

# Agathemerus, *Sketch of Geography*

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THE LITTLE SUMMARY OF GEOGRAPHY that goes under the name of Agathemerus is one of the texts in the corpus of Minor Greek Geographers.<sup>1</sup> It was near the beginning of codex A (*Pal.gr.* 398) of the IX century and was lost with the first five quires of that codex. But it had been copied from A in codex B (*Vatop.* 655) of the XIV century. From B it was copied in ms. C (*Cantab.Gg.* II.33) ca 1540 and was brought to Italy and broadcast in over a dozen apographs. From these it has been edited or printed six times.<sup>2</sup> It needs to be edited now from B itself, which presents several right readings hitherto unknown.

Several leaves of codex B were stolen in the last century and found their way to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the British Museum in London. Agathemerus is now found in *London Add.ms.* 19391 fol. 3 and *Paris. suppl.gr.* 443A fol. 2; these were folios 4 and 5 in codex B.

Some excerpts (J) from Agathemerus were interpolated at an early time in Joannes Damascenus, *De fide orthodoxa*, and other excerpts (K) occur in mss. of Dionysius Periegetes.<sup>3</sup> These excerpts appear to be independent of A B C and offer some valuable readings.

The treatise was composed probably in the first or second century.<sup>4</sup> The author Agathemerus son of Orthon is otherwise unknown. 'Agathemerus' and 'Orthon' are Hellenistic names, but 'Agathemerus' lived on in late Roman times. The use of patronymics declined in the third and fourth centuries. A definite earlier limit is the citation (§20) of Menippus of Pergamum, who was of the Augustan age.

<sup>1</sup> A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Lancaster, Pa. 1952) 3 *et passim* [hereafter, DILLER].

<sup>2</sup> C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores* II (Paris 1861) 471–87. The earlier editions were by Wendelin and TenNuyt (1671), Jac. Gronovius (1697, 1700), John Hudson (1703), Alexandrides (1807), Hoffmann (1842). See Diller pp.62–78, nos. 86, 90, 94, 97, 137, 197, 233.

<sup>3</sup> Diller pp.34–37. Bits of the K-excerpts are found in the additions to the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. F. W. Sturz (Leipzig 1818) pp.220 (*Εὐρώπη*), 369 (*Αιβύη*), 555 (*Φόινικες*), 577 (*Ὠκεανός*); ed. A. de Stefani (Leipzig 1909–1920, repr. Amsterdam 1965) p.564 (*Εὐρώπη*.)

<sup>4</sup> A writer in *RE* 46 (1959) 1872 gratuitously dates Agathemerus "um 350 n. Chr."

Geographically the treatise is pre-Ptolemaic and comparable with those of Pomponius Mela and Dionysius Periegetes. The three are of similar scope (description of the *οἰκουμένη*), but the *Sketch* by Agathemerus is meagre in scale and without literary pretensions. Most of his work consists of *verbatim* excerpts, and part is mere names and numbers. All three draw on such great Hellenistic geographers as Eratosthenes<sup>5</sup> and Artemidorus. At this period Strabo was unknown.

There are no divisions in mss. **B** and **C**, but the treatise falls into five chapters recognized by all the editors. Most of the data are paralleled in Strabo and in Pliny, Books II–VI, but Agathemerus offers bits of unique information and preserves two important fragments of Dicaearchus (§5) and Timosthenes (§7). Gross errors in §§14 and 24 can scarcely be excused as textual corruptions.

## Ἄγαθημέρου τοῦ Ὀρθωνοῦ γεωγραφίας ὑποτύπωσις

### I

4<sup>r</sup> 1. <sup>11</sup>Ἀναξίμανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἀκουστῆς Θάλεω πρῶτος ἀπετόλμησε τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν πίνακι γράψαι, μεθ' ὃν Ἐκαταῖος <ὁ> Μιλήσιος ἀνὴρ πολυπλανῆς διηκρίβωσεν <sup>12</sup>ὥστε θαυμασθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα· Ἑλλάνικος γὰρ ὁ Λέσβιος ἀνὴρ πολυίστωρ ἀπλάτως παρέδωκε τὴν ἱστορίαν. εἶτα Δαμάστης ὁ Κιτιεὺς τὰ πλείστα ἐκ τῶν <sup>13</sup>Ἐκαταίου μεταγράψας περίπλουν ἔγραψεν. ἐξῆς Δημόκριτος καὶ Εὐδοξος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς γῆς περιόδους καὶ περίπλους ἐπραγματεύσαντο. 2. Οἱ μὲν οὖν παλαιοὶ <sup>14</sup>τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔγραφον στρογγύλην, μέσῃ δ' ἠγείσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ταύτης Δελφούς· τὸν ὀμφαλὸν γὰρ ἔχειν τῆς γῆς. πρῶτος δὲ Δημόκριτος πολύπειρος ἀνὴρ συνείδεν ὅτι προμήκης <sup>15</sup>ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ ἡμιόλιον τὸ μῆκος τοῦ πλάτους ἔχουσα. συνήνεσε τούτῳ καὶ Δικαίαρχος ὁ περιπατητικός. Εὐδοξος δὲ τὸ μῆκος διπλοῦν τοῦ πλάτους, ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης πλείον τοῦ <sup>16</sup>διπλοῦ, Κράτης δὲ ὡς ἡμικύκλιον, Ἰππαρχος δὲ τραπεζοειδῆ, ἄλλοι <δὲ> Ἰουροειδῆ, Ποσειδώνιος δ' ὁ Στωϊκὸς σφειδονοειδῆ καὶ μεσόπλατον ἀπὸ νότου εἰς βορρᾶν, στενὴν πρὸς ἑω <sup>17</sup>καὶ δύσιν, τὰ πρὸς

11 ὁ θαλοῦ μαθητῆς *post* δημόκριτος (13) K      11 ἐτόλμησε C      11 ὁ *add.* C  
 12 ὁ 1<sup>ο</sup> *om.* C      12 κιτιεὺς TenNuyt, κητιεὺς B, κιγιεὺς Hoffmann  
 12 πλείστα *oblitum* C      14 ἔγραφαν K      14 δὲ κείσθαι Gronovius  
 14 συνείδεν C, συνοῖδεν B      16 δὲ *add.* K      16 εὐροειδῆ K, θυροειδῆ Bernhardt  
 16 δ' ὁ B, δὲ K

<sup>5</sup> H. Berger, *Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes* (Leipzig 1880).

εὔρον δ' ὁμοίως πλατύτερα <τὰ> πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδικήν. 3. "Οροι ἠπείρων· Εὐρώπης μὲν καὶ Λιβύης αἱ Ἡρακλέους στηλαί, Λιβύης δὲ καὶ Ἀσίας ὁ Νεῖλος· οἱ δ' ἰσθμὸν τὸν <sup>18</sup>ἀπὸ Σερβωνίδος λίμνης καὶ Ἀραβίου κόλπου· Ἀσίας δὲ καὶ Εὐρώπης οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖοι Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν ἕως Κασπίας ἰσθμὸν, οἱ δ' ὕστερον νεώτεροι Μαιῶτιν <sup>19</sup>λίμνην καὶ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν. 4. Ἐκλήθησαν δ' ἠπειροὶ ἄπειροί τινες οὐσαι δι' ἄγνοιαν· Ἀσία δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄσσαν ἰέναι τοῖς ἀπ' Εὐρώπης ἀπιούσι καὶ πεζῇ καὶ νήσοις στιχηδὸν <sup>20</sup>κειμένας· Εὐβοία Ἄνδρος Τήνος Μύκονος Ἰκαρία Σάμος Μυκάλη· ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπη ἀπὸ τοῦ εὔρου ὠνομάσθη· Λιβύη δ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἦν ἄγνωστος πάνυ, ἀπὸ δὲ ἔθνους <sup>21</sup>ἐπιστήμου †Φοίνικες ὠνομάσθησαν πλείοντες· ὠκεανὸς δὲ διὰ τὸ ὠκέως ἀνύειν κύκλω τὴν γῆν. 5. Δικαίαρχος δ' ὀρίζει τὴν γῆν οὐχ ὕδασι ἀλλὰ τομῇ εὐθείᾳ εὐκράτῳ <sup>22</sup>ἀπὸ Στηλῶν διὰ Σαρδοῦς Σικελίας Πελοποννήσου Ἰωνίας Καρίας Λυκίας Παμφυλίας Κιλικίας καὶ Ταύρου ἐξῆς ἕως Ἰμαίου ὄρους· τῶν τοίνυν τόπων τὸ μὲν βόρειον τὸ δὲ νότιον ὄνο<sup>23</sup>μάζει.

## II

6. Ἄνεμοι δὲ πνέουσιν ἀπὸ μὲν ἰσημερινῆς ἀνατολῆς ἀπηλιώτης, ἀπὸ δὲ ἰσημερινῆς δύσεως ζέφυρος, ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας νότος, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄρκτου ἀπαρκτίας· ἀπὸ δὲ <sup>24</sup>τροπῆς θερινῆς καικίας, ἐξῆς δὲ ἀπὸ ἰσημερινῆς ἀνατολῆς ἀπηλιώτης καὶ ἀπὸ χειμερινῆς εὔρος· δυσμικοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως χειμερινῆς λίψ, καὶ ἐξῆς πάλιν ἀπὸ δύσεως <sup>25</sup>ἰσημερινῆς ζέφυρος, ἀπὸ δὲ δύσεως θερινῆς ἀργέστης ἦτοι Ὀλυμπίας <ὁ καὶ Ἰάπυξ>· εἶτα νότος καὶ ἀπαρκτίας ἀντιπνέοντες <ἀλλήλοισ>· γίνονται οὖν ὀκτώ. 7. Τιμοσθένης δὲ ὁ γράψας τοὺς περίπλους <sup>26</sup>δώδεκά φησι προστιθεὶς μέσον ἀπαρκτίου καὶ καικίου βορέαν, εὔρου δὲ καὶ νότου φοίνικα τὸν καὶ εὐρόνοτον, μέσον δὲ νότου καὶ λιβὸς τὸν λευκόνοτον ἦτοι λιβόνοτον, μέσον δὲ <sup>27</sup>ἀπαρκτίου καὶ ἀργέστου θρασκίαν ἦτοι κίρκιον ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικων <ὀνομαζόμενον>. ἔθνη δὲ οἰκεῖν τὰ πέρατα κατ' ἀπηλιώτην Βακτριανούς, κατ' εὔρον Ἰνδούς, κατὰ φοίνικα <sup>28</sup>Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν καὶ Αἰθιοπίαν, κατὰ νότον τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἴγυπτον

17 ὁμως Müller 17 πλατυτέραν τὰ Müller 18 σαρβωνίδος C  
 18 φάσιν B 19 ἰέναι B, εἶναι K 19 ἀπιούσι B, ἰούσι K 20 ἄντρος B  
 20 εὔρους B K, εὔρου C 21 ὠκεανὸς K edd., ὠκεανὸν B 21 διὰ B, παρὰ K  
 21 εὐκράτῳ B, ἀκράτῳ C edd. 22 ἰωνίας del. Gronovius 24 τροπῆς B,  
 ἀνατολῆς J 24 καικίας· μέσης J 25 ὁ καὶ ἰάπυξ καὶ ἐργάστης add. J  
 25 ἀλλήλοισ add. J 26 τὸν καὶ B, ὁ καλούμενος J 26 λιβόνοτος ὁ καὶ  
 λευκόνοτος J 27 ὀνομαζόμενος add. J 27 οἰκεῖ cum nominativis J  
 28 κατὰ -- αἰθιοπίαν om. J

Αἰθιοπίαν, κατὰ λευκόνοτον τοὺς ὑπὲρ Σύρτις Γαράμαντας, κατὰ λίβα Αἰθίοπας [καὶ] δυσμικοὺς ὑπὲρ Μαύρους, <sup>29</sup> κατὰ ζέφυρον Στήλας καὶ ἀρχὰς Λιβύης καὶ Εὐρώπης, κατὰ ἀργέστην Ἰβηρίαν τὴν νῦν Ἰσπανίαν, κατὰ [δὲ] θρασκίαν <Κελτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὄμορα, κατὰ ἀπαρκτίαν> τοὺς ὑπὲρ Θράκην Σκύθας, κατὰ [δὲ] βορρᾶν Πόντον Μαιώτιν Σαρμάτας, <sup>30</sup> κατὰ καικίαν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν καὶ Σάκας.

## III

8. ἔστι δὲ ἡ μεγάλη Σύρτις σταδίων ,ε, ἡ δὲ μικρὰ σταδίων ,αχ. τὸ δὲ στόμα τοῦ Ἀδρίου ὃ καλοῦσι τινας Ἴόνιον πέλαγος ἔχει <sup>31</sup> διάπλουν σταδίων [α]ψ̄ ἀπὸ ἄκρας Ἰαπυγίας ἐπὶ Κεραύνια ὄρη τῆς Ἠπείρου.  
 9. διαδέχεται τὸ Αἰγαῖον <πέλαγος> Ἑλλήσποντος λήγων εἰς Ἄβυδον καὶ Σηστόν, εἶτα ἡ Προποντις λήγουσα εἰς <sup>32</sup> Χαλκηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον, ἔνθα τὰ στενὰ ἀφ' ὧν ὁ Πόντος ἄρχεται· εἶτα ἡ Μαιώτις λίμνη. πάλιν δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης Ἰβηρικὸν τὸ ἀπὸ Στηλῶν εἰς Πυρήνην <sup>33</sup> τὸ ὄρος, Λιγυστικὸν δὲ τὸ ἕως τῶν τῆς Τυρρησίας περάτων, Σαρδῶον δὲ τὸ ὑπὲρ Σαρδῶ νεῦον πρὸς Λιβύην κάτω, Τυρρηρικὸν δὲ τὸ μέχρι Σικελίας λήγον ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ <sup>34</sup> τῶν Λιγυστικῆς ἄκρων, εἶτα Λιβυκόν, εἶτα Κρητικὸν καὶ Σικελικὸν καὶ Ἴόνιον καὶ Ἀδρίαν <καὶ> τὸν ἀνακεχυμένον ἐκ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πελάγους, ὃν καλοῦσι Κορινθιακὸν κόλπον <sup>35</sup> ἦτοι Ἀλκονοῖδα θάλασσαν. τὸ δὲ Σουνίω καὶ Σκυλλαίω περιεχόμενον πέλαγος Σαρωνικόν, εἶτα Μυρτῶον καὶ Ἰκάριον ἐν ᾧ αἱ Κυκλάδες, εἶτα Καρπάθιον καὶ Παμ<sup>36</sup>φύλιον καὶ Αἰγύπτιον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ Ἰκάριον ἐξῆς ἀναχεῖται τὸ Αἰγαῖον.  
 10. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ τῆς Εὐρώπης παράπλους ἀπὸ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολῶν ἕως Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν σταδίων <sup>37</sup> μυριάδων ἕξ καὶ ,θψ̄, τῆς δὲ Λιβύης ἀπὸ Τιγγὸς ἕως στόματος Κανωβικοῦ σταδίων μυριάδων δύο καὶ ,θϰ̄β, τῆς δ' Ἀσίας ἀπὸ Κανώβου ἕως Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ μετὰ τῶν κόλπων ὁ παρά<sup>38</sup>πλους σταδίων μυριάδων δ' καὶ ρῖα· ὁμοῦ παράλιος σὺν κόλποις τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης σταδίων μυριάδων ἰγ̄ καὶ ,θδ̄β συμμετρομένης τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης, ἧς περίμετρος <sup>39</sup> σταδίων ,θ,

28 κατὰ 2° J C, κατὰ Β 28 λευκόνοτον vel λιβόνοτον J 28 κύρτιν J  
 28 γεράμαντες vel γέρμαντες J 28 καὶ del. Müller 28 ὑπὲρ μαύρους edd.,  
 ὑπερμαύρους Β, ὑπέρμαυροι J 29 νῦν ἰσπανίαν Β, νυνὶ σπανία J 29 δὲ utr.  
 Β, om. J 29 add. J Müller 29 σαυρόματα edd. ante Müller 30 ἰώνιον Β  
 31 ,α del. Müller 31 πέλαγος add. J 31 λήγων edd., λήγον Β C J  
 31 λήγουσα J, λήγει Β C 33 τυρρησίας Β 33 καρδώνιον J 33 τὴν καρδῶ et  
 τὴν λιβύν J 33 τυρρηρικὸν Β<sup>c</sup> 33 λήγον om. C 34 τῶν om. Β<sup>a</sup> 34 ἰώνιον Β  
 34 καὶ add. Diller 35 τὸ δὲ Β, τῶ δὲ J, τὸ (om. δὲ) C 35 καὶ αἱ Müller  
 (non J) 36 ἀναχεῖται J Gronovius, ἀνάκειται Β 36 ἡρακλέους J 37 τίγας J

τὸ δὲ στόμα ὁ Κιμμέριος Βόσπορος σταδίων [σ]κ̄. 11. ὁ δὲ Πόντος σταδίων γτ̄ν· ὁ δὲ Θράκιος Βόσπορος τὰ στενὰ ὄπη Δαρεῖος ἔζευξεν ἐπὶ Σκύθας τὴν σχεδίαν σταδίων ἕξ. 12. <sup>40</sup> Ἡ δὲ Περσικὴ θάλασσα κυκλοτερῆς οὖσα συνάγουσα τὸ στόμα ἄκρω Καρμανίας καὶ Ἀραβίας περίμετρον ἔχει μυριάδων δύο σταδίων· ἔστι δὲ τὸ μεταξύ στόμα Ἀραβίας <sup>41</sup> καὶ Καρμανίας σταδίων ὕ. 13. Ἡ δὲ Ὑρκανία ἦτοι Κασπία θάλασσα μνησειδῆς οὖσα, κατὰ δέ τινας καὶ προμήκης, ἐστὶ σταδίων διςμυρίων [δισχιλίων]· τοῦ δὲ στόματος ἔχει τὸ διάρμα σταδίου <sup>42</sup> α. 14. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράβιος κόλπος στενὸς ὦν καὶ προμήκης ἄρχεται ἀπὸ Ἡρώων πολίτου μυχοῦ παρὰ τὴν Τρωγλοδυτικὴν ἕως τῆς Πτολεμαῖδος τῆς ἐπὶ θήρας σταδίων θ τὸ μῆκος, [τὰ δὲ <sup>43</sup> κατὰ Δειρὴν στενὰ σταδίων ξ,] ἔνθεν ἐξῆς πλοῦς σταδίων ςφ̄, [τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν οὐ πλείται] παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἕως ὠκεανοῦ σταδίων ε· τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν πλευρὰν ἀπὸ Αἰλανίτου μυχοῦ <sup>44</sup> σταδίων μυρίων δ. αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ Ἀραβία εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν καθήκει καὶ μεμήκνυται ἐπὶ σταδίων μυρίων δισχιλίων.

## IV

15. Μῆκος δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ Γάγγου εἰς τὰ Γάδειρα σταδίων <sup>45</sup> μυριάδων ζ̄ καὶ η̄φ̄μ̄ε οὕτως· ἀπὸ μὲν Γάγγου ποταμοῦ ἕως Μυριάνδρου τῆς ἐν Ἰσσικῶ κόλπῳ σταδίων μυριάδων τεσσάρων καὶ <sup>44</sup> χιλίων ψκ̄ε οὕτως· ἀπὸ Γάγγου <sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ ἐκβολὰς Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίων [δισ]μυρίων ς, ἀπὸ Ἰνδοῦ ἕως Κασπίων πυλῶν μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων τριακοσίων, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην σταδίων μυρίων ὕ, <sup>2</sup> εἰς Μυριάνδρον σταδίων τῶε, 16. ἀπὸ δὲ Μυριάνδρου ἐπὶ Γάδειρα σταδίων διςμυρίων ςω̄κ̄ οὕτως· ἀπὸ Μυριάνδρου ἐπὶ Κλεΐδας Κύπρου σταδίων <sup>3</sup> χιλίων τετρακοσίων, ἐπὶ Ἀκάμαντα τὸ ἀκρωτήριον στάδιοι ατ̄, ἐπὶ δὲ Χελιδονίας διὰ Παμφυλίου πελάγους στάδια ατ̄, εἰς Πάταρα στάδια ὦ, <sup>4</sup> [ὡς] εἰς Ῥόδον στάδια ψ, εἰς Ἀστυπάλαιαν διὰ Καρπαθίου στάδια τ̄ρ̄μ̄, ἐπὶ Ταίναρον στάδια ατ̄ν, ἐπὶ Πάχυνον Σικελίας στάδια δ, ἐπὶ Λιλύβαιον <sup>5</sup> διὰ Λιβυκοῦ πελάγους στάδια αφ̄κ̄, ἐπὶ δὲ Κάραλιν Σαρδοῦς διὰ Τυρσητικοῦ πελάγους στάδια αῶ, ἐπὶ Γάδειρα ὑπερπλεύ-

39 κ̄ Diller, ὀ Müller, ὀκ̄ B, ὀη edd. 39 διςμυρίων ante γτ̄ν add. edd.

39 ἕξ edd., ἐξακισχιλίων B 40 ἀραβίας 2° B 41 δισχιλίων del. Diller

42 α Diller, δ B 42 πολίτου Diller, ποταμοῦ B, πόλεως TenNuyl

42 μυχοῦ om. C 42 θήρας vel θῆρας edd., θύρας B 42 τὰ δὲ --ξ̄ post ςφ̄ legenda, sed et aliquid deest 43 τὸ δὲ --πλείται post ε̄ legenda 44 μυρίων

1° TenNuyl, μυριάδων B 45 η̄φ̄μ̄ε B Hoffmann, η̄φ̄μ̄θ C 1 δις- del. edd.

1 πεντακισ- B<sup>c</sup>, δις- B<sup>a</sup> 3 ατ̄ Hoffmann, γτ̄ B 3 ατ̄ Diller, ατ̄ B 4 ὡς del. Müller 4 ατ̄ν Diller, αῶν B 4 δ B, δχ̄ Hoffmann 5 αῶ Diller, βῶ B

σαντι Γυμνησίας ἕκτους στάδια μύρια, ἀπὸ Γαδεύρων δὲ διὰ Ἱεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου καὶ Ἀρτάβρων λιμένος στάδιοι ζϛλβ· ὁμοῦ γίνονται μυριάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑξήκοντα. 17. καὶ ἄλλως· ἀπὸ Γάγγου ἕως Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ μυριάδων τεσσάρων καὶ χιλίων τῷ, ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου εἰς Μάζακα Καππαδοκῶν στάδια αϛν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἑκτὸς Μαζάκων διὰ Φρυγίας τῆς παρορίου καὶ μεγάλης <καὶ> Καρίας ἕως Ἐφέσου στάδιοι γϛϛ· ὁμοῦ ἀπὸ Γάγγου εἰς Ἐφεσον σταδίων μυριάδων τεσσάρων καὶ ζϛϛ· ἑξήκοντα δὲ Ἐφέσου εἰς Δῆλον διὰ τοῦ Αἰγαίου στάδια ραχ, ἐπὶ Ἴσθμὸν στάδια ραϛ, ἀπὸ Ἴσθμοῦ διὰ Κορινθίου κόλπου εἰς Πάτρας στάδια ψκ, ἐπὶ Λευκάδα 10 στάδια ψ, ἐπὶ Κόρκυραν στάδια ψ, ἐπὶ Ἀκροκεραῦνι ὄρη στάδια χξ, ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίον στάδια ψ, ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου πεζῆ ὁδεύονται ἕως 11 Ῥώμης στάδια βωπ, ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπὶ τὰς Ἄλπειν ἕως Σκιγγομάγου <κώμης> ὑπὸ ταῖς Ἄλπειν οὐσῆς στάδια δρνβ, εἶτα διὰ Κελτικῆς ἕως πόλεως Ἰλλυγύρεως <ὑπὸ τῇ Πυρήνῃ οὐσῆς στάδια γψμδ, εἶτα διὰ Ἰβηρίας> ἕως Γαδεύρων στάδια ρχνδ, καὶ ὁ διάπλους ἐπὶ Γάδειρα διὰ τῶν πανδοκίων στάδια ξ· ὁμοῦ ἀπὸ Γάγγου εἰς Γάδειρα 13 σταδίων μυριάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ αϛξ. 18. Πλάτος δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰθιοπικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ Μερόην σταδίων ρ, ἀπὸ Μερόης εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν 14 σταδίων μυρίων [α], ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπὶ Τανάϊν μυρίων ϛανζ (τὰ γὰρ ἄνω τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Τανάιδος ἀγνοεῖται εἰς βορρᾶν) οὕτως· ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας 15 εἰς Λίνδον Ῥόδου στάδια δϛ, ἐπὶ τὸ Θεόαντιον δεξιὸν παραπλέοντι Ῥόδον στάδια υ, ἐπὶ Τῆλον στάδια ρξ, ἐπὶ Λακτῆρα τῆς Κώας στάδια ρκ, 16 ἐπὶ Δρέπανον Κώας στάδια ρ, ἐπὶ Ἀρκίτιν νῆσον στάδια ελ, ἐπὶ Κορσίας ρ, ἐπὶ Σαμίων Ἀμπελον στάδια λ, ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰαίγαϊον Ἀργεννον 17 διὰ τοῦ Αἰγαίου στάδια ϛ, ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐρυθραῖον Κορυναῖον στάδια εδ, ἐπὶ Φλίον ἄκρον Χίου στάδια υ, ἐπὶ Μελανέα ἄκρον Λέσβου στάδια υν, 18 ἐπὶ Σίγειον Λέσβου στάδια ϛ, εἰς Τένεδον νῆσον στάδια υν, εἰς Σίγειον στάδια ρ, ἐπὶ στόμα Πόντου στάδια βϛ, ἐπὶ Κάραμβιν στάδια 19 βω, ἐπὶ στόμα Μαιώτιδος στάδια βϛ, ἐπὶ Τανάϊν στάδια βε. 19. ἄλλως, ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν, ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς Ῥόδον στάδια 20 δχδ, εἰς Κνίδον στάδια ψ, εἰς Κῶν στάδια ε, εἰς Σάμον στάδια ω, εἰς Χίον στάδια ψν, εἰς

6 ἐπὶ ἀρτάβρων λιμένα Hoffmann 6 ζϛλβ Hoffmann, ζϛλβ B 7 ἑξήκοντα Müller, βϛδζ B 7 αϛν Müller, δρν B 8 παρορίου B, παρορίας edd., παρωρείας Müller 8 καὶ add. Müller 8 γϛϛ Müller, γϛϛ B 11 σκιγγομάγου κώμης TenNuyl, τομάρου B 12 Illiberis vel Iliberris alibi 12 lac. stat. TenNuyl, suppl. Müller, Diller 12 ρχνδ Müller, βχνα B 12 διὰ τῶν πανδοκείων ante ἕως γαδεύρων edd. 13 τὴν μερόην C 14 α del. Müller 18 σίγειον B

Μιτυλήνην στάδια  $\bar{\phi}\bar{\kappa}$ , εἰς Τένεδον  $^{21}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ , εἰς Σίγειον  $\bar{\rho}$ , ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα Πόντου  $\beta\bar{\phi}$ , εἰς Κάραμβιν  $\beta\bar{\omega}$ , εἰς στόμα Μαιώτιδος  $\beta\bar{\phi}$ , ἐπὶ Τανάϊν ποταμὸν  $\beta\bar{\zeta}$ · ὁμοῦ ἀπὸ  $^{22}$  Ἀλεξανδρείας ἕως Τανάϊδος σταδίων μυρίων  $\eta\chi\zeta$ .

## V

20. Λοιπὸν δὲ ἐροῦμεν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς νήσων τὰς περιμέτρους λαβόντες παρὰ Ἀρτεμιδώρου  $^{23}$  καὶ Μενίππου καὶ ἐτέρων ἀξιοπιστῶν. Γάδειρα μῆκος σταδίων  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\kappa}$ , πλάτος σταδίων  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}$ · ὁ δὲ καθ' Ἡρακλείου στήλας πορθμὸς στενότατός ἐστι σταδίων  $^{24}\bar{\pi}$ · ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰβηρικῷ πελάγει νῆσοι Πιτυοῦσσαι ἢ μείζων καὶ οἰκουμένη σταδίων  $\bar{\tau}$  μῆκος, ἢ δὲ ἐλάττων σταδίων  $\bar{\rho}$ · τῶν δὲ Γυμνασίων ἅς Καρχη $^{25}$  δόνιοι Βαλιαρίας καλοῦσιν (οἱ γὰρ σφενδονηταὶ οὕτω καλοῦνται οἱ Βαλιαρεῖς) ἢ μείζων μῆκος σταδίων  $\alpha\bar{\zeta}$ , πλάτος σταδίων  $\bar{\upsilon}$ , ἢ ἐλάττων σταδίων  $^{26}\bar{\tau}$ . αἱ δὲ Στοιχάδες αἱ φεράννυμοι ἐξῆς ἐπ' εὐθείας κεῖνται πρὸ τῶν Μασσαλιακῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν μείζους τρεῖς δύο δὲ μικραὶ αὐτῆς ἐγγὺς  $^{27}$  Μασσαλίας. ἢ δὲ Σαρδῶ ἔχει σχῆμα ὡς ποδὸς ἴχνος μεσόκοιλος τὸ μῆκος  $\beta\bar{\zeta}$ · Κύρνος ἐγγὺς Σαρδοῦς πολλῶ δὲ ἀγενεστέρα ἔλαττον ἢ ἡμισυ  $^{28}$  τοῦ Σαρδοῦς μήκους ἔχει· ἀφετήριον δ' εἰς Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνον Ποπουλώ-νιον τῆς Τυρσηνίας, τὸ δὲ διάρμα σταδίων  $\alpha\bar{\zeta}$ . τῆς Σιλεκίας κατὰ Τιμοσθένην  $^{29}$  περίμετρος σταδίων  $\delta\bar{\psi}\bar{\mu}$ , σχῆμα τρίγωνον σκαληνοειδές, διάρμα δ' ἔχει ἀπὸ Πελώρου ἄκρου εἰς Ἰταλίαν σταδίων  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}$  πορθμῶ· πλευρὰ νήσου ἀπὸ Πε $^{30}$ λώρου εἰς Πάχυνον στάδια  $\alpha\bar{\tau}\bar{\xi}$ , ἀπὸ Παχύνου εἰς Λιλύβαιον στάδια  $\alpha\bar{\chi}$ · κατὰ Τιμοσθένην ἀπὸ Λιλυβαίου εἰς Πελωριάδα στάδια  $\alpha\bar{\psi}$ · ἀπὸ Λιλυ $^{31}$ βαίου διάπλους εἰς Ἀσπίδα τῆς Λιβύης ἐγγὺς στάδια  $\alpha\bar{\phi}$ . 21. Κέρκινα νήσος μῆκος  $\langle\bar{\epsilon}\rangle$  πλάτος στάδια  $\bar{\omicron}$ , ὅπου δὲ στενοτάτη στάδια  $\bar{\mu}$ · ὑπέρεκειται δὲ πόλεως ἠπει $^{32}$ ρωτικῆς Θεήνης ἢ κεῖται τῆς μικρᾶς Σύρτιδος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς· τῇ δὲ Κερκίνη παράκειται νήσος Καρκινίτις γεφύρα ζευθεῖσα στάδια μῆκος  $\bar{\mu}$   $^{33}$  πλάτος δὲ στάδια  $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\epsilon}$ . 22. ἀπὸ Κερκίνης ἐπὶ νήσον Μήνιγγα τὴν Λωτοφαγῆτιν ὁ διάπλους στάδια  $\bar{\chi}$ , ὅσον τῆς μικρᾶς λέγεται Σύρτιδος τὸ στόμα, ἢ δὲ  $^{34}$  Μήνιγγε μῆκος σταδίων  $\bar{\chi}$  πλάτος σταδίων  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}$ , μεγάλα δ' εἰς περὶ

21  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$  Müller,  $\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$  B 21 *σίγειον* B 21  $\beta\bar{\phi}$  2° edd.,  $\alpha\bar{\phi}$  B 23  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\kappa}$  B,  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$  edd.  
24 *πιτυοῦσσαι* Diller, *πιτυοῦσα* Müller, *πιτύουσα* B 24 *μῆκος* B, *τὸ μῆκος* edd.  
25 *μῆκος* B, *μῆκος ἔχει* edd. 27 *ποδὸς* Gronovius, *πόλος* B 27 *ἴχνος* edd., *ἰσχνός* B 27 *ἀγενεστέρα* B, *ἀγενεστέρα* C 28 *τοῦ καρδοῦς μήκους* B, *τῆς καρδοῦς μῆκος* edd. 28 *ποπουπώνιον* B 28  $\alpha\bar{\zeta}$  Hoffmann,  $\beta\bar{\zeta}$  B 29  $\delta\bar{\psi}\bar{\mu}$  edd.,  $\alpha\bar{\psi}\bar{\mu}$  B,  $\psi\bar{\mu}$  C 29  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}$  Diller,  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$  B 29 *πορθμῶ* B, *πορθμὸν* C, *πορθμῶν* edd. 31  $\alpha\bar{\phi}$  B,  $\alpha\bar{\chi}$  C 31  $\bar{\epsilon}$  add. Müller 31 *στάδια* 2° om. C 32 *θρήνης* C 32 *κερκινίτις* edd. 32 *μῆκος στάδια* edd. 33 *σύρτιδος λέγεται* C

αὐτὴν παλίρροιαι. 23. Κεφαλληνία νῆσος τετράπολις μῆκος σταδίων ὕ. εἷσι δὲ καὶ <sup>35</sup> ἐν τῷ Ἀδρία νῆσοι παρὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα ὧν ἐπισημότεραι Ἰσση καὶ ἡ μέλαινα Κόρκυρα καὶ Φάρος καὶ Μελίτη, ὧν ἀγνοῶ τὰς περιμέτρους. 24. <sup>36</sup> Πελοποννήσου δὲ ὁ περίπλους καὶ τῶν κόλπων συμμετρούμενων στάδια ,εῃκῆ, χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ κατακολπίσαι ὁ περίπλους στάδια ,δ. <sup>37</sup> μῆκος δὲ ἀπὸ Μαλέας ἕως Αἰγίου στάδια ,αῦ. ἔχει δὲ ὅμοιον σχῆμα φύλλῳ πλατάνου κόλποις μεγάλοις τεμνομένη· συνάγεται μὲν εἰς <sup>38</sup> τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸν πλάτος σταδίων μ̄ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κορινθίου κόλπου καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ . . . ἐπὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον ἄκρον, ἔνθα ἐξ εὐωνύμων πρόκειται νῆσος <sup>39</sup> Καλαυρία Ποσειδῶνος ἱερά, ἐξῆς δ' ὁ Ἀργολικὸς κόλπος μέχρι Μαλέας ἄκρου ὁ πολὺ προπέπτωκεν εἰς πέλαγος, [εἶτα ὁ Ἑρμιονικὸς κόλπος,] ἐξῆς δὲ <sup>40</sup> μετὰ Μαλέαν Λακωνικὸς κόλπος ἕως Ταινάρου ἐκ δεξιῶν, ὁ περιορίζει ἐξ εὐωνύμων τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν κόλπον οὗ ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἀκρίτας ἄκρα, εἶτα <sup>41</sup> προπέπτωκεν ἄκρον Ἰχθὺς καθ' ὃν κεῖται Ζάκυνθος, καὶ ἕτερον ὁ Χελωνάτας, τελευταῖον δ' ἄκρον Ἀραξος ἀντιπρόσωπον Ἀκαρνανία, μεθ' ὃν <sup>42</sup> ὁ Κορινθιακὸς ἀναχεῖται κόλπος ζ σταδίων συγκλειόμενος στόματι κατὰ τὸ Ῥίον ἄκρον ὃ ἐστὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὸ δ' Ἀντίριον Λοκρίδος. ἀπὸ <sup>43</sup> Ταινάρου ἐπὶ Φυκοῦντα Λιβύης τὸ διάρμα στάδια γ. 25. Αἶγινα νῆσος προμήκης στάδια ρξ̄ ἐξ ἐναντίας κεῖται τῆς Ἀττικῆς· Σαλαμῖς <sup>44</sup> μῆκος σταδ. ο· ἡ Κεῖα ρκ̄. τῶν δὲ Κυκλάδων κρατίστη ἐστὶν ἡ Νάξος, διὸ μικρὰ λέγεται Σικελία· ἐκ δεξιῶν δ' αἱ Σποράδες. ἡ δ' Εὐβοία <sup>45</sup> γεφύρα πρὸς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἔζευκται, παρατείνει δὲ Βοιωτίδα Φωκίδα Λοκρούς, <sup>51</sup> ἐκ δὲ θατέρου ἐπὶ ποσον καὶ τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἐστὶ γὰρ μακρά, <sup>1</sup> διὸ Μάκρις ὠνομάσθη· μῆκος σταδίων ,αψ̄. 26. ἡ δὲ Κρήτη κατὰ Μαλέαν πλησιάζει Πελοποννήσῳ, περίμετρος δὲ αὐτῆς σταδίων ,δρ̄ μῆκος ,βτ̄, <sup>2</sup> κατὰ πολὺ γὰρ μεμήκνυται. Κύθηρα μέσον Κρήτης καὶ Λακωνικῆς. Κύπρος βύρρη τὸ σχῆμα ὁμοία, περίπλους στάδια ,γγκ̄, <sup>3</sup> μῆκος δὲ ,ατ̄· ἀπὸ Πάφου εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διάρμα βορέου σταδίων ,γγω̄. Ῥόδου περίμετρος στάδια ,ατ̄. Κῶ περίμετρος στάδια φν̄. Σάμος στάδια χλ̄. Ἰκαρία δὲ ἐστὶ μακρὰ τραχεῖα, μῆκος σταδίων τ̄. Χίου περίμετρος στάδια χξ̄. Λέσβου περίμετρος στάδ. ,αρ̄.

37 αἰγίου Gronovius, αἰγαίου B 37 ,αῦ edd., ,αῦ B 38 κορίνθιον 1° edd. 38 lac. stat. Müller 38 ἐξ εὐωνύμων ἔνθα B, transp. Diller 39 Hermonicus sinus ante Argolicum ponendus 40 ἐκδεξιῶν utr. B 40 ὁ περι- B, ὁς περι-edd., ὅπερ Müller 41 ἄραξος B 44 ἐκδεξιῶν B 45 βοιωτίδα B, βοιωτίαν Müller 45 τῇ ἀττικῇ B, τὴν ἀττικὴν Berkel, Müller 2 μεμήκνυται B, cf. 4<sup>4</sup>44 3 κάμος B, κάμου edd. 4 στάδ ult. om. C 5 subscr. Ἀγαθημέρου τοῦ ὀρθωνος ὑποτύπως γεωγραφίας B



## Agathemerus son of Orthon

### *Sketch of Geography*

#### I

1. Anaximander of Miletus, disciple of Thales, first attempted to draw the earth on a map. After him Hecataeus of Miletus, a widely-traveled man, improved the work marvelously. Hellanicus of Lesbos, a man of much learning, gave his account without a map. Then Damastes of Citium wrote a circumnavigation, drawing mostly on Hecataeus. Next Democritus and Eudoxus and others wrote tours of the earth by land and sea. 2. The ancients drew the earth round, and regarded Hellas as the center and Delphi as the center of Hellas, since it had the navel of the earth. Democritus, a man of much experience, first perceived that the earth was oblong, with the length half again the breadth. Dicaearchus the Peripatetic agreed with him. Eudoxus made the length double the breadth, Eratosthenes more than double, Crates semicircular, Hipparchus trapezoid, others . . . , Posidonius the Stoic sling-shaped and wide in the middle from south to north, narrow to the east and west, wider, however, to the southeast, toward India. 3. Boundaries of the continents: of Europe and Libya the Pillars of Hercules; of Libya and Asia the Nile, but some say the isthmus between Lake Serbonis and the Arabian gulf; of Asia and Europe the ancients said the Phasis River and the isthmus to the Caspian, the later and more recent ones say Lake Maeotis and the Tanais River. 4. The continents were called ἡπειροὶ as being boundless (ἄπειροι), out of ignorance. Asia was named for coming close (ἄσπον) for those going over from Europe both by land and by the islands lying in a row: Euboea Andros Tenos Myconos Icaria Samos Mycale. Europe was named for its breadth (εὐρος). Libya was quite unknown to the Greeks, but from a signal nation †Phoenicians were named seafaring†. The ocean was named for quickly encircling (ὠκέως ἀνύειν) the earth. 5. Dicaearchus bounds the earth not by waters but by a straight line from the Pillars through Sardinia Sicily Peloponnesus Ionia Caria Lycia Pamphylia Cilicia and Taurus on to Mt Imaus, and he calls the several regions either northern or southern.

#### II

6. The winds blow: from equinoctial sunrise *apeliotes*, from equinoctial sunset *zephyros*, from midday *notos*, from the bear *aparctias*,

from summer solstice (sunrise) *kaikias*, and next, from equinoctial sunrise *apeliotes*, and from winter sunrise *euros*, and in the west, from winter sunset *lips*, and next again, from equinoctial sunset *zephyros* from summer sunset *argestes* or *Olympias* also called *Iapyx*, then *notos* and *aparctias* blowing opposite each other; so there are eight. 7. But Timosthenes, who wrote the circumnavigations, says there are twelve, adding *boreas* between *aparctias* and *kaikias*, *phoinix* also called *euronotos* between *euros* and *notos*, *leuconotos* or *libonotos* between *notos* and *lips*, *thrascias* or *kirkios* (as called by the local people) between *aparctias* and *argestes*. He says nations dwell on the borders of the earth, towards *apeliotes* Bactrians, towards *euros* Indians, towards *phoinix* the Red Sea and Aethiopia, towards *notos* Aethiopia beyond Egypt, towards *leuconotos* Garamantes beyond the Syrtes, towards *lips* western Aethiopians beyond Moors, towards *zephyros* the Pillars and the beginnings of Libya and Europe, towards *argestes* Iberia, now Hispania, towards *thrascias* Celts and their neighbors, towards *aparctias* Scythians beyond Thrace, towards *borras* Pontus Maeotis Sarmatians, towards *kaikias* the Caspian Sea and Sacae.

### III

8. The Great Syrtis is 5000 stades, the Little Syrtis 1600 stades. The mouth of the Adriatic, which some call the Ionian Sea, has a passage of 700 stades from the tip of Iapygia to the Ceraunian mountains in Epirus. 9. After the Aegean Sea comes the Hellespont ending at Abydus and Sestus, then the Propontis ending at Chalcedon and Byzantium, where the narrows are from which the Pontus begins, then Lake Maeotis. Again, from the beginning of Europe and Libya the Iberian Sea from the Pillars to Mt Pyrene, the Ligurian as far as the borders of Etruria, the Sardinian beyond Sardinia bending down towards Libya, the Tuscan ending as far as Sicily and beginning from the capes of Liguria, then the Libyan, then the Cretan and Sicilian and Ionian and Adriatic and the one opening out of the Sicilian sea, which they call the gulf of Corinth or Halcyon sea. The Saronic sea enclosed by Sunium and Scyllaeum, then the Myrtoan and Icarian, in which are the Cyclades, then the Carpathian and Pamphylian and Egyptian. Beyond the Icarian spreads the Aegean. 10. The coast of Europe from the outlet of the Tanais River to the Pillars of Hercules is 69709 stades, of Libya from Tingis to the Canobic mouth is 29252 stades, of Asia from Canobus to the Tanais River, with the gulfs, is

40111 stades; altogether, the coast of our earth, with the gulfs, is 139072 stades, including Lake Maeotis, of which the perimeter is 9000 stades and the mouth at the Cimmerian Bosphorus is 20 [70] stades. **11.** The Pontus is 3350 stades, the narrows at the Thracian Bosphorus, where Darius built the bridge against the Scythians, is six stades. **12.** The Persian Sea, being round and narrowing to the mouth at the capes of Carmania and Arabia, has a perimeter of 20000 stades; the mouth, between Arabia and Carmania is 400 stades. **13.** The Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea, being crescent-shaped, but some say oblong, is 20000 stades and has a passage of 1000 stades at the mouth. **14.** The Arabian Gulf, being narrow and oblong, begins from the gulf of Heroöpolis along Troglodytica to Ptolemais at the Hunts 9000 stades long, where follows a voyage of 6500 stades, the narrows at Deire of 60 stades, along the Red Sea to the ocean 5000 stades, the rest is not navigated. The side along Arabia from the gulf of Aelana is 14000 stades. Arabia itself extends to the Red Sea and lengthens to 12000 stades.

## IV

**15.** The length of the earth from the Ganges to Gades is 68545 stades, thus: from the Ganges River to Myriandrus in the gulf of Issus 41725 stades, thus: from the Ganges to the outlet of the Indus River 16000 stades, from the Indus to the Caspian Gates 15300 stades, to the Euphrates 10050 stades, to Myriandrus 375 stades. **16.** From Myriandrus to Gades 26820 stades, thus: from Myriandrus to the Keys of Cyprus 1400 stades, to Cape Acamas 1300 stades, to the Chelidoniae through the Pamphylian sea 1900 stades, to Patara 800 stades, to Rhodes 700 stades, to Astypalaea through the Carpathian <sup>†</sup>140 stades, to Taenarum 1950 stades, to Pachynum in Sicily 4000 stades, to Lilybaeum through the Libyan sea 1520 stades, to Caralis in Sardinia through the Tuscan sea 1800 stades, to Gades past the Gymnesiae islands 10000 stades, from Gades past the Sacred Cape and harbor of the Artabrians 7932. Altogether 76477 stades. **17.** Another way: from the Ganges to the Euphrates River 41350, from the Euphrates to Mazaca in Cappadocia 1950 stades, from Mazaca through piedmont and great Phrygia and Caria to Ephesus 3990 stades, altogether from the Ganges to Ephesus 47290 stades. From Ephesus to Delos through the Aegean 1600 stades, to the Isthmus 1700 stades, from the Isthmus through the Gulf of Corinth to Patrae 720 stades, to Leucas 700 stades,

to Corcyra 700 stades, to the Acroceraunian mountains 660 stades, to Brundisium 700 stades, from Brundisium by land to Rome 2880 stades, from Rome to the Alps at the village Scingomagus beneath the Alps 4152 stades, then through Celtica to the town Illygyris beneath Pyrene 3744 stades, then through Iberia to Gades 6654 stades, and the passage to Gades by way of the inns 60 stades. Altogether from the Ganges to Gades 71560 stades. **18.** The breadth of the earth from the Aethiopian sea to Meroe 5000 stades, from Meroe to Alexandria 10000 stades, from Alexandria to the Tanais †11056, above the outlet of the Tanais to the north is unknown, thus: from Alexandria to Lindus in Rhodes 4500 stades, to Thoantion passing Rhodes on the right 400 stades, to Telos 160 stades, to Lacter in Cos 120 stades, to Drepanon in Cos 100 stades, to the island Arcitis 230 stades, to Corsiae 100, to Ampelus in Samos 30 stades, to Argennon through the Aegean 500 stades, to Erythraean Corynaion 270 stades, to Cape †Phlion in Chios 50 stades, to Cape Melaneus in Lesbos 450 stades, to Sigrion in Lesbos 500 stades, to the island Tenedos 450 stades, to Sigeum 100 stades, to the mouth of Pontus 2500 stades, to Carambis 2800 stades, to the mouth of Maeotis 2500 stades, to the Tanais 2200 stades. **19.** Another way, from city to city: from Alexandria to Rhodes 4670 stades, to Cnidus 700 stades, to Cos 200 stades, to Samos 800 stades, to Chios 750 stades, to Mitylene 520 stades, to Tenedos 950, to Sigeum 100, to the mouth of Pontus 2500, to Carambis 2800, to the mouth of Maeotis 2500, to the Tanais River 2200; altogether from Alexandria to Tanais 18690 stades.

## V

**20.** Finally, we will give the perimeters of the islands of our earth taking them from Artemidorus and Menippus and other trustworthy authors. Gades is 120 stades long, 16 wide; the passage at the Pillars of Hercules is 80 stades at the narrowest; in the Iberian sea, of the Pityussae islands the greater, inhabited, is 300 stades long, the lesser 100 stades; of the Gymnasiae, which the Carthaginians call Baliariae (for slingers are thus called Baliares) the greater is 1200 stades long, 400 stades wide, the lesser 300 stades. The Stoechades so-called lie in a row in front of the Massilian towns, three greater and two small near Massilia itself. Sardinia has the shape of a footprint, hollow in the middle, 2200 long; Corsica near Sardinia but much poorer is less than half as long as Sardinia; the take-off for Sardinia and Corsica is Popu-

lonium in Etruria, the passage 1200 stades. The perimeter of Sicily according to Timosthenes is 4740 stades, the shape a scalene triangle, the passage from Cape Pelorus to Italy 12 stades. The side of the island from Pelorus to Pachynum is 1360 stades, from Pachynum to Lilybaeum 1600 stades, from Lilybaeum to Pelorias according to Timosthenes 1700 stades; the passage from Lilybaeum to Aspis in Libya about 1500 stades. **21.** The island Cercina is 200 long, 70 stades wide, but 40 at the narrowest; it lies off the town Theëne on the mainland at the beginning of the lesser Syrtis; beside Cercina lies the island Carcinitis, joined by a bridge, 40 stades long, 25 stades wide. **22.** From Cercina to the island Meninx Lotophagitis the passage is 600 stades, as is said to be the mouth of the lesser Syrtis; Meninx is 600 stades long, 180 stades wide, and there are great currents around it. **23.** The island Cephallenia, of four towns, is 400 stades long. There are also in the Adriatic islands along Illyria, especially Issa and Black Corcyra and Pharos and Melite, of which I do not know the perimeters. **24.** The circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus counting the gulfs is 5627 stades, without entering the gulfs 4000 stades; the length from Malea to Aegium is 1400 stades; the shape like a plane leaf, cut up by great gulfs; it narrows in the Gulf of Corinth to the Isthmus 40 stades wide between the Corinthian and Saronic gulfs. . . . to Cape Scyllaeum with the island Calauria to the left sacred to Poseidon, then the gulf of Hermione, next the gulf of Argos as far as Cape Malea, which juts far into the sea, next after Malea the gulf of Laconia as far as Taenarum on the right, which bounds the gulf of Messenia on the left with Cape Acritas on the right, then Cape Ichthys, off which is Zacynthus, and Cape Chelonatas, and finally Cape Araxus facing Acarnania, after which opens up the Gulf of Corinth narrowing to a mouth of 7 stades at Rhion in the Peloponnesus and Antirhion in Locris. From Taenarum to Phycus in Libya the passage is 3000 stades. **25.** The island Aegina 160 stades long lies against Attica; Salamis 70 stades long, Ceia 120. Of the Cyclades the greatest is Naxos, hence called Little Sicily; to the right are the Sporades. Euboea is joined to Boeotia by a bridge; it extends along Boeotia Phocis Locris, and on the other end even a little along Attica, for it is long, hence called Macris, the length 1700 stades. **26.** Crete is near the Peloponnesus off Malea, 4100 stades around, 2300 long, for it is much lengthened; Cythera is between Crete and Laconia. Cyprus has the shape of a hide, perimeter 3420 stades, length 1300; from Paphos to Alexandria the passage is from

the north, 3800 stades. The perimeter of Rhodes is 1300 stades, of Cos 540 stades, of Samos 630 stades. Icaria is long and rugged, the length 300 stades. The perimeter of Chios is 660 stades, of Lesbos 1100 stades.

## COMMENTARY

**I 1** [r10] *γεωγραφίας ὑποτύπωσις*. Compare Strabo 121c. There is in the corpus another, anonymous, piece with the same title. It is probably of the IX cent. and took its title from ours. The two stood first in Codex A. See Diller pp.3, 188. [r11–13] Strabo 1D, 7AB, 635C, has the same list more or less: (Homer), Anaximander, Hecataeus, Democritus, Eudoxus, Dicaearchus, Ephorus, etc. It is derived from Eratosthenes (Berger pp.21, 41). The excerpt K, followed by Eustathius, transfers ἀκουστής Θάλεω from Anaximander to Democritus as ὁ Θαλοῦ μαθητῆς (cf. Strabo 635C). **2** [r13–16] Aetius 3.10 (Diels p.376) is quite different and worthless. It is strange that Strabo's *χλαμυδοειδής* is absent here. Agathemerus ignores the mighty change of conception that followed the invention of the sphere of the earth; he uses *γῆ* and *οἰκουμένη* interchangeably. Democritus still thought of the earth as flat, but the others faced the problem of the relation between *οἰκουμένη* and *γῆ*. οἱ παλαιοὶ . . . *τρογγύλην*: Hdt. 4.36 *κυκλοτερῆς ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου*. Dicaearchus, Wehrli (1967) pp.35, 78. Eratosthenes in Strabo 64A, Berger pp.142, 156. Crates, Mette (1936) pp.76, 146f. Hipparchus, Dicks (1960) pp.148, 206. Posidonius, *FGrHist* 87 F 98a. **3** [r17–19] ὄροι ἠπείρων. These formed a question often discussed by ancient geographers: Eratosthenes in Strabo 65B–66A, Berger pp.163–67; Posidonius in Strabo 102D, *FGrHist* 87 F 28; [Arist.] *De Mundo* 393b22–394a4; Dionys.Per. 1–25; Marcian of Heraclea in Müller I pp.519f. Agathemerus is right in saying the Nile (Hdt. 2.16) and the Phasis (Hdt. 4.46, Pl. *Phd.* 109A) are earlier (Ionian). Strabo pairs the rivers Nile and Tanais as earlier than the isthmuses. **4** [r19–21] ἐκλήθησαν. These etymologies are the latest and poorest elements in the treatise—an unwelcome interruption of the sequence of ideas. They are unique except the first and last; see Eur. fr.1010 Nauck, *Etym.Magn.* s.v. ὠκεανός. [r19] νήσοις στιχηδὸν κειμένας. Dionys.Per. 514 ἀπειρεσίων στίχα νήσων. Compare the *diaphragma* Euboea-Mycale in ps.-Scylax 113 in Müller I p.95f. [r21] The text is desperate, K gives no help. **5** [r21] This west-east axis of the *οἰκουμένη*, attributed only here to Dicaearchus, was taken over by Eratosthenes (Strabo 67C–68A, 85CD, Berger pp.170–73). Notice the new reading *εὐκράτω* for *ἀκράτω*, although I cannot make sense of either one.

**II 6** [r23] Ἄνεμοι. Agathemerus gives first the rose of eight winds as in Arist. *Mete.* 363a21–364a4, and then the common rose of twelve, attributed only here to Timosthenes (of Rhodes, admiral of Ptolemy II). **7** [r27] ἔθνη. Compare Ephorus in Strabo 34AB, *FGrHist* 70 F 30.

**III 8** [r30] Although the third chapter begins abruptly, it has a single subject in the doctrine of the four gulfs of the *οἰκουμένη*: Mediterranean, Persian, Caspian (misconceived), Arabian; see Strabo 121b, Pompon.Mela 1.9, Dionys. Per. 43–55, 627–35, Cosmas Indic. 2.29. Casaubon (on Strabo) attributed the doctrine to Eratosthenes but without specific evidence; Berger ignores it. The account of the Mediterranean is in disorder. [r30] Syrtes 5000 and 1600 stades. Strabo 123b, 834d, 835d(?), Plin. *NH* 5.26(?), 27. [r31] 700 stades. Strabo 281b, Agathem. v10 *infra*. **9** [r34] Strabo 123c: τὸ Σικελικὸν πέλαγος . . . πληροῖ τὸν Κορινθιακὸν καλουμένον κόλπον. **10** [r36–38] The four big numbers tally with each other: 69709+29252+40111=139072. Pliny (4.121, 5.40[?], 5.47, 6.208–09) attributes them to Artemidorus (and Isidorus). Marc.Heracl. in Müller I p.520 has similar numbers but with a strange shift in the first digits: 39000+40280+60120=139400. All measure from Tingis to Canobus. [r38–39] Plin. 6.207 *universus autem circuitus per sinus dictos . . . colligit intra Maeotim lacum*  $\overline{CLV}$   $\overline{VIII}$ , Artemidorus *adicit*  $\overline{DCCLVI}$ , *idem cum Maeodite*  $\overline{CLXXIII}$   $\overline{XC}$  *p. esse tradidit*. **11** [r39] Of the four numbers given for the Pontus only the first is secure: Maeotis 9000 stades, Strabo 125b *et al.* (8000 Polyb. 4.39.1). The second number may be either the length or the width, or both, of the Cimmerian Bosphorus: 70 stades Strabo 494c, or 20 stades Strabo 310c, 494b, Menippus 10r27 Diller p.155, Plin. 4.76. It is not clear what dimension of the Pontus is meant by the third number (3350); the breadth is given as 3300 stades in Hdt. 4.85. The fourth number may well be 6 (not 6000); the width of the Thracian Bosphorus is given as 4 stades (Hdt. 4.85 *et al.*) or 5 stades (Polyb. 4.43.2 *et al.*) or 7 stades (ps.-Scylax 67 Müller I p.56, Plin. 5.149). **12** [r40] Persian Gulf. Eratosthenes, Berger pp.269ff. [r41] 400 stades. *Periplus maris Erythraei* 35 Müller I p.284: 600 stades; Plin. 6.108: 5 or 4 miles (40 or 32 stades). Other authors are vague on the width of the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Strabo 121d says that the mouths of the Persian and the Caspian were not as wide as the two others. **13** [r41] Caspian Sea. Eratosthenes, Berger pp.323ff. [r41] 22000 stades. Plin. 6.37: 2500 miles (20000 stades). Other authors are vague on the circumference of the Caspian Sea, and precision is unlikely here. So I delete *διεχιλίων* as a doublet of *διεμυρίων*. [r42] 1000 stades. Other authors are vague on the width of the mouth of the Caspian Sea. 4000 seems too large, so I read ,α for ,δ. There are cases of interchange of *A* and *Δ* in numbers in codex **A**. **14** [r42–44] Arabian Gulf. Eratosthenes in Strabo 768d–769c, Berger pp.290ff. The text of Agathemerus is in disorder. The correct order is: Heroöpolis 9000 Ptolemais 6500 Deiré *στενά* 5000 limit. Thus *ἐνθεν* refers to Ptolemais, not Deiré. Strabo has 4500 instead of 6500. [r42] Ptolemais *ἐπὶ θήρασ*. Plin. 6.171, Strabo 768d. [r43] 60 stades. Timosthenes in Plin. 6.163, Eratosthenes in Strabo 769c. [r44] 12000 stades. Eratosthenes in Strabo 767d.

**IV 15** [r44] The fourth chapter deals with the longitude and latitude of the *οἰκουμένη* measured along four routes, two east to west and two south to

north. As was pointed out by the first editors, the whole chapter is reproduced in Plin. 2.242–46, where it is all attributed to Artemidorus. By comparison with Pliny and other parallel tradition and by the control of the sums given in the text, most of the corruption in the numbers can be corrected. A good deal of it is due to the fact that the scribe of codex A mistook the sign of 900 for  $\tau$  or  $\nu$  or  $\rho$ . The actual distances are not of much help because ancient dead reckoning was so erratic. [r45] 68545 stades. Isidorus in Plin. 2.242 and Marc. Heracl. in Müller I p.520 have 78545. Compare 71560 by the other route v13 *infra*. Eratosthenes padded his longitude (Strabo 64, Berger pp.156–63). Posidonius gave 70000 (FGrHist 87 F 28 in Strabo 102c, [Arist.] *De Mundo* 393b21). [v1] In the distances east of the Euphrates Artemidorus followed Eratosthenes (Strabo 663D). 16000 stades: Artemidorus in Plin. 6.70; Eratosthenes in Strabo 64A, 689D; Arr. *Indica* 3.4–5(?); Berger p.231. 15300 stades: Eratosthenes in Strabo 514C, 723CD, Berger pp.159, 242. 10050 stades: 10000 Eratosthenes in Strabo 64B, 79C *et al.*, Berger p.159. [v2] 375 is too small. Polybius in Plin. 5.67 has 175 miles (1400 stades), *cf.* Strabo 749A(?). 16 [v2] 26820 stades. Polybius in Plin. 5.206 has 2440 miles (19520 stades), Agrippa in Plin. 6.207 has 3440 miles (27520 stades). [v3] 1300 stades: see r3 *infra*. 1900 stades: Strabo 682B. [v4]  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$  is beyond correction; 1450 is wanted to make up the sum as the numbers stand now. 4000 stades: Artemidorus in Strabo 267A, 363B, has 4600, with 4000 as alternative in 363B. [v5] 1520 stades. Agathem. v30 *infra*, Plin. 3.87, have 1600. Pliny gives 1520 stades (190 miles) for Lilybaeum-Caralis. [v6] Plin. 2.242: *Artemidorus adicit amplius a Gadibus circuitu sacri promunturi ad promunturium Artabrum, quo longissime frons procurrat Hispaniae, DCCCCXCII* (7932 stades). Marc.Heracl. in Müller I p.521 has 9000. [v7] 76477 stades. For the correction  $\varsigma$  for  $\beta$  *cf.* v12 *infra* 6654. 17 [v7] 1950 stades. Artemidorus in Strabo 663D has only 1440. [v8] 3990 stades. Artemidorus in Strabo 663CD has stages amounting to only 3800. [v9] 720 stades. Plin. 4.9, 11: 5+85 miles (720 stades). [v10] 700 stades (1°). Plin. 4.11: 88 miles (704 stades). Compare Polybius in Strabo 105D. [v11] Supplements from Plin. 2.244. [v11] *Σκιγγομάγου*. See RE 11 (1907) 624f. [v12] *Illiberis*. See RE 17 (1914) 1069. [v12] 60 stades. Plin. 2.244 *trajectu Gades VII D* (60 stades). We want ferries, not inns (*πανδόκια*) here. 18 [v13] Eratosthenes measured the latitude of the *οἰκουμένη* from the *κινναμωμοφόρος* to Meroe 3000 or 3400 stades (Strabo 62D–63A, 114AB, Berger pp.142f). The estimate here, 5000 stades from the Aethiopic Sea, seems to be Artemidorus' own; compare Plin. 2.245, 6.209, Marc.Heracl. in Müller I p.521, *anon. exc. Haun.* in Müller I p.424, Diller p.39. [v14] 10000 stades. Here again (*cf.* v1 *supra*) Artemidorus follows Eratosthenes. [v14]  $\rho\alpha\nu\bar{\zeta}$  is beyond correction. The sums of the stages is 17950. Pliny omits this route with its rare names, but seems to refer to it in the words (2.245) *qui cursus* (18696, v22 *infra*) *conpendiis maris brevior fieri potest LXXIX*. By this token we would want  $\eta\bar{\nu}\eta$  here. [v14] Plin. 2.246: *ab ostio Tanais . . . Artemidorus ultiora*



*inconperta existimavit*. Eratosthenes put the northern limit at the Borysthenes (apart from the problem of Thule) (see on v13 *supra*). The Tanais must be an improvement by Artemidorus. [v15] *Thoantion*: Strabo 655B, Ptol. 5.2, 33. *Lakter*: Strabo 657c, RE 22 (1922) 1473.15. [v16] *Drepanon*: Strabo 657c, RE 10 (1905) 1646, 22 (1922) 1471.61. *Arkitis*: RE 1 (1894) 1197.33. *Korsiai*: RE 22 (1922) 1377f, 1438. *Ampelos*: RE 2 (1894) 1882.5. *Argennon*: RE 3 (1895) 705. [v17] *Korynaion*: RE 22 (1922) 1460, 1448, 1451. *Phlion*: unknown. *Melaneus*: Malea, Malia, RE 24 (1925) 2128.66. [v18] *Sigrion*: RE 4A (1923) 2456. 450 and 100 stades: Plin. 5.140. [v18 and 21] 2500 stades: Strabo 125c 1500 stades, Isidorus in Plin. 5.150 322½ miles (2580 stades). [v19] 2800 stades: Strabo 546cd. 2500 stades: Strabo 309c. 2200 stades: Strabo 310c, 493cd.

**V 20** [v22] With this fifth chapter on the islands of the Mediterranean compare Diod. Book 5, Hygin. *Fab.* 276, Ptol. *Geogr.* 7.7.11, ps.-Scylax 113 in Müller I p.96, anon. exc. Paris. in Müller II pp.508–11. The heptad of largest islands appears in Alexis Comicus fr.268 Kock and Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F 65. [v22] *τὰς περιμέτρους*: often the length with or without the breadth instead of the perimeter. [v22] Artemidorus has been a main source before, but Menippus (of Pergamum) is new here. Timosthenes is cited on Sicily (v28, 30 *infra*). These three and Eratosthenes were well known to Marc.Heracl. in Müller I p.566. [v23] Gadeira 120×16 stades. Cf. Strabo 169A, Polybius in Plin. 4.119. [v24] 80 stades: Plin. 3.4 (10 miles) and Marc.Heracl. in Müller I p.518. Various numbers were given for this width: Damastes, *FGrHist* 5 F 2 (7 stades), Polyb. 16.29.9 (60), ps.-Scymnus 144 in Müller I p.199 (30), Strabo 122B (70), 827c (60), Plin. 3.3–4 (40, 56, 80), Philostr. VA 5.1 (60). [v24] 300 stades. Cf. Diod. 5.16, Strabo 167BC (400), Plin. 3.76 (46 miles). [v24] *Γυμνακίαι*. Cf. *Γυμνηκίαι* v5 *supra*. Both occur elsewhere. On the name *Baliariae* see Timaeus, *FGrHist* 566 F 66 with commentary. [v25] 1200×400 stades: Artemidorus in Strabo 167c. Cf. Strabo, *ibid.* (600×200), Plin. 3.77 (100 miles). [v26] 300 stades. Cf. Plin. 3.77 (40 miles). [v26] *Stoichades*: Strabo 184D, RE 7A (1931) 54f. [v27] *ποδὸς ἕγνος*: Timaeus, *FGrHist* 566 F 63 in Plin. 3.85. [v27] 2200 stades: Strabo 224D (220 miles). [v27] *ἐλαττον ἢ ἡμίση*: not so Strabo 224D, Plin. 3.80, 84. [v28] 1200 stades: Artemidorus in Strabo 224A. Cf. Plin. 3.80. [v29] 4740 stades. The sum of the three sides given *infra* is 4660. Accounts of the dimensions of Sicily disagree: Timaeus, *FGrHist* 566 F 164 in Diod. 5.22; Posidonius, *FGrHist* 87 F 62 in Strabo 266A; Plin. 3.87. [v29] 12 stades: Plin. 3.73. Cf. Thuc. 6.1.2 (20 stades), Strabo 122c, 257B (7 stades). [v30] 1600 stades. Cf. v5 *supra* (1520 stades). [v31] 1500 stades: Strabo 122c, 834A. Cf. Strabo 277B, Plin. 3.87. **21** [v31–34] Cercina and Meninx: Strabo 834cd, Plin. 5.41. **23** [v34] *Tetrapolis*: Thuc. 2.30.2, Strabo 455cd, Steph.Byz. *Κράνιοι*, Et.Magn. *Κεφαλληνία*. [v35] Adriatic islands: Strabo 124A, 315BC, Plin. 3.152. **24** [v36–37] Peloponnesus: Artemidorus in Strabo 335AB, Plin. 4.9. [v37] *φύλλω πλατάνου*: Strabo 83D, 335A, Mela 2.38, Plin. 4.9, Dionys.Per. 404. [v38] The text is beyond repair. I construe *ἀπὸ* with

*συνάγεται*, place a lacuna after *Σαρωνικοῦ*, and transpose *ἐξ εὐωνύμων ἔνθα* [v39] The only other author who mentions 'Ερμιονικός κόλπος is Strabo (59B, 368B, 369AB, cf. 484D). It is out of order here. [v42] Seven stades: Thuc. 2.86.3, Strabo 335D (5 stades), Plin. 4.6. [v43] 3000 stades: Strabo 363B. Cf. 837A (2800), Plin. 5.32 (350 miles). **25** [v43] 160 stades. Cf. Strabo 375B (180), Plin. 4.57 (18 miles). [v44] 70 stades: Strabo 393A. [v44] 120 stades. Cf. Plin. 4.62. [v44] *μικρὰ Σικελία*: Plin. 4.67. [r1] *Makris*: ps.-Scymnus 568 in Müller I p.218, Strabo 445A, Steph.Byz. *Εὐβοία, Μάκρις et al.* [r1] 1700 stades. Cf. Strabo 444D (1200), Plin. 4.63 (150 miles), ps.-Scylax 58 in Müller I p.47 (1350). **26** [r1] 4100 stades, 2300 stades: Artemidorus and Sosicrates in Strabo 474D, 475A. The two numbers are incompatible; they must be from different authors. Cf. ps.-Scylax 113 in Müller I p.96 (2500), Plin. 4.58 (589, 270 miles), *anon. exc. Paris.* in Müller II p.509 (4300). [r2] *βύρση ὁμοία*. Strabo has this figure for Iberia (83D, 127D, 137C) and Carthage (832c, 833B, App. *Libyca* 95, 127-130). Cf. Eustathius on Dionys. Per. 157 in Müller II p.245. [r2] 3420 stades: Timosthenes in Plin. 5.129, Strabo 682A. [r3] 1300 stades: Artemidorus in Plin. 5.129, v3 *supra*; cf. Timosthenes in Plin. *ibid.* (1600), Strabo *ibid.* (1400). [r3] 3800 stades. Cf. Strabo 683CD (3600) [r3] 1300 stades. Cf. Strabo 655A (920), Plin. 5.132 (1000 or 825), ps.-Scylax 113 in Müller I p.96 (600). [r3] 550 stades: Strabo 657c. Cf. Plin. 5.134 (800). [r4] 630 stades. Cf. Strabo 637B (600), Plin. 5.135 (700 or 800). [r4] 300 stades: Strabo 639A, Plin. 4.68, ps.-Scylax 113 in Müller I p.95. This is a single length in a series of perimeters. Strabo even gives it as the perimeter. [r4] 660 stades. Cf. Strabo 645AB (900), Plin. 5.136 (1000 or 1072), *anon. exc. Paris.* in Müller II p.510 (1600). [r4] 1100 stades: Strabo 616D. Cf. Plin. 5.140 (1560 or 1344), *anon. exc. Paris.* in Müller II p.510 (1180).

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