon is not only a deviation from the meridian but it is also not on a straight line, owing to the said encircling. It is true that Eratosthenes has stated the route to Babylon from Thapsacus to be four thousand eight hundred stadia long, though he added, as on purpose, “following the course of the Euphrates,” in order that no one might interpret it as a straight line or as a measure of the distance between two parallels. If this assumption of Hipparchus be not granted, futile also is his subsequent proposition which has only the appearance of being proven, namely, that if a right-angled triangle be constructed with vertices at Pelusium, Thapsacus, and the point of intersection of the parallel of Thapsacus with the meridian of Pelusium, then one of the sides of the right angle, namely, that on the meridian, is greater than the hypotenuse, that is, the line from Thapsacus to Pelusium.¹ Futile also is the proposition that he links with this proposition, because it is fabricated² from something that is not conceded. For surely Eratosthenes has not granted the assumption that the distance from Babylon to the meridian that runs through the Caspian Gates is a matter of four thousand eight hundred stadia. I which, in the formal divisions of a proposition, constitutes that division which, says Proclus, “adds what is wanting to the data for the purpose of finding out what is sought.”
γάρ υφικὸν ἐκ τῶν μὴ συγχωρουμένων ὑπ’ Ἐρατοσθένους κατεσκευακότα τούτο τὸν "Ἰππαρ-χον· ὡς δ’ ἀνδρόχυρον ἦ τὸ ὑπὸ ἐκεῖνον διδόμενον, λαβὼν τὸ εἶναι πλείος ἢ ἐννακισχύλους ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ Καστίων πυλῶν οὔτως ἀγομένην γραμμῆν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος εἴρηκεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς δρόνιν τῆς Καρμανίας, ἔδεικνυ τὸ αὐτό.

37. Οὐ τούτῳ οὖν λεκτέον πρὸς τὸν Ἐρατο-σθένην, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τῶν ἐν πλάτει λεγομένων καὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ σχημάτων εἶναι τι δελ μέτρον, καὶ ὅπου μὲν μᾶλλον, ὅπου δὲ ἐλαττον συγχωρητέον. ληφθέντος γάρ τοῦ τῶν ὁρών πλάτους τῶν ἕπι τὰς ἰσημερινὰς ἀνατολὰς ἐκτεινομένων τρισχύλων σταδίων, ὦμοιώς δὲ καὶ τοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μέχρι Στηλῶν, μᾶλλον ἄν τις συγχωρήσειεν ὡς ἐπὶ μίας γραμμῆς ἐξετάζεσθαι τὰς παραλλήλους ἐκείνης ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πλάτει ἀγομένας ἢ τὰς συμπτωτοῦσας, καὶ τῶν συμπτωτοῦσων τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τῷ πλάτει τῆς σύμπτωσιν ἔχουσας ἢ τὰς

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1 Strabo refers to the false conclusion in § 34.
2 Strabo had in the main accepted Eratosthenes’ map together with his treatise thereon, inadequate though they were. He objected to Hipparchus’ criticism based upon false assumptions and geometrical tests applied to specific cases. He argues in this paragraph that the map requires a “metron,” or standard of measure, by means of which, as a sort of sliding scale, we may make proportional concessions or allowances in the matter of linear directions and geometrical magnitudes. Practically applied, this “metron” would
have proved that Hipparchus has fabricated this assumption from data that are not conceded by Eratosthenes; but in order to invalidate what Eratosthenes does grant, Hipparchus took as granted that the distance from Babylon to the line drawn from the Caspian Gates to the confines of Carmania just as Eratosthenes has proposed to draw it is more than nine thousand stadia, and then proceeded to show the same thing.¹

37. That, therefore, is not the criticism that should be made against Eratosthenes,² but rather the criticism that his roughly-sketched magnitudes and figures require some standard of measure, and that more concession has to be made in one case, less in another. For example, if the breadth of the mountain-range that stretches toward the equinoctial east, and likewise the breadth of the sea that stretches up to the Pillars, be taken as three thousand stadia, one would more readily agree to regard as lying on a single line³ the parallels of that line drawn within the same breadth than he would the lines that intersect therein⁴; and, of the intersecting lines, those that intersect within that said breadth than those that intersect without.

save us from such a mistake as placing the Caspian Gates and the mouth of the Nile on the same parallel of latitude, and again from such a mistake as estimating the actual distance between these two points to be the same as the longitudinal distance. Furthermore, Strabo shows by parallelograms that the actual distance between any two points, A and B, does not grow less in the same proportion as does their difference of longitude.

³ That is, an assumed line drawn east and west through the length of the strip—a strip approximately 70,000 stadia in length.

⁴ See the figure and the note on pages 342 and 343.
ἐκτός· ὑστατῶς καὶ τὰς δισταμένας μέχρι τοῦ μη ἐκβαίνειν τοῦ πλάτους ἢ τὰς ἐκβαίνουσας, καὶ τὰς ἐν μεῖζοι μήκει μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ἐν ἑλάττων. καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀνισότης τῶν μηκῶν συγκρύπτοτ' ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ ἡ ἀνομοιότης τῶν σχημάτων· οἶον ἐν τῷ πλάτει τοῦ Ταύρου παντὸς καὶ τῆς μέχρι Στηλῶν θαλάττης, ὑποκειμένου τρισχιλίων στα-ξίων, νοεῖται ἐν τί παραλληλόγραμμον χωρίου, τὸ περιγράφον τὸ τε ὄρος ἄπαν καὶ τὴν λεχθεόταν θάλατταν. ἦδαν οὖν διέλευς εἰς πλεῖον παραλληλό-γραμμα τὸ μῆκος, καὶ τὴν διάμετρον ὅλου τε τοῖτον λάβης καὶ τῶν μερῶν, ῥαῦν ἅ ἂν τοῦ ὅλου διάμετρος ἢ αὐτὴ λογισθεῖ,1 παράλληλός τε καὶ ἢσθ, τῇ κατὰ τὸ μῆκος πλευρὰ ἤπερ ἢ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν καὶ ἢσθ ἢ αὐτή λογισθεῖ, τὸ παραλληλό- γραμμον τὸ ληφθὲν ἐν μέρει, τοσὰ περὶ μᾶλλον τούτῳ ἄν συμβαίνω. ἦ τὸ γὰρ λοξότης τῆς διαμέτρου ἢττον ἀπελέγχεται καὶ ἡ ἀνισότης τοῦ μήκους ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις, ὅστ' οὕτως ἄν ὀκνήσεις ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὴν διάμετρον εἰπεῖν μῆκος τοῦ σχήματος. ἦδαν οὖν τὴν διάμετρον λοξώσθης μᾶλλον, ὡστε ἐκ-

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1 Müller and Tardieu rightly regard Meineke's deletion of παράλληλός τε καὶ ἢσθ after λογισθεῖ as unwarranted.

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Let $ABCD$ be assumed strip; let $OO'$ be assumed east and west line; let $PP'$ and $SS'$ be parallel to $OO'$; let $BK$ and $KC$ (or $BK'$ and $K'C$) be lines that intersect within, and $BK''$ and $K''C$ lines that intersect without. It is easier to consider $PP'$ as coincident with $OO'$ than $BK + KC$ (as $K$ to $PK + KP'$) as coincident with $OO'$, and easier $BK + KC$ than $BK'' + K''C$.
Likewise, also, one would more readily agree to regard as lying on a single line those lines that extend within the limits of said breadth and do not reach beyond than those that reach beyond; and those lines that extend within greater lengths than those in lesser. For in such cases the inequality of the lengths and the dissimilarity of the figures would be more likely to escape notice; for instance, in the case of the breadth of the entire Taurus Range, and of the Sea up to the Pillars, if three thousand stadia be taken as hypothesis for the breadth, we can assume one single parallelogram which traces the boundary both of the entire Range and of the said Sea. Now if you divide a parallelogram lengthwise into several small parallelograms, and take the diagonal both of this whole and of its parts, then the diagonal of the whole might more easily be counted the same as (that is, both parallel and equal to) the long side than could the diagonal of any one of the small parallelograms as compared with the corresponding long side; and the smaller the parallelogram taken as a part, the more would this be true. For both the obliquity of the diagonal and the inequality of its length as compared with the long side are less easily detected in large parallelograms; so that you might not even hesitate in their case to call the diagonal the length of the figure. If, however, you make the diagonal more oblique, so that it falls exterior to both of the sides,
πεσεῖν ἔξω τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκατέρας ὡς τῆς γε ἑτέρας, οὐκ ἂν ὄμοιος ἦτο ταῦτα συμβαίνον- 
tοιοῦτον δὴ τι λέγω τὸ μέτρον τῶν ἐν πλάτει 
λαμβάνων. ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν τῆς 
μὲν δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν ὀρῶν λαμβάνων, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ 
ταῦτον παραλλήλου μέχρι Στηλῶν ἀγομένης, τὴν 
δ' ἀπονεύουσαν εἰς Θάγακον εὔθυς ἔξω πολὺ τῶν 
ὀρῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ Θαψάκου προσεκβάλλων 
ἀλλην μέχρι Ἀιγύπτου τοσοῦτον ἐπιλαμβά-
νουσαν πλάτος, εἴτε τῷ μήκει τῷ ταύτης κατα-
μετρῶν τὸ τοῦ χωρίου μήκος, διαμέτρῳ τετραγώ-
νου καταμετρεῖν ἄν δοξεῖ τὸ τοῦ τετραγώνου 
μήκος. δὴν δὲ μηδὲ διάμετρος ἦ, ἀλλὰ κεκλα-
σμένη ἡ γραμμή, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἄν δοξεῖ πλημ-
μελεῖν κεκλασμένη γάρ ἄστιν ἢ ἀπὸ Κασπίων 
πυλῶν διὰ Θαψάκου πρὸς τὸν Νείλου ἀγομένη, 
πρὸς μὲν Ἐρατοσθένη ταῦτα.

38. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰππαρχον κάκεινο, ὦτι ἔχρην, 
ὡς κατηγοριάν πεποίηται τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου λε-
χέντων, ὅτω καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν τινα ποιήσασθαι 
τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ὧπερ ἡμᾶς ποιοῦμεν. ἐκείνος 
δ' εἰ καὶ ποι τοῦτο πεφρόωτε, κελεύει ἡμᾶς 
τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις πίναξι προσέχειν, δεομένοι παμ-
πόλλα τῷ μείζονος ἐπανορθώσεως, ἢ ὁ Ἐρα-

1 Δ'O represents a line which falls exterior to BG and AH, 
and AO a line which falls exterior to BG. Let ABCD be 
the large parallelogram; then the small parallelograms are 
ABGH, HGOD, FEOD, JICD—and so oū indefinitely.

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or at least to one of them, this would no longer, in like manner, be the case. This is substantially what I mean by a standard of measurement for roughly-sketched magnitudes. But when Eratosthenes, beginning at the Caspian Gates, takes not only the line which runs through the mountains themselves, but also the line which at once diverges considerably from the mountains into Thapsacus, as though both were drawn to the Pillars on the same parallel, and when, again, he still further produces his line, on from Thapsacus to Egypt, thus taking in all this additional breadth, and then measures the length of his figure by the length of this line, he would seem to be measuring the length of his rectangle by a diagonal of a rectangle. And whenever his line is not even a diagonal but a broken line, much more he would seem to err. In fact, it is a broken line that is drawn from the Caspian Gates through Thapsacus to the Nile. So much may be said against Eratosthenes.

38. But against Hipparchus this too may be urged, that, as he criticised the statements of Eratosthenes, so also he should have made some sort of correction of Eratosthenes' errors—the thing that I am doing. But Hipparchus—if he has really ever taken thought of this matter—bids us to give heed to the old maps, although they need much more correction than the
τοσθένους πίναξ προσδείται, καὶ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον
δ' ἐπιχείρημα τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχεται μοχθηρίας. λαμ-
βάνει γὰρ ἐν λήμματι τὸ ἐκ τῶν μὴ διδομένων
κατασκευασθέν, ὡς ἡλέγξαμεν ἠμεῖς, ὅτι Θαψάκου
Βασιλῶν ἀνατολικότερα ἔστιν οὐ πλείοσιν ἡ
χιλιὼν στάδιοι· ὅστ' εἰ καὶ πάνυ συνάγεται τὸ
πλείοσιν ἡ δισχίλιοι καὶ τετρακοσίοις σταδίοις
ἀνατολικότερα αὐτὴν εἶναι ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων
ὑπὸ τοῦ' Ερατοσθένους, ὅτι ἔπτι τὴν τοῦ Τίγριδος
diάβασιν, ἢ 'Ἀλέξανδρος διέβη, ἀπὸ Θαψάκου
ἔστι σύντομοι σταδίων δισχίλιων τετρακοσίων,
ὁ δὲ Τύγρις καὶ ὁ Εὐφράτης ἐγκυκλωσάμενοι τὴν
Μεσοποταμίαν, τέως μὲν ἐπ' ἀνατολάς φέρονται,
εἴτ' ἐπιστρέφουσι πρὸς νότον καὶ πλησιάζουσι
τότε ἀλλήλοις τε ἄμα καὶ Βασιλῶνι, οὐδὲν ἀτοπον
συμβαίνει τῷ λόγῳ.

39. Πλημμέλει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς ἐπιχειρήματι,
ἐν ὧν συνάγεις βούλεται, ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ Θαψάκου
ἐπὶ Κασπίου πύλας ὀδόν, ἣν μυρίων σταδίων
'Ερατοσθένης εἴρηκεν, οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας ἀναμετρη-
μένην ὃς ἐπ' εὐθείας παραδίδεσθαι, τῆς εὐθείας
τολύ ἐλάττωνος οὖσης. ὡς ἐφοδος ἔστιν αὐτῷ
τοιαύτη. φησίν εἶναι καὶ κατ' 'Ερατοσθένη τῶν
αὐτῶν μεσημβρίνοι τῶν τε διὰ τοῦ Κανοβικοῦ
στάματος καὶ τῶν διὰ Κυναέων, διέχειν δὲ τούτον
τοῦ διὰ Θαψάκου ἐξακισχίλιους τριακοσίους

1 Hipparchus' reductio ad absurdum again fails, Strabo says. First, he has attributed to Eratosthenes a result (1,000 stadia) not based upon Eratosthenes' statements;
map of Eratosthenes still needs. And his subsequent effort suffers from the same flaw. For, as I have shown by test, he takes as an admitted assumption what he has fabricated from data not granted by Eratosthenes, namely, that Babylon is not more than one thousand stadia farther east than Thapsacus; hence, if even a perfect inference is drawn by Hipparchus to the effect that Babylon is not more than two thousand four hundred stadia farther east than Thapsacus, from Eratosthenes’ statement that there is a short route of two thousand four hundred stadia from Thapsacus to the Tigris River where Alexander crossed—yet if Eratosthenes also states that the Tigris and the Euphrates, after encircling Mesopotamia for a time, flow east, then turn toward the south, and finally draw near to each other and to Babylon, he has proved no absurdity in Eratosthenes statement.¹

39. Hipparchus is also wrong in his next effort, in which he wishes to draw the inference that Eratosthenes gives the highway from Thapsacus to the Caspian Gates—a highway the length of which Eratosthenes has estimated at ten thousand stadia—as measured in a straight line, although it was not so measured, the straight line being much shorter. The attack he makes against Eratosthenes is to this effect: According to Eratosthenes himself the meridian through the Canobic mouth of the Nile and that through the Cyanean Rocks² are one and the same, and this meridian is six thousand three hundred stadia distant from the meridian through secondly, he has drawn a false inference from an estimate that Eratosthenes did make (2,400 stadia), as Eratosthenes’ description of the circuit of the Tigris and Euphrates shows.

² The Symplegades.
σταδίους, τὰς δὲ Κυανέας τοῦ Κασπίου ὄρους ἔξακισχυλίους ἔξακοσίους, δ' κεῖται κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Κάσπιον πέλαγος ἐκ Κολχίδος, ὡστε παρὰ τριακοσίους σταδίους τὸ ἱσον εἶναι διάστημα ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ Κυανέων μεσημβρινοῦ ἐπὶ τε Θάψακον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ Κάσπιον τρόπον δὴ τινα ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ κείσθαι τὴν τε Θάψακον καὶ τὸ Κάσπιον. τούτῳ δ' ἀκολουθεῖν τὸ ἁφεστάναι ἱσον τὰς Κασπίους πύλας Θαψάκου τε καὶ τοῦ Κασπίου τοῦ δὲ Κασπίου ἄπολυ ἐλάττους ἁφεστάναι τὸν μυρίων, ὅσους φησὶν ἁφεστάναι "Ἐρατοσθένης τῆς Θαψάκου" τῆς Θάψακου ἄρα πολὺ ἐλάττους ἢ μυρίων ἁφεστάναι τοὺς ἐπὶ εὐθείας κυκλοπορίαν ἢ ἐκεῖνως ἐπὶ εὐθείας ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν εἰς Θάψακον. ἔρχομεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους ἐν πλάτει λαμβάνοντος τὰς εὐθείας, ὅπερ οἰκεῖον ἐστὶ γεωγραφίας, ἐν πλάτει δὲ καὶ τὰς μεσημβρινὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ἴσημερινὴν ἀνατολὴν, ἐκεῖνως γεωμετρικῶς αὐτὸν εὐθύνει, καὶ ὡς ἄν δὲ ὁργάνων λάβω τις τούτων ἑκαστον' οὐδὲ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁργάνων,

1 τοῦ δὲ Κασπίου, Spengel inserts, before πολύ; Meineke, Forbiger, following; C. Müller, H. Berger, approving.
2 τῆς Θαψάκου, Spengel inserts, before ἀρα; Meineke, Forbiger, following; C. Müller, H. Berger, approving.
3 οὗς, Siebenkees inserts, from Tyrwhitt's conjecture; Forbiger, Meineke, following.

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Thapsacus; and the Cyanean Rocks are six thousand six hundred stadia distant from Mt. Caspius, which lies at the mountain-pass that leads over from Colchis to the Caspian Sea; and hence the distance from the meridian through the Cyanean Rocks to Thapsacus is within three hundred stadia of being equal to the distance thence to Mt. Caspius; so then, practically speaking, both Thapsacus and Mt. Caspius lie on the same meridian. From this it follows, says Hipparchus, that the Caspian Gates are equidistant from Thapsacus and from Mt. Caspius; but the Caspian Gates are at a much less distance from Mt. Caspius than the ten thousand stadia which Eratosthenes says is the distance between the Caspian Gates and Thapsacus; therefore the Caspian Gates are at a much less distance from Thapsacus than the ten thousand stadia that are measured on a straight line; and therefore it is a roundabout way that measures the ten thousand stadia which Eratosthenes reckons on a straight line from the Caspian Gates to Thapsacus.¹ Now my reply to Hipparchus will be that, although Eratosthenes takes his straight lines only roughly, as is proper to do in geography, and roughly, too, his meridians and his lines to the equinoctial east, Hipparchus puts him to a geometrical test—just as if every one of these lines had been taken with the aid of instruments.² Neither does Hipparchus himself take everything by the aid of instruments, but it is rather by conjecture that he

¹ Even though Hipparchus takes Eratosthenes’ distances as longitudinal, the error of the latter is quite obvious; and it is now obvious also that Strabo is inclined to protect Eratosthenes wherever he can.

² That is, instruments of observation—the sun-dial, for instance.
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον στοχασμῷ λαμβάνων καὶ τὸ πρὸς ὀρθὰς καὶ τὸ παραλλήλους. ἐν μὲν δὲ τούθ᾽ ἀμάρτημα· ἔτερον δὲ τὸ μηδὲ τὰ κείμενα παρ᾽ ἐκείνῳ διαστήματα τίθεσθαι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ πρὸς ἐκείνα τῶν ἔλεγχων προσαγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πλαττόμενα. διόπερ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκείνου τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἐπὶ Φάσιν εἰπόντος σταδίων ὀκτακισχιλίων, καὶ προσθεντός τούτος εἰς Διοσκουριάδα ἐνθένδε ἐξακοσίους, τὴν δ᾽ ἀπὸ Διοσκουριάδος εἰς τὸ Κάσπιον ὑπέρθεσιν ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἦτει κατ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἰππαρχον εἰκάζεται λέγεσθαι ὅσον χιλίων σταδίων, ὡστε τὴν σύμπασαν κατ᾽ Ἔρατοσθένη κεφαλαιοῦσθαι ἐνακισχιλίων ἐξακοσίων, αὐτὸς δὲ τούτοις συντέτμηκε καὶ φησιν ἐκ μὲν Κυνέων εἰς Φάσιν πεντακισχιλίους ἐξακοσίους, εἰς δὲ Κάσπιον ἐνθένδε ἄλλους χιλίους. ὡστ' οὖ κατ᾽ Ἔρατοσθένη συμβαίνοι δὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πως μεσημβρινοῦ τὸ τε Κάσπιον εἶναι καὶ τὴν Θάψακον, ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν. βέβαιο δ' ὅσα κατ᾽ Ἔρατοσθένη· πῶς οὖν τούτῳ ἐπεται τὸ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασπίου ἐπὶ Κασπίους πύλας ἦσυν εἶναι τῇ ἀπὸ Θάψάκου ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σημεῖον;

40. Ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ὑπομνήματι ἀναλαβόν τάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ζήτησιν τὴν περὶ τῶν ὄρων τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ταῦρον, περὶ δὲ ἰκανὸς εἰρήκαμεν, μεταβαίνει πρὸς τὰ βόρεια μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης.

1 ἐνακισχιλίων, Sterrett, for ἐνακισχιλίων.
takes the relations of both "perpendicular" and "parallel." This, then, is one of Hipparchus' mistakes. Another mistake is this, that he does not even put down the distances that are found in Eratosthenes or apply his test to them, but to those that are fabricated by himself. So, for instance, though Eratosthenes first estimated the distance from the outlet ¹ to Phasis ² at eight thousand stadia and added to this the six hundred stadia thence to Dioscurias, and then estimated at a five days' journey the pass that leads over to Mt. Caspius (which, according to Hipparchus himself, is conjectured to mean about one thousand stadia), so that the total distance, according to Eratosthenes, amounts to nine thousand six hundred stadia, Hipparchus has made a short cut to his result, and says that from the Cyanean Rocks to Phasis the distance is five thousand six hundred stadia, and thence to Mt. Caspius, another thousand stadia. Therefore the statement that Mt. Caspius and Thapsacus are virtually situated on the same meridian could not be based on the authority of Eratosthenes, but on that of Hipparchus himself. Well, suppose it were on the authority of Eratosthenes. How, pray, can it follow therefrom that the line from Mt. Caspius to the Caspian Gates is equal in length to the line from Thapsacus to the same point?

40. In his Second Book, Hipparchus again takes up the same question of Eratosthenes' division of the inhabited world along the line of the Taurus Range, about which I have already said enough; then he passes to a discussion of the Northern

¹ Of the Euxine.
² A town at the mouth of the Phasis River.
ἐὰς ἐκτίθεται τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑρατοσθένους περὶ τῶν μετὰ τῶν Πόντων τόπων, ὅτι φησὶ τρεῖς ἄκρας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων καθήκειν μίαν μέν, ἐφ’ ἂς ἡ Πελοπόννησος, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν Ἰταλικὴν, τρίτην δὲ τὴν Αγνωστικὴν, ὕφ’ ὅν κόλπους ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι τὸν τε Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ τὸν Τυρρηνικὸν. ταῦτα δ’ ἐκθέμενος καθόλου πειράται τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστὰ περὶ αὐτῶν λεγόμενα ἑλέγχειν γεωμετρικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ γεωγραφικῶς. ἔστι δὲ τοσοῦτον τῶν ἀμαρταιομένων ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑρατοσθένους τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ὑπὸ Τιμοσθένους τοῦ τοὺς λιμένας συγγράψαντος (ὅν ἔπαινει μὲν ἐκεῖνος μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων, διαφωνῶν δ’ ἑλέγχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν πλείστα), ὡστ’ ὅπις ἄξιον ἤγομαι διαιτάν ὅπτ’ ἐκεῖνοι, ἔτη τοσοῦτον διαμαρτάνονται τῶν ὄντων, ὁπτ’ τὸν Ἰππαρχον. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως τὰ μὲν παραλείπει τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, τὰ δ’ οὐκ ἔπανορθοί, ἀλλ’ ἑλέγχει μόνον, ὅτι ψευδῶς ἢ μαχομένως εἴρηται. αἰτιάσαιτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ τούτ’ ἀν ὑσως τις, ὅτι φησίν ἄκρας τρεῖς τῆς Ἐὐρώπης, μίαν μὲν τίθεις τὴν ἐφ’ ἂς ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἐχει γὰρ τι πολυχιδεῖς. καὶ γὰρ τὸ Σοῦινον ἀκρωτηριάζει ὅμως τῇ Λακωνικῇ, οὐ πολὺ ἦττον μεσημβρίων ἐν τῶν Μαλεῶν, καὶ κόλπου ἀπολαμβάνου ἄξιολογον. καὶ ἡ Ἡρακλῆς Χερόνησος ἀπολαμβάνει πρὸς τὸ Σοῦινον τὸν

1 μεσημβρίων, Madvig, ἵνα μεσημβριώτερον.
Division; and then he sets forth what Eratosthenes said about the countries that lie next after the Pontus, namely, that three promontories jut down from the north: one promontory, on which is the Peloponnesus; a second, the Italian; and a third the Ligurian; and that these three promontories enclose both the Adriatic and the Tyrrenian Gulfs. After setting forth these statements of Eratosthenes in a general way, Hipparchus undertakes to test each several statement about the promontories, yet on the principles of geometry rather than those of geography. But so great is the multitude of mistakes made in case of these promontories by Eratosthenes, and by Timosthenes who wrote on The Harbours (whom Eratosthenes praises beyond all the rest, though we find him disagreeing with Timosthenes on most points), that I consider it unfitting to pass judgment either upon those men, since they both stray so very far from the facts, or upon Hipparchus. For even Hipparchus passes by some of their mistakes in silence, while yet others he does not correct, but merely shows by test that they were made falsely or captiously. We might perhaps find fault with Eratosthenes on this point too, namely, because he says “three promontories” of Europe, putting down as “one promontory” that on which is the Peloponnesus; for it is split, so to speak, into a number of promontories; for example, Sunium is a promontory just as much as is Laconia, since it reaches almost as far south as Maleae and embraces a gulf of considerable size. And the Thracian Cherronese and the promontory of Sunium cut off, between them, not only the gulf of Melas but

1 The Gulf of Saros.
τε Μέλανα κόλπων καὶ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς τοὺς Μακε-
δονικοὺς. εἰ δὲ οὖν παρείμην τοῦτο, καὶ τῶν
diαστημάτων τὰ πλείστα φανερῶς ψευδογρα-
φούμενα ἐλέγχει τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν τόπων ὑπερ-
βάλλουσαν καὶ οὐ δεομένην γεωμετρικῶν ἐλέγχων,
ἀλλὰ φανερῶν καὶ αὐτόθεν ἐκμαρτυρεῖσθαι δυνα-
μένων ὅσον ὅτι εἰς Ἐπιδάμνου πρὸς τὸν Θερμαῖον
cόλπων ἢ ὑπέρβασις ἐστὶ πλείονον ἢ δισχιλίων
σταδίων ὁ δὲ ἐνακοσίων ἡμησίας ἔφησιν ἐκ δὲ Ἀλεξα-
νυδρείας εἰς Καρχηδόνα υπὲρ μυρίων καὶ τρισ-
χιλίων, οὐ πλείους ὄντας τῶν ἐνακισχιλίων ἐν-
περ ὕπτι τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ ἐστὶ κατὰ
tοῦτον τῇ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρεία Καρία καὶ Ῥόδος,
τῇ δὲ Καρχηδόνον ὁ Πορθμός. πάντες γὰρ ὁμο-
λογοῦσι μὴ πλείους εἶναι τὸν ἐκ Καρίας ἐπὶ
Πορθμοῦ πλοῦν σταδίων ἢ ἐνακισχιλίων τὸν
μεσημβρινὸς ἐν μεγάλῳ μὲν τίνι διαστήματι
λαμβανόμενος δοθεὶς ἂν ὅ αὐτὸς εἶναι τῷ τοσοῦτῳ
δυσμικοτέρῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐωθινώτερον ὅσον ἢ Καρχη-
δόνον ἐστὶ τοῦ Πορθμοῦ πρὸς δύσει μᾶλλον,
ἐν δὲ τετρακισχιλίω ἡ σταδίως ἐχει καταφάνη τὸν
ἐλέγχον. ὃ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην τιθείς ὑπὲρ ταῦ-
τον μεσημβρινοῦ τὴν τοσοῦτον καὶ Καρχηδόνος
dυσμικότεραν, υπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπει τῆς τῶν
tόπων ἀπειρίας καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς πρὸς
dύσει μέχρι Στηλίων.

1 ἐνακοσίων, Meineke, for ἐνακοσίων.
2 ἐνακισχιλίων, Sterrett, for ἐνακισχιλίων.
3 ἐνακισχιλίων, Meineke, for ἐνακισχιλίων.
4 Kramer, Müller-Dübner, and Meineke delete τοῖς before τοσοῦτον and read δυσμικότερος with some of the MSS. But
the MSS. also support δυσμικότερος. Cappe, quite indepen-
dently, suggested the above reading.

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also all the Macedonian Gulfs that come after Melas. However, if we should pass over this objection, still, the most of the distances, which are obviously wrong, prove that Eratosthenes' ignorance of these regions is surpassing and that his ignorance requires no geometrical proofs, but only such proofs as are obvious and can be attested forthwith; for instance, that the pass from Epidamnus that leads over to the Thermaic Gulf is more than two thousand stadia, though Eratosthenes says it is nine hundred; and that the distance from Alexandria to Carthage is more than thirteen thousand stadia, though it is not more than nine thousand—if Caria and Rhodes lie, as Eratosthenes says, on the same meridian as Alexandria, and the Strait of Sicily on the same meridian as Carthage. In fact, all agree that the voyage from Caria to the Strait of Sicily is not more than nine thousand stadia; and though, when there is some considerable distance between two places, the meridian taken for the more easterly place might be granted to be the same as the meridian which is no farther west therefrom than Carthage is west of the Strait of Sicily, yet when we are concerned with a matter of four thousand stadia the error is self-evident. And when Eratosthenes actually places Rome—which is so much farther west of the Strait of Sicily than even Carthage is—on the same meridian with Carthage, his ignorance both of these regions and of the successive regions toward the west as far as the Pillars can reach no higher extreme.

⁵ τετρακισχίλιοι, Bréquigny, for τρισχίλιοι; all editors or translators following or approving.
41. Ἰππάρχῳ μὲν οὖν μὴ γεωγραφοῦντι, ἀλλ' ἐξετάζοντι τὰ λεχθέντα ἐν τῇ γεωγραφίᾳ τῇ Ἔρατοσθένους, οἰκείον ἦν ἐπὶ πλέον τὰ καθ' ἐκαστα εὐθύνει; ἦμεῖς δ', ἐν οἷς μὲν κατορθοὶ, τὸ πλέον δ' ἔτι ὅπου καὶ πλημμελεῖ, τὸν καθ' ἐκαστα οἰκείον λόγον φήθημεν δεῖν προσάγειν, τὰ μὲν ἐπανορθοῦντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀπολυμένου τᾶς ἐπιφερομένας αἰτίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰππάρχου, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰππαρχὸν συνεξετάζομεν, ὅπου τε φιλαντίως εἴρηκεν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ὅρωντες ἥδη τὸν μὲν τελέως παραπαίοντα, τὸν δὲ δικαίως ἐπικαλοῦντα, ἀρκεῖν ὑπολαμβάνομεν, ἀν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ γεωγραφίᾳ δὲ ὅντα λέγοντες ἐπανορθώμεν αὐτὸν. ἐφ' ὅν γὰρ συνεχῇ καὶ ἐπιπολάζοντά ἐστι τὰ ἀμαρτανόμενα, κρείττου μηδὲ μεμυησθαι, πλὴν εἰ σπάνιον τι καὶ καθόλου ὅπερ πειρασόμεθα ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἐκαστα. καὶ νῦν δ' εἰρήσθω, ὅτι καὶ Τιμοσθένης καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ οἱ ἔτι τούτων πρότεροι τελέως ἡγούσιν τὰ τε Ἰβηρικά καὶ τὰ Κελτικά, μυρία δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ Γερμανικὰ καὶ τὰ Βρεττανικά, ὡς δ' αὐτῶς τὰ τῶν Γέτων καὶ Βασταρνῶν. ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἀγνοίας ἑτύχανον ἀφυμένοι καὶ τῶν κατ' Ἰταλίαν καὶ τῶν 'Αδριαν καὶ τῶν Πόντου καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς προσαρκτίων μερῶν εἰ καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα ἵσως φιλαίτια. τοῦ γὰρ Ἐρατοσθένους ἐπὶ τῶν πόρρω διεστηκότων τὰ παραδεδομένα φάσκοντος ἑρεῖν διαστήματα, μὴ διασχυριζομένου δέ, καὶ λέγοντος ὡς παρέλαβε, 356
41. Now it would have been proper for Hipparchus, if he were not writing a work on Geography but merely a review of what Eratosthenes had said in his Geography, to go further than he did in setting right in detail the mistakes of Eratosthenes; but as for me, I have thought it right to introduce in detail the appropriate discussion both in regard to the points in which Eratosthenes is right and, still more so, in regard to those in which he is wrong; and I have not merely corrected his mistakes, but where I have acquitted him of the charges brought by Hipparchus, I have also criticised Hipparchus himself, whenever he has said anything in a censorious spirit. But since in these instances I see at a glance that Eratosthenes goes entirely astray and that Hipparchus accuses him justly, I assume that it is sufficient if I correct Eratosthenes by merely stating the facts in the course of my Geography itself. Indeed, where the errors are continuous and lie on the surface, it is better not to mention them at all, except rarely and in a general way; and this is what I shall try to do in my detailed account. However, let it be said at this moment that Timosthenes and Eratosthenes and the still earlier geographers were completely ignorant of Iberia and Celtica; and vastly more ignorant of Germany and Britain, and likewise of the countries of the Getans and the Bastarnians; and they were to a considerable extent ignorant of Italy, the Adriatic Sea, the Pontus, and the regions beyond them on the north; though perhaps such statements are censorious. For, since Eratosthenes asserts that where it is a question of very remote regions he will give merely the traditional distances without vouching for them, and admits that he got
προστιθέντος δ' ἐστιν ὅπου τὰ ἑπ' εὐθείας μᾶλλον καὶ ἦττου, οὗ δεῖ προσάγειν τὸν ἀκριθῇ ἐλεγχόν

C 94 τοὺς μὴ ὁμολογούμενοι πρὸς ἅλληλα διαστήματα ὑπέρ ποιεῖν πειράται ὁ Ἰππαρχὸς ἐν τε τοῖς πρῶτοι δωρεῖν καὶ ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἤρκανίαν μέχρι Βακτρίαν καὶ τῶν ἐπέκειν ἔθνων ἐκτίθεται διαστήματα, καὶ ἔτι τὰ ἀπὸ Κόλχιδος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔρκανίαν θάλασσαν. οὗ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τε τούτων ἐξεταστέον αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἡπειρώτην παραλίαν ¹ καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δυσμένους τόπους ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπὶ τούτων γεωμετρικῶς, ὑπέρ ἔφη, ἄλλα γεωγραφικῶς μᾶλλον. αὐτισάμενος δ' οὖν τίνα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ δευτέρου ὑπομνήματος τῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἐρατοσθένους γεωγραφίαν πεποιημένων, ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ φησὶ τὴν μὲν πλείον θεωρῶν ἔστησαν μαθηματικὴν, ἐπὶ ποσὸν δὲ καὶ γεωγραφικὴν οὖν ἐπὶ ποσὸν μέντοι δοκεῖ μοι ποιησάσας γεωγραφικὴν, ἄλλα πάσαν μαθηματικὴν, διδόντος καὶ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους τὴν τοιαύτην πρόφασιν. πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἐκπήπτει πρὸς τὸ ἐπιστημονικότερον τῆς προκειμένης ιστορίας, ἐκπεσοῦν δὲ οὓς ἀκριβεῖς, ἄλλ' ὁλοκληρῶς ποιεῖται τὰς ἀποφάσεις, τρόπων τινὰ ἐν μὲν τοῖς γεωγραφικῶς μαθηματικοῖς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς γεωγραφικῶς ὄν, ὡστε πρὸς ἄμφω διδασκιν ἀφορ-

¹ παραλίαν, Groskurd, for πάλιν; Meineke following.
them by tradition,—though at times he adds the words "in a line more or less straight"—it is not fair to apply the rigorous test\(^1\) to those distances which do not agree with each other. That is precisely what Hipparchus tries to do, not only in the cases mentioned above but also where he sets forth the distances round about Hyrcania up to Bactria and to the tribes on beyond, and, besides, the distances from Colchis to the Hyrcanian Sea. Indeed, in the case of the geography of the remote countries, we should not scrutinize him in the same way as we do in that of the continental sea-board and of the other regions that are as well known; nay, not even in case of the nearer regions ought we to apply the geometrical test, as I was saying, but rather the geographical. Now toward the end of his Second Book, which he has written in refutation of the Geography of Eratosthenes, Hipparchus finds fault with some of the statements of Eratosthenes about Ethiopia, and then says that in his Third Book the greater part of his speculation will be mathematical, but "to some extent" geographical also. It seems to me, however, that he did not make his theory geographical even "to some extent," but wholly mathematical—though Eratosthenes himself gives Hipparchus a good excuse for so doing. For frequently Eratosthenes digresses into discussions too scientific for the subject he is dealing with, but, after he digresses, the declarations he makes are not rigorously accurate but only vague, since, so to speak, he is a mathematician among geographers, and yet a geographer among mathematicians; and consequently on both sides he offers his opponents occasions for

\(^1\) That is, of geometry.
STRABO

μᾶς τοίς ἀντιλέγουσιν ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ ύπομνήματι καὶ δικαιᾷ καὶ οὕτος καὶ ὁ Τιμοσθένης, ὡστ' οὗδ' ἠμῖν καταλείπεται συνεπισκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰππάρχου λεχθείσιν.

II

1. Ἰδώμεν δὲ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, ἀ φησιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὁκεανοῦ δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ γεωγραφεῖν, τὰ μὲν οἰκεῖοι, τὰ δὲ μαθηματικῶτερον. ὥστε ἀτοποῦν οὖν ἐνια καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τούτου λεγομένων διαιτῆσαι, τὰ μὲν νῦν, τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἐκαστα, ὡς ἀν ὑποπτίπτη, μέτρον τινὸς ἐχομένους. ἐστιν οὖν τι τῶν πρὸς γεωγραφίαν οἰκείων τὸ τὴν γην ὑπὸ ὑποθέσθαι σφαιροειδῆ, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παραδείγματα τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῇ ὑποθέσει ταύτῃ τούτων δ' ἐστι καὶ τὸ πεντάζωνον αὐτὴν εἶναι.

2. Φησὶ δὴ ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τῆς ἐλε γένεας διαφέρεσθει ἀρχηγῶν γενέσθαι Παρμενίδην ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν σχέδον τὸ διπλασίαν ἀποφαίνειν τὸ πλάτος τῆς διακεκαμένης, ὑπερπτποτοῦσαν

1 The words τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν after διακεκαμένην are omitted by Kramer and succeeding editors.
contradiction; and the occasions which both he and Timosthenes offer Hipparchus in this Third Book are so just that it remains for me not even to join my observations to those of Hipparchus, but merely to content myself with what Hipparchus has said about them.

II

1. Now let us see what Poseidonius has to say in his treatise on Oceanus. For in it he seems to deal mainly with geography, treating it partly from the point of view of geography properly so called, and partly from a more mathematical point of view. And so it will not be out of place for me to pass judgment upon a few of Poseidonius’ statements, some of them now, and others in my discussion of the individual countries, as occasion offers, always observing a kind of standard. Now it is one of the things proper to geography to take as an hypothesis that the earth as a whole is sphere-shaped, just as we do in the case of the universe—and accept all the conclusions that follow this hypothesis, one of which is that the earth has five zones.

2. Poseidonius, then, says that Parmenides was the originator of the division into five zones, but that Parmenides represents the torrid zone as almost double its real breadth, inasmuch as it falls beyond = 35,200; and thus the torrid zone would reach to 25° 8' 34 3/4" (counting 700 stadia to the degree). Thus the difference between Aristotle and Parmenides is not great, if we assume that the former places the tropics at about 24°. The reading of the manuscripts (see critical note on opposite page) makes Parmenides say that the torrid zone is double the zone between the tropics, but it is inconceivable that he did so.

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ἐκατέρων τῶν τροπικῶν εἰς τὸ ἐκτὸς καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἐυκράτοις. Ἄριστοτέλη δὲ αὐτὴν καλεῖν τὴν μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν, τὰς δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν εὐκράτους. Ἀμφιτέροις δὲ ἐπιτιμᾶ ἄκαλως. διακεκαμένην γὰρ λέγεσθαι τὸ ἄοικητον διὰ καῦμα· τῆς δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν πλέον ἢ τὸ ἡμισὺ τοῦ πλάτους οὐκ ὁ ἐντιμὸν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀιγύπτου στοχαιομένους Αἰγυπτίων, εἰτερὸ τὸ μὲν ἡμισὺ τοῦ παντὸς πλάτους ἐστὶν, δεισιδεῖ ἕφ’ ἐκτίτερα ὁ ἵσημερινός. τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Σινήνης, ἕπερ ἐστὶν ἄριστον τοῦ θερινοῦ τροπικοῦ, εἰς Μερόπην εἰς τὴν τεντακισχίλιον· τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε ἐως τοῦ τῆς Κύναμῳμοφόρου παραλλήλου, δισετε ἐστὶν ἄρχῃ τῆς διακεκαμένης, τρισχίλιοι. τούτο μὲν οὖν τὸ διάστημα πάν ἐστὶ μετρητὸν, πλεῖται τε γὰρ καὶ ὁδεύεται· τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς, μέχρι τοῦ ἵσημερινοῦ, λόγῳ δεικνυται κατὰ τὴν ψυ. Ἐρατοσθένους γενομένην ἀναμέτρησιν τῆς γῆς, δι’ ἐστὶ σταδίων ὀκτακισχίλιων ὀκτακοσίων· δι’ ἐκ λόγου ἔχει τὰ μέρα ἐξαισχυλία ὀκτακοσία· πρὸς τὰ

1 τὰς δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν, Casaubon inserts; all editors following.
2 οὐκ, Kramer inserts, before ἐκτίτερα; Forbig, O. Müller, Tardieu, following.
3 ἵσημερινοῦ, λόγῳ δεικνυται, Corrain, for ἵσημερινοῦ λόγῳ, δεικνυται; Groskurd, Meineke, Tardieu, following; O. Müller, H. Berger, approving.
4 ἐξαισχυλία ὀκτακοσία, Kramer, for τρισχίλια; Meineke, Forbig, Tardieu, O. Müller, following.

1 De Meteorologicis 2. 5.
2 Poseidonius insists on taking literally the Greek word διακεκαμένην, "scorched."
both the tropics and extends into the two temperate zones, while Aristotle\(^1\) calls “torrid” the region between the tropics, and “temperate” the regions between the tropics and the “arctic circles.” But Poseidonius censures both systems, and with justice, for by “torrid,” \(^2\) he says, is meant only the region that is uninhabitable on account of heat; and, of the zone between the tropics, more than half is uninhabitable if we may base a conjecture upon the Ethiopians who live south of Egypt—if it be true, first, that each division of the torrid zone made by the equator is half the whole breadth of that zone \(^3\) and, secondly, that, of this half, the part that reaches to Meroë from Syene (which is a point on the boundary line of the summer tropic \(^4\)) is five thousand stadia in breadth, and the part from Meroë to the parallel of the Cinnamon-producing Country, on which parallel the torrid zone begins, is three thousand stadia in breadth. Now the whole of these two parts can be measured, for they are traversed both by water and by land; but the rest of the distance, up to the equator, is shown by calculation based upon the measurement which Eratosthenes made of the earth \(^5\) to be eight thousand eight hundred stadia. Accordingly, as is the ratio of the sixteen thousand eight hundred stadia \(^6\) to the eight thousand eight

\(^3\) Strabo proceeds to give a definite estimate of the inhabited and uninhabited portions of the torrid zone north of the equator. But, for the division of the zone south of the equator, he can only assume that a similar estimate applies. By so assuming he reaches a conclusion for the whole zone, in the form of a ratio.

\(^4\) The north and south temperate zones had also the name of summer and winter zones; and hence the summer tropic is the northern tropic.

\(^5\) 262,000 stadia.

\(^6\) The distance between the northern tropic and the equator.
δικτακιστία δικτακόσια, τούτων ἀν ἔχου τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν διάστημα πρὸς τὸ τῆς διακεκαμένης πλάτος. καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων δὲ ἀναμετρήσεων εἰσάγηται ἡ ἐλαχίστην ποιοῦσα τῆν γῆν, οὐαν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐγκρίνει περὶ δικτακαίδεκα μυριάδας οὐσια, περὶ ἡμισί που ἀποφαίνει τὴν διακεκαμένην τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν, ἣ μικρῷ τοῦ ἡμίσους μεῖξονα· ἵσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐδαμῶς. τοὺς τε ἄρκτοις, οὔτε παρὰ πάσιν οὐσια, οὔτε τοῖς αὐτοῖς πανταχοῦ, τίς ἢ διορίζει τὰς εὐκράτους, ἀλλὰ εἰσὶν ἀμετάπτωται; τὸ μὲν οὖν μὴ παρὰ πάσιν εἶναι τοὺς ἄρκτοις, οὐδὲν ἀν εἰπὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔλεγχον δεὶ γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς τὴν εὐκράτον οἴκουσιν εἶναι πᾶσι, πρὸς οὔσπερ καὶ λέγεται μόνους εὐκρατος. τὸ δὲ μὴ πανταχοῦ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ μεταπίπτειν, καλῶς εἰληφται.

3. Αὐτὸς δὲ διαιρῶν εἰς τὰς ξώνας, πέντε μὲν φθειν εἶναι χρησίμους πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια. τούτων δὲ περισσίως δύο τὰς ὑπὸ τοῖς πόλοις μέχρι τῶν ἐχώνων τοὺς τροπικούς ἄρκτοις, ἐπεροσίως δὲ

1 That is, 16,800 : 8,800 :: 33,600 : 17,600. The ratio is 21 : 11, and the breadth of the torrid zone 17,600 stadia (compare 2. 1. 13).

2 The Greeks in general used the term “arctic circle” of a celestial circle, and not of a terrestrial circle as we do today. Our arctic circle is fixed; theirs varied according to the standpoint of the observer. Their arctic circle was drawn on the celestial sphere parallel to the equator and tangent to the observer’s horizon, and it therefore separated the circumpolar stars that are always above the horizon from the stars that rise and set with respect to his horizon. Since
hundred stadia, so would be the ratio of the distance between the two tropics to the breadth of the torrid zone. And if, of the more recent measurements of the earth, the one which makes the earth smallest in circumference be introduced—I mean that of Poseidonius, who estimates its circumference at about one hundred and eighty thousand stadia—this measurement, I say, renders the breadth of the torrid zone somewhere about half the space between the tropics, or slightly more than half, but in no wise equal to, or the same as, that space. And again, Poseidonius asks how one could determine the limits of the temperate zones, which are non-variable, by means of the "arctic circles," which are neither visible among all men nor the same everywhere. Now the fact that the "arctic circles" are not visible to all could be of no aid to his refutation of Aristotle, because the "arctic circles" must be visible to all who live in the temperate zone, with reference to whom alone the term "temperate" is in fact used. But his point that the "arctic circles" are not everywhere visible in the same way, but are subject to variations, has been well taken.

3. When Poseidonius himself divides the earth into the zones, he says that five of them are useful with reference to the celestial phenomena; of these five, two—those that lie beneath the poles and extend to the regions that have the tropics as arctic

the altitude of the celestial pole is always the same as the latitude of the observer, the arctic circles would become zero for him at the equator; and, again, he would have no arctic circles if stationed south of the equator, nor would he have any antarctic circles if stationed north of the equator. Strabo insists that the boundaries of the temperate zones shall be fixed, not variable.  3 Seven.
τὰς ἐφεξῆς ταύτας δύο μέχρι τῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς τροπικοῖς οἰκοῦντων, ἀμφίσκιον δὲ τὴν μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν. πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ταύτας τε καὶ δύο ἄλλας στενὰς τὰς ὑπὸ τοὺς τροπικοῖς, καθ’ ἂς ἡμισὺ πως μηνὸς κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔστιν ὁ ἦλιος, δίχα διαπρόμενας ὑπὸ τῶν τροπικῶν. ἔχειν γὰρ τι ἰδίων τὰς ζώνας ταύτας, αὐχμηρὰς τε ἰδίως καὶ ἀμμώδεις ὑπαρχούσας καὶ ἀφόρους πληθυσμένους καὶ πυρικῶν τινῶν καρπῶν συγκεκαυμένων. ὡς γὰρ μὴ εἶναι πλησίου, ὅστε τὰ νέφη προσπίπτουντα ὑμβρεῖς ποιεῖν, μηδὲ δὴ ποταμοὶ διαρρέεσθαι. διόπερ οὐλότριχας καὶ οὐλόκερως καὶ προχείλους καὶ πλατύρρινας γεννᾶσθαι τὰ γὰρ ἄκρα αὐτῶν συστρέφεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐκθωφάγους δὲ κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ζώνας οἰκεῖν. ὧτι δὲ ταύτ’ ἵδια τῶν ζώνων τούτων δηλοῦν φησι τὸ τοὺς νοτιωτέρους αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὸ περιέχον εὐκρατότερον καὶ τὴν γῆν καρπιμωτέραν καὶ εὐυδροτέραν.

III

1. Πολύβιος δὲ ποιεῖ ζώνας ἐξ ὧν μὲν τὰς τοῖς ἀρκτικοῖς ὑποπτιπτούσας, δύο δὲ τὰς μεταξὺ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν τροπικῶν, καὶ δύο τὰς μεταξὺ

1 That is, the frigid zones, where the shadows describe an oval in the summer-time.
2 That is, the temperate zones, where the shadows are
circles—are "periscian"; and the two that come next and extend to the people who live beneath the tropics are "heteroscin"; and the zone between the tropics, "amphiscian". But for purposes of human interest there are, in addition to these five zones, two other narrow ones that lie beneath the tropics and are divided into two parts by the tropics; these have the sun directly overhead for about half a month each year. These two zones, he says, have a certain peculiarity, in that they are parched in the literal sense of the word, are sandy, and produce nothing except silphium and some pungent fruits that are withered by the heat; for those regions have in their neighbourhood no mountains against which the clouds may break and produce rain, nor indeed are they coursed by rivers; and for this reason they produce creatures with woolly hair, crumpled horns, protruding lips, and flat noses (for their extremities are contorted by the heat); and the "fish-eaters" also live in these zones. Poseidonius says it is clear that these things are peculiar to those zones from the fact that the people who live farther south than they do have a more temperate atmosphere, and also a more fruitful, and a better-watered, country.

III

1. Polybius makes six zones: two that fall beneath the arctic circles, two between the arctic circles and the tropics, and two between the tropics and the thrown in opposite directions at noon; the shadow in the northern zone falling north and in the southern falling south.

3 That is, the torrid zone, where the shadow for any point at noon is north part of the year and south part of the year.
τούτων καὶ τοῦ ἱσημερινοῦ, ἢ μὲν οὖν εἰς πέντε διαίρεσις δοκεῖ μοι καὶ φυσικὸς ἁμα καὶ γεωγραφικὸς εἰρήσθαι. φυσικὸς μὲν, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος κράσιν πρὸς μὲν τὰ οὐράνια, ὅτι τοῖς περίσκοιοις καὶ τοῖς ἔτεροσκίοις 1 καὶ τοῖς ἁμφισκίοις, οὖτως ἂν ἀριστα διοριζόμενοι, συνειδορίζεται καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν θέαν τῶν ἄστρων, ὀλοσχερεῖ τινι μερισμῷ λαμβάνοντα τὴν ἕξαλλαξιν πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος κράσιν, ὅτι τῆς τούτου κράσεως πρὸς τὸν ἡλιον κρινομένης διαφοραλ πρέπει εἰςιν αἱ γενικῶταται καὶ συντείνουσαι πρὸς τε τὰς τῶν ξώνων καὶ φυτῶν συντάσεις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἥμισυστάσεις 2 τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ άερι καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἑκεῖνῳ, ὑπερβολὴ θάλπους καὶ ἐλλειψις καὶ μεσότης. αὕτη δὲ τῷ εἰς τὰς ξώνας μερισμῷ λαμβάνει τὴν οἰκείαν διάκρισιν ἀλ ὅ τ η γαρ κατεψυχίμεναι δύο τὴν ἐλλειψιν τοῦ θάλπους ὑπαγορεύουσιν, εἰς μίαν τοῦ περιέχοντος φύσιν συναγόμεναι, ἀλ ὅ τ η ἐφαρμοσὶς εἰς μίαν τὴν μεσότητα ἄγονται, εἰς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ἢ λοιπὴ μία καὶ διακεκαμένη. ὅτι δὲ καὶ γεωγραφικός ἐστιν ὁ μερισμός, δήλον.

1 καὶ τοῖς ἔτεροσκίοις, Groskurd inserts, after περίσκοιοι; Meineke, Forbiger, Tardieu, following; Gosselin, Kramer, C. Müller, approving, but not inserting.

2 ἥμισυστάσεις, Madvig, for ἥμισυστάσεις; A. Vogel, Sterrett, approving.
GEOGRAPHY, 2. 3. 1

equator. However, the division into five zones seems to me to be in harmony with physics as well as geography; with physics, in relation both to the celestial phenomena and to the temperature of the atmosphere; in relation to the celestial phenomena, because, by means of the "periscian" and the "heteroscian" and the "amphiscian" regions (the best way to determine the zones), the appearance of the constellations to our sight is at the same time determined; for thus, by a kind of rough-outline division, the constellations receive their proper variations; and in relation to the temperature of the atmosphere, because the temperature of the atmosphere, being judged with reference to the sun, is subject to three very broad differences—namely, excess of heat, lack of heat, and moderate heat, which have a strong bearing on the organisations of animals and plants, and the semi-organisations of everything else beneath the air or in the air itself. And the temperature of the atmosphere receives its proper determination by this division of the earth into five zones: for the two frigid zones imply the absence of heat, agreeing in the possession of one characteristic temperature; and in like manner the two temperate zones agree in one temperature, that of moderate heat; while the one remaining is consistent in having the remaining characteristic, in that it is one and torrid in temperature. And it is clear that this division is in harmony with geography.

1 See 2. 2. 3. and footnotes.
2 Strabo, like Pythagoras, has in mind celestial zones corresponding to his terrestrial zones. The former would not be so accurate as the latter, but they would afford a consistent basis for astronomical observation.
3 Seeds, for example.
νητεί γὰρ ἡ γεωγραφία τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν εὐκράτων ἀφορίσαι τὸ οἰκούμενον ὑφ’ ἡμῶν τρῆμα: πρὸς δύσει μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνατολῆ θάλασσα ἐστὶν ἡ περατοῦσα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ νότια καὶ τὰ βόρεια ὁ ἀήρ, ὁ μὲν μέσος εὑκρατος ὄν καὶ φυτὸς καὶ ζῷος, ὁ δὲ ἐφ’ ἐκύτερα δύσκρατος ὑπερβολὴ καὶ ἐλλείψει τοῦ θάλπους. εἰς δὲ τὰς τρεῖς διαφόρας ταύτας ἐδέχεσε τῇς εἰς πέντε ζώνας διαφέρουσι· τῇ γὰρ ἵσημερινῷ τμήθεισα διὰ ἡ σφαῖρα τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸ βόρειον ἡμισφαίριον, ἐν ὁ ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν, καὶ τὸ νότιον, ὑπέγραψε τὰς τρεῖς διαφόρας· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τῷ ἵσημερινῷ καὶ τῇ διακεκαμβέσθη ζώνῃ διὰ καύμα ἀοίκητα ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τῷ πόλῳ διὰ ψύχους, τὰ δὲ μέσα τὰ εὐκρατα καὶ τὰ οἰκήσμα. ὁ δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῖς τροπικοῖς προστίθησεν, οὐδ’ ὄμολα κεχρημένος διαφορὰ, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ ταῖς ἐθνικαῖς διαφοραῖς ἀπέφαινε ζώναις, ἄλλην μὲν τὴν Ἁλθισικήν, ἄλλην δὲ τὴν Σκυθικήν καὶ Κελτικῆν, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἀνὰ μέσον.

2. Ὅ δ’ ὅραμα Πολύβιος τούτῳ μὲν οὔκ εἰ, τὸ ποιεῖν τινας ζώνας τοῖς ἀρκτικοῖς διοριζομένας, δύο μὲν τὰς ὑποπτοῦσας αὐτοῖς, δύο δὲ τὰς μεταξὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν τροπικῶν· εἰρηταὶ γὰρ ὅτι τοὺς μεταπέπτουσι σημείους οὐχ ὀριστέον τὰ ἀμετάπτωτα. οὔδε τοῖς τροπικοῖς δὲ τῆς διακεκαμβέσθησαν.
GEOGRAPHY, 2. 3. i–2

For geography seeks to define by boundaries that section of the earth which we inhabit by means of the one of the two temperate zones. Now on the west and on the east it is the sea that fixes its limits, but on the south and the north the nature of the air; for the air that is between these limits is well-tempered both for plants and for animals, while the air on both sides of these limits is harsh-tempered, because of excess of heat or lack of heat. It was necessary to divide the earth into five zones corresponding to these three differences of temperature; indeed, the cutting of the sphere of the earth by the equator into two hemispheres, the northern hemisphere in which we live, and the southern hemisphere, suggested the three differences of temperature. For the regions on the equator and in the torrid zone are uninhabitable because of the heat, and those near the pole are uninhabitable because of the cold; but it is the intermediate regions that are well-tempered and inhabitable. But when he adds the two zones beneath the tropics, Poseidonius does not follow the analogy of the five zones, nor yet does he employ a like criterion; but he was apparently representing zones by the ethnical criteria also, for he calls one of them the “Ethiopic zone,” another the “Scythico-Celtic zone,” and a third the “intermediate zone.”

2. Polybius is not right in this, namely, in that he defines some of his zones by means of the arctic circles: two that fall under the arctic circles themselves, and two between the arctic circles and the tropics; for, as I have already said, non-variables must not be defined by points that are variable.¹ And we must also not employ the tropics as boundaries of the

¹ See page 365, and footnote 2.
μένης ὁροὺς χρηστέους καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ εἴρηται. τὴν διακεκαυμένην μέντοι δίχα διαιροῦν πρὸς οὐ φαύλην ἐπίνοιαν φανεραί κεκινημένος, πρὸς ἂν καὶ ὅλην δίχα διαιροῦμεν εὑρίσκω τὴν γῆν εἰς τε τὸ βόρειον ἡμισφαίριον καὶ τὸ νότιον τῷ ἱσημερινῷ· δὴν ζῶν γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ διαιρεῖται κατὰ ταύτην τὴν τομῆν καὶ διακεκαυμένη, καὶ ποιεῖ τινα ἐπιτυγχαίτηται ὡστε καὶ τὸ ἡμισφαίριον ἐκάτερον ξένων συνε- 
τάχθαι τριῶν ξωνὸν ὁμολογίων τῶν ἐν ὑπερφ. ἣ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη τομὴ δέχεται τὴν εἰς ξένως διαιρέσειν, ἢ δὲ ἔτερα οὐ πάνω. εἰ γοῦν τῷ διὰ τῶν πόλων δίχα τέμνοις τὴν γῆν, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐκάτερον τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων, τὸ τε ἐσπέριον καὶ τὸ ἀνατολικόν, τέμνοις εἰς ξώνας ξένως, ἀλλὰ ἢ εἰς πέντε ἄρκούσα ἢ πόλεμος τὸ γὰρ ὁμοιοπαθές τῶν ἀμφοτέρων τῆς διακεκαυμένης, ἢ ποιεῖ ὁ ἱσημερινός, καὶ τὸ συγκείσθαι περιτήν καὶ περιεργον ἀποφαίνει τὴν τομήν, ὁμολογίων μὲν ὅσδικον καὶ τῶν εὐκράτων καὶ τῶν κατεψυχομένων, ἀλλ’ οὐ συγκείμενων οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὴν ὅλην γην 
ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἡμισφαιρίων ἐπινοούμενην ἄρ- 
κούστως ἢ εἰς πέντε διαιροῖς. εἰ δ’, διὸ ἡ Ἐρατοσθένης δημογ. ὡς ὑποτίθεται τῷ ἱσημερινῷ ἐστὶν εὐκρατος, καθάπερ καὶ Πολύβιος ὁμοδοξεὶ (προστίθαις δ’ οὕτως καὶ διὸ τῇ ἑαυτοτήτῃ ἔστι), 
διὸν καὶ κατομβρεῖται, τῶν βορείων νεφῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἑτησίας ἐκεί τοῖς ἀναστήμασι προσπηπ-

1 γὰρ, ὡς, εἰ διαιρεῖται, Madvig, for γὰρ διαίρεται.
torrid zone; this, too, I have already said. However, when he divides the torrid zone into two parts, it is clearly no foolish notion that has moved him to do so; for it is by this notion that we very suitably use the equator to divide the whole earth into two parts, namely, the northern and the southern hemispheres. For it is clear that, if the torrid zone as well is divided according to this method of partition, Polybius reaches a convenient result; that is, each of the two hemispheres is composed of three whole zones, each of which is like in form to its corresponding zone in the other hemisphere. Now a partition of this kind admits of the division into six zones; but the other partition does not altogether admit of it. At all events, if you should cut the earth into two parts by means of the circle that runs through the poles, you could not reasonably divide each of the two hemispheres, the western and the eastern, into six zones, but the division into five zones would be sufficient; for the homogeneousness of the two sections of the torrid zone that are made by the equator, and the fact that they are contiguous to each other, render their partition useless and superfluous, while the two temperate and the two frigid zones are, indeed, alike in form respectively, though they are not contiguous. So, therefore, if you conceive of the whole earth as composed of hemispheres of this kind it will be sufficient to divide it into five zones. But if the country that lies under the equator is temperate, as Eratosthenes says it is (an opinion with which Polybius agrees, though he adds this, that it is the highest part of the earth, and for that reason is subject to rains, because at the season of the Etesian Winds the clouds from the north strike in great
τόντων πλείστων), πολὺ κρείττον τρίτην ἕυκρατον
ταῦτην ποιεῖν στενὴν τινα, ἣ τὰς ὑπὸ τοὺς τρο-
πικοῖς εἰσάγειν. συνηγορεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ
tοιαῦτα, ὧν μέμνηται καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, τὸ ἐκεῖ
τάς μεταστάσεις ὁξυτέρας εἶναι τὰς εἰστὰ πλάγια,
ὡς δ’ αὐτῶς καὶ τὰς ἀπ’ ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν τοῦ
ἡλίου: ὁξυτέρας γὰρ αἱ κατὰ μεγίστου κύκλου
τῶν ὁμοταχῶν κυνήσεων.

3. Ἐνισταταί δ’ ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τῷ Πολυβίῳ,
διότι φησὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἱσημερινῷ οὐκέσιν ὑψηλο-
tάτην· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι κατὰ τὴν σφαιρικήν
ἐπιφάνειαν ὕψος διὰ τὴν ὁμαλότητα, οὐδὲ δὴ
ὅρεινὴν εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἱσημερινῷ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
πεδιάδα ἱσόπεδον πως τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς θαλάττης·
tοὺς δὲ πληροῦντας τὸν Νεῖλον ὀμβρους ἐκ τῶν
Ἀθηναϊκῶν ὀρῶν συμβαίνειν. ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν
ἐνταῦθα ἐν ἅλλοις συγχωρεῖ, φῆσας ὑπονοεῖν
ὅρη εἶναι τὰ ὑπὸ τῷ ἱσημερινῷ, πρὸς ἀ ἐκα-
tέρωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν εὐκράτων ἀμφοῖν προσπιτῶντα
τὰ νέφη ποιεῖν τοὺς ὀμβρους. αὐτὴ μὲν ὁνὴ ἡ ἀν-
ομολογία φανερά· ἀλλὰ καὶ δοθέντος τοῦ ὅρεινὴν
εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἱσημερινῷ, ἄλλῃ τῷ ἀνακύπτειν
ἀπὶ δόξειν: οἱ γὰρ αὐτοὶ σύρρουν φασὶν εἶναι τὸν

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1 τὴν, Kramer suspects and Meineke deletes, before ἕυκρατον.

1 That is, the circumstances just quoted from Polybius.
2 That is, the equator and adjacent circles of latitude. Strabo means simply that the sun passes more rapidly with

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numbers against the mountain peaks in that region), it would be much better to regard it as a third temperate zone, although a narrow one, than to introduce the two zones beneath the tropics. And in accord with these circumstances\(^1\) are the following (which Poseidonius has already mentioned), namely, that in those regions the oblique motion of the sun is more rapid, and in the same way its daily motion from east to west; for when revolutions are accomplished within the same period of time, those on the greatest circles\(^2\) are the more rapid.

3. But Poseidonius objects to the statement of Polybius that the inhabited region under the equator is the highest. For, says Poseidonius, there can be no high point on a spherical surface, because the surface of a sphere is uniform all round; and indeed the country under the equator is not mountainous, but rather is it a plain that is approximately on a level with the surface of the sea; and the rains that flood the Nile come together from the mountains of Ethiopia. But although Poseidonius thus expresses himself in this passage, he concedes the view of Polybius in other passages, saying he suspects that there are mountains beneath the equator and that the clouds from the two temperate zones strike against those mountains on both sides and cause the rains. Now here the lack of consistency is obvious; but even if it be admitted that the country beneath the equator is mountainous, another inconsistency, as it seems, would arise; for these same men assert that the ocean is one continuous stream round the earth. How, pray,

respect to points in this third temperate zone than in the new torrid zone on either side of that zone; hence a temperate climate on and near the equator.
οκεανόν. πῶς οὖν ὅρη κατὰ μέσον ἱδρύουσιν αὐτόν, πλὴν εἰ νῆσους τινὰς βούλονται λέγειν; ὡς δὲ δὴ ποτὲ τοῦτ' ἔχει, τῆς γεωγραφικῆς μερίδος ἔξω πίπτει· δοτέον δ' ἵσως τῷ προθεμένῳ τῷ περὶ ὀκεανοῦ πραγματείαν ταῦτ' ἐξετάζειν.

4. Μνησθεὶς δὲ τῶν περιπλεύσας λεγομένων τῆς Δεξίης Ἡρόδοτον μὲν οἶεσθαί φησιν ὑπὸ Νεκῶ ἐμφάνεντας τινᾶς τελέσαι τὸν περιπλούν Ἡρακλείδην δὲ τὸν Ποντικὸν ἐν διαλόγῳ ποιεῖν ἄφιγμένον παρὰ Γέλωνα μάγον τινὰ περιπλεύσας φάσκοντα. ἀμάρτυρα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐναι φήσας καὶ Εὐδοξοῦ τινα Κυζικηνὸν θεωρῶν καὶ σπονδοφόρον τοῦ τῶν Κορείων ἀγώνος ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀγγυπτὸν ἱστορεῖ κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον Εὐεργέτην συσταθήμαι δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῶς περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τοὺς ἁλαπλός τοῦ Νείλου βασιλευκὸν ἄντα τῶν τοπικῶν ἰδιωμάτων ἄμα καὶ ὅκα ἀπαίδευτον. τυχεῖν δή τινα Ἰνδὸν κομισθέντα ὡς τὸν βασιλέα ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων τοῦ Ἀραβίου μυχοῦ, λεγόντων εὑρεῖν ἡμιθανῆ καταχθέντα μόνον ἐν νη, τοῖς δ' εἰς καὶ πόθεν, ἄγνοεῖν, μὴ συνείνας τῆς διάλεκτος τὸν ἐν παραδοῦναι τοὺς διδάξουσιν ἔλληνες ἑκμαθόντα δὴ διηγήσασθαι, διότι ἐκ τῆς

1 All scholars agree that Strabo or Poseidonius made a mistake in giving the name of Darius here. It was Necho who ordered the circumnavigation of Africa, while Darius ordered that of Arabia. (Herod. 4. 42).

2 Γέλωνα, Corais, for Γέλωνε Μeineke approving.
can they place mountains in the centre of the ocean—unless by "mountains" they refer to certain islands? But however this may be, it falls outside the province of geography; and perhaps we should give over these matters for examination to some one who proposes to write a treatise on the ocean.

4. In giving the names of those who are said to have circumnavigated Libya Poseidonius says that Herodotus believes that certain men commissioned by Neco accomplished the circumnavigation of Libya; and adds that Heracleides of Pontus in one of his Dialogues makes a certain Magus who had come to the court of Gelon assert that he had circumnavigated Libya. And, after stating that these reports are unsupported by testimony, he tells the story of a certain Eudoxus of Cyzicus, a sacred ambassador and peace herald at the festival of Persephone. Eudoxus, the story goes, came to Egypt in the reign of Euergetes the Second; and he became associated with the king and the king's ministers, and particularly in connection with the voyages up the Nile; for he was a man inclined to admire the peculiarities of regions and was also not uninformed about them. Now it so happened, the story continues, that a certain Indian was brought to the king by the coast-guards of the recess of the Arabian Gulf, who said that they had found him half-dead and alone on a stranded ship, but that they did not know who he was or where he came from, since they did not understand his language; and the king gave the Indian into the charge of men who would teach him Greek; and when the Indian had learnt Greek, he related that on his voyage from India he by a

1 Ptolemy Physcon, who reigned B.C. 146–117.
Ινδικῆς πλέων περιπέσοι πλάνη καὶ σωθεὶς δεύτερο, τοὺς σύμπλους ἀποβαλὼν λιμῷ· ὑποληφθέντα δὲ ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς πλοῦν ἤγισσασθαι τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως προχειρισθεῖσιν τούτων δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Εὐδόξον.

Πλεύσαντα δὴ μετὰ δόρων ἐπανελθεῖν ἀντιφορτυσάμενον ἀρόματα καὶ λίθους πολυτελείς, ὃν τοὺς μὲν καταφέρουσιν οἱ ποταμοὶ μετὰ τῶν ψηφών, τοὺς δὲ ὀρυκτοὺς εὑρίσκουσι, πεπηγότας εἰς ὑγροῦ, καθάπερ τὰ κρυστάλλια παρ’ ἧμιν· διαψευσθήσατο δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ δέν τινα ἀπαντα τῶν φόρτων τὸν Εὐεργέτην. τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου τὸν βίον, Κλεοπάτραν τὴν γυναῖκα διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν πάλιν ὑπὸ ταύτης πεμφθήναι τὸν Εὐδόξον μετὰ μείζονος παρασκευῆς. ἔπαινοντα δὲ ἀνέμοις παρενεχθήναι ύπερ τὴν Αἴθιοπίαν προσφέρομενοι δὲ τοὺς τόποις ἐξοικειούσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μεταδόσει συνίων τε καὶ οἶνον καὶ παλαθίδων, διὸ καὶ ἐκείνους οὐ μετήν, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων ὑδρείας τε τυγχάνειν καὶ καθοδηγίας, ἀπογράφεσθαι τε τῶν ῥημάτων ἔνα. εὑρόντα δὲ ἀκρόπροφορον ἕξιλινον ἐκ ναυαγίου ὑπὸ ἔχον ἕγγεγλυμμένον, πυθόμενον ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστέρας πλεόντων τινῶν εἰς τὸ ναυάγιον τούτο, κομίζειν αὐτὸ ἀναστρέψαντα πρὸς τὸν οἰκείου πλοῦν. σωθέντα δὲ εἰς Ἀἴγυπτον, οὐκέτι τῇς Κλεοπάτρας ἥγουμενης, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παιδός, καὶ, Meineke proposes to insert, after γενέσθαι.
strange mischance\textsuperscript{1} mistook his course and reached Egypt in safety, but only after having lost all his companions by starvation; and when his story was doubted, he promised to act as guide on the trip to India for the men who had been previously selected by the King; and of this party Eudoxus, also, became a member.

So Eudoxus sailed away with presents; and he returned with a cargo of perfumes and precious stones (some of which the rivers bring down with the sands, while others are found by digging, being solidified from a liquid state, just as our crystals are). But Eudoxus was wholly deceived in his expectations, for Euergetes took from him his entire cargo. And after the death of Euergetes, his wife, Cleopatra, succeeded him on the throne; and so Eudoxus was again sent out, by her also, and this time with a larger outfit. But on his return voyage he was driven out of his course by the winds to the south of Ethiopia, and being driven to certain places he conciliated the people by sharing with them bread, wine, and dried figs (for they had no share of such things), and in return therefor he received a supply of fresh water and the guidance of pilots, and he also made a list of some of their words. And he found an end of a wooden prow that had come from a wrecked ship and had a horse carved on it; and when he learned that this piece of wreckage belonged to some voyagers who had been sailing from the west, he took it with him when he turned back upon his homeward voyage. And when he arrived safely in Egypt, inasmuch as Cleopatra no longer reigned but

\textsuperscript{1} In §5 following Strabo makes sport of this "strange mischance."
αφαιρεθήναι πάλιν πάντα· φωραθήναι γάρ νεοσφιζομένου πολλά. τὸ δὲ ἀκρόπροφορον προφέροντα εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον, δεικνύων τοὺς ναυκλήρους, γνώναι δὲ Γαδείριτῶν ὅν τούτων γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἐμπόρους μεγάλα στέλλειν πλοῖα, τοὺς δὲ πένητας μικρά, ἀ καλεῖν ὅπποις, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρόφρασις ἐπισήμων· τούτοις δὲ πλεῖν μέχρι τοῦ Λίξου ποταμοῦ περὶ τὴν Μαυρουσίαν ἀλιευμένους· ἀλλὰ τὸν δὴ ναυκλήρουν τινὰς γνωρίσαι τὸ ἀκρόπροφορὸν ἐνὸς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λίξου ποταμοῦ πορρότερον πλευσάντων καὶ μὴ σωθέντων ὑπάρ-ξαι.

'Εκ δὲ τούτου κυμβαλόντα τὸν Εὐδοξοῦν ὡς δυνατός εἰπὸν περπίπλους ὁ Διβυκός, πορευθέντα οἴκαδε τὴν οὐσίαν ἐνθέμουν πᾶσαν ἐξορμήσαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Δικαίαρχελαν, εἰτ' εἰς Μασσαλίαν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τὴν εξῆς παραλίαν μέχρις Γαδείρου, πανταχοῦ δὲ διακαδώνυοντα ταῦτα καὶ χρηματικόμενον κατασκευάσσαθαι πλοῖον μέγα καὶ ἐφόλκια δύο λέμβοις ληστρικοῖς ὄμοια, ἐμβιβάσαι τε μονικά παιδισκάρια καὶ ιατροὺς καὶ ἄλλους τεχνίτες, ἔπειτα πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰνδικήν μετέωρον ἕσφυρος συνεχέσται. καμιόντων δὲ τῷ πλῆθος τῶν συνόντων, ἀκοντα ἐπορύσαι πρὸς γῆν, δεδοκότα τὰς πλημμυριδὰς καὶ τὰς ἀμπώτεις, καὶ δὴ καὶ συμβηκῶν διότε ἐδεδίευ· καθίσαι γάρ τὸ
her son in her stead, he was again deprived of everything, for it was discovered that he had stolen much property. But he brought the figure-head to the market-place and showed it to the shipmasters, and learned from them that it was a figure-head from Gades; for he was told that whereas the merchants of Gades fit out large ships, the poor men fit out small ships which they call "horses" from the devices on the prows of their ships, and that they sail with these small ships on fishing voyages around the coast of Maurusia as far as the river Lixus; but some of the shipmasters, indeed, recognized the figure-head as having belonged to one of the ships that had sailed rather too far beyond the Lixus River and had not returned home safely.

And from the above-mentioned fact Eudoxus conjectured that the circumnavigation of Libya was possible, went home, placed all his property on a ship, and put out to sea. First he put in at Dicaearchia, then at Massilia, and then at the successive points along the coast until he came to Gades; and everywhere noisily proclaiming his scheme and making money by trafficking, he built a great ship and also two tow-boats like those used by pirates; and he put music-girls on board, and physicians, and other artisans, and finally set sail on the high sea on the way to India, favoured by constant western breezes. But since his companions became tired of the voyage, he sailed with a fair wind towards the land; though he did it against his will, for he feared the ebb and flow of the tides. And, indeed, what he feared actually came to pass: the

1 To Cyzicus.
πλοίον, ἁσυχῇ δὲ, ὡστε μηδὲ ἄθροὺν διαλυθήναι, ἀλλὰ φθῆναι τὰ φορτία σωθέντα εἰς γῆν καὶ τῶν ἔξυλων τὰ πλείστα. εἰς δὲ τρίτον λέμβουν συμπηκό-ξάμενον πεντηκοντόρφο πάρισον πλείων, ἐώς ἀνθρώ-ποις συνέμεξε τὰ αὐτὰ ῥῆματα φθεγγομένως, ἀπερ πρότερον ἀπεγέγραπτο. ἀμα δὲ τούτο γε γνώναι, ὅτι τε ἐνταῦθα ἄνθρωποι ὁμοειδεῖς εἶεν τοῖς Λιδίοψιν ἕκεινοις, καὶ ὅτι ὁμοιοῖ τῇ Βόγῳ βασιλείᾳ.

Ἀφέντα δὴ τὸν ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς πλοῖον ἀναστρέφειν ἐν δὲ τῷ παράπλω νῆσον εὐνυδρον καὶ εὐδενδρον ἔρη-μην ἴδοντα σημειώσασθαι. σωθέντα δὲ εἰς τὴν Μαυ-ρουσίαν, διαδέμενον τοὺς λέμβους πεζῷ κομισθήναι πρὸς τὸν Βόγον καὶ συμβουλεύειν αὐτῷ τὴν ναυστο-λίαν ἐπανελέσθαι ταῦτην, ἵσχυσαι δὲ εἰς τὰν αὐτὰ τοὺς φίλους ὑποτείνοντας φόβοι, μὴ συμβῇ τῇν χώραν ἐνεπεβούλευτον γενέσθαι, δειχθείςς παρ-όδον τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐθέλουσιν. ὡς δὲ ἐποθετο λόγῳ μὲν πεμπόμενον ξανθὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναδειγμέναν ναυστολίαν, ἔργῳ δὲ ἑκτεθεσίμενον εἰς ἔρημον τινὰ νῆσον, φυγεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἐρωμαῖον ἐπικράτειαν, κακείθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν διὰρα-πάλιν δὲ κατασκευάσαμεν στρογγύλον πλοῖον καὶ μακρὸν πεντηκόντορον, ὡστε τῷ μὲν πελαγί-ζειν, τῷ δὲ πειρᾶσθαι τῇ γῆς, ἐνθέμενον γεωργικὰ ἐργαλεία καὶ στέρματα καὶ οἰκοδόμους ὀρμῆσαι πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν περίπλουν διανοοῦμενον, εἰ

1 ἀπεγέγραπτο, Corais, for ἀπογέγραπτο; Meineke following.
ship ran aground,—though so gently that it was not broken up all at once, and they succeeded in bringing safely to land the cargo and also most of the ship's timbers; and from these timbers he constructed a third boat about as large as a ship of fifty oars; and he continued his voyage, until he came to people who spoke the same words that he had made a list of on the former occasion; and forthwith he learnt this, at least, that the men in that region belonged to the same nation as those other Ethiopians, and also that they were neighbours to the kingdom of Bogus.

Accordingly, he abandoned the voyage to India and turned back; and on the voyage along the coast, he espied and made note of an island that was well-watered and well-wooded but uninhabited. And when he reached Maurusia safely he disposed of his boats, travelled on foot to the court of Bogus, and advised him to take up this expedition on his own account; but the friends of Bogus prevailed to the contrary, inspiring in him the fear that Maurusia might in consequence be easily exposed to hostile intrigue if the way thither had once been pointed out to outsiders who wished to attack it. And when Eudoxus heard that he was being sent out, ostensibly, on the expedition as proposed by him, but in reality was going to be placed out on some desert island, he fled to the territory that was under Roman dominion, and thence crossed over to Iberia. And again he built a round ship and a long ship of fifty oars, his purpose being to keep to the open sea with his long ship and to explore the coast with the round ship. He put on board agricultural implements, seeds, and carpenters, and again set out with a view to the same circumnavigation; his intention being, in case the
βραδυνοτο ὁ πλοῦς, ἐνδιαχειμᾶσαι τῇ προεσκεμένη νήσῳ, καὶ σπείραντα καὶ ἀνελόμενον τοὺς καρποὺς τελέσαι τὸν ἐγνωσμένον ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλοῦν. 5. Ἡγὼ μὲν οὖν, φησὶ, μέχρι δεύρο1 τῆς περί τοῦ Ἑυδοκίου ἱστορίας ἢκω, τί δ’ ὑστερον συνέβη, τοὺς ἔκ Γαθερῶν καὶ τῆς Ἴβηριας εἰκὸς εἰδέναι, ἐκ πάντων δὴ τούτων φησὶ δείκνυσθαι, διότι ἡ ὀικουμενὴ κύκλῳ περιρρέεται τῷ ὠκεανῷ.  

οὐ γάρ μιν δεσμὸς περιβάλλεται ἡπειροῦ, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀπειρεσίαν κέχυται, τὸ μν' οὕτω μιαίνει. (Müller, fr. iii. 281).

θαυμαστὸς δὴ κατὰ πάντα ἐστὶν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος, τῶν μὲν τοῦ μάγου περίπλουν, διὸ Ἡρακλείδης εἶπεν, ἀμάρτυρον νομίσας, καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπὸ Νεκῶ πεμφθέντων, διὸ Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, τὸ δὲ Βεργαίου διήγημα τούτῳ ἐν πίστεως μέρει τιθεῖ, εἰθ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεπλασμένου, εἰτ’ ἀλλων πλασάντων πιστευθέν. τὸς γὰρ ἡ πιθανότης πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν περιπετείας; ὁ γὰρ Ἄραβιος κόλπος ποταμοῦ δίκην στενὸς ἐστι καὶ μακρὸς πεντακοσιάλιος ἐπὶ τοῖς2 μυρίοις που σταθεῖς μέχρι τοῦ στόματος, καὶ τοῦτον στενοῦ παντάπασιν ὄντος, ὅκεικὸς δ’ οὔτ’ ἔξω που τὸν πλοῦν ἔχοντας εἰς τὸν κόλπον παραστήθηκαί τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς κατὰ πλάνην (τὰ γὰρ στενὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος δηλώσειν ἔμελλε τὴν πλάνην), οὔτ’ εἰς τὸν κόλπον ἐπίτηδες καταχθεῖσιν ἔτι πλάνης ἤν πρόφασις καὶ ἀνέμων ἀστάτων.

1 δεύρο, Meineke inserts, after μέχρι; C. Müller approving.  
2 τοῖς, Cascorbi inserts, before μυρίοις; following the usage of Strabo. C. Frick cites.
voyage should be delayed, to spend the winter on the island he had previously observed, to sow the seed, reap the harvest therefrom, and then finish the voyage which he had decided upon at the outset.

5. "Now I," says Poseidonius, "have traced the story of Eudoxus to this point, but what happened afterwards probably the people of Gades and Iberia know." So from all these indications he says it is shown that the ocean flows in a circle round the inhabited world: "For him no fetters of continent encompass; but he pours forth his waters boundlessly, and nothing ever sullies their purity." ¹ Now Poseidonius is a wonderful fellow in all this; for although he considers as unsupported by testimony the story of the voyage of the Magus, which Heracleides told, and of the voyage even of the emissaries of Neco, of which Herodotus gives an account, he puts down as real evidence this Bergaean² story, though he either invented it himself or accepted it from others who were its inventors. For, in the first place, what plausibility is there in the "strange mischance" which the Indian tells about? Why, the Arabian Gulf is like a river in its narrowness, and it is about fifteen thousand stadia long up to its mouth, which, in its turn, is narrow throughout its entire length; and so it is not likely that the Indians who were voyaging outside this gulf were pushed out of their course into it by mistake (for its narrowness at its mouth would have shown their mistake), nor, if they sailed into the gulf on purpose, did they any longer have the excuse that they mistook their course or encountered inconstant

¹ The authorship of these verses is unknown.
² See footnote, p. 172.
C 101 λιμῷ τε πῶς περιείδον ἀπάντας ἀπολλυμένοις ἁ σφᾶς πλῆθν ἐνὸς; περιγενόμενος τε πῶς ἵκανος ἢ μόνος κατευθύνειν τὸ πλοῖον οὐ μικρὸν δυνάμενον, τά γε τηλικά τὰ πελάγη διαλέγειν δυνάμενον; τίς δὲ ἡ ἔμμαθεια τῆς διαλέκτου, ἀφ’ ἢ ἵκανος ἢ πεισαί τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς δυνάμενος τοῦ πλοῦ καθηγησασθαι; τίς δὲ ἡ σπάνις τῷ Ἐνεργέτῃ τῶν τοιούτων καθηγεμόνων, ἢ ὁ ἐναρξημένης ὑπὸ πολλῶν τῆς ταύτης θαλάττης; ὁ δὲ δὴ σπουδοφόρος καὶ θεωρὸς τῶν Κυζικηνῶν πῶς ἀφεῖς τὴν πόλιν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπλευ; πῶς δὲ ἐπιστεύθη τηλικά τὴν χρείαν; πῶς δ’ ἐπανιδὼν ἁφαιρεθεὶς πάντα παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἀτιμωθεὶς ἑτερομοιοὶ ἐπιστεύθη παρασκευὴν δύορων; ἐπανιδὼν δὲ καὶ παρενεχθεὶς εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, τὸν χάριν ἢ τὰς διαλέκτους ἀπεγράφετο, ἢ τὸ ἀκρόπροφρον ἐπυνθάνετο τῆς ἀλλαδὸς πόθεν ἔκπεσοι; τὸ γὰρ μαθεῖν ὅτι ἀπὸ δύσεως πλεοντῶν ἢ γυναῖγον, οὐδὲν ἐμελλεν ὑπάρχειν σημεῖον, ἐπεῖς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμελλεν ἀπὸ δύσεως πλείων κατὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον. ἔλθὼν δ’ οὖν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, φωραθεὶς ὡς νεοσφησμένος πολλά, πῶς οὐκ ἐκολάσθη, ἄλλα καὶ περιήκε τοὺς ναυκλήρους διαπυνθανόμενοις, δεικνύς ἀμα τὸ ἀκρόπροφρον; ὁ δὲ γνωρίσας οὐχὶ θαυμα-

1 ἀπολλυμένοις, Xylander, for ἀπολομένους; all editors, except Kramar, following; C. Müller approving.
winds. And how can it be that they permitted all their number to die of starvation with the exception of one man? And if he survived, how could he single-handed have guided the ship, which was not a small one, since at all events it could sail over open seas of so great extent? And how strange his speedy mastery of the Greek language, which enabled him to convince the king that he was competent to act as pilot of the expedition? And how strange Euergetes’ scarcity of competent pilots, since the sea in that region was already known by many men? And as for that peace herald and sacred ambassador of the people of Cyzicus, how came he to abandon his native city and go sailing to India? And how did he come to be entrusted with so great an office? And although on his return everything was taken away from him, contrary to his expectation, and he was in disgrace, how did he come to be entrusted with a still greater equipment of presents? And when he returned from this second voyage and was driven out of his course to Ethiopia, why did he write down those lists of words, and why did he enquire from what source the beak of that fishing-smack had been cast ashore? For the discovery that this bit of wreckage had belonged to men who sailed from the west could have signified nothing, since he himself was to sail from the west on his homeward voyage. And so, again, upon his return to Alexandria, when it was discovered that he had stolen much property, how is it that he was not punished, and that he even went about interviewing shipmasters, at the same time showing them the figure-head of the ship? And wasn’t the man that recognized the figure-head a wonderful fellow? And
στὸς; ὁ δὲ πιστεύσας οὐ θαυμασιώτερος, καὶ κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα τοιάνην ἐπανεῖν εἰς τὴν ὁλίγειαν, καὶ μετοικισμὸν ἐκείθεν ποιησάμενος εἰς τὰ ἐξω Στηλῶν; ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἔξην ἕν ἀνευ προστάγματος ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρείας ἀνάγεσθαι, καὶ ταὐτα νεοσφισμένοι βασιλικὰ χρήματα. οὐδὲ γε λαθεῖν ἐκπλεύσαντα ἐνεδέχετο, τοσαυτή φρούρι κεκλεισμένου τοῦ λιμένος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔξοδων, ὅσην καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαμένουσαν ἐγνωμεν ἡμεῖς ἐπιδημοῦντες τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρείᾳ πολλῶν χρόνων, καίτοι τὰ νῦν πολὺ ἀνεῖται, Ρωμαιῶν ἐχόντων αἱ βασιλικαὶ δὲ φρούρα τολὴ ἤσαν πικρότεραι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ ναυπηγεροσάμενος ἔπλευ βασιλικῶς, καὶ διαλυθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πλοίου, πῶς μὲν ἐναυπηγήσατο τρίτον λέμβου ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ; πῶς δὲ πλέων πάλιν καὶ εὐρὸν τοὺς ἐσπερίους Αἰθίοπας τοὺς ἐσών ὃμογλώττους οὐκ ὁρέχθη διανύσατι τὸν ἔξης πλοίου, οὕτω χαῦνοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ φιλέκδημον, μικρὸν ἔχειν ἐξίσας λοιπὸν τὸ ἄγνωστον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφεῖς ταῦτα τῆς διὰ Βόγου ναυστολίας ἐπεθύμησε; πῶς δ᾽ ἐγνω τὴν λάβρα κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ συνισταμένην ἐπιβουλὴν; τί δὲ τούτ᾽ ἢν τῷ Βόγῳ πλεονέκτημα, ὁ τάνθρωπον ἀφαινισμὸς, ἐξὸν ἄλλως ἀποπέμψασθαι; γινοῦ

1 ἔξην, Cobet, for ἔξην ἢν.
2 καὶ, is retained against Corais and Meineke, who delete it.
wasn't the man that believed him a still more wonderful fellow—the man who on the strength of a hope of that sort returned to his home land, and then changed his home to the regions beyond the Pillars? But it would not even have been permitted him to put to sea from Alexandria without a passport, least of all after he had stolen property belonging to the king. Neither could he have sailed out of the harbour secretly, since not only the harbour, but also all the other ways of issue from the city had always been kept closed under just as strong guard as I know is still kept up to this day (for I have lived a long time in Alexandria)—though at the present time, under Roman control, the watch is considerably relaxed: but under the kings, the guards were much more strict. And, again, when Eudoxus had sailed away to Gades, and in royal style had built himself ships and continued on his voyage, after his vessel had been wrecked, how could he have built a third boat in the desert? And how is it, when once more he put out to sea and found that those western Ethiopians spoke the same language as the eastern Ethiopians, that he was not eager to accomplish the rest of his voyage (inasmuch as he was so foolish in his eagerness for travels abroad, and since he had a good hope that the unexplored remainder of his voyage was but small)—but instead gave up all this and conceived a longing for the expedition that was to be carried out through the aid of Bogus? And how did he come to learn about the plot that was secretly framed against him? And what advantage could this have been to Bogus—I mean his causing the disappearance of the man when he might have dismissed him in other ways? But even if the man learned about the plot,
δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πῶς ἐφθη φυγῶν εἰς ἀσφαλείς τόπους; έκαστον γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἄδυνατον μὲν, ἀλλὰ χαλεπὸν καὶ σπανίως γινόμενον μετὰ τύχης τινὸς· τῷ δὲ εὐτυχεῖν ἀδει συνέβαινεν, εἰς κυνδύνους καθισταμένοις συνεχεῖς. πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἔδεισεν ἀποδρασ τῶν Βόγων πλεῖν πάλιν παρὰ τὴν Λεβύνη σφυν παρασκευὴ δυναμένη συνοικίσαι νήσου;

Οὔ τοιοῦ οὖν ἀπολείπεται ταῦτα τῶν Πυθέου καὶ Εὐημέρου καὶ Ἀντιφάνους φευσμάτων. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνους μὲν συγγραμμὴ, τούτ᾽ αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ὡσπερ τοῖς θαυματουργοῖς· τῷ δ᾽ ἀποδεικτικῷ καὶ φιλοσόφῳ, σχεδὸν δὲ τι καὶ περὶ πρωτεῖων ἀγωνιζομένω, τίς ἀν συγγραμμῇ; ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ εὖ.

6. Τὸ δὲ ἐξαίρεσθαι τὴν γῆν ποτὲ καὶ ἱζήματα λαμβάνειν καὶ μεταβολὰς τὰς ἐκ τῶν σεισμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραπληκίων, ὡς δημοσιευτικά μεθα καὶ ἥμεις, ὅρθως κείται παρ᾽ αὐτῷ πρὸς διὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος εὖ παρατίθησιν, ὅτι ἐνδεχεται καὶ μὴ πλάσμα εἴναι τὸ περὶ τῆς νῆσου τῆς Ἀτλαντίδος, περὶ ἡς ἐκείνος ἑστράφη Σύλωνα φησι πεπυσμένου παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναῖων ἱερῶν, ὡς ὑπάρχουσά ποτε ἀφανισθεὶς, τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἐλάττων ἥπειρου· καὶ τούτῳ οἴεται βέλτιον εἶναι

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1 The only direct reference extant in Plato to the truth or falsity of the story is made by Socrates to Critias: "And what other narrative" (but the Atlantis story) "has the very great advantage of being a fact and not a fiction?" (Timaeus 26 ε.)

2 In Plato, one of the Egyptian priests is credited with
how could he have made his escape to places of safety? For, although there is nothing impossible in any escapes of that sort, yet every one of them is difficult and rarely made even with a streak of luck; but Eudoxus is always attended by good luck, although he is placed in jeopardies one after another. And, again, after he had escaped from Bogus, why was he not afraid to sail once more along the coast of Libya when he had an outfit large enough to colonize an island?

Now, really, all this does not fall far short of the fabrications of Pytheas, Euhemerus and Antiphanes. Those men, however, we can pardon for their fabrications—since they follow precisely this as their business—just as we pardon jugglers; but who could pardon Poseidonius, master of demonstration and philosopher, whom we may almost call the claimant for first honours. So much, at least, is not well done by Poseidonius.

6. On the other hand, he correctly sets down in his work the fact that the earth sometimes rises and undergoes settling processes, and undergoes changes that result from earthquakes and the other similar agencies, all of which I too have enumerated above. And on this point he does well to cite the statement of Plato that it is possible that the story about the island of Atlantis is not a fiction.1 Concerning Atlantis Plato relates that Solon, after having made inquiry of the Egyptian priests, reported that Atlantis did once exist, but disappeared—an island no smaller in size than a continent; and Poseidonius thinks saying to Solon that Atlantis was larger than Libya and Asia put together, and that, as a result of violent earthquakes and floods, it sank beneath the sea in a single day and night (see Timaeus 24–25, and Critias 108 e, 113 c).
λέγειν ή διότι ο πλάσας αυτὴν ἤφανίσεν, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τεῖχος. εἰκάζει δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Κύμβρων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἔξανάστασιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας γενέσθαι κατὰ θαλάττης ἔφοδον, ἀθρόαν συμβάσασαν. ὑπονοεῖ δὲ τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης μῆκος ἐπτά που μυριάδων σταδίων ὑπάρχων ἕμισυ εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου κύκλου, καθ᾽ ὧν εἰλιπται, ὅστε, φησίν, ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως εὐθυπλοῦν ἐν τοσάτταις μυριάσιν ἐλθοίς ἂν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς.

7. Ἑπιχειρήσας δὲ αἰτιάσαται τοὺς οὕτω τὰς ἡπείρους διορίσαντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ παραλληλοις τισὶ τῷ ἵσημερινῷ, δι᾽ ὧν ἐμελλον ἐξαλλάξεις δείκνυσθαι ξώνων τε καὶ φυτῶν καὶ ἀέρων, τῶν μὲν τῇ κατεψυγμένῃ συναπτόντων, τῶν δὲ τῇ διακεκαυμένῃ, ὡστε οἰονεὶ ξώνας εἶναι τὰς ἡπείρους, ἀνασκευάξει πάλιν καὶ ἐν ἀναλύσει δίκης γίνεται, ἐπαύων πάλιν τὴν οὐσαν διαίρεσιν, θετικὴν ποιούμενος τὴν ξήτησιν πρὸς οὐδὲν χρήσιμον. αἱ γὰρ τοιαῦται διατάξεις οὔκ ἐκ προνοίας γίνονται, καθάπερ οὐδὲ αἱ κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη διαφοραί, οὐδὲ αἱ διάλεκτοι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἑπτάπτωσιν καὶ συνυχίαν καὶ τέχναι δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ ἑπτη-

1 εὐθυπλοῦν, Cobet, for ἔβρφ πλέων; Bernadakis, A. Vogel, approving.
2 ἐλθοὶ, Corais, for ἐλθοί; Cobet independently; Bernadakis, C. Müller, A. Vogel, approving.
3 χρήσιμον, Cobet, for χρησιμός.
4 δὲ, Corais, for τέ; Meineke following.
that it is better to put the matter in that way than to say of Atlantis: "Its inventor caused it to disappear, just as did the Poet the wall of the Achaeans." And Poseidonius also conjectures that the migration of the Cimbrians and their kinsfolk from their native country occurred as the result of an inundation of the sea that came on all of a sudden. And he suspects that the length of the inhabited world, being about seventy thousand stadia, is half of the entire circle on which it has been taken, so that, says he, if you sail from the west in a straight course you will reach India within the seventy thousand stadia.

7. Then, after an attempt to find fault with those who divided the inhabited world into continents in the way they did, instead of by certain circles parallel to the equator (through means of which they could have indicated variations in animals, plants, and climates, because some of these belong peculiarly to the frigid zone and others to the torrid zone), so that the continents would be practically zones, Poseidonius again revises his own plea and withdraws his indictment, in that he again approves of the prevailing division into three continents, and thus he makes the question a mere matter of argument with no useful end in view. For such a distribution of animals, plants, and climates as exists is not the result of design—just as the differences of race, or of language, are not, either—but rather of accident and chance. And again, as regards the various arts and faculties and institutions of mankind, most of them,

¹ That is, Solon avoided the historical consequences of his fiction by sinking Atlantis, just as Homer did by making Poseidon and Apollo sweep away with a flood the wall built by the Achaeans in front of their ships (see Iliad 7, 433, 441, and 12, 1–33).
² See pp. 119 and 129.
δεύσεις, ἀρξάντων τινών, κρατοῦσιν αἱ πλείουσ
ἐν όποιοῦρν κλίματι ἔστι δὲ τι καὶ παρὰ τὰ
cλίματα, ὡστε τὰ μὲν φῦσει ἐστὶν ἐπιχώρια
τὶς, τὰ δὲ ἔθει καὶ ἀσκήσει. οὐ γὰρ φύσεi
Ἄθηναίοι μὲν φιλόλογοι, Δακεδαίμονιοι δὲ οὐ,
καὶ οἱ ἔτι ἐγγυτέρω Θῆβαις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔθει
οὕτως οὐδὲ Βαβυλώνιοι φιλόσοφοι φῦσει καὶ
Ἀγυπτιοί, ἀλλ' ἀσκήσει καὶ ἔθει καὶ ὑπποι τε
καὶ βοῶν ἀρετὰς καὶ ἄλλων ζώων, οὐ τόποι μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσκήσεις ποιούσιν ὁ δὲ συγχεὶ ταῦτα,
ἐπαινῶν δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην διαβρειν τῶν ἥπειρων,
οἷα νῦν ἔστι, παραδείγματε χρῆται τῷ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς
τῶν Ἀθιώπων διαφέρειν τῶν ἐν τῇ Διβύη
ἐνεργεστέρων γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ἢττον ἐφεσθαί τῇ
ἐπιστασίᾳ τοῦ περιέχοντος. διὸ καὶ ὁ Ὁμηρὸς πάντας
λέγοντα Ἀθιώπας δίχα διελεῖν,

οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὁπερίονος, οἱ δὲ ἀνιόντος;  
(Οδ. 1. 24)

Κράτητα δὲ, εἰσάγοντα τὴν ἔτεραν οἰκουμένην,
ἡν οὐκ οἶδεν" Ὁμηρὸς, δουλεύειν ὑποθέσει καὶ ἔδει,
φησί, μεταγράφειν οὕτως.

ἡμὲν ἀπερχομένου Ὁπερίονος,
οίον ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ περικλίνοντος.

8. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οἱ πρὸς Ἀγυπτῷ Αἰθιόπες

1 Κράτητα δέ, Casaubon inserts; Corais, Groskurd, Meineke, 
Forbiger, Tardieu, following; Kramer, C. Müller, approving.

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when once men have made a beginning, flourish in any latitude whatsoever and in certain instances even in spite of the latitude; so that some local characteristics of a people come by nature, others by training and habit. For instance, it was not by nature that the Athenians were fond of letters, whereas the Lacedaemonians, and also the Thebans, who are still closer to the Athenians, were not so; but rather by habit. So, also, the Babylonians and the Egyptians are philosophers, not by nature, but by training and habit. And further, the excellent qualities of horses, cattle, and other animals, are the result, not merely of locality, but of training also. But Poseidonius confounds all this. And when he approves of such a division into three continents as is now accepted, he uses as an illustration the fact that the Indians differ from the Ethiopians of Libya, for the Indians are better developed physically and less parched by the dryness of the atmosphere. And, says he, that is the reason why Homer, in speaking of the Ethiopians as a whole, divides them into two groups, "some where Hyperion sets and some where he rises." But, says Poseidonius, Crates, in introducing into the discussion the question of a second inhabited world, about which Homer knows nothing, is a slave to a hypothesis,¹ and, says Poseidonius, the passage in Homer should have been emended to read: "both where Hyperion departs," meaning where he declines from the meridian.

8. Now, in the first place, the Ethiopians that border on Egypt are themselves, also, divided into

¹ That is, his hypothesis that one division of the Ethiopians lived south of the equator, on the other side of Oceanus (see pp. 117 ff.).
καὶ αὐτὸν δίχα διαιροῦνται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ εἰσίν, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Δισύη, οὔδὲν διαφέροντες ἀλλήλων. ἔπειτ' "Ομηρος οὐ διὰ τοῦτο διαιρεῖ τοὺς Ἀθησοτας,1 ὅτι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ήδει τοιούτους τινὰς τοῖς σώμασιν (οὔδὲ γὰρ ἄρχην εἰδέναι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς εἰκὸς "Ομηρον, ὅποιον γε οὖδ' ὁ Ἑυργέτης κατὰ τὸν Εὐδόξειον μῦθον ήδει τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, οὔδὲ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐπ' αὐτήν), ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὴν λεκθείσαν ύφ' ἥμων πρότερον διαφέρειν. ἐκεὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς Κρατητείου διητῆσαμεν, ὅτι οὔδὲν διαφέρει, οὕτως ἢ ἐκείνως γράφειν· ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν διαφέρειν φησί, κρείττον δ' οὕτως εἶναι μεταθείναι "ἡ μὲν ἀπερχομένου." τί οὖν διαφέρει τοῦτο τοῦ "ἡ μὲν δυσομένου"; πάν γὰρ τὸ τρήμα τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ ἐπὶ δύσιν δύσις καλεῖται, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὄριστον ἡμικύκλιον· ὅπερ καὶ Ἔρατος ἐπισημαίνεται,

ἡχὶ περ ἀκραί μισχοῦνται δύσιες τε καὶ ἄντολαι ἀλλήλησιν.

(Ἀρατ. Φαεν. 61)

εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Κρατητείου γραφῆς οὔτω βέλτιον, φήσει τις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑριταρχείου δεῖν. Τοσάυτα καὶ πρὸς Ποσειδώνιον· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἐκαστὰ τυγχάνει τῆς προσηχούσης διαίτης, ὅσα γεωγραφικά· ὅσα δὲ φυσικώτερα, ἐπισκεπτέων ἐν ἄλλοις, ἢ οὔδ' φροντιστέων· πολὺ

1 ἢ, Coraias deletes, before δὲ; Meineke, Tardieu, following; C. Müller approving.
two groups; for some of them live in Asia, others in Libya,\(^1\) though they differ in no respect from each other. And, in the second place, Homer divides the Ethiopians into two groups, not for this reason, namely, because he knew that the Indians were physically similar to the Ethiopians (for Homer probably did not know of the Indians at all, in view of the fact that even Euergetes himself, according to that story of Eudoxus, knew nothing about India, nor the voyage that leads thither), but rather on the basis of the division of which I have spoken above.\(^2\) And in speaking on that subject I also expressed my opinion in regard to the reading proposed by Crates, namely, that it makes no difference whether we read the passage one way or the other\(^3\); but Poseidonius says it does make a difference, and that it is better to emend the passage to read "both where Hyperion departs." Now wherein does this differ from "both where Hyperion sets"? For the whole segment of the circle from the meridian to the setting is called "the setting,"\(^4\) just as the semi-circle of the horizon is so called. This is what Aratus means when he says: "There where the extremities of the west and of the east join with each other." And if the passage is better as Crates reads it, then one may say that it must also be better as Aristarchus reads it.

So much for Poseidonius. For in my detailed discussions many of his views will meet with fitting criticism, so far as they relate to geography; but so far as they relate to physics, I must inspect them elsewhere or else not consider them at all. For in

\(^1\) See pp. 119 ff. and 129.
\(^2\) See p. 120.
\(^3\) See p. 117.
\(^4\) That is, the west.
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γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἰτιολογικὸν παρὰ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ Ἀριστοτέλέων, ὅπερ ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ ἥμετεροι διὰ τὴν ἐπίκρυψιν τῶν αὐτῶν.

IV

1. Πολύβιος δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην χωρογραφῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀρχαίους ἢν φησὶ, τοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖνους ἐλέγχοντας ἐξετάζειν Δικαλαρχόν τὸ καὶ Ἑρατοσθένης, τὸν τελευταίον πραγματευσάμενον περὶ γεωγραφίας, καὶ Πυθεάν, ὑφ’ οὗ παρακρουσθήκατο πολλοίς, ἄλλα μὲν τὴν Βρεττανικήν τὴν ἕμβατον ἐπελθείν φάσκοντος, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον πλεύσαντος ἡ τεττάρων μυριάδων ἀποδόντος τῆς νῆσου, προσιστορήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Θούλης καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς οὐτ' ἀρχ' αὐτὴν ὑπῆρξεν ἐτί οὔτε θάλασσα οὔτ' ἄρρη, ἀλλὰ σύγκριμα τι ἕκ τούτων πλεύσμοι θαλαττίων ἔοικός, ἐν δὲ φησὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ τούτον ὡς ἄν δεσμὸν εἶναι τῶν ὄλων, μήτε πορευτὸν μήτε πλωτὸν ὑπάρχοντα· τὸ μὲν οὖν τῷ πλεύσμοι ἔοικός αὐτὸς ἑωρακέναι, τὰλλα δὲ λέγειν ἐξ ἀκοῆς. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πυθεάν, καὶ διότι ἐπανελθὼν ἐνθένδε πάσαν ἐπέλθει τὴν παρωκειαίτων τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ Γαδείρων ἕως Τανάϊδος.

2. Φησὶ δὲ οὖν ὁ Πολύβιος ἀπιστον καὶ αὐτὸ τούτο, πῶς ἰδιότητ αὐθρόπῳ καὶ πένητι τὰ τοσ-

1 τὴν, A. Jacob inserts, before ἐμβατον.
Poseidonius there is much inquiry into causes and much imitating of Aristotle—precisely what our school¹ avoids, on account of the obscurity of the causes.

IV

1. Polybius, in his account of the geography of Europe, says he passes over the ancient geographers but examines the men who criticise them, namely, Dicaearchus, and Eratosthenes, who has written the most recent treatise on Geography; and Pytheas, by whom many have been misled; for after asserting that he travelled over the whole of Britain that was accessible Pytheas reported that the coast-line of the island was more than forty thousand stadia, and added his story about Thule and about those regions in which there was no longer either land properly so-called, or sea, or air, but a kind of substance concreted from all these elements, resembling a sea-lungs²—a thing in which, he says, the earth, the sea, and all the elements are held in suspension; and this is a sort of bond to hold all together, which you can neither walk nor sail upon. Now, as for this thing that resembles the sea-lungs, he says that he saw it himself, but that all the rest he tells from hearsay. That, then, is the narrative of Pytheas, and to it he adds that on his return from those regions he visited the whole coast-line of Europe from Gades to the Tanaïs.

2. Now Polybius says that, in the first place, it is incredible that a private individual—and a poor

¹ That is, the Stoic school of philosophy. Compare the same Greek phrase on p. 55; and "our Zeno," p. 151.
² An acalaph of the ctenophora.
αὕτα διαστήματα πλωτὰ καὶ πορευτὰ γένοιτο·
τὸν δ’ Ἕρατοσθένη διαπορῆσαντα, εἰ χρή πιστεύειν τούτοις, ὅμως περὶ τε τῆς Βρεττανίκης πεπιστευκέναι καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γάδερα καὶ τήν Ἰβηρίαν. πολὺ δὲ φησι βέλτιον τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ πιστεύειν ἢ τούτῳ. ὁ μὲν τοις γε εἰς μίαν χώραν τῆν Παγχαίαν λέγει πλεύσας: ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περάτων κατωπτευκέναι τὴν προσάρκτιον τῆς Ἑυρώπης πᾶσαν, ἢν οὐδ’ ἂν τῷ Ἐρμῆ πιστεύσαι τις λέγοντε. Ἕρατοσθένη δὲ τὸν μὲν Εὐήμερον Βεργαίον καλεῖν, Πυθέα δὲ πιστεύειν, καὶ τῷ ταῦτα μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος, γελοῖον ὁσπερ ἔκεινος κανόνι χρήσασθαι προσήκου, καθ’ οὗ τοσούτους ἐλέγχους αὐτὸς προφέρεται. Ἕρατοσθένους δὲ εἰρηται ἢ περὶ τὰ ἔστερα καὶ τὰ ἀρκτικὰ τῆς Ἑυρώπης ἄγνωστα. ἀλλ’ ἔκεινος μὲν καὶ Δικαιάρχῳ συγγνώμη, τοὺς μὴ κατιδούσι τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους· Πόλυβίῳ δὲ καὶ Ποσειδώνῳ τῖς ἂν συγγνώσῃ; ἀλλὰ μὴν Πολύβιος γε ἐστιν ὁ λαοδογματικὸς καλῶν ἀποφάσεις, ἃς ποιοῦται περὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις διαστημάτων καὶ ἐν ἅλλοις πολλοῖς, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἂν ὁις ἐκείνοις ἐλέγχει καθαρεύων. τοῦ γοῦν Δικαιάρχου μυρίους μὲν εἰπόντος τοὺς ἐπὶ Στῆλας

1 That is, Hermes in his capacity as god of travel.
man too—could have travelled such distances by sea and by land; and that, though Eratosthenes was wholly at a loss whether he should believe these stories, nevertheless he has believed Pytheas' account of Britain, and of the regions about Gades, and of Iberia; but he says it is far better to believe Euhemerus, the Messenian, than Pytheas. Euhemerus, at all events, asserts that he sailed only to one country, Panchaea, whereas Pytheas asserts that he explored in person the whole northern region of Europe as far as the ends of the world—an assertion which no man would believe, not even if Hermes\(^1\) made it. And as for Eratosthenes—adds Poseidonius—though he calls Euhemerus a Bergaean,\(^2\) he believes Pytheas, and that, too, though not even Dicaearchus believed him. Now that last remark, "though not even Dicaearchus believed him," is ridiculous; as if it were fitting for Eratosthenes to use as a standard the man against whom he himself directs so many criticisms. And I have already stated that Eratosthenes was ignorant concerning the western and northern parts of Europe. But while we must pardon Eratosthenes and Dicaearchus, because they had not seen those regions with their own eyes, yet who could pardon Polybius and Poseidonius? Nay, it is precisely Polybius who characterises as "popular notions" the statements made by Eratosthenes and Dicaearchus in regard to the distances in those regions and many other regions, though he does not keep himself free from the error even where he criticises them. At any rate, when Dicaearchus estimates the distance from

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\(^1\) That is, like Antiphanes, the notorious romancer of Beroe, in Thrace; see p. 173, and footnote.
ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου σταδίους, πλείουσ δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀδριανοὺ μέχρι τοῦ μυκοῦ, τοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ Στῆλας τὸ μέχρι τοῦ Πορθμοῦ τρισχείλιως ἀποδόντος, ὡς γίνεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπτακισχείλιως τὸ ἀπὸ Πορθμοῦ μέχρι Στηλῶν τοῦς μὲν τρισχείλιους ἐὰν φησιν, εἰτ’ εὖ λαμβάνονται εἰτε μή, τοὺς δὲ ἐπτακισχείλιους οὐδετέρως, οὐδὲ τὴν παραλίαν ἐκμετροῦντι, οὔτε τὴν διὰ μέσου τοῦ πελάγους. τὴν μὲν γὰρ παραλίαν ἐοικέναι μάλιστ’ ἀμβλεία γωνία, βεβηκνια ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τῶν Στηλῶν, κορυφὴν δ’ ἐγκύοση Νάρβωνα· ἀστε συνιστάσθαι τρίγωνον βάσιν ἔχου τὴν διὰ τοῦ πελάγους εὐθείαν, πλευρὰς δὲ ταῖς τὴν γωνίαν ποιούσαι τὴν λεχθεῖσαν, ὅν ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πορθμοῦ μέχρι Ναρβωνος μυρίων ἐστὶ καὶ πλεούνων ἢ διακοσίων ἐπὶ τοὺς χιλίους, ἢ δὲ λουτὴ μικρὸν. ἐπλατύνον ἡ ὀκτακισχείλιων καὶ μὴν πλείστων μὲν διάστημα ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Διβύην ὄμολογεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος σταδίων οὐ πλειώνων ἢ τρισχείλιων, κατὰ τὸ Σαρδόνιον δὲ λαμβάνειν συναγωγῆν. ἀλλ’ ἔστω, φησὶ, καὶ ἐκεῖνο τρισχείλιων, προειλήφθω δ’ ἐπὶ τούτων δισχείλιων σταδίων τὸ τοῦ κόλπου βάθος τοῦ κατὰ Νάρβωνα, ὡς ἂν κάθετος ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς ἐπὶ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ ἀμβλυγωνίου δήλον οὖν,

1 λαχνόν, Corais suspects, after μικρῷ; Groskurth deletes; Meinecke, Forbigier, Tardieu, following; C. Müller approving. 2 Σαρδόνιον, Meinecke, for Σαρδόνιον.

That is, the altitude of the triangle drawn from the vertex at Narbo to the base line; thus an allowance of 402
the Peloponnesus to the Pillars at ten thousand stadia, and from the Peloponnesus to the recess of the Adriatic Sea at more than this, and when, of the distance to the Pillars, he reckons the part up to the Strait of Sicily at three thousand stadia, so that the remaining distance—the part from the Strait to the Pillars—becomes seven thousand stadia, Polybius says that he will let pass the question whether the estimate of three thousand is correctly taken or not, but, as for the seven thousand stadia, he cannot let the estimate pass from either of two points of view, namely, whether you take the measure of the coast-line or of the line drawn through the middle of the open sea. For, says he, the coast-line is very nearly like an obtuse angle, whose sides run respectively to the Strait and to the Pillars, and with Narbo as vertex; hence a triangle is formed with a base that runs straight through the open sea and with sides that form the said angle, of which sides the one from the Strait to Narbo measures more than eleven thousand two hundred stadia, the other a little less than eight thousand stadia; and, besides, it is agreed that the maximum distance from Europe to Libya across the Tyrrhenian Sea is not more than three thousand stadia, whereas the distance is reduced if measured across the Sardinian Sea. However, let it be granted, says Polybius, that the latter distance is also three thousand stadia, but let it be further assumed as a prior condition that the depth of the gulf opposite Narbo is two thousand stadia, the depth being, as it were, a perpendicular let fall from the vertex upon the base of the obtuse-angled triangle; then, says 1,000 stadia is made for the remaining distance to Libya, measured on the produced altitude.
3. 'Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ φίλε Πολύβυτε, φαίη τις ἂν, ὡσπερ τούτοι τοῦ ψεύσματος ἑναργῆ παρίστησι τὸν ἔλεγχον ἢ πείρα ἢ αὐτῶν, ὃν εἰρήκας αὐτός, εἰς μὲν Δευκάδα ἐκ Πελοποννῆσου ἐπτακοσίους, ἐντεύθεν δὲ τούς ἱσοὺς ἐἰς Κόρκυραν, καὶ πάλιν ἐντεύθεν εἰς τὰ Κεραύνια τοὺς ἱσοὺς, καὶ ἐν δεξίᾳ εἰς τὴν Ἰαπυδίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Κεραυνίων, τὴν Ἰλλυρικὴν παραλίαν σταδίων ἕξακισχιλίων ἑκατὸν πεντηκοντάτων, οὕτως κάκεινα ψεύσματα ἐστίν ἀμφότερα, καὶ ὁ Δικαίαρχος εἶπε, τὸ ἀπὸ Πορθμοῦ ἐπὶ Στήλας εἶναι σταδίων ἐπτακισχιλίων, καὶ ὁ σὺ δοκεῖς ἀποδείξαι. ὡμολογοῦσι γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι λέγοντες τὸ διὰ πελάγους μυρίων εἶναι καὶ δισχιλίων, συμφωνοῦ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ

1 Ἰαπυδίαν, Jones, for Ἰαπυγίαν; Müller-Dübner suggest Ἰαποδίαν; see Groskurd's critical note on 6. 3. 10 (vol. i. p. 502).

By computation the actual result is 436 stadia.
2 By computation the actual result is 21,764 stadia.
3 That is, more than 21,764 stadia; for Dicaearchus had reckoned the recess of the Adriatic to be farther away from the Peloponnesus than the Pillars were.
Polybius, it is clear from the principles of elementary geometry that the total length of the coast-line from the Strait to the Pillars exceeds the length of the straight line through the open sea by very nearly five hundred \(^1\) stadia. And if to this we added the three thousand stadia from the Peloponnesus to the Strait, the sum total of the stadia, merely those measured on a straight line, will be more than double \(^2\) the estimate given by Dicaearchus. And, according to Dicaearchus, says Polybius, it will be necessary to put the distance from the Peloponnesus to the recess of the Adriatic at more than this sum.\(^3\)

3. But, my dear Polybius, one might reply, just as the test based upon your own words makes evident the error of these false reckonings, namely, "from the Peloponnesus to Leucas, seven hundred stadia; from Leucas to Corcyra the same; and, again, from Corcyra to the Ceraunian Mountains the same; and the Illyrian coast-line to Iapydia on your right hand side,\(^4\) if you measure from the Ceraunian Mountains, six thousand one hundred and fifty stadia," so also those other reckonings are both false—both that made by Dicaearchus when he makes the distance from the Strait of Sicily to the Pillars seven thousand stadia, and that which you think you have demonstrated; for most men agree in saying that the distance measured straight across the Sea is twelve thousand stadia, and this estimate agrees with the

\(^4\) Polybius thus characterises the distance from the Ceraunian Mountains to the head of the Adriatic Gulf—apparently disregarding the Istrian coast, just as does Strabo in 6. 3. 10. Iapydia was the name both of the country and the chief city of the Iapydes. Strabo thinks Polybius' estimate is too large.
τῇ ἀποφάσει τῇ περὶ τοῦ μῆκους τῆς οἰκουμένης.

μᾶλλον γὰρ εἶναι φασὶ μυριάδων ἐπτά· τούτου δὲ τὸ ἐσπέριον τμῆμα τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσσικοῦ κόλπου μέχρι τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἀπέρ δυσμικότατα τα ἐστὶ· μικρὸν ἀπολείπειν τῶν τρισμυρίων. συντιθέασι δ’ οὕτως· ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἰσσικοῦ κόλπου μέχρι τῆς Ῥοδίας πεντακισχιλίων· ἐνθέντι ἐπὶ Σαλμώνιον τῆς Κρήτης, ὁπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔφοιν ἄκρων, χιλίων. αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς Κρήτης μῆκος πλείους ἡ διαχιλίων ἐπὶ Κρίου μέτωπον ἐντεύθεν δ’ ἐπὶ Πάχυνον τῆς Σικελίας τετρακισχιλίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων, ἀπὸ Παχύνου δὲ ἐπὶ Πορθμοῦ πλείους ἡ χιλίων· εἰτα τὸ διάρμα τὸ ἐπὶ Στηλας ἀπὸ Πορθμοῦ μυρίων διαχιλίων. ἀπὸ Στηλών δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ τελευταῖα τοῦ Ιεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου τῆς Ἰβηρίας περὶ τρισχιλίων. καὶ ἡ κάθετος δὲ οὗ καλῶς εἰληπται, εἴπερ ἡ μὲν Νάρβων ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου σχεδον τι ἱδρυται τῷ διὰ Μασσαλίας, αὐτῇ τε τῷ διὰ Βυζαντίου, καθάπερ καὶ Ἰππαρχος πείθεται, ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τῷ διὰ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τῆς Ῥοδίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥοδίας εἰς Βυζάντιον ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ κεφαλῶν ἀμφοῖν περὶ πεντακισχιλίων εἰρήκασι σταδίους· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἀν εἴεν καὶ οἱ τῆς εἰρημένης καθέτου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ

1 δυσμικότατα, Corvis, for δυσμικότερα; editors following.
2 καὶ, Meineke deletes, before ἀπό; C. Müller approving.
3 διαχιλίων, Gosselin, for τρισχιλίων; editors following.
4 ἀς, Mudvig deletes, before εἰρήκασι, and punctuates as in the text.
opinion rendered in regard to the length or the inhabited world.\(^1\) For they say that this length is about seventy thousand stadia, and that the western section thereof, that is, from the Gulf of Issus to the capes of Iberia, which are the most westerly points, is a little less than thirty thousand stadia. They arrive at this result in the following way: From the Gulf of Issus to Rhodes the distance is five thousand stadia; thence to Salmonium, which is the eastern Cape of Crete, one thousand stadia; and the length of Crete itself, from Salmonium to Criumetopon, more than two thousand stadia; thence, from Criumetopon to Pachynum in Sicily, four thousand five hundred stadia; and from Pachynum to the Strait of Sicily, more than one thousand stadia; then, the sea-passage from the Strait of Sicily to the Pillars, twelve thousand stadia; and from the Pillars to the extreme end of the Sacred Cape\(^2\) of Iberia, about three thousand stadia. And Polybius has not taken even his perpendicular properly, if it be true that Narbo is situated approximately on the same parallel as that which runs through Massilia and (as Hipparchus also believes) Massilia on the same as that through Byzantium, and that the line which runs through the open Sea is on the same parallel as that through the Strait and Rhodes, and that the distance from Rhodes to Byzantium has been estimated at about five thousand stadia on the assumption that both places lie on the same meridian; for the perpendicular in question would also be five thousand stadia in length.\(^3\) But when they say that the longest passage

\(^1\) 1. 4. 5.  
\(^2\) Cape St. Vincent.  
\(^3\) For "parallels comprehended between parallels are equal."
τὸ μέγιστον διάμα τοῦ πελάγους τοῦτον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Διβῦνην πεντακισχιλίων ποὺ σταδίων λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ κόλπου, δοκεῖ μοι πεπλανημένος λέγεσθαι τοῦτο, ἢ πολὺ τὴν Διβῦνη κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος προνεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον καὶ συνάπτειν τῷ διὰ τῶν Στηλών παραλλήλῳ. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἑι λέγεται, τὸ πλησιόν τῆς Σαρδόνως τῆς λεχθείσαν κάθετον τελευτῶν οὐ γὰρ παραπλήσιον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ δυσμικότερὸν ἔστι τὸ διάμα τοῦτο τῆς Σαρδόνως, ὅποια σχεδὸν τὶ ἀπολαμβάνον ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ πρὸς τῷ Σαρδωνίῳ τῷ Δυσματικῷ πέλαγος. καὶ τῆς παραλίας δὲ τὰ μῆκη πεπλεονασταῖ, πλὴν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γε.

4. Ἐξῆς δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἑρατοσθένους ἐπανωρθοῖ, τὰ μὲν εὗ, τὰ δὲ χεῖρον λέγων ἢ ἐκεῖνος. ἔξ Ἡθάκης μὲν γὰρ εἷς Κῶρκυραν τριακόσιοι οἰκόντες, πλεῖους φησίν εἶναι τῶν ἐννακοσίων. ἔξ Ἐπιδάμνου δὲ εἷς Θεσσαλονίκειαν ἐννακόσιοι ἀποδόντος, πλεῖους τῶν διαχιλίων φησὶν ταῦτα μὲν εὗ. ἀπὸ δὲ Μασσαλίας ἐπὶ Στῆλας λέγοντος ἐπτακισχιλίους, ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρήνης ἐξακισχιλίους, αὐτὸς λέγει χεῖρον πλεῖους ἢ ἐννακισχιλίος τοὺς ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας, ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρήνης μικρὸν ἐλάττους ὁ δεξιακισχιλίους· ἐγχυτέρῳ γὰρ τῆς ἄλθειας έκεῖνος εἰρήκεν. οἱ γὰρ νῦν ὁμολογοῦσιν, εἰ τὰς τῶν ὀδὸς ἀνωμαλίας ὑποτέμνοιτο, μὴ μελζο τῶν ἐξακισχιλίων σταδίων εἶναι τὸ μῆκος τῆς σύμπασαν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπὸ Πυρήνης ἐως τῆς ἐσπε-

1 προνεύειν, Cascorbi, for προνεύειν; Α. Vogel, C. Frick, approving.
2 ἔστι, Madvig, for εἶναι.
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across this sea from Europe to Libya, reckoned from the head of the Galatic Gulf, is approximately five thousand stadia, it seems to me that they make an erroneous statement, or else that in that region Libya projects far to the north and reaches the parallel that runs through the Pillars. And Polybius is again not right when he says that the perpendicular in question ends near Sardinia; for the line of this sea-passage is nowhere near Sardinia, but much farther west, leaving between it and Sardinia not only the Sardinian Sea, but almost the whole of the Ligurian Sea as well. And Polybius has exaggerated the length of the seaboard also, only in a lesser degree.

4. Next in order, Polybius proceeds to correct the errors of Eratosthenes; sometimes rightly, but sometimes he is even more in error than Eratosthenes. For instance, when Eratosthenes estimates the distance from Ithaca to Corcyra at three hundred stadia, Polybius says it is more than nine hundred; when Eratosthenes gives the distance from Epidamnus to Thessalonica as nine hundred stadia, Polybius says more than two thousand; and in these cases Polybius is right. But when Eratosthenes says the distance from Massilia to the Pillars is seven thousand stadia and from the Pyrenees to the Pillars six thousand stadia, Polybius himself makes a greater error in giving the distance from Massilia as more than nine thousand stadia and that from the Pyrenees a little less than eight thousand stadia; for Eratosthenes' estimates are nearer the truth. Indeed, modern authorities agree that if one cut off an allowance for the irregular windings of the roads, the whole of Iberia is not more than six thousand stadia in length from the Pyrenees to its western
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ρίου πλευράς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Τάγον ποταμὸν ὀκτακισχιλίων τίθησι τὸ μῆκος ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν, οὐ δὴ ποῦ τὸ σὺν τοῖς σκολιώμασιν (οὐ γὰρ γεωγραφικὸν τούτο), ἀλλ' ἐπιευθείας λέγων, καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Πυρήνης αἱ τοῦ Τάγου πηγαῖ πλέον διέχουσιν ἢ χιλίους σταδίους. πάλιν δὲ τούτο μὲν ὁρθῶς ἀποφαίνεται, δι' ἂν γνωρίζω τὰ Ἰβηρικὰ ἢ Ἐρατοσθένης, καὶ διότι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ δὴν τὰ μαχόμενα ἀποφαίνεται· ὡς γὰρ μέχρι Γαδεῖρων ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν περιοικεῖται φήσας τὰ ἐξωθέν αὐτῆς, εἰ γε τὰ πρὸς δύσιν τῆς Εὐρώπης μέχρι Γαδεῖρων ἔχουσιν ἐκείνοι, τούτων ἐκλαθόμενος κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ἰβηρίας περιοδον τῶν Γαλατῶν οὐδαμὸν μέμνηται.

5. Τὸ τε μῆκος τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ ἐλαττῶν ἐστὶ τοῦ συνάμφω τῆς τε Λιβύης καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκθέως, οὐκ ὁρθῶς τὴν σύγκρισιν ποιεῖν τὸ μὲν γὰρ στόμα τὸ κατὰ Στήλας φησίν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἰσημερινὴν δύσιν ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ Τάναις μὲν ἀπὸ θερινῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐλαττοῦται δὴ τοῦ συνάμφω μῆκους τῷ μεταξὺ τῆς θερινῆς ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς ἰσημερινῆς· τούτῳ γὰρ ἡ Ἡσσία προσαμβάνει πρὸς τὴν ἰσημερινὴν ἀνατολὴν τοῦ πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους ἡμικυκλίου. χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ περισκελοῦς ἐν πραγ-

1 The Don.
2 Polybius' abstruse comparison of the length of Europe with that of Libya and Asia combined is not extant, but his general method is clear enough. Draw a line (PP') parallel to the equator from the Pillars to the eastern coast of India—that is, at about 36° latitude. On this line as a chord describe a semicircle which will have for diameter a line (OO') drawn on the equator. From some point (A) west of Asia on the chord (Strabo says in § 7 below that this point is a variable) draw a line to the outlet (T) of the Tanaïs River; produce this line in a north-easterly direction along the 4TO
side. But Polybius reckons the river Tagus alone at eight thousand stadia in length from its source to its mouth—without reckoning in the windings of the river, of course (for this is a thing geography does not do)—but estimating the distance on a straight line. And yet from the Pyrenees the sources of the Tagus are more than one thousand stadia distant. On the other hand, Polybius is right when he asserts that Eratosthenes is ignorant of the geography of Iberia, that is, for the reason that he sometimes makes conflicting statements; at any rate, after he has said that the exterior coast of Iberia as far as Gades is inhabited by Gauls—if they really hold the western regions of Europe as far as Gades—he forgets that statement and nowhere mentions the Gauls in his description of Iberia.

5. Again, when Polybius sets forth that the length of Europe is less than the combined length of Libya and Asia, he does not make his comparison correctly. The outlet at the Pillars, he says, is in the equinoctial west, whereas the Tanaïs\(^1\) flows from the summer rising of the sun, and therefore Europe is less in length than the combined length of Libya and Asia by the space between the summer sunrise and the equinoctial sunrise; for Asia has a prior claim to this space of the northern semicircle that lies toward the equinoctial sunrise.\(^2\) Indeed, apart

\(\text{course of the river to the source } (T') \text{ of it (but the source is unexplored); then produce the river-line } (TT'') \text{ to the circumference at } S, \text{ which may represent the summer rising. Drop a perpendicular } (T'BR) \text{ upon the chord } PP'. \text{ Then we have a segment } (BT''SP'') \text{ of the semicircle, which belongs to Asia (but we are compelled to fix } T'' \text{ and } B \text{ inaccurately, inasmuch as the source of the Tanaïs was unexplored). According to Polybius, Europe is less in length than Libya and Asia combined by the line } BP' \text{ (which is a variable).} \)
μασιν εύαποδότοις καὶ ψευδὸς ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θερινῆς ἀνατολῆς τὸν Τάναϊν ἰείν· ἀπαντεῖ οἱ ἐμπεροὶ τῶν τόπων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρκτῶν ἰείν φασίν εἰς τὴν Μαιώτιν, ὅστε τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς Μαϊώτιδος καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν ποταμῶν, ἐφ’ ὅσον ηὐρήμοι ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ κείσθαι.

6. Οὔκ ἀξιοὶ δὲ λόγου οἴτινες εἶπον ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἰστρον τόπων αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀρχας ἔχειν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας, οὐκ ἐνθυμηθέντες ὡς μεταξὺ δὲ Τύρας καὶ Βορυσθένης καὶ Ἰστράς, μεγαλοὶ ποταμοὶ, ἱεροῦς εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ὅ μὲν τῷ Ἰστρῷ παράλληλος, οἱ δὲ τῷ Ταναΐδῳ· οὔτε δὲ τοῦ Τύρα τῶν πηγῶν κατωπτευμένων, οὔτε τοῦ Βορυσθένους, οὔτε τῷ Ἰστράς, πολύ δὲν εἴη ἁγιωστότερα τὰ ἐκεῖνων ἀρκτικώτερα· ὡσθ' ὁ δὲ ἐκείνων ἄγων τῶν Τάναϊν, εἶτ' ἐπιστρέφων ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν (αἱ γὰρ ἐκβολαὶ φανερῶς ἐν τοῖς προσαρκτίοις μέρεσι τῆς λίμνης δείκνυνται, καὶ τούτως τοῖς ἐωθιμοστάτωσ), πλαστὸς ἢν τις εἰη καὶ ἀπέραντος λόγος. ὥς δὲ αὐτῶς ἀπέραντος καὶ διὰ τοῦ Καυκάσου πρὸς ἀρκτον φόντας ἰείν, εἰτ' ἐπιστρέφειν εἰς τὴν Μαιώτιν εἰρηται γὰρ καὶ τούτο. ἀπὸ μέντοι τῆς ἀνατολῆς οὐδές εἴρηκε τὴν ρύσιν καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἔρρει σωτός, οὐκ ἂν ὡπειν.

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1 οἴτινες εἶπον for τινὲς εἶπον οἱ μὲν; so Ino; Siebenkees, Corais, following.
2 οὔτε... οὔτε, Corais, for o dü... o dü; Meineke following; C. Müller approving.
3 ἀγων τῶν Τάναϊν, εἰτ' ἐπιστρέφων ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν, Sterrett, for ἀγων ἐπὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν τῶν Τάναϊν, εἰτ' ἐπιστρέφων ἐπ' αὐτὴν.
from the abstruseness which characterises Polybius when he is discussing matters that are easy of explanation, his statement that the Tanaïs flows from the summer rising of the sun is also false; for all who are acquainted with those regions say that the Tanaïs flows from the north into Lake Maeotis, and in such wise that the mouth of the river, the mouth of Lake Maeotis, and the course of the Tanaïs itself, so far as it has been explored, all lie on the same meridian.

6. Unworthy of mention are those writers who have stated that the Tanaïs rises in the regions on the Ister and flows from the west, because they have not reflected that the Tyras, the Borysthenes, and the Hypanis, all large rivers, flow between those two rivers into the Pontus, one of them parallel to the Ister and the others parallel to the Tanaïs. And since neither the sources of the Tyras, nor of the Borysthenes, nor of the Hypanis, have been explored, the regions that are farther north than they would be far less known; and therefore the argument that conducts the Tanaïs through those regions and then makes it turn from them to the Maeotis Lake (for the mouths of the Tanaïs are obviously to be seen in the most northerly parts of the Lake, which are also the most easterly parts)—such an argument, I say, would be false and inconclusive. Equally inconclusive is the argument that the Tanaïs flows through the Caucasus towards the north and then turns and flows into Lake Maeotis; for this statement has also been made. However, no one has stated that the Tanaïs flows from the east; for if it flowed from the east the more accomplished geographers would not

1 The Danube.  2 The Dniester.  
3 The Dnieper.  4 The Bog.
οντίοσ τοῦ Νείλον καὶ τρόπον τινὰ κατὰ δια-
μετρον ῥεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπεφαίνοντο οἱ χαριέστεροι, ὡς
ἂν ἐπὶ ταῦτα μεσημβρινοῦ ἢ παρακειμένου τινὸς
τῆς ρύσεως οὐσὶς ἐκατέρφω ποταμῷ.
7. "Ἡ τε τοῦ μήκους τῆς οἰκουμένης μέτρησις
κατὰ παραλλήλου τῷ ἱσημερινῷ ἔστιν, ἐπειδὴ
καὶ αὕτη ἐπὶ μῆκος οὕτως ἐκτέταται· ὥστε καὶ
τῶν ἥπερνων ἐκάστης οὕτω δεῖ λαμβάνειν τὸ
μῆκος μεταξὺ μεσημβρινῶν δυνεῖ κεῖμενον. τά
τε μέτρα τῶν μηκῶν σταδιασμοὶ εἰσίν, οὓς θη-
ρεύομεν ἢ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων λόντες ἢ τῶν πα-
ραλλήλων ὁδῶν ἢ πόρων. δὲ τοῦτον ἄφεις τῶν
τρόπων καίνων εἰσάγει τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς τε θερινῆς
ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς ἱσημερινῆς τμῆμά τι¹ τοῦ ἁρκτι-
κοῦ ἡμικυκλίου. πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀμετάπτωτα οὐδεὶς
κανόσι καὶ μέτρους χρησται τοῖς μεταπτώτως οὐδὲ
τοῖς κατ' ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην σχέσιν λεγομένοις
πρὸς τὰ καθ' αὐτὰ καὶ ἀδιάφόρα.² τὸ μὲν οὖν
μῆκος ἀμετάπτωτον καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ λέγεται, ἀνα-
τολή δ' ἱσημερινή καὶ δύσις, ὡς δ' αὐτῶς θερινὴ
tε καὶ χειμερινή, οὐ καθ' αὐτὴν, ἄλλα πρὸς ἡμᾶς·
ήμων δ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλη μεταχωροῦντων, ἄλλοτ'
ἄλλοι τόποι καὶ δύσεων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνατολῶν ἱση-
μερινῶν τε καὶ τροπικῶν, τὸ δὲ μῆκος μένει ταὐτὸν
τῆς ἥπερνου. Τάναϊν μὲν οὖν καὶ Νείλον οὐκ

¹ τμῆμα, Tyrwhitt, for τμήματι; Müller-Dübner, Meineke, following.
² ἀδιάφορα, Kramer, for διαφορὰν (οὐκ ἔχοντα;?); Α. Vogel
approving.
be asserting that it flows in a direction contrary to, and in a sense diametrically opposed to, that of the Nile—meaning that the courses of the two rivers are on the same meridian or else on meridians that lie close to each other.¹

7. The measurement of the length of the inhabited world is made along a line parallel to the equator, because the inhabited world, in its length, stretches in the same way the equator does; and in the same way, therefore, we must take as the length of each of the continents the space that lies between two meridians. Again, the measure employed for these lengths is that by stadia; and we seek to discover the number of the stadia either by travelling through the continents themselves, or else along the roads or waterways parallel to them. But Polybius abandons this method and introduces something new, namely, a certain segment of the northern semicircle, which lies between the summer sunrise and the equinoctial sunrise. But no one employs rules and measures that are variable for things that are non-variable, nor reckonings that are made relative to one position or another for things that are absolute and unchanging. Now while the term “length” is non-variable and absolute, “equinoctial rising” and “setting” and, in the same way, “summer sunrise” and “winter sunrise,” are not absolute, but relative to our individual positions; and if we shift our position to different points, the positions of sunset and sunrise, whether equinoctial or solstitial, are different, but the length of the continent remains the same. Therefore, while it is not out of place to make the Tanaïs and the Nile limits of continents, it is some-

¹ Compare 11. 2. 2.
ἀτοπον πέρας ποιεῖσθαι, θερινήν δ' ἀνατολήν ἢ ἱσημερινήν καὶνόν.

8. Προπεττωκυίας δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄκραις πλεῖστο, βέλτιον μὲν οὖτος εἰρήκειν περὶ αὐτῶν 'Ερατοθένους, οὐπώ δὲ ἱκανός. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ τρεῖς ἐφη, τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς Στῇλας καθήκουσαν, ἐφ' ἢς ἢ Ἰβηρία, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Πορθμόν, ἐφ' ἢς ἢ Ἰταλία, καὶ τρίτην τὴν κατὰ Μαλέας, ἐφ' ἢς τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πάντ' ἐθνη καὶ τοῦ Τανάίδος. οὔτος δὲ τὰς μὲν δύο τὰς πρώτας ὁμοίως ἐκτίθεται, τρίτην δὲ τὴν κατὰ Μαλέας καὶ Σούνιον, ἐφ' ἢς ἢ Ἐλλάδα πᾶσα καὶ ἢ Ἰλλυρία καὶ τῆς Θράκης τινα, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν κατὰ Θρακίαν χερσόνησον, ἐφ' ἢς τὰ κατὰ Σηστάν καὶ ᾿Αβυδον στενά, ἔχουσι δ' αὐτῆς Θράκης· πέμπτην δὲ τὴν κατὰ τὸν Κεμμερικὸν βόσπορον καὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος. τὰς μὲν οὖν δύο τὰς πρώτας δοτέον· ἀπλοῖς γὰρ τισὶ περιλαμβάνονται κόλποι, ἢ μὲν τῷ μεταξὺ τῆς Κάλπης καὶ τοῦ ῾Ιεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου, ἐν ὃ τὰ Γάδειρα, καὶ τῷ μεταξὺ Στῇλῶν καὶ τῆς Σικελίας πελάγει· ἢ δὲ τούτῳ τε καὶ τῷ ᾿Αδρία, καὶ τοῦ ῾Ιαπυγον ἄκρα παρεμπιπτοῦσα καὶ τὴν ῾Ιταλίαν δικόρυφον ποιοῦσα ἔχει τινὰ ἀντέμφασιν· αἱ λοιπαὶ δ' ἐπὶ ἐναργεστεροῦ ποικίλαι καὶ πολυμερεῖς οὕτως ἕτούσιν ἄλλην διαίρεσιν. ὡς δ' αὐτῶς ἔχει καὶ ἡ εἰς ἐξ διαίρεσις τὴν ὁμοίαν 416
thing new to use the summer, or the equinoctial, sunrise for this purpose.

8. Since Europe runs out into several promontories, Polybius' account of them is better than that of Eratosthenes, but it is still inadequate. For Eratosthenes spoke of only three promontories: first, the promontory that juts down to the Pillars, on which is Iberia; secondly, that to the Strait of Sicily, on which is Italy; and, thirdly, that which ends at Cape Malea, on which are all the nations that dwell between the Adriatic, the Euxine, and the Tanaïs. But Polybius explains the first two promontories in the same way and then makes a third of the promontory which ends at Cape Malea and Sunium, on which are all Greece, and Illyria, and certain parts of Thrace, and a fourth of the Thracian Chersonese, where the strait between Sestus and Abydus is, inhabited by Thracians; and still a fifth of the promontory in the region of the Cimmerian Bosporus and of the mouth of Lake Maeotis. Now we must grant the first two, because they are encompassed by simple gulfs: one of them, by the gulf that lies between Calpe and the Sacred Cape (the gulf on which Gades is situated) and also by that portion of the sea that lies between the Pillars and Sicily; the other, by the last-mentioned sea and the Adriatic—although, of course, the promontory of Iapygia, since it thrusts itself forward on the side and thus makes Italy have two crests, presents a sort of contradiction to my statement; but the remaining three promontories, which still more clearly are complex and composed of many members, require further division. Likewise, also, the division of Europe into six parts

1 See 2. 1. 40.
ἐνστασιν ἀκολούθως ταῖς ἅκραις διειλημμένη, ποιησόμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἐκαστα τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπανόρθωσιν καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ διημάρτηται καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς Δαβίδης περιοδείᾳ. νῦν δ' ἀρκέσει ταύτα λειχθέντα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν, ὡσοις φήθημεν ἰκανοὺς εἶναι παρατῆκτας ἐκμαρτυρεῖν ἡμῖν, ὅτι δικαίως προειλόμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τούτο ἔργον, τοσαύτης ἐπανορθώσεως καὶ προσθήκης δεόμενον.

V

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἐκεῖνους λόγοις συνεχῆς ἔστιν ἡ ἐγχείρησις τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑποσχέσεως, λαβόντες ἀρχὴν ἔτεραν λέγωμεν ὅτι δεῖ τὸν χωρογραφεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντα πολλὰ τῶν φυσικῶν τε καὶ μαθηματικῶν λεγομένων ὑποθέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖνων ὑπόνοιαν τε καὶ πίστιν τὰ ἔξης πραγματεύσθαι. εἰρήται γὰρ ὅτι οὐδ’ οικοδόμος, οὐδ’ ἀρχιτέκτων οἰκίαν ἡ πόλιν ἱδρύσαι καλῶς ἢ λογεῦντ' ἄν, ἀπροονοήτως ἔχων κλιμάτων τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σχημάτων τε καὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ θάλπων καὶ ψύχων καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων, μή τι γε τὴν ὅλην οἰκουμένην τοποθετῶν. αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ εἰς ἔπίτευξον γράφειν ἐπιφάνειαν μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τὰ τε Ἰβηρικά

1 τε καὶ, Groskurd, for τε; Forbiger following.
is open to similar objection, since it has been made in accordance with the promontories. However, in my detailed account I shall make the suitable corrections, not only of these mistakes, but also of all the other serious mistakes that Polybius has made, both in the matter of Europe and in his circuit of Libya. But, for the present, I shall rest satisfied with what I have here said in criticism of my predecessors—that is, of so many of them as I have thought would, if cited, make enough witnesses to prove that I too am justified in having undertaken to treat this same subject, since it stands in need of so much correction and addition.

V

1. Since the taking in hand of my proposed task naturally follows the criticisms of my predecessors, let me make a second beginning by saying that the person who attempts to write an account of the countries of the earth must take many of the physical and mathematical principles as hypotheses and elaborate his whole treatise with reference to their intent and authority. For, as I have already said, no architect or engineer would be competent even to fix the site of a house or a city properly if he had no conception beforehand of "climata" and of the celestial phenomena, and of geometrical figures and magnitudes and heat and cold and other such things—much less a person who would fix positions for the whole of the inhabited world. For the mere drawing on one and the same plane surface of Iberia and India and the

1 Page 25.
καὶ τὰ Ἰνδικὰ καὶ τὰ μέσα τούτων, καὶ μηδὲν ἥττον δύσεις καὶ ἀνατολὰς ἀφορίζειν καὶ μεσοπαρανήσεις, ὡς ἂν κοινὰς πᾶσι, τῷ μὲν προσπίνοισαντι τὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διάθεσιν τε καὶ κίνησιν, καὶ λαβόντες ὅτι σφαιρικὴ μὲν ἔστιν ἢ κατ’ ἀλήθειαν τῆς γῆς ἐπιφάνεια, πλάττεται δὲ νῦν ἐπίπεδος πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, γεωγραφικὴν ἕχει τὴν παράδοσιν, τῷ δὲ ἄλλως, οὐ γεωγραφικήν, οὐ γάρ, ὅσπερ διὰ πεδίων ἵσυσι μεγάλων, οἶον τῶν Βασβυλωνίων, ἡ διὰ πελάγους παρίσταται τὰ πρόσω πάντα καὶ τὰ κατόπιν καὶ ἐκ πλαγίων ἐπίπεδα, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἀντέμφασιν παρέχει πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἴλου κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, οὕτω καὶ γεωγραφοῦσιν παρίστασθαι ἄει δὲ τὰ ὀμοία. δὲ μὲν γὰρ πελαγίζων ἢ ἵ δευόν διὰ χώρας πεδιάδος κοιναῖς τισι φαντασίαις ἄγεται, καθ’ ὅς καὶ ὁ ἀπαίδευτος καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς ἐνεργεῖ ταύτα, ἀπειροσ δὲν τῶν οὐρανίων, καὶ τὰς πρὸς ταύτα ἀντεμφασίας ἀγνοοῦν. ἀνατέλλοντα μὲν γὰρ ὅρα ἶλιον καὶ δύοντα καὶ μεσοπαρανοῦντα, τίνα δὲ τρόπον, οὐκ ἐπισκοπεῖ: οὐδὲ γὰρ χρήσιμον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον, ὅσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ παράλληλον ἐστάναι

1 ἢ, Corais, for καὶ before δεῦων; Meineke following; C. Müller approving.
countries that lie between them and, in spite of its being a plane surface, the plotting of the sun's position at its settings, risings, and in meridian, as though these positions were fixed for all the people of the world—merely this exercise gives to the man who has previously conceived of the arrangement and movement of the celestial bodies and grasped the fact that the true surface of the earth is spherical but that it is depicted for the moment as a plane surface for the convenience of the eye—merely this exercise, I say, gives to that man instruction that is truly geographical, but to the man not thus qualified it does not. Indeed, the case is not the same with us when we are dealing with geography as it is when we are travelling over great plains (those of Babylonia, for example) or over the sea: then all that is in front of us and behind us and on either side of us is presented to our minds as a plane surface and offers no varying aspects with reference to the celestial bodies or the movements or the positions of the sun and the other stars relatively to us; but when we are dealing with geography the like parts must never present themselves to our minds in that way. The sailor on the open sea, or the man who travels through a level country, is guided by certain popular notions (and these notions impel not only the uneducated man but the man of affairs as well to act in the self-same way), because he is unfamiliar with the heavenly bodies and ignorant of the varying aspects of things with reference to them. For he sees the sun rise, pass the meridian, and set, but how it comes about he does not consider; for, indeed, such knowledge is not useful to him with reference to the task before him, any more than it is useful for him to know whether or not his
tφ παρεστωτι ἡ μη ταχα δε ἐπισκοπεί μεν, ἀντι-
δοξεί δε 
τοις μαθηματικοῖς λεγομένοις, καθώπερ
οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· ἔχει γὰρ ὁ τόπος τοιαύτα διαπτω-
ματα. δε γεωγραφικός οὐκ ἐπιχωρίῳ γεωγρα-
φει, οὐδὲ πολιτικῷ τοιούτῳ, ὡστε μηδὲν ἐφρόντισε
τῶν λεγομένων ἰδίως μαθημάτων· οὐδὲ γὰρ θερι-
στή καὶ σκαπανεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῷ πεισθῆναι δυναμένῳ
τὴν γῆν ἔχειν οὕτω τὴν ὅλην, ὡς οἱ μαθηματικοὶ
φασί, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὴν
toiaútpn. κελεύει τε τοὺς προσιόντων, ἐκείνα
προευκαθιστεῖ τὰ ἔξης ἐφορᾶν· ἔκεινοι γὰρ τὰ
ἀκόλουθα ἔρειν, ὅστε μᾶλλον ποιήσασθαι τῶν
παραδομένων ἀσφαλῆ τὴν χρήσιν τοὺς ἐντυγχά-
νοντας, ἵνα ἀκούσῃ μαθηματικὸς, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους
ἔχοντων οὐ φησὶ γεωγραφεῖν.

2. Τὸν μὲν δὲ γεωγραφοῦντα πιστεύει δεῖ
περὶ τῶν ἑκόντων αὐτῷ τάξεων ἁρχής τοῖς ἀνα-
μετρήσαι τὴν ὅλην γῆν γεωμετρίαι, τούτους δὲ
toῖς ἀστρονομικοῖς, ἐκεῖνους δὲ τοῖς φυσικοῖς. ἦ
δὲ φυσικὴ ἀρετὴ τις τὰς δ' ἀρετὰς ἀνυποθέτους
φασίν εξ αὐτῶν ἕρημενα, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐχοῦ-

1 ἐπισκοπεῖ μεν, ἀντιδοξεί δὲ, Madvig, for ἐπισκοπεῖ μὲν ἐν τι, δὲι δ' έν; Cobet, A. Vogel, approving.
2 αὐτῶν and αὐταῖς, Corais, for αὐτῶν and αὐταῖς; Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, Tardieu, following; C. Müller approving.

1 That is, a kind of “supreme excellence.” Plutarch says that the Stoics recognized three “supreme excellences” (Aretei) among the sciences—namely, physics, ethics, and
body stands parallel to that of his neighbour. But perhaps he does consider these matters, and yet holds opinions opposed to the principles of mathematics—just as the natives of any given place do; for a man's place occasions such blunders. But the geographer does not write for the native of any particular place, nor yet does he write for the man of affairs of the kind who has paid no attention to the mathematical sciences properly so-called; nor, to be sure, does he write for the harvest-hand or the ditch-digger, but for the man who can be persuaded that the earth as a whole is such as the mathematicians represent it to be, and also all that relates to such an hypothesis. And the geographer urges upon his students that they first master those principles and then consider the subsequent problems; for, he declares, he will speak only of the results which follow from those principles; and hence his students will the more unerringly make the application of his teachings if they listen as mathematicians; but he refuses to teach geography to persons not thus qualified.

2. Now as for the matters which he regards as fundamental principles of his science, the geographer must rely upon the geometricians who have measured the earth as a whole; and in their turn the geometricians must rely upon the astronomers; and again the astronomers upon the physicists. Physics is a kind of Arete; and by Aretai they mean those sciences that postulate nothing but depend upon themselves, and contain within themselves their own logic; and that they regarded all three as the expedient arts for the exercise of philosophy in the acquirement of knowledge—which is wisdom.

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σας τάς τε ἀρχάς καὶ τάς περὶ τούτων πίστεις. τὰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τῶν φυσικῶν δεικνύμενα τοιαύτα ἐστὶν σφαιροειδῆς μὲν ὁ κόσμος καὶ ὁ ὕπαρανός, ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν βαρέων περὶ τούτῳ τε συνεστῶσα ἡ γῆ σφαιροειδῶς ὀμόκεντρος τῷ μὲν ὕπαρανῳ μένει καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ δὲ αὐτῆς ἄξονα καὶ τοῦ ὕπαρανοῦ μέσου τεταμένος, ὁ δὲ ὕπαρανος περι-

3. Πεντάζωνον μὲν γὰρ ὑποθέσθαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὕ-

παρών, πεντάζωνον δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν, ὄμωνύμους δὲ καὶ τὰς ξώνας τὰς κάτω ταῖς ἀνω· τὰς δὲ αὐτίας εἰρήκαμεν τῇς εἰς τὰς ξώνας διαιρέσεως. διορι-

ξοντο δὲ ἅν αἱ ξώναι κύκλοι παραλλήλοις τῷ ἱσημερινῷ γραφομένους ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῖ, δυσὶ

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principles as well as the proofs thereof. Now what we are taught by the physicists is as follows: The universe and the heavens are sphere-shaped. The tendency of the bodies that have weight is towards the centre. And, having taken its position about this centre in the form of a sphere, the earth remains homocentric with the heavens, as does also the axis through it, which axis extends also through the centre of the heavens. The heavens revolve round both the earth and its axis from east to west; and along with the heavens revolve the fixed stars, with the same rapidity as the vault of the heavens. Now the fixed stars move along parallel circles, and the best known parallel circles are the equator, the two tropics, and the arctic circles; whereas the planets and the sun and the moon move along certain oblique circles whose positions lie in the zodiac. Now the astronomers first accept these principles, either in whole or in part, and then work out the subsequent problems, namely, the movements of the heavenly bodies, their revolutions, their eclipses, their sizes, their respective distances, and a host of other things. And, in the same way, the geometricians, in measuring the earth as a whole, adhere to the doctrines of the physicists and the astronomers, and, in their turn, the geographers adhere to those of the geometricians.

3. Thus we must take as an hypothesis that the heavens have five zones, and that the earth also has five zones, and that the terrestrial zones have the same names as the celestial zones (I have already stated the reasons for this division into zones¹). The limits of the zones can be defined by circles drawn on both sides of the equator and parallel to it,

¹ See 2. 3. 1.
μὲν τοῖς ἀπολαμβάνομενι τὴν διακεκαυμένην, δυσὶ
dὲ τοῖς μετὰ τούτοις, ὦ πρὸς μὲν τῇ διακεκαυμένῃ
tὰς εὐκράτους δύο ποιοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς εὐκράτοις
tὰς κατεψυχμένας. ὑποπίπτει δ᾽ ἐκάστῳ τῶν
οὐρανίων κύκλων ὁ ἐπὶ γῆς ὁμόνυμος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἡ
ξώνη δὲ ὠσαύτως τῇ ξώνῃ. εὐκράτους μὲν οὖν
φασι τὰς οἰκεῖς δυναμένας, ἀσκήτους δὲ τὰς
ἀλλὰς, τὴν μὲν διὰ καθα, τὰς δὲ διὰ ψυχος.
tὸν δ᾽ αὐτῶν τρόπον καὶ περὶ τῶν τροπικῶν καὶ
tῶν ἀρκτικῶν, παρ᾽ οἷς εἰσὶν ἀρκτικοὶ, διορίζουσιν
ὁμονύμους 1 τοῖς ἄνω τοὺς ἐπὶ γῆς ποιοῦντες, καὶ
tοὺς ἐκάστους ὑποπίπτοντας. τοῦ δ᾽ ἱσημερινοῦ
δίχα τέμνοντος τῶν ὀλον οὐρανόν, καὶ τὴν γῆν
ἀνάγκη διαφορείσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ἱσημερινοῦ.
kαλεῖται δὲ τῶν ἱμισφαιρίων ἐκάστηρον τῶν τε
οὐρανίων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ μὲν βόρειον, τὸ δὲ
νότιον. οὕτως δὲ καὶ τῆς διακεκαυμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ κύκλου δίχα διαφορομενής τὸ μὲν ἔσται
βόρειον αὐτῆς μέρος, τὸ δὲ νότιον. δῆλον δ᾽ ὅτι
καὶ τῶν εὐκράτων ξωνῶν ἡ μὲν ἔσται βόρειος, ἡ
dὲ νότιος, ὁμονύμως τῷ ἱμισφαιρίῳ ἐν δὲ ἔστι
καλεῖται δὲ βόρειον μὲν ἱμισφαιρίον τὸ τῆς εὐ-
κρατοῦ ἐκείνην περιέχον ἐν ᾧ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς
βλέποντι ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔστιν ὁ
πόλος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δ᾽ ὁ ἱσημερινὸς, ἡ ἐν δὲ πρὸς

1 ὁμονύμους, Corais, for ὁμονύμως; Groskurd following.
GEOGRAPHY, 2. 5. 3

namely, by two circles which enclose the torrid zone, and by two others, following upon these, which form the two temperate zones next to the torrid zone and the two frigid zones next to the temperate zones. Beneath each of the celestial circles falls the corresponding terrestrial circle which bears the same name: and, in like manner, beneath the celestial zone, the terrestrial zone. Now they call "temperate" the zones that can be inhabited; the others they call uninhabitable, the one on account of the heat, and the other two on account of the cold. They proceed in the same manner with reference to the tropic and the arctic circles (that is, in countries that admit of arctic circles \(^1\)): they define their limits by giving the terrestrial circles the same names as the celestial—and thus they define all the terrestrial circles that fall beneath the several celestial circles. Since the celestial equator cuts the whole heavens in two, the earth also must of necessity be cut in two by the terrestrial equator. Of the two hemispheres—I refer to the two celestial as well as the two terrestrial hemispheres—one is called "the northern hemisphere" and the other "the southern hemisphere"; so also, since the torrid zone is cut in two by the same circle, the one part of it will be the northern and the other the southern. It is clear that, of the temperate zones also, the one will be northern and the other southern, each bearing the name of the hemisphere in which it lies. That hemisphere is called "northern hemisphere" which contains that temperate zone in which, as you look from the east to the west, the pole is on your right hand and the equator on your left, or in which, as you look towa... 

\(^1\) See 2. 2. 2 and footnote.
μεσημβρίαν βλέπονσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἐστὶ δύσις,
ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δ’ ἀνατολή, νότιον δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον ἔχον· ὅστε δὴ λοιπόν ὅτι ἥμεις ἐσμεν ἐν θατέρῳ τῶν ἥμισφαίρων, καὶ τῷ βορείῳ γε, ἐν ἁμφοτέροις δ’ οὐχ οἶν τε.

μέσσῳ γὰρ μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ,
῾Ὀκεανὸς μὲν πρῶτα, (Od. 11. 157)
ἐπειτα ἡ διακεκαυμένη. οὕτε δὲ ὄκεανός ἐν μέσῳ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶ τέμνων ὀλην, οὐτ’ οὖν διακεκαυμένου χωρίου· οὐδὲ δὴ μέρος αὐτῆς εὑρίσκεται τοῖς κλίμασι ὑπεναντίωσ ἔχων τοῖς λεχθείσιν ἐν τῇ βορείῳ εὐκράτῳ.

4. Δαβδων οὖν ταῦτ’ ὁ γεωμέτρης, προσχρησά-
μενος τοῖς γυνωμονικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ τοῦ ἀστρονομικοῦ δεικνυμένοις, ἐν οίς ο’ τε παράλ-
ληλοι τῷ ἐσθερινῷ εὑρίσκονται ο’ καθ’ ἐκάστῃ-
την οἰκησιν καὶ ο’ πρὸς ὅρθας τέμνοντες τούτους,
γραφόμενοι δὲ διὰ τῶν πόλων, καταμετρεὶ τὴν μὲν
οἰκήσιμον ἐμβατεῖν, τὴν δ’ ἄλλην ζή τοῦ λόγου τῶν ἀποστάσεων. οὕτω δ’ ἀν εὑρίσκοι, πόσον ἄν
C 112 εἶη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσθερινοῦ μέχρι πόλου, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μεγίστου κύκλου τῆς γῆς,
ἔχων δὲ τοῦτο ἔχει καὶ τὸ τετραπλάσιον αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο δ’ ἐστιν ἡ περίμετρος τῆς γῆς. ὃςπερ οὖν
ὁ μὲν τὴν γῆν ἀναμετρῶν παρὰ τοῦ ἀστρονομοῦν-
τος ἔλαβε τὰς ἀρχὰς, δ’ ἀστρονόμοις παρὰ τοῦ
φυσικοῦ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον χρῆ καὶ τὸν γεωγράφον

1 The words τοῖς γυνωμονικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις were omitted by Kramer and Meineke without comment.
the south, the west is on your right hand and the
cast on your left; and that hemisphere is called
"southern hemisphere," in which the opposite is
ture; and hence it is clear that we are in one of the
two hemispheres (that is, of course, in the northern),
and that it is impossible for us to be in both. "Be-
tween them are great rivers; first, Oceanus", and
then the torrid zone. But neither is there an Oceanus
in the centre of our whole inhabited world, cleaving
the whole of it, nor, to be sure, is there a torrid spot
in it; nor yet, indeed, is there a portion of it to
be found whose "climata" are opposite to the
"climata" which I have given for the northern
temperate zone.2

4. By accepting these principles, then, and also by
making use of the sun-dial and the other helps given
him by the astronomer—by means of which are found,
for the several inhabited localities, both the circles
that are parallel to the equator and the circles that
cut the former at right angles, the latter being
drawn through the poles—the geometrician can
measure the inhabited portion of the earth by visit-
ing it and the rest of the earth by his calculation
of the intervals. In this way he can find the dis-
tance from the equator to the pole, which is a fourth
part of the earth's largest circle; and when he has
this distance, he multiplies it by four; and this is
the circumference of the earth. Accordingly, just
as the man who measures the earth gets his principles
from the astronomer and the astronomer his from
the physicist, so, too, the geographer must in the

1 See footnote 2, page 22.
2 If such were the case, such a portion would have to fall
within the southern hemisphere.
παρὰ τοῦ ἀναμεμετρηκότος ὅλην τὴν γῆν ὀρμηθέντα, πιστεύσαντα τούτη καὶ οἷς ἐπίστευσεν οὖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκθέσθαι τὴν οἰκουμένην καθ' ἡμᾶς, πόση τις καὶ ποια τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν φύσιν οία ἐστὶ καὶ πῶς ἠχούσα πρὸς τὴν ὅλην γῆν ἱδίου γὰρ τοῦ γεωγράφου τούτοις ἐπείτως περὶ τῶν καθ' ἐκαστὰ τῶν τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ποιήσασθαι τῶν προσήκοντα λόγοι, παρασημαίνομεν δὲ μὴ ἵκανοὶ εἰρηται τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν τοῖς μάλιστα πεπιστευμένοις ἀρίστοις γεγονέναι περὶ ταύτα.

5. Τοποκείσθω δὴ σφαιροειδῆς ἡ γῆ σὺν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἱσχύοντα τοῖς πελάγεσι. συγκρύπτοντο γὰρ ἄν τὸ ἰχθὺς τῆς γῆς ἐν τῷ τοσοῦτο μεγέθει μικρὸν ὅτι καὶ λανθάνειν δυνάμενον, ὥστε τὸ σφαιροειδὲς ἐπὶ τούτων συχ ὡς ἄν ἐκ τόρνου φαμέν, οὐδ' ὡς ὁ γεωμέτρης πρὸς λόγον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αἰσθητικὶ, καὶ ταύτην παχυτέραν. νοείσθω δὴ πεντάξωνος, καὶ ὁ ἱσημερινὸς τεταγμένος ἐν αὐτῇ κύκλῳ, καὶ ἀλλος τούτῳ παράλληλος, ὀρίζων τὴν κατεψυχμένην ἐν τῷ βορεῖῳ ἡμισφαιρίῳ, καὶ διὰ τῶν πόλων τῆς περιφερείας τούτων πρὸς ὀρθάς. τοῦ δὴ βορείου ἡμισφαιρίου δύο περιέχοντος τεταρτημόρια τῆς γῆς, ἀ ποιεῖ ὁ ἱσημερινὸς πρὸς τῶν διὰ τῶν πόλων, ἐν

1 καὶ, Groskurd inserts, before μίαν.
same way first take his point of departure from the
man who has measured the earth as a whole, having
confidence in him and in those in whom he, in his turn,
had confidence, and then explain, in the first instance,
our inhabited world—its size, shape, and character,
and its relations to the earth as a whole; for this is
the peculiar task of the geographer. Then, secondly,
he must discuss in a fitting manner the several parts
of the inhabited world, both land and sea, noting in
passing wherein the subject has been treated in-
adequately by those of our predecessors whom we
have believed to be the best authorities on these
matters.

5. Now let us take as hypothesis that the earth
together with the sea is sphere-shaped and that the
surface of the earth is one and the same with that
of the high seas; for the elevations on the earth’s
surface would disappear from consideration, because
they are small in comparison with the great size of
the earth and admit of being overlooked; and so we
use “sphere-shaped” for figures of this kind, not as
though they were turned on a lathe, nor yet as the
geometrician uses the sphere for demonstration, but
as an aid to our conception of the earth—and that,
too, a rather rough conception. Now let us conceive
of a sphere with five zones, and let the equator be
drawn as a circle upon that sphere, and let a second
circle be drawn parallel thereto, bounding the frigid
zone in the northern hemisphere, and let a third
circle be drawn through the poles, cutting the other
two circles at right angles. Then, since the north-
ern hemisphere contains two-fourths of the earth,
which are formed by the equator with the circle
that passes through the poles, a quadrilateral area is
έκατέρω τούτων ἀπολαμβάνεται τετράπλευρον χωρίον, οὔ ἢ μὲν βóρειος πλευρά ἢμισυν τοῦ πρὸς τῷ πόλω παραλλήλου ἐστίν, ἢ δὲ νότιος τοῦ ἵσημερινοῦ ἢμισυν, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ πλευραὶ τμῆματά εἰσι τοῦ διὰ τῶν πόλων, ἀντικεῖμενα ἀλλήλους, ἵσα τὸ μῆκος. ἐν θατέρῳ δὴ τῶν τετραπλεύρων τούτων (ἐποτέρῳ δ' οὔδεν ἂν διαφέρειν δόξειν) ἱδρύσθαι φαμεν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην, περίκλυστον θαλάττη καὶ ἐσκύλων νῆσω. εἰρηται γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ τῷ λόγῳ δείκνυται τούτῳ. εἰ δ' ἄπυστει τὸς τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, διαφέροι ἂν πρὸς τὴν γεωγραφίαν οὐδὲν νῆσου ποιεῖν, ἢ ὅπερ ἐκ τῆς πείρας ἐλάβομεν, τούτῳ συγχωρεῖν, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τὴς θεωρεῖν περίπλους ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας, πλὴν ὅλων τῶν μέσων χωρίων. ταῦτα δ' οὐ διαφέρει θαλάττη περιτοῦσθαι ἡ γῆ ἀοικήτως. ὅ γὰρ γεωγραφῶν ξητεῖ τὰ γνώριμα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰπεῖν, τὰ δ' ἀγνωστα ἐδώ, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἔξω αὐτῆς. ἀρκέσει δ' ἐπιζεύγοι ἐνθείαι γραμμήν ἐπὶ τὰ ὁστατα σημεία τοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν παράπλου τὸ πάν ἐκπληρώσαι σχῆμα τῆς λεγομένης νῆσου.

6. Προκείσθω δὴ ἵ μὲν νῆσος ἐν τῷ λεγέντι τετραπλεύρῳ. δει δὲ λαβεῖν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς

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1 See page 17.
2 That is, one could circumnavigate the inhabited world by setting out in any one of four ways—either north or south,
cut off in each of the two fourths. The northern side of the quadrilateral is half of the parallel next to the pole; the southern side is half of the equator; and the two remaining sides are segments of the circle that runs through the poles, these segments lying opposite to each other and being equal in length. Now in one of these two quadrilaterals (it would seem to make no difference in which one) we say that our inhabited world lies, washed on all sides by the sea and like an island; for, as I have already said above,¹ the evidence of our senses and of reason prove this. But if anyone disbelieves the evidence of reason, it would make no difference, from the point of view of the geographer, whether we make the inhabited world an island, or merely admit what experience has taught us, namely, that it is possible to sail round the inhabited world on both sides, from the east as well as from the west,² with the exception of a few intermediate stretches. And, as to these stretches, it makes no difference whether they are bounded by sea or by uninhabited land; for the geographer undertakes to describe the known parts of the inhabited world, but he leaves out of consideration the unknown parts of it—just as he does what is outside of it. And it will suffice to fill out and complete the outline of what we term “the island” by joining with a straight line the extreme points reached on the coasting-voyages made on both sides of the inhabited world.

6. So let us presuppose that the island lies in the aforesaid quadrilateral. We must then take as its
down from either the Pillars or the eastern coast of India—were it not for the few intermediate stretches that prevent it. Compare page 17.
to φαινόμενον, ἀφελόντας ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ὅλου μεγέθους τῆς γῆς τὸ ἴμμοσφαίριον τὸ καθ’ ἦμας, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τὸ ἴμμον, ἀπὸ δ’ αὐ τούτου πάλιν τὸ τετράπλευρον, ἐν ὁ δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης κείσθαι φαμεν. οὖν ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὸ 1 μεταξὺ τοῦ ἱσημερινοῦ καὶ τοῦ ληφθέντος παραλλήλου τούτῳ πρὸς τῷ πόλῳ τμῆμα τοῦ βορείου ἴμμοσφαίριον σφόνδυλός ἐστι τὸ σχῆμα, δ’ ἐὰν διὰ τοῦ πόλου δίχα τέμνων τὸ ἴμμοσφαίριον δίχα τέμνει καὶ τὸν σφόνδυλον καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ τετράπλευρον, ἐσται δηλοῦντός σφονδύλου ἐπιφανείας ἴμμον τὸ τετράπλευρον ὁ ἐπίκειται τὸ Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος. ἢ δ’ οἰκουμένη χλαμυδοειδὴς ἐν τούτῳ νῆσος, ἐλάττων 2 ἡ ἴμμον τοῦ τετραπλεύρου μέρος οὖσα, φανερῶν δὲ τούτῳ ἐκ τε γεωμετρίας καὶ τοῦ πληθοῦς τῆς περικεχυμένης θαλάττης, καλυπτούσης τὰ ἀκρα τῶν ἡπείρων ἑκατέρωθεν καὶ συγκαταλείποντας εἰς μύονρον 3 σχῆμα, καὶ τρίτου τοῦ μήκους καὶ

1 τὸ...τμῆμα, Kramer, for τοῦ...τμῆματος; editors following.
2 ἐλάττων, Casaubon, for ἐλαττον; Siebenkees, Corais, following.
3 μύονρον, Meineke restores, the reading before Kramer; C. Müller approving.

1 Strabo has assumed that the earth is sphere-shaped and that the inhabited world is an island within a certain spherical quadrilateral. Then, after conforming the inhabited world to the limits of the quadrilateral, which represents only the obvious, or apparent, size and shape, he proceeds by argument to define more accurately both the size and the shape within the limits of the quadrilateral.
size the figure that is obvious to our senses, which is obtained by abstracting from the entire size of the earth our hemisphere, then from this area its half, and in turn from this half the quadrilateral in which we say the inhabited world lies; and it is by an analogous process that we must form our conception of the shape of the island, accommodating the obvious shape to our hypotheses.\(^1\) But since the segment of the northern hemisphere that lies between the equator and the circle drawn parallel to it next to the pole is a spinning-whorl\(^2\) in shape, and since the circle that passes through the pole, by cutting the northern hemisphere in two, also cuts the spinning-whorl in two and thus forms the quadrilateral, it will be clear that the quadrilateral in which the Atlantic Sea lies is half of a spinning-whorl’s surface; and that the inhabited world is a chlamys-shaped\(^3\) island in this quadrilateral, since it is less in size than half of the quadrilateral. This latter fact is clear from geometry, and also from the great extent of the enveloping sea which covers the extremities of the continents both in the east and west and contracts them to a tapering shape; and, in the third place, it

\(^2\) Approximately a truncated cone.
\(^3\) That is, mantle-shaped—a common designation for the shape of the inhabited world in Strabo’s time. The skirt of the chlamys was circular; and the collar was cut in a straight line, or else in a circle with a larger radius and a shorter arc than the skirt. If the comparison be fairly accurate, then according to Strabo’s description of the inhabited world we must think of the ends of the chlamys (which represent the eastern and western extremities of the inhabited world) as tapering, and so much so that a line joining the corners of the skirt passes through the middle of the chlamys. (See Tarbell, *Classical Philology*, vol. i. page 283.)
plátous tôn megíston. dín to mév epità muiriádwn
stadíwn éstín, wós épí to polú peratouménon
thaláttai mhkéiti pleiósbaai dynáméni diá to mé-
egedos kai tìn érhmíán, to ó élattón trión muiriá-
dwn chrézémon tó adoiktó diá thálptós h psúchos.
aùtò gár to diá thálptos ãoikhtón toú tetra-
pleúrou, plátos mév éxhon óktakoschelws kai
ótakoschelws stádión, mhkós dé to mégíston
muiriádwn dòdeka kai éxakoschelws, ósqon ésthn
hýmwn toú ãshemerinoú, [meižón ésti toú ãmísous
thís oikouménhs, kai étí].

7. Toútois dé sywwdá pós éstí kai tò úpò
'Ipíarákhon lexómea: fhsí gár ékeínos, vpolhè-
mevos to mégebhos thís géís óper eìpen 'Erató-
thényhs, énueúhen deín poieísthai tìn thís
oikou-
méniás afaíresin ou gár polú dióísein pròs tò
faínómea tòn ouranión kath' ékástin thım oikhsin
ouòs éxei tìn ànámértisín, h òs oi ústeroù
ápodókhasin. òntos Dé kat' 'Eratosthéyn toú
ìshemerinoú kúklou stádión muiriádwn pénte kai
eíkos kai díschiów, tò tetartimóriov eín òn èx

1 The words in brackets are inserted by Groskurd; Kramer, C. Müller, Tardieu, approving.

1 The large quadrilateral in question is composed of (1) the inhabited world, (2) a strip one half the width of the torrid zone and 180° long, and (3) "the remainder." "The re-
mainder" consists of two small quadrilaterals, one of which is east, the other west, of the inhabited world. By actual computation the strip of the torrid zone is more than half of the inhabited world, and "the remainder" is still more. Therefore the inhabited world covers less than half of the large quadrilateral in question. To illustrate the argument, draw a figure on a sphere as follows: Let AB be 180° of the
is clear from the maximum length and breadth. Now the length of the inhabited world is seventy thousand stadia, being for the most part limited by a sea which still cannot be navigated because of its vastness and desolation; the breadth is less than thirty thousand stadia, being bounded by the regions that are uninhabitable on account either of heat or cold. For merely the part of the quadrilateral that is uninhabitable on account of the heat—since it has a breadth of eight thousand eight hundred stadia and a maximum length of one hundred and twenty six thousand stadia, that is, half the length of the equator—is more than half the inhabited world, and the remainder of the quadrilateral would be still more than that.\(^1\)

7. In essential accord with all this are the views of Hipparchus. He says that, having taken as hypothesis the measurement of the earth as stated by Eratosthenes, he must then abstract the inhabited world from the earth in his discussion; for it will not make much difference with respect to the celestial phenomena for the several inhabited places whether the measurement followed is that of Eratosthenes or that given by the later geographers. Since, then, according to Eratosthenes, the equator measures two hundred and fifty two thousand stadia, the fourth equator; let \(CD\) be \(180^\circ\) of the parallel through the northern limit of the inhabited world; join \(A\) and \(C\), and \(B\) and \(D\); and then draw an arc of \(180^\circ\) parallel to the equator at 8,800 stadia north of the equator, and also two meridian-arc from \(CD\) to \(AB\) through the eastern and western limits, respectively, of the inhabited world. Thus we have the large quadrilateral \(ACDB\), and, within it, four small quadrilaterals, which constitute the three divisions above-mentioned.

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μυριάδες καὶ τρισχίλιοι· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσημερινοῦ ἔπλ τὸν πόλον πεντεκαίδεκα ἐξηκοντάδων, οἷον ἐστὶν ὁ ἴσημερινὸς ἐξήκοντα. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσημερινοῦ ἔπλ τὸν θερινὸν τροπικὸν τεττάρων· οὕτως δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ διὰ Συήνης γραφόμενος παράλληλος. συνελλογίζεται δὴ τὰ καθ' ἐκαστὰ διαστήματα ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων μέτρων τὸν μὲν γὰρ τροπικὸν κατὰ Συήνην κεῖσθαι συμβαίνει, διὸτι ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς ἄσκεος ἐστίν ὁ γνώμων μέσης ἡμέρας. οὐ δὲ διὰ τῆς Συήνης μεσημβρινὸς γράφεται μάλιστα διὰ τῆς τοῦ Νείλου ρύσεως ἀπὸ Μερόθης ἕως Ἀλεξανδρείας· στάδιοι δὲ εἰσὶν οὕτως περὶ μῦρον· κατὰ μέσον δὲ τὸ διάστημα τῆς Συήνης ἱδρύσθαι συμβαίνει, ὡστε ἐνεύθεν ἐπὶ Μερόθην πεντακισχίλιοι· προϊόντως δὲ ἐπὶ εὐθείας ὅσον τρισχίλιους στάδιοις ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν, οὐκέτ' οἰκήσιμα ταλλὰ ἐστὶ διὰ καῦμα· ὡστε τὸν διὰ τούτων τῶν τόπων παράλληλον, τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα τὸ διὰ τῆς Κινναμμομοφόρου, πέρας καὶ ἄρχην δεῖ τίθεσθαι τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμενῆς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν. ἔπειλ' οὖν πεντακισχίλιοι μὲν εἰσίν οἱ ἀπὸ Συήνης εἰς Μερόθην, ἀλλοι δὲ προσγεγόνασα τρισχίλιοι, εἰπ' ὅν οἱ πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς οἰκουμενῆς ὀκτακισχίλιοι. ἔπει δὲ γε τὸν ἴσημερινὸν ἀπὸ Συήνης μύριοι ἐξακισχίλιοι ὀκτακόσιοι (τοσοῦτοι γὰρ εἰσίν οἱ τῶν τεττάρων ἐξηκοντάδων, τε-

1 Eratosthenes divided the circumference of the earth into sixty intervals, one interval being equal to 6°. Hipparchus 438
part of it would be sixty three thousand stadia; and this is the distance from the equator to the pole, namely, fifteen sixtieths of the sixty intervals into which the equator is divided.\textsuperscript{1} And the distance from the equator to the summer tropic is four sixtieths; and the summer tropic is the parallel drawn through Syene. Now the several distances are computed from the standard measures that are obvious to our senses. The summer tropic, for instance, must pass through Syene, because there, at the time of the summer solstice, the index of the sun-dial does not cast a shadow at noon. And the meridian through Syene is drawn approximately along the course of the Nile from Meroë to Alexandria, and this distance is about ten thousand stadia; and Syene must lie in the centre of that distance; so that the distance from Syene to Meroë is five thousand stadia. And when you have proceeded about three thousand stadia in a straight line south of Meroë, the country is no longer habitable on account of the heat, and therefore the parallel through these regions, being the same as that through the Cinnamon-producing Country, must be put down as the limit and the beginning of our inhabited world on the South. Since, then, the distance from Syene to Meroë is five thousand stadia, to which we have added the other three thousand stadia, the total distance from Syene to the confines of the inhabited world would be eight thousand stadia. But the distance from Syene to the equator is sixteen thousand eight hundred stadia (for that is what the four sixtieths amounts to, since each sixtieth is estimated at four thousand two seems to have been the first to divide the earth into three hundred and sixty degrees.
θείσης ἐκάστης τετρακισχίλιων καὶ διακοσίων), ὦστε λοιποὶ ἐλευ ἀν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπὶ τῶν ἱσημερίνων ὀκτακισχίλιων ὀκτακόσιων, ἀπὸ δὲ 'Αλεξανδρείας δισμύριοι χίλιοι ὀκτακόσιοι. πάλιν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς 'Αλεξανδρείας ἐπ' εὐθείας τῇ ρύσει τοῦ Νείλου πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν ἐπὶ 'Ῥόδου πλοῦν καντεύθεν δὲ τὸν τῆς Καρίας παραπλοῦν καὶ 'Ιωνίας μέχρι τῆς Τρωάδος καὶ Βυζαντίου καὶ Βορυσθένους. λαβόντες οὖν τὰ διαστήματα γυώριμα καὶ πλεόνεα σκοποῦσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βορυσθένους ἐπ' εὐθείας ταύτῃ τῇ γραμμῇ μέχρι τὸν οἰκήσιμον ἐστι, καὶ περατοῦται τὰ προσάρκτια μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης, οἰκουσὶ δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βορυσθένους ύστατοι τῶν γνωρίμων Ἐκναθών 'Ρωξαλανοῖ, νοτιώτεροι ὄντες τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ἐσχάτων γνωριζομένων ἡδη δε τάπεκεινα διὰ ψύχος ἀοίκητά ἐστιν νοτιώτεροι δὲ τούτων καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαιώτιδος Σαυρομάται καὶ Σκύθαι μέχρι τῶν ἔως Σκυθῶν.

8. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μασσαλιώτης Πυθέας τὰ περὶ Θούλην τὴν βορειοτάτην τῶν Βρεττανίδων ύστατα λέγει, παρ' οἷς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ τῷ ἄρκτικῷ ὁ θερινὸς τροπικὸς κύκλος· παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἱστορῶ, οὐθ' ὅτι Θούλη νήσους ἐστὶ τις, οὔτ' εἰ τὰ μέχρι δεύτερο οἰκήσιμον ἐστιν, ὃποιον ὁ θερινὸς

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1 Περατοῦται, Madvig, for peratoi.
hundred stadia), and therefore we should have eight thousand eight hundred stadia left as the distance from the confines of the inhabited world to the equator, and from Alexandria twenty-one thousand eight hundred. Again, all agree that the route by sea from Alexandria to Rhodes is in a straight line with the course of the Nile, as also the route thence along the coast of Caria and Ionia to the Troad, Byzantium, and the Borysthenes. Taking, therefore, the distances that are already known and sailed over, geographers inquire as to the regions beyond the Borysthenes that lie in a straight course with this line—as to how far they are inhabitable, and how far the northern parts of the inhabited world have their boundaries. Now the Roxolanians, the most remote of the known Scythians, live beyond the Borysthenes, though they are farther south than the most remote peoples of whom we have knowledge north of Britain; and the regions beyond the Roxolanians become at once uninhabitable because of the cold; and farther south than the Roxolanians are the Sarmatians who dwell beyond Lake Maeotis, and also the Scythians as far as the Eastern Scythians.

8. Now Pytheas of Massilia tells us that Thule, the most northerly of the Britannic Islands, is farthest north, and that there the circle of the summer tropic is the same as the arctic circle. But from the other writers I learn nothing on the subject—neither that there exists a certain island by the name of Thule, nor whether the northern regions are inhabitable up to the point where the summer tropic becomes the terrestrial tropic. Assuming that Pytheas placed the latter at 24° (as did Eratosthenes and Strabo), he placed Thule at 66°.
τροπικὸς ἀρκτικὸς γίνεται. νομίζω δὲ πολὺ εἶναι νοτιώτερον τοῦτον1 τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης πέρας τὸ προσάρκτιον. οἱ γὰρ ύψος ἱστοροῦντες περαιτέρω τῆς Ἰέρυμης οὐδὲν ἔχουσι λέγειν, ἢ πρὸς ἀρκτον πρόκειται τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πλησίον, ἁγρίων τε- λέως ἀνθρώπων καὶ κακῶς οἰκούντων διὰ φύχος, ὥστε ἐνταῦθα νομίζω τὸ πέρας εἶναι θετέοιν. τοῦ δὲ παραλλήλου τοῦ διὰ Βυζαντίου διὰ Μασ- σαλίας ποιόντος, ὡς φησιν Ἰππαρχὸς πιστεύ- σας Πυθέα (φησὶ γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λόγον τοῦ γνώμονος πρὸς τὴν σκιάν, δυν ἔσπευν ὁ Πυθέας ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ), τοῦ δὲ διὰ Βορυσθέανους ἀπὸ τοῦτον διέχοντος περὶ τρισ- χιλίως καὶ ἀκτακοσίους, εὕ ἄν έκ τοῦ διαστή- ματος τοῦ ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἐνταῦθα που πίπτων ὁ διὰ τοῦ Βορυσθέανου κύ- κλος. πανταχοῦ ἄλλακαν 2 δὲ παρακρονούμενον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ Πυθέας κανταῦθα που διέτευ- σται. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀπὸ Στηλῶν γραμμήν ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τοῦ Πορθμοὺ καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Ρόδουν τόπους ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου κεῖσθαι ἁμόλυνηται παρὰ πολλῶν. ὁμολογεῖται δὲ ὅτι καὶ διὰ μέσου ποὺ τοῦ πελάγους ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπὸ Στηλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πορθμοῦ. οἱ τε 3 πλέοντες φασὶ 4 ὅτι μέγιστον διάμα ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀιβύθην εἶναι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ κόλπου σταδίων πεν- τακισχιλίων, τοῦτο δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὸ μέγιστον πλάτος τοῦ πελάγους, ὥστε εὐθανὸν τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς λεχθείσης

1 τοῦτον, B. Niese, for τοῦτο; A. Vogel approving.
2 ἄλλακαν, A. Jacob, for πολλάκαν.
3 οἱ τε, A. Jacob, for οἱ δὲ, reporting that οἱ τε is the reading of A, B, and C.
4 φασὶ, Madvig inserts, after πλέοντες.
arctic circle. But in my opinion the northern limit of the inhabited world is much farther to the south than where the summer tropic becomes the arctic circle. For modern scientific writers are not able to speak of any country north of Ierne, which lies to the north of Britain and near thereto, and is the home of men who are complete savages and lead a miserable existence because of the cold; and therefore, in my opinion, the northern limit of our inhabited world is to be placed there. But if the parallel through Byzantium passes approximately through Massilia, as Hipparchus says on the testimony of Pytheas (Hipparchus says, namely, that in Byzantium the relation of the index to the shadow is the same as that which Pytheas gave for Massilia), and if the parallel through the mouth of the Borysthenes is about three thousand eight hundred stadia distant from that parallel, then, in view of the distance from Massilia to Britain, the circle drawn through the mouth of the Borysthenes would fall somewhere in Britain. But Pytheas, who misleads people everywhere else, is, I think, wholly in error here too; for it has been admitted by many writers that all the line drawn from the Pillars to the regions of the Strait of Sicily and of Athens, and of Rhodes, lies on the same parallel; and it is admitted that the part of that line from the Pillars to the strait runs approximately through the middle of the sea. And further, sailors say that the longest passage from Celtica to Libya, namely, that from the Galatic Gulf, is five thousand stadia, and that this is also the greatest width of the Mediterranean sea, and therefore the distance from

1 That is, 3,700 stadia.
γραμμῆς ἐπὶ τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ κόλπου σταδίων δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων, ἐπὶ δὲ Μασσαλίαν ἐλάττονας νυνιωτέρα γάρ ἐστιν ἢ Μασσαλία τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κόλπου. τὸ δὲ γε ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥοδίας ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐστὶ τετρακισχιλίων ποιων καὶ ἐννακοσίων σταδίων, ὡστε πολὺ ἄρκτυκότερος ἂν εἴη ὁ διὰ Βυζαντίου τοῦ διὰ Μασσαλίας. τὸ δὲ ἔκειθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν δύναται συμφωνεῖν τῷ ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου ἐπὶ Βορυσθένην. τὸ δὲ ἔκειθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰέρμην οὐκέτι γνώριμον, πόσον ἂν τις θείη, οὐδ’ εἰ περαιτέρω ἐτε οἰκήσιμά ἐστιν, οὔδε δὲ δι’ φροντίζειν τοῖς ἐπάνω λεχθείσι προσέχοντας. ¹ πρὸς τε γὰρ ἐπιστήμην ἄρκει τὸ λαβεῖν, ὅτι, ² καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν νοτίων μερῶν, ὑπὲρ Μερόης μέχρι τρισχιλίων σταδίων προελθόντι τῇς οἰκησίμους τίθεσθαι πέρας ³ προσήθηκεν (οὐχ ὅσ ἂν τοῦτον ἀκριβεστάτου πέρατος ὄντος, ἀλλ’ ἐγγύς γε τάκριβοις), οὕτω κάκεϊ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς οὐ πλείους τούτων θέτεον ἢ μικρὸ πλείους, οἷον τετρακισχιλίους. πρὸς τε τὰς ἡγεμονικὰς χρείας οὐδέν ἂν εἴη πλεονέκτημα τὰς τοιαύτας γνωρίζειν χῶρας καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ νῆσους οἰκοῖς τοιαύτας, αὐτὴ μὴν λυπεῖν μὴ τ’ ὄφελεῖν ἡμᾶς δύνανται μηδὲν διὰ τὸ ἀνεπίπλεκτον. καὶ γὰρ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἔχειν δυνάμενοι Ῥωμαίοι κατεφρόνησαν, ὥρῶντες ὅτι οὕτε φόβος ἢς αὐτῶν οὕδε εἰς ἐστὶν (οὗ γὰρ

¹ prosochontas, Corais conjectures; editors following.
² Groskurd transposes ὅτι from a position before ὑπὲρ to a position before καθάπερ.
³ πέρας, Corais inserts; editors following.
the line in question to the head of the gulf would
be two thousand five hundred stadia and less than
that to Massilia; for Massilia is farther south than
the head of the gulf. But the distance from Rhodes
to Byzantium is about four thousand nine hundred
stadia, and therefore the parallel through Byzantium
would be much farther north than that through
Massilia. And the distance from Massilia to Britain
may possibly correspond to that from Byzantium to
the mouth of the Borysthenes; but the distance that
should be set down for the stretch from Britain to
Ierne is no longer a known quantity, nor is it known
whether there are still inhabitable regions farther
on, nor need we concern ourselves about the question
if we give heed to what has been said above. For,
so far as science is concerned, it is sufficient to
assume that, just as it was appropriate in the case
of the southern regions to fix a limit of the habit-
able world by proceeding three thousand stadia
south of Meroë (not indeed as though this were
a very accurate limit, but as one that at least ap-
proximates accuracy), so in this case too we must
reckon not more than three thousand stadia north of
Britain, or only a little more, say, four thousand
stadia. And for governmental purposes there would
be no advantage in knowing such countries and their
inhabitants, and particularly if the people live in
islands which are of such a nature that they can
neither injure nor benefit us in any way because of
their isolation. For although they could have held
even Britain, the Romans scorned to do so, because
they saw that there was nothing at all to fear from
the Britons (for they are not strong enough to cross
9. Εἰ δὲ προστεθεὶς τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωδίας μέχρι Βορυσθένους διαστήματι τὸ ἀπὸ Βορυσθένους ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρκτοὺς τῶν τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων διά-
στήματι, γίνεται τὸ πᾶν μῦριοι δισχίλιοι ἐπτακό-
σιοι στάδιοι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωδίας ἐπὶ τὸ νότιον
πέρας ἐστὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης μῦρου ἕξακισχίλιοι
ἐξακόσιοι, ὥστε τὸ σύμπαν πλάτος τῆς οἰκου-
μένης εἰς ἄνελατον τῶν τρισμυρίων ἀπὸ νότου
πρὸς ἀρκτον. τὸ δὲ γε μῆκος περὶ ἐπτα μυριάδας
λέγεται, τούτῳ δ' ἐστίν ἀπὸ δύσεως ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνα-
τολὰς τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα
τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, τὸ μὲν ὀδοῖς, τὸ δὲ ταῖς ναυτιλίαις
ἀναμεμετρημένοι. ὅτι δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ λεχθέντος τε-
τραπλεύρου τὸ μῆκός ἐστι τούτῳ, ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τῶν
παραλλήλων πρὸς τὸν ἴσιμερινὸν δήλου, ὥστε
πλέον ἢ διπλάσιον ἐστὶ τοῦ πλάτους τὸ μῆκος.
λέγεται δὲ καὶ χλαμυδοειδὲς πως τὸ σχῆμα:
πολλῇ γὰρ συναγωγῇ τοῦ πλάτους πρὸς τοῖς
ἄκροις εὑρίσκεται, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐσπερίοις, τὰ
καθ' ἐκαστὰ ἐπίστων ἡμῶν.
10. Νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπιγεγράφαμεν ἐπὶ σφαιρικῆς

1 δ', A. Jacob, for ἀν.
2 δύναι' ἀν, Cobet, for δύναται.
3 ἐπὶ γένοιτο, Corais, for ἐπιγένοιτο.
4 τῶν, Kramer suspects, after παραλλήλων; Meineke deletes.
over and attack us), and that no corresponding advantage was to be gained by taking and holding their country. For it seems that at present more revenue is derived from the duty on their commerce than the tribute could bring in, if we deduct the expense involved in the maintenance of an army for the purpose of guarding the island and collecting the tribute; and the unprofitableness of an occupation would be still greater in the case of the other islands about Britain.

9. Now if to the distance from Rhodes to the mouth of the Borysthenes we add the distance of four thousand stadia from the mouth of the Borysthenes to the northern regions, the sum total amounts to twelve thousand seven hundred stadia, but the distance from Rhodes to the southern limit of the inhabited world is sixteen thousand six hundred stadia, and therefore the total breadth of the inhabited world would be less than thirty thousand stadia from south to north. Its length, however, is estimated at about seventy thousand stadia; and this is, from west to east, the distance from the capes of Iberia to the capes of India, measured partly by land journeys and partly by sea voyages. And that this length falls within the quadrilateral mentioned above is clear from the relation of the parallels to the equator; hence the length of the inhabited world is more than double its breadth. Its shape is described as about like that of a chlamys; for when we visit the several regions of the inhabited world, we discover a considerable contraction in its width at its extremities, and particularly at its western extremities.

10. We have now traced on a spherical surface the
ἐπιφανείας τὸ χωρίον ἐν φιὸ φαμεν ἰδρύσθαι τὴν οἰκουμένην· καὶ δεὶ τὸν ἐγγυτάτω διὰ τῶν χειροκμήτων σχημάτων μιμούμενον τὴν ἀλήθειαν ποιήσαντα σφαιραν τὴν γῆν, καθάπερ τὴν Κρατήτεων, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἀπολαβόντα τὸ τετράπλευρον, ἐντὸς τούτου τιθέναι τὸν πίνακα τῆς γεωγραφίας. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μεγάλης δεὶ σφαίρας, ὡστε πολλοστημορίον αὐτῆς ὑπάρχον τὸ λεχθὲν τμῆμα ἰκανὸν γενέσθαι δεξασθαι σαφῶς τὰ προσήκοντα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν παρασχεῖν ὅλων τῶν ἐπιβλέπουσι, τῷ μὲν δυναμένη κατασκευάσασθαι τηλικαύτην οὔτω ποιεῖν βέλτιον· ἐστο δὲ μὴ μείω δέκα ποδῶν ἔχουσα τὴν διάμετρον τῷ δὲ μὴ δυναμένῳ τηλικαύτῃ ἢ μὴ πολλῷ ταύτης ἐνδεστέραν ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ καταγραπτέον πίνακε τοῦλαχιστον ἑπτὰ ποδῶν. διοίσει γὰρ μικρόν, ἐὰν ἀντὶ τῶν κύκλων, τῶν τέρα παραλλήλων καὶ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν, ὅσ τά τε κλίματα καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους διασαφούμεν καὶ τάς ἄλλας διαφοράς καὶ τάς σχέσεις τῶν τῆς γῆς μερῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα τε καὶ τά οὐράνια, εὐθείὰς γραφῶμεν, τῶν μὲν παραλληλῶν παραλλήλους, τῶν δὲ ὀρθῶν πρὸς ἑκείνους ὀρθάς, τῆς διανοίας ῥαδίως μεταφέρειν δυναμένης τὸ ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ θεωρούμενον ἐπιφανείας σχῆμα καὶ μέγεθος ἐπὶ τῆν περιφέρει τε καὶ σφαιρικήν. ἀνάλογον δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν λοξῶν κύκλων καὶ εὐθείων φαμεν. εἰ δ' ὁι μεσομβρινοὶ οἱ παρ' ἐκάστοις διὰ τοῦ πόλου γραφόμενοι πάντες συννεύουσιν ἐν τῇ σφαίρᾳ πρὸς ἐν σημείον, ἀλλ' 1 σχημάτων, Corais, for οἰκημάτων; Groskurd, Meineke, Tardieu, following; C. Müller approving.

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area in which we say the inhabited world is situated; and the man who would most closely approximate the truth by constructed figures must needs make for the earth a globe like that of Crates, and lay off on it the quadrilateral, and within the quadrilateral put down the map of the inhabited world. But since there is need of a large globe, so that the section in question (being a small fraction of the globe) may be large enough to receive distinctly the appropriate parts of the inhabited world and to present the proper appearance to observers, it is better for him to construct a globe of adequate size, if he can do so; and let it be no less than ten feet in diameter. But if he cannot construct a globe of adequate size or not much smaller, he should sketch his map on a plane surface of at least seven feet. For it will make only a slight difference if we draw straight lines to represent the circles, that is, the parallels and meridians, by means of which we clearly indicate the "climata," the winds and the other differences, and also the positions of the parts of the earth with reference both to each other and to the heavenly bodies—drawing parallel lines for the parallels and perpendicular lines for the circles perpendicular to the parallels, for our imagination can easily transfer to the globular and spherical surface the figure or magnitude seen by the eye on a plane surface. And the same applies also, we say, to the oblique circles and their corresponding straight lines. Although the several meridians drawn through the pole all converge on the sphere toward one point, yet on our

1 That is, the quadrilateral.
2 In length apparently; thus the scale would suit 70,000 stadia, the length of the inhabited world.
ἐν τῷ ἐπιπέδῳ γε οὗ διούσει πάνακι τὰς εὐθείας μικρὰς ¹ συννυστασὶς ποιεῖν μόνον τὰς μεσημβρινὰς. οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλαχοῦ τούτ’ ἀναγκαίων, οὕτω ἐκφάνης ἐστιν ὅστερ ἡ περιφέρεια οὕτω καὶ ἡ σύννεφος, μεταφερομένων τῶν γραμμῶν εἰς τὸν πάνακα τὸν ἐπίπεδον καὶ γραφομένων εὐθείῶν.

11. Καὶ ἐκαὶ καὶ τὸν ἑξῆς λόγον ὡς ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ πάνακι τῆς γραφῆς γινομένης ἐκθέσομεν. ἐροῦμεν δὴ ἢν ² μὲν ἐπελθόντες αὐτὸλ τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, περὶ ἡς ἰδίως πιστεύσαντες τοὺς εἰποῦσιν ἡ γράφασιν. ἐπιθέομεν δὲ ἐπὶ δύσιν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας μέχρι τῶν κατὰ Σαρδόνα τῶν τῆς Τυρρηνίας, ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἔβρεινον μέχρι τῶν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ὀρῶν. οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν δὲ οὕτως ἐν εὐρεθείᾳ τῶν γεωγραφήσαντων πολὺ τι ἡμῶν μᾶλλον ἐπεληλυθὼς τῶν λεχθέντων διαστημάτων, ἀλλ’ οἱ πλεονάσαντες περὶ τὰ δυσμικὰ μέρη τῶν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς οὗ τοσοῦτον ἦσαντο, όι δὲ περὶ τάναντια τῶν ἐσπερίων ὑστερήσαν ὁμοίως δ’ ἔχει καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ τὰς ἄρκτους. τὸ μέντοι πλέον κάκεινοι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀκοῦσαμεν ἐπαλαβόντες συντίθεμεν καὶ τὸ ³ σχήμα καὶ τὸ μέγαθος καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν φύσιν, ὅποια καὶ ὅποσῇ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄντερ ἡ διάνοια ἐκ τῶν αἰσθητῶν συντίθησιν ⁴ τὰ νοητὰ σχήμα γὰρ καὶ χρόον καὶ μέγεθος μῆλου καὶ ὀμίλη καὶ ἀφήν καὶ χυμὸν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν αἰ αἰσθήσεις, ἐκ δὲ τούτων συντίθησιν ἡ διάνοια τὴν τοῦ μῆλου νόησιν καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν

¹ μικρά, Madvig, for μικράς.
² ἢν, Capps, for τὴν.
³ τε, Kramer suspects, before σχήμα; Meineke deletes.
⁴ συντίθησι, Casaubon, for τίθησι; editors following.

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plane-surface chart it will not be a matter of importance merely to make the straight meridian lines converge slightly; for there is no necessity for this in many cases, nor are the converging straight lines, when the lines of the sphere are transferred to the plane chart and drawn as straight lines, as easily understood as are the curved lines on the sphere.

11. And so in what I have to say hereafter I shall assume that our drawing has been made on a plane chart. Now I shall tell what part of the land and sea I have myself visited and concerning what part I have trusted to accounts given by others by word of mouth or in writing. I have travelled westward from Armenia as far as the regions of Tyrrhenia opposite Sardinia, and southward from the Euxine Sea as far as the frontiers of Ethiopia. And you could not find another person among the writers on geography who has travelled over much more of the distances just mentioned than I; indeed, those who have travelled more than I in the western regions have not covered as much ground in the east, and those who have travelled more in the eastern countries are behind me in the western; and the same holds true in regard to the regions towards the south and north. However, the greater part of our material both they and I receive by hearsay and then form our ideas of shape and size and also other characteristics, qualitative and quantitative, precisely as the mind forms its ideas from sense impressions—for our senses report the shape, colour, and size of an apple, and also its smell, feel, and flavour; and from all this the mind forms the concept of apple. So, too, even

1 That is, in view of the fact that no attempt is made to indicate curvature. 2 Tuscany.
μεγάλων σχημάτων τὰ μέρη μὲν αἰσθῆσις ὀρᾶ, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐκ τῶν ὁραθέντων ἡ διάνοια συντήρησιν. οὖτω δὲ καὶ οἱ φιλομαθεῖς ἀνδρεῖς, ὥσπερ αἰσθητηρίους πιστεύσαντες τοὺς ἰδούσιν καὶ πλανηθείσιν οὕς ἔτυχε τόπους, ἄλλοις κατ' ἄλλα μέρη τῆς γῆς, συντιθέασιν εἰς ἐν διάγραμμα τὴν τῆς ὀλής οἰκουμένης ὄψιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντα μὲν αὐτοὶ πράττουσιν, οὐ πανταχοῦ δὲ πάρεισιν, ἀλλὰ πλείστα κατορθοῦσι δι' ἐτέρων, ἀγγέλοις πιστεύοντες καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἁκοὴν διαπέμποντες οἰκεῖως τὰ προστάγματα. ὁ δ' ἀξίων μόνους εἰδέναι τοὺς ἰδόντας ἀναίρει τὸ τῆς ἁκοῆς κριτηρίου, ἢτις πρὸς ἐπιστήμην ὀφθαλμοῦ πολὺ κρεῖττων ἔστι.

12. Μάλιστα δ' οἱ νῦν ἁμειβόν ἔχουσιν ἂν τι λέγειν περὶ τῶν κατὰ Βρεττανοὺς καὶ Γερμανοὺς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν Ἰστροὺς τοὺς τε ἐντὸς καὶ τοὺς ἐκτὸς, Τέτας τε καὶ Τυρεγέτας καὶ Βαστάρνας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς περὶ τῶν Καύκασον, οἶδον Ἀλβανοὺς καὶ Ἰβηρας. ἀπήγγελται δ' ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Παρθικὰ συγγραφάντων, τῶν περὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου τῶν Ἀρτεμιτήρων, ἃ πολλῶν ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἀφόρισαν, τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰτανίαν καὶ τὴν Βακτριανῆν. τῶν τε Ρωμαίων καὶ εἰς τὴν εὐσδείμονα Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλόντων μετὰ στρατιάς νεωστὶ, ἡς ἤγειτο ἀνὴρ φίλος ἡμῖν καὶ ἑταῖρος Αἰλιος Γάλλος, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐμπόρων στό-
GEOGRAPHY, 2. 5. ii-12

in the case of large figures, while the senses perceive only the parts, the mind forms a concept of the whole from what the senses have perceived. And men who are eager to learn proceed in just that way: they trust as organs of sense those who have seen or wandered over any region, no matter what, some in this and some in that part of the earth, and they form in one diagram their mental image of the whole inhabited world. Why, generals, too, though they do everything themselves, are not present everywhere, but they carry out successfully most of their measures through others, trusting the reports of messengers and sending their orders around in conformity with the reports they hear. And he who claims that only those have knowledge who have actually seen abolishes the criterion of the sense of hearing, though this sense is much more important than sight for the purposes of science.

12. In particular the writers of the present time can give a better account\(^1\) of the Britons, the Germans, the peoples both north and south of the Ister, the Getans, the Tyregetans, the Bastarnians, and, furthermore, the peoples in the regions of the Caucasus, such as the Albanians and the Iberians.\(^2\) Information has been given us also concerning Hyrcania and Bactriana by the writers of Parthian histories (Apollodorus of Artemita and his school), in which they marked off those countries more definitely than many other writers. Again, since the Romans have recently invaded Arabia Felix with an army, of which Aelius Gallus, my friend and companion, was the commander, and since the merchants

\(^1\) That is, better than their predecessors. Compare 1. 2. 1.  
\(^2\) The "Eastern Iberians." See page 227.
λοις ἡ ὁδή πλεόντων διὰ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, πολὺ μᾶλλον καὶ ταύτα ἐγνωσται τοῖς νῦν ἢ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν. οτε γοὺς Γάλλος ἐπῆρχε τῆς Αἰγύπτου, συνώντες αὐτῷ καὶ συναναβάντες μέχρι Συήνης καὶ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν ὄρων ἱστοροῦμεν ὅτι καὶ ἐκατόν καὶ εἰκοσὶ νῆς πλέοιεν ἐκ Μυσὸς ὄρμου πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδικήν, πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν Πτολεμαϊκῶν βασιλεῶν ὀλίγων παντάπασι βαρβούντων πλεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν ἐμπορεύεσθαι φόρτων.

13. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα καὶ κυριώτατα καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστήμην καὶ πρὸς τὰς χρείας τὰς πολιτικὰς ταύτα, σχῆμα καὶ μέγεθος εἰπεῖν ός ἀπλούστατα ἐγχειρεῖν τὸ πάπτον εἰς τὸν γεωγραφικὸν πίνακα, συμπαραδηλοῦντα καὶ τὸ ποιὸν τι καὶ πόστον μέρος τῆς ὄλης γῆς ἑστὶν· τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖον τῷ γεωγράφῳ, τὸ δὲ καὶ περὶ ὅλης ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι τῆς γῆς καὶ περὶ τοῦ σπούδιον παντὸς ἂν ἔλεγομεν ᾣ ὥσος ἄλλης τῶν ἐπιστήμης ἑστίν, οἴον εἰ περιοικεῖται καὶ κατὰ θάτερον τεταρτημόριον ὁ σπούδιος· καὶ γὰρ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, οὕτω ὑπὸ τούτου γε οἰκεῖται τῶν παρ΄ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη ἄλλην οἰκουμένην θετεύον, ὅπερ ἑστὶ πιθανόν. ἡμῖν δὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ταύτῃ μέντοι λεκτέον.

14. Ἡ ἔστι δὴ τις χλαμυδοειδες σχῆμα τῆς γῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης, οὐ τὸ μὲν πλάτος ὑπογράφει τὸ

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1 στόλοι, Tyrwhitt, for στόλοι; editors following.
2 ζ, before πολὺ, Paetz deletes; editors following.
3 ἔλεγομεν, Corais, for λέγωμεν.
4 ταύτῃ, Tyrwhitt, for ταύτα; editors following.
of Alexandria are already sailing with fleets by way of the Nile and of the Arabian Gulf as far as India, these regions also have become far better known to us of to-day than to our predecessors. At any rate, when Gallus was prefect of Egypt, I accompanied him and ascended the Nile as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I learned that as many as one hundred and twenty vessels were sailing from Myos Hormos to India, whereas formerly, under the Ptolemies, only a very few ventured to undertake the voyage and to carry on traffic in Indian merchandise.

13. Now my first and most important concern, both for the purposes of science and for the needs of the state, is this—to try to give, in the simplest possible way, the shape and size of that part of the earth which falls within our map, indicating at the same time what the nature of that part is and what portion it is of the whole earth; for this is the task proper of the geographer. But to give an accurate account of the whole earth and of the whole "spinning-whorl" 1 of the zone of which I was speaking is the function of another science—for instance, take the question whether the "spinning-whorl" is inhabited in its other fourth also. And, indeed, if it is inhabited, it is not inhabited by men such as exist in our fourth, and we should have to regard it as another inhabited world—which is a plausible theory. It is mine, however, to describe what is in this our own inhabited world.

14. As I have said, the shape of the inhabited world is somewhat like a chlamys, 1 whose greatest breadth is represented by the line that runs through

1 See 2. 5. 6.
μέγιστον ἢ διὰ τοῦ Νείλου γραμμή, λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ τῆς Κινναμομοφόρου παραλλήλου καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀργυτών τῶν φυγάδων νῆσον μέχρι τοῦ διὰ τῆς Ἰέρυμης παραλλήλου, τὸ δὲ μήκος ἢ ταύτη πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας διὰ Στηλῶν καὶ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πορθμοῦ μέχρι τῆς Ροδίας καὶ τοῦ Ἰσσικοῦ κόλπου, παρὰ τὸν Ταύρου ἱοῦσα τὸν διεξόκοτα τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ καταστρέφοντα ἐπὶ τὴν ἔφαν θάλατταν μεταξὺ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Βακτριανῆς Σκυθῶν, δεῖ δὴ νοῆσαι παραλληλόγραμμόν τι, ἐν χ λαμυδοειδές σχῆμα ἐγγέγραπται οὕτως, ὡστε τὸ μήκος τῷ μῆκει όμολογεῖν καὶ ἵσου εἶναι τὸ μέγιστον, καὶ τὸ πλάτος τῷ πλάτει. τὸ μὲν δὴ χ λαμυδοειδές σχῆμα οἰκουμενή ἐστι: τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὅριζεσθαι ἐφαμεν αὐτῆς ταῖς ἐσχάταις παραλλήλοις πλευραῖς, ταῖς διοριζούσαις τὸ οἰκησίμουν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἀοίκητον ἐφ' ἐκάτερα. αὐταί δ' ἦσαν πρὸς ἀρκτοῖς μὲν ἡ διὰ τῆς Ἰέρυμης, πρὸς δὲ τῇ διακεκαμμένῃ ἡ διὰ τῆς Κινναμομοφόρου αὐταί δὴ προσεκβάλλομεναι ἐπὶ τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς δύσεις μέχρι τῶν ἀνταρρότων μερῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης ποιήσουσι τὶ παραλληλόγραμμὸν πρὸς τὰς ἐπιζευγνυσίας διὰ τῶν ἀκρῶν αὐτάς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτῳ ἔστων ἡ οἰκουμένη, φανερῶν ἐκ τοῦ μήτῃ τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς τὸ μέγιστον ἐξω πιπτείν αὐτοῦ μήτῃ τὸ μήκος. ὅτι δ' αὐτῆς

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1 The Sembritae, who revolted from Psammetichus in the seventh century B.C. and fled to an island of the Nile, north
the Nile, a line that begins at the parallel that runs through the Cinnamon-producing Country and the island of the fugitive Egyptians, and ends at the parallel through Ierne; its length is represented by that line drawn perpendicular thereto which runs from the west through the Pillars and the Strait of Sicily to Rhodes and the Gulf of Issus, passes along the Taurus Range, which girdles Asia, and ends at the Eastern Sea between India and the country of those Scythians who live beyond Bactriana. Accordingly, we must conceive of a parallelogram in which the chlamys-shaped figure is inscribed in such a way that the greatest length of the chlamys coincides with, and is equal to, the greatest length of the parallelogram, and likewise its greatest breadth and the breadth of the parallelogram. Now this chlamys-shaped figure is the inhabited world; and, as I said, its breadth is fixed by the parallelogram’s outermost lines, which separate its inhabited and its uninhabited territory in both directions. And these sides were: in the north, the parallel through Ierne; in the torrid region, the parallel through the Cinnamon-producing Country; hence these lines, if produced both east and west as far as those parts of the inhabited world that rise opposite to them, will form a parallelogram with the meridian-lines that unite them at their extremities. Now, that the inhabited world is situated in this parallelogram is clear from the fact that neither its greatest breadth nor its greatest length falls outside thereof; and

of Meroë. See Strabo 16. 4. 8. and 17. 1. 2. Herodotus speaks of them as “voluntary deserters” (2. 30).

\(^2\) North and south.

\(^3\) That is, that “lie on the same parallel.” See page 254.

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χλαμυδοειδες το σχημα έστιν, εκ του τα άκρα μυουρίζειν τα του μήκους έκατέρωθεν, κλυζόμενα ὑπὸ της θαλάττης, καὶ ἀφαίρειν τοῦ πλάτους· τοῦτο δὲ δὴλον εκ τῶν περιπλευσάντων τα τε ἑδα μέρη καὶ τα δυσμικα έκατέρωθεν. της τε γαρ Ἰνδικής νοτιωτέραν πολὺ την Ταπροβάννην καλουμένην νῆσον ἀποψαίνουσιν, οἰκουμένην ἔτι, καὶ ἀνταίρουσαν τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων νῆσῳ καὶ τῇ τῷ κυνάμωμον φερούση γῆ· την γαρ κράσιν τῶν ἄρων παραπλησίαν εἰναι· τῆς τε μετὰ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς Σκυθίας τῆς ὑστάτης ἀρκτικώτερα ἐστι τα κατά το στόμα τῆς Ἰρκανίας θαλάττης καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τα κατά την Ἰέρυνην, ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐξω Στηλῶν λέγεται· δυσμικότατον μὲν γαρ σημείων τῆς οἰκουμένης το τῶν Ἰβήρων ἀκρωτήριον, δ καλούσιν Ἰερόν· κεῖται δὲ κατὰ τῆν γραμμήν πως 2 την διὰ Γαδείραν τε καὶ Στηλῶν καὶ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἱοδίας, συμφωνεῖν γαρ καὶ τα ὅροσκοπεῖα καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους φασί τοὺς έκατέρωσε φοροῦς καὶ τα μήκη τῶν μεγίστων ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν· ἐστι γαρ τετσαρεσκαίδεκα ὄρων ἰσημερινῶν καὶ ἡμι- σους 3 ἡ μεγίστη τῶν ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν. ἐν τε τῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Γάδειρα Καβείρους, 4 ποτὲ ὀρᾶσθαι. Ποσειδώνιοι δ' ἐκ τινος υψηλῆς οἰκίας ἐν πόλει διεχούσῃ τῶν τόπων τούτων ὅσον τετρα-

1 ὑπὸ, Corais, for δ' ἀπὸ; Meineke, Forbiger, following; C. Müller approving.
2 πρὸς, Pletho, Corais, delete, before τήν; Meineke following.
3 καὶ ἡμίσους, Groskurd inserts, from a suggestion by Gosselin; all subsequent editors and translators following.
4 Καβείρους, Meineke, for καὶ 'Ιβηρας; Forbiger, Tardieu, following; A. Vogel, C. Müller, Tozer, approving.

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that its shape is like a chlamys is apparent from the fact that the extremities of its length, being washed away by the sea, taper off on both sides \(^1\) and thus diminish its width there; and this is apparent from the reports of those who have sailed around the eastern and western parts in both directions.\(^2\) For these navigators declare that the island called Taprobane is considerably south of India, inhabited nevertheless, and that it "rises opposite to" the Island of the Egyptians and the Cinnamon-bearing Country; and that, indeed, the temperature of the atmosphere is much the same as that of these latter places; and the regions about the outlet of the Hyrcanian Sea are farther north than outermost Scythia beyond India, and the regions about Ierne are farther north still. A similar report is also made concerning the country outside the Pillars, namely, the promontory of Iberia which they call the Sacred Cape is the most westerly point of the inhabited world; and this cape lies approximately on the line that passes through Gades, the Pillars, the Strait of Sicily, and Rhodes. At all these points, they say, the shadows cast by the sun-dial agree, and the winds that blow in either direction come from the same direction,\(^3\) and the lengths of the longest days and nights are the same; for the longest day and the longest night have fourteen and a half equinoctial hours. Again, the constellation of the Cabeiri is sometimes seen along the coast near Gades. And Poseidonius says that from a tall house in a city about four hundred stadia distant from these regions

\(^1\) See note on Chlamys, § 6 (preceding).
\(^2\) That is, north and south.
\(^3\) Strabo is referring to the periodic winds.
κοσίους σταδίους, φησὶν ἰδεῖν ἀστέρα, διὸ τεκμαλρεσθαί τὸν Κάνωβον αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ τε τούς μικρὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας προελθόντας ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ὄμολογεῖν ἀφορὰν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ἐν Κυίδῳ τὴν γαρ Εὐδόξου σκοτήν οὐ πολὺ τῶν οἰκήσεων ὑψηλότεραν εἶναι, λέγεσθαι δὲ ὅτι ἐντεύθεν ἐκεῖνος ἀφεώρα τὸν Κάνωβον ἀστέρα, εἶναι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὁρδιακοῦ κλίματος τὴν Κυίδου, ἐφ᾽ οὐ καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ ἡ ταύτη παραλία.

15. Ἔντευθεν δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰ νότια μέρη πλέοντιν ἡ Διβύνη κεῖται ταύτης δὲ τὰ δυσμικώτατα μικρὸ τῶν Γαδείρων πρόκειται μᾶλλον, εἰτ᾽ ἄκραν ποιήσαντα στενὴν ἀναχωρεῖ πρὸς ἑω καὶ νότον, καὶ πλατύνεται κατ᾽ ὀλγὸν, ἐως ἄν τοῖς ἐσπερίοις Αἰθίοπις συνάψῃ. οὗτοι δὲ ὑπόκεινται τῶν περὶ Καρχηδόνα τόπων ὑστατοῖς, συνάπτοντες τῇ διὰ τῆς Κινναμωμοφόρου γραμμῇ. εἰς δὲ τάναντια πλέονσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου μέχρι τῶν Ἀρτάβρων καλομένων δὲ πλοῦς ἐστὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχουσι τὴν Δυσσιτανίαν εἰτ᾽ ὁ λοιπὸς πρὸς ἑο τὰς ἀμβλειαν γαυνίαν ποιῶν μέχρι τῶν τῆς Πυρήνης ἄκρων τῶν τελευτῶντων εἰς τῶν ὥκεανῶν. τούτοις δὲ τὰ ἐσπερία τῆς Βρεττανίκης ἀντίκεινται πρὸς ἄρκτον, ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς Ἀρτάβρωις ἀντίκεινται πρὸς ἄρκτον αἱ Καττυ- τερίδες καλοῦμεναι ὑήσου πειλῶγιαι κατὰ τὸ Βρεττανικὸν πῶς κλίμα ἰδρυμέναι. ὡστε δὴ ὅτι ἐφ᾽ ὅσον συνάγεσαι τὰ ἄκρα τῆς οἰκουμενῆς κατὰ
he saw a star which he judged to be Canopus itself, so judging from the fact that those who had proceeded but a short distance south of Iberia were in agreement that they saw Canopus, and also from scientific observations made at Cnidus; for, says he, the observatory of Eudoxus at Cnidus is not much higher than the dwelling-houses, and from there, it is said, Eudoxus saw the star Canopus; and, adds Poseidonius, Cnidus lies on the parallel of Rhodes, on which lie both Gades and the coastline thereabouts.

15. Now as you sail to the regions of the south you come to Libya; of this country the westernmost coast extends only slightly beyond Gades; then this coast, forming a narrow promontory, recedes towards the southeast and gradually broadens out to the point where it reaches the land of the Western Ethiopians. They are the most remote people south of the territory of Carthage, and they reach the parallel that runs through the Cinnamon-producing Country. But if you sail in the opposite direction from the Sacred Cape until you come to the people called Artabrians, your voyage is northward, and you have Lusitania on your right hand. Then all the rest of your voyage is eastward, thus making an obtuse angle to your former course, until you reach the headlands of the Pyrenees that abut on the ocean. The westerly parts of Britain lie opposite these headlands towards the north; and in like manner the islands called Cassiterides,\(^1\) situated in the open sea approximately in the latitude of Britain, lie opposite to, and north of, the Artabrians. Therefore it is clear how greatly the east and west ends of

\(^1\) "Tin Islands"; now Scilly.
STRABO

μήκος ὑπὸ τοῦ περικεχυμένου πελάγους εἰς στενόν.

16. Τοιούτου δὲ οὖν τοῦ καθόλου σχήματος, χρήσιμον φαίνεται δύο λαβεῖν εὐθείας, αἱ τέμνουσαι πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἀλλήλας, ἢ μὲν διὰ τοῦ μήκους ἦξει τοῦ μεγίστου παντὸς, ἢ δὲ διὰ τοῦ πλάτους, καὶ ἢ μὲν τῶν παραλλήλων ἔσται μία, ἢ δὲ τῶν μεσημβριῶν ἑπείτα ταύταις παραλλήλους ἐπινοοῦντας ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα διαὶρεῖν κατὰ ταύτας τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἢ χρώμενοι τυγχάνομεν, καὶ γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα μᾶλλον ἂν καταφανεῖς γένοιτο, ὅποιον εἰρήκαμεν, κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν γραμμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα μέτρα ἔχουσῶν, τῶν τε τοῦ μήκους καὶ τοῦ πλάτους, καὶ τὰ κλίματα ἀποδηλωθήσεται βέλτιον, τὰ τε ἐωθίνα καὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια, ὡς δ’ αὐτῶς τὰ νότια καὶ τὰ βόρεια. ἐπεὶ δὲ διὰ γνωρίμων τόπων λαμβάνεσθαι δεῖ τὰς εὐθείας ταύτας, αἱ μὲν ἔληφθησαν ἡδη, λέγω δὲ τὰς μέσας δύο, τὴν τε τοῦ μήκους καὶ τοῦ πλάτους, τὰς λεχθείσας πρότερον, αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι ῥαδίως γνωρίζοντ’ ἀν διὰ τούτων τρόπων γὰρ τινα στοιχείους χρώμενοι τούτοις τὰ παράλληλα μέρη συνεχόμεθα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας σχέσεις τῶν οἰκήσεων τάς τ’ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια.

17. Πλεῖστον δ’ ἡ θάλαττα γεωγραφεῖ καὶ σχηματίζει τὴν γῆν, κόλπους ἀπεργαζομένη καὶ
the inhabited world have been narrowed down by the surrounding sea.

16. Such being the general shape of the inhabited world, it is clearly helpful to assume two straight lines that intersect each other at right angles, one of which will run through the entire greatest length and the other through the entire greatest breadth of the inhabited world; and the first line will be one of the parallels, and the second line one of the meridians; then it will be helpful to conceive of lines parallel to these two lines on either side of them and by them to divide the land and the sea with which we happen to be conversant. For thereby the shape of the inhabited world will prove more clearly to be such as I have described it, being judged by the extent of the lines, which lines are of different measurements, both those of the length and those of the breadth; and thereby too the "climata" will be better represented, both in the east and in the west, and likewise in the south and in the north. But since these straight lines must be drawn through known places, two of them have already been so drawn, I mean the two central lines mentioned above, the one representing the length and the other the breadth; and the other lines will be easily found by the help of these two. For by using these lines as "elements,"¹ so to speak, we can correlate the regions that are parallel, and the other positions, both geographical and astronomical, of inhabited places.

17. It is the sea more than anything else that defines the contours of the land and gives it its

¹ Or, as we would say, "axes of co-ordinates." (Strabo has in mind something similar to our system of co-ordinates in analytical geometry.)
πελάγη καὶ πορθμοῦς, ὄμοιως δὲ ἰσθμοὺς καὶ χερ-ρονήσους καὶ ἁκρας᾿ προσλαμβάνουσι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ τὰ ὄρη. διὰ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων ἡπειροὶ τε καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεων θέσεις εὐφυεῖς ἐνευόθησαν καὶ τὰλλα ποικίλματα, ὅσων μεστὸς ἔστιν ὁ χωρογραφικὸς πίναξ. ἐν δὲ τούτως καὶ τὸ τῶν ὑψών πλῆθος ἐστὶ κατεσπαρμένων ἐν τε τοῖς πελάγεσι καὶ κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν πᾶσαν. ἄλλων δ᾿ ἄλλας ἀρετὰς τε καὶ κακίας καὶ τὰς ἀπ᾿ αὐτῶν χρείας ἐπιδεικνυμένων ἢ δυσχρηστίας, τὰς μὲν φύσει, τὰς δὲ ἐκ κατασκευῆς, τὰς φύσει δεὶ λέγειν· διαμένουσι γὰρ, αἱ δ᾿ ἐπίθετοι δέχονται μεταβολάς. καὶ τούτων δὲ τὰς πλεῖώ χρόνων συμ-μένειν δυναμένας ἐμφανιστέον, ἢ ἡ μὴ πολὺ μὲν, ἄλλως δ᾿ ἐπιφάνειαι μὲν ἐχοῦσας οἱ δὲ καὶ δόξαν, ἢ πρὸς τὸν ὑστερον χρόνον παραμένουσα τρόπον τινὰ συμφυή τοῖς τόποις ποιεῖ καὶ μηκέτι οὐσαν κατασκευὴν· ὃστε δὴ λοι ὅτι δεὶ καὶ τούτων μεμνήσθαι. περὶ πολλῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ πόλεων τοὺτ᾿ εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ εἰπτε Δημοσθένης ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Ὀλυνθοῦν, ὡς οὕτως ἥφανίσθαι φησίν, ὅστε μηδὲν πῶστοτε φακήθησαν γνώναι αὖ τινα ἐπελθόντα. ἀλλ᾿ ὅμως καὶ εἰς τούτους τοὺς τόπους καὶ εἰς ἄλλους ἀφικνοῦται ἁσμενοῖ, τὰ γ᾿ ἵχνη ποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν τῶν οὕτω διονυσισμένων ἔργων, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς τάφους τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ νο-1 ἢ, Corais inserts, after ἄλλων; generally followed. 2 ἢ, Corais inserts; Groskurd, Kramer, Forbiger, following. 464
shape, by forming gulfs, deep seas, straits, and likewise isthmuses, peninsulas, and promontories; but both the rivers and the mountains assist the seas herein. It is through such natural features that we gain a clear conception of continents, nations, favourable positions of cities, and all the other diversified details with which our geographical map is filled. And among these details are the multitude of islands scattered both in the open seas and along the whole seaboard. And since different places exhibit different good and bad attributes, as also the advantages and inconveniences that result therefrom, some due to nature and others resulting from human design, the geographer should mention those that are due to nature; for they are permanent, whereas the adventitious attributes undergo changes. And also of the latter attributes he should indicate such as can persist for a long time, or else such as can not persist for long and yet somehow possess a certain distinction and fame, which, by enduring to later times, make a work of man, even when it no longer exists, a kind of natural attribute of a place; hence it is clear that these latter attributes must also be mentioned. Indeed, it is possible to say concerning many cities what Demosthenes said 1 of Olynthus and the cities round about it, 2 which have so completely disappeared, he says, that a visitor could not know even whether they had ever been founded. But nevertheless men like to visit these places as well as others, because they are eager to see at least the traces of deeds so widely famed, just as they like to visit the tombs of illustrious men. So, also, I have mentioned

1 *Philippics* 3. 117.
2 Methone, Apollonia, and thirty-two other cities.
μίμων καὶ πολιτείῶν μεμνήμεθα τῶν μηκέτι οὖσών, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς ὀφελείας προκαλομένης τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων ὄντερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων· ἦ γὰρ ξῆλου χάριν, ἦ ἀποτροπῆς τῶν τοιούτων.

18. Δέγομεν δ' ἀναλαβόντες ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ὑποτυπώσεως, ὅτι ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένη γῆς περίφερτως οὖσα δέχεται κόλπους εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης κατὰ τὸν ὥκεανὸν πολλοὺς, μεγίστους δὲ τέταρτας· δῶν ὁ μὲν βόρειος Κασσία καλεῖται θάλαττα, οἳ δὲ Ἰρκυνίαν προσαγορεύουσιν· δὲ δὲ Περσικὸς καὶ Ἀράβιος ἀπὸ τῆς νοτίας ἀναχέονται θαλάττης, ὁ μὲν τῆς Κασσίας καὶ ἀντικρυ μάλιστα, δὲ δὲ τῆς Ποντικῆς· τῶν δὲ τέταρτων, ὡσπερ πολὺ τούτων ὑπερβέβληται κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἡ ἐντὸς καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς λεγομένη θάλαττα ἀπεργάζεται, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας λαμβάνουσα καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στῆλας πορθμοῦ, μηκυνομένη δ' εἰς τὸ πρὸς ἕως μέρος ἐν ἄλλῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ πλάτει, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σχετικά μένει καὶ τελευτῶσα εἰς δύο κόλπους πελαγίους, τῶν μὲν ἐν ἄριστερᾷ, ὡσπερ Ἐβιζεινῷ πόλιν προσαγορεύομεν, τὸν δ' ἐτερον τῶν συγκεκριμένων ἐκ τὸ τοῦ Ἀγγιπτίου πελάγους καὶ τοῦ Παμφύλιου καὶ τοῦ Ἰσμικοῦ. ἀπαντεῖ δ' οἱ λεχθέντες κόλποι ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης στενοῦ ἔχουσι τῶν εἰσπλονεῖ· μᾶλλον μὲν οὐ τὰ Ἀράβιος καὶ οὐ κατὰ Στήλας, ἢττον δ' οἱ λοιποὶ. ἢ δὲ περικλείουσα αὐτοὺς γῆς τριχῆ νενεμηται, καθατερ εἰρηται. ἢ μὲν οὖν Ἐβιζεινῆ πολυσχημοεστάτη πασῶν ἔστιν, ἢ δὲ Ἀδυνη τάναντια πέπονθεν, ἢ δὲ 'Ασία μέσην πως ἀμφοῦ ἔχει

1 καὶ ἄλλοι, Casaubon conjectures; editors following.
customs and constitutions that no longer exist, for
the reason that utility urges me in their case just as
it does in the case of deeds of action; that is, either
to incite emulation or else avoidance of this or that.

18. I now resume my first sketch of the inhabited
world and say that our inhabited world, being girt
by the sea, admits into itself from the exterior sea
along the ocean many gulfs, of which four are very
large. Of these four gulfs the northern one is
called the Caspian Sea (though some call it the
Hyrcanian Sea); the Persian Gulf and the Arabian
Gulf pour inland from the Southern Sea, the one
about opposite the Caspian Sea and the other about
opposite the Pontus; and the fourth, which far
exceeds the others in size, is formed by the sea
which is called the Interior Sea, or Our Sea; it takes
its beginning in the west at the strait at the Pillars
of Heracles, and extends lengthwise towards the
regions of the east, but with varying breadth, and
finally divides itself and ends in two sea-like gulfs,
the one on the left hand, which we call the Euxine
Pontus, and the other consisting of the Egyptian,
the Pamphylian, and the Issican Seas. All these
aforesaid gulfs have narrow inlets from the Exterior
Sea, particularly the Arabian Gulf and that at the
Pillars, whereas the others are not so narrow. The
land that surrounds these gulfs is divided into three
parts, as I have said. Now Europe has the most
irregular shape of all three; Libya has the most
regular shape; while Asia occupies a sort of middle

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C 122 τὴν διάθεσιν ἂπασαι δ’ ἐκ τῆς ἐντὸς παραλλασίας ἔχουσι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ τε πολυσκόμμονος καὶ τοῦ μῆ, ἡ δ’ ἐκτὸς πλῆν τῶν λεχθέντων κόλπων ἀπλῆ καὶ χλαμυδοειδὴς ἐστιν, ὡς εἴπου, τὰς δ’ ἄλλας ἐν μικρῷ διαφορὰς ἔστεοι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις τὸ μικρὸν. ἔτι δ’ ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν γεωγραφικὴν ἱστορίαν οὐ σχῆματα μόνον ξητοῦμεν καὶ μεγέθη τῶν ἄλλα καὶ σχέσεις πρὸς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν, ὅσπερ ἐφαμεν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ ποικίλου ἢ ἐντὸς παραλλασίας παρέχεται μᾶλλον ἡ ἢ ἐκτὸς. πολὺ δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ γνώριμον καὶ τὸ εὐκρατοῦν καὶ τὸ πόλεσι καὶ ἐθνεσιν εὐνομομένους συνοικοῦμενον μᾶλλον ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἐκεῖ. ποθοῦμεν τε εἰδέναι ταῦτα, ἐν οἷς πλεῖους παραδίδοντα πράξεις καὶ πολιτείας καὶ τέχναι καὶ τᾶλλα, ὡς εἰς φρόνησιν συνεργεῖ, αἱ τε χρεῖαι συνάγουσιν ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἐκεῖνα, διὸ ἐν ἐφικτῇ αἱ ἐπιπλοκαλ καὶ κοινωνίαι· ταῦτα δ’ ἐστὶν ὡσα οἰκεῖαι, μᾶλλον δ’ οἰκείαις καλῶς. πρὸς ἀπαντά δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς ἔφη̃, ἡ παρ’ ἡμῖν θάλαττα πλεονέκτημα ἔχει μέγα· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐνθεῖ ἀρκτεῖον τῆς περιηγήσεως.

19. Εἴρηται δὲ ὅτι ἀρχῇ τοῦτο τοῦ κόλπου ἐστὶν ὁ κατὰ τὰς Στῆλας πορθμός· τὸ δὲ στενότατον τούτον περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίους λέγεται· παραπλεύσαντε δὲ τὸν στενωπὸν ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσι σταδίων ὑπὸ διάστασιν λαμβάνουσιν αἰ 468
position between the other two in this respect. And the cause of their irregularity or their lack of it lies in the coastline of the Interior Sea, whereas the coastline of the Exterior Sea, with the exception of that of the aforesaid gulf, is regular and, as I have said, like a chlamys; but I must leave out of view the other slight irregularities, for a little thing is nothing when we are dealing with great things. And further, since in the study of geography we inquire not merely into the shapes and dimensions of countries, but also, as I have said, into their positions with reference to each other, herein, too, the coastline of the Interior Sea offers for our consideration more varied detail than that of the Exterior Sea. And far greater in extent here than there is the known portion, and the temperate portion, and the portion inhabited by well-governed cities and nations. Again, we wish to know about those parts of the world where tradition places more deeds of action, political constitutions, arts, and everything else that contributes to practical wisdom; and our needs draw us to those places with which commercial and social intercourse is attainable; and these are the places that are under government, or rather under good government. Now, as I have said, our Interior Sea has a great advantage in all these respects; and so with it I must begin my description.

19. I have already stated that the strait at the Pillars forms the beginning to this gulf; and the narrowest part of the strait is said to be about seventy stadia; but after you sail through the narrows, which are one hundred and twenty stadia in length, the coasts take a divergent course all at
ἡμόνες ἄθροαν, ἢ δ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ὡς μεγάλου φαίνεται πελάγους. ὁρίζεται δ' ἐκ μὲν τοῦ δεξίου πλευροῦ τῇ Διβυκῇ παραλίᾳ μέχρι Καρχηδόνος, ἐκ δὲ βατέρου τῇ τῇ Ἰβηρικῇ καὶ τῇ Κελτικῇ κατὰ Νάρβωνα καὶ Μασσαλίαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῇ Δυναστικῇ, τελευταία δὲ τῇ Ἰταλικῇ μέχρι τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πόρθμου. τὸ δ' ἐφοι τοῦ πελάγους πλευρὸν ἡ Σικελία ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῆς πορθμοὶ: δ' μὲν πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπταστάδιος, ὁ δ' πρὸς τῇ Καρχηδόνι χιλίοι καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων. ἡ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν Στηλῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπταστάδιον ἡραμμὴ μέρος μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Ῥόδου καὶ τῶν Ταύρου, μέσον δὲ πως τέμνει τὸ λεχθὲν πέλαγος. λέγεται δὲ σταδίων μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων· τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ πελάγους, πλάτος δὲ τὸ μεγίστον ὅσον πεντακοσιχιλίων σταδίων τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ κόλπου μεταξὺ Μασσαλίας καὶ Νάρβωνος ἐπὶ τὴν κατ' ἀντικρὺ Διβύην. καλούσι δὲ τὸ πρὸς τῇ Διβύη πάν μέρος τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης Διβυκῶν πέλαγος, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῇ κατ' ἀντικρὺ γῆ τὸ μὲν Ἰβηρικῶν, τὸ δὲ Δυναστικῶν, τὸ δὲ Σαρδῶνων, τελευταίον δὲ μέχρι τῆς Σικελίας τὸ Τυρρηνικόν. νῦσοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐν μὲν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος μέχρι τῆς Δυναστικῆς συχναί, μέγισται δὲ Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνος μετὰ γε τὴν Σικελίαν· αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ μεγίστη τῶν καθ' ἕμας καὶ ἀρίστη. πολὺ δὲ τούτων

1 τῆς, Kramer suspects, before τῶν Στηλῶν; Meineke deletes; C. Müller approving.
2 Σαρδῶνων, Corais, for Σαρδῶνον; Meineke following; C. Müller approving.

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once, though the one on the left diverges more; and then the gulf assumes the aspect of a great sea. It is bounded on the right side by the coastline of Libya as far as Carthage, and on the other side, first, by Iberia and also by Celtica in the regions of Narbo and Massilia, and next by Liguria, and finally by Italy as far as the Strait of Sicily. The eastern side of this sea is formed by Sicily and the straits on either side of Sicily; the one between Italy and Sicily is seven stadia in width and the one between Sicily and Carthage is fifteen hundred stadia. But the line from the Pillars to the seven-stadia strait is a part of the line to Rhodes and the Taurus Range; it cuts the aforesaid sea approximately in the middle; and it is said to be twelve thousand stadia in length. This, then, is the length of the sea, while its greatest breadth is as much as five thousand stadia, the distance from the Galatic Gulf between Massilia and Narbo to the opposite coast of Libya. The entire portion of this sea along the coast of Libya they call the Libyan Sea, and the portion that lies along the opposite coast they call, in order, the Iberian Sea, the Ligurian Sea, the Sardinian Sea, and finally, to Sicily, the Tyrrhenian Sea. There are numerous islands along the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea as far as Liguria, and largest of all are Sardinia and Corsica, except Sicily; but Sicily is the largest and best of all the islands in our part of the world.
Λειπόμεναι πελάγιαι μὲν Πανδάτερια¹ τε καὶ Ποντία, πρόσγειοι δὲ Ἀιθαλία τε καὶ Πλανασία καὶ Πιθηκούσσα καὶ Προχύτη καὶ Καπρία καὶ Δευκασία καὶ ἄλλαι τοιαῦται. ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ τῆς Διογυστικῆς αἱ πρὸ τῆς λοιπῆς ήιόνοι μέχρι Στηλῶν οὐ πολλαί, δὲν εἰσιν αἱ τε Γυμνήσιαι² καὶ Ἐβύσσος· οὐ πολλαί δ’ οὔδ’ αἱ³ πρὸ τῆς Διβύνης καὶ τῆς Σικελίας, δὲν εἰσί Κόσσουρά τε καὶ Αιγύμουρος καὶ αἱ Διπαράλειν νήσοι, ὡς Ἀιδοῦν τινὲς προσαγορεῦουσι.

20. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν πορθμοὺς ἄλλα πελάγη συνάπτεν τό τε πρὸ τῶν Σύρτεων καὶ τῆς Κυρηναίας καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ Σύρτεις καὶ τὸ Αὐσόνιον μὲν πᾶλαι, νῦν δὲ καλοῦμενον Σικελικόν, σύρρουν ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ συνεχές. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τῶν Σύρτεων καὶ τῆς Κυρηναίας καλεῖται Διβυκόν, τελευτᾷ δ’ εἰς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος. τῶν δὲ Σύρτεων ἡ μὲν ἐλάττων ἐστὶν ὅσον χιλίων καὶ ἐξακοσίων σταδίων τὴν περὶμετρον πρὸ- κεισται δ’ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τοῦ στόματος νῆσοι Μηρίγξ τε καὶ Κέρκινα· τῆς δὲ μεγάλης Σύρτεως φησιν Ἔρατοσθένης τὸν κύκλον εἶναι πεντακισχίλιων, τὸ δὲ βάθος χιλίων ὀκτακοσίων ἀρ’ Ἑσπερίδων εἰς Αὐτόμαλα καὶ τὸ τῆς Κυρηναίας μεθόριον πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ταύτη Διβύνην ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν περίπλον τετρακισχίλιων σταδίων εἴπον, τὸ δὲ βάθος χιλίων πεντακισχίων, ὅσον καὶ τὸ πλάτος τοῦ στόματος. τὸ δὲ Σικελικὸν πέλαγος πρὸ τῆς Σικελίας ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἕπι τὸ πρὸς ἐω

¹ Πανδάτερια, Meineke, for Πανδαρία.
² αἱ τε Γυμνήσιαι, Du Theil, Kramer, for ἥ τε Γυμνήσια.
³ οὐδ’ αἱ, Corais, for οὐδὲ; Meineke following.
GEOGRAPHY, 2. 5. 19-20

Far behind these in size are Pandateria and Pontia, which lie in the open sea, and, lying near the land, Aethalia, Planasia, Pithecussa, Prochyta, Capreae, Leucosia, and others like them. But on the other side of the Ligurian Sea the islands off the rest of the coast up to the Pillars are not numerous, among which are the Gymnesiae and Ebysus; and those off the coasts of Libya and Sicily are not numerous, either, among which are Cossura, Aegimurus, and the Liparian Islands, which some call the Islands of Aeolus.

20. Beyond Sicily and the straits on both sides of it other seas join with the former sea. The first is the sea in front of the Syrtes and Cyrenaecae and the two Syrtes themselves, and the second is the sea formerly called the Ausonian Sea, but now the Sicilian Sea, which is confluent with and a continuation of the first sea. Now the sea in front of the Syrtes and Cyrenaecae is called the Libyan Sea, and it ends at the Egyptian Sea. Of the Syrtes, the lesser is about one thousand six hundred stadia in circumference; and the islands Meninx and Cercina lie at either side of its mouth. As for the Greater Syrtes, Eratosthenes says that its circuit is five thousand stadia, and its breadth eighteen hundred stadia, reckoning from the Hesperides to Automala and to the common boundary between Cyrenaecae and the rest of Libya in that region; but others have estimated its circuit at four thousand stadia, and its breadth at fifteen hundred stadia, as much as the breadth of its mouth is. The Sicilian Sea lies in front of Sicily and Italy toward the regions of the

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μέρος καὶ ἔτι τοῦ μεταξὺ πόρου τῆς τε Ῥηγύνης μέχρι Δοκρῶν, καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας μέχρι Συ-ρακούσῶν καὶ Παχύνου. αὖξεται δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ πρὸς ἐω μέρος μέχρι τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Κρήτης, καὶ τῆς Πελοπόννησον δὲ περικλύζει τὴν πλείστην, καὶ πληροῖ τὸν Κορινθιακόν καλούμενον κόλπον· πρὸς ἄρκτος δὲ ἐπὶ τε ἄκραι Ἰατυνίαν καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, καὶ τῆς Ἡπείρου τὰ νότια μέρη μέχρι τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῆς συνεχοῦς παραλίας τῆς ποιούσης τῶν Κοριν-θιακὸν κόλπον πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. δὲ Ἰονίων κόλπος μέρος ἔστι τοῦ νῦν Ἀδρίου λεγομένου τοῦτοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ πλευρᾶ τῆς Ἰλιντρὶς ποιεῖ, τῆς δὲ εὐώνυμον ἡ Ἰταλία μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀκυλήνα. ἔστι δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον ἁμα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν ἄνεχον στενῶς καὶ μακρός, μῆκος μὲν ὅσον ἔξαιραςχιλίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τὸ μέγιστον διακοσίων ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλίοις. νῆσοι δὲ ἐλεύθεροι συχναλ μὲν αἱ πρὸ τῆς Ἰλιντρὶδος, αἱ τε Ἀγυρτίδες καὶ Κυρικτικὴ καὶ Διμυρίδες· ἔστι δὲ Ἰσσα καὶ Τραγούριον καὶ ἡ Μελαινα Κόρκυρα καὶ Φάρος· πρὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας δὲ αἱ Διο-μηδείοι. τοῦ Σικελικοῦ δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ Κρήτην ἀπὸ Παχύνου τετρακισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων φασὶ· τοσοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Ταῖναρον τῆς Δακωνικῆς· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ἄκρας Ἰατυνίας ἐπὶ τῶν μυχῶν τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου τῶν μὲν τρισ-χιλίων ἐστὶν ἐλαττον, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰατυνίας εἰς τὴν Δυβύθην πλέον τῶν τετρακισχιλίων ἐστὶ. νῆσοι δὲ εἰσὶν ἐνταῦθα ἡ τε Κόρκυρα καὶ Σύβοτα πρὸ τῆς Ἡπειρώτιδος, καὶ ἐφεξῆς πρὸ τοῦ Κοριν-
east, and, besides, in front of the strait that lies between them—in front of the territory of Rhegium as far as Locri, and of the territory of Messina as far as Syracuse and Pachynum. Toward the regions of the east it stretches on to the headlands of Crete, and its waters also wash round most of the Peloponnesus and fill what is called the Gulf of Corinth. On the north it stretches to the Iapygian Cape and the mouth of the Ionian Gulf and to the southern parts of Epirus as far as the Ambracian Gulf and the coast that adjoins it and, with the Peloponnesus, forms the Corinthian Gulf. But the Ionian Gulf is part of what is now called the Adriatic Sea. The right side of this sea is formed by Illyria, and the left by Italy up to its head at Aquileia. It reaches up towards the north-west in a narrow and long course; and its length is about six thousand stadia, while its greatest breadth is twelve hundred stadia. There are numerous islands in this sea: off the Illyrian coast the Apsyrtides, and Cyric-tica, and the Liburnides, and also Issa, Tragurium, Black Corecyra, and Pharos; and off the Italian coast the Diomedae. The stretch of the Sicilian Sea from Pachynum to Crete, they say, measures four thousand five hundred stadia, and just as much the stretch to Taenarum in Laconia; and the stretch from the Iapygian Cape to the head of the Gulf of Corinth is less than three thousand stadia, while that from Iapygia to Libya is more than four thousand. The islands of this sea are: Corecyra and the Sybota off the coast of Epirus; and next to
θιακοῦ κόλπου Κεφαλληνία καὶ Ἰθάκη καὶ Ζάκυνθος καὶ Εχινάδες.

21. Τῷ δὲ Σικελικῷ συνάπτει τὸ Κρητικὸν πέλαγος καὶ τὸ Σαρωσικόν καὶ τὸ Μυρτῶν, ὁ μεταξὺ τῆς Κρήτης ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πλάτος ἔχου τὸ μέγιστον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς δοὺς χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων στάδίων, μῆκος δὲ ἐλαττὸν ἡ διπλάσιον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ νῦσοι Κύθηρά τε καὶ Καλαυρία καὶ αἱ περὶ Αἰγιναν καὶ Σαλαμίνα καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων τινές. τὸ δὲ συνεχές τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἐστιν ἡ ζῆν σὺν τῷ Μέλαιν κόλπῳ καὶ τῷ Ἐλλησσόντω, καὶ τὸ Ἰκάριον καὶ Καρπάθιον μέχρι τῆς Ρώδου καὶ Κρήτης καὶ Καρπάθου 1 καὶ τῶν πρῶτων μερῶν τῆς Ἀσίας· ἐν φ' αὖ τε Κυκλάδες 2 νῦσοι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ Σποράδες καὶ αἱ προκείμεναι τῆς Καρίας καὶ Ἰωνίας καὶ Αἰολίδος μέχρι τῆς Τροάδος, λέγω δὲ Κῦ καὶ Σάμον καὶ Χίου καὶ Δέσβου καὶ Τένεδου· ὅς δ' αὐτῶς αἱ προκείμεναι τῆς Ἐλλάδος μέχρι τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς ὀμόρου Θράκης Ἐβσοία τε καὶ Σκύρος καὶ Πεπάρηθος καὶ Δήμων καὶ Ἰαννᾶς καὶ Ἰμβρός καὶ Σαμοθράκη καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους, περὶ ὄν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἐκαστά δηλώσομεν. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ μήκος τῆς θαλάττης ταύτης περὶ τετρακισχίλιος ἢ μικρὸ πλείους, τὸ δὲ πλάτος περὶ δισχίλιος. περιέχεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν λεχθέντων μερῶν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ Σουλίου μέχρι Θερμαϊκοῦ κόλπου πρὸς ἄρκτον ἔχοντι τῶν πλοῖων

1 Καρπάθου, Tschschucke, for Κύπρου; Groskurd, Forbiger, following.
2 The MSS. have: μερῶν. Τῆς δ' 'Ασίας αἳ τε Κυκλάδες. Pletho deletes the δ' before 'Ασίας, and inserts ἐν φ' before αἳ τε Κυκλάδες.
them, off the Gulf of Corinth, Cephalenlia, Ithaca, Zacynthus, and the Echinades.

21. Adjoining the Sicilian Sea are the Cretan, the Saronic, and the Myrtoan Seas. The Myrtoan Sea is between Crete, Argeia\(^1\) and Attica; its greatest breadth, measured from Attica, is about one thousand two hundred stadia, and its length is less than double its breadth. In this sea are the islands of Cythera, Calauria, Aegina and its neighbouring isles, Salamis, and some of the Cyclades. Next beyond the Myrtoan Sea comes immediately the Aegean Sea, with the Gulf of Melas and the Hellespont; and also the Icarian and Carpathian Seas, extending to Rhodes, Crete, Carpathus, and the first regions of Asia. In the Aegean are the Cyclades,\(^2\) the Sporades, and the islands that lie off Caria, Ionia, and Aeolis up to the Troad—I mean Cos, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos; so also those that lie off Greece as far as Macedonia and Thrace the next country beyond Macedonia—namely, Euboea, Scyros, Peparethos, Lemnos, Thasos, Imbros, Samothrace, and a number of others, concerning which I shall speak in my detailed description. The length of this sea is about four thousand stadia or slightly more, and its breadth is about two thousand stadia. It is surrounded by the aforesaid regions of Asia, and by the coast-line from Sunium to the Thermaic Gulf as you sail towards the north,

\(^1\) Argolis.

\(^2\) Strabo has just said that “some of the Cyclades” belong to the Myrtoan Sea. He elsewhere places “many of the Sporades” in the Carpathian Sea (10.5.14); and Samos, Cos, and others in the Icarian Sea (10.5.13). He now, apparently, makes the Aegean comprehend all these islands and many others besides. But the text is corrupt.

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παραλλακας καὶ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν κόλπων μέχρι τῆς Ἐρακίας χερρονήσου.

22. Κατὰ δὲ ταύτην ἔστι τὸ ἐπταστάδιον τὸ κατὰ Σήστον καὶ Ἀμβοῦ, δι' οὗ τὸ Ἀιγαῖον καὶ ὁ Ἐλλησπόντος ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς ἀρκτον εἰς ἄλλο πέλαγος, δ' καλούσι Προποντίδα. κάκεινο εἰς ἄλλο, τὸν Εὐξείνου προσαγορευόμενον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ διθάλαττος τρόπον τινὰ οὕτως· κατὰ μέσον γὰρ τοὺς ἄκρας δύο προπίπτουσιν, ἢ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ τῶν βορείων μερῶν, ἢ δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐναντία ταύτης, συνάγονται τὸν μεταξὺ πόρον καὶ ποιοῦσιν δύο πελάγη μεγάλα· τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀκρωτηρίου καλεῖται Κριοῦ κέτωπον, τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Κάραμβης, διέχοντα ἄλληλων πέρι δισχιλίων 1 σταδίων καὶ πεντακοσίων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἐσπέραν πέλαγος μήκός ἐστιν ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Βορυσθέου σταδίων τρισχιλίων ὀκτακοσίων, πλάτος δὲ δισχιλίων ὀκτακοσίων 2 ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἡ Δευκηνή νῆσος ἐστιν· τὸ δ' ἐφόν ἐστι παράμηκες, εἰς στενὸν τελευτῶν μυχῶν τοῦ κατὰ Διοσκουρίαδα, ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἡ μικρό τελείως σταδίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος περὶ τρισχιλίων· ἡ δὲ περίμετρος τοῦ σύμπαντος πελάγους ἐστὶ δισμυρίων ποὺ καὶ πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων. εἰκάζοντι δὲ τινὲς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς περιμέτρου ταύτης ἐντετάμενον Σκυθικῷ

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1 C. Müller shews that δισχιλίων must not be changed to χιλίων, with most editors.
2 ὀκτακοσίων, C. Müller proposes to insert, after δισχιλίων.
and by the Macedonian Gulfs up to the Thracian Chersonese.

22. Along this Chersonese lies the strait, seven stadia in breadth, between Sestus and Abydus, through which the Aegean Sea and the Hellespont empty northwards into another sea which they call the Propontis; and the Propontis empties into another sea termed the "Euxine" \(^1\) Pontus. This latter is a double sea, so to speak: for two promontories jut out at about the middle of it, one from Europe and the northern parts, and the other, opposite to it, from Asia, thus contracting the passage between them and forming two large seas. The promontory of Europe is called Criumetopon,\(^2\) and that of Asia, Carambis\(^3\); and they are about two thousand five hundred stadia distant from each other. Now the western sea has a length of three thousand eight hundred stadia, reckoning from Byzantium to the mouths of the Borysthenes, and a breadth of two thousand eight hundred stadia; in this sea the island of Leuce is situated. The eastern sea is oblong and ends in a narrow head at Dioscurias; it has a length of five thousand stadia or a little more, and a breadth of about three thousand stadia. The circumference of the whole sea is approximately twenty-five thousand stadia. Some compare the shape of this circumference to that of a bent Scythian bow,\(^4\)

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\(^1\) On the term "Euxine" see 7. 3. 6.
\(^2\) Cape Karadje, in Crimea.
\(^3\) Cape Kereimbe, in Paphlagonia.
\(^4\) The Scythian bow consisted of a central bar of elastic wood to whose ends were fitted the curved horns of an ibex or goat, the horns being tipped with metal and joined by a bow-string of ox-hide or sheep's hide. At the junction of the bar with each horn the curvature of the horn was concave but, at the tip, the horn had a convex curvature.
τόξω, τὴν μὲν νευρὰν ἐξομοιούντες τοῖς δεξιοῖς καλομένους μέρεσι τοῦ Πόντου (ταύτα δ' ἔστων ὁ παράπλους ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Διοσκουριάδας πλην γὰρ τῆς Καράμβιος ἢ γε ἄλλη πάσα ἡμῶν μικρὰς ἔχει εἰσοχάς ¹ τε καὶ ἐξοχάς, ὡστ' εὐθείᾳ ἐοικέναι), τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν τῇ κέρατι τοῦ τόξου διττῆν ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιστροφήν, τὴν μὲν ἀνών περιφερεστέραν, τὴν δὲ κάτω εὐθυτέραν οὕτω δὲ κακελίῳ ἀπεργάζεσθαι δύο κόλπους, ὅν δὲ ἐσπέριος πολὺ θατέρου περιφερέστερός ἦστιν.

23. Τπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ ἐωθινοῦ κόλπου πρὸς ἀρκτον ἡ Μαιώτις λίμνη, τὴν περίμετρον ἔχουσα ἐνυακισχιλῶν σταδίων ἢ καὶ μικρὸ πλεόνων· ἕκδιδωσι δ' αὐτὴ μὲν εἰς Πόντον κατὰ τῶν Κυμ-μερικῶν καλομένου Βόσπορον, οὕτως δὲ κατὰ τῶν Θράκιον εἰς τὴν Προποντίδα· τὸ γὰρ Βυζαντιακὸν στόμα οὕτω καλοῦσι Θράκιον Βόσπορον, δ' ἐτρα-στάδιον ἦστιν. ἡ δὲ Προποντίς χελών καὶ πεν-τακοσίων λέγεται τὸ μήκος σταδίων τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Τρώαδος ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον· πάρισιν δὲ πῶς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ πλάτος. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἡ τῶν Κυκληκῶν ἴδρυται νήσος καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν νησία.

24. Τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ πρὸς ἀρκτον τοῦ Ἀιγαίου πελάγους ἀνάχυσις καὶ τοσαῦτη, πάλιν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρδίας ἢ τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος ποιοῦσα καὶ τὸ Παμφύλιον καὶ τὸ Ἰσσικόν ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν ἑω καὶ τῆς Κιλκίες κατὰ Ἰσσόν ἐκτείνεται μέχρι καὶ πεντακισχιλῶν σταδίων παρὰ τε Λυκίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ τὴν Κιλκίου παραλίαν πᾶσαν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Συρία τε καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Ἀιγύπτος

¹ εἰσοχάς, Meineke, for ἐσοχάς.
likening the bow-string to the regions on what is
called the right-hand side of the Pontus (that is, the
ship-course along the coast from the outlet to the
head at Dioscurias; for with the exception of the
promontory of Carambis the whole shore has but
small recesses and projections, so that it is like a
straight line; and the rest they liken to the horn
of the bow with its double curve, the upper curve
being rounded off, while the lower curve is straighter;
and thus they say the left coast forms two gulfs,
of which the western is much more rounded than
the other.

23. North of the eastern gulf lies Lake Maeotis,
which has a circumference of nine thousand stadia
or even a little more. It empties into the Pontus at
what is called the Cimmerian Bosporus, and the
Pontus empties into the Propontis at the Thracian
Bosporus; for they give the name of Thracian Bos-
porus to the outlet at Byzantium, which is four
stadia.¹ The Propontis is said to be fifteen hundred
stadia long, reckoning from the Troad to Byzantium;
and its breadth is approximately the same. In it lie
the island of Cyzicus and the little islands in its
neighbourhood.

24. Such, then, is the nature and such the size of
the arm of the Aegean Sea that extends towards the
north. Again: the arm that begins at Rhodes and
forms the Egyptian, the Pamphylian, and the Issican
Seas, stretches towards the east as far as Issus in
Cilicia for a distance of five thousand stadia along
Lycia, Pamphylia, and the whole coastline of Cilicia.
Thence, Syria, Phoenicia, and Egypt encircle the sea

¹ That is, in breadth; but compare 7. 6. 1.
ἔγκυκλοι πρὸς νότον τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πρὸς δύσιν ἔως Ἀλεξάνδρειας. ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσσικῷ κόλπῳ καὶ τῷ Παμφυλίῳ κείσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν Κύπρον, συνάπτουσαν τῷ Ἀγγέλῳ πελάγει. ἔστι δ' ἀπὸ Ῥόδου διάρμα εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν βορεὰ τετρακισ-χιλίων που σταδίων, ὦ δὲ περὶπλοὺς διπλάσιος. ὦ δ' Ἐρατοσθένης ταύτην μὲν τῶν ναυτικῶν εἶναι φήσι τὴν ὑπόληψιν περὶ τοῦ διάρματος τοῦ πελάγους, τῶν μὲν ὀὐτῶν λεγόντων, τῶν δὲ καὶ πεντακισχιλίων οὐκ ὁκνοῦσιν εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τῶν σκιοθηρικῶν γνωμῶν ἀνευρεῖν προσχελίους ὑποκασίους πεντῆκοντα. τούτου δὴ τοῦ πελάγους τὸ πρὸς τῇ Κιλικίᾳ καὶ Παμφυλίᾳ καὶ τοῦ Ποντικοῦ τὰ καλοῦμενα δεξία μέρη καὶ ἡ Προσωπίς καὶ ἡ ἐρεξῆς παραλία μέχρι Παμφυλίας ποιεῖ τινα χερσόνησον μεγάλην καὶ μέγαν ταύτης ἵσθομον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Ταρσῷ θαλάττης ἐπὶ πόλιν Ἀμισόν καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀμαζώνων πεδίον τῆς Θεμίσκυραν. ἡ γὰρ ἐντὸς τῆς γραμμῆς ταύτης χώρα μέχρι Καρίας καὶ Ἰωνίας καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς Ἀλνοσ νεμομένων θυνῶν περίκλυστος ἀπασά ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγγέλου καὶ τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν λεχθέντων τῆς θαλάττης μερῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ καλοῦμεν Ἀσίαν ταύτην ἱδίως καὶ ὁμονύμως τῇ ὀλη. }

25. Συλλήβδην δ' εἰπεῖν, τῆς καθ' ἥμας θαλάττης νοτιώστατον μὲν ἐστὶ σημεῖον ὡς τῆς μεγάλης Σύρτεως μυχός, καὶ μετὰ τούτου ἡ κατ' Ἀγγέλου Ἀλεξάνδρεια καὶ τοῦ Νείλου προκοαί, βορειότατον δὲ τὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένους στόμα: εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Μαιώττων προστιθεῖ τῷ πελάγει τις (καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὡς ἀν μέρος), τὸ τοῦ Τανάϊδος: δυσ-
on the south and west as far as Alexandria. And Cyprus must lie both in the Issican and the Pamphylian Gulfs, since it borders on the Egyptian Sea. The sea-passage from Rhodes to Alexandria is, with the north wind, approximately four thousand stadia, while the coasting-voyage is double that distance. Eratosthenes says that this is merely the assumption made by navigators in regard to the length of the sea-passage, some saying it is four thousand stadia, others not hesitating to say it is even five thousand stadia, but that he himself, by means of the shadow-catching sun-dial, has discovered it to be three thousand seven hundred and fifty stadia. Now the part of this sea that is next to Cilicia and Pamphylia, and the side called the right-hand side of the Pontic Sea, and the Propontis, and the sea-board next beyond as far as Pamphylia, form a great peninsula and a great isthmus belonging thereto that stretches from the sea at Tarsus to the city of Amisos, and to Themiscyra, the Plain of the Amazons. For the country within this line, as far as Caria and Ionia and the peoples that live on this side of the Halys River, is all washed by the Aegean or else by the above-mentioned parts thereof on both sides of the peninsula. And indeed we call this peninsula by the special name of Asia, the same name that is given to the whole continent.

25. In short, the head of the Greater Syrtis is the most southerly point of our Mediterranean Sea, and next to this are Alexandria in Egypt and the mouths of the Nile; the most northerly point is the mouth of the Borysthenes, though if we add Lake Maeotis to the sea (and indeed it is a part of it, in a sense) the mouth of the Tanaïs is the most northerly point;
μικώτατον δὲ ὁ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας πορθμὸς, ἐωθι-
νότατον δ' ὁ λεκθεὶς μυχὸς κατὰ Διοσκουριάδα·
'Ερατοσθένης δ' οὐκ εὗ τὸν Ἰσιδίκον κόλπον φησὶν.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ ἱδρυται, ἐφ' ὁů
πέρ ἢ τε Ἀμισοῦ καὶ Θεμίσκυρα· εἰ δὲ βούλει,
πρόσλαβε καὶ τὴν Σιδήνην μέχρι Φαρακείας.
ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν μερῶν πρὸς ἑώ πλοῦς ἐστὶ
πλείόνων ἢ τρισχιλίων ποὺ σταδίων εἰς Διοσκου-
ριάδα, ὥσ ἐσται μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέρει περιοδείας
φανερόν. ἡ μὲν δὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλαττα τοιαύτη
tis.

26. Ἑπογραμμένον δὲ καὶ τὰς περιεχοῦσας
αὐτὴν γάς, ἄρχην λαβοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μερῶν,
ἀφ' ὁπερ καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ὑπεγράψαμεν.
εἰσπλέουσι τοῖς τῶν κατὰ Στήλας πορθμοὺν
ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ Διβύη μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Νείλου
ῥύσεως, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἀντίπορθμος ἡ Ἐυρώπη
μέχρι τοῦ Τανάϊδος· τελευτῶσι δ' ἀμφότεραι περὶ
tῆς Ἀσίαν. ἄρκτεόν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐυρώπης, ὅτι
πολυσχήμων τε καὶ πρὸς ἀρέτην ἀνδρῶν εὐφυε-
στάτη καὶ πολιτείων, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πλεῖστον
μεταδεδωκύτα τῶν οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν· ἐπειδὴ σύμ-
πασα οἰκήσιμος ἐστὶ πλὴν ὀλίγης τῆς διὰ ψύχος
ἀοικήτου. αὐτὴ δ' ὁμορεῖ τοῖς 'Ἀμαξοίκοις τοῖς
περὶ τὸν Τάναϊν καὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν καὶ τὸν Βορυ-
σθένη. τῆς δ' οἰκησίμου τὸ μὲν δυσχείμερον καὶ
τὸ ὅρεων μοχθηρῶς οἰκεῖται τῇ φύσει, ἐπιμελη-
tὰς δὲ λαβόντα ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὰ φαύλως οἰκούμενα

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the most westerly point is the strait at the Pillars; and the most easterly point is the above-mentioned head of the Pontus at Dioscurias; and Eratosthenes is wrong in saying that the Issican Gulf is the most easterly, for it lies on the same meridian with Amisus and Themiscyra—or, if you like, you may add in the territory of Sidene on to Pharmacia. From these regions the voyage to Dioscurias is, I might say, more than three thousand stadia eastward, as will become clearer when I describe that region in detail.¹ Such, then, is the nature of our Mediterranean Sea.

26. I must also give a general description of the countries that surround this sea, beginning at the same points at which I began to describe the sea itself. Now as you sail into the strait at the Pillars, Libya lies on your right hand as far as the stream of the Nile, and on your left hand across the strait lies Europe as far as the Tanaïs. And both Europe and Libya end at Asia. But I must begin with Europe, because it is both varied in form and admirably adapted by nature for the development of excellence in men and governments, and also because it has contributed most of its own store of good things to the other continents; for the whole of it is inhabitable with the exception of a small region that is uninhabited on account of the cold. This uninhabited part borders on the country of the Wagon-Dwellers in the region of the Tanaïs, Lake Maeotis, and the Borysthenes. Of the inhabitable part of Europe, the cold mountainous regions furnish by nature only a wretched existence to their inhabitants, yet even the regions of poverty and piracy become

¹ Compare 12. 3. 17.

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καὶ ληστρικῶς ἤμεροῦται· καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες,
ὅρη καὶ πέτρας κατέχοντες, ὑκοῦν καλῶς διὰ πρό-
νοιαν τὴν περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ τὰς τέχνας καὶ
tὴν ἄλλην σύνεσιν τὴν περὶ βίον. Ὁ ρωμαίοι
τε πολλὰ ἔθνη παραλαβόντες κατὰ ¹ τὴν φύσιν
ἀνήμερα διὰ τοὺς τόπους ἡ τραχείς ὄντας ἡ ἀλ-
mένους ἡ ψυχρος ἡ ἀπ' ἄλλης αἷτιας δυσοικῆ-
tους πολλοῖς τοὺς τε ἀνεπιπλέκτους ἄλληλους
ἐπέπλεξαν καὶ τοὺς ἀγριωτέρους πολιτικοὺς ξῆν
ἐδίδαξαν. ὡςον δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἐν ὀμαλῷ καὶ
eὑκράτῳ τὴν φύσιν ἔχει συνεργῆν πρὸς ταῦτα,
ἐπειδή τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ εὐδαίμονε ἑώρα πᾶν ἐστὶν
eἰρηνικὸν, τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ λυπρᾷ μάχιμον καὶ ἀνδρικόν,
καὶ δὲχεταὶ τινὰς παρ' ἄλληλων εὐεργεσίας τὰ
gένε ταῦτα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπικουρεῖ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, τὰ
de καρποῖς καὶ τέχνας καὶ ἡθοποίαις. φανερὰ δὲ
καὶ αἳ ἐξ ἄλληλων βλάβαι, μὴ ἐπικουροῦντων'
ἔχει δὲ τὶ πλεονέκτημα ὡς βαὶ τῶν τὰ ὀπλα ἐχόν-
tων, πλὴν εἰ τῷ πλήθει κρατότο. ὑπάρχει δὴ τι
καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο εὐφυὲς τῇ ἡπείρῳ ταύτη. ὅλη γὰρ
diαπεποίκηται πεδίοις τε καὶ ὄρεσιν, ὡς τε παν-
tαχοῦ καὶ τὸ γεωργικὸν καὶ ² πολιτικὸν καὶ τὸ
μάχιμον παρακείσθαι· πλέον δ' εἶναι βάτερον, τὸ
tῆς εἰρήνης οἰκείου, ὡςθ' ὅλων ἐπικρατεῖ τοῦτο,

¹ κατά, Tyrwhitt, for καὶ ἄ; Madvig also independently.
² τὸ, Madvig deletes, before πολιτικῶν.
civilised as soon as they get good administrators. Take the case of the Greeks: though occupying mountains and rocks, they used to live happily, because they took forethought for good government, for the arts, and in general for the science of living. The Romans, too, took over many nations that were naturally savage owing to the regions they inhabited, because those regions were either rocky or without harbours or cold or for some other reason ill-suited to habitation by many, and thus not only brought into communication with each other peoples who had been isolated, but also taught the more savage how to live under forms of government. But all of Europe that is level and has a temperate climate has nature to coöperate with her toward these results; for while in a country that is blessed by nature everything tends to peace, in a disagreeable country everything tends to make men warlike and courageous; and so both kinds of country receive benefits from each other, for the latter helps with arms, the former with products of the soil, with arts, and with character-building. But the harm that they receive from each other, if they are not mutually helpful, is also apparent; and the might of those who are accustomed to carry arms will have some advantage unless it be controlled by the majority. However, this continent has a natural advantage to meet this condition also; for the whole of it is diversified with plains and mountains, so that throughout its entire extent the agricultural and civilised element dwells side by side with the warlike element; but of the two elements the one that is peace-loving is more numerous and therefore keeps control over the whole body; and the leading
προσλαμβανόντων καὶ τῶν ἤγεμόνων, Ἐλλήνων μὲν πρότερον, Μακεδόνων δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ύστερον. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην ἕκαστος αὐτορκεστάτη ἐστὶ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ μάχημα πλήθος ἄφθονον ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἐργαζόμενον τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ τὰς πόλεις συνέχον. διαφέρει δὲ καὶ ταύτη, διὸτι τοὺς καρποὺς ἐκφέρει τοὺς ἀριστους καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους τῷ βίῳ καὶ μεταλλὰ ὡσα χρησίμα, θυώματα δὲ καὶ λίθους πολυτελεῖς ἐξωθεὶς μετέχειν, ἂν τοῖς σπανίζομένοις οὐδὲν χείρων ὃ βίος ἐστίν ἢ τοῖς εὑπορουμένοις. ὃς δ᾽ αὐτῶς βοσικημάτων μὲν πολλῶν ἄφθονίαν παρέχει, θηρίων δὲ σπάνως, τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ ἴπειρος αὐτὴ καθόλου τὴν φύσιν ἐστί.

27. Κατὰ μέρος δ᾽ ἐστὶ πρώτη πασῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἡ Ἰβηρία, βύρση θεολογία, παραπλησία, τῶν ὡς ἄν τραχηλιμαίων μερῶν ὑπερπιπτόντων εἰς τὴν συνεχὴ Κελτικήν· ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ τούτως ἐναποτέμεναι τὸ πλευρὸν ἐξω τῷ ὡς ὁ καλομένη Πυρήνη. ἡ δ᾽ ἄλλη πᾶσα ἐστὶν περὶ ἁλίθρου τῇ θαλάττῃ, τὸ μὲν νότων τῇ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς μέγηρι Στηλῶν τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῇ Ἀτλαντικῇ μέχρι τῶν βορείων ἄκρων τῆς Πυρήνης. μὴκος δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐστὶν περὶ ἐξακισχλίου σταδίους τὸ μέγιστον, πλάτος δὲ πεντακισχίλιους.

28. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐστὶν ἡ Κελτικὴ πρὸς ἐστὶ μέχρι ποταμοῦ Ῥήνου, τὸ μὲν βορείου πλευ-
nations, too—for formerly the Greeks and later the Macedonians and the Romans—have taken hold and helped. And for this reason Europe is most independent of other countries as regards both peace and war; for the warlike population which she possesses is abundant and also that which tills her soils and holds her cities secure. She excels also in this respect, that she produces the fruits that are best and that are necessary for life, and all the useful metals, while she imports from abroad spices and precious stones—things that make the life of persons who have only a scarcity of them fully as happy as that of persons who have them in abundance. So, also, Europe offers an abundance of various kinds of cattle, but a scarcity of wild animals. Such, in a general way, is the nature of this continent.

27. If, however, we look at the separate parts of it, the first of all its countries, beginning from the west, is Iberia, which in shape is like an ox-hide, whose “neck” parts, so to speak, fall over into the neighbouring Celtica; and these are the parts that lie towards the east, and within these parts the eastern side of Iberia is cut off by a mountain, the so-called Pyrenees, but all the rest is surrounded by the sea; on the south, as far as the Pillars, it is surrounded by our Sea, and on the other side, as far as the northern headlands of the Pyrenees, by the Atlantic. The greatest length of this country is about six thousand stadia; and breadth, five thousand.

28. Next to Iberia towards the east lies Celtica, which extends to the River Rhine. On its northern
ρὸν τῷ Βρεττανικῷ κλυξομένη πορθμῷ παντὶ ἀντιπαρηκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῇ παράλληλος ὁ νῆσος αὐτῇ πᾶσα πάση, μῆκος ὤσον πευτακισχιλίους ἐπέχουσα· τὸ δ᾽ ἐωθινὸν τῷ Ρήµῳ ποταµῷ περιγραµµόµενη, παράλληλην ἔχοντι τὸ βέμα τῇ Πυρήνῃ· τὸ δὲ νότιον τὸ μὲν ταῖς Ἀλπεσι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ρήµου, τὸ δὲ αὐτῇ τῇ καθ᾽ ἡµᾶς θαλάττῃ, καθ᾽ ὁ χωρίον ὁ καλούµενος Γαλατικὸς κόλπος ἀναχείται, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Μασσαλία τε καὶ Νάρβων ἱδρυνται πόλεις ἐπιφανέσταται. ἀντίκειται δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ κατ᾽ ἀποστροφὴν ἔτερος κόλπος ὑµωνύµως αὐτῷ καλούµενος Γαλατικός, βλέπων πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους καὶ τῶν Βρεττανικῶν ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ στενότατον λαµβάνει τὸ πλάτος ἡ Κελτικὴ συνάγεται γὰρ εἰς ἱσθµὸν ἐλαττώνῳ μὲν ἡ τρισχιλιῶν σταδίων, πλειώνων δ᾽ ἡ δυσχιλιῶν. μεταξὺ δὲ ἐστὶ ράχις ὀρεινὴ πρὸς ὅρθας τῇ Πυρήνῃ, τὸ καλούµενον Κέµµενον ὄρος· τελεύτα δὲ τούτο εἰς μεσαίτα τὰ Κελτῶν πεδία. τὸν δὲ Ἀλπεων, ἃ ἐστιν ὅρη σφόδρα ύψηλὰ ποιοῦντα ¹ περιφέρῃ ὑγραµµῆν, τὸ μὲν κυρτὸν ἐστρατπται πρὸς τὰ λεχέντα τῶν Κελτῶν πεδία καὶ τὸ Κέµµενον ὄρος, τὸ δὲ κοῖλον πρὸς τὴν Δυσυστηκὴν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔθην δὲ κατέχει πολλὰ τὸ ὄρος τούτῳ Κελτικὰ πλὴν τῶν Δυσύων ὄντοι δ᾽ ἐτεροθενεῖς μὲν εἰςιν, παραπληκίην δὲ τόις βλοῖς νέμουνται δὲ μέρος τῶν Ἀλπεων τὸ συνάπτον τοῖς Ἀπεννῖνοις ὄρεσιν, μέρος δὲ τῷ καὶ τῶν Ἀπεννῖνων ὄρων κατέχοντι. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὀρεινὴ ράχις διὰ

¹ ποιοῦντα, Corais, for ποιοῦντων; Forbiger, Meineke, Müller-Dübner, following.
side it is washed by the whole British Channel (for the whole island of Britain lies over against and parallel to the whole of Celtica and stretches lengthwise about five thousand stadia); on its eastern side it is bounded by the River Rhine, whose stream runs parallel to the Pyrenees; and on its southern side it is bounded, on the stretch that begins at the Rhine, by the Alps, and by our sea itself in the region where the so-called Galatic Gulf\(^1\) widens out—the region in which Massilia and Narbo are situated, very famous cities. Opposite this gulf, and facing in the opposite direction, lies another gulf\(^2\) that is also called Galatic Gulf; and it looks toward the north and Britain; and it is between these two gulfs that Celtica has its least breadth; for it is contracted into an isthmus of less than three thousand, but more than two thousand, stadia. Between these two gulfs a mountain range, the so-called Cemmenus Mountain,\(^3\) runs at right angles to the Pyrenees and comes to an end in the very centre of the plains of Celtica. As for the Alps (which are extremely high mountains that form the arc of a circle), their convex side is turned towards the plains of Celtica just mentioned and the Cemmenus Mountain, while their concave side is turned toward Liguria and Italy. Many tribes occupy these mountains, all Celtic except the Ligurians; but while these Ligurians belong to a different race, still they are similar to the Celts in their modes of life. They live in the part of the Alps that joins the Apennines, and they occupy a part of the Apennines also. The Apennines form a mountain range running through the

\(^1\) Gulf of Lyon. \(^2\) Gulf of Gascogne. \(^3\) Cevennes.
τοῦ μήκους ὅλον τῆς Ἰταλίας διαπέφυκεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν, τελευτάσα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Σικελικῶν πορθμῶν.

29. Τῆς δ' Ἰταλίας ἔστι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μέρη τὰ ὑποπττοῦτα ταῖς Ἀλπεσι πεδία μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ τῶν πλησίων τόπων, τὰ δὲ ἔξης ἀκρα στενή καὶ μακρὰ χερσονησία-ζουσα, δι' ἓς, ὡς εἴπον, ἐπὶ μήκος τέταται τὸ Ἀπέννινον ὄρος ὅσον ἐπτακισχύλιων σταδίων, ι πλάτος δὲ ἀνώμαλον. ποιεῖ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν χερ-ρώνησον τὸ τε Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ Δυνστικοῦ καὶ τὸ Αὐσσώνιον καὶ δ' Ἀδρίας.

30. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν τὰ πρὸς ἐω λοιπὰ ἐστὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, δὲ δίχα τέμνεται τῷ Ἰστρῳ ποταμῷ. φέρεται δ' οὕτως ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐω καὶ τὸν Εὔβεινον πόντον, ἐν ἄριστερὰ λιπτῶν τὴν τε Γερμανίαν ολην ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήμου καὶ τὸ Γετικὸν πᾶν καὶ τὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν καὶ Βασταρνῶν καὶ Σαυρο-ματῶν μέχρι Τανάϊδος ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς Μαιώ-τιδος λίμνης, εν δεξιὰ δὲ τὴν τε Ῥάκην ἀπασάν καὶ τὴν Ἰλυρίδα, λοιπὴν δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πρόκεινται δὲ νῆσοι τῆς Εὐρώπης, δι' ἐφαμεν, ἐξω μὲν Στηλῶν Γάδειρα τε καὶ Καττε-περίδες καὶ Βρεττανικαί, ἐντὸς δὲ Στηλῶν αἳ τε Γυμνήσσαι καὶ ἄλλα νησίδια Φοινίκων καὶ τὰ τῶν Μασσαλιώτων καὶ Διγύων καὶ αἱ πρὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας μέχρι τῶν Αἰδόλου νῆσων καὶ τῆς Σικελίας, ὃσι τε περὶ τὴν Ἠπειρώτων καὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέχρι Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Ῥακίας χερρωνήσουν.

1 σταδίων, Pletho inserts, after ἐπτακισχύλιων; following gp.
whole length of Italy from the north to the south and ending at the Strait of Sicily.

29. The first parts of Italy are the plains that lie at the foot of the Alps and extend as far as the head of the Adriatic and the regions near it, but the rest of Italy is a narrow and long promontory in the form of a peninsula, through which, as I have said, the Apennines extend lengthwise for about seven thousand stadia, but with varying breadth. The seas that make Italy a peninsula are the Tyrrhenian (which begins at the Ligurian Sea), the Ausonian, and the Adriatic.

30. After Italy and Celtica come the remaining, or eastern, countries of Europe, which are cut in two by the River Ister. This river flows from the west towards the east and the Euxine Sea; it leaves on its left the whole of Germany (which begins at the Rhine), all the country of the Getans, and the country of the Tyregetans, Bastarnians, and Sarmatians as far as the River Tanaïs and Lake Maeotis; and it leaves on its right the whole of Thrace, Illyria, and, lastly and finally, Greece. The islands which I have already mentioned 1 lie off Europe; outside the Pillars: Gades, the Cassiterides, and the Britanic islands; and inside the Pillars: the Gymnesiae and other little islands 2 of the Phoenicians, 3 and those off Massilia and Liguria, and the islands off Italy up to the Islands of Aeolus and to Sicily, and all the islands round about Epirus and Greece and as far as Macedonia and the Thracian Chersonese.

1 §§ 19–21 (above).
2 That is, the Pityussae, which, with the Gymnesiae, form the Balearic Isles. 3 See 3. 5. 1.
31. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ταναίδος καὶ τῆς Μαιώτιδος τῆς Ἀσίας ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου συνεχῇ, τούτως δὲ ἔξῆς τὰ ἐκτὸς. διαρρομένης γὰρ αὐτῆς ὑπὸ ὅρους τοῦ Ταύρου δίχα, διατείνοντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Παμφυλίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐφαν θαλάτταν κατ᾿ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ταύτης Σκύθας, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὰς ἁρκτοὺς νευκέφαλος τῆς ἑπεροῦ μέρος καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου, τὸ δὲ πρὸς μεσοβριαν ἐκτὸς; τὰ δὲ συνεχῆ τῇ Μαιώτιδι καὶ τῷ Ταναίδι μέρη τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου ἐστὶν. τούτων δὲ τὰ πρῶτα μέρη τὰ μεταξὺ τῆς Κασπίας θαλάττης ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου, τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Τάναιν καὶ τὸν ἁκελοῦν τελευτῶντα τὸν τε ἔξω καὶ τὸν τῆς Τρκανίας θαλάττης, τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἵσθμόν, καθ᾿ δὲ ἐγγυτάτω ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Πόντου ἐπὶ τὴν Κασπίαν. ἔπειτα τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς Τρκανίας μέχρι πρὸς τὴν κατὰ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Σκύθας τοὺς ταύτης θαλάτταν καὶ τὸ Ἰμαίον ὄρος. ταῦτα δὲ ἔχουσι τὰ μὲν οἱ Μαιώται Σαυρομάται καὶ οἱ μεταξὺ τῆς Τρκανίας καὶ τοῦ Πόντου μέχρι τοῦ Καυκάσου καὶ Ἰβηρῶν καὶ Ἀλβανῶν Σαυρομάται καὶ Σκύθαι καὶ Ἀχαιοῖ καὶ Ζυγοὶ καὶ Ἡνίοχοι, τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Τρκανίας θαλάττης Σκύθαι καὶ Τρκανοί καὶ Παρθυναῖοι καὶ Βάκτριοι καὶ Σογδιανοὶ καὶ τῶν τὰ ὑπερεκλίμαν μέρη τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς ἁρκτοὺς πρὸς νότων δὲ τῆς Τρκανίας θαλάττης ἐκ μέρους

1 μὲν, Jones inserts.
2 ταύτη, Capps, for πρὸς τὴν αὐτήν.
3 Groskurd defends the old reading Μαιώται Σαυρομάται, and deletes the comma after Ἀλβανῶν; Forbiger approving.
31. After the Tanaïs and Lake Maeotis come the regions of Asia—the Cis-Tauran regions which are contiguous to the Tanaïs and Lake Maeotis, and following upon these regions come the Trans-Tauran regions. For since Asia is divided in two by the Taurus Range, which stretches from the capes or Pamphylia to the eastern sea at India and farther Scythia, the Greeks gave the name of Cis-Tauran to that part of the continent which looks towards the north, and the name of Trans-Tauran to that part which looks towards the south; accordingly, the parts of Asia that are contiguous to lake Maeotis and the Tanaïs belong to the Cis-Tauran regions. The first of these regions are those that lie between the Caspian Sea and the Euxine Pontus, and they come to an end, in one direction, at the Tanaïs and the ocean, that is, both at the exterior ocean and at that part of it which forms the Hyrcanian Sea, and, in the other direction, at the isthmus, at the point where the distance from the head of the Pontus to the Caspian Sea is least. Then come those Cis-Tauran regions that are north of Hyrcania, which reach all the way to the sea at India and farther Scythia, and to Mt. Imaeus. These regions are inhabited, partly, by the Maeotic Sarmatians, and by the Sarmatians that dwell between the Hyrcanian Sea and the Pontus as far as the Caucasus and the countries of the Iberians and the Albanians, and by Scythians, Achaeans, Zygians, and Heniochians; and, partly, beyond the Hyrcanian Sea, by Scythians, Hyrcanians, Parthians, Bactrians, Sogdianians, and also by the inhabitants of the regions that lie beyond India on the north. And to the south of the Hyrcanian Sea, in part, and of the whole of the
καὶ τοῦ ἴσθιμοῦ παντὸς μεταξὺ ταύτης καὶ τοῦ Πόντου τῆς τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἡ πλείοστη κεῖται καὶ Κολχίς καὶ Καππαδοκία σύμπασα μέχρι τοῦ Εὐβοίου πόλου καὶ τῶν Τιβαραγίκων ἐθνῶν, ἐτὶ δὲ ἦ ἐντὸς Ἀλνος χώρα λεγομένη, περιέχουσα πρὸς μὲν τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τῇ Προποντίδῃ Παφλαγόνας τε καὶ Βιθυνοὺς καὶ Μυσοὺς καὶ τὴν ἔφ' Ἐλλησπόντων λεγομένην Φρυγίαν, ἢς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Τρωᾶς, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Αἰγαίῳ καὶ τῇ ἑφεξῆς θαλάττῃ τῆς τῆς Ἀιολίδα καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Καρίαν καὶ Λυκίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῆς τῆς Φρυγίαν, ἢς ἐστὶ μέρος ἢ τῶν Γαλλογραικῶν λεγομένης Γαλατία καὶ ἡ Ἑπίκτητος, καὶ Λυκάονας καὶ Λυδοὺς.

32. Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου οὗ τε τὰ ὀργανώσθη ταχέως Παρθομεισάδαι καὶ τὰ Παρθοναίων τε καὶ Μηδών καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ Ἐλληνας καὶ Κατάονες καὶ Πισίδαις. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ὄρειοις ἔστι τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ταύρου. πρώτη δ' ἐστὶ τούτων ἡ Ἰνδική, ἔθνος μέγιστον τῶν πάντων καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτων, τελευτῶν πρὸς τε τὴν ἐφαί θαλατταν καὶ τὴν νοτίαν τῆς Ἀτλαντικῆς. ἐν δὲ τῇ νοτίας ταύτης θαλάττῃ πρόκειται τῆς Ἰνδικῆς νῆσος οὐκ ἐλάττων τῆς Βρετανικῆς ἡ Ῥεποτάνη· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰνδικῆν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐστερία νεόουσιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δ' ἔχουσι τὰ ὄρη χώρα ἐστὶ συχνῇ, φαύλως οἰκουμένῃ διὰ λυπρότητα ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων τελέως βαρβάρων, οὐχ ὀμοιοῦν καλοῦσι δ' Ἀριάνος, ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων διατείνοντας

1 τά, after καὶ, Pletho deletes; editors following.
2 Κατάονες, Siebenkees, for Λυκάονες; usually followed.
isthmus between this sea and the Pontus lie the greater part of Armenia, Colchis, the whole of Cappadocia up to the Euxine and to the Tbaranian tribes, and also the so-called Cis-Halys country, which embraces, first, next to the Pontus and to the Propontis, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Mysia, the so-called "Phrygia on the Hellespont" (of which the Troad is a part); and, secondly, next to the Aegean and to the sea that forms its continuation, Aeolis, Ionia, Caria, Lycia; and, thirdly, in the interior, Phrygia (of which both the so-called "Galatia of the Gallo-Grecians" and "Phrygia Epictetus" form a part), Lycaonia, and Lydia.

32. Following immediately upon the Cis-Tauran peoples come the peoples that inhabit the mountains\(^2\): the Paropamisadae, the tribes of the Parthians, of the Medes, of the Armenians, and of the Cilicians, and the Cataonians and the Pisidians. Next after the mountaineers come the Trans-Tauran regions. The first of them is India,\(^3\) which is the greatest of all nations and the happiest in lot, a nation whose confines reach both to the eastern sea and to the southern sea of the Atlantic. In this southern sea, off the coast of India, lies an island, Taprobane,\(^4\) which is not less than Britain. Then, if we turn from India toward the western regions and keep the mountains on our right, we come to a vast country, which, owing to the poverty of the soil, furnishes only a wretched livelihood to men who are wholly barbarians and belong to different races. They call this country Aria, and it extends from the mountains

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1 "Phrygia-Annex"; the name given to lesser Phrygia by the Kings of Pergamus.  
2 Compare 11. 1. 4.  
3 For the full description of India, see 15. 1. 1 ff.  
4 Ceylon.
μέχρι Γεδρωσίας καὶ Καρμανίας. ἔξης δὲ εἰσὶ πρὸς μὲν τῇ θαλάττῃ Πέρσαι καὶ Σούσιοι καὶ Βαβυλώνιοι, καθήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ Πέρσας θαλάτταν καὶ τὰ περιοικοῦντα τοῦτος ἔθνη μικρὰ πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ὀρεσιν ἦ ¹ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀρεσι Παρθιαῖοι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἀρμενίοι καὶ τὰ τοῦτος πρόσχωρα ἔθνη καὶ ἡ Μεσοποταμία. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν τὰ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔστιν ἡ τε εὐδαίμων Ἄραβια πάσα, ἀφοριζομένη τῷ τε Ἄραβίῳ κόλπῳ παντὶ καὶ τῷ Περσικῷ, καὶ ὅσην οἱ Σκηνῖται καὶ οἱ Φυλαρχοί κατέχουσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην καθῆκοντες καὶ τὴν Συρίαν· εἰδοὶ οἱ πέραν τοῦ 'Αραβικοῦ κόλπου μέχρι Νείλου, Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ἄραβες, καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ἀλγύπτιοι καὶ Σῦροι καὶ Κηλικες οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ Τραχείωται λεγόμενοι, τελευταίοι δὲ Πάμφυλοι.

33. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐστὶν ἡ Λιβύη, συνεχῆς οὖσα τῇ τε Ἀλγύπτῳ καὶ τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ, τὴν μὲν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἡδῶν ἐπ᾽ εὐθείας ἔχουσα, σχεδὸν τι μέχρι Στηλῶν ἀπὸ Ἄλεξανδρείας ἀρξαμένην, πλὴν τῶν Σύρτεων καὶ εἰ ποῦ τις ἀλλή κόλπων ἐπιστροφῇ μετρία καὶ τῶν τοῦτος ² ποιοῦντων ἂκροτηρίων ἔξοχῇ τῇ δὲ παρωκεαντιών ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας μέχρι τιμῶς, ὅς ἄν παράλληλον οὖσαν τῇ προτέρᾳ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγομένην ἀπὸ τῶν νυτῶν μερῶν εἰς ὀξεῖαν ἄκραν, μικρὸν ἔξω Στηλῶν προπεπτωκυίαν καὶ ποιοῦσαν τραπέζιον πως

¹ η, the reading of C, for oi; so Groskurd, Kramer, Müller-Dübner, and Meineke.
² τοῦτος (namely κόλπους), Casaubon, for ταῦτα; Du Theil, Tardieu, following; Groskurd approving.

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as far as Gedrosia and Carmania. Next after Aria, toward the sea, are Persia, Susiana, Babylonia (countries which reach down to the Persian Sea,\(^1\)) and the small tribes that dwell on the frontiers of those countries; while the peoples who live near the mountains or in the mountains themselves are the Parthians, the Medes, the Armenians and the tribes adjoining them, and the Mesopotamians. After Mesopotamia come the countries this side of the Euphrates. These are: the whole of Arabia Felix (which is bounded by the whole extent of the Arabian Gulf and by the Persian Gulf), and all the country occupied by the Tent-Dwellers and by the Sheikh-governed tribes (which reaches to the Euphrates and Syria). Then come the peoples who live on the other side of the Arabian Gulf and as far as the Nile, namely, the Ethiopians and the Arabs, and the Egyptians who live next to them, and the Syrians, and the Cilicians (including the so-called "Trachiotae\(^2\)"), and finally the Pamphylians.

33. After Asia comes Libya, which is a continuation of Egypt and Ethiopia. Its shore that lies opposite to us runs in a straight line almost to the Pillars, beginning at Alexandria, except for the Syrtes and perhaps other moderate bends of gulfs and projections of the promontories that form these gulfs; but its coastline on the ocean from Ethiopia to a certain point is approximately parallel to the former line, and then it draws in on the south and forms a sharp promontory, which projects slightly outside the Pillars and thus gives to Libya approximately

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\(^1\) That is, the Persian Gulf.

\(^2\) That is, the inhabitants of "Rugged Cilicia." Compare 12. 6. 1.
τὸ σχῆμα. ἦστι δ', ὡσπερ οὐ τε ἄλλοι δηλοῦσι καὶ δὴ καὶ Γυναῖς Πείσων ἡγεμόνων γενόμενος τῆς χώρας διηγεῖτο ἡμῶν, ἐοικύτια παρδαλῇ κατάστικτος γὰρ ἦστιν οἰκήσει περιερχομέναις ἀνύδροι καὶ ἐρήμων γῆς καλοῦσι τε τὰς τοιαύτας οἰκήσεις Ἀνάσεις οἱ Ἀιγύπτιοι. τοιαύτη δὲ οὖσα ἔχει τινὰς ἄλλας διαφορὰς τριχῆ διαιρομένας τῆς μὲν γὰρ καθ᾽ ἡμῶς παραλλας εὐθαίμων ἦστιν ἡ πλείστῃ σφόδρα, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ Κυρηναία καὶ ἡ περὶ Καρχηδόνα μέχρι Μαυρουσίων καὶ τῶν Ἦρακλείων στηλῶν οἰκεῖται δὲ μετρίως καὶ ἡ παρωκεανύτης, ἡ δὲ μέση φαύλως ἡ τὸ σίλθιον φέρουσα, ἔρημος ἡ πλείστη καὶ τραχεία καὶ ἀμμώδης. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πέποιθε καὶ ἡ ἔτει εὐθείας ταύτη διὰ τὴς Αἰθιοπίας διήκουσα τῆς τε Τρωγλοδυτικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τῆς Γεδρωνίας τῆς τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων. νέμεται δ᾽ ἑθυνή τὴν Διβύνην τὰ πλεῖστα ἄγνωστα: οὐ πολλὴν γὰρ ἐφοδεύεσθαι συμβαίνει στρατοπέδους οὐδ᾽ ἀλλοφύλους ἀνδράσιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὅλοροι παρ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἄφικνονται πόρρωθεν, καὶ οὐ πιστὰ οὐδὲ πάντα λέγουσιν ὁμοὶ δ᾽ οὖν τὰ λεγόμενα τοιαύτα ἦστιν, τοὺς μὲν μεσημβρινωτάτους Αἰθιόπους προσαγορεύουσιν, τοὺς δ᾽ ὑπὸ τούτους τοὺς πλείστους Γαράμαντας καὶ Φαρουσίους καὶ Νυγρίτας, τοὺς δ᾽ ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτους Γαιτούλους, τοὺς δὲ τῆς θαλάττης ἑγγύς ἢ καὶ ἀποτομέωνας αὐτής πρὸς Ἀιγύπτῳ μὲν Μαρμαρίδας μέχρι τῆς Κυρηναίας, ὑπὲρ δὲ ταύτης καὶ τῶν Σύρτεων Ψύλλους καὶ Νασαμώνας 500
the shape of a trapezium. And Libya is—as the others show, and indeed as Cnæus Piso, who was once the prefect of that country, told me—like a leopard’s skin; for it is spotted with inhabited places that are surrounded by waterless and desert land. The Egyptians call such inhabited places “auases.”

But though Libya is thus peculiar, it has some other peculiarities, which give it a threefold division. In the first place, most of its coastline that lies opposite to us is extremely fertile, and especially Cyrenæa and the country about Carthage up to Maurusia and to the Pillars of Heracles; secondly, even its coastline on the ocean affords only moderate sustenance; and thirdly, its interior region, which produces silphium, affords only a wretched sustenance, being, for the most part, a rocky and sandy desert; and the same is also true of the straight prolongation of this region through Ethiopia, the Troglydyte Country, Arabia, and Gedrosia where the Fish-Eaters live. The most of the peoples of Libya are unknown to us; for not much of it is visited by armies, nor yet by men of outside tribes; and not only do very few of the natives from far inland ever visit us, but what they tell is not trustworthy or complete either. But still the following is based on what they say. They call the most southerly peoples Ethiopians; those who live next north of the Ethiopians they call, in the main, Garamantians, Pharusians, and Nigritans; those who live still north of these latter, Gaetulans; those who live near the sea, or even on the seacoast, next to Egypt and as far as Cyrenæa, Marmaridans; while they call those beyond Cyrenæa and the Syrtes, Psyllians, Nasamonians, and certain of the Gaetulans,

1 That is, “oases.”
καὶ τῶν Γαιτούλων τινὰς, εἰτ’ Ἀσβύστας καὶ Βυζακίους μέχρι τῆς Καρχηδονίας. πολλὴ δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ Καρχηδονία: συνάπτουσί δ’ οἱ Νομάδες αὐτήν τούτων δὲ τοὺς γυναιμωτάτους τοὺς μὲν Μασυλίεις, τοὺς δὲ Μασαιούλιους προσαγορεύον- σιν. ὡστ’ αὐτοὶ δ’ εἰσὶ Μαυροῦσιοι. πᾶσα δ’ ἡ ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος μέχρι Στηλοῦ ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων, θηριώτροφος δὲ, ὕστερον καὶ ἡ μεσόγαια πᾶσα. οὐκ ἄπεικῶς δὴ 1 καὶ Νομάδας λεχθήναι τινὰς αὐτῶν, οὐ δυναμένους γεωργεῖν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θηρίων τὸ παλαιόν, οἱ δὲ νῦν ἁμα τῇ ἐμ- πείρᾳ τῆς θήρας διαφέροντες, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσλαμβάνοντων πρὸς τοῦτο διὰ τὴν σπουδήν τῆς περὶ τὰς θηριομαχίας, ἀμφοτέρων περιγιγ- νονταί καὶ τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῆς γεωργίας. τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡπείρων λέγομεν.

34. Δούπον εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κλιμάτων, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ ἔχει καθολικὴν ὑποτύπωσιν, ὀρμηθεὶσιν ἐκ τῶν γραμμῶν ἐκείνων, ἀ στοιχεία ἐκαλέσαμεν, λέγω δὲ τῆς τοῦ μῆκος ἀφοριζόμενης τὸ μέγιστον καὶ τῆς τὸ πλάτος, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς τὸ πλάτος. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀστρονομικοῖς ἐπὶ πλέον τοῦτο ποιη- τέον, καθάπερ Ἰππαρχος ἐποίησεν. ἀνέγραψε γάρ, ὅς αὐτὸς φησί, τὰς γεγονότικας ἐν τοῖς οὐρανίοις διαφορὰς καθ’ ἐκαστὸν τῆς γῆς τόπον τῶν ἐν τῷ καθ’ ἦμᾶς τεταρτημορίῳ τεταγμένων, λέγω δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱσημερινοῦ μέχρι τοῦ βορείου πόλου. τοῖς δὲ γεωγραφοῦσιν οὕτε τῶν

1 δὴ, Jones, for δὲ.
and then Asbystians and Byzacians, whose territory reaches to that of Carthage. The territory of Carthage is large, and beyond it comes that of the Nomads\(^1\); the best known of these are called, some of them, Masylians, and others Masaesylans. And last of all come the Maurusians. The whole country from Carthage to the Pillars is fertile, though full of wild beasts, as is also the whole of the interior of Libya. So it is not unlikely that some of these peoples were also called Nomads for the reason that in early times they were not able to cultivate the soil on account of the multitude of wild animals. But the Nomads of to-day not only excel in the skill of hunting (and the Romans take a hand in this with them because of their fondness for fights with wild animals), but they have mastered farming as well as the chase. This, then, is what I have to say about the continents.

34. It remains for me to speak about the "climata" (which is likewise a subject that involves only a general sketch), taking my beginning at those lines which I have called "elements\(^2\)"—I mean the two lines that mark off the greatest length and breadth of the inhabited world, but more particularly the breadth-line. Astronomers, of course, must treat this subject more at length, just as Hipparchus has treated it. For, as he himself says, he recorded the different aspects of the celestial bodies for all the different regions of the earth that are found in our Fourth\(^3\)—I mean the regions between the equator and the north pole. The geographer, however, need not busy himself with what lies outside of our

Numidians.  \(^2\) See 2. 5. 16.

\(^3\) See 2. 5. 5.
STRABO

ἐξο τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης φροντιστέουν, οὔτ’ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τῆς οἰκουμένης μέρεσι τὰς τοιαύτας καὶ τοσαύτας διαφορὰς παραδεκτέον τῷ πολιτικῷ περισκελεῖς γὰρ εἰσίν. ἀλλ’ ἀρκεῖ τάς σημειώδεις καὶ ἀπλούστερας ἐκθέσθαι τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λεχθεῖσῶν, ὑποθεμένοις, ὡσπερ ἐκείνοις, εἶναι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς γῆς σταδίων εἰκοσι πέντε μυριάδων καὶ δισχιλίων, ὡς καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ μεγάλη γὰρ παρὰ τούτ’ ἔσται διαφορὰ πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ τῶν οἰκήσεων διαστήμασιν. εἰ δὴ τις εἰς τριακόσια ἐξήκοντα τμῆματα τέμοι τὸν μέγιστον τῆς γῆς κύκλου, ἔσται ἐπτακοσίων σταδίων ἐκαστοῦ τῶν τμημάτων τοῦτοῦ δὴ χρῆται μέτρω πρὸς τὰ διαστήματα τὰ 1 ἐν τῷ λεχθέντι διὰ Μερών μεσημβρινὸς λαμβάνεσθαι μέλλοντα. ἐκείνοις μὲν δὴ ἀρχεῖα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἑστημερινῷ οἰκούντων, καὶ λοιπὸν ἀεὶ δὲ ἐπτακοσίων σταδίων τὰς ἐφεξῆς οἰκήσεως ἐπών κατὰ τὸν λεχθέντα μεσημβρινὸν πειράται λέγειν τὰ παρ’ ἐκάστοις φαινόμενα. ἡμῖν δ’ οὐκ ἑντεῦθεν ἀρκέτον. καὶ γὰρ εἰ οἰκήσιμα ταῦτά ἔστιν, ὡσπερ οὐντα τινες, ίδια γέ τις οἰκουμένη ἀυτὴ ἔστι, διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀοικήτου διὰ καύμα στενὴ τεταμένη, οὐκ οὔσα μέρος τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης: ὁ δὲ γεωγράφος ἐπισκόπει ταὐτήν μόνην τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην. ἀυτὴ δ’ ἀφορίζεται πέρασι νοτίῳ μὲν τῷ διὰ τῆς Κινναμομοφόρου παραλλήλῳ, βορείῳ δὲ τῷ διὰ Ἰέρυμος· οὔτε δὲ τὰς τοσαύτας οἰκήσεις ἐπιτέου, οὔσα ὑπα-

1 τὰ, Corais inserts, after διαστήματα; Meineke following; C. Müller approving.

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inhabited world; and even in the case of the parts of the inhabited world the man of affairs need not be taught the nature and number of the different aspects of the celestial bodies, because this is dry reading for him. But it will be sufficient for me to set forth the significant and simplest differences noted by Hipparchus, taking as a hypothesis, just as he does, that the magnitude of the earth is two hundred and fifty-two thousand stadia, the figure rendered by Eratosthenes also. For the variation from this reckoning will not be large, so far as the celestial phenomena are concerned, in the distances between the inhabited places. If, then, we cut the greatest circle of the earth into three hundred and sixty sections, each of these sections will have seven hundred stadia. Now it is this that Hipparchus uses as a measure for the distances to be fixed on the aforesaid meridian through Meroë. So he begins with the inhabitants of the equator, and after that, proceeding along the said meridian to the inhabited places, one after another, with an interval each time of seven hundred stadia, he tries to give the celestial phenomena for each place; but for me the equator is not the place to begin. For if these regions are inhabitable, as some think, they constitute a peculiar kind of inhabited country, stretching as a narrow strip through the centre of the country that is uninhabitable on account of the heat, and not forming a part of our inhabited world. But the geographer takes into his purview only this our inhabited world; and its limits are marked off on the south by the parallel through the Cinnamon-producing Country and on the north by the parallel through Ierne; and, keeping in mind the scope of my geography, I am neither required to
γορεύει τὸ λεχθὲν μεταξὺ διάστημα, οὕτε πάντα τὰ φαινόμενα θετέον, μεμημένους τοὺς γεωγραφικοὺς σχῆματος. ἀρκετέοι δ’, ἀστερ Ἰππαρχος, ἀπὸ τῶν νοτίων μερῶν.

35. Φησὶ δὴ τοῖς οἰκούσιν ἐπὶ τῷ διὰ τής Κινναμομοφόρου παράλληλῷ, δὲ ἀπέχει τῆς Μερόης τρισχιλίων σταδίους πρὸς νότον, τούτου δ’ ὁ ἵσημερινὸς ὀκτακισχιλίων καὶ ὀκτάκοσιος, εἶναι τὴν οὐκήσειν ἐγγυτάτω μέσῃ τοῦ τε ἱσημερινοῦ καὶ τοῦ θερινοῦ τροπικοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Συήνην. ἀπέχειν γὰρ τὴν Συήνην πεντακισχιλίως τῆς Μερόης· παρὰ δὲ τούτως πρώτως τὴν μικρὰν ἀρκτον ὅλην ἐν τῷ ἀρκτικῷ περίεχοσθαι καὶ ἀεὶ φαίνεσθαι τὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀκρας τῆς οὐράς λαμπρὸν ἀστέρα, νοτιώτατον ὅντα, ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἱδρύσθαι τοῦ ἀρκτικοῦ κύκλου, ὡστ’ ἑφάπτεσθαι τοῦ ὀρίζουτος. τῷ δὲ λεχθέντι μεσημβρινῷ παράλληλος πῶς παράκειται ἔωθεν ὁ Ἀράβιος κόλπος· τούτου δ’ ἐκβασις εἰς τὸ ἔξω πελάγος ἡ Κινναμομοφόρος ἐστὶν, ἐφ’ ἥς ἡ τῶν ἐλεφάντων γέγονε θῆρα τὸ παλαιῶν. ἐκπίπτει δ’ ὁ παράλληλος οὗτος τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς νοτιώτερους μικρῶν τῆς Ταπροβάνης ἡ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους οἰκίοντας, τῇ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰ νοτιώτατα τῆς Βιβύνης.

36. Τοῖς δὲ κατὰ Μερόην καὶ Πτολεμαίδα τῆν

1 The arctic circle as referred to by Strabo was a variable celestial circle, and may be represented by a system of concentric circles, each one of which is tangent to the horizon of the observer and has for its centre the visible celestial pole and for its radius the altitude of that pole above the horizon. At the equator, of course, the observer has no arctic circles—that is, they are non-existent for him at that point. As he proceeds toward the north pole his arctic circle expands, so
enumerate all the many inhabited places that the
said intervening distance suggests to me, nor to fix
all the celestial phenomena; but I must begin with
the southern parts, as Hipparchus does.

35. Now Hipparchus says that the people who
live on the parallel that runs through the Cinnamon-
producing Country (this parallel is three thousand
stadia south of Meroë and from it the equator is
distant eight thousand eight hundred stadia), have
their home very nearly midway between the equator
and the summer tropic which passes through Syene;
for Syene is five thousand stadia distant from Meroë.
The Cinnamon-producing people are the first to
whom the Little Bear is wholly inside the arctic
circle and always visible; for the bright star at the
tip of the tail, the most southerly in the constellation,
is situated on the very circumference of the arctic
circle, so that it touches the horizon.¹ The Arabian
Gulf lies approximately parallel to the meridian in
question, to the east of it; and where this gulf pours
outside into the exterior sea is the Cinnamon-
producing Country, where in ancient times they used
to hunt the elephant. But this parallel² passes
outside the inhabited world, running, on the one
side,³ to the south of Taprobane, or else to its farther-
most inhabitants, and, on the other side, to the most
southerly regions of Libya.

36. In the regions of Meroë, and of the Ptolemais

that at the Cinnamon-producing Country the Little Bear is
comprehended within his circle, and at Syene almost the
whole of the Great Bear, and so on. The same general
principle would apply to observations made by an observer
in a journey from the equator to the south pole.

¹ That is, through the Cinnamon-producing Country.
² That is, on the east.
ἐν τῇ Τρωγλοδυτικῇ ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα ὡρῶν ἰσημερινῶν ἐστι τρισκαίδεκα· ἔστι δὲ αὐτῇ ἡ οἰκησίς μέση πως τοῦ τε ἰσημερινοῦ καὶ τοῦ δὲ Ἄλεξανδρέας παρὰ χιλίους καὶ ὄκτακοσίους τοὺς πλευρώντας πρὸς τῷ ἰσημερινῷ· διήκει δὲ ὁ διὰ Μερόπης παράλληλος τῇ μὲν δὲ ἀγνωρίστων μερῶν, τῇ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Ἰνδικῆς. ἐν δὲ Συήνῃ καὶ Βερενίκῃ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ καὶ τῇ Τρωγλοδυτικῇ κατὰ θερινὰς τροπὰς ὁ ἱλιος κατὰ κορυφῆς γίγνεται, ἢ δὲ μακροτάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὡρῶν ἰσημερινῶν ἐστὶ τρισκαίδεκα καὶ ἡμιωρίου, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄρκτικῷ φαίνεται καὶ ἡ μεγάλῃ ἄρκτος ὅλη σχεδὸν τῇ πλῆθος τῶν σκελῶν καὶ τοῦ ἄκρου τῆς οὐρᾶς καὶ ἐνδὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ πλυνθῷ ἀστέρων. ὁ δὲ διὰ Συήνης παράλληλος τῇ μὲν διὰ τῆς τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Γεδρωσίαν καὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς διήκει, τῇ δὲ διὰ τῶν νοτιωτέρων Κυρήνης πεντακισχιλίως στάδιοι παρὰ μικρὸν.  

37. Ἀπασὶ δὲ τοῖς μεταξὺ κειμένων τοῦ τε τροπικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ κύκλου μεταπίπτουσιν αἱ σκιαὶ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα, πρὸς τὲ ἄρκτους καὶ μεσημβρίαν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ Συήνης καὶ ¹ τοῦ θερινοῦ τροπικοῦ πρὸς ἄρκτους πίπτουσιν αἱ σκιαὶ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν· καλοῦνται δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμφίσκιοι, οἱ δ’ ἐπιπόσκιοι. ἔστι δὲ τις καὶ ἄλλη διαφορὰ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ τροπικῷ, ἢν προελπισμοὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ζωνῶν λόγῳ, αὐτῇ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ διάμμος. ²

¹ καὶ, Madvig, for ἐκ after Συήνης.
² αὐτῇ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ διάμμος, Madvig, for αὐτῇ τε γάρ ἐστιν ἡ διάμμος.

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in the country of the Troglydotes, the longest day has thirteen equinoctial hours; and this inhabited country is approximately midway between the equator and the parallel that runs through Alexandria (the stretch to the equator being eighteen hundred stadia more). And the parallel through Meroë passes, on the one side, through unknown regions, and, on the other, through the capes of India. At Syene, at Berenice on the Arabian Gulf, and in the country of the Troglydotes, the sun stands in the zenith at the time of the summer solstice, and the longest day has thirteen and one half equinoctial hours; and almost the whole of the Great Bear is also visible in the arctic circle, with the exception of the legs, the tip of the tail, and one of the stars in the square. And the parallel through Syene passes, on the one side, through the country of the Fish-Eaters in Gedrosia, and through India, and, on the other side, through the regions that are almost five thousand stadia south of Cyrene.

37. In all the regions that lie between the tropic and the equator the shadows fall in both directions, that is, toward the north and toward the south; but, beginning at the regions of Syene and the summer tropic, the shadows fall toward the north at noon; and the inhabitants of the former region are called Amphiscians, and of the latter, Heteroscians. There is still another distinctive characteristic of the regions beneath the tropic, which I have mentioned before in speaking of the zones, namely, the soil itself is very

1 On the "equinoctial hour," see footnote 4, page 283.
2 That is, the distance from Meroë to the equator is 11,800 stadia, and to Alexandria, 10,000.
3 See § 43 (following), and also 2. 2. 3.
4 2. 2. 3.
καὶ σιλφιοφόρος καὶ ἔηρά, τῶν νοτιωτέρων μερῶν εὐώδρων τε καὶ εὐκάρπων οὖν των.

38. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς τού δι' Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Κυρήνης νοτιωτέροις ὅσον τετρακοσίως σταδίοις, ὅπου ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα ὀρθὰν ἐστὶν ἰσημερινῶν δεκατετάρων, κατὰ κορυφὴν γίνεται ὁ ἀρκτόνυρος, μικρὸν ἐκκλώνων πρὸς νότον. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὁ γνώμων λόγου ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἰσημερινὴν σκιάν, διὸ ἔχει τὰ πέντε πρὸς τρία. ¹ Καρχηδόνος δὲ νοτιωτέροι εἰσὶ χιλίοις καὶ τριακοσίοις σταδίοις, εἰσπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ὁ γνώμων λόγου ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἰσημερινὴν σκιάν, διὸ ἐχεῖ τὰ ἑνδεκα πρὸς τὰ ἑπτά. διήκει δὲ ὁ παράλληλος οὖτος τῇ μὲν διὰ Κυρήνης καὶ τῶν νοτιωτέρων Καρχηδόνου ἐνακοσίοις σταδίοις, μέχρι Μαυροσίας μέσης, τῇ δὲ διὰ Ἀιγυπτοῦ καὶ Κοίλης Συρίας καὶ τῆς ἄνω C 134 Συρίας καὶ Βαβυλωνίας ² καὶ Σουσιάδος, Περσίδος, Καρμανίας, Γεδρωσίας τῆς ἄνω μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς.

39. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Πτολεμαίδα τῇ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκη καὶ Σιδώνα ³ καὶ Τύρου ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ὀρθῶν ἰσημερινῶν δεκατετάρων καὶ τετάρτων βορειότεροι δὲ εἰσὶν οὖτοι Ἀλεξανδρείας μὲν ὡς χιλίοις ἐξακοσίοις σταδίοις, Καρχηδόνος δὲ ὡς

¹ τρία, Gosselin, for ἑπτά; editors following.
² Βαβυλωνίας, Gosselin, for Βαβυλῶνος; Meineke, Groskurd, following; C. Müller approving.
³ Σιδώνα, Meineke, for Σιδῶνα; C. Müller approving.

¹ Computation on the basis of this ratio gives Alexandria's latitude as 30° 57' 50'', and its distance from the equator as 21,675 stadia. Of course figures based on such a ratio are only approximate. Hipparchus gives 21,800. Let a vertical
sandy, silphium-producing, and dry, whereas the regions to the south of it are well-watered and very fruitful.

38. In the region approximately four hundred stadia farther south than the parallel through Alexandria and Cyrene, where the longest day has fourteen equinoctial hours, Arcturus stands in the zenith, though he declines a little toward the south. At Alexandria the relation of the index of the sundial to the shadow on the day of the equinox is as five to three. But the region in question is thirteen hundred stadia farther south than Carthage—if it be true that at Carthage the relation of the index to the shadow on the day of the equinox is as eleven to seven. But our parallel through Alexandria passes, in one direction, through Cyrene and the regions nine hundred stadia south of Carthage and central Maurusia, and, in the other direction, it passes through Egypt, Coele Syria, Upper Syria, Babylonia, Susiana, Persia, Carmania, Upper Gedrosia, and India.

39. At the Ptolemais in Phoenicia, at Sidon, and at Tyre, and the regions thereabouts, the longest day has fourteen and one quarter equinoctial hours; and these regions are about sixteen hundred stadia farther north than Alexandria and about seven hundred stadia

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1 The latitude of Carthage, therefore, would be 32° 28' 16'', which corresponds to a distance of 22,730 stadia from the equator.

2 To fix a parallel of latitude by the countries through which it runs seems loose indeed, but Strabo not infrequently does so. On Coele Syria see 16. 2. 16; 16. 2. 21; and 16. 3. 1. By Upper Syria Strabo must mean Assyria.
Επτακοσίους. ἐν δὲ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ περὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς Ῥωδίας καὶ περὶ Εάνθουν τῆς Δυκίας ἢ τὰ μικρὸ νοτιώτερα καὶ ἐτί τὰ Συρακούσιων νοτιώτερα τετρακοσίους σταδίους, ἐνταῦθα ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ὁρῶν ἱσημερινῶν δεκατεττάρων καὶ ἡμίσους. ἀπέχουσι δὲ οἱ τόποι οὗτοι Ἀλεξάνδρειας μὲν τρισχιλίους ἑξακοσίους τετταράκοντα, διήκει δὲ ὁ παράλληλος οὗτος κατ' Ἐρατοσθένην διὰ Καρίας, Δαυκαιών, Καταονίας, Μηδίας, Καστίων τυλῶν, Ἰνδῶν τῶν κατὰ Καύκασον.

40. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μέρεσι τῆς Τρωάδος, κατ' Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν τὴν ἐν Ἡπείρῳ καὶ τοὺς Ῥώμης μὲν νοτιωτέρους, βρειστέρους δὲ Νεαπόλεως ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ὁρῶν ἱσημερινῶν δεκαπεντή. ἀπέχει δὲ ὁ παράλληλος οὗτος τοῦ μὲν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρειας τῆς πρὸς Αἰγύπτων ὡς ἑπτακισχιλίους σταδίους πρὸς ἀρκτον, τοῦ δὲ ἱσημερινοῦ ὑπὲρ δισμιρβίος ὁκτακισχιλίους ὅκτακοσίους, τοῦ δὲ διὰ Ῥόδου τρισχιλίους τεττακοσίους, πρὸς νότον δὲ Ἡβάντιον καὶ Νικαιάς καὶ τῶν περὶ Μασσαλίαν χιλίους πεντακοσίους, μικρὸν δὲ ἀρκτικώτερος ἐστὶν δὲ διὰ Δυσιμαχείας, ὁποίως ἦσση Ἐρατοσθένης διὰ Μυσίας εἶναι καὶ Παφλαγονίας καὶ τῶν περὶ Σινώπην καὶ Ῥκανίαν καὶ Βάκτρα.

41. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸ Ἡβάντιον ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα ἔστιν ἱσημερινῶν δεκαπεντή καὶ τετάρτου, ὁ δὲ γνώμων πρὸς τὴν σκιὰν λόγου ἕχει ἐν τῇ θερινῇ τροπῇ, διὸ τὰ ἐκατόν εἴκοσι πρὸς τετταράκοντα δύο, λείπουντα πέμπτω. ἀπέχουσι

1 Λυσιμαχείας, Meineke, for Λυσιμαχείας; C. Müller approving.
farther north than Carthage. But in the Peloponnesus, in the regions about the centre of Rhodes, about Xanthus of Lycia or a little south of Xanthus, and also in the regions four hundred stadia south of Syracuse,—here, I say, the longest day has fourteen and one half equinoctial hours. These regions are three thousand six hundred and forty stadia distant in latitude from Alexandria; and, according to Eratosthenes, this parallel runs through Caria, Lycaonia, Catoonia, Media, the Caspian Gates, and the parts of India along the Caucasus.

40. At the Alexandria in the Troad and the regions thereabouts, at Amphipolis, at the Apollonia in Epirus, and in the regions south of Rome but north of Neapolis, the longest day has fifteen equinoctial hours. This parallel is about seven thousand stadia north of the parallel through the Alexandria in Egypt, and more than twenty-eight thousand eight hundred stadia distant from the equator, and three thousand four hundred stadia distant from the parallel through Rhodes, and one thousand five hundred stadia south of Byzantium, Niccaea, Massilia, and the regions thereabouts; and a little north of it lies the parallel through Lysimachia, which, says Eratosthenes, passes through Mysia, Paphlagonia, Sinope, and the regions thereabouts, Hyrcania, and Bactra.

41. At Byzantium and the regions thereabouts the longest day has fifteen and one quarter equinoctial hours, and the ratio of the index of the sun-dial to the shadow at the time of the summer solstice is that of one hundred and twenty to forty-two minus one fifth. These regions are about four thousand nine
δ' οἱ τόποι οὗτοι τοῦ διὰ μεσης τῆς Ῥοδίας περὶ
tetraκισχιλίους καὶ ἐννακοσίους, τοῦ δ' ἱσημερι-
νοῦ ὡς τρισμυρίους τριακοσίους. εἰσπλεύσασι δ' εἰς
tὸν Πόντον καὶ προελθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους
δοσιν χιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα
γίνεται ὄρων ἱσημερινῶν δεκαπέντε καὶ ἡμίσους
ἀπέχουσι δ' οἱ τόποι οὗτοι ἁπὸ τοῦ πόλου
καὶ τοῦ ἱσημερινοῦ κύκλου, καὶ ὁ ἄρκτικος κύκλος
κατὰ κορυφὴν αὐτῶς ἐστιν, ἐφ' ὦν κεῖται ὁ τ' ἐν
τῷ τραχύλῳ τῆς Κασσιετείας καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ
ἀγκών τοῦ Περσέως μικρῷ βορειότερος ὄχι.

42. Ἔν τε τοῖς ἀπέχουσι Βυζαντίου πρὸς
ἀρκτὸν ὅσον τρισχιλίους ἐκτακοσίους ἡ μεγίστη
ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ὄρων ἱσημερινῶν δεκαεξ.; ἡ οὖν δὴ
Κασσιέπεια ἐν τῷ ἄρκτικῷ φέρεται. εἰσ' δ' οἱ
tόποι οὗτοι περὶ Βορυσθένη καὶ τῆς Μαυρίδος
τὰ νότια; ἀπέχουσι δὲ τοῦ ἱσημερινοῦ περὶ τρισ-
μυρίους τετρακισχιλίους ἑκάτων. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὰς
ἄρκτους τόπους τοῦ ὀρίζοντος ἐν δόλαις σχέδου τι
ταῖς θεριναῖς νυξὶ παραγάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου
ἀπὸ δύσεως ἔως καὶ ἀνατολῆς ἀντιπερισταμένου
τοῦ φωτός; ὁ γὰρ θερινὸς προτικὸς ἀπέχει ἀπὸ
τοῦ ὀρίζοντος, ἐνδώς ἔως ἡμίσιν καὶ ὀδύκατον
τοσοῦτον ὄχι καὶ ὁ ἡλίος ἀφίσταται τοῦ ὀρίζοντος
κατὰ τὸ μεσονύκτιον. καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ τοσοῦτον
tοῦ ὀρίζοντος ἀποσχῶν πρὸ τοῦ ὀρθροῦ καὶ μετὰ
tῆς ἐσπέραν ἡδη κατανυγάζει τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀνα-
τολήν ἣ τὴν δύσιν ἀέρα. ἐν δὲ ταῖς θεριναῖς
ὁ ἡλίος τὸ πλειόστον μετεωρίζεται πήχεις ἐννέα.
hundred stadia distant from the parallel through the centre of Rhodes and about thirty thousand three hundred stadia distant from the equator. If you sail into the Pontus and proceed about fourteen hundred stadia toward the north, the longest day becomes fifteen and one half equinoctial hours. These regions are equidistant from the pole and from the equator, and there the arctic circle is in the zenith; and the star on the neck of Cassiopeia lies on the arctic circle, while the star on the right elbow of Perseus is a little north of it.

42. In the regions about three thousand eight hundred stadia north of Byzantium the longest day has sixteen equinoctial hours; and therefore Cassiopeia moves within the arctic circle. These are the regions about the Borysthenes and the southern parts of Lake Maeotis, and they are about thirty-four thousand one hundred stadia distant from the equator. There the northern part of the horizon is dimly illumined by the sun throughout almost the entire night in the summer-time, the sun's light making a reverse movement from west back to east. For the summer tropic is seven-twelfths of a zodiacal sign distant from the horizon; and accordingly the sun at midnight is just that distance below the horizon. And in our own regions also, when the sun is so far as that from the horizon before sunrise and after sunset, it illuminates the skies in the east and in the west. And in those regions in the winter-days the sun attains an elevation of at most nine cubits.

1 That is, a latitude of 43° 17' 9''.
2 Which corresponds to 48° 42' 51''.
3 Compare 2. 1. 18.
4 That is, seven-twelfths of 30°, or 17° 30'.
5 The astronomical cubit of the ancients was two degrees.
φησὶ δ᾽ Ἡρατοσθένης τούτους τῆς Μερόπης διέχειν μικρὸ πλείους ἡ δισμυρίους τρισχιλίους, διὰ γὰρ Ἐλλησσόντου εἶναι μυρίους ὀκτακισχιλίους, εἶτα πεντακισχιλίους εἰς Βορυσθένη. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄπε-χουσι τοῦ Βυζαντίου σταδίους περὶ ἐξακισχιλίους τριακοσίους, βορειοτέρους οὕσι τῆς Μαιώτιδος, κατὰ τὰς χειμερινὰς ἁμέρας μετεωρίζεται τὸ πλεῖ-στον ὁ ἕλιος ἐπὶ πόλεως ἐξ, ἡ δὲ μεγίστη ἁμέρα ἐστὶν ὃρῶν ἑσπερινῶν δεκαεπτά.

48. Τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα, ἥδη πλησιάζοντα τῇ ἀοική-τῳ διὰ ψύχος, οὐκέτι χρήσιμα τῷ γεωγράφῳ ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος καὶ ταῦτα μαθεῖν καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα τῶν αὐρανῶν "Ὑπαρχος μὲν εἰρήκειν, ἡμεῖς δὲ παραλείπομεν διὰ τὸ τραγότερα εἶναι τῆς νῦν προκειμένης πραγματείας," παρ’ ἐκείνου, λαμ-βανέτῳ, τραγότερα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν περι-σκίων καὶ ἀμφισκίων καὶ ἐτεροσκίων, ἀ φησὶ Ποσειδῶνος. ὅμως γε καὶ τούτων τὸ γε τοσοῦτον ἐπιμνηστέον, ὡστε τὴν ἐπίνουαν διασαφήσει, καὶ τῆς χρῆσιμον πρὸς τὴν γεωγραφίαν, καὶ τῆς ἄρχη-στον. ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἄφ’ ἕλιου σκίων ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, ὁ δ’ ἕλιος πρὸς αἴσθησιν κατὰ παραλλήλου φέρεται, καθ’ οὐ καὶ ὁ κόσμος, παρ’ οἷς καθ’ ἱκάστην κόσμου περιστροφὴν ἁμέρα γίνεται καὶ νῦξ, ὅτε μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς τοῦ ἕλιου φερομένου, ὅτε δ’ ὑπὸ γῆν, παρὰ τούτων οἳ τε ἀμφίσκιοι ἐπινοοῦν-ται καὶ οἱ ἐτερόσκιοι. ἀμφίσκιοι μὲν, ὅσοι κατὰ

1 πραγματείας, Jones, for γραμματείας.
Eratosthenes says that these regions are a little more than twenty-three thousand stadia from Meroë, since the distance from Meroë to the parallel through the Hellespont is eighteen thousand stadia, and thence to the Borysthenes, five thousand. In the regions about six thousand three hundred stadia distant from Byzantium\(^1\) north of Lake Maeotis, in the winter-days, the sun attains an elevation of at most six cubits, and there the longest day has seventeen equinoctial hours.

43. Since the regions beyond already lie near territory rendered uninhabitable by the cold, they are without value to the geographer. But if any one wishes to learn about these regions also, and about all the other astronomical matters that are treated by Hipparchus, but omitted by me as being already too clearly treated to be discussed in the present treatise, let him get them from Hipparchus. And what Poseidonius says about the Periscians and Amphiscians and Heteroscians\(^2\) is too clear to be repeated here; nevertheless, I must mention these terms at sufficient length to explain the idea and to show wherein it is useful for geography and wherein useless. Now since the point in question concerns the shadows cast by the sun, and since, on the evidence of our senses, the sun moves along a circle parallel to the revolution of the universe, it follows that, wherever each revolution of the universe produces a day and a night (because at one time the sun moves beneath the earth and at another time above the earth), the people are thought of as either Amphiscians or Heteroscians,—as Amphiscians, all

\(^1\) Corresponding to 52° 17' 9''.
\(^2\) See 2. 2. 3 and 2. 5. 37.
méson ἡμέρας τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ τάδε πυπτούσας ἔχουσι τὰς σκιάς, ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τῷ γνώμονι προσπίπτῃ τῷ ὀρθῷ πρὸς τῷ ὑποκείμενον ἐπίπεδον, τοτὲ δ᾽ εἰς τούναντίου, ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τούναντίον περιστῇ· τούτῳ δὲ συμβέβηκε μόνος τοῖς μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν οἰκούσιν. ἐτερόσκιοι δ᾽ οὗσιν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ἁρκτικὴν ἕστα σπευσσιν, ὁσπέρ ἡμῖν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ νότια, ὁσπέρ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ εὐκράτῳ ζώνῃ οἰκούσι. τούτῳ δὲ συμβαίνει πᾶσι τοῖς ἐλάσσων ἔχουσι τοῦ τροπικοῦ τῶν ἁρκτικῶν. ὅταν δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἢ μελζώνα, ἀρχὴ τῶν περισκίών ἐστὶ μέχρι τῶν οἰκούντων ὑπὸ τῷ πόλῳ. τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου καθ᾽ ὅλην τὴν τοῦ κόσμου περιστροφὴν ὑπὲρ γῆς φερομένου, δηλονότι καὶ ἡ σκιὰ κύκλῳ περιενεχθήσεται περὶ τῶν γνώμων. καθ᾽ ὃ δὴ καὶ περισκίων αὐτῶν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐδὲν οὕτως πρὸς τὴν γεωγραφίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν οἰκῆσιμα ταῦτα τὰ μέρη διὰ τῷ ψῦχος, ὁσπέρ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Πυθέαν λόγοις εἰρήκαμεν. ὅστ᾽ οὖν τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἀοικητοῦ ταύτης φροντιστέου ἐκ τοῦ λαβεῖν ὅτι οἱ ἔχοντες ἁρκτικῶν τῶν τροπικῶν ὑποπεπτόκασι τῷ γραφομένῳ κύκλῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πόλου τοῦ ᾠδιακοῦθεν

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1 From the equator to 66° every man is either Amphiscian or Heterosceian.
2 From 66° to 90°.
3 Strabo places the tropic of Cancer at 24° (4/60 or 24/360 of the greatest circle); and he places the beginning of the frigid zone at 66°. The radius of the tropic, therefore, is constant, and is 66°, while the radius of the arctic circle 518
whose shadows at noon sometimes fall toward the north, namely, when the sun strikes from the south the index (which is perpendicular to the horizontal surface beneath), and, at other times, fall in the opposite direction, namely, when the sun revolves round to the opposite side (this is the result for only those who live between the tropics), but as Heteros- cians, all whose shadows either always fall toward the north, as is the case with us, or always toward the south, as is the case with the inhabitants of the other temperate zone. And this is the result for every man whose arctic circle is smaller than the tropic circle. But wherever the arctic circle is the same as, or larger than, the tropic, there the Periscians begin and they extend to the people who live beneath the pole. For since, in those regions, the sun moves above the earth throughout the whole revolution of the universe, it is clear that the shadow will move in a circle round the index of the sun-dial; and that is the reason why Poseidonius called them Periscians, although they are non-existent so far as geography is concerned; for all those regions are uninhabitable on account of the cold, as I have already stated in my criticism of Pytheas. Therefore I need not concern myself, either, with the extent of this uninhabited region, apart from assuming that those regions which have the tropic-arctic circle lie beneath the circle described by is a variable, and is 66° only when the observer stands at the beginning of the frigid zone. Accordingly, when the observer is within the frigid zone the radius is greater than 66°, and less than 66° when he is this side of it. By "the tropic-arctic circle" Strabo refers to the case where the arctic circle becomes equal to the tropic circle, namely, at latitude 66°.
κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου περιστροφήν, ὑποκειμένου τοῦ μεταξὺ διαστήματος τοῦ τε ἱσημερίνου καὶ τοῦ τροπικοῦ τεττάρων ἐξηκοστῶν τοῦ μεγίστου κύκλου.

1 That is, the pole of the ecliptic, which daily appears to describe a circle in the heavens about the pole of the equator.
the pole of the zodiac\(^1\) in the diurnal revolution of the universe—that is, on the hypothesis that the distance between the equator and the tropic is four-sixtieths of the greatest circle.

The projection of this circle upon the earth marks off the frigid zone, and is practically what we mean to-day by the term "arctic circle."
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