STRABO

GEOGRAPHY

BOOKS 3-5

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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THE

GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

BOOK III
ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝΟΣ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ

Γ'

I

1. Ἀποδεδωκόσι δ' ἦμιν τὸν πρῶτον τύπον τῆς γεωγραφίας οἰκείος ἐστιν ὁ ἐφεξῆς λόγος περὶ τῶν καθ' ἐκάστα· καὶ γὰρ ὑπεσχόμεθα οὕτως, καὶ δοκεῖ μέχρι νῦν ὁρθῶς ἡ πραγματεία μεμερισθαί. ἀρκτέον δὲ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς τούτων ἀφ' ὑψιπερ καὶ πρότερον, κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας.

2. Πρῶτον δὲ μέρος αὐτῆς ἔστι τὸ ἐσπέριον, ως ἐφαμεν, ἡ Ἱβηρία. ταύτης δὴ τὸ μὲν πλέον οἰκεῖται φαύλως· ὅρη γὰρ καὶ δρυμοὺς καὶ πεδία λεπτὴν ἔχοντα γῆν, οὐδὲ ταύτην ὀμαλῶς εὐνυδρον, οἰκοῦσα τὴν πολλὴν ἡ δὲ πρόσβορος ψυχρὰ τέ ἐστι τελέως πρὸς τῇ τραχύτητι καὶ παρακεανίτις, προσειληφθεία τὸ ἀμετον κἀνεπόλεκτον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς δ' ὑπερβάλλει τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ τῆς οἰκη-

ςεως. ταύτα μὲν δὴ τὰ μέρη τοιαῦτα, ἡ δὲ νότιος πᾶσα εὐδαίμων σχεδὸν τι, καὶ διαφερόντως ἡ ἔξω

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

BOOK III

I

1. Now that I have given the first general outline of geography, it is proper for me to discuss next the several parts of the inhabited world; indeed, I have promised to do so, 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, and for the same reasons.

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

3. Ἐν τῷ γὰρ βυρσῷ τεταμένῃ κατὰ μῆκος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω, τὰ πρόσθια ἐχοῦσθα μέρη πρὸς τῇ ἑω, κατὰ πλάτος δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων πρὸς νότον. Ἐχει δὲ σταθῶν ἔξωκικιλίων ὁμοῦ τὸ μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ πεντακισχιλίων τὸ μέγεθος, ἔστι δ’ ὅπου πολὺ ἐλαττοῦ τῶν τρισχιλίων, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τῇ Πυρήνῃ τῇ ποιούσῃ τὴν ἐφιάν πλευράν, ὅρως γὰρ διηνεκές ἀπὸ νότου πρὸς βορρᾶν τεταμένου ὁρίζει τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. οὕσης δὲ καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀνομάλου τὸ πλάτος καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸ στενωτάτου τοῦ πλάτους ἐκατέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ήμετέρας θαλάττης ἐπὶ τῶν ὦκεανῶν ἔστι τὸ τῇ Πυρήνῃ πλησιάζον 

1 1 tóv Corais from sec. man. in B, for τά.

4 According to Strabo, there were two "Galatia" ("Celtic") gulls, the one "looking towards the north and Britain" (2. 5. 28), and the other on the Mediterranean side; that is, respectively, the Gulf of Gascony, in its extent on the French side of the Pyrenees, and the Gulf of
GEOGRAPHY, 3. I. 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 guls both at the ocean and at Our Sea. The Celtic guls, however, which are also called Galatic, are larger, and the isthmus which they form is narrower as compared with that of Iberia.¹ So the eastern side of Iberia is formed by the Pyrenees; the southern side is formed in part by Our Sea, from the Pyrenees to the Pillars, and from that point on by the ocean, up to what is called the Sacred Cape ²; the third is the western side, which

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

² Cape St. Vincent.
Πυρήνης, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου μέχρι τῆς πρὸς Ἀρτάβροις ἄκρας, ἢν καλοῦσι Νέριον· τέταρτον δὲ τὸ ἐνθέδε μέχρι τῶν βορείων ἄκρων τῆς Πυρήνης.

4. Ἀναλαθοὺς δὲ λέγωμεν τὰ καθ' ἐκαστα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου ἀρξάμενοι. τούτῳ δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ δυτικότατον, οὗ τῆς Εὐρώπης μόνον ἂν ἄλλα καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης σμηνείας περατοῦται μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δυνῶν ἡπείρων ἡ οἰκουμένη πρὸς δύσιν τοὺς τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄκρους καὶ τοῖς πρῶτοις τῆς Λιβύης, ὅν τὰ μὲν Ἰβηρίας ἔχουσι, τὰ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι, προῦχες δὲ τὰ Ἰβηρικὰ δοῦν χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίους στάδιοι κατὰ τὸ λεχθὲν ἀκρωτήριον. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν προσεχὴ τούτῳ χώρᾳ τῇ Δανίῃ φοινίκας καλούσι Κούνεος, σφήνα σμηνείν βουλήμενοι. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἄκρον καὶ προτεπτωκὸς εἰς τὴν θάλασσα Ἀρτεμιδώρος εἰκάζει πλοίῳ,

C 138 γενόμενος, φησίν, ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, προσαλαμβάνει δὲ τῷ σχῆματι νησίδα τρία, τὸ μὲν ἐμβολοῦ τάξιν ἔχου, τὰ δὲ ἐπωτίδου, ἑφάρμοσι ἔχοντα μετρίους. Ἡρακλέους δ’ οὖθ᾽ ἔρει ἐνταῦθα δείκνυσθαι (ψεύσασθαι δὲ τούτῳ Ἐφοροῦ), οὔτε βωμόν, οὔτ’ ἄλλον τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ λίθους συγκεῖσθαι τρεῖς ἢ τέταρτας κατὰ πολλῶν τόπους, οὔτ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφικνυμένων στρέφεσθαι κατὰ τί πάτριον καὶ

1 oū, Kramer, for o'; so the later editors.

1 Cape Finisterre.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. i. 3–4

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

* "Rocking Stones." They were so nicely poised on their points that they could be rocked or turned with merely a slight force.
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μεταφέρεσθαι σπουδοποιησαμένων 1 θύειν δ' οὐκ
eίλαι νόμιμον, οὐδὲ νῦκτωρ ἐπιβαίνειν 2 τοῦ τόπου,
θεοὺς φασκόντων κατέχειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τότε
χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ θέαν ἥκοντας ἐν κόμῃ
πλησίον νυκτερεύειν, εἰτ' ἐπιβαίνειν ἡμέρας, ὡδῷ
ἐπιφερομένους διὰ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν.

5. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχειν ἐγχωρεῖ, καὶ δὲν
πιστεύειν· ἀδὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ χυδαίοις ὁμοίως
eἰρηκεν, οὐ πάνυ. Λέγειν γὰρ δὴ φησιν Ποσει-
δώνιος τοὺς πολλοὺς, μεῖξο δύνειν τὸν ἡλιον ἐν
tῇ παρωκεανίτειδι καὶ μετὰ ψόφοι παραπλησίως
ὡσανελ σίξωντος τοῦ πελάγους κατὰ σβέσιν αὐτοῦ
dιὰ τὸ ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὸν βυθὸν. ψεύδος δ' εἶναι
καὶ τούτο καὶ τὸ παραχρῆμα νῦκτα ἀκολουθεῖν
μετά τὴν δύσιν· οὐ γὰρ παραχρῆμα, μικρὸν δ'
ὕπτερον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πελάγεσι
tοῖς μεγάλοις, ὅπως μὲν γὰρ εἰς ὅρη δύναται,
πλεῖον τὸν μετὰ δύσιν χρόνον τῆς ἡμέρας συμβαί-
νειν ἐκ τοῦ παραφατισμοῦ, ἐκεί δὲ πλεῖον μὲν
οὐκ ἐπακολούθειν, μὴ μέντοι μὴδὲ παραχρῆμα
συνάπτει τὸ σκότος, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεγά-
λοις πεδίοις, τὴν δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους φαντασίαν
αὔξεσθαι μὲν ὁμοίως κατὰ τὸς δύσιν καὶ τὰς
ἀνατολὰς ἐν τοῖς πελάγεσι διὰ τὸ τὰς ἀναθυ-

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

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

Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie, vol. iv, 1908) thinks the stones “apparently were carried away” by the visitors.
μιας εις πλείους ἐκ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναφέρεσθαι· διὰ δὲ τούτων ὡς δὲ νάλων ἐκλωμένην τὴν ὄψιν πλατυτέρας δέχεσθαι τὰς φαντασίας, καθάπερ καὶ διὰ νέφους ἠξηροῦ καὶ λεπτοῦ βλέπουσαν δυόμενον ἢ ἀνατέλλουσα τῶν ἦλιον ἢ τὴν σελήνην, ἡμίκα καὶ ἐνεργεῖς φαίνεσθαι τὸ άστρον. τὸ δὲ ψεύδος ἐλέγχει φησὶ τριάκονθ᾽ ἡμέρας διατρήσας ἐν Γάδειροι καὶ τηρήσας τὰς δύνασις. ὁ δὲ ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐκατονταπλασίωνά φησι δύσεθαι τῶν ἦλιον, καὶ αὐτέκα νύκτα καταλαμβάνει. ὡς μέν οὖν αὐτὸς εἶδε τούτο ἐν τῷ Ἡερῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ, όχι ὑποληπτέον, προσέχουτος τῇ ἀποφαίνει αὐτοῦ, ἐφε γὰρ νυκτῶρ μιθέναι ἐπιβαίνει ὡστ᾽ οὐδὲ δυομένῳ ἦλιον οὐδὲς ἂν ἐπιβαίνοι, εἰτέρα εὐθὺς ἡ νύξ καταλαμβάνει. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἄλλῳ τότῳ τῆς παρωκειμένης· καὶ γὰρ τὰ Γάδειρα ἐπὶ τῷ ὀκεανῷ, καὶ ὁ Ποσειδώνιος αὐτιμαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους.

6. Τῆς δὲ συνεχοῦς τῷ Ἡερῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ παραλίας ἢ μέν ἐστιν ἀρχή τοῦ ἐσπερίου πλευροῦ τῆς Ἰβηρίας μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Τάγον ποταμοῦ, ἢ δὲ τοῦ νυκτὸς μέχρι άλλου ποταμοῦ τοῦ Νικᾶ καὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς αὐτοῦ. φέρεται δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφίων μερῶν ἐκάτερος· ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἐπ᾽ εὐθείας εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐκδιδοῖσι πολὺ μείζον ὄν ψαθέροι, ὁ δὲ Ἅνας πρὸς νότον ἐπιστρέφει, τὴν μεσοπο-

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

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

6. The coastline adjacent to the Sacred Cape, on the west, is the beginning of the western side of Iberia as far as the mouth of the Tagus River, and, on the south, the beginning of the southern side as far as another river, the Anas, and its mouth. Both rivers flow from the eastern regions; but the Tagus, which is a much larger stream than the other, flows straight westward to its mouth, whereas the Anas turns south, and marks off a boundary of the inter-fluvial region, which is inhabited for the most part that the visual rays emanate from the eyes, but Aristotle (l. c.) controverted it. See also Plato, Timaeus, 45ο and 46 ν; and Seneca, Quaestiones Naturales, 1. 6.
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tamían ἄφορίζων, ἢν Κελτικὸν νέμονται τὸ πλέον, καὶ τῶν Δυνατῶν τινας ἂν τῆς περαιάς του Τάγου μετοικισθέντες ὑπὸ Ἄρμαῖων· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνω μέρεσι καὶ Καρπητανοὶ καὶ Ωρητανοὶ καὶ Οὐσττωνοι συνιολ νέμονται. αὐτή μὲν οὖν ἡ χώρα μετρίως ἔστιν εὐδαίμον, ἢ δ' ἐφεξῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνήν καὶ νότον ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπει πρὸς ἀπασαν κρινομένη τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀρετῆς χάριν καὶ τῶν ἑκ τῆς καὶ σαλπάττης ἀγαθῶν. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἢν ὁ Βατίτης διαρρεῖ ποταμός, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μερόν τὴν ἄρχην ἔχων ἀφ' ὄντερ καὶ ὁ Ἀνας καὶ ὁ Τάγος, μέσος πως ἀμφοῖν τούτων ὑπάρχον κατὰ μέγεθος· παραπλησίως μέντοι τῷ Ἀνα κατ' ἄρχαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν ὅνες εἰτ' ἐπιστρέψει πρὸς νότον καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκοί- δοςι τούτῳ παραλίαι. καλοῦσθε δ' ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βατίτην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐνοικούντων Τουρ- δητανίαν τοὺς δ' ἐνοικούντας Τουρδητανοῦς τέ καὶ Τουρδούλους προσαγορεύοντον, οἱ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζοντες, οἱ δ' ἐτέρους· δ' ἔστι καὶ Πολύβιος, συνίοχος φίλος τοῖς Τουρδητανοῖς πρὸς ἄρκτον τοὺς Τουρδούλους· γινί δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οὔδεις φαίνεται διορισμός. συφώτατοι δ' ἐξετά- ζονται τῶν Ἰβήρων οὖτοι, καὶ γραμματικὴ χρών- ται, καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης ἔχοισι συγγράμματα καὶ ποιήματα καὶ νόμους ἐμμέτρους έξαισχυλίων ἔτων, ὡς φασί· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δ' Ἰβηρεῖς χρώνται γραμματική, οὐ μία δ' ἴδεα, οὔτε γαρ γλώττῃ μιᾷ. τείνει δὲ ἡ χώρα αὕτη, ἡ 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 Carpetianians, Oretanians, and large numbers of Vettoianians. 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 Baeticus flows, which rises in the same districts as both the Anas and the Tagus, and in size is about midway between the other two rivers. Like the Anas, however, it at first flows towards the west, and then turns south, and empties on the same coast as the Anas. They call the country Baetica after the river, and also Turdetania after the inhabitants; yet they call the inhabitants both Turdetanians and Turdulians, some believing that they are the same people, others that they are different. Among the latter is Polybius, for he states that the Turdulians are neighbours of the Turdetanians on the north; but at the present time there is no distinction to be seen among them. The Turdetanians are ranked as the wisest of the Iberians; and they make use of an alphabet, and possess records of their ancient history, poems, and laws written in verse that are six thousand years old,¹ as they assert. And also the other Iberians use an alphabet, though not letters of one and the same character, for their speech is not one and the same, either. Now Turdetania, the country this side the

¹ Some think the text should be emended to read "six thousand verses in length."
Strabo

μὲν μέχρι τῆς Ἡρατανίας, πρὸς νότου δὲ μέχρι τῆς παραλλαγάς τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ἄνα μέχρι Στήλων. ἀνάγκη δὲ διὰ πλειόνων περὶ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖ καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων, ὅσα συντείνει πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν τὴν εὐφυίαν τῶν τόπων καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν.

7. Τῆς δὲ παραλλαγάς ταύτης, εἰς ἤν δὲ τε Βαἴτις καὶ ὁ Ἀνα ἐκδίδωσι, καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς Μαυροσίας εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ ἐμπέπτον τὸ Ἀθλαντικῶν πέλαγος ποιεῖ τὸν κατὰ Στήλως πορθμόν, καθ’ ὅ τι ἐκτὸς θάλαττα συνάπτει τῇ ἑκτός. εὐταύθα δὴ ὅρος ἐστὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων τῶν καλουμένων Βαστητανῶν, οὕς καὶ Βαστούλους καλοῦσι, ἢ Κάλπη, τῇ περιοχῇ μὲν οὐ μέγα, τῷ δ’ ὑψί μέγα καὶ ὅρθιον, ὡστε πάρρωθεν ηοσοειδὲς φαινεσθαι. ἐκπλέονειν οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας θαλαττῆς εἰς τὴν ἐξω δεξίων ἐστὶ τούτο, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸς 1 Κάλπη πόλις, ἐν τετρακόσια σταδίοις, ἁξιόλογος καὶ παλαιός, ναῦσταθμῶν ποτὲ γενομένη τῶν Ἰβήρων. ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέους κτίσμα λέγουσιν αὐτὴν, ὅν ἐστὶ καὶ Τιμοσθένης, ὃς φησί καὶ Ἡρακλέαν ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸ πολιοῦ, δείκνυσθαι τε μέγας περίβολος καὶ νεωσότας.

8. Ἐλα Μενλαρία, ταριχελας ἔχουσα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα Βελδῶν πόλις καὶ ποταμὸς. ἐντεύθεν οἱ διάπλοι μάλιστα εἰς τῇ Τιγγίῳ τῆς Μαυροσίας

1 αὐτῷ, Jones, for abré. 

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
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 1. 6–8

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 Bactis 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 Bastetani, 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,¹ 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-

Antonino Itinerary (Itin. Prov. Ant. Aug. 406. 3) the halting-place is called "Calpe Carteia."
STRABO

καὶ ἐμπόρια καὶ ταριχεῖαι. ἢν δὲ καὶ Ζῆλος τῆς Τίγγηος ἀντιγείτων, ἄλλα μετάφρασαν ταύτην εἰς τὴν περαιάν Ἦσσας, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Τίγγηος προσθηλύσατο τῆς Κάλκης περὶ ἐπιτακωσίων καὶ πτετήκουσαν σταδίους, οἳ δὲ ὄκτακοςίων φασίν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ νήσος αὐτή τᾶλα μὲν ὄθεν διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ τῶν ἐνοικώντων τῇ περὶ τὰς ναυτιλίας καὶ φιλίᾳ πρὸς Ἦσσας τοσαύτην ἐπίδοσιν εἰς πᾶσαν ἐνυχίαν ἐσχεν, ὡστε, καὶ περὶ ἐσχάτη ἱδρυμένη τῆς γῆς, ὅρμαστο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπαθῶν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης ἐροῦμεν ὅταν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων νῆσων λέγομεν.

9. Εὔφεξις δὲ εἶτιν ὁ Μενεσθέως καλούμενος λιμὴν καὶ ἡ κατὰ "Ασταν ἀνάχυσες καὶ Νᾶβρισος, ἐλέγοντι δὲ ἀνάχυσες αἰ πληροῦμεν τῇ βαλάτη κοιλάδες ἐν ταῖς πλημμυρίσι καὶ ποταμῶν δίκην ἄνωπλοις εἰς τὴν μεσογαιαν ἐχοῦσαι καὶ τὰς ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς πόλεις. εἰτ᾽ εὐθὺς αἰ ἐκβολαὶ τῷ Βαϊτίο διεῖδα σχεδόμεναι: ἡ δὲ ἄπολαμβανομένη νῆσος ὑπὸ τῶν στομάτων ἐκατόν, ἀν ὅ ἐνοι, καὶ πλεύσων σταδίων ἄφορίζει παραλίαν, ἐπιτάθα δὲ πον καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Μενεσθέως ἐστι, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Καουσίων ἢρμαντινός ἑρμαντινός ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀμφικλύστην, ἁθυμασίας κατεσκευασμένος, ὅπερ οἱ Φάρος, τῆς τῶν ἱερὸς-μένων σωτηρίας χάριν. ἢ τε γάρ ἐκβαλλομένη

1 Νάβρισος, Corais, for ἄνδρασ; so subsequent editors.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 1. 8–9

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

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

1 See 1. 2. 23 and 17. 1. 9.
STRABO

χρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βραχέα τοιεί, καὶ χοιρα-δόδης ἐστίν ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τόπος, ὡστε δεῖ σημείου τινος ἐπιφανοῦς. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ὁ τοῦ Βαίτιος ἀνάπλους ἐστὶ καὶ τόλις Ἑβούρα καὶ τὸ τῆς Φωσφόρου ἱερόν, ἣν καλοῦσι Δούκεμ Δουβίαμ: εἶδ' οἱ τῶν ἀναχύτεων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνάπλου· καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ὁ Ἀνας ποταμός, διόστομος καὶ ὀὕτος, καὶ ὁ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνάπλους: εἶδ' ὑστατον τὸ Ἱερὸν ἀκρωτηρίου, διέχον τῶν Γαδείρων ἑλάστους ἢ δισεκιλίους σταδίους τινές δ' ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἱεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀνα στόμα εἷσκοντα μελιὰ φασιν, ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Βαίτιος στόμα ἐκατόν, εἶτα εἰς Γάδειρα ἐξδομήκοντα.

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II

1. Τῆς δ' οὖν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἄνα παραλλας ὑπερ-κείσθαι συμβαίνει τήν Τουρηδτανίαν, ἥν ὁ Βαίτις διαρρέει ποταμός, ἀφορίζει δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἐσπέραν καὶ ἄρκτον ὁ Ἀνας ποταμός, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἑω Καρπητανίων τέ τινες καὶ Ἡρητανοί, πρὸς νότον δὲ Βασπητανίων οἱ μεταξύ τῆς Κάλπης καὶ τῶν Γαδείρων στενὴν νεμόμενοι παραλλαί, καὶ ἡ ἐξῆς θάλαττα μέχρι Ἄνα, καὶ οἱ Βασπητανοὶ δὲ, οὕς ἔστε τῇ Τουρηδτανία προσκείνται καὶ οἱ ἐξω τοῦ Ἄνα, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν προσχώρων, μέγεθος δ' οὖν πλείου ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐπὶ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος ἡ δισεκίλιος στάδιοι, πόλεις δ'

1 That is, Artemis Phosphorus ("Light-bringer.");
2 Strabo refers to the Roman mile, which was equal to eight stadia.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. I. 9–2. I

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 Eburna, and the shrine of Phosphorus,1 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.2

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,3 but it contains a surpassing

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

ὑπερβάλλουσαι τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ γὰρ διακοσίας φασί. γνωριμόταται δὲ ᾧ ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἱδρυμέναι καὶ ταῖς ἀναχύσεσι καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ διὰ τὰς χρείας. πλείστον δ’ ἦ τε Κόρδυβα ηὔξηται. Μαρκέλλου κτίσμα, καὶ δόξη καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ ἡ τῶν Γαδιτανῶν πόλις, ἡ μὲν διὰ τὰς ναυτιλίας καὶ διὰ τὸ προσθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ συμμαχίας, ἡ δὲ χώρας ἀρετῇ καὶ μεγέθει, προολαμβάνοντο καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βαύτιος μέγα μέρος: φικήσαν τε εἰς ἀρχὴς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀνδρεῖς ἐπὶλέκτοι καὶ δὴ καὶ πρώτην ἀποκλάνει ταύτην εἰς τούτῳ τοὺς τόπους ἐστειλαν Ῥωμαίοι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην καὶ τὴν τῶν Γαδιτανῶν ἡ μὲν Ἰσπαλίς ἐπιφάνης, καὶ αὐτὴ ἀποκλαν Ῥωμαίων, νυν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐμποριον συμμένει, τῇ τιμῇ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐποίησαν νεωτὲ τοὺς Καίσαρος στρατιωτὰς ἦ Βαύτις ὑπερέχει, καίπερ οὐ συνοικουμένη λαμπρῶς.

2. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτας Ἰτάλικα καὶ Ἡπείρα ἐπὶ τῷ Βαύτι, Ἀστυνής δ’ ἀπωτέρω καὶ Κάρμων καὶ Ὀσυλκον ἐτί δὲ ἐν αἷς οἱ Πομπηῖοι παῖδες κατεπολεμήθησαν, Μοῦνα καὶ Ἀτέγουα καὶ Οὐρσον καὶ Τούκκες καὶ Οὐλία καὶ Ἀγούα: ἀπασαι

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 Iliipa, 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

\(^{1}\)浦德, 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.
STRABO

δ' ἀδελφὸς Κορδύβης οὐκ ἀπώθεν. τρόπον δὲ τινα μητρόπολις κατέστη τοῦ τόπου τούτου Μούνδα· διέχει δὲ Καρτήλας ἢ Μούνδα σταδίους χιλίων¹ καὶ τετρακοσίους, εἰς ἥν ἔφυγεν ἤττηθείς ὁ Γυναῖκας· εἰτ' ἐκπλεύσας ἐνθὰν καὶ ἐκβὰς ἐς τινα ὑπερκευ-μένην θαλάττης ὅρειν διεφθάρη. ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Σέξτος ἐκ Κορδύβης σωθεῖς καὶ μικρὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἰβηρισι πολεμήσας χρόνον ὕστερον Συκελλάν ἀπέστησεν, εἰτ' ἐκπέφον ενθὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀλοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντωνίου στρατηγῶν ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέστρεφε τὸν βίον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Κελτικῶν Κοινο-στοργίς ἐστὶ γνωριμωτάτη, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς ἀναχύσεσιν ἡ Ἀστα, εἰς ἥν οἱ τὸν χαίτον συνίστη ἑλπί-στα, ὑπερκευμένην τοῦ ἐπινεῖον τῆς νήσου σταδίους οὐ πολὺ πλείους τῶν ἑκατόν.

3. Πανακείται δὲ ὑπὸ πλείστων ὁ Βαῖτες, καὶ ἀναπλείται σχέδον τι ἐπὶ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων σταδίους ἐκ θαλάττης μέχρι Κορδύβης καὶ τῶν μικρὸν ἐπάνω τῶν. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐξετρέφεται περιττῶς ἢ τε παραποταμία καὶ τα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νησίδαι. πρόσεστι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὀψεως τερπνών,

¹ χιλίως, the reading of A, adopted by Casaubon instead of ξικαχίλιους (BC).

² Hübner (Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 1618; iv. 1223) would delete Munda, thus making apply to Corduba the reference to "the capital city" (Ptolemaeus 2. 4. 9), and to the distance of "four hundred stadia from Carteia" (Caesar, Bell. Hisp. 32. 5, makes the distance from Carteia to Corduba one hundred and seventy miles, ἢ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνθάνατο. 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).
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 2. 2-3

cities are not far from Corduba. In a way, Munda¹ has become the capital city of this region. Munda¹ is one thousand four hundred stadia distant from Carteia, whither Gnaeus fled after his defeat²; he sailed away from there, and disembarked into a certain mountainous region overlooking the sea, where he was put to death. But his brother Sextus escaped from Corduba, carried on war for a short time in Iberia, and later on caused Sicily to revolt; then, driven out of Sicily into Asia, he was captured by the generals of Antony, and ended his life at Miletus.³ In the country of the Celti,⁴ Conistorgis is the best known city; but on the estuaries Asta is the best known, where the Gaditanians⁵ 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 Baetis 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 Hispalia.
Ἀλσει καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις φυτουργίαις ἐκπεποθημένων τῶν χορῶν. μέχρι μὲν οὖν Ἰστάλως ὅλασαν ἀνὰλογος ὁ ἀνάπλους ἐστίν ἐπὶ σταδίους οὐ πολὺ λειποντας τῶν πεντακοσίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἄνω πόλεις μέχρι ἡλίστας ταῖς ἑλάττοσι, μέχρι δὲ Κορδύζης τοῖς ποταμίοις σκάφεις, πηκτοῖς μὲν τὰ νῦν, τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ καὶ μονοξύλους τὸ δ’ ἄνω τὸ ἐπὶ Κασταλῶνος 1 οὐκ ἐστὶ πλοίον παραλληλο δὲ τινες ἰδίες ὅρων παρατείνουσι τῷ ποταμῷ, μᾶλλον τα καὶ ἦττον αὐτῷ συναπτοὺσαι, πρὸς Βορρᾶν, μεταλλον πλήρεως, πλείστος δ’ ἐστὶν ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἰλίσπαν τόποις καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Σισάτωνα, τὸν τε παλαιὸν λεγόμενον καὶ τὸν νέον κατὰ δὲ τὰς Κωτίνας λεγομένας χαλκὸς τε ἀμα γεννάται καὶ χρυσός. ἐν ἀρίσταρα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν τοῖς ἀναπλέουσι τὰ ὅρη ταύτα, ἐν δὲξιά μὲν πεδίων μέγα καὶ ἤθηλον καὶ εὐκαρπον καὶ μεγαλοδενδρον καὶ εὐβοτον. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄνας ἀνάπλους, σύνετε δὲ τηλικούτοις σκάφεσιν, οὕτω ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον. ὑπέρταται δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ μεταλλεία ἐχοντα ὅρη, καθ' ἐκείνη δὲ ταύτα πρὸς τὸν Τάγην. ἡ μὲν οὖν τὰς μεταλλειάς ἐχοντα χωρὶα ἀνάγκη τραχέα τα ἐναι καὶ παράλυτα, σλάπερ καὶ τὰ τῆς Καρπητανία συναπτοντα, καὶ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον τοίς Κελτίβησι. τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ Ἡ Βαιτουρία, ἐχοντα τὰ παρῆκοντα τῷ Ἀνα.
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 Iliopa, 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 mountain-ridges which extend parallel to the river, approaching it closely, sometimes more so, sometimes less, and they are full of mines. Silver, however, is the most plentiful in the regions about Iliopa, 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.

¹ identified. Du Thiel conjectures Constantia, about twenty miles from Almaden.
4. Αὕτη δ' ἡ Τουρδητανία θαμμαστῶς εὐνυχεῖ
παμφόρου δ' ὦσινς αὐτῆς, ὦσαύτως δὲ καὶ πολυ-
φόρου, διπλασιάζεται τὰ εὔνυχήματα ταύτα τῷ
ἐκκομισμῷ τὸ γὰρ περιττεῦον τῶν καρπῶν
ἀπεμπολεῖται ράδιος τῷ πλήθει τῶν ναυκληρίων.
ποιοῦσι δὲ τούτο οὐ τε ποταμοῖ καὶ αἱ ἀναχῦσεις,
ὡς ἐλημ., ἐμφερεῖς τοὺς ποταμοὺς ὀδοῖς καὶ ἀνα-
πλεόμεναι παραπλησίως ἐκ θαλάττης οὐ μικροῖς
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοις σκάφεσιν εἰς τὸς ἐν τῇ
μεσογαίᾳ πόλεις. ἀπασα γὰρ ἐστὶ πεδίας ἡ ὑπέρ
τῆς παραλίας ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ἰεροῦ
ἀκρωτηρίου καὶ Στηλῶν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ πολλαχοῦ
κοιλάδες εἰς τὴν μεσογαίαν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνέ-
χουσι, φαραγίζει μετρίας ἡ καὶ ρείθρους ἐνοεῖναι
ποταμοῖς, ἐκτεταμέναι ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους·
tαύταις δὲ πληροῦσιν αἱ τῆς θαλάττης ἐπιβάσεις
κατὰ τὰς πλημμυρίδας, ὡστ' ἀναπλέοιθαὶ μηδὲν
ἀντὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ βέλτιον τοῖς
γὰρ κατάπλοιοι δοικε τοῖς ποταμοῖς, ἀντικτόποι-
tος μὲν οὐδενὸς, ἑπορίζουντος δὲ τοῦ πελάγους
καθάπερ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ρεύματος διὰ τὴν πλημμυ-
ρίδα. αἱ δ' ἐπιβάσεις μεῖζους εἰς ἐντάθεια ἡ ἐν
τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις, ὅτι εἰς πόρον συνωθομένη
στενῶν ἡ θάλαττα ἐκ μεγάλου πελάγους, ὅτι ἡ
Μαυρουσία ποίη πρὸς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἀνακοτάς
καμπάνει, καὶ φέρεται πρὸς τὰ ἐκκοντα μέρη τῆς
γῆς εὐπέτως. ἐναι μὲν οὐ τῶν τοιούτων κοι-
λάδων κενοῦνται κατὰ τὰς ἀμπώτεις, των δ' οὐ
παντάπασιν ἐπιλείπει τὸ úδωρ, ἐναι δὲ καὶ νῆσους
26
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 seaboard that lies between the Sacred Cape and the Pillars is a plain for a considerable distance inland. And here, at a large number of places, are inlets which run up from the sea into the interior, resembling moderate-sized ravines or simply river-beds, and extending for many stadia; and these inlets are filled by the overflows of the sea at the flood-tides, so that one can sail inland thereon as readily as on the rivers—in fact, better, for it is like sailing down the rivers, not only because there is no opposing current, but because, on account of the flood-tide, the sea wafts you onwards just as the river-current does. And the overflows are greater on this coast than in the other regions, because the sea, coming from the great ocean, is compressed into the narrow strait which Maurusia forms with Iberia, there meets resistance, and then easily rushes to those parts of the land that yield to it. Now, while a number of the inlets of this kind are emptied at the ebb-tides (though some of them do not become wholly dry), yet a number of them enclose islands

1 3. 1. 9.

27
STRABO

ἀπολαμβάνοντων ἐν ἑαυταῖς. τοιαύτα μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν αἱ ἀναχύσεις ἢ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ ἀκρω-
τρίου καὶ τῶν Στηλῶν, ἐπίδοσιν ἔχουσαι σφοδρο-
tέρων παρὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις. ἡ τοιαύτη
d' ἐπίδοσις ἔχει μὲν τι καὶ πλεονέκτημα πρὸς τὰς
χρείας τῶν πλοίων εἰρημένων τριών γάρ καὶ μείζους
ποικίλτικτικής καὶ ἐπὶ ὁκτὼ στα-
δίων ἀναπλεούμενα, ὅψετε τρόπον τινὰ πᾶσιν
πλοήγημα παρέχεται τὸν ἵδρυ καὶ ἐνεργὴ πρὸς τέ
τὰς ἔξοδος τῶν φορτίων καὶ τὰς εἰσαγωγὰς.

ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ ὀχλημένον. αἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς
ναυτίλαι 1 διὰ τὴν σφοδρότητάς τῆς πλημμυρίδας
ἰσχυρότερον τῇ ῥύσει 2 τῶν ποταμῶν ἀντιπνε-
ουσιν 3 κινδύνων οὐ μικρῶν ταῖς ναυκληρίαις ἐπι-
φέροντα, κατακομβομένας τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνακο-
μιζομένας. αἱ δὲ ἀμπώτεις εἰς ταῖς ἀναχύσεωιν
εἰσὶ βλαβερὰκαὶ ἀναχύσεις νάοΰς ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ αὐτὰ παροξύνονται, διὰ τὸ τάχος καὶ ἐπὶ
ξηρῶς πολλὰς ἐγκατελίπουσι τὴν ναῦν. τὰ τε
βοσκόματα εἰς τὰς νήσους διαβαίνοντα τὰς ἐν
τῶν ποταμῶν ἁπ' ἐν τῶν ἀναχύσεων τοτε μὲν
οὖν καὶ ἐπεκλύθη, τοτε δὲ ἀπελήφθη, βιαζόμενα
δ' ἐπανελθεῖν οὐκ ἰσχύσαν, ἀλλὰ διεθάρη τὰς
δὲ βοΐς φασὶ καὶ τετηρηκώς τὸ συμβαίνον περι-
μένειν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ τοτε
ἀπαίρεσθαι εἰς τὴν ἦπερον.

5. Καταμαθόντας δ' οὖν τὴν φύσιν τῶν τόπων

1 αἱ, before δι', Corais deletes.
2 ἀμπώτεις, Siebenkees, for φασί; so subsequent editors.
3 ἀντιπνεοῦσα, Corais, for ἀντιπνεοῦσαι; so Kramer, Forbiger, and Meineke.
4 ἡ, 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). Fenzel, followed by Corais, proposes eight hundred, and Groskurd, followed by Forbiger and Tardieu, proposes one hundred.
STRABO

οἱ ἀνθρώποι καὶ τὰς ἀναχύσεις ὑμοίως ὑποργεύειν
tοὺς ποταμοῖς δυναμέναι πόλεις ἐκτισάν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν
καὶ ἄλλας κατοικίας, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν.
tούτων δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ τε Ἀστα καὶ Νάβρισπα καὶ Ὀνό-
βα καὶ Ὀσσόβα καὶ Μαΐνοβα καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους.
προσλαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ διώρυγας ἔσθ' ὅπου γεγο-
νυμαι τῷ πολλαχόθεν εἶναι καὶ πολλαχόσε τὴν κο-
μιδὴν καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλοις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω. καὶ αἱ
σύρροιαι δὲ ἄσαυτος ὕφελονται κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ πολὺ
πλήμας, διαχεομέναι ἐπὶ¹ τῶν διειργώντων ἑαυτῶν
tούς πόρους καὶ πλωτοὺς ἄπεργαζομέναι,² ὡστε
πορθμεύεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν εἰς τὰς ἀνα-
χύσεις κάκειθεν δεύτερο. ἀπασα δ' ἡ ἐμπορία πρὸς
τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐχουσα τὸν
πλοῦν μέχρι τῶν Στηλῶν ἁγάθων, πλὴν εἰς τὶς
ἐστὶν περὶ τῶν πορθμῶν δυσκολία, καὶ τῶν πε-
λάγων τοὺς ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάτης. διὰ γὰρ
εὐδοκομία κλίματος οἱ δρόμοι συντελουόμαι, καὶ μά-
λιστα τῷ πελάγιζοντι τούτῳ δὲ πρόσφορόν ἔστιν
ταῖς ἐμπορικαῖς ὀλκάσιν. ἔχουσα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀνεμοὶ
tὰξιν οἱ πελάγοι. πρόσετι δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐνυπερήηη,
tῶν ἀρατηρίων καταλυθέντων, οὕτως ἡ σύμπασα
ὑπάρχει ῥαστώνης τοῖς πλοῖσιν ἑνοῖς. ἔδων δὲ τῇ
φύσι Ποσειδώνοις τηρῶσαι κατὰ τὸν ἀνάπλου
τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ὅτι οἱ Εὔρωποι κατ' ἐκεῖνο
τὸ πελάγος ἔσω τοῦ Ψαρόμου κόλπου πνεόμενοι ἐπησαίαν

¹ διαχεομέναι ἐπὶ, Meineke, for διειργομέναι ὑπὸ; Forbiger, and Tardieu, following.
² καὶ πλωτοὺς ἀπεργαζομένας, Meineke, and Müller-Dübner,
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, Nabissa, 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

for καὶ πλωτὸν ἀπεργαζομένων (ABO) and πλωτος ἀπεργαζόμενος (l).
STRABO

did kal triοl μησὶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατάραι μόλις παραδιενεχθεῖς. 1 περὶ τε τὰς Γυμνησίας νήσους καὶ περὶ Σαρδόνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπαντικρύ τούτων μέρη τῆς Διβύσης.

6. Ἐξάγεται δ’ ἐκ τῆς Τουριδανίας σιτός τε καὶ οἶνος πολὺς καὶ ἔλαιον οὐ πολὺ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστον. καὶ κηρός δὲ καὶ μέλι καὶ πίττα ἐξάγεται καὶ κόκκος πολλή καὶ μίλτος οὐ χεῖρον τῆς Σινωτικῆς γῆς τά τε ναυπήγαμα συνιστάσιν αὐτόθι εἰς ἐπιχωρίας ὑλῆς, ἄλες τε ὄρυκτοι παρ’ αὐτῶς εἰς καὶ ποταμῶν ἀλμυρῶν ῥεύματα οὐκ ὄλγα, ὃν ὄλγη δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν ὃψων ταρεχεία οὐκ ἔσθεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἐκτος Ἡσπηλών παραλίας, οὐ χείρον τῆς Ποντικῆς. πολλὴ δὲ καὶ ἑσθῆς πρότερου ἄριστο, οὐν δὲ ἔρια μᾶλλον τῶν κρατῶν. καὶ υπερβολὴ τῆς ἐστὶ τοῦ κάλ-

λους ταλαντίαν γοῦν ὠνομάτω τοὺς κριόνους εἰς τὰς όχειας, υπερβολὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν λεπτῶν ύμα-

σμάτων, ἀπερ οἱ Ἁλακηῆς 2 κατασκευάζοντες. ἀφθονὸς δὲ καὶ βασικέμαται ἀφθονία πυττων καὶ κυνηγεῖσιν, τῶν δ’ ὀλθρίων θηρίων σπάνις πλὴν τῶν γεωργοῦ διαιδέαν, οὐς ἐποὺ λεββήδας προσαγωρέοντος λαμαίνονται γὰρ καὶ φυτὰ καὶ

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1 ἐπιθέλαξες, Kramer, for γάρ διενεχθεῖς; so Meineke.
2 Ἁλακηῆς, Harduin, for Σαλτήης; so Groskurd, For-

biger, Tardieu, and O. Müller.

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1 Poseidonius was near enough to Libya on this trip to see a number of apes on the shore (17. 3. 4).
2 A crimson dye-stuff obtained from the dried bodies of the female scale-insects of the genus Kermes ilicis. The species referred to by Strabo feeds on the Quercus coccifera, a dwarf-oak, and is very common in the Mediterranean countries.
year; and that this was why he barely reached Italy even in three months; for he was driven out of his course in both directions, not only near to the Gymnesian Islands and Sardinia, but also to the different parts of Libya¹ 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 kermes² and ruddle³ 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

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.
STRABO

σπέρματα μίκοφαγοῦτες· καὶ τούτο συμβαίνει καθ’ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν σχεδόν, διατείνει δὲ καὶ μέχρι Μασσαλίας, ὥστε δὲ καὶ τὰς νῆσους. οἱ δὲ τὰς Γυμνησίας οἰκούντες λέγονται προσβείσαισθαι ποτὲ πρὸς Ρωμαίους κατὰ χώρας αἴτησιν· ἐκβάλλεσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ξών τούτων, ἀντέχειν μὴ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸν τοσούτον ἱσος πόλεων, δὲ οὐκ ἂν συμβαίνει, φθορὰ1 δὲ τινὶ λαμμὴ, καθάπερ δέθεν καὶ μνὸν τῶν ἀρουραίων, χρεία τῆς τοσαύτης ἐπικορίας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέτριον ἐξεύρηται πλείους θῆρας· καὶ δὴ καὶ γαλακώς ἀγρίας, ἢ Ἡ Διβύθη φέρει, τρέφουσιν ἐπίτηδες, ἢς φιμώσαντες παρίσαιν εἰς τὰς ὅπας· αἱ δ’ ἐξέλκουσιν ἐξω τοῖς ὅμωσι, οἱ ἁν καταλάβωσιν, ἢ φεύγειν ἀναγκάζουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐπι- φάνειαν, ἐκπρόσωπας δὲ θηρεύουσιν οἱ ἐφέστωτες. τὴν δὲ αφθονια τῶν ἐκκομιζομένων ἐκ τῆς Τουρ- δηταίας ἐμφάνιζε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ναυκληρίων· ὅλκαδες γὰρ μέγισται παρὰ τούτων πλέοντος εἰς Δικαιαρχείον καὶ τὰ Ὄστια, τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίνειον τὸ δὲ πλῆθος μικρὸν δείν ἐνάμμιλλον τοῖς Διβυκοῖς.2

7. Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς μεσογαίας οὔσης τῆς ἐν τῇ Τουρδηταίᾳ, καὶ τὴν παράλιον ἐνάμμιλλον εὐροῦ τῆς ἡ τοῖς ἐκ θαλάττης ἀγαθοῖς. τά τε γὰρ ἀστρεώδη πάντα καὶ κογχειδῆ καὶ τοῖς πληθεῖσιν ὑπερβάλλει καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσι καθόλου κατὰ τὴν ἐξω θάλαττα πάσαν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ διαφερόντως,

GEOGRAPHY, 3. 2. 6-7

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 merchantmen of the greatest size sail from this country to Dicearchia, 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 seaboard 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 ἐκτολλάκτασις, after Αἰθυκέϊς, deleted by L; and so the editors in general.
STRABO

ἀτε καὶ τῶν πλημμυρίδων καὶ τῶν ἀμπώτεων ἐνταῦθα αὐξομένων, ὡς εἰκὸς αἰτίας εἶναι καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους διὰ τὴν γυμνασίαν, ὡς δ’ αὐτῶς ἔχει και περὶ τῶν κητέων ἀπάντων, ὅρυγον τε καὶ βαλαίνων καὶ φυσιτήρων, ὅπως ἀναφορικά μείναι τὰς νεφώδους ὑφὶς κίονος τοῖς πόρρωθεν ἀφοροσιν καὶ οἱ ἱγώγροι δὲ ἀποθηριζόμεναι, πολὺ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν ὑπερβεβλημένου κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ αἱ σμύραιναι καὶ ἀλλα πλεῖω τῶν τοιούτων ὑψών. ἐν δὲ Καρπήθη γῆρυκας δεκακοῦλους καὶ πορφύρας φασίν: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξωτέροις τῶποις καὶ μεῖζοις ὑγιοῦσι κατὰ μνῶν τῆς σμύραινας καὶ τῶν γόγγρων, ταλαντιαίοι δὲ τῶν πολύτοπα, διπήχεις δὲ τὰς τευθίδας καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια. πολὺς δὲ καὶ οὐ κύνους συνελάμβανε δεῦρο ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἔξωθεν παραλίαις πιῶν καὶ παγῶν. τρέφεται δὲ βαλάνῳ ὑδρών φυομένη κατὰ τῆς βαλάττης χαμαιζήλῳ τίνι παντάπασιν, ἀδροτατον δ’ ἐκφερόσχη καρπόν. ἦπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ φυεται πολλή κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν, βίας μὲν ἔχουσα μεγάλας ὡς ἄν τελείας δρῶος, ἐξαιρεστῆ σε ἀλώνιν τατεινῆς ἂττον τόσοῦτον δ’ ἐκφέρει καρπον, ὡστε περὶ τῆς ἁκίμη πλήρη τῆς παραλίαις εἶναι τῆν τε ἐντὸς καὶ τῆν ἐκτὸς

1 ἄλλης, Kramer, for ἄλης; so generally the editors. Casaubon reads ἄλης, Groskurd, ἄλης. Probably the context should be emended to suit ἄλης (op. Aristotle, Hist. An. 8. 19, and Athenaeus 7. 63, 301 ε2).
2 παραλίαι, Casaubon, for παλαιάς; so all editors.
3 Apparently βαλάνου has fallen out after παραλίαι. 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” \(^1\) and spouting-whales; when these spout, the distant observer seems to see a cloud-like pillar. And further, the conger-eels become monsters, far exceeding in size those of Our Sea; and so do the lampreys and several other edible fish of the kind. And at Carteia, it is said, there are shells of trumpet-fish and purple-fish which hold ten cotylæ,\(^2\) and in the regions farther out to sea the lamprey and the conger-eel weigh even more than eighty minae,\(^3\) the sea-polypus a talent,\(^4\) the cuttle-fish are two cubits long—and other things in like proportion. Again, large numbers of plump, fat tunny-fish congregate hither from the other coast, namely, that outside the Pillars. And they feed on the acorns of a certain very stunted oak that grows at the bottom of the sea and produces very large fruit.\(^5\) This oak also grows in abundance on the dry land, in Iberia; and although its roots are large like those of a full-grown oak, yet it does not grow as high as a low bush. But the sea-oak brings forth so much fruit that, after the ripening, the seacoast,

\(^1\) The typical genus of whalebone whales called by the Romans “balaenae,” which is the term still used by zoologists.
\(^2\) About five pints
\(^3\) About eighty pounds.
\(^4\) About sixty pounds.
\(^5\) Apparently the Quercus occifera (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.
Στηλών, ἣν ἐκβάλλουσιν αἱ πλῆμαί· ἡ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Στηλῶν ἐλάττων ἕτει καὶ μᾶλλον εὐφράσκεται. λέγει δ᾽ ὁ Πολύβιος καὶ μέχρι τῆς Δατίνης ἐκπίπτειν τὴν βάλανον ταύτην, εἰ μὴ ἄρα, φησι, καὶ ἡ Σαρδῶν ἕφερε καὶ ἡ πλησίον ὁμοιοτροφὴν ταύτῃ. καὶ οἱ θύμοι δ᾽ ὡς ἑνε πλεόν συνεγγίζουσι ταῖς Στήλαις ξύσθεν φερόμενοι, τοσόδε ισχυρώτερα πλέον, τῆς τροφῆς ἐπιλειτουργεῖν· εἰναι τε ἄρα ὁ θαλάττιοι ὡς ἐν τῷ ξύσθεν τούτῳ ἐξεσθαί γὰρ τῇ βαλάνῳ καὶ πιαίνεισθαὶ διαφέροντος ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς, φοράς τε τῆς βαλάνου γενομένης, φοράν καὶ τῶν θύμων εἶναι.

8. Τοσούτοις δὲ τῆς προειρημένης χώρας ἀγαθοῦ κεκορηγμένης, οὐχ ἥκιστα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστα ἀποδέχατ᾽ αὖ τις καὶ ταυμάσεσθαι τοῖς ταῖς μεταλλείαις εὐφυνίς ἀπάσα μὲν γὰρ μεστή τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἤ τῶν Ἰβήρων χώρα, οὐ πάσα δ᾽ εὐκαρπίας οὐδ᾽ εὐδαίμονον οὖσαν, καὶ μάλιστα ἢ τῶν μεταλλῶν εὐπροσα. σπάνιον δ᾽ ἐν ἄμφοτέρους εὐτυχεῖν σπάνιον δὲ καὶ τῷ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐν ἅλλῳ χωρίῳ παντοῖοι πληθύνειν μεταλλωκ. ἡ δὲ Ἱούνδητανία καὶ ἡ προσεχῆς αὐτῆς λόγων οὖν δένα ἄειον καταλείπει περὶ τὴνδε τῆς ἀρέτης τοὺς ἐπαινεῖν βουλομένους. οὔτε γὰρ χρυσός, οὔτ᾽ ἄργυρος, οὔδε δὴ χαλκός, οὔδε σίδηρος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τοσοῦτος οὐθ᾽ οὗτος ἀγαθὸς ἐξῆτανται γεννώμενος μέχρι νῦν. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὐ μεταλλευεῖται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σύρεται καταφέρουσι δ᾽ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ οἱ χείμαρροι τὴν χρυσίτιν ἄμων.

1 πλέον, Corais, for πλέον; Kramer, and Meineke, following.
2 τε ἄρα, Tyrwhitt, for παρά.
3 δ᾽, for τε; so the old reading (before Kramer), and so Meineke.
4 οὖτ', 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 ἀνύδρους τόποις ὀδηγαί, ἀλλ' ἔκει μὲν ἀράχνη ἑστιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπικλύστοις ἀπολάμπει τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ψῆφιμα· καὶ τοὺς ἄνυδρους δὲ φορητῷ ἐπικλύστοις ὑδατὶ στιλπνοῖ ποιούσα τὸ ψῆφιμα, καὶ φρέατα δ' ὀρύσσοντες καὶ ἄλλας τέχνας ἐπιμοιούντες πλεόσει τῆς ἄμμου τὸν χρυσὸν ἐκαλαμβάνουσι, καὶ πλείον τῶν χρυσαφερχείων ἐστὶν νῦν τὰ χρυσοπλύσια προσαγορευμένα. ἅξιοῦσι δὲ Γαλάται ἵσα 1 παρ' ἑαυτοῖς εἶναι τὰ μέταλλα τὰ τε 2 ἐν τῷ Κεμένῳ ὄρει καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῆς κείμενα τῇ Πυρήνῃ τὸ μέντοι πλεόν 3 τάντευθεν εὐδοκίμεν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ψῆφιμαι τοῦ χρυσίου φασὶν εὐρίσκεσθαι ποτὲ καὶ ἡμιλιτραίας βώλους, ὡς καλούσι πάλαις, μικρὰς καθάρσεως δεσμόνας. φασὶ δὲ καὶ λίθων σχεξομένων εὐρίσκεσιν βαλάμει δηλαὶς ὁμοίας· εἴ δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐφομένου καὶ καθαιρομένου συντυπητικῶς τῆς γῆς τὸ κάθαρμα ἠλεκτρὸν εἶναι· πάλιν δὲ τούτῳ καθεφομένου, μίγμα ἔχουσι ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὸν μὲν ἀργυρὸν ἀποκαλεσθαι, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ὑπομένειν εὑδιάχυτος γὰρ ὁ τύπος καὶ λιθωδὸς· διὰ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ ἀχύρῳ τῆς καλλος ἄχρυσος, ὅτι ἡ φλόξ, μαλακὴ ὀνει, συμμέτρου ἔχει πρὸς τὸ ἐκλοῦ καὶ διαχείμενον ράδιον, ὁ δὲ ἀνθραξ ἐπαναλύεει πολὺ, ὑπερτήκως τῇ σφοδρότητι καὶ

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1 ἵσα, Madvig, for τα.
2 τα τε, before ἐν, the insertion of I, and the editors.
3 πλέον, Meinecke, for πλεόν.

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1 The Gauls. See 4. 4. 2. 2 The Cevennes.

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GEOGRAPHY, 3. 2. 8

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-washerics" are now more numerous than the gold-mines. The Galatae¹ hold that their own mines, both those in the Cemmenus ² 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,"³ and they need but little refining. They further say that when stones are split they find in them small nuggets resembling nipples, and when the gold is smelted and refined by means of a sort of styptic earth⁴ the residuum thereof is "electrum";⁵ and, again, that when this electrum, which contains a mixture of silver and gold, is smelted, the silver is burned away, while the gold remains. For the alloy-type is easily fused and stone-like.⁶ For this reason, too, the gold is preferably melted with chaff-fire, because the flame, on account of its softness, is suitable to a substance that yields and fuses easily; but the charcoal-fire consumes much of it because, owing to its intensity, it

¹ Containing alum and vitriol.
² Electrum is defined by Pliny (Nat. Hist. 33. 23) as consisting of one part of silver to four parts of gold.
³ In fact, the alloy is more easily fused, and harder, than either of the constituent metals.
STRABO

ἐξαίρων. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ῥεῖθροις σύρεται καὶ πλῦνεται πλησίων ἐν σκάφαις, ἡ ὁρύττεται φρέαρ, ἡ δὲ ἀνενεχθεῖσα γῆ πλῦνεται. τὰς δὲ τοὺς ἁργυροὺς καμίνους τοιούτους ὑψηλάς, ὥστε τὴν ἐκ τῶν βωλῶν λυγνῶν μετέωρον ἔξαιρεσθαι· βαρεία γάρ ἐστι καὶ ὀλέθρος. τῶν δὲ χαλκουργεῖων τινά καλεῖται χρυσεία, ἔξ ὁν τεκμαίρονται χρυσῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁρύττεσθαι πρότερον.

9. Ποσειδώνοις δὲ, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μετάλλων ἐσταθήναι καὶ τὴν ἁρετήν, οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς συνήθους ῥητορείας, ἀλλὰ συνενθοσιᾶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς. οὐ γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ μύθῳ φησίν, διτ τῶν δριμῶν ποτὲ ἐμπρησθέντων ἡ γῆ τακείσα, ἀτε ἁργυρίτες καὶ χρυσίτες, εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐξέξεσο διὰ τὸ πάν ὅρος καὶ πάντα βουνόν ὅλην εἶναι νομίσματος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθόπονον τόχης σεσυρευμένην. καθάλου δὲ ἄν εἴπε, φησίν, ἵδιν τοῖς τῶν τότου, θησαυροῦς εἶναι φύσεως ἀεικὸς δὲ τα- μεῖον ἡγεμονίας ἀνέκλειπτον· οὐ γὰρ πλουσια- μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπόπλουτος ἦν, φησίν, ἡ χώρα, καὶ παρ’ ἐκεῖνος ώς ἄληθῶς τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τότον οὐχ ὁ Ἀδης, ἀλλ’ ὁ Πλούτων κατοικεῖ. τοιαύτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ὧραϊρ 2 σχήματε εἶρηκε περὶ τοῦτων, ὡς ἄν ἐκ μεταλλοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῷ χρόμενος τῷ λόγῳ, τὴν τ’ ἐπιμέλειαν φράξων τὴν τῶν μεταλλευόντων παρατίθησι τὸ τοῦ Φαληρέως, διτ φησίν ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀργυρείων

1 ῥεῖθροι, for ῥοῦθροι; a correction of Corais, from a conjecture of Casaubon.
2 ὀραῖος, for ὀρανύ (ABC), ὀράτο (l) ; so the editors.

1 In the word-play here Pluto is identified (as often) with Plutus, the god of riches.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 2. 8–9

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

9. Poseidonius, in praising the quantity and the excellence of these ores, does not abstain from his usual rhetorical speech; indeed, he enthusiastically concurs with the extravagant stories told; for example, he does not 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 Turditanians it is verily Pluto,¹ and not Hades, who inhabits the region down below. Such, then, are the flowery utterances of Poseidonius on this subject—himself drawing much of his language from a mine, as it were. Again, in speaking of the industry of the miners, he cites the statement of Demetrius of Phalerum. Demetrius, he says, states in reference to the Attic silver-mines,²

¹ The silver-mines of Laurium.
οὕτω συντόνως ὁμάθειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἂν προσδοκώντων αὐτὸν ἀνάξειν τὸν Πλούτωνα· καὶ τούτων ὁμοίως παραπλησίαν τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν φιλεργίαν, σκολιάς τεμνόντων καὶ βαθείας τὰς σύργγας, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς ἀπαντώντας ποταμοὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀγαπτίοις ἀναπτοῦντον ἀκολούθοις τὸ κοχλίας. τὸν δ' ὄλον 2 ὅποι τοῦτο οὐκ εἰμίν τοῦτος ποτὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αὐτῶμα ἐτοικέναι τὴν μεταλλείαν ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἀνέλαβον 3 φησίν, οὐκ ἔλαβον, ὅσα δὲ εἴχον, ἀπέβαλον τούτοις δ' ὑπεράγαν λυσιτελή, τοῖς μὲν χαλκουργοῖς τέταρτον μέρος ἔζαγον τῆς γῆς τῶν χαλκῶν, τῶν δ' ἀργυρευόντων τίσιν 4 ἱδιωτῶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ᾿Εὐβοῖκοι τάλαντον ἐξαίρουσι, τοῖς δὲ καττήροισιν οὐκ ἐπιπολῆς εὐρισκέσθαι φησίν, ὡς τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θρυλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁμήρεσθαι γεγυνάθαι δ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούς Λυσιτανοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ ἐν ταῖς Καττήρεσιν νήσοις, καὶ ἐκ τῶν Βρετανικῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν Μασσαλίαν κομίζονται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρτάβροις, οἱ τῆς Λυσιτανίας χρυσῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ δύσιν εἰσὶν, ἐξαντείνουν φησὶν τὴν γῆν ἀργυρῷ, καττήρῳ, χρυσῷ λευκῷ (ἀργυρομίγγες γάρ ἐστι), τὴν δὲ γῆν

1 ἀναπτολόγων, Corais, for ἀναπτολύστα; so the editors.
2 τὸν δ' ὄλον, conj. of Scaliger, for τὸν δέλον. But perhaps, τὸν δ' ὄλον (C. Müller), which is generally accepted, is right; or τὸν ἄλον. (Meineke's conj.).
3 Μεινέκε and others emend ἀνέλαβον to ἔμελλον, the word of Athenaeus (6. 23).
4 τίσιν, Corais, for τῶν; so the editors in general.

1 Archimedes' screw. Another method was that of diverting the water by subterranean trenches (Diod. Sic. 6. 37.)
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 2. 9

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 (5. 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.
STRABO

ταύτην φέρειν τούς ποταμοὺς· τὴν δὲ σκαλίσει τάς
γυναικές διαμόσας πλύνειν ἐν ἡθητηρίωι πλεκ-
tούς εἰς κύστην.¹ οὕτως μὲν περὶ τῶν μετάλλων
τοιαύτη εἶρηκε.

10. Πολύβιος δὲ, τῶν περὶ Καρχηδόνα Νέαν
ἀργυρείων μνημείοις, μέγιστα μὲν εἶναι φησι,
διέχειν δὲ τής πύλεως ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους, περει-
ληφότα κύκλον τετρακοσίων σταδίων, ὡσπο
τέταρ-
τις μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων μένειν τῶν ἐργαζομένων,
ἀναφέροντας τότε τῷ δήμῳ τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν δισμυρίας καὶ πεντάκισικλίας
δραχμὰς. τὴν δὲ κατεργασίαν τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἐω
(μακρὰ γάρ ἐστι), τὴν δὲ συρτὴν βῶλον τὴν
ἀργυρίτιν φησι κόπτεσθαι καὶ κοσκίνοις εἰς ὕδαρ
dιαρτάσθαι,² κόπτεσθαι δὲ πάλιν τὰς υποστάσεις,
kαὶ πάλιν διηθομένας ἀποχεμένας τῶν ὑδάτων
κόπτεσθαι. τὴν δὲ πέμπτην υπόστασιν χωνευ-
θεύσαν, ἀποχυτένος τοῦ μολύβδου, καθαρὸν τὸν
ἀργυρὸν ἔξαγεν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰ ἀργυρεῖα,
οὐ μέντοι δημόσια, οὔτε ἐνταῦθα οὔτε ἐν τοῖς
ἄλλοις τόποις, ἀλλ' εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς μετέστασαν
κτῆσεις· τὰ δὲ χρυσεῖα δημοσιεύεται τὰ πλεῖον.
ἐν δὲ καὶ Κασταλῶν καὶ ἄλλοις τόποις ἵδιον ἔστι
μετάλλου ὄρκυτοι μολύβδου· παραμέρισκαι δὲ τι
καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ ἀργυροῦ μικρὸν, οὐχ ὡστε λυσι-
tελεῖων ἀποκαθαρίσειν αὐτῶν.

¹ εἰς κύστην, Kramor, for ἐπίπτυσθα (AC), ἐπὶ κύστην (B); so the editors in general.
² Casaubon emends διαρτάσθαι to διαστάσθαι; all later editors following.

¹ This simple method (now called “jigging”) of separating the mineral from the light refuse is still in use. The sieve is
brought by the streams; and the women scrape it up with shovels and wash it in sieves woven basket-like. Such, then, is what Poseidonius has said about the mines.

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

shaken up and down under water, and by gravity the heavier substance goes through the sieve to the bottom, the lighter forming a layer on top, which is scraped off. The Greek phrase (translated literally above) is syncopated, as is the further description of the process.
11. Οὐ πολὺ δ’ ἀπωθεῖν τοῦ Κασταλῶνός ἢςτι καὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐξ οὗ ὁμιάς τῶν Βαῦτων, ὁ καλότεος Ἀργυρόυν διὰ τὰ ἀργυρεῖα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ. Πολύβδος δ’ καὶ τῶν Ἀναφ καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ τῆς Κελτιβηρίας ἔμοια φησί, διέχουσα ἀλλιώτων ὅσον ἐνυκασθεῖς σταδίων, ἀνθηθέντες γὰρ οἱ Κελτιβηρίες ἐποίησαν καὶ τὴν πλησίον άργους οὐκ ἕως ἐλαιων ἐλεύθερον· ἕως αὐτῶν καλεῖν τῶν Βαῦτων Ταρτησσῶν, τὰ δὲ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰς πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔνοσυς Ἐρυβείας διόπερ ἐϊτει ὑπολαμβάνουσι Στησίχορον περὶ τοῦ Γηρώνος βουκόλου, διότι γεννηθεὶς

σχεδὸν ἀντιπέρας κλεινᾶς Ἐρυβείας
Ταρτησσοῦ ποταμοῦ παρὰ παγάς ἀπείρονας ἀργυροίρων,
ἐν κενυμβών πέτρας.1

δυεῖν δὲ οὕσων ἐκβολῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πόλιν ἐν τῷ μεταθέν τῷ κατοικεῖσθαι πρότερον φησί, ἢν καλεῖσθαι Ταρτησσόν, ὦμοναρόν τῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ τὴν χώραν Ταρτησίδα, ἢν παῖν Τουρδουλοί νέονται, καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τὴν συνεχῆ τῆς Καλπής Ταρτησίδα καλεῖσθαι φησὶ, καὶ Ἐρυβείαν νήσου εὐδαίμονα. πρὸς δὲ Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἀντιλέγων καὶ ταύτα ἡγεῖσθαι φησὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Γαδεῖραν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰερών ἀκροτήριον διώστημα ἔπεχεν ἥμερον πέντε πλοίων, οὐ πλειώνων δυτῶν ἢ χιλίων καὶ ἐπτάκοσίων σταδίων, καὶ τὰς ἀμπώτεις μέχρι δεύρο περατοῦσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ κύκλω τοῖς πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην συμβαίνεις, καὶ τὸ τὰς προσαρκτικὰ

1 See Bergk's re-arrangement of the words, Poet. Lyr. iii. 208.

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GEOGRAPHY, 3. 2. II

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\(^1\) of Geryon, namely, that he was born "about opposite famous Erytheia, beside the unlimited, silver-rooted springs of the river Tartessus, in a cavern of a cliff." Since the river had two mouths, a city was planted on the intervening territory in former times, it is said,—a city which was called "Tartessus," after the name of the river; and the country, which is now occupied by Turdulians, was called "Tartessis." Further, Eratosthenes says that the country adjoining Calpe is called "Tartessis," and that Erytheia is called "Blest Isle." Eratosthenes is contradicted by Artemidorus, who says that this is another false statement of Eratosthenes, like his statement that the distance from Gades to the Sacred Cape is a five days' sail (although it is not more than one thousand seven hundred stadia), and his statement that the tides come to an end at the Sacred Cape (although the tides take place round the whole circuit of the inhabited world), and his state-

\(^1\) Eurytion.
μέρη τῆς Ἰβηρίας εὔπαροδώτερα εἶναι πρὸς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἣ κατὰ τὸν ἠκεανὸν πλέοντο, καὶ ὅσα δὴ ἄλλα εἴρηκε Πυθέα πιστεύειν, δὲ ἀλαξονεῖαν.

C 149 12. Ὅ δὲ ποιηθής, πολύφωνός τις ὁ ἄν καὶ πολυστικὸς, δίδωσιν ἀφορμὰς ὡς οὐδὲ τούτων ἀνήκοις ἐστὶ τῶν τόπων, εἰ τις ὅρθως συλλογιζέσθαι βουλῶτο ἀπ’ ἀμφοῖν, τῶν τε χειρῶν λεγομένων περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀμείνων καὶ ἄληθιστον, χεῖρον μὲν, ὅτε πρὸς δύσιν ἐσχάτη ἥκονεν αὐτῇ, ὅπον, καθάπερ αὐτὸς φησίν, εἰς τὸν ἠκεανὸν ἐμπίπτει

λαμπρὸν φῶς ἑλλοιον, ἔλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ξείδωρον ἄρουμαν.

(I. II. 8. 485)

ὁ δὲ νῦξ ὅτε δύσφημον καὶ τῷ Ἀδη πλησιάζου ἤξει οὗ ὁ Ὀδης τῷ Ταρτάρῳ. εἰκάζοι οὖν ἄν τις ἄκοινουτα 2 περὶ Ταρτησσοῦ τοῦ Ταρταροῦ ἐκείθεν παροιμομάσαι τὸν ἐσχατὸν τῶν ὑποθενῶν τόπων, προσθεῖναι δὲ καὶ μῆθον, τὸ ποιητικὸν σῶζοντα. καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς Κιμμερίους εἰδῶς ἐν βορείους καὶ ζεφερῶς 3 οἰκήσαντας τόπον τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Βόσπορον ἱδρυσεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τῷ Ἀδη, τάχα καὶ κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰωνῶν ἔχοι πρὸς τὸ φύλον τοῦτο: καὶ γὰρ καθ’ Ὀμηρον ἢ μικρὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγουσι τὴν τῶν Κιμμερίων

1 οἷον, Grossekord inserts, after eikádoi.
2 ἄκοινοντα, Kramer, for ἄκοϊνων τα; Müller-Düchner, and Meineke, following.
3 ζεφερῶς, Corbias, for ζεφόροις; so the editors.

1 Cp. 1. 4. 3–5, 2. 4. 1 and 3. 4. 4.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 2. 11-12

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,¹ on account of the latter's false pretensions.

12. The poet,² 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 Tartessus was known by hearsay ³ 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 Tartessus, 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

¹ Homer. ² In Homer's time.
STRABO

ἐφοδούν γενέσθαι τὴν μέχρι τῆς Αἰσίλιδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας. ταῖς δὲ Κυανέας ἐποίησε παραπληκτῖον τὰς Πλαγκτάς, αἱ τοὺς μύθους ἀπὸ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐνάγων. χαλκάσας γὰρ τινὰς μυθεῖει πέτρας, καθάπερ τὰς Κυανέας φασίν, ἢ οὐ καὶ Συμπληγαῖδες καλοῦνται. διόπερ καὶ τὸν Ἰάσυνον παρέθηκε δὴ αὐτῶν πλοῖον. καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὰς Στῆλας δὲ πορθοῦσα καὶ ὁ κατὰ Σικελίαν ὑπηγόρευον αὐτῷ τὸν περὶ τῶν Πλαγκτῶν μύθουν. πρὸς μὲν δὴ τὸ χεῖρον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ταρτάρου μυθοποιίας αἰνήτου τις ἄν τὴν τῶν τόπων μνήμην τῶν περὶ Ταρτᾶσσαν.

13. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ βέλτιον ἐκ τούτων ἄρ ἔνευρε Ηρακλέεως στρατεία μέχρι δεύρου προελθούσα καὶ τῶν Φοινίκων ὑπέγραφεν αὐτῷ πλούτον τινα καὶ βαθυμίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε γὰρ Φοινίξῳ οὔτως ἐγένετο σφόδρα ὑποχείριον, ὡστε τὰς πλείους τῶν ἐν τῇ Τουρῆνταία πόλεως καὶ τῶν πλησίων τόπων ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων πᾶν οἰκεῖον τις. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὀδύσσεως δὲ στρατεία δοκεῖ μοι δεύρῳ γεννηθείσα καὶ ἱστορηθείσα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παραδοθεῖαι πρόφασιν ὡστε καὶ ἐν Ὀδύσσειον, καθάπερ καὶ τῆς Ἰλιάδα, ἀπὸ τῶν συμβασθείσων μεταγενέστερον εἰς ποίησιν καὶ τῆς συνήθη τοῖς ποιηταῖς μυθοποιίαν. οὔ γὰρ μόνον οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν τόποι καὶ ἄλλοι πιστεύονται σημεία ὑπογράφουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρία Ὀδύσσεια πόλις δεικνύται καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὰ καὶ

1 Odyssey 12. 61; 23. 327.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 2. 12-13

as Aeolis and Ionia took place). Again, the poet modelled his "Planctae" 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
STRAVO

ἀλλα μυρία ἡχὴ τῆς τε ἐκείνου πλάνης, καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Τρῳκοῦ πολέμου γενομένων καὶ ἐπ’ ἱσης κακωσάντων τοὺς τε πολεμηθέντας καὶ τοὺς ἐλώτας τὴν Τροίαν (καὶ γὰρ οὕτωι Καθμεῖν ύσην ἐτύγχανον ἥμιν, τῶν τε οἰκῶν κατεφθαρμένων, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων ὄλγων εἰς ἑκαστὸν ἔλημυθότων, συνεβῇ τοῖς περιλειφθέσιν ἀπελθοῦσιν † ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων κατὰ λητείας τρέπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς Ἠλληνσι, τοῖς μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐκ-πεπορθήσθαι, τοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην, ἑκαστοῦ προλαβόντος

αἰσχρόν τοῖς δηρόν τε μένειν ἀνευ τῶν οἰκείων,
κενέων τε νέσσαί (II. 2. 298)

παρ’ αὐτοῦ πάλιν. ἢ τε τοῦ Αἰνείου παραδέ-σταται πλάνη καὶ Ἄρτηνορος καὶ ἢ τοῦ Ἐνετῶν-ώσαυτως καὶ ἡ Δεομήδους τε καὶ Μενελάου καὶ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ ἄλλων πλείων. ὁ τούτων ποιήσας τὰς τοιούτας στρατείας ἐπὶ τὰ ἐσχατὰ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἰστόρηκώς, πυνθανόμενος δὲ καὶ πλούτου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς (οἱ γὰρ Φοῖνικες ἐδήλουν τούτο), ἐνταῦθα τῶν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐπλάσε χῶρον καὶ τὸ Ἡλύσιον πεδίον, οὗ φησιν ὁ Προτέυς ἀποκήσεων τῶν Μενελαοῦ.

ἀλλὰ σ’ ἐς Ἡλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαλῆς ἀθάνατοι πέμψασιν, δη ἧσεν Ῥαδάμανθυς, τῇ περ ῥήματι βιοτῇ πέλει ανθρώποισιν· οὐ νιφετός οὔτ’ ἄρ χειμῶν πολὺς οὔδε ποτ’ ὃμβρος,
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 2. 13

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 Iliad 2. 852.

1 ἀπειθωδαίον, Kramer, for ἀπειθωδάιν (A@d), ἀπειθωδαίν (B); so the editors.
STRABO

ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγύ πνείουτος ἄντας
'Οικενός ἄνησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους.

(Ωδ. 4. 563)

tό τε γὰρ εὐάρεον καὶ τὸ ἔπνυον τοῦ Ζεφύρου
ταῦτας ἔστι τῆς χώρας οἰκεῖον, ἐσπερίου τε καὶ
ἀλεεινῆς οὐσίας, τό τε ἐπὶ τοῖς πέρας τῆς γῆς,
ἐφ’ ὅσ καὶ τῶν “Ἄθηνα μεμοθεοῦσαι φάμεν.” ὅ τε
Ῥαδάμανθος παρατεθεὶς ὑπογράφει τὸν θησίον
tῷ Μίνω ἔτους, περὶ οὗ φησιν.

ἔνθ’ ἦτοι Μίνωα ἵδιον Διὸς ἀγγαῖον νεῖν,
χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα, θεμιστέουντα νέ-
κυσιν.

(Ωδ. 11. 568)

καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ποιηταί παραπλήσια θρυ-
λούσι, τὴν τε ἐπὶ τὰς Γηρυνοῦ βάς στρατείαν
καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ μῆλα τῶν Ἦσπερίδων τὰ χρύσα
ὀρατῶν στρατείαν, καὶ Μακάρων τινὰς νῆσους
κατοικομάζουσι, δς καὶ νῦν δεικνυμένας ἱσμεν ὦ
πολυ ἀποθεοῦν τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Μαυροσίας τῶν
ἀντικείμενῶν τοῖς Γαδείροις.

14. Τοὺς δὲ Φοινικᾶς λέγω μηνυτάς καὶ τῆς
Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῆς Διβύνης τὴν ἀρίστην οὖτοι κατ-
έχον πρὸ τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς Ὀμήρου καὶ διετέλεσαν
κύριοι τῶν τόπων δύνες, μέχρις οὗ Ῥώμαιοι κατ-

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κέλυφον αὐτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. τοῦ δ’ Ἰβηρικοῦ
πλούτου καὶ ταῦτα μαρτύρια: Καρχηδόνοι μετὰ
tοῦ Βάρκα στρατεύσαντες κατέλαβον, ὡς φασί
οἱ συγγραφεῖς, φάτναις ἀργυραῖς καὶ πῖθοις χρυ-
μένοις τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τουρδηταίᾳ. ὑπολάβοι δ’ ἂν
τίς ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ Μακραίωνας

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rain; but always Oceanus sendeth forth the breezes of clear-blowing Zephyrus.” For both the pure air and the gentle breezes of Zephyrus properly belong to this country, since the country is not only in the west but also warm; and the phrase “at the ends of the earth” properly belongs to it, where Hades has been “mythically placed,” as we say. And Homer’s citing of Rhadamanthys suggests the region that is near Minos, concerning whom he says: “There it was I saw Minos, glorious son of Zeus, holding a golden sceptre, rendering decisions to the dead.” Furthermore, the poets who came after Homer keep dinnng 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 “Macracones,”

1 “Long-livers.”
STRABO

ὁνομασθήναι τοὺς ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώποις, καὶ μᾶλστα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ Ἀνακρέοντα μὲν ὤντος εἰπεῖν.

"Εγὼ γ᾽ οὐτ᾽ ἂν Ἀμαλθίης
βουλοίμην κέρας οὐτ᾽ ἔτεα
πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἕκατόν
Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλεύσαιν." (Frag. 8, Bergk)

Ἡρόδοτον δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως καταγράψας, καλέσας αὐτοὺς Ἀργανθώνιοι. ἂ γὰρ οὕτω δεξαίτ' ἂν τις ἡ ἴσον τούτῳ τὸ Ἀνακρέοντος, ἂν κοινότερον οὐτὲ Ταρτησσοῦ πολύν χρόνον βασιλεύσαι. ἐνοῦ δὲ Ταρτησσόν τὴν νῦν Καρθήναν προσαγαρεύουσιν.2

15. Τῇ δὲ τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονία καὶ τὸ ἑμερον καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν συνηκολούθησε τοῖς Τουρδητανοῖς καὶ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν γεννήσαν, ὡς εἰρήκε Πολύβιος, δὲ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν ἢττον τὰ πολλὰ γὰρ καμηθῶν ζώοιν. οἱ μέντοι Τουρδητανοῖ, καὶ μᾶλστα αἱ περὶ τὸν Βακτῖν, τελέος εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαίων μεταβέβληται τρόπον, οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς σφετέρας ἔτι με-μημένου. Δανίνοι τε οἱ πλείστοι γεγόνασι, καὶ ἐπικόνος εἰλήφασι Ῥωμαίους, ἀστει μικρὸν ἀπέ-

1 τῇ, Siebenkees and Corais insert, from the conj. of Tyrwhitt.
2 Meineke (followed by Forbiger and Tardieu) regards ἂ γὰρ ... προσαγαρεύουσι αὐτοῖς as a marginal gloss and unwar-
rantedly omits it from the text.

3 τῇ, 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,¹ nor to be king of Tartessus for one hundred and fifty years"; and why Herodotus recorded even the name of the king, whom he called Arganthonius.² For one might either take the phrase of Anacreon literally or as meaning "a time equal to the king's," or else in a more general way, "nor to be king of Tartessus for a long time." Some, however, call Tartessus the Carteia of to-day.³

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

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

¹ "Silver Locks" is a fair equivalent of the Greek word. Herodotus says he reigned eighty years and lived one hundred and twenty (I. 163).
² Strabo's thought reverts to §11 above. Cp. Pliny (Nat. Hist. 3. 3), who speaks of "Carteia, called by the Greeks Tartessus."
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.

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χουσί τού πάντες εἶναι Ἡρωμαῖοι. α' τε νῦν συνφρικισμέναι πόλεις, ἡ τε ἐν τοῖς Κελτικοῖς Παξαγούστα καὶ ἡ ἐν τοῖς Τούρδούλοις Αὐγούστα Ἦμεριτα καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦς Κελτίβηρας Καισαραγούστα καὶ ἀλλαὶ ἔναι κατοικίαι τὴν μεταβολὴν τῶν λεχθείσων πολιτείων ἔμφασεν. καὶ δὴ τῶν Ἰβηρίων ὀσοὶ τάυτης εἰσὶ τῆς ἱδέας τοῦ ὅταν 1 λέγαναι: ἐν δὲ τούτως εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες οἱ πάντων νομιμοθέτες ποτὲ θηριωδεῖστατοι. τάυτα μὲν περὶ τούτων.

III

1. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ιεροῦ πάλιν ἀκρωτηρίου την ἀρχήν λαμβάνουσιν ἐπὶ θάτερον μέρος τῆς παραλίας, τὸ πρὸς τὸν Τάγον, κολποῖς ἑστὶν ἐπειτὰ ἄκρα τὸ Βαρβάριον καὶ αἱ τοῦ Τάγου ἐκβολαὶ πλησίον, ἐφ' ἂς εὐθυπλοΐα 2 στάδιοι εἰσὶ δέκα: 3 εὐνάθεα δὲ καὶ ἀναχύσεις, ὅπις μία ἐπὶ πλείους ἡ τετρακοσίως

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1 τοῦτοι, Kramer, for σταῦτοι; Müller-Dübner, Forbiger, Tardieu, and Meineke, following (the accent being Meineke's); modern read σταῦται ὑ τοῦτοι. S. 3. 4. 20; and Dio Cassius, 46. 55, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐκεῖνη (i.e. Gallia Narbonensis) μὲν τοῦτα, ὅτι τα εἰρηνικώτερα παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ὑδάτες εἶναι καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῇ ἐσοχῇ τῇ Ἡρωμαϊκῇ τῇ ἀστικῇ ἐχθέντο ἡδη.

2 εὐθυπλοΐα, Corais, for εὐθύπλοια; editors following.

3 For δέκα Corais (followed by Groskurd, and Forbiger) writes διακόσιοι (σ') or διακόσιοι δέκα (σ''), omitting the δ' (MSS.) before εἰς. C. Müller (followed by Tardieu), conjectures σ' (χλιοὶ) for δ' and writes as follows: στάδιοι χλιοὶ εἰς δὲ καὶ ἐνταίθα κ.τ.λ. But the problem is further complicated by Strabo's later reference to a "tower," which indicates that several words have fallen out of the text—probably after εὐθυπλοΐα.
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 \(^2\) stadia. Here, too, there are estuaries; one of them extends inland from the

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

2 As the MSS. stand, "ten" cannot be right. Strabo probably wrote "two hundred" (or "two hundred and ten"), if he meant from Barbarium; or "one thousand," if from the Sacred Cape. The latter seems more likely, for it is inconceivable that Strabo would leave out the distance from the Sacred Cape to Barbarium and thus break his otherwise continuous circuit of distances extending all the way from the Trophies of Pompey (3. 4. 1.) to Cape Nérum. See critical note on opposite page.
STRABO

σταδίους ἀπὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος πύργου, καθ' ἦν ὑδρεύονται ἐπὶ Σαλάκειαν.1 ὁ δὲ Τάγος καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἔχει τοῦ στόματος ἐκκοσί του σταδίουν καὶ τὸ βάθος μέγα, ὡστε μυριαγωγοῖς ἀναπλεί-
σατο. δύο δ' ἀναχύσεις ἐν τοῖς ὑπερκείμενοις

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ποιεῖται πεδίους, ὅταν αἱ πλήματι γίνονται, ὡστε
πελαγίζειν μὲν ἐπὶ ἑκατόν καὶ πεντάκοντα στα-
δίους καὶ ποιεῖν πλωτὸν τοῦ πεδίου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπάνω
ἀναχύσει καὶ νῆσον ἀπολαμβάνειν ὅσον τριάκοντα
σταδίουν τὸ μήκος, πλάτος δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολείπον
tου μήκους, εὐαλσές2 καὶ εὐάμπελον. κεῖται δ'νῆ-
σος κατὰ Μόρφωνα πόλιν εἷς3 κειμένην ἐπὶ ὅρει
τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλησίον, ἀφεστώγας τῆς χαλάττης
ὅσον πεντακοσίους σταδίους, ἔχουσαν δὲ καὶ
χώραν ἀγαθὴν τὴν πέριξ καὶ τοὺς ἀνάπλους εὑπε-
τεῖς μέχρι μὲν πολλοῦ καὶ μεγάλους σκάφεις, τὸ
δὲ λοιπὸν τοῖς ποταμίοις· καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μόρφωνα
δ' ἐτε μακρότερος ἀνάπλους ἐστὶ· ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ
πόλει Βροῦτος ὁ Καλλαίκος προσαγορεύθεις

1 ἐπὶ Σαλάκειαν, C. Müller, for εἰσον λακεία; so Tardieu.
2 εὐαλσές, conj. of Casaubon, for εὐαλτές; so most editors.
3 κατὰ Μόρφωνα πόλιν εἷς, Corais, from the conj. of Casaubon,
for κατὰ λόγον ἀπολιπεῖν; so Forbiger, Müller-Düchner,
Tardieu, and Meineke.
4 κλεῖδροις, conj. of Meineke, for πλεῖδροις.
5 ἐπετείχισε, Casaubon, for ἐπεκείρησε; so Kramer, Müller-
Düchner, and Meineke.

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GEOGRAPHY, 3. 3. i

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

1 Ὡν ἔχοι τοὺς ἀνάπλους ἐλευθέρους καὶ τὰς ἀνάκομιδας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡστε καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Τάγον πόλεων αὐταὶ κράτισται. πολύϊχθυς δ’ ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ ὁ στρέων πλῆρης. μὲν δ’ ἔχων τὰς ἀρχαῖς ἐκ Κελτεβίρων διὰ Οὐστώνων καὶ Καρπητανῶν ἐπὶ δύσιν ἱσημερινήν, μέχρι ποσοῦ παράλληλον ὁμ τῷ τῇ Ἀυα καὶ τῷ Βαῦτι, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἀφιστάμενος ἐκεῖνων, ἀποκλινόντων πρὸς τὴν νότιον παραλίαν.

2. Οἱ δὲ ὑπερκείμενοι τῶν λεχθέντων ὅρῶν Ὁρητανοὶ μὲν εἰς νοτίωτατοι καὶ μέχρι τῆς παραλίας διήκοντες ἐκ μέρους τῆς ἐντὸς Στηλών. Καρπητανοὶ δὲ μετὰ τούτους πρὸς ἀρκτοὺς, εἰς Ὀυέτωνες καὶ Ὀυακαίοις, δὲ ὃν ὁ Δυούρος μεῖ, κατ᾽ Ἀκούτειαν2 πόλει τῶν Ὀυακαίων ἔχων διάβασιν. Καλλαϊκοὶ δ’ ὡστατοί, τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐπέχοντες πολλήν, διά καὶ δυσμαχώτατοι ὤντες τῷ τῇ καταπολεμήσατον τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς αὐτοῖς παρέσχον τὴν ἐποικισίαν, καὶ νῦν ἤδη τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Λυσιτανῶν Καλλαϊκοὺς καλεῖσθαι παρεσκεύασαν. τῆς μὲν ὄνων Ὁρητανίας κρατιστεύουσα ἐστὶν πόλις Κασταλῶν, καὶ Ἡρία.

3. Τοῦ δὲ Τάγου τὰ πρὸς ἀρκτοὺς ἡ Λυσιτανία ἐστὶν μέγιστον τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πλείστους χρόνους ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πολεμηθέν. περιέχει δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ μὲν νότιον πλευρὸν ὁ Τάγος,

1 'Ολυσπώνα, Kramer, for δλοσίν, retaining the ὁς ἐν (after δλοσίν in the MSS.); but Meineke reads as above.
2 'Ακούτεια, conj. of Kramer, for 'Ακούτιαν; no Meineke, and Tardieu.

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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 Vaceaeans, through whose territory the Durius River flows, which affords a crossing at Acutia, a city of the Vaceaeans; and last, the Callaecans, who occupy a very considerable part of the mountainous country. For this reason, since they were very hard to fight with, the Callaecans 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 Callaecans. 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 Oreo, near Granatula.
STRABO

τὸ δ’ ἔσπεριον καὶ τὸ ἀρκτικὸν ὁ ὕκεανός, τὸ
δ’ ἐωθινὸν οἷς τε Καρπητανοῖ καὶ οἱ Ὀδέττουνες
καὶ Οὐακκαῖοι καὶ Καλλαίκοι, τα γνώριμα ἔδην'
tάλλα δὲ οὐκ ἄξιον ὑμοίᾳ διὰ τὴν μικρότητα
καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν' ὑπενεντιῶς δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐνοι καὶ
τούτους Δυσαντανοὺς ὑμοίᾳ χορωσσεν. Ὀμοροι δ’ εἶσιν
ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἐω μέρους οἱ μὲν Καλλαίκοι τῷ τῶν
Ἀστούρων ἔθνει καὶ τοῖς Κελτίβηρσιν, οἱ δ’

C 153

άλλοι τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι. τὸ μὲν οὖν μὴνος μέχρι
Νερίου τρισεκλίων σταδίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος πολύ
ἐλαττον, δ’ ποιεῖ τὸ ἐωθινὸν πλευρόν εἰς τὴν ἀντι-
κειμένην παραλίαν. ὑψηλὸν δ’ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐωθινὸν
καὶ τραχύ, ἢ δὲ ὑποκειμένη χώρα πεδίας πᾶσα
καὶ μέχρι θαλάττησι πληθ ὄλγων ὅρων οὐ μεγά-
λων’ ἢ δὴ καὶ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλη φησιν ὁ Ποσει-
δόνιος οὐκ ὥρθος αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν παραλίαν καὶ τὴν
Μαυροφιάν τῶν πλημμυρίδων καὶ τῶν ἀμμώ-
τεων' παλαιροῦν γὰρ φανεὶ τὴν βαλατταν διὰ τὸ
τὰς ἀκρας ὕψηλας τε καὶ τραχείας εἶναι, δεχομέ-
νας τε τὸ κόμα σκληρός καὶ ἀνταποδιδούσας τῇ
ἰση βίαν τὰν καταληκά γάρ θυμόδειας εἶναι καὶ ταπεινᾶς
τὰς πλείστας ὥρθως λέγων.

4. 'Ἡ δ’ οὖν χώρα, περὶ ἓς λέγομεν, εὑδαιμών
τε ἐστι καὶ διαρρέεται ποταμῶς μεγάλως τε καὶ
μικρῶς, ἀπασίν ἐκ τῶν ἐωθινῶν μερῶν, παραλ-
λήλοις τῷ Τάγχο' ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀνάπλους οἱ πλείους
καὶ ψήμα τοῦ χυσοῦ πλείστον. ἡμωριμοτάτοι δὲ
τῶν ποταμῶν ἐφεξῆς τῷ Τάγχο Μούνδας, ἀνάπλους

1 Κελτίβηρσιν, Groskurd, for Θηρησιν; so the other editors.
2 μέχρι Νερίου, C. Müller, for μηδένον καλ.; so Tardieu.
3 τῇ ἑσπερὶ, T. G. Tucker, for τῇ ἑσπερὶ.
western and northern, the ocean; and on the eastern, the countries of the Carpetanians, Vettonians, Vacceans, 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 of 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.
STRABO

ἔχων μικρούς, καὶ Ὀυακοῦα ὅσαῦτος· μετὰ δὲ τούτους Δούριος μακρόθεν τε ἰεὼν παρὰ Νομαντίαν καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας τῶν Κελτιβήρων καὶ Οὐακκαίων κατακιάσας, μεγάλοις τ' ἀναπλεόμενοι σκάφεσιν ἔπι οὐκακοσίους σχεδὸν τι σταδίους. εἰτ' ἄλλοι ποταμοί· καὶ μετὰ τούτους ὁ τῆς Δηήθης, ὅν τινες Λιμαῖαν, οἱ δὲ Βελιώνα καλοῦσιν· καὶ οὗτος δ' ἐκ Κελτιβήρων καὶ Οὐακκαίων βεί, καὶ ὥ μετ' αὐτῶν Βαϊὼς (οἱ δ' Μίνιων φασί) πολὺ μέγιστος τῶν ἐν Λυσιτανία ποταμῶν, ἐπὶ οὐκακοσίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναπλεόμενος σταδίους. Ποσειδώνιοι δὲ ἐκ Καρτάβρων καὶ αὐτῶν βείν φησιν· πρόκειται δὲ τῆς ἐκβολῆς αὐτοῦ νῖκος καὶ χηλιά δύο ὀρμοὺς ἔχουσαι. ἔπανειν δ' ἄξιον τὴν φύσιν, ότι τὰς ὀχθάς ψηλὰς ἔχουσιν οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἱκανὰς δέχεσθαι τοὺς ἱέθρους τὴν χάλαταν πλημμυροῦσαν, ὡστε μὴ ἐπιχείρεσθαι, μηδ' ἐπιπολάζειν εἰς τοὺς πεδίους. τῆς μὲν οὖν Βρούτου στρατείας ὅρος οὗτος, περαιτέρω δ' εἰς ἄλλοι πλέον ποταμοὶ παράλληλοι τοῖς λεχθείσιν.

5. “Τοτατοῦ δ' οίκουσιν "Αρταβροῖ περὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἦ καλεῖται Νέριον, ἦ καὶ τῆς ἑσπερίου πλευρᾶς καὶ τῆς βορείου πέρας ἐστὶ. περιοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Κελτικόν, αὐγνεινίς τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν "Ἀνα. καὶ γὰρ τούτους καὶ Τουρδούλους στρατεύσασθαι ἐκεῖσε στασίας φασί μετὰ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Λυμαία ποταμοῦ· πρὸς δὲ τῇ στάσει καὶ ἀποβολῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος γενομένης, καταμείναι σκεδασθέντας

1 "Forgetfulness."
2 "Belion" is probably an Iberian corruption, or cognate, of the Latin "Oblivio."

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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 Vaccaens, 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 Vaccaens, 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
STRABO

αὐτῶθι ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν Ἀήθης

C 154 ἤγορευθηναι. ἐξουσὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀρτάβροι πόλεις

C 154 συχνὰς ἐν κόλπῳ συνοικουμένας, δυο ὁ πλεόντες καὶ χρώμενοι τοις τόποις Ἀρτάβρον λιμένα προσ-

αγορεύουσιν· οἱ δὲ νῦν τοὺς Ἀρτάβρον Ἀρτά-

τράβας καλοῦσιν. Ἐσθεν μὲν οὖν περὶ τριάκοντα τὴν χώραν νέμεται τὴν μεταξὺ Τάγου καὶ τῶν Ἀρτάβρων, εὐδαιμονος δὲ τῆς χώρας ὑπαρχόντες κατὰ τὰ καρποὺς καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ τὸ τῶν χρυ-

σοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων πλῆθος, ὅμως οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀφέντες

βίον, ἐν ληστηρίοις διετέλουν καὶ συνεχεὶς πολέμω

πρὸ τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τοὺς ὁμόρους αὐτοὺς δια-

βαίνουσι τῶν Τάγου, ἡς ἐπαυσαν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοι, ταπεινώσαντες καὶ κώμας ποιήσαντες τὰς πόλεις

αὐτῶν τὰς πλείστας, ἐνὶας δὲ καὶ συνοικίζοντες

βέλτιον. ἦρχον δὲ τῆς ἀνομίας ταύτης οἱ ὁρεινοὶ, καθάπερ εἰκός· λυπρῶν γὰρ νεμόμενοι καὶ μικρά

κεκτημένοι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπεθύμουν. οἱ δὲ ἀμυνόμενοι τούτων ἄκυροι τῶν ἕδων ἔργων κα-

θασαντο ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὡστ' ἀντὶ τοῦ γεωργεῖν ἐπολέμουν καὶ οὗτοι, καὶ συνέβαινε τὴν χώραν ἀμελουμένην στείραν οὗσαν τῶν ἐμφύτων ἀγαθῶν οἰκεῖσθαι ὑπὸ ληστῶν.

6. Τοὺς δ' οὖν Λυσιτανοὺς φασιν ἐνεδρευτικούς,

ἐξερευνητικούς, ὀβεῖς, κούφους, εὐβελλίκτους· ἀσπί-

διον δ' αὐτῶς διπόν ἐχειν τὴν διάμετρον, κοίλον

1 C, 2, and B (after a correction), read πεντάκοντα; Groskurd following.

2 Some of the MSS. read "fifty." Pliny (4. 35) says there are "forty-six peoples" in Lusitania, but his Lusitania
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 3. 5-6

circumstance that the Limæas 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 Arotreians. 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. Ptolemæus (2. 5) gives a list of fifty-seven cities as belonging to Lusitania.
STRABO

 eius τὸ πρόσθεν, τελαμώσις ἐξηρτημένον (οὔτε γὰρ πόρτακας οὔτε ἀντιλαβᾶς ἔχει). παραξιφίς πρὸς τῶντοις ἡ κοπίς· λινοθράκες οἱ πλεῖοι· σπάνιοι δὲ ἀλυσιδωτοῖς χρώνται καὶ τριλοφίαις, οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι νευρίνοις κραίσειν οἱ πεζοὶ δὲ καὶ κηνημίδας ἔχουσιν, ἀκόντια δὲ ἐκαστος πλεῖω τινς δὲ καὶ δόρατε χρώνται. ἐπιδορατίδες δὲ χαλκεῖαι. ἐνίους δὲ τῶν προσοικοῦντον τῷ Δαυρῷ ποταμῷ Δα- κονικῶν διάγεις φασίν, ἀλευτηρίοις χρωμένους δις καὶ πυρίας ἐκ λίθων διαστύρων, ψυχρολυ- τρώντας καὶ μονοτροφοῦντας καθαρίως καὶ λιτῶς. θυτικοὶ δ᾽ εἰς δυσιτανοὶ, τὰ τε σπλάγχνα ἐπι- βλέποντες, οὐκ ἐκτέμυντες· προσεπιβλέπουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ φλέβας, καὶ ψηλαφῶντες δὲ τεκμαίρονται. σπλαγχνεύονται δὲ καὶ δι᾽ ἀνθρώπων αἰχμαλώτων, καλύπτοντες σάγους· εἴδ᾽ ὅταν πληγή ὑπὸ τὰ σπλάγχνα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερο- σκόπου, μαντεύονται πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ πτωματος- τῶν δὲ ἀλύτων τὰς χεῖρας ἀποκόπτοντες τὰς δεξιὰς ἀνοικθέντια.

7. "Ἀπαντεῖς δ᾽ οἱ ορεινοὶ λιτοί, ὑδροπότα, χαμαιεύναι, βαθείας κατακεχυμένων τὴν κόμην γυναικῶν δίκην μιτρωσόμενοι δὲ τὰ μέτωπα μάχονται. τραγοφαγοῦσί δὲ μάλιστα, καὶ τῷ Ἀρει τράγον θύσωσι καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ

1 Not "eating only one kind of food" (Stephanus' Thesaurus, Liddell and Scott, and elsewhere). Athenaeus (2. 21) quotes Phylarchus as saying that "the Iberians always eat only one meal a day." Op. also Xen. Cyropaedia 8. 8. 9. See the translator's note in Classical Quarterly, London, April, 1917, pp. 132-134.

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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 Duries 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.
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Την ημέρα της Πάσχας, καὶ τὰ πάντα τῶν ἐκάστους γένος, ἑλληνικὸς, ὡς καὶ Πλούταρχος φήσει

τοῦ ἥρωιν ἐκατὸν.

τελούσι δὲ καὶ ἀγώνας γυμνικοῦς καὶ ὑπερτικοῦς καὶ ἰσπικυκός, πυγμῆ καὶ δρόμοι καὶ διακροβολισμῷ καὶ τῇ σπείρῃν μάχῃ. οἱ δ’ ἄρειοι τὰ δύο μέρη τοῦ ἐτοὺς δρυοβαλάνῳ χρώνη τε, ἤπαναντες καὶ κόψαντες, εἶτα ἄλλαντες καὶ ἀρτοποιησάμενοι, ὅστις ἀποτέθεσθαι εἰς χρόνον. χρώνη τε καὶ ξύδει’ οὐν 1 δὲ σπανίζονται τὸν δὲ γενόμενον ταχὺ ἀναλίσκοντι κατευωχοῦμενοι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἀντ’ ἐλαίου δὲ βοτυρφον χρώνη τε καθήμενοι τε δειπνοῦσι, περὶ τοὺς τοῖχους καθεδραὶς οἰκοδομητὰς ἔχοντες, προκάθησται δὲ καὶ ἥλικιαν καὶ τιμήν. περιφόρητοι δὲ τὸ δειπνοῦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ὅρχωνται πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ σάλπυγγα χορεύοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναλλόμενοι καὶ ὀδηγοῦσι εἰς Βασιλευαία δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀναμικεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἀντιλαμβανόμεναι 2 τῶν χειρῶν. μελανεῖμοις ἀπαντεῖς τὸ πλέον ἐν σάγοις, ἐν οἴστερ καὶ στιβιδοκούτουσι. κηρύγνεις δὲ ἀγγείοις χρώνη, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Κέλτοι. οἱ γυναῖκες δ’ ἐν ἐνυδάμησι καὶ ἀνθίσεις ἐσθήσεις διάγουσιν. ἀντί δὲ νομισμάτωσι οἱ γε 3 λίαιν ἐν βάθει φορτίων ἀμοιβῇ χρώνη τε οὗ ἀργυροῦ ἔλασματος ἀποτέμνοντες διδάσκοι, τους δὲ βανατομένους καταπετροῦσιν.

1 οὕνε, Jones, for οὐν. Ορ. ἐν τοῖς σπανίζομενοι 2. 5. 26.
2 ἀντρίζει οὐτιλαμβανόμεναι, Groskurd, for ἀντὶ προσαντιλαμβανόμεναι; so Foruiger and Meineke.
3 οἱ γε, Groskurd, for οἱ δέ.

Athenaeus gives a rather full description of the Celtic banquet (4. 30), but he says nothing of waxen vessels. The
the prisoners and horses; and they also offer hecatombs of each kind, after the Greek fashion—as Pindar himself says, “to sacrifice a hundred of every kind.” They also hold contests, for light-armed and heavy-armed soldiers and cavalry, in boxing, in running, in skirmishing, and in fighting by squads. And the mountaineers, for two-thirds of the year, eat acorns, which they have first dried and crushed, and then ground up and made into a bread that may be stored away for a long time. They also drink beer; but they are scarce of wine, and what wine they have made they speedily drink up in merry feastings with their kinsfolk; and instead of olive-oil they use butter. Again, they dine sitting down, for they have stationary seats 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 waxes 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 “waxed”; to “wooden,” “earthen,” “plaited,” and “made of horns.” But see the translator’s note in Classical Quarterly, London, April, 1917, pp. 132–134.
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touς δὲ πατραλοιας ἔξω τῶν ὅρων ή τῶν ποταμῶν καταλείπουσι. γαμοῦσι δὲ ὅσπερ οἱ "Ελληνες. τοὺς δὲ ἄρρωστους, ὅσπερ οἱ Ἀλγυπτοὶ ¹ τὸ πολαίον, προτιθέασιν εἰς τὰς ὄδους τοὺς πεπειραμένους τοῦ πάθους ὑποζήκης χάριν. διιβδερίνοις τε πλοῖοι ἔχοντο ἔως ἐπὶ Βροῦτον διὰ τὰς πλημμυρίδας καὶ τὰ τενάγη, γυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ μονόμελα ἑδη σπάνια. ἀλὲς σπηρυροῦ, τριφθείνες δὲ λευκοῦ. έστι δὲ τῶν ὅρεων ο ὁμοίος οὕτως, ὅσπερ ἑφη, λέγω τοὺς τὴν βάρειον πλευρὰν ἀφορίζοντας τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Καλλαίκους καὶ "Ἀστουρας καὶ Καυτάβρους μέχρι Οὐασκώνων καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης: ὄμοιοι δὲ γὰρ ὁπάντων οἱ βίοι. ὅκι δὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασι πλευναίοις, φεύγων τὸ ἀργαὶ τῆς γραφῆς, εἰ μὴ τινὶ πρὸς ἡδονῆς ἐστὶν ἄκούειν Πλευταύρους καὶ Βαρδύντας καὶ Ἀλλότριας καὶ ἀλλὰ χείρω καὶ ἀνθρώπου τοῦτων ὀνόματα.

8. Τὸ δὲ δυσήμερον καὶ ἀγριώδες οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμβέβηκε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐκτοπισμῶν καὶ γὰρ ὁ πλοῦς ἐπ’ αὐτῶς μακρὸς καὶ αἱ ὄοι, δυσεπιμέκτοι δ’ ὑπετε ἀποβεβλήκασι τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸ φιλανθρώπον. ἦττον δὲ γών τοῦτο πάσχοι διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἱρωνίων εἰπετήριαν ὀς οἱ δ’ ἦττον τοῦτο σωματείον ἔργά τε παρακαταλαμφίβολα τὸν πεπειραμένον πολέμος πεπειραμένον.

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

² Since this custom was followed by the Assyrians (Herodotus 1. 197 and Strabo 16. 1. 20), and since there is no other account of such a practice among the Egyptians, some of the editors have presumed to emend the text, perhaps rightly.
the parricides they stone to death out beyond their mountains or their rivers. They marry in the same way as the Greeks. Their sick they expose upon the streets, in the same way as the Egyptians did in ancient times, for the sake of their getting suggestions from those who have experienced the disease. Again, up to the time of Brutus they used boats of tanned leather on account of the flood-tides and the shoal-waters, but now, already, even the dug-out canoes are rare. Their rock-salt is red, but when crushed it is white. Now this, as I was saying, is the mode of life of the mountaineers, I mean those whose boundaries mark off the northern side of Iberia, namely, the Callaicans, the Asturians, and the Cantabrians, as far as the Vasconians and the Pyrenees; for the modes of life of all of them are of like character. I shrink from giving too many of the names, shunning the unpleasant task of writing them down—unless it comports with the pleasure of some one to hear “Pleutaurans,” “Bardyetans,” “Alotrigans,” 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 remote-ness; 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

* See footnote 4, page 63.
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βαλμεί, χαλεπότεροι εἰσί καὶ θηριωδέστεροι. τοιαύτης δ' ούσης καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων λυπρότητος ἐνίου, καὶ τῶν ὁρέων 1 εἰκὸς ἐπιτείνεσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀτοπίαν. ἀλλά νῦν, ὡς εἴπον, πέπανται πολεμοῦντα πάντα· τοὺς τε γὰρ συνεχούσας ἔτι νῦν μάλιστα τὰ ληστήρια Καντάβρους καὶ τοὺς γενομένους αὐτοῖς κατέλυσεν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ πορθείν τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους στρατεύουσι νῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ τε Κοινικοὶ καὶ οἱ πρὸς ταῖς τηγαίς τοῦ Ἰβηρίτων εἰσεχύτες Πληροῦσι. ὁ τ' ἐκείνων διαδεξάμενος Τιβέριος, τριῶν ταχυτῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιστήσας τοῖς τόποις, τὸ ἀποδειχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, οὗ μόνον εἰρημικοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικοὺς ἢ δὴ τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀπεργασάμενος τυχανεί.

IV

1. Ἀνυπήρετον δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἡ τε ἀπὸ Στηλών μέχρι τῆς Πυρήνης καθ' ἡμᾶς παραλία καὶ ἡ ταύτης ὑπερκειμένη μεσόγαια πάσα τὸ μὲν πλάτος ἀνώμαλος, τὸ δὲ μῆκος μικρὸ πλείων ἢ τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων, τὸ δὲ τῆς παραλίας ἐτὶ 2 πλείον καὶ δισεκατόσκολοι σταδίων ἐφιγματί. φασὶ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Κάλπης, τοῦ κατὰ Στηλῶν ὀρέων, ἄτις Καρχηδόνα ἑκάτεροι δισεκατόσκολοι καὶ διακοσίων σταδίων· οἰκεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν γόνα ταύτην ὑπὸ Βαστητανῶν, οὐ καὶ Βαστουλῶν καλοῦσιν, ἐκ μέρους

1 ὁρέων, Jones, for ὁρέων (cp. ὁρέων 3. 3. 7).
2 ἐτὶ, Groskurd, for ἐπί.
sojourns are rarer the people are harder to deal with and more brutish; and if some are so disagreeable merely as the result of the remoteness of their regions, it is likely that those who live in the mountains are still more outlandish. But now, as I have said, they have wholly ceased carrying on war; for both the Cantabrians (who still to-day more than the rest keep together their bands of robbers) and their neighbours have been subdued by Augustus Caesar; and instead of plundering the allies of the Romans, both the Coniacans and the Plentuisans, who live near the source of the Iberus, now take the field for the Romans. Further, Tiberius, his successor, has set over these regions an army of three legions (the army already appointed by Augustus Caesar), and it so happens that he already has rendered some of the peoples not only peaceable but civilised as well.

IV

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

1 Possibly a corruption for "Coniscans," whom Strabo mentions later on as being a Cantabrian tribe (3. 4. 12).
2 A people otherwise unknown.
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dē kai ὑπὸ Ὀρθηνῶν. ἑντεύθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰβηρα ἀλλοὺς τοσούτους σχεδὸν τῷ ταύτῃ δὲ ἐξεύ 'Εδητανῶν. ἑντὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἰβηρος μέχρι Πυρήνης καὶ τῶν Πομηνίων ἀναθημάτων χαλίους καὶ ἐξακοσίους: οἴκειν δὲ Ἐδητανῶν τε ὀλίγους καὶ λοιπῶν τοὺς προσαγορευόμενους Ἰνδικητας, μεμερισμένους τέτραχα.

2. Κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἀπὸ Κάλπης ἀρξαμένους ράχις ἐστὶν ὀρεινή τῆς Βασσαντανίας καὶ τῶν Ὀρθηνῶν, δασείαν ὑλῆν ἔχουσα καὶ μεγαλοδενδρον, διορίζουσα τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μεσογαίας. πολλαχοῦ δὲ κάνταυδα ἔστι χρυσεία καὶ ἀλλα μέταλλα. τόλμης δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ ταύτῃ πρώτη Μάλακα, ἵσον διέχουσα τῇ Κάλπης, ὅσον καὶ τὰ Γάδερα. ἐμπόριον δὲ ἐστὶν υἱὸν τοῖς ἐν τῇ περαιά Νομάσι, καὶ ταρσεῖας δὲ ἕχει μεγάλας. ταύτῃ τινι τῇ Μαινάκῃ τὴν αὐτὴν νομίζουσιν, ἣν ὑστάτην τῶν Φωκαίκων πόλεων πρὸς δίσει κειμένη παρειληφαμεν, οὐκ ἐστὶν δὲ ἄλλη ἐκείνη μὲν ἀπωτέρω τῆς Κάλπης ἐστὶ, κατεσκαμμένη, τὰ δὲ ἵχνη σῶξουσα Ἔλληνικῆς πόλεως, ἡ δὲ Μάλακα πλησίον μᾶλλον, Φωκικὴ τῷ σχήματι. ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἐστὶν ἥ τῶν Ἐξιτανῶν πόλις, εἰς ἐς καὶ τὰ ταρίχα ἐπωνύμως λέγεται.

3. Μετὰ ταύτην Ἀβδῆρα, Φωκίκων κτίσμα

C 157 καὶ αὐτή. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τόπων ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ δει-

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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,

\(^2\) Of Africa.
\(^3\) The present site of Almunecar.
\(^4\) The name of the city was "Sex" according to Ptolemaeus (2. 4. 7), "Hexi" according to Pomponius Mela (2. 6).
κυνταὶ Ὀδύσσεια καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ, ὥς Ποσειδώνιος τε ἐφηκε καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεάνος, ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ Τουρνητανίᾳ παϊδεύσας τὰ γραμματικὰ καὶ περιήγησιν τινα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκδιδώκας τῶν ταύτης, οὕτως δὲ φησὶν ὑπομνήματα τῆς πλάνης τῆς Ὀδυσσέως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀσπίδας προσπεπταλεύθαι καὶ ἀκροτόλια, ἐν Καλλαίκοις δὲ τῶν μετὰ Τεύκρου στρατευσάντων τινὰς οἰκήσαι, καὶ ὑπάρξαι πόλεις αὐτοῖς, τήν μὲν καλομεμένην Ἐλληνες, τὴν δὲ Ἀμφίλογοι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιλοχοῦ τελευτήσαντος δεύορ καὶ τῶν συνόντων πλανθέντων μέχρι τῆς μεσαίας, καὶ τῶν μεθ᾽ Ἡρακλέους δὲ τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἄπρο Μεσσήνης ἰσιστρώθηκας φησιν ἐποιήσαι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, τῆς δὲ Κανταβρίας μέρος τι κατασχεῖν Δάκωνας καὶ οὕτως φησὶ καὶ ἄλλοι. ἐναύθα δὲ καὶ Ἡλεκέλλαν 1 πόλιν Ὀκέλα 1 κτίσμα λέγουσι τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντίμορος καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ διαβάντως εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ δὲ πεπιστεύκασι τινες, τοῖς τῶν Γαδεριτῶν ἐμπόροις προσέχοντες, ὡς καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος εἴηκεν, ὅτι οἱ υπὲρ τῆς Μαυρουσίας οἰκούντες πρὸς τοῖς ἐσπερίοις Αἰ-θιόπης Δωτοφάγοι καλοῦνται σιντοῦμενοι λωτῶν, τόσα τινά καὶ βίζαν, οὐ δεόμενοι οὐ δοτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἔχοντες διὰ τὴν ἀνδρίαν, διατείνουτε καὶ μέχρι τῶν υπὲρ τῆς Κυρῆνης τόπων. ἄλλοι τε πάλιν

1 Siebenkees is probably right in emending Ὀκέλλα to Ὀκέλλαν and Ὀκέλα to Ὀκέλα; so, in general, the later editors read. Strabo apparently has in mind the Ὀκέλλαν (or Ὀκέλων) of Ptolemaeus (2. 5. 7); cp. the Ocelemes of Pliny (4. 35).
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 4. 3

Odyssea 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 Amphilochos 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 ὀλκοῦντες τῶν πρὸ τῆς μικρᾶς Σύρτεως νήσων, τὴν Μήνυγγα.

4. Οὗ δὴ θαυμάζοις τις ἄν οὕτη τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὰ περὶ τὴν 'Οδυσσέως πλάνην μνημογραφήσαντος τούτου τῶν τρόπων ὡστ' ἐξω Σητηλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ πελαγίῳ τὰ πολλὰ διαθέσαν τῶν λεγο-

μένων περὶ αὐτοῦ (τὰ γὰρ ἱστοροῦμεν ἑγγὺς ἦν, καὶ τῶν τόπων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πεπλασμένων, ὡστε οὐκ ἀπίθανον ἔποιεῖ τὸ πλάσμα), οὕτ' εἰ τινες αὐταῖς ταύτα ταῖς ἱστορίαις πιστεύοντες καὶ τῇ πολυμαθίᾳ τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστημονικὰς ὑποθέσεις ἔτρε-

γαν τὴν Ὄμηρον ποίησιν, καθάπερ Κράτης τοῦ Μαλλώτης ἑποίησε καὶ ἄλλοι τινες. οἱ δ' οὕτως ἀγροίκος ἔδεξαντο τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τὴν τοιαύτην ὡστε οὐ μόνον τὸν ποιητὴν σκαπανέως ἢ θερ-

στοῦν δικην ἐκ πάσης τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστήμης ἐξέβαλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀγαμέμνονος τῆς τοιαύτης πραγματείας μαίνομενοι ὑπέλαβον συννηγορίαν δὲ ἢ ἐπανόρθωσιν ἢ τὰ τοιοῦτα ἑτερον εἰς τὰ λεχέντα ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰσενεγκείν οὐκ ἔθιρρησεν οὕτῃ τῶν ἡγαματικῶν οὕτη τῶν περὶ τὰ μαθη-

ματα δεινῶν συνείσ. καίτοι ἐμοὶ γε δοκεῖ δυνα-


tὸν εἶναι καὶ συνηγορήσαι πολλοίς τῶν λεχέντων καὶ εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἄγειν καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τάτα, ὡσα Πυθέας παρεκρούσατο τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ κατὰ ἄγγιοι τῶν τὸ ἐσπέριον τόπον καὶ τῶν προσβορρῶν τῶν παρὰ τῶν ὦκεανών. ἀλλὰ τάτα μὲν ἐάσθω, λόγον ἔχοντα ἰδίον καὶ μακρόν.

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

4. So no one could be surprised if, in the first place, the poet² has written his mythical account of the wanderings of Odysseus in such a way as to set most of his stories of Odysseus in the Atlantic Sea beyond the Pillars of Heracles (for the stories he told were so closely related to the facts, both in respect of places and of everything else created by his fancy, that he rendered his fiction not un plausible); nor surprised if, in the second place, some men, having believed in these stories themselves and also in the wide learning of the poet, have actually turned the poetry of Homer to their use as a basis of scientific investigations, as has been done by Crates of Mallos and certain others as well. Other men, however, have greeted all attempts of that sort with such ferocity that they not only have cast out the poet, as though he were a mere ditch-digger or harvest-labourer, from the whole field of scientific knowledge of this kind, but also have supposed to be madmen all who have taken in hand such a task as that; but as for introducing any defence, or revision, or anything else of the kind, for the assertions of those men,³ no one either among the grammarians or the scientific experts has ventured to do so. And yet, to me at least, it seems to be possible not only to defend many of their assertions, but to bring them under revision, and in particular all those wherein Pytheas has led astray those men who, in ignorance both of the regions in the west and of those in the north along the ocean, have believed him. But let us pass by these matters, since they involve a special and lengthy discussion.
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5. Τής δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλάνης εἰς τὰ βάρβαρα ὥθην νομίζου τις ἄν αἰτιον τὸ διεσπάσθαι κατὰ μέρη μικρὰ καὶ δυναστείας ἐπιπλοκὴν οὐκ ἑχούσα πρὸς ἄλληλον κατ' αὐθάδειαν, ὥστε ἐκ τούτου πρὸς τούτο ἐπιώντας ἔξωθεν ἄσθενεὶς εἶναι τούτο δὲ τὸ αὐθάδες ἐν δὴ ʰ ἀρβὴρας μάλιστα ἐπέτεινε, προσφλαβοῦσι καὶ τὸ πανόρμου φύσει καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀπλοῦν ἐπιθετικὸν γὰρ καὶ λατρευκὸν τοῖς βίοις ἐγένοντο τὰ μικρὰ τοιμῶντες, μεγάλοις δὲ οὐκ ἐπιβαλλόμενοι διὰ τὸ μεγάλα μὴ κατασκευάζοσθαι δυνάμεις καὶ κοινωνίας. εἰ γὰρ δὴ συνασπίζειν ἐβούλοντο ἄλληλοι, οὔτε Καρχηδόνας ὑπῆρξεν ἀν καταστρέψασθαι ἐπελθοῦσι τὴν πλείστην αὐτῶν ἐκ περιουσίας, καὶ ἠτε πρότερον Τυρίων, εἶτα Κέλτων, οἱ νῦν Κέλτιβρες καὶ Βύρωνες καλοῦνται, οὔτε τῷ ἀρχαῖοι Ούριάδῳ καὶ Σερτωρίῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἐτεροὶ δυναστείας ἐπεθύμησαν μείζονος. Ὑπομαίοι τοῦ κατὰ μέρη πρὸς τοὺς Ἰβηρας πολεμεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην διὰ ταύτην τὴν δυναστείαν πολύν τινα διετελεῖσαν χρόνου, ἄλλοι ἄλλους καταστρέφο- μενου τέως, ἐως ἀπαντῶν ὑποχειρίας ἐλαβοῦν δια- κοσιοστῆ σχεδὸν τι ἔτει ἥ μακρότερον. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν περιήγησιν.

6. Μετὰ τούτων Ἀβδηρά ἐστιν Καρχηδόνα τῇ Νέᾳ, κτίσμα Ἀσδρούβα, τοῦ διαδεξαμένου Βάρκαν

¹ δὴ, Meineke. for ᾖ.
² ἐπιθετικὸν, 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
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tòn Ἀννίβα πατέρα, κρατίστη πολύ τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων· καὶ γὰρ ἐρυμνότητι καὶ τεῖχε κατεσκευασμένῳ καλῶς καὶ λιμένι καὶ λίμνῃ κεκόσμηται καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀργυρίων μετάλλοις, περὶ ὧν εἰρήκαμεν κανταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλησίον τόποις πολλή ἡ ταρυχεία· καὶ ἔστι τούτῳ μεῖζον ἐμπόριον τῶν μὲν ἐκ θαλάσσης τοῖς ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ, τῶν δὲ ἐκείθεν τοῖς ἔξω πάσιν. ἡ δ᾽ εὐθέως μέχρι τοῦ Ἱβηροῦ παραλία κατὰ μέσον πώς τὸ διάστημα ἔχει τὸν Σόκρατος ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πολῖν ὁμόνυμον· ρεῖ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ συνεχοῦς ὄρους τῇ ὑπερκείμενῃ ράχῃ τῆς ἤματας καὶ τῶν περὶ Καρχηδόνας τόπων, περαιτὸς πεζῷ.

C 159 παράλληλος δὲ ποτὶ Ἰβηροῦ, μικρῶν δὲ διέχει τὴς Καρχηδόνας ἤττον ἢ τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ· μεταξὺ μὲν τῶν ὑπὸ Σόκρατος καὶ τῆς Καρχηδόνας τρία πολύγυνα Μασσαλιασῶν εἶται οὐ πολὺ ἀποθέν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτων δ᾽ ἔστιν ἱσχυρὶς τό Ἱμεροσκοπεῖον, ἔχον ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῆς Ἑφεσίας Ἄρτεμίδος ἱερᾶ σφὸδρα τειμώνων, ὃ ἐχθροῦ Σερτόριος ὁμηρητηρίως κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐρυμόν γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ θρυσικόν, κάτωπτον δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖσ προσπλέουσι, καλεῖται δὲ Διάνιον, οἷον Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἔχον σιδηρεῖα εὐφυὴ πλησίον καὶ νησίδα, Πλανσίαν καὶ Πλούμβαρίαν, καὶ λιμνοβάλατταν ὑπερκείμενην, ἔχουσαν κύκλον 2 σταδίων τετρα-

1 ὑπερκείμενων before τόπων, 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,

1 The word means "Day-watch."
2 That is, in Greek.
κοσίων. εἰδ' ἡ τοῦ Ἱρακλέους νῆσος ἥδη πρὸς Καρχηδόνα, ἥν καλοῦσι Σκομβραρλαν ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλιακομένων σκομβρών, ἐξ ὥν τῷ ἀριστον σκευε-ἀξετάς γάρον εἶκος δὲ διέχει στάδιον καὶ τέταρτας τῆς Καρχηδόνος. πάλιν δ' ἐπὶ βάτερα τοῦ Σούκρωνος ἱοὺν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ἰβηρος Σάγουντον, κτίσμα Ζακυνθίων, ἥν Ἀσυδίας κατασκάφας παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τῶν δεύτερων αὐτῶν ἐξῆλθε πόλεμον πρὸς Καρχηδό-νους. πλησίον δὲ πόλεως εἰς Ἱπποώνησος τε καὶ Ὅλεαστρον καὶ Καρτάλλας ἐπὶ αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Ἰβηρος Δέρτωσα κατοικία. ἰδίωτ' ἐν τοῦ Ἰβηρος, ἀπὸ Καυτάβρων ἔχου ἃς ἀρχάς, ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν διὰ πολλοῦ πεδίου παράλληλος τοῖς Πυρηναίοις ὄρεσι.

7. Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Ἰβηρος ἐκτροπῶν καὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Πυρήνης, ἐφ' ὧν ἱδρυεται τὰ ἀνα-θήματα τοῦ Πομηνίον, πρώτη Ταρράκων ἐστὶ τόις, ἀλέμενοι μὲν, ἐν κόλπῳ δὲ ἰδρυμένη καὶ κατεσκευασμένη τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱκανώς, καὶ οὗχ ἦττον εὐανδροῦσα νυνὶ τῆς Καρχηδόνος. πρὸς γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιδημίας ἐνφυώς ἔχει, καὶ ἐστὶν ὡσπερ μητρόπολις ὁ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἰβηρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἓκτος τῆς πολλῆς, αἱ τε Γυμνήσαι νήσοι προκείμεναι πλησίον καὶ ἡ Ἕβυσσος, ἀξιόλογοι νῆσοι, τὴν θέαν ἐνκαίρον τῆς πόλεως ὑπαγορεύοντος. Ἑρατοσθένης δὲ καὶ ναύσταθμον ἔχειν φησίν αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ ἀγκυρο-βολίοις σφόδρα εὐτυχοῦσαν, ὡς ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτηκεν Ἀρτέμιδωρος.

1 Σκομβραρλαν, Xylander, for Σκομβραρλαν; 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 Suero, 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,¹ 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).
8. Καὶ ἡ σύμπασα δὲ ἀπὸ Στηλών σπανίζεται λιμένι μέχρι δεύορο, ἐνεπεθεί δέ ἦδη τὰ ἔξοδα εὐλίμενα καὶ χόρα ἀγαθή τῶν τε Λευτεροῦ καὶ Λαρτολαέτου καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων μέχρι Ἐμπορίου. αὐτό δὲ ἐστὶ Μασαλιωτῶν κτίσμα, ὡσεὶ διακοσίων 1 δίεχον τῆς Πυρήνης στάδιων καὶ τῶν μεθορίων τῆς Ἰβηρίας πρὸς τὴν Κελτικήν· καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶ πάσα ἀγαθὴ καὶ εὐλίμενος.

ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ Ἡ Ῥόδος, 2 πολίχνιον Ἐμπορίτων, τινὲς δὲ κτίσμα 'Ροδίων φασι' καὶ ταὐθα δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἐμπορίῳ τὴν Ἀρτέμιν τὴν Ἑφεσίαν τιμῶσι, ἔρουμεν δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Μασσαλίαν. ψευδὸς δὲ 3 οἱ Ἐμπορίται πρότερον νησίων τι προκείμενον, δὲ νῦν καλεῖται Παλαιὰ πόλις, νῦν δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. διπόλις δὲ ἐστὶ, τείχει διωρισμένη, πρότερον τῶν Ἰδικητῶν τινας προσήκουσιν ἤχουσα, οὐ, καὶ προτερὶ ἕδα πολιτεύομεν, κοινῶν ὦν τοὺς περίβολον ἤχειν ἐβεβαλλοντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀσφαλείας χαρών, διπλῶν δὲ τοῦτον, τείχει μέσῳ διωρισμένων τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ εἰς τοῦτο πολίτευμα συνήλθος μικτὸν τι ἐκ τε βαρβάρων καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν νομίμων, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων τολμῶν συνέβη.

9. Ἔρει δὲ καὶ σταυροῦ πλησίον, ἐκ τῆς Πυρήνης

1 διακοσίων, Groskurd, and Corais, for τετρακοσίων.
2 Ῥόδος (as in 14. 2, 10), Casaubon, for Ῥόδην; so Siehenke, Corais, Forbiger, and C. Müller. Meineke reads Ῥόδην, following the spelling of Ptolemaeus.
3 δέ, Meineke inserts.

1 The MSS. read 4000 stadia, which, of course, corrupt. Strabo has already given only 1600 stadia (§ 1 above) as the distance from the Iberus to the Pyrenese. The emendations of the editors run from 4 to 400 atadia.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 4. 8-9

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 Leetanians and the Lartolaeëtans, and of other such peoples. Emporium was founded by the people of Massilia; it is about two hundred 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. The Emporitans formerly lived on a little island off the shore, which is now called Old City, 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, 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 (cp. Ptolemaeus 2. 6. 19 and Mela 2. 89).
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έχων τὰς ἀρχάς, ἢ δὲ ἐκβολὴ λιμῆν ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἑμπορίαις. λινοφυλὲς δὲ ἵκανὸς οἱ Ἑμπορίαι
χώραι δὲ τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἔχουσι, τὴν μὲν ἀγάθην, τὴν δὲ σπαρτοφόρον τῆς ἀχρηστοτέρας καὶ ἐλείας
σχολῶν, καλούσι δὲ Ἰουγκάριον πεδίον τινές δὲ καὶ τῶν τῆς Πιρήνης ἄκρων νέομοι μέχρι τῶν ἀναβημάτων τοῦ Πομπηίου, δι’ ὅν βαδίζουσιν εἰς τὴν ἔξω καλουμένην Ἰβηρίαν εἰς τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ
μάλιστα τὴν Βατικήν, αὐτὴ δὴ ὄδος ποτὲ μὲν πλησίαζε τῇ θαλάττῃ, ποτὲ δὲ ἀφέστηκε, καὶ μά-
λιστα ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν μέρεσι. φέρεται δὲ ἐπὶ Ταρράκωνα, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναβημάτων τοῦ
Πομπηίου διὰ τοῦ Ἰουγκαρίου πεδίου καὶ Βετέ-
ρων1 καὶ τοῦ Μαραθώνος καλουμένου πεδίου τῆς
Λατίνης γλώσση, φύσεως πολὺ τὸ μάραθον: ἐκ δὲ
tοῦ Ταρράκωνος ἐπὶ τῶν πόρων τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ κατὰ
Δέρταςσαν πόλιν ἐντεύθεν διὰ Σαγουτοῦ καὶ
Σιτάδινος πόλεως ἐνεχθείσα κατὰ μικρὸν ἀφιστα-
tαι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ συνάπτει τῷ Ἀπροτρίῳ,
ὡς ἂν Σχοινοῦντι, καλουμένῳ πεδίῳ τούτῳ δὲ ἐστὶ
μέγα καὶ ἀνυδρον, τῆς σχοινοπλοκίας φύον
σπάρτων, ἔχοντον ἐχοῦσαι εἰς πάντα τόπουν, καὶ
μάλιστα εἰς τῆς Ἰταλίας, πρὸς τερέαν μὲν οὖν διὰ
μέσου τοῦ πεδίου καὶ Ἐγελάστας συνέβαινεν ἔναι
τὴν ὀδόν, χαλεπὴν καὶ πολλὴν, νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς

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

2 “Colony of Veterans”: the Praetorium mentioned by Antoninus. (Itin. p. 388); exact site unknown, perhaps
Vidreas.
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.¹ 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 Baetica. 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 Veteres² and what in the Latin tongue is called Fennel Plain, because it produces so much fennel.³ 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.⁴ 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 Egeliasts, a road rough and long, but at the present day

¹ Literally, the Greek is: “Plain of Marathon, ... marathon.” Strabo avoids transliterating “Fenicarius” (the term actually used by the Romans) into Greek.
² The Romans called it “Campus Spartarius.”
θαλάττη μέρη πεποιήκασιν αυτήν, ἐπιψαύονσαν μόνον τοῦ Σχοινούντος, εἰς ταύτα δὲ τείνονσαν τῇ προτέρᾳ, τὰ περὶ Κασταλῶνα καὶ Ὥμολκονα, διὸ ὦν εἰς τὰ Κορδυβήνα καὶ εἰς Γάδειρα ἡ ὁδὸς, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐμπορίων. διέχει δὲ τῆς Κορδυβήνης Ὥμολκονα περὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους,仿佛 δὲ οἱ συγγραφεῖς, ἐλθέων Καίσαρα ἐκ Ρώμης ἔπτα καὶ εἶκοσιν ἠμέτρας εἰς τὴν Ὥμολκονα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐνταῦθα, ἦνικα ἔμελλε συνάπτειν εἰς τὸν περὶ τὴν Μοῦδαν πόλεμον.

C 161 10. 'Ἡ μὲν δὴ παραλία πᾶσα ἡ ἀπὸ Στηλῶν μέχρι τῆς μεθορίας τῆς Ἰβηρίας καὶ Κελτῶν τοιαύτη. ἡ δὲ ὑπερκειμένη μεσόγαια, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἑντὸς τῶν τῆς Πυρηναίων ὄρων καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου πλευρᾶς μέχρις Ἀστύρων, δυεῖν μάλιστα ὀρέη διορίζεται. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν παράλληλον ἔστι τῆς Πυρηνῆς, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Καντάθρων ἔχουν, τελευτὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' ἦμας θάλατταν καλοῦσι δὲ τούτου Ἰδουβέδαν· ἔτερον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου διήκον ἐπὶ τὴν δύσαν, ἐκκλίνον δὲ πρὸς νότον καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Στηλῶν παραλίαν· δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γεώλοφόν ἐστὶ καὶ φυλάν, διέξεισι δὲ τὸ καλούμενον Σπαρτάριον πεδίον, εἶτα συνάπτει τῷ δρυμῷ τῷ ὑπερκειμένῳ τῆς τῆς Καρχηδονίας καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Μάλακαν τόπων' καλεῖται δὲ Ὄροστέα, μεταξύ μὲν τῆς Πυρηνῆς καὶ τῆς Ἰδουβέδας ὁ Ἰβηρ ὑπὲρ ποταμῶν, παράλληλος τοῖς ὀρεσιν ἀμφιέροις, πληρούμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐνεύθεν καταφερομένων ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων υδάτων. ἔπτὶ δὲ τῷ Ἰβηρι πόλις ἐστὶ Καισαραγουηστα καλουμένη καὶ Κέλσα καικίκαια τις, ἔχουσα γεφύρας λιθίνης
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 Spartarian Plain; then it joins the forest that lies beyond both New Carthage and the regions round about Malaca; it is called Orospeda. It is between the Pyrenees and Idubeda, then, that the Iberus River flows, which is parallel with both mountains and is filled by the rivers and the other waters that pour down from them. On the Iberus is a city called Caesar Augusta; also Celsa, a colonial settlement, where there is a
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diáβασαν. συνοικεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ πλείονοι ἑπτῶν ἡ χώρα, γνωριμωτάτου δὲ τῶν Ἱακκητανῶν λέγομένου. τοῦτο δὲ ἄριστον ὑπὸ τῆς παραρθείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν Πυρήνην εἰς τὰ πεδία πλατύνεται καὶ συνάπτεται τοῖς περὶ Ἴλερδαν καὶ Ὁσκαν χωρίως, τοὺς τῶν Ἰλεργετῶν οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν τοῦ Ἱβηροῦ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις ἐπολέμησε τὸ τελευταῖον Σερτώριος καὶ ἐν Καλαγούρῳ Οὐασκοῦν πόλει καὶ τῆς παραλίας ἐν Ταρράκωνι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἱμεροσκοπείῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κελτιβήρου ἐκπτώσιν, ἐπελεύσατο δὲ ἐν Ὁσκα. καὶ Ἴλερδα ὡς ἀστεροῦ Ἀφράνιος καὶ Πετρής οἱ τοῦ Πομπήλου στρατηγοῦ κατεπολεμήσαν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ. διέχει δὲ ἡ Ἴλερδα τοῦ μὲν Ἱβηροῦ ὡς ἐπὶ δύσιν ιῶτη σταδίων ἐκατον ἕξικοντα, Ταρράκωνος δὲ πρὸς νότον περὶ τετρακοσίως ἕξικοντα, πρὸς ἀρκετον δὲ Ὁσκας πεντακοσίας τεσσαράκοντα. διὰ τούτων δὲ τῶν χωρίων ἡ ἐκ Ταρράκωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἐπὶ τῷ ὥκεαυφι Οὐασκωνας τοὺς κατὰ Πομπέλωνα καὶ τὴν ἑπτακοσίαν ἐπὶ τῷ ὥκεαυφι Οἰασώνα πόλων ὁδὸς ἐστὶ σταδίων δισχίλιων τετρακοσίων, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τῆς Ἀκοτανιᾶς ὀρει καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. Ἰακκητανὸς δὲ εἶσιν ἐν ὅλοις

1 παραρθείας, Kramer, for παροπλαί; so the other editors.
2 Ὁσκα, Casson, for the corrupt Ἰλερδαν; so the other editors.
3 δὲ Ὁσκα, conj. of Puteanus, for δὲ νόσημα; so the editors.
4 καὶ Ἴλερδα, Meineke, for καὶ Ἴλερδαν.
5 χωρίως, Groskurd, for ὅρως.
6 Πομπέλωνα, Xylander, for the corrupt Πομπειαλώνα; so the editors.
7 Ολασώνα, Casson, for Ολάσωνα (or Ολασώνα); so, in general, the editors. Cp. Ptolemaeus 2. 6. 10. and Mela 3. 1. 10.
stone bridge across the river. This country is jointly settled by several tribes, though the best known is what is called the tribe of the Iacetanians. 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 Hemeroscopeum on the coast, that Sertorius fought his last battles after his expulsion from Celtiberia; but it was at Osca that he came to his end. ¹ And it was in Ilerda that Afranius and Petreius, the generals of Pompey, were defeated in battle later on by the Deified Caesar. ² Ilerda is distant from the Iberus one hundred and sixty stadia, to a man travelling approximately towards the west; from Tarraco, on the south, about four hundred and sixty stadia; from Osca, on the north, five hundred and forty stadia. Through these districts runs the road from Tarraco to those outermost Vasconians on the ocean who live about Pompeo, 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. Iacetania

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. Vellius 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 ἐπολέμησε πρὸς Πυρήνην, ὡστε
ροὺν δ᾽ ὁ τοῦ Πυρηνίου υἱὸς Σέξτος πρὸς τοὺς Καλ-
σαρους στρατηγοὺς. ὑπέρεκεται δὲ τῆς Ιακκη-
τανίας πρὸς ἄρκτον τὸ τῶν Ούασκόνων ἔθνος, ἐν
ὁ πόλις Πυρηνίος, ὡς ἓν Πομπείους.

11. Αὐτής δὲ τῆς Πυρήνης τὸ μὲν Ἰβηρικὸν
πλευρὸν εὐδενδρὸν ἐστι παντοδαπῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς
ἀείθαλος, τὸ δὲ Κελτικὸν ψιλού, τὰ δὲ μέσα
περιέχει καλῶς οἰκείονες δυναμένους αὐλάνως.
ἐξούσιος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ Κερκητανὸς τὸ πλέον, τοῦ Ἰβηρι-
κοῦ ψιλοῦ, παρ᾽ οἷς πέρναν διάφοροι συντίθενται
ταῖς Καντάβρικαις.1 ἐνάμιλλοι, πρὸσοδοῦν εὐθύ-
κραῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παρέχονται.

12. Ἐπεξεργάσθη δὲ τὴν Ἰδουβέδαι τῆς Κελτ-
βηρία παραχρήμα πολλῆς καὶ ἀνώμαλος· τὸ μὲν
πλέον αὐτῆς ἔστι τραχύ καὶ ποταμοκλύτων διὰ
γὰρ τούτων ὃ τε Ἀνας φέρεται καὶ ὁ Τάγος καὶ
ὁ ἐφεξῆς ποταμοὶ οἱ πλείους οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπερίαν
θάλαττα καταφερόμενοι, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσε ἐκ
τῆς Κελτβηρίας.2 ὅν τε Δούριος φέρεται παρὰ τὴν
Νομαντίαν καὶ τὴν Σεργουντίαν, ὁ δὲ Βαύτις ἐκ
τῆς Ὀροστέδας τᾶς ἀρχῆς ἔχων διὰ τῆς Ὀρητα-
νίας εἰς τὴν Βαυτικὴν ἰεὶ. οὐκοῦσι δ᾽ ἐκ μὲν τῶν
πρὸς ἄρκτον μερῶν τοῖς Κέλτιβηροι Βήρωνες,
Καντάβροις δομοὺς τοῖς Κονίσκοις, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ
Κελτικοῦ στόλου νεγονότες, ὅν ἐστιν πόλις Ουαρλί
κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἰβηρος διάβασιν κειμένη. συν-

1 Καντάβρικαις, conj. of Xylander, for the corrupt Κανάβρι-
καις; so, in general, the editors; but C. Müller, Καλαγούρι-
καις, and Tardieu, Καθαρικαις. Cp. Athenaeus 14. 75, where
in quoting this sentence from Strabo the reading of the MSS.
ἐς ταῖς Κουρικαις.

100
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 Bactis, 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\(^1\) 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.

\(^2\) Κελτιβηθυπολας, Casaubon, and Siebenkees, for Ιθηπολας; so the others.
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εχεις δ' εἰσί καὶ Βαρδυήταις, οὗς ὁ νῦν Βαρδύλους καλοῦσιν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἑσπερίου τῶν τε 'Αστύρων τινὲς καὶ τῶν Καλλαϊκῶν καὶ Ὀυακκαίων, ἐτί δ' Ὀυαττών καὶ Καρπητανών. ἐκ δὲ τῶν νοτίων Ὀρητανῶ τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τὴν 'Οροσπέδαν οἰκούσι Βαστητανῶν τε καὶ 'Εδητανῶν πρὸς ἔως δὲ Ἰδουβέδα.

13. Αὐτῶν τε τῶν Κελτιβήρων εἰς τέταρτα μέρη δεχθήκατεν, οἱ κράτιστοι μάλιστα πρὸς ἔως εἰσὶ καὶ πρὸς νότον οἱ Ἀρουάκου, συνάπτοντες Καρπητανίς καὶ ταῖς τῶν Τάγων πηγαίσι πόλις δ' αὐτῶν ὅνυμαστότατή Νομαντία. ἔδειξαν δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῷ Κελτιβηρικῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις, εἰκοσατέτει γενομένης πολλὰ γὰρ στρατεύματα σὺν ἠγεμόνιν ἐφθάρη, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον οἱ Νομαντίου πολιορκοῦμενοι διεκαρτέρησαν πλῆρω δῖταν τῶν ἐνδόντων τῷ τείχῳ. καὶ οἱ Δούσωνες δὲ ἐφοι εἰσὶ, συνάπτοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς τῶν Τάγων πηγαίσι. τῶν δ' Ἀρουάκων ἔστι καὶ Σεγήδα πόλις καὶ Παλλαντία. διέχει δὲ Νομαντία τῆς Καϊσαρανγύστας, ἦν ἐφαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰβηρὶ ἱδρύσας, σταδίους ἐπὶ δικακοσίως. καὶ Σεγοβρίγα δ' ἔστι τῶν Κελτιβήρων πόλις καὶ Βίλβιλις, περὶ δὲ Μέτελλοι καὶ Σερτόριοι ἐπολέμησαν. Πολύβιος δὲ ταῦτα Οὐακκαίων καὶ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἐθνὰ καὶ χωρία διεξότων συνάγει ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καὶ Σεγεσάμαν καὶ Ἰτερκάτιαν. φησί δὲ
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 Vaccæans, 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 Vaccæans and the Celtiberians, includes with the rest of the cities both Segesama and Intercatia. Poseidonius says that
Ποσείδώνιος Μάρκον Μάρκελλον πράξασθαι φόρον ἐν τῇς Κελτίβηρας τάλαντα ἐξακόσια· ἕξ οὐ τεκμαίρεσθαι πάρεστιν ὅτι καὶ πολλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ Κελτίβηρες καὶ χρημάτων εὐποροῦντες, καὶ περι οἰκουντες χώραν παράλυπρον. Πολυβίον δὲ εἰπών τοὺς τριακόσιας αὐτῶν καταλύσας πόλεις Τιβέριον Γράκχον, κωμοδῶν φησὶ τούτῳ τῷ Γράκχῳ χαρίσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρα, τοὺς πύργους καλοῦντα πόλεις, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς θριαμβικαῖς πομπαῖς. καὶ ἵσως οὐκ ἀπιστον τούτῳ λέγει· καὶ γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ συνγραφεῖς ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρονται τὸ ψέφωμα, καλλωπίζοντες τὰς πράξεις. ἔτει καὶ οἱ φάσκουντες πλείους ἡ χιλιας τὰς τῶν ἱβήρων υπάρξαι πόλεις ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρεσθαι μοι δοκοῦσι, τὰς μεγάλας κώμας πόλεις ὁμομάζοντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ τῆς χώρας φύσις πόλεων ἐπίδεικτη πολλών ἐστι διὰ τὴν λυπρότητα ἢ διὰ τῶν ἐκτοπισμῶν καὶ τῷ ἀνήμερον, οὐθ' οἱ βίοι καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν (ἐξώ τῶν κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς) ὑπαγορεύουσιν τοιούτων οὐδὲν ἀγρίοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ κώμας οἰκοῦντες· τοιοῦτοι δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἱβήρων αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἑμερότυχον οὐθ' αὐταὶ ῥαδίως ὡς ταῦτα ἦλθαν ἑκάτη οἱ πλησίον οἰκοῦν.

14. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κελτίβηρες πρὸς νότον εἰσὶν οἱ τὸ δρός οἰκούντες τὴν 'Οροστέδαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν Σούκρων χώραν Ἐδηστατοῦ, μέχρι Καρχηδόνος, καὶ Βαστητανοῦ καὶ Ὀρηστανοῦ σχεδὸν δὲ τούς μέχρι Μαλάκας.

1 abral, Cobet restores, for abta; so Forbiger, and Müller-Düchner.
2 Ἐδηστατοῦ, Kramer, for Σιδηστατοῦ; 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 out-numbered 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 Orospeida Mountain and in the country round about the Sueco 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. Πελτασταλ δ' ἀπαντεῖν, ὡς εἶπεῖν, ὑπῆρξαν οἱ Ἰβηρίας καὶ κοῦφοι κατὰ τὸν ὀπλισμὸν διὰ τὰς ληστείας, οίνους ἐφαμεν τοὺς Δυστανοῦς, ἀκοντίω καὶ σφευδόνη καὶ μαχαίρα χρώμενοι ταῖς δὲ πεζαῖς δυνάμει παρεμέμκοτα καὶ ἱππεῖα, δεδι-
δαγμένων ἱππῶν ὀρείβατεῖν καὶ κατοκλάξεσθαι ράδιος ἀπὸ προστάγματος, ὅτε τοῦτον δέοι. φέρει δ' ἡ Ἰβηρία δορκάδας πολλὰς καὶ ἱππῶν ἄγριον, ἔστε δ' ὅπου καὶ οἱ λίμναι πληθύνσαι· ὄρνεις δὲ κύκνοι καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες·
kάστορας φέρουσι μὲν οἱ ποταμοὶ, τὸ δὲ καστό-
ριαν οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν τῷ Ποντικῷ,
идιον γὰρ τῷ Ποντικῷ πάρεστι τὸ φαρμακῶδες,
καθάπερ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς. ἔπει, φησιν ὁ Ποσει-
δώνιος, καὶ ὁ Κύπριος χαλκὸς μόνος φέρει τὴν
καθεξής λίθον καὶ τὸ χαλκαύθες καὶ τὸ σπόδιον.
идιον δ' ἐφηκέν. 1 Ἰβηρία ὁ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ τὸ
τὰς κορώνιας μελαίνας εἶναι καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἱπποὺς
τῶν Κελτιβηρῶν ὑποψάρους ὄντας, ἐπειδὰν εἰς
tὴν ἔξω μεταχθὼς Ἰβηρίαν, μεταβάλλει τὴν
χρόαν. ὑοκίαν δὲ τοὺς Παρθικοὺς, καὶ γὰρ ταχεῖς
εἶναι καὶ εὐνόμους μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων.
16. Καὶ τῶν ῥεῖων τῶν εἰς βαφὴν χρυσίμων
πλῆθος. ἐλαιᾶς δὲ πέρι καὶ ἄμπελου καὶ συκῆς
καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων φυτῶν ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἰβηρική
παράλια πάντων ἑνώπιοι, συχνῇ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἑκτῶς.
ἢ μὲν παροκεανίτις ἡ πρόσβορρος ἀμοιρεῖ διὰ τὰ
ψύχη, ἡ δ' ἄλλη τὸ πλέον διὰ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν

1 ἐν, before Ἰβηρίας, Meineke deletes.
2 3. 3. 6. 3 That is, on the Atlantic side.
16. The Iberians were once, virtually all of them, peltasts, and wore light armour on account of their brigand life (as I said 1 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 chalcantite and spodum. 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. 2 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
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ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ μῆ πρὸς διαγωγήν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλ-
λον πρὸς ἄναγκην καὶ όρμην θηριώδη μετὰ ἔθους
 faunaν την τοῦ δένυον καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις αὐτῶν, καθάπερ τοὺς Καντάβρους φαι-
καὶ τοῦ ὀμόρος αὐτῶς. καὶ τότῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ
χαμενεύν κοινὸν ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἰβηρσι pρὸς τοὺς
Κελτούς. ἐνοίκος τοῦ Καλλαίκους ὑθένας φασί,
τοῦ δὲ Κελτιβραδι καὶ τοῦ προσβόρρους τῶν
ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶς ἀνωνύμω τινὶ βεῖο θεόθειν1 ταῖς
παντελήσιοι νύκτοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν, πανοικίσων
τε χορευν καὶ πανωξίζεων. τοὺς δὲ Ουέττωνας,
ὅτε πρῶτον εἰς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρῆλθον στρα-
tῷς εγος τῶν ταξιαρχῶν τινα ἀνακάμ-
πτοντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς περιπάτου χαρῖν, μανίας
ὑπολαβόντες, ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν ὄδον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς
σκεπας, ὡς δένῃ μὲν ξένων καθ’ ἴσθμιάν ἴδρυθέντας
ἡ μάχεσθαι.

17. Τῆς δὲ βαρβαρίκης ἱδεὰς καὶ τῶν τῶν
γυναικῶν ἔνιοι κόσμου θεία τῆς ἄν, ὃν ἐηθηκεν
Ἀρτεμίδωρος; ὅπου μὲν γὰρ περιτραχῆλα σιδηρὰ
φορεῖν αὐτὰς φησίν, ἔχοντα κόρακας καλληνίσ-
νους ὕπερ κορυφῆς καὶ προπίττοντας πρὸ τοῦ
μετώπου πολύ, κατὰ τότου δὲ τῶν κοράκων, ὅτε
βουλοῦται, καταστᾶν τὸ κάλυμμα, ὅστε ἐμπε-
tασθήναι σκιάδιον τῷ προσωπῳ παρέχειν, καὶ
νομίζει τὸς τὸς ὅπου δὲ τυμπάνοι περικέποται,
character of the people and the fact that they live on a low moral plane—that is, they have regard, not for rational living, but rather for satisfying their physical needs and bestial instincts—unless some one thinks those men have regard for rational living who bathe with urine which they have aged in cisterns, and wash their teeth with it, both they and their wives, as the Cantabrians and the neighbouring peoples are said to do.¹ But both this custom and that of sleeping on the ground the Iberians share with the Celts. Some say the Callaicans have no god, but the Celtiberians and their neighbours on the north offer sacrifice to a nameless god at the seasons of the full moon, by night, in front of the doors of their houses, and whole households dance in chorus and keep it up all night. The Vettonians, when they visited the camp of the Romans for the first time, upon seeing some of the officers promenading up and down the streets merely for the sake of walking around, supposed they were crazy and proceeded to lead the way for them to the tents, thinking they should either remain quietly seated or else be fighting.

17. One might also class as barbaric in character the ornaments of some of the women, of which Artemidorus has told us. In some places, he says, they wear round their necks iron collars which have curved rods that bend overhead and project far in front of their 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,”² rounded to the back of the head,
Strabo

πρὸς μὲν τῷ ἐνώπιον περιφερέσι, καὶ σφίγγον τὴν κεφαλὴν μέχρι τῶν παρωτίδων, εἰς ύψος δὲ καὶ πλάτος ἐξυπτωσαμένων κατ’ ὀλίγον ἀλλας δὲ τὰ προκόμια ψιλῶν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὅστ’ ἀποστιλβεῖν τὸ μετάποτο μᾶλλον τὰς δὲ ὅσον ποδιαίου τὸ ύψος ἐπιθεμένας στυλίσκου περιπλέκειν αὐτῷ τὴν χαίτην, ἐτα καλύπτρα μελαίνῃ περιστέλλειν. πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἁλθείᾳ τῇ τοιαύτῃ πόλλα καὶ εὔφραται καὶ μεμιθένται περὶ πάντων κοινὴ τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἔθνων, διαφερόντως δὲ τῶν προσβόρρων, οὐ μόνον τὰ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἄλλα καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὀμότητα καὶ ἀπόνοιαν θηριώδῃ καὶ γὰρ τέκνα μητέρες ἔκτεναν πρὸς ἀλῶναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Καντάβρως, καὶ ταιδίων ἐρισεμένων αἰχμαλωτῶν τῶν γονέων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἔκτενα πάντας, κελεύσαντο τοῦ πατρός, συνῆρυξεν, γυνὴ δὲ τῶν συναλωτῶν: κληθεὶς δὲ τις εἰς μεθυσκομένους ἐβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς πυρὰν. κοινὰ δὲ καὶ ταύτα πρὸς τὰ Κελτικὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ Θράκια καὶ Σκυθικά, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν τὴν τε

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

2 Apparently not by cutting, but by plucking or by some destructive agent (cp. Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. 9. 20. 3).

3 That is "insensibility to suffering," or, perhaps better, "contempt for suffering." The same trait is again mentioned by Strabo in § 18.

4 The Cantabrians were subjugated by Augustus in 25 B.C., but they had to be reconquered (by Agrippa) in 19 B.C. Cp. "Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra" (Horace, Carmina, 2. 6. 2).

5 His Roman captors, apparently.
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tòν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν. γεωργοῦσιν
γάρ 1 αὐτὰ, τεκοῦσι τε διακονοῦσι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν,
ἐκείνους ἀνθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν κατακλίνοντα· ἐν τε τοῖς
ἔργοις πολλάκις λυχνίωσιν.2 καὶ λούονται καὶ
σπαργανώσιν, ἀποκλίνονται πρὸς τι βεῖθρον. ἐν
δὲ τῇ Λυγυστηκῇ φησιν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος διηγήσασθαι
tὸν ξένου ἐντὸς Χαρμόλεως, Μασσαλιώτην ἄνδρα,
ὅτι μισθώσατο ἀνδρας ὅμοιο χαράκει καὶ γυναικας. ἐπὶ
σκαφητῶν, ὀδύνασα δὲ μία τῶν γυναικῶν ἀπέλθοι
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου πλησίον, τεκοῦσα δ᾽ ἐπανέλθοι ἐπὶ
tοῦργον αὐτίκα, ὅπως μὴ ἀπολέσετε τὸν μισθόν·
αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιτυόνως ἐδών ἔργαζόμενην, οὐκ εἰδὼς
τὴν αἰτίαν πρότερον ὅπερ μάθοι καὶ ὕφει, δοὺς
tὸν μισθόν· ἡ δ᾽ ἐκκομίσασα τὸ νῆπιον πρὸς τι
κρηνίον, λυχνίασα καὶ σπαργανώσασα οἷς εἰχὲ
dιασώσεις οὐκαδε.

18. Οὐκ ἦδον δὲ τῶν Ἰβηρίων οὔδε τούτῳ,
σῶνδο εὖ ἐπὶ τῶν κομίζοντα, κατὰ δὲ τὰς μάχας
τὸν ἔτερον πεζὸν ἀγωνίζοντα. οὔδὲ τὸ τῶν μνῶν
πλήθος ἦδον, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ λοιμικά νόσοι πολλάκις
ηκολούθησαν. συνέβη δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Κανταβρίᾳ τοῦτο
τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι, ὡστε, καὶ μισθόνς ἀρνουσθαί μνο-
θηροῦντας πρὸς μέτρον ἀποδειχθὲν, διεσώζοντο
μῶλις: προσελάμβανε δὲ καὶ ἄλλων σπάνις καὶ

1 γάρ, Jones inserts.
2 λυχνίωσι Piccolo, for aitai; Groskurd and Meineke
   conj. tiktousi.
in common also the traits relating to courage—I mean the courage of women as well as of men. For example, these women till the soil, and when they have given birth to a child they put their husbands to bed instead of going to bed themselves and minister to them;¹ and while at work in the fields, oftentimes, they turn aside to some brook, give birth to a child, and bathe and swaddle it. Poseidonius says that in Liguria his host, Charmoleon, a man of Massilia, narrated to him how he had hired men and women together for ditch-digging; and how one of the women, upon being seized with the pangs of childbirth, went aside from her work to a place near by, and, after having given birth to her child, came back to her work at once in order not to lose her pay; and how he himself saw that she was doing her work painfully, but was not aware of the cause till late in the day, when he learned it and sent her away with her wages; and she carried the infant out to a little spring, bathed it, swaddled it with what she had, and brought it safely home.

18. Nor yet is the following custom peculiar to the Iberians alone: they ride double on horseback, though in the time of battle one of the two fights on foot; nor the especially great number of the mice,² from which pestilential diseases have often ensued. This was so much the case for the Romans in Cantabria that, although a proclamation was made that mice-catchers would gain bounties graded in proportion to the number caught, the Romans could barely come through with their lives; and, besides the plague, there was a scarcity, not only of other stuffs, but of grain too; and only with difficulty could they
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σίτου· ἐπεσυνίζοντο δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκυπάντιας χαλε-
πῶς διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας. τῆς δ’ ἀπονολίας καὶ
tούτο λέγεται τῆς Καντάβρου, ὅτι ἄλοντες τινὲς,
ἀναπετηρυγότες ἐπὶ τῶν σταυρῶν, ἐπαιώνυζον. τὰ
μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα τῶν ἡδῶν ἀγριότητος τινὸς παρα-
δείγματ’ ἄν εἰς’ τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα ἢττον μὲν ἰσως
pολιτικά, οὐ θηρώδη δέ, οἷον τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Καν-
tάβρων τοῖς ἀνδραῖς διδόναι ταῖς γυναιξὶ προῖκα,
tὸ τὰς θυγατέρας κληρονόμους ἀπολείπεσθαι, τοὺς
tε ἀδέλφους ύπό τούτων ἑκδιδοσθαι γυναιξίν.
ἔχει γάρ τινα γυναικοκρατίαν. τούτῳ δ’ οὐ πάνυ
πολιτικόν. Ἰβηρικῶν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν ἕθει παρατι-
θεσθαι ταξικόν, δ’ συνιθέασιν ἐκ βοτάνης σεκίλῳ
προσομολας ἄρειν, ὡστ’ ἔχειν ἐν ἔτοιμῳ πρὸς
τὰ ἄβουλητα, καὶ τὸ καταστέδειων αὐτῶν, οἷς
δὲ προσθώνται, ὡστε ἀποθνίσκειν αὐτῶν 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 per-
haps 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 Dioscurides, de Mal. 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 Memor 4. 4., Monmsen’s
ed., p. 51), and ended fatally, with the proverbial “Sardonic
smile” (Pausanias, I.c.) on the victim’s face.
3 The Celtiberians deemed it an un holy act for a “devoted”
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get supplies out of Aquitania on account of the rough roads. As for the insensibility 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, 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.

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 taadera et fortiter Pugnando invicem occidere, Morte ad praesens optata jacent. Valeste 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.

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19. Τινές μὲν οὖν εἰς τέταρτα μέρη διηρήσθαι φαί τὴν χώραν ταύτην, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, ἀλλοι δὲ πενταμερῆ λέγουσιν. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τάκριβες ἐν τούτοις ἀποδιδόναι διὰ τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ τὴν

C 166 ἀδοξίαν τῶν τόπων. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ ἐνδόξοις αἱ τε μεταναστάσεις γνώριμοι καὶ οἱ μερισμοὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ὄνομάτων καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο παραπλήσιον θρυλεῖται γὰρ ὑπὸ πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ λαλίστατοι πάντων γεγόνασι. ὅσα δὲ καὶ βάρβαρα καὶ ἐκτεταπομένα καὶ μικρόχωρα καὶ διεσπασμένα, τούτων ὑπομνήματα οὔτε ἀσφαλῆ ἔστιν οὔτε πολλά· ὅσα δὲ δὴ πόρρω τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιτείνει τὴν ἀγνοίαν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῖς μιμοῦται μὲν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ γὰρ ἄλλους παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεταφέρουσιν, ἐξ ἐαυτῶν δ’ οὐ πολὺ μὲν προσφέρονται τὸ φιλείδημον, ὅσθ’ ὁπόταν ἐλλειψις γεννηται παρ’ ἐκείνον, οὖν ἐστὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀναπληρωμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν ὄνομάτων, ὅσα ἐνδοξότατα, τῶν πλείστων οὖν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν προτέρων καλεῖσθαι πάσαν τὴν ἐξό τοῦ Ῥωδανοῦ

1 Some MSS. read φιλείδημον. Strabo may have written both words here, as in 1. 2. 29. So Corais.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 4. 19

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

\(^1\) Celtiberia.
\(^2\) See 3. 4. 13.
\(^3\) I.e., as in 3. 4. 5, "into petty divisions and sovereignties."
kai toû Isômuî toû upò toûn Galatikôn kólloin, sôgynoimôn, ói de vûn ôriou autês thêntai toûn Ïpûnion, súnonûma te tën auûtîn 'Ibhrían légoûs kai 'Ispânián' móûnû δ', ékâlonû tën éntos toû 'Ibhrôs, ói δ' eî proûteron auû tôn toû tôn 'Iglê- tâs, ou polllên xwbân nêmorânos, òs phônûn 'Aioliktiadês ò Mûrleanos. 'Rômaioi de tën súmpasas kallêxantès súnonûmâs ò 'Ibhrían te kai 'Ispânián toû meû auûtîs méros eîpou tën éktos, tô de éteron tën éntos aiîloto δ' akllôs diámôrêso, prós tôs kaiûnê politeuômênu.

20. Nûnû de, tôwn épârchiôn tôwn meûn ùpòdêi-
chêiôn tô dhîmô te kai të sýmklêtrô tôwn de
tô ûgmûn tôwn 'Rômaion, ò meûn Bâitikê prôs-

1 δ', Jones inserta.
2 súnonûmûs, Meineke, for ûmûnûmûs; so Forbiger, Tardieu, and C. Müller.

1 They could have used "Iberia" thus only in a general sense for "Hesperia," it seems. Very little was known of the interior of the country until the second century B.C., and at that time, according to Polybius (3. 37), it was only the country along the Mediterranean south of the Pyrenees as far as Gibraltar that was called "Iberia," while the country along the "outer sea" had no general name. The chronology of Strabo here is obscure; and, so far as we know, Hecataeus (b. about 540 B.C.) is the first Greek to speak of "Iberia," and, after him, Herodotus (1. 163). Later on, Eratosthenes (276-194 B.C.) is the first to distinguish Iberia from Celtica (3. 2. 11), of which hitherto Iberia had been regarded as only a part; yet, if we accept Polybius, "Iberia" did not come to include all the Spanish peninsula, and hence equal "Hispânia," until late in the second century B.C.


3 That is, between the Iberus and the Pyrenées.

4 Between the Iberus and the Pyrenées.
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 Myrcian 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; 7

6 But Herodorus (fl. about 400 B.C.), according to Stephanus Byzantinus (s. ‘Iβροια), 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. 26.
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κειται τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ πέμπεται στρατηγὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἔχων ταμίαν τε καὶ πρεσβευτὴν ὄριον δ᾽ αὐτῆς τεθείκασι πρὸς ἣν πλησίον Κασταλῶνος ἢ δὲ λοιπῇ Καλακοῖς ἐστιν. πέμπονται δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ αὐτού δύο πρεσβευταί, στρατηγικὸς τε καὶ ὑπατικός, ὁ μὲν στρατηγικός, ἔχων σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβευτὴν, δικαιοδοτήσων Δυσιτανοῦ τοῖς παρακείμενοι τῇ Βαυτικῇ καὶ διατείνουσι μέχρι τοῦ Δούριου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν αὐτοῦ. καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτω τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἰδίως ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐνταῦθα δ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Ἀύγουστα Ἰμερίτα. ἢ δὲ 1 λοιπῇ, αὐτῇ δ᾽ ἔστιν ἡ πλείστη τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ὑπὸ τῷ ὑπατικῷ ἠγεμόνι, στρατιάν τε ἔχουσιν ἄξιολογον τριῶν που ταγμάτων καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τρεῖς: ὃν ὁ μὲν, δύο ἔχουν τάγματα, παραφροουρεῖ τὴν πέραν τοῦ Δούριου πάσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρχοντες, ἢ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι Δυσιτανοῦς ἔλεγον, οἱ δὲ νῦν Ἀρκλαϊκοὺς καλοῦσι μενάπτει δὲ τούτων τὰ προσάρκτια ὁρι μετὰ τῶν 'Αστύρων καὶ τῶν Καντάβρων. μείωτος δὲ διὰ τῶν 'Αστύρων Μέλσος ποταμός, καὶ μικρού ἀπωτέρω πόλεις Νόγγα, καὶ πλησίον ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἀνάχυσις, ὀρίζουσα τοὺς Ἀστυρας ἀπὸ τῶν Καντάβρων. τὴν δ᾽ ἐξῆς παρόνιου μέχρι Πυρῆνης ὁ δεύτερος τῶν πρεσβευτῶν μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τάγματος. ἐπισκοπεῖ δὲ ὁ τρίτος τὴν μεσόγαιαν, συνέχει δὲ τὰ

1 δὲ Corais inserts.
2 τὴν...παρόνιου, Kramer, for τῆς...παρόνιου; so Meineke, Forbiger, and Müller-Dübner.

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

1 Called above “the consular legatus.”
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τῶν τογάτων ὁδη λεγομένων ὡς ἄν εἰρηνικῶν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱμερόν καὶ τὸν Ἰταλικὸν τύπον μετακειμένων ἐν τῇ τηλευνικῇ ἐσθήτῃ. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ Κελτίσσαρες καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἰβηρίας πλησίον ἐκατέρωθεν οἰκούντες μέχρι τῶν πρὸς θαλάττη μερῶν. αὐτῶς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμόνας διαχειμάζει μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθαλασσίοις μέρεσι καὶ μάλιστα τῇ Καρχηδόνι καὶ τῇ Ταρράκωνι δικαιοδοτῶν, θέρους δὲ περιείσθην, ἐφορῶν δὲ τίνα τῶν δεομένων ἐπανορθώσεως, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπίτροποι τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἵππιοι ἀνδρεῖς, οἱ διανέμοντες τὰ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιῶταις εἰς τὴν διοίκησιν τοῦ βίου.

V

1. Τῶν δὲ προκειμένων νῆσων τῆς Ἰβηρίας τὰς μὲν Πιτυνούσσας δύο καὶ τὰς Γυμνηρίας δύο (Αἰ καλοῦσι καὶ Βαλιαρίδας) προκείσθαι συμβαίνει τῆς μεταξὺ Ταρράκωνος καὶ Σοῦκρωνος παραλλαγῆς, ἐφ' ὡς ἢδρυται τὸ Σάγονυτον εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πελάγιαι, μᾶλλον δὲ αἱ Πιτυνούσσαι πρὸς ἐστὴραν κεκλιμέναι τῶν Γυμνηρίων. καλεῖται δὲ αὐτῶν ἢ μὲν

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

1 Cp. 3. 2. 15, and footnote.
2 Diodorus Siculus (5. 17) says the islands were "by
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 4. 20–5. 1

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

V

1. Of the islands which lie off Iberia, the two Pityussae, and the two Gymnesiae (which are also called the Balarides),² lie off the stretch of coast that is between Tarraco and Sucro, whereon Saguntum is situated; they are also out in the open sea, all of them, although the Pityussae have a greater inclination³ to the west than the Gymnesiae.

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

ΣΤΡΑΒΟ

"Έβουσος, πάλιν ἔχουσα ὸμόνυμων κύκλος δὲ τῆς νῆσου τετρακόσιοι στάδιοι, παρώμαλος τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος: ἢ δὲ "Οφιούσσα ἔρημος καὶ πολὺ ἐλάττων ταύτης πλησίον κειμένη. τῶν δὲ Γυμνησίων ἢ μὲν μεῖζων ἔχει δύο πόλεις, Πάλμαν καὶ Πολεντιάν, τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἐω κειμένην, τὴν Πολεντίαν, τὴν ἢ ἐτέραν πρὸς δύσιν. μῆκος δὲ τῆς νῆσου μικρὸν ἀπολείπον τῶν ἐξακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ διακοσίων, "Αρτεμίδωρος δὲ διπλάσιον εἰρήκει καὶ τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος. ἢ δ' ἐλάττων ὡς διακοσίων" ἢ ἐβδομήκοντα τῆς Πολεντίας διέχει σταδίους: κατὰ μέγεθος μὲν οὖν πολὺ τῆς μείζονος ἀπολείπεται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἄρετὴν οὐδέν αὐτῆς χεῖρων ἐστίν ἁμφοτέρων καὶ 
εὐδαίμονες καὶ εὐλιμενοί, χοιραδόδεις δὲ κατὰ τὰ 
στόματα, ὡστε δεῖν προσοχῆς τοὺς εἰσπλέουσιν. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἄρετὴν τῶν τόπων καὶ οἱ κατοίκοι ἀντε 
ἐρημαῖοι, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν "Έβουσον. 
κακοῦργον δὲ τινῶν ὁλόγων κοινωνίας συνηγα 

gομένων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πελάγεσι ληστάς, διε 
βληθήσαν ἀπαντεῖς, καὶ διέβη Μετέλλος ἐπ' ἀυτοὺς ὁ Βαλλαρίκος προσαγορευθέως, ὡστε καὶ 
tὰς πόλεις ἔκτισε. διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἄρετὴν ἐπι- 

βουλευόμενοι, καὶ περί ἐρημαίοι ὡστε, ὡμοὶ σφε 
δουχθεῖ ἄριστοι λέγουσιν. καὶ τούτ' ἡσυχασάν, ὡς 
φασι, διαφερόντως, ἐξ ὧν Φοίνικες κατέσχον

C 168

1 διακοσίων (σ'), Corais inserts; so Groskurd, Kramer, Forbiger, and Meinecke. Op. Fliny (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
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τὰς νῆσους. οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἐνδύσαι λέγονται πρῶτοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους χιτώνας πλατυσθήμους. ἄξωστοι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας ἐξήσαν, αἰγίδα περὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοντες ἢ πεπυρακτωμένου ἀκόντιον (στάννων δὲ καὶ λελογχυμένου σιδηροῦ μικροῦ), σφενδόνας δὲ περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τρεῖς (μελαγκρανίνας, σχοινοῦ εἰδος, ἢ οὐ πλέκεται τὰ σχοινία· καὶ Φιλητᾶς γε ἐν Ἐρυμνείᾳ. 2

λευγαλέος δὲ χιτῶν piepínoimiou· ἀμφὶ δὲ ἀραὶ

ἐξεις εἰλείται κόμμα μελαγκρανίνου, 3

ὡς σχοινῷ ἐξωσμένου) μελαγκρανίνας ἢ τριχίνας ἢ νευρίνας· τὴν μὲν μακρόκωλου πρὸς τὰς μακροβολάς, τὴν δὲ βραχύκωλου πρὸς τὰς ἐν βραχεῖ βολάς, τὴν δὲ μέσην πρὸς τὰς μέσας. ἵπποντο δὲ ἐκ παιδῶν οὕτως ταῖς σφενδόναις, ὡστ' οὐδὲ ἀλλος τὸς παισίν ἄρτον εἰδίσαν ἀνευ τοῦ τῇ σφενδόνη τυχεῖν. διόπερ ὁ Μέτελλος, προσπέλασον πρὸς τὰς νῆσους, δερρίες ἔτεινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν καταστροφῶν σκέπην πρὸς τὰς σφενδόνας, εἰς ῥαγαγιὸν δὲ ἐποίκους τρισχιλίους τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἱβρίας Ρωμαίων.

2. Πρὸς δὲ τῇ εὐκαρπίᾳ τῆς ὕδας καὶ τὸ μηδὲν

1 μελαγκρανίνας, Kramer, for melagkranias; so Meineke.

2 Tyrwhitt conjectures ἕρμη ἐξελεύθη; for Ἐρυμνείᾳ.

3 μελαγκρανίνως, Kramer, for melagkraino; so Meineke.

4 μελαγκρανίνας, Kramer, for melagkrainaias; so Meineke.

5 τῇ σφενδόνῃ, Cassubon, 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 = I. 48 in Rosbach's ed.); and, of these, they keep one round the head, another round the belly, and a third in the hands."
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 5. 1–2

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"\(^3\) says, "Sorry his tunic befouled with dirt; and round about him his slender waist is entwined with a strip of black-tufted rush," meaning a man girdled with a rush-strap, of black-tufted rush, I say, or of hair or of sinews: the sling with the long straps for the long shots, the one with the short straps for the shots at short range, and the medium sling for the medium shots. And their training in the use of slings used to be such, from childhood up, that they would not so much as give bread to their children unless they first hit it with the sling.\(^4\) This is why Metellus, when he was approaching the islands from the sea, stretched hides above the decks as a protection against the slings. And he brought thither as colonists three thousand of the Romans who were in Iberia.

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

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\(^3\) The works of Philetas of Cos are lost. This "Hermeneia," meaning "Interpretation" (?), is otherwise unknown. The reference may be to a poem of Philetas which, according to Parthenius (Erotica 2), was entitled "Hermes." However, the entire reference has every appearance of being merely a gloss on "black-tufted rush," as was first suggested by Cassaubon.

\(^4\) So Diodorus 5. 18 and Florus 3. 8.
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tòvν συνομένων θηρίων εὑρίσκεσθαι ῥαδίως ἐνταῦθα πρόσετον: οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς λαγιδείς ἐπιχορίους εἶναι φασιν, ἀλλὰ κοιμοθέντων ἐκ τῆς περαιάς ὑπὸ τινος ἄρρενος καὶ βηλείας γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπιγονὴν· ἢ τοσαίτη κατ’ ἄρχας ύπήρχεν, ὡστε καὶ οἴκους ἀνατρέπειν ἐκ τῆς υπονομῆς καὶ δεύδρα, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὡστερ εἴπον, ἀναγκασθήναι καταφυγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ὥν μέντοι τὸ εὑμεταχείριστον τῆς θῆρας ἐτεκρατεῖν οὐκ ἔστω τὴν βλάβην, ἀλλὰ λυσιτελῶς οἱ ἔχοντες καρποῦνται τὴν γῆν. αὐταὶ μὲν οὖν ἐντὸς στηλῶν τῶν Ἡρακλεῖων καλουμένων.

3. Πρὸς αὐταῖς δὲ δύο νησίδαι, όν θάτερον 'Ἡρας νήσου ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ δὴ τινες καὶ ταύτας Στῆλας καλοῦσιν. ἐξω δὲ Στήλων τὰ Γάδειρα, περὶ δὲ τὸσοῦτον μόνον εἰρήκαμεν, ὅτι τῆς Κάλπης διέχει περὶ ἐπτακοσίως καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους (τῆς δὲ ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Βαΐτιδος πλησίων ἱδρυται), πλείους δὲ εἰσὶ λόγοι περὶ αὐτής, οὔτοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ τὰ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα ναυκλήρα στέκλοντες εἰς τε τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς τὰ λατταν καὶ τὴν ἐκτός, οὔτε μεγάλην οἰκουντες νῆσον οὔτε τῆς περαιάς νεμόμενοι πολλήν οὖτ' 1 3. 2. 6.

1 "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 Abilix (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,¹ 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.² 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 Calpe³ (that is, it is situated near the outlet of the Bactis), but there is more to be said about it than the others. For example, here live the men who fit out the most and largest merchant-vessels, both for Our Sea and the outer sea, although, in the first place, it is no large island they live in, and, secondly, they do not occupy much of the continent opposite the island, and, thirdly, they are not well-off in the a temple of Hera (Ptolemaeus 2. 4. 5)—were once regarded as the Pillars. From this, as Gosselin and Groskurd think, 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. Cf. the reference to Artemidorus in § 5 below, and see the discussion of Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée*, vol. i, pp. 264 ff. ² 3. 1. 8.

² 3. 1. 8.
Strabo


1 Cp. 8. 1. 7.
2 In 19 B.C., for his victory over the Garamantes and other African peoples.
3 "New" (City).
4 "Twin" (City).
5 Hardly the islet of Trocadero, Tozer thinks (Selections, p. 110), although the description of the islet by Pliny (4. 36) might suit Trocadero. Both Gosselin and Tozer conjecture that the islet here mentioned by Strabo has disappeared, or rather that all that is left of it is the dangerous reef of rocks off Cadiz to the north.
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 Knights—a number not equalled even in the case of the Italian cities except Patavium.¹

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,² founded another for them, which they call “Nea”³; and the city which is composed of the two they call “Didyme,”⁴ 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;⁵ and because they take delight in its geographical position they have made the islet a rival city, as it were, to Didyme.⁴ Only a few, however, comparatively speaking, live either on the islet or in the harbour-town⁶ which was constructed for them by Balbus on the opposite coast of the mainland. The city of Gades is situated on the westerly parts of the island; and next to it, at the extremity of

⁶ The Portus Gaditanus of the Romans, now known as Puerto Real.
τὸ Κρύσιον πρὸς τῇ νησίδι τὸ δὲ Ἡράκλειον ἐπὶ θάτερα τέτραπται ¹ πρὸς ἑαυτόν, καθ’ ὅ πολλὰ ἐτέχθη τῇ ἡπείρῳ τυγχάνει συνάπτουσα ἡ νῆσος ὡσον σταδίαν πορθμὸν ἀπολείποντα. καὶ λέγοντι μὲν διέχειν τῆς πόλεως δύσεκα μίλια τὸ ἱερόν, ἵνα ποιούσε τῶν τῶν ἄθλων καὶ τῶν τῶν μιλίων ἀριθμῶν ἔστι δὲ μεῖζον καὶ σχεδόν τι ποτότου ὡσον ἔστι τὸ τοῦ μυκός τῆς νῆσου μήκος ὡς ἔστι τῆς νῆσου τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἑτερὰ τῆς ἀνατολῆς.

4. Ἐφύσειαν δὲ τὰ Γάδειρα ἔοικε λέγειν ὁ Φερεκυθής, ἐν ἣ τὰ περὶ τὸν Γηρύονον μυθεύονται. Ἀλλοι δὲ τὴν παραβεβλημένην ταύτη τῇ πόλει νῆσον, πορθμῷ σταδίαφ διειρημένην, τὸ εὐβοτον ὁρῶντες, ὅτι τῶν νεομένων αὐτόθι προβάσαντο τὸ γάλα ὧν ὦ ποιεῖν. τυροποιοῦσι τε πολλῷ ὑδατί μίζαντες διὰ τὴν πιώτητα, ἐν πεντήκοντά τε ἡμέραις πυγίτα τὸ ἱπποῖο, εἰ μή τις ἀποσχάξοι τι τοῦ αἵματος. Ἐντὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ἡν νέμεται βοτάνην, ἀλλὰ πιαίνει σφόδρα τεκμαίρονται δ’ ἐκ τούτου ² πεπλάσθαι τὸν μῦθον τὸν περὶ τὰ βουκόλια τοῦ Γηρύονον. κοινῇ μέντοι συνψηκομένα πᾶσι τοῦ αἰγαλός.

¹ τὰ, before πρὸς, Jones deletes.
² τούτου, from the margin of o, for τοῦ (ABC') ; 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. 1, p. 331). Strabo thought that the length
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 5. 3-4

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

⁴ By "Erytheia," in which the myth-writers place the adventures of Geryon, Phercyles seems to mean Gades.⁵ Others, however, think that Erytheia is the island that lies parallel to this city and is separated from it by a strait of a stadium in width,⁶ that is, in view of the fine pasturage there, because the milk of the flocks that pasture there yields no whey. And when they make cheese they first mix the milk with a large amount of water, on account of the fat in the milk. Further, the animals choke to death within fifty days, unless you open a vein and bleed them. The grass upon which they graze is dry, but it makes them very fat; and it is from this fact, it is inferred, that the myth about the cattle of Geryon has been fabricated. The whole of the coast, however, is peopled jointly.⁷

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

¹ Cp. 3. 2. 11.
² Cp. Pliny 4. 36.
³ That is, by both Tyrians and Iberians. We are left to assume that the interior of the island was peopled by Tyrians alone.

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5. Peri de τῆς κτίσεως τῶν Γαδείρων τοιαύτα λέγοντες μέμνημαι Γαδείρων χρησμού τίνος, διὰ γενέσθαι φασὶ Τυρίων κελέωντα ἐπὶ τᾶς Ἡρακλέους στῆλας ἀποκεῖσαν πέρπασι τοὺς δὲ περιφήμων κατασκοπής χάριν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐγένοντο τὸν κατὰ τὴν Κάλπην, νομίζοντας τέρμανας εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῆς Ἡρακλέους στρατείας τὰ ἄκρα τὰ wearable εἰς τοὺς πορθμοὺς, ταῦτα δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Στῆλας ὀνομάζειν τὸ λόγιον, κατασχεῖν εἰς τὶ χωρὶον ἐντὸς τῶν στενῶν, εἷς ὅ νῦν ἑστὶν ἢ τῶν Ἑξιτανῶν πόλεων ἔνταθα δὲ θύσαις, μὴ γενομένων καλῶν τῶν ἱερείων, ἀνακώμαι τά πάλιν. Ἀρκοῦν δὲ ὅστερον τοὺς περιφήμων προελθεῖν ἢ ἕξω τοῦ πορθμοῦ περὶ χιλίων καὶ πεντακόσιων σταδίους εἰς νῆσον Ἡρακλέους ἱερῶν, κείμενυν κατὰ πόλιν Ὁνόμαν τῆς Ἰβηρίας, καὶ νομίζοντας ἐνταθά εἶναι τᾶς Στῆλας ϊθαι τῷ θεῷ, μὴ γενομένων δὲ πάλιν καλῶν τῶν ἱερείων, ἐπανελθεῖν οἰκεῖς. τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ στὸλῳ τοὺς ἀφικομένους Γάδειρα κτίσασὺ καὶ ἱδρύσασθαι τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑφοῖς τῆς νήσου τῆν δὲ πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις. δειδὲ τούτῳ τοὺς μὲν δοκεῖν τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ πορθμοῦ τᾶς Στῆλας εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ τὰ Γάδειρα τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ πορσάτην τῶν Γαδείρων ἐξω προκεῖσθαι, ἔνιοι δὲ Στῆλας ὑπέλαβον τὴν Κάλπην καὶ τὴν Ἀβίλυκα, τὸ ἀντικείμενον ὅρος

1 τῶ, Corais inserta before ποιοῦντα.

1 In speaking of the Pillars or the Strait, Strabo always means "east of" by "inside" and "west of" by "outside."
2 Gosselin would amend to "five hundred," thus making the limit of the second expedition the cape of Trafalgar and
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 5. 5

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 Exitani 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 Odie River, sixty miles west of Gades.
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ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης, ὃ φησιν Ἑρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ Μεταγωνίῳ. Νομαδικῷ ἔθνει, ἱδρύθαι: οἱ δὲ τὰς πλησίον ἐκατέρου νησίδας, ὅτι τὴν ἑτέραν "Ηρας νήσουν ὑπομάζουσιν. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ τὴν μὲν τῆς "Ηρας νήσουν καὶ ἱερῶν λέγει αὐτὴς, ἀλλὰ δὲ φήσιν εἶναι τινα, οὔτω Ἀθηλυκα ὅρος οὐδὲ Μεταγωνίου ἔθνος. καὶ τὰς Πλαγιᾶς καὶ τὰς Συμπληγάδας ἐνθάδε μεταφέροντα τινές, ταῦτας εἶναι νομίζοντες Στῆλας, δὲ Πίνδαρος καλεῖ πύλας Γαδερίδας, εἰς ταῦτας ύστετας ἀφίγχθαι ἑαυτῶν τὸν Ἡρακλέα. καὶ Δικαίαρχος δὲ καὶ Ἑρατοσθένης καὶ Πολύβιος καὶ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων περὶ τῶν πορθμῶν ἀποφαίνουσι τὰς Στῆλας. οἱ δὲ Ἰβηρες καὶ Λίβνες ἐν Γαδερίοις εἶναι φασίν, οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδέκιναι στήλας τὰ περὶ τῶν πορθμῶν. οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Γαδερίους χαλκάς ὄκταπήξεις, εἰς αἷς ἀναγέρασται τὸ αὐτάματον τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ταῦτας λέγεσθαι φασίν ἐδ' ἃς ἔρχόμενοι οἱ τελεσάντες τὸν πλοῦν καὶ θύγοντες τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ διαβοθῆναι, παρεκκεῖσαι, ὡς τούτ' εἶναι καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τὸ πέρας, τοῦτον δ' εἶναι πιθανότατον καὶ Ποσείδώνιος ἤγείται τὸν λόγον, τὸν δὲ χρησμὸν καὶ τὸν πολλούς ἀποστόλους ψεύσμα Φοινικών, περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀποστόλων τί ἄν τις δισχυρίσαιτο πρὸς ἑλεγχον ἤ πίστιν, οὐδετέρος παράλογον ἢν; τὸ δὲ τὰς νησίδας ἢ τὰ ὧρι μὴ φάσκειν

1 ὧν, Kramer inserts, from Casaubon's conj.: so Meineke.

2 The passage referred to is otherwise unknown to us.

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

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

* Cp. the proverbial "Punic faith,"
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εῳκέναι στῆλαις, ἀλλὰ ζητεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν κυρίως λεγόμενων στηλῶν τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅρους ἢ τῆς στρατείας τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἔχει μὲν τινὰ νοῦν ἔδωκε γὰρ παλαιὸν ὑπήρχε τὸ τίθεσθαι τοιοῦτους ὅρους, καθάπερ οἱ Ἡρωίνων τὴν στυλίδα ἔθεσαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Πρόβατας κειμένην, πυργίζου τι, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Πελώρου λεγόμενος πύργος ἀντίκειται ταύτῃ τῇ στυλίδι καὶ οἱ Φιλοίων λεγόμενοι βωμοὶ κατὰ μέσην ποιεῖ τὴν μεταξὺ τῶν Σύρτων γῆν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ισθμῷ τῷ Κορινθιακῷ μνημονεύεται στῆλη τῆς ἑδρυμένης πρότερον, ἣν ἐστησαν κοῦνη ὁ τῶν Ἀττικῶν σὺν τῇ Μεγαρίδι κατασχόντες Ἰωνικές, ἐξελαθέντες εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, καὶ οἱ κατασχόντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐπιγράφαντες ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Μεγαρίδι μέρους,

τάδε οὖχι Πελοπόννησος, ἀλλὰ Ἰωνία,

ἐκ δὲ θατέρου,

τάδε ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος, οὐκ Ἰωνία.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς στρατείας ὅρια βωμοῦς ἔθετο ἐν τοῖς τόποις εἰς οὓς ὑστάτους ἀφίκετο τῶν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολῶν Ἰνδῶν, μμούμενος τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Δίονυσον. ἤν μὲν δὲ τὸ ἔθος τούτο.

1 See 6. 15.
2 See 1. 1. 17.
3 See 17. 3. 20, where Strabo gives the place a different position, namely, on the coast of the Greater Syria, i.e. on the Gulf of Sidra. These altars were said to have been erected at the boundary between the Carthaginian Empire and Cyrenaica by the Carthaginian in honour of the two Philaei brothers, who, in order to settle the boundary favourably for Carthage, had given themselves up to be.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 5. 5

the mountains resemble pillars, and to search for the limits of the inhabited world or of the expedition of Heracles at Pillars that were properly so called, is indeed a sensible thing to do; for it was a custom in early times to set up landmarks like that. For instance, the people of Rhegium set up the column—a sort of small tower—which stands at the strait; and opposite this column there stands what is called the Tower of Pelorus. And in the land about midway between the Syrtes there stand what are called the Altars of the Philaeni. And mention is made of a pillar placed in former times on the Isthmus of Corinth, which was set up in common by those Ionians who, after their expulsion from the Peloponnesus, got possession of Attica together with Megaris, and by the peoples who got possession of the Peloponnesus; they inscribed on the side of the pillar which faced Megaris, "This is not the Peloponnesus, but Ionia," on the other, "This is the Peloponnesus, not Ionia." Again, Alexander set up altars as limits of his Indian Expedition, in the 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 70). Pliny (5. 4) says that the altars were of sand, thus implying that the altars were merely the sand-heaps over the two bodies.

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

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.

Alexander set up twelve altars in honour of the twelve gods (Diodorus Siculus 17. 96).
6. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τόπους εἰκός ἔστι μετα-
λαμβάνειν τὴν αὐτὴν προσηγορίαν, καὶ μᾶλστα
ἐπειδὰν ὁ χρόνος διαφθείρῃ τοὺς τεθέντας ὅρους,
οὐ γὰρ νῦν οἱ Φιλαίνων βωμοὶ μένουσι, ἀλλ' ὁ
tότος μετείληφε τὴν προσηγορίαν ὑπὲρ ἐν τῇ
Ἰνδικῇ στήλᾳ φασίν ὀραθῆναι κειμένας οὐθ' Ἡρακλεός οὐτὲ Διονύσου, καὶ λεγομένων μέντοι
καὶ δεικτυμένων τῶν τόπων τινῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες
ἐπίστευοι τούτους εἶναι στήλας ἐν οἷς τὶς σημεῖον
εὑρίσκον ἣ τῶν περὶ τῶν Διονύσου ἱστορικῶν ἡ
tῶν περὶ τῶν Ἡρακλέα. καὶ τοῦδε τοὺς μὲν
πρώτους οὐκ ἄν ἀπιστήσατι τις ὁρεῖς κρήσασθαι
χειροκμήτους τις, βωμῶς ἢ πύργους ἢ στυλίσω
ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων εἰς οὓς ὑστάτους ἦκον τοὺς ἐπιφα-
νευτάτους (ἐπιφανέστατοι δὲ οἱ πορθμοὶ καὶ τὰ
ἐπικείμενα ὅρη καὶ αἱ νησίδες πρὸς τὸ ἀποδηλῶν
ἐσχατίας τε καὶ ἁρχὰς τῶν), ἐκλειπόντων δὲ
τῶν χειροκμήτων ὑπομνημάτων μετενεχθῆναι τοῦ-
νομα εἰς τῶν τόπων, εἰτε τὰς νησίδας τις βου-
λεται λέγειν εἰτέ τὰς ἄκρας τὰς ποιούσας τῶν
πορθμῶν. τούτῳ γὰρ ἤδη διορίσασθαι χαλεπῶν,
potέρως χρῆ προσάφαι τὴν ἐπίκλησιν, διὰ τὸ
ἀμφότεροι εἰσενέκα τὰς Στήλας. λέγω δὲ ἐσκι-
ναί, διότι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑδρυστεὶ τόπους οἱ
σαφῶς τὰς ἐσχατίας ὑπαγορεύοντο, καθ' ὅ καὶ
στόμα εἰρήνεται ὁ πορθμός καὶ ὑστάτος καὶ ἄλλοι
πλεῖοι τὸ δὲ στόμα πρὸς μὲν ἐπιλόυον ἀρχὴ
ἔστι, πρὸς δὲ ἐκπλοῦσιν ἐσχατοῦ. τὰ οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ
στόματι νησίδα, ἔχοντα τὸ εὐπερήγαρφον τε καὶ

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1 On the occasion of Alexander's Indian campaign.
2 Specifically Strabo has in mind Calpe and Abilix.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 5. 6

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 Philaei no longer remain, yet the place has taken on the appellation. In India, too, there are no pillars, it is said, either of Heracles or of Dionysus to be seen standing, and, of course, when certain of the places there were spoken of or pointed out to the Macedonians, they believed to be Pillars those places only in which they found some sign of the stories told about Dionysus or of those about Heracles. So, in the case of Gades, too, one might not disbelieve that the first visitors used, so to speak, "hand-wrought" landmarks—altars or towers or pillars—setting them up in the most conspicuous of the farthermost 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
σημειώνοντα, ούτως στήλαις ἀπεκάλυκτοι τες ἀνώφος δ' αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ὅρη τὰ ἐπικείμενα τῷ πορθμῷ καὶ ἔξοχήν τινα τοιαύτην ἐμφαίνοντα οὖν αἰ C 172 στυλίδες ἡ αἱ στήλαι. καὶ ὁ Πίνδαρος οὖν δεῖ ὁρθῶς λέγοι τύλας Γαδεέριδας, εἰ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος νοοῦτο αἱ στήλαι τύλας γὰρ ἔοικε τὰ στῶματα. τὰ δὲ Γάδειρα οὐκ ἐν τοιούτῳ ἱδρυται τόποις ὡστε ἀποδηλοῦν ἐσχατιάν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῃ ποσς κεῖται μεγάλη παραλία κολπώδεις.

τὸ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτάς ἀναφέρει τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἴρακλείῳ στήλαις τῷ ἐναθέτῃ ἤπευχόμεθα ἔυλογον, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται οὐ γὰρ ἐμπόροιν ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνων μᾶλλον ἄρξατον τόσον ὅματος τούτου κρατήσαι πιθανόν τὴν δόξαν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰνδικών στηλῶν. ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή, ἡν φασιν, οὐκ ἀφθηρομένη ἤρων δηλοῦσα, ἀλλὰ ἀναλοματος κεφάλαιον, ἀντιμαρτυρεί τῷ λόγῳ ταῦ γάρ Ἴρακλείου στήλαις μνημεία ἐνεμεῖ εἰς τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλουργίας, οὐ τῆς Φοινίκους δαπάνης.

7. Φησὶ δὲ ὁ Πολύβιος κρήνην ἐν τῷ Ἴρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Γαδείροις εἶναι, βαθμὸν διόλον κατὰ βασίσων ἐξουσιών εἰς τὸ ὑδωρ πότιμων, ἡς ταῖς παλαιοῖς τῆς θαλάττης ἀντιπαθεῖν, κατὰ μὲν τὰς πλήμνας ἐκκλείσθουσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀμφώτερες πληρομέμενην, αἵτινες δ' ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους εἰς

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

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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 reproduction ² 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 Heracleium ³ 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 falls at the time of the flood-tides and fills up at the time of the ebb-tides. And he alleges as the cause of this that the air

¹ The Heracleum includes both the temple and the sacred precinct of Heracles (cp. § 9 below).
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τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς γῆς ἐκτίπτον, καλυφθείσης μὲν αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος κατὰ τὰς ἐπιφάνεις τῆς θαλάττης, εἰργετὶ τῶν οἰκείων τοιούτων εξόδων, ἀναστρέφαν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ἐμφράττει τοὺς τῆς πηγῆς πόρους καὶ ποιεῖ λειψυδρίαν, γυμνωθείσης δὲ πάλιν, εὐθυπορησάν ἐλευθερῷ τὰς φλέβας τῆς πηγῆς, ὡσ᾿ ἀναβλύειν εὐπόρος. Ἀρτεμίδορος δὲ ἀντειπὼν τούτῳ καὶ ἀμα παρ’ αὐτοῦ τίνα θεῖα αἰτίαν, μνησθείς δὲ καὶ τῆς Σιλανοῦ δόξης τοῦ συγγραφέως, οὐ μοι δοκεῖ μνήμης ἄξει εὑπείν, ὥς ἂν ἰδιότης περὶ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ Σιλανὸς. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ἤευδὴ λέγων τὴν ἱστορίαν εἰναι ταύτην δύο φησί εἰναι φρεατα ἐν τῷ Ηρακλείῳ καὶ τρίτον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν δ᾿ ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ τὸ μὲν μικρότερον ὑδρευμένων συνεχῶς αὐθαρσὶ καὶ ἐκλείπεις, καὶ διάλειπτον τῆς ὕδρειας πληροῦσθαι πάλιν τὸ δὲ μεῖζον δὲ ὅλης τῆς ἠμέρας τῆς ὑδρείας ἔχων, μειοῦμενοι μέντοι, καθάπερ καὶ πᾶλα φρέατα πάντα, νῦνται πληροῦσθαι, μηκετί ὑδρευμένων ἔπειθε δὲ συμπίπτει κατὰ τὸν τῆς συμπληρώσεως καιρὸν ἡ ἀμπωτις πολλάκις, πεπιστεύεται καὶ τοῦτο 1 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχώριων τὴν ἀντιπάθειαν. 2 ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ ἱστορία πεπιστευται καὶ οὗτος εἰρηκε καὶ ἠμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παράδοξοις θρυλομένην παρειλήφαμεν.

1 Casaubon and subsequent editors emend καὶ νοῦς to καὶ νοῦς.
2 ἀντιπάθειαν, Xylander, for ἀντιπλάσιαν; so subsequent editors.

1 Polybius has said that there was “a spring in the Heraclium”; Poseidonius says “two wells”; but Pliny (2. 100) says, “At Gades, which is very near the temple of Heraclés.”

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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.
STRABO

C 173 ἡκούομεν δὲ καὶ φρέατα εἶναι, τὰ μὲν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς κρίτους τὰ δὲ ἄνευ, διὰ δὲ τὴν μοχθικὰς τοῦ ὑδάτων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δεξαμενᾶς ἐπιπλάσσειν τοῦ λακκαίου ὕδατος: εἰ μὲντοι καὶ τούτων τι τῶν φρεάτων ἐπιδείκνυται τὴν τῆς ἀντιπαθείας ὑπόνοιαν, οὐκ ἦσαν, τἀς δὲ αἰτίας, εἴπερ συμβαίνει ταῦτα ὑπότας, ὡς ἐν χαλεποῖς ἀποδέχεσθαι δεῖ, εἰκὸς μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸς ἔχειν ὡς ὁ Πολυβίος φησιν: εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν φλεβῶν ταῖς τῶν πηγαῖοι νοτιοθέσιας ἐξαθένει χανυψάθαι καὶ παρέκχουσιν εἰς τὰ πλάγια μᾶλλον δίδοναι τοῖς ὑδαίν ἢ ἀναβλίβειν κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ρεῖθρον εἰς τὴν κρήνην (νοτίζεσθαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον, ἐπικλύσαντος τοῦ κύματος). εἰ δὲ, ὁστὲρ Ἀθηνόδωρος φησιν, εἰσπυκεῖ τε καὶ ἐκπυκνή το συμβαίνων περὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀμπυρίες ἐκείνης, εἶναι ὅτι τινὰ τῶν ἰσούτων ὑδάτων, ἃ κατ' ἄλλους μὲν πόρους ἔχει τὴν ἐκρυσθηνί κατὰ φύσιν εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὅτι δὴ τὰ στόματα πηγᾶς καὶ κρήνας καλοῦμεν, κατ' ἄλλους δὲ πόρους συνέλεκται πρὸς τὸ τῆς βαλάντης βάθος: καὶ συνεξαίρεται μὲν ἐκείνην, ὡστε πλημμύρειν, ὅταν ὁ λεία ἐκπυκνή γίνεται, τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπολεῖται ρεῖθρον, πάλιν δὲ ἀναχωρεῖ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ρεῖθρον ἦν τὸν κάκειν λάβη τὴν ἀναχώρησιν.

8. Οὔτε οἶδα δὲ πῶς κατ' ἄλλα δεινοὺς ἀποφαίνω τοῦ Ποσείδωνος τοῦ Φῶνεάς, ἐντάθα

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. 3). And it was a popular doctrine among the Greek and Roman philosophers that the universe was an animal; and in this way they accounted for the tides (Pomponius Mela 3. 1).
have been hearing that there are still other wells, some in the gardens in front of the city, and others within the city, but that on account of the impurity of the water reservoirs of cistern-water are prevalent in the city. Whether, however, any of these wells proves the truth of the supposition of the inverse-behaviour, I do not know. But as for the causes alleged—if it be true that the case is as reported—we should, regarding the problem as a difficult one, welcome them. For it is reasonable to suppose that the cause is what Polybius says it is; and it is reasonable to suppose also that some of the veins of the spring, if soaked from the outside, become relaxed and thus afford their water an outflow at the sides, instead of forcing it up along the old channel into the spring (the veins are of necessity soaked when the tidal wave has washed over the land). Yet if, as Athenodorus says, the case with the flood-tides and with the ebb-tides is like inhalation and exhalation,\textsuperscript{1} then, of the flowing waters, he says, there might be some which by certain passages (whose mouths, of course, we call fountains or springs) naturally have their outflow to the surface, and by certain other passages are drawn in together to the depths of the sea; that is, in helping raise the sea\textsuperscript{2} 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

\textsuperscript{1} See the argument of Strato the physicist and the discussion of Strabo in 1. 3. 4–5.
STRABO

μωρίαν μᾶλλον ἡ δριμύτητα αὐτῶν κατέγνωκεν. ἡμέρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ νῦξ τῇ τοῦ ἥλιου περιφορᾷ¹ μετείπται, τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ γῆς ὄντος, τοτὲ δὲ ὑπὲρ γῆς φαινομένου· φησὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀκεανοῦ κίνησιν ὑπέχειν ἀστροειδή περιόδου, τὴν μὲν ἡμερήσιον ἀποδιδόσαν, τὴν δὲ μνημαίαν, τὴν δὲ ἐναυσιαίαν συμπαθὸς τῇ σελήνῃ. ὅταν γὰρ αὐτὴ ξύδιον μέγεθος ὑπερέχῃ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος, ἀρχεῖσθαι διοίκειν ² τὴν βάλαπταν καὶ ἐπιβαίνειν τῆς γῆς αἰεθητῶς μέχρι μεσουρανήσεως· ἐκκλίναντος δὲ τοῦ ἀστρον, πάλιν ἄναχορεῖν τὸ πέλαγος κατ᾽ ὀλύγον, ἦος δὲν ξύδιον ὑπερέχῃ τῆς δύσεως ἢ σελήνης· εἶτα μένειν τοσοῦτον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ καταστάσει χρόνων ὅσον ἡ σελήνη συνάπτει πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν δύσιν, καὶ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον τοσοῦτον ὅσον κινηθείς ὑπὸ γῆς ξύδιον ἀπόχοι δὲ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος· εἰτ᾽ ἐπιβαίνειν πάλιν ἐως τὸ ὑπὸ γῆς μεσουρανήματος· εἰτ᾽ ἄναχορεῖν ἦος ἀν πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς περιχωρῆσαν ἡ σελήνη ξύδιον τοῦ ὀρίζοντος ἀπόσχημα μένειν δὲ μέχρις ἄν

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ξύδιον ὑπὲρ γῆς μετεορισθῆ, καὶ πάλιν ἐπιβαίνειν. ταύτην μὲν εἶναι λέγει τὴν ἡμερήσιον περιόδον· τὴν δὲ μνημαίαν, ὅτι μέγισται μὲν αἱ παλαροῖαι γίγνονται περὶ τὰς συνόδους, εἶτα μειοῦνται μέχρι διχοτόμου· πάλιν δὲ αὐξοῦνται μέχρι πανθελήνου, καὶ μειοῦνται πάλιν ἐως διχοτόμου φθινόδος· εἴθ᾽

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¹ τῇ ... περιφορᾷ, Corais, for ἡ ... περιφορᾷ; so the subsequent editors.
² διοίκειν, the reading of the Epitome, for δεῖν ABCE!.

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

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people, can here charge them with foolishness rather than shrewdness. In the first place, a day and night is measured by the revolution of the sun, which, at one time, is below the earth, but, at another, shines above the earth. And yet Poseidonius says that the movement of the ocean is subject to periods like those of the heavenly bodies, since, behaving in accord with the moon, the movement exhibits first the diurnal, secondly the monthly, and thirdly the yearly period; for when the moon rises above the horizon to the extent of a zodiacal sign, 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, and then diminish until the half-moon; and, again, they increase until the full moon and diminish again until the waning half-moon; and then, until the

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* The first quarter.  
* The third quarter.
STRABO

ἐὼς τῶν συνόδων αἱ αὖξήσεις, πλεονάζειν δὲ καὶ χρόνω καὶ τάχειτάς αὐξήσεις. τὰς δὲ ἐναυσιαίας παρὰ τῶν ἐν Γαδείροις πυθέσθαι φησί, λεγόντων ὡς κατὰ θερμάς τροπᾶς μάλιστα αὖξουσι καὶ αἱ ἀναχωρήσεις καὶ αἱ ἐπιβάσεις. εἰκάζει δ' αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν τροπῶν μειοῦσθαι μὲν ἐὼς ἰσιμερίας, αὖξεθαι δὲ ἐὼς χειμερινῶν τροπῶν, εἰτα μειοῦσθαι μέχρι ἑαυτῆς ἰσιμερίας, εἰτ' αὐξεθαι μέχρι θερμῶν τροπῶν, τῶν δὲ περιόδων τούτων οὐσῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα, τὸν συνάμφο χρόνον διὰ μὲν ἐπιβαίνουσάς της θαλάττης, δίς δὲ ἀναχωροσθῆναι, τεταγμένως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡμερησίων χρόνων καὶ τῶν νυκτερινῶν, πῶς οὖν τε πολλάκις μὲν συμβαίνειν κατὰ τὰς ἀμπώτεις τὴν πλήρωσιν τοῦ φρέατος, μὴ πολλάκις δὲ τὴν λειψυδρίαν; ἤ πολλάκις μὲν, μὴ ἵσακις δὲ; ἢ καὶ ἵσακις1 μὲν, τοὺς δὲ Γαδειρίτας ταῦτα μὲν μὴ ἰκανοὺς γενέσθαι τηρῆσαι τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν γυνόμενα, τὰς δὲ ἐναυσιαίας περιόδους ἐκ τῶν ἀπαξ συμβαίνοντων κατ' ἐτοὺς τηρῆσαι; 2 ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐκ ἔρχεται αὐτός, διὸν εξ ὧν καὶ προσεικάζει γινέσθαι 3 τὰς μειωσις καὶ πάλιν αὐξήσεις ἀπὸ τροπῶν ἐπὶ τροπὰς τε ἐτέρας κάκειθεν πάλιν ἐπανοῦσαν. καὶ μὴν

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

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

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conjunction, the increases take place again, and the increases are further increased in respect both to duration and to speed.\textsuperscript{1} As for the annual periods, he says that he learned of them from the people at Gades, who told him that both the retreat and the invasion grew greatest at the time of the summer solstice. And from this he himself surmises that they are diminished from that solstice up to the equinox,\textsuperscript{3} 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 \textsuperscript{3} but for the failure not also to occur often? or often, but not equally often? or even equally often indeed, but for the people of Gades to have been incapable of observing these phenomena that were taking place every day, and yet to have been capable of observing the annual periods from what occurred only once a year? Furthermore, that Poseidonius really believes these people, is clear from the surmise which he adds to their story, namely, that the diminutions, and, in turn, the increases, take place from one solstice on to the other, and also that recurrences take place from the latter solstice back to the former. Moreover, that other

\textsuperscript{2} The autumnal equinox.

\textsuperscript{3} This assertion is attributed by Strabo to Poseidonius, not to the Phoenicians (op. § 7 above).
STRABO

οὐδὲ ἐκείνο εἰκός, ὥστε τηρητικοὶ ὤντες τὰ μὲν συμβαίνοντα οὐκ εἶδον, τοῖς δὲ μὴ συμβαίνοντιν ἐπίστευεν.

9. Φησὶ δ᾽ οὖν Σέλευκον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἔρυθρᾶς θαλάττης καὶ ἀνωμαλίαν τινὰ ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἀμαλότητα λέγειν κατὰ τὰς τῶν ξωδίων διαφοράς, ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἵσημερινοὺς ξωδίους τῆς σελήνης οὐσίας ὀμαλίζειν τὰ πάθη, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τροπικοῖς ἀνωμαλίαν εἶναι, καὶ πλῆθει καὶ τάχει, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τοὺς συνεγγυσμοὺς εἶναι τὴν ἁναλογίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς περὶ τὴν πανσέληνιον φησιν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖν γενόμενος τῷ ἐν Γαδείφους πλεῖον ἱμέρας μὴ δύνασθαι συνεύρεις τὰς ἑναυσίους διαφοράς. περὶ μὲντοι τὴν σύνοδον ἐκείνον τοῦ μνοῦ τηρήσαι μεγάλην παραλλαγήν ἐν Ἡλίᾳ τῆς τοῦ Βαύτιος ἀνακοπῆς παρὰ τὰς ἐμπροσθεν, ἐν αἷς οὐδὲ ἐς ἡμὶσυς τὰς ὁχθὰς ἐβρέχει τότε δ᾽ ὑπερχεισθαί τὸ ὅμωρ ὅμοθ' ὑδρεύεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸθι (διέχει δ'.

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

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

9. Be that as it may, he says that Seleucus—the Seleucus² from the region of the Erythraean Sea—speaks of a certain irregularity in these phenomena, or regularity, according to the differences of the signs of the 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 Iliipa a great variation in the back-water of the Baetis, 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 Iliipa is about

¹ That is, the comparative regularity or irregularity of the tides.
² 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.
³ That is, the Roman soldiers who were stationed at Iliipa.
'Ilipta tis thalattis peri epitakosious stadious: toon δ' epi thalattin pedion kai epi triaconta stadious eis bados kaluptomenon upo tis plhmmuridios oaste kai nysous apolambainesai, to tis kryptidos upos tis te tov nev tov en to Ήρακλειω kai tis tov chomatos δ' tov lymenos prokeita tov en Gadereios, ou'd' epi deka pheixis kaluptomenon anametropi kai phusai kai prosothi de tis to diplados toutou kath tis ygeumena prota parauxesis, ou'to parauxhein en tis emphasi, h en tout pedious paraecheta to meg thos tis plhmmuridios, touto men de to pados koinon istoreita kath pasan tis kiklou parauxanitiv, to de tis 'Itheros potamo kai ibion, phusin ootos plhmmurein gam eis' epo tou te, kai xorica ombrosoi kai xinov, epelaid tis boeria pneuma plessin, aitiao de elai tis lymenin de' he rei' suvekballassethi gam to lymenion upo twn anemoun.

10. Istoreit de kai devdron en Gadereios oixous exwv kaluptomenous eis edafos, polllakis de fylla xifoeidh pernaia to mikhos, platos de tetradaktyula. peri de Nea Kaphidona devdron eis akatthis fliovn afineai, eis ou ufrasmata ginei kalistta. tov men ouv en Gadereios kai hemieis oidadein de oidos en Alwntwv kata tis ton klay-

1 Corain, Cohet, and Vogel would follow the reading of B and L: ειδομεν.

1 Some of the MSS. read "fifty."
2 See 3. 2. 4.
3 Perhaps the Draconis Draco.
4 Strabo apparently means the fibre ("bark") in the leaf-sheaths ("thorns") of the European dwarf fan-palm

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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 Heracleum and that of the mole which lies in front of the port of Gades, was, by his own measurement, as he says, not covered as high up as ten cubits; and further, if one should add the double of this figure for the additional increases which at times have taken place, one might thus present to the imagination the aspect which is produced in the plains by the magnitude of the flood-tide. This behaviour of the tides, then, according to his account, is general along the whole circuit of the ocean-coast, whereas the behaviour of the Iberus River is “novel, and peculiar,” he says, to that river, namely: it floods the country in some places, even independently of rains or snows, when the north winds blow to excess; and the lake through which the river flows is the cause of this, since the lake-water is by the winds driven out of the lake along with the river-water.

10. Poseidonius also tells of a tree\(^4\) 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\(^5\) 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

\(^{(Chamaerops humilis)}\). This fibre is called “African hair,” and a fabric like haircloth is still made from it.

\(^{5}\) Clearly a tree of the genus Salix (willow family).
δων κατάκαμψιν, τοῖς δὲ φύλλοις ἀνόμαιοι, οὐδὲ καρπὸν ἔχον τούτο δὲ ἔχειν φησὶ. τὰ δὲ ἄκανθαν ὑφαίνεται καὶ ἐν Καππαδοκία, φέρει δὲ οὐδὲν δένδρον τὴν ἀκανθαν, ἐξ ὧν ῥ ο φλοιός, ἀλλὰ χαμάξης ἤ βοτάνη. τῷ δὲ δένδρῳ τῷ ἐν Γαδείρω καὶ τούτῳ προσιστόρηται, ὅτι κλάδου μὲν ἀποκλωμένου γάλα με, ρίζης δὲ τεμνομένης μελώδες ύγρὸν ἀναφέρεται. τοσάτα καὶ περὶ Γαδείρων.

11. Αἱ δὲ Καττίτερίδες δέκα μὲν εἰσὶ, κεῖναι δὲ ἔγγυς ἀλλήλων, πρὸς ἀρκτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἀρτά-βρων λεμένοις πελάγιαι, μία δὲ αὐτῶν ἐρημὸς ἔστι, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας οἰκούσιν ἀνθρώπους μελάγχλανοι, ποδήρεις ἐνδεδυκότες τοὺς χιτῶνας, ἐξοσμένοι περὶ τὰ στέρα, μετὰ ράβδων περιπατοῦντες, ὁμοία ταῖς πραγμακιά Ποιναῖς. ξύσι δὲ ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων νωμικῶς τὸ πλέον. μέταλλα δὲ ἔχοντες καττίτερον καὶ μολύβδου κέραμον ἀντὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν δερμάτων διαλάττονται καὶ ἄλας καὶ χαλκόματα πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους, πρότερον μὲν οὖν Φοίνικες μόνοι τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐστέλλουν ταύτην ἐκ τῶν Γαδείρων, κρύπτοντες ἄπασι τὸν πλοῦν τῶν δὲ Ἡρωϊδών ἐπακολουθοῦντων ναυκλήρῳ τινί, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ γνοῖεν τὰ ἐμπόρια, φθάνον τὸ ναυ-κλήρος ἐκὼς εἰς τέναγος ἐξέβαλε τὴν ναῦν, ἐπαγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ὀλθρόν καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους, αὐτὸς ἐσώθη διὰ ναυαγίου καὶ ἀπέλαβε δημοσίᾳ τὴν τιμήν ὑμ ἀπέβαλε φορτίων. οἱ δὲ Ἡρωιδοὶ δὲ ὅμως πειρόμενοι πολλάκις ἐξέμαθον τὸν πλοῦν.
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
STRABO

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Πόπλιος Κράσσος διαβάς ἐπ' αὐ-
τοὺς ἔγνω τὰ μέταλλα ἐκ μικρὸῦ βάθους ὄρυγ-
μενα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰρηναίους, ἐκ περιουσίας
ἡδη τὸν θάλατταν ἐργάζεσθαι ταύτην τοῖς ἑθέλον-
σιν ἐπέδειξε, καὶ περὶ οὗσαν πλεῖον τῆς διειργο-
ύσης τὴν Βρεττανικὴν. καὶ περὶ μὲν Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῶν
προκειμένων νῆσων ταῦτα.

1 els, before τὴν, Corais deletes; so subsequent editors.
GEOGRAPHY, 3. 5. 11

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

I

1. Ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπεων Κελτικῆ. ταύτης δὲ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ὑπογεγραπτεῖ πρῶτον τυπωδὸς καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· νυνὶ δὲ λέκτέων τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστα. οἱ μὲν δὴ τριχῇ δηροῦν, Ἀκυίτανοι καὶ Βέλγαι καλοῦντες καὶ Κέλται· τοὺς μὲν Ἀκυίτανοις τελέως ἔξηλλαγμένους οὐ τῇ γλώσσῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἐμφερέσθησαν µᾶλλον ἡ Γαλατίας· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Γαλατικοὺς μὲν τὴν ὅψιν, ὀμογλώττους δὲ οὐ πάντας, ἀλλ’ ἐνίους με- κροὺς παραλλάττουτας ταῖς γλώσσαις, καὶ αἱ πολι- τεῖαι ἐν οἷς μικρὸν ἔξηλλαγμένοι εἰσίν. Ἀκυίτανοις μὲν οὖν καὶ Κέλται ἔλεγαν τοὺς πρὸς τὴν Πυρήνην, διορισµένους τῷ Κεµµένῳ ὁρεί. ἔριη- ται γὰρ ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ταύτην ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς δύσεως ὀρίζει τὰ Πυρηναῖα ὄρη, προσαπτόμενα τῆς ἐκκατέρωθεν θαλάσσης, τῆς τε ἐντὸς καὶ τῆς ἐκτὸς· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνατολῶν ὁ Ῥήνος, παράλληλος ὅν τῇ Πυρήνῃ. τὰ δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων καὶ τῆς μεσηµβρίας, τὰ μὲν ὁ ὦκεανος περιείληφεν, ἀρξα-

1 aipoliteiai, Jones, for politela.

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,¹ comes Transalpine Celtica.² I have already³ 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.⁴ 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,⁵ 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

¹ See 4. 1. 14 for the distinction between “Celtae” and “Celti.” ² 2. 5. 28.
μενος ἀπὸ τῶν βορείων ἄκρων τῆς Πυρήνης, μέχρι τῶν ἑκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥήμου, τὰ δ’ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡ κατὰ Μασσαλίαν καὶ Νάρβωνα θάλασσα καὶ αἱ Ἀλπεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Δυσσαλικῆς ὑπάρχουσι μέχρι τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ Ῥήμου. τῇ δὲ Πυρήνῃ πρὸς ὅρθος ἦται Κέμμενον ὁρὸς διὰ μέσων τῶν πεδίων, καὶ παῦται κατὰ μέσα πλησίον Λουγδουνίου, περὶ διαχείλους ἐκταχθὲν στάδιον. Ἀκυιτανοὺς μὲν τούς ἔλεγον τοὺς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Πυρήνης μέρη κατέχονται καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κεμμένης μέχρι πρὸς τὸν ὁκεανὸν τὰ ἐντὸς Γαρούνα ποταμοῦ, Κέλται δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ άλλα πέρα μέρη καθῆκονται καὶ τὴν κατὰ Μασσαλίαν καὶ Νάρβωνα θάλασσαν, ἀπτομένους δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀλ- πειινῶν ὄρων ἔνιον, Βέλγων δ’ ἔλεγον τοὺς λοιποὺς τε τῶν παρωκασαντῶν μέχρι τῶν ἑκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥήμου καὶ τινὰς τῶν παροικοῦντων τοῦ Ῥήμου καὶ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς. οὗτο δὲ καὶ οἱ Θεὸς Καίσαρ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἰρήκεν. ὁ δὲ Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ τε- τραχῆ διελόντος μὲν Κέλτας τῆς Νάρβωνίτιδος ἐπαρχίας ἀπέφηνεν, Ἀκυιτανοὺς δ’ οὕσπερ κάκει- νος, προσέθηκε δὲ τετταρεσκαίδεκα ἑβην τῶν με- ταξῦ τοῦ Γαρούνα καὶ τοῦ Δεύγηρος ποταμοῦ νεμομένων τὴν δὲ λουτήν διελὼν δίχα τὴν μὲν Λουγδουνίῳ προσώρισε μέχρι τῶν ἀνω μερῶν τοῦ

1 ἀπὸ, Jones inserts.

1 Cp. 2. 5. 28. 2 Lyon.

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northern headlands of the Pyrenees) as far as the
mouths of the Rhenus, while those on the opposite
side are surrounded by the sea that is about Massilia
and Narbo, and by the Alps (beginning at Liguria)
as far as the sources of the Rhenus. The Cemmenus
Mountain has been drawn at right angles to the
Pyrenees, through the midst of the plains; and it
comes to an end about the centre of these plains,1
near Lugdunum,2 with an extent of about two
thousand stadia. So, then, by "Aquitani" they
meant the people who occupy the northern parts of
the Pyrenees and, from the country of the Cemmenus
on to the ocean, the parts this side the Garumna
River; by "Celtae" they meant the people whose
territory extends in the other direction—down to
the sea that is about Massilia and Narbo—and also
joins some of the Alpine Mountains; and by "Bel-
gae" they meant the rest of the people who live
beside the ocean as far as the mouths of the Rhenus
and also some of the people who live beside the
Rhenus and the Alps. Thus the Deified Caesar, also,
has put it in his "Commentaries."3 Augustus
Caesar, however, divided Transalpine Celtica into
four parts: the Celtae he designated as belonging
to the province of Narbonitis;4 the Aquitani he de-
signated 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 Cäsarstudien, by A. Klotz, 1910,
pp. 67-135.

9 Provincia Narboensis.
'Ρήμου, τὴν δὲ τοῖς Βέλγαις. ὅσα μὲν οὖν φυσικῶς διώρισται δεῖ λέγειν τὸν γεωγράφον καὶ ὅσα ἕθυμικός, ὡταν ἕκατον καὶ μνήμης ἀξία, ὅσα δ' οἱ ἥγεμόνες πρὸς τοὺς καρποὺς πολιτευόμενοι διατάσσονται ποικίλως, ἀρκεῖ κἂν ἐν κεφάλαιῳ τὸς ένδικη, τοῦ δ' ἀκριβοῦς ἄλλοις παραχωρητέον.

2. Ἀπασα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν αὐτή ποταμοῖς κατάρρυτος ἡ χώρα, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῶν "Ἀλπεων καταφερομένων, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ Κεμμένου καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης, καὶ τοῖς μὲν εἰς τὸν ὦκεανον ἐκβαίλουσι, τοῖς δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλατταν, δι' ὅν δὲ φέρονται χωρίων, πεδία ἐστὶ τὰ πλείστα καὶ γεωλογίαι διάρροις ἔχουσαι πλοτοῦς. οὕτως δ' εὐφυῶς ἵσχε τὰ βελθρα πρὸς ἄλληλα ὡστ' ἐξ ἐκατέρας τῆς θαλάττης εἰς ἐκατέραν κατακόμβεσθαι, πορευόμενον τὸν φορτίων ἐπὶ ὀλίγον καὶ διὰ πεδίων εὐμαρώδος, τὸ δὲ πλέον τοῖς ποταμοῖς, τοῖς μὲν ἄναγομένων, τοῖς δὲ καταγομένων. ἔχει δὲ τὴν πλεονέκτημα πρὸς τοῦτο ο' Ροδανός ἢ γὰρ πολ- λαχόθεν ἐστὶ σύρρους, ὡσπερ εἰρηταί, καὶ συνάπτει πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλατταν, κρείττων τῆς ἐκτός οὖσαν, καὶ διὰ χώρας διέξεισι τῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτης τῶν ταύτης. τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκφέρει καρποὺς η' Ναρβωνίτις ἀπασα οὕσπερ η' Ἰταλία. προϊόντι δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρκετοὺς καὶ τὸ Κέμμενον, ὅρος δ' οὖν ἐπὶ ἄλλους καὶ συκοφόρους ἐκλείπει, τάλλα δὲ φύτει. καὶ ἡ ἀμπελοῦς δὲ προϊόσχειν οὐ ράδιος

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1. Kramer, for σ·τι ἄν.

1 Gallia Lugdunensis. 2 Gallia Belgica. 3 Not by Strabo, although he again mentions this in § 14 below.

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

2. Now the whole of this country is watered by rivers: some of them flow down from the Alps, the others from the Cemmenus and the Pyrenees; and some of them are discharged into the ocean, the others into Our Sea. Further, the districts through which they flow are plains, for the most part, and hilly lands with navigable water-courses. The river-beds are by nature so well situated with reference to one another that there is transportation from either sea into the other; for the cargoes are transported only a short distance by land, with an easy transit through plains, but most of the way they are carried on the rivers—on some into the interior, on the others to the sea. The Rhodanus offers an advantage in this regard; for not only is it a stream of many tributaries, as has been stated,\(^3\) but it also connects with Our Sea, which is better than the outer sea, and traverses a country which is the most favoured of all in that part of the world. For example, the same fruits are produced by the whole of the province of Narbonitis as by Italy. As you proceed towards the north and the Cemmenus Mountain, the olive-planted and fig-bearing land indeed ceases, but the other things still grow. Also the vine,
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teleseforė. ἡ δ' ἄλλη πᾶσα σύτου φέρει πολὺν καὶ κεντρόν καὶ βάλανον καὶ βοσκήματα παντοῦ, ἀργόν δ' αὐτῆς οὐδὲν, πλὴν εἰ τε ἔλεει κεκώλυται καὶ δρυμός: καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο συνοικεῖται, πολυ-ανθρωπία μᾶλλον ἡ ἐπιμελεία. καὶ γὰρ τοκάδες αἱ γυναίκες καὶ τρέφειν ἀγαθαὶ, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες μαχηταὶ μᾶλλον ἡ γεωργία· νῦν δ' ἀναγκάζονται γεωργεῖν, καταβέμενοι τὰ ὀπλα. κοινῇ μὲν οὖν ταύτα λέ-γομεν περὶ τάσσει τῆς ἐκτός Κελτικῆς, περὶ δὲ τῶν τεταρτημορίων ἐκάστου διαλαβόντες λέγομεν νῦν, μεμημένου τυπωδῶς, καὶ πρῶτον περὶ τῆς Ναρ-βονίτιδος.

3. Ταύτης δὲ τὸ σχῆμα παραλληλογράμμον πῶς ἔστιν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἐσπέρας γραφόμενον τῇ Πυρηνᾷ, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἄρκτους τῷ Κεμένῳ· ταῖς δὲ λοιπάς, τὴν μὲν νότιον ἡ θάλασσα πολὺ μεταξὺ Πυρηνᾶς καὶ Μασσαλίας, τὴν δ' ἐωθινὴν αἱ Ἀλπεῖς ἐκ μέρους, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημα τῶν Ἀλπεῶν ἐπὶ εὐθείας αὐτάς ληφθέν τιν καὶ τῶν ὑπωρείων του Κεμένου τῶν καθηκουσῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥόδανον καὶ ποιοῦσῶν δρῆν ἃ νοικίαν πρὸς τὴν λεχθείσαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν εὐθείαν· τὸ δὲ νοτίῳ πρόσκειται παρὰ τὸ λεγέν τὸ σχῆμα ἡ ἐφέξῃς παραλία ἡν ἔχουσαι οἱ τε Μασσαλίοις καὶ οἱ Σάλλνες μέχρι Λιγύων ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς Ἰταλίαν μέρη καὶ τὸν Οὐάρου ποταμόν, οὗτος δ' ἔστιν ὧς εἶπον πρότερον, ὅριον τῆς Ναρβονίτιδος, καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας· ὑπάρχει δὲ

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

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you thus proceed, does not easily bring its fruit to maturity. All the rest of the country produces grain in large quantities, and millet, and nuts, and all kinds of live stock. And none of the country is untilled except parts where tilling is precluded by swamps and woods. Yet these parts too are thickly peopled—more because of the largeness of the population 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 ἦν παραλία παρατείνει μέχρι τοῦ ἵερου τῆς Πυρηναίας Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τούτῳ δ’ ἦσθιν ὄριον ταύτης τῆς ἑπαρχίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίκης. ἐνιοί δὲ τὸν τόπον ἐν δ’ ἐστὶ τὰ Πομπηίου τρόπαια ὄριον Ἰβηρίας ἀποφαίνουσι καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς. ἐστὶ δ’ ἐνθεῖν μὲν εἰς Νάρβωνα μίλια ἕξηκοντα τρία, ἐκείθεν δὲ εἰς Νέμαυσον ὄγδοοκοντα ὄκτω, ἐκ Νεμαύσου δὲ διὰ Οὐγέρνου καὶ Ταρούσκων εἰς τὰ θερμὰ ὕδατα τὰ Σέξτια καλούμενα, ἀπέρ πλησίον Μασσαλίας ἐστὶ, πεντήκοντα τρία, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ εἰς Ἀντίπολιν καὶ τὸν Οὐάρον ποτάμον ἐβδομήκοντα τρία, ὕστερα τὰ σύμπαντα γίνεται μίλια διακόσια ἐβδομήκοντα ἐπτά. ἐνιοὶ δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου μέχρι τοῦ Οὐάρου σταδίους ἀνέγραψαν δισχελίους ἕξακοσίους, οἱ δὲ καὶ διακοσίους προστίθεσιν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται περὶ τῶν διαστημάτων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν ἄλλον τὴν διὰ Οὐοκοντίων καὶ τῆς Κοττίου μεῖχρι μὲν Οὐγέρνου καὶ Ταρούσκων κοινή ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ Νεμαύσου, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν Οὐοκοντίων ὄρους καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν τῆς ἀναβάσεως τῶν Ἀλπεών διὰ Δροουετία καὶ Κασαλλίων μίλια ἕξηκοντα τρία: πάλιν δ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑτέρους όρους τῶν Οὐοκοντίων πρὸς τὴν Κοττίου μίλια ἐκατόν ἐνὸς δέοντα 1 ἐπὶ Ἐσβρόδουνον κόμην· εἶτ’ ἄλλα τοσάτα 2 διὰ Βριγαντίου κόμης καὶ Σκιγγομάγου καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλπεών ὑπερθέσεως ἐπὶ Σικελίου, τὸ πέρας τῆς Κοττίου γῆς: καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ

1 els, after Μοντα, Corais deletes; so the later editors.
2 ἄλλα τοσάτα, Kramor, for ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι; so the later editors.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. i. 3

river in summer, but in winter it broadens out to a breadth of as much as seven stadia. Now from this river the seashore extends as far as the temple of the Pyrenaean Aphrodite. This temple, moreover, marks the boundary between the province of Narbonitis and the Iberian country, although some represent the place where the Trophies of Pompey are as marking the boundary between Iberia and Celtica. The distance thence to Narbo is sixty-three miles, from here to Nemausus\(^1\) eighty-eight, from Nemausus through 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. \(^2\) "Aqua Sextiae," now Aix.
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Σμυγγομάγου δὲ ἦδη Ἰταλία λέγεται ἐστὶ δὲ ἐνθέδε ἐπὶ Ὀκελοὺν μίλια εἰκοσὶ ὀκτώ.

4. Κτίσμα δὲ ἐστὶ Φωκαιῶν ἡ Μασσαλία, κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ χωρίου πετρώδους· ὑποπέπτωκε δ' αὐτῆς ὁ λιμήν θεατροείδει πέτρα, βλεπόντας πρὸς νότον. τετείχισται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ καλῶς καὶ ἡ πόλις σύμπασα, μέγεθος ἤχουσα ἀξιολογοῦν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τὸ Ἐφέσιον ἱδρυται καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δελφινίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν τούτο μὲν κοινῶν Ἰοίων ἀπάντων, τὸ δὲ Ἐφέσιον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἑστὶ νεώς τῆς Ἐφεσίας. ἀπαίρουσι γὰρ τοῖς Φωκαιεύσιν ἐκ τῆς σινείας λόγουν ἐκπεσεῖν φασιν, ἡγεμόνι χρήσασθαι τοῦ πλοῦ ταῖς τῆς Ἐφεσίας Αρτέμιδος λαβοῦσι τοὺς μὲν δὴ, προσαχθέντας τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ, χρήσων ὁμία τρόπον ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ πορίσαντο τὸ προσταθέν. Ἀριστάρχης δὲ τῶν εὐτίμων σφόδρα γυναικῶν παραστῆναι κατ' ὀνόμα τὴν θεόν καὶ κελεῦσαι συναπάρειν τοῖς Φωκαιεύσιν, ἀφίδρυμα τι τῶν ἱερῶν λαβούσην γενομένου δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς ἀποκεῖσας λαβούσης τέλος, τὸ τε ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ τὴν Ἀριστάρχην τιμῆσαι διαφέροντως ιέρειαν ἀποδείξανται, ἐν τοῖς δ' ἀποίκιοις πόλεις πανταχοῦ τιμῶν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ταύτῃ τῆς θεός καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς διάθεσιν τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τἀλλα νόμιμα φυλάττειν τὰ αὐτά, ἀπερ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει γενομίσται.

1 Not to be confused with the “Delphian” (Pythian) Apollo. The Delphinian Apollo appears originally to have been a seafaring god who, in the guise of a dolphin, guided ships over the sea (see Ἐκλογικάν Μάγαν 255. 18); also Pauly-Wissowa, under Ἀττάλων Δελφίνος, π. 47.

2 Of Artemis.

3 That is, of Massilia.

4 Strictly speaking, the "xoana" were the primitive
Moreover, from Scingomagus on you begin to call the country Italy; and the distance from here to Ocelum is twenty-eight miles.

4. Massilia was founded by the Phocaeans, and it is situated on a rocky place. Its harbour lies at the foot of a theatre-like rock which faces south. And not only is the rock itself well fortified, but also the city as a whole, though it is of considerable size. It is on the headland, however, that the Ephesium and also the temple of the Delphinian Apollo are situated. The latter is shared in common by all Ionians, whereas the Ephesium is a temple dedicated solely to the Ephesian Artemis: for when the Phocaeans were setting sail from their homeland an oracle was delivered to them, it is said, to use for their voyage a guide received from the Ephesian Artemis; accordingly, some of them put in at Ephesus and inquired in what way they might procure from the goddess what had been enjoined upon them. Now the goddess, in a dream, it is said, had stood beside Aristarcha, one of the women held in very high honour, and commanded her to sail away with the Phocaeans, taking with her a certain reproduction which was among the sacred images; this done and the colony finally settled, they not only established the temple but also did Aristarcha the exceptional honour of appointing her priestess; further, in the colonial cities of the first rank, and they preserve the artistic design of the "xoonon" 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, "xoonon" is used of a reproduction.
5. Dioikoumdai $^{6}$ aristokratikos ois Massa-
liontais panton eunomotata, androw exakosion katas-
titesantes syndeiroin, dida biou tautes exousi-
ton tin titem, os tisountous kalojais. pente-
kaidekai $^{6}$ eis to synedrion prhostotai, touxai-
d eis ta procheira dioikein dedotai. palin de ton-
pentekeideka prokathneta treis os plieiston isxu-
ontes, touxai $^{1}$ de tisountous ou gynetai mi taka
exon, meche de trugoniais eis politon xegonwos.
oi de nymoi Iainkeoi, prokeinontai de dikes.
chw- 
巧妙
exousin elaiofrign mon kai kataxlpesin,
sto de lutropeteran dia tin traxuneta, osste
pepoutotes tis thalatth maklon h tis th to prous
nautiliai euvdes elounto maklon. usteron me

tais andrasphlias isxusin proslabein tinin th
pires pedion apo tin aititias dynamwos afy h
kai tin poleis ektesan, epiteixismata tais me
kata tin 'Ishrian ton 'Ishopin, ois kai ta ier th
Ephesias 'Artomedos parothen tin patria, osste
'Ellhnoti thnein, tin de 'Rophin $^{2}$ 'Agathn
tais peri ton potamion oikousin ton 'Rodanwn
barbash

1. The reading of 'Ito in toon de odh els. Corais reads
odh, inserting $^{3}$ after tisountous. Forbiger, Muller-Dubner,
and Meineke read: toon in de els: tisountous $^{3}$ k.t.l.

2. For 'Rophin Casaubon, Corais, and Forbiger read (perhaps
rightly) 'Rophin kal (see Pliny 3. 5).

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1 Aristotel describes and praises the orderliness and moder-
ation 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 stronghold-cities, namely, first, those which they founded in Iberia as strongholds against the Iberians (they also taught the Iberians the sacred rites of the Ephesian Artemis, as practised in the fatherland, so that they sacrifice by the Greek ritual); secondly, Rhôë 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."

6 Homeroscopeum, Emporium and Rhodus (3. 4. 6–8).
καὶ τοὺς Δῆμος τοὺς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς οἰκοῦσιν. εἰς δὲ καὶ νεώτοικοι παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὄπλοθηκήπροτερὸν δὲ καὶ πλοῖον εὐπορία καὶ ὀπλῶν καὶ ὀργάνων τῶν τε πρὸς ταῖς ναυτιλίαις χρησίμων καὶ τῶν πρὸς πολιορκίας, ἀφ’ ὧν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀντέσχον, καὶ Ῥωμαῖους ἐκτήσαντο φίλους, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς χρήσιμα κατέστησαν ἐκείνοις κάκεινοι προσελάβοντο τῆς αὐξήσεως αὐτῶν. Σέξιτος γοῦν ὁ καταλύσας τοὺς Σάλλυνας, οὐ πολὺ ἀποθεῖν τῆς Μασσαλίας κτίσας πόλιν ὀμόνυμον ἐαυτῷ τε καὶ τῶν ὀδάτων τῶν θερμῶν, ὅν τινα μεταβεβληκέναι φασίν εἰς ψυχρά, ἐνταῦθα τε φρουράν κατώθισε Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐκ τῆς παραλίας τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀγούσης ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἀνέστειλε τοὺς βαρβάρους, οὐ δυναμένων τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν ἀνείργεμον αὐτοὺς τελεώς. οὐδὲ αὐτὸς δὲ πλέον ἤρχυτον, ᾃς ἑταῖρον μόνον ὑπακείται δ’ ἐν πόλει συχνά τῶν ἀκροθυμίων, καὶ ἔξαθον καταναμαχοῦντες αἰεὶ τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας τῆς θαλάσσης ἀδίκως. πρότερον μὲν οὖν εὐτύχους διαφερόμενοι, περὶ τὰ τάλλα καὶ περὶ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φίλων, ἢς πολλὰ ἄν τις λάβοι σημεῖα· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἤχανον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀυεντίῳ1 οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν αὐτὴν

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1 Ἀυεντίῳ, Wilamowitz, for Ἀβεντίῳ. Corais, Meineke, and others write Ἀβεντίῳ. Cp. 5. 3. 7.

1 "Aqua 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 Sallies, after founding not very far from Massilia a city which bears his own name and that of "the hot waters" (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 "xooanon" of that Artemis which is on the Aventine Hill was constructed by the
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διάθεσιν ἔχου ¹ τῷ παρὰ τοῖς Μασσαλιώταις ἀνέθεσαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Πομπηίου πρὸς Καίσαρα στάσιν τῷ κρατηθέντι μέρει προσθέμενοι τὴν πολλὴν τῆς εὔδαιμονίας ἀπέβαλον, ὅμως δὲ ὄνων ἔχων λείπεται τῷ παλαιῷ ζήλου παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὰς ὕπαινοὺς καὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν παρασκευὴν. ἐξημερουμένων δὲ ἀεὶ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων βαρβάρων, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν τρέποντες ἤδη πρὸς πολιτείας καὶ γεωργίας διὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτειαν, οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἔτι τούτοις συμβαίνοι ἀν περὶ τὰ λέγεται τοσάττως σπουδή. δὴν δὲ τὰ καθεστηκότα νυνὶ πάντες γὰρ οἱ χαρίστες πρὸς τὸ λέγειν τρέπονται καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν, ὡσθ' ἢ πόλις μικρὸν μὲν πρὸς τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀνέωτε παιδευτηρίου, καὶ φιλέλληνας κατασκεύαζε τοὺς Γαλάτας ὡστε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια Ἐλληνιστὶ γράφειν, εὖ δὲ τῷ παρόντι καὶ τοὺς γνωριμιστάντων Ῥωμαίων πέπεικεν, ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀποδημίας εἰκὸς φοιτᾶν, φιλοσοφεῖν δέους. ὅρωντες δὲ τούτους οἱ Γαλάται καὶ ἀμα εἰρήνην ἄγωντες, τὴν σχολὴν ἀσμενοὶ πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους διατίθενται βίους οὐ κατ' ἀνδρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίας σοφίστας γοῦν ὑποδεχομοί, τοὺς μὲν ἰδία, τοὺς δὲ πόλεις κοινῆς μαθημάτων, καθάπερ καὶ ιατροὺς. τῆς δὲ λιτότητος τῶν βίων καὶ τῆς σοφροσύνης τῶν Μασσαλιώτῶν οὐκ ἔλαχιστον ἀν τῆς θείας τούτο τεκμηρίων· ἢ γὰρ μεγάλητη προῖκας αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἐκατῶν χρυσοῖς

¹ ἔχων, Corins, for ἔχοντες; so Meineke.

1 "Sophista" 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 overmasterly 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 εἶς ἐσθέντα πέντε καὶ πέντε εἰς χρυσοῦν κόμμων πλεοῦν δὲ οὖκ ἔξεστι. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ᾿ ἐκείνου ἡγεμόνες πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γεννηθέσαις ἁμαρτίας ἐμπρόσθεν, μεμνημένοι τῆς φιλίας, καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ἑφύλαξαν, ἢν εἶ ἀρχὴς εἴχεν ἡ πόλις, ὡστε μὴ ὑπακούειν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν τὴν ἑπτανομίαν στρατηγήν μῆτε αὐτὴν μῆτε τοὺς ὑπηκόους. περὶ μὲν Μασσαλίας ταῦτα.

6. "Ἄμα δὲ ἡ τε τῶν Σαλὼν ὅρειν ἐπὶ ἀρκτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπάργας κλίνει μᾶλλον καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀφισταται κατὰ μικρῶν, καὶ ἡ παράλια παρὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν περινεύει μικρῶν ἅπαν τῆς πόλεος τῶν Μασσαλίων προεδρύσασα δοσον εἰς ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἐπὶ ἀκραν εἰμιγέθη πλησίον λατομων των ἐντεύθεν ἄρχεται κοιλοῦσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸν Γαλατικὸν κόλπον πρὸς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον, τὸ τῆς Πυρήνης ἀκρον καλοῦσι δ᾿ αὐτὸν καὶ Μασσαλιστοῖν. ἔστι δ᾿ ὁ κόλπος διπλοῦς· ἐν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ περιγραφῇ δύο κόλπους ἀφορίζειν ἐκκειται τὸ Σήτιον δρος, προσλαβόν καὶ τὴν Βλάσκωνα νῆσον πλησίον ἱδρυμένην τῶν δὲ κόλπων ὁ μὲν μεῖζων ἰδίως πάλιν καλεῖται Γαλατικός, εἰς δὲ ἐξερεύνεται τὸ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ στόμα, ὁ δ᾿ ἐλάττων ὁ κατὰ Νάρβωνα ἐστὶ μέχρι Πυρήνης. ἡ μὲν οὖν Νάρβων ὑπέρκειται τῶν τοῦ Ἀτακὸς ἐκβολῶν καὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Καρδανίας, μέγιστον ἐμπό-

1 ἐπαρχίαν, Coris, for ἐπαρχίαν; so Meineke.
2 αὐτῶν, Coris, for αὐτὸς; so the later editors.
3 Ζήτιον, Palmer, for Ζήτιον; so Coris and the rest.

1 Roughly, §550.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 1. 5–6

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

6. While the mountainous country of the Sallyes inclines more and more from the west to the north and retires little by little from the sea, the coastline bends round to the west; but after extending a short distance from the city of the Massiliotes, about a hundred stadia, to a fair-sized promontory near some stone-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

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).
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μον τῶν ταύτων, πρὸς δὲ τῷ 'Ροδανῷ πόλις έστι καὶ ἐμπόροιν οὔ μικρῶν, Ἀρελάτε· ἦν δὲ πως διέχει τα ἐμπόρια ταύτα ἀλλήλων τε καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἄκρων, ἢ μὲν Νάρβων τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου, τὸ δὲ Ἀρελάτε τῆς Μασσαλίας. ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ τῆς Νάρβωνος ἄλλοι ποταμοῖ βέουσαι οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν Κεμένων ὄρων, οἱ δὲ τῆς Πυρήνης, πόλεις ἔχουσιν εἰς ἀνάπλους οὐ πολὺς ἐστι μικροῖς πλοίοις. ἐκ μὲν τῆς Πυρήνης ὁ τε Ρουσκίνων καὶ ὁ ὸλλίβρας, πόλεις ἔχουν ὄμωνυμον ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν, τού δὲ Ρουσκίνων καὶ Λίμνη πλησίων ἐστὶ καὶ χοριόν ὑπὸδρον μικρῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάτ-της, ἀλλικέδον μεστόν, τὸ τούς ὄρυκτους κεστρείς ἔχον· δύο γὰρ ἡ τρεῖς ὀρύσαντι πόδας καὶ καθένα τριόδοντα ἐις ἅθωρ ἱλιοῦς ἐστι περιπεραί τῶν ἱλίουν ἀξίως ὅλους τὰ μέγατά τρέφεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱλίου καθάπερ αἱ ἑγχέλιες. οὕτωι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Πυρήνης βέουσαι οἱ ποταμοῖ μεταξὺ Νάρβωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νάρβωνος ἐκ τοῦ Κεμένου φέρονται πρὸς τὴν θαλατταν, ἐξ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Ἄταξ, ὁ τε Ὀβρίς καὶ ὁ Ἄραυρας τούτων ἐφ' οὖν μὲν Βαίτερα πόλις ἄσφαλῆς ἱδρυται πλησίον τῆς Νάρβωνος, ἐφ' οὐ δὲ Ἀγάθη, κτίσμα Μασσαλιστῶν.

7. Ἔν μὲν οὖν ἐχει παράδοξον ἡ προοερμημένη παραλία, τὸ περὶ τοῦ ὄρυκτου ὅθεν, ἔτερον δὲ μεῖζον τούτου σχεδόν τι, τὸ λεχθησόμενον, μεταξὺ γὰρ τῆς Μασσαλίας καὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ πεδίου ἐστὶ τῆς θαλάττης διέχον

1 ἐφ', before μέν; Kramer conjectures; Meineke following.
2 Ὀβρίς, Groskurd, for Ὀβρίς; later editors following.
3 Ἄραυρας, Groskurd, for Ραύρας; later editors following.
this country, though there is a city near the Rhodanus which is no small emporium, namely, Arelate. These emporiums are about an equal distance from each other and from the aforesaid headlands—Narbo from the precincts of Aphrodite, and Arelate from Massilia. On either side of Narbo there flow other rivers—some from the Cemmenus Mountains, the others from the Pyrenees—and they have cities to which voyages of no considerable length are made in small ships. From the Pyrenees flow both the Ruscino and the 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 Baetere, 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

4 Baetere, Siebenkees, for Baetere; so, perhaps better, Baeteppe, as Meineke reads.
eis ἐκατὸν σταδίους, τοσοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὴν διά-
μετρον, κυκλοτερές τὸ σχῆμα· καλεῖται δὲ Δισθῶ-
δες ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος. μεστὸν γὰρ ἔστι λί-
θων χειροπληθῶν, ὑποσεφυκών, ἐχόντων αὐτῶν ἀγροστιν, ἀφ' ἦς ἄφθονοι νομαὶ βοσκῆμασίν εἰσων ἐν μέσῳ δ' ὕδατα καὶ ἄλυκίδες ἐνίστανται καὶ ἄλεσ. Ἀπασα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ ὑπερκειμένη χώρα προσήμεμος ἦστιν, διαφέροντως δ' εἰς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο τὸ 1 μελαμβόρειον κατανύξει, πνεῦμα βίαον καὶ φρικώδης· φασὶ γοῦν σύρεσθαι καὶ κυλιν-
δεῖσθαι τῶν λίθων ἐνίους, κατακλάσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀχημάτων καὶ γυμνοῦσθαι καὶ  ὑπλων καὶ ἐσθήτως ὑπὸ 2 τῆς ἐμπυνοῆς. Ἀρι-
στοτέλης μὲν οὖν φησιν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν τῶν κα-
λυμένων βραστῶν ἐκπεσόμενας τοὺς λίθους εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν συνολισθεῖν εἰς τὰ κοίλα τῶν χωρίων. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ λύμην οὖσαν παγήναι μετὰ κλωδαμοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰς πλειονάς μερισθῆναι λίθους, καθάπερ τοὺς ποταμίους κα-
χληκας καὶ τὰς ψῆφους τὰς αἰγιαλίτιδας, ὁμιῶς δὲ καὶ λείους καὶ ἵσομεγένεις τῇ ὁμοιότητι καὶ τὴν αὐτὰν ἀποδεδώκασιν ἀμφότεροι. πιθανὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ παρ' ἀμφὸιν λόγος· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοὺς οὗτο

1 τῷ, Corais inserts; so Müller-Düchner, and Meineke.
2 ὑπὸ, Meineke, for ἑπά.
the sea as a hundred stadia, and is also as much as that in diameter. It is called Stony Plain from the fact that it is full of stones as large as you can hold in your hand, although from beneath the stones there is a growth of wild herbage which affords abundant pasturage for cattle. In the middle of the plain stand water and salt springs, and also lumps of salt. Now although the whole of the country which lies beyond, as well as this, is exposed to the winds, the Black North, a violent and chilly wind, descends upon this plain with exceptional severity; at any rate, it is said that some of the stones are swept and rolled along, and that by the blasts the people are dashed from their vehicles and stripped of both weapons and clothing. Now Aristotle says that the stones, after being vomited to the surface by those earthquakes that are called "Brastae," rolled together into the hollow places of the districts. But Poseidonius says that, since it was a lake, it solidified while the waves were dashing, and because of this was parted into a number of stones—as are the river-rocks and the pebbles on the sea-shore; and by reason of the similarity of origin, the former, like the latter, are both smooth and equal in size. And an account of the cause has been given by both men. Now the argument in both treatises is plausible; for of necessity the stones that have been assembled to-

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

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

8 Poseidonius was thinking of both the congealing and petrifying of the waters.
Ως οὖν κρείττον οὖν, φησίν ὁ Ποσειδώνος, εἰς αὐτούς τοὺς Δίνας ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς λίθους καὶ καταχώσαι πάντας ἣ τοσοῦτον δεόμενον ποιῆσαι λίθων τὸν Ἡρακλέα. τὸ μὲν όν τοσοῦτον ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, εἰπερ καὶ πρὸς ἀχλὸν παμπληθῆ ὡστε ταύτη γε πιθανότερος ὁ μυθογράφος τοῦ ἀνασκευάζοντος τὸν μῦθον. ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πεπρώσθαι φήσας ὁ ποιητὴς οὖκ ἐξ μέμφεσθαι

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1) ἐμβαλεῖν, Corais, for ἐμβάλλειν; so later editors.
2) οὐ, Corais inserts, later editors following.
3) το, Meineke, for σ' το.
4) δέ, Saumaise, for σὺ δέ; so the editors.
5) διοίγει, Corais, for διήγει; so the later editors.
6) ἐμβαλεῖν, Corais, for ἐμβάλλειν; so the later editors.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 1. 7

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 Ligurian host." ¹ Just as if it were not better, says Poseidonius, for Zeus to have cast the stones upon the Ligures themselves and to have buried the whole host than to represent Heracles as in need of so many stones. Now, as for the number ("so many"), he needed them all if indeed the poet was speaking with reference to a throng that was very numerous; so that in this, at least, the writer of the myth is more plausible than the man who revises the myth. Furthermore, by saying "it is fated," the poet forbids one to find fault in a captious way with anything else in the

¹ These verses were quoted by Strabo from the Prometheus Unbound, now lost.
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φιλαττώς. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς προνόλας καὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης λόγως εὐροῖ τις ἂν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἄνθροπινῶν καὶ τῶν φύσεων ἦγομένων, ὡστ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν φάναι πολὺ κρείττον εἶναι τὸν ή τὸν γενέσθαι, οἶνον εὔομβρον εἶναι τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίαν ἄρτιζειν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν Πάριν εἰς Σπάρτην πλέοντα ναυαγίῳ περιπέσειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν 'Ελλήνην ἀρπάσαντα δίκαιον τοῖς ἀδικήθεσσιν διστερον, ἣνκα τοῦ σοῦ δόξης ἀπεργύσατο φθάρον 'Ελλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ὀπερ Ἐυρυπίδης ἀνήνευκεν εἰς τὸν Δία.

Zeus γὰρ κακῶν μὲν 'Στρωσὶ πήμα ἡ 'Ελλάδι
θέλων γενέσθαι ταύτ' ἐβούλευσεν πατήρ.

(Fr. 1082, Nauck)

8. Περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ στομάτων Πολυβίου μὲν ἐπιτιμᾶ Τιμαίῳ, φήμας εἶναι μὴ πεντάστομον, ἀλλὰ δίστομον. Ἀρτεμίδορος δὲ τρίστομον λέγει. Μάριος δὲ ὕστερον, ὅρων τυφλόστομον γυμνοῦν ἐκ τῆς προχώσεως καὶ δυσεῖοβολον, καυμὴν ἔτεμε διώρυχα, καὶ ταύτῃ δεξάμενοι τὸ πλεόν τοῦ ποταμοῦ Μασσαλιώτας ἐδωκεν ἀριστεῖν κατὰ τὸν πρὸς "Ἀμβρωνας καὶ Τωνυγενοῦς πόλεμον" ἐξ οὗ πλοῦτον ἠνέγκατο πολὺν, τέλη πραττόμενοι τοὺς ἀναπλέοντας καὶ τοὺς καταγομένους. ὅμως οὖν ἔτι μένει δυσεῖοπλοα διὰ τὴν καβρότητα καὶ τὴν πρόσχωιν καὶ τὴν ταπεινώτητα τῆς χώρας, ὡστε μὴ καθο-

1 Μάριος, Xylander, for Τιμαῖος; so the later editors.
2 πολὺν, τέλη, conjecture of Tyrwhitt, for πολυτελή; 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 Ambroses 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.).
ἄραθαι μηδ' ἐγγύς ἐν ταῖς δυσαερίαις. διότερ ὀι Μασσαλίωται πύργους ἀνέστησαν σημεία, ἐξου-κείομενοι πάντα τρόπων τήν χώραν' καὶ δὴ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος κάνταθα ἱδρύσαντο ἱερόν, χωρίον ἀπολαβόντες δ' ποιεῖ νήσον τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν ἕκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ λιμνοθάλασσα· καλοῦσι δὲ Στομαλίμνην, ὀστράκια δ' ἔχει πάμπολλα καὶ ἄλλος εὔφει. ταῦτην δ' ἐνιοί συγκατηρήθησαν τοῖς στόμασι τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ, καὶ μᾶλιστα ὀι φήσαντες ἐπτάστοστομοι αὐτὸν, οὔτε τοῦτ' ἐὰν λέγοντες οὔτ' ἐκεῖνο' ὁρος γὰρ ἐστε μεταξὺ τὸ διείργων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποτα-μοῦ τὴν λίμνην. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Πυρήνης ἐπὶ Μασσαλίων παραλίαν τοιαύτη καὶ τοσαύτη της.

9. Ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Όυάρον ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς ταύτη Λίγνας τάς τε τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν ἔχει πόλεις Ταυροέντιον καὶ Ὄλβιαν καὶ Ἀντιπόλιν καὶ Νῖκαιαν καὶ τὸ ναόταςμον τὸ Καλσαρός τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ὃ καλοῦσι Φόρουν Ἰούλιον. Ἰδρύει δὲ τούτῳ μεταξὺ τῆς Ὄλβιας καὶ τῆς Ἀντιπόλεως, διέχον Μασσαλίας εἰς ἕκακοσίους σταδίους. ὅ ὑδ' Ὄυάρος μέσος ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀντιπόλεως καὶ Νι-καίας, τῆς μὲν ὅσον εἶκοσι, τῆς δὲ ἐξήκοντα σταδίους διέχον, ὅποι' ἡ Νίκαια τῆς Ἰταλίας γίνεται κατὰ τῶν νῦν ἀποδεενημένων ὄρων, κα-περ οὖν Μασσαλιωτῶν ἐπετείχισαν1 γὰρ τὰ κτίσματα ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπερκειμένοις βαρβάροις

1 ἐπετείχισαν, Casaubon, for ἐσείχισαν; so the later editors.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. i. 8–9

country, so that in foul weather one cannot descry the land even when close to it. Wherefore the Massiliotes set up towers as beacons, because they were in every way making the country their own; and, in truth, they also established a temple of the Ephesian Artemis there, after first enclosing a piece of land which is made an island by the mouths of the river. Beyond the outlets of the Rhodanus lies a sea-water marsh; it is called "Stomalimne," and it has a very great quantity of oysters, and, besides that, is well supplied with fish. This lake was by some counted in with the mouths of the Rhodanus, and particularly by those who said there were seven mouths, although they were right in neither the latter nor the former; for there is a mountain intervening which separates the lake from the river. This, then, is approximately the nature and the extent of the 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, Tauroentium, Olbia, Antipolis, and Nicaea, but also that naval-station of Caesar Augustus which is called Forum Julium. This naval-station is situated between Olbia and Antipolis, at a distance of about six hundred stadia from Massilia. The Varus is between Antipolis and Nicaea, at a distance of about twenty stadia from the latter and sixty from the former, so that, according to what is now the declared boundary, Nicaea becomes a part of Italy, although it belongs to the Massiliotes; for the Massiliotes founded these places as strongholds against those
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οἱ Μασσαλιῶται, τὴν γε ¹ θάλατταν ἐλευθέραν ἔχειν βουλὸμενοι, τῆς χώρας ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων κρατουμένης· ὁρεινὴ γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ἐρυμνὴ, πρὸς μὲν τῇ Μασσαλίᾳ πλάτος τὶ μέτριον καταλείπουσα τῶν ἐπιπέδων χωρίων, προϊόντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἤ' παντάπασιν ἀποθέλουσα πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ μόλις αὐτὴν πορεύσιμον ἔστα τὴν ὄδον. κατέχουσι δὲ τὰ μὲν πρώτα Σάλλυνες, τὰ δὲ τελευταία πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν συνάπτουσας Δίγυιες, περὶ ὃν λεχθῆσαι μετὰ ταῦτα. νυνὶ δὲ τοσούτον προσβετέομεν, ὅτι τῆς μὲν Ἀντιπόλεως ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ναρβωνίτιδος μέρεσι κείμενης, τῆς δὲ Νικαίας ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὡς μὲν Νικαία ὑπὸ τοῖς Μασσαλιώταις μένει καὶ τῆς ἑπαρχίας ² ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ Ἀντιπόλεις τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἐξεταζόταται, κριθείσα πρὸς τοὺς Μασσαλιώτας καὶ ἐλευθερωθείσα τῶν παρ᾽ ἐκείνων προσταγμάτων.

10. Πρὸκειμένα δὲ τῶν στενῶν τούτων ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἀρξαμένοις αἱ Στοιχάδες νῆσοι, τρεῖς μὲν ἀξίολογοι, δύο δὲ μικραὶ· γεωργοῦσι δὲ αὐτῶς Μασσαλιώται. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ φρουραν ἔχον, ἱδρυμένην αὐτόθι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ληστηριῶν ἐφόδους, εὔπορούντες καὶ λεμένους. μετὰ δὲ τὰς Στοιχάδας ἡ Πλανασία καὶ Δήρων, ἔχουσαι κατοικίας. ἐν δὲ τῇ Δήρων καὶ ἤρων ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Δήρωνος· κεῖται δὲ αὐτὴ πρὸ τῆς Ἀντιπόλεως. ἄλλα δὲ

¹ γε, Corais, for ό; so the later editors.
² ἑπαρχίας, Corais, for ἑπαρχίας; so the later editors.

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

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

10. Lying off these narrow stretches of coast, if we begin at Massilia, are the five Stoechades Islands, three of them of considerable size, but two quite small; they are tilled by Massiliotes. In early times the Massiliotes had also a garrison, which they placed there to meet the onsets of the pirates, since the islands were well supplied with harbours. Next, after the Stoechades, are the islands of Planasia and Lero, which have colonial settlements. In Lero there is also a hero-temple, namely, that in honour of Lero; this island lies off Antipolis. And,

a fairly suitable appellation. Pliny (3. 11) applies the name only to the three large ones, while Pomponius Mela (2. 7) includes the other islands off the shore from Massilia as far as the country of the Ligures.
11. Την δ’ ὑπερκειμένην αὐτῆς χώραν μάλιστα ἑσωγραφεῖ τά τε ὅρη τά περικείμενα καὶ οἱ ποτα-μοὶ, διαφερόντως δὲ ὁ Ῥοδανός, μέγιστός τε ὁ οἱ καὶ πλείστου ἀνάπλου ἔχον, ἐκ πολλῶν πληροῦ-μενος ῥεμάτων· λεκτέον οὐν ἑφεξῆς περὶ τούτων. ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας τοῖς ἀρξαμένους καὶ προϊόσθιν ἐπὶ τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν τῶν τέ Ἀλπῶν καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ, μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Δρουεντία ποταμοῦ Σάλλυνος οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους· πορθμεῖο δὲ διαβάζειν εἰς Καβαλλίωνα πόλιν ἡ ἑφεξῆς χώρα πάσα Καυνάρων ἐστὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ Ἰσαρος συμβολῶν πρὸς τῶν Ῥοδανών ἐν τοῖς δὲ καὶ τὸ Κέμενου συνάπτει ποὺς τῷ Ῥοδανῷ μήκος τὸ μέχρι δεύτερο ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρουεντία σταδίων ἐστὶν ἐπτακοσίων· οἱ μὲν οὖν Σάλλυνος ἐν αὐτοῖς τα τε πεδία καὶ τὰ ὑπερκειμένα ὅρη κατοικοῦσιν, τῶν δὲ Καυναρίων ὑπέρκεινται Οὐκόντιοι τε καὶ Τρικόριοι καὶ Ἰκόνιοι καὶ Μέδυλλοι. μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Δρουεντία καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαρος καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ ρέουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥοδανῶν, δύο

1 αὐτοῖς, Jones, for autōis.

1 South of the Druentia.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. i. 10–11

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 1—not only the plains but also the mountains that lie above the plains, whereas above the Cavari are situated the Vocontii, Tricori, Iconii, and Medulli. Between the Druentia and the Isar there are still other rivers which flow from the Alps to the
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mēn oĩ periprēkontes pōlin Kaouárōn kal Oýá-

rōn 2 koinōn ēthphro symbállontes eis tôn 'Rodanó

v, trítos de Sŏúlygas, o kata Oúndalou pōlin mιsγó-

menos tòv 'Rodanov, óthov Γnaios 'Aphóbarbhos me-

gálh máχh pollalas etreývato Kēltów muriádas.

ei'si de eñ tō metatē pōleis kal Aúneo kal
'Arausión kal 'Aería, tō õnti, phsion 'Artume-

doros, aería dial tō éph' õyoun idróνthai megálhov,

h mēn oûn állh pása ésthe pedías kal eýbostos, h

δ' ék tēs 'Aeriais eis tīn Δouríona uperthēēois

ēchei stenás kai õlōdeis. kath' δ de sumptiptovn

'1Σaros potamó kai 'Rodanov kal tō Kēmuenov

drós, Kóinotos Fábios Mάξimos Lálmlanos oûch

ôlais triaí muriástrn eikosi muriádas Kēltów

kattékophi, kai éstheîs trópais avtōthi leukou

línov kai neôs dúv, tōn mēn 'Arewos, tōn δ' 'Hra-

kleôus. apò δe toû 'Išaros eis Oúeiēnai tīn tōn

'Allobrígonous mπtrópolin keimēnhn épti tō 'Ro-

danov stādiōi eisai triakostos eikosi. plēsion

1 Kaouárwn, Siebenkees, for Klauódphov; so the later editors.

2 Xylander would omit kal Oýárov; so Niebenkees, Corais,

Kramer, Forbiger, and Meineke. Groskurd emends to

Karptántaro, or Karptēntárwv. Casaubon, comparing Lôve-

plávos in 4. 6. 3, conjectures Lôvěpláva.

1 Groskurd, believing with Gosselin that the Ouvéze and

the Mède are the rivers meant by Strabo, emends "and the

Vari" to "Carpenteron"—the "Carpentoracte" (to-day

Carpentras) of Pliny (3. 5). Several scholars (see critical

note above, on this page) omit "and the Vari" altogether.

Uktet (Gegr. 1832, vol. iii, page 138) thinks he recognizes in

"Cavari" and "Vari" the corrupted names of the rivers

now called Rubion and Jabron, and that the city (which he

thinks has fallen out of the text) is Akousio (mentioned by

Ptolemaeus), to-day Ancone. But Béretta (Les Cîtes

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Rhodanus, namely, two that flow round a city of the Cavanar Vari,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{2} where in a great battle Gnaeus Ahenobarbus turned many myriads of Celti to flight. And there are in the intervening space\textsuperscript{3} the cities of Avenio,\textsuperscript{4} Arausio,\textsuperscript{5} and Aeria\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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

\textit{Mystérieuses de Strabon}, pp. 36-44) rightly defends the Greek text and seems to prove that the city in question was what is now Bédarides, at the confluence of the Ouvèze and the Mède.

\textsuperscript{1} What is now Sorgnes, according to Béretta (\textit{op. cit.} p. 49). The name is also spelled "Vindalum."
\textsuperscript{2} Between the Druentia and the Isar.
\textsuperscript{3} Now Avignon.
\textsuperscript{4} Béretta (\textit{op. cit.} pp. 50-73) convincingly identifies Aeria with what is now Carpentras.
\textsuperscript{5} A. Béretta (\textit{op. cit.} 74-100) identifies Durio with what is now Malauçâte. 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).
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δ’ ὑπέρκειται τής Οὐιέννης τὸ Δούγδουνον, ἕφ’ οὗ συμμισθοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις δ’ τῷ Ἄραρ καὶ ο’ Ῥοδανοῦ. στάδιοι δ’ εἰσιν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ πεζῷ μὲν περὶ διακοσίοις διὰ τῆς Ἀλλοβρίγων, ἀνάπλη δὲ μικρῷ πλείους. Ἀλλοβρίγων δὲ μυριάσι πολλαῖς πρότερον μὲν ἐστράτευου, νῦν δὲ γεωργοῦσι τὰ πεδία καὶ τοὺς αὐλόνας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσί, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κομητῶν ζῶσιν, οἱ δ’ ἐπιφανεῖς στατοῦ τῆς Οὐιέννην ἐχοντες, κόμην πρότερον οὕσαν, μητρόπολιν δ’ ὁμοὶ τοῦ ἔθνους λεγομένην, κατασκευάσκας πόλιν. Ἰδοντι δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥοδανῷ, φέρεται δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων ὄντος πολὺς καὶ σφοδρός, δὲ γε καὶ διὰ λίμνης ἐξιόν τῆς Λημένης 2 φανέρων δεῖκνυσι τὸ ῥεῖθρον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους. κατελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὰ πεδία τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἀλλοβρίγων καὶ Σηγοσιανῶν 3 συμβάλλει τῷ Ἄραρ κατὰ Δούγδουνον πόλιν τῶν Σηγοσιανῶν 3, ἰδέ δὲ καὶ ο’ Ἀραρ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπεων, ὀρέζων Σηκοσιανοῦς τε καὶ Αἰδούνως καὶ Δύγγονας 4 παραλαβὼν δ’ ύστερον τῶν Δούβιων ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀρῶν φερόμενον πλωτὸν, ἐπικρατήσας τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ γενόμενος εξ’ ἀμφότερον Ἀραρ συμμισθοῦ τῷ Ῥοδανῷ, πάλιν δ’ ἐπικρατήσας ο’ Ῥοδανοῦ εἰς τὴν Οὐιέννην φέρεται. συμβαίνει δὴ καὶ τριὰς ποταμοὺς φέρεσθαι πρὸς ἄρκτον, εἶτα πρὸς δύσων εἰς ἐν δ’ ἤδη συμπέσον δ’ ῥεῖθρον πάλιν ἄλλην

1 ἀπὸ, Corrais, for ἵνα; so the later editors.
2 Λημένης, Kramer, for τῆς μεγάλης (op. 4. 6. 11); so the later editors.
3 Σηγοσιανῶν, the editors, for the variants of the MSS. (see O. Müller Ind. Var. Lect. pp. 982 (154, 32, 33) and 983 (169, 40); also Holmes, Caesar’s Conquest of Gaul, p. 848).
4 Δύγγονας, Corrais, for Δύγκασιος; so the editors in general.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 1. 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 Lugdunum⁴ 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

⁴ 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).

⁶ συμπεσών, Xylander, for συμπεσών.
καμπῆν λαβὼν νότιον φέρεται τῷ βεῦμα μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν, δεξάμενον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς, κάκειθεν ἡ τῆς λαυτῆς ποιεῖται μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης μῦσιν. ἤ μὲν οὖν μεταξὺ τῶν Ἀλπέων καὶ τοῦ Ῥόδανοῦ τοιαύτη τις.

12. Τῇ δὲ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ ποταμοῦ Οὐόλκαι νέμονται τὴν πλείστην, οἷς Ἀρηκομίσκους προσαγορεύουσι. τούτων δὲ ἐπίνεον ἡ Νάρβουν λέγεται, δικαιότερον δὲ ἄν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κελτικῆς λέγοντες τοσοῦτον ὑπερβαίνεται τῷ πληθεῖ τῶν χρωμένων τῷ ἐμπορείῳ. οἱ μὲν οὖν Οὐόλκαι γειτονεύουσι τῷ Ῥόδανῳ, τοὺς Σάλλνας ἐχοντες ἀντιπαρηκμοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ καὶ τοῖς Καουάρους. ἐπικρατεῖ δὲ τὸ τῶν Καουάρων ὅμως καὶ πάντας οὕτως ἡ ἐπισκόπησις τῶν τοῖς ταυτικῶς συμβολικοῖς. οὐδὲ χρήσιν ἔτη ὕπερ, ἀλλὰ μετακρίμενος τὸ πλέον εἰς τὸν Ρομαίον τύπον καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ τοῖς βίοις, τιμᾶς δὲ καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ. ἄλλα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀδόξεα ἔθνη καὶ μικρὰ, παρακείμενα τοῖς Ἀρηκομίσκοις μὲχρι Πυρήνης. μητρόπολις δὲ τῶν Ἀρηκομίσκων ήστι Νέμαυσος, κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἀλλότριον ᾧχλον καὶ τὸν ἐμπορικόν πολὺν Νάρβουνος λειτουργίαν, κατὰ δὲ τὸν πολιτικὸν ὑπερβάλλοντας ὑπηκοόν γὰρ ἔχει κώμας τέταρας καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν ὁμοθνήν εὐανδρία διαφεροῦσας, συντελοῦσα εἰς αὐτήν, ἔχουσα 1 καὶ τὸ καλούμενον

C 187 Δάντον, ὅστε τοὺς ἀξιωθέντας ἀγορανομίας καὶ

1 Ντασία, Corais, for ἕκτισσα (AB), ἔχουσαν (C); so the later editors.

1 “Jus Latii” (see footnote on “Latins,” 3. 2. 16). 

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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 Sallery 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,”¹ so that those who
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ταμείας ἐν Νεμαύσῳ Ῥωμαίους ὑπάρχειν διὰ δὲ τούτο οὐδ' ἦν ἄλλη τοῖς προσσήμασι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης στρατηγῶν ἄστι τὸ ἔθνος τούτο. Ὄρμυς δ' ἡ πόλις κατὰ τὴν ὄδον τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, θέρους μὲν εὐβατοὺς οὔσαν, χειμάρρους δὲ καὶ ἐαρός πηλοῦν καὶ ποταμοκλυτών τινὰ μὲν ὅν τῶν ρευμάτων πορθμεῖοι περάται, τινὰ δὲ γεφύρας, ταῖς μὲν ἔξω πεποιημέναις, ταῖς δὲ λίθους, ποιούσι δὲ τὰς ἐκ τῶν υδάτων δυσκολίας οἱ χειμαρροὶ, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ θέρους ἔσθ' ὅτε ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπέων καταφερόμενοι μετὰ τὴν ἀπότηξιν τῶν χιόνων, τῆς δ' ὧν τῆς λεκθείσης ἡ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἔστι, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, ἡ σύντομος διὰ Οὐκοκούνσων ὑδατών ταῖς παραλίαις τῆς Μασσαλιωτικῆς καὶ τῆς Δυναστικῆς μακροτέρα μὲν, τὰς δὲ ὑπερθέσεις τὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐμαρεστέρας ἔχει, ταπειομέμενων ἐντάθη ἥδη τῶν ὄρων, διέχει δ' ἡ Νέμανος τοῦ μὲν Ῥοδανοῦ περὶ ἐκατόν σταθείσας, καθ' ὧν τῇ περαίᾳ πολύχυνον ἔστι Γαροῦσκων, τῆς δὲ Νάρβανος ἐπτακούσιος εἰκοσι. πρὸς δὲ τὸ Κέμμειον ὅρος συνάπτουσε, ἐπιλαμβάνοντες δὲ καὶ τὸ νότιον πλευρὸν αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων οἰκούσι τοῖς τοῦ Οὐσλίκων οἱ Τεκτόσαγες καλούμενοι καὶ ἄλλοι τινες. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἐρώμεν ὅστερον.

13. Οἱ δὲ Τεκτόσαγες καλούμενοι τῇ Πυρήνῃ πλησιὰστοιν, ἐφάπτονται δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τοῦ προσαρκτίου πλευρό τῶν Κεμμέων, πολύχυσσόν τε

1 προσσήμασι, the reading of ο; πράγμασι, ABCI.

See 4. 2. 2 and footnote on “autonomous.”

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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 Vosconti, 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 Cenmenus 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 Cenmenus;

1 See 4. 1. 2.
2 To Strabo, the Cenmenus ran east and west.
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νέμονται γῆν. δοίκασι δὲ καὶ δυναστεύεισαι ποτε καὶ εύανδρήσαι τοσοῦτον, ὥστε στάσεως ἐμπεσούσης ἐξελάσαι πολὺ πλήθος ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας· κοινωνήσαι δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἄλλους ἐξ ἄλλων ἑθύων. τούτων δ' εἶναι καὶ τοὺς κατασχόντας τῇ Φρυγίᾳ τῆν ὄμοραν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τοῖς Παφλαγοίσι· τούτου μὲν οὖν ἔχομεν τεκμήριον τοὺς ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν λεγομένους Τεκτόσαγας· τριῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἑθύων, ἐν ἑξ αὐτῶν τὸ πέρι "Ἀγκυραν πόλιν Τεκτόσαγων λέγεται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ δύο ἐστὶ Τρόκμου καὶ Τολιστοβώγου τοῦτοι δ', ὦτι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀπωκλισθαι, μηνοῖς τὸ γε' πρὸς τοὺς Τεκτόσαγας σύμφολον, ἐξ δὲ χωρίων οἰκονόμησαν, οὔκ ἔχομεν φραζεῖν· οὐ γὰρ παρειλήφαμεν οἰκονόμας τινας τὰ νυν Τρόκμους ἢ Τολιστοβώγους ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων οἳ ἐν αὐταῖς οὗτ' ἐντός, εἰκὸς δ' ἐκειλοιπέναι διὰ τὰς ἄθροις ἀπαντάστασεις, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων συμβαίνει πλείονων ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν ἄλλων Βρέννου τὸν ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ Δελφοὺς Πραυνόν τινὲς φασίν, οὐδὲ τοὺς Πραυνοὺς δ' ἔχομεν εἰπείν, ὥστε γῆς φθησαν πρῶτοι· καὶ τοὺς Τεκτόσαγας δὲ φασὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐπὶ Δελφοὺς στρατείας, καὶ τοὺς τε θησαυροὺς τοὺς εὑρεθέντας παρ' αὐτοῖς

1 γε, Corais, for τε.
2 τά, Jones, for τῶν; the reading of no is τά.

1 Strabo refers to Galatia, a part of Greater Phrygia (12. 8. 1). One of the three Galatian tribes retained the name of "Tectosages," "from the tribe of that name in Celtica" (12. 5. 1).
2 That is, the Gallic Brennus who made an invasion against Delphi in 278 B.C. with 152,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry.
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and the land they occupy is rich in gold. It appears that at one time they were so powerful and had so large a stock of strong men that, when a sedition broke out in their midst, they drove a considerable number of their own people out of the homeland; again, that other persons from other tribes made common lot with these exiles; and that among these are also those people who have taken possession of that part of Phrygia which has a common boundary with Cappadocia and the Paphlagonians. Now as proof of this we have the people who are still, even at the present time, called Tectosages; for, since there are three tribes, one of them—the one that lives about the city of Ancyra—is called "the tribe of the Tectosages," while the remaining two are the Trocmi and the Tolistobogii. As for these latter peoples, although the fact of their racial kinship with the Tectosages indicates that they emigrated from Celtica, I am unable to tell from what districts they set forth; for I have not learned of any Trocmi or Tolistobogii who now live beyond the Alps, or within them, or this side of them. But it is reasonable to suppose that nothing has been left of them in Celtica on account of their thoroughgoing migrations—just as is the case with several other peoples. For example, some say that the second Brennus who made an invasion against Delphi was a Prausan, but I am unable to say where on earth the Prausans formerly lived, either. And it is further said that the Tectosages shared in the expedition to Delphi; and even the treasures that were found among them in the city of Tolosa by (see Pausanias 10. 19); not the Gallic Brennus who a century before sacked Rome.
Το Κατίωνος των Ρωμαίων εν τόλει Τολώση τόν ἐκείθεν χρημάτων μέρος εἶναι φασί, προσθέουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων οίκων ἀνιεροῦντας καὶ ἐξιλασκομένους τῶν θεῶν προσαφάμενον δ' αὐτῶν τὸν Κατίωνα διὰ τοῦτο ἐν δυστυχήμασι καταστρέφει τὸν βίον, ὡς ἱερότυλον ἐκβληθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, διαδόχους δ' ἀπολύπτων παῖδας, ὡς συνεβ' καταπορνευθεῖσας, ὡς εἰρήκει Τιμαγένης, αἰσχρῶς ἀπολέσθαι πιθανότερον δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Ποσειδωνίου λόγος· τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐρέθεντα ἐν τῇ Τολώσῃ χρήματα μυρίων ποὺ καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλαντῶν γενέσθαι φησί, τὰ μὲν ἐν σηκοῖς ἀποκείμενα, τὰ δ' ἐν λίμναις ἱεραίς, ὀδεμίαν κατασκευήν ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ἄργου χρυσίου καὶ ἄργυρου τὸ δ' ἐν Δελφῶν ἱερόν κατ' ἐκείνους ἦδη τοὺς χρόνους ὑπάρξαι κενῶν τῶν τοιούτων, σεσυληµένον ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμῳ εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐλείφθη, διανείμασθαι πολλοῖς· οὕτε σωθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰκὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἢθλίως ἀπαλλάξαται μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀποχώρησιν καὶ σκεδασθέντας ἄλλους ἐπὶ ἄλλα μέρη κατὰ διχοστασίαν. ἀλλ', ὅσπερ ἐκείνος τε εἰρήκει καὶ ἄλλοι πλείοις, ἡ χώρα πολύχρυσος οὕσα καὶ δεισιδαιμόνως καὶ οὐ πολυτελῶν τοῖς βίοις πολλαχῶν τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐσχε θησαυρούς· μάλιστα δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ λίμναι τήν ἁνυλίαν παρείχοντο, εἰς δὲ καθέσαν ἄργυρον ἡ καὶ χρυσοῦ βάρη. οἱ γαν' Ρωμαίοι κρατήσαντες τῶν τόπων ἀπέδοντο

1 Κατίωνος, and Κατίωνα (below), are obvious corrections for Κατίωνος and Κατίωνα; 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
14. "Ιδρυται δ' η Τολώσσα κατά το στενότατον τού ισθμού τού διείργοντος ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ Νάρβωνα θαλάσσης τῶν ὀκεανῶν, ὡνὶ 1 φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐλάττω τῶν τρισχιλίων σταδίων. ἀξίου δ' ἀντὶ πάντων ἐπισημνάσθαι πάλιν ὅπερ εἴπομεν πρότερον, τῆς ὀμολογίας τῆς χώρας πρὸς ταύτα ποταμούς καὶ τὴν βάλασταν τὴν τ' ἐκτὸς ὀμοιῶς καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς εὕροι γὰρ ἂν τις ἐπιστήσας οὐκ ἐλάχιστου μέρος τοῦθ' ὑπάρχον τῆς τῶν τόπων ἀρετῆς, λέγω δὲ τὸ τᾶς χρείας ἐπιπλέκεσθαι τὰς τοῦ βίου μετὰ ῥεστών τῆς ἀπαντῆσα πρὸς ἀπαντας καὶ τὰς ὄφελειας ἀνείσθαι κοινάς, μάλιστα δὲ νῦν, ἥνικα ἄγοντες σχολῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων ἐργαζόμεθα τῆς χώρας ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ τοὺς βίους κατασκευάζομεν πολιτικοῦς. ὡστε ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων κἀν τὸ τῆς προνοίας ἔργον ἐπιμαρτυρεῖσθαι τοῖς δὲ δοξείς, οὕτως ὅπως ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀν μετὰ λογισμὸν τινὸς, διακειμένων τῶν τόπων. ὁ μὲν γε Ῥοδανὸς πολὺν τε ἔχει τῶν ἀνάπλους καὶ μεγάλους φορτίους καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς χώρας διὰ τὸ

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

1 4. 1. 2. 1 The ocean.

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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 Poscidonius is less than three thousand stadia in width. But it is above all worth while to note again a characteristic of this region which I have spoken of before— the harmonious arrangement of the country with reference, not only to the rivers, but also to the sea, alike both the outer sea and the inner; for one might find, if he set his thoughts upon the matter, that this is not the least factor in the excellence of the regions—I mean the fact that the necessities of life are with ease interchanged by every one with every one else and that the advantages which have arisen therefrom are common to all; but especially so at present, when being at leisure from the weapons of war, the people are tilling the country diligently, and are devising for themselves modes of life that are civil. Therefore, in the cases of this sort, one might believe that there is confirmatory evidence for the workings of Providence, since the regions are laid out, not in a fortuitous way, but as though in accordance with some calculated plan. In the first place, the voyage which the Rhodanus affords inland is a considerable one, even for vessels of great burden, and reaches numerous
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toûs ἐμπίπτοντας εἰς αὐτὸν ποταμοὺς ὑπάρχειν πλωτοὺς καὶ διαδέχεσθαι τὸν φόρτον πλεῖστον. ὁ δὲ Ἄραρ ἔκδεχεται καὶ ὁ Δοῦβης ὁ εἰς τούτον ἐμβάλλων, εἶτα πεζεύεται μέχρι τοῦ Σηκοάνα πο-
tαμοῦ, καντεύθεν ἢ δὴ καταφέρεται εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν καὶ τοὺς Δηξοβίους καὶ Καλέτοις, ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἑλάττων ἢ ἡμερήσιος δρόμος ἐστὶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστὶν ἄξον καὶ δυσανάπλους ὁ Ῥοδανός, τινά τῶν ἐντεθηκόνθ' ἀριστάρχων πεζεύεται μᾶλλον ταῖς ἀρμαμάζαις, ὥσα εἰς Ἀρουέρνους κο-
mίζεται καὶ τὸν Λείγηρα ποταμόν, καλύπτει τὸ τὸ Ῥοδανὸ καὶ τούτως πλησιάζοντος ἐκ μέρους ἐλλ' ἡ ὄδος πεδιάς οὖσα καὶ οὐ πολλὴ, περὶ ὀκτα-
κοσίων σταδίων, ἐπάγεται μὴ χρήσασθαι τὸ ἀνάπλο ἀμφοτερὸς ἐντεθηκόν· ἐν τῇ Ἐμποίῃ δὲ τὸ πεζεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐντεθηκόν· δὲ τῷ Ἐμποίῃ ἐντεθηκόν· ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀτακτῳ, πεζεύεται δὲ πλέον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἔμπολας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τοῦθ' ὡς τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους οὖν ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων· δὲ τῇ δὲ τῷ Γαρούνας εἰς τὸν ὠκεανόν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν νεμομένων τῆς Ἐμποίης ἐπικράτειαν λέγομεν, οὐχ οἱ πρῶτοι Κέλται ὄνομαζον ἀπὸ τούτων δ' οἴμαι καὶ τοὺς σύμπαντας Ἐλλάτας Κέλτους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων

1 Καλέτοις, Xylander, for ὑπὸτος, 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 Arvernians lived still further west.
But there seems to have been no convenient way here to
transfer merchandise to the Loire.

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parts of the country, on account of the fact that the rivers which fall into it are navigable, and in their turns receive most of the traffic. Secondly, the Rhodanus is succeeded by the Arar, and by the Dubis (which empties into the Arar); then the traffic goes by land as far as the Sequana River; and thence it begins its voyage down to the ocean, and to the Lexobii and Caleti; 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 Narbonitius, 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.
STRABO

προσαγορευθήναι, δια τὴν ἑπιφάνειαν ἢ καὶ προσ-
λαβόντων πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν
diā τὸ πλησίον ὁρον.

II

1. Ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἀκουιτανῶν λεκτέων καὶ
tῶν προσωρισμένων αὐτοῖς ἐθνῶν τεσσαρεσκαὶ-
δεκα Γαλατικῶν τῶν μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαροῦνα κατοι-
κούντων καὶ τοῦ Δέληρος, ὅν ἦνα ἐπιλαμβάνει καὶ
tῆς τοῦ 'Ρωδανοῦ ποταμίας καὶ τῶν πεδίων
tῶν κατὰ τὴν Ναρββώνιτιν. ἀπλῶς γὰρ εἰπεῖν,
i' Ἀκουιτανοὶ διαφέρουσι τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ φύλου
cατὰ τὸ τάς τῶν σωμάτων κατασκευᾶς καὶ κατὰ
tὴν γλώτταν, ἐσκασὶ δὲ μάλλον Ἰβηρσίων. ὅρι-
ζουται δὲ τῷ Γαροῦνα ποταμῷ, ἐντὸς τούτου καὶ
tῆς Πυρῆνης οἰκούντες. ἔστι δὲ ἐθνῆ τῶν Ἀκου-
ιτανῶν πλείω μὲν τῶν εἶκοσι, μικρὰ δὲ καὶ ἄδοξα,
tὰ πολλὰ μὲν παρωκεαντικὰ, τὰ δὲ εἰς τὴν
μεσόγαιαν καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν Κεμμένων ὅρων μέχρι
Τεκτοσάγων ἀνέχοντα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ μικρὰ μερὶς
ἡ τοσαῦτη, προσέθησαν καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ
Γαροῦνα καὶ τοῦ Δέληρος. παράλληλοι δὲ πῶς
εἰσὶν οἱ ποταμοὶ τῇ Πυρῆνη καὶ δύο ποιοῦσι
παραλληλόγραμμα πρὸς αὐτὴν χωρία, ὀριζόμενα
cατὰ τὰς ἅλλας πλευρὰς τῷ τε ὥκεανῳ καὶ τοῖς
Κεμμένοις ὥρεσιν δισχιλίων δ' ὁμοί σταδίων
ἔστιν ὁ πλοῦς ἑκατέρων τῶν ποταμῶν. ἐκβάλλει
δ' ὁ μὲν Γαροῦνας τρισὶ ποταμοῖς αὐξηθεὶς εἰς τὸ

1 For the purposes of administration.
2 Op. 4. 1. 1.

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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, 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. 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 of the Cemmenus Mountains, as far as the Tectosages. But since a country of this size was only a small division, they added to it the country which is between the Garumna and the Liger. These rivers are approximately parallel to the Pyrenees and form with the Pyrenees two parallelograms, since they are bounded on their other sides by the ocean and the Cemmenus Mountains. And the voyage on either of the rivers is, all told, two thousand stadia. The Garumna, after being increased by the waters of three rivers, dis-

1 Not "extremities" (op. Tâ òκρα 4. 8. 7).
4 The Romans.
STRABO

μεταξὺ Βιτουρίγου τοῦ Οὐιβίσκον, ἔπικαλομένου καὶ Σαντόνων, ἀμμοτέρων Γαλατικῶν ἔθνων, μόνον γὰρ δὴ τὸ τῶν Βιτουρίγων τούτων ἔθνος ἐν τοῖς Ἀκουτανοῖς ἀλλόφυλον ἱδρυται, καὶ οὐ συντελεῖ αὐτοῖς, ἔχει δὲ ἐμπόριον Βουρδηγαλα ἐπικείμενον λιμνοθαλάσση τοις, ἢν ποιούσιν αἱ ἐκβολαί τοῦ πτωμάτος. ὃ δὲ Δεήρη μεταξὺ Πικτόνων τε καὶ Ναμνιτῶν ἐκβάλλει. πρῶτον δὲ Κορβιλών ὑπήρχεν ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν πτωμάτων, περὶ ἢς διήρκε τοῖς Πολύβιοις, μνησθεὶς τῶν ὑπὸ Πυθέου μυθολογιοθέτων, ὅτι Μασσαλιωτῶν μὲν τῶν συμμετὸν Σκιπίων, οὐδὲς εἶχε λέγειν οὐδὲν μὴν ὕποπτον ἔξειν, ἔρισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ τῆς Βρετανίκης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Νάρβωνοις οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Κορβιλώνοις, αὐτερ ἦσαν ἄρισται πόλεις τῶν ταύτης. Πυθέας δ' ἐθάρρησε τοσοῦτο ψέυσθα. τῶν δὲ Σαντόνων πόλεις ἐστὶ Μεδιολίνου. ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν παρωκεαινὶς τῶν Ἀκουτανῶν ἄμμωδες ἡ πλείοντα καὶ λεπτή, κέγχρω τρέφουσα, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις καρποῖς ἀφοροτάρα ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὁ ποιῶν τῶν ἴσθμῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Ναρβωνίτις παραλίᾳ Γαλατικῶν κόλπον, ὑμῶνυμος ἔκείνῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς. ἔχουσι δὲ Τάρβελλον τὸν κόλπον, παρ' οἷς ἔστι τὰ χρυσεία σπουδαίατα πάντων, ἐν γάρ βαθροὶ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπὶ μικρὸν εὐρίσκονται καὶ χειροπληθεῖσι χρυσίου πλάκες, ἐσθ' ὅτε μικρὰς ἀποκαθάρσεως δεόμεναι.

1 Οὐιβίσκοι, Χυλάνδερ, for 'τάσκοι; so Corais, Groskurth, and Forbiger. Ptolemaeus (2. 7. 5) says "Οὐιβίσκοι," and Pliny (4. 33) "Viviscia."
2 ταύτης, Corais, for ταύτης; so the later editors.

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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 Namnitae. Formerly there was an emporium on this river, called Corbilo, with respect to which Polybius, calling to mind the fabulous stories of Pytheas, has said: "Although no one of all the Massiliotes who conversed with 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 Mediolanum. 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.
STRABO

tò dé loipòn ψήγμα ἐστι καὶ βόλιοι, καὶ αὐταὶ κατεργασίαι οὐ πολλὰν ἔχουσαι. ἦ δὲ μεσόγειος καὶ ὀρεινὴ βελτίων γῆν ἔχει, πρὸς μὲν τῇ Πυρρήνῃ τῆς τῶν Κοννενῶν, ὡς ἐστὶ συγκλύδων, ἐν ἦ τῆς Λοιποὺδου καὶ τὰ τῶν Ὕσσιδιών ἑρμα κάλλιστα ποτιμωτῶν ὑδατος· καλῆ δὲ καὶ ἦ τῶν Ἀντικών.

2. Τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαρούνα καὶ τοῦ Δεύγηρος ἰθην τὰ προσκείμενα τοῖς Ἀκοντανοῖς ἐστὶν Ἐλονοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ῾Ροδανοῦ τήν ἀρχῆν ἔχοντες· Οὔτεπερ δὲ μετὰ τούτου, οὗ προσωρίζοντο ποτε Ἀρούνοις, νῦν δὲ τάπτονται καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς· εἶτα Ἀρούνοι καὶ Ἀμφωνυκίς καὶ Πετροχόριοι· πρὸς δὲ τούτων Νιτιόβριγες καὶ Καδούρκοι καὶ Βιτυόριγες οἱ Κούβοι καλούμενοι πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἀκεανῷ Σαίντονοι τε καὶ Πλέκτονες, οἱ μὲν τῷ Γαρούνα παρακούοντες, ως εἴπομεν, οἱ δὲ τῷ Δεύγῃρι. Ὡρυχοὺ δὲ καὶ Γαβαλεῖς τῷ Ναρβωνίτιδι πλησιάζουσιν. παρὰ μὲν οὖν τοῖς Πετροχόροις σιδηρουργεῖα ἑστὶν ἁστεία καὶ τοῖς Κούβοις Βιτυόριξι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Καδούρκοις λιονυργίαι.
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 Cadurei, 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 Cadurei, 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 Araecomisci, 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).
parà dé tois Ἑρυθνοῖς ἀργυρεῖαν ἐχονσι δ' ἀργυρεῖαν καὶ οἱ Γαβαλεῖς. δεδώκασι δὲ Λάτιον Ἡρωμαίοι καὶ τῶν Ἀκοουτανῶν τις, καθάπερ Αὐκαίας καὶ Κωνούναις.

3. Ἀρούερνοι δὲ ἔφη τῶν Δείγηρι· μητρόπολις δ' αὐτῶν ἐστι Νεμωσσός ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ κειμένη. ὅνεις δ' οὗτος παρὰ Κήναβου, τὸ τῶν Καρυόταν εμπόριον κατὰ μέσον τοῦ πλούτου συνοικούμενων, ἐκβάλλει πρὸς τὸν ἱκανοῦ. τῆς δυνάμεως δὲ τῆς πρώτην Ἀρούερνοι μέγα τεκμήριον παρέχουσι τῷ πολλάκις τολμήσαι πρὸς Ἡρωμαίοις τοτὲ μὲν μυριάσιν εἰκοσι, πάλιν δὲ διπλασίαι. τοσαῦται γὰρ πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν Θεὸν διηγοῦσαν μετὰ Ὀὐρεκκυγγιστόριγος, πρώτον δὲ καὶ εἰκοσὶ πρὸς Μάξιμον τὸν Αἰμιλιανὸν, καὶ πρὸς Δομήτιον ὁ ὁσαύτως Ἀμπᾶρθαῖος. πρὸς μὲν οὖν Καίσαρα περὶ τὲς Γεργούσειας, πόλιν τῶν Ἀρούερνων, ἐφ' ὕψηλῃ ὀροὺς κεῖμενη, συνεστήσαν οἱ ἄγωνες, ἐξ ἕκτης ἦν ὁ Ὀὐρεκκυγγιστόριγος· καὶ περὶ Ἀληχαίαν τὸν Μανδουβίων, ἐξωσι οὖν ἄρομα τῶν Ἀρούερνων, καὶ ταύτην ἐφ' ὕψηλῃ ὀροφῇ κείμενην, ἐνερχομένην δ' ὀρεστὶ καὶ ποταμοῖς δυσών, ἐν ὀ καὶ ἑάλῳ ὁ ἡγεμόνι καὶ ὁ πόλεμος τέλος ἔσχε πρὸς δὲ Μάξιμον Αἰμιλιανὸν κατὰ τὴν συμβολὴν τοῦ τ' Ἡσαροῖς καὶ τοῦ Ῥόδανοῦ,

1 Λάτιον, Κοραῖα, for Λάτιον; so the later editors.
2 Μανδουβίων, Xylander, for Μανδουβίων; 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" 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, a city situated on the Liger. This river, after flowing past Cenabum (the emporium of the Carnutes at about the middle of the voyage, an emporium that is jointly peopled), discharges its waters towards the ocean. As for their former power, the Arverni hold out as a great proof thereof the fact that they oftentimes warred against the Romans, at times with two hundred thousand men, and again, with double that number—with double that number, for example, when they, with Vercingetorix, struggled to a finish against the Deified Caesar; and, before that, also, with two hundred thousand against Maximus Aemilianus, and also, in like manner, against Dometius 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 Ptolemæus (2. 7. 12).

From Augustonemetum to the outlets of the river.
By both natives and Romans.
More commonly spelled "Domitius."
STRABO

καθ’ ἐν καὶ τὸ Κέμμενον ὄρος πλησιάζει τῷ Ῥοδανῷ. πρὸς δὲ Δομήτιον κατωτέρω ἐτί κατὰ τὴν συμβολὴν τοῦ τε Σούλγα καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ. διε- τείναν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ Ἀρουνεροὶ καὶ μέχρι Νάρββωνος καὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Μασσαλιώτιδος, ἐκάτον δὲ καὶ τῶν μέχρι Πυρηνῆς ἐθνῶν καὶ μέχρι ἰκεανοῦ καὶ Ῥήνου. Βιτυύτος ἦν, τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Μάξιμον καὶ τὸν Δομήτιον πολεμήσαντος, ὁ πατὴρ Λονέριος τοσοῦτον πλούτω λέγεται καὶ τρυφῇ διενείκεν, ὡστε ποτὲ ἐπιδείξεν ποιούμενος τοὺς φίλους τῆς εὐπορίας ἐπ’ ἀπήνης φέρεσθαι διὰ πεδίου, χρυσοῦ νομίσμα καὶ ἀργύρου δεύρο κάκεισε διασπείρω, ὡστε συλλέγειν ἐκείνους ἀκολουθοῦντας.

III

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀκουστανῆς μερίδα καὶ τὴν Ναρ- 
βωνίτην ἢ ἐφέξης ἐστὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ῥήνου παντὸς 
ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεύγρηος ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ, καθ’ 
δ’ συνάπτει πρὸς τὸ Δουγδούνου ἀπὸ τῆς παρῆς 
κατενεχθεῖς ὁ Ῥοδανός. ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας τὰ 
μὲν ἄνω μέρη τὰ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τῶν ποταμῶν, 
τοῦ τοῦ Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ, μέχρι μέσων 
C 192 σχεδὸν τῶν πεδίων ὕπο τοῦ Δουγδοῦνος τέτα-

1 Βιτυύτος, Corais, for Burtou; so the later editors.
2 For φίλοις, Corais, conjectures ὥλοις; A. Jacob, φίλοις.

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, “Lucius, 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 division ² and Narbonitis ³ 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 Athenaeus. The conjecture of A. Jacob, however, of "troops" for "friends" is more plausible, on textual as well as on contextual grounds.

¹ Gallia Aquitanica. ² Gallia Narbonensis.
STRABO

κται, τα δε λοιπα και παρωκεαντικα υπ' άλλη τετακται μεριδι, ην ιδιω δέλτας Βέλγας προσνέμουσιν, ημεις δε κουιότερον τα καθ' ἐκαστα δηλωσομεν.

2. Αυτο μεν δη το Νούγδουνον, εκτισμενον υπ' αυτω λαφω κατα την συμβολη του τε Αραρος του ποταμου και του Ραδανου, κατ' εκεινου τον Ρωμαιον, επανεις δε μαλλα των αλλων πλην Ναρβωνων, καλ γαρ εμποριο χρωναι, και το νομομα χαραγτουσιν ενταθα το τε αργυρων και το χρυσουν οι των Ρωμαιων ἴγεμονες. το τε ιερον το αναδευχθεν υπ' αυτων κοινη των Γαλατων Καισαρι το Σεβαστο προ ταυτης άδειται της πολεως επι τη συμβολη των ποταμων έστε δε βωμος αξιολογος επιγραφην έχων των εθνων έξηκοντα των άριθμων και εικονες των άστος μια, και άλλως μεγασ.

1. Προκαθορισθαι δε του έθνους του Σεγουσιανου, η πολεις αυτης, κειμενου, μεταξυ του Ραδανου και του Δωβιζου, τα δ' εξης έδυν τα συντεινοντα προς τον Ρονον, τα μεν υπ' αυτου δουβιζου οριζεται, τα δ' υπ' αυτου Αραρων. ουτοι μεν ουν, ως ειρηται πρότερον, απο των Αλπεων και αυτοι κατενσευτες, επειτ ένου ρειθρου συμπεσοντες εις των Ρουδανων καταφερονται, άλλως δ' εστιν, ομοιως έν

1 άλλος μεγας, C. Müller emends to άλη Σεβαστον; Meineke reads άλλος (κοινας) μεγας.

2 Σεγουσιανου, 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.

As Strabo has already said, it was not political divisions (her- the divisions of Lugdunensis and Belgica), but physical and ethnic distinctions that geographers treated in detail,
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 3. 1-2

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.  

8 4. 1. 11.
ταῖς Ἀλπεῖς τάς πηγάς ἔχων, Σηκοάνας ὄνομα· ἤρει δὲ εἰς τὸν ὁκεανόν, παράλληλος τῷ Ῥήνῳ, διὰ ἐθνὸς ὁμοῦμον, συνάπτων τῷ Ῥήνῳ τὰ πρὸς ἔως, τὰ δὲ εἰς τάναυτά τῷ Ἀραρι, ὅθεν αἱ κάλλισται ταργεῖαι τῶν ὑδάτων κρέων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατακομίζονται. μεταξὺ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Δούβιος καὶ τοῦ Ἀραρος οἰκεῖ τὸ τῶν Αἰδούων ἔθνος, πόλει ἔχων Καβυλλίδον ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀραρι καὶ φρούριον Βίβρακτα. οἱ δὲ Αἰδούοι καὶ συγγενεῖς Ῥωμαίων ὄνομαξοντο καὶ πρῶτοι τῶν ταύτης προσήλθον πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν. πέραν δὲ τοῦ Ἀραρος οἰκοῦν οἱ Σηκοανοὶ, διάφοροι καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἕκαστοι θεωροῦντες καὶ τοῖς Αἰδούοις· ὅτε πρὸς Γερμανοὺς προσεγγίσαντες πολλάκις κατὰ τὰς ἐφόδους αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδαν, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυτον τὸν τὴν τυχεῖσαν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἐποίουν μεγάλους, καὶ ἀφιστάμενοι μικροὺς· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Αἰδούους καὶ διὰ ταύτα 2 μὲν, ἀλλὰ ἐπετεινε τὴν ἐχθραν ἡ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔρις τοῦ διείργαντος αὐτοὺς, ἐκατέρω τὸν ἐθνοὺς ἤδειον ἀξιοῦντος εἶναι τὸν Ἀραρα καὶ ἐαυτῷ προσήκειν τὰ διαγωγικὰ τέλη. νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπαντᾷ ἵστι. 3. Ἔπει δὲ τῷ Ῥήνῳ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀπάντων οἰκοῦν Ἔλονητιοι, 3 παρ' οἷς εἰσίν αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ

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

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

1 Strabo wrongly thought the Sequana ran through the country of the Sequani.
2 Caesar (De Bello Gallico I. 33) says "the Aedui were often called by the Senate brethren and kinsmen."
3 Usually spelled "Helvetii."
ποταμοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀδούλα 1 ὄρει, τούτου δ' ἐστὶ μέρος τῶν Ἀλπεων, οθὲν καὶ ὁ Ἀδούλας εἷς ταναντία μέρη ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑρτὸς Κέλτικὴν καὶ πληροῖ τὴν Δάριον λίμνην, πρὸς ἦ ἐκτισταί τὸ Κάμον, εἰτ' ἐνθέντες εἰς τὸν Πάδον συμβάλλει, περὶ δὲν ὕστερον ἐρώμεν. καὶ ὁ Ρήνος δὲ εἰς ἑλη μεγάλα καὶ λίμνην ἀναχεῖται μεγάλην, ὡς ἐφάπτοται καὶ Ῥαϊτοί καὶ Οὐινδολίκοι, τῶν Ἀλπών τινές καὶ τῶν ἕπεραλπίων. φησὶ δὲ τὸ μέκος αὐτοῦ σταδίων ἐξακοσιόλιθων Ἀσίνιος, οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ. ἂλλ' ἐπ' εὐθείας μὲν τῶν ἡμίσους ὄλγον ἄν ἕπεραλπίων, τοὺς δὲ σκολιώμασι καὶ χίλιοι προστεθίνει ικανώς ἄν ἔχοιεν καὶ γάρ ὃς ἔστι, διὰ τούτο δὲ καὶ δυσγεφύρωτος, καὶ διὰ πεδίων ὑπτίος φέρεται τὸ λοιπὸν καταβάς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν οὖν οἷον τε μένειν ὃς καὶ βλανοί, εἶ τὸ ὑππασμῷ προσδοήμεν καὶ σκολιότητας πολλὰς καὶ μακράς; φησί δὲ καὶ διότι μὲν εἶναι, μεμψάμενοι τοὺς πλεῖος λέγοντας. ἐγκυκλωνται μὲν δὴ τινα χώραν ταῖς σκολιότηται καὶ οὕτως καὶ ὁ Σηκο-άνας, οὐ τοσαύτην δὲ. 2 ἀμφότεροι δὲ δέχουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους ἀπὸ τῶν νότιων μερῶν. πρόκειται δ' αὐτῶν ἡ Ὁρέστια, τοῦ μὲν Ἐρήνου καὶ ἔγγυθεν, ὅπερ καθορίσατο τὸ Κάντιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐφον ἄκρων τῆς νήσου, τοῦ δὲ Σηκοάνα μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω.

1 Ἀδούλα, Siebenkees from conj. of Xylander, for Διδεύλα; so the later editors.
2 ὅτι, 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.
STRABO

ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυπήγμαν συνεστήσατο Καίσαρ ὁ Θεός πλέων εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν. τοὺς δὲ Σηκο-άνα τὸ πλεόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραμοῦ δεχομένων τὰ φορτία μικρὰ πλέον ἐστὶν ἢ τὸ τοῦ Λείγηρος καὶ τοῦ Γαροῦνα. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Λουγ-δούνου μέχρι τοῦ Σηκοαίμα 1 χιλίων στάδίων ἐστὶν, ἔλαττον δὲ ἢ διπλάσιον τούτου τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκσβολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ μέχρι Λουγδούνου. φασὶ δὲ καὶ πολυχρόσους τοὺς Ίλουηττίους μηδὲν μέντοι ἦττον ἐπὶ ληστείαν τραπέζαν, τὰς τῶν Κίμβρων εὐπορίας ἰδονταί· ἀφανισθέναι δ᾽ αὐτῶν τὰ δύο φύλα, τριῶν ὅντων, κατὰ στρατείας. ὅμως δὲ ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν τὸ τῶν ἐπιγόνων πλῆθος ἐνῆλθεν ὁ πρὸς Καίσαρα τῶν Θεῶν πόλεμος, ἐν δὲ περὶ τεταράκοντα μυριάδες σωμάτων διεφθάρησαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς σώζεσθαι μεθήκην εἰς ὀκτακισχίλιοι, ὅπως μὴ τοῖς Γερμανοῖς ὁμοίως οὐσία, ἐρημοῦ ἡ πυῒ ὁμοῖα ἄφη.

4. Ἔτσι δὲ τοὺς Ἕλευθτίους Σηκοανοὺς καὶ Μεδιοματρικοὺς κατοικοῦσι τὸν Ῥήμου, ἐν οἷς ἱδρυται Γερμανικὸν ὡθος περιωθὲν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας, Τρίβοκχου. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Σηκοανοῖς ἐστὶ τὸ ὀρὸς ὁ Ἰουράσιος, διαρίζει δὲ Ἰλουηττίους καὶ Σηκοανούς, ὕπερ οὖν τῶν Ἐλουηττίων καὶ τῶν Σηκοανῶν Ἀἵδους καὶ Λύγγοις οἰκοῦσι πρὸς δύσιν, ὕπερ δὲ τῶν Μεδιοματρικῶν Λεῖκω καὶ τῶν Λυγγώνων

1 Χιλίων, Corais deletes; so Meineke.
2 δ', Corais inserts; so Meineke.
3 τέ, Corais inserts; so Meineke.
4 τάπω (MSS.), alter lapsus, 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),
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 3. 3-4

Caesar established his navy-yard when he sailed to Britain.¹ 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 ² 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 Deisiæ 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 Mediomatici, in whose territory are situated the Tribocchi, a Germanic tribe which crossed the river from their homeland. Mount Jura is in the territory of the Sequani; it marks the boundary between the Elvetii and the Sequani. So it is beyond the Elvetii and the Sequani, towards the west, that the Aedui and the Lingones dwell; and beyond the Mediomatici, that the Leuci and a

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

¹ An overland journey.
STRABO

τι μέρος, τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ἔδην τοῦ τε Δελφοὺς καὶ τοῦ Σηκοῦνα ποταμοῦ τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ροδανοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Ἀραμοῦ παράκειται πρὸς ἀρκετον τοῖς τε Ἀλλόβριξι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸ Δούγαννου τοῖς δὲ ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀρουέρων καὶ τὸ τῶν Καρνιότων, δι’ ὧν ἀμφότεροι ἐνέχθηκαί ὁ Δελφὸς εἰς τὸν ὦκεανὸν ἔξεισι, διάρμα δ’ ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν Βρετανικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν τῆς

C 194 Κελτικῆς εἰκοσι καὶ τριακόσιοι στάδιοι ὑπὸ γὰρ τὴν ἀμφότερον ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας ἀναχθέντες τῇ ἱπτεραιαῖς περὶ ὄγδοον ὄραν καταβρουσαῖ εἰς τὴν νῆσον, μετὰ δὲ τῶν Μεσοματρικών καὶ Τριβόκχου παρακολούθη τὸν 'Ρήμον Τρησύρου, καθ’ οὗς πεποίηται τὸ ἥζυμα ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων νυνὶ τῶν στρατηγούντων τῶν Γερμανικῶν πόλεων. πέραν δὲ ὦκουν Οὐβιοῦ κατὰ τούτον τῶν τόπων, οὕς μετήχαγεν Ἀγρίππας ἐκόντας εἰς τὴν ἑντὸς τοῦ 'Ρήμου. Τρησύρος δὲ συνεχεῖς Νεροῦοι, καὶ τοῦτο Γερμανικῶν έζησος, τελευταῖοι δὲ Μενύστου πληθὺς τῶν ἐκβολῶν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατοικούντες ἔλη καὶ δρυμοὺς ὕψος ὑψηλῆς, ἀλλὰ πυκνῆς ὕλης καὶ ἀκανθώδους, κατὰ τούτον δὲ ἔδρανται Σοῦγαμβροῖ Γερμανοὶ. πάσης δ’ ὑπέρχεται τῆς ποταμίας ταύτης οἱ Σόββοι προσαγορευόμενοι Γερμανοί καὶ δυνάμει καὶ πληθεὶς διαφέρουσι τῶν ἀλλῶν, ὑφ’ ὧν οἱ ἐξελαυνόμενοι κατέβουν εἰς τὴν ἑντὸς τοῦ 'Ρήμου νυνὶ καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ κατ’ ἄλλος τόπους δυναστεύουσι καὶ διαδέχονται τὰ ζώπυρα τοῦ πολέμου, τῶν πρώτων δὲ καταλυμένων.

1 It is uncertain what campaign or bridge Strabo refers to, since the time of composition and of revision of Strabo’s work has by no means been settled (see Vol. I, p. 36, footnote 2).

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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 Mediomatri 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).

1 By the Romans, apparently.
STRABO

5. Τῶν δὲ Τρησιώνων καὶ Νερούνων Σένονες καὶ Ρήμων πρὸς ἑστέραν οἰκούσιν, ἦτο δ' Ἀτρεβάτιοι καὶ Ἐβούρωνες· τοῖς Μεναπίοις δ' εἰσὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ Μορινῶ καὶ Βελλάκου καὶ Ἀμβανοί καὶ Σουνασίωνες καὶ Κάλετοι μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Σηκοάνα ποταμοῦ. ἦμφερής δ' ἦστε τῇ τῶν Μεναπίων ἢ τε τῶν Μορινῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀτρεβατίων καὶ Ἐβουρώνων· ὡς γάρ ἦστιν οὐχ ἤφηλων δεύδραν πολλὴ μὲν, οὐ τοσάτῳ δὲ δόσῃ οἱ συγγραφεῖς εἰρήκασι, τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων, καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἁρδουένναν. κατὰ δὲ τὰς πολεμικὰς ἐφόδους συμπλέκοντες τὰς τῶν θάμνων λύγους, βασίωδεις οὖσας, ἀπεφραττόν¹ τὰς παρόδους. ἦστι δ' ὅπου καὶ σκόλοπας κατέπητον, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατέδυναν εἰς τὰ βάθη πανοίκιοι, νησίδα ἔχοντες εἰς τοὺς ἔκσται. ἐν μὲν οὕν ταῖς ἐπομβρίαις ἄφαλεις τὰς καταφυγὰς εἰς, εν δὲ τοῖς αἵμων ἦλισκοντο ῥαδίως. νυν δ' ἀπαντεῖ οἱ ἐντὸς Ρήμων καθ' ἱσυχίαν ὄντες ὑπακούοσι Ρωμαίων. περὶ δὲ τῶν Σηκοάναν ποταμὸν εἰς καὶ οἱ Παρίσιοι, νῆσον ἔχοντες εἰς τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ πόλιν Δουκτοκίαν, καὶ Μέλδοι καὶ Ἀγξούνία, παρωκεινότατοι. ἀξιολογοῦσαν δ' ἐστίν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτης Ρήμων, καὶ ἡ μητρόπολις αὐτῶν Δουμικορῆρα μάλιστα συνοικεῖται καὶ δέχεται τούς τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐγερμόνας.

¹ ἀπεφραττόν, Groskurd, for ἀνίφραττον; so the later editors.
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 Caeti, 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 Parisiī 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 entertain 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.
STRABO

IV

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ λεχθέντα ἐθνῆ τὰ λυπητα Βελγῶν ἐστὶν ἐθνῆ τῶν παρωκεαντῶν, ὡν Οὐνέτου μὲν εἰσίν οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς Καίσαρα. ἔτους γὰρ ἦσαν κολύειν τὸν εἰς τὴν Βρετανικὴν πλοῖν, χρώμενοι τῷ ἑμπορίῳ κατεναυμάχησε δὲ ῥαδίως, οὐκ ἐμβόλαις χρώμενοι (ὅτι γὰρ παχέα τὰ ξύλα), ἀλλ’ ἀνέφιο φερομένου ἐπὶ αὐτὸν κατέστην αἱ 'Ρωμαίοι τὰ ἰστία δορυδρεπάνους· ἦν γὰρ σκύτλα διὰ τὴν βίαν τῶν ἀνέμων ἀνύσεις δ’ ἐπεινοὶ ἀντὶ κάλων. πλατύπυγα δὲ ποιοῦσι καὶ ἰψύπρυμα καὶ ἰψύπρυφα διὰ τὰς ἀμπώτεις, δρυίνης ὑλῆς, ᾧ ἐστὶν εὐπορία· διόπερ ὦ συνάγουσι τὰς ἀρμονίας τῶν σανίδων, ἀλλ᾽ ἀραίωματα καταλείποντες· τάντα δὲ βρύσις διανάττουσι τοῦ μῆ κατὰ τὰς νεωκλίας καταρρούσθαι τὴν ὕλην μὴν νοτιοζομένην, τοῦ μὲν βρύου νοτιωτέρου ὁντος τῇ φύσει, τῆς δὲ δρυίδος ἕχρᾶς καὶ ἄλποις. τούτους οἴμαι τοὺς Οὐνέτους οἰκιστὰς εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀδριαν καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες σχεδὸν τὸ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἱταλίᾳ Κέλτων μετανέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπέων γῆς, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Βόιοι καὶ Σένονες· διὰ δὲ τὴν ὁμονυμίαν Παφλαγόνως

1 μή, Siebenkees from conj. of Casubon; so the later editors.
2 Βόιοι, Xylander, for Βίοι; so the later editors.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 4. 1

IV

1. After the aforesaid tribes, the rest are tribes of those Belgae who live on the ocean-coast. Of the Belgae, there are, first, the Veneti who fought the naval battle with Caesar; for they were already prepared to hinder his voyage to Britain, since they were using the emporium there. But he easily defeated them in the naval battle, making no use of ramming (for the beams 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. I

1 That is, in the ships of the Veneti. The beams, according to Caesar (De Bello Gallico 3. 13), were a foot thick.
2 "Sharp pointed hooks inserted in, and fastened to, long poles," Caesar says (loc. cit.).
3 Strabo refers to the "Eneti," a Paphlagonian tribe (op. 1. 3. 2, 1. 3. 21, and 5. 1. 4).
STRABO

φασίν αὐτούς, λέγω δ' οὖν Ἰσχυριζόμενος· ἀρκεῖ γάρ περὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων τὸ εἴκος. Ὅσισμοι δ' εἰσίν, οὗς Ἡστιμίων οὐμάζει Πυθέας, ἐπὶ τίνος προπεπτωκώμας ἱκανοῦ ἁκρας εἰς τὸν ὁκανὸν οἰκοῦν, οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δέ, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνος φύτε φιλοί καὶ οἱ πιστεύοντες ἐκεῖνοι, τῶν δὲ μεταξὺ ἑνῶν τοῦ τε Σηκοάνα καὶ τοῦ Λεύχηρος οἱ μὲν τοῖς Σηκοάνοις, οἱ δὲ τοῖς Ἀρουέρνοις ὁμορρυθοῦσι.

2. Τὸ δὲ σύμμπασιν φύλου, δ' νῦν Γαλλικόν τε καὶ Γαλατικόν καλοῦσιν, ἀρειμαῖον ἡστεί καὶ θυμικόν τε καὶ παχύ πρὸς μάχην, ἄλλως δὲ ἀπλοῦν καὶ οὔ κακοῦσθες. διὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἔρε-θισθέντες μὲν ἄθροις συνίσασι πρὸς τοὺς ἁγώνας καὶ φανερῶς καὶ οὔ μετὰ περισκέψεως, ὡστε καὶ εὑμεταχείριστοι γίνονται τοῖς καταστρατηγεῖσιν ἐθέλουσιν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε βούλεται καὶ ὅπου καὶ ἀφ' ἦν εἴτις προφήσεως παραξύνεις τις αὐτοῦς εὐτύμως ἔσχε πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, πλὴν βιας καὶ τόλμης οὐδὲν ἐχοντας τὸ συναγωγιζόμενον' παραπεισθέντες δὲ εὐμαρώς εὐδιδόσας πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον, ὡστε καὶ παιδείας ἀπτεσθαι καὶ λόγων τῆς δὲ βίας τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἐστὶν οἰκογόνοις, τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους· συνίσας δὲ κατὰ πλῆθος ράδιος διὰ τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ αὐθέκαστον, συναγανακτοῦντων τοῖς ἀδικείσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἀεὶ τῶν πλησίον, νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάντες εἰσὶ δεδουλωμένοι καὶ ἑωτεροκατα τά ποιστάγματα τῶν ἑλώνων αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν χρόνων τούτο

1 Ὅσισμοι δ' εἰσίν, οὗς Ἡστιμίων, Kramer, from conj. of Hagenbuch, for ei Ὅσισμοι δ' εἰσίν οὗς Τιμίων, so Meineke, and Forbiger. See text, 1. 4. 5. (Vol. I, p. 238).

2 ἀρημαῖον in the reading of ABCI.

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

\(^1\) Cp. 4. 1. 5.
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λαμβάνομεν περὶ αὐτῶν ἢ τὸν μέχρι νῦν

συμμενώνων παρὰ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς νομίμων. καὶ
gὰρ τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν ἐμφερεῖσι εἰσὶ
καὶ συγγενεῖσι ἀλλήλοις οὕτωι, ὁμορὸν τε οἰκούσι
χῶραι, διομιζομένη τῷ Ῥήμῳ ποταμῷ, καὶ παρα-
πλῆσια ἔχουσαι τὰ πλείστα (ἀρκτικωτέρα δὲ
ἔστιν ἡ Ερμανία) κρυνομένων τῶν τε νοτίων
μερῶν πρὸς τὰ νότια καὶ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν πρὸς τὰ
ἀρκτικά. διὰ τὸ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις
αὐτῶν ῥαδίως ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει, φερομένων
ἀγεληθῶν καὶ παναρταδία, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πανορ-
kίων ἐξαιρόντων ὅταν ἦπ᾽ ἄλλων εἰκβάλλονται
κρειττῶν. οἳ τε Ῥωμαῖοι πολὺ βάσον τούτων
ἐχειρώσαντο ὅ τοις Ἱθηραῖς καὶ γὰρ ἡρξαντο
πρότερον καὶ ἐπαύσαντο ύστερον ἐκεῖνος πολε-
μούντες, τοῦτοι δ᾽ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ πάντας
κατέλυσαν, τοὺς ἀνὰ μέσον Ῥήμου καὶ τῶν Πυρ-
nαίων ὄρων σύμπαντας. ἄθροι γὰρ καὶ κατὰ
πλῆθος ἐμπίπτοντες ἄθροι κατελύνοντο, οἳ δ᾽
ἐταιμένων καὶ κατεκερμάτιζον τοὺς ἀγώνας, ἄλλοτε
ἄλλοι καὶ κατ᾽ ἄλλα μέρη ληστρικῶς πολεμοῦντες.
εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν μαχηται πάντες τῇ φύσει, κρειττοὺς
δ᾽ ἱππόται ἡ πεζοὶ, καὶ ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἱππείας
ἀρίστη παρὰ τούτοι. ἁεὶ δὲ οἱ προσβορρότεροι
cαὶ παρωκεινότεραι μαχιμότεροι.

3. Τούτων δὲ τοὺς Βέλγας ἀριστους φασίν, εἰς

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

1 Namely, the trait of simplicity and straightforwardness.
2 Cp. 3. 4. 5.
3 That is, all the Gallic people.
4 Cæsar, for example (De Bello Gallico 1. 1).
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 4. 2-3

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 ἕθην διηρημένους, τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Ῥήμου καὶ τοῦ Λεγγρός παροικοῦντα τὸν ἀκαβόν, οὕτως μόνους αὐτέχειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Γερμανῶν ἔφοδον, Κῆμβρων καὶ Τευτώνων. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Βελγῶν Βελλούκων ἀριστοῦς φασὶ, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Σουνεσίωνας. τῆς δὲ πολυανθρωπίας ομοίας εἰς γὰρ πρισκοῦντα μερίδας εξετάζονται φασὶ τῶν Βελγῶν πρὸς τὸν δυναμενών φέρειν ὅπλα. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἐλευθέρων πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀρούερων καὶ τὸ τῶν συμμάχων, εὔος δὲ πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται καὶ, ὅπερ εἴπον, ἡ τῶν γνακών ἀρετὴ πρὸς τὸ τίκτειν καὶ εκτρέφειν τοὺς παιδας. σαγηνευοῦσι δὲ καὶ κομπροφούσι καὶ ἀναξιρίστη χρόνων περιπεμέναις, αὐτῷ δὲ χιτώνων σχιστοὺς χειριδωτοὺς φέροντο μέχρις αἰώνων καὶ γλυτών. ἡ δ’ ἐρέα τραχεία μέν, ἀκρόμαλλος δέ, ἀφ’ ἦς τῶν δασεῖς σάγους ἐξυπαινοῦσιν, οὓς λαίνας καλοῦσιν οἱ μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς προσβορροτάτοις ὑποδιθέσας τρέφουσιν τοῦμας ἰκανῶς ἀστείας ἐρέας. ὀπλισμὸς δὲ σύμμετρος τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων μεγέθεσιν,

1 παροικοῦντα, Corais, for παροικοῦντα; so the later editors.
2 ἐστε, Xylander, for ἐστε; 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, they say, that there are as many as three hundred thousand of those Belgae (of former times) who are able to bear arms; and I have already told 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 fleshy 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).
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μάχαιρα μακρά, παρηρτημένη παρά τὸ δεξίον τπλευρόν, καὶ θυρεὸς μακρὸς καὶ λόγχαί κατὰ λόγον καὶ μάδαρις, παλτοῦ τι εἶδος. χρώνται δὲ καὶ τόξοι ἐνεοὶ καὶ σφενδόναις· ἔστι δὲ τι καὶ γρόσφω ἐοικὸς ξύλον, ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκ ἐξ ἀγκύλης ἀφίμενον, τηλεβολώτερον καὶ βέλους, φ' μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὀρνέων χρώναι τῆρας. χαμενουσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ πολλοὶ, καὶ καθεξομενοί δεινοῦσιν ἐν στιβάσι. τροφή δὲ πλείστη μετὰ γάλακτος καὶ κρέων παντοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ὑδέων καὶ νέων καὶ ἀλιστῶν. αἱ δ' ύες καὶ ἀγραυλοῦσιν, ύψι δὲ καὶ ἄλκη καὶ τάχει διαφέρουσιν· κινήσεως γοῦν ἔστι τῷ αἴθει προσίνην, ὀσμαύσι τούτω καὶ λύκῃ. τοὺς δ' οἶκους ἐκ σανίδων καὶ γέρρων ἔχουσιν μεγάλους θολοεῖδες, ὁραφὸν πολὺν ἐπιβάλλοντες. οὕτως δ' ἐστὶ δαψιλῆ καὶ τὰ πούμα καὶ τὰ ὕφορβια, ὡστε τῶν σάγων καὶ τῆς ταρχείας ἀφθονίαν μῆ τῇ Ῥώμῃ χρησιμοποιεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἀριστοκρατικαὶ δ' ἦσαν αἱ πλείους τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἐνα δ' ἑγεμόνα ἦρουντο κατ' ἐνανθ. τὸ πολείων, ὡς δ' αὐτὸς εἰς πόλεμον εἰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀπεδείκνυτο στρατηγός. νυνὶ δὲ προσέχουσι τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων προστάγμασι τὸ πλέον. ἢδον δὲ τὸ ἐν τοῖς συνεδριοῖς συμβαίνον· εἰδὼς γάρ τις θρησκεία τῶν λέγουσι καὶ ὑποκρύφων.

1 A Celtic word; in Latin, “matara.”
2 “Grosphus” is the Greek word Polybius (6. 22) uses for a kind of spear used by the Roman “flying troops” (“velites”). “The spear,” he says, “has a wooden haft of about two cubits and is about a finger’s breadth in thickness.”
3 In Julius Caesar’s day (op. De Bello Gallico 6. 11).

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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," 1 a special kind
of javelin. But some of them also use bows and slings.
There is also a certain wooden instrument resembling
the "grosphus" 2 (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, bold-
ness, 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 abund-
ance of the "sagi" 3 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 4 —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. 4 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.
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προσημερήσεις, ἐσπασμένοι τὸ ξίφος, κελεύει αὐτῷ μετ' ἀπειλής: μὴ παυομένου δὲ, καὶ δευτέρου καὶ τρίτου ποιεῖ τὸ αὐτὸ, τελευταίον δὲ ἀφαίρει τοῦ σάγου ταυστύτου ὅσον ἄξρηστον ποιήσαι τὸ λοιπόν. τὸ δὲ περὶ τούς ἄνδρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, τὸ διηλύθθαι τὰ ἔργα ὑπεναντίως τοῖς παρ' ἦμῶν, κοινῶν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους συχνῶς τῶν βαρβάρων ἑστὶ.

4. Παρὰ τάσι δ' ὡς ἔπιπαν τρία φύλα τῶν τιμωμένων διαφερόντως ἑστι, Βάρδοι τε καὶ Οὐάτεις καὶ Δρυίδαι. Βάρδοι μὲν ἕμοικοι καὶ ποιηταὶ, Οὐάτεις δὲ ἑρωτοι καὶ φυσιολόγοι, Δρυίδαι δὲ πρὸς τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἁθικῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἀσκοῦσιν: δικαιοτατοὶ δὲ νομίζονται καὶ διὰ τούτο πιστεύονται τάς τε ἱδιωτικὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὰς κοινὰς, ὡστε καὶ πολέμους διῆτων πρότερον καὶ παρατάττεσθαι μελλοντας ἑπαυνοῦται, τὰς δὲ φυσικὰς δίκας μᾶλιστα τούτοις ἐπετέραττο δικαζέν, διὰ τὸν τούτων ἢ, φορὰν καὶ τῆς χώρας νομίζουσιν ὑπάρχειν. ἀφθάρτους δὲ λέγουσι καὶ ὦτοι καὶ ἄλλοι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν κόσμον, ἐπικρατήσεις δὲ ποτε καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ.

1 Meineke, following Coraia, wrongly inserts οί before ἄλλοι, making οί ἄλλοι refer to the Bards and Vates.

2 Cp. Diodorus, 5. 31, and Caesar, De Bello Gallico 6. 13–16. That is, a big yield of criminals for execution. The Gauls sacrificed criminals to the gods, and when the supply of criminals failed they resorted to the execution even of the innocent (Caesar, De Bello Gallico 6. 16).

3 For example, the Pythagoreans, as Diodorus Siculus says (5. 28).

4 One of the cardinal doctrines of the Druids was that of
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 6. 28.
5. Τῷ δὲ ἀπλῷ καὶ θυμικῷ πολὺ τὸ ἀνόητον καὶ ἀλασκοικὸν πρόσεστι καὶ τὸ φιλόκοσμον' χρυσοφόροσι τε γάρ, περὶ μὲν τοὺς τραχύλους στρεπτὰ ἔχοντες, περὶ δὲ τοὺς βραχύσοις καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς φέλια, καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας βαπτᾶς φοροῦσι καὶ χρυσόπαστοι οἱ ἐν ἀξιώματι. ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης δὲ κουφότητος ἀφορητοὶ μὲν νικώτες, ἐκπληγέοι δὲ ὑπηρέτες ῥώνται. πρόσεστι δὲ τῇ ἀνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ βάρβαρον καὶ τῷ ἐκφυλὸν δὲ τοῖς προσβόροις ἐθνείς παρακολουθεῖ πλείστον, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπίστως τᾶς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμιῶν ἐξαπτεῖν ἐκ τῶν αὐχένων τῶν ἱππῶν, κομίσαντας δὲ προσπαθεῖνεν τὴν θέαν¹ τοῖς προπυλιοῖς. φησὶ γοῦν Ποσειδώνιος αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν ταῦτα πολλαχοῦ καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀληθεσθαί,² μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἑρέων πρῶς διὰ τὴν συντρέσαν, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἐνδοξῶν κεφαλὰς κεδρούντες ἐπέδεικνυν τοῖς ἔωισι, καὶ οὔτε πρὸς ἱσοστάσιον χρυσὸν ἀπολυτρόν ἡξίου, καὶ τούτων δὲ ἐπεσαν αὐτοὺς 'Ρωμαίοι, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καὶ μαντείας ὑπεναντίων ³ τοῖς παρ᾽ ἑμῖν νομιμοῖς. ἀνθρωπὸν δὲ καταστειρεμένον παῖσαντες εἰς νότον μαχαίρα ἐμανεύοντο ἐκ τοῦ σφαδασμοῦ. ἔθους δὲ οὐκ ἀνεύν Δρυίδων. καὶ ἀλλὰ δὲ ἀνθρωποθυσίων

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¹ Meineke transfers τὴν θέαν to a position after ταύτην in the following sentence; quite unnecessarily.

² ἀληθεσθαί, Jones. for ἀληθεσθαί.

³ ὑπεναντίων, Casaubon, for ὑπεναντίων; so Corais, and Meineke.

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¹ Cp. 4. 4. 2. ² Cp. 3. 3. 6 and 11. 4. 7.
³ Diodorus Siculus (5. 31) says "without a philosopher";
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 4. 5

5. In addition to their trait of simplicity and high-spiritulness,² 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,³ 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.”

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εἶδη λέγεται. καὶ γὰρ κατετόξευόν τινας καὶ ἀνεσταύρουν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευάζοντες κολοσσόν χόρτου καὶ ξύλων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοῦτον βοσκήματα καὶ θηρία παντοία καὶ ἄνθρώπους ὀλοκαύτων.

6. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀκεανῷ φησιν εἶναι νῆσον μικρὰν οὐ πάνω πελαγίαν, προκειμένην τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Δείγγιρος ποταμοῦ· οίκειον δὲ ταύτην ταῖς τῶν Σαμνίτων γυναίκας. Διουνύσω κατεχόμενας καὶ ἱλασκομένας τῶν θεῶν τούτων τελεταίας τε καὶ ἄλλαις ἱεροποιίαις ἐξελευμένας· οὐκ ἔπιθαίνειν δὲ ἀνδρὰ τῆς νῆσος, τὰς δὲ γυναίκας αὐτὰς πλεούσας κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ πάλιν ἐπανεῖναι. ἔσος δ’ εἶναι κατ’ ἐναυτὸν ἀπαξ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπόστε-

γάζεσθαι καὶ στεγάζεσθαι πάλιν αὐθημερὸν πρὸ δύσεως, ἐκάστης φορτίων ἐπιφερουσίς· ἵνα δ’ ἐκπέσῃ τὸ φορτίων, διασπάσθαι ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων φεροῦσας1 δὲ τὰ μέρη περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μετ’ εὐασμοῦ μὴ παύοντας φρόντισθαι πρὸ τὸν παύσοντας τῆς λύπης· ἀεὶ δὲ συμβαίνειν ὡστε τινὰ ἐμπέ-

πτεῖν τῇ τοῦτο πεισομένη.2 τοῦτο δ’ ἐπὶ μνθοδέ-

στεροῦ εἴρηκεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος τὸ περὶ τοὺς κόρακας συμβαίνουν. Ἀμένα γὰρ τινὰ τῆς παροικειντε-

δοσ ἰστορεῖ Δύο κοράκων ἐπονομαζόμενον, φαίνε-

σθαι δ’ ἐν τοῦτῳ δύο κόρακας τῆν δεξιὰν πτέρυγα παράλευκον ἐχοῦσα· τοὺς οὖν περὶ τινῶν ἀμφισ-

1 φεροῦσα, Xylander, for φεροῦσσα; so the later editors.
2 τῇ . . . . πεισομένη, Jones, for τῆν . . . . πεισομένη.

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

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kinds of human sacrifices; for example, they would shoot victims to death with arrows, or impale them in the temples, or, having devised a colossus of straw and wood, throw into the colossus cattle and wild animals of all sorts and human beings, and then make a burnt-offering of the whole thing.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 Samnites, 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 “Evae.”
³ And thus makes the victim, already decided upon apparently, drop her load of thatch.
Strabo

βητοῦντας, ἀφικομένους δεύρο ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τόπου 
σανίδα θέντας ἐπιβάλλειν ψαιστά, ἐκάτερον 
χωρίς τοὺς δ' ὅρνες ἐπιπτάντας τὰ μὲν ἐσθεῖν, 
τὰ δὲ σκορπίζειν οὗ δ' ἀν σκορπισθῇ τὰ ψαιστά, 
ἐκείνου νικάν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μιθωδεσταρα λέγει, 
περὶ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης πιστότερα, ὅτι 
φησίν εἶναι νῆσον πρὸς τῇ Βρεττανίκη καθ' ἥ 
ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ περὶ τὴν Δήμητραν καὶ 
τὴν Κόρην ἑπ' ἐπιστοιχεῖται. καὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῶν 
πιστευομένων ἔστιν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ φύσει 
δενδρὸν ὅμοιον σωκῆ, καρπὸν δ' ἐκφέρει παραπλη-
σιόν κιοκάρῳ Κορυμβούργει; ἐπιτιμηθεὶς δ' ὄντος, 
ἀφίνας ὅπου θανάσιμον πρὸς τὰς ἑπιχύρες τῶν 
βελῶν. καὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῶν θρυλουμένων ἔστιν, ὅτι 
πάντες Κελτοὶ φιλόνεικοι τέ εἰσι, καὶ οὐ νομί-
ζονται παρ' αὐτοῖς αἰσχρόν τὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς αἴφεδειν 
τοὺς νέους. Ἔφοροι δὲ ὑπερβάλλουσαν τε τῷ 
μεγέθει λέγει τὴν Κελτικήν, διότι ἄστερ μύν Ἰβη-
ρίας καλοῦμεν ἐκείνης τὰ πλεῖστα προσνέμειν 
μέχρι Γαδεῖρων, φιλέλληνας τε ἀποφαίνει τοὺς 
ἀνθρώπους, καὶ πολλὰ ἴδιως λέγει περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ 
ἐοικότα τοῖς νῦν. Ἡδιον δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἀσκεῖν γὰρ 
αὐτοῖς μὴ παχεῖς εἶναι μηδὲ προγάστρος, τοὺς 
ὑπερβαλλόμενοι τῶν νέων τὸ τῆς ζώνης μέτρον 
ξημοῦσαν. ταύτα μὲν περὶ τῆς ύπερ τῶν Ἀλπέων 
Κελτικῆς.

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1 Meineke reads ἡδιονέα, unwarrantedly, for φιλόνεικοι. C. Müller suggests as possible φιλομερέας; A. Jacob conjectures φιλόσωλ. See Diodorus Siculus 5. 28 and 5. 32.

1 The Attic name for Persephone (Proserpina).
disputes about certain things come here, put a plank on an elevated place, and then throw on barley cakes, each man separately; the birds fly up, eat some of the barley cakes, scatter the others; and the man whose barley cakes are scattered wins his dispute. Now although this story is more fabulous, his story about Demeter and Kore 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 Kore. And the following, too, is one of the things that are believed, namely, that in Celtica there grows a tree like a fig-tree, and that it brings forth a fruit similar to a Corinthian-wrought capital of a column; and that, if an incision be made, this fruit exudes a sap which, as used for the smearing of arrows, is deadly. And the following, too, is one of the things that are repeated over and over again, namely, that not only are all Celti fond of strife, 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.
STRABO

V

1. Ἡ δὲ Βρεττανικῆς τρίγωνος μὲν ἔστι τῷ σχῆματι, παραβέβηκται δὲ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτῆς πλευρόν τῷ Κελτικῷ, τοῦ μέγιστον οὖθεν ὑπερβάλλουσαν οὖτε ἐλλείπουσαν. ἔστι γὰρ ὅσον τετρακισχιλιῶν καὶ τριακοσίων ἷ τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων ἐκάτερον, τὸ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔκβολων τοῦ 'Ῥήμου μέχρι πρὸς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Πυρήνης ἄκρα τὰ κατὰ 'Ακούιτανία καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Καντίου τοῦ καταντεκρῆ τῶν ἔκβολων τοῦ 'Ῥήμου, ἐκαθιστάτω τοις τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, μέχρι πρὸς τὸ ἐσπέριον ἄκρον τῆς νῆσου τὸ κατὰ τὴν 'Ακούιτανίαν καὶ τὴν Πυρήνην ἄντικείμενον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῦτοι ἐκβάλλοντες διάστημα ἀπὸ τῆς Πυρήνης ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ῥήμον ἥσαν, ἐπεὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐθερητοὶ δὶ καὶ πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων ἥσαν ἀλλ' εἰκὸς εἶναι τινὰ σύννεφον ἐκ τῆς παραλλήλων θέσεως τῷ ποταμῷ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἀμφότερος ἐπιστροφής τινος γιαμημένης κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸν ὕκεανον ἐσχατιὰς.

2. Τέταρτα δ’ ἐστὶ διάμεσα οἷς χρώσται συνήθως ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἥπερ, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔκβολων τῶν ποταμῶν, τοῦ τοῦ 'Ῥήμου καὶ τοῦ Σηκοάνα καὶ τοῦ Δεύγηρος καὶ τοῦ1 Γαροῦνα. τοῖς δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τοῦ 'Ῥήμου τῶν ἀναγεμένων οὐκ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔκβολων ὁ πλοῦς ἥσαν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμορούντων τοῖς Μενοπλίων Ἄρμων, παρ’ οἷς ἔστι καὶ τοῦ 'Ιτιον, φ’ ἐχρήσατο μακασάρῳ Καίσαρ ὁ Θεός, διαίρεσαν εἰς τὴν νῆσον.

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

1 Strabo should have made this the shortest side, as Caesar had already done (De Bello Gallico 5. 13).
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 5. 1–2

V

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

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

\(^1\) 1. 4. 2 and 2. 5. 28.
\(^2\) 2. 5. 28 and 4. 1. 1.
\(^3\) Cp. 4. 3. 3.
STRABO

νύκτωρ δ’ ἀνήχθη καὶ τῇ ὑπεραύᾳ κατῆρε περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν, τριακοσίας καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους τοῦ διάμεσον τελέσας, κατέλαβε δ’ ἐν ἀρουραίς τὸν σίτον. ἦστι δ’ ἡ πλείστη τῆς νήσου πεδίας καὶ κατάδρυμος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γεωλοφα τῶν χωρίων ἐστί. φέρει δὲ σιτόν καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ αἰθήριον. ταύτα δὴ κομίζεται ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ δέρματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ κύνες εὐφυεῖς πρὸς τὰς κυνηγαίας. Κέλτωι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους χρωνται καὶ τούτους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εὐμηκέστεροι τῶν Κέλτων εἰσὶ καὶ ἥσσον ξανθότριχες, χαυνότεροι δὲ τοὺς σώμασι. σημεῖαν δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους· ἀντίπαρας γὰρ εἴδομεν ἡμεῖς ἐν Ὁρώμῃ τῶν ὑπηλοτάτων αὐτοῦ ὑπερέχοντας καὶ ἡμιποδίων, βλαστοῦσι δὲ καὶ τάλα τούτων εὐγράμμων τῇ συστάσει. τὰ δ’ ἥθη 1 τὰ μὲν ὄμοια τοῖς Κέλτοις, τὰ δ’ ἀπολυστέρα καὶ βαρβαρώτερα, ὡστ’ ἐνίοτε γάλακτος εὐπόρουντας μὴ τυρποεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀπερίαν, ἀπείρον δ’ εἶναι καὶ κητεῖας καὶ ἄλλων γεωργικῶν. δυναστείας δ’ εἰς παρ’ αὐτοῖς. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολέμους ἀπήναις χρωνται τὸ πλέον, καθαύτης καὶ τῶν Κέλτων ἑνοί. πόλεις δ’ αὐτῶν εἰσίν οἱ δρυμοὶ περιφράζαντες γὰρ δενδρείς κατα-

1 ἥθη, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores (for ἥθη). Cp. Diodorus Siculus (in reference to the same people): τοῖς δ’ ἥθεσιν ἀπλῶν εἶναι (§ 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-
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 5. 2

night and landed on the following day about the fourth hour,\(^1\) thus having completed three hundred and twenty stadia\(^2\) 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\(^3\)—so much so that, on account of their inexprience, 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.\(^4\) 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.

\(^1\) That is, forty miles. Caesar (op. cit. 5. 2) says “about thirty miles.” Cp. 4. 3. 4.

\(^2\) Cp. Caesar op. cit. 5. 14 and Diodorus 5. 21.

\(^3\) Diodorus (5 21) says “they have many kings and chieftains, it is said, who are, for the most part, peaceably disposed towards one another.”
STRABO

βεβλημένοις εύρυχωρῇ κύκλῳ ἑνταῦθα καὶ αὐτῷ καλυβοτοιούνται καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα κατασταθμεύονται, οὐ πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον. ἔπομενοι δ' εἰςιν οἱ ἀδέρες μᾶλλον ἡ νιφτώδεσι· ἐν δὲ ταῖς αἰθρίαις ὑμίχλῃ κατέχει πολὺν χρόνον, ὡστε δὴ ἑμερᾶς ὄλης ἐπὶ τρεῖς μόνον ἡ τέταρας ὄρας τὰς περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ὤρας τὰς τοῦ ἦλιον· τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Μαρινοῖς συμβαίνει, καὶ τοῖς Μεναπίοις καὶ ὅσιοι ποτῶν πλησίον ὄρων.

3. Διὸς δὲ διεβή Καίσαρ εἰς τὴν νῆσον ὁ Θεός, ἐπανῆλθε δὲ διὰ ταχέως, 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 αὔξησιν λάβουσών τῶν ἀμφάτων καὶ τῶν πλημμνίδων. δύο μέντοι ἡ τρεῖς νίκαι ἐνίκησε τοὺς Βρέττανοὺς, καὶ περὶ δύο τόγματα μόνον περαιώσας τῆς στρατιάς, καὶ ἀπηγαγεὶν ὅμηρα τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας πλῆθος. τών μέντοι τῶν δυναστῶν τινῶς τῶν αὐτούθι προσβεβέσθε καὶ θεραπεύσαι κατασκευασάμενοι τὴν πρὸς Καίσαρα τῶν Σεβαστῶν φείλαν, ἀναβήματα τε ἀνέβηκαν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ οἰκείων σχεδὸν τι παρεκκεύσαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄλην 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 commotions in Gaul,” referring to his second return to the continent.
4 This loss took place before Caesar’s first return, “on the day when the moon is wont to make the maximum tides in
spacious circular enclosure with trees which they have felled, and in that enclosure make huts for themselves and also pen up their cattle—not, however, with the purpose of staying a long time. Their weather is more rainy than snowy; and on the days of clear sky fog prevails so long a time that throughout a whole day the sun is to be seen for only three or four hours round about midday. And this is the case also among the Morini and the Menapii and all the neighbours of the latter.

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

the ocean” (op. cit. 4. 28–29). For Strabo’s discussion of these tides, see 3. 5. 8.

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 οὕτως ὑπομένουσι βαρέα τῶν τε εἰςαγο-
μένων εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔκειθεν καὶ τῶν ἐξαγο-
mένων ἐνθέντε (ταύτα δ’ ἐστιν ἔλεφαντινα ὄλια
καὶ περαιγένεια καὶ λυγγούρια ἡλικία καὶ ἰλλος ῥώτος τοιοῦτος) ὡστε μηδὲν δείν φρον-
rάς τής νῆσου τοὐλάχιστον μὲν γάρ ἐνός τάκμα-
tος χρῆσιν ἀν καὶ ἱστικοῦ τινος, ὡστε καὶ φόρους
ἀπάγεσθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν, εἰς Ἰσον δὲ καθίσται ἀν
τὸ ἀνάλομα τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῖς προσφερομένοις χρή-
μασιν ἀνάγκη γὰρ μειοῦσθαι τὰ τέλη φόρων
ἐπιβαλλομένων, ἀμα δὲ καὶ κινδύνους ἀπαυνό-
tινας, βλασ ἐπαγομένης.

4. Εἰςι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι περὶ τῆν Ἡβραϊκὴν
νῆσος μικρά μεγάλη δ’ ἡ Ἰέρου πρὸς ἀρκτοὺν
αὐτή παραβεβλημένη, πρόμηκες μᾶλλον πλάτος
ἔχουσα. περὶ δὴ οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν λέγειν σαφές, πλὴν
ὅτι ἀγωνιῶτεροί τῶν Ἡβραίων ὑπάρχουσι οἱ
κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν, ἀνθρωποφάγοι τε δ’ οὕτε καὶ
πολυφάγοι, τοὺς τε πετάτας τελευταίας κατε-
σθειν ἐν καλό τιθέμενοι καὶ φανερῶς μισάγεσθαι
ταῖς τε ἄλλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ μητράσι καὶ ἄδελφαις
καὶ ταύτα δ’ οὕτω λέγουμεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἄξιο-

1 oὕτως, Madvig restores, for oὕτως (Xylander’s emenda-
tion), which is commonly read by the editors since Corais,
except Tozer.

2 λυγγούρια, for ἄλλυγγορία (cp. 4. 6. 2 λυγγούριον); so the
editors in general.

3 καθίσται ἀν, Moineske from conj. of Kramer, for καθίστατο
πάν.

4 πρόμηκες, Jones, for προμήκης; other editors, following
Corais, wrongly insert ἀ after μᾶλλον.

5 τε, the reading of some of the MSS., instead of δ.’

6 For πολυφάγοι some of the editors read πηφάγοι (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-gems\(^1\) 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 inhabitants are more savage\(^5\) 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 terms of a rectangle, the geographical breadth is longer than the geographical length; for geographical breadth is measured north and south, and geographical length, east and west (see 2. 1. 32). And Strabo's assertion about Ireland is correct.
\(^4\) See 2. 5. 8.
\(^5\) Some of the editors read "herb-eaters" instead of "heavy eaters"—perhaps rightly.
πίστους μάρτυρας (καὶ τὸ τὸ τῆς ἀνθρωποφάνειας καὶ Σκυθικῶν εἶναι λέγεται, καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκαις πολιορκητικῶς καὶ Κέλτων καὶ Ἰβηρῶς καὶ ἀλλοι πλέον ποιήσαι τοῦτο λέγονται).

5. Περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἑθύλης ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀσαφῆς ἢ ἱστορία διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμόν ταύτην ἥπερ τῶν ὑσομαζομένων ἀρτικικώτατην τιθέασιν. ἡ δὲ ἐέρηκε Πυθέας περὶ τε ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταύτης τόπων ὡς μὲν πέπλασται, φανερῶς ἐκ τῶν γνωριζομένων χωρίων κατέγραψε καὶ πρὸς καὶ πρότερον εἰρήται, ὡστε δῆλος ἐστιν ἐφευμένος μᾶλλον περὶ τῶν ἕκτετοπυσμένων. πρὸς μέντοι τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν μαθηματικὴν θεωρίαν ἂν ἰκανός δοξεῖς κεχρησκεύα τοὺς πράγματα, τοὺς τῇ κατευθυνόμενῃ κύριᾳ πλησίασοι τὸ τῶν καρπῶν εἶναι τῶν ἁμέρων καὶ χρών τῶν μέν ἄφοραν παντελῆ, τῶν δὲ σπάνιων, κέφαλα ὑπὲρ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐλαχανοῖς καὶ καρποῖς καὶ δίκαιος τρέφεσθαι παρ’ οἷς δὲ σύντοκοι καὶ κέλει γλῖ

1 ἂν after θεωρίαν, Jones inserts; others insert ἄν after ἰκανός, or read δοξεῖ for δοξεῖ.
2 τοῦ τῶν, Jones restores; Meineke and others read λέγων;
3 C. Müller suggests ἱστορίαν.
4 Meineke and Coris have emended ἄλλοις to ἄγροις; C. Müller conjectures ὅμοιος.

1 e.g., when besieged by the Cimbric and Teutones (Caesar, op. cit. 7. 77).
2 e.g., when besieged at Numantia by Scipio (Valerius Maximus 7. 6).
3 e.g., the city of Potidaea in Greece (Thucydides, 2. 70).
4 See 1. 4. 2 ff.
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 5. 4–5

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 Celts, the Iberians, and several other peoples are said to have practised it. 3

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

4 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.
5 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. 6. 43).
STRABO

γιμαι, καὶ τὸ πόμα ἐντεῦθεν ἔχουσι τῶν δὲ σῖτον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἦλιους οὐκ ἔχουσι καθαροὺς, ἐν οἴκους μεγάλους κούττουσι, συγκομισθέντων δέπρο τῶν σταχνῶν αἱ γάρ ἄλλας ἄχρηστοι γίνονται διὰ τὸ ἀνήλιον καὶ τοὺς ὀμβροὺς.

VI

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπέων Κελτικῆς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐχοῦσα τὴν χώραν ταύτην, περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀλπέων λεκτέον καὶ τῶν κατοικοῦντων αὐτάς, ἐπειτὰ περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Ιταλίας, φυλάττουσι ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἄντε περὶ δίδωσιν ἢ τῆς χώρας φύσις. ἀρχονταὶ μὲν οὖν αἱ Ἀλπεῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ Μονοίκου λιμένος, ὁς εἰρήκασι τῶν., ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν χωρίων ἄφεντες καὶ τὰ Ἀπέννινα ὄρη καὶ Γένουαν ἐμπόροι τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τὰ καλοῦμενα Σαβάτων Ούαδα, ὁπερ ἐστὶ τενάγη τὸ μὲν γάρ Ἀπέννινον ἀπὸ Γένουας, αἱ δὲ Ἀλπεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Σαβάτων ἐχοῦσα τὴν ἀρχήν στάδιοι δ' εἰσὶ μεταξύ Γενούας καὶ Σαβάτων διακόσιοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐξήκοςτα. μετὰ δὲ τριακοσίους πρὸς τοῖς ἔβδομηκοντα Ἀλβίγγαννον ἄστι πόλισσα, οἱ δ' ἐνοικοῦντες Δίνυος Ἰγγανου καλοῦνται. ἐντεῦθεν δ' εἰς Μονοίκος λιμένα τετράκοσιοι καὶ ὄγκοικον. ἐν

1 ἄλλα, Kramer, for ἄλλας; so the editors in general.

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

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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 Monoccus, 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 Monoccus, four hundred and eighty stadia. Further, in this last

\(^1\) 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.

\(^2\) Also called Vada Sabatia (now Vado).
STRABO

tε τῷ μεταξὺ πόλεως εὐμεγέθης "Αλβιων Ἰντεμέλιοι, καὶ οἱ κατοικούντες Ἰντεμέλιοι. καὶ δὴ καὶ σημεῖον τίθεται τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Σαβάτων εἶναι ταῖς "Αλπεσι έκ τῶν οἰομάτων τούτων. τὰ γάρ "Αλπια καλεῖσθαι πρότερον "Αλβια, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀλπιώνια.\(^1\) καὶ γάρ νῦν ἔτι τὸ ἐν τοῖς Ἰάπποσιν ὄρος ὑψηλὸν συνάπτον πως τῇ "Οκρα καὶ ταῖς "Αλπεσι "Αλβιον λέγεσθαι, ὡς ἄν μέχρι δεύτερο τῶν "Αλπειῶν ἑκτεταμένων.

2. Τὸν οὖν Διούων τῶν μὲν ὄντων Ἰγγαύων, τῶν δὲ Ἰντεμελίων, εἰκότως τὰς ἐποικίας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τὴν μὲν ὄρομάζεσθαι "Αλβιον Ἰντεμέλιοι, οἷον "Αλπιον, τὴν δὲ ἐπιτετμημένον μᾶλλον Ἀλβιγγαύων. Πολυβίος δὲ προστίθησι τοῖς δυσὶ φύλοις τῶν Διούων τοῖς λεχθεῖσι τὸ τε τῶν Οἰκυβίων καὶ τὸ τῶν Δεκειτῶν. οἷος δὲ ἡ παραλία αὐτὴ πάσα μέχρι Τυρρήνιας ἐκ.\(^2\) Μονοκοῦ λιμένος προσεχῆς τῇ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλίμενος πλῆθν βραχών ὄρμων καὶ ἀγκυροβολίων. ὑπέρεκται δὲ οἱ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐξεισοθεὶ κρημνοῖ, στενὴν ἀπολείποντες πρὸς θαλάσσῃ πάροδον. κατοικοῦσι δὲ Διούνες, ζώντες ἀπὸ θρεμμάτων τὸ πλέον καὶ γάλακτος καὶ κριθῶν πόματος, νεμόμενοι τὰ τε πρὸς θαλάσσῃ χωρία καὶ τὸ πλέον τὰ ὀργ. ἔχουσι δὲ ὑπὸ ἐναθία μαμπόλλην ναυπηγήσιμον καὶ μεγαλόδεδρον ὅστ' ἐνίοτε στὸν τάχυν τὴν διάμετρον ὀκτὼ ποδῶν εὐφροσύνηθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ ποικίλα τῶν θυμίων σύν ἐστὶ χεῖρω πρὸς τὰς

\(^{1}\) Meineke, following Kramer, reads Ἀλπεσίων, for Ἀλπιώνια.
\(^{2}\) ἀκρ. Meineke, for καὶ.

1 "Alpionian" is now known only as the name of an Etruscan gens.


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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,”¹ and, in fact, writers add that still to-day the high mountain² among the Lapodes which almost joins Mount Ocra and the Alps is called “Albium,” 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 Décietae. Speaking generally, this whole coastline, from the Port of Monocytes as far as Tyrrenia, is not only exposed to the wind but harbourless as well, except for shallow mooring-places and anchorages. And lying above it are the enormous beetling cliffs of the mountains, which leave only a narrow pass next to the sea. This country is occupied by the Ligures, who live on sheep, for the most part, and milk, and a drink made of barley; they pasture their flocks in the districts next to the sea, but mainly in the mountains. They have there in very great quantities timber that is suitable for ship-building, with trees so large that the diameter of their thickness is sometimes found to be eight feet. And many of these trees, even in the variegation of the grain, are not
Strabo

τραπεζούπολις. ταύτα τε δὴ κατάγουσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον τὴν Γένους, καὶ θρέμματα καὶ δέρματα καὶ μέλι, ἀντιφορτίζονται δὲ ἐλαιον καὶ οἶνον τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας: ὃ δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑλίγος ἐστὶ πιττίτης, αὐστηρός. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ εἰσὶν οὐ τε

1 ὕλινοι λεγόμενοι, ἵπποι τε καὶ ἡμίονοι, καὶ οἱ λυγοτυνοὶ τε χιτῶνες καὶ σάγοι: πλεονάζει δὲ καὶ τὸ λυγομίου παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ὃ τινες ἠλεκτρον προσαγορεύονται. στρατεύονται δ᾽ ἵππες μὲν ὁ πάνω, ὅπλαὶ δὲ ἄγαθοὶ καὶ ἀκροδισταῖς: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χαλκισπίδας εἶναι τεκμαίρονται τινες Ἐλληνας αὐτῶν εἶναι.

3. ὃ δὲ τοῦ Μονοίκου λιμὴν ἄρμος ἐστὶν οὗ μεγάλαις οὐδὲ πολλαὶς ναυσὶν, ἔχων ἀρου Ἡρα-κλέους Μονοίκου καλουμένου ἔοικε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ μέχρι δεύο διατείνεται ὁ Μασσαλ-λωτικὸς παράπλους. διέχει δ᾽ Ἀντιπόλεως μικρὸν

3 τε γῆνος, Corais, for γῆνην (ABC), γεγήνῃ (Ald.); so Groskurd, Meineke and Tozer read only γῆνος, following Scaliger, and Casaubon.

2 Cp. 17. 3. 4; Rebentisch, 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.

3 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.

4 Aristotle (Hist. An. 5. 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 "hinnum." Cp. English "ginny" and "flying-jenny."

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

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

7 "Monococcus" (of which the "Monaco" of to-day is a
inferior to the thyme 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 Monoeus affords a mooring-place for no large ships, nor yet for a considerable number; and it has a temple of Heracles "Monoeus,"\(^6\) 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 Monoeus.\(^8\) The distance from the Port of Monoeus to Antipolis is a corruption) means "the Solitary." The epithet was given to Heracles, according to Servius (note on the Aeneid 6. 829), either because Heracles drove out the inhabitants of Liguria and remained sole possessor of the land, or because it was not the custom to associate other deities 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.

\(^1\) The name is Greek.

\(^2\) Strabo means that the Port of Monoeus probably came under the influence of Massilia. He has already said that Nicaea, which is only a few miles west of Monoeus, belongs to Massilia (4. 1. 9).
πλείους ἡ διακοσίους σταδίους. τούντεθεν δ' ἔδη
μέχρι Μασσαλίας καὶ μικρὸν προσωτέρω τὸ τῶν
Σάλλων ἔθνος οἰκεὶ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς τὰς ὑπερ-
κεμένας καὶ τίνα τῇς αὐτῆς παραλίας ἀναµικῶ
τῶν Ἐλλήνων, καλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς Σάλλων οἱ μὲν
ταλαιότα τῶν Ἐλλήνων Δύνας καὶ τὴν χώραν ἢ
ἐχοῦσι οἱ Μασσαλιώται Δυνατικήν, οἱ δὲ
ὕστερον Κελτολύγνας ὑπομάζουσι, καὶ τὴν μέχρι
Δονέριων καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ πεδιάδα τούτων
προσνέμουσιν, ἀφ' ὥσι οὐ πεζῆν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἰππικὴν ἐστελλον στρατιάν, εἰσ δέκα μέρη δι-
γρηγένοι. πρῶτος δ' ἕχειρωσαντο Ῥωμαίοι
toúτων τῶν ὑπεραλπίων Κελτῶν, πολὺν χρόνον
πολεμήσαντες καὶ τούτως καὶ τοῖς Δύνασιν,
ἀποκεκλεισάς τάς εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν παρόδοις τάς
diὰ τῆς παραλίας. καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ
θάλασσα ἐληίζοντο καὶ τοσοῦτον ἵππουν ὡστε
μόλις στρατοπέδους μεγάλους πορεύτην εἰναι τὴν
όδον. ὁγονόκοστον δ' ἐτοῖς πολεμοῦντες διεπρά-
 xAxis τὸς μόλις ὡστ' ἐπὶ δώδεκα σταδίους τὸ πλατός
ἀνείσθαι τὴν οδὸν τοῖς ὀδεύουσι δήμοσια. μετὰ
toῦτα μέντοι κατέλυσαν ἀπαντας, καὶ διέταξαν
αὐτοῖς τὰς πολιτείας, ἐπιστήσαντες φόρον.2

4. Μετά δὲ τοὺς Σάλλων Ἀλβιεῖς καὶ Ἀλ-
βίοικοι καὶ Οὐκοκόντιοι νέμονται τὰ προσάρτημα
μέρη τῶν Ῥων. παρατείνουσι δὲ οἱ Οὐκοκόντιοι

1 τίνα, Corrals, for τίνα; so the later editors.
2 φόρον, Aldine Ed., for φόβον; so the editors in general,
except Meineke.

1 The Latin form is “Ligures.”
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 6. 3-4

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 "Liguæ,"¹ and the country which the Massiliotes hold, "Ligustica," later writers name them "Celto-lignes," and attach to their territory all the level country as far as Luerio and the Rhodanus, the country from which the inhabitants, divided into ten parts, used to send forth an army, not only of infantry, but of cavalry as well. These were the first of the Transalpine Celts that the Romans conquered, though they did so only after carrying on war with both them and the Ligures for a long time—because the latter had barred all the passes leading to Iberia that ran through the seaboard. And, in fact, they kept making raids both by land and sea, and were so powerful that the road was scarcely practicable even for great armies. And it was not until the eightieth year of the war that the Romans succeeded, though only with difficulty, in opening up the road for a breadth² of only twelve stadia to those travelling on public business. After this, however, they defeated them all, and, having imposed a tribute upon them, administered the government themselves.

4. After the Sallyes come the Albienses and the Albicioei 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."

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μέχρι Ἀλλοβρίγων, ἔχοντες αὐλάνας ἐν βάθει τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἀξιολόγους καὶ οὐ χερούς ὃν ἔχουσιν ἐκεῖνοι. Ἀλλοβρίγης μὲν οὖν καὶ Λήυνης ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τάπτονται τοῖς ἀφεκνομένοις εἰς τὴν Ναρβωνίτιν, Οὐκοντίοι δὲ, καθάπερ τοὺς Οὐδάκας ἔφαμεν τοὺς περὶ Νέμαυσον, τάπτονται καθ’ αὐτούς. τῶν δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ Οὐάρου καὶ τῆς Γενούας Δηνύων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις εἰσὶν ἢ αὐτοὶ, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς πέμπται τις ὑπαρχοι τῶν ἰππικῶν ἀνδρῶν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλλοὺς τῶν τελεώς βαρβάρων.

5. Μετὰ δὲ Οὐκοντίοις Ἰκόνοι καὶ Γρωκορίοι, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοὺς Μέδουλλοι. οὔτε όροι τὰς ἴσης ὀροφᾶς ἔχουσι κορυφάς, τὸ γοῦν ὀρθωτάτων αὐτῶν ὑψός σταθερῶν ἐκατόν ἔχειν φασὶν τὴν ἀνάβασιν, καὶ θέως πάλιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς δρόμους τῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας κατάβασιν. ἀνω δ’ ἐν τοις κοῦλοις χαράλουσι λήμνοι τε συνισταῖται μεγάλῃ καὶ πληγῇ ὅπως οὔ πολὺ ἀπώθεν ἀλλήλων, ὅπως καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐστὶν. οἱ Δρουεινίας, ποταμοὶ χαραδρῶδες δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥοδανῶν καταράττει, καὶ ὁ Δουρίας ἐις τάναντία τῷ γὰρ Πάδῳ συμμίσχει, κατευθεῖα διὰ Σαλασσῶν εἰς τὴν ἐντός τῶν Ἀλπεων Κελτικῆς. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας πολὺ ταπεινότερος

1 οὔτε, Siebenkees, for οὔτε; so the editors.

For ἵσιν Kramer reads εἰσὶν; so Groskurd, Meineke, and Müller-Dibner.

1 See 4. 1. 12, and op. 4. 2. 2 and footnote 3.

2 i.e., are autonomous with "Latin right" (see 3. 2. 15, 4. 1. 9, 5. 1. 1).

3 There were two Durias Rivers, namely, the Durias Major (now Dora Baltea) and Durias Minor (now Dora Riparia), both of which emptied into the Padus (Po). The Durias
GEOGRAPHY, 4.6. 4-5

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 Italiones, 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 thenmingles 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 χρώμων ἀναδιδόσθην αὐτὸς ὁ Πάδος, πολὺς τε καὶ ὁξὺς, προϊόν ὑπὲρ γίνεται μείζων καὶ προμέτεος, ἵνα τολμήσῃ ἡ λαμβάνει τὴν αὐξησιν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἡ δὲ γενόμενος καὶ πλατύνεται· τῇ οὖν διαχωρίει περίσσα ἢ καὶ ἀμβλύνει τὸν ῥώμην· εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀδριατικὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπέπτει, μέγιστος γενόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὔρωπην ποταμῶν πλῆθος τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, ἅπερκείνεται δὲ οἱ Μέδουλλοι μάλιστα τῷ σημβολῷ τοῦ Ἰσαροῦ πρὸς τὸν Ροδανῶν.

6. Ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα μέρη τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κεκλιμένα1 τῆς λεχθεὶσης ὀρεινῆς Ταυροῦ νεκροὶ τε οἰκούσι Λιγυρτίκων ἔθνως καὶ ἄλλοι Δάρκες. τούτων δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Δόννου 2 λεγομένη γῆ καὶ3 τοῦ Κοττίου. μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ τὸν Πάδον Σαλασσόν ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἔν ταῖς κορυφαῖς Κέντρωνς4 καὶ Κατόρρινες καὶ Οὐάραγροι καὶ Ναυτουάηκα καὶ Ἡ Λημένου λίμνη, δι’ ἣς ὁ Ῥόδανος φέρεται, καὶ ἡ πηγή τοῦ ποταμοῦ. οὐκ ἀπωθεῖ δὲ τούτων οὐδέτοι Ῥήμου αἰ πηγαί, οὔτε ὁ Ἀδουαλίς τὸ ὅρος, ἢ οὐθεὶ καὶ ὁ Ῥήμος ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρκτικὰς καὶ ὁ Ἀδουάς εἰς τάναντα ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὴν Λάριον λίμνην τὴν πρὸς τῷ Κόμφο. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ Κόμφου πρὸς τῇ βίξῃ τῶν "Αλπεων ιδρυμένων" τῇ μὲν Ραυτολ καὶ Οὐέννων ἐπὶ τὴν ἰο νεκλιμένων, τῇ δὲ Δηπότοι καὶ Τριβεντύνω καὶ Στόνοι καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖον μικρὰ.

1 κεκλιμένα, Χυλάντερ, for κεκριμένα; so the editors.
2 Δόννου, conj. of Siebbeleens, for 'Ιδεόννου (Dovátov marg. A prim. manus); so the editors in general. See Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Donus, p. 1548.
3 Casaubon inserts ἡ after καὶ; so some of the editors, including Meineke.
4 Κέντρωνς, A. Jacob, for Κέντρωνς.
5 Ιδρυμένων, Χυλάντερ, for Ιδρυμένων.

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above-mentioned, the Padus itself, large and swift, although as it proceeds it becomes larger and more gentle in its flow; for from the time it reaches the plains it is increased from many streams and is thus widened out; and so, because of the spreading out of its waters, the force of its current is dispersed and blunted; then it empties into the Adriatic Sea, becoming the largest of all the rivers in Europe except the Ister. The situation of the Medulli is, to put it in a general way, above the confluence of the Isar and the Rhodanus.

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

¹ The father of Cottius.
² Cp. 4 1. 3.
³ The words “and the Padus” have perplexed some of the commentators. They are added, apparently, for the purpose of definitely placing all the Salassi north of the Padus; the Taurini lived on both sides of the river.
ΣΤΡΑΒΟ

έθνη κατέχοντα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν χρόνοις, ληστρικά καὶ ἄπορα: νυνὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἔξεφθαρται, τὰ δ’ ἥμερωται τελέως ὡστε τὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπερβολὰς τὸν ὄρος, πρότερον οὖσας ὁλίγας καὶ δυσπεράτους, νυνὶ πολλαχόθεν εϊναι καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐνθάτους, ὥς ἔνεστι, 1 διὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν. προσέθηκε γὰρ ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ τῇ καταλύσει τῶν ληστῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὁδῶν, διὰ τὸν τ’ ἤδ’ οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν πανταχοῦ βιάσασθαι τὴν φύσιν, διὰ πετρῶν καὶ κρημνῶν ἔξωσιῶν, τῶν μὲν ἱππευμένων τῆς ὁδοῦ, τῶν δ’ ὑποπτοῦντων, ὡστε καὶ μικρῶν ἐκβασίων ἄφυκτον εϊναι τῶν κύδωνων, εἰς φάραγγας ἀβύσσους τῶν πτώματος ὅντως. οὕτω δὲ ἐστὶ στενὴ κατὰ τινα 2 αὐτοῦ ή ὁδὸς ὡστ’ ἵλαγγον φέρει τοῖς πεζῷ βαδίζοντι καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑποξυγίως τοῖς ἀθέουν: τὰ δ’ ἐπιχώρια κομίζει τοὺς φόρτους ἀσφαλῶς. οὐ’ οὖν ταῦτα ἱάσιμα οὐθ’ αἱ κατολοισθάνουσαι πλάκες τῶν κρυστάλλων ἀναθεῖς ἔξωσιων, συν- ράχιαν ὅλην ἀπολαμβάνειν δυνάμεναι καὶ συνεξ- ούσιν εἰς τὰς ὑποπτοῦσας φάραγγας: πολλαί γὰρ ἀλλῆλαις ἐπίκεινται πλάκες, πάγας ἐπὶ πάγας γενομένων τῆς χίονος κρυσταλλωδῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐπιπολῆς ἀεὶ λαξίως ἀπολυμένων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντῶν πρὶν διαλυθῆναι τελέως ἐν τοῖς ἡλίουσ.

1 ὡς ἔνεστι, Corais from conj. of Tyrwhitt, for ὡς ἔνεστιν (ΔΟΙ), ὡς ἔνεστι (B) i so the later editors.
2 τινα, Kramer, for τι; so the editors in general.
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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 over-
come 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 congel-
ations that are on the surface are from time to time
easily released from those beneath before they are
completely dissolved in the rays of the sun.
7. Ἡ δὲ τῶν Σαλασσῶν πολλὴ μὲν ἔστιν ἐν αὐλῶι βαθεῖ, τῶν ὄρων ἀμφοτέρων ¹ κλειότων τὸ χωρίον, μέρος δὲ τι αὐτῶν ἀνατείνει καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑπερεκεμένας κορυφὰς. τοὺς οὖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπερθείση τὰ ὄρη διὰ τοῦ λεχθέντος αὐλῶν ἔστιν ἡ ὄδος. εἰτα σχίζεται δίχα καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄνα τοῦ Ποινίου λεγομένου φέρεται, ξεύγεσιν οὐ βατή κατὰ τὰ ἅκρα τῶν "Ἀλπεῶν, ἡ δὲ διὰ Κεντρώων" ² δυσμικωτέρα. ἔστε δὲ καὶ χρυσεία ἡ τῶν Σαλασσῶν, ἀ κατέχων ἱσχύοντες οἱ Σαλασσοὶ πρώτερον, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν παρόδων ἦσαν κύριοι. προσελάβανε δὲ πλεῖστον εἰς τὴν μεταλλείαν αὐτοῖς ὁ Δουρίας ποταμὸς, εἰς τὰ χρυσοπλύσια, διότι ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τόπους σχίζοντες εἰς ³ τὰς ἐξοχετείας τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ κοινὸν ρεῖθρον ἐξεκένουν. τοῦτο δ’ ἐκεῖνος μὲν συνέφερε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἡραν, τοὺς δὲ γεωργοῦντας τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς πεδία, τῆς ἄρδειας στερομένους, ἔλυτε, τοῦ ποταμοῦ δυναμένου ποτίζειν τὴν χώραν διὰ τὸ ὑπερδέξιον ἔχειν τὸ ρεῖθρον. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας πόλεμοι συνεχεῖς ἦσαν πρὸς ἄλληλους ἀμφοτέρους τοῖς ἔθνεσι. κρατησάντων δὲ Ἐρωμαίων, τῶν μὲν χρυσοπλύσιων ἐξεπεσον καὶ τῆς χώρας οἱ Σαλασσοὶ, τὰ δὲ ὄρη κατέχουσας ἀκμὴν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπάλλον τοῖς δημοσίων τοῖς ἑργαλαμβάνασι τὰ χρυσεία καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ⁴ δὲ ἦσαν ἄλιθοι διὰφοράι διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν τῶν δημο-

¹ For ἀμφοτέρων, Casaubon reads ἀμφοτέρωθεν; so Meineke, and others.
² Κεντρώων, A. Jacob, for Κεντρώων.
³ εἰτ before τὰς, Casaubon inserts; so the editors in general.
⁴ τοῦτοι, Xylander, for τούτοι; so the later editors.

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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 Cenrones. 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 Durius 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).
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σιωνών. 1 οὗτος δὲ συνέβαινε τοῖς στρατηγικῶντας ἀπὶ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων καὶ πεπομένους ἐπὶ τούς τόπους εὑποτεννοὶ προφάσεων ἀφ' ὧν πολεμήσουσι. μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν νεωστὶ χρόνων τοτε μὲν πολεμοῦμενοι, τοτὲ δὲ καταλυόμενοι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους πόλεων ἵσχυον όμος, καὶ πολλὰ κατέβαλλον τοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπερβάλλοντας τὰ ὁρῇ κατὰ τὸ ληστρικὸν ἔθος. οὗ γε καὶ Δέκιμον Βρού-τον φυγόντα ἐκ Μουτίνης ἐπρέσευσε δραχμὴν κατ' ἀνδρὰ. Μεσσαλάς δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν χειμα-δεέων τιμῆς ἔξων κατέβαλε τῶν τε καυσίμων καὶ τῶν πτελείων ἀκοινοσμάτων καὶ τῶν γυμνα-στικῶν. ἔσυλσαν δὲ ποτε καὶ χρήματα Καλ-σαρος οἵ ἄνδρες οὗτοι καὶ ἐπέβαλον κρημνοὺς στρατοπέδους, πρόφασιν ὡς ὀδοιποιοῦσθαι ἡ γεφυ-ροῦστες πολέμους. ὑστερον μέντοι κατεστρέψατο αὐτοὺς ἄρθην ὁ Σεββατός καὶ πάντες ἑλάφυροπό-λησε, καμισθέντας εἰς 'Επορεί αὐτοῖς, 'Ρωμαίοις ἀπο-κιάν, ἣν συνφύκασαν μὲν, φρουρᾶν εἰναὶ βουλόμενοι τοῖς Σαλασσοῖς, ὁλίγους δὲ ἀντέχειν εὐθάνατο οἱ αὐτοῖς ἦσσ ἡφασίσθη τε ἔθνος. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων σωμάτων τρεῖς μυριάδες ἔξητασθησαν ὑπὶ τοῖς ἔξακχοι λοι, τῶν δὲ μαχίμων ἄνδρῶν ὀκτακισχί-λιοι, πάντας δὲ ἐπώλησε Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ὑπὸ

1 σημειώσων, Xylander, for σημειώςων; so the later editors.

2 43 B.C.
3 About sixteen American cents, with far greater purchasing power.
4 Perhaps for "wooden swords" and the like, used in "sham battles," as described by Polybius 10. 20.
4 Now Ivrea.
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...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 αὐτῶς στρατηγὸς. τρισ-χελίων δὲ Ἦρωιοι πέμψας φίκισε τὴν πόλιν Ἀγαύαται ὁ Καἰσαρ ἐν ὦ εὐστρατοπέδευσε χωρίς ὁ Ὀνάρρων, καὶ νῦν εἰρήνην ἀγεί πᾶσα ἡ πλησίον ἄρχει τῶν ἄκρων ἔπερβολῶν τοῦ ὄρους.

8. 'Εκ δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἐω μέρη τῶν ὄρων καὶ τὰ ἐπιστρέφοντα πρὸς ὅταν Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Οὐνδολκοὶ κατέχουσιν, συναπτοῦντες Ἑλουητῶν καὶ Βοϊσίων ἐπίκεισται γάρ τοῖς ἐκεῖσιν σεβλίαις. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥαιτοὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἑταλίας καθήκουσι τῆς ὑπὲρ Οὐνδολκοὶ καὶ Καμου (καὶ ὁ γε Ῥαιτικὸς οἶναι, τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑταλικοῖς ἐπανομένων οὐκ ἀπολείπεσθαι δοκόω, ἐν ταῖς τοῦτον ὑπορείας γίνεται), διατίνυσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν χωρίων, διὸ ὄντα Ῥῆεος φέρεται τούτου δὲ δοῦλο τοῦ φῶλε Λποῦτις καὶ Καμουνοῦ.1 οἱ δὲ Οὐνδολκοὶ καὶ Νωρίκοι τὴν ἐκτὸς παρωριέων κατέχουσι τὸ πλεον μετὰ Βρενῶν καὶ Γενάνων,2 ἡδὰ τούτων Ἑλουη-τῶν καὶ Σκεφανῶν καὶ Βοϊσίων καὶ Γερμάνων. Ἀπαντεὶ δὲ οὕτως καὶ τῆς Ἑταλίας τὰ γευτόνων μέρη κατέρχον ἄει καὶ τῆς Ἑλουητ-τῶν καὶ Σκεφανῶν καὶ Βοϊσίων καὶ Γερμάνων. Ἰταμόταιοι δὲ τῶν μὲν Οὐνδολκοῦ ἐξητάζουσαν Δικάττιοι καὶ Κλαυτηράτιοι καὶ Οὐνδολκοῦς, τῶν δὲ Ῥαιτῶν Ρουκάντιοι καὶ Καμουνοῦ. καὶ οἱ Ἐπτίωνες δὲ τῶν Οὐνδολκῶν εἰσὶ καὶ Βριγάντιοι, καὶ πόλεις αὐτῶν Βριγάντιοι καὶ Καμβόμπουνον,

1 Καμουνοῦ, Xylander, for Καμουνοῦ; so the later editors.
2 Βρενῶν and Γενάνων, Xylander, for Βρέγων and Γενάνων; so the later editors.

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

8. Next, in order, come those parts of the mountains that are towards the east, and those that bend round towards the south: the Rhaeti and the Vindelici occupy them, and their territories join those of the Elvetii and the Boii; for their territories overlook the plains of those peoples. Now the Rhaeti reach down as far as that part of Italy which is above Verona and Comum (moreover, the "Rhaetic" wine, which has the repute of not being inferior to the approved wines of theItalic 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 Clautenattii, 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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καὶ ἡ τῶν Δικαττίων δισπερ ἄκροπολις Δαμασία.

τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας τῶν ληστῶν τούτων χαλεπότητας λέγεται τι τοιοῦτον, ὡς, ἐπειδὰν ἐξωσὶ κόμην ἦ πόλιν, οὐ μόνον ἡβηδὸν ἄνδροφοι-

νοῦτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι τῶν νηπίων προϊόντας τῶν ἄρρενων, καὶ μηδὲ ἐνταῦθα παυομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐγκυώσις γυναῖκας κτείνοντας ὅσας φαίειν

οἴ μάντεις ἄρρενοικεῖν.

9. Μετὰ δὲ τούτων οἱ ἐγγύς ἦδη τοῦ Ἀδρια-

τικοῦ μυχοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ Ἀκυληίαν τότων οἰκοῦσι, Νωρικῶν τὲ τινες καὶ Κάρνου τῶν δὲ Νωρικῶν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Ταυρίσκοι. πάντως δὲ ἐπανε

τῶν ἀνέδηρ καταδρομῶν Τιβέριος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δροῦσος θερεία μαί, ὅστ' ἦδη τρίτων καὶ

τριακοσίων ἔτος ἐστὶν ἐξ οὗ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ὅντες ἀπευκακτοῦσι τοὺς φόρους. κατὰ πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν

tῶν Ἀδίπεων δρεινήν ἐστὶ μὲν καὶ γεώλοφοι χω-

ρα πολὺς γεωργεῖοι δυνάμενα καὶ αὐλόνες εὐ

συνεκτιμένοι, τὸ μέντοι πλέον, καὶ μάλιστα

περὶ τὰς κορυφάς, περὶ δὲ καὶ συνίσταντο οἱ

λησταί, λυπρῶν καὶ ἀκαρπῶν διά τε τὰς πάχνας·

καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς γῆς. κατὰ σπάνιν ὅπων

τροφῆς τε καὶ ἄλλην ἐφείδουτο ἐσθ' ὅτε τῶν ἐν

tοῖς πεδίοις, ὅτι ἔχοι εὐκρηνοὺς ἀντεδίδοσαν δὲ

ῥητίνην, πίτταν, δέδα, κηρόν, μέλι, τυρῶν τούτων

gαρ εὐπόρουν. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν Κάρνου 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 regularly. Now throughout the whole of the mountainous country of the Alps there are, indeed, not only hilly districts which admit of good farming, but also glens which have been well built up by settlers; the greater part, however, (and, in particular, in the neighbourhood of the mountain-crests, where, as we know, the brigands used to congregate) is wretched and unfruitful, both on account of the frosts and of the ruggedness of the soil. It was because of scarcity, therefore, of both food and other things that they sometimes would spare the people in the plains, in order that they might have people to supply their wants; and in exchange they would give resin, pitch, torch-pine, wax, honey, and cheese—for with these things they were well supplied. Above the Carni lies the
STRABO

'Απέννυνον ὁρός, Λύμνην ἐχον ἐξειδεμεν εἰς τὸν
*"Ισαραν ποταμόν, ὃς παραλαβὼν Ἀταγίαν
ἀλλὰ ποταμὸν εἰς τὸν Ἀδριαν ἐκβάλλει. ἕκ δὲ
tῆς αὐτῆς Λύμνης καὶ ἄλλου ποταμοῦ εἰς τὸν
*Ιστρον βεί, καλούμενος 'Ατησινώς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ
*Ιστρος τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τούτων λαμβάνει τῶν
ὅρων, πολυσχιδὸν ὅταν καὶ πολυκεφάλων, μέχρι
μὲν ἡμὶ δεύρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Δυναστικῆς συνεχῆ τὰ
ὕψηλα τῶν Ἀλπεων διέτειναι καὶ ἐνὸς ὅρους οὐκο-
σιαν παρείχειν, εἰς ἄνεβεντα καὶ ταπεινωθέντα
ἐξαιρεθαι πάλιν εἰς πλεῖο τέρα καὶ πλείους
καρυφᾶς, πρὸ τῆς δ' ἐστὶ τούτων ἡ τοῦ Ῥήγου
πέραν καὶ τῆς Λύμνης κεκλιμένη πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ῥάχης.

1 For 'Απέννυνον, Casaubon, Groskurd, and Corais read Λύμνην; Gosselin conj. 'Αλπίνων; C. Müller Oevidwón.
2 For *"Ισαραν probably *Ισάραν or *Ισάρας should be read (C. Müller and A. Jacob); Meineke reads 'Ασισίνων.
3 For 'Ατησινώς C. Müller conj. Αλβος, A. Jacob, οὕτος Αλβος; Meineke reads *Ισάρας.

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 emend to "Poeninus" (the Pennine Alps; see 4. 6. 7), as do Casaubon, Corais, and others, does not help matters at all. In fact, the context seems to show that Strabo has in mind the Carnic (Julian) Alps. But both this and the names of rivers, as the MSS. stand, are almost hopelessly inconsistent.
2 But the "Isaras" (Isar) empties into the Ister (Danube), not the Adrius (Adriatic); and it is in no sense connected with the Atagia. It is altogether probable that Strabo wrote "Isarkas" (or "Isargas")—that is, the Latin "Isarius" (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-
GEOGRAPHY, 4.6.9

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 Bötzon, and from there on constitute what is also called the Etsch (or Adige), the Eisach losing its identity. But if Strabo wrote "Isarkas" (Eisach) instead of "Isaras," he made the other source-river its tributary; hence, since it is the "Atagis," and not the Eisach, that traverses the lake (or rather, to-day, three lakes—Reschen See, Mitter See, and Heider See), we may assume that the copyists have exchanged the positions of "Isarkas" and "Atagis" in the Greek text (Groskurd and others read accordingly), or else, what is more likely, Strabo himself confused the two, just as he confused the Duries Major and Durias Minor in 4.6.5 (see also footnote).

4 The "Atesinus" certainly cannot be identified with the "Atasia" (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.

5 This ridge is that which traverses Suabia from south to north, east of, and parallel to, the Rhine; "the lake" appears to be Lake Constance.
STRABO

μετρίως ψηλή, δυσον ατ του "Ιστρον πηγαλ πλησίων Σοβίων καὶ τοῦ Ὠρκυνίου δρυμοῦ. ἄλλαι δὲ εἰσὶν ἐπιστρέφουσαι πρὸς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα καὶ τὸν Ἀδριαν, ὦν ἦστι τὸ τε Ἀπέννινον ὄρος τὸ λεχθὲν καὶ τὸ Τούλλον καὶ Φλεγαδία, τὰ ὑπερκείμενα τῶν Ὀυνδολκῶν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ Δοῦρας καὶ Κλάνις καὶ ἄλλαι πλεύσους χαραδρώδες ποταμοὶ συμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἰστρον ἱερὸν.

10. Καὶ οἱ Ἰάποδες δὲ (ἥδη τοῦτο ἐπίμακτον Ἰλλυρίοις καὶ Κέλτοις ἐθνοῖς) περὶ τούτους οἴκουσι τοὺς τόπους, καὶ ἡ "Οκρα πλησίον τούτων ἐστὶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἰάποδες, πρότερον εὐανδροῦντες καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ¹ τὴν οἰκησιν ἔχοντες καὶ τοῖς λρητηρίοις ἐπικρατοῦντες, ἐκπατοῦνται τελεῖοι ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καϊσαρος καταπολεμηθέντες. πόλεις δὲ αὐτῶν Μέτουλον, Ἀρουπίνοι, Μονήτιοι, Ούνδοι, ² μεθ' οὗς ἡ Σενεκτικὴ πόλις ἐν πεδίῳ, παρ' ἣν ὁ Σαιὸς ³ παραβρέῃ ποταμός, ἐκδιδόμεν οἰς τοῖς Ἰστρον. κεῖται δὲ ἡ πόλις εὔφυος πρὸς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Δακῶν πόλεμον. ἡ δ' "Οκρα τὸ ταπεινότατον μέρος τῶν Ἀλπεών ἐστι καθ' ὧς συνάπτουσι τοῖς Κάρπους καὶ δι' ὧν τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκυλήνας φορτία κομιζοῦσιν ἀρμαμάξας εἰς τῶν καλούμενων Ναύπορτον, ⁴ σταδίων ὅδον οὗ πολὺ

¹ Corais reads ἐκάτερα for ἐκάτερα; so in general the later editors.
² "Ουνδοι, Corais, for Ὀυνδοι, comparing Ὀυνδοι 7. 5. 4.
³ Σαιο, Meineke, for Ὁνος αὐτὸς; Xylander and others had read Σαίον.
⁴ Ναύπορτον, Casaubon, for Ναύπορτον; so the editors in general.

¹ The Black Forest. ² Also spelled "Iapydes."
GEOGRAPHY, 4. 6. 9-10

leans towards the east—a ridge only moderately high, in which, near the Suevi and the Hercynian Forest,¹ 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 Iapodes² (we now come to this mixed tribe of Illyrii and Celti³) dwell round about these regions; and Mount Ocra⁴ 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 moun-
tain⁵ 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 Saiüs⁶ which empties into the Ister. The situation of the city is naturally well-suitied for making war against the Daci. The Ocra is the lowest part of the Alps in that region in which the Alps join the country of the Carni, and through which the merchandise from Aquileia is conveyed in wagons to what is called Nauportus (over a road

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¹ Cp. 7. 5. 2. ⁴ Cp. 4. 6. 1.
² Strabo is not clear here. He means (1) by "mountain," not "Ocra," but "Albus," and (2) by "both sides" (of the Albus, 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).
³ The Save.
STRABO

πλειώνων ἡ τετρακοσίων ἐκείθεν δὲ τοῖς ποταμοῖς κατάγεται μέχρι τοῦ Ἡστρού καὶ τῶν ταύτης χωρίων. παραρέει γὰρ δὴ τῶν Ναύπορτον 1 ποταμός ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος φερόμενος πλωτός, ἐκβάλλει δ’ εἰς τὸν Σάον, ὡστ’ εὐμαρῶς εἰς τὴν Σεβεστικὴν κατάγεται καὶ τῶν Παννοίους καὶ Ταύρικους. συμβάλλει δ’ εἰς τὸν Σάον κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὡς Κόλατις. ἀμφότεροι δ’ εἰσὶ πλωτοὶ, ρέουσι δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων. ἔχουσι δ’ αἱ Ἀλπεῖς καὶ ἕπτος άγρίους καὶ βοῶς. φησὶ δὲ Πολύβιος καὶ ἰδιώμορφον τι γεννᾶσθαι ἥδον ἐν αὐταῖς, ἑλαφοεῖδες τὸ σχῆμα πλῆν αὐχένος καὶ τριχώματος, ταῦτα δ’ ἐνείκειν κάπρῳ, ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ γενείῳ πυρήμα ἵσχειν δονον σπιθαμαίον ἀκρόκομον πωλικής κέρκου τὸ πάχος.

11. Τῶν δ’ ὑπερθέσεων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν ἑβδομαδικῆς καὶ τὴν προσάρκειον ἡ διὰ Σαλασσῶν ἐστὶν ἄγουσα ἐπὶ Δούνδουνν’ διττή δ’ ἐστὶν, ἡ μὲν ἀμαξεύσεθαι δυναμένη διὰ μήκους πλειώνος, ἡ δὲ Κευτρώνων, ἡ δὲ ὅρθια καὶ στενὴ, σύντομος δὲ ἡ διὰ τοῦ Ποιύνου. τὸ δὲ Δούνδουνον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς χώρας ἐστίν, ὡσπερ ἀκρόπολις, διὰ τε τὰς συμβολὰς τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι πάση τοὺς μέρες. διόπερ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐντεύθεν τὰς ὅδους ἐτέμε, τὴν διὰ τῶν Κεμένων

1 Naüporton, Cassaubon, for Πάμπορον; so the editors in general. See 7. 5. 2.

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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\(^1\) which flows past Naupactus; it runs out of Illyria, is navigable, and empties into the Saüs, so that the merchandise is easily carried down to Segesta and the country of the Pannonii and Taurisci.\(^2\) And the Colapis\(^3\) too joins the Saüs near the city;\(^4\) 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.\(^5\)

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 Cetrones, 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.\(^6\) 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

\(^1\) 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.

\(^2\) Cp. 4. 6. 7.
STRABO

"Er" ἕχρι Σαντόνων καὶ τῆς Ἀκουστανίας, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥήμον, καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄκεανόν, τὴν πιὸς Βελλακοῖς καὶ Ἀμβιαν.ίς, τετάρτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ναρβούτιν καὶ τὴν Μασσαλιωτικὴν παραλίαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἀφεῖται τὸ Λούγδονον καὶ τὴν ὑπερκειμένην χώραν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ Ποινῖν πάλιν ἐκτροπὴ διαβάντη τὸν Ῥοδανοῦ ἢ τὴν Λίμνην τὴν Λημέναν εἰς τὰ Ἐλοιττίων πεδία· κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ἀυγούστους ὑπέρθεσις διὰ τὸ Ἴρα ὄρους καὶ εἰς Δυσσώνα· διὰ τὸ τούτων ἐπὶ ἄμφω, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥήμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὄκεανόν δ' οὗ τι σχίζονται.

12. "Ἐπὶ 1 φησι Πολύβιος ἕπ' ἐαυτοῦ κατ' Ὀκυλιάν μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς Ταυρίδοις τοῖς Νωρκοῖς εὑρεθήμαν χρυσεῖαν οὕτως εὐφυὲς ὅστ' ἐπὶ δύο πόδας ἀποσύραμε τὴν ἐπιπολῆς γῆν εὐθὺς ὄρυκτον εὐρίσκεσθαι χρυσόν, τὸ δ' ὄρυγμα μὴ πλεύσων ὑπάλλειαν ἢ περτεκαίδεκα ποδῶν, εἶναι δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ μὲν αὐτόθεν καθαιρών, κυάμων μέγεθος ἢ θέρμου, τοῦ ὄγδούν μέρους μόνον ἀφεσθηκέντος, τοῦ δὲ δεισάθαι μὲν χονείας πλείονος, σφόδρα δὲ λυσιτελοῦσι συνεργασμένων δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν ἱππιτῶν ἐν διμήνῳ, παραχρῆμα τὸ χρυσίον

1 "Επὶ, Cassaubon, for 'Επὶ; so the later editors.

1 The Lake of Geneva, which is traversed by the Rhone.
2 Strabo's brevity is again confusing. He suddenly shifts his standpoint from Lugdunum to the Poeninus. He has in mind two roads: (1) The road which ran through the Poeninus to the Rhoianus (at the eastern end of Lake Geneva), crossed the river, circled round the lake, crossed again at the other end and then followed the Rhoianus to Lugdunum; and (2) a road that branched off from the same

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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 Leman, 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 Italiothes joined them in working the mine, the price of gold suddenly at some point north of the lake into the plains of the Helvetii.

* Op. § 9 above.

4 Strabo here, as elsewhere (§ 9 3. 2. 8–10), carefully distinguishes between (1) metals that have to be dug up from beneath the surface-soil, (2) those in the surface-soil itself, and (3) those washed down by the rivers.
eumodteron genvéthei tò toítr tò mére ev kath' ìleí tòv
'Ítalían, aisódérous de tòv àufrískous móno-
poleín ekbasíntas tòv sunegegazomévous. Ýllà
vúv ìapnta tà xuróseía úpò Rómaiów éstí.
kántaída δ', òspéper kátà tòv 'Íbetaían, feýroú
ai potamoi xursoú psýgima, próds tò óruxtò, óú
mén toi tousoútou. ó δ' autós ìnhí ðepi tòv megé-
bois tòv 'Alpew én kai tòv úfous légon pará-
balícei tà ìn tòv.'Ellhíou òrh tò mégísta, tò
Távgetow, tò Lúkaiow, Pávntaíw, 'Olymíow,
C 209 Pílou, 'Ossan' én ìke Òrákh Aímov, 'Ródípíw,
Dóuvaka' kai físwv òti toutow mév ekastov mi-
krou déw àuðhmerón euðúnois ánavbhínei dýnaton,
àuðhmerón dé kai perimétheión, tás δ', 'Alpew ou'
dòn peýmptaíos ánavbátei tòs: tò dé mékó ìstí di-
sgíllon kai diákoíon stádiw tò parókou parà
tà peíúa. téptaros δ' úperbíaseís ònomoízei mó-
noi' diá 'Aigíou mév tòn ìggísta tò Týranoikó
pělíygei, éita tòn diá Taurídow, òn' Aúvbas déík-
theí, éita tòn diá Salássow, tētríthei dé tìn
díà 'Ratiw, ápássas krýmaiwdeis. Límnas dé éiwai
físwv én touto òresi plevous mév, tpeís dé megílas'
oú h mév Býnikow échei mékó penteákosión stádiw,
plátoi dé tòmínta,1 ékreí dé potamów Mígyikou.'

1 BCi read pentákonta (τ' instead of λ').

1 Cp. 3. 2. 10. 
2 See 3. 2. 8. 
3 Polybius 2. 14.
4 The plains of Italy (as Polybius says).
5 Polybius (3. 56) does not say where Hannibal crossed
the Alps, although he says that Hannibal, after crossing the
Alps, "entered the valley of the Pailus and the territory of
the Insibires." Both the ancient writers and modern scholars
differ as to where Hannibal crossed. The reader is referred
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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 Tyrrenian Sea), then that through the Taurini, which Hannibal crossed, then that through the Salassi, and the fourth, that through the Rhaeti,—all of them precipitous passes. And as for lakes, he says that there are several in the mountains, but that only three are large: one of these, Lake Benacus, has a length of five hundred stadia and a breadth of thirty, from which flows the Mincius River; the next, Lake


7 Some MSS. read “fifty.” The Mincio.
STRABO

ή δ' ἔξης Οὐερβαῦνδς τετρακοσίων, πλάτος δὲ στενότερα τῆς πρώτου, ἔξησι δὲ ποταμῶν τῶν Ἀδωίνων τρίτη δὲ Δάριος ἡ μήκος ἐγγύς τριακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τριάκοντα, ἡ ποταμῶν δὲ ἔξησι μέγαν Τίκινων πάντες δὲ εἰς τὸν Πάδον συναγόμενοι. τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ἔχομεν λέγειν τῶν Ἀλπείων.

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

Verbanus,¹ four hundred in length, and narrower in breadth than the former, which sends forth the River Addua²; and, third, Lake Larius,³ in length nearly three hundred stadia, and in breadth thirty,⁴ which sends forth a large river, the Ticinus⁵; 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 exoehanging 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 (⁴ 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
Ε’

I

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπώρειαν τῶν Ἀλπεων ἀρχή τῆς νῦν Ἱταλίας. οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ τὴν Οἰνωτριὰν ἐκάλουν Ἱταλίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σικελίκου πορθμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Ταραντίνου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδωνίατου δίχωσαν, ἐπικρατήσαν δὲ τούνομα καὶ μέχρι τῆς ὑπώρειας τῶν Ἀλπεων προβη, προσέλαβε δὲ καὶ τῆς Διονυσιακῆς τὰ μέχρι Οὐόρου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ταύτης θαλάττης ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρέων τῶν Τυρρηνικῶν καὶ τῆς Ἰστρίας μέχρι Πόλας. εἰκάσατε δ’ ἂν τις εὐτυχήσαντας τοὺς πρῶτους ὅνομασθέντας Ἱταλοὺς μεταδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς πλησιόχωρους, εἰπ’ οὕτως ἐπίδοσιν λαβεῖν μέχρι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας. ὡς δὲ ποτε ἄφ’ οὐ μετέδοσαν Ῥωμαίοι τοῖς Ἱταλιώταις τὴν ἱσσοπολίτειαν, ἔδοξε καὶ τοῖς ἑντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλάταις καὶ Ἑπετοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπονείμαι τιμήν, προσαγορέσαι δὲ καὶ Ἱταλιώτας πάντας καὶ Ῥωμαίους, ἀποκάλεσα τε πολλὰς στείλας, τὰς μὲν πρῶτον τὰς δ’ ὕστερον, ὅτι οὐ ράδιον εἰπεῖν ἀμείνους ἑτέρας.

1 Gulf of Salerno.
2 “Ligustica” is “Liguria” in the broadest sense (see 4. 6. 3).
3 Gaula.
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).*
STRABO

2. Ἐν μὲν οὖν σχήματι σύμπασαν τὴν νῦν Ἰταλίαν οὐ βάδιον περιλαβέων γεωμετρικῶς, καὶ τοι φασίν ἄκραν εἶναι τρίγωνον ἐκείμενη πρὸς νότον καὶ χειμερινὰς ἀνατολᾶς, κορυφομένην ἐκ τρύο τῷ Σικελικῷ πορθμῷ, βάσιν δ’ ἔχουσαν τὰς Ἀλπεῖς. συγχωρήσαι δὲ δει¹ καὶ τῶν πλευρῶν μιᾶς, τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Πορθμὸν τελευτῶσαν, κλυζομένην δὲ ύπό τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους. τριγώνον δὲ ἰδίως τὸ εὐθύγραμμον καλεῖται σχῆμα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἡ βάσις καὶ ἡ πλευρὰ ² περιφερεῖς εἶσιν, ὡστε, εἰ φημὶ δειν συγχωρεῖς, περιφερεγράμμοι σχήματος θετέον καὶ τὴν βάσιν καὶ τὴν πλευράν, συγχωρητέον δὲ καὶ τὴν λόξωσιν ταύτης τῆς πλευρᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς. τάλλα δ’ οὖν ἰκανώς εἰρήκασιν, ὑποθέμενοι μίαν πλευρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Ἀδρίου μέχρι τοῦ Πορθμοῦ. πλευραν γὰρ λέγωμεν τὴν ἀγώνιον ηραμμήν, ἀγώνιος δ’ ἐστιν ὅταν ἡ μὴ συννεφή πρὸς ἀλλήλα τὰ μέρη, ἡ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ. ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀριμνῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν Ἱαπυγίαν καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πορθμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἄκραν πάμπολοι τὶ συννεφοῦσιν. ὅμως δ’ ἔχειν οἶσι καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱαπυγίας. συμπτίτουσαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀριμνῶν καὶ Ῥαοῦνναν τόπους γωνίαν ποιοῦσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ γωνίαν, περιφερείαν γε ἀξιόλογον. ὡστε’, εἰ ἄρα, τούτ ἀν εἰ ἡ μία πλευρὰ

¹ deī, Jones inserts (as in 1. 3. 7, ταῦτα δὲ δεῖ; cp. also 1. 1. 20, ὡστέθεσα δεῖ). Groskurd, Kramer, Meineke and others unnecessarily insert συγχωρήσαι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὴν βάσιν before the συγχωρήσαι of the text.

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

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

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\(^1\) 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.
ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ιαπυγίαν, οὐκ εὐθεία: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὸ εὐθεῦνε ἐπὶ τῶν Πορθμοῦ ἄλλην ἄν υπογράφοι πλευράν, οὐδὲ ταύτῃν εὐθείαν. οὐτῳ δὲ τετράπλευρον μᾶλλον ἢ τρίπλευρον φαίη τις ἄν τὸ σχῆμα, τρίγωνον δ᾽ οὐδὲσιμωσοῦν, πλὴν εἰ καταχρώμενος. βέλτιον δ᾽ ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι τῶν ἀγωμετρήτων σχημάτων οὐκ ¹ εὐπερίγραφος ἢ ἀπόδοσις.

3. Κατὰ μέρος δ᾽ οὕτως εἰπέων δυνατόν, ὅτι τῶν μὲν Ἀλπέων περιφέρης ἢ ὑπώρεια ἐστὶ καὶ κολπώδης, τὰ κοῖλα ἔχουσα ἐστραμμένα πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τοῦ δὲ κόλπου τὰ μὲν μέσα πρὸς τοὺς Σαλασσόνες ἐστὶ, τὰ δ᾽ ἄκρα ἐπιστροφῆνεν λαμβάνει, τὰ μὲν μέχρι τῆς Ὄκρας ² καὶ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τῶν Ἀδριανίαν, τὰ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Δυναστικὴν παραλίαν μέχρι Ζενονίας, του τῶν Δυνάμων ἐμπορίου, ὅπου τὰ Ἀπέννινα ὤρη συνάπτει ταῖς Ἀλπεῖσιν. ὑπόκεινται δ᾽ εὔνοις πεδίον ἀξίολογον, πάροικόν ποι ἔχου τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος, σταθεὶς ἐκατόν καὶ δισεκατόρειον τὸ δὲ μεσημβρινὸν αὐτοῦ πλευρῶν κλείσται τῇ τε τῶν Ἐβετῶν παραλία καὶ τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις ὄρεσι τοῖς περὶ Ἀρμμυροῦ καὶ Ἀγκώνα καθήκουσι ταῦτα ὧν ἀξίωμα ἀπὸ τῆς Δυναστικῆς εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐμβάλλει, στενὴν παραλίαν ἀπολείποντα εἰτ᾽ ἀναχωροῦντα εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν κατὰ ὄλγον, ἐπειδὰν γέννηται κατὰ τὴν Πισάτιν, ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ἐκεῖ καὶ πρὸς τῶν Ἀδριανίαν ἐκατον τῶν περὶ Ἀρμμυροῦ καὶ Ἀγκώνα τόπων, συνάπτοντα ἐπὶ εὐθείας τῇ τῶν Ἐβετῶν παραλίας. ἢ μὲν

¹ οὐκ, after σχημάτων, all editors insert, from man. sec. in B.
² *Ὀκρας, Cassaubon, for Ἀκρας; so the later editors.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 1. 2–3

(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 Salass, while the extremities take a turn, the one as far as Ocra and the recess of the Adriatic, the other to the Ligurian seaboard as far as Genua (the emporium of the Ligure), 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 Tyrrhenia, 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 Celtic,

1 Mt. Ocra (4. 6. 1 and 4. 6. 10).
STRABO

ὁν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Κελτική τοῦτος κλείεται τοῖς ὅροις, καὶ ἔστι τῆς μὲν παραλίας τὸ μήκος ὅσον τριακοσίων σταδίων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξαισχύλιοις μετὰ τῶν ὅρων, μικρὸν δὲ ἔλαττον τὸ πλάτος τῶν χιλίων. ἡ λοιπὴ δ' Ἰταλία στενὴ καὶ παραμήκης ἐστὶ, κορυφουμένη διχῶς, τῇ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Σικελικὸν πορθμόν τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰαπυγλαν' σφηγγομένη δ' ἐκατέρωθεν, τῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ πορθμοῦ τῆς ἰσθμοῦ ποταμοῦ τῷ Ποσειδωνίατην κόλπον τὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας τῇ ἀφορίζομένη τοῖς τῇ Ἀπεννίνοις ὀρέσι. καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐκατέρω μέχρι τῆς Ἰαπυγλας καὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ταραντίνον καὶ τὸν Ποσειδωνίατην κόλπον τὸ τῆς Ἐπινίπτης ἄμφοτερα ἐκτείνεται καὶ τριακοσίων σταδίων, τὸ δὲ μήκος ἔλαττον ὧν πολὺ τῶν ἐξαισχύλιων. ἡ λοιπὴ δ' ἔστιν ὅτι τὰ κατέχουσι Βρέττιοι καὶ Δευκανίων τινες. οὕτως δὲ Πολύβιος, τέχνη μὲν εἶναι τὴν παραλίαν τὴν ἄπο τῆς Ἰαπυγλας μέχρι Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρισχύλιων σταδίων, κλώδεσθαι δ' αὐτὴν τῷ Σικελικῷ πελάγει, πλέοντες δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίων δέουσαν. τά δὲ Ἀπεννίνα ὁρῇ συνάγαγαν τοῖς περὶ Ἀρμινίου καὶ Ἀγκώνα τόποις καὶ ἀφορίσαντα

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1 meto, before τῶν ὄρων (from man. sec. in B and from κο); so the editors in general.

2 For χιλιῶν, Kramer (from conj. of Casaubon) writes δισχιλιῶν; so the later editors.

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1 Polybius (3. 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
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 1. 3

accordingly, is shut in by these boundaries; and although the length of the seaboord, together with that of the mountains, is as much as six thousand three hundred stadia,¹ the breadth is slightly less than one thousand.² The remainder of Italy, however, is narrow and elongated, terminating in two heads, one at the Sicilian Strait and the other at Iapygia; and it is pinched in on both sides, on one by the Adriatic and on the other by the 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.³ The remainder of Italy, however, is all the country occupied by the Bretts and certain of the Leucani. Polybius⁴ says that, if you go by foot, the seaboord from Iapygia to the strait is as much as three thousand stadia, and that it is washed by the Sicilian Sea, but that, if you go by sea, it is as much as five hundred stadia short of that. The Apennine Mountains, after joining the regions round about Ariminum and Ancona, that is, after marking to misuse the word “triangle,” for he conceives of what he has previously called “the southern side” as curved and otherwise irregular.

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

² Cp. 2. 5. 20. ³ 34. 11. ⁴
STRABO

tο ταύτην ἔπλατος τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐπιστροφὴν λαμβάνει πάλιν καὶ τέμειν τὴν χώραν ὅλην ἐπὶ μῆκος. μέχρι μὲν δὴ Πευκε-τίων καὶ Δευκανῶν οὐ πολὺ ἀφίσταται τοῦ Αδρίων, συνάψαντα δὲ Δευκανῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν θάλατταν ἀποκλίνει μᾶλλον, καὶ λοιπὸν διὰ μέσων τῶν Δευ-κανῶν καὶ Βρεττίων διεξόντα τελευτᾷ πρὸς τὴν Δευκόπτεραν τῆς Ῥηγίνης καλουμένην. τυπωδῆς μὲν οὖν εἶχεται περὶ τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας ἀπάσης ταύτα: πειρασώμεθα δὲ ἀναλαβόντες εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν καθ’ ἐκαστα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς Ἀλπεσίν.

C 212 4. Ἔστι δὲ πεδίων σφόδρα εὐδαιμον καὶ γεωλο-φίας εὐκάρπως πεποικιλμένω. διαιρεῖ δ’ αὐτὸ μέσον τως ὁ Πάδος, καὶ καλεῖται τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πάδου, τὸ δὲ πέραν ἐντὸς μὲν ὅσον ἐστὶ πρὸς τοῖς Ἀστυνύνοις ὄρεσι καὶ τῇ Διγυστικῇ, πέραν δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν. οἰκεῖται δὲ τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Διγυστικῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν Κελτικῶν, τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι οἰκούντων τῶν δ’ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις, τὸ δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ Ἐνετῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κελτοί τοῖς ὑπερ-αλπίοις ὁμοιοθεῖς εἰσί, περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐνετῶν διστός ἐστὶ λόγος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοῦς φασίν εἶναι Κελτῶν ἀπολέσων τῶν ὀμοιότερων παροικειμένων, οἱ δ’ ἐκ τοῦ Τροικοῦ πολέμου μετ’ Ἀντήνορος σωθήσατε δεύορο φασι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας.

1 ταύτην. Corals, for ταύτης; so the later editors.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. i. 3-4

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 Cetti and Heneti. Now these Cetti 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 Cetti 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

\[1\] Literally, "White Rock"; now Capo dell' Armi.
\[2\] Gallia Cispadana and Gallia Transpadana.
\[3\] See 4. 4. 1.
\[4\] Op. 3. 2. 13 and 5. 1. 1.

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STRABO

'Ενετῶν τινας, μαρτύριον δὲ τούτου προφέρονται τὴν περὶ τὰς ἱπποτροφίας ἐπιμέλειας, ἢ μὲν μὲν τελέως ἐκκέλουσε, πρὸτερον δὲ ἐτιμάτω παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ζήλου τοῦ κατὰ τὰς ἡμιονίτιδας ἱπποὺς. τούτου δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρος μέμνηται.

ἐξ 'Ενετῶν, δὲν ἡμίονων γένος ἀγροτέρας.

(II. 2. 852)

καὶ Διονύσιος, ὁ τῆς Σικελίας τύραννος, ἐντεύθεν τὸ ἱπποτροφίον συνεστήσατο τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἱππῶν, ὡστε καὶ ὅνωμα ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησι γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλληνικής πολείας καὶ πολὺν χρόνον εὐδοκιμῆσαι τὸ γένος.

5. Ἀπασὰ μὲν οὖν ἡ χώρα τοσαῦτος πληθύνει καὶ ἑλεσί, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἡ τῶν 'Ενετῶν πρόσεστι δὲ ταυτὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης πάθη. μόνα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη σχέδου τι τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀκόμη οὕτως ἐπεδιδόθην, καὶ παραπλησίους ἑκεῖνοι ποιεῖται τὰς τε ἀμύτωτας καὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας, ὡς δὲν τὸ πλέον τοῦ πεδίου λιμνοθαλάττης γίνεται μεστόν. διόμως δὲ καὶ παραχώμασι, καθάπερ ἡ Κάστα λεγομένη χώρα τῆς Αἰγυπτοῦ, διωχέτευται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνέψυκται καὶ γεωργεῖται, τὰ δὲ διάπλους ἰχνεῖ τῶν δὲ πόλεων αἱ μὲν νησίζουσιν, αἱ δ᾽ ἐκ μέρους κλύζονται. οὕσι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐλῶν ἐν τῇ μεσωγαίᾳ κεῖνται, τούς ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν ἀνάπλους θαμβαστοὺς ἔχουσι, μάλιστα δ᾽ ὁ Πάρος. μέγατος τε γὰρ ἑστὶ καὶ πληροῦται πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ ὕμβρων καὶ χιόνων. διαχείμους δ᾽ εἰς πολλὰ

1 παραπλησίους, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores; against Kramer and the later editors (παραπλησίως).

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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 ἑκβολὰς τυφλῶν τὸ στόμα ποιεῖ καὶ δυσεπόσβολος ἔστων. ὡς ἐμπείρια περιγίνεται καὶ τῶν χαλκωτάτων.

6. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄρχαίον, ὡσπέρ ἐφῆς, ὑπὸ Κελτῶν περιφέρεται τῶν πλείωστος ὁ ποταμὸς. μέγιστα δ' ἦν τῶν Κελτῶν ἑθνῆ Βόιοι καὶ Ἰνσουβροὶ καὶ οἱ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ ἔξ ἐφόδου καταλαβόντες Σένονες μετὰ Γαυζατῶν. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἔξε-φθειραν ὑπεροῦ ἐπεικῶς Ῥωμαίοι, τοὺς δὲ Βόιους ἔξηλασαν ἐκ τῶν τόπων, μεταστάντες δ' εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰστροῦ τόπους μετὰ Ταυρόσκων φύκων πολεμοῦντες πρὸς Δακούς, ἐως ἀπόλυλοντο πανεθνεῖ-τὴν δὲ χώραν οὗσαν τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος μηλόβατον τοὺς περιοικοῦσα κατέλυσαν. Ἰνσουβροὶ δὲ καὶ καὶ νῦν εἰσί. Μεδιολάνιοι δ' ἐσχοὺς μητρόπολιν, πάλαι μὲν κόμην (ἀπαντες γὰρ φόκου κωμήδου), νῦν δ' ἄξιολογον πόλιν, πέραν τοῦ Πάδου συνα-πτουσαν τως ταῖς Ἀλπεσι. πλησίον δὲ καὶ Οὐή-ρων, καὶ αὕτη πόλις μεγάλη. ἔλαττος δὲ τούτων Βρέξια καὶ Μαντούα καὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Κώμων αὕτη δ' ἦν μὲν κατοικία μετρία, Πομπήιος δὲ Στράβων ὁ Μάγνου πατὴρ κακωθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων Ῥαιτῶν συνφίκεσαν - εἰτα Γάιος Σκιπίων τρισχιλίους προσέθηκεν, εἰτα ὁ Θεός Καῖσαρ πεντακισχιλίους ἐπισυνφίκεσεν, δὺν οἱ

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

1 § 4 above. 2 That is, near the Alps.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 1. 5-6

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 Celi. And the largest tribes of the Celi were the Boii, the Insbr, 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 Insbr, however, are still in existence. They had as metropolis Mediolanum, which, though long ago only a village (for they all used to dwell only in villages), is now a notable city; it is across the Padus, and almost adjoins the Alps. Near by is Verona also (this, too, a large city), and, smaller than these two, the cities of Brixia, Mantua, Regium, and Comum. Comum used to be only a moderate-sized settlement, but, after its ill treatment by the Rhaeti who are situated above it, Pompey Strabo, father of Pompey the Great, settled a Roman colony there; then Gaius Scipio added three thousand colonists; then the Deified Caesar further settled it with five

8 Regium Lepidum. But Strabo is talking about Transpadana, not Cispadana; and hence it is almost certain that he wrote "Bergomum," not "Regium."

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πεντακόσιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπήρξαν οἱ ἐπιφανεῖστατοί: τούτοις δὲ καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδωκε καὶ ἐνέγραψεν αὐτούς εἰς τοὺς συνοίκους· οὐ μέντοι ἴκησαν αὐτῶθι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἔγερσαν τὴν κυβερνήσεις. Νεοκωμίται γὰρ ἐκλήθησαν ἀποτελεῖται, τούτῳ δὲ μεθερμηνευθέν Νοβουμικώμου λέγεται. ἔγγος δὲ τοῦ χωρίου τοῦτου Λίμνη Ἀλίριος καλουμένη πληροὶ δ' αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀδούσης ποταμὸς· εἰτ' ἐξήγησιν εἰς τὸν Πάδον. τῶς δὲ πηγάς ἐσχηκεν ἐν τῷ Ἀδούπερ ρητό, ὅπου καὶ ὁ ῾Ρήνος.

7. Ἀυτὶ μὲν οὖν πολὺ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑλῶν ἴκηται, πληθυσίον δὲ τὸ Πατατοῦν, παρὸν ἀριστη τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων, ἢ μετευχαίται τιμήσασθαι πεντακόσιοις ἱππικοῖς ἀνδρασι· καὶ τὸ παλαιόν δὲ ἔστελλε δώδεκα μυριάδας στρατιῶς. δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πεπομένης κατασκευῆς εἰς τὴν ῾Ρώμην καὶ ἐμπορίαν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐσθήτως παντοδαιμόνης, τῆς εὐανθρείας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς εὐτεχείας. ἔχει δὲ θαλάττης ἀνάπλουν ποταμῶν διὰ τῶν ἑλῶν φερομένων σταθέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἐκ λιμένος μεγάλου· καλεῖται δ' ὁ λιμήν Ἐμώνας ὁμοφύμως τῷ ποταμῷ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔλεσι μεγίστη μὲν ἐστὶ ῾Ραώεννα, Ἑυλοπαγῆς ὅλη καὶ διάρρυτος, γεφύραις καὶ πορθμεῖοι ὀδευμένης. δέχεται δ' οὖ μικρὸν τῆς θαλάττης μέρος εν ταῖς πλημμυρίσιν, ὅστε καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ ὑπὸ ποτα-
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.

²
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μῶν ἐκκλησίζομενον 1 τὸ βορβορόδες πάν ἴσται τὴν
dυσσερίαν. οὕτως γοῦν ὤγεινων ἐξήτασται τὸ
χωρίον ὅστε ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μονομάχους τρέφειν
cαι γυμνάζειν ἀπεδέχαν οἱ ἤγερμόνες. ἔστε μὲν
οὐ καὶ τούτο θαυμαστὸν τῶν ἐνθαίδε, τὸ ἐν ἐξεί
tοὺς ἀέρας ἀβλαβεῖς εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν

C 214 Ἀλεξανδρεία τῇ πρὸς Ἀλγύπτῳ τοῦ θέρους ἢ
λίμνῃ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἀποβάλλει διὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν
tοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν τῶν τελμάτων ἀφανισμῶν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀμπελοῦν πάθος θαυμάζειν
ἀξίων, φύει μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐλη καὶ ποιεί ταχὺ
cαι πολὺν ἀποδεδούσαν καρπὸν, φθείρεται δὲ ἐν
ἐπεσεῖ τέταρτον ἢ τέταρτα. ἔστε δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀλτικοῦ
ἐν ἐλεί, παραπλήσιον ἔχον τῇ Ῥαοὐνήν τὴν θέσιν.
μεταξὺ δὲ Βοῦτριον τῆς Ῥαουνής πόλισμα καὶ ἡ
Σπίνα, νῦν μὲν καὶ τὸ καμιόν, πάλαι δὲ Ἔλληνες πόλεις
ἐνδόξος. θησαυρὸς γοῦν ἐν Δελφοῖς Σπινητῶν
dείκνυται, καὶ τὰλα ἱστορεῖται περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς
θαλασσοκρατοῦσαν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ
ὑπάρχαι, νῦν δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ τὸ χωρίον περὶ
ἐναντιόν αὐτῆς, θαλάσσης σταδίους ἀπέχουν. καὶ ἡ
Ῥαοὐνήν ἐν Θετταλῶν ἰστήσατε κτίσμα, οὐ
φέροντες δὲ τὰς τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ὤβρεις ἐδέξαντο
ἐκκοντεῖ τῶν Ομβρικῶν τινας, ὡς καὶ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν
πόλιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπὶ οἴκου. αὐταὶ

1 ἐκκλησίζομενον, Κορκία, for ἐνκλησίζομενον; so the later
editors.

1 Lake Mareotis (now Mariout); see 17. 1. 7.
2 The remaines of numerous treasuries, i. e. small temple-like
treasure-houses, are still to be seen at Delphi. Different
cities, nationes, and princes built them as repositories for their
offerings to the god. For an excellent drawing of the sacred

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

precinct, showing the result of the French excavations (1892-1897), see Frazer's Pausanias, vol. V, opposite p. 268.

§ The "Umbri" of Roman history. See end of § 10 following.
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μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πλέον περιέχοντα τοῖς ἔλεσιν, δόστε καὶ κλάσεσθαι.

5. Ὅπιτέργιον 1 δὲ καὶ Κωνκόρδια 2 καὶ Ἀτρία 3 καὶ Οὐκικτία καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πολισμάτια ἤττον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἔδων ἐνοχλείται, μικροί δὲ ἀνάπλους πρὸς τὴν βαλαττὰν συνῆπται. τὴν δὲ Ἀτρίαν ἐπιφανῆ γενέσθαι πόλιν φασί, ἀφ' ἃς καὶ τοῦ λοφοῦ κόλπῳ γενέσθαι τῷ Ἀδρία, μικρὰν μεταθείσιν λαβοῦν, Ἀκυληία δ', ἣπερ μᾶλλον τῷ μυχῷ πλησιάζει, κτίσμα μὲν εἰς Ἡσομαίων, ἐπιπειχθέν τοῖς ὑπερκείμενοις βαρβάροις, ἀναπλεῖται δὲ ὁλκάσι κατὰ τὸν Νατίσωνα ποταμὸν ἐπὶ πλείους ἡ 4 ἐξήκοντα σταδίους. ἀνεῖται δ' ἐμπάροιον 5 τοῖς περὶ τῶν Ἰστρον τῶν Ἰλλυρίων ἔθνων κομίζουσιν, δ' οὕτως μὲν τὰ ἐκ θαλάσσης, καὶ οἷον ἐπὶ ξυλίνων πῖθων ἀρμαμάζεις ἀναθέτες καὶ ἔλαιον, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἁνδράποδα καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ δέματα. ἔξω δ' ἐστὶ τῶν Ἑπτακομίων ὅρων ἡ Ἀκυληία. διορίζονται δὲ ποταμῷ λέοντι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπίων ὅρων, ἀνάπλουν ἑξοντες καὶ διακοσιοῦν σταδίων ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλίοις εἰς Νατίσωναν

1 Ὅπιτέργιον, Corais, for Ἐπιπέργιον; so the later editors.
2 Κωνκόρδια, Siebenkees (from conj. of Cluverius), for ὄρδια; so the later editors.
3 Ἀτρία, all editors, for Ἀδρία.
4 For πλείους ἡ several editors, including Meineke, wrongly read πλείστους.
5 After ἐμπάροιον Groskurd, Meineke, and others insert τοῖς Ἑπτακομίων; 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 Naties (Natisone) appears to have changed its lower course since Strabo's time.

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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 ήν Γναῖος Κάρβων συμβαλῶν Κλεμ- 
βρον πολύν ἐπέραξεν. Ἐχει δὲ ἄτοπος οὖν 
χρυσοπλῦσια ἐνύφη καὶ σιδηρουργεῖα. ἐν αὐτῷ 
δὲ τῷ μνῆμα τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διομήδου 
ἐκτὸς ἄξονα μοῖρας, τὸ Τίμανον λιμένα γὰρ ἔχει 
καὶ ἄλασις ἐκπρεπεῖς καὶ πηγάς ἐπὶ τοίμων 1 
ὑδάτων εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπέρτωτος, 
πλατεῖ καὶ βαθεῖ ποταμὸ. Πολύβιος δὲ εἰρήκε 
πλὴν μιὰς τὰς ἀλλὰς ἄλμυρον ὑδατος, καὶ δὴ καὶ 
τοὺς ἐπίχωροις πηγάς καὶ μητέρα τῆς 
θαλάσσης ὑμείᾳ τὸν τόπον. Ποσειδώνεος δὲ 
φησι ποταμὸν τὸν Τίμανον ἐκ τῶν ὄρων 
φερόμενον καταπιπτέων εἰς βέρεθρον, ἔδω ὑπὸ 
γῆς ἐνεχθέατα περὶ ἐκατόν καὶ τρισικούντα 
σταῖνον ἐπὶ τῇ 

9. Τῆς δὲ τοῦ Διομήδου δυναστείας περὶ τὴν 
θάλασσαν ταύτην αὐτὶ τοῦ Διομήδου 
νῆσοι μαρτύρα 
καὶ τὰ περὶ Δαυνίους καὶ τὸ "Ἀργος τὸ Ἱππίων 
ἰστορούμενα: περὶ δὲ ἐρουμέν ἐφ᾽ ὅσον πρὸς 
ἰστορίαν 
χρῄσιμον, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν μυθεομένων 
ἡ κατεγευμένων ἀλλὰς ἐὰν δεῖ, ὅτι τὰ 
περὶ 
Φαέθοντα καὶ τὰς Ἡλιάδας τὰς ἀπαγευμένας 
περὶ τοῦ Ἡραδανὸν τὸν μηδαμοῦ γῆς ὑπατ.πλησίον 
δὲ τοῦ Πάδου λεγόμενον, καὶ τὰς Ἡλεκτρίδας 
νῆσους τὰς πρὸ τοῦ 

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

1 115 B.C. Livy (Epit. 63) says "Carbo and his army were 
routed."
2 Strabo is now speaking of "recess" in its most specific 
sense—the innermost recess in the general recess of the Adriatico.
3 The Timavi Fons (now the Timavo).
4 Now Arpino.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. i. 8–9

which Gnaeus Carbo clashed to no effect with the Cimbrī. ¹ 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 ² 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. ³ 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, ⁴ which I shall relate ⁵ 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), ⁶ and of the Electrides Islands that lie off the Padus, ⁷ and of the guinea-fowls on

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¹ Cp. the reference to the Attic Eridanus in 9. 1. 19.
² In Hesiod (Fr. 199 [220], Rzach) Eridanus is the river-god on the banks of whose river were quantities of amber ("Electrum"). Later on, since amber was found at the mouth of the Po, the "Amber (Electrides) Islands" were placed there (see Pliny 3. 30). In Greek mythology Phaethon was thrown from the chariot of the Sun into Eridanus, and his sisters (the Heliades) who had yoked the chariot were metamorphosed into poplars, and their tears into amber.
STRABO

αὐταῖςοὖν ἐγὼ τοὺτων οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς τόποις. τῷ δὲ Διομήδει παρὰ τούς Ἑντεοῖς ἀποδεδειγμέναι τινὲς ἱστοροῦνται τιμαί· καὶ γὰρ θύεται λευκός ἓπτος αὐτῷ, καὶ δύο ἀληθὲς τὸ μὲν Ἡρας Ἀργείας δεῖκνυται, τὸ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Αἰ-τωλίδος. προσμυθεύουσι δ', ὡς εἰκός, τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀληθείᾳ τούτοις ἱμεροῦσθαι τὰ θηρία καὶ λύκοις ἐλάφους συναγελάζεσθαι, προσώπων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ καταψυχῶν ἀνέχεσθαι, τὰ δὲ διωκόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν, ἐπειδὴν καταφύγῃ δεώρο, μηκέτι διώκεσθαι. φασὶ δὲ τιμα τῶν πάνω γνωριζόμενον 1 ὡς εἴη φιλέγγυος καὶ σκωπτόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦτο, παρατυχεῖν κυνηγήταις λύκοιν ἐν τοῖς δικτύων ἑτοίμων εἰπόντων δὲ κατὰ παιδίαν, εἰ ἑγγυᾶται τῶν λύκων, ἐφ’ ὅτε τὰς ξημίας δε εἰργαται διαλύσειν, ἀφῆσεν αὐτόν ἐκ τῶν λύκων, ὁμολογήσας ἀφεθέντα δὲ τῶν λύκων ἵππων ἀγέλην ἀπελάσαντα ἀκατηριάστων ἰκανήν προσ- αγαγεῖν πρὸς τὸν τοῦ φιλεγγύου σταθμὸν· τὸν δ’ ἀπολαβάντα τὴν χαρίν κατηριάσας τε τὰς ἱππους λύκων, καὶ κληθῆναι λυκοφόρους, τάχει μᾶλλον ἡ κάλλει διαφερόσας· τοις δ’ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου διαδεξαμένους τὸ τε κατηριοῦν φυλάξαι καὶ τοῦρομα τῷ γένει τῶν ἱππῶν, ἔδος δὲ ποιῆσαι θήλειν μη ἐξαλλοτριών, ὡν μένοι παρὰ μόνοι τὸ γνησίον γένος, ἑνδοξον γενομένης ἐνθένδε ἱππείας. νυνὶ δὲ ὡσπερ ἐφαμεν, πάσα ἐκκλέοιται

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

1 Cp. I. 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 steadings 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.
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η τοιαύτη ἄσκησις, μετά δὲ τὸ Τίμανον ἡ τῶν Ἑστρίων ἐστὶ παραλία μέχρι Πόλας, ἦ πρόσκειται τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ. μεταξὺ δὲ φρούριων Τεργέστε, Ἀκυληίας διέχου ἐκατόν καὶ ογδοίκοντα σταθίους, ἦ δὲ Πόλα ἦδρυται μὲν ἐν κόλπῳ λιμνοειδεῖ, νησίδια ἤχωντε εὐρόμα καὶ εὐκαρπὰ, κτίσμα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχαίον Κόλχων τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Μηδείαν ἐκπεμφθέντων, διαμαρτότον δὲ τῆς πράξεως καὶ καταγωγόντων ἐαυτῶν φυγήν, τὰ κεν φυγάδων μὲν ἐνίστοι Γραικός (ὅς Καλλίμαχος εἰρηκευ), ἀτάρ κεῖσιν ἡλώσα ὁμοίην Πόλας, τὰ μὲν δὴ πέραν τοῦ Πάδου χωρία ὥσ τῇ Ἐνετοὶ νεόμονται καὶ οἱ μέχρι Πόλας, ἀπέρ δὲ τῶν Ἐνετῶν Κάρνου καὶ Κενομάνων καὶ Μεδιάκοι καὶ Σύμβρους καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Σύμβρους δὲν ὥσ τῶν πολέμων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπῆρξαν, Κενομάνων δὲ καὶ Ἐνετοὶ συνεμίχους καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ἀνιβάζω ἑρεθείς καὶ Σύμβρους ἑπολέμουν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα.

10. Οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ Πάδου κατέχουσι μὲν ἀπασάν δὴν ἐγκυκλοῦνται τὰ Ἀπέννινα ὄρη πρὸς τὰ "Ἀλπαὶ μέχρι Γενούας καὶ τῶν Σαβάτων, κατείχος δὲ Βῶτι καὶ Δίγυνος καὶ Σένωνος καὶ Γαυτάτος τὸ πλέον τῶν δὲ Βοϊῶν ἑξελαμβάνον,

1 After of Kramer insert "Ἑστρία; so the later editors.
2 For Σύμβρων and Σύμβρους Coris reads "Ἰνοῦμηρο and Ἰνοῦμηρος; and in § 12 following, for Ἑστρῖων, "Ἰνοῦμηρον; Meineke following, ""Ἰνοῦμηρο, the last word in § 10 following, seems to indicate that the ""Symbri" are to be identified with the ""Insubri."

3 See 1. 2. 39, where the quotation is more complete.
4 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 Guezatae; 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."

² That is, the are described by the Apennines, in their stretch from the region of Ariminum and Ancona as far as Genua and Vada Sabatorum (op. 4. 6. 1, 5. 1. 3), together with the Po, enclose Gallia Cispadana.
STRABO

ἀφαισθέντων δὲ καὶ τῶν Γαιζατῶν καὶ Σενόνων, λείπεται τὰ Δαυνυτικὰ φῦλα καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰ ἄποικίας. τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἀναμέμβαται καὶ τὸ τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν φῦλον, ἔστι δ’ ὅπου καὶ Τυρρηνῶν ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμφοὶ τὰ ἔθνη πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξήσεως εἰχὲ τινὰ πρὸς ἀλληλα πέρι πρωτείων ἀμμιλλαμ, καὶ μέσου ἔχοντα τὸν Τίβεριν ποταμὸν ῥαδίως ἐπιδιεβαινον ἀλλήλαις. καὶ εἰ ποὺ τινὰς ἑκστρατείας ἐποιοῦντο ἐπὶ ἀλλοιον οἱ ἐτεροι, καὶ τοὺς ἐτεροὶς ἔρις ἂν ἦν μὴ ἀπολείπησθαι τῆς εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἐξοδοῦ καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν στειλάντων στρατιάν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τῶν Πάδου βαρβάρους καὶ πραξάντων εὐ, ταχύ δὲ πάλιν ἐκπεσόντων διὰ τὴν τρυφήν, ἐπεστράτευσαν οἱ ἐτεροὶ τοῖς ἐκβαλοῦσιν εἰτ’ ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν τόπων ἀμφισβητοῦντες πολλὰς τῶν κατοικιῶν τὰς μὲν Τυρρηνικὰς ἐποίησαν, τὰς δ’ Ὀμβρικὰς, πλείοις δὲ τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν, ἐγγυτέρω γὰρ ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι, παραλαβόντες καὶ πέρψαντες ἐποίκους πολλάχους, αὐνεφύλαξαν καὶ τὰ τῶν προπολεκησάντων γένη. καὶ νῦν Ῥωμαίοι μὲν εἰσιν ἀπάντες, οὐδὲν δ’ ἦττον Ὀμβροὶ τε τιμὲς ἕγονται καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ, καθάπερ Ἑνετοὶ καὶ Δύνας καὶ Ἰουσοβροῖς.

11. Πάλεις δ’ εἰσίν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πάδου καὶ περὶ τῶν Πάδου ἐπιφανεῖς Πλακεντία μὲν καὶ Κρεμώνη.

1 ἀλλοιο, the reading of second hand in B., for ἀλλάλοιοι; so the editors.
2 The reading of the MSS. is of ἐγγυτέρω γὰρ ἦσαν, except that B omits the of. Meineke, following Kraemer, reads of and omits γὰρ.
the Gaezatae and the Senones have been annihilated, 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 Tyrrenni; 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 Tyrrenni had sent forth an army into the midst of the barbarians round about the Padus and had fared well, and then on account of their luxurious living were quickly cast out again, the other of the two made an expedition against those who had cast them out; and then, in turns, disputing over the places, the two, in the case of many of the settlements, made some Tyrrenian and some Ombrican—the greater number, however, Ombrican, for the Ombrici were nearer. But the Romans, upon taking control and sending settlers to many places, helped to preserve also the stocks of the earlier settlers. And at the present time, although they are all Romans, they are none the less called, some "Ombri," and some "Tyrreni," 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.
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πλησιαίτατα κατὰ μέσην που τὴν χώραν, μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων τε καὶ Ἀριμύνων Πάρμα καὶ Μούτινη καὶ Βουνοβία πλεσίον ἦδη Ῥαουέννης, καὶ μικρὰ πολίσματα ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων, δὲ δὲν ἡ εἰς Ῥώμην ὄδος, Ἀγκαρα, Ῥήγυον Λέπιδον, Μακροί. 
Κάμπτοι, ὅπου πανήγυρις συντελεῖται κατ’ ἔτος, Κλάτερνα, Φόρον Κορνήλιον. Φαονεντία δὲ καὶ 3

C 217 Κασηνία πρὸς τῷ Σάττι 4 ποταμῷ καὶ τῷ Ῥουβίκωνι ἦδη συνιάττονσι τῷ Ἀριμύφῳ, τὸ δὲ Ἀρίμυνον Ὑμβρών ἐκτε κατοικία, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Ῥαουέννα. δέδεκται δὲ ἐποίκους Ῥωμαίοις ἐκατέρα. ἔχει δὲ τῷ Ἀρίμυνον λιμένα καὶ ὄμώνυμον ποταμόν. ἀπὸ δὲ Πλακεντίας εἰς Ἀρίμυνον στάδιοι χίλιοι τρικόσιοι. ὑπὲρ δὲ Πλακεντίας ἐγὼ μὲν τούς ὄρους τῆς Κοττίου γῆς Τίκινων ἐν τριάκοντα δὲ μίλιων πόλεις καὶ ὄμωνυμος ὁ παραρρέουν ποταμός, συμβάλλων τῷ Πάδφῳ, καὶ Κλαστίδων καὶ Δερτῶν 5 καὶ Ἀκοουστατιέλλαι μικρῶν ἐν παρόδῳ. ἡ δὲ εὐθεία εἰς Ομελέων παρὰ τὸν Πάδον καὶ τὸν Δουρίαν ποταμὸν, βαραθρώδης ἡ πολλή, πλέοντως καὶ ἀλλιώς ἔχουσα ποταμοὺς, ὑπὸ καὶ τὸν

1 'Ἀγκαρα, Meineke, for Ἀκαρα.
2 Μακρόλ, Xylander, for Νάκροι; so the later editors.
3 καὶ Κασηνή, Corais, for καὶ σήμα; so the later editors.
4 τῷ Ἀγκάρω, Meineke, for Ἀγκάρῳ.
5 Δερτῶν, Jones, for Δήθων (op. Δέρτων Artemidorus in Steph. Byz. s.v.); other editors emend to Δέρτων. Ptolemaeus' spelling is Δέστωκα (S. 1. 31).

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

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

\(^1\) 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.

\(^2\) The Ariminus, now the Marecchia.

\(^3\) The Ticinus, now the Tossin.

\(^4\) Dertona, now Tortona.

\(^5\) Now Avigliana.
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Δρουεντίαν, μίλλων ἐστὶν περὶ ἔξηκουτα. ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἥδη τὰ Ἀλπια ὄρη καὶ Ἕλληνική.

Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ὁρεσὶ τοῖς ὑπερκειμένοις τῆς Δούκης ἐστὶ τῶλις Δούκας ἕως δὲ κωμηθῶν οἰκούσιν εἰμὶ δὲ ὁμως ἡ χώρα καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐντεύθεν τὸ πλέον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἰππικῶν πλήθος, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος λαμβάνει τὴν σύνταξιν. ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ Δερτὼν 1 πόλις ἀξιόλογος κειμένη κατὰ μέσην τὴν ὀδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ Γενούας εἰς Πλακεντίαν, ἐκατέρας 2 διέχουσα στάδιοις τετρακοσίων κατὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὀδὸν καὶ Ἀκονιαστατίσσαι, ἀπὸ δὲ Πλακεντίας εἰς μὲν Ἀρίμονον εἰρήτη; εἰς δὲ Ἡροδήννας κατὰ πλέον τῷ Πάδῳ διεύων ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν. πολὺ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ Πάδου κατεύθυντο ὑπὸ ἐλὸν, δι᾽ ὧν Ἀννιβάς χαλέποις διήλθε, προῖον ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίαν ἀλλ’ ἀνέψυξε τὰ πεδία ὁ Σκαύρος διάρρυγας πλοῖας ἀπὸ τοῦ Πάδου μέχρι Πάρμης ἀγωνν’ κατὰ γὰρ Πλακεντίαν ὁ Τρεβίας συμβάλλων τῷ Πάδῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότεσσον ἄλλου πλείους πληροῦσα πέραν τοῦ μετρίου. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Σκαύρος ἐστιν ὁ καὶ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν ὀδὸν στρώσας τὴν διὰ

1 Δερτών, Jones, for Δέθων (see footnote 5, p. 826).
2 ἐκατέρας, Xylander, for ἐκατέρα; so the later editors.

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

Druentia,¹ a distance of about sixty miles.² And this³ is where the Alps Mountains and Celtica⁴ 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.⁵ 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 Statiellae 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 Scaurus⁶ 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

² Roman miles, of course. But the distance from Ticinum to Ocelum is about a hundred miles. Sixty miles is a close estimate for the distance from Ticinum to the Durias Major. Most of the editors, including Meineke, emend to “one hundred and sixty.”
³ That is, Celtica proper.
⁴ Meineke suspects this whole sentence and relegates it to the foot of the page.
⁵ M. Aemilius Scaurus, lived 163 to about 89 B.C.
Πισών καὶ Δούνης μέχρι Σαβάτων, κατευθεὶς διὰ Δερτώνος ΄ ἀλλη δ' ἐστὶν Αἴμιλια διαδεχο-
μένη τὴν Φλαμβίαν. συνυπάτευσαν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις Μάρκος Λέπιδος καὶ Γαίος Φλαμβίος καθελόντες
δὲ Δίνυς, ὁ μὲν τὴν Φλαμβίαν ἐστρώσεν ἐκ Ὤμπης διὰ Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ὄμβρικης μέχρις
tῶν περὶ Ἀρίμινων τόπων, ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐξῆς μέχρι
Βονωνίας, κακεῖθεν εἰς Ἀκυληίαν παρὰ τὰς Ῥίζαις
τὰς τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐγκυκλοῦμενος τὰ ἔλη. ὅριν
δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, ἢν ἐντὸς Κελτικῆς καλοῦ-
μεν, πρὸς τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸ τε Ἀπεννίνων
ὅρος τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς Τυρρηνίας ἀπεδέδεικτο καὶ ὁ
Ἀλίας ποταμῶς, ὑστερον δὲ ὁ Ὄουβίκων, εἰς τὸν
Ἄδριαν ἐκεῖδόντες ἀμφότεροι.
12. Τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς τῶν τόπων τεκμήριον ἢ τ' ἐυάνδρια καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν πόλεως καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος,
αἷς πάσιν ὑπερβέβληται τὴν ἀλλήν Ἰταλίαν οἱ
tαυτή Ρωμαίοι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ γεωργομενὴ γῆ χολο-
λοὺς καὶ παντοίους ἐκφέρει καρποὺς, καὶ αἱ Ἵλαι
τοσαύτην ἔχουσι βάλανον ὡστε' ἐκ τῶν ἐντεύθε
ὑσφορβίων ἢ Ἐρύμη τρέφεται τὸ πλέον. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ
κεγχροφόρος διαφερόντως διὰ τὴν εὐνυδρίαν
τοῦτο δὲ λιμὸν μέγιστον ἐστὶν ἄκος πρὸς ἀπαντὰς
γὰρ καιροὺς ἀερῶν ἀυτέχει, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐπιεί-

1 Δερτώνος, Jones, for Δίθωνος (see footnote 5, p. 328).

1 187 B.C.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 1. 11-12

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 together¹; and, upon subjugating the Ligures, the latter constructed the Flaminian Way ² from Rome through Tyrrennia 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 Tyrrennia, 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 godly 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

¹ But from other accounts this Aemilian Way was built by Gaius Flaminius the Elder in 220 B.C. (see Pauly-Wissowa, under “Flaminia Vía,” p. 2498, and “Flaminia,” p. 2502).
STRABO

πειν δύμαται, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου σίτου γένηται σπάνις. ἔχει δὲ καὶ πιττουργεῖα θαυμαστά. τοῦ δὲ οἴνου τὸ πλήθος μηνύουσιν οἱ πίθοι οἱ ξύλινοι γὰρ μείον διὰ τῶν οίκων εἰσὶ προσλαμβάνει δὲ πολὺ ἥ τῆς πίτης εὐπορία πρὸς τὸ εὐκώμητον. ἔρεαν δὲ τὴν μὲν μαλακὴν οἱ περὶ Μουτίνην τόποι καὶ τὸν Σκούλτάνιαν ποταμὸν φέρουσι πολὺ πασῶν καλισθην, τὴν δὲ τραχείαν ἡ Δινυστική καὶ ἡ τῶν Σύμβρων, εἰς ἄλλα πλέον τῆς οἰκίας τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἀμπέχεται, τὴν δὲ μέσην οἱ περὶ Παταοίοι, εἰς ὑπὸ τὰς οἰκιείας καὶ γαύσατον καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἴδος πάν, ἀμφιμαλλόν τὲ καὶ ἑτερόμαλλον. τὰ δὲ μέταλλα νῦν μὲν οὐ χάρισμα ἐνταῦθα σπουδαίται διὰ τὸ λαυτοτέρεστη ἰσώς εἰναι τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἑπεραλτίοις Κελτωῖ καὶ τῇ Ἰββρίᾳ, πρὸτερον δὲ ἑσποδάζετο, ἐπεις καὶ ἐν Ὀυρεκέλλοις χρυσωρυχεῖον ὤν. κώμη δὲ ἐστὶ πλησίου Ικτυμούλων, καὶ ταύτης κόμης, ἀμφότεροι εἰσὶν περὶ Πλακεντίαν, αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ πρώτη μερίς τῆς Ἰταλίας μέχρι δεύρο περιφερεύσθω.

II.

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

1 of before πίθοι, Meineke inserts; so Müller-Dübner.
2 On Σύμβρων, see footnote 2, p. 32.
3 oikías, the reading of all the MSS., Jones restores, for οἰκεῖαι, the reading of Kramer, Corsia, and Meineke.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. i. 12–2. 1

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 Cetti and in Iberia are more profitable¹; 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 Liguria² which is in the Apennines themselves, situated between that Celtica which I have just described and Tyrrhenia. It contains nothing worthy of detailed

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

⁴ τῆς, after ταύτῃς, Corrain omits; so the later editors.
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έχουσα περιηγήσεως ἀξίου, πλὴν δὴ κωμηθῶν ξυστ., τραχείαν γῆν ἁρόωνες καὶ σκάπτωντες, μᾶλλον δὲ λαταμοῦντες, ὡς φησὶ Ποσειδώνιος. Τρίτοι δὲ εἰσὶ συνεχεῖς τοῦτοι οἱ Τυρρηνοί, τὰ πεδία ἔχουσα τὰ μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τίβεριδος, κλυζόμενοι τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐω μᾶλλον μέρη τῆς ποταμοῦ μέχρι τῆς έκβολῆς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ δὲ θάτερα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ καὶ Σαρδαφῷ πελάγει. ἔρε δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὁρῶν ὁ Τίβερις, πληροῦται δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ποταμῶν, μέρος μὲν τι δὲ αὐτῆς φερόμενος τῆς Τυρρηνίας, τὸ δὲ ἐφεξῆς διορίζον ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Ομβρικήν, εἶτα τοὺς Σαβίνους καὶ Δατίνους τοὺς πρὸς τῇ Ῥώμῃ μέχρι τῆς παραλίας, παραβεβληνται δὲ ποὺ τῷ ποταμῷ μὲν καὶ τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς κατὰ πλάτος, ἀλλ' ἄλλοις δὲ κατὰ μήκος· ἀνέχουσι δὲ πρὸς τὰ Ἀπεννίνα ὄρη τὰ πλησιὰζοντα τῷ Ἀδρια πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Ὀμβρικοὶ, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Σαβίνους, τελευταίοι δ' οἱ τῶν Δατίνων ἔχουσαν, ἀρξάμενοι πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν Δατίνων χώρα μεταξὺ κεῖται τῆς τε ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀστίων παραλίας μέχρι πόλεως Σιννέσσης καὶ τῆς Σαβίνης (τὰ δ' Ὀστια ἐστιν ἐπίνειον τῆς Ῥώμης, εἰς δ' ἐκδιδοσιν ὁ Τίβερις παρ' αὐτὴν ῥυέται), ἐκτείνεται δὲ ἐπὶ μῆκος μέχρι τῆς Καμπανίας καὶ τῶν Σαντικικῶν ὄρων, ἡ δὲ Σαβίνη μεταξύ τῶν Δατίνων κείται καὶ τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν, ἐκτείνεται δὲ καὶ αὐτή πρὸς τὰ Σανιτικὰ ὄρη, καὶ μᾶλλον συνάπτει τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις τοῖς κατὰ Οὐσσίνους τε καὶ Πελίγνους καὶ

1 Umbria.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 2. 1

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

2. Οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τοῖνοι παρὰ τοῖς Ἡρωμαίοις Ἐπτρούσκοι καὶ Τούσκοι προσαγορεύονται. οἱ δ’ Ἕλληνες οὕτως ἁνόμασαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦ Ἀτοῦ, ὡς φασί, τοῦ στείλαντος ἐκ Δυνιᾶς ἑποίκους δεύορ. ἐπὶ γὰρ λιμνοῦ καὶ ἀφόριας ὃ Ἀτοῦ, εἰς τῶν ἄπογόνων Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ὁμήρως, δυεὼν παίδων δύτων, κλήρῳ Λιβάδῳ μὲν κατέσχε, τῷ δὲ Τυρρηνῷ τῶν πλείω συστήσας λαὸν ἐξέστειλεν. ἔλθων δὲ τὴν τε χώραν ἢ ἁφ’ ἐαυτοῦ Τυρρηνίαν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ δώδεκα πόλεις ἐκτίσεν, οἰκιστὴς ἐπιστήσας Τάρκωνα, ἢ ὁ Ῥαυκυνία ἡ πόλις, ὅν διὰ τὴν ἐκ παίδων σύνεσιν πολίων γεγενηθήσαθα μυθεύονται. τότε μὲν οὖν ὃ θεὶ ἢ ἔπει ἡγεμόνι ταττόμενοι μέγα ἰσχυος, χρώνοις δ’ ὑστεροι διαλυθῆναι τὸ σύστημα εἰκὸς καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διασπασθῆναι βία τῶν πλησιοχώρων εἰςαντασ. οὐ γὰρ ἄν χώραν εὐδαίμονα ἄφεντες τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ λρετείαν ἐπέθεντο, ἀλλ’ οἰς ἀλλ’ ἀλλ’ τριπόμενοι πελάγη, ἐπεί, διὸν γε συμπνεύσαιεν,

1 προτασιῶν, Corais, for προστασιῶν; so the later editors.

1 Cp. 5. 4. 2.
2 The Tyrrenian Sea.
3 The Greek spelling is “Tarkunia.”

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Marsi. And the country of the Ombrici lies between the country of the Sabini and Tyrrenia, although it extends over the mountains as far as Ariminum and Ravenna. And Tyrrenia, beginning at its proper sea 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 Tyrreni themselves.

2. The Tyrreni, then, are called among the Romans “Etrusci” and “Tusci.” The Greeks, however, so the story goes, named them thus after Tyrrenus, 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, Tyrrenus, sent them forth. And when Tyrrenus came, he not only called the country Tyrrenia after himself, but also put Tarco in charge as “coloniser,” and founded twelve cities; Tarco, I say, after whom the city of Tarquinia 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 Tyrreni, 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 Tyrreni, 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,
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ίκανον ἦσαν οὐκ ἀμύνασθαι μόνον τοὺς ἐπιχειρήσεις αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντετειχεῖσθαι καὶ μακρὰς στρατεύσεις ποιεῖσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ρώμης κτίσιν Δημάρτατος ἀφικνεῖται, λαὸν ἅγιον ἐκ Κορώνθου, καὶ δεξαμένων αὐτὸν Ταρκυνιώτων γεννᾶ Δούκούμωνα ἐξ ἐπιχειρήσεως γυναικὸς. γενόμενος δὲ Ἀγηρίς Μαρκίῳ, τῷ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ρωμαίων, φίλος ἐβασιλεύεσθαι οὔτος, καὶ μετανομάζῃ Δεύκιος Ταρκυνίως Πρύσκος, ἐκόψης δὲ οὖν τὴν Τυρρηνίαν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ πρότερον, ὁ μὲν εὐπορία δημογραφῶν τῶν συνακολουθησάντων οἰκοθεν, ὁ δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Ρώμης ἀφορμαῖς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ θριαμβικὸς κόσμος καὶ ὑπατικὸς καὶ ἀπλῶς ὁ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐκ Ταρκυνίων δεόρο μετενεχθῆκαι καὶ βαθὺς καὶ πελέκεις καὶ σάλπιγγες καὶ ἱεροποιεῖαι καὶ μαντικὴ καὶ μουσικὴ ὡς ἴση δημοσίᾳ χρονωστὶ Ρωμαίοι. τούτου δὲ οὖς ἦν ὁ δευτέρος Ταρκυνίου, ὁ Σουπερβος, δισπερ καὶ τελευταῖος βασιλεύσας ἐξέπεσε. Ποροίνας δὲ, οἱ τῶν Κλονσίνων βασιλεῖς, πόλεως Τυρρηνίδων, κατάγεις αὐτοῦ ἐπίχειρήσεις δὲ ὀπλων, οὐχ οὐλὸς τε ἢν, καταλυσάμενος τὴν ἕγιναν ἀπήλθε φίλος μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δωρεῶν μεγάλων.

3. Περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐπιφανείας τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι τὰ τοῖς Καιρετανοῖς πραγματεύστατα: καὶ γὰρ τούς ἐλώνας τὴν Ρωμήν Γαλάτας κατεπολέμησαν,

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

1 Demaratus became the ruler of the city (8.6.20).
2 In the legendary history of Rome, Lucumo was made king by the Senate and people in 615 B.C.

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not only to defend themselves against those who attacked them, but also to attack in turn and to make long expeditions. But it was after the founding of Rome that Demaratus arrived, bringing with him a host of people from Corinth; and, since he was received by the Tarquinians, 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 Tyrrenia, 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 Tyrrenian city, undertook to restore him to the throne by force of arms, but was unable to do so, although he broke up the personal enmity against himself and departed as friend, along with honour and large gifts.

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

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3 The same as "Tarquinia," 5. 2. 2.
4 509 B.C.
5 Now Chiusi.
6 Their city was Caere, one of the twelve founded by Tyrhenus.
strabo

ἀπιόυσιν ἐπιθέμενοι κατὰ Σαβίνους, καὶ δὲ παρ' ἑκόντων ἔλαβον Ῥωμαίων ἐκείνοι λάφυρα ἀκούσας ἀφείλοντο πρὸς δὲ τούτους τοὺς καταφυγόντας παρ' αὐτούς ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐσωθαν καὶ τὸ ἀδάνατον πῦρ καὶ τὰς τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερεῖας. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοι διὰ τοὺς τότε φαύλους διοικοῦντας τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ἰκανὸς ἀπομνημονεύεται τὴν χάριν αὐτῶν δοκοῦντι πολιτείαν γὰρ δόντες οὐκ ἀνέγραψαν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μὴ μετέχοντας τῆς ἰσονομίας εἰς τὰς δέλτους ἐξώριζον τὰς Καιρετανῶν. παρὰ δὲ τοὺς Ὁλλησιν εὐδοκίμησαν ὡς τόλμη αὐτῆς διὰ τὸ ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαίωσύνην τῶν τε γὰρ ληστηρίων ἀπέσχετο, καίπερ δυναμένη πλείστον, καὶ Πυθοῦ τῶν Ἀγυλ- λαίων καλούμενον ἀνέθηκε θησαυροῦ. Ἀγυλλὰς γὰρ ἀνωμάζετο τὸ πρότερον ὡς νῦν Καίρεα, καὶ λέγεται Πελασγῶν κτίσμα τῶν ἐκ Θετταλίας ἀφεγ- μένων τῶν δὲ Λυδῶν οὔτε Τυρρηνοὶ μετωνο- μάσθησαν, ἐπιστρατευσάντων τοὺς Ἀγυλλαίους, προσίων τῷ τείχει τες ἐπιθυμῆτο τούνομα τῆς πόλεως, τῶν δὲ ἅπα τοῦ τείχους Θετταλῶν τίνος ἀντὶ τού ἀποκρίνασθαι προσαγορεύσαντος αὐτῶν χαῖρε, δεξάμενοι τὸν οἶον οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τούτων ἀλοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν μετωνόμασαν. ἡ δὲ οὕτω λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐπιφανῆς πόλις νῦν ἔχησι σῶζει μόνην,

1 390 n.c.
2 That is, the right of suffrage, ius suffragii.
3 Roman citizens themselves, when disfranchised by the censor, were enrolled in the Tabulas Queritum, and hence the odium.
4 Delphi.
5 See P. 3. 8.

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had captured Rome,¹ having attacked them when they were in the country of the Sabini on their way back, and also took away as booty from the Galatae, against their will, what the Romans had willingly given them; in addition to this, they saved all who fled to them for refuge from Rome, and the immortal fire, and the priestesses of Vesta. The Romans, it is true, on account of the bad managers which the city had at the time, do not seem to have remembered the favour of the Caeretani with sufficient gratitude, for, although they gave them the right of citizenship, they did not enroll them among the citizens, and even used to relegate all others who had no share in the equal right⁸ to "the Tablets of the Caeretani."⁹ 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 Pytho⁴ what is called "the treasury⁶ of the Agyllaei"; for what is now Caerea⁶ was formerly called Agylla, and is said to have been founded by Pelasgi who had come from Thessaly. But when those Lydians whose name was changed to Tyrrheni marched against the 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,"⁷ the Tyrrheni accepted the omen, and, on capturing the city, changed its name accordingly. But the city, once so splendid and illustrious, now preserves mere traces of its former self; and the hot springs near by, which are called Caeretanian

¹ The proper Latin spelling was "Caere."
⁷ The regular Greek word of salutation.
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εὐανδρεῖ δ' αὐτῆς μᾶλλον τὰ πλῆσιόν θερμά, ἃ καλοῦσι Καιρετανά, διὰ τούς φοιτῶντας θεραπεῖας χάριν.

4. Τοις δὲ Πελασγούσι, ὃτι μὲν ἄρχαίον τι φῦλον κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐπεπόλασεν καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰολεύσι τοῖς κατὰ Θεταλίαν, ὁμολογοῦσιν ἄπαντες σχεδὸν τι. νομίζειν δὲ φήσιν Ἐφορὸς τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Ἀρκίδας δυνα ἐλέσθαι στρατιωτικὸν βίον, εἰς δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἁγιωθὴν προτρέποντας πολλοὺς ἀπασί τοῦ ὀνόματος μεταδόθαι καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιφάνειαν κτήσασθαι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησί καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, παρ’ ὀσοῦ ποτὲ ἀφιγμένου τετυχήκασι. καὶ γὰρ τῆς Κρήτης ἐστι τοῖς γεγονασθαὶ, ὡς φήσιν Ὁμήρος λέγει γοῦν ὁδούς πρὸς Πηνελόπην

ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμνημένη ἐν μὲν Ἄχαιοι,
ἐν δὲ Ἑσσερικητες μεγαλήτεροι, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
Δωρίες τε τριχάικες, διὸ ἐν Πελασγοῖ.
(Ωδ. 19. 175)

καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἀργος ἢ Θεταλία λέγεται, τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Πενείου καὶ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν ἐως τῆς ὀρεινῆς τῆς κατὰ Πίνδου, διὰ τὸ ἐπάρξαι τῶν τόπων τούτων τοὺς Πελασγούς. τὸν τε Δία τὸν Δωδώναιον αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητὴς ὀνομάζει Πελασγικὸν.

Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδώναις, Πελασγικὲ.
(II. 16. 233)

πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἡπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη Πελασγικὰ

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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; there⁴ dwell Achaeans, there Cretans of the old stock, proud of heart, there Cydonians, and Dorians too, of waving plumes, and goodly Pelasgians.” And Thessaly is called “the Pelasgian Argos” (I mean that part of it which lies between the outlets of the Peneius River and Thermopylae as far as the mountainous country of Pindus), on account of the fact that the Pelasgi extended their rule over these regions. Further, the Dodonaean Zeus is by the poet himself named “Pelasgian”: “O Lord Zeus, Dodonaean, Pelasgian.” And many have called also the tribes of Epirus

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

¹ For ἔπειδάσσας, Meineke, following ἐπείδασσα (which also reads Πελασγοῖς, φίλον ἄρχασιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πὰσαν), reads ἐπιπολάδσαν.
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eιρήκασιν, ὡς καὶ μέχρι δεύρο ἑπαρβῶντων. Πελα-
σγοὺς τε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἤρωων ὄνοματα καλε-
παντες, οἱ ὑστερον ἀπ' ἐκείνων πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν
ἐπώνυμα πεποίηκασιν καὶ γὰρ τὴν Δέσβου Πελα-
σγίαν εἰρήκασι, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι Κύλλιζιν
"Ομηρος εἰρήκε τοὺς ὀμόρους Πελασγοὺς;

Ἰππόθοδος δ' ἔγε φόλα Πελασγοὺς ἔγχεισιμώρων,
τῶν, οἱ Λάρισαν ἐριβάλακα ναυστάσκον.

(Il. 2. 840)

tοῦ δ' Ἐφόρῳ τοῦ 2 έξ Ἀρκαδίας εἶναι τὸ φύλον
τούτο ἡ Ἱσιόδος. φησὶ γάρ:

νεῖσ εἴπεγένοντο Λυκάονος ἀντιθέον,
ὅτι ποτὲ τίκτε Πελασγός.

(loc. incert.)

Αἰγύπτος δ' ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Μυκήνας Ἀργοὺς φησίν
ἐν Ικέταιον ή 3 Δαναοῖς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν. καὶ τὴν
Πελασγίην δὲ Πελασγίαν φησίν Ἐφόρος κλη-
θήμας, καὶ Εὐριπίδης δ' ἐν Ἀρχελάο φησίν ὅτι

Δαναὸς ὁ πευτήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ
ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἀργοὺς φίλημα. 4 "Ἰνάχου πόλιν,

1 For ὄνοματα, Groskurd reads ὄνοματι; Meineke, ὄνομα.
2 τοῦ, Corais, following no, for τὸ (ABL), τῷ (C1); so the
later editors.
3 For ή, Meineke reads καὶ.
4 The reading of the MSS. is φησίν (Müller-Dübner, Ind.
Var. Lect.). All the editors since Xylander, except Corais
and Du Theil (who read φησίν), read φίλημα. Jones reads
φίλημα."

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 Lamurkeui. On "Larisa
Phryconis," see 9. 5. 19.

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“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 “Pelagia,” and Homer has called “Pelasgi” the people that were neighbours to those Cilicians who lived in the Troad: “And Hippothous led the tribes of spear-fighting Pelasgi, those Pelasgi who inhabited deep-soiled Larissa.”¹ But Ephorus’ authority for the statement that this race originated in Arcadia was Hesiod; for Hesiod says: “And sons were born of god-like Lycaon, who, on a time, was begotten by Pelasgus.” Again, Aeschylus, in his Suppliants,² or else his Danaan Women,³ says that the race of the Pelasgi originated in that Argos which is round about Mycenae.⁴ And the Peloponnesus too, according to Ephorus, was called “Pelasgia.”⁵ And Euripides too, in his Archelaus,⁶ says: “Danaus, the father of fifty daughters, on coming into Argos,⁷ took up his abode in the city of Inachus,⁸ and

² Ἡκητιδαῖς 16 ff. and 250 ff.
³ The Danaan Women (Danaïdes) 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 “Argeia.”
⁸ The “city of Inachus”—so called from Inachus, the first king of Argos—was the city of Argos. By a slight change in the Greek most of the editors (see note 4 on opposite page) emend “took up his abode in” to “founded,” presumably on the ground that Strabo later says “Danaus founded the acropolis” (Argos) “of the Argives” (8. 6. 9).
Πελασγώτας δ' ἄνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν
Δαναοῦς καλεῖσθαι νομίζει ἰθήκ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.
(Fr. 228, Nauck)

'Αντικλείδης δὲ πρῶτους φησίν αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ
Δήμων καὶ Ἰμβρῶν κτίσαι, καὶ δὴ τούτων τινὰς
καὶ μετὰ Τυρρηνίαν Ἀττικὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν συνά−
ραι. καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἀττικὰ συγγράφαντες ἱστοροῦσι
περὶ τῶν Πελασγῶν, ᾧς καὶ Ἀθηνασίας γενομένων
τῶν Πελασγῶν,1 διὰ δὲ τὸ πλανήτας εἶναι καὶ
δίκην ὄρνεων ἐπιφοιτὰν ἐφ' οὐς ἔτυχε τόπους Πε−
λαργόν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν κληθῆναι.

C 222  5. Τὴν δὲ Τυρρηνίαν μῆκος μὲν τὸ μέγιστον εἶναι
φασὶ τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Λούνης μέχρι Ὡστίων
δισχίλιων μὲν καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος
δὲ τοῦ ἡμίσους ἔλαττον τὸ πρὸς τοῖς ὅρεσιν.
 eius μὲν ὁπὸ Πίσας ἀπὸ Λούνης πλείους τῶν τετρακο−
σίων σταδίων εἰς ταῖς, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ εἰς Ὅυοτάρρας
διακόσιοι ὁγὺς ὑποκύπτουσι, τάλλων δὲ ἐνθέντα εἰς Ὀμολό−
γον διπλότης ἑπτακόσιον, ἐκ δὲ Ποταμίου εἰς
Κόσαν ὁγὺς ἑτακόσιοι, οἳ δὲ ἑξακόσιοι φασὶ.
Πολύβιος δ' ὅνκ 2 εἶναι τοὺς πάντας χιλίους τρια−

1 Meineke relegates the second τῶν Πελασγῶν to the foot
of the page, perhaps rightly.
2 Kramer inserts ὅνκ after ὅνκ; so Müller-Düβner. Meineke
emends ὅνκ to ὅνκ καὶ, perhaps rightly.

1 Androtion, Philochorus, and others; only fragments of
their works remain.
2 "Atthis" was the old name of Attica, from Atthis, the
dughter of the mythical king Cranaus (Op. 9. 1. 18).
3 Op. 9. 1. 18 and 9. 2. 3.
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throughout Greece he laid down a law that all people hitherto named Pelasgians were to be called Danaans." And again, Anticleides says that they were the first to settle the regions round about Lemnos and Imbros, and indeed that some of these sailed away to Italy with Tyrrenhus the son of Atys. And the compilers of the histories of The Land of Aithis² 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

5. They say that the maximum length of Tyrrenia—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,⁷ nearly eight hundred, though some say six hundred. Polybius, however, says the total number of stadia⁸ is not so

⁴ Literally, "Storks."
⁵ Op. 9. i. 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.
κοσίους τριάκοντα λέγει. τούτων δ' ἡ μὲν Δούνα
πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ λιμήν, καλοῦσι δ' οἱ Ἑλληνες Σελή
νης λιμένα καὶ πόλιν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις οὐ μεγάλη,
ὁ δὲ λιμήν μεγίστος τε καὶ κάλλιστος, ἐν αὐτῷ
περιέχει τελείως λιμένας, ἀναβαθμεὶς πάντας,
οἷον ἂν ἱερέω τοῦμηριον θαλαττοκρατησάντων
ἀνθρώπων τοιαύτης μὲν θαλάττης, τοσοῦτον δὲ
χρόνον. περικλειέται δ' ὁ λιμήν ὀρεσίν ύψηλοις,
ἀφ' ὧν τὰ πελάγη καταπτεύεται καὶ ἡ Σαρδῶ καὶ
τῆς ἱμόνος ἐκατέρωθεν πολὺ μέρος. μετάλλα δὲ
λίθου λευκοῦ τε καὶ ποικίλου γλαυκίζουσι το-
σαύτα τ' ἐστὶ καὶ θηλικά, μονολίθους ἐκδι-
δόντα πλάκας καὶ στύλους, ὡστε τὰ πλείστα τῶν
ἐκπρεπῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
πόλεσιν ἐνεύθεν ἔχειν τὴν χαρτογαίαν καὶ γαρ
ἐνεύρηκας ἐς τίν ηλίθιος, τῶν μετάλλων ὑπερκει-
μένων τῆς θαλάττης πλησίων, ἐκ δὲ τῆς θαλάττης

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

2. That is, "Harbour of the Moon" ("Moon-Harbour"), Cp. "Harbour of Menestheus" (3. 1. 9) and "Harbour of Monoeuce" (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.

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much as one thousand three hundred and thirty.\(^1\) 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."\(^2\) 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,\(^3\) and a considerable stretch of the shore on either side. And the quarries of marble,\(^4\) 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,\(^5\) in Rome and the rest of the cities are supplied therefrom;\(^6\) and, indeed, the marble is easy to export, since the quarries lie above the sea and

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

\(^2\) Now the quarries of Carrara.

\(^3\) For specific references to Roman "works of art" in stone, see 5. 3. 8.

\(^4\) 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 (1891), 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.
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διαδεχομένου τοῦ Τιβέριος τὴν κομιδήν καὶ τὴν ξυλείαν τὴν εἰς τὰς οἰκοδομὰς σελμάτων εὐθυτάτων καὶ εὐμηκεστάτων ἢ Τυρρηνία χορηγεῖ τὴν πλείστην, τῷ ποταμῷ κατάγοντα μὲ τοὺς ὄρους εὐθὺς, μεταξὺ δὲ Δούνης καὶ Πίσης ὁ Μάκρας ἕστι, ὡς πέρατοι τῆς Τυρρηνίας καὶ τῆς Διμονικῆς κὲχρημαί τῶν συγγραφέων πολλοί. ἦ δὲ Πίσα κτίσμα μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Πισατόν, οἱ μετὰ Νέστορος ἔπι ἰλιον στρατεύσαντες κατὰ τὸν ἀνάπλουν ἐπλανήθησαν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ Μεταπόντιον, οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν Πισατίν, ἀπαντεῖς Πόλεις καλούμενοι. δυνεῖν δὲ ποταμῶν καθέται μεταξὺ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν συμβολὴν, Ἀρμον τε καὶ Αὐσαρος, ὡς ὁ μὲν εἴς Ἀρρητίου φέρεται πολὺς, οὐχὶ χάρις ἀλλ' ἀρχὴς σχισθεῖς, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὄρων συμπεσούτες δ' εἰς ἐν χείρι ἑρέθον μετεωρίζοντων ἀλλήλως ταῖς ἀντικοπαίς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὅστε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱόνων ἐστώτας ἁμφοτέρων μὴ ἔτερον ὑπὸ βαθέρου καθορᾶται, ὡςτ' ἀνάγχη δυσανάλωτα ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι στάδιον δ' εἰς τὸν ἀνάπλου περὶ ἐκκοσμήσεως. μυθεύοντες δ', ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὄρων οἱ ποταμοὶ κατέφεροντο οὕτως, κωλυμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, μὴ συμπε-

1 Μάκρας, Kramer, for Μάκρας, (cp. Δούνης, 4. 6. 5); so the later editors.
2 χωρίων, after ἐστί, C. Müller deletes (see Ind. Var. Lect. p. 969).
3 δ', after ἀνάπλου, Xylander deletes; so the later editors.
4 Αὔσαρος, Cluver, for Αὔσαρος; so most of the editors, including Meineke.

1 Since the old city of Luna (now in ruins) was some five miles south of the Macra, and still farther south of the
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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 Tyrrhenia, since by means of the river it can be brought down directly from the mountains. Now between Luna¹ and Pisa is the Macra,² which many of the historians have used as the boundary between Tyrrhenia 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 Arnum 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, 39. 32, 40. 41; Florus, 2. 3. 4.
σόντες εἰς ἐν κατακλύζοντι τὴν χώραν, ὕποσχέσθαι

μὴ κατακλύσσει καὶ φυλάξαι τὴν πίστιν. δοκεῖ δὴ ἡ πόλις εὐτυχίσαι ποτε, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἁδοξεῖ διὰ τε εὐκαρπίαν καὶ τὰ λιθουργεῖα καὶ τὴν ὑλὴν τὴν μαντηγῆσιμον, ἢ τὸ μὲν παλαίν ἔχρωντο πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ θάλασσαν κινδύνους· καὶ γὰρ μαχιμωτεροὶ Τυρρηνοὶ ὑπῆρξαν, καὶ παράξεναι αὐτοῦ οἱ Δίγυνε, πονηροὶ γείτονες παρὰ πλεῦραν ὅταν· νῦν δὲ τὸ πλέον εἰς τὰς ὀἰκοδομὰς ἀναλίσκεται τάς ἐν Ἄρμη, καὶ ταῖς ἐσταύρεσι, βασίλεια κατασκευαζομένων Περσικά.

6. Τῶν δὲ Οὐσολατερρανῶν ἡ μὲν χώρα κλύζεται τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τὸ δὲ κτίσμα ἐν φάραγγι βαθείᾳ· λόφος ἔστιν ὑψηλός περίκρημνος πάντη, τὴν κορυφὴν ἐπιπέδος, ἐφ' ἣν ἤδειται τὸ τείχος τῆς πόλεως. ἢ δ’ ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἀνάβασις πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς βάσεως, ὅξεια πάσα καὶ χαλέπη, ἐνταῦθα συνεστησάτο τινες τῶν Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τῶν προγεγαρμένων ὑπὸ Σύλλα. πληρώσαντες δὲ τέτταρα τόγματα στρατιῶν διετή χρόνων ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ἐδ’ ὕποστονδ’ παρεχωρήσαν τοῦ τόπουν. τὸ δὲ Ποπλώνιον ἐπὶ ἄκρας υψηλῆς ἤδειται, κατερρωγώντας εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ χερσονησίους, πολιορκίαν καὶ αὐτὸ δεδεγμένου περὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦς καιροὺς. τὸ μὲν οὖν πολίχνιον πάν ἐρημίῃ ἐστὶ πλὴν τῶν ἕρων καὶ κατοικίων ὀλίγων, τὸ δ’ ἐπίνειον οἰκεῖται βέλτιον, πρὸς τῇ ῥύζῃ τοῦ

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

6. As for the Volaterrani, their country is washed by the sea and their settlement is in a deep ravine; in the ravine there is a high hill, which is precipitous on all sides and flat on the crest, and it is on this hill that the walls of the city are situated. The ascent from the base to the crest is fifteen stadia, an ascent that is sharp all the way up, and difficult to make. This is where some of the Tyrrheni and of those who had been proscribed by Sulla assembled; and, on filling out four battalions, they withstood a siege for two years, and even then retired from the place only under a truce. As for Poplonium, it is situated on a high promontory that makes an abrupt descent into the sea and forms a peninsula; it too sustained a siege at about the same time as Volaterrae. Now although the town is wholly desert except for the temples and a few dwellings, the port-town, which has a little harbour and two docks soldiers (as often), or a maniple (op. Polybius 6. 24), or even a legion (op. Cassius Dio 71. 9),

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δρους λεμένων ἔχον καὶ νωσώκιον δύναμιν τῶν Τυρρηνικῶν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἰδρύουσαν αὐτίον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἀλλήλων διασταράται τῶν τοῖς ἐπιπλεύσασιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ θυσιοκοπεῖ οὐτὸ τῇ ἄκρᾳ. κατοπτυεῖται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πόρρωθεν μὲν καὶ μόλις ἡ Σαρδώ, ἐγγυτέρω δὲ ἡ Κύρνος, ἐξόρκυτα πῶς διέχουσα τῆς Σαρδόνος σταδίων, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τούτων ἡ Διόλα. ἡ δὲ προσεχεστέρα τῇ ἄπειρῳ ἔστιν, ὅσον πριακοσίους διέχουσα σταδίων, ὅσους καὶ τῆς Κύρνου διέχει. ἀριστον δὲ ἀφετέρου τούτο τὸ χρύσιον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὰς τρεῖς τὰς λεχθείσας νῆσους. εἶδομεν δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἤμεις, ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ποπλώνιον, καὶ μέταλλα τινὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκκελειμένα. εἶδομεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὸν σίδηρον τῶν ἐκ τῆς Διόλας κομιζόμενον οὗ γὰρ δύναται συλλοπαίνοσθαι καμινευόμενος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. κομίζεται δὲ εὐθὺς ἐκ

1 δύο καὶ, Meineke, for δίο καὶ; so Müller–Dübner.
2 Meineke emends πρὸς to πρὸ, following Corais.
3 ή, Meineke inserts; Casaubon, Kramer, and Müller–Dübner insert γάρ before τῇ.

1 Corsica.
2 Elba.

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 Thiell). Strabo speaks of “iron,” not “iron-ore”; and he does not mean to say that iron-ore was not smelted at all on the island. Indeed, Diodorus Siculus (5. 13) tells us in detail how the people there broke up the masses of

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at the base of the mountain, is better peopled; and in my opinion this is the only one of the ancient Tyrrenian 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 tuna-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. Mitrab. c. 96) any further working of the iron there was wholly impracticable. On the kinds of iron and how to temper it, see Pliny 34. 41.

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Ο Στράβων

τῶν μετάλλων εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον. τούτο τε δὴ παρώδεσαν ἡ νῆσος ἔχει καὶ τὸ τά ὄρυγματα ἀναπληροῦσθαι πάλιν τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ μεταλλευ-
θέντα, καθάπερ τοὺς πλαταμώνιας φασὶ τοὺς ἐν Ῥόδοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Πάρῳ πέτραν τὴν μάρμαρον καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἰιδοῖς ἄλας, ὡς φησὶ Κλείταρχος. οὖτ' οὖν Ἐρατοσθένης ὑβθῶς ὁ φήσας μὴ καθορᾶσθαι μὴτε τὴν Κύρων ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρον μὴτε τὴν Σαρδόνα, οὐτ' Ἀρτεμίδορος ὁ φήσας ἐν χιλίοις ἐναι καὶ διακο-

Σ 224 σίοις σταδίοις πελαγίας ἀμφοτέρας. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τιςι, ἡμῖν γε οὐκ ἄν ὑπηρέξαν ὅραται ἦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ἐφ' οὖν σαφεῖς ἑωρώντο, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ Κύρων. ἔστε δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αἰθαλίαν λιμήν Ἀργοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀργούς, ὡς φασίν ἐκεῖσε γαρ πλέοσιν τὴν τῆς Κίρκης οἰκήσιν ζητούσα τὸν Ἰάσωνα, τῆς Μηδείας ἐθελοῦσις ἶδειν τὴν θείαν καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀποστλεγμομάτων παγέων ἄ ἐπιοῦν ὦν Ἀργοῦνται, διαμένειν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαποκλίνους τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἤμοιος ψήφους. αἱ δὲ τοιαῦτα μυθοποιεῖ τεκμήρια τῶν λεγομένων υφ' ἡμῶν εἰςω, οὕτω σὲ κατὰ Ὀμηρος αὐτὸς ἐπλαττεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄκοινυ προσεποιήσασαν τῶν τοιοῦτων πολλών αὐτῶς προσέηθει μήκετι διαστημάτων καὶ ἐκτοςιο-

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

1 "Immediately from the mines" might imply, of course, that the particular supply that went to Popolium was, according to Strabo, merely ore as dug from the mines.
2 Aristotle (Mira. 69. 96), speaking of this same island, says, on the authority of others, that what was once a copper mine gave out, and that long thereafter iron appeared.
immediately from the mines to the mainland.\textsuperscript{1} However, this is not the only remarkable thing about the island; there is also the fact that the diggings which have been mined are in time filled up again,\textsuperscript{2} as is said to be the case with the ledges of rocks in Rhodes, the marble-rock in Paros, and, according to Cleitarchus, the salt-rock in India.\textsuperscript{3} Neither, then, is Eratosthenes correct, when he says that neither Cymrus 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 Cymrus. Again, there is at Aethalia a Portus Argous,\textsuperscript{4} from the ship "Argo," as they say; for when Jason, the story goes, was in quest of the abode of Circe, because Medea wished to see the goddess,\textsuperscript{5} he sailed to this port; and, what is more, because the scrapings, which the Argonauts formed when they used their strigils, became congealed, the pebbles on the shore remain variegated still to this day. Now mythical stories of this sort are proofs of what I have been saying: that Homer was not wont to fabricate everything on his own account, but, because he heard many such stories told over and over again, he was wont on his own account to add to them by lengthening the distances and making the settings more remote; and that, just as he threw the setting of

\textsuperscript{1} Cp. 15. 1. 30. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{2} Porto Ferrajo. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{3} Meineke conjectures that Strabo wrote "aunt" instead of "goddess"; cp. 1. 2. 10.
μῶν, καὶ καθάπερ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα εἰς τὸν ὄκεανον ἐξέβαιλε, παραπλησίως καὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα, γενομένης καὶ τοῦτω πλάνης τινὸς κάκειν, καθάπερ καὶ Μενελάῳ. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Αἰθαλίας τοσάδτων.

7. Η δὲ Κύρνος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται Κορσίκα. οἰκεῖται δὲ φαύλως, τραχεῖά τε οὐδα καὶ τοὺς πλείστους μέρες δύσβατος τελέως, ὡστε τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰ ὀρη καὶ ἀπὸ ληστηρίων ξονώστας ἁγιωτάτους εἶναι θηρίων. ὅπως οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐρμήσωσιν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί, καὶ προσπεσόντες τοῖς ἐρύμασι πολύ πλῆθος ἐλώσι τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, ὡράν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ θαυμάζειν δόσιν ἐμφαίνεται τὸ θηριόδες καὶ τὸ βοσκηματώδες εἰς αὐτοῖς; ἢ γάρ όμως ὑπομένους ζην ἢ ξονώστας ἀπαθεία καὶ ἀναισθησία τοῖς ἀνθρωπόμονοῖς ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ὡστε καίπερ τὸ τυχὸν καταβαλόμενων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὄμως μεταμέλειν. ἔστι δὲ ὄμως οἰκήσιμα τινα μέρη καὶ πολύσματα ποὺ Βλησίνων τε καὶ Χάρασ καὶ Ἑυμυκτιναὶ καὶ Ὀλύπανες, μήκος δὲ τῆς νῆσος φησιν ὁ καρπογράφους μίλια ἑκατον ἔξηκοντα, πλάτος δὲ ἐξθωμήκοντα: Σαρδάνος δὲ μήκος διακόσια εἴκοσι, πλάτος δὲ ἐνενήκοντα ὀκτώ.

1 Strabo again comes back to his favourite theme; cp. 1. 2. 9, 1. 2. 38, and 3. 2. 12.
3 It is impossible to say what “Chorographer” Strabo refers to here; and in 6. 2. 3, 6. 1. 11, 6. 2. 1 (“The Chorography”), 6. 2. 11, 6. 3. 10. The fact that the dimensions are given in Roman miles indicates that he does not allude to Eratothenes, or Polybius, or Artemidorus. Casson thinks he means the “Map of Agrippa.” Detlefsen (Ursprung . . . der Erzähline Agrippas in Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, Heft 18, pp. 21, 61 ff.),
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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 an insignificant sum, nevertheless they repent the purchase. But still there are some habitable parts in the island, and what might be called towns, namely, Blesimon, Charax, Eniconiae and Vapanes.² The length of the island, says the Chorographer,³ is one hundred and sixty miles, and the breadth seventy; but the length of Sardo is two hundred and twenty, and the breadth ninety-eight. According

and Braun (Ursprung, Einrichtung und Bedeutung der Erdkarte Agrippas. ibid., Heft 17, pp. 22-35) practically establish that the "Map of Agrippa" is meant; but see E. Pias, 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-χιλίων1 λέγεται καὶ διακοσίων σταδίων, τῆς δὲ Σαρδόνου καὶ τετρακισχιλίων. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῆς τοῦ πολύ μέρος τραγύ καὶ οὐκ εἰρημαίον, πολὺ δὲ καὶ χώραν ἔχουν εὐδαίμονα τοῖς πάσι, σίτῳ δὲ καὶ διαφε-ρόντως. τόλεις δὲ εἰσὶ μὲν πλείους, ἀξιόλογοι δὲ
Κάραλε καὶ Σωλχοί. τῇ δ’ ἀρετῇ τῶν τόπων ἄντι-τάττεται τις καὶ μοχθερία νοσερά γὰρ ἡ νήσος τοῦ θέρους, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς εὐκαρποῦσι χωρίοις·
tά δ’ αὐτὰ ταύτα καὶ παρθένις συνεχώς ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρείων οἱ καλοῦνται Διαγησθεῖς, Ἰολαίεις πρότε-
ρον ὑμοιάζουσι. λέγεται γὰρ Ἰόλαος ἄγων τῶν παῖδων τινῶς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἑλθεῖν δεύρῳ καὶ
συνοικησά τοῖς τὴν νήσου ἔχουσι βαρβάρους
(Τυρρηνοὶ δ’ ἤσαν) ὑστερον δὲ Φοίνικες ἐπεκρά-
τησαν οἱ ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, καὶ μετὰ τούτων Ἡρ-
μαίοις ἐπολέμουν καταλυθητὸν δὲ ἐκείνων, πάνθθ’
ὑπὸ Ἡρμαίοις ὑπῆρξεν. τέταρτα δ’ ἐστὶ τῶν ὀρείων ἔνθα, Πάρατοι, Σασσανάτοι, Βάλαροι, Ἀκώντες, ἐν σπηλαιοῖς οἰκοῦντες, εἰ δὲ τινὰ
ἔχουσι γῆν σπόριμον, οὐδὲ ταύτῃ ἐπιμελῶς σπε-
ροῦσι, ἀλλὰ τὰς τῶν ἐργαζομένων καθαρπά-
ζουσι, τοῦτο μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν, τούτο δ’ ἐπιπλέ-
οντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ, Πισάταις μάλιστα. οἱ
de περπάτους στρατηγοῖ τὰ μὲν ἀντέχουσι, πρὸς
δὲ ἀπανδῶσιν, ἐπειδὰν μὴ λυστελῆ τρέφειν
συνεχῶς ἐν τόπως νοσεροῖς στρατόπεδοι, λείπεται

1 τρισχιλίων, the reading of o and in margin of n; ABCI read χιλίων, although B has β (δισχιλίων) in margin, second hand.
2 Cp. τὰς γαῖας, 2. 5. 26.
1 The best MSS. read “one thousand.”
2 A name otherwise unknown.
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to others, however, the perimeter of Cynus is called about three thousand \(^1\) two hundred stadia, and of Sardo as much as four thousand. The greater part of Sardo is rugged and not at peace, though much of it has also soil that is blessed with all products—especially with grain. As for cities, there are indeed several, but only Caralis and Sulchi are noteworthy. But the excellence of the places is offset by a serious defect, for in summer the island is unhealthful, particularly in the fruitful districts; and it is precisely these districts that are continually ravaged by those mountaineers who are now called Diagesbes; \(^2\) in earlier times, however, their name was Iolaës; for Iolaës, 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
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δὴ τραγηγεῖν τέχνας τυμάς· καὶ δὴ τηρήσαντες ἔδοξε τί τῶν βαρβάρων (πανηγυρίζουσι γὰρ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς λεηλασίας), ἐπιτίθενται τότε καὶ χειρούνται πολλούς. γίνονται δὲ ἐνταῦθα οἱ τρίχα φύοντες αἰγείαν ἀντ’ ἐρέας κριόλ, καλούμενοι δὲ μούσμωνε, ἀν ταῖς δοράς θωρακίζονται. χρώνται δὲ πέλτῃ καὶ ξεφιδίῳ.

8. Ἀπὸ πάνης δὲ τῆς μεταξῦ Πολύμονος καὶ Πίθηκες ἱκανῶς αἱ νῆσοι κατοπτεύονται· ἐπιμήκης δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ παράλληλους σχεδὸν αἱ τρεῖς, ἐπὶ νότου καὶ Διβύνης τετραμέναι. πολὺ μέντοι τῷ μεγέθει λειτεται τῶν ἄλλων ή Ἀλθαλία. ἀπὸ τῆς Διβύνης τοῦ ἐγχυτᾶτο διαμα δάσην ὁ χωρογράφος εἰς τὴν Σαρδόν μίλια τριακόσια. ὑπερὶ δὲ τὸ Πολύμονον Κόσσατι πῶλεις μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἑστὶ δ’ ἐν κόλπῳ βουνὸς ψηλός, ἐφ’ ὁδὸ τῷ κτίσματι ὑπόκειται δ’ Ἡρακλεός λιμήν καὶ πλησίον λιμωθάλαττα καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἄκραν την ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόλπου θυννοσκοπεῖον. ἀκολουθεῖ γὰρ ἃν πόλις ὡς τῇ βαλάνῳ μίονοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πορφύρᾳ παρὰ γην, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης μέχρι καὶ Ξεκελίας. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Κόσσατων εἰς Ὄστιάν παραπλέουσι πολέχυνα ἐστὶ Γραούιςκοι καὶ Πύργου καὶ Ἄλσιου καὶ Φρεγήνα. εἰς μὲν δὴ Γραούιςκος στάδιοι τριακόσιοι, ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τόπος

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

1 That is, "mouflons" (Ovis musimon); see Pliny 8. 75 (49), and 30. 52.

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stratagems; and so, having observed a certain custom of the barbarians (who come together after their forays for a general celebration extending over several days), attack them at that time and overpower many of them. Again, Sardo produces the rams that grow goat-hair instead of wool; they are called, however, "musmones,"¹ and it is with the hides of these that the people there make their cuirasses. They also use a small leather shield and a small dagger.

8. The islands can be seen clearly enough from any part of the country between Poplonium and Pisa; they are oblong and approximately parallel, all three of them, and they point towards the south and Libya; Aethalia, however, falls considerably short of the others in size. Further, the shortest passage to Sardo from Libya, according to the Chorographer, is three hundred miles.² After Poplonium comes Cossa, a city slightly above the sea; that is, there is a high hill at the head of a gulf, and the settlement is on this hill; and beneath lies the Harbour of Heracles and near it is a lagoon and, along the promontory that lies above the gulf, a station for observing the tunny-fish; for along the shore the tunny-fish follow not only the acorns but also the purple fish,³ beginning their course at the outer sea and going even as far as Sicily.⁴ As one sails along the coast from Cossa to Ostia one comes to some small towns: Gravisci, Pyrgi, Alsium and Fregena. To Gravisci, then, the distance is three hundred stadia;

² Strabo probably wrote two hundred miles (the distance given by Pliny, 3. 13).
³ Purpura murex.
⁴ See 3. 2. 7.
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ἐστὶ καλούμενος Ῥηγισσούλλα: ἱστόρηται δὲ γενέσθαι τούτῳ βασιλείον Μάλεω τοῦ ¹ Πελαγγοῦ, ὃν φασι δυναστεύσαντα ἐν τοῖς τόποις μετὰ τῶν συνοίκων Πελασγῶν ἀπελθείν ἐνθένδε εἰς Ἀθήνας· τούτοις δὲ εἰσὶ τοῦ φύλου καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἀγγίλλας κατεσχηκότες. ἀπὸ δὲ Γραούσκων εἰς Πύργους μικροὺς ἐλάττων τῶν ἑκατῶν ὕδατοκούντα, ἐστὶ δὲ ἐπίνεοι τῶν Καιρετανῶν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων. ἔχει δὲ Ἐλληνικὰς οἰροὺς, Πελασγῶν ἱδρυμα, πλούσιον ποτε γενόμενον, ἐσύλησε δὲ αὐτὸ Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Σικελιώτων τύραννος κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐπὶ Κύρνον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Πύργων εἰς Ὀστίαν διακόσιοι καὶ Ἕβηκοντα ἐξήκοντα· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τὸ Ἀλσιοῦ καὶ Ηφαίστου περι μὲν τῆς παραλίας τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς τάπτα.

9. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ πόλει πρὸς ταῖς εἰρημέναις Ἀρρητίναι τε καὶ Περουσία καὶ Οὐσολίσιοι καὶ Σοῦτριοι πρὸς δὲ ταυτάς πολίχναι συχναί, Βλήρα τε καὶ Φερειτίνοι καὶ Φαλεροὶ καὶ Φαλίσκων καὶ Νεστίτα καὶ Στατονία καὶ ἄλλαι πλεῖους, αἰ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνεστώσαι, τινὲς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σκυρηθεύσαντο, καθάπερ τοὺς Οὐνίους πολεμήσαντας πολλάκις καὶ τὰς Φιδήνας. ἐνιοῦ δὲ οὐ Τυρρηνοῖς φασί τοὺς Φαλεροίους, ἀλλὰ Φαλίσκους, ἴδιον ἐθνος· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φαλι-

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

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¹ Cp. §§ 2–4 above.
² The goddess of child-birth.
³ One of the "twelve" Tyrrhenian cities (cp. § 2. above).

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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.¹ 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 Eilethylia,² an establishment of the Pelasgi; it was once rich, but it was robbed by Dionysius, the tyrant of the Sicilians, on his expedition to Cynus. 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 Tyrrenhia.

9. In the interior there are still other cities besides those already mentioned—Arretium, Perusia, Volsini, 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,³ which had oftentimes gone to war with them, and as they did Fidenae.⁴ Some, however, call the Falerii, not “Tyrreni,”⁵ 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.

¹ See 5. 3. 2; it was situated south of the Tiber.
² That is, not “Etruscans.”
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σκοὺς πόλιν ἰδιόγλωσσον· οἱ δὲ Ἀλκοουμφαλίσκον 1 λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ Φλαμνίᾳ ὀξδὸ κείμενον μεταξὺ Ὄκρεκλου καὶ Ὄρομης. ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ Σωράκτῳ δρει Φερωνία πόλεις ἐστίν, ὅμωνυμος ἐπεχωρία τυν δαίμον τιμωμένη σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν περιόιων, ἣς τέμενος ἐστιν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἑαυτοῦ ἱεροποιίαν ἔχουν· γνωρισθεῖσαν γὰρ πολλὶ διεξάγοισι αὐθαρακίας καὶ σποδιᾶς μεγάλης οἱ κατεχόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς δαίμονος τούτης ἀπαθεῖς καὶ συνέρχεται πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀμα τῆς τε πανηγύρεως χάριν, ἡ συντελεῖται κατ' ἑτος, καὶ τῆς λεχθείσης θέας. μάλιστα δ' ἐστιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ τὸ Ἀρρήτιον πρὸς τοὺς δρεσιν ἀπέχει γεων τῆς Ὀώμης χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους, τὸ δὲ Κλούσιον ὀκτακοσίους ἐγγύς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Περούσια. προσλαμβάνουσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν εὐθαμίαν τῆς χωρᾶς καὶ λίμνης, μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ γὺρι πλῆνεται καὶ τρέφονται ὄψων πολὺ καὶ τῶν πηνού τὰ λίμνα ποταμοίς ἐπὶ τῆς Οὼμῆς, ὅς ἐκδοθέντα αἰ λίμναι μέχρι τοῦ Τιβέρεως. ὃν ἐστιν ἡ τε Κιμνία καὶ ἡ περὶ Ὀὐσισιοῦς καὶ ἡ περὶ

1 Ἀλκοουμφαλίσκον, Meinecke, for Ὀλκουσιμφαλίσκον.

1 Literally, “Level Faliscum”;} it was situated in the plains, three miles from the old city.

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a special language all its own; and others mean by Faliscum "Aequum Faliscum,"¹ which is situated on the Flaminian Way between Ocriici and Rome.² The city of Feronia is at the foot of Mount Soracte, with the same name as a certain native goddess, a goddess greatly honoured by the surrounding peoples; her sacred precinct is in the place; and it has remarkable ceremonies, for those who are possessed by this goddess walk with bare feet through a great heap of embers and ashes without suffering;³ and a multitude of people come together at the same time, for the sake not only of attending the festal assembly, which is held here every year, but also of seeing the aforesaid sight. But Arretium, which is near the mountains, is farthest of all in the interior; at any rate, it is twelve hundred stadia distant from Rome, while Clusium is only eight hundred; and Perusia is near these two. The lakes, too, contribute to the prosperity of Tyrrenia, being both large and numerous; for they are navigable, and also give food to quantities of fish and to the various marsh-birds; quantities of cat-tail, too, and papyrus, and downy plumes of the reed, are transported by rivers into Rome—rivers which are sent forth by the lakes as far as the Tiber; and among these are the Ciminian Lake,⁴ the lake near Volsinii,⁵ the lake near 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 Now Lake Vico.
³ Now Lake Bolsena.
Κλούσιον καὶ ἡ ἐγγυτάτω τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ τῆς Βαλλιτής Σαβώτα: ἀπωτάτω δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀρρητήν ἡ Τρασομέννα, καθ’ ἴναι ἕκ τῆς Ἐλευθερίας ἕκβολαι καὶ στρατοπέδιοι, αὖσπερ καὶ Ἀνυβας ἔχρησατο, δεξιῶν οὐσῶν, ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ Ἀρμίνων διὰ τῆς Ὀμβρικης. Βελτιών μὲν οὖν ἡ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρμίνων ταπεινωταί γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἢκανῶς τὰ δρῆ φερουμένων δὲ τῶν παράδου τούτων ἐπιμελῶς, ἦναγκάζομεν τὴν χαλέπωτέραν ἔλεσθαί, καὶ ἐκράτησαν ὅμως νυκτὶς μάχας μεγάλας Φλαμίνιον. πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ὑδίων ἀφθονία κατὰ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν, τῷ τοῦ πλησίον εἶναι τῆς Ῥώμης οὖν ἦττον εὔανδρεί τῶν ἐν Βαϊαῖς, δὲ διωνύμασται πολὺ πάντων μάλιστα.

10. Ἡ δὲ Τυρρηνία παραβέβληται κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἔοικες ἡ Ὀμβρικη, τὴν ἄρχην ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων λαβὸν, καὶ ἔτει περαιτέρω μέχρι τοῦ Ἀδριάνου. ἀπὸ τὰ πρὸς Ἡ Ῥασούνην ἀρξάμενοι κατέχοντες οὐτοὶ τὸ πλησίον καὶ ἐφεξῆς Σάρσινα, Ἀρμίνων, Σήναν, Καμάρινων. αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πάρηντος ἐν τῷ Πολυδρόνος.

1 ἡ, most of the editors bracket, following Kramer; Meineke emends to δῆ.
2 ἐκβολαι, the reading of all MSS., Jones restores. Kramer, Meineke, Müller-Dübner, and others emend to εἰσβολαι.
3 αὐσπερ, all editors, for ἀσπερ.
4 δὲ, Jones inserts; Siebenkees and others insert δὲ, following congl. of Casaubon; Müller-Dübner insert τὲ after τὲ; Meinecke relegates τὲ . . . . Ῥώμης to foot of page, regarding it as a μίσσα.
5 ἕκ, after ἕκτον, Piccolo deletes: Müller-Dübner bracket.
6 Καμάρινων (from correction in B), Jones for kal Μάρινον; the editors before Kramer read καὶ Καμάρινον.
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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 Tyrrenha 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 Tyrrenha, 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 Tyrrenha, 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, Camarina. Here, too, is the Aesia River,

8 Now Lake Trasimene. 4 Cisalpine Celtica, of course.
5 Cp. 5. 1. 11.
6 Cp 5. 2. 3, on the "Caeretanian 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.
ο Αλίσας ποταμὸς καὶ τὸ Κεγγούλον ὅρος καὶ Σεντεῖνου καὶ Μέταυρος ποταμὸς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Τύχης. περὶ γὰρ τούτους τούς τόπους ἔστι τὰ ὁρια τῆς Ἰταλίας τῆς πρότερον καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τῇ δαλάτῃ ταύτῃ μέρος, καίπερ μετατιθέντων πολλάκις τῶν ἱγεμόνων. πρότερον μὲν γε τῶν Αλίσων ἐποιεῖτο ὁριον, πάλιν δὲ τὸν Ὄουβίκονα ποταμόν. ἢστι δ’ ο μὲν Αλίσως μεταξὺ Ἀγκώνος καὶ Σίνας, ο δ’ Ὄουβίκονα μεταξὺ Ἄρμινου καὶ Ραούνας, ἀμφοῦ δ’ ἐκπίπτοις εἰς τὸν Ἀδριαν. οὐ δὲ συμπάσχει τῆς μέχρι Ἀλπεσων ἀποδειχθεῖσις Ἰταλίας, τούτους μὲν τοὺς ὁρίους ἕαν δεῖ τὴν δ’ Ὄμπρικην καθ’ αὐτὴν1 οὐδὲν ἔτην μέχρι καὶ Ραούναν ἀμολογοῦσιν ἀπαντεῖς διατηθεῖν’ οἰκεῖται γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων. εἰς μὲν δὴ Ἄρμινου ἐπεθύνει περὶ τριακοσίων φασίν, ἐκ δὲ Ἄρμινου τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥωμηνίδην κατὰ τὴν Φλαμινίαν δόθην διὰ τῆς Ὅμπρικῆς ἀπασα ἡ ὄδος ἐστὶ μέχρι Ὅκρικλον καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίους σταδίων πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐπὶ τοῖς χίλιοις. τούτο μὲν δὴ μηκός, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἀνωμάλων ἐστὶ. πόλεις δ’ εἰσίν αἱ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὅρων ἀξίας λόγον κατ’ αὐτὴν μὲν τὴν Φλαμινίαν δόθην οἱ τοῦ Ὅκρικλοι πρὸς τὸ Τιβερεί καὶ Λαρόλον2 καὶ Νάρνα, δεὶς ἔτει ὁ Νάρ ποταμὸς, συμβάλλων τῷ Τιβερεί μικρὸν ὑπὲρ Ὅκρικλον, πλωτὸς οὐ μεγάλως σκάφεσιν εἶτα

1 αὐτήν, Meineke, for ἵν (others read ἵντον).
2 Λάρολον (B) and λάρων (L).
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 2. 10

and Mount Cingulum, and Sentinum, and the Metaurus River, and the Temple of Fortune. Indeed, it is near these places that the boundary between the Italy of former days and Celtica passed (I mean the boundary at the part next to the Adriatic Sea), albeit the boundary has often been changed by the rulers; at least they formerly made the Aesis the boundary and then in turn the Rubicon. The Aesis is between Ancona and Sena, the Rubicon between Ariminum and Ravenna, and both empty into the Adriatic. But as it is, now that the whole of the country as far as the Alps has been designated Italy, we should disregard these boundaries, but none the less agree, as is agreed by all, that Ombrica, properly so-called, extends all the way to Ravenna; for Ravenna is inhabited by these people. From Ravenna, then, to Ariminum the distance is, they say, about three hundred stadia; and if you travel from Ariminum toward Rome along the Flaminian Way through Ombrica your whole journey, as far as Ocricli and the Tiber, is thirteen hundred and fifty stadia. This, then, is the length of Ombrica, but the breadth is uneven. The cities this side the Apennine Mountains that are worthy of mention are: first, on the Flaminian Way itself: Ocricli, near the Tiber and Larolun, and Narna, through which the Nar River flows (it meets the Tiber a little above Ocricli, and is navigable, though only for small boats); then,

Ocricli, as Cluviere conjectures. The reading of one manuscript (see note on the opposite page) means a city by the name of “Larolum”; but this reading seems more hopeless than the other.

4 That is, Narnia; now Narni.
Κάρσουλοι καὶ Μησοναία, παρ’ ἦν ἰνὶ ὁ Τενέας, καὶ οὕτος ἐλάττωσε σκάφεσι κατάγον τῷ τὸν Τίβεριν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ εἰς κατοικίας διὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πληθυνόμεναι, μᾶλλον ἥ διὰ πολιτικὸν σύστημα, Φόρον Φλαμίνιον καὶ Ναυκερία, ἥ τὰ ξύλα ἄγγεια ἐργαζομένη, καὶ Φόρον Σεμπρόνιον ἐν δεξιᾷ δέ τῆς ὁδοῦ βαδίζοντι ἐκ τῶν 'Οκρίκλων εἰς Ἀρίμων 'Ιντέραμά ἐστι καὶ Σπολίτιον καὶ Λίσιον καὶ Καμέρτης, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀρίζοντες τὴν Πικεντίνην ὅρεα, κατὰ δὲ θάτερα μέρη Ἀμερία τε καὶ Τούθερ, εὐερής τοὺς πώλεις, καὶ Ἰσπέλλον καὶ Ἰγούον, πλησίον τούτῳ ὄς τῶν ὑπερβολῶν τοῦ ὄρους. ἀπασά δ’ εὐδαιμονὶς ἡ χώρα, μικρὸ δ’ ὁρειτέρα, ξεῖα μᾶλλον ἡ πυρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τρέφουσα. ὁρεῖν δὲ καὶ ἡ Σαβίνη ἐφεξῆς οὐσα ταυτή, παραβεβλημένη τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπου, ἀντε ἐξή τῇ Γυρινικῇ καὶ τῆς Λαύνης δὲ ὦτα πλησιάζει τοῦτοι τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις ὀρεσὶ τραχύτερά ἐστιν. ἄρχεται μὲν ὅπω τοῦ δύο ἐθνὴ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίβερεως καὶ τῆς Γυρινικῆς, ἐκτείνεται δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἀπέννινα ὅρη πρὸς τὸ Ἀδρία λοξὰ παρεμβάλλουτα, ἦ δὲ ὁμβρική καὶ παραλλάττουσα, ὡς εἰρηται, μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης. περὶ μὲν ὅπω τῶν ὁμβρικῶν εἰρηται.

1 εὐερής, Cassubon, for εὐελκίς; so the later editors.
2 Ἰσπέλλον (as in Ptolemaeus 3. 1. 47), Jones, for Ἐλεπέλλον.
3 Ἰγούον, Gronkurd, for Ἰτουρον; so the later editors.
4 δῶν, Cassubon, for δίνα; so the later editors.

1 That is, Carsulae (now Capella San Damiano), not Carisioli.
2 That is, Camerimum; the inhabitants of Camerimum were often called "Camertes," and the name of the people, as often, is applied to the city itself.
Carsuli, and Mevania, past which flows the Teneas (this too brings the products of the plain down to the Tiber on rather small boats); and, besides, still other settlements, which have become filled up with people rather on account of the Way itself than of political organisation; these are Forum Flaminium, and Nuceria (the place where the wooden utensils are made), and Forum Sempronium. Secondly, to the right of the Way, as you travel from Ocrieli to Ariminum, is Interamnia, and Spoletium, and Aesium, and Camertes (in the very mountains that mark the boundary of the Picentine country); and, on the other side of the Way, Ameria, and Tuder (a well-fortified city), and Hispellum, and Iguvium, the last-named lying near the passes that lead over the mountain. Now as a whole Ombrica is blessed with fertility, though it is a little too mountainous and nourishes its people with spelt rather than with wheat. The Sabine country also, which comes next in order after Ombrica, is mountainous, and it lies alongside Ombrica in the same way that Ombrica lies alongside Tyrrhenia; and further, all parts of the Latin country that are near to these parts and to the Apennine Mountains are rather rugged. These two tribes begin, then, at the Tiber and Tyrrhenia, and extend to that stretch of the Apennine Mountains near the Adriatic which slants slightly inland, although Ombrica passes on beyond the mountains, as I have said, as far as the Adriatic. So much, then, for the Ombrici.

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

III

1. Σαβίνοι δὲ στενὴν οίκουσι χώραν, ἐπὶ μῆκος δὲ διήκουσαν καὶ χελίων σταθύων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιβέρεως καὶ Ναμέντου πολίχνης μέχρις Οὐηστίνων. τόπους δὲ ἐξοσεῖν ολίγας καὶ τεταπεινωμένας διὰ τοὺς συνεχεῖς πολέμους, Ἀμίτερνοι καὶ Ῥέατε, δὲ πλησίαζε κόμη Τυπεροκρέα καὶ τὰ ἐν Κωτιλίαις σφυρά ὑδάτα, ἀφ’ δὲν καὶ πίνουσι καὶ ἐγκαθίζοντες θεραπεύονται νόσους. Σαβίνοι δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Φόροι, πέτραι πρὸς ἀπόστασιν μᾶλλον ἢ κατοικίαις εὐφυεῖς. Κύρης δὲ νῦν μὲν κωμίων ἔστιν, ἢν δὲ πόλις ἐπίσημος, εἶ δὲ ὄρμυντο οἱ τῆς Ῥώμης βασιλεύσαντες, Θῖτος Τάτιος καὶ Νουμᾶς Πομπήλιος ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ Κυρίτας ὄνομάζοντοι οἱ δημιουργοῦντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. Τρήβουλα τε καὶ Ἡρητόν καὶ ἄλλαι κατοικίαι τοιαύται κώμαι μᾶλλον ἢ πόλεις ἐξετάζοντ’ αὖν. Ἄσπασα δ’ αὐτῶν ἡ γῆ διαφερόμενος ἐλαϊόφυτός ἐστι καὶ ἀμπελόφυτος, βάλανων τε ἐκφέρει πολλὴν σπουδαία δὲ καὶ βοσκῆσαι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις, καὶ δὴ τοῖς ἡμιόνων γένοις τῶν Ῥεατίνων διωνύμασται θαυμαστώς. ὡς δ’ εἰπέτιν, ἄσπασα ἡ Ἰταλία θρεμμάτων τε ἀρίστη τροφῆς καὶ καρπῶν ἐστιν, ἄλλα δ’ εἶδος κατὰ ἄλλα μέρη τῶν πρωτείων τυγχάνει. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πα-

1 Kωτιλίαι, Cæsaurbon, for Κωτισκόλιαι; so the later editors.

1 The Latin form of the word is Cutiliae.
III

1. The country the Sabini live in is narrow, but taken lengthwise it reaches even a thousand stadia from the Tiber and the little town of Nomentum, as far as the country of the Vestini. They have but few cities and even these have been brought low on account of the continual wars; they are Amiternum, and Reate (near which is the village of Intercocrea, 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

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8 Pliny says these waters are drunk as a purgative (31. 32; op. 31 6).

8 Now Civita Tommasea.

4 In Latin, "Quirites."
2. Ἐξῆς δ’ ἡ Δατίνη κεῖται, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλις, πολλὰς συνειληφθοῦσα καὶ τῆς μὴ

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1 See 5. 4. 2. 2 See 6. 1. 2. 3 Bruttii. 4 See 6. 1. 4. 5 The old-fashioned simplicity and sternness of the Sabine race was proverbial (see 4. 2. 12, Martial’s Epigrams 10. 32, 11. 15, Horace’s Odes 3. 6. 38, Epistles 2. 1. 25, Ovid’s Metamorphoses 14. 797). And because of these qualities they were by some writers regarded as having originally come from Laconia (Dionysius Hal., Antiq. Rom., 1. 1, Justinian 20. 1). Others, by emending six words of the text (see critical notes 2 and 3 above) make Strabo say: “And the bravery and
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. 1–2

Sabini not only are a very ancient race but are also the indigenous inhabitants (and both the Picentini and the Samnitae are colonists from the Sabini,1 and the Leucani from the Samnitae,2 and the Brettii 3 from the Leucani).4 And the old-fashioned ways of the Sabini might be taken as an evidence of bravery, and of those other excellent qualities which have enabled them to hold out to the present time.5 Fabius, the historian, says that the Romans realised their wealth for the first time when they became established as masters of this tribe. As for the roads that have been constructed through their country, there is not only the Via Salaria (though it does not run far) but also the Via Nomentana which unites with it at Eretum 6 (a village of the Sabine country, situated beyond the Tiber), though it begins above the same gate, Porta Collina.7

2. Next comes the Latin country, in which the city of the Romans is situated, though it now comprises also many cities of what was formerly non-those other excellent qualities which have enabled them to hold out to the present time might be taken as an evidence of their antiquity.9

4 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.
STRABO

Δατίνης πρότερον. Ἀικοὶ γὰρ καὶ Ὀδόλσκοι καὶ Ἑρνικοὶ Ἀβοριγῖνες τε οἱ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ Ῥουτούλωι οἱ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀρδέαν ἔχοντες καὶ ἄλλα συστήματα μείζων καὶ ἐλάττων τὰ περι-

οικούντα τοὺς τὸτε Ῥωμαίους ὑπῆρξαν, ἥμεικα πρῶτον ἐκτιστὸ ἡ πόλις· διὸ ἔναι κατὰ κόμας αὐτονομεῖσθαι συνέβαινε, ὥστε οὐδενὶ κοινῷ φύλῳ 

tεταγμένα. φασί δὲ Αἰνειάν μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀγχίσου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀσκανίου κατάρακτας εἰς Δαύρεντον τῆς πλησίον τῶν Ὠκτίων καὶ τοῦ 

Τιβέρεως ἡμών, μικρὸν ὡπερ τῆς βαλάντης, ὅσον ἐν τέταρτι καὶ ἔκοσι στάδιοις, κτίσαι πόλιν ἐπελθόντα δὲ Δατίνων τοῖς τῶν Ἀβοριγίων ἐγκάλε 

τῶν οἰκούντων τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ὅσον νῦν ἡ Ῥώμη ἐστί, συμμάχοις χρήσασθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς γειτονεύοντας Ῥουτούλων τοὺς 

Ἀρδέαν κατέχοντας στάδιοι 5 ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρδέας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκατόν ἐξήκοντα, νική-

σαντα 6 ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρός Λαούλας ἐπώνυμον κτίσαι πλησίον τοὺς νῦν πάλιν δὲ τῶν Ῥουτούλων 

συμβάλωντος εἰς μάχην, τῶν μὲν Δατίνων πεσεῖν, 

tὸν δὲ Αἰνείαν νικήσαντα βασιλεύειν καὶ Δατί-

νως καλέσαι τοὺς ὡς αὐτῷ. καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τελευ-

τήσαντος καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς, τῶν Ἀσκανίων Ἀλβαν 

κτίσαι ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανίῳ ὅραι, διέχοιν τῆς Ῥώμης 

τοσοῦτον, ὅσον καὶ ἡ Ἀρδέα. ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίοι 

σὺν τοῖς Δατίνων Διὶ θυνοῦν, ἀπάσα ἡ συν-

αρχία ἀθροισθείσα· τῇ πόλει δὲ ἐφιάλτησιν1 ἄρ-

χοντα πρὸς τὸν τῆς θυσίας χρόνον τῶν ἡμιρίμων 

tῶν νέων. ὅστερον δὲ τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἑστιο-

1 ἐφιάλτησιν, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores, Groskurd and the later editors read ἐφιστάσιν.

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GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. 2

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.
STRABO

ρεῖται τὰ περὶ Ἀμόλλιον καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Νουμίτορα, τὰ μὲν μυθώδη, τὰ δ' ἐγγυτέρω πιστεως. διεδέχατο μὲν γὰρ τὴν τῆς Ἀλβας ἄρχην ἀμφότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἀπογόνων τοῦ Ἀσκαλίου, διατεί- 
νουσαν μέχρι τοῦ Τιβέρεως παραγκωμικόν 
δ' ὁ νεώτερος τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἦρχεν ὁ Ἀμόλλιος, 
νῦν δ' ὄντος καὶ θυγατρός τοῦ Νουμίτορα, τὸν μὲν 
ἐν κυνηγεί δολοφονεί, τὴν δὲ, ἢν ἄτεκνος διαμείνη, 
τῆς Ἐστίας ἑρείπαν κατέστησε, παρθενείας χάριν 
καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ῥέαν Σίθβαν. ¹ εὗτα φθορὰν 
φωράσας, διδόμων αὐτῇ παιδών γενομένων, τὴν 
μὲν εἰρέειν ² ἀντὶ τοῦ κτείνει, χαρίζομενος τάδελ- 
φό, τοὺς δὲ ἐξεβηκε πρὸς τὸν Τιβερίου κατὰ τὰ 
πάτριον, μνημεύται ³ μὲν ὅσῳ ἔσο Ἀρεώς γενέσθαι 
tοὺς παιδας, ἐκτένεστας δ' ὑπὸ λυκαιῆς ὀραθῆναι 
σκυλακενομένους. Φαυστύλου δὲ τινά τῶν περὶ 
τῶν τόπων συνφορβῶν ἀνελόμενον ἐκθρέψας (δεῖ δὲ 
ὑπολαξεῖν τῶν δυνατῶν τίνα, ὑπηκόου δὲ τῷ 
Ἀμολλίῳ, λαβόντα ἐκθρέψας), καλέσαι δὲ τὸν μὲν 
Ῥωμύλου, τὸν δὲ Ῥώμου. ⁴ ἀνδρωθεῖτας δ' ἐπιθε- 
σατι τῷ Ἀμολλίῳ καὶ τοῖς παισί, καταλυθέντων 
δ' ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς ἄρχης εἰς τὸν Νουμίτορα περι-

στάσης, ἀπελθόντας οἴκαςτε κτίσαι τὴν Ῥώμην 
ἐν τόποις οὐ πρὸς αἴρεσιν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀνάγκην 

¹ Σίθβαν, the reading of ABC1 (so Meineke); the Epit. has 
Σίλβαν. 
² εἰρέειν, Cornes, for ἥρεειν; so the later editors. 
³ μνημεύται, Meineke following Spengel, for μνημονεύται. 
⁴ Kramer finds the form Ῥώμον in the Epit. and so reads; 
so Müller-Dübner. But ABC1 read Ῥώμον (op. the reading 
Ῥώμον a few lines later on).
years later that the stories about Amollius 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 Remus; 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.
STRABO

Ο 230 ἐπιτηδείους· οὔτε γὰρ ἐρμῦνον τὸ ἔδαφος οὔτε χώραν οἰκειαν ἔχου τὴν περιξ ὅση πόλει πρόσφορος, ἄλλῃ οὔτε ἀνθρώπους τοὺς συνοικήσουσα· οἱ γὰρ ὅντες ἥκουν καθ' αὐτοῦ· 1) συνάπτοντές πώς 2) τοῖς τείχοις τῆς κτισμάτων πόλεως, οὐ δὲ τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς πάυν προσέχοντες. Κολλατία δ' ἦν καὶ Ἀντέμναι καὶ Φιδήναι καὶ Δαβίδον καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα τότε μὲν πολίχνια, νῦν δὲ κώμαι, ἡ 3) κτίσεις ἰδιωτῶν, ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἡ 4) μικρό πλειόνων τῆς Ῥώμης σταδίων. μεταξὺ γούν τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ τοῦ ἑκτοῦ λίθου τῶν τὰ μίλια διασημαινόντων τῆς Ῥώμης καλεῖται τόπος Φήστωι. τούτοις δ' ὅριον ἀποφαίνοντο τῆς τότε Ῥωμαίων γῆς, οἱ δ' ἱερομνημονεῖς θυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐν τῶ ἄλλω τόπω τούτω πλείον ὡς ἄροις ἀνθρώποις, ἵνα καλοῦσιν Ἀμβροσίαν. γενομένης δ' ὅπων στάσεως φασί κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν ἀναφερθῆι τῶν Ῥέμων, 5) μετὰ δὲ τὴν κτίσιν ἀνθρώπους σύγκλισας ὁ Ῥωμῦλος ἡροίζει, ἀποδείξας ἀσύλλο τι τέμενος μεταξὺ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τοῦ Καπετωλίου, τοὺς δ' εἰκει καταφεύγοντας τῶν

1 MS. A is lacking from αὐτοῖς to τοῖς near end of paragraph 5. 4. 3, a whole quaternion being lost.
2 πόρος, Letronne, for πόρος; so the later editors.
3 κτίσεις, Jones inserts.
4 τεσσαράκοντα (μ') after η, Corais deletes; so Meineke.
5 The reading of BCL is πρόνοια (ῥώμων sec. hand. in B); Meineke reads Ῥώμων both here and in preceding instance.

1 See 5. 3. 7. 2 See 5. 3. 7. on this point.
3 Strabo almost certainly means the "Arvales Fratres" ("Field-Brothers"), so-called, according to Varro (De Ling. Lat. 5. 85), from their offering public sacrifices that the fields (arva) may bring forth fruits. The "Arvales Fratres" was a college of twelve priests, which, according to Roman legend (cp. Gellius 7. 7), originated with Romulus himself. The college was still in existence in a.d. 325.

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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 therabouts 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

4 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).
5 Cp. Livy 1, 7.
6 The northern and southern summits, respectively, of the Capitoline Hill. The depression between the two summits (each in early times covered by a grove) was called "Inter Duos Lucos" (op. Livy 1, 8), and was the traditional site of "The Asylum of Romulus."
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αστυνευτόνων πολίτας ἀποφαίνων. ἐπιγαμίας δὲ τοῦτοι οὐ τυχαίων ἐπηγγέλατο ἔνα ἄγωνα ἐπιτικὸν τοῦ Πασειδώνος ἱερὸν, τὸν καὶ νῦν ἐπιτελούμενον. συνελθόντων δὲ πολλῶν, πλείστων δὲ Σαβίνων, ἐκέλευσε τὰς παρθένους ἀρπάσαι τὰς ἀφιγμένας τοῖς δεσμένοις γάμον. μετά δὲ τὴν ὑσμίν Τίτος Τάτιος δὲ ὑπόλων, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Κυρίτων, ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ πολιτείας συνεβη πρὸς τὸν 'Ρωμίλον' δολοφονηθέντος δὲ έν Δασυνίῳ τοῦ Τατίου, μόνος ἦρξεν ἐκόμων τῶν Κυρίτων ο Ἐρυμίλος. μετὰ δὲ τούτου διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν Νουμᾶς Πομπίλιος, πολίτης τοῦ Τατίου, παρ' ἐκόμων λαβὼν τῶν ὑπηκόων. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ μάλλιστα πιστευομένη τῆς Ἐρυμής κτίσις ἐστίν.

3. Ἀλλὰ δὲ τις προτέρα καὶ μυθόδης, 'Ἀρκαδικήν λέγουσα γενέσθαι τὴν ἀποκλάπει ὑπ' Ἐυάνδρου τοῦτῳ δὲ ἐπειξενωθήμει τῷ Ἡρακλέα, ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρνοῦν βοῦς: πυθόμενον δὲ τῇς μητρῶς Νικοστρατίτης τοῦ Ἐυάνδρου (εἶναι δὲ αὐτῆς μαντικῆς ἐμπειρον) ὁτί τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ πεπρωμένου ἦν τελέσαντε τοὺς ἄθλους θεῷ γενέσθαι, φράσας τέ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ταῦτα, καὶ τέμνεσις ἀναδείξει καὶ θύσαι θυσίαι 'Ελληνικὴν, ἢν καὶ νῦν ἦτι ψυλλάττεσαν τῷ Ἡρακλεί. καὶ ὁ γε Κοῖλος, ὁ τῶν Ἡρωίων συγγραφέος, τοῦτο τίθεται σημείο τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ εἶναι κτίσμα τῆς Ὁρώμην, τὸ παρ' αὐτῇ τὴν πάτριον θυσίαν 'Ελληνικὴν εἶναι τῷ Ἡρακλεί. καὶ τὴν μητέρα δὲ τοῦ Ἐυάνδρου

1 politeias, the Ἐπιτ., for politεiz; so Kramer and later editors.
2 Κοῖλος, Kramer, for Κόλιος; so the later editors.

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thither for refuge. But since he could not obtain the right of intermarriage for these, he announced one horse-race, sacred to Poseidon, the rite that is still to-day performed; and when numerous people, but mostly Sabini, had assembled, he bade all who wanted a wife to seize the maidens who had come to the race. Titus Tatius, the king of the Curites, went to avenge the outrage by force of arms, but compromised with Romulus on the basis of partnership in the throne and state. But Tatius was treacherously murdered in Lavinium, and then Romulus, with the consent of the Curites, reigned alone. After Romulus, Numa Pompilius, a fellow-citizen of Tatius, succeeded to the throne, receiving it from his subjects by their own choice. This, then, is the best accredited story of the founding of Rome.

3. But there is another one, older and fabulous, in which we are told that Rome was an Arcadian colony and founded by Evander:—When Heracles was driving the cattle of Geryon he was entertained by Evander; and since Evander had learned from his mother Nicostrate (she was skilled in the art of divination, the story goes) that Heracles was destined to become a god after he had finished his labours, he not only told this to Heracles but also consecrated to him a precinct and offered a sacrifice to him after the Greek ritual, which is still to this day kept up in honour of Heracles. And Coelius himself,¹ 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.
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τιμῶσι Ἄρωμαιοι, μίαν τῶν νυμφῶν νομίσαντες, Καρμεντίνῳ ἕποικου μετονομασθείςαι.

C 231 4. Οἱ δ' οὖν Λατίνοι κατ' ἀρχάς μὲν ἦσαν ἄλγου, καὶ οἱ πλείους οὖ προσέχον Ρωμαίοις: ύστερον δὲ καταπλαγέντες τὴν ἀρέτην τοῦ τε Ῥωμύλου καὶ τῶν μετ' ἑκείνων βασιλέων ὑπήκουσι πάντες ὑπῆρξαν. καταλυθέντων δὲ τῶν τε Αἰγών καὶ τῶν Οὐράλκων καὶ Εἰδύνκων, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον Ῥωμύλου πετοῦντο τε καὶ Ἀβορείγινων, (πρὸς δὲ τούτων Ῥαι-κών, καὶ Ἀρκυμυσίκων δὲ τινες καὶ Πρεσβέρεον) ἡ τούτων χώρα Δασίνη προσηγόρευται πάσα. ἤν δὲ τῶν Οὐράλκων τὸ Παμεντίνου πεδίον, ὀμορον τοῖς Λατίνοις, καὶ πόλεις Ἀπιόλα, ἢν κατέσκαψε Ταρκύνος Πρόσκος. Λακωνωὶς δὲ γειτονεύονται μάλιστα τοῖς Κυρίταις, καὶ τούτων δὲ ἑκείνου τὰς πόλεις ἐξεπόρθησαν. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν Σοῦσαν εἶλε τὴν μητρόπολιν τῶν Οὐράλκων. Ἔρυσιος δὲ πλησίου φίλου τῷ τὸ Δανοῦφο καὶ τῷ Ἀλβα καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ 'Ρώμη, οὐκ ἀπωθην δ' οὖν Ἄργλας καὶ Τελλάναι καὶ Αντιοο. Ἀλβανοὶ δὲ κατ' ἀρχάς μὲν ὁμονοῦσιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὁμογελωστοι τέ ὁντες

1 Corais and Meineke emend Καρμέντιν to Καρμεντίνην.
2 πρὸς . . . Πρεσβέρεον, 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 Ἀπιόλα Xylander, for Ἐπιόλα; so the later editors.
4 Δανοῦφο, Kramer, for Δανοῦβο; so the later editors.
5 Ἀργλας, Xylander, for Ἀργλα; so the later editors.

1 Thus Virgil (8. 338) spells her name; but the usual spelling was "Carmenta" (op. Livy 1. 7. and Dionysius, Antiq. Rom. 1. 32).
2 The "Æœl" of 5. 3. 2.

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mother of Evander, regarding her as one of the nymphs, although her name has been changed to Carmentis.¹

4. Be that as it may, the Latini at the outset were few in number and most of them would pay no attention to the Romans; but later on, struck with amazement at the prowess both of Romulus and of the kings who came after him, they all became subjects. And after the overthrow of the Aequi,² of the Volsci, and of the Hernici, and, still before that, of both the Rutuli and the aborigines (and besides these, certain of the Rhaeci,³ as also of the Argyrusci ⁴ and the Preferni),⁵ the whole country that belonged to these peoples was called Latium. The Pomptine Plain, on the confines of the Latini, and the city of Apiola, which was destroyed by Tarquinius Priscus, used to belong to the Volsci. The Aequi are the nearest neighbours of the Curites; their cities, too, were sacked by Tarquinius Priscus; and his son captured Suessa, the metropolis of the Volsci. The Hernici used to live near Lanuvium, Alba, and Rome itself; and Aricia, also, and Telleneae and Antium were not far away. At the outset the Albani lived in harmony with the Romans, since they spoke the same language and

¹ "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.
² "Argyrusci," otherwise unknown, is probably a corruption of "Auruneci" (op. Livy 2. 16, 17, 26 and Dionysius, Antiq. Rom. 6. 32, 37).
³ By "Preferni" Strabo almost certainly refers to the Privenates, whose city was Privenum, now in ruins near Piperno.
καὶ Δατίνοι, βασιλεύουμενοι δ' ἐκάτεροι χωρίς ἐτύχον· οὐδὲν δ' ἦττον ἐπιγαμίαν τε ἴσων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἰερὰ κοινὰ τὰ ἐν Ἀλβα καὶ ἄλλα δίκαια πολιτικά· οὔστερον δὲ πολέμου συστάντος ἢ μὲν Ἕλβα κατεσκάφη πλὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, οὐ δ' Ἀλβανοὶ πολέται ᾿Ρωμαίων ἐκρήθησαν. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τῶν περιοικίδων πόλεων αἱ μὲν ἀνηρεῖθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐταπεινώθησαν ἀπειθοῦσαν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἤξυπνήσαν διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν. νῦν μὲν οὖν ἡ παραλία μέχρι πόλεως Συνοέσσης ἀπὸ τῶν ῾Ωστίων Δατίνης καλεῖται, πρότερον δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Κιρκαίου μόνον ἔσχάζει τὴν ἐπίδοσιν· καὶ τῆς μεσογαίας δὲ πρότερον μὲν οὐ πολλή, οὔστερον δὲ καὶ μέχρι Καμπανίας διέστειν καὶ Σαυνίτων καὶ Πελοποννήσου καὶ ἄλλων τῶν τὸ ᾿Ἀπέννινον κατοικοῦντων.

5. "Ἀπασα δ' ἐστίν εὐδαίμων καὶ παμφώρος πλὴν ὀλίγων χωρίων τῶν κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν, ὡσα ἐλώδη καὶ νοσερὰ, ολὰ τὰ τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν καὶ τὰ μεταξὶ Ἀντίου καὶ Δανουίου μέχρι Πομεντίου καὶ τῶν τῆς Σητίνης χωρίων καὶ τῆς περὶ Ταρρακίαν καὶ τὸ Κιρκαίον, ἥ εἰ τινα ὅρεινα καὶ πετρώδη καὶ ταύτα δ' οὐ τελέως ἀργὰ οὐδ' ἄχρηστα, ἀλλὰ νομᾶς παρέχει δαψίλεις ἢ ὕλην ἢ καρποὺς τινας ἐλέους ἢ πετράιους· τὸ δὲ Καίκου-βου, ἐλώδεις οὖν, εὐνοιοτάτην ἀμπελον τρέφει, τὴν

1 That is, the tree-climbing vine.
were Latini, and though they were each, as it happened, ruled by kings, separate and apart, none the less they not only had the right of intermarriage with one another, but also held sacrifices—those at Alba—and other political rights in common; later on, however, war arose between them, with the result that all Alba was destroyed except the temple, and that the Albani were adjudged Roman citizens. As for the other neighbouring cities, some of them too were destroyed, and others humiliated, for their disobedience, while some were made even stronger than they were because of their loyalty. Now at the present time the seaboard is called Latium from Ostia as far as the city of Sinuessa, but in earlier times Latium had extended its seaboard only as far as Circaeum. Further, in earlier times Latium did not include much of the interior, but later on it extended even as far as Campania and the Samnites 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 Circaeum), or any districts that are perhaps mountainous and rocky; and yet even these are not wholly untilled or useless, but afford rich pasture grounds, or timber, or certain fruits that grow in marshy or rocky ground (the Caecuban Plain, although marshy, supports a vine that produces the best of wine, I mean the tree-vine). The seaboard
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dενδρίτιν. πόλεις δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττη μὲν τῶν Δατη- 


νον εἰσὶ τὰ τῷ Ὀστία, πόλεις ἀλάμενος διὰ τὴν 


πρόσχοσιν ἢ ὁ Τίβεριος παρασκευάζει, πληροῦ-


μενος ἐκ πολλῶν ποταμῶν. παρακινδύνως μὲν 


οὖν ὀρμίζονται μετέωρα ἐν τῷ σάλφῳ τὰ ναυκλήρια, 


τὸ μὲν τοῦ λυστελῆς νικᾶ: καὶ γὰρ ὁ τῶν ὑπηρε-


τικῶν σκαφῶν εὐπορία τῶν ἐκδεχομένων τὰ φορτία 


καὶ ἀντιφορτιζόντων ταχὺν ποιεῖ τὸν ἀπόπλουν 


πρὶν ὁ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἁγιασθαι, ἢ ἐκ μέρους ἀπο-


κουφισθέντα εἰσπλεῖ καὶ ἀνάγεται μέχρι τῆς 


Ῥώμης, σταδίους ἐκατὸν ἐνενόκοντα. κτίσμα δ' 


ἔστι τὰ τῷ Ὀστία Ἀγκου Μαρκίου. αὕτη μὲν ἢ 


πόλις τοιαύτη, ἢ δ' ἐστὶν Ἀυτιον, ἀλάμενος 


καὶ αὕτη πόλις. ἕδραν δ' ἐπὶ πέτραις, διέχει δὲ 


τῶν Ὀστίων περὶ διακοσίους ἐξήκοντα σταδίους. 


μηνι μὲν οὖν ἀνείται τοὺς ἁγεμόνας εἰς σχολήν καὶ 


ἀνέσιν τῶν πολεμικῶν ὑπὲρ λάβοις καιροῖς, καὶ διὰ 


τοῦτο κατορκοῦμενται πολυτελεῖς οἰκήσεις ἐν τῇ 


πόλει συχναὶ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιδημίας καὶ 


πρότερον δὲ ναῦς ἑκέκτητο καὶ ἐκοινώνων τῶν 


ληστηρίων τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς, καίτερ ἤδη Ἡρωμαῖος 


ὑπακουόντως. διότερ καὶ Ἄλεξανδρός πρότερον 


ἔγκαλων ἐπέστειλε, καὶ Δημιούργος ὑπετέρον, τοὺς 


ἄλοντας τῶν ληστῶν ἀναπέμπουν τοῖς Ἡρωμαίοις, 


χαρίζεται μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔφη τὰ σώματα διὰ τὴν 


πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας συγγένειαν, οὐκ ἄξιον δὲ 


τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας στρατηγεῖν τε ἁμα τῆς Ἰταλίας


1 ἢ ἐκ μέρους ἀποκουφισθέντα, Jones, for καὶ μέρους ἀποκου-


φισθέντοι.


1 Demetrius Poliorcetes.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. 5

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 Tyrreni 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 ληστήρια ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν ἵδρυσαμένους τιμᾶν, ὅσα πάντες Σωτήρας ὁμομάζουσιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πέμπειν τὴν ἐκείνου πατρίδα τοὺς λεηλατήσοντας· ἐπανειλαμβάναν δὲ αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοι τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιτηδεύσεως. ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἦστι τὸ Λαούνιον, ἔχουν κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης, ἐπιμελεῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ διὰ προσώπων Ἄρδεα, κατοικία Ρουότολου δὲ τούτων ἡ Ἀρδέα, εἰς τὰ Λαύρειμον. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτων ἡ Ἀρδέα, κατοικία Ρουότολου δὲ τούτων ἡ Ἀρδέα, ἐπιδημούειν καὶ τὰς ιεροποιίας ὑπέρκειται δὲ ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων παραδεδομένας φασὶν.

6. Μετὰ δὲ Ἀρτυών τὸ Κιρκαίον ἐστὶν ἐν διακοσίοις καὶ ἐνευκόντα σταδίοις ὄροι, νησίζων θαλάττησι τε καὶ ἔλεσι· φασὶ δὲ καὶ πολύφριζον εἶναι, τάχα τῷ μύθῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς Κιρκῆς συνοικεῖται. ἔχει δὲ πολέμιον καὶ Κιρκῆς ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς βωμὸν, δεικνύσθαι δὲ καὶ φιλήν τινά φασὶν Ὀδυσσέως, μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Στόρας ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ύψώματος. ἔπεσε προσεχῆς αἰγιαλὸς Λιβύς, πρὸς αὐτῷ μόνον τῷ Κιρκαίῳ λιμένι ἔχουν. ὑπέρκειται δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῷ Πωμενίου πεδίῳ. τὴν δὲ συνεχῆ ταύτῃ πρῶτερον Λύσσοις

1 προσώπων, Corais, for προγόνων; so the late editors.
2 ἀνω, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores, for ἐν (Corais and the later editors).
3 ἄς, 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 Circeum, a mountain which has the form of an island, because it is surrounded by sea and marshes. They further say that Circeum 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 Circeum 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 Circeum 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
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C 233 ἕκουσιν, ὡπερ καὶ τὴν Καμπανίαν εἶχον. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ὁ Ὀσκός καὶ τούτοις δὲ μετῆν τὸς Καμπανίας, νῦν δὲ ἀπαντᾷ Δατίνων ἐστὶ μέχρι Σινοέσσης, ὡς εἶπον. Ἕδη δὲ τί τούς ὁ Ὀσκός καὶ τῷ τῶν Αὐσόνων ἐδέχεται συμβεβήκε τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ὁσκὸς ἐκελευθέρων δὲ διὰ διάλεκτος μὲνει παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὡςτε καὶ ποιήματα σκηνοβιοτισθαντα κατὰ τινὰ ἁγία νά πάτρων καὶ μυστερομενούσα τῶν δὲ Αὐσόνων οὐδὲ ἀπαξ οἰκησάμεναν ἐπὶ τῇ Σικελίας θαλάττῃ, τὸ πέλαγος ὁμος Αὐσόνων καλεῖται. ὡς δὲ ἐν ἑκατόν σταδίων τῷ Κιρκαὶ Ταρράκινα ἔστι, Τραχύνης καλομενή πρότερον ἀπὸ τῶν συμβεβηκότων. πρώκεται δὲ αὐτῆς μέγα ἐλεος δρομοὺς δύο ποταμοὺς καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μείζων Αὐφιδίους: ἐνταῦθα δὲ συνάπτει τῷ θαλάττῃ πρῶτον ἡ Ἀππία ὁδὸς, ἐσπορομένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης μέχρι Βρενεσίου, πλείστου δὲ ὁδευομένη τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλεων τούτων ἐφαπτομένη μόνον, τῇ τῇ Ταρράκίνης καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς, Φορμίων μὲν καὶ Μυτούρνης καὶ Σινοέσσης, καὶ τῶν ἐσχίτων, Τάραντος τε καὶ Βρενεσίου. πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ταρράκίνης βαδίζοντε ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης παραβεβλησται τῇ ὀδῷ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ διώρυξ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς τόποις

1 For Αὐφιδίου, Xylander reads Οὐφιδίου, Casaubon Αὔφιδιος, Groskurth Αὔφιδης, Meineke Οὐφιδίος; see note 4 on opposite page.

1 § 4 above.

2 The " Atellanae Fabulae " of the Romans (Pauly-Wissowa s. v. " Atell. Fab.").
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. 6

held Campania. After these come the Osci; they too had a share in Campania; but now everything belongs to the Latini as far as Sinuessa, as I said.¹ A peculiar thing has taken place in the case of the Osci and the tribe of the Ausones. Although the Osci have disappeared, their dialect still remains among the Romans, so much so that, at the time of a certain traditional competition, poems in that dialect are brought on the stage and recited like mimes;² again, although the Ausones never once lived on the Sicilian Sea, still the high sea is called "Ausonian." Next, within one hundred stadia of Circaeum, is Tarracina, which was formerly called "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 Brentesium ⁵ 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—Taras ⁶ 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"). Op. Horace, Sat. 1. 5. 26; "Impositum saxis late cendentibus Auxur" (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 Amaseus (now Amaseno).
³ One of the old spellings of Brundisium; the other was "Brendesium" (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.
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πληρομένη τοῖς ἐλείοις τε καὶ τοῖς ποταμίοις ὑδαίν· πλεῖται δὲ μάλιστα μὲν νύκτωρ, ὡστε ἐμβάνας ἀφ' ἐστέρας ἐκβαίνειν πρῶις καὶ βαδίζειν τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ ὀδῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑμούλκει δ' ἡμιόνιον. ἐξῆς δὲ Φορμίαι Δακωνικὸν κτίσμα ἐστίν, Ὄρμαι λεγόμενον πρότερον διὰ τὸ εὔφορον. καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ δὲ κόλπων ἕκεινοι Καϊέταν 1 ὄνομασαν, τὰ γὰρ κοῖλα πάντα καϊέτας οἱ Δάκωνες προσαγορεύοντοι· ἔνιοι δ' ἐπωνυμοὶ τῆς Αἰνείου τροφοῦ τὸν κόλπον φασίν. ἔχει δὲ μήκος σταδίων ἐκατὸν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Ταρράκην, μέχρι τῆς ἄκρας τῆς ὁμώνυμου ἀνέφυγε τ' ἐνταθα σπηλαία ὑπερμεγέθη, κατοικίας μεγάλας καὶ πολυτελεῖς διδυμένα· ἐντεύθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὰς Φορμίας τεταράκοντα. ταύτης δ' ἀνὰ μέσον εἰς καὶ Σινοεσσης αἱ Μιντόρναι, σταδίους ἐκατέρας διέχουσα περὶ ὀγδόκοντα. διαρρέει δὲ Δείρις ποταμός, Κλαύνος δ' ἐκαλεῖτο προτέρων φέρεται δ' ἀνοιξθὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὄρων καὶ τῆς Οὐρστίνης παρὰ Φρεγέλλας κάμην (πρότερον δ' ἦν πόλις ἔνδοξος), ἑκτίπτει δ' εἰς ἀλος ιέρον τιμώμενον περιττῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Μιντόρναις, ὑποκείμενον τῇ πόλει. τῶν δὲ σπηλαιῶν ἐν ὅψει μάλιστα πρόκειται δύο νῆσοι πελάγιαι, Πανδατερία 2 τε

1 Καϊέταν, Jones, for Καϊέταν (B), Καϊέτα (C); cp. καϊέτας following, and also in 8. 5. 7.
2 Πανδατερία, Meineke, for Πανδαπίλα (BC).

1 For an amusing account of this canal-journey, see Horace, Sat. 1. 6.
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 "Caiaetas," for the Laconians call all hollow things "Caiaetas"; 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 "Claris." It runs from the interior, out of the Apennine Mountains and the country of the Vestini, past Fraggellae, 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,

"Caetanus Sinus." But, as the context shows, "the intervening gulf" means the gulf between Caetra and Tarracina. For the meaning of the Spartan word "Caiaetas," see 8. 5. 7.

4 According to Virgil (Aeneid, 7. 2) her name was "Caetra."

5 That is, the promontory on which the city of Caetra was situated.
καὶ Ποντία, μικραὶ μὲν, οἰκούμεναι δὲ καλῶς, οὐ
πολὺ ἀπ’ ἄλλων διέχουσαι, τῆς ἡπιέρου δὲ
πεπτήκουτα ἐπὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ
Καίετον¹ κόλπου τὸ Καίκουβον, τούτου δὲ Φούν-
δοι, πόλις ἐν τῇ ὄδῷ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ κειμένη. πάντας δ’
εἰς τοὺς τόπους οὗτοι σφόδρα εὐόνου· οὗ δὲ Καίκουβος
καὶ ὁ Φούνδανος καὶ ὁ Σητινὼς τῶν ἱωνομασμένων
εἰσί, καθάπερ ὁ Φάλερνος καὶ ὁ Ἀλβανὸς καὶ ὁ
Στατανός. ἢ δὲ Σινόσσα ἐν Καίετάνῳ² κόλπῳ
ἰδρυται, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ τούνομα σίνου γὰρ ὁ κόλπος,
πλησίον ἐστὶ δ’ αὐτῆς θερμὰ λουτρά, κάλλιστα
ποιοῦντα πρὸς νόσους ἐνιαῖ. αὐταί μὲν αἱ ἐπὶ
θαλάσση τῶν Λατίων πόλεις.

7. Ἔν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ πρώτῃ μὲν ἦπερ τῶν
᾽Ωστίων ἐστὶν ἩΡώμη, καὶ μόνη γε ἐπὶ τῷ Τερβή-
ρει κεῖται περὶ Ἡ, δι’ πρὸς ἀνάγκην, οὐ πρὸς
ἀφεσίν ἔκτισταν, εἰρηναῖο προσβεβέλων δ’ ὅτι οὐδ’
οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα προσακτίσαντες τινα μέρη κύριοι τοῦ
βελτίωνος ἤσαν, ἀλλ’ ἐδούλευσαν τοῖς προύποκει-
μένοις. οἱ μὲν γε πρώτοι τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὸ
Παλάτιον καὶ τὸν Κουιρίνον λόφον ἐτείχισαν, δὲ
ἡμ λύτως εὐπείσατο τοῖς ἐξώθης ὧστ’ ἐξ ἐφόδου

¹ Καίετον, Jones, for Καίετον (BC), Καίετον (sec. hand in B).
² Καίετάνῳ, from con., of Σαμπ, for the unintelligible
πηνῶν, Στατανός (BCl), στατανό (npr). Meineke relocates
πηνῶν to the foot of the page.

1 Cp. 2. 5. 19.
2 The Greek word for “gulf,” “vale.”

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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

\[^a\] 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 ἡμίκα μετήει τῆν τῶν ἄρπαγεσιῶν παρθένων ὑβρίς. Ἄγκος τε τὸ Μάρκου προσλαβῶν τὸ Καίλου ὄρος καὶ τὸ Ἀβεντυνὸν ὄρος καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦτων πεδίου, διηρημένα καὶ ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προτετειχισμένων, προσέβηκεν ἀναγκαίως· οὔτε γὰρ οὕτως ἔρυμνους λόφους ἐξώ τείχοις έκάιει τοῖς βουλομένωις ἐπιτειχίματα καλῶς εἶχεν, οὔθ᾽ ὁδὸν ἐκπληρώσαι τὸν κύκλον ἵσχυσε τῶν μέχρι τοῦ Κουρίνου. ἦλεγξε δὲ Σερούος τὴν ἐκλείψιν, ἀνεπλήρως γὰρ προσθέει τὸν τέ Ησκυλίνου λόφον καὶ τὸν Ὥμιμναλύν. καὶ ταῦτα δ᾽ εὐθέωδα τοῖς ἐξωθέν ἐστὶ· διόπερ τάφρον βαθείαν ὁρύζωτε εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ἐδέξαμεν τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἔξετεναν ὅσον ἐξαστάδιον χώμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐντὸς ὄρφοι τῆς τάφρου, καὶ ἐπεβάλαν τείχος καὶ πυργοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς Κολλίνας πύλης μέχρι τῆς Ἡσκυλίνας· ὑπὸ μέσῳ δὲ τὸ χώματι τρίτη ἐστὶ πύλη ὁμώνυμος τῷ Ὅμιμναλῷ λόφῳ. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔρυμα τοιοῦτον ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἐρυμάτων ἐτέρων δεόμενον. καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πρώτοι τῶν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν διαλογισμὸν περὶ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑστερον, διότι Ῥωμαίοις προσήκεν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἁρετῆς ἔχειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐπορίαν, προβλήματα νομίζοντες οὐ καὶ τείχη τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνδρας τοῖς τείχεσιν, κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἀλλοτρίας τῆς κύκλῳ χώρας οὕτως ἀγάθης τε καὶ

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

1 Cr. 5. 3. 2. 2 "Porta Viminalis."
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.1 Again, Ancus Marcius took in Mt. Caelium and Mt. Aventine, and the plain between them, which were separated both from one another and from the parts that were already walled, but he did so only from necessity; for, in the first place, it was not a good thing to leave hills that were so well fortified by nature outside the walls for any who wished strongholds against the city, and, secondly, he was unable to fill out the whole circuit of hills as far as the Quirinal. Servius, however, detected the gap, for he filled it out by adding both the Esquiline Hill and the Viminal Hill. But these too are easy for outsiders to attack; and for this reason they dug a deep trench and took the earth to the inner side of the trench, and extended a mound about six stadia on the inner brow of the trench, and built thereon a wall with towers from the Colline Gate to the Esquiline. Below the centre of the mound is a third gate,2 bearing the same name as the Viminal Hill. Such, then, are the fortifications of the city, though they need a second set of fortifications. And, in my opinion, the first founders took the same course of reasoning both for themselves and for their successors, namely, that it was appropriate for the Romans to depend for their safety and general welfare, not on their fortifications, but on their arms and their own valour, in the belief that it is not walls that protect men but men that protect walls. At the outset, then, since the fertile and extensive country round about them belonged to others,3 and since the terrain of the

1 Cp. 5. 3. 2 on this point.
πολλῆς, τοῦ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔδαφος ἐδεσπειρήτω, τὸ μακαρισθησόμενον οὐδὲν ἤτο τοπικὸν ἐυκλήρημα· τῇ δ' ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τῆς χώρας οἰκείας γενομένης, ἐφαύῃ συνδρομή τις ἁγάθων ἄπασαν εὐφύιαν ύπερβᾶλλονσα· δι' ἂν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐξηθείσα ἡ πόλις ἀντέχει τούτο μὲν τροφῆ, τούτο δὲ ἔνωσα καὶ λίθος πρὸς τὰς οἰκοδομίας, ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως ¹ ποιοῦσιν αἱ συμπτώσεις καὶ ἐμπρήσεις καὶ μεταπράσεις, ἀδιάλειπτοι καὶ αὐταὶ οὕσαν καὶ γὰρ αἱ μεταπράσεις ἐκούσιοι τινες συμπτώσεις εἰσὶ, καταβαλλόντων καὶ ἀνοικοδομοῦντων πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐτερά ἐξ ἐτέρων. πρὸς ταύτ', οὖν τὸ τε τῶν μετάλλων πλῆθος καὶ ἡ οὐλή καὶ οἱ κατακομβίοντες ποταμοὶ θαυμαζοῦν καὶ παρέχουσι τὴν ὑποχρηματίαν, πρώτος μὲν Ἀνίων ἐξ Ἀλβας πέρι, τῆς πρὸς Μαρσῶν Λατίνης πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτὴ πεδίου μέχρι τῆς πρὸς τῶν Τίβεριν συμβολῆς, ἐπειδὴ ο Νάρ καὶ ο Τενέας οἱ διὰ τῆς Ὀμβρικῆς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν καταφερόμενον ποταμὸν τῶν Τίβεριν, διὰ δὲ Τυρρηνίας καὶ τῆς Κλουσίνης ὁ Κλάνης. ἐπεμελήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀετοῖς Καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἑλπισμάτων τῆς πόλεως, πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἐμπρήσεις συντάξας στρατιωτικῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθεριστῶν τὸ βοηθήσεν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς συμ·

¹ ἀδιαλείπτως, the reading of the MSS., Jones restores, for ἀδιαλείπτωσ (Corais, Müller-Dürner, and Meineke).

¹ Cf. Horace's "dicitur, aedificat, mutat" (Epist. 1. 1. 100).
² Alba Fucens.
³ In Latin, the "Tinia."
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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 Tyrrenia and the territory of Clusium. Now Augustus Caesar concerned himself about such impairments of the city, organising for protection against fires a militia composed of freedmen, whose duty it was to render assistance,

4 The "cohors 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. 28.
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πτώσεις τὰ γυγιὸ τῶν καινῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καθελὼν καὶ κωλύσας ἐξαίρειν ποδῶν ἐξθομήκουτα πός ται ὅδεῖς ταῖς δημοσίαις. ἀλλ' ὄμως ἐπέλευσεν ἐν ἡ ἐπανόρθωσις, εἰ μὴ τὰ μέταλλα καὶ ἡ ὠλη καὶ τὸ τῆς πορθμείας εὔμεταχειριστοῦ ἀντείχε.

8. Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις τῆς χώρας παρέχεται τὰ εὐτυχήματα τῇ πόλει, προσέθεσαν δὲ Ῥωμαίοι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς προοίμιας, τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὰς κτίσεις εὐστοχήσαι μάλιστα δοξάντων, ὅτι κάλλους ἑστοχάζοντο καὶ ἐρμηνευτησαν καὶ λιμένων καὶ χώρας εὐφυῷς, οὕτω προσόντωσαν μάλιστα ὅτι ὠληγώρησαν ἐκεῖνοι, στράφεος ὃδοι καὶ ὧδατοι εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ ὑπονόμων τῶν δυναμών ἐκκλύσεω τὰ λύματα τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸν Τίβεριον ἐστρωσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὅδους, προσθέντες ἐκκοπάς τε λόφου καὶ ἐγχώσεις κοιλάδων, ὡστε τὰς ἀρμαμάξας δέχεσθαι πορθμείον φορτία. οἱ δὲ ὑπόνομοι συννόμοι λίθον κατακαμφθέντες ὃδοις ἀμάξαις χόρτου πορευτὰς ἔνιας ἀπολελοίπασι. τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ εἰσαγώγιμον ὠδορ διὰ τῶν ὑδραγωγεῶν ὥστε ποταμοὺς διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ὑπονόμων ῥεῖν, ἀπατῶν δὲ ὅτι εἰς σχέδον δεξαμενᾶς καὶ σύφωναι καὶ κρονοὺς ἔχειν ἄφθονος, ὄν τελείως ἐπιμέλειαν ἔποιήσατο Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας, πολλοὶς καὶ ἄλλοις ἀναθήματι κοσμή-
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. 7–8

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 cavias eas fecisse proditur ut vehem faeni large onustam transmitteret.
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C 236 σας τήν πόλιν. ὅσο δ' εἶπεν, οἱ παλαιοὶ μὲν τοῦ κάλλους τῆς Ἐρώμης ὄλιγοφροι, πρὸς ἄλλους μείζονες καὶ ἀναγκαιοτέρους ὀντες: οἱ δ' ὑστεροκαὶ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ νῦν καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ τούτου καθύπαρπαν, ἀλλ' ἀναθημάτων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐπιθύμονταν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ γὰρ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Θεός Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Σεβαστός καὶ οἱ τούτων παιδεῖς καὶ οἱ φίλοι καὶ γυναι καὶ ἄδελφη πᾶσαι ὑπερβάλλοντο σπουδήν καὶ δαπανήν εἰς τὰς κατασκευὰς τούτων δὲ τὰ πλείονα ὁ Μάρτιος ἔχει κάμπος, πρὸς τῇ φύσει προσωλάβον καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς προνοίας κόσμον. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πεδίου θαυμαστόν, ἢμα καὶ τὰς ἁρματοδρομίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἕπισταν ἀκόλουθον παρέχειν 1 τῷ τοσοῦτῳ πλῆθει τῶν σφαίρας κἀκρίβει καὶ παλαιότατα γυμναζόμενον καὶ τὰ περικείμενα ἔργα καὶ τὸ ἐδαφὸς παῖδον δι’ ἐτούς καὶ τῶν λόφων στεφάνας τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Ῥεύνου σκηνογραφικῆν ὄψιν ἐπιδεικνυμέναι δυσαπάλακτον παρέξουσι τὴν θέαν. πλησίον δ’ ἐστὶ τοῦ πεδίου τούτου καὶ ἄλλο πεδίον καὶ στοάι κύκλῳ παραπληθεῖς καὶ ἄλωσι καὶ θέατρα τρία καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον

1 παρέχειν, Groskurd, for πατέχειν; so the later editors.

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 (cf. W. H. D. Rouse, Votive Offerings, p. 273).

See the note above on “structures.”

For a list of some of these “friends” of Augustus and what they built, see Suetonius, Augustus 29.

Cp. “works of art,” 5. 2. 6 and the footnote.

According to Hübner (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. “Agrippae
many other structures. In a word, the early Romans made but little account of the beauty of Rome, because they were occupied with other, greater and more necessary, matters; whereas the later Romans, and particularly those of to-day and in my time, have not fallen short in this respect either—indeed, they have filled the city with many beautiful structures. In fact, Pompey, the Deified Caesar, Augustus, his sons and friends, and wife and sister, have outdone all others in their zeal for buildings and in the expense incurred. The Campus Martius contains most of these, and thus, in addition to its natural beauty, it has received still further adornment as the result of foresight. Indeed, the size of the Campus is remarkable, since it affords space at the same time and without interference, not only for the chariot-races and every other equestrian exercise, but also for all that multitude of people who exercise themselves by ball-playing, hoop-trundling, and wrestling; and the works of art situated around the Campus Martius, and the ground, which is covered with grass throughout the year, and the crowns of those hills that are above the river and extend as far as its bed, which present to the eye the appearance of a stage-painting—all this, I say, affords a spectacle that one can hardly draw away from. And near this campus is still another campus, with colonnades round about it in very great numbers, and sacred precincts, and three theatres, and an amphitheatre,

(1) 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.

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cαὶ ναὸς πολυτελεῖς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλοις, ὡς τάρεργον ὅπως ἔδοξεν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν ἀλλην πόλιν. διότερ ἐροτερπέστατον νομίζαντες τούτων τῶν τούτων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων μνήματα ἐνταῦθα κατασκευάσαν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. ἀξιολογότατον δὲ τὸ Μαυσωλεον καλούμενον, ἐπὶ κρήνην τῆς ἱερήνης λευκολίθου πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ χάμα μέγα, ἀρχύ κορυφῆς τοῖς ὑπειθαλεί τῶν δενδρῶν συνηθεῖσα. ἐπὶ ἀκρῷ μὲν οὖν εἰκών ἐστὶ χαλκή τοῦ Ζεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ χόματι θηκόντα εἰσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ οἰκείων, ὅπισθεν δὲ μέγα ἄλσος περιπάτους θαυμαστοὺς ἔχουν ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ ὃ τῆς καύστρας αὐτοῦ περιβόλος, καὶ οὕτως λίθου λευκοῦ, κύκλῳ μὲν περικείμενον ἔγον σιδηροῦν περίφραγμα, ἐντὸς δὲ ὀρεινοῖς κατάφυτος. πάλιν δὲ εἰς τις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρελθὼν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἄλλην ἐξ ἀλλής ἰδοὺ παραβεβλημένην ταύτην ¹ καὶ βασιλείας στοάς καὶ ναούς, ἰδοὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὰ ἔνταθα ἔργα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς Διῆς περιπάτῳ, ῥαδίως ἐκλάθην ἀν τῶν ἔξωθεν. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ Ῥώμη.

9. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τῆς Δατίνης πόλεων τὰς μὲν ἐτέρως γνωρίσμασι, τὰς δὲ ὁδοὺς ἀφορίσατο ἀν τις ταῖς γνωριμωτάταις, ὡσι καὶ διὰ τῆς Δατίνης

¹ ταύτη, Corais, for ταύτην; so the later editors.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. 8–9

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, 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; 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; 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, 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. Such is Rome.

9. As for the rest of the cities of Latium, their positions may be defined, some by a different set of distinctive marks, and others by the best known roads that have been constructed through Latium; for they

4 Tozer (Selections, p. 155) says, "&amp; λας &amp; λας refer to βασιλικὰς στοὰς" and translates, "should be seen, ranged one after another on either side of this, both basilicas and temples." But the Greek hardly admits of his interpretation.

5 For a more detailed account of the public works and buildings at Rome, the reader is referred to Pliny 36. 24.
STRABO

εστρωνται; ή γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῦτας ἢ παρὰ ταῦτας ἢ μεταξὺ ἵδρυνται. γνωριμωταί δὲ τῶν ὅδων ἢ τε 'Ἀππία καὶ ἡ Δατίνη καὶ ἡ Ὠφαλεία; ἢ μὲν τὰ πρὸς θαλάττη ¹ ἀφορίζουσα μέρη τῆς Δατίνης μέχρι Συναεσσῆς, ἢ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τῇ Σαβίνῃ μέχρι Μαρσῶν, μέση δ' αὐτῶν ἡ Δατίνη ἡ συμπίπτουσα τῇ 'Ἀππίᾳ κατὰ Κασιλίνων, ² πόλιν διέχουσαν Καπινής εἰνεκαλδέκα σταδίους; ἄρχεται δὲ ³ ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ἀππίας, ἐν ἀριστερὰ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐκτετραγεμένη πλησίον Ῥώμης, ἐτα διὰ τοῦ Τουσκλανοῦ ὅρους ὑπερβᾶσα μεταξὺ Τούσκλου πόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ ὅρους κάτεισιν ἐπὶ "Ἀλχίδον πολίχνων καὶ Πικτᾶς πανδοχεία. ἐτα συμπίπτει καὶ ἡ Δα-βικανή, ἀρχομένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡσκυλίνης πύλης, ἀφ' ἡς καὶ ἡ Πρωνεστίνη; ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δ' ἠφείδα καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἡσκυλίνου πρόεισιν ἐπὶ πλείους τῶν ἐκατόν καὶ ἑκάστε ἱστανων, καὶ πλασάσασα τὸ Δαβικό, παλαιῷ κτίσματι κατε-πασμένη, κειμένῳ δ' ἐ̄φ' ὕψους, τοῦτο μὲν καὶ τὸ Τουσκλοῦν ἐν δεξιῶς ἀπολείπει, τελευτᾷ δὲ πρὸς τὰς Πικτᾶς καὶ τὴν Δατίνην διέχει δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διακοσίων καὶ δέκα σταδίων, εἰθ' ἐξῆς μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Δατίνης εἰσὶν ἐπίσημαι κατοικίαι καὶ πόλεις Φερέντινων, Φοναίων, παρ' ἦν ὁ Κόσας ἰτι ποταμός, Φα-βρατεία, παρ' ἦν ὁ Τρήρος ἰτι, Ἀκούνων, ἢ ⁴

¹ θαλάτη, Jones, for θαλάττη.
² Κασιλίνων, Cluver, for Κάσινων; so the editors.
³ τό, before ἀρχεταί, is deleted by the editors.
⁴ ή, Jones inserts before μεγάλη; others bracket the ἂντι after πόλις, or (as Meineke) delete it, or (as Corais) insert δὲ after Ἀκούνων.

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GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. 9

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 Trerus³ flows), Aquinum (it is a large city, and

¹ "Ad Pictas."
² The river is still called "Cosa."
³ Now the Sacco.
STRABO

μεγάλη πόλις ἦστι, παρ' ἥν ὁ Μέλπις ἰσις ποταμὸς μέγας, Ἰντεράμηνον, ἐν συμβολῇ δυναί ποταμον κείμενον, Δεϊρός τε καὶ έτερον Κάσινον καὶ αὕτη πόλις ἀξίολογος, ὑστάτη τῶν Δατίνων. τὸ γὰρ Τέανον τὸ καλούμενον Σιδικίουν ἐφεξῆς κείμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιθέτου δηλοῦται διότι τῶν Σιδικίων ἐστίν. αὕτοι δὲ Οσκοί, Καμπανῶν ἐθνὸς ἐκκελουσός, ὡστε λέγοντ' ἄν τῆς Καμπανίας καὶ αὕτη, μεγάστη οὔσα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Δατίνῃ πόλεως, καὶ ἡ ἐφεξῆς ἡ τῶν Καληνῶν, καὶ αὕτη ἀξίολογος συμπότουσα τῷ Κασιλίνῳ.

10. Ἐφ' ἐκάτερα δὲ τῆς Δατίνης ἐν δεξιὰ μὲν εἰσιν αἱ μεταξὺ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀπτίας, Σητία τε καὶ Σιγυνία, φέρουσαι όινον, ἡ μὲν τῶν πολυτελῶν ἔνα, ἡ δὲ τῶν σταλτικῶτατον κούλια, τῶν Σιγυνίων 2 λεγόμενου πρὸ δὲ ταύτης 3 ἐστὶ Πρεθέρων καὶ Κόρα καὶ Σύσσα Τραπόντιον 4 τε καὶ Ουέλτραι καὶ Ἀλέτριον ἢτι δὲ Φρεγέλλαι, παρ' ἦν ὁ Δεϊρις μὲν ὁ εἰς τὰς Μιντούρνας ἐκκελουσός, νῦν μὲν κωμή, πόλις δὲ ποτε γεγονοῦσα ἀξίολογος καὶ τὰς πολι- λας τῶν ἄρτι λεχθεισῶν περιοκίδας 5 πρότερον ἐσχηκία, αἱ νῦν εἰς αὕτην συνέρχονται, ἀγοράς τε ποιούμεναι καὶ ἱεροποιίας πίνας' κατεσκάφη

1 ἐν, before ἐν, Corais and others bracket; Meineke rightly deletes.
2 Σιγυνίων, Meineke, for Σιγυνίων.
3 Nearly all the editors, including Müller-Düburner and Meineke, wrongly emend πρὸ δὲ ταύτης to πρὸς δὲ ταύτας.
4 For Τραπόντιον, Siebenkees, from conjecture of Cluver, reads τῶν Πομπεινίων, while C. Müller conjectures Καρβέντιον.
5 περιοκίδας, Groskurd, for περιοκίδας; so 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 Priernum, 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 Ἄρωμαῖων ἀποστάσας. πλείσται δ' εἰσὶ καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Δατίνῃ καὶ τῶν ἐπέκεινα ἐν τῇ Ἐρυκίων τε καὶ Ἀλκών καὶ Ὠνάλσκων ἰδρυμέναι, Ἄρωμαῖων δ' εἰσὶ κτίσματα. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς Δατίνης αἱ μεταξὺ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Οὐαλερίας, Γάβιου μὲν ἐν τῇ Πραινεστινῇ ὁδῷ κειμένῃ, λατόμουν ἔχουσα ὑπογράφον τῇ Ῥώμῃ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων, διέχουσα τὸ ἱσον τῆς Ῥώμης τε καὶ Πραινεστοῦ, περὶ ἑκάτων σταδίους. εἰθ' ἡ Πραινεστος, περὶ ἡς αὐτίκα ἔρομεν εἰθ' αἰ 1 εν τοῖς ὀρεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ Πραινεστοῦ, ἦ τε τῶν Ἐρυκίων πολίχνῃ Καπίτουλον καὶ Ἅναγνία, πόλεις ἀξιόλογος, καὶ Κερέατε καὶ Σώρα, παρ' ἦν ὁ Λεύρης παρεξίων εἰς Φρεγέλλας ὑπὲρ καὶ Μιντουμασα' ἐπετα ἄλλα τινὰ καὶ Ὀυεναθρόν, ὃθεν τὸ κάλλιστον ἔλαιον' ἥ μὲν ous πόλις ἐφ' ὄψιν κεῖται, παραρρέει δὲ τὴν τοῦ λόφου βέβαιον ὁ Οὐνουλτόφρον, ὅς καὶ παρὰ τὸ Καστίλιον ἐνεχθεὶς ἐκδίδοσε κατὰ τὴν ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ πόλιν, Ἀλεπρία δὲ καὶ Ἀλλίφα ἥδη Σαυνιτικαί πόλεις εἰσίν, ἥ μὲν ἀνηρημένη κατὰ τὸν Μαρσικὸν πόλεμου, ἥ δ' ἔτι συμμένουσα.

11. Ἡ Οὐαλερία δ' ἀρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ Τίβούρων, ὅγεις δ' ἐπὶ Μαρσοὺν καὶ Κορμίων, τήν τῶν Πελέγυουν μητρόπολιν. εἰσὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Δατίναι πόλεις Οὐαρία 2 τε καὶ Καρσέοιο καὶ Ἀλβα, πλησίον δὲ καὶ πόλις Κουκουλον. ἐν οὔφει δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ Τίβουρά τε καὶ Πραινεστος καὶ

1 al, the obvious correction of Corais, for 2.
2 Οὐαρία, Kramer from the conj. of Clavier, for Οὐαλερία; so the later editors.

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GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. 10–11

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 Casilinium 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 Samnitie 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, Carsoli, 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 Scultolo.
STRABO

Τούσκλον. Τίβουρα μέν, ἣν τὸ Ηράκλειον, καὶ ὁ καταράκτης, δυν πολύς ὑπὸ τὸ Ἀνίων, ἀφ' ὑψίους μεγάλου καταπύττων εἰς φάραγγα βαθείαν καὶ κατασθῇ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει. ἐντεύθεν δὲ διέξεις πεδίων εὐκαρποτάτων παρὰ τὰ μέταλλα τοῦ λίθου τοῦ Τίβουρτίνου καὶ τοῦ ἐν Γαβίους, καὶ τοῦ ἐρυθροῦ λεγομένου, ὡστε τὴν ἐκ τῶν μέταλλων ἐξαγωγήν καὶ τὴν πορθμείαν εὐμαρή τελείως εἶναι, τῶν πλείστων ἔργων τῆς Ῥώμης ἐνεπεθνεν κατασκευαζομένων. ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ Ἀλβουλα καλούμενα ἔδει ὑδατὰ ψυχρὰ ἐκ πολλῶν πηγῶν, πρὸς ποικίλας νόσους καὶ πίνουσι καὶ ἐγκαθημένους ὑγείεινα τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ Λαβανά, οὐκ ἔποιηθεν τούτων ἐν τῇ Νωμεντατῇ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἰρηνοῦ τόποις. Πραίνεστος δ' ἐστὶν ὅπου τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἱερὸν ἐπίσημον χρυστηρίας ἀμφότεροι δ' ἀι πόλεις αὐτὶ τῇ αὐτῇ προσιδρυμέναι τυγχάνουσιν ὅρειν, διέχουσι δ' ἀλλήλων ὅπως σταδίους ἑκατόν, τὴς δὲ Ῥώμης Πραίνεστος μὲν καὶ διπλάσιον, Τίβουρα δ' ἐδαπατον. φασὶ δ' Ἑλληνίδας ἀμφοτέρας, Πραίνεστον γούν Πολυστέφανον καλεῖσθαι πρῶτον.

1 Before § Corais and Meineke insert ἐν; but Müller-Dibner follow the MSS.
2 For καὶ τοῦ Meineke, from conj. of Kramer, reads τοῦ καὶ.

1 Cp. 5. 3. 7.
2 The Greek word here translated "wooded" suggests a sacred grove. Strabo obviously refers to the grove that was sacred to Tiburnus, the founder of Tibur. Cp. Horace, Odys 1. 7. 13.
4 Cp. § 10 above.
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 Erectum. 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 “Bagno 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, Argo positum colonum.”
10 “Many-wreathed,” so called, apparently, from the several terraces. But Pliny (3. 9) says Praeneste was formerly called “Stephano” (Wreath).
STRABO

ἐρυμή μὲν οὖν ἐκατέρα, πολὺ δὲ ἐρυμνωτέρα
Πραινεστος' ἄκραν1 γὰρ ἔχει τῆς μὲν πόλεως ὑπερθεὶν ὅρος υψηλόν, ὕποισθεν δ' ἄπο τῆς συνε-
χωύσης ὀρεινῆς αὐξεῖ διεξευγμένου, ὑπεραίρων
καὶ δυσὶ σταθοὶς τούτου πρὸς ὀρθιὰν ἀνάβασιν.

C 239 πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἐρυμνότητι καὶ διώρυξε κρυπταῖς
диατέρτηται πανταχόθεν μέχρι τῶν πεδίων, ταῖς
μὲν ὑδείες χάρων, ταῖς δὲ ἐξόδων λαθραίων, διὸ
ἐν μιᾷ Μάριος πολυορκούμενος ἀπέθανε. ταῖς
μὲν οὖν ἄλλαις πόλεις πλείστον τὸ ἐνεργεῖ πρὸς
ἀγαθοῦ τίθεται, Πραινεστίνοις δὲ συμφορὰ γεγέ-
νηται διὰ τᾶς Ῥωμαίων στάσεις. καταφέυγοι
γὰρ ἐκεῖσε οἱ νεοτερισίαντες. ἐκπολυρρηθέντων
δὲ, πρὸς τῇ κακώσει τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῇ χώραν
ἀπαλαυτριόθαι συμβαίνει, τῆς αἰτίας μετα-
φερομένης επὶ τοὺς ἁνατίσιος. ρέει δὲ διὰ τῆς
χώρας Οὐέρεστις ποταμός. πρὸς ἕω δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης
εἶσιν αἱ λεκθείσαι πόλεις.

12. Ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τῆς κατ' αὐτὰς ὀρεινῆς ἀλλή
πάχις ἑστὶ, μεταξὺ αὐλῶνα καταλείπουσα τὸν

1 ἄκραν, Corain, for ἄκραν; so the later editors.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. II–12

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 mountaneous 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 his headquarters. And in 63 B.C. Catiline sought to occupy Praeneste for headquarters but his effort was frustrated by the consul (Cicero, Against Catiline I. 8).
5 The "Verestis" is otherwise unknown.
6 The Volscian Mountains.
κατὰ Ἀλγιδοῦν, ὑψηλὴ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ δρούς. ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ τὸ Τούσκλον ἔδρμεν, πόλεις οὖν φαύλως κατασκευασμένη κεκόσμηται δὲ ταῖς κύκλῳ φυτείαις καὶ οἰκοδομίαις, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ὑποπτεύοσαι ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην μέρος, τὸ γὰρ Τούσκλον ἐναύθα ἔστι λόφος εὔγειος καὶ εὖ τρόπος, κορυφοῦμενος ἡρέμη πολυπλακὸν καὶ δερομενος βασιλείων κατασκευᾶς ἐκπρεπεστάτας, συνεχῆς δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ τῷ Ἀλβανῷ ὄρει ὑποπτεύοντα, τὴν αὐτὴν τε ἀρετὴν ἔχουσα καὶ κατασκευην. ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἐστὶ πεδία, τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην συνιστοῦσα καὶ τὰ προάστεια αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν βαλατταν' τὰ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν βαλατταν ὡτῶν ἐστὶν ὑγιεινα, τὰ δὲ ἀλλα εὐαγγωγά τε καὶ παραπλησίους ἐξησκεμένα. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀλβανίου Ἀρκία ἐστὶν πόλις ἐπὶ τῇ ὄρῳ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ σταύρῳ δὲ εἰσίν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκατόν ἐξηκοντα' κοίλος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος, ἔχει δὲ ὁμοίως ἐρυμνὴν ἀκραῖα ὑπερχεῖται δ' αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν Λαυόνιον, πόλις Ῥωμαίων, ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Ἀππίας ὄρου, ἄφ' ὲς ἐποττος ἦ τε θαλασσά τεστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἀντίου, τὸ δ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, δ' καλούσι Νέμος, ἐκ τοῦ ἐν ἀριστερὰ μέρους τῆς ὄρου τοῖς ἐξ Ἀρκίας ἀναβαίνουσιν, τῆς δ' Ἀρκία τοῦ ἱερὸν λέγουσιν ἀφιδρυμά τις τῆς

1 Λαυόνιον. Cluver. for Λαυόνιον; so the later editors.
2 τοῖς. Siebenkees from conj. of Cluver, for τῆς; so generally the later editors.
3 The reading ἀναβαίνουσιν . . . . . ἀφιδρυμα τινι is that of Grockturd, so Neineke and others) for ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν δ' Ἀρκίαν τοῦ ἱερὸν. λέγουσι δ' ἀφιδρύματα.

1 Mt. Albanus, now Monte Cavo, is the highest summit.
2 That is, on one's way from Tusculum.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. 12

Algidum) between them and is high as far as Mt. Albanus.\footnote{The ancient Aricia lay in the "Vallis Aricina" (now "Valle Aricellia"), an extinct crater below the modern town of Ariccia, which latter occupies the site of the ancient citadel, a steep hill.} 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\footnote{"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). \footnote{That is "Nemus Dianae."}} 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.\footnote{"Diana," that is, "Artemis."} Above Aricia lies, first, on the right hand side of the Appian Way, Lanuvium,\footnote{"Diana," that is, "Artemis."} 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.\footnote{"Diana," that is, "Artemis."} The temple of the Arician, they say, is a
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Ταυροπόλοι καὶ γὰρ τι βαρβαρικὸν κρατεῖ καὶ Σκυθικὸν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔθος. καθίσταται γὰρ ἱερὸς δ’ γενθεῖς αὐτόχειρ τοῦ ἱερωμένου πρότερον δραπέτης ἀνήρ’ ξεφήρης οὖν ἔστων ἀεί, περισκοπῶν τὰς ἐπιθέσεως, ἔτοιμος ἀμύνεσθαι. τὸ δ’ ἱερὸν ἐν ἄλλη, πρόκειται δὲ λίμνη πελαγίζουσα, κύκλῳ δ’ ὀρεινὴ συνεχὴς ὀφρύς περικείται καὶ λιανὶ1 ὑψηλὴ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολαμβάνουσα ἐν κολῷ τόπῳ καὶ βαθεὶ. τὰς μὲν οὖν πηγὰς ὅραν ἔστων, εξ’ δὲν ἡ λίμνη πληροῦται τούτων δ’ ἔστιν ἡ2 Ἡγερία καλουμένη, δαίμονός τιμος ἐπώνυμος· αἱ δ’ ἀπορρύθεις ἐπταῦθα μὲν ἀδηλοῖ εἰσὶν, εξ’ δὲ δείκνυται πόρρω πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀνέχουσαν.

13. Πλησίον δ’ ἔστι τῶν χωρῶν τούτων καὶ Ἀλβανὸν δρόπο πολὺ ὑπερκύπτου τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίων καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ ὀφρύων, καὶ περὶ ψηλῶν οὐσῶν καὶ ὄρθιων ἱερῶν. ἔχει δὲ καὶ τούτῳ λίμνῃ πολὺ μεῖξι τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.3 προσοτέρω δὲ τούτων αἱ λεχθεῖσαι πρότερον πόλεις τῆς Δατίνης εἰσί· μάλιστα δ’ εἰς μεσογαίᾳ τῶν Δατινῶν πόλεών ἔστιν ἡ Ἀλβα, ὀμοροῦσα

1 λιαν, Corais (who omits κα!), for μίαν; so the later editors.
2 Ἡγερία, Corais, for Ἡγερία; so Meineke.
3 οδος after Ἀρτεμίσιον, Corais deletes; so generally the editors, including Meineke.

1 That is, “Artemis Tauropoioi” — Artemis in her capacity as goddess of the Tauri.
2 The “Soythian element” referred to is the sacrifice of strangers by the Tauri, as described, for example, in Euripides’ Iphigenia among the Tauri.
3 Strabo refers to the Lacus Nemorensis (now Lago di
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 3. 12–13

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, Aenid 7. 515) it was called by the Latini the "Speculum" ("mirror") of Diana.

* Lacus Albanus, now Lago di Albano.

* Tibur and Praeneste.

* That is, from Rome—the same standpoint as at beginning of § 8.

* Alba Fucens.
Marsaik: idroutai de ef' uphloou payou lymnhs

Phouikinas plhson, pelagias to megethos khroutai
de authe malista men Marsai kal pantes oi
plhsochoroi. faoi de authe kai plhrousiai
pote mekri tis thein kai tapanoousai pain,
dotan anapshekun tois lymnwhatas topon kai
gevarxhathai parxein, hti metaostaseis twn
kata badous uporo酱油 spodithen kai adeilwos
ginountai, pain de episurpeuvoun, h
telews ekleiopouin ai thegai kai pain
syvhlithountai, kakapt pro to 'Amevano
symboi evn faoi
to di Katanth dhvenos ekleipeci gar epi pollla
etn kai pain rei. ek de tis Phouikinas einai ta
theagas istorouhai tovs Marxian udatoi to v
'Romhnh potiizonov kai para tolla
vudkimoynov
udato. t de 'Alba diad to en badei tis
xora
idrousiai kai diad to ederekes antil
phorvas ekhy-
santo polllakis 'Romaiou, tovs fylakeis
deomvnous
entathn kathirynontes.

1 Lymnhs . . . . , pelagias, Meineko, for lymn . . . . ,
pelagia.

1 Lago di Fucino (Celano) was completely drained by
Prince Torlonia, 1855-1869 A.D.
2 That is, the flowing waters in the depths of the earth
(op. 3. 5. 7), as distinguished from the "springs" by which
Strabo always means the mouths at the surface of the earth.

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GEOMETRY, 5. 3. 13

it is on the confines of the Marsi; it is situated on a lofty rock, near Lake Fucinus,1 which in size is like an open sea. The lake is used mostly by the Marsi and all the neighbouring peoples. They say that it not only fills up sometimes as far as the mountainous country, but also lowers again enough to permit the places which have been converted into marshes to get dry and to be tilled—whether it be that changes take place, sporadically and in a way that is not apparent, in the flow of the waters down in the depths,2 and that they flow back together again, or that the springs completely fail and then by pressure are brought together again—as is said to be the case with the Amenanus, the river that flows through Catana, for it fails for many years and then flows again.3 It is from Lake Fucinus, the story goes, that the springs of the Aqua Marcia come,4 which brings drinking-water to Rome and has the highest repute as compared with the other waters. Because of the fact that Alba is situated deep in the interior of the country, and is also well-walled, the Romans often used it for a prison, shutting up therein those who have to be kept under guard.5

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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 Sublaquem (now Subiaco). The story was that the River Pitonius (now Perlogna) 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 Sublaquem. Pliny himself (31. 24) believed the story (see Tozer, S-lections, p. 162).
5 For instance, Syphax, King of Numidia (Livy 30. 17), Persius, King of Macedonia (Livy 45. 42), and Bituutus, King of the Alverni (Valerius Max. 9. 6, and Livy Epit. 61).
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IV

1. Ἡ ἐπειδ' ἶ ἀπὸ τῶν προσαλπίων ἔθνων ἄρξάμενοι καὶ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀρῶν τῶν Ἀπεννίνων, ἐπειθ' ὑπερθάντες τάντα τὴν ἔντος ἐπήλθομεν πάσαν ὅση μεταξύ κεῖται τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους καὶ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν τῶν κεκλιμένων πρὸς τὸν Ἀδριαν μέχρι Σαμνιτῶν καὶ Καμπανῶν, ὑπὸ ἐπανύωντες ὁλώσαμεν τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕβευ καταφύγει ταῖς ὑπάρχεις τῆς τε ἐκτὸς μέχρι τῆς παραλίας τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς καὶ τῆς ἔντος, ἀρκτέου δὲ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν Κελτικῶν ὄρων.

2. Ἡ ἐστὶ δ' ἡ Πικενίνη μετὰ τὰς τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν πόλεις τὰς μεταξὺ Ἀρμίνων καὶ Ἀγκάνων, ὁμοιόδους δ' ἐκ τῆς Σαβίνης οἱ Πικενίνοι, δρυοκολάπτον τὴν ὕδων ἔγησαμεν τοῖς ἀρχηγέταις, ἀφ' οὐ καὶ τούνομα πίκου γαρ τῶν ὄρων τοῦτον ὄνομαζοντο, καὶ νομίζοντες Ἀρεως ιερόν. οἰκοῦσι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὅρων ἄρξάμενοι μέχρι τῶν πεδίων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐπὶ μῆκος ἡξημένην ἔχοντες μᾶλλον ἡ πλάτος τῆς χώρας, ἀγαθὴν πρὸς ἀπαντὰ, βελτίω δὲ τοῖς ἐξιλίνοις καρποῖς ἡ τοῖς σιτικοῖς. ἦστι δ' εὗρος μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ βάλανταν ἀνώμαλον τοῖς διαστήμασι, μῆκος δ' ἀπὸ Ἀἰσιος ποταμοῦ μέχρι Κάστρου παράπλων ἔχον σταδίων ὀκτακοσίων, πόλεις δ' Ἀγκάνων μὲν 'Ελληνικῆς, Συρακοσίων κτίσιμα τῶν φυγόντων τῆς Διονυσίου τυραννοῦ: κεῖται δ' ἐπ' ἄκρας 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.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 4. 1-2

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 Samnitae and the Campani; I shall now, therefore, go back and indicate the tribes that live in these mountains, and also in the foothills both of the country outside the mountains, as far as the Adriatic seaboard, and of the country this side. But I must begin again with the Celtic boundaries.1

2. Next after those cities of the Ombrici that are between Ariminum and Ancona comes the Picentine country.2 The Picentini are originally from the Sabine country, a woodpecker having led the way for their progenitors; and hence their name, for they call this bird “picus,” and consider it sacred to Mars. The country they live in begins at the mountains and extends as far as the plains and the sea, thus having increased in length more than breadth; it is good for every use to which it may be put, though better for fruits than for grain. Its breadth—that from the mountains to the sea—taken at the different intervals,3 is irregular, while its length, by a voyage along the coast from the Aesis River to Castrum, is eight hundred stadia. Its cities are, first, Ancona, a Greek city, founded by the Syracusans who fled from the tyranny of Dionysius; it is situated on a promontory, which by its curve.

8 That is, at the different cities on the seacoast.
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λιμένα ἐμπειριαμβανούσης τῇ πρὸς τὰς ᾠκτοὺς ἔπιστροφῆς, σφόδρα δ' εὐοίνος ἐστὶ καὶ πυροφόρος.1 πλησίον δ' αὐτῆς Ἀὐξουμοῦ πόλις μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς βαλάντης: εἶτα Σεπτέμπεδα καὶ Πνευντία καὶ Πνευντία καὶ Φίρμον Πικηνὸν ἐπίνειον δὲ ταύτης Κάστελλον. ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὸ τῆς Κύπρας ἱερὸν, Τυρρηνὸν ἱδρύμα καὶ κτίσμα· τὴν δ' Ἡραῖον ἐκεῖνον Κύπραν καλοῦσι· εἴτε Τροιεντῖνος ποταμὸς καὶ πόλις ἐπόνυμος· εἴτε Καστρούνομοι 2 καὶ ὁ Μαρτίνος ποταμός, ἰόνιον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀδριανῶν πόλεως, ἐχὼν ἐπίνειον τῆς Ἀδριαίς ἐπόνυμον ἑαυτῷ. ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ Ἀσκελών τὸ Πικηνὸν, ἐρυμνότατον χωρίον καὶ ἕφ' ὃ κεῖται τὸ τείχος, καὶ τὰ περικείμενα ὅρη στρατοπέδιοι οὐ βάσιμα. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Πικηνίτης Οὐρσίτοι τε καὶ Μαρσοὶ καὶ Πελιγνοὶ καὶ Μαρρωκῖνοι καὶ Φρεντανόι, Σαυμυκῖνοι ἔθνος, τὴν ὀρεινὴν κατέχουσιν, ἐφαπτόμενοι μικρὰ τῆς βαλάντης. ἔστι δὲ τὰ ἐθνά ταύτα μικρὰ μὲν, ἀνδρικάτα δὲ καὶ πολλάκις τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτην ἐπιδεδειγμένα Ῥωμαίοις, πρῶτον μὲν, ὕνικα ἐπολέμων δεύτερον δὲ, ὅτε συνεστράτευον τρίτον

1 πυροφόρος, Corais, for εὕροφόρος; see Meineke.
2 Καστροῦνομοι (Corais, -οῦνομοι; Meineke, -νοῦν) Jones, for καὶ τρούνομο (see Αἰκουνομ—, 5. 2. 9).
3 After kal Kramer suggests the insertion of διὰ τῶν λόφων. Since Grockurd the editors indicate a lacuna after καὶ.

"Pneumetia," is otherwise unknown; perhaps Strabo wrote "Pollentia" (see Corais-du Thiel-Letronne, Vol. II., p. 236, and Nissen, Italice Landeskunde, Vol. II., p. 422.
4 Castellum Firmanorum, now Porto di Ferno or Porto San Giorgio.
5 In Latin, "Cuprae Fanum."

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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,\textsuperscript{1} Potentia and Firmum Picenum (its port-town is Castellum).\textsuperscript{2} Next in order comes the temple of Cupra,\textsuperscript{3} which was established, and founded as a city, by the Tyrreni, who call Hera "Cupra"; then, the River Truentinus\textsuperscript{4} and the city named after it;\textsuperscript{5} then Castrum Novum, and the River Matrinus\textsuperscript{6} (which flows from the city of the Adriani\textsuperscript{7}), on which is Adria's port-town,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{9} Beyond the Picentine country are the Vestini, the Marsi, the Peligni, the Marrucini, and the Frentani (a Samnite 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;

\textsuperscript{1} Now the Tronto.
\textsuperscript{2} Truentum, also called Castrum Truentinum.
\textsuperscript{3} Now the Piomba.
\textsuperscript{4} Adria, or Hadria.
\textsuperscript{5} Matrinum.
\textsuperscript{6} 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 wall on which the wall is situated, but also (on account of) the mountains that lie round about it, which are impassable for armies."
STRABO

δ', ὅτε δεόμενοι τυχεῖν ἀλευθερίας καὶ πολετεῖας μὴ τυγχάνοντες ἀπέστησαν καὶ τὸν Μαρσικὸν καλούμενον ἔξησαν πόλεμον, Κορφίνιον, τὸν Πελίγωνον μιτρόπολιν, κομηὸν ἀπασι τοῖς Ἰταλικῶν ἀποδεῖγαντες πόλιν ἀντὶ τῆς Ῥώμης, ὀρμητήριον τοῦ πόλεμου, μετονομασθέα τοὺς Ἰταλικοῖς, καὶ ἑνταῦθα δὴ τοῖς συνεπομένοις ἀθροίσαντες καὶ χειροτονήσαντες ὑπάτους καὶ στρατηγοὺς· δύο δὴ ἔτη συνέμειαν ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ, μέχρι διετράξαντο τὴν κοινωνίαν περὶ ἡς ἐπολέμουν. Μαρσικὸν δὲ ἄνωμασαν τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχάνων τῆς ἀποστάσεως, καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ Πομπαίδου. τὰ μὲν όνα ἀλλα κωμιδόν ξῶσιν, ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ πόλεις ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς θαλάττης τὸ τοῦ Κορφίνιου καὶ Σοῦλμου 2 καὶ Μαρσικοῦ καὶ Τεάτε 3 τὴν τῶν Μαρμοκίνων μιτρόπολιν. ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ θαλάττῃ τὸ τῆς Ἀτερνοῦ, ὅμορον τῇ Πικεντίνη, ὀμώνυμον δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ διορίζοντι τὴν τῆς Ὀὐστίνης καὶ τὴν Μαρκουκίνης· ἰδίᾳ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀμετρίνης, διὰ δὲ Ὀὐστίνων, παραλιπὼν ἐν δἐξιᾷ τοὺς Μαρμοκίνους ὑπὲρ 4 τῶν Πελίγωνος κειμένους, ξεύγματι περατόν· τὸ δὲ πόλισμα τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ Ὀὐστίνων μὲν

1 δὴ, Kramer, for δε; so the later editors.
2 Σοῦλμον, Jones, for Σοῦλμον; Meineke emends to Σοῦλμων.
3 Τεάτε, Jones, for Τεγέατη (C.), Τεγέατη (B.); Müller-Dübner and Meineke read Τεατέαν.
4 τῷ, after ὑπὲρ, the editors omit.

1 But on coins the name is spelled "Italia," not "Italica" (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Corfinium").

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GEOGRAPHY, 5. 4. 2

and a third time when, begging for freedom and political rights without getting them, they revolted and kindled what is called the Marsic War, for they proclaimed Corfinium (the metropolis of the Peligni) the common city for all the Italiotes, instead of Rome, making it their base of operations for the war and changing its name to Italica;¹ and here it was that they mustered all their followers and elected consuls and praetors.² And they persisted in the war for two years, until they achieved the partnership for which they went to war. The war was named "Marsic" after the people who began the revolt, Pompaedius in particular.³ Now these peoples live in villages, generally speaking, but they also have cities: first, above the sea, Corfinium, Sulmon, Maruvium, and Teate,⁴ the metropolis of the Marrucini. And, secondly, on the sea itself, Aternum, which borders on the Picentine country and is of like name with the river ⁵ that separates the Vestine country from the Marrucine; for it flows from the territory of Amiternum, and through the Vestine country, leaving on its right that part of the Marrucine country which lies above the Peligni (it may be crossed by a pontoon-bridge).⁶ But although the little city ⁷ that is named after the river

² Pompaedius Silo, the Marsian, was killed in battle in 88 B.C., shortly before the end of the war.
³ Now Chieti.
⁴ The Aternus.
⁵ On this bridge, see Nissen, Italische Landeskunde, Vol. II., p. 439.
⁶ The same Aternum above-mentioned.
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C 242 ἢστὶ, κοινῷ δ’ ἑπιυέλῳ χρῶνται καὶ οἱ Πελίγνοι καὶ οἱ Μαρρουκίνοι· διέχει δὲ τὸ ξεύγμα τέτταρας καὶ εἴκοσι στάδιον ἀπὸ Κορφινίου, μετὰ δὲ Ἀτέρνου Ὀρτων, ἐπινειον Φρεντανῶν, καὶ Βοῦκα, καὶ αὐτῷ 1 Φρεντανῶν, ὁμορός Τεάμψε τῷ Ἀπούλῳ. Ὀρτώνιον 2 ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς Φρεντάνοις, πέτραι ληστρικῷς ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ αἱ οἰκίσεις ὀπὸ τῶν ναυαγίων τὴγυνεται καὶ τάλλα θηριῶδεις εἶναι λέγονται. 3 μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀρτωνοῦ καὶ Ἀτέρνου ὁ Σάγρος ποταμὸς ὑρίζων τοὺς Φρεντανοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Πελίγνων ὁ δὲ παράπλους ἀπὸ τῆς Πε- κεντίνης ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀπούλους ὅβε οἱ Ἑλληνες Δαυνίους καλοῦσι, στάδιον ἐστὶν ὅσον τετρα- κοσίων ἐνενήκοντα.

3. Ἐξῆς δὲ μετὰ τὴν Δατώνην ἐστὶν ἡ τε Καμ- πανία, παρηκοῦσα τῇ βαλάτην, καὶ ύπὲρ ταύτην ἡ Σαύνιτης ἐν μεσογαίᾳ μέχρι Φρεντανῶν καὶ τῶν Δαυνίων, εἰτ’ αὐτῷ Δαυνίοι καὶ τάλλα ἔθνη τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πορθμοῦ. πρῶτον δὲ περὶ τῆς Καμπανίας ρητέων. ἐστὶ δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς Σινοέσσης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν ἔξω παραλιῶν κόλπος εἰμεγέθης μέχρι Μησηνοῦ, κάκειθεν ἄλλος κόλπος πολὺ

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

1 Apparently what is now Termoli (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.n., and Nissen, Vol. II., p. 783).
2 "Ortonium" is otherwise unknown. The text appears to be corrupt, but all emendations are mere guesses. Meineke relegates the whole sentence to the foot of the page. We should have expected Strabo to refer here to the Frento River as the southern boundary of the country of the Frentani.
belongs to the Vestini, it is used as a common port both by the Peligni and the Marrucini. The pontoon-bridge is twenty-four stadia distant from Corfinium. After Aternum comes Orton, the port-town of the Frentani, and then Buca¹ (it too belongs to the Frentani), whose territory borders on that of Teanum Apulum. Ortonium² 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.³ The voyage along the coast from the Picentine country to the country of those Apuli whom the Greeks call "Daunii"⁴ 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,⁵ 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

¹ Ptolemaeus (3. 16) wrongly associates the mouth of the Sagrus with the country of the Peligni (op. 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.
² Op. 5. 1. 9 and 6. 3. 9.
³ Samnium.
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μείζων τοῦ προτέρου, καλούσα δ' αὐτὸν Κρατῆρα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Μισηνοῦ μέχρι τοῦ 'Ἀθηναίων, δυεῖν ἀκρωτηρίων, κολπούμενον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τῶν ἴόνων Καμπανία πᾶσα ἱδρυται, πεδίον εὐδαιμονε-στατον τῶν ἀπάντων περίκειναι δ' αὐτῷ γεω-λοφίας τε εὐκαρποὶ καὶ ὄρη τά τε τῶν Σαυνιτῶν καὶ τά τῶν Ὀσκῶν. Ἀντιόχος μὲν οὖν φησι τὴν χώραν ταύτην 'Ὀσκίους οἰκήσας, τούτους δὲ καὶ Ἁὔσωνας καλείσθαι, Πολύβιος δ' ἐμφαίνει δύο ἕθνη νομίζων ταύτα: Ὀσκίους γὰρ φησι καὶ Ἁὔσωνας οἰκεῖν τὴν χώραν ταύτην περὶ τὸν Κρατήρα. ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν, οἰκούντων Ὀσκίων πρότερον καὶ Ἁὔσωνων, Σιδικίωνος 1 κατασχείν ὅστερον Ὀσκών τι ἔθνος, τούτους δ' ὑπὸ Κυμαιῶν, ἐκείνους δ' ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἐκπεσεῖν διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν περιμάχητον γενεὰν τὸ πεδίον. δόθηκα δὲ πόλεις ἑγκατοικίσαντας τὴν οὖν κεφαλὴν ὑπομάζει Καπύνη. διὰ δὲ τὴν τρυφὴν εἰς μαλακίαν τραπεζόμενος, καθάπερ τῆς περὶ τὸν Πάρων χώρας ἐξετῆσαν, οὐτω καὶ ταύτης παραχωρήσας Σαυνίταις, τούτους δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐκπεσεῖν. 

1 Σιδικίωνος, Madvig, and Niese independently, for οἱ δ' ἐκεῖνοι (see 5. 3. 10). Siebenkees, Curais, Groskurd, and Müller-Düchner read μετ' ἐκεῖνοι; Kramer conjectures ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι; Meineke strangely omits the phrase altogether without comment.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 4. 3

the latter 1 the "Crater," 2 and the "Crater" forms a bay between the two capes of Misenum 3 and Athenaeum. 4 Above these coasts lies the whole of Campania; it is the most bleft of all plains, and round about it lie fruitful hills, and the mountains of the Samnita and of the Osci. Antiochus, 5 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, 6 later on it was taken by the Sidicini, an Oscan tribe, 7 but the Sidicini were ejected by the Cumaei, and in turn the Cumaei by the Tyrreni. For on account of its fertility, they continue, the plain became an object of contention; and the Tyrreni founded twelve cities in the country and named their capital city "Capua"; 8 but on account of their luxurious living they became soft, and consequently, just as they had been made to get out of the country round about the Padus, 9 so now they had to yield this country to the Samnita; and in turn the Samnita 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

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 ξειφῇ,
C 243 τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἀλώμοφ, τινὰ δὲ καὶ λαχανεύσεσθαι τῷ
tετάρτῳ στόροφ. καὶ μὴν τὸν οἶνον τὸν κράτιστον
ἐνεκθεῖν ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Φάλερνον καὶ τὸν
Στατιτῶν καὶ Καληνῶν ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὁ Σουρεντίνος
ἐνάμιλλος καθίσταται τούτοις, νεωστὶ πειράσθεῖς
ὅτι παλαιόσθιν δέχεται. ὡς δ’ αὐτῶς εὐδελιός
ἐστι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὸ Οὐενάφρον, δ’ ὁμοῦ τοῖς
πεδίοις δρ.

4. Πόλεις δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ βαλάττῃ μετὰ τὴν
Σινόσεσαν Λίτερνον, ὅπου τὸ μὴμα τὸ Σκιπίωνος
τοῦ πρώτου προσαγορευθέντος Ἀφρικανοῦ. διέ-
tριψε γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸ τελευταῖον, ἀφεὶς τὰς
πολιτείας κατ’ ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς τινὰς
παραρρεῖ δὲ ὀμώμυμος τῇ πόλει ποταμῷ. ὡς δ’
αὐτῶς καὶ Οὐουλποῦρος ὀμωμυμὸς ἔστι τῇ παρ’
αὐτῶν πόλει ἐφεξῆς κειμένη μείζον’ ἢ δ’ αὐτῶς διὰ
Οὐενάφρον καὶ τῆς Καμπανίας μέσης. ταύταις
δ’ ἐφεξῆς ἐστὶ Κύμη, Χαλκιδέων καὶ Κυμαιῶν
παλαιότατον κτίσματος πασῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ προσ-
βυτάτῃ τῶν τε Σικελικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιώτιδων,
οί δὲ τῶν στόλων ἄγοντες, Ἰπποκλῆς ὁ Κυμαῖος
καὶ Μεγαθένης ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, διωμολογήσαντο
πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτούς, τῶν μὲν ἰἀποκλαντ ἐναι, τῶν
dὲ τὴν ἐπωμομμὰν ἄθεν νῦν μὲν προσαγορεῦεται
Κύμη, κτίσαι δ’ αὐτὴν Χαλκιδεὺς δοκοῦσιν. πρό-
tερου μὲν οὖν ὑπόθετε καὶ τὸ Φλεγραῖον καλοῦ-

1 But Meineke, following Corais, inserts τὴν before ἰἀποκλαντ.
that, in the course of one year, some of the plains are seceded 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 Cuma, a city founded in most ancient times by people from Chalcis and Cumae; for it is the oldest of all the Sicilian and the Italioote cities. However, the men who led the expedition, Hippocrates 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 Phlegrean Plain,

1 Cp. 5. 3. 6. 2 The Liternus. 3 Vulturnum. 4 In Greek "Cyne." 5 The Euboean "Cyne."
μενον πεδίον, ἐν ὃ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Γίγαντας μυθεύοντο, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν, ὡς εἰκός, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ περιμάχητον τὴν ἡγήν εἶναι δὲ ἄρετὴν ἔστερον δ’ οἱ Κάππανοι κύριοι καταστάντες τῆς πόλεως ὕβρισαν εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πολλά· καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν αὐτῶν συμφήκθησαν αὐτοὶ. οὖν δὲ οὖν ἐτι σωζότατο πολλὰ ἵππη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν νομίμων. ἀνομάσθαι δὲ ἐνὶ Κύμην ἀπὸ τῶν κυμάτων φασὶ· ραχιώδης γὰρ καὶ προσεχῆς ὁ πλησίον αἰγιαλός. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ κητεῖαι¹ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀρισταί. ἐν δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐστὶ θαμνώδης, ἐπὶ πολλοὺς ἐκπεμφόμενη σταδίους, ἀνυδρος καὶ ἀμμώδης, ᾧ Γαλλιαρίαν ἦλθαν καλοῦσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ληστήρια συνεστῆσαντο οἱ Πομπηίου Σέξτου ναῷρχοι καὶ δὴ καιρὸν Σικελίαν ἀπέστησαν ἐκείνος.

5. Πλησίον δὲ τῆς Κύμης τὸ Μισσυνᾶν ἀκρωτήριον καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀχερονσία λίμνη, τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνάγχεισι τις τεναγώδης. καμάζαντι δὲ τὸ Μισσυνᾶν λιμήν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκρῇ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἑγκολπίζοντα γῆν εἰς βάθος, ἐν ᾗ αἱ Βαϊαι καὶ τὰ θερμὰ θάλασσα ἄνω καὶ πρὸς τρυφήν καὶ πρὸς θεραπείαν νόσων ἐπιτήδεια. ταῖς δὲ Βαϊαις συνεχῆς ὁ τε Δοκρίνος κόλπος καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦτον ὁ Ἀορνὸς, χερσόνησον ποιῶν τὴν ἀπο- λαμβανομένην μέχρι Μισσυνᾶ οἰνο ἀπὸ τῆς πλα-

¹ κητεῖαι, all editors, for κηη(ε)ιαί.
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 4. 4-5

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.
γλας¹ τής μεταξὺ Κύμης καὶ αὐτοῦ, λοιπὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὀλίγων σταδίων ἱσθμὸς διὰ τῆς διώρυγος ἐπ’ αὐτὴν Κύμην, καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἐμεύθενον δὲ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀόρνῳ τὰ περὶ τὴν νεκριάν τὴν 'Ομηρικήν καὶ δὴ καὶ νεκουμαντεῖον ἱστοροῦσιν ἑνταῦθα γενέσθαι καὶ 'Οδυσσέα εἰς τούτην ἀφικέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ὁ μὲν ὁ Ἀόρνος κόλπος ἀγχιβαθῆς καὶ ἀρτίστομος, λυμένος καὶ μέγεθος καὶ φύσιν ἱχών, χρείαν δ’ οὐ παρεχόμενος λυμένος διὰ τὸ προκείσθαι τὸν Δοκρίνον κόλπον προσβραχῆ καὶ πολύν. περικλείεται δ’ ὁ Ἀόρνος ὀφρὺν ὁρθίας, ὑπερεκειμέναις πανταχόθεν πλὴν τοῦ εἰσπλοῦν, νῦν μὲν ἡμέρως ἐκπεποιημέναις, πρότερον δὲ συνήρεσιν ἀγρίᾳ ὑπὸ μεγαλοδένδρων καὶ ἀβάτῳ, αἷς κατὰ δεισιδαιμονίαν κατάσκοιν ἐποίου τὸν κόλπον. προσεμύθενον δ’ οἱ ἑπίχώριοι καὶ τοὺς ὅρνεις τοὺς ὑπερτετείς γινομένους καταπίπτειν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, φθειρομένους ὑπὸ τῶν

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

² Agrippa connected Lake Avernus and Lake Lucrinus with a canal, and Lake Avernus, with the port of Cumae with a tunnel.
³ "Necyia" is the title the ancients gave to the eleventh book of the Odyssey, which tells the story of Odysseus' descent into Hades and of the magic rites by which the ghosts of the dead were called up, and also relates the various conversations in Hades.
transverse line which runs between Cumae and Avernus, for there remains an isthmus only a few stadia broad, that is, reckoning straight through the tunnel to Cumae itself and to the sea next to Cumae.\(^1\) The people prior to my time were wont to make Avernus the setting of the fabulous story of the Homeric “Necyia”\(^2\); and, what is more, writers tell us that there actually was an oracle of the dead here and that Odysseus visited it. Now Gulf Avernus is deep up to the very shore and has a clear outlet;\(^3\) and it has both the size and character of a harbour, although it is useless as a harbour because of the fact that Gulf Lucrinus lies before it and is somewhat shallow as well as considerable in extent. Again, Avernus is enclosed round about by steep hill-brows that rise above it on all sides except where you sail into it (at the present time they have been brought by the toil of man into cultivation, though in former times they were thickly covered with a wild and untrodden forest of large trees); and these hill-brows, because of the superstition of man, used to make the gulf a shadowy place. And the natives used to add the further fable that all birds that fly over it fall down into the water,\(^4\) being killed by the vapours that

\(^1\) Although the Romans called Lucrinus and Avernus “lakes,” Strabo calls them “gulfs”—the former a sea-gulf and the latter an inner gulf connecting with the former. The configuration of the country has been greatly changed since Strabo’s time, for instance, in 1538 A.D., when what is now Monte Nuova (455 ft.) was upheaved by volcanic eruption, and the area of Lake Lucrinus was much reduced.

Strabo

ἀναφερομένων ἄρτων, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς Πλουτωνίους. καὶ τούτον στρωμάτων τι ὕπερ
λάμβανον, καὶ τοὺς Κιμμέριους ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι 2 καὶ εἰσῆλθον γε οἱ προβυσάμενοι καὶ ἱλασά-
μενοι 3 τοὺς καταχθονίους δαιμόνας, ὃντων τῶν ὕφηγομένων τὰ τοιάδε ἱερέων, ἡγουλαβηκότων
tῶν τῶν, ἔστι δὲ τηγῆ τις αὐτόθι ποτίμου 4 ὑδάτων ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ, τοῦτον δὲ ἀπείχοντο πάντες, τὸ τῆς Στυγός ὕδωρ νομίσαντες: καὶ τὸ μαντείων ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ὑδραιών τῶν τῆς Πυρραφλε-
γέννατα ἐκ τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἑκτεκμαίρων τῶν
πλησίου καὶ τῆς Ἀχερονίας. Ἔφορος δὲ τοῖς
Κιμμέριοις προσοκειμένων τὼν τῶν φησίν αὐτοῖς
ἐν καταγελοῦσθαι οἰκεῖοι οἰκεῖοι, ὡς καλοῦσιν ἀργίλλας,
καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑδραματῶν παρ᾽ ἀλλιών τε φοίτάν καὶ
tοὺς ξένους εἰς τὸ μαντείου δέχεσθαι, πολὺ
ὕπτως ἐρωμάτων ξύνοντας, ἵνα ὑπὸ ἁμαλλείς καὶ
tῶν μαντευμένων, καὶ τοὺς βασιλέως ἀποδείκνυστοι
αὐτοῖς συντάξεις. εἶναι δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸ χρηστή-

1 Kramer, Meineke, and Müller-Dünnner insert τὸ (in
brackets) after τοῦτο.
2 γενόμενα, Jones, for γενέσθαι.
3 ἱλασάμενοι, Corais, for ἱλασάμενοι; so Meineke, who,
however, omits the οἱ after γε.
4 ποτίμου, Corais (from conj. of Xylander), for ποτημοῦ (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 “Plutonium” were precincts where
sphagitic 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 “Char-
onium” (14. 1. 11 and 14. 1. 44).
2 See 1. 1. 10 and 1. 2. 9.
rise from it, as in the case of all the Plutonia.\footnote{1} And people used to suppose that this too was a Plutonian place and that the Cimmerians\footnote{2} 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\footnote{3} betokened the River Pyriphegethon.\footnote{4} 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,”\footnote{5} 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,\footnote{6} and from the king of the country, who has appointed to them fixed allowances;\footnote{7} and those who live

\footnote{1}{\textit{Now Lake Fusaro.}}\footnote{2}{\textit{Literally, “flaming with fire.” This river was a tributary of the Acheron in the nether world. The River Acheron (now Phanariotikos), in Epirus, was associated with the nether world: it disappears in the earth for some distance and then reappears, losing its waters in the marshy “Acherusian Lake” before emptying into the Ionian Sea.}}\footnote{3}{\textit{“Argillae” apparently means “clay”-dwellings.}}\footnote{4}{That is, as we may infer, on the meat of the sacrificial victims, in addition to any fees which may have been charged}}

\footnote{5}{Thus acknowledging, according to Ephorus, that the country belongs to the Cimmerians.}
STRABO

ὁμονοι ἐθος πάτριοι, μυθένα τὸν ἥλιον ὅραν, ἀλλὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔξω πορεύεσθαι τῶν χασμάτων καὶ διὰ τούτῳ τὸν ποιητὴν περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, ὅσα ἄρα

οὔτε ποτ' αὐτοὺς

'Ηλίος φαεθὼν ἐπιδερκεσθαι.' (Od. 11. 15)

C 245 ὅστερον δὲ διαφθαρῆναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ βασιλέως τινός, οὐκ ἀποβάντος αὐτῷ τοῦ χρησιμοῦ, τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον ἔτι συμμένειν, μεθεσμησός εἰς ἔτερον τόπον, τοιαύτα μὲν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐμθολόγου, νυνὶ δὲ τῆς μὲν ὑλῆς τῆς περὶ τῶν Ἀορνοῦ κοπτείσης ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα, τῶν δὲ χωριῶν κατοικοδομηθέντων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀορνοῦ διώρυγος ὑπονόμου τιμηθείσης μέχρι Κύμης, ἀπαιτεῖ εἰκάσαι ἐφάνῃ μῆθος· τοῦ Κοκκήνου τοῦ ποιησάντος τὴν διώρυγα ἐκείνην τε καὶ ἐπὶ Νέαν πόλειν ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας ἐπὶ ταῖς Βαϊκαῖς ἐπακολουθήσαντος πως τῷ περὶ τῶν Κημερίων ἄρτιος λεχθεντὶ λόγῳ, τούτῳ ἐσω καὶ πάτριον νομίζαντος τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ δι' ὀρυγμάτων εἶναι τὰς ὁδοὺς.

6. Ὅ δὲ Λακρίνου κόλπος πλατύνεται μέχρι Βαϊών, χώματι εἰργόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης ὀκτασταίρῳ τὸ μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ ἁμαξιῶν πλατείας, ὁ φασιν 'Ηρακλέα διαχώσαι, τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνουσα τὰς Γηρύνου δεχόμενον δ' ἐπιπολῆς τὸ κύμα τοῖς χειμώσει, ἢστε μὴ πεζεύσανθαι ὅραιος, Ἀγρίππας δὲ ἐπεσκεύασεν, εἰσπλάγγων δ' ἐχεῖ πλοίοις ἐλαφρῶις, ἐνορμίσασθαι μὲν ἄχρη-

1 χρηστήριον (ko and mgo). οὐρ αριστήρον (ABCEI).

1 L. Coccceius Auctus, an architect and engineer, employed by Agrippa.

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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 θάραν ἔχων ἀφθονοτάτην. ἕνοι δὲ τούτον αὐτὸν τὴν λίμνην εἶναι τὴν Ἀχερονσίαν φαίνει. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρόνου, τὰς δὲ Βαίας ἐπωνύμους εἶναι λέγουσι Βαίων τῶν Ὀδυσσέως ἔταφροι τινός, καὶ τὸ Μησηνόν. ἐξής ἡ εἰς αἱ περὶ Δικαιαρχείαν ἀκται καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ πόλεως. ἢν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίνειον Κυμαιάιον ἐπὶ ὀφρύος ὑδρυμένον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀννίβα στρατεύαν συνυφίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοι καὶ μετανόμοιαν Ποτίδολος ἀπὸ τῶν φρεάτων, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς δυσσωμίας τῶν υδάτων, ἢν ἔπαυσε τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖ μέχρι Βαίων καὶ τῆς Κυμαιάς ὑπὲρ τὴν πλήρεις ἐστι καὶ πυρὸς καὶ θερμῶν υδάτων. τινὲς δὲ καὶ Φλέγραν διὰ τοῦτο τὴν Κυμαιάν νομίζουσι κληθῆναι, καὶ τῶν πεπτωκότων γεγένηται μέ- γαστον, χειροποιήσας ἔχουσα ὄρμους διὰ τῆς εὐφυίας τῆς ἁμοῦ σύμμετρας γὰρ ἐστὶ τῇ τυτάσῳ καὶ κύλλησιν ἵππουρα καὶ ἕξιν λαμβάνει. διὸς τῇ χάλκι καταμύβατης τὴν ἁμοκοῦλα προ- βύλλουσι χώματα ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ κολποῦσι

1 ἢν, Jones inserts; and, with Holstein, omends ἐκεῖ (before μέχρι) to ἐκεί. Meineke inserts γὰρ after ἔπαυσε and deletes ἐς (before θάλαττα).

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 also the old name for

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it affords most abundant catches of oysters. And some say that this gulf itself is Lake Acherusia, while Artemidorus says that Gulf Avernus itself is that lake. But Baiae is said to be named after one of the companions of Odysseus, Baius; and also Misenum. 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, but at the time of Hannibal's expedition the Romans settled a colony there, and changed its name to Puteoli from the wells there—though some say that it was from the foul smell 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," 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, and takes a firm set and solidity. And therefore, by mixing the sand-ash 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 (op. 5. 4. 4).

6 That is, its constituents are in proper proportion to the constituents of the lime.

7 This volcanic substance is now called "pozzolana," or "tuff."
tός ἀναπεπταμένας ἡμόνας, ὡστ' ἀσφαλῶς ἐνορ- 
C 246 μείζονει τάς μεγίστας ὀλκάδας. ὑπέρεκται δὲ 
τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἢ τοῦ Ἱφαίστου ἁγορά, πεθόν 
περικεκλεμένων διαπύρως ὄφρυς, καμμόδεις 
ἐχούσαις ἀναπνοᾶς πόλλαχοι καὶ βρομώδεις.
1 ἰκανῶς τό δὲ πεθόν θείου πλήρες ἐστὶ συρτοῦ.

7. Μετὰ δὲ Δικαιαρχίαν ἐστὶ Νεάτοπος Κυ-
νμαίων, ὑστερον δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιδεῖς ἐπέφυγαν καὶ 
Pθηκονασαίους τινές καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὡστε καὶ 
Νεάτοπος ἐκλήθη διὰ τούτο. ὅπου δεικνύειν 
μνήμα τῶν Σερίνων μιᾶς, Παρθενότης, καὶ ἄγων 
συντελεῖται γυμνικός κατὰ μαντείαν. ὑστερον δὲ 
Καμπανῶν τινας ἔδεξαντο συνοίκους διεχοστα-
τήσαντες, καὶ ἡμαγάσθησαν τοῖς ἐχθρίστοις ὡς 
οἰκειοτάτους χρησασθαί, ἐπειδή τοὺς οἰκείους ἀλλο-
τρίους ἔχον. μηνύει δὲ τὰ τῶν δημάρχων ὅνο-
ματα, τὰ μὲν πρώτα Ἐλληνικά ὄντα, τὰ δὲ ὑστερα 
τοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς ἀναμίξα τὰ Καμπανικά. 
πλείστα 
δὲ ἴχνη τῆς Ἐλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἔνταθα σοφεῖται, 
γυμνασίῳ τε καὶ ἐφηβείᾳ καὶ φρατρίᾳ
3 καὶ ὄνο-
ματα Ἐλληνικά, καίπερ ὄντων Ἡρωμάιών. 
νυνὶ δὲ 
πεντετερικὸς ἱερὸς ἄγων συντελεῖται παρ’ αὐτοῖς, 
μουσικός τε καὶ γυμνικός ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας,

1 βρομώδεις, Dindorf, for βρομώδεις; so the editors in 
general.
2 τινας, Xylander, for τινες; so the later editors.
3 ἐφηβείᾳ καὶ φρατρίᾳ, Siebenkees (from conj. of Tyrwhitt), 
for ἐφηβικά φρατρία (AI), ἐφηβικά φρατρία (BC); so the later 
editors.

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1 In Latin, "Forum Vulcami"; now La Solfatara.
2 That is, "New City." The older name was "Parthe-
nope" (see 14. 2. 10, and Beloch, Campanien, 1890, pp. 29–30).
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 Cumaeans. At a later time it was re-colonised by Chalcidians, and also by some Pithecusaeans and Athenians, and hence, for this reason, was called Neapolis. A monument of Parthenope, one of the Sirens, is pointed out in Neapolis, and in accordance with an oracle a gymnastic contest is celebrated there. But at a still later time, as the result of a dissension, they admitted some of the Campani as fellow-inhabitants, and thus they were forced to treat their worst enemies as their best friends, now that they had alienated their proper friends. This is disclosed by the names of their demarchs, for the earliest names are Greek only, whereas the later are Greek mixed with Campanian. And very many traces of Greek culture are preserved there—gymnasia, ephebia, 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 hold office together (see Tozer, Selections, p. 168, and Beloch, Campanien, pp. 31, 45).

4 Places for youths (ephebi) to take exercise.

5 Beloch (pp. 41-44), from inscriptions of Neapolis, gives the names of nine different phratriae.

6 "Music" is here used, apparently, in the broad sense, including all the arts over which the Muses presided.
Strabo

ενάμιλλος τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλ-λάδα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐνθάδε διόρθω κρυπτή, τοῦ μεταξὺ ὄρους τῆς τε Δικαιαρχείας καὶ τῆς Νεαπό-λεως ὑπεργοσθέντος ὀμοίως, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύμην, ὅδε τε ἄνωθενης ἐναντίως ξένης πορευτῆς, ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους τὰ ὅπου ἐκ τῆς ἐπιφα-νείας τοῦ ὄρους, πολλαχοῦς ἐκκοπεισῶν θυρίδων, διὰ βάθους πολλοῦ κατάγεται. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Νεάπολεις θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἐκβολάς καὶ κατασκευᾶς λουτρῶν οὐ χείρους τῶν ἐν Βαίαισ, πολὺ δὲ τῷ πλῆθει λευτομένας· ἔκει γὰρ ἄλλῃ πόλις γεγένηται, συνεκδομημένων βασιλείων ἅλλων ἐπὶ ἅλλους, οὐκ ἐπάτων τῆς Δικαιαρχείας. ἐπιτελε-νοῦσι δὲ τὴν ἐν Νεάπολει διαγωγήν τὴν Ἐλληνικήν, οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρώμης ἀναχωροῦντες δεύορ ἡσυχίας χάριν τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας ἐργασμένων ἡ καὶ ἅλ-λων διὰ γῆς ἢ ἀσθενείας ποθοῦντων ἐν ἀνέσει χιλίων, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἔνοιχοι χαίρουντες τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ, θεωροῦσι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἄγωγῆς ἐπιθημοῦντων ἀνδρῶν, ἄσμενοι φιλοχωρο-ροῦσι καὶ ἵππων αὐτοῦ.

8. Ἐχόμενον δὲ φρούριον ἑστίν Ἡράκλειον, ἐκκειμένην εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἄρκαν ἑχον, κατα-πνεομένην Λιβίθα θαμμαστῶς, ὡσθ' ὕψειν 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.\(^1\) Here, too, there is a tunnel—the mountain between Dicaearchia and Neapolis having been tunneled like the one leading to Cumae,\(^2\) and a road having been opened up for a distance of many stadia that is wide enough to allow teams going in opposite directions to pass each other.\(^3\) And windows have been cut out at many places, and thus the light of day is brought down from the surface of the mountain along shafts that are of considerable depth.\(^4\) Furthermore, Neapolis has springs of hot water and bathing-establishments that are not inferior to those at Baiae, although it is far short of Baiae in the number of people, for at Baiae, where palace on palace has been built, one after another, a new city has arisen, not inferior to Dicaearchia. And greater vogue is given to the Greek mode of life at Neapolis by the people who withdraw thither from Rome for the sake of rest—I mean the class\(^5\) who have made their livelihood by training the young, or still others who, because of old age or infirmity, long to live in relaxation; and some of the Romans, too, taking delight in this way of living and observing the great number of men of the same culture as themselves sojourning there, gladly fall in love with the place and make it their permanent abode.

8. Next after Neapolis comes the Heracleian Fortress,\(^6\) with a promontory which runs out into the sea and so admirably catches the breezes of the southwest wind that it makes the settlement a

\(^1\) But to-day the Grotta di Posilippo 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.

\(^2\) Strabo means Greeks.

\(^3\) Herculanenum.
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C 247 τὴν κατοικίαν. "Οσκοὶ δὲ εἶχον καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἑφεξῆς Πομπαίαν, ἦν παραρρεῖ ὁ Σάρνος ποταμός, εἶτα Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Πελασγοὶ, μετὰ ταύτα δὲ Σαμνίται καὶ αὐτοί δὲ ἐξέτεσαν ἑκ τῶν τόπων. Νάλλης δὲ καὶ Νουκέριας καὶ Ἀχερρῶν, ὃμοιονον κατοικίας τῆς περὶ Κρέμωνα, ἐπινεύον ἐστιν Πομπαία τό μέρος τὸ Ὀυσεοῦν, ἀγρόις περιουκοῦμενον παγκάλως πλὴρ τῆς κορυφῆς. αὐτὴ δὲ ἐπίπεδος μὲν πολὺ μέρος ἐστὶν, ἀκάρπος δὲ ἄλη, ἑκ δὲ τῆς ῥύμως τε-φρόδης, καὶ κοιλάδας φαίνει σημαίγωδεσ πετρών αἰθαλοῦσών κατὰ τὴν χρώσαν, ὡς ἀν ἐκβηβρωμένον ὑπὸ πυρός ὤστε ἐκκαίρωστ' ἀπὸ τὸ χαρίν τούτο καίεθαι πρότερον καὶ ἔχειν κρατήρας πυρῶς, σβεσθείμα δὲ ἐπιλπαύσης τῆς ὕλης. τὰχα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐυκαρπίας τῆς κύκλῳ τοῦτο αἴτιον, ὡσπερ ἐν τῇ Κατάνη, φασὶ, τὸ καταπετρωθὲν μέρος ἐκ τῆς σποδοῦ τῆς ἀνενεχθείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰτναίου πυρὸς εὐαμπελοῦ τὴν ὑγίη ἐποιήσεν. ἐχεὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ λιπαῖνον καὶ τὴν ἐκπυρημένην βόδλαν καὶ

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

1 On "Pompeii," the Oscan name of Pompeii, see Nissen, Landeskunde II., p. 763, footnote 3.
2 In Latin, "Acerrae."
3 "Acerrae," as spelled by Polybius (2. 34).
4 That is, the "hot ashes" (what we call "volcanic ash," a finely powdered lava), now ash-dust.
healthful place to live in. Both this settlement and the one next after it, Pompaia\(^1\) (past which flows the River Sarnus), were once held by the Osci; then, by the Tyrreni and the Pelasgi; and after that, by the Samnitae; but they, too, were ejected from the places. Pompaia, on the River Sarnus—a river which both takes the cargoes inland and sends them out to sea—is the port-town of Nola, Nuceria, and Acherrae\(^2\) (a place with name like that of the settlement\(^3\) 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\(^4\) contains the substance that fattens\(^5\) both the soil which is burnt out and that

\(^1\) Strabo wrongly thought that the volcanic ash itself contained a fatty substance which enriched the soil. The enriching substance, of course, was the organic matter which accumulated in the ash-dust during a long period of weathering. In time the ash-dust became ash-soil. In 6.2.3 Strabo quotes Poseidonius as saying that this same part of the country was covered with volcanic ash “to a considerable depth.”
τὴν ἐκφέρουσαν τοὺς καρποὺς. πλεονάζουσα μὲν οὖν τῷ λίπει πρὸς ἐκτύρσωσιν ἐπιτηδεία, καθάπερ ἡ θειώδης πᾶσα, ἐξεκκαθάρισθαι δὲ καὶ λαβοῦσα σβέσιν καὶ ἐκτέρτῳ μὲν εἰς καρπογονίαν μετεβαλε. συνεχές δὲ ἦστι τῇ Πομπαίᾳ τῷ Συρρεντὸν τῶν Καμπανῶν, δεδομένο τρόπον τῷ Ἀθηναίοις, οὕτως σειρηνοῦσιν ἀκρωτηρίων καλοῦσιν ἔστι δὲ ἐστὶν ἄκρο μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἱδρύμα Οδυσσέως. διά-πλους δ’ ἐνθάδε βραχὺς εἰς Καπρέας νῆσον. κάμπτοντι δὲ τὴν ἄκραν νησίδες εἰσίν ἐρημοὶ πε- τρώδεις, ὡς καλοῦσι Σειρῆνας. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Συρρεντὸν μέρους ἱερον τι δείκνυται καὶ ἀναθήματα παλαιὰ τιμώτων τῶν πλησίον τῶν τόπων. μέ- χρι μὲν δεδομένο ἔχει τέλος ὁ κόπτος ὁ Κρατήρ πρόσ- αγορευόμενος, ἀφορίζομενος δυσὶ πάντων ἀκρωτηρίων βλέπουσι πρὸς μεταβρίαν, τῷ τε Μισηνῷ καὶ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ. ὅπως δ’ ἦστι κατασκευασμένος τούτῳ μὲν ταῖς πόλεισιν, ὡς ἐφαρμένον, τούτῳ δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδομαῖς καὶ φυτείαις, αἰ μεταξὺ συνεχέως ὅσα μᾶς πόλεως ὑπίμα παρέχομαι.

9. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν Μισηνοῦ πρόκειται νῆσος ἡ Προχύτη, Πιθηκουσσῶν δ’ ἔστιν ἀπόσπασμα. Πιθηκουσσῶν δ’ Ἑρετρεῖς ἄκουσαν καὶ Χαλκίδεις,

1 τῶν, Kramer, for τῶν; so the later editors.
2 τῶν, before τῶν, Corres 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 (F. H. Storer, Agriculture, 7th ed., Vol. III., pp. 188 ff.). The English company now
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 4. 8-5

which produces the fruits;¹ so then, when it² 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 evaporated³ and quenched⁴ and reduced to ash-dust, it passed into a state of fruitfulness. Next after Pompaia comes Surrentum, a city of the Campani, whence the Athenaeum⁵ juts forth into the sea, which some call the Cape of the Sirenussae. There is a sanctuary of Athene, built by Odysseus, on the tip of the Cape. It is only a short voyage from here across to the island of Capreæ; 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"⁶ comes to an end, being marked off by two capes that face the south, namely, Misenum and Athenaeum. And the whole of the gulf is garnished, in part by the cities which I have just mentioned, and in part by the residences and plantations, which, since they intervene in unbroken succession, present the appearance of a single city.

9. The island of Prochyta lies off Cape Misenum, and it is a fragment broken off of Pithecussae.⁷ Pithecussae was once settled by Eretrians and also operating in the region of Lake Copais in Boeotia burns out the soil before putting it in cultivation.

¹ That is, the ash-dust, now ash-soil.
² 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."
³ In natural course, and by rain.
⁴ Cp. I. 2. 12.
⁵ Cp. 5. 4. 3.
⁶ But cp. I. 3. 10.

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eὐτυχήσαντες δὲ εὐκαρπίαν καὶ διὰ τὰ χρυσεῖα ἑξελιποῦν τὴν νῆσον κατὰ στάσιν, ὑστερον δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ σεισμών ἑξελαθέντες καὶ ἀναφυσιμάτων πυρὸς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ θερμῶν ὑδάτων. ἔχει γὰρ τοιαύτας ὑποφορὰς ἡ νῆσος, ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ περιφέρειοι παρὰ Ιέρωνοι τοῦ πυρᾶντος τῶν Συρακουσίων ἑξελιποῦν τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ὡς ἔκαντον τεῖχος καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἑπελθόντες δὲ Νεάπολιται κατέσχον. ἐνεύθεν καὶ ὁ μύθος, ὅτι φασὶ τῶν Τυφώνων ὑποκείσθαι τῇ νῆσῳ ταύτῃ, στρεφομένου δὲ τὰς φλόγας ἀναφυσάσθαι καὶ τὰ ὑδάτα, ἐστὶ δὲ ὅτε καὶ νησίδας ἔχουσας ἥκεν ὑδάτω, πιθανῶτερον δὲ Πίνδαρος εἰρήκηκεν ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων ὀρμηθείς· ὅτι πᾶσαι ὁ πύρος οὐσος, ἀπὸ τῆς Κυμαίας ἀρξάμενος μέχρι τῆς Σικελίας, διάπυρος ἐστι, καὶ κατὰ βάθος ἔχει κοιλίας τινὰς εἰς ἐν συναπτοῦσας πρὸς τε ἄλληλας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον. διόπερ ἢ τε Αἰτην τοιαύτῃ ἔχειν δείκνυται φύσιν, οἷαν ἴσορούσας ἀπαίτες, καὶ αἱ τῶν Δισπαραίων νῆσοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Δικαιαρχείαν καὶ Νεάπολιν καὶ Βαίας χωρία καὶ αἱ Πιθηκούσαι. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν διανοηθεὶς τῷ παντὶ τόπῳ τούτῳ φησὶν ὑποκείσθαι τῶν Τυφώνων.

νῦν γε μὰν
tαί θ᾽ ὑπὲρ Κύμας ἀλλιρεκέες ὅχθαι
Σικελία τ᾽ αὐτοῦ πιέζει στέρνα λαχνάντα.

(Pyth. 1. 35)

1 ὑποφορὰς (AC), Jones restores ; instead of ἀποφορὰς.
2 ἀλλήλας, Xylander, for ἄλληλας ; so the later editors.

1 Strabo's conciseness (if the MSS. are correct) leaves the passage obscure as to whether (1) both peoples left together because of a quarrel with other inhabitants, and later on returned, only to be driven out by the earthquakes (about 456
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 4. 9

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.”

800 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.”

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καὶ Τίμαιος δὲ περὶ τῶν Πιθηκούσσων φησιν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν πολλὰ παραδοξολογείσθαι, μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ ἐαυτοῦ τῶν Ἕσωπεάν Ἄλβν. ἐν μέσῃ τῇ νῆσῳ τιναγώντα ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ἀναβαλεῖν πῦρ καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἐξώθαι πᾶλιν ἐπὶ τὸ πέλαγος, τὸ δὲ ἐκτεθρεθὲν τῆς γῆς, μετεωρισμὸν λαβῶν, κατασκηνώμεν πᾶλιν τυφωνεῖδώς εἰς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς τῆς θάλασσας ἀναχωρήσας σταδίους, ἀναχωρήσας δὲ μετ' οὗ πολὺ ὑποστρέψας καὶ τῇ παλαιρροίᾳ κατακλύσαι τὴν νῆσον, καὶ γενέσθαι σβέσιν τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ πυρὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἥχου τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς παραλίας εἰς τὴν Καμπανίαν. δοκεῖ δὲ τὰ θερμὰ ὅταν ἤπταθα ἑραπτείνειν τοὺς λιθίωντας. αἱ δὲ Καπρέας ὑπὸ πολίχνιαν ἔχον τὸ παλαιόν, ὥστερον δὲ μίαν. Νεαπολίται δὲ καὶ ταύτην κατέσχον, πολεμῶν δὲ ἀποβαλέντες τὰς Πιθηκούσσας ἀπέλαβον πᾶλιν, δόντος αὐτοῖς Καίσαρος τῷ Σεβαστῷ, τῶν δὲ Καπρέας ἰδίων ποιησαμένου κτῆμα καὶ κατοικοδομήσαντος. αἱ μὲν οὖν παράλοιποι πόλεις τῶν Καμπανῶν καὶ αἱ προκείμεναι νῆσοι τοιαύται.

10. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ Καπτύῃ μὲν ἐστίν ἡ μη-πρόπολις, κεφαλῆ τῷ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐντυπότητα τοῦ ὀνόματος, τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα πολίχνια νομίζουσι διὰ κατὰ τὴν σύγκρισιν πλὴν Τείνου Σιδικίνου, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἄξιολογος. κεῖται δ' ἐπὶ τῇ ὅδος τῇ 'Απιάντα αὐτὴ τε καὶ αἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον

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1 Ἕσωπεάν, du Theil, for Ἕσωπα; so the later editors.
2 τιναγώντα is the reading of Α; παγώνα, of A, corrected in some later MSS. to παγώνα, which may be right.
3 κτῆμα, 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.

4 αὐτ[: after καί, Corrals deletes, inserting αὐτ after ἠλιθής (Meineke and Müller-Dübner following.)]
Strabo

ἀγονσαι ἀπ’ αὐτῆς, Καλατία¹ καὶ Καῦδιον² καὶ Βενεοουετών ἐπὶ δὲ Ῥώμης Κασίλινον ἱδρυται ἐπὶ τῷ Οὐνυλύνων ποταμῷ, ἐν ᾧ πολυορκούμενοι Πραυσιστίναν ἀνήρες τεταράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι πρὸς ἀκμάζοντα Ἀννίβαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀντέχον, ὡσθ’ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διακοσίων ὀραχῶν πραθέντος μεδίμνου,³ ὁ μὲν πολῆςας ἀπέθανεν, ἐσώθη δ’ ὁ πριάμενος. ᾿Ιδὼν δ’ αὐτοῖς πλησίον τοῦ τείχους σπείροντας γογγύλην ἔθαμβοσεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ Ἀννίβας τῆς μακροβυχίας, εἰ ἐπιτίζον τέως⁴ ἀνθέξειν ἑως τελεσφορήσειν ἡ γογγύλη· καὶ δὴ περιγενέσθαι πάντας φασὶ πλῆθν ἀνδρῶν ὄλγων τῶν ἡ λιμῷ διαλυθέντων ἢ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις.

11. Πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ῥηθεῖσας ἐτὶ καὶ αὐταί Καμπαναῖ πολλοὶ εἰσίν, δόν ἐμφόθημεν πρῶτον, Κάλης⁵ τε καὶ Τέανον Σιδικίνον, ὡς διορίζονται διότι Ἰχαία ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα ἱδρυνέται τῆς Δατίνης ὀδοῖς. καὶ ἐτί Σουεσσοῦλα καὶ Ἀτέλλα καὶ Νόλα καὶ Νουκερία καὶ Ἀχέρρακα καὶ Ἀβέλλα καὶ ἄλλαι ἐτὶ ἐλάττων τούτων κατοικιά, δόν ἐνίας Σαυνυτίδας φασὶν εἶναι. Σαυνυταὶ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Δατίνης τῆς περὶ Ἀρδέαν ἔξοδιας

¹ Καλατία, Kramer, for Kalatería; so the later editors.
² Καῦδιον, Corais, for Kaúdioν; so the later editors.
³ For μεδίμνῳ (the reading of all MSS.), Corais, Meinecke and others read μυὸς (following the conj. of Casaubon).
⁴ τέως, Corais, for ἕως; so the later editors.
⁵ Κάλης, Kramer, for Κάλης; 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, namely, Calatia, Caudium, and Beneventum. But Casinimum is situated towards Rome, on the River Vulturnus; it was here that five hundred and forty of the Praenestini held out against Hannibal—then at the height of his strength—for so long that, by reason of famine, a "medimnus" was sold for two hundred "drachmae," and the man who sold it died of hunger, whereas the man who bought it escaped with his life. And when Hannibal saw them sowing turnips near the wall, he wondered, and with reason, at their long-suffering—that they expected to hold out long enough for the turnips to get ripe; and in fact they all survived, it is said, except a few who perished either because of hunger or in the battles.

11. But in addition to the cities aforesaid, the following (to which I have adverted before) are also Campanian cities—Cales and Teanum Sidicinum, whose territories are separated by the two temples of Fortune situated on either side of the Latin Way; and so are Suessula, Atella, Nola, Nuceria, Acherae, Abella, and other settlements (some of which are said to be Samnite) that are still smaller than these. As for the Samnitae: In earlier times they made expeditions even as far as that part of the Latin country which is about Ardea,

* 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.

* 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. 3. 9.
STRABO

ποιούμενοι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτὴν τὴν Καμπανίαν πορθοῦντες πολλὴν ἕκτηντο δύναμιν καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως δεσποτικῶς ἀρχεσθαι μεμαθηκότες ταχὺ ὑποῦργουν τοῖς προστάγμασι. νυνὶ δὲ ἐκπεπό-


1 ὁμολογοῦνται may be corrupt. Meineke reads ὁμολογοῦνται.
and then, after that, ravaged Campania itself, and therefore they must have possessed considerable power (indeed, the Campani, since they were already schooled in the obedience of other despots, quickly submitted to the new commands); but now they have been completely worn out—first by others and last of all by Sulla, who became dictator of the Romans; for when, on putting down the insurrection of the Italiotes by many battles, he saw that the Samnitae, almost alone, were holding together and, in like manner as before, were on the border, ready actually to march against Rome itself, he joined battle with them before the walls; and some of them he cut down in the battle (for he had ordered that none be taken alive), while the rest, who had flung down their arms (about three or four thousand men, it is said) he brought down to the Villa Publica in the Campus Martius and imprisoned; three days later, however, he let soldiers loose upon them and thus slaughtered them all; and further, he would not stop making proscriptions until either he had destroyed all Samnitae of importance or banished them from Italy. And to those who found fault with him for such excessive wrath he said he had realised from experience that not a Roman could ever live in peace so long as the Samnitae held together as a separate people. And verily their cities have now come to be mere villages (though some have utterly vanished), I mean Bovianum, Aesernia, Panna, Telesia (close to Venafrum), and others like them. No one of these deserves to be regarded as a city, but I, for my part, am thus going into detail, within due bounds, because of the glory and power of Italy. Bene-
12. Peri de Σαυνιτῶν καὶ τοιούτους τις λόγος φέρεται, διότι πολεμοῦντες Σαβίνοι πολὺς χρόνον πρὸς τοὺς 'Ομβρικοὺς εὐξαντό, καθάπερ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τινώς, τὰ γενόμενα τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ καθιερώσαν, νικήσαντες δὲ τῶν γενομένων τὰ μὲν κατέθυσαν, τὰ δὲ καθιέρωσαν ἀφορίας δὲ γενηθεῖσις, εἰπέ τες ὡς ἔχρην καθιερώσας καὶ τὰ τέκνα. οἱ δὲ ἐποίησαν τούτο καὶ τοὺς γενομένους τότε παϊδᾶς Ἀρεως ἐπεφήμισαν, ἀνδρωθέντας δὲ ἐστειλαν εἰς ἀποκίαιν, ἡγήσατο δὲ ταύρος· ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν Ὀπικῶν κατευνασθέντος (ἐτύγχανον δὲ κωμόδων ξώντες), ἐκβαλόντες ἑκείνους ἱδρύθησαν αὐτοθε καὶ τὸν ταύρον ἐσφαγάσαν τῷ Ἀρεί τῷ δόντι αὐτῷ ἠγεμόνα κατὰ τὴν τῶν μάντεων ἀπόφασιν. εἰκὸς δὲ διὰ τούτο καὶ Σαβέλλους αὐτοὺς ὑποκοριστικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν γυνέων προσαγορευθῆναι, Σαμνίτας δὲ ἀπ' ἄλλης αἰτίας, οὐδ' οἱ Ἑλληνες Σαυνίτας λέγουσι. τινὲς δὲ καὶ Δάκονας συνοίκους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι φασὶ καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ φιλέλληνας ὑπάρξαι, τινὰs δὲ καὶ Πιτανάτας καλείσθαι. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ Ταραντίνων πλάσμα τούτ' εἶναι, κολακευόντων ὁμόρους καὶ μέγα δυναμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἄμμα ἐξοικειομένων, οἳ γε καὶ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας ἔστελλον

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1 The Greek word here translated "nickname" often means simply a "diminutive." In that case, Strabo means by "Sabelli" merely "Little Sabini"; but since the people in question are "Sons of War," he seems to allude also to the Latin "bellum."  

ventum, however, has held up very well, and so has Venusia.

12. Concerning the Samnitae there is another story current to this effect: The Sabini, since they had long been at war with the Ombrici, vowed (just as some of the Greeks do) to dedicate everything that was produced that year; and, on winning the victory, they partly sacrificed and partly dedicated all that was produced; then a dearth ensued, and some one said that they ought to have dedicated the babies too; this they did, and devoted to Mars all the children born that year; and these children, when grown to manhood, they sent away as colonists, and a bull led the way; and when the bull lay down to rest in the land of the Opici (who, as it chanced, were living only in villages) the Sabini ejected them and settled on the spot, and, in accordance with the utterance of their seers, slaughtered the bull as a sacrifice to Mars who had given it for a guide. It is reasonable to suppose therefore that their name "Sabelli" is a nickname derived from the name of their forefathers, while their name "Samnitae" (the Greeks say "Saunitae") is due to a different cause. Some say, moreover, that a colony of Laconians joined the Samnitae, and that for this reason the Samnitae actually became philhellenes, and that some of them were even called "Pitanatae." But it is thought that the Tarantini simply fabricated this, to flatter, and at the same time to win the friendship of, a powerful people on their borders; because, on a time, the Samnitae were wont to send forth an army of as many as eighty thousand infantry

* That is, as though from Pitane, in Laonia, or as though members of a Spartan clan by that name.
ποτε της πεζής στρατιάς, ἵππεις δὲ ὁκτακισχε-λίους. φασὶ δὲ νόμον ἐστὶν παρὰ τοῖς Σαυνίταις καλὸν καὶ προτρεπτικὸν πρὸς ἀρετὴν, οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστι διδόναι τὰς θυγατέρας οἷς ἂν ἔθελον, ἀλλὰ κρίνεται κατὰ ἐτος δέκα μὲν παρθένους δέκα δὲ τῶν νέων, τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τὰς ἀρίστας τούτων τῷ πρῶτῷ τὴν πρώτην διδόσθαι, τῷ δευτ-τέρῳ τὴν δεύτεραν καὶ ἐξῆς οὕτως· ἐὰν δὲ ὁ λαβὼν τὸ γέρας μεταβαλόμενος γένηται πουηρός, ἀτείμο-ξουν καὶ ἀφαιροῦνται τὴν δοθεῖσαν. ἐξῆς δὲ εἰσιν Ἰρπίνοι, καυτοὶ Σαυνίται· τούνομα δὲ ἐσχον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγασαμένου λύκου τῆς ἀποικίας· ἐρπον γὰρ καλούσιν οἱ Σαυνίται τὸν λύκον· συνάπτουσι δὲ Δευκανοίς τοῖς μεσογαῖοις· περὶ μὲν Σαυνιτῶν ταῦτα.

13. Καμπανοῖς δὲ συνέβη διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονίαν ἔπει ἴσον ἀγαθὰν ἀπολαύσαι καὶ κακῶν. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐξετρύφησαν ὡστε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλουν πρὸς ξενὴν μονομάχων, ὁρίζοντες ἀριθμὸν κατὰ τὴν τῶν δείπνων ἀδίκων· Αὐνίβας δὲ ἐξ ἐνδοσεως λαβόντος αὐτοῦς, δεξάμενοι διάδιοις τὴν στρατιάν οὕτως ἐξεθηλυναν ταῖς ἡδοναις ὡστε· ὁ Αὐνίβας ἐφ' ἴκον κινδυνεύειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔχθροις γενέσθαι, γυναικάς ἀντὶ τῶν ἄνδρων τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπολαβων. Ἑρμαίοι δὲ κρατήσαντες πολλοῖς κακοῖς ἐσωφρόνωσιν αὐτούς, ὡστετα δὲ

1 νόμον, all editors, for μόνον.
2 ἐξετρύφησαν, Meineke, for ἐς ἐξετρύφησαν.
3 Kramer emends δείπνῳ to συνδείπνῳ; so Müller-Düchner and Meineke; perhaps rightly.

1 Some of the editors emend the text to read "by the rank of their guests."
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 4. 12-13

and eight thousand cavalry. And they say that among the Samnitae there is a law which is indeed honourable and conducive to noble qualities; for they are not permitted to give their daughters in marriage to whom they wish, but every year ten virgins and ten young men, the noblest of each sex, are selected, and, of these, the first choice of the virgins is given to the first choice of the young men, and the second to the second, and so on to the end; but if the young man who wins the meed of honour changes and turns out bad, they disgrace him and take away from him the woman given him. Next after the Samnitae come the Hirpini, and they too are Samnitae; they got their name from the wolf that led the way for their colony (for “hirpus” is what the Samnitae call the wolf); and their territory adjoins that of those Leucani who live in the interior. So much, then, for the Samnitae.

13. As for the Campani, it was their lot, because of the fertility of their country, to enjoy in equal degree both evil things and good. For they were so extravagant that they would invite gladiators, in pairs, to dinner, regulating the number by the importance of the dinners;¹ and when, on their instant submission to Hannibal, they received his army into winter-quarters, the soldiers became so effeminate because of the pleasures afforded them that Hannibal said that, although victor, he was in danger of falling into the hands of his foes, because the soldiers he had got back were not his men, but only women. But when the Romans got the mastery, they brought them to their senses by many severe lessons, and, last of all, portioned out to Roman
καὶ κατεκληροῦχοσαν τὴν γῆν, νυνὶ μὲντοι μετ’ εὐπραγίαις διάγωσαν τοῖς ἐποίκοις ὁμονοίζοντας καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα φυλάττουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ τὸ μεγέθει τῆς πόλεως καὶ κατ’ ἑσανδρίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Καρπανίαν καὶ τὴν Σαυνίτην μέχρι Φρεντανίον ἔπε μὲν τῇ Τυρρηνικῇ θαλάσσῃ τὸ τῶν Πικεντῶν ἔθνος οἰκεῖ, μικρὸν ἀπόστασις τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρια Πικεντίων, ὑπὸ Ὀρμαίων μετακισμένων εἰς τὸν Ποσειδωνίατην κόλπον, διὰ νῦν Παιστανὸς καλεῖται, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ Ποσειδωνία Παιστός, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ κόλπῳ κειμένη. Συμβαίνεται μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τεῖχος ἑπεν, οἱ δ’ οἰκισθέντες ἀνωτέρω μετέστησαν, ὡστερον δὲ Λευκάνοι, μὲν ἐκεῖνοι, Ὀρμαίοι δὲ Λευκανοὺς ἀφεῖλοντο τῇ πόλιν. ποιεῖ δ’ αὐτὴν ἐπινοούν ποταμός πλησίον εἰς ἔκη ἀναγεγέμονα. 1 μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν Σειρενούσσων καὶ τῆς Ποσειδωνίας Μαρκίνα, Τυρρηνῶν κτίσμα οἰκούμενον ὑπὸ Σαυνίτων. ἔφτευθεν εἰς Ποιμαίαν διὰ Νουκερίας οὗ πλεῖστον ἐκατόν καὶ εἴκοσι σταθερῶν ἐστίν ὁ ἴσημος. διήκουσε δ’ οἱ Πικεντες μέχρι τοῦ Σιλάριδου ποταμοῦ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος ἀπὸ ταύτης

1 Συμβαίνεται ... ἀναγεγέμονα is transposed by Meineke (as suggested by Du Thell, Groskurd, Kriener, and O. Müller) to a position after ἡ Ποσειδωνία in 6. 1. 1.

1 Strabo says elsewhere (5. 4. 2) that the Frentani were a "Samnite tribe," but he has preferred to discuss the two peoples and their countries separately (see also 5. 4. 3).

2 Hereafter Strabo will call this tribe "Picentes" (cp. the Latin terms).

3 This was merely a fortified trading-post. It was near what the Romans called "Portus Alburnus" (see Nissen, Landeskunde, Vol. II., p. 892).

4 About one-half of a mile inland, to the site of Poseidonia.
settlers a part of the land. Now, however, they
are living in prosperity, being of one mind with the
new settlers, and they preserve their old-time
reputation, in respect to both the size of their city and
the high quality of its men. After Campania, and the
Samnite country (as far as the Frentani 1), on the
Tyrhenian Sea dwells the tribe of the Picentini, 3
a small offshoot of those Picentini who dwell on the
Adriatic, which has been transplanted by the Romans
to the Poseidonian Gulf; this gulf is now called
the Paestan Gulf; and the city of Poseidonia, which
is situated in the centre of the gulf, is now called
Paestus. The Sybaritae, it is true, had erected
fortifications on the sea, 8 but the settlers removed
them farther inland; 4 later on, however, the Leucani
took the city away from the Sybaritae, and, in turn,
the Romans took it away from the Leucani. But the
city is rendered unhealthy by a river that spreads
out into marshes in the neighbourhood. 5 Between
the Sirenuusae and Poseidonia lies Marcina, a city
founded by the Tyrreni and now inhabited by
Samnitae. From here to Pompea, by way of Nuceria,
the distance across the isthmus is not more than one
hundred and twenty stadia. The country of the
Picentes extends as far as the River Silurus, which

5 Meineke, following the suggestion of Du Theil, transposes
the Greek for "The Sybaritae ... neighbourhood" to
a position after the first sentence in Book VI, assuming
that the Greek as it stands makes Poseidonia a city of the
Picentini. But the words in question seem to be merely a
digression; and in that case "the settlers" now referred to
are not to be confused with the "transplanted" Picentini,
whose city was Picentia. The river in question is now
represented by the "Fosso Capo dei Fiumi" and the marshes
near it.
STRABO

τῆς χώρας τὴν ἀρχαίαν Καμπανίαν¹ εφ’ οὖ τοῦτ’ ἵδιον ἱστοροῦσιν περὶ τοῦ ὑδατός ² οὕτως ποτίμου,³ τὸ καθιέμενον εἰς αὐτὸ φυτὸν ἀπολιθοῦσθαι φυλάττοι τὴν χρόαν καὶ τὴν μορφήν. τῶν δὲ Πικέντων ὑπήρχε μητρόπολις Πικέντια, νυνὶ δὲ κωμηδοῦ ξώσιν ἀπωσθέντες ὑπὸ Ρωμαιῶν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀμφίβαις κοινονίαν ἀντὶ δὲ στρατείας ἥμεροδρομεῖν καὶ γραμματοφορεῖν ἀπεδείχθησαν ἐν τῷ τότε δημοσίᾳ, καθάπερ καὶ Δευκανῷ καὶ Βρέττιοι κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας ἐπετείχασαν δ᾽ αὐτὸς Σάλερνον Ῥωμαιοὶ φοινίκας χάριν μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης. εἰσὶ δ’ ἀπὸ Σειρηνοῦσσῶν ἐπὶ Σιλαρίν στάδιον διακόσιοι ἕξικοντα.

¹ For Καμπανίαν (the reading of the MSS. except C, which reads Κανάν) Meineke and others read Ιταλίαν. See C. Müller, Ind. Var. Lect., p 1974).
² τοῦ, after ὑδατός, Meineke omits.
³ ποτίμου, the editors in general, for ποταίου (op. same emendation in 5. 1. 8 and 5. 4. 6).
GEOGRAPHY, 5. 4. 13

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" (op. 5. 1. 1). But it seems far more likely that Strabo wrote (or else had in mind) the words "Lucania and" before "the Silaris River." In this case "this country" means Lucania. Indeed, Strabo says in the succeeding paragraph (6. 1. 1) that Lucania begins at Silaris. And he has already defined the seaboard of the Campania of his own time as beginning at Syra, 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).