THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

II
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1. Ἀποδεδωκόσι δ' ἢμῖν τὸν πρῶτον τύπον τῆς γεωγραφίας οἰκεῖός ἐστιν ὁ ἐφεξῆς λόγος περὶ τῶν καθ' ἐκαστὰ· καὶ γὰρ ὑπεσχόμεθα οὕτως, καὶ δοκεῖ μέχρι νῦν ὀρθῶς ἤ πραγματεία μεμερίσθαι. ἀρκτέον δὲ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ᾿Εὐρώπης καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς τούτων ἀφ’ ὄντως καὶ πρότερον, κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας.

2. Πρῶτον δὲ μέρος αὐτῆς ἐστι τὸ ἑσπέριον, ᾿Ιβηρία. ταύτης δὴ τὸ μὲν πλέον οἰκεῖται φαύλως· ὅρη γὰρ καὶ δρυμοὺς καὶ πεδία λεπτὴν ἔχοντα γῆν, οὐδὲ ταύτην ὁμαλῶς εὐνυδρον, οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολλήν· ἡ δὲ πρόσβορρος ψυχρά τε ἐστὶν τελέως πρὸς τῇ τραχύτητι καὶ παρωκεανίτις, προσειληφυῖα τὸ ἄμικτον κἀνεπίπλεκτον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς ἑρωβάλλει τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ τῆς οἰκησεως. ταύτα μὲν δὴ τὰ μέρη τοιαῦτα, ἡ δὲ νότιος πᾶσα εὐδαίμων σχεδὸν τι, καὶ διαφερόντως ἡ ἑξο

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1 See 2, 5. 4. 2 See 2. 5. 26.
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
Στηλών· ἐσται δὲ δὴλον ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἑκαστα, ὑπογράψασιν ἥμων πρότερον τὸ τε σχῆμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος.

3. Ἐοίκε γὰρ βύρσῃ τεταμένῃ κατὰ μήκος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω, τὰ πρόσθια ἐχούσῃ μέρη πρὸς τῇ ἑω, κατὰ πλάτος δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων πρὸς νότον. Ἐχει δὲ σταδίων ἐξακισχιλίων ὡμοῦ τὸ μήκος, πλάτος δὲ πεντακισχιλίων τὸ μέγιστον, ἐστι δ’ ὁποὺ πολὺ ἐλαττοῦν τῶν τρισχιλίων, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τῇ Πυρήνη τῇ ποιούσῃ τὴν ἑωαν πλευράν. ὅρος γὰρ δὴ διηνεκὲς ἀπὸ νότου πρὸς βορράν τεταμένου ὀρίζει τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. οὕςς δὲ καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀνωμάλου τὸ πλάτος καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸ στενώτατον τοῦ πλάτους ἐκατέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἑμετέρας θαλάττης ἐπὶ τὸν ἱκελικό πλούσιον μάλιστα, ἐφ’ ἐκατέραν αὐτῆς τὸ μέρος, καὶ ποιοῦν κόλπους, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱκελικῷ, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ καθ’ ἡμᾶς θαλάττῃ μείζους δὲ τοὺς Κελτικοὺς, οὕς δὴ καὶ Γαλατικοὺς καλοῦσι, στενώτερον τῶν ἱσθμῶν ποιοῦντας παρὰ τὸν 1 Ἰβηρικὸν. καὶ δὴ τὸ μὲν ἑώον πλευρὸν τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἢ Πυρήνη ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ νότιον ἤ τε καθ’ ἡμᾶς θαλάττα ἀπὸ τῆς Πυρήνης μέχρι Στηλῶν, καὶ ἤ ἐκτὸς τὸ ἐξῆς μέχρι τοῦ Ἱεροῦ καλουμένου ἀκρωτηρίου τρίτον ἐστὶ τὸ ἑσπέριον πλευρὸν παράλληλον πως τῇ

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

1 According to Strabo, there were two "Galatio" ("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
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. 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; 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.

*Cape St. Vincent.*
Πυρήνης, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου μέχρι τῆς πρὸς Ἀρτάβροις ἁκρας, ἢν καλοῦσι Νέριον· τέταρτον δὲ τὸ ἐνδέχεται μέχρι τῶν βορείων ἁκρῶν τῆς Πυρήνης.

4. Ἀναλαβόντες δὲ λέγουμεν τὰ καθ’ ἑκάστα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου ἀρξάμενοι. τοῦτο δὲ ἑστὶ τὸ δυτικώτατον, οὗ τῆς Ἑυρώπης μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης σημεῖον: περατοῦται μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δυείν ἡπείρων ἡ οἰκουμένη πρὸς δύσιν τοῖς τε τῆς Ἑυρώπης ἁκροῖς καὶ τοῖς πρῶτοις τῆς Λιβύης, ἄν τὰ μὲν Ἰβηρικὰ ἔχουσι, τὰ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι, προὔχει δὲ τὰ Ἰβηρικὰ ὅσον χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις σταδίοις κατὰ τὸ λεχθὲν ἁκρωτήριον. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν προσεχῆ τούτω χώραν τῇ Δατίνῃ φωνῇ καλοῦσι Κούνεον, σφῆνα σημαίνει βουλόμενοι. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἁκρον καὶ προπεπτωκός εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν Ἀρτεμίδωρος εἰκάζει πλοίῳ, γενόμενος, φησίν, ἐν τῷ τόπῳ προσλαμβάνει δὲ τῷ σχῆματι υπόσιν τρία, τὸ μὲν ἐμβολοῦ τἀξιν ἔχον, τὰ δὲ ἐπωτίδων, ἐφόρμωσιν ἔχοντα μετρίους. Ἡρακλέους δ᾽ οὐθ᾽ ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα δεῖκνυσθαι (ψεύσασθαι δὲ τοῦτο Ἐφερον), οὔτε βωμὸν, οὐδ᾽ ἀλλού τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ λίθους συγκεῖσθαι τρεῖς ἢ τέταρας κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους, οὐς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων στρέφεσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτριον καὶ

1 οὐθ', Kramer, for θ'; 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 σπονδοποιησαμένων. 1 Θύειν δ᾿ οὐκ εἶναι νόμμις, οὔτε νύκτωρ ἐπιβαίνειν 2 τοῦ τόπου, θεοὺς φασκόντων κατέχειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ θέαν ἥκοντας ἐν κόμῳ πλησίον νυκτερεύειν, εἶτ᾽ ἐπιβαίνειν ἡμέρας, ὕδωρ ἐπιφέρομένους διὰ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν.

5. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχειν ἐγχωρεῖ, καὶ δεὶ πιστεύειν ἃ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ χυδαῖοις ὁμοίως εἰρήκεν, οὐ πάνω. λέγειν γὰρ δὴ φησι Ποσειδώνιος τοὺς πολλούς, μείζων δύνειν τὸν ἥλιον ἐν τῇ παρωκεανίτιδι καὶ μετὰ ψόφου παραπλησίως ὀδοντος τοῦ πελάγους κατὰ σβέσιν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὸν βυθόν. ψεῦδος δ᾿ εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ παραχρῆμα νύκτα ἀκολουθεῖν μετὰ τὴν δύσιν· οὐ γάρ παραχρῆμα, μικρὸν δ᾿ υστερον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοις πελάγεσι τοῖς μεγάλοις. ὅποιον μὲν γὰρ εἰς ὅριν δύσται, πλείω τὸν μετὰ δύσιν χρόνου τῆς ἡμέρας συμβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ παραφωτισμοῦ, ἐκεῖ δὲ πλείω 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-

1 σπονδοποιησαμένως, Corais, for ψευδοποιησαμένων; generally followed.
2 ἐπιβαίνειν, conj. of Meineke, for ἐπιβάλλειν; generally followed.

1 That is, to the original position; but the Greek word might mean “transferred” to other spots. Hüblner (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.
μμασείς πλείους ἐκ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναφέρονται. διὰ
dὲ τούτων ὡς δὲ ὥλων ἱκλωμένην τὴν ὁψιν
dιατυπέρας δέχεσθαι τὰς φαντασίας, καθάπερ
dὲ νέφους ξηροῦ καὶ λεπτοῦ βλέπουσαν
dυόμενον ἡ ἀνατέλλοντα τὸν ἥλιον ἡ τὴν σελήνην,
ἡμίκα καὶ ἑνεφεύγας φαίνεσθαι τὸ ἀστρον.
tὸ δὲ ψεύδος ἐλέγχας φησὶ τριάκονθ’ ἠμέρας
dιατρίψας ἐν Γαδείροις καὶ τηρήσας τὰς δύσεις.
ὁ δὲ γε Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐκατονταπλασίων ἄστρων
dύνασθαι τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ αὐτίκα νύκτα καταλαμβάνειν.
ὡς μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς εἰδε τοῦτο ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ
ἀκρωτήριῳ, οὐχ ὑποληπτέον, προσέχοντας τῇ
ἀποφάσει αὐτοῦ, ἔφη γὰρ νύκτωρ μηδέμα ἐπιβαίνειν
ὥστ’ οὐδὲ δυομένου ἥλιον οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπιβαίνει, ἐπεὶ εὐθὺς ἡ νυξ καταλαμβάνει. ἂλλον
οὖδ’ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ τῆς παρωκεανίτιδος καὶ γὰρ
τὰ Γάδειρα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρωτήριῳ, καὶ ὁ Ποσειδώνιος
ἄντιμαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους.

6. Τῆς δὲ συνεχοῦς τῷ Ἱερῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ παραλίας ἡ μέν
ἐστιν ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἑσπερίου πλευροῦ τῆς
Ἰβηρίας μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Τάγου ποταμοῦ,
ἡ δὲ τοῦ νοτίου μέχρι ἄλλου ποταμοῦ τοῦ "Ἀνα
καὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς αὐτοῦ. φέρεται δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν
ἔως μερῶν ἐκάτερος. ἂλλος καὶ οἱ ἡ ἐπιμεῖρον εἰς
τὴν ἐσπερίαν ἐκδίδωσι πολὺ μεῖζον ὅπως ἂν
θατέρου, ὁ δὲ Ἁνας πρὸς νότον ἐπιστρέφει, τῇ μεσοπο-

1 ὥλων, I. Voss, for αὐλῶν; so Schneider, Groskurd,
Meineke, Forbiger, and Tardieu.

2 A globe filled with water, apparently.

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 interfluvial region, which is inhabited for the most part that the visual rays emanate from the eyes, but Aristotle (\textit{l. c.}) controverted it. See also Plato, \textit{Timaeus}, 45\(\alpha\) and 46\(\beta\); and Seneca, \textit{Quaestiones Naturales}, 1. 6.
ταμίαν ἀφορίζων, ὡν Κελτικοὶ νέμονται τὸ πλέον, καὶ τῶν Λυσιτανῶν τινες ἐκ τῆς περαιάς τοῦ Τάγου μετοικισθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνω μέρεσι καὶ Καρπητανοὶ καὶ Ὀρητανοὶ καὶ Οὐεττώνων συνοικοῦν νέμονται. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ χώρα μετρίως ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων, ἢ δὲ ἐφεξῆς πρὸς ἐω χειμερή καὶ νότον ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολεῖπεν πρὸς ἄπασαν κρινομένη τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀρετής χάριν καὶ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀγαθῶν. αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ὡν ὁ Βαϊτις διαρρεῖ ποταμός, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μερῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχών ἄφ' ὑπντερ καὶ ὁ Ἀνας καὶ ὁ Τάγος, μέσος πως ἄμφορον τούτων ὑπάρχων κατὰ μέγεθος· παραπλησίως μέντοι τῷ Ἀνα κατ' ἀρχής ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν ὅπειρον ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς νότον καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκδιώκοντες τούτω παραλίαν. καλοῦσι δ' ἄπο μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βαιτικήν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐνοικούντων Τουρδητανοὺς τοὺς δ' ἐνοικούντας Τουρδητανούς τε καὶ Τουρδούλους προσαγορεύουσιν, οἱ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζοντες, οἱ δὲ ἑτέρους· διὸν ἐστὶ καὶ Πολύβιος, συνοίκους φήσας τοῖς Τουρδητανοῖς πρὸς ἄρκτον τούς Τουρδούλους· νυνὶ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς φαίνεται διορισμὸς. σοφώτατοι δ' ἐξετάζονται τῶν ᾽Ιβήρων οὕτων, καὶ γραμματικῆς χρώνται, καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης ἐχουσὶν συγγράμματα καὶ ποιήματα καὶ νόμους ἐμμέτρους ἐξαισχυλίων ἑτῶν, ἔσε νόμοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι εἰς ᾽Ιβήρης χρώνται γραμματικῆς. οὗ μᾶ δ' ἰδέα, οὐδὲ γὰρ γάρ γλώττῃ μιᾷ· τείνει δὲ ἡ χώρα αὐτή, ἢ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἀνα, πρὸς ἐω

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, 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 ’Ορητανίας, πρὸς νότον δὲ μέχρι τῆς παραλίας τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ἀναμέχρι Στηλῶν. ἀνάγκη δὲ διὰ πλείονων 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 ἣν ὁ τε Βαῖτις καὶ ὁ Ἀνας ἐκδίδωσι, καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς Μαυρουσίας εἰς τὸ μεταξῦ ἐμπίπτουν τὸ Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος ποιεῖ τὸν κατὰ Στῆλας πορθμόν, καθ’ ἐν ἢ ἑντὸς θάλαττα συνάπτει τῇ ἐκτός. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὄρος ἐστὶ τῶν ἲβήρων τῶν καλουμένων Βαστητανῶν, οὗ καὶ Βαστούλους καλοῦσι, ἡ Κάλπη, τῇ περιοχῇ μὲν οὐ μέγα, τῷ δ’ ὑψεῖ μέγα καὶ ὄρθιον, ὡστε πόρρωθεν νησοειδὲς φαίνεσθαι. ἐκπλέουσιν οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας θάλαττης εἰς τὴν ἐστὶ τούτῳ, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ Κάλπη πόλις, ἐν τετταράκοντα σταδίοις, αξιόλογος καὶ παλαιὰς, ναύσταθμόν ποτὲ γενομένη τῶν ἲβήρων. ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέους κτίσμα λέγουσιν αὐτήν, ὃ ὅσοι Ἡρακλείαν ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν, δείκνυσθαί τε μέγαν περίβολον καὶ νεωσοίκους.

8. Εἶτα Μενλαρία, ταριχείας ἔχουσα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα Βελών πόλις καὶ ποταμὸς. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ διάπλοι μάλιστα εἰς τῶν Ἡρακλείαν διαμέτρους εἰς την Μαυρουσίαν

C 140

1 Previous editors have unnecessarily emended Calpe to Carteia. Ancient writers, in describing the highway on the coast from Malaga to Gades, thought of Calpe and its close neighbour, Carteia, as a single halting-place. In the
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. ἦν δὲ καὶ Ζῆλις τῆς Τίγγιος ἀστυγείτων, ἀλλὰ μετόκισαν ταύτην εἰς τὴν περαιάν Ῥωμαίου, καὶ ἔκ τῆς Τίγγιος προσλαβόντες τινάς ἐπεμψαν δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἐαυτῶν ἐπόθκους, καὶ ἀνώμασαν Ἰουλίαν ῬΩξαν τὴν πόλιν. εἶτα Γάδειρα, πορθμῷ στενῷ διειργομένη νῆσος ὑπὸ τῆς Τουρδητανίας, διέχουσα τῆς Κάλπης περὶ ἐπτακοσίους καὶ πεντάκοσια σταδίους, οἳ δὲ ὀκτακοσίους φασίν. ἦστι δ’ ἡ νῆσος αὐτὴ τάλλα μὲν οὐθὲν διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τῇ περὶ τὰς ναυτιλίας καὶ φιλίᾳ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τοσαύτην ἐπίδοσιν εἰς πάσαν εὐνυχίαν ἐσχεν, ὡστε, καὶ περὶ ἐσχάτη ἱδρυμένη τῆς γῆς, ἄνωμαστοτάτη τῶν ἄπασῶν ἐστὶν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης ἐροῦμεν ὅταν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων νῆσων λέγωμεν.

9. Ἕφεξῆς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Μενεσθέως καλούμενος λιμὴν καὶ ἡ κατὰ 'Ασταν ἀνάχυσις καὶ Νάβρισσαν. δέγονται δὲ ἀναχύσεις αἱ πληρούμεναι τῇ θαλάττῃ κοιλάδες ἐν ταῖς πλημμυρίσι. ἐν τοῖς ποτάμων δίκην ἀνάπλους εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἔχουσαι καὶ τὰς ἐκβολαὶ τοῦ Βαίτιος δις χιλιομέτρους. εἶτ’ εὐθὺς αἱ ἀκατάλληλαι καὶ ἐκβολαὶ τὶν τοῦ Καπίωνος στομάτων ὑπὸ τῶν σταθμῶν ἐκατον, ὡς δ’ ἐνιοῖ, καὶ πλειονοῖ σταθάνων ἀφορίζει παραλίαν. ἐν ταύθα δὲ ποὺ καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Μενεσθέως ἐστὶ, καὶ δ’ τοῦ Καπίωνος ἔδρυται πῦργος ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀμφικλύστου, θαυμασίως κατεσχευσμένος, ὡστε ὁ Φάρος, τῆς καὶ πλοίασμένων σωτηρίας χάριν, ἢ τε γὰρ ἐκβαλλομένη

1 Νάβρισσαν, Corais, for ἀνάβρισσα; 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 Nabrisa. (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.
ο χοῦς υπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βραχέα ποιεῖ, καὶ χουρα- δώδης ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τόπος, ὅστε δεῖ σημεῖον τινὸς ἑπιφανοῦς. ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽ ὁ τοῦ Βαϊτίους ἀνάπλους ἐστὶ καὶ πόλις Ἐββοῦρα καὶ τὸ τῆς Φωσφόρου ἱερόν, ἦν καλοῦσι Δούκεμ Δουβίαμ· εἰδ' οἱ τῶν ἀναχύσεων τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀνάπλους καὶ μετὰ τὰ ταῦτα ὁ "Ανάς ποταμός, δίστομος καὶ οὔτος, καὶ ὁ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνάπλους· εἰδ' ὑστατον τὸ Ἰερὸν ἀκρωτήριον, δείχου τῶν Γαδείρων ἔλαττους ἢ δισχιλίους στάδιους· τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἰεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου ἕπὶ τὸ τοῦ "Ανα στόμα ἐξήκοντα μίλια φασιν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Βαϊτίους στόμα ἑκατόν, ἐίτα εἰς Γάδειρα ἐβδομήκοντα.

II

1. Τῆς δ᾽ οὖν ἐντὸς τοῦ "Ανα παραλίας υπερ- κεῖσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν Τουρδητανίαν, ἥν ὁ Βαϊτις διαρρεῖ ποταμός. ἀφορίζει δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἑσπέραν καὶ ἀρκτὸν ὁ "Ανάς ποταμός, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἑω Καρπητανῶν τέ τινες καὶ 'Ορητανοί, πρὸς νότον δὲ Βαστητανῶν οἱ μεταξὺ τῆς Κάλπης καὶ τῶν Γαδείρων στενὴν νεκρομένοι παραλίαν, καὶ ἡ ἐξῆς θάλαττα μέχρι "Ανα. καὶ οἱ Βαστητανοί δὲ, οὐς ἐντὸς τῇ Τουρδητανία πρόσκεινται καὶ οἱ ἐξω τοῦ "Ανα, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν προσχώρων. μέγεθος δ᾽ οὐ πλεῖον ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταυτής ἐπὶ μήκος καὶ πλάτος ἡ δισχιλίου 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 Ebura, 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.
ὑπερβάλλουσαι τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ γὰρ διακοσίας 
φασὶ. γνωριμῶταται δὲ αἱ τὰς πληθοὺς 
ιδρυμέναι καὶ ταῖς ἀναχύσεσι καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ διὰ 
tὰς χρείας. πλειστον δ᾽ ἦ τε Κόρδυβα ηὔξηται, 
Μαρκέλλου κτίσμα, καὶ δόξη καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ 
ἡ τῶν Γαδιτανῶν πόλις, ἢ μὲν διὰ τὰς ναυτιλίας 
καὶ διὰ τὸ προσθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ συμμα-
χίας, ἢ δὲ χώρας ἀρετῆ καὶ μεγέθει, προσλαμβά-
νυντος καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βαῖτις μέγα μέρος: 
φύσει καὶ τῆς ἀναχύσεως καὶ τῆς θαλάττῃ. 
τὰς χρείας. πλεῖστον δ᾽ ἥ τε Κοῦλτα 
Μαρκέλλον κτίσμα, καὶ δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ 
ἡ τῶν Ταδιτανῶν πόλις, ἡ μὲν διὰ τὰς ναυτιλίας 
καὶ διὰ τὸ προσθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ συμμα-
χίας, ἢ δὲ χώρας ἀρετῆ καὶ μεγέθει, προσλαμβά-
νυντος καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βαῖτις μέγα μέρος: 
φύσει καὶ τῆς ἀναχύσεως καὶ τῆς θαλάττῃ. 
τὰς χρείας. πλεῖστον δ᾽ ἥ τε Κοῦλτα 
Μαρκέλλον κτίσμα, καὶ δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ 
ἡ τῶν Ταδιτανῶν πόλις, ἡ μὲν διὰ τὰς ναυτιλίας 
καὶ διὰ τὸ προσθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ συμμα-
χίας, ἢ δὲ χώρας ἀρετῆ καὶ μεγέθει, προσλαμβά-
νυντος καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βαῖτις μέγα μέρος: 
φύσει καὶ τῆς ἀναχύσεως καὶ τῆς θαλάττῃ. 
τὰς χρείας. πλεῖστον δ᾽ ἥ τε Κοῦλτα 
Μαρκέλλον κτίσμα, καὶ δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ 
ἡ τῶν Ταδιτανῶν πόλις, ἡ μὲν διὰ τὰς ναυτιλίας 
καὶ διὰ τὸ προσθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ συμμα-
χίας, ἢ δὲ χώρας ἀρετῆ καὶ μεγέθει, προσλαμβά-

2. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτας Ἰταλικά καὶ Ἰλιπά ἐπὶ τῷ 
Βαίτι, Ἄστυγις δ᾽ ἀπωτέρω καὶ Κάρμων καὶ 
Ὀβούλευων ἐπὶ τῷ ᾿Ασιδιγί, τῆς δὲ ἔν αἰς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παῖδες 
καταπολεμήθησαν, Μοῦνδα καὶ ᾿Ατέγουα καὶ Οὐ-
λία καὶ Τούκκης καὶ Οὐλία καὶ Δίγονα· ἀπάσαι

1 The Turdetanian 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 Carmo, 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

\(^1\) püdie, ii. 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’ αὐταὶ Κορδύβης οὖκ ἄπωθεν. τρόποι δὲ τινα μητρόπολις κατέστη τοῦ τόπου τοῦτον Μοῦνδα: διέγει δὲ Καρτηίας ή Μοῦνδα στάδιον χιλίους 1 καὶ τετρακόσιους, εἰς ἣν ἔφυγεν ἤττηθείς ο Γναῖος: εἰτ’ ἐκπλεύσας ἔνθεν καὶ ἐκβὰς ἐς τινα ὑπερκειμένην θαλάττης ὀρεινὴν διεθάρη. δ’ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Σέξτος ἐκ Κορδύβης σωθεὶς καὶ μικρὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἰβηραῖοι πολεμήσας χρόνον ὑστερον Σικελίαν ἀπέστησεν, εἰτ’ ἐκπεσὼν ἐνθένδε εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄλοις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντωνίου στρατηγῶν ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς Κονιστοργίς ἐστὶ γνωριμωτάτη: εἰτ’ δὲ ταῖς ἀναχύσεσιν ἡ Ἀστα, εἰς ἥν οἱ τὸ νῦν Πανομαν νύσσαι μίλησα, ὑπερκειμένη τοῦ ἐπινείου τῆς νήσου σταδίους οὐ πολύ πλείον τῶν ἐκατόν.

3. Παροικεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ πλείστων δ’ Βαῖτις, καὶ ἀναπλεῖται σχεδόν τι ἐπὶ χιλίους καὶ διακόσιους στάδιοις ἐκ θαλάττης μέχρι Κορδύβης καὶ τῶν μικρὸν ἐπάνω τόπων. καὶ δ’ καὶ ἐξειργαστὶ περιττῶς ἢ τε παραποταμία καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νησίδια. πρόσεστι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄψεως τερπνὸν,

1 χιλίους, the reading of A, adopted by Casaubon instead of ἕξακισχιλίους (BC2).

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, B. I. H. I. 32. 5, makes the distance from Carteia to Corduba one hundred and seventy miles, ἡ c. one thousand three hundred and sixty stadia). But according to Strabo's text Munda was a city near Corduba, 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 has become the capital city of this region. Munda is one thousand four hundred stadia distant from Carteia, whither Gnaeus fled after his defeat; 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. In the country of the Celti, Conistorgis is the best known city; but on the estuaries Asta is the best known, where the Gaditanians 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

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 Midea (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.
ἄλσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἄχλαις, φυτουργίαις ἐκπεπομένων τῶν χωρίων. μέχρι μὲν οὖν Ἰσπάλιος ὀλκάσιν ἄξιολογοις ὁ ἀνάπλους ἔστιν ἐπὶ σταδίους οὔ πολὺ λείποντας τῶν πεντακοσίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἄνω πόλεις μέχρι Ἰλίπας ταῖς ἑλάττωσι, μέχρι δὲ Κορδύβης τοῖς ποταμίοις σκάφεσι, πηκτοίς μὲν τὰ νῦν, τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ καὶ μονοξύλωσι, τὸ δὲ ἄνω τὸ ἐπὶ Κασταλῶνος 1 οὐκ ἔστι πλοίμον, παράλληλοι δὲ τὶνις ράχεις ὁρῶν παρατείνουσι τῷ ποταμῷ, μᾶλλον τοις καὶ ηττον αὐτῷ συνάπτονται, πρὸς βορρᾶν, μετάλλων πλὴρεις. πλεῖστος δ' ἐστὶν ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Κωτίνας λεγομένως χαλκός τοῖς ποταμοῖς καὶ χρυσός. ἐν αὐτοῦ (τοῦ, AC, τά, BZ) μεταλλείας ὄρη, καθήκει δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς τὸν Τάγον. τὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς μεταλλείας ἔχοντα χωρία ἀνάγκη τραχεά τε ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν τοῖς ἀνωπλεοῦσιν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ παράλυπροι καὶ τὰ τῇ Καρπητανίᾳ συνάπτοντα, καὶ τῆς Κοτίνας λεγομένας χαλκός τε ἅμα γεννᾶται καὶ χρυσός. ἐν δὲ τηλικοῦτοις σκάφεσι, οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον. ὑπέρκειται δὲ καὶ ὃ μεταλλείας ὄρη, καθήκει δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Τάγον. τὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς μεταλλείας ἔχοντα χωρία ἀνάγκη τραχεά τε ἐναι καὶ παράλυπρα, οὕτως καὶ τὰ τῇ Καρπητανίᾳ συνάπτοντα, καὶ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς Κελτιβηρίοις τοιαύτῃ δὲ καὶ ἡ Βαιτουρία, ἔξοχα ἔχουσα πεδία τὰ παρῆχοντα τῷ Ἀνά.

1 Κασταλῶνος, Kramer, for Κλαστῶνος.
2 ἐν Ἀνανίαν ἀνάπλουν, Kramer, from the conj. of Casaubon, for ἰδίων ὁ ἀνάπλους ; editors following.
3 αὐτοῦ (τοῦ, AC, τά, Bl), Meineke.

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 Hispalis, 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 Iliipa, for the smaller merchant vessels; and, as far as Corduba, for the river-boats (at the present time these are builted 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 aerianti rivers which extend parallel to the river, sometimes more so, sometimes less, and they are full of mines. Silver, however, is the most plentiful in the regions about Iliipa, 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 Baeturia also, which contains arid plains that stretch along the Anas.

identified. Du Thiel conjectures Constantia, about twenty miles from Almaden.
4. Ἀυτὴ δ᾽ ἡ Τουρδητανία θαυμαστῶς εὐτυχεῖ παμφόρου δ᾽ οὕσης αὐτῆς, ὦσαύτως δὲ καὶ πολυφόρου, διπλασιάζεται τὰ εὐτυχήματα ταῦτα τῷ ἐκκομισμῷ τὸ γὰρ περιττεύουν τῶν καρπῶν ἀπεμπολεῖται ῥάδιος τῷ πλήθει τῶν ναυκληριῶν. ποιοῦσι δὲ τούτῳ οὐ τε ποταμοὶ καὶ αἱ ἀναπλησίως, ὡς εἰποῦν, ἐμφερεῖς τοῖς ποταμοῖς οὕσαι καὶ ἀναπλέομεναι παραπλησίως ἐκ θαλάττης οὐ μικροὶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοις σκάφεσιν εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ πόλεις. ἀπασα γὰρ ἔστι πεδίας ἡ ὑπὲρ τῆς παρισίας ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς μεταξῆς τοῦ τε Ἱεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου καὶ Στηλῶν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ πολλαχοῦ κοιλάδες εἰς τὴν μεσογαίαν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνέχουσι, φάραγξι μετρίαις ἢ καὶ ἐνθρόις ἐουκυῖαι ποταμίοις, ἐκτεταμέναι ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους· ταῦτα δὲ πληροῦσι αἱ τῆς παραλίας ἐπιβάσεις κατὰ τὰς πλημμυρίδας, ὡστ᾽ ἀναπλεῖσθαι μηδὲν ἔττου ἢ τοὺς ποταμοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ βέλτιον τοῖς γὰρ κατάπλοιοι ἐοικε τοῖς ποταμοῖς, ἀντικόπτουν· τοῦ γὰρ ὑδένος, ἐπουρίζοιντος δὲ τοῦ πελάγους καθάπερ τοῦ ποταμίου ἐρύματος ἐν τῷ πλημμυρίδα. αἱ δὲ ἐπιβάσεις μείζους εἰσὶν ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοίς τόποις, ὦτι εἰς πόρον συνωθουμένη στενὸν ἢ θάλαττα ἐκ μεγάλου πελάγους, ὡς ἡ Μαυροσία ποιεῖ πρὸς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἀνακοπᾶς λαμβάνει, καὶ φέρεται πρὸς τὰ εἴκοσι μέρη τῆς γῆς εὐπετῶς. ἐναὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν τοιούτων κοιλάδων κενοῦσιν κατὰ τὰς ἀμπώτεις, τωκὲς δὲ οὐ παντάπασιν ἐπιλείπει τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐναὶ δὲ καὶ νῆσους.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 2. 4

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, 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 seashore 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

1 3. 1. 9.
ἀπολαμβάνουσιν ἐν ἑαυταῖς. τοιαῦται μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν αἱ ἀναχύσεις αἱ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ἱεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου καὶ τῶν Στηλῶν, ἐπίδοσιν ἔχουσαι σφοδρότεραν παρὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις. ἡ τοιαύτη δ᾽ ἐπίδοσις ἔχει μὲν τι καὶ πλεονέκτημα πρὸς τὰς χρείας τῶν πλοίων πλείους γὰρ καὶ μείζους ποιεῖ τὰς ἀναχύσεις, πολλάκις καὶ ἐπὶ ὅκτω σταδίους ἀναπλεομένας, ὡστε τρόπον τινὰ πάσαν πλωτὴν παρέχεται τὴν γῆν καὶ εὐπετή πρὸς τε τὰς ἐξαγωγὰς τῶν φορτίων καὶ τὰς εἰσαγωγὰς. ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ ὀχληρὸν, αἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς ναυτιλίαι 1 διὰ τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς πλημμυρίδος ἵσχυρότερον τῇ ρύσει 2 τῶν ποταμῶν ἀντιπνέουσαν 3 κίνδυνον οὐ μικρὸν ταῖς ναυκλήραις ἐπιφέρουσι, κατακομμιζομέναις τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνακομμιζομέναις. αἱ δὲ ἀμπώτεις ἐν ταῖς ἀναχύσεσιν εἰσὶ βλαβερά: ταῖς γὰρ πλημμυρίσων ἀνὰ λόγον καὶ αὐταῖ παραξύνονται, διά τοῦ τάχος καὶ ἐπὶ ἡχῶς πολλάκις ἐγκατέλειπον τὴν ναῦν. τὰ τε βοσκήματα εἰς τὰς νῆσους διαβαίνοντα τὰς πρὸ τῶν ποταμῶν 4 πρὸ τῶν ἀναχύσων τοτὲ μὲν ὅνων καὶ ἐπεκλύσθη, τοτὲ δὲ ἀπεκλύσθη, βιαζόμενα δ᾽ ἐπανελθεῖν ὁμόν ἵσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ διεφθάρη τὰς δὲ βοῦς φασὶ καὶ τετηρηκυίας τὸ συμβαίνοντο περιμένειν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ τότε ἀπαίρειν εἰς τὴν ἥμερον.

5. Καταμαθοῦντες δ᾽ οὖν τὴν φύσιν τῶν τόπων

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1 aí, before διά, Corais deletes.
2 ῥύσει, Siebenkees, for φύσει; so subsequent editors.
3 ἀντιπνέουσαν, Corais, for ἀντιπνέοισαν; so Kramer, Forbiger, and Meineke.
4 ή, Jones inserts.
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 ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰς ἀναχύσεις ὁμοίως ὑπουργεῖν τοὺς ποταμοὺς δυσκολεῖς πόλεις ἐκτισάν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλας κατοικίας, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν. τούτων δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ Ἁστα καὶ Νάβρισσα καὶ Ὄνοβα καὶ Ὁσσόνοβα καὶ Ἔνοβα καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους. προσλαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ διώρυγες ἐσθ᾽ ὅπου γεγονῦσι τῷ πολλαχόθεν εἶναι καὶ πολλαχόσσε τὴν κομιδήν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω, καὶ αἱ σύρροιαι δὲ ὡσαύτως ὀφελοῦσι κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ πολὺ πλήμμας, διαχεομένας ἐπὶ τῶν διειργόντων ἱσθμῶν τοὺς πόρους καὶ πλωτοὺς ἀπεργαξομένας, ὥστε πορθμεύεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν εἰς τὰς ἀναχύσεις κάκειθεν δεύρο. ἦπασα δ᾽ ἡ ἐμπορία πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἔχουσα τὸν πλοῦν μέχρι τῶν Στηλῶν ἀγαθῶν, πληρὴ εἰ τὸ ἔστι περὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ δυσκολία, καὶ τὸν πελάγιον τὸν ἐν τῇ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς θαλάττῃ. διὰ γὰρ εὐθὺ κλίματος οἱ δρόμοι συντελοῦνται, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ πελαγίζοντι τούτῳ δὲ πρόσφορον ἐστὶ ταῖς ἐμπορικαίς ὁλκάσιν. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι τάξιν. πρόσεστι δὲ καὶ ἡ νῦν εἰρήνη, τῶν λῃστηρίων καταλυθέντων, ὅσθ᾽ ἡ σύμπασα ὑπάρχησι ραστῶν τοῖς πλοῖοις. ἦδιον δὲ τῇ φησι Ποσειδώνιος τηρήσαι κατὰ τῶν ἀνάπλουν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ὅτι οἱ Εὐροί κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο τὸ πέλαγος ἐως τοῦ Σαρδόβου κόλπου πνεοίς ἐπτησίαι."
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, Nabrisa, 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 thereon 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
διὸ καὶ τρισὶ μησὶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατάραι μόλις παραδιενεχθεῖς 1 περὶ τε τὰς Γυμνησίας νήσους καὶ περὶ Σαρδόνα καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ ἀπαντικρὺ τούτων μέρη τῆς Διβύης.

6. "Εξάγεται δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Τουρδητανίας σιτός τε καὶ σῶν πολὺς καὶ ἔλαιον οὐ πολὺ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ κηρός δὲ καὶ μέλι καὶ πίττα ἐξάγεται καὶ κόκκος πολλή καὶ μίλτος οὔ τοιχων τῆς Σινωπικῆς γῆς τά τε ναυτήγια συνιστάσιν αὐτόθι ἐξ ἐπιχωρίας ύλης, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ ὀρυκτοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦς εἰς καὶ ποταμῶν ἀλμυρῶν ρέματα οὐκ ὁλίγα, οὐκ ὁλίγη δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν ὃς ὁλιγεία τά τε ναυπήγια συνιστάσιν αὐτόθι ἐξ ἐπιχωρίας ὕλης, καὶ ὑπερβολῆ τῆς ἐστὶ τοῦ κάλλους ταλαντιαίους γοῦν ὁμολογότας καὶ τῶν κρίων εἰς τὰς ὀχείας. ὑπερβολὴ δὲ καὶ ἐσθῆς πρὸ τοῦ ἠκρεστο, νῦν δὲ ἐρία μᾶλλον τῶν κοραξῶν. καὶ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς ἐστὶ τοῦ κάλλους ταλαντιαίους γοῦν ὁμολογότας καὶ τῶν κρίων εἰς τὰς ὀχείας. ὑπερβολὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν λεπτῶν υφασμάτων, ἀπερ οἱ Σαλακηταὶ 2 κατασκευάζουσιν. ἀφθονος δὲ καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀφθονία παντοίων καὶ κυνηγεσίων. τῶν δ᾽ ὀλεθρίων θηρίων σπάνις πλὴν τῶν γεωργικῶν λαγιδέων, οὕς ἐυοικ νεφερίδας προσαγορεύοντοι λυμαλωνοῦν γὰρ καὶ φυτὰ καὶ

1 παραδιενεχθεῖς, Kramer, for γὰρ διενεχθεῖς; so Meineke.
2 Σαλακηταὶ, Harduin, for Σαλακηταί; so Groskurd, Forbiger, 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 coccoisera, 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

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\(^1\) As in 12. 2. 10, Strabo uses "miltos" ("ruddle") as a general term in comparing, as sources of dyes, Spanish cinnabar (red mercuric sulphide) and Sinopean "red earth."

\(^2\) Op. 12. 8. 16.

\(^3\) Alcacer-do-Sal. Pliny (Nat. Hist. 8. 7) also refers to the fabrics woven in this Lusitanian town.
σπέρματα διαφαγόντες καὶ τούτο συμβαίνει καθ’ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν σχεδόν, διατείνει δὲ καὶ μέχρι Μασσαλίας, ὁχλεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς νῆσους. οἱ δὲ τὰς Γυμνησίας οἰκούντες λέγονται πρεσβεύσασθαί ποτε πρὸς Ρωμαίους κατὰ χώρας αὐτησιν ἐκβάλλεσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ξύων τούτων, ἀντέχειν μὴ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸν τοσοῦτον ἱσως πόλεμον, δς οὐκ ἄει συμβαίνει, φθορὰ ἔτι τινι λαμικῇ, καθάπερ ὄφεων καὶ μυῶν τῶν ἄρουραίων, κραινὴ τῆς τοσαῦτης ἐπικουρίας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέτριον ἑξεύρενται πλέονς θηρίοι καὶ δὴ καὶ γαλάς ἄγριας, ἃς ἡ Διβύη φέρει, τρέφουσιν ἐπίτιθες, ἃς φιμώσαντες παριᾶσιν εἰς τὰς ὁπάς· αἱ δ’ ἑξέλκουσιν ἐξω τοῖς ὁπάς δυνεῖς, οὐδὲ ἀν καταλύσουσιν, ἐν φεύγουσιν ἀναγκαίουσιν εἰς τὴν ἑπιφάνειαν, ἕκπεσοντας δὲ θηρεύσουσιν οἱ ἐφεστῶτες. τὴν δὲ υφθονίαν τῶν ἐκκομιξομένων ἐκ τῆς Τουρδητανίας ἐμφανίζει τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ναυκληρίων ὀλκάδεσ γὰρ μέγιστα παρὰ τούτων πλέονς εἰς Δικαιαρχείαν καὶ τὰ Ἄστια, τῆς Ρώμης ἐπίνειου τὸ δὲ πλῆθος μικροῦ δεῖν ἐνάμιλλον οἰς Διβυκοῖς.

7. Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς μεσογαίας οὔσης τῆς ἐν τῇ Τουρδητανίᾳ, καὶ τὴν παράλιον ἐν αὐτῆς χρεία τῆς ἐπικουρίας, καὶ τὴν παράλιον ἐν αὐτῆς ἐπικουρίας τῆς ἐν τῇ καταλύσει ἐν αὐτῆς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πλῆθος καὶ τῆς μεγεθοῦς χρείας τῆς. τὰ τὰ γὰρ ἐπικουρίας τοις καὶ τοῖς πλῆθεσιν ὑπερβάλλει καὶ τοῖς μεγεθεῖ καθολοὺ κατὰ τὴν ἐξω θάλατταν πᾶσαν, ἐνταῦθα 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), 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 merchant-men 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 seashore 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

1 See 3. 4. 18. and foot-note.

2 ἐκπολλαπλασιασίως, after Αἰβυκοῖς, deleted by 1; and so the editors in general.
δι' οὗ καὶ τῶν πλημμυρίδων καὶ τῶν ἀμπώτεων ἐνταῦθα αὐξομένων, ἂς εἰκὸς αἰτίας εἶναι καὶ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους διὰ τὴν γυμνασίαν. ὡς δὲ αὔτως ἔχει καὶ περὶ τῶν κητέων ἁπάντων, ὀρύγων τε καὶ φαλαινῶν καὶ φυσητήρων, ὃν ἀναφυσησάντων φαίνεται τις νεφώδους ὄψις κίονος τοῖς πόρρωθεν ἀφορῶσι καὶ οἱ γόγγροι δὲ ἀποθηριοῦνται, πολὺ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ὑπερβεβλημένοι κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ αἱ σμύραιναι καὶ ἀλλὰ πλείω τῶν τοιούτων ὄψων. ἐν δὲ Καρτηίᾳ κήρυκας δεκακοτύλους καὶ πορφύρας φασίν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξωτέροις τόποις καὶ μείζους ὄγδοοικοντα μνῦν τὴν σμύραιαν καὶ τὸν γόγγρον, ταλαντιαίον δὲ τὸν πολύποδα, διπήχεις δὲ τὰς τευθίδες καὶ τὰ παραπλῆσια. πολὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ βύ̄ννοι συνελαύνεται δεύ̄ρο ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλλης τῆς ἐξωθεν παραλίας πίων καὶ παχύς. τρέφεται δὲ βαλάνῳ δρυίνη φυομένη κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης χαμαιζήλῳ τινὶ παντάπασιν, ἀδρότατον δὲ ἐκφερούσῃ καρπὸν. Ὑπὲρ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ φύ̄τει πολλῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ρίζας μὲν ἔχουσα μεγάλας ὡς ἀν τελείας δρυός, ἐξαιρομένη δὲ θάμνου ταπεινῆς ἦττον τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐκφέρει καρπόν, ὡςτε μετὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν πλήρη τὴν παραλίαν εἶναι τήν τε ἐντὸς καὶ τὴν ἐκτὸς

1 ἀλέης, Kramer, for ἀλέης; so generally the editors. Casaubon reads ἀλέης, Groskurd, ἀλέας. Probably the context should be emended to suit ἀλέας (cp. Aristotle, Hist. An. 8. 19, and Athenaeus 7. 63, 301 b).

2 παραλίας, Casaubon, for παλαιᾶς; so all editors.

3 Apparently βαλάνου has fallen out after παραλίαν. Groskurd, 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" 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 cotylae, and in the regions farther out to sea the lamprey and the conger-eel weigh even more than eighty minae, the sea-polypus a talent, the cuttlefish 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. 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 cocifera (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.
ΣΤΗΛΩΝ, ἵν ἐκβάλλουσιν αἱ πλῆματι· ἔντος ΣΤΗΛΩΝ ἐπάττων ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον εὑρίσκεται. λέγει δ' ὁ Πολύβιος καὶ μέχρι τῆς Δατίνης ἐκπύπτειν τὴν βάλανον ταύτην, εἰ μὴ ἁρὰ, φησί, καὶ ἡ Σαρδῶ φέρει καὶ ἡ πλησιόχωρος ταύτη. καὶ οἱ θύννοι δ' ὅσον πλέον συνεγγίζουσι ταῖς ΣΤΗΛΑΙΣ ἐξαίθεν φερόμενοι, τοσοῦτον ἔχουσιν πλέον, τῆς τροφῆς ἐπιλειπούσης· εἶναι τε ἁρὰ 2 θαλάττιον ὃν τὸ ξῆόν τοῦτο ἠδεσθαι γάρ τῇ βαλάνῳ καὶ πιανεσθαι διαφερόντως ἀπ' αὐτῆς, φορᾶς τε τῆς βαλάνου γενομένης, φορὰν καὶ τῶν θύννων εἶναι.

8. Τοσοῦτοι δὲ τῆς προειρημένης χώρας ἄγαθος κεχαρηγμένης, οὐχ ἢκιστα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κλαίμεθα ἀποδεξάμεθα τὸ περὶ τὰς μεταλλείας εὐφυής· ἀπασα μὲν γὰρ μεστή τῶν τοιούτων ἑστὶν ἢ τῶν Ἱβήρων χώρα, οἳ πάσας δ' εὐκάρπους οὔδ' εὑστίμως οὕτως, καὶ κλαίμεθα ἢ τῶν μετάλλων εὐποροῦσα· σπάνιων δ' ἐν ἀμφοτέροις εὐτυχεῖν· σπάνιων δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐν ἀλλήλω χωρίῳ παντοίοις πληθύνειν μετάλλως. ἢ δὲ 3 Τουρδητανία καὶ ἡ προσεχής αὐτῆς λόγου οὐδένα ἐξίον καταλεύπει περὶ τῇ ὄμωδε τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἐπαινεῖν βουλομένοις. οὔτε γὰρ χρυσός, οὔτ' ἄργυρος, οὐδὲ δὴ χαλκός, οὔδε σίδηρος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τοσοῦτος οὔθ' οὕτως ἀγαθὸς εἰξήτασται γεννώμενος μέχρι νῦν. ὃ δὲ χρυσὸς οὐ μετάλλωται μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σύρεται καταφέροντι δ' οἳ ποταμοὶ καὶ οἱ χεῖμαρροὶ τῆς χρυσίτιν ἀμ-

1 πλέον, Corais, for πλεῖον; Kramer, and Meineke, following.
2 τε ἁρὰ, Tyrwhitt, for παρόν.
3 δὲ, for τε; so the old reading (before Kramer), and so Meineke.
4 οὔτ', Jones, for οὐκ.
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, πολλαχοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνύδροις τόποις οὕσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖ μὲν ἀφανὴς ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπικλύστοις ἀπολάμπει τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ψῆγμα· καὶ τούς ἀνύδρους δὲ φορητὸ ἐπικλύσοντες ὑδατὶ στιλπνὸν ποιοῦσι τὸ ψῆγμα, καὶ φρέατα δ᾽ ὀρύσσοντες καὶ ἀλλὰς τέχνας ἐπισκέπτοντες πλύσει τῆς ἀμύου τὸν χρυσὸν ἐκλαμβάνουσι, καὶ πλείω τῶν χρυσωρυχείων ἐστὶν τὰ χρυσοπλύσια προσαγορευόμενα. ἀξιοῦσι δὲ Τ᾿αλάται παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς εἶναι τὰ μέταλλα τὰ τεῦ ἐν τῷ Κεμμένῳ ὄρει καὶ τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῇ κείμενα τῇ Πυρήνῃ τὸ μέντοι πλέον τάντεύθεν ἐυδοκιμεῖ. ἐν δὲ τούς ψήγμασι τοῦ χρυσίου φασὶν εὑρίσκεσθαι ποτε καὶ ἡμιλιτριάς βώλους, ἀς καλοῦσι πάλας, μικρὰς καθάρσεως δεομένας. φασὶ δὲ καὶ λίθων σχιζομένων εὑρίσκειν βολάρια θηλαῖα ὅμοια· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐψομένου καὶ καθαιρομένου στυπτηριώδει τινὶ γῆ τὸ κάθαρμα ἔλεκτρον εἶναι· πάλιν δὲ τούτου καθεψομένου, μίγμα ἐχοντος ἀργυρόν καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὸν μὲν ἀργυρόν ἀποκαίεσθαι, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ὑπομένειν εὑδιάχυτος γὰρ ὁ τύπος καὶ λιθώδης διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ ἀχύρῳ τῇ σφοδρότητι καὶ ἴσα τῷ χρυσῷ, ὅτι ἡ φλόξ, μαλακὴ οὕσα, συμμετρῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὸ εἶκον καὶ διαχεόμενον ῥᾳδίως, δὲ ἀνθραξ ἐπαναλίσκει πολὺ, ὑπερτήκων τῇ σφοδρότητι καὶ

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1 ἴσα, Madvig, for τά.
2 τά τε, before ἐν, the insertion of I, and the editors.
3 πλέον, Meineke, for πλεῖον.
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-washeries" are now more numerous than the gold-mines. The Galatae hold that their own mines, both those in the Cemmenus Mountains and those situated at the foot of the Pyrenees themselves, are equal to those of Turdetania; 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 "palae," 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 earth the residuum thereof is "electrum"; 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. 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

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4 Containing alum and vitriol.
5 Electrum is defined by Pliny (Nat. Hist. 33. 23) as consisting of one part of silver to four parts of gold.
6 In fact, the alloy is more easily fused, and harder, than either of the constituent metals.
ἐξαίρων. ἐν δὲ τοῖς έριθροῖς ἐσκέται καὶ πλύνεται πλείστον ἐν σκάφαις, ἥ ὀρυτεται ψέαρ, ἢ δὲ ἀνεαχθείσα γῆ πλύνεται. τὰς δὲ τοῦ ἀργυροῦ καμάνους ποιοῦσιν ψηλάς, ὡστε τὴν ἐκ τῶν βύδων λυγνὸν μετέωσον ἐξαίρεσθαι βαρείᾳ γάρ έστι καὶ ὀρυτετος. τῶν δὲ χαλκουργείων τινὰ καλεῖται χρυσεία, ἂν δὲ τεκμαίρονται χρύσων ἢ αὐτῶν ὀρυτετος πρότερον.

9. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ, τὸ πλήθος τῶν μετάλλων ἐπαίνων καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς συνήθεος ῥητορείας, ἀλλὰ συνενθουσιαταί ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς. οὗ γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν τὸ μύθῳ φήσιν, ὡς τῶν ὁμοιών ποτε ἐμπρησθέντων τῇ γῆς τακείστα, ἀπέ ἀργυρίτικα καὶ χρυσείτικα, εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐξέσεσθαι διὰ τὸ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ πάντα βουνὸν υλην εἶναι νομίσματος ὑπὸ τίνος ἀφθόνου τύχης σεσσώρους μένην. καθόλου δὲ άν εἴπε, φησίν, ὅτι τῶν τόπων, θησαυρῶν εἶναι φύσεως ἀνεάνους ἢ ταμείου ἡγεμονίας ἀνέκλειπτον· οὐ γὰρ πλουσίους ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποχθόνων πόλεως σεσσώρους μένην. καθόλου δὲ άν εἴπε, φησίν, ὅτι τῶν τόπων, θησαυρῶν εἶναι φύσεως ἀνεάνους ἢ ταμείου ἡγεμονίας ἀνέκλειπτον· οὐ γὰρ πλουσίους ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποχθόνων πόλεως σεσσώρους μένην. καθόλου δὲ άν εἴπε, φησίν, ὅτι τῶν τόπων, θησαυρῶν εἶναι φύσεως ἀνεάνους ἢ ταμείου ἡγεμονίας ἀνέκλειπτον.
over-melts the gold and carries it off as vapour. The soil is carried along in the streams, and is washed nearby 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 discredit 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 Tho silver-mines of Laurium.
² The silver-mines of Laurium.
οὕτω συντόνως ὀρύττειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἂν προσδοκώντων αὐτὸν ἀνάξειν τὸν Πλούτωνα· καὶ τούτων ὡς ἂν ὑμελαβόν ταῖς σύνεσιν καὶ τῆς φιλεργίας, σκολιάς τεμώντων καὶ βαθείας τὰς σύρυγγας, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς ἀπαντώντας πολλάκις τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀναντλούσίν 1 κοχλίαις. τὸν δ' ὅλον 2 οὐ ταῦτάν εἶναι τούτοις ποτὲ καὶ τοῖς 'Αττικοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰνίγματι ἔοικέναι τὴν μεταλλείαν· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἀνέλαβον 3 φησίν, οὐκ ἔλαβον, ὅσα δὲ εἶχον, ἀπέβαλον τούτους δ' ὑπεράγαν λυσιτελή, τοῖς μὲν χαλκουργοῖς τέταρτον μέρος ἐξάγουσι τῆς γῆς τὸν χαλκόν, τὸν δ' ἀργυρευόντων τισὶν 4 ἅδιντων ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις Εὐβοϊκῶν τάλαντον ἐξάρουσι. τὸν δὲ καττίτερον οὐκ ἐπισταθεῖν εὑρίσκεθαι φησίν, ὅσα τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θρυλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ ὑπεράγον τισὶν 5 ἄθλον (C. Miiller), which is generally accepted, is right; or τὸν θόλον. (Meineke's conj.).

1 αναντλούσιν, Corais, for αναντλούντα; so the editors.
2 τὸν δ' ὅλον, conj. of Scaliger, for τὸν δόλον. But perhaps, τὸν δ' ἄθλον (C. Müller), which is generally accepted, is right; or τὸν θόλον. (Meineke's conj.).
3 Meineke and others emend ἀνέλαβον to ἔμελλον, the word of Athenaeus (6. 23).
4 τισὶν, 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 talent³ 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 ποταμοὺς· τὴν δὲ σκαλίσι τῶν γυναικῶν διαμώσεις πλύνει εὖ ἡγητήριοι πλεκτοῖς εἰς κλίστην.\footnote{This simple method (now called “jigging”) of separating the mineral from the light refuse is still in use. The sieve is}

οὕτως μὲν περὶ τῶν μεταλλων τοιαύτα ἐφήκε.

10. Πολύβιος δὲ, τῶν περὶ Καρχηδόνα Νέαν ἄργυρείων μνησθέν, “μέγιστα μὲν εἶναι φησί, διέχειν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίων, περιελπηφότα κύκλον πεπρακοσίων σταδίων, ὅπου τέτταρας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων μένειν τῶν ἐργαζομένων, ἀναφέροντας τὸτε τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἐρωμαίων καθ᾿ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν δισμυρίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας χρυσεῖς, τὴν δὲ κατεργασίαν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ ἐώ (μακρὰ γάρ ἐστι), τὴν δὲ συρτήν βόλων τὴν ἄργυριτίν φησί κόπτεσθαι καὶ κοσκίνοις εἰς ὕδωρ διαρτάσθαι,\footnote{Casaubon emends διαρτάσθαι to διατάσθαι; all later editors following.} κάτω στὶς πάλιν τὰς ὑποστάσεις, καὶ πάλιν διηθόμενοι ἀποκαθαίρεσι τῶν ὑδάτων κόπτεσθαι τὴν δὲ πέμπτην ὑπόστασιν ἀποκαθαίρεται, ἀποχυθέντος τοῦ μολύβδου, καθαρὸν τὸν ἄργυρον ἐξάγειν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰ ἀργυρεῖα, ὦ μέντοι δημόσια, οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς μετέστασιν κτήσεις· τὰ δὲ χρυσεῖα δημοσιεύεται τὰ πλεῖω. ἐν δὲ καὶ Κασταλῶν καὶ ἄλλοις τόποις ὕδατι ἐστὶ μετάλλων ῥυκτοῦ μολύβδου παραμέμβαι τῷ καὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἄργυρον μικρόν, οὔχ ὡστε λυσιτελεῖν ἀποκαθαίρειν αὐτῶν.

1 eis klístēn, Kramer, for ἐπιπίστην (AC), ἐπὶ klístηn (B); so the editors in general.

2 Casaubon emends διαρτάσθαι to διατάσθαι; all later editors following.
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; 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.
11. Οὐ πολὺ δ’ ἄπωθεν τοῦ Κασταλῶνός ἐστι καὶ τὸ ὅρος, ἐξ οὗ ῥεῖν φασι τὸν Βαῖτιν, ὁ καλοῦσιν Ἀργυροῦν διὰ τὰ ἄργυρεῖα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ.
Πολύβιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀναν καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ τῆς Κελτιβηρίας ῥεῖν φησι, διέχοντας ἀλλάξων ὅσον ἐννακοσίους σταδίους, αὐξηθέντες γὰρ οἱ Κελτιβηρεῖς ἐποίησαν καὶ τὴν πλησιόχωρον πᾶσαν ὀμώνυμον ἑαυτοῖς. ἔοικασι δ’ οἱ παλαιοὶ καλεῖν τὸν Βαῖτιν Ταρτησσόν, τὰ δὲ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰς πρὸς αὐτὴν υῆσους Ἐρύθειαν διάτερο ὅτι εἰπεῖν ὑπολαμβάνουσι Στησίχορον περὶ τοῦ Ἰηροῦνος βουκόλου, διότι γεννηθεὶς ἡσσοῦν ἄντιπέρας κλεινᾶς Ἐρύθειας Ταρτησσόν ποταμὸς παρὰ παγὰς ἀπείρονας ἀργυροῖς, ἐν κενθμῶν πέτρας.  
δυεῖν δὲ οὐσῶν ἔκβολῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πόλιν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χώρῳ κατοικεῖσθαι πρὸτεροῦ φασιν, ἂν καλεῖσθαι Ταρτησσόν, ὀμώνυμον τῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ τὴν χώραν Ταρτησσίδα, ἡν υῆσον Τουρδούλοι νέμονται. καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τῇ συνεχῇ τῇ Κάλπῃ Ταρτησσίδα καλεῖσθαι φησιν, καὶ Ἐρύθειαν υῆσον εὐδαίμονα. πρὸς ὅν Ἄρτεμιδωρὸς ἀντιλέγεται καὶ ταῦτα περί τὸν Τάρτησον ἠμέρων πέντε πλούν, οὐ πλειόνων ὄντων ἡ χιλίων καὶ ἐπτακοσίων σταδίων, καὶ τὸ τὰς ἀμπώτεις μέχρι δεῦρο περατοῦσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ κύκλῳ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην οἰκοβαίνειν, καὶ τὸ 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 Baetis 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 Baetis 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 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 εὐπαροδότερα εἶναι πρὸς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἢ κατὰ τὸν ὥκεανν πλέουσιν, καὶ ὅσα δὴ ἄλλα εὑρίσκει Πυθέα πιστεύσας, δὲ ἄλαζονείαν.

12. 'Ὁ δὲ ποιητής, πολύφωνος τις ὁν καὶ πολυβιστωρ, δίδωσιν ἀφορμὰς ὡς οὐδὲ τούτων ἀνήκος ἡστι τῶν τόπων, εἰ τις ὁρθῶς συνλογίζεσθαι βουλοιτο ἀπ’ ἄμφοιν, τῶν τε χείρον λεγομένων περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν ἁμεινον καὶ ἀληθέστερον. χείρον μὲν, ὥσ τρὶς δύσιν ἐσχατή ἤκουεν αὕτη, ὅπως καθάπερ αὐτός ἐκεῖνος, εἰς τὸν ὥκεανν εμπιπτεῖ

λαμπρῶν φάος ἢλλοιο,
ἐλκὼν νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ξειδωρον ἀρουραν.

(Πλ. 8. 485)

ἡ δὲ νύξ ὅτι δύσφημον καὶ τῷ "Αδὴ πλησιαζον δήλον, ὁ δὲ "Αδὴς τῷ Ταρτάρῳ. εἰκάζοι οὖν ἂν τις ἀκοούοιτα2 περὶ Ταρτησσοῦ τὸν Τάρταρον ἔκειθεν παρονομάσαι τὸν ἐσχατὸν τῶν ὑποχθονίων τόπων, προσθειναι δὲ καὶ μύθοιν, τὸ ποιητικόν σώζοντα. καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς Κιμμερίους εἶδώς ἐν βορείωι καὶ ζοφερωὶς3 ὁλίστανται τότοις τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Βόσπορον ἄριστον αὐτοὺς πρὸς τῷ "Αδῃ, τάχα καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῖς 'Ἰώνων ἔχθος πρὸς τὸ φύλον τούτοι καὶ γὰρ καθ᾽ "Ομηρον ὡς μεκρῶν πρὸς αὐτόν λέγουσιν τὴν τῶν Κιμμερίων

1 οὖν, Groskurd inserts, after eikázoii.
2 ἀκοούοιτα, Kramer, for ἀκοούων τά; Müller-Dünnner, and Meincke, following.
3 ζοφερωίς, Corais, for ζεφύρωις; so the editors.

1 Cp. 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 scientifically 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 statement that Tarlessus was known by hearsay as "farthermost in the west," where, as the poet himself 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 associated with Hades, is obvious; also that Hades is associated with Tartarus. Accordingly, one might reasonably suppose that Homer, because he heard about Tarlessus, named the farthermost of the nether-regions Tartarus after Tartessis, with a slight alteration 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.
ἔφοδον γενέσθαι τὴν μέχρι τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας. ταῖς δὲ Κυανέαις ἐποίησε παραπλησίως τὰς Πλαγκτάς, ἀεὶ τοὺς μύθους ἀπὸ τινῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐνάγων. χαλεπάς γάρ τινας μυθεύσει πέτρας, καθάπερ τὰς Κυανέας φασίν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Συμπληγάδες καλοῦνται, διόπερ καὶ τὸν 'Ιάσουν παρέθηκε δι’ αὐτῶν πλοῦν. καὶ Ὁ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας δὲ πορθμὸς καὶ Ὁ κατὰ Σικελίαν ὑπηγόρευσεν αὐτῷ τὸν περὶ τῶν Πλαγκτῶν μύθον. πρὸς μὲν δὴ τὸ χεῖρον ἀπό τῆς τοῦ Ταρτάρου μυθοποιίας αἰνιττοῦτοι τις ἂν τὴν τῶν τόπων μνήμην τῶν περὶ Ταρτησσῶν. 13. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ βέλτιον ἐκ τούτων ἢ τε γὰρ Ἡρακλέους στρατεῖα μέχρι δεύτερο προελθοῦσα καὶ τῶν Φοινίκων ὑπέγραφεν αὐτῷ πλοῦτον τινα καὶ ῥαθυμίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. οὗτοι γὰρ Φοίνιξιν οὔτως ἐγένοντο σφόδρα ὑποχείριοι, ἃ ὡστε τὰς πλείους τῶν ἐν τῇ Τουροβενίᾳ πόλεως καὶ τῶν πλησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Τουροβενίᾳ πόλεως καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίας ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς Ταρτησσοῦ. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλιαν καὶ Σικελίαν σημεῖα ὑπογράφουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ὅπου ὁδύσσαι καὶ ἆθηνας 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
ἄλλα μυρία ἤχυν τής τε ἐκείνου πλάνης, καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Τροικοῦ πολέμου γενομένων καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἴσης κακωσάντων τούς τε πολεμηθέντας καὶ τοὺς ἐλόντας τήν Τροίαν (καὶ γὰρ οὕτωι Καδμείαν νίκην ἔτυγχανοι ἡρμένοι), τῶν τε οἴκων κατεφθαρμένων, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων ὄλων ἐσι ἐκαστοῦ ἐληλυθότων, συνέβη τοῖς περιλειφθείσιν ἀπελθοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων κατὰ λῃστείας τρέπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, τοῖς μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐκπεπορθῆσθαι, τοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην, ἐκάστου προλαβόντος

άισχρόν τοι δηρόν τε μένειν ἄνευ τῶν οἰκείων,

κενεόν τε νέεσθαι (II. 2. 298)

παρ' αὐτοῖς πάλιν. ἢ τε τοῦ Αἰνείου παραδεδοταὶ πλάνη καὶ Ἀντίφορος καὶ ἢ τῶν Ἑβτῶν ὑσαῦντως καὶ Ἡ Λιμήδος τε καὶ Μενελάου καὶ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ ἄλλων πλειόνων. ὁ τοίνυν ποιητής τὰς τοσοῦτας στρατείας ἐπὶ τὰ ἐσχάτα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἱστορικῶς, πυνθανόμενος, δὲ καὶ πλούτον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς (οἱ γὰρ Φοίνικες ἐδήλουν τοῦτο), ἐντεῦθε καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐπιλασε ἠχώρου καὶ τὸ Ἡλύσιον πεδίον, οὗ φησιν ὁ Πρωτεὺς ἀποικήσειν τὸν Μενέλαον'

ἀλλὰ σ᾽ ἐτ Ἡλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης ἀθάνατοι περιψοῦσιν, ὅτι ξανθός Ἡρακλείσθως, τῇ περ ῥήστη βιοτῇ πελεὶ ἀνθρώποισιν. οὐ μιθέτες οὕτ᾽ ἃρ χείμων πολύς οὔδέ ποτ' ὁμβρος,
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 Rhadamanthys of the fair hair, where life is easiest. No snow is there, nor yet great storm, nor ever any

2 Alluding to the myth of Cadmus and the dragon's teeth.
3 ἀπελθοῦσιν, Kramer, for ἀπειϑοῦσιν (ACl), ἀπιοῦσιν (B); so the editors.
ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λεγὺ πνείοντος ἀήτας ὁκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους.

((od. 4. 563)

τὸ τε γὰρ εὔαερον καὶ τὸ εὔπνουν τοῦ Ζεφύρου ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας οἰκεῖον, ἐσπερίου τε καὶ ἀλευνηῆς σύσης, τὸ τε ἐπὶ τοῖς πέρασι τῆς γῆς, ἐφ’ οἷς καὶ τὸν Ἀδήν μεμυθεῦσθαι φαμεν. ὡ τα ᾳ Ῥαδάμανθυς παρατεθεὶς ὑπογράφει τὸν πλησίον τῷ Μίνῳ ᥸τῷ, περὶ οὗ φησίν.

ἔνθ’ ἦτοι Μίνωα ἵδοι Διὸς ἀγγλαδο νῖν, χρύσεοι σκῆπτρον ἐχοντα, θεμιστεύοντα νέ-κυσσι.

(οd. 11. 568)

καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταύτα δὲ ποιηταῖ παραπλησία θρυ-λοῦσι, τήν τε ἐπὶ τὰς Γηρυόνου βόας στρατεῖαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ μῆλα τῶν Ἑσπερίδων τὰ χρύσεα ὡσαύτως στρατεῖαν, καὶ Μακάρων τις νήσους κατονομάζοντες, ὡς καὶ νῦν δεικνυμένας ἵσμεν οὐ πολυ ἀπωθεῖν τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Μαυρουσίας τῶν ἀντικειμένων τοῖς Γαδειροῖς.

14. Τοὺς δὲ Φοίνικας λέγοι μμυτάς· καὶ τῆς Ὁβερίας καὶ τῆς Διβύς τῆς ἀριστήν όντοι κατ-έσχον πρὸ τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς Ὑμήρου καὶ διετέλεσαν κυρίου τῶν τόπων ὄντες, μέχρις οὗ Ἐκμαιλιον κατέλυσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. τοῦ δ’ Ἱβηρικοῦ πλούτου καὶ ταύτα μαρτύρια. Καρχηδόνιοι μετὰ τοῦ Βάρκα στρατεύσαντες κατέλαβον, ὡς φασίν οἱ συγγραφεῖς, φάτναις ἄργυρας καὶ πίθους χρω-μένους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τουρδητανίᾳ. ὑπολάβοι δ’ ἀν τις ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ Μακραῖωνας
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

¹ “Long-livers.”
ὁνομασθῆναι τοὺς ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώπους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἥγεμόνας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀνακρέοντα μὲν οὔτως εἶπεν·

"Ἐγώ οὔτ’ ἂν Ἄμαλθης
βουλοίμην κέρας οὔτ’ ἔτεα
πεντήκοντα τε καὶ ἑκατὸν
Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλεύσαι·

(Forum 8, Burgk)

Ἡρόδοτον δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως καταγράψαι, καλέσαντα Ἀργαυθώνιον· ἢ γὰρ οὖτω δέξαιτ᾽ ἂν τὶς ή ἴσον τούτῳ τοῦ Ἀνακρέοντος, ἢ κοινότερον οὔτε Ταρτησσοῦ πολὺν χρόνον βασιλεύσαι. ἐνιοὶ δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ τὴν ίδιν Καρτηνίαν προσαγορεύουσι."  

15. Τῇ δὲ τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονία καὶ τὸ ήμερον καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν συνηκολούθησε τοῖς Τυρφιππονοῖς καὶ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν, ὡς εἴρηκε Πολύβιος, ἢ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνοις μὲν ἴττον τὰ πολλὰ γὰρ κωμηδὸν ζῶσιν. οἱ μέντοι Τυρφιπποι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βαίτιν, τελέως εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαίων μεταβέβληται τρόπον, οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς σφετέρας ἐτι μεμημένοι. Λατίνοι τε οἱ πλεῖστοι γεγόνασι, καὶ ἐποίκους εἰλήφασι Ῥωμαίους, ὡστε μικρὸν ἀπέ-

1 τό, Siebenkees and Corais insert, from the conj. of Tyrwhitt.

2 Meincke (followed by Forbiger and Tardieu) regards ἢ γὰρ . . . προσαγορεύουσι as a marginal gloss and unwarrantedly omits it from the text.

3 ή, Jones inserts.

1 The sacred she-goat which suckled Zeus in his infancy. For gratitude Zeus placed her among the constellations.
and particularly the chieftains; and that this is why Anacreon said as follows: "I, for my part, should neither wish the horn of Amaltheia,\footnote{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.\footnote{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.\footnote{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 Turdetanians, 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 Turdetanians, however, and particularly those that live about the Baetis, 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,\footnote{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.

\footnote{1} "Silver Locks" is a fair equivalent of the Greek word. Herodotus says he reigned eighty years and lived one hundred and twenty (1. 163).

\footnote{2} Strabo's thought reverts to § 11 above. Cp. Pliny (\textit{Nat. Hist.} 3. 3), who speaks of "Carteia, called by the Greeks Tartessus."

\footnote{3} 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.
χουσι τοῦ πάντες εἶναι 'Ρωμαῖοι. αἱ τε νῦν συνυφικισμέναι πόλεις, ή τε ἐν τοῖς Κελτικοῖς Παξ-ανγούστα καὶ ή ἐν τοῖς Τουρενδούλοις Αὐγούστα Ἦμερίτα καὶ ή περὶ τούς Κελτίβηρας Καισαρανγούστα καὶ ἄλλαι ἐνναί κατοικίαι τὴν μεταβολὴν τῶν λεχθεισῶν πολιτειῶν ἐμφανίζουσι. καὶ δὴ τῶν Ἰβήρων ὧσι θυπήτις εἰσὶ τῆς ἱδέας τογάτοι· λέγονται· ἐν δὲ τούτοις εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες οἱ πάντων νομισθέντες ποτὲ θηρωδέστατοι. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων.

III

1. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ πάλαν ἀκρωτηρίου τὴν ἄρ-χην λαμβάνουσιν ἐπὶ θάτερον μέρος τῆς παραλίας, τὸ πρὸς τὸν Ῥᾶγον, κόλπος ἐστὶν· ἐπειτα ἀκρὰ τὸ Βαρβάριου καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ῥᾶγον ἑκβολαὶ πλησίον, ἐφ' ὅς εὐθυπλοίᾳ. 2 στάδιοι εἰσὶ δέκα· 3 ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἀναχύσεις, ὡν μία ἐπὶ πλείους ἢ τετρακοσίους.

1 τογάτοι, Kramer, for στολάτοι; Müller-Düchner, Forbiger, Tardieu; 55, 55, ταῦτα, the present being Meinke's); mgog exe. . . . 84, 20; and Dio Cassius, 46. 55, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐκεῖνη (i.e. Gallia Narbonensis) μὲν τογάτα, διε μέρος τῆς ἀστικῆς τῆς ἱδέας τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῆ τῇ ἰδέας ἕχοντο ἐκεῖνον ὁ Ρούμαλ. 2 εὐθυπλοίᾳ, Corais, for εὐθύπλοιαι; editors following.

2 For δέκα Corais (followed by Groskurd, and Forbiger) writes διακόσιοι (σ') or διακόσιοι δέκα (σ''), omitting the σ' (MSS.) before εἰσὶ. C. Müller (followed by Tardieu), conjectures α (χίλιοι) for σ' and writes as follows: στάδιοι χίλιοι· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα κ.τ.λ. But the problem is by Strabo's later reference to a "tower," that several words have fallen out of the text—probably after εὐθυπλοίᾳ.

60
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 "..." 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... See critical note on opposite page.
σταδίους ἀπὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος πύργου, καθ' ἥν ὑδρεύονται ἐπὶ Σαλάκειαν. 

ὁ δὲ Γάγος καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἔχει τοῦ στόματος εἴκοσί που σταδίων καὶ τὸ βάθος μέγα, ὥστε μυριαγωγοῖς ἀναπλείσθαι. δύο δ' ἀναχύσεις ἐν τοῖς ὑπερκειμένοις ποιεῖται πεδίοις, ὅταν αἱ πλῆμαὶ γίνονται, ὥστε πελαγίζειν μὲν ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων καὶ ποιεῖτο πλοῖα τὸ πεδίον, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑπτάνω ἀναχύσει καὶ νῆσον ἀπολαμβάνειν ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίων τὸ μήκος, πλάτος δὲ μικρόν ἀπολείπον τοῦ μήκους, εὐαλσές2 καὶ εὐάμπελον. κεῖται δ' ἡ νῆσος κατὰ Μόρωνα πόλιν εὖ3 κειμένην ἐν ὅρει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλησίον, ἀφεστῶσαν τῆς θαλάττης ὅσον πεντακοσίους σταδίους, ἔχουσαν δὲ καὶ χώραν ὧγαθὴν τὴν πέριξ καὶ τοὺς ἀνάπλους εὑπετεῖς μέχρι μὲν πολλοῦ καὶ μεγάλοις σκάφεσι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῖς ποταμίοις: καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Μόρωνα δ' ἔτι μακρότερος ἀνάπλους ἐστὶ· ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ πόλει Βροῦτος ὁ Καλλαϊκὸς προσαγορευθεὶς ὁρμητηρίῳ χρώμενος ἐπολέμησε πρὸς τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς καὶ κατέστρεψε τούτους. τοῖς δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κλείθροις4 ἐπετείχε5 τὴν ὸλυσιπώνα,

1 ἐπὶ Σαλάκειαν, C. Müller, for εἶτον λακεία; so Tardieu.
2 εὐαλσές, conj. of Casaubon, for εὐαλτές; so most editors.
3 κατὰ Μόρωνα πόλιν εὖ, Corais, from the conj. of Casaubon, for κατὰ λόγον ἀπολιπεῖν; so Forbiger, Müller-Düllner, Tardieu, and Meineke.
4 κλείθροις, conj. of Meineke, for πλίθροις.
5 ἐπετείχε, Casaubon, for ἐπεχείρησε; so Kramer, Müller-Düllner, and Meineke.
 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 of the river, he fortified Olysipo, in order that the

\(^1\) Strabo seems previously to have referred to a tower (on Barbarium?); 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. Ptolemacus 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.
ἲ᾽ ἔχοι τοὺς ἀνάπλους ἐλευθέρους καὶ τὰς ἀνακομιδὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡστε καὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν Τάγων πόλεων αὐτοὶ κράτισται. πολυϊχθυς δ᾽ ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ ὀστρέων πλήρης. δει δ᾽ ἔχων τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκ Κελτιβήρων διὰ Οὐεττῶν καὶ Καρπητανῶν καὶ Λυσιτανῶν ἐπὶ δύσων ἱσημερινῆς, μέχρι ποσοῦ παράλληλος ὅν τῷ τῇ Ἀνα καὶ τῷ Βαῖτῳ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀφιστάμενος ἐκεῖνων, ἀποκλινόντων πρὸς τὴν νότιον παραλίαν.

2. Οἱ δὲ ὑπερκείμενοι τῶν λεχθέντων ὀρῶν Ὀρητανοὶ μέν εἰσι νοτιώτατοι καὶ μέχρι τῆς παραλίας διήκοντες ἐκ μέρους τῆς ἐντὸς Στηλῶν. Καρπητανοὶ δὲ μετὰ τούτους πρὸς ἀρκτοὺς, εἰτα Οὐεττωνες καὶ Οὐακκαίοι, δι᾽ ὅ ὁ Δοῦριος ἔδρει, κατ᾽ Ἀκούτειαν ἐν τῶν Οὐακκαίων ἔχων διάβασιν. Καλλαίκοι δὲ ὑπετατοὶ, τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐπέχοντες πολλήν, διὸ καὶ δυσμαχώτατοι τῷ τε καταπολεμήσαντι τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς αὐτοὶ παρέσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, καὶ νῦν ἢ ἤδη τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Λυσιτανῶν Καλλαϊκοὺς καλείσθαι παρεσκεύασαν. τῆς μὲν οὖν Ὀρητανίας κρατιστεύουσά ἐστι πόλις Κασταλῶν, καὶ Ὄρια.

3. Τοῦ δὲ Τάγων τὰ πρὸς ἀρκτοὺς ἔστι μέγιστον τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἔθνων καὶ πλείστοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πολεμηθέν. περιέχει δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τῷ μὲν νότιον πλευρῶν ο Τάγων,

1 Ὀλυσπώνα, Kramer, for ὅλοσιν, retaining the ὃς ἐν (after ὅλοσιν in the MSS.); but Meineke reads as above.
2 Ἀκούτειαν, conj. of Kramer, for Ἀκόντιαν; so Meineke, and Tardieu.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 3. 1-3

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 Vaccaeans, through whose territory the Durius River flows, which affords a crossing at Acutia, a city of the Vaccaeans; 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 Senora de Oreto, near Granatula.
τὸ δ’ ἐσπέριον καὶ τὸ ἀρκτικὸν ο άκεανός, τὸ δ’ ἐσθιόνι ο’ τε Καρπητανοὶ καὶ ο’ Οὐέττονες καὶ Οὐακκαίοι καὶ Καλλαϊκοί, τὰ γνώριμα ἑθνή τάλλα δε ούκ άξιον ὀνομάζειν διὰ τὴν μικρότητα καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν ὑπεναντίως δε τοῖς νυν ἐνιοῖ καὶ τούτους Δυσιτανοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν. ο’ μοροὶ δ’ εἰσίν εκ τοῦ προς ἔως μέρους ο’ μὲν Καλλαϊκοὶ τῷ τῶν Ἰστούρων ἐθνεὶ καὶ τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι, ο’ δ’ ἀλλοι τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι. τὸ μὲν οὖν μῆκος μέχρι Νερίου τρισχίλιων σταδίων, τὸ δ’ πλάτος πολὺ ἐλαττοῦν, δ’ ο’ ποιεῖ τὸ ἐσθιόνι πλευρὸν εἰς τὴν ἀντικειμένην παραλίαν. ύψηλὰν δ’ εἰσίν τὰ ἄωθινα καὶ τραχύ, ἡ δ’ ὑπεναντίως χώρα πεδίας πάσα καὶ μέχρι θαλάττης πλήν ὄλγων ὄρων ο’ μεγάλων. ή δὴ καὶ τῶν Ἱστούρων ο’ Îστιν ο’ Ποσείδώνιος ούκ ὀρθῶς αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν παραλίαν καὶ τὴν Μαυρουσίαν τῶν πλημμυρίδων καὶ τῶν ἀμπτεωτῶν παλίρροεσίν γάρ φάναι τὴν θάλατταν διὰ τὸ τᾶς ἄκρας ύψηλάς καὶ τραχείας εἶναι, δεχομένας τε τὸ κῦμα σκληρῶς καὶ ἀνταποδιδούσας τῇ ἔσῃ βίᾳ τὸν Ἱστούρων πιλείους καὶ ψῆγμα τοῦ χρυσοῦ πλῆσιν. γνωριμώτατοι δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν επεξεχισὰ τῷ Ἱστούρων Μοῦνδας, ανάπλουσ

1 Κελτίβηρσι, Groskurth, for Îβηρσι; so the other editors.
2 μἐχρι Νερίου, C. Müller, for μυρίων καί; so Tardieu.
3 τῇ Ἴσῃ βίᾳ, T. G. Tucker, for τῇ Îβηρσι.
western and northern, the ocean; and on the eastern, the countries of the Carpetanians, Vettonians, Vacteaeans, and Callaicans, 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 Callaicans, with the tribe of the Asturians and with the Celtiberians, but the others with only the Celtiberians. Now the length of Lusitania to Cape Nerium 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

1 Of Iberia.
ἐχων μικρούς, καὶ Ουακούα ὤςαύτως· μετὰ δὲ τούτου Δούριος μακρόθεν τε ῥέων παρὰ Νομαντίαν καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας τῶν Κελτιβήρων καὶ Ουακκαίων κατοικίας, μεγάλοις τ' ἀναπλεόμενοι σκάφεσιν ἐπὶ ὀκτακοσίους σχεδόν τι σταδίους. εἶτ' ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ μετὰ τούτους ὁ τῆς Δήηθης, ὁν τινὲς Λιμαίαν, οἱ δὲ Βελιώνα καλοῦσιν καὶ οὗτος δ' ἐκ Κελτιβήρων καὶ Ουακκαίων ἄνω, καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν Βαῦνα (οἱ δ' Μίνιον φασί) πολὺ μέγιστος τῶν ἐν Λυσιτανία ποταμῶν, ἐπὶ ὀκτακοσίους καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναπλεόμενος σταδίους. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ἐκ Καντάβρων καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ φησιν πρόκειται δὲ τῆς ἐκβολῆς αὐτοῦ νῆσος καὶ χῆλαι δύο ὁρμοὺς ἔχουσιν. ἐπαινεῖν δ' ἀξίων τὴν φύσιν, ὅτι τὰς ὄχθας ὑψηλὰς ἔχουσιν οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἱκανὰς δέχεσθαι τοῖς ῥείθροις τὴν θάλατταν πλημμυροῦσαν, ὥστε μὴ ὑπερχεῖσθαι, μηδὲ ἐπιπολάξειν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις. τῆς μὲν οὖν Βρούτου στρατείας ὁρὸς οὗτος, περαιτέρω δ' εἰσὶν ἄλλοι πλεῖοι ποταμοὶ παράλληλοι τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν.

5. "Τοστατοὶ δ' οἰκοῦσιν Ἀρταβροὶ περὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἣ καλεῖται Νέριον, ἣ καὶ τῆς ἑσπερίου πλευρᾶς καὶ τῆς βορείου πέρας. Περιοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Κελτικοῦ, συγγενεῖς τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀνᾶ καὶ γαρ τούτους καὶ Τουρδούλους στρατεύσαντας ἐκεῖσε στασιάσατε φασὶ μετὰ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Λιμαία ποταμοῦ πρὸς δὲ τῇ στάσει καὶ ἀποβολῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος γενομένης, καταμεῖναι σκέδασθέντας

1 "Forgetfulness."
2 "Belion" is probably an Iberian corruption, or cognate, of the Latin "Oblivio."
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 3. 4-5

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 Limaeas, 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
αὐτῶθι ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Λήθης ἀγορεύσαναι. ἔχουσι δὲ οἱ "Αρτάβρων πόλεις συχνὰς ἐν κόλπῳ συνοικουμένας, ὅψιν οἱ πλεύσης καὶ χρώμενοι τοῖς τόποις Αρτάβρων διαιγορεύσαναι. οἱ δὲ νῦν τοὺς "Αρτάβρους "Αρτάβρως καλοῦσιν. ἔθνη μὲν οὖν περὶ τριάκοντα τὴν χώραν νέμεται τὴν μεταξὺ Τάγου καὶ τῶν "Αρτάβρων, εὐδαιμονίας δὲ τῆς χώρας ὑποχούσης κατὰ τα καρποὺς καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων πλῆθος, ὅμως οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀφέντες βίον, ἐν ληστηρίοις διετέλουν καὶ συνεχεῖς πολέμους πρὸς τὰς ἀλλήλους καὶ τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς διαβαίνοντες τὸν Τάγον, ἐκεῖ ἐπαυσάμενοι αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοι, ταπεινώσαντες καὶ κόμας ποιήσαντες τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν τὰς πλεῖστας, ἐνίας δὲ καὶ συνοικίζοντες βέλτιοι. ἦρχον δὲ τῆς ἀνομίας ταύτης οἱ ὀρεινοί, καθάπερ εἰκόνα λυπούμενοι καὶ μικρὰ κεκτημένοι τὰς ἐμφύτευσις ὑπὸ λῃστῶν. ὁ δὲ ἀμυνόμενοι πολὺ τῶν ἀκυρωθέν τῶν ἑαυτὸς καθίστατο ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὅστ' ἀντὶ τοῦ γεωργεῖν ἐπολέμουν καὶ οὕτω, καὶ συνεβαίνει τὴν χώραν ἀμελουμένης στείραν, οὕτων δὲ ἀμφότεροι ἐμφύτευκαί ὑπὸ λῃστῶν.

6. Τοὺς δ' οὖν Λυσιτανοὺς φασὶν ἐνεδρευτικοὺς, ἐξερευνήτικούς, ἐξερευνήτικούς, ἐρευνητικούς, δύσεις, κούφους, διήθεις, ἐνεπελευκτοὺς, ἀσπιδίσιον δ' αὐτοὺς δῆπον ἔχειν τὴν δυνάμερον, κούφου

1 Cl, and B (after a correction), read πεντήκοντα; 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 Arotrebiants. 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, τελαμὼν εἰς ἐξηρτήμενον (οὔτε γὰρ
πόρπακας οὔτ᾽ ἀντιλαβάς ἐχει). παραξιφις πρὸς
tοὺς ἧ κοτῖς λυνθώρακες οἱ πλεῖοι· στάντιοι
de ἀλυσιδωτοῖς χρῶνται καὶ τριλοφίαις, οἱ δ᾽ ἄλ-
λοι νευρίνοις κράνεσιν· οἱ πεξοὶ δὲ καὶ κυνμίδας
ἔχουσιν, ἀκόντια δ᾽ ἐκαστος πλεῖω τινὲς δὲ καὶ
dόρατα χρῶνται. ἐπιδορατίδες δὲ χάλκεα. ἐνίους
de τῶν προσοικούντων τῷ Δουρίῳ ποταμῷ Λα-
kωνικῶς διάγειν φασίν, ἀλευτηρίους χρωμένους
dи καὶ πυρίας ἐκ λίθων διαπύρων, ψυχρολου-
τρούντας καὶ μυοντροφούντας καθαρίως καὶ λιτῶς.
θυτικοὶ δ᾽ εἰσὶ Δυστανοί, τὰ τε σπλάγχνα ἐπι-
βλέπουσιν, οὐκ ἐκτέμνοντες προσεπιβλέπουσι δὲ
καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ φλέβας, καὶ ψυχαφόντες δὲ
tεκμαιροῦνται. σπλαγχνεύουσι δὲ καὶ δὶ ἀνθ-
ρώτων αἰχμαλώτων, καλύπτοντες σάγοις· εἰθ᾽
ὅταν πληγῇ ὑπὸ τα σπλάγχνα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερο-
σκόπου, μαντεύονται πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος.
tων δ᾽ ἁλόντων τὰς χεῖρας ἀποκόπτοντες τὰς
dεξιὰς ἀνατιθέοντι.

7."Ἀπαντες δ᾽ οἱ ὄρειοι λιτοί, ὑδροπόται,
χαμαιεύναι, βαθεῖαν κατακεχυμένοι τὴν κόμην
γυναικῶν δίκην· μιτρωσάμενοι δὲ τὰ μέτωπα
μάχονται. τραγοφαγοῦσι δὲ μάλιστα, καὶ τῷ
"Αρεί τράγον θύουσι καὶ τούς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ

1 Not “eating only one kind of food” (Stephanus’
Theaurus, Liddell and Scott, and elsewhere). Athenaeus
(2. 21) quotes Phylarchus as saying that “the Iberians
always eat only one meal a day.” Cp. also Xen. Cyropedia
8. 8. 9. See the translator’s note in Classical Quarterly,
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;¹ and that in a cleanly² 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

¹ Cp. Diodorus Siculus, 5. 33, where the cleanly habits of the Celtiberians are similarly spoken of.

² Cp. Diodorus Siculus, 5. 33, where the cleanly habits of the Celtiberians are similarly spoken of.
᾿ἵππους" ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἑκατόμβας ἑκάστου γένους ᾿Ελληνικῶς, ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρός φησὶ πάντα θύειν ἑκάτων.

tελοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄγωνας γυμνικοὺς καὶ ὀπλιτικοὺς καὶ ἱππικοὺς, πυγμῇ καὶ δρόμῳ καὶ διακροβολισμῷ καὶ τῇ σπειρηδὸν μάχῃ. οἱ δ᾿ ὥρειοι τὰ δύο μέρη τοῦ ἔτους δρυοβαλάνῳ χρῶνται, ξηράναντες καὶ κόψαντες, εἶτα ἀλέσαντες καὶ ἀρτοποιησάμενοι, ὡστε ἀποτίθεσθαι εἰς χρόνων. χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ξύθει: οἴνου 1 δὲ σπαίξονται τὸν δὲ γενόμενον ταχύ ἀναλίσκουσι κατευωχούμενο ἑκατόμβας, καθήμενοι τε δειπνοῦσι, περὶ τοὺς τοίχους καθέδρας οἰκοδομητὰς ἔχοντες, προκάθηνται δὲ καθ᾿ ἡλικίαν καὶ τιμήν. περιφορητὸν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ παρὰ πότον ὀρχοῦσι, πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ σάλπιγγας χορεύοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναληλομένοι καὶ ὀκλάξοντες ἐν Βαστητανίᾳ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀναμιζόμεναι "τῶν χειρῶν. μελανείμονες ἀπαντεῖς, τὸ πλέον ἐν σαρκί, ἐν οἶνοπερ καὶ στιβαδοκοιτοῦσι. κηρίνοις δὲ ἀγγελίας χρῶνται, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Κέλται. αἱ γυναῖκες δὲ ἐν εὐδύσαι καὶ ἀνθιναῖς ἐσθήσεσι διάγωσιν. χρώνοις δὲ νομίσματος οἱ γε 3 λίαι ἐν βάθει φόρτιων ἀμοιβῇ χρῶνται, ἡ τοῦ ἀργυροῦ ἐλάσματος ἀποτέμνουσι. τοὺς δὲ θανωτουμένους καταπετροῦσι,
the prisoners and horses; and they also offer heca-
tombs 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 built 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
τοὺς δὲ πατραλοίας ἔξω τῶν ὀρῶν ἢ τῶν ποταμῶν καταλεύουσι. γαμοῦσι δ᾽ ὡσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες. τοὺς δὲ ἄρρωστους, ὡσπερ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐς τὰς ὄδους τοὺς πεπειραμένοις τοῦ πάθους ὑποθήκης χάριν. διφθερίνοι τε πλοῖοι ἔχρωντο ἐως ἐπὶ Βρούτου διὰ τὰς πλημμυρίδας καὶ τὰ τενάγη, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ μονόξυλα ἡδη σπάνια. ἀλες πορφυροὶ, τριφθέντες δὲ λευκοὶ. ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν ὀρείων ὁ βίος ὁτός, ὡσπερ ἐφη, λέγω τοὺς την βόρειον πλευρὰν πλευρὰν ἀφορίζοντας τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Καλλαϊκοὺς καὶ Ἀστουρας καὶ Καντάβρους μέχρι Οὐασκώνων καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης: ὁμοειδεῖς γὰρ ἁπάντων οἱ βίοι. ὁκνῶ δὲ τοὺς ὁμόμασιν πλεονάξειν, φεύγων τὸ ἀηδὲς τῆς γραφῆς, εἰ μὴ τινι.πρὶς ήδους ἐστὶν ἀκούειν Πλευταύρους καὶ Βαρθυντας καὶ Ἀλλότριγας καὶ ἀλλα χείρω καὶ ἀσημότερα τοῦτων ὁνόματα.

8. Τὸ δὲ δυσήμερον καὶ ἀγριῶδες οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν συμβέβηκε μόνο, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμὸν καὶ γὰρ δο πλούς ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς μακρός καὶ αἰ ὅτι, δυσεπίμικτοι δ᾽ ὄντες ἀποβεβλήκασι τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον. ἦττον δὲ νῦν τοῦτο πάσχουσι διὰ τὴν εἱρήνην καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδημίαν: ὅσοις δ᾽ ἦττον τοῦτο συμ-

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1 Kramer conjectures Ἀσσύριοι for Αἰγύπτιοι, citing Herodotus 1. 197 and Strabo 16. 1. 20. So read Forbiger, Müller-Dünnert, 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 \(^1\) 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 \(^2\) 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.
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βαίνει, χαλεπώτεροι εἰσὶ καὶ θηριωδέστεροι.
τοιαύτης δ’ οὕσης καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων λυπρότητος ἐνίοις, καὶ τῶν ὄρεων 1 εἰκὸς ἐπιτείνεσθαι τὴν
tοιαύτην ἀτοπίαν. ἀλλὰ νῦν, ὡς εἰποῦν, πέπαυται
πολεμοῦντα πάντα: τοὺς τε γὰρ συνέχοντας ἑτὶ
νῦν μάλιστα τὰ ληστήρια Καντάβρους καὶ τοὺς
γειτονεύοντας αὐτοῖς κατέλυσεν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καί-
sαρ, καὶ τότε τοῦ πορθεῖν τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων
συμμάχους στρατεύουσι νῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
οὐ τε Κωνιακὸν καὶ οἶ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τῶν
'Ἰβηρίων οἰκούντες Πληντούσιοι. δ’ ἐκεῖνον
diadeξάμενος Τιβέριος, τριῶν ταξιμάτων στρατιω-
tικὸν ἐπιστήσας τοὺς τόπους, τὸ ἄποδειχθὲν ὑπὸ
tοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐ μόνον εἰρηνικοὺς,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικοὺς ἣδη τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀπεργα-
sάμενος τυγχάνει.

IV

1. Λοιπὴ δ’ ἐστὶ τῆς ᾿Ιβηρίας ἥ τε ἀπὸ Στηλῶν
μέχρι τῆς Πυρήνης καθ’ ἡμᾶς παραλία καὶ ἡ
ταύτης ὑπερκειμένη μεσόγαια πᾶσα τὸ μὲν πλά-
tος ἀνώμαλος, τὸ δὲ μῆκος μικρῷ πλειόνων ἢ
τεταρκισχιλίων σταδίων, τὸ δὲ τῆς παραλίας ἑτὶ 2
πλειὸν καὶ δισχιλίως σταδίως εἰρηται. φασὶ δὲ
ἀπὸ μὲν Κάλπης, τοῦ κατὰ Στῆλας ὄρους, ἐπὶ
Καρχηδόνα Νέαν δισχιλίως καὶ διακοσίως στα-
dίως; ὁ ἀρῶν (cp. ἀρείων 3. 3. 7).

1 ὁρέων, Jones, for ἠρών (ср. ὁρέων 3. 3. 7).
2 ἑτὶ, Groskurd, for ἑτὶ.

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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\(^1\) and the Plentuisans,\(^2\) 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 “Coniscans,” whom Strabo mentions later on as being a Cantabrian tribe (3. 4. 12).
\(^2\) A people otherwise unknown.
δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ὄρητανῶν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ἄλλους τοσούτους σχεδὸν τι' ταύτην δὲ ἔχειν Ἐδητανώς. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἰβηρος μέχρι Πυρήνης καὶ τῶν Πομπηίου ἀναθημάτων χιλίους καὶ ἐξακοσίους. οἰκεῖν δὲ Ἐδητανῶν τε ὀλίγους καὶ λοιπῶν τοὺς προσαγορευομένους Ἰνδικήτας, μεμερισμένους τέτραχα.

2. Κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἀπὸ Κάλπης ἀρξαμένοις ράχις ἐστὶν ὅρειν τῆς Βαστητανίας καὶ τῶν Ὀρητανῶν, δασεῖαν ὑλὴν ἔχουσα καὶ μεγαλοδενδρον, διορίζουσα τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μεσογαίας. πολλαχοῦ δὲ καίναυθά ἐστι χρυσεία καὶ ἀλλα μέταλλα. πόλις δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ ταύτη πρώτη Μάλακα, ἵσον διέχουσα τῆς Κάλπης, ὄσον καὶ τὰ Πόμπηιων ἀναθήματα: ἐμπόριον δὲ ἐστὶν νῦν τοῖς ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ Νοῦμασι, καὶ ταριχεῖας δὲ ἔχει μεγάλας. ταύτην τινὲς τῇ Μανάκη τῇ αὐτῆς νομίζουσι, ἣν ύστατη τῶν Φωκαϊκῶν πόλεων πρὸς δύσει κειμένη παρειλήφαμεν, σοκαμμένη, τὰ ἵππη σώξουσα Ἐλληνικής πόλεως, ἡ δὲ Μάλακα πλησίον μᾶλλον, Φοινικικὴ τῷ σχήματι. ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἐστὶ ἡ τῶν Ἐξεπτανῶν πόλις, ἐξ ὧς καὶ τὰ ταρίχη ἐπωνύμως λέγεται.

3. Μετὰ ταύτην Ἀβδηρα, Φοινικῶν κτίσμα καὶ αὐτῆ. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τόπων ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ δει-

1 ἐστὶν νῦν, A. Miller, for ἐστίν ἐν; A. Vogel approving.
2 Νοῦμασι, Tyrwhitt, for the corrupt σαλμασί; so Groskurd, and Meineke.

1 These Trophies were set up near what is now La Junquera. Cp. Sallust, Hist. Frag. 4. 29 (Dietsch).
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).
καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ.

ὁς Ποσειδώνιός τε ἔδειχε καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανός, ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ Τουρδητανίᾳ παιδεύσας τὰ γραμματικά καὶ περιήγησίν τινα τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκδεδωκὼς τῶν ταύτης. οὕτος δὲ φήσιν ὑπομνήματα τῆς πλάνης τῆς Ὀδυσσέως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀσπίδας προσπεπατᾶνευσθαῖ καὶ ἀκροστόλια. ἐν Καλλαϊκοῖς δὲ τῶν μετὰ Τεύκρου στρατευσάντων τιναὶ ὑπάρξαι πόλεις αὐτόθι, τὴν μὲν καλομενήν Ἑλλήνης, τὴν δὲ Ἀμφίλοχοι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιλόχου τελευτησαντος δεύρῳ καὶ τῶν συνώντων πλανηθέντων μέχρι τῆς μεσογαίας, καὶ τῶν μεθ’ Ἡρακλέους δὲ τιναὶ καὶ τῶν ἀντὶ Μεσσηνίας ἱστορήσαται φήσιν ἐποικῆσαι τὴν Ἰθηρίαν, τῆς δὲ Κανταβρίας μέρος τι κατασχεῖν Δάκωνας καὶ οὕτως φησι καὶ Ἀκλόντα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἡφικέλλαν 1 πόλιν Ὀκέλα 1 κτίσμα λέγουσι τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντήνορος καὶ τῶν παῖδων αὐτοῦ διαβάντος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀιτία ἐποικίσατο τινι, τοῖς τῶν Ταυραίων ἐμπόροις προσέχοντε, ὡς καὶ ᾿Αρτέμιδωρος εἰρηκεν, ὅτι οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαυρουσίας οἰκούντες πρὸς τῶν ἑσπερίων Ἁτλαντῶν καλούνται σιτούμενοι λωτόν, πόλιν τινα καὶ ζῆσαν, οὐ δεόμενοι δε ποτού, οὐδὲ ἔχοντες διὰ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν, διατείνοντε καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Κυρήνης τόπων. Ἀκλόντα τε πάλιν

1 Siebenkees is probably right in emending ᾿Ὠψικέλλα to ᾿Ὡκέλαν and Ὀκέλα to ᾿Ὡκέλαν; so, in general, the later editors read. Strabo apparently has in mind the Ὀκέλλον (or Ὀκέλαν) of Ptolemaeus (2. 5. 7); cf. 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 Myrlean, 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, Amphilochi;² for not only did Amphilochus 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 Lotus-eaters 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.
καλοῦνται Δωτοφάγοι, τὴν ἑτέραν οἰκούντες τῶν πρὸ τῆς μικρᾶς Σύρτεως νῆσων, τὴν Μήνιγγα.

4. Οὐ δὴ θαυμάζοις ἂν οὔτε τού ποιητοῦ τὰ περὶ τὴν 'Οδυσσείαν μυθογραφήσαντος τοῦ τὸν πρῶτον ὡστ' ἔξω Στηλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀτταλαντικῷ πελάγει τὴν πολλά διαθέσθαι τῶν λεγομένων περὶ αὐτοῦ (τὰ γὰρ ἱστοροῦμεν ἐγγὺς ἢν, καὶ τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου πεπλασμένων, ὡστε οὐκ ἀπίθανον ἐπολεῖ τὸ πλάσμα), οὔτε εἰ τινὲς αὐταῖς τὰ ταύτας ταῖς ἱστορίαις πιστεύσαντες καὶ τῇ πολυμαθίᾳ τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστημονικὰς ὑποθέσεις ἔτρεψαν τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν, καθάπερ Κράτης τε ὁ Μαλλώτης ἐποίησε καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἁγροῖκως ἐξέβαλεν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τὴν τοιαύτην ὡστε οὐ μόνον τὸν ποιητὴν σκαπανέως ἢ θερμοστοῦ δίκην ἐκ πάσης τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστήμης ἐξέβαλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἁψαμένους τῆς τοιαύτης πραγματείας μαρτυρούς τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπικήρυξαν δὲ ή ἑπανόρθωσιν ἢ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπερευνάντας τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπ’ ἐκείνων εἰσενεγκείσθαι οὐκ ἔθαρρησεν οὔτε τῶν γραμματείων ὡστε τῶν περὶ τὰ μαθήματα δεινῶν ὑπὸ διδασκῶν. καίτοι ἐμοὶ γε δοκεῖ δυνατὸν εἶναι καὶ συνιστάμεθα πολλοῖς τῶν λεχθέντων καὶ εἰς ἑπανόρθωσιν ἄγειν καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς τάντα, διὰ Πυθέας παρεκρούσατο τοὺς πιστεύσαντας αὐτῷ κἀγνοιαν τῶν τῆς ἐσπερίων τῶν παρὰ τὸν οκεανὸν. ἀλλὰ τάντα μὲν εἰσοδὸ, λόγου ἑξοντα ὄντος καὶ μακρόν.

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 unpalatable); 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. Τὸς δὲ τῶν Ἕλληνων πλάνης εἰς τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη νομίζοι τις ἀν αἰτίων τὸ διεσπάσθαι κατὰ μέρη μικρὰ καὶ δυναστείας ἐπιπλοκὴν οὐκ ἔχουσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατ᾽ αὐθάδειαν, ὡστε ἐκ τούτου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐξωθεῖν ἁσθενεῖς εἶναι τούτο δὲ τὸ αὐθάδες ἐν δὴ τοῖς Ἰβηροῖς μάλιστα ἐπέτεινε, προσλαβοῦσι καὶ τὸ πανούργον φύσι καὶ τὸ μῆ ἀπλοῦν ἐπιθετικοὶ γὰρ καὶ ληστρικοὶ τοῖς βίοις ἐγένοντο τὰ μικρὰ τολμῶντες, μεγάλους δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπιβαλλόμενοι διὰ τὸ μεγάλας μή κατασκευάζοντες δυνάμεις καὶ κοινωνίας. εἰ γὰρ δὴ συνασπίζειν ἐβούλοντο ἀλλήλους, οὔτε Καρχηδονίοις ὑπῆρξεν ἀν καταστρέψασθαί ἐπελθοῦσι τὴν πλείονν ἀυτῶν εἰκὸς περιουσίας, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Τυρίοις, εἰτα Κέλτους, οἱ νῦν Κέλτι-βηρες καὶ Βήρωνες καλοῦνται, οὔτε τῷ Οὐριάθῳ καὶ Σερτωρίῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐτείνει διαφορὰς ἐπεθύμησαν μεῖζονος. Ἡ ρωμαῖοι τε τῷ κατὰ μέρη πρὸς τοὺς Ἰβηροὺς πολέμεων καθ’ ἐκάστην διὰ ταῦτα τὴν δυναστείαν πολύν τινα διετέλεσαν χρόνων, ἀλλοτ’ ἄλλους καταστρεφομενοι τέως, ἐως ἀπαυγάσαν ὑποχείριον ἐλαβόν δια-κοσμοστὰ σχεδὸν τε ἐτεί τῇ μακρότερον. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν περιήγησιν.

6. Μετὰ τοίνυν Ἀβδηρά ἡ Νέα, κτίσμα ᾿Ασδρούβα, τοῦ διαδεξαμένου Βάρκαν

1 δὴ, Meineke. for δὲ.
2 ἐπιθετικοί, Corais, for ἐπίθετοι; 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 ἐρυμνότητι καὶ τείχει κατεσκευασμένῳ καλῷ καὶ λιμέσι καὶ λίμνῃ κεκόσμηται
cαι τοῖς τῶν ἀργυρίων μετάλλοις, περὶ ὃν εἰρήκαμεν κανταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλησίον τόποις
πολλῇ ή ταριχείᾳ καὶ ἐστὶ τούτο μεῖζον ἐμπόριον τῶν μὲν ἐκ βαλλαττίς τοῖς ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ, τῶν δ'
ἐκείθεν τοῖς ἐξω πάσιν. ἡ δ' ἐνθένδε μέχρι τοῦ
Ἰβηρος παραλία κατὰ μέσον πως τὸ διάστημα
ἐχεῖ τὸν Σούκρωνα ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν
αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλιν ὄμωνυμον ἐχεὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ συνεχοῦς
ὁρός τῇ ὑπερκειμένῃ βάκχει τῆς τε Μαλάκας
καὶ τῶν περὶ Καρχηδόνα 1 τόπων, περατῶς πεζῇ,
παράλληλος δὲ πως τὸ Ἰβηριν, μικρὸν δὲ διέχει
tῆς Καρχηδόνος ἡπο τοῦ Ἰβηρος. μεταξύ
mὲν οὖν τοῦ Σούκρωνος καὶ τῆς Καρχηδόνος τρία
πολύχνα Μασσαλιωτῶν εἰσὶν οὐ πολὺ ἀπώθεν
tοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου δ' ἐστὶ γνωριμώτατον τὸ
Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον, ἔχον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκρᾳ τῆς Ἑφεσίας
Ἀρτέμιδος ιερὸν σφόδρα τιμώμενον, δ' ἐχορήσατο
Σερτώριος ὀρμητηρὶς κατὰ βαλλαττάν ἐρυμνὸν γάρ
ἐστὶ καὶ ληστρικόν, κάτωπτον δὲ ἐς πολλούς τῶν
προσπλέουσι, καλεῖται δὲ Διάμυον, οἰον Ἀρτεμισίον,
ἵον σιδηρεῖα εὐφυὴ πλησίον καὶ νησίδα,
Πλανησίαν καὶ Πλουμβαρίαν, καὶ λιμνοθάλατταν
ὑπερκειμένην, ἔχουσαν κύκλον 2 σταδίων τετρα-

1 ὑπερκειμένων before τῶν, Xylander omits; so the later editors.
2 κύκλον, 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. εἰδ' ἡ τοῦ 'Ἡρακλέους νῆσος ἡδὲ πρὸς Καρχηδόνι, ἦν καλοῦσι Σκομβραρίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἁλισκομένων σκόμβρων, ἔσται γάρον εἴκοσι δὲ διέχει σταδίους καὶ τέταρτα τῆς Καρχηδόνος. πάλιν δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Σούκρωνος ἑκοί τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ 'Ἰβηρος Σάγουντον, κτίσμα Ζακυνθίων, ἦν 'Αννίβας κατασκάψας παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους τὸν δεύτερον αὐτοῖς ἐξήισε πόλεμον πρὸς Καρχηδόνιος. πλησίον δὲ πόλεις εἰσὶ Χερένησος τε καὶ 'Ολεάστρον καὶ Καρταλίας. ἐπὶ αὐτῇ ἔστη διὰ βάσει τοῦ 'Ἰβηρος Δέρτωσα κατοικία. βεί δὲ ο Ἰβηρ, ἀπὸ Καντάβρων ἐχών τὰς ῥαχάς, ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν διὰ πολλού πεδίου παραλλήλος τοῖς Πυρηναίοις ὀρείς.

7. Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν τοῦ 'Ἰβηρος ἐκτροπῶν καὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Πυρήνης, ἄφ' ἐν ἑδρυμέναι τὰ ἁπάθη τοῦ Πομηθέαν, πρώτη Ἐποπάκων ἐστὶ πόλις, ἀλθέεις μὲν ἐν κόλπῳ δὲ ἑδρυμένη καὶ κατεσκευασμένη τοῖς άλλοις ἱκανῶς, καὶ σιᾷ ἑττον εὐανδροῦσα νυνὶ τῆς Καρχηδόνος. πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιδημίας ἐχεῖ, καὶ ἐστὶν ωσπέρ μητρόποις σὺ τῆς ἴντας 'Ἰβηρος μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τῆς ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλις. αὕτη τε Γυμνήσιαι νῆσοι προκείμεναι πλησίον καὶ ἐπὶ Θήβους, ἀξιόλογοι νῆσοι, τῆς θέσεις ἐυκαιριοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὑπαγορεύουσιν. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ καὶ ναυταπαθῆν αὐτοῖς φῆσιν αὐτὴν, οὔδὲ ἄγκυροβολίας σφόδρα εὐτυχοῦσιν, ὅσα ἀντιλέγειν εἰρηκεν Ῥατεμίδωρος.

1 Σκομβραρίαν, Χυλάνδερος, for Σκομβροαρίαν; 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 Zacynthians, 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 Cartalias; 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 Εβουσος (MSS. "Αβουσος).

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8. Καὶ ἡ σύμπασα δ᾽ ἀπὸ Στηλῶν σπανίζεται λιμένι μέχρι δεύρο, ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽ ἡ ἐξῆς εὐλίμενα καὶ χώρα ἀγαθῇ τῶν τε Δεητανῶν καὶ Λαρτολαιητῶν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων μέχρι Εμπορίου. αὐτῷ δ᾽ ἐστὶ Μασσαλιωτῶν κτίσμα, ὅσον διακοσίους 1 διέχον τῆς Πυρήνης σταδίους καὶ τῶν μεθορίων τῆς Ἑβηρίας πρὸς τὴν ΚΕλτικήν καὶ αὐτῇ δ᾽ ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἀγαθὴ καὶ εὐλίμενος, ἐνταῦθα δ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Ῥόδος,2 πολίχνιον Ἐμπορίτῶν, τινὲς δὲ κτίσμα Ῥοδίων φασί: κανταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἐμποριῷ τὴν Ἀρτέμιν τὴν Ἐφεσίαν τιμῶσιν, ἐρούμεν δὲ τὴν αὐτίαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Μασσαλίαν. "φικουν δ᾽ 3 οἱ Ἐμπορῖται πρότερον νησίου τι προκειμένου, δ νῦν καλεῖται Παλαιὰ πόλις, νῦν δ᾽ ὕκοιοιν ἐν τῇ ἱπεῖρῳ. διπολις δ᾽ ἐστὶ, τείχει διωρισμένη, πρότερον τῶν Ἰνδικητῶν τινὰς προσοίκους ἔχουσα, οἳ καὶ περὶ ἰδίᾳ πολιτεύομεν, κοινῶν ὅμως περὶ Μασσαλίας ἐστὶ καὶ καὶ τὸς Ἐλληνας ἀσφαλείας χάριν, διπλοῦν δὲ τοῦτον, τείχει μέσῳ διωρισμένον τῷ χρόνῳ δ᾽ εἰς ταὐτὸ πολίτευμα συνῆλθον μικτῶν τι ἐκ τῇ βαρβαρίᾳ καὶ Ἐλληνικῶν νομίμων, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν συνεβή.

9. 'Ἡ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς πλησίον, ἐκ τῆς Πυρήνης

1 διακοσίους, Groskurd, and Corais, for τετρακισχιλίους.
2 'Ρόδος (as in 14. 2. 10), Casaubon, for 'Ροδύτη; so Siebenkees, Corais, Forbiger, and C. Müller. Meineke reads 'Ρόδη, 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.
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 Leëtanians and the Lartolaeëtans, 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

2 4. 1. 4–5.
3 The isle of Medas, near the mouth of the Ter River.
4 The Clodianus, now the insignificant Muga (op. Ptolomaeus 2. 6. 19 and Mela 2. 89).
ἔχων τὰς ἀρχὰς, ἢ δὲ ἐκβολὴ λιμὴν ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἕμπορίταις. ἔκανος τοῖς Ἕμπορίταις. χώραν δὲ τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἔχουσι, τὴν μὲν ἁγαθὴν, τὴν δὲ σπαρτοφύρον τῆς ἄχρηστοτέρας καὶ ἑλείας σχοίνου, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἰουγκάριον πεδίον· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν τῆς Πυρήνης ἄκρων νέμονται μέχρι τῶν ἀναθημάτων τοῦ Πομπηίου, δὲ ὄντες ἐνθαμμένοι εἰς τὴν ἔξω καλουμένην Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Ἐμπορίαν. αὐτὴ δὴ ὅταν ποτὲ μὲν πλησιάζει τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ποτὲ δὲ ἀφετέρω, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν μέρεσι. φέρεται δὲ ἐπὶ Ταρράκωνα, ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἀναθημάτων τοῦ Πομπηίου διὰ τοῦ Ἐμπορίου πεδίου καὶ Βετέρων καὶ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος καλουμένου πεδίου τῇ Λατίνῃ γλώσσῃ, ψάλτρωτο τοῦ μάραθον ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ταρράκωνος ἔπι τῶν πόρων τοῦ Ἰβηρίου κατὰ Δέρτωσιν πόλιν· εὐπρεπείᾳ διὰ Σαγούντου καὶ Σατόβιου πόλεως ἐνεχθείσα καὶ μικρὸν ἀφίσταται τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ συνάπτει τῷ Σπαρταρίῳ, ὡς ἄν Σχοινοῦτι, καλουμένῳ πεδίῳ· τούτο δὲ ἐστὶ μέγα καὶ ἀνυδρός, τὴν σχοινοπλοκικὴν φύσιν σπάρτον, ἐξαγωγήν ἔχουσαν εἰς πάντα τόπον, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ὄντος διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου καὶ Ἐγελάστας συνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν ὅδον, χαλεπὴν καὶ πολλὴν, νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς

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


"Colony of Veterans": the Praetorium mentioned by Antoninus (Itin. 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 spart 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 Ege lasta, 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 πεποιήκασιν αὐτὴν, ἐπιψαύουσαν μόνον τοῦ Σχοινούντος, εἰς ταύτα δὲ τείνουσαν τῇ προτέρᾳ, τὰ περὶ Κασταλώνα καὶ Ὀβούλκωνα, δι' ὃ νῦν εἰς τε Κορδύβην καὶ εἰς Γάδειρα ἡ ὁδός, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐμπορίων. διέχει δὲ τῆς Κορδύβης Ὀβούλκων περὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους. φασὶ δ' οἱ συγγραφεῖς, ἐλθεῖν Καίσαρα ἐκ Ρώμης ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσιν ἡμέρας εἰς τὴν Ὀβούλκωνα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐνταῦθα, ἑμίκα ἐμελλε συνάπτειν εἰς τὸν περὶ τὴν Μούνδαν τὸλεμον.

10. Ἦ μὲν δὴ παραλία πάσα ἡ ἀπὸ Στηλῶν μέχρι τῆς μεθορίας τῆς Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν τοι-μαί. ἡ δ᾽ υπερκειμένη μεσόγαια, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου πλευρᾶς μέχρις Ἀστύρων, δυεῖν μάλιστα ὄρει διορίζεται. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν παράλληλόν ἐστι τῇ Πυρήνῃ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Καντάβρων ἔχον, τελευτην δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλατταν καλοῦσι δε τούτῳ Ἰδουβέδαν ἐπερεκμένη μεσόγαια, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου πλευρᾶς μέχρις Ἀστύρων, δυεῖν μάλιστα ὄρει διορίζεται. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν παράλληλόν ἐστι τῇ Πυρήνῃ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Καντάβρων ἔχον, τελευτην δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλατταν καλοῦσι
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
Διάβασιν. συνοικεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ πλειὸν τῶν Ἱακκητανῶν λεγομένου. τούτο δ’ ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς παρωρείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν Πυρήνην εἰς τὰ πεδία πλατύνεται καὶ συνάπτει τοὺς περὶ Ἰλέρδαν καὶ Ὀσκαν χωρίων, τοὺς τῶν Ἰλεργετῶν οὐ πολύ ἀποθεῖν τοῦ Ἰβηρο. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις ἐπολέμει τὸ τελευταῖον Σερτώριος καὶ ἐν Καλαγοῦρι Οὐάσκων πόλει καὶ τῆς παραλίας ἐν Ταρράκωνι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡμεροσκοπείῳ ἐν τῷ Ἡμεροσκοπείῳ μετὰ τὴν Ιβηρίαν ἐκπτῶσιν, ἐτελεύτα δ’ ἐν Ὁσκα. καὶ Ὀσκα τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατηγοῦ κατεπολεμήθησαν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ. ἡ διὰ τούτων δὲ τῶν χωρίων ὡς ἐπὶ δύσιν ἱόντι σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα, ἐκ τῶν ὡκεανίων τετρακοσίων τεσσαράκοντα. διὰ τούτων δὲ τῶν χωρίων ἢ ἐκ Ταρράκωνι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡμεροσκοπείῳ μετὰ τὴν Κελτιβήρων ἐκπτῶσιν, ἐτελεύτα δ’ ἐν Ὁσκα. καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις ἐπολέμει τὸ τελευταῖον Σερτώριος καὶ ἐν Καλαγοῦρι Οὐάσκων πόλει καὶ τῆς παραλίας ἐν Ταρράκωνι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡμεροσκοπείῳ μετὰ τὴν Ιβηρίαν ἐκπτῶσιν, ἐτελεύτα δ’ ἐν Ὁσκα. καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις ἐπολέμει τὸ τελευταῖον Σερτώριος καὶ ἐν Καλαγοῦρι Οὐάσκων πόλει καὶ τῆς παραλίας ἐν Ταρράκωνι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡμεροσκοπείῳ μετὰ τὴν Ιβηρίαν ἐκπτῶσιν, ἐτελεύτα δ’ ἐν Ὁσκα. καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις ἐπολέμει τὸ τελευταῖον Σερτώριος καὶ ἐν Καλαγοῦρι Οὐάσκων πόλει καὶ τῆς παραλίας ἐν Ταρράκωνι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡμεροσκοπείῳ μετὰ τὴν Ιβηρίαν ἐκπτῶσιν, ἐτελεύτα δ’ ἐν Ὁσκα. καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις ἐπολέμει τὸ τελευταῖον Σερτώριος καὶ ἐν Καλαγοῦρι Οὐάσκων πόλει καὶ τῆς παραλίας ἐν Ταρράκωνι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡμεροσκοπείῳ μετὰ τὴν Ιβηρίαν ἐκπτῶσιν.
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. And it was in Ilerda that Afranius and Petreius, the generals of Pompey, were defeated in battle later on by the Deified Caesar. 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.
τότε μὲν Σερτώριος ἐπολέμει πρὸς Πομπήιον, ὡστε-ρον δ’ ὁ τοῦ Πομπήιου υίος Σέξτος πρὸς τοὺς Καί-σαρος στρατηγοὺς. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς Ἰακκη-τανίας πρὸς ἀρκτον τὸ τῶν Οὐασκώνων ἔθνος, ἐν φ’ πόλεως Πομπέλων, ὡς ἂν Πομπήιοπολις.

11. Αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς Πυρήνης τὸ μὲν ᾿Ιβηρικὸν πλευρὸν εὐδενδρόν ἐστι παντοδαπῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς ἀειθαλοῦς, τὸ δὲ Κελτικὸν ψυλόν, τὰ δὲ μέσα περιέχει καλὸς οἰκείσθαι δυναμένοις αὐλῶναις. ἔχουσι δ’ αὐτοὺς Κερρητανοὶ τὸ πλέον, τοῦ ᾿Ιβηρι-κοῦ φυλοῦ, παρ’ οἷς πέρναι διάφοροι συντίθενται ταῖς Κανταβρικαίς ἕναμίλλου, πρόσοδον οὐ μι-κρὰν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέχουσαι.

12. Ὑπερβάλλοντι δὲ τὴν ᾿Ιδουβέδαν ἡ Κελτιβηρία παραχρῆμα πολλὰ καὶ ἀνώμαλος: τὸ μὲν πλέον αὐτῆς ἐστὶ παραχρῆμα τραχὺ καὶ ποταμόκλυστον διὰ γάρ τούτων ὁ τε ᾿Ανας φέρεται καὶ ὁ Τάγος καὶ οἱ ἐφεξῆς ποταμοί οἱ πλείους οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστερίαν θάλατταν καταφέρομενοι, τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐχοντες ἐκ τῆς Κελτιβηρίας: ὃν ὁ Δούριος φέρεται παρὰ τὴν Νομαντίαν καὶ τὴν Ἁμαντίαν, ὁ δὲ Βαῖτις ἐκ τῆς Ὀροσπέδας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχον διὰ τῆς Ὀρηνα-νίας εἰς τὴν Βαιτικήν Ῥεί. οἰκούσι δ’ ἐκ μὲν τῶν πρὸς ἀρκτον μερῶν τοῖς Κελτιβηρίοις Ὑήρωνες, Καντάβροις ὑμοροί τοῖς Κοσίσκοις, καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ στόλου γεγονότες, ὃν ἐστὶ πόλεως Οὐαρία κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ᾿Ιβηρος διάβασιν κειμένη. συν-
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, Pompeiopolis.

11. As for the Pyrenees themselves, the Iberian side is well-wooded with trees of every kind and with evergreens; 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 Orospeda, 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

1 Cp. 3. 3. 5.

2 Κελτιβηρίας, Casaubon, and Siebenkees, for 'Ιβηριός; so the others.
εχεῖς δ' εἰσὶ καὶ Βαρδυήταις, οὐς οἱ νῦν Βαρδύλους καλοῦσιν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐσπερίου τῶν τε Ἀστύρων τινὲς καὶ τῶν Καλλαϊκῶν καὶ Οὐακκαλῶν, ἔτι δ' Οὐεττώνων καὶ Καρπητανῶν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν νοτίων Ὄρητανοι τε καὶ ὅσιοι ἀλλοι τὴν Ὠροστέδαν οἰκοῦσι Βαστητανῶν τε καὶ Ἐδητανῶν τροφῆς ἐραγμένης. 13. Αὐτῶν τε τῶν Κελτιβήρων εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διηρημένων, οἱ κράτιστοι μάλιστα πρὸς ἔως εἰσὶ καὶ πρὸς νότον οἱ Ἀρουάκοι, συνάπτοντες Καρπητανοῖς καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Τάγου πηγαῖς πόλισι δ' αὐτῶν ὀνομαστοτάτη Νομαντία. ἔδειξαν δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῷ Κελτιβηρικῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, εἰκοσαετεῖ γενομένῳ πολλὰ γὰρ στρατεύματα σὺν ἡγεμόνι ἐφθάρη, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον οἱ Νομαντῖνοι πολιορκοῦμενοι διεκαρτέρησαν πλὴν ὅλην τῶν ἐνδόντων τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ οἱ Δούσωνες δὲ ἐξοδεύει τοὺς συνάπτοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς τοῦ Τάγου πηγαῖς. τῶν δ' Ἀρουάκων εἰς τὸ Σεγήδα πόλις καὶ Παλλαντία. διέχει δὲ Νομαντία τῆς Καισαραγούστας, ἧν ἐφαμέν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἱβηρι ἱδρύσατο, σταδίους ἐπὶ ὀκτακοσίους, καὶ Σεγοβρίγα δ' ἐστὶ τῶν Κελτιβήρων πόλις καὶ Βίλβιλις, περὶ δὲ Μέτελλος καὶ Σερτώριος ἐπολέμησαν. Πολυβίου δὲ τὰ τῶν Οὐακκαλῶν καὶ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἔθνη καὶ χωρία διεξόδων συλλέγει ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καὶ Σεγεσάμαν καὶ Ἰντερκατίαν. ψήν χτε
territory also runs contiguous to that of the Bardyetsans, whom the men of to-day call Bardulians. Secondly, the parts on the western side are the home of some of the Asturians, Callaicans, and Vaccaeans, 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 Vaccaeans and the Celtiberians, includes with the rest of the cities both Segesama and Intercatia. Poseidonius says that
Ποσειδώνιος Μάρκον Δίαρκελλον πράξασθαι φόρον ἐκ τῆς Κελτιβηρίας τάλαντα ἑξακόσια, ἐξ οὗ τεκμαίρευθαι πάρεστιν. Ὅτι καὶ πολλοὶ Κελτίβηρες, καὶ χρημάτων εὐποροῦντες, καὶ πύργους καλοῦντα πόλεις, ἀστερέν ταῖς θριαμβικαῖς πομπαίς, ἔσως οὐκ ἀπιστοῦν τοῦτο λέγει· καὶ γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ συγγραφεῖς ῥᾳδίως ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρονται τὸ Φυσομα, καλλωπίζοντες τὰς πράξεις. ἔπει καὶ δὴ φίλοι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ χιλίας τῶν Ιβήρων ὑπάρχαι πόλεις ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρονται μοι δοκοῦσι, τὰς μεγάλας κόμας πόλεις ὀνομάζοντες. οὔτε γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν φύσις πόλεων ἐπιδεκτικὴ πολλῶν ἐστι διὰ τὴν λυπρότητα οὔτε διὰ τὸν ἑκτοπισμὸν καὶ τὸ ἀνήμερον, οὔτε οἱ βίοι καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν ἐστίν· ἀγρίοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ κόμασ, οἰκοῦντες· τοιοῦτοι δὲ ὅποι τῶν Ιβήρων αἱ πόλεις ἡμεροῦσιν οὐδὲ αὐταὶ ῥᾳδίως ὅταν πλεονάζῃ τὸ τάς ὕλας ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν πλησίων οἰκοῦν.

14. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κελτίβηρες πρὸς νότον εἰσὶν οἱ τὸ ὄρος οἰκούντες τὴν Ὁροσπέδαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν Σιδητανὸν χώραν τῆν Ἐδητανοὶ μέχρι Καρχηδόνος, καὶ Βαστητανοὶ καὶ Ὁρητανοὶ σχεδὸν δὲ τι καὶ μέχρι Μαλάκας.

1 aὐταί, Cobet restores, for aὐταί; so Forbiger, and Müller-Düllner.
2 Ἐδητανοὶ, Kramer, for Σιδητανοὶ; 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 εἰπεῖν, ὑπῆρξαν οἱ Ἰβηρεῖς καὶ κούφοι κατὰ τὸν ὀπλισμὸν διὰ τὰς ληστείας, οὗς ἔφαμεν τοὺς Λυσιτανούς, ἀκουτίῳ καὶ σφενδόνῃ καὶ μαχαίρᾳ χρώμενοι· ταῖς δὲ πεζαῖς δυνάμεσι παρεμέμικτο καὶ ἱππεῖα, δεδαγμένων ἵππων ὀρειβατεῖς καὶ κατοκλάζεσθαι ὥσπερ ἑπτά καὶ προστάματος, ὡτε τούτων δεύον. φέρει δ' ἡ Ἰβηρία δορκάδας πολλὰς καὶ ἵππους ἀγρίους. ἐστι δ' ὅπου καὶ ἀρίστω καὶ πληθύουσιν· ὡρνεῖς δὲ κύκνοι καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ὀστίδες· κάστορας φέρουσι μὲν οἱ ποταμοί, τὸ δὲ καστορίον οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν τῷ Ποντικῷ· ὁδιον γὰρ τῷ Ποντικῷ πάρεστι τὸ φαρμακῶδες, καθάπερ ἄλλοισ τοποθέτητοι. ἐπεὶ, φησὶν, ὁ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ ὁ Κύπριος χαλκός μόνος φέρει τὴν καδμείαν λίθου καὶ τὸ χαλκανθύς καὶ τὸ καστόριον ἀνεξήκουστον. ὁδιον δ' εὑρηκέν ἡ Ἰβηρία 1 Ποσειδώνιος καὶ τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας μελαίνας εἶαι καὶ τὸς Ἱππός τῶν Κελτιβήρων ὑποψάρους ὧν τὰς κορώνας με&
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 διαγωγήν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀνάγκην καὶ ὁρμὴν θηριώδη μετὰ έθους 
φαύλου ξήν· εἰ μὴ τις οἴεται πρὸς διαγωγήν ξήν
τοὺς οὐρω λουομένους ἐν δεξαμεναίς παλαιομένῳ
καὶ τοὺς ὁδόντας σμηχομένους καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς
γυναικεῖς αὐτῶν, καθάπερ τοὺς Καντάβρους φασὶ
καὶ τοὺς ὁμόρους αὐτοῖς. καὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ
χαμευνεῖν κοινὸν ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἴβηρσι πρὸς τοὺς
Κέλτους. ένιοι δὲ τοὺς Καλλαίκους ἄθεους φασὶ,
τοὺς δὲ Κέλτιβηρας καὶ τοὺς προσβόρρους τῶν
ὁμόρων αὐτοῖς ἀνωνύμῳ τοῖς θεῷ θύειν 1 ταῖς
πανσελήνους νύκτωρ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν, πανοικίους
τε χορεύειν καὶ παννυχίσειν. τοὺς δὲ Οὐέττωνας,
ὅτε πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ρωμαίους παρῆλθον στρατοπεδοῦν,
ιόντας τὸν ταξιαρχὴν τυνα ἀνακάμπτοντας ἐν ταῖς
όντος περιπάτου χάριν, μανίαν ὑπολαβόντας, ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν
όντος αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς, ὡς δέον ἢ μένειν καὶ θ’ ἑσαχθεῖν ἔφεσθαι
καὶ ἡ μάχεσθαι.

11. Ῥῆς δὲ βαρβαρικῆς ἰδέας καὶ τὸν τῶν
γυναικῶν ένων κόσμον θείη τις ἄν, ὃν εἴρηκεν
᾿Αρτεμίδωρος ἃπο τοῦ γὰρ περιτραχήλα σιδηρᾶ
φορεῖν αὐτάς φησιν, ἔχοντα κόρακας καμπυλίους
ὑπὲρ κορυφῆς καὶ προπίπτοντας πρὸ τοῦ
μετώπου πολύ, κατὰ τούτων δὲ τῶν κοράκων, ὅτε
βουλοῦνται, κατασπᾶν τὸ κάλυμμα, ὡς ἐμπετασθὲν
σκιάδιον τῷ προσώπω παρέχειν, καὶ

1 θῦειν, Corais inserts; so the other editors.

1 See Catullus, 39. 19.

* Literally, “a little kettle-drum.”
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. 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 foreheads; 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," rounded to the back of the head,
πρὸς μὲν τῷ ἰνίῳ περιφερές, καὶ σφίγγον τὴν κεφαλὴν μέχρι τῶν παρωτίδων, εἰς ύψος δὲ καὶ πλάτος ἐξυπτιασμένον κατ' ὄλγον· ἄλλας δὲ τὰ προκόμια ψιλοῦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὡστ' ἀποστιλβεὶς τοῦ μετώπου μᾶλλον· τὰς δὲ όσον ποδιαῖον τὸ ύψος ἐπιθεμένας στυλίσκον περιπλέκειν αὐτῷ τὴν χαίτην, εἶτα καλύπτρα μελαίνη περιστέλλειν. πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῇ τοιαύτη πολλὰ καὶ ἑώραται καὶ μεμύθευται περὶ παντὸς κοινῆς τῶν Ὁβηρικῶν ἔθνων, διαφερόντως δὲ τῶν προσβόρρων, οὐ μόνον τὰ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὠμότητα καὶ ἀπόνοιαν θηριώδη· καὶ γὰρ τέκνα μητέρες ἐκτείναν πρὶν ἁλῶναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦ ἐν Καντάβροις, καὶ παῦδον δὲ δεδεμένων αἵμαλώτων τῶν γονέων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἐκτείνει πάντας, κελεύσαντος τοῦ πατρός, σιδήρου κυριεύσαν, γυνὴ δὲ τοὺς συναλόντας· κληθεὶς δὲ τις εἰς μεθυσκόμενον ἔβαλεν αὑτὸν εἰς πυράν. κοινὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὰ Κελτικὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ Θράκια καὶ Σκυθικά, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν τὴν τέ

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-bonnet (cp. 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 Constantineople in the Byzantine Empire and also called in Greek "tympanion"), or (2) a sort of turban, which covers and ties 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.8 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.

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 by Agrippa in 19 B.C. Cp. “Cantabrum nostra” (Horace, Carmena, 2, 6, 2).
5 His Roman captors, apparently.
τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν. γεωργοῦσιν ἐκεῖνους ἀνθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν κατακλίνασαι· ἐν τε τοῖς ἔργοις πολλάκις λοχένονται καὶ λούουσι καὶ σπαργανώσιν, ἀποκλίνασαι πρὸς τι βέθρον. ἐν δὲ τῇ Δισσωτικῇ φησιν ὁ Ποσείδώνιος διηγήσασθαι τῶν ξένων ἐαυτῷ Χαρμόλεων, Μασσαλιώτην ἄνδρα, ὅτι μισθώσατο ἄνδρας ὑμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐπὶ σκαφήν τοῦ, ἰδίωμα δὲ μία τῶν γυναικῶν ἀπέλθοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου πλησίον, τεκοῦσα δ᾽ ἐπανέλθοι ἐπὶ τοῦργον αὐτίκα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπολέσει τὸν μισθῶν αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιτόνωσ ἰδὼν ἐργαζόμενην, οὔκ εἰδὼς τὴν ἀλήθειαν πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν καὶ ὑφείη, δοὺς τὸν μισθόν· ἡ δ᾽ ἐκκομίσασα τὸ νήπιον πρὸς τὶ κρηνίον, λούσασα καὶ σπαργανώσασα οἷς εἰχε διασώσειν οἶκας.

18. Οὐκ ἰδιοῦν δὲ τῶν Ἰβήρων οὐδὲ τοῦτο σύνδυο ἐφ᾽ ἅπτων κομίζεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς μάχας τῶν ἔτερων πεζῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οὐδὲ τὸ τῶν μισθῶν πλῆθος ἰδιοῦν, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ λοιμικαὶ νόσοι πολλάκις ἱκολούθησαν· συνέβη δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Κανταβρίᾳ τούτο τοῖς Ἱρωναῖς, ὡστε, καὶ μισθοὺς ἀρνύσθαι μυοθηροῦντας πρὸς μέτρων ἀποδειχθέν, διεσώζοντο μόλις προσελάμβανε δὲ καὶ ἄλλων σπάνις καὶ

1 γὰρ, Jones inserts.
2 λοχένοντα Piccolo, for αἰτὰ; Groskurd and Meineke conj. τίκτουσι.
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; 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, 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
strabo

οίτου ἐπεσετίζοντο δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκυτανίας χαλέπως διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας. τῆς δὲ ἀπονοίας καὶ τούτῳ λέγεται τῆς Καντάβρων, ὅτι ἀλώντες τινές, ἀναπεπηγότες ἐπὶ τῶν σταυρῶν, ἐπαιωνυζόν. τὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα τῶν ἄθων ἀγριότητος τινος παραδέχεται ἀν εἴη τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα ἢπτων μὲν ὑσως πολιτικά, οὐ θηριώδη δέ, οἷον τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Καντάβροις τοὺς ἄνδρας διδόναι ταῖς γυναιξὶ προίκα, τὸ τὰς θυγατέρας κληρονόμους ἀπολείπεσθαι, τοὺς τε ἀδελφοὺς υπὸ τούτων ἐκδίδοσθαι γυναιξῖν. ἔχει γάρ τινα γυναικοκρατίαν. τοῦτο δὲ οὗ πάνω πολιτικόν. Ἰβηρικῶν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν ἑκεὶ παρατεθεσθαι τοξικόν, ὃ συντιθέασιν ἐκ βοτάνης σελίνῳ προσομοίας ἄπονον, ὡστ᾽ ἔχειν ἐν ἑτοίμῳ πρὸς τὰ ἀβούλητα, καὶ τὸ κατασπένδειν αὑτούς, οἷς ἄν προσθῶνται, ὡστε ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

1 See footnote 3, p. 111.
2 Apparently one of the wild members of the parsley family (Apiaceae), 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 sceleratus; 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. Rarum Membr. 4. 4., Monmuse’s ed., p. 51), and ended fatally, with the proverbial “Sardonic smile” (Pausanias, 1 c.) 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 turmae, et terrae Mortalium omnium parenti Devovere, dum, eo sublato, Superesse tæderet et fortiter Pugnando invicem cecidere, Morte ad praesens optata jacent, ‘Valete posteri.” And Adiabunus, 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. Τινὲς μὲν οὖν εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διηρήσθαι φασὶ τὴν χώραν ταύτην, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, ἀλλοι δὲ πενταμερὴ λέγουσιν. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τάκριβες ἐν τούτοις ἀποδιδόναι διὰ τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν τῶν τόπων. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς γυνωρίμοις καὶ ἐνδόξοις αἱ τε μεταναστάσεις γυνώριμοι καὶ οἱ μερισμοὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ὄνομάτων καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο παραπλῆσιον. θρυλεῖται γὰρ ὑπὸ τολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Ἐλλήνων, οὐ καθότατοι πάντων γεγόνασι. ὅσα δὲ καὶ βάρβαρα καὶ ἐκτετοπισμένα καὶ μικρόχωρα καὶ διεσπασμένα, τούτων ὑπομνήματα οὔτ᾽ ἀσφαλῆ ἐστίν οὔτε πολλά: ὅσα δὲ δὴ πόρρω τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐπιτείνει τὴν ἄγνωσιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῖς μιμοῦνται μὲν τούς Ἐλλήνας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ γὰρ ἅ λέγουσι παρὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων μεταφέρουσι, ἐξ ἑαυτῶν δ' οὐ πολὺ μὲν προσφέρονται τὸ φιλείδημον, ὅποταν ἐλλειψις γένηται παρ' ἐκείνων, οὐκ ἔστι πολὺ τὸ ἀναπληροῦμεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τῶν ὄνομάτων, διὰ ἐνδοξίατα, τῶν πλείστων ὄντων Ἐλληνικῶν. ἔπελ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν προτέρων καλεῖσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξω τοῦ Ῥωδανοῦ

1 Some MSS. read φιλέκηδημον. Strabo may have written both words here, as in 1. 2. 29. So Corais.
19. Now although some assert that this country has been divided into four divisions, as I have already stated, 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, 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 ἱσθμοῦ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατικῶν κόλπων σφυγμένου, οἱ δὲ νῦν ἄριστος αὐτῆς τίθενται τῇ Πυρήνῃ, συνωνύμως τῇ ἀντὶν Ἰβηρίαν λέγουσι καὶ Ἰσπανίαι μόνην δ᾽ ἐκάλουν τῇ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ, οἱ δ᾽ ἔτι πρότερον αὐτοὺς τούτους Ἰγλητασ, οὐ πολλῆν χώραν νεμομένους, ως φησιν Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανός. "Ρωμαίοι δὲ τὴν σύμπασαν καλέσαντες συνωνύμως Ἰβηρίαι τε καὶ Ἰβηρίαι τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς μέρος εἶπον τὴν ἐκτός, τὸ δὲ ἐτέρου τὴν ἐντὸς· ἄλλοτε δὲ ἄλλως διαιροῦσι, πρὸς τῶν καιροὺς πολιτευόμενοι.

20. Νυνὶ δὲ, τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τῶν μὲν ἀποδειχθεῖσων τῷ δήμῳ τε καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τῶν δὲ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἡ μὲν Βατικῆ πρόσσ. 1 δ᾽ Ιοραβίαν μόνην δὲ τῇ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἰβηροῦ, οἱ δ᾽ ἔτι πρότερον αὐτοὺς τούτους Ἰγλητασ, οὐ πολλῆν χώραν νεμομένους, ὡς φῆσιν Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανός. "Ρωμαίοι δὲ τὴν σύμπασαν καλέσαντες συνωνύμως Ἰβηρίαι τε καὶ Ἰσπανίαι τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς μέρος εἶπον τὴν ἐκτός, τὸ δὲ ἐτέρου τὴν ἐντός· ἄλλοτε δὲ ἄλλως διαιροῦσι, πρὸς τῶν καιροὺς πολιτευόμενοι.

1 δ᾽, Jones inserts.

2 συνωνύμως, Meineke, for δυνωνύμως; so Forbiger, Tardieu, and C. Müller.

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 Polybins (3. 37), it was only the country along the Me οντες: 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 distinguish Iberia from Celtica (3. 2. 11), of which hitherto Iberia had been regarded as only a part; yet, if we accept Polybins, "Iberia" did not come to include all the Spanish peninsula, and hence equal "Hispania," until late in the second century B.C.


That is, between the Iberus and the Pyrenees.

Between the Iberus and the Pyrenees.
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. Ἰβήριαι), places the "Igletes," or "Gletes," north of the Cynetes, that is, in south-western Iberia.

6 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 New 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 (cp. 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.
κειται τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ πέμπται στρατηγὸς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἔχων ταμίαν καὶ πρεσβευτὴν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῆς τεθείκασι πρὸς ἥν πλησίον Κασταλῶνος ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ Καίσαρος ἐστιν. πέμποται δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δύο πρεσβευταὶ, στρατηγικὸς τε καὶ υπατικός, ὁ μὲν στρατηγικός, ἔχων σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβευτὴν, δικαιοδοτήσων Λυσιτανοῖς τοῖς παρακειμένοις τῇ Βαιτικῇ καὶ διατείνουσι μέχρι τοῦ Δουρίου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν αὐτοῦ καλούσι γὰρ οὕτω τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἱδίως ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὔναυθά δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Αὐγούστα Ἡμερίτη. ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ Καλοκάπος ἐστιν πέμπθας δ' ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ δύο πρεσβευταί, στρατηγικός τε καὶ ἑπατικός, ὁ μὲν στρατηγός, ἔγων σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβευτὴν, λειτουργήσων Λυσιτανοῖς τοῖς παρακειμένοις τῇ Βαιτικῇ καὶ διατείνουσι μέχρι τοῦ Δουρίου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν αὐτοῦ, καλούσι γὰρ οὕτω τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἱδίως ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὔναυθά δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Αὐγούστα Ἡμερίτη. ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ ἡ πλείστη τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ὑπὸ τῷ ἑπατικῷ ἡγεμόνι, στρατιῶν τε ἔχοντι ἄξιόλιγον τριῶν που ταγμάτων καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τρεῖς, ὧν ὁ μέν, δύο ἔχων τάγματα, παραφρουρεῖ τὴν πέραν τοῦ Δουρίου πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρκετοὺς, ἢν οἱ μὲν πρότερον Λυσιτανοῦς ἔλεγον, οἱ δὲ νῦν Καλλαίκους καλούσις συνάπτει δὲ τούτοις τὰ προσόρειτα ὅρη μετὰ τῶν Ἀστύρων καὶ τῶν Καντάβρων. ἔπς δὲ διὰ τῶν Ἀστύρων Μέλσος ποταμός, καὶ μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω πόλις Νοιγα, καὶ πλησίον ἐκ τοῦ ὀκεανοῦ ἀνάχυσις, δρίζουσα τοὺς Ἀστυρας ἀπὸ τῶν Καντάβρων. τὴν δ' ἐξῆς παρόρειον ἡνεχρὶ Πυρήνης ὁ δεύτερος τῶν πρεσβευτῶν μετὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου τάγματος, ἐπισκοπεῖ δὲ ὁ τρίτος τὴν μεσόγαιαν, συνέχει δὲ τὰ ἑξῆς παρόρειον καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τάγματος. ἐπισκοπεῖ δὲ ὁ τρίτος τὴν μεσόγαιαν, συνέχει δὲ τὰ
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."
STRABO

τῶν τογάτων 1 ἢδη λεγομένων ὡς ἄν εἰρηνικῶν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἣμερον καὶ τὸν Ἰταλικόν τύπου μετα-
κειμένων ἐν τῇ τηβεννικῇ ἐσθῆτι. οὕτως δ' εἰσίν
οἱ Κελτίβηρες καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἰβηρικοῦ πλησίου ἐκα-
tέρωθεν οἰκούντες μέχρι τῶν πρὸς θαλάσση μερῶν.
αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμών διαχειμάζει μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐπι-
θαλασσίοις μέρεσι καὶ μάλιστα τῇ Καρχηδόνι
καὶ τῇ Ταρράκωνι δικαιοδοτῶν, θέρους δὲ περίει-
σιν, ἐφορῶν ἄεὶ τινα τῶν δεσμέων ἐπανορθώσεως.
εἰσ' δὲ καὶ ἐπίτροποι τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἱππικοὶ
ἀνδρεῖς, οἱ διανέμοντες τὰ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώ-
tαις εἰς τὴν διοίκησιν τοῦ βίου.

V

1. Τῶν δὲ προκειμένων νῆσων τῆς Ἰβηρίας τὰς
μὲν Πιτυούσσας δύο καὶ τὰς Γυμνησίας δύο (ἃς
καλοῦσι καὶ Βαλιαρίδας) προκεῖσθαι συμβαίνει
tῆς μεταξὺ Μαρίλα καὶ Σούκρωνος παραλίας,
ἐφ' ἡς ἵδρυται τὸ Σάγουντον" εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πελάγιαι,
μᾶλλον δ' 2 αἱ Πιτνοῦσσαι 3 πρὸς ἑσπέραν κεκλι-
μέναι τῶν Γυμνησίων. καλεῖται δ' αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν

1 τογάτων, Kramer and Meineke insert after τῶν (others
after λεγομένων).
2 δ', Jones inserts.
3 καί, 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" (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 Baliarides), 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 to the west than the Gymnesiae. the Greeks called 'Gymnesiae,' on account of the fact that the inhabitants went 'unclad' (γυμνοὺς τῆς ἐσθήτως) 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, i.e., who adds, "or else from Baleus, the companion of Hercules"). Strabo elsewhere (14. 2. 10) makes Baliarides of Phoenician origin.

Ἔβουσος, πόλειν ἐχούσα ὁμώνυμοι κύκλος δὲ τῆς νήσου τετρακόσιοι στάδιοι, παρὼμαλος τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος. ἢ δὲ Ὀμφιούσσα ἔρημος καὶ πολὺ ἐλάττων ταύτης πλησίον κειμένη. τῶν δὲ Γυμνησίων ἢ μὲν μεῖζον ἕχει δύο πόλεις, Πάλμμαν καὶ Πολεντίαν, τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἕω κειμένην, τὴν Πολεντίαν, τὴν δ' ἐτέραν πρὸς δύσων. μῆκος δὲ τῆς νησοῦ μικρὸν ἀπολείπον τῶν ἐξακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ διακοσίων, Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ διπλάσιων εὑρήκη καὶ τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος. ἢ δ' ἐλάττων ὡς διακοσίων 1 ἐβδομήκοντα τῆς Πολεντίας διέχει στάδιοι; κατὰ μέγεθος μὲν οὖν πολὺ τῆς μεῖζονος ἀπολείποται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐδὲν αὐτῆς χείρων ἐστὶν. ἀμφοὶ γὰρ εὐδαίμονες καὶ εὐλίμενοι, χοιραδώδεις δὲ κατὰ τὰ στόματα, ὡστε δεῖν προσοχῆς τοῖς εἰσπλέουσιν. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν τόπων καὶ τῶν κατοικοῦντας εὑρημαίοι, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἐβουσον. κακούργων δὲ τῶν ὀλίγων κοινωνίας συστησά-μένων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πελάγεσι λῃστάς, διε-βληθησαν ἀπαντες, καὶ διέβη Μέτελλος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Βαλιαρικὸς προσαγορευθείς, ὅστις καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐκτείνει. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρετήν ἐπὶ-βουλευόμενοι, καὶ πρὸς εἰρημαίοι ὄντες, ὅμως σφεν-δουντὶς ἀριστοὶ λέγονται καὶ τοῦτ' ἡσκησαν, ὡς φασί, διαφερόντως, ἐξ οὗ πολὺς κατέσχον

1 διακοσίων (σ'), Corais inserts; so Groskurd, Kramer, Forbiger, and Meineke. Cp. Pliny (3. 11) who says "30 miles."
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 5. 1

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. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἐνδὺσαι λέγονται πρῶτοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους χιτώνας πλατυσήμους: ἄξωστοι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄγωνας ἐξήσαν, αἰγίδα περὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἔχοντες ἢ πεπυρακτωμένον ἀκόντιον (σπάνιον δὲ καὶ λελογχωμένον σιδήρῳ μικρῷ), σφενδόνας δὲ περὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρεῖς (μελαγκρανίνας, σχοινίου εἴδος, εἷς οὗ πλέκεται τὰ σχοινία· καὶ Φηλτάς γε ἐν Ἐρμηνείᾳ: 

Λευγαλέος δὲ χιτώνος πεπινωμένος· ἀμφι δ’ ἀραιὴ ἓξ ἑνέτειται κόμμα μελαγκρανίνων, ὡς σχοινῷ ἐξωσφενδόνας μελαγκρανίνας ἢ τριχίνας ἢ νευρίνας· τὴν μὲν μακρόκοψον πρὸς τὰς μακροβολάς, τὴν δὲ βραχύκοπλας πρὸς τὰς βραχεῖ βολάς, τὴν δὲ μέσην πρὸς τὰς μέσας. ἦς κυνύτο δ’ ἐκ παιδῶν οὕτως ταῖς σφενδόναις, ὅστ’ οὖν ἄλλως τοὺς παιδὶς ἄρτον ἐδίδοσαν ἄνευ τοῦ τῆς σφενδόνης τυχεῖν. διὸπερ ὁ Μέτελλος, προσπλέων πρὸς τὰς νήσους, δέρρεις ἐκένεν ὑπὲρ τῶν καταστρωμάτων σκέπην πρὸς τὰς σφενδόνας. εἰσῆγαγε δὲ ἐποίκους τρισχιλίους τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἱβηρίας Ῥωμαίων.

2. Πρὸς δὲ τῇ εὐκαρπίᾳ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὸ μηδὲν

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1 μελαγκρανίνας, Kramer, for μελαγκράνας; so Meineke.
2 Tyrwhitt conjectures Ἐρμῆ ἐλεγεί for Ἐρμηνεία.
3 μελαγκράνινον, Kramer, for μελαγκραίνον; so Meineke.
4 μελαγκρανίνας, Kramer, for μελαγκραίνας; so Meineke.
5 τῇ σφενδόνη, Casaubon, for the corrupt τῆς σφενδόνης of the MSS.

1 That is, for a shield.
2 But op. Diodorus Siculus, who says (5. 18): “Their equipment for fighting is three slings (so also Florus 3. 8 = 1. 43 in Rossbach’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, 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 of black-tufted rush (that is, a species of rope-rush, out of which the ropes are woven; and Philetas, too, in his "Hermeneia" 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-rope), 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. 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

3 The works of Philetas of Cos are lost. This "Hermeneia," meaning "Interpretation" (7), 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 wrongly so taken "black-tufted rush," as was first suggested

4 Sec. 45, 18 and Florus 3. 8.
The Pillars” was used in various senses in ancient times (cp. § 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. Scymnus (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
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 5. 2–3

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 considered as the Pillars. From this, as Gosselin and see also the Promontory of Juno became confused with Calpe; hence a Hera’s Island at Calpe, and also, Groskurd 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.

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ἄλλων εὐποροῦντες νῆσων, ἄλλα πλέον οἰκοῦντες τῇ θάλατταν, ὁλίγοι δὲ οἰκουροῦντες ἢ ἐν Ῥώμη
diatribοντες. ἐπεὶ πλῆθει γε οὐδεμιᾶς ἄν ἄπο-
λείπει οὖσαν δόξει τῶν ἐξω Ῥώμης πόλεων, ήκονς
γών ἐν μιᾷ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τιμήσεων πεντακοσίων
ἄνδρας τιμηθέντας ἱππικοὺς Γαδιτανοῦς, ὅσοις
οὐδένας οὐδὲ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν πλήν τῶν Πα-
tαυώνων, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἄντε νήσον ἦχουσιν οὐ
πολὺς μείζονα τίνυ ἰκατών σταδίων τὸ μῆκος,
πλάτος δὲ ἐς θ' ὅπου καὶ σταδιάλοι. πόλιν δὲ
κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ὄκουν παντάπασι μικράν, προσ-
ektei δὲ αὐτοὶς Βάλβος Γαδιτανὸς ὁ θριαμβεύσας
ἀλλην, ἣν Νέαν καλοῦσιν. τὴν δ' ἐξ ἄμφοιν Διδύ-
μην, οὐ πλειόνων εἰκοσι σταδίων οὐσαν τὴν περι-
μετρον, οὐδὲ ταύτην στενοχωρουμένην ὁλίγοι γὰρ
οἰκουροῦσιν ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ πάντας θαλαττεύειν
tὸ πλέον, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν περαιάν οἰκεῖν καὶ
μᾶλιστα τῇ ἐπὶ τῆς προκειμένης νησίδος διὰ τὴν
εὐφυίαν, ἦν ὁσπερ ἀντίπολιν πεποιήκασιν τῇ
Διδύμην, χαλαροτες τῷ τόπῳ. ὁλίγοι δὲ κατὰ
σύγκρισιν καὶ ταύτην οἰκοῦσι καὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ
κατεσκευάσαν αὐτοῖς Βάλβος ἐν τῇ περαιά τῆς
ἡπείρου. κείται δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐσπερίων τῆς νησίου
μερῶν ἢ πόλις, προσεχέ τ' αὔτη τελευταίον ἐστὶ

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 suggest
that the islet here mentioned by Stra
rather that all that is left of it is the islet of Trocadero
off Cadiz to the north.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 5. 3

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 Ktes: a number not equalled even in the case of 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 or the Romans, now known as Puerto Real.
τὸ Ἐρύθειαν δὲ τὰ Γάδειρα ἔοικε λέγειν ὁ Φερεκύδης, ἐν ἣ τὰ περὶ τὸν Γηρυόνην μυθεύουσιν. ἀλλοι δὲ τὴν παραβεβλημένην ταύτη τῇ πόλει νῆσον, πορθμῷ σταδιαίῳ διειργομένην, τὸ εὐβοτὸν ὁρῶντες, ὅτι τῶν νεμομένων αὐτόθι προβάτων τὸ γάλα ὀρὸν ὀν ποιεῖ. τυροποιοῦσί τε πολλῷ ὑδατί μίξαντες διὰ τὴν πιότητα, ἐν πεντήκοντα τε ἡμέραις πνίγεται τὸ ζῴον, εἰ μή τις ἀποσχάζοι τι τοῦ αἵματος. ξηρὰ δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἢν νέμονται ὁ αἰγιαλός.

1 τά, before πρὸς, Jones deletes.
2 τοῦτο, from the margin of ὁ, for τοῦ (ABCf); 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
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. And they say that the temple is twelve miles distant from the city, thus making the number of the miles equal to that of the Labours; 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.

By "Erytheia," in which the myth-writers place the adventures of Geryon, Pherecydes seems to mean Gades. 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, 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.

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

5 Cp. 3. 2. 11. 6 Cp. Pliny 4. 36.

7 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 Γαδείρων τοιαύτα λέγοντες μέμνηνται Γαδιτανοὶ χρησμοῦ τίνος, διὰ γενέσθαι φασὶ Τυρίοις κελεύοντα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑρακλέους στήλας ἀποικίαν πέμψειν· τοὺς δὲ πεμφθέντας κατασκοπῆς χάριν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐγένοντο τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἁβίλυκα, νομίζαντας τέρμονας εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῆς Ἑρακλέους στρατείας τὰ ἀκρα τὰ 1 ποιοῦντα τὸν πορθμὸν, ταῦτα δ᾽ αὐτὰ καὶ Στήλας ὄνομαζειν τὸ λόγιον, κατασχεῖν εἰς τὶς χωρίων ἐντὸς τῶν στενῶν, ἐκ ὧν ἐστιν ἡ τῶν Ἐξιτανών πόλις· ἐνταῦθα δὲ θύσαντας, μὴ γενομένους καὶ τῶν τερμάτων, ἀνακάμψαι πάλιν. χρόνῳ δ᾽ ύστερον τοὺς πεμφθέντας προελθεῖν ἐξω τοῦ πορθμοῦ περὶ χιλίως καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους εἰς νῆσον Ἑρακλέους ἱεράν· κειμένην κατὰ πόλιν Ὀνόβαον τῆς Ἰβηρίας, καὶ νομίζαντας εἰς τῆς Στήλας θύσαι τὸ βιβλίον, μὴ γενομένους δὲ πάλιν καὶ τῶν ἱερείων, ἐπανελθεῖν ὅπου εἶχαν. τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ στόλῳ τοὺς ἀφικομένους Γάδειρα κτίσαι καὶ ἱδρύσασθαι τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν δοκεῖν τὰ ἀκρα τοῦ πορθμοῦ τὰς Στήλας εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ τὰ Γάδειρα, τοὺς δ᾽ ἔτι πορρώτερα τῶν Γαδείρων ἐξω προκείσθαι· ἔνιοι δὲ Στήλας ὑπέλαβον τὴν Ἀβίλυκα, τὸ ἀντικείμενον ὄρος

1 τά, Corais inserts before ποιοῦντα.

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

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 Λιβύης, ὁ φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ Μεταγωγώδε, Νομιδικῷ ἔθνει, ἵδρυσθαι· οἱ δὲ τὰς πλησίον ἐκατέρου νησίδας, ὡς τὴν ἑτέραν Ὑπασνῆσον ὀνομάζουσιν. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ τὴν μὲν τῆς Ἡρας νῆσον καὶ ἱερὸν λέγει αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰν δὲ φησίν εἶναι τίνα, οὐδ᾽ Ἀβίλυκα ὄρος οὐδὲ Μεταγώγιον ἔθνος. καὶ τὰς Πλαγκτᾶς καὶ τὰς Συμπληγάδας ἐνθάδε μεταφέρουσι τινες, ταύτας εἶναι νομίζοντες Στήλας, ὡς Πίνδαρος καὶ Πύλας Γαδειρίδας, εἰς ταύτας ὑστάτας ἄφιξες καὶ φάσκω τὸν Ἡρακλέα. καὶ Δικαίαρχος δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Πολύβιος καὶ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἐλληνῶν περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀποφαίνουσι τὰς Στήλας. οἱ δὲ Ἰβηρεῖς καὶ Λίβυες ἐν Ταδείροις εἶναι, φασιν, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐσκεῖαν στήλαις τὰ περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν. οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Γαδείροις χαλκάς ὀκταπήχεις, ἐν αἷς ἀναγέγραπται τὸ ἀνάκολομα τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ταύτας λέγεσθαί φασιν· ἔρ' ὡς ἐρχόμενοι οἱ τελέσαντες τὸν πλοῦν καὶ θύοντες τῷ Ἡρακλεί διαβοηθῆναι παρασκεύασαν, ὡς τοῦτον εἶναι καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τὸ πέρας. τοῦτον δ' εἶναι πιθανότατον καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἡγεῖται τὸν λόγον, τὸν δὲ χρῆσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀποστόλων ψεύσμα Φοινικικῶν. περὶ μὲν 'οι τῶν ἀποστόλων τί ἄν τις δισχυρίσατο πρὸς ἔλεγχον ἡ πίστις, οὐδετέρως παράλογον ὧν; τὸ δὲ τὰς νησίδας ἡ τὰ ὅρη μὴ φάσκειν

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

2 The passage referred to is otherwise unknown to us.

That is, the account that associates the Pillars of Heracles with the bronze pillars.
opposite Calpe which is situated, according to Eratos-
thenes, 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 
Planctae 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. 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 sacri-
ficing to Heracles have had it noisily spread abroad 
that this is the end of both land and sea. Posei-
donius, too, believes this to be the most plausible 
account of the matter, but that the oracle and the 
many expeditions from Tyre are a Phoenician lie. Now, concerning the expeditions, what could one 
affirm with confidence as to their falsity or trust-
worthiness when neither of the two opinions is 
contrary to reason? But to deny that the isles or

9 Cp. the proverbial "Punic faith."
ἐοικέναι στήλαις, ἀλλὰ ξητεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν κυρίως λεγομένων στηλῶν τούς τῆς οἰκουμένης ὥρους ἢ τῆς στρατείας τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἔχει μὲν τίνα νοῦν ἢ θοσ γὰρ παλαιών ὑπήρχε τὸ τίθεσθαι τοιούτου ὥρους, καθάπερ οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι τὴν στυλίδα ἔθεσαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Πορθμῶ κειμένην, πυργίον τι, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Πελάρου λεγόμενος πῦργος ἀντίκειται πρώτῃ τῇ στυλίδι· καὶ οἱ Φιλαίνων λεγόμενοι βωμοί κατὰ μέσην ποιμένος τῶν Σύρτεων γῆν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἱσθμῷ τῷ Κορινθιακῷ μνημονεύονται στήλης τῆς ἱδρυμένης πρότερον, ἣν ἠστησαν κοινῇ οἱ τὴν Ἀττικήν συν τῇ Μεγαρίδι κατασχόντες Ἰωνία, ἐξελάθησαν ἐκ τῆς Πελοπόννησου, καὶ οἱ κατασχόντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐπιγράψαντες ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Μεγαρίδι μέρους, τάδ᾽ οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος, ἀλλὰ Ἰωνία, ἐκ δὲ θατέρου, τάδ᾽ ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος, οὐκ Ἰωνία.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς στρατείας ὅρια βωμοὺς ἐθετο ἐν τοῖς τόποις εἰς οὓς ὕστατος ἀφίκετο τῶν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς Ἰνδῶν, μιμούμενος τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον. ἢν μὲν δὴ τὸ ἔθος τούτω 

1 See 6. 15. 2 See I. 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 Philaeni 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 Syrtis there stand what are called the Altars of the Philaei. 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 farthest 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 ἐστι μεταλαμβάνειν τὴν αὐτὴν προσηγορίαν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὰν ὁ χρόνος διαφθείρῃ τοὺς τεθέντας ὄρους, οὐ γὰρ νῦν οἱ Φιλαιίνων βωμοὶ μένουσιν, ἀλλ’ ὁ τόπος μετείληφε τὴν προσηγορίαν οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ στῆλας φασίν δραθήναι κειμένας οὐθ’ Ἡρακλέους οὔτε Διονύσου, καὶ λεγομένων μέντοι καὶ δεικνυμένων τῶν τόπων τινῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπίστευον τούτους εἶναι στῆλας ἐν οἷς τὶ σημεῖον εὑρίσκομεν ἢ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐστορομμένων ἢ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα. κανταῦθα δὴ τοὺς μὲν πρώτους οὐκ ἂν ἀπιστήσασθαι τις ὀροῖς διείσασθαι χειροκμήτοις τις οἷς βωμοὶ δέ πύργους οὐσὶ στυλίσιν, ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων εἰς οἷς οὐσὶ στυλίσιν τῶν οὖσας ἐστὶ καὶ δεικνυμένων τοῖς τόποις τις Μακεδόνες ἐπίστευον τούτους εἶναι στῆλας ἐν οἷς τι σημεῖο! εὗρισκομεν εἴτε τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἢ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πρακλέα. καὶ ταὐτὰ θ' ἂν ἄπιστησαι, τις ὅροις χρήσασθαι χειροκμήτοις τις βωμοὶ δέ πύργους οὐσὶ στυλίσιν, ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων εἰς οἷς οὐσὶ στυλίσιν τῶν οὐσας ἐστὶ καὶ άρχας τόπων, ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τῶν χειροκμήτων ὑπομνημάτων μετενεχθῆναι τούνομα εἰς τοὺς τόπους, εἴτε τὰς νησίδας τις Βούλευτα λέγειν εἴτε τὰς ἀκραὶ τὰς ποιοῦσας τοὺς πορθμοὺς. τοῦτο γὰρ ἶδῃ διορίσασθαι χαλεπὸν, ποτέροις χρῆ προσάψασθαι τῇ ἐπίκλησιν, διὰ τὸ ἄμφοτέροις ἐοικέναι τὰς Στῆλας. λέγω δὲ ἐοικέναι, διὸτι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔδραυραι τούτως οἷς σαφῶς τᾶς ἐσχατιὰς ὑπαγορεύουσιν, καθ’ ὅ καὶ στόμα εὑρήσει ὁ πορθμὸς καὶ οὗτος καὶ ἄλλοι πλεῖοι τὸ δὲ στόμα πρὸς μὲν ἐις πλοῦν ἄρχη ἐστὶ, πρὸς δὲ ἐκπλοὺν ἐσχατοῦ. τὰ οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι νησίδα, ἔχοντα τὸ εὐπεριγραφὸν τε καὶ

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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 Philaeni 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 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
σημειώδες, οὐ φαύλως στήλαις ἀπεικάζοι τις ἄν-
όσι αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ὅρη τὰ ἐπικείμενα τῷ πορθμῷ
καὶ ἔξοχὴν τινα τοιαύτην ἐμφαίνοντα οίαν αἱ
στυλίδες ἢ αἱ στήλαι. καὶ ὁ Πίνδαρος οὕτως
ἐκ ὧν ὡσώς λέγω στῦλας Γαδείριδας, εἰ ἐπὶ τοῦ
στόματος νοοῦντο αἱ στήλαι· στῦλας γὰρ ἐσχικὲ
τὰ στόματα. τὰ δὲ Γάδειρα οὐκ ἐν τοιούτοις
ϊδρυμεν τόπος ὡστε ἄνωδηλουν ἐσχατιᾶς, ἀλλὰ
ἐν μέσῃ πως κοιτάζει μεγάλη παραλλα στήλων.
τὸ δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτὰς ἀναφέρειν τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ
στῆλας τὸ ἐνθάδε ἔττον εὐλογηθητει, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ
πότισ τῶν ὡστε ἄνωδηλουν ἐσχατιᾶς, ἀλλὸν
ἐκ τῶν ὡστε ἄνωδηλουν ἐσχατιᾶς. ἀλλὰς τὲ καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή, ἡν φασιν, οὐκ
ἀφίδρυμα ἱερὸν δηλοῦσα, ἀλλὰ ἀναλώματος
κεφάλαιον, ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ τὰς γὰρ
Ἡρακλείους στήλας μνημεῖα εἶναι δεῖ τῆς ἐκείνου
μεγαλουργίας, οὐ τῆς Φοινίκων δαπάνης.

7. Φησὶ δὲ ὁ Πολύβιος κρήνην ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ
τῷ ἐν Γαδείροις εἶναι, βαθμῶν ὀλίγων κατάβασιν
ἐχούσαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ πότισ τῶν ὡστε ἄνωδηλον
ἐχούσαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ πότισ τῶν ὡστε ἄνωδηλον,
τῆς θαλάττης ἀντιπαθεῖν, κατὰ μὲν τὰς πλήμας
ἐκλείπουσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀμπώτεις 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.
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

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¹ The inscription
² Reproduction
³ The Heracleium includes both the temple and the sacred precinct of Heracles (cp. § 9 below).
τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς γῆς ἐκπῖπτον, καλυφθείσας
μὲν αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος κατὰ τὰς ἐπιβάσεις
tῆς θαλάττης, εἰργεται τῶν οἰκείων τοιοῦτων
ἐξόδων, ἀναστρέψαν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ἐμφράττει
tοὺς τῆς πηγῆς πόρους καὶ ποιεῖ λειψυδρίαν,
γυμνωθείσης δὲ πάλιν, εὐθυπορῆσαν ἑλευθεροῖ
tὰς φλέβας τῆς πηγῆς, ὡστ' ἀναβλύσει εὐπόρως.
Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ ἀντειπὼν τοῦτῳ καὶ ἀμαρτει
τινα θεὶς αἰτίαν, μνησθεὶς δὲ καὶ τῆς Σιλα-
νοῦ δόξης τοῦ συγγραφέως, οὐ μοι δοκεῖ μνήμης
αξία εἰπεῖν, ός δὲν ἱδιώτης περὶ ταύτα καὶ αὐτὸς
καὶ Σιλανῆς. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ψεῦδη λέγων τὴν
ἱστορίαν εἶναι ταύτην δύο φηνεῖ εἶναι φρεατα ἐν
tῷ Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ τρίτον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν δὲ
ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ τὸ μὲν μικρότερον ὑδρευμένων
συνεχῶς αὐθωροῦ καὶ ἐκλείπειν, καὶ διαλειπόντων
τῆς ὑδρείας πληροῦσθαι πάλιν τὸ δὲ μεῖξον δὴ
ὁλος τῆς ἠμέρας τὴς ὑδρείας ἔχου, μειούμενον
μέντοι, καθάπερ καὶ τάλλα φρέατα πάντα, νῦ-
κτωρ πληροῦσθαι, μηκέτι ὑδρευμένων ἐπειδή δὲ
συμπίπτει κατὰ τὸν τῆς συμπληρώσεως καιρὸν
ἡ ἀμπωτις πολλάκις, πεπιστεῦσαι καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ
τῶν ἐγχωρίων τὴν ἀντιπάθειαν ὡς μὲν οὖν ἡ
ἱστορία πεπίστευται καὶ οὗτος εἰρηκε καὶ ἠμείς
ἐν τοῖς παραδόξοις ὑπολογόμενη παρειλήφαμεν.

1 Casaubon and subsequent editors emend καινῶς to κενῶς.
2 ἀντιπάθειαν, Xylander, for ἀντιπλοῖαν; so subsequent editors.

1 Polybius has said that there was “a spring in the Heracleium”; Poseidonius says “two wells”; but Pliny (2. 100) says, “At Gades, which is very near the temple of Heraclei
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 I there is a spring, enclosed like a well," to which he ascribes the phenomenon of the inverse-behaviour.

1 The paradoxes constituted an important part of the teachings of the Stoics; and Strabo was a Stoic.
Ἀκούσαμεν δὲ καὶ φρέατα εἶναι, τὰ μὲν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς κήποις τὰ δὲ ἐντός, διὰ δὲ τὴν μοχθηρίαν τοῦ ὕδατος κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δεξαμενὰς ἐπιπολάζειν τοῦ λακκαίου ὕδατος· εἰ μὲντοι καὶ τούτων τι τῶν φρεάτων ἐπιδείκνυται τὴν τῆς ἀντιπαθείας ύπόνοιαν, οὐκ ἴσμεν· τὰς δὲ αἰτίας, εἴσπροι συμβαίνει ταῦτα οὕτως, ὡς ἐν χαλεπῶς ἀποδέχεσθαι δει· εἰκὸς μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἔχειν ὡς ὁ Πολυβίος φησίν· εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν φλεβῶν τινάς τῶν πηγαίων νοτισθείσας ἐξωθεὶν χαυνόσθαι καὶ παρέκχυσιν εἰς τὰ πλάγια μᾶλλον διδόναι τοῖς ὕδασιν ἢ ἀναθλίβειν κατὰ τὸ ἄρχαίον ῥείθρον εἰς τὴν κρήνην (νοτίζεσθαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον, ἐπικλυσαντος τοῦ κύματος). εἰ δὲ, ὡστερ Ἀθηνόδωρος φησίν, εἴσπροι τε καὶ ἐκπνοῆς τό συμβαίνειν περὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀμπώτεις ἐσοικειν, εἰναι ἄν τινα τῶν ῥεόντων ὕδατον, ἢ κατ’ ἄλλους μὲν πόρους ἔχει τὴν ἐκρυσίν κατὰ φύσιν εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, δι’ ἡ τὰ στόματα πηγᾶς καὶ κρήνας καλοῦμεν, κατ’ ἄλλους δὲ πόρους συνελκεῖται πρὸς τὸ τῆς θαλάττης βάθος· καὶ συνεξαίρονται μὲν ἐκεῖνην, ὥστε πλημμυρέων, ὅταν οἷον ἡ ἐκπνοη γίνηται, τὸ οἰκεῖον ἄπολεῖται ῥείθρον, πάλιν δὲ ἀναχωρεῖ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ῥείθρον ὅταν κάκειν λάβῃ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν.

8. Οὐκ οἶδα δὲ πῶς κατ’ ἄλλα δεινοὺς ἀποφαίνων ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἐνταῦθα

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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).

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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, 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 sea 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

2 See the argument of Strato the physicist and the discussion of Strabo in 1. 3. 4-5.
μωρίαν μᾶλλον ἡ δριμύτητα αὐτῶν κατέγνωκεν. ἣμέρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ νύξ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου περιφορᾷ 1 μετρεῖται, τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ γῆς ὁντος, τοτὲ δὲ ὑπέρ γῆς φαινομένου. φησὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ὀκεανοῦ κίνησιν ὑπέχειν ἀστροειδῆ περίοδον, τὴν μὲν ἡμερήσιον ἀποδιδοῦσαν, τὴν δὲ μηνιαίαν, τὴν δὲ ἐνιαυσιαίαν συμπαθῶς τῇ σελήνῃ. ὅταν γὰρ αὐτῇ ζῳδίου μέγεθος ὑπερέχῃ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος, ἀρχεσθαὶ διοιδεὶν 2 τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐπιβαίνειν τῆς γῆς αἰσθητῶς μέχρι μεσουρανήσεως· ἐκκλίνατος δὲ τοῦ ἀστρον, πάλιν ἀναχωρεῖν τὸ τέλαγος κατ᾽ ὁλῖγον, ἐως ἂν ζῳδίου ὑπερέχῃ τῆς δύσεως ἡ σελήνη· εἶτα μὲν εἶναι τὸν ὀρίζοντος ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς καταστάσει, πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν δύσιν, καὶ ἔτη μᾶλλον τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἱστείσθη ὑπὸ γῆς ζῳδίου ἀπὸσχοῖν ἂν τοῦ ὀρίζοντος· εἶτε ἐπιβαίνειν πάλιν ἐως τοῦ ὑπὸ γῆς μεσουρανήσματος· εἶτε ἀναχωρεῖν ἐως ἂν πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς περιχωρίσασα ἡ σελήνη· ἐκκλίνατος τοῦ ὀρίζοντος ἀπὸσχεῖ· μένειν δὲ μέγρις ἂν ζῳδίου ὑπερέχῃ τῆς δύσεως ἡ σελήνη· εἶτα μένειν τὸν ὀρίζοντος ἀπὸσχεῖ. ταύτην μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἡμερήσιον περίοδον· τὴν δὲ μηνιαίαν, ὅτι μέγαστε μὲν αἱ παλιά τοῦ ὁρίζοντος ἀπὸσχοῖν, πρὸς τὰς συνόδους, εἶτα μειοῦνται μέχρι διχοτόμον· πάλιν δὲ αὐξοῦνται μέχρι πανσελήνην, καὶ μειοῦνται πάλιν ἐως διχοτόμον φθινόδος· εἰδ' Τη... περιφορᾶ, Corais, for Τη... περιφορᾶ; so the subsequent editors. 2 διοιδεὶν, the reading of the Epitome, for δεῖν ABCEZ.

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.
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

¹ The first quarter. ² The third quarter.
ἕως τῶν συνόδων αἱ αὔξήσεις, πλεονάζειν δὲ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ τάχει τὰς αὔξήσεις. τὰς δὲ ἐνιαυσίας παρὰ τῶν ἐν Γαδείροις πυθέσθαι φησί, λεγόντων ὡς κατὰ θερινὰς τροπὰς μάλιστα αὔξοντο καὶ αἱ ἀναχωρήσεις καὶ αἱ ἐπιβάσεις. εἰκάζει δὲ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν τροπῶν μειοῦσθαι μὲν ἕως ἱσημερίας, αὔξεσθαι δὲ ἔως χειμερινῶν τροπῶν, εἰτα μειοῦσθαι μέχρι ἐαρινῆς ἱσημερίας, εἰτ' αὔξεσθαι μέχρι θερινῶν τροπῶν. τῶν δὲ περιόδων τούτων οὐσῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ήμέραιν καὶ νύκτα, τὸν συνάμφω χρόνον διὸς μὲν ἐπιβαίνοντος τῆς θαλάττης, δἰς δὲ ἀναχωροῦσης, τεταγμένως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱσημερίας χρόνων καὶ τῶν νυκτερινῶν, πῶς οἶον τε πολλάκις μὲν συμβαίνει κατὰ τὰς άμπώτεις τὴν πλήρωσιν τοῦ φρέατος, μὴ πολλάκις δὲ την λειψύδριαν; ἡ πολλάκις μὲν, μη ἰσάκις δὲ; ἂν καὶ ἰσάκιςμὲν, τοὺς δὲ Γαδειρίτας ταῦτα μὲν μὴ ἱκανοὺς γενέσθαι τηρῆσαι τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἱσημερίαν γινόμενα, τὰς δὲ ἐνιαυσίας περιόδους ἐκ τῶν ἁπάξ συμβαινόντων κατ' ἑτέρα τηρῆσαι; 

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. 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, 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 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

2 The autumnal equinox.
3 This assertion is attributed by Strabo to Poseidonius, not to the Phoenicians (cp. § 7 above).
At the beginning of § 8 Strabo sets out, rather cap-
tiously, 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 re-
marks 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. Op. Pliny, 2. 99.

1 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 zodiac; 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 Heracleium 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 Ilipa a great variation in the back-water of the Bactis, that is, as compared with the previous variations, in the course of which the water did not wet the banks so much as halfway 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 Ilipa is about

³ That is, the comparative regularity or irregularity of the tides.
⁴ 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.
⁵ That is, the Roman soldiers who were stationed at Ilipa.
Ἰλίπα τῆς θαλάττης περὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους̣·

tῶν δ’ ἐπὶ θαλάττη πεδίων καὶ ἐπὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἕνεκα πιθήκων καὶ νήσους ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι, τὸ τῆς κρηπίδος υψός τῆς τε τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ, οὗτος ἐν τῷ διπλάσιον τοῦτον κατὰ τὰς γενομένας ποτὲ παραρεῖσει, ὃτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις παρέχεται τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πλημμυρίδος. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ πάθος καὶ νῆσος ἀπολαμβάνεται κατὰ πάσαν τὴν κύκλον παρωκεανίτην, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ χώματος ὃ τοῦ λιμένος πρόκειται τοῦ ἐν Γαδείροις, οὐδὲν δὲκάτα τὰς γενομένας ποτὲ παραρεῖσει, ὃτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις παρέχεται τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πλημμυρίδος. τοῦτο ἐν τῷ δὲ τὸ πάθος καὶ νῆσος ἀπολαμβάνεται κατὰ πάσαν τὴν κύκλον παρωκεανίτην, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ χώματος ὃ τοῦ λιμένος πρόκειται τοῦ ἐν Γαδείροις, οὐδὲν δὲκάτα τὰς γενομένας ποτὲ παραρεῖσει, ὃτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις παρέχεται τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πλημμυρίδος.

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

1 Some of the MSS. read “fifty.”
2 See 3. 2. 4.
3 Perhaps the Dracena 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\(^1\) stadia inland, to such a depth that islands were enclosed by the flood-tide,\(^2\) still the altitude of the foundations, both the foundation of the temple in the Heracleium 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\(^3\) in Gades which has branches that bend to the ground, and often-times 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\(^4\) out of which most beautiful woven stuffs are made. Now I too know a tree\(^5\) in Egypt which is like that in Gades so far as the bending (Chamaecrops humilis). This fibre is called "African hair," and a fabric like haircloth is still made from it.

\(^{155}\) Clearly a tree of the genus Salix (willow family).
δων κατάκαμψις, τοὺς δὲ φύλλοις ἀνόμοιον, οὐδὲ καρπὸν ἔχον· τοῦτο δὲ ἔχειν φησί. τὰ δὲ ἀκάνθινα υφαίνεται καὶ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ, φέρει δ’ οὐδὲν δένδρων τὴν ἀκάνθαν, ἐξ ἕς ὁ φλοιός, ἀλλὰ χαμαίζηλος ἡ βοτάνη. τὸ δὲ δένδρῳ τῷ ἐν Γαδείροις καὶ τούτῳ προσίστορηται, ὅτι κλάδου μὲν ἀποκλωμένου γάλα ἰεῖ, πίθης δὲ τεμνομένης μιλτῶδες υγρὸν ἀναφέρεται. τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ Γαδείρων.

11. Αἱ δὲ Καττιτερίδες δέκα μὲν εἰσὶ, κεῖνται δ’ ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων, πρὸς ἄρκτον ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἀρτάβρων λιμένος πελάγιαν· μία δ’ αὐτῶν ἔρημός ἐστι, τὰς δὲ ἀλλὰς οἰκοῦσιν ἀνθρώποι μελάγχλαι, ἐξωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στέρνα, μετὰ ράβδων περιπατοῦντες, ὁμοίοι ταῖς τραγικαῖς Ποιαισί. ξύσι δ’ ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων νομαδικῶς τὸ πλέον. μέταλλα δὲ ἔχουσι καττιτέρου καὶ μολύβδου κέραμον αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν δερμάτων διαλλάττονται καὶ ἄλας καὶ χαλκώματα πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους. πρότερον μὲν οὖν Φοίνικες μόνοι τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἔστελλον ταύτην ἐκ τῶν Γαδείρων, κρύπτοντες ἅπασι τοὺς δερματικοὺς τοὺς πλούς· τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαιῶν ἐπακολουθοῦντων ναυκλήρῳ τινί, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔναντι τὰ τηροῦσι, φθόνῳ ὁ ναυ¬κληρος ἐκὼν εἰς τέναγος ἔξεβαλε τὴν ναῦν, ἐπαγαγὼν δ’ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ὅλοθρον καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους, αὐτὸς ἐσώθη διὰ ταναγίου καὶ ἀπέλαβε δημοσίᾳ τὴν τιμὴν δὲν ἀπέβαλε φορτίῳ· οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ ὅμως πειρώμενοι πολλάκις ἐξέμαθον τὸν πλοῦν· 156
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
ἐπειδή δὲ καὶ Πόπλιος Κράσσος διαβὰς ἐπ’ αὐ-
tοὺς ἕγνω τὰ μέταλλα ἐκ μικροῦ βάθους ὁρυττό-
μενα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰρηναίους, ἐκ περιουσίας ἢ
dη τὴν θάλατταν ἐργάζεσθαι ταύτην τοῖς ἐθέλου-
σιν ἐπέδειξε, καίπερ οὖσαν πλείω τῆς διειργούσης ¹ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς. καὶ περὶ μὲν Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῶν προκειμένων νήσων ταύτα.

¹ eis, before τήν, 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'

Ι

1. Ἐφεξῆς δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπεων Κελτικὴ, ταύτης δὲ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ὑπογεγραμμένος πρότερον τυπωδῶς καὶ τὸ μέγεθος νυνὶ δὲ λεκτέον τὰ καθ᾽ ἑκαστα. οἱ μὲν δὴ τριχῆ Ἰβηρίων, Ἀκυϊτανοὺς καὶ Βέλγας καλοῦντες καὶ Κέλτας, τοὺς μὲν Ἀκυϊτανοὺς τελέως ἐξηλλαγμένους οὐ τῇ γλώττῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἐμφερεῖς Ἡβηρίων μᾶλλον Ἡ Γαλάταις. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Γαλατικοὺς μὲν τὴν ὅψιν, ὁμογλώττους δ᾽ οὐ πάντας, ἀλλὰ ἐνίους μικρὸν παραλλάττοντας ταῖς γλώτταις, καὶ αἱ πολιτείαι, 1 ἔλεγον τοὺς πρὸς τῇ Πορείᾳ, διωρισμένους τῷ Ἰκεμένῳ ὀρεί. εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ταύτην ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς δύσεως ὀρίζει τὰ Πυρηναῖα ὄρη, προσαπτόμενα τῆς ἑκατέρωθεν θαλάττης, τῆς τε ἐντὸς καὶ τῆς ἐκτός. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνατολῶν ὁ Ῥῆνος, παράλληλος ὑπὸ τῇ Πυρηνίᾳ. τὰ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων καὶ τῆς μεσημβρίας, τὰ μὲν ὁ ὦκεανὸς περιείληφεν, ἀρξά-

1 ai πολιτείαι, Jones, for πολιτεῖα.

1 That is, after Iberia.
2 The "Transalpine Gaul" of the Romans.
3 2. 5. 28 and 3. 1. 3.
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.
μενος ἀπὸ τῶν βορείων ἄκρων τῆς Πυρήνης, μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥήμου, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐρέτησαν μέχρι τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ Ῥήμου. τῇ δὲ Πυρήνη πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἤκτε τῆς Κέμμενον ὅρος διὰ μέσω τῶν πεδίων, καὶ παῦεται κατὰ μέσα πλησίον Λουγδούνου, περὶ δισχίλιον εἰκαθένεν σταδίουν. Ἀκυητανοὺς μὲν τοῖς ἐλεγον τοὺς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Πυρήνης μέρη κατέχοντας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κεμμένης μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥήμου καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἦκτεν Κέμμενον ὄρος διὰ μέσω τῶν πεδίων, καὶ παῦεται κατὰ μέσα πλησίον Λουγδούνου, περὶ δισχίλιον εἰκαθένεν σταδίουν. Ἀκυητανοὺς μὲν τοῖς ἐλεγον τοὺς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Πυρήνης μέρη κατέχοντας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κεμμένης μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥήμου καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἦκτεν Κέμμενον ὄρος διὰ μέσω τῶν πεδίων, καὶ παῦεται κατὰ μέσα πλησίον Λουγδούνου, περὶ δισχίλιον εἰκαθένεν σταδίουν. Ἀκυητανοὺς μὲν τοῖς ἐλεγον τοὺς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Πυρήνης μέρη κατέχοντας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κεμμένης μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥήμου καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἦκτεν Κέμμενον ὄρος διὰ μέσω τῶν πεδίων, καὶ παῦεται κατὰ μέσα πλησίον Λουγδούνου, περὶ δισχίλιον εἰκαθένεν σταδίουν. Ἀκυητανοὺς μὲν τοῖς ἐλεγον τοὺς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Πυρήνης μέρη κατέχοντας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κεμμένης μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥήμου καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἦκτεν Κέμμενον ὄρος διὰ μέσω τῶν πεδίων, καὶ παῦεται κατὰ μέσα πλησίον Λουγδούνου, περὶ δισχίλιον εἰκαθένεν σταδίουν.

1 ἀπὸ, Jones inserts.
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, near Lugdunum, 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.” Augustus Caesar, however, divided Transalpine Celtica into four parts: the Celtae he designated as belonging to the province of Narbonitis; 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

3 For a technical discussion of Strabo’s description of Gaul, the reader is referred to Cásarstudien, by A. Klotz, 1910, pp. 57-135.  
4 Provincia Narbonensis.
Ῥήνου, τὴν δὲ τοῖς Βέλγαις. ὅσα μὲν οὖν φυσικῶς διώρισται δεῖ λέγειν τὸν γεωγράφον καὶ ὅσα ἑθνικῶς, ὅταν1 ἥ καὶ μνήμης ἄξια, ὅσα δ᾽ οἱ ἤγεμόνες πρὸς τοὺς καρποὺς πολιτευόμενοι διατάτουσι ποικίλως, ἀρκεὶ κἂν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τις εἶπη, τοῦ δ᾽ ἀκριβοῦς ἄλλοις παραχωρητέον.

2. Ἀπασα μὲν οὖν ἐστιν αὕτη ποταμοῖς κατάρρυτος ἡ χώρα, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπεων καταφερομένοις, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ Κεμμένου καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης, καὶ τοῖς μὲν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἔκβιάλλουσι, τοῖς δὲ εἰς τὴν ήμετέραν θάλασσαν. δι᾽ ὧν δὲ φέρονται χωρίων, πεδία ἐστὶ τὰ πλείστα καὶ γεωλοφίαι διάρρους ἔχουσαι πλωτοὺς. οὖτως δ᾽ εὐφυῶς ἱσχει τὰ βείθρα πρὸς ἅλληλα ὡστ᾽ εξ ἐκατέρας τῆς θαλάττης εἰς ἐκατέραν κατακομίξεσθαι, πορευομένων τῶν φορτίων ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον καὶ διὰ πεδίων εὐμαρῶς, τὸ δὲ πλέον τοῖς ποταμοῖς, τοῖς μὲν ἀναγομένων, τοῖς δὲ καταγομένων. ἔχει δὲ τι πλεονέκτημα πρὸς τούτο ὁ Ῥοδανός· καὶ γὰρ πολλαχόθεν ἐστὶ σύρρους, ὡστερ εἰρητικे, καὶ συνάπτει πρὸς τὴν ήμετέραν θάλασσαν, κρείττω τῆς ἐκτὸς ὃσιαν, καὶ διὰ χώρας διέξεισι τῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτης τῶν ταύτης. τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκάθερει καρποὺς ἡ Ναρβωνῖτις ἄπασα οὔστερ ἡ Ἰταλία. προϊόντι δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους καὶ τὸ Κέμμενον, ὅρος ἡ μὲν ἑλαιόφυτος καὶ συκοφόρος ἐκλείπει, τάλλα δὲ φύεται. καὶ ἡ ἀμπελοῦσι δὲ προϊόσσων οὐ βαδίωσ

1 ὅταν, Kramer, for δ τι κιν.

1 Gallia Ugandarete. 2 Gallia Belgica.
3 Not by > οὐτωτοι διαίησιν he again mentions this in § 14 below.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 1. 1–2

of the Rhenus, while the other he included within the boundaries of the Belgae. 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, 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

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τελεσφορεῖ ὡς ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα σίτον φέρει πολύν καὶ κέγχρον καὶ βάλανον καὶ βοσκήματα παντοῖα, ἀργὸν δ᾽ αὐτῆς οὐδέν, πλὴν εἴ τι ἔλεσε κεκόλυται καὶ δρυμοῖς· καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο συνοικεῖται, πολυ-ανθρωπία μᾶλλον ἡ ἐπιμελεία. καὶ γὰρ τοκάδες αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τρέφειν ἀγαθά, οἱ δ᾽ ἄνδρες μαχηταὶ μᾶλλον γεωργοὶ· νῦν δ᾽ ἀναγκάζονται γεωργεῖν, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα. κοινῇ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέ-γομεν περὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκτὸς Κελτικῆς, περὶ δὲ τῶν τεταρτημορίων ἐκάστου διαλαβόντες λέγομεν νυνί, μεμνημένοι τυπωδῶς, καὶ πρῶτον περὶ τῆς Ναρ-βωνίτιδος.

3. Ταύτης δὲ τὸ σχῆμα παραλληλόγραμμόν πώς ἐστιν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἑσπέρας γραφόμενον τῇ Πυρήνῃ, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀρκτικὰς τῷ Κεμμένῳ τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς, τῇ μὲν νότιοι θάλασσαι ποιεῖται μεταξὺ Πυρήνης καὶ Μασσαλίας, τῇ δὲ ἐκείνῃ τῇ Αλπείς ἐκ μέρους, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημα τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐπ’ εὐθείας αὐτῶν λειτύριον καὶ τὸν ὑπωρείον τοῦ Κεμμένου τῶν καθηκουσῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν καὶ ποιουσῶν ὅρθισιν γωνίαν πρὸς τὴν λειτυρίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων εὐθείας. τῷ δὲ νότιῷ πρόσκειται παρὰ τὸ λειτύριον σχῆμα ἡ ἐφεξῆς συμβολὴ ἡν ἐχούσων οἱ τε Μασσαλιώται καὶ οἱ Σάλλυες μέχρι Λυγύων ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς Ἰταλίαν μέρη καὶ τὸν Οὐάρον ποταμόν. οὕτως δὲ ἐστὶν ὅς εἶπον πρῶτον, ὅριον τῆς Ναρβωνίτιδος, καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας 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.
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 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, 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 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, the boundary between this Province and Italy. It is only a small

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θέρους μὲν μικρός, χειμώνος δὲ καὶ μέχρι ἐπτὰ σταδίων πλατυνόμενος. ἐντεῦθεν μὲν οὖν ἡ παραλία παρατείνει μέχρι τοῦ ιεροῦ τῆς Πυρηναίας Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν ὄριον ταύτης τε τῆς ἔπαρχιας καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρικῆς. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τοῦ τόπου ἐν φ’ ἐστὶ τὰ Πομπηίου τρόπαια ὄριον Ἰβηρίας ἀποφαίνουσι καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς. ἐστὶ δ’ ἐνθεῖν μὲν εἰς Νάρβωνα μίλια ἐξήκοντα τρία, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Νέμαυσον ὀχυροκομοῦσα ὄκτω, ἐκ Νεμαύσου δὲ διὰ Οὐγέρνου καὶ Ταρούσκωνος εἰς τὰ τρεῖς ὑδάτα τὰ Σέξια καλοῦμενα, ἀπὸ πλησίου Μασσαλίας ἐστὶ, πεντήκοντα τρία, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ εἰς 'Ἀντίπολιν καὶ τὸν Οὐάρου ποταμὸν ἐβδομήκοντα τρία, ὡστε τὰ σύμπαντα γίνεται μίλια διακόσια ἐβδομήκοντα ἐπτὰ. ἐνοίοι δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Ἀφροδισίου μέχρι τοῦ Οὐάρου σταδίων ἀνέγραψαν δισχίλιους ἑξακοσίους, οἱ δὲ καὶ διακοσίους προστιθέασιν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται περὶ τῶν διαστημάτων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν ὁδὸν τὴν διὰ 'Οὐοκοντίων καὶ τῆς Κοττίου μέχρι μὲν Οὐγέρνου καὶ Ταρούσκωνος κοινὴ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ Νεμαύσου, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς 'Οὐοκοντίων ὄρους καὶ τὴν ἄρχην τῆς ἀναβάσεως τῶν Ἀλπεων διὰ Δρουεντία καὶ 'Καβαλλίωνος μίλια ἐξήκοντα τρία. πάλιν δ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑτέρους ὄρους τῶν 'Οὐοκοντίων πρὸς τὴν Κοττίου μίλια ἐκατὸν ἐνοίς δέοντα 1 ἐπὶ Ἑβρόδομουν κώμην εἰτ’ ἄλλα τοσαῦτα 2 διὰ Βριγαντίου κώμης καὶ Σκινγγαμάγου καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπερθέσεως ἐπὶ Όκελον, τὸ πέρας τῆς Κοττίου γῆς καὶ η ἀπὸ

1 εἰς, after δέοντα, Corais deletes; so the later editors.
2 ἄλλα τοσαῦτα, 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 Nemausus1 eighty-eight, from Nemausus through Ugernum and Tarusco 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 Ugernum and Tarusco, 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 Ocelum, the end of the land of Cottius.

1 Now Nîmes. 2 "Aquae Sextiae," now Aix.
Σκιγγομάγου δὲ ᾿Ιταλία λέγεται· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐνθένδε ἐπὶ ᾿Ωκελον μίλια εἴκοσι ὀκτώ.

4. Κτίσμα δ᾽ ἐστὶ Φωκαιέων ἡ Μιασσαλία, κεῖται δ᾽ ἐπὶ χωρίου πετρώδους· ὑποπέπτωκε δ᾽ αὐτῆς ὁ λιμὴν θεατροείδει πέτρα, βλεπούση πρὸς νότον. τετείχισται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ καλῶς καὶ ἡ πόλις σύμπασα, μέγεθος ἡξουσία ἀξίωλογος. ἐν δὲ τῇ ᾿Ακρᾳ τὸ ᾿Εφέσιον ἱδρυται καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δελφινίου ᾿Απόλλωνος ἱερὸν· τούτῳ μὲν κοινῷ ᾿Ιώνων ἀπάντουν, τὸ δὲ ᾿Εφέσιον τῆς ᾿Αρτέμιδος ἐστὶ υψωτής τῆς ᾿Εφεσίας. ἀπαίρουσι γὰρ τοῖς Φωκαιεῦσι ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας λόγιον ἐκπεσεῖν φασιν, ἡγεμόνι χρήσασθαι τοῦ πλοῦ παρὰ τῆς ᾿Εἰφεσίας ᾿Αρτέμιδος λαβοῦσιν· τοὺς μὲν δὴ, προσαχθέντας τῇ ᾿Εφέσῳ, ξητεῖν ὄντων τρόπον ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ πορίσαιντο τὸ προσταχθέν. ᾿Αριστάρχῃ δὲ τῶν ἐντίμων σφόδρα γυναικών παραστῆναι κατ ὄναρ τὴν θεὸν καὶ κελεῦσαι συναπαίρειν τοῖς Φωκαιεῦσιν, ἀφιδρυμά τι τῶν ἱερῶν λαβοῦσι· γενομένῳ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῆς ᾿Αρτέμιδος λαβοῦσις τέλος, τὸ τί οὕρον ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ τὴν ᾿Αριστάρχην τιμῆσαι διαφερόντως ἱερείαν ἀποδείξαντας, ἐν τε ταῖς ἀποίκοις πόλεσι πανταχόν τιμῶν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ταύτην τὴν θεοῦν καὶ τοῦ ξοᾶν τὴν διάθεσιν χαίρειν τὴν αύτὴν καὶ τἀλλα νόμιμα φυλάττειν τὰ αὐτά, ἀπερ ἐν τῇ μητρόπολει νενόμισται.

1 Not to be confused with the “Delphian” (Pythian) Apollo. The Delphian Apollo appears originally to have been a seafaring god who, in the guise of a dolphin, guided ships over the sea (see Elxymologium Magnun 255, 18); also Pauly-Wissowa, under ᾿Απόλλων Δελφίνιος, 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 Ephesusium and also the temple of the Delphinian Apollo are situated. The latter is shared in common by all Ionians, whereas the Ephesusium 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.
δ. Διοικοῦνται δ’ ἀριστοκρατικῶς οἱ Μασσαλιῶται πάντων εὐνομώτατα, ἀνδρῶν ἐξακοσίων καταστήσαντες συνέδριον, διὰ βίου ταύτην ἐχόντων τὴν τιμήν, οὓς τιμούχους καλοῦσι. πεντεκαίδεκα δ’ εἰσὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου προεστῶτες, τούτων δὲ τὰ πρόχειρα διοικεῖν δέδοται. πάλιν δὲ τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα προκάθηνται τρεῖς οἳ πλείστοιν ἵσχυοντες, τούτων δὲ τιμούχοις οὓς γίνεται μὴ τέκνα ἔχων, μηδὲ διὰ τριγονίας ἐκ πολιτῶν γεγονός. οἳ δὲ νόμοι Ἰωνικοὶ, προκάθηνται δὲ δημοσία. χώραν δ’ ἔχουσιν ἑλαιόφυτον μὲν καὶ κατάμπελον, σίτῳ δὲ λυπρότερον διὰ τὴν τραχύτητα, ὥστε πεητοθέτοις τῇ θαλάττῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ γῇ τὸ πρὸς ναυτιλίας εὐφυὲς εἴλουτο μᾶλλον. ύστερον μέντοι τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας ἵσχυον προσλαβεῖν τίνα τῶν πέριξ πεδίων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως ἀφ’ ἑς καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐκτίσαν, ἐπιτειχίσματα τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τοῖς Ἰβηρσιν, οἷς καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἑφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος παρέδοσαν τὰ πάτρια, ὡστε 'Ελληνιστὶ θύειν, τὴν δὲ 'Ῥόην Ἀγάθην τοῖς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοῦσι τὸν Ῥοδανὸν βαρβάρους, τὸ δὲ Ταυροέντιον καὶ τὴν Ὀλβίαν καὶ Ἀντίπολιν καὶ Νίκαιαν τῷ τῶν Σαλλύων ἔδυει.

1 The reading of ἰμ is τούτων δὲ οὖδ’ εἷς. Corais reads οὖδεις, inserting δ’ after τιμούχοι. Forbiger, Müller-Düchner, and Meineke read: τούτων δὲ εἷς τιμούχος δ’ κ.τ.λ.

2 For 'Ῥόην Casaubon, Corais, and Forbiger read (perhaps rightly) 'Ῥόθην καὶ (see Pliny 3. 5).

1 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.

2 Literally, "Honour-holders."
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 strongholds, namely, first, those which they established 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 Hemeroscopeium, Emporium and Rhodus (3. 4. 6–8).
καὶ τοῖς Δύνυσι τοῖς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς οἰκοῦσιν. εἰςὶ δὲ καὶ νεώσοικοι παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀπλοθήκη προτερον δὲ καὶ πλοῖων εὐτορία καὶ ὀπλων καὶ ὄργανων τῶν τε πρὸς τὰς ναυτιλίας χρησίμων καὶ τῶν πρὸς πολιορκίας, ἀφ’ ὃν πρὸς τε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀντέσχον, καὶ Ρωμαίους ἐκτήσαντο φίλους, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ χρήσιμοι κατέστησαν ἐκείνοις κάκεινοι προσελάβοντο τῆς αὐξήσεως αὐτῶν. Σέξτιος γοῦν ὁ καταλύσας τοὺς Σάλλυς, οὐ πολὺ ἀπώθεν τῆς Μασσαλίας κτίσας πόλιν ὄμωνυμον ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν θερμῶν, ὅν τινα μεταβεβληκέναι φασίν εἰς ψυχρᾶ, ἐνταῦθα τε φρουρὰν κατῴκισε Ρωμαίους, καὶ ἐκ τῆς παραλίας τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἁγούσης ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἀνέστειλε τοὺς βαρβάρους, οὕτω δυναμένους τῶν Μασσαλίωτῶν ἀνείργειν αὐτοὺς τελέως. οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς δὲ πλέον ἴσχυεν, ἀλλ’ ἡ τοσοῦτον μόνον ὅσον κατὰ μὲν τὰ εὐλίμενα ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπελθὲν τοὺς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων τοῖς Μασσαλιώταις παραδέδωκεν. ἀνάκειται δ’ ἐν πόλει συχνὰ τῶν ἀκροθινῶν, ἡ ἔλαβον ἀκαταναυμαχοῦντες ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας τῆς θαλάττης ἄδικως. πρότερον μὲν ὁμοίους διαφερόντως, περὶ τέ τάλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ρωμαίους φιλίας, ὅσον πολλὰ ἀν τις λάβοι σημεία καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἔκαθαν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν τῷ 'Αβεντίνῳ1 οἱ Ρωμαίοι τῇν αὐτῆν

1 Αβεντίνῳ, Wilamowitz, for Ἀβεντίνῳ. Corais, Meineke, and others write Ἀβεντίνῳ. Cp. 5. 3. 7.

1 “Aquaes 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

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¹ "the hot waters" ² "xoanon"
διάθεσιν ἔχον τῷ παρὰ τοῖς Μασσαλιώταις ἀνέθεσαν. καὶ δὲ τήν Πομπηίου πρὸς Καίσαρα στάσιν τῷ κρατηθέντι μέρει προσθέμενοι τὴν πόλλην τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἀπέβαλον, ὥμως δὲ οὖν ἄχρη λειτεται τοῦ παλαιοῦ ξήλου παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὰς ὄργανοποιίας καὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν παρασκευήν. ἐξημερουμένων δὲ ἀεὶ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων βαρβάρων, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν τετράμμενων ἢδη πρὸς πολιτείας καὶ γεωργίας διὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτειας, οὔτε αὐτοῖς ἔτι τούτοις συμβαίνοι ἀν περὶ τὰ λεχθέντα τοσαύτη σπουδῆ. δηλοι δὲ τὰ καθεστηκότα νυνὶ πάντες γὰρ οἱ χαρίεντες πρὸς τὸ λέγειν τρέπονται καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν, ὥσθ' ἡ πόλις μικρὸν μὲν πρότερον τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀνεῖτο παιδευτήριον, καὶ φιλελλήνης κατεσκευάξε τοὺς Γαλάτας ὡστε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια Ἐλληνιστι γράφειν, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι καὶ τοὺς γνωριμωτάτους Ῥωμαίου πέπεικεν, ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδημίας ἐκεῖσε φοιτᾶν, φιλομαθεῖς ὄντας. ὁρῶντες δὲ τούτους οἱ Γαλάται καὶ ἀμόνειμην ἄγοντες, τὴν σχολὴν ἄσμενοι τοὺς τοιούτους διατίθενται βίους οὐ κατ' ἄνδρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. σοφιστὰς γοῦν ὑποδέχονται, τοὺς μὲν ἰδίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ πόλεως κοινὴ μισθούμενοι, καθάπερ καὶ ἰατροὺς. τῆς δὲ λιτότοτος τῶν βίων καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης τῶν Μασσαλιώτων οὐκ ἔλαχιστον ἂν τῆς θείη τοῦτο τεκμήριον. ἦ γὰρ μεγίστη προβλεύσαι αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἐκατὸν χρυσοὶ

1 ἔχον, Corais, 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 ἐσθῆτα πέντε καὶ πέντε εἰς χρυσοῦν κόσμον· πλέον δ’ οὐκ ἐξεστι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνου ἠγερμόνες πρὸς τὰς εἰς τῷ πολέμῳ γενηθέντας ἁμαρτίας ἐμετρίασαν, μεμνημένοι τῆς φιλίας, καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ἐφύλαξαν, ἡν εξ ἄρχης εἴχεν ἡ πόλις, ὡστε μὴ ὑπακούειν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ¹ πειραμένων στρατηγῶν μήτε αὐτὴν μήτε τὸν ὑπηκόον. περὶ μὲν Μάσσαλίας ταῦτα.

6. "Ἀμα δ᾽ ή τε τῶν Σαλύων ορεινὴ πρὸς ἄρκτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας κλίνει μᾶλλον καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀφίσταται κατὰ μικρόν, καὶ ἡ παραλία παρὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν περινεύει μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πολεμικῶν προελθοῦσα ὅσον εἰς ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἐπὶ ἀρχαιοειδή πλησίον λατομῶν τινῶν ἐντεύθεν ἀρχεῖα κολποῦσθαι καὶ πολεῖν τὸν Γαλατικὸν κόλπον πρὸς τὸ 'Αφροδίσιον, τὸ τῆς Πυρήνης ἀκρον καλοῦσι  octave αὐτόν ² καὶ Μάσσαλιωτικόν. ἔστι δ᾽ ὁ κόλπος διπλωτὸς· ἐν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ περιγραφῇ δύο κόλπους ἀφορίζον ἐκκείται τὸ Ζήτιον ³ ἄρος, προσαλαβὸν καὶ τὴν Βλάσκωνα κατὰ τῆς ἡπτάπλεον ἱδρυμένην· τῶν δὲ κόλπων ὁ μὲν μείζων ἰδίως πάλιν καλεῖται Γαλατικός, εἰς δὲν ἐξερευνῆται τὸ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ στόμα, ὁ δ’ ἐλάττων ὁ κατὰ Νάρβωνα ἐστι μέχρι Πυρήνης. ἡ μὲν τῶν Νάρβων ὑπέρκειται τῶν τοῦ Ἀτακοῦ ἐκβολῶν καὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Νάρβωνίτιδος, μέγιστον εμπό-

1 ἐπαρχίαν, Corais, for ἐπαρχίαν; so Meineke.
2 αὐτόν, Corais, for αὐτό; so the later editors.
3 Ζήτιον, Palmer, for Ζήγιον; so Corais and the rest.

¹ Roughly, $550.
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-quarries, the coastline then begins to curve inland and to form with the precincts of Aphrodite (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 gulfs. Of the two gulfs, 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 Narbonitis, and it is the greatest of the emporiums in

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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).
ὁς ἐν τῷ ταύτῃ, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ῥοδανῷ πόλις ἔστι καὶ ἐμπόριον οὐ μικρόν. Ἀρελάτε. ἵσον δὲ πως διέχει τὰ ἐμπόρια ταύτα ἀλλήλων τε καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἄκρων, ἤ μὲν Νάρβων τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου, τὸ δὲ Ἀρελάτε τῆς Μασσαλίας. ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τῆς Νάρβωνος ἀλλοι ποταμοὶ βέουσιν οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν Κεμμένων ὄρων, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πυρήνης, πόλεις ἐχουσι τὰς ἄναπτους οὐ πολὺς ἐστὶ μικροῖς πλοίοις. ἐκ μὲν τῆς Πυρήνης δέ τε Ρουσκίων καὶ ὁ Ἰλλίβερρος, πόλις ἐχουσι ὁμοίως ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν, τοῦ δὲ Ρουσκίωνος καὶ λίμνη πλησίον ἐστὶ καὶ χωρίον ὑφυδρὸν μικρὸν ὑπέρ τῆς θαλάττης, ἀλλὰ δῆμοι μεστοὶ, τὸ τοὺς ὀρυκτοὺς κεστρεῖς ἐχουσι δύο γὰρ ἡ τρεῖς ὀρύξαντι πόδας καὶ καθένα διώσωντα εἰς ὑδάρι οἰ λυών ἐστὶν περιτείρα τῶν ἰχθύων ἀξιόλογον τὸ μέγεθος, τρέφεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἒλυσι καθάπερ αἱ ἐγχέλεοις. οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Πυρήνης βέουσιν οἱ ποταμοὶ μεταξὺ Νάρβωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου. ἐπὶ δὴ ἡ παράλια, ἀντὶ τῆς Νάρβωνος ἐκ τοῦ Κεμμένου φέρονται πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, ἐξ οὗ ἀπέρ καὶ ὁ Ἀταξ, ὁ τε Ὀρβις καὶ ὁ Ἀραυρις τοῦτων ἐφ' οὐ μὲν Βαίτερα πόλις ἀμφάλης ἵδρυται πλησίον τῆς Νάρβωνος, ἐφ' οὐ δὲ Ἀγάθη, κτίσμα Μασσαλιωτῶν.

7. „Εν μὲν οὖν ἐχει παράδοξον ἡ προειρημένη παραλία, τὸ περὶ τοῦ ὀρυκτοῦ ἰχθύος, ἐπειδὴ δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦτον σχεδοὺς τι, τὸ λεχθησόμενον, μεταξὺ γὰρ τῆς Μασσαλίας καὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ πεδίον ἐστὶ τῆς θαλάττης διέχουσιν.
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 Ilibiris, 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 Βαλτερα, Siebenkees, for Βαλτερα; so, perhaps better, Βαλτερπα, as Meineke reads.
eis ekaton stadion, tosoiôn dé kai tηn diá-
metron, kukloterês to σχήμα kai leitai de Lidô-
des âpò tou symbeβhikotos. meσton gár èsti lî-
thôn xeiropληθων, ùpoteplkûnan êxontan avtoîs
âgrwstîn, ëf' ës afhónoi nomai bòskhmasîn eîsivè
en meîw’ ùdâta kai alukîdes ènîstantai kai
alês. ãpâsa mèn ouv kai h ùperkeimênen xôra
prosînemîs èsti, diafërontos ð’ eîs ò pedion
tou to 1 meîaîambôreion kataunîzei, píveîma bîaion
cal frrîkôdes fasiî gòân súreσtai kal kuly-
deîsai tov lîðhôn ènîous, kataklâsthai dé tous
ánthropous âpò tōn òkhmaîtan kai gûmnoîsai
cal òpîwai kal èsthêtos ùpò 2 tis èmptnoîs. 'Aρr-
stotêlês meîn ouv fêsin ùpò seîsomôn tōn ka-
loumêvnon brastôi èkpe森tai tōs lîðous eîs
thn èpetîan en sùnolîsthai eîs tâ koîla tōn
xwriôw. Pòseîdôwnoi dè lîmîhèn ouvàn paryînai
metà klydasîmou, kai dià tōtô eîs plêîonas
merosînai lîðous, kataîper tōs potoîmôn kà-
klhkas kai tâs ðêsîkous tâs âîgialîtidas, èmôiwos
dè kai leîous kai ïsoîmegêthai òî òrhoîsttî: kai
thn aîtîan apodîdôkaîsin âmfôteroi. plîvandôs meîn
ouv ò parî 'âmfôîn lôgos 'ânâgîn ãrû tōs ouwô

1 τδ, Corais inserts; so Müller-Dübner, and Meineke.
2 ùpò, Meineke, for âpò.

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 1 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. 2 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," 3 rolled together into the hollow places of the districts. But Poseidonius says that, since it 4 was a lake, it solidified 5 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.
συνεστώτας λίθους οὐ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς ἢ ἐξ υγροῦ 
παγέντας μεταβαλεῖν, ἢ ἐκ πέτρων μεγάλων 
ῥήγματα συνεχῆ λαβούσων ἀποκριθῆναι. τὸ μέν-
τοι δυσαπολόγητον Αἰσχύλος καταμαθὼν ἢ παρ’ ἄλλοι 
λαβῶν εἰς μύθον ἑξετάσσει. φησὶ γὰρ Προμηθεὺς παρ’ αὐτῷ, καθηγούμενος Ἡρακλεί τῶν ὀδών τῶν ἀπὸ Καυκάσου πρὸς τὰς Ἑσπερίδας: 

ἣς ἐν δὲ Δίγυνω εἰς ἀτάρβητον στρατόν, 
ἐνθ’ ὀμάχης, σάφει ὀλίγα, καὶ θοώρος περ ἄνω, 
μέμψεις πέτρωται γάρ σε καὶ βέλη λιπεῖν 
ἐνταῦθα. ἔλεησθαι θ’ ὦ τιν’ ἐκ γαίας λίθον 
ἐξεις, ἐπεὶ πᾶσι χῶρος ἐστὶ μαλθακὸς. 

ὃς δ’ ἀμφιχανοῦντα σε τε Ζεὺς ὁικτεῖ, 

διώσει διώσει Δύγυν στρατόν” (Prometheus Unbound, Fr. 199, Nauck) 

ὥστε ταύτῃ γε πιθανώτερος ὁ μυθογράφος τοῦ Ἀνασκευάζοντος τὸν μῦθον. ὡλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα 

πεπρῶσθαι φήσας ὁ ποιητὴς οὐκ ἐὰ μέμφεσθαι 

1 μεταβαλεῖν, Corais, for μεταβάλλειν; so later editors. 
2 ἢ, Corais inserts, later editors following. 
3 σε, Meineke, for σ’ δ. 
4 συ βαλών, Saumaise, for συμβαλώς; so the editors. 
5 διώσει, Corais, for δηώσει; so the later editors. 
6 ἐμβαλεῖν, Corais, for ἐμβάλλειν; so the later editors.
gather 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 ἘΣΟῪ Just as if it were not better, say Poseidon, 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.
τῆς εἰμαρμένης λόγοις εὑροί τις ἄν πολλὰ
tοιαῦτα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ τῶν φύσει γινο-
μένων, ὥστε ἐπ’ αὐτῶν φάναι πολύ κρεῖττον εἶναι
tόδε ή τόδε γενέσθαι, οἷον εὐομβρὸν εἶναι τὴν
Αἰγυπτοῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν Ἀἰθιοπίαν ποτίζειν τὴν
γῆν καὶ τὸν Πάριν εἰς Σπάρτην πλέοντα ναυαγίῳ
περιπεσεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν Ἐλλήνην ἀρπάσαντα
dίκας τίς τίσας τοῖς ἀδικήθησιν ύστερον, ἡνίκα το-
σοῦτον ἀπειργύσαστο φθόρον Ἐλλήνων καὶ βαρ-
βάρων ὁπερ Εὐρυπίδης ἀνήνεγκεν εἰς τῶν Δίας.

Ζεύς γὰρ κακὸν μὲν Τρωσὶ πῆμα στὶς Ἐλλάδι
θέλων γενέσθαι ταῦτ’ ἐβούλευσεν πατηρ.

(Fr. 1082, Nauck)

8. Περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ στομάτων Πο-
λύβιος μὲν ἐπιτιμᾷ Τιμαίῳ, φῆσας εἶναι μὴ
πεντάστομον, ἀλλὰ δίστομον ῾Αρτεμίδωρος δὲ
τρίστομον λέγει. Μάριος 1 δὲ ύστερον, ὅρων
tυφλόστομον γιγνόμενον ἐκ τῆς προχώσεως καὶ
dυσείσβολον, καὶ ταῦτη
dεξάμενος τὸ πλέον τοῦ ποταμοῦ Μασσαλιώταις
ἐδωκεν ἀριστεῖον κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Ὁμβρωνας καὶ
Τωυγενοὺς πόλεμον ἐξ οὗ πλοῦτον ἠνέγκαντο
τοῦ ποταμοῦ Μασσαλιώταις, τέλη 2 πραττόμενοι τοὺς ἀναπλέοντας καὶ
toὺς καταγομένους. ὃμως οὐν ἔτι μένει δυσεί-
πλοα διά τὴν ἱαβρότητα καὶ τὴν πρόσχωσιν
καὶ τὴν ταπεινότητα τῆς χώρας, ὡστε μὴ καθο-

1 Μάριος, Xylander, for Τιμαίως; so the later editors.
2 τοῦ, 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; ¹ 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

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.).
ρᾶθαι μηδ᾽ ἐγγὺς ἐν ταῖς δυσαερίαις. διότι οἱ Μασσαλιῶται τύργους ἀνέστησαν σημεῖα, ἐξοικείωμενοι πάντα τρόπον τὴν χώραν καὶ δὴ τῆς Ἐφέσίας Ἀρτέμιδος κάνταυθα ἱδρύσαντο ἱερόν, χωρίον ἀπολαβόντες ὅ ποιεῖ νῆσον τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ λιμνοθάλαττα καλοῦσι δὲ Στομαλίμνην, ὀστράκια δ᾽ ἔχει πάμπολλα καὶ ἄλλως εὐοψεῖ. ταύτην δ᾽ ἔνιοι συγκατηρίθμησαν τοὺς στόμασι τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ, καὶ μίλιστα οἱ φήσαντες ἐπτυστομον αὐτὸν, οὔτε τοῦτ' εὐ λέγοντες οὔτ᾽ ἐκεῖνο ὄρος γὰρ ἔστι μεταξὺ τοῦ διείργον ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν λίμνην. ἥ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔπει Μασσαλίαν παραλίαν τοιαύτη καὶ τοσαυτῇ τις.

9. Ἡ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὁὐάρον ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς ταύτης Δύνας τάς τε τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν ἔχει πόλεις Ταυροέντιον καὶ Ὀλβίαν καὶ Ἀντιπόλιν καὶ Ἁνίκαιαν καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον τὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ὅ καλοῦσι Φόρον Ἰούλιον. ἵδρυται δὲ τοῦτο μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀλβίας καὶ τῆς Ἀντιπόλεως, διέχον Μασσαλίας εἰς ἐξακοσίους σταδίους. οὶ δὲ Ὁὐάρος μέσος ἐστὶ τῆς Ὀλβίας καὶ τῆς Ἀντιπόλεως καὶ Νίκαιας, τῆς μὲν ὅσον εἴκοσι, τῆς δὲ ἐξικοντα σταδίους διέχων, ὡσθ᾽ ἡ Νίκαια τῆς Ἰταλίας γίνεται κατὰ τὸν νῦν ἀποδειγμένον ὄρον, καὶ περ οὐσι Μασσαλιωτῶν εὐελχήσαν γὰρ τὰ κτίσματα ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπερκειμένοις βαρβάροις

1 ἐπετείχισαν, Casaubon, for ἐτείχισαν; so the later editors.

1 Literally, "Mouth-marsh."
2 The Varus. Cp. 4. 1. 3.
country, so that in foul weather one cannot desery
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 seaboard from the Pyrenees
to Massilia.

9. Again, the seaboard 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, Taurontiun, 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 Μασσαλιῶται, τὴν γε 1 θάλασσαν ἐλευθέραν ἔχειν βουλόμενοι, τῆς χώρας ὑπ' ἐκείνων κρατουμένης· ὀρεινή γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἐρυμνή, πρὸς μὲν τῇ Μασσαλίᾳ πλάτος τι μέτριον καταλείπουσα τῶν ἐπιπέδων χωρίων, προῖόντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐω παντάπασιν ἀποθέλοντα πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ μόλις αὐτήν πορεύσιμον ἔσσα τὴν ὀδόν. κατέχουσι δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Σάλλυες, τὰ δὲ τελευταία πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν συνάπτουσι Δίγυες, περὶ δὲ αὐτὴν λεχθῆσεται μετὰ ταῦτα. νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον προσθετέον, ὅτι τῆς μὲν Ἀντιπόλεως ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ναρβωνίτιδος μέρεσι κειμένης, τῆς δὲ Νικαίας ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἢ μὲν Νίκαια ὑπὸ τοῖς Μασσαλιώτας μένει καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας 2 ἐστιν, ἢ δ' Ἀντιπόλεως τῶν Ἰταλωτίδων ἐξετάζεται, κριθεῖσα πρὸς τοὺς Μασσαλιώτας καὶ ἐλευθερωθεῖσα τῶν παρ' ἐκείνων προσταγμάτων.

10. Πρόκειται δὲ τῶν στενῶν τούτων ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἀρξαμένοις αἱ Στοιχάδες νῆσοι, τρεῖς μὲν ἀξιόλογοι, δύο δὲ μικραὶ· γεωργοῦσι δ' αὐτὰς Μασσαλιῶται. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ φρουρὰν εἶχον, ἵδρυμένην αὐτῶι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ληστηρίων εφόδους, εὔποροντες καὶ λιμένων. μετὰ δὲ τὰς Στοιχάδας ἡ Πλανασία καὶ Λήρων, ἔχουσαι κατοικίας. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λήρωνι καὶ ἡρῷον ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Δήρωνος· κεῖται δ' αὐτὴ πρὸ τῆς Ἀντιπόλεως. ἀλλὰ δ'

1 ye, Corais, for τε; so the later editors.
2 ἐπαρχίας, Corais, for ὑπαρχίας; 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,"—
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 S Allyes, 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,\(^1\) while Antipolis is classed among the Italiote cities,\(^2\) 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,\(^3\) 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.

\(^{1}\) \(^{2}\) \(^{3}\)
ἐστὶ νησίδια οὐκ ἄξια μνήμης, τὰ μὲν πρὸ τῆς Μασσαλίας αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς λεχθείσης ἡμόνος. τῶν δὲ λυμένων ὁ μὲν κατὰ τού ναὐσταθμον ἀξιόλογος καὶ ὁ τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι μέτριοι τούτων δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Ὀξύβιος καλούμενος λιμήν, ἐπώνυμος τῶν Ὀξυβίων Διγύων. περὶ μὲν τῆς παραλίας ταῦτα λέγομεν.

11. Τὴν δ’ ὑπερκειμένην αὐτῆς χώραν μάλιστα γεωγραφεῖ τά τε ὄρη τὰ περικείμενα καὶ οἱ ποταμοί, διαφερόντως δὲ ὁ Ὑποδέμενος, μέγιστός τε ὧν καὶ πλείστον ἀνάπλουν ἔχων, ἐκ πολλῶν πληρούμενος βενμάτων: λεκτέου οὖν ἐφεξής περὶ τούτων. ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας τούτων ἀρξαμένοι καὶ προϊόντων ἐπὶ τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν τῶν τε Ἀλπεων καὶ τοῦ Ὀξυβίου, μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Δρουεντία ποταμοῦ Σάλλυες οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων: πορθμεῖρὶ δὲ διαβάσα τοις Κασαλλίωνα τόλμην ἡ ἐφεξῆς χώρα πάσα Καουάρων ἐστὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ Ἰσαρος συμβολῶν πρὸς τὸν Ὀξυβίος ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ Κέμμενον συναπτεῖ ποις τῷ Ὀξυβίων δήμοκες τὸ μέχρι δέιπρο ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρουεντία σταδίων ἐστὶν ἐπτακοσίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Σάλλυες ἐν αὐτοῖς 1 τὰ τε πεδία καὶ τὰ ὑπερκειμένα ὅρη κατοικοῦσι, τῶν δὲ Καουάρων ὑπερκείνται Ὀυκόντιοι τε καὶ Τρικόριοι καὶ Ἰκόνιοι καὶ Μέδυλλοι. μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Δρουεντία καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαρος καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ ρέουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐπὶ τῶν Ὀξυβίων, δύο

1 αὐτοῖς, Jones, for αὐτοῖς.

1 South of the Druentia.
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—that 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
μὲν οἱ περιρρέοντες πόλειν Καουάρων καὶ Οὐάρων κοινῷ βείθρῳ συμβάλλοντες εἰς τὸν Ῥοδανόν, τρίτος δὲ Σούλγας, ὁ κατὰ Οὐηδαλον πόλεις καὶ Αὐενιὼν καὶ Ἀρασίων καὶ Ἀερία, τῷ ὄντι, φησὶν Ἄρτεμιδωρος, ἀερία διὰ τὸ ἐφ᾽ ὕψους ἱδρύσθαι μεγάλων. ἤ μὲν οὖν ἄλλη πάσα ἐστὶ πεδίας καὶ εὐβοτος, ἡ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀερίας εἰς τὴν Δουρίανα ὑπερθέσεις ἔχει στενὰς καὶ ὑλώδεις. καθ' δὲ συμπίπτοσιν ὁ Ἴσαρ ποταμὸς καὶ ὁ Ῥοδανός καὶ τὸ Κέμμενον ὅρος, Κόιντος Φάβιος Μάξιμος Αἰμιλιανὸς οὐχ ἄλλως τρισὶ μυρίασιν εἰκοσι μυριάδας Κελτῶν κατέκοψε, καὶ ἔστησε τρόπαιον αὐτόθι λευκοῦ λίθου καὶ νεὼς δύο, τὸν μὲν Ἀρεως, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἴσαρος εἰς Ούειναιν τὴν τῶν Ἀλλωβρέγων μητρόπολιν κειμένην ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥοδανῷ στάδιοι εἰσὶ τριακόσιοι εἴκοσι. πλησίον

1 Καουάρων, Siebenkees, for Κλαουάρων; so the later editors.
2 Xylander would omit καὶ Οὐάρων; so Siebenkees, Corais, Kramer, Forbiger, and Meineke. Groskurd emends to Καρπένταρον, or Καρπεντάρων. Casaubon, comparing Δουέλιον in 4. 6. 3, conjectures Δουέλιον.
Rhodanus, namely, two that flow round a city of the Cavaran Vari,\(^1\) and coming together in a common stream empty into the Rhodanus; and a third, the Sulgas, which mingles its waters with the Rhodanus near the city of Undalum,\(^2\) where in a great battle Gnaeus Ahenobarbus turned many myriads of Celti to flight. And there are in the intervening space \(^3\) the cities of Avenio,\(^4\) Arausio,\(^5\) and Aeria \(^6\)—"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 \(^7\) has mountainous passes that are narrow and wooded. But where the Isar River and the Rhodanus and the Cemmenus 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

\(^1\) Mystérieuses de Strabo, pp. 36-44) rightly defends the Greek text and seems to prove that the city in question was what is now Bédarrides, at the confluence of the Ouvèze and the Médé.

\(^2\) What is now Sorgnes, according to Béretta (op. cit. p. 49). The name is also spelled "Vindalum."

\(^3\) Between the Druentia and the Isar.

\(^4\) Now Avignon.

\(^5\) Now Orange.

\(^6\) Béretta (op. cit. pp. 50-73) convincingly identifies Aeria with what is now Carpentras.

\(^7\) A. Béretta (op. cit. 74-100) identifies Durio with what is now Malauçène. Some scholars emend to "Luerio," a place referred to in 4. 6. 3, but otherwise unknown, while others, including Meineke, wrongly emend to Avenio (Avignon).
δ᾽ ὑπέρκειται τῆς Οὐιέννης τὸ Δούγδουνον, ἐφ᾽ οὗ συμμίσγουσιν ἀλλήλους ὡς τε Ἀραρ καὶ ὁ Ροδανός στάδιοι δ᾽ εἰςιν 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 ἀνύλους τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κωμηδὸν ζῶσιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Σηγοσιαύων παραλαβὼν δ᾽ ὕστερον τὸν Δοῦβιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν φερόμενον πλωτὸν, ἐπικρατήσας τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ γενόμενος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὁ Ἀπαπ συμμίσγει τῷ Ῥοδανῷ. 

1 ἀπό, Corais, for ἄνω; so the later editors.

2 Λημέννης, Kramer, for τῆς μεγάλης (op. 4. 6. 11); so the later editors.

3 Σηγοσιαύων, the editors, for the variants of the MSS. (see C. Müller Ind. Var. Lect. pp. 902 (154, 32, 33) and 903 (159, 40); also Holmes, Cæsar’s Conquest of Gaul, p. 848).

4 Διγγονας, Corais, for Διγγασίους; so the editors in general.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. I. II

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 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 συμπέσων, Xylander, for συμπέσων.
καμπὴν λαβὼν νότιον φέρεται τὸ ῥεῦμα μέχρι τῶν ἔκβολων, δεξάμενον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς, κάκειθεν ἢ ἡ τὴν λοιπὴν ποιεῖται μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης ρύσιν. ἡ μὲν οὖν μεταξὺ τῶν Ἀλπεων καὶ τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ τοιαύτη τις.

12. Τὴν δ᾽ ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ ποταμοῦ Οὐόλκαι νέμονται τὴν πλείστην, οὐδ᾽ Ἀρηκομίσκους προσαγορεύουσι. τοῦτων δ᾽ ἐπίνεοι ἢ Νάρβων λέγεται, δικαιοτέρον δ᾽ ἂν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κελτικῆς λέγοντο· τοσοῦτον ὑπερβηληθαί τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρωμένων τῷ ἐμπορείῳ. οἱ μὲν οὖν Οὐόλκαι γειτονεύουσι τῷ 'Ροδανῷ, τοὺς Σάλλυας ἔχουσιν ἀντιπαρήκοντας αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ περαιᾳ καὶ τοὺς Καουάρους. ἐπικρατεῖ δὲ τὸ τῶν Καουάρων ὄνομα καὶ πάντας οὕτως ἢ τὸ ποταμός προσαγορεύουσι τοὺς ταύτης ἄλλας πολεμαίτες, οὐδὲ βαρβάρους ἐτι οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μετακειμένους τὸ πλέον εἰς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν τύπον καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ τοῖς βίοις, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ. ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐστιν ἢδοξα ἢθη καὶ μικρὰ, παρακειμένα τοῖς Ἀρηκομίσκοις μέχρι Πυρήνης. μητρόπολις δὲ τῶν Καουάρων ὄνομα καὶ πάντας οὕτως ἢ τὸν ἐμπορικὸν πόλιμην, κατὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὄνομα καὶ τῶν ἐμπορικῶν πολὺ Νάρβωνος λειπομένη, κατὰ δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν ὑπερβάλλουσα. ἕκαστος γαρ ἔχει καὶ πολλὰς ἐννομίας καὶ εἱκοσιν τῶν ἔμφυσιν ἔκαστος διαφοράς, συντελοῦσας εἰς αὐτὴν, ἐκούσα 1 καὶ τὸ καλοῦμενον Λάτιον, ὅπερ τοὺς ἀξιωθέντας ἀγορανομίας καὶ

1 ἐκουσα, Corais, for ἐχούσα (ABL), ἐχουσαν (C); so the later editors.
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 Sallyes 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 Ῥωμαίους ὑπάρχειν. διὰ δὲ τούτῳ οὖν ὑπὸ τοῖς προστάγμασι 1 τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης στρατηγῶν ἐστὶ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο. ἤδη δὲ ἡ πόλις κατὰ τὴν ὅδον τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἱβηρίας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, θέρους μὲν εὐβατον οὖσαν, χειμώνος δὲ καὶ ἕαρος πηλώδη καὶ ποταμόκλυστον τινὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ρευμάτων πορθμείοις περᾶται, τινὰ δὲ γεφύραις, ταῖς μὲν ξύλων πεποιημέναις, ταῖς δὲ λίθων. ποιούσι δὲ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων δυσκολίας οἱ χείμαρροι, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ θέρους ἐσθ’ οτε ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπεων καταφερόμενοι μετὰ τὴν ἀπότηξιν τῶν χιόνων. τῆς δ’ ὅδος τῆς λεχθεῖσης ἢ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεις ἐστὶ, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, ἡ σύντομος διὰ Οὐοκοντίων ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς παραλίας τῆς Μασσαλιωτικῆς καὶ τῆς Δυναστικῆς καὶ τῆς Μακροτέρα μέν, τὰς δ’ ὑπερθέσεις τὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐμαρεστέρας ἐχει, ταπεινομένων ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἡ τῶν ὀρῶν. διέχει δ’ ἡ Νέμαυσος τοῦ μὲν Ῥοδανοῦ περὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους, καθ’ ὃ ἐν τῇ περαιαὶ πολύχρυσον ἐστὶ Ταρούσκων, τῆς δὲ Νάρβωνος ἐπτακοσίους εἶκοσι. πρὸς δὲ τὸ Κέμμενον ὄρος συνάπτοντες, ἐπιλαμβάνουτες δὲ καὶ τὸ νότιον πλευρόν αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων οἰκοῦσι τῶν τε Οὐολκῶν οἱ Τεκτόσαγες καλοῦμενοι καὶ ἄλλοι τινεῖς. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἐρωίμεν υπερτερον.

13. Οἱ δὲ Τεκτόσαγες καλοῦμενοι τῇ Πυρήνῃ πλησιάζουσιν, ἐφάπτονται δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τοῦ προσαρτήθησαν πλευρῶ τῶν Κεμένων, πολύχρυσον τε

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

1 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 aforesaid 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;
νέονται γῆν. ἐσκαστὶ δὲ καὶ δυναστεύσατι ποτὲ καὶ εὐανδρήσατι τοσοῦτον, ὡστε στάσεως ἐμπεσούσις ἐξελάσαι πολὺ πλήθος ἐξ ἐαυτῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας. κοινωνίας δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἀλλοις ἐξ ἀλλων θυνών. τούτων δ᾽ εἶναι καὶ τοὺς κατασχόντας τῆν Φρυγίαν τήν ὤμορον τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τοῖς Παφλαγώσις τούτου μὲν ὁμοῦ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν στάσεως ἐμπεσούσις πολὺ πλῆθος ἐξ ἑαυτῶν. τούτων δ᾽ εἶναι καὶ τοὺς κατασχόντας τὴν Φρυγίαν τήν ὤμορον τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τοῖς Παφλαγώσις τούτου μὲν ὁμοῦ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν στάσεως ἐμπεσούσις πολὺ πλῆθος ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, ἐν είς αὐτῶν τὸ περί Ἀγκυραν πολὺν Τεκτόσαγων λέγεται, τὰ δὲ λαιτά δύο ἐστὶ Τρόκμου καὶ Τολιστοβώγιον τούτους δ’, ὅτι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀπωκλίσθησαν, μηνύει τὸ γε’1 πρὸς τοὺς Τεκτόσαγος σύμφωνον, ἐξ ὅν δὲ χωρίων ὄρμηθησαν, οὐκ ἐχομενον φράζειν οὐ γὰρ παρειλήφαμεν οἰκοῦντας τῶν τὰ 2 νυν Τρόκμους ἢ Τολιστοβώγιους ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων οὕτως ἐγείρονται. ἐν αὐτῶν ...
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 Troemi 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 Troemi 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.
ὑπὸ Καιπίωνος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν πόλει Τολώσση τῶν ἐκείθεν χρημάτων μέρος εἶναι φασί, προσθείναι δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἡδίων οἶκων ἀνιεροὺς καὶ ἀξιλασκομένους τῶν θεῶν προσαψάμενον δ' αὐτῶν τὸν Καιπίωνα διὰ τοῦτο ἐν δυστυχήμασι καταστρέψαι τὸν βίον, ὡς ἱερόσυλον ἐκβληθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, διαδόχους δ' ἀπολιπόντα παῖδας, ὡς εἰρήκει Τιμαγένης, αἰσχρῶς ἀπολέσθαι. πιθανῶτερος δ' ἦστιν ὁ Ποσειδωνίου λόγος: τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὑρέθηντα ἐν τῇ Τολώσσῃ χρήματα μυρίων που καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γενέσθαι φησί, τὰ μὲν ἐν σηκοῖς ἀποκείμενα, τὰ δ' ἐν λίμναις ἱεραὶ, οὐδεμίαν κατασκευὴν ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ἀργὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν τὸ δ' ἐν Δελφοῖς ἰερὸν κατ' ἐκείνους ἢδη τοὺς χρόνους ὑπάρξαι κενὸν τῶν τοιούτων, σεσυλημένον ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων κατὰ τὸν χρόνον πόλεμον εἰ δὲ καὶ τι ἐλεύθερη, διανείμασθαι πολλοὺς οὐδὲ σωθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰκὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἀθλίως ἀπαλλάξαντας μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀποχώρησιν καὶ σκεδάσθεντας ἄλλους ἐπ' ἀλλα μέρη κατὰ δικαστείαν. ἀλλ', ὡσπερ ἐκείνος τε εἰρήκει καὶ ἄλλου πλείους, ἡ χώρα πολύχρυσας οὕτα καὶ δεισιδαιμόνων καὶ οὐ πολυτελῶν τοῖς βίοις πολλαχοῖς τῆς Κελτικῆς ἔσχε θησαυρούς· μᾶλιστα δ' αὐτοῖς αἰ λίμναι τὴν ἀσυλίαν παρεῖ- χου, εἰς δὲ καθίσαν ἅργυρον ἢ καὶ χρυσὸν βάρη. οἷς γοῦν Ῥωμαιοὶ κρατήσαντες τῶν τόπων ἀπεδόμενο

1 Καιπίωνος, and Καιπίωνα (below), are obvious corrections for Σκιπίωνος and Σκιπίωνα; so the editors since Xylander.
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 ὁνησαμένων πολλοὶ μύλους εὗρον σφυρηλάτους ἀργυροῦς. ἐν δὲ τῇ Τολώσσῃ καὶ τῷ ἱερῷ ἤν ἄγιον, τιμώμενον σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπλεόνασε διὰ τούτο, πολλῶν ἀνατιθέντων καὶ μηδενὸς προσ-ἀπτεσθαι θαρροῦντος.

14. "Ἰδρυται δ᾽ ἡ Τολώσσα κατὰ τὸ στενότατον τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τοῦ διεῖργοντος ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ Νάρβωνα θαλάττης τῶν ἀκεανῶν, ὅν, ὡς ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἔλαττω τῶν τρισχιλίων σταδίων. ἄξιον δ᾽ ἀντὶ πάντων ἐπιστήσασθαι πάλιν ὅπερ εὑρομεν πρώ-τερον, τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς χώρας πρὸς τε τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν τ' ἐκτὸς ὀμοίως καὶ τὴν ἑντός· εὗροι γὰρ ἃν τις ἐπιστήσασθαι ὅπερ εἶπομεν πρῶτερον, τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς χώρας πρὸς τε τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν τ' ἐκτὸς ὀμοίως καὶ τὴν ἑντός· εὗροι γὰρ ἃν τις ἐπιστήσασθαι τὰς τοῦ βίου μετὰ βραστῶν ἀπασί πρὸς ἀπαντας καὶ τὰς ἀφελείας ἀνείσθαι κοινάς, μάλιστα δὲ νῦν, ἡμῖν ἄγοντες σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐργάζονται τὴν χώραν ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ τοὺς βίους κατασκευά-ζονται πολιτικούς. ὅστε ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τῶν τῆς προνοίας ἐργον ἐπιμαρτυρεῖσθαι τις ἂν δόξειν, οὕτως ἄτυχεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν μετὰ λογιν-σμοῦ τίνος, διακειμένων τῶν τόπων. ὅ μὲν γε ὅτι ὅτι πολὺν τε ἔχει τὸν ἀνάπλου καὶ μεγάλους πολλαὶ μέρη τῆς χώρας διὰ τὸ

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1 ὡς, Xylander, for ὡς; so the later editors.

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\(^1\)—the harmonious arrangement of the country with reference, not only to the rivers, but also to the sea, alike both the outer sea\(^2\) 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 πλείστων. ὁ δ᾽ Ἀραρ ἐκδέχεται καὶ ὁ Δοῦβις ὁ εἰς τούτων ἐμβάλλων, εἶτα πεζεύεται μέχρι τοῦ Σηκοάνα ποταμοῦ, κἀντεῦθεν ἤδη καταφέρεται εἰς τὸν ὥκεανον καὶ τοὺς Δηξοβίους καὶ Καλέτους, ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἐλάττων ἡ ἁμερήσιος δρόμος ἔστιν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὄξυς καὶ δυσανάπλους ὁ Ῥοδανός, τινὰ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν φορτίων πεζεύεται μᾶλλον ταῖς ἀρμαμάξαις, ὅσα εἰς Ἀρουέρνους κομίζεται καὶ τὸν Δείγηρα ποταμόν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ τούτων πλησιάζοντος ἐκ μέρους ἀλλ᾽ ἡ ὀδὸς πεδιᾶς ὦ ὡσα καὶ οὐ πολλή, περὶ ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους, ἐπάγεται μὴ χρήσασθαι τῷ ἀνάπλῳ διὰ τὸ πεζεύεσθαι ῥᾷον. ὡσα εἰς τὸν Λείγηρα ποταμόν, καίπερ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ τούτων πλησιάζοντος ἐκ δὲ ἡ ὁδὸς πεδιὰς οὖσα καὶ οὐ πολλή, περὶ ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους, ἐπάγεται μὴ χρήσασθαι τῷ ἀνάπλῳ διὰ τὸ πεζεύεσθαι ῥᾷον. ὡσα εἰς τὸν Λείγηρα ποταμόν, καίπερ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ τούτων πλησιάζοντος ἐκ δὲ ἡ ὁδὸς πεδιὰς οὖσα καὶ οὐ πολλή, περὶ ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους, ἐπάγεται μὴ χρήσασθαι τῷ ἀνάπλῳ διὰ τὸ πεζεύεσθαι ῥᾷον. ὡσα εἰς τὸν Λείγηρα ποταμόν, καίπερ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ τούτων πλησιάζοντος ἐκ δὲ ἡ ὁδὸς πεδιὰς οὖσα καὶ οὐ πολλή, περὶ ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους, ἐπάγεται μὴ χρήσασθαι τῷ ἀνάπλῳ διὰ τὸ πεζεύεσθαι ῥᾷον.

1 Kalétoús, Xylander, for ὑδέτουs, 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 Rhone 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.
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; 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 here preferably goes by land on the wagons, that is, all the traffic that is conveyed to the Arverni and the Liger River—albeit in a part of its course the Rhodanus draws close to these also; still, the fact that the road is level and not long (about eight hundred stadia) is an inducement not to use the voyage upstream, 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"; and it was from the Celtae, I think, that the Galatae as a whole were by

4 About the distance from Lyon to Bourbon-Lancy on the Loire; but it is by no means certain what terminal Strabo had in mind.
5 That is, up the Arar, following the first route above-mentioned to the ocean.
Προσαγορευθήναι, διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἢ καὶ προσλαβόντων πρὸς τὸ τούτο καὶ τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν διὰ τὸ πλησιόχωρον.

II

1. Ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἀκονιτανῶν λεκτέον καὶ τῶν προσωρισμένων αὐτοῖς ἐθνῶν παρακολούθοντων καὶ τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν. 

II

1 For the purposes of administration.
2 Cr. 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-

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\(^1\) Not "extremities" (op. Ta ἄκρα 4. 6. 7).
\(^2\) The Romans.
μεταξὺ Βιτουρίγων τε τῶν Οὐιβίσκων καὶ Σαντόνων, ἀμφοτέρων Γαλατικῶν ἐθνῶν· μόνον γὰρ ἄρ γο τῶν Βιτουρίγων τούτων ἐθνὸς ἐν τοῖς Ἀκούεται ἄλλοφυλον ἱδρυται, καὶ οὐ συντελεῖ αὐτοῖς, ἐχεὶ δὲ ἐμπόριον Βουρδιγαλα ἐπικείμενον λιμνοθαλάττῃ τινί, ἣν ποιοῦσιν αἱ ἐκβολαι τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ὁ δὲ Λεύχης μεταξὺ Πικτόνων τε καὶ Ναμβίτων ἐκβάλλει. πρὸτερον δὲ Κορβιλών υπήρχεν ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ ποταμῷ, περὶ ἡς ἐχεὶ Πολύβιος, μνησθεῖς τῶν ὑπὸ Πυθέων μυθολογηθέντων, ὅτι Μασαλιωτῶν μὲν τῶν συμμιξάντων Σκιπίωνοι οὔθες εἰχε λέγειν οὔδεν μνήμης ἀξίον, ἐρωτηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ τῆς Βρετανικῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Νάρβωνος οὔδε τῶν ἐκ Κορβιλώνος, αὐτέρ ἦσαν ἁρισταὶ πόλεις τῶν ταύτης, τῶν δὲ Σαντόνων πόλεις ἐστὶ Μεδιλάνων. ἢ ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ μὲν παρωκεανῖτις τῶν Ακούετανῶν ἀμμώδης ἡ πλείστη καὶ λεπτή, κέγχρῳ τρέφουσα, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις καρποῖς ἀφορωτέρα· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὁ ποιῶν τὸν ἱσθμόν πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Νάρβωνίτιδι παραλίᾳ Γαλατικὸν κόλπον, ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτός. ἔχουσι δὲ Τάρβελλοι τὸν κόλπον, παρ᾽ οἷς ἐστὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα σπουδαιότατα πάντων· ἐν γὰρ βόθροις ὄρυχθείσον ἐπὶ μικρὸν εὑρίσκονται καὶ χειροπληθεῖς χρυσίου πλάκες, ἐσθ' ὅτε μικρᾶς ἀποκαθάρσεως δεύμεναι.

1 Οὐιβίσκων, Xylander, for ταύτης; so Corais, Groskurd, and Pliny 1, 33: "Οὐιβίσκων," and Prrtin-r, T*-'omaeus (2, 7, 5) says "Οὐιβίσκων," and Pliny 1. 33: "V...:"
2 ταύτης, 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 Galatic tribes; for the tribe of these Bituriges is the only tribe of different race that is situated among the Aquitani; 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 Namnita. 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 Scipio 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 Aquitani 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 Galatic 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.
τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ψῆγμα ἐστὶ καὶ βῶλοι, καὶ αὐταὶ κατεργασίαι ὑπὲρ τήν ἔχουσι. ἥ δὲ μεσόγειος καὶ ὅρειν βελτίω γὴν ἔχει, πρὸς μὲν τῇ Πυρήνῃ τὴν τῶν Κωνουενῶν, δὲ ἐστὶ συγκλύδων, ἐν γὰρ πόλις Δούγχουνου καὶ τὰ τῶν Ὀνησιῶν θερμὰ κάλλιστα ποτιμωτάτου ὕδατος· καλὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Αὐσκίων.

2. Τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαρούνα καὶ τοῦ Δεύγηρος έθνη τὰ προςκείμενα τοῖς Ἀκουιτανοῖς ἐστὶν Ἐλουνοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες. Οὐδελλαῖοι δὲ μετὰ τούτους, οἱ προσωρίζοντο ποτε Ἀρουέρνους, νῦν δὲ τάπτονται καθ' ἐαυτοὺς· εἶτα Ἀρουέρνοι καὶ Δεμουνίκες καὶ Πετροκόριοι· πρὸς δὲ τούτων Νιτιόβριγες καὶ Καδούρκοι καὶ Βιτούριξες οἱ Κουβζοι καλούμενοι· πρὸς τῷ ὦκεανῷ Σάντονοι τε καὶ Πίκτονες, οἱ μὲν τῷ Γαρούνα παροικοῦντες, ὡς εἶπομεν, οἱ δὲ τῷ Δεύγηρι· Ῥουτηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Γαβαλεῖς τῇ Ναρβωνίτιδι πλησιάζουσι. παρὰ μὲν οὖν τοῖς Πετροκορίοις σιδηρουργεῖα ἐστὶν ἀστεῖα καὶ τοῖς Κουβζοι καὶ Βιτούριξι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Καδούρκοις λινουργίαι,

1 §, Corais inserts; so the later editors.
2 For συγκλύδων Corais reads συνηλύδων; Meineke following. But the text is right.
3 Xylander, comparing Pliny 4, 33, conjectures Μονησίων, for Ὀνησιῶν.
4 Αὐσκίων, Xylander, for Ψαυσκίων; so the later editors.
5 Δεμουνίκες, Xylander, for Δεμοθρίκες; so the later editors.

1 The "Convenae" seem to have been refugees from the army of Sertorius, whom Pompey.. mubled together in the territory in question.. which Strabo refers in this passage, was cal. "Convenarum" (to-day, St. Bertrand de Comminges).
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 2. 1–2

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—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 Vellavii, who were once included within the boundaries of the Arverni, though they are now ranked as autonomous;² then the Arverni, the Lemovices, and the Petrocorii; and, next to these, the Nitiobriges, the Cadurci, and those Bituriges that are called "Cubi";³ 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

¹ A people otherwise unknown.
² 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 Vellavii, 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 praetors who are sent out from Rome" (4. 1. 12). Cp. also the government of Messenia under Melanthus (8. 4. 1).
³ As distinguished from the "Vivisci" (§ 1 above).
παρὰ δὲ τοῖς 'Ῥουτηνοῖς ἀργυρεῖα: ἔχουσι δ' ἀργυρεῖα καὶ οἱ Γαβαλεῖς. δεδώκασι δὲ Δάτιον 1 'Ρωμαῖοι καὶ τῶν 'Ακοοτανῶν τισι, καθάπερ Αὐσκλόις καὶ Κωνονέαις.

3. Ἀρούέρνοι δὲ ἱδρυται μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Δελυγηρῷ μητρόπολις δ' αὐτῶν ἔστι Νεμωσσὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ κειμένη. οὐκείς δ' οὗτος παρὰ Κήναβον, τὸ τῶν Καρνούτων ἐμπόριον κατὰ μέσον ποταμοῦ πολλάκις πολεμήσαι πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους τοτε μὲν μυριάσιν εἶκοσι, πάλιν δὲ διπλασίαις. τοσαύταις γὰρ πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν Θεοῦ διηγουόμενος μετὰ Οὐερκιγγετόρυχος, πρότερον δὲ καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς Μάξιμου τὸν Αἰμιλιανοῦ, καὶ πρὸς Δομήτιου δ' ὁσσαύτως Ἀθυρβαρβοῖ. πρὸς μὲν οὖν Καίσαρα περὶ τῆς Γεργονυκίαν, πόλιν τῶν 'Αρούέρνων, εἵ' ύψηλοι οἰκονομοὶ κειμένη, συνεστησαν οἱ ἄγωνες, εἰς ἂν ὃν ὁ Οὐερκιγγετόρυχος καὶ περὶ Αἰλεσίαν πόλιν Μανδουβίων, 2 εἶχον ὁμορότοις τοῖς 'Αρούέρνοις, καὶ ταῦταν εἵ' ύψηλοι λόφου κειμένη, περιεχομένην δ' ὀρέστι καὶ ποταμοῖς δυσίν, ἕν η̄ καὶ ἐάλω ὁ ἡγεμόν δὸ πόλεμος τέλος ἐσχε' πρὸς δὲ Μάξιμου Αἰμιλιανοῦ κατὰ τὴν συμβολὴν τοῦ Τ' Ἰσαροῦ καὶ τοῦ 'Ροδα νοῦ,

1 Δάτιον, Corais, for Δατίον; so the later editors.
2 Μανδουβίων, Xylander, for Μανδιβουλῶν; 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.
factories; among the Ruteni, silver mines; and the Gabales, also, have silver mines. The Romans have given the "Latin right"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,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,³ an emporium that is jointly peopled),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 Dometius⁵ 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).

¹ From Augustonemetum to the outlets of the river.
² By both natives and Romans.
³ More commonly spelled "Domitius."
καθ’ ἣν καὶ τὸ Κέμμενον ὅρος πλησιάζει τῷ 'Ρο-
δανῷ πρὸς δὲ Δομήτιον κατωτέρω ἐτι κατὰ τὴν
συμβολὴν τοῦ τε Σουλγα καὶ τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ. διέ-
teinav δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ 'Αρούερνοι καὶ μέχρι
Νάρβωνος καὶ τῶν ὅρων τῆς Μασσαλιώτιδος,
ἐκράτουν δὲ καὶ τῶν μέχρι Πυρήνης ἐθνῶν καὶ
μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ καὶ 'Ρήνου. Βιτυίτου1 δὲ, τοῦ
πρὸς τὸν Μάξιμον καὶ τὸν Δομήτιον πολεμήσαντος,
ὁ πατὴρ Λουέριος τοσοῦτον πλούτῳ λέγεται καὶ
tρυφῆ διενεγκεῖν, ὡστε ποτὲ ἐπίδειξιν ποιοῦμενος
τῶν φίλων της εὐπορίας ἐπ’ ἀπῆνης φέρεσθαι
diὰ τεδίου, χρυσοῦ νόμισμα καὶ ἀργυροῦ δεῦρο
κἀκεῖσε διασπείρων, ὥστε συλλέγειν ἐκείνους
ἀκολουθοῦντας.

ΠῚ

1, Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀκουιτανὴν μερίδα καὶ τὴν Ναρ-
βωνῖτιν ἡ ἐφεξῆς ἐστὶ μέχρι τοῦ 'Ρήνου παυτὸς
ἀπὸ τοῦ Δεύγερος ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ, καθ’
δ’ συνάπτει πρὸς τὸ Λούγδουνον ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς
κατενεχθεὶς ὃ 'Ῥοδάνος. ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας τὰ
μὲν ἄνω μέρη τὰ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τῶν ποταμῶν,
tοῦ τε 'Ρήνου καὶ τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ, μέχρι μὲσων
C 192 σχεδὸν τε τῶν πεδίων ὑπὸ τῷ Λούγδουνῷ τέτα-

1 Βιτυίτου, Corais, for Βιταίτου; so the later editors.
2 For φίλωις, Corais, conjectures ἱχλοῖς; A. Jacob, φίλωις.

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, “Lucerius, in his effort to win the
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 2. 3-3. 1

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. Luerius, 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." Corais, by a slight emendation (see critical note on opposite page), conjectures "crowds" for "friends," thus harmonizing the account with that of Athenæus. The conjecture of A. Jacob, however, of "troops" for "friends" is more plausible, on textual as well as on contextual grounds.

² Gallia Aquitanica. ³ Gallia Narbonensis.

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κταί, τα δε λοιπα και παρωκεαντικα υπ άλλη
tετακται μερδι, ην ιδιως Βελγαις προσιμουσων ή
μεις δε κοινότερου τα καθ' έκαστα δηλώσομεν.

2. Αυτω μεν δη το Λούγδουνον, εκτισμένον υπό
λόφω κατα την συμβολην του τε "Αραρος του
ποταμον και του 'Ροδανου, κατέχουσι 'Ρωμαιων.
ευανδρει δε μάλιστα των άλλων πλην Νάρβωνος
cαι γαρ εμποριω χρωνται, και το νόμισμα χαρατ-
tουσιν ενταθα το τε άργυρον και το χρυσον οι
tων 'Ρωμαιων ηγεμόνες. το τε ιερον το άναδε-
χθεν υπο πάντων κοινη των Γαλατων Καλσαρι
tο Σεβαστο προ ταυτης εδρυται της πόλεως επι
tη συμβολη των ποταμων εστι δε βωμος άξιο-
λογος επιγραφην εχων των θεων εξηκοντα των
αριθμων εικονες τουτων εκαστου μια, και άλλος
μεγας.1 προκαθηται δε του έθνους του Σηγοσι-
αυων2 η πολες αυτη, κειμενου3 μεταξυ του 'Ροδανου
και του Δούβιος. τα δε εξεσ εθυν τα συντεινοντα
προς των 'Ρηνων, τα μεν υπο του Δουβιος οριζεται,
tα δε υπο του 'Αραρος. ουτοι μεν ουν, άσ ειρηται
προτερου, υπο των 'Αλπων και αυτωι κατενε-
χενται, επειτ εις εν ρεθρου συμπεσοντες εις των
'Ροδανον καταφερονται. άλλος δε εστιν, ομοιως εν

1 άλλος μεγας, C. Müller emends to άλλη Σεβαστου; Meineke reads άλλος [ανθριας] μεγας.
2 Σηγοσιαυων, the reading of C (see note 3 on p. 108, and Holmes, Caesar's Conquest of Gaul, p. 848).
3 κειμενου, Xylander, for κειμενη; so the later editors.

1 Gallia Lugdunensis. 2 Gallia Belgica.
3 As Strabo has already said, it was not political divisions
(here the divisions of Lugdunensis 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. 5 4. 1. 11.
ταῖς Ἀλπεσὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἔχων, Σηκοάνας ὅνομα· ἡ ἀς Ψ, , ¥ ταῖς Ἴλλπεσι πηγὰς ἔχων, Σηκοάνας ὄνομα:

τὰς Ἰταντίας τῷ Ἄραρι, οὗν αἱ κάλλισται κατακομίζονται. μεταξὺ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Δούβιοι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραρος οἴκει τὸ τῶν Αἰδούων ἔθνος, πόλιν ἔχουν Καβυλλῖνον ἐπὶ τῷ Ἄραρι καὶ φρούριον Βίβρακτα. οἱ δὲ Αἰδούοι καὶ συγγενεῖς Ῥωμαίων ὄνομα ὄνομα κοινωνοῦντο καὶ πρῶτοι τῶν ταύτης προσῆλθον πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν. πέραν δὲ τοῦ Ἄραρος οἰκούσιν οἱ Σηκοανοὶ, διάφοροι καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγονότες καὶ τοῖς Αἰδούοις· ὦτι πρὸς Γερμανοὺς προσεχώρουν πολλάκις κατὰ τὰς ἐφόδους αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυτο γε σὺ τὴν τυχοῦσαν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῶν ἔποιουν μεγάλους, καὶ ἀφιστάμενοι μικροὺς πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Αἰδούους καὶ διὰ ταύτα 2 μέν, ἀλλὰ ἐπέτεινε τὴν ἔχθραν ἡ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔρις τοῦ διείργοντός αὐτῶν, ἐκατέρου τοῦ ἔθνους ὄνομα ἀξιοῦντο εἶναι τὸν Ἄραρα καὶ ἕαυτῷ προσήκειν τὰ διαγωγικά τέλη. νῦν δὲ ὡς ὧσ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαντῆστι.

3. Τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήμῳ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀπάντων οἰκούσιν Ἑλουήττιοι,3 παρ’ οἷς εἰσίν αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ

1 ὅνομα, after ὅνομα, Siebenkees deletes; so the later editors.
2 ταύτα, Jones, for ταύτα.
3 Ἑλουήττιοι, Corais, for Αἰτουάττιοι; so Meineke, Müller-Dübner, Forbiger, and Tardieu. But Xylander, Casaubon, and Siebenkees conjecture Ναυνώται. Cp. the first words in § 4 following.

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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, 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, 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,

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1 Strabo wrongly thought the Sequana ran through the country of the Sequani.
2 Caesar (De Bello Gallico 1. 33) says “the Aedui were often called by the Senate brethren and kinsmen.”
3 Usually spelled “Helvetii.”
ποταμοῦ ἐν τῷ 'Αδούλα ὅρᾳ. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μέρος τῶν 'Αλπεων, οὔθεν καὶ ὁ 'Αδούας εἰς ταύνατία μέρη βεῖ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑντὸς Κελτικῆν καὶ πληροὶ τὴν Δάριον λίμνην, πρὸς ἥ ἐκτισταὶ τὸ Κῶμον, εἶτ' ἐνθένδε εἰς τὸν Πάδον συμβάλλει, περὶ ἄν ὑστερον ἐρούμεν. καὶ ὁ 'Ρήνως δὲ εἰς ἐλημέγάλα καὶ λίμνην ἀναχείται μεγάλην, ἣς ἐφάπτονται καὶ 'Ραιτοὶ καὶ Ὀυινδολικοὶ, τῶν 'Αλπίων τυρῶς καὶ τῶν ὑπεραλπίων. φησὶ δὲ τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ σταδίων ἐξακισχιλίων 'Ασίνως, οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ ἀλλ' ἐπ' εὐθείας μὲν τοῦ ἡμίσους ὁλίγον ἄν ὑπερβάλλοι, τοῖς δὲ σκολιόμασι καὶ χίλιοι προστεθέντες ἱκανῶς ἄν ἔχοιεν καὶ γὰρ ὃξὺς ἐστιν, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δυσγεφύρωτος, καὶ διὰ πεδίων ὑπτίας φέρεται τὸ λοιπὸν καταβάς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν πῶς οὖν οἶν τε μένειν ὃξυν καὶ βίαιον, εἰ τὸ ὑπτιασμῷ προσδοῖμεν καὶ σκολιότητας πολλὰς καὶ μακράς; φησὶ δὲ καὶ δίστομον εἶναι, μεμψαμενός τοὺς πλεῖω λέγοντας. ἐγκυκλοῦνται μὲν δὴ τῶν χώρων ταῖς σκολιότησι καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σηκοάνας, οὐ τοσάυτην δὲ ἀμφότεροι δὲ βέβουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους ἀπὸ τῶν νοτίων μερῶν. πρόκειται δ' αὐτῶν ἡ Ὁρπετανική, τοῦ μὲν Ἡρίου καὶ ἐγγύθησαν, ὡστε καθορᾶσθαι τὸ Κάντιον, ὁπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐφὶν ἄκρον τῆς νήσου, τοῦ δὲ Σηκοάνα μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω.

1 'Αδούλα, Siebenkees from conj. of Xylander, for Διαδουλλα; so the later editors.
2 δὲ, Kramer inserts; so Meineke.
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.
ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυπήγιον συνεστήσατο Καίσαρ ὁ Θεὸς πλέων εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν. τοῦ δὲ Σηκοα-άνω τὸ πλεόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραρος δεχα-μένων τὰ φορτία μικρὸ πλέον ἐστίν ἢ τὸ τοῦ Δελγηρος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Γαρούνα. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Λουγ-δούνου μέχρι τοῦ Σηκοανὸς 1 χιλίων σταδίων ἐστίν, ἐλαττον δὲ 2 ἡ διπλασία τούτου τὸ τοῦ εἰσβολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ μέχρι Λουγδούνου. φασὶ δὲ καὶ πολυχρύσους τοὺς Ἐλονττίους μηδὲν μέντοι ἤπτον ἐπὶ ληστεῖαν τραπέσθαι, τὰς τῶν Κίμβρων εὐπορίας ἰδόντας, τῶν τῶν ἐπιγόνων πλῆθος ἐδηλώσεν ὁ πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν Θεὸν πόλεμος, ἐν ᾧ περὶ τετταράκοντα μυριάδες σωμάτων διεφθάρησαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς σώζεσθαι μεθῆκε εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους, ὅπως μὴ τοῖς Γερμανοῖς ὀμόροις ὁδύσω, ἔρημον τὴν χώραν ἀφῇ.

4. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἐλονττίους Σηκοανοὶ καὶ Μεδιοματρικοὶ κατοικοῦσι τὸν Ῥῆνον, ἐν οἷς ἱδρύται Περαγικὸν ἔθνος περαιωθέν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας, Τρίβοκχοι. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Σηκοανοῖς ἐστὶ τὸ ὁρὸς ὁ 'Ιουράσιος, διορίζει δὲ 'Ελονττίους καὶ Σηκοανοὺς. υπὲρ σὺν τῶν 'Ελονττίων καὶ τῶν Σηκοανῶν Αἰδοῦν καὶ Λίγγονες οἰκούσι πρὸς δύσιν, υπὲρ δὲ τῶν Μεδιοματρικῶν Δεῦκοι καὶ τῶν Δυνγόνων

1 ἢ, before χιλίων, Corais deletes; so Meineke.
2 δ', Corais inserts; so Meineke.
3 το, Corais inserts; so Meineke.
4 τότων (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), 228
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 descendants 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 Tribocchii, 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.)

* An overland journey.
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 Mediomatrici 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. 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.

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

* a By the Romans, apparently.
5. Τῶν δὲ Τρηουίρων καὶ Νεπούνων Σένονες καὶ Ρήμοι πρὸς ἑσπέραν οἰκοῦσιν, ἔτι δ’ Ἀτρεβάτιοι καὶ Ἐβουρώνες τοῖς Μεναπίοις δ’ εἰσὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ Μορινοὶ καὶ Βελλοάκοι καὶ Ἀμβιανοὶ καὶ Σουσσίωνες καὶ Κάλετοι μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Σηκοάνα ποταμοῦ. ἐμφερής δ’ ἐστὶ τῇ τῶν Μεναπίων ἣ τε τῶν Μορινῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀτρεβάτων καὶ Ἐβουρώνων ὕλη γάρ ἐστὶν οὐ ψηλῶν δένδρων πολλῆ μὲν, οὐ τοσαύτη δὲ ὅσην οἱ συγγραφεῖς εἰρήκασι, τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων, καλοῦσι δ’ αὐτὴν Ἀρδούνεναν. κατὰ δὲ τὰς πολεμικὰς ἐφόδους συμπλέκοντες τὰς τῶν θάμνων λύγους, βατόδεις οὕσας, ἀπέφραττον ¹ τὰς παρόδους. ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτι καὶ σκόλοπας κατέπητον, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατέδυνον εἰς τὰ βάθη πανοίκιοι, νησίδια ἐχοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσιν ἐκ τοίς ἑλεσιν, ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἐπομβρίαις ἀσφαλεῖς τὰς καταφυγὰς εἶχον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐχμοῖς ἡλίσκοντο ῥαδίως. νυνὶ δ’ ἅπαντες οἱ οἰ εἰς τὸν Σηκοάναν ποταμὸν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Παρίσιοι, νῆσον ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ πόλιν Δουρικοτίαν, καὶ Μέλδοι καὶ Ληξούιοι, παρωκεανιται οὗτοι. ἀξιολογώτατον δὲ τοὺς τῶν Σηκοάναν ποταμῶν ἡγεμόνας, περὶ δὲ τὸν Ρημοῦ καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ὄντες ὑπακοῦουσι Ῥωμαίων.
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. 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 ἑβεν η τὰ λοιπὰ Βελγῶν ἐστίν ἑβνη τῶν παρωκεανίτων, ὃν οὐαναινετοί μὲν εἰσιν οὐ ναυμαχῆσαντε πρὸς Καίσαρα· ἐτοιμοὶ γὰρ ἤσαν κωλύειν τὸν εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν πλούν, χρώμενοι τῷ ἐμπορίῳ. κατεναμάχησε δὲ ῥαδίως, οὐκ ἐμβόλοις χρώμενος (ἡ γὰρ παχέα τὰ ξύλα), ἀλλ' ἀνέμῳ φερομένων ἐπ' αὐτῶν κατέσπων οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι τὰ ἱστία δορυδρεπάνους· ἣ γὰρ σκύτνα διὰ τὴν βίαν τῶν ἀνέμων· ἀλόσεις δ' ἔτεινον αὐτὶ κάλων. πλατύπυγα δὲ ποιοῦσι καὶ ὕψος ὑπηρμα καὶ ὕψος ὑπηρμα διὰ τᾶς ἀμπώτεις, δρυόνης ὕλης, ὃς ἐστιν εὐπορία· διόστερ οὐ συνάγουσι τὰς ἀρμονίας τῶν σανίδων, ἀλλ' ἀραιώτατα καταλείπουσι· ταῦτα δὲ βρύοις διανάττουσι τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὰς νεωλκίας κατυροῦσθαι τὴν ὕλην μὴν νοτιομένην, τοῦ μὲν βρύου νοτιομένου ὅτις τῷ φύσει, τῆς δὲ δρυός ξηρᾶς καὶ ἀλιποῦς. τούτους οἶμαι τοὺς οὐανενετούς οἰκιστὰς εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἱταλίαν καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες σχεδόν τι οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἱταλίᾳ Κελτοὶ μετανέστησαν εἰκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπεων γῆς, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Βόιοι καὶ Σένονες· διὰ δὲ τὴν ὁμονυμίαν Παφλαγόνας

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

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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 were thick), but when the Veneti bore upon him with the wind, the Romans hauled down their sails by means of pole-hooks; 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.  

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 (cp. 1. 3. 2, 1. 3. 21, and 5. 1. 4).
φασὶν αὐτοὺς. λέγω δ' οὖν ἵσχυριζόμενος' ἀρκεῖ γάρ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τὸ εἰκός. Ὅσισμιοι δ' εἰσίν, οὖς Ὠστιμίους ἐνομάζει Πυθέας, ἐπὶ τινός προπεπτωκυίας ἱκανῶς ἀκρας εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν οἰκοῦντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνος φησὶ καὶ οἱ πιστεύσαντες ἔκεινῳ. τῶν δὲ μεταξύ ἑθνῶν τούτου τε Σηκοάνα καὶ τοῦ Δείγηρος οἱ μὲν τοῖς Σηκοανοῖς, οἱ δὲ τοῖς 'Ἀρονέρνωις ὀμοροῦσιν.

2. Τὸ δὲ σύμπαυν φῦλον, ὃ νῦν Γαλλικὸν τε καὶ Γαλατικὸν καλοῦσιν, ἀρειμάνιόν ἐστι καὶ θυμικὸν τε καὶ ταχὺ πρὸς μάχην, ἄλλως δὲ ἀπλοῦν καὶ οὐ κακοθεσίας. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἔρεθισθέντες μὲν ἀθρόοι συνίασι πρὸς τοὺς ἅγιοις καὶ φανερῶς καὶ οὐ μετὰ περισκέψεως, ὡστε καὶ εὔμετακεχριστοὶ ἐγίνονται τοῖς καταστρατηγεῖς θέλουσιν καὶ γὰρ ὅτε βούλεται καὶ ὅποις καὶ ὲφ' αὐτοῦς προφάσεως τις αὐτοὺς ἑτοῖμοι ἐσχε πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, πλὴν βίας καὶ τόλμης οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκτός τοῦτο συνίασι πρὸς τοὺς καταστρατηγεῖς καὶ μετὰ περισκέψεως ὡστε καὶ εὐμεταχείριστοι γίνονται τοῖς καταστρατηγεῖς. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐρεθισθέντες μὲν ἀθρόοι συνίασι πρὸς τοὺς ἅγιοις καὶ φανερῶς καὶ οὐ μετὰ περισκέψεως, ὡστε καὶ εὔμετακεχριστοὶ ἐγίνονται τοῖς καταστρατηγεῖς θέλουσιν καὶ γὰρ ὅτε βούλεται καὶ ὅποις καὶ ὲφ' αὐτοῦς προφάσεως τις αὐτοὺς ἑτοῖμοι ἐσχε πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, πλὴν βίας καὶ τόλμης οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκτός τοῦτο συνίασι πρὸς τοὺς καταστρατηγεῖς καὶ μετὰ περισκέψεως ὡστε καὶ εὐμεταχείριστοι γίνονται τοῖς καταστρατηγεῖς.

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

2 ἀρημάνιον is the reading of ABCI.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 4. 1–2

do not speak positively, however, for with reference to such matters probability suffices. Secondly, there are the Osismii (whom Pytheas calls the Östimii), 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 "Gallic" and "Galatian" 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. 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 περί αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν μέχρι νῦν συμμετείχοντων παρὰ τοῖς Γερμανοῖς ναμίμων. καὶ γὰρ τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν ἐμφερεῖς εἰσι καὶ συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλων οὕτωι, ὃμορόν τε ὀικοῦσι χώραν, διοριζόμενην τῷ Ῥήμῳ ποταμῷ, καὶ παραπλήσια ἔχουσαν τὰ πλείστα (ἀρκτικωτέρα δ᾽ ἔστιν ἡ Γερμανία) κρινομένων τῶν τε νοτίων μερῶν πρὸς τὰ νότια καὶ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν πρὸς τὰ ἀρκτικά. διὰ τούτο δὲ καὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις αὐτῶν ῥαδίως ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει, φερομένων ἀγεληδόν καὶ πανστρατιῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ² πανωκιῶν εξαιρόντων ἄρκτων νοτίων πλῆθος, ὅπιεν ἐκβάλλονται κρειττόνων. οἳ τε Ῥωμαιοὶ πολὺ ρίζων τούτων ἔχεις καὶ παντακρατιῶν ἐμφερεῖς διότι τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν. τούτους δὲ εὑρίσκων δὲ εὐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ πάντας κατέλυσαν, τοὺς ἀνὰ μέσον Ῥήμου καὶ τῶν Πυρηναιῶν ὄρων σύμπαντας. ἀθρόοι γὰρ καὶ κατὰ πληθος ἐμπίπτοντες ἄθρόοι κατελύοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκαι τοῖς ἐκαι κατεκερμάτιξον τοὺς ἀγώνας, ἄλλοτε ἄλλοτε καὶ κατὰ ἀλλὰ μέρη ληστρικῶς πολεμοῦντες. εἰςὲ μὲν ὅπιεν μαχηταὶ πάντας τῇ φύσει, εἵρετον καὶ κατακερμάτιξον τοὺς ἀγώνας, ἀλλαὶ φοβοῦντες. 3 ὁτι τοῖς ἐκαι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀρίστους φασίν, εἰσὶ

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

1 Namely, the trait of simplicity and straightforwardness.
2 Cp. 3. 4. 5. That is, all the Gallic people.
3 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\(^3\) 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 Δελγηρος παροικούντα 1 τὸν ὀκεανόν, ἀστεὶ 2 μόνους ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Γερμανῶν ἐφοδον, Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτώνων. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Βελγῶν Βελλοάκους ἀρίστους φασί, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Σουεσσίωνας. τῆς δὲ πολυανθρωπίας σημεῖον εἰς γὰρ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἐξετάζεσθαι φασί τῶν Βελγῶν πρότερον τῶν δυναμένων φέρειν ὅπλα. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑλουητίων πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀρούμηνων καὶ τὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξ ὧν ἡ πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται καὶ, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἡ τῶν γυναικῶν ἄρετη πρὸς τὸ τίκτειν καὶ ἐκτρέφειν τοὺς παιδάς. σαγηφουροῦσι δὲ καὶ κομοτροφοῦσι καὶ ἀναξύρισι χρῶται περιτεταμέναι, ἀντὶ δὲ χιτώνων σχιστοὺς χειριδωτοὺς φέρουσι μέχρις αἰδοίων καὶ γλουτῶν. ἡ δὲ ἐρέα τραχεῖα μέν, ἀκρόμαλλος δέ, ἄρετας καλοῦσιν, οἱ μέντοι Ῥωμαίοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς προσβορροτάτοις ὑποδιφθέρας τρέφουσι ποίμνας ἱκανῶς ἀστείας ἐρείς. ὁπλισμὸς δὲ σύμμετρος τοῖς τῶν σώματων μεγέθεσι,

1  παροικούντα, Corais, for παροικούντας; so the later editors.
2  ἀστεὶ, Xylander, for ὅστε; so the later editors.

1  So in Caesar (De Bello Gallico 2. 4), where the Belgae 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  4. 2. 3 and 4. 3. 3.
5  4. 1. 2.
6  A kind of coarse cloak.
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. But of the Belgae themselves, they say, the Bellovaci are bravest, and after them the Suessiones. As for the largeness of the population, this is an indication: it is found upon inquiry, 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 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—the excellence of the women in regard to the bearing and nursing of children. The Gallic people wear the “sagus,” let their hair grow long, and wear tight breeches; instead of tunics they wear slit 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 call “laenae”), is not only rough, but also flocky at the surface; the Romans, however, even in the most northerly parts raise skin-clothed 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 (cp. 12. 3. 13).
μάχαιρα μακρά, παρηρτημένη παρὰ τὸ δεξίον πλευρόν, καὶ θυρεὸς μακρὸς καὶ θυρεὸς κατὰ λόγον καὶ μάδαρις, παλτοῦ τι εἴδοσ. χρώνται δὲ καὶ τόξοι ἐνοι καὶ σφενδόναις. ἔστι δὲ τι καὶ γρόσφω ἐκκός ξύλου, ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκ ἐξ ἀγκύλης ἄφιέμενοι, τηλεβολώτερον καὶ βέλους, ὁ μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὀρνείων χρώνται θήρας. χαμευνοῦσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ πολλοὶ, καὶ καθεξίμενοι δειπνοῦσιν ἐν στιβάσι. τροφὴ δὲ πλείστη μετὰ γάλακτος καὶ κρεῶν παντοίων, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ὑείων καὶ νέων καὶ ἀλκυίων. αἱ δ' ύες καὶ ἀγραυλοῦσιν, ὡσεὶ τε καὶ ἀλκή καὶ τάχει διαφερούσαι. κύνυνος γούν ἐστι τῷ ἀδήθι προσιότερο, ὀσαύτως καὶ λύκω. τοὺς δ' οὐκοὺς ἐκ σανίδων καὶ γέφρων ἔχουσι μεγάλους δολοειδεῖς, ὁροφοὺς πολὺ τοῖς ποίμνιος ἐπιβάλλοντες. οὕτως δ' ἐστὶ δαψιλή καὶ τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὰ ὑοφόρβια, ὡστε τῶν σώγων καὶ τῆς ταριχείας ἀφθονίαν μὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ χορηγεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἀριστοκρατικὰ δ' ἦσαν αἱ πλεῖψις τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἐνα δ' ἠγγελόμονα ἠροῦντο κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὸ πολεμοῦν, ὡς δ' αὐτῶς ἐῖς πόλεμοιν ἐἰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπεδείκνυτο στρατηγός. νυνὶ δὲ προσέχουσι τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων προστάγμασι τὸ πλέον. ἴδιον δὲ τὸ ἐν τοῖς συνεδρίοις συμβαίνον. ἐὰν γὰρ τὸς Ῥωμαῖος πάλαις ἀπεδείκνυτο στρατηγός.
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

4 In Caesar's day (De Bello Gallico 6. 13) the common people were treated almost as slaves and were never consulted.
προσιών ὁ ὑπηρέτης, ἐσπασμένος τὸ ᾠδός, κελεύει
συγάν μετ’ ἀπειλής: μὴ πανομένου δέ, καλ δεύτεροι
καὶ τρίτον ποιεῖ τὸ αὐτό, τελευταῖον δὲ ἄφαιρε
τοῦ σάγου τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἀχρηστον ποιήσαι τὸ
λοιπὸν. τὸ δὲ περὶ τούς ἄνδρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας,
tὸ διηλλάχθαι τὰ ἔργα υπεναντίως τοίς παρ’ ἡμῖν,
κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων
ἔστι.

4. Παρὰ τάσι δ’ ως ἐπὶ παν τρία φύλα τῶν
τιμωμένων διαφέροντας ἐστί, Βάρδοι τε καὶ
Οὐάτεις καὶ Δρυΐδαι: Βάρδοι μὲν ὑμνηταὶ καὶ
ποιηταί, Οὐάτεις δὲ ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ φυσιολόγοι,
Δρυΐδαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν φυσιολογία καὶ τὴν ἡθικὴν
φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκοῦσιν: δικαίωτατοί δὲ νομίζονται
καὶ διὰ τούτο πιστεύονται ὅσα τε ἱδιωτικὰς κρίσεις
καὶ τὰς κοινὰς, ὡστε καὶ πολέμους διηγοῦν πρό-
tερον καὶ παρατάττεσθαι μέλλοντας ἐπαυεῖν, τὰς
δὲ φονικὰς δίκας μᾶλιστα τούτοις ἐπετέρατο
dικάξειν. ὅταν τε φορὰ τούτων ἦ, φορὰν καὶ τῆς
χώρας νομίζουσιν ὑπάρχειν. ἄφθαρτους δὲ λέ-
γουσι καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι! τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν
κόσμον, ἐπικρατήσειν δὲ ποτέ καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ.

1 Meineke, following Corais, wrongly inserts οἱ before
ἄλλοι, making οἱ 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. 18).
3 For example, the Pythagoreans, as Diodorus Siculus says
(5. 28).
4 One of the cardinal doctrines of the Druids was that of
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 "sagus" 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.
Τῷ δ᾽ ἁπλῷ καὶ θυμικῷ πολὺ τὸ ἀνόητον καὶ ἀλαζονικὸν πρόσεστι καὶ τὸ φιλόκοσμον, καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας βαπτάς φοροῦσι καὶ χρυσόπαστους οἱ ἐν ἡξίωματι. ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης δὲ κοινοθήτου ἄφορητοι μὲν νικώντες, ἐκπλαγεῖς δ᾽ ἤτηθέντες ὀρῶνται. πρόσεστι δὲ τῇ ἀνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ βάρβαρον καὶ τῷ ἐκφύλου δὲ τοῖς προσβύροις ἐθεωσί παρακολουθεῖ πλείστον, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπίνοτας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμιῶν ξύμπτειν ἐκ τῶν αὐχένων τῶν ἵππων, κομίσαντας δὲ προσπατταλεύειν τὴν θέαν 1 τῶν πολεμιῶν. φησὶ γοῦν Ποσειδάνιος αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν ταύτην πολλαχοῦ καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀηθίζεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φέρειν πρῶς διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. τὰς δὲ τῶν ἐνδόξων κεφαλὰς κεδροῦντες ἐπεδείκνυον τοῖς ξένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ἢσυτάτους χρυσὸν ἀπολυτροῦν ἠξίουν. καὶ τούτων δ᾽ ἔπαυσαν ἔτοις Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καὶ μαντείων ὑπεναντίων 8 τοῖς ἡμῖν νομίμοις, ἄνθρωπον δὲ κατεσπεισμένον παίσαντες εἰς νῶτον μαχαίρᾳ ἐμαντεύοντο ἐκ τοῦ σφαδασμοῦ. ἔθυον δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ Δρυίδῶν. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ἀνθρωποθύσιων

1 Meineke transfers τὴν θέαν to a position after ταύτην in the following sentence; quite unnecessarily.
2 ἀηθίζεσθαι, Jones, for ἀηθίζεσθαι.
3 ὑπεναντίων, Casaubon, for ὑπεναντίως; so Corais, and Meineke.

1 Cp. 4. 4. 2. 2 Cp. 3. 3. 6 and 11. 4. 7. 3 Diodorus Siculus (5. 31) says “without a philosopher”; 246
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, Poseidonius 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."
τῶν εἴδη λέγεται. καὶ γὰρ κατετόξευσαν τόν άνεσταύρουν ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς καὶ κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσόν χόρτου καὶ ξύλων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τούτον διαφόρων καὶ θηρίων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τούτον διαφόρων καὶ θηρίων καὶ άνθρώπους ὡλοκαύτους.

6. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ὦκεανῷ φησιν εἶναι νῆσον μικρὰν οὗ πάνυ πελαγίαν, προκειμένην τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Δείγματος ποταμοῦ οἰκεῖν δὲ παντην τὰς τῶν Σαμνιτῶν γυναίκας, Διονύσῳ κατεχομένας καὶ ἐλασκομένας τῶν θεῶν τούτων τελεταῖς τε καὶ άλλαις ιεροποιίαις εξελευμένας, οὐκ ἔπιβαίνειν δὲ ἄνδρα τῆς νῆσου, τάς δὲ γυναίκας αὐτὰς πλεούσας καὶ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ πάλιν ἐπανειληφθέναι. ἔθος δὲ εἴναι καὶ ἐνιαυτόν ἀπαξ τὸ ιερὸν ἀποστεγάζεσθαι καὶ στεγάζεσθαι πάλιν αὐθημερὸν πρὸ δύσεως, ἐκάστης φορτίων ἐκπέσοντας: ὡς δὲ ἄν ἐκπέση τὸ φορτίον, διασχίζει ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων φερούσας. 

1) δὲ τὰ μέρη περὶ τὸ ιερὸν μετ' εὐασμοῦ μὴ παύεσθαι πρῶτον πρὶν παύσωται τῆς λύττης: ἀεὶ δὲ συμβαίνει τῇ τοῦτο πεισομένῃ. 

2) Τούτο δὲ ἐτὶ μυθωδέστερον εὑρηκεν ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος τὸ περὶ τῶν κόρακας συμβάινον, λιμένα γάρ τινα τῆς παρωκεανίτιδος ἱστορεῖ δύο κοράκων ἐπονόμαζον, ψηφιζοντας δὲ ἐν τούτω δύο κόρακας τῆς δεξιᾶν πτέρυγα παράλευκον ἔχοντας: τοὺς ὅπερ περὶ τοῖς ἁμφισ-

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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."
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.¹

6. In the ocean, he² 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,”³ 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.⁴

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

¹ Poseidonius.
² The “Ev-ah” is a joyful hallelujah in honour of Dionysus, one of whose numerous cult-names is “Evas.”
³ And thus makes the victim, already decided upon apparently, drop her load of thatch.
βητοῦντας, ἀφικομένους δεῦρο ἐφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ τόπου
σανίδα θέντας ἐπιβάλλειν ψαιστά, ἐκάτερον
χωρίς: τοὺς δ’ ὄρνεσι ἐπιπτάντας τὰ μὲν ἐσθίειν,
tὰ δὲ σκορπίζειν’ οὐ δ’ Ἀν σκορπισθῇ τὰ ψαιστά,
ἐκεῖνον νικᾶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μυθωδέστερα λέγει,
περὶ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης πιστότερα, ὅτι
ψαιστά, ἑκάτερον
τῶν πιστευομένων ἐστῖν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ φύεται
dένδρον ὁμοιοῦσαν εἰςκή, καρπὸν δ’ ἐκφέρει παραπλη-
σιον κιοκράσιον Κορινθιουργεῖ: ἐπιτμηθεῖν δ’ ως,
ἀφίησιν ὅποιον θανάσιμον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχρίσεις τῶν
βελῶν. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῶν θρυλουμένων ἐστιν,
ὅτι πάντες Κέλτοι φιλόνεικοι 1 τε εἰσι, καὶ ὁ νομί-
ζεται παρ’ αὐτῶν αἰσχρῶν τῷ τῆς ἀκμῆς αφειδεῖν
τῶν νέων. Ὁ Ἐφορος δὲ ἑπεξεργάασάν τε τῷ
μεγέθει λέγει τὴν Κελτικῆν, ὥστε ἤσπερ νῦν Ἰβη-
ρίας καλοῦμεν ἐκεῖ καὶ πολλὰ ἰδίως λέγει, περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ
ἐοικότα τοῖς νῦν. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο: ἀσκεῖν γὰρ
αὐτῶν μὴ παχεῖσ εἰναι μηδὲ προγάστορας, τὸν δ’
ὑπερβαλλόμενον τῶν νέων τῷ τῆς ἡμιονοῦσαι.
ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπων
Κελτικῆς.

1 Meineke reads ήδονικολ, unwarrantedly, for φιλόνεικοι. 
C. Müller suggests as possible φιλομείρακες; A. Jacob
conjectures φιλόνειοι. See Diodorus Siculus 5. 23 and
5. 32.

1 The Attic name for Persephone (Proserpina).
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 4. 6

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 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 Celts fond of strife, but among them it is considered no disgrace for the young men to be prodigal of their youthful charms. 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.

2 So says Diodorus Siculus (5. 28).
3 Diodorus Siculus (5. 32) says the same, and more, of this immorality among the Celts.
1. Ἡ δὲ Βρεττανικὴ τρίγωνος μέν ἐστι τῷ σχῆματι, παραβεβληται δὲ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτῆς πλευρὸν τῇ Κελτικῇ, τοῦ μήκους οὐθ' ὑπερβάλλον οὐτ' ἐλλεῖπον. ἐστὶ γὰρ ὅσων τετρακισχιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων ἢ τετρακοσίων σταδίων ἐκάτερον, τὸ τε Κελτικὸν τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥήνου μέχρι πρὸς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Πυρήνης ἀκρα τὰ κατὰ Ἀκουιτανίαν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Καντίου τοῦ καταντικρὺ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥήνου, ἐσθιμωτάτου σημείου τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, μέχρι πρὸς τὸ ἐστέριον ἀκρον τῆς νῆσου τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἀκουιτανίαν καὶ τὴν Πυρήνην ἀντικείμενον. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τουλάχιστον διάστημα ἀπὸ τῆς Πυρήνης ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ μέγιστον εὑρηται ὅτι καὶ πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων ἐστὶν· ἀλλ' εἰκός εἶναι τινα σύννευσιν ἐκ τῆς παραλλήλου θέσεως τῷ ποταμῷ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπιστροφῆς ὁ τιμωρέωθεν ἐπιστροφῆς τιμωρεῖκαι κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸν ὅκεανον ἐσχατιάς.

2. Ῥαττάρα δ' ἐστι διώρματα οἷς χρώνται συνήθως ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐβολῶν τῶν ποταμῶν, τοῦ τε Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Σηκοάνα καὶ τοῦ Γαρούνα. τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥήνον τῶν ποταμῶν, τοῦ τε Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Σηκοάνα καὶ τοῦ Λείγηρος καὶ τοῦ Γαρούνα. τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥήνον τῶν ποταμῶν οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκβολῶν ὁ πλοῦς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμοροῦντων τοῖς Μεναπίοις Μο-ριών, παρ' οἷς ἐστι καὶ τὸ Ἰτιον, ὁ ἐχθρήσατο ναυστάθμῳ Καῖσαρ ὁ Θεός, διαίρων εἰς τὴν νῆσον.

1 τοῦ, before Γαρούνα, inserted by all the editors.

1 Strabo should have made this the shortest side, as Caesar had already done (De Bello Gallico 5. 13).
1. Britain is triangular in shape; and its longest side 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, 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, 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.) He put to sea by

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 ύστεραια κατήρε περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν, τριακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους τοῦ διάπλου τελέσας: κατέλαβε δ〞 ἐν ἀρούραις τὸν σίτον. ἔστι δ〞 ἡ πλείστη τῆς νύχου πεδιάς καὶ κατάδρμος, πολλά δ〞 καὶ γεωλόφα τῶν χωρίων ἐστι. φέρει δ〞 σίτον καὶ βοσκίματα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ σίδηρον. ταῦτα δ〞 κυμάζεται ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ δέρματα καὶ ἀνθρώποι καὶ κύνες εὐφειεῖς πρὸς τὰς κυνηγεαίας. Κέλτοι δ〞 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους χρώνται καὶ τούτοις καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. οἱ δ〞 ἀνδρεῖς εὐμηκέστεροι τῶν Κέλτων εἰσὶ καὶ ἱσσων ἔκθεται, καβανότεροι δ〞 τοῖς σώμασι. σημείων δ〞 τοῦ μεγεθοῦς: ἀντίπαλα γὰρ εἶδομεν ἡμεῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν υψηλοτάτων αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντας καὶ ἡμιποδίῳ, βλαισοῦσι δ〞 καὶ τᾶλλον ὑπεργράμμους τῇ συστάσει. τὰ δ〞 ἔθη τα μὲν ὅμως τοὺς Κέλτον, τὰ δ〞 ἀπλούστερα καὶ βαρβαρώτερα, ὅστε ἐνίους γάλακτος εὑποροῦντας μὴ τυροποιεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν, ἀπείρους δ〞 εἶναι καὶ κηπεῖας καὶ ἄλλων γεωργικῶν. δυναστεῖαι δ〞 εἰσὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν. πρὸς δ〞 τοὺς πολέμους ἀπήναις χρῶνται τὸ πλέον, καθαπερ καὶ τῶν Κέλτων ἐνιοῦ. πόλεις δ〞 αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ δρυμοί: περιφράζαντες γὰρ δένδρας κατα-

1 ἔθη, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores (for ἔθη). Cp. Diodorus Siculus (in reference to the same people): τούς δ〞 ἔθεσιν ἀπλοὺς εἶναι (5. 21).

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-

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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 κύκλον ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτοὶ καλυβοποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα κατασταθμεύουσιν, οὐ πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον. ἔπομβροι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀέρες μᾶλλον ἢ νιφετώδεις· ἐν δὲ ταῖς αἰθρίαις ὁμίχλη κατέχει πολὺν χρόνον, ὡστε δὴ ἡμέρας ὁλης ἐπὶ τρεῖς μόνον ἢ τέταρτας ὥρας τὰς περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ὁρᾶσθαι τὸν ἥλιον· τοῦτο δὲ κἀκε ὁς Μορινοῖς συμβαίνει, καὶ τοῖς Μεναπίοις καὶ ὅσοι τούτων πλησιάζονται.

3. Δἰς δὲ διεβη Καῖσαρ εἰς τὴν νῆσον ὁ Θεός, ἐπανῆλθε δὲ διὰ ταχέων, οὐδὲν μέγα διαπραξάμενος οὐδὲ προελθὼν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς νῆσου, διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς Κελτοῖς γενομένας στάσεις τῶν τε βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν πλοίων ἀπολέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πανσέληνον αὐξησιν λαβουσῶν τῶν αμπώτεων καὶ τῶν πλημμυρίδων. δύο μέντοι ἢ τρεῖς νίκες ἐνίκησε τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς, καὶ περ ὑπὸ τὰ τάγματα μόνον περαιώσας τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ ἀπήγωγεν ὅμηρα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τῆς άλλης λείας πλῆθος. ἐν δὲ τοῖς δυναστῶν τινες τῶν οὗτοι πρεσβεύσας καὶ θεραπεῖς κατασκευασάμενοι τὴν πρὸς Καῖσαρα τὸν Σεβαστὸν φιλίαν, ἀναθήματα τε ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ οἰκείαν σχεδόν τι παρεσκευάζαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅλην τὴν νῆσον.

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 com-
motions in Gaul," referring to his second return to the con-tinent.
4 This loss took place before Caesar’s first return, "on the
day when the moon is wont to make the maximum tides in 256
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. 28–29). 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 “Tinc—”)

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τέλη τε οὖτως ὑπομένουσι βαρέα τῶν τε εἰσαγομένων εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τῶν ἐξαγομένων ἐνθένδε (ταύτα δ᾿ ἐστὶν ἐλεφάντινα ψάλια καὶ περιαυχένια καὶ λιγγούρια καὶ ἄλλος ϱῶπος τοιοῦτος) ὥστε μηδὲν δεῖν φρονρᾶς τῆς νῆσου τοιάδεςιν μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς τάγματος ἄν καὶ ἱππικοῦ τίνως, ὥστε καὶ φόρους ἀπόγεσθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν, εἰς ἴσον δὲ καθίστατʼ ἀν τὸ ἀνάλωμα τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῖς προσφερομένοις χρήμασιν, ἀναγκη γὰρ μειούσθαι τὰ τέλη φόρων ἐπιβαλλομένων, ἀμα δὲ καὶ κινδύνους ἀπαντῶν τινα ἡς βίας ὑπαγομένης.

4. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν νῆσον μικραί: μεγάλη δ᾿ ἡ Ἰέρνη πρὸς ἄρκτον ἄρκτον αὐτὴν παραβεβλημένη, πρόμηκες μᾶλλον πλάτως ἤχουσα. περὶ ἦς οὔδὲν ἔχομεν λέγειν σαφές, πλήν ἦτο ἄγρωτεροι τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὑπάρχοντειν οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτὴν, ἀνθρωποφάγοι τεῦ ὄντες καὶ πολυφάγοι, τοὺς τε πατέρας τελευτήσαντας κατεσθίειν ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενοι καὶ φανερῶς μίσγεσθαι ταις τε ἄλλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ μητρᾶς καὶ ἀδελφαῖς καὶ ταύτα δ᾿ οὖτω λέγομεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες ἡξιο-

1 οὖτως, Madvig restores, for οὖτωs (Xylander's emendation), which is commonly read by the editors since Corais, except Tozer.
2 λιγγούρια, for ἀλλυγούρια (cp. 4. 6. 2 λιγγούριον); so the editors in general.
3 καθίστατʼ ἀν, Meineke from conj. of Kramer, for καθίστατο πᾶν.
4 πρόμηκες, Jones, for προμῆκης; other editors, following Corais, wrongly insert ἄν after μᾶλλον.
5 το, the reading of some of the MSS., instead of δὲ.
6 For πολυφάγοι some of the editors read ποπάγοι (Epitome only).

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property. 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-gems¹
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;² 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,³ which stretches
parallel to Britain on the north, its breadth being
greater than its length.⁴ Concerning this island I
have nothing certain to tell, except that its inhabi-
tants are more savage⁵ than the Britons, since they
are man-eaters as well as heavy eaters,⁶ 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.
³ That is, speaking in ter.... the geographical
breadth is longer than th.... for geographical
breadth is measured... length, east and west (see 2. 1. 32). And Strabo’s assertion
about Ireland is correct.
⁴ Some of the editors read “herb-eaters” instead of
“heavy eaters”—perhaps rightly.
πίστους μάρτυρας (καίτοι τὸ γε τῆς ἀνθρωποφαγίας καὶ Σκυθικὸν εἶναι λέγειται, καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκαις πολλορκητικαῖς καὶ Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἰβηρεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους ποιήσαι τούτο λέγουται).

5. Περὶ δὲ τῆς Θούλης ἐτι μᾶλλον ἀσαφῆς ἡ ἱστορία διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμόν· ταύτην γὰρ τῶν ὑνομαζομένων ἀρκτικωτάτην τιθέασιν. ὅ ἐ:initente Πυθέας περὶ τε ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταύτῃ τόπων ὁτι μὲν πέπλασται, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν γιωρζομένων χωρίων κατεψευσταί γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ πλείστα, ὡσπερ καὶ πρὸτερον εὑρηταί, ὡστε δῆλος ἐστιν ἐψευσμένος μᾶλλον περὶ τῶν ἑκτετοπισμένων. πρὸς μὲντοι τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν μαθηματικὴν θεωρίαν ἂν Ἰκανὸς δόξει κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι, τοῖς τῇ κατέψυχαν ζώνῃ πλησίασι τὸ τῶν καρπῶν εἶναι τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ ξών τῶν μὲν ἄφορίαν παντελῆ, τῶν δὲ σπάνων, κέγχρῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις λαχάνωι καὶ καρποῖς καὶ ρίζαις τρέφεσθαι· παρ᾽ οἷς δὲ σῖτος καὶ μέλι γί-

1 ἂν after θεωρίαν, Jones inserts; others insert ἂν after Ἴκανος, or read δόξει for δόξειε.
2 τῶ τῶν, Jones restores; Meineke and others read λέγων; C. Müller suggests ἴστορῶν.
3 Meineke and Corais have emended ἄλλοις to ἄγριοις; C. Müller conjectures ἡμοῖς.
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 Cetti, the Iberians, and several other peoples are said to have practised it.

5. Concerning Thule our historical information is still more uncertain, on account of its outside position; 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, for in most cases he has falsified them, as I have already said before, 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 phenomena 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, 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

6 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).
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gnetai, καὶ τὸ πόμα ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν τὸν δὲ σῖτον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἠλίους οὐκ ἔχουσι καθαροὺς, ἐν οἴκοις μεγάλοις κύπτουσι, συνγκομισθέντων δεύρῳ τῶν σταχύων. αἰ γὰρ ἄλωσιν ἀρχηστοι γίνονται διὰ τὸ ἀνήλιον καὶ τοὺς ὁμβροὺς.

VI

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπεων Κελτικὴν καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἔχοντα, τὴν χώραν ταύτην, περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀλπεων λεκτέον καὶ τῶν κατοικοῦντων αὐτὰς, ἐπειτα περὶ τῆς συμπάσης Ἰταλίας, φυλάττοντες ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἐπειδὴ τὸ αἰθήμα τῶν ὄμβρων, ἄρχονται μὲν σιγατικό ἀνθρώπινον ἄριστον ἀρχηγόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῶν Σαβάτων ὁμήρους ἀφ᾽ ὧν περὶ τὰ Ἀλβίγγαυνον ἐμπόριον Διγύων καὶ τὰ καλοκούμηνα Σαβάτων Οὐδανα, ὅπερ ἐστί τενάγη τὸ μὲν Ἀπέννινον ἀπὸ Γενούας, αἱ δὲ Σαβάτων ἀπὸ τῶν Σαβάτων ἐχούσι τὴν ἀρχήν. στάδιοι δ᾽ εἰσὶ μεταξὺ Σικυών καὶ Σαβάτων διακόσιοι πρὸς τοῖς ἑξήκονται, ἄρρητον δὲ ἐνοικοῦντες Διγυνής Ἰαγουανοι καλούνται ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽ εἰς Σικυώνα λιμένα τετρακόσιοι καὶ ὀγδοήκοσιοι. ἐν

1 ἄλωσι, Kramer, for ἄλωσ; so the editors in general.

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.”
beverage, also,¹ from them.² 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;³ 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:⁴ 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

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 τῷ μεταξὺ πόλις εὐμεγέθης Ἀλβιών Ἰντεμέλιον, καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἰντεμέλιοι. καὶ δὴ καὶ σχημεῖον τίθενται τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Σαβάτων εἶναι ταῖς Ἀλπεσι ἕκ τῶν ὄνοματων τούτων. τὰ γὰρ Ἀλπεια καλεῖσθαι πρότερον Ἀλβια, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀλπιόνια, καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἄτι ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς Ἰάποσιν ὁρὸς ψῆλον συνάπτον τως τῇ Ὀκρᾳ καὶ ταῖς Ἀλπεσιν Ἀλβιών λέγεσθαι, ὡς ἂν μέχρι δεύρο τῶν Ἀλπεων ἑκτεταμένων.

2. Τῶν οὖν Διγνῶν τῶν μὲν ὄντων Ἰγγάυων, τῶν δὲ Ἰντεμελίων, εἰκότως τὰς ἐρυθριὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τὴν μὲν ὀνομάζεσθαι Ἀλβιών Ἰντεμέλιον, οἶον Ἀλπιών, τὴν δὲ ἐπιτετημμένως μᾶλλον Ἀλβιγγάυνον. Πολύβιος δὲ προστίθησι τοῖς δυσὶ φύλοις τῶν Διγνῶν τοῖς λεχθεῖσι τῷ τῶν Ὀξυβίων καὶ τῷ τῶν Δεκιητῶν. ὡς δὲ ἡ παραλία αὕτη πάσα μέχρι Τυρρηνίας ἐκ 2 Μονοκοῦν λυμένος προσεχής τῇ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλίμενος πλὴν βραχέων ὅρμων καὶ ἀγκυροβολίων. ὑπέρκειται δὲ οἱ τῶν ὄρων ἐξαίσιοι κρημνοί, στενὴν ἀπολείμονας πρὸς θαλάσσῃ πάροδον. κατοικοῦσι δὲ Δίγνες, ξώτες ἀπὸ θρεμμάτων τῷ πλέον καὶ γάλακτος καὶ κριθίνου πόματος, νεμόμενοι τῇ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ χωρία καὶ τῷ πλέον τῷ ὀχή. ἔχουσι δὲ ὡλὴν ἑναύθα παμπόλλην ναυπηγήσιμον καὶ μεγαλόδενδρον ὡς τῷ πάχους τὴν διάμετρον ὀκτὼ ποδῶν εὐρίσκεσθαι: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῶν θυΐνων οὐκ ἔστι χείρῳ πρὸς τὰς

1 Meineke, following Kramer, reads Ἀλπεινά, for Ἀλπιόνια.
2 δὲ, 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 “Alpionian,” and, in fact, writers add that still to-day the high mountain among the Iapodes which almost joins Mount Ocra 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 Monocles as far as Tyrrhenia, 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
τραπεζοποιίας. ταύτα τε δὴ κατάγονται εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον τῆς Γένους, καὶ θρέμματος καὶ δέρματα καὶ μέλι, ἀντιφορτίζονται δὲ ἔλαιον καὶ ὀλίγος ἄστι πιττῖθης, αὐστηρός. ἐντεύθεν δὲ εἰσίν οἳ τε γίννοι λεγόμενοι, ἵπποι καὶ ἡμίονοι, καὶ οἱ λυγυστινοί τε χιτῶνες καὶ σάγοι; πλεονάζει δὲ καὶ τὸ λιγούριον παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, τὸ τίνος ἔλαιον προσαγορεύεται. στρατεύονται δὲ ἵππες μὲν οὐ πᾶν, ὅπλα ὁπδὲ ἄγαθοι καὶ ἀκροβολισταῖ. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χαλκώσπιδας εἶναι τεκμαίρονται τίνες "Ελλήνας αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

3. 'Ο δὲ τοῦ Μονοίκου λιμήν ὅρμος ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλαις οὐδὲ πολλαῖς ναυσίν, ἐχὼν ἱερὸν 'Ἡρακλέους Μονοίκου καλουμένου· ἔοικε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀμώματος καὶ μέχρι δεύει διατείνειν ὁ Μασσαλιωτικὸς παράπλους. διέχει δὲ Ἀντιπόλεως μικρό

1 τε γίννοι, Corais, for γυγήνιοι (ABC), γεγήνιοι (Ald.); so Groskurd. Meineke and Tozer read only γίννοι, following Scaliger, and Casaubon.

1 Cp. 17. 3. 4; Revelation, 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. Anim. 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
inferior to the thyine wood\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) and harsh). And this is the country from which come not only the so-called "ginni"—both horses and mules,\(^3\)—but also the Ligurian tunics and "sagi."\(^4\) And they also have in their country excessive quantities of amber,\(^5\) 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,"\(^6\) as he is called; and it is reasonable to conjecture from the name\(^7\) that the coastal voyages of the Massiliotes reach even as far as the Port of Monoecus.\(^8\) 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. 820), 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.

\(^7\) The name is Greek.

\(^8\) Strabo means that the Port of Monoecus probably came under the influence of Massilia. He has already said that Nicaea, which is only a few miles west of Monoecus, belongs to Massilia (4. 1. 9).
πλείους ἢ διακοσίους σταδίους. τούτων ἀρχιερέως οἰκεῖ τὰς Ἀλπείς τὰς ὑπερ-κειμένας καὶ τινα 1 τῆς αὐτῆς παραλίας ἀναμιξ 
τοῖς Ἀλλησι. καλούσι δὲ τοὺς Σάλλνας οἱ μὲν 
pαλαιοὶ τῶν Ἐλληνῶν Λίγνας καὶ τὴν χώραν ἤ 
ἐχουσίν οἱ Μασσαλίωται Λιγυστικικήν, οἱ δ' 
ὑστερον Κελτολίγνας ὑπομάζουσι, καὶ τὴν μέχρι 
Δουερίωνος καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ πεδιάδα τούτων 
προσνέμουσιν, ἀφ' ὅς οὐ πεζὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ 
ἰππικὴν ἐστελλον στρατιωτικά, εἰς δέκα μέρη δι-
ηρημένου. πρώτους δ' ἐξαρώσαντο Ῥομαίοι 
tούτους τῶν ὑπεραλπίων Κελτῶν, πολύν χρόνο 
pολεμήσαντες καὶ τούτως καὶ τοῖς Δίγυσι 
ἀποκεκλεικόσι τὰς εἰς τὴν Ἱβηρίαν παρόδους τὰς 
diὰ τῆς παραλίας. καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ 
θάλασσαν ἠληξάντο καὶ τοσοῦτον ἱσχύοις ὡστε 
μόλις στρατοπέδεοι μεγάλοις πορευτικῶν εἶναι τὴν 
ὁδὸν. ὄγδοον χρόνον δ' ἐπος πολεμοῦσατε διεκρί-
ξαντο μόλις ὡστ' ἐπὶ δώδεκα σταδίους τὸ πλάτος 
ἀνεῖσθαι τὴν ὁδὸν τοῖς ὀδέουσι δημοσία. μετὰ 
tαῦτα μέντοι κατέλυσαν ἄπαντας, καὶ διέταξαν 
αὐτοὶ τὰς πολιτεῖας, ἐπιστήσαντες φόρον. 2

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

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

1 The Latin form is "Liguros."
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 Lucerio 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 Celti 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 Not from the coastline; we should say that the Romans secured a “right of way.”
μέχρι Ἀλλοβρίγων, ἔχοντες αὐλῶνας ἐν βάθει τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἀξιολόγους καὶ οὐ χείρους ὧν ἔχουσιν ἐκεῖνοι. Ἀλλόβριγες μὲν οὖν καὶ Λιγύαις ὑπὸ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τάττονται τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους εἰς τὴν Ναρβωνιτίν, Οὐοκοντίους δὲ, καθάπερ τοὺς Οὐόλκας ἐφαμεν τοὺς περὶ Νέμαυσον, τάττονται καθ' αὐτούς. τῶν δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ Οὐάρου καὶ τῆς Γενούας Λιγύων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις εἰσίν οἱ αὐτοῖ, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς πέμπεται τὰς ὑπάρξεις τῶν ἱππικῶν ἀνδρῶν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλλού τῶν τελέως βαρβάρων.

5. Μετὰ δὲ Οὐοκοντίους Ἰκόνιοι καὶ Τρικόριοι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Μέδουλλοι, οἳ ἐν τῷ υψηλότατας ἔχουσιν κορυφαίς τῷ γοῦν ὄρθωτατον αὐτῶν ὕψος σταδίων ἐκατον ἐχεῖν φασὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν, καὶ οὐδένδε πάλιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρους τοὺς τῆς Ἰταλίας κατάβασιν. ἄνω δ' ἐν τοις κοίλοις χωρίοις λίμνη τε συνίσταται μεγάλη καὶ πηγαὶ δύο οὐ πολὺ ἀπόθεν ἀλλήλων, ὃν ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἐτερᾶς ἐστίν 2 οἱ Δρουεντίας, ποταμὸς χαραδρώδης ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν καταράττει, καὶ οἱ Δουρίας εἰς τὰναντία τῷ γὰρ ἄρρητῳ συμμίσγει, κατενεχθεὶς διὰ Σαλασσοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπων Κελτικὴν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐτερᾶς πολὺ ταπεινότερος

1 οὐπέρ, Siebenkees, for ὑπέρ; so the editors.
2 For ἐστίν Kraner reads ἔστιν; so Groskurd, Meineke, and Müller-Diibner.

1 See 4. 1. 12, and cp. 4. 2. 2 and footnote 3. 2 ἄρρητος, are autonomous with "Latin right" (see 3. 2. 15, 4. 1. 9, 5. 1. 1). 3 There were two Duras Rivers, namely, the Duras Major (now Dora Baltea) and Duras Minor (now Dora Riparia), both of which emptied into the Padus (Po). The Duras

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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 Celtica and then mingleth 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, πολύς τε καὶ ὁξύς, προϊὼν δὲ γίνεται μείζων καὶ προϊστερός. ἐκ πολλῶν γὰρ λαμβάνει τὴν αὐξήσιν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἥδη γενόμενοι καὶ πλατύνεται τῇ οὖν διαχύσει περισσά, καὶ ἀμβλύνει τὸν ποίν' εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀδριατικήν θάλασσαν ἐκπίπτει, μέγιστος γενόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην πτωμῶν πλῆρες τοῦ Ἰστρου. ὑπέρκειται δ' οἱ Μέδουλλοι μάλιστα τῆς συμβολῆς τοῦ Ἰσαρος πρὸς τὸν Ῥοδανὸν.

6. Ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα μέρη τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κεκλιμένα τῆς λεχθείσης ὀρεινῆς Ταυρινοὶ τε οἰκοῦσι Διυνοστικον ἐθνὸς καὶ ἄλλοι Δίγνες, τούτων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Δόννου λεγομένη γῆ καὶ τοῦ Κοτπίου, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ τῶν Πάδουν Σαλασσοί: ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἐν ταῖς κορυφαῖς Κεύτρωνες καὶ Κατόριγες καὶ Οὐάραγροι καὶ Ναυτουάται καὶ ἡ Δημέννα λίμνη, δι' ἧς ὁ 'Ῥοδανὸς φέρεται, καὶ ἡ πηγή τοῦ ποταμοῦ, οὐκ ἀπωθηθεὶς δὲ τούτων οὐδὲτοῦ 'Ῥήνου αἱ πηγαί, οὐδὲ τὸ Ἀδοῦλας τὸ ὅρος, οὐκ οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ 'Ῥήνος ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρκτούς καὶ ὁ 'Αδούας εἰς τὰς μὲν Ῥαυρινοὶ καὶ ὁ Ὁϊάτρων, ἐν τοῖς Κέφαλαις ἐν τῇ Διέθεσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τῷ Κώμῳ ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ Κώμου πρὸς τῇ Δίατα τῶν Ἀλπέων ἱδρυμένου τῇ μὲν Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Οὐέννων, τῇ δὲ Ληπόντιοι καὶ Τριδεντῖνοι καὶ ἄλλα πλείω μικρὰ

1 kekliména, Xylander, for kekriména; so the editors.
2 Δόννου, conj. of Siebenkees, for Ἰδεόνου (Δονάτου manly. A prim. manu); so the editors in general. See Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Donnus, p. 1548.
3 Casaubon inserts ἕ after καί; so some of the editors, including Meineke.
4 Kévrpwres, A. Jacob, for Kévrprowes.
5 ἱδρυμένου, Xylander, for ἱδρυμέναι.
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 Donnus and Cottius. And after these peoples and the Padus 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 Venones, and, on the other, the land of the Leopontii, 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 for the purpose of definitely placing all the above-mentioned, the Padus; the Taurini lived on both sides of the river.
Ἐθνη κατέχοντα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν χρόνοις, ληστρικὰ καὶ ἄπορα· νυνὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐξέφθαρται, τὰ δὲ ἠμέρωται τελέως ὡστε τὰς δι' αὐτῶν ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὅρους, πρότερον οὕσας ὀλίγας καὶ δυσπεράτους, νυνὶ πολλαχόθεν εἶναι καὶ ἁσφαλεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ εὐβάτους, ὡς ἔνεστι,1 διὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν. προσέθηκε γάρ ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ τῇ καταλύσει τῶν ληστῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὁδῶν, ὅσην οἶδον τ' ἄν· οὐ γάρ δυνατὸν πανταχοῦ βιάσασθαι τὴν φύσιν, διὰ πετρῶν καὶ κρημνῶν ἐξαισίων, τῶν μὲν ὑπερκειμένων τῆς ὁδοῦ, τῶν δὲ ὑποπιπτόντων, ὡστε καὶ μικρῶν ἐκβᾶσιν ἄφυκτον εἶναι τὸν κίνδυνον, εἰς φάραγγας ἀβύσσους τοῦ πτώματος ὄντος. οὕτω δέ ἐστι στενὴ κατώ τινα ὃ αὐτοῦ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ὑποπιπτούσα φάραγγας τὸν κατασκευής προσέθηκε γάρ οὕτω δέ ἐστι στενὴ κατώ τινα ὃ αὐτοῦ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ὑποπιπτούσα φάραγγας τὸν κατασκευής προσέθηκε γάρ ὃς ἐνέστι, Κοραῖς from conj. of Tyrwhitt, for ὧν ἔνεστι (ACL), ὧν ἔνεστι (B); so the later editors. 2 τὶνα, Kramer, for τί; 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.
Κ. Η δὲ τῶν Σαλασσῶν πολλὴ μὲν ἐστιν ἐν αὐλῶνι βαθεί, τῶν ὄριν ἀμφοτέρων ¹ κλειόντων τὸ χωρίον, μέρος δὲ τι αὐτῶν ἀνατείνει καὶ πρὸς τὰς υπερκειμένας κορυφὰς. τοῖς οὖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπερτιθεῖσι τὰ ὄρη διὰ τοῦ λεχθέντος αὐλῶνός ἐστιν ἡ ὕδως. εἰτα σχίζεται δίχα καὶ ἢ μὲν διὰ τοῦ Ποινίου λεγομένου φέρεται, ξεύγεσιν οὐ βαθῇ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν Ἑλπιδονίων, ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν Κεντρώων ² δυσμικωτέρα. ἔχει δὲ καὶ χρυσεῖα ἡ τῶν Σαλασσῶν, ὃ κατείχον ὕσχυντες οἱ Σαλασσοῖ πρῶτον, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἤκουσιν κύριοι. προσελάμβανε δὲ πλειστὸν εἰς τὴν μεταλλαίαν αὐτοῖς ὁ Δορίας ποταμός, εἰς τὰ χρυσοτπλύσια, διότερ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τόπους σχίζεται εἰς ³ τὰς ἐξοχετείας τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν πεδίων ἔξοχευνον. τούτῳ δ' ἐκείνῳς μὲν συνέφερε πρὸς τὴν ὑπερθέλσαν θήραν, τοὺς δὲ γεωργοῦντας τὰ ὕδατα πεδία, τῆς ἀρδείας στερουμένους, ἐλύπει, τοῦ ποταμοῦ δυναμένου ποτίζειν τὴν χώραν διὰ τὸ ὑπερθέλσαν εἰς τὸ ὅριον. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας πόλεμοι πρὸς ἄλλησιν ἀμφοτέρως τοῦ ἐξῆναις. κρατησάντων δὲ Ρωμαίων, τῶν μὲν χρυσουργεῖων ἐξέπεσον καὶ τῆς χώρας οἱ Σαλασσοὶ, τὰ δ' ὄρη κατέχοντες ἀκμῆν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπώλουν τοῖς δημοσιῶν τοῖς ἔργοις ἔργοις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τούτους ⁴ δ' ἔσαν ἀεὶ διαφορά ὑπὸ τὴν πλεονεξίαν τῶν δημο-

1 For ἀμφοτέρων, Casaubon reads ἀμφοτέρῳ; so Meineke, and others.
2 Κεντρώων, A. Jacob, for Κεντρώων.
3 els before τᾶς, Casaubon inserts; so the editors in general.
4 τούτους, Xylander, for τούτοις; so the later editors.
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 publicans² 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. ὁτε δὲ συνέβαλε τοὺς στρατηγιῶντας ἀεὶ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων καὶ πεπομένους ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ὑποτεθὲν προφάσεων ὡφ᾽ ὅν πολεμήσουσι. μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν νεωστὶ χρύων τοτὲ μὲν πολεμοῦμενοι, τοτὲ δὲ καταλυμένου τὸν πρὸς τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους πόλεμον ἵππουν ὡμος, καὶ πολλὰ κατέβαλλος τοὺς ὑπερβαίλλοντας τὰ ὑπὲρ κατὰ τὸ ληστρικὸν ἄθος. οἳ γε καὶ Δέκιμον Βρούτου φυγότα ἐκ Μουτίνης ἐπράξαντο δραχμὴν κατ᾽ ἄνδρα. Μεσσιάς δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν χειμαδεύων τιμὴν ξύλων κατέβαλε τῶν τε καινόμοι καὶ τῶν πετελείων ἀκοντιστικῶν ἐσύλησαν δὲ ποτε καὶ χρήματα Καίσαρος οἳ ἄνδρες οὔτοι καὶ ἐπέβαλεν κρημνοὺς στρατοπέδους πρόφασιν ὡς ὀδροποιῶντες ή γεφυρώντες ποταμοὺς υπερτρέποντο μὲν τοις ἀρδην ὁ Σεβαστὸς καὶ πώντας ἐλαφυρῷ κομισθεὶς εἰς ᾿Ιζερίδιαν Ῥωμαίων ἀποκίαν, ἥν συνώκισαν μὲν, φρουρὰν εἶναι βουλόμενον τοῖς Σαλασσοῖς, ὅλως δ᾽ ἀντέχειν ἐδύναντο οἳ αὐτόθι ἐως ήφαινότα τῇ θεοῖς. τῶν μὲν οὐν ἀλλὰ πληθυντικῶν τρεῖς μυριάδες ἐξητάσθησαν πάντως αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἱερέως ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐξαισχυνοῦν, τῶν δὲ μαχητῶν ἀνδρῶν ἑκατακισχίλιων, πάντας δ᾽ ἐπώλησε Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ὑπὸ
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, a toll of a drachma 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. 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, a Roman colony; and although the Romans had colonised this city 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 persons captured proved to be thirty-six thousand and, of the fighting men, eight thousand, Terentius Varro, the general who overthrew them, sold all

5 Thus making it a "Roman colony." This was done in 100 B.C. by order of the Sibylline Books (Pliny 3. 21).
6 The non-combatants.
δόρυ, καταστρεψάμενος αυτούς στρατηγός. τρισ-
χιλίους δὲ Ῥωμαίων πέμψας ἀκίσε τὴν πόλιν Ἀὐγοῦσταν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν ὃ ἐστρατοπέδευσε χωρίῳ Ὺαύρων, καὶ τῶν εἰρήμην ἄγει πᾶσα ἡ πλη-
σιόχωρος μέχρι τῶν ἀκρων ὑπεριζόλων τοῦ ὄρους.

8. Ἑξῆς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἐω μέγη τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπιστρέφοντα πρὸς νότον Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Ὄρινδολικοὶ κατέχουσι, συνάπτοντες Ἐλοινηττίων καὶ Βοῖοις ἐπίκεινται γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνων πεδίων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥαιτοὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας καθήκουσι τῆς ὑπὲρ Ὄρινδολικοῦ καὶ Κάμπου (καὶ ὁ οὓς Ῥωμαίοι οἶνος, τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰταλικοῖς ἐπιμνημονέων οὐκ ἀπο-
λείπειος δοκῶν, εὐ τῶν τούτων ὑπαρχεῖσις ὑπε-
tαι), διατείνουσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν χωρίων, δὴ ὡς Ῥήνος φέρεται τούτου ὁ εἰσὶ τοῦ φύλου καὶ Αἰτούντι καὶ Καμποῦνοι,1 οἱ δὲ Ὄρινδολικοὶ καὶ Ἡρωικοὶ τῆν ἑκτὸς παραμείναν κατέχουσι τὸ πλέον μετὰ Βρεύνων καὶ Περαιάνων,2 ἕδη τῶν τούτων Ἰλλυ-
ριῶν. ἀπαντεῖ δὲ οὕτως καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ γειστονεύοντα μέρη κατέτρεχον ἀδικαὶ τῆς Ἐλοινη-
τίων καὶ Σηκοανῶν καὶ Βούλων καὶ Περαιάνων, ἱταμώτατοι δὲ τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐξητάζοντο Ἀκαττίου καὶ Κλαυθηνάτιοι καὶ Οὐριάνοις, τῶν δὲ Ῥαίτων Ρουκάντιοι καὶ Κατουάντιοι. καὶ οἱ Ἐστίωνες δὲ τῶν Ὄρινδολικῶν εἰσὶ καὶ Βριγάντιοι, καὶ πόλεις αὐτῶν Βριγάντιοι καὶ Καμποῦνοι,

1 Καμποῦνοι, Χυλάντερ, ἄρτης Καμποῦνοι; so the later editors.
2 Βρεύνων and Περαιάνων, Χυλάντερ, for Βρέγκων and Περαιάνων; so the later editors.

1 The Greek is a translation of the Latin sub hastā.
2 Augusta Praetoria, about 24 n.ō.

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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 Vennones 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

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3 The Breuni and Genauni were defeated by Drusus in 17 B.C. Cp. Horace *Carmina* 4. 14. 10 ff.
καὶ ἡ τῶν Λικαττίων ὡσπερ ἀκρόπολις Δαμασία.

τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας τῶν λῃστῶν τούτων χαλεπότητος λέγεται τι τοιοῦτοι, ὡς, ἐπειδὰν ἐλωσι κόμην ἢ πόλιν, οὐ μόνον ἡβηδὸν ἀνδροφονοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι τῶν νηπίων προϊόντας τῶν ἀρρένων, καὶ μηδ᾽ ἐνταῦθα παυομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐγκύους γυναῖκας κτείνοντας ὡςας φαίεν οἱ μάντεις ἀρρενοκυεῖν.

9. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους οἱ ἐγγύς ἤδη τοῦ Ἀδριανικοῦ μυχοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ Ἀκυληΐαν τόπων οἰκούσι, Νωρικῶν τέ τινες καὶ Κάρνων τῶν δὲ Νωρικῶν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Ταυρίσκοι. πάντας δ᾽ ἐπαυσε τῶν ἀνέδην καταδρομῶν Τιβέριος καὶ ὁ ἰδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δρούσος θερείᾳ μιᾷ, ὡστ᾽ ἤδη τρίτον καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἔστιν ἐξ οὗ καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν ἀπευτακτοῦσι τοὺς φόρους. κατὰ πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀλπεων ὀρεινὴν μὲν καὶ γεωλόφα χωπία καλῶς γεωργεῖσθαι δινάμενοι καὶ αὐλῶνες εὖ συνεκτισμένοι, τὸ μέντοι, πλέον καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὰς κορυφὰς, περὶ δὴ καὶ συνίσταντο οἱ λῃσταὶ, λυποῦντες ἀκάρπον διά τὰς πάχνας καὶ τὴν τρωχύτητα τῆς γῆς. κατὰ σπάνιν τε καὶ ἀλλην ἐφείδοις ἐσθ᾽ ὅτε τῶν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις, ἐν ἔχοις και χορηγοῦσί οὔπερπόν τούτων γάρ εὐπόρους. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν Κάρνων τὸ

1 πάχνας, Corais, for τέχνας; 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 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
'Απέννινον ὁ ὄρος, λίμνην ἔχον ἐξειδον εἰς τὸν Ἰσαραν ποταμόν, ὥς παραλαβὼν Ἀτανίν ἄλλον ποταμὸν εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἐκβάλλει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς λίμνης καὶ ἄλλος ποταμὸς εἰς τὸν Ἰστρον ᾑζει, καλούμενος Ἀτησίνος. καὶ γὰρ ὃ Ἰστρος τὰς ἄρχας ἀπὸ τούτων λαμβάνει τῶν ὄρων, πολυσχιδῶν ὑπὸ τῶν καὶ πολυκεφάλων, μέχρι μὲν γὰρ δεύτερο ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίκης συνεχῆ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν διέτειναι καὶ ἐν ὀρῶις φαντασταν παρείχειν, εἰτ' ἀνθέτειν καὶ ταπειυωθέντα ἔξαρεται πάλιν εἰς πλείων μέρη καὶ πλείους κορυφάς. πρώτη δ' ἐστὶ τούτων ἡ τοῦ Ῥήνου πέραν καὶ τῆς λίμνης κεκλιμένη πρὸς ἑωράχις

1 For 'Απέννινον, Casaubon, Groskurd, and Corais read Ποινινον; Gosselin conj. Ἀλπινον; C. Müller Οὐεννώνιον.
2 For Ἰσαραν probably Ἰσάραν or Ἰσάριαν should be read (C. Müller and A. Jacob); Meineke reads Ἀσάραν.
3 For Ἀτησίνος C. Müller conj. Ἀλνος, A. Jacob, ὅτος Ἀλνος; Meineke reads Ἀσάρας.

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 consistent.
2 But the “Isar...” the Ister (Danube), not the Adrias...; in no sense connected 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 Etach (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).

The “Atesinus” certainly cannot be identified with the “Atesis” (Hülsen 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 Bach,” which has its source very near the lakes traversed by the Etsch, was formerly taken for the source-stream of the Inn.

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 ὑψηλή, ὃπου αἱ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ πηγαῖ πλησίον Σοῦβων καὶ τοῦ Ἐρκυνίου δρυμοῦ. ἄλλαι δὲ εἰς ἐπιστρέφουσι πρὸς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα καὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν, ὅπως ἔστι τὸ τε Ἀπέννινον ὄρος τὸ λεχθὲν καὶ τὸ Τοῦλλον καὶ Φλιγάδια, τὰ ὑπερ-κείμενα τῶν Ὀὐωδολικῶν, εἴ τιν ὁ Δούρας καὶ Κλάνις καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους χαραδρώδεις ποταμοὶ συμβάλλουσι εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ βέθρῳ.  

10. Καὶ οἱ Ἰάποδες δὲ (ἤδη τοῦτο ἐπίμικτον Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Κελτοῖς ἐθνος) περὶ τούτους οἰκοῦσι τοὺς τόπους, καὶ Ὁ Οκρα πλησίον τούτων ἐστίν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἰάποδες, πρῶτοι εὐανδροῦντες καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ᾽ ἑκίίτερα γενότεν καὶ τοῖς λῃστηρίοις ἐπικρωτοῦντες, ἐκπεπόνησαν τελέως ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος καταπολεμηθέντες. πόλεις δὲ αὐτῶν Μέτουλων, Ἀροπίνων, Μονήτων, Οὐένδων.  

μεθ᾽ ὅς ἡ Ξεγεστικὴ πόλις ἐν πεδίῳ, παρ᾽ ἣν ὁ Σαὸς παραρρεῖ ποταμός, ἐκδιδοὺς εἰς τὸν Ἴστρον. κεῖται δὲ ἡ πόλις εὐφυῶς πρὸς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Δακῶν πύλεων. ἦ δὲ Ὁκρα τὸ ταπεινότατον μέρος τῶν Ἀλπεῶν ἐστὶ καθ᾽ ὃ συνάπτουσι τοῖς Κάρυνοις καὶ δι᾽ οὗ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκυληΐας φορτία κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸν καλοῦμενον Ναύπορτον;  

Corais reads ἑκάτερον for ἑκάτερα; so in general the later editors.  

2 Ὁ Οὐένδων, Corais, for Οὐένδον, comparing Οὐένδων 7. 5. 4. ὃ αὐτός, Meineke, for Ἱπόνος αὐτός; Xylander and others had read Ἱπόνος.  

4 Ναύπορτον, Casaubon, for Πάμπορτον; so the editors in general.

1 The Black Forest. 2 Also spelled Ἰαπυδες.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 6. 9–10

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 Saius, 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

8 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 Save.
πλειόνων ἢ τετρακοσίων ἐκείθεν δὲ τοῖς ποταμοῖς κατάγεται μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ καὶ τῶν ταύτης χωρίων. παραρρεῖν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Ναύπορτον ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος φερίμενος πλωτός, ἐκβάλλει δὲ εἰς τὸν Σάον, ὡστ' εὐμαρῶς εἰς τὴν Σεγεστικήν κατατηλεῖ καὶ τοὺς Πανορίους καὶ Ταυρίσκους. συμβάλλει δ' εἰς τὸν Σάον κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὁ Κύλατισ. ἀμφότεροι δ' εἰσὶ πλωτοὶ, ἐνδείξει δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν. ἡχούσι δ' αἱ Ἀλπεῖς καὶ Ἰταννοίς καὶ Ῥαυρίς. συμβάλλει δ' εἰς τὸν Σάον κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὁ ἸΚόλαπις. ἀμφότεροι δ' εἰσὶ πλωτοὶ, ὠδέρει δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν. ἢμεῖσι δὲ Πολύβιος καὶ Ἱδιόμορφον τι γεννάσθαι ξένων ἐν αὐταῖς, ἐλαφοειδεῖς τὸ σχῆμα πλῆρη αὐχεινοὶ καὶ τριχώματος, τυγατά δ' ἐοικενά καὶ πόλεος, ὕποδι δὲ τῷ γενείῳ πυρήμα ἵσχειν ὡς περίκερα αὐτῶν πολυκήν ὁ Ἰκόλαπις. ταῦτα δὲ ἐοικενά, κάπρῃ ὑπὸ τῷ γενείῳ πυρῆνα ἴσχειν ὡς περίκερα τοῦ πάχους.

11. Τῶν δ' ὑπερβέθεσαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Ἑξω Κελτικὴν καὶ τὴν προσάρκτιον ἡ διὰ Σαλασσόνη ἐστιν ἄγοντα ἐπὶ Λούγδουνον, διῦτη δ' ἐστίν, ἡ μὲν ἄμαξευσθαι δυναμένη διὰ μῆκους πλείονος, ἡ διὰ Κεντρώων, ἡ δὲ ὀρθὰ καὶ στενή, σύντομος δὲ ἡ διὰ τοῦ Ποινίου. τὸ δὲ Λούγδουνον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς χώρας ἐστιν, ὀσπερ ἀκρόπολις, διὰ ταύς συμβολάς τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι πάσι τοῖς μέρεσι. διὸ περὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππας ἐνετεύχει τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐτεμε, τὴν διὰ τῶν Κεμμένων

1 Ναύπορτον, 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.
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

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.
ὁρῶν μέχρι Σαντόνων καὶ τῆς Ἀκουιταμνίας, καὶ
tὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥήνου, καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀκεανῶν, τὴν πρὸς Βελλοάκοις καὶ Ἀμβιανῶς, τετάρτη δ᾽
ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ναρβωνίτιν καὶ τὴν Μασσαλιωτικὴν παραλίαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν ὕμιστρῇ ἀφέσι
tὸ Λούγδουνον καὶ τὴν ὑπερκειμένην χώραν ἐν ἀυτῷ τῷ Ποινίνῳ πάλιν ἐκτροπῇ διαβαίνει τὸν Ῥοδανόν ἢ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Δημένναν εἰς τὰ Ἑλου-
ηττίων πεδία· καντεύθεν εἰς Σηκοανῶν ἐπέρεθες διὰ τοῦ Ἰόρα ὄρους καὶ εἰς Δημένναν· διὰ τὸ τοῦ-
tῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀμφῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥήνου καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀκεανῶν διὸ ὄρθος σχίζονται.

12. Ἐτι 1 φησὶ Πολύβιος ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ κατ᾽ Ἀκυ-
lήλιαν μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς Ταυρίσκοις τοῖς Νωρικοῖς εὑρέθηναι χρυσεῖον οὕτως εὐφυὲς ὥστ᾽ ἐπὶ δύο
πόδας ἀποσύραντι τὴν ἐπιπολῆς γῆν εὐθὺς δηο-
κτὸν εὑρίσκεσθαι χρυσὸν, τὸ δ᾽ ὀρυγμα μὴ πλειο-
νὸν ὑπάρχειν ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα πόδῶν, εἶναι δὲ τοῦ
χρυσοῦ τὸν μὲν αὐτὸθεν καθαρόν, κυώμου μέγεθος
ἢ θέρμου, τοῦ ὀγδοῦ μέρους μόνον ἀφεψηθέντος,
tὸ δὲ δεῖσθαι μὲν χωνείας πλείονος, σφόδρα δὲ
λυσιτελοῦς· συνεργασαμένου δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις
tῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἐν διμήνῳ, παραχρῆμα τὸ χρυσίον

1 Ἐτι, Casaubon, for Ἐπι; so the later editors.
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.
εὐωνότερον γενέσθαι τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει καθ’ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, αἰσθομένους δὲ τοὺς Ταυρικοὺς μονωτελείν ἐκβαλόντας τοὺς συνεργαζόμενους. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἄπαντα τὰ χρυσεῖα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐστί. κανταῦθα δ’, ὥσπερ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, φέρουσιν οἱ ποταμοὶ χρυσοῦ ψήγμα, πρὸς τῷ ὀρυκτῷ, οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον. ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν Ἀλπεων καὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ λέγων παραβάλλει τὰ ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ὑπὸ τὰ μέγιστα, τὸ Ταύρησπον, τὸ Δύκαιον, Παρνασσῶν, Ὅλυμπον, Πήλιον, Ὅσσαν ἐν δὲ Ἐβρίκη Λίμων, Ῥοδόπην, Δούνακα: καὶ φήσιν ὅτι τούτων μὲν ἐκαστοῦ μικροῦ δείν αὐθημερῶν εὐξώνοις ἀναβήναι δυνατόν, αὐθημερῶν δὲ καὶ περιελθέντων, τῶν δ’ Ἀλπιῶν οὐδ’ ἐν πεντεπταῖοι ἀναβαίνῃ τόις τῷ δὲ μῆκος ἐστὶ δισκυλίων καὶ διακοσίων σταδίων τὸ παρῆκεν. τέτταρες δ’ ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον διὰ Διγύων μὲν τὴν ἔγγιστα τῷ Ἱππολικῷ πελάγει, εἶτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν διὰ Ραιτῶν, ἀπάσας κρημνώδεις. λίμνας δὲ εἶναι φήσιν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσι πλείους μὲν, τρεῖς δὲ μεγάλαι ὃς ἡ μὲν Βήνακος ἔχει μῆκος πεντακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τριάκοντα, ἕκερεὶ δὲ ποταμὸς Μέγικος.

1 BCI read πεντήκοντα (v' instead of λ').
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 to the article in Encyc. Brit. s.v. “Hannibal,” by Caspari, who inclines to the Mt. Genèvre Pass; and to that in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyc. s.v. “Hannibal,” by Lenschau, who thinks “probability decidedly favours the Little St. Bernard.”

1 Some MSS. read “fifty.”  
2 Lago di Garda.  
3 The Mincio.
ἡ δ᾽ ἑξῆς Οὐερβανὸς τετρακοσίων, πλάτος δὲ στενοτέρα τῆς πρότερον, ἐξίησι δὲ ποταμὸν τὸν 'Αδούαν' τρίτη δὲ Δάριος ἐγγὺς τριακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τριάκοντα, ποταμὸν δὲ ἐξίησι μέγαν Τίκινον' πάντες δὲ εἰς τὸν Πάδον συρρέουσι. 

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

Verbanus, four hundred in length, and narrower in breadth than the former, which sends forth the River Addua; and, third, Lake Larius, in length nearly three hundred stadia, and in breadth thirty, which sends forth a large river, the Ticinus; 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.
3 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.
4 Some MSS. read "fifty." 5 The Ticino.
BOOK V
1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπώρειαν τῶν Ἀλπεων ἀρχῆ τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας. οἱ γὰρ παλαιὸι τὴν Οἰνωτρίων ἐκάλουσιν Ἰταλίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σικελίκου πορθμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Ταραντίνου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδωνίατος διήκουσαν, ἐπικρατήσαν δὲ τούμορα καὶ μέχρι τῆς ὑπώρειας τῶν Ἀλπεων προύβη, προσέλαβε δὲ καὶ τῆς Διονυστικῆς τὰ μέχρι Οὐάρου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς παρὰ ταύτης θαλάττης ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων τῶν Τυρρηνικῶν καὶ τῆς Ἰστρίας μέχρι Πόλας. εἰκάσατο δὲ ἂν τις εὐτυχήσαντας τοὺς πρώτους ὀνομασθέντας Ἰταλοὺς μεταδοῦναι καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις, εἰς οὕτως ἐπίδοσιν λαβεῖν μέχρι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας. οὐ γὰρ ρέσε ὁ πρῶτος ὀνομασθεὶς Ῥωμαῖος τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις τὴν ἴσοπολιτείαν, ἔδοξε καὶ τοῖς Ἰμπικά τῆς Ἀλπεων Ἰταλάταις καὶ Ἰεντοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπονεῖμαι τιμήν, προσαγορεῦσαι δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίώτας πάντας καὶ Ῥωμαίους, ἀποικίας τε πολλὰς στείλαυν, τὰς μὲν πρότερον τὰς δὲ ὑστερον, ἃν οὐ βίδιον εἰπεῖν ἁμείνους ἐτέρας.

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).*

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2. Ἐνὶ μὲν οὖν σχήματι σύμπασαν τὴν νῦν Ἰταλίαν οὐ βάδιον περιλαβεῖν γεωμετρικῶς, καί-
tοι φασίν ἀκραν εἶναι τρίγωνον ἐκκειμένην πρὸς
νῦτον καὶ χειμερινὰς ἀνατολάς, κορυφουμένην δὲ
πρὸς τῷ Σικελικῷ πορθμῷ, βάσιν δὲ ἐχουσαν τὰς
"Αλπεῖς" συγχωρήσαι δὲ δεὶ ¹ καὶ τῶν πλευρῶν
μίαν, τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Πορθμὸν τελευτῶσαν, κλυζο-
μένην δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους. τρί-
gωνον δὲ ἰδίως τὸ εὐθύγραμμον καλεῖται σχῆμα,
ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἡ βάσις καὶ ἡ πλευρὰ ² περιφερεῖς
εἰσιν, ὡστε, εἴ φημι δεῖν συγχωρεῖν, περιφερε-
γράμμου σχῆματος θετέον καὶ τὴν βάσιν καὶ τὴν
πλευράν, συγχωρητέον δὲ καὶ τὴν λύξωσιν ταύτης
τῆς πλευρᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολάς. τάλλα δὲ οὐχ
ικανῶς εἰρήκασιν, ὑποθέμενοι μίαν πλευρὰν ἀπὸ
τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ 'Αδρίου μέχρι τοῦ Πορθμοῦ; πλευ-
ραν γάρ λέγομεν τὴν ἀγώνιον γραμμήν, ἀγώνιος
δὲ ἐστίν ὅταν ἢ μὴ συννεύῃ πρὸς ἄλλη λα τὰ μέρη,
ἡ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ. ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ 'Αριμίνου ἑπὶ τὴν ἀκραν
τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν καὶ ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πορθμοῦ ἑπὶ τὴν
αὐτὴν ἀκραν πάμπολυ τι συννεύονται. ὅμοιως δὲ
ἑχειν οὗμαι καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ 'Αδρίου
καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰαπυγίας: συμπίπτονται γάρ
ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ 'Αρίμινου καὶ 'Ραούνενναν τόπους
γυνιαν ποιοῦν, εἴ δὲ μὴ γυνιαν, περιφερειάν γε
ἀξιόλογον. ὡστε, εἴ ἁρα, τοῦτ ἂν εἴη μία πλευρὰ

¹ δεῖ, Jones inserts (as in 1. 3. 7, ταῦτα δὲ δεὶ; cp. also
1. 1. 20, ὑποθέσθαι δεὶ). Groskurd, Kramer, Meineke and
others unnecessarily insert συγχωρήσαι μὲν οὖν δεὶ τὴν βάσιν
before the συγχωρήσαι of the text.
² ἡ βάσις καὶ ἡ πλευρὰ, Kramer, for αἱ βάσεις καὶ αἱ πλευραὶ;
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 they¹ 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 also² 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 Ariminum⁴ to the Iapygian Cape⁵ 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 Leuca.
ὁ παράπλους ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν, οὐκ εὐθεία· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὸ ἐνθένδε ἐπὶ τῶν Πορθμοῦ ἀλλην ἂν ὑπογράφοι πλευράν, οὐδὲ ταύτην εὐθείαν. οὐτω δὲ τετράπλευρον μᾶλλον ἢ τρίπλευρον φαίη τις ἀν τὸ σχῆμα, τρίγωνων δὲ οὐδεπωσοῦν, πλὴν εἰ καταχρώμενος. βέλτιον δὲ ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι τῶν ἄγεωμετρίτων σχημάτων οὐκ ἐνπεριγραφος ἢ ἀπόδοσις.

3. Κατὰ μέρος δ' οὖτως εἴπειν δυνατόν, ὅτι τῶν μὲν 'Αλπεων περιφερής ἡ υπώρεια ἐστὶ καὶ κολπώδης, τὰ κοῖλα ἔχουσα ἐστραμμένα πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τού δὲ κόλπου τὰ μὲν μέσα πρὸς τοὺς Σαλασσοὺς ἐστιν, τὰ δ' ἀκρα ἐπιστροφήν λαμβάνει, τὰ μὲν μέχρι τῆς 'Οκρας καὶ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν, τὰ δ' εἰς τὴν Λυγυρτικὴν παραλίαν μέχρι Πενούς, τοῦ τῶν Λυγύων ἐμπορίου, ὅπου τὰ Ἀπεννίνα ὀργυ συνάπτει ταῖς 'Αλπεσιν. ὑπόκειται δ' εὐθὺς πεδίον ἀξιόλογον, πάρις ποὺ ἔχον τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος, σταδίων ἑκατον καὶ δισχίλιων' τὸ δὲ μεσημβρινὸν αὐτοῦ πλευρὸν κλείεται τῇ τε τῶν Ἐνετῶν παραλία καὶ τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις ὄρεις τοῖς περὶ Ἀρίμινον καὶ Ἀγκῶνα καθήκουσιν ταῦτα γάρ ἀρξάμενα ἀπὸ τῆς Δυσαρεσίκης εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐμβάλλει, σταυρεῖν παραλίαν ἀπολειποντα· εἴτε ἀναχωροῦντα εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν κατ' ὀλύγον, ἐπειδὰν γενήσεται κατὰ τὴν Πισᾶτιν, ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ἐκατον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἕως τῶν περὶ Ἀρίμινον καὶ Ἀγκῶνα τῶν ποτῶν, συνάπτοντα ἐπὶ εὐθείας τῇ τῶν Ἐνετῶν παραλία. ἢ μὲν

1 οὐκ, after σχημάτων, all editors insert, from man. sec. in B.
2 'Οκρας, Casaubon, for ἀκρας; 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 Ocra\(^1\) and the recess of the Adriatic, the other to the Ligurian seaboard 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 seaboard 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 Tyrrenhina, leaving only a narrow seaboard, 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 seaboard of the Heneti. Cisalpine Celtica,

\(^1\) Mt. Ocra (4. 6. 1 and 4. 6. 10).
οὗν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Κελτικὴ τούτοις κλείεται τοῖς ὄροις, καὶ ἐστὶ τῆς μὲν παραλίας τὸ μῆκος ὅσον τριακοσίων σταδίων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξαικισχιλίοις μετὰ τῶν ὅρων, μικρόν δὲ ἐλαττον τὸ πλάτος τῶν χιλίων. ἡ λοιπὴ δ’ Ἰταλία στενὴ καὶ παραμήκης ἐστί, κορυφουμένη διεχῶς, τῇ μὲν πρὸς τῶν Σικελικῶν πορθμῶν ἐτὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν σφιγγομένη δ’ ἐκατέρωθεν, τῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀδρίου τῇ δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους. ἐστὶ δ’ ὁμοιον τὸ σχῆμα τῶν Ἀδρίου καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τῇ ἀφορίζομεν τοῖς τε Ἀπεννίοις ὄρεσι καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἑκατέρωθεν, τῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀδρίου τῇ δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους. οὕτως καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ συμφωνεῖ. φησὶ δὲ Πολύβιος, πεζῇ μὲν εἶναι τὴν παραλίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰαπυγίας μέχρι ΤΙορθμοῦ καὶ τρισχιλίων σταδίων, κλύξεσθαι δ’ αὐτὴν τῷ Σικελικῷ πελάγει, πλέοντι δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίων ἀποτελεῖ τὸ πελάγος τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ πελαγοῦς. τὰ δὲ Ἀπέννινα ὄρη συνάψαντα τοῖς περὶ Αἰγκώνα τόποις καὶ ἀφορίζομεντα

1 μετά, before τῶν ὅρων (from man. sec. in B and from Πολύβιου); 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 Sena to the recess of the gulf, more than 2500.” Strabo, on the other hand, refuses thus
accordingly, is shut in by these boundaries; and although the length of the seaboard, together with that of the mountains, is as much as six thousand three hundred stadia, the breadth is slightly less than one thousand. 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 Tyrrhenian 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. The remainder of Italy, however, is all the country occupied by the Brettii and certain of the Leucani. Polybius says that, if you go by foot, the seaboard 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.

2 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.

3 Cp. 2. 5. 20. 4 34. 11.
τὸ ταύτη ¹ πλάτος τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐπιστροφῆς λαμβάνει πάλιν καὶ τέμνει τὴν χώραν ὅλην ἐπὶ μῆκος. μέχρι μὲν δὴ Πευκετίων καὶ Δευκανῶν οὐ πολὺ ἀφίσταται τοῦ Ἄδριου, συνάψαντα δὲ Δευκανῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν ἀποκλίνει μᾶλλον, καὶ λοιπὸν διὰ μέσων τῶν Δευκανῶν καὶ Βρεττίων διεξιόντα τελευτᾷ πρὸς τὴν Δευκόπτεραν τῆς Ῥηγίνης καλουμένην. τυπωδὸς μὲν οὖν εἰρηται περὶ τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας ἁπάσης ταῦτα: πειρασάμεθα δὲ ἀναλαβόντες εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν καθ᾽ ὅκαστα, καὶ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἀλπῖσιν.

4. Ἐστὶ δὲ πεδίον σφόδρα εὐδαιμον καὶ γεωλοφίας εὐκάρπως πεποικιλμένον. διαιρεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ μέσον πως ὁ Πάδος, καὶ καλεῖται τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πάδου, τὸ δὲ πέραν. ἐντός μὲν ὦσον ἐστὶ πρὸς τοῖς Ἀπεννίνους ὀρεσὶ καὶ τῇ Διγυστικῇ, πέραν δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν. οἰκεῖται δὲ τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Διγυστικῶν ἑθνῶν καὶ τῶν Κελτικῶν, τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν οἰκούμενων τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ Ἐνετῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κελτοὶ τὸ ὑπεραλπήσαντις ὀμοεθνεῖς εἰσί, περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐνετῶν διττός ἐστὶ λόγος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὺς φασίν εἶναι Κελτῶν ἀπόλλος τῶν ὀμώνυμων πολεμευτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου μετ᾽ Ἄντήνορος σωθήναι δεύρῳ φασὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας

¹ ταύτη, Corais, for ταύτης; 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 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. 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 Ceti 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 who live on the ocean-coast; while others say that certain of the Heneti of Paphlagonia escaped hither with Antenor from the Trojan war, and, as testimony

1 Ὑ thew tte CWE ite Rock" ; now Capo dell' Armi.
2 ὡς ἀν 4 Cp. 8. 2, 18 and 6.1. 1.
3 See 4. 4. 1. 4 Cp. 3. 2. 13 and 5. 1. 1.
Ἐνετῶν τινας, μαρτύριον δὲ τούτου προφέρονται τὴν περὶ τὰς ἱπποτροφίας ἐπιμέλειαν, ἢ νῦν μὲν τελέως ἐκλέλοιπε, πρότερον δ' ἐτιμᾶτο παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ξύλου τοῦ κατὰ τὰς ἡμιονίτιδας ἱπποὺς. τούτου δὲ καὶ "Ομήρος μέμνηται.

ἐξ Ἐνετῶν, ὁθὲν ἡμιόνών γένος ἀγροτερὰν.

(Ἰ. 2. 852)

καὶ Διονύσιος, ὁ τῆς Σικελίας τύραννος, ἐντεῦθεν τὸ ἱπποτρύφιον συνεστήσατο τῶν ἁθλητῶν ἱππῶν, ὡστε καὶ ὄνομα ἐν τοῖς "Εὐλησι γενέσθαι τῆς Ἐνετικῆς πωλείας καὶ πολὺν χρόνον εὐδοκιμῆσαι τὸ γένος.

5. "Απασα μὲν οὖν ἡ χώρα ποταμοὺς πληθύει καὶ ἔλεσι, μάλιστα δ' ἡ τῶν Ἐνετῶν' πρόσεστι δὲ ταύτη καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης πάθη. μόνα γὰρ τάντα τὰ μέρη σχεδόν τι τῆς καθ' ἡμίας θαλάττης ὁμοιότητας τῷ ὁκεανῷ, καὶ παραπλησίους ἐκεῖνος ποιεῖται τὰς τά ἄμμοτας καὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας, ὡς δ' ὅτι τὸ πλέον τοῦ πεδίου λιμνοθαλάττης γίνεται μεστὸν. διώρυξε δὲ καὶ ταραχώμασι, καθάπερ ἡ Κάτω λεγομένη χώρα τῆς Ἀιγύπτου, διωχέτευται καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνέψυκται καὶ γεωργεῖται, τὰ δὲ διάπλοας εἴχε· τῶν δὲ πόλεων αἱ μὲν νησίζουσιν, αἱ δὲ κλύησιν. ὅσαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑλῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ κεῖνται, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν ἀνάπλοοις θαυμαστοὺς ἔχουσι, μάλιστα δ' ὁ Πάγιος. μέγιστος τε ἡ γάρ ἐστι καὶ πληροῦται πολλάκις ἐκ τῆς ὁμορίας καὶ χιόνων, διαχεύμενος δ' εἰς πολλά

1 παραπλησίου, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores; against Kramer and the later editors (παραπλησίως).
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 δυσεισβολός ἐστιν. ἡ δ’ ἐμπειρία περιγίνεται καὶ τῶν χαλεπωτάτων.

6. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄρχαῖον, ὡσπερ ἐφην, ὑπὸ Κελτῶν περιοικεῖτο τῶν πλείστων ὁ ποταμός. μέγιστα δ’ ἤν τῶν Κελτῶν ἔθνη Βοῖι καὶ Ἰνσουβροί καὶ οἱ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ 1 εὖ ἐφόδου καταλαβόντες Σένονες μετὰ Γαιζατῶν. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἐξε-θειραν ὑστερον τελέως Ρωμαίοι, τοὺς δὲ Βοῖους ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῶν τόπων, μεταστάντες δ’ εἰς τοὺς περί τοῦ Ἰστρον τόπους μετὰ Ταυρίσκων όκουν πολεμοῦντες πρὸς Δακοῦς, ἐως ἀπώλοντο πανεθνεῖ. ἡ τὴν χώραν οὐσαν τῆς Ίλυρίδος μηλόβωτον τοὺς περιοικούσιν κατέλιπον. Ἰνσουβροὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν εἰσί. Μεδιολάνιον δ’ ἐσχον μητρόπολιν, πάλαι μὲν κόμην (ἀπαντες γὰρ όκουν κωμηδόν), νῦν δ’ ἀξιόλογον πόλιν, πέραν τοῦ Πάνδου συνάπτουσαν πως ταῖς “Αλπεσι. πλησίον δὲ καὶ Οὐήρων, 2 καὶ αὕτη πόλις μεγάλη. ἐλάττους δὲ τούτους Βριξία καὶ Μαυτούα καὶ Ἰργιον 3 καὶ Κώμον. αὕτη δ’ ὑπὸ Κατοκία κατερ, Πομπήιος δὲ Στράβων. ὁ Μάγνου πατήρ κακωθείσαν ὑπὸ τῶν υπερκειμένων Ῥαίτων συνάψκεσαν εἶτα Γάιος Σκιπίων τρισχίλιους προσέθηκεν εἶτα ὁ Θεὸς Καίσαρ πεντακισχίλιους ἐπιτυφώκισεν, ὃν οἱ

1 For ὀφθεῖν. Xylanto reads πόλιν; so the other earlier editors; l. 11 : Vogel approving.
2 Οὐήρων, Kramer, for Βήρων; so the later editors.
3 Strabo almost certainly wrote Βέργομον instead of Ὀργιον (see footnote on opposite page).
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 Gaezatae, 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 Mediolanium, 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

8 Regium Lepidum. But Strabo is talking about Transpadana, not Cispadana; and hence it is almost certain that he wrote "Bergomum," not "Regium."
πεντακόσιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπῆρξαν οἱ ἐπιφανε- στατοί· τούτοις δὲ καὶ πολιτείαν ἐδωκε καὶ ἐνε- γραψεν αὐτοῦς εἰς τοὺς συνοίκους· οὐ μέντοι ἦκησαν αὐτοθι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούνομά γε τῷ κτίσματι ἐκείνῳ κατέλιπον· Νεοκωμίται γὰρ ἐκλήθησαν ἀπαντες, τούτο δὲ μεθερμηνευθέν Ἕβουμικόμομμι λέγεται. ἐγγὺς δὲ τοῦ χαρίου τούτου λίμνη Δάριος καλουμένη· πληροὶ δ' αὐτὴν ὁ ᾿Αδοῦνας ποταμός· εἰτ' ἐξήσιν εἰς τὸν Πάδον· τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἐσχῆκεν ἐν τῷ ᾿Αδοῦλα ὅρει, ὁποὺ καὶ ᾿Ρήμος.

7. Αὔται μὲν οὖν πολὺ υπὲρ τῶν ἑλῶν ἦκησαν, πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Παταούμου, πασών ἀριστή τῶν ταύτη πόλεων, ἤ γε νεωστὶ λέγεται τιμήσασθαι πενταικόσιον ἵππικοὺς ἀνδρὰς, καὶ τὸ παλαιόν δὲ ἐστελλε δώδεκα μυριάδας στρατιῶν. δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πεμπομένης κατασκευῆς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατ' ἐμπορίαν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐσθῆτος παντοδαπῆς, τὴν εὐανδρίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν εὐτεχίαν. ἔχει δὲ θαλάττης ἀνάπλουν ποταμῷ διὰ τῶν ἑλῶν φερόμενῳ σταδίων πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἐκ λιμένος μεγάλου καλεῖται δ' ὁ λιμὴς Μεδόακος ὁμωνύμως τῷ ποταμῷ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑλίστη μέσης μὲν ἔστι Ῥαούεννα, καὶ μεγίστη μέσης μὲν ἔστι Ῥαούεννα, ξυλοπαγὴς ὅλη καὶ διάρρυτος, γεφύραις καὶ πορθμείοις ἀναπλασθείσας δέχεται δ' οὐκ ὑπὸ τὸν θαλάττης μέρος ἐν ταῖς πηγαῖς πλημμυρίσων, ὡστε καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ ὑπὸ ποτα-
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 1. 6-7

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 ἐκκλυζόμενον τὸ βορβορῶδες πᾶν ἑταίρας ἀνέλαβε ὁ γιγαντίας Στράβον. οὐτως γοῦν ὑγειεῖν ἔξεσται τὸ χωρίον ὥστε ἔταξα δυσαερίαν τούς μονομάχους τρέφειν καὶ γυμνάζειν ἀπεδείξαν οἱ ἱηεμόνες. ἐστὶ μὲν ὅτι καὶ τούτο θαυμάστατον τῶν ἐνθάδε, τὸ ἐν ἔλει τους ἀέρας ἄββλαβεῖς εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν Ἐλευθερίας τῇ πρὸς Λιγύττων τοῦ θέρους ἡ λίμνη τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἀποβάλλει διὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὸν τῶν τελμάτων ὑφανισμὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀμπελώναν πάσης θαυμάστατον ὑπάρχειν, φύει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν τὰ ἔλη καὶ πολλὰ τὰχῦ καὶ πολύν ἀποδιδοῦσιν καρπάν, φθείρει δὲ ἐν ἔτεσι τέταρτοι ἢ πέντε. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀλτίμον ἐν ἔλει, παραπλήσιον ἔχον τῇ Ραούνης τὴν θέσιν. μεταξὺ δὲ Βούτριον τῆς Ραούνης τὸν θάλασσαν καὶ Ἡ Σπένα, νῦν μὲν κωμικὰ ἡ πόλις, πάλαι δὲ Ἑλληνικὸς πόλος ἐνδοξὸς. θησαυρὸς γοῦν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἔδεικνυται, καὶ τὰλλα ἱστορεῖται περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς ταξιακηρατηκάντων, φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἤλιος ὑπάρξαι, νῦν δὲ εἶναι ἐν μεσογαίᾳ τὸ χωρίον περὶ ἐνενήκοντα τῆς θαλάσσης σταδίων ἀπέχον, καὶ ἡ Ραούνης δὲ Θετταλῶν εἴρηται κτίσμα· οὐ φέροντος δὲ τὰς τῶν Τυρρήνων ὑβρεῖς ἐξεπερναντο ἐκάντες τῶν Ὠμβρικῶν τινας, οὐ καὶ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν στάσιν, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπεχώρησαν ἐν πόλιν, αὐτὰς

1 ἐκκλυζόμενον, Corais, for ἐκκλυζόμενον; so tho 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 lake¹ 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 treasury² 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 Tyrrenians, they voluntarily took in some of the Ombrici,³ which latter still now hold the city, whereas the Thessalians themselves returned home.

¹ 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 ἐλεσίων, ὡστε καὶ κλύζεσθαι.

8. Ὅπιτέργιον1 δὲ καὶ Κωνκορδία2 καὶ Ἄτρια3 καὶ Οὐικετία καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πολισμάτια ὅττου μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλῶν ἐνοχλεῖται, μικρὸς δὲ ἀνάπλος πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν συνῆπται. τὴν δὲ Ἄτριαν ἑπιφανῆ γενέσθαι πόλιν ἑξῆκον φασίν, ἀφ' ἦς καὶ τούνομα τῶν κόλπων γενέσθαι τῷ Ἄδρια, μικραῖς μετάθεσιν λαβὼν. Ἄκυληία δ', ἦπερ μᾶλιστα τῷ μικρῷ πλησιέζει, κτίσμα μὲν ἐστὶ Ἀρμαίων, ἐπιτειχισθέν τοῖς ὑπερκειμένοις βαρβάροις, ἀναπλεῖται δὲ ὑλικάσι κατὰ τὸν Νάτισονα ποταμὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖονς ἕξηκον σταδίους. ἀνείται δ' ἑμπόριον4 τοῖς περὶ τῶν Ἰστρον τῶν Ἰλλυρίων ἔθνων κομίζουσι δ' οὕτω µὲν τὰ ἐκ θαλάττησι, καὶ οἶνον ἐπὶ ξυλίων πίθων ἀρμαμάξαις ἀναθέντες καὶ ἔλαιον, ἐκεῖνοи δ' ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκῆμα καὶ δέρματα. ἔξω δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν Ἐνυστικῶν ὡρων η Ἄκυληία. διορίζονται δὲ ποταμῷ βίοντι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλπίων ὡρων, ἀνάπλοιν ἐχοῦντε καὶ διακοσίων σταδίων ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλίοις εἰς Νωρηλίαν

1 Ὅπιτέργιον, Corais, for Ὅπιτέργιον; so the later editors.
2 Κωνκορδία, Siebenkees (from conj. of Cluverius), for Ὅρδια; so the later editors.
3 Ἄτρια, all editors, for Ἀδρία.
4 For πλεῖον ἕ several editors, including Meineke, wrongly read πλεῖστος.
5 After ἑμπόριον Groskurd, Meineke, and others insert τοῖς τε Ἐνυστικῶν 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 Natios (Natisone) 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 Op. 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.
πόλιν, περὶ ἄυν Γναῖος Κάρβων συμβαλῶν Κίμ-
βρος οὐδὲν ἐπραξεν. ἔχει δὲ ὁ τόπος οὗτος
χρυσοτρύσια εὐφυὴ καὶ σιδηρονυγεῖa. ἐν αὐτῷ
δὲ τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διομήδους
ἔστιν ἄξιον μνήμης, τὸ Τίμανον· λιμένα γὰρ ἔχει
καὶ ἀλσος ἐκπρεπεῖ καὶ πηγὰς ἔπτα ποτίμου ὕδατος
εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπέττοιτος, πλατεὶ καὶ βαθεὶς ποταμῷ. Πολύβιος δὲ εἴρηκε
πλὴν μίας τὰς ἄλλας ἄλμυρον ὕδατος, καὶ δὴ καὶ
τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πηγήν καὶ μητέρα τῆς θαλάττης
οὐραμάζει τὸν τόπον. Ποσειδώνως δὲ φησὶ ποτα-
μὸν τὸν Τίμανον ἐκ τῶν ὄρων φερόμενον καταπί-
πτειν εἰς βέρεθρον, εἰθ᾽ ὑπὸ γῆς ἐνεχθόντα περὶ
ἐκατόν καὶ τριήκοντα σταδίους ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ
[this is a reference to Timavo river, now Timavo]

9. Τῆς δὲ τοῦ Διομήδους δυναστείας περὶ τὴν
θάλασσαν ταύτην αἱ τοῖς Διομήδεις νῆσοι μαρτύρια
καὶ τὰ περὶ Δαυνίους καὶ τὸ Ἀργος τὸ Ἰππιοῦν
ἰστορούμενα· περὶ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν μυθευμένων
καὶ κατεψυφυμένων ἄλλως ἐὰν δεῖ, οἷον τὰ περὶ
Δαυνίους καὶ τὰς Ἡλιάδας τὰς ἀπαιγειρομένας
περὶ τοῦ Ἡριδανῶν τοῦ μηδαμοῦ γῆς ὀντα, πλησίον
δὲ τῶν 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); see most of the editors.
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

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6 Cp. the reference to the Attic Eridanus in 9. 1. 19.
7 In Hesiod (Fr. 100 [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 Phaethon was thrown from the chariot of his sisters (the Heliades) who had yoked the chariot were metamorphosed into poplars, and their tears into amber.
αὐταῖς: οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς τόποις. τῷ δὲ Διομήδει παρὰ τοῖς Ὑποκρίνεται τινὲς ιστοροῦνται τιμαῖ. καὶ γὰρ θύεται λευκὸς ἵππος αὐτῷ, καὶ δύο ἀλση ὑπὸ τῶν Ἡρας ᾿Αργείας δείκνυται, καὶ δύο ἀλση ᾿Αρτέμιδος ᾿Ατωλίδος. προσμυθεύουσι δὲ, ώς εἰκός, τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἐλάφους συναγελάζεσθαι, προσιόντων δὲ τῶν ἄνθρωπων καὶ καταφώτων ἀνέχεσθαι, τὰ δὲ διωκόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν, ἔπειδὴ ἀποφύγῃ διόρο, μηκέτι διώκεσθαι. φασὶ δὲ τίνα τῶν πάνω γνωριζόμενον ὁ Ἔι ἐν τοῖς κυνων ἄνθρωπων καὶ καταφώτων εἰσερχομένων ἐπὶ τούτῳ, παρατυχεῖν κυνηγηταίς λύκου ἐν τοῖς δικτύοις ἐχούσιν εἰπόντως δὲ κατὰ παιδίαν, εἰ ἐγγυᾶται τὸν λύκον, ἐφ' ὅτε τὰς ξημίας ἐγγυᾶται, εἰ ἐγγυᾶται τὸν λύκον, ἐφ' ὅτε τὰς ξημίας ἐγγυᾶται, κυνηγήταις νυνὶ δὲ, ἀφεθέντα δὲ τὸν λύκον ἱππων ἀπελάσαντα ἀκαυτηριάστων πρὸς τὸν φιλεγγύου σταθμόν τὸν δὲ ἀπολαβόντα τὴν χάριν καυτήριασία τε τὰς ἱππών λύκου, καὶ κληθήναι λυκοφόρους, τάχει μᾶλλον ἀναδεξαμένους τὸ τε καυτήριον φυλάξαι καὶ τούνομα τῷ γένει τῶν ἱππών, ἐθος δὲ ποιῆσαι θήλειν μὴ ἐξαλλοτριοῦν τό ἑνδέκειν ἄνθρωποι τῷ γένει τῶν ἱππών, ἐνδόξου γενομένης ἐνθένδε ἱππείας. νυνὶ δὲ, ὡσπερ ἐφαμεν, πᾶσα ἐκκλέλοιτεν

1 γνωριζόμενον, Kramer, for γνωριζόμενον; so the later editors.

1 Cp. 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:¹ 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 steading 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,² the practice of horse-breeding has wholly disappeared.

¹ § 4 above.

² § 4 above.
ἡ τοιαύτη ἄσκησις. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Τίμανον ἢ τῶν Ἰστρίων ἐστὶν παραλία μέχρι Πόλας, ἢ πρόσκειται τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ. μεταξὺ δὲ φρούριον Τεργέστε, Ἀκυλής διέχων ἐκατόν καὶ ὄγδοϊκοντα σταδίους. ἢ δὲ Πόλα ἱδρυται μὲν ἐν κόλπῳ λιμενοειδεῖ, ὑσίδια ἔχουσι εὐόρμα καὶ εὐκαρπα. κτίσμα δὲ ἐστὶν ἄρχαιον Κόλχων τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Μίδειαν ἐκπεμφθέντων, διαμαρτόντων δὲ τῆς πράξεως καὶ καταγράντων ἐαυτῶν φυγήν τοῦ κεν φυγάδου μὲν ἐνίσποι Ἰραϊκός (ὡς Καλλίμαχος εἶρηκεν), ἀτὰρ κεῖσθαι γλώσσον ἀνόμην Πόλας. τὰ μὲν δὴ πέραν τοῦ Πάδου χωρία οὗ τὰ Ἐνετοί νέμονται καὶ οἱ Ἰστρίων μέχρι Πόλας, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Ἐνετῶν Κάρνοι καὶ Κενομάνοι καὶ Μεδόακοι καὶ Σύμβροι ὁμοία καὶ Μεδόακοι καὶ Σύμβροι δὲ καὶ Ἐνετοί συνεμέχουσι καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ἀννίβα στρατείας, ἡμέρα Βόοις καὶ Σύμβρους ἐπολέμουν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα.

10. Οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ Πάδου κατέχουσι μὲν ἅπασαν ὅσην ἐγκυκλοῦνται τὰ Ἀπέννινα ὄρη πρὸς τὰ Ἀλπικά μέχρι Γενούας καὶ τῶν Σαβάτων. κατεῖχον δὲ Βόοι καὶ Δίγυες καὶ Σένονες καὶ Γαζίαται τὸ πλέον τῶν δὲ Βόοις ἐξελαθέντων,

1 After of Kramer inserts "Ἰστρίων," so the later editors.
2 For Σύμβροι and Σύμβρους Corais reads "Ἰνσούβροι; and Ἰνσούβμοι; and in § 12 following, for Σύμβρους, Ἰνσούβμοι; Meineke following. "Ἰνσούβροι," the last word in § 10 following, seems to indicate that the "Symbri" are to be identified with the "Insubri."

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

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

³ That is, the arc described by the Apennines, in their stretch from the region of Ariminum and Ancona as far as Genua and Vada Sabatorum (op. 4. 6. 1, 5. 1. 3), together with the Po, enclose Gallia Cispadana.
ἀφανισθέντων δὲ καὶ τῶν Γαϊζατῶν καὶ Σενόνων, λείπεται τὰ Δυνοστικὰ φύλα καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἴ ἀποικίαι. τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀναμέμικται καὶ τὸ τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν φῦλον, ἔστι δ' ὑπὸ καὶ Τυρ-ρηνῶν τὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμφότερα τὰ ἔθνη πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξήσεως εἰχὲ τινὰ πρὸς ἀλληλα περὶ πρωτείων ἄμμαλα, καὶ μέσον ἔχοντα τὸν Τίβεριν ποταμὸν Ῥωμαίοις ἐμπέσασθαι τῆς εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἐξόδου καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν στειλιίτων στρατιάς τις τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πάδον βαρβάρους καὶ πρό-ξάντων εὖ, ταχὺ δὲ πάλιν ἐκπεσόντων διὰ τὴν ἀλληλα περὶ πρωτείων ἄμμαλα, ἔστὶ δὲ ποὺ τινὰς ἐκστρατείας ἐποιώμενο ἐπὶ ἀνεότητα δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις καὶ ἔρις ἦν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἐξόδου καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν στειλιίτων στρατιάς τις τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πάδον βαρβάρους καὶ προ-ξάντων εὖ, ταχὺ δὲ πάλιν ἐκπεσόντων διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ἐπεστράτευσαν οἱ ἑτέροι τοῖς ἐκβαλοῦσιν εἰς ἐκ διαδοχής τῶν τόπων ἀμφίβληται τὸν Πάδον λόγω τῶν κατοικῶν ταῖς μὲ τὸν Ὀμβρικαῖς ἐποίησαν τὰς Ὀμβρικὰς, πλείους δὲ τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν, ἐγγυτέρω γὰρ ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι, παραλαβόντες καὶ πέμψαντες ἐποίησαν τὸν ποταμὸν ἦσαν ἐποίησαν ταῖς μὲ τὸν Ὀμβρικαῖς, πλείους δὲ τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν, ἐγγυτέρω γὰρ ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι, παραλαβόντες καὶ πέμψαντες ἐποίησαν τὸν ποταμὸν, συνεφύλαξαν καὶ τὰ τῶν προεποικησάων γένη καὶ νῦν Ῥωμαίοι μὲν εἰσὶν ἀπαντές, οὐδὲν δὲ ἂν Ὀμβρικῶν τε τινὲς λέγονται καὶ τυρρηνοὶ, καθάπερ ἔνετο καὶ Λίγνες καὶ Ἰνσοβροεῖν. 11. Πόλεις δὲ εἰσὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πάδου καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πάδου εἰσφανεῖς Πλακεντία μὲν καὶ Κρεμώνη.

1 ἀλλοὺς (the reading of second hand in B.), for ἀλλήλους; so the editors.
2 The reading of the MSS. is ἔγγυτέρω γὰρ ἦσαν, except that B omits the ὁ. Meincke, following Kramer, reads ἔγγυτερον γὰρ ἦσαν, except that B omits the ὁ and omits γάρ.
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 Tyrrhenian 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 Insubri.

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

\(^1\) See 5. 1. 6. 
\(^2\) That is, the Etrusci.
πλησιάσαται κατὰ μέσην που τὴν χώραν, μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων τε καὶ Ἀριμίνου Πάρμα καὶ Μοντίνη καὶ Βοσνιών πλησίον ἦδη Ῥαούενής, καὶ μικρὰ πολύσματα ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων, δι’ δὲν ἢ εἰς Ἀρίμην ὠδός, Ἀγκάρα, Ρήγιον Λέπιδον, Μακροὶ Κάμποι, ὅπου πανίγαυρις συνυπολέγεται κατ’ ἐτος, Κλάτερνα, Φόρον Κωρυήλιον, Φαουεντία δὲ καὶ Καισήνα πρὸς τὸν Σαύττι υποταμῷ καὶ τῷ Ἀριμίνῳ, τὸ δὲ Ἀρίμηνον Ὀμβρων ἐστὶ κατοικία, καθάπερ καὶ Ἐριμίνων ἔκατέρα. ἔχει δὲ τὸ Ἀρίμηνον λιμένα καὶ ὁμώνυμον ποταμόν. ἀπὸ γὰρ Πλακεντίας εἰς Ἀρίμηνον στάδια χίλιοι τριακοσίων. ὑπὲρ δὲ Πλακεντίας ἔπει μὲν τοὺς ὅρους τῆς Κοττίου γῆς Τίκινου ἐν τριάκοντα εξ μιλίοις πόλις καὶ ὁμώνυμος ὁ παραρρέων ποταμὸς, συμβάλλων τῷ Πάδῳ, καὶ Κλαστίδιον καὶ Δερτών καὶ Ἀκουαισταπτέλλας μικρὸν ἐν παρόδῳ. ή δ’ εὐθεία εἰς Ὡκελόν παρὰ τὸν Πάδον καὶ τὸν Δουρίαν ποταμόν, βαραθρώδης ἡ πολλή, πλεῖον καὶ ἀλλοὶ ἐχοντα ποταμοὺς, ὡς καὶ τὸν

1 Ἀγκάρα, Meineke, for Ἀκάρα.
2 Μακροὶ, Χυλαντζίδιος, for Νάκροι; so the later editors.
3 καὶ Καισήνα, Corais, for καὶ σήνα; so the later editors.
4 τῷ Σάπτι, Meineke, for Ἰσιατί.
5 Δερτών, Jones, for Δέρθων (cp. Δερτών Artemidorus in Steph. Byz. s.v.); other editors emend to Δέρθων. Ptolemaeus’ spelling is Δερτῶν (3. 1. 31).

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 to Rome—I mean Ancara, Regium Lepidum, Macri Campi 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. 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. 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 that flows past it and joins the Padus), and also, on a road which runs slightly to one side, there lie Clastidium, Derton and Aquae Statiellae. But the direct road to Ocelum 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 ἔστι περὶ ἐξήκοντα. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἥδη τὰ Ἀλπια ὅρι καὶ Ἡ Κελτική.
Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ὀρέσι τοῖς ὑπερκειμένοις τῆς Δούνης ἐστὶ πόλις Δούκα: ἐμοὶ δὲ κωμιδὸν οἰκοῦσιν εὐανδρεὶ δ’ ὄμως ἡ χώρα καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐντεῦθεν τὸ πλέον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἰππικῶν πλῆθος, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος λαμβάνει τὴν σύνταξιν. ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ Δερτών 1 πόλις ἄξιολογος κειμένη κατὰ μέσην τὴν ὁδὸν τήν ἄπο Γενούας εἰς Πλακεντίαν, ἐκατέρας 2 διέχουσα σταδίους τετρακοσίους κατὰ δὲ παύτην τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ Ἁκονισσατατιέσσαι, ἀπὸ δὲ Πλακεντίας εἰς μὲν Ἀρίμμυνον εὑρηταί: εἰς δὲ Ὀπαύνενα πατάπλους τὸ Πάδο δυείν ἰμερόν καὶ νυκτῶν. πολὺ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ Πάδου καταίχετο ὑπὸ ἑλῶν, δι’ ὧν Ἀννύβας καλεῖσθω διηλθεῖσθαι, προϊὸν ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίαν ἀλλ’ ἀνέψυξε τὰ πέδια ὁ Σκαῦρος διώρυγας πλωτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰάδου μέχρι Ἰλώρες ἄγων κατὰ γὰρ Πλακεντίας οἱ Τρεβίας συμβάλλων τῷ Πάδῳ καὶ ἔτι πρώτοι πλείους πληροῦσι πέραν τοῦ μετρίου. σύνθος δὲ ὁ Σκαῦρος ἐστιν ὁ καὶ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν ὁδὸν στρώσας τὴν διὰ

1 Δερτών, 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 merely the stretch from Ticinum to Ocelum.

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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...
Πισών καὶ Δούνης μέχρι Σαβάτων, κάντειθεν διὰ Δερτῶνος. ΑΛΛΗ δέ ἐστιν Αλμυλία διαδεχομένη τήν Φλαμώνιαν. συνυπάτευσαν γὰρ ἄλλης Ἡλληνικὸς Μάρκος Δέπιδος καὶ Γαίος Φλαμώνιος· καθελόντες δὲ Λάγγας, ὁ μὲν τὴν Φλαμώνιαν ἐστρωσεν ἐκ 'Ρώμης διὰ Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τῆς 'Ομβρικῆς μέχρι τῶν περὶ 'Αρίμυννον τόπων, ὁ δὲ τὴν ἑξῆς μέχρι Βοωνίας, κάκειθεν εἰς 'Ακυλίαν παρὰ τὰς Ῥίκας τὰς τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐγκυκλούμενον τὰ ἔλλην. ὁριον δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, ἤν οὖν Κελτικὴν καλοῦμεν, πρὸς τὴν λουτὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸ τε Ἀπέννινον ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς Τυρρηνίας ἀπεδέδεικτο καὶ ὁ Άϊσις ποταμὸς, ὑστερον δὲ ὁ 'Ρουβίκων, εἰς τὸν Ἀδριαν ἔκδιδόντες ἀμφότεροι.

12. Τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς τῶν τόπων τεκμήριον ἤ τ' εὐανδρία καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος, οἷς πᾶσιν ὑπερβέβλησα τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν οἱ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαῖοι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ γεωργία γῆ πολυπολεοῦσα καὶ παντοτόπιος ἐκφέρει καρποὺς, καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος τοσαύτης ἐγὼσι βάλανον ὡστ' ἐκ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ὕσσωρίων ἡ 'Ρώμη τρέφεται τὸ πλέον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ κεγχροφόρος διαφερόντως διὰ τὴν εὐνυδρίαν τοῦτο δὲ λιμοῦ μέγιστον ἐστὶν ἄκος· πρὸς ἄπαντας γὰρ καιροὺς ἄερων ἀντέχει, καλ ὁ ὀδεπτὸ ἐπιλείπει·

1 Δερτῶνος, Jones, for Δέθωνος (see footnote 5, p. 326).
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 Tyrrhenia 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 Tyrrhenia, 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. 2493, and "Flaminina," p. 2502).
πει χύναται, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου σίτου γένηται σπάνις. ἔχει δὲ καὶ πεπτουργεία θαυμαστά. τοῦ δ’ οίνου τὸ πλῆθος μηνύουσιν οἱ πίθοι οἱ ξύλινοι γὰρ μείζουσι οίκων εἰς προσλαμβάνει δὲ πολὺ ἡ τῆς πίττης εὐπορία πρὸς τὸ εὐκώμητον. ἔρεαν δὲ τὴν μὲν μαλακὴν οί περὶ Μοντύνην τόποι καὶ τὸν Σκούλταναν ποταμὸν φέρουσι πολὺ πασῶν καλ-λίστην, τὴν δὲ τραχεῖαν ἡ Λυγυστικὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν Σύμβρων, ἔχει δὲ καὶ πιττουργεία θαυμαστά. τοῦ δ’ οἴνου τὸ πλῆθος μηνύουσιν οἱ περὶ Πα-ταούιον, ἔχει δὲ τὰ πάσης οἱ πολυτελεῖς καὶ γαύσατοι καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἰδικῶς πίνω, ἀμφίμαλλων τε καὶ ἐστηρόμαλλον. τὰ δὲ μετάλλα μείζων μὲν οὐχ ὀμοίως ἐνταῦθα σπουδαίεται διὰ τὸ λυσιτελέστερα ἱδρύεται τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑπεραλπίοις Ἱζελτοῖς καὶ τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ, πρῶτον δὲ ἐστηρόμαλλον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Οὐερκέλλοις χρυσωρυχεῖον ἔστι, καὶ ἐν Παλαικεντίαν. αὕτη μὲν δὲ ἡ πρώτη μέρη τῆς Ἰταλίας μέχρι δεύορο περιοδεύσω."
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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 Celti 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 Tyrrenhia. It contains nothing worthy of detailed

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 ταύτης, Corais omits; so the later editors.
ἔχουσα περιηγήσεως ἄξιον, πλὴν ὅτι κωμιδὸν ἔση, τραχείαν γῆν ἀρούντες καὶ σκάπτουντες, μᾶλλον δὲ λατομοῦντες, ὥς φησὶ Ποσειδώνιος. Τρίτοι δὲ εἰσὶ συνεχεῖς τούτοις οἱ Τυρρηνοί, τὰ πεδία ἐχούσης τὰ μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τεμέριδος, κλυζόμενοι τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐκ νοῦ πλὴν τὸ ποταμῷ μέχρι τῆς ἔκβολῆς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ δὲ θάτερα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ καὶ Σαβίνῳ πελάγει. ἂν δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἀπεινίων ὁρῶν ὁ Τίβερις, πλημμένος δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ποταμῶν, μέρος μὲν τι δὲ αὐτὴς φερόμενος ἑάυτοῦ, ὥς φησὶ Ἰοσειδώνιος. Τρίτοι δ᾽ εἰσὶ συνεχεῖς τούτοις οἱ Ἰμβρικοὶ, τὰ πεδία καὶ ἐχοῦσα τὰ μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τεμέριδος, κλυζόμενοι τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἕω μᾶλλον τῷ ποταμῷ, κατὰ δὲ θάτερα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ καὶ Σαβίνῳ πελάγει. ἂν δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἀπεινίων ὁρῶν ὁ Τίβερις, πλημμένος δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ποταμῶν, μέρος μὲν τι δὲ αὐτὴς φερόμενος τῆς Τυρρηνίας, τὸ δὲ ἐκεῖνος διορίζων ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Ὄμβρικην, εἶτα τοὺς Σαβίνους καὶ Λατίνους τοὺς πρὸς τῇ Ῥώμῃ μέχρι τῆς παραλίας. παραβεβληται δὲ πῶς τῷ ποταμῷ μὲν καὶ τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς κατὰ πλάτος, ἀλλὰ λόγιος δὲ κατὰ μῆκος· ἀνέχουσα δὲ πρὸς τὰ Ἀπεινίων ὁρή τὰ πλησιάζοντα τῷ Ἀδριᾷ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Ὄμβρικοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Σαβίνους, τελευταῖοι δὲ τὴν Λατίνην ἐχοῦσα, ἀρξάμενοι πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ή μὲν οὖν τῶν Λατίνων χώρα μεταξὺ καίται τῆς τε αὐτῆς τοῦ Ὀστίων παραλίας μέχρι πόλεως Σιουέσσης καὶ τῆς Σαβίνης (τα δ' Ὀστίων ἐπὶ ὧν ἐπένειν τῆς Ῥώμης, εἰς δ' ἐκαθίσσειν ὁ Τίβερις παρ' αὐτὴν ῥυόμεν), ἐκτείνεται δὲ ἐπὶ μῆκος μέγερι τῆς Καμπανίας καὶ τῶν Σαυνιτικῶν ὁρῶν· ἢ δὲ Σαβίνη μεταξὺ τῶν Λατίνων καίται καὶ τῶν Ὄμβρικῶν, ἐκτείνεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ πρὸς τὰ Σαυνιτικὰ ὄρη, καὶ μᾶλλον συνάπτει τοῖς Ἀπεινίων τοῖς κατὰ Οὐνέσσης τε καὶ Πελύγους 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 Tyrrhenian 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 Tyrrhenia itself, and in its course thereafter separates from Tyrrhenia, 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 Tyrrhenia 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
Μαρσούς· οἱ δ᾽ Ὁμβρικοὶ μέσοι μὲν κεῖται τῆς τε Σαβίνης καὶ τῆς Τυρρηνίας, μέχρι δ᾽ Ἀριμίνου καὶ Ραουέννης προέστων ὑπερβαλλόντες τὰ ὀργ. Τυρρηνοὶ δὲ παύονται ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς περικλείοντιν ἐκ τῆς Δυναστικῆς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν, ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρξάμενοι θαλάττης καὶ τοῦ Τιβέριδος. τὰ καθ᾽ ἐκαστὰ δὲ διεξειμένει, ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀρξάμενοι.

2. Οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τοῖς παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις Ἑτροῦσκοι καὶ Τοῦσκοι προσαγορεύονται. οἱ δ᾽ Ἕλληνες οὕτως ὠνόμασαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦ Ἀτυοῦ, ὡς φασί, τοῦ στείλαντος ἐκ Λυκίας ἐποίκους δεύρο. ἐπὶ γὰρ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀφυτάς ἔτη ἐς Ἀτυοῦ, εἰς τῶν ἀπογόνων Ἰππακλέους καὶ Ὀμβάλης, δεύτερος αὐτῶν, κλήρῳ Λυκίαν μὲν κατέσχε, τῷ δὲ Τυρρηνῷ τὸν παίδων συστήσας λαῖν ἐξεστείλεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ τὴν τε χώραν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ Τυρρηνίαν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ δώδεκα πόλεις ἔκτισεν, οἰκιστὴν ἐπιστήσας Ῥάρκωνα, ἀπὸ Ταρκυνία ἡ πόλις, ὃν διὰ τὴν ἐκ παίδων σύνεσιν πολιῶν γεγεννηθεὶς πυθεύοντος. τότε μὲν οὖν ὡφ᾽ ἐνι ἕγερσιν ταττόμενοι μέγα ἐσχύνοι, χρόνοις δ᾽ ὑστερὸν διαλυθῆναι τὸ σύστημα εἰκός καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διασπασθῆναι βίᾳ τῶν πλησιοχώρων εἰς αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἄν χώραν εὐδαίμονα ἀφέντες τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ ληστείαν ἐπέθετο, ἀλλὰ τραπόμενοι πελάγη, ἐπεί, ὅπου γε συμπνεύσαιεν.

1 ὑπερβαλλόντες τὰ ὀργ. 2 Ὅμβριος οἵς ἀρξάμενοι τοῖς ὄρεσι. 3 Ἅλπης, ἄφι Λυκίαν μὲν κατέσχε, τῷ δὲ Τυρρηνῷ τὸν παίδων συστήσας λαῖν ἐξεστείλεν.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 2. 1–2

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 dearth 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,
ίκανοι ἦσαν οὐκ ἀμύνασθαι μόνον τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦν-τας αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντεπιχειρεῖν καὶ μακρὰς στρατείας ποιεῖσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ῥώμης κτίσιν Δημάρατος ἀφικνεῖται, λαὸν ἄγων ἐκ Κορίνθου, καὶ δεξαμένων αὐτὸν Ταρκυνίων γειωτῇ Δουκούμωνα ἐξ ἐπιχειρίας γυναικὸς. γενόμενος δὲ "Λυκῳ Μαρκίῳ," τὸ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, φίλος ἐβασιλεύσετε οὗτος, καὶ μεταομάσθῃ Λευκίας Ταρκυνίος Πρίσκος, ἐκόσμησε δ' οὖν τὴν Τυρρηνίαν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ πατήρ πρῶτον, ὁ μὲν εὐπορίᾳ δημοσίων τῶν συνοικολουθησαντὸν οἰκοθεν, ὁ δὲ ταις ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφορμῶις. λέγεται δὲ καὶ θριαμβικὸς κόσμος καὶ ὑπατικὸς καὶ ἁπλῶς ὁ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκ Ταρκυνίων δεύρι μετενεχθῆναι καὶ μᾶζδοι καὶ πελέκεις καὶ σάλπιγγες καὶ ἱεροποιίαι καὶ μαντικὴ καὶ μουσικὴ ὅσῃ δημοσίᾳ χρῶται. τοῦτου δ᾽ ὁ δεύτερος Ταρκύνιος, ὁ ὅνωτον ὥσπερ καὶ ἐλευταῖος ἐξέπεσε. Ἰορσίνας 8, ὁ τῶν λουσίων βασιλεὺς, πόλεως Ῥωμήνδος, κατιγειν αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσας δι᾽ ὀπλῶν, οὐκ οἷός τε ἦν, καταλυσάμενος τὴν ἐχθραν ἀπῆλθε φίλος μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δωρεῶν μεγάλων.

3. Περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐπιφανείας τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι τα τοῖς Καιρετανοῖς πραξάντωτα καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐλύνας τὴν Ῥώμην Γαλάτας κατεπολέμησαν,

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1 αὐτοῖς, Xylander, for αὐτοῖς; so the later editors.
2 Μαρκίῳ, Corais, for Μάρκῳ; so the later editors.

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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.
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, 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, and his name was changed to Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. Be that as it may, he too adorned Tyrrhenia, 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, 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. Porsinas, the king of Clusium, a Tyrrhenian city, undertook to restore him to the throne by force of arms, but was unable to do so, although he broke up personal enmity against himself and departed as friend, along with honour and large gifts.

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

5 The same as "Tarquinia," 5. 2. 2.
4 500 B.C.
5 Now Chiusi.
6 Their city was Caere, one of the twelve founded by Tyrrhenus.
ὑπισκεῖν ἐπιθέμενοι κατὰ Σαβίνους, καὶ ἀ παρ' ἐκόντων ἔλαβον Ῥωμαίους ἑκείνου λάφυρα ἀκούσας ἀφελόντο· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς τοὺς καταφυγόντας παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ὁσθής ἔσωσαν καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον τῶν καὶ τὰς τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερείας. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοι διὰ τοὺς τότε φαύλους διοικοῦντας τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ἰκανῶς ἀπομιμημοῦσαν τὴν χάριν αὐτοῖς δοκοῦσι· πολιτείαν γὰρ ὄντες ὑπὸ ἀνέγραψαν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μὴ μετέχοντας τῆς ἱσονομίας εἰς τὰς δέλτους ἐξωρίζον τῶν Καιρετανῶν. παρὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἔλλησιν εὐδοκίμησεν ἡ πόλις αὕτη διά τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην· τῶν τε γὰρ λιμητριῶν ἀπέσχετο, καίστερ δυναμενή πλείστου, καὶ Πολυδὶ τὸν Ἀγυλλαίον ἀνομενον ἀνέθηκε θησαυρὸν. Ἡ Ἀγυλλα ἡν ἀνομαζέτο τὸ πρότερον ἡ νῦν Καιρέα, καὶ λέγεται Πελασγῶν κτίσμα τῶν ἐκ Θετταλίας ἀφιγμένων τῶν δὲ Λυδῶν οὐπερ Ἰππηνον μετανομάσθησαν, ἐπιστρατευσάντων τοὺς Ἀγυλλαίοις, προσιὼν τῷ τείχει τῆς πόλεως, τῶν δὲ ἀπεκρίνασθαι προσαγορεύσαντος αὐτοῦ χαίρε, δεξάμενοι τὸν οἰωνὸν οἱ Ἰππηνον τοῦτον ἀλούσαν τὴν πόλιν μετωνόμασαν. ἡ δὲ οὐτοὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐπιφανῆς πόλις νῦν ἵχνη σώζει μόνον,

1 390 B.C.
2 That is, the right of suffrage, ἐκ συφραγίας.
3 Roman citizens themselves, when disfranchised by the censor, were enrolled in the Tabulae Caeritum, and hence the odiium.
4 Delphi.
5 See 9. 3. 8.
had captured Rome, 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 to "the Tablets of the Caeretani." 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 what is called "the treasury of the Agyllaei"; for what is now Caerea 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 Tyrreni marched against the Agyllaei, 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," the Tyrreni 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

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6 The proper Latin spelling was "Caere."
7 The regular Greek word of salutation.
εὐανδρεὶ δ' αὐτῆς μᾶλλον τὰ πλησίον θερμά, ἃ καλοῦσι Καιρετανά, διὰ τοῦ φοιτῶντας θεραπείας χάριν.

4. Τοὺς δὲ Πελασγούς, ὅτι μὲν ἄρχαλον τι φύλον κατὰ τὴν 'Ελλάδα πᾶσαν ἐπεπόλασεν καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Λιολεύσι τοῖς κατὰ Θετταλίαν, ὄμωλογοσίν ἀπαντεῖς σχεδόν τιν. νομίζειν δὲ φησιν ὢφορος τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ῳ'Αρκάδιας ὄντας ἐλέσθαι στρατιωτικῶν βίων, εἰς δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἁγγήν προτρέποντας πολλοὺς ἄπασι τοῦ ἁμάματος μεταδοῦναι καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιφάνειαν κτῆσαι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσι καὶ τοῖς Θετταλίαν, πολὺς ἄπαντα τετυχόμενοι τετυχήσασι. καὶ γὰρ τῆς Κρήτης ἐποικο κηρεύωσιν, ὡς φησιν ὸμήρος λέγει γοῦν Ὄδυσσεύς πρὸς Πηνελόπην,

ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοῖς,
ἐν δ' Ἐπεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνας,
Δωριέας τε τριχάικες, διὸν τε Πελασγοῖς.

(Ud. 19. 175)

καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἀργος ἡ Θετταλία λέγεται, τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ καὶ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν ἐως τῆς ὥρεως τῆς κατὰ Πίνδου, διὰ τὸ ἐπάρξαι τῶν τόπων τούτων τοὺς Πελασγούς. τὸν τε Δία τὸν Δωδωναίον αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητής ὑνομάζει Πελασγικὸν.

Ζεῦ ἀνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικὲ.

(Ul. 16. 233)

πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἡπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη Πελασγικὰ.
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 chanced³ 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 Dodonacan 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 Vor ἐπεπόλασε, Meineke, following Ἐ (which also reads Πελασγοί, φῦλον ἄρχαιον καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάσαν), reads ἐπιπολάσαν.
εἰρήκασιν, ὡς καὶ μέχρι δεύρο ἐπαρξόμενων. Πελασγοὺς τε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἡρώων ὄνοματα 1 καλέσαντες, οἱ ὑστερον ἀρ' ἐκεῖνων πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπώνυμα πεποιήκασι καὶ γὰρ τὴν Λέσβον Πελασγίαν εἰρήκασι, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι Κίλιξιν "Ὅμηρος εἰρήκει τοὺς ὁμόρους Πελασγοὺς:

'Ιππόθοος δ' ἄγε φῦλα Πελασγῶν ἐγχεσιμώρων, τῶν, οἱ Δάριαν ἐριζώλακα ναιετιάσκον.

(II. 2. 840)

τὸ δ' Ἕφρορον τοῦ 2 Ἐρκαδίας εἶναι τὸ φῦλον τούτο ἤρξεν Ἡσίοδος. Φησὶ γὰρ

υἱεῖς ἐξεγένοντο Δυκάνονος ἀντιθέου, ὃν ποτε τίκτε Πελασγῶς.

(loc. incert.)

Ἄλσῳλος δ' ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Μυκήνας Ἀργοὺς φήσιν ἐν Ἰκέτισιν ἂν 3 Δαναΐς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν. καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον δὲ Πελασγίαν φήσιν Ἕφορος κλῆθηναι, καὶ Εὐριπίδης δ' ἐν Ἀρχελάῳ φησὶν ὅτι

Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ ἔλθὼν ἐς Ἀργοὺς φίλησ' 4 Ἰνάχου πόλιν,

1 For ὄνοματα, Groskurd reads ὄνοματα; Meineke, ὄνομα.
2 τοῦ, Corais, following no, for τὸ (ABL), τῷ (C?); so the later editors.
3 For ἂν, Meineke reads καὶ.
4 The reading of the MSS. is φίλησιν (Müller-Dübner, Ind. Ἱ. Lect.). All the editors since Xylander, except Corais and Du Theil (who read φίλησιν), read φίλησι'. Jones reads φίλησι'.

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 Lamurtkeni. 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-seated Larissa." 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_, or else his _Danaan Women_, says that the race of the Pelasgi originated in that Argos which is round about Mycenae. And the Peloponnesus too, according to Ephorus, was called "Pelasgia." And Euripides too, in his _Archelaus_, says: "Danaus, the father of fifty daughters, on coming into Argos, took up his abode in the city of Inachus, 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 "Argoia."
6 The "city of Inachus"—so called from Inachus, the first king of Argos—was the city of Argos. By a mistake in the Greek most of the editors (see note 4 or 7) 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᾽ ὠνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν
Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἐδηκ' ἣν Ἑλλάδα.

(Gr. 228, Nauk.)

Ἀντικλείδης δὲ πρώτοις φησίν αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ
Δῆμουν καὶ Ἰμβρον κτίσαι, καὶ δὴ τούτων τινὰς
καὶ μετὰ Τυρρηνοῦ Ἀτοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν συνα-ραί.
καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἀτάθιδα συγγράφαντες ἱστοροῦσιν
περὶ τῶν Πελασγῶν, ὡς καὶ Ἀθήνησι γενομένων
τῶν Πελασγῶν,1 διὰ δὲ τὸ πλανήτας εἶναι καὶ
dίκην ὄρνεοι ἐπιφώνταν ἐφ’ οὐς ἐπιχεῖ τούπος Πε-
lαργοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν κληθήναι.

5. Τής δὲ Τυρρηνίας μήκος μὲν τὸ μέγιστον εἶναι
φασὶ τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Δούνης μέχρι ὦστίων
διοχελίων πον καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων, πλατὸς
dὲ τοῦ ἡμισίου ἔλαττον τὸ πρὸς τοῖς ὀρεσίων.
eἰς
μὲν οὖν Πίσας ἀπὸ Δούνης πλείους τῶν τετρακο-
sίων σταδίων εἰςίν, ἐπετείχεν δὲ εἰς Ὀυλατέρρας
dιακόσιοι ὁγδοήκοντα, πάλιν δὲ ἐνθέθεν ἐις Ὀπολό-
νιον διακόσιοι ἐξδομήκοντα, ἐκ δὲ Ὀπολονίου εἰς
Κόσαν ἐγγὺς ὄκτακοσίοι, οἱ δὲ ἐξακόσιοι φασί.
Πολύβιος δ’ οὗκ2 εἶναι τοὺς πάντας χιλίους τρια-

1 Meineke relegates the second τῶν Πελασγῶν to the foot
 of the page, perhaps rightly.
2 Kramer inserts ἢ after οὗ; so Müller-Dübnner. Meineke
emends εἶναι to ἢ καί, perhaps rightly.

1 Androtion, Philochorus, and others; only fragments of
their works remain.
2 “Atthis” was the old name of Attica, from Atthis, the
daughter of the mythical king Cranans (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 Tyrrhenus the son of Atys.
And the compilers of the histories of The Land of
Aithis give accounts of the Pelasgi, believing that
the Pelasgi were in fact at Athens too, although the
Pelasgi were by the Attic people called "Pelargi," the
compilers add, because they were wanderers and,
like birds, resorted to those places whither chance led them.

5. They say that the maximum length of Tyrrhenia—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) 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, nearly eight
hundred, though some say six hundred. Polybius,
however, says the total number of stadia is not so

4 Literally, "Storks."
5 Cn. 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

κοσίους τριάκοντα λέγει. τούτων δ' ἡ μὲν Δούνα τολμεῖ καὶ λυμᾶν, καλοῦσι δ' οἱ "Ελληνες Σελήνης λυμέα καὶ τόλμω. ἦ μὲν οὖν τόλμα οὐ μεγάλη, ὁ δὲ λυμᾶν μέγιστος τε καὶ κάλλιστος, ἐν αὐτῷ περιέχον πλείους λυμένας, ἀγχιβαθεῖς πάντας, οἷον ἂν γένοιτο ὀρμητήριον θαλαττοκρατησάντων ἀνθρώπων τοσαύτης μὲν θαλάττης, τοσοῦτον δὲ χρόνων. περικλείεται δ' ὁ λυμᾶν ὅρεσιν ύψηλος, ἀφ' ἃν τὰ πελάγη κατοπτεύεται καὶ ἡ Σαρδῶ καὶ τῆς Σαρδῶς ἐκάτεροθευν πολὺ μέρος, μεταλλὰ δὲ λίθου λευκοῦ τε καὶ στόλους, ώστε τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀκτῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἔργαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν τὴν χορήγιαν καὶ γὰρ εὐεξάγωγός ἐστιν λίθος, τῶν μεταλλῶν ὑπερκεκίμενων τῆς θαλάττης πλησίον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς θαλάττης

1 Strabo postpones his estimates of the remaining distances (Cosa-Gavias-Piraeus-Ostia) 740 stadia, to § 8 following. Following ... unwarrantably 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.

2 That is, "Harbour of the Moon" ("Moon-Harbour"). Cp. "Harbour of Menestheus" (3. 1. 9) and "Harbour of Monoceros" (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 therewith;\textsuperscript{6} and, indeed, the marble is easy to export, since the quarries lie above the sea and

\textsuperscript{1} Sardinia. Tozer (Selections, p. 144) thinks Strabo must have meant Corsica, since Sardinia is 180 miles distant.

\textsuperscript{2} Now the quarries of Carrara.

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

\textsuperscript{4} For a full discussion of stones of all kinds, and their uses at Rome and elsewhere, see the Natural History of Pliny, Book XXXVI. See also W. G. Renwick’s Marble and Marble Working (1909), pp. 20 ff. and 69 ff. Dr. J. S. Flett (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.
διαξεγομένου τοῦ Τιβέριος τὴν κομιδήν καὶ τὴν ξυλείαν τὴν εἰς τὰς οἰκισθέντας σελμάτων εὐθυτάτων καὶ εὐμηκεστάτων ή Τυρρηνία χορηγεῖ τὴν πλείστην, τὸν ποταμὸ κατάγουσα εἰκά τὸν ὀρῶν εὐθύς. μεταξὺ δὲ Λούνης καὶ Πίσας ὁ Μάκρας ἕστι, ὁ πέρατι τῆς Τυρρηνίας καὶ τῆς Λυκικῆς κέχρηται τὸν συγγραφέων πολλοῖς. ἓ δὲ Πίσα κτίσμα μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Πισατῶν, οὓς μετὰ Νέοτορος ἔπει ἰλιαν διατεύχοντες κἀτὰ τῶν ἀνάπλουν: ἐπλανήθησαν, οἳ μὲν εἰς τὸ Μεταπόντιον, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὴν Πισατίν, ἀπαντεὶς Πύλου καλούμνουν. δυεῖν δὲ ποταμῶν κεῖται μεταξὺ κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν συμβολήν, "Ἀρμον τε καὶ Αὔσαρος, ὁμοίως τῶν τῶν ἀνάπλουν ὁμοίως τινὶς ἀντικαταστάτησι πολλάς, οὐχὶ πᾶς, ἀλλὰ ἀρχικὰ σχετικῶς, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν συμπεσόντας δὲ εἰς ἐνέργους μετεωρίζοντες ἀλλάξουσιν ἀλλήλους ταῖς ἀντικαταστάσεσι εἰς τοσοῦτον ὡστε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱλίνων ἔστωτας ἀμφιστέρους μηδὲ ἐτεροῦ ὑπὸ ἐφετέρου καθορίσθαι, ὡστ' ἀνάγκη δυσανάπλωστα ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐκαίνισε στάδιοι δ' εἰς τὸν ἀνάπλον περὶ εἴκοσι. μυθεύουσι δ', ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν οἱ ποταμοὶ κατεφέροντο σύνεται, κωλυμένους ὑπὸ 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 Macra.
² So Pliny, 3. 7 and 3. 8; Livy, 30. 32, 40. 41; Florus, 2. 3. 4.
σόντες εἰς ἐν κατακλύζοντες τὴν χώραν, ὑποσχέσθαι μὴ κατακλύσειν καὶ φυλάξαι τὴν πίστιν. οὐκεὶ δ’ ἡ πόλις εὔτυχεύσαι τοτε, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀδόξη διὰ τε εὐκαρπίαν καὶ τὰ λιθουργεῖα καὶ τὴν ὕλην τὴν ναυπηγήσιμον, ἵ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἐχρώντο πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ θάλασσαν κινδύνους καὶ γὰρ μαχιμωτεροὶ Τυρρηνοὶ ὑπῆρξαν, καὶ παρίζωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ νυνὶς, οἱ πονηροὶ γείτονες παρὰ τὰς οἰκοδομίας ἀναλίσκεται τὰς ἐν ᾿Ρώμη, καὶ ταῖς ἐπαύλεσι, βασίλεια κατασκευαζομένων Περσικά. 6. Τῶν δὲ Οὐσιατερρανῶν ἡ μὲν χώρα κλύζεται τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τὸ δὲ κτίσμα ἐν φάραγγι βαθιᾷ λόφος ἐστὶν ὑψηλός περίκρημνος πάντη, τὴν κορυφὴν ἐπίπεδος, ἐφ’ ἣ ἱδρυται τὸ τεῖχος τῆς πόλεως. ἡ δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ὑψίστατος πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς βάσεως, ὀξεῖα καὶ χαλέπη, ἐνταῦθα συνέστησαν των Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ὑπὸ Σύλλα. πληρώσαντες δὲ τέταρτα τάγματα στρατιῶν 1 διετῇ χρόνῳ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, καὶ τὸν τόπον ὑπὸ Σύλλα ὑποσπῶνοι παρεχώρησαν τοῦ τόπου. τὸ δὲ Ποπλώνιον ἐπ’ ἄκρας ἱδρυται, κατερρωσεῖς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ χερσαίον τῶν Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ὑπὸ Σύλλα. 1 στρατιῶν, Corais, for stratelōs; 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 Tyrreni, 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 Tyrreni 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
ὄρους λιμένιον ἔχον καὶ νεωστικους δύο· καὶ δοκεῖ μοι μόνη τῶν Τυρρηνίδων αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἱδρύσθαι: αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐστὶ τὰς χώρας ἀλίμενον· διότερ παντάπασιν ἐφευρον οἱ κτίσται τῇ ἐπὶ καί λαφυρον ἐτοιμον ἐκκείσθαι τοὺς ἐπιπλεύσαςιν. ἐστι δὲ καὶ θυμοσκοπεῖον ὑπὸ τῇ ἁρμα. κατοπτεύεται δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πυρρωθεὶν μὲν καὶ μόλις ἡ Σαρδώ, ἐγγυτέρῳ δὲ ἡ Κύμνος, ἔξεκομεν πως διέχουσα τῆς Σαρδώνος σταδίωσ, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦτον ἡ Λιθαλία· ἡ 3 προεχεξτέρᾳ τῇ ἁπείρῳ ἐστίν, ὅσοι τριακοσίωσ ἐξειδίκευσα σταδίουσ, ὡς καὶ τῆς Κύμνου διέχει. ἀριστον δ᾽ ἀφετήριον τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐστίν ἐπὶ τὰς τρεῖς τῶν λεχθείσας νῆσους. εἰδομεν δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἱμείς, ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ποπλώνιον, καὶ μέταχλα τίνα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκλελειμμένα. εἰδομεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὸν σίδηρον τὸν ἐκ τῆς Αἰθαλίας κομιξόμενον· οὐ γὰρ δύναται συλλιπαίνεσθαι καμινεύομεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ· κομίζεται δὲ εὐθὺς ἐκ

1 δῦο· καλ, Meineke, for δυο· καλ; so Müller-Düibner.
2 Meineke emends τρός to τρό, following Corais.
3 ἡ, Meineke inserts; Casaubon, Kramer, and Müller-Düibner insert γάρ 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 smeared at all on the island. Indeed, Diodorus Siculus (5. 13) tells us in detail how the people there broke up the masses of
at the base of the mountain, is better peopled; and in my opinion this is the only one of the ancient Tyrrhenian 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 “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. Mirab. c. 95) 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 μεταλλων εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον. τούτο τε δὴ
παράδοξον ἡ νῆσος ἔχει καὶ τὸ τὰ ὀρύγματα
ἀναπληροῦσθαι πάλιν τῷ χρύνῳ τὰ μεταλλευ-
θέντα, καθάπερ τοὺς πλαταμῶνις φασὶ τοὺς ἐν
Ῥόδῳ καὶ τὴν ἐν Πάρῳ πέτραν τὴν μάρμαρον καὶ
τὰς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἀλας, ὡς φησὶ Κλείταρχος. οὔτ' οὖν
Ἐρατοσθένης ὑρθὼς ὁ φήσας μὴ καθαράσθαι μὴτε
τὴν Κύρνον ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρον μήτε τὴν Σαρδόνα, οὔτ'
Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ φήσας ἐν χιλίως εἶναι καὶ διακο-
ςίους στάδιοι πελαγίας ἡμιφτέρας. καὶ γὰρ εἰ
tεσιν, ἡμῖν γε οὐκ ἄν υπήρξαν ὀραταὶ ἴ ἔτη
τοσοῦτον, ἐφ' ὅσον σαφεῖς ἐμφανίστηκα, καὶ μίλιστα
ἡ Κύρνος. ἔστε δὲ κατὰ τὴν Λιθαλίαν λιμὴν
Ἀργὸς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀργοῦς, ὡς φασὶν ἐκείνης γὰρ
πλεύει τὴν τῆς Κύρής οἰκίαν ξητοῦντα τῶν
Ἰάνοιον, τῆς Μηδείας ἐθελούσης ἱδεῖν τὴν θεάν;²
καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀποστλεγγίστων παγέντων δὲ
ἐποίουν οἱ Ἀργοναῦται, διαμένειν ἐτί καὶ νῦν
διακοιλιόσεις τὰς εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον. ὁ χιλιόωνος
δὲ τοιαύτα μυθοποιίαι τεκμήρια τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὸ
ἡμῶν εἰσιν, ὅτι οὐ πάντα Ὅμηρος αὐτὸς ἔπλαττεν,
ἀλλ᾽ ἀκούσας τῶν τοιούτων πολλῶν εἰς

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

"Immediately from the mines" might imply, of course,
that the particular supply that went to Popolinium was,
according to Strabo, merely ore as dug from the mines.
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. 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, 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. Neither, then, is Eratosthenes correct, when he says that neither Cynus 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 Cynus. Again, there is at Aethalia a Portus Argous, 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, 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."

3 Cp. 15. 1. 30. 4 Porto Ferrajo.
5 Meineke conjectures that Strabo wrote "aunt" instead of "goddess"; cp. 1. 2. 10.
μῶν, καὶ καθάπερ τὸν 'Οδυσσέα εἰς τὸν ὦκεανὸν ἐξέβαλε, παραπλησίως καὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα, γενομένης καὶ τοῦτο πλάνης τινὸς κακείφω, καθάπερ καὶ Μενελάω. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Λιθαλίας τοσάτα.

7. Ἡ δὲ Κύριος υπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται Κορσίκα, οἰκεῖται δὲ φαύλως, τραχεῖς τὸ κοιλία καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσι δύσβατος τελεώς, ὡστε τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰ ὀρη καὶ ἀπὸ ληστηρίων ἐξουσιών ται αὐτοὶ ἀγριοτέρους εἶναι θηρίων. ὑπόταυς γοῦν ὀρμησσών οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί, καὶ προσπεσόντες τοὺς ἐρύμασι πολὺ πλήθος ἔλωσι τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, ὡστε καὶ τὸ τυχὸν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Χάραξ καὶ Ῥηγανίκον καὶ Οὐαρὰς. μῆκος δὲ τῆς νήσον φησὶν ὃ χωρόγραφος μίλια ἑκατὸν ἑξῆκον, πλάτος δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα 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 Eratosthenes, or Polybius, or Artemidorus. Casaubon thinks he means the "Map of Agrippa." Detlefsen (Ursprung ... der Erdkarte Agrippas in Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, Heft 13, pp. 21, 61 ff.), 358
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 Cyrnus 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 battening 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 a insignificant sum, nevertheless they repent the 

\(\ldots\) 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 Erd-karte 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 Sterrett’s Introduction to the present work, p. xxvi, and Nissen’s Ital. Landeskunde, I p. 17.
κατ’ ἄλλους δὲ Κύριου μὲν περίμετρος περὶ τρισ-
χιλίους1 λέγεται καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους, τῆς δὲ
Σαρδόνος καὶ τετρακισχιλίους. ἦστι δὲ αὔ
τῆς τὸ πολὺ μέρος τραχύ καὶ ὁ ἴχνος αὐτῆς, πολὺ δὲ καὶ
χώραν ἐνεδαίμονα τοῖς παύσι, σίτῳ δὲ καὶ διαφε-
ρόης. πόλεις δ’ εἰσὶ μὲν πλείους, ψαλιδογολι δὲ
Κάραλις καὶ Σοῦλχαί. τῇ δ’ ἁρετῇ τῶν ἄντι-
τάττεται τις καὶ μυχηθερίω νοσερὰ γὰρ ἡ νῆσος τοῦ
θέρους, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς εἰκαρποῦσι chóροις,
τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ ταύτα καὶ ποιότεται συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τῶν
μόνων τῆς ἑλπίδας καὶ κυκλοθυμιαί νοσερά γὰρ ἡ νῆσος τοῦ
θέρους, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς εὐκαρποῦσι χόροις,
τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ ταύτα καὶ ποιότεται συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τῶν
ὄρεων ὧν καλοῦνται Διαγησβίως, Ἰολαῖες πρότε-
ρον ὑμολογεῖοι. λέγεται γὰρ Ἰολαὶς ἅγιον τῶν
παίδων τινῶς τοῦ Πρακλέους ἐλθεῖν δεύορ καὶ
συνοίκησαί τοὺς τῆς νῆσος ἑκουσι βαρβάροις
(Τυρρηνοι δ’ ἦσαν). ύστερον δὲ Ψιλήκες ἐπεκρα-
τήσαν οἱ ἐκ Καρχεδόνος, καὶ μετὰ τούτων Ἰω-
μαῖοι ἑπολέμουν καταλυθέντων τῶν ἀκείμενων, πάνθ’
ὑπὸ Ἰωμαίων ψιλῆρε. τεττάρα δ’ ἐστὶ τῶν
ὄρεων ἑβυνη, Πάρατοι, Σοσσιμάτοι, Βιλαροι,
Ακώνιτας, εἰ περιφερεῖοι όρεούντες, εἰ δὲ τῶν
ἑκουσι γῆν στόριμον, ύστερον δὲ ταύτην ἐμπελῶσι σπε-
ροῦτες, ἄλλα τὰς2 τῶν ἐργαζόμενων καθαρτώ-
ζουν, τούτω μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν, τούτω δ’ ἐπιπλέ-
οντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ, Πισταίας μίλιστα. οἱ
δὲ πεμπόνευοι στρατηγοὶ τὰ μὲν ἀντέχουσι, πρὸς
ἄδικον ἄδικον, ἐπειδὰν μὴ λυσιτελῆ τρέφεις
συνεχῶς ἐν τοῖς νοσεροῖς στρατόπεδον, λειτα-

1 τρισχιλίους, the reading of o and in margin of u; ABCI read χιλίους, although B has β (δισχιλίους) in margin, second
hand.

2 Cp. τὰς γᾶς, 2. 5. 26.

1 The best MSS. read “one thousand.”
2 A name otherwise unknown.
to others, however, the perimeter of Cyrnus is called about three thousand a 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; in earlier times, however, their name was Iolaüs; for Iolaüs, 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 στρατηγεῖν τέχνας τινάς· καὶ δὴ τιρήσαντες ἔθος τι τῶν βαρβάρων (πανηγυρίζουσι γὰρ ἐπὶ πλείους ὡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς λεηχασίας), ἐπιτίθενται τότε καὶ χειροῦνται πολλούς. γίνονται δὴ ἐνταῦθα οἱ τρίχα φύοντες αἰγοίαν ἀντ᾽ ἐρέας κριοῖ, καλοῦμενοι δὲ μούσμωνες, ὃν ταῖς δυραις θωρακίζονται. χρῶνται δὲ πέλτη καὶ ξυφιδίῳ.

8. Ἀπὸ πύσης δὲ τῆς μεταξὺ Ποπλώνιου καὶ Πίστης ἰκανῶς αἱ νῆσοι κατοπτεύονται· ἐπιμήκεις δ᾽ εἰσὶ καὶ παράλληλαι σχεδὸν αἱ τρεῖς, ἐπὶ νότον καὶ Ἀνθιήνην τετραμμένας πολὺ μέντοι τῷ μεγέθει λειτεται τῶν ἄλλων ἢ Αἰθιολίαν. ἀπὸ τὸ τῆς Ἀνθιήνης τὸ ἐγγυάται διυρμῆ κηνωσὶν ὡς θαυμωράφος εἰς τὴν Σαρδὸν μίλια τριακόσια. 2 μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ποπλώνιον Κόσσα τὸν μικρὸν υπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν κόλπῳ βουνός ύψηλὸς, ἐφ᾽ οὗ τὸ κτίσμα· ὑπόκειται δὺ Ἰρακλέους λιμὴν καὶ θαλάσσιν τὸ κάλπου θυμοσκοπεῖν. ἀκολουθεῖ γὰρ ἄλλος ἂν ὅπο τῇ βαλάνῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πορφύρᾳ παρά γῆν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκραῖ τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης καὶ Σικελίας. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Κοσσίων εἰς Ὡστίαν παραπλέουσι πολίχνια ἔστιν, ὡς Ἑρατί σκοποὶ καὶ Πύργοι καὶ Αλσιοι καὶ Φρεγύμα. εἰς μὲν δὴ Παρακόσκοι στάδιοι τριακόσιοι, ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τόπος

1 δὴ (the reading of C), Jones, for δέ.
2 Gosselin and Groskurd believe that Strabo wrote διακόσια; see note 2 on opposite page.

1 That is, “mouflons” (Ovis musimon); see Pliny 8, 75 (49), and 30. 52.
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: Gravisi, 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.
ἐστὶ καλούμενος Ῥηγισσούλλα: ἱστορηται δὲ γενέσθαι τούτῳ βασίλειον Μάλεω τοῦ Ἡλεσγοῦ, ὥν ἡ ἱματὶ μετά τῶν συνοίκων Ἡλεσγόνων ὑπέλθειν ἐνθένδε εἰς Ἀθήνας· τούτου δ’ εἰς τοῦ φύλου καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀγυλλας κατεσχηκότες, ὥστε ποτὲ Φελάσηγων, μικρὸν ἔλαττος τῶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἐστὶ δ’ ἐπίνειον τῶν Καιρετανῶν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων, ἐχει δὲ Ἡλικηνίαν ᾑρῶν, Ἡλεσγόνων ἱέρυν, κατεσχηκότες, ἀπὸ δὲ Τίραουίσκων μικρὸν ἐλάττους τῶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα, ἐστὶ δ’ ἐπίνειον τῶν Καιρετανῶν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων, ἐχει δὲ Ἡλικηνίαν ᾑρῶν, Ἡλεσγόνων ἱέρυν, πλούσιων ποτε θεσμούς, ἐσύλησα δ’ αὐτὸ Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Ζικελιωτῶν τύραννος κατὰ τῶν πλούτων τῶν ἑπὶ Κύρνου. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἡρώργων εἰς Πιετίαν διακόσιοι ἐξηκόσιοι εξήκοσιοι. ἐν δὲ τῶ μεταξὺ τῶ Αλσίου καὶ Φρεγήνα. περὶ μὲν τῆς παραλίας τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς ταῦτα.

9. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ πόλει πρὸς ταῖς εἰρημέναις Ἀρρήτιοι καὶ Περουσία καὶ Οὐκολούσιοι καὶ Σούεριοι, πρὸς δὲ ταῦτας πολλῶν συχναί, Βλήρεια τε καὶ Φερεντίνοι καὶ Φάλεροι καὶ Φαλίσκοι καὶ Νεβίτα καὶ Στατωνία καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους, αἱ μὲν εἰς ἄρχης συνεξτίτευσαν, τινὲς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἰκισάντων δ’ ἀπειλοῦσαν, καθάπερ τούς Οὐνίους πολεμήσαντας πολλάκις καὶ τὰς Φιδήμας, ἐννοοῦ δ’ οὐ καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς φασί τοὺς Φαλερούς, ἄλλα Φαλίσκους, ἑδίων ἐθνός· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φαλίσκους, Οὐνίους φασί· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φαλίσκους, Οὐνίους φασί· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φαλίσκους.

1 Μάλεω τοῦ G. Hermann, for Μαλαιώ τοῦ; so the later editors.

1 Cp. §§ 2-4 above.
2 The gales of child-birth.
3 One of the "twelve" Tyrrhenian 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, Nepeta, 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."
σκους πόλιν ἰδιόγλωσσον: ὁ δὲ Αἰκουουμφαλίσκον 1 λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ Φλαμνίᾳ ὅδη γείμενον μεταξὺ Ὄκρικλων καὶ Ῥὼμης. ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ Σωράκτῳ ὅρει Φερανίᾳ πόλις ἰστίν, ὁμόωνυμος ἐπι- χωρία τινὶ δαίμονι τιμωμένη σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ ὅρνωκῶν, ὃς τεμενὸς ἐστίν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ταυμαστὴν ἱεροποιίαν ὑπὸ γυμνοὺς γὰρ ποσὶ διεξάγουσι ἀνθρώ- κιαν καὶ στοικὸν μεγάλην ὁι κατεχόμενοι ὑπὸ τὴν δαίμονας ταύτης ἀπαθεῖς καὶ συνέρχεται πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τῆς κατακομίξεται ποταμοῖς καὶ τῆς Ῥώμην, ὡν ἔστω ἐκδιδόασιν αἱ λίμναι μέχρι τῶν Κιμινία καὶ ἡ περὶ Οὐολσινίους καὶ ἡ περὶ Αἰκουουμφαλίσκον, Μείνικε, for Οἰακουσυμφαλίσκον.

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 Tyrrhenian 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 Ocricli 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 Tyrrhenia, 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 city; but the city itself was often called "Falisci" (or "Faliscum") as well as "Falerii." The site of the old city is now occupied by Civita Castellana, while that of the new Roman city, in the plains, is marked by the ruins of a church called Santa Maria di Falleri; see Encyc. Brit. under "Falerii" (Thomas Ashby) and "Falisci" (R. S. Conway).

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 Ῥώμης καὶ τῆς Θαλάττης Σαβάτα: ἀπωτάτω δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐν πρὸς Ἀρρητίῳ ἡ Τρασουμέννα, καθ’ ἥν αἱ ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐκβολαί· στρατοπέδοις, ἀλοπὴ τοῦ Ἀννίβας ἐχρήσατο, δυεῖν οὐσῶν, ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς ἔπος Ἀριμίνου διὰ τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ τῆς Θαλάττης Σαβάτας, δυεῖν οὐχ ἔπος Ἀριμίνου ταπεινώτερα γὰρ ἑνανθῆναι τὰ ὀρη. φρουρομένων δὲ τῶν παρόδων τούτων ἐπιμελῶς, ἡγαγκάσθη τὴν χαλεπωτέραν ἐλέσθαι, καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἀμώς υπερήφανος καὶ τούτων θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἀφθονία κατὰ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν, ἵνα πλησίον εἰς τῆς Ῥώμης οὐχ ἅπτον εὐανάδει τῶν ἐν Βαίαις, διδομέναι πολυπάντων μάλιστα.

1. Τῇ δὲ Τυρρηνίᾳ παραβεβληταί κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἥν μέρος Ῥώμης, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων λαβοῦσα, καὶ ἑτεροτέραν μέχρι τοῦ Ἀδρίου. ἀπὸ γὰρ Ῥαιόννης ἀλεξάμενοι κατέχουσιν οὕτω τὸ πλησίον καὶ ἐφεξῆς Σύρσινας, Ἀρίμινον, Σήμαν, Καμάρινον. αὐτοῦ δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ὅπως to foot of page, regarding it as a gloss.

1. 1. Now Lake Chiusi. 2. Now Lake Bracciano.

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Clusium, and the lake that is nearest Rome and the sea—Lake Sabata. But the lake that is farthest away and that is near Arretium is Trasumenna, near which is the pass by which an army may debouch into Tyrrhenia from Celtica, the very pass which Hannibal used; 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 Flaminius 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.

10. Alongside Tyrrhenia, on the part toward the east, lies Ombrica; it takes its beginning at the Apennines and extends still farther beyond as far as the Adriatic; for it is at Ravenna that the Ombrici begin, and they occupy the nearby territory and also, in order thereafter, Sarsina, Ariminum, Sena, Camarinum. Here, too, is the Aesis River,

3 Now Lake Trasimene. 4 Cisalpine Celtica, of course.
5 Cp. 5. 1. 11.
6 Cp 5. 2. 3, on the “Cacretanian Springs.”
7 Umbria.
8 See 5. 1. 11.
9 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.
STRABO

Κάρσουλοι καὶ Μηνουάνια, παρ’ ἥν βεί ὁ Τενέας, καὶ οὖν ἔλιττοσι σκάφεσι κατάγων ἐπὶ τὸν Τίβεριν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου καὶ ἄλλαι δ’ εἰσὶ κατοικιά, διὰ τὴν ὅδον πληθυνόμεναι μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολιτικὸν σύστημα, Φόρον Φλαμίιν καὶ Νουκερία, ἢ τὰ ξύλινα ἁγγεία ἐργαζόμενη, καὶ Φόρον Σεμπρώνιον δὲ διὰ τῆς ὅδος μᾶλλον βαδίζοντι ἐκ τῶν Ὀκρίκλων εἰς Ἀρίμην Ἰντέριν ἀπὸ καὶ Σπελήνης ἐν καὶ Λύσιον καὶ Καμέρτης, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὁρίζουσθε τὴν Πικεντίνην ὁρεσί. κατὰ δὲ θάτερα μέρη Ἀμερία τε καὶ Ποῦδερ, εὐερκῆς 1 πόλις, καὶ Ἰσπέλλον 2 καὶ Ἡγυμίου, 3 πλησίον τοῦτο ἣδη τῶν ὑπέρβολῶν τοῦ ὄρους. ἀπασα δ’ εὐδαιμον ἡ χώρα, μικρὸ δ’ ὀρεισκή, ξεῖδα μᾶλλον ἢ πυρὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τρέφοντας ὁρεινή δὲ καὶ ἡ Σαβίνη ἐφεξῆς οὖσα ταῦτα, παραβεβημένη τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅπερ αὐτὴ τῇ Τυρρηνικῇ καὶ τῇ Δανίνῃ δε ὀσα πλησίαζε τοῖς τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις ὁρεσί προκύπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίνης καὶ τῆς Τυρρηνίας, ἐκταίρεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπερβολῶν τοῦ Ὄρους τῆς Τυρρηνίας, ἐκτείνεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρῶν τῆς Ἰταλίνης, ὡς εἴρηται, μέχρι τῆς Θαλάσσης. περὶ μὲν ὅσων τῶν Ὅμηρες ὁρεσί περιέρχονται.

1 εὐερκῆς, Casaubon, for εὐελκις; so the later editors.
2 Ἰσπέλλον (as in Ptolemaeus 3. 1. 47), Jones, for Ἰσπέλλον. Ἡγυμίου, Groskurd, for Ἡγυμίου; so the later editors.
3 δύο, Casaubon, for δέκα; so the later editors.

1 That is, Carsulae (now Capella San Damiano), not Carsoli.
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.

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Carsuli,1 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 Orcicli to Ariminum, is Interamna, and Spoletium, and Aesium, and Camertes 2 (in the very mountains that mark the boundary of the Picentine country); 3 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 4 begin, then, at the Tiber and Tyrrhenia, and extend to that stretch of the Apennine Mountains near the Adriatic which slants slightly inland, 5 although Ombrica passes on beyond the mountains, as I have said, 6 as far as the Adriatic. So much, then, for the Ombrici.

1 Picenum. 4 The Ombrici and the Sabini.
2 The slant begins opposite Ariminum (see 5. 1. 3).
3 5. 2. 1.
ΠῚ

1. Σαβῖνοι δὲ στενὴν οἰκοῦσι χώραν, ἐπὶ μῆκος δὲ διήκουσαν καὶ χιλίων σταδίων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιβέρεως καὶ Νωμέντου πολίχνης μέχρις Οὐηστίνων. πόλεις δ᾿ ἔχουσιν ὀλίγας καὶ τεταπεινωμένας διὰ τοὺς συνεχεῖς πολέμους, Ἀμίτερνον καὶ Ἀρέατε, ὃς πλησιάζει κόμη Ἰντεροκρέα καὶ τὰ ἐν Κωτιλίαις ψυχρὰ ὑδάτα, ἀφ᾽ ὧν καὶ πίνουσι καὶ ἐγκαθίζονται, ζητοῦσιν. Σαβῖνων δ᾿ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Φόρουλοι, πέτραι πρὸς ἀπόστασιν μᾶλλον ἡ κατοικίαν εὐφυεῖς. Κύρης δὲ νῦν μὲν κωμίδων ἐστὶν, ἢ δὲ πόλις ἐπίσης, ἡ ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ Κυρίτας ὄνομα, οἱ διηγοροῦντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. Τρήβουλά τε καὶ Ἡρητόν καὶ ἄλλα κατοικίας τοιαύτης κόμης μᾶλλον ἡ πόλεις ἐξετάζοιτ’ ἀν. ἅπασα δ᾿ αὐτῶν ἡ γῆ διαφέροντως ἐλαιόφυτός ἐστι καὶ ἀμπελόφυτος, θαυμάσται θαυμαστῶς. ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἅπασα δ᾿ Ἰταλία θρεμμάτως τε ἀρίστη τροφὴ καὶ καρπῶν ἐστὶν, ἄλλα δ᾿ εἰδή κατὰ ἄλλα μέρη τῶν πρωτείων τυγχάνει. ἅπασα δὲ καὶ πα-

1 Κωτιλίαις, Casaubon, for Κωτισκολίαις; so the later editors.

1 The Latin form of the word is Cutiliae.
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 Intercocera, 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

3 Pliny says these waters are drunk as a purgative (31. 32; cp. 31 6).
3 Now Civita Tommasa.
4 In Latin, "Quirites."
λαιότατον γένος οἱ Σαβίνοι καὶ οἱ ἀυτόχθονες τούτων δ' ἀποικοὶ Πικενίνοι τε καὶ Σαυνίται, τούτων δὲ Λευκανοὶ, τούτων δὲ Βρέττιοι τὴν δ' ἀρχαιότητα τεκμήριον ἂν τις ποιήσαιτο ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἀφ' ἃς ἀντέσχον μέχρι πρὸς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον. φησὶ δ' ὁ συγγραφέως Φάβιος Ῥωμαίους αἰσθέσθαι τοῦ πλούτου τότε πρῶτον, ὅτε τοῦ ἔθνους τούτου κατέστησαν κύριοι. ἐστρωται δὲ δ' αὐτῶν ἡ τε Σαλαρία ὁδὸς οὐ πολλὴ οὖσα, εἰς ἣν καὶ τὴ Νωμεντανὴ κατὰ Ἰλιολάου, τῆς δ' ἰρίνης κώμην ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τιβέρεως κειμένην, ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης ἀρχομένη τῆς Κολλίνης.

2. Ἑξῆς δ' ἡ Λατινή κεῖται, ἐν ἦ καὶ ἦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλις, πολλὰς συνειληφυῖα καὶ τῆς μὴ

1 φι, Meineke deletes.
2 τὴν δ' ἀρχαιότητα, Groskurd, Kramer, and Müller-Dübner suspect, thinking Strabo wrote genitive case.
3 ἀνδρείας . . . ἀρετῆς, Groskurd and Kramer would emend to acc. case.
4 τε, Corais stars; Meineke deletes; wrongly.
5 For ὑπὲρ, Corais reads ἀπό; so the later editors. ὑπὲρ is not at all objectionable; it does not deny the fact that the Via Salaria begins at the gate.

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, and the Leucani from the Samnitae, and the Brettii from the Leucani). 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. 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 Eretum (a village of the Sabine country, situated beyond the Tiber), though it begins above the same gate, Porta Collina.

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-

those other excellent qualities which have enabled them to hold out to the present time might be taken as an evidence of their antiquity."

6 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. Δικοι γὰρ καὶ Οὐόλσκοι καὶ Ἐρνοι Αβοριγίνες τε οἱ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ Ρουτούλοι οἱ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀρδέαν ἔχοντες καὶ ἄλλα συστήματα μεῖζῳ καὶ ἐλάττω τὰ περιοικοῦντα τοὺς τότε Ρωμαίους ὑπηρέτας, ἥνικα πρῶτον ἐκτιστὸ τῇ πόλει δὲ Αἰνείαις καὶ Εὐρώπλοις ἀφελοῦσθαι συνέβαινεν, ὡς οὔθεν κοινῷ φύλῳ τεταγμένα. Φασὶ δὲ Αἰνείαις τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀγχίσου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀσκανίου κατάραντας εἰς Δαυρεντοῦ τῆς πλησίον τῶν Ὡστίων καὶ τοῦ Πυθέρους ἡμίωνος, μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, ὡς οὖν ἐν τεττάρῳ καὶ εἶκοσι στάδιοις, κτίσας πόλιν ἐπελθόντα δὲ Δατίνων τῶν τῶν Αβοριγίων βασιλέα τῶν οἰκοῦντων τῶν τόπων τούτων ὡς ἡ Ῥώμη εἶστί, συμμάχους χρήσασθαι τοὺς περὶ τόν Αἰνείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς γειτονεύοντας Ρουτούλους τοὺς Ἀρδέας κατέχοντας στάδιον δὲ εἰς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁστίας ἔκατον ἔξις αἰώνιον κτίσαι πλησίον πόλιν τέταρτα καὶ εἰκοσὶ στάδιοι τῶν τῶν Ρουτούλων συμβαλόντων εἰς μάχην, τὸν μὲν Αἰνείαν τοὺς ἀναπτύσσειν καὶ Δατίνων καλέσαι τοὺς υἱὸς αὐτός. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τελευτήσας καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς, τὸν Ὅσκανίου Ἀββάν κτίσαι ἐν τῷ Ἀλβάνῳ ὄρει, διέχοντα τῆς Ῥώμης τοσοῦτον, ὡς οὖν καὶ τῶν Ἀρδέας. ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίοι σὺν τοῖς Δατίνοις Διὸ θύουσιν, ἀπεστάλει τῇ συναρχίᾳ ἀθροισθεῖσα. τῇ πόλει δὲ ἐφιστάσθη τῶν Ὑστῆρων, τῷ τὸν τῆς θυσίας χρύνου τῶν γνωρίμων τινὰ νέων. Ὡστερὸν δὲ τετρακοσίοις ἐτεσίων ἱστο-

1 ἐφιστάσθην, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores. Groskurd and the later editors read ἐφιστάσων.

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Latin country. For the Aeci, 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.
ρεῖται τὰ περὶ Ἀμόλλιον καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Νουμίτορα, τὰ μὲν μυθώδη, τὰ δ’ εγγυτέρω πίστεως. διεδέξαντο μὲν γὰρ τὴν τῆς Ἀλβας ἀρχήν ἀμφότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἀπογόνων τοῦ Ἀσκανίου, διατείνουσαν μέχρι τοῦ Τιβέρεως· παραγκωνισάμενος δ’ ὁ νεότερος τῶν πρεσβύτερων ἤρχεν ὁ Ἀμόλλιος, νίου δ’ ὄντος καὶ θυγατρὸς τοῦ Νουμίτορος εὐνοῦντος καὶ γνωστός τοῖς Νομίτοροι, τὸν μὲν ἐν κυνηγίᾳ δολοφονεῖ, τὴν δὲ, ἢν ἄτεκνος διδυμὸς, τῆς 'Εστίας ἱέρειαν κατέστησε, παρθενείας χάριν, καλοῦσι δ’ αὐτὴν Ῥέαν Σιλβίαν ΑἹΒΟΣ (so Meineke); the reading of ΑἸΒΟΣ (so Meineke); the Zyit, has Σιλουίαν.

διεδέξαντο μὲν γὰρ τὴν τῆς Ἀλβας ἀρχήν ἀμφότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἀπογόνων τοῦ Ἀσκανίου, διατείνουσαν μέχρι τοῦ Τιβέρεως· παραγκωνισάμενος δ’ ὁ νεότερος τῶν πρεσβύτερων ἤρχεν ὁ Ἀμόλλιος, νίου δ’ ὄντος καὶ θυγατρὸς τοῦ Νουμίτορος εὐνοῦντος καὶ γνωστός τοῖς Νομίτοροι, τὸν μὲν ἐν κυνηγίᾳ δολοφονεῖ, τὴν δὲ, ἢν ἄτεκνος διδυμὸς, τῆς 'Εστίας ἱέρειαν κατέστησε, παρθενείας χάριν, καλοῦσι δ’ αὐτὴν Ῥέαν Σιλβίαν ¹ εἶτα φθορὰν φωρίσασας, διεδέξαντο μὲν γὰρ τὸν κτείνειν, χαριζόμενος τὰ διδύμους ταξινόμησεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐξέθηκε πρὸς τὸν Τίβεριν κατά τι πάτριον. μυθεύεται ³ μὲν οὖν εὖ 'Αρεως γενέσθαι τοὺς παίδας, ἐκτεθέντας δ’ ὑπὸ λυκαίνης ὀραθῆς σκυλακευομένους· Φαυστύλον δε τινα τῶν περὶ τῶν τόπων συνομήνοις ἐκθρέψαι (δεὶ δ’ ὑπολαμβανότως τῶν δυνατῶν τινα, ὑπηκόων δε τῷ Ἀμολλίῳ, λαβόντα ἐκθρέψαι), καλέσαι δὲ τῶν μὲν Ῥωμύλον, τὸν δὲ Ῥῶμον. ⁴ ἀνδρωθεῖνας δ’ ἐπιτίθεσι τῷ Ἀμολλίῳ καὶ τοῖς παισί, καταλυθέντων δ’ ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐις τὸν Νομίτορος περιστάσης, ἀπελθόντας οἴκαδε κτίσαντα τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν τοῖς οὐ πρὸς αἵρεσιν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἀνάγκην

¹ Σιλβίαν, the reading of ABCI (so Meineke); the Ἑπιλ. has Σιλουίαν.
² εὑρέθη, Corais, for ἤρχεν; so the later editors.
³ μυθεύεται, Meineke following Spengel, for μυθεύονται.
⁴ Kramer finds the form Ῥόμον in the Ἑπιλ. and so reads; so Müller-Dübner. But ABCI read Ῥῶμον (cp. the reading Ῥόμον a few lines later on).

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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.
Οἱ ἐπιτηδείοις οὔτε ἐρυμὸν τὸ ἔδαφος οὔτε χώραν οἰκείαν ἐχον τὴν πέρεξ ὅση πόλει πρόσφορος, ἀλλ' ὁδ' ἄνθρωπος τοὺς συνοικήσουσας, οἱ γὰρ οὕτε 
ὀκουν καθ' αὑτούς, συνάπτοντες πως τοῖς τειχεῖ τῆς κτιζομένης πόλεως, οὐδὲ τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς πάνι προσέχοντες. 
Κολλατία δ' ἦν καὶ Ἀντέμναι καὶ Φεδῆναι καὶ Δαβικὸν καὶ ἀλλα τοιούτα τότε μὲν πολίχνια, νῦν δὲ κόμαι, ηὗτοι τῆς Ῥώμης σταδίων, μεταξὺ γοῦν τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ τοῦ ἐκτοῦ λίθου τῶν τὰ μίλια διασημαινόντων τῆς Ῥώμης καλεῖται τόπος Φήστοι. 
τούτων δ' ὄριον ἀποφαίνουσι τῆς τότε Ῥωμαίων γῆς, οἷ' ἔρομπνήσους λυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐνταθία τε καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόπως πλείσσων ὡς ὀρίοις ἀνθημερῶν, ἰην καλούσιν Ἀμβαρούλαιν. 
γενομένης δ' οὖν στάσεώς φασὶ κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν ἀναρεθῆναι τῶν Ῥέμων, μετὰ δὲ τὴν κτίσιν ἄνθρωπος σύνκλυδας ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἤθροιζε, ἀπὸ δεῖξας ἄσυλον τοῖς τέμενος μεταξύ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τοῦ Κατεπτωλίου, τοὺς δ' ἐκεὶ καταφεύγοντας τῶν

1 MS. A is lacking from αὑτούς to τοῦτοι near end of paragraph 5. 4. 3, a whole quaternion being lost.
2 πως, Letronne, for πρὸς; so the later editors.
3 η reiterated, Jones inserts.
4 τεσσαράκοντα (μ') after η, Corrais deletes; so Meineke.
5 The reading of BC is πρέσαν (ῥόμων sec. hand. in B); Meineke reads Ῥόμων both here and in preceding instance.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. 2

of necessity than of choice; 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, 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 celebrate sacrificial festivals, called “Ambarvia,” 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. After the founding Romulus set about collecting a promiscuous rabble by designating as an asylum a sacred precinct between the Arx and the Capitolium, 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 (Ep. Livy 1. 7.
3 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 Duo Lucas” (Ep. Livy 1. 8), and was the traditional site of “The Asylum of Romulus.”
ἀστυγειτόνων πολίτας ἀποφαίνων. ἐπιγαμίας δὲ τούτων οὐ τυγχάνων ἐπηγγείλατο ἕνα ἀγώνα ἱππικὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱεροῦ, τὸν καὶ γυνὴ ἐπιτελούμενον. συνελθόντων δὲ πολλῶν, πλείστων δὲ Σαβίνων, ἐκέλευσε τὰς παρθένους ἁρπάσαι τὰς ἀφυγμένας τοῖς δεομένοις γάμους μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν ὑβριν Τίτος Τάτιος δὲ ὁπλῶν, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Κυριτῶν, ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ πολιτείας 1 συνέβη πρὸς τὸν Ῥωμύλον δυναφομυθέντος δὲ ἐν Λαομυθῷ τοῦ Τατίου, μόνως ἥρξεν ἐκόντων τῶν Κυριτῶν Ῥωμύλος. μετὰ δὲ τούτων διεδέχατο τὴν ἀρχήν Νομμᾶς Πομπίλιος, πολιτής τοῦ Τάτιου, παρ᾽ ἐκόντων λαβὼν τῶν ὑπηκόων. αὐτῇ μὲν οὖν ἡ μαίσια πιστευομένη τῆς Ῥώμης κτίσις ἐστίν.

3. Ἄλλη δὲ τις προτέρα καὶ μυθώδης, Ἀρκαδικὴ λέγουσα γενέσθαι τὴν ἀποικίαν ὑπ᾽ ἰϑὐάνδρου 2 τούτῳ δὲ ἐπιξενωθῆναι τὸν Πρακλέα, ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Ῥηρυόνου βοῦς τυθόμενον δὲ τῆς μητρὸς Νικοστράτης τὸν ὑφάνδρον (εἶναι δὲ αὐτὴν μαντικής ἐμπειροῦ οὗ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ πεπρωμένον ἣν τελέσαντι τους άθλους θεῷ γενέσθαι, φράσαι τε πρὸς τὸν Ὠρακλέα ταύτα, καὶ τέμενος ἀναδείξαται καὶ θύσαι θυσίαν Ἑλληνικῇ, ἥν καὶ νῦν ἔτι φυλάττεσθαι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ. καὶ ὁ γε Κόλλιος, 3 ο τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεύς, τούτῳ πίθεται σημείον τοῦ Ἑλληνικὸν εἶναι κτίσμα τῆς Ῥώμης, τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτῇ τὴν πάτριον θυσίαν Ἑλληνικὴν εἶναι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ. καὶ τὴν μητέρα δὲ τοῦ Ἐνιάνδρου

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1 πολιτείας, the Epit., for πολιτείᾳ; so Kramer and later editors.
2 Κόλλιος, Kramer, for Κόλλιος; 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 Nicastrate (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.
τιμῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι, μίαν τῶν νυμφῶν νομίσαντες, Καρμέντην Ῥωμαίοις 1 μετονομασθείσαι.

4. Οἱ δὲ οὖν Λατῖνοι κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ὄλιγοι, καὶ οἱ πλείους οὐ προσεῖχον Ῥωμαίοις, ὑστερον δὲ καταπλαγέντες τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ τῆς Ῥωμύλου καὶ τῶν μετ’ ἐκείνων βασιλέων ὑπήκοοι πάντες ὑπηρέταν. καταλυθέντων δὲ τῶν τε Λικούων καὶ τῶν Οὐόλσκων καὶ Ἐρημίκων, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον Ῥουτούλων τε καὶ Ἀβοριγίων, (πρὸς δὲ τούτων Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Ἀργυρούσκων δὲ τίνες καὶ Πρεφέρνων 2) ἡ τούτων χώρα Λατίνη προσηγόρευται πάσα. ἦν δὲ τῶν Οὐόλσκων τὸ Πωμενῖτινον πεδίον, ὁμορον τῶν Λατίνοις, καὶ πόλεις Ἀπίολα, 3 ἢν κατέσκαψε Ταρκύνιος Πρίσκος. Λικούων δὲ γειτονεύονται μάλιστα τοῖς Κυρίταις, καὶ τοῦτων δὲ ἐκείνων τὰς πόλεις ἐξεπόρθησεν. ὃ δὲ νῦν αὐτοῦ τὴν Σούεσσαν εἶλε τὴν μητρόπολιν τῶν Οὐόλσκων. "Ερημίκοι δὲ πληρόν ὰκον τῷ τε Δανουίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀλβα καὶ αὐτῷ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄνομα ἀπωθεὶν δυο Ἀρκία 5 καὶ Τελλήναι καὶ Ἀντιού. Ἀλβανοὶ δὲ κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν ὀμονοῦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὁμογλωσσοί τε ὀντες

1 Corais and Meineke emend Καρμέντην to Καρμέντην.
2 πρὸς . . . 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 Ἀπίολα Xylander, for Ἐπίολα; so the later editors.
4 Δανούιῳ, Kramer, for Δανούιῳ; so the later editors.
5 Ἀρκία, Xylander, for Ἀρκία; so the later editors.

1 Thus Virgil (8. 336) spells her name; but the usual spelling was "Carmenta" (ep. Livy 1. 7. and Dionysius, Antiq. 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 Argyrusci⁴ 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

³ "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.
⁴ "Argyrusci," otherwise unknown, is a corruption of "Aurunci" (ep. Livy 2. 16, 17, Antig. Rom. 6. 32, 37).
⁵ By "Preferni" Strabo almost certainly refers to the Privernates, whose city was Privernum, now in ruins near Piperno.
καὶ Δατίνωι, βασιλευόμενοι δ’ ἐκάτεροι χωρὶς ἐτύγχανον. οὐδὲν δ’ ἦττον ἐπιγαμίαi τε ἤσαν πρὸς ἄλλην καὶ ίερὰ κοινὰ τὰ ἐν "Αλβᾳ καὶ ἄλλα δίκαια πολιτικά: ύστερον δὲ πολέμου συστάντος ἤ μὲν "Αλβα κατεσκάφη πλὴν τοῦ ίεροῦ, οἳ δ’ Ἰβαίναὶ πολέται ᾿Ρωμαίοι ἐκρίθησαν. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τῶν περιοικίδων πόλεων αἱ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐταπεινώθησαν ἄπειθοῦσαί τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἡνύχτησαν διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν. νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἡ παραλία μέχρι τούτων ἑταρνησησ ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Δατίνων καλεῖται, πρότερον δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Κιρκαίου μόνον ἐσχήκει τὴν ἐπίδοσιν καὶ τῆς μεσογαίας δὲ πρότερον μὲν οὖ πολλῆ, ύστερον δὲ καὶ μέχρι Καμπανίας διέτεινε καὶ Σαννιτῶν καὶ Πελίγρων καὶ ἄλλων τῶν τὸ Ἀπεννίνων κατοικοῦντων.

5. "Απάσα δ’ ἐστίν εὐδάιμων καὶ παμφόρος πλὴν ὀλίγων χωρίων τῶν κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν, ὅσα ἐλώδη καὶ νοσερά, οἷα τὰ τῶν ᾿Αρδεατῶν καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ ᾿Αντίου καὶ Δανουίου μέχρι Πωμεντίνων καὶ τῶν τῆς Ζητίνης χωρίων καὶ τῆς περὶ Ταρρακίναν καὶ τὸ Κιρκαίον, ἢ εἴ τινα ἵππα καὶ πετρώδη καὶ ταῦτα δ’ οὗ τελέως ἁργὰ συν’ ἀχρηστα, ἀλλὰ νομᾶς παρέχει δαψίλεις ἢ ὑλὴν ἢ καρπούς τινας ἔλείους ἢ πετραλούς, τὸ δ’ Καίκουβον, ἐλώδες ὧν, εὐνοιοτήτην ἀμπελου τρέφει, τὴν

1 That is, the troe-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 Circaem. 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 Pomptine Plain, and certain districts in the territory of Setia and the country round about Tarracina and the Circaem), 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
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δενδρῖτιν. πόλεις δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττη μὲν τῶν Λατίνων εἰσί τά τε Ὀστία, πόλεις ἀλίμενος διὰ τὴν πρόσχωσιν ἢν ὁ Τίβερις παρασκευάζει, πληροῦμενος ἐκ πολλῶν ποταμῶν. παρακινδύνως μὲν οὖν ὁρμῖζονται μετέωρα ἐν τῷ σάλῳ τὰ ναυκλήρια, τὸ μέντοι λυσιτελεῖς νικᾷ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ των ὑπηρετικῶν σκαφῶν εὔπορία τῶν ἐκδεχομένων τὰ φορτία καὶ ἀντιφορτιζόντων ταχὺ ποιεῖ τὸν ἀπόπλουν πρὶν ἢ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἤγασθαι, ἢ ἐκ μέρους ἀποκουφίσθησαν· εἰσπλεῖ καὶ ἀνάγεται μέχρι τῆς Ῥώμης, στάδιοι ἐκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα. κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ 'Ὁστία Ἀγκου Μαρκίου. αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ πόλις τοιαύτη· ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶν Ἀντιοχός, ἀλίμενος καὶ αὐτῇ πόλις· ἤδη τότε πετρεῖ, διέχει δὲ τῶν Ὀστίων περὶ διακοσίων ἐξήκοντα στάδιοις, μνημεῖα μὲν όν ἀνεῖται τοῖς ἲσακοῦσιν εἰς σχολήν καὶ ἀνέσιν τῶν πολιτικῶν ὅτε λάβοι καιρόν, καὶ διὰ-τοῦτο καταφυτῆρας πολυτελεῖς οἰκήσεως ἐν τῇ πόλει συχναὶ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἑπιδημίας· καὶ πρότερον δὲ ναὶς ἐκκεκτημένοι καὶ ἐκοινώνουν τῶν κριστηρίων τός Τυρρηνοῖς, καίτερ ὅδε Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακούοντες. διόπερ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος ἐγκαλῶν ἐπέστειλε, καὶ Δημήτριος ὑστερος, τοὺς ἀλόντας τῶν χρηστῶν ἀναπέμπει τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις, χαρίζεισθαι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐφικτὰς σώματα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας συγγένειαν, οὕτω ἀξιοῦν δὲ τοὺς αὐτούς ἀνδράς στρατηγεῖν τε ἢμα τῆς Ιταλίας

1 ἠ ἐκ μέρους ἀποκουφίσθεντα, Jones, for καὶ μέρους ἀποκουφισθέντος.

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 Tyrrenians 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, 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
καὶ λῃστήρια ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν ἱδρυσαμένους τιμᾶν, οὐς πάντες Σωτήρας ὀνομάζουσιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πέμπειν τὴν ἑκείνων πατρίδα τοὺς λεηλατήσοντας. ἔπαιναν δ' αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοι τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιτηδεύσεως. ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἔστι τὸ Δασοῦνιον, ἔχον κοινὸν τῶν Δασοῦνίων ἱερὸν ἑρώτας Ἐφροδίτης, ἐπιμελοῦνται δ' αὐτοῦ διὰ προπόλων 1 ἀρχεῖα ται. εἰτὰ Λαύρεντον. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτων ἡ Ἀρδέα, κατοικία Ῥοοούλων άνω 2 ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίων ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάτης. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταύτης πλησίον Ἀφροδίσιον, ὅπου πανηγυρίζουσιν Λατῖνοι. Σαυρωτάται δ' ἐπόρθησαν τοὺς τόπους καὶ λείπεται μὲν ἕχου πόλεων, ἕνδοξα δὲ διὰ τὴν Λινείου γέγονεν ἐπιδημίαι καὶ τὰς ἱεροποιίας ἅς 3 εἰς ἑκείνων τῶν χρώμων παραδεδώσθαι φασί.

6. Μετὰ δ' Ἀθηναίοι τῷ Ἰκιρκαίῳ ἐστιν ἐν διακοσίοις καὶ ἐνενήκοντα σταδίως ὄρος, νησίζου θαλάτη τε καὶ ἔλεος. φασὶ δὲ καὶ πολύρριξον εἶναι, τάξα τῷ μύθῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς Κίρκης συνῳκειόμενοι. ἔχει δὲ πολίχνιον καὶ Κίρκης ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς βωμὸν, δείκνυσθαι δὲ καὶ φιάξῃ τινὰ φασίν Ὀδυσσέως. μεταξὺ δ' ὁ Στόρας ποταμός καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ύφορμος. ἔπειτα προσεχῆς αἰγιαλὸς Λιβύς, πρὸς αὐτῷ μόνον τῷ Ἰκιρκαίῳ λιμένιον ἔχων. ὑπέρκειται δ' ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῷ Πωιμεντίου πεδίον. τὴν δὲ συνεχῆ ταύτῃ πρότερον Λύσονος

1 προπόλων, Corais, for προγόνων; so the late editors.
2 άνω, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores, for ἐν (Corais and the later editors).
3 ἅς, Corais inserts after ἱεροποιίας; so the later editors.
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 Samnitae; 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 Circaeum, a mountain which has the form of an island, because it is surrounded by sea and marshes. They further say that Circaeum 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 Circaeum 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 Circaeum 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 ὁκοῦν, ὀπερ καὶ τὴν Καμπανίαν εἶχον. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ὁσκοὺ καὶ τούτως δὲ μετὴν τῆς Καμπανίας, νῦν δ’ ἀπαντα Λατίνων ἐστὶ μέχρι Σινοέσσης, ὡς εἶπον. ἤδειον δὲ τι τοῖς Ὁσκοὺ καὶ τῷ τῶν Λατίνων ἐθνεὶ συμβεβηκεν τῶν μὲν ἄρρη Ὁσκων ἐκλεκτοὶ η διάλεκτος μένει παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὅστε καὶ ποιήματα σκηνοβατεῖσθαι κατὰ τινα ἰόνων πάρου καὶ μιμολογεῖσθαι, τῶν δ’ Λατίνων οὐδ’ ὑπαξ αἰκισάντων ἐπὶ τῇ Σικελικῇ θαλάττῃ, τὸ πέλαγος ὡμώς Ἀυσόνιον καλεῖται. ἐξῆς δ’ ἐν ἕκατον σταδίων τῷ Κιρκαίῳ Ταρρακίνα ἐστὶ, ἤρων καλομένη πρότερον ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος. πρόκειται δὲ αὐτής μέγα ἔλος ὁ ποιοῦσι δύο ποταμοὶ καλεῖται δ’ ὁ μείζων Αὔφιδος.1 ἔνταῦθα δὲ συνάπτει τῇ θαλάττῃ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀππίας ὁδός, ἐσιτρωμένη μὲν ἄπο τῆς Ῥώμης μέχρι Βρεντεσίου, πλεῖστον δ’ ὁδευομένη τῶν δ’ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλεων τούτων ἐφαστομένη μόνων, τῆς τε Ταρρακίνης καὶ τῶν ἐκείης, Φορμίων μὲν καὶ Μιντούφης καὶ Σινοέσσης, καὶ τῶν ἐνταφίων, Τάραντος τε καὶ Βρεντεσίου. πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ταρρακίνης βαδίζοντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης παραβεβληταὶ τῇ ὁδῷ τῆς Ἁππίας διώμερζ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τόπους

¹ For Αὔφιδος, Xylander reads Ράφιος, Casaunton Αὔφεις, Groskurd Οὔφεις, Meineke Οὔφης; see note 4 on opposite page.

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 mines;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 “Trachine”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—Tara6 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

1 Strabo assumed that “Trachine” was derived from the Greek word “trachys” (“rugged”). Cp. Horace, Sat. 1. 5. 26: “Impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur” (Tarracina).
2 If the MSS. are right, Strabo is in error here. He must have meant the Ufens (now Ufente); the other river was the Amaseno (now Amaseno).
3 One of the old spellings of Brundisium; the other was “Brentesium” (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.
4 The old name of Tarentum.
πληρουμένη τοῖς ἑλείοις τε καὶ τοῖς ποταμίοις ὑδάσει πλείται δὲ μάλιστα μὲν νῦκτωρ, ὡς ἐμβάντας ἀφ᾽ ἑσπέρας ἐκβαίνειν πρωίας καὶ βαδίζειν τὸ λοιπόν τῇ ὁδῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ῥυμούλκει δ᾽ ἡμίονιον. ἐξῆς δὲ Φορμίαι Λακωνικόν κτίσμα ἐστίν, ὡρμίαι λεγόμενοι πρῶτον διὰ τὸ εὐρόμενον καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ δὲ κόλπου ἐκείνου Καιέταν ὀνόμασαι, τὰ γὰρ κοίλα πάντα καιέτας οἱ Λάκωνες προσαγορεύουσιν ἐνιόι δὲ ἐπώνυμον τῆς Λυνείου τροφοῦ τῶν κύλπων φασίν, ἔχει δὲ μὴκος σταδίων ἐκατὸν ἁρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ταρρακίνης, μέχρι τῆς ἄκρας τῆς ὁμωνύμου ἀνεφέργε τʹ εὐπαίδητα σπήλαια ὑπερμεγέθη, κατοικίαις μεγάλαις καὶ πολυτελέσι δεδεγμέναι ἐντεύθεν δʹ ἐπὶ τὰς Φορμίας τετταράκοντα. ταῦτας δ᾽ ἀνὰ μέσου εἰσὶν καὶ Σινοέσσης αἱ Μιντούρναι, σταδίους ἑκατέρας διέχουσαι περὶ ὀγδόηκοντα. διαρρέει δὲ Λεύρις ποταμός, Κλάνις δ᾽ ἐκαλεῖτο πρῶτον φέρεται δ᾽ ἀνωθέν ἐκ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν καὶ τῆς Ὀυριστίνης παρὰ Φρεγέλλας κόμην (πρῶτον δ᾽ ἠν πόλις ἐνδοξος), ἐκτίπτει δ᾽ εἰς ἀλσος ἥρων τιμώμενον περιττῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Μιντούρναις, ὑποκείμενον τῇ πόλει. τῶν δὲ σπήλαιῶν ἐν ὄψει μάλιστα πρόκειται δύο νῆσοι πελάγιαι, Πανδατερία Πανδατερία 2 

1 Καιέτας, Jones, for Καιάτας (1), Kedra (CG); op. καιέτας following, and also in 8. 5. 7.
2 Πανδατερία, Meineke, for Πανδαρία (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 Gaeta); 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. Next after Tarracina comes Formiae, founded by the Laconians, and formerly called "Hormiae" because of its good "hormos." And those people also named the intervening gulf "Caietas," for the Laconians call all hollow things "Caietas"; but some say the gulf was named after the nurse of Aeneas. It has a length of one hundred stadia, beginning at Tarracina and extending as far as the promontory of like name. 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 Mountains 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, "Caietanus Sinus." But, as the context shows, "the intervening gulf" means the gulf between Caieta and Tarracina. For the meaning of the Spartan word "Caietas," see 8. 5. 7.

4 According to Virgil (Aeneid, 7. 2) her name was "Caieta."
5 That is, the promontory on which the city of Caieta was situated.
καὶ Ποντία, μικραὶ μὲν, οἰκοῦμεναί δὲ καλῶς, οὐ τολύ ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων διέχουσαι, τῆς ἡπέρου δὲ πεντήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ Καὶτέου 1 κόλπου τὸ Καῦκουβον, τούτου δὲ Φοῦνδοι, πόλεις ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀπτίᾳ κειμένης. πάντες δ᾽ εἰσίν οἱ τόποι οὗτοι σφόδρα εὐοινοι, ὅ δὲ Καῦκουβος καὶ ο Φοῦνδανὸς καὶ ο Σητινὸς τῶν διωνομασμένων εἰσί, καθάπερ ο Φάλερνος καὶ ο Ἀλβανὸς καὶ ο Στατανός. ἡ δὲ Σινώσσα ἐν Καϊτάνῳ 2 κόλπῳ ἱδρυται, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ τοῦνομα: σίνως γὰρ ὁ κόλπος πλησίου ἐστὶ δ᾽ αὐτῆς θερμὰ λουτρὰ, κάλλιστα ποιοῦντα πρὸς νόσους ἐνίας. αὐταὶ μὲν αἱ ἐπὶ τῶν Δατίων πόλεις.

7. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ πρώτη μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἡμιτέων ἐστὶν ἡ Ῥώμη, καὶ μόνη γε ἐπὶ τῷ Τιβέρει κεῖται: περὶ ἧς, ὅτι πρὸς ἀνάγκην, οὐ πρὸς αἰρεσιν ἐκτισται, εἴρηται ἃ προσθέτεον δ᾽ ὅτι οὐδ᾽ οἱ μετὰ τὰ ταύτα προσκτίσαντες τινα μέρη κύριοι τοῦ βελτίωνος ήσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐδούλευον τοῖς προτοποκεϊμένοις. οἱ μὲν γε πρῶτοι τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὸ Παλάτιον καὶ τὸν Κουριώνον λόφον ἐτείχισαν, ὡς ἣν οὔτως εὐεπίβατος τοῖς ἐξωθεὶν ὅστ᾽ ἐξ ἐφόδου

1 Καὶτέου, Jones, for Κεάτου (BC), Καίτου (sec. hand in Β). 2 Κατάνως, from conj. of Capps, for the unintelligible Σητάνως, Σταγανός (BC), σιτάνως (npr). Meineke relegates Σητάνως to the foot of the page.

1 Cp. 2. 5. 19. 2 The Greek word for “gulf,” “vale.”
Pandateria and Pontia, 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 Caietas; 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," and hence its name; for "Kolpos" means "Sinus"; and near Sinuessa are hot baths, which are most efficacious for certain diseases. 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; 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 to

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3 Strabo now refers to the Roman "Caietanus Sinus," and not to "the intervening gulf" above-mentioned.

4 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.

5 5. 3. 2.
Τίτος Τάτιος εἶλεν, ἐπελθὼν ἧνίκα μετήει τὴν τῶν ἀρπαγεισῶν παρθένων ὕβριν. "Ἄγκος τε Μάρκιος προσλαβὼν τὸ Καίλιον ὄρος καὶ τὸ Ἀβενίνον ὄρος καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτων πεδίον, διηρτημένα καὶ ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προτετειχισμένων, προσέθηκεν ἀναγκαίως οὔτε γὰρ οὕτως ἐρυμοῦσι λόφους ἐξ ὕβρις τείχους ἔισαι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπιτειχίσματα καλῶς εἰχεί, οὔθ᾽ ὅλων ἐκπληρώσαι τὸν κύκλον ἔσχυσε τὸν μέχρι τοῦ Κουρίνου. ἢλεγξε δὲ Σερούιος τὴν ἐκλείψιν, ἀνεσλήρωσε γὰρ προσθείσα τὸν τε Ὅισκυλίνων λόφον καὶ τὸν Ὅιμιναλιν. καὶ ταῦτα δ᾽ εὐεφοῦς τοῖς ἐξωθεῖν ἐστίν: διὸ πρὸ τάφρον βαθείαν ὑρύξατε εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ἐδέξαντε τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐξέτειναν ὅσον ἐξαστάδιον χώμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐντὸς ὕφρων τῇ τάφρου, καὶ ἐπέβαλον τείχος καὶ τύργους ἀπὸ τῆς Κολλύνας πύλης μέχρι τῆς Ὅισκυλίνας: ὑπὸ μέσῳ δὲ τῷ χώματι τρύπη ἐστὶ πύλη ὑμώνυμος τοῦ Ὅιμιναλι τέρνατος, τὸ μὲν ὅπως ἐρυμοῦσας ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐρυμάτων ἐτέρων δεόμενον. καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πρῶτοι τὸν αὐτὸν λαβεῖν διαλογισμόν περὶ τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑστερον, διότι Ῥωμαῖοι προσῆκεν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἔχειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐπορίαν, προβλήματα νομίζοντες οὐ τὰ τείχη τοῖς ἐνδράσιν ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνδρὰς τοῖς τείχεσι. καὶ ἄρχας μὲν οὖν ἄλλωτρίας τῆς κύκλῳ χώρας οὕσεις ἄγαθῆς τε καὶ

1 Corais and Meineke emend τε to δέ.
2 Καίλιον, Corais, for Κέλιον; so the later editors.

1 Κρ. 5. 3. 2. 2 "Porta Viminalia."
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. 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, 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, and since the terrain of the

5 Op. 5. 8, 2 on this point.

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πολλῆς, τοῦ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφους ἐυεπιχειρή-
tου, τὸ μακαρισθησόμενον οὐδὲν ἢν τοπικὸν εὐκλη-
ρῆμα· τῇ δὲ ᾧ ἁρτῇ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τῆς χώρας οἰκείας
γενομένης, ἐφάνη συνδρομὴ τῆς ἀγαθῶν ἀπασαν
εὐφυίαν ὑπερβάλλουσα· δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐξη-
θεῖσα ἡ πόλις ἀντέχει τοῦτο μὲν τροφῆ, τοῦτο δὲ
ξύλως καὶ λίθους πρὸς τὰς οἰκοδομίας, ὡς ἀδια-
λείπτωσι 1 ποιοῦσιν αἱ συμπτώσεις καὶ ἐμπρήσεις καὶ
μεταπράσεις, ἀδιάλειπτοι καὶ αὐταὶ οὕσα. καὶ γὰρ αἱ
καταβαλλόντων καὶ ἀνοικοδομώντων ἀνίκητοι
πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔτερα ἐξ ἑτέρων. πρὸς ταύτ'
οὖν τὸ τέ τῶν μετάλλων πλῆθος καὶ ἡ ἥλιος καὶ ὁι
κατακομίζοντες ποταμοί θαυμαστὴν παρέχουσι
τὴν ὑποχορηγίαν, πρῶτος μὲν ᾿Ανίων ἐξ ᾿Αλβας
ῥέων, τῆς πρὸς Μαρσοῖς ῾Ατίνης πόλεως, καὶ διὰ
τοῦ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆ πεδίου μέχρι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Τίβεριν
συμβολῆς, ἐπειδ’ ὁ Νάρ καὶ ὁ Τενέας οἱ διὰ τῆς
᾿Ομβρικῆς εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ καταφερόμενον ποταμοῖν
tὸν Τίβεριν, διὰ δὲ Τυρρηνίας καὶ τῆς ᾿Αλουσίνης
ὁ Κλάνις. ἐπεμελήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ ᾿Ιβάστας ἐπὶ τῶν
τῶν τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων τῆς πόλεως, πρὸς μὲν
τὰς ἐμπρήσεις συντάξας στρατιωτικῶς ἐκ τῶν
ἀπελευθεριωτῶν τὸ βοηθῆσον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς συμ-

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1 ἀδιάλειπτος, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores, for ἀδιάλειπτος (Corais, Müller-Dünnert, and Meineke).

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1 Cp. 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 Ombrica down to the same river, the Tiber; and also the Clanis, which, however, runs down thither through Tyrrhenia 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.
πτώσεις τὰ ὑψη τῶν κατινων οἰκοδομημάτων καθελὼν καὶ καλύπτας ἕξαιρευν ποδών ἐβδομήκοντα τὸ πρὸς τὰς ὁδεῖς ὅδες τὰς δημοσίας. ἀλλ' ὄμως ἐπέλευσεν ἄν ἡ ἐπανόρθωσις, εἰ μὴ τὰ μέταλλα καὶ ἡ ὕλη καὶ τὸ τῆς πορθμείας εὐμεταχείριστον ἀντεῖχε.

8. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις τῆς χώρας παρέχεται τὰ εὐτυχήματα τῇ πόλει, προσέθεσαν δὲ Ὁρώμαιοι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς προνοίας. τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὰς κτίσεις εὐστοχήσαν μάλιστα δοξάτων, ὅτι κάλλος ἐστοχάζοντο καὶ ἐρυμνότητος καὶ λιμένων καὶ χώρας εὐφυοῦς, αὐτοὶ προούσιαν μάλιστα ὅπως ἅλλως ἐστοχάζαν ἐκεῖνοι, στρώσεως ὅδον καὶ ὑδατῶν εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ ὑπονόμου τῶν δυναμένων ἑκκλύξειν τὰ λύματα τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸν Τίβεριν ἐστρώσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὅδοις, προσθέντες ἐκκοπάς τε λόφων καὶ ἐγχώσεις κοιλάδων, ὅστε τὰς ἀρμαμέξις δέχεσθαι πορθμείων φορτία: οἳ δ' ὑπόνομοι συνυόμων λίθῳ κατακαμψθέντες ὅδοὺς ἀμάξας χόρτου πορευτὰς ἐνίας ἀπολελοίπασι. τοσοῦτον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ εἰσαγώγιμον ὕδωρ διὰ τῶν ὑδραγωγείων ὅστε ποταμοὺς διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἤρων, ἀπάσαν δὲ ὅσιοι σχεδὸν δεξαμενᾶς καὶ σίφωνας καὶ κρουνοὺς ἑχειν ἀφθόνους, ὅν πλείστην ἐπιμελείαν ἐποιήσατο Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας, πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἀναθήμασι κοσμή-
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 Tarquinius Priscus: (Tarquinius Priscus) amplitudinem cavis eam fecisse proditum ut vehem faeni large onustam transmitteret.
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—in deed, 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 ταύτα πολυτελεῖς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλοις, ὡς πάρεργον ἄν δοξαίειν ὑποθαλάκειν τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. διόπερ ἱεροπρεπέστατοι νομίσαντες τούτον τὸν τόπον καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων μνήματα ἐνταῦθα κατεσκεύασαν ψυχρῶς καὶ γυναικῶν. ἀξιόλογον γάρ τοῦ Μαυσωλείου καλούμενον, ἐπὶ κρητικῶς ψυχολίθου πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ χῶμα μέγα, ἄχρι κορυφῆς τοὺς ἀειθαλέστερον δενδρῶν συμπρεγκλητόν· ἐπὶ άκρᾳ μὲν οὖν εἰκών, ἐπὶ χαλκὴ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ χώματι ἤκατεν εἰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ ὀἰκείων, ὁπίσθεν δὲ μέγα ἄλσος περιπατοῦνθεν θαυμάσιου ἑων ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ ὁ τῆς καύστρας αὐτοῦ περιθαλασσεῖς, καὶ οὗτος λίθον λευκοῦ, κύκλῳ μὲν περικυκλώμενον ἑων σιδηροῦ περιφράγμα, ἐντὸς δ᾽ αἰγείρου κατάφυτος. πάλιν δ᾽ εἰ τίς εἰς τὴν ἁγορὰν παρελθὼν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἄλλην ἐξ ἀλλής ἕνας παραβεβηκότῃ παρεβεβηκότῃ ταύτῃ καὶ βασιλικὰς στοὰς καὶ ναοὺς, ἕνας δὲ καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐργα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς Λιβίας περιπάτῳ, ῥᾳδίως ἐκλάθοι τῶν ἐξωθηκόντων τοιαύτης μὲν ἡ Ρώμη.

9. Τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων τῆς Λατίνης πόλεων τὰς μὲν ἐτέρους γνωρίσμασι, τὰς δὲ ὅτι ἐφόρησαί, ἕνώ τις τὰς γνωριμωτάτας, ὅσια διὰ τῆς Λατίνης ταύτης,

1 ταύτη, Corais, for ταύτην; so the later editors.

1 The remains of this Mausoleum are still to be seen on the Via de' Pontefici.
2 Cassius Dio (69. 23) says that the Mausoleum was filled by the time of Hadrian's death (138 A.D.).
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

\(^1\) Tozer (Selections, p. 155) says, “ἐλλην ἐξ ἐλλήνως refer to βασιλικὰς στοάς” and translates, “should see, ranged one after another on either side of this, both basilicas and temples.” But the Greek hardly admits of his interpretation.

\(^2\) For a more detailed account of the public works and buildings at Rome, the reader is referred to Pliny 36. 24.
ἔστρωται ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταύταις ἢ παρὰ ταύταις ἢ μεταξὺ ἱδρύον, γνωριμώταται δὲ τῶν ὠδῶν ἡ τῇ ᾿Αππία καὶ ἡ Λατίνη καὶ ἡ Οὐαλερία· ἡ μὲν τὰ πρὸς θαλάττῃ ἀφορίζουσα μέρη τῆς Λατίνης μέχρι Σινώσεσης, ἡ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τῇ Σαβίνῃ μέχρι Μαρσῶν, μέση δ' αὐτῶν ἡ Λατίνη ἡ συμπίπτουσα τῇ ᾿Αππίας κατὰ Κασιλίνον, πόλιν διέχουσαν Κάτως εἰνεακαίδεκα σταδίουσ: ἀρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ᾿Αππίας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐκτριπτομένη πλησιών Ῥώμης, εἶτα διὰ τοῦ Τουσκλαινοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβάσα μεταξύ Τούσκλου πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ᾿Αλβαιανοῦ ὄρους κάτεισιν ἐπὶ Ἀλγιδίου πολίχινων καὶ Πικτὰς παρδοχεῖα. εἶτα συμπύπτει καὶ ἡ Λαβίκανη, ἀρχομένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥακυλίνης πύλης, ἀφ' ἦς καὶ ἡ Λαβίκανη· ἑν ἀριστερῷ δ' ἀφείσα καὶ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ πεδίον τοῦ Ῥακυλίνον πρόεισιν ἐπὶ πλείουσ τῶν ἐκατόν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, καὶ πλησιώσασα τῷ Λαβίκῳ, παλαιῶς κτισματί κατεσπασμένῳ, κειμένῳ δ' ἐφ' ὑψος, τούτῳ μὲν καὶ τὸ Τούσκουλον ἐν δεξιοῖς ἀπολείπσει, τελευτᾷ δὲ πρὸς τὰς Πικτὰς καὶ τὴν Διαλίνην· διέχει δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ χωρίον τούτο διακοσίους καὶ δέκα σταδίους. εἴθ' ἐξής μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Διαλίνης εἰσὶν ἐπίσημαι κατοικίαι καὶ πόλεις Φερέντινον, Φρουσίνων, παρ' ἦν ο Ἄκουσας μὲ ποταμός, Φαβρατεία, παρ' ἦν ο Πρίμος μὲ, 'Ακουίνον, ἡ Ἰονίου, Jones, for θάλατταν.  

1 θαλάττῃ, Jones, for θαλατταν.  
2 Κασιλίνον, Cluvier, for Κάσιον; so the editors.  
3 τὸ, before ἄτο, is deleted by the editors.  
4 Ἰονίου inserts before μεγάλη; others bracket the ἐστὶ after πόλις, or (as Meineke) delete it, or (as Corais) insert δὲ after ᾿Ακουίνον.
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 Sinuessa, 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 Tusculan 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 Labicum (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 Tretrus³ flows), Aquinum (it is a large city, and

¹ “Ad Pictas.”
² The river is still called “Cosa.”
³ Now the Sacco.
μεγάλη πόλις ἐστι, παρ' ὅν ὁ Μέλπις ἔρει ποταμὸς μέγας, Ἰντεράμνιον, ἐν συμβολῇ δυεῖν ποταμῶν κείμενον, Λείριος τε καὶ ἔτερον' Κάσιον καὶ αὐτῇ πόλις αξιόλογος, ύστατή τῶν Λατίνων. τὸ γὰρ Τέανον τὸ καλούμενον Σιδικίνων ἐφεξῆς κείμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιθέτου δηλοῦται διότι τῶν Σιδικίνων ἐστίν, οὕτω δὲ ὁ Οσκοῖ, Καμπανῶν ἄθος ἐκλελοιπός, ὧστε λέγοντ' ἃν ἂν Καμπανίας καὶ αὐτῇ, μεγίστῃ οὐσα τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ Δατάνῃ πόλεων, καὶ ἡ ἐφεξῆς ἢ τῶν Καλημὼν, καὶ αὐτῇ αξιόλογος συνάπτουσα τῷ Κασιλίῳ.

10. Ἐφ' εἰκάτερα δὲ τῆς Λατίνης ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἰσὶν αἱ μεταξὺ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς 'Αππίας, Σητία τε καὶ Σιγνία, φέρουσαι οἶνον, ἢ μὲν τῶν πολυτελῶν ἐνα, ἢ δὲ τῶν σταλτικότατον κοιλίας, τῶν Σιγνίνων λεγόμενον πρὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐστὶ Πρίθερνον καὶ Κόρα καὶ Σύρσσα Τραπόντιον τε καὶ Ουελίτραι καὶ 'Αλέτριον δὲ τοῦ Ψεγέλλα τετει παρ' ἤν οἱ Λείριος ἔρει ἐς τὰς Μιντούρνας ἐκδιδοῦν, νῦν μὲν κώμη, πόλις δὲ ποτὲ γεγονυῖα ἀξιόλογος καὶ τὰς πολλὰς τῶν ἄρτι λεχθεισῶν περιοικίδας πρὸτερον ἐσχυνεῖα, αἱ νῦν εἰς αὐτὴν συνέρχονται, ἵνα μὲν καὶ ἱεροποιίας τινάς κατεσκάφη καὶ ἱεροποιίας τινάς κατεσκάφη καὶ ἱεροποιίας τινάς κατεσκάφη

1 ἐν, before ἐν, Cornis and others bracket ; Meineke rightly deletes.

2 Σιγνίνων, Meineke, for Σιγνινων.

3 Nearly all the editors, including Müller-Dühmer and Meineke, wrongly emend πρὸ δὲ ταύτης to πρὸς δὲ ταύταις.

4 For Τραπόντιον, Siebenkees, from conjecture of Cruller, reads τῶν Πωμεντίνων, while C. Müller conjectures Καρβέντιον.

5 περιοικίας, Groskurd, for περιοικίας, while the later editors.

1 That is, the last on the Latin Way.

2 Cales, now Calvi.

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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 noteworthy city), which is the last city of Latium; 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 that comes next after it, that of the Caleni (this too a noteworthy 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, and also Trapontium, Velitrae, and Aletrium; and besides these, Fregellae (past which the Liris flows, the river that empties at Minturnae), which is now merely a village, although it was once a noteworthy city and formerly held as 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 perform certain sacred rites), but, having revolted, it was

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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 Ῥωμαίων ἀποστᾶσα. πλείσται δ' εἰσὶ καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Λατίνῃ καὶ τῶν ἐπέκεινα ἐν τῇ Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ ᾿Αίκων καὶ Ὀὐαλερίας ἱδρυμέναι, Ῥωμαίων δ' εἰσὶ κτίσματα. ἐν ἀριστερά δὲ τῆς Λατίνης αἱ μεταξὺ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Ὀυαλερίας, Γάβιοι μὲν ἐν τῇ Πραϊνέστων ὄδῷ κειμένη, λατόμιον ἔχουσα ὑπουργὴν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μᾶλστα τῶν ἁλλων, διέχουσα τὸ ἴσοι τῆς Ῥώμης τε καὶ Τιραινέστων, περὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους. εἰτ' ἡ Πραϊνέστων, περὶ ἤς αὐτίκα ἐροῦμεν εἰτ' αἱ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ Πραϊνέστου, ἢ τε τῶν Ἑρνίκων πολίχνη Ὀπτίτουλον καὶ ᾿Αναγυία, πόλις ἀξιόλογος, καὶ Κερεάτε καὶ Σῶρα, παρ' ἦν ὁ Δείρης παρεξών εἰς Φρεγέλλας μεῖ καὶ Μιντούρνας ἐπείτα ἄλλα τιμὰ καὶ Ὀβέναφρον, ἄθεν τὸ κάλλιστον ἐλαιονήματα μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἔψευσθαι, παραρεῖ δὲ τὴν τοῦ λόφου ρίζαν ὁ Οὐαλερίας, ὅσα καὶ παρὰ τὸ Ἰατρίαμον ἔνεχθες ἐκδίδωσι κατὰ τὴν ἱδρυμέναν αὐτὰ τῶν Μαρσικῶν πόλεων, ὃ ἐν ὁμώνυμῳ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐλαιονήματα τοῦ λόφου ὁὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ λόφου ρίζαν ὁ Οὐαλερίας, ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ Ῥιβούρων, ἄγει δ' ἐπὶ Μαρσοὺς καὶ Κορφίνιον, τὴν τῶν Πελλίγουν μητρόπολιν, εἰσὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Λατίνης πόλεις Οὐαρία ἢ τοῖς ἐν Φραίμη Τιβουρᾶ τε καὶ Πραϊνέστων καὶ

1 ai, the obvious correction of Corais, for η.
2 Οὐαρία, Kramer from the conj. of Clavier, 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 Aeci, 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 Volturnus 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 Samnitic 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, Carscoli, and Alba, and also, near by, the city of Cuculum. Tibur, Praeneste, and Tusculum are all visible from Rome. First, Tibur:

1 Cp. 5. 3. 6. 2 Volturnum. 3 Alba Fucens. 4 Now Cucullo, otherwise called Scutolo.
Τούσκλον. Τίβουρα μέν, ἃ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, καὶ ὁ καταράκτης, δι' ὅν ποιεῖ πλωτὸς ὅπως ὁ Ἀνίων, ύψους μεγάλου καταπύττων εἰς φάραγγα βαθείαν καὶ καταλύση πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ διέξει πεδίον εὐκαρπότατον παρὰ τὰ μέταλλα τοῦ λίθου τοῦ Τίβουρτίου καὶ τοῦ ἐν Γαβίου, καὶ τοῦ ἐρυθροῦ λεγομένου, ὡστε τὴν ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων ἐξαγωγήν καὶ τὴν πορθμείαν εὐμαρῆ τελέως εἶναι, τῶν πλείστων ἔργων τῆς Ῥώμης ἐντεῦθεν κατασκευαζόμενων. ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ Ἀλβουλα καλούμενα μὲ ὑδάτα ψυχρὰ ἐκ πολλῶν πηγῶν, πρὸς ποικίλας νόσους καὶ πίνουσι καὶ ἑγκαθημένοις υγεινάς διαφέρει οἷος των τῶν πολλῶν πηγῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὰς περὶ 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.
it possesses the temple of Heracles, and also the waterfall formed by the Anio, a navigable river which falls down from a great height into a deep, wooded ravine near the city itself. Thence the river flows out through a very fruitful plain past the quarries of the Tiburtine stone, and of the stone of Gabii, 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 at Rome being constructed of stone brought thence. In this plain, also, flow what are called the Albula waters—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, 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. 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; in any case Praeneste, they say, was formerly called “Polystephanos.”

5 On “works of art,” see 5. 2. 5, and footnote.
6 Now “La Solfatara” (“Sulphur waters”).
7 Now called “Bagni di Grotta Marozza.”
8 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).
9 Horace (Carmina 2. 6. 5) speaks of “Tibur, Argeo positum coloni.”
10 “Many-wreathed,” so called, apparently, from the several terraces. But Pliny (3. 9) says Praeneste was formerly called “Stephane” (Wreath).


STRABO

ἐρυμνὴ μὲν οὖν ἑκατέρα, πολὺ δ᾽ ἐρυμνοτέρα
Πραινεστίος ἁκράν 1 γὰρ ἐχει τῆς μὲν πόλεως
ὑπέρθεν ὄρος ψηλόν, ὑπεραῖρον δ᾽ ἀυτὸ τῆς συνε-
χούσης ὀρείνης αὐχένι διεξευγμένου, ὑπεραῖρον
καὶ δυσὶ σταδίοις τούτον πρὸς ὀρθίαν ἁνάβασιν.
πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἐρυμότητι καὶ διώρυξι κρυπταῖς
dιατέτρηται πανταχόθεν μέχρι τῶν πεδίων, ταῖς
μὲν ὑδρείας χάριν, ταῖς δ' ἐξόδων λαθραίων, ἤν
ἐν μιᾷ Μάριος πολιορκούμενος ἀπέθανεν. ταῖς
μὲν οὖν ἄλλαις πόλεσι πλεῖστον τὸ ἐυερκὲς πρὸς
ἀγαθού τίθεται, Πραινεστίοις δὲ συμφορὰ γεγέ-
νηται διὰ τὰς Ρώμαιων στάσεις. καταφεύσουσι
γὰρ ἐκείσε οἱ νεωτέροις αὐτοὶ ἐκπολιορκηθέντων
dὲ, πρὸς τῇ κακώσει τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώραν
ἀπαλλοτριοῦσθαι συμβαίνει, τῆς αἰτίας μετα-
φερομένης ἐπὶ τούς ἀναιτίους. ἤὲ δὲ διὰ τῆς
χώρας Οὐέρεστις ποταμός. πρὸς ἐω δὲ τῆς Ρώμης
εἰσὶν αἱ λεχθεῖσαι πόλεις.

12. Ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τῆς κατ᾽ αὐτὰς ὀρείνης ἄλλη
βάχης ἐστὶ, μεταξὺ αὐλῶν καταλεῖπουσα τὸν

1 ἁκραν, Corais, for ἁκρον; so the later editors.

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
3 On the reservoirs of Praeneste, "hollowed out in the
rock of the mountain," and the water-supply: ""Magoffin, A Study of the Topography of
Hopkins University Historical Studies, 1908, p. 435.

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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

4 For example, in 198 B.C., when there was an uprising of slaves; in 82 B.C., when the younger Marius made Praeneste Vista nastes. But his effort was frustrated by the consul (Cicero, Against Catiline 1.8).

5 The "Verestis" is otherwise unknown.

6 The Volscian Mountains.
κατὰ Ἀλγίδον, ὑψηλὴ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ ὄρους. ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ τὸ Τούσκλον ἱδρύται, πολὺς οὐ φαύλως κατεσκευασμένη κεκόσμηται δὲ ταῖς κύκλω φυτείαις καὶ οἰκοδομίαις, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ὑποπιπτούσαις ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην μέρος. τὸ γὰρ Τούσκουλον ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ λόφος εὐγενῶς καὶ εὐνύδρος, κορυφούμενος ἢρέμα πολ- λαχοῦ καὶ δεχόμενος βασιλείων κατασκευὰς ἐκπρεπεστάτας. συνεχῇ δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ τῷ Ἀλβανῷ ὄρει ὑποπίπτοντα, τὴν αὐτὴν τε ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα καὶ κατασκευὴν. εφεξῆς δὲ ἐστὶ πεδία, τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην συνάπτοντα καὶ τὰ προάστεια αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν τὰ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ἔττων ἔστων ὑγιείως, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εὐάγωγα τε καὶ παραπληκτὰ ἐξησκημένα. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀλβανὸν Ἀρικία ἐστὶ πόλις ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμην ἄλω ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκατον ἑκάκοντα: κοῖλος δὲ ἐστὶν τὸ τόπος, ἔχει δὲ θώλασσά ἐστι καὶ τὸ Ἀντίον, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ὃ καλοῦσι Νέμος, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ μέρους τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξ ᾿Αρικίνης τὸ ἱερὸν λέγουσιν ἀφιδρύμα τι.  

1 Δανούιν, Cluvier, for Δανουίνων; so the later editors.
2 τοῖς, Siebenkees from conj. of Cluvier, for τῆς; so generally the later editors.
3 The reading ἀναβαίνουσιν . . . . . . ἀφιδρύμα τι is that of Groskurd (so Meineke and others) for ἀναβαίνουσιν eis τὴν δε Ἀρικίνης τὸ ἱερὸν, λέγουσι δὲ ἀφιδρύματα.

1 Mt. Albanus, now Monte Cavo, is the highest summit.
2 That is, on one’s way from Tusculum.
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 Ariciana"), 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. 159). That is "Nemus Dianae."

6 Sc. "Diana," that is, "Artemis."
Ταυροπόλον καὶ γὰρ τι βαρβαρικὸν κρατεῖ καὶ Σκυθικὸν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔθος. καθίσταται γὰρ ἱερεὺς ὁ γενηθεὶς αὐτόχειρ τοῦ ἱερωμένου πρότερον δραπέτης ἀνήρ· ἐξήγησεν οὖν ἐστὶν ἀεί, περισσοκοπῶν τὰς ἐπιθέσεις, ἐτοίμος ἀμύνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἐν ἄλσει, πρόκειται δὲ λίμνη πελαγίζουσα, κύκλῳ δὲ ὀρεινὴ συνεχὴς ὀφρὺς περίκειται καὶ Λίαν ὡς ἤπηλή καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολαμβάνουσα ἐν κοίλῳ τόπῳ καὶ βαθέι. τὰς μὲν οὖν πηγὰς ὁρᾶν ἐστὶν, ἐξω δὲ ἡ λίμνη πληροῦται τούτων δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Ἡγερία καλομενή, δαίμονός τινος ἐπώνυμος· αἱ δ' ἀπορρύσεις ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἄδηλοί εἰσιν, ἐξω δὲ δείκνυται πόρρω πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἄνεχουσαι.

18. Πλησίον δ' ἐστὶ τῶν χωρίων τούτων καὶ Ἀλβανὸν ὄρος πολὺ ὑπερκῦπτον τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιον καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ ὁφρῶν, καὶ πρὸς ἴτηπληθῶν οὐσῶν καὶ ὀρθῶν ἱκανῶς. ἐγεῖ δὲ καὶ τούτο λίμνην πολὺ μεῖζω τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ἐνορθεῖσαι πρὸτερον πόλεις τῆς Λατίνης εἰσί. μάλιστα δὲ ἐν μεσογαίᾳ τῶν Λατίνων πόλεων ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀλβα, ὁμοροῦσα

1 Λίαν, Corais (who omits καί), for μια; so the later editors.
2 Ἡ Ἡγερία, Corais, for ἤπελα; so Meineke.
3 ὑρος after Ἀρτεμίσιον, 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
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copy of that of the Tauropolos. And in fact a barbaric, and Scythian, 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.

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, much larger than the one at the Artemisium. The previously mentioned cities of Latium are farther away than these places. But of all the cities of Latium, Alba 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.

4 Lacus Albanus, now Lago di Albano.
5 Tibur and Praeneste.
6 That is, from Rome—the same standpoint as at beginning of § 9.
7 Alba Fucens.
Μαρσοῖς ἰδρυται δ' ἐφ' ύψηλοι πάγοι λίμνης 1 Φουκίνας πλησίον, πελαγίας τὸ μέγεθος χρῶνται δ' αὐτῇ μάλιστα μὲν Μαρσοὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ πλησιόχωροι. φασὶ δ' αὐτὴν καὶ πληροῦσθαι ποτε μέχρι τῆς ὀρεινῆς καὶ ταπεινοῦσθαι πάλιν, ὡστ' ἀναψυκτικοὶ τόσοι λιμνωθέντας τόπους καὶ γεωργεῖσθαι παρέχειν, ἤτοι μεταστάσεις τῶν κατὰ βάθους ύγρῶν σποράν καὶ ἀδήλως γίνονται, πάλιν δ' ἐπισυνάπτονται, ἢ τελέως ἐκλείπουσιν αἱ πηγαί καὶ πάλιν συναναξιόνται. καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀμενάνου συμβαίνειν φασὶ τοῦ διὰ τῆς Κατάνθης βάλαι τὸς Αμενάνος νεροῦ καὶ πάλιν ἐκλείπει γὰρ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἡ πηγαὶ ἱστοροῦσι τοῦ Μαρκίου ὕδατος καὶ παρὰ τάλλα εὐδοκιμοῦτοι. τῇ δὲ 'Αλβᾳ διὰ τὸ ἐν βάθει τῆς χώρας ἰδρύσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ εὐερκὲς ἀντὶ φρουρᾶς ἔχοντο παλλάκια Ἀλβίου, τοὺς φυλακῆς δεομένους ἐνταῦθα καθείργοντες.

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, 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, 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. It is from Lake Fucinus, the story goes, that the springs of the Aqua Marcia come, 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.

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 Pedogna) 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), Perseus, King of Macedonia (Livy 45. 42), and Bituitus, King of the Arverni (Valerius Max. 9. 6, and Livy Epit. 61).
1. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν προσαλπίων ἑθνῶν ἀρξάμενοι καὶ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὄρων τῶν Ἀπεινών, ἐπειθ’ ὑπερβάντες ταύτα τὴν ἐντὸς ἐπῆλθομεν πάσαν ὅση μεταξὺ κεῖται τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους καὶ τῶν Ἀπεινών ὄρων τῶν κεκλιμένων πρὸς τῶν Ἀδρίαν μέχρι Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Καμπανῶν, νῦν ἐπαινώτες δηλώσομεν τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τῆς ἐκτὸς μέχρι τῆς παραλίας τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς, ἀρκετού δὲ τάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν Κελτικῶν ὄρων.

2. Ἡ περιτοιανικὴ μετὰ τὰς τῶν Ὠμβρικῶν πόλεις τὰς μεταξὺ Ἀρμίνων καὶ Ἁγκῶνος, ὄρμηται δ’ ἐκ τῆς Σαβίνης οἱ Πικεντῖνοι, ὁρυκολάπτον τὴν ὅδον ἡγησαμένου τοὺς ἀρχηγέταις, ἀν’ ὀδι καὶ τούνομα πῖκον γὰρ τὸν ὄρνιν τούτου ὀνομάζουσι, καίνομιξουσιν Ἀρεως ἱερόν. οἰκοῦσι δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι τῶν πεδίων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐπὶ μῆκος ἡπειρούν μᾶλλον ἡ πλάτος τὴν χώραν, ἀγαθὴν πρὸς ἀπαντα, βελτίω δὲ τοῖς ξυλίνοις καρποῖς ἡ τοῖς σιτικοῖς. ἐστὶ δ’ εὔρος μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀνώμαλον τοῖς διαστήμασι, μῆκος δ’ ἀπὸ Άισιος ποταμοῦ μέχρι Κάστρου παράπλου ἔχουσιν σταδίων ὀκτακοσίων. πόλεις δ’ Ἀγκῶν μὲν Ἕλληνις, Συρακουσίων κτίσμα τῶν φυγόντων τῆς Διουνσίου τυραννίδας κεῖται δ’ ἐπὶ ἀκρας 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 Tyrrhenian Sea and that part of the Apennine Mountains which bends towards the Adriatic and stretches to the countries of the Samnites 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.  

2. Next after those cities of the Ombrici that are between Ariminum and Ancona comes the Picentine country. 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, 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

That is, at the different cities on the seacoast.
λιμένα ἐμπεριλαμβανούση τῇ πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους ἐπιστροφῆ, σφόδρα δ' εὐοινός ἐστὶ καὶ πυροφόρος.1 πλησίον δ' αὐτῆς Αὐξουμον πόλις μικρὸν ὑπέρ τῆς θαλάττης: εἶτα Σεπτέμπεδα καὶ Πνευντία καὶ Ποτεντία καὶ Φίρμον Πικηνῶν ἐπίνειον δὲ ταύτης Κάστελλον. ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὸ τῆς Κύπρας ἱερόν, Τυρρηνῶν ἱδρυμα καὶ κτίσμα· τήν δ' Ἰραν ἐκείνου Κύπραν καλοῦσιν: εἶτα Τρουντίνος ποταμός καὶ πόλις ἐπόνυμος: εἶτα Καστρονύσωμ2 καὶ ὁ Ματρῖνος ποταμός, ῥέων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδριανῶν πόλεως, ἐξων ἐπίνειον τῆς Ἀδρίας ἐπόνυμον ἑαυτοῦ. ἐστὶ δ' ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ Ἀσκλον τὸ Πικηνῶν, ἐρυμότατον χώριον καὶ 3 ἐφ' ὃ κεῖται τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τὰ περικείμενα ἅρη στρατοπέδεοι οὐ βίσσιμα. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Πικηντίνης Οὐηστῖνοι τε καὶ Μαρσοὶ καὶ Πελίγνου καὶ Μαρρουκόνοι καὶ Φρεντανόι, Σαυνιτικὸν ἔθνος, τῆν ὅρειν κατέχουσιν, ἐφαπτόμενοι μικρὰ τῆς θαλάττης. ἔστι δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα μικρὰ μέν, ἀνδρικώτατα δὲ καὶ πολλάκις τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην ἐπιδειγμαγεμένα Ῥωμαίοις, πρῶτον μὲν, ἡνίκα ἐπολεμοῦν· δεύτερον δὲ, ὅτε συνεπρόσεγουν τρίτον

1 πυροφόρος, Corais, for εὔπυροφόρος; see Meineke.
2 Καστρονύσομ (Corais, —νόμου; Meineke, —νόνον) Jones, for καὶ τρούνομ (see Άικονουμ—, 5. 2. 9).
3 After καὶ Κραμερ suggests the insertion of διὰ τὸν λόφον. Since Groskurd the editors indicate a lacuna after καὶ.
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 Adriani 7), 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', ὅτε δεόμενοι τυχεῖν ἑλευθερίας καὶ πολιτείας
μὴ τυγχάνοντες ἀπέστησαν καὶ τὸν Μαρσικὸν
καλοῦμενον ἐξῆσαν πόλεμον, Κορφίνιον, τῶν
Πελίγνων μητρόπολιν, κοινὴν ἀπασὶ τοῖς Ἰταλιώ-
tαις ἀποδείξαντες πόλιν ἀντὶ τῆς Ρώμης, ὀρμη-
tήριον τοῦ πολέμου, μετονομασθέισαν Ἰταλικήν,
cαὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοὺς συνεπομένους ἀθροίσαντες
cαὶ χειροτονήσαντες ὑπάτους καὶ στρατηγοὺς.
δύο δὲ ἔτη συνεμεῖαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, μέχρι
dιεπράξαντο τὴν κοινωνίαν περὶ ἕς ἐπολέμουν.
Μαρακές δὲ ἀνώμασαν τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀρξάντων τῆς ἀποστάσεως, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ
Πομπαϊοῦ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀλλὰ κωμικῶν ξώσιν,
ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ πόλεις ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς θαλάττης
tὸ τε Κορφίνιον καὶ Σούλμων καὶ Ἡπαμοῦν καὶ
Τεάτη τήν τῶν Μαρρουκίνων μητρόπολιν. ἐπ᾽
αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ θαλάττῃ τῷ τε Ἄτερνου, ὁμορον τῇ
Πελίγνων, ὠμόνυμον δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ διορίζοντι
tῆς Οὐηστίνης καὶ τῆς Μαρρουκίνης. ἔκ γὰρ
ἐκ τῆς Ἀμερτερνίης, διὰ δὲ Οὐηστίνων, παρα-
λυπῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοὺς Μαρρουκίνους ὑπὲρ τῶν
Πελίγνων κειμένους, ξεύγματι περατός. τὸ δὲ
πόλισμα τὸ ἐπόνυμον αὐτοῦ Οὐηστίνων μὲν

1 δή, Kramer, for δέ; so the later editors.
2 Σούλμων, Jones, for Σοῦλμον; Meineke emends to
Σοῦλμονα.
3 Τεάτη, Jones, for Τεγεάτην (JC.), Τευγεάτην (B.); Müller-
Dühner and Meineke read Τεατέαν.
4 τφ, after ὑπέρ, 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; and here it was that they mustered all their followers and elected consuls and praetors. 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, Pompaeidius in particular. Now these peoples live in villages, generally speaking, but they also have cities: first, above the sea, Corfinium, Sulmon, Maruvium, and Teate, the metropolis of the Marracini. And, secondly, on the sea itself, Aternum, which borders on the Picentine country and is of like name with the river 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). But although the little city that is named after the river


3 Pompaeidius Silo, the Marsian, was killed in battle in 88 B.C., shortly before the end of the war.

4 Now Chieti.

5 The Aternus.


7 The same Aternum above-mentioned.
C 242 ἐστι, καὶ οἱ Πελέγνοι καὶ οἱ Μαρρουκίνοι διέχει δὲ τὸ ξεύγμα τέτταρας καὶ εἰκοσι στάδιοι ὑπὸ Κορφινίου, μετὰ δὲ Ἀτέρνου Ὁρτων, ἐπίνειον Φρεντανῶν, καὶ Βοῦκα, καὶ αὐτὴν Ἰρωνῶν, ὅμορος Τεώνῳ τῷ ᾿Απούλῳ. Ὁρτώνων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς Φρεντανῶν, πέτραι λῃστρικῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ αἱ υἱκήσεις ἀπὸ τῶν ναυαγών πήγνυνται καὶ τάλλα θηριώδεις εἶναι λέγονται. μεταξὺ δὲ Ὁρτωνος καὶ Ἀτέρνου ὁ Σάγρος ποταμὸς ὑρίζων τοὺς Φρεντανῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Πελέγνων ὁ δὲ παράπλοις ὑπὸ τῆς Πιεκέντυνης ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀπούλων οὖς οἵ Ἐλληνες Δαυνίων καλοῦσι, σταδίων ἐστὶν ὅσον τετρακοσίων ἐνεχύκοιτα.

3. Ἐξῆς δὲ μετὰ τὴν Λατίνην ἐστὶν ἤ τε Καμπανία, παρῆκουσα τῇ βαλάττῃ, καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτην ἤ Σαυνίτις ἐν μεσογαίᾳ μέχρι Φρεντανῶν καὶ τῶν Δαυνίων, εἰτ' αὐτοὶ Δαυνίωι καὶ τάλλα ἐθνή τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πορθμοῦ. πρῶτον δὲ περὶ τῆς Καμπανίας βρετέον. ἔστι δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς Σινοέσσης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν ἐξῆς παραλιῶν κόλπους εὐμεγέθης μέχρι Μισηνοῦ, κάκειδεν ἄλλος κόλπος τολύ

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1 αὐτό, Groskurd, for αὐτό; so the later editors.
2 See note 2 below.
3 λέγονται is not found in the earlier MSS., and only in n. 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 pontoonbridge 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

\* 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.

\* Op. 5. 1. 9 and 6. 3. 9.

** Samnium.
μείζων τοῦ προτέρου, καλοῦσι δ' αὐτῶν Κρατήρα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Μισηνοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, δυνεῖν ἀκρωτηρίων, κολπούμενον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τῶν ἡμῶν Καμπανία πᾶσα ἱδρυταί, πεδίον εὐδαιμονεστατον τῶν ἀπάντων περίκειναι δ' αὐτή γεωλοφία τε εὐκαρποι καὶ ὄρη τὰ τε τῶν Σαυνίτων καὶ τὰ τῶν Ὀσκων. Λυσονας καλεῖσθαι, Πολύβιος δ' ἐμφαίνει δύο ἔθνη νομίζων ταῦτα: 'Ὀπικούς γὰρ φησι καὶ Λυσονας οἰκεῖν τὴν χώραν ταύτην περὶ τῶν Κρατήρα. ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν, οἰκούτων Ὀπικῶν πρῶτον καὶ Λυσόνων, Σιδικίνους 1 κατισχεῖν ὑστερον Ὀσκων τι ἔθνος, τούτους δ' ὑπὸ Κυμαίων, εκείνους δ' ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἐκπεσεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν περιμάχητον γενέσθαι τὸ πεδίον. δώδεκα δὲ πόλεις ἐγκατοικίσαντες τὴν οἰκεῖν κεφωλὴν Χωρᾶς ἐξεστῆσαν, οὕτω καὶ ταύτης παραχωρῆσαι Σαυνίταις, τούτους δ' ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων ἐκπεσεῖν, τῆς δ' εὐκαρπίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον τὸ σίτιον ἐνυτάθα ἱνεσθαι τὸν κάλλιστον, λέγω δὲ τὸν πύρινον, ἐξ ὕφα καὶ ὁ χώνδρος, κρείττων ὄν πᾶσης καὶ ἄριστης καὶ ἐν ὁλίγῳ σιτικῆς τροφῆς. 'Ιστορεῖται δ' ἔνια

1 Σιδικίνουs, Madvig, and Niese independently, for Ὀπικοὺς κατισχεῖν ὑστερον "Οσκων τι ἔθνος, τούτους δ' ὑπὸ Κυμαίων, εκείνους δ' ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἐκπεσεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν περιμάχητον γενέσθαι τὸ πεδίον. δώδεκα δὲ πόλεις ἐγκατοικίσαντες τὴν οἰκεῖν κεφωλὴν Χωρᾶς ἐξεστῆσαν, οὕτω καὶ ταύτης παραχωρῆσαι Σαυνίταις, τούτους δ' ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων ἐκπεσεῖν, τῆς δ' εὐκαρπίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον τὸ σίτιον ἐνυτάθα ἱνεσθαι τὸν κάλλιστον, λέγω δὲ τὸν πύρινον, ἐξ ὕφα καὶ ὁ χώνδρος, κρείττων ὄν πᾶσης καὶ ἄριστης καὶ ἐν ὁλίγῳ σιτικῆς τροφῆς. 'Ιστορεῖται δ' ἔνια

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the latter the "Crater," and the "Crater" forms a bay between the two capes of Misenum and Athenaeum. 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 Osci. Antiochus, it is true, says that the Opici once lived in this country and that "they are also called Ausones," but Polybius clearly believes that they are two different tribes, for he says "the Opici and the Ausones 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 Ausones, later on it was taken by the Sidicini, an Oscan tribe, but the Sidicini were ejected by the Cumaci, and in turn the Cumaci by the Tyrrheni. For on account of its fertility, they continue, the plain became an object of contention; and the Tyrrheni founded twelve cities in the country and named their capital city "Capua"; 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, so now they had to yield this country to the Samnitae; and in turn the Samnitae 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’ ἔτους δὲς μὲν τῇ ξειφ,
τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἐλύμω, τινὰ δὲ καὶ λαχανεύσθαι τῷ
tetártῳ σπόρῳ. καὶ μὴν τὸν οἶνον τὸν κράτιστον
ἐντεύθεν ἔχουσι Ρωμαῖοι τὸν Φάλερνον καὶ τὸν
Στατανον καὶ Καληνόν. ἣδη δὲ καὶ ὁ Σουρεντίνος
euμίλλος καθίσταται τούτοις, νεωστὶ πειρασθεῖς
ὅτι παλαιώσων δέχεται. ὥς δ’ αὐτὸς εὐθαλῶς
ἐστὶ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὸ Ὑμέναφρον, ὅμορον τοῖς
πεδίοις ὑπὲρ
4. Πόλεις δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ βαλαττῇ μετὰ τὴν
Σινάσσαν Λιτερνον, ὅπου τὸ μνῆμα τὸ Σκιταίνος
tοῦ πρῶτου προσαγορευθέντος Ἀφρικανοῦ, διέ-
tριψε γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸ τελευταῖον, ἀφεὶς τὰς
πολιτείας καὶ ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς τινας.
παραρρέι δὲ ὁμόσυμος τῇ πόλει ποταμός. ὥς δ’
αὐτῶς καὶ Ὀουλτούρνος ὄμωνυμος ἐστὶ τῇ
παρ’ αὐτὸν πόλει ἐφεξῆς κειμένῃ. βεῖ δ’ οὗτος διὰ
ὑπὲρ
οἱ δὲ τὸν στόλον ἄγοντες, Ἡπακλῆς ὁ Κυμαῖος
cαὶ Μεγαθένης ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, διωμολογήσαντο
πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, τῶν μὲν ἀποικίαν εἶναι, τῶν
δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὅθεν νῦν μὲν προσαγορεύεται
Κύμη, κτίσαι δ’ αὐτήν Χαλκίδεως δοκοῦσί. πρό-
terον μὲν οὖν ἡτύχει καὶ τὸ Φλεγραῖον καλοῦ-

But Meineke, following Corais, inserts τὴν before ἀποικίαιν.
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 Vulturnus 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 Cumae, a city founded in most ancient times by people from Chalcis and Cumae; for it is the oldest of all the Sicilian and the Italiote cities. However, the men who led the expedition, Hippocles of Cumae and Megasthenes of Chalcis, made an agreement with one another that the city should be a colony of Chalcis, and a namesake of Cumae; and, hence, although the city is now called Cumae, 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 τά περὶ τούς Ίγαντας μυθεύουσιν, οὐκ ἀλλοθει, ὡς εἰκός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ περιμάχητον τὴν γῆν εἶναι δι᾽ ἄρετήν· ύστερον δ᾽ οἱ Καμπανοὶ κύριιι καταστάντες τῆς πόλεως ύβρισαν εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πολλά· καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν αὐτῶν συμφέκασαν αὐτοῖ. ὡμος δ᾽ οὖν ἐτι σῶζεται πολλά ἱχνη τοῦ Ἰταληνικοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν νομίμων. ἄνομασθαί δ᾽ ἐνιου Κύμην ἀπὸ τῶν κυμάτων φασί· ραχιώδης γὰρ καὶ προσεχής ὁ πλησίον αἰγιαλός. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ κητεῖαι 1 παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀρισταί. ἐν δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ θαλασσῇ θαμώδης, ἐπὶ πολλοὺς ἐκτεινομένη σταδίους, ἀνυδρος καὶ ἀμμώδης, ἥν Γαλλιναρίαν ὕλην καλοῦσιν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ληστήρια συνεστήσαντο οἱ Πομπηίου Σέξτου ναύαρχοι καθ᾽ ὅν καιρὸν Σικελίαν ἀπέστησεν ἐκεῖνος.

5. Πλησίον δὲ τῆς Κύμης τὸ Μισηνὸν ἀκρωτήριον καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ὀχερουσία λίμνη, τῆς θαλάττης μεγάλης τεναγώδης. κάμψαντι δὲ τὸ Μισηνὸν λιμῆν εὔθυς ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἑγκολπίζουσα ἵδων εἰς βάθος, ἐν ἡ αἱ Βαῖαι καὶ τὰ θερμά θάλασσα τὰ καὶ πρὸς τρυφήν καὶ πρὸς ἀλφάσια νόσων ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ταῖς δὲ Βαίαις συνεχής ὁ τε Δοκρίνος κόλπος καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦτον ὁ Ἀιορνος, χερσόνησου ποιῶν την ἀπολαμβάνομενιν μέχρι Μισηνοῦ γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς πλα-

1 κητεῖαι, all editors, for κιττ(ε)ίαι.
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 Gallinaria."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.
Strabo

γίας ¹ τῆς μεταξὺ Κύμης καὶ αὐτοῦ, λοιπὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὀλίγων σταδίων ἱσθμὸς διὰ τῆς διώρυγος ἐπὶ αὐτὴν Κύμην, καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῇ ² θάλατταν. ἐμύθευον δ᾽ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Ἁόρνῳ τὰ περὶ τὴν νέκυιαν τινὸς Ὀμηρικήν καὶ δὴ καὶ νεκυομαντεῖον ἱστοροῦσιν ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι καὶ Ὀδυσσέα εἰς τοῦτ᾽ ἀφικέσθαι. ἐστὶ δ᾽ ὁ μὲν Ἀορνὸς κόλπος ἀγχιβαθὴς καὶ ἀρτίστομος, λιμένος καὶ μέγεθος καὶ φύσιν ἔχων, χρείαν δ᾽ οὐ παρεχόμενος λιμένος διὰ τὸ προκεῖσθαι τὸν Λοκρῖνον κόλπον προσβαρχῇ καὶ πολὺν. περικλεῖται δ᾽ ὁ Ἀορνὸς ὀφρύσιν ὅρθιαις, ὑπερκειμέναις πανταχόθεν πλὴν τοῦ εἴσπλου, νῦν μὲν ἡμέρας ἐκπεπονημέναις, πρότερον δὲ συνηρεφέσιν ἀγρίᾳ ὕλῃ μεγαλοδένδρῳ καὶ ἀβάτῳ, αἱ κατὰ δεισιδαιμονίαν κατάσκιον ἐποίουν τὸν κόλπον. προσεμύθευον δ᾽ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ τοὺς ὄρνεις τοὺς ὑπερπετεῖς γινομένους καταπίπτειν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, φθειρομένους ὑπὸ τῶν

¹ πλαγιὰς, conjecture of C. Müller, and Madvig, for πελαγιὰς. Corais amends to παραλίας. Meineke relegates τῆς πελαγιὰς to the foot of the page.
² αὐτῇ, Corais, for αὐτὴν; so Meineke.

¹ Agrippa connected Lake Avernus and Lake Lucrinus with a canal, and Lake Avernus 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. The people prior to my time were wont to make Avernus the setting of the fabulous story of the Homeric "Necyia"; 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; 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, being killed by the vapours that

\[\text{\textsuperscript{3} Although the Romans called Lucrinus and Avernus "lakes," Strabo calls them "gulfs"—the former a sea-gulf and the latter an inner gulf connecting with the former. The configuration of the country has been greatly changed since Strabo's time, for instance, in 1538 A.D., when what is now Monte Nuova (455 ft.) was upheaved by volcanic eruption, and the area of Lake Lucrinus was much reduced.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4} Cp. Virgil, Aeneid 6. 239 and Lucretius 6. 740. The word "Avernus" means "Birdless."}\]
ἀναφερομένων ἀέρων, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς Πλοντωνίοις. καὶ τοῦτο 1 χωρίου Πλοντώνων τι ὑπελάμβανοι, καὶ τοὺς Κιμμερίους ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι. 2 καὶ εἰς ἐπελεύνον γε οἱ προθυσάμενοι καὶ ἱλασάμενοι 3 τοὺς καταχθούσις δαίμονας, ὢντων τῶν ύφιγγουμένων τὰ τοιάδε ιερέας, ἡργολαβκότων τῶν τόπων. ἔστι δὲ πηγή τις αὐτοθε ποτίμον 4 ὕδατος ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ, ποτίμῳ δ' ἀπειχόντο πάντες, τὸ τῆς Στυγοῦ ὑδώρ νομίσαντες καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐνταῦθα ποτίμου ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ ὕδαταν ἐπείχοντο τοῖς Πυριφλεγόντα πάντες, τὸ τῆς Στυγοῦ ὑδώρ νομίσαντες καὶ τὸ πλησίον καὶ τῆς Ἀχερουσίας. "Εφορος δὲ τοῖς Κιμμερίοις προσοικείων τὸν τύπον φησὶν αὐτοὺς ἐν καταγείοις οἰκίαις οἰκεῖν, ὃς καλούσις οἰκεῖν. διά τινων ὀρυγμάτων παρ᾽ ἀλλήλους τε φοιτᾶν καὶ τοὺς ξένους εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον δέχεσθαι, πτολὺὑπὸ γῆς ἱδρυμένον: ὡς δ' ἀπὸ μεταλλείας καὶ τῶν μαντευομένων, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδείξαντος αὐτοῖς συντάξεις. εἰναι δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸ χρηστή-

1 Kramer, Meineke, and Müller-Dübner insert τὸ (in brackets) after τοῦτο.
2 γενέσθαι, Jones, for λέγεσθαι.
3 ἱλασάμενοι, Corais, for ἱλασάμενοι; so Meineke, who, however, omits the of after γε.
4 ποτίμου, Corais (fromconj. of Xylander), for ποταμίου (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 "Charonium" (14. 1. 11 and 14. 1. 14).
2 See 1. 1. 10 and 1. 2. 9.

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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 Pyriphegethon. 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

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 Phanarictikes), 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 ἔθος πάτριον, μηδένα τὸν ἥλιον ὅραν, ἀλλὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔξω πορεύεσθαι τῶν χασμάτων καὶ διὰ τούτο τὸν ποιητὴν περὶ αὐτῶν εἴπειν, ὡς ἄρα

οὐδὲ ποτ’ αὐτοῖς

ἡλίος φαεθων ἐπιδέρκεται. (Od. 11. 15)

C 245 οῦστερον δὲ διαφθαρῆται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ βασιλέως τινός, οὐκ ἀποβάντος αὐτῷ τὸν χρησμὸν, τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον ἐτι συμμέενει μεθοστικὸς εἰς ἄτερον τόπον. τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐμυθολόγησιν, νυνὶ δὲ τῆς μὲν ὕλης τῆς περὶ τῶν "Αρμον κοπείσης ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα, τῶν δὲ χωρίων κατοι-
κοδομθέντων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν 'Αρμον διώρυγος ὑπο-
πονόμον τυμβρείσης μέχρι Κύμης, ἀπαντ' ἐκεῖνα ἐφάνη μόνος τοῦ Κοκκήνου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὴν διώρυγα ἐκείνην τε καὶ ἔπι Νέαν πόλιν ἐκ Δικαι-
αρχείας ἐπὶ ταῖς Βαϊῶν ἐπακολουθήσαντος ποις τῷ περὶ τῶν Κιμμερίων ἀρτίως λεχθέντι λόγῳ, τυχὸν ἔσως καὶ πάτριον νομίσαντος τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ δ’ ὀρυγμάτων εἶναι τὰς ὁδοὺς.

6. Ὅδ’ ἄρα Λοκρίνος κόλπος πλατύνεται μέχρι Βαιῶν, χώματι εἰργόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξω θαλάττης ὀκταστάδιῳ τὸ μῆκος, πλατός δὲ ἁμαξίτων πλα-
τείας, ὁ φασὶν Ἡρακλέα διαχώσασθαί, τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνου ἐπείπλουν ὅτι ἐπιτολής τὸ κῦμα τούς χειμώσῃ, ὡστε μή πεζεύσασθαί βαδίως, Ἀγρίππας δὲ ἐπεσκευάσθεν. ἐξοπλου ὅ’ ἔχει πλοίοις ἐλαφροῖς, ἐνορμίσασθαὶ μὲν ἄχρη-

1 χρηστήριον (κο and mgo) for λῃστήριον (ΔΒΣΕΙ).
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, 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,

*Cocceius was a native of the region in question.*
STRABO

στος, τῶν ὀστρέων δὲ θήραν ἔχων ἀφθονωτάτην. εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον αὐτῷ τὴν λίμνην εἶναι τὴν 'Αχεροσίαν φασίν, 'Αρτεμίδωρος δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν "Αορνον. τὰς δὲ Βαίας ἐπωνύμους εἶναι λέγοντι Βαίου τῶν 'Οδυσσεῶς έταίρων τινός, καὶ τὸ Μισηνόν. εξής δ' εἰς οἱ περὶ Δικαιαρχείαν ἀκταὶ καὶ αὐτὴ ἕτερας ἀπὸ τῶν φρεάτων οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς δυσωδίας τῶν ὑδάτων, ἥν ἂν τὸ χωρίον ἔχει μέχρι Βαίων καὶ τῆς Κυμαιάς οτι θείου πληρές ἐστί καὶ πυρὸς καὶ θερμῶν ὑδάτων. τινές δ' καὶ Φλέγραν διὰ τοῦτο τὴν Κυμαιαν νομίζουσι κληθῆναι, καὶ τῶν πεπτωκότων γυγάντων τὰ κεραυνία τὰ κεραυνία τραύματα ἀναφέρειν τὰς τοιαύτας προχοὰς τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ ὑδατος. ἦ δὲ πόλις ἐμπόρου γεγένηται μεγίστον, χειροποιήτους ἔχουσα ὄρμους διὰ τὴν εὐφυτείαν τῆς ἀμμοῦ σύμμετρος γαρ ἐστὶ τῇ τυτάνῳ καὶ κόλλησιν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ πῆξιν λαμβάνει. διὸ πέρ τῆς κάλικι καταμίζοντας τὴν ἀμμοκονίαν προβάλλουσι χώματα ἐν τῇ θάλασσαν, καὶ κολπούσι

1 ἥν, Jones inserts; and, with Holstein, emends ἐκεί (before μέχρι) to ἔκει. Meineke inserts γάρ after ἄπαν and deletes ὅτι (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, "puteo," "stink."
5 That is, "Blazing-land," if the etymologists here referred to by Strabo were right. "Phlegra" was a' in the old name 446
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 Baiae 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 Cumaeans, 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 Puteoli from the wells³ there—though some say that it was from the foul smell⁴ of the waters, since the whole district, as far as Baiae and Cumae, 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-ash⁷ 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 Chalcidice, 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 "pozzolana," or "tuff."
τὰς ἀναπεπταμένας ἡμόνας, ὡστ' ἀσφαλῶς ἐνορ-μύζεσθαι τὰς μεγίστας ὀλκάδας. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἢ τοῦ Ἱπφαῖστου ἄγορα, πεδίον περικεκλειμένον διαπύροις ὅφρυσι, καμπανώδεις ἔχουσαις ἀναπνοάς πολλαχοῦ καὶ βρωμώδεις ¹ ἵκαιος τῷ δὲ πεδίον θείον πλῆρες ἐστὶ συρτοῦ.

7. Μετὰ δὲ Δικαιαρχίαν ἐστὶ Νεάπολις Κυμαιῶν ὡστὸν καὶ Καλκηδέως ἐπτάκησαν καὶ Πιθηκοευραίων τινὲς καὶ Αθηναίων, ὡστε καὶ Νεάπολις ἐκλήθη διὰ τοῦτο. ὅπου δεῖκνυται μνήμα τῶν Σειρήνων μιᾶς, Παρθενοῦπης, καὶ ἄγων συντελεῖται γυμνικός κατά μαυτείαν. ὡστὸν ὡς Καμπανών τίνας ² ἔδεξαν τοὺς νεὺρούς καὶ συνοίκους συνειδαςτήσαντες καὶ ἡραγακώθησαν τοῖς ἐχθρίοις τῶν οἰκειοτάτων χρώσασθαι, ἐπειδή τοὺς νείκεως ἀλλοτρίους ἐσχοῦν. μηνύει δὲ τὰ τῶν δημάρχων ὅνωματα, τὰ μὲν πρώτα ᾿Ελληνικὰ ὑντα, τὰ δ' ὡστερα τοῖς ᾿Ελληνικοῖς ἀναμιὰ τὰ Καμπανικά. πλεοστα ὡς ἐχνη τῆς ᾿Ελληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐντάθια σώζεται, γυμνάσια τε καὶ ἐφηβεία καὶ φρατρία ³ καὶ οἰκειοτάτων χρώσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς νείκεως ἀλλοτρίους ἐσχοῦν. μηνύει δὲ τὰ τῶν δημάρχων ὅνωματα, τὰ μὲν πρώτα ᾿Ελληνικὰ ὑντα, τὰ δ' ὡστερα τοῖς ᾿Ελληνικοῖς ἀναμιὰ τὰ Καμπανικά. πλεοστα ὡς ἐχνη τῆς ᾿Ελληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐντάθια σώζεται, γυμνάσια τε καὶ ἐφηβεία καὶ φρατρία ³ καὶ οἰκειοτάτων χρώσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς νείκεως ἀλλοτρίους ἐσχοῦν.

¹ βρωμώδεις, Dindorf, for βρωμώδεις; so the editors in general.
² τινας, Xylander, for tines; so the later editors.
³ ἐφηβεία καὶ φρατρία, Siebenkees (from conj. of Tyrwhitt), for ἐφηβικαὶ φρατρία (AL), ἐφηβικαὶ φρατρία (B[1]); so the later editors.

¹ In Latin, “Forum Vulcain”; now La Solfatara.
² That is, “New City.” The older name was “Parthonope” (see 14. 2. 10, and Beloch, Campanien, 1800, pp. 20–30).
³ “Demarch” was the local title of the chief magistrates;
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 Cumacans. At a later time it was re-colonised by Chalcidians, and also by some Pithecussaeans 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, ephēbeia, phratriae, 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. 168, and Beloch, Campanien, pp. 31, 45).

4 Places for youths (ephēbi) to take exercise.
5 Beloch (pp. 41-44), from inscriptions of Neapolis, gives the names of nine different phratriae.
6 "Music" is here used, strictly, in the broad sense, including all the arts over which the Muses presided.
ἐνάμιλλος τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐνθάδε διόρυξ κρυπτή, τοῦ μεταξύ ὄρους τῆς τε Δικαιαρχείας καὶ τῆς Νεαπόλεως ὑπεργασθέντος ὁμοίως, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύμην, ὁδοὺ τε ἀνοιχθείσης ἐναντίοις ξύνησε πορευτῆς, ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους· τὰ δὲ φῶτα ἐκ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ ὄρους, πολλαχόθεν ἐκκοπεισῶν θυρίδων, διὰ βάθους πολλοῦ κατὰγεταί. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Νεάπολις θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἐκβολὰς καὶ κατασκευῶν λουτρῶν οὐ χείρους τῶν ἐν Βαϊάις, πολὺ δὲ τῷ πλήθει λεπτομένας· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἄλλη πόλις γεγένηται, συνυκοδομημένων βασιλείων ἄλλων ἐπ᾽ ἄλλοις, οὐκ ἐλάττων τῆς Δικαιαρχείας. ἐπιτείνουσι δὲ τὴν ἐν Νεαπόλει διαγωγήν τήν ἰλλημικήν οἰ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀναχωροῦντες δεύρο ἱσυχίας χάριν τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας ἐργασαμένων ἢ καὶ ἄλλων διὰ γήρας ἢ ἀσθένειας ποθοῦντων ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δ᾽ ἐνιοῦ χαίροντες τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ, ἑσοροῦν τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐπιδημούντων ἀνδρῶν, ἀσμενοὶ φιλοχωροῦσι καὶ ξύσων αὐτοί.  
8. Ἐχόμενον δὲ φρούριον ἔστιν Ἡρώκελεων, ἐκκειμένην εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκραν ἔχον, καταπνεομένην Λιβί θαυμαστώς, ὡς θ’ ὑγιείνην 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. Here, too, there is a tunnel—the mountain between Dicaearchia and Neapolis having been tunnelled like the one leading to Cumae, 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. 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. 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 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, 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

4 But to-day the Grotta di Posilipo has no shafts of light; and Seneca (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.

5 Strabo means Greeks.

6 Herculaneum.
Ο 241 τὴν κατοικίαν. "Οσκοὶ δ᾽ εἶχον καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἑφεξῆς Πομπαίαν, ἡν παρακεῖ τὸ Σάρντος ποταμός, εἶτα Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Πελασγοί, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ Σαμνιταὶ καὶ οὕτως δ᾽ εξέστησον ἐκ τῶν τοπίων. Νόλις δὲ καὶ Νοουκερίας καὶ Ἀχερρῶν, ὁμοιόμοιον κατακτήσεως τῆς περὶ Κρέμωνα, ἐπινεύων ἐστίν Πομπαία ταρά τῷ Σάρντος ποταμῷ καὶ δεχομένῳ τὰ φορτία καὶ ἐκπέμπουντε. ὕπερεκείτας δὲ τῶν τοπίων τούτων ὥρας τοῦ Οὐεσσαίου, ἀγροῖς περιουσιώδειν πτηκαλοῖς πλὴν τῆς κορυφῆς: αὐτὴ δ᾽ ἐπὶ πεῖνεσθε μὲν πολὺ μέρος ἐστίν, ἀκαρπὸς δ᾽ ὅλη, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὑφης τεθρόνους, καὶ κολληθέντα φαύνει σχετικῶδεις πετρῶν αἰθαλώδων κατὰ τὴν χριάν, ὥστε ἀτριθηρωμένων ὑπὸ πυρὸς ὡστε 4 τεκμαίροιτ᾽ ἄν την καταστομῆν πρὸτερον καὶ ἔχειν κρατήρως πυρᾶς, σβεσθήσαι δ᾽ ἐπιλατούσης τῆς ὕλης. Τάχα καὶ τῆς εὐκαρπίας τῆς κύκλῳ τοῦτο οὔτως, ὡσπερ ἐν τῇ Κατάνη, φασὶ, τὸ κατατεφρωθὲν μέρος ἐς τὴς σποδοῦ τῆς ἀνενεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δὲ τοῦ Αλτριαίου πυρᾶς εὔμπεπλον τὴν γῆν ἐποίησεν. ἔχει μὲν γὰρ τὸ λιπαῖνον καὶ τὴν ἐκπυρωμέλην βάλον καὶ

1 Corais emends Πομπαίαν to Πομπηίαν; so Müller-Düllmer and Meineke; see note 1 below.
2 Ἀχερρῶν, Kramer, for Ἀγχέρων (AL); see Ἀχερραί, 5. 4. 11.
3 Πομπαία, Jones, for the corrupt τοῦ; others emend to Πομπηία.
4 ὡστε, Corais, for ὡς.

1 On "Pompeii," the Oscean name of Pompeii, see Nissen, Landeskunde II., p. 763, footnote 3.
2 In Latin, "Acerra." 
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, Pompiaia (past which flows the River Sarnus), were once held by the Osci; then, by the Tyrrheni and the Pelasgi; and after that, by the Samnites; but they, too, were ejected from the places. Pompiaia, 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 Acherrae (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

5 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 ὀν ὑπὲρ πρὸς ἐκφέρωσιν ἐπιτηδεία, καθὰ καὶ ἁλβούσα σβέσιν, ἐκτέφρωσιν εἰς καρπογονίαν μετέβαλε, συνεχές δὲ ἔστι τῇ ᾿Ομπαίᾳ τῷ Συρρεντὸν τῶν Καμπανῶν, ὥδε πρὸκειται τῷ Αἴθημαιον, ὃ τινες Σειρηνουσσῶν ἄκρωτηριον καλοῦσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ ἄκρῳ μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ, ἱδρυμα Ὀδυσσείως, διάπλους δὲ ἐνθένδε βραχὺς εἰς Καπρέας νήσουν, κλίμακαντι δὲ τὴν ἄκραν μησίδες εἰς ἔρημοι πε- τρώδεις, ὡς καλοῦσι Σειρήνας, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Συρρεντὸν μέρους ἱεροῦ τι δεικνύει καὶ ἀναλήμματα παλαιὰ τιμώντων τῶν τοῦ πλησίον τῶν τῶν μέρων. μέ- χρι μὲν δεύρο ἔχει τέλος ὁ κόλπος ὁ Κρατῆρ προσ- αγορεύόμενος, ἀφοριζόμενος δυσὶν ἄκρωτηριος βλέπωμεν ἑτεροδότων πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, τῷ τε Μισηνῷ καὶ τῷ ᾿Αθηναίῳ. ἀπαντά δ' ἐστὶ κατεσκευασμένος τοῦτο μὲν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἃς ἔφαμεν, τοῦτο δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ φυτεύσεσι, αἱ μεταξὺ συνεχεῖς παρεῖναι μᾶς πόλεως ὅψιν παρέχονται.

9. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν Μισηνοῦ πρὸκειται νῆσος ὁ Προχύտη, Πιθηκουσσῶν δ' ἐστιν νῆσος πρὸς τὸν Ποταμὸν τοῦ τῶν Παλαιίων, Πιθηκουσσῶς δ' Ἐρεστρεῖας ὑκίσκεσεν καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς,

1 τῶν, Kramer, for τῶν; so the later editors.
2 τῶν, before τῶν, 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 Sirenuussae. 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 Athenacum. 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 Bocotia 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. 1. 2. 12.

6 Cp. 5. 4. 3.

7 But cp. 1. 3. 10.
εὐτυχήσαντες δι' εὐκαρπίας καὶ διὰ τὰ χρύσια ἔξελιπον τὴν νῆσον κατὰ στάσιν, ὅστερον δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ἔξελαθέντες καὶ ἀναφυσιμάτων πυρὸς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ θερμῶν ὑδάτων. ἔχει γὰρ τοιαύτας ὑποφορὰς ἡ νῆσος, ύφ᾽ ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ἐξελαθέντες καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπελθόντες δὲ Ἐπαφίληται κατέσχον. διὰ τὰς φλόγας καὶ τὰ ὕδατα, καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἔχει γὰρ τοιαύτας ὑποφορὰς, ὑφ᾽ ὧν καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες παρὰ Ἰέρωνος τοῦ τυράντου τῶν Συρακουσίων ἔξελιπον τὸ κιτασκενασθέν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν τεῖχος καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπελθόντες δὲ Νεαπολίται κατέσχον. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ὁ μύθος, ὅτι φασί τῶν Τυφώνα ὑποκείσθαι τῷ νήσῳ ταῦτῃ, στρεφομένου, διὰ τὰς φλόγας ἀναφυσισθαι καὶ τὰ ὕδατα, ἐστι δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ νησίδας ἐχούσας ἥξεν ὕδωρ. πολλαπλάσιον δὲ Πιλιάνδαρος εἴρηκεν ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων ὑπομνήματι, ὅτι τὰς τὸ πόρος οὕτως, ἀπὸ τῆς Κυμαίας ἀρξόμενους μέχρι τῆς Σικελίας, διάπυρος ἑστι, καὶ κατὰ βάθους ἔχει κολλίας τινάς εἰς ἐν συναττουσίας πρός τε ἀλλάζεις καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἦπερ οὐκ ἐστι στερνά λαχνάεντα. διόπερ ἐς τε Αἴτνη τοιαύτῃ ἔχειν ἀπείκυναι φύσιν, οἷαν ἰστοροῦσιν ἄπαντες, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸν Δικαιαρχείαν καὶ τὸν Νεάπολιν καὶ Βαϊασ χαρία καὶ αἰ Πιθηκοῦσαι. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν διένευθεῖς τῷ παυτὶ τόπῳ τούτῳ φησίν ὑποκείσθαι τοῦ Τυφώνα·

νῦν γε μὰν ταῖ θ᾽ ὑπὲρ Κύμας ἀλειρκέες ὡχθαί Σικελία τ᾽ αὐτοῦ πιέζει στέρνα λαχνάεντα.

(Pyth. 1, 85

1 ἀποφορὰς (Ἀ十八条), Jones restores; instead of ἀπυφορὰς.
2 ἀλλάζεις, Xylander, for ἈΛΛΕΡΓΩΎΣ; so the later editors.

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
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 Eretrians, 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 Eretrians, ascribes the founding of Cumae to the Chalcidians who had previously settled "Aenaria and Pithecussa."
καὶ Τίμαιος δὲ περὶ τῶν Πιθηκουσσῶν φησιν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν πολλὰ παραδοξολογεῖσθαι, μικρῶν δὲ πρὸ ἐαυτοῦ τῶν Ἐποπέα 1 λόφων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ νήσῳ πιναγέντα 2 ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ἀναβαλεῖν πῦρ καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐξώσαι πάλιν ἑπὶ τὸ πέλαγος, τὸ δὲ ἐκτεφρωθὲν τῆς γῆς, μεταφορισμὸν λαβόν, κατασκηνώσαι πάλιν τυφώνοις εἰς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ ἑπὶ τρεῖς τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναχωρήσαι σταδίους, ἀναχωρήσασαν δὲ μετ' οὗ πολὺ ὄστρεψαι καὶ τῇ παλιρροίᾳ κατακλυσμα τῆς νῆσος, καὶ γενέσθαι σβέσιν τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ πυρός, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἠχοῦ τούς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς παραλίας εἰς τὴν Καμπανίαν. δοκεῖ δὲ τὰ θερμὰ ὕδατα ἐνταῦθα θερωπεύειν τοὺς λιθιῶντας, αἱ δὲ Ἱζαπρέαι δύο πολίχνια εἶχον τὸ παλαιόν, ἀπολαμβάνοντες, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀχοῦ τούς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς παραλίας εἰς τὴν Καμπανίαν. δοκεῖ δὲ τὰ θερμὸν θεραπεύειν τοὺς λιθιῶντας. αἱ δὲ Καπρέας δύο πολίχνια εἶχον τὸ παλαιόν, ὑστερον δὲ μίαν. Νεαπολῖται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα κατέσχον, πολέμῳ δὲ ἀποβαλόντες τὰς Πιθηκούσσας ἀπελαβόν πάλιν, δόντος αὐτοῖς Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, τὰς δὲ Καπρέας ἵδιον ποιησαμένου κτήμα 3 καὶ κατοικοδομήσαντος. αἱ μὲν οὖν παράλιοι πόλεις τῶν Καμπανῶν καὶ αἱ προκείμεναι νῆσοι τοιαῦται.

10. Ἔν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ Καπτή μὲν ἐστὶ ηὗ μήτροπολις, κεφαλὴ τῷ ὄντι κατὰ τὴν ἐτυμότητα τοῦ ὀνόματός, τὰ γὼρ ἄλλα πολίχνια τομίξοιτ᾽ ἂν κατὰ τὴν σύγκρισιν πλὴν Τείνου Σιδικίνου, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἀξιόλογος. καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ὀδυσσείας Ἀθηνίων καὶ αἱ 4 τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον.

1 Ἐποπέα, du Theil, for Ἐπωμέα; so the later editors.
2 πιναγέντα 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.

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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.

1 Cp. 5. 4. 3. 2 As well as Capua. 3 That is, from Capua.
ἄγουσαι ἀπ’ αὐτῆς, Καλατία ¹ καὶ Καύδιον ² καὶ Βενεονεντών ἐπὶ δὲ Ῥώμης Κασίλινον ἱδρυται ἐπὶ τῷ Οὐουλτούρνῳ ποταμῷ, ἐν ἡ πολιορκοίμενοι Πραυνηστίνων ἄνδρες τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι πρὸς ἂκμάζοντα Ῥώμης Κασίλινον ἵδρυται ἐπὶ τῷ Οὐουλτούρνῳ ποταμῷ, ὡς ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διακοσίων δραχμῶν πραθέντος μεδίμνου, ³ ὁ μὲν πωλήσας ἀπέθανεν, ἐσώθη δ’ ὁ πριάμενος. ἔσωθ’ ὁ πριάμενος πλησίον τοῦ τείχους σπείροντας γογγύτην ἐθαύμαξεν, ὡς ἔσωθ’, ὁ Ἀννίβας τῆς ἀνθέξεις, ἐπὶ ἀκμάζοντα ᾿Αννίβαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀντέσχον, ὥσθ’ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διακοσίων δραχμῶν πραθέντος μεδίμνου, ³ ὁ μὲν πωλήσας ἀπέθανεν, ἐσώθη δ’ ὁ πριάμενος. ²

11. Πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ῥηθείσαις ἔτι καὶ αὐταὶ Καμπαναὶ πόλεις εἰσών, ὡς ἐμνήσθημεν πρότερον, Κάλης ⁵ τε καὶ Τέανον Σιδικίνον, ὃς διορίζοισιν αἱ δύο Τύχαι ἐφ’ ἑκάτερα ἱδρυμέναι τῆς Λατινῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἐτί Σουεσσοῦλα καὶ ᾿Ατέλα καὶ Νῶλα καὶ Νουκερία καὶ ᾿Αχέρραι καὶ ᾿Αβέλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἐτί ἐλάττους τούτων κατοικίαι, αἵ ἐνίας Σαυνύτιδας φασὶν εἶναι. Σαυνύται δὲ πρότερον μὲν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Λατινῆς τῆς περὶ ᾿Αρδεάν ἐξοδίας

1 Καλατία, Kramer, for Καλατερία; so the later editors.
2 Καύδιον, Corais, for Καλόδιον; so the later editors.
3 For μεδίμνου (the reading of all MSS.), Corais, Meineke and others read μυός (following the conj. of Casaubon).
4 τέως, Corais, for ὡς; so the later editors.
5 Κάλης, Kramer, for Κάλκη; so the later editors.

¹ See 5. 3. 6 and footnote.
² From Capua, not from Teanum Sidicinum.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 4. 10-11

to Brentesium, 1 namely, Calatia, Caudium, and Bene-ventum. But Casilinum is situated towards Rome,2 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" 3 was sold for two hundred "drachmae," 4 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 5 and Teanum Sidicinum, whose territories are separated by the two temples of Fortune situated on either side of the Latin Way; and so are Suessa, Atellæ, Nola, Nuceria, Acherae, Abella, and other settlements (some of which are said to be Samnite) that are still smaller than these. As for the Samnitæ: In earlier times they made expeditions even as far as that part of the Latin country which is about Ardea,

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 (8. 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 ἀρχαίαν Καμπανίαν ἔφ’ ὀσ τοῦτ’ ἔδιον ἱστοροῦσιν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁντος ποτίμον ἐνυπάλλειτον τῇ χρόαν καὶ τῇ μορφήν. τῶν δὲ Πικέντων ὑπήρχε μητρόπολις Πικέντια, νῦν δὲ κωμηδοῦν ξώσιμον ἀπωσθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀμπεβαν κοινωνίαν ἀντὶ δὲ στρατεύεις ἱμεροδρομείν καὶ γραμματοφορεῖν ἀπεδείχθησαν ἐν τῷ τότε δημοσίᾳ, καθάπερ καὶ Λευκανοὶ καὶ Βρέττιοι κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας ἐπετείχισαν δ’ αὐτοῖς Σάλερνον Ῥωμαίοι φρούρας χάριν μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης εἰς ἀπὸ Σειρηνουσσῶν ἐπὶ Σίλαριν στάδιοι διακόσιοι ἐξήκοντα.

1 For Καμπανίας (the reading of the MSS. except G, which reads Κανίαν). Meineke and others read Ιταλίαν. See C. Müller, Ind. Var. Lect., p. 974).
2 τοῦ, after ὕδατος, Meineke omits.
3 ποτίμον, the editors in general, for ποταμίου (cp. same emendation in 5. 1. 8 and 5. 4. 5).
separates the old Campania from this country. 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. 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 Sirenussae 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 seaboarbd 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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