THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

II
THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO - Vol. 2

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝΟΣ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ

Γ'

I

1. 'Αποδεδωκόσι δ' ἡμῖν τῶν πρῶτων τύπων τῆς γεωγραφίας οἰκεῖός ἦστιν ὁ ἔφεξής λόγος περὶ τῶν καθ' ἐκαστὰ: καὶ γὰρ ὑπεσχόμεθα οὗτος, καὶ δοκεῖ μέχρι νῦν ὁρθῶς ἢ πραγματεῖα μεμερίσθαι. ἀρκτέον δὲ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς τούτων ἀφ' ὄντερ καὶ πρὸτερον, κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας.

2. Πρῶτον δὲ μέρος αὐτῆς ἦστι τὸ ἐστόριον, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ἡ Ἰβηρία. ταύτης δὴ τὸ μὲν πλέον οἰκεῖται φαύλως· ὅρη γὰρ καὶ δρυμοὺς καὶ πεδία λεπτὴν ἔχουσα γῆν, οὐδὲ ταύτην ὀμαλῶς εὐνῦδρον, οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολλῆν· ἢ δὲ πρόσβορρος ψυχρά τέ ἐστι τελέως πρὸς τῇ πραξύτητι καὶ παροκεϊστι, προσειληφνία τὸ ἀμικτὸν κανεπίπλεκτον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς θ' ὑπερβάλλει τῇ μοχθηριᾷ τῆς οἰκήσεως. ταύτα μὲν δὴ τὰ μέρη τοιαύτα, ἢ δὲ νότιοι πᾶσα εὐδαιμονὶς σχεδὸν τι, καὶ διαφερόντως ἢ ἔξω

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¹ See 2. 5. 4. ² See 2. 5. 26.
THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

BOOK III

I

1. Now that I have given the first general outline of geography, it is proper for me to discuss next the several parts of the inhabited world; indeed, I have promised to do so,¹ and I think that thus far my treatise has been correctly apportioned. But I must begin again with Europe and with those parts of Europe with which I began at first,² and for the same reasons.

2. As I was saying, the first part of Europe is the western, namely, Iberia. Now of Iberia the larger part affords but poor means of livelihood; for most of the inhabited country consists of mountains, forests, and plains whose soil is thin—and even that not uniformly well-watered. And Northern Iberia, in addition to its ruggedness, not only is extremely cold, but lies next to the ocean, and thus has acquired its characteristic of inhospitality and aversion to intercourse with other countries; consequently, it is an exceedingly wretched place to live in. Such, then, is the character of the northern parts; but almost the whole of Southern Iberia is fertile, particularly the region outside the Pillars. This

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²
Στηλών· ἐσται δὲ δὴ λοῦ ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἐκαστα, ὑπογράψασιν ἠμῶν πρότερον τὸ τε σχῆμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος.

3. “Εοικε γὰρ βύρση τεταμένη κατὰ μήκος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω, τὰ πρόσθεν ἔχουσι μέρη πρὸς τῇ ἑω, κατὰ πλάτος δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁρκτων πρὸς νότον. ἔχει δὲ σταδίων ἐξακισθῆναι ὅμοιὰ τὸ μήκος, πλάτος δὲ πεντακισθῆναι τὸ μέγιστον, ἐστὶ δ’ ὅπου πολὺ ἐλαττῶν τῶν τρισχιλίων, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τῇ Πυρήνῃ τῇ ποιουσι τὴν ἕων πλευράν. ὅρος γὰρ διηνεκές ἀπὸ νότον πρὸς Βορρᾶν τεταμένου ὄριζει τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. οὕσης δὲ καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀνωμάλου τὸ πλάτος καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸ στενώτατον τοῦ πλάτους ἐκατέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας θαλάττης ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκεανὸν ἐστὶ τὸ τῇ Πυρήνῃ πλησιάζουν μάλιστα, ἐφ’ ἐκάτερον αὐτής τὸ μέρος, καὶ ποιοῦν κόλπους, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκεανὸ, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ καθ’ ἡμᾶς θαλάττῃ μέζους δὲ τοὺς Κελτικοὺς, οὗς δὴ καὶ Γαλατικοὺς καλοῦσι, στενώτερον τὸν ἱσθμὸν ποιοῦντας παρὰ τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν. καὶ δὴ τὸ μὲν ἐδὼν πλευρὸν τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἢ Πυρήνης ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ νότιον ἢ τε καθ’ ἡμᾶς θάλαττα ἀπὸ τῆς Πυρήνης μέχρι Στηλών, καὶ ἣ ἐκτὸς τὸ ἔξης μέχρι τοῦ Ἱεροῦ καλομένου ἀκρωτηρίου τρίτον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐσπέριον πλευρὸν παράλληλον πιὸ τῇ

1 τὸν, Corais from sec. man. in B, for τὸ.

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1 According to Strabo, there were two “Galatia” (“Celtic”) gulfs, the one “looking towards the north and Britain” (2. 5. 28), and the other on the Mediterranean side; that is, respectively, the Gulf of Gascogne, in its extent on the French side of the Pyrenees, and the Gulf of 4
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 1. 2-3

will become clear in the course of my detailed description of Iberia. But first I must briefly describe its shape and give its dimensions.

3. Iberia is like an ox-hide extending in length from west to east, its fore-parts toward the east, and in breadth from north to south. It is six thousand stadia in length all told, and five thousand stadia in its greatest breadth; though in some places it is much less than three thousand in breadth, particularly near the Pyrenees, which form its eastern side. That is, an unbroken chain of mountains, stretching from south to north, forms the boundary line between Celtica and Iberia; and since Celtica, as well as Iberia, varies in breadth, the part of each country that is narrowest in breadth between Our Sea and the ocean is that which lies nearest to the Pyrenees, on either side of those mountains, and forms gulfs both at the ocean and at Our Sea. The Celtic gulfs, however, which are also called Galatic, are larger, and the isthmus which they form is narrower as compared with that of Iberia.\(^1\) So the eastern side of Iberia is formed by the Pyrenees; the southern side is formed in part by Our Sea, from the Pyrenees to the Pillars, and from that point on by the ocean, up to what is called the Sacred Cape \(^2\); the third is the western side, which

Lyon. The latter, however, comprised within itself the two "Galatic" gulfs (4. 1. 6.) here mentioned as "larger"; that is, "larger" than the two gulfs on the Iberian side of the Pyrenees, which Strabo does not name (see small map inserted in Map III in this volume). The fact is, however, that the shortest distance across Spain, say from San Sebastian to Tarragona, is shorter than that across France, say from Bayonne to Narbonne.

\(^2\) Cape St. Vincent.
Πυρήνη, τὸ ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου μέχρι τῆς πρὸς Ἀρτάβροις ἄκρας, ἢν καλοῦσι Νέριων· τέταρτον δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε μέχρι τῶν βορείων ἄκρων τῆς Πυρήνης.

4. Ἀναλαβόντες δὲ λέγωμεν τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου ἀρξάμενοι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ δυτικότατον, οὐ τῆς Εὐρώπης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης σημείων περατοῦται μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δυείν ἄπειρων ἡ οἰκουμένη πρὸς δύσιν τοὺς τε τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄκρας καὶ τοῖς πρῶτοις τῆς Λιβύης, ὅπως τὰ μὲν Ἄιθρα ἔχουσι, τὰ δὲ Μαυροῦσιοι, προὔχει δὲ τὰ Ἅιθρικὰ ὡσον χιλίως καὶ πεντακοσίως στάδιοι κατὰ τὸ λεχθὲν ἄκρωτήριον. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν προσεχῆ τούτῳ χώραν τῇ Λατίνῃ φωνῇ καλοῦσι Κούνεον, σφήνα σημαίνειν βουλόμενοι. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἄκρον καὶ προπεπτωκὸς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν Ἀρτεμίδωρος εἰκάζει πλοῖα, γενόμενος, φησίν, ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, προσλαμβάνει δὲ τῷ σχῆματι νυσίδια τρία, τὸ μὲν ἐμβολοῦ τάξιν ἔχου, τὰ δὲ ἐπωτίδων, ἑφόρμους ἔχουσα μετρίους. Ἡρακλέος δ’ οὐθ’ ἰερὸν ἐνταῦθα δείκνυσθαι (ψεύσασθαι δὲ τοῦτο Ἐφορον), οὔτε βωμὸν, οὐδ’ ἀλλο τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ λίθος συγκείσθαι τρεῖς ἡ τέταρας κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους, οὗς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων στρέφεσθαι κατὰ τι πάτριον καὶ

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1 οὐθ’, Kramer, for ὡθ’; so the later editors.

1 Cape Finisterre.
is approximately parallel to the Pyrenees and extends from the Sacred Cape to that Cape of the Artabrians which is called Nerium; and the fourth side extends from Cape Nerium up to the northern headlands of the Pyrenees.

4. But, to resume, let me describe Iberia in detail, beginning with the Sacred Cape. This cape is the most westerly point, not only of Europe, but of the whole inhabited world; for, whereas the inhabited world comes to an end in the west with the two continents (in the one case, at the headlands of Europe, and in the other, at the extremities of Libya, of which regions the Iberians occupy the one, and the Maurusians the other), the headlands of Iberia project at the aforementioned cape about fifteen hundred stadia beyond those of Libya. Moreover, the country adjacent to this cape they call in the Latin language "Cuneus," meaning thereby to indicate its wedge-shape. But as for the cape itself, which projects into the sea, Artemidorus (who visited the place, as he says) likens it to a ship; and he says that three little islands help to give it this shape, one of these islands occupying the position of a ship's beak, and the other two, which have fairly good places of anchorage, occupying the position of cat-heads. But as for Heracles, he says, there is neither a temple of his to be seen on the cape (as Ephorus wrongly states), nor an altar to him, or to any other god either, but only stones in many spots, lying in groups of three or four, which in accordance with a native custom are

2 "Rocking Stones." They were so nicely poised on their points that they could be rocked or turned with merely a slight force.
μεταφέρεσθαι σπουδοποιησαμένων. ¹ Θύειν δ' ούκ εἶναι νόμων, οὐδὲ νῦκτωρ ἐπιβαίνειν ² τοῦ τόπου, θεοὺς φασκόντων κατέχειν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ θέαν ἥκοντας ἐν κόμη πλησίον νυκτερεύειν, εἰτ' ἐπιβαίνειν ἡμέρας, ὡδὼρ ἐπιφερομένους διὰ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν.

5. Ταύτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχειν ἐγχωρεῖ, καὶ δεῖ πιστεύειν ἃ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ χυδαίοις ὀμοίως εἰρηκεν, οὐ πάνυ. Ἀγέων γὰρ δὴ φησι Ποσειδώνος τοὺς πολλούς, μείζω δύνειν τὸν ἡλίον ἐν τῇ παρωκεανίτιδι καὶ μετὰ ψόφου παραπλησίως ὀδοτεί σίζοντος τοῦ πελάγους κατὰ σβέσιν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ ἐμπότειν εἰς τὸν βυθόν. Ψεῦδος δ' εἶναι καὶ τούτο καὶ τὸ παραχρῆμα νῦκτα ἀκολουθεῖν μετὰ τὴν δύσιν: οὗ γὰρ παραχρῆμα, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πελάγεσι τοῖς μεγάλοις. ὅποι μὲν γὰρ εἰς ὅρη δύτεται, πλεῖον τὸν μετὰ δύσιν χρόνου τῆς ἡμέρας συμβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ παραφωτισμοῦ, ἐκεῖ δὲ πλεῖον μὲν οὐκ ἐπακολουθεῖν, μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ παραχρῆμα συνάπτειν τὸ σκότος, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις πεδίοις. τὴν δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους φαντασίαν αὔξεσθαι μὲν ὁμοίως κατὰ τὰς δύσεις καὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ἐν τοῖς πελάγεσι διὰ τὸ τὰς ἀναθυ-

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¹ σπουδοποιησαμένων, Corain, for ψευδοποιησαμένων; generally followed.
² ἐπιβαίνειν, conj. of Meinecke, for ἐπιβάλλειν; generally followed.

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¹ That is, to the original position; but the Greek word might mean "transferred" to other spots. Hübner (Pauly-
turned round by those who visit the place, and then, after the pouring of a libation, are moved back again. And it is not lawful, he adds, to offer sacrifice there, nor, at night, even to set foot on the place, because the gods, the people say, occupy it at that time; but those who come to see the place spend the night in a neighbouring village, and then enter the place by day, taking water with them, for there is no water there.

5. Now these assertions of Artemidorus are allowable, and we should believe them; but the stories which he has told in agreement with the common crowd of people are by no means to be believed. For example, it is a general saying among the people, according to Poseidonius, that in the regions along the coast of the ocean the sun is larger when it sets, and that it sets with a noise much as if the sea were sizzling to extinguish it because of its falling into the depths. But, says Poseidonius, this is false, as also the statement that night follows instantly upon sunset; for night does not come on instantly, but after a slight interval, just as it does on the coasts of the other large seas. For in regions where the sun sets behind mountains, he says, the daylight lasts a longer time after sunset, as a result of the indirect light; but on the sea-coasts no considerable interval ensues, albeit the darkness does not come on instantly, either, any more than it does on the great plains. And, he says, the visual impression of the size of the sun increases alike both at sunset and sunrise on the seas, because at those times a greater amount of vapour rises

Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie, vol. iv, 1908) thinks the stones "apparently were carried away" by the visitors.
μασεις πλείους ἐκ τῶν υγρῶν ἀναφέρεσθαι: διὰ δὲ τούτων ὡς δὲ ὑάλων 1 κλωμένην τὴν ὄψιν πλατυτέρας δέχεσθαι τὰς φαντασίας, καθάπερ καὶ διὰ νέφους ἔχρου καὶ λεπτοῦ βλέπουσαν δυόμενον ἢ ἀνατέλλοντα τὸν ἱλιοῦ ἢ τὴν σελήνην, ἡνίκα καὶ ἐνερευθὲς φαίνεσθαι τὸ ἀστρον. τὸ δὲ ψεύδος ἐλέγξαι φησὶ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας διατρίψας εἰς Γαδείροις καὶ τηρήσας τὰς δύσεις. ὁ δὲ ἃρτεμίδωρος ἐκατονταπλασίων φησι δύσεσθαι τὸν ἱλιοῦ, καὶ αὐτίκα νῦκτα καταλαμβάνειν. ὡς μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς εἶδε τούτο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ, οὐχ ὑποληπτέου, προσέχοντας ὑποφάσεϊ αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' ἱκάρ νῦκταρ μηδενά ἐπιβαίνειν ὡστ' οὖν δυομένοι ἱλίου οὖδεις ἀν ἐπιβαίνου, ἑπερ εὐθὺς ἢ νῦξ καταλαμβάνει. ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν ἀλλω τόπῳ τῆς παρωκεινίτιδος καὶ γὰρ τὰ Γάδειρα ἐπὶ τῷ ὀκεανῷ, καὶ ὁ Ποσειδώνος ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους.

6. Τῆς δὲ συνεχοῦς τῷ ἱερῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ παραλίας ἡ μὲν ἑστιν ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἑσπερίου πλευροῦ τῆς Ἔβηρίας μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Τάγου πτωμοῦ, ἡ δὲ τοῦ νοτίου μέχρι ἄλλου πτωμοῦ τοῦ Ἄνα καὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς αὐτοῦ. φέρεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφῶν μερῶν ἐκάτερος: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἑπὶ εὐθείας εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν ἐκδίδωσι πολὺ μείζον ὄν θατέρου, ὁ δ' Ἄνας πρὸς νότον ἐπιστρέφει, τὴν μεσοπο-

1 ὑάλων, I. Voss, for α-λῶν; so Schneider, Groskurd, Meineke, Forbiger, and Tardieu.

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1 A globe filled with water, apparently.
2 We should say “refracted.” Empedocles (quoted by Aristotle, De Sensu et Sensili, chap. 2) advanced the theory
from the water; that is, the visual rays, in passing through this vapour as through a lens,\(^1\) are broken,\(^2\) and therefore the visual impression is magnified, just as it is when the setting or the rising sun, or moon, is seen through a dry, thin cloud, at which time the heavenly body also appears somewhat ruddy. He convinced himself, he says, of the falsity of the above assertions during his stay of thirty days in Gades, when he observed the settings of the sun. Nevertheless, Artemidorus says that the sun sets a hundred times larger than usual, and that night comes on immediately! However, if we look closely at his declaration, we are obliged to assume that he did not himself see this phenomenon at the Sacred Cape, for he states that no one sets foot on the place by night; and hence no one could set foot on it while the sun was setting, either, if it be true that night comes on immediately. Neither, in fact, did he see it at any other point on the ocean-coast, for Gades also is on the ocean, and Poseidonius and several others bear witness against him.

6. The coastline adjacent to the Sacred Cape, on the west, is the beginning of the western side of Iberia as far as the mouth of the Tagus River, and, on the south, the beginning of the southern side as far as another river, the Anas, and its mouth. Both rivers flow from the eastern regions; but the Tagus, which is a much larger stream than the other, flows straight westward to its mouth, whereas the Anas turns south, and marks off a boundary of the inter-fluvial region, which is inhabited for the most part

that the visual rays emanate from the eyes, but Aristotle (l. c.) controverted it. See also Plato, Timaeus, 45 c and 46 n; and Seneca, Quaestiones Naturales, 1. 6.
Strabo

tamian ἀφορίζων, ἦν Κελτικοὶ νέμονται τὸ πλέον, καὶ τῶν Δυστανῶν τινες ἐκ τῆς περαιάς τοῦ Τάγου μετοικισθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄνω μέρεσι καὶ Καρπητανοὶ καὶ Ὀρητανοὶ καὶ Οὐεττῶνων συχνοὶ νέμονται. αὐτὴ μὲν οὖν ἡ χώρα μετρίως ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων, ἡ δὲ ἐφεξῆς πρὸς ἐω κείμενη καὶ νότου ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπει πρὸς ἀπασαν κρινομενή τὴν οἰκισμένην ἁρετῆς χάριν καὶ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀγαθῶν. αὐτὴ δὴ ἐστὶν ἢν ὁ Βαϊτις διαρρεῖ ποταμός, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μερῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἄφ' ἀνπερ καὶ ὁ Ἀνας καὶ ὁ Τάγος, μέσος πως ἄμφοτε τούτων ὑπάρχων κατὰ μέγεθος παραπλησίως μέλτοι τῷ Ἀνα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν ῥυεῖς εἰτ' ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς νότον καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκδιώκως τούτῳ παραλίαν. καλοῦσι δ' ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βαϊτικῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐνοικούντων Τουρδητανίων τοὺς δ' ἐνοικοῦντας Τουρδητανοὺς τε καὶ Τουρδοῦλους προσαγορεύοντι, οἱ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζουσι, οἱ δ' ἐτέρους· δὲν ἦστι καὶ Πολύβιος, συνοίκους φίςας τοῖς Τουρδητανοῖς πρὸς ἄρκτον τοὺς Τουρδοῦλους· νυνὶ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς φαίνεται διορισμός. σοφότατοι δ' ἐξετάζουν τῶν Ἰβηρων οὕτω, καὶ γραμματική χρόνητα, καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης ἔχουσι συγγράμματα καὶ ποιήματα καὶ νόμους ἐμμέτρους ἐξακισχεῖτον ἐτῶν,1 ὁς φασι' καὶ οἱ άλλοι δ' Ἰβηρες χρώνεται γραμματική, οὐ μιὰ δ' ἱδέα, οὐδὲ γὰρ γλώττη μιᾶ. τέσσετε δὲ ἡ χώρα αὐτῇ, ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἀνα, πρὸς ἐω


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by Celtic peoples, and by certain of the Lusitanians who were transplanted thither by the Romans from the other side of the Tagus. But in the regions farther inland dwell Carpetanians, Oretanians, and large numbers of Vettonians. This country, to be sure, has only a moderately happy lot, but that which lies next to it on the east and south takes pre-eminence in comparison with the entire inhabited world in respect of fertility and of the goodly products of land and sea. This is the country through which the Baetis flows, which rises in the same districts as both the Anas and the Tagus, and in size is about midway between the other two rivers. Like the Anas, however, it at first flows towards the west, and then turns south, and empties on the same coast as the Anas. They call the country Baetica after the river, and also Turdetania after the inhabitants; yet they call the inhabitants both Turdetanians and Turdulians, some believing that they are the same people, others that they are different. Among the latter is Polybius, for he states that the Turdulians are neighbours of the Turdetanians on the north; but at the present time there is no distinction to be seen among them. The Turdetanians are ranked as the wisest of the Iberians; and they make use of an alphabet, and possess records of their ancient history, poems, and laws written in verse that are six thousand years old,¹ as they assert. And also the other Iberians use an alphabet, though not letters of one and the same character, for their speech is not one and the same, either. Now Turdetania, the country this side the

¹ Some think the text should be emended to read “six thousand verses in length.”
μὲν μέχρι τῆς Ὀρητανίας, πρὸς νότον δὲ μέχρι τῆς παραλίας τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ἀναμέχρι Στηλῶν. ἀνώγηκε δὲ διὰ πλειόνων περὶ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων, ὅσα συντείνει πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν τὴν εὐφυίαν τῶν τόπων καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν.

7. Τῆς δὲ παραλίας ταύτης, εἰς ἢν ὦ τε Βαλτις καὶ ὁ Ἄνας ἐκδίδωσε, καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς Μαυρουσίας εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ ἐμπύπτον τὸ Ἀτλαντικόν πέλαγος ποιεῖ τὸν κατὰ Στήλας πορθμόν, καθ’ ὃν ἦν ἢ ἐντος θαλάσσα συνάπτει τῇ ἐκτός. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὄρος ἐστὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων τῶν καλομένων Βαστητανῶν, οὐς καὶ Βαστούλους καλοῦσιν, ἡ Κάλπη, τῇ περιοχῇ μὲν ὃν μέγα, τῷ δὲ ὑψεῖ μέγα καὶ ὁρθια, ὡστε πόρρωθεν νησοείδες φαίνεσθαι. ἐκπλέονσιν οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας θαλάσσης εἰς τὴν ἑξω δεξιὰν ἐστὶ τοῦτο, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ 1 Κάλπη πόλις, ἐν τετταράκοντα στάδιοι, ἀξιόλογος καὶ παλαιὰ, ναύσταθμον ποτε γενομένη τῶν Ἰβήρων. ἐνιοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέους κτίσμα λέγουσιν αὐτῆς, ὡν ἐστὶ καὶ Τιμοσθένης, ὃς φησι καὶ Ἡρακλείαν ὄνομάζεσθαι τὸ παλαιόν, δείκνυσθαι τε μέγαν περίβολον καὶ νεωσόκους.

8. Εἶτα Μευλαρία, ταριχεῖας ἔχουσα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Βελών πόλις καὶ ποταμός. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ διάπλοι μάλιστα εἰσὶν εἰς τὴν Μαυρουσίαν

1 αὐτῷ, Jones, for αὐτό.
Anas, stretches eastward as far as Oretania, and southward as far as the coastline that extends from the mouths of the Anas to the Pillars. But I must describe it and the regions that are close to it at greater length, telling all that contributes to our knowledge of their natural advantages and happy lot.

7. Between this stretch of coastline, on which both the Baetis and the Anas empty, and the limits of Maurusia, the Atlantic Ocean breaks in and thus forms the strait at the Pillars, and by this strait the interior sea connects with the exterior sea. Now at this strait there is a mountain belonging to those Iberians that are called Bastetanians, who are also called Bastulians; I mean Calpe, which, although its circumference is not great, rises to so great a height and is so steep that from a distance it looks like an island. So when you sail from Our Sea into the exterior sea, you have this mountain on your right hand; and near it, within a distance of forty stadia, is the city Calpe, an important and ancient city, which was once a naval station of the Iberians. And some further say that it was founded by Heracles, among whom is Timosthenes, who says that in ancient times it was also called Heracleia, and that its great city-walls and its docks are still to be seen.

8. Then comes Menlaria, with its establishments for salting fish; and next, the city and river of Belon. It is from Belon that people generally take ship for the passage across to Tingis in Maurusia; and at Belon there are trading-places and establish-
καὶ ἐμπόρια καὶ ταριχεῖαι. ὃν δὲ καὶ Ζῆλις τῆς Τίγγιος ἀστυνεῖτον, ἀλλὰ μετοκύσαν ταύτην εἰς τὴν περαιάν 'Ρωμαίου, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Τίγγιος προσλαβόντες τινὰς ἐπεμψαν δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐποίκους, καὶ ὁνόμασαν Ἰουλίαν Ἰούζαν τὴν πόλιν. εἶτα Γάδειρα, πορθμὸ στενὸ διειργομένη νῆσος ἀπὸ τῆς Τουρβητανίας, διέχουσα τῆς Κάλπης περὶ ἐπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους, οἱ δὲ ὀκτακοσίους φασίν. ἔστι δ’ ἡ νῆσος αὐτὴ τάλλα μὲν οὐθέν διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνδρεία δὲ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τῇ περὶ τὰς ναυτιλίας καὶ φιλία πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τοσαύτην ἐπίδοσιν εἰς πᾶσαν εὐνυχίαν ἔσχεν, ὡστε, καίπερ ἐσχάτη ἱδρυμένη τῆς γῆς, ὀνομαστοτάτῃ τῶν ἄπασῶν ἔστων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης ἐροῦμεν ὅταν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων νῆσων λέγομεν.

9. Ἐφεξῆς δ’ ἐστὶν ὁ Μενεσθέως καλούμενος λιμὴν καὶ ἡ κατὰ Ἀσταν ἀνάχυσις καὶ Νάβρισσαν.1 λέγονται δὲ ἀναχύσεις αἱ πληροῦμεναι τῇ θαλάττῃ κοιλάδες ἐν ταῖς πλημμυρίσι καὶ ποταμῶν δίκην ἀνάπλους εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐξούσια καὶ τὰς ἐπ’ αὐταῖς πόλεις. εἰτ’ εὐθὺς αἱ ἐκβολαὶ τοῦ Βαύτιος διχὴ σχιζόμεναι· ἡ δὲ ἀπολαμβανομένη νῆσος ὑπὸ τῶν στομάτων ἑκατόν, ὡς δ’ ἐνιούς, καὶ πλειώνων σταδίων ἀφορίζει παραλιῶν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ποι καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Μενεσθέως ἐστὶν, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Καπίσσων ἢδρυται πύργος ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀμφικλύστου, θαυμασίως κατεσκευασμένος, ὄσπερ ὁ Φάρος, τῆς τῶν πλοῖομένων σωτηρίας χάριν· ἡ τε γὰρ ἐκβαλλομένη

1 Νάβρισσαν, Corais, for ἄναβρασις; so subsequent editors.
ments for salting fish. There used to be a city of Zelis, also, a neighbour of Tingis, but the Romans transplanted it to the opposite coast of Iberia, taking along some of the inhabitants of Tingis; and they also sent some of their own people thither as colonists and named the city "Julia Ioza." Then comes Gades, an island separated from Turdetania by a narrow strait, and distant from Calpe about seven hundred and fifty stadia (though some say eight hundred). This island does not differ at all from the others except that, because of the daring of its inhabitants as sailors, and because of their friendship for the Romans, it has made such advances in every kind of prosperity that, although situated at the extremity of the earth, it is the most famous of them all. But I shall tell about Gades when I discuss the other islands.

9. Next in order comes what is called the Port of Menestheus, and then the estuary at Asta and Nabriissa. (The name of estuaries is given to hollows that are covered by the sea at the high tides, and, like rivers, afford waterways into the interior and to the cities on their shores.) Then immediately comes the outlet of the Baetis, which has a twofold division; and the island that is enclosed by the two mouths has a coastal boundary of one hundred stadia, or, as some say, still more than that. Hereabouts is the oracle of Menestheus; and also the tower of Caepio, which is situated upon a rock that is washed on all sides by the waves, and, like the Pharos tower,\(^1\) is a marvellous structure built for the sake of the safety of mariners; for not only do the alluvial

\(^1\) See 1. 2. 23 and 17. 1. 9.
STRABO

χούς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βραχέα ποιεῖ, καὶ χωρα-
δώδης ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τόπος, ὥστε δὲι σημείου
τινὸς ἐπιφανοῦς. ἐντεῦθεν δ’ ὁ τοῦ Βαίτιος
ἀνάπλους ἐστὶ καὶ πόλις Ἑβοῦρα καὶ τὸ τῆς
Φωσφόρου ἱερὸν, ἣν καλοῦσι Δούκεμ Δουβίαμ;
εἴθ’ οἱ τῶν ἀναχύσεων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνάπλους καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ "Ἀνας ποταμός, δίστομος καὶ σύντος,
καὶ ὁ ἔξ αὐτῶν ἀνάπλους. εἰθ’ ὑστατοῦ τὸ Ἱερὸν
ἀκρωτηρίου, διέχου τῶν Γαδείρων ἐλάττους ἢ
δισχίλιους σταδίους τινὲς δ’ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἱεροῦ
ἀκρωτηρίου ἑτεῖ τὸ τοῦ "Ἀνα στόμα ἐξήκοντα
μιλιά φασίν, ἐντεῦθεν δ’ ἑτεῖ τὸ τοῦ Βαίτιος
στόμα ἐκατόν, εἶτα εἰς Γάδειρα ἐβδομηκοῦντα.

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II

1. Τὸς δ’ οὖν ἐντὸς τοῦ "Ἀνα παραλίας ὑπερ-
κείσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν Τουρδητανίαν, ἢν ὁ Βαίτις
diαρρέει ποταμός. ἀφορίζει δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς μὲν
τὴν ἑσπέραν καὶ ἀρκτὸν ὁ "Ἀνας ποταμός, πρὸς
dε τὴν ἐω Καρπητανῶν τέ τινες καὶ Ὡρητανοί,
πρὸς νότον δὲ Βαστητανῶν οἱ μεταξὺ τῆς Κάλπης
καὶ τῶν Γαδείρων στενῆ νεμόμενοι παραλίαν, καὶ
ἡ ἐξῆς θάλαττα μέχρι "Ἀνα. καὶ οἱ Βαστητανοὶ
dέ, οὔσι εἰπον, τῇ Τουρδητανίᾳ πρόσκεινται καὶ οἱ
ἐξω τοῦ "Ἀνα, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν προσχώρων,
μέγεθος δ’ οὖ πλεῖόν ἐστι τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐπὶ
μῆκος καὶ πλάτος ἡ δισχίλιοι στάδιοι, πόλεις δ’

1 That is, Artemis Phosphorus ("Light-bringer.")
2 Strabo refers to the Roman mile, which was equal to eight stadia.
deposits that are discharged by the river form shallows, but the region in front of it is full of reefs, so that there is need of a conspicuous beacon. Thence is the waterway up the Baetis, and the city of Eburia, and the shrine of Phosphorus, which they call "Lux Dubia." Then come the waterways up the other estuaries; and after that the Anas River, which also has two mouths, and the waterway from both mouths into the interior. Then, finally, comes the Sacred Cape, which is less than two thousand stadia distant from Gades. Some, however, say that the distance from the Sacred Cape to the mouth of the Anas is sixty miles, and thence to the mouth of the Baetis, a hundred, and then, to Gades, seventy.  

II

1. At all events, it is above the coast this side the Anas that Turdetania lies, and through it flows the Baetis River. And its boundary is marked off on the west and north by the Anas River, on the east by a part of Carpetania and by Oretania, and on the south by those of the Bastetanians who occupy a narrow stretch of coast between Calpe and Gades and by the sea next to that stretch as far as the Anas. But these Bastetanians of whom I have just spoken also belong to Turdetania, and so do those Bastetanians beyond the Anas, and most of its immediate neighbours. The extent of this country is not more than two thousand stadia, that is, in length or breadth, but it contains a surpassing

3 Strabo means geographical "length" and "breadth," as defined in 2. 1. 32.
STRABO

ὑπερβάλλουσαι τὸ πλήθος, καὶ γὰρ διακοσίας φασί. γυναικῶταται δὲ αἱ ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἱδρύμεναι καὶ ταῖς ἀναχύσεσι καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ διὰ τὰς χρείας. πλειστὸν δὲ ἡ τε Κόρδυβα ἡ ὕξηται, Μαρκέλλου κτίσμα, καὶ δόξη καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ ἡ τῶν Γαδιτανῶν πόλις, ἡ μὲν διὰ τὰς ναυτιλίας καὶ διὰ τὸ προσθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ συμμαχίας, ἡ δὲ χώρας ἀρετῇ καὶ μεγεθείς, προσλαμβάνοντο καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βαίτιος μέγα μέρος. φύκησάν τε ἐξ ἁρχῆς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἐπικρίων ἀνδρεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι καὶ δὴ καὶ πρώτην ἀποικίαν ταύτην εἰς τούσδε τοὺς τόπους ἐστείλαν Ῥωμαίοι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην καὶ τὴν τῶν Γαδιτανῶν ἡ μὲν Ἡσπαλίς ἐπιφανής καὶ αὐτῆ ἀποικος Ῥωμαίων, νυνὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐμποροῖν συμμένει, τῇ τιμῇ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐποικήσαν νεωστὶ τοὺς Καίσαρος στρατιώτας ἡ Βαίτις ὑπερέχει, καίστερ οὐ συνοικισμένη λαμπρώς.

2. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτας Ἰταλικά καὶ Ἡλετα ἐπὶ τῷ Βαίτι, Ἂστυνηγὸς δὲ ἀπωτέρω καὶ Κάρμων καὶ Ὀβουλέων ἔτι δὲ ἐν αἷς οἱ Πομπηίου παιδεῖς κατεπολεμήθησαν, Μοῦνδα καὶ Ἀτέγονα καὶ Οὐρσων καὶ Τούκκες καὶ Οὐλία καὶ Αὐγοναί ἀπασάι

1 The Turdétanian city of Baetis cannot be identified. C. Muller proposes to read Asidigis, i.e. Asido (now Medina Sidonia), citing the “Asido surnamed Caesariana” of Pliny (Nat. Hist. 3. 1. 3). Hübner (Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclo-
number of cities—as many, indeed, as two hundred, it is said. The best known are those situated on the rivers, on the estuaries, and on the sea; and this is due to their commercial intercourse. But the two that have grown most in fame and in power are Corduba, which was founded by Marcellus, and the city of the Gaditanians: the latter, because of its maritime commerce and because it associated itself with the Romans as an ally; the former because of the excellence of its soil and the extent of its territory, though the Baetis River has also contributed in great measure to its growth; and it has been inhabited from the beginning by picked men of the Romans and of the native Iberians; what is more, the first colony which the Romans sent to these regions was that to Corduba. After Corduba and the city of the Gaditanians, Hispalis, itself also a colony of the Romans, is most famous, and still remains the trade-centre of the district; yet, in the matter of distinction, that is, in the fact that the soldiers of Caesar have recently colonised it, Baetis\(^1\) ranks higher, albeit a city not notable for its population.

2. After these cities come Italica and Ilipa, both near the Baetis River; and Astigis, farther away from the river, and Carmon, and Obulco, and, besides these, the cities in which the sons of Pompey were defeated, namely, Munda, Ategua, Urso, Tuccis, Ulia, and Aegua\(^2\); and all of these

\(^{pādīs,}\ uii. 2764) says, "Undoubtedly Italica is meant," but the manner in which Italica is introduced below makes this seem improbable.

\(^{2}\) The city of Aegua, in Turdetania, is otherwise unknown. Escua is probably the correct reading.
δ' αὐται Κορδύβης οὐκ ἀπωθεν. τρόπον δὲ τινα μητρόπολις κατέστη τοῦ τόπου τούτου Μούνδα. διέχει δὲ Καρτηνίας Ἡ Μούνδα σταδίους χιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους, εἰς ἕν ἐφυγεν ἡττηθεὶς ο Γναιος· εἰτ' ἐκπλεύσας ἐνθεν καὶ ἐκβάς ἐς τινα ὑπερκειμένην βαλάττης ὀρεινήν διεφθάρη. ὡς' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Σέξτος ἐκ Κορδύβης σωθεὶς καὶ μικρὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἰβηροι πολεμήσας χρόνον ὑστερον Σικελίαν ἀπέστησεν, εἰτ' ἐκπεσον ἐνθενδε εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄλος ὑπὸ τῶν 'Αντωνίου στρατηγῶν ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς Κονιστοργίς ἐστι γνωριμωτάτην· ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς ἀναχύσεσιν Ἡ Ἀστα, εἰς ἕνοι τὸ νῦν Γαδιτανοὶ συνίασι μᾶλλον· ὑπερκειμένην τοῦ ἐπινειόν τῆς νῆσου σταδίους ὑπὸ πολὺ πλείον τῶν ἐκατόν.

3. Παροικεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ πλείστων ὁ Βαϊτις, καὶ ἀναπλείται σχεδὸν τι ἐπὶ χιλίοις καὶ διακοσίοις σταδίους ἐκ βαλάττης μέχρι Κορδύβης καὶ τῶν μικρὸν ἐπάνω τόπων. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐξεργασται περιττῶς ὑ τε παραποταμία καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νησίδια. πρόσεστι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄψεως τερπνόν,

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1 χιλίου, the reading of Α, adopted by Casaubon instead of ἡπακισχιλίου (BCII).

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1 Hübner (Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 1618; iv. 1223) would delete Munda, thus making apply to Corduba the reference to "the capital city" (Ptolemaeus 2. 4. 9), and to the distance of "four hundred stadia from Carteia" (Caesar, Bell. Hisp. 32. 5, makes the distance from Carteia to Corduba one hundred and seventy miles, or one thousand three hundred and sixty stadia). But according to Strabo's text Munda was a city near Cordus, and must not be identified with the Monda of to-day (four hundred and forty stadia from Carteia).
cities are not far from Corduba. In a way, Munda\(^1\) has become the capital city of this region. Munda\(^1\) is one thousand four hundred stadia distant from Carteia, whither Gnaeus fled after his defeat\(^2\); he sailed away from there, and disembarked into a certain mountainous region overlooking the sea, where he was put to death. But his brother Sextus escaped from Corduba, carried on war for a short time in Iberia, and later on caused Sicily to revolt; then, driven out of Sicily into Asia, he was captured by the generals of Antony, and ended his life at Miletus.\(^3\) In the country of the Celti,\(^4\) Conistorgis is the best known city; but on the estuaries Asta is the best known, where the Gaditanians\(^5\) of to-day usually hold their assemblies, and it is situated not much more than one hundred stadia beyond the seaport of the island.

3. The Bactis has a large population along its shores, and is navigable for approximately one thousand two hundred stadia from the sea up to Corduba and the regions a little higher up. Furthermore, the land along the river, and the little islands in the river, are exceedingly well cultivated. And besides that, there is the charm of the scenery, for

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\(^2\) Caesar’s defeat of Gnaeus Pompey at the battle of Munda took place in March, 45 B.C.

\(^3\) According to Dio Cassius (49. 18), Sextus was captured, and, apparently, executed at Midiacum (a city in Phrygia Epictetus); but Appian (Civil Wars, 5. 144) says that he was executed at Miletus.

\(^4\) The Iberian Celts, who lived in what is now Southern Portugal.

\(^5\) Pliny (Nat. Hist. 3. 1. 3) says that there were four jurisdictions in Baetica, those of Gades, Corduba, Astigis, and Hispalis.
άλσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις φυτουργίαις ἐκπεπονημένων τῶν χωρίων. μέχρι μέν ὁν Ἰσπάλιος ὠλκάσιν ἄξιολογοις ὁ ἀνάπλους ἐστὶν ἐπὶ σταδίους οὐ πολὺ λεῖποντας τῶν πεντακοσίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἄνω πόλεις μέχρι Ἰλίπας ταῖς ἐλάττωσι, μέχρι δὲ Κορθύβης τοῖς ποταμίοις σκάφεσι, πηκτοῖς μὲν τὰ νῦν, τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ καὶ μονοζύλους· τὸ δὲ ἄνω τὸ ἐπὶ Κασταλῶνος ὁ οὐκ ἔστι πλοίου παράλληλοι δὲ τινὲς ράχεις ὀρῶν παρατείνουσι τῷ ποταμῷ, μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἦττον αὐτὸν συνάπτουσι, πρὸς βορράν, μετάλλων πλῆρες. πλείστους δὲ ἐστὶν ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἰλίπαν τόποις καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Σισάπωνα, τὸν τε παλαιὸν λεγόμενον καὶ τὸν νεόν κατὰ δὲ τὰς Κωτίνας λεγομένας χαλκός τε ἁμα γεννᾶται καὶ χρυσός. ἐν ἀριστερὰ μὲν οὖν ἐστι τοῖς ἀναπλέουσι τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ πεδίων μέγα καὶ ύψηλῶν καὶ εὐκαρπῶν καὶ μεγαλόδενδρον καὶ εὐβοτον. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀνα ἀνάπλουν, οὕτε δὲ τηλικοῦτοις σκάφεσι, οὕτ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοι, ὑπέρκειται δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ μεταλλείας ἔχουσα ὄρη, καθήκει δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Τάγον. τὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς μεταλλείας ἔχουσα χωρία ἀναγκή τραχέα τε εἶναι καὶ παράλυπρα, ὀλάπερ καὶ τὰ τῇ Καρπη-τανία συνάπτοντα, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῖς Κελτιβηρσί. τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ Ἡ Βαιτούρια, ἥπρα ἔχουσα πεδία τὰ παρῆκοντα τῷ Ἀνα.

1 Κασταλῶνος, Kramer, for Κλαστώνος.
2 ο Ἀνα ἀνάπλουν, Kramer, from the conj. of Casaubon, for γάναν ὁ ἀνάπλους; editors following.
3 αὐτοῦ (τοῦ, ΑC, τδ, Bl), Meineke.

1 Cotinae is not elsewhere referred to, and cannot be
the farms are fully improved with groves and gardens of the various plants. Now, up to Hispalias, the river is navigable for merchant-vessels of considerable size, that is, for a distance not much short of five hundred stadia; to the cities higher up the stream as far as Ilipa, for the smaller merchant vessels; and, as far as Corduba, for the river-boats (at the present time these are builded boats, whereas in antiquity they were merely dugout canoes); but above Corduba, in the direction of Castalo, the river is not navigable. On the north, there are some mountain-ridges which extend parallel to the river, approaching it closely, sometimes more so, sometimes less, and they are full of mines. Silver, however, is the most plentiful in the regions about Ilipa, and in those about Sisapo—I mean what is called the Old Sisapo as well as the New Sisapo; and at the place called Cotinae¹ both copper and gold are mined at the same time. Now on your left, as you sail up the river, are these mountains, while on your right is a large plain, high, very productive, with lofty trees, and affording good pasturage. The Anas also is navigable, though neither for such large vessels nor for so great a distance. Beyond the Anas, too, lie mountains that contain ores, and these mountains reach down to the Tagus River. Now the regions which contain ores are necessarily rugged as well as rather poor in soil, precisely as are the regions that join Carpetania, and still more so those that join Celtiberia. And such is the nature of Bucturia also, which contains arid plains that stretch along the Anas.

identified. Du Thiel conjectures Constantia, about twenty miles from Almaden.
4. Αὕτη δέ ἡ Τουρδητανία θαμμαστῶς εὐτυχεὶς παμφόρου δ' ὀφθης αὕτης, ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ πολυφόρου, διπλασιάζεται τὰ εὐτυχήματα ταῦτα τῷ ἐκκομισμῷ τῷ γὰρ περιτεῦον τῶν καρπῶν ἀπεμπολεῖται ῥάδιος τῷ πληθεῖ τῶν ναυκληριῶν. ποιοῦσι δὲ τούτο οἳ τε ποταμοὶ καὶ αἱ ἀναχύσεις, ὡς εἰπόν, ἐμφερεῖς τοῖς ποταμοῖς οὕσει καὶ ἀναπληρεῖ παραπληρῆς ἐκ θαλάττης οὐ μικροῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοις σκάφεσιν εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ πόλεις. ἀπάσα γὰρ ἐστὶ πεδίας ἡ ὑπὲρ τῆς παραλλαγῆς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ἰεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου καὶ Στῆλων. ἐνταῦθα δὲ πολλαχοὶ κοιλάδες εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνεχουσί, φάραγεὶς μετρίαις ἢ καὶ βελθροὶ ἐςκυῖαι ποταμοῖς, ἐκτεταμέναι ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους ταύτας δὲ πληροῦσιν αἱ τῆς θαλάττης ἐπιβάσεις κατὰ τὰς πλημμυρίδας, ὥστε ἀναπληρεῖσθαι μηδὲν ἦττον ἢ τοὺς ποταμοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ βέλτιον τοῖς γὰρ κατάπλοιοι ἔοικε τοῖς ποταμοῖς, ἀντικόπτοντος μὲν οὐδένος, ἐπουρρίζοντος δὲ τοῦ πελάγους καθάπερ τοῦ ποταμίου ῥέματος δ.λ. τὴν πλημμυρίδα. αἱ δ' ἐπιβάσεις μεῖζον εἰςὶν ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις, διὰ εἰς πόρον συνωθουμένη στενὸν ἢ θάλαττα ἐκ μεγάλου πελάγους, ὅν ἡ Μαυροσία ποιεῖ πρὸς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἀνακόπτας λαμβάνει, καὶ φέρεται πρὸς τὰ ἐκκοιναὶ μέρη τῆς γῆς εὐπετῶς. ἐνιαί μὲν οὖν τῶν τοιούτων κοιλάδων κενοῦνται κατὰ τὰς ἀμπότεις, τωσὶ δ' οὐ παντάπασιν ἐπιλείπει τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐνιαί δὲ καὶ νῆσος.
4. Turdetania itself is marvellously blessed by nature; and while it produces all things, and likewise great quantities of them, these blessings are doubled by the facilities of exportation; for its surplus products are bartered off with ease because of the large number of the merchant vessels. This is made possible by the rivers, and by the estuaries as well, which, as I have said,\textsuperscript{1} resemble rivers, and, like rivers, are navigable inland from the sea, not only for small boats but also for large ones, to the cities of the interior. For the whole country beyond the seaboard that lies between the Sacred Cape and the Pillars is a plain for a considerable distance inland. And here, at a large number of places, are inlets which run up from the sea into the interior, resembling moderate-sized ravines or simply river-beds, and extending for many stadia; and these inlets are filled by the overflows of the sea at the flood-tides, so that one can sail inland thereon as readily as on the rivers—in fact, better, for it is like sailing down the rivers, not only because there is no opposing current, but because, on account of the flood-tide, the sea wafts you onwards just as the river-current does. And the overflows are greater on this coast than in the other regions, because the sea, coming from the great ocean, is compressed into the narrow strait which Maurusia forms with Iberia, there meets resistance, and then easily rushes to those parts of the land that yield to it. Now, while a number of the inlets of this kind are emptied at the ebb-tides (though some of them do not become wholly dry), yet a number of them enclose islands

\textsuperscript{1} 3. 1. 9.
ἀπολαμβάνουσιν ἐν ἑαυταῖς. τοιαύτα τι μὲν οὖν ἔστω αἱ ἀναχύσεις αἱ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ἱεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου καὶ τῶν Στηλῶν, ἐπίδοσιν ἔχουσαι σφοδροτέραν παρὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις; ἡ τοιαύτη δ’ ἐπίδοσις ἔχει μὲν τι καὶ πλεονέκτημα πρὸς τὰς χρείας τῶν πλοιοκτημένων· πλείους γὰρ καὶ μείζους ποιεῖ τὰς ἀναχύσεις, πολλάκις καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ σταδίους ἀναπλεομένας, ὡστε τρόπον τινὰ πάσαν πλωτὴν παρέχεται τὴν ἕτη καὶ εὔπετη πρὸς τε τὰς ἔξαγωγὰς τῶν φορτίων καὶ τὰς εἰσαγωγὰς. ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ ὁχληρὸν αἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς ναυτιλίᾳ 1 διὰ τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς πλημμυρίδος ἰσχυρότερον τῇ ρύσει 2 τῶν ποταμῶν ἀντιπνέουσαν 3 κύνδυνον οὐ μικρὸν ταῖς ναυκληρίαις ἐπιφέρουσιν, κατακομβομέναις τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνακομβομέναις. αἱ δὲ ἀμπότεις ἐν ταῖς ἀναχύσεσιν εἰσὶ βλαβεραὶ· ταῖς γὰρ πλημμυρίσθην ἀνὰ λόγων καὶ αὐταὶ παροξύνονται, διὰ τε τὸ τάχος καὶ ἐπὶ ξηρὰς πολλάκις ἐγκατέλιπον τὴν ναῦν. τά τε βοσκήματα εἰς τὰς νῆσους διαβάλοντα τὰς πρὸ τῶν ποταμῶν ή’ 4 πρὸ τῶν ἀναχύσεων τοτὲ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπεκλύσθη, τοτὲ δὲ ἀπελήφθη, βιαζόμενα δ’ ἐπανελθεῖν οὐκ ἰσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ διεφθάρη τὰς δὲ βοῦς φασὶ καὶ τετηρηκυνίας τὸ συμβαίνον περιμένει τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ τὸτε ἀπαίρειν εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον.

5. Καταμαθόντες δ’ οὖν τὴν φύσιν τῶν τόπων

1 αἱ, before διὰ, Corrals deletes.
2 ρύσει, Siebenkees, for ρύσει; so subsequent editors.
3 ἀντιπνέουσαν, Corrals, for ἀντικνέουσαι; so Kramer, Forbiger, and Meineke.
4 ή, Jones inserts.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 2. 4-5

within themselves. Such, then, are the estuaries between the Sacred Cape and the Pillars, for they have an excessive rise of tide as compared with those in the other regions. A rise of tide like this affords a certain advantage to be utilised by sailors, namely, the estuaries are made more numerous and larger, oftentimes being navigable even for a distance of eight \(^1\) stadia; so that, after a fashion, it renders the whole country navigable and convenient both for exporting and importing merchandise. And yet it also affords a certain annoyance; for, on account of the vehemence of the flood-tides, which press with superior force against the current of the rivers, navigation on the rivers is attended by no small danger to the vessels, alike in their descent and ascent. But in the case of the estuaries the ebb-tides too are harmful; for the ebb-tides too grow violent in proportion to the strength of the flood-tides, and on account of their swiftness have oftentimes even left the ship stranded on dry land. Again, the cattle which cross over to the islands that lie off the rivers or the estuaries have at times actually been engulfed; at other times they have merely been cut off, and in their struggle to get back to the land lacked the strength to do so, and perished. But the cows, they say, are by observation actually aware of what happens, wait for the retirement of the sea, and then make off for the mainland.

5. At any rate, it was because the people had

\(^1\) "Eight," the reading of the MSS. cannot be right (cf. 3. 3. 1). Penzel, followed by Corais, proposes eight hundred, and Groskurd, followed by Forbiger and Tardieu, proposes one hundred.
οἱ ἀνθρώποι καὶ τὰς ἀναχύσεις ὁμοίως ὑπουργεῖν τοὺς ποταμοὺς δυναμένας πόλεις ἔκτισαν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλας κατοικίας, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν. τούτων δὲ ἔστιν ἤ τε Ἀστα καὶ Νάβρισσα καὶ Ὅμοβα καὶ Ὀσύνοβα καὶ Μάινοβα καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους. προσλαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ διώρυγες ἐσθ’ ὅπου γεγονότας τῷ πολλαχόθεν εἶναι καὶ πολλαχόσε τὴν κομιδὴν καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξω. καὶ αἱ σύρροια δὲ ὁσαῦτως ὀφελοῦσι κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ πολὺ πλῆμας, διαχειριμένας ἐπὶ 1 τῶν διειργούτων ἱσθμῶν τοὺς πόρους καὶ πλωτοὺς ἀπεργαζομένας, 2 ὅστε πορθμεύεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν εἰς τὰς ἀναχύσεις κακεῖθεν δεύτερο. ἀπασά δὲ ἡ ἐμπορία πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἔχουσα τὸν πλοῦν μέχρι τῶν Στηλῶν ἀγαθόν, πλὴν εἰ τὰς ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν δυσκολία, καὶ τὸν πελάγιον τὸν ἐν τῇ καθ’ ἡμὰς θαλάτῃ. διὰ γὰρ εὐθὺς κλίματος οἱ δρόμοι συντελοῦνται, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ πελαγίζοντι τούτῳ δὲ πρόσφορον ἐστὶ ταῖς ἐμπορικαῖς ὀλκάσιν. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀνεμοί τάξιν οἱ πελάγιοι. πρόσεστι δὲ καὶ ἡ νῦν εἰρήνη, τῶν ληστηρίων καταλαβέντων, ὅσθεν ἡ σύμπασα ὑπάρχει βαστώνῃ τοὺς πλοῖοιμένους. ἔδων δὲ τὶ φησι Ποσειδώνιος τηρήσαι κατὰ τὸν ἀνάπλουν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ὅτι οἱ Εὔροι κατ’ ἐκεῖνο τὸ πέλαγος ἐως τοῦ Σαρδίου κύλλου πνεοιεύν ἐτησίαι.
learned the character of these regions and that the estuaries could subserve the same purpose as the rivers, that they built cities and other settlements on their banks, just as on the rivers. Among these cities are Asta, Nabrissa, Onoba, Ossonoba, Maenoba, and several others. Again, canals that have been dug in a number of places are an additional aid, since many are the points thereto from which and to which the people carry on their traffic, not only with one another but also with the outside world. And further, the meetings of the waters when the flood-tides reach far inland are likewise helpful, for the waters pour across over the isthmuses that separate the waterways, thus rendering the isthmuses navigable also; so that one can cross over by boat from the rivers into the estuaries and from the estuaries into the rivers. But all the foreign trade of the country is carried on with Italy and Rome, since the voyage as far as the Pillars is good, except, perhaps, for a certain difficulty in passing the strait, and also the voyage on the high seas of Our Sea. For the sea-routes all pass through a zone of fair weather, particularly if the sailor keeps to the high seas; and this fact is advantageous to the merchant-freighters. And further, the winds on the high seas are regular. Added to that, too, is the present peace, because all piracy has been broken up, and hence the sailors feel wholly at ease. Poseidonius says that he observed a peculiar circumstance on his return voyage from Iberia, namely, that the east winds on that sea, as far as the Gulf of Sardinia, blew at a fixed time each

for καὶ πλωτῶν ἀπεργαζόμενων (ABC) and πλωτῶν ἀπεργαζόμενων (L).
διὸ καὶ τρισὶ μησίν εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατάραι μόλις παραδιενεχθεῖς ¹ περὶ τε τὰς Γυμνησίας νῆσους καὶ περὶ Σαρδόνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπαντικρυ τούτων μέρη τῆς Διβύς.

6. Ἐξάγεται δ’ ἐκ τῆς Τουρνδαιαίας σιτός τε καὶ οίνος πολὺς καὶ ἐλαιον οὐ πολὺ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστον· καὶ κηρὸς δὲ καὶ μέλι καὶ πίττα ἐξάγεται καὶ κόκκος πολλή καὶ μίλτος οὐ χείρων τῆς Συμπυκήνης γῆς τά τε ναυπήγμα συνιστάσιν αὐτόθι ἐξ ἐπιεχωρίας ἔλης, ἀλες τε ὄρυκτοι παρ’ αὐτοὺς εἰς καὶ ποταμῶν ἄμμρην καὶ ἐμυρωθάντα ὄχι ὀλύνα, οὐκ ὀλύνη δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν ὄψων ταριχεῖα ὁ ἐνθεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἐκτός Στηλῶν παραλίας, οὐ χείρων τῆς Ποντικῆς. πολλή δὲ καὶ ἐστὶς πρότερον ἕρχετο, νῦν δὲ ἐρία μᾶλλον τῶν κοραξῶν. καὶ ὑπερβολή τῆς ἐστὶ τοῦ κάλλους ταλαντιαίους γοῦν ὁμοίεται τοὺς κρίους εἰς τὰς ὀχείας. ὑπερβολὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν λεπτῶν ύφασμάτων, ἀπερ οἱ Σαλακηται ² κατασκευάζουσιν. ἀφθονος δὲ καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀφθονία παντολῶν καὶ κυνηγεῖσιν. τῶν δ’ ὀλθρίων θηρίων σπάνις πλὴν τῶν γεωργῶν λαγιδέων, οὕς ἐνοί λεβητιδας προσαγορεύοντοι λυμαίνονται γὰρ καὶ φυτὰ καὶ

1 παραδιενεχθεῖς, Kramer, for γὰρ διενεχθεῖς; so Meineke.
2 Σαλακηταί, Harduin, for Σαλατήτα; so Groskurd, Forbigor, Tardieu, and C. Müller.

¹ Poseidonius was near enough to Libya on this trip to see a number of apes on the shore (17. 3. 4).
² A crimson dye-stuff obtained from the dried bodies of the female scale-insects of the genus Kermes ilicis. The species referred to by Strabo feeds on the Quercus coccifera, a dwarf-oak, and is very common in the Mediterranean countries.
year; and that this was why he barely reached Italy even in three months; for he was driven out of his course in both directions, not only near to the Gymnesian Islands and Sardinia, but also to the different parts of Libya \(^1\) opposite to these islands.

6. There are exported from Turdetania large quantities of grain and wine, and also olive oil, not only in large quantities, but also of best quality. And further, wax, honey, and pitch are exported from there, and large quantities of kermes,\(^2\) and ruddle \(^3\) which is not inferior to the Sinopean earth. And they build their ships there out of native timber; and they have salt quarries in their country, and not a few streams of salt water; and not unimportant, either, is the fish-salting industry that is carried on, not only from this county, but also from the rest of the seaboard outside the Pillars; and the product is not inferior to that of the Pontus. Formerly much cloth came from Turdetania, but now, wool, rather of the raven-black sort.\(^4\) And it is surpassingly beautiful; at all events, the rams are bought for breeding purposes at a talent apiece. Surpassing, too, are the delicate fabrics which are woven by the people of Salacia.\(^5\) Turdetania also has a great abundance of cattle of all kinds, and of game. But there are scarcely any destructive animals, except the burrowing hares, by some called “peelers”; for they damage both plants and seeds by eating the

\(^2\) As in 12. 2. 10, Strabo uses “miltos” (“ruddle”) as a general term in comparing, as sources of dyes, Spanish cinnamon-bar (red mercuric sulphide) and Sinopean “red earth.”

\(^3\) Cp. 12. 8. 16.

\(^5\) Alcaceer-do-Sal. Pliny (Nat. Hist. 8. 7) also refers to the fabrics woven in this Lusitanian town.
σπέρματα μέζοφαγώντες καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνει καθ’ ὅλην τὴν ἱβηρίαν σχεδόν, διατείνει δὲ καὶ μέχρι Μασσαλίας, ὥστε βαῖνει δὲ καὶ τὰς νῆσους. οἱ δὲ τὰς Γυμνησίας ὅλκοντες λέγονται προσβεύσασθαι ποτε πρὸς ὅμοιας κατὰ χώρας αὐτὴς ἐκβάλλοντας γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ξόων τούτων, ἀντέχειν μὴ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸν τοσοῦτον ἱσως πόλεμον, δὲ οὐκ ἴσως συμβαίνει, φθορὰν δὲ τοῖς λοιμικῷ, καθάπερ ὄψεως καὶ μυών τῶν ἀρουραίων, χρεία τῆς τοσαῦτης ἐπικούρειας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέτριον ἔξευρηνται πλείον θήραι καὶ δὴ καὶ γαλᾶς ἀγρίας, ἃς ἡ Διβύη φέρει, τρέφουσιν ἐπίτηδες, ὡς φιμώσαντες παριώσιν εἰς τὰς ὁπίς· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξελκουσιν ἔξω τοῖς ὁμυζίσιν, οὐς ἂν καταλάβωσιν, ἡ φεύγειεν ἀναγκάζονσιν εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἐκπεσόντας δὲ θηρεύσωσιν οἱ ἐφεστῶτες. τὴν δὲ ἄφθονιαν τῶν ἐκκομιζομένων ἐκ τῆς Τουριδητανίας ἐμφανίζει τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ναυκληρίων· ὀλκάδες γὰρ μέγισται παρὰ τούτων πλέουσιν εἰς Δικαιαρχεῖαν καὶ τὰ Ὀστία, τῆς Ἀρίστης ἐπίνειοι· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος μικρὸν δεῖν ἐνάμιλλον τοῖς Δισβυκοῖς. ²

7. Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς μεσογαίας οὐσίς τῆς ἐν τῇ Τουριδητανίᾳ, καὶ τῆς παράλοιπον ἐνάμιλλον εὗροι τις ἂν τοῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης ἁγαθοῖς. τὰ τε γὰρ ὀστρεώδη πάντα καὶ κογχειδή καὶ τοῖς πλῆθεσιν ὑπερβάλλει καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεις καθόλου κατὰ τὴν ἔξο θαλατταν πᾶσαν, ἐνταύθα δὲ διαφερόντως,

roots. This pest occurs throughout almost the whole of Iberia, and extends even as far as Massilia, and infests the islands as well. The inhabitants of the Gymnesian Islands, it is said, once sent an embassy to Rome to ask for a new place of abode, for they were being driven out by these animals, because they could not hold out against them on account of their great numbers. Now perhaps such a remedy is needed against so great a warfare (which is not always the case, but only when there is some destructive plague like that of snakes or field-mice),\(^1\) but, against the moderate pest, several methods of hunting have been discovered; more than that, they make a point of breeding Libyan ferrets, which they muzzle and send into the holes. The ferrets with their claws drag outside all the rabbits they catch, or else force them to flee into the open, where men, stationed at the hole, catch them as they are driven out. The abundance of the exports of Turdetania is indicated by the size and the number of the ships; for merchantmen of the greatest size sail from this country to Dicaearchia, and to Ostia, the seaport of Rome; and their number very nearly rivals that of the Libyan ships.

7. Although the interior of Turdetania is so productive, it will be found that the seaborne vies with it in its goodly products from the sea. For the various kinds of oysters as well as mussels are in general surpassing, both in their number and in their size, along the whole of the exterior sea; but

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\(^1\) See 3. 4. 18. and foot-note.

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\(^2\) ἐκπολλαγματισμὸς, after Λεβυκὸς, deleted by \(l\); and so the editors in general.
στράβο

ἀτε καὶ τῶν πλημμυρίδων καὶ τῶν ἀμπώτεων ἐνταῦθα αὐξομένων, ὅσεικὸς αὐτίς εἶ ὑναι καὶ τῷ πλῆθος καὶ τῷ μεγέθους διὰ τῆν γυμνασίαν. ὅσο δ' αὐτώς ἔχει καὶ περὶ τῶν κητέων ἀπάντων, ἄργγων τε καὶ φαλαινῶν καὶ φυσητήρων, ὅν ἀνα- φυσησάντων φαινεταί τις νεφώδους ὄψις κίονος τοῖς πόρρωθεν ἀφορώσι καὶ οἱ γόγγροι δὲ ἀπο- θηρισθήσονται, πολὺ τῶν παρ' ἥμιν ὑπερβεβλημένοι κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ αἱ σμύραιναι καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖω τῶν πτωμάτων ὄψων. ἐν δὲ Καρπηία κήρυκας δεκακοτύλους καὶ πορφύρας φασίν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξωτέροις τόποις καὶ μείζους ὑγιοῦντα μνών τὴν σμύραινα καὶ τὸν γόγγρον, ταλαντιαῖον δὲ τὸν πολύποδα, ἀπήκουσι δὲ τὰς τευθίδας καὶ τὰ παραπλῆσια. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ὁ θύμνος συνελαύνει ἐνεύρο ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης τὴς ἐξωθεῖν παραλίας πίων καὶ παχύς. τρέφεται δὲ βαλάνῳ δρυίῳ φυομένη κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης χαμαιζήλω τινὶ παντάπασιν, ἀδρότατον δ' ἐκφεροῦση καρπῶν. ἥπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ φύεται πολλῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, βίθις μὲν ἔχουσα μεγάλας ὡς ἄν τελείας δρυῶς, ἐξαιρομένη δὲ θάμνῳ ταπείνής ἤττων· τοσοῦτον δ' ἐκφέρει καρπῶν, ὡστε μετὰ τὴν ἀκμήν πλήρῃ τῆς παραλίαν εἶναι τὴν τε ἐντός καὶ τὴν ἔκτος

1 ἄλης, Kramer, for ἄλεις; so generally the editors. Casaubon reads ἄλης, Grosskurk, ἄλεια. Probably the context should be emended to suit ἄλεια (cp. Aristotle, Hist. An. 8. 19, and Athenaeus 7. 63, 301 Ε).
2 παραλίας, Casaubon, for παλαίας; so all editors.
3 Apparently βαλάνων has fallen out after παραλίαν. Grosskurk, Forbiger, and Meineke so read.
especially so here, inasmuch as the flood-tides and
the ebb-tides have increased power here, and these
tides, it is reasonable to suppose, are, on account of
the exercise they give, responsible both for the
number and the size of them. So it is, in the same
way, with respect to all the cetaceans: narwhals,
"phalaenae"¹ and spouting-whales; when these
spout, the distant observer seems to see a cloud-
like pillar. And further, the conger-eels become
monsters, far exceeding in size those of Our Sea;
and so do the lampreys and several other edible fish
of the kind. And at Carteia, it is said, there are
shells of trumpet-fish and purple-fish which hold ten
cotylæ,² and in the regions farther out to sea the
lamprey and the conger-eel weigh even more than
eighty minae,³ the sea-polypus a talent,⁴ the cuttle-
fish are two cubits long—and other things in like
proportion. Again, large numbers of plump, fat
tunny-fish congregate hither from the other coast,
namely, that outside the Pillars. And they feed on
the acorns of a certain very stunted oak that grows
at the bottom of the sea and produces very large
fruit.⁵ This oak also grows in abundance on the dry
land, in Iberia; and although its roots are large like
those of a full-grown oak, yet it does not grow as
high as a low bush. But the sea-oak brings forth so
much fruit that, after the ripening, the seacoast,

¹ The typical genus of whalebone whales called by the
Romans "balaenae," which is the term still used by
zoologists.
² About five pints.
³ About eighty pounds.
⁴ About sixty pounds.
⁵ Apparently the Quercus coccifera (see note on "Kermes"
3. 2. 6.) is meant, but so far as is known no shrub or tree-like
plant grows in salt water.
Στηλίων, ἦν ἐκβάλλουσιν αἱ πλῆμαί· ἡ δ' ἐντὸς Στηλίων ἐλάττων ἦδε καὶ μᾶλλον εὑρίσκεται. Λέγει δ' ὁ Πολύβιος καὶ μέχρι τῆς Δατίνης ἐκπίστεψεν τὴν βάλανον ταύτην, εἰ μὴ ἄρα, φησί, καὶ ἡ Σαρδῶν φέρει καὶ ἡ πλησιόχωρος ταύτης, καὶ οἱ θύννοι δ' ὅσῳ πλέον συνεγίζουσι ταῖς Στηλίαις ἔξωθεν φερόμενοι, τοσοῦτο ισχυάτονται πλέον, τῆς τροφῆς ἐπιλειπούσης: εἰναι τε ἄρα· θαλάττιον ὑπὸ τὸ ξένον τούτο· ἦδεσθαι γὰρ τῇ βαλάνῳ καὶ πιαίνεσθαι διαφερόντως ὡς 'αὐτής, φορᾶς τε τῆς βαλάνου γενομένης, φορᾶν καὶ τῶν θύννων εἰναι.

8. Τοσούτως δὲ τῆς προειρημένης χώρας ἀγαθοὶς κεχορηγημένης, οὐχ ἢκιστα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστα ἀποδέξατ' ἀν τις καὶ θαυμάσαι τὸ περὶ τὰς μεταλλείας εὑρίσκετε· ἀπασα μὲν γὰρ μεστὴ τῶν τοιούτων ἑστὶν ἡ τῶν Ἰβηρίων χώρα, οὐ πάσα δ' εὐκαρπος οὐδ' εὐδαιμον οὕτως, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ τῶν μετάλλων εὔποροντα. σπανίων δ' ἐν ἀμφότερος εὐτυχεῖν· σπάνιων δὲ καὶ τὸ τὴν αὐτῆν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ παντοίωσι πληθύνειν μετάλλωσιν. ἡ δὲ τοῦρπητανία καὶ ἡ προσεχής αὐτὴ λόγον οὐδένα ἄξον καταλείπει περὶ τήνης τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἐπανείλθαν Βουλομένως. οὐτε γὰρ χρυσῶς, οὔτ' ἄργυρος, οὔτε δὴ χαλκός, οὔτε σίδηρος οὐδὲνοι τῆς γῆς οὔτε τοσοῦτος οὕθ' οὕτως ἡγαθὸς ἐξήκτασται γεννώμενος μέχρι νῦν. ὁ δὲ χρυσός οὐ μεταλλεύεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σύρεται· καταφέρουσι δ' οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ οἱ χειμαρροὶ τὴν χρυσῖτιν ἀμ-

1 πλείων, Corails, for πλείων; Kramer, and Meineke, following.
2 τε ἄρα, Tyrwhitt, for παρά. 
3 δὲ, for τε; so the old reading (before Kramer), and so Meineke.
4 οὔτ', Jonos, for οὔτ.
both inside and outside the Pillars, is covered with the acorns, for they are cast ashore by the tides. However, those inside the Pillars are always smaller, and are to be found in greater quantities. Polybius tells us that the sea casts these acorns ashore even as far as Latium, unless perhaps, says he, also Sardinia and the neighbouring land produce them. And further, the nearer the tunny-fish approach the Pillars, in coming from the exterior sea, the leaner they become, since their food fails them. This creature, says Polybius, is therefore a sea-hog, for it is fond of the acorn and gets exceedingly fat on it; and whenever the sea-oak has produced a large crop of acorns, there is also a large crop of tunny-fish.

8. Now, although the aforesaid country has been endowed with so many good things, still one might welcome and admire, not least of all, but even most of all, its natural richness in metals. For the whole country of the Iberians is full of metals, although not all of it is so rich in fruit, or so fertile either, and in particular that part of it which is well supplied with metals. It is rare for a country to be fortunate in both respects, and it is also rare for the same country to have within a small area an abundance of all kinds of metals. But as for Turdetania and the territory adjoining it, there is no worthy word of praise left to him who wishes to praise their excellence in this respect. Up to the present moment, in fact, neither gold, nor silver, nor yet copper, nor iron, has been found anywhere in the world, in a natural state, either in such quantity or of such good quality. And the gold is not only mined, but is also washed down; that is, the gold-bearing sand is carried down by the rivers and the torrents, although it is often found in
μον, πολλαγοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνύδρους τόποις οὐσαν, ἀλλ' ἔκει μὲν ἄφανής ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπικλύστοις ἀπολάμπει τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ψῆφιμα· καὶ τοὺς ἀνύδρους δὲ φορητῷ ἐπικλύζοντες ὑδατὶ στιλπνῶν ποιοῦσι τὸ ψῆφιμα, καὶ φρέατα δ' ὀρύσσουστε καὶ ἄλλας τέχνας ἐπιισούσσετε πλύσει τῆς ἁμμοῦ τὸν χρυσὸν ἐκλαμβάνουσι, καὶ πλέοι τῶν χρυσορυχείων ἐστὶ νῦν τὰ χρυσοπλύσια προσαγορευόμενα. ἄξιονσι δὲ Γαλάται ἵσα 1 παρ' ἑαυτοῖς εἶναι τὰ μέταλλα τὰ τε 2 ἐν τῷ Κεμένῳ ὅρει καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῆς κείμενα τῇ Πυρήνῃ· τὸ μέντοι πλέον 3 τἀντεθεῖν εὐδοκιμεῖ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ψῆφιμασι τοῦ χρυσίου φασὶν εὐρίσκεσθαι ποτε καὶ ἡμιλυτριαίας βώλους, ὡς καλοῦσιν πάλαις, μικρὰς καθάρσεως δεομένας. φασί δὲ καὶ λίθων σχειρομένων εὐρίσκεως βωλάρια θηλαίας ὁμοία· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐφομένου καὶ καθαιρομένου στυπτηριώδει τινὶ γῇ τὸ κάθαρμα ἡλεκτρον εἶναι· πάλιν δὲ τοῦτο καθεφομένου, μᾶγμα ἔχοντος ἀργύρρου καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὸν μὲν ἀργυρὸν ἀποκαίεσθαι, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ὑπομένειν εὐδιάχυτος ὡς ὁ τύπος καὶ λιθώδης· διὰ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ ἀχύρῳ τήκεται μᾶλλον ὁ χρυσὸς, ὅτι ἡ φλόξ, μαλακὴ οὐσα, συμμέτρως ἐχει πρὸς τὸ εἶκον καὶ διαχεόμενον ράδιως, δὲ ἀνθραξ ἐπαναλίσκει πολὺ, ὑπερτήκων τῇ σφοδρότητι καὶ

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1 ἵσα, Madvig, for ὅδε.
2 τὰ τε, before ἐν, the insertion of I, and the editors.
3 πλέον, Meineke, for πλέον.

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1 The Gauls. See 4. 4. 2. 2 The Cevennes. 3 Apparently a native Iberian word. Op. Pliny, Nat. Hist. 33. 21.
the waterless districts also; but in these districts it cannot be seen, whereas in the flooded districts the gold-dust glitters. Besides, they flood the waterless districts by conducting water thither, and thus they make the gold-dust glitter; and they also get the gold out by digging pits, and by inventing other means for washing the sand; and the so-called "gold-washerries" are now more numerous than the gold-mines. The Galatae¹ hold that their own mines, both those in the Cemmenus² Mountains and those situated at the foot of the Pyrenees themselves, are equal to those of Tartetania; the metals from the latter, however, are held in greater esteem. And in the gold-dust, they say, nuggets weighing as much as half a pound are sometimes found, which are called "palæ,"³ and they need but little refining. They further say that when stones are split they find in them small nuggets resembling nipples, and when the gold is smelted and refined by means of a sort of styptic earth⁴ the residuum thereof is "electrum";⁵ and, again, that when this electrum, which contains a mixture of silver and gold, is smelted, the silver is burned away, while the gold remains. For the alloy-type is easily fused and stone-like.⁶ For this reason, too, the gold is preferably melted with chaff-fire, because the flame, on account of its softness, is suitable to a substance that yields and fuses easily; but the charcoal-fire consumes much of it because, owing to its intensity, it

¹ Containing alum and vitriol.
² Electrum is defined by Pliny (Nat. Hist. 33. 23) as consisting of one part of silver to four parts of gold.
³ In fact, the alloy is more easily fused, and harder, than either of the constituent metals.
εξαίροντο. εν δὲ τοὺς ἰδιοὺς ἱδροὺς σύρεται καὶ πλὴν
νεται πλείστον ἐν σκάφαις, ἣ ὄρυγκεται φρέαρ, ἢ
dὲ ἀνεφεβεῖσα γῆ πλυνεῖται. τὰς δὲ τοῦ ἄργυρου
καμίνους ποιοῦσιν ὑψηλὰς, ὡστε τὴν ἐκ τῶν
βόλων λυγών μετέωρον ἔξαρασθαί βαρεῖα γάρ
ἐστι καὶ ἐλέηρους. τῶν δὲ χαλκουργείων τινὰ
καλεῖται χρυσεία, ἐξ ὧν τεκμαίρονται χρυσὸν ἐξ
αὐτῶν ὄρυγκεται πρῶτερον.

9. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μετάλλων
C 147 ἐπαινῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς συμφή-
θους ῥητορείας, ἀλλὰ συνενθουσιά ταῖς ὑπερ-
βολαῖς. οὐ γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ μύθῳ φησίν, ὅτι τῶν
dρυμῶν ποτὲ ἐμπρησθέντων ἤ γῆς τακείσα, ἢτε
ἀργυρίτως καὶ χρυσίτως, εἰς τὴν ἑπιφάνειαν ἐξέβησε
διὰ τὸ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ πάντα βουνὸν ὡρὴν ἐστὶ
νομίσματος ὑπὸ τίνος ἄφθονον τύχης σεσωρευ-
μένην. καθόλου δὲ ἂν εἰπτε, φησίν, ἰδὼν τις τῶν
tόπων, θησαυροὺς εἶναι φύσεως ἀεινάους ἡ τα-
μείον ἡγεμονίας ἀνέκλειπτον, οὐ γὰρ πλοηγία
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπόπλουτος ἢν, φησίν, ἢ χώρα,
καὶ παρ’ ἑκείνους ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τότον
οὐχ ο’ Ἀδης, ἀλλ’ ὁ Πλούτων κατοικεῖ. τοιαῦτα
μὲν οὐχ ἐν ὠραίῳ σχῆματε εὗρικε περὶ τούτων,
ὡς ἄν ἐκ μετάλλου καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὸν χρόμενος
τῷ λόγῳ. τὴν δ’ ἐπιμέλειαν φράζων τὴν τῶν
μεταλλευόντων παρατίθησι τὸ τοῦ Φαληρέως,
ὅτι φησίν ἐκείνος ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀργυρεῖων

1 ἰδιοὺς, for ἰδιόθροις; a correction of Corais, from a
conjecture of Cusubon.
2 ὠραίῳ, for ὠραϊῷ (ABC), ὠραϊ (l); so the editors.

1 In the word-play here Pluto is identified (as often) with
Plutus, the god of riches.

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over-melts the gold and carries it off as vapour. The soil is carried along in the streams, and is washed near by in troughs; or else a pit is dug, and the soil that has been accumulated is there washed. They build their silver-smelting furnaces with high chimneys, so that the gas from the ore may be carried high into the air; for it is heavy and deadly. Some of the copper-mines are called gold-mines, and from this fact it is inferred that in former times gold was mined from them.

9. Poseidonius, in praising the quantity and the excellence of these ores, does not abstain from his usual rhetorical speech; indeed, he enthusiastically concurs with the extravagant stories told; for example, he does not disbelieve the story, he says, that, when on a time the forests had been burned, the soil, since it was composed of silver and gold ores, melted and boiled out over the surface, because, as he says, every mountain and every hill is bullion heaped up there by some prodigal fortune. And, in general, he says, anyone who had seen these regions would declare that they are everlasting storehouses of nature, or a never-failing treasury of an empire. For the country was, he adds, not only rich, but also rich down below; and with the Turdetanians it is verily Pluto,1 and not Hades, who inhabits the region down below. Such, then, are the flowery utterances of Poseidonius on this subject—himself drawing much of his language from a mine, as it were. Again, in speaking of the industry of the miners, he cites the statement of Demetrius of Phalerum. Demetrius, he says, states in reference to the Attic silver-mines,2

1 The silver-mines of Laurium.
στότω συντόνως δρόμοι τούς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἄν προσδοκῶντοι αὐτὸν ἀνάξειν τὸν Πλοῦτωνα· καὶ τούτων οὖν ἐμφανίζει παραπλησίαν τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν φιλεργίαν, σκολιάς τεμνόντων καὶ βαθείας τὰς σύριγγας, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῶι ἀπαντῶντος ποταμοὺς πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀὐγυπτίοις ἀναπλούτωνος κοχλίας. τὸν δ' ὄλον ὅποτε ταὐτὸν εἶναι τούτοις ποτὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν αὐτόγματε ἐσκεῖναι τὴν μεταλλείαν ὁσα μὲν γὰρ ἄνελαβον φησίν, οὐκ ἔλαβον, ὁσα δὲ εἶχον, ἀπέβαλον τούτοις δ' ὑπεράγαν λυσιτελή, τοῖς μὲν χαλκουργοῖς τέταρτον μέρος ἐξάγοσαν τῇ γῆς τὸν χαλκόν, τὸν δ' ἀργυρευνότων τισίν ἱδρυτῶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις Εὐβοϊκῶν τάλαντον ἐξαρόσαν. τὸν δὲ καττίτερον οὐκ ἐπιτυπωθής ἐφερεκέσθαι φησίν, ὡς τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θρύλειν, ἀλλ' ὀρύττεσθαι γευνάσθαι δ' ἐν τε τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἀὐστιανοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ ἐν ταῖς Καττερίσιν νήσοις, καὶ ἐκ τῶν Βρεττανικῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν Μασσαλίαν κομίζεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρτάβροις, οὶ τῆς Ἀὐστιανίας ὑστατοὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ δύσιν εἰσὶν, ἐξανθείν φησίν τὴν γῆν ἀργυρίῳ, καττιτέρῳ, κρυσίῳ λευκῷ (ἀργυρομοιχεῖ γὰρ ἐστὶ), τὴν δὲ γῆν

1 ἀναπλούτων, Corais, for ἀναπλύση: so the editors.
2 τὸν δ' ὄλον, conj. of Scaliger, for τὸν δόλον. But perhaps, τὸν δ' ὄλον (C. Müller), which is generally accepted, is right; or τὸν ὄλον. (Meineke's conj.).
3 Meineke and others emend ἄνελαβον to ξελλόν, the word of Athenaeus (6. 23).
4 τισίν, Corais, for τῶν; so the editors in general.

1 Archimedes' screw. Another method was that of diverting the water by subterranean trenches (Diod. Sic. 5. 37.)
that the people dig as strenuously as if they expected to bring up Pluto himself. So Poseidonius implies that the energy and industry of the Turdetanian miners is similar, since they cut their shafts aslant and deep, and, as regards the streams that meet them in the shafts, oftentimes draw them off with the Egyptian screw.\(^1\) However, the whole affair, he says, is never the same for these miners as for the Attic miners; indeed, for the latter, mining is like a riddle: "What they took up," he says, "they did not take, yet what they had, they lost";\(^2\) but, for the Turdetanians, mining is profitable beyond measure, since one-fourth of the ore brought out by their copper-workers is pure copper, while some of their private adventurers who search for silver pick up within three days a Euboean talent\(^3\) of silver. Tin, however, is not found there on the surface of the ground, he says, as the historians continually repeat, but is dug up; and it is produced both in the country of the barbarians who live beyond Lusitania, and in the Cassiterides Islands; and tin is brought to Massilia from the British Islands also. But among the Artabrians, who live farthest on the north-west of Lusitania, the soil "effloresces," he says, with silver, tin, and "white gold" (for it is mixed with silver). This soil, however, he adds, is

\(^1\) This riddle was said to have been propounded to Homer by some fishermen after they had had bad luck. They sat on the sand with their small catch, and became covered with vermin. The fish they abandoned, but the vermin they could neither abandon nor catch. Demetrius, Poseidonius, Diodorus Siculus (6. 37), Athenaeus (6. 23), and Strabo apply the riddle to Attica's loss of invested capital when the revenues from her mines failed.

\(^2\) About fifty-seven and one-half pounds avoirdupois.
ταύτην φέρειν τοὺς ποταμοῦς· τὴν δὲ σκαλίσα τὰς γυναίκας διαμόσας πλύνειν ἐν ἥθητηρίοις πλεκτοῖς εἰς κλύσην. ¹ οὗτος μὲν περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τοιαύτ᾽ εἴρηκε.

10. Πολύβιος δὲ, τῶν περὶ Καρχηδόνα Νέαν ἀργυρείων μνησθεῖσ, μέγιστα μὲν εἶναι φησι, διέχειν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους, περιεληφότα κύκλον τετρακοσίων σταδίων, ὅπου τέτταρας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων μένειν τῶν ἐργαζομένων, ἀναφέροντας τὸτε τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθ᾽ ἐκάστην ἠμέραν δισμυρίας καὶ πεντακισχίλιας δραχμάς, τὴν δὲ κατεργασίαν τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἐὼ (μακρὰ γάρ ἐστι), τὴν δὲ συρτῖν βῶλον τὴν ἀργυρίτιν φησι κόπτεσθαι καὶ κοσκίνους εἰς ὕδωρ διαρτᾶσθαι, ² κόπτεσθαι δὲ πάλιν τὰς ὑποστάσεις, καὶ πάλιν διηθουμένας ἀποχεομένων τῶν ὕδατων κόπτεσθαι· τὴν δὲ πέμπτην ὑπόστασιν χωνευθείσαν, ἀποχυθέντος τοῦ μολύβδου, καθαρὸν τὸν ἀργυρον ἔξαγειν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰ ἀργυρεία, οὐ μέντοι δημόσια, οὕτε ἐνταῦθα οὕτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις, ἄλλ᾽ εἰς ἱδιωτικὰς μετέστασαν κτήσεις· τὰ δὲ χρυσεῖα δημοσιεύεται τὰ πλείω. ἐν δὲ καὶ Κασταλῶνι καὶ ἄλλοις τόποις ἔδιον ἐστι μέταλλον ὅρυκτοι μολύβδου· παραμέληκται δὲ τι καὶ τούτῳ τοῦ ἀργύρου μικρῶν, οὐχ ὡστε λυσιτελεῖν ἀποκαθάρειν αὐτῶν.

¹ εἰς κλύσην, Kramer, for ἐπικισθήν (AC), ἐπὶ κλύσην (B) ; so the editors in general.
² Casaubon emends διαρτᾶσθαι to διαστᾶσθαι; all later editors following.

² This simple method (now called "jigging") of separating the mineral from the light refuse is still in use. The sieve is
brought by the streams; and the women scrape it up with shovels and wash it in sieves woven basket-like. Such, then, is what Poseidonius has said about the mines.

10. Polybius, in mentioning the silver-mines of New Carthage, says that they are very large; that they are distant from the city about twenty stadia and embrace an area four hundred stadia in circuit; and that forty thousand workmen stay there, who (in his time) bring into the Roman exchequer a daily revenue of twenty-five thousand drachmae. But as for the processes of the work, I omit all he says about it (for it is a long story) except what he says of the silver-bearing ore that is carried along in the streams, namely, that it is crushed and by means of sieves disengaged in water; \(^1\) then the sediment is again crushed, and again strained through (the waters meantime being poured off), and crushed; then the fifth sediment is smelted, and, after the lead has been poured off, yields the pure silver. The silver-mines are still being worked at the present time; they are not state-property, however, either at New Carthage or anywhere else, but have passed over to private ownership. But the majority of the gold-mines are state-property. Both in Castalo and elsewhere there is a special metal of mined lead; this, too, has a slight quantity of silver mixed with it, though not enough to make the refining of it profitable.

shaken up and down under water, and by gravity the heavier substance goes through the sieve to the bottom, the lighter forming a layer on top, which is scraped off. The Greek phrase (translated literally above) is syncopated, as is the further description of the process.
11. Οὐ πολὺ δ᾽ ἀπωθεν τοῦ Κασταλώνος ἐστι καὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐξ οὗ ρέει φασὶ τὸν Βαύτιν, ὁ καλούσαν 'Αργυροῦν διὰ τὰ ἄργυρεύα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ. Πολύβιος δὲ καὶ τὸν 'Αναβ καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ τῆς Κελτιβηρίας ρέει φησὶ, διέχοντας ἀλλήλων ὅσον εὐνακοσίους σταδίους· αὔξηθέντες γὰρ οἱ Κελτιβηρίες ἐποίησαν καὶ τὴν πλησίοχωρον πᾶσαν ὀμόνυμον εὐαυτοῖς. ἐσκασι δ᾽ οἱ παλαιοὶ καλεῖν τὸν Βαύτιν Ταρτησοῦν, τὰ δὲ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰς πρὸς αὐτὴν νῆσους 'Ερύδειαν διόπερ οὕτως εἰπεῖν ὑπολαμβάνουσι Στηθίχορον περὶ τοῦ Гηρυόνος βουκόλου, διότι γεννηθεὶς

σχεδὸν ἀντιπέρας κλεινᾶς 'Ερύδειας Ταρτησοῦ ποταμοῦ παρὰ παγάς ἀπείρωνας ἄργυροφιών, ἐν κευθμῶνι πέτραις.  

δυεῖν δὲ οὐσῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πόλιν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χώρῳ κατοικεῖσθαι πρότερόν φασιν, ἢν καλεῖσθαι Ταρτησοῦν, ὀμόνυμον τῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ τὴν χώραν 'Ερυδεία, ἂν νῦν Τουρδούλοι νέμονται. καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τὴν συνεχῇ τῇ Κάλπῃ Ταρτησοῦδα καλεῖσθαι φησί, καὶ Ἐρύδειν νῆσον εὐδαίμονα. πρὸς δὲν Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἀντιλέγου καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῶς λέγεσθαι φησί ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Γαδεύρον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν ἄκρωτριον διάστημα ἀπέχειν ἕμερῶν πέντε πλοίων, οὔ πλείονος ὄντων ἡ χιλίῳ καὶ ἐπτακοσίων σταδίων, καὶ τὰς ἀμφότερας μέχρι δευρο περατοῦσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ κύκλῳ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην συμβαίνειν, καὶ τὰ προσαρκτικά

1 See Bergk's re-arrangement of the words, Poet. Lyr. iii. 208.
11. Not very far from Castalo is also the mountain in which the Baeitis is said to rise; it is called "Silver Mountain" on account of the silver-mines that are in it. According to Polybius, however, both this river and the Anas, though distant from each other as much as nine hundred stadia, rise in Celtiberia; for, as a result of their growth in power, the Celtiberians caused the whole neighbouring country to have the same name as their own. The ancients seem to have called the Baeitis River "Tartessus"; and to have called Gades and the adjoining islands "Erytheia"; and this is supposed to be the reason why Stesichorus spoke as he did about the neat-herd \(^1\) of Geryon, namely, that he was born "about opposite famous Erytheia, beside the unlimited, silver-rooted springs of the river Tartessus, in a cavern of a cliff." Since the river had two mouths, a city was planted on the intervening territory in former times, it is said,—a city which was called "Tartessus," after the name of the river; and the country, which is now occupied by Turdulians, was called "Tartessis." Further, Eratosthenes says that the country adjoining Calpe is called "Tartessis," and that Erytheia is called "Blest Isle." Eratosthenes is contradicted by Artemidorus, who says that this is another false statement of Eratosthenes, like his statement that the distance from Gades to the Sacred Cape is a five days' sail (although it is not more than one thousand seven hundred stadia), and his statement that the tides come to an end at the Sacred Cape (although the tides take place round the whole circuit of the inhabited world), and his state-

\(^{1}\) Eurytion.
μέρη τῆς Ἱβηρίας εὐπαρακότερα εἶναι πρὸς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἢ κατὰ τὸν ὀκεανὸν πλέοντα, καὶ ὅσα δὴ ἄλλα εἰρήκει Πυθέα πιστεύσας, δὲ ἀλαζονείαν.

C 149 12. 'Ο δὲ ποιητὴς, πολύφωνος τις ὁν καὶ πολυβαρος, δίδωσιν ἀφορμὰς ὡς συνεδρίας καὶ τούτων ἀνήκοντο ἐστὶ τῶν τόπων, εἰ τις ἀρριδὴς συλλογισθῇ βουλείτο ἀπ' ἀμφὶ τῶν τῶν ἱερῶν λεγομένων περί αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀμείνων καὶ ἀληθεστῶν. ἥρων μὲν, ὅτι πρὸς δύσων ἐσχάτη ἡκοῦν αὕτη, ὅπου, καθάπερ αὐτὸς φησιν, εἰς τὸν ὀκεανὸν ἐμπίπτει

λαμπρὸν φάος ἡλίοιο,
ἐλκον νῦκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ξείδωρον ἀρουραν.

(Il. 8. 485)

ἡ δὲ νυξ ὅτι δύσφημον καὶ τῷ Ἀδη πλησιάζουν δήλου, ὁ δὲ Ἀδης τῷ Ταρτάρῳ. εἰκάζοι οὖν ἃν τις ἀκούοντα ἡκειδεῖ παρομοίας τούτων ἐσχάτων τῶν ὑποχθονίων τῶν, προσθείναι δὲ καὶ μύθου, τὸ ποιητικὸν σώζοντα. καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς Κιμμερίους εἰδὼς ἐν θορείοις καὶ ξοφεροῖς οἰκήσαντας τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Βόσπορον ἰδρυεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τῷ Ἀδη, τάχα καὶ κατὰ τὸ κοινὸ τῶν ἱλόνων ἐχθος πρὸς τὸ φύλον τούτω· καὶ γὰρ καθ' Ὡμηρον Ἡ μικρὸν πρὸς αὐτῶν λέγουσι τήν τῶν Κιμμερίων

1 οὖν, Groskurd inserts, after εἰκάζοι.
2 ἀκούοντα, Kramer, for ἀκούον τά; Müller-Dübner, and Meineke, following.
3 ξοφεροῖς, Corais, for ξεφόροις; so the editors.

1 Op. 1. 4. 3–5, 2. 4. 1 and 3. 4. 4.
ment that the northerly parts of Iberia afford an
easier passage to Celtica than if you sail thither by
the ocean; and, in fact, every other statement which
he has made in reliance upon Pytheas, on account
of the latter's false pretensions.

12. The poet, man of many voices, so to speak,
and of wide information, affords us grounds for the
argument that even these regions were not unheard
of by him, if one were only willing to argue scientifi-
cally from both statements that are made about these
regions, not only from the worse, but also from the
better and more truthful. Worse, namely, the state-
ment that Tartessus was known by hearsay as
"farthermost in the west," where, as the poet him-
self says, falls into Oceanus "the sun's bright light,
drawing black night over earth, the grain-giver."
Now, that night is a thing of evil omen and as-
associated with Hades, is obvious; also that Hades is
associated with Tartarus. Accordingly, one might
reasonably suppose that Homer, because he heard
about Tartessus, named the farthermost of the nether-
regions Tartarus after Tartessis, with a slight altera-
tion of letters; and that he also added a mythical
element, thus conserving the creative quality of
poetry. Just as the poet, because he knew that
the Cimmerians had taken their abode in northern
and gloomy regions about the Bosporus, settled them
in the neighbourhood of Hades, though perhaps he
did it also in accordance with a certain common
hatred of the Ionians for this tribe (indeed, it was in
the time of Homer, or shortly before his time, they
say, that that Cimmerian invasion which reached as far

2 Homer.
3 In Homer's time.
ἐφοδον γενέσθαι τὴν μέχρι τῆς Αἰελίδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας. ταῖς δὲ Κυνέας ἐποίησε παραπλησίως τὰς Πλαγκτὰς, ἀεὶ τοὺς μύθους ἀπὸ τινῶν ἱστο-
ρίων ἐνάγων. χαλεπὰς γάρ τινας μυθεύει πέτρας, καθάπερ τὰς Κυνέας φασίν, ἢς οὖ καὶ Συμπλη-
γάδες καλοῦνται: διόπερ καὶ τὸν Ἰάσονος παρέ-
θηκε δὲ αὐτῶν πλοῦν. καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὰς Στῆλας
dὲ πορθμὸς καὶ ὁ κατὰ Σικελίαν ὑπηγόρευον αὐτῷ
tὸν περὶ τῶν Πλαγκτῶν μύθον. πρὸς μὲν δὴ τὸ
χείρον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ταρτάρου μυθοποιίας αἰών-
τοτό τις ἃν τὴν τῶν τόπων μνήμην τῶν περὶ
Ταρταρίων.

13. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ βέλτιον ἐκ τούτων ἢ τε γὰρ Ὁρακλέους στρατεία μέχρι δεύρο προελθοῦσα καὶ
tῶν Φοινίκων ὑπέγραφεν αὐτῷ πλοῦτὸν τινα καὶ
ραθυμίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. οὕτως ἡ γὰρ Φοινίξιοι
οὕτως ἐγένοντο σφόδρα ὑποχέριοι, ὡστε τὰς
πλείους τῶν ἐν τῇ Τουρνιτανίᾳ πόλεως καὶ τῶν
πλησίον τόπων ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων νῦν ὲκείσθαι. καὶ ἡ
tοῦ Ὀδυσσεῶς δὲ στρατεία δοκεῖ μοι δεύρο γενη-
θείσα καὶ ἱστορήθείσα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παραδοὺναι
πρόφασιν ὡστε καὶ ὡς Ὁδυσσείαν, καθάπερ
καὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα, ἀπὸ τῶν συμβατῶν μεταγαγεῖν
eἰς ποίησιν καὶ τὴν συνήθη τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἑυθυ-
pοιίαν, οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ
Σικελίαν τόποι καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν τοιούτων
σημεία ὑπογράφουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ
Ὀδυσσεία πόλις δείκνυται καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν καὶ

1 Odyssey 12. 61 ; 23. 327.
as Aeolis and Ionia took place. Again, the poet modelled his "Planctae" 1 after the "Cyaneae," always bringing in his myths from some historical fact or other. For example, he tells a mythical story of certain rocks that are dangerous, just as they say the Cyaneae are (from which fact the Cyaneae are also called "Symplegades"), and this is the reason why he cited Jason's voyage through them. But both the strait at the Pillars and that at Sicily suggested to him the myth about the Planctae. As regards that worse statement, therefore, one might get a hint from the mythical invention of Tartarus that Homer had in mind the regions about Tartessus.

13. As regards the better, on the other hand, one might get hints from the following: In the first place, the expeditions of Heracles and of the Phoenicians, since they both reached as far as Iberia, suggested to Homer that the people of Iberia were in some way rich, and led a life of ease. Indeed, these people became so utterly subject to the Phoenicians that the greater number of the cities in Turdetania and of the neighbouring places are now inhabited by the Phoenicians. Secondly, the expedition of Odysseus, as it seems to me, since it actually had been made to Iberia, and since Homer had learned about it through inquiry, gave him an historical pretext; and so he also transferred the Odyssey, just as he had already transferred the Iliad, from the domain of historical fact to that of creative art, and to that of mythical invention so familiar to the poets. For not only do the regions about Italy and Sicily and certain other regions betray signs of such facts, but in Iberia also a city of Odysseia is to be seen, and a temple of
άλλα μυρία ἵνα τής τε ἐκείνου πλάνης, καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Τρώικοῦ πολέμου γενομένων καὶ ἐπὶ ἱσθις κακωσάντων τοὺς τε πολεμηθέντας καὶ τοὺς ἐλύντας τὴν Τροίαν (καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι Καδμείαν νίκην ἐσθεναχών ήρμένοι), τῶν τε οἰκών κατεφθαρμένων, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων ὄλγων εἰς ἐκαστὸν ἐληλυθότων, συνέβη τοῖς περιειφθείσιν ἀπελθοῦσιν ἕκ τῶν κινδύνων κατὰ ληστείας τρέπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς Ὁλλησι, τοῖς μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐκ-πεπορθήσθαι, τοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην, ἐκάστου προλαβόντος

ἀισχρὸν τοῦ δήρον τε μένειν ἀνευ τῶν οἰκείων,

κενεύν τε νέσσθαι

(Il. 2. 298)

παρ’ αὐτοὺς πάλιν. ἢ τε τοῦ Διονείου παραδε-δοται πλάνη καὶ Ἀντήνορος καὶ ἢ τῶν Ἐνετῶν-φαντατός καὶ ἢ Διομήδους τε καὶ Μενελάου καὶ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ ἄλλων πλείστων. ὁ τοῖς ποιήμας ταῖς τοσάπτας στρατείας ἐπὶ τὰ ἐσχατα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἰστορικώς, πυθανόμενον. δὲ καὶ πλούτου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετάς (οἱ γὰρ Ὁλυνικες ἐδηλοῦν τούτο), ἐνταῦθα τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἔπλασε χῶρον καὶ τὸ Ἡλύσιον πεδίον, οὐ φησιν ὁ Πρωτεύς ἀποικίσειν τὸν Μενελαύν

ἀλλὰ σ’ ἐσ Ἡλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαῖης ἄθανατος πέμψωσιν, οὗτος Ἐαρνόθος Ῥαδάμανθυ οὐ περ ῥηστῆ βιοτῆ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν οὗ νιφετός οὐτ’ ἀρ χειμών πολὺς οὐδέ ποτ’ ὄμβρος,
Athene, and countless other traces, not only of the wanderings of Odysseus, but also of other wanderings which took place thither after the Trojan War and afflicted the capturers of Troy quite as much as it did the vanquished \(^1\) (for the capturers, as it happened, carried off only a Cadmean victory \(^2\)). And since the Trojan homes were in ruins, and the booty that came to each Greek was but small, the result was that the surviving Trojans, after having escaped from the perils of the war, turned to acts of piracy, as did also the Greeks; the Trojans, because their city was now in utter ruins; the Greeks, for shame, since every Greek took it for granted that it was "verily shameful to wait long" far from his kindred "and then" back to them "empty-handed go." Thirdly, the wanderings of Aeneas are a traditional fact, as also those of Antenor, and those of the Henetians; \(^3\) similarly, also, those of Diomedes, Menelaus, Odysseus, and several others. So then, the poet, informed through his inquiries of so many expeditions to the outermost parts of Iberia, and learning by hearsay about the wealth and the other good attributes of the country (for the Phoenicians were making these facts known), in fancy placed the abode of the blest there, and also the Elysian Plain, where Proteus says Menelaus will go and make his home: "But the deathless gods will escort thee to the Elysian Plain and the ends of the earth, where is Rhadamanthus of the fair hair, where life is easiest. No snow is there, nor yet great storm, nor ever any

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\(^2\) Alluding to the myth of Cadmus and the dragon's teeth.
\(^3\) \textit{Iliad} 2. 352.

\(^1\) \textit{ἀπειθοῦσιν}, Kramer, for \textit{ἀπειθοῦσιν} (A Cl), \textit{ἀπιθοῦσι} (B); so the editors.
τό τε γὰρ εὐάρεστον καὶ τὸ εὐπνοῦν τοῦ Ζεφύρου ταῦτης ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας οἰκείων, ἐσπερίδου τε καὶ ἀλεείνης οὕτης, τό τε ἐπὶ τοῖς πέρασι τῆς γῆς, ἐφ’ οἷς καὶ τὸν "Ἄθινα μεμυθεύσαθαί φαμέν. ὅ τε Ἄρδαμανθὺς παρατεθεὶς ὑπογράφει τὸν πλησίον τῷ Μίνω τόπον, περὶ οὗ φησιν.

ἔνθε ἦτοι Μίνωα ἵδον Δίδω ἀγλαδὸν νῦν,
χρύσου σκηντρόν ἐχοῦτα, θεμιστεύοντα νέ-
κυσση.

καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ποιηταὶ παραπλήσια θρυ-
λοῦσι, τήν τε ἐπὶ τάς Υρυνόνοι βόας στρατείαν καὶ τήν ἐπὶ τὰ μέλα τῶν Ἐσπερίδων τὰ χρύσαν ὀφαντώς στρατείαν, καὶ Μακάρων τών νήσους κατονομαζόντες, ἂς καὶ νῦν δεικνυμένας ἵσμεν οὐ πολὺ ἀπωθεῖ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Μαυρουσίας τῶν ἀντικειμένων τοῖς Γαδείροις.

14. Τοὺς δὲ Φοίνικας λέγω μηνυτάς· καὶ τῆς Ἤβηρίας καὶ τῆς Διβύης τῆς ἄριστην οὕτοι κατ-
έχον πρὸ τῆς ἢλικίας τῆς Ὀμήρου καὶ διετέλεσαν κύριοι τῶν τόπων ὄντες, μέχρις οὐ Ῥωμαίοι κατ-
έλυσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἠγεμονίαν. τοῦ δ’ Ἡβηρικοῦ πλούτου καὶ ταῦτα μαρτύρια· Καρχηδόνοι μετὰ τοῦ Βάρκα στρατεύσαντες κατέλαβον, ὡς φασίν οἱ συγγραφεῖς, φάτναις ἄργυραις καὶ πίθους χρω-
μένους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τουρκητανίᾳ. ὑπολάβοι δ’ ἂν τις ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ Μακραίωνας

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rain; but always Oceanus sendeth forth the breezes of clear-blowing Zephyrus.” For both the pure air and the gentle breezes of Zephyrus properly belong to this country, since the country is not only in the west but also warm; and the phrase “at the ends of the earth” properly belongs to it, where Hades has been “mythically placed,” as we say. And Homer’s citing of Rhadamanthys suggests the region that is near Minos, concerning whom he says: “There it was I saw Minos, glorious son of Zeus, holding a golden sceptre, rendering decisions to the dead.” Furthermore, the poets who came after Homer keep dinning into our ears similar stories: the expedition of Heracles in quest of the kine of Geryon and likewise the expedition which he made in quest of the golden apples of the Hesperides—even calling by name certain Isles of the Blest, which, as we know, are still now pointed out, not very far from the headlands of Maurusia that lie opposite to Gades.

14. The Phoenicians, I say, were the informants of Homer; and these people occupied the best of Iberia and Libya before the age of Homer, and continued to be masters of those regions until the Romans broke up their empire. The wealth of Iberia is further evidenced by the following facts: the Carthaginians who, along with Barcas, made a campaign against Iberia found the people in Turdetania, as the historians tell us, using silver feeding-troughs and wine-jars. And one might assume that it was from their great prosperity that the people there got the additional name of “Macraeones,”

1 “Long-livers.”
STRABO

ονομασθήναι τούς ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώπους, καὶ μάλιστα τούς ἴγαμονας, καὶ διὰ τούτο Ἀνακρέοντα μὲν οὕτως εἰπεῖν.

"Ἐγω', οὖτ' διώ Ἀμαλθής
βουλοίμην κέρας οὖτ' ἔτεα
πεντήκοντα τε καὶ ἐκατόν
Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλεύσαν:

(Frag. 8, Bergk)

'Ηρόδοτον δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως κατα-
γράψαι, καλέσαντα 'Ἀργανθώνιου' ἢ γὰρ οὕτω
δέξαστ' ἢ τίς ἢ ἴς τούτῳ τὸ 1 Ἀνακρέοντος, ἢ
κοινότερον οὖτε Ταρτησσοῦ πολὺν χρόνον βασι-
λεύσαν. ἦνοι δὲ Ταρτησσόν τὴν ἑυν Καρτηλίαν
προσαγορεύουσιν. 2

15. Τῇ δὲ τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ τὸ ἰμερον
καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν συνηκολούθησε τοῖς Τουρδη-
τανοῖς καὶ τοῖς Κέλτικοις δὲ διὰ τὴν γενειασίαν,
ός εἰρήκε Πολύβιος, ἢ 3 διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν ἦττον τὰ πολλὰ γὰρ κομμῆδων ἐξώσιν.
οὶ μέντοι Τουρδητανῖ, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ περὶ τὸν
Βαίτην, τελεῶς εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαιῶν μεταβέβληται
τρόπον, οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς σφέτερας ἕτε με-
μυμένοι. Δαίτινοι τε οἱ πλεῖστοι γεγονασί, καὶ
ἔποικους εἰπήφασι Ῥωμαίους, ὡστε μικρὸν ἀπέ-

1 τό, Siebenkees and Corais insert, from the conj. of
Tyrwhitt.
2 Meineke (followed by Forbiger and Tardieu) regards
ἡ γὰρ . . . προσαγορεύουσι as a marginal gloss and unwar-
ranteedly omits it from the text.
3 ἢ, Jones inserts.

1 The sacred she-goat which suckled Zeus in his infancy.
For gratitude Zeus placed her among the constellations.
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and particularly the chieftains; and that this is why Anacreon said as follows: "I, for my part, should neither wish the horn of Amaltheia,¹ nor to be king of Tartessus for one hundred and fifty years"; and why Herodotus recorded even the name of the king, whom he called Arganthonius.² For one might either take the phrase of Anacreon literally or as meaning "a time equal to the king's," or else in a more general way, "nor to be king of Tartessus for a long time." Some, however, call Tartessus the Carteia of to-day.³

15. Along with the happy lot of their country, the qualities of both gentleness and civility have come to the Turditanians; and to the Celtic peoples, too, on account of their being neighbours to the Turditanians, as Polybius has said, or else on account of their kinship; but less so the Celtic peoples, because for the most part they live in mere villages. The Turditanians, however, and particularly those that live about the Bactis, have completely changed over to the Roman mode of life, not even remembering their own language any more. And most of them have become Latins,⁴ and they have received Romans

Her horns gushed, one with nectar and the other with ambrosia. The "horn of Amaltheia" became proverbial for the cornucopia inexhaustible.

² "Silver Locks" is a fair equivalent of the Greek word. Herodotus says he reigned eighty years and lived one hundred and twenty (1. 163).
³ Strabo's thought reverts to § 11 above. Cp. Pliny (Nat. Hist. 3. 3), who speaks of "Carteia, called by the Greeks Tartessus."
⁴ That is, they acquired the so-called "Latin rights of citizenship," which comprehended more than "foreign rights" but less than "Roman rights." Cp. 4. 1. 12.
χονσι τοῦ πάντες εἶναι 'Ρωμαίοι. αἰ τε νῦν συνοικισμέναι πόλεις, ἢ τε ἐν τοῖς Κελτικοῖς Παξανγούστα καὶ ἢ ἐν τοῖς Τουροδούλοις Αὐγούστα Ἦμερίτα καὶ ἡ περὶ τοὺς Κελτιβήρας Καίσαρανγούστα καὶ ἄλλαι ἔναι κατοικίαι τὴν μεταβολὴν τῶν λεχθείσων πολιτείων ἐμφανίζουσι. καὶ δὴ τῶν Ἰβηρίων δοσὶ ταύτης εἰσὶ τῆς ἱδέας τογάτω ¹ λέγονταν ἐν δὲ τούτως εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Κελτιβήρες οἱ πάντων νομισθέντες ποτὲ θηριωδέστατοι. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων.

III

1. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ πάλιν ἀκρωτηρίῳ τὴν ἄρχήν λαμβάνονσιν ἐπὶ θάτερον μέρος τῆς παραλίας, τὸ πρὸς τὸν Τάγον, κόλπος ἐστὶν ἐπειτὰ ἀκρα τὸ Βαρβάριον καὶ αἱ τοῦ Τάγου ἐκβολαὶ πλησίον, ἐφ’ ὅς εὐθυπλοία ² στάδιοι εἰσὶ δέκα. ³ ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἀναχύσεις, ὡν μία ἐπὶ πλείους ἢ τετρακοσίους

¹ τογάτω, Kramer, for στολάτω; Müller-Dübner, Forbiger, Tardieu, and Meineke, following (the accent being Meineke’s); nysou read στολάται ἢ τογάτωι. Cp. 3. 4. 20; and Dio Cassius, 46. 55, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐκεῖνη (i.e. Gallia Narbonensis) μὲν τογάτα, ὥστε τε ἐθνικοτέρα παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἐσόκει εἶναι καὶ δὴν καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ τῇ ἀστικῇ ἐχρώντο ἤτη.
² εὐθυπλοία, Corais, for εὐθύπλοια; editors following.
³ For δέκα Corais (followed by Groskurth, and Forbiger) writes δικάσιοι (δέκα) or δικάσιοι δέκα (δέκα), omitting the 5° (MSS.) before εἰσὶ. C. Müller (followed by Tardieu), conjectures α (χλιόν) for δέκα and writes as follows: στάδιοι χλιόν· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα κ.τ.λ. But the problem is further complicated by Strabo’s later reference to a “tower,” which indicates that several words have fallen out of the text—probably after εὐθυπλοία.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 2. 15–3. 1

as colonists, so that they are not far from being all Romans. And the present jointly-settled cities, Pax Augusta in the Celtic country, Augusta Emerita in the country of the Turdulians, Caesar-Augusta near Celtiberia, and some other settlements, manifest the change to the aforesaid civil modes of life. Moreover, all those Iberians who belong to this class are called "Togati." And among these are the Celtiberians, who were once regarded the most brutish of all. So much for the Turditanians.

III

1. Now if we again begin at the Sacred Cape, following the coast in the other direction, namely, towards the Tagus River, there is first a gulf, then a promontory, Barbarium, and near it the mouths of the Tagus; and the distance to these mouths in a direct voyage is ten stadia. Here, too, there are estuaries; one of them extends inland from the

1 The MSS. are nearly unanimous in support of "Stolati," "wearers of the stola," but this was a matrons' garment at Rome. Op. 3. 4. 20. Again, Dio Cassius (see note on opposite page), in speaking of Gallia Narbonensis, says that it was called "Gallia Togata," both because it was reputed to be more peaceable than the others and because the people there were already (43 B.C.) wearing the Roman garb.

2 As the MSS. stand, "ten" cannot be right. Strabo probably wrote "two hundred" (or "two hundred and ten"), if he meant from Barbarium; or "one thousand," if from the Sacred Cape. The latter seems more likely, for it is inconceivable that Strabo would leave out the distance from the Sacred Cape to Barbarium and thus break his otherwise continuous circuit of distances extending all the way from the Trophies of Pompey (3. 4. 1.) to Cape Nerium. See critical note on opposite page.
σταδίους ἀπὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος πῦργου, καθ’ ἦν ὑδρεύονται ἐπὶ Σαλάκειαν. 1 ὁ δὲ Γάγος καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἔχει τοῦ στόματος εἰκοσὶ ποιον σταδίων καὶ τὸ βάθος μέγα, ὡστε μυριαγωγοῖς ἀναπλησθαι. δύο δ’ ἀναχύσεις ἐν τοῖς ὑπερκειμένοις ποιεῖται πεδίους, ὡταν αἱ πλῆμα γίνονται, ὡστε πελαγίζειν μὲν ἐπὶ ἑκατόν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους καὶ ποιεῖν πλωτὸν τὸ πεδίον, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑπάνῳ ἀναχύσει καὶ νῆσον ἀπολαμβάνειν ὡσον τριάκοντα σταδίων τὸ μύκος, πλάτος δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολείπον τοῦ μύκους, εὐπλεξῖς 2 καὶ εὐάμπελον. κεῖται δ’ ἡ νῆσος κατὰ Μόρωνα πόλιν εὕ 3 κειμένην ἐν ὅρει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλησίον, ἀφεστῶσαν τῆς θαλάσσης ὡσον πεντακοσίους σταδίους, ἔχουσαν δὲ καὶ χώραν ἄγαθήν τὴν πέριξ καὶ τοὺς ἀνάπλους εὔπετείς μέχρι μὲν πολλὸν καὶ μεγάλους σκάφεις, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοὺς ποταμίων. καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μόρωνα δ’ ἐτι μακρότερος ἀνάπλους ἐστὶ· ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ πόλις Βροῦτος ὁ Καλλαίκος προσαγορευθεὶς ὀρμητήριῳ χρῶμαν ἔπολεμησε πρὸς τοὺς Λυστανούς καὶ κατέστρεψε τούτοις. τοὺς δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κλείδροι 4 ἐπετείχησε 5 τὴν Ὀλυσσοπώνα,
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 3. 1

afore-mentioned tower\(^1\) for more than four hundred stadia, and along this estuary the country is watered as far as Salacia.\(^2\) Now the Tagus not only has a width of about twenty stadia at its mouth, but its depth is so great that very large merchant-ships can ascend it. And when the flood-tides come on, it forms two estuaries in the plains that lie above it, so that it forms a sea for a distance of one hundred and fifty stadia, and renders the plain navigable, and also, in the upper estuary, encloses an island about thirty stadia in length, and in breadth a trifle short of the length—an island with fine groves and vines. The island is situated opposite Moron,\(^3\) a city happily situated on a mountain near the river, at a distance of about five hundred stadia from the sea. And further, not only is the country round about the city rich, but the voyages thither are easy—even for large ships a considerable part of the way, though only for the river-boats the rest of the way. And beyond Moron, also, the river is navigable for a still greater distance. This city Brutus, surnamed Callaicus,\(^4\) used as a base of operations when he warred against the Lusitanians and brought these people under subjection. And, to command the bar\(^5\) of the river, he fortified Olysiopoe, in order that the

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\(^1\) Strabo seems previously to have referred to a tower (on Barbarum?); but if so, the words have fallen out of the manuscripts.

\(^2\) The Greek text is corrupt, but it seems certain that Strabo wrote “Salacia” here. It is about 400 stadia from Barbarium. Cp. Ptolemaeus 2. 5.

\(^3\) Now Al-Merim.

\(^4\) D. Junius Brutus was thus surnamed from his subjection of the Callaicans, 136 B.C.

\(^5\) The narrows at Lisbon.
ἐν ἕξιν τοὺς ἀνάπλους ἔλευθέρους καὶ τὰς ἀνακομιδὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡστε καὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν Τάγων πόλεων αὐταὶ κρατίσταται. πολύχυθεσι δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ ὀστρέων πλήρης. ἔχουν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκ Κελτιβήρου διὰ Οὐεστώνων καὶ Καρπη- τανῶν καὶ Λυσιτανῶν ἐπὶ δύσιν ἰσημερινὴν, μέχρι ποσοῦ παράλληλος ὁμ τῷ τῇ Ἀνα καὶ τῷ Βαύτῳ, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἀφιστάμενος ἐκεῖνων, ἀποκλινόντων πρὸς τὴν νότιον παραλίαν.

2. Οἱ δὲ ὑπερκείμενοι τῶν λεχθέντων ὅρων Ὑμη- τανῶν μὲν εἰσὶν νοτιώτατοι καὶ μέχρι τῆς παραλίας διήκοντες ἐκ μέρους τῆς ἑντὸς Στηλών. Καρπη- τανῶν δὲ μετὰ τούτους πρὸς ἀρκτοὺς, έπετα Οὐεστώνων καὶ Οὐακκαϊών, δι᾽ ὅν ὁ Δοῦριος ἔρει, κατ' Ἀκούτειαν ἐν τοῖς Οὐακκαϊῶν ἔχων διάβασιν. Καλλαϊκὸν δὲ υστατοί, τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐπέχοντες πολλῆς διὸ καὶ δυσμαχώτατοι ὄντες τῷ τῇ κατα- πολεμήσαι τοῖς Λυσιτανῶν αὐτοῖ παρέσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, καὶ νῦν ἱδί τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Λυσι- τανῶν Καλλαϊκῶν καλεῖσθαι παρεσκεύασαν. τῆς μὲν ὅν Ὑμητανίας κρατιστεύοντα ἐστὶ πόλις Κασταλῶν, καὶ Ἡμία.

3. Τού δὲ Τάγου τὰ πρὸς ἀρκτοῦ ἡ Λυσιτανία ἐστὶ μέγιστον τῶν Ἡβηρικῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πλείστους χρόνους ὑπὸ Ἀρμαῖων πολεμηθέν. περιέχει δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ μὲν νότιον πλευρὸν ὁ Τάγος,

1 Ὑμητανία, Kramer, for Ἑλισίων, retaining the ἐς ἐν (after Ἑλισίων in the MSS.); but Meineke reads as above.
2 Ἀκούτεια, conj. of Kramer, for Ἀκούτεια; so Meineke, and Tardieu.

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voyages inland and the importation of provisions might be unimpeded; so that among the cities about the Tagus these are strongest. The Tagus abounds in fish, and is full of oysters. It rises in Celtiberia, and flows through Vettonia, Carpetania, and Lusitania, towards the equinoctial west,¹ up to a certain point being parallel to both the Anas and the Baetis, but after that diverging from those rivers, since they bend off towards the southern seaboard.

2. Now of the peoples situated beyond the mountains mentioned above,² the Oretanians are most southerly, and their territory reaches as far as the seacoast in part of the country this side of the Pillars; the Carpetanians are next after these on the north; then the Vettonians and the Vaccæaeans, through whose territory the Durius River flows, which affords a crossing at Acutia, a city of the Vaccæaeans; and last, the Callaicans, who occupy a very considerable part of the mountainous country. For this reason, since they were very hard to fight with, the Callaicans themselves have not only furnished the surname for the man who defeated the Lusitanians but they have also brought it about that now, already, the most of the Lusitanians are called Callaicans. Now as for Oretania, its city of Castalo is very powerful, and so is Oria.³

3. And yet the country north of the Tagus, Lusitania, is the greatest of the Iberian nations, and is the nation against which the Romans waged war for the longest times. The boundaries of this country are: on the southern side, the Tagus; on the

¹ Literally, the sunset at the equinox.
² 3. 2. 3.
³ Identical, apparently, with Nuestra Señora de Oreto, near Granatula.
τὸ δὲ ἑσπέριον καὶ τὸ ἀρκτικὸν ο ὦκεανὸς, τὸ δὲ ἐωθινὸν ή τε Καρπηταιοὶ καὶ οἱ Οὐδέττωνες καὶ Οὐακκαῖοι καὶ Καλλαίκοι, τὰ γνώριμα ἔθνη τάλαλλα δὲ οὐκ ἄξιον ὄνομαξεν διὰ τὴν μικρότητα καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν ὑπεραντίως δὲ τοὺς νῦν ἐννοι καὶ τούτους Δυσιτανοὺς ὄνομαξουσιν. ὃμοροι δὲ εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἐω μέρους οἱ μὲν Καλλαίκοι τῷ τῶν Ἀστούρων ἔθνει καὶ τοῖς Κελτίβηρσιν, ὃι δὲ ἄλλοι τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι. τὸ μὲν οὖν μῆκος μέχρι Νερίου τρισχιλίων σταδίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος πολὺ ἔλαττον, ὃ ποιεῖ τὸ ἐωθινὸν πλευρὸν εἰς τὴν ἀντικειμένην παραλίαν. ὑψηλὸν δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐωθινὸν καὶ τραχύ, ἢ δὲ ὑποκειμένη χώρα πεδιᾶς πᾶσα καὶ μέχρι θαλάττης πλῆθος ὄλγων ὃ ὁμολογοῦν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος οὐκ ὄρθως αἰτιάσθαι τὴν παραλίαν καὶ τὴν Μαυρουσίαν τῶν πλημμυρίδων καὶ τῶν ἀμπώτεων παλιρροεῖν γὰρ φάναι τὴν θαλάτταν διὰ τὸ τὰς ἀκρὰς ὑψηλὰς τε καὶ τραχείας εἶναι, δεχομένας τε τὸ κῦμα σκληρῶς καὶ ἀνταποδιδούσας τῇ ἱση βίᾳ τὰν αὐτὰ γὰρ θινῶδεις εἶναι καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰς πλεῖστας ὀρθῶς λέγων.

4. Ἡ δὲ οὖν χώρα, περὶ ἦς λέγομεν, εὐδαίμων τῇ ἐστι καὶ διαρρέεται ποταμοῖς μεγάλοις τε καὶ μικροῖς, ἀπασίν ἐκ τῶν ἐωθινῶν μερῶν, παραλήπτου τῷ Θάγῳ ἐχουσί δὲ καὶ ἀνάπλους οἱ πλεῖως καὶ ψήμα τοῦ χρυσοῦ πλείστον. γνωριμώτατοι δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐφεξῆς τῷ Θάγῳ Μοῦνδας, ἀνάπλους

1 Κελτίβηρσιν, Groskurd, for Ἰβηρσιν; so the other editors.
2 μέχρι Νερίου, C. Müller, for μυρίων καὶ; so Tardieu.
3 τῇ ἱσῃ βίᾳ, T. G. Tucker, for τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ.
western and northern, the ocean; and on the eastern, the countries of the Carpetanians, Vettonians, Vaccaeans, and Calaicus, the well-known tribes; it is not worth while to name the rest, because of their smallness and lack of repute. Contrary to the men of to-day, however, some call also these peoples Lusitanians. These four peoples, in the eastern part of their countries, have common boundaries, thus: the Calaicus, with the tribe of the Asturians and with the Celtiberians, but the others with only the Celtiberians. Now the length of Lusitania to Cape Neria is three thousand stadia, but its breadth, which is formed between its eastern side and the coast-line that lies opposite thereto, is much less. The eastern side is high and rough, but the country that lies below is all plain even to the sea, except a few mountains of no great magnitude. And this, of course, is why Poseidonius says that Aristotle is incorrect in making the coast-line and Maurusia the cause of the flood-tides and the ebb-tides; whom he quotes as saying that the sea ebbs and flows on account of the fact that the coast-lands are both high and rugged, which not only receive the waves roughly but give them back with equal violence. For on the contrary, Poseidonius correctly says, the coast-lands are for the most part sandy and low.

4. At all events, the country of which I am speaking is fertile, and it is also traversed by rivers both large and small, all of them flowing from the eastern parts and parallel to the Tagus; most of them offer voyages inland and contain very great quantities of gold-dust as well. Best known of the rivers immediately after the Tagus are the Mundas, which

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1 Of Iberia.
έχων μικρούς, καὶ Οὐακοῦα ὁσαύτως· μετὰ δὲ τούτους Δούριος μακρόθεν τε ῥέων παρὰ Νομαντίαν καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας τῶν Κελτιβήρων καὶ Οὐακκαίων κατοικίας, μεγάλοις τ᾽ ἀναπλέομενοι σκάφεσιν ἐπὶ ὅκτακοσίων σχεδόν τι στάδινος. εἰτ᾽ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ μετὰ τούτους ὁ τῆς Δήθης, ὃν τινες Λιμαῖαν, οἱ δὲ Βελιώνα καλοῦσι καὶ οὗτος δ᾽ έκ Κελτιβήρων καὶ Οὐακκαίων ἤμεθα, καὶ δ᾽ αὐτῶν Βαινις (οἱ δὲ Μινιῶν φασί) πολὺ μέγιστος τῶν ἐν Λυσιτανία ποταμῶν, ἐπὶ ὅκτακοσίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναπλέομενος σταδίους. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ έκ Καντάβρων καὶ αὐτῶν ἤμεθα φησιν: πρόκειται δὲ τῆς ἐκβολῆς αὐτοῦ νῆσος καὶ χηλαὶ δύο ὄρμως ἔχουσι. ἐπαινεῖν δ᾽ ἄξιον τὴν φύσιν, ὅτι τὰς ὀχθάς ὑφηλίας ἔχουσιν οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ικανὰς δέχεσθαι τοῖς ρείσσοις τὴν θάλατταν πλημμυροῦσαν, ὡστε μὴ ὑπερχεῖσθαι, μηδὲ ἐπιπολάξειν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις. τῆς μὲν οὖν Βρούτου στρατευόμενος ἔρος αὐτός, περαιτέρω δ᾽ εἰσὶν ἄλλοι πλείονες ποταμοὶ παράλληλοι τοῖς λεγέσθαιν.

5. Τοσοῦτοι δὲ οἰκοῦσιν Ἀρταβροὶ περὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἢ καλεῖται Νέριον, ἢ καὶ τῆς ἐσπερίου πλευρᾶς καὶ τῆς βορείου πέρασέστι. περιοικοῦσι δ᾽ αὐτὴν Κελτικοὺς, συγγενεῖς τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀνω καὶ γὰρ τούτους καὶ Τουρδούλους στρατεύσαντας ἐκεῖσε στασιάσαι φασί μετὰ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Λιμαία ποταμοῦ· πρὸς δὲ τῇ στάσει καὶ ἀποβολῆς τοῦ ἡμεμόνος γενομένης, καταμεῖναι σκεδασθέντας

1 “Forgetfulness.”
2 “Belion” is probably an Iberian corruption, or cognate, of the Latin “Oblivio.”
offers short voyages inland, and likewise the Vacua. After these two is the Durius, which, coming from afar, flows by Numantia and many other settlements of the Celtiberians and Vaccaeans, and is navigable for large boats for a distance of about eight hundred stadia inland. Then come other rivers. And after these the River of Lethe,¹ which by some persons is called Limacas, but by others Belion; ² and this river, too, rises in the country of the Celtiberians and the Vaccaeans, as also does the river that comes after it, namely the Baenis (others say “Minius”), which is by far the greatest of the rivers in Lusitania—itself, also, being navigable inland for eight hundred stadia. Poseidonius, however, says that the Baenis rises in Cantabria. Off its mouth lies an island, and two breakwaters which afford anchorage for vessels. The nature of these rivers deserves praise, because the banks which they have are high, and adequate to receive within their channels the sea at high tide without overflowing or spreading over the plains. Now this river was the limit of Brutus’ campaign, though farther on there are several other rivers, parallel to those mentioned.

5. Last of all come the Artabrians, who live in the neighbourhood of the cape called Nerium, which is the end of both the western and the northern side of Iberia. But the country round about the cape itself is inhabited by Celtic people, kinsmen of those on the Anas; for these people and the Turdulians made an expedition thither and then had a quarrel, it is said, after they had crossed the Limaeas River; and when, in addition to the quarrel, the Celtic peoples also suffered the loss of their chieftain, they scattered and stayed there; and it was from this
αὐτὸθι· ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Λήβης ἀγορευθῆναι. ἔχουσι δὲ οἱ Ἀρτάβροι πόλεις 
υπαρχόντες ἐν κόλπῳ συνοικομένας, διὸ οἱ πλέοντες 
καὶ χρόμενοι τοῖς τόποις Ἀρτάβρων λαμένα προσ-
ἀγορεύουσιν· οἱ δὲ νῦν τοὺς Ἀρτάβρος Ἀρο-
τρέβας καλοῦσιν. ἔθνη μὲν οὖν περὶ τριάκοντα 
τὴν χώραν νέμεται τὴν μεταξὺ Τάγου καὶ τῶν 
Ἀρτάβρων, ευδαίμονος δὲ τῆς χώρας ὑπαρχόντης 
κατὰ τε κάρπους καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρυ-
σοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων πλῆθος, 
όμως οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀφέντες 
βίον, ἐν λῃστηρίως διετέλον καὶ συνεχεῖ πολέμῳ 
πρὸς τε ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς ὄμορους αὐτῶς δια-
βαίνοντες τὸν Τάγον, ἔως ἐπανασει νὰ ἄραις Ῥωμαῖοι, 
tαπευνώσαντες καὶ κόμας ποιῆσαντες τὰς πόλεις 
αὐτῶν τὰς πλείστας, ἐνας δὲ καὶ συνοικιζόντες 
βέλτιος. ἦρχον δὲ τῆς ἀνομίας ταύτης οἱ ὅρεινηι, 
καθάπερ εἰκός· λυπρὰν γὰρ νεμόμενοι καὶ μικρὰ 
κεκτημένοι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεθύμουν. οἱ δὲ 
ἀμυνόμενοι τούτοις ἀκροὶ τῶν ἴδιων ἔργων κα-
θίσαντο ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὡστε ἄντι τοῦ γεωργεῖν 
ἐπολέμουν καὶ σύνεβαινε τὴν χώραν ἀμελουμένην στείραν οὐσαν τῶν ἐμφύτων ἄγαθῶν 
οἰκεῖσθαι ὑπὸ ληστῶν.

6. Τοὺς δ’ οὖν Λυσιτανοὺς φασιν ἑνδρευτικοὺς, 
ἐξερευνητικοὺς, ὅξεις, κούφους, ἐκεξελίκτους· ἀσπί-
διον δ’ αὐτοὺς δίπουν έχειν τὴν διάμετρον, κοῖλον

1 C2, and B (after a correction), read περίκοντα; Groskurd following.

1 Some of the MSS. read "fifty." Pliny (4. 35) says there are "forty-six peoples" in Lusitania, but his Lusitania
circumstance that the Limaeas was also called the River of Lethe. The Artabrians have many thickly-peopled cities on that gulf which the sailors who frequent those parts call the Harbour of the Artabrians. The men of to-day, however, call the Artabrians Arotrebians. Now about thirty different tribes occupy the country between the Tagus and the Artabrians, and although the country was blest in fruits, in cattle, and in the abundance of its gold and silver and similar metals, still, most of the people had ceased to gain their livelihood from the earth, and were spending their time in brigandage and in continuous warfare both with each other and with their neighbours across the Tagus, until they were stopped by the Romans, who humbled them and reduced most of their cities to mere villages, though they improved some of their cities by adding colonies thereto. It was the mountaineers who began this lawlessness, as was likely to be the case; for, since they occupied sorry land and possessed but little property, they coveted what belonged to the others. And the latter, in defending themselves against the mountaineers, were necessarily rendered powerless over their private estates, so that they, too, began to engage in war instead of farming; and the result was that the country, neglected because it was barren of planted products, became the home only of brigands.

6. At any rate, the Lusitanians, it is said, are given to laying ambush, given to spying out, are quick, nimble, and good at deploying troops. They have a small shield two feet in diameter, concave comprehends more territory than that of Strabo. Ptolemaeus (2. 5) gives a list of fifty-seven cities as belonging to Lusitania.
εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, τελαμώσειν ἐξηρτημένον (οὔτε γὰρ πόρπακας οὔτ' ἀντιλάβας ἔχει). παραξιφίς πρὸς τούτοις ἦ κοπίς λινοθώρακες οἱ πλείους· σπάνιοι δὲ ἀλυσιδωτοῖς χρῶνται καὶ τριλοφίαις, οἱ δὲ ἄλοι νευρίνους κράνεσιν· οἱ πεζοὶ δὲ καὶ κνημίδας ἔχουσιν, ἀκόντια δὲ ἐκαστὸς πλείως τινές δὲ καὶ δύρατε χρῶνται. ἐπιδορατίδες δὲ χάλκεαι. ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν προσοικούντων τῷ Δουρίῳ ποταμῷ Λακωνικῷ διάγειν φασίν, ἀλειπτηρίοις χρωμένους δις καὶ πυρίαις ἐκ λίθων διαπύρων, ψυχρολυτρώντας καὶ μουστροφούντας καθαρίς καὶ λιτὰς. θυτικοὶ δὲ εἰσὶ λυσιτανοὶ, τὰ τε σπλάγχνα ἐπιβλέπουσιν, ὅως ἐκτέμνοντες προσεπιβλέπουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ φλέβας, καὶ ψηλαφώντες δὲ τεκμαίρονται. σπλαγχνεύονται δὲ καὶ δι’ ἀνθρώπων αἰχμαλώτων, καλύπτοντες σάγοις· εἰδ’ ὅταν πληγῇ ὑπὸ τὰ σπλάγχνα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱεροσκόπου, μαντεύονται πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ πτωματος· τῶν δὲ ἀλόντων τὰς χείρας ἀποκόπτοντες τὰς δεξιὰς ἀνατιθέμενι.

7. "Ἀπαντεὶ δ’ οἱ ὑπερί τινα, υἱὸν θεὸν, Χαμαίνους, βαθέαν κατακεχυμένον τὴν κομὴν γυναίκων δίκην· μιτρωσάμενοι δὲ τὰ μέτωπα μάχονται. τραγοφαγοῦσι δὲ μάλιστα, καὶ τῷ Ἀρεί τράγον θύνουσι καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ

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1 Not "eating only one kind of food" (Stephanus' Thesaurus, Liddell and Scott, and elsewhere). Athenaeus (2. 21) quotes Phylarchus as saying that "the Iberians always eat only one meal a day." Op. also Xen. Cyropaedia 8. 8. 9. See the translator's note in Classical Quarterly, London, April, 1917, pp. 132-134.
in front, and suspended from the shoulder by means of thongs (for it has neither arm-rings nor handles). Besides these shields they have a dirk or a butcher's-knife. Most of them wear linen cuirasses; a few wear chain-wrought cuirasses and helmets with three crests, but the rest wear helmets made of sinews. The foot-soldiers wear greaves also, and each soldier has several javelins; and some also make use of spears, and the spears have bronze heads. Now some of the peoples that dwell next to the Durius River live, it is said, after the manner of the Laconians—using anointing-rooms twice a day and taking baths in vapours that rise from heated stones, bathing in cold water, and eating only one meal a day; and that in a cleanly and simple way. The Lusitanians are given to offering sacrifices, and they inspect the vitals, without cutting them out. Besides, they also inspect the veins on the side of the victim; and they divine by the tokens of touch, too. They prophesy through means of the vitals of human beings also, prisoners of war, whom they first cover with coarse cloaks, and then, when the victim has been struck beneath the vitals by the diviner, they draw their first auguries from the fall of the victim. And they cut off the right hands of their captives and set them up as an offering to the gods.

7. All the mountaineers lead a simple life, are water-drinkers, sleep on the ground, and let their hair stream down in thick masses after the manner of women, though before going into battle they bind their hair about the forehead. They eat goat's-meat mostly, and to Ares they sacrifice a he-goat and also

² Cp. Diodorus Siculus, 5. 38, where the cleanly habits of the Celtiberians are similarly spoken of.
ἵππους· ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐκατόμβας ἐκάστου γένους Ἐλληνικῶς, ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρος φησι
πάντα θύειν ἐκατόν.

τελοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀγώνας γυμνικοὺς καὶ ὀπλιτικοὺς καὶ ἰππικοὺς, πυγμή καὶ δρόμῳ καὶ διακροβολισμῷ καὶ τῇ σπειρηδὸν μάχῃ. οἱ δ’ ἱερεῖοι τὰ δύο μέρη τοῦ ἔτους δρυοβαλάνῳ χρώνται, ξηράναιτε καὶ κόψαντες, εἶτα ἄλεσαντες καὶ ἀρτοποιησάμενοι, ὥστ’ ἀποτίθεσθαι εἰς χρόνον. χρώνται δὲ καὶ ἥδει: οἶνον 1 δὲ σπαιζόνται: τὸν δὲ γενόμενον ταχὺ ἀναλίσκονται κατευχομένοι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν: ἀντ’ ἐλαίου δὲ βοιτύρῳ χρώνται· καθημενοὶ τε δειπνοῦσι, περὶ τοὺς τοιχοὺς καθέδρας οἰκοδομητὰς ἔχοντες, προκάθηται δὲ καθ’ ἥλικιαν καὶ τιμῆν. περιφορητὸν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ παρὰ πότον ὄρχονται πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ σάλπυγγα χορεύοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναλλόμενοι καὶ ὅκλαξοντες· εἰν Βαστητανίω δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀναμίξαντας αὐτοῖς ἀντιλαμβανόμεναι 2 τῶν χειρῶν. μελανείμονες ἀπαντῶσι, τὸ πλέον ἐν σάγοις, ἐν οἶσπερ καὶ στιβαδοκοιτούσι. κηρύνης δὲ ἄγγελοις χρώνται, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Κέλτοι. αἱ γυναῖκες δ’ ἐν εὐθύμαι καὶ ἀνθιναῖς ἐσθήσεις διάγουσιν. ἀντὶ δὲ νομισμάτως οἱ γε 3 λιαν ἐν βάθει φορτίων ἁμοίβῃ χρώνται, ἢ τοῦ ἀργυροῦ ἐλάσματος ἀποτέμνοντες διδόσι. τοὺς δὲ θερατομένους καταπτροῦσιν.

1 οἶνον, Jones, for ὀίνῳ. Σρ. δὲ τοῖς σπανίζομένοις 2. 5. 26.
2 ἀντιλαμβανόμεναι, Groskurd, for ἀντὶ πρωσαντιλαμβανόμεναι; so Forbiger and Meineke.
3 οἱ γε, Groskurd, for οἱ δὲ.

1 Athenaeus gives a rather full description of the Celtic banquet (4. 36), but he says nothing of waxen vessels. The
the prisoners and horses; and they also offer hecatombs of each kind, after the Greek fashion—as Pindar himself says, “to sacrifice a hundred of every kind.” They also hold contests, for light-armed and heavy-armed soldiers and cavalry, in boxing, in running, in skirmishing, and in fighting by squads. And the mountaineers, for two-thirds of the year, eat acorns, which they have first dried and crushed, and then ground up and made into a bread that may be stored away for a long time. They also drink beer; but they are scarce of wine, and what wine they have made they speedily drink up in merry feastings with their kinsfolk; and instead of olive-oil they use butter. Again, they dine sitting down, for they have stationary seats builted around the walls of the room, though they seat themselves forward according to age and rank. The dinner is passed round, and amid their cups they dance to flute and trumpet, dancing in chorus, but also leaping up and crouching low. But in Bastetania women too dance promiscuously with men, taking hold of their hands. All the men dress in black, for the most part in coarse cloaks, in which they sleep, on their beds of litter. And they use waxen vessels, just as the Celts do. But the women always go clad in long mantles and gay-coloured gowns. Instead of coined money the people, at least those who live deep in the interior, employ barter, or else they cut off pieces from beaten silver metal and pass them as money. Those who are condemned to death they hurl from precipices; and

editors have variously emended the Greek word for “waxen”: to “wooden,” “earthen,” “plaited,” and “made of horns.” But see the translator’s note in Classical Quarterly, London, April, 1917, pp. 132–134.
τούς δὲ πατραλοίας ἐξω τῶν ὄρων ἢ τῶν ποταμῶν καταλεύουσι. γαμοῦσι δὲ ὅσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες. τοὺς δὲ ἄρρωτονς, ὅσπερ οἱ Ἀγαύττιοι τὸ παλαιόν, προτιθέασιν εἰς τὰς ὅδους τοὺς πεπειραμένους τοὺς πάθους ὑποθήκης χάριν. διεθερίους τε πλοῖοι ἔχρωντο ἐως ἐπὶ Βρούτου διὰ τὰς πλημμυρίδας καὶ τὰ τενάγη, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ μονόξυλα ἤδη σπάνια. ἄλες πορφυροὶ, τριφθέντες δὲ λευκοὶ. ἔστι δὲ τῶν ὁρείων ὁ βίος οὐτος, ὅσπερ ἐφην, λέγω τοὺς τὴν βόρειον πλευρὰν ἀφορίζοντας τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Καλλαίκοις καὶ Ἀστωρας καὶ Καντάβρους μέχρι Οὐασκώνων καὶ τῆς Πυρηνῆς. ὁμοειδεῖς γὰρ ἀπάντων οἱ βίοι. οἰκνῶ δὲ τοῖς οὖνόμασι πλεονάζειν, φεύγων τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς, εἰ μὴ των πρὸς ἴδιοις ἐστιν ἀκούειν Πλευταύρους καὶ Βαρδυήτας καὶ Ἀλλότριας καὶ ἄλλα χείρω καὶ ἀσημότερα τούτων οὖνόματα.

8. Τὸ δὲ δυσῆμερον καὶ ἀγριώδες οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν συμβέβηκε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμὸν καὶ γὰρ ὁ πλοῦς ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ μακρὸς καὶ αἱ ὅδοι, δυσεπίμικτοι δ’ ἄντες ἀποβεβλήκασι τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸ φιλανθρωπὸν. ἦττον δὲ νῦν τὸν πάσχουσι διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδημίαν ὅσοις δ’ ἦττον τούτο συμ-

1 Kramer conjectures 'Ἀσορίους for Ἀγαύττιοι, citing Herodotus 1. 197 and Strabo 16. 1. 20. So read Forbiger, Müller-Dübner, and Meineke.

1 Since this custom was followed by the Assyrians (Herodotus 1. 197 and Strabo 16. 1. 20), and since there is no other account of such a practice among the Egyptians, some of the editors have presumed to emend the text, perhaps rightly.
the parricides they stone to death out beyond their mountains or their rivers. They marry in the same way as the Greeks. Their sick they expose upon the streets, in the same way as the Egyptians did in ancient times, for the sake of their getting suggestions from those who have experienced the disease. Again, up to the time of Brutus they used boats of tanned leather on account of the flood-tides and the shoal-waters, but now, already, even the dug-out canoes are rare. Their rock-salt is red, but when crushed it is white. Now this, as I was saying, is the mode of life of the mountaineers, I mean those whose boundaries mark off the northern side of Iberia, namely, the Callaicans, the Asturians, and the Cantabrians, as far as the Vasconians and the Pyrenees; for the modes of life of all of them are of like character. I shrink from giving too many of the names, shunning the unpleasant task of writing them down—unless it comports with the pleasure of some one to hear "Pleutaurans," "Bardyetans," "Allotrigans," and other names still less pleasing and of less significance than these.

8. The quality of intractability and wildness in these peoples has not resulted solely from their engaging in warfare, but also from their remoteness; for the trip to their country, whether by sea or by land, is long, and since they are difficult to communicate with, they have lost the instinct of sociability and humanity. They have this feeling of intractability and wildness to a less extent now, however, because of the peace and of the sojourns of the Romans among them. But wherever such

2 See footnote 4, page 63.
βαίνει, χαλεπώτεροι εἰσι καὶ θηριωδέστεροι.


toιαύτης δ’ ὀύσης καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων λυπρότητος


etrίοις, καὶ τῶν ὅρεων 1 εἰκὸς ἐπιτείνεσθαι τὴν
toiαύτην ἀτοπίαν. ἀλλὰ νῦν, ὡς εἶπον, πέπανται


πολεμοῦντα πάντα: τοὺς τε γὰρ συνέχοντας ἔτι


νῦν μᾶλιστα τὰ ληστήρια Καντάβρους καὶ τοὺς


γειτονεύοντας αὐτοῖς κατέλυσεν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καί-


σαρ, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ πορθεὶν τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων


συμμάχους στρατεύοντοι νῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων


οἱ τε Ἰουβικοὶ καὶ οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαίς τοῦ


Ἰβηρίας οἰκοῦντες Πληντούσιοι. ὁ τ’ ἐκεῖνον


diαδεξάμενος Τιβέριος, τριῶν ταγμάτων στρατιω-


τικὸν ἐπιστῆσα τοὺς τόπους, τὸ ἀποδειχθὲν ὑπὸ
tοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐ μόνον εἰρήνικοις,


ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικοῖς ἤδη τινὰς αὐτῶν ὑπεργι-


σάμενοι τυγχάνει.


IV


1. Δοῦμ’ ὅ’ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἢ τε ὀπὸ Στηλῶν


μέχρι τῆς Πυρήνης καθ’ ἡμὰς παραλία καὶ ἡ


ταύτης ὑπερκειμένη μεσόγαια πᾶσα τὸ μὲν πλά-


τος ἀνώμαλος, τὸ δὲ μήκος μικρὸ τλειόνων ἡ


τετρακισχιλίων στάδιων, τὸ δὲ τῆς παραλίας ἐτὶ 2


πλειόν καὶ δισχιλίως στάδιοι ἐξηται. φασὶ δὲ


ἀπὸ μὲν Κάλπης, τοῦ κατὰ Στῆλας ὄρους, ἐπὶ


Καρχηδόνα Νέαν δισχιλίους καὶ διακόσιους στα-


δίους· οἰκεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν ἥνον ταύτην ὑπὸ Βαστη-


τανῶν, οὐς καὶ Βαστουλοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἐκ μέρους


1 ὅρεων, Jones, for ὅρῳν (cp. ὅρεων 3. 3. 7).


2 ἐτὶ, Groskurd, for ἐπὶ.
sojourns are rarer the people are harder to deal with and more brutish; and if some are so disagreeable merely as the result of the remoteness of their regions, it is likely that those who live in the mountains are still more outlandish. But now, as I have said, they have wholly ceased carrying on war; for both the Cantabrians (who still to-day more than the rest keep together their bands of robbers) and their neighbours have been subdued by Augustus Caesar; and instead of plundering the allies of the Romans, both the Coniacans and the Plentuisans, who live near the source of the Iberus, now take the field for the Romans. Further, Tiberius, his successor, has set over these regions an army of three legions (the army already appointed by Augustus Caesar), and it so happens that he already has rendered some of the peoples not only peaceable but civilised as well.

IV

1. There remains of Iberia the seaboard of Our Sea from the Pillars to the Pyrenees Mountains, and also the whole of the interior above it, which is unequal in breadth but slightly more than four thousand stadia in length, though the length of the seaboard has been given as still greater than that by as much as two thousand stadia. They say that the distance from Calpe, the mountain near the Pillars, to New Carthage is two thousand two hundred stadia; and this coast is inhabited by Bastetanians, who are also called Bastulians, and,

1 Possibly a corruption for “Coniseans,” whom Strabo mentions later on as being a Cantabrian tribe (3. 4. 12).
2 A people otherwise unknown.
δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ὡρητανῶν. ἐντεῦθεν δ᾿ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα
ἄλλους τοσοῦτος σχεδόν τι· ταύτην δὲ ἔχειν
Ἐδητανῶς. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἰβηρος μέχρι Πυρήνης
καὶ τὸν Πομπηίου ἀναθημάτων χιλίους καὶ
ἔξακοσίους· οἱκεῖν δὲ Ἐδητανῶν τε ὠλγόνους καὶ
λοιπὸν τοὺς προσαγορευμένους Ἰνδικήτας, μεμε-
ρισμένους τέτραχα.

2. Κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἀπὸ Κάλπης ἀρξαμένους
ράχις ἐστὶν ὅρεινη τῆς Βαστητανίας καὶ τῶν
Ὡρητανῶν, δασείαν ὕλην ἔχουσα καὶ μεγαλό-
δενδρον, διοριζοῦσα τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μεσο-
γαίας. πολλαχοῦ δὲ κανταῦθα ἐστὶν κρυσταλλα καὶ
ἄλλα μέταλλα. πόλις δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ
tαύτῃ πρώτη Μάλακα, ἵστον διέχουσα τῆς Κάλπης,
ὅσον καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα· εμπόριον δὲ ἐστὶν ὅν ¹ τοῖς
ἐν τῇ περαιά Νομᾶσι,² καὶ ταριχείας δὲ ἔχει με-
γάλας. ταύτην τινὲς τῇ Μαυνάκῃ τῇ αὐτῇ
νομίζουσιν, ἣν ὑστάτην τῶν Φωκαῖκων πόλεων
πρὸς δύσει κειμένην παρειλήφαμεν, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ·
ἄλλα ἕκεινη μὲν ἀπωτέρω τῆς Κάλπης ἐστὶ, κατε-
σκαμμένη, τὰ δὲ ἴχνη σώζουσα Ἐλληνικής πόλεως,
ἡ δὲ Μάλακα πλησίον μᾶλλον, Φοινική τῷ
σχήματι. ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν Ἐξιτανῶν πόλις,
ἐξ ἦς καὶ τὰ ταρίχη ἐπωνύμως λέγεται.

3. Μετὰ ταύτην Ἀβδηρα, Φοινικῶν κτίσμα
C 157 καὶ αὐτή. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τόπων ἐν τῇ ὅρεινῇ δεί-

¹ ἐστὶν ὅν, A. Miller, for ἐστὶν ἐν; A. Vogel approving.
² Νομᾶσι, Tyrwhitt, for the corrupt σαμασι; so Groskurd, and Meineke.

¹ These Trophies were set up near what is now La Junquera.
Cp. Sallust, Hist. Frag. 4. 29 (Dietsch).
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in part, by Oretanians also; thence to the Iberus is another distance of about the same number of stadia, and this coast is occupied by Edetanians; and thence, this side the Iberus, to the Pyrenees and the Trophies of Pompey\(^1\) is a coast of sixteen hundred stadia, which is inhabited by a few of the Edetanians, and also, for the rest of the way, by the peoples called Indicetans, who have been divided into four tribes.

2. In detail: if we begin from Calpe, we have a mountain-chain belonging to Bastetania and to the Oretanians, which has dense forests of tall trees, and separates the coast from the interior. Here also, in many places, there are mines of gold and other metals. The first city on this coastline is Malaca, which is as far distant from Calpe as Gades is; it is now an emporium for the Nomads on the opposite coast,\(^2\) and it also has great establishments for salting fish. Some regard Malaca as identical with Maenaca,\(^3\) which, as we have been taught, lies farthest of the Phocaean cities in the west; but this is not true. On the contrary, the city of Maenaca is farther away from Calpe, and is now in ruins (though it still preserves the traces of a Greek city), whereas Malaca is nearer, and bears the stamp of a Phoenician city. Next thereafter comes the city\(^4\) of the Exitanians, after which the salted fish take their trade name.

3. After this city comes Abdera, which is itself a place founded by the Phoenicians. Beyond the regions in question, in the mountain country,

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\(^1\) Of Africa.
\(^2\) The present site of Almunecar.
\(^3\) The name of the city was “Sex” according to Ptolemaeus (2. 4. 7), “Hexi” according to Pomponius Mela (2. 6).
κυνταὶ Ὄδυσσεια καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡς Ποσειδώνιος τε εἶρηκε καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανός, ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ Τουρθη-τανίᾳ παιδεύσας τὰ γραμματικὰ καὶ περιήγησιν τινα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκδεδοκῶς τῶν ταύτην. οὕτως δὲ φησιν ὑπομνήματα τῆς πλάνης τῆς Ὅδυσσέως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀσπίδας προσπεπατα-λευθὲν καὶ ἀκροστόλια. ἐν Καλλαϊκοῖς δὲ τῶν μετὰ Τευκροῦ στρατευσάντων τινὰς οἰκῆσαι, καὶ ὑπάρξαι πόλεις αὐτόθι, τὴν μὲν καλουμένην Ἑλληνικήν, τὴν δὲ Ἀμφίλοχοι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφι-λόχου τελευτήσαντος δεῦρο καὶ τῶν συνόντων πλανηθέντων μέχρι τῆς μεσογαίας. καὶ τῶν μεθ᾽ Ἡρακλέους δὲ τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης ἱστορήσαντος φησιν ἐποικῆσαι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, τῆς δὲ Κανταβρίας μέρος τι κατασχεῖν Δαύκωνας καὶ οὕτως φησι καὶ ἄλλοι. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ὁψικέλλας 1 πόλιν Ὄκελλα 1 κτίσμα λέγουσι τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντήνορος καὶ τῶν παῖδων αὐτοῦ διαβάντος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐν τῇ Διβύη δὲ πεπιστεύκασι τινὲς, τοῖς τῶν Γαδεριτῶν ἐμπόροις προσέχοντες, ὡς καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος εἶρηκεν, ότι οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαυρουσίας οἰκούντες πρὸς τοὺς ἐσπερίους Αἱ-θιόφη Αἰσθοφάγοι καλοῦνται σιτούμενοι λωτῶν, πόειν τινὰ καὶ βίζαν, οὐ δεόμενοι δὲ ποτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐχοῦσες διὰ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν, διατείνοντες καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Κυρήνης τόπων. ἄλλοι τε πάλιν

1 Siebenkees is probably right in emending Ὅψικέλλα to Ὅκελλα and Ὅκελα to Ὅκελλα; so, in general, the later editors read. Strabo apparently has in mind the Ὅκελλον (or Ὅκελα) of Ptolemaeus (2. 5. 7); op. the Ocelenses of Pliny (4. 35).
Odysseia is to be seen, and in it the temple of Athene, as has been stated by Poseidonius, Artemidorus, and Asclepiades the Mylcaen, a man who taught grammar in Turdetania and has published an account of the tribes of that region. According to Asclepiades, shields and ships' beaks have been nailed up in the temple of Athene as memorials of the wanderings of Odysseus; and some of those who made the expedition with Teucer lived in Callaicia, and there were once two cities there, of which one was called Hellenes,\(^1\) and the other, Amphiloichi;\(^2\) for not only did Amphilochochus die at the place, but his companions wandered as far as the interior of the country. And, he further says, history tells us that some of the companions of Heracles and of the emigrants from Messene colonised Iberia. As for Cantabria, a part of it was seized and held by the Laconians, according to both Asclepiades and others. Here, too, they mention a city Opsicella, founded by Ocelas, who in company with Antenor and his children crossed over to Italy. Furthermore, in the case of Libya, some have believed, giving heed to the merchants of Gades (as Artemidorus has already stated), that the people who live beyond Maurusia next to the Western Ethiopians are called Lotuscaters because they feed on lotus (a sort of plant and root) and do not need drink, or have any, either, since there is no water in their entire country, although it stretches even as far as the regions of Cyrene. And there is still another people called

\(^1\) Named after Hellen, the eponymous hero of the Hellenes.
\(^2\) Named after Amphilochochus. Cp. 14. 4. 3.
καλοῦνται Δωτοφάγοι, τὴν ἔτεραν οικούντες τῶν πρὸ τῆς μικρᾶς Σύρτεως νήσων, τὴν Μήνιγγα.

4. Οὗ δὴ θαυμάζοι τις ἂν οὔτε τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὰ πέρι τὴν Ὀδυσσέως πλάνην μυθογραφήσαντος τούτων τὸν τρόπον ὡστὶ ἔξω Στηλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ πελάγει τὰ πολλὰ διαθέσαντο τῶν λεγομένων περὶ αὐτοῦ (τὰ γὰρ ἱστορούμενα ἔγγυς ἦν, καὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου πεπλασμένων, ὡστε οὐκ ἀπίθανον ἐποίει τὸ πλάσμα), οὔτ’ εἰ τινὲς αὐταῖς τε ταύτας ταῖς ἱστορίαις πιστεύσαντες καὶ τῇ πολυμαθίᾳ τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστημονικὰς ὑποθέσεις ἐπεργασαν τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν, καθάπερ Κράτης τε ὁ Μαλλώτης ἐποίησε καὶ ἄλλοι τινες. οἱ δ’ οὕτως ἀγροίκως ἐδέξαντο τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τὴν τοιαύτην ὡστε οὐ μόνον τοῦ ποιητήν σκαπάνεως ἡ θεριστοῦ δίκην ἐκ πάσης τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστήμης ἐξέβαλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀφαμένους τῆς τοιαύτης πραγματείας μανομένους ὑπέλαβον· συνηγοριάν δὲ ἡ ἐπανήρθωσιν ἢ τι τοιούτον ἑτερον εἰς τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπ’ ἐκείνων εἰσενεγκείν οὐκ ἔθαρρησεν οὔτε τῶν γραμματικῶν οὔτε τῶν περὶ τὰ μαθημάτα δεινῶν οὐδείς. καίτοι έμοί γε δοκεῖ δυνατὸν εἶναι καὶ συνηγορῆσαι πολλοῖς τῶν λεχθέντων καὶ εἰς ἐπανήρθωσιν ἄγειν καὶ μάλιστα εἰς ταύτα, ὡς Πυθέας παρεκπόρευσε τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ κατὰ ἀγνοιά τῶν τε ἐστηρίξας τόπων καὶ τῶν προσβόρρων τῶν παρὰ τῶν ὦκεανῶν. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν εὖςθω, λόγου ἔχοντα ἰδίον καὶ μακρόν.

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1 See 2. 5. 20.  
2 Homer.  
3 That is, Crates and others.
Lotus-eaters, who dwell in one of the two islands off the Lesser Syrtis, I mean Meninx.¹

4. So no one could be surprised if, in the first place, the poet² has written his mythical account of the wanderings of Odysseus in such a way as to set most of his stories of Odysseus in the Atlantic Sea beyond the Pillars of Heracles (for the stories he told were so closely related to the facts, both in respect of places and of everything else created by his fancy, that he rendered his fiction not un plausible); nor surprised if, in the second place, some men, having believed in these stories themselves and also in the wide learning of the poet, have actually turned the poetry of Homer to their use as a basis of scientific investigations, as has been done by Crates of Mallos and certain others as well. Other men, however, have greeted all attempts of that sort with such ferocity that they not only have cast out the poet, as though he were a mere ditch-digger or harvest-labourer, from the whole field of scientific knowledge of this kind, but also have supposed to be madmen all who have taken in hand such a task as that; but as for introducing any defence, or revision, or anything else of the kind, for the assertions of those men,³ no one either among the grammarians or the scientific experts has ventured to do so. And yet, to me at least, it seems to be possible not only to defend many of their assertions, but to bring them under revision, and in particular all those wherein Pytheas has led astray those men who, in ignorance both of the regions in the west and of those in the north along the ocean, have believed him. But let us pass by these matters, since they involve a special and lengthy discussion.
5. Τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλάνης εἰς τὰ βάρβαρα ἐθνῆ νομίζοι τις ἃν αὐτιόν τὸ διεσπάσθαι κατὰ μέρη μικρὰ καὶ δυναστείας ἐπιπλοκήν οὐκ ἐχοῦσας πρὸς ἄλληλους κατ' αὐθάδειαν, ὡστε ἐκ τούτου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιώντας ἔξωθεν ἀσθενεῖς ἐξαιτοῦτο δὲ τὸ αὐθάδες ἐν δὴ τοῖς Ἰβηραῖοι μάλιστα ἐπέτεινε, προσλαβοῦσι καὶ τὸ πανούργον φύσει καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀπλοῦν ἐπιθετικοὶ γὰρ καὶ ληστρικοὶ τοῖς βίοις ἐγένοντο τὰ μικρὰ τολμώντες, μεγάλοις δὲ οὐκ ἐπιβαλλόμενοι διὰ τὸ μεγάλας μὴ κατασκευάζονται δυνάμεις καὶ κοινωνίας. εἰ γὰρ δὴ συνασπίζειν ἐβούλοντο ἄλληλοι, οὔτε Καρχηδονίοις ὑπῆρξεν ἃν καταστρέφασθαι ἐπελθοῦσι τὴν πλείστην αὐτῶν ἐκ περιουσίας, καὶ ἔτι πρὸτερον Τυρίοις, εἰτα Κελτοῖς, οἳ νῦν Κελτιβηρες καὶ Βήρωνες καλοῦνται, οὔτε τῷ ληστῇ Οὐριάθῳ καὶ Σερτωρίῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἔτεροι δυναστείας ἐπεθύμησαν μείζονος. 'Ῥωμαῖοι τε τῷ κατὰ μέρη πρὸς τοὺς Ἰβηραῖους πολεμεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην διὰ ταύτην τὴν δυναστείαν πολῶν τινα διετέλεσαν χρόνον, ἄλλοτε ἄλλους καταστρέφομενοι τέως, ἐως ἀπανταὶ ὑποχειρίους ἐλαβον διακοσιοστῶν σχεδὸν τε ἔτει ἦ μακρότερον. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν περιήγησιν.

6. Μετὰ τούτων Ἀβδηρά ἐστι Καρχηδών ἡ Νέα, κτίσμα Ἀσδρούβα, τοῦ διαδεξαμένου Βάρκαν

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1 ἧ, Meineke, for ἰ.
2 ἐπιθετικός, Corais, for ἐπιθετικός; so the later editors.
5. Now the wanderings of the Greeks to the barbarian nations might be regarded as caused by the fact that the latter had become split up into petty divisions and sovereignties which, on the strength of their self-sufficiency, had no intercourse with one another; and hence, as a result, they were powerless against the invaders from abroad. This spirit of self-sufficiency, among the Iberians I mean, was particularly intense, since by nature they had already received both the quality of knavery and that of insincerity. For by their modes of life they became inclined to attack and to rob, venturing only upon petty undertakings, and never throwing themselves into large ones, because they would not establish large forces and confederations. For surely, if they had been willing to be shield-fellows with one another, it would not have been possible, in the first place, for the Carthaginians to overrun and subdue the most of their country by superiority of forces, or in still earlier times for the Tyrians to do so, or after that, for those Celti who are now called Celtiberians and Veronians; nor, in the second place, later on, for the brigand Viriathus, or for Sertorius, or for any others who may have coveted wider dominion. And the Romans, since they carried on merely a piecemeal war against the Iberians, attacking each territory separately, spent some considerable time in acquiring dominion here, subjecting first one group and then another, until, after about two hundred years or longer, they got them all under control. But I return to my geographical description.

6. After Abdera, then, comes New Carthage, which was founded by Hasdrubal, the successor of
τὸν Ἀννίβα πατέρα, κρατίστη πολὺ τῶν ταύτη πόλεων καὶ γὰρ ἐρυμύστηκτι καὶ τείχει κατεσκευασμένω καλῶς καὶ θλμέσα καὶ λίμνῃ κεκόσμηται καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἄργυρίων μετάλλους, περὶ δὲν εἱρήκαμεν κανταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλησίον τόποις πολλῆ ἡ ταρεχεία καὶ ἐστὶ τοῦτο μεῖζον ἐμπόριον τῶν μὲν ἐκ θαλάτης τοῖς ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ, τῶν δὲ ἐκεῖθεν τοῖς ἐξω πᾶσιν. ἢ δὲ ἐνθεῦδε μὲχρι τοῦ Ἴβηρος παραλία κατὰ μέσον πως τὸ διάςτημα ἔχει τὸν Σοῦκρονα ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλιν ὄμωνυμον· ἰδιὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ συνεχοῦς ὄρους τῇ ὑπερκειμένῃ κατὰ τῆς τῆς Μαλάκας καὶ τῶν περὶ Καρχηδόνα 1 τόπων, περατὸς πεζῆ, παράκλησις δὲ ποὺ τὸ Ἴβηρι, μικρὸν δὲ διέχει τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἤτον ἢ τοῦ Ἴβηρος. μεταξὺ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Σοῦκρονος καὶ τῆς Καρχηδόνος τρία πολύχυα Μασσαλιώτῶν εἰσὶν οὐ πολὺ ἀπόθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτων δὲ ἐστὶ γνωριμωτάτον τὸ Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον, ἔχουν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρᾳ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν σφόδρα τιμώμενον, ὁ ἐχρήσατο Σερτώριος ὄρμητηριφ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐρυμύνων γὰρ ἐστε καὶ ληστρικοῦ, κάτωπτον δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς προστέασε, καλείται δὲ Διώνυον, οἶνον Ἀρτεμισίου, ἔχουν σιδηρεία εὐφυὴ πλησίον καὶ νησίδια, Πλανησίαν καὶ Πλουμβαρίαν, καὶ λιμνοθάλατταν ὑπερκειμένην, ἔχουσαν κύκλου 2 σταδίων τετρα-

1 ὑπερκειμένων before τόπων, Xylander omits; so the later editors.
2 κύκλου, Casaubon, for ἐν κύκλῳ.

1 That is, colonised from Marseilles.
BARCAs, the father of Hannibal. New Carthage is by far the most powerful of all the cities in this country, for it is adorned by secure fortifications, by walls handsomely built, by harbours, by a lake, and by the silver mines of which I have spoken. And here, as well as at the places near by, the fish-salting industry is large. Furthermore, New Carthage is a rather important emporium, not only of the imports from the sea for the inhabitants of the interior, but also of the exports from the interior for all the outside world. On the coast from New Carthage up to the Iberus, about midway between these two points, are the Sucro River and its mouth, and a city with the same name as the river. The river rises in the mountain which connects with the mountain-chain that lies beyond Malaca and the regions about New Carthage; it can be waded, runs about parallel to the Iberus, and is slightly less distant from New Carthage than from the Iberus. Now between the Sucro River and New Carthage, not far from the river, there are three small Massiliote cities. Of these, the best known is Hemeroscopeium, a place held in very great esteem, since it has on its promontory a temple of the Ephesian Artemis; and it was used by Sertorius as a naval base. For it is a natural stronghold and adapted to piracy, and is visible at a considerable distance to the approaching sailors. It is also called "Dianium," the equivalent of "Artemisium"; it has iron mines with fine deposits near by, and small islands, Planesia and Plumbaria, and above it a lagoon of salt-water four hundred stadia in circuit. Next,

² The word means "Day-watch."
³ That is, in Greek.
κοσίων. ἐνθ' ἡ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους νῆσος ἦδη πρὸς Καρχηδόνα, ἡν καλοῦσα Σκομβραοῦν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλισκομένων σκόμβρων, ἔστιν τὸ ἄριστον σκευαστέρα γάρ τοι εἰκοσι δὲ διέχει σταδίους καὶ τέταρτας τῆς Καρχηδόνας. πάλιν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Σούκρωνος ἱοντι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολήν τοῦ Ἰβηρος Σάγοιντον, κτίσμα Ζακυνθίων, ἦν Ἀννίβας κατασκάφια παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τὸν δεύτερον αὐτῶν ἑξήτυπον πόλεμον πρὸς Καρχηδονίους. πλησίον δὲ πόλεως εἰσὶ Χερόσιον τοῦ καὶ Ὀλεαστρον καὶ Καρταλίας ἐπ' αὐτῆς δὲ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Ἰβηρος Δέρτωσα κατοικία. ἔρει δὲ ὁ Ἰβηρ, ἀπὸ Καντάβρων ἔχου τὰς ἱρών, ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν διὰ πολλοῦ πεδίου παράλληλος τοῖς Πυρηναίοις ὀρεσί.

7. Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Ἰβηρος ἱκτριπῶν καὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Πυρήνης, ἐφ' ὅν ἠδυταί τὰ ἀναθήματα τοῦ Πομπηίου, πρῶτη Ταρράκων ἐστὶ πόλις, ἀλίμενος μὲν, ἐν κόλπῳ δὲ ἠδυμένη καὶ κατασκευασμένη τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ίκανῶς, καὶ οὐχ ἦτοι εὐανδροῦσα νυνὶ τῆς Καρχηδόνας. πρὸς γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιδημίας εὐφυῶς ἔγειρε, καὶ ἐστὶν ὁσπέρ μητρόπολις οὐ τῆς ἑκτὸς Ἰβηρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐκτὸς τῆς πολλῆς. αὖ τε Γυμνῆσια νῆσοι προκειμέναι πλησίον καὶ ἡ Ἐβυσσος, ἀξιόλογοι νῆσοι, τὴν θέσιν εὐκαιρον τῆς πόλεως ὑπαγορεύσαν. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ καὶ ναυσταθμὸν ἔχειν φησίν αὐτὴν, οὐδὲ ἀγκυροβολίως σφόδρα εὐτυχοῦσαν, ὡς ἀντιλέγον εἰρήκεν Ἀρτεμισώρος.

1 Σκομβραοῦν, Xylander, for Σκομβραοῦν; so generally the editors.
and quite near to New Carthage, comes the Island of Heracles, which they call Scombraria, from the scomber-fish caught there, from which the best fish-sauce is prepared. It is twenty-four stadia distant from New Carthage. And again, on the other side of the Sucro, as you go towards the mouth of the Iberus, is Saguntum, founded by Zephyrians, which Hannibal destroyed despite his treaty with the Romans, thereby kindling the second war against the Carthaginians. Near Saguntum are the cities of Cherronesus, Oleastrum, and Cartalia; and at the very crossing of the Iberus is the settlement of Dertossa. The course of the Iberus, which rises in Cantabria, is southwards through a great plain and parallel to the Pyrenees Mountains.

7. Between where the Iberus turns out seaward and the heights of the Pyrenees, on which are situated the Trophies set up by Pompey, the first city is Tarraco. It has no harbour, indeed, but it is situated on a bay and is adequately supplied with all other advantages; and at present it is not less populous than New Carthage. Indeed, it is naturally suited for the residence of the Prefects, and is a metropolis, as it were, not only of the country this side the Iberus, but also of the greater part of the country beyond the Iberus. And the Gymnesian Islands, which lie near by off the coast, and Ebusus, all noteworthy islands, suggest that the position of the city is a happy one. Eratosthenes says that the city has also a roadstead, although, as Artemidorus, contradicting him, has already stated, it is not particularly blessed even with places of anchorage.

1 Elsewhere (3. 5. 1.), Strabo spells the word Ἐβούσας (MSS. Ἀβούσας).
8. Καὶ ἡ σύμπασα δ’ ἀπὸ Στηλῶν σπανίζεται λιμέσι μέχρι δεύρο, ἐντεῦθεν δ’ ἥδη τὰ ἐξῆς εὐλίμενα καὶ χώρα ἀγαθή τῶν τε Δεητανῶν καὶ Δαρτολαιητῶν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων μέχρι Ἐμπορίου. αὐτὸ δ’ ἔστι Μασσαλωτῶν κτίσμα, ὅσον διακοσίους¹ διέχου τῆς Πυρήνης σταδίους καὶ τῶν μεθορίων τῆς Ἰβηρίας πρὸς τὴν Κελτικῆν· καὶ αὐτὴ δ’ ἔστι πᾶσα ἀγαθὴ καὶ εὐλίμενος. ἐνταῦθα δ’ ἔστι καὶ ἡ 'Ρόδος,² πολίχνιον Ἐμποριτῶν, τινὲς δὲ κτίσμα 'Ροδίων φασί· καταύθα δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἐμπορῷ τῆς Ἀρτεμίν τῆς Ἐφέσιαν τιμῶσιν, ἔρομεν δὲ τὴν αὐτίαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Μασσαλίαν. φῶκον δ’ ³ οἱ Ἐμπορίται πρῶτον νησίον τί προκείμενον, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Παλαιὰ πόλις, νῦν δ’ οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. δίπολες δ’ ἔστι, τείχει διωρισμένη, πρῶτον τῶν Ἰνδικτῶν τινὰς προσδιόρισκεν ἐξουσία, οί, καίπερ ἱδία πολιτεύουμεν, κοινὸν δήμος περίβολον ἔχειν ἐβουλουτὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἀσφαλείας χάριν, διπλοῦν δὲ τούτου, τείχει μέσῳ διωρισμένον τοῦ χρόνῳ δ’ εἰς ταυτὸ πολίτευμα συνήθθων μεκτῶν τί ἐκ τε βαρβάρων καὶ Ἐλληνικῶν νομίμων, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλων πολλῶν συνέβη.

9. 'Ερέ δ’ ἐν τοπαμὸς πλησίον, ἐκ τῆς Πυρήνης

¹ διακοσίους, Groskurd, and Corais, for τετρακοσίους.
² Ἐρέ (as in 14. 2. 10), Casaubon, for Ἐρέδη; so Siebenkees, Corais, Forbiger, and C. Müller. Meineke reads Ἐρέδη, following the spelling of Ptolemaeus.
³ δ’, Meineke inserts.

¹ The MSS. read 4000 stadia, which is, of course, corrupt. Strabo has already given only 1600 stadia (§ 1 above) as the distance from the Iberus to the Pyrenees. The emendations of the editors run from 4 to 400 stadia.
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8. Further, the whole coastline from the Pillars to Tarraco has few harbours, but from Tarraco on, all the way to Emporium, the coasts have fine harbours, and the country is fertile, both that of the Leētaniains and the Lartolaeētans, and of other such peoples. Emporium was founded by the people of Massilia; it is about two hundred \(^1\) stadia distant from the Pyrenees and from the common boundary between Iberia and Celtica, and this coast too, all of it, is fertile and has good harbours. Here, too, is Rhodus, a small town belonging to the Emporitans, though some say it was founded by Rhodians. Both in Rhodus and in Emporium they worship Artemis of the Ephesians, and I shall tell the reason for this in my account of Massilia.\(^2\) The Emporitans formerly lived on a little island off the shore, which is now called Old City,\(^3\) but they now live on the mainland. And their city is a double one, for it has been divided into two cities by a wall, because, in former times, the city had for neighbours some of the Indicetans, who, although they maintained a government of their own, wished, for the sake of security, to have a common wall of circumvallation with the Greeks, with the enclosure in two parts—for it has been divided by a wall through the centre; but in the course of time the two peoples united under the same constitution, which was a mixture of both Barbarian and Greek laws—a thing which has taken place in the case of many other peoples.

9. There is a river that flows near by,\(^4\) which has

\(^1\) 4. 1. 4-5.
\(^2\) The isle of Medas, near the mouth of the Ter River.
\(^3\) The Clodianus, now the insignificant Muga (cp. Ptolemaeus 2. 6. 19 and Mela 2. 89).

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ἐξών τὰς ἀρχάς, ἢ δὲ ἐκβολὴ λαμὴν ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἐμπωρίταις. λυνοργοὶ δὲ ἵκανως οἱ Ἐμπωρίταις χώραν δὲ τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐχουσί, τὴν μὲν ἄγαθήν, τὴν δὲ σπαρτοφόρον τῆς ἀχριστοτέραις καὶ ἐλείας σχοίνου, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἰονγκάριον πεδίον· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν τῆς Πυρήνης ἄκρων νέονται μέχρι τῶν ἀναθημάτων τοῦ Πομπήλου, δι’ ὅν βαδίζουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐξω καλομιένην Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Βατικινήν. αὐτὴ δ’ ἡ ὁδὸς ποτὲ μὴν πλησιάζει τῇ θαλάττῃ, ποτὲ δ’ ἀφέστηκε, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν μέρεσι. φέρεται δὲ ἐπὶ Ταρράκωνα, ἀντὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τοῦ Πομπήλου διὰ τοῦ Ἰονγκάριου πεδίου καὶ Βετέρων καὶ τοῦ Μαραθώνος καλομίενου πεδίου τῇ Λατινή γλώσσῃ, φύσεως πολὺ τὸ μέραθον· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ταρράκωνος ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τοῦ Ἰβηρίου κατὰ Δέρτωσαν πόλιν ἐντεῦθεν διὰ Σαγονύτου καὶ Σετάβιος πόλεως ἐνεχθεῖσα κατὰ μικρὸν ἀφίσταται τῆς θαλάττης καὶ συνάπτει τῷ Σπαρταρίῳ, ὡς ἄν Σχοίνοντι, καλομιένῳ πεδίῳ· τούτω δ’ ἐστὶ μέγα καὶ ἀνυδρον, τὴν σχοίνοπλοικὴν φύον σπάρτου, ἐξαγωγήν ἐχουσίαν εἰς πάντα τόπου, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. πρότερον μὲν οὖν διὰ μέσον τοῦ πεδίου καὶ Ἐγελάστας συνέβαινεν ἐναι τὴν ὁδόν, χαλεπὴν καὶ πολλὴν, νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς

1 Βετέρων, Wesseling, Meineke, for Βετέρων; so C. Müller, Tardieu, and L. Kayser.

1 The Romans called it “Campus Iuncarius,” from Iunus, “rush.” Cp. etymologically Eng. “junk.”

2 “Colony of Veterans”: the Praetorium mentioned by Antoninus (Ibīn. p. 398); exact site unknown, perhaps Vidreras.
its source in the Pyrenees; and its outlet serves as a port for the Emporitans. The Emporitans are quite skilful in flax-working. As for the inland territory which they hold, one part of it is fertile, while the other produces the part of the rather useless, or rush, variety; it is called "Juncarian" Plain. But some of the Emporitans occupy even some of the heights of the Pyrenees, as far as the Trophies that were set up by Pompey, past which runs the road from Italy to what is called "Farther" Iberia, and in particular to Bactica. This road sometimes approaches the sea, though sometimes it stands off at a distance from the sea, and particularly in the regions on the west. It runs towards Tarraco from the Trophies that were set up by Pompey, through the Juncarian Plain and through Veteres and what in the Latin tongue is called Fennel Plain, because it produces so much fennel. From Tarraco it runs towards the passage of the Iberus at the city of Dertossa; thence, after passing through Saguntum and the city of Setabis, it gradually departs from the sea and joins what is called the Spartarian—or, as we should say, "Rush"—Plain. This plain is large and has no water, but produces the kind of spart that is suitable for twisting into ropes, and is therefore exported to all regions, and particularly to Italy. Now formerly the road must have passed through the centre of this plain and through Egelest, a road rough and long, but at the present day

3 Literally, the Greek is: "Plain of Marathon, ... marathon." Strabo avoids transliterating "Fenicularius" (the term actually used by the Romans) into Greek.
4 The Romans called it "Campus Spartarius."
θαλάττη μέρη πεποιήκασαν αὐτήν, ἐπιψαύουσαν μόνον τοῦ Σχοινοῦντος, εἰς ταύτῳ δὲ τείνουσαν τῇ προτέρᾳ, τὰ περὶ Κασταλῶνα καὶ Ὁβούλκωνα, δὲ ὧν εἰς τε Κορδύβην καὶ εἰς Γάδειρα ἡ ὁδὸς, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐμπορίων. διέχει δὲ τῆς Κορδύβης Ὁβούλκων περὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους. φασὶ δὲ οἱ συγγραφεῖς, ἐλθεῖν Καίσαρα ἐκ Ρώμης ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἐμέραις εἰς τὴν Ὁβούλκωνα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐνταῦθα, ἤνικα ἐμελλε συνάπτειν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὴν Μοῦδαν πόλεμον.

C 161. 10. Ἡ μὲν δὴ παραλία πᾶσα ἡ ἀπὸ Στηλῶν μέχρι τῆς μεθορίας τῆς Ἰβήρου καὶ Κελτῶν τοιαύτη. ἡ δ᾿ ὑπερκειμένη μεσόγαια, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν τοῦ Πυρηναίων ὅρων καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου πλευρᾶς μέχρις Αστύρων, δυνεῖν μάλιστα ὁρεσί διορίζεται. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν παράλληλον ἐστὶ τῇ Πυρήνῃ, τῇν ἄρχην ἀπὸ τῶν Καντάβρων ἔχουν, τελευτὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καθ᾿ ἡμᾶς βαλατταν καλοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο Ἰδουβέδαν ἐπεροῦν δ᾿ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου διήκον ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν, ἐκελίσκον δὲ πρὸς νότον καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Στηλῶν παραλίαν ἤ κατ᾿ ἀρχὰς μὲν γεώλυφον ἐστὶ καὶ ψιλόν, διέξεισι δὲ τὸ καλοῦμεν Σπαρτάριον πεδίον, εἶναι συνάπτει τῷ δρυμῷ τῷ ὑπερκειμένῳ τῆς τε Καρχηδονίας καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Μάλακαν τόπων καλεῖται δὲ Ὀροσπέδα, μεταξὺ μὲν δὴ τῆς Πυρήνης καὶ τῆς Ἰδουβέδας ὁ Ἰβηρ ἐν ποταμῷ, παράλληλος τοῖς ὀρέσει ἀμφότεροις, πληροῦμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν καταφερομένων ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὕδατων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἰβηρὶ πόλις ἐστὶ Καίσαραναγούστα καλούμενη καὶ Κέλσα κατοικία τις, ἔχουσα γεφύρας λιβύνης.
they have made it run towards the coastal regions, merely touching upon the Rush Plain, yet leading to the same place as did the former road, namely, to the regions round about Castalo and Obulco; and through these cities the road runs to Corduba and Gades, the greatest of the trading-places. The distance from Corduba to Obulco is about three hundred stadia. The historians say that Caesar went from Rome to Obulco and the camp there in twenty-seven days, when he was about to engage in the battle near Munda.

10. Such, then, is the character of the whole seaboard from the Pillars up to the common boundary of Iberia and Celtica. The interior country that lies beyond the seaboard (I mean the country enclosed by the Pyrenees Mountains and the northerly side of Iberia as far as Asturia) is divided by two mountain-ranges, speaking roughly. Of these mountains, one is parallel to the Pyrenees, beginning in Cantabria and ending at Our Sea (they call this mountain Idubeda); whereas the other, beginning at the centre of the first one, stretches towards the west, though it inclines towards the south and the coastline that runs from the Pillars. This latter mountain is at first a mere hill and bare of trees, and passes through the so-called Spartan Plain; then it joins the forest that lies beyond both New Carthage and the regions round about Malaca; it is called Orospeda. It is between the Pyrenees and Idubeda, then, that the Iberus River flows, which is parallel with both mountains and is filled by the rivers and the other waters that pour down from them. On the Iberus is a city called Caesar Augusta; also Celsa, a colonial settlement, where there is a

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διάβασιν. συνολικεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἑθνῶν ἡ χώρα, γνωριμωτάτων δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ἰακκητανῶν λεγομένου. τούτῳ δὲ ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς παρωρείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν Πυρήνην εἰς τὰ πεδία πλατύνεται καὶ συνάπτει τοὺς περὶ Ἡλέρδαν καὶ Ὁσκαν χωρίως, τοῖς τῶν Ἡλεργετῶν οὐ πολὺ ἀπωθεῖν τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῦταις ἐπολέμει τὸ τελευταῖον Σερτώριον καὶ ἐν Καλαγοῦρι Οὐασκώνων πόλει καὶ τῆς παραλλαγῆς ἐν Ταρράκωνι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡμεροσκοπείῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κελτιβήρων ἐκπτώσιμη ἐτελεύτα ὡς ἐν Ὁσκα. καὶ Ἡλέρδα ὃς πλοντρέν Αφράνιος καὶ Πετρίμοιοι τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατηγοῦ κατευθειμήθησαν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ. διέχει δὲ ἡ Ἡλέρδα τοῦ μὲν Ἰβηροῦ ὡς ἐπὶ δύσιν ἱοῦντες σταδίους ἑκατόν εἴκοσικοντα, Ταρράκωνος δὲ πρὸς νότον περὶ τετρακοσίους εἴκοσικοντα, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ Ὁσκας πεντακοσίους τεσσαράκοντα. διὰ τούτων δὲ τῶν χωρίων ἡ ἐκ Ταρράκωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἐπὶ τῷ ὠκεανῷ Οὐασκώνας τοὺς κατὰ Πομπέλωνα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ὠκεανῷ Οἰλασῶνα πῦλών ὁδός ἐστι σταδίων δισεκατοστηρίζει, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τῆς Ἀκουιτανίας ὄρα καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. Ἰακκητανοὶ δὲ εἶσιν ἐν οἷς

1 παρωρείας, Kramer, for παροφια; so the other editors.
2 Ὁσκαν, Casaubon, for the corrupt Ἡλέρδαν; so the other editors.
3 δὲ Ὁσκα, conj. of Puteanus, for δὲ νόσφ; so the editors.
4 καὶ Ἡλέρδα, Meineke, for καὶ Ἡλέρδαν.
5 χωρίων, Groskurd, for ἄραν.
6 Πομπέλωνα, Xylander, for the corrupt Πομπιαλώνα; so the editors.
7 Οἰλασῶνα, Casaubon, for Ὁἰλασῶνα (or Οἰλασῶνα); so, in general, the editors. Cp. Ptolemaeus 2. 6. 10. and Mela 3. 1. 10.
stone bridge across the river. This country is jointly settled by several tribes, though the best known is what is called the tribe of the Iaccetanians. Their country begins at the foothills of the Pyrenees and then broadens out over the plains and joins the districts round about Ilerda and Osca, that is, the districts which belong to the Ilergetans, not very far from the Iberus. It was in these two cities, and in Calaguris (a city of the Vasconians), and in the two cities of Tarraco and Hemeroscopeium on the coast, that Sertorius fought his last battles after his expulsion from Celtiberia; but it was at Osca that he came to his end.¹ And it was in Ilerda that Afranius and Petreius, the generals of Pompey, were defeated in battle later on by the Deified Caesar.² Ilerda is distant from the Iberus one hundred and sixty stadia, to a man travelling approximately towards the west; from Tarraco, on the south, about four hundred and sixty stadia; from Osca, on the north, five hundred and forty stadia. Through these districts runs the road from Tarraco to those outermost Vasconians on the ocean who live about Pompelo, and about the city of Oeaso, which is at the ocean itself—a road of two thousand four hundred stadia, reaching to the very frontier of Aquitania and Iberia. Iaccetania

¹ The Greek MSS. all read "of disease" instead of "at Osca." The emendation is certainly right, since we know that Sertorius was assassinated at Osca (cp. Velleius Paterculus 2. 30, and Plutarch's Life of Sertorius).

² Literally, "the god": Strabo's attempt to translate the Latin adjective "divus" ("divine," hence "deified") into Greek. The epithet "divus" was regularly applied to the deceased emperors; here, of course, Julius Caesar is meant.
tóte μὲν Σερτώριος ἐπολέμει πρὸς Πομπήλιον, ὕστερον δ' ὁ τοῦ Πομπήλιον νιὸς Σέξτος πρὸς τοὺς Καλήσαρους στρατηγοὺς. ὑπέρχεκται δὲ τῆς Ἰακκη-τανίας πρὸς ἄρκτον τὸ τῶν Ὀυασκώνων ἐθνος, ἐν φ' πόλις Πομπέλιον, ὡς ἄν Πομπειώτων.

11. Αὐτὴς δὲ τῆς Πυρήνης τὸ μὲν Ἰβηρικόν πλευρὸν εὐδενδρόν ἔστι παντοδαπῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς ἀειβαλούς, τὸ δὲ Κελτικὸν ψιλόν, τὰ δὲ μέσα περιέχει καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι δυναμένους αὐλόνας. ἔχονσι δ' αὐτοὺς Κερκητανοί τὸ πλέον, τοῦ Ἰβηρικοῦ φυλοῦ, παρ' οίς πέραν διάφοροι συντίθενται ταῖς Κανταβρικαῖς ἕναμιλλοι, πρόσοδον οὐ μικρὰν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέχουσαί.

12. 'Ὑπερβάλλοντι δὲ τὴν Ἰδουβέδαν ἡ Κελτι-βηρία παραχρήμα πολλῆς καὶ ἀνωμάλους· τὸ μὲν πλέον αὐτῆς ἐστὶ τραχῦ καὶ ποταμόκλυστον· διὰ γὰρ τούτων ὁ τε 'Ἀνας φέρεται καὶ ὁ Τάγος καὶ οἱ ἐφέξης ποταμοί οἱ πλείους οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπερίαν θάλασσαν καταφέρομεν, τὴν ἄρχην ἔχοντες ἐκ τῆς Κελτιβηρίας· ἄν οἱ Δούριοι φέρεται παρὰ τὴν Νομαντίαν καὶ τὴν Σεργουντίαν, ὁ δὲ Βαῦτις ἐκ τῆς Ὀροσπέδας τὰς ἄρχας ἔχων διὰ τῆς 'Ωρητα-νίας εἰς τὴν Βαυτικὴν ὑπὶ. οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐκ μὲν τῶν πρὸς ἄρκτον μερῶν τοῖς Κελτιβηροῖς Βήρωνεσ, Καντάβριος ὄμοροι τοῖς Κοῦροις καὶ αὐτὸι τοῦ Κελτικοῦ στόλου γεγονότες, ὅν ἐστὶ πόλεις Οὐαρία κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ διάβασιν κειμένη. συν-

1 Κανταβρικαῖος, conj. of Xylander, for the corrupt Κανθαρι-καῖος; so, in general, the editors; but C. Müller, Καλαγουρι-καῖος, and Tardieu, Κιβρατικαῖος. Cpr. Athenaeus 14. 75, where in quoting this sentence from Strabo the reading of the MSS.

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is the country where not only Sertorius carried on war in his day against Pompey, but also, later on, Sextus, the son of Pompey, against the generals of Caesar. It is beyond Iaccetania, towards the north, that the tribe of the Vasconians is situated, where there is a city Pompeolo or, as one might say, Pompeciopolis.

11. As for the Pyrenees themselves, the Iberian side is well-wooded with trees of every kind and with evergreen; whereas the Celtic side is bare, although the central portions of it encompass glens that are capable of affording a good livelihood. These glens are occupied mostly by Carretanians, of the Iberian stock; and among these people excellent hams are cured, rivalling those of Cantabria, and affording the people no small revenue.

12. Crossing over the Idubeda Mountain, you are at once in Celtiberia, a large and uneven country. The greater part of it in fact is rugged and river-washed; for it is through these regions that the Anas flows, and also the Tagus, and the several rivers next to them, which, rising in Celtiberia, flow down to the western sea. Among these are the Durius, which flows past Numantia and Serguntia, and the Baetis, which, rising in the Orosperda, flows through Oretania into Baetica. Now, in the first place, the parts to the north of the Celtiberians are the home of the Veronians, neighbours of the Cantabrian Coniscans, and they too have their origin in the Celtic expedition; they have a city, Varia, situated at the crossing of the Iberus; and their

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1 Cp. 3. 3. 5.

2 Κελιτηριας, Casaubon, and Siebenkees, for 'Iβηριας; so the others.
εχεῖς δ' εἰσὶ καὶ Βαρδύηταῖς, οὖς οἱ νῦν Βαρδύλους καλοῦσιν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐσπερίου τῶν τε Ἀστύρων τινῶς καὶ τῶν Καλλαϊκῶν καὶ Οὐακκαίων, ἔτι δ' Ουεττώνων καὶ Καρπητανῶν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν νοτίων Ὀρητανοῦ τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τὴν Ὀροσπέδαν οἰκούσι Βαστητανῶν τε καὶ Ἐδητανῶν πρὸς ἔως δὲ Ἰδουβέδα.

13. Αὐτῶν τὰ τῶν Κελτιβήρων εἰς τέταρτα μέρη διηρημένων, οἱ κράτιστοι μάλιστα πρὸς ἔως εἰσὶ καὶ πρὸς νότον οἱ Ἀρονάκτοι, συνάπτοντες Καρπητανοῖς καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Τάγου πηγαῖς πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν ὀνομαστοτάτη Νομαντία. ἔδειξαν δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῷ Κελτιβηρικῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Ὀρωμαίως, εἰκοσατετεῖς γενομένως πολλὰ γὰρ στρατεύματα σὺν ἡγεμόνι ἐφθάρσατο, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον οἱ Νομαντῖνοι πολιορκούμενοι διεκαρτέρησαν πλὴν ὅλων τῶν ἐνδόντων τὸ τείχος. καὶ οἱ Δούσωνες δὲ ἑφοί εἰσί, συνάπτοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς τοῦ Τάγου πηγαῖς. τῶν δ' Ἀρονάκων ἐστὶ καὶ Σεγήδα πόλις καὶ Παλλαντία. δείχει δὲ Νομαντία τῆς Καισαραγουστας, ἢν ἔφαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰβηρί ἱδρυσθαι, σταδίους ἐπὶ ὄκτακοσίους. καὶ Σεγοβρίγα δ' ἐστὶ τῶν Κελτιβήρων πόλις καὶ Βίλβιλις, περὶ δὲ Μέτελλος καὶ Σερτόριος ἐπολέμησαν. Πολυβιος δὲ τὰ τῶν Οὐακκαίων καὶ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἔθνη καὶ χωρία διεξίων συλλέγει ταῖς άλλαις πόλεσι καὶ Σεγεσάμαν καὶ Ἰντερκατίαν. φησί δὲ
territory also runs contiguous to that of the Bardyetans, whom the men of to-day call Bardulians. Secondly, the parts on the western side are the home of some of the Asturians, Calleaicans, and Vacaeanes, and also of the Vettonians and Carpetanians. Thirdly, the southern parts are the home, not only of the Oretanians, but of all other tribes of those Bastetanians and Edetanians that live on the Orospeda. And fourthly, on the east lies the Idubeda.

13. Again, of the four divisions into which the Celtiberians have been separated, the most powerful, generally speaking, are the Arvacans, who live on the east and south, where their territory joins Carpetania and the sources of the Tagus; and they have a city of very great renown, Numantia. They gave proof of their valour in the Celtiberian War against the Romans, which lasted for twenty years; indeed, many armies, officers and all, were destroyed by them, and at the last the Numantians, when besieged, endured till death, except a few who surrendered the fortress. The Lusonians, likewise, live in the east, and their territory, too, joins the sources of the Tagus. The cities of Segeda and Pallantia both belong to the Arvacans. The distance of Numantia from Caesar Augusta, which latter, as I was saying, is situated on the Iberus, is as much as eight hundred stadia. The cities of Segobriga and Bilbilis both belong to the Celtiberians, and it is near these cities that Metellus and Sertorius had their war. Polybius, in detailing the tribes and districts of the Vacaeanes and the Celtiberians, includes with the rest of the cities both Segesama and Intercatia. Poseidonius says that
Ποσειδώνος Μάρκον Μάρκελλον πράξασθαι φόρον ἐκ τῆς Κελτιβηρίας τάλαντα ἐξακόσια· ἐξ οὗ τεκμαίρεσθαι πάρεστιν ὅτι καὶ πολλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ Κελτίβηρες καὶ χρημάτων εὐποροῦντες, καὶ περ ὁμοῦντες χώραν παράλυπρον. Πολυβίον δ’ εὐπόντος πρακοσίας αὐτῶν καταλῦσαι πόλεις Τιβέριοι Θάλκχων, καμωδῶν φήσει τούτο τῷ Θάλκχῳ χαρίσασθαι τοῦ ἀνδρά, τοὺς πύργους καλοῦντα πόλεις, ὡσπερ ἐν ταῖς θριαμβικαῖς πομπαῖς, καὶ ἵσως οὐκ ἀπίστων τούτῳ λέγει· καὶ γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ συγγραφεῖς ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τούτῳ φέρονται τὸ ψεύσμα, καλλωπίζοντες τὰς πράξεις. ἐπεὶ καὶ δὲ φαίσκοντες πλεῖον ἡ χιλίας τὰς τῶν Ἰβήρων ὑπάρξαι πόλεις ἐπὶ τούτῳ φέρσθαι μοι δοκοῦσι, τὰς μέγαλας κόμας πόλεις ὑνομίζοντες. οὕτε γὰρ ἡ τῆς χώρας φύσις πόλεων ἐπίδεκτη πολλῶν ἐστι διὰ τὴν λυπρότητα ἢ διὰ τὸν ἔκτοποςμὸν καὶ τὸ ἀνήμερον, οὐθ’ οἱ βίοι καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν (ἕξω τῶν κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς) ὑπαγορεύοντο τοιοῦτοι οὐδένι· ἐγρίοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ κόμας ὀλκοῦντες· τοιοῦτοι δ’ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἥμερούσιν οὐδ’ αὐτὶ 1 ῥαδίως ὤταν πλεονάζῃ τὸ τὰς ὑλὰς ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν πλησίων ὀικοῦν.

14. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κελτίβηρας πρὸς νότον εἰσὶν οἱ τὸ ὄρος ὀλκοῦντες τὴν Ὄροσπέδαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν Σώκρωνα χώραν Ἐδητανοὶ2 μέχρι Καρχηδόνας, καὶ Βαστητανοὶ καὶ Ὀρητανοὶ σχεδὸν δὲ τι καὶ μέχρι Μαλάκας.

1 aitai, Cobet restores, for aitai; so Forbiger, and Müller-Dühnner.
2 Ἐδητανοί, Kramer, for Σιδητανοί; so the editors in general.
Marcus Marcellus exacted a tribute of six hundred talents from Celtiberia, from which it may be inferred that the Celtiberians were rich as well as numerous, albeit the country they live in is rather poor. But because Polybius went on to say that Tiberius Gracchus destroyed three hundred cities in Celtiberia, Poseidonius makes fun of him, saying that the man did this merely to gratify Gracchus, for he called the towers cities just as they do in the triumphal processions. And perhaps this remark of Poseidonius is not to be discredited, for not only generals but historians as well are easily led to indulge in such falsification as this, in trying to embellish the deeds they describe. In fact, even those who assert that there are more than one thousand cities in Iberia seem to me to be led to do so by calling the big villages cities; for, in the first place, the country is naturally not capable, on account of the poverty of its soil or else on account of the remoteness or wildness of it, of containing many cities, and, secondly, the modes of life and the activities of the inhabitants (apart from those who live on the seaboard of Our Sea) do not suggest anything of the kind; for those who live in villages are wild (and such are most of the Iberians), and even the cities themselves cannot easily tame their inhabitants when these are outnumbered by the folk that live in the forests for the purpose of working mischief upon their neighbours.

14. Next after the Celtiberians, on the south, are the people who live in the Orospeda Mountain and in the country round about the Sucro River, namely, the Edetanians, who extend as far as New Carthage; and then the Bastetanians and the Oretanians, who extend almost as far as Malaca.
15. Πελτασταὶ δ᾿ ἀπαντεῖς, ὡς εἶπεῖν, ὑπῆρξαν οἱ Ἰβηρεῖς καὶ κούφοι κατὰ τὸν ὀπλισμὸν διὰ τὰς ληστείας, οὗν εἴφαμεν τοὺς Αυστιανοὺς, ἄκοντιν καὶ σφενδόνη καὶ μαχαίρα χρώμενοι· ταῖς δὲ πεζαῖς δυνάμει παρεμέμκτο καὶ ἐπιπέδα, δεδωγμένων ἵππων ὀρείβατεῖν καὶ κατοκλάζονται ῥαδίως ἀπὸ προστάγματος, ὅτε τούτου δεόντων. φέρει δ᾿ ἡ Ἰβηρία δορκάδας πολλὰς καὶ ἵππων ἄγριως. ἔστι δ᾿ ὅπου καὶ αἱ λίμναι πληθύνουσι· ὅρνεις δὲ κύκνου καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες· κάστορας φέρουσι μὲν οἱ ποταμοὶ, τὸ δὲ καστοριον οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν τῷ Ποντικῷ ἵππῳ γὰρ τῷ Ποντικῷ πάρεστι τὰ ψαρμακώδες, καθάπερ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς. ἐπεὶ, φησὶν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος, καὶ ὁ Κύπριος χαλκὸς μόνος φέρει τὴν καδμείαν λίθων καὶ τὸ χαλκανθῆς καὶ τὸ σπόδιον. ἱδιον δ᾿ εὔρηκεν ἡ Ἰβηρία ὁ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ τὸ τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἵππους τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὄντας, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν ἔξω μεταχειρίσειν Ἰβηρίων, μεταβάλλειν τὴν χρόνιαν. εἰσικεῖν δὲ τῶν Παρθικῶν, καὶ γὰρ ταχεῖς εἶναι καὶ εὐδρόμους μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων.

16. Καὶ τῶν βιζῶν τῶν εἰς βαφθὲν χρησίμοις πλῆθος. ἔλαιας δὲ πέρι καὶ ἀμπέλου καὶ συκῆς καὶ τῶν παπαπλησίων φυτῶν ὡς καθ᾿ ἡμᾶς Ἰβηρικῆ, παραλίᾳ πάντων ἐυπορεῖ, συχνῇ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκτός. ἡ μὲν παρωκελίτης ἡ πρὸς βορρᾶς ἀμοιρεῖ διὰ τὰ ψύχη, ὡς δ᾿ ἄλλη τὸ πλέον διὰ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν

1 ἐν, before Ἰβηρίς, Maineke deletes.

2 That is, on the Atlantic side.
15. The Iberians were once, virtually all of them, peltasts, and wore light armour on account of their brigand life (as I said of the Lusitanians), using javelin, sling, and dirk. And intermingled with their forces of infantry was a force of cavalry, for their horses were trained to climb mountains, and, whenever there was need for it, to kneel down promptly at the word of command. Iberia produces many deer and wild horses. In places, also, its marshes teem with life; and there are birds, swans and the like; and also bustards in great numbers. As for beavers, the rivers produce them, but the castor from these beavers does not have the same efficacy as that from the beavers of the Pontus; for the medicinal quality of the castor from the Pontus is peculiar to it, as is the case with qualities in many other things. For instance, says Poseidonius, the copper of Cyprus is the only copper which produces calamine and chalcanthite and spodium. And it is peculiar to Iberia, according to Poseidonius, that the crows are black there and also that the slightly dappled horses of Celtiberia change their colour when they are brought over to Farther Iberia. The Celtiberian horses are like those of Parthia, he says, for not only are they faster but they are also smoother runners than the other horses.

16. Iberia also produces quantities of those roots that are useful for dyeing. As for olive-trees, grape-vines, fig-trees, and the similar plants, the Iberian coast on Our Sea is richly supplied with them all, as is also a great part of the outer coasts. But the ocean-coast on the north has none on account of the cold, and, for the most part, the rest of the ocean-coast has none on account of the slovenly
ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸς διαγωγὴν, ἄλλα μᾶλ-
λου πρὸς ἀνάγκην καὶ ὀρμῆν θηριώδη μετὰ ἔθους
φαύλου ξῆν· εἰ μὴ τις οἴεται πρὸς διαγωγὴν ἥν
τοὺς οὐρὸ χουμένους ἐν δεξαμεναῖς παλαιομένων
καὶ τοὺς ὁδόντας σμηγομένους καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς
γυναικὰς αὐτῶν, καθάπερ τοὺς Καντάβρους φασί
cαὶ τοὺς ὀμόρους αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸ
χαμευνεῖν κοινὸν ἔστι τοῖς Ἱβηροῖς πρὸς τοὺς
Κέλτους. ἐνοι δὲ τοὺς Καλλαίκους ἄθεους φασὶ,
toὺς δὲ Κελτίβρας καὶ τοὺς προσβόρους τῶν
ὁμόρων αὐτοῖς ἀνωνύμῳ τινὶ θεῷ θύειν 1 ταῖς
πανσελήνους νύκτωρ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν, πανοικίους
τε χορέων καὶ πανυχιζεῖν. τοὺς δὲ Οὐέττωνας,
ὅτε πρῶτον εἰς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρῆλθον στρα-
tόπεδον, ἱδόντας τὰν ταξιαρχῶν τινας ἀνακάμ-
πτοντας ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς περιπάτου χάριν, μανια
ὑπολαβόντας, ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς
σκηνὰς, ὥς δέον ἡ μένειν καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἱδρυθέντας
ἡ μάχεσθαι.

17. Τῆς δὲ βαρβαρικῆς ἒδεας καὶ τῶν τῶν
γυναικῶν ἐνίων κόσμου θείη τις ἂν, ὅν εἰρήκειν
Ἀρτεμίδωρος· ὅπου μὲν γὰρ περιπατητὴν μεγάλην
φορεῖν αὐτὰς φησιν, ἔχοντα κόρακας καμπτομέ-
νους ὑπὲρ κορυφῆς καὶ προπίπτοντας πρὸ τοῦ
μετόπου πολὺ, κατὰ τούτου δὲ τῶν κοράκων, ὅτε
βούλωνται, καταστῶν τὸ κάλυμμα, ὡστε ἐμπε-
tασθεῖν σκιάδιον τῷ προσώπῳ παρέχειν, καὶ
νομίζειν κόσμου ὃπον δὲ τυμπάνου περικεῖσθαι,
character of the people and the fact that they live on a low moral plane—that is, they have regard, not for rational living, but rather for satisfying their physical needs and bestial instincts—unless some one thinks those men have regard for rational living who bathe with urine which they have aged in cisterns, and wash their teeth with it, both they and their wives, as the Cantabrians and the neighbouring peoples are said to do.¹ But both this custom and that of sleeping on the ground the Iberians share with the Celts. Some say the CALLAICANS have no god, but the Celtiberians and their neighbours on the north offer sacrifice to a nameless god at the seasons of the full moon, by night, in front of the doors of their houses, and whole households dance in chorus and keep it up all night. The Vettonians, when they visited the camp of the Romans for the first time, upon seeing some of the officers promenading up and down the streets merely for the sake of walking around, supposed they were crazy and proceeded to lead the way for them to the tents, thinking they should either remain quietly seated or else be fighting.

17. One might also class as barbaric in character the ornaments of some of the women, of which Artemidorus has told us. In some places, he says, they wear round their necks iron collars which have curved rods that bend overhead and project far in front of their forhead; and at will they draw their veil down over these curved rods, so that the veil, thus spread out, furnishes a sunshade for the face; and all this they consider an ornament. In other places, he says, the women wear round their heads a “tympanium,”² rounded to the back of the head,
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πρὸς μὲν τῷ ἰνῖοι περιφερές, καὶ σφίγγον τὴν κεφαλὴν μέχρι τῶν παρωτίδων, εἰς ύψος δὲ καὶ πλάτος ἐξυππιασμένον κατ’ ὀλίγον· ἀλλὰς δὲ τὰ προκόμια ψιλοῦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὡς’ ἀποστίλβειν τοῦ μετώπου μᾶλλον· τὰς δ’ ὅσον ποδιαῖον τὸ ύψος ἐπιθεμένας στυλίσκοι περιπλέκειν αὐτῷ τὴν χαίτην, εἶτα καλύπτρα μελαίνη περιστέλλειν. πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἀλήθειᾳ τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολλὰ καὶ ἐώραται καὶ μεμύθευται περὶ πάντων κοινῆς τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἐθνῶν, διαφερόντως δὲ τῶν προσβόρρων, οὗ μόνον τὰ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἄλλα καὶ τὰ πρὸς ώμότητα καὶ ἀπόνοιαν θηριώδη καὶ γὰρ τέκνα μητέρες ἐκτειναν πρὶν ἄλωναν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Καυτάβροις, καὶ παιδίον δὲ δεδεμένων αἰχμαλώτων τῶν γονέων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἐκτεινε πάντας, κελεύσαντος τοῦ πατρός, σιδήρου κυριεύσαν, γυνὴ δὲ τοὺς συναλόντας· κληθεῖς δὲ τις εἰς μεθυσκομένους ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς πυράν. κοινὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὰ Κελτικὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ Θράκια καὶ Σκύθικα, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν τὴν τε

1 That is, the cap, which fits closely the back of the head, gradually spreads out from the head at the top and sides (that is, at the front, all the way from ear to ear) and thus forms a sort of sun-bonnnet (op. Tozer, Selections from Strabo, p. 104). The whole head-dress suggests the shape of a kettle-drum, and hence the name. But the Greek here is so incomplete and obscure that Artemidorus may have meant either (1) a cylindrical head-dress, which, as it rises to its top, gradually spreads out in breadth (the head-dress worn at Constantinople in the Byzantine Empire and also called in Greek “tympanium”), or (2) a sort of turban, which covers and fits the hair tightly and spreads out over the top and round the head—just such an improvised head-dress as the
and, as far as the ear-lobes, binding the head tightly, but gradually turned back at the top and sides; and other women keep the hair stripped from the forepart of the head so closely that it glistens more than the forehead does; and still other women put a rod about a foot high on the head, twist the hair round the rod, and then drape it with a black veil. And besides the true reports of this sort, many other things have not only been seen but also narrated with fictitious additions about all the Iberian tribes in common, but especially the northerners—I mean not only the stories relating to their courage but also those relating to their ferocity and bestial insensibility. For instance, at the time of the Cantabrian War mothers killed their children before being taken captive; and even a small boy, whose parents and brothers were in fetters as captives of war, gained possession of a sword and, at the command of his father, killed them all; and a woman killed all her fellow captives; and a certain Cantabrian, upon being summoned into the presence of drunken men, threw himself upon a pyre. But these traits too are shared in common by them with the Celtic as also with the Thracian and Scythian tribes; and negro working-women in the Southern States of America often wear to-day.

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2 Apparently not by cutting, but by plucking or by some destructive agent (cp. Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. 9. 20. 3).
3 That is "insensibility to suffering," or, perhaps better, "contempt for suffering." The same trait is again mentioned by Strabo in § 18.
4 The Cantabrians were subjugated by Augustus in 25 B.C., but they had to be reconquered (by Agrippa) in 19 B.C. Cp. "Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra" (Horace, Carmina, 2. 6. 2).
5 His Roman captors, apparently.
τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν. γεωργούσιν γὰρ ἄρται, τεκοῦσαι τε διακονοῦσι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἐκείνους ἄνθρωπον κατακλίνασαν· ἐν τε τοῖς ἔργοις πολλάκις λοχένονται καὶ λούουσι καὶ σπαργανοῦσιν, ἀποκλίνασαι πρὸς τι βείθρενον. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λυγυστικῇ φησιν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος διηγήσασθαι τὸν ἔγονον ἐαυτῷ Χαρμόλεων, Μασσαλιώτὴν ἄνδρα, ὅτι μισθώσατο ἀνδρας ὅμοι καὶ γυναίκας ἐπὶ σκαφητῶν, ἀδίνασα δὲ μία τῶν γυναικῶν ἀπέλθοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου πλησίον, τεκοῦσα δὲ ἐπανέλθοι ἐπὶ τοῦργον αὐτίκα, ὅπως μὴ ὑπολέσει τὸν μισθὸν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιτόνως ἴδιον ἐργαζόμην, οὐκ εἰδὼς τὴν αἰτίαν προέρχετο ὡς μάθοι καὶ ἀφεῖσθη, δοὺς τὸν μισθὸν ἢ δὲ ἐκκομίσασα τὸ νηπίου πρὸς τι κρηνίου, λούσασα καὶ σπαργανώσασα οἷς εἰχε διασώσειν οἰκᾶς

18. Οὐκ ἴδιον δὲ τῶν Ἰβηρῶν οὐδὲ τοῦτο, σύνδυο ἐπὶ ἔτους κομίζεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς μάχας τὸν ἐτερων πεξόν ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οὐδὲ τὸ τῶν μυῶν πλῆθος ἴδιον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ λοιμικαὶ νόσοι πολλάκις ἡκολούθησαν. συνέβη δ' ἐν τῇ Κανταβρίας τοῦτο τοῖς Ρωμαίοις, ὡστε, καὶ μισθοὺς ἀρνυσθαί μισθοφόρους πρὸς μέτρον ἀποδεικθέν, διεσώζοντο μόλις προσελάμβανε δὲ καὶ ἄλλων στάντως καὶ

1 γὰρ, Jones inserts.
2 λοχένονται Piccoyal, for aῖται; Groskurd, and Meineke conj. τίτοιοι.

1 A custom still in vogue among several primitive peoples (see article in Encom. Br. under "Coyade").
2 The "field-mice" referred to in 3.2.6. The Greek word "mous" may refer to any member of the Muride family; here, presumably, to some sort of rat.
in common also the traits relating to courage—I mean the courage of women as well as of men. For example, these women till the soil, and when they have given birth to a child they put their husbands to bed instead of going to bed themselves and minister to them;¹ and while at work in the fields, oftentimes, they turn aside to some brook, give birth to a child, and bathe and swaddle it. Poseidonius says that in Liguria his host, Charmoleon, a man of Massilia, narrated to him how he had hired men and women together for ditch-digging; and how one of the women, upon being seized with the pangs of childbirth, went aside from her work to a place near by, and, after having given birth to her child, came back to her work at once in order not to lose her pay; and how he himself saw that she was doing her work painfully, but was not aware of the cause till late in the day, when he learned it and sent her away with her wages; and she carried the infant out to a little spring, bathed it, swaddled it with what she had, and brought it safely home.

18. Nor yet is the following custom peculiar to the Iberians alone: they ride double on horseback, though in the time of battle one of the two fights on foot; nor the especially great number of the mice,² from which pestilential diseases have often ensued. This was so much the case for the Romans in Cantabria that, although a proclamation was made that mice-catchers would gain bounties graded in proportion to the number caught, the Romans could barely come through with their lives; and, besides the plague, there was a scarcity, not only of other stuffs, but of grain too; and only with difficulty could they
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σίτου' ἐπεστίζοντο δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκυταύας χαλεπῶς διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας. τῆς δὲ ἀπονοίας καὶ τούτο λέγεται τῆς Καντάβρων, ὅτι ἀλόντες τινές, ἀναπεπηγότες ἐπὶ τῶν σταυρῶν, ἐπαιώνησον. τὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔθνων ἀγριότητος τινος παραδείγματ' ἂν εἴη ὁ τὸ δὲ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ μὲν ἐσως πολιτικά, οὐ θηριώδη δὲ, οἷον τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Καντάβροις τοῖς ἀνδρας διδόναι ταῖς γυναιξί προίκα, τὸ τὰςθυγατέρας κληρονόμους ἀπολείπεσθαι, τοὺς τε ἁδελφοὺς ὑπὸ τοὺτων ἐκδίδοσθαι γυναιξίν. ἔχει γὰρ τινα γυναικοκρατίαν. τούτο δὲ οὗ πᾶν πολιτικῶν. Ἰβηρικῶν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν ἐθεὶ παρατέθεσθαι τοξικῶν, ὃ συντιθέασιν ἐκ βοτάνης σελίνω προσῳμια ἀπονοι, ὡστ' ἔχειν ἐν ἐτοίμῳ πρὸς τὰ ἀβουλητα, καὶ τὸ κατασπένδειν αὐτοὺς, ὀλι ἀν προσθῶνται, ὡστε ἄποθνήσκειν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

1 See footnote 3, p. 111.
2 Apparently one of the wild members of the parsley family (Apioaceae), i.e. fool's parsley (Aethusa cynapium), poison hemlock (Conium maculatum), or water hemlock (Cicuta maculata); more likely, poison hemlock. But perhaps the herb should be identified with that deadly Sardinian herb which Pausanias (10. 17) says is "like parsley," namely, celery-leaved, or marsh, crowfoot (Ranunculus seleratus; see Dioscorides, de Mat. Med. 2. 206), and called by the Greeks "wild parsley." This Sardinian herb produced a convulsive laughter, with a drawing down of the angles of the mouth (Solinus, Collect. Harum Menor 4. 4., Mommsen's ed., p. 51), and ended fatally, with the proverbial "Sardonic smile" (Pausanias, 1 a.) on the victim's face.
3 The Celtiberians deemed it an unholy act for a "devoted"
get supplies out of Aquitania on account of the rough roads. As for the insensibility\(^1\) of the Cantabrians, this instance is also told, namely, that when some captive Cantabrians had been nailed on their crosses they proceeded to sing their paean of victory. Now such traits as these would indicate a certain savageness; and yet there are other things which, although not marks of civilisation perhaps, are not brutish; for instance, it is the custom among the Cantabrians for the husbands to give dowries to their wives, for the daughters to be left as heirs, and the brothers to be married off by their sisters. The custom involves, in fact, a sort of woman-rule—but this is not at all a mark of civilisation. It is also an Iberian custom habitually to keep at hand a poison, which is made by them out of an herb that is nearly like parsley and painless,\(^2\) so as to have it in readiness for any untoward eventuality; and it is an Iberian custom, too, to devote their lives to whomever they attach themselves, even to the point of dying for them.\(^3\)

person to survive his master (Valerius Maximus 2, 6, 11). Thousands of Iberians were "devoted" to Sertorius (Plutarch Sertorius 14); Valerius Maximus (7, 6) gives an account of the revolting acts they committed in their loyalty to Sertorius in the defence of Calaguris; and Henry Swinburne (Travels through Spain in 1775 and 1776, Ninth Letter) quotes from the annals of Catalonia the following epitaph to them: "Hic multae quae se manibus Q. Sertorii turvae, et terrae Mortalium omnium parenti Deoovere, dum, eo sublato, Superesse taeideret et fortiter Pugnando invicem cecidere, Morte ad prassens optata jacent. Valete posteri." And Adiatannus, king of the Sotiates in Aquitania, had 600 "devoted" men, who, in the Celtic language, were called "soldurii," according to Caesar (Bell. Gall. 3, 22) or, according to Athenaeus (6, 54), "siloduri," which word, Athenaeus says, means in Greek "men under a vow."
19. Τινές μὲν οὖν εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διηρήσθαι φασί τὴν χώραν ταύτην, καθάπερ εἰπομεν, ἄλλοι δὲ πενταμερή λέγουσιν. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τάκριβες ἐν τούτοις ἀποδιδόναι διὰ τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν τῶν τόπων. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ ἐνδόξοις αἱ τε μεταναστάσεις γνώριμοι καὶ οἱ μερισμοὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ αἱ μεταβολαί τῶν ὑνομάτων καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο παραπλήσιον θρυλεῖται γὰρ ὑπὸ πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ λαλώστατοι πάντων γεγοναί. ὃσα δὲ καὶ βάρβαρα καὶ ἐκτετοπισμένα καὶ μικρόχωρα καὶ διεσπασμένα, τούτων ὑπομνήματα οὐτ' ἀσφαλῆ ἔστων οὐτε πολλά: ὃσα δὲ δὴ πάρρω τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιτείνει τὴν ἀγνοίαν. οὶ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῖς μιμοῦνται μὲν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἄλλα οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ γὰρ ἄρ λέγουσι παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεταφέροντες, ἐξ ἕαυτῶν δ' οὗ πολὺ μὲν προσφέρονται τὸ φιλείδημον, ὃς οὖν ὁπόταν ἑλληνικὸς γένηται παρ' ἑκείνων, οὔκ ἔστι πολὺ τὸ ἀναπληρούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν ὑνομάτων, ὃσα ἐνδοξότατα, τῶν πλείστων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν προτέρων καλεῖται πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξω τοῦ Ῥωδανοῦ

1 Some MSS. read φιλείδημον. Strabo may have written both words here, as in 1. 2. 29. So Corais.
19. Now although some assert that this country\(^1\) has been divided into four divisions, as I have already stated,\(^2\) others say it has five divisions. But it is impossible, in this case, for us to represent a division that is scientifically accurate, because of the changes which have taken place and the disrepute of the regions. For it is only in the case of the well-known and reputable regions that the migrations, the divisions of the country, the changes in the names, and everything else of that kind, are well known. Indeed, our ears are filled with these things by many, and particularly by the Greeks, who have come to be the most talkative of all men. But as for all the nations that are barbarian and remote, as well as small in territory and split up,\(^3\) their records are neither safe to go by nor numerous; and as for all the nations, of course, that are far off from the Greeks, our ignorance is still greater. Now although the Roman historians are imitators of the Greeks, they do not carry their imitation very far; for what they relate they merely translate from the Greeks, while the fondness for knowledge that they of themselves bring to their histories is inconsiderable; hence, whenever the Greeks leave gaps, all the filling in that is done by the other set of writers is inconsiderable—especially since most of the very famous names are Greek. Take, for example, even Iberia: the historians of former times, it is said, give the name of Iberia to all the country beyond the Rhodanus and that isthmus which is

\(^1\) Celtiberia.  
\(^2\) See 3. 4. 13.  
\(^3\) *i.e.*, as in 3. 4. 5, "into petty divisions and sovereignties."
Strabo

καὶ τοῦ ἵσθμοῦ τοῦ ὕπο τῶν Γαλατικῶν κόλπων σφυγγομένου, οἱ δὲ νῦν ὄριον αὐτῆς τίθενται τῇ Πυρήνῃ, συνωνόμως τε τῇ αὐτῇ Ἰβηριαν λέγονσι καὶ Ἰσπανίαν μόνην 1 ἐκάλουν τῇ ἐντός τοῦ Ἰβηρος, οἱ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον αὐτοὺς τούτους Ἡγλη- 
τας, οὐ πολλὴς χώρας νεμομένους, ὡς φησιν Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανὸς. Ἡρωμαίοι δὲ τῇ 
σύμπασαι καλεσάντες συνωνύμως 2 Ἰβηρίαν τε 
καὶ Ἰσπανίαν τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς μέρος ἐλποῦ τῇ ἐκτός, 
τὸ δὲ ἔτερον τῇ ἐντός· ἀλλοτέ δὲ ἄλλως διαιροῦσι, 
πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς πολιτευόμενου.

20. Νυν δὲ, τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τῶν μὲν ἀποδει-
κθεισῶν τῷ δήμῳ τε καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τῶν δὲ 
τῷ ἱγεμόνι τῶν Ἡρωμαίων, ἡ μὲν Βατικῆ πρόσ-

1 δ', Jones inserts.
2 συνωνύμως, Meineke, for διωνύμως; so Forbiger, Tardieu, 
and C. Müller.

1 They could have used “Iberia” thus only in a general 

sense for “Hesperia,” it seems. Very little was known of 

the interior of the country until the second century b.c., 

and at that time, according to Polybius (3. 37), it was only 

the country along the Mediterranean south of the Pyrenees 

as far as Gibraltar that was called “Iberia,” while the 

country along the “outer sea” had no general name. The 

chronology of Strabo here is obscure; and, so far as we 

know, Hecataeus (b. about 540 b.c.) is the first Greek to 

speak of “Iberia,” and, after him, Herodotus (1. 163). 

Later on, Eratosthenes (276-194 B.C.) is the first to dis-

tinguish Iberia from Celtica (3. 2. 11), of which hitherto 

Iberia had been regarded as only a part; yet, if we accept 

Polybius, “Iberia” did not come to include all the Spanish 

peninsula, and hence equal “Hispania,” until late in the 

second century B.C.

2 On the doubtful origin and meaning of “Iberia” and 

“Hispania,” see Burke-Hume, A History of Spain, vol. i, 


3 That is, between the Iberus and the Pyrenees.

4 Between the Iberus and the Pyrenees.

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comprised between the two Galatic gulfs, whereas the historians of to-day set the Pyrenees as the limit of Iberia and speak synonymously of this same country as “Iberia” and “Hispania”; but they used to give the name of “Iberia” solely to the country this side the Iberus, although the historians still before that called the inhabitants of this very country “Igletes,” who occupy no large territory, as Asclepiades the Myrlean says. But though the Romans called the country as a whole both “Iberia” and “Hispania” synonymously, they spoke of one division of it as “Farther” and of the other as “Hither”; at different times, however, they divide the country in different ways, suiting their government of the country to the requirements of the times.

20. At the present time, now that some of the provinces have been declared the property of the people and the senate, and the others that of the Roman emperor, Baetica belongs to the people; 

5 But Herodorus (fl. about 400 B.C.), according to Stephanus Byzantinus (s. Ἱσήρμαι), places the “Igletes,” or “Gletes,” north of the Cynetes, that is, in south-western Iberia.

4 There was no permanent boundary between Hither and Farther Spain. At first the boundary was the Iberus; Polybius makes it start at a point near Saguntum; after him, even Almeria in Murcia was made the starting-point; and at one time the capital of Hither Spain was Now Carthage, though Augustus changed it to Tarraco. At first Hither Spain was merely the north-east corner; then, for a great part of the first and second centuries B.C., it was roughly bounded, let us say (op. Burke-Hume, op. cit. p. 16, n. 2), by a line running through the modern Almeria, Saragossa and Gerona; and by the time of Julius Caesar, it comprised most of the peninsula except Baetica and Lusitania.

7 The portion belonging to the emperor consisted of such parts of the country as required military defence. Baetica, now being the most civilised and peaceable, naturally fell to the people. Cp. 17. 3. 25.
κευταὶ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ πέμπται στρατηγὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἔχων ταμίαν τε καὶ πρεσβευτὴν ὁριον δ᾽ αὐτῆς τεθέκασαι πρὸς ἡδὸ πλησίον Κασταλῶνος ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ Καίσαρος ἐστὶν πέμπται δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δύο πρεσβευτῶν, στρατηγικὸς τε καὶ υπατικὸς, ὁ μὲν στρατηγικὸς, ἔχων σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβευτήν, δικαιοδοτήσων Λυσιτανοῦς τοὺς παρακείμενους τῇ Βατικῇ καὶ διατείνουσί μέχρι τοῦ Δουρίου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν αὐτοῦ καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτω τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἵδιως ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐνταῦθα δ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Αὐγοῦστα Ἔμερίτα. ἦ δὲ 1 λοιπῆ, αὐτὴ δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ πλείστη τῆς Ἀβηρίας, ὑπὸ τῷ υπατικῷ ἠγεμόνι, στρατιῶν τε ἔχουσι ἀξιόλογον τριῶν που ταγμάτων καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τρεῖς: ὅν ὁ μὲν, δύο ἔχων τάγματα, παραφρουρεῖ τὴν πέραν τοῦ Δουρίου πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους, ἦν οἱ μὲν πρῶτον Λυσιτανοῦς ἔλεγον, οἱ δὲ νῦν Καλλαίκους καλοῦσι: συνάπτει δὲ τούτων τὰ προσάρκτικα ὄρη μετὰ τῶν Ἀστύρων καὶ τῶν Καντάβρων. Ῥεῖ δὲ διὰ τῶν Ἀστύρων Μέλσος ποταμός, καὶ μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω πόλις Νοίγα, καὶ πλησίον ἐκ τοῦ ὥκεανοῦ ἀνάχυσις, ὅριζονσα τοὺς Ἀστυρας ἀπὸ τῶν Καντάβρων. τὴν δ᾽ εἶχες παράρειον 2 μέχρι Πυρῆνης ὁ ἐστερος τῶν πρεσβευτῶν μετὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου τάγματος. ἐπισκοπεῖ δὲ ὁ τρίτος τὴν μεσόγαιαν, συνέχει δὲ τὰ

1 οἱ, Corais inserta.
2 τὴν . . . παράρειον, Kramer, for τὴν . . . παράρειον; so Meineke, Forbiger, and Müller-Dübner.

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and to govern it they send a praetor, who has under him both a quaestor and a legatus; its boundary, though, on the east, has been set in the neighbourhood of Castalo. But all the rest of Iberia is Caesar's; and he sends thither two legati, praetorian and consular respectively; the praetorian legatus, who has with him a legatus of his own, being sent to administer justice to those Lusitanians whose country is situated alongside Baetica and extends as far as the Durius River and its outlets (indeed, at the present time they apply the name Lusitania specifically to this country); and here, too, is the city of Augusta Emerita. The remainder of Caesar's territory (and this is the most of Iberia) is under the consular governor, who has under him, not only a noteworthy army of, I should say, three legions, but also three legati. One of the three, with two legions, guards the frontier of the whole country beyond the Durius to the north: the inhabitants of this country were spoken of by the people of former times as Lusitanians, but by the people of to-day they are called Callaicans. Adjoining this country are the northerly mountains, together with the Asturians and the Cantabrians. The River Melsus flows through Asturia; a little farther on is the city of Noega; and near Noega there is an estuary from the ocean, which estuary is a boundary between the Asturians and the Cantabrians. The country next thereafter, along the mountains as far as the Pyrenees, is guarded by the second of the three legati and the other legion. The third legatus oversees the interior, and also conserves the interests

1 Called above "the consular legatus."
τῶν τογάτων 1 ἡδη λεγομένων ὡς ἄν εἰρηνικῶν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἥμερον καὶ τὸν Ἰταλικὸν τύπου μετακειμένων ἐν τῇ τηθεννικῇ ἐσθήτῃ. οὕτω δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ Κελτίβηρες καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἰβηρίου πλησίον ἐκατέρωθεν οἰκοῦντες μέχρι τῶν πρὸς θαλάττη μερῶν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμόνι διαχειμάζει μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθαλαττιαίοις μέρεσι καὶ μάλιστα τῇ Καρχηδόνι καὶ τῇ Ταρράκωνι δικαιοδοτῶν, θέρους δὲ περίεισιν, ἔφορῶν ἀεὶ τινα τῶν δεομένων ἐπανορθώσεως. εἰσί δὲ καὶ ἐπίτροποι τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἵππικοι ἄνδρες, οἱ διανέμοντες τὰ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς τὴν διοίκησιν τοῦ βίου.

V

1. Τῶν δὲ προκειμένων νῆσων τῆς Ἰβηρίας τὰς μὲν Πιτυνόοσσας δύο καὶ τὰς Γυμνησίας δύο (ὡς καλοῦσι καὶ Βαλιαρίδας) προκεῖσθαι συμβαίνει τῆς μεταξὺ Ταρράκωνος καὶ Σοῦκρωνος παραλίας, ἐφ' ἦς ἱδρυται τὸ Σάγουντον, εἰς δὲ καὶ πελάγια, μᾶλλον δ' 2 αἱ Πιτυνόοσσαι 3 πρὸς ἐστέραν κεκλιμέναι τῶν Γυμνησίων. καλεῖται δ' αὐτῶν ἢ μὲν

1 τογάτων, Kramer and Meineke insert after τῶν (others after λεγομένων).
2 δ', Jones inserts.
3 καὶ, before πρὸς, Spengel deletes.

1 Cp. 3. 2. 15, and footnote.
2 Diodorus Siculus (5. 17) says the islands were “by

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of those peoples who are already called "Togati" 1 (or, as you might say, "peaceably inclined"), and have become transformed, clad in their toga-robe, to their present gentleness of disposition and their Italian mode of life; these latter are the Celtiberians and the peoples that live near them on both sides of the Iberus as far as the regions next to the sea. As for the governor himself, he passes his winters administering justice in the regions by the sea, and especially in New Carthage and Tarraco, while in the summer-time he goes the rounds of his province, always making an inspection of some of the things that require rectification. Caesar also has procurators there, of the equestrian rank, who distribute among the soldiers everything that is necessary for the maintenance of their lives.

V

1. Of the islands which lie off Iberia, the two Pityussae, and the two Gymnesiae (which are also called the Baltiarides), 2 lie off the stretch of coast that is between Tarraco and Sucro, whereon Saguntum is situated; they are also out in the open sea, all of them, although the Pityussae have a greater inclination 3 to the west than the Gymnesiae.

the Greeks called 'Gymnesiae,' on account of the fact that the inhabitants went 'unclad' (γυμνοὶς τῆς ἐσθήτος) in the summer-time" (so Livy, Epit. 60), "but by the natives and the Romans 'Baliarides,' from the fact that they hurl (βάλλειν) big stones with their slings the best of all mankind" (so Livy, l.c., who adds, "or else from Baleus, the companion of Hercules"). Strabo elsewhere (14. 2. 10) makes Baliarides of Phoenician origin.

"Ἐβουσος, πόλειν ἐχουσα ὀμώνυμον κύκλος δὲ τῆς νῆσου τετρακόσιοι στάδιοι, παρώμαλος τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος. ἦ δὲ Ὁφιούσσα ἐρημος καὶ πολὺ ἔλεττων ταῦτης πλησίον κείμενη. τῶν δὲ Γυμνησίων ἡ μὲν μειξὼν ἔχει δύο πόλεις, Πάλμαν καὶ Πολεντίαν, τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἑω κειμένην, τὴν Πολεντίαν, τὴν δ' ἐτέραν πρὸς δύσιν. μῆκος δὲ τῆς νῆσου μικρὸν ἀπολεῖπον τῶν ἐξακοσίων στάδίων, πλάτος δὲ διακοσίων, Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ διπλάσιον ἐδρικε καὶ τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος. ἦ δ' ἔλεττων ὡς διακοσίων ἐβδομήκοντα τῆς Πολεντίας διέχει στάδιοι: κατὰ μέγεθος μὲν οὖν πολὺ τῆς μειξονος ἀπολεῖπται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἄρετην οὐδὲν αὐτῆς χείρων ἔστιν ἀμφο γὰρ εὐδαίμονες καὶ εὐλίμενοι, χοιραδώδεις δὲ κατὰ τὰ στόματα, ὡστε δεῖν πρὸς χορῆς τοῖς εἰσπλέουσι· διὰ δὲ τὴν ἄρετην τῶν τόπων καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες εἰρηναῖοι, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἐβουσον, κακούργοις δὲ πεννὸν ὀλίγων κοινωνίας συστησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πελάγεσι ληστάς, διεβλήθαν ἄπαντες, καὶ διέβη Μέτελλος ἐπ' αὐτούς ὁ Βαλιαρίκος προσαγορευθεῖς, ὡστις καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐκτισε. διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτῆς ἄρετην ἐπι- βουλευόμενοι, καὶ περ ἐφημαῖοι ὄντες, ὦμος σφεν- δονῆται ἄριστοι λέγονται καὶ τούτ' ἥσκησαν, ὡς φασί, διαφερόντως, ἐξ οὗτον Φοίνικες κατέσχον

1 diakosioi (σ'), Cornais insarts; so Groskurd, Kramer, Forbiger, and Meineke. Cp. Pliny (3. 11) who says "'30 miles."
Now one of the Pityussae is called Ebusus, and it has a city of the same name; the circuit of the island is four hundred stadia, with the breadth and the length about equal. The other island, Ophiussa, which lies near Ebusus, is desert and much smaller. Of the Gymnesiae, the larger has two cities, Palma and Polentia, one of which, Polentia, is situated in the eastern part of the island, and the other in the western. The length of the island falls but little short of six hundred stadia, and the breadth but little short of two hundred—although Artemidorus has stated the length and breadth at double these figures. The smaller of the two is about two hundred and seventy stadia distant from Polentia. Now although it falls far short of the larger island in size, it is in no respect inferior thereto in the excellence of its soil; for both are blessed with fertility, and also have good harbours, though the harbours are full of reefs at the entrances, so that there is need of vigilance on the part of those who sail in. And it is on account of the fertility of these regions that the inhabitants are peaceable, as is also the case with the people on the island of Ebusus. But merely because a few criminals among them had formed partnerships with the pirates of the high seas, they were all cast into disrepute, and an over-sea expedition was made against them by Metellus, surnamed Balearicus, who is the man that founded their cities. On account of the same fertility of their islands, however, the inhabitants are ever the object of plots, albeit they are peaceable; still they are spoken of as the best of slingers. And this art they have practised assiduously, so it is said, ever since the Phoenicians took possession
τὰς νήσους. οὕτωι δὲ καὶ ἐνδοσάι λέγονται πρῶτοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους χιτώνας πλατυσήμους· ἠξώστοι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας ἐξήσαν, αἰγίδα περὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοντες ἢ πεπυρακτωμένον ἀκόντιον (σπάνιον δὲ καὶ λελογχωμένον σιδήρῳ μικρῷ), σφενδόνας δὲ περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τρεῖς (μελαγκρανίνας, σχοίνου εἴδος, ἕσσον πλέκεται τὰ σχοινία· καὶ Φιλητᾶς γε ἐν Ερμηνείᾳ:2

λευγαλέος δὲ χιτῶν πεπινωμένος ἠμφί δ’ ἀραιῇ ἔξοι εἰσεῖται κόμμα μελαγκράνινον,3 ὡς σχοίνῳ ἐξωσμένου) μελαγκρανίνας ἢ τριχίνας ἢ νευρίνας· τὴν μὲν μακρόκωλον πρὸς τὰς μακροβολίας, τὴν δὲ βραχύκωλον πρὸς τὰς ἐν βραχεί βολάς, τὴν δὲ μέσην πρὸς τὰς μέγας. ἦσκοῦντο δ’ ἐκ παίδων οὕτως ταῖς σφενδόναις, ὡστ’ οὐδ’ ἀλλοι τοῖς παισὶν ἄρτον ἐδίδοσαν ἀνευ τοῦ τῇ σφενδόνῃ5 τυχεῖν. διόπερ ὁ Μέτελλος, προσπλέων πρὸς τὰς νῆσους, δέρρεις ἐτειων ὑπὲρ τῶν καταστρομάτων σκέπην πρὸς τὰς σφενδόνας. εἰσήγαγε δὲ ἐποίκους τρισχιλίους τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας Ρωμαίων.

2. Πρὸς δὲ τῇ εὐκαρπίᾳ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὸ μηδὲν

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1 μελαγκρανίνας, Kramer, for μελαγκραλίνας; so Meineke.
2 Tyrwhitt conjectures ἐρμή ἐλεγεῖ, for Ἐρμηνεία.
3 μελαγκράνινον, Kramer, for μελαγκραλίνον; so Meineke.
4 μελαγκρανίνας, Kramer, for μελαγκραλίνας; so Meineke.
5 τῇ σφενδόνῃ, Casaubon, for the corrupt τῆς σφενδόνης of the MSS.

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1 That is, for a shield.
2 But cp. Diodorus Siculus, who says (5. 18): “Their equipment for fighting is three slings (so also Florus 3. 8 = 1. 48 in Rosbach’s ed.); and, of these, they keep one round the head, another round the belly, and a third in the hands.”
of the islands. And the Phoenicians are also spoken of as the first to clothe the people there in tunics with a broad border; but the people used to go forth to their fights without a girdle on—with only a goat-skin, wrapped round the arm,\(^1\) or with a javelin that had been hardened in the fire (though in rare cases it was also pointed with a small iron tip), and with three slings worn round the head,\(^2\) of black-tufted rush (that is, a species of rope-rush, out of which the ropes are woven; and Philetas, too, in his "Hermeneia"\(^3\) says, "Sorry his tunic befouled with dirt; and round about him his slender waist is entwined with a strip of black-tufted rush," meaning a man girdled with a rush-robe), of black-tufted rush, I say, or of hair or of sinews: the sling with the long straps for the long shots, the one with the short straps for the shots at short range, and the medium sling for the medium shots. And their training in the use of slings used to be such, from childhood up, that they would not so much as give bread to their children unless they first hit it with the sling.\(^4\) This is why Metellus, when he was approaching the islands from the sea, stretched hides above the decks as a protection against the slings. And he brought thither as colonists three thousand of the Romans who were in Iberia.

2. In addition to the fruitfulness of the soil, there

\(^1\) The works of Philetas of Cos are lost. This "Hermeneia," meaning "Interpretation" (?), is otherwise unknown. The reference may be to a poem of Philetas which, according to Parthenius (Erotica 2), was entitled "Hermes." However, the entire reference has every appearance of being merely a gloss on "black-tufted rush," as was first suggested by Casaubon

\(^2\) So Diodorus 5. 18 and Florus 3. 8.
3. Ἡρακλεῖον καλοῦμένων τῶν σινομένων θηρίων εὐρίσκεσθαι ῥαδίως ἐνταῦθα πρόσεστιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς λαγιδεῖς ἐπιχωρίους εἶναι φασιν, ἀλλὰ κομισθέατων ἐκ τῆς περαιας ὑπὸ τινος ἄρρενος καὶ θηλείας γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπιγονὴν ἢ τοσαύτη κατὶ ἀρχὰς ὑπήρχειν, ὡστε καὶ οἴκους ἀνατρέπειν ἐκ τῆς ὑπονομῆς καὶ δεύδρα, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἀναγκασθῆναι καταφυγεῖν τους ἀνθρώπους. νῦν μὲνοι τὸ εὐμεταχείριστον τῆς θῆρας ἐπικρατεῖν οὐκ εἰ τὴν βλάβην, ἀλλὰ λυσιτελῶς οἱ ἔχοντες καρποῦν τὴν γῆν. αὐτοῖς μὲν οὖν ἐντὸς στηλῶν τῶν Ῥακελείων καλομένων.

1 3. 2. 6.
2 "The Pillars" was used in various senses in ancient times (ep. § 5 below), but the more common conception in Strabo's time appears to have been that of Calpe (the Rock of Gibraltar) and Abilyx (Ximiera, i.e. "Ape Mountain," in Africa). The two isles here referred to as near the Pillars cannot be identified; there are no islands in the strait at Calpe. Scylmenus (142–145) puts the Pillar-isles near Maenaca (now Almunecar), but he says nothing about "Hera's Island." Perhaps the isles at Trafalgar—a cape, called by Mela (2. 6. 9) the Promontory of Juno, on which there was
is also the fact that no injurious animal can easily be found in the Gymnesiae. For even the rabbits there, it is said, are not native, but the stock sprang from a male and female brought over by some person from the opposite mainland; and this stock was, for a fact, so numerous at first, that they even overturned houses and trees by burrowing beneath them, and that, as I have said, the people were forced to have recourse to the Romans. At present, however, the ease with which the rabbits are caught prevents the pest from prevailing; indeed, the landholders reap profitable crops from the soil. Now these islands are this side of what are called the Pillars of Heracles.

3. Close to the Pillars there are two isles, one of which they call Hera’s Island; moreover, there are some who call also these isles the Pillars. Gades, however, is outside the Pillars. Concerning Gades I have said only thus much, that it is about seven hundred and fifty stadia distant from Calpe (that is, it is situated near the outlet of the Baetis), but there is more to be said about it than the others. For example, here live the men who fit out the most and largest merchant-vessels, both for Our Sea and the outer sea, although, in the first place, it is no large island they live in, and, secondly, they do not occupy much of the continent opposite the island, and, thirdly, they are not well-off in the

a temple of Hera (Ptolemaeus 2. 4. 5)—were once regarded as the Pillars. From this, as Gosselin and Groskurdt think, the Promontory of Juno became confused with Calpe; hence a Hera’s Island at Calpe, and also, Groskurdt adds, the invention of a corresponding isle at Abilyx. Cp. the reference to Artemidorus in § 5 below, and see the discussion of Béard, Les Phéniciens et l’Odyssée, vol. i, pp. 264 ff. 3. 1. 8.
STRABO

ἀλλὰν εὐποροῦσες νῆσσων, ἀλλὰ πλέον οἰκούντες τὴν θάλασσαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ οἰκουροῦντες ἢ ἐν 'Ῥώμη διατρίβοντες. ἔπει τιλήθη γε οὐδεμιᾶς ἄν ἀπολείπεσθαι δόξει τῶν ἔξω 'Ῥώμης πόλεων· ἦκουσα γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τιμήσεων πεντακοσίων ἀνδρὰς τιμηθέντας ἱστικοὺς Γαδίτανοὺς, ὡστὶ οὐδένας οὐδὲ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πλὴν τῶν Παταγῶν, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ὄντες ἅγουσιν οὐ πολὺ μείζονα τῶν ἑκατὸν σταδίων τὸ μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ ἐσθ' ὅπου καὶ σταδιάκων. πόλιν δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ὧκουν παντάπασι μικρὰν, προσ- ἐκτισὲ δὲ αὐτοῖς Βάλβος Γαδίτανος ὁ θριαμβεύσας ἄλλην, ἣν Νέαν καλοῦσι· τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἀμφότερος Διδύ- μην, οὐ πλεῖονες εἰκοσὶ σταδίων οὐσαν τὴν περὶ- μετρον, οὐδὲ ταύτην στενοχωρομένην· ὡσὶν γὰρ οἰκουροῦσιν ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ πάντας θαλαττεύων τὸ πλέον, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν περαιάν οἰκεῖν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς προκειμένης νησίδος διὰ τὴν εὐφυίαν, ἥν ὁσπερ ἀντίπολιν πεποιήκασι τῇ Διδύμῃ, χαίροντες τῷ τόπῳ. δὲ λόγῳ δὲ κατὰ σύγκρισιν καὶ ταύτην οἰκοῦσι καὶ τὸ ἐπάνυον ὁ κατεσκευάσαν αὐτοῖς Βάλβος ἐν τῇ περαιά τῆς ἱπείρου. κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐσπερίων τῆς νῆσου μερῶν ἢ πόλις, προσεχὲς δὲ αὐτῇ τελευταίον ἐστι

1 Cp. 5. 1. 7.
2 In 19 B.C., for his victory over the Garamantes and other African peoples.
3 "New" (City).
4 "Twin" (City).
5 Hardly the islet of Trocadero, Tozer thinks (Selections, p. 110), although the description of the islet by Pliny (4. 36) might suit Trocadero. Both Gosselin and Tozer conjecture that the islet here mentioned by Strabo has disappeared, or rather that all that is left of it is the dangerous reef of rocks off Cadiz to the north.

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possession of other islands; indeed, they live mostly on the sea, though a mere few keep at home or else while away their time at Rome. In population, however, Gades does not fall short, it would seem, of any of the cities except Rome; at any rate I have heard that in one of the censuses of our own time there were five hundred men assessed as Gaditanian Knights—a number not equalled even in the case of the Italian cities except Patavium. But though the Gaditanians are so numerous, they occupy an island not much larger than a hundred stadia in length, and in places merely a stadium in breadth. As for their city, the one they lived in at first was very small indeed, but Balbus of Gades, who gained the honour of a triumph, founded another for them, which they call "Nea"; and the city which is composed of the two they call "Didyme," although it is not more than twenty stadia in circuit, and even at that not crowded. For only a few stay at home in the city, because in general they are all at sea, though some live on the continent opposite the island, and also, in particular, on account of its natural advantages, on the islet that lies off Gades; and because they take delight in its geographical position they have made the islet a rival city, as it were, to Didyme. Only a few, however, comparatively speaking, live either on the islet or in the harbour-town which was constructed for them by Balbus on the opposite coast of the mainland. The city of Gades is situated on the westerly parts of the island; and next to it, at the extremity of

6 The Portus Gaditanus of the Romans, now known as Puerto Real.
τὸ Κρόνιον πρὸς τῇ νησίδι τὸ δ' Ἡράκλειον ἐπὶ θάτερα τέτραπται 1 πρὸς ἑώ, καθ' ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τῇ ἦπειρῳ τυγχάνει συνάπτουσα ἡ νῆσος ὅσον σταδιαῖον πορθμὸν ἀπολείπουσα. καὶ λέγουσι μὲν διέχειν τῆς πόλεως δώδεκα μίλια τὸ ἱερὸν, ἵσον ποιοῦντες τὸν τῶν ἁθλων καὶ τὸν τῶν μελίων ἀριθμὸν ἐστὶ δὲ μείζον καὶ σχεδόν τι τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ μῆκους τῆς νῆσου· μῆκος δ' ἐστὶ τῆς νῆσου τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν.
4. Ἐρύθειαν δὲ τὰ Γάδειρα ἔοικε λέγειν ὁ Φερεκύδης, ἐν ἤ τὰ περὶ τὸν Γηρυώνην μυθεύοντι. ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν παραβεβλημένην ταύτη τῇ πόλει νῆσον, πορθμῷ σταδιαίῳ διειργομένην, τὸ εὐβοτον ὄρῳντες, ὅτι τῶν νεμομένων αὐτοῦ προβάτων τὸ γάλα ὅρον οὐ ποιεῖ, τυροποιοῦσί τε πολλῷ ὑδατί μέξαντες διὰ τὴν πιότητα, ἐν πεντήκοντα τε ἡμέραις πνύγεται τὸ ἥδον, εἰ μὴ τις ἀποσχάζων τι τοῦ αἵματος. ἔηρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἢν νέμωνται βο- τάνην, ἄλλα πιαίνει σφόδρα· τεκμαιροῦντί δ' ἐκ τοῦτον 2 πεπλάσθαι τὸν μύθον τὸν περὶ τὰ βουκό- λια τοῦ Γηρυώνου. κοινῇ μὲντοι συνάκιστα πᾶς ὁ ἀγιαλός.

1 τὰ, before πρὸς, Jones deletes.
2 τοῦτον, from the margin of o, for τοῦ (A B C Ο) ; so the other editors.

1 This strait is now called the River of St. Peter.
2 Roman miles.
3 Of Heracles.
4 Strabo means the longitudinal distance between the two extremities of the island. For his definition of "length," see 2. 1. 32 (vol. i, p. 321). Strabo thought that the length
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 5. 3-4

the island and near the islet, is the temple of Cronus; but the temple of Heracles is situated on the other side, facing towards the east, just where the island runs, it so happens, most closely to the mainland, thus leaving a strait of only about a stadium in width.¹ And they say that the temple is twelve miles² distant from the city, thus making the number of the miles equal to that of the Labours;³ yet the distance is greater than that and amounts to almost as much as the length of the island; and the length of the island is that from the west to the east.⁴

¹. By "Erytheia," in which the myth-writers place the adventures of Geryon, Pherecydes seems to mean Gades.⁵ Others, however, think that Erytheia is the island that lies parallel to this city and is separated from it by a strait of a stadium in width,⁶ that is, in view of the fine pasturage there, because the milk of the flocks that pasture there yields no whey. And when they make cheese they first mix the milk with a large amount of water, on account of the fat in the milk. Further, the animals choke to death within fifty days, unless you open a vein and bleed them. The grass upon which they graze is dry, but it makes them very fat; and it is from this fact, it is inferred, that the myth about the cattle of Geryon has been fabricated. The whole of the coast, however, is peopled jointly.⁷

of the island ran about east and west, but it really runs about north-north-west to south-south-east.

⁶ Cp. Pliny 4. 36.

That is, by both Tyrians and Iberians. We are left to assume that the interior of the island was peopled by Tyrians alone.
5. Περὶ δὲ τῆς κτίσεως τῶν Γαδέιρων τοιαύτα λέγοντες μέμνηται Γαδείταυνος χρησμοῦ τινος, ὅν γενέσθαι φασὶν Τυρίων κελεύοντα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἡρακλέους στήλας ἀποικίαν πέμψαι· τοὺς δὲ πεμφθέντας κατασκοπής χάριν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐγένοντο τὸν κατὰ τὴν Κάλπην, νομίζαντας τέρμανας ἐναι τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῆς Ηρακλέους στρατείας τὰ ἀκρα τὰ ¹ ποιοῦντα τὸν πορθμόν, ταυτά δ’ αὐτὰ καὶ Στήλας ὀνομάζειν τὸ λόγον, κατασχεῖν εἰς τις χωρίων ἐντὸς τῶν στενῶν, εἰς ὁ νῦν ἐστιν ἡ τῶν Ἐξενανῶν πόλις· ἐνταῦθα δὲ θύσαντας, μὴ γενομένων καλῶν τῶν ἱερέων, ἀνακάμψαι πάλιν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὀστερον τοὺς πεμφθέντας προελθεῖν ἔξω τοῦ πορθμοῦ περὶ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους εἰς νῆσον Ἡρακλέους ἱεράν, κειμένην κατὰ πόλιν Ὀσσαν τῆς Ἰβηρίας, καὶ νομίζαντας ἐνταῦθα εἶναι τὰς Στήλας θύσαι τῷ θεῷ, μὴ γενομένων δὲ πάλιν καλῶν τῶν ἱερέων, ἐπανελθεῖν οὖκαδε. τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ στόλῳ τοὺς ἀρυκομένους Γάδειρα κτίσαι καὶ ἱδρύσασθαι τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφός τῆς νῆσος τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσπερίους. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν δοκεῖν τὰ ἀκρα τοῦ πορθμοῦ τὰς Στήλας εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ τὰ Γάδειρα, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ πορρώτερον τῶν Γαδείρων ἔξω προκεισθαι. ἐνιοῦ δὲ Στήλας ὑπέλαβον τὴν Κάλπην καὶ τὴν Ἀβίλυκα, τὸ ἀντικείμενον ὄρος

1 τα, Corais inserts before ποιοῦντα.

¹ In speaking of the Pillars or the Strait, Strabo always means “east of” by “inside” and “west of” by “outside.”

² Gosselin would emend to “five hundred,” thus making the limit of the second expedition the cape of Trafalgar and
5. In telling stories of the following sort about the founding of Gades, the Gaditanians recall a certain oracle, which was actually given, they say, to the Tyrians, ordering them to send a colony to the Pillars of Heracles: The men who were sent for the sake of spying out the region, so the story goes, believed, when they got near to the strait at Calpe, that the two capes which formed the strait were ends of the inhabited world and of Heracles’ expedition, and that the capes themselves were what the oracle called “Pillars”; and they therefore landed at a place inside the narrows, namely, where the city of the Exitanians now is; and there they offered sacrifice, but since the sacrifices did not prove favourable they turned homeward again; but the men who were sent at a later period went on outside the strait, about fifteen hundred stadia, to an island sacred to Heracles, situated near the city of Onoba in Iberia, and believing that this was where the Pillars were they offered sacrifice to the god, but since again the sacrifices did not prove favourable they went back home; but the men who arrived on the third expedition founded Gades, and placed the temple in the eastern part of the island but the city in the western. For this reason some are of the opinion that the capes at the strait are the Pillars; others, Gades; and others that they lie on ahead still farther outside the strait than Gades. Again, some have supposed that Calpe and Abilyx are the Pillars, Abilyx being that mountain in Libya its islets, which are 250 stadia east of Gades, since Gades is 750 stadia (3. 1. 8) from Calpe. But Onoba (Huelva), near which this unidentified island is, is near the mouth of the Odiel River, sixty miles west of Gades.
ἐκ τῆς Διβύθης, ὁ φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ Μεταγωγίῳ, Νομαδικῷ ἔθνει, ἠδρύσθαν: οἱ δὲ τὰς πλησίον ἐκατέρου νυσίδας, ὅπι τὴν ἐτέραν Ἡρας νῆσοι ὄνομαξούσιν. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ τὴν μὲν τῆς Ἡρας νῆσον καὶ ἱερὸν λέγει αὐτῆς, ἄλλην δὲ φησιν εἶναι τινα, οὔτ' Ἀβίλυκα ὄρος οὔτ' Μεταγώγιον ἔθνος. καὶ τὰς Πλαγκτάς καὶ τὰς Συμπληγάδας ἐνθάδε μεταφέρουσι τινες, ταύτας εἶναι νομίζοντες Στῆλας, ἃς Πίνδαρος καλεῖ πὺλας Γαδειρίδας, εἰς ταύτας ὑστάτας ἀφίχθαι φῶςκων τὸν Ἡρακλέα. καὶ Δικαίαρχος δὲ καὶ Ἐρατο-

σθένης καὶ Πολύβιος καὶ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἐλ-

λήνων περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀποφαίνουσι τὰς Στῆλας. οἱ δὲ Ἰβηρεῖς καὶ Αἴβυνες ἐν Γαδεῖροις εἶναι φασιν, οὔδεν γὰρ ἐοικέναι στῆλας τὰ περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν. οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖῳ τῷ ἐν Γαδεῖροις χαλ-

κᾶς ὀκταπῆχες, ἐν αἷς ἀναγεγραφέρεται τὸ ἀνά-

λωμα τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ταύτας λέγεσθαι 

φασιν ἐφ' ὧς ἐργώμενοι οἱ τελέσαντες τὸν πλοῦν 

καὶ θύντες τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ διαβοσθήναι παρεσκεύ-

ασαν, ὡς τούτ' εἶναι καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τὸ 

πέρας. τούτων δὲ εἶναι πιθανώτατον καὶ Ποσει-

δώνοις ἡγεῖται τὸν λόγον, τὸν δὲ χρησμὸν καὶ 

τοὺς πόλλους ἀποστόλους ψεῦσμα Φοινικικόν. 

περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀποστόλων τί ἄν τις δισχυρί-

σαίτο πρὸς ἐλεγχον ἢ πίστιν, οὐδετέρως παρά-

λογον ὁν; τὸ δὲ τὰς νησίδας ἢ τὰ ὀρη μὴ φάσκειν

1 ἐν, Kramer inserts, from Casaubon's conj. ; so Meineke.

1 The passage referred to is otherwise unknown to us.

2 That is, the account that associates the Pillars of Heracles with the bronze pillars.

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opposite Calpe which is situated, according to Eratosthenes, in Metagonium, country of a nomadic tribe; while others have supposed that the isles near each mountain, one of which they call Hera's Island, are the Pillars. Artemidorus speaks of Hera's Island and her temple, and he says there is a second isle, yet he does not speak of Mount Abilyx or of a Metagonian tribe. There are some who transfer hither both the Planetae and the Symplegades, because they believe these rocks to be the pillars which Pindar calls the "gates of Gades" when he asserts that they are the farthest limits reached by Heracles.¹ And Dicaearchus, too, and Eratosthenes and Polybius and most of the Greeks represent the Pillars as in the neighbourhood of the strait. But the Iberians and Libyans say that the Pillars are in Gades, for the regions in the neighbourhood of the strait in no respect, they say, resemble pillars. Others say that it is the bronze pillars of eight cubits in the temple of Heracles in Gades, whereon is inscribed the expense incurred in the construction of the temple, that are called the Pillars; and those people who have ended their voyage with visiting these pillars and sacrificing to Heracles have had it noisily spread abroad that this is the end of both land and sea. Poseidonius, too, believes this to be the most plausible account of the matter,² but that the oracle and the many expeditions from Tyre are a Phoenician lie.³ Now, concerning the expeditions, what could one affirm with confidence as to their falsity or trustworthiness when neither of the two opinions is contrary to reason? But to deny that the isles or

¹ Cp. the proverbial "Punic faith."
δοικέναι στῆλαις, ἀλλὰ ξητείων ἐπὶ τῶν κυρίως λεγόμενων στηλῶν τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης ὄρους ἢ τῆς στρατείας τῆς Ἰρακλέους ἕχει μὲν τινα νοῦν ἔθος γὰρ παλαιόν ὑπῆρξε τὸ θεοθάλαι τοιούτους ὄρους, καθάπερ οἱ Ῥηγίνωι τὴν στυλίδα ἔθεαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Πορθμῷ κειμένην, πυργίον τι, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Πελώρου λεγόμενος πύργος ἀντίκειται ταύτῃ τῇ στυλίδι· καὶ οἱ Φιλαινών λεγόμενοι βωμοὶ κατὰ μέση ποὺ τὴν μεταξὺ τῶν Σύρτων γῆν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἱσθμῷ τῷ Κορινθιακῷ μυθομοιεύεται στήλη τις ἰδρυμένη πρότερον, ἢν ἐστησαν κοινὴ οἱ τῆς Ἀττικῆς σὺν τῇ Μεγαρίδῃ κατασχόντες Ἰωνες, ἐξελαθέντες ἐκ τῆς Πελοπόννησου, καὶ οἱ κατασχόντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐπιγράψαντες ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Μεγαρίδι μέρους,

τάδ' οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος, ἀλλ' Ἰωνία,

ἐκ δὲ θατέρου,

τάδ' ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος, οὐκ Ἰωνία.

'Αλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς στρατείας ορια βωμοὺς ἔθετο ἐν τοῖς τόποις εἰς οὓς ὑστάτους ἀφίκετο τῶν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς Ἰνδῶν, μιμοῦμενος τὸν Ἰρακλέα καὶ τῶν Διόνυσων. ἦν μὲν δὴ τὸ ἔθος τούτο.

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1 See 6. 15.
2 See 1. 1. 17.
3 See 17. 3. 20, where Strabo gives the place a different position, namely, on the coast of the Greater Syrtis, i.e. on the Gulf of Sidra. These altars were said to have been erected at the boundary between the Carthaginian Empire and Cyrenaica by the Carthaginian in honour of the two Philaei brothers, who, in order to settle the boundary favourably for Carthage, had given themselves up to be
the mountains resemble pillars, and to search for the limits of the inhabited world or of the expedition of Heracles at Pillars that were properly so called, is indeed a sensible thing to do; for it was a custom in early times to set up landmarks like that. For instance, the people of Rhegium set up the column—a sort of small tower—which stands at the strait; and opposite this column there stands what is called the Tower of Pelorus. And in the land about midway between the Syrtes there stand what are called the Altars of the Philaeni. And mention is made of a pillar placed in former times on the Isthmus of Corinth, which was set up in common by those Ionians who, after their expulsion from the Peloponnesus, got possession of Attica together with Megaris, and by the peoples who got possession of the Peloponnesus; they inscribed on the side of the pillar which faced Megaris, “This is not the Peloponnesus, but Ionia,” on the other, “This is the Peloponnesus, not Ionia.” Again, Alexander set up altars, as limits of his Indian Expedition, in the farthermost regions reached by him in Eastern India, thus imitating Heracles and Dionysus. So then, this custom was indeed in existence.

buried alive in the sand at the boundary (Sallust Jugurtha 79). Pliny (5. 4) says that the altars were of sand, thus implying that the altars were merely the sand-heaps over the two bodies.

4 The Aeolians and Dorians (see 8. 1. 2).

5 Plutarch (Theseus 25) also quotes the couplet, and says that the pillar was set up by Theseus. Strabo gives a fuller account in 9. 1. 6-7.

6 Alexander set up twelve altars in honour of the twelve gods (Diodorus Siculus 17. 95).
6. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τόπους εἰκός ἐστὶ μεταλαμβάνειν τὴν αὐτὴν προσηγοριαν, καὶ μάλιστα ἑπειδὰν ὁ χρόνος διαφθείρῃ τοὺς τεθέντας ὅρους, οὐ γὰρ νῦν οἱ Φιλαίνων βωμοὶ μένουσιν, ἀλλ’ ὁ τόπος μετείληφη τὴν προσηγορίαν οὖν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ στήλῃς φασίν ὀραθήναι κειμένας οὖθεν Ἦρακλέους οὗτε Διονύσου, καὶ λεγομένων μὲντοι καὶ δεικνυμένων τῶν τόπων τινῶν οἳ Μακεδόνες ἐπίστευσον τούτους εἶναι στήλας ἐν οἷς τι σημείων εὑρίσκον η ἡ τῶν περὶ τῶν Δίονυσον ἱστορομένων ἢ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἦρακλέα. κἀνταῦθα δὴ τοὺς μὲν πρώτους οὐκ ἄν ἀπιστήσατι τις ὁρόις χρήσασθαι χειροκρητώς τις, βωμός ἢ πύργος ἢ στυλίσκων, ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων εἰς οὓς ὑστάτους ἦκους τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους (ἐπιφανεστατοὶ δὲ οἱ πορθμοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐπικείμενα ὅρη καὶ αἱ νησίδες πρὸς τὸ ἀποδηλοῦν ἐσχατιᾶς τε καὶ ἄρχας τόπων), ἐκλειπόντων δὲ τῶν χειροκρητῶν ὑπομνημάτων μετενεχθῆναι τούτων εἰς τοὺς τόπους, εἴτε τὰς νησίδας τις βούλεται λέγειν εἴτε τὰς ἀκρας τὰς ποιοῦσας τῶν πορθμῶν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἦδη διορίσασθαι χαλεπόν, ποτέροις χρή προσάψαι τὴν ἐπίκλησιν, διὰ τὸ ἀμφότερος δοικέων τὰς Στῆλας. λέγω δὲ έσκεναί, διότι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἱδρυται τότοις οἱ σαφῶς τὰς ἐσχατιᾶς ὑπαγορεύουσι, καθ’ ὁ καὶ στόμα εἰρηται ὁ πορθμὸς καὶ οὕτως καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους. τὸ δὲ στόμα πρὸς μὲν εἰσπλων ἀρχὴ ἔστι, πρὸς δὲ ἐκπλων ἐσχατον. τὰ οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ στόματι νησίδια, ἔχοντα τὸ εὐπερὶγραφὸν τε καὶ

1 On the occasion of Alexander's Indian campaign.
2 Specifically Strabo has in mind Calpe and Abilyx.
6. More than that, it is reasonable for the place where a landmark is to take on the same appellation, and especially after time has once destroyed the landmark that has been set up. For instance, the Altars of the Philaenii no longer remain, yet the place has taken on the appellation. In India, too, there are no pillars, it is said, either of Heracles or of Dionysus to be seen standing, and, of course, when certain of the places there were spoken of or pointed out to the Macedonians, they believed to be Pillars those places only in which they found some sign of the stories told about Dionysus or of those about Heracles. So, in the case of Gades, too, one might not disbelieve that the first visitors used, so to speak, "hand-wrought" landmarks—altars or towers or pillars—setting them up in the most conspicuous of the farthestmost places they came to (and the most conspicuous places for denoting both the ends and beginnings of regions are the straits, the mountains there situated, and the isles), and that when the hand-wrought monuments had disappeared, their name was transferred to the places—whether you mean thereby the isles, or the capes that form the strait. For this is a distinction now hard to make—I mean to which of the two we should attach the appellation—because the term "Pillars" suits both. I say "suits" because both are situated in places of a sort that clearly suggest the ends; and it is on the strength of this fact that the strait has been called a "mouth,"—not only this strait, but several others as well: that is, as you sail in, the mouth is the beginning, and, as you sail out, the end. Accordingly, it would not be foolish for one to liken to pillars the isles at the mouth, since they have
σημειώσεις, οὗ φαύλως στήλαις ἀπεικάζοι τις ἀνώδος δ' αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ὅρη τὰ ἐπικείμενα τῷ πορθμῷ καὶ ἔξοχήν τινα τοιαύτην ἐμφαίνοντα οἶλαν αἱ
C 172 στυλίδες ἢ αἱ στήλαι. καὶ ὁ Πύνδαρος οὗτος ἀν ὄρθως λέγωι πύλαις Γαδειρίδας, εἰ ἐπὶ τοῦ στομάτος νοοῦντο αἱ στήλαι: πύλαις γὰρ ἐσικε τὰ στομάτα. τὰ δὲ Γάδειρα οὐκ ἐν τοιούτοις ἵδρυται τόποις ὡστε ἀποδηλοῦν ἑσχατιάν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῃ πως κεῖται μεγάλῃ παραλίᾳ κολπώδει.
τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῶς ἀναφέρειν τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ στήλας τῷ ἐνθάδε ἦττον εὐλογοῦν, ὡς ἔμοι φαίνεται οὐ γὰρ ἐμπόρων ἄλλο ἤγεμόνων μᾶλλον ἅρ-
ξάντων τοῦ ὁνόματος τούτου κρατήσαι πιθανον τὴν δόξαν, καθώπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν στη-
λῶν. ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή, ἥν φασιν, οὐκ ἀφίδρυμα ἱερὸν δηλοῦσα, ἀλλὰ ἀναλώματος 
κεφάλαιοι, ἀντιμαρτυρίη τῷ λόγῳ τὰς γὰρ Ἡρακλείου στήλας μνημεία εἶναι δεὶ τῆς ἐκείνου 
μεγαλουργίας, οὐ τῆς Φοινίκων δαπάνης.

7. Φησι δὲ ὁ Πολύβιος κρήνην ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Γαδείραις εἶναι, βαθμῶν ὀλίγων κατάβασιν ἔχουσαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ πότιμον, ἢ ταῖς παλιρροίαις 
τῆς βαλάντης ἀντιπαθεῖν, κατὰ μὲν τὰς πλήμας ἐκλείπουσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀμπέτεις πληρομένην. 
αἰτιᾶται δ' ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους εἰς

1 φασιν, Corais, for φησιν; so subsequent editors.

1 On the bronze pillars (§ 5).
2 That is, the dedication to Heracles of a reproduction (in bronze) of the original pillars, with a record of his achievements.

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the attributes of being both sharp of outline and conspicuous as signs; and so, in the same way, it would not be foolish to liken to pillars the mountains that are situated at the strait, since they present just such a prominent appearance as do columns or pillars. And in this way Pindar would be right in speaking of the "gates of Gades," if the pillars were conceived of as at the mouth; for the mouths of straits are like gates. But Gades is not situated in such a geographical position as to denote an end; rather it lies at about the centre of a long coastline that forms a bay. And the argument that refers those pillars which are in the temple of Heracles at Gades to the Pillars of Heracles is less reasonable still, as it appears to me. For it is plausible that the fame of the name "Pillars of Heracles" prevailed because the name originated, not with merchants, but rather with commanders, just as in the case of the Indian pillars; and besides that, "the inscription"¹ which they speak of, since it does not set forth the dedication of a reproduction² but instead a summary of expense, bears witness against the argument; for the Heracleian pillars should be reminders of Heracles' mighty doings, not of the expenses of the Phoenicians.

7. Polybius says that there is a spring in the Heracleium³ at Gades, with a descent of only a few steps to the water (which is good to drink), and that the spring behaves inversely to the flux and reflux of the sea, since it fails at the time of the flood-tides and fills up at the time of the ebb-tides. And he alleges as the cause of this that the air

¹ The Heracleium includes both the temple and the sacred precinct of Heracles (op. § 9 below).
tēn ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς γῆς ἐκπίπτουν, καλυφθείσης μὲν αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος κατὰ τὰς ἐπιβάσεις τῆς θαλάττης, εἰργεταὶ τῶν οἰκείων τοιούτων ἐξόδων, ἀναστρέφουσ’ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ἐμφράττει τοὺς τῆς πηγῆς πόρους καὶ ποιεῖ λειψυδρίαν, γυμνωθείσης δὲ πάλιν, εὐθυμορῆσαν ἐλευθεροῖ τὰς φλέβας τῆς πηγῆς, ὡσ’ ἀναβλέψει εὐπάρως. 'Αρτεμίδωρος δὲ ἀντεπόν τούτῳ καὶ ἀμα παρ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν θεῶν αἰτίαν, μηναθείς δὲ καὶ τῆς Σίλανοῦ δόξης τοῦ συγγραφέως, οὐ μοι δοκεῖ μνήμης ἀξία εἴπειν, ὡς ἐν ἴδιότης περὶ ταύτα καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ Σίλανος. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ψευδὴ λέγων τὴν ἱστορίαν εἶναι ταύτην δύο φησι’ εἶναι φρεατα ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ τρίτῳ ἐν τῇ πόλει’ τῶν δ’ ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ τὸ μὲν μικρότερον ὑδρευμένων συνεχῶς αὐθωρὸν καὶ ἐκλείπειν, καὶ διαλειπόντων τῆς ὑδρείας πληροῦσθαι πάλιν’ τὸ δὲ μεῖζον δι’ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν ὑδρείαν ἔχον, μειούμενον μέντοι, καθάπερ καὶ τάλλα φρέατα πάντα, νῦν κτωρ πληροῦθαι, μηκέτι ὑδρευμένων’ ἐπειδὴ δὲ συμπίπτει κατὰ τὸν τῆς συμπληρώσεως καιρὸν ἡ ἀμπωτις πολλάκις, πεπιστεύθαι καὶνώς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τὴν ἀντιπάθειαν. ὁτι μὲν οὖν ἡ ἱστορία πεπίστευται καὶ οὕτως οἴρηκε καὶ ήμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παραδόξοις θρυλουμένην παρειλήφαμεν.

1 Casaubon and subsequent editors emend καὶνῶς to κεφάλα.
2 ἀντιπάθειαν, Xylander, for ἀντίπλοιαν; so subsequent editors.

1 Polybius has said that there was “a spring in the Hera-cleium”; Poseidonius says “two wells”; but Pliny (2. 100) says, “At Gades, which is very near the temple of Heraclē.
which is expelled from the depths of the earth to the surface, if the surface be covered by the waters at the time of the overflows of the sea, is shut off from its proper exits there, and turning back into the interior blocks up the passages of the spring and thus causes a failure of water, whereas if the surface be bared of the waters again the air passes straight forward and thus sets free the veins of the spring, so that it gushes forth abundantly. As for Artemidorus, although he speaks out against Polybius and at the same time puts forth a cause of his own, and also recalls the opinion of Silanus the historian, he does not seem to me to have stated anything worth recording, since both he himself and Silanus are, you might say, laymen with respect to these matters. But Poseidonius, although he calls the story of this spring false, says that there are two wells in the Heracleium and a third in the city; and, of the two wells in the Heracleium, if you draw water continuously from the smaller it actually fails in the same hour, and if you leave off drawing the water, it fills up again; whereas you may draw water all day long from the larger (though it is diminished thereby, of course, just as all other wells are), and it fills up by night if you no longer draw from it, but since the ebb-tide often occurs at the particular time of the well's fullness, the natives have believed anew in the inverse-behaviour. Now not only has Poseidonius told us that the story has been believed, but I too, since it is told over and over again among the paradoxes, have been taught the story. And if there is a spring, enclosed like a well,” to which he ascribes the phenomenon of the inverse-behaviour.

2 The paradoxes constituted an important part of the teachings of the Stoics; and Strabo was a Stoic.
C 173 ἡκούομεν δὲ καὶ φρέατα εἶναι, τὰ μὲν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς κήποις τὰ δὲ ἐντός, διὰ δὲ τὴν μνήμην τοῦ υδάτος κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δειγμανάς ἐπιπολάξειν τοῦ λακκαίου υδάτος· εἰ μέντοι καὶ τούτων τι τῶν φρεάτων ἐπιδείκνυται τὴν τῆς ἀντιπαθείας ὑπόνοιαν, οὐκ ἔσμεν. τὰς δ’ αἰτίας, εἴπερ συμβαίνει τὰῦτα οὕτως, ὡς ἐν χαλεπώς ἀποδέχεσθαι δεῖ. εἰκὸς μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἔχειν ὅσ’ ὁ Πολυβίος φησιν· εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν φλεβῶν τινας τῶν πηγαίων νοτισθείσας ἐξωθεὶν χαλαρῶσθαι καὶ παρέκχυσιν εἰς τὰ πλάγια μᾶλλον δίδονα τοῖς υδασιν ἡ ἀναθλίβειν κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέθρον εἰς τὴν κρήσιν (νοτίσθαι δ’ ἀναγκαῖον, ἐπικλύσαντος τοῦ κύματος). εἰ δ’, ὡσπερ Ἀθηνόδωρος φησιν, εἰςπνοῆ τε καὶ ἐκπνοῆ τὸ συμβαίνον περὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀμπώτεις ἑοικεῖν, εἶναι ἄν τινα τῶν ῥέοντων υδάτων, ᾥ κατ’ ἄλλους μὲν πόρους ἔχει τὴν ἐκρυσιν κατὰ φύσιν εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὅν δὴ τὰ στῶματα πηγᾶς καὶ κρῆςς καλοῦμεν, κατ’ ἄλλους δὲ πόρους συνέλκεται πρὸς τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης βάθος· καὶ συνεξαίροντα μὲν ἐκεῖνην, ὡστε πλημμυρεῖν, ὅταν οἷον ἡ ἐκπνοὴ γίνηται, τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπολεῖπει ῥέθρον, πάλιν δ’ ἀναχωρεῖ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ῥέθρον ὅταν κάκειν λάβῃ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν.

8. Οὕτω δὲ πῶς κατ’ ἄλλα δεινοῦς ἀποφαίνων ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἑνταῦθα

1 Strabo considered Athenodorus and Poseidonius the best authorities on the ocean and the tides (1. 1. 9). He has already compared the sea to animated beings (1. 3. 8). And it was a popular doctrine among the Greek and Roman philosophers that the universe was an animal; and in this way they accounted for the tides (Pomponius Mela 3. 1).
have been hearing that there are still other wells, some in the gardens in front of the city, and others within the city, but that on account of the impurity of the water reservoirs of cistern-water are prevalent in the city. Whether, however, any of these wells proves the truth of the supposition of the inverse-behaviour, I do not know. But as for the causes alleged—if it be true that the case is as reported—we should, regarding the problem as a difficult one, welcome them. For it is reasonable to suppose that the cause is what Polybius says it is; and it is reasonable to suppose also that some of the veins of the spring, if soaked from the outside, become relaxed and thus afford their water an outflow at the sides, instead of forcing it up along the old channel into the spring (the veins are of necessity soaked when the tidal wave has washed over the land). Yet if, as Athenodorus says, the case with the flood-tides and with the ebb-tides is like inhalation and exhalation,¹ then, of the flowing waters, he says, there might be some which by certain passages (whose mouths, of course, we call fountains or springs) naturally have their outflow to the surface, and by certain other passages are drawn in together to the depths of the sea; that is, in helping raise the sea² to flood-tide when the exhalation, as it were, takes place, they abandon their proper channel, and then retreat to their proper channel again when the sea itself takes its retreat.

8. I do not know how Poseidonius, who in other instances has represented the Phoenicians as clever

¹ See the argument of Strato the physicist and the discussion of Strabo in 1. 3. 4-5.
μωρίαν μᾶλλον ἡ δρμύτητα αὐτῶν κατέγνωκεν. ἡμέρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ νῦξ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου περιφορὰ¹ μετρεῖται, τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ γῆς ὄντος, τοτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ ἐκ τῆς φαινομένου· φησὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀκεανοῦ κίνησιν ὑπέχειν ἀστροειδὴ περίδοχον, τὴν μὲν ἡμερήσιον ἀποδιδότας, τὴν δὲ μημαίαν, τὴν δὲ ἐνιαυσίαν συμπαθῶς τῇ σελήνῃ. ὡσὶ δὴ ἀντὶ ξώδιον μέγεθος ὑπερέχῃ τοῦ ὄριζοντος, ἀρχεσθαι διαδεῖν ἡ τῆς θάλαττας καὶ ἐπιβαίνειν τῆς γῆς αἰσθητῶς μέχρι μεσουρανήσεως· ἐκκλίναντος δὲ τοῦ ἀστρου, πάλιν ἀναχωρεῖν τὸ πέλαγος κατ’ ὀλίγον, ἐως ἢ ξώδιον ὑπερέχῃ τῆς δύσεως ἡ σελήνη· εἶτα μένειν τοσοῦτον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ καταστάσει χρόνον ὅσον ἡ σελήνη συνάπτει πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν δύσιν, καὶ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον τοσοῦτον ὅσον κινηθεῖσα ὑπὸ γῆς ξώδιον ἀπόσχοι ἀν τοῦ ὄριζοντος· εἶτε ἐπιβαίνειν πάλιν ἐως τοῦ ὑπὸ γῆς μεσουρανήσματος· εἶτε ἀναχωρεῖν ἐως ἢ τὰς ἀνατολας περιχωρήσασα ἡ σελήνη ξώδιον τοῦ ὄριζοντος ἀπόσχοι· μένειν δὲ μέχρις ἢ ἡ ξώδιον ὑπεργῆς μετεωρισθῆ, καὶ πάλιν ἐπιβαίνειν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶναι λέγει τὴν ἡμερήσιον περίδοχον· τὴν δὲ μημαίαν, ὅτι μέγεστα μὲν αἱ παλαρροίαι γίγνονται περὶ τὰς συνόδους, εἶτα μειοῦνται μέχρι δισετόμου· πάλιν δέ αὐξάνει μέχρι πανσελήνου, καὶ μειοῦνται πάλιν ἐως δισετόμου φθινάδος· εἰδ’

1 τῇ ... περιφορά, Corais, for ἡ ... περιφορά; so the subsequent editors.
2 διαδείν, the reading of the Epitome, for δεῖν ABCEδ.

¹ That is, 30°.
² That is, when the sun and moon meet or pass each other in the same degree of the zodiac; and hence at the time of the new moon.

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people, can here charge them with foolishness rather than shrewdness. In the first place, a day and night is measured by the revolution of the sun, which, at one time, is below the earth, but, at another, shines above the earth. And yet Poseidonius says that the movement of the ocean is subject to periods like those of the heavenly bodies, since, behaving in accord with the moon, the movement exhibits first the diurnal, secondly the monthly, and thirdly the yearly period; for when the moon rises above the horizon to the extent of a zodiacal sign,¹ the sea begins to swell, and perceptibly invades the land until the moon is in the meridian; but when the heavenly body has begun to decline, the sea retreats again, little by little, until the moon rises a zodiacal sign above her setting; then remains stationary until such time as the moon reaches the setting itself, and, still more than that, until such time as the moon, moving on below the earth, should be a sign distant from the horizon; then invades the land again until the moon reaches the meridian below the earth; then retreats until the moon, moving round towards her risings, is a sign distant from the horizon; but remains stationary again until the moon is elevated a sign above the earth, and then it again invades the land. This, he continues, is the diurnal period. As for the monthly period, he says the flux and reflux become greatest about the time of the conjunction,² and then diminish until the half-moon;³ and, again, they increase until the full moon and diminish again until the waning half-moon;⁴ and then, until the

³ The first quarter. ¹ The third quarter.
ἐὼς τῶν συνόδων αἱ αὐξήσεις, πλεονάζεων δὲ καὶ
χρόνῳ καὶ τάχει τὰς αὐξήσεις. τὰς δὲ ἐνναυσιαίας
παρὰ τῶν ἐν Γαδερίοις πυθέσθαι φησί, λεγόντων
ὡς κατὰ θερινὰς τροπὰς μάλιστα αὐξομένῳ καὶ αἱ
ἀναχωρήσεις καὶ αἱ ἔπιबάσεις. εἰκάζει δ' αὐτὸς
ἀπὸ τῶν τροπῶν μειοῦσθαι μὲν ἐως ἴσημερίας,
αὔξεσθαι δὲ ἐως χειμερινῶν τροπῶν, εἰτ' μειοῦ-
σθαι μέχρι ἕαρινῆς ἴσημερίας, εἰτ' αὔξεσθαι μέχρι
θερινῶν τροπῶν. τῶν δὲ περιόδων τούτων οὐσῶν
καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα, τὸν συνάμφω
χρόνον διὸ μὲν ἐπιβαινοῦσας τῆς θαλάττης, διὸς
δὲ ἀναχωροῦσας, τεταγμένως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἴσημι-
σίων χρόνων καὶ τῶν υπερβολῶν, πῶς οἶον τε πολλάκις
μὲν συμβαίνειν κατὰ τὰς ἀμπώτεις τῆς πληροσι
τού φρέατος, μηδὲν πολλάκις δὲ τὴν λειψυδρίαν;
ἡ πολλάκις μὲν, μηδὲν ἴσακις δὲ; ἡ καὶ ἴσακις
τοὺς δὲ Γαδερίτας ταύτα μὲν μὴ ἐκανοῦς γενέσθαι
tηρῆσαι τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν γενόμενα, τὰς δὲ ἐννα-
σίους περιόδους ἐκ τῶν ἀπαξ συμβαινόντων κατ'
ἐτος τηρῆσαι; ἄλλα μὴν ὅτι γε πιστεῦει αὐτοῖς,
ὅλον ἐξ ἂν καὶ προσεικάζει γίνεσθαι τὰς μειο-
σίεις καὶ πάλιν αὐξήσεις ἀπὸ τροπῶν ἐπὶ τροπάς
τε ἑτέρας κάκειθεν πάλιν ἐπανόδους, καὶ μὴν

1 δὲ, before μὲν, Meineke omits.
2 τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν γενόμενα, after τηρῆσαι, Corais and the
others omit.
3 γίνεσθαι, Corais, for γενέσθαι; the subsequent editors
following.

1 That is, from the time of the third quarter on to that
of the new moon, the interval of time between high-tide
and high-tide (or low-tide and low-tide) increases, the same
being also true of the velocity.

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conjunction, the increases take place again, and the increases are further increased in respect both to duration and to speed.\(^1\) As for the annual periods, he says that he learned of them from the people at Gades, who told him that both the retreat and the invasion grew greatest at the time of the summer solstice. And from this he himself surmises that they are diminished from that solstice up to the equinox,\(^2\) increased up to the winter solstice, then diminished up to the spring equinox, and then increased up to the summer solstice. But if these periods repeat themselves every separate day and night, the sea invading the land twice and also retreating twice during the combined time of day and night, in regular order both within the day-time and within the night-time, how is it possible for the filling up of the well to occur "often" at the time of the ebb-tides\(^3\) but for the failure not also to occur often? or often, but not equally often? or even equally often indeed, but for the people of Gades to have been incapable of observing these phenomena that were taking place every day, and yet to have been capable of observing the annual periods from what occurred only once a year? Furthermore, that Poseidonius really believes these people, is clear from the surmise which he adds to their story, namely, that the diminutions, and, in turn, the increases, take place from one solstice on to the other, and also that recurrences take place from the latter solstice back to the former. Moreover, that other

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\(^1\) The autuminal equinox.

\(^2\) This assertion is attributed by Strabo to Poseidonius, not to the Phoenicians (cp. §7 above).
οὔτε ἐκεῖνο εἰκός, ὅτι τηρητικὸν ὄντες τὰ μὲν συμβαίνοντα οὐκ εἴδον, τοῖς δὲ μὴ συμβαίνουσιν ἐπιστεῦσαν.

9. Φησὶ δ’ οὖν Σέλευκον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑρυθρᾶς θαλάττης καὶ ἀνωμαλίαν τινὰ ἐν τούτοις καὶ ὀμαλότητα λέγειν κατὰ τὰς τῶν ξωδίων διαφορὰς εὖ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἱσημερινοῖς ξωδίοις τῆς σελήνης οὐσίας ὀμαλίξειν τὰ πάθη, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τροπικοῖς ἀνωμαλίαν εἰναι, καὶ πλήθει καὶ τάχει, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ἐκάστω κατὰ τοὺς συνεγγυσμοὺς εἰναι τὴν ἁναλογίαν. ἀυτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον φησιν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ γενόμενος τῷ ἐν Γαδείροις πλείους ἡμέρας μὴ δύνασθαι συνείναι τὰς ἐνυασίους διαφορὰς. περὶ μέντοι τὴν σύνοδον ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς τηρήσας μεγάλην παραλλαγὴν ἐν Ἰλίπτα τῆς τοῦ Βαϊτίου ἀνακοπῆς παρὰ τὰς ἔμπροσθεν, ἐν αἷς οὔδε ἐως ἡμίσους τὰς ὄχθας ἑβρεχές τότε δ’ ὑπερεχεῖσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ ὅσθ’ ὑδρεύεσθαι τούς στρατιώτας αὐτόθι (διέχει δ’

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1 At the beginning of § 8 Strabo sets out, rather capriciously, to prove inconsistency and injustice on the part of Poseidonius. The latter had accused the Phoenicians (the people of Gades) of having the foolish notion about the "reverse-behaviour," of being incapable of seeing the daily phenomena, and of believing in things that did not occur; nevertheless, Strabo means, Poseidonius bases his own remarks about the tides upon what he had learned from the people of Gades, for example, that "the retreat and the invasion grew greatest at the time of the summer solstice." Of course, Strabo denies neither Poseidonius' account of the tides, nor the relation that Poseidonius says exists between the tides and the motion of the moon, both of which, so far as they go, are substantially correct. Cp. Pliny, 2. 99.

2 The Chaldaean astronomer (1. 1. 9. and 16. 1. 6).
supposition of Poseidonius is not reasonable either, namely, that, although they were an observant people, they did not see the phenomena that occurred and yet believed in the things that did not occur.¹

9. Be that as it may, he says that Seleucus—the Seleucus² from the region of the Erythraean Sea—speaks of a certain irregularity in these phenomena, or regularity, according to the differences of the signs of the zodiæ; that is, if the moon is in the equinoctial signs, the behaviour of the tides is regular, but, in the solstitial signs, irregular, in respect both to amount and to speed, while, in each of the other signs, the relation³ is in proportion to the nearness of the moon’s approach.⁴ But although he himself spent several days in the Herculeum at Gades at the summer solstice, about the time of the full moon, as he says, he was unable to discern those annual differences in the tides; about the time of the conjunction, however, during that month, he observed at Iliipa a great variation in the back-water of the Bætis, that is, as compared with the previous variations, in the course of which the water did not wet the banks so much as half-way up, whereas at the time in question the water overflowed to such an extent that the soldiers⁵ got their supply of water on the spot (and Iliipa is about

² That is, the comparative regularity or irregularity of the tides.
³ That is, to the equinoctial or the solstitial signs. It is clear from this passage that Seleucus had solved the law which governs the diurnal inequality of the tide in the Indian Ocean.
⁴ That is, the Roman soldiers who were stationed at Iliipa.
'Ιλίπα τής θαλάττης περὶ ἐπτακοσίους σταδίους· τῶν δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίων καὶ ἐπὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους εἰς βάθος καλυπτομένων ὑπὸ τῆς πλημμυρίδος ἄστε καὶ νῆσους ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι, τὸ τῆς κρηπίδος ύψος τῆς τε τού νεώ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἦρακλεώ καὶ τῆς τοῦ χώματος δ' τοῦ λιμένος πρόκειται τοῦ ἐν Γαδείροις, οὐδ' ἐπὶ δέκα πήχεις καλυπτόμενον ἀναμετρήσαι φησι· κἂν προσθῇ δὲ τις τὸ διπλάσιον τούτου κατὰ τὰς γενομένας ποτὲ παραυξήσεις, οὔτω παρασχέειν ἂν τὴν ἐμφάσιν, ἂν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις παρέχεται τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πλημμυρίδος. τούτο μὲν δὴ τὸ πάθος καινὸν ἵστορεῖται κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν κύκλον παρωκεανίτιν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἰβηρος ποταμοῦ καινὸν καὶ ἔδιον, φησὶν οὔτος· πλημμυρεῖν γὰρ ἐσθ' ὅπου τε, καὶ χωρίς ὀμβρίων καὶ χιόνων, ἐπειδὰν τὰ βόρεια πνεύματα πλεονάσῃ, αἰτίαν δ' εἶναι τὴν λίμνην δι' ἢς ρεῖ· συνεκβάλλεσθαι γὰρ τὸ λιμναῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνεμων.

10. Ἡστορεῖ δὲ καὶ δένδρον ἐν Γαδείροις ὄξους ἔχουν καμπτομένους εἰς ἔδαφος, πολλάκις δὲ φύλλα εἰφωειδὴ πηχυαία τὸ μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ τετραδάκτυλα. περὶ δὲ Νέαν Καρχηδόνα δένδρον ἐξ ἀκάνθης φλοιῶν ἀφιέναι, ἔξοι ὑφάσματα γίνεται κάλλιστα. τῷ μὲν οὖν ἐν Γαδείροις καὶ ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν 1 ὀμοίον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατὰ τὴν τῶν κλά-

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1 Corais, Cobet, and Vogel would follow the reading of B and ἥ: εἴδομεν.

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1 Some of the MSS. read "fifty."
2 See 3. 2. 4. 2 Perhaps the Dracon. Draco. 4 Strabo apparently means the fibre ("bark") in the leaf-sheaths ("thorns") of the European dwarf fan-palm.
seven hundred stadia distant from the sea). And, he continues, although the plains near the sea were covered as far as thirty\textsuperscript{1} stadia inland, to such a depth that islands were enclosed by the flood-tide,\textsuperscript{2} still the altitude of the foundations, both the foundation of the temple in the Heracleum and that of the mole which lies in front of the port of Gades, was, by his own measurement, as he says, not covered as high up as ten cubits; and further, if one should add the double of this figure for the additional increases which at times have taken place, one might thus present to the imagination the aspect which is produced in the plains by the magnitude of the flood-tide. This behaviour of the tides, then, according to his account, is general along the whole circuit of the ocean-coast, whereas the behaviour of the Iberus River is “novel, and peculiar,” he says, to that river, namely: it floods the country in some places, even independently of rains or snows, when the north winds blow to excess; and the lake through which the river flows is the cause of this, since the lake-water is by the winds driven out of the lake along with the river-water.

10. Poseidonius also tells of a tree\textsuperscript{3} in Gades which has branches that bend to the ground, and oftentimes has leaves (they are sword-like) a cubit in length but only four fingers in breadth. And near New Carthage, he says, there is a tree whose thorns yield a bark\textsuperscript{4} out of which most beautiful woven stuffs are made. Now I too know a tree\textsuperscript{5} in Egypt which is like that in Gades so far as the bending (\textit{Chamaecyparis humilis}). This fibre is called “African hair,” and a fabric like haircloth is still made from it.

\textsuperscript{5} Clearly a tree of the genus \textit{Salix} (willow family).
δων κατάκαμψιν, τούς δὲ φύλλοις ἀνόμοιον, οὐδὲ καρπὸν ἔχον· τούτο δὲ ἔχειν φησί. τὰ δὲ ἀκάνθινα ὑφαίνεται καὶ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ, φέρει δὲ οὐδὲν δένδρον τὴν ἁκανθαν, ἐξ ἡς ὁ φλοιὸς, ἀλλὰ χαμαιξηλὸς ἢ θοτάνη. τὸ δὲ δένδρῳ τὸ ἐν Γαδείρῳς καὶ τούτῳ προσιστόρηται, ὅτι κλάδου μὲν ἀποκλωμένου γάλα μεῖ, βίζης δὲ τεμνομένης μιλτῶδες ύγρὸν ἀναφέρεται τοσαύτα καὶ περὶ Γαδείρων.

11. Αἱ δὲ Καττηρίδες δέκα μὲν εἴσιν, κεῖνται δὲ ἐγγύς ἀλλήλων, πρὸς ἄρκτον ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἁρταβρῶν λιμένος πελάγιαν μία δ’ αὐτῶν ἔρημός ἐστι, τὰς δ’ ἄλλας οἰκοῦσιν ἀνθρωποὶ μελάγχλαινοι, ποδήρεις ἐνυδεκάτες τοὺς χιτώνας, ἐξωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στέρνα, μετὰ ῥάβδων περιπατοῦντες, ὁμοίοι ταῖς τραγικαῖς Ποιναῖς: ζώσι δ’ ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων νομαδικῶς τὸ πλέον. μέταλλα δὲ ἔχοντες καττηρέου καὶ μολύβδου κέραμον ἀντὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν δερμάτων διαλλάττονται καὶ ἀλας καὶ χαλκώματα πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους, πρότερον μὲν οὖν Φοινίκες μόνοι τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐστελλον ταύτην ἐκ τῶν Γαδείρων, κρύπτοντες ἀπασὶ τῶν πλοίων τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπακολουθοῦντων ναυκλήρῳ τινί, ὅπως καὶ ἄλοι γυοῦσιν τὰ ἐμπόρια, φθόνῳ δ’ ναυ- κληρος ἐκὼν εἰς τέναγος ἐξέβαλε τὴν ναῦν, ἐπαγαγὼν δ’ εἰς τὸν αὐτῶν ὀλεθρον καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους, ἀυτὸς ἐσώθη διὰ ναυαγίον καὶ ἀπέλαβε δημοσία τὴν τιμήν ὃν ἀπέβαλε φορτίων. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι δὲ ὅμως πειρώμενοι πολλάκις ἐξέμαθον τὸν πλοίουν.
down of the branches is concerned, but unlike it in respect to the leaves and also in that it has no fruit (he says the tree in Gades has fruit). Thorn-stuffs are woven in Cappadocia also; it is no tree, however, that produces the bark-yielding thorn, but only a sort of herb that keeps close to the ground. In regard to the tree at Gades, this additional circumstance is told: if a branch is broken, milk flows from it, while if a root is cut, a red liquid oozes forth. Concerning Gades, then, I have said enough.

11. The Cassiterides are ten in number, and they lie near each other in the high sea to the north of the port of the Artabrians. One of them is desert, but the rest are inhabited by people who wear black cloaks, go clad in tunics that reach to their feet, wear belts around their breasts, walk around with canes, and resemble the goddesses of Vengeance in tragedies. They live off their herds, leading for the most part a nomadic life. As they have mines of tin and lead, they give these metals and the hides from their cattle to the sea-traders in exchange for pottery, salt and copper utensils. Now in former times it was the Phoenicians alone who carried on this commerce (that is, from Gades), for they kept the voyage hidden from every one else. And when once the Romans were closely following a certain ship-captain in order that they too might learn the markets in question, out of jealousy the ship-captain purposely drove his ship out of its course into shoal water; and after he had lured the followers into the same ruin, he himself escaped by a piece of wreckage and received from the State the value of the cargo he had lost. Still, by trying many times, the Romans learned all about the
ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Πόπλιος Κράσσος διαβάς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἑγνω τὰ μέταλλα ἐκ μικροῦ βάθους ὀρυττόμενα καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας εἰρηναίους, ἐκ περιουσίας ἡδη τὴν θάλατταν ἐργάζεσθαι ταύτην τοὺς ἐθέλονσιν ἐπέδειξε, καὶ περὶ οὗσαν πλεῖω τῆς διειργούσης τῆν Βρεττανικήν. καὶ περὶ μὲν Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῶν προκειμένων νῆσων ταύτα.

1 εἰς, before τὴν, Corais deletes; so subsequent editors.
voyage After Publius Crassus crossed over to these people and saw that the metals were being dug from only a slight depth, and that the men there were peaceable, he forthwith laid abundant information before all who wished to traffic over this sea, albeit a wider sea than that which separates Britain from the continent. So much, then, for Iberia and the islands that lie off its coast.
BOOK IV
Δ'

I

1. Ἔφεξῆς δ' ἐστὶν ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπεων Κελτικῆς ταῦτης δὲ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ὑπογέγραπται πρῶτερον τυπώδως καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· νυνὶ δὲ λεκτέου ἡ καθ’ ἑκαστὰ. οἱ μὲν δὲ τριχῇ διήρουν, Ἀκυντανοὺς καὶ Βέλγας καλοῦντες καὶ Κέλτας· τοὺς μὲν Ἀκυντανοὺς τελέως ἔξηλλαγμένους οὐ τῇ γλώττῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἐμφερέσ᾽ Ἰβηροι μᾶλλον ἡ Γαλάταις· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Γαλατικοὺς μὲν τὴν ὅψιν, ὁμογλώττους δ' οὐ πάντας, ἀλλ' ἐνίοις μικρόν παραλλάττοντας ταῖς γλώτταις, καὶ αἱ πολιτείαι δὲ καὶ οἱ βίοι μικρὸν ἔξηλλαγμένοι εἰσίν. Ἀκυντανοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ Κέλτας ἐλεγον τοὺς πρὸς τῇ Πυρηνή, διωρισμένους τῷ Κεμένῳ ὀρέι. εὑρηται γὰρ ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ταῦτην ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς δύσεως ὀρίζει τὰ Πυρηναία ὅρη, προσαπτόμενα τῆς ἐκατέρωθεν θαλάττης, τῆς τε ἐντὸς καὶ τῆς ἐκτός· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνατολῶν ὁ Ῥήνος, παράλληλος ὁμ τῇ Πυρηνῇ. τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων καὶ τῆς μεσημβρίας, τὰ μὲν ὁ ὁκεανὸς περιείληφεν, ἀρξά-

1 αἱ πολιτείαι, Jones, for politeia.

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1 That is, after Iberia.
2 The “Transalpine Gaul” of the Romans.
3 2. 5. 28 and 3. 1. 3.

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BOOK IV

I

1. Next, in order, comes Transalpine Celtica. I have already indicated roughly both the shape and the size of this country; but now I must speak of it in detail. Some, as we know, have divided it into three parts, calling its inhabitants Aquitani, Belgae, and Celtae. The Aquitani, they said, are wholly different, not only in respect to their language but also in respect to their physique—more like the Iberians than the Galatae; while the rest of the inhabitants are Galatic in appearance, although not all speak the same language, but some make slight variations in their languages. Furthermore, their governments and their modes of life are slightly different. Now by "Aquitani" and "Celtae" they meant the two peoples (separated from each other by the Cemmenus Mountain) who live next to the Pyrenees; for, as has already been said, this Celtica is bounded on the west by the Pyrenees Mountains, which join the sea on either side, that is, both the inner and the outer sea; on the east, by the River Rhenus, which is parallel to the Pyrenees; as for the parts on the north and the south, those on the north are surrounded by the ocean (beginning at the

4 See 4. 1. 14 for the distinction between "Celtae" and "Celti." 5 2. 5. 28.
μενὸς ἀπὸ τῶν βορείων ἄκρων τῆς Πυρήνης, μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ 'Ρήμου, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἑναυτίας ἦ κατὰ Μασσαλίαν καὶ Νάρβωνα θάλαττα καὶ αἱ 'Αλπεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Δαυστεικῆς ἐρξάμεναι μέχρι τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ 'Ρήμου. τῇ δὲ Πυρήνῃ πρὸς ὅρθας ἦκται Κέμμενον ὄρος διὰ μέσου τῶν πεδίων, καὶ παῦεται κατὰ μέσα πλησίον Λουγδούνου, περὶ δισχιλίων ἐκταθέν σταδίους. 'Ακυϊτανοὺς μὲν τῶνν ἐλεγον τοὺς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Πυρήνης μέρη κατέχοντας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κέμμενης μέχρι πρὸς τὸν ὥκεανον τὰ ἐντὸς Παρούνα ποταμοῦ, Κέλτας δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ βύτερα μέρη καθήκοντας καὶ τὴν κατὰ Μασσαλίαν καὶ Νάρβωνα θάλατταν, ἀπομένους δὲ καὶ τῶν 'Αλπειων ὄρων ἐνώπιον, Βέλγας δὲ ἐλεγον τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς παρωκεαντῶν μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ 'Ρήμου καὶ τίνας τῶν παροικοῦντων τῶν 'Ρήμου καὶ τὰς 'Αλπεῖς. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκεν. ὁ δὲ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ τετραχῇ διελὼν τοὺς μὲν Κέλτας τῆς Ναρβωνίτιδος ἐπαρχίας ἀπέφηνεν, 'Ακυϊτανοὺς δὲ οὕσπερ κάκεῖνος, προσέθηκε δὲ τετταρεσκαίδεκα ἐθνῆ τῶν μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαρούνα καὶ τοῦ Δεύγηρος ποταμοῦ νεμομένων τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν διελῶν δίχα τὴν μὲν Λουγδούνῳ προσόρισε μέχρι τῶν ἀνω μερῶν τοῦ

1 δᾶ, Jones inserts.

1 Cp. 2.5.28. 2 Lyon.
northern headlands of the Pyrenees) as far as the mouths of the Rhenus, while those on the opposite side are surrounded by the sea that is about Massilia and Narbo, and by the Alps (beginning at Liguria) as far as the sources of the Rhenus. The Cemmenus Mountain has been drawn at right angles to the Pyrenees, through the midst of the plains; and it comes to an end about the centre of these plains,¹ near Lugdunum,² with an extent of about two thousand stadia. So, then, by "Aquitani" they meant the people who occupy the northern parts of the Pyrenees and, from the country of the Cemmenus on to the ocean, the parts this side the Garumna River; by "Celtae" they meant the people whose territory extends in the other direction—down to the sea that is about Massilia and Narbo—and also joins some of the Alpine Mountains; and by "Belgae" they meant the rest of the people who live beside the ocean as far as the mouths of the Rhenus and also some of the people who live beside the Rhenus and the Alps. Thus the Deified Caesar, also, has put it in his "Commentaries."³ Augustus Caesar, however, divided Transalpine Celtica into four parts: the Celtae he designated as belonging to the province of Narbonitis;⁴ the Aquitani he designated as the former Caesar had already done, although he added to them fourteen tribes of the peoples who dwell between the Garumna and the Liger Rivers; the rest of the country he divided into two parts: one part he included within the boundaries of Lugdunum as far as the upper districts

¹ For a technical discussion of Strabo's description of Gaul, the reader is referred to Cäsarsstudien, by A. Klotz, 1910, pp. 57–135. ⁴ Provincia Narbonensis.
'Ρήνου, τὴν δὲ τοῖς Βέλγαις. ὅσα μὲν οὖν φυσικῶς διώρισται δεὶ λέγειν τὸν γεωγράφον καὶ ὥσα ἐθνικῶς, ὅταν ἢ καὶ μνήμης ἀξία, ὥσα δὲ οἱ ἑγεμόνες πρὸς τοὺς καρποὺς πολιτεύμενοι διατάττουσι ποικίλως, ἄρκει κἂν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τις εἴπη, τοῦ δ' ἀκριβοῖς ἄλλοις παραχωρητέον.

2. "Ἀπασα μὲν οὖν ἐστιν αὐτὴ ποταμοῖς κατάρρυτος ἡ χώρα, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν καταφερομένως, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ Κεμμένου καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης, καὶ τοῖς μὲν εἰς τὸν ὦκεανον ἐκβάλλουσι, τοῖς δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν. δι' ὧν δὲ φέρονται χωρίων, πεδία ἐστὶ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ γεωλοφιὰ διάρροις ἔχουσι πλωτούς. οὕτως δ' εὐφυῶς ἵσχε τὰ ἰεθόν πρὸς ἀλληλα ὡστ' ἐξ ἕκατέρας τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς ἕκατέραν κατακομμῆσθαι, πορευομένων τῶν φορτίων ἐπὶ ὀλύμοι καὶ διὰ πεδίων εὐμαρῶς, τὸ δὲ πλέον τοῖς ποταμοῖς, τοῖς μὲν ἀναγομένων, τοῖς δὲ καταγομένων. ἤσχε δὲ τι πλεονέκτημα πρὸς τούτο ὁ Ῥόδανος· καὶ γὰρ πολλαχόθεν ἐστὶ σύρρους, ὄσπερ ἐχρηταί, καὶ συνάπτει πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν, κρείττω τῆς ἐκτός οὕσαν, καὶ διὰ χώρας διέβεισι τῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτης τῶν ταυτής. τοὺς γὰρ αὐτῶς ἐκφέρει καρποὺς ἡ Ναρβωνίτες ἀπασα σύσπερ ἡ Ἱταλία. προϊόντι δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρκτοὺς καὶ τὸ Κέμμενον, ὥρος ἡ μὲν ἑλαιόφυτος καὶ συκοφόρος ἐκλείπει, τὰλλα δὲ φῦναι. καὶ ἡ ἀμπελος δὲ προϊόωσιν οὐ βαδίως

1 ὅταν, Kramer, for δ' τι ἐν.
of the Rhenus,\(^1\) while the other he included within the boundaries of the Belgae.\(^2\) Now although the geographer should tell of all the physical and ethnic distinctions which have been made, whenever they are worth recording, yet, as for the diversified political divisions which are made by the rulers (for they suit their government to the particular times), it is sufficient if one state them merely in a summary way; and the scientific treatment of them should be left to others.

2. Now the whole of this country is watered by rivers: some of them flow down from the Alps, the others from the Cemmenus and the Pyrenees; and some of them are discharged into the ocean, the others into Our Sea. Further, the districts through which they flow are plains, for the most part, and hilly lands with navigable water-courses. The river-beds are by nature so well situated with reference to one another that there is transportation from either sea into the other; for the cargoes are transported only a short distance by land, with an easy transit through plains, but most of the way they are carried on the rivers—on some into the interior, on the others to the sea. The Rhodanus offers an advantage in this regard; for not only is it a stream of many tributaries, as has been stated,\(^3\) but it also connects with Our Sea, which is better than the outer sea, and traverses a country which is the most favoured of all in that part of the world. For example, the same fruits are produced by the whole of the province of Narbonitis as by Italy. As you proceed towards the north and the Cemmenus Mountain, the olive-planted and fig-bearing land indeed ceases, but the other things still grow. Also the vine, as
τελεσφορεῖ: ἡ δ’ ἀλλη πᾶσα σῶτον φέρει πολὺν καὶ κέγυρον καὶ βάλανον καὶ βοσκήματα πάντοια, ἀργόν δ’ αὐτῆς οὐδέν, πλὴν εἰ τι ἔλεσι κεκώλυται καὶ δρυμοῖς· καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο συνοικεῖται, πολυ-ανθρωπίᾳ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐπιμελεία, καὶ γὰρ τοκάδες αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τρέφειν ἀγαθαί, οἱ δ’ ἄνδρες μαχηταὶ μᾶλλον ἡ γεωργιόν· νῦν δ’ ἀναγκάζονται γεωργεῖν, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὀπλὰ. κοινὴ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέ-γομεν περὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκτὸς Κελτικῆς, περὶ δὲ τῶν τεταρτημορίων ἐκάστου διαλαβόντες λέγωμεν νῦν, μεμνημένοι τυπωδῶς, καὶ πρῶτον περὶ τῆς Ναρ-βωνίτιδος.

3. Ταύτης δὲ τὸ σχῆμα παραλληλογραμμὸν πῶς ἔστιν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἐσπέρας γραφόμενον τῇ Πυρήνῃ, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀρκτους τῷ Κεμμένῳ τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς, τὴν μὲν νότιον ἡ θάλαττα ποιεῖ μεταξὺ Πυρήνης καὶ Μασσαλίας, τὴν δ’ ἐσωθικὴν αἰ ’’Ἀλπεῖς ἐκ μέρους, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημα τῶν ’’Ἀλπεων ἐπ’ εὐθείας αὐταῖς ληφθέν καὶ τῶν ὑπώρειῶν τοῦ Κεμμένου τῶν καθηκουσῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ’’Ροδανὸν καὶ ποιουσῶν ὀρθὴν γωνίαν πρὸς τὴν λεχθεῖσαν ἄπο τῶν ’’Ἀλπεων εὐθείαν. τὸ δὲ νοτῖο πρόσκεπται παρὰ τὸ λεχθὲν σχῆμα ἡ ἐφεξῆς παραλλα ἢν ἔχουσιν αἱ τε Μασσαλίωται καὶ οἱ Σάλλνες μέχρι Λυγύου ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς ’’Ιταλίαν μέρη καὶ τὸν Οὔαρον ποταμὸν. οὕτως δ’ ἔστιν ως εἰπτον πρῶτον, ὄριον τῆς Ναρβωνίτιδος, καὶ τῆς ’’Ιταλίας’ ὑπάρχει δὲ

1 Cp. 4. 4. 3.
2 Ulterior Gallia, that is, Transalpine Gaul.
3 After Massilia.
4 But there is no previous mention of the Varus River to be found in any of the MSS. of Strabo.

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you thus proceed, does not easily bring its fruit to maturity. All the rest of the country produces grain in large quantities, and millet, and nuts, and all kinds of live stock. And none of the country is untilled except parts where tilling is precluded by swamps and woods. Yet these parts too are thickly peopled—more because of the largeness of the population\(^1\) than because of the industry of the people; for the women are not only prolific, but good nurses as well, while the men are fighters rather than farmers. But at the present time they are compelled to till the soil, now that they have laid down their arms. However, although I am here speaking only in a general way of the whole of outer Celtica,\(^2\) let me now take each of the fourth parts separately and tell about them, describing them only in rough outline. And first, Narbonitis.

3. The figure of Narbonitis is approximately a parallelogram, since, on the west, it is traced by the Pyrenees, and, on the north, by the Cemmenus; as for the remaining sides, the southern is formed by the sea between the Pyrenees and Massilia, the eastern by the Alps, partly, and also by the intervening distance (taken in a straight line with the Alps) between the Alps and those foot-hills of the Cemmenus that reach down to the Rhodanus and form a right angle with the aforesaid straight line from the Alps. To the southern part there belongs an addition to the aforesaid figure, I mean the seaboard that follows next\(^3\) which is inhabited by the Massiliotes and the Sallyes, as far as the Ligures, to those parts that lie towards Italy and to the Varus River. This river is, as I stated before,\(^4\) the boundary between this Province and Italy. It is only a small
θέρους μὲν μικρός, χειμώνος δὲ καὶ μέχρι ἐπτὰ σταδίων πλατυνύμμενος. ἐντεῦθεν μὲν οὖν ἡ παραλία παρατείνει μέχρι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Πυρηναίας 'Αφροδίτης καὶ τούτῳ δ' ἐστὶν ὄριον ταύτης τε τῆς ἐπαρχίας καὶ τῆς 'Ιβηρικῆς. ἐνιοὶ δὲ τῶν τόπων ἐν δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ Πομηνίων τρόπαια ὄριον 'Ιβηρίας ὑποβαίνουσι καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς. ἐστὶ δ' ἐνθεὶ μὲν εἰς Νάρβωνον μῦλα ἐξήκοντα τρία, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Νέμαυσον ὑγείοντα ὁκτώ, ἐκ Νεμαύσου δὲ διὰ Οὐγέρνου καὶ Ταρούσκωνος εἰς τὰ θερμά ὑδάτα τὰ Σέξτα καλοῦμενα, ἀπερ πλησίων Μασσαλίας ἐστὶ, πεντήκοντα τρία, ἐνετεῦθεν δὲ εἰς 'Αντίπολιν καὶ τὸν Οὐάρον ποταμὸν ἐβδομήκοντα τρία, ὡστε τὰ σύμπαντα γίνεται μῦλα διακόσια ἐβδομήκοντα ἐπτὰ. ἐνιοὶ δ' ἀπὸ τού 'Αφροδίσιου μέχρι τοῦ Οὐάρου στάδιος ἀνέγραψαν δισεκτών ἐξακοσίους, οἱ δὲ καὶ διακόσιους προστιθέασιν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται περὶ τῶν διαστημάτων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν ὅδον τὴν διὰ Οὐοκοντίων καὶ τῆς Κοττίου μέχρι μὲν Οὐγέρνου καὶ Ταρούσκωνος κοινῆ ὅðος ἢ ἀπὸ Νεμαύσου, ἐνετεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Οὐοκοντίων ὄρους καὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν τῆς ἀναβάσεως τῶν Ἀλπεων διὰ Δρουεντία καὶ Καβαλλίωνος μῦλα ἐξήκοντα τρία. πάλιν δ' ἐνετεῦθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐτέρους ὄρους τῶν Οὐοκοντίων πρὸς τὴν Κοττίου μῦλα ἐκατόν ἐνὸς δέοντα 1 ἐπὶ 'Εβρόδουνον κώμην· εἰτ ἄλλα τοσάυτα 2 διὰ Βριγαντίου κώμης καὶ Σκυνγουμάχου καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπερθέσεως ἐπὶ 'Ωκελοῦ, τὸ πέρας τῆς Κοττίου γῆς· καὶ ἦ ἀπὸ

1 eis, after δέοντα, Corais deletes; so the later editors.
2 ἄλλα τοσάυτα, Kramer, for ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι; so the later editors.
river in summer, but in winter it broadens out to a breadth of as much as seven stadia. Now from this river the seashore extends as far as the temple of the Pyrenaean Aphrodite. This temple, moreover, marks the boundary between the province of Narbonitis and the Iberian country, although some represent the place where the Trophies of Pompey are as marking the boundary between Iberia and Celtica. The distance thence to Narbo is sixty-three miles, from here to Nemausus \(^1\) eighty-eight, from Nemausus through Ugurnum and Tarasco to the hot waters that are called “Sextian,” \(^2\) which are near Massilia, fifty-three, and thence to Antipolis and the Varus River seventy-three; so that the sum total amounts to two hundred and seventy-seven miles. Some, however, have recorded the distance from the temple of Aphrodite on to the Varus River as two thousand six hundred stadia, while others add two hundred more; for there is disagreement with respect to the distances. But if you go by the other road—that leads through the country of the Vocontii and that of Cottius: from Nemausus the road is identical with the former road as far as Ugurnum and Tarasco, but thence it runs across the Druentia River and through Caballio sixty-three miles to the frontiers of the Vocontii and the beginning of the ascent of the Alps; and thence, again, ninety-nine miles to the other frontiers of the Vocontii, at the country of Cottius, to the village of Ebrodunum; then, another ninety-nine through the village of Brigantium and Scingomagus and the pass that leads over the Alps to Occlum, the end of the land of Cottius.

\(^1\) Now Nîmes. \(^2\) “Aquae Sextiae,” now Aix.
Σκυγγομόγαυν δὲ ἦσα Ἡταλία λέγεται ἐστὶ δὲ ἐνθένδε ἐπὶ "Ωκελοῦν μύλια εἰκοσι ὀκτώ.

4. Κτίσμα δὲ ἐστὶ Φωκαίεων η Μασσαλία, κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ χωρίου πετρώδους· ὑποπέπτωκε δ' αὐτής ὁ λιμὴν θεατροεἰδεὶ πέτρα, βλεπούση πρὸς νότον. τετείχισται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ καλῶς καὶ ἡ πόλις σύμπασα, μέγεθος ἔχουσα ἀξιόλογον. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τὸ Ἐφέσιον ἱδρυται καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δελφίνων Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν τοῦτο μὲν κοινὸν Ἰώνων ἀπάντων, τὸ δὲ Ἐφέσιον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶ νεώς τῆς Ἐφεσίας. ἀπαίρουσι γὰρ τοὺς Φωκαίεων ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας λόγιον ἐκπεσείν φασιν, ἠγεμόνα χρῆσασθαι τοῦ πλοῦ παρὰ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος λαβοῦσιν τοὺς μὲν δὴ, προσαχθέντας τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ξητεῖν ὡς τὸν ὑπότον ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ πορώσαντο τὸ προσταχθεῖν. 'Ἀριστάρχῃ δὲ τῶν ἐντίμων σφόδρα γυναικῶν παραστῆναι κατ' ἄναρ τὴν θεοῦ καὶ κελεύσαι συναπάρειν τοὺς Φωκαίεων, ἀφίδρυμά τι τῶν ἱερῶν λαβοῦσῃ· γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ τῆς ἀποκλίας λαβοῦσης τέλος, τὸ τε ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ τὴν ὅπρος τιμώται διαφερόντως ἱέρειαν ἁπόδειξαντας, ἐν τε ταῖς ἀποίκοις πόλεις πανταχοῦ τιμῶν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ταύτην τὴν θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ξοάου τὴν διάθεσιν τὴν αὐτήν καὶ τᾶλλα νόμιμα φυλάττειν τὰ αὐτὰ, ἀπέρ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει νενόμισται.

1 Not to be confused with the "Delphian" (Pythian) Apollo. The Delphinian Apollo appears originally to have been a seafaring god who, in the guise of a dolphin, guided ships over the sea (see Ehm. 255. 18); also Pauly-Wissowa, under Ἀπόλλων Δελφίνος, p. 47.
2 Of Artemis.
3 That is, of Massilia.
4 Strictly speaking, the "xoana" were the primitive
Moreover, from Scingomagus on you begin to call the country Italy; and the distance from here to Ocelum is twenty-eight miles.

4. Massilia was founded by the Phocaeans, and it is situated on a rocky place. Its harbour lies at the foot of a theatre-like rock which faces south. And not only is the rock itself well fortified, but also the city as a whole, though it is of considerable size. It is on the headland, however, that the Ephesium and also the temple of the Delphinian Apollo are situated. The latter is shared in common by all Ionians, whereas the Ephesium is a temple dedicated solely to the Ephesian Artemis: for when the Phocaeans were setting sail from their homeland an oracle was delivered to them, it is said, to use for their voyage a guide received from the Ephesian Artemis; accordingly, some of them put in at Ephesus and inquired in what way they might procure from the goddess what had been enjoined upon them. Now the goddess, in a dream, it is said, had stood beside Aristarcha, one of the women held in very high honour, and commanded her to sail away with the Phocaeans, taking with her a certain reproduction which was among the sacred images; this done and the colony finally settled, they not only established the temple but also did Aristarcha the exceptional honour of appointing her priestess; further, in the colonial cities the people everywhere do this goddess honours of the first rank, and they preserve the artistic design of the “xoanon” the same, and all the other usages precisely the same as is customary in the mother-city.

wooden images which were supposed originally to have fallen from heaven. Here, as on page 177, “xoanon” is used of a reproduction.
5. Διοικοῦνται δ' ἀριστοκρατικῶς οἱ Μασσαλιώται πάντων εὐνομώτατα, ἀνδρῶν ἐξακοσίον καταστήσαντες συνέδριον, διὰ βίου ταύτην ἐξόντων τὴν τιμήν, οὐς τιμούχοις καλοῦσι. πεντεκαίδεκα δ' εἰσὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου προεστώτες, τούτων δὲ τὰ πρόχειρα διοικεῖν δέδοται. πάλιν δὲ τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα προκάθηκται τρεῖς οἱ πλείστοιν ἴσχύουσιν, τούτων δὲ τιμούχοις οὐ γίνεται μὴ τέκνα ἔχον, μηδὲ διὰ τριγονίας ἡ πολιτῶν γεγονός. οἱ δὲ νόμοι 'Ἰωνικοὶ, πρόκεινται δὲ δημοσία. χώραν δ' ἔχουσιν οἰκισόφυτοι μὲν καὶ κατάμπελον, σίτῳ δὲ λυπροτέραν διὰ τὴν τραχύτητα, ὡστε πεποιθότες τῇ θαλάττῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ γῇ τὸ πρὸς ναυτιλίας εὐφυὲς εἴλοντο μᾶλλον. ὦστερον μέντοι ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις ἴσχυσαν προσλαβεῖν τινα τῶν περίξ πεδίων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως ἂφ' ἢς καὶ τᾶς πόλεως ἐκτίσαν, ἐπιτειχίσματα τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τοῖς Ἰβηρσίων, ὅις καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἐφέσιας Ἀρτέμιδος παρέδοσαν τὰ πάτρια, ὡστε Ἐλληνιστὶ θύειν, τὴν δὲ Ῥώπην. Ἀγάθην τοῖς περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν οἰκοῦσι τῶν Ῥοδανῶν βαρβάρους, τὸ δὲ Ταυροέντιον καὶ τὴν Ὀλβίαν καὶ Ἀντίπολιν καὶ Νίκαιαν τῷ τῶν Σαλλύων ἔθνει

1 The reading of ἔθνει is τοῖς ἔθνεις Coraias reads ὑδί ὑς, inserting ὕδ. after τιμούχος. Forbiger, Müller-Dübner, and Meineke read: τοῦτον δὲ εἰς τιμούχος δ' κ.τ.λ.

2 For Ῥώπην Casaubon, Coraias, and Forbiger read (perhaps rightly) Ῥώπην καὶ (see Pliny 3. 8).

Aristotle describes and praises the orderliness and moderation of this aristocracy (Politics 7. 7. 4 and 8. 6. 2–3). See also Cicero Pro Flacco 25. 63.

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5. The government under which the Massiliotes live is aristocratic, and of all aristocracies theirs is the best ordered, since they have established an Assembly of six hundred men, who hold the honour of that office for life; these they call Timouchoi. Over the Assembly are set fifteen of its number, and to these fifteen it is given to carry on the immediate business of the government. And, in turn, three, holding the chief power, preside over the fifteen. However, a Timouchos cannot become one of these three unless he has children or is a descendant of persons who have been citizens for three generations. Their laws are Ionic, and are published to the people. They possess a country which, although planted with olive-trees and vines, is, on account of its ruggedness, too poor for grain; so that, trusting the sea rather than the land, they preferred their natural fitness for a seafaring life. Later, however, their valour enabled them to take in some of the surrounding plains, thanks to the same military strength by which they founded their cities, I mean their stronghold-cities, namely, first, those which they founded in Iberia as strongholds against the Iberians (they also taught the Iberians the sacred rites of the Ephesian Artemis, as practised in the fatherland, so that they sacrifice by the Greek ritual); secondly, Rhoë Agathe, as a stronghold against the barbarians who live round about the River Rhodanus; thirdly, Tauroentium, Olbia, Antipolis, and Nicaea, against the tribe of the Sallyes

3 The later editors, by a slight emendation, add at this point "and one over the three."
4 Homeroscopeium, Emporium and Rhodus (3. 4. 6–8).
καὶ τοῖς Δίνυσι τοῖς τὰς Ἀλπεώς οἰκοῦσιν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ νεώσοικοι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀπλοθήκῃ πρότερον δὲ καὶ πλοίων εὔπορία καὶ ὀπλών καὶ ὄργανων τῶν τε πρὸς τὰς ναυτιλίας χρησίμων καὶ τῶν πρὸς πολιορκίας, ἀφ' ὧν πρὸς τε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀντέσχον, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκτίσαντο φίλους, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ χρήσιμοι κατέστησαν ἐκείνοις κἀκεῖνοι προσελάβοντο τῆς αὐξήσεως αὐτῶν. Σέξτιος γοῦν ὁ καταλύσας τοὺς Σκύλλους, οὐ πολύ ἀποθεέει τῆς Μασσαλίας κτίσεως πόλιν ὁμώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν θερμῶν, ὡν τινα μεταβεβληκέναι φασίν εἰς ψυχρά, ἐπταθ' τε φρονρὰν κατακισε Ῥωμαίοι, καὶ ἐκ τῆς παραλίας τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄγουσις ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἀνέστειλε τοὺς βαρβάρους, οὐ δυναμένων τῶν Μασσαλιώτῶν ἀνείργειν αὐτοὺς τελέος. οὐδ' αὐτὸς δὲ πλέον ἰσχυσεν, ἀλλ' ἡ τοσοῦτον μόνον ὅσον κατὰ μὲν τὰ εὐλίμενα ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ δώδεκα σταδίους, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς τραχῶν τότε ὁκτώ τὴν δὲ λειψθεὶσαν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνοις τοῖς Μασσαλιώταις παραδέδωκεν. ἀνάκειται δ' ἐν πόλει συχνὰ τῶν ἀκροβιῶν, ἄ ἐλαβον καταναμαχοῦντες αἰὲ τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας τῆς θαλάττης ἀδικῶς. πρότερον μὲν οὖν εὐτύχοι διαφερόντως, περὶ τὲ τάλλα καὶ περὶ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φίλιαν, ἢς πολλὰ ἄν τις λάβοι σημεία καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ξύανυν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν τῶν Αὐεντίνῳ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τὴν αὐτὴν

1 Αὐεντίνῳ, Wilamowitz, for 'Αβεντίῳ. Corais, Meinock, and others write 'Αβεντίνῳ. Op. 5. 3. 7.

1 "Aquaæ Sextiae," now Aix. See 4. 1. 3.

2 See § 4 (above).
and against those Ligures who live in the Alps. There are also dry-docks and an armoury among the Massiliotes. In earlier times they had a good supply of ships, as well as of arms and instruments that are useful for the purposes of navigation and for sieges; and thanks to these they not only held out against the barbarians, but also acquired the Romans as friends, and many times not only themselves rendered useful service to the Romans, but also were aided by the Romans in their own aggrandizement. At any rate, Sextius, who defeated the Sallyes, after founding not very far from Massilia a city which bears his own name and that of "the hot waters" ¹ (some of which, they say, have changed to cold waters), not only settled a garrison of Romans there, but also drove back the barbarians out of the seaboard which leads from Massilia into Italy, since the Massiliotes could not entirely keep them back. Yet not even Sextius could effect more than merely this—that at those parts of the coast where there were good harbours the barbarians retired for a distance of only twelve stadia, and at the rugged parts, only eight. And the country thus abandoned by them he has given over to the Massiliotes. And in their citadel are set up great quantities of the first fruits of their victories, which they captured by defeating in naval battles those who from time to time unjustly disputed their claim to the mastery of the sea. In earlier times, then, they were exceptionally fortunate, not only in everything else, but also in their friendship with the Romans, of which one may detect many signs; what is more, the "xoanon" ² of that Artemis which is on the Aventine Hill was constructed by the
διάθεσιν ἔχουν τῷ παρὰ τοῖς Μασσαλιώταις ἀνέθεσαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Πομπηίου πρὸς Καίσαρα στάσει τῷ κρατηθέντι μέρει προσθέμενοι τὴν πολλὴν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἀπέβαλον, ὡμοι δὲ σῶν ἔχουν λείπεται τοῦ παλαιοῦ ζῆλου παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ μᾶλιστα περὶ τὰς ὀργανοποιίας καὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν παρασκευὴν. ἐξημερομένων δὲ ἀεὶ τῶν ὑπερεκμένων βαρβάρων, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν τετραμμένων ἦδη πρὸς πολιτείας καὶ γεωργίας διὰ τὴν τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτειαν, οὐτέ αὐτοῖς ἐτὶ τούτους συμβαίνοι αὖ περὶ τὰ λεγέντα τοσαύτη σπουδὴ. ἤδηλοι δὲ τὰ καθεστηκότα νυνὶ πάντες γὰρ οἱ χαριέντες πρὸς τὸ λέγειν τρέπονται καὶ ϕιλοσοφεῖν, ὡς θ' ἡ πόλεις μικρὸν μὲν πρότερον τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀνείτο παϊδευτήριον, καὶ φιλέλληνας κατεσκεύαξε τοὺς Γαλάτας ὡστε καὶ τὰ συμβολαία Ἑλληνιστὶ γράφωμεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι καὶ τοὺς ἱνωριμωτάτους Ῥωμαίων πέπεικεν, ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδημίας ἐκείσε φοιτάν, φιλομαθεῖς ὡντας. ὄρωντες δὲ τούτους οἱ Γαλάται καὶ ἀμα εἰρήνην ἄγοντες, τὴν σχολὴν ἁσμενοὶ πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους διατίθενται βίους οὐ κατ' ἄνδρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ σοφιστὰς γοῦν ὑποδέχονται, τοὺς μὲν ἰδία, τοὺς δὲ πόλεις κοινῇ μισθούμενοι, καθάπερ καὶ ἱεραταῖς. τῆς δὲ λιτοτήτος τῶν βίων καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης τῶν Μασσαλιστῶν ὤν ἐλάχιστον ἂν τις θείς τούτο τεκμηρίων· ἡ γὰρ μεγίστη προβῆν ἀυτοῖς ἐστὶν ἐκατὸν χρυσοῖ

1 ἔχουν, Corails, for ἔχοντες; so Meineke.

1 "Sophists" in the good sense, who taught wisdom in speech and action, dicendi faciendique sapientia (Cicero, de Oratore 3. 16).
Romans on the same artistic design as the "xoanon" which the Massiliotes have. But at the time of Pompey's sedition against Caesar they joined the conquered party and thus threw away the greater part of their prosperity. Nevertheless traces of their ancient zeal are still left among the people, especially in regard to the making of instruments and to the equipment of ships. But since, on account of the overmastery of the Romans, the barbarians who are situated beyond the Massiliotes became more and more subdued as time went on, and instead of carrying on war have already turned to civic life and farming, it may also be the case that the Massiliotes themselves no longer occupy themselves so earnestly with the pursuits aforementioned. Their present state of life makes this clear; for all the men of culture turn to the art of speaking and the study of philosophy; so that the city, although a short time ago it was given over as merely a training-school for the barbarians and was schooling the Galatae to be fond enough of the Greeks to write even their contracts in Greek, at the present time has attracted also the most notable of the Romans, if eager for knowledge, to go to school there instead of making their foreign sojourn at Athens. Seeing these men and at the same time living at peace, the Galatae are glad to adapt their leisure to such modes of life, not only as individuals, but also in a public way; at any rate, they welcome sophists, hiring some at private expense, but others in common, as cities, just as they do physicians. And the following might be set down as not the least proof of the simplicity of the modes of life, and of the self-restraint, of the Massiliotes: the maximum dowry among them is a hundred
καὶ εἰς ἑσθήτα πέντε καὶ πέντε εἰς χρυσοὺν κόσμουν πλέον δ’ ὁπκ ἐξεστι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνων ἤγεμόνες πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γεννηθείσας ἁμαρτίας ἐμετρίασαν, μεμημένου τῆς φιλίας, καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ἐφύλαξαν, ἴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰχεν ἡ πόλις, ὅστε μὴ ὑπάκουειν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν 1 πεμπομένων στρατηγῶν μήτε αὐτὴν μήτε τοὺς ὑπηκόους. περὶ μὲν Μασσαλίας ταύτα.

6. Ἀμα δ’ ἡ τε τῶν Σαλώνων ὅρειν πρὸς ἀρκτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας κλίνει μᾶλλον καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀφισταται κατὰ μικρὸν, καὶ ἡ παραλία παρὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν περινεύει μικρὸν δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν προελθοῦσα ὅσον εἰς ἐκατόν σταδίους ἐπὶ ἄκραν εἰμεγέθη πλησίον λατομῶν τινῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχεται κολποῦσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τῶν Γαλατικῶν κόλπον πρὸς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον, τὸ τῆς Πυρήνης ἄκρον· καλοῦσι δ’ αὐτὸν 2 καὶ Μασσαλιωτικόν. ἔστε δ’ ὁ κόλπος διπλούς· ἐν γὰρ τὴ αὐτῇ περιγραφῇ δύο κόλπους ἀφοίζου ἐκκεῖται τὸ Σήτιον 3 ὄρος, προσλαβόν καὶ τὴν Βλάσκωνα νήσου πλησίον ἰδρυμένων τῶν δὲ κόλπων ὁ μὲν μεῖζον ἴδιως πάλιν καλεῖται Γαλατικός, εἰς ὃν ἐξερεύνεται τὸ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ στόμα, ὁ δ’ ἐλάττων ὁ κατὰ Νάρβωνα ἐστὶ μέχρι Πυρήνης. ἦ μὲν οὖν Νάρβων ὑπέρκειται τῶν τοῦ Ἀτάκως ἐκβολῶν καὶ τῆς λάμης τῆς Ναρβωνίτιδος, μέγιστον ἐμπό-

1 ἐπαρχίαν, Corais, for ἐπαρχίαν; so Meineke.
2 αὐτὸν, Corais, for αὐτό; so the later editors.
3 Σήτιον, Palmer, for Σήγιον; so Corais and the rest.

1 Roughly, §550.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. i. 5–6

gold pieces, and five for dress, and five for golden
ornaments; but more than this is not permitted. Both Caesar and the commanders who succeeded
him, mindful of the former friendship, acted in
moderation with reference to the wrongs done in
the war, and preserved to the city the autonomy
which it had had from the beginning; so that
neither Massilia nor its subjects are subject to the
praetors who are sent to the province. So much
for Massilia.

6. While the mountainous country of the Sallyes
inclines more and more from the west to the north
and retires little by little from the sea, the coastline
bends round to the west; but after extending a
short distance from the city of the Massiliotes, about
a hundred stadia, to a fair-sized promontory near
some stone-qua ries, the coastline then begins to
curve inland and to form with the precincts of Aphro-
dite (that is, the headland of the Pyrenees) the
Galatic Gulf, which is also called the Gulf of Massilia.
The Gulf is double, for, in the same circuit, Mount
Setium, with the help of the Isle of Blascon, which is situated near by, juts out and thus marks
off two gulls. Of the two gulls, the larger, into
which the mouth of the Rhodanus discharges, is
again called, in the proper sense of the term,
"Galatic Gulf"; the smaller is opposite Narbo and
extends as far as the Pyrenees. Now Narbo lies
above the outlets of the Atax and the Lake of Nar-
bonitis, and it is the greatest of the emporiums in

2 See 4. 2. 2. and footnote 3.
3 Cape de Cette.
4 Brescon, a rock opposite Agde, which has been connected
with the mainland to form the port of Agde (Gosselin).
ριον τών ταύτης, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ῥοδανῷ πόλις ἔστι καὶ ἐμπόριον οὐ μικρόν, Ἄρελάτε· ᾿Ισου δὲ πως διέχει τὰ ἐμπόρια ταύτα ἀλλήλων τε καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἄκρων, ἢ μὲν Νάρβων τοῦ Ἀφροδίσιον, τὸ δὲ Ἀρελάτε τῆς Μασσαλίας· ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τῆς Νάρβωνος ἀλλοι ποταμοὶ βέουσιν οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν Κεμενέων ὅρδων, οἱ δὲ τῆς Πυρήνης, πόλεις ἔχουσιν εἰς τὰς ἀνάπλους οὐ πολὺς ἐστὶ μικροῖς πλοίοις. ἐκ μὲν τῆς Πυρήνης ὁ τε Ρουσκίων καὶ ὁ Ἡλλίβηρρος, πόλειν ἔχον ὁμώνυμοι ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν, τοῦ δὲ Ρουσκίωνος καὶ λίμνη πλησίον ἐστὶ καὶ χωρίον ὑπερὶ μικρόν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, ἀλυκίδων μεστόν, τὸ τούς ὄρυκτος κέστρεῖς ἔχουν δύο γὰρ ἡ πρεῖς ὁρύζαντι πόδας καὶ καθενὶ τριώντα ἐς ὑδάρξιν θυώδες ἐστὶ περιπετεῖα τούν ἱχθύν ἀξίδολον τὸ μέγεθος τρέφεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱλίως καθάπερ αἱ ἐγχέλλες. οὕτω μὲν ἐκ τῆς Πυρήνης βέουσιν οἱ ποταμοί μεταξὺ Νάρβωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀφροδίσιον. ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ 1 μέρη τῆς Νάρβωνος ἐκ τοῦ Κεμενέου φέρονται πρὸς τὴν θαλάτταν, ἔξι ὀπερ καὶ ὁ ᾿Αταξ, ὁ τε Ῥήμες 2 καὶ ὁ ᾿Αραυρής 3 τούτων ἐφ᾽ οὐ μὲν Βαῖτερα 4 πόλεις ἀσφαλῆς ἱδρυται πλησίον τῆς Νάρβωνος, ἐφ᾽ οὐ δὲ ᾿Αγάθη, κτίσμα Μασσαλιωτῶν.

7. Ἔν μὲν οὖν ἔχει παράδοξον ἡ προειρημένη παράλλα, τὸ περὶ τούς ὄρυκτος ἱχθύς, ἐτέρων δὲ μείζον τοῦτον σχῆδον τι, τὸ λεχθησόμενον. μεταξὺ γὰρ τῆς Μασσαλίας καὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ πεδίον ἐστὶ τῆς θαλάττης διέχουν

1 δέ, before μέρη, Kramer conjectures; Meineke following.
2 Ῥήμες, Groskurd, for Ῥήβης; later editors following.
3 Ἀραυρής, Groskurd, for Ἀραύρης; later editors following.
this country, though there is a city near the Rhodanus which is no small emporium, namely, Arelate. These emporiums are about an equal distance from each other and from the aforesaid headlands—Narbo from the precincts of Aphrodite, and Arelate from Massilia. On either side of Narbo there flow other rivers—some from the Cemmenus Mountains, the others from the Pyrenees—and they have cities to which voyages of no considerable length are made in small ships. From the Pyrenees flow both the Ruscino and the Ilhibiris, each of them having a city of like name; and, as for the Ruscino, there is not only a lake near by, but also, a short distance above the sea, a marshy district, full of salt-springs, which contains the "dug mullets"; for if one digs only two or three feet and thrusts his trident down into the muddy water, it is possible to spit a fish that is notable for its size; and it feeds on the mud just as the eels do. These, then, are the rivers which flow from the Pyrenees between Narbo and the precincts of Aphrodite; while, on the other side of Narbo there flow to the sea from the Cemmenus (from which the Atax flows) both the Orbis and the Arauris. On the former of these rivers is situated Baetera, a safe city, near Narbo, and on the other, Agathe, founded by the Massiliotes.

7. Now the aforesaid seaboard has not merely one marvel, namely, that of the "dug mullets," but also another which one might say is greater than that, about which I shall now speak: Between Massilia and the outlets of the Rhodanus there is a plain, circular in shape, which is as far distant from

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4 Baštēpa, Siebenkees, for Βαϊτέρα; so, perhaps better, Baṣṭēρα, as Meinecke reads.
eis ekaton stadious, tosoounton de kal t Hin dia-
metron, kukoleterees to skhima kaleita de Aith-
des atop toun symbebikotos. meoston gar esti lî-
thou xeiropiathoun, upoteukwian exountan autois
agwastin, afi he afboouno norai boseikmassin evsw
en meso de upata kaal alukides enistanta kai
ales. apasa men ouv kaal he uperkeimevena khar
prosehemoj esti, diaferontos de eis to pedion
toyto to melemboreion kataugizei, piveuma biaion
kai phikwdes fasi ouv svresathai kaal kulin-
deisai tov lidoyn enious, kataklasai de tois
anthetaou apod tov oxeimatain kai gunmoudsai
kai oploan kai esthetos upo 2 tis empnois. 'Ari-
stotelis men ouv fesin upo seismou twn ka-
loumenvon bpaontan ekpezontas tois lidois eis
than epitfanian symolosvein eis ta koila twn
xorwv. Poseidwono de limnvn ouvswan paganai
meta klydasmo, kal diad tou to eis pleiovas
merisheivai lidois, kathape tois potamivos ka-
chikas kai tas psfous tas aignialitidas, omoivos
de kal leious kai isomegethes tis omoisthti kai
tin aitian apoedewkasen amforeran. piteanov men
ouv o par amfoin logos anaghe gar tois ouw

1 to, Corais inserts; so Muller-Dubner, and Meineke.
2 upo, Meineke, for apod.

1 Now the Plaine de la Crau.
2 So Pliny, 21. 57. And Murray (Handbook for France,
vol. 2, p. 154) says that to-day there grows under the stones
on this plain a short sweet herbage which the sheep obtain
by turning over the stones, and that during the winter
months the plain is covered with flocks driven thither from
the French Alps, where they spend the summer.
the sea as a hundred stadia, and is also as much as that in diameter. It is called Stony Plain from the fact that it is full of stones as large as you can hold in your hand, although from beneath the stones there is a growth of wild herbage which affords abundant pasturage for cattle. In the middle of the plain stand water and salt springs, and also lumps of salt. Now although the whole of the country which lies beyond, as well as this, is exposed to the winds, the Black North, a violent and chilly wind, descends upon this plain with exceptional severity; at any rate, it is said that some of the stones are swept and rolled along, and that by the blasts the people are dashed from their vehicles and stripped of both weapons and clothing. Now Aristotle says that the stones, after being vomited to the surface by those earthquakes that are called "Brastae," rolled together into the hollow places of the districts. But Poseidonius says that, since it was a lake, it solidified while the waves were dashing, and because of this was parted into a number of stones—as are the river-rocks and the pebbles on the sea-shore; and by reason of the similarity of origin, the former, like the latter, are both smooth and equal in size. And an account of the cause has been given by both men. Now the argument in both treatises is plausible; for of necessity the stones that have been assembled to-

3 Aristotle says (De Mundo 4) that "those earthquakes are called 'Brastae' which heave up and down at right angles."

4 The antecedent of "it" in Poseidonius must have been "what is now the stony surface of the plain."

5 Poseidonius was thinking of both the congealing and petrifying of the waters.
συνεστῶτας λίθους οὐ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς ἢ ἐξ ὑγροῦ
παγέντας μεταβαλεῖν, ἢ εἰκ πετρῶν μεγάλων
ῥήγματα συνεχῆ λαβοούσων ἀποκριθῆναι. τὸ μέν-
τοι δυσαπολόγητον Αἰσχύλου καταμαθῶν ἢ παρ’
アルバム ἐν σύ μύθον ἐξετάπισε. φησὶ γρόνι
Προμηθεὺς παρ’ αὐτῷ, καθηγούμενος Ἡρακλεῖτῶν
ὁδῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Καυκάσου πρὸς τὰς Ἐσπερίδας.

ηξεὶς δὲ Δίγυνω εἰς ἀτάρβητον στρατόν,
ἐνθ’ οὐ μάχης, σάφ’ ὀλίγα, καὶ θούρος περὶ ὄν,
μέμψει τι πέπρωτα γάρ σε καὶ βέλη λιπτεῖν
ἐνταῦθι. ἑλέθαι τθ’ οὐ τιν’ ἐκ γαίας λίθου
ἐξεῖς, ἔτει πᾶς χώρος ἐστὶ μάλακός.
ἰδὼν δ’ ἀμηχανοῦντά σε ζεὺς οἰκτερεῖ,
νεφέλην δ’ ὑποσχὼν υψάνθι γογγύλων πέτρων
ὑπόσκοιον θήσει χθόν’, οἰς ἕπειτα σὺ
βαλῶν διώσει 5 ῥαδίως Δίγυν στρατόν.
(Prometheus Unbound, Fr. 199, Nauck)

ὡσπερ οὖ κρείττον ὅν, φησίν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος, εἰς
ἀυτοὺς τοὺς Δίγυας ἐμβαλεῖν 6 τοὺς λίθους καὶ
καταχωσαι πάντας ἢ τοσοῦτων δεόμενον ποιῆσαι
λίθων τὸν Ἡρακλέα. τὸ μὲν οὖν τοσοῦτων ἀναγ-
καίον ἦν, εἴπερ καὶ πρὸς ὅχλον παμπληθή: ὅστε
tαυτή γε πιθανότερος ὁ μυθογράφος τοῦ
ἀνασκευάζοντος τὸν μύθον. ὡλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
πεπρῶσθαι φήσας ὁ ποιητὴς οὐκ ἐὰν μέμφεσθαι

1 μεταβαλεῖν, Corais, for μεταβάλλειν; so later editors.
2 ἢ, Corais inserts, later editors following.
3 σε, Meineke, for σ’ οὐ.
4 οὐ βαλῶν, Saumaise, for συμβαλῶν; so the editors.
5 διώσει, Corais, for δηώσει; so the later editors.
6 ἐμβαλεῖν, Corais, for ἐμβάλλειν; so the later editors.
gether in this way cannot separately, one by one, either have changed from liquid to solid or have been detached from great masses of rock that received a succession of fractures. What was difficult to account for, however, Aeschylus, who closely studied the accounts or else received them from another source, removed to the realm of myth. At any rate, Prometheus, in Aeschylus' poem, in detailing to Heracles the route of the roads from the Caucasus to the Hesperides says: "And thou wilt come to the undaunted host of the Ligurians, where thou wilt not complain of battle, I clearly know,—impetuous fighter though thou art; because there it is fated that even thy missiles shall fail thee, and no stone from the ground shalt thou be able to choose, since the whole district is soft ground. But Zeus, seeing thee without means to fight, will have pity upon thee, and, supplying a cloud with a snow-like shower of round stones, will put the soil under cover; and with these stones, thereupon, thou wilt pelt, and easily push thy way through, the Ligurian host." ¹ Just as if it were not better, says Poseidonius, for Zeus to have cast the stones upon the Ligures themselves and to have buried the whole host than to represent Heracles as in need of so many stones. Now, as for the number ("so many"), he needed them all if indeed the poet was speaking with reference to a throng that was very numerous; so that in this, at least, the writer of the myth is more plausible than the man who revises the myth. Furthermore, by saying "it is fated," the poet forbids one to find fault in a captious way with anything else in the

¹ These verses were quoted by Strabo from the Prometheus Unbound, now lost.
φιλαντίως. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς προνοίας καὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης λόγους εὑροὶ τις ἀν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ τῶν φύσει γνωμένων, ὡστ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν φάναι πολὺ κρεῖττον εἶναι τόδε ἢ τόδε γενέσθαι, οἷον εὐομβρὸν εἶναι τὴν Ἀὔγουττον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν ποτὶζειν τὴν γην' καὶ τὸν Πάριν εἰς Ἐπάρτην πλέοντα ναυαγίῳ περιπεσεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν Ἐλένην ἀρτόσαντα δίκας τίσαι τοῖς ἀδικηθείσιν ὦστερον, ἠνίκα τοσοῦτον ἀπειργήσατο φθόρον Ἐλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων· ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης ἀνήμεγκεν εἰς τὸν Δία· Ζεὺς ὁ γὰρ κακὸν μὲν Τρωὴν πῆμα δ' Ἐλλάδι θέλων γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἐβούλευσεν πατήρ.

(Fr. 1082, Nauck)

8. Περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ 'Ροδανὸς στομάτων Πολύμεος μὲν ἐπιτιμᾷ Τιμαίῳ, φήσας εἶναι μὴ πεντάστομον, ἀλλὰ δίστομον. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ τρίστομον λέγει. Μάριος 1 δὲ ὦστερον, ὥρῶν τυφλόστομον γυμόμενον ἐκ τῆς προχώσεως καὶ δυσείσβολον, καὶ πρὸς τά ἐνέμυτο, καὶ ταύτῃ δεξάμενος τὸ πλέον τοῦ ποταμοῦ Μασσαλίωταις ἐδωκεν ἀριστείον κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Ἀμβρωνας καὶ Τωηνέους πόλεμον· εξ' οὗ πλούτων ἤνεγκαντο πολύν, τέλη 2 πραττόμενοι τοὺς ἀναπλέοντας καὶ τοὺς καταγομένους. ὠμοὶς οὖν ἐτι μένει δυσείσπλω διά τε τὴν λαβρότητα καὶ τὴν πρόσχωσιν καὶ τὴν ταπεινώτητα τῆς χώρας, ὡστε μὴ καθο-

1 Μάριος, Xylander, for Τιμαίος; so the later editors.
2 πολύν, τέλη, conjecture of Tyrwhitt, for πολυτελῆ; so the editors.

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passage—"captious," I say, for one might also find in the discussions on "Providence" and "Predestination" many instances among the affairs of men and among the natural occurrences of such a kind that, in reference to them, one might say that it were much better for this to have taken place than that; for example, for Egypt to be well-watered by rains, rather than that Ethiopia should soak its soil with water; and for Paris to have met his reversal by shipwreck on the voyage to Sparta, instead of later carrying off Helen and paying the penalty to those whom he had wronged, after he had effected all that ruin of Greeks and barbarians—a ruin which Euripides attributed to Zeus: "For Zeus, the father, willing not only evil for the Trojans but also sorrow for the Greeks, resolved upon all this."

8. With respect to the mouths of the Rhodanus: Polybius reproves Timaeus by saying that there are not five but two; Artemidorus says three; Marius, later, seeing that, in consequence of the silting, its mouths were becoming stopped up and difficult of entrance, cut a new channel, and, upon admitting the greater part of the river here, presented it to the Massiliotes as a meed of their valour in the war against the Ambrones and Toýgeni; and the wealth they carried off from this source was considerable, because they exacted tolls from all who sailed up and all who sailed down it. Nevertheless, the mouths still remain difficult of entrance for ships, not only on account of the impetuosity of the river and the silting up, but also of the lowness of the

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1 These two peoples joined the Cimbri for the purpose of invading Italy. With the aid of the Massiliotes, Marius defeated them at Aix (102 B.C.).
ὁ ἄρα μηδ’ ἔγγυς ἐν ταῖς δυσσερείαις. διὸπερ οἱ Μασσαλιώται πύργους ἀνέστησαν σημεῖα, ἔξωκειούμενοι πάντα τρόπον τὴν χώραν' καὶ δὴ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος κάνταυθα ἱδρύσαντες ιερόν, χωρίον ἀπολαβόντες ὅ ποιεῖ νήσου τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ λμυνοθάλαττα· καλοῦσι δὲ 'Στομαλίμνην, ὀστράκια δ’ ἔχει πόμπολα καὶ ἀλλὰς εὐνοεῖ. ταύτην δ’ ἐνοι συγκατηρίθμησαν τοῖς στόμασι τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ φήσαντες ἐπτάστομον αὐτοῦ, οὔτε τούτ’ ἐν λέγοντες οὔτ’ ἐκεῖνον ὄρος γὰρ ἄστι μεταχεῖ τὸ διεἰργοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν λίμνην. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Πυρήνης ἐπὶ Μασσαλίαν παραλίαν τοιαύτη καὶ τοσαύτη τις.

9. 'Ἡ δ’ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀύαρον ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς ταύτη Δίνυας τάς τε τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν ἔχει πόλεις Ταυροέντιον καὶ 'Ολβίαν καὶ 'Αντίπολιν καὶ Νίκαιαν καὶ τὸ ναῦσταθμον τὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, δ’ καλοῦσι Φόρον 'Ιουλίου. ἦδρυται δὲ τούτο μεταξὺ τῆς 'Ολβίας καὶ τῆς 'Αντιπόλεως, διέχον Μασσαλίας εἰς ἐξακοσίους σταδίους. ὃ δὲ Ὀύαρος μέσος ἔστι τῆς 'Αντιπόλεως καὶ Νικαίας, τῆς μὲν ὅσον ἔκοσι, τῆς δὲ ἐξήκοντα σταδίους διέχων, ὡσθ' ἡ Νίκαια τῆς Ἰταλίας γίνεται κατὰ τὸν νῦν ἀποδεδειγμένον ὄρον, καὶ περ οὕσα Μασσαλιωτῶν ἐπετείχοσαν ὃ ἄρτὰ κτίσματα ταύτα τοῖς ὑπερκειμένοις βαρβάροις

1 ἐπετείχοσαν, Casaubon, for ἐπετείχοσαν; so the later editors.

1 Literally, “Mouth-marsh.”
2 The Varus. Cp. 4. 1. 3.
country, so that in foul weather one cannot descry the land even when close to it. Wherefore the Massiliotes set up towers as beacons, because they were in every way making the country their own; and, in truth, they also established a temple of the Ephesian Artemis there, after first enclosing a piece of land which is made an island by the mouths of the river. Beyond the outlets of the Rhodanus lies a sea-water marsh; it is called "Stomalimne," and it has a very great quantity of oysters, and, besides that, is well supplied with fish. This lake was by some counted in with the mouths of the Rhodanus, and particularly by those who said there were seven mouths, although they were right in neither the latter nor the former; for there is a mountain intervening which separates the lake from the river. This, then, is approximately the nature and the extent of the seacoast from the Pyrenees to Massilia.

9. Again, the seacoast which extends from Massilia to the Varus River and to those Ligures who live in the region of the river has not only the following cities of the Massiliotes, namely, Tauroentium, Olbia, Antipolis, and Nicaea, but also that naval-station of Caesar Augustus which is called Forum Julium. This naval-station is situated between Olbia and Antipolis, at a distance of about six hundred stadia from Massilia. The Varus is between Antipolis and Nicaea, at a distance of about twenty stadia from the latter and sixty from the former, so that, according to what is now the declared boundary, Nicaea becomes a part of Italy, although it belongs to the Massiliotes; for the Massiliotes founded these places as strongholds against those
οἱ Μασσαλιώται, τὴν γε¹ θάλατταν ἐλευθέραν ἔχειν βουλόμενοι, τῆς χώρας ὑπ’ ἐκείνων κρατούμενης· ὀρεινὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔρυμνη, πρὸς μὲν τῇ Μασσαλίᾳ πλάτος τι μέτριον καταλείπουσα τῶν ἐπιπέδων χωρίων, προϊόντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω παντάπασιν ἀποθῆκουσα πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ μόλις αὐτὴν πορεύσιμον ἐῳσα τὴν ὀδὸν. κατέχουσι δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Σάλλνες, τὰ δὲ τελευταία πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν συνάπτουσες Δῆγνες, περὶ δὲν λεχθῆσεται μετά ταῦτα. νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον προσβετέον, ὅτι τῆς μὲν Ἀντιπόλεως ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ναρβωνίτιδος μέρεσι κείμενης, τῆς δὲ Νικαίας ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἡ μὲν Νικαία ὑπὸ τοὺς Μασσαλιώτας μένει καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ² ἐστὶν, ἡ δ’ Ἀντιπόλεως τῶν Ἰταλωτίδων ἐξετάζεται, κριθείσα πρὸς τοὺς Μασσαλιώτας καὶ ἑλευθερωθεῖσα τῶν παρ’ ἐκείνων προσταγμάτων.

10. Πρόκεινται δὲ τῶν στενῶν τούτων ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἀρξαμένους αἱ Στοιχάδες νῆσοι, τρεῖς μὲν ἀξιόλογοι, δύο δὲ μικραὶ· γεωργοῦσι δ’ αὐτὰς Μασσαλιώται. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ φρούραν εἰχον, ἱδρυμένην αὐτόθι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἡστηρίων ἐφόδους, εὐποροῦσες καὶ λιμένων. μετὰ δὲ τὰς Στοιχάδας ἡ Πλανασία καὶ Δήρων, ἐχουσαι κατοικίαις. ἐν δὲ τῇ Δήρωνι καὶ ἠρώθον ἔστι τὸ τοῦ Δήρωνος κεῖται δ’ αὐτῇ πρὸ τῆς Ἀντιπόλεως. ἄλλα δ’

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¹ γε, Corais, for τε; so the later editors.
² ἐπαρχίας, Corais, for ἐπαρχίας; so the later editors.

1 That is, of Narbonitis (see 4. 1. 3).
2 An Italiote city was a Greek city in Italy.
3 Thus called from the Greek "stoichades," "in a row,"—

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barbarians who were situated beyond, wishing at least to keep free the sea, since the land was controlled by the barbarians; for it is mountainous and also strong for defence, since, although next to Massilia it leaves a strip of level land of moderate width, yet as you proceed towards the east it squeezes the strip off altogether towards the sea, and scarcely leaves the road itself passable. Now the first of these districts are occupied by the Sallyes, but the last by those Ligures whose territory connects with Italy, concerning whom I shall speak hereafter. But at present I need add only this, that, although Antipolis is situated among the parts that belong to Narbonitis, and Nicaea among those that belong to Italy, Nicaea remains subject to the Massiliotes and belongs to the Province, while Antipolis is classed among the Italiote cities, having been so adjudged in a suit against the Massiliotes and thereby freed from their orders.

10. Lying off these narrow stretches of coast, if we begin at Massilia, are the five Stoechades Islands, three of them of considerable size, but two quite small; they are tilled by Massiliotes. In early times the Massiliotes had also a garrison, which they placed there to meet the onsets of the pirates, since the islands were well supplied with harbours. Next, after the Stoechades, are the islands of Planasia and Lero, which have colonial settlements. In Lero there is also a hero-temple, namely, that in honour of Lero; this island lies off Antipolis. And, a fairly suitable appellation. Pliny (3. 11) applies the name only to the three large ones, while Pomponius Mela (2. 7) includes the other islands off the shore from Massilia as far as the country of the Ligures.
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εστὶ νησίδια οὐκ ἄξια μνήμης, τὰ μὲν πρὸ τῆς Μασσαλίας αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς λεχθείσης ἱόνος. τῶν δὲ λιμένων ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὸν ναῦσταθμὸν ἀξιόλογος καὶ ὁ τῶν Μασσαλίων, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι μέτριοι τούτων δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ
ὁ Ὀξύβιος καλούμενος λιμήν, ἐπώνυμος τῶν Ὀξυβίων Δινυών. περὶ μὲν τῆς παραλίας ταῦτα λέγομεν.

11. Τὴν δ’ ὑπερκείμενην αὐτῆς χώραν μάλιστα γεωγραφεῖ τά τε ὅρη τὰ περικείμενα καὶ οἱ ποταμοί, διαφερόντως δὲ ὁ Ὀδανός, μέγιστος τε ὁ ὁ πάντων ἀνάπλουν ἐχών, ἐκ τολλῶν πληροῦμενος πευμάτων· λεκτέουν οὖν ἐφέξης περὶ τούτων. ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας τούπαν ἀρξαμένοις καὶ προϊόνθων ἐπὶ τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν τῶν τε Ἄλπεων καὶ τοῦ Ὀδανοῦ, μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Δρουεντία ποταμοῦ Σάλλνεος οἰκούσιν ἐπὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους· πορθμεῖρος δὲ διαβάσιν εἰς Κασαλλήωνα πόλιν ἢ ἐφέξης χώρα πάσα Γαυνάρων ἐστὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ Ἰσαρος συμβολῶν πρὸς τὸν Ὀδανόν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ Κέμμενου συνάπτει πως τὸ Ὀδανός· μήκος τὸ μέχρι δεύρο ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρουεντία σταδίων ἐστὶν ἐπτακοσίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Σάλλνεος ἐν αὐτοῖς 1 τά τε πεδία καὶ τὰ ὑπερκείμενα ὅρη κατοικοῦσι, τῶν δὲ Γαυνάρων ὑπέρκεινται Οὐκόκοντιοι τε καὶ Τρικόριοι καὶ Ἰκόνιοι καὶ Μέδυλλοι. μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Δρουεντία καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαρος καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί ῥέουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐπὶ τῶν Ὀδανοῦ, δύο

1 αὐτοῖς, Jones, for αὐτοῖς.

2 South of the Druentia.

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besides, there are isles that are not worth mentioning, some off Massilia itself and the others off the rest of the aforesaid shore. As for the harbours, the one that is at the naval-station is of considerable size, and so is that of the Massiliotes, whereas the others are only of moderate size; among these latter is the harbour that is called Oxybius, so named after the Oxybian Ligures. This is what I have to say about the seaboard.

11. As for the country that lies beyond the seaboard, its geographical limits are, in a general way, traced by the mountains that lie round about it, and also by the rivers—by the Rhodanus River especially, for it not only is the largest but also affords the most navigation inland, since the number of the streams from which it is filled is large. However, I must tell about all these regions in order. If you begin, then, at Massilia, and proceed towards the country that is between the Alps and the Rhodanus: Up to the Druentia River the country is inhabited by the Sallyes for a distance of five hundred stadia; but if you cross the river by ferry into the city of Caballio, the whole country next thereafter belongs to the Cavari, up to the confluence of the Isar with the Rhodanus; this is also approximately where the Cemmenus Mountain joins the Rhodanus; the length of your journey from Druentia up to this place is seven hundred stadia. Now the Sallyes occupy—I mean in their own country—not only the plains but also the mountains that lie above the plains, whereas above the Cavari are situated the Vocontii, Tricorii, Iconii, and Medulli. Between the Druentia and the Isar there are still other rivers which flow from the Alps to the
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μὲν οἱ περιπρέπουτες πόλειν Καουάρων 1 καὶ Ουάρων 2 κοινῷ δείθρῳ συμβάλλουσα εἰς τὸν Ῥοδανόν, τρίτος δὲ Ζωύλγας, ὁ κατὰ Οὐνδαλον πόλιν μισγόμενος τῷ Ῥοδανῷ, ὃποι Γναῖος Ἀρνοβαρβος μεγάλῃ μάχῃ πολλάς ἐτρέψατο Κελτῶν μυριάδας. εἰςὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ πόλεις καὶ Αἰνειών καὶ Ἀραυσίων καὶ Ἀερία, τῷ ὀντι, φησίν Ἀρτεμιδωρος, ἀερία διὰ τὸ ἐφ’ ὑψους ἱδρύσθαι μεγάλου. ὦ μὲν οὖν ἀλλή πάσα ἐστὶ πεδίας καὶ εὐβοτος, ὦ δ’ ἐκ τῆς Ἀερίας εἰς τὴν Λουρίανα ὑπερθέσεις ἔχει στενᾶς καὶ ὑλώδεις. καθ’ ὃ δὲ συμπίπτουσιν ὁ Ἰσαρ ποταμός καὶ ὁ Ῥοδανός καὶ τὸ Κέμμενον ὄρος, Κοῖντος Φάβιος Μάξιμος Αἰμιλιανός οὐχ ὁλαις τρισὶ μυρίσιν εἰκὼσι μυριάδας Κελτῶν κατέκοψε, καὶ ἐστησε τρόπαιον αὐτῶθι λευκοῦ λίθου καὶ νεὸς δύο, τὸν μὲν Ἀρεῶς, τὸν δ’ Ἡρακλεως. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἰσαρος εἰς Οὐλειναν τὴν τῶν Ἀλλοβρώγων μητρόπολιν κειμένην ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥοδανῷ στάδιοι εἰς τριακόσιοι εἴκοσι. πτησίον

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1 Καουάρων, Siebenkees, for Κλαουάρων; so the later editors.
2 Xylander would omit καὶ Ουάρων; so Siebenkees, Corais, Kramer, Forbiger, and Meineke. Groskurd emends to Καρπένταρον, or Καρπένταρων. Casaubon, comparing Λουερπάνων in 4. 6. 3, conjectures Λουερπλωνα.

1 Groskurd, believing with Gosselin that the Ouvèze and the Mède are the rivers meant by Strabo, emends "and the Vari" to "Carpenteron"—the "Carpentoracte" (to-day Carpentras) of Pliny (3. 5). Several scholars (see critical note above, on this page) omit "and the Vari" altogether. Ukert (Geoegr. 1832, vol. iii, page 138) thinks he recognizes in "Cavari" and "Vari" the corrupted names of the rivers now called Rubion and Jabrou, and that the city (which he thinks has fallen out of the text) is Akousio (mentioned by Ptolemaeus), to-day Anonne. But Béretta (Les Cîlès
Rhodanus, namely, two that flow round a city of the Cavarans, and coming together in a common stream empty into the Rhodanus; and a third, the Sulgas, which mingle its waters with the Rhodanus near the city of Undalum, where in a great battle Gnaeus Ahenobarbus turned many myriads of Celti to flight. And there are in the intervening space the cities of Avenio, Arausio, and Aeria—“an ‘Aeria’ in reality,” says Artemidorus, “because it is situated on a lofty elevation.” All the country, however, is level and good for pasturage, except that the stretch from Aeria to Durio has mountainous passes that are narrow and wooded. But where the Isar River and the Rhodanus and the Cenmenus Mountain meet, Quintus Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, with less than thirty thousand men all told, cut down two hundred thousand Celti; and on the spot he set up a trophy of white marble, and also two temples, one in honour of Ares, the other in honour of Heracles. From the Isar to Vienna, the metropolis of the Allobroges, situated on the Rhodanus, the distance is three hundred and twenty miles.

Mystérieuses de Strabo, pp. 36-44) rightly defends the Greek text and seems to prove that the city in question was what is now Bédarides, at the confluence of the Ouvéze and the Mède.

1 What is now Sorgnes, according to Béretta (op. cit. p. 49). The name is also spelled “Vindalum.”
2 Between the Draenti and the Isar.
3 Now Orange.
4 Béretta (op. cit. pp. 50-73) convincingly identifies Aeria with what is now Carpentras.
5 Béretta (op. cit. 74-100) identifies Durio with what is now Malacène. Some scholars emend to “Iaerio,” a place referred to in 4. 6. 3, but otherwise unknown, while others, including Meineke, wrongly emend to Avenio (Avignon).
δ' υπέρκειται τῆς Οὐιέννης τὸ Δούγδουνον, ἐφ' οὐ συμμίσγουσιν ἀλλήλοις ὃ τε Ἀραρ καὶ ὁ Ῥοδανός· στάδιοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ πεζῇ μὲν περὶ διακοσίους διὰ τῆς Ἀλλοβρίγων, ἀνάπλω δὲ μικρῷ πλείους. Ἀλλόβριγες δὲ μυριάσι πολλαῖς πρότερον μὲν ἐστράτευον, νῦν δὲ γεωργοῦσι τὰ πεδία καὶ τοὺς αὐλῶνας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσί, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κωμηδὸν ξωσίν, οἱ δ' ἐπιφανεῖς τάται τὴν Οὐιένναν ἔχοντες, κάμην πρότερον οὖσαν, μητρόπολιν δ' ὅμοιο τοῦ ἕθους λεγομένην, κατεσκευάσας πόλιν. Ἡδρυταὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥοδανῷ φέρεται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων οὖτος πολὺς καὶ σφοδρός, οὗ γε καὶ διὰ λίμνης ἐξιὼν τῆς Λημένης φανέρων δείκνυσι τὸ ἐρείθρον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους. κατελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὰ πεδία τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἀλλοβρίγων καὶ Σηγοσίανῶν συμβάλλει τῷ Ἀραρικατᾷ Δούγδουνον πόλιν τῶν Σηγοσίανῶν. δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀραρ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπεων, ὅριζον Σηκοσιανοῦς τε καὶ Λίδουνος καὶ Δήγγονας παραλαβὼν ὅποιον τοῦ Δούββιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ὅρων φερόμενον πλωτὸν, ἑπικρατήσας τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ γενομενοὶ εὖ ἀμφοῖν Ἀραρ συμμίσγει τῷ Ῥοδανῷ πόλιν δ' ἑπικρατήσας ὁ Ῥοδανός εἰς τὴν Οὐιένναν φέρεται. συμβαίνει δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν τοὺς τρεῖς ποταμοὺς φέρεσθαι πρὸς ἄρκτου, εἶτα πρὸς δύσων εἰς ἐν δ' ἡδὴ συμπεσεῖν ρ.idea πόλιν ἄλλην

1 ἀπὸ, Corais, for ἀνω; so the later editors.
2 Λημένης, Kramer, for τῆς μεγάλης (op. 4. 6. 11); so the later editors.
3 Σηγοσίανῶν, the editors, for the variants of the MSS. (see C. Müller Ind. Var. Lect. pp. 962 (154, 32, 33) and 963 (159, 40); also Holmes, Caesar's Conquest of Gaul, p. 848).
4 Δήγγονας, Corais, for Διγκασίουs; so the editors in general.
stadia. Near Vienna, and beyond it, is situated Lugdunum, at which the Arar and the Rhodanus mingle with one another; and the distance to Lugdunum\(^1\) in stadia is, if you go by foot through the territory of the Allobroges, about two hundred, but if by voyage up the river, slightly more than that. Formerly the Allobroges kept up warfare with many myriads of men, whereas now they till the plains and the glens that are in the Alps, and all of them live in villages, except that the most notable of them, inhabitants of Vienna (formerly a village, but called, nevertheless, the “metropolis” of the tribe), have built it up into a city. It is situated on the Rhodanus. This river runs from the Alps in great volume and impetuosity—since on its way out, while passing through the Lemenna Lake, its stream is clearly visible for many stadia. And after coming down into the plains of the country of the Allobroges and Segusiavi, it meets the Arar at Lugdunum, a city of the Segusiavi. The Arar, too, flows from the Alps, since it separates the Sequani from the Aedui and the Lingones; then, later, taking on the waters of the Dubis—a navigable river that runs from the same mountains—it prevails over the Dubis with its name, and though made up of both mingles with the Rhodanus as the “Arar.” And, in its turn, the Rhodanus prevails, and runs to Vienna. So the result is, that at first the three rivers run northwards, and then westwards; and then, immediately after they have joined together into one

\(^1\) That is, from Vienna, now Vienne.

The people in question are called “Lingones” by other writers, as well as by Strabo himself (4. 3. 4 and 4. 6. 11).

\(^5\) συμπέσαν, Xylander, for συμπέσαν.
καμπὶν λαβὸν νότιον φέρεται τὸ δεύμα μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν, δεξάμενον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς, κάκειθεν ἣδη τὴν λοιπὴν ποιεῖται μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης ρύσιν. ἢ μὲν οὖν μεταξὺ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ τοιαύτη τις.

12. Τὴν δὲ ἑπὶ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ ποταμοῦ Οὐόλκαι νέμονται τὴν πλείστην, οὐδὲ Ἀρηκομίσκοις προσαγορεύοντοι. τούτων δὲ ἐπίνειον ἢ Νάρβων λέγεται, δικαιοτέρου δὲ ἄν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κελτικῆς λέγουτοι τασούτου ὑπερβέληται τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρωμένων τῷ ἐμπορεύῳ. οἱ μὲν οὖν Οὐόλκαι γειτονεύουσι τῷ Ῥοδανῷ, τοὺς Σάλλνας ἐχοντες ἀντιπαρήκοντας αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ περαια καὶ τοὺς Καυνάρους. ἐπικρατεῖ δὲ τὸ τῶν Καυνάρων οὖν καὶ πάντας οὕτως ἢδη προσαγορεύοντοι τοὺς ταύτῃ παράβαρους, οὐδὲ βαρβάρους ἐτεινόσας, ἀλλὰ μετακειμένους τῷ πλέον εἰς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τύπον καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ τοῖς βίοις, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ. ἀλλὰ δὲ ἔστιν ἄδοξα ἔθνη καὶ μικρὰ, παρακείμενα τοῖς Ἀρηκομίσκοις μέχρι Πυρήνης. μητρόπολις δὲ τῶν Ἀρηκομίσκων ἐστὶ Νέμαυσος, κατὰ μὲν τῶν ἀλλότριων ὄχλον καὶ τῶν ἐμπορικῶν πολὺ Νάρβωνος λειπομένη, κατὰ δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν ὑπερβάλλουσα. ὑπηκόους γὰρ ἔχει κῶμας τέταρας καὶ εἰκοσὶ τῶν ὀμοειδῶν ἑυανδρία διαφερούσας, συντελούσας εἰς αὐτὴν, ἐξουσαίοις καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Λάτιον, ὧστε τοὺς ἄξιοθέντας ἀγορανομίας καὶ

1 ἐχούσα, Corais, for ἐχούσας (ABl), ἐχουσαν (C); so the later editors.

1 "Jus Latii" (see footnote on "Latins," 3. 2. 15).
bed, the stream again takes another turn and runs a southerly course as far as its outlets (although before this it has received the other rivers), and from there begins to make the remainder of its course as far as the sea. Such, then, is approximately the nature of the country which lies between the Alps and the Rhodanus.

12. As for the country which lies on the other side of the river, most of it is occupied by those Volcae who are called Arecomisci. Narbo is spoken of as the naval-station of these people alone, though it would be fairer to add "and of the rest of Celtica"—so greatly has it surpassed the others in the number of people who use it as a trade-centre. Now, although the Volcae border on the Rhodanus, with the Sallies and also the Cavari stretching along parallel to them on the opposite side of the river, the name of the Cavari prevails, and people are already calling by that name all the barbarians in that part of the country—no, they are no longer barbarians, but are, for the most part, transformed to the type of the Romans, both in their speech and in their modes of living; and some of them in their civic life as well. Again, situated alongside the Arecomisci as far as the Pyrenees, are other tribes, which are without repute and small. Now the metropolis of the Arecomisci is Nemausus, which, although it comes considerably short of Narbo in its throng of foreigners and of merchants, surpasses Narbo in that of citizens; for it has, subject to its authority, twenty-four villages, which are exceptional in their supply of strong men, of stock like its own, and contribute towards its expenses; and it has also what is called the "Latin right," so that those who
ταμιείας ἐν Νεμαύσῳ Ῥωμαιοῖς ὑπάρχειν· διὰ δὲ τούτῳ οὐδ’ ὑπὸ τοὺς προστάγμασι 1 τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης στρατηγῶν ἔστι τὸ ἔθνος τούτο. Ἰδρυται δ’ ἡ πόλις κατὰ τὴν ὄδον τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰσραήλ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, θέρους μὲν εὐβατον οὕσαν, χειμῶνος δὲ καὶ ξαφός πηλώδη καὶ ποταμοκλυστον τινὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ρευμάτων πορθμείοις περάται, τινὰ δὲ γεφύραις, ταῖς μὲν ἐξίλων πεποιημέναις, ταῖς δὲ λίθων. ποιοῦσι δὲ τὰς ἐκ τῶν υδάτων δυσκόλιας οἱ χειμαρροί, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ θέρους ἔστι’ ὅτε ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπεων καταφερόμενοι μετὰ τὴν ἀπότηξιν τῶν χιόνων. τῆς δ’ ὀδοῦ τῆς λεχθείσης ἡ μὲν εὔθως ἔπι τὰς Ἀλπεις ἔστι, καθάπερ εὐπομεν, ἡ σύντομος διὰ Οὐκοκοντίων· ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς παραλίας τῆς Μασσαλιωτικῆς καὶ τῆς Διονυσικῆς μακρότερα μὲν, τὰς δ’ ὑπερθέσεις τὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐμαρεστέρας ἔχει, ταπεινομένων ἐνταῦθα ἥδη τῶν ὀρῶν. διέχει δ’ ἡ Νέμαυσος τοῦ μὲν Ῥόδανοι περὶ ἐκατόν σταθίους, καθ’ δ’ ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ πολύχυμιν ἔστι Ταρούσκων, τῆς δὲ Νάρβωνος ἐπτακοσίους εἰκοσι. πρὸς δὲ τὸ Κέμμευνον ὄρος συνάπτοντες, ἐπιλαμβάνοντες δὲ καὶ τὸ νότιον πλευρὸν αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων οἰκοῦσι τῶν τε Οὐκολίκων οἱ Τεκτόσαγες καλούμενοι καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἐροῦμεν ύστερον.

13. Οἱ δὲ Τεκτόσαγες καλούμενοι τῇ Πυρήνῃ πλησιάζουσιν, ἐφάπτονται δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τοῦ προσαρκτίου πλευροῦ τῶν Κεμμέων, πολύχρυσον τε

1 προστάγμασι, the reading of o; πράγμασι, ABCI.

2 See 4. 2. 2 and footnote on “autonomous.”
have been thought worthy of the offices of aedile and quaestor at Nemausus are by that preferment Roman citizens, and, on account of this fact, this tribe too is not subject to the orders of the praetors who are sent out from Rome. The city is situated on the road that leads from Iberia into Italy, which, although it is easy to travel in summer, is muddy and also flooded by the rivers in winter and spring. Now some of the streams are crossed by ferries, others by bridges—some made of timber, others of stone. But it is the torrents that cause the annoying difficulties that result from the waters, since, after the melting away of the snows, they sometimes rush down from the Alps even till the summer-time. Of the afore-said road, the branch that leads straight to the Alps is, as I stated, the short cut through the territory of the Vocontii, whereas that through the Massilian and Ligurian seaboard is indeed longer, although the passes it affords over into Italy are easier, since the mountains begin to lower there. The distance of Nemausus from the Rhodanus—reckoning from a point opposite the town of Tarusco, on the other side of the river—is about a hundred stadia; but from Narbo, seven hundred and twenty. Again, in territory that joins the Cemmenus Mountain, and that takes in also the southern side of the mountain as far as its summits, there live that people of the Volcae who are called Tectosages and also certain others. About these others I shall speak later on.

13. The people who are called Tectosages closely approach the Pyrenees, though they also reach over small parts of the northern side of the Cemmenus;

See 4. 1. 2.

To Strabo, the Cemmenus ran east and west.
Strabo refers to Galatia, a part of Greater Phrygia (12. 8. 1). One of the three Galatian tribes retained the name of "Tectosages," “from the tribe of that name in Celtica” (12. 5. 1).

That is, the Gallic Brennus who made an invasion against Delphi in 278 B.C. with 152,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry.
and the land they occupy is rich in gold. It appears that at one time they were so powerful and had so large a stock of strong men that, when a sedition broke out in their midst, they drove a considerable number of their own people out of the homeland; again, that other persons from other tribes made common lot with these exiles; and that among these are also those people who have taken possession of that part of Phrygia which has a common boundary with Cappadocia and the Paphlagonians. Now as proof of this we have the people who are still, even at the present time, called Tectosages; for, since there are three tribes, one of them—the one that lives about the city of Ancyra—is called “the tribe of the Tectosages,” while the remaining two are the Trocmi and the Tolistobogii. As for these latter peoples, although the fact of their racial kinship with the Tectosages indicates that they emigrated from Celtica, I am unable to tell from what districts they set forth; for I have not learned of any Trocmi or Tolistobogii who now live beyond the Alps, or within them, or this side of them. But it is reasonable to suppose that nothing has been left of them in Celtica on account of their thoroughgoing migrations—just as is the case with several other peoples. For example, some say that the second Brennus who made an invasion against Delphi was a Prausan, but I am unable to say where on earth the Prausans formerly lived, either. And it is further said that the Tectosages shared in the expedition to Delphi; and even the treasures that were found among them in the city of Tolosa by (see Pausanias 10. 19); not the Gallic Brennus who a century before sacked Rome.
υπὸ Καιπίωνος ὁ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν πόλει Τολώση τῶν ἐκείθεν χρημάτων μέρος εἶναι φασί, προσθείναι δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων οἰκῶν ἀνιεροῦντας καὶ ἐξιλασκομένους τῶν θεῶν προσαψάμενοι δ’ αὐτῶν τὸν Καιπίωνα διὰ τούτῳ ἐν δυστυχήμασι καταστρέψαι τὸν βίον, ὡς ἰερόσυλον ἐκβληθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, διαδόχοις δ’ ἀπολυτῶντα παῖδας, ὡς συνέβη καταπορμευθεῖσαν, ὡς εἰρήκει Τιμαγένης, αἰσχρῶς ἀπολέσθαι. πιθανότερος δὲ ἔστω ὁ Ποσειδώνιου λόγος· τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὑρεθέντα ἐν τῇ Τολώση χρήματα μυρίων πτων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γενέσθαι φησί, τὰ μὲν ἐν σηκοῖς ἀποκείμενα, τὰ δὲ ἐν λίμναις ἱεραῖς, οὔδεμιαν κατασκευήν ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ ἀργὸν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργυρὸν· τὸ δ’ ἐν Δελφῶις ἱερὸν κατ’ ἐκείνους ἤδη τοὺς χρόνους ὑπάρξαι κενὸν τῶν τοιούτων, σεσυλημένον ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν πόλεμον· εἰ δὲ καὶ τι ἐλείφθη, διανεῖμασθαι πολλοῦς· οὐδὲ σωθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰκὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἀθλίως ἀπαλλάξαντας μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀποχώρησιν καὶ σκεδασθέντας ἄλλους ἐπ’ ἄλλα μέρη κατὰ διχοστασίαν. ἀλλ’, ὅστερ ἐκείνος τε εἰρήκει καὶ ἄλλου πλείους, ἡ χώρα πολύχρυσος ὑσσα καὶ δεισιδαιμόνων καὶ οὐ πολυτελῶν τοῖς βίοις πολλαχοῦ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐσχε θησαυροὺς· μάλιστα δ’ αὐτοῖς αἱ λίμναι τὴν ἀσυλίαν παρεῖχον, εἰς δὲ καθίσαν ἀργυρὸν ἢ καὶ χρυσὸν βάρη. οἱ γοῦν Ῥωμαίοι κρατησάντες τῶν τόπων ἀπέδοντο

1 Καῖπλωνος, and Καῖπλωνα (below), are obvious corrections for Σκιπλωνος and Σκιπλωνα; so the editors since Xylander.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 1. 13

Caepio, a general of the Romans, were, it is said, a part of the valuables that were taken from Delphi, although the people, in trying to consecrate them and propitiate the god, added thereto out of their personal properties, and it was on account of having laid hands on them that Caepio ended his life in misfortunes—for he was cast out by his native land as a temple-robber, and he left behind as his heirs female children only, who, as it turned out, became prostitutes, as Timagenes has said, and therefore perished in disgrace. However, the account of Poseidonius is more plausible: for he says that the treasure that was found in Tolosa amounted to about fifteen thousand talents (part of it stored away in sacred enclosures, part of it in sacred lakes), unwrought, that is, merely gold and silver bullion; whereas the temple at Delphi was in those times already empty of such treasure, because it had been robbed at the time of the sacred war by the Phocians; but even if something was left, it was divided by many among themselves; neither is it reasonable to suppose that they reached their homeland in safety, since they fared wretchedly after their retreat from Delphi and, because of their dissensions, were scattered, some in one direction, others in another. But, as has been said both by Poseidonius and several others, since the country was rich in gold, and also belonged to people who were god-fearing and not extravagant in their ways of living, it came to have treasures in many places in Celtica; but it was the lakes, most of all, that afforded the treasures their inviolability, into which the people let down heavy masses of silver or even of gold. At all events, the Romans, after they
τὰς λίμνας δημοσία, καὶ τῶν ὀνυσαμένων πολλοὶ
μύλους εὐβοῦν σφυρηλάτουσι ἀργυροῦς. ἐν δὲ τῇ
Τολώσσῃ καὶ τῷ ἱερῷ ἦν ἄγιον, τιμώμενον σφόδρα
ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἑπλεόνασε
dιὰ τούτο, πολλῶν ἀνατιθέντων καὶ μηδενὸς προσ-
ἀπτεσθαι θαρροῦντος.

14. Ἡ Τολώσσα κατὰ τὸ στενότατον
τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τοῦ διεργοῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ Νάρβωνα
θαλάττης τῶν ὁκεανῶν, ὃν φησὶ Ποσειδώνος
ἐλάττω τῶν τρισχελίων σταδίων. ἀξιόν δὲ ἀντὶ
πάντων ἐπισημήνασθαι πάλιν ὁπερ εἶπομεν πρό-
τερον, τὴν ὀμολογίαν τῆς χώρας πρὸς τοὺς
ποταμοὺς καὶ τὴν βάλατταν τὴν τ' ἐκτὸς ὀμόιως
καὶ τὴν ἑντὸς εὐροί γὰρ ἂν τὴς ἐπιστήσεις οὐκ
ἐλάχιστον μέρος τοῦ ὑπάρχου τῆς τῶν τόπων
ἀρετῆς, λέγω δὲ τὸ τὰς χρείας ἑπιπλέκεσθαι τὰς
τοῦ βίου μετὰ ραστών ἄπασι πρὸς ἄπαιντας καὶ
τὰς ὀφελείας ἀνείσθαι κοινῶς, μᾶλστα δὲ νῦν,
ἡμῖκα ἄγοντες σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἐργαίζοντα
τὴν χώραν ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ τοὺς βίους κατασκευά
ζοντας πολιτικοὺς. ὡστε ἐπὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων κἀ
τὸ τῆς προνοίας ἔργον ἐπιμαρτυρεῖσθαι τὶς ἰὰν
dόξειν, οὐχ ὅπως ἐτυχεί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν μετὰ λογι
σμοῦ τινος, διακείμενων τῶν τόπων. ὦ μέν γε
Ῥοδανοῦς πολύν τε ἔχει τὸν ἀνάπλουν καὶ μεγάλοις
φορτίοις καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς χώρας διὰ τὸ

1 ὃν, Xylander, for ὃς; so the later editors.

1 4. 1. 2. 2 The ocean.
mastered the regions, sold the lakes for the public treasury, and many of the buyers found in them hammered mill-stones of silver. And, in Tolosa, the temple too was hallowed, since it was very much revered by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, and on this account the treasures there were excessive, for numerous people had dedicated them and no one dared to lay hands on them.

14. Tolosa is situated on the narrowest part of the isthmus which separates the ocean from the sea that is at Narbo, which isthmus, according to Poseidonius is less than three thousand stadia in width. But it is above all worth while to note again a characteristic of this region which I have spoken of before— the harmonious arrangement of the country with reference, not only to the rivers, but also to the sea, alike both the outer sea and the inner; for one might find, if he set his thoughts upon the matter, that this is not the least factor in the excellence of the regions—I mean the fact that the necessities of life are with ease interchanged by every one with every one else and that the advantages which have arisen therefrom are common to all; but especially so at present, when being at leisure from the weapons of war, the people are tilling the country diligently, and are devising for themselves modes of life that are civil. Therefore, in the cases of this sort, one might believe that there is confirmatory evidence for the workings of Providence, since the regions are laid out, not in a fortuitous way, but as though in accordance with some calculated plan. In the first place, the voyage which the Rhodanus affords inland is a considerable one, even for vessels of great burden, and reaches numerous
τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας εἰς αὐτὸν ποταμοὺς ὑπάρχειν πλωτοὺς καὶ διαδέχεσθαι τὸν φόρτον πλείστον. ὁ δ’ Ἀραρ ἐκδέχεται καὶ ὁ Δοῦβις ὁ εἰς τοῦτον ἐμβάλλων, εἰτα πεζεύεται μέχρι τοῦ Σηκοάνα πο-
ταμοῦ, καντευθεν ἤδη καταφέρεται εἰς τὸν ὦκεανόν καὶ τοὺς Ληξοβίους καὶ Καλέτους, ἕκ δὲ τούτων εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἐλάττων ἡ ἡμερήσιως δρόμος ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐστὶν ὦξὺς καὶ δυσανάπλους ὁ Ὀρδανός, τινὰ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν φορτίων πεζεύεται μάλλον ταῖς ἄρμαμάζαις, ὡσα εἰς Ἀρουέρνους κο-
μίζεται καὶ τὸν Δείγηρα ποταμόν, καλπερ τοῦ ὈρδανΟῦ καὶ τοὺτως πλησιάζοντος ἕκ μέρους· ἀλλ’ ἡ ὄθος πεδιὰς ὁσα καὶ οὐ πολλή, περὶ ὀκτα-
κοσίους σταδίους, ἐπάγεται μὴ χρίσασθαι τῷ ἀνάπλο διὰ τὸ πεζεύσθαι ρᾶμων ἐντεῦθεν δ’ ὁ Δείγηρ εὐφυῶς ἐκδέχεται; ἰεὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Κεμμένων εἰς τὸν ὦκεανόν. ἕκ δὲ Ναρβωνὸς ἀναπλέιται μὲν ἐπὶ μυκρὸν τῷ Ἀτακὶ, πεζεύεται δὲ πλέον ἐπὶ τῶν Γαρούναν ποταμῶν, καὶ τοῦθ’ ὅσον ὀκτακοσίων ἡ ἐπτακοσίων σταδίων βέλει δὲ καὶ ὁ Γαρούνας εἰς τὸν ὦκεανόν. ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν νεμομένων τῆς Ναρβωνίτων ἐπικράτειαν λέγομεν, οὔτε οἱ πρὸτερον Κέλται ὄνομαξον ἀπὸ τούτων δ’ οἶμαι καὶ τοὺς σύμπαντας Γαλάτας Κέλτους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων

1 Καλέτους, Xylander, for ὀδέτους, editors following.

1 The former lived south, the latter north, of the mouth of the Sequana.
2 Apparently from the Rhodanus, at its confluence with the Arar, at Lugdunum (Lyon).
3 The Rhône for some distance runs as close as thirty miles to the Loire (Liger); the Arverni lived still farther west. But there seems to have been no convenient way here to transfer merchandise to the Loire.

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parts of the country, on account of the fact that the rivers which fall into it are navigable, and in their turns receive most of the traffic. Secondly, the Rhodanus is succeeded by the Arar, and by the Dubis (which empties into the Arar); then the traffic goes by land as far as the Sequana River; and thence it begins its voyage down to the ocean, and to the Lexobii and Caleti;¹ and from these peoples it is less than a day’s run to Britain. But since the Rhodanus is swift and difficult to sail up, some of the traffic from here² preferably goes by land on the wagons, that is, all the traffic that is conveyed to the Arverniens and the Liger River—albeit in a part of its course the Rhodanus draws close to these also;³ still, the fact that the road is level and not long (about eight hundred stadia)⁴ is an inducement not to use the voyage upstream,⁵ since it is easier to go by land; from here, however, the road is naturally succeeded by the Liger; and it flows from the Cemmenus Mountain to the ocean. Thirdly, from Narbo traffic goes inland for a short distance by the Atax River, and then a greater distance by land to the Garumna River; and this latter distance is about eight hundred or seven hundred stadia. And the Garumna, too, flows to the ocean. This, then, is what I have to say about the people who inhabit the dominion of Narbonitis, whom the men of former times named “Celtae”⁶; and it was from the Celtae, I think, that the Galatae as a whole were by

¹ About the distance from Lyon to Bourbon-Lancy on the Loire; but it is by no means certain what terminal Strabo had in mind.
² That is, up the Arar, following the first route above-mentioned to the ocean.


STRABO

προσαγορευθήναι, διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἢ καὶ προσλάβωντων πρὸς τούτο καὶ τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν διὰ τὸ πλησιόχωρον.

II

1. Ἕξης δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἀκουιτανῶν λεκτέον καὶ τῶν προσωρισμένων αὐτοῖς ἔθνων τεσσαρεσκαί- 

deka Γαλατικῶν τῶν μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαρούνα κατο-

koύντων καὶ τοῦ Δείγηρος, ὡν ἐνια ἐπιλαμβάνει 

cαι τῆς τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμίας καὶ τῶν πεδίων 

tῶν κατὰ τὴν Ναρβθωνίων. ἀπλῶς γὰρ εἶπεῖν, 

οἱ Ἀκουιτανοὶ διαφέρουσι τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ φύλου 

κατὰ τε τὰς τῶν σωμάτων κατασκευὰς καὶ κατὰ 

τὴν γλώτταν, ἐοίκασι δὲ μᾶλλον Ἰβηρσίων. ὁρί- 

ζονται δὲ τῷ Γαρούνα ποταμῷ, ἐντὸς τούτου καὶ 

tῆς Πυρήνης οἰκούντες. ἔστι δὲ ἐθνὴ τῶν Ἀκουι- 

τανῶν πλείω μὲν τῶν εἴκοσι, μικρὰ δὲ καὶ ἀδόξα, 

τὰ πολλὰ μὲν παρωκεανικά, τὰ δὲ εἰς τὴν 

μεσόγαιαν καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν Κεμένων ὅρῶν μέχρι 

Τεκτοσάγων ἀνέχουτα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ μικρὰ μερὶς 

ἡν ἡ τοσαύτη, προσέθεσαν καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ 

Γαρούνα καὶ τοῦ Δείγηρος. παράλληλοι δὲ πῶς 

eίσον οἱ ποταμοί τῇ Πυρήνη καὶ δύο ποιούσι 

παραλληλόγραμμα πρὸς αὐτὴν χωρία, ὀριζόμενα 

κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας πλευρὰς τῷ τε ὀκεανῷ καὶ τοῖς 

Κεμένοις ὄρεσιν δισχιλίων δ' ὁμοί σταδίων 

ἐστίν ὁ πλοῦς ἐκατέρων τῶν ποταμῶν. ἐκβάλλει 

δ' ὁ μὲν Γαρούνας τρισὶ ποταμοῖς αὐξηθεῖς εἰς τὸ

1 For the purposes of administration.
2 Cp. 4. 1. 1.
the Greeks called "Celti"—on account of the fame of the Celtae, or it may also be that the Massiliotes, as well as other Greek neighbours, contributed to this result, on account of their proximity.

II

1. Next, I must discuss the Aquitani, and the tribes which have been included within their boundaries,\(^1\) namely, the fourteen Galatic tribes which inhabit the country between the Garumna and the Liger, some of which reach even to the river-land of the Rhone and to the plains of Narbonitis. For, speaking in a general way, the Aquitani differ from the Galatic race in the build of their bodies as well as in their speech; that is, they are more like the Iberians.\(^2\) Their country is bounded by the Garumna River, since they live between this and the Pyrenees. There are more than twenty tribes of the Aquitani, but they are small and lacking in repute; the majority of the tribes live along the ocean, while the others reach up into the interior and to the summits\(^3\) of the Cemmenus Mountains, as far as the Tectosages. But since a country of this size was only a small division, they\(^4\) added to it the country which is between the Garumna and the Liger. These rivers are approximately parallel to the Pyrenees and form with the Pyrenees two parallelograms, since they are bounded on their other sides by the ocean and the Cemmenus Mountains. And the voyage on either of the rivers is, all told, two thousand stadia. The Garumna, after being increased by the waters of three rivers, dis-

\(^1\) Not "extremities" (op. \(\tau\alpha\ \varepsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\ 4. 6. 7\).
\(^2\) The Romans.
μεταξὺ Βιτουρίγων τε τῶν Οὐβίσκων ἡπικα-
λουμένων καὶ Σαντόνων, ἀμφοτέρων Γαλατικῶν
ἐθνῶν· μόνον γὰρ δὴ τὸ τῶν Βιτουρίγων τούτων
ἐθνός ἐν τοῖς Ἁκουτανοίς ἀλλόφυλον ἵδρυται,
καὶ οὐ συντέλει αὐτοῖς, ἔχει δὲ ἐμπόριον Βουρδι-
γαλα ἐπικείμενον λιμνοθαλάττη τινί, ἣν ποιοῦσιν
αἳ ἐκβολαὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ὃ δὲ Δεύγηρ μεταξὺ
Πικτόνων τε καὶ Ναμνιτῶν ἐκβάλλει. πρότερον
δὲ Κορβιλῶν υπήρχεν ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ
ποταμῷ, περὶ ἃς εὑρήκη Πολύβιος, μυστηρεῖ τῶν
ὑπὸ Πυθέαυν μυθολογηθέντων, ὅτι Μασσαλιοτῶν
μὲν τῶν συμμεζάντων Σκιπίων οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν
οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον, ἐρωτηθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος
περὶ τῆς Βρεττανίκης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Νάρβουνος οὐδὲ
τῶν ἐκ Κορβιλῶνος, αἴτερ ἤσαν ἀρίστατοι πόλεις
τῶν ταύτης. Πυθέας δὲ ἔθαρρυσε τοσαῦτα πευ-
σασθαι. τῶν δὲ Σαντόνων πόλεως ἔστι Μεδιο-
λάνων. ἔστι δὴ ἡ μὲν παρώκεαντὶς τῶν Ἁκου-
τανῶν ἀμμώδης ἡ πλείστη καὶ λεπτή, κένχρῳ
τρέφονσα, τοῖς δὲ ἅλλοις καρποῖς ἀφορωτέρᾳ
ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστι καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὁ ποιῶν τῶν ἱσθμῶν
πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Ναρβανίτιδι παραλίᾳ Γαλατικῶν
κόλπον, ὡμώνυμος ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ αὐτός. ἔχουσι δὲ
Τάρβελλων τὸν κόλπον, παρ’ οἷς ἔστι τὰ χρυσαῖα
σπουδαίτατα πᾶντον. ὥστε γὰρ βόθροις ὄρυχθεῖσιν
ἐπὶ μικρῶν εὑρίσκονται καὶ χειρόπιθεῖσιν χρυσίον
πλάκες, ἐσθ’ ὅτε μικρᾶς ἀποκαθάρσεως δεόμεναι.

1 Οὐβίσκων, Xylander, for ἰδεσκων; so Corais, Groskurd, and Forbiger. Ptolemaeus (2. 7. 5) says “Οὐβίσκοι,” and Pliny (4. 33) “Vivisci.”

2 ταύτη, Corais, for ταύτης; so the later editors.
charges its waters into the region that is between those Bituriges that are surnamed “Vivisci” and the Santoni—both of them Galactic tribes; for the tribe of these Bituriges is the only tribe of different race that is situated among the Aquitanı; and it does not pay tribute to them, though it has an emporium, Burdigala, which is situated on a lagoon that is formed by the outlets of the river. The Liger, however, discharges its waters between the Pictones and the Namnitae. Formerly there was an emporium on this river, called Corbilo, with respect to which Polybius, calling to mind the fabulous stories of Pytheas, has said: “Although no one of all the Massiliotes who conversed with Scipio¹ was able, when questioned by Scipio about Britain, to tell anything worth recording, nor yet any one of the people from Narbo or of those from Corbilo, though these were the best of all the cities in that country, still Pytheas had the hardihood to tell all those falsehoods about Britain.” The city of the Santoni, however, is Mediolanium. Now the most of the ocean-coast of the Aquitanı is sandy and thin-soiled, thus growing millet, but it is rather unproductive in respect of the other products. Here too is the gulf which, along with that Galactic Gulf which is within the coastline of Narbonitis, forms the isthmus (itself too, like the latter gulf, having the name “Galatic”). The gulf is held by the Tarbelli, in whose land the gold mines are most important of all; for in pits dug only to a slight depth they find slabs of gold as big as the hand can hold, which at times require but little refining; but the rest is gold

¹ It is not known to which member of the Cornelian gens Strabo refers; probably Africanus Major.
to dé λοιπὸν ψήγμα ἐστὶ καὶ βόλοι, καὶ αὐταὶ κατεργασίαιν οὐ πολλὴν ἔχουσαι. ἦ δὲ μεσόγειος καὶ ὀρεινὴ βελτίω γῆν ἔχει, πρὸς μὲν τῇ Πυρήνῃ τὴν τῶν Κοωνουνῶν, ὁ ἕστι συγκλύδων, ἐν ἦ πόλις Λούγδουνον καὶ τὰ τῶν Ὀνησίων θερμὰ κάλλιστα ποτημωτάτου ύδατος· καλὴ δὲ καὶ ἦ τῶν Αυστρίων.

2. Τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαρούνα καὶ τοῦ Δεύγηρος ἔδην τὰ προσκείμενα τοῖς Ἀκουιτανοῖς ἐστὶν Ἐλουοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ροδανοῦ τὴν ἄρχην ἔχοντες. Οὐδελλάιοι δὲ μετὰ τούτους, οἳ προσωρίζοντο ποτὲ Ἀρούερνοι, τὴν δὲ πάντοται καθ’ ἑαυτούς· εἶτα Ἀρούερνοι καὶ Λεμούλικες καὶ Πετροκόροι πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Νυτιόβρυγες καὶ Καδουρκοὶ καὶ Βιτουργίκες οἱ Κούβοι καλούμενοι πρὸς δὲ τὸ ὄκεανῳ Σάμυντοι τε καὶ Πίκτονες, οἱ μὲν τῷ Γαρούνα παροικοῦντες, ὡς εἴπομεν, οἱ δὲ τῷ Δεύγηρι. Ρούτηνοι δὲ καὶ Γαβαλεῖς τῇ Ναρβωνίτιδι πλησιάζουσι. παρὰ μὲν οὖν τοῖς Πετροκόροις συνηρυγεῖαι ἐστὶν ἀστεῖα καὶ τοῖς Κούβοις Βιτουρίζοι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Καδουρκοῖς λιμουργίαι.

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1 Ἔ, Corais inserts; so the later editors.
2 For συγκλύδων Corais reads συγκλύδων; Meineke following. But the text is right.
3 Χυλαντζέρ, comparing Pliny 4. 33, conjectures Μονησίων, for Ὀνησίων.
4 Αὐστρίων, Χυλαντζέρ, for Ψαυστρίων; so the later editors.
5 Λεμούλικες, Χυλαντζέρ, for Δεμοθέκικες; so the later editors.

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1 The "Convenae" seem to have been refugees from the army of Sertorius, whom Pompey generously assembled together in the territory in question; their city, to which Strabo refers in this passage, was called "Lugdunum Convenarum" (to-day, St. Bertrand de Comminges).
dust and nuggets, the nuggets too requiring no great amount of working. The interior and mountainous country, however, has better soil: first, next to the Pyrenees, the country of the "Convenae" (that is, "assembled rabble"),\(^1\) in which are the city of Lugdunum and the hot springs of the Onesii\(^2\)—most beautiful springs of most potable waters; and, secondly, the country of the Auscii also has good soil.

2. Those tribes between the Garumna and the Liger that belong to Aquitania are, first, the Elui, whose territory begins at the Rhodanus, and then, after them, the Vellavi, who were once included within the boundaries of the Arverni, though they are now ranked as autonomous;\(^3\) then the Arverni, the Lemovices, and the Petrocorii; and, next to these, the Nitiobriges, the Cadurci, and those Bituriges that are called "Cubi";\(^4\) and, next to the ocean, both the Santoni and the Pictones, the former living along the Garumna, as I have said, the latter along the Liger; but the Ruteni and the Gabales closely approach Narbonitis. Now among the Petrocorii there are fine iron-works, and also among the Bituriges Cubi; among the Cadurci, linen

\(^{2}\) A people otherwise unknown.

\(^{3}\) Literally "ranked according to themselves." A comparison of 4. 1. 5 (where Strabo speaks specifically of the "autonomy" of the Massiliotes), 4. 1. 12, 4. 6. 4, and the above passage, clearly indicates that the Volcae Arecomisci, the Vellavi, and the Vocontii, were granted a form of autonomy by the Romans—one of the special privileges of that rank being that they were "not subject to the orders of the prætors who are sent out from Rome" (4. 1. 12). Cp. also the government of Messenia under Melanthus (8. 4. 1).

\(^{4}\) As distinguished from the "Vivisci" (§ 1 above).
παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ὀσπερνοῖς ἄργυρεῖα· ἔχουσι δὲ ἄργυρεῖα καὶ οἱ Γαβαλεῖς. δεδώκασι δὲ Δάτιον 1 Ῥωμαίοι καὶ τῶν Ἀκουιτανῶν τισὶ, καθάπερ Αὐσκίοις καὶ Κωνονέαις.

3. Ἀρούερνοι δὲ ἱδρυνται μὲν ἔπὶ τῷ Δέογηρι· μητρόπολις δὲ αὐτῶν ἔστι Νεμώσσους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ κειμένη. ῥυέις δὲ οὗτος παρὰ Κίναβου, τὸ τῶν Καρνούτων ἐμπόροι κατὰ μέσον που τὸν πλοῦν συνοικοῦμενον, ἐκβάλλει πρὸς τὸν ἅκεανόν. τῆς δυνάμεως δὲ τῆς πρότερον Ἀρούερνοι μέγα τεκμήριον παρέχουσι τὸ πολλάκις πολεμήσαι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τοτε μὲν μυρίσιν εἰκοσι, πάλιν δὲ διπλασίαις. τοσαύταις γὰρ πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν Θεόν διηγούσαντο μετὰ Οὔερκυγγετόρυγος, πρότερον δὲ καὶ εἰκοσι πρὸς Μάξιμου τὸν Αἰμιλιανὸν, καὶ πρὸς Δομήτιον δὲ ἄσσαυτως Ἀηρόβαρβοι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν Καίσαρα περί τε Γεργούλιαν, πόλιν τῶν Ἀρούερνων, ἐφ' ὑψηλοῖς οὐραῖς κειμένην, συνεστησάν οἱ ἀγώνες, εἴς ἂν ἡ Ὡμυρκυγγέτοριξ· καὶ περὶ Ἀλιγίαν πόλιν Μαυδουβίων, 2 ἔθνους ὁμόροι τοῖς Ἀρούερνοις, καὶ ταύτην ἐφ' ὑψηλοῖς λόφοι κειμένην, περιεκχωμένην δὲ ὄρεσι καὶ ποταμοῖς δυστίν, ἐν ἂν καὶ ἐάλω ὁ ἡγεμόνι καὶ ὁ πόλεμος τέλος ἐσχε· πρὸς δὲ Μάξιμου Αἰμιλιανὸν κατὰ τὴν συμβολὴν τοῦ τ' Ἰσαρος καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ.

1 Δάτιον, Corais, for Δάτιον; so the later editors.
2 Μαυδουβίων, Xylander, for Μαυδιβούλων; so the later editors.

1 See § 12 above, and footnote.
2 "Nemossus" is otherwise unknown. If the name is correct, it is apparently an earlier name for what was later

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factories; among the Ruteni, silver mines; and the Gabales, also, have silver mines. The Romans have given the “Latin right”\textsuperscript{1} to certain of the Aquitani just as they have done in the case of the Auscii and the Convenae.

3. The Arverni are situated on the Liger; their metropolis is Nemossus,\textsuperscript{2} a city situated on the Liger. This river, after flowing past Cenabum (the emporium of the Carnutes at about the middle of the voyage,\textsuperscript{3} an emporium that is jointly peopled),\textsuperscript{4} discharges its waters towards the ocean. As for their former power, the Arverni hold out as a great proof thereof the fact that they oftentimes warred against the Romans, at times with two hundred thousand men, and again, with double that number—with double that number, for example, when they, with Vercingetorix, struggled to a finish against the Deified Caesar; and, before that, also, with two hundred thousand against Maximus Aemilianus, and also, in like manner, against Dometius\textsuperscript{5} Ahenobarbus. Now the struggles against Caesar took place near Gergovia (a city of the Arverni, situated on a high mountain), where Vercingetorix was born, and also near Alesia (a city of the Mandubii—a tribe which has a common boundary with the Arverni—and this city too is situated on a high hill, although it is surrounded by mountains and two rivers), in which not only the commander was captured but the war had its end. But the struggles against Maximus Aemilianus took place at the confluence of the Isar and the Rhodanus, called “Augustonemetum” (now Clermont-Ferrand), the city of the Arverni mentioned by Ptolemaeus (2. 7. 12).

\textsuperscript{1} From Augustonemetum to the outlets of the river.
\textsuperscript{2} By both natives and Romans.
\textsuperscript{3} More commonly spelled “Domitius.”
καθ' ἡν καὶ τὸ Κέμμενον ὅρος πλησιάζει τῷ 'Ρο-
δανῷ. πρὸς δὲ Δομήτιον κατωτέρω ἐτὶ κατὰ τὴν
συμβολήν τοῦ τε Σούλγα καὶ τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ. διε-
τειναν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ 'Αρούερνοι καὶ μέχρι
Νάρβωνος καὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Μασσαλιώτιδος,
ἐκράτουν δὲ καὶ τῶν μέχρι Πυρήνης ἐδυνᾶν καὶ
μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Ῥήνου. Βιτυίτου¹ δὲ, τοῦ
πρὸς τὸν Μάξιμον καὶ τὸν Δομήτιον πολεμήσαντος,
ὁ πατὴρ Δουέριος τοσοῦτον πλοῦτον λέγεται καὶ
τρυφῇ διενεχεῖν, ὥστε ποτὲ ἐπιδείξῃ ποιούμενος
τοῖς φίλοις ² τῆς εὐπορίας ἐτ' ἀπήνης φέρεσθαι
diὰ πεδίου, χρυσοῦ νομίσμα καὶ ἀργύρου δεύρο
κάκεισε διασπείρων, ὥστε συλλέγειν ἐκείνους
ἀκολουθοῦντας.

III

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ‑ Ακούτανήν μερίδα καὶ τὴν Ἀρ-
βωνίτιν ἡ ἐφεξῆς ἔστι μέχρι τοῦ Ῥήνου παυτὸς
ἀπὸ τοῦ Δείγνρος ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ, καθ'
ὁ συνάπτει πρὸς τὸ Δουῦδουνον ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς
κατενεχθές ὁ 'Ροδανός. ταῦτας δὲ τῆς χώρας τὰ
μὲν ἀνω μέρη τὰ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τῶν ποταμῶν,
τοῦ τε Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ, μέχρι μέσων
σχεδὸν τι τῶν πεδίων ὑπὸ τῷ Δουῦδουνῳ τέτα-

¹ Βιτυίτου, Corais, for Βιτυίτου; so the later editors.
² For φίλοις, Corais, conjectures ἔχλοις; A. Jacob, φιλοῖς.

¹ According to the Greek text, “his followers” would
naturally refer to “his friends.” But Athenaeus (4. 37)
quotes Poseidonius, who was probably Strabo’s authority for
the incident, as saying, “Luerius, in his effort to win the

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where the Cemmenus Mountain approaches closely the Rhodanus; and against Dometius Ahenobarbus, at a place still lower down the Rhodanus, at the confluence of the Sulgas and the Rhodanus. Again, the Arverni not only had extended their empire as far as Narbo and the boundaries of Massiliotis, but they were also masters of the tribes as far as the Pyrenees, and as far as the ocean and the Rhenus. Lucretius, the father of the Bituitus who warred against Maximus and Dometius, is said to have been so exceptionally rich and extravagant that once, when making a display of his opulence to his friends, he rode on a carriage through a plain, scattering gold and silver coins here and there, for his followers to pick up.¹

III

1. The country next in order after the Aquitanian division² and Narbonitis³ reaches as far as the whole of the Rhenus, extending from the Liger River and also from the Rhodanus at the point where the Rhodanus, after it runs down from its source, touches Lugdunum. Now of this country the upper parts that are next to the sources of the rivers (the Rhenus and the Rhodanus), extending as far, approximately, as the centre of the plains, have been classified under favour of the crowds, rode on a carriage through the plains and scattered gold and silver to the hosts of the Celts which followed him.⁴ Corais, by a slight emendation (see critical note on opposite page), conjectures "crowds" for "friends," thus harmonizing the account with that of Athenaeus. The conjecture of A. Jacob, however, of "troops" for "friends" is more plausible, on textual as well as on contextual grounds.

¹ Gallia Aquitanica. ² Gallia Narbonensis.
κταί, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καὶ παρωκεανικὰ ὑπ’ ἄλλη τέτακται μερίδι, ἢν ἐδίως Βέλγαις προσιέμουσιν ἥμεις δὲ κοινότερον τὰ καθ’ ἔκαστα δηλώσομεν.

2. Αὐτὸ μὲν δὴ τὸ Δούβιονον, ἐκτισμένον ὑπὸ λόφῳ κατὰ τὴν συμβολήν τοῦ τε Ἀραρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ῥωδανοῦ, κατέχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ευανδρεῖ δὲ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων πλῆν Νάρβουος· καὶ γὰρ ἐμπορίῳ χρύνται, καὶ τὸ νόμισμα χαράττουσι εὔναθα τὸ τε ἀργυροῦ καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱγγεμόνες. τὸ τε ἱερὸν τὸ ἀναδειξθὲν ὑπὸ πάντων κοινῆ τῶν Γαλατῶν Καίσαρι τῷ Σεβαστῷ πρὸ ταύτης ὡροῖται τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῇ συμβολῇ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐστὶ δὲ βωμὸς ἡξιόλογος ἐπιγραφῆς ἔχων τῶν ἔθνων ἐξήκοντα τῶν ἀριθμῶν καὶ εἰκόνες τούτων ἐκάστου μία, καὶ ἄλλος μέγας.¹ προκάθηται δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ Σηγοσι- ανῶν ἡ πόλις αὐτῆς, κειμένου² μεταξὺ τοῦ Ροδανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Δούβιος· τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔθνη τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς τὸν Ῥήμνον, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δούβιος ὁρίζοται, τὰ δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀραρος. οὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἰρηται πρότερον, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων καὶ αὐτοὶ κατενεχθεῖτε, ἐπειτὶ εἰς ἐν πείθροιν συμπεσόντες εἰς τὸν Ροδανὸν κατάφερονται· ἄλλος δὲ ἔστιν, ὁμοίως ἐν

¹ ἄλλος μέγας, C. Müller emends to ἄλλη Σεβαστοῦ; Meineke reads ἄλλος [ἀνδριάς] μέγας.
² Σηγοσιανῶν, the reading of C (see note 3 on p. 198, and Holmes, Caesar’s Conquest of Gaul, p. 848).
³ κειμένου, Xylander, for κειμένη; so the later editors.

¹ Gallia Lugudunensis. ² Gallia Belgica.
³ As Strabo has already said, it was not political divisions (here the divisions of Lugudunensis and Belgica), but physical and ethnic distinctions that geographers treated in detail,
Lugdunum; whereas the remaining parts, including the parts along the ocean, have been classified under another division, I mean that division which is specifically assigned to the Belgae. As for me, however, I shall point out the separate parts in a rather general way.

2. Lugdunum itself, then, (a city founded at the foot of a hill at the confluence of the River Arar and the Rhodanus), is occupied by the Romans. And it is the most populous of all the cities of Celtica except Narbo; for not only do people use it as an emporium, but the Roman governors coin their money there, both the silver and the gold. Again, the temple that was dedicated to Caesar Augustus by all the Galatae in common is situated in front of this city at the junction of the rivers. And in it is a noteworthy altar, bearing an inscription of the names of the tribes, sixty in number; and also images from these tribes, one from each tribe, and also another large altar. The city of Lugdunum presides over the tribe of the Segusiavi, which tribe is situated between the Rhodanus and the Dubis. The tribes that come next in order after the Segusiavi, I mean those which together stretch towards the Rhenus, are bounded partly by the Dubis and partly by the Arar. Now these rivers too, as I have said before, first run down from the Alps, and then, falling into one stream, run down into the Rhodanus; and there is still another river, Sequana since the political divisions made by the Romans varied, and hence were only referred to in a summary way by the geographer (see 4. 1. 1).

4 C. Müller emends the Greek text to read “and also an image of Augustus”; Meineke, to read “and also a great statue,” i.e. of Augustus. 4 1. 11.
ταὶς Ἀλπεσι τὰς πηγὰς ἔχων, Σηκοάνας ὄνομα· ἔστε ὅ εἰς τὸν ὠκεανόν, παράλληλος τῷ Ῥήμῳ, διὰ ἔθνους ὅμοιόμοι, συνάπτοντος τῷ Ῥήμῳ τὰ πρὸς ἔω, τὰ δ' εἰς τάναντι τῷ Ἄραρυ, δὴν αἱ κάλλισται ταριχεῖαι τῶν ὑεῖων κρεῖν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατα-κομίζονται. μεταξὺ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Δούβιος καὶ τοῦ Ἄραρος οἰκεῖ τὸ τῶν Αἰδοῦων ἔθνος, πόλιν ἔχον Καβυλλών ἔπε τῷ Ἄραρι καὶ φρούριον Βίβρακτα. οἱ δὲ Αἰδοῦοι καὶ συγγενεῖς Ῥωμαῖων ὄνομάξουν καὶ πρῶτοι τῶν ταύτη προσήλθον πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν. πέραν δὲ τοῦ Ἄραρος οἰκούσιν οἱ Σηκοάνοι, διάφοροι καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγονότες καὶ τοὺς Αἰδοῦοι· ὅτι πρὸς Γερμανοὺς προσεχόρουν πολλάκις κατὰ τὰς ἐφόδους αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυτο γε ὦ τὴν τυχοῦσαν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινώνοντες αὐτοῖς ἐποίουν μεγάλους, καὶ ἀφιστάμενοι μικροὺς· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Αἰδοῦοι καὶ διὰ ταύτα μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐπέ-τεινε τὴν ἔχθραν ἢ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔρις τοῦ διείρ- γοντος αὐτοὺς, ἐκατέρου τοῦ ἔθνους ἰδίουν ἀξιοῦντος εἶναι τὸν Ἄραρα καὶ ἀντὶ προσήκειν τὰ διαγω- γικὰ τῆλη. νῦν δ' ὑπὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαντ' ἐστὶ.

3. Τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήμῳ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀπάντων οἰκούσιν Ἑλουνττιοῖ, παρ' οἷς εἰς ἤπατο τοῦ

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1 Ῥέων, after ὄνομα, Siebenkees deletes; so the later editors.
2 ταύτα, Jones, for ταύτα.
3 Ἑλουνττιοῖ, Corais, for Ἀλτοναῖοι; so Meineke, Müller-Dübner, Forbiger, and Tardieu. But Xylander, Casaubon, and Siebenkees conjecture Ἀντονάται. Cp. the first words in § 4 following.
by name, which likewise has its sources in the Alps. It flows into the ocean, however, running parallel to the Rhenus, through a tribe of like name,\(^1\) whose country joins the Rhenus in its eastern parts, but in the opposite parts, the Arar; and it is from their country that the finest of salted hog-meat is brought down and shipped to Rome. Now between the Dubis and the Arar dwells the tribe of the Aedui, with their city of Cabyllinum, on the Arar, and their garrison of Bibracte. (The Aedui were not only called kinsmen of the Romans,\(^2\) but they were also the first of the peoples in that country to apply for their friendship and alliance.) But across the Arar dwell the Sequani, who, for a long time, in fact, had been at variance with the Romans as well as with the Aedui. This was because they often joined forces with the Germans in their attacks upon Italy; aye, and they demonstrated that theirs was no ordinary power: they made the Germans strong when they took part with them and weak when they stood aloof. As regards the Aedui, not only were the Sequani at variance with them for the same reasons, but their hostility was intensified by the strife about the river that separates them, since each tribe claimed that the Arar was its private property and that the transportation tolls belonged to itself. Now, however, everything is subject to the Romans.

3. As for the country that is on the Rhenus, the first of all the peoples who live there are the Elvetii,\(^3\)

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\(^1\) Strabo wrongly thought the Sequana ran through the country of the Sequani.

\(^2\) Caesar (\textit{De Bello Gallico} 1. 33) says "the Aedui were often called by the Senate brethren and kinsmen."

\(^3\) Usually spelled "Helvetii."
ποταμοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀδούλᾳ ὅρει. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ
μέρος τῶν Ἀλπεων, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Ἀδούλας εἰς τάναν-
tία μέρη ἔρει τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐντὸς Κελτικῆν καὶ
πληροῖ τὴν Δάριον λίμνην, πρὸς ᾗ ἐκτίσται τὸ
Κόμων, εἴτε ἐνθένδε εἰς τὸν Πάδον συμβάλλει,
περὶ ὧν ὑστερον ἐρώμεν. καὶ ὁ Ρήμος δὲ εἰς Ἕλη
μεγάλα καὶ λίμνῃ ἀναχεῖται μεγάλην, ἢς ἐφά-
pτονται καὶ Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Οὐινδολικοὶ, τῶν Ἀλπίων
τινές καὶ τῶν ὑπεραλπίων. φησὶ δὲ τὸ μῆκος
αὐτοῦ σταδίων ἐξακισχίλιων Ἀσίνων, οὐκ ἔστι
dε. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ εὐθείας μὲν τοῦ ἡμίσους ὀλύγον ἄν
ὑπερβάλλοι, τοῖς δὲ σκολιώμασι καὶ χίλιοι προσ-
tεθέντες ἱκανόν ἄν ἔχοιεν καὶ γὰρ ὄξυς ἐστὶ,
dιὰ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ δυσγεφύρωτος, καὶ διὰ πεδίων
ὕπτιος φέρεται τὸ λοιπὸν καταβάς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν-
pῶς οὐν ἔλεγεν ὡς οὗν καὶ βίαιον, εἰ τῷ
ὕπτιασμῷ προσδοίημεν καὶ σκολιότητας πολλὰς
καὶ μακρᾶς; φησὶ δὲ καὶ δίστομον εἶναι, μεμψά-
μενος τοὺς πλείω λέγοντας. ἐγκυκλοῦνται μὲν δὴ
τινα χώραν ταῖς σκολιότηται καὶ οὕτος καὶ ὁ Σηκο-
άνας, οὐ τοσαύτην δὲ. ἀμφότεροι δὲ ἰδέουσιν ἐπὶ
tὰς ἄρκτους ἀπὸ τῶν νοτιῶν μερῶν. πρὸκειται δ' ἄυτῶν ἡ Βρεττανική, τοῦ μὲν Ῥήμον καὶ ἐγγύθεν,
ὅστε καθορᾶσθαι τὸ Κάντιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐφὼν
ἄκρον τῆς νήσου, τοῦ δὲ Σηκοάνα μικρὸν ἀποτείχον.
in whose territory, on Mount Adula, are the sources of the river. Mount Adula is a part of the Alps, and from it flows also the River Addua,¹ in the opposite direction, that is, towards Cisalpine Celtica, and fills Lake Larius (near which the city of Comum has been founded), and then, flowing on from Lake Larius, contributes its waters to those of the Padus (matters about which I shall speak later on). The Rhenus, too, spreads into great marshes and a great lake, which lake is touched by the territory of both the Rhaeti and the Vindelici (certain of the peoples who live in the Alps and also beyond the Alps). Asinius says that the length of the river is six thousand stadia, but it is not. In fact, it could only slightly exceed the half of that in a straight line, while the addition of one thousand stadia would be quite sufficient for the windings. For not only is it swift, and on this account also hard to bridge, but after its descent from the mountains runs the rest of the way with even slope through the plains. How, then, could it remain swift and violent, if to the even slope of the river we added numerous long windings? He further says it has only two mouths, after first finding fault with those who say it has more than that. So then, both this river and the Sequana encircle somewhat of territory within their windings, but not so much as that. Both rivers flow from the southern parts towards the north; and in front of them lies Britain, which is near enough to the Rhenus for Cantium, which is the eastern cape of the island, to be visible from it, though it is slightly farther off from the Sequana. Here, too, the Deified

¹ But the Addua rises far to the east of Mt. Adula, in the Rhaetic Alps.
Strabo

ένταμα δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυπῆγμον συνεστήσατο Καίσαρ
ὁ Θεὸς πλέων εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν. τοῦ δὲ Σηκο-
όνα τὸ πλεύμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραρος δεχο-
μένων τὰ φορτία μικρῷ πλέον ἐστὶν ἢ τὸ τοῦ
Λείγνυρος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Γαρούνα. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Λοῦν-
δοῦνον μέχρι τοῦ Σηκούνα ἠχλῶν σταδίων ἐστὶν,
ἐλαττὸν δ’ ἡ διπλάσιον τούτου τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν
εἰσβολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ μέχρι Λοῦνδοῦνον. φασὶ δὲ
καὶ πολυχρόσως τοὺς Ἐλονητίτιος μηδὲν μέντοι
ὅτι τὸ ἐπὶ λήστειαν τραπέσθαι, τὰ τῶν Κίμβρων
ἐνοποίας ἰδόντας· ἀφανισθήναι δ’ αὐτῶν τὰ δύο
φύλα, τρίων ὄντων, κατὰ στρατείας. ὅμως δ’ ἐκ τῶν
λομών τὸ τῶν ἐπιγόνων πλῆθους εἰδήλωσεν ὁ πρὸς
Καίσαρα τὸν Θεὸν πόλεμος, ἐν δ’ περὶ τεταράκοντα
μυρίας σωμάτων διεφθάρησαν, τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς
σώζεσθαι μεθ’ Ἰεροὺς ὅκτακισίλιους, ὅπως μὴ τοῖς
Γερμανοῖς ὑμῶν ὁσίων, ἔρημον τὴν χώραν ἄφη.

4. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἐλονητίτιος Σηκοανοῖ καὶ
Μεδιοματρικοῖ κατοικοῦσι τὸν Ῥήνον, ἐν οἷς
ἴδρυσι Γερμανικῶν ἔθνων περαιωθὲν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας,
Τρίβοκχοι. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Σηκοανοῖς ἔστι τὸ ὅρος ὁ
Ἰουράσιος, διορίζει δ’ Ἐλονητίτιος καὶ Σηκοανοῦς.
ὑπὲρ οὖν τῶν Ἐλονητίτιον καὶ τῶν Σηκοανῶν
Λιδοῦς καὶ Δύγγονες οἰκοῦσι πρὸς δύσιν, ὑπὲρ
δὲ τῶν Μεδιοματρικῶν Δεύκων καὶ τῶν Λυγγὸνων

1 ἦ, before χιλίων, Corais deletes; so Meineke.
2 δ’, Corais inserts; so Meineke.
3 τὸ, Corais inserts; so Meineke.
4 τόκων (MSS.), after λοιπῶν, Corais suspects; Meineke deletes.

1 Strabo could not have meant by “Here” the mouth of the Sequana (which the mere Greek text seems to imply).
Caesar established his navy-yard when he sailed to Britain. The part of the Sequana that is navigated by those who receive the cargoes from the Arar is slightly longer than that of the Liger and that of the Garumna; but the distance from Lugdunum to the Sequana is a thousand stadia, and that from the mouths of the Rhodanus to Lugdunum is less than double this distance. It is said also that the Elvetii, although rich in gold, none the less turned themselves to robbery upon seeing the opulence of the Cimbri; but that on their campaigns two of their tribes (there were three) were obliterated. But still the number of the descendents from what was left of them was shown by their war against the Deified Caesar, in which about four hundred thousand lives were destroyed, although Caesar allowed the rest of them, about eight thousand, to escape, so as not to abandon the country, destitute of inhabitants, to the Germans, whose territory bordered on theirs.

4. After the Elvetii, along the Rhenus, dwell the Sequani and the Mediomatrici, in whose territory are situated the Tribocchi, a Germanic tribe which crossed the river from their homeland. Mount Jura is in the territory of the Sequani; it marks the boundary between the Elvetii and the Sequani. So it is beyond the Elvetii and the Sequani, towards the west, that the Aedui and the Lingones dwell; and beyond the Mediomatrici, that the Leuci and a

much less that of the Rhenus, since Caesar sailed from Portus Itius (see 4. 5. 2 and Caesar De Bello Gallico 5. 2) on his second expedition, and almost certainly from there on his first (De Bello Gallico 4. 21); and Portus Itius was either Boulogne or Wissant—almost certainly the former. (See Holmes, Caesar's Conquest of Gaul, pp. 432–438.)

1 An overland journey.
τι μέρος, τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ἐδνη τοῦ τε Λείγηρος καὶ τοῦ Σηκούνα ποταμοῦ τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Ὄμηρου παράκειται πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῖς τε Ἀλλόβριξι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸ Λουγδουνοῦ τούτων δὲ ἐπιφανεστάτων ἔστι τὸ τῶν Ἀρονέρων καὶ τὸ τῶν Καπνοῦτων, δι' ὅιν ἀμφοῖ δὲ ἐνεχθεῖς ὁ Λείγηρ εἰς τὸν ὁκεανὸν ἔξεις, διάρμα δὲ ἔστιν εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν τῆς Κελτικῆς εἰκοσι καὶ τριακόσιοι στάδιοι ὑπὸ γὰρ τὴν ἀμπωτίων ἄφῃ ἐσπέρασ ἀναχέντες τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ περὶ ὅψην ὅραν καταίρουσι εἰς τὴν νῆσον, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Μεδιοματρικοὺς καὶ Τριβόκχους παροικούσι τὸν Ῥήνου Τρησούροι, καθ’ οὖς πεποίηται τὸ ξενύμα ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων νυνὶ τῶν στρατηγοῦντων τῶν Περμακίκων πόλεμον. πέραν δὲ οὗκοι Οὔσβιοι κατά τοῦτο τὸν τόπον, οὖς μετῆγαγεν Ἀγριππας ἐκόντας εἰς τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ῥήνου. Τρησούροις δὲ συνεχθεῖς Νερούοι, καὶ τοῦτο Περμακίκων ἐθνος. τελευταῖοι δὲ Μενάπτιοι πλησίον τῶν ἐκβολῶν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατοικοῦντες ἐλή καὶ δρμοὺς οὐκ ὑψηλῆς, ἀλλὰ πυκνῆς ύλης καὶ ἀκανθώδους, κατὰ τοῦτος δὲ ἑδρυται Σούγαμβροι Περμακόι, πάσης δ’ ὑπέρκειται τῆς ποταμίας ταύτης οἱ Σόμβοι προσαγορεύομενοι Περμακοὶ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ πλήθει διαφέροντες τῶν ἄλλων, ὡρ’ δὲ οἱ ἐξελαυνόμενοι κατέφευγον εἰς τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ῥήνου νυνὶ καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ κατ’ ἄλλους τόπους δυναστεύονται καὶ διαδέχονται τὰ ξόταρα τοῦ πολέμου, τῶν πρώτων δὲ καταλυμένων.

1 It is uncertain what campaign or bridge Strabo refers to, since the time of composition and of revision of Strabo’s work has by no means been settled (see Vol. I, p. 36, footnote 2).
part of the Lingones dwell. But those tribes between the Liger and the Sequana Rivers that are on the far side of the Rhodanus and the Arar are situated side by side, towards the north, with both the Allobroges and the people round Lugdunum; and of these tribes the most conspicuous are those of the Arverni and the Carnutes, through both of whose territories the Liger runs on its way out to the ocean. The passage across to Britain from the rivers of Celtica is three hundred and twenty stadia; for if you put to sea on the ebb-tide at nightfall, you land upon the island about the eighth hour on the following day. After the Mediomatriici and the Tribocchi, along the Rhenus, dwell the Treveri, near whom the bridge has been built by the Roman officers who are now conducting the Germanic war.\(^1\) The Ubii used to live opposite this region, across the Rhenus, though by their own consent they were transferred by Agrippa to the country this side the Rhenus. Next after the Treveri are the Nervii, who are also a Germanic tribe. Last come the Menapii, who dwell on both sides of the river near its mouths, in marshes and woods (not of tall timber, but dense and thorny). It is opposite to these that the Sugambri are situated, a Germanic people. But beyond this whole river-country are those Germans who are called the Suevi and excel all the others in power and numbers (the people driven out by the Suevi in our time have been fleeing for refuge to this side of the Rhenus). And other peoples, also, lord it in different places, and in their turn take up the tinders of war, but the foremost are always put down.\(^2\)

One thinks of the campaigns of Drusus Germanicus (7. 1. 3), of Varus (7. 1. 4), or of Germanicus the Younger (7. 1. 4).

\(^1\) By the Romans, apparently.
5. Τῶν δὲ Τρηπούρων καὶ Νερούρων Σένονες καὶ 'Ρήμωι πρὸς ἐσπέραν οικοῦσιν, ἔτι δ’ Ἀτρέβατοι καὶ 'Εθσούρωνες τοῖς Μεναπίοις δ’ εἰσὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ Μορινῶ καὶ Βελλούκοι καὶ 'Αμβιανοὶ καὶ Σουεσσίωνες καὶ Κάλετοι μέχρι τῆς ἔκβολης τοῦ Σηκοάνα ποταμοῦ. ἐμφερὴς δ’ ἐστὶ τῇ τῶν Μεναπίων ἡ τε τῶν Μορινῶ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀτρεβατῶν καὶ 'Εθσούρωνων ὑπὸ γάρ ἐστιν οὐχ ὑψηλῶν δενδρῶν πολλῆ μέν, οὐ τοσαυτῇ δὲ ὅσην οἱ συγγραφεῖς εἰρήκασι, τετρακισχίλιων σταδίων, καλοῦσι δ’ αὐτὴν Ἀρδούενναν. κατὰ δὲ τὰς πολεμικὰς ἔφοδους συμπλέκοντες τὰς τῶν θάμνων λύγους, βατόδες οὕσας, ἀπέφραττον τὰς παρόδους. ἐστὶ δ’ ὅπου καὶ σκόλοπας κατέπηττον, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατέδυνον εἰς τὰ βάθη πανοίκιοι, νησίδια ἐχοῦσατε ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἐπομβρίαις ἀσφαλεῖς τὰς καταφυγάς εἶχον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐχμοῖς ἡλίσκοντο ῥαδίως. νυνὶ δ’ ἀπάντησε οἱ ἐντὸς 'Ρήμου καθ’ ἡσυχίαν δυντες ὑπακούουσι 'Ρωμαίων, περὶ δὲ τῶν Σηκοάναν ποταμὸν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Παρίσιοι, νήσου ἐχοῦσατε ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ πόλιν Δουκοτοκίαν, καὶ Μέλδοι καὶ Δηξοῦοι, παρωκεανίται οὕτως. ἀξιολογῶτατον δ’ ἐστὶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτης 'Ρήμωι, καὶ ἡ μητρόπολις αὐτῶν Δουρικορτώρα μάλιστα συνοικεῖται καὶ δέχεται τοὺς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἓγεμόνας.

1 ἀπέφραττον, Groskurd, for ἀνέφραττον; so the later editors.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 3. 5

5. West of the Treveri and the Nervii dwell the Senones and the Remi, and farther on, the Atrebati and the Eburones; and after the Menapii, on the sea, are, in their order, the Morini, the Bellovaci, the Ambiani, the Suessiones, and the Caleti, as far as the outlet of the Sequana River. Both the country of the Morini and that of the Atrebati and Eburones resemble that of the Menapii; for much of it, though not so much as the historians have said (four thousand stadia), is a forest, consisting of trees that are not tall; the forest is called Arduenna. At the time of hostile onsets they used to intertwine the withes of the brushwood, since the withes were thorny, and thus block the passage of the enemy.¹ In some places they also used to fix stakes in the ground—themselves, with their whole families, slinking away into the depths of the forest, for they had small islands in their marshes. Now although the refuge they took was safe for them in the rainy seasons, they were easily captured in the dry seasons. But as it is, all the peoples this side the Rhenus are living in a state of tranquillity and are submissive to the Romans. The Parisii live round about the Sequana River, having an island in the river and a city called Lucotocia; and so do the Meldi and the Lexovii—these latter beside the ocean. But the most noteworthy of all the tribes in this region of Celtica is that of the Remi; their metropolis, Duricortora, is most thickly settled and is the city that entertains the Roman governors.

¹ Caesar (De Bello Gallico 2. 17) describes this more fully, saying that they first cut into saplings and bent them over, and then intertwined them with brambles and thorns, thus making wall-like hedges that could neither be penetrated nor seen through.
1. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ λεχθέντα ἔθνη τὰ λοιπὰ Βελγῶν ἐστὶν ἔθνη τῶν παρωκεαντῶν, ὅν Οὐένετοι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς Καίσαρα· έτοιμοι γὰρ ἦσαν καλύειν τὸν εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν πλοῖν, χρώμενοι τῷ ἐμπορίῳ. κατεναμάχησε δὲ ῥαδίως, οὐκ ἐμβόλοις χρώμενος (ἵν γὰρ παχέα τὰ ξύλα), ἀλλ' ἀνέμῳ φερομένων ἔπ' αὐτὸν κατέστησαν οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι τὰ ἱστία δορυδρεπάνοις· ἣν γὰρ σκύτινα διὰ τὴν βίαν τῶν ἀνέμων· ἀλύσεις δ' ἐτεινοῦν ἀντὶ κάλων. πλατύνυγα δὲ ποιοῦσι καὶ υψώπυρμα καὶ υψόπροφα διὰ τὰς ἀμπώτεις, δρυίνης υλῆς, ἢς ἐστὶν εὐπορία· διότερ οὐ συμάγουσι τὰς ἀρμονίας τῶν σανίδων, ἀλλ' ἀραιώματα καταλείπουσι· ταύτα δὲ βρύοις διανάπτουσι τοῦ μή κατὰ τὰς νεωλκίας καταφύλασσαν τὴν υλῆν μήν 1 νοτι-ζομένην, τοῦ μὲν βρύου νοτιωτέρον ὅντος τῆς φύσει, τῆς δὲ δρυὸς ξηρὰς καὶ ἀλλιποῖς. τούτους οἵματος άθεότατος εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὸν 'Αδριαν' καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες σχεδόν τι οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Κελτοί μετανέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπεών γῆς, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Βόιοι 2 καὶ Σένονες· διὰ δὲ τὴν ὀμωνυμίαν Παφλαγόνας

1 μή, Siebenkees from conj. of Casubon; so the later editors.
2 Βόιοι, Xylander, for Βόιοι; so the later editors.
IV

1. After the aforesaid tribes, the rest are tribes of those Belgae who live on the ocean-coast. Of the Belgae, there are, first, the Veneti who fought the naval battle with Caesar; for they were already prepared to hinder his voyage to Britain, since they were using the emporium there. But he easily defeated them in the naval battle, making no use of ramming (for the beams\(^1\) were thick), but when the Veneti bore upon him with the wind, the Romans hauled down their sails by means of pole-hooks;\(^2\) for, on account of the violence of the winds, the sails were made of leather, and they were hoisted by chains instead of ropes. Because of the ebb-tides, they make their ships with broad bottoms, high sterns, and high prows; they make them of oak (of which they have a plentiful supply), and this is why they do not bring the joints of the planks together but leave gaps; they stuff the gaps full of sea-weed, however, so that the wood may not, for lack of moisture, become dry when the ships are hauled up, because the sea-weed is naturally rather moist, whereas the oak is dry and without fat. It is these Veneti, I think, who settled the colony that is on the Adriatic (for about all the Celti that are in Italy migrated from the transalpine land, just as did the Boii and Senones), although, on account of the likeness of name, people call them Paphlagonians.\(^3\) I

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\(^1\) That is, in the ships of the Veneti. The beams, according to Caesar (De Bello Gallico 3. 13), were a foot thick.

\(^2\) "Sharp pointed hooks inserted in, and fastened to, long poles," Caesar says (loc. cit.).

\(^3\) Strabo refers to the "Eneti," a Paphlagonian tribe (op. 1. 3. 2, 1. 3. 21, and 5. 1. 4).
Strabo

φασίν αυτούς. λέγω δ' οὐκ ἰσχυριζόμενος· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τὸ εἰκός. Ὅσισμοι δ' εἰσίν, οὗς Ὠστιμίους ὁνομάζει Πυθέας, ἐπὶ τίνος προπεπτωκύιας ἰκανώς ἄκρας εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν οἰκοῦντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ, ἐφ' ὦσιν ἐκεῖνος φησι καὶ οἱ πιστεύσαντες ἐκεῖνοι τῶν δὲ μεταξὺ ἐθνῶν τοῦ τε Σηκοάνα καὶ τοῦ Δεῦρηρος οἱ μὲν τοῦς Σηκοάνως, οἱ δὲ τοὺς Ἀρονέρμων ὁμοροῦσι.

2. Τὸ δὲ σύμπαν φύλον, ὧν Γαλλικῶν τὲ καὶ Γαλατικῶν καλοῦσιν, ἀρειμαίνοντες ἡστὶ καὶ θυμικὸν τε καὶ ταχὺ πρὸς μάχην, ἄλλως δὲ ἄπλοῦν καὶ οὐ κακοῆσθε, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐρεθισθέντες μὲν ἀβρώς συνίασι πρὸς τοὺς ἁγῶνας καὶ φανερῶς καὶ οὐ μετὰ περισκέψεως, ὡστε καὶ εὐμεταχειριστοὶ γίνονται τοῖς καταστρατηγεῖς ἐθέλουσι καὶ γὰρ ὅτε βούλεται καὶ ὅτου καὶ ἁφ' ἡ δὲσυναγωγιζόμενον παραπεσθέντες δὲ εὑμαρῶς ἐνδιδόσας πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον, ὡστε καὶ παιδείας ἀπτεθαί καὶ λόγων τῆς δὲ βίας τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἑστὶ μεγάλων οὕτων, τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους· συνίασι δὲ κατὰ πλῆθος ῥάδιως διὰ τὸ ἄπλοῦν καὶ αὐθέκαστον, συναγαγακτούντων τοὺς ἀδικεῖσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἄει τῶν πληθῶν, νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάντες εἰσὶ δεδουλωμένοι καὶ κἀκεῖσται κατὰ τὰ προστάγματα τῶν ἐλοντῶν αὐτῶν Ἰπαμαίων, ἄλλα ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν χρόνων τούτο

1 Ὅσισμοι δ' εἰσίν, ὧν 'Ὤστιμιοι, Kramer, from conj. of Hagenbuch, for οἱ Ὅσισμοι δ' εἰσιν ὧν Τιμίους; so Meineke, and Forbiger. See text, 1. 4. 5. (Vol. I, p. 238).

2 ἀρημάνιον is the reading of ΑΒCξ.
do not speak positively, however, for with reference to such matters probability suffices. Secondly, there are the Osismii (whom Pytheas calls the Ostimii), who live on a promontory that projects quite far out into the ocean, though not so far as he and those who have trusted him say. But of the tribes that are between the Sequana and the Liger, some border on the Sequani, others on the Arverni.

2. The whole race which is now called both "Gallie" and "Galatia" is war-mad, and both high-spirited and quick for battle, although otherwise simple and not ill-mannered. And therefore, if roused, they come together all at once for the struggle, both openly and without circumspection, so that for those who wish to defeat them by stratagem they become easy to deal with (in fact, irritate them when, where, or by what chance pretext you please, and you have them ready to risk their lives, with nothing to help them in the struggle but might and daring); whereas, if coaxed, they so easily yield to considerations of utility that they lay hold, not only of training in general, but of language-studies as well.¹ As for their might, it arises partly from their large physique and partly from their numbers. And on account of their trait of simplicity and straightforwardness they easily come together in great numbers, because they always share in the vexation of those of their neighbours whom they think wronged. At the present time they are all at peace, since they have been enslaved and are living in accordance with the commands of the Romans who captured them, but it is from the early

¹ Cp. 4. 1. 5.
λαμβάνομεν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκ τε τῶν μέχρι νῦν συμμενόντων παρὰ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς νομίμων. καὶ γάρ τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν ἐμφερεῖσι εἰσὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς ἅλληλοις οὕτωι, ὁμορόν τε οἰκοῦσι χώραν, διορίζομένην τῷ 'Ῥήμῳ ποταμῷ, καὶ παραπλήσια ἔχουσαν τὰ πλεῖστα (ἀρκτικωτέρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ Γερμανία) κρινομένων τῶν τε νοτίων μερῶν πρὸς τὰ νότια καὶ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν πρὸς τὰ ἀρκτικά. διὰ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις αὐτῶν ῥαδίως ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει, φερομένων ἀγεληθῶν καὶ πανστρατίων, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πανοικίων ἐξαιρότων ὅταν ἕπι ἄλλων ἐκβάλλονται κρειττόνων. οἳ τε 'Ῥωμαῖοι πολὺ βῶν τούτους ἐχειρώσαντο ἢ τοὺς Ἶβηριας· καὶ γὰρ ἤρεμαν πρότερον καὶ ἐπάυσαντο ὡστερον ἑκείνους πολέμουντες, τούτους δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ πάντας κατέλυσαν, τοὺς ἀνὰ μέσον 'Ῥήμου καὶ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὄρων σύμπαντας. ἄθροι γὰρ καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐμπίπτοντες ἄθροι καταλύνοντο, οἳ δὲ ἐταμίευον καὶ κατεκερμάτιζον τοὺς ἀγώνας, ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι καὶ κατ' ἄλλα μέρη ληστρικῶς πολέμουντες. εἰς μὲν οὖν μαχητὰς πάντες τῇ φύσει, κρείττους δὲ ἐπιτόται ἐπὶ πεζοί, καὶ ἐστὶ 'Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἱππείας ἀρίστη παρὰ τούτων. αἰεὶ δὲ οἱ προσβορρότεροι καὶ παρωκεανῖται μαχιμωτέροι.

3. Τούτων δὲ τοὺς Βέλγας ἀρίστους φασίν, εἰς  

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1 te, after ἐκ, Kramer inserts; Corais and Meineke insert καί before ἐκ.
2 δὲ καί, Corais, for ἐκ; so the later editors.

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1 Namely, the trait of simplicity and straightforwardness.
2 Cp. 3. 4. 5. 3 That is, all the Gallic people.
4 Caesar, for example (De Bello Gallico 1. 1).
times that I am taking this account of them, and also from the customs that hold fast to this day among the Germans. For these peoples are not only similar in respect to their nature and their governments, but they are also kinsmen to one another; and, further, they live in country that has a common boundary, since it is divided by the River Rhenus, and the most of its regions are similar (though Germany is more to the north), if the southern regions be judged with reference to the southern and also the northern with reference to the northern. But it is also on account of this trait\(^1\) that their migrations easily take place, for they move in droves, army and all, or rather they make off, households and all, whenever they are cast out by others stronger than themselves. Again, the Romans conquered these people much more easily than they did the Iberians; in fact, the Romans began earlier, and stopped later, carrying on war with the Iberians, but in the meantime defeated all these—I mean all the peoples who live between the Rhenus and the Pyrenees Mountains. For, since the former were wont to fall upon their opponents all at once and in great numbers, they were defeated all at once, but the latter would husband their resources and divide their struggles, carrying on war in the manner of brigands, different men at different times and in separate divisions.\(^2\) Now although they are all fighters by nature, they are better as cavalry than as infantry; and the best cavalry-force the Romans have comes from these people. However, it is always those who live more to the north and along the ocean-coast that are the more warlike.

3. Of these people, they say,\(^4\) the Belgae are
πεντεκαίδεκα ἐθνη διηρημένους, τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Δεύγηρος παροικοῦντα 1 τὸν ὠκεανὸν, ὡστε 2 μόνους ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Γερμανῶν ἐφοδιαῖς, Κύμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Βελγῶν Βελλοάκους ἀρίστους φασὶ, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Σουεσσίωνας. τῆς δὲ πολυανθρωπίας σημείων εἰς γὰρ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἠξετάζεσθαι φασὶ τῶν Βελγῶν πρὸς τῶν δυναμένων φέρειν ὅπλα· εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑλουττίων πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀρουέρων καὶ τὸ τῶν συμμάχων, εἰ δὴ ἡ πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται καὶ, ὅπερ εἰπον, ἡ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀρετὴ πρὸς τὸ τίκτεων καὶ ἐκτρέφειν τοὺς παιδὰς. σαγηνευομένη δὲ καὶ κομοτροφοῦσα καὶ ἀναξιρίστης χρώνων περιτεταμέναι, ἀντὶ δὲ κυτῶν σχιστοῦς χειριδωτοῦς φέρουσι μέχρις αἰδώλων καὶ γλυκτῶν. ἡ δὲ ἐρεία τραχεία μὲν, ἀκρόμαλλος δὲ, ἠφ’ ἦς τοὺς δασεῖς σύγχος ἐξουσίωσε, ὅσα λαίνας καλοῦσιν· οἱ μέντοι Ἱρωμαῖοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς προσβορροπότοις ὑποδιδοθέρας τρέφουσι ποιμνὰς ἰκανῶς ἀστελας ἐρέας. ἀπλυσμὸς δὲ σύμμετρος τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων μεγέθεσιν,

1 παροικοῦντα, Cornis, for παροικοῦντας; so the later editors.  
2 ὡστε, Xylander, for ὅστε; so the later editors.

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1 So in Caesar (De Bello Gallico 2. 4), where the Helvæci are credited with being the only people in all Gaul who prevented the Cimbri and Teutones from entering within their borders (in the year 103 B.C.).

2 Of Gaul as a whole.

3 Strabo follows Caesar (De Bello Gallico 2. 4), who got his information from the Remi, whose figures amount to 306,000.

4  2. 3 and 4. 3. 3.

5 4. 1. 2.

6 A kind of coarse cloak.

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bravest (who have been divided into fifteen tribes, 
the tribes that live along the ocean between the 
Rhenus and the Liger); consequently they alone 
could hold out against the onset of the Germans— 
the Cimbri and Teutones.\(^1\) But of the Belgae them-

selves, they say, the Bellovaci are bravest, and after 
them the Suessiones. As for the largeness of the 
population,\(^2\) this is an indication: it is found upon 
inquiry,\(^3\) they say, that there are as many as three 
hundred thousand of those Belgae (of former times) 
who are able to bear arms; and I have already 
told\(^4\) the number of the Elvetii, and of the 
Arverni, and of their allies,—from all of which the 
largeness of the population is manifest, as is also 
the thing of which I spoke above\(^5\)—the excellence 
of the women in regard to the bearing and nursing 
of children. The Gallic people wear the “sagus,”\(^6\) 
let their hair grow long,\(^7\) and wear tight breeches\(^8\); 
instead of tunics\(^9\) they wear slit\(^10\) tunics that have 
sleeves and reach as far as the private parts and the 
buttocks. The wool of their sheep, from which they 
weave the coarse “sagi” (which they\(^11\) call “laenae”), 
is not only rough, but also focky at the surface; the 
Romans, however, even in the most northerly parts\(^12\) 
raise skin-clothed\(^13\) flocks with wool that is sufficiently 
fine. The Gallic armour is commensurate with the

\(^7\) Hence the Romans often referred to Transalpine Gaul as 
“Gallia Comata.”

\(^8\) The breeches were made of leather (Polybius 2. 30).

\(^9\) That is, ordinary Roman tunics.

\(^10\) At the sides, for the sleeves.

\(^11\) The Romans.

\(^12\) Of Gaul, apparently.

\(^13\) Strabo refers to the custom (still in vogue) of protecting 
the wool by means of skins tied around the sheep (op. 12. 3. 
13).
μάχαιρα μακρά, παρηρτημένη παρά τὸ δεξιὸν πλευρόν, καὶ θυρεὸς μακρὸς καὶ λόγχαι κατὰ λόγον καὶ μάδαρις, παλτοῦ τι εἶδος. χρώνται δὲ καὶ τόξους ἔνιοι καὶ σφενδόνιαι· ἔστι δὲ τι καὶ γρόσφορο ἐσικὸς ξύλου, ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκ ἐξ ἄγκυλης ἀφιέμενον, τηλεβολότερον καὶ βέλους, ὁ μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὄρνεων χρῶνται θῆρας. χαμενοῦσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ πολλοὶ, καὶ καθεξῆς ἄνωτερον ἐν στιβάσι. τροφὴ δὲ πλείστη μετὰ γάλακτος καὶ κρέας παντοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν υἱῶν καὶ νέων καὶ ἀλιστῶν. αἱ δ' ὑες καὶ ἀγριαλούσιν, ὕψει τε καὶ ἁλκῇ καὶ τάχει διαφέρουσαν κλωνυσὸς γοῦν ἐστὶ τῷ ἀκτίνῃ προσίστηται, ὀσαύτως καὶ λύκῳ. τοὺς δ' οἴκους ἐκ σανίδων καὶ γέρρων ἔχουσι μεγάλους θολοεἰδεῖς, ὄροφον πολὺν ἐπιβάλλοντες. οὕτως δ' ἔστι δανικῇ καὶ τὰ πολύμα καὶ τὰ ύφορβία, ὡστε τῶν σάγων καὶ τῆς ταριχείας ἀφθονίαν μὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ χορηγεῖσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἀριστοκρατικαὶ δ' ἦσαν αἱ πλεύσις τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἐνα δ' ἡγεμόνα ἠροῦντο κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὸ παλαιόν, ώσ δ' αὐτώς εἰς πόλεμοι εἰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπεδείκνυτο στρατηγός. μνημεῖον δὲ προσέχουσι τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων προστάγμασι τὸ πλέον. ἦδον δὲ τὸ ἐν τοῖς συνεδρίοις συμβαίνον· εάν γὰρ τις θορυβῇ τῶν λέγοντα καὶ ὑποκρούσῃ,
large size of their bodies: a long sabre, which hangs along the right side, and a long oblong shield, and spears in proportion, and a "madaris," a special kind of javelin. But some of them also use bows and slings. There is also a certain wooden instrument resembling the "grosphus" (it is hurled by hand, not by thong, and ranges even farther than an arrow), which they use particularly for the purposes of bird-hunting. Most of them, even to the present time, sleep on the ground, and eat their meals seated on beds of straw. Food they have in very great quantities, along with milk and flesh of all sorts, but particularly the flesh of hogs, both fresh and salted. Their hogs run wild, and they are of exceptional height, boldness, and swiftness; at any rate, it is dangerous for one unfamiliar with their ways to approach them, and likewise, also, for a wolf. As for their houses, which are large and dome-shaped, they make them of planks and wicker, throwing over them quantities of thatch. And their flocks of sheep and herds of swine are so very large that they supply an abundance of the "sagi" and the salt-meat, not only to Rome, but to most parts of Italy as well. The greater number of their governments used to be aristocratic—although in the olden time only one leader was chosen, annually; and so, likewise, for war, only one man was declared general by the common people. But now they give heed, for the most part, to the commands of the Romans. There is a procedure that takes place in their assemblies which is peculiar to them: if a man disturbs the speaker and heckles him, the sergeant-at-arms

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STRABO

προσιων ὁ ὑπηρέτης, ἐσπασμένος τὸ ξίφος, κελεύει
συγάν μετ’ ἀπειλής· μὴ παυωμένου δὲ, καὶ δεύτερον
καὶ τρίτον ποιεῖ τὸ αὐτό, τελευταίον δὲ ἀφαιρεῖ
tοῦ σάγου τοσούτον ὅσον ἄχρηστον ποιήσαι τὸ
λοιπὸν. τὸ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀνδρὰς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας,
tὸ διηθλάχθαι τὰ ἔργα ὑπεναντίος τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν,
κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους συχνόν τῶν βαρβάρων
ἐστὶ.

4. Παρὰ πάσι δ’ ὡς ἐπίπαν τρία φύλα τῶν
τιμωμένων διαφερόντως ἔστι, Βάρδοι τε καὶ
Οὐάτεις καὶ Δρυέδαι. Βάρδοι μὲν ὑμνηταὶ καὶ
ποιηταί, Οὐάτεις δὲ ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ φυσιολόγοι,
Δρυέδαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν φυσιολογία καὶ τὴν ἡθικὴν
φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκοῦν· δικαιοτάτοι δὲ νομίζονται
καὶ διὰ τούτο πιστεύονται τὰς τε ἱδιωτικὰς κρίσεις
καὶ τὰς κοινὰς, ὡστε καὶ πολέμους διδόντων πρώ-
tερον καὶ παρατάττεσθαι μέλλοντας ἔπαυνον, τὰς
δὲ φωνὰς δίκας μάλιστα τούτοις ἐπετέραπτο
ἀκαίειν. ὃταν τε φορὰ τούτων ἦ, φορὰν καὶ τῆς
χώρας νομίζουσιν ὑπάρχειν. ἀφθάρτους δὲ λέ-
γουσι καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἄλλοι 1 τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν
κόσμον, ἐπικρατήσειν δὲ ποτὲ καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὴδωρ.

1 Meineke, following Corais, wrongly inserts ει of before ἄλλοι, making ἄλλοι refer to the Bards and Vates.

2 That is, a big yield of criminals for execution. The
Gauls sacrificed criminals to the gods, and when the supply
of criminals failed they resorted to the execution even of the
innocent (Caesar, De Bello Gallico 6. 16).
3 For example, the Pythagoreans, as Diodorus Siculus says
(5. 28).
4 One of the cardinal doctrines of the Druids was that of

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approaches him with drawn sword, and with a threat commands him to be silent; if he does not stop, the sergeant-at-arms does the same thing a second time, and also a third time, but at last cuts off enough of the man's "agus" to make it useless for the future. But as for their custom relating to the men and the women (I mean the fact that their tasks have been exchanged, in a manner opposite to what obtains among us), it is one which they share in common with many other barbarian peoples.

4. Among all the Gallic peoples, generally speaking, there are three sets of men who are held in exceptional honour; the Bards, the Vates and the Druids. The Bards are singers and poets; the Vates, diviners and natural philosophers; while the Druids, in addition to natural philosophy, study also moral philosophy. The Druids are considered the most just of men, and on this account they are entrusted with the decision, not only of the private disputes, but of the public disputes as well; so that, in former times, they even arbitrated cases of war and made the opponents stop when they were about to line up for battle, and the murder cases, in particular, had been turned over to them for decision. Further, when there is a big yield from these cases, there is forthcoming a big yield from the land too, as they think. However, not only the Druids, but others as well, say that men's souls, and also the universe, are indestructible, although both fire and water will at some time or other prevail over them.

metempsychosis (Caesar, De Bello Gallico 6. 14). See also Diodorus Siculus 5. 28.
5. Τῷ δ᾽ ἀπλῷ καὶ θυμικῷ πολὺ τὸ ἀνώτερον καὶ ἀλαξονίκον πρόσεστι καὶ τὸ φιλόκοσμον χρυσοφοροῦσι τε γάρ, περὶ μὲν τοῖς τραχύλοις στρεπτὰ ἔχοντες, περὶ δὲ τοῖς βρυχόσι καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς ψέλλα, καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας βαπτᾷς φοροῦσι καὶ χρυσοπάστοις οἳ ἐν ἀξιώματι, ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης δὲ κοινότητος ἀφόρητοι μὲν νικῶντες, ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ ἤττηθέντες ὀρῶνται. πρόσεστι δὲ τῇ ἄνοιᾳ καὶ τῷ βάρβαρον καὶ τῷ ἐκφυλὸν δὲ τοῖς προσβόροις, ἐθνεσὶ παρακολουθεῖ πλείστον, τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπιόντας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμιῶν ἐξίμπτειν ἐκ τῶν αὐχέων τῶν ἱππῶν, κομίσαντας δὲ προσπαταλεῦειν τὴν θέαν τοῖς προπυλαῖοις. φησὶ γοῦν Ποσειδώνιος αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν ταύτην πολλαχοῖ καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸτον ἀνδίκεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φέρειν πρῶτο διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. τὰς δὲ τῶν ἐνδόξων κεφαλὰς κεδροῦντες ἐπεδείκνυν ἑαυτῶς, καὶ οὔτε πρὸς ἱσόστασιν χρυσὸν ἀπολυτροῦν ἡξίον. καὶ τούτων δὲ ἐπανασαν αὐτοὺς Ἐρυμαίοι, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καὶ μαντείας ὑπεναντίων τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν νομίμοις. ἀνθρωπον δὲ κατεσπεσμένον παῖσαντες εἰς νότων μαχαίρα ἐμαντεύοντο ἐκ τοῦ σφαδασμοῦ. ἔθυνον δὲ οὐκ ἀνευ ἄρνιδῶν. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ἀνθρωποβουσιῶν

1 Meineke transfers τὴν θέαν to a position after ταύτην in the following sentence; quite unnecessarily.
2 άνδικεσθαί, Jones, for ἀνδίκεσθαι.
3 ὑπεναντίων, Casaubon, for ὑπεναντίως; so Corais, and Meineke.
5. In addition to their trait of simplicity and high-spiritedness,\(^1\) that of witlessness and boastfulness is much in evidence, and also that of fondness for ornaments; for they not only wear golden ornaments—both chains round their necks and bracelets round their arms and wrists—but their dignitaries wear garments that are dyed in colours and sprinkled with gold. And by reason of this levity of character they not only look insufferable when victorious, but also scared out of their wits when worsted. Again, in addition to their witlessness, there is also that custom, barbarous and exotic, which attends most of the northern tribes—I mean the fact that when they depart from the battle they hang the heads of their enemies from the necks of their horses, and, when they have brought them home, nail the spectacle to the entrances of their homes. At any rate, Poscidonius says that he himself saw this spectacle in many places, and that, although at first he loathed it, afterwards, through his familiarity with it, he could bear it calmly. The heads of enemies of high repute, however, they used to embalm in cedar-oil and exhibit to strangers, and they would not deign to give them back even for a ransom of an equal weight of gold. But the Romans put a stop to these customs, as well as to all those connected with the sacrifices and divinations that are opposed to our usages. They used to strike a human being, whom they had devoted to death,\(^2\) in the back with a sabre, and then divine from his death-struggle. But they would not sacrifice without the Druids.\(^3\) We are told of still other

Caesar (De Bello Gallico 6. 13) says "They" (the Druids) "take care of the sacrifices, public and private."
εἶδη λέγεται. καὶ γὰρ κατετοξευόν τινας καὶ ἀνεσταύρουν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσὸν χώρτου καὶ ξύλων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τούτον βοσκήματα καὶ θηρία παντοια καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὀλοκαύτους.

6. Ἕν δὲ τὸ ὦκεανὸν φησίν εἶναι νῆσον μικρὰν οὐ πάνυ πελαγίαν, προκειμένην τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Λείγηρος ποταμοῦ· οἶκείν δὲ ταύτην τάς τῶν Σαμνιτῶν γυναῖκας, Διονύσῳ κατεχομένας καὶ ἱλασκομένας τὸν θεῦν τούτον τελεταίας τε καὶ ἄλλας ἱεροποιίας ἐξιλεουμένας· οὐκ ἐπιβαίνειν δὲ ἀνδρὰ τῆς νῆσου, τάς δὲ γυναῖκας αὐτᾶς πλεοῦσας κοινώνειν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ πάλιν ἐπανεῖναι. ἔθος δ' εἶναι κατ' ἑνιαυτὸν ἀπαξ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀποστεγάζεσθαι καὶ στεγάζεσθαι πάλιν αὐθημεροῦν πρὸ δύσεως, ἐκάστης φορτίων ἐπιφερούσης· ἡς δ' ἄν ἐκπέσῃ τὸ φορτίον, διασπάσθαι ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων· φεροῦσας 1 δὲ τὰ μέρη περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μετ' εὐασμοῦ μὴ παύεσθαι πρότερον πρὶν παύσωται τῆς λύτης· αἰεὶ δὲ συμβαίνειν ὡστε τινὰ ἐμπιπτεῖν τῇ τούτο πεισομένη. 2 τοῦτο δ' ἔτει μυθωδέστερον εἰρήκειν Αρτεμίδωρος τὸ περὶ τοὺς κόρακας συμβαίνον. λιμένα γὰρ τινά τῆς παρωκεανίτιδος ἱστορεῖ Δύο κοράκων ἐπονομαζόμενον, φαίνεσθαι δ' ἐν τούτῳ δύο κόρακας τὴν δεξιὰν πτέρυγα παράλευκον ἔχοντας· τοὺς οὖν περὶ τινον ἄμφισ—

1 φεροῦσας, Xylander, for φεροῦση; so the later editors.
2 τῇ . . . . . πεισομένη, Jones, for τὴν . . . . . πεισομένη.

1 Caesar (De Bello Gallico 6. 16) says: “Others use images of enormous size, whose members, woven out of twigs, they fill with living men and set on fire.”

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kinds of human sacrifices; for example, they would shoot victims to death with arrows, or impale them in the temples, or, having devised a colossus of straw and wood, throw into the colossus cattle and wild animals of all sorts and human beings, and then make a burnt-offering of the whole thing.  

6. In the ocean, he says, there is a small island, not very far out to sea, situated off the outlet of the Liger River; and the island is inhabited by the women of the Samnitae, and they are possessed by Dionysus and make this god propitious by appeasing him with mystic initiations as well as other sacred performances; and no man sets foot on the island, although the women themselves, sailing from it, have intercourse with the men and then return again. And, he says, it is a custom of theirs once a year to unroof the temple and roof it again on the same day before sunset, each woman bringing her load to add to the roof; but the woman whose load falls out of her arms is rent to pieces by the rest, and they carry the pieces round the temple with the cry of “Ev-ah,” and do not cease until their frenzy ceases; and it is always the case, he says, that some one jostles the woman who is to suffer this fate.

But the following story which Artemidorus has told about the case of the crows is still more fabulous: there is a certain harbour on the ocean-coast, his story goes, which is surnamed “Two Crows,” and in this harbour are to be seen two crows, with their right wings somewhat white; so the men who have

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2 Poseidonius.
3 The “Ev-ah” is a joyful hallelujah in honour of Dionysus, one of whose numerous cult-names is “Evas.”
4 And thus makes the victim, already decided upon apparently, drop her load of thatch.
βητούντας, ἀφικομένους δὲὗρο ἔφ᾽ υψηλοῖ τόποιν
σανίδα ὑέντας ἐπιβάλλειν ψαιστά, ἐκάτερον
χωρίς: τοὺς δ᾽ ὄρνεις ἐπιπτάντας τὰ μὲν ἐσθίειν,
tὰ δὲ σκορπίζειν ὅυ δ᾽ ἂν σκορπισθῇ τὰ ψαιστά,
ἐκεῖνον νικᾶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μυθωδέστερα λέγει,
περὶ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης πιστότερα, ὡτι
φησιν εἶναι νῆσον πρὸς τῇ Βρεττανικῇ καθ᾽ ἦν
ἀμοία τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ περὶ τὴν Δήμητραν καὶ
tὴν Κόρην ἱεροποιεῖται. καὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῶν
πιστευόμενον ἑστίν, ὡτι ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ φύεται
dένδρον ὅμοιον συκῆ, καρπὸν δ᾽ ἐκφέρει παραπλη-
σίον κιοκράμῳ Κορινθιουργεῖ· ἐπιτιμηθὲ ὅς ὁ ὅτου,
ἀφίσιν ὅπον θανάσιμον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχρίσεις τῶν
βελῶν. καὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῶν θυρουμενῶν ἑστίν,
ὅτι πάντες Κελτοὶ φιλόνεικοι 1 τὲ εἰσί, καὶ οὐ
νομίζεται παρ᾽ αὐτῶς αἰσχρῶν τὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἀφεὶδεῖν
τοὺς νέους. Ἐφορος δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντε ἐστὶ τῷ
μεγάθει λέγει τῇ Κελτικῇ, ὡστε ἡσσερ ύνων Ἰβη-
ρίας καλοῦμεν ἑκεῖνοι τὰ πλείστα προσνέμειν
μέχρι Γαδείρων, φιλέλληνας τε ἀποφαίνει τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους, καὶ πολλὰ ἰδίως λέγει περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ
ἔσκοτα τοῖς νῦν ἰδίων δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἂσκεῖν γὰρ
αὐτῶν μὴ παχεῖς εἶναι μηδὲ προγάστορας, τὸν
d᾽ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τῶν νέων τὸ τῆς χώνης μέτρου
ξημοῦσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπεων
Κελτικῆς.

1 Meineke reads ἡδονικόλ, unwarrantedly, for φιλόνεικο. C. Müller suggests as possible φιλομείρακες; A. Jacob conjectures φιλόνεοι. See Diodorus Siculus 5. 28 and 5. 32.

1 The Attic name for Persephone (Proserpina).
disputes about certain things come here, put a plank on an elevated place, and then throw on barley cakes, each man separately; the birds fly up, eat some of the barley cakes, scatter the others; and the man whose barley cakes are scattered wins his dispute. Now although this story is more fabulous, his story about Demeter and Core \(^1\) is more credible. He says that there is an island near Britain on which sacrifices are performed like those sacrifices in Samothrace that have to do with Demeter and Core. And the following, too, is one of the things that are believed, namely, that in Celtica there grows a tree like a fig-tree, and that it brings forth a fruit similar to a Corinthian-wrought capital of a column; and that, if an incision be made, this fruit exudes a sap which, as used for the smearing of arrows, is deadly. And the following, too, is one of the things that are repeated over and over again, namely, that not only are all Celti fond of strife,\(^2\) but among them it is considered no disgrace for the young men to be prodigal of their youthful charms.\(^3\) Ephorus, in his account, makes Celtica so excessive in its size that he assigns to the regions of Celtica most of the regions, as far as Gades, of what we now call Iberia; further, he declares that the people are fond of the Greeks, and specifies many things about them that do not fit the facts of to-day. The following, also, is a thing peculiar to them, that they endeavour not to grow fat or pot-bellied, and any young man who exceeds the standard measure of the girdle is punished. So much for Transalpine Celtica.

\(^1\) So says Diodorus Siculus (5. 28).
\(^2\) Diodorus Siculus (5. 32) says the same, and more, of this immorality among the Celts.
1. Ἡ δὲ Βρεττανικὴ τρίγωνος μὲν ἔστι τῷ σχῆματι, παραβέβληται δὲ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτῆς πλευρὸν τῇ Κελτικῇ, τοῦ μέγους οὐθ' ὑπερβάλλου οὖν ἐξελείτον· ἐστὶ γὰρ ὅσον τετρακισχιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων ἢ τετρακισίων σταδίων ἐκάτερον, τὸ τε Κελτικὸν τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ 'Ρήνου μέχρι πρὸς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Πυρήνης ἀκρα τὰ κατὰ Ἀκουιτανίαν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Καντίου τοῦ καταντικοῦ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ 'Ρήνου, ἐσθισθάτοιο σημείον τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, μέχρι πρὸς τὸ ἐστέριον ἀκρόν τῆς νήσου τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἀκουιτανίαν καὶ τὴν Πυρήνην ἀντικείμενον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῦλαχιστον διάστημα ἀπὸ τῆς Πυρήνης ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ρήνον ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ μέγιστον εἰρθαί ὅτι καὶ πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων ἐστὶν· ἀλλ' εἰκὸς εἶναι τινα σύννεφων ἐκ τῆς παραλλήλου βέσεως τῷ ποταμῷ πρὸς τὸ ὅρος, ἀμφιστέρωθεν ἐπιστροφῆς τινος γυνομεῖνης κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸν ὁκεανὸν ἔσχατας.

2. Τέτταρα δ' ἔστι διάρματα ois χρώνται συνήθως ἐπὶ τὴν υήσου ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τῶν ποταμῶν, τοῦ τοῦ 'Ρήνου καὶ τοῦ Σηκοάνα καὶ τοῦ Δεύγηρος καὶ τοῦ 1 Γαροῦνα. τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν 'Ρήνον τόπων ἀναγομένους οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκβολῶν ὁ πλοῦς ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμορούντων τοῖς Μεναπίοις Μορινῶν, παρ' αὐτός ἔστι καὶ τὸ Ἰτίου, ὁ ἐχρήσατο ναυστάθμῳ Καίσαρ ὁ Θεός, διαίρων εἰς τὴν υήσουν.

1 toû, before Γαροῦνα, inserted by all the editors.

1 Strabo should have made this the shortest side, as Caesar had already done (De Bello Gallico 5. 13).
V

1. Britain is triangular in shape; and its longest side\(^1\) stretches parallel to Celtica, neither exceeding nor falling short of the length of Celtica; for each of the two lengths is about four thousand three hundred—or four hundred—stadia; the Celtic length that extends from the outlets of the Rhenus as far as those northern ends of the Pyrenees that are near Aquitania, as also the length that extends from Cantium (which is directly opposite the outlets of the Rhenus), the most easterly point of Britain, as far as that westerly end of the island which lies opposite the Aquitanian Pyrenees. This, of course, is the shortest distance from the Pyrenees to the Rhenus, since, as I have already said,\(^2\) the greatest distance is as much as five thousand stadia; yet it is reasonable to suppose that there is a convergence from the parallel position which the river and the mountains occupy with reference to each other,\(^3\) since at the ends where they approach the ocean there is a curve in both of them.

2. There are only four passages which are habitually used in crossing from the mainland to the island, those which begin at the mouths of the rivers—the Rhenus, the Sequana, the Liger, and the Garumna. However, the people who put to sea from the regions that are near the Rhenus make the voyage, not from the mouths themselves, but from the coast of those Morini who have a common boundary with the Menapii. (On their coast, also, is Itium, which the Deified Caesar used as a naval station when he set sail for the island.\(^4\) He put to sea by

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\(^1\) 1. 4. 2 and 2. 5. 28.  
\(^2\) 2. 5. 28 and 4. 1. 1.  
\(^3\) Cp. 4. 3. 3.  
\(^4\) Cp. 4. 3. 3.
νύκτωρ δ' ἀνήχθη καὶ τῇ ὑπεραλα καθήρε περὶ
tετάρτην ὄραν, τριακοσίους καὶ εἰκοσὶ σταδίους
tοῦ διάπλου τελέσας' κατέλαβε δ' ἐν ἀρούραις
τῶν σίτων. ἔστι δ' ἡ πλείστη τῆς νήσου πεδίας
καὶ κατάδρυμος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γεώλοφα τῶν
χωρίων ἔστι. φέρει δὲ σίτων καὶ βοσκείματα καὶ
χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ σίδηρον, ταῦτα δὴ κομι-
ζεται ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ δέρματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ
κύνες εὐφυεῖς πρὸς τὰς κυνηγεσίας. Κελτοὶ δὲ καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους χρωνται καὶ τούτως καὶ τοῖς
ἐπιχωρίοις. οἱ δὲ ἀνδρείς εὐμηκέστεροι τῶν Κελ-
τῶν εἰσὶ καὶ ἡσυχοὶ καὶ τοῖς σώμασι. σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους· ἀντίπαι-
dας γὰρ εἴδομεν ἡμεῖς ἐν �uations τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων
αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντας καὶ ἡμιποδίως, βλασίους δὲ
καὶ τάλλα οὐκ εὐγράμμους τῇ συστάσι. τὰ δ' ἡθη 1
tὰ μὲν ὡμοία τοῖς Κελτοῖς, τὰ δ' ἀπλού-
stera καὶ βαρβαρώτερα, ὡστ' ἐνίος γάλακτος
εἰποροῦντας μὴ τυροποιεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν,
ἀπείρους δ' εἴναι καὶ κηπεῖας καὶ ἄλλων γεωργ-
κῶν. δυναστείαι δ' εἰσὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς. πρὸς δὲ
tοὺς πολέμους ἀπ' άνως χρωνται τὸ πλέον, καθά-
περ καὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ἔνοι. πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν εἰσίν
οἱ δρυμοί· περιφράζοντες γὰρ δένδρεσι κατα-

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1 ἡθη, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores (for ηθη). Cp.
Diodorus Siculus (in reference to the same people): τοῖς
δ' ἡθεσιν ἀπλοὺς εἶναι (5. 21).

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1 Cp. the time given in 4. 3. 4. Caesar made his first
voyage to Britain (op. cit. 4. 23) between "about the third
watch" (midnight) and "the fourth hour of the day"
(10 A.M.); the second (op. cit. 5. 8), between "about sun-
night and landed on the following day about the fourth hour, thus having completed three hundred and twenty stadia in his voyage across; and he found the grain still in the fields.) Most of the island is flat and overgrown with forests, although many of its districts are hilly. It bears grain, cattle, gold, silver, and iron. These things, accordingly, are exported from the island, as also hides, and slaves, and dogs that are by nature suited to the purposes of the chase; the Celti, however, use both these and the native dogs for the purposes of war too. The men of Britain are taller than the Celti, and not so yellow-haired, although their bodies are of looser build. The following is an indication of their size: I myself, in Rome, saw mere lads towering as much as half a foot above the tallest people in the city, although they were bandy-legged and presented no fair lines anywhere else in their figure. Their habits are in part like those of the Celti, but in part more simple and barbaric—so much so that, on account of their inexperience, some of them, although well supplied with milk, make no cheese; and they have no experience in gardening or other agricultural pursuits. And they have powerful chieftains in their country. For the purposes of war they use chariots for the most part, just as some of the Celti do. The forests are their cities; for they fence in a

set," and "about noon," being greatly delayed by unfavourable wind and tide.

That is, forty miles. Caesar (op. cit. 5. 2) says "about thirty miles." Cp. 4. 3. 4.

Cp. Caesar op. cit. 5. 14 and Diodorus 5. 21.

Diodorus (5. 21) says "they have many kings and chieftains, it is said, who are, for the most part, peaceably disposed towards one another."
βεβλημένοις εὐρυχωρὴ κύκλων ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτοὶ καλυβοποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα κατασταθμεύονται, οὐ πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον. ἑπομένως δὲ εἰς ταῖς αἰθρίας ὀμήχλη κατέχει πολὺν χρόνον, ὡστε δὲ ἡμέρας ὄλης ἐπὶ τρεῖς μόνον ἢ τέταρτας ὥρας τὰς περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ὀρᾶσθαι τὸν ἦλιον τούτο δὲ κἂν τοῖς Μορινοῖς συμβαίνει, καὶ τοῖς Μεναπίοις καὶ ὅσοι τούτων πλησιόχωροι.

3. Δίς δὲ διέβη Καῖσαρ εἰς τὴν νῆσον ὁ Θεός, ἐπανήλθε δὲ διὰ τὰχέων, οὐδὲν μέγα διαπραξίμενος οὐδὲ προελθὼν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς νῆσου, διά τε τὰς ἐν τοῖς Κελτοῖς γενομένας στάσεις τῶν τε βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν πλοίων ἀπολέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πανσέληνον αὐξησιν λαβοῦσών τῶν ἀμπώτευος καὶ τῶν πλημμυρίδων. δύο μέντοι ἦ τρεῖς νίκας ἐνίκησε τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς, καλπερ δύο τάγματα μόνον περιώσας τῆς στρατιάς, καὶ ἀπῆγαγεν ὁμηρά τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τῆς ἀλλής λείας πλῆθος. νυνὶ μέντοι τῶν δυναστῶν τινὸς τῶν αὐτῶθι προσβεύσει καὶ θεραπείαις κατασκευασάμενοι τὴν πρὸς Καῖσαρα τὸν Ἑββαστὸν φιλίαν, ἀναθήματά τε ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ Κατετολίῳ καὶ οἰκείαν σχεδὸν τι παρεσκεύασαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄλην τὴν νῆσον.

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1 Cp. Caesar op. cit. 5. 21.
2 It was a question of (1) pasturage and (2) defence against the enemy.
3 Caesar (op. cit. 5. 22) says “on account of sudden commotions in Gaul,” referring to his second return to the continent.
4 This loss took place before Caesar’s first return, “on the day when the moon is wont to make the maximum tides in
spacious circular enclosure with trees which they have felled, and in that enclosure make huts for themselves and also pen up their cattle—not, however, with the purpose of staying a long time. Their weather is more rainy than snowy; and on the days of clear sky fog prevails so long a time that throughout a whole day the sun is to be seen for only three or four hours round about midday. And this is the case also among the Morini and the Menapii and all the neighbours of the latter.

3. The Deified Caesar crossed over to the island twice, although he came back in haste, without accomplishing anything great or proceeding far into the island, not only on account of the quarrels that took place in the land of the Celti, among the barbarians and his own soldiers as well, but also on account of the fact that many of his ships had been lost at the time of the full moon, since the ebb-tides and the flood-tides got their increase at that time. However, he won two or three victories over the Britons, albeit he carried along only two legions of his army; and he brought back hostages, slaves, and quantities of the rest of the booty. At present, however, some of the chieftains there, after procuring the friendship of Caesar Augustus by sending embassies and by paying court to him, have not only dedicated offerings in the Capitolium, but have also managed to make the whole of the island virtually Roman the ocean" (op. cit. 4. 28-20). For Strabo's discussion of these tides, see 3. 5. 8.

5 Augustus had intended to subjugate Britain, but went no farther than Gaul (Dio Cassius 53. 22). Caesar mentions (Monumentum Ancyranum) two British chieftains who came to him as suppliants, "Dumnobellaunua" and "Tim—" (or "Tine—").
telh te ouwos 1 upomenedousi baréa twv te eisagoménon eis thn Keltikivn ekeíthein kal twv exagoménon evdhénde (tata d' estin elefantina psilía kal perianxenia kal luygouria 2 kal yal ñ skevna kal allous rôpos toiooutos) òste mîden dein frouráras ths vhsou toulákhiston mev gar évov tâgmatax chrístoi ñn kal íppikoí twns, òste kal fórous ápågesxai par' autów, eis ñsou ñ de kathistait' ñn 3 to ánálwma tiv swastiv xôi prosofereoménon xrhìmasin anágyka gar meiçoudai tâ telh fórow epibalaloumenon, ìma ñ de kal kintíunous àpantwv tinwv, bías xepagoményn.

4. Eisî ñ de kal ñlla perî thn Brettanikivn vhsou mikraî megalh 4 ñ ñ ìrêna prôs árktov auth parabebl megénn, proimikhes 4 mallov platóvs ñxousa. perî ñs ouèden exomëne lêgeis safês, plhîn ñti agwôteroi thn Brettanivn upárchioun oî katakóvitves autív, ìnáthropofagoi te 5 ñntes kal polufrâgos, toûs te patéra teleteutăta xai kata- sthíewen ën kalv téxemenvi kal faverovi màsgevovian tâs te ñllas gnwvxi kal mýtrâsi kal ñdèlphais' kal tata d' ouwv xegomév, õs ouè exontes xêro-

1 ouwos, Madvig restores, for odvovs (Xylander's emodation), which is commonly read by the editors since Corais, except Tozer.
2 luygouria, for alluygouria (er. 4. 6. 2 luygourion); so the editors in general.
3 kathistait' ñn, Meineke from conj. of Kramer, for kathistato ñván.
4 proimikhes, Jones, for proimikh; other editors, following Corais, wrongly insert ñ after mallov.
5 te, the reading of some of the MSS., instead of ñe.
6 For polufrâgos some of the editors read vopofâgos (Epitome only).
Further, they submit so easily to heavy duties, both on the exports from there to Celtica and on the imports from Celtica (these latter are ivory chains and necklaces, and amber-gems and glass vessels and other petty wares of that sort), that there is no need of garrisoning the island; for one legion, at the least, and some cavalry would be required in order to carry off tribute from them, and the expense of the army would offset the tribute-money; in fact, the duties must necessarily be lessened if tribute is imposed, and, at the same time, dangers be encountered, if force is applied.

4. Besides some small islands round about Britain, there is also a large island, Ierne, which stretches parallel to Britain on the north, its breadth being greater than its length. Concerning this island I have nothing certain to tell, except that its inhabitants are more savage than the Britons, since they are man-eaters as well as heavy eaters, and since, further, they count it an honourable thing, when their fathers die, to devour them, and openly to have intercourse, not only with the other women, but also with their mothers and sisters; but I am saying this only with the understanding that I have no trust-

1 "Linguria" (Strabo's word) means gems of red amber, like the red amber ("lingurium" 4. 6. 2) on the coast of Liguria, from which country it gets its name (Ridgeway, Origin of Currency, p. 110).
2 See 1. 4. 3.
4 That is, speaking in terms of a rectangle, the geographical breadth is longer than the geographical length; for geographical breadth is measured north and south, and geographical length, east and west (see 2. 1. 32). And Strabo's assertion about Ireland is correct.
5 See 2. 5. 8.
6 Some of the editors read "herb-eaters" instead of "heavy eaters"—perhaps rightly.
πίστους μάρτυρας (καίτοι τό γε τής άνθρωποφοβικής καί Σκυθικών εἶναι λέγεται, καί ἐν ἀνάγκαις πολιορκητικάς καί Κελτοί καί Ἱβηρεῖς καί ἄλλοι πλείους ποίησαι τοῦτο λέγονται).

5. Περὶ δὲ τῆς Ὑσύλης ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἀσαφῆς ἡ ἱστορία διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμὸν ταύτην γὰρ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ἀρκτικωτάτην τιθέασιν. ἄδει ἐυρηκε Πυθέας περὶ τε ταύτης καί τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταύτη τόπων ὅτι μὲν πέπλασται, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν γνωριζομένων χωρίων κατέφευσται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ πλείστα, διόπερ καὶ πρὸτερον εὐρητοί, διὸστε δῆλος ἔστιν ἐψευσιμένος μᾶλλον περὶ τῶν ἐκτετοπισμένων. πρὸς μέντοι τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν μαθηματικὴν θεωρίὰν ἀν ἰκανῶς δόξει εὐχρήσθαι τοὺς πρώγμασιν, τοὺς τῇ κατεγυμνείη σώφη πλησιάζοντι τὸ τῶν καρπῶν εἶναι τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἔφοι τῶν μὲν ἀφορίαν παντελῆ, τῶν δὲ σπάνιν, κέγχρον δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις λαχάνοις καὶ καρποῖς καὶ ρίζαις τρέφεσθαι παρ’ ὀσὶ δὲ σύτος καί μὲλι γι-

1 ἄν after ὑσύλην, Jones inserts; others insert ἄν after ἰκανῶς, or read δόξει for δόξει.
2 τὸ τῶν, Jones restores; Meineke and others read λέγων; C. Müller suggests ἵνα λέγων.
3 Meineke and Corais have emended ἄλλοις to ἄγροις; C. Müller conjectures ἄμοις.

1 e. g. when besieged by the Cimbri and Teutones (Caesar, op. cit. 7. 77).
2 e. g. when besieged at Numantia by Scipio (Valerius Maximus 7. 6).
3 e. g. the city of Potidæa in Greece (Thucydides, 2. 70).
4 See 1. 4. 2 ff.

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worthy witnesses for it; and yet, as for the matter of man-eating, that is said to be a custom of the Scythians also, and, in cases of necessity forced by sieges, the Celti,¹ the Iberians,² and several other peoples are said to have practised it.³

5. Concerning Thule⁴ our historical information is still more uncertain, on account of its outside position;⁵ for Thule, of all the countries that are named, is set farthest north. But that the things which Pytheas has told about Thule, as well as the other places in that part of the world, have indeed been fabricated by him, we have clear evidence from the districts that are known to us,⁶ for in most cases he has falsified them, as I have already said before,⁷ and hence he is obviously more false concerning the districts which have been placed outside the inhabited world. And yet, if judged by the science of the celestial phenomena⁸ and by mathematical theory, he might possibly seem to have made adequate use of the facts as regards the people who live close to the frozen zone,⁹ when he says that, of the animals and domesticated fruits, there is an utter dearth of some and a scarcity of the others, and that the people live on millet and other herbs, and on fruits and roots; and where there are grain and honey, the people get their

⁵ Strabo has insisted (2. 5. 8) that the northern limit of the inhabited world should be placed in Ierne (Ireland), and that therefore Thule falls outside.
⁶ Strabo means "from what he has told us about the districts that are known to us" (cp. 1. 4. 3).
⁷ 1. 4. 3. ⁸ See 1. 1. 15, and footnote 2.
⁹ Strabo speaks of "the people who live close to the frozen zone" only for argument's sake; he himself regards such people, as well as those farther north, as non-existent so far as geography is concerned (2. 5. 43).
γρεται, καὶ τὸ πόμα ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν τὸν δὲ σῖτον, ἕπειδὴ τοὺς ἡλίους οὐκ ἐξουσι καθαροὺς, ἐν οἶκοις μεγάλοις κόπτουσι, συγκομισθέντων δεύρῳ τῶν σταχνῶν. αἱ γὰρ ἄλιοι ἥξηστοι γίνονται διὰ τὸ ἀνήλιον καὶ τοὺς ὀμβροὺς.

VI

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπεων Κελτικήν καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἔχοντα τὴν χώραν ταύτην, περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀλπεων λεκτέον καὶ τῶν κατοικοῦντων αὐτῶς, ἔπειτα περὶ τῆς συμπάθεις Ἰταλίας, φιλάττουσιν ἐν τῇ γραφῆ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἂν ηὐπερ δίδωσιν ἡ τῆς χώρας φύσις. ἄρχονται μὲν οὖν αἱ Ἀλπεις οὐκ ἀπὸ Μονοῖκον λιμένος, ὡς εἰρήκασί τινες, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν χωρίων ἀφ' ὄντερ καὶ τὰ Ἀπέννινα ὅρη κατὰ Γένους ἔμποροιν Διήγων καὶ τὰ καλοῦμενα Σαβάτων Ούαδα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τενάγη τὸ μὲν C.202 γὰρ Ἀπέννινον ἀπὸ Γένουας, αἱ δὲ Ἀλπεις ἀπὸ τῶν Σαβάτων ἔχουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν στάδιοι δ᾿ εἰσὶ μεταξὺ Γενούας καὶ Σαβάτων διακόσιον πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα: μετὰ δὲ τριακοσίων πρὸς τοῖς εἰσδομηκοντα Ἀλβηθηκαννών ἐστὶ πόλισμα, οἱ δ᾿ ἐνοικοῦντες Δίγυνες Ἰγγαννοὶ καλοῦνται: ἐντεῦθεν δὲ εἰς Μονοῖκον λιμένα τετρακόσιοι καὶ ὀγδοῖκοντα. ἐν

1 ἄλιοι, Kramer, for ἄλιοι; so the editors in general.

1 That is, as well as nourishment.
2 Obviously a kind of beer, such as “the wheat-beer prepared with honey” and “drunk by the poorer classes” in Gaul (Athenaeus 4. 36). Diodorus Siculus (5. 26) refers to this “beverage” of the Gauls, made of “barley” and “mead,” “what is called beer.”
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 5. 5–6. 1

beverage, also, from them. As for the grain, he says,—since they have no pure sunshine—they pound it out in large storehouses, after first gathering in the ears thither; for the threshing floors become useless because of this lack of sunshine and because of the rains.

VI

1. After Transalpine Celtica and the tribes which hold this country, I must tell about the Alps themselves and the people who inhabit them, and then about the whole of Italy, keeping the same order in my description as is given me by the nature of the country. The beginning, then, of the Alps is not at the Port of Monoecus, as some have told us, but at the same districts as the beginning of the Apennine mountains, namely, near Genua, the emporium of the Ligures, and what is called Vada (that is, "Shoals") Sabatorum: for the Apennines begin at Genua, and the Alps have their beginning at Sabata; and the distance, in stadia, between Genua and Sabata is two hundred and sixty; then, after three hundred and seventy stadia from Sabata, comes the town of Albingaunum (its inhabitants are called Ligures Ingauni); and thence, to the Port of Monoecus, four hundred and eighty stadia. Further, in this last

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3 Diodorus Siculus (5. 21), who, like Strabo, quotes Pytheas through Poseidonius, makes a similar reference to the Britons, saying that the Britons "cut off the ears of grain and store them in houses that are roofed over, and pluck the ears from day to day. The threshing floors with which Strabo and Diodorus were familiar were in the open air, e.g. in Greece and Italy.

4 Also called Vada Sabatia (now Vado).
τε τὸ μεταξὺ πόλεις εὐμεγεθής Ἀλβιον Ἰντεμέλιον, καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἰντεμέλιοι, καὶ δὴ καὶ σημείου τίθενται τού τῇ ἄρχῃ ἀπὸ τῶν Σαβάτων εἶναι ταῖς Ἀλπεσι ἐκ τῶν ὄνομάτων τούτων: τὰ γὰρ Ἀλπια καλεῖσθαι πρότερον Ἀλβια, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀλπιόνια, καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἔτι τὸ ἐν τοῖς Ἰάπσοσιν ὄροις υψηλῶν συνάπτον πως τῇ Ὄκρα καὶ ταῖς Ἀλπεσιν Ἀλβιον λέγεσθαι, ὡς ἀν μέχρι δεύρο τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐκτεταμένων.

2. Τῶν οὖν Διηγοῦν τῶν μὲν ὄντων Ἰγγαύων, τῶν δὲ Ἰντεμέλιων, εἰκότως τὰς ἐποικίας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ βαλάντῃ, τὴν μὲν ὄνομαξεσθαι Ἀλβιον Ἰντεμέλιοι, οἰον Ἀλπιον, τὴν δὲ ἐπιτετμημένως μᾶλλον Ἀλβίγγαυνον. Πολύβιος δὲ προστίθησι τοῖς δυσὶ φύλοις τῶν Διηγῶν τοῖς λεγέσθαι τὸ τε τῶν Ὀξιβίων καὶ τὸ τῶν Δεκελτῶν. ὡλος δὲ ἡ παραλία αὐτὴ πάσα μέχρι Τυρρηνίας ἐκ Ὁμολογοῦν λιμένος προσεχῆς τῇ ἑστὶ καὶ ἀλίμενος πλὴν βραχὺν ὄρμων καὶ ἀγκυροβολῶν. ὑπέρκενται δὲ οἱ τῶν ὄρων ἔξωτοι κρημνοὶ, στενὴν ἀπολείποντες πρὸς βαλάντῃ πάροδον. κατοικοῦσι δὲ Διηγοῦς, ξώντες ἀπὸ θρεμμάτων τὸ πλέον καὶ γάλακτος καὶ κριθίνου πόματος, νεμόμενοι τὰ τε πρὸς βαλάντῃ χωρία καὶ τὸ πλέον τὰ ὁρη. ἔχουσι δὲ ὡς ἐνταῦθα παμπόλλην ναυτηγήσιμον καὶ μεγαλοδενδρὸν ὤστ' ἐνίοτον τῶν πάχων τὴν διάμετρον ὅκτω ποδών εὐρύσκεσθαι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῶν θυώνον ὡς ἐστὶ χείρω πρὸς τὰς

1 Meineke, following Kramer, reads Ἀλπεσιά, for Ἀλπιόνια.
2 ἐκ, Meineke, for καὶ.

1 "Alpionian," is now known only as the name of an Etrurian gens. 2 Mt. Velika. Cp. 7. 5. 4.

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interval there is a city of fair size, Albium Intemelium, and its occupants are called Intemelii. And indeed it is on the strength of these names that writers advance a proof that the Alps begin at Sabata; for things "Alpian" were formerly called "Albian," as also things "Alpician," and, in fact, writers add that still to-day the high mountain among the Iapodes which almost joins Mount Occa and the Alps is called "Albius," thus implying that the Alps have stretched as far as that mountain.

2. Since, then, the Ligures were partly Ingauni and partly Intemelii, writers add, it was reasonable for their settlements on the sea to be named, the one, Albium (the equivalent of Alpium) Intemelium, and the other, more concisely, Albingaunum. Polybius, however, adds to the two aforesaid tribes of the Ligures both that of the Oxybii and that of the Decietae. Speaking generally, this whole coastline, from the Port of Monocerus as far as Tyrrenus, is not only exposed to the wind but harbourless as well, except for shallow mooring-places and anchorages. And lying above it are the enormous beetling cliffs of the mountains, which leave only a narrow pass next to the sea. This country is occupied by the Ligures, who live on sheep, for the most part, and milk, and a drink made of barley; they pasture their flocks in the districts next to the sea, but mainly in the mountains. They have there in very great quantities timber that is suitable for ship-building, with trees so large that the diameter of their thickness is sometimes found to be eight feet. And many of these trees, even in the variegation of the grain, are not
Strabo

τραπεζοποιίας. ταύτα τε δὴ κατάγονσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον τὴν Γένουαν, καὶ θρέμματα καὶ δέρματα καὶ μέλι, ἀντιφορτίζονται δὲ ἐλαιον καὶ οἶνον τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας. ο ὅ ἐς παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀλύγος ἐστὶ πιττίτης, αὐστηρός. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐτὰς οἵ τε ἡ γίνοι λεγόμενοι, ἦπει τε καὶ ἡμῖνοι, καὶ οἱ λυγυστινοὶ τε χιτώνες καὶ σάγοι: πλεονάζει δὲ καὶ τὸ λυγυρύον παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὁ τινες ἕλεκτρον προσαγόρευσαι. στρατεύονται δ' ἵππεῖς μὲν οὐ πάνυ, ὅπλιται δὲ ἁγαθοί καὶ ἀκροβολισταί: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χαλκάσπιδος εἶναι τεκμαίρονται τινες "Ἑλλήνας αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

3. Ὅ δὲ τῷ Μονοίκου λιμὴν ὄρμος ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλαις οὐδὲ πολλαῖς ναυσῖν, ἐχὼν ἰερὸν Ἡρακλέος Μονοίκου καλουμένου· ἔσικε δὲ ἅπα τοῦ ὄνοματος καὶ μέχρι δεύρῳ διατείνειν ὁ Μασσαλιώτικος παράπλου. διέχει δ' Ἀντιπόλεως μικρὸ

1 τε γίνοι, Cornis, for γεγήνω (ABC), γεγήνω (Ald.); so Groskurd. Meineke and Tozer read only γίνοι, following Scaliger, and Casaubon.

1 Cp. 17. 3. 4; Relevation, 18. 12; Pliny (Nat. Hist. 13. 29-31), who discusses at length wood for tables, and tells of the "mania" of the Romans for large ones of beautiful wood.

2 Dioscorides (5. 48) gave a formula for the mixture: one or two ounces of pitch to about six gallons of new wine. It is the resinated wine still used in Greece.

3 Aristotle (Hist. An. 6. 24) and Pliny (Nat. Hist. 8. 69) define the "ginnus" as the stunted foal of a mare by a mule. But here the term is simply colloquial for a stunted animal, whether horse or mule. The Latin word is "hinnus." Cp. English "ginny" and "flying-jenny."

4 The sagus was a kind of coarse cloak. Cp. 4. 4. 3.

5 Literally, "lingurium" (cp. page 259, footnote 1).

6 "Monoecus" (of which the "Monaco" of to-day is a
in inferior to the thyme wood\textsuperscript{1} for the purposes of table-making. These, accordingly, the people bring down to the emporium of Genua, as well as flocks, hides and honey, and receive therefor a return-cargo of olive oil and Italian wine (the little wine they have in their country is mixed with pitch,\textsuperscript{2} and harsh). And this is the country from which come not only the so-called "ginni"—both horses and mules,\textsuperscript{3}—but also the Ligurian tunics and "sagi."\textsuperscript{4} And they also have in their country excessive quantities of amber,\textsuperscript{5} which by some is called "electrum." And although, in their campaigns, they are no good at all as cavalrymen, they are excellent heavy-armed soldiers and skirmishers; and, from the fact that they use bronze shields, some infer that they are Greeks.

3. The Port of Monoecus affords a mooring-place for no large ships, nor yet for a considerable number; and it has a temple of Heracles "Monoecus,"\textsuperscript{6} as he is called; and it is reasonable to conjecture from the name\textsuperscript{7} that the coastal voyages of the Massiliotes reach even as far as the Port of Monoecus.\textsuperscript{8} The distance from the Port of Monoecus to Antipolis is a corruption) means "the Solitary." The epithet was given to Heracles, according to Servius (note on the Aeneid 6. 829), either because Heracles drove out the inhabitants of Liguria and remained sole possessor of the land, or because it was not the custom to associate other divinities with him in the temples dedicated to him; but according to Prof. Freeman's suggestion to Tozer (Selections from Strabo, p. 138), the epithet probably refers to the solitary position of the place, as being the last of the Greek cities on this coast.

\textsuperscript{7} The name is Greek.

\textsuperscript{8} Strabo means that the Port of Monoecus probably came under the influence of Massilia. He has already said that Nicea, which is only a few miles west of Monoecus, belongs to Massilia (4. 1. 9).
πλείους ἡ διακοσίους σταδίους. τούντεύθεν δ' ἦδη μέχρι Μασσαλίας καὶ μικρὸν προσωτέρω τὸ τῶν Σαλλων ἔθνος αἰκεὶ τὰς Ἀλπεις τὰς ὑπερ-
κειμένας καὶ τινα 1 τῆς αὐτῆς παραλίας ἀναμίξιν
toῖς Ἐλληνω. καλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς Σάλλνας οἱ μὲν
pαλαιοὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων Λίγνας καὶ τὴν χώραν ἤν
ἐχουσίν οἱ Μασσαλιώται Δυνστικῆς, οἱ δ' ὧ
stanbul Κελτολίγνας ὑπομάζονσι, καὶ τὴν μέχρι
Δυσερέων καὶ τοῦ Ὄρβανοῦ πεδίαδα τούτοις
προσνέμουσιν, ἀφ' ἢς οὐ πεζήν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἵππικην ἐστελλον στρατεύμα, εἰς δέκα μέρη δι-
γρημένου. πρῶτος δὲ ἐξειρώσαντο Ὄρμαίοι
tούτοις τῶν ὑπεραλπίων Κελτῶν, πολὺν χρόνον
πολεμήσαντες καὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς Λίγνων,
ἀποκεκλεικόσι τὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν παρόδους τὰς
diὰ τῆς παραλίας. καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ
θάλασσαν ἐλήξουσο καὶ τοσοῦτον ἑσχὺν ὡστε
μόλις στρατοπέδους μεγάλους πορευτὴν εἶναι τὴν
οἶνον. ὑγιοδοκοστὸν δ' ἔτος πολεμοῦντες διεπρά-
ζαντο μόλις ὡστ' ἐπὶ δώδεκα σταδίους τὸ πλάτος
ἀνείρθαι τὴν ὀδὸν τοὺς ὀδεύουσι δημοσία. μετὰ
ταύτα μέντοι κατέλυσαν ἀπαντα, καὶ διέταξαν
αὐτὸ τὰς πολυτείας, ἐπιστήσαντες φόρον.2

4. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Σάλλνας Ἀλβιεῖς καὶ Ἀλ-
βίοικοι καὶ Οὐκοκόντιοι νέμονται τὰ προσαρκτια
μέρη τῶν ὀρῶν. παρατείνουσι δὲ οἱ Οὐκοκόντιοι

1 τινα. Cornis, for τινας; so the later editors.
2 φόρον, Aldine Ed., for φόβον; so the editors in general,
except Meineke.

1 The Latin form is "Ligures,"
little more than two hundred stadia. As for the stretch of country which begins at Antipolis and extends as far as Massilia or a little farther, the tribe of the Sallyes inhabits the Alps that lie above the seaboard and also—promiscuously with the Greeks—certain parts of the same seaboard. But though the early writers of the Greeks call the Sallyes "Ligues,"¹ and the country which the Massiliotes hold, "Ligustica," later writers name them "Celto-ligues," and attach to their territory all the level country as far as Iaerio and the Rhodanus, the country from which the inhabitants, divided into ten parts, used to send forth an army, not only of infantry, but of cavalry as well. These were the first of the Transalpine Celts that the Romans conquered, though they did so only after carrying on war with both them and the Ligures for a long time—because the latter had barred all the passes leading to Iberia that ran through the seaboard. And, in fact, they kept making raids both by land and sea, and were so powerful that the road was scarcely practicable even for great armies. And it was not until the eightieth year of the war that the Romans succeeded, though only with difficulty, in opening up the road for a breadth² of only twelve stadia to those travelling on public business. After this, however, they defeated them all, and, having imposed a tribute upon them, administered the government themselves.

4. After the Sallyes come the Albienses and the Albioeci and the Vocontii, who occupy the northerly parts of the mountains. But the Vocontii, stretching

¹ Not from the coastline; we should say that the Romans secured a "right of way."

²
μέχρι Ἀλλοβρώγων, ἐχοντες αὐλώνας ἐν βάθει τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἄξιολόγους καὶ οὐ χείρους ὁν ἔχουσιν ἑκεῖνοι. Ἀλλοβριγες μὲν οὖν καὶ Δόγυνες ὑπὸ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τάττονται τοῖς ἀφικνομένων εἰς τὴν Ναρβωνίτων, Οὐοκοντίοι δὲ, καθάπερ τοὺς Οὐόλκας ἐφαμεν τοὺς περὶ Νέμαυσον, τάττονται καθ’ αὐτοὺς. τῶν δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ Οὐάρου καὶ τῆς Γενούας Δεγάων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τοῖς Ἰταλώταις εἰσίν οἱ αὐτοὶ, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς πεμπτεῖ τις ὑπάρχος τῶν ἱππικῶν ἀνδρῶν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλους τῶν τελείως βαρβάρων.

5. Μετὰ δὲ Οὐοκοντίους Ἰκόνιοι καὶ Τρικόριοι, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοὺς Μέδουλλοι, οἴπερ 1 τὰς ὑγιολότατας ἔχουσι κορυφαίς τὸ γοῦν ὀρθιώτατον αὐτῶν ὑψος σταδίων ἐκατὸν ἔχειν φασὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν, καὶ ἔνθεν πάλιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀροὺς τοὺς τῆς Ἰταλίας κατάβασιν. ἀνὼ δ’ ἐν τοίς κοῖλοις χωρίοις λίμνῃ τε συνισταται μεγάλη καὶ πηγαῖ ὁποίος οὐ πολὺ ἀπωθεῖ ἄλληλων, ὅν ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἐτέρας ἐστὶν 2 ὁ Δρουεντίας, ποταμός χαραδράδης ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοθανοῦ καταράττει, καὶ ὁ Οὐρίας εἰς τάναντια: τῷ γὰρ Πάδῳ συμμίσθει, κατευχθεὶς διὰ Σαλασσῶν εἰς τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων Κελτικήν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας πολὺ ταπεινότερος

1 οἵπερ, Siebenkees, for ὑπερ; so the editors.
2 For ἐστιν Kraener reads ἐστὼ; so Groskurd, Meineko, and Müller-Dübner.

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1 See 4. 1. 12, and cp. 4. 2. 2 and footnote 3.
2 i.e., are autonomous with “Latin right” (see 3. 2. 15, 4. 1. 9, 5. 1. 1).
3 There were two Durias Rivers, namely, the Durias Major (now Dora Baltea) and Durias Minor (now Dora Riparia), both of which emptied into the Padus (Po). The Durias
alongside the others, reach as far as the Allobroges; they have glens in the depths of their mountainous country that are of considerable size and not inferior to those which the Allobroges have. Now the Allobroges and the Ligures are ranked as subject to the praetors who come to Narbonitis, but the Vocontii (as I said of the Volcae who live round about Nemausus) are ranked as autonomous. Of the Ligures who live between the Varus River and Genua, those who live on the sea are the same as the Italiotes, whereas to the mountaineers a praefect of equestrian rank is sent—as is done in the case of other peoples who are perfect barbarians.

5. After the Vocontii come the Iconii and the Tricorii; and after them the Medulli, who hold the loftiest peaks. At any rate, the steepest height of these peaks is said to involve an ascent of a hundred stadia, and an equal number the descent thence to the boundaries of Italy. And up in a certain hollowed-out region stands a large lake, and also two springs which are not far from one another. One of these springs is the source of the Druentia, a torrential river which dashes down towards the Rhodanus, and also of the Durias, which takes the opposite direction, since it first courses down through the country of the Salassi into Cisalpine Celtaia and then mingles with the Padus; while from the other spring there issues forth, considerably lower than the region

Major passed through the country of the Salassi, who lived round about Augusta Praetoria Salassorum (now Aosta), while the Durias Minor rose near the Druentia (Durance) and emptied into the Padus at what is now Turin, some twenty miles west of the mouth of the Durias Major. Strabo, it appears, confuses the two rivers, for he is obviously talking about the Durias Minor.
τούτων τῶν χωρίων ἀναδίδωσιν αὐτὸς ὁ Πάδος, πολὺς τε καὶ ἄξις, προϊόν δὲ γίνεται μείζων καὶ πραϑερος. ἐκ πολλῶν γὰρ λαμβάνει τὴν αὐξησιν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἕδη γενόμενος καὶ πλατύνεται· τῇ οὖν διαχύσει περισσᾶ καὶ ἀμβλύνει τὸν ροὴν εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀδριατικὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπέπτεται, μέγιστος γενόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ποταμῶν πλῆρως τοῦ Ἰστροῦ. ὑπέρκεινται δ᾽ οἱ Μέδουλλοι μάλιστα τῆς συμβολῆς τοῦ Ἰσαρος πρὸς τὸν Ῥωδανόν.

6. Ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα μέρη τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κεκλιμένα ἡ λέξεισις ὀρεινῆς Ταυρινοῦ τε ἀικούσι λαγοστικῶν ἐθνος καὶ ἄλλοι λαγιναῖ. τούτων δ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Δόννου λεγομένη γῆ καὶ τοῦ Κοττίου. μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ τὸν Πάδον Σαλασσοὶ· ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἐν ταῖς κορυφαῖς Κεύτρωνες καὶ Κατόργιγες καὶ Οὐάραγροι καὶ Ναυτουάται καὶ ἡ Δημένα λίμνη, δι᾽ ἡς ὁ Ῥωδανός φέρεται, καὶ ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. οὐκ ἀπωθεῖ δὲ τούτων οὐδέτοι ὁ Ρήμοι οἱ πηγαί, σὺν ὁ Ἀδούλας τὸ ὄρος, ἐξ οὗ ἥρε καὶ ὁ Ῥήμος ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους καὶ ὁ Ἀδουάς εἰς τάναντια ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὴν Λάριον λίμνην τὴν πρὸς τὸν Κόμω. ὑπέρκεινται δὲ τοῦ Κόμου πρὸς τῇ ρίζῃ τῶν Ἀλπεως ἰδρυμένου τῇ μὲν Ρατοῖ καὶ Οὐένώνες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ κεκλιμένοι, τῇ δὲ Λητόντιοι καὶ Τριδεντῖνοι καὶ Στόνοι καὶ ἄλλα πλείω μικρὰ

1 κεκλιμένα, Xylanter, for κεκριμένα; so the editors.
2 Δόννοι, conj. of Siebenkees, for Ἰδεάννου (Δοντοῦ magy. A prim. manus); so the editors in general. See Paulys-Wissowa, s.v. Doonos, p. 1548.
3 Casaubon inserts ἕ after καὶ; so some of the editors, including Meineke.
4 Κεύτρωνες, A. Jacob, for Κέντρωνες.
5 ἰδρυμένου, Xylanter, for ἵδρυμενα.
above-mentioned, the Padus itself, large and swift, although as it proceeds it becomes larger and more gentle in its flow; for from the time it reaches the plains it is increased from many streams and is thus widened out; and so, because of the spreading out of its waters, the force of its current is dispersed and blunted; then it empties into the Adriatic Sea, becoming the largest of all the rivers in Europe except the Ister. The situation of the Medulli is, to put it in a general way, above the confluence of the Isar and the Rhodanus.

6. Towards the other parts (I mean the parts which slope towards Italy) of the aforesaid mountainous country dwell both the Taurini, a Ligurian tribe, and other Ligures; to these latter belongs what is called the land of Donnus¹ and Cottius.² And after these peoples and the Padus³ come the Salassi; and above them, on the mountain-crests, the Ceutrones, Catoriges, Varagri, Nantuates, Lake Lemenna (through which the Rhodanus courses), and the source of the Rhodanus. And not far from these are also the sources of the Rhenus, and Mount Adula, whence flows not only, towards the north, the Rhenus, but also, in the opposite direction, the Addua, emptying into Lake Larius, which is near Comum. And beyond Comum, which is situated near the base of the Alps, lie, on the one side, with its slope towards the east, the land of the Rhaeti and the Vennones, and, on the other, the land of the Lepontii, Tridentini, Stoni, and several other small

¹ The father of Cottius.
² Cp. 4. 1. 3.
³ The words "and the Padus" have perplexed some of the commentators. They are added, apparently, for the purpose of definitely placing all the Salassi north of the Padus; the Taurini lived on both sides of the river.
έθνη κατέχοντα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν χρόνοις, ληστρικὰ καὶ ἀποραί. νυνὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐξέφθαρται, τὰ δὲ ἡμέρωται τελέως ὡστε τὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὅρους, πρότερον οὕσας ὀλόγας καὶ δυσπεράτους, νυνὶ πολλαχόθεν εἶναι καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ εὐβάτων, ὡς ἐνεστὶ,1 διὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν, προσέθηκε γὰρ ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ τῇ καταλύσει τῶν ληστῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὄδωρ, ὡσην οἵον τ' ἦν οὕ γὰρ δυνατὸν πανταχοῦ βιῶσαι τὴν φύσιν, διὰ πετρῶν καὶ κρημνῶν ἔξαισιν, τῶν μὲν ὑπερκειμένων τῆς ὄδοι, τῶν δὲ ὑποπτῶντων, ὡστε καὶ μικρῶν ἐκβάσων ἄφυκτον εἶναι τῶν κίνδυνον, εἰς φάραγγας ἀβύσσους τοῦ πτώματος ὑμνος. οὔτω δὲ ἐστὶ στενή κατὰ τινα2 αὐτοῦ ἡ ὄδος ὡστ' ἔληγεν φέρειν τοὺς πεζῆς βαδίζουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑποξυγίους τοῖς ἀίθεσι; τὰ δ' ἐπιχώρια κομίζει τοὺς φόρτους ἀσφαλῶς. οὔτ' οὖν ταῦτα ἱάσιμα οὔθ' ἀι κατολισθάνουσι πλάκες τῶν κρυστάλλων ἀνωθεν ἔξαισι, συνοδίαν οὔν ἀπολαμβάνειν δυνάμεναι καὶ συνεξωθεῖν εἰς τὰς ὑποπτούσας φάραγγας. πολλαλγὰρ ἀλλήλαις ἐπικείμεναι πλάκες, πάγου ἐπὶ πάγους γενομένων τῆς χιόνος κρυσταλλωδῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐπιπολῆς ἀεὶ ραδίως ἀπολυμένων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντὸς πρὶν διαλυθῆναι τελέως ἐν τοῖς ἠλίους.

1 ὡς ἐνεστὶ, Cornis from conj. of Tyrwhitt, for ἐν ἐστι (AC), ὡς ἐνεστὶ (B); so the later editors.
2 τινα, Kramer, for τι; so the editors in general.
tribes, brigandish and resourceless, which in former times held the upper hand in Italy; but as it is, some of the tribes have been wholly destroyed, while the others have been so completely subdued that the passes which lead through their territory over the mountain, though formerly few and hard to get through, are now numerous, and safe from harm on the part of the people, and easily passable—so far as human device can make them so. For in addition to his putting down the brigands Augustus Caesar built up the roads as much as he possibly could; for it was not everywhere possible to overcome nature by forcing a way through masses of rock and enormous beetling cliffs, which sometimes lay above the road and sometimes fell away beneath it, and consequently, if one made even a slight misstep out of the road, the peril was one from which there was no escape, since the fall reached to chasms abysmal. And at some places the road there is so narrow that it brings dizziness to all who travel it afoot—not only to men, but also to all beasts of burden that are unfamiliar with it; the native beasts, however, carry the burdens with sureness of foot. Accordingly, these places are beyond remedy; and so are the layers of ice that slide down from above—enormous layers, capable of intercepting a whole caravan or of thrusting them all together into the chasms that yawn below; for there are numerous layers resting one upon another, because there are congelations upon congelations of snow that have become ice-like, and the congelations that are on the surface are from time to time easily released from those beneath before they are completely dissolved in the rays of the sun.
7. Ἡ δὲ τῶν Σαλασσῶν πολλὴ μὲν ἐστιν ἐν ἀυλώνι βαθεὶς, τῶν ὃριν ἀμφιτέρων κλείοντο τὸ χωρίον, μέρος δὲ τὶ αὐτῶν ἀνατέναι καὶ πρὸς τὰς υπερκειμένας κορμφάς. τοῖς ὅπως ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπερτιθεῖται τὰ ὅρη διὰ τοῦ λεχθέντος αυλώνος ἐστιν ἡ ὁδός. εἰτα σχίζεται δίχα· καὶ ἢ μὲν διὰ τοῦ Ποινίου λεγομένου φέρεται, ξεύγεσιν οὔ παρᾷ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν Ἀλπεων, ἡ δὲ διὰ Κεντρώων δυσμικωτέρα. ἔχει δὲ καὶ χρυσεία ἡ τῶν Σαλασσῶν, ὁ κατείχων ὅχι ποιτείσι οἱ Σαλασσοὶ πρῶτοροι, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν παρόνων ἱσαν κύριοι. προσελάβανε δὲ πλείστον εἰς τὴν μεταλλείαν αὐτοῖς ὁ Δαυρίας ποταμός, εἰς τὰ χρυσοπλύσια, διότι ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τόπους σχίζοντες εἰς τὰς ἐξοχετείας τὸ ὑδωρ τὸ κοινὸν ἰείδρον ἔβεβηνον. τούτῳ δὲ ἐκέινοι μὲν συνέφερα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ βήραν, τοὺς δὲ γεωργοῦντας τὰ ὅπι αὐτοῖς πεδία, τῆς ἀρδείας στερουμένους, ἔλυπε, τὸν ποταμὸν δυναμένου ποτίζειν τὴν χώραν διὰ τὸ ὑπερδέξιον ἔχειν τὸ ἰείδρον. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας πόλεμοι συνεχείς ἦσαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμφιτέρους τοῖς ἐθνείσι. κρατησάντων δὲ Ῥωμαίων, τῶν μὲν χρυσουργείων ἐξέπεσον καὶ τῆς χώρας οἱ Σαλασσοὶ, τὰ δὲ ὅρη κατέχοντες ἀκμήν τὸ ὑδωρ ἐπώλουν τοῖς δημοσίων τοῖς ἐργολαβήσασι τὰ χρυσεῖα· καὶ πρὸς τούτους δὲ ἠσαν ἀεὶ διαφοράλα διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν τῶν δημο-
7. Most of the country of the Salassi lies in a deep glen, the district being shut in by both mountains, whereas a certain part of their territory stretches up to the mountain-crests that lie above. Accordingly, the road for all who pass over the mountains from Italy runs through the aforesaid glen. Then the road forks; and one fork runs through what is called Poeninus¹ (a road which, for wagons, is impassable near the summits of the Alps), while the other runs more to the west, through the country of the Ceutrones. The country of the Salassi has gold mines also, which in former times, when the Salassi were powerful, they kept possession of, just as they were also masters of the passes. The Durias River was of the greatest aid to them in their mining—I mean in washing the gold; and therefore, in making the water branch off to numerous places, they used to empty the common bed completely. But although this was helpful to the Salassi in their hunt for the gold, it distressed the people who farmed the plains below them, because their country was deprived of irrigation; for, since its bed was on favourable ground higher up, the river could give the country water. And for this reason both tribes were continually at war with each other. But after the Romans got the mastery, the Salassi were thrown out of their gold-works and country too; however, since they still held possession of the mountains, they sold water to the publicans who had contracted to work the gold mines; but on account of the greediness of the publicans ² the Salassi were always in disagree-

¹ That is, through the Pennine Alps, by Mt. Great Bernard.
² Cp. the greed of the New Testament publicans (e.g. Luke 3, 13).
σιωνῶν. ¹ οὕτω δὲ συνέβαινε τοὺς στρατηγιῶντας ἀνεὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ πεπομένους ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους εὐπορεὺν προφάσεων ἄφ’ ὧν πολεμήσουσι. μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν νεωστὶ χρύσων τοτὲ μὲν πολεμούμενοι, τοτὲ δὲ καταλυόμενοι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἔχθον ὁμος, καὶ πολλὰ κατέβαπτον τοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν ύπερβάλλοντας τὰ ὁρη κατὰ τὸ λυχνικὸν ἔθος. οὐ γε καὶ Δέκιμον Βρούτον φυγόντα ἐκ Μουτίνης ἐπρίξαντο ὅραξιν κατ’ ἀνδρὰ. Μεσσιᾶς δὲ πλησίαν αὐτῶν χειμα-
δεύσει τιμὴν ἐξίλων κατέβαλε τῶν τε καυσίμων καὶ τῶν πτελείων ἀκοινομάτων καὶ τῶν γυμνα-
στικῶν. ἐσύληταν δὲ ποτὲ καὶ χρήματα Καί-
sαρος οἱ ἄνδρες οὕτω καὶ ἐπέβαλον κρημνοὺς στρατοπέδους, πρόβασιν ὡς ὁδοποιοῦντες ἡ γεφυ-
ροῦντες ποταμοῖς. ὑστερον μὲντοι κατεστρέφατο αὐτοὺς ἄρδην ὁ Σεβαστὸς καὶ πάντας ἐλαφυροτώ-
λησε, κομισθέντας εἰς Ἐπορείαν, Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπο-
κλαν, ἄν προκόκισαν μὲν, φρονητοὶ εἶναι βουλόμενοι τοῖς Σαλασσοῖς, ὄλγον δ’ ἀντέχειν ἐδώμας τοῖς ἀντόθι ἕως ἡφαίνεσθη τὸ ἔθος. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων σωμάτων πρεσσὶ μυριάδες ἐξητάσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξαικισχιλίοις, τῶν δὲ μαχίμων ἄνδρῶν ἀκτακισχί-
λιοι, πάντας δ’ ἐπώλησε Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ύπὸ

¹ δημοσιών, Xylander, for δημοσίων; so the later editors.

¹ 43 B.C.

² About sixteen American cents, with far greater purchasing power.

³ Perhaps for “wooden swords” and the like, used in “sham battles,” as described by Polybius 10. 20.

⁴ Now Ivrea.
ment with them too. And in this way it resulted that those of the Romans who from time to time wished to lead armies and were sent to the regions in question were well provided with pretexts for war. Until quite recently, indeed, although at one time they were being warred upon by the Romans and at another were trying to bring to an end their war against the Romans, they were still powerful, and, in accordance with their custom of brigandage, inflicted much damage upon those who passed through their country over the mountains; at any rate, they exacted even from Decimus Brutus, on his flight from Mutina,¹ a toll of a drachma² per man; and when Messala was wintering near their country, he had to pay for wood, cash down, not only for his fire-wood but also for the elm-wood used for javelins and the wood used for gymnastic purposes.³ And once these men robbed even Caesar of money and threw crags upon his legions under the pretext that they were making roads or bridging rivers. Later on, however, Augustus completely overthrew them, and sold all of them as booty, after carrying them to Eporedia,⁴ a Roman colony; and although the Romans had colonised this city⁵ because they wished it to be a garrison against the Salassi, the people there were able to offer only slight opposition until the tribe, as such, was wiped out. Now although the number of the other persons⁶ captured proved to be thirty-six thousand and, of the fighting men, eight thousand, Terentius Varro, the general who overthrew them, sold all

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¹ Thus making it a “Roman colony.” This was done in 100 B.C. by order of the Sibylline Books (Pliny 3. 21).

² The non-combatants.
δόρυν, καταστρεψάμενον αὕτως στρατηγός. τρισχείλιον δὲ Ρωμαίων πέρψας ὅκισε τὴν πόλιν Αὐγούσταν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐν ὧδε στρατοπέδευσε χωρίῳ ὁ ὘υάρρων, καὶ τὸν εἰρήμην ἄγει πῦσα ἡ πλησιόχωρος μέχρι τῶν ἅρων ἔστερος τοῦ ὄρους.

8. Ἑξῆς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἐως μέχρι τῶν ὄρων καὶ τὰ ἐπιστρέφοντα πρὸς νότον Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Οὐινδολικοὶ κατέχουσι, συνάπτονται Ἑλουντίης καὶ Βοῖοις· ἐπίκεινται γὰρ τοῖς ἑκείνων πεδίοις. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥαιτοὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας καθήκουσι τῆς ὑπὲρ Οὐήρωνος καὶ Κάμου (καὶ ὁ οὖρος Ῥαιτικὸς ὄνος, τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰταλικῶς ἐπαινουμένων οὐκ ἀπολείπεται δοκῶν, ἐν ταῖς τούτων ὑποδείγμασι γίνεται), διατείνουσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν χωρίων, δὲ ὃς ὁ Ῥήνος φέρεται τοῦτον ὦ εἰς τοῦ φύλου καὶ Ληπόντιοι καὶ Καμωνοὶ. 1 οἱ δὲ Οὐινδολικοὶ καὶ Νωρίκοι τὴν ἐκτὸς παράρειαν κατέχουσι τὸ πλέον μετὰ Βρεύνων καὶ Γεναύνων, 2 ἢδη τούτων Ἰλλυρίων. Ἀπαντεὶ δὲ οὕτω καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ γειτονεύοντα μέρη κατέτρεχον ἀεὶ καὶ τῆς Ἑλουντίης καὶ Σκοσανῶν καὶ Βοίων καὶ Γερμανῶν. Ἰταμάτατοι δὲ τῶν μὲν Οὐινδολικῶν ἔχοντος Λικάττιοι καὶ Κλαυστράττιοι καὶ Οὐερίνωνες, τῶν δὲ Ῥαιτῶν Ρουκάντιοι καὶ Κατοικώντιοι. καὶ οἱ Ἑστίωνες δὲ τῶν Οὐινδολικῶν εἰσὶ καὶ Βριγάντιοι, καὶ πόλεις αὕτων Βριγάντιοι καὶ Καμβόδουνων,

1 Καμωνοὶ, Xylander, for Καμοῦνοι; so the later editors.
2 Βρεύνων and Γεναύνων, Xylander, for ΒρΈγκων and Τεννάβων; so the later editors.

1 The Greek is a translation of the Latin sub hasta.
2 Augusta Praetoria, about 24 B.C.
of them under the spear. And Caesar sent three thousand Romans and founded the city of Augusta in the place where Varro had pitched his camp, and at the present time peace is kept by all the neighbouring country as far as the highest parts of the passes which lead over the mountain.

8. Next, in order, come those parts of the mountains that are towards the east, and those that bend round towards the south: the Rhaeti and the Vindelici occupy them, and their territories join those of the Elvetii and the Boii; for their territories overlook the plains of those peoples. Now the Rhaeti reach down as far as that part of Italy which is above Verona and Comum (moreover, the "Rhaetic" wine, which has the repute of not being inferior to the approved wines of the Italic regions, is made in the foot-hills of the Rhaetic Alps), and also extend as far as the districts through which the Rhenus runs; the Lepontii, also, and Camuni, belong to this stock. But the Vindelici and Norici occupy the greater part of the outer side of the mountain, along with the Breuni and the Genauni, the two peoples last named being Illyrians. All these peoples used to overrun, from time to time, the neighbouring parts, not only of Italy, but also of the country of the Elvetii, the Sequani, the Boii and the Germans. The Licattii, the Clautenatii, and the Vennonites proved to be the boldest warriors of all the Vindelici, as did the Rucantii and the Cotuantii of all the Rhaeti. The Estiones, also, belong to the Vindelici, and so do the Brigantii, and their cities, Brigantium and Cambodunum, and

3 The Breuni and Genauni were defeated by Drusus in 17 B.C. Cp. Horace Carmina 4. 14. 10ff.
καὶ ἦ τῶν Δικαττίων ὁσπερ ἀκρόπολις Δαμασία. τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἡπαινώτας τῶν ἁρτστῶν τούτων χαλεπότητας λέγεται τι τοιοῦτον, ὡς, ἐπειδὰν ἐλωσὶ κόμην ἡ πόλις, οὐ μόνον ἡβηδὸν ἀνδροφοροῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι τῶν νηπίων προϊόντας τῶν ἁρπέων, καὶ μηδὲ ἑνταῦθα παυομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἄγκυνας γυναῖκας κτείνοντας ὅσας φαίνειν οἱ μάντεις ἀρρενοκυηῖν.

9. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους οἱ ἐγγύς ἤδη τοῦ 'Αδρια-τικοῦ μυχοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ Ἀκυληίαν τῶν νοικοῦσιν, Ὀσρικῶν τε τινές καὶ Κάρνοι τῶν ἕως Νωρικῶν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Ταυρίσκοι, πάντως δὲ ἐπανει στῶν ἀνέδην καταδρομῶν Τιβέριος καὶ ο ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ Δρόοσος θερεία μιᾷ, ὡστ' ἤδη τρίτον καὶ τριακοστὸν ἕτος ἐστὶν ἔξ ὡς καθ' ἱσχύαν ὄντες ἀπευκακτούση τοὺς φόρους. κατὰ πάσαν δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀλπεων δρεινήν ἐστὶ μὲν καὶ ἱερολοφὰ χωρία καλῶς γεωργεῖσθαι δινάμενα καὶ αὐλόδενες εὐσυνεκτισσένοι, τὸ μέντοι πλέον, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὰς κορυφάς, περὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ συνίσταντο οἱ λησταί, λυπρὸν καὶ ἀκαρπὸν διὰ ταῦτα πάχνας καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς γῆς, κατὰ σπάνιων οὐν τροφῆς τε καὶ ἀλλην ἐφείδουτο ἐσθ' ὅτε τῶν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις, ἐν' ἔχοιεν χορηγοὺς· ἀντεδίδοσαν δὲ ῥητήν, πίπταν, δάδα, κηρύ, μελέ, τυρῶν τούτων γὰρ εὐπόρουν. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν Κάρνων τὸ

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1 πάχνας, Corais, for τάχνας; so the editors in general.
also Damasia, the acropolis, as it were, of the Licatii. The stories of the severity of these brigands towards the Italiotes are to this effect: When they capture a village or city, they not only murder all males from youths up but they also go on and kill the male infants, and they do not stop there either, but also kill all the pregnant women who their seers say are pregnant with male children.

9. Directly after these people come the peoples that dwell near the recess of the Adriatic and the districts round about Aquileia, namely, the Carni as well as certain of the Norici; the Taurisci, also, belong to the Norici. But Tiberius and his brother Drusus stopped all of them from their riotous incursions by means of a single summer-campaign; so that now for thirty-three years they have been in a state of tranquillity and have been paying their tributes regularly. Now throughout the whole of the mountainous country of the Alps there are, indeed, not only hilly districts which admit of good farming, but also glens which have been well built up by settlers; the greater part, however, (and, in particular, in the neighbourhood of the mountain-crests, where, as we know, the brigands used to congregate) is wretched and unfruitful, both on account of the frosts and of the ruggedness of the soil. It was because of scarcity, therefore, of both food and other things that they sometimes would spare the people in the plains, in order that they might have people to supply their wants; and in exchange they would give resin, pitch, torch-pine, wax, honey, and cheese—for with these things they were well supplied. Above the Carni lies the
STRABO

'Απέννυνον Όρος, λίμνην ἐχον ἐξειδεῖσαν εἰς τὸν
*Ισαραν ποταμόν, δύο παραλαβῶν Ἄταγίν
ἀλλον ποταμὸν εἰς τὸν 'Αδρίαν ἐκβάλλει. ἐκ δὲ
tῆς αὐτῆς λίμνης καὶ ἄλλος ποταμὸς εἰς τὸν
Ἰστρον ἔθει, καλούμενος 'Ατησινός. καὶ γὰρ ὁ
Ἰστρος τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τούτων λαμβάνει τῶν
ὄρων, πολυσχιδών ὑπὸν καὶ πολυκεφάλων. μέχρι
μὲν γὰρ δεύτερο ἀπὸ τῆς Λιγυστικῆς συνεχῆ τὰ
νήσηλα τῶν Άλπεων διέτεινε καὶ ἐνὸς ὄρους φαντα-
σιαν παρείχεν, εἰτ' ἀνεβέτα ταὶ ταπεινωθέντα
ἐξαιρεται πάλιν εἰς πλεῖον μέρη καὶ πλειονος
κορυφῶν, πρώτῃ δὲ ἔστι τούτων ἡ τοῦ 'Ρήμου
πέραν καὶ τῆς λίμνης κεκλιμένη πρὸς ἐως ὑάρχις

1 For 'Απέννυνον, Casaubon, Grokudur, and Corais read
Πολύνυν; Gosselin conj. Ἀλπιον; C. Müller Οὐεννύνων.
2 For *Ισαραν probably Ἰσάραν or Ἰσάργαν should be
read (C. Müller and A. Jacob); Meineke reads Ἀισανός.
3 For Ἀτησινός C. Müller conj. Ἄλνος, A. Jacob, ὁτὸς
Ἀλνος; Meineke reads Ἰσάρας.

1 By "the Apennine Mountain" (both here and a few
lines below) Strabo cannot mean the Apennine Range.
Whatever the mountain may be, it must lie above both the
Carni and the Vindelici; and, except in a very loose sense,
no one mountain can fulfil both conditions. To amend to
"Poeninus" (the Pennine Alps; see 4. 6. 7), as do Casaubon,
Corais, and others, does not help matters at all. In fact,
the context seems to show that Strabo has in mind the Carnic
(Julian) Alps. But both this and the names of rivers, as
the MSS. stand, are almost hopelessly inconsistent.
2 But the "Isaras" (Isar) empties into the Ister (Danube),
not the Adrias (Adriatic); and it is in no sense con-
nected with the Atagis. It is altogether probable that
Strabo wrote "Isarkas" (or "Isargas")—that is, the Latin
"Isarcus" (or "Isargus")—which is now the "Eisach."
3 By "Atagis" (the Greek for the "Adige" of to-day)
Strabo must refer to one or the other of the two source-
Apennine Mountain, which has a lake that issues forth into the River Isaras, which, after having received another river, the Atagis, empties into the Adriatic. But there is also another river, called the Atesinus, which flows into the Ister from the same lake. The Ister too, in fact, takes its beginning in these mountains, for they are split into many parts and have many peaks; that is, from Liguria up to this point, the lofty parts of the Alps run in an unbroken stretch and present the appearance of one mountain, and then break up and diminish in height, and in turn rise again into more and more parts, and more and more crests. Now the first of these is that ridge, on the far side of the Rhenus and the lake, which

rivers—the Etsch (or Adige) and Eisach—which meet at Botzen, and from there on constitute what is also called the Etsch (or Adige), the Eisach losing its identity. But if Strabo wrote "Isarkas" (Eisach) instead of "Isaras," he made the other source-river its tributary; hence, since it is the "Atagis," and not the Eisach, that traverses the lake (or rather, to-day, three lakes—Reschen See, Mitter See, and Heider See), we may assume that the copyists have exchanged the positions of "Isarkas" and "Atagis" in the Greek text (Groskurd and others read accordingly), or else, what is more likely, Strabo himself confused the two, just as he confused the Durias Major and Durias Minor in 4. 6. 5 (see also footnote).

4 The "Atesinus" certainly cannot be identified with the "Atesia" (Hülser so identifies it, Pauly-Wissowa, p. 1924) if it empties into the Ister. According to C. Müller (whom A. Jacob follows, Revue de Philologie 36, p. 167), the "Atesinus" is the "Aenus" (the Inn); in this case, says Jacob, the "Stille Buch," which has its source very near the lakes traversed by the Etsch, was formerly taken for the source-stream of the Inn.

5 This ridge is that which traverses Suabia from south to north, east of, and parallel to, the Rhine; "the lake" appears to be Lake Constance.
μετρίως υψηλή, ὅπου αἰ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ πηγαῖ πλη-
σίον Σοήβων καὶ τοῦ Ἐρκυνίου ὄρμοι. ἄλλας
δὲ εἰσὶν ἐπιστρέφουσι πρὸς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα καὶ
τῶν Ἀδρίαν, δύν ἐστὶ τὸ τε Ἀπέννινον ὄρος τὸ
λεγθέν καὶ τὸ Τοῦλλον καὶ Φλυγαδία, τὰ ὑπερ-
κείμενα τῶν Ὀὐνδολικῶν, εἰς δὲ ὁ Δούρας καὶ
Κλάνες καὶ ἄλλους πλείους χαρακτρώδεις ποταμοὶ
συμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ὰείθρον.

10. Καὶ οἱ Ἰάποδες δὲ (ἡδὴ τοῦτο ἐπήκυκτον
Ἰλλυρίοις καὶ Κελτοῖς ἐθνοῖς) περὶ τούτους
οἴκουσι τοὺς τόπους, καὶ ἡ Ὀκρα πλησίου τούτων
ἐστίν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἰάποδες, πρῶτον εὐανδροῦντες
καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τὴν οἰκησίαν ἔχοντες
καὶ τοὺς λησθήσοντος ἐπικρατοῦντες, ἐκπεπονήθησαν
τελέως ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος καταπολεμή-
θέντες. πόλεις δ’ αὐτῶν Μέτουλον, Ἀρουπίνοι,
Μουήτιον, Οὐένδων. μεθ’ οὖς ἡ Σεγεστική πόλις
ἐν πεδίῳ, παρ’ ἢν ὁ Ξαὸς παραρρεῖ ποταμός,
ἐκδιδόναι εἰς τὸν Ἰστρον. κεῖται δὲ ἡ πόλις εὐφυῶς
πρὸς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Δακῶν πόλεμον. ἡ δ’ Ὀκρα
tὸ ταπεινώτατον μέρος τῶν Ἀλπεῶν ἐστὶ καθ’ ὁ
συναπτοῦσι τοῖς Κάρνεις καὶ δὲ οὖ τὰ ἐκ τῆς
Ἀκυλητίας φορτία κομίζουσιν ἀρματίζοις εἰς τὸν
καλούμενον Ναὐπορτον, σταδίων ὀδὸν οὐ πολὺ

1 Corais reads ἐκάτερον for ἐκάτερα; so in general the later
editors.
2 Οὐένδων, Corais, for Οὐένδων, comparing Οὐένδων 7. 5. 4.
3 Ξαὸς, Meineke, for Ἔρνος αὐτός; Xylander and others
had read Ξαος.
4 Ναὐπορτον, Casaubon, for Πάμπορτον; so the editors in
general.

1 The Black Forest. 2 Also spelled “Iapydes.”
leans towards the east—a ridge only moderately high, in which, near the Suevi and the Hercynian Forest, are the sources of the Ister. And there are other ridges which bend round towards Illyria and the Adriatic, among which are the Apennine Mountain above-mentioned and also the Tullum and Phligadia, the mountains which lie above the Vindelici, whence flow the Duras and Clanis and several other torrential rivers which join the stream of the Ister.

10. And further, the Iapodes (we now come to this mixed tribe of Illyrii and Celti) dwell round about these regions; and Mount Ocra is near these people. The Iapodes, then, although formerly they were well supplied with strong men and held as their homeland both sides of the mountain and by their business of piracy held sway over these regions, have been vanquished and completely outdone by Augustus Caesar. Their cities are: Metulum, Arupini, Monetium, and Vendo. After the Iapodes comes Segestica, a city in the plain, past which flows the River Saūs, which empties into the Ister. The situation of the city is naturally well-suited for making war against the Daci. The Ocra is the lowest part of the Alps in that region in which the Alps join the country of the Carni, and through which the merchandise from Aquileia is conveyed in wagons to what is called Nauportus (over a road

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3 Cp. 7. 5. 2. 4 Cp. 4. 6. 1.
5 Strabo is not clear here. He means (1) by "mountain," not "Ocra," but "Albius," and (2) by "both sides" (of the Albius, on which the Iapodes lived), (a) the side towards the Pannonii and the Danube, and (b) the side towards the Adriatic (see 4. 6. 1 and especially 7. 5. 4).
6 The Saūs.
πλείόνων ἢ τετρακοσίων ἐκείθεν δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν κατάγεται μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ καὶ τῶν ταύτης χωρίων. παραρρέει γάρ ὅτι τὸν Ναυπόρτον ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος φερόμενος πλωτός, ἐκβάλλει δ’ εἰς τὸν Σάον, ὡστ’ εὐμαρὸς εἰς τὴν Σεγεστίκην κατάγεται καὶ τῶν Παννονίων καὶ Ταυρίσκους. συμβάλλει δ’ εἰς τὸν Σάον κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ Κόλπα. άμφότεροι δ’ εἰσὶ πλωτοὶ, ἰένοι καὶ Τοῦ τῶν Ἀλπεων. ἦχουσι δ’ αἰ Ἀλπεῖς καὶ Ιππούς ἀγρόν καὶ βοῖς. φησὶ δὲ Πολύβιος καὶ ἰδιόμορφον τι γεννᾶσθαι ἔδον ἐν αὐταῖς, ἑλαφοεῖδες τὸ σχῆμα πλὴν αὐχενίως καὶ τριχῶτας, ταῦτα δ’ ἐσκέπασθαι κάπρῳ, ὅποι δὲ τῷ γενέσθω πυρῆμα ἑσχειν ὅσον σπιθαμαίον ἀκρόκομον πωλεῖ χής κέρκου τὸ πάχος.

11. Γὸν δ’ ὑπερβήσεων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν ἐξω Κελτικὴν καὶ τὴν προσάρκτιον ἡ διὰ Σαλασσῶν ἐστιν ἄγονσα ἐπὶ Δοῦγδουνον διήτη δ’ ἐστὶν, ἡ μὲν ἀμφίπλεοντας δυναμένη διὰ μῆκους πλείονος, ἡ διὰ Κεντρώων, ἡ δὲ ὀρθιὰ καὶ στενή, σύντομος δὲ ἡ διὰ τοῦ Ποινίου. τὸ δὲ Δοῦγδουνον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς χώρας ἐστὶν, ὡσπερ ἀκρόπολις, διὰ τὰς συμβολὰς τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι πάσι τοῖς μέρεσι. διόπερ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐντεῦθεν τὰς ὄδους ἐτεμε, τὴν διὰ τῶν Κεμένων

1 Ναυπόρτον, Casaubon, for Πάμπορτον; so the editors in general. See 7. 5. 2.

1 The Corcoras (Gurk); see 7. 5. 2.
2 “Taurisci” is probably an error of copyists for “Scordisci” (see 7. 5. 2).
3 The Kulpa.
4 Segestica.

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of not much more than four hundred stadia); from here, however, it is carried down by the rivers as far as the Ister and the districts in that part of the country; for there is, in fact, a river which flows past Nauportus; it runs out of Illyria, is navigable, and empties into the Saüs, so that the merchandise is easily carried down to Segestica and the country of the Pannonii and Taurisci. And the Colapis too joins the Saüs near the city; both are navigable and flow from the Alps. The Alps have both cattle and wild horses. Polybius says that there is also produced in the Alps an animal of special form; it is like a deer in shape, except for its neck and growth of hair (in these respects, he says, it resembles a boar), and beneath its chin it has a sac about a span long with hair at the tip, the thickness of a colt’s tail.

11. Among the passes which lead over from Italy to the outer—or northerly—Celtica, is the one that leads through the country of the Salassi, to Lugdunum; it is a double pass, one branch, that through the Centrones, being practicable for wagons through the greater part of its length, while the other, that through the Poeninus, is steep and narrow, but a short cut. Lugdunum is in the centre of the country—an acropolis, as it were, not only because the rivers meet there, but also because it is near all parts of the country. And it was on this account, also, that Agrippa began at Lugdunum when he cut his roads—that which passes through

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5 Polybius seems to refer to the European elk (cervus alces), which is no longer to be found in the Alps; or possibly to the Alpine ibex (capra ibex), which is almost extinct.

6 Cp. 4. 6. 7.
The Lake of Geneva, which is traversed by the Rhone.

2 Strabo’s brevity is again confusing. He suddenly shifts his standpoint from Lugdunum to the Pceninus. He has in mind two roads: (1) The road which ran through the Pceninus to the Rhodanus (at the eastern end of Lake Geneva), crossed the river, circled round the lake, crossed again at the other end, and then followed the Rhodanus to Lugdunum; and (2) a road that branched off from the same
the Cemmenus Mountains as far as the Santoni and Aquitania, and that which leads to the Rhenus, and, a third, that which leads to the ocean (the one that runs by the Bellovaci and the Ambiani); and, a fourth, that which leads to Narbonitis and the Massilian seaboard. And there is also, again, in the Poeninus itself (if you leave on your left Lugdunum and the country that lies above it), a bye-road which, after you cross the Rhodanus or Lake Lemenna, leads into the plains of the Helvetii; and thence there is a pass through the Jura Mountain over to the country of the Sequani and also to that of the Lingones; moreover, the thoroughfares through these countries branch off both ways—both towards the Rhenus and towards the ocean.

12. Polybius further says that in his own time there was found, about opposite Aquileia in the country of the Noric Taurisci, a gold mine so well-suited for mining that, if one scraped away the surface-soil for a depth of only two feet, he found forthwith dug-gold, and that the diggings were never deeper than fifteen feet; and he goes on to say that part of the gold is immediately pure, in sizes of a bean or a lupine, when only the eighth part is boiled away, and that although the rest needs more smelting, the smelting is very profitable; and that two months after the Italiotes joined them in working the mine, the price of gold suddenly at some point north of the lake into the plains of the Helvetii.

3 Cp. § 9 above.

4 Strabo here, as elsewhere (e.g. 3. 2. 8-10), carefully distinguishes between (1) metals that have to be dug up from beneath the surface-soil, (2) those in the surface-soil itself, and (3) those washed down by the rivers.
εὐωνύτερον γενέσθαι τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει καθ' ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, αὐσθομένους δὲ τοῖς Ταυρίσκους μονοπολεῖν ἐκβαλόντας τοὺς συνεργαζομένους. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἀπαντά τὰ χρυσεία ὑπὸ Ἑρμαῖος ἐστὶ κανταθὰ δ', ὡσπερ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, φέρουσι οἱ ποταμοὶ χρυσοῦ ψῆφιμα, πρὸς τῷ ὄρκῳ, οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἄνωρ περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν 'Ἀλπεων καὶ τοῦ ύψους λέγων παραβιάλλει τὰ ἐν τοῖς Ἕλληνων ὠρῇ τὰ μέγιστα, τὸ Ταύγητον, τὸ Λύκαιον, Παρνασσόν, Ὀλυμπον, Πήλιον, Ὀσσαν ἐν δὲ Θρῆκη Λίμον, Ῥόδοπην, Δούνακα: καὶ φησιν ὅτι τούτων μὲν ἔκαστον μικροῦ δεῖν αὐθημερὸν εὐξώνοις ἀναβήναι δυνατόν, αὐθημερὸν δὲ καὶ περιελθέν, τὰς δ' Ἀλπεῖς οὐδ' ἀν πεμπταῖος ἀναβαίη τίς: τὸ δὲ μῆκός ἐστι δισχυλών καὶ διακοσίων σταδίων τὸ παρηκτικὸν παρὰ τὰ πεδία. τέτταρας δ' ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον διὰ Δυνύμων μὲν τὴν ἐγκυστα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει, εἶτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἢν 'Αννίβας διήλθεν, εἶτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν διὰ 'Ραιτῶν, ἀπάσας κρημνώδεις. λίμνας δὲ εἶναι φησιν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι πλείους μέν, τρεῖς δὲ μεγάλαις ὄν ἡ μὲν Βήνακος ἔχει μῆκος πεντακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τριάκοντα, ἐκεῖ ὕπερ ὑπὸ ποταμὸς Μύγκιος.

1 BCI read πεντάκοντα (ν' instead of λ').

1 Cp. 3. 2. 10. 2 See 3. 2. 8. 3 Polybius 2. 14. 4 The plains of Italy (as Polybius says). 5 Polybius (3. 56) does not say where Hannibal crossed the Alps, although he says that Hannibal, after crossing the Alps, "entered the valley of the Padus and the territory of the Insubres." Both the ancient writers and modern scholars differ as to where Hannibal crossed. The reader is referred
became a third less throughout the whole of Italy, but when the Taurisci learned this they cast out their fellow-workers and carried on a monopoly. Now, however, all the gold mines are under the control of the Romans. And here, too, just as in Iberia, in addition to the dug-gold, gold-dust is brought down by the rivers—not, however, in such quantities as there. The same man, in telling about the size and the height of the Alps, contrasts with them the greatest mountains among the Greeks: Taygetus, Lycaeus, Parnassus, Olympus, Pelion, Ossa; and in Thrace: Haemus, Rhodope, Dunax; and he says it is possible for people who are unencumbered to ascend any one of these mountains on the same day almost, and also to go around any one of them on the same day, whereas one cannot ascend the Alps even in five days; and their length is two thousand two hundred stadia, that is, their length at the side, along the plains. But he only names four passes over the mountains: the pass through the Ligures (the one that is nearest the Tyrrhenian Sea), then that through the Taurini, which Hannibal crossed, then that through the Salassi, and the fourth, that through the Rhaeti,—all of them precipitous passes. And as for lakes, he says that there are several in the mountains, but that only three are large: one of these, Lake Benacus, has a length of five hundred stadia and a breadth of thirty, from which flows the Mincius River; the next, Lake


7 Some MSS. read "fifty." 4 Lago di Garda.
8 The Mincio.
δ' ἐξῆς Ὠὐερβανὸς τετρακοσίων, πλάτος δὲ στενοτέρα τῆς πρότερον, ἐξῆς ὡς ποταμὸν τὸν Ἀδριανὸν τρίτη δὲ Δάριος ἐγγὺς τριακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τριάκοντα, ποταμὸν δὲ ἐξῆς μέγαν Τίκινον πάντες δὲ εἰς τὸν Πάδον συνέχουσιν. τοσάτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄρων ἔχομεν λέγειν τῶν Ἀλπειῶν.

1 The MSS. read Δάριον.
2 BCί read πεντάκοντα (ν' instead of λ').
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 6. 12

Verbanus, \(^1\) four hundred in length, and narrower in breadth than the former, which sends forth the River Addua \(^2\); and, third, Lake Larius, \(^3\) in length nearly three hundred stadia, and in breadth thirty, \(^4\) which sends forth a large river, the Ticinus \(^5\); and all three rivers flow into the Padus. This, then, is what I have to say about the Alpine Mountains.

\(^1\) Lago Maggiore.  \(^2\) The Adda.

Polybius, if correctly quoted, has made the mistake of exchanging the positions of “Larius” and “Verbanus.” Certainly Strabo himself knew that it was from Larius (Lago di Como) that the Addua (Adda) flowed (4. 3. 3, 4. 6. 6, and 5. 1. 6), and he also knew the course of the Ticinus (5. 1. 11). Yet Strabo himself (4. 3. 3) blundered greatly in making the Addua flow from Mt. Adula.

\(^3\) Some MSS. read “fifty.”  \(^4\) The Ticino.
BOOK V
Ε' 

I

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπώρειαν τῶν 'Αλπεων ἄρχῃ τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας. οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ τὴν Οἴνωτριαν ἐκάλουν Ἰταλίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πορθμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Ταραντίνου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδωνιάτου διήκουσαν, ἐπικρατήσαν δὲ τούνομα καὶ μέχρι τῆς ὑπώρειας τῶν 'Αλπεων προύβη, προσέλαβε δὲ καὶ τῆς Διοτουκίης τὰ μέχρι Οὐάρου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ταύτης θαλάττης ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων τῶν Τυρρηνικῶν καὶ τῆς Ἰστρίας μέχρι Πόλας. εἰκάσαι δ' ἂν τις εὐτυχίσαντας τοὺς πρῶτους δυναμικῶν τῆς Ἰταλοῦς μεταδοθέντας Ἰταλοὺς μεταδοθεῖν καὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους, εἰδ' ούτως ἐπίδοσιν λαβεῖν μέχρι τῆς 'Ρωμαίων ἐπικρατείας. οὔτε δὲ ποτέ ἢ φ' οὐ μετέδοσαν 'Ρωμαίους τῶν Ἰταλιώτατων τὴν ίδιοπολιτείαν, ἐδοξε καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς 'Αλπεων Ἰαλάταις καὶ Ἐνετοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπονεῖμαι τιμήν, προσαγορεύσαι δὲ καὶ Ἰταλιώτας πάντας καὶ 'Ρωμαίους, ἀποικίας τε πολλὰς στείλαι, τὰς μὲν πρῶτον τὰς δ' ὕστερον, ὃν οὐ βίδιον εἴπειν ἀμέλειον ἠτέρας.

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1 Gulf of Salerno.
2 "Ligustica" is "Liguria" in the broadest sense (see 4. 6. 3).
3 Gauls.
4 That is, "Veneti." The spelling in the MSS. is some-
BOOK V

I

1. After the foothills of the Alps comes the beginning of what is now Italy. For the ancients used to call only Oenotria Italy, although it extended from the Strait of Sicily only as far as the Gulfs of Tarentum and Poseidonia, but the name of Italy prevailed and advanced even as far as the foothills of the Alps, and also took in, not only those parts of Ligustica which extend from the boundaries of Tyrrhenia as far as the Varus River and the sea there, but also those parts of Istria which extend as far as Pola. One might guess that it was because of their prosperity that the people who were the first to be named Italians imparted the name to the neighbouring peoples, and then received further increments in this way until the time of the Roman conquest. At some late time or other after the Romans had shared with the Italiotes the equality of civic rights, they decided to allow the same honour both to the Cisalpine Galatae and to the Heneti, and to call all of them Italiotes as well as Romans, and, further, to send forth many colonies amongst them, some earlier and some later, than which it is not easy to call any other set of colonies better.

*times "Heneti" (e.g. here and in 3. 2. 13), sometimes "Eneti" (e.g. in 1. 3. 2 and 1. 3. 21).*
2. Ἐνὶ μὲν οὖν σχῆματι σύμπασαν τὴν μὲν Ἰταλίαν οὐ βάδιον περιλαβεῖν γεωμετρικῶς, καὶ τοι φασὶν ἄκραν εἶναι τρίγωνον ἐκκειμένην πρὸς νότον καὶ χειμερινὰς ἀνατολάς, κορυφουμένην δὲ πρὸς τῷ Σικελικῷ πορθῷ, βάσιν δὲ ἔχουσαν τὰς Ἀλπεῖς· συγχωρῆσαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ τῶν πλευρῶν μίαν, τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Πορθὺν τελευτῶσαν, κλυξόμενην δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους. τρίγωνον δὲ ἰδίως τὸ εὐθύγραμμον καλεῖται σχῆμα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἡ βάσις καὶ ἡ πλευρὰ 1 περιφερείς εἴσιν, ὡστε, εἴ φημι δεῖν συγχωρεῖν, περιφερευράμμου σχήματος θετέον καὶ τὴν βάσιν καὶ τὴν πλευράν, συγχωρητέον δὲ καὶ τὴν λαξωσιν ταύτης τῆς πλευρᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολάς. τάλλα δ' οὖν ἰκανῶς εἰρήκασιν, ὑποθέμενοι μίαν πλευρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Ἀδρίου μέχρι τοῦ Πορθμοῦ· πλευρὰν γὰρ λέγομεν τὴν ἀγάποιν γραμμῆν, ἄγαννος δ' ἐστὶν ὅταν μὴ συνευή σπὶς ἄλλης τὰ μέρη, ἡ μή ἐπὶ πολὺ. ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀριμύνου ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν Ἱαπυγίαν καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πορθμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἄκραν πάμπολύ τι συνυποιόωσιν. ὡμοίως δ' ἔχειν οὐσίας καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱαπυγίας· συμπληροῦσαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀριμύνου καὶ Ῥαοῦνον τόπους γονίαν ποιούσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ γονίαν, περιφερείαν γε ἀξιόλογον. ὡστ', εἴ ἄρα, τοῦτ ἄν εἴη μία πλευρὰ

1 δὲ, Jones inserts (as in 1. 3. 7, ταῦτα δὲ δεῖ; op. also 1. 1. 20, ὑποθέσας δεῖ). Groakurd, Kramer, Meineke and others unnecessarily insert συγχωρῆσαι μὴν οὖν δεῖ τὴν βάσιν before the συγχωρῆσαι of the text.

2 ἡ βάσις καὶ ἡ πλευρὰ, Kramer, for al βάσεις καὶ al πλευρά; so the later editors.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 1. 2

2. Now it is not easy geometrically to outline what is now Italy, as a whole, by means of a single figure, and yet they\(^1\) say it is a triangular promontory extending towards the south and the winter-risings of the sun, with its vertex at the Strait of Sicily, and with the Alps as its base. I must concede also\(^2\) one of the sides, namely, that which ends at the strait and is washed by the Tyrrhenian Sea. But "triangle" is the specific name for the rectilinear figure, whereas in this case both the base and the side are curved, so that, if I say "I must concede," I must put down both the base and the side as belonging to a curved-line figure, and I must concede also the slant of this side, namely, the slant towards the risings.\(^3\) But as for the rest of the description given by these writers, it is inadequate, because they have assumed only a single side extending from the recess of the Adriatic to the strait; for by "side" we mean the line that has no angle, and a line has no angle when its parts either do not converge towards one another or else not much. But the line from Ariminum\(^4\) to the Iapygian Cape\(^5\) and that from the strait to the same cape converge very much. And the same holds true, I think, with the line from the recess of the Adriatic and that from Iapygia; for, meeting in the regions round about Ariminum and Ravenna, they form an angle, or, if not an angle, at least a considerable curve. Hence this stretch might perhaps be one side

\(^1\) Among others, Polybius (2. 14), whose account should be read in this connection.

\(^2\) That is, in addition to the base.

\(^3\) The winter-risings, of course, as previously said.

\(^4\) Now Rimini.

\(^5\) Now Capo di Lenea.
ὁ παράπλους ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν, οὐκ εὐθείᾳ. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὸ ἐνθέω τοῖς Πορθμοῦν ἄλλην ἄν ὑπογράφοιε τλευρᾶν, οὔδε ταύτην εὐθείᾳ. οὕτω δὲ τετράπλευρον μᾶλλον ἢ τριπλευρον φαίνῃ τις ἀν τῷ σχῆμα, τρύγωνον δὲ οὐδεσσοῦν, πλὴν εἰ καταχρώμενος. Βέλτιον δ' ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι τῶν ἄγεωμετρήτων σχημάτων οὐκ ἐνπερίγραφος ἢ ἀπόδοσις.

3. Κατὰ μέρος δ' οὕτως εἰπεῖν δυνατόν, ὅτι τῶν μὲν Ἀλπεων περιφερής ἡ ὑπωρείαι ἔστε καὶ κολπώδης, τὰ κοιλὰ ἔχουσα ἐστραμμένα πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τοῦ δὲ κολποῦ τὰ μὲν μέσα πρὸς τοῖς Σαλασσοῖς ἔστε, τὰ δ' ἀκρα ἐπιστεροφην λαμβάνει, τὰ μὲν μέχρι τῆς Ἑκρας καὶ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδριαν, τὰ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀγριστικὴν παραλίαν μέλρι Γενώοις, τοῦ τῶν Ἀγώνων ἐμπορίου, ὅπου τὰ Ἀπέννινα ὄρη συνάπτει ταῖς Ἀλπεσίν. ὑπόκειται δ' εὐθὺς πεδίων ἀξιόλογον, πάρισις πως ἔχον τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος, σταδίων ἕκατον καὶ διςχλῶν' τὸ δὲ μεσημβρινὸν αὐτοῦ πλευρὸν κλείεται τῇ τε τῶν Ἑνετῶν παραλίας καὶ τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις ὄρεσι τοῖς περὶ Ἀρκιμυν καὶ Ἀγκώνα καθήκουσι ταῦτα γὰρ ἀρξάμενα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγριστικῆς εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐμβάλλει, στενὴν παραλίαν ἀπολείποντα: εἰτ' ἀναχωροῦνται εἰς τὴν μεσογαίαν κατ' ὀλίγον, ἑπειδὴ ἡγεῖται κατὰ τὴν Πισιτίν, ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ἑω καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδριαν ἐως τῶν περὶ Ἀρκιμυν καὶ Ἀγκώνα τόπων, συνάπτοντα ἐπὶ εὐθείας τῇ τῶν Ἑνετῶν παραλίας. ἡ μὲν

1 οὐκ, after σχηματων, all editors insert, from man. sec. in B.
2 Ἑκρας, Casaubon, for Ἑκρας; so the later editors.
I mean the coasting-voyage from the recess to Iapygia), though the side would not be straight; and the rest of the stretch, thence to the strait, might suggest another side, though this side would not be straight, either. In this sense one might call the figure “four-sided” rather than “three-sided,” but in no sense whatever a “triangle,” except by an abuse of the term. It is better, however, to confess that the representation of non-geometrical figures is not easy to describe.

3. Taking the parts severally, however, we can speak as follows: as for the Alps, their base is curved and gulf-like, with the cavities turned towards Italy; the central parts of the gulf are near the Salassi, while the extremities take a turn, the one as far as Ocra¹ and the recess of the Adriatic, the other to the Ligurian seacoast as far as Genua (the emporium of the Ligures), where the Apennine Mountains join the Alps. But immediately at the base of the Alps there lies a considerable plain, with its length and its breadth about equal, namely, two thousand one hundred stadia; its southern side is shut in both by the seacoast of the Heneti and by those Apennine Mountains which reach down to the neighbourhood of Ariminum and Ancona; for these mountains, after beginning in Liguria, enter Tyrrenien, leaving only a narrow seacoast, and then, withdrawing into the interior little by little, when they come to be opposite the territory of Pisa, bend towards the east and towards the Adriatic until they reach the regions round about Ariminum and Ancona, there joining in a straight line the seacoast of the Heneti. Cisalpine Celtica,

¹ Mt. Ocra (4. 6. 1 and 4. 6. 10).
oùν ἔντος Ἀλπεων Κελτικὴ τοῦτος κλείεται τοῖς ὀροίς, καὶ ἔστι τῆς μὲν παραλίας τὸ μῆκος ὅσον τριακοσίων σταδίων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἕξακισχιλίοις μετὰ ¹ τῶν ὄρων, μικρὸν δὲ ἐλαττοῦ τὸ πλάτος τῶν χιλίων. ² ἡ λωτῆς δ’ Ἰταλία στενὴ καὶ παραμῆκης ἐστὶ, κορυφουμένη διαχώς, τῇ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Σικελικὸν πορθμὸν τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν σφυγγομένη δ’ ἐκατέρωθεν, τῇ μὲν ύπὸ τοῦ Ἀδρίου τῇ δ’ ύπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους. ἔστι δ’ ὅμοιον τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τῇ ἀφορίζομένη τοῖς τῆς Ἀπευνώνος ὅρεσι καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐκατέρω μέχρι τῆς Ἰαπυγίας καὶ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ταραντίνον καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδωνίτην κόλπον· τὸ τε γὰρ πλάτος τὸ μέγιστον ἄμφοτε ἐστὶ περὶ χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων σταδίων, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἐλαττοῦ ὑπὸ πολὺ τῶν ἕξακισχιλίων. ἡ λωτῆς δ’ ἐστὶν ὅσον κατέχουσι Βρέττιοι καὶ Λευκανδῶν τινες. φησὶ δὲ Πολύβιος, πεζῇ μὲν εἰσὶν τὴν παραλίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰαπυγίας μέχρι Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρισχιλίων σταδίων, κλύστηται δ’ αὐτῆν τῷ Σικελικῷ πελάγει, πλέοντι δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίων δέουσαν. τὰ δὲ Ἀπευνώνα ὅρη συνάψαντα τοὺς περὶ Ἀρίμμων καὶ Ἁγκώνα τόποις καὶ ἀφορίζαντα

¹ metá, before τῶν ὄρων (from man. sec. in B and from ko); so the editors in general.
² For χιλίων, Kramer (from conj. of Casaubon) writes δισχιλίων; so the later editors.

1 Polybius (2. 14) frankly calls the part of Italy now discussed by Strabo a “triangle,” giving these dimensions: “The northern side, formed by the Alps, 2200 stadia; the southern, formed by the Apennines, 3600; the base, the seaboard of the Adriatic, from Siena to the recess of the gulf, more than 2500.” Strabo, on the other hand, refuses thus
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 1. 3

accordingly, is shut in by these boundaries; and although the length of the seashore, together with that of the mountains, is as much as six thousand three hundred stadia,\(^1\) the breadth is slightly less than one thousand.\(^2\) The remainder of Italy, however, is narrow and elongated, terminating in two heads, one at the Sicilian Strait and the other at Iapygia; and it is pinched in on both sides, on one by the Adriatic and on the other by the Tyrrenian Sea. The shape and the size of the Adriatic are like that part of Italy which is marked off by the Apennine Mountains and by both seas as far as Iapygia and that isthmus which is between the Gulfs of Tarentum and Poseidonia; for the maximum breadth of each is about one thousand three hundred stadia, and the length not much less than six thousand.\(^3\) The remainder of Italy, however, is all the country occupied by the Brettii and certain of the Leucani. Polybius\(^4\) says that, if you go by foot, the seashore from Iapygia to the strait is as much as three thousand stadia, and that it is washed by the Sicilian Sea, but that, if you go by sea, it is as much as five hundred stadia short of that. The Apennine Mountains, after joining the regions round about Ariminum and Ancona, that is, after marking to misuse the word “triangle,” for he conceives of what he has previously called “the southern side” as curved and otherwise irregular.

\(^1\) The editors have emended “one thousand” to “two thousand,” in order to make the figures consistent with “two thousand one hundred” above. But Strabo is now thinking, apparently, of the breadth across the southern side (not the northern side at the base of the Alps); that is, the breadth of Celtica Cispadana, for which the one thousand is a very close estimate.

\(^2\) Cp. 2. 5. 20.

\(^3\) 34. 11.
τὸ ταῦτην ἡπλὸς τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐπιστροφὴν λαμβάνει πάλιν καὶ τέμνει τὴν χώραν ὅλην ἐπὶ μῆκος. μέχρι μὲν δὲ Πενεκέτιων καὶ Δευκάνων οὐ πολὺ ἀφίσταται τοῦ Ἀδρίου, συνάψαντα δὲ Δευκάνοις ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν θάλατταν ἀποκλίνει μᾶλλον, καὶ λοιπῶν διὰ μέσων τῶν Δευκάνων καὶ Βρεττίων διεξόντα τελευτὰ πρὸς τὴν Δευκάπετραν τῆς Ῥηγίνης καλομένην. τυπωδὸς μὲν οὖν εἰρηται περὶ τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας ἀπάσης ταῦτα: πειρασὸμεθα δὲ ἀναλαβόντες εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν καθ’ ἐκαστα, καὶ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς Ἀλπέσιν.

C 212  4. "Εστι δὲ πεδίου σφόδρα εὐθαμόνοι καὶ γεωλο-φιάσεις εὐκάρπως πεποικιλμένου. διαρεῖ δ’ αὐτὸ μέσων πως ὁ Πάδος, καὶ καλεῖται τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πάδου, τὸ δὲ πέραν ἐντὸς μὲν ὅσον ἐστὶ πρὸς τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις ὅρσης καὶ τῇ Δυσαντικῇ, πέραν δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν, οἰκεῖται δὲ τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Δυσαντικῶν ἑθῶν καὶ τῶν Κελτικῶν, τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅρσεις οἰκούντων τῶν δ’ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις, τὸ δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ Ἑνετῶν. οἱ μὲν οὐν Κελτοὶ τοῖς ὑπερ-αλπίως ὀμοιοθεύεις εἰσι, περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἑνετῶν διττῶς ἐστι λόγος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὺς φασίν εἶναι Κελτῶν ἀποίκους τῶν ὄμων ὑμῶν παρωκαςυμβόων, οἱ δ’ ἐκ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου μετ’ Ἀντήνορος σωθῆναι δεύρο φασί τῶν ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας

1 ταῦτη, Coralis, for ταῦτης; so the later editors.
off the breadth of Italy there from sea to sea, again take a turn, and cut the whole country lengthwise. As far, then, as the territory of the Peucetii and that of the Leucani they do not recede much from the Adriatic, but after joining the territory of the Leucani they bend off more towards the other sea and then, for the rest of the way, passing throughout the centre of the territory of the Leucani and Brettii, end at what is called Leucopetra\textsuperscript{1} in the district of Rhegium. Thus much, then, I have said about what is now Italy, as a whole, in a merely rough-outline way, but I shall now go back and try to tell about the several parts in detail; and first about the parts at the base of the Alps.

4. This country is a plain that is very rich in soil and diversified by fruitful hills. The plain is divided almost at its very centre by the Padus; and its parts are called, the one Cispadana, the other Transpadana.\textsuperscript{2} Cispadana is all the part that lies next to the Apennine Mountains and Liguria, while Transpadana is the rest. The latter is inhabited by the Ligurian and the Celtic tribes, who live partly in the mountains, partly in the plains, whereas the former is inhabited by the Ce'ii and Heneti. Now these Celti are indeed of the same race as the Transalpine Celti, but concerning the Heneti there are two different accounts: Some say that the Heneti too are colonists of those Celti of like name\textsuperscript{3} who live on the ocean-coast; while others say that certain of the Heneti of Paphlagonia\textsuperscript{4} escaped hither with Antenor from the Trojan war, and, as testimony

\textsuperscript{1} Literally, "White Rock"; now Capo dell' Armi.
\textsuperscript{2} Gallia Cispadana and Gallia Transpadana.
\textsuperscript{3} See 4. 4. 1.
\textsuperscript{4} Cp. 3. 2. 13 and 5. 1. 1.
ἐξ Ἐνετῶν, θεοὶ ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων.

(Il. 2. 852)

καὶ Διονύσιος, ὁ τῆς Σικελίας τύραννος, ἐντεῦθεν τὸ ἱπποτρόφιον συνεστήσατο τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἱππών, ὡστε καὶ δύομα ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησι γενέσθαι τῆς Ἐνετικῆς πολείαις καὶ πολὺν χρόνον εὐδοκιμῆσαι τὸ γένος.

5. "Ἀπασα μὲν οὖν ἡ χῶρα ποταμῶις πληθύνει καὶ ἐλεσι, μάλιστα δ’ ἡ τῶν Ἐνετῶν πρόσεστι δὲ ταύτη καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης πάθη, μόνα γὰρ ταύτα τὰ μέρη σχεδὸν τι τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς θαλάττης ὁμοιοπαθεῖ τῷ ὥκεανῳ, καὶ παραπλησίους ἑκείνω ποιεῖται τὰς τὲ ἁμπώτεις καὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας, ὡς δὲν τὸ πλέον τοῦ πεδίου λιμνοθαλάττης γίνεται μεστόν. διώρυξε δὲ καὶ ταραχώμαι, καθάπερ ἡ Κάτω λεγομένη χῶρα τῆς Ἀλγύπτου, διωχέτευται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνέβυνται καὶ γεωργεῖται, τὰ δὲ διά- πλους ἔχει τῶν δὲ πόλεων αἱ μὲν νησίζουσιν, αἱ δ’ ἐκ μέρους κλύζονται. ὅσαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐλῶν ἐν τῷ μεσογαίᾳ κεῖνται, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν ἀνά- πλους θαναμάστους ἔχουσι, μάλιστα δ’ ὁ Πάδος. μέγιστος τε γὰρ οὕτω καὶ πληροῦται πολλάκις ἐκ τε ὃμβρων καὶ χιόνων, διαχεομένος δ’ εἰς πολλὰ

1 παραπλησίους, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores; against Kramer and the later editors (παραπλησίου).
to this, adduce their devotion to the breeding of horses—a devotion which now, indeed, has wholly disappeared, although formerly it was prized among them, from the fact of their ancient rivalry in the matter of producing mares for mule-breeding. Homer, too, recalls this fact: "From the land of the Heneti, whence the breed of the wild mules." Again, Dionysius,¹ the tyrant of Sicily, collected his stud of prize-horses from here, and consequently not only did the fame of the Henetian foal-breeding reach the Greeks but the breed itself was held in high esteem by them for a long time.

5. Now this whole country is filled with rivers and marshes, but particularly the part that belongs to the Heneti. And this part, furthermore, is also affected by the behaviour of the sea; for here are almost the only parts of Our Sea that behave like the ocean, and both the ebb-tides and the flood-tides produced here are similar to those of the ocean, since by them the greater part of the plain is made full of lagoons. But, like what is called Lower Egypt, it has been intersected by channels and dikes; and while some parts have been relieved by drainage and are being tilled, others afford voyages across their waters. Of the cities here, some are wholly island, while others are only partly surrounded by water. As for all the cities that are situated above the marshes in the interior, the inland voyages afforded thereto by the rivers are wonderful, but particularly by the Padus; for not only is it the largest of these rivers but it is oftentimes filled by both the rains and the snow, although, as the result of

¹ Dionysius the Elder (430–367 B.C.).
μέρη κατὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τυφλῶν τὸ στόμα ποιεῖ
καὶ δυσεἰσβολὸς ἔστιν. ηδὲ ἐμπειρία περιγίνεται
καὶ τῶν χαλεπωτάτων.

6. Τὸ μὲν ὄν ἄρχαίον, ὄσπερ ἔφη, ὕπο Κελτῶν
περικείτο τῶν πλείστων ὁ ποταμὸς. μέγιστα δὲ
_HINTT_tῶν Κελτῶν ἔθνη Βόιοι καὶ Ἰνσουβροί καὶ οἱ
τῆς Ῥωμαίων ποτέ1 ἔξοδον καταλαβόντες
Σένονες μετὰ Γαίξατόν. τούτους μὲν ὃν ἔξε-φθειράν ὑστερον τελέως Ῥωμαίοι, τοὺς δὲ Βοῖους
ἐξῆλασαν ἐκ τῶν τόπων, μεταστάντες δὲ εἰς τοὺς
περὶ τῶν Ἰστρον τόπους μετὰ Ταυρίσκων ἄκοιν
πολεμοῦντες πρὸς Δακοῦς, ἔως ὑπάλλελον πανεθιοῦ-
τὴν δὲ χώραν οὖσαν τῆς Ἡλλυρίδος μηλόβουτον
τοῖς περιοικοῦσι κατέληπτον. Ἰνσουβροὶ δὲ καὶ
νῦν εἰσὶ. Μεσιλαίου δὲ ἔσχοι μητρόπολιν,
πόλια μὲν κάλλιον (ἀπαντεῖ γὰρ ἄκοιν κωμήδον),
vūν δὲ ἄξιόλογον πόλιν, πέραν τοῦ Πάδου συνά-
πτουσάν πιστὰς ταῖς Ἁλπεσι. πλησίον δὲ καὶ Ὀὐή-
ρων,2 καὶ αὕτη πόλις μεγάλη. ἐλάττους δὲ
τούτων Βρεξία καὶ Μαντοῦα καὶ Ῥήγιου3 καὶ
Κόμου αὕτη δὴ ἡ μὲν κατοικία μετρία, Πυφήθεως
dε Στράβων. ὁ Μάγνου πατήρ κακωθεῖσαν ὑπὸ
tῶν ὑπερκειμένων Ραίτῶν συνάκισεν. εἶτα Γάιος
Σκιπίων τρισχίλιοι προσέθηκεν εἶτα ὁ Θέος
Καίσαρ πεντακισχίλιοι ἐπισυνάκισεν, ἃν οἱ

1 For ποτέ, Xylander reads πόλιν; so the other earlier
editors; Bernadakis and Vogel approving.
2 Οὐήρων, Kramer, for Βήρων; so the later editors.
3 Strabo almost certainly wrote Βέργιον instead of Ῥήγιον
(see footnote on opposite page).

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1 § 4 above. 2 That is, near the Alps.
separating into many streams near the outlets, the mouth is choked with mud and hard to enter. But even the greatest difficulties are overcome by experience.

6. In early times, then, as I was saying, the country round about the Padus was inhabited for the most part by the Celti. And the largest tribes of the Celti were the Boii, the Insubri, and those Senones who, along with the Gaczatae, once seized the territory of the Romans at the first assault. These two peoples, it is true, were utterly destroyed by the Romans later on, but the Boii were merely driven out of the regions they occupied; and after migrating to the regions round about the Ister, lived with the Taurisci, and carried on war against the Daci until they perished, tribe and all—and thus they left their country, which was a part of Illyria, to their neighbours as a pasture-ground for sheep. The Insubri, however, are still in existence. They had as metropolis Mediolanum, which, though long ago only a village (for they all used to dwell only in villages), is now a notable city; it is across the Padus, and almost adjoins the Alps. Near by is Verona also (this, too, a large city), and, smaller than these two, the cities of Brixia, Mantua, Regium, and Comum. Comum used to be only a moderate-sized settlement, but, after its ill treatment by the Rhaeti who are situated above it, Pompey Strabo, father of Pompey the Great, settled a Roman colony there; then Gaius Scipio added three thousand colonists; then the Deified Caesar further settled it with five

\[a\] Regium Lepidum. But Strabo is talking about Transpadana, not Cispadana; and hence it is almost certain that he wrote "Bergomum," not "Regium."
πεντακόσιοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὑπῆρξαν οἱ ἐπιφανεστάτοι: τούτοι δὲ καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδωκε καὶ ἐνεγραψεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς συνοίκους: οὐ μέντοι ἄκηκαν αὐτοθῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούνομὰ γε τῷ κτίσματι ἐκείνω κατέλησαν. Νεοκωμίται γὰρ ἐκλήθησαν ἅπαντες, τούτῳ δὲ μεθερμηνευθὲν Νοβομικώμου λέγεται. ἐγγὺς δὲ τοῦ χωρίου τούτου Λύμνη Δάριος καλομένη πληροὶ δ' αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀδούας ποταμὸς: εἰτ' ἐξήσιν εἰς τὸν Πάδον. ταῦτ' δὲ πηγὰς ἐσχήκεν ἐν τῷ Ἀδούλη ὅρει, ὅπου καὶ ὁ Ρήνος.

7. Αὐταὶ μὲν οὖν πολὺ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔλων ῥηκυνται, πλησίον δὲ τὸ Παταούνιον, πασῶν ἁρίστη τῶν ταυτή πόλεων, ἦ γε νεώστε λέγεται τιμήσασθαι πεντακοσίους ἵππικους ἀνδρας, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ ἔστελλε δώδεκα μυριάδας στρατιῶς. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πεμπομένης κατασκευὴς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατ' ἐμπορίαν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐσθήτως παντοδαπῆς, τῆς εὐανδρίας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς εὐτεχνίας. ἔχει δὲ θαλάττης ἀνάπλους ποταμῷ διὰ τῶν ἔλων φερομένῳ σταδίων πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἐκ λιμένως μεγάλουν· καλεῖται δ' ὁ λιμὴν Μεδόακος ὄμωνυμως τῷ ποταμῷ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔλεσι μεγίστη μὲν ἐστὶ Ἁραύεννα, ξυλοπαγῆς ὅλη καὶ διάρρυτος, γεφύραις καὶ πορθμείοις ὁδομομένη. δέχεται δ' οὖ μικρὸν τῆς θαλάττης μέρος ἐν ταῖς πλημμυρίσιν, ὡστε καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ ὑπὸ ποτα-

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1 Strabo seems to mean the last census (14 A.D.) in the reign of Augustus. The number of citizens at this census, according to the Monumentum Ancyranum, was 4,037,000.
thousand, among whom the five hundred Greeks were the most notable; and to these latter he not only gave the rights of citizenship but also enrolled them among the colonists. The Greeks did not, however, take up their abode there, though they at least left to the settlement the name; for the colonists were, as a whole, called “Neo-Comitae”—that is, if interpreted in Latin, “Novum Comum.” Near this place is what is called Lake Larius; it is fed by the River Addua. The river then issues forth from the lake into the Padus; it has its original sources, however, in Mount Adula, in which also the Rhenus has its sources.

7. These cities, then, are situated considerably above the marshes; and near them is Patavium, the best of all the cities in that part of the country, since this city by recent census,¹ so it is said, had five hundred knights, and, besides, in ancient times used to send forth an army of one hundred and twenty thousand. And the quantities of manufactured goods which Patavium sends to Rome to market—clothing of all sorts and many other things—show what a goodly store of men it has and how skilled they are in the arts. Patavium offers an inland voyage from the sea by a river which runs through the marshes, two hundred and fifty stadia from a large harbour; the harbour, like the river, is called Medoacus. The largest city in the marshes, however, is Ravenna, a city built entirely of wood ² and coursed by rivers, and it is provided with thoroughfares by means of bridges and ferries. At the tides the city receives no small portion of the sea, so that, since

¹ Possibly Strabo means simply “built on piles”; but see Encyc. Brit. (1911) under “Ravenna,” p. 925.
μῶν ἐκκλησίζομενον ¹ τὸ βορβορῶδες πάν ὁταί τῇ δυσαερίᾳ. οὕτως γοῦν ὑγιεινῷ εξήτασται τὸ χωρίον ὅστε ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μονομάχους τρέφειν καὶ γυμνάζειν ἀπέδειξαν οἱ ἠγεμόνες. ἐστὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτο θαυμαστὸν τῶν ἐνθάδε, τὸ ἐν ἐλεί τοὺς ἀέρας ἀβλαβεῖς εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Λυκύππῳ τοῦ θέρους ἡ λίμνη τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἀποβάλλει διὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν τῶν τελμάτων ἀφανισμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἄμπελον πάθος θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, φύει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν τὰ ἐλη καὶ ποιεῖ ταχύ καὶ πολὺν ἀποδιδούσαν καρπὸν, φθείρεται δὲ ἐν ἐτεσι τέταρσιν ἡ πέντε. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀλκινων ἐν ἑλεί, παραπλήσιον ἔχουν τῇ Ὄρανενή τῇ θέσιν. μεταξὺ δὲ Βοῦτριον τῆς Ὄρανενής πόλισσα καὶ Ἡ Ἱππία, νῦν μὲν κωμίου, πάλαι δὲ Ἑλληνιδὸς πόλις ἐνδοξος. θησαυρός γοῦν ἐν Δελφοῖς Σπίνωτῶν δείκνυται, καὶ τάλλα ἱστορεῖται περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς θαλασσοκρατησάντων. φασι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ ὑπάρξαι, νῦν δ' ἐστὶν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ τὸ χωρίον περὶ ἑνενήκοντα τῆς θαλάσσης σταδίους ἀπέχον. καὶ Ἡ Ὄρανεννα δὲ Θεσσαλῶν εἰρητὰς κτίσματος ἀφ' ἐφορτεῖ τὰς τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ὑβρεὺς ἐδέξαντο ἐκόντες τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν τινας, οὗ καὶ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸι δ' ἀπεκλήρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. αὐταί

¹ ἐκκλησίζομενον, Corais, for ἐσκλησίζομενον; so the later editors.

1 Lake Mareotis (now Mariout); see 17. 1. 7.
2 The remains of numerous treasuries, i. e. small temple-like treasure-houses, are still to be seen at Delphi. Different cities, nations, and princes built them as repositories for their offerings to the god. For an excellent drawing of the sacred
the filth is all washed out by these as well as by the rivers, the city is relieved of foul air. At any rate, the place has been found to be so healthful that the rulers have given orders to feed and train the gladiators there. Now this is indeed one of the marvellous things at Ravenna, I mean the fact that the air in a marsh is harmless (compare the Egyptian Alexandria, where, in summer, the lake loses its baneful qualities by reason of the overflow of the Nile and the disappearance of the standing waters), but the behaviour of the vine is also a thing fit to marvel at; for although the marshes support it and make it yield fruit quickly and in great quantities, it dies within four or five years. Altinum too is in a marsh, for the position it occupies is similar to that of Ravenna. Between the two cities is Butrium, a town belonging to Ravenna, and also Spina, which though now only a small village, long ago was a Greek city of repute. At any rate, a treasury of the Spinitae is to be seen at Delphi; and everything else that history tells about them shows that they were once masters of the sea. Moreover, it is said that Spina was once situated by the sea, although at the present time the place is in the interior, about ninety stadia distant from the sea. Furthermore, it has been said that Ravenna was founded by the Thessalians; but since they could not bear the wanton outrages of the Tyrrhenians, they voluntarily took in some of the Ombrici, which latter still now hold the city, whereas the Thessalians themselves returned home.

precinct, showing the result of the French excavations (1892–1897), see Frazer's *Pausanias*, vol. V, opposite p. 258.

2 The "Umbri" of Roman history. See end of § 10 following.
μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πλέον περιέχονται τοῖς ἔλεσιν, ὡστε καὶ κλύζεσθαι.

8. Ὅπιτέργιον ἢ δὲ καὶ Ἐπιτέργιον ἢ δὲ καὶ Ἀτρία καὶ Ὕμεντα καὶ Ἀλλα τοιαῦτα πολισμάτα ἤττον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλῶν ἐνοχλεῖται, μικρῶς δὲ ἀνάπλοις πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν συνήθπται. τὴν δὲ Ἀτρίαν ἐπιφανεῖ γενέσθαι πόλιν φασίν, ἂφ᾽ ἄδει καὶ τοῦνομα τῷ κόλπῳ γενέσθαι τῷ Ἀδρία, μικρῶν μεταθεσιν λαβόν. Ἀκυλῆσι δ᾽ ἦπερ μάλιστα τῷ μυχῷ πλησιάζει, κτίσμα μὲν ἐστὶ Ἄλβασιν, ἐπιτείχεσθεν τοῖς ὑπερκειμένοις βαρβάροις, ἀναπλείαιν δὲ ὅλκασι κατὰ τὸν Ἁτρίαν τοῦ Νατίσωνα ποταμὸν ἐπὶ πλείους ἦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίους. ἀνέται δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῖς περὶ τῶν Ἰστρον τῶν Ἰλλυρίων ἔθνεσιν κομίζουσι δ᾽ οὕτως μὲν τὰ ἐκ θαλάσσης, καὶ ὅπως ἐπὶ ἑλῶιν πίθων ἀρμαμάξως ἀναθέντες καὶ ἐλαιον, ἐκεῖνοι δ᾽ ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ δέρματα. ἐξω δ᾽ ἐστὶ τῶν Ἐνατικῶν ὄρων ἣ Ἀκυηλῆς. διορίζονται δὲ ποταμὸς ῥεόντες ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπίων ὄρων, ἀνάπλουν ἔχοντες καὶ διακοσιῶν σταδίων ἐπὶ τοῖς χελλῶν εἰς Νορθίαν

1 Ὅπιτέργιον, Corais, for Ἐπιτέργιον; so the later editors.
2 Κωνκορδία, Siabenkees (from conj. of Cluverius), for ὄρδα; so the later editors.
3 Ἀτρία, all editors, for Ἀδρία.
4 For πλεῖους ἢ several editors, including Meineke, wrongly read πλεῖστος.
5 After ἐμπόριον Grockurd, Meineke, and others insert τοῖς τῇ Ἕπετοις καὶ; a tempting but unnecessary emendation.

1 The Greek word for “Adriatic” is merely “Adrias.”
2 So Pliny (3. 20).
3 Pliny (3. 22) placed Aquileia fifteen miles from the sea. The distance to-day to the ruins of the old Aquileia is seven miles. The Natiso (Natison) appears to have changed its lower course since Strabo’s time.
These cities, then, are for the most part surrounded by the marshes, and hence subject to inundations.

8. But Opitergium, Concordia, Atria, Vicetia, and other small towns like them are less hemmed in by the marshes, though they are connected with the sea by small waterways. It is said that Atria was once an illustrious city, and that the Adriatic Gulf got its name therefrom, with only a slight change in the spelling. Aquileia, which is nearest of all to the recess of the Gulf, was founded by the Romans as a fortress against the barbarians who were situated above it; and there is an inland voyage thither for merchant-vessels, by way of the River Natiso, for a distance of more than sixty stadia. Aquileia has been given over as an emporium for those tribes of the Illyrians that live near the Ister; the latter load on wagons and carry inland the products of the sea, and wine stored in wooden jars, and also olive-oil, whereas the former get in exchange slaves, cattle, and hides. But Aquileia is outside the boundaries of the Heneti. The boundary between the two peoples is marked by a river flowing from the Alps, which affords an inland voyage of as much as twelve hundred stadia to the city of Noreia, near

4 Cp. 4. 6. 10 and 7. 5. 2.
5 In 5. 1. 12 Strabo speaks of wooden jars "larger than houses."
6 By "the former," Strabo refers of course to the inhabitants, not only of Aquileia, but of the various towns (named and unnamed above) about the recess of the Adriatic.
7 It is impossible to say what river Strabo had in mind, whether the Isonzo, or the Tagliamento, or the Sile, or the Piave, or what; but no river of to-day answers the conditions.
8 Now Neumarkt, in the duchy of Styria, Austria.
πόλεων, περὶ δὲν Γναῖος Κάρβων συμβαλῶν Κίμβρων οὐδὲν ἐπραξεν. ἔχει δὲ ὁ τόπος οὗτος χρυσιοπλύσια εὐφυὴ καὶ σιδηρουργεῖα. ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ Ἀδριῶν καὶ ἱερῶν τοῦ Διομήδους ἐστὶν ἄξιον μνήμης, τὸ Τίμαυνον λιμένα γὰρ ἔχει καὶ ἄλσος ἐκπρεπὲς καὶ πηγὰς ἐπὶ ποτίμου ὦδατος εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν θὰλασσαν ἐκτίππτοντος, πλατεῖ καὶ βαθεῖ ποταμό. Πολὺβιος δὲ εἰρήκει πλὴν μιᾶς τὰς ἄλλας ἀλμυρῶ ὦδατος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους πηγῆς καὶ μητέρα τῆς θαλάττης ὑομαίζειν τῶν τόπων. Ποσειδώνως δὲ φησι ποταμὸν τὸν Τίμαυνον ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν φερόμενον καταπίπτειν εἰς βέρεθρον, εἰὼ ὑπὸ τῆς ἕνεκθέντα περὶ ἐκατόν καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης τῆς ἐκβολῆς ποιεῖσθαι.

9. Τῆς δὲ τοῦ Διομήδους δυναστείας περὶ τὴν θαλατταν ταύτην αἱ τοὺς Διομήδεις νήσους μαρτύρια καὶ τὰ περὶ Δανίκους καὶ τὸ Ἀργος τὸ Ἰππιον ἱστορούμενα: περὶ δὲν ἐρώμεν ἐφ᾽ ὅσον πρὸς ἱστορίαν χρήσιμον, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν μυθευμένων ἢ κατεφευμένων ἄλλως εὰν δεῖ, οἷον τὰ περὶ Φαέθοντα καὶ τὰς Ἡλιάδας τὰς ἀπαγωγοῦμένας περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείου τοῦ μυθεύμου γῆς ὤντα, πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Πάδου λεγόμενον, καὶ τὰς Ἡλεκτρίδας νήσους τὰς πρὸ τοῦ Πάδου καὶ μελεαγρίδας ἐν

1 ποτίμου, Xylander, for ποταμοῦ (as in 5. 4. 5 and 5. 4. 13); so most of the editors.

1 113 B.C. Livy (Epit. 63) says "Carbo and his army were routed."
2 Strabo is now speaking of "recess" in its most specific sense—the inmost recess in the general recess of the Adriatic.
3 The Timavi Fons (now the Timavo).
4 Now Arpino.
which Gnaeus Carbo clashed to no effect with the Cimbri. This region has places that are naturally well-suited to gold-washing, and has also iron-works. And in the very recess of the Adriatic there is also a temple of Diomedes that is worth recording, "the Timavum"; for it has a harbour, and a magnificent precinct, and seven fountains of potable waters which immediately empty into the sea in one broad, deep river. According to Polybius, all the fountains except one are of salt water, and, what is more, the natives call the place the source and mother of the sea. But Poseidonius says that a river, the Timavus, runs out of the mountains, falls down into a chasm, and then, after running underground about a hundred and thirty stadia, makes its exit near the sea.

9. As for the dominion of Diomedes in the neighbourhood of this sea, not only the "Islands of Diomedes" bear witness thereto, but also the historical accounts of the Daunii and Argos Hippium, which I shall relate insofar as they may be historically useful; but I must disregard most of the mythical or false stories, as, for example, the stories of Phaethon, and of the Heliades that were changed into poplar-trees near the Eridanus (the Eridanus that exists nowhere on earth, although it is spoken of as near the Padus), and of the Electrides Islands that lie off the Padus, and of the guinea-fowls on

6 Cp. the reference to the Attic Eridanus in 9. 1. 19.
7 In Hesiod (Fr. 199 [220], Rzach) Eridanus is the river-god on the banks of whose river were quantities of amber ("Electrum"). Later on, since amber was found at the mouth of the Po, the "Amber (Electrides) Islands" were placed there (see Pliny 3. 30). In Greek mythology Phaethon was thrown from the chariot of the Sun into Eridanus, and his sisters (the Heliades) who had yoked the chariot were metamorphosed into poplars, and their tears into amber.
αὐταίς· οὔδε γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲν ἦστιν ἐν τοῖς τόποις. τῷ δὲ Διομήδει παρὰ τοῖς Ἐνετοῖς ἀποδεδειγμέναι τινὲς ἱστοροῦνται τιμαί· καὶ γὰρ θύεται λευκὸς ἵππος αὐτῷ, καὶ δύο ἄλση τὸ μὲν Ἡρας Ἄργειας δεῖκνυται, τὸ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀλτωλίδος. προσμυθεύουσι δ', ὡς εἰκός, τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσι τούτων ἡμερῶσθαι τὰ θηρία καὶ λύκους ἐλάφους συναγελάξεσθαι, προσιόντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ καταψώκτων ἀνέχεσθαι, τὰ δὲ διωκόμενα ὑπὸ τὸν κυνὸν, ἔπειθαν καταφύγῃ δεύρο, μηκέτε διώκεσθαι. φασί δὲ τινὰ τῶν πάνω γνωρίζομεν 1 ὡς εἰς φιλέγγυσι καὶ σκωπτόμενον ἐπὶ τούτῳ, παρατυχεῖν κυνηγήται λύκου ἐν τοῖς δικτύοις ἔχουσιν· εἰπόντων δὲ κατὰ παιδιάν, εἰ ἐγγυνᾶται τὸν λύκον, ἐφ' ὅτε τὰς ξημίας ὡς ἐγρασταὶ διαλύσειν, ἀφῆσεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν λύκων, ὁμολογήσας ἀφεθέντα δὲ τὸν λύκον ἵππων ἀγέλην ἀπελάσαστα ἀκαυτηριάστων ἰκανὴν προσαγαγεῖν πρὸς τὸν τυφλόγυον σταθμὸν τὸν δ' ἀπολαβόντα τὴν χάριν καυτηριάσας τε τὰς ἱππείς· λύκον, καὶ κληθῆναι λυκοφόρους, τάχει μᾶλλον ἢ κάλλει διαφεροῦσας· τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἐκείνου διαδεξαμένους τὸ τε καυτηρίου φυλάξαι καὶ τούνομα τῷ γένει τῶν ἱππῶν, ἔθος δὲ πονῆσαι θῆλευμιν μὴ ἐξαλλοτριοῦν, ἵνα μένοι παρὰ μόνοις τῷ γησίσιον γένος, ἐνδόξου γενομένης ἐνθένδε ἱππείας. ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὡσπερ ἐφαμεν, πᾶσα ἐκλελοιπεν

1 γνωρίζομεν, Kramer, for γνωριζομένων; so the later editors.

1 Ср. 1. 2. 15, on the addition of mythical elements.
them; for not one of these things is in that region, either. It is an historical fact, however, that among the Heneti certain honours have been decreed to Diomedes; and, indeed, a white horse is still sacrificed to him, and two precincts are still to be seen—one of them sacred to the Argive Hera and the other to the Aetolian Artemis. But some mythical elements, of course, have been added: namely, that in these sacred precincts the wild animals become tame, and deer herd with wolves, and they allow the people to approach and caress them, and any that are being pursued by dogs are no longer pursued when they have taken refuge here. And it is said that one of the prominent men, who was known for his fondness for giving bail for people and was twitted for this, fell in with some hunters who had a wolf in their nets, and, upon their saying in jest that if he would give bail for the wolf, and agree to settle all the damage the wolf should do, they would set the wolf free from the toils, he agreed to the proposal; and the wolf, when set free, drove off a considerable herd of unbranded horses and brought them to the stead ing of the man who was fond of giving bail; and the man who received the favour not only branded all the mares with a wolf, but also called them the “wolf-breed”—mares exceptional for speed rather than beauty; and his successors kept not only the brand but also the name for the breed of the horses, and made it a custom not to sell a mare to outsiders, in order that the genuine breed might remain in their family alone, since horses of that breed had become famous. But, at the present time, as I was saying, the practice of horse-breeding has wholly disappeared.

2 § 4 above.
ἡ τοιαύτη ἄσκησις. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Τίμαυνον ἡ τῶν Ἰστρίων ἐστὶ παραλία μέχρι Πόλας, ἡ προσκείται τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ. μεταξὺ δὲ φρούριον Τεργέστε, Ἀκυληίας διέχου ἐκατὸν καὶ ὅγδοικαντα σταδίους. ἡ δὲ Πόλα ἱδρυται μὲν ἐν κόλπῳ λιμνοείδει, νησίδα ἐχοντει εὑρίσμα καὶ εὐκάρπα, κτίσμα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχαίον Κόλχων τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Μηδείαν ἐκπεμφθέντων, διαμαρτόντων δὲ τῆς πρδέος καὶ καταγρόντων ἐαυτῶν φυγὴν, τὸ κεν φυγάδων μὲν ἐνίστιν Γραίκος (ὡς Καλλιμάχος εἰρηκεν), ἀτὰρ κεῖσην γῆδος ἄνοιμην Πόλας. τὰ μὲν δὴ πέραν τοῦ Πάδου χωρία ὅτε τε Ἐνετοὶ νέρονται καὶ οἱ 1 μέχρι Πόλας, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Ἐνετῶν Κάρνων καὶ Κενομάνων καὶ Μεδόακων καὶ Σώμβρων 2 δὲ καὶ Ἐνετοὶ συνεμάχον καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ἀννίβας στρατείας, ἤνικα Βοῖος καὶ Σώμβρων 2 ἐπολέμουν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα.

10. Οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ Πάδου κατέχουσι μὲν ἀπασαν ὅσην ἑγκυκλούνται τὰ Ἀπέννινα ὅρη πρὸς τὰ Ἀλπια μέχρι Γενουάς καὶ τῶν Σαβάτων. κατέχουν δὲ Βοῖοι καὶ Δίνυες καὶ Σένωνες καὶ Γαιζάται τὸ πλέον τῶν δὲ Βοῖων ἑξελαθέντων,

1 After of Kramer inserts Ἰστρίων; so the later editors.
2 For Σώμβρους and Σώμβρων Corais reads Ἰνσουβροὶ and Ἰνσούβρως; and in § 12 following, for Σώμβρων, Ἰνσουβροὶ; Meineke following. Ἰνσουβροὶ," the last word in § 10 following, seems to indicate that the "Symbri" are to be identified with the "Insibri."

2 See 1. 2. 39, where the quotation is more complete.
2 The "Symbri" are here twice referred to, and once in
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 1. 9-10

After the Timavum comes the seaboard of the Istrii as far as Pola, which belongs to Italy. Between the Timavum and Pola lies the stronghold of Tergeste, at a distance of one hundred and eighty stadia from Aquileia. As for Pola, it is situated in a harbour-like gulf which has isles with good mooring-places and with fruitful soil; it was founded in early times by those Colchians who were sent forth in quest of Medea, but failed in their undertaking and thus condemned themselves to exile: "which a Greek would call 'the city of the exiles,'" as Callimachus has said, "but their tongue hath named it Polae." ¹ The Transpadane districts, then, are occupied both by the Heneti and by the peoples who extend as far as Pola; and, above the Heneti, by the Carni, the Cenomani, the Medoaci, and the Symbri; ² of these peoples, some were once enemies of the Romans, but the Cenomani and the Heneti used to help the Romans in their battles, not only before the campaign of Hannibal (I mean when the Romans were making war upon the Boii and the Symbri), but thereafter as well.

10. But the Cispadane peoples occupy all that country which is encircled by the Apennine Mountains towards the Alps as far as Genua and Sabata. ³ The greater part of the country used to be occupied by the Boii, Ligures, Senones, and Gaezatae; but since the Boii have been driven out, and since both

¹ 12 following; but such a people is otherwise unknown. Two of the editors emend in each case to "Insubri."

² That is, the are described by the Apennines, in their stretch from the region of Ariminum and Ancona as far as Genua and Vada Sabastorum (op. 4. 6. 1, 5. 1. 8), together with the Po, enclose Gallia Cispadana.
ἀφανισθέντων δὲ καὶ τῶν Γαίζατῶν καὶ Σενώνων, λείπεται τὰ Δυναστικὰ φῦλα καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἱ ἀποικίαι. τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἀναμέμβεται καὶ τὸ τῶν Ὄμβρικῶν φῦλον, ἐστὶ δ’ ὁποὺ καὶ Τυρρηνῶν ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὰ ἔθνη πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξήσεως εἰχὲ τινὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα περὶ πρωτεῖων ἀμιλλαν, καὶ μέσον ἔχουσα τὸν Τίβεριον ποταμὸν ράδιως ἐπειδεῖβαινον ἄλληλοις. καὶ εἰ ποὺ τινὰς ἐκστρατείας ἐποιοῦντο ἐπὶ ἄλλους, οἱ ἔτεροι, καὶ τοῖς ἔτεροις ἔρις ἤν μὴ ὑπολείπεσθαι τῆς εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἐξόδου· καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν στειλάντων στρατιὰν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πάδον βαρβάρους καὶ πραξάντων εὗ, ταχὺ δὲ πάλιν ἐκπεσόντων διὰ τὴν τροφήν, ἐπεστράτευσαν οἱ ἔτεροι τοῖς ἐκβαλοῦσιν· εἰτ’ ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν τόπων ἀμφισβητοῦντες πολλὰς τῶν κατοικίων τὰς μὲν Τυρρηνικὰς ἐποίησαν, τὰς δ’ Ὄμβρικας, πλείους δὲ τῶν Ὄμβρικῶν,2 ἐγγυτέρω γὰρ ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, παραλαβόντες καὶ πέμψαντες ἐποίκους πολλαχοῦ, συνεφύλαξαν καὶ τὰ τῶν προεπικησάντων γένη. καὶ νῦν Ῥωμαίοι μὲν εἰσὶν ἀπαντεῖς, οὐδὲν δ’ ἤττον Ὅμβροι τε τὶνες λέγονται καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ, καθάπερ Ἐνετοὶ καὶ Δύνανες καὶ Ἰσσοῦροι.

11. Πόλεις δ’ εἰσὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πάδου καὶ περὶ τὸν Πάδον ἐπιφανεῖς Πλακεντία μὲν καὶ Κρεμώνη,

1 ἄλλους (the reading of second hand in B.), for ἄλλους; so the editors.
2 The reading of the MSS. is of ἐγγυτέρω γὰρ ἦσαν, except that B omits the οἱ. Meineke, following Kramer, reads οἱ and omits γὰρ.
the Gaezatae and the Senones have been annihilated,\(^1\) only the Ligurian tribes and the Roman colonies are left. The Romans, however, have been intermingled with the stock of the Ombrici and also, in some places, with that of the Tyrrheni;\(^2\) for both these tribes, before the general aggrandizement of the Romans, carried on a sort of competition with one another for the primacy, and since they had only the River Tiber between them could easily cross over against one another. And if, as I suppose, one of the two peoples went forth on a campaign against a third people, the other of the two conceived a contentious desire not to fail to make an expedition to the same places; and so, too, when the Tyrrheni had sent forth an army into the midst of the barbarians round about the Padus and had fared well, and then on account of their luxurious living were quickly cast out again, the other of the two made an expedition against those who had cast them out; and then, in turns, disputing over the places, the two, in the case of many of the settlements, made some Tyrrenian and some Ombrican—the greater number, however, Ombrican, for the Ombrici were nearer. But the Romans, upon taking control and sending settlers to many places, helped to preserve also the stocks of the earlier settlers. And at the present time, although they are all Romans, they are none the less called, some "Ombri," and some "Tyrrheni," as is the case with the Heneti, the Ligures, and the Insibri.

11. There are some famous cities in Cispadana and in the neighbourhood of the Padus: first, Placentia and Cremona, which are very near each other and

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\(^1\) See 5. 1. 6.  
\(^2\) That is, the Etrusci.
πλησιαίταται κατὰ μέσην πού την χώραν, μεταξύ δὲ τούτων τε καὶ Ἀριμίνου Πάρμα καὶ Μυτινῆς καὶ Βοιωνία πλησίον ἦδη Ραούνην, καὶ μικρὰ πολίσματα ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων, δι’ δὲν ἡ εἰς Ρόμην ὅδος, Ἀγκαρα, Ρήγηνον Δέπιδον, Μακροί δὲ Κώμποι, ὅπου πανηγυρίς συντελεῖται κατ’ ἔτος, Κλάτερνα, Φόρον Κορνήλιον Ραουνένια δὲ καὶ Καισάμνα πρὸς τῷ Σαύπτ᾽ ποταμὸ καὶ τῷ Ῥουβίκώνι ἦδη συναίτουσι τῷ Ἀριμίνῳ. τὸ δὲ Ἀρίμινον Ὁμβρων ἐστὶ κατοικία, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Ραούνην. δέδεκται δὲ ἐποίκους Ῥωμαίους ἐκατέρα. ἔχει δὲ τὸ Ἀρίμινον λιμένα καὶ ὁμάνύμων ποταμόν. ἀπὸ δὲ Πλακεντίας εἰς Ὁρίμινον στάδιοι χίλιοι τριάκόσιοι. ὑπὲρ δὲ Πλακεντίας ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ὅρους τῆς Κόττιον γῆς Τίκυνον ἐν τριάκοντα ἐξ μιλίων πόλεως καὶ ὁμάνυμος ὁ παραρρέων ποταμός, συμβάλλων τῷ Πάδρῳ, καὶ Κλαστίδιον καὶ Δερτῶν καὶ Ἀκούαστατιέλλαι μικρὸν ἐν παρόδῳ. ἢ δὲ εὐθεία εἰς Ὁκελών παρὰ τὸν Πάδρον καὶ τὸν Δουρίαν ποταμόν, βαραθρώδης ἢ πολλή, πλείους καὶ ἄλλους ἔχουσα ποταμοὺς, διὸ καὶ τὸν

1 Ἀγκαρα, Meineke, for Ἀκαρα.  
2 Μακροί, Xylander, for Νάκροι; so the later editors.  
3 καὶ Καισάμνα, Corais, for καὶ σήνα; so the later editors.  
4 τῷ Σάπτ,' Meineke, for Ἰσαπτ.  
5 Δερτῶν, Jones, for Δίθων (cp. Δερτῶν Artemidorus in Steph. Byz. s.v.); other editors emend to Δίθων. Ptolemaeus' spelling is Δερτών (3. 1. 31).

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1 Via Aemilia.
2 A prosperous market-town, which got its name from the Macri Campi ("Lean Plains"), west of Mutina.

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are at about the centre of the country; and secondly—
between these two and Ariminum—Parma, Mutina,
and Bononia (once in Bononia you are near Ravenna),
and also some small towns scattered between these
three which also lie on the road ¹ to Rome—
I mean Ancara, Regium Lepidum, Macri Campi ²
where a public festival is held every year, Claterna,
and Forum Cornelium; and then, Faventia and
Caesena, near the River Sapis and the Rubicon,
where, at last, you are on the borders of Ariminum. ³
Ariminum is a settlement of the Ombri, just as
Ravenna is, although each of them has received
Roman colonists. And Ariminum has a harbour and
a river of like name. ⁴ From Placentia to Ariminum
the distance is one thousand three hundred stadia.
Beyond Placentia, towards the boundaries of the land
of Cottius, there lies, within a distance of thirty-six
miles from Placentia, the city of Ticinum (and also
the river of like name ⁵ that flows past it and joins
the Padus), and also, on a road which runs slightly
to one side, there lie Clastidium, Derton ⁶ and Aquae
Statiellae. But the direct road to Ocelum ⁷ runs
along the Padus and the River Durias, the greater
part of it over ravines, since, besides these two, it
has several other rivers to cross, among which is the

³ The Greek of this last clause is too concise to be accurate
and clear, but the order of the words indicates that Strabo’s
thought was correct. He thinks of the traveller as first
reaching Faventia (which is some twenty miles from the
Sapis); then Caesena, which is near (on) the Sapis; then the
Rubicon (which is not near Caesena, but some twenty miles
away), which alone borders on the territory of Ariminum.
⁴ The Ariminus, now the Marecchia.
⁵ The Ticinus, now the Tessin.
⁶ Dertona, now Tortona. ⁷ Now Avigliana.
Δρουεντίαν, μιλίων ἐστὶ περὶ ἔξηκοντα, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἥδη τὰ Ἀλπία ὄρη καὶ Ἡ Κελτική.

Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὃρεσι τοὺς ὑπερκειμένους τῆς Λούνης ἐστὶ πόλει Λούκα: ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐνανδρεῖ ὁ ὅμως ἡ χώρα καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐντεῦθεν τὸ πλέον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱππικῶν πλῆθος, ἐξ ὃν καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος λαμβάνει τὴν σύνταξιν. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ Δερτῶν 1 πόλις ἀξιολογοῖς κειμένη κατὰ μέσην τὴν ὄδον τὴν ἀπὸ Γενούας εἰς Πλακεντίαν, ἐκατέρας 2 διέχουσα σταδίους τετρακοσίους κατὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὄδον καὶ Ἀκοναιστατιέλλαι, ἀπὸ δὲ Πλακεντίας εἰς μὲν Ἀρίμινον ἔφηται εἰς δὲ Ῥανέουναν κατάπλους τὸ Πάδω δυεῖν ἱμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν, πολὺ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ Πάδου κατείχετο ὑπὸ ἔλων, διὸ ὃν Ἀννίβας χαλεπῶς διῆλθε, προῖόν ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίαν ἀλλὰ ἀνέψυξε τὰ πεδία ὁ Σκαύρος διώρυγας πλωτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πάδου μέχρι Πάρμης ἀγων κατὰ γὰρ Πλακεντίαν ὁ Τρεβίας σμύβαλλων τὸ Πάδω καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ἄλλοι πλείους πληροῦσι πέραν τοῦ μετρίου. οὕτως δὲ ὁ Σκαύρος ἐστιν ὁ καὶ τὴν Αἰμελίαν ὄδον στρώσας τὴν διὰ

1 Δερτῶν, Jones, for Δέθων (see footnote 5, p. 326).
2 ἐκατέρας, Xylander, for ἐκατέρα; so the later editors.

1 It is hard to believe that Strabo wrote “Druentia” here, for he has already properly placed the source of the Druentia beyond Ocelum (see 4. 6. 5 and the footnote). It is not unlikely that he wrote “Durias” (i.e. Durias Major) instead, for the road in question not only crossed the Durias Minor, which it followed, but the Durias Major as well. Otherwise, he is characterizing the road beyond Ocelum when he is supposed to be discussing merely the stretch from Ticinum to Ocelum.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 1. 11

Druentia, a distance of about sixty miles. And this is where the Alps Mountains and Celtica begin.

Near those mountains which lie above Luna is a city, Luca, although some of the people here live only in villages; nevertheless the country has a goodly store of men, and the greater part of the soldiery comes from here, and also the majority of those men of equestrian rank from whom the Senate recruits its ranks. Derton is a considerable city, and it is situated about midway of the road which runs from Genua to Placentia, being four hundred stadia distant from each; and this is the road on which Aquae Staticellae is situated. Of the distance from Placentia to Ariminum I have already spoken; there is also a voyage thence by the Padus down to Ravenna which takes two days and nights. Now a considerable part of Cispadana too used to be covered by marshes (through which Hannibal, on his advance against Tyrrhenia, passed only with difficulty); but Scaurus drained the plains by running navigable canals from the Padus as far as Parma; for near Placentia the Padus is joined by the Trebia, as also before that by several other rivers, and is thus made excessively full. This Scaurus is the man who constructed the Aemilian

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2 Roman miles, of course. But the distance from Ticinum to Ocelum is about a hundred miles. Sixty miles is a close estimate for the distance from Ticinum to the Durias Major. Most of the editors, including Meineke, emend to "one hundred and sixty."

3 Ocelum.

4 That is, Celtica proper.

5 Meineke suspects this whole sentence and relegates it to the foot of the page.

6 M. Aemilius Scaurus, lived 163 to about 89 B.C.
Πισῶν καὶ Δούνης μέχρι Σαβάτων, κάντευθεν διὰ Δερτῶνος. Ἀλλ' δ' ἔστων Λαμπίλεα διαδεχομένη τήν Φλαμνίαν. συνυπάτευσαν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις Μάρκος Δέπιδος καὶ Γάιος Φλαμίνιος καθελόντες δὲ Δίγνα, ὁ μὲν τήν Φλαμνίαν ἑστρωσεν εἰς Ῥώμης διὰ Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ὀμβρικῆς μέχρι τῶν περὶ Ἀρίμινων τῶν, οὗ δὲ τήν ἕξις μέχρι Βοιωνίας, κακεῖθεν εἰς Ἀκυλιάν παρὰ τὰς μίζας τὰς τῶν Ἀλπεων ἕγκυκλούμενος τὰ ἔλη. ὁριον δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, ἢν ἐντὸς Κελτικῆς καλούμεν, πρὸς τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸ τε Ἀπέννινον ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς Τυρρηνίας ἀπεδέδεικτο καὶ ὁ Ἀΐσιος ποταμός, ὑστερον δὲ ὁ Ρουβίκων, εἰς τὸν Ἀδριαν ἐκδιδόντες ἀμφότεροι.

12. Τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς τῶν τῶν τῶν θηρίων ή τ' ἐνανδρία καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος, οἷς πάσιν ὑπερβεβληται τήν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν οἱ ταύτη Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ γὰρ ἡ γεωργουμένη γῆ πολυστοὺς καὶ παντοτόους ἐκφέρει καρπούς, καὶ αἱ ἡλικεῖται τάχυν ἐχουσι βάλανον ὡστ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπετεῦθεν ὕφορβίων ἡ Ῥώμη τρέφει τὸ πλέον. ἔστω δὲ καὶ κεγχροφόρος διαφερόντως διὰ τῆς ἐνυδρίας τοῦτο δὲ λιμοῦ μέγιστον ἐστὶν ἄκος; πρὸς ἀπαντας γὰρ καίρους ἀέρων ἀντέχει, καὶ οὐδὲπτ' ἐπιλεί-

1 Δερτῶνος, Jones, for Δείθων (see footnote 5, p. 326).

1 187 B.C.
Way which runs through Pisa and Luna as far as Sabata and thence through Derton; there is another Aemilian Way, however—I mean the one which succeeds the Flaminian. For Marcus Lepidus and Gaius Flaminius were consuls together; and, upon subjugating the Ligures, the latter constructed the Flaminian Way from Rome through Tyrrenhia and Ombrica as far as the regions of Ariminum, and the former the succeeding road that runs as far as Bononia, and from there, along the base of the Alps, thus encircling the marshes, to Aquileia. Now the boundary of all this country which we call Cisalpine Celtica—I mean the boundary between it and the remainder of Italy—was once designated by that part of the Apennine Mountains which is beyond Tyrrenhia, and also by the River Aesis, but later on by the Rubicon; both these rivers empty into the Adriatic.

12. As for the excellence of the regions, it is evidenced by their goodly store of men, the size of the cities and their wealth, in all which respects the Romans in that part of the world have surpassed the rest of Italy. For not only does the tilled land bring forth fruits in large quantities and of all sorts, but the forests have acorns in such quantities that Rome is fed mainly on the herds of swine that come from there. And the yield of millet is also exceptional, since the soil is well-watered; and millet is the greatest preventive of famine, since it withstands every unfavourable weather, and can never fail, even though there be

² But from other accounts this Aemilian Way was built by Gaius Flaminius the Elder in 220 B.C. (see Pauly-Wissowa, under "Flaminia Via," p. 2498, and "Flaminina," p. 2502).
πειν δύναται, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου σίτου γένηται σπάνις. ἔχει δὲ καὶ πεπτουργεία θαυμαστά. τοῦ δ' οἴνου τὸ πλήθος μηνύουσι οἱ πίθοι, οἱ ξύλινοι γὰρ μείζονς οἰκών εἰσὶ: προσλαμβάνει δὲ πολὺ ἡ τῆς πίντης εὐπορία πρὸς τὸ εὐκάρωστον. ἔρεαν δὲ τὴν μὲν μαλακὴν οἱ περὶ Μοντίνην τόποι καὶ τὸν Σκούλτανιν ποταμὸν φέροντες πολὺ πασῶν καλ- λιστην, τὴν δὲ τραχείαν ἡ Δυναστικὴ καὶ ἢ τῶν Σύμβρων, ἢ ἦς τὸ πλέον τῆς οἰκίας τῶν Ἰτα- λιωτῶν ἀμπέχεται, τὴν δὲ μέσην οἱ περὶ Πα- ταύιον, ἢς ἦς οἱ τάπητες οἱ πολυτελεῖς καὶ ἥγουσαν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἴδος παν, ἀμφίμαλλων τε καὶ ἑτερόμαλλων. τὰ δὲ μέταλλα νυνὶ μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐνταῦθα σπουδαῖοτέρα ἢ ἄλλως εἶναι τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑπεραλπίοις Κελτοῖς καὶ τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ, πρότερον δὲ ἐσπουδαῖοτέρα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Ὀὔερκέλλως χρυσωρυχεῖον ἦν. κόμη ἡ ἐστὶ πλησίου Ἰκτομούλων, καὶ ταύτης κόμης, ἀμφό- δ' εἰσὶ περὶ Πλακεντίαν. αὕτη μὲν ἥ ἡ πρώτη μερίς τῆς Ἰταλίας μέχρι δευτερο περιοδεύσθω.

II.

1. Δεύτερα δὲ λεγέσθω ἡ Δυναστικὴ ἡ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις ὄρεσι, μεταξὺ ἱδρυμένη τῆς νῦν λεχθείσης Κελτικῆς καὶ τῆς Τυρρηνίας, οὐδὲν

1 oí before πίθοι, Meineke inserts; so Müller-Dübner.
2 On Σύμβρων, see footnote 2, p. 322.
3 oikias, the reading of all the MSS., Jones restores, for okerelas, the reading of Kramer, Corais, and Meineke.
scarcity of every other grain. The country has wonderful pitch-works, also; and as for the wine, the quantity is indicated by the jars, for the wooden ones are larger than houses; and the good supply of the pitch helps much towards the excellent smearing the jars receive. As for wool, the soft kind is produced by the regions round Mutina and the River Scultenna (the finest wool of all); the coarse, by Liguria and the country of the Symbri, from which the greater part of the households of the Italiotes are clothed; and the medium, by the regions round Patavium, from which are made the expensive carpets and covers and everything of this kind that is woolly either on both sides or only on one. But as for the mines, at the present time they are not being worked here as seriously as before—perhaps on account of the fact that those in the country of the Transalpine Celfi and in Iberia are more profitable; formerly, however, they were seriously worked, for there was a gold mine at Vercelli too; Vercelli is a village near Ictumuli (this too a village), and both are near Placentia. So much, then, for my geographical description of the First Portion of Italy.

II

1. Let us call the Second Portion that Liguria which is in the Apennines themselves, situated between that Celtica which I have just described and Tyrrennia. It contains nothing worthy of detailed

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1 See 4. 1. 13, 4. 2. 1, 4. 6. 7, and 3. 2. 8.
2 Literally, "Ligustica" (see 4. 6. 3, and 5. 1. 1).

4 τῆς, after ταῦτης, Corais omits; so the later editors.

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ἔχουσα περιηγήσεως ἄξιον, πλὴν ὅτι κωμηδόν ἔσει, τραχείαν γῆν ἄφωντες καὶ σκάπτωντες, μᾶλλον δὲ λατομοῦντες, ὥς φησὶ Ποσειδώνιος. Τρῖτοι δὲ εἴσε συνεχείς τούτοις οἱ Τυρρηνοί, τὰ πεδία ἔχοντες τὰ μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριδος, κλυὸμενοι τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐω μάλιστα μέρη τῶν ποταμῶν μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ δὲ θύτερα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ καὶ Σαρδήνῳ πελάγει. μεῖ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν ὁ Τίβερις, πλησιάζω δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ποταμῶν, μέρος μὲν τι δὲ αὐτῆς φερόμενος τῆς Τυρρηνίας, τὸ δὲ ἐφεξῆς διορίζων ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Ὁμβρικήν, εἶτα τοὺς Σαβίνους καὶ Λατίνους τοὺς πρὸς τῇ Ῥώμη μέχρι τῆς παραλίας. παραβέβληται δὲ πώς τῷ ποταμῷ μὲν καὶ τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς κατὰ πλάτος, ἀλλὰ δ' ἔκ κατὰ μήκος: ἀνέχουσι δὲ πρὸς τὰ Ἀπεννίνα ὀρη τὰ πλησιάζοντα τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Ὁμβρικοὶ, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Σαβίνους, τελευταίοι δ' οἱ τὴν Λατίνην ἔχοντες, ἀρξάμενοι πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ἢ μὲν οὖν τῶν Λατίνων χώρα μεταξὺ κεῖται τῆς τε ἀπὸ τῶν Ὁστίνων παραλίας μέχρι πόλεως Σιννόσσης καὶ τῆς Σαβίνης (τὰ δ' Ὀστιεά ἐστιν ἐπίνειον τῆς Ῥώμης, εἰς δὲ ἐκδίδοσιν ὁ Τίβερις παρ' αὐτὴν ῥυέσθαι), ἐκτείνεται δὲ ἐπὶ μήκος μέγη τῆς Καμπανίας καὶ τῶν Σαυνιτικῶν ὀρῶν ἡ δὲ Σαβίνη μεταξὺ τῶν Λατίνων κεῖται καὶ τῶν Ὁμβρικῶν, ἐκτείνεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ πρὸς τὰ Σαυνιτικὰ ὀρη, καὶ μᾶλλον συνάπτει τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις τοῖς κατὰ Οὐστίνους τε καὶ Πελάγους καὶ

1 Umbria.
description except that the people live only in villages, plowing and digging rough land, or rather, as Poseidonius says, quarrying stones. The Third Portion is contiguous to the Second—I mean the country of the Tyrrheni, who hold the plains that extend as far as the River Tiber and whose country is washed, on its eastern side (generally speaking), by the river as far as its mouth, and on the other side by the Tyrrenian and Sardinian Sea. But the Tiber flows from the Apennine Mountains, and is fed by many rivers; for a part of its course it runs through Tyrrenia itself, and in its course thereafter separates from Tyrrenia, first, Ombrica, then, the country of the Sabini and also that part of Latium which is near Rome and extends as far as the coastline. These three latter lie approximately parallel to the river and Tyrrenia in their breadth and also to one another in their length; and they reach up to those parts of the Apennine Mountains which closely approach the Adriatic, in this order: first, Ombrica, then, after Ombrica, the country of the Sabini, and, last, Latium—all of them beginning at the river. Now the country of the Latini lies between the coastline that stretches from Ostia as far as the city of Sinuessa and the country of the Sabini (Ostia is the port-town of the Roman navy—the port into which the Tiber, after flowing past Rome, empties), although it extends lengthwise as far as Campania and the mountains of the Samnitae. But the country of the Sabini lies between that of the Latini and that of the Ombrici, although it too extends to the mountains of the Samnitae, or rather it joins that part of the Apennines which is in the country of the Vestini, the Peligni, and the
Μαρσυών: οἱ δ᾿ Ὁμβρικοὶ μέσοι μὲν κεῖνται τῆς τε Σαβίνης καὶ τῆς Τυρρηνίας, μέχρι δ᾿ Ἀριμῖνον καὶ Ῥαούέμην προῖσιν ὑπερβάλλοντες τὰ ὁρη. Τυρρηνοὶ δὲ παύονται ὡς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀρεσὶ τοῖς περικλείουσιν ἐκ τῆς Δυσματικῆς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν, ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἄρξαμενοι θαλάττης καὶ τοῦ Τιβέριδος. τὰ καθ᾿ ἐκαστὰ δὲ διεξίμεν, ἀπ᾿ αὐτῶν τούτων ἄρξαμενοι.

2. Οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τοίνυν παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις Ἑπερούσκοι καὶ Τοῦσκοι προσαγαρεύονται. οἱ δ᾿ Ἔλληνες οὕτως ἀνώμασαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦ Ἀτρυς, ὡς φασί, τοῦ στειλαντος ἐκ Λυδίας ἐπόρισες δεύρο. ἐπὶ γὰρ λιμὸν καὶ ἄφορίας ὁ Ἀτρυς, εἰς τῶν ἀπογόνων Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ὁμφάλης, δυναὶ παῖδων ὄντων, κλήρω Λυδίῳ μὲν κατέσχε, τῷ δὲ Τυρρηνῷ τὸν πλεῖον συστήσας λαδὺ ἤξέστειλεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ τὴν τε χώραν ἢφ’ ἑαυτοῦ Τυρρηνίαν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ δόδεκα πόλεις ἐκτισεν, οἰκιστὶ ἐπιστήσας Τάρκοννα, ἢφ’ οὐ Τάρκυννα ἡ πόλις, ὅν διὰ τὴν ἐκ παῖδων σῶμας πολιῶν γεγενηθαι μυθεύουσι. τὸτε μὲν οὐν ὄφ’ ἐν ἡγεμονὶ ταττόμενοι μέγα οὐχιοῦν, χρόνοις δ᾿ ὑστερον διαλυθῆναι τὸ σύστημα εἰκὸς καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διασπασθῆναι βίᾳ τῶν πλησιόχωρων εἰςαιντας. οὐ γὰρ ἄν χώραν εὐδαίμονα ἀφέντως τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ ληστέλαι ἐπέθεντο, ἀλλοι πρὸς ἀλλα τραπόμενοι πελάγη, ἐπεῖ, ὅπου γε συμπνεύσαιεν,

1 προῖσιν, Cornis, for προῖσιν; so the later editors.

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1 Ἐπ. 5. 4. 2.
2 The Tyrrhenian Sea.
3 The Greek spelling is “Ταρκυνία.”
Marsi.¹ And the country of the Ombrici lies between the country of the Sabini and Tyrrhenia, although it extends over the mountains as far as Ariminum and Ravenna. And Tyrrhenia, beginning at its proper sea² and the Tiber, ceases at the very foot of those mountains which enclose it from Liguria to the Adriatic. I shall treat the several parts, however, in detail, beginning with the Tyrrheni themselves.

2. The Tyrrheni, then, are called among the Romans "Etrusci" and "Tusci." The Greeks, however, so the story goes, named them thus after Tyrrhenus, the son of Atys, who sent forth colonists hither from Lydia: At a time of famine and death of crops, Atys, one of the descendants of Heracles and Omphale, having only two children, by a casting of lots detained one of them, Lydus, and, assembling the greater part of the people with the other, Tyrrhenus, sent them forth. And when Tyrrhenus came, he not only called the country Tyrrhenia after himself, but also put Tarco in charge as "coloniser," and founded twelve cities; Tarco, I say, after whom the city of Tarquinia³ is named, who, on account of his sagacity from boyhood, is said by the myth-tellers to have been born with grey hair. Now at first the Tyrrheni, since they were subject to the orders of only one ruler, were very strong, but in later times, it is reasonable to suppose, their united government was dissolved, and the Tyrrheni, yielding to the violence of their neighbours, were broken up into separate cities; for otherwise they would not have given up a happy land and taken to the sea as pirates, different bands turning to different parts of the high seas; indeed, in all cases where they acted in concert, they were able,
ικανοὶ ἦσαν οὐκ ἀμύνασθαι μόνον τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦν- 
tas αυτῶν,1 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντεπιχειρεῖν καὶ μακρὰς 
στρατείας ποιεῖσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ῥώμης 
kτίσιν Δημάρτατος ἀφικνεῖται, λαὸν ἀγων ἐκ Κορίν- 
θου, καὶ δεξαμένων αὐτὸν Ταρκυννῶν γεννη-
δουκούμων ἐξ ἐπιχειρίας γυναικός. γενόμενος 
dὲ "Αγκω Μαρκίων," τὸ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, 
φίλος ἐβασιλεύσει οὗτος, καὶ μετονομάσθη Δεύ-
kios Ταρκύννοις Πρίσκος, ἐκόσμησε δ᾽ οὖν τὴν 
Τυρρηνίαν καὶ αὐτός καὶ ὁ πατὴρ πρῶτον, ὁ 
mὲν εὐπορία δημουργῶν τῶν συνακολουθησαντῶν 
οίκοθεν, ὁ δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφορμαῖς. ἔγε-
ται δὲ καὶ ὁ θριαμβικὸς κόσμος καὶ ὑπατικὸς καὶ 
ἀπλῶς ὁ τῶν ἀρχαντῶν ἐκ Ταρκυνίων δεύομε 
νεχθῆναι καὶ ρίζδοι καὶ πελέκεις καὶ συλπυγγα 
καὶ ἐροποιεῖ καὶ μαντικὴ καὶ μουσικὴ ὁσι 
δημο-
sία χρῶται Ῥωμαῖοι. ταύτων δ᾽ υἱὸς ἦν ὁ δεύτε-
ρος Ταρκύννος, ὁ Σούπερβος, ὁσπερ καὶ τελευταῖος 
βασιλεύσας ἐξῆπτοε. Ποροίνας δ᾽, ὁ τῶν Ὀλυ-
σίων βασιλεύς, πόλεως Τυρρηνίδος, κατάγει 
αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσας δι᾽ ὀπλῶν, οὐκ οἶος τε ἦν, 
kataluσάμενος τὴν ἔχθραν ἀπῆλθε φίλος μετὰ 
τιμῆς καὶ δωρεῶν μεγάλων.

3. Περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐπιφάνειας τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ταῦτα 
καὶ ἔτι τὰ τοῖς Καρετανοῖς πραχθέντα καὶ γὰρ 
tοὺς ἐλώντας τὴν Ῥώμην Γαλάτας κατεπολέμησαν,

1 αὐτῶι, Xylander, for αὐτῶις; so the later editors.
2 Μαρκέφ, Corais, for Μάρκεφ; so the later editors.

1 Demaratus became the ruler of the city (8. 6. 20).
2 In the legendary history of Rome, Lucumo was made 
king by the Senate and people in 615 B.C.

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not only to defend themselves against those who attacked them, but also to attack in turn and to make long expeditions. But it was after the founding of Rome that Demaratus arrived, bringing with him a host of people from Corinth; and, since he was received by the Tarquinians,¹ he married a native woman, by whom he begot Lucumo. And since Lucumo had proved a friend to Ancus Marcius, the king of the Romans, he was made king;² and his name was changed to Lucius Tarquininus Priscus. Be that as it may, he too adorned Tyrrenhia, as his father had done before him—the father by means of the goodly supply of artisans who had accompanied him from home and the son by means of the resources supplied by Rome. It is further said that the triumphal, and consular, adornment, and, in a word, that of all the rulers, was transferred to Rome from Tarquinii,³ as also fasces, axes, trumpets, sacrificial rites, divination, and all music publicly used by the Romans. This Tarquinius was the father of the second Tarquinius, the “Superbus,” who was the last of the kings and was banished.⁴ Porsinas, the king of Clusium,⁵ a Tyrrenian city, undertook to restore him to the throne by force of arms, but was unable to do so, although he broke up the personal enmity against himself and departed as friend, along with honour and large gifts.

3. Thus much for the lustre of the Tyrreni. And still to be recorded are the achievements of the Cacretani:⁶ they defeated in war those Galatae who

¹ The same as “Tarquinia,” 5. 2. 2.
² 500 B.C.
³ Now Chiusi.
⁴ Their city was Caere, one of the twelve founded by Tyrrenenus.
πιούσιν ἐπιθέμενοι κατὰ Σαβίνους, καὶ ἀ παρ’ ἐκόντων ἐλαβοῦν Ῥωμαίουν ἐκεῖνοι λάφυρα ἄκοντας ἀφείλοντο. πρὸς δὲ τούτως τοὺς καταφυτῶντας παρ’ αὐτούς ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἔσωσαν καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον πῦρ καὶ τὰς τῆς Ἐστίας ἰερεῖας. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοι διὰ τούς τότε φαύλους διοικοῦντας τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἀπομνημονεύσαι τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦς δοκοῦσιν πολιτείαν γὰρ δόντες οὐκ ἀνέγραψαν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μὴ μετέχοντας τῆς ἰσονομίας εἰς τὰς δέλτους ἐξωρίζον τὰς Καιρεταῖας. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκίμησεν ἡ πόλις αὐτή διὰ τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην τῶν τε γὰρ ληστηρίων ἀπέσχετο, καίπερ δυναμένη πλείστον, καὶ Πυθοὶ τὸν Ἀγυλ- λαίον καλούμενον ἀνέθηκε θησαυρόν. Ἀγυλλα γὰρ ἄνωμάζετο τὸ πρότερον ἡ νῦν Καϊρέα, καὶ λέγεται Πελασγῶν κτίσμα τῶν ἐκ Θετταλίας ἀφιγ- μένων· τῶν δὲ Δυνηῶν οὕτε Τυρρηνοῦ μετωπο- μάσθησαν, ἐπιστρατευοῦσάν τοῖς Ἀγυλλαίοις, προσίων τῷ τείχει τις ἐπινιμάντετο τούνομα τῆς πόλεως, τῶν δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους Θετταλῶν τινος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποκρίνασθαι προσαγορεύσαντος αὐτοῦς χαίρε, δεξάμενοι τὸν οἰκον. οἱ Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦτον ἀλοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν μετώνομασαν. ἡ δὲ οὐτω λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐπιφανῆς πόλις νῦν ἴχνη σῶζει μόνον,

1 390 B.C.
2 That is, the right of suffrage, ius suffragii.
3 Roman citizens themselves, when disfranchised by the censor, were enrolled in the Tabulæ Oceritum, and hence the odium.
4 Delphi.
5 See 9. 3. 8.
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had captured Rome,\textsuperscript{1} having attacked them when they were in the country of the Sabini on their way back, and also took away as booty from the Galatae, against their will, what the Romans had willingly given them; in addition to this, they saved all who fled to them for refuge from Rome, and the immortal fire, and the priestesses of Vesta. The Romans, it is true, on account of the bad managers which the city had at the time, do not seem to have remembered the favour of the Caeretani with sufficient gratitude, for, although they gave them the right of citizenship, they did not enroll them among the citizens, and even used to relegate all others who had no share in the equal right\textsuperscript{2} to “the Tablets of the Caeretani.”\textsuperscript{3}

Among the Greeks, however, this city was in good repute both for bravery and for righteousness; for it not only abstained from all piracy, although particularly well fitted therefor, but also set up at Pytho\textsuperscript{4} what is called “the treasury\textsuperscript{5} of the Agyllæi”; for what is now Caerea\textsuperscript{6} was formerly called Agylla, and is said to have been founded by Pelasgi who had come from Thessaly. But when those Lydians whose name was changed to Tyrrheni marched against the Agyllæi, one of them approached the wall and inquired what the name of the city was, and when one of the Thessalians on the wall, instead of replying to the inquiry, saluted him with a “Chaere,”\textsuperscript{7} the Tyrrheni accepted the omen, and, on capturing the city, changed its name accordingly. But the city, once so splendid and illustrious, now preserves mere traces of its former self; and the hot springs near by, which are called Caeretanian

\textsuperscript{1} The proper Latin spelling was “Caere.”
\textsuperscript{2} The regular Greek word of salutation.
ευανδρεὶ δ' αὐτῆς μᾶλλον τὰ πλησίον θερμά, ἂν καλοῦσι Καιρετανά, διὰ τοῖς φοιτῶντας θεραπείας χάριν.

4. Τοῦς δὲ Πελασγοὺς, ὅτι μὲν ἀρχαῖων τι φύλων κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάσαν ἐπετύλασε¹ καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰολεύσι τοῖς κατὰ Θετταλίαν, ὀμολογοῦσιν ἀπαντεῖς σχεδόν τι. νομίζειν δὲ φησιν Ὅφρος τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Ἀρκάδας ὅπως ἐλέσθαι στρατιωτικῶν βίων, εἰς δὲ τὴν αὐτῆς ἀγωγὴν πρότρέποντας πολλοὺς ἅπασι τοῦ ἰσομέτοι μεταδοῦναι καὶ πολλήν ἐπιφάνειαν κτῆσαι καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἑλληστοὺς καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, παρ' ὅσον ποτὲ ἀφυμένοι τετυχήκασι. καὶ γὰρ τῆς Κρήτης ἐποίκων ἂγωγόνωσιν, ὡς φησιν Ὅμηρος: λέγει γοῦν Ὁδυσσεὺς πρὸς Πηνελόπην:

ἀλλὰ δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμεγμένη ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοῖ,
ἐν δ' Ἐπεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
Δωριές τε τριχαίκες, διὸ τε Πελασγοῖ.

(Ul. 19. 175)

καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἀργος ἡ Θετταλία λέγεται, τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Πηνείου καὶ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν ἔως τῆς ὀρεινῆς τῆς κατὰ Πίνδου, διὰ τὸ ἑπάρξαι τῶν τότων τούτων τούς Πελασγοὺς. τὸν τε Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητής οὐνομάζει Πελασγικὸν.

Ζεὺς ἄνα, Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ.

(P. 16. 233)

πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἡπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη Πελασγικά.
Springs,¹ have a greater population than it has—because of those who visit the Springs for the cure.²

4. As for the Pelasgi, almost all agree, in the first place, that some ancient tribe of that name spread throughout the whole of Greece, and particularly among the Aeolians of Thessaly. Again, Ephorus says that he is of the opinion that, since they were originally Arcadians, they chose a military life, and that, in converting many peoples to the same mode of life, they imparted their name to all, and thus acquired great glory, not only among the Greeks, but also among all other peoples whithersoever they had chanced ³ to come. For example, they prove to have been colonisers of Crete, as Homer says; at any rate, Odysseus says to Penelope: “But one tongue with others is mixed; there dwell Achaeans, there Cretans of the old stock, proud of heart, there Cydonians, and Dorians too, of waving plumes, and goodly Pelasgians.” And Thessaly is called “the Pelasgian Argos” (I mean that part of it which lies between the outlets of the Peneius River and Thermopylae as far as the mountainous country of Pindus), on account of the fact that the Pelasgi extended their rule over these regions. Further, the Dodonaean Zeus is by the poet himself named “Pelasgian”: “O Lord Zeus, Dodonaean, Pelasgian.” And many have called also the tribes of Epirus

¹ Now, apparently, Bagni del Sasso. ² Cp. 5. 2. 9. ³ Cp. “Pelargi,” p. 347. ⁴ Crete.

¹ For ἀπεπόλασε, Meineke, following Ε (which also reads Πελασγοί, φύλον ἄρχαίον καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πῦσαν), reads ἐπιπολᾶσαν.
εἰρήκασιν, ὡς καὶ μέχρι δεύτερο ἐπαρξάντων. Πελασγοῦς τε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἥρωων ὁνόματα καλεσαντες, οἱ ὑστερον ἀπ’ ἐκείνων πολλὰ τῶν ἔθνων ἐπώνυμα πεποιήκασι καὶ γὰρ τὴν Λέσβον Πελασγίαν εἰρήκασι, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι Κίλιξιν ὁμήρος εἴρηκε τοὺς ὀμόρους Πελασγοὺς.

Ἱππόθοος δ’ ἄγε φῦλα Πελασγῶν ἐγχεισιμώρων, τῶν, οἱ Λάρισαν ἐρμβώλακα ναιετάσκον.

(II. 2. 840)

tὸ δ’ Ἐφόρος τοῦ ἑσ’ Ἀρκαδίας εἶναι τὸ φῦλον τούτο ἢρξεν Ἡσίοδος. φησὶ γὰρ

νῦες ἐξεγένοντο Δυκάνων ἀντιθέου, ὃν ποτὲ τίκτε Πελασγῶς.

(loc. incert.)

Δισχύλος δ’ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Μυκήνας Ἀργοὺς φησὶν ἐν Ἰκέτισιν ἡ 3 Δαναὲς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν. καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον δὲ Πελασγίαν φησιν Ἐφορος κλῆθηναι, καὶ Εὐρυπίδης δ’ ἐν Ἀρχελάω φησιν ὃτι

Δαναὸς δ’ πεπτήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ ἔλθων ἐς Ἀργος φίκησ’ 4 Ἰνάχου πόλιν,

1 For ὁνόματα, Groskurd reads ὀνομαστὲ; Meineke, ὄνομα.
2 τοῦ, Corais, following no, for τὸ (AB!), τῷ (C?); so the later editors.
3 For ἡ, Meineke reads καὶ.
4 The reading of the MSS. is φίκησιν (Müller-Dübner, Ind. Var. Lect.). All the editors since Xylander, except Corais and Du Theil (who read φίκησεν), read φίκησ’. Jones reads φίκησ’.

1 Hippothous was the son of “Lethus Pelasgus” (Iliad 2. 843, and 17. 288). In 13. 3. 2 Strabo takes Homer, in the passage above quoted, to mean Larisa Phryconis, the “Larisa near Cyme,” which latter is now Lamurtkeui. On “Larisa Phryconis,” see 9. 5. 19.
"Pelasgian," because in their opinion the Pelasgi extended their rule even as far as that. And, further, because many of the heroes were called "Pelasgi" by name, the people of later times have, from those heroes, applied the name to many of the tribes; for example, they have called the island of Lesbos "Pelasgia," and Homer has called "Pelasgi" the people that were neighbours to those Cilicians who lived in the Troad: "And Hippothous led the tribes of spear-fighting Pelasgi, those Pelasgi who inhabited deep-soiled Larissa."\(^1\) But Ephorus' authority for the statement that this race originated in Arcadia was Hesiod; for Hesiod says: "And sons were born of god-like Lycaon, who, on a time, was begotten by Pelasgus." Again, Aeschylus, in his \(Suppliants\)^2 or else his \(Danaan Women\)^3 says that the race of the Pelasgi originated in that Argos which is round about Mycenae.\(^4\) And the Peloponnesus too, according to Ephorus, was called "Pelasgia."\(^5\) And Euripides too, in his \(Archelaus\)^6 says: "Danaus, the father of fifty daughters, on coming into Argos,\(^7\) took up his abode in the city of Inachus,\(^8\) and

\(^2\) \(Hiketides\) 16 ff. and 250 ff.

\(^3\) The \(Danaan Women\) (\(Danaides\)) is no longer extant.

\(^4\) That is, the \(district\) of Argos, in which Mycenae as well as the city of Argos were situated (see 8. 6. 5–10).

\(^5\) The Peloponnesus was called "Argos" as well as "Pelasgia" (8. 6. 5).

\(^6\) The \(Archelaus\) is no longer extant.

\(^7\) Again the \(district\) of Argos, elsewhere (8. 6. 8) called "Argela."

\(^8\) The "city of Inachus"—so called from Inachus, the first king of Argos—was the city of Argos. By a slight change in the Greek most of the editors (see note 4 on opposite page) emend "took up his abode in" to "founded," presumably on the ground that Strabo later says "Danaus founded the acropolis" (Argos) "of the Argives" (8. 6. 9).
Πελασγιώτας δ' ὄνομασμένος τὸ πρὶν
Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.

(Πρ. 228, Nauck)

'Ἀγικλείδης δὲ πρῶτος φησίν αὐτοῦς τὰ περὶ
Ἄχιμον καὶ Ἰμβρῶν κτίσαι, καὶ δὴ τούτων τινὰς
καὶ μετὰ Τυρρηνοῦ Λτυνος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν συνά-
ραι. καὶ οἳ τὴν Ἀττιδα συγκρίζοντες ἵστοροῦσι
περὶ τῶν Πελασγῶν, ὡς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς γεγομένων
tῶν Πελασγῶν,1 διὰ δὲ τὸ πλανῆτας εἶναι καὶ
δίκην ὄρνεαν ἐπιφωνεῖν ἐφ' οὐς ἔτυχε τὸποὺς Πε-
λαργοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν κληθῆναι.

Ο 222  5. Τῆς δὲ Τυρρηνίας μῆκος μὲν τὸ μέγιστον εἶναι
φασὶ τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Λούνης μὲχρι Ὀστίων
δισχίλιον ποὺ καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος
δὲ τοῦ ἡμίσιου ἔλαττον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὄρεσιν.
 eius μὲν οὖν Πίσας ἀπὸ Λούνης πλείους τῶν τετρακο-
σίων σταδίων εἰσὶν, ἐνεῳδεὶς δ' εἰς Ὀὐσοτέρρας
dιακόσιοι ὑγδοήκοντα, πάλιν δ' ἐνθεῦδε εἰς Ποπλῶ-
νιον διακόσιοι ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐκ δὲ Ποπλωνίου εἰς
Κόσαν ἐγγὺς ὄκτακόσιοι, οἱ δὲ ἐξακόσιοι φασὶ.
Πολύβιος δ' οὖν2 εἶναι τοὺς πάντας χιλίους τρια-

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1 Meineke relegates the second τῶν Πελασγῶν to the foot
of the page, perhaps rightly.

2 Kramer inserts εδ' after οὖν; so Müller-Dübner. Meineke
emends εἶναι to εδ' καλ, perhaps rightly.

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1 Androcion, Philochoros, and others; only fragments of
their works remain.

2 "Atthis" was the old name of Attica, from Atthis, the
daughter of the mythical king Cranaus (Cp. 9. 1. 18).

3 Cp. 9. 1. 18 and 9. 2. 3.
throughout Greece he laid down a law that all people hitherto named Pelasgians were to be called Danaans." And again, Anticleides says that they were the first to settle the regions round about Lemnos and Imbros, and indeed that some of these sailed away to Italy with Tyrrenhus the son of Atys. And the compilers\(^1\) of the histories of *The Land of Atlhis*\(^2\) give accounts of the Pelasgi, believing that the Pelasgi were in fact at Athens too,\(^3\) although the Pelasgi were by the Attic people called "Pelargi,"\(^4\) the compilers add, because they were wanderers and, like birds, resorted to those places whither chance led them.\(^5\)

5. They say that the maximum length of Tyrrenhia—the coastline from Luna as far as Ostia—is about two thousand five hundred stadia, and its breadth (I mean its breadth near the mountains\(^6\)) less than half its length. Now from Luna to Pisa the distance is more than four hundred stadia; and thence to Volaterrae, two hundred and eighty; and again, from here to Poplonium, two hundred and seventy; and from Poplonium to Cosa,\(^7\) nearly eight hundred, though some say six hundred. Polybius, however, says the total number of stadia\(^8\) is not so

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\(^4\) Literally, "Storks."

\(^5\) Cp. 9. 1. 18, where Strabo refers to the Pelasgi as having "sojourned" at Athens.

\(^6\) "Near the mountains" is very indefinite, but in § 9 following Strabo applies the same phrase to the city of Arretium, adding that this city "is farthest of all in the interior." In the present passage, therefore, he clearly means that the line of greatest breadth runs to the Apennines near Arretium—which is correct.

\(^7\) Often called "Cossa"; so in § 8 following.

\(^8\) From Luna to Cosa.
Strabo postpones his estimates of the remaining distances (Cosa-Gravisca-Purgi-Ostia), totalling (about) 740 stadia, to §8 following. Following Groskurd, Meineke unwarrantedly indicates a lacuna in the text immediately after "some say six hundred," thinking Strabo must have added at that point the distance from Cosa to Ostia. Thus he makes the figures of Polybius (whose original statement, unfortunately, is now lost) apply to the entire distance from Luna to Ostia. But my measurement on Kiepert's wall-map of Ancient Italy, 1330 stadia proves to be a very close estimate for the distance, along the coastal-roads from Luna to Cosa.

That is, "Harbour of the Moon" ("Moon-Harbour"). Cp. "Harbour of Meneathus" (3.1.9) and "Harbour of Monocennus" (4.6.3), each phrase meaning the city as well as the harbour. The Gulf of Spezia (its dimensions are seven miles by three) is one of the finest harbours in the world. It is the chief station of the Italian navy, and has at its head a dockyard and arsenal.
much as one thousand three hundred and thirty.\textsuperscript{1} Of these, take first Luna; it is a city and also a harbour, and the Greeks call the city as well as the harbour "Harbour of Selene."\textsuperscript{2} The city, indeed, is not large, but the harbour is both very large and very beautiful, since it includes within itself several harbours, all of them deep up to the very shore,—just such a place as would naturally become the naval base of a people who were masters of so great a sea for so long a time. And the harbour is shut in all round by high mountains, from which the high seas are to be seen, as also Sardo,\textsuperscript{3} and a considerable stretch of the shore on either side. And the quarries of marble,\textsuperscript{4} both white and mottled bluish-grey marble, are so numerous, and of such quality (for they yield monolithic slabs and columns), that the material for most of the superior works of art\textsuperscript{5} in Rome and the rest of the cities are supplied therefrom;\textsuperscript{6} and, indeed, the marble is easy to export, since the quarries lie above the sea and

\textsuperscript{2} Sardinia. Tozer (\textit{Selections}, p. 144) thinks Strabo must have meant Corsica, since Sardinia is 180 miles distant.

\textsuperscript{3} Now the quarries of Carrara.

\textsuperscript{4} For specific references to Roman "works of art" in stone, see 5. 3. 8.

\textsuperscript{5} For a full discussion of stones of all kinds, and their uses at Rome and elsewhere, see the \textit{Natural History} of Pliny, Book XXXVI. See also W. G. Renwick's \textit{Marble and Marble Working} (1909), pp. 20 ff. and 69 ff. Dr. J. S. Flett (\textit{Encyc. Brit.}, s.v. "Marble") says: "Stone from this district was employed in Rome for architectural purposes in the time of Augustus, but the finer varieties, adapted to the needs of the sculptor, were not discovered until some time later." The best works of Michelangelo and Canova were executed in Carrara marble; and the best sculptors of to-day prefer to use this particular marble.
διαδεχομένου τοῦ Τιβέριος τὴν κομιδήν καὶ τὴν ἐνυλείαν τὴν εἰς τὰς οἰκισμοὺς σελμάτων ἐνθυτάτων καὶ ἐνυμικεστάτων ἡ Τυρρηνία χαριζεῖ τὴν πλείστην, τῶν ποταμῶν κατάγουσα ἐκ τῶν ὅραν ἐνθύς. μεταξὺ δὲ Λούνης καὶ Πίσθης ὁ Μάκρας ἐστὶ, ὃς πέρατι τῆς Τυρρηνίας καὶ τῆς Λιγυστικῆς κέχρηνται τῶν συγγραφέων πολλοῦ. ἡ δὲ Πίσθα κτίσμα μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Πισσάτων, οἱ μετὰ Νέστορος ἐπὶ 'Ἰλιον στρατεύσαντες κατὰ τὸν ἀνάπλοιον ἐπλανήθησαν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ Μεταπόντιον, οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν Πισσάτιν, ἀπαντεῖς Πύλου καλούμενοι. δυνα ὃς ποταμῶν κεῖται μεταξύ κατ' αὐτήν τὴν συμβολήν, Ἀρνοῦ τε καὶ Αὐσαροῦ, ὃν ὁ μὲν ἐξ Ἀρρητίου φέρεται πολύς, οὐχὶ πάς, ἀλλὰ τριχή σχισθεῖς, ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσανίνων ὅραν συμμετέχοντες δ' εἰς ἐνα ῥεῖρον μεταφρίζουσιν ἀλλήλους ταῖς ἀντικαταστάσεις ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὡστε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμόνων ἐστώτας ἀμφότεροι μηδὲ ἐτεροῦ ὕπο θατέρου καθορᾶσθαι, ὥστε ἀνάγκη δυσανάπλωστα ἐκ θαλάσσης εἶναι. στάδιον δ' εἰσὶ τοῦ ἀνάπλου περὶ εἴκοσι. μυθεύσοι δ', ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὅραν ὁ ποταμὸς κατεφέροντο οὕτω, κωλυμένους ὕπο τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, μη συμπε-
near it, and since the Tiber in its turn takes up the cargo from the sea and conveys it to Rome. And the wooden material for the buildings, in beams that are very straight and very long, is for the most part supplied by Tyrrenia, since by means of the river it can be brought down directly from the mountains. Now between Luna¹ and Pisa is the Macras,² which many of the historians have used as the boundary between Tyrrenia and Liguria.³ As for Pisa, it was founded by those Pisatae who lived in the Peloponnesus, who made the expedition to Ilium with Nestor and on the return voyage went astray, some to Metapontium, and others to the territory of Pisa, though all of them were called Pylians. Pisa is situated between, and at the very confluence of, two rivers, the Arnus and the Ausar, of which the former runs from Arretium, with great quantities of water (not all in one stream, but divided into three streams), and the latter from the Apennine Mountains; and when they unite and form one stream they heave one another up so high by their mutual resistance that two persons standing on the opposite banks cannot even see each other; and hence, necessarily, voyages inland from the sea are difficult to make; the length of the voyage is about twenty stadia. And the following fable is told: when these rivers first began to flow down from the mountains, and their course was being hindered by the natives for fear that they would unite in one harbour, Strabo must either have meant the harbour, not the city, of Luna, or else have thought the city was situated on the harbour.

¹ The River Maera.
² So Pliny, 3. 7 and 3. 8; Livy, 30. 32, 40. 41; Florus, 2. 3. 4.
σόντες εἰς ὑν κατακλύζοντο τὴν χώραν, ὑποσχέσθαι μὴ κατακλύσειν καὶ φυλάξαι τὴν πίστιν. δοκεῖ δὴ ἡ πόλις εὐτυχήσαι ποτε, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀδοξεῖ διὰ τε εὐκαρπίαν καὶ τὰ λείουργεῖα καὶ τὴν ὑλὴν τῆς ναυτηγήσιον, ὅ τοῦ μὲν παλαιῶν ἔχρωντο πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ θάλατταν κινδύνους· καὶ γὰρ μαχιμω-τεροὶ Τύρρηνῶν ὑπῆρξαν, καὶ παρώξυναν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀργοὶ, ποιηροὶ γείτονες παρὰ πλευρὰν ὑπερνῦν δὲ τὸ πλέον εἰς τὰς οἰκοδομὰς ἀναλίσκεται τὰς ἐν Ὁρμη, καὶ ταῖς ἐπαύλεσι, βασιλεία κατα- σκευαζόμενων Περσικά.

6. Τὸν δὲ Οὐσολάτερρανῶν ἢ μὲν χώρα κλύζεται τῇ θαλάττῃ, τὸ δὲ κτίσμα εἰς φύραγγι βαθεῖας λόφοις ἐστὶν ὑψηλὸς περίκρημνος πάντη, τὴν κορυφὴν ἐπίπεδον, ἐφ' ἣ ἵδρυται τὸ θέαος τῆς πόλεως. ἡ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνάβασις πεντεκαίδεκα στάδιων ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς βάσεως, ὅπερ πᾶσα καὶ καλεσθε, ἐνταῦθα συνέστησαν τινες τῶν Τύρρηνῶν καὶ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ὑπὸ Σύλλα: πληρώσαντες δὲ τέταρτα τάγματα στρατιάς 1 διετῆ χρόνον ἐπολιορκήθησαν, εἰδ' ὑπόσπονδοι παρεχώρησαν τοῦ τόπου. τὸ δὲ Ποσελώνιον ἐπ' ἄκρας ὑψηλῆς ἵδρυ- ται, κατερρωγίας εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ χερρονη- σιώσεις, πολιορκίαν καὶ αὐτὸ δεδεγμένον περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καρποὺς. τὸ μὲν οὖν πολίχνιον πάν ἔρημον ἐστὶ πλῆν τῶν ιερῶν καὶ κατοικιῶν ὁλίγων, τὸ δ᾿ ἐπίνειον οἰκεῖται βέλτιον, πρὸς τῇ ρύζῃ τοῦ

1 στρατιάς, Corials, for stratelas; so the later editors.

1 The number of men in these battalions is uncertain, since the Greek word might mean any regular body of
stream and deluge the country, the rivers promised not to deluge it and kept their pledge. Again, Pisa is reputed to have been prosperous on a time, and at the present time it is not without repute, on account of its fertility, its stone-quarries, and its timber for ship-building; in ancient times, indeed, they utilised this latter material to meet the perils that faced them on the sea (for they were, to begin with, more warlike than the Tyrrheni, and their warlike spirit was sharpened by the Ligures, bad neighbours living at their flank), but at the present time most of it is being used up on the buildings at Rome, and also at the villas, now that people are devising palaces of Persian magnificence.

6. As for the Volaterrani, their country is washed by the sea and their settlement is in a deep ravine; in the ravine there is a high hill, which is precipitous on all sides and flat on the crest, and it is on this hill that the walls of the city are situated. The ascent from the base to the crest is fifteen stadia, an ascent that is sharp all the way up, and difficult to make. This is where some of the Tyrrheni and of those who had been proscribed by Sulla assembled; and, on filling out four battalions, they withstood a siege for two years, and even then retired from the place only under a truce. As for Poplonium, it is situated on a high promontory that makes an abrupt descent into the sea and forms a peninsula; it too sustained a siege at about the same time as Volaterrae. Now although the town is wholly desert except for the temples and a few dwellings, the port-town, which has a little harbour and two docks soldiers (as often), or a maniple (cp. Polybius 6. 24), or even a legion (cp. Cassius Dio 71. 9).
όρους λιμένιον ἔχουν καὶ νεωσοίκους δύο· καὶ δοκεῖ μου μόνη τῶν Τυρρηνίδων τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτὴ πόλεων ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἱδρύσαν· αὐτίον δ’ ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἀλίμενον· διότερα παντάπασιν ἐφευρὸν οἱ κτίσται τὴν βαλλατταν, ἢ προεβάλλωντο ἐρύματα πρὸ ἀυτῆς, ὡστε μὴ λάφυρον ἑτοιμὸν ἐκκεῖναι τοῖς ἐπιπλεύσασιν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ θυμοσκοπεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκρα. κατοπτεύεται δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πορρωθεῖν μὲν καὶ μόλις ἡ Σαρδώ, ἐγγυτέρω δ’ ἡ Κύρνος, ἐξήκοντα πως διέχουσα τῆς Σαρδώνος σταδίους, πολύ δὲ μᾶλλον τούτων ἡ Λιθαλία· ἡ ἡ προεχεστέρα τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐστίν, ὅσον τριακοσίων διέχουσα σταδίους, ὅσος καὶ τῆς Κύρνου διέχει. ἀριστῶν δ’ ἀφετήριον τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐστὶν ἐπί τὰς τρεῖς τὰς λεχθείσας νῆσους. εἰδομεν δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἤμειν, ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ποπλώνιον, καὶ μεταλλά τινα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκλελειμμένα. εἰδομεν δὲ καὶ τούς ἐργαζόμενοι τῶν σίδηρον τῶν ἐκ τῆς Λιθαλίας κομιζόμενον· οὐ γὰρ δύναται συλλιπαίνεσθαι καμινεύμενος ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ· κομίζεται δ’ εὖθυς ἐκ

1 δὺο· καὶ, Meineke, for δὺο καὶ; so Müller–Dübner.
2 Meineke emends πρῶ to πρό, following Corais.
3 ἡ, Meineke inserts; Casaubon, Kramer, and Müller–Dübner insert γὰρ before τῇ.

1 Corsica.
2 Elba.
3 Literally, “oiled together”; hence not “melted together” merely (the meaning given by the dictionaries and the editors in general), or “reduced to iron bars” (Casaubon and du Theil). Strabo speaks of “iron,” not “iron-ore”; and he does not mean to say that iron-ore was not smelted at all on the island. Indeed, Diodorus Siculus (5. 13) tells us in detail how the people there broke up the masses of

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at the base of the mountain, is better peopled; and in my opinion this is the only one of the ancient Tyrren- 
henian cities that was situated on the sea itself; and my reason is the country's lack of harbours—
precisely the reason why the founders would avoid the sea altogether, or else would throw forward 
defences towards the sea, so as not to be exposed, a ready prey, to any who might sail against them. 
Again, beneath the promontory there is a place for watching the tunny-fish. And in looking down 
from the city you can see, albeit from afar and with difficulty, the island of Sardo, and, nearer, the 
island of Cyrnus¹ (about sixty stadia distant from Sardo), and, much better than these, the island 
of Aethalia;² Aethalia is closer to the mainland, since it is distant only about three hundred stadia, 
the same as its distance from Cyrnus. This place is the best point of departure from the mainland 
to the three aforesaid islands. I myself saw these islands when I went up to Poplonium, and also 
some mines out in the country that had failed. And I also saw the people who work the iron that 
is brought over from Aethalia; for it cannot be brought into complete coalescence³ by heating in 
the furnaces on the island; and it is brought over

¹ "iron-rock," and "burnt" and "melted" the pieces in "ingenious furnaces"; how they divided the resulting mass into lumps of convenient size, in form similar to large sponges; and how they sold the lumps to merchants, who took them over to the various markets on the mainland. Hence Strabo is thinking primarily of the high temperature necessary to bring the iron from a brittle and spongy to a soft and tough texture; but for the lack of wood on the island (see Beckmann on Aristot. Milv. c. 93) any further working of the iron there was wholly impracticable. On the kinds of iron and how to temper it, see Pliny 34. 41.
τῶν μετάλλων εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον. τούτῳ τέ δὴ παράδοξον ἡ νῆσος ἔχει καὶ τὸ τὰ ὀρύγματα ἀναπληροῦσθαι πάλιν τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ μεταλλευθέντα, καθάπερ τοὺς πλαταμώνας φασί τουσ ἐν Ἐρμῷ καὶ τὴν ἐν Πάρῳ πέτραν τὴν μάρμαρον καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἰνδῷς ἄλας, ὡς φησὶ Κλέαταρχος. οὔτ' οὖν Ἕρατοσθένης ὁρθῶς ὁ φήσας μὴ καθαρᾶσθαι μῆτε τὴν Κύρνου ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρον μῆτε τὴν Σαρδόνα, οὔτ' Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ φήσας ἐν χάλιοις εἶναι καὶ διακοσίοις σταδίοις πελαγίας ἁμφότερας. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τισὶν, ἡμῖν γε οὐκ ἄν υπῆρξαν ὀραταὶ ἦ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ἐφ' ὅσον σαφεῖς ἑωρῶμεν, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ Κύρνος. ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν Λιθαλίαν λιμήν Ἀργῦνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀργοῦς, ὡς φασίν ἔκεισι γὰρ πλεῦσαι τὴν τῆς Κίρκης ὁικήσεως ἄντοντα τὸν Ἴασονα, τῆς Μηδείας ἐθελούσης ἰδεῖν τὴν θεάν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀποστλεγμάτων παγέντων ἐπολοῦν οἱ Ἀργοναῦται, διαμένειν ἄτι καὶ ὧν διαποκίλουσι τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ψήφους. αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται μυθοποιίαι τεκμηρία τῶν λεγομένων ύφ' ἡμῶν εἰσιν, ὅτι οὐ πάντα "Ὁμήρος αὐτὸς ἐπλατεῖν, ἄλλ' ἰκουόν θρυλουμένων τῶν τοιούτων πολλῶν αὐτὸς προσετήθει μῆκη διαστημάτων καὶ ἐκτοπίσ-

1 ἦ, the reading of the MSS., Jones retains; others delete.  
2 In a letter to Forbiger, Meineke suggested δελα for δειν; and Forbiger so reads.

1 "Immediately from the mines" might imply, of course, that the particular supply that went to Popionium was, according to Strabo, merely ore as dug from the mines.  
2 Aristotle (Mirab. c. 93), speaking of this same island, says, on the authority of others, that what was once a copper mine gave out, and that long thereafter iron appeared.
immediately from the mines to the mainland.\textsuperscript{1} However, this is not the only remarkable thing about the island; there is also the fact that the diggings which have been mined are in time filled up again,\textsuperscript{2} as is said to be the case with the ledges of rocks in Rhodes, the marble-rock in Paros, and, according to Cleitarchus, the salt-rock in India.\textsuperscript{3} Neither, then, is Eratosthenes correct, when he says that neither Cynurus nor Sardo can be seen from the mainland, nor Artemidorus, when he says that both islands lie in the high sea within twelve hundred stadia; for even supposing they were visible to some people at that distance, they could not have been so to me, at least, or else not to the extent of their being seen clearly, and particularly Cynurus. Again, there is at Acthalia a Portus Argous,\textsuperscript{4} from the ship “Argo,” as they say; for when Jason, the story goes, was in quest of the abode of Circe, because Medea wished to see the goddess,\textsuperscript{5} he sailed to this port; and, what is more, because the scrapings, which the Argonauts formed when they used their strigils, became congealed, the pebbles on the shore remain variegated still to this day. Now mythical stories of this sort are proofs of what I have been saying: that Homer was not wont to fabricate everything on his own account, but, because he heard many such stories told over and over again, he was wont on his own account to add to them by lengthening the distances and making the settings more remote; and that, just as he threw the setting of in the same mine—“the iron which is now used by the inhabitants of Poplonium.”

\textsuperscript{3} Cp. 15. 1. 30.

\textsuperscript{4} Porto Ferrajo.

\textsuperscript{5} Meinke conjectures that Strabo wrote “aunt” instead of “goddess”; cp. 1. 2. 10.
μὲν, καὶ καθάπερ τὸν Ὅδυσσεα εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἔξεβαλε, παραπλησίως καὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα, γενομένης καὶ τούτῳ πλάνης τινὸς κάκεινος, καθάπερ καὶ Μενελάω. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Αἰθαλίας τοσάτα.

7. Ἡ δὲ Κύρνος ὑπὸ τῶν Ρωμαίων καλεῖται Κορσίκα. οἰκεῖται δὲ φαύλως, τραχεὶά τε ὀὖσα καὶ τοὺς πλείστοις μέρεσι δύσβατος τελεώς, ὡστε τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἀπὸ ληστηρίων ἔσωντας ἀγριωτέρους εἶναι θηρίων. ὀπίσθιαν γοῦν ὁμοίωσιν οἱ τῶν Ρωμαίων στρατηγοί, καὶ προσπεσόντες τοῖς ἐρύμασι πολὺ πλήθος ἔλαβοι τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, ὕπιπτεν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ θαναμάζειν ὅσον ἐμφαίνεται τὸ θηριώδες καὶ τὸ βοσκηματώδες ἐν αὐτοῖς· ἢ γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομένουσι χρὴ ἢ ἔσωντες ἀπαθεία καὶ ἀναισθησία τοὺς ὀνεισάμενους ἐπιτρέπουσιν, ὡστε καίπερ τὸ τυχὸν καταβαλοῦσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὅμως μεταμέλειαν. ἐστὶ δὲ ὅμως οἰκήσιμα τινά μέρη καὶ πολίσσματα ποὺ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ Χάραξι καὶ Ἐυμπνήαι καὶ Οὐάτανες. μήκος δὲ τῆς νῆσου φησίν ὁ χωρογράφος μίλια έκατον ἐξήκοντα, πλάτος δὲ ἐξδομήκοντα· Σαρδόνος δὲ μῆκος διακόσια εἴκοσι, πλάτος δὲ ἐνενήκοντα ὀκτώ.

1 Strabo again comes back to his favourite theme; cp. 1. 2. 9, 1. 2. 38, and 3. 2. 12.
3 It is impossible to say what “Chorographer” Strabo refers to here; and in 5. 2. 8, 6. 1. 11, 6. 2. 1 (“The Chorography”), 6. 2. 11, 6. 3. 10. The fact that the dimensions are given in Roman miles indicates that he does not allude to Eratothenes, or Polybius, or Artemidorus. Casaubon thinks he means the “Map of Agrippa.” Detlefsen (Ursprung ... der Erdkunde Agrippas in Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, Heft 13, pp. 21, 61 ff.),
his Odysseus out into the ocean, so similarly he threw the setting of his Jason there, because a wandering had actually taken place in the life of Jason too as well as in that of Odysseus—just as also in that of Menelaus.¹ So much, then, for the island of Aethalia.

7. But Cyrinus is by the Romans called Corsica. It affords such a poor livelihood—being not only rough but in most of its parts absolutely impracticable for travel—that those who occupy the mountains and live from brigandage are more savage than wild animals. At any rate, whenever the Roman generals have made a sally, and, falling suddenly upon the strongholds, have taken a large number of the people as slaves, you can at Rome see, and marvel at, the extent to which the nature of wild beasts, as also that of fattening cattle, is manifested in them; for either they cannot endure to live in captivity, or, if they live, they so irritate their purchasers by their apathy and insensibility, that, even though the purchasers may have paid for them no more than an insignificant sum, nevertheless they repent the purchase. But still there are some habitable parts in the island, and what might be called towns, namely, Blesinon, Charax, Eniconiae and Vapanes.² The length of the island, says the Chorographer,³ is one hundred and sixty miles, and the breadth seventy; but the length of Sardo is two hundred and twenty, and the breadth ninety-eight. According

and Braun (Ursprung, Einrichtung und Bedeutung der Erdkarte Agrippas, ibid., Heft 17, pp. 22–35) practically establish that the "Map of Agrippa" is meant; but see E. Pais, Ancient Italy, trans. by Curtis, p. 385, and Sterratt’s Introduction to the present work, p. xxvi, and Nissen’s Ital. Landeskunde, I. p. 17.
κατ' ἄλλους δὲ Κύριον μὲν περίμετρος περὶ τρισ-
χιλίους ¹ λέγεται καὶ διακοσίων σταδίων, τῆς δὲ
Σαρδώνος καὶ τετρακισχιλίους. ἔστε δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ
πολὺ μέρος τραχὺ καὶ οὐκ εἰρημαίον, πολὺ δὲ καὶ
χώραν ἔχουν εὐδαιμονα τοῖς πᾶσι, σῖτῳ δὲ καὶ διαφε-
ρώτους. πόλεις δὲ εἰσὶ μὲν πλεῖους, ἀξιόλογοι δὲ
Κάραλις καὶ Σοῦλχοι. τῇ δ' ἀρετῇ τῶν τόπων ἀντι-
τάττεται τίς καὶ μοχθηρία: νοσερά γὰρ ἡ νήσου τῶν
θέρων, καὶ μάλιστα εἶν τοῖς εὐκαρποῦσι χωρίοις,
tά δ' αὐτὰ τάυτα καὶ ποιθεῖται συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τῶν
ὀρείων οὓς καλοῦνται Διαγησθέως, Ἰολαίες πρότε-
ρουν ὄνομαζόμενοι. λέγεται γὰρ Ἰολαίοι ἔγον τῶν
παῖδων τινὰς τοῦ Ἰππακλέους ἔλθειν δεύτῳ καὶ
συνοικίσας τοῖς τῆς νήσου ἔχουσι βαρβάρους
(Ὑμηλην δ' ἦσαν): ύστερον δὲ Φοίνικες ἑπεκρά-
tησαν οἳ ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, καὶ μετὰ τούτων Ἐρω-
μαίοις ἐπολέμουν· καταλυθέντων δὲ ἐκείνων, πάνθ'
ὕπο Ἐρωμαίοις ὑπήρξε. τεττάρα δ' ἐστὶ τῶν
ὀρείων ἐθνος, Πάρατοι, Σοσσινάτοι, Βώλαροι,
Ἄκωνιτες, ἐν σπηλαίοις οἰκοῦντες, εἰ δὲ τινὰ
ἔχουσι γῆν σπορίμου, οὐδὲ ταύτην ἐπιμελῶς σπει-
ρούντες, ἀλλὰ τὰς ² τῶν ἐργαζομένων καθαρτά-
ξουντες, τούτο μὲν τῶν αὐτοθῆς, τούτο δὲ ἐπιτελέ-
οντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ περαιά, Πισσάταις μάλιστα. οἱ
dὲ πεμπόμενοι στρατηγοῖ τὰ μὲν ἀντέχουσι, πρὸς
δὲ ἀπαυγῶσιν, ἐπειδὰν μὴ λυσιτελῇ τρέφειν
συνεχῶς ἐν τόποις νοσεροῖς στρατόπεδον, λείπει
tαι

¹ τρισχιλίους, the reading of o and in margin of u; ABCδ l read χιλίους, although B has β (δισχιλίους) in margin, second
hand.
² Cp. τὰς γάς, 2. 5, 25.

1 The best MSS. read "one thousand."
2 A name otherwise unknown.
to others, however, the perimeter of Cynnus is called about three thousand \(^1\) two hundred stadia, and of Sardo as much as four thousand. The greater part of Sardo is rugged and not at peace, though much of it has also soil that is blessed with all products—especially with grain. As for cities, there are indeed several, but only Caralis and Sulchi are noteworthy. But the excellence of the places is offset by a serious defect, for in summer the island is unhealthful, particularly in the fruitful districts; and it is precisely these districts that are continually ravaged by those mountaineers who are now called Diagesbes; \(^2\) in earlier times, however, their name was Iolaës; for Iolaïs, it is said, came hither, bringing with him some of the children of Heracles, and took up his abode with the barbarians who held the island (the latter were Tyrrheni). Later on, the Phoenicians of Carthage got the mastery over them, and along with them carried on war against the Romans; but upon the defeat of the Phoenicians, everything became subject to the Romans. There are four tribes of the mountaineers, the Parati, the Sossinati, the Balari, and the Aconites, and they live in caverns; but if they do hold a bit of land that is fit for sowing, they do not sow even this diligently; instead, they pillage the lands of the farmers—not only of the farmers on the island, but they actually sail against the people on the opposite coast, the Pisatae in particular. Now the military governors who are sent to the island resist the mountaineers part of the time, but sometimes they grow weary of it—when it is not profitable continuously to maintain a camp in unhealthful places, and then the only thing left for them is to employ
δὴ ὁ στρατηγεῖν τέχνας τινάς καὶ δὴ τηρήσαντες ἔδω τι τῶν βαρβάρων (πανηγυρίζουσι γὰρ ἐπὶ πλεύσεις ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς λεηλασίας), ἐπιτίθενται τότε καὶ χειρόνυμαι πολλοὺς. γύνονται δὲ ἐνταῦθα οἱ τρίχας φύσεις αἰγείαν ἄντρ' ἐρέας κριόν, καλούμενοι δὲ μοούσμονες, διν ταῖς δοραῖς θωρακίζονται. χρώνυται δὲ πέλτῃ καὶ ξυφίδιῳ.

8. Ἀπὸ πόλεως δὲ τῆς μεταξὺ Ποσπλωγίου καὶ Πίστης ἱκανῶς αἱ νῆσοι καταττεινόμεναι ἐπιμήκεις δὲ εἰς καὶ παράλληλοι σχεδόν αἱ τρέις, ἐπὶ νότων καὶ Δαβύνης τετραμμέναι πολὺ μέντοι τῷ μεγέθει λείπονται τῶν ἄλλων ἡ Λευκάλα. ἀπὸ τε τῆς Δαβύνης τὸ ἐγγυτάτω διαμία φησιν ὁ χαρογράφος εἰς τὴν Σαρδῶν μίλια τριακόσια.  

2 metà δὲ τὸ Ποσπλωγίου Κόσσατι πόλις μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔστι δὲ εἰς κόλπῳ βουνοὺς ὕψηλον, ἐφ’ οὗ τὸ κτίσμα ὑπόκειται δὲ Ἡρακλέους λιμήν καὶ πλησίον λιμνοθάλασσα καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόλπου θυσυνακοπεῖον. ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῶν θύμων οὕς τῇ βαλάνῳ μόνοιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πορφύρᾳ παρὰ γῆν, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἕξω θαλάσσης μέχρι καὶ Σικελίας. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Κοσσῶν εἰς Ὀστίταν παραπλεύσωι πολίχνια ἐστὶ Γραιούσκοι καὶ Πύργοι καὶ Ἀλσίοι καὶ Φρεγῆνα. εἰς μὲν δὴ Γραιούσκους στάδιοι τριακόσιοι, ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τόπος

1 δὴ (the reading of C), Jones, for δὲ.
2 Goesselin and Groskurd believe that Strabo wrote διακόσια; see note 2 on opposite page.

1 That is, "moulons" (Ovis musimon); see Pliny 8. 75 (49), and 30. 52.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 2. 7–8

stratagems; and so, having observed a certain custom of the barbarians (who come together after their forays for a general celebration extending over several days), attack them at that time and overpower many of them. Again, Sardo produces the rams that grow goat-hair instead of wool; they are called, however, “musmones,”¹ and it is with the hides of these that the people there make their cuirasses. They also use a small leather shield and a small dagger.

8. The islands can be seen clearly enough from any part of the country between Poplonium and Pisa; they are oblong and approximately parallel, all three of them, and they point towards the south and Libya; Aethalia, however, falls considerably short of the others in size. Further, the shortest passage to Sardo from Libya, according to the Chorographer, is three hundred miles.² After Poplonium comes Cossa, a city slightly above the sea; that is, there is a high hill at the head of a gulf, and the settlement is on this hill; and beneath lies the Harbour of Heracles and near it is a lagoon and, along the promontory that lies above the gulf, a station for observing the tunny-fish; for along the shore the tunny-fish follow not only the acorns but also the purple fish,³ beginning their course at the outer sea and going even as far as Sicily.⁴ As one sails along the coast from Cossa to Ostia one comes to some small towns: Gravisci, Pyrgi, Alsium and Fregena. To Gravisci, then, the distance is three hundred stadia;

² Strabo probably wrote two hundred miles (the distance given by Pliny, 3. 13).
³ Purpura murex.
⁴ See 3. 2. 7.
εστὶ καλούμενος Ἡργισούλλα: ἱστόρηται δὲ γενέσθαι τοῦτο βασιλείου Μᾶλεω τοῦ 1 Πελασγοῦ, ὃν φασὶ δυναστεύσαντα ἐν τῶι τόποις μετὰ τῶν συναίκων Πελασγῶν ἀπελθεῖν ἐνθέντες εἷς Ἀθήνας· ταύτων δὲ εἰσὶ τοῦ φύλου καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἄγιλλαν κατεσχηκότες. ἀπὸ δὲ Γραουσίκων εἰς Πύργους μικρὸν ἐλάττως τῶν ἑκατον ὑγδοίκουν, ἔστι δὲ ἐπίνειον τῶν Καιρεταΐων ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων, ἔχει δὲ Ἐληθνίας ἱερῶν, Πελασγῶν ἱδρυμα, πλοῦσιόν ποτε γενόμενον, ἐσύλησε δὲ αὐτὸ Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τύραννος κατὰ τῶν πλούτων τῶν ἐπὶ Κύρνου. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Πύργου εἰς Ὄστιαν διακόσιοι ἐξῆκονται· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ τὸ Ἀλσίων καὶ Ἡ Φρεγήμα. περὶ μὲν τῆς παραλίας τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς ταύτα.

9. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ πόλεις πρὸς ταῖς εἰρημέναις Ἀρρήτιον τε καὶ Περουσία καὶ Ὄνυλοικοι καὶ Σοῦτριον· πρὸς δὲ ταύτας πολίχναι συνηκεῖ, Βλῆρα τε καὶ Φερετίνου καὶ Φαλέρου καὶ Φαλήσκον καὶ Νεπήτα καὶ Στατωνία καὶ ἄλλαι πλέον, αἱ μὲν εἰς ἀρχής συνεστώσαι, τινὲς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀικισάντων ἡ ταπεινωσάντω, καθάπερ τούς Οὐηνίους πολεμίσαντας πολλάκις καὶ τὰς Φιδήνας. ἔνοι δὲ οὖ Τυρρηνοὺς φασὶ τοὺς Φαλέρους, ἄλλα Φαλήσκους, ἐδιον ἔθνος· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φαλή-

1 Μᾶλεω τοῦ, G. Hermann, for Μᾶλα ω τοῦ; so the later editors.

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1 Cr. §§ 2–4 above.
2 The goddess of child-birth.
3 One of the “twelve” Tyrhenian cities (cp. § 2, above).
and in the interval is a place called Regis Villa. History tells us that this was once the palace of Maleos, the Pelasgian, who, it is said, although he held dominion in the places mentioned, along with the Pelasgi who helped him to colonise them, departed thence to Athens. And this is also the stock to which the people belong who have taken and now hold Agylla. Again, from Gravisci to Pyrgi the distance is a little less than one hundred and eighty stadia; it is the port-town of the Caeretani, thirty stadia away. And Pyrgi has a temple of Eilethya, an establishment of the Pelasgi; it was once rich, but it was robbed by Dionysius, the tyrant of the Sicilians, on his expedition to Cyrnus. And again, from Pyrgi to Ostia the distance is two hundred and sixty stadia; and in the interval are Alsium and Fregena. Thus much for the coastline of Tyrrenia.

9. In the interior there are still other cities besides those already mentioned—Arretium, Perusia, Volsinii, and Sutrium; and, besides these, numerous small towns—Blera, Ferentinum, Falerii, Faliscum, Nepet, Statonia, and several others; some of them are constituted as of old, while others the Romans have colonised, or else have brought low, as they did Veii, which had oftentimes gone to war with them, and as they did Fidenae. Some, however, call the Falerii, not "Tyrreni," but "Falisci," a special and distinct tribe; again, others call Faliscum a city with

It was captured and destroyed by Camillus in 395 B.C. after a siege of ten years. It then remained uninhabited until the end of the Republic; but it was colonised by Julius Caesar and also by Augustus.

4 See 5. 3. 2; it was situated south of the Tiber.

5 That is, not "Etruscans."
strabo

σκους πόλιν ἰδιόγλωσσον: οἱ δὲ Αἰκονομυφαλίσκον ἃγον θέμενον μεταξὺ Ἤκρικλων καὶ 'Ρώμης. ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ Σωράκτῳ ὅρει Φερωνία πόλις ἐστὶν, ὡμόνυμος ἐπί-χωρίᾳ τινὶ δαίμονι τιμομένῃ σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων, ἵς τέμενος ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ θαυμαστὴν ἱεροποιίαν ἔχον γυμνὸς γὰρ ποσὶ διεξίσθη ἀνθρώπων καὶ σποδιὰν μεγάλην οἱ κατεχόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς δαίμονος ταύτης ἀπαθείας καὶ συνερχείται πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀμα τῆς τε πανηγύρεως χάριν, ἤ συντε-λεῖται κατ᾽ ἐτος, καὶ τῆς λεχθείσης θέας. µάλι-στα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ τὸ Ἀρρήτιον πρὸς τοὺς ὅρεσιν ἀπέχει γοῦν τῆς Ἥρωμης χιλίους καὶ διακο-σίους σταδιους, τὸ δὲ Κλούσιον οἴκτακοσίους· ἐγγὺς δὲ ποτῶν ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Περούσια. προσαλμιζόω-σι δὲ πρὸς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς χώρας καὶ λίμναι, μεγάλαι τε καὶ πολλαὶ σοβια· καὶ ἄγαρ πλέονται καὶ τρέφονσιν ὅφον πολὺ καὶ τῶν πτηνῶν τὰ λίμναι· τύφη τε καὶ πάνυπρος ἀνθήλη τε πολλῇ κατακομβῶν ποταμοὺς εἰς τήν Ῥώμην, οὖς ἐκδι-δοάσων αἱ λίμναι µέχρι τοῦ Τιβέρεως· ὅπως ἐστὶν ἡ τε Κιμινία καὶ ἡ περὶ Οὐκουσίους καὶ ἡ περὶ

1 Aἰκονομυφαλίσκον, Meineke, for Οἰακουσμυφαλίσκον.

1 Literally, “Level Faliscum”; it was situated in the plains, three miles from the old city.

2 A few lines above, Strabo appears to have counted “Falerii” and “Faliscum” as separate cities; perhaps by “Faliscum” he meant “Aequum Faliscum.” The old city of “Falerii” (or “Falerium”) was occupied both by the Falerii (a Tyrrenian people) and by the Falisci (a people of Sabine origin, perhaps, with a dialect closely akin to Latin); the latter, however, inhabited a large tract of surrounding country as well as the city itself. The ancient writers usually distinguished between the people “Falisci” and the
a special language all its own; and others mean by Faliscum "Aequum Faliscum,"\(^1\) which is situated on the Flaminian Way between Oricli and Rome.\(^2\) The city of Feronia is at the foot of Mount Soracte, with the same name as a certain native goddess, a goddess greatly honoured by the surrounding peoples; her sacred precinct is in the place; and it has remarkable ceremonies, for those who are possessed by this goddess walk with bare feet through a great heap of embers and ashes without suffering;\(^3\) and a multitude of people come together at the same time, for the sake not only of attending the festal assembly, which is held here every year, but also of seeing the aforesaid sight. But Arretium, which is near the mountains, is farthest of all in the interior; at any rate, it is twelve hundred stadia distant from Rome, while Clusium is only eight hundred; and Perusia is near these two. The lakes, too, contribute to the prosperity of Tyrrenia, being both large and numerous; for they are navigable, and also give food to quantities of fish and to the various marsh-birds; quantities of cat-tail, too, and papyrus, and downy plumes of the reed, are transported by rivers into Rome—rivers which are sent forth by the lakes as far as the Tiber; and among these are the Ciminian Lake,\(^4\) the lake near Volsinii,\(^5\) the lake near

\(^{1}\) GEOGRAPHY, 5. 2. 9

\(^{2}\) Cp. 12. 2. 7, and 15. 3. 14–15; also Pliny 7. 2, and Virgil 11. 785.

\(^{3}\) Now Lake Vico.

\(^{4}\) Now Lake Bolsena.
Κλούσιον καὶ ἡ ἐγγυτάτω τῆς Ἕρωμης καὶ τῆς θαλάττης Σαβάτα: ἀπωτάτω δὲ καὶ ἡ ¹ πρὸς Ἀρρητίων ἡ Τρασουμέννα, καθ’ ἣν αἷ ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐκβολαὶ ² στρατοπέδους, ἀλσπερ ³ καὶ Ἀννίβας ἔχρισσατο, δυένν οὐσῶν, ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς ἐπ’ Ἀριμώνου διὰ τῆς Ὀμβρικῆς. Βελτίων μὲν οὖν ἡ ἐπ’ Ἀριμώνου ταπεινώταται γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἱκανῶς τὰ ὄρη φρουρομένων δὲ τῶν παρόνων τούτων ἐπιμελῶς, ἡναγκάςθη τὴν χαλεπωτέραν ἐλέσθαι, καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἁμῶς νικήσας μάχας μεγάλας Φλαμίνιον. πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν θερμῶν υδάτων ἀφθονία κατὰ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν, ἀτὸ τῶν πλησίων εἶναι τῆς Ἕρωμης οὗ ἢττον ⁶ εὐανδρεῖ τῶν ἐν Βαϊαῖς, ἀ διενόμασται πολὺ πάντων μάλιστα.

10. Τῇ δὲ Τυρρηνία παραβέβληται κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐώς μέρος ἡ Ὀμβρική, τὴν ἄρχην ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀπεινύσων λαβοῦσα, καὶ ἕτερον περατεύω μέχρι τοῦ Ἀδρίου. ἀπὸ γὰρ δὴ Ραουέννης ἄρξαμενοι κατεχοῦσιν οὗτοι τὸ πλησίον καὶ ἐφεξῆς Σάροοναν, Ἀρίμωνον, Σήναν, Καμάρινον. ⁶ αὐτοῦ δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ

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¹ most of the editors bracket, following Kramer; Meineke emends to δὴ.
² ἐκβολαῖ, the reading of all MSS., Jones restores. Kramer, Meineke, Müller-Düllner, and others emend to ἐλοβολαῖ.
³ αἰσπέρ, all editors, for αἰσπέρ.
⁴ δ’, Jones inserts; Siebenkees and others insert ἐπέρ, following conj. of Casaubon; Müller-Düllner insert τε after τῆ; Meineke relegates τῆ. Ἕρωμῆς to foot of page, regarding it as a gloss.
⁵ δ’, after ἢττον, Piccolo deletes: Müller-Düllner bracket.
⁶ Καμάρινον (from correction in B), Jones for καὶ Μάρινον; the editors before Kramer read καὶ Καμάρινον.

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¹ Now Lake Chiusi. ² Now Lake Bracciano.
Clusium,\textsuperscript{1} and the lake that is nearest Rome and the sea—Lake Sabata.\textsuperscript{2} But the lake that is farthest away and that is near Arretium is Trasumenna,\textsuperscript{3} near which is the pass by which an army may debouch into Tyrrhenia from Celtica,\textsuperscript{4} the very pass which Hannibal used;\textsuperscript{6} there are two, however, this one and the one towards Ariminum through Ombrica. Now the one towards Ariminum is better, since the mountains become considerably lower there; and yet, since the defiles on this pass were carefully guarded, Hannibal was forced to choose the more difficult pass, but, for all that, he got control of it, after having conquered Flaminianus in great battles. Furthermore, there are abundant hot springs in Tyrrhenia, and, because of the fact that they are near Rome, they have a population not less than the springs at Baiae, which are by far the most widely renowned of all.\textsuperscript{6}

10. Alongside Tyrrhenia, on the part toward the east, lies Ombrica;\textsuperscript{7} it takes its beginning at the Apennines and extends still farther beyond as far as the Adriatic; for it is at Ravenna\textsuperscript{8} that the Ombrici begin, and they occupy the nearby territory and also, in order thereafter, Sarsina, Ariminum, Sena, Camarum.\textsuperscript{9} Here, too, is the Aesis River,

\textsuperscript{1} Now Lake Trasimenae. \textsuperscript{2} Cisalpine Celtica, of course. \textsuperscript{3} Cisalpine Celtica, of course. \textsuperscript{4} Ombrica. \textsuperscript{5} Ombrica. \textsuperscript{6} See 5. 1. 11. \textsuperscript{7} The better spelling is "Camerinum." But the MSS. (see note 6 on opposite page) read "and Marinum," which would seem to mean what is now San Marino; but this city appears not to have been founded until after A.D. 300 and its position does not suit the context here. Many of the editors, following Ortel, delete "and Marinum" as being an interpolation.
Κάρσουλοι καὶ Μηνουανία, παρ’ ἥν Ῥεῖ ο Τενέας, καὶ οὗτος ἐλάττωσι σκάφεσι κατάγων ἐπὶ τῶν Τιβερίν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου· καὶ ἄλλαι δ’ εἰσὶ κατοικίας διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ πληθυνόμεναι μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολιτικὸν σύστημα. Φόρον Φλαμίνιον καὶ Νουκερία, ἢ τὰ ξύλινα ἀγγεία ἐργαζομένη, καὶ Φόρον Σεμπρώνιον· ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τῆς ὀδοῦ βαδίζοντι ἐκ τῶν Ὁκρίκλων εἰς Ἀρίμινων Ἰντέραμβα ἐστὶ καὶ Σπολίτιον καὶ Λέισιον καὶ Καμέρτης, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὄρισσαν τὴν Πικεντίνην ὀρείς. κατὰ δὲ θάντερα μέρη Ἀμερία τε καὶ Γούδερ, εὐθρήχθην πόλεις, καὶ Ἰσπέλλων· καὶ Ἰγμυῶν, πλησίον τούτῳ ἤδη τῶν ὑπέρβολῶν τοῦ ὄρους. ἀπεσα δ’ εὐδαίμων ἡ χώρα, μικρὸ δ’ ὅρεοτέρα, ξειτι μᾶλλον ἢ πυρὸς τούς ἀνθρώπους τρέφουσα· ὀρεινῇ δὲ καὶ ἡ Σαβίνη ἐφεξῆς οὖσα ταυτή, παραβεβλημένη τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπου, ὀπτερ πάντα τῇ Τυρρηνικῇ καὶ τῆς Δανίνης δὲ ὅσα πλησιάζει τοῦτος τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις ὀρείς τραχύτερα ἐστίν. ἀρχεῖαι μὲν οὖν τὰ δύο ἔθνη ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιβέρεως καὶ τῆς Τυρρηνίας, ἐκτείνεται δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἀπέννυνα ὄρη πρὸς τῷ Ἀδρία λοξὰ παρεμβάλλοντα, ἡ δὲ Ὁμβρικῇ καὶ παραλλάττοσα, ὡς εἰρηται, μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ὁμβρικῶν εἰρηται.

1 εὐθρήχθην, Casaubon, for εθρηχθης; so the later editors.
2 Ἰσπέλλων (ns in Ptolemaeus 3. 1. 47), Jones, for Ἰσπέλλων.
3 Ἰγμυῶν, Groskurd, for Ἰγμυῶν; so the later editors.
4 δύο, Casaubon, for δέκα; so the later editors.

1 That is, Carsulae (now Capella San Damiano), not Carsioli.
2 That is, Camerinum; the inhabitants of Camerinum were often called "Camertes," and the name of the people, as often, is applied to the city itself.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 2. 10

Carsuli, and Mevania, past which flows the Teneas (this too brings the products of the plain down to the Tiber on rather small boats); and, besides, still other settlements, which have become filled up with people rather on account of the Way itself than of political organisation; these are Forum Flaminium, and Nuceria (the place where the wooden utensils are made), and Forum Sempronium. Secondly, to the right of the Way, as you travel from Ocrieli to Ariminum, is Interamna, and Spoletium, and Aesium, and Camertes (in the very mountains that mark the boundary of the Picentine country); and, on the other side of the Way, Ameria, and Tuder (a well-fortified city), and Hispellum, and Iguvium, the last-named lying near the passes that lead over the mountain. Now as a whole Ombrica is blessed with fertility, though it is a little too mountainous and nourishes its people with spelt rather than with wheat. The Sabine country also, which comes next in order after Ombrica, is mountainous, and it lies alongside Ombrica in the same way that Ombrica lies alongside Tyrrhenia; and further, all parts of the Latin country that are near to these parts and to the Apennine Mountains are rather rugged. These two tribes begin, then, at the Tiber and Tyrrhenia, and extend to that stretch of the Apennine Mountains near the Adriatic which slants slightly inland, although Ombrica passes on beyond the mountains, as I have said, as far as the Adriatic. So much, then, for the Ombrici.

8 Picenum. 4 The Ombrici and the Sabini.
6 The slant begins opposite Ariminum (see 5. 1. 3).
6 5. 2. 1.
1. Σαβίνων δὲ στενὴν οἰκοῦσι χώραν, ἐπὶ μῆκος δὲ διήκουσαν καὶ χελίων σταδίων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιβέρεως καὶ Νωμέντον πολέχης μέχρις Ὀὐηστίνων. πόλεις δ' ἔχουσιν ὀλίγας καὶ τεταπεινωμένας διὰ τοὺς συνεχεῖς πολέμους, Ἀμίτερνου καὶ Ὀεάτε, ὁ πλησιάζει κόμη Ἰντεροκρέα καὶ τὰ ἐν Κωτιλίαις Ψυχρὰ ύδατα, ἀφ' ἃν καὶ πίνουσι καὶ ἐγκαθίζοντες θεραπεύονται νόσους. Σαβίνων δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Φόρουλοι, πέτραι πρὸς ἀπόστασιν μᾶλλον ἡ κατοικίαν εὐφυεῖς. Κύρης δὲ νῦν μὲν κωμίου ἐστίν, ἢν δὲ πόλεως ἐπίσημος, εὖ ὡς ὄρμηντο οἱ τῆς Ῥώμης βασιλεύσαντες, Τίτος Τάτιος καὶ Νουμᾶς Πομπήλιος, ἐνυπεθεῖν δὲ καὶ Κυρίτας ὀνομάζοντας οἱ δημηγοροῦντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. Τρήβουλα τε καὶ Ἡρητόν καὶ ἄλλη κατοικία τοιαύτης κώμας μᾶλλον ἡ πόλεως ἐξετάζοιντ' ἄν. ἅπασα δ' αὐτῶν ἡ γῆ διαφέροντως ἐλαιοφυτός ἐστι καὶ ἀμπελόφυτος, βάλανον τε ἐκφέρει πολλὴν· σπουδαίᾳ δὲ καὶ βοσκήμασι τοῖς τε ἅλλοις, καὶ δὴ τὸ τῶν ἡμίων γένος τῶν Ῥεατίνων διωνύμισται θανάσσως. ὅσ' δ' εἰσωθεὶν, ἅπασα ἡ Ἰταλία θρεμμάτων τε ἄριστη τροφὸς καὶ καρπῶν ἔστω, ἄλλα δ' εἰδὴ κατὰ ἄλλα μέρη τῶν πρωτείων τυγχάνει. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πα-

1 Κωτιλίαις, Casaubon, for Κωτισκολίαις; so the later editors.

1 The Latin form of the word is Cutiliae.
III

1. The country the Sabini live in is narrow, but taken lengthwise it reaches even a thousand stadia from the Tiber and the little town of Nomentum, as far as the country of the Vestini. They have but few cities and even these have been brought low on account of the continual wars; they are Amiternum, and Reate (near which is the village of Interoeria, and also the cold springs of Cotiliae, where people cure their diseases, not only by drinking from the springs but also by sitting down in them). Foruli too belongs to the Sabini—a rocky elevation naturally suited to the purposes of revolt rather than habitation. As for Cures, it is now only a small village, but it was once a city of significance, since it was the original home of two kings of Rome, Titius Tatius and Numa Pompilius; hence, the title “Curites” by which the public orators address the Romans. Trebula, Eretum, and other such settlements might be ranked as villages rather than cities. As a whole the land of the Sabini is exceptionally well-planted with the olive and the vine, and it also produces acorns in quantities; it is important, also, for its domestic cattle of every kind; and in particular the fame of the Reate-breed of mules is remarkably widespread. In a word, Italy as a whole is an excellent nurse both of young animals and of fruits, although different species in different parts take the first prize. The

2 Pliny says these waters are drunk as a purgative (31. 32; ep. 31 6).

3 Now Civita Tommassa.

4 In Latin, "Quirites."
2. Ἕκτε, ὡς ἡ Λατίνη κεῖται, ἐν ἡ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, πολλὰς συνειληφύια καὶ τῆς μῆ

1  οἷ, Meineke deletes.
2  τῆν δ' ἄρχαιότητα, Groskurd, Kramer, and Müller-Dübner suspect, thinking Strabo wrote genitive case.
3  ἀνδρέας . . . ἄρετῆς, Groskurd and Kramer would emend to acc. case.
4  τε, Corais stars; Meineke deletes; wrongly.
6  For ὑπὲρ, Corais reads ἀπὸ; so the later editors. ὑπὲρ is not at all objectionable; it does not deny the fact that the Via Salaria begins at the gate.

1 See 5. 4. 2.
2 See 6. 1. 2.
3 Bruttii.
4 See 6. 1. 4.
5 The old-fashioned simplicity and sternness of the Sabine race was proverbial: see 4. 2. 12, Martial's Epigrams 10. 32, 11. 15, Horace’s Odes 3. 6. 38, Epistles 2. 1. 25, Ovid’s Metamorphoses 14. 797). And because of these qualities they were by some writers regarded as having originally come from Laconia (Dionysius Hal., Antiq. Rom., 1. 1, Justinianus 20. 1). Others, by emending six words of the text (see critical notes 2 and 3 above) make Strabo say: "And the bravery and
Sabini not only are a very ancient race but are also the indigenous inhabitants (and both the Picentini and the Samnitae are colonists from the Sabini,¹ and the Leucani from the Samnitae,² and the Brettii³ from the Leucani).⁴ And the old-fashioned ways of the Sabini might be taken as an evidence of bravery, and of those other excellent qualities which have enabled them to hold out to the present time.⁵ Fabius, the historian, says that the Romans realised their wealth for the first time when they became established as masters of this tribe. As for the roads that have been constructed through their country, there is not only the Via Salaria (though it does not run far) but also the Via Nomentana which unites with it at Eretum⁶ (a village of the Sabine country, situated beyond the Tiber), though it begins above the same gate, Porta Collina.⁷

2. Next comes the Latin country, in which the city of the Romans is situated, though it now comprises also many cities of what was formerly non-

⁵ Augustus extended the highway to the Adriatic in 17 B.C. Strabo seems to avoid applying either "Via Salaria" or "Via Nomentana" to the extension of the road, although obviously he has in mind the entire journey, as "through their country" shows. There seems to be no evidence in the ancient writers for the assumption of Kramer that "Via Salaria" applied to the whole journey; and the clause "though it does not run far," which he believes should be placed after "Via Nomentana," denies it. Here, as often, Strabo's conciseness has caused the commentators no little worry.

⁷ The Porta Collina was the gate of the Servian wall at the north-eastern end of the Quirinal.
Δατίνης πρότερον. Αἰκοι γὰρ καὶ Οὐδόλοι καὶ Ἑρμικοὶ Ἀβορυγίνες τε οἱ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ Ῥουτοῦλοι οἱ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀρδέαν ἐχοντες καὶ ἄλλα συντήματα μείζων καὶ ἐλάττω τὰ περιοικοῦντα τοὺς τότε Ῥωμαίους ὑπῆρξαν, ἵνικα πρῶτον ἐκτιστὸ ἡ πόλις· δὲν ἦνια κατὰ κώμας αὐτονομεῖσθαι συνεβαινε, ὑπ’ οὕδενι κοινῷ φύλῳ τεταγμένα. 

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φασὶ δὲ Αἰνείαν μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀγχίσου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀσκαύνου κατάραντας εἰς Λαύρεντον τῆς πλησίον τῶν Ὡστίων καὶ τοῦ Τιβέρεως ὁδόνος, μικρὸν ύπέρ τῆς θαλάττης, ὅσον ἐν τέταρσι καὶ εἰκοσί στάδιοις, κτίσαι πόλιν ἐπελθόντα δὲ Δατίνου τῶν τῶν Ἀβορυγίνων βασιλέα τῶν οἰκοῦντων τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ὅπου νῦν ἡ Ῥώμη ἔστι, συμμάχους χρησάθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς γειτονεύοντας Ῥουτοῦλους τοὺς Ἀρδέαν κατέχοντας στάδιοι δ’ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρδέας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκατὸν ἐξήκοντα), νικήσαντα δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Δαουμίας ἐπώνυμου κτίσαι πλησίον πόλιν πάλιν δὲ τῶν Ῥουτοῦλων συμβαλόντων εἰς μάχην, τὸν μὲν Δατίνου πεσεῖν, τὸν δὲ Αἰνείαν νικήσαντα βασιλέως καὶ Δατίνους καλέσαι τοὺς ὅφ’ αὐτῶ. καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τοῦ πατρός, τὸν Ἀσκάύνου Ἀλβαν κτίσαι ἐν τῷ Ἀλβάνῳ ὀρεί, διέχοντι τῆς Ῥώμης τοσοῦτον, ὅσον καὶ ἡ Ἀρδέα. ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαιὸι σὺν τοῖς Δατίνοις Δίωνθυσιν, ἀπῆκα ἡ σύν- 

1 ψητὴς, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores. Groskurd and the later editors read ἐφίστησιν.
Latin country. For the Aeci,¹ the Volsci, the Hernici, and also the aborigines who lived near Rome itself, the Rutuli who held the old Ardea, and other groups, greater or less, who lived near the Romans of that time, were all in existence when the city was first founded; and some of these groups, since they were ranked under no common tribe, used to be allowed to live autonomously in separate villages. It is said that Aeneas, along with his father Anchises and his son Ascanius, after putting in at Laurentum, which was on the shore near Ostia and the Tiber, founded a city a little above the sea, within about twenty-four stadia from it; and Latinus, the king of the aborigines, who lived in this place where Rome now is, on making them a visit, used Aeneas and his people as allies against the neighbouring Rutuli who occupied Ardea (the distance from Ardea to Rome is one hundred and sixty stadia), and after his victory founded a city near by, naming it after his daughter Lavinia; and when the Rutuli joined battle again, Latinus fell, but Aeneas was victorious, became king, and called his subjects "Latini"; and after the death of both Aeneas and his father Anchises, Ascanius founded Alba on Mount Albanus, which Mount is the same distance from Rome as Ardea. Here the Romans in company with the Latini—I mean the joint assembly of all their magistrates—offered sacrifice to Zeus; and the assembly put one of the young nobles in charge of the city as governor for the time of the sacrifice. But it is four hundred

¹ The proper Latin spelling is "Aequi"; and so Strabo himself spells the word in 5. 3. 4.
ΣΤΡΑΒΟ

ρεῖται τά περὶ Ἀρμόλλιον καὶ τῶν ἁδελφῶν Νομίτωρα, τά μὲν μυθώδη, τά δ’ ἐγχυτέρω πιστεύω. διεδέχατο μὲν γὰρ τὴν τῆς Ἀλβας ἀρχήν ἀμφότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἀπογόνων τοῦ Ἀσκανίου, διατελοῦσαν μέχρι τοῦ Τιβέρεως· παραγκονισάμενος δ’ ὁ νεώτερος τῶν πρεσβύτερον ἤρχεν ὁ Ἀρμόλλιος, νῦν δ’ ὄντος καὶ θυγατρὸς τῶν Νομίτωρος, τῶν μὲν ἐν κυνηγίᾳ δολοφονεῖ, τὴν δὲ, ἵνα ἀτεκνὸς διαμείνῃ, τῆς Ἐστίας ἱέρειαν κατέστησε, παρθενεῖας χίαρωι καλοῦσι δ’ αὐτὴν Ἰέαν Σιλβίαν· εἶτα φθορὰν φωράσας, διδύμων αὐτῆς παιδῶν γενομένων, τὴν μὲν εἰρέξει 2 ἀντὶ τοῦ κτείνειν, χαριζόμενος τάδελφο, τοὺς δ’ ἔξεθηκε πρὸς τὸν Τιβερίν κατὰ τι πάτριον. μυθεύεται 3 μὲν οὗν εἰς Ἀρεώς γενέσθαι τοὺς παίδας, ἀκτενεύσας δ’ ὑπὸ λυκαίης ὁραθῆμαι σκυλακενομένους· Φαυστύλων δὲ τινα τῶν περὶ τῶν τόπων συφορβῶν ἀνελόμενον ἐκθέτευ (δεὶ δ’ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν δυνατῶν τινα, ὑπηκόων δὲ τῷ Ἀρμολλίῳ, λαβόντα ἐκθέτευ), καλέσαι δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἡρώμουλον, τὸν δὲ Ἡρώμον. 4 ἀνδρωθεύσας δ’ ἐπιθέσαι τῷ Ἀρμολλίῳ καὶ τοῖς παισί, καταλυθεύτων δ’ ἐκεῖνων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς τὸν Νομίτορα περιστάσης, ἀπελθόντας οἴκαδε κτίσαι τὴν Ὡμην ἐν τόποις οὐ πρὸς αἴρεσιν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀνάγκην

1 Σιλβίαν, the reading of ABCL (so Meineke); the Epit. has Σιλουλίαν.
2 εἰρέξεν, Corriss, for ἤρέξεν; so the later editors.
3 μυθεύεται, Meineke following Spengel, for μυθεύονται.
4 Kramer finds the form Ἡρώμον in the Epit. and so reads; so Müller-Dübner. But ABCL read Ἡρώμον (cp. the reading Ἡρέμον a few lines later on).
years later that the stories about Amollius¹ and his brother Numitor are placed—stories partly fabulous but partly closer to the truth. In the first place, both brothers succeeded to the rule of Alba (which extended as far as the Tiber) from the descendants of Ascanius; but Amollius, the younger, elbowed the elder out and reigned alone; but since Numitor had a son and a daughter, Amollius treacherously murdered the son while on a hunt, and appointed the daughter, in order that she might remain childless, a priestess of Vesta, so as to keep her a virgin (she is called Rhea Silvia); then, on discovering that she had been ruined (for she gave birth to twins), instead of killing her, he merely incarcerated her, to gratify his brother, and exposed the twins on the banks of the Tiber in accordance with an ancestral custom. In mythology, however, we are told that the boys were begotten by Ares, and that after they were exposed people saw them being suckled by a she-wolf; but Faustulus, one of the swineherds near the place, took them up and reared them (but we must assume that it was some influential man, a subject of Amollius, that took them and reared them), and called one Romulus and the other Romus;² and upon reaching manhood they attacked Amollius and his sons, and upon the defeat of the latter and the reversion of the rule to Numitor, they went back home and founded Rome—in a place which was suitable more as a matter

¹ The Latin spelling is “Amulius.”
² The best MSS. here read “Romus,” not Remus, though the reverse is true in the use of the word later on; yet note that Strabo is now quoting the mythical version of the story.

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C 230 ἐπιτηδείους: οὔτε γὰρ ἐρμύνον τὸ ἔδαφος οὔτε χῶραν οἰκείαν ἔχον τὴν πέριξ ὅση πόλει πρόσφορος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνθρώπους τοὺς συνοικίσοντας: οἱ γὰρ οὕτε φίλους καθ' αὐτούς,1 συνάπτοντες πὼς 2 τοὺς τείχει τῆς κτιζομένης πόλεως, οὐδ' τοὺς Ἀλβανός πάνιν προσέχοντες. Κολλατία δ' ἦν καὶ Ἀντέμια καὶ Φιδήναι καὶ Λαβίκον καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα τότε μὲν πολέχυα, τῶν δὲ κόμαι, ἦ ἐκήσεις ἰδιωτῶν, ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ξ 4 μικρὸ πλειώνων τῆς Ῥώμης σταδίων. μεταξὺ γοῦν τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ τοῦ ἕκτου λίθου τῶν τὰ μίλια διασημαινόντων τῆς Ῥώμης καλεῖται τόπος Φήστου. τότε δ' ὀρίου ἀποσαίνουσι τῆς τότε Ῥωμαίων γῆς, οἳ θ' ιερομνήμονες θυσίαι ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐνταῦθα τε καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις πλείσων ὅς ὄρισιν ἀνθρωπόν, ἢ καλοῦσιν Ἀμβαρουίαν. γενομένης δ' οὖν στάσεως φασὶ κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν ἀναρέθηναι τὸν Ῥέμον.5 μετὰ δὲ τὴν κτίσιν ἀνθρώπους σύγκλυδας ὅ Ῥωμύλος ἥθροιζε, ἄποιδεῖς ἀσυλόν τι τέμενος μεταξὺ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τοῦ Καπτεωλίου, τοὺς δ' ἐκεῖ καταφεύγοντας τῶν

1 MS. A is lacking from αὕτως to τότως near end of paragraph 5. 4. 3, a whole quaternion being lost.
2 πῶς, Letronne, for πρός; so the later editors. 3 ξ, before κτήσεις, Jones inserts.
4 τεσσαράκοντα (μ') after ξ, Corais deletes; so Meineke.
5 The reading of BCf is πρέπον (ῥέμον see, hand. in B); Meineke reads Ῥέμον both here and in preceding instance.

1 See 5. 3. 7. 2 See 5. 3. 7, on this point.
3 Strabo almost certainly means the "Arvales Fratres" ("Field-Brothers"), so-called, according to Varro (De Ling. Lat. 5. 85), from their offering public sacrifices that the fields (arva) may bring forth fruits. The "Arvales Fratres" was a college of twelve priests, which, according to Roman legend (cp. Gellius 7. 7), originated with Romulus himself. The college was still in existence in A.D. 325.
of necessity than of choice; ¹ for neither was the site naturally strong, nor did it have enough land of its own in the surrounding territory to meet the requirements of a city,² nor yet, indeed, people to join with the Romans as inhabitants; for the people who lived thereabouts were wont to dwell by themselves (though their territory almost joined the walls of the city that was being founded), not even paying any attention to the Albani themselves. And there was Collatia, and Antemnae, and Fidenae, and Labicum, and other such places—then little cities, but now mere villages, or else estates of private citizens—all at a distance from Rome of thirty stadia, or a little more. At any rate, between the fifth and the sixth of those stones which indicate the miles from Rome there is a place called "Festi," and this, it is declared, is a boundary of what was then the Roman territory; and, further, the priests ³ celebrate sacrificial festivals, called "Ambarvia," ⁴ on the same day, both there and at several other places, as being boundaries. Be this as it may, a quarrel arose at the time of the founding of the city, and as a result Remus was slain.⁵ After the founding Romulus set about collecting a promiscuous rabble by designating as an asylum a sacred precinct between the Arx and the Capitolium,⁶ and by declaring citizens all the neighbours who fled

¹ In Latin, "Ambarvalia"; so called from the leading of the sacrificial victims "round the fields." The festival took place May 27, 29 and 30 (Roman calendar).

² Cf. Livy 1. 7.

⁵ The northern and southern summits, respectively, of the Capitoline Hill. The depression between the two summits (each in early times covered by a grove) was called "Inter Duos Lucos" (cf. Livy 1. 8), and was the traditional site of "The Asylum of Romulus."
ἀστυγειτόνων πολίτας ἀποφαίνων. ἐπιγαμίας δὲ τούτος ὁ τυγχάνων ἐπηγγείλατο ἕνα ἀγόνα ἱπτικὸν τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ἱερῶν, τὸν καὶ νῦν ἔπετελούμενον. συνεδρόντων δὲ πολλῶν, πλείστων δὲ Σαβίνων, ἐκέλευσε τὰς παρθένους ἀρπάσας τὰς ἀφγυμένας τοῖς δεσμοῦσις γάμου μετιῶν δὲ τὴν ὑβριν Τίτος Τάτιος δὲ ὀπλῶν, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Κυριτῶν, ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ πολιτείας ἱσυεβῆ πρὸς τὸν Ῥωμύλου δυναστεύοντάς δι' ἐν Λαονίκω τοῦ Τατίου, μόνος ἤρξεν ἐκόντων τῶν Κυριτῶν Ῥωμύλος. μετὰ δὲ τούτων διεδέχατο τὴν ἀρχὴν Νουμᾶς Πομπήλιος, πολίτης τοῦ Τατίου, παρ' ἐκόντων λαβὼν τῶν ὑπηκόων. αὐτῇ μὲν οὖν ἡ μάλιστα πιστευομένη τῆς Ῥώμης κτίσις ἠστίν.

3. Ἀλλὰ δὲ τις προτέρα καὶ μυθώδης, Ἀρκαδικὴν λέγουσα γενέσθαι τὴν ἀποικίαν ὑπ' Ῥωμύλου τούτω δ' ἐπιξενοθήματ᾽ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Ἑλυρίαν βοῦς πυθόμενον δὲ τῆς μητρὸς Νικοστράτης τοῦ Ῥωμύλου (ἐίναι δ' αὐτὴν μαντικής ἐμπειρόν) διὶ τὸ Ἡρακλέει πεπρωμένον ἢν τελέσαντι τοὺς ἁθλους θεὸ γενέσθαι, φράσαι τε πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ταύτα, καὶ τέμενος ἀναδείξει καὶ θύσαι θυσίαν Ἐλληνικήν, ἦν καὶ νῦν ἐτί φυλάττεσθαι τῷ Ἡρακλεί. καὶ ὁ γε Κόλιος, ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεὺς, τοῦτο τίθεται σημείον τοῦ Ἐλληνικὸν εἴναι κτίσμα τῆς Ῥώμης, τὸ πάρ' αὐτῇ τὴν πάτριον θυσίαν Ἐλληνικὴν εἴναι τῷ Ἡρακλεί. καὶ τὴν μητέρα δὲ τὸν Ῥωμύλου

1 πολιτείας, the Epit., for πολιτεία; so Kramer and later editors.

2 Κόλιος, Kramer, for Κόλιος; so the later editors.

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thither for refuge. But since he could not obtain the right of intermarriage for these, he announced one horse-race, sacred to Poseidon, the rite that is still to-day performed; and when numerous people, but mostly Sabini, had assembled, he bade all who wanted a wife to seize the maidens who had come to the race. Titus Tatius, the king of the Curites, went to avenge the outrage by force of arms, but compromised with Romulus on the basis of partnership in the throne and state. But Tatius was treacherously murdered in Lavinium, and then Romulus, with the consent of the Curites, reigned alone. After Romulus, Numa Pompilius, a fellow-citizen of Tatius, succeeded to the throne, receiving it from his subjects by their own choice. This, then, is the best accredited story of the founding of Rome.

3. But there is another one, older and fabulous, in which we are told that Rome was an Arcadian colony and founded by Evander:—When Heracles was driving the cattle of Geryon he was entertained by Evander; and since Evander had learned from his mother Nicostrate (she was skilled in the art of divination, the story goes) that Heracles was destined to become a god after he had finished his labours, he not only told this to Heracles but also consecrated to him a precinct and offered a sacrifice to him after the Greek ritual, which is still to this day kept up in honour of Heracles. And Coelius himself, the Roman historian, puts this down as proof that Rome was founded by Greeks—the fact that at Rome the hereditary sacrifice to Heracles is after the Greek ritual. And the Romans honour also the

1 Cp. 5. 3. 7.  
2 Lucius Coelius Antipater.
C 231 4. Οἷς ousy Δατίνοι κατ’ ἀρχάς μὲν ἦσαν ὀλίγοι, καὶ οἱ πλείους οὐ προσεῖχον Ῥωμαίοις. ὕστερον δὲ καταπλαγέντες τὴν ἁρετὴν τοῦ τί Ῥωμίλου καὶ τῶν μετ’ ἐκείνων βασιλέων ὑπήκοου πάντες ὑπηρέταν; καταλυθέντων δὲ τῶν τινυ Ἀλκούων καὶ τῶν Ὀὐδόλσκων καὶ Ἐρνίκων, ἔτι δὲ πρώτερον Ῥούτολων τε καὶ Ἀβοριγήνων, (πρὸς δὲ τούτους Ῥαικῶν, καὶ Ἀργυρούσκων δὲ τινες καὶ Πρεφέρνων) ἢ τούτων χώρα Δατίνη προσηγόρευται πάσα. ἢν δὲ τῶν Ὀὐδόλσκων τοῦ Πωμεντίνου πεδίου, ὁμορον τῶν Δατίνων, καὶ πόλεις Ἀπίσα, ἢν κατέσκαψε Ταρκύνιος Πρίσκος. Αἰκουων δὲ γειτονεύονται μάλιστα τοῖς Κυρίταις, καὶ τούτων δ’ ἐκείνων τὰς πόλεις ἐξεπόρθησεν. ὡς δὲ νῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν Σοῦεσαν εἰλε τὴν μητρόπολιν τῶν Ὀὐδόλσκων. Ἐρνίκοι δὲ πλησίον ὄκουν τῷ τοῦ Δανούλῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀλβα καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἀπωθήθηκεν δ’ οὐδ’ Ἀρκία καὶ Τελλῆναι καὶ Ἀντιοῦ. Ἀλβανοὶ δὲ κατ’ ἀρχάς μὲν ὁμομόνοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὀμογλωσσοὶ τε ὀντες

1 Corais and Meineke emend Ἐρμέντων to Ἐρμέντων.
2 ἐνδιὶ . . . Πρεφέρνων, Kramer, Meineke and other editors suspect to have crept in from the margin; Meineke relegates the words to the foot of the page; see notes on opposite page.
3 Ἀπίσα, Xylander, for Ἐπίσα; so the later editors.
4 Δανοῦλω, Kramer, for Δανοὺλω; so the later editors.
5 Ἀρκία, Xylander, for Ἀρκία; so the later editors.

1 Thus Virgil (O. 336) spells her name; but the usual spelling was "Carmenta" (op. Livy 1. 7. and Dionysius, Antig. Rom. 1. 32).
2 The "Aeci" of 5. 3. 2.
mother of Evander, regarding her as one of the nymphs, although her name has been changed to Carmentis.¹

4. Be that as it may, the Latini at the outset were few in number and most of them would pay no attention to the Romans; but later on, struck with amazement at the prowess both of Romulus and of the kings who came after him, they all became subjects. And after the overthrow of the Aequi,² of the Volsci, and of the Hernici, and, still before that, of both the Rutuli and the aborigines (and besides these, certain of the Rhaeci,³ as also of the Argyrusci ⁴ and the Preferni),⁵ the whole country that belonged to these peoples was called Latium. The Pomptine Plain, on the confines of the Latini, and the city of Apiola, which was destroyed by Tarquinius Priscus, used to belong to the Volsci. The Aequi are the nearest neighbours of the Curites; their cities, too, were sacked by Tarquinius Priscus; and his son captured Suessa, the metropolis of the Volsci. The Hernici used to live near Lanuvium, Alba, and Rome itself; and Aricia, also, and Tellenae and Antium were not far away. At the outset the Albani lived in harmony with the Romans, since they spoke the same language and

² "Rhaeci," otherwise unknown, is probably a corruption of "Aricini," the inhabitants of Aricia, the city to which Strabo refers in this paragraph and also in 5. 3. 12.

³ "Argyrusci," otherwise unknown, is probably a corruption of "Auruncii" (cp. Livy 2. 16, 17, 26 and Dionysius, Antiq. Rom. 6. 32, 37).

⁴ By "Preferni" Strabo almost certainly refers to the Privernates, whose city was Privernum, now in ruins near Piperno.
καὶ Δατίνωι, βασιλευόμενοι δ’ ἐκάτεροι χωρίς ἔτυγχανον ὑδέν δ’ ἦττον ἐπιγαμάια τε ἦσαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἱερὰ κοινὰ τὰ ἐν Ἄλβα καὶ ἄλλα δίκαια πολιτικά· ύστερον δὲ πολέμου συστάντος ἢ μὲν Ἄλβα κατεσκάφη πλὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, οἱ δ’ Ἀλβανοὶ πολίται Ῥωμαίων ἐκρίθησαν. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τῶν περιοικίδων πόλεων αἱ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐταπεινώθησαν ἀπειθοῦσαν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἴσχισθησαν διὰ τὴν εὐνοιάν. νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἡ παραλία μέχρι πόλεως Σινόεσσης ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀστίων Δατίνη καλεῖται, πρότερον δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Κιρκαίου μόνον ἐσχίσκει τὴν ἐπίδοσιν καὶ τῆς μεσογαιας δὲ πρότερον μὲν οὐ πολλή, ύστερον δὲ καὶ μέχρι Καμπανίας διέτειναι καὶ Σαυντῶν καὶ Πελήγων καὶ ἄλλων τῶν τὸ Ἀτέννιον κατοικοῦντων.

5. “Ἔπειτα δ’ ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων καὶ παμφόρος πλὴν ὀλίγων χωρίων τῶν κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν, ὅσα ἐλώδη καὶ νοσερὰ, οἴα τὰ τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ Ἀντίου καὶ Λανούιον μέχρι Πωμενίνου καὶ τινῶν τῆς Σητίνης χωρίων καὶ τῆς περὶ Ταρρακίναν καὶ τὸ Κιρκαῖον, ἡ εἰ τῶν ὀρεινῶν καὶ πετρώδης καὶ ταύτα δ’ οὐ τελέως ἀργά οὖδ’ ἀχριστά, ἀλλὰ νομᾶς παρέχει δαψιλεῖς ἡ ὑλήν ἡ καρποὺς τῶν ἐλείους ἡ ἐπεραῖος· τὸ δὲ Καῖκουβοῦ, ἐλώδες ὡν, εὐωνυτάτην ἀμπελόν τρέφει, τῆν

1 That is, the tree-climbing vine.
were Latini, and though they were each, as it happened, ruled by kings, separate and apart, none the less they not only had the right of intermarriage with one another, but also held sacrifices—those at Alba—and other political rights in common; later on, however, war arose between them, with the result that all Alba was destroyed except the temple, and that the Albani were adjudged Roman citizens. As for the other neighbouring cities, some of them too were destroyed, and others humiliated, for their disobedience, while some were made even stronger than they were because of their loyalty. Now at the present time the seaboard is called Latium from Ostia as far as the city of Sinuessa, but in earlier times Latium had extended its seaboard only as far as Circaeum. Further, in earlier times Latium did not include much of the interior, but later on it extended even as far as Campania and the Samnitae and the Peligni and other peoples who inhabit the Apennines.

5. All Latium is blest with fertility and produces everything, except for a few districts that are on the seaboard—I mean all those districts that are marshy and sickly (such as those of the Ardeatae, and those between Antium and Lanuvium as far as the Pompinese Plain, and certain districts in the territory of Setia and the country round about Tarracina and the Circaeum), or any districts that are perhaps mountainous and rocky; and yet even these are not wholly untilled or useless, but afford rich pasture grounds, or timber, or certain fruits that grow in marshy or rocky ground (the Caecuban Plain, although marshy, supports a vine that produces the best of wine, I mean the tree-vine)."1 The seaboard
δενδρίτιν. πόλεις δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττη μὲν τῶν Δατίνων εἶναι τὰ τε Ωστια, πόλεις ἀλλήμενοι διὰ τὴν πρόσχωσιν ἦν οἱ Τίβερις παρασκευάζει, πληροῦμενος ἐκ πολλῶν ποταμῶν. παρακινδύνως μὲν οὖν ὁρμᾶζονται μετέωρα ἐν τῷ σάλῳ τὰ ναυκλήρια, τὸ μὲντοι λυσιτελὲς νικᾶ· καὶ γὰρ ἢ τῶν ὑπηρετικῶν σκαφῶν εὐπορία τῶν ἐκδεχομένων τὰ φορτία καὶ ἀντιφορτιζόντων ταχῶν ποιεῖ τῶν ἀποπλουσιν πρὶν ἡ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄφασθαι, ἡ ἐκ μέρους ἀποκουφισθέντα εἰσπλει καὶ ἀναγεναι μέχρι τῆς Ῥώμης, σταδίους ἔκαθον ἐνενύκοντα. κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ τα ἩΩστια Ἁγικοῦ Μαρκίου. αὕτη μὲν ὡς πόλεις τοιαύτης. εξίς δ' ἐστὶν Ἁρτιον, ἀλλήμενος καὶ αὕτη πόλις. ἱδρυται δ' ἐπὶ πέτραις, διέχει δὲ τῶν ἩΩστίων περὶ διακοσίων ἐξήκοντα σταδίους. νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἀνείται τοῖς ἐγερμοῖς εἰς σχολήν καὶ ἀνέσων τῶν πολιτικῶν ὥστε λάβοιν καρῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατοικισμόντως πολυτελεὶς οἰκήσεως ἐν τῇ πόλει συχνὰ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιθέσεις· καὶ πρότερον δὲ ναῦς ἐκέκτητο καὶ ἐκοινώσων τῶν ληστηρίων τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς, καίστερ ἡ ἩΡωμαίοις ὑπακούοντες. διόπερ καὶ ἩΑλεξανδρὸς πρότερον ἑγκαλῶν ἐπέστειλε, καὶ Δημήτριος ὑστερον, τούς ἀλοντάς τῶν λῃστῶν ἀναπέμπου τοὺς ἩΡωμαίοις, χαρίζεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῖς ὅφη τὰ σώματα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἩΕλληνας συγγένειαν, οὐκ ἠξίων δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνδρὰς στρατηγεῖτι τε ἁμα Τῆς Ἡἳταλίας

1 ἡ ἐκ μέρους ἀποκοουφισθέντα, Jones, for καὶ μέρους ἀποκοουφισθέντος.

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1 Demetrius Poliorcetes.
cities belonging to the Latini are, first, Ostia: it is harbourless on account of the silting up which is caused by the Tiber, since the Tiber is fed by numerous streams. Now although it is with peril that the merchant-ships anchor far out in the surge, still, the prospect of gain prevails; and in fact the good supply of the tenders which receive the cargoes and bring back cargoes in exchange makes it possible for the ships to sail away quickly before they touch the river, or else, after being partly relieved of their cargoes, they sail into the Tiber and run inland as far as Rome, one hundred and ninety stadia. Ostia was founded by Ancus Marcius. Such, then, is this city of Ostia. Next comes Antium, it also being a harbourless city. It is situated on masses of rock, and is about two hundred and sixty stadia distant from Ostia. Now at the present time Antium is given over to the rulers for their leisure and relief from the cares of state whenever they get the opportunity, and therefore, for the purposes of such sojourns, many very costly residences have been built in the city; but in earlier times the people of Antium used to possess ships and to take part with the Tyrrenhi in their acts of piracy, although at that time they were already subjects of the Romans. It is for this reason that Alexander, in earlier times, sent in complaints, and that Demetrius,¹ later on, when he sent back to the Romans what pirates he had captured, said that, although he was doing the Romans the favour of sending back the captives because of the kinship between the Romans and the Greeks, he did not deem it right for men to be sending out bands of pirates at the same time that they were in command of Italy, or to build in

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καὶ ληστήρια ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ ἄγορᾳ Διος-
κούρου ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενος τιμᾶν, οὐς πάντες
Σωτῆρας ὀνομάζουσιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πέμπειν
τὴν ἐκείνων πατρίδα τοὺς λειτανίστων· ἔπαιν-
σαν δ’ αὐτοῦς Ῥωμαίοι τῆς ποιοκτῆτος ἐπιτηδεύσεως.
ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἐστὶ τὸ Δαυ-
νιοῦ, ἔχον κοίνον τῶν Λατίνων ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης,
ἐπιμελοῦνται δ’ αὐτοῦ διὰ προπόλων ¹ Ἀρδεάται.
εἶτα Δαύρεντον. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτων ἡ Ἀρδέα,
κατοικία Ῥουτούλων ἄνω ² ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίους
ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταύτης πλησίον
Ἀφροδίσιον, ὅπου πανηγυρίζουσι Λατίνοι.
Σαυ-
νυται δ’ ἐπόρθησαν τοὺς τόπους καὶ λείπεται μὲν
ἔχυς πόλεως, ἐνδοξα δὲ διὰ τὴν Λινείου γέγονεν
ἐπιδημίαν καὶ τὰς ιεροποιίας ἅς ³ εἶ ἐκείνων τῶν
χρόνων παραδεδόθαναί φασί.

6. Μετὰ δὲ Ἀντίον τὸ Κυρκαίον ἐστὶν ἐν διακο-
σίοις καὶ ἐνενήκοντα σταδίους ὁρὸς, υψηλὸν θαλάτ-
τη τε καὶ ἔλεεν: φασὶ δὲ καὶ πολυρριξὸν εἶναι,
tάχα τῷ μύθῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς Κύρκης συνοικισθεῖντες.
ἐχει δὲ πολίχνιον καὶ Κύρκης ἱερὸν καὶ Ἄθηνᾶς
βωμὸν, διέκυνθαι δὲ καὶ φιάλην τινά φασιν
'Οδυσσέως. μεταξὺ δὲ τὸ Στώρας ποταμὸς καὶ
ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ὕφορμος. ἐπεῖτα προσεχὴς αἰγιαλὸς
Λιβύς, πρὸς αὐτῷ μόνον τῷ Κυρκαίῳ λιμένιον ἔχων.
ὑπέρκειται δ’ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῷ Πομεντίῳ πε-
δίῳν. τὴν δὲ συνεχῆ ταὐτὴ πρότερον Λύσωνες

¹ προπόλων, Corais, for προγόνων; so the late editors.
² ἄνω, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores, for ἄν
(Corais and the later editors).
³ ἄς, Corais inserts after ἰεροποιίας; so the later editors.

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their Forum a temple in honour of the Dioscuri, and to worship them, whom all call Saviours, and yet at the same time send to Greece people who would plunder the native land of the Dioscuri. And the Romans put a stop to such practices. Midway between these two cities is Lavinium, which has a temple of Aphrodite that is common to all the Latini, though the Ardeatae, through attendants, have the care of it. Then comes Laurentum. And beyond these cities lies Ardea, a settlement of the Rutuli, seventy stadia inland from the sea. Near Ardea too there is a temple of Aphrodite, where the Latini hold religious festivals. But the places were devastated by the Samnites; and although only traces of cities are left, those traces have become famous because of the sojourn which Aeneas made there and because of those sacred rites which, it is said, have been handed down from those times.

6. After Antium, within a distance of two hundred and ninety stadia, comes Circaeaum, a mountain which has the form of an island, because it is surrounded by sea and marshes. They further say that Circaeaum is a place that abounds in roots—perhaps because they associate it with the myth about Circe. It has a little city and a temple of Circe and an altar of Athene, and people there show you a sort of bowl which, they say, belonged to Odysseus. Between Antium and Circaeaum is the River Storas, and also, near it, an anchoring-place. Then comes a stretch of coast that is exposed to the south-west wind, with no shelter except a little harbour near Circaeaum itself. Beyond this coast, in the interior, is the Pomptine Plain. The country that joins this latter was formerly inhabited by the Ausones, who also
C 233 ὅκουν, ὥπερ καὶ τὴν Καμπανίαν εἶχον. μετὰ δὲ τούτος ὁ Ὀσκός καὶ τούτοις δὲ μετὴν τῆς Καμπανίας, νῦν δὲ ἀπαντᾷ Λατίνων ἐστὶ μέχρι Σινοέσσης, ὡς εἶπον. ἔδει τι τοῖς Ὁσκοῖς καὶ τῷ τῶν Λυσόνων ἐδειχθῆ συμβέβηκε· τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ὅσκων ἐκκλεοιπότων ἡ διάλεκτος μένει παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὡστε καὶ ποιήματα σκηνοβατεῖσθαι κατὰ τινά ἁγώνα πάτριον καὶ μιμολογεῖσθαι τῶν δὲ Λυσόνων οὕτω ἀπαξ οἰκησάντων ἐπὶ τῇ Σικελίκῃ θαλάττῃ, τῷ πέλαγος ὅμως Λυσόνων καλεῖται. ἐξῆς δὲ ἐν ἑκάτον σταδίοις τῷ Κυρκαίῳ Ταρρακίνα ἐστὶ, Τραχυνῆ καλομένη πρότερον ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος. πρόκειται δὲ αὐτῆς μέγα ἔλος ὁ ποιούσι δύο ποταμοί καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μεῖζον Αὐφίδος.¹ ἐνταῦθα δὲ συνάπτεται τῇ θαλάττῃ πρῶτον ἡ Ἀππία ὁδὸς, ἐστρωμένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης μέχρι Βρεντεσίου, πλείστου δὲ ὀδευομένη τῶν δὲ ἑκατὸν πόλεων τούτων ἐφαπτομένη μόνον, τῆς τε Ταρρακίνης καὶ τῶν ἑφεξῆς, Ἀρμιῶν μὲν καὶ Μιντούρης καὶ Σινοέσσης, καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων, Τάραντος τε καὶ Βρεντεσίου. πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ταρρακίνης βαδίζοντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης παραβεβληται τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππία διώρυξ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τόπους

¹ For Αὐφίδος, Xylander reads Ὀφίδος, Casaubon Αὕφεις, Groskurd Ὀφίδος, Meineke Ὀφῆς; see note 4 on opposite page.

¹ § 4 above.
² The "Atellanae Fabulae" of the Romans (Pauly-Wissowa s. v. "Atell. Fab.")
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. 6

held Campania. After these come the Osci; they too had a share in Campania; but now everything belongs to the Latini as far as Sinuessa, as I said.¹ A peculiar thing has taken place in the case of the Osci and the tribe of the Ausones. Although the Osci have disappeared, their dialect still remains among the Romans, so much so that, at the time of a certain traditional competition, poems in that dialect are brought on the stage and recited like mimes;² again, although the Ausones never once lived on the Sicilian Sea, still the high sea is called "Ausonian." Next, within one hundred stadia of Circaeum, is Tarracina, which was formerly called "Trachina"³ from its actual character. In front of Tarracina lies a great marsh, formed by two rivers; the larger one is called Aufidus.⁴ It is here that the Appian Way first touches the sea; it has been constructed from Rome as far as Brentesium⁵ and is the most travelled of all; but of the cities on the sea it touches only these: Tarracina, and those that come next in order after it, Formiae, Minturnae, and Sinuessa, and those at the end—Taras⁶ and Brentesium. Near Tarracina, as you go toward Rome, there is a canal which runs alongside the Appian Way, and is fed at numerous places by waters

² Strabo assumed that "Trachina" was derived from the Greek word "trachys" ("rugged"). Cp. Horace, Sat. 1. 5. 26: "Impositum saxis late carentibus Anxur" (Tarracina).
³ If the MSS. are right, Strabo is in error here. He must have meant the Ufens (now Ufente); the other river was the Amasenus (now Amaseno).
⁴ One of the old spellings of Brundisium; the other was "Brenesium" (cp. Ptolemaeus, 3. 2. 12, and Polybius, 21. 24). "In the language of the Messapii the stag's head is called 'brentesium'" (6. 3. 6); hence the name of the city.
⁵ The old name of Tarentum.
πληρουμένη τοῖς ἔλείοις τε καὶ τοῖς ποταμίως ὤδας· πλεῖται δὲ μάλιστα μὲν νῦκτωρ, ὦστ' ἐμβάντας ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἔκβαινει πρωίας καὶ βαδίζειν τὸ λιοπὸν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἄλλα καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ῥυμουλκεῖ ὁ ἦμιώνοι. ἔξης δὲ Φορμίας Λακωνικοῦ κτίσμα ἑστῖν, Ὄρμιαι λεγόμενον πρῶτερον διὰ τὸ εὐρυμοῦ, καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ δὲ κόλπων ἑκεῖνοι Καιέταν ¹ ὄνομασαν, τὰ γὰρ κοῖλα πάντα καιέτας οἱ Λάκωνες προσαγορεύοντον ἐνοὶ δ' ἐπώνυμον τῆς Αλεύου τροφοῦ τῶν κόλπων φασί. ἔχει δὲ μῆκος σταδίων ἐκατὸν ἀρξίμενον ἀπὸ Γαρρακίνης, μέχρι τῆς ἄκρας τῆς ὁμωνύμου· ἀνεφέ θ' ἐνταῦθα στῆλαια ὑπερμεγέθη, κατοικίας μεγάλας καὶ πολυτελεῖς δεδεγμένα· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὰς Φορμίας τετταράκοντα. ταύτης δ' ἀνὰ μέσον εἰσὶ καὶ Σινώέσης αἱ Μιντούρναι, σταδίους ἐκατέρας διέχουσι περὶ ὕδατον. διαρρέει δὲ Λείρας ποταμός, Κλάνις δ' ἐκαλεῖτο πρῶτερον· φέρεται δ' ἀνωθεν ἐκ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὅρων καὶ τῆς Οὐνιστίνης παρὰ Φρεγέλλας κόμην (πρῶτερον δ' ὑπὶ πόλις ἐνδοξος), ἐκπίπτει δ' εἰς ἄλσος ἱερὸν τιμώμενον περιττοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Μιντούρναις, ὑποκείμενον τῇ πόλει. τῶν δὲ στηλαίων ἐν ὑψεῖ μάλιστα πρόκειται δύο νῆσοι πελάγματι, Πανδατερία ² τε

¹ Καιέταν, Jones, for Καιάταν (B), Κεάτα (C); cp. καίετας following, and also in 8. 5. 7.
² Πανδατερία, Meineke, for Πανδάρια (BC).

¹ For an amusing account of this canal-journey, see Horace, Sat. 1. 5.
² “Anchoring-place.”
³ Strabo does not mention the city of “Caieta” (now Gaëta); the gulf east of it was called by the Romans
from the marshes and the rivers. People navigate the canal, preferably by night (so that if they embark in the evening they can disembark early in the morning and go the rest of their journey by the Way), but they also navigate it by day. The boat is towed by a mule.¹ Next after Tarra-
cina comes Formiae, founded by the Laconians, and formerly called "Hormiae" because of its good "hormos."² And those people also named the intervening gulf "Caietas,"³ for the Laconians call all hollow things "Caietas"; but some say the gulf was named after the nurse of Aeneas.⁴ It has a length of one hundred stadia, beginning at Tarra
cina and extending as far as the promontory of like name.⁵ There are wide-open caverns of immense size at this place, which have been occupied by large and very costly residences; from here to Formiae the distance is forty stadia. Midway between Formiae and Sinuessa is Minturnae, which is about eighty stadia distant from each. Through Minturnae flows the River Liris, formerly called the "Clanis." It runs from the interior, out of the Apennine Mount-
tains and the country of the Vestini, past Fragellae, a village (it was formerly a famous city), and empties into a sacred precinct which is much revered by the people in Minturnae; the precinct is situated below the city. In the high sea, off the caverns and visible thence most of the time, are situated two islands,

¹"Caietanus Sinus." But, as the context shows, "the inter-
vening gulf" means the gulf between Caieta and Tarracina. For the meaning of the Spartan word "Caietas," see 8. 5. 7.
² According to Virgil (Aeneid, 7. 2) her name was "Caieta."
³ That is, the promontory on which the city of Caieta was situated.
καὶ Ποντία, μικραὶ μὲν, οἰκοῦμεναι δὲ καλῶς, οὐκολὴ ἀπ’ ἄλληλων διέχονται, τῆς ἡπείρου δὲ πεντῆκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ Καϊέτου 1 κόλπου τὸ Καίκουβον, τούτου δὲ Φοῦνδοι, πόλεις ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππίας κειμένη. πάντες δ’ εἰςὶν οἱ τόποι οὗτοι σφόδρα εὔωνοι, ὅ δὲ Καίκουβος καὶ ὁ Φοῦνδανος καὶ ὁ Σητινὸς τῶν διπλωματικών εἰσὶ, καθάπερ ὁ Φάλερνος καὶ ὁ Ἀλβανὸς καὶ ὁ Στατανός. ἡ δὲ Σινώσσα ἐν Καϊετάνῳ 2 κόλπῳ ἱδρυται, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ θυσιασμὸς σίνους γὰρ ὁ κόλπος πλησιόν ἐστὶ δ’ αὐτῆς θερμὰ λυστρα, κάλλιστα ποιοῦντα πρὸς νόσους ἐνίας. αὐταὶ μὲν αἱ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τῶν Ἀτλαντῶν πόλεις.

7. Ἔν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ πρώτῃ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ὡσιών ἐτῶν ἡ Ῥώμη, καὶ μόνη γε ἐπὶ τῷ Τιβέρει κεῖται: περὶ ἧς, διὶ πρὸς ἀνάγκην, οὐ πρὸς αἴρεσιν ἐκτισται, εἰρηται: προσβεβελτοῦ ὅ ὦτι οὐδ’ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα προσκεκλίσαντες τινα μέρη κύριοι τοῦ Βελτίωνος ἤσαν, ἄλλο εὐδοκεῖν τοῖς προϋποκειμένοις. οἱ μὲν γε πρῶτοι τὸ Καπτώλιον καὶ τὸ Παλάτιον καὶ τὸν Κουρίνον λόφον ἐτείχισαν, ὡς ἢν αὐτοῖς εὐεπίβατος τοῖς ἐξωθεὶν ὡς’ εἰ ἐφόδου

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1 Καϊέτου, Jones, for Κέατου (BC), Καϊέτου (sec. hand in B).
2 Καϊετάνῳ, from conj. of Cappe, for the unintelligible στάνῳ, Σταγάνος (BC), στάνῳ (npr). Meinecke relegates στάνῳ to the foot of the page.

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1 Cp. 2. 5. 19.
2 The Greek word for "gulf," "vale."
Pandateria and Pontia,\(^1\) which, though small, are well peopled; they are not far distant from one another, but they are two hundred and fifty stadia from the mainland. The Caecuban Plain borders on the Gulf of Caietias; and next to the plain comes Fundi, situated on the Appian Way. All these places produce exceedingly good wine; indeed, the Caecuban and the Fundanian and the Setinian belong to the class of wines that are widely famed, as is the case with the Falernian and the Alban and the Statanian. Sinuessa is situated in the Caietan "Kolpos," \(^2\) and hence its name; for "Kolpos" means "Sinus"; \(^3\) and near Sinuessa are hot baths, which are most efficacious for certain diseases.\(^4\) These, then, are the cities of the Latini on the sea.

7. In the interior, the first city above Ostia is Rome, and it is the only city that is situated on the Tiber. With regard to this city, I have already said that it was founded there as a matter of necessity, not as a matter of choice; \(^5\) and I must add that even those who afterwards added certain districts to the settlement could not as masters take the better course, but as slaves must needs accommodate themselves to what had already been founded. The first founders walled the Capitolium and the Palatium and the Quirinal Hill, which last was so easy for outsiders

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\(^1\) Strabo now refers to the Roman "Caietanus Sinus," and not to "the intervening gulf" above-mentioned.

\(^2\) According to Pliny (31. 4), these baths cured barrenness in women and insanity in men. Whether they have disappeared, or are to be identified with the waters at Torre di Bagni, is not known.

\(^3\) 5. 3. 2.
Τίττος Τάτιος εἶλεν, ἐπελθὼν ἦνικα μετήι τὴν τῶν ἄρπαγεισῶν παρθένων ὑβρίς. ἂν γὰρ ἔστιν ἄρκειας ὄρος καὶ ἔστιν Ἀβεβευτικὸς ὄρος καὶ τὸ μεταξύ τούτων πεδίων, διηρήσει καὶ ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προτετειχισμένων, προσέθηκεν ἄναγκαιος· ὦ γὰρ ὅταν ἔρμυνος λόφους ἐξὸς τείχους ἐκάλεσε τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπὶ τειχισματα καλῶς εἶχεν, οὐθ’ ὅλον ἐκπληρώσαι τὸν κύκλον ἵσχυσε τὸν μέχρι τοῦ Κουρίου, ἢλεγξε δὲ Σερούιος τὴν ἔκλειψιν, ἀνεπλήρωσε γὰρ προσθείς τὸν τοῖς Ἡσυκλῶν ἄρομο καὶ τὸν Οὐμίναλι. καὶ ταῦτα δ’ εὐέφοδα διὸ πράξες ἐστὶ διόπερ τάφρον βαθεῖαν ὁρύξατες εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ἐδέξαυτο τὴν γην, καὶ ἐξείπαι ὅσον ἐξαστάδιον χώμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐντὸς ὀφρύ τῆς τάφρου, καὶ ἐπέβαλεν τείχος καὶ πύργους ἀπὸ τῆς Κολλώνας πύλης μέχρι τῆς Ἡσυκλώνας. ὅπως μέσῳ δὲ τὸ χώματι τριτέ ἐστὶ πύλη ὀμώνυμος τῷ Οὐμίναλι λόφῳ. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔρυμα τοιοῦτον ἐστὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως, ἐρυμάτων ἐντὸς δεόμενον. καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ αὐτῶν λαβέων διάλογον περί τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑστερῶν, διότι Ῥωμαίοις προσήκεν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπόλων καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἄρετῆς ὄχειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐπορίαν, προβλήματα νομίζοντες ὅτα τὰ τείχη τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοῖς τείχεσι. καὶ ἄρχας μὲν οὖν ἀλλοτρίας τῆς κύκλος χώρας οὐσίας ἀγαθῆς τε καὶ

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1 Corais and Meineke emend το στὸ δέ.
2 Καλιόν, Corinis, for Κέλιον; so the later editors.

1 Cp. 5. 3. 2. 2 "Porta Viminalis."
GEOPGRAPHY, 5. 3. 7
to ascend that Titus Tatius took it at the first onset, making his attack at the time when he came to avenge the outrage of the seizure of the maidens.\textsuperscript{1} Again, Ancus Marcius took in Mt. Caelium and Mt. Aventine, and the plain between them, which were separated both from one another and from the parts that were already walled, but he did so only from necessity; for, in the first place, it was not a good thing to leave hills that were so well fortified by nature outside the walls for any who wished strongholds against the city, and, secondly, he was unable to fill out the whole circuit of hills as far as the Quirinal. Servius, however, detected the gap, for he filled it out by adding both the Esquiline Hill and the Viminal Hill. But these too are easy for outsiders to attack; and for this reason they dug a deep trench and took the earth to the inner side of the trench, and extended a mound about six stadia on the inner brow of the trench, and built thereon a wall with towers from the Colline Gate to the Esquiline. Below the centre of the mound is a third gate,\textsuperscript{2} bearing the same name as the Viminal Hill. Such, then, are the fortifications of the city, though they need a second set of fortifications. And, in my opinion, the first founders took the same course of reasoning both for themselves and for their successors, namely, that it was appropriate for the Romans to depend for their safety and general welfare, not on their fortifications, but on their arms and their own valour, in the belief that it is not walls that protect men but men that protect walls. At the outset, then, since the fertile and extensive country round about them belonged to others,\textsuperscript{3} and since the terrain of the

\textsuperscript{1} Cp. 5. 3. 2 on this point.

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πολλής, τού δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἑδάφους εὐπειχειρήτου, τὸ μακαρισθησόμενον οὐδὲν ἢν τοπικὸν εὐκληρῆμα: τῇ δ’ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τῆς χώρας οἰκείας.  

C 235  

γενομένης, ἐφάνη συνδρομή τις ἁγαθῶν ἀπασαν εὐφυίαν ὑπερβάλλουσα: δι’ ἑν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐξηθείσα ᾗ πόλις ἀντέχει τούτο μὲν τροφῆ, τούτῳ δὲ ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις πρὸς τὰς οἰκοδομίας, ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως ¹ ποιοῦσιν αἱ συμπτώσεις καὶ ἐμπρήσεις καὶ μεταπράσεις, ἀδιάλειπτου καὶ αὐταί ὀυσαί καὶ γὰρ αἱ μεταπράσεις ἐκούσιοί τινες συμπτώσεις εἰς τὴν καταβαλλόντων καὶ ἀνοικοδομοῦντων πρὸς τὰς ἑπιθυμίας ἑτερα ἐξ ἑτέρων. πρὸς ταῦτ’ ὅπι το τῶν μετάλλων πλῆθος καὶ ἡ ὕλη καὶ οἱ κατακόμβους ποταμοὶ βαυμαστὸν παρέχουσι τὴν ὑποχορηγίαν, πρῶτος μὲν Ἁλβων ἐξ Ἀλβας ἰών, τῆς πρὸς Μαρσοῦς Δατίνης πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὅπι αὐτῆ πεδίου μέχρι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Τιβερίν αἰμβολῆς, ἐπειδ’ ὁ Νὰρ καὶ ὁ Τενεάς οἱ διὰ τῆς Ὁμβρικῆς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν καταφερόμενον ποταμὸν τὸν Τιβερίν, διὰ δὲ Τυρχηνίας καὶ τῆς Κλαυσίνης ὁ Κλάνις. ἐπεμελήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἐλαττωμάτων τῆς πόλεως, πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἐμπρήσεις συντάξας στρατιωτικῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθερωτῶν τὸ βοηθῆσαι, πρὸς δὲ τὰς συμ-

¹ ἀδιαλείπτως, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores, for ἀδιαλείπτους (Corais, Müller—Düllner, and Meineke).

¹ Op. Horace’s “diruit, aedificat, mutat” (Epist. 1. 1. 100).
² Alba Fucens.
³ In Latin, the “‘Tinia.”
city was so easy to attack, there was nothing fortunate in their position to call for congratulation, but when by their valour and their toil they had made the country their own property, there was obviously a concourse, so to speak, of blessings that surpassed all natural advantages; and it is because of this concourse of blessings that the city, although it has grown to such an extent, holds out in the way it does, not only in respect to food, but also in respect to timber and stones for the building of houses, which goes on unceasingly in consequence of the collapses and fires and repeated sales (these last, too, going on unceasingly); and indeed the sales are intentional collapses, as it were, since the purchasers keep tearing down the houses and building new ones, one after another, to suit their wishes. To meet these requirements, then, the Romans are afforded a wonderful supply of materials by the large number of mines, by the timber, and by the rivers which bring these down: first, the Anio, which flows from Alba, the Latin city next to the Marsi, through the plain that is below Alba to its confluence with the Tiber; and then the Nar and the Teneas, the rivers which run through Ombricia down to the same river, the Tiber; and also the Clanis, which, however, runs down thither through Tyrrenia and the territory of Clusium. Now Augustus Caesar concerned himself about such impairments of the city, organising for protection against fires a militia composed of freedmen, whose duty it was to render assistance.

4 The "cohortes vigilum" were a night police and fire brigade combined, consisting of seven thousand men, or seven cohorts. They were distributed throughout the city, one cohort to every two of the fourteen "regiones." See Suetonius, Augustus 25, and Cassius Dio 55. 26.
8. Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις τῆς χώρας παρεχεται τὰ εὐνυχήματα τῇ πόλει, προσέθεσαν δὲ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς προναίας, τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὰς κτίσεις εὐστοχήσαται μάλιστα δοξάσων, ὅτι κάλλους ἑστοχίζωντο καὶ ἐρυμνότητος καὶ λιμένων καὶ χώρας εὐφυῶς, αὕτῳ προσφέρομεν μάλιστα ὅν ὀλιγώρησαν ἐκείνου, στρώσεως ὅδων καὶ ὕδατων εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ ὑπονόμων τῶν δυναμένων ἐκκλίζειν τὰ λύματα τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸν Τίβεριν ἐστρωσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὁδοὺς, προσθέτες ἐκκοπὰς τε λόφων καὶ ἐγχωσίες κοιλάδων, ὅστε τὰς ἁρμαμάξας δέχεσθαι πορθμείων φορτία· οἱ δὲ ὑπόνομοι συνιόμοι λίθοι κατακαμφθέντες ὁδοὺς ἁρμαξας χόρτων πορευτὰς ἐνὶς ἀπολελοίπασι. τοσοῦτον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ εἰσαγώγημον ὕδωρ διὰ τῶν υδραγωγεῖων ὅστε ποταμοὺς διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ὑπονόμων ῥεῖν, ἄπασαν δὲ οἱ καὶ σχεδὸν δεξαμενὰς καὶ σίφωνας καὶ προνοῦς ἐχεῖν ἀφθόνους, ὅπεν πλεόνησιν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας, πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἀναθήμασι κοσμήθη.
and also to provide against collapses, reducing the heights of the new buildings and forbidding that any structure on the public streets should rise as high as seventy feet; but still his constructive measures would have failed by now were it not that the mines and the timber and the easy means of transportation by water still hold out.

8. So much, then, for the blessings with which nature supplies the city; but the Romans have added still others, which are the result of their foresight; for if the Greeks had the repute of aiming most happily in the founding of cities, in that they aimed at beauty, strength of position, harbours, and productive soil, the Romans had the best foresight in those matters which the Greeks made but little account of, such as the construction of roads and aqueducts, and of sewers that could wash out the filth of the city into the Tiber. Moreover, they have so constructed also the roads which run throughout the country, by adding both cuts through hills and embankments across valleys, that their wagons can carry boat-loads; and the sewers, vaulted with close-fitting stones, have in some places left room enough even for wagons loaded with hay to pass through them.¹ And water is brought into the city through the aqueducts in such quantities that veritable rivers flow through the city and the sewers; and almost every house has cisterns, and service-pipes, and copious fountains—with which Marcus Agrippa concerned himself most, though he also adorned the city with

¹ Pliny (36, 24) uses the same figure in describing the dimensions of the sewers constructed by Tarquiniius Priscus: (Tarquiniius Priscus) amplitudinem cavis cam fecisse proditur ut vehem faeni large onustam transmitteret.
Ο 236 σας τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δ’ εἰσῆλθαν, οἱ παλαιοὶ μὲν τοῦ κάλλους τῆς Ἡρώμης ὀλιγόρουν, πρὸς ἄλλους μείζοντες και ἀναγκαιότεροις ὤντες· οἱ δ’ ὑστερον, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ νῦν καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ τοῦτον καθυστέρησαν, ἀλλ’ ἀναδημάτων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ γὰρ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς καὶ οἱ τούτων παῖδες καὶ οἱ φίλοι καὶ γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ πᾶσαν ὑπερβάλλοντο σπουδήν καὶ διαπάνων εἰς τὰς κατασκευὰς· τούτων δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα ὁ Μάρτιος ἔχει κάμπος, πρὸς τῇ φύσει προσλαβὼν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς προνοίας κόσμον. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πεδίου βαρυμαστοῦ, ἀμα καὶ τὰς ἀρματοδρομίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἰππασίαν ἅκωλτον παρέχον τὸ τοσοῦτο πλῆθει τῶν σφαιρα καὶ κρίκῳ καὶ παλαιστρα γυμναζόμενως καὶ τὰ περικείμενα ἔργα καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ποιάζου δι’ ἔτους καὶ τῶν λόφων στεφάναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ ρείθρου σκηνογραφικὴν ὡς ἐπιδεικνύμεναι δυσπάλλακτον παρέχουσι τὴν θέαν. πλησίον δ’ ἐστὶ τοῦ πεδίου τούτου καὶ ἄλλο πεδίον καὶ στοάι κύκλῳ παμπληθεῖς καὶ ἄλογη καὶ θέατρα τρία καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον

1 παρέχον, Groskurd, for παρέχων; so the later editors.

1 From the more ancient point of view, as the Greek word here translated “structures” shows, these structures might all have been erected as divine offerings; but in later times the word seems often to have lost this connotation (cp. W. H. D. Rouse, Votive Offerings, p. 273).
2 See the note above on “structures.”
3 For a list of some of these “friends” of Augustus and what they built, see Suetonius, Augustus 29.
4 Cp. “works of art,” 5. 2. 5 and the footnote.
5 According to Hülsen (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. “Agrippae
many other structures. In a word, the early Romans made but little account of the beauty of Rome, because they were occupied with other, greater and more necessary, matters; whereas the later Romans, and particularly those of to-day and in my time, have not fallen short in this respect either—indeed, they have filled the city with many beautiful structures. In fact, Pompey, the Deified Caesar, Augustus, his sons and friends, and wife and sister, have outdone all others in their zeal for buildings and in the expense incurred. The Campus Martius contains most of these, and thus, in addition to its natural beauty, it has received still further adornment as the result of foresight. Indeed, the size of the Campus is remarkable, since it affords space at the same time and without interference, not only for the chariot-races and every other equestrian exercise, but also for all that multitude of people who exercise themselves by ball-playing, hoop-trundling, and wrestling; and the works of art situated around the Campus Martius, and the ground, which is covered with grass throughout the year, and the crowns of those hills that are above the river and extend as far as its bed, which present to the eye the appearance of a stage-painting—all this, I say, affords a spectacle that one can hardly draw away from. And near this campus is still another campus, with colonnades round about it in very great numbers, and sacred precincts, and three theatres, and an amphitheatre, campus) Strabo refers to the Campus of Agrippa; but Tozer (Selections p. 154) is in doubt whether Strabo means this campus or the Campus Flaminius. Both campuses, of course, formed a part of the Campus Martius.
καὶ ναὸι πολυτελεῖς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλοις, ὡς πάρεργον ἀν δόξαειν ἀποψαίνειν τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. διόπερ ἱεροπρεπέστατον νομίζαντες τούτον τὸν τόπον καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων μνήματα ἐνταύθα κατεσκεύασαν ἄνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. ἀξιολογώτατον δὲ τὸ Μαυσόλειον καλοῦμενον, ἐπὶ κρητικοῖς ὑψηλῆς λευκολίθου πρὸς τὸ ποταμὸ χώμα μέγα, ἀχρί κορυφῆς τοὺς δείθαλεσί τῶν δέντρων συνηρεῖς ἐπὶ ἄκρω μὲν οὖν εἰκόνι ἐστὶ χαλκῆ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, ὕπο δὲ τῶν χώματι θηκαί εἰσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ οἰκεῖων, ὅπεσθεν δὲ μέγα ἄλσος περιπτῶς θαυμαστῶς ἔχουν ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τὸ πεδίον ὁ τῆς καύστρας αὐτοῦ περιβόλος, καὶ οὕτος λίθου λευκοῦ, κύκλῳ μὲν περικείμενον ἔχων σιδηροῦν περίφραγμα, ἐν τούτοις δαλαίροις κατάφυτος. πάλιν δὲ εἰ τις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρελθὼν τὴν ἄρχαιαν ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης ἢδοι παραβεβλημένην ταύτην ¹ καὶ βασιλικὰς στοὰς καὶ ναοὺς, ἢδοι δὲ καὶ τὸ Καπιτόλιον καὶ τὰ ἐνταύθα ἔργα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παλατίνῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς Λιβίας περιπάτῳ, ῥαδίως ἐκλάθοι σῶν τῶν ἐξωθεν. τοιαύτη μὲν ἦ Ῥώμη.

9. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τῆς Λατίνης πόλεων τὰς μὲν ἐτέρωις γνωρίσμασι, τὰς δὲ ὅδοις ἀφορίσασί ἀν τις ταῖς γνωριμωτάταις, ὡσαί διὰ τῆς Λατίνης

¹ ταύτη, Corais, for ταύτην; so the later editors.

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¹ The remains of this Mausoleum are still to be seen on the Via do Pontificio.
² Cassius Dio (69. 23) says that the Mausoleum was filled by the time of Hadrian's death (138 A.D.).

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and very costly temples, in close succession to one another, giving you the impression that they are trying, as it were, to declare the rest of the city a mere accessory. For this reason, in the belief that this place was holiest of all, the Romans have erected in it the tombs of their most illustrious men and women. The most noteworthy is what is called the Mausoleum,¹ a great mound near the river on a lofty foundation of white marble, thickly covered with ever-green trees to the very summit. Now on top is a bronze image of Augustus Caesar; beneath the mound are the tombs of himself and his kinsmen and intimates; ² behind the mound is a large sacred precinct with wonderful promenades; and in the centre of the Campus is the wall (this too of white marble) round his crematorium; ³ the wall is surrounded by a circular iron fence and the space within the wall is planted with black poplars. And again, if, on passing to the old Forum, you saw one forum after another ranged along the old one, and basilicas, ⁴ and temples, and saw also the Capitolium and the works of art there and those of the Palatium and Livia’s Promenade, you would easily become oblivious to everything else outside. ⁵ Such is Rome.

9. As for the rest of the cities of Latium, their positions may be defined, some by a different set of distinctive marks, and others by the best known roads that have been constructed through Latium; for they

⁴ Tozer (Selections, p. 155) says, “ἠλλην ἰξ ἡλλης refer to βασιλικάς στοάς” and translates, “shoulder, ranged one after another on either side of this, both basilicas and temples.” But the Greek hardly admits of his interpretation.

⁵ For a more detailed account of the public works and buildings at Rome, the reader is referred to Pliny 36. 24.
ἐστρωταί: ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταύταις ἢ παρὰ ταύταις ἢ μεταξὺ ἵδρυται. γυνωμιμωταί δὲ τῶν ὄδων ἢ τε Ἀππία καὶ ἡ Δατίνη καὶ ἡ Οὐαλερία: ἡ μὲν τὰ πρὸς θαλάττῃ ἀφορίζουσα μέρη τῆς Δατίνης μέχρι Σινομόσσης, ἢ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τῇ Σαβίνη μέχρι Μαρσάων, μέση δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ Δατίνη ή συμπίπτουσα τῇ Ἀππίας κατὰ Κασιλίνου, πῶλιν διέχουσαν Κατύς ἐνεακάδεκα σταδίους: ἀρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀππίας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἕκτρεπομένη πλησίων Ρώμης, εἶτα διὰ τοῦ Τουσκλανοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβάσα ἡ Τούσκλου πῶλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ ὄρους κάτεισιν ἐπὶ Ἁλγίδου πολίχνιου καὶ Πικτᾶς παιδοχεία. εἶτα συμπίπτει καὶ ἡ Λαβικανή, ἀρχιμένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱσκυλίνης πύλης, ἀφ’ ἢς καὶ ἡ Πραυνεστίνη: ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δ’ ἀφεῖσα καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὸ πεδίον τοῦ Ἱσκυλίνου πρόεισιν ἐπὶ πλείους τῶν ἐκατόν καὶ εἰκοσί σταδίων, καὶ πλησιάζασα τῷ Λαβικῳ, πολαῖς κτίσματι κατεστασμένῳ, κειμένῳ δ’ ἕφ’ ύψους, τούτο μὲν καὶ τὸ Τούσκουλον ἐν δεξιῶς ἀπολείπει, τελευτᾶ δὲ πρὸς τὰς Πικτᾶς καὶ τὴν Δατίνην διέχει δὲ τῆς Ρώμης τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διακοσίους καὶ δέκα σταδίους. εἰθ’ ἐξῆς μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς Δατίνης εἰσὶν ἐπίσημοι κατοικίαι καὶ πόλεις Φερέντινος, Φρουσίων, παρ’ ἤν οῦ Κόσας ρεῖ ποταμός, Φαβρατεία, παρ’ ἤν ο Τρήρος ρεῖ, Ἄκοινον, ἢ

1 θαλάττῃ, Jones, for θαλατταν.
2 Κασιλίνου, Cluvier, for Κάσινον; so the editors.
3 τά, before ἀπό, is deleted by the editors.
4 ἢ, Jones inserts before μεγάλη; others bracket the ἐστὶ after πῶλης, or (as Meinecke) delete it, or (as Corais) insert δὲ after Ἀκούνου.
are situated either on these roads, or near them, or between them. The best known of the roads are the Appian Way, the Latin Way, and the Valerian Way. The Appian Way marks off, as far as Sinnessa, those parts of Latium that are next to the sea, and the Valerian Way, as far as the Marsi, those parts that are next to the Sabine country; while the Latin Way is between the two—the Way that unites with the Appian Way at Casilinum, a city nineteen stadia distant from Capua. The Latin Way begins, however, at the Appian Way, since near Rome it turns off from it to the left, and then, passing through the Tuscanian Mountain, and over it at a point between the city of Tusculum and the Alban Mountain, runs down to the little city of Algidum and the Inns of Pictae;¹ and then it is joined by the Labican Way. This latter begins at the Esquiline Gate, as also does the Praenestine Way, but it leaves both the Praenestine Way and the Esquiline Plain to the left and runs on for more than one hundred and twenty stadia, and, on drawing near to Labicium (a city founded in early times, once situated on an eminence, but now demolished), leaves both it and Tusculum on the right and comes to an end at Pictae and the Latin Way; the distance of this place from Rome is two hundred and ten stadia. Then in order, as you proceed on the Latin Way itself, you come to important settlements and the cities of Ferentinum, Frusino (past which the Cosa² flows), Fabrateria (past which the Tiberus³ flows), Aquinum (it is a large city, and

¹ "Ad Pictae."
² The river is still called "Cosa."
³ Now the Sacco.
μεγάλη πόλεις ἐστί, παρ’ ἦν οἱ Μέλπις ἰσὺ ποταμὸς μέγας, Ἰντεράμμινον, ἐν συμβολῇ δυνών ποταμῶν κείμενου, Λεύριος τε καὶ έτέρου Κάσιμων καὶ αὐτῇ πόλις ἀξιόλογος, ὅστάτη τῶν Λατίνων. τὸ γὰρ Τέανων τὸ καλούμενον Σιδίκινον ἐβεβής κείμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιθέτου δηλοῦται διότι τῶν Σιδίκινων ἐστίν, οὕτω δὲ Ὀσκοί, Καμπανίς ἐθνὸς ἐκλειπότει, ὡστε λέγοντ’ ἄν τῆς Καμπανίας καὶ αὐτῆς, μεγάλης ὅσσα τῶν ἑπὶ τῇ Λατίνη πόλεως, καὶ ἡ ἐβεβής ἡ τῶν Καλχων, καὶ αὐτῇ ἀξιόλογος συναίτουσα τῶν Κασίλων.

10. Ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα δὲ τῆς Λατίνης ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἰςιν αἱ μεταξὺ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀπίκας, Σητία τε καὶ Σιγύνια, πέροις σεινοῦ, ἡ μὲν τῶν πολυτελῶν ἐνα, ἡ δὲ τῶν σταλτικῶτατων κοιλίας, τῶν Σιγύνων 2 λεγόμενον πρὸ δὲ ταῦτης 3 ἐστὶ Πρίβερον καὶ Κόρα καὶ Σύεσσα Τραπόντιον ⁴ τε καὶ Οὐελίτραι καὶ Ἀλέτριον ἔτι δὲ Φρεγέλλα, παρ’ ἦν ὁ Λεύρις ἰσὺ ἐν τὰς Μιντούρνας ἐκδίδοις, νῦν μὲν κόμη, πόλις δὲ ποτὲ γεγονυνᾶ ἀξιόλογος καὶ τὰς πολλὰς τῶν ἀρτί λεχθεισῶν περιουκίδας ⁵ πρότερον ἐσχηκυνᾶ, αἱ νῦν ἐδρ σαυτῆς συνέρχονται, ἀγορᾶς τε ποιούμεναι καὶ ἱεροποιίας τινὰς κατεσκάφη

1 ἕν, before ἐν, Corai and others bracket ; Meineke rightly deletes.
2 Σιγύνως, Meineke, for Σιγύνια.
3 Nearly all the editors, including Müller-Dünn and Meineke, wrongly emend πρὸ δὲ ταῦτης τὸ πρὸς δὲ ταῦτας.
4 For Τραπόντιον, Siebenkenn, from conjecture of Cluver, reads τῶν Πομεντίων, while C. Müller conjectures Καρβέντιον.
5 περιουκίδας, Groskurd, for περιουκίδας ; so the later editors.

1 That is, the last on the Latin Way.
2 Cales, now Calvi.
past it flows a large river, the Melpis), Interamnium
(which is situated at the confluence of two rivers,
the Liris and another), and Casinum (this too a note-
worthy city), which is the last city of Latium;¹ for
what is called Teanum "Sidicinum," which is situated
next in order after Casinum, shows clearly from its
epithet that it belongs to the Sidicini. These people
are Osci, a tribe of Campani that has disappeared;
and therefore this city might be called a part of
Campania, although it is the largest of the cities on
the Latin Way, as also might the city ² that comes
next after it, that of the Caleni (this too a note-
worthy city), although its territory joins that of
Casilinum.

10. Then take the cities on either side of the
Latin Way. On the right are those between it and
the Appian Way, namely, Setia and Signia, which
produce wine, the former, one of the costly wines,
and the latter, the best for checking the bowels
(what is called the "Signine" wine). And farther
on, beyond Signia, is Privernum, and Cora, and
Suessa,³ and also Trapontium,⁴ Velitrania, and Ale-
trium; and besides these, Fregellae (past which the
Liris flows, the river that empties at Minturnae ⁵),
which is now merely a village, although it was once
a noteworthy city ⁶ and formerly held dependencies
most of the surrounding cities just mentioned (and
at the present time the inhabitants of these cities
meet at Fregellae both to hold markets and to per-
form certain sacred rites), but, having revolted, it was

³ Suessa Pometia, of which no traces are left.
⁴ Trapontium is otherwise unknown, unless it be identified
with Tripontio, a place mentioned only in an inscription of
Trajan.
⁵ Cp. 5. 3. 6.
⁶ Cp. § 6 above.
δ' ὑπὸ Ἦρωμαίων ἀποστάσα. πλείσται δ' εἰσὶ καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ᾿Ερνίκων τε καὶ ᾿Αἰκων καὶ Ὀὐόλ- 
σκων ἰδρυμένα, Ἦρωμαίων δ' εἰσὶ κτίσματα. ἐν ἀρίστερὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀτηνῆς αἱ μεταξὺ αὐτῆς καὶ 
τῆς ᾿Οὐαλερίας, Γάβιοι μὲν ἐν τῇ Πραινέστῳ ὅνω νειμένη, λατόμουν ἔχουσα ὑπουργὸν τῇ ᾿Ρώμῃ 
μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων, διέχουσα τὸ ἵσον τῇ ᾿Ρώμῃ τε καὶ Πραινέστου, περὶ ἐκατόν σταδίων. 
eἰδ' ᾧ Πραινέστου, περὶ ᾧ αὐτικά ἐρωμένω εἰὴ 
αἱ ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσί τοῖς ὑπὲρ Πραινέστου, ἥ τε τῶν 
Ἑρνίκων πολίχνη Καπίτουλον καὶ ᾿Αναγνία, 
πόλεως ᾿Αξιόλογος, καὶ Κερείτε καὶ Σώρα, παρ' 
ήν ὁ Δεύρις παρεξών εἰς Φρεγέλλας μέι καὶ 
Μιντούρνας· ἔπειτα ἄλλα τινά καὶ Ὀυέναφρον, ὅθεν τὸ κάλλιστὸν ἔλαιον· ἥ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἡφ 
ὑψοὺς κεῖται, παραρρεῖ δὲ τὴν τού λόφου βίζαν ὁ Ὀουολτούρνος, ὅσ καὶ παρὰ τὸ Κασίλινον ἐνεχθεὶς ἐκδίδσως κατὰ τὴν ὀμώνυμον αὐτῆ 
πόλιν. Ἀλσερία δὲ καὶ ᾿Αλλιφα ΰδῆ Σαμυ 
τικαὶ πόλεις εἰσίν, ἥ μὲν ἀνηρμένη κατὰ τῶν 
Μαρσικὸν πόλεμον, ἥ δ' ἐτι συμμένουσα.

11. ᾿Η ᾿Οὐαλερία δ' ἀρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ Τίβουρων, 
ἄγει δ' ἐπὶ Μαρσόν καὶ Κορφύνων, τὴν τῶν 
Πελίγων μετρόπολιν. εἰσὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Λατίναι 
pόλεις ᾿Οὐαρία τοῦ Καρσέολοι καὶ ᾿Αλβα, 
πλησίον δὲ καὶ πόλεις Κούκουλον. ἐν ὑφεῖ δ' εἰσὶ 
τοῖς ἐν ᾿Ρώμῃ Τίβουρα τε καὶ Πραινέστοσ καὶ

1 αἱ, the obvious correction of Corais, for ᾧ.
2 ᾿Οὐαρία, Kramer from the conj. of Gluviere, for ᾿Οὐαλερία; 
so the later editors.
demolished by the Romans. Most of these cities, as also of those on the Latin Way and of those on the far side of it, are situated in the country of the Hernici, the Acci, and the Volsci, though all were founded by the Romans. Again, on the left of the Latin Way are the cities between it and the Valerian Way: first, Gabii, situated on the Praenestine Way, with a rock-quarry that is more serviceable to Rome than any other, and equidistant—about one hundred stadia—from Rome and Praeneste; then Praeneste, about which I shall speak presently; then the cities in those mountains that are above Praeneste: Capitulum, the little city of the Hernici, and Anagnia, a noteworthy city, and Cercate, and Sora (past which the Liris flows as it issues from the mountains and comes to Fregellae and Minturnae); and then certain other places, and Venafrum, whence comes the finest olive-oil. Now the city of Venafrum is situated on an eminence, and past the base of the hill flows the Voltumnus River, which runs past Casilinum also and empties into the sea at the city of like name. But when you come to the cities of Aesernia and Allifae you are already in Samnite territory; the former was destroyed in the Marsic War, while the latter still endures.

11. The Valerian Way has its beginning at Tibur, and leads to the country of the Marsi, and to Corfinium, the metropolis of the Peligni. On the Valerian Way are the following cities of Latium: Varia, Carseoli, and Alba, and also, near by, the city of Cuculum. Tibur, Praeneste, and Tusculum are all visible from Rome. First, Tibur:

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1 Cp. 5. 3. 6.  
2 Voltumnus.  
3 Alba Fucens.  
4 Now Cucullo, otherwise called Scutolo.
Τούσκλον. Τίβουρα μέν, ἕν τὸ Ἡράκλειον, καὶ ὁ καταράκτης, ὃν ποιεῖ πλωτὸς ὄν ὁ Ἄνιων, ἀφ’ ύψους μεγάλου καταπίπτων εἰς φάραγγα βαθείαν καὶ καταλήπῃ πρὸς αυτῇ τῇ πόλει. ἐντεύθεν δὲ διέξεισι πεδίον εὐκαρπότατον παρὰ τὰ μέταλλα τοῦ λίθου τοῦ Τίβουρτινου καὶ τοῦ ἐν Γαβίων, καὶ τοῦ ἐρυθροῦ λεγομένου, ὡστε τὴν ἑκ τῶν μετάλλων ἔξαγωγὴν καὶ τὴν πορθμεῖαν εὔμαρη τελέως ἐίναι, τῶν πλείστων ἔργων τῆς Ρώμης ἐντεύθεν κατασκευαζόμενων. ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ Ἀλβουλα καλούμενα μεῖζον ὑδατα ψυχρὰ ἐκ πολλῶν πηγῶν, πρὸς ποικίλας νόσους καὶ πίνουσι καὶ ἐγκαθημένοις ύγιεινά τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ Δαβανία, οὐκ ἄπωθεν τούτων ἐν τῇ Νωμενταιᾷ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἰηρῶν τόποις. Πραίνεστος δ’ ἐστὶν ὅπου τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἱερὸν ἐπίσημον χρηστηρίαζον ἀμφότεραι δ’ αἱ πόλεις αὐται τῇ αὐτῇ προσιδρυμέναι τυγχάνουσιν ὑρεινῇ, διέχουσι δ’ ἀλλήλων ὅσον σταδίους ἐκατόν, τῆς δὲ Ῥώμης Πραίνεστος μὲν καὶ διπλάσιον, Τίβουρα δ’ ἐλαττον. φασὶ δ’ Ἑλληνίδας ἀμφότερας, Πραίνεστον γοῦν Πολυστέφανον καλεῖσθαι πρότερον.

1 Before § Corais and Meineke insert ἐν; but Müller-Diibner follow the MSS.
2 For καὶ τοῦ Meineke, from conj. of Kramer, reads τοῦ καὶ.

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1 Cp. 5. 3. 7.
2 The Greek word here translated "wooded" suggests a sacred grove. Strabo obviously refers to the grove that was sacred to Tiburnus, the founder of Tibur. Cp. Horace, Odes 1. 7. 13.
4 Cp. § 10 above.
it possesses the temple of Heracles, and also the waterfall formed by the Anio, a navigable river\(^1\) which falls down from a great height into a deep, wooded\(^2\) ravine near the city itself. Thence the river flows out through a very fruitful plain past the quarries of the Tiburtine stone,\(^3\) and of the stone of Gabii,\(^4\) and of what is called "red stone"; so that the delivery from the quarries and the transportation by water are perfectly easy—most of the works of art\(^5\) at Rome being constructed of stone brought thence. In this plain, also, flow what are called the Albula waters\(^6\)—cold waters from many springs, helpful, both as drinking-water and as baths, in the cure of various diseases; and such, also, are the Labana waters,\(^7\) not far from the former, on the Nomentan Way and in the neighbourhood of Eretum. Secondly, Praeneste: here is the temple of Fortuna, noted for its oracles.\(^8\) Both of these cities are situated near the same mountain range, and they are about one hundred stadia distant from one another; but from Rome Praeneste is as much as double that distance, whereas Tibur is less than double. Both are called Greek cities;\(^9\) in any case Praeneste, they say, was formerly called "Polystephanos."\(^{10}\)

\(^1\) On "works of art," see 5. 2. 5. and footnote.
\(^2\) Now "La Solfatara" ("Sulphur waters").
\(^3\) Now called "Bagni di Grotta Marozza."
\(^4\) This was probably the largest temple in Italy. "The modern city of Palestrina is almost entirely built on its site and substructions" (Tozer, Selections, p. 157).
\(^5\) Horace (Carmina 2. 6. 5) speaks of "Tibur, Argeo positum colono."
\(^6\) "Many-wreathed," so called, apparently, from the several terraces. But Pliny (3. 9) says Praeneste was formerly called "Stephane" (Wreath).
ἐρυμνη μὲν οὖν ἐκατέρα, πολὺ δ’ ἐρυμνοτέρα
Πραινεστος πάκραν 1 γὰρ ἔχει τής μὲν πόλεως ὑπερθεν ὄρος ψήληλον, ὑπισθεν δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς συνεχούσης ὄρεινης αὐχένι διεξευγμένου, ὑπεραϊρον καὶ δυσὶ σταδίοις τούτου πρὸς ὑρθίαν ἀνάβασιν.

πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἐρυμνότητι καὶ διώρυξι κρυπταῖς διατέρηται πανταχόθεν μέχρι τῶν πεδίων, ταῖς μὲν ύπερεις χάριν, ταῖς δ’ ἐξώδων λαθραίων, ὁπ ἐν μιᾷ Μάριος πολυρκούμενος ἀπέθανεν. ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλαις πόλεσι πλείστων τὸ εὐερκές πρὸς ἀγαθὸν τίθεται, Πραινεστίνοις δὲ συμφορὰ γεγένηται διὰ τὰς Ῥωμαίους στάσεις. καταφεύγουσι γὰρ ἐκείση οἱ νεωτέρισταντες ἐκπολυρκυθέντων δὲ, πρὸς τῇ κακώσει τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώραν ἀπαλλοτριόυσθαι συμβαίνει, τῆς αὐτιάς μεταφερομένης ἐπὶ τούς ἀναίτιους. ἰδι δὲ διὰ τῆς χώρας Οὐέρεστις ποταμός. πρὸς ἐω δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰσίν αἱ λεχθεῖσαι πόλεις.

12. Ἐινδοτέρω δὲ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὰς ὀρεινής ἄλλη ῥάχις ἐστὶ, μεταξὺ αὐλώνα καταλείπουσα τὸν

1 ἄκραν, Corai, for ἄκραν; so the later editors.

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1 Aix Praenestina; now Castel San Pietro.
2 "This hill, which is of considerable elevation (being not less than 2400 feet above the sea, and more than 1200 above its immediate base), projects like a great buttress or bastion from the angle of the Apennines towards the Alban Hills" (Bunbury, Dict. Geogr. II, p. 665, quoted by Tozer). See Ency. Brit. s.v. "Praeneste" (J. G. Frazer).
3 On the reservoirs of Praeneste, "hollowed out in the rock of the mountain," and the water-supply in general, see Magoffin, A Study of the Topography of Praeneste, Johns Hopkins University Historical Studies, 1908, p. 435.
Now each is well fortified by nature, but Praeneste is much more so, since it has for a citadel a high mountain which not only rises above the city but also in the rear is disjoined from the unbroken mountain range by a neck of land above which it rises as much as two stadia in a perpendicular ascent. And in addition to its natural strength, subterranean passages have been bored through it from all sides as far as the plains—some for water-supply, others for secret exits (it was in one of these that Marius was put to death when he was being besieged). Now although in the case of all other cities, generally speaking, good defences are accounted a blessing, in the case of the Praenestini they have proved to be a misfortune, because of the seditions among the Romans. For all who have attempted a revolution take refuge in Praeneste; and, if forced by a siege to surrender, the inhabitants, in addition to the damage done to their city, meet with the further misfortune that their territory is alienated, the guilt being transferred to the guiltless. The Verestis River flows through the territory in question. The aforesaid cities are to the east of Rome.

12. But still closer to Rome than the mountainous country where these cities lie, there is another ridge, which leaves a valley (the valley near

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4 For example, in 108 B.C., when there was an uprising of slaves; in 82 B.C., when the younger Marius made Praeneste his headquarters. And in 63 B.C. Catiline sought to occupy Praeneste for headquarters but his effort was frustrated by the consul (Cicero, Against Catiline 1. 8).

5 The "Verestis" is otherwise unknown.

6 The Volscian Mountains.
κατὰ Ἀλγιδόν, ὑψηλὴ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ ὄρους. ἐπὶ ταύτης δὲ τὸ Τοῦσκλον ἠδύναται, πόλις οὖν φαῦλος κατεσκευασμένη κεκόσμηται δὲ ταῖς κύκλω φυτείαις καὶ οἰκοδομίαις, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς υποπτπτοῦσαις ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην μέρος. τὸ γὰρ Τοῦσκουλον ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ λόφος εὐγεως καὶ εὔνδρος, κορυφούμενος ἥρεμα πολλαχοῦ καὶ δεχόμενος βασιλείων κατασκευας ἐκπρεπεστάτας. συνεχῇ δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ τῶ Ἀλβανῶ ὄρει ὑποπτπτοῦντα, τὴν αὐτὴν τε ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα καὶ κατασκευὴν. ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἐστὶ πεδία, τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην συναπτοῦντα καὶ τὰ προαίστεια αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν τὰ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ἅττων ἐστὶν ὑγεινά, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εὐάγγελα τε καὶ παραπλησίως ἐξησκειμένα. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀλβανῶ Ἀρικία ἐστὶ πόλις ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ: στάδιοι δὲ εἰσιν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκατόν ἐξήκυντα· κοῖλος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος, ἔχει δ’ ὅμως ἑρυμμὴν ἄκραν. ὑπέρκειται δ’ αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν Δαυοῦν,1 τὸλις Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Ἀππίας ὁδοῦ, ἀφ’ ἕς ἐποττοῦς ἦ τε θάλασσά ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἀντιοῦ, τὸ δ’ Ἀρτεμίσιον, δ’ καλοῦσιΝέμος, ἐκ τοῦ ἐν ἀριστερὰ μέρους τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῖς 2 ἐς Ἀρικίας ἀναβαίνουσιν. τῆς δ’ Ἀρικίνης τὸ ἱερὸν λέγουσιν ἀφιδρυμά τι.3 τῆς

1 Δαυοῦν, Cluvier, for Δαυοῦνιον; so the later editors.
2 τοῖς, Siebenkees from conj. of Cluvier, for της; so generally the later editors.
3 The reading ἀναβαίνουσιν . . . . . ἀφιδρυμά τι is that of Groskurd (so Meineke and others) for ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν δ’ Ἀρικίνην τὸ ἱερὸν, λέγουσι δὲ ἀφιδρύματα.

1 Mt. Albanus, now Monte Cavo, is the highest summit.
2 That is, on one’s way from Tusculum.

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Algidum) between them and is high as far as Mt. Albanus. It is on this chain that Tusculum is situated, a city with no mean equipment of buildings; and it is adorned by the plantings and villas encircling it, and particularly by those that extend below the city in the general direction of the city of Rome; for here Tusculum is a fertile and well-watered hill, which in many places rises gently into crests and admits of magnificently devised royal palaces. Adjoining this hill are also the foothills of Mt. Albanus, with the same fertility and the same kind of palaces. Then, next, come the plains, some connecting with Rome and its suburbs, and others with the sea. Now although the plains that connect with the sea are less healthful, the others are both pleasant to dwell in and decked out in similar manner. After Mt. Albanus comes Aricia, a city on the Appian Way; it is one hundred and sixty stadia distant from Rome. Aricia lies in a hollow, but for all that it has a naturally strong citadel. Above Aricia lies, first, on the right hand side of the Appian Way, Lanuvium, a city of the Romans, from which both the sea and Antium are visible, and, secondly, to the left of the Way as you go up from Aricia, the Artemisium, which they call Nemus. The temple of the Arician, they say, is a

3 The ancient Aricia lay in the "Vallis Aricina" (now "Valle Aricetana"), an extinct crater below the modern town of Ariccia, which latter occupies the site of the ancient citadel, a steep hill.

4 "Lavinium," the reading of the MSS., has rightly been emended to "Lanuvium." Owing to a curious confusion between this place and Lavinium, which dates back to the middle ages, its modern name is "Civita Lavinia" (Tozer, Selections, p. 150).

5 That is "Nemus Dianae."

6 Sc. "Diana," that is, "Artemis."
Ταυροπόλου καὶ γὰρ τι βαρβαρικὸν κρατεῖ καὶ Σκυθικὸν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἑδος. καθισταται γὰρ ἱερεὺς ὁ γεννηθεὶς αὐτόχειρ τοῦ ἱερωμένου πρότερον δραπέτης ἄνηρ· ἐξιφίρης οὖν ἐστιν ἀεί, περισκοπῶν τὰς ἐπιθέσεις, ἑτοιμὸς ἀμύνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἐν ἄλσει, πρόκειται δὲ λίμνη πελαγίζουσα, κύκλῳ δὲ ὀρεινῆ συνεχῆς ὁφρύς περὶκείται καὶ λιαν ἡ ὕψηλη καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολαμβάνουσα ἐν κοίλῳ τόπῳ καὶ βαθεῖ. τὰς μὲν οὖν πηγὰς ὀρῶν ἐστιν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ λίμνη πληροῦται τούτων δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ Ἡγερία καλυμένη, δαίμονος τινός ἐπόνυμος· αἰ δὲ ἀπορρύσεις ἑνταῦθα μὲν ἁδηλοὶ εἰσίν, ἔξω δὲ δείκνυνται πόρρω πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἄνεχουσα.

13. Πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν χωρίων τούτων καὶ Ἀλβανὸν ὅρος πολὺ ὑπερκύπτων τοῦ Ἀρτέμισιον καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ ὁφρύων, καίπερ ὕψηλων ὕστατον καὶ ὀρθῶν ἰκανῶς. ἔχει δὲ καὶ τούτο λίμνη πολὺ μείζω τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον, προσοπτέρω δὲ τούτων αἰ λεχθεῖσαι πρότερον πόλεις τῆς Δατίνης εἰσὶ. μάλιστα δὲ ἐν μεσογαίᾳ τῶν Δατίνων πόλεων ἐστιν ἡ Ἔλβα, ὀμορφόσα

1 λιαν, Corais (who omits καὶ), for μιαν; so the later editors.
2 Ἡ Ἡγερία, Corais, for ἱερεία; so Meineke.
3 ὅς after Ἀρτέμισιον, Corais deletes; so generally the editors, including Meineke.

1 That is, "Artemis Tauropolos"—Artemis in her capacity as goddess of the Tauri.
2 The "Scythian element" referred to is the sacrifice of strangers by the Tauri, as described, for example, in Euripides' Iphigeneia among the Tauri.
3 Strabo refers to the Lacus Nemorensis (now Lago di
copy of that of the Tauropolos.¹ And in fact a barbaric, and Scythian,² element predominates in the sacred usages, for the people set up as priest merely a run-away slave who has slain with his own hand the man previously consecrated to that office; accordingly the priest is always armed with a sword, looking around for the attacks, and ready to defend himself. The temple is in a sacred grove, and in front of it is a lake which resembles an open sea, and round about it in a circle lies an unbroken and very high mountain-brow, which encloses both the temple and the water in a place that is hollow and deep. You can see the springs, it is true, from which the lake is fed (one of them is "Egeria," as it is called after a certain deity), but the outflows at the lake itself are not apparent, though they are pointed out to you at a distance outside the hollow, where they rise to the surface.³

13. Near these places is also Mt. Albanus, which rises considerably above the Artemisium and the mountain-brows round about it, though they too are high and rather steep. This mountain also has a lake,⁴ much larger than the one at the Artemisium. The previously mentioned cities of Latium⁵ are farther away⁶ than these places. But of all the cities of Latium, Alba⁷ is the farthest in the interior, since

Nemi), an extinct crater three miles in circumference and over three hundred feet deep. It is now drained by an artificial emissarium. According to Servius (note on Virgil, Aeneid 7. 515) it was called by the Latini the "Speculum" ("mirror") of Diana.

¹ Lacus Albanus, now Lago di Albano.
² Tibur and Praeneste.
³ That is, from Rome—the same standpoint as at beginning of § 9.
⁴ Alba Fucens.
Μαρσσός εἰδρυται δ' ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ πάγου λίμνης. Φουκίνας πλησίον, πελαγίας τὸ μέγεθος χρώνται δ' αὐτῇ μάλιστα μὲν Μαρσσό καὶ πάντες οἱ πλησιόχωροι. φασὶ δ' αὐτὴν καὶ πληροῦσθαι ποτὲ μέχρι τῆς ὄρεινῆς καὶ ταπεινωθῆσθαι πάλιν, ἓστ' ἀναψυχεῖν τοὺς λιμνωθέντας τόπους καὶ γεωργεῖσθαι παρέχειν, ἢτοι μεταστάσεις τῶν κατὰ βάθους ὑγρῶν σποράδην καὶ ἰδίηνς γίνονται, πάλιν δ' ἐπισυνεπευσαί, ἢ τελέως ἐκλείπουσιν αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ πάλιν συνθλίβονται, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀμενᾶνου συμβαίνειν φασὶ τοῦ διὰ Κατάννης ρέουσας. ἐκλείπει γὰρ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη καὶ πάλιν ρεῖ. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Φουκίνας εἶναι τὰς πηγὰς ἱστοροῦσι τοῦ Μαρκίου ύδατος τοῦ τῆς Ὀμοίως ποτίζοντος καὶ παρὰ τὰλλα εὐδοκιμοῦντος ὕδατα. τῇ δὲ Άλβα διὰ τὸ ἐν βάθει τῆς χώρας ἱδρύσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ εὐερκεῖς ἀντὶ φρούριας ἐχρήσαντο πολλάκις Θαμαιοὶ, τοὺς φυλακῆς δεομένους ἐνταῦθα καθείργοντες.

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1 Λίμνη . . . . . , πελαγίας, Meineke, for Λίμνη . . . . . , πελαγία.

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1 Lago di Fucino (Celano) was completely drained by Prince Torlonia, 1855-1860 A.D.
2 That is, the flowing waters in the depths of the earth (cp. 3. 5. 7), as distinguished from the "springs" by which Strabo always means the mouths at the surface of the earth.
it is on the confines of the Marsi; it is situated on a lofty rock, near Lake Fucinus,\(^1\) which in size is like an open sea. The lake is used mostly by the Marsi and all the neighboring peoples. They say that it not only fills up sometimes as far as the mountainous country, but also lowers again enough to permit the places which have been converted into marshes to get dry and to be tilled—whether it be that changes take place, sporadically and in a way that is not apparent, in the flow of the waters down in the depths,\(^2\) and that they flow back together again, or that the springs completely fail and then by pressure are brought together again—as is said to be the case with the Amenanus, the river that flows through Catana, for it fails for many years and then flows again.\(^3\) It is from Lake Fucinus, the story goes, that the springs of the Aqua Marcia come,\(^4\) which brings drinking-water to Rome and has the highest repute as compared with the other waters. Because of the fact that Alba is situated deep in the interior of the country, and is also well-walled, the Romans often used it for a prison, shutting up therein those who have to be kept under guard.\(^5\)

\(^3\) The result, apparently, of volcanic action in Mt. Aetna from which it flows.

\(^4\) The "Aqua Marcia" was one of the Roman aqueducts, and its principal reservoir was near Sublaqueum (now Subiaco). The story was that the River Pitonius (now Padogna) rose in the mountains of the Peligni, flowed through Lake Fucinus without mingling with its waters, then disappeared in the earth, and finally came forth as the "Marcian Waters" near Sublaqueum. Pliny himself (31. 24) believed the story (see Tozer, Selections, p. 162).

\(^5\) For instance, Syphax, King of Numidia (Livy 30. 17), Persius, King of Macedonia (Livy 45. 42), and Bituitus, King of the Arverni (Valerius Max. 9. 6, and Livy Epit. 61).
1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προσαλπίων ἔθνων ἀρξάμενοι καὶ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὅρων τῶν Ἀπεννίνων, ἔπειθ᾽ ὑπερβάντες ταύτα τὴν ἑντὸς ἐπήλθομεν πᾶσαν δόση μεταξὺ κεῖται τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους καὶ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὅρων τῶν κεκλιμένων πρὸς τῶν Ἀδρίατοι και Σαμνητῶν καὶ Καμπανῶν, νῦν ἐπαινώντες ἑπιῶσομεν τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσί τούτοις οἰκούντα καὶ ταῖς ὑπορείαις τῆς τε ἐκτὸς μέχρι τῆς παραλίας τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς καὶ τῆς ἑντος, ἁρκετῶν δὲ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν Κελτικῶν ὅρων.

2. Ἡ Πειστίνη μετὰ τὰς τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν πόλεις τὰς μεταξὺ Αραμίνου καὶ Ἀγκώνος. ὁρμηται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Σαβίνης οἱ Πειστίνοι, ὄρους κολάτου τῆς ὅδου ἡγησαμένου τοὺς ἀρχηγῶτας, ἀφ′ οὖ καὶ τούτοις πίκου γὰρ τῶν ὅρων τούτων ὄνομάζουσιν, καὶ νομίζουσιν Ἀρεώς ἱερὸν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὅρων ἀρχάμενοι μέχρι τῶν πεδίων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐπὶ μῆκος ηὐξημένης ἔχοντες μᾶλλον ἡ πλάτος τῆς χώρας, ἀγαθὴν πρὸς ἀπαντά, βελτίων δὲ τοῖς ξυλίνοις καρποῖς ἡ τοῖς σινικοῖς. ἔστι δὲ εὖρος μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ὅρων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀνώμαλον τοὺς διαστήμασι, μῆκος δὲ ἀπὸ Λίσιος ποταμοῦ μέχρι Κάστρου παράπλων ἐχαν σταδίων ὀκτακοσίων. πόλεις δὲ Ἀγκών μὲν Ἑλληνίς, Συρακούσιων κτίσμα τῶν φυγόντων τῆν Διονυσίου τυραννίδα· κεῖται δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀκραῖος μὲν

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1 That is, the southern boundaries of Cisalpine Celtica (Gaul); see 5. 1. 3 and 5. 2. 10.
2 Picenum.
IV

1. I began with the tribes that live next to the Alps, and with that part of the Apennine Mountains which lies next to them, and then, passing over that part, traversed all the country on this side which lies between the Tyrhenian Sea and that part of the Apennine Mountains which bends towards the Adriatic and stretches to the countries of the Samnitae and the Campani; I shall now, therefore, go back and indicate the tribes that live in these mountains, and also in the foothills both of the country outside the mountains, as far as the Adriatic seacoast, and of the country this side. But I must begin again with the Celtic boundaries.¹

2. Next after those cities of the Ombrici that are between Ariminum and Ancona comes the Picentine country.² The Picentini are originally from the Sabine country, a woodpecker having led the way for their progenitors; and hence their name, for they call this bird “picus,” and consider it sacred to Mars. The country they live in begins at the mountains and extends as far as the plains and the sea, thus having increased in length more than breadth; it is good for every use to which it may be put, though better for fruits than for grain. Its breadth—that from the mountains to the sea—taken at the different intervals,³ is irregular, while its length, by a voyage along the coast from the Aesis River to Castrum, is eight hundred stadia. Its cities are, first, Ancona, a Greek city, founded by the Syracusans who fled from the tyranny of Dionysius; it is situated on a promontory, which by its curve

¹ That is, at the different cities on the seacoast.

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λιμένα ἐμπεριλαμβανούσης τῇ πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους ἐπιστροφή, σφόδρα δ᾽ εὐοινός ἐστι καὶ πυροφόρος.¹ πλησίον δ᾽ αὐτῆς Λεβένουμ πόλεις μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης: εἶτα Σεπτέμπεδα καὶ Πυνεντία καὶ Ποτεντία καὶ Φίρμον Πικηνῶν ἐπίνειον δὲ ταύτης Κάστελλον. ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὸ τῆς Κύπρας ἱερὸν, Τυρρηνῶν ἱδρύμα καὶ κτίσμα· τῆν δ᾽ Ἡραν ἐκείνοι Κύπραν καλοῦσιν εἶτα Τρουεντίνος ποταμός καὶ πόλεις ἐπώνυμοι· εἶτα Καστρουνόμου ² καὶ οὐ Ματρίνος ποταμὸς, ῥέων ἀπὸ τῆς Αδριανῶν πόλεως, ἔχων ἐπίνειον τῆς Ἀδριας ἐπώνυμον έαυτοῦ. ἐστὶ δ᾽ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ Ἀσκληπον τὸ Πικηνῶν, ἐρυμνότατον χωρίον καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὥστε κεῖται τὸ τέχχος, καὶ τὰ περικείμενα ὅρη στρατοπέδους οὐ βάσιμα. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Πικηνίνης Οὐρστίνου τε καὶ Μαρσοί καὶ Πελίγνοι καὶ Μαρσουκίοι καὶ Φρεντανοί, Σαννιτικῶν ἐδώ ς, τὴν ὅρειν κατέχουσιν, ἐφαπτόμενοι μικρὰ τῆς θαλάττης. ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ταύτα μικρὰ μέν, ἀνδρικῶτα δὲ καὶ πολλάκις τὴν ἁρετὴν ταύτην ἐπιδεδειγμένα Ῥωμαῖοις, πρῶτον μέν, ἡνίκα ἐπολέμουν· δεύτερον δὲ, ὀτε συνεστράτευον τρίτον

1. πυροφόρος, Cornis, for ἐυπυροφόρος; see Meineke.
2. Καστρονύμου (Cornis, —νόμου; Meineke, —νόμων) Jones, for καὶ τρούνυμον (see Aikonouμ —, 5. 2. 9).
3. After καὶ Κραμερ suggests the insertion of διὰ τὸν λόφον. Since Groskurd the editors indicate a lacuna after καὶ.

¹ "Punctentia" is otherwise unknown; perhaps Strabo wrote "Pollentia" (see Corais-du Theil-Latronne, Vol. II., p. 236, and Nissen, Italiche Landskunde, Vol. II., p. 422.
² Castellum Firmianorum, now Portu di Fermo or Portoval San Giorgio.
³ In Latin, "Cuprae Fanum."
towards the north encloses a harbour; and it is exceedingly productive of wine and wheat. Near it is the city of Auxumum, which is a short distance above the sea; then Septempeda, Pneuentia,1 Potentia and Firmum Picenum (its port-town is Castellum).2 Next in order comes the temple of Cupra,3 which was established, and founded as a city, by the Tyrrheni, who call Hera “Cupra”; then, the River Truentinus 4 and the city named after it;5 then Castrum Novum, and the River Matrinus 6 (which flows from the city of the Adriani7), on which is Adria’s port-town,8 named after the river. Not only is Adria in the interior, but also Asculum Picenum, a place that is well fortified by nature, not only where the wall is situated—but also the mountains that lie round about it are impassable for armies.9 Beyond the Picentine country are the Vestini, the Marsi, the Peligni, the Marrucini, and the Frentani (a Samnitic tribe); they occupy the mountain-country there, their territory touching upon the sea for only short stretches. These tribes are small, it is true, but they are very brave and oftentimes have exhibited this virtue to the Romans: first, when they went to war against them; a second time, when they took the field with them as allies;

4 Now the Tronto.
5 Truentum, also called Castrum Truentinum.
6 Now the Piomba.
7 Adria, or Hadria.
8 Matrinum.
9 The words “not only... armies” are awkward in English as in the Greek, but the meaning is clear enough. Kramer’s guess (see critical note on opposite page) would yield the following: “not only on account of the hill on which the wall is situated, but also (on account of) the mountains that lie round about it, which are impassable for armies.”
δ’, δότε δεόμενοι τυχεῖν ἐλευθερίας καὶ πολιτείας μὴ τυχαῖντες ἀπέστησαν καὶ τῶν Μαρσικῶν καλούμενον ἐξήγαγαν πόλεμον. Κορφίνιον, τῶν Πελίγρων μητρόπολιν, κοινὴν ἀπασι τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἀποδείξαντες πόλιν ἀντὶ τῆς Ῥώμης, ὁμητήριον τοῦ πολέμου, μετονομασθεῖσαν Ἰταλικήν, καὶ ἑνταῦθα δὴ τοὺς συνεπομένους ἀθρόϊσαντες καὶ χειροτονήσαντες ὑπάτους καὶ στρατηγοὺς· δόλῳ δ’ ἐτη συνέμειαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, μέχρι διεπράξαντο τὴν κοινωνίαν περὶ ἡς ἐπολέμουν. Μαρσικῶν δὲ ἀνόμασαν τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχάγων τῆς ἀποστάσεως, καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ Πομπαίδου. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα κωμηδὸν ξώσων, ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ πόλεις ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς θαλάττης τὸ τε Κορφίνιον καὶ Σοῦλμον καὶ Μαρούιον καὶ Τεριτέ τὴν τῶν Μαρουκίνων μητρόπολιν. ἐπ’ αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ θαλάττῃ τὸ τε Ὁστρυν, ὢμορον τῇ Πικεντίνῃ, ὀμώνυμου δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ διορίζοντι τὴν την Ὁσκεστίνην καὶ τὴν Μαρουκίνην, ἔρχεται καὶ τῆς Ἀμπερνίνης, διὰ δὲ Ὁσκεστίνων, παραλιπόν ἐν δὲξιὰ τοὺς Μαρουκίνων ὑπὲρ τῶν Πελίγρων κακοῦς, ξεύγματι περατός. τὸ δὲ πόλισμα τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτῶν Ὁσκεστίνων μὲν

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1 δὴ, Kramer, for δέ; so the later editors.
2 Σοῦλμον, Jones, for Σοῦλμον; Meineke emends to Σοῦλμονα.
3 Τεριτέ, Jones, for Τεγεστίνη (C.), Τεγεστίνη (B.); Müller-Dünnh and Meineke render Τετάνων.
4 τῷ, after ὑπὲρ, the editors omit.

1 But on coins the name is spelled “Italia,” not “Italica” (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. “Corfinium”).

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and a third time when, begging for freedom and political rights without getting them, they revolted and kindled what is called the Marsic War, for they proclaimed Corfinium (the metropolis of the Peligni) the common city for all the Italiotes, instead of Rome, making it their base of operations for the war and changing its name to Italica;¹ and here it was that they mustered all their followers and elected consuls and praetors.² And they persisted in the war for two years, until they achieved the partnership for which they went to war. The war was named "Marsic" after the people who began the revolt, Pompaedius in particular.³ Now these peoples live in villages, generally speaking, but they also have cities: first, above the sea, Corfinium, Sulmon, Maruvium, and Teate,⁴ the metropolis of the Marrucini. And, secondly, on the sea itself, Aternum, which borders on the Picentine country and is of like name with the river⁵ that separates the Vestine country from the Marrucine; for it flows from the territory of Amiternum, and through the Vestine country, leaving on its right that part of the Marrucine country which lies above the Peligni (it may be crossed by a pontoon-bridge).⁶ But although the little city⁷ that is named after the river

² Pompaedius Silo, the Marsian, was killed in battle in 88 B.C., shortly before the end of the war.
³ Now Chieti.
⁵ The Aternum.
⁶ The same Aternum above-mentioned.
C.242 ἐστὶ, κοινῶ δ' ἐπινεῖω χρῶνται καὶ οἱ Πελίγνοι καὶ οἱ Μαρρουκίνοι: διέχει δὲ τὸ ξεύγμα τέτταρας καὶ εἶκοσί σταδίους ἀπὸ Κορφινίων. μετὰ δὲ Ὀρτώνος Ὀρτωνος, ἐπίνειον Φρεντανών, καὶ Βοῦκα, καὶ αὐτὴν Φρεντανών, ὄμορος Τείφω τῷ Ἀπούλῳ.

Ὀρτώνος ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς Φρεντάνοις, πέτραι λευκοί χρῶνται, οίδ' αἱ οἰκήσεις ἀπὸ τῶν ναυαγών πάγωνται καὶ τάλλα θηριώδεις εἶναι λέγονται. μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀρτωνος καὶ Ὀρτώνος ὁ Σάγγρος ποταμός ὀρίζει τοὺς Φρεντανοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Πελίγνων: ὁ δὲ παράπλος ἀπὸ τῆς Πιστινίς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀπούλους οίδ' Ἐλλήνες Δαυνίων καλοῦσι, σταδίων ἐστὶν ὅσον πετρακοσίων ἐνενήκοντα.

3. Ἕξης δὲ μετὰ τὴν Λατίνην ἐστὶν ἡ τε Καμπανία, παρίκουσα τῇ βαλάττῃ, καὶ ὑπὲρ ταῦτην ἡ Σαννίτης ἐν μεσογαια μέχρι Φρεντανῶν καὶ τῶν Δαυνίων, εἰτ' αὐτοὶ Δαυνίων καὶ τάλλα ἐθνή τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πορθμοῦ. πρῶτον δὲ περὶ τῆς Καμπανίας ορθέον. ἐστι δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Σινούσης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἕξην παραλίαν κόλπος ἐυμεγέθης μέχρι Μιστηνοῦ, κάκειθεν ἄλλος κόλπος πολὺν

1 αὐτῆ, Groskurd, for αὐτὸ; so the later editors.

2 See note 2 below.

3 λέγονται is not found in the earlier MSS., and only in p. p.

1 Apparently what is now Termoli (see Pauly-Wissowa, s. v., and Nissen, Vol. II., p. 783).

2 "Ortonium" is otherwise unknown. The text appears to be corrupt, but all emendations are mere guesses. Meineke relegates the whole sentence to the foot of the page. We should have expected Strabo to refer here to the Frento River as the southern boundary of the country of the Frentani.
belongs to the Vestini, it is used as a common port both by the Peligni and the Marrucini. The pontoon-bridge is twenty-four stadia distant from Corfinium. After Aternum comes Orton, the port-town of the Frentani, and then Buca (it too belongs to the Frentani), whose territory borders on that of Teanum Apulum. Ortonium is in the country of the Frentani, a cliff-town belonging to pirates, whose dwellings are pieced together from the wreckage of ships; and in every other respect they are said to be a bestial folk. Between Orton and Aternum is the Sagrus River, which separates the country of the Frentani from that of the Peligni. The voyage along the coast from the Picentine country to the country of those Apuli whom the Greeks call "Daunii" is about four hundred and ninety stadia.

3. Next in order after Latium come both Campania, which stretches along the sea, and, above Campania, in the interior, the Samnite country, which extends as far as the country of the Frentani and the Daunii; then the Daunii themselves, and the rest of the tribes on to the Sicilian Strait. But I must first speak of Campania. There is a fair-sized gulf which, beginning at Sinuessa, extends along the coast next thereafter as far as Misenum, and also another gulf, much larger than the first, which begins at Misenum; they call

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2 Ptolemaeus (3. 16)' wrongly associates the mouth of the Sagrus with the country of the Peligni (cp. Nissen, Vol. II., p. 778), for the Sagrus empties between Ortona and Histonium (not Aternum). Strabo's assertion, however, might be interpreted to mean, not the lower course, but the northerly fork, of the Sagrus; otherwise he too is in error.

1 Cp. 5. 1. 9 and 6. 3. 9.

5 Samnium.
μείζων τοῦ προτέρου, καλοῦσι δ’ αὐτὸν Κρατήρα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Μίσηνοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, δυσεῖν ἀκρωτηρίων, κολπούμενον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τῶν ἡμῶν Καμπανία πάσα ἑδρυταί, πεδίον εὐδαιμονε-στατον τῶν ἀπάντων περίκεισται δ’ αὐτῷ γεω-λοφία τε εὐκαρποὶ καὶ ὅρη τὰ τε τῶν Σαυνιτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ὄσκων. Ἀντίσχος μὲν οὖν φησι τὴν χώραν ταύτην Ὄπικοὺς οἰκήσαι, τούτοις δὲ καὶ Λύσονας καλεῖσθαι, Πολυβίος δ’ ἐμφαίνει δύο ἐθνικαμάζων ταύτα: Ὅπικοὺς γὰρ φησι καὶ Λύσονας οἰκεῖν τὴν χώραν ταύτην περὶ τὸν Κρατήρα. ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν, οἰκούμενον Ὅπικῶν πρότερον καὶ Λυσούων, Σιδικίνους 1 κατασχεῖν ὑστεροῦ "Οσκών τι ἔθνος, τούτοις δ’ ὑπὸ Κυμαίων, ἐκείνους δ’ ὑπὸ Τυρρηνιῶν ἐκπεσεῖν" διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν περιμάχητον γενεσθαι τὸ πεδίον· δώδεκα δὲ πόλεις ἐγκατοικίσανται τὴν οἶκον κεφαλῆς ὄνομάσαι Καπύτην. διὰ δὲ τὴν τροφὴν εἰς μαλακίαις τραπεζούσαι, καθώπερ τῆς περὶ τὸν Πάδου χώρας ξέστησαι, οὕτω καὶ ταύτης παραχωρῆσαι Σαυνίταις, τούτοις δ’ ὑπὸ Ὅρμαίῶν ἐκπεσεῖν. τῆς δ’ εὐκαρπίας ἐστὶ σημείον τὸ σῖτον ἐνταῦθα γίνεσθαι τῶν κάλλιστον, λέγω δὲ τὸν πύρινον, εἴ ὦ καὶ ὁ χάνδρος, κρείττων ὄν πίσης καὶ ὀρύξης καὶ ἐν ὀλύγῳ σιτικῆς τροφῆς. Ἧστορεῖται δ’ ἐνια

1 Σιδικίνου, Madvig, and Niese independently, for of δ’ ἐκείνου (see 5. 3. 10). Siebenkees, Corais, Groskurd, and Müller-Dübner read μετ’ ἐκείνου; Kramer conjectures σὺν ἐκείνου; Moineke strangely omits the phrase altogether without comment.
the latter\(^1\) the "Crater,"\(^2\) and the "Crater" forms a bay between the two capes of Misenum\(^3\) and Athenaeum.\(^4\) Above these coasts lies the whole of Campania; it is the most blest of all plains, and round about it lie fruitful hills, and the mountains of the Samnitae and of the Oscii. Antiochus,\(^5\) it is true, says that the Opici once lived in this country and that "they are also called Aeusones," but Polybius clearly believes that they are two different tribes, for he says "the Opici and the Aeusones live in this country round about the Crater." Again, others say that, although at first it was inhabited by the Opici, and also by the Aeusones,\(^6\) later on it was taken by the Sidicini, an Oscan tribe,\(^7\) but the Sidicini were ejected by the Cumaei, and in turn the Cumaei by the Tyrreni. For on account of its fertility, they continue, the plain became an object of contention; and the Tyrreni founded twelve cities in the country and named their capital city "Capua";\(^8\) but on account of their luxurious living they became soft, and consequently, just as they had been made to get out of the country round about the Padus,\(^9\) so now they had to yield this country to the Samniti; and in turn the Samniti were ejected by the Romans. A proof of the fruitfulness of the country is that it produces the finest grain—I mean the wheat from which groats are made, which is superior, not only to every kind of rice, but also to almost every kind of grain-food. It is reported

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\(^1\) The Gulf of Naples.  
\(^2\) Cp. 5. 4. 8.  
\(^3\) Now Cape Miseno.  
\(^4\) In Latin, Minerva; now Punta della Campanella.  
\(^5\) Antiochus Syracusanus, the historian.  
\(^6\) See Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.  
\(^7\) See 5. 3. 9.  
\(^8\) Cp. 5. 4. 10.  
\(^9\) See 5. 1. 10.
τῶν πεδίων σπείρεσθαι δι' ἐτοὺς δις μὲν τῇ ξειῇ, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἐλύῳ, τινὰ δὲ καὶ λαχανεύεσθαι τῷ τετάρτῳ σπόρῳ. καὶ μὴν τῶν οἴνων τῶν κράτιστων ἐντεῦθεν ἔχουσι Ρωμαίοι τῶν Φάλερνος καὶ τῶν Στατανών καὶ Καληνῶν ἥδη δὲ καὶ ὁ Σουρεντῖνος ἐνάμελλος καθίσταται τούτως, νεωστὶ πειρασθεὶς ὅτι παλαιῶσιν δέχεται. ὡς δ' αὐτῶς εὐθελιῶς ἐστὶ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὸ Ὀυενάφρον, ὁμορον τοῖς πεδίοις ὄν.

4. Πόλεις δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ βαλλάττῃ μετὰ τὴν Σινόεοσαν Λίτερνον, ὅπου τὸ μνῆμα τὸ Σκιπίωνος τοῦ πρῶτον προσαγορεύθητος Ἀφρίκανου διετριβε γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸ τελευταῖον, ἀφεῖς τὰς πολιτείας κατ' ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς τινὰς παραρρεῖ δὲ ὁμόνυμος τῇ πόλει ποταμός. ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ Οὐνύλτοῦρνος ὁμόνυμος ἐστὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτὸν πόλει εφεξῆς κειμένη· ρεῖ δ' οὗτός διὰ Ὀυενάφρον καὶ τῆς Καμπανίας μέσης. ταυταῖς δ' εφεξῆς ἐστὶ Κύμη, Χαλκιδέων καὶ Κυμαιῶν παλαιότατον κτίσμα: πασῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ προσβιτάτη τῶν τε Σικελικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιστίδων. οἳ δὲ τῶν στόλων ἀγωνίτες, Ἰπποκλῆς ὁ Κυμαιῶς καὶ Μεγασθένης ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, διωμολογῆσαντο πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτούς, τῶν μὲν ἀποκλινέων εἶναι, τῶν δὲ τὴν ἐπιωμίλαν ὅθεν νῦν μὲν προσαγορεύεται Κύμη. κτίσαι δ' αὐτὴν Χαλκιδεός δοκοῦσι. προτερον μὲν οὖν ἡπτύχει καὶ τὸ Φλεγραῖον καλοῦ-

1 But Moineko, following Corais, inserts τὴν before ἄποκλιναι.
that, in the course of one year, some of the plains are seeded twice with spelt, the third time with millet, and others still the fourth time with vegetables. And indeed it is from here that the Romans obtain their best wine, namely, the Falernian, the Statanian, and the Calenian, though already the Surrentine wine is taking its place as a rival of the three, for recent tests show that it admits of ageing. And so, in the same way, all the country round about Venafrum, which is on the border of the plains, is well-supplied with the olive.

4. The cities on the sea after Sinuessa are: Liternum, where is the tomb of Scipio, the one first to be called “Africanus”; for he spent his last days here, giving up the affairs of state, so strong was his hatred for certain persons. A river of like name flows by the city. And so, likewise, the Vulturinus has a name like that of the city which is situated beside it and which comes next in order after Sinuessa; this river flows through Venafrum and the centre of Campania. Next in order after these two cities comes Cumæa, a city founded in most ancient times by people from Chalcis and Cumæ; for it is the oldest of all the Sicilian and the Italiote cities. However, the men who led the expedition, Hippocles of Cumæ and Megasthenes of Chalcis, made an agreement with one another that the city should be a colony of Chalcis, and a namesake of Cumæ; and, hence, although the city is now called Cumæ, it is reputed to have been founded by the Chalcidians alone. In earlier times, then, the city was prosperous, and so was what is called the Phlegraean Plain.

\[1\] Cp. 5. 3. 6. \[2\] The Liternus. \[3\] Vulturnum. \[4\] In Greek “Cyme.” \[5\] The Euboean “Cyme.”
μενον πεδίον, ἐν ὕ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἡγαντας μυθεύουσιν, οὐκ ἀλλοθεν, ὡς εἰκός, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ περιμάχητον τὴν γῆν εἶναι δὲ ἄρετήν· ὑστερον δ' οἱ Καμπανοὶ κύριοι καταστάντες τῆς πόλεως ὑβρισαν εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πολλὰ· καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν αὐτῶν συνήκησαν αὐτοῖ. ὃμως δ' οὖν ἔτι σώζεται πολλὰ ἱκνη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν νομίμων. ὁνομάζοι δ' ἐνιοι Κύμην ἀπὸ τῶν κυμάτων φασί· ῥαχιώδης γὰρ καὶ προσεχὴς ὁ πλησίον αἰγιαλός. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ κητεῖαι 1 παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄρισται. ἐν δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὅλῃ τῷ ἔστι θαμνώδης, ἐπὶ πολλοὺς ἐκτεινομένη στάδιοι, ἀνυδρος καὶ ἀμμώδης, ἢν Γαλλινάριαν ὅλην καλοῦσι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ληστήρια συνεστήσαντο οἱ Πομπηίου Σέξτου ναύαρχοι καθ' ὅν καὶ ρόν Σικελίαν ἀπέστησαν ἐκεῖνοι.

5. Πληγεῖον δὲ τῆς Κύμης τὸ Μισηνὸν ἀκρωτήριον καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀχερουσία λίμνη, τῆς θαλάττης ἀνάχυσις τις τεναγώδης. κάμψωσαν δὲ τὸ Μισηνὸν λιμὴν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκρα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐγκολπίζουσα ἤδων εἰς βάθος, ἐν ἕ αἰ Βαϊαὶ καὶ τὰ θερμὰ ὑδάτα τὰ καὶ πρὸς τρυφήν καὶ πρὸς θεραπείαν νόσων ἐπιτίθεια. ταῖς δὲ Βαϊαῖς συνεχῆς ὡ τε Λοκρίνως κόλπος καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦτον ὁ Ἀρονος, χερρύησαν ποιῶν τὴν ἀπολαμβανομένην μέχρι Μισηνοῦ γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς πλα-
which mythology has made the setting of the story of the Giants—for no other reason, it would seem, than that the land, on account of its excellence, was a thing to fight for; but later on, when the Campani became established as masters of the city, they committed numerous outrages against the people in general, and, what is more, cohabited with the wives of the citizens. Nevertheless, many traces of the Greek decorum and usages are still preserved there. But according to some, "Cumae" is named after the "Kumata";¹ for the neighbouring shore is surfy and exposed to the wind. And Cumae also has the best fisheries for the catching of large fish. Moreover, on this gulf there is a forest of scrub trees, extending for many stadia over a waterless and sandy tract, which they call "Silva Gallimaria."² Here it was that the admirals of Sextus Pompeius assembled bands of pirates at that critical time when he caused Sicily to revolt.³

5. Near Cumae is Cape Misenum, and between them is the Acherusian Lake, a kind of shoal-water estuary of the sea. After you double Cape Misenum you immediately come to a harbour, at the base of the cape, and, after the harbour, to a stretch of coast which runs inland and forms a deeply indented gulf—the coast on which is situated Baiae, and those hot springs that are suited both to the taste of the fastidious and to the cure of disease. Contiguous to Baiae is Gulf Lucrinus,⁴ and also, behind this gulf, Gulf Avernus,⁵ which forms a peninsula of the land that is cut off as far as Misenum, beginning from the

¹ In Greek, "billows." ² Poultry-Forest. ³ Cp. 6. 1. 6. ⁴ Now Lake Lucrino. ⁵ Now Lake Averno.
γίας ἡ τῆς μεταξὺ Κύμης καὶ αὐτοῦ, λοιπὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὀλίγων σταδίων ἱσθμὸς διὰ τῆς διώρυγος ἐπ’ αὐτὴν Κύμην, καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡμάτταν, ἐμόθενον δ’ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀόριῳ τὰ περὶ τὴν νέκυιαν τὴν Ὅμηρικὴν καὶ δὴ καὶ νεκυομαντεῖον ἱστοροῦσιν ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι καὶ Ὄδυσσεά εἰς τοὐτ’ ἀφικέσθαι. ἔστι δ’ ὁ μὲν Ὅρνος κόλπος ἀγχιβαθής καὶ ἀρτίστομος, λιμένος καὶ μέγεθος καὶ φύσιν ἔχων, χρείαν δ’ οὗ παρεχόμενος λιμένος διὰ τὸ προκείμενον τὸν Δοκρίνον κόλπον προσβραχῆ καὶ πολύν. περικλείεται δ’ ὁ Ὅρνος ὀφρύσιν ὄρθιας, ύπερκειμέναις πανταχόθεν πλήν τοῦ εἰσπλοῦ, νῦν μὲν ἡμέρως ἐκπεπουμέναις, πρότερον δὲ συνηρεφέσιν ἄγρια ὑλή μεγαλοδένδρῳ καὶ ἀβάτῳ, αἱ κατὰ δεισιδαιμονίαν κατάσκιον ἔποιον τὸν κόλπον. προσεμόθενον δ’ οἱ ἑπικώριοι καὶ τοὺς ὄρνεις τοὺς ὑπερπετεῖς γυμνόμενοι καταπίπτειν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, φθειρομένους ὑπὸ τῶν

1 πλαγίας, conjecture of C. Müller, and Madvig, for πελαγίας. Corails amends to παραλίας. Meineke relegates τῆς πελαγίας to the foot of the page.
2 αὐτή, Corails, for αὕτην; so Meineke.

1 Agrippa connected Lake Avernum and Lake Lucrinus with a canal, and Lake Avernum with the port of Cumae with a tunnel.
2 "Necyia" is the title the ancients gave to the eleventh book of the Odyssey, which tells the story of Odysseus' descent into Hades and of the magic rites by which the ghosts of the dead were called up, and also relates the various conversations in Hades.
transverse line which runs between Cumae and Avernus, for there remains an isthmus only a few stadia broad, that is, reckoning straight through the tunnel to Cumae itself and to the sea next to Cumae.\(^1\) The people prior to my time were wont to make Avernus the setting of the fabulous story of the Homeric "Necyia";\(^2\) and, what is more, writers tell us that there actually was an oracle of the dead here and that Odysseus visited it. Now Gulf Avernus is deep up to the very shore and has a clear outlet;\(^3\) and it has both the size and character of a harbour, although it is useless as a harbour because of the fact that Gulf Lucrinus lies before it and is somewhat shallow as well as considerable in extent. Again, Avernus is enclosed round about by steep hill-brows that rise above it on all sides except where you sail into it (at the present time they have been brought by the toil of man into cultivation, though in former times they were thickly covered with a wild and untrodden forest of large trees); and these hill-brows, because of the superstition of man, used to make the gulf a shadowy place. And the natives used to add the further fable that all birds that fly over it fall down into the water,\(^4\) being killed by the vapours that

\(^1\) Although the Romans called Lucrinus and Avernus "lakes," Strabo calls them "gulfs"—the former a sea-gulf and the latter an inner gulf connecting with the former. The configuration of the country has been greatly changed since Strabo's time, for instance, in 1538 A.D., when what is now Monte Nuova (455 ft.) was upheaved by volcanic eruption, and the area of Lake Lucrinus was much reduced.

ἀναφερομένων αέρων, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς Πλουτωνίοις. καὶ τοῦτοι 1 χωρίον Πλουτώνιον τι ύπελάμβανοι, καὶ τοὺς Κιμμερίους ἐνταύθα γενέσθαι. 2 καὶ εἰσέπλεον γε οἱ προθυσάμενοι καὶ ἴλασάμενοι 3 τοὺς καταχθονίους δαίμονας, ὁντων τῶν ύφηγομένων τὰ τοιάδε ιερέων, ἥργολαβηκάτων τῶν τόπων. ἔστι δὲ πιγῆ τις αὐτοθε ποτίμου 4 ὑδατός ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάτης, τούτον δὲ ἀπείχοντο πάντες, τὸ τῆς Στυγῆς ὕδωρ νομίζοντες καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐνταύθα που ἰδρυταί τὸν τε Πυριφλεγέθοντα ἐκ τῶν θερμῶν ὑδατῶν ἐτεκμαίροντο τῶν πλησίον καὶ τῆς Ἀχερονίας. Ἕφθασο δὲ τοῖς Κιμμερίοις προσοικείῳ τῶν τόπων φησίν αὐτοὺς ἐν καταγείς οἰκίας οἰκεῖων, ἀς καλοῦσιν ἀργίλλας, καὶ διά τινων ὄρνυμάτων παρ’ ἅλληλους τε φοιτᾶν καὶ τοὺς ξένους εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον δέχεσθαι, πολὺ ὑπὸ γῆς ἰδρυμένων ξῆς δὲ ἀπὸ μεταλλείας καὶ τῶν μαντειομένων, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδείξατος αὐτοῖς συντάξεις. εἶναι δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸ χρηστή-

1 Kramer, Meineke, and Müller-Dübner insert τὸ (in brackets) after τοῦτο.
2 γενέσθαι, Jones, for λέγεσθαι.
3 ἴλασάμενοι, Corais, for ἴλασάμενοι; so Meineke, who, however, omits the of after γε.
4 ποτίμου, Corais (from conj. of Xylander), for ποτάμιου (as in 5.1.8 and 5.4.13.); so Meineke.

1 For example, the "Plutonium" at Hierapolis in Asia Minor (13.4.14). The "Plutonia" were precincts where mephitic vapours arose, and they were so called because they were regarded as entrances to the nether world. The cave itself, within the "Plutonium," was called "Charonion" (14.1.11 and 14.1.44).
2 See 1.1.10 and 1.2.9.
rise from it, as in the case of all the Plutonia. And people used to suppose that this too was a Plutonian place and that the Cimmerians had actually been there. At any rate, only those who had sacrificed beforehand and propitiated the nether deities could sail into Avernus, and priests who held the locality on lease were there to give directions. In all such matters; and there is a fountain of potable water at this place, on the sea, but people used to abstain from it because they regarded it as the water of the Styx; and the oracle, too, is situated somewhere near it; and further, the hot springs near by and Lake Acherusia betokened the River Pyriphlegethon. Again, Ephorus, in the passage where he claims the locality in question for the Cimmerians, says: They live in underground houses, which they call "argillae," and it is through tunnels that they visit one another, back and forth, and also admit strangers to the oracle, which is situated far beneath the earth; and they live on what they get from mining, and from those who consult the oracle, and from the king of the country, who has appointed to them fixed allowances; and those who live

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3 Now Lake Fusaro.

4 Literally, "flaming with fire." This river was a tributary of the Acheron in the nether world. The River Acheron (now Phanariotikos), in Epirus, was associated with the nether world: it disappears in the earth for some distance and then reappears, losing its waters in the marshy "Acherusian Lake" before emptying into the Ionian Sea.

5 "Argillae" apparently means "clay"-dwellings.

6 That is, as we may infer, on the meat of the sacrificial victims, in addition to any fees which may have been charged.

7 Thus acknowledging, according to Ephorus, that the country belongs to the Cimmerians.
ριον 1 έθος πάτριον, μηδένα τὰν ἥλιον ὅραν, ἀλλὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἕξω πορεύεσθαι τῶν χασμάτων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ποιητήν περὶ αὐτῶν εἶπεῖν, ὡς ἄρα

οὐδὲ ποτ’ αὖτοὺς

'Ἡλίος φαεθὼν ἐπιδέρκεται' (Od. 11. 15)

C 245 ὑστερον δὲ διαφθαρῆναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ βασιλέως τινός, οὐκ ἀποβάντος αὐτῷ τοῦ χρησιμοῦ, τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον ἔτι συμμένειν, μεθοδηγοὺς εἰς ἔτερον τόπον. τοιαύτα μὲν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐμιθολόγουν, νυνὶ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐλής τῆς περὶ τῶν 'Ἀορων κοπείσης ὑπὸ 'Αγρίππα, τῶν δὲ χωρίων κατοικοδομηθέντων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ 'Λύρνου διώρυγος ὑπωνόμου τιμηθείσης μέχρι Κύμης, ἀπαντ' ἐκείνα ἐφάνη μόδοις τοῦ Κοκκήηου τοῦ ποιησάντος τὴν διώρυγα ἐκείνην τε καὶ ἐπὶ Νέαν πύλιν ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας ἐπὶ ταῖς Βαιαίς ἐπακολουθήσαντός πως τῷ περὶ τῶν Κιμμερίων ἀρτίως λειχθέντι λόγῳ, τυχόν ἵσως καὶ πάτριον νομίσαντος τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ δὲ ὀρυγμάτων εἶναι τὰς ὑδαίς.

6. 'Ὁ δὲ Δοκρίνως κόλπος πλατύνεται μέχρι Βαιών, χώματι εὐρυμένοις ὑπὸ τῆς ἕξω θαλάττης όκταστάδιο τὸ μήκος, πλάτος δὲ ἁμαξίπου πλατείας, ὃ φασιν Ἡρακλέα διαχώσασι, τὰς βοῦς ἔλαιοντα τὰς Γηρύνων· δεχόμενος δ’ ἐπιτολῆς τὸ κύμα τοῖς χειμῶσιν, ὡστε μὴ πεζεύσθαι βραδίως, Ἀγρίππας δὲ ἐπεσκέψατεν. εἰπόλου δ’ ἔχει πλοίοις ἔλαφροῖς, ἐνορμίσασθαι μὲν ἄχρη-

1 χρηστήριον (ko and mgo) for ληστήριον (ABCEEd).

1 L. Coecceius Auctus, an architect and engineer, employed by Agrippa.
about the oracle have an ancestral custom, that no one should see the sun, but should go outside the caverns only during the night; and it is for this reason that the poet speaks of them as follows: "And never does the shining sun look upon them"; but later on the Cimmerians were destroyed by a certain king, because the response of the oracle did not turn out in his favour; the seat of the oracle, however, still endures, although it has been removed to another place. Such, then, are the stories the people before my time used to tell, but now that the forest round about Avernus has been cut down by Agrippa, and the tracts of land have been built up with houses, and the tunnel has been cut from Avernus to Cumae, all those stories have proven to be mere myths; and yet the Cocceius who made, not only this tunnel, but also the one from Dicaearchia (near Baiae) to Neapolis, was pretty well acquainted with the story just now related about the Cimmerians, and it may very well be that he also deemed it an ancestral custom,² for this region, that its roads should run through tunnels.

6. Gulf Lucrinus broadens out as far as Baiae; and it is shut off from the outer sea by a mound eight stadia in length and broad as a wagon-road. This mound is said to have been brought to completion by Heracles, when he was driving the cattle of Geryon. But since it admitted the waves over its surface in times of storm, so that it could not easily be traversed on foot, Agrippa built it up higher. The gulf affords entrance to light boats only; and, though useless as a place to moor boats,

² Cocceius was a native of the region in question.
strabo, tov ósttrwv de théraν ἔχων ἀφθονωτάτην. ἔνων de tòuton autòn tvn λίμνην ἔλειν tìn 'Aχερωνίαν φασίν, 'Aρτεμιδώρος de autòn tòn 'Aρηνοῦ, tás de Baías épωνμους elnav léghousi Baíou tòn 'Oδυσσέως ἑταίρων τινῶς, kai tò Μισενόν. ἔξεις δ' εἰςίν αἱ περὶ Δικαιαρχείαν ἀκτάλ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις. ἦν de πρότερον μὲν ἐπίνειον Κυμαιῶν ἐπὶ ὀφρύος ἰδρυμένων, κατὰ de tìn 'Αννίβα στρατείαν συνάκισαν Ἡρώακοι καὶ μετωνόμασαν Ποτίδαους ἀπὸ tòvν φρεάτων oí δ' ἀπὸ tῆς δυσωδίας tῶν ὕδατων, ἕναι ἅπαν τὸ χωρίον ἔχει μέχρι Baíou kai tῆs Κυμαιᾶς ὁτι θείου πληρὲς ἔστι καὶ πυρὸς kai θερμῶν ὕδατων. πυ woes de kai Φλέγραν διὰ τοῦτο tìn Κυμαιάν νομίζουσι κληθήναι, kai tῶν πεπτωκότων γυμνῶν tὰ κεραύνα τραύματα ἀναφέρειν tὰς τοιαύτας προχώδες τοῦ πυρὸς kai tῶν ὕδατοι. ἦ de πόλις ἐμπόριον γεγένηται μέγατον, χειροποίητους ἔχουσα ὅρμους διὰ tῆs εὐφυλῆς τῆs ἁμμοῦ σύμμετρος γὰρ ἕστι tῇ τιτᾶνῳ kai κόλλησιν ἵσχυρὰν καὶ πηξὶν λαμβάνει. διὸ περὶ tῆς χάλικε καταμέλειτε tῆs ἁμμοκοινῶν προβάλλουσι χώματα εἰς tῆν θάλασσαν, καὶ κολποῦσι

1 ἔνων, Jones inserts; and, with Holstein, emends ἐκεῖ (before μέχρι) to ἔχει. Meineke inserts γάρ after ἅπαν and deletes ἄτι (before θείου).

1 That is, after Misenus (see 1. 2. 18).
2 By Strabo's time the city had expanded a considerable distance along the coast in both directions.
3 In Latin, "putei."
4 In Latin, "putec, " "stink."
5 That is, "Blazing-land," if the etymologists here referred to by Strabo were right. "Thlegra" was also the old name

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it affords most abundant catches of oysters. And some say that this gulf itself is Lake Acherusia, while Artemidorus says that Gulf Avernus itself is that lake. But Bciae is said to be named after one of the companions of Odysseus, Baius; and also Misenum.¹ Next in order come the headlands that are in the neighbourhood of Dicaearchia, and then the city itself. In earlier times it was only a port-town of the Cumacans, situated on the brow of a hill,² but at the time of Hannibal’s expedition the Romans settled a colony there, and changed its name to Putcoli from the wells ³ there—though some say that it was from the foul smell ⁴ of the waters, since the whole district, as far as Biaae and Cumaee, has a foul smell, because it is full of sulphur and fire and hot waters. And some believe that it is for this reason that the Cumaean country was called “Phlegra,”⁵ and that it is the wounds of the fallen giants, inflicted by the thunderbolts, that pour forth those streams of fire and water. And the city has become a very great emporium, since it has havens that have been made by the hand of man—a thing made possible by the natural qualities of the sand, for it is in proper proportion to the lime,⁶ and takes a firm set and solidity. And therefore, by mixing the sand-ash ⁷ with the lime, they can run jetties out into the sea and thus make the wide-open shores

of Pallene, the westernmost of the peninsulas of Chalcedice, and a volcanic region. Mythology associates the Giants with both regions (cp. 5. 4. 4).

¹ That is, its constituents are in proper proportion to the constituents of the lime.

² This volcanic substance is now called “pozzuolana,” or “tuff.”
τὰς ἀναπεπταμένας ἡμέρας, ὡστ' ἀσφαλῶς ἐνορ- 
μέζεσθαι τὰς μεγίστας ὀλκάδας. ὑπέρκειται δὲ 
τῆς πόλεως εὐθύς ἡ τοῦ Πφαιστοῦ ἀγορά, πεδίον 
περικεκλειμένον διαπύρως ὄφρυσί, καμινώδεις 
exousias ἀναποδοὶ πολλαχού καὶ βρωμώδεις ¹ 
ἰκανῶς: τὸ δὲ πεδίον θείου πληρέσ ἐστὶ συρτοῦ. 

7. Μετὰ δὲ Δικαιαρχίαν ἐστὶ Νεάπολις Κυ- 
μαίων: ὑστερον δὲ καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς ἐποίησαν καὶ 
Πιθηκουσσαίων τινές καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὡστε καὶ 
Νεάπολις ἐκλήθη διὰ τούτο. ὅπου δείκνυται 
μνήμα τῶν Σειρήνων μιᾶς, Παρθενώτης, καὶ ἀγών 
συντελεῖται γυμνίκος κατὰ μαντείαν. ὑστερον δὲ 
Καμπανῶν τινας ² ἐδέξαντο συνώκους διχοστα-
τήσαντες, καὶ ἠραγκάσθησαν τοῖς ἐχθρίστοις ὡς 
οἰκειοτάτοις χρῆσασθαί, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀλλο-
τρίους ἐσχόν. μνύει δὲ τὰ τῶν δημώδων ὑπώ-
ματα, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Ἐλληνικὰ ὄντα, τὰ δὲ ὑστερα 
τοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς ἀναμίζε τὰ Καμπανικά. πλείστα 
δ' ἔχου τῆς Ἐλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐνταύθα σώζεται, 
γυμνασία τε καὶ ἐφηβεία καὶ φρατρία ³ καὶ ὑπώ-
ματα Ἐλληνικά, καϊτερ ὄντων Ῥωμαίων. νυν ὑπὲ 
πεντετετρακός ἔρος ἀγών συντελεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς, 
μουσίκος τε καὶ γυμνικός ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας,

1 βρωμώδεις, Dindorf, for βρωμώδεις; so the editors in 
general.
2 τινας, Xylander, for τινες; so the later editors.
3 ἐφηβεία καὶ φρατρίαι, Siebenkees (from conj. of Tyrwhitt), 
for ἐφηβικὰ φρατρία (Al), ἐφηβικά φρατρία (BC); so the later 
editors.

¹ In Latin, “Forum Vulcari”; now La Solfatara.
² That is, “New City”. The older name was “Partho-
nopoe” (see 14. 2. 10, and Beloch, Campanien, 1890, pp. 29–30).
³ “Demarch” was the local title of the chief magistrates;

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curve into the form of bays, so that the greatest merchant-ships can moor therein with safety. Immediately above the city lies the Forum of Hephaestus, a plain shut in all round by exceedingly hot ridges, which in numerous places have fumaroles that are like chimneys and that have a rather noisome smell; and the plain is full of drifted sulphur.

7. After Dicaearchia comes Neapolis, a city of the Cumaeans. At a later time it was re-colonised by Chalcidians, and also by some Pithecusaeans and Athenians, and hence, for this reason, was called Neapolis. A monument of Parthenope, one of the Sirens, is pointed out in Neapolis, and in accordance with an oracle a gymnastic contest is celebrated there. But at a still later time, as the result of a dissension, they admitted some of the Campani as fellow-inhabitants, and thus they were forced to treat their worst enemies as their best friends, now that they had alienated their proper friends. This is disclosed by the names of their demarchs, for the earliest names are Greek only, whereas the later are Greek mixed with Campanian. And very many traces of Greek culture are preserved there—gymnasia, ephebeia, phratiae, and Greek names of things, although the people are Romans. And at the present time a sacred contest is celebrated among them every four years, in music as well as gymnastics; it lasts for several days, and vies with the

and apparently several of them held office together (see Tozer, Selections, p. 108, and Beloch, Campanien, pp. 31, 45).

4 Places for youths (ephebi) to take exercise.
5 Beloch (pp. 41–44), from inscriptions of Neapolis, gives the names of nine different phratiae.
6 "Music" is here used, apparently, in the broad sense, including all the arts over which the Muses presided.
ἐνάμιλλος τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλ-
λάδα. ἦστι δὲ καὶ ἐνθάδε διόρυξ κρυπτή, τοῦ
μεταξὺ ὄρους τῆς τε Δικαιαρχείας καὶ τῆς Νεαπό-
λεως ὑπεργασθέντος ὁμοίως, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύμην,
όδου τε ἀνοιχθείσης ἑναντίους ξεύγην πορευτῆς,
ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους· τὰ δὲ φῶτα ἐκ τῆς ἐπιφα-
νείας τοῦ ὄρους, πολλαχόθεν ἐκκοπεισῶν θυρίδων,
διὰ βάθους πολλοῦ κατάγεται. ἔχει δὲ καὶ Ἡ
Νεάπολίς θερμῶν ὕδατων ἐκβολᾶς καὶ κατασκευῶς
λουτρῶν οὐ χεῖρος τῶν ἐν Βαϊάις, πολὺ δὲ τῷ
πλῆθει λειπομένας· ἔκει γὰρ ἄλλη πόλις γεγε-
νηται, συνοικοδομημένων βασιλείων ἄλλων ἐπὶ
ἄλλοις, οὐκ ἐλάττων τῆς Δικαιαρχείας. ἐπιτεί-
νουσι δὲ τὴν ἐν Νεαπόλει διαγωγὴν τὴν Ἡλληνικὴν
οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀναχωροῦντες δεύτερο ἡσυχίας
χάριν τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας ἐργασαμένων ἢ καὶ ἁλ-
λοι διὰ γῆς ἢ ἀσθένειαν ποθούντων ἐν ἀνέσει
ξήν. καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἔνοιχαι χαίροντες τῷ βίῳ
τούτῳ, θεωροῦντες τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
ἀγωγῆς ἐπιδημοῦντων ἀνδρῶν, ἀσμενοί φιλοχω-
ροῦσι καὶ ἕως αὐτοῦ.
8. Ἐξόμενον δὲ φρούριον ἦστιν Ῥώμιον, ἐκκειμένην εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκραν ἐχον, κατα-
πυρομένην Λιβί θαυμαστὸς, ὡς' ὑγιεινὴν ποιεῖν

1 Augustus himself attended the contest shortly before his
death (Suetonius, Augustus 98).
2 See 5. 4. 5.
3 See 5. 3. 8 and the footnote (on the size of the sewers at
Rome).
most famous of those celebrated in Greece.\textsuperscript{1} Here, too, there is a tunnel—the mountain between Dicaearchia and Neapolis having been tunneled like the one leading to Cumae,\textsuperscript{2} and a road having been opened up for a distance of many stadia that is wide enough to allow teams going in opposite directions to pass each other.\textsuperscript{3} And windows have been cut out at many places, and thus the light of day is brought down from the surface of the mountain along shafts that are of considerable depth.\textsuperscript{4} Furthermore, Neapolis has springs of hot water and bathing-establishments that are not inferior to those at Baiae, although it is far short of Baiae in the number of people, for at Baiae, where palace on palace has been built, one after another, a new city has arisen, not inferior to Dicaearchia. And greater vogue is given to the Greek mode of life at Neapolis by the people who withdraw thither from Rome for the sake of rest—I mean the class\textsuperscript{5} who have made their livelihood by training the young, or still others who, because of old age or infirmity, long to live in relaxation; and some of the Romans, too, taking delight in this way of living and observing the great number of men of the same culture as themselves sojourning there, gladly fall in love with the place and make it their permanent abode.

8. Next after Neapolis comes the Heracleian Fortress,\textsuperscript{6} with a promontory which runs out into the sea and so admirably catches the breezes of the southwest wind that it makes the settlement a

\textsuperscript{1} But to-day the Grotta di Posilipo has no shafts of light; and Seneca (\textit{Epist.} 57, 1) complains of its darkness and dust. Accordingly, Beloch (p. 84) concludes that Strabo confuses the tunnel in question with that of Cumae.

\textsuperscript{2} Strabo means Greeks.

\textsuperscript{3} Heroulancum.
C 247 τὴν κατοικίαν. "Οσκοὶ δ' εἶχον καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἑφεξῆς Πομπαίαν, ἣν παραρρέετ Σάρνος ποταμός, εἶτα Τυρρηνοί καὶ Πελασγοί, μετὰ ταύτα δὲ Σαυνωταν καὶ οὕτω οἱ ἑξέπεσον ἐκ τῶν τόπων. Νόλιης δὲ καὶ Ναυκερίας καὶ 'Αχερρών, ὁμοωνύμου κατοικίας τῆς περὶ Κρέμωνα, ἐπίνειον ἔστιν Πομπαία 3 παρὰ τῷ Σάρνῳ ποταμῷ καὶ δεχομένῳ τὰ φορτία καὶ ἐκπέμποντι. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν τούτων τούτων ὅρος τῷ Οὐδεσσαίῳ, ἀγριῶς περιακούμενον πανηκάλοις πλὴν τῆς κορυφῆς: αὐτῇ δ' ἐπίπεδος μὲν πολὺ μέρος ἐστὶν, ἀκαρπῶς δ' ὀλη, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὅψεως τεφρώδης, καὶ κοιλάδας φαίνει σιγαριγμόδεις πετρῶν αἰθαλανδών κατὰ τὴν χρώσιν, ὡς ἄν κεβεβρωμένων ὑπὸ πυρῶν: ὥστε 4 τεκμαιροῖ τὰν τοῦ χωρίου τοῦτο καλεσθαί πρώτερον καὶ ἔχειν κρατήρας πυρᾶς, σβεσθῆναι δ' ἐπιλιπούσης τῆς υλῆς. τάχα δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐκαρπίας τῆς κύκλῳ τούτ' αὐτίον, ὄσπερ ἐν τῇ Κατάνῃ, φασὶ, τὸ κατατεφρωθέν μέρος ἐκ τῆς σποδοῦ τῆς ἀνευχεθεῖσης ὑπὸ τοῦ Λετοπού πυρῶν εὐάμπελον τὴν γῆν ἐποίησεν. ἔχει μὲν γὰρ τὸ λιπαῖνον καὶ τὴν ἐκπυρουμένην βόλου καὶ

1 Corais emends Πομπαίαν to Πομπαίαν; so Müller-Dümler and Meineke; see note 1 below.
2 'Αχερρών, Kramer, for 'Αγχέρων (Al); see 'Αχερραί, 5. 4. 11.
3 Πομπαία, Jones, for the corrupt ποιή; others emend to Πομπηία.
4 ὥστε, Corais, for ὥς.

1 On "Pompeii," the Oscan name of Pompeii, see Nissen, Landeskunde II., p. 763, footnote 3.
2 In Latin, "Acerrae."
3 "Acerrae," as spelled by Polybius (2. 34).
4 That is, the "hot ashes" (what we call "volcanic ash," a finely powdered lava), now ash-dust.

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healthful place to live in. Both this settlement and the one next after it, Pompaia (past which flows the River Sarnus), were once held by the Osci; then, by the Tyrrheni and the Pelasgi; and after that, by the Sammitae; but they, too, were ejected from the places. Pompaia, on the River Sarnus—a river which both takes the cargoes inland and sends them out to sea—is the port-town of Nola, Nuceria, and Acherra (a place with name like that of the settlement near Cremona). Above these places lies Mt. Vesuvius, which, save for its summit, has dwellings all round, on farm-lands that are absolutely beautiful. As for the summit, a considerable part of it is flat, but all of it is unfruitful, and looks ash-coloured, and it shows pore-like cavities in masses of rock that are soot-coloured on the surface, these masses of rock looking as though they had been eaten out by fire; and hence one might infer that in earlier times this district was on fire and had craters of fire, and then, because the fuel gave out, was quenched. Perhaps, too, this is the cause of the fruitfulness of the country all round the mountain; just as at Catana, it is said, that part of the country which had been covered with ash-dust from the hot ashes carried up into the air by the fire of Aetna made the land suited to the vine; for it contains the substance that fattens both the soil which is burnt out and that

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6 Strabo wrongly thought that the volcanic ash itself contained a fatty substance which enriched the soil. The enriching substance, of course, was the organic matter which accumulated in the ash-dust during a long period of weathering. In time the ash-dust became ash-soil. In 6.2.3 Strabo quotes Poseidonius as saying that this same part of the country was covered with volcanic ash “to a considerable depth.”
τὴν ἐκφέρουσαν τοὺς καρποὺς. πλεονάζουσα μὲν οὖν τῷ λύπει πρὸς ἐκπύρωσιν ἐπιτηδεία, καθὰ περ ἡ θειώδης πᾶσα, ἔξικμασθείσα δὲ καὶ λαβοῦσα σβέσιν καὶ ἐκτέθρωσιν εἰς καρπογονίαν μετέβαλε. συνεχές δὲ ἔστι τῇ Πομπαίᾳ τῷ Συρρεντὸν τῶν Καρπανῶν, ὅπεν πρόκειται τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ, ὁ τινες Σειρηνοῦσσον ἀκρωτήριον καλοῦσιν ἐστὶ δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀκρόν μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς ἰερόν, ἱδρυμα Ὀδυσσέως. διά- πλοις δὲ ἐνθείδει βραχὺς εἰς Καπρέας νήσουν. καμψάντει δὲ τὴν ἀκραν νησίδει εἰσιν ἔρημοι πε- τρώδεις, ὡς καλοῦσι Σειρῆνας. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Συρρεντὸν μέρους ἱερόν τι δεῖκνυται καὶ ἀναθῆμα παλαιὰ τιμωρτῶν τῶν 1 πλησίον τῶν 2 τόπων. μέ- χρι μὲν δεύρο ἔχει τέλος ὁ κόλπος ὁ Κρατήρ προς- αγορευόμενος, ἀφορίζομενος δυσὶν ἀκρωτηρίαις βλέπουσιν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, τῷ τε Μισηνῷ καὶ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ. ἀπας δὲ ἐστὶ κατασκευασμένος τοῦτο μὲν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὡς ἐφαμεν, τούτῳ δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ φυτείαις, αἱ μεταξὺ συνεχεῖς οὐσίαι μίας πόλεως ὅψιν παρέχονται.

9. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν Μισηνοῦ πρόκειται νῆσος ἡ Προχύτη, Πιθηκοῦσσῶν δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπόσπασμα. Πιθηκοῦσσας δὲ Ἕρετρεῖς ὥκισαν καὶ Χαλκίδεις,

1 τῶν, Kramer, for τῶν; so the later editors.
2 τῶν, before τόπων, Corais inserts; so the later editors.

1 Some of the ash-soil, Strabo means, becomes so rich that it is combustible, and unfit for the vine and different fruits; but he does not say whether it is later burnt out by volcanic matter, or by some accidental or human agency. The burning out of excessively rich soil was at one time not an uncommon practice in England and Germany (P. H. Storer, Agriculture, 7th ed., Vol. III., pp. 188 ff.). The English company now
which produces the fruits; so then, when it acquired plenty of fat, it was suited to burning out, as is the case with all sulphur-like substances, and then when it had been evaporated and quenched and reduced to ash-dust, it passed into a state of fruitfulness. Next after Pompaia comes Surrentum, a city of the Campani, whence the Athenaeum juts forth into the sea, which some call the Cape of the Sirenussae. There is a sanctuary of Athene, built by Odysseus, on the tip of the Cape. It is only a short voyage from here across to the island of Capreae; and after doubling the cape you come to desert, rocky isles, which are called the Sirens. On the side of the Cape toward Surrentum people show you a kind of temple, and offerings dedicated there long ago, because the people in the neighbourhood hold the place in honour. Here, then, the gulf that is called the "Crater" comes to an end, being marked off by two capes that face the south, namely, Misenum and Athenaeum. And the whole of the gulf is garnished, in part by the cities which I have just mentioned, and in part by the residences and plantations, which, since they intervene in unbroken succession, present the appearance of a single city.

9. The island of Prochyta lies off Cape Misenum, and it is a fragment broken off of Pithecussae. Pithecussae was once settled by Eretrians and also

operating in the region of Lake Copais in Boeotia burns out the soil before putting it in cultivation.

2 That is, the ash-dust, now ash-soil.

3 As often, Strabo is unduly concise. He means: "when the ash-soil had taken fire, and the excess fat had been driven out by the fire."

4 In natural course, and by rain.

5 Cp. 5. 4. 3.

6 Cf. 1. 2. 12.

7 But cp. 1. 3. 19.
εὐτυχήσαντες δι’ εὐκαρπίαν καὶ διὰ τὰ χρυσεῖα ἐξέλισσαν τὴν νήσον κατὰ στάσιν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ἐξελαθέντες καὶ ἀναφυσιμάτων πυρὸς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ θερμῶν ὕδατων. ἔχει γὰρ τοιαύτας ὑποφορὰς ὅποις, υφ’ ὅν καὶ οἱ περιφέρεις παρὰ ἑρωνος τοῦ τυράννου τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐξελίσσαν τὸ κατασκευασθέν υφ’ ἑαυτῶν τείχος καὶ τὴν νήσον ἐπελθόντες δὲ Νεαπολίται κατέσχον. ἐντείθεν καὶ ὁ μὺθὸς, ὅτι φασὶ τῶν Τυφώνων ὑποκείσθαι τῇ νήσῳ ταυτί, στραφωμένῳ δὲ τὰς φλόγας ἀναφυσάσθαι καὶ τὰ ὕδατα, ἔστι δ’ ὅτε καὶ μησόδας ἐχοῦσας ξένων ὑδάρ. θείεστερον δὲ Πίνδαρος εὑρίκειν ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων ὀρμηθέν· ὅτι πᾶς ὁ πόρος οὗτος, ἀπὸ τῆς Κυμαίας ἀρβύμνους μέχρι τῆς Σικελίας, διάπυρος ἔστι, καὶ κατὰ βάθους ἔχει κολλᾶσιν τινὰς εἰς ἐν συναπτοῦσας πρὸς τε ἀλλήλας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡπείρον. διόπερ ἦ τε Λατινή τοιαύτην ἔχει δείκνυται φύσιν, οἷον ἱστορούσιν ἅπαντες, καὶ αἱ τῶν Δυσπαραῶν νῆσοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Δικαιαρχείαν καὶ Νεάπολιν καὶ Βαλασ χωρία καὶ αἱ Πιθηκοῦσαι. ταῦτ’ οὖν διανοθεῖς τῷ παντὶ τόπῳ τούτῳ φησὶν ὑποκείσθαι τῶν Τυφώνων:


1 ὑποφορᾶς (Ἀχι), Jones restores; instead of ἀποφορᾶς.
2 ἀλλήλας, Xylander, for ἀλλῆρας; so the later editors.

1 Strabo’s conciseness (if the MSS. are correct) leaves the passage obscure as to whether (1) both peoples left together because of a quarrel with other inhabitants, and later on returned, only to be driven out by the earthquakes (about 456
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Chalcidians, who, although they had prospered there on account of the fruitfulness of the soil and on account of the gold mines, forsook the island as the result of a quarrel; later on they were also driven out of the island by earthquakes, and by eruptions of fire, sea, and hot waters; for the island has "fistulas" of this sort, and it was these that caused also the people sent thither by Hiero the tyrant of Syracuse to forsake the island and the fortress they had erected there; and then the Neapolitans came over and took possession. Hence, also, the myth according to which Typhon lies beneath this island, and when he turns his body the flames and the waters, and sometimes even small islands containing boiling water, spout forth. But what Pindar says is more plausible, since he starts with the actual phenomena; for this whole channel, beginning at the Cumaean country and extending as far as Sicily, is full of fire, and has caverns deep down in the earth that form a single whole, connecting not only with one another but also with the mainland; and therefore, not only Aetna clearly has such a character as it is reported by all to have, but also the Lipari Islands, and the districts round about Dicaearchia, Neapolis, and Baiae, and the island of Pithecussae. This, I say, is Pindar's thought when he says that Typhon lies beneath this whole region: "Now, however, both Sicily and the sea-fenced cliffs beyond Cumae press hard upon his shaggy breast." And

500 B.C.), or (2) left separately, first, the Chalcidians, because of a quarrel between the two, and, later on, the Etruscans, because of the earthquakes, or (3) part of each left at first, and the rest later on; but the first interpretation seems more likely. Livy (8. 22), without mentioning the Etruscans, ascribes the founding of Cumae to the Chalcidians who had previously settled "Aenaria and Pithecussa."
καὶ Τίμαιος δὲ περὶ τῶν Πιθηκουσσῶν φησιν ύπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν πολλὰ παραδοξολογεῖσθαι, μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ ἐαυτοῦ τὸν Ἐπωπέα ἃδειαν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ νῆσῳ τιναγέντα. Ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ἀναβαλεῖν πῦρ καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἐξόσαι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ πέλαγος, τό δὲ ἐκτεφρωθὲν τῆς γῆς, μετεφρισμὸν λαβὼν, κατασκηνοῦσαι πάλιν τυφώνοις εἰς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς τὴν θάλατταν ἀναχωρῆσαι σταθοῦν, ἀναχωρήσασαν δὲ μετʼ οὐ πολὺ ὕποστρέψαι καὶ τῇ παλιρροίᾳ κατακλύσαι τὴν νῆσον, καὶ γενέσθαι σβέσιν τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ πυρῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἦχου τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἢπείρῳ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς παραλίας εἰς τὴν Καμπανίαν. δοκεῖ δὲ τὰ θερμά ὑδάτα ἐνταῦθα θεραπεύειν τοὺς λιθιώτατα. αἱ δὲ Καπρέας δύο πολίχνια εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν, ὕστερον δὲ μίαν. Νεαπόλιται δὲ καὶ ταῦτην κατέσχουν, πολέμω δὲ ἀποβαλόντες τὰς Πιθηκουσσὰς ἀπελαβοῦν πάλιν, δόντος αὐτοῖς Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, τὰς δὲ Καπρέας ἰδιον ποιησαμένου κτήμα τι καὶ κατοικοδομήσαντας. αἱ μὲν οὖν παράλιοι πόλεις τῶν Καμπανῶν καὶ αἱ προκείμεναι νῆσοι τοιαῦται.

10. 'Εν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ Καπύῃ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ μὴ-τρόπολις, κεφαλῇ τῷ ὄντι κατὰ τὴν ἑτυμοτήτα τοῦ ὁνόματος, τὰ γὰρ ἅλλα πολίχνια νομίζοιτ' ἀν C 249 κατὰ τὴν σύγκρισιν πλὴν Τεάνου Σιδικίνου, καὶ γὰρ αὐτῇ ἄξιόλογος. κεῖται δ’ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ αὐτῇ τε καὶ αἱ 4 τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον

1 Ἐπωπέα, du Theil, for Ἐπωμέα; so the later editors.
2 τιναγέντα is the reading of B; παγέντα, of A, corrected in some later MSS. to βαγέντα, which may be right.
3 κτήμα, Corais, for κτίσμα; so the later editors.
Timaeus, also, says that many marvellous things are told by the ancients about Pithecussae, and that only shortly before his own time the hill called Epopeus, in the centre of the island, on being shaken by earthquakes, cast forth fire and shoved the part between it and the sea back to the open sea; and the part of the land that had been burned to ashes, on being lifted high in the air, crashed down again upon the island like a whirlwind; and the sea retreated for three stadia, but not long after retreating turned back and with its reverse current deluged the island; and, consequently, the fire in the island was quenched, but the noise was such that the people on the mainland fled from the coast into Campania. The hot springs in the island are thought to cure those who have gall-stones. Capreae had two small towns in ancient times, though later on only one. The Neapolitans took possession of this island too; and although they lost Pithecussae in war, they got it back again, Augustus Caesar giving it to them, though he appropriated Capreae to himself personally and erected buildings on it. Such, then, are the seaboard cities of Campania and the islands that lie off it.

10. In the interior, take first Capua: It is the capital city—a "capital" in reality, as the etymology of its name implies, for in comparison with it all the rest might be regarded as only small towns, except Teanum Sidicinum, which is indeed a noteworthy city. It, too, lies on the Appian Way, and so do the three cities which, among the rest, lead from it.

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1 Cp. 5. 4. 3.  
2 As well as Capua.  
3 That is, from Capua.

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4 αἱ, after καὶ, Corais deletes, inserting αἱ after ἐλλαμβάνων (Meinecke and Müller-Dübner following.)
ἀγουσαὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς, Καλατία¹ καὶ Καῦδιον² καὶ Βενεουντοῦν ἐπὶ δὲ Ῥώμης Κασίλιουν ἵδρυται ἐπὶ τῷ Οὐδούλτούρμφ ποταμῷ, ἐν ἡ πολιορκούμενοι Πραινεστίνων ἄνδρες τεταράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι πρὸς ἀκμάζοντα 'Αννίβαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀντέχον, ὡσθ’ ὑπὸ λιμῷ δικοσίων δραχμῶν πραθέντος μεδίμνου,³ ὃ μὲν πωλῆσας ἀπέθανεν, ἐσώθη δ’ ὁ πριμέμον. ἦδον δ’ αὐτοὺς πλησίον τοῦ τείχους σπείροντας γογγύλην ἐθαύμαζεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ Ἀννίβας τῆς μακροθυμίας, εἰ ἐλπίζομεν τέως ἀνθέξειν ἐως τελεσφορήσεις ἡ γογγύλη καὶ ὃς περιγενέσθαι πάντας φασὶ πλὴν ἄνδρῶν ὁλίγων τῶν ἡ λιμῷ διαλυθέντων ἤ ἐν ταῖς μόχαις.

11. Πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ῥήθεισις ἐτι καὶ αὐταί Καμπαναὶ πόλεις εἰσίν, ὅπως ἐμφάνησαν πρότερον, Κάλης⁵ τε καὶ Τέανον Σεδικίων, ἃς διορίζουσιν αἰ δύο Τύχαι εὐ ἐκάτερα ἰδρυμέναι τῆς Λατίνης ὀδοῦ, καὶ ἐτὶ Σονεσσοῦλα καὶ Ἀτέλλα καὶ Νόλα καὶ Νουκερία καὶ Ἀχέρρα καὶ Ἀβέλλα καὶ ἀλλαὶ ἐτί ἐλάττους τούτων κατοικίας, ὅπως ἔνιας Σαννιτιδάς φασίν εἰναι. Σαμνίται δὲ πρότερον μὲν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Λατίνης τῆς περὶ 'Αρδέαν ἐξοδίας

¹ Καλατία, Kramer, for Καλατέρια, so the later editors.  
² Καῦδιον, Cornis, for Καῦδιον; so the later editors.  
³ For μεδίμνου (the reading of all MSS.), Cornis, Meineke and others read μῦδος (following the conj. of Caesalbo).  
⁴ τέως, Cornis, for ὡς; so the later editors.  
⁵ Κάλη, Kramer, for Κάλη; so the later editors.  

¹ See 5. 3. 6 and footnote.  
² From Capua, not from Teanum Sidicinum.
to Brentesium, namely, Calatia, Caudium, and Beneventum. But Casilinum is situated towards Rome, on the River Vulturnus; it was here that five hundred and forty of the Praenestini held out against Hannibal—then at the height of his strength—for so long that, by reason of famine, a "medimnus" was sold for two hundred "drachmai," and the man who sold it died of hunger, whereas the man who bought it escaped with his life. And when Hannibal saw them sowing turnips near the wall, he wondered, and with reason, at their long-suffering—that they expected to hold out long enough for the turnips to get ripe; and in fact they all survived, it is said, except a few who perished either because of hunger or in the battles.

11. But in addition to the cities aforesaid, the following (to which I have adverted before) are also Campanian cities—Cales and Teanum Sidicinum, whose territories are separated by the two temples of Fortune situated on either side of the Latin Way; and so are Suessula, Atella, Nola, Nuceria, Acherrae, Abella, and other settlements (some of which are said to be Samnite) that are still smaller than these. As for the Samnitiae: In earlier times they made expeditions even as far as that part of the Latin country which is about Ardea,

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3 About a bushel and a half (of grain). But, following Casaubon, all the editors except Groskurd emend "medimnus" to "rat," to agree with the story of Pliny (S. 82), Valerius Maximus (7. 6), and Frontinus (Strategemata 4. 5. 20). And it seems almost certain that Strabo so wrote.

4 In Latin, "denarii"; that is, about forty dollars; but with far greater purchasing power than now. The three writers quoted in the preceding footnote say "two hundred denarii."

5 5. 3. 9.
τῆς χώρας τὴν ἄρχανιαν Καμπανίαν 1 ἐφ’ οὖ τούτ’ ἰδιον ἱστοροῦσιν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος 2 ὅντος ποτίμου, 3 
τὸ καθιέμενον εἰς αὐτὸ φυτὸν ἀπολύουσθαι φυλάτ-
τον τὴν χρόαν καὶ τὴν μορφὴν. τῶν δὲ Πικέντων 
ὑπῆρχε μητρόπολις Πικέντια, μνη δὲ κωμηδὸν 
ξώσιν ἀπωσθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὴν πρὸς 
Ἀννίβαν κοινωνίαν ἀντὶ δὲ στρατείας ἡμεροδρο-
μείν καὶ γραμματοφορεῖν ἀπεδείχθησαν ἐν τῷ 
τὸτε δημοσίᾳ, καθάπερ καὶ Λευκανοὶ καὶ Βρέττιοι 
κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αὐτίκας ἐπετείχισαν δ’ αὐτῶς 
Σάλερνον Ῥωμαίοι φρουρᾶς χάριν μικρὸν ὑπὲρ 
τῆς θαλάττης: εἰς δ’ ἀπὸ Σειρνουσσῶν ἐπὶ 
Σιλαρίου στάδιοι διακόσιοι ἐξήκοντα.

1 For Καμπανίαν (the reading of the MSS. except C, which 
reads Κανίαν) Meineke and others read Ἰταλίαν. See C. Müller, 
Ind. Var. Locl., p. 974).

2 τοῦ, after ὕδατος, Meineke omits.

3 ποτίμου, the editors in general, for ποταμίου (cp. same 
emendation in 5. 1. 8 and 5. 4. 5).
separates the old Campania from this country. ¹ In regard to this river, writers report the following as a special characteristic, that although its water is potable, any plant that is let down into it turns to stone, though it keeps its colour and its shape.² Picentia first belonged to the Picentes, as metropolis, but at the present time they live only in villages, having been driven away by the Romans because they had made common cause with Hannibal. And instead of doing military service, they were at that time appointed to serve the State as couriers and letter-carriers (as were also, for the same reasons, both the Leucani and the Brettii); and for the sake of keeping watch over the Picentes the Romans fortified Salernum against them, a city situated only a short distance above the sea. The distance from the Sirenuassae to the Silaris is two hundred and sixty stadia.

¹ The later editors emend “Campania” to “Italy” (cp. 5. 1. 1). But it seems far more likely that Strabo wrote (or else had in mind) the words “Lucania and” before “the Silaris River.” In this case “this country” means Lucania. Indeed, Strabo says in the succeeding paragraph (6. 1. 1) that Lucania begins at Silaris. And he has already defined the seaboard of the Campania of his own time as beginning at Sinuessa, and ending at Surrentum and the Cape of Minerva (see 5. 2. 1, 5. 3. 4, 5. 4. 3, and 5. 4. 8–9).

² So Pliny (2. 106) and Silius Italicus (8. 581).
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