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1977
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THE FERIPLOUS OF SKYLAX OF KARYANDA

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

BY

Michael Louis Allain, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1977

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJA = American Journal of Archaeology
AJP = American Journal of Philology
BCH = Bulletin de Correspondance de Hellénique
BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens
Budé = Collection des Universités de France, publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé.
CAH = The Cambridge Ancient History
CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
FGrH = Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker
FHC = Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum
GGM = Geographi Graeci Minores
IG = Inscriptiones Graecae
JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies
LCL = Loeb Classical Library
OCT = Oxford Classical Text
RE = Pauly-Wissowa's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertums-wissenschaft
SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
Teubner = Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

I have tried to transliterate proper names as much as possible directly from the Greek into the English. Because some Latinized spellings have become so common this has presented some problems. In the case of established names I have tried to follow criteria commensurate with the most common pronunciation. If in an established name pronunciation is not altered and identification remains clear, I have gone ahead with direct transliteration. Instead of Crete, for example, I have written Krete. Some cases, however, that would seem to fall into this category I have left in their Latin forms, since they have become so firmly established and direct transliteration could cause undue distortion. An example of this type is my use of Attica and not Attika. If direct transliteration would alter the usual pronunciation and possibly create confusion in identification, I have maintained the established Latinized form. I have written Cyprus, for example, and not Kypros. A major problem also arises in respect to adjectives derived from proper names. Because I have found that such adjectives facilitate translation, I have freely used them, even though they are based on Latin endings. Although this has meant that inconsistencies within the same word occur, I have tried to keep them to a minimum.
The periplous was an ancient type of geographical text, specifically, an account of a coastal voyage. Periploi had a significant role in the development of ancient geography and historiography both as a tool for transmitting knowledge about the location of various places and as an influence on major writers. They provided valuable information, not only knowledge in the ancient world, but also methods and techniques for writers to describe that world. In many cases these texts undoubtedly provided basic material for such authors as Herodotos and Strabo. Investigation of periploi, therefore, is warranted not only in order to achieve a better understanding of ancient geography, but also to provide needed information about the sources used by major writers and, consequently, the geographical tradition which influenced them.

My study of ancient periploi stems directly from a strong interest in Herodotos. I became fascinated with his discussions about such early explorations as the Phoenician circumnavigation of Libya and the voyage of Kolaios of Samos to Tartessos. Study of such reports led naturally to investigation of the author's sources, many of whom were Ionian logographers. One of them was Skylax of Karyanda, who according to Herodotos explored much of India for Darius. The text of a periplous bearing the name of Skylax of Karyanda has been transmitted to us and remains largely intact except for a rather short lacuna resulting from a mutilated leaf in the codex.

-1-
To understand more clearly the significance of this work of Skylax a general knowledge of ancient periploi is desirable. A preliminary discussion, therefore, which will provide a brief and general picture of the periplous as a type of geographical literature, is the basic objective of my first chapter. This will include a description of the most important sources for this study, a review of the periploi that have survived, and a summary of the development of the periplous as an ancient genre. My ultimate objective is to place the Periplous of Skylax into a proper perspective and to understand thereby the significance of his text.

Geographi Graeci Minores (GGM) published in 1855 by Karl Müller offers the most comprehensive edition of periploi. Others such as Wilfred H. Schoff, Alexandre Baschmakoff, and Aubrey Diller have published works on individual periploi or parts of periploi, but Müller's work remains basic. In addition to providing the basic texts of periploi he has included comprehensive commentaries and introductions, which afford summaries of earlier scholarly opinion. The problem with Müller's work is, of course, that it is somewhat dated. Even as he was publishing GGM new material was turning up and he was compelled to publish supplements in Fragmenta Historiorum Graecorum (FHG), Volume 5. More recently Aubrey Diller has written about the problems concerning the minor Greek geographers. His book The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers has a twofold purpose: to give an account of the tradition surrounding the corpus of the minor Greek geographers and to edit a periplous of the Euxine Sea. In addition to a summary of the textual tradition, he has included a chronological and annotated
bibliography that provides valuable information about both earlier scholarship and more recent works.

Studies of a more general nature also contribute to our knowledge of the background of the tradition. One of the most useful of these is E. H. Bunbury's *A History of Ancient Geography.* Because it was originally published in 1883, this work like Müller's is in some respects out of date. Its thoroughness, however, makes it extremely valuable, since it touches upon most of the problems and frequently includes considerable details in its discussion. A more recent but not as thorough work of this sort is J. Oliver Thomson's *History of Ancient Geography.* M. Cary and E. H. Warmington's *The Ancient Explorers* is most useful in providing an excellent survey of geographical explorations among the ancients, but also copious notes and ample bibliographical materials. For the historiographical background of the periplous Lionel Pearson's *Early Ionian Historians* is excellent. Finally in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (RE) Friedrich Gisinger has written several articles on topics within ancient geography. For the purposes of this discussion his article on the "Periplus" is important.

Periploi formed part of a rather extensive group of writings which scholars refer to as the work of minor Greek geographers. In addition to periploi this group included other works ranging from general geographies, which described the whole world, to some of more limited nature such as a Pseudo-Plutarchean treatise on rivers and mountains. The texts of these writings were scattered throughout several codices; the two most important of these are the codex Palatinus
4.

Graecus 398 in the Universitätsbibliothek at Heidelberg and the codex Parisinus Graecus supplementi 443 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The codex Platinus has been dated from the tenth century A.D. and the Parisinus from the thirteenth. Both contain a collection of texts by minor geographers. The codex Palatinus contains the following texts:

- an anonymous Sketch of Geography in an Epitome
- Sketch of Geography by Agathemeros, the son of Ortho
- Voyage up the Bosporus by Dionysios of Byzantion
- Arrian's Periplous of the Euxine Pontos
- Arrian's Letter to Hadrian, in Which There Is a Periplous of the Euxine Pontos
- Arrian's Periplous of the Erythran Sea
- The Periplous of Hanno, the King of the Carthaginians
- Useful Information From the Geographies of Strabo
- Plutarch's On the Naming of Rivers and Mountains and What Is Found in Them

There are other texts in this codex, but they are not considered part of this group of geographical writings. The codex Parisinus Graecus supplementi 443 is comprised of the following texts:

- The Epitome of the Geography in 11 Books of Artemidoros of Ephesus by Markian of Heraklea
his lexicon, the *Ethnika* between A.D. 500 and 600. He frequently cited Markian, who therefore is usually considered closer in time to Stephanos, perhaps circa A.D. 400. In the *Epitome of the Periplous* of the Inner Sea by Menippos Markian lists several geographers, with whose works he was familiar. His statement about these geographers is worth quoting directly.

I.2 Ἐπί ταύτα πολλάς μὲν ἑπτάχθιν, πολλά δὲ περὶ τῷ τοῖσιν ἐδόθην ἀναλῶσας χρόνου. Χρῆ τοῖσιν ἄβαροι καυδεποὺ ἐντὸς κατείχασαν, τοῖσιν ἐξέταζον τὰς τοιαύτας φιλοσοφίας ὡς μὴ προχεῖρῳ πιστεύον τοῖς λεγομένοις, μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν οὐκείου γνώμην ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἑκείων φρουτίδος ποιομένους. Τούτους δὲ ἀκριβέστερον ἐπισκόπησομεν. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὥσπερ ταῦτα μετὰ λόγων ἐξητικεῖν, ἑμοῦφωνος ὁ Ῥόδος ἐστιν, ἀρχικυβερνήτης τοῦ δευτέρου Πτολεμαίου γεγονός, καὶ μετ᾿ ἑκείνου Ἐρασισθένης, δὴ Ὑπνε ἐκθέλειν οὐ τῶν Μουσείων προστάτες, πᾶς δὲ τοῖσιν ποιητὰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ Ἑλληνικός ὁ Ἐρασισθένης καὶ Ἐρασισθένης ἔλαμφος καὶ Κλέας ὁ Σκελάττης, ἐξοδεύος τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐνδεχόμενον περὶ τῶν δευτέρων ἀναγράφοντες οὐ μὴ ἄλλα καὶ ἑκείνης ὁ Καρυάνδης καὶ Βιόν οὕτω δὲ ἐκθέτειν οὐδὲ τῶν ἁμερικῶν πλῶν, οὐ διὰ τῶν σταθμῶν τὰ διαστήματα τῆς θαλάσσης ἐξώθηκαν. Καὶ ἔτεροι δὲ πλείους εἶλον, οὐς περιττόν οὐκοι καταραμενείς.

3 Ὑπεὶ δὴ τοῖσιν τοὺς πλείους ἀρχετέμπορος Ῥέος ὑγρὸς γεγοινός καὶ ἔτριφος, γεωγράφων ὑμῶν καὶ περίπλους συνεπελεύσετε, Μάρκιανος τὸν Ἐρασισθένης οὗπλοις γράφας, ἀκριβότεροι δοῦχοι πάντων τῶν προερυθέων τυχόντων.

I.2 I am writing these comments because I have come upon many periploi and spent much time on their substance. Several authors of these texts were thoroughly educated. We must, therefore, scrutinize the quality of their erudition so that we neither carelessly trust their reports nor engage in our own untrustworthy judgement instead of careful reflection. We shall consider more specifically these men who indeed appear to have scrutinized their material with reason; there is Timosthenes of Rhodes, who became chief helmsman of Ptolemy the Second; after him Eratosthenes, whom the superintendents of the Museum called Beta; in addition to these two
Pytheas the Massaliote; Isadore of Charax; Sosander the helmsman, who wrote the work on India; Simmeas who compiled a periplous of the inhabited world; then indeed Apellas of Cyrene; Euthymenes the Massaliote; Philass the Athenian; Androsthenes the Thasian; Kleon the Sicilian; Eudoxos of Rhodes; and Hanno the Carthaginian. They described certain parts of the world. Some wrote a periplous of the whole inner sea, while others wrote of the outer sea. Still to be mentioned are Skylax of Karyanda and Botthaios, both of whom designated sectors of the sea by days' voyages and not by stadia. There are also many others whom I think it is superfluous to enumerate.

Later than most of these are Artemidoros the geographer of Ephesos, Strabo, who compiled a geography with a periplous, and Menippos of Pergamon, who wrote a description of sea-crossings. These three seem to be more accurate than all of those mentioned above.

Markian goes on to state that out of his preference for Artemidoros, who lived during the one hundred sixty-ninth Olympiad (104-101 B.C.), an epitome of his work was made, but had to be supplemented by a Periplous of the Outer Seas by Markian himself. Since Menippos too was esteemed, an epitome of his Periplous of the Inner Sea was also made by Markian. This work, like that of Artemidoros, had to be augmented by comments from the epitomizer. The litany of geographers by Markian may indicate that he was in possession of a rather extensive corpus of geographical works. His own writings and traces of his work throughout the codex Parisinus indicate that he himself was augmenting and compiling a corpus. It is likely, therefore, that by the time of Markian several works by minor geographers had already been gathered together into a collection or single corpus.

The codex Palatinus, on the other hand, bears no trace of Markian's work and therefore suggests the existence of a separate corpus. Writers later than Markian, among them Stephanos of Byzantion, drew upon
material from both corpora and another codex, Parisinus Graecus 571 includes textual material from both collections. According to Aubrey Diller the reason for the alternate separation and association of these two corpora remains a puzzle.\textsuperscript{19}

These two corpora can be conveniently grouped under one heading suggested by the title of Diller's work, the \textit{Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers}. The surviving texts show that periploi formed a major part of this tradition. To facilitate an understanding of this genre a review of the texts of periploi that have survived in the corpora mentioned above will be most helpful. The order to be followed will be chronological beginning with works by the most ancient authors and proceeding to those of men less remote in antiquity. After each text has been dated, there will be a few remarks about its authorship and a brief description of the contents.

The earliest periplous which has survived intact was written by Hanno the Carthaginian.\textsuperscript{20} The text is a Greek translation of what probably was originally a Punic inscription. The translation may have been made by Polybius in 146 B.C., but the material within the text is clearly much earlier.\textsuperscript{21} The original text was written circa 520 or 480 depending upon which Hanno you choose as author.\textsuperscript{22} It seems to have been an official report by Hanno, who had been commissioned by the Carthaginians to sail past the Pillars of Herakles and to found colonies (\textit{ζώος Καρχηδόνιος Ἀνων πλεῦρων ἐξε ἑπτάπληκτης Ηρακλείου καὶ ἀνάθες ἀντίκες Ἀλκυμωνίου}).\textsuperscript{23} After the official statement about the purpose for the voyage a narrative of the expedition itself follows. The expedition proceeded from the Pillars of Herakles southward along the
Atlantic coast of Africa apparently as far as modern Sierra Leone. The description along the way is quite rich and includes direction, distance in days' sailed, topography, and a considerable amount of information about the inhabitants encountered.

The next very early periplous is that of Skylax of Karyanda. There is general agreement that this text was written circa 350 B.C. and therefore could not have been written by the Skylax of Karyanda mentioned by Herodotos. This treatise was apparently a compilation from a variety of sources, most of which were probably earlier peri­ploi. The compilation was organized into a revised periplous of the inhabited world (περίπλους τῆς οἰκουμένης) and received the full title of Periplous of the Inhabited Seacoast of Europe, Asia, and Libya (περίπλους τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς οἰκουμένης Εὐρώπης καὶ Ἅσσας καὶ Λιβύης). Geographical description begins at the Pillars of Herakles, follows in a clockwise direction the circuit of the Mediterranean and Black Sea until once again the Pillars are reached, then continues southward along the Atlantic coast of Africa. The text is written in rather bland prose, and its overriding concern is to identify and locate coastal points and to measure the distances between them. These distances are rendered in intervals measured sometimes in days' voy­ages, at other times in stadia. Most of the coastal points identified and located are Hellenic cities with harbors, but many natural fea­tures of the coast are also described. In some places, most notably the description of Libya, several unusual sights such as the Garden of the Hesperides are mentioned and a few mythographical references are scattered through the text. The method of measurement and the
strong concern of safe harborage indicate the nautical orientation and the practical nature of this work, which seems to have been a guide to seafarers.

According to Arrian, Alexander sent Nearchos on an expedition to seek a sea-route from the Indus River to the Persian Gulf. Based on Nearchos' account Arrian wrote a description of that voyage.\textsuperscript{28} His organization resembles that of Hanno and his source, therefore, was probably a periplous. So detailed was Arrian's account that he seems to have transmitted in large part much of the original periplous of Nearchos.\textsuperscript{29} His voyage began in the delta of the Indus River, followed the coast to the Persian Gulf, proceeded to the Euphrates River and probably to Babylon. Nearchos then returned down the Gulf to the Pasitigris River and finally to Susa, where he joined Alexander. Although the format is similar to that of Hanno, the record of Nearchos is much more detailed and thorough. Description is both topographical and ethnographical and shows an accuracy that compares favorably with modern information about that region.\textsuperscript{30}

A Periegesis of Hellas by Dikaiarchos, a disciple of Aristotle and a friend of Theophrastos, was evidently a regional periplous. Three sizeable fragments of a Periegesis attributed to Dikaiarchos and describing Hellas have survived.\textsuperscript{31} Although there is serious question whether Dikaiarchos was the true author of these texts, they can be dated roughly to the period in which he lived.\textsuperscript{32} The structure is that of a periplous. Major attention is devoted to topographical phenomena and the information provided is very detailed.
Artemidoros of Ephesos, circa 100 B.C., wrote a Geography which has survived in an epitome by Markian of Heraklea. The statements of Markian indicate that the work was a periplous. While the epitomizer considered the work a periplous, it was probably much more extensive than that of Skylax, since it included eleven books and described regions distant from the Mediterranean Sea.

A Periegesis of general scope has been attributed to Skymnos of Chios. Although strictly speaking this is not a periplous, this Periegesis clearly stems directly from the tradition of periploi, particularly in its organization, and as a consequence I think it should be included in this review of texts. The work has survived in a sizeable portion of about 750 lines and several smaller fragments. The text has been incorrectly attributed to Skymnos and was completed sometime between 91 and 76 B.C. It was written in iambic verses probably to facilitate memorization and was designed as a compendium of geographical knowledge for a general audience. After a prologue, description begins in the manner of a periplous at the Pillars of Herakles and follows the coast in a clockwise direction around the Mediterranean Sea. The portion describing Europe is relatively complete; that describing the Euxine Pontos is fragmentary; and the section on Libya has been totally lost.

A Periplus of the Inner Sea was written probably during the time of Augustus by Menippos of Pergamon. All that has survived of this work is an epitome of Markian of Heraklea. In addition to the proemium there is a sizeable fragment describing the Euxine Pontos and a few other fragments, some about the same region, others about
Europe. The portion on the Euxine Pontos is divided into several smaller periploi of specific regions. The progression of regions begins at the Thracian Bosporos and continues in a counter-clockwise direction. Another regional description is embodied in The Periplous of the Erythran Sea. Although the only manuscript that we have of this periplo...
The Erythran Sea provides extensive information about the imports and exports of specific regions. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the text was designed for merchants.

The historian Arrian wrote a Periplus of the Euxine Pontos. The text of this periplous was the major substance of a letter or report written to the Emperor Hadrian by Arrian when he was governor of Cappadocia. His description begins at the Thracian Bosporos and continues around the Euxine Pontos in a counter-clockwise direction. In supplying the distances between points and the names of headlands, rivers, and towns Arrian is quite detailed. Although he may have used Menippos as a source, much of the information seems to be derived from the author's personal observation.

A work of more general nature, a Periegesis in verse, was written probably during the reign of Hadrian by Dionysios Periegetes. According to J. Oliver Thomson the appellation given Dionysios means "tourist or guide." His work includes a periplous of the inner sea, but it is only a part of the whole Periegesis. The portion that includes the periplous also has other sections on the continents, oceans, and gulfs. Other portions of the text are on Europe, islands, and Asia. The author includes descriptions of both natural phenomena and ethnographical material, but he also enjoys showing off his skill at mythological allusion. The work is in reality a compendium of contemporary geographical knowledge, designed as a manual for the general reader of the Greek poets. The Periegesis of Dionysios enjoyed considerable popularity, although apparently not until sometime after his death. Two Latin translations of his work appear in later antiquity,
one in the fourth century by Avienus and one in the sixth by
Priscian.  

Another treatise written as a general introduction to geographical studies and called a Sketch of Geography has survived under the name of Agathemeros. He was clearly different from the man of the second century B.C. from Ephesos. Little is known about this later Agathemeros, but Müller has suggested some possible dates for this text ranging from A.D. 69 to 192. A periplous, which is extremely sketchy, is only a small part of this work.

A description of the Voyage up the Bosporos was written by a Dionysios of Byzantion. All that has survived of his text is a small fragment, but in the sixteenth century Peter Gilles, who claimed to have imitated very closely the work of Dionysios, wrote On the Thracian Bosporus in Three Books (... imitatus Anaplura Dionysii, quem potissimum sequor ...). Although the date of Dionysios is extremely uncertain, he may have written in the last half of the second century A.D. While not specifically called a periplous, this treatise was clearly that type of text. The description, which follows first the European then the Asian coast, is extremely detailed.

A fragment of a versified Description of Hellas by Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon, has also survived. The name of Dikaiarchos appears with the title of this text, but the opening lines conceal an acrostic of the true author's name. Little is known about the author and the date of his text, although Müller has described a date after the time of Pausanias. This description, which begins in Ambracia and continues as far as Boeotia, is clearly written in the style of a
periplous.

The text of the Stadiasmos or Periplous of the Great Sea (Σταδιασμὸς ἢτοι περίπλους τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης) is concerned with the Mediterranean Sea. Its author is unknown, but Müller considers it to have been written between A.D. 250 and 300. Its coastal orientation is that of a periplous, but its utility surpasses all other ancient periploi. The Stadiasmos begins at Alexandria and proceeds westward along the coast of Libya to the Pillars of Herakles. Returning to Alexandria the author continues along the coast of Syria and Asia Minor to the Bosporus and the entrance of the Euxine. From there the course follows the coasts of Europe to the Pillars of Herakles. The portions of this text that have survived show the coast of Libya from Alexandria to Utica and the coast of Syria and Asia Minor from Paltos in Phoenicia to Miletos. The description of Cyprus and Crete have also survived. The quality of the geographical description varies by region. The most detailed and accurate sections are those on the Libyan coast and on the two islands, Cyprus and Crete. Distance is given uniformly in stadia. In addition to the names of places and topographical information the author provides details concerning such topics as safe harborages, local wind problems, shoals, and the proper approach for anchoring at certain places. The utility of this text for mariners is obvious and, indeed, from a technical standpoint it is the best periplous which has survived.

The Periplous of the Outer Sea by Markian was intended to supplement his Epitome of the Periplous of the Inner Sea by Artemidoros. The Periplous of the Outer Sea by Markian was written in two books,
the first encompassing Arabian and Indian waters, the second waters outside the Pillars of Herakles. Both books are divided into sections which are actually smaller periploi. The description in Book I follows roughly the same pattern as the *Periplous of the Erythran Sea*, which treats the African coast first, then the Arabian and Indian coasts. In Book II Markian's description begins at the Pillars of Herakles and proceeds northward around Europe beyond the Vistula River, then continues around Britain. There was also a section describing the regions south of the Pillars of Herakles, but it has been almost totally lost.  

The last text to be mentioned in this review is another *Periplous of the Euxine Pontos* attributed to Arrian. This text was definitely not written by him, but is rather a compilation made probably in the sixth century A.D. Description begins at the Thracian Bosporos and continues around the Euxine Pontos in a counter-clockwise direction. The compilation of this text is derived basically from four earlier periploi, the *Periplous of the Euxine Pontos* by Arrian, the *Periplous of the Inner Sea* by Menippos, the *Periegesis* attributed to Skymnos, and the *Periplous of Skylax*. The external form of this compilation is that of Arrian; indeed, his name and salutation to Hadrian are included in the text. The geographical order and formulae, however, are those of Menippos. After combining these two periploi the compiler enriched his text with interpolations, especially from Skymnos, but also from Skylax. To complete the work the author added some remarks of his own to the synthesis.
There were, undoubtedly, several other periploi written in antiquity, but only small notice of them and occasionally some fragments have survived. The testimony of Markian offers an indication of the abundance of these texts. Based on the texts just described a few brief comments summarizing the nature and development of the periplois can be made.

Immediately evident is the navigational perspective of periploi. Although the lands of the earth are described, they are understood in their relationship to coastal waters. The utility of periploi to mariners and frequently to traders is clear. To achieve this useful purpose these texts supply information about location, direction, and the distance between points. In addition, topography and ethnography is described, sometimes in a very detailed manner. Some authors, however, do not limit themselves to navigational usefulness, but offer extra information about interesting sights and mythographical allusion. Beyond these generalizations it is necessary to distinguish between two types of periploi, the regional and the universal.

Some authors use periploi to describe parts of the world, others to describe the circuit of the whole earth. This distinction, however, is based upon more than geographical perspective. Regional periploi frequently rely more strongly upon personal observation and are far more detailed than the universal. Authors of regional texts often include rich topographical description and considerable ethnographical material. Local conditions in general receive far more attention in regional periploi than in the universal. The latter are usually based on prior texts and are more sketchy in their description. Although
in universal texts topographical features and ethnographical matters are mentioned, they rarely receive any extensive discussion. Local conditions generally are not a major feature of these descriptions.

In describing the historical development of periploi I shall discuss the regional type first. They are probably the earliest of the two types and, indeed, were sometimes used as sources for the universal. The origins of the periplous are to be found in the experience of colonization. The expansion of the Hellenic world was accomplished by sea and the periplous provided a most suitable tool for reporting the experiences of this age. The Greeks, however, were not the only ones to send out colonies. In the western Mediterranean at least they had strong competition from the Phoenicians.

Victor Béard believes that the periplous is a Phoenician invention. His thesis is dependent upon his interpretation of the Odyssey and is based on the premise that places described in Books IX through XII can be satisfactorily identified with specific geographical phenomena. According to Béard Homer employed Phoenician periploi as a basic source for his description of the wanderings of Odysseus. The narrative of this portion of the poem is the result of a process of embellishment, in which a poet "vivifies, combines, and arranges" to create poetry out of bald description. Geographical confusion in Homer is blamed on the bareness of the description due to the nautical orientation of the writers of periploi. The Phoenicians, moreover, according to Béard, engaged in the conscious fabrication of maritime horrors in order to keep their trade routes to themselves.
Bérard's thesis does not adequately take into account the oral tradition behind the Homeric poems, which are characterized by formulaic language handed down from generation to generation. The important element of folk-tale in the composition of the Odyssey has also been largely ignored. Homer's descriptions of geographical locations were quite vivid and indeed realistic, indicating some basis in the actual world. The poet's purpose, however, was to tell a good story, and poetical considerations make precise identification of places described in the wanderings of Odysseus extremely difficult. The fantastic world of the Odyssey can also be more reasonably explained by the influence of folk-tale rather than by deliberate fabrication by Phoenicians protecting their trade secrets.

The most serious problem with Bérard's thesis is the lack of any Phoenician periploi surviving from such an early date. The Periplous of Hanno is a good indication that the Phoenicians wrote periploi, but the earliest date offered for this text is 570 B.C. and 520 or 480 is more reasonable. According to Phiny another Carthaginian named Himilco, who was contemporary with Hanno, was sent out to explore the western coast of Europe. Avienus in a work called Ora Maritima written probably in the fourth century A.D. claims to have employed Himilco as a source to describe this region. The voyage of Himilco described by Avienus continues as far as a group of islands called the Oestrymnedes, evidently near an Oestrymnic Promontory, which may be identical with modern Cape Fenestere. This description indicates that the source was a periplous written by Himilco. These texts demonstrate that the Phoenicians played an important role in the
origins of the periplous, but hardly supply evidence that they were writing periploi hundreds of years earlier and therefore provided sources for Homer.

Although archaeology has called into question the strong position traditionally granted the Phoenicians in earlier ventures into the western Mediterranean, the Greeks gave them credit for earlier voyages. I believe that the ancient tradition honoring the early ventures of the Phoenicians must be accepted, even though they may not have preceded the Greeks by many years. Since the Periplous of Hanno was probably an official report and Himilco may also have been on an official expedition, it is probable that other Phoenicians and Carthaginians documented their expeditions. Earlier expeditions, therefore, could have been recorded similarly, but unfortunately few texts of any kind by Phoenicians have survived.

There is also strong evidence that by the late sixth century B.C. the Greeks themselves were writing periploi. According to Markian of Heraklea, Euthymenes of Massalia wrote a periplous; a few fragments of his work have survived. These fragments describe how the Massaliote sailed through the Pillars of Herakles and southward probably to the Senegal River, which he mistook for the source of the Nile. Although he is not named directly, he seems to be the target of criticism by Herodotos in his discussion of the source of the Nile. The voyage of Euthymenes was probably made circa 550 B.C. and his Periplous was surely written shortly thereafter. About the same time an anonymous countryman of his left record of a voyage from Taressos to Massalia. Greeks evidently frequented Taressos
before Cathaginian supremacy circa 500 B.C., when this city was eliminated by Gades.\textsuperscript{80} Traces of an old Massalian periplous can be found in the confusing lines of \textit{Ora Maritima} by Avienus.\textsuperscript{81} These periploi strongly indicate that this genre was not unique to the Phoenicians.

Even before the sixth century the Greeks had models of their own that provided a basis for early periploi. The Catalogue of Ships at the end of the Book II of the \textit{Iliad} seems to have a geographical organization resembling in some respects that found in periploi.\textsuperscript{82} The enumeration begins in Boeotia, continues northwest to Phokis and Lokris, then to Euboea and Attica. Next is the Peloponnesos. The portion that enumerates the forces from around this region resembles more than other sections of the Catalogue a periplous. The whole circuit of this region is made in clockwise direction. Even the digressions inland remind one of the descriptions of the hinterland found in periploi. Mycenae, for example, is mentioned following Tiryns. After the islands of western Greece and Aetolia Crete and the islands of the Aegean were listed. Although the geographical order is confusing in this section, all of the islands except for those in the west were grouped together. Following this group of islands more forces from northern Greece were mentioned. Denys Page citing the prominence of this type of poetry in Boeotia during the Dark Ages has argued that the Catalogue of Ships was composed in Boeotia.\textsuperscript{83} As testimony to the Boeotian school of writing he offers the catalogues that have been handed down under the name of Hesiod. According to Lionel Pearson the Ionian logophers were highly influenced by the Hesiodic tradition.\textsuperscript{84} The Massaliotes as colonists of the Phokaians had strong
ties with Ionian civilization and were surely familiar with the works of the logographers.

The origins of the periplous, therefore, probably stem from two basic sources, one Phoenician, the other Greek. Although the Phoenicians played a strong role in the early stages of development, the periplous can best be understood as an essentially Greek genre. Not only did the Greeks have rudimentary examples in the form of catalogues, but they seem to have used the form exemplified by Hanno very early. Some Greek periploi, indeed, may even have been written before that of Hanno. After these early developments, in any case, all the examples were clearly Greek.

The earliest authors such as Euthymenes, Hanno and Himilco established the basic form for the regional periplous. The genre had developed out of the experience of colonization and had proven itself most serviceable for recording new geographical discoveries. The conquests of Alexander the Great also had a profound influence on ancient geography. His campaigns resulted in some notable explorations, which expanded the geographical perspective of the ancient Mediterranean world. One of these explorations was accomplished by the voyage of Nearchos, who wrote a periplous in order to record the achievement. His text, which is very detailed and relatively accurate, illustrates an improvement in recording observation, but also demonstrates that periploi continued to be useful. The advance in quality of these texts during this period is further illustrated by the Periegesis of Hellas attributed to Dikaiarchos.
The Hellenistic monarchies, especially the Ptolemies and Seleucids, out of greed for profit from trade encouraged further explorations. It is reasonable to assume that many of the mariners in command of these expeditions left records of their exploits in periploi, although nothing as complete as the account of Nearchos has survived. One reason that many of these texts were lost may have been because the new data which they offered were quickly absorbed into geographical writings, either universal works or more accurate descriptions of specific regions. An example of this phenomenon is found in the *Periplous of the Erythran Sea* incorrectly attributed to Arrian. As a result of trade fostered by the Hellenistic monarchies and the Romans several periploi of this region had been written. The thoroughness and detail of this one, however, evidently rendered most of the others obsolete.

A few other regional periploi have survived that probably superseded previous texts. The *Periplous of the Outer Sea*, which was epitomized by Markian, the *Voyage up the Bosporos* by Dionysios of Byzantium, and the *Description of Hellas* by Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon, all may have been examples of this phenomenon. The latter two texts demonstrate that new periploi appeared not only for peripheral regions, in which explorations made earlier texts obsolete, but also for those that had long been familiar. Progress in geography and historical developments, which undoubtedly altered the political, ethnic, and topographical configuration of many areas, probably created a demand for these texts. Such changes, of course, were not limited in their effects to familiar regions. Three factors, therefore,
can readily be perceived as creating a demand for new periploi or the constant revision of the old: first is new discoveries, second the progress of geography, and third historical and political developments.

The periploi of the Euxine Pontos provide an excellent illustration of how these texts were continually written and revised. Arrian during the reign of Hadrian wrote a periplous of this region. Although he undoubtedly was familiar with earlier works on this area and probably drew upon them, his personal observation was a major source for this text. The anonymous author of the Periplous of the Euxine Pontos, which was probably compiled in the sixth century A.D., used Arrian's work and three earlier periploi as sources. Of the four texts used as sources the Periplous of the Inner Sea provided the basis for the geographical organization, while the other texts provided additional information. To this synthesis the compiler added some remarks of his own, yet retained the name and salutation of Arrian at the beginning of the text. The manner in which the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos achieved its present form exhibits two basic stages in the writing of the text. The first is characterized by an accumulation of data, much of it through personal observation. The second is one of compilation and synthesis of material from prior sources, usually other periploi. It should be noted that the second stage is a continuing process, since the utilitarian nature of periploi would demand current texts. These two stages can probably be found behind the composition of most periploi, both regional and universal, written in late antiquity, but this method of revising,
combining, and augmenting old geographical materials was undoubtedly practiced earlier.

The work of Markian attests to the popularity of regional periploi in late antiquity. Major explorations by sea were for the most part completed before the period of the Roman Empire. The majority of later periploi as a consequence are compilations, which draw upon earlier texts. Some fresh observation, however, does occur, as the work of Arrian demonstrates, but after the second century A.D. there is little originality. The synthesis of old material highlighted by a few comments made by the compiler had become a dominant technique of geographical literature.

The development of regional periploi throughout antiquity demonstrates that these texts must be viewed as a Greek genre. The origin of this type of text, however, was probably at least in part Phoenician. The universal periplous, on the other hand, was entirely a Greek invention. There is nothing corresponding to this type of work in Phoenician records. Although these texts clearly developed from regional periploi, which undoubtedly acted as sources for the universal works, they are different in scope and technique.

The earliest universal periplous, whose text has survived, is that of Skylax of Karyanda. The fragments of Hekataios, however, indicate that his Periegesis was also a periplous. In addition to this work another called the Genealogies is generally attributed to him and Felix Jacoby has assigned the fragments to groups that reflect these two works. The fragmentary nature of the source makes conclusions difficult, but the geographical organization of the
Periegesis of Hekataios seems to have been like that of later periploi. The phrasing in some fragments, especially the use of prepositions to locate places and μετά to indicate geographical sequence, is similar to recurring patterns found in the Periplous of Skylax. These similarities indicate that Hekataios began his Periegesis at the Pillars of Herakles and followed the Mediterranean coast in a clockwise direction. The fragments afford little knowledge of his style, but according to a work On Style attributed doubtfully to Demetrios of Phaleron Hekataios used short, abrupt sentences. A straightforward prose style can also be found in the Periplous of Skylax. The Periegesis of Hekataios, therefore, was probably a periplous similar to that by Skylax.

Some scholars wish to make a distinction between this work and later periploi. This distinction is based on the belief that the discussion of Hekataios about various customs and interesting sights were more extensive and that he showed more interest for regions farther inland. In certain fragments that Jacoby has grouped under the Periegesis there are somewhat extensive discussions. Most notable of these are two derived from Herodotos. In one of these Herodotos is describing how the Athenians drove the Pelasgians out of Attica and states that one of his sources is from the stories (οἱ λόγοι) of Hekataios. In the other fragment Herodotos is challenging the divine ancestry claimed by Hekataios and he explains how the genealogy of the priests in Thebes contradicted that of "Hekataios the logographer, who was tracing his genealogy" (Ἐκαταταξε τῶν λογοτεχῶν...γενεαλογοῦσαν ἐως τὸν). A third somewhat extensive fragment assigned by Jacoby to
the **Periegesis** also deserves mention. This one derives from a discussion by Strabo on the early settlement of the Peloponnesos by barbarians. Strabo states that his source is Hekataios, but does not mention the work. In none of these fragments is there any mention of the **Periegesis**. In one case the rather vague term λόγοι is used, in another there is reference to the tracing of genealogies. The specific mention of genealogies in this latter instance could indicate that it belonged to the work on this subject and indeed other fragments assigned to the **Genealogies** by Jacoby also refer to the early inhabitants of Hellas. Several fragments, moreover, that can definitely be assigned to this work are by no means devoid of geographical references. It is, therefore, highly questionable whether these three fragments of somewhat extensive discussion can be securely placed within the **Periegesis**. They could, indeed, be quite reasonably assigned to the **Genealogies**.

There is one fragment, however, that does indicate that Hekataios provided some description which was more full than that found in later periploi. Eusebius quoting Prophyry states that Herodotos borrowed much of his description of the phoenix, hippopotami, and crocodiles from the **Periegesis** of Hekataios. Since the discussion of these animals in Herodotos is quite extensive, it is probable that Hekataios also engaged in a considerable description of his own.

The argument that Hekataios ventured farther inland than is customary in later periploi may also have some merit. The areas that show the most evidence of inland locations are the distant reaches of the Persian Empire and eastern Asia. This seems to differ from the
Periplous of Skylax, but a lacuna in that section of his work makes it impossible to conclude that he did not mention these regions. Scattered traces of words such as "camels" and "Arabia" suggest that he did note some areas farther inland. The lacuna, however, is only the space of two pages. It is unlikely that such large and diverse regions as the Persian Gulf, Media, and India, all described by Hekataios, were mentioned in so small a space.

Although in some instances Hekataios in his Periegesis may have ventured farther inland than is customary in later periploi, the majority of cities and regions mentioned are related to the coast. He seems also to have engaged in some description that was more extensive than that in late periploi, but there is no evidence that such discussion pervaded his whole text. If a distinction must be made between his Periegesis and later periploi, it has to be a small one.

Before concluding the discussion of this text one additional element of it must be considered. The Periegesis of Hekataios probably accompanied a map. According to Agathemeros Anaximander drew the first map of the world, but Hekataios also made one.

I. Αναξιμανδρός ὁ Μιλήσιος, ἀκοινοὶς θάλειας, πρώτος ἔτοιμης τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν πίνακι γράφατο μεθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος, ἀνὴρ πολυκλανθής, διηκρίβωσεν ὅστε θαυμασθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα Ἑλλάνικος γάρ ὁ Λέσβος, ἀνὴρ πολυκτοθερ, ἀπλάστως παρέδωκε τὴν ὀστορραν.

I. Anaximander of Miletos, a disciple of Thales, first took the initiative of drawing the inhabited world on a pinax. After him Hekataios of Miletos, a multifaceted man, described the world so accurately that the accomplishment deserves admiration. Hallanikos of Lesbos, however, a very learned man, published his history without figures.

Since Agathemeros points out that Hallanikos published his history
"without figures," he seems to imply that both Anaximander and Hekataeos did employ a visual scheme. There is strong evidence that Herodotos had access to maps. When Aristagoras tries to convince Kleomenes to send Spartan aid to the Ionians, he illustrates his argument with "a bronze pinax on which a description of the whole earth has been engraved with the sea in its entirety and all the rivers" (χάλκεον πόνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἄνδροσ περίοδος ἐνετέμητο καὶ ἀθλασά θε πάσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες). The inscribed pinax clearly indicates a visual representation. Aristophanes provides additional testimony about a description of the earth. In the Clouds a student of Socrates informs Strepsiades, who has been inquiring about various items at the school of Socrates, that "here is a description of the whole earth. Do you see?" (αὕτη δὲ σοι γῆς περίοδος πάσης. ὥρας;). The student’s question of Strepsiades (ὕρας;) clearly implies a visual representation. Herodotos beginning his discussion of the configuration of the world states how he is amused by "many who have drawn a description of the earth" (γῆς περίοδος γράφαται πολλοί). He seems to have a visual configuration in mind and this statement, indeed, may be an allusion to the work of Hekataios. Jacoby regards the Γῆς Περίοδος associated with Hekataios as identical with the Periegesis. It seems more reasonable to conclude that Γῆς Περίοδος referred to the map of Hekataios and that his Periegesis was the text which accompanied and elucidated his visual description.

Herodotos provides additional evidence indicating that periploi accompanied maps. There is a striking similarity between the description that Aristagoras gave Kleomenes of the geographical
information engraved on the pinax and that of periploi. There is in this passage a strong concern for directional references and a recurring use of ἔχομαι with the genitive to indicate regions that border upon each other. Both of these elements are also characteristic of the Periplous of Skylax. The fact that many geographical points in the text of Skylax are confusing, but can frequently be clarified very quickly by consulting a map is additional indication that it accompanied a map. The association can also be inferred from the ease with which Müller was able to provide maps to accompany his text. It is most probable, therefore, that these early models of universal periploi were designed to accompany maps.

These early descriptions exemplified by the Periegesis of Hekataios and the Periplous of Skylax, like their regional precedents have their roots in the experience of colonization. That regional texts provided source-material for the universal is evident in the Periplous of Skylax, which seems to be a compilation from several earlier periploi. In the region of Libya outside the Pillars of Herakles the author appears to have been familiar with the Periplous of Hanno. In addition to the impetus from the geographical discoveries and their records, scientific and philosophical advances had a strong influence on the origins of the universal periplous. This is evident in their purpose of elucidating maps and their attempted goal of describing the whole inhabited world (οὐκομενέων).

Universal periploi were limited by their navigational perspective. As long as knowledge of the inhabited world with few exceptions did not extend far beyond the coast, they were adequate to describe it.
The first four books of Herodotus show that by the middle of the fifth century B.C. knowledge of inland regions had increased considerably. Although periploi describing the whole world were becoming obsolete, the *Periplus of Skylax* shows that they continued to be written until the time of Alexander. This text could hardly be considered to have depicted the inhabited world of the fourth century, but it was probably intended for use by seamen. Its perspective was clearly navigational and the inhabited world depicted, therefore, was one familiar to mariners of the Mediterranean.

The expedition of Alexander opened up the east and the conquests of Rome the west. As sailors became more familiar with the Erythran Sea and the north Atlantic, the limited perspective of universal periploi was no longer adequate even to them. Another factor that diminished the utility of universal periploi is the improvement in techniques of location and measurement. The most significant of these was the development of mathematical geography. By the second century B.C. a system of longitude and latitude had been developed and was refined further by Hipparchos. This system receives its most complete statement in the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy.

Universal periploi ceased to be written in order to describe the world, but two very similar types of texts that were derived directly from them deserve to be mentioned. One of these is the periplos of the inner sea. Two epitomes by Markian of Heraklea, one of a work by Artemidoros, the other by Menippos are examples of this type of periplos. The division of the *Periplus of Menippos* into smaller periploi demonstrates the great utility of smaller texts, since
abbreviated descriptions of specific regions would be more serviceable than a bulky chart of vast areas of seacoast. A distinction should be made between these smaller periploi and the regional texts discussed above. Regional periploi of the sort written by Hanno and Arrian included not only navigational concerns, but some extensive discussions of natural phenomena and ethnography. Many later periploi that describe specific areas are merely regional versions of larger and more sketchy texts. Many of these smaller periploi, moreover, were probably designed to accompany maps. The Stadiasmus or Periplous of the Great Sea is another text that describes the inner sea. In its strictly navigational perspective it resembles the older universal periploi and like those texts it probably accompanied a map. These three texts demonstrate that periploi of the Mediterranean Sea were no longer used to describe the inhabited world. Although these texts were clearly derived from the universal type, they were used to describe only one portion of the seas.

The other type of text that developed from the older universal periploi is called a periegesis. The very name belies its origins. The earliest surviving periegesis is that attributed to Skymnos, but this work was evidently patterned after a similar treatise by Appollodoros. The Periegesis of Skymnos purports to be a compendium of geographical knowledge. Although it includes some extra material beyond the customary scope of the old universal descriptions, it is little more than a versified periplous. The Periegesis of Dionysios Periegetes is much more extensive. A periplous is included within this work, but forms only a portion of it. This text is, indeed, a
summary of contemporary geographical knowledge. The Sketch of Geography attributed to Agathemeros also contains a periplous. Although not written in verse, like the Periegesis of Dionysios, this work was intended for a general audience. All three of these texts depend in some degree upon a periplous similar to the universal type, yet their authors had to go beyond its limits to achieve their purpose. This divergence from the universal periplous is especially pronounced in the latter two texts.

The influence of universal periploi on these general works of the minor tradition of Greek geographers is clear. Although after the fourth century B.C. universal periploi were no longer written to describe the world, their influence continued to be felt on geographical works of a general nature. The more significant geographies from the major tradition also have roots in these early periploi, which strongly influenced the organization of many later geographical works. The basic pattern of describing lands in a sequential order that begins in Iberia, continues in a clockwise direction around the Mediterranean, and concludes in the far western reaches of Libya is encountered repeatedly in the geographic texts of antiquity. Among major authors Strabo and Ptolemy are perhaps the most significant. The Geography of Strabo is unquestionably the most extensive of all antiquity, yet the basic pattern followed in proceeding from region to region is roughly that of a universal periplous. Markian in his list of geographers, indeed, points out that Strabo had written a "Geography with a periplous." Ptolemy, in his Geography attempted "to reform the map of the world." He drew up a most detailed picture of the world and
Included periploi of specific areas and maps. His overall organization, moreover, is that of a universal periplous. Although Strabo's and Ptolemy's knowledge of the world was much greater and more accurate than that of Hekataios, the Mediterranean Sea had remained for them the center of the civilized world. As a result of this orientation the organization that has its roots in the universal periplous remained throughout antiquity popular for general descriptions of geography.

To scholars periploi are invaluable for indicating the state of geographical knowledge in a particular time and place. These texts were also employed by major writers of antiquity and, therefore, are also important for the understanding of the sources and methods of composition used by them. In these respects the Periplous of Skylax is most valuable as a pre-Alexandrian document. Its text, however, was also important to the development of the periplous as a genre. Not only was this treatise written relatively early, it is the primary example of a universal periplous. The similarity between the Periegesis of Hekataios and the Periplous of Skylax, moreover, means that illumination of the latter offers a greater understanding of the former.

Earlier scholars have devoted considerable attention to the Periplous of Skylax, but since Müller's excellent commentary in 1853, this text has been largely neglected. In fact, since no complete commentary or translation of this work has ever been written in English, I will provide both in Chapter III. Conclusions about the composition of this periplous, based upon a consideration of the ancient testimony and fragments of Skylax, follow in the next chapter.
Footnotes:

1. Herodotos, IV, 42; IV, 152.

2. Herodotos, IV, 44.


5. Karl and Theodor Muller, Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum, 5 Volumes (Paris 1885-1888); Diller, pl. 1.


11. GGM, Volume I, pp. ix-xvii; Aubrey Diller has provided a most comprehensive discussion of the codices. pp. 3-47.


13. Honigmann, Stephan," RE III, 2 2369, dates the work circa A.D. 530; Bunbury places it closer to 600, Volume II, p. 669.

14. Bunbury, Volume I, pp. 660-661; p. 669, note 3; Diller pp. 45-46; GGM Volume I, pp. lxxix-lxxx; For an example of Markian's mention of Ptolemy's Geography see Markian's Periplus of the Outer


18 Diller, p. 45.

19 Diller, p. 46.


21 Thomson, p. 74; Cary and Warmington, p. 63; Bunbury, Volume I, p. 332.

22 At least one earlier scholar believes that a Hanno who lived circa 570 was the author, but the two Hannos of 520 and 480 are the more reasonable choices because that period coincides with the increase of Carthaginian strength in the far west. Bunbury, Volume I, p. 332.

23 Hanno, Periplus, 1.


26 Herodotus, IV,44; Thomson, p. 88; Cary and Warmington, p. 224; Bunbury, Volume I, pp. 404-406.


28 Arrian, Indica, 20-42; The Indica as a whole was an ethnographical study and consequently included much more than the description of Nearchos' voyage.

29 Bunbury, Volume I, p. 525.


32. GGM, Volume I, p. 1xxx.

33. GGM, Volume I, pp. 574-576; Markian, Periplus of the Outer Sea, I,4; GGM, Volume I, p. 567.

34. Bunbury, Volume II, pp. 61-68.


36. GGM, Volume I, pp. 196-237; Bunbury, Volume II, pp. 69-74; The initial larger portion includes an introduction and the description of Europe. The fragments, which are from the anonymous Periplus of the Euxine Pontos, are concerned with the coastal regions of that sea.

37. All that is known of Skymnos is from later grammarians, who credited him with a periegesis. As a consequence some scholars assumed that this Periegesis was written by him until Meineke finally disproved this theory. Skymnos had evidently written in prose and fragments belonging to him did not agree with the material in the Periegesis we have. For convenience scholars have continued to refer to the work as that of Skymnos of Chios. See Bunbury, Volume II, pp. 69-70; GGM, Volume I, pp. lxxiv-lxxvii.


40. Diller, p. 102.

41. GGM, Volume I, pp. 257-305; See also Schoff's The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.

42. Earlier scholars preferred a later date, shortly after the death of Pliny, but more recently an earlier date has been favored. Bunbury, Volume II, pp. 443-444; Thomson, p. 228.


44. GGM, Volume I, pp. 370-401.


46. Diller, p. 149.
In addition to these two Latin translations, two complete paraphrases in Greek prose, a commentary by Eustathius, the Archbishop of Thessalonica in the twelfth century, and a numerous scholia for the text of Dionysios have survived. All of these can be found in GGM, Volume II, pp. 177-470.


GGM, Volume II, p. xli.


GGM, Volume II, p. v; Thomson, p. 255.


GGM, Volume I, p. lxxx; Diller, p. 20.


Bunbury, Volume II, pp. 660-663.


Bunbury, Volume II, pp. 660-663.

Diller, pp. 102-146; The text of the periplous in GGM, Volume I, pp. 402-423 is incomplete, since the manuscript containing the complete text was unknown when Müller published the complete text of this periplous in Volume V of FHG.

Diller, p. 2 & 102.

Diller, pp. 102-107.

Markian, Epitome of the Periplous of Menippos, I, 2-3; GGM, Volume I, pp. 565-566.

That Phoenician periploi were a basic source for the wanderings of Odysseus is a basic tenet of Bérard's Les Phéniciens et L'Odyssee. See especially Volume I, pp. 54-58 and Volume II, pp. 52-57. Mr. Bérard, however, has summarized his views in a book called Did Homer Live translated by Brian Rhys (New York 1931); see especially pp. 139-167.

Bérard, Did Homer Live, p. 152; Bérard cites as an example the Periplus of Hanno, 12-14, out of which according to Pliny (Natural Histories, V,1,68) many ancient authors drew their material for the northwest coast of Africa. Pliny's description itself is used by Bérard to show how the original description of Hanno was embellished.


W.W. Hyde offers a good discussion about identification of Homeric sites. He points out how the difficulty revolves around the problem inherent in a work which compiles elements of both saga and folk-tale. Ancient Greek Mariners (New York 1947) pp. 86-96.

Bérard believes that the period of composition for the Odyssey was between 1049 and 736 B.C. Did Homer Live, pp. 219-220.

Pliny, Natural Histories, II,1xvii,169.

Avienus, Ora Maritima, 94-129.


Cary, The Ancient Explorers, p. 27; For the Greek tradition of early Phoenician ventures at sea consult Homer's Odyssey, XIV,228-300; XV,415-484; Thucydides, I,8.


Markian, Epitome of the Periplus of Menippos, I,2; GGM, Volume I, p. 565; FHG, Volume IV, p. 408; See also M. Allain, Greek Explorers in the Atlantic Ocean of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C., unpublished Master's Thesis from The Ohio State University, (Columbus 1972) pp. 70-81.

Herodotus, II,21-23.

M. Allain, pp. 70-81; Cary, The Ancient Explorers, pp. 61-62.
Avienus, Ora Maritima, 267-274; Herodotus mentions Tartessos twice; I,163 and IV,152. For various theories regarding the collapse of Tartessos see R. Hennig, Terrae Incognitae, 2 Volumes, (Leiden 1944), Volume I, p. 55.


Homer, Iliad, 494-759.


Note in particular Jacoby's fragments 48, 106, 113, and 146. See also his statement in FGrH, Volume I, p. 328. Pearson believes that fragment 335, specifically the wording ἐξοιτήξ ὀιτοφάγοι καὶ ἀροτῆρες clearly demonstrates an east-west direction in that region; Early Ionian Historians, p. 95.

Demetrios, περὶ ᾿ερωνεώς I,12; Pearson, Early Ionian Historians, pp. 29-31; While Demetrios is dated circa 300 B.C., this work was probably written in the late first century A.D. Demetrios, On Style, translated by W. Hamilton Fyfe, Loeb Classical Library (London 1927), p. 95.


Cary and Warmington, p. 225; Pearson, Early Ionian Historians, p. 30.

Herodotus, VI, 137; FGrH, Volume I #1, F 127, p. 24.

Herodotus, II,143; FGrH, Volume I #1, F 300, pp. 38-39.
Myers has argued most strongly for the use of maps by Herodotus. John L. Myers, "An Attempt to Reconstruct the Maps Used by Herodotus," *The Geographical Journal*, Volume VIII (London 1896), pp. 605-631; John L. Myers, *Herodotus, Father of History* (Oxford 1953), pp. 32-39; Myers believes that there are in Herodotus definite traces of two maps, which overlap. The maps are designated according to their origins and use as the "Ionian map" and "Persian map." Interestingly enough Myers believes the compiler of the "Persian map" may have been Skylax of Karyanda, the sea captain of Darius. "An Attempt to Reconstruct the Maps Used by Herodotus," pp. 623-624; *Herodotus, Father of History*, p. 37.

J.L. Myers has argued most strongly for the use of maps by Herodotus. John L. Myers, "An Attempt to Reconstruct the Maps Used by Herodotus," *The Geographical Journal*, Volume VIII (London 1896), pp. 605-631; John L. Myers, *Herodotus, Father of History* (Oxford 1953), pp. 32-39; Myers believes that there are in Herodotus definite traces of two maps, which overlap. The maps are designated according to their origins and use as the "Ionian map" and "Persian map." Interestingly enough Myers believes the compiler of the "Persian map" may have been Skylax of Karyanda, the sea captain of Darius. "An Attempt to Reconstruct the Maps Used by Herodotus," pp. 623-624; *Herodotus, Father of History*, p. 37.

Herodotus, V,49; Myers believes that the map of Aristagoras is a version of the "Ionian map" that was available to Herodotus: *Herodotus, Father of History*, pp. 32-39.

Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 205.

Herodotus, IV,36.

Rawlinson even translates the passage to read "numbers of persons drawing maps of the world." Since elsewhere Herodotus expresses his familiarity with Hekataios, this passage may allude to the map of Hekataios; Herodotus II,143; VI,137; *The Persian Wars* (New York 1942) translated by George Rawlinson, p. 304 and note 15.

FGrH, Volume I, p. 16.
The maps of early antiquity are unfortunately completely lost to us, but that maps accompanied these early texts is indicated by the development of geography in later antiquity. The earliest maps we have are those appended to the manuscripts of Claudius Ptolemy (circa 150 A.D.). Probability is quite strong, however, that these maps originated in antiquity. Thomson, pp. 346-347; Cary and Warmington, pp. 226-227 and p. 290, note 22.

111 Herodotos, V, 49.

112 GGM, Volume I, p. xlv; A.E. Nordenskiöld also argues that the *Periplous* of Skylax accompanied maps. His belief is based upon evidence from Marinus and Ptolemy and the indication that Renaissance Portolans, which he thinks can be traced to the tradition of periploi, also accompanied maps or charts; *Periplus* translated by Francis A. Bathes, (Stockholm 1898) pp. 2-4 and p. 76.

113 GGM, Volume I, p. xlv; Nordenskiöld, p. 5.


117 Much of the credit for the early stages of this development belonged to Eratosthenes, but he was probably preceded by Dikaiarchos (Bunbury, Volume I, pp. 616-628). The latter writer in addition to having written a *Periegesis* of Hellas also wrote a *Φῆς Περιόδος*, in which he divided the world into two sectors separated by a line running from the Pillars of Herakles to the Imaos. Eratosthenes followed a similar procedure, but his use of such a line was based on more careful measurement of the earth. Next he drew a meridian extending through Rhodes and Alexandria at right angles to his initial line. Although accurate information was still lacking, the basis for longitudinal and latitudinal measurement was established (Bunbury, Volume I, pp. 619-623). Further developments were made by Hipparchos, who established several parallel lines of latitude (Bunbury, Volume II, pp. 3-11).


119 Strabo, XIV, 5, 22.

120 Ptolemy, *Geography*, I, 1.

II

Skylax of Karyanda

Testimony:

1. Herodotos, IV, 44

Most of Asia was discovered by Darius who wished to know about the Indus River, which is one of only two rivers that has crocodiles. Desiring to know where this flows into the sea he dispatched some ships with men upon whom he could rely to give a truthful report. The most important of them was Skylax, a man from Karyanda. After setting out from the city of Kaspatyros in the land of Paktyika they sailed eastward in the direction of the rising sun to the sea. Sailing westward, however, across the sea for thirty months they reached that place from where the king of the Egyptians had sent out the Phoenicians, whom I mentioned earlier, to circumnavigate Libya [see IV, 42]. After the completion of the Indian voyage Darius subdued the Indians and exploited their sea. Thus all the regions of Asia except those areas nearer the rising sun have been discovered and this continent is situated as Libya is [i.e. almost completely surrounded by water (IV,42)].

2. Strabo, Geography XIV, 2, 20

Εν δὲ τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς ἡπείρου κατὰ τὴν Μυσόν Αστυνάλαιαν ἐστὶν ἄκρα καὶ ἑσφυρὼν εἰς τῇ εὐθύς ἡ Μυσός, λαμένα ἔχουσα,
Off Myndia on the coast of the mainland is the promontory of Astypalaia and Zephyrion. Nearby is Myndos, which has a harbor, and after this city is Bargylia and its city. In the area between is the harbor of Karyanda and an island of the same name. On this island Karyandians used to live and Skylax, the ancient writer was from this region.


... ad eiusigitur inclytam
Descriptionem, ...
... multa rerum uiximus
Ex plurimorum sumpta commentariis
Hecataeus istic quippe erit Milesius,
Hollanicusque Lesbius, Phileus quoque
Atheniensis, Caryandaeus Skylax,
Pausimachus ille, prisca quem genuit Samos
Quin et Damastus obili natus Sige,
Rhodoque Bacoris ortus, Euctemon quoque
Popularis urbis Atticae, Siculus Cleon,
Herodotus ipse Thurius, tum qui decus
Magnum loquendi est, Atticus Thucidides.

To his [i.e. Sallust's] renowned description, therefore, I have added many things gathered from the commentaries of several men. These, of course, will include Hecataeus of Miletus. Hellanicus of Lesbus, Phileas the Athenian, Skylax of Karyanda, Pausimachus, to whom ancient Samos gave birth, and indeed Damastus, who was born in noble Sige, Bacoris sprung from Rhodes, Euëctemon of the democratic city in Attica, the Sicilian Cleon, and Herodotus himself of Thurii, and Thucydides of Attica, who is the great glory of speaking.


... .defaultValue="textarea"

... οὐ δὲ τῆς ἑπτῆς πάσης θαλάσσης, οὐ δὲ τῆς ἑκτῆς περίπλουν ἀναγράφοντες' οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκδιδάξαν ὁ ἱστορίκος καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὡς διὰ τῶν ἡμερησίων πληθύν, οὐ δὲ τῶν σταδίων τὰ δισεκατόμημα τῆς θαλάσσης ἐξήλοσαν.
Some wrote a periplous of the whole inner sea, while others wrote of the outer sea. Still to be mentioned are Skylax of Karyanda and Bothaios, both of whom designated intervals of the sea by days’ voyages and not by stadia.

5. Scholion probably by Markian of Heraklea to the Periplous of Skylax of Karyanda. 3

Skylax of Karyanda was a man of the distant past. Although most parts of our inhabited world and the sea within the Pillars of Herakles were still unknown to many people, he undertook to write a periplous of the inhabited world. All the eastern regions Alexander of Macedon made known to men and the regions of western peoples Roman valor brought to light by conquering them in war. Skylax was not able to gain accurate knowledge of all places because of the reasons already mentioned, but in most areas he made his periplous very suitable, as indeed in the Adrian Gulf and also around Attica and the whole Peloponnesos with the peoples that live in these two regions. He showed clearly, moreover, other sections of the sea with the people who lived near it. He seems, in any case, to have engaged in brevity of description as though it were a defense of his ignorance of very many places, inasmuch as in very few lands is he especially anxious to inquire or to know.
about those who live there. The clear evidence of the antiquity of the man is that he does not know of Alexander, the king of the Macedonians nor anything of matters a little before his time. One, therefore, would not be wrong to consider the man Skylax worthy of admiration, since he was able to gain knowledge of most places. Alilios Dios in the first book of the Alexander says that Skylax dedicated his work to Darius.

6. Stephanos of Byzantium, Ethnika

Καρυανδα, πόλις καὶ λιμὴν ομάδισομος πλησίον Μύνδου καὶ Καπηλανδαν αὐτὴν φησί. τὸ ἐννεάκον Καρμανδεὺς ὡς Ἀλαβανδεὺς. ἐντεύθεν ἂν καὶ Σκύλαξ ὁ παλαιὸς λογογράφος.

Karyanda: a city and harbor of the same name near Myndos and Kos. Hekataios says it is Karyanda. The ethnic adjective is Karyandian as is Alabandian. Skylax the ancient logographer was from there.

7. The Suda

Σκύλαξ, Καρμανδεὺς (πόλις δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Καρμανδοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ Καρυανδᾷ), μαθηματικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς. Περισσότερον τῶν εἰκός τῶν Ἡρακλείου στηλῶν, τὰ κατὰ Ἡρακλείου τῶν Μυλασίων βασιλέα, θέη περίσσον, ἀντιγράφην κράσι τὴν Πολυβίου Ισοτράπαν.

Skylax of Karyanda: the city of Karyanda in Karia is near Halikarnassos). He was a mathematician and musician. He wrote a Periplous of the Regions outside the Pillars of Herakles, The Achievements of Herakleides, King of the Mylasians, a Description of the World, and a Reply to the History of Polybios.

There are several other Skylax mentioned in antiquity, most of them within inscriptions. None of them can be specifically identified as Skylax of Karyanda and they can hardly be associated with the writing of a periplous. They appear for the most part as little more than names of people involved in diverse activities in a variety of places and at several different times throughout antiquity. Two of them I shall treat more fully in the course of the discussion.
remaining testimony I have placed in the Appendix, since its significance to the problems of our periplous remains questionable.

Fragments:

A. On India

1. Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists II, 70


[In a discussion of the artichoke after citing the Periegesis of Hekataios Athenaeus continues:] He [i.e. Hekataios] says further that the artichoke grows about the Indus River. Skylax or Polemon, moreover, writes that "the land is watered by wells and canals and artichokes and other plant life grow in the mountains." In what follows he writes, "from there a lofty mountain thick with wild wood and thorny artichokes stretches along the Indus River."

2. Aristotle, Politics, VII, 13, 1

ἔν μὲν τούσιν εὖσαν τοσοῦτον εὖσαν τοσοῦτον διαφέροντες ἀπ' ἑαυτῶν τῶν ἄλλων [sc. οὖ ἀρχόμενα τῶν ἄρχομενών] ὅσον τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱερας ἡγούμεθα τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν, εὖσας πλῆθος κατὰ τὸ ὁμία πολλὴν ἔχοσας ὑπερβολὴν, εὖσας κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ῥητο ἀναμφίβολον εἶναι καὶ φανερῶν τὴν ὑπεροχήν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις την τῶν ἁρχομένων, ἤθελον ὅτι βέλτιον ἄει τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἄρχειν τοὺς δὲ ἄρχεσθαι καθάκας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτ' οὖ βέβαλον λαβεῖν, οὐδέ ἔπεμεν ἀπερευ Ἰνδοὺς ήξαι Ἑκαταίος εἶναι, τοὺς βασιλέας τοσοῦτον διαφέροντας τῶν ἀρχομένων, φανερῶν δὴ διὰ τολλᾶς αὐτοῦ ἀναγκασίου πάντας ὑμίων κοινωνεῖν τοῦ κατὰ μέρος ἄρχεῖν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι.

Assume, therefore, that both of these groups [i.e. those who rule and those who are ruled] differ from each other as much as we consider the gods and heroes to differ from men. First of all the gods and heroes have much superiority of body, second of soul. As a consequence the pre-eminence of those who rule to those who are ruled is indisputable and manifest. It is clearly better then that once and for all the same people rule and the same be ruled
always. Since, however, this condition is not easy to find and reality is hardly the way Skylax says it is among the Indians, when he says that their kings differ very much from those who are ruled, it is evident that for many reasons all alike have to take part alternately in ruling and being ruled.

3. Philostratos, The Life of Appolonios of Tyana III, 47

todds oJ pugmalous oJnkeu oJn ypuuAenous, peJubau
J de yuJn bbn ypgqurn, euJntas tpons oJn pAsen eJnpctau, 
meJpoBau de anuAapoue n maJrpuesJpuous n opAasa SkuJukan ouesueJpu
epJl tpons apousen, oue Jlousen n peu eueuesen 
J de yJn oue nhen en ynpoue.

[iarchos, and Indian sage says] that the Pygmies were underground dwellers, that they settled beyond the Ganges, and that they lived the sort of life which has been described by everyone. He also spoke of the people with shadowfeet, elongated heads, and all of the numerous characteristics which the writings of Skylax fabricated about them; the Indian sage said that they do not live anywhere in the world and certainly not among the Indians.

4. Johannes Tzetzes, VII, 144, 11. 629-641

Karuvndewo Skukanou ykarxewi ty bvbJen 
peJ nbn ynduen yprapoue peuueunj, 
OJnpeJn fas Skukanoudas, kai ge todus Otolinouo 
Jn oJ Skukanoudes plateJes xousen yuJn pAasa, 
kaJr Jb meJmeJnous de prde yJn ntapenous, 
todus pAasa anautenjntes ceJndn aJtoue poloueJ.
MeJdla de oJ ytolinou de Jta keJrJnou
JmoueJn skkeJnousen aJtoue trpeJn Jb JnkeJnous. 
O Skukan oJtoue ypapJewi de kai eJtra nuerJ 
peJ yge JonoAepamun te kai Jb JnueJnoutou
Kai ekJtpeJj Jloun de nuerJj neJmJn toJmJn.
TouJ JnpeJn de Jb yJn, mpde JnueJn eJ frespeJmenoun.

There is a book by Skylax of Karyanda, which describes the men that have been born on the outskirts of Indian territory. They say these men are the Skiapodes and the Otoliknoi. The Skiapodes have very large feet and at noontime they fall to the ground, stretch their feet upward, and make shade for themselves. The Otoliknoi, however, since they are endowed with large
ears, also shelter themselves as though they had umbrellas. This same Skylax also writes countless other things about the Monophthalmoi, the Henotiktontes, and numerous other strange spectacles. He speaks of these wonders as though they were true and not false creations. I myself lacking evidence consider these wonders false.

B. The Achievements of Herakleides, the King of the Mylasians

5. Herodotos, V, 121

After this disaster [a defeat at the hands of the Persians (see V, 120)] the Karians regrouped and fought again. They learned that the Persians were setting out on a campaign against the Karian cities and they set an ambush on the road at Pedasos. During the night the Persians fell into the trap and perished with their generals, Daurisos, Amorges, and Sisimakes. With them Myrsos, the son of Gyges died. The leader of the ambush was Herakleides, a man from Mylasos and the son of Ibanollios.

6. Sosylos, Papyrus, Column III, 3–27

The Massaliotes had learned the battle tactic which, they say, Herakleides, a Mylasian by descent, who surpassed the men around him in cunning, used at Artemision.
Having drawn up the first ships in line, they ordered the others in reserve behind to pass them in regular intervals; passing those stationed in front they were to attack opportune the ships of the enemy as they approached, the first ships having remained in line according to directions. This same thing Herakleides also did in the earlier crisis and he became responsible for the victory.

C. The Periplus of the Inhabited Seacoast

7. Avienus, Ora Maritima, 370-374

Sed ad columnas quidquid interfunditur undae aestuantis, atadia septem vix ait Damastes esse. Caryandaeus Scylax medium fluendum inter columnas adserit tantum patere, quantus aestus Bosporo est.

At the Pillars of Herakles the breadth of the surging swell that pours in, Damastes says, is barely seven stadia. Skylax of Karyanda asserts that the flow between the Pillars is just as broad as the surging water of the Bosporus.

8. Strabo, Geography XII, 4,8

Ταῦτα δ' ἐν κατολίκα Μυσών ἢ Βυθυνία, πρώτα μαρτυρήσει Σκύλαξ ο Καρυανδέας, φήσας περίουκετα τὴν Ἀσκανίαν λίμνην θρύγας κατ' Μυσών, ἕκετα Διονυσίου ο τὰς κτέσεις συγγράφας.

That Bithynia was first a settlement of the Mysians Skylax of Karyanda will first offer testimony, since he said that Phrygians and Mysians live about the Askanian Lake. [Next is the testimony of a Dionysios, who compiled the Foundings of Cities.]

9. Strabo, Geography XII, 1,414

Τῶν Ἀσαλέων τούτων καθ' ὅλην σκεπασάντων τὴν χώραν, ἦν ἐφάμεν ὅτι τοῦ πολιτοῦ λέγεσθαι Τρώακίν, οἱ ὀσπέρων οί μὲν κάσων Ἀσαλέων προσαγορεύοντον, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ μέρος, κατ' ὁμοιὰν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ μέρος αὐτῆς, οὐδὲν ὁλίγον ἀλλήλους ὁμολογοῦντες. εὖθες γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κατά τὴν Προποντίδα τόκου ὁ μὲν ὁμορος ἀπὸ Αἰσθήμα τὴν ἄρχην ποιεῖται τῆς Τρωάδος...Εὐκλαξ
While the Aeolians were scattered over the whole region which we have said was considered Trojan by the poet, later writers do not agree at all with each other. Some designate the whole region Aeolia, others just part of it; some consider the entire region as Troia, others only part of it. Specifically in reference to the places on the Propontis Homer makes the beginning of the Troad at the Aisepos River. [Then follow the statements of Eudoxos, Damastes, and Charon of Lanpsakos.] Skylax of Karyanda begins at Abydos and similarly Ephoros says that Aolis extends from Abydos to Kyne.

10. Harpocratio, Lexicon of the Ten Orators

Dwellers beneath the earth: Antiphon in his work On Agreement would say they are called Troglodytes by Skylax in his Periplus and that they are designated Katoudaioi by Hesiod in the 3rd Catalogue.

11. Scholion to the Argonautica IV, 1215 of Apollonios of Rhodes

The Nestaioi: Skylax says that the Nestaioi are an Illyrian people; beyond them there is a voyage to the Gulf of [Manios] ... and Eratosthenes in Book III of the Geographical Descriptions agrees.

12. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, On the Districts Belonging to the Dominion of the Romans
II. Δεύτερον θέμα το προσαγορευμένου Ἄρμενικον

Τὸ θέμα το καλούμενον Ἄρμενικόν οὐ κύριον ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα οὐδὲ ἄρχαία τῶς ἔστιν ἢ τούτου προσηγορία, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄμορφωτών καὶ συνούχων Ἄρμενων ... τὴν προσηγορώσαν ἑκτίσατο. Ὑπὸ δὲ εἰσεῖν δή ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείου βασιλέως καὶ τῶν κατὰ χρόνῳ τὴν τουσίδην προσηγορώσαν εκπληκτίσαν, οὔτε γὰρ Ἑρακλέως τῆς τουσίδης ὄμορφας ἐμφάνη, καὶ τὸν Καππαδόκην ὅλω τὸ γένος ἢ Ἀμασείας τῆς πόλεως, οὔτε Μένασθος ὁ τοὺς σταδιω­σμοὺς τῆς ἁλίς οἰκονόμας ἀπογράφωμεν, οὔτε μὴν Σκυλαξ ὁ Καρυανόντις, οὔτε ἄλλος τῶν τῶν ἱστορίας γεγραφητῶν, οὔτε ἄτος Παύσανίας ὁ Δαμασκηνός.

The second District named the Armenian

The district called Armenian has no authoritative name, nor does it have any ancient name, but it acquired its name from the Armenians, a group of people, who lived in neighboring settlements within the country. I would say that when Herakleios was king in later times they acquired this name, for Strabo, the geographer did not mention such a name and indeed the race from the city of Amaseia was Cappodocian. Menippos, who described the measurements of the inhabited world in stadia, also made no mention of the Armenians; nor indeed did Skylax of Karyanda; nor any who have written histories, not even Pausanias of Damascus.

13. Scholion to the Argonautica I, 1177-1178a of Apollonios of Rhodes

Κλανίδος: περιφραστικῆς τὴν Κίον. ἔστι δὲ πόλεως Μυσίως ... καὶ ποταμὸς δὲ ἔστιν οὔτως ὄνοματις, τὴν πόλιν περιβρέχων, οὐδὲνομενεῖ Σκυλαξ ὁ Καρυανόντις.

Of Kianis; periphrastic for Kios. It is a Mysian city, .... Flowing around the city is a river of the same name. Skylax of Karyanda mentions this river.
The Life of Skylax of Karyanda

Our ancient sources have left little information about Skylax of Karyanda. We can reasonably assume that he was born in the city of Karyanda in the territory of Karia. The date of his birth can, perhaps, be set circa 550 B.C., just before the conquest of Asia Minor by Cyrus. The Karyanda of Skylax' youth, therefore, was under Persian control. The testimony of the Suda (T7) states that he was a mathematician and musician, but there is no other indication among the testimony or fragments that Skylax excelled in these activities. It is generally agreed that the entries in the Suda are full of confusion. The mathematician and musician of the Suda should probably be identified with another Skylax, perhaps the one from Halikarnassos mentioned by Cicero in the discussion of the portents of the Chaldeans.

Cicero, On Divination II, 42

Scylax Halicarnassius, familiaris Panaetii excellens in astrologia idemque in regenda sua civitate princeps, totum hoc Chaldaicum pradicendi genus repudiavit.

The close associate of Panaetius, Skylax of Halikarnassos, who excelled in astrology and was likewise foremost in governing his city, repudiated the entire Chaldaean manner of predicting the future.

Most of what we know about Skylax comes from the testimony of Herodotus (T1), who tells us that Darius sent an expedition to explore the Indus River and that Skylax was one of the men on that venture. The veracity of this passage has been called into question by some
scholars, who usually do not blame Herodotos, but his source. Two general points have been raised: first, that no consequences resulted from this expedition and second that the state of navigation was too poor to accomplish this journey. Neither of these arguments seems to me to use justifiable criteria to test the truth behind this account. There have been, of course, several cases of exploration both ancient and modern from which no significant consequences accrued. Chinese records, for example, show that by the second century A.D. direct contact by sea between Mediterranean people and China had taken place, yet there were few consequences from this contact. In more modern exploration the voyage of Lief Erickson to North America circa A.D. 1000 is another good example. In any event some traces of consequences accruing from the exploits in Indian waters by Skylax have come to light. According to Herodotos Darius completed a canal, which was started by Nekos, joining the Nile and the Arabian Gulf. An inscription has been found near Suez that refers to the repair of that canal and its use by Darius for direct navigation between Egypt and Persia. The inscription recorded the words of the great king.

I am a Persian. From Parsa I seized Egypt. I commanded this canal to be dug from the river Nile by name, which flows in Egypt, to the sea, which goes from Parsa. Afterwards this canal was dug as I commanded, and ships passed from Egypt through this canal to Parsa as was my will.

The exploitation of these very waters and the conquest of India by the Persian king Herodotos states occurred after the voyage of Skylax (T1). The second part of the argument against the voyage described by Herodotos impugns unwarrantedly the daring of ancient sailors.
Despite the inadequacy of their equipment, they did venture into dangerous waters. Whether Greek, Karian, or Phoenician these sailors clearly had a claim to sailing prowess and daring.  

Scholars have raised more serious questions in respect to the expedition of Skylax, based on specific problems within the description of Herodotos. The blame once again is generally placed on his sources and not Herodotos himself. J. Wells has summarized three basic causes of doubt about this story: first, the incongruity between the geographical phenomena described and the actual geography of the area; second, the silence of Skylax about the Persian Gulf; and third, the apparent ignorance of Nearchos about the voyage of Skylax. More recently H. F. Tozer has espoused these arguments and he would include a fourth, that there is no evidence of the route being used afterward by Darius. The inscription already mentioned concerning the canal between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf should dispel this doubt.

In order to examine the first cause of doubt a closer scrutiny of the geographical phenomena mentioned by Herodotos is necessary. The expedition of Skylax set out from a city called Kaspatyros in the territory of Paktyika. Hekataios named a city Kaspapyros in the territory of an Indian tribe called the Gandarians. Herodotos located the Gandarians in the seventh satrapy of Darius and states that they sent contingents armed in the same way as the Bactrians to the army of Xerxes. This could place the Gandarians somewhere between Bactria and India or in modern Afghanistan. There were evidently people who were called Gandharas in the legends of the Hindus and who may have lived in this region and the modern city of Kandahar in Afghanistan.
possibly derives its name from this people. Paktyes, moreover, may be the derivative of the modern Pashtun or Paktum, a people of Afghanistan. Herodotos, however, regards Paktyika and Gandaria as separate places and includes the people of the former and not of the latter among the tribes of India. To make matters even more confusing he speaks of a Paktyika near Armenia and other countries stretching to the Euxine in the thirteenth satrapy. This surely must be regarded as a separate region altogether from the one in India. Paktyans were also mentioned in the army of Xerxes; they should probably be associated with those of India. Kaspapyros may be identical with Casyapa-pur or the city of Casyapa, which in Sanskrit was the name of Cashmir. Although ancient Cashmir was larger than its modern counterpart and included much of the Punjab, Kaspapyros or Kaspatyros in Herodotos was probably located on the upper reaches of the Indus River. Its precise location, nevertheless, remains elusive.

Another major difficulty for scholars, who question this voyage, is that according to the account of Herodotos the expedition proceeded eastward to the sea, but the Indus flows southwest. Lacking adequate technology Herodotos frequently supplies geographical information that seems gravely distorted to us. A possible explanation of the mistake about the course of the Indus would be that the expedition began on a tributary known as the Kabul River. It begins in northeastern Afghanistan and joins the Indus in what would have been the northwestern reaches of ancient India. This branch of the Indus flows very near the Khyber Pass, well known as a traditional route for travelers in that area. The Kabul, therefore, would have been a most reasonable
place for men exploring the region to embark. One drawback to this explanation is that the modern Kabul River is not navigable. The starting point may, as a consequence, have been very near the juncture of these two rivers. 39

An additional problem with the account is the length of the journey. Skylax and the men with him reached their objective in Egypt after a voyage of thirty months. Although this voyage was a major undertaking, it should not have taken that long. J. L. Myres suggests that this duration of time and the eastward direction attributed to the river indicates a voyage down the Ganges River and around the southern tip of India. 40 His supposition is unconvincing, since the Persian Empire never included this area and the accounts in Herodotos about India indicate a total unfamiliarity with that region. 41 The trip from the upper Indus, however, could have been protracted for any number of reasons such as trading along the way, adverse monsoons, the extra time demanded for coasting, or perhaps a combination of more than one of these factors. 42

Despite the apparent confusion, a certain basis in actual geographical phenomena can be demonstrated. The second area of concern, the lack of any mention of the Persian Gulf presents a different kind of problem, which I do not consider serious. First of all, the objective of the expedition was not the exploration of this body of water and the Persians, indeed, like the near-eastern civilizations they supplanted, may already have been familiar with that Gulf. 43 The account of Herodotos, moreover, probably does not reproduce all that was in his source and the original may have mentioned the Persian Gulf.
The third problem, which involves the knowledge of this account by later writers, especially Nearchos, is more disturbing. We should expect that he and Onesikritos, the sea captain who accompanied him and also wrote about the same expedition, were aware of the account of Skylax. Neither of these men, however, shows any clear evidence that he knew about the earlier expedition. In the case of Onesikritos the matter is not so serious because his work survives only in fragments and was not really history but probably more in the realm of romance. The fact that Nearchos, whose Periplous seems to have survived in a relatively complete form in Arrian's Indika, makes no mention of Skylax is most perplexing. It is, indeed, surprising that the expedition of Nearchos ordered by Alexander should have begun with the trepidation it did, if the commander had been familiar with the account of Skylax. On the other hand, if Nearchos knew a more complete version of the account of Skylax, the concern may have been warranted. Lack of knowledge about the earlier expedition may not have been the reason Nearchos was silent about it, but he may simply have regarded the account of Skylax as worthless. Another possibility is that in order to glorify his own achievement by making it seem unique Nearchos neglected to mention the earlier voyage. He does mention that Alexander's desire to achieve something novel (ναυδών) and unusual (ατομον) prompted the expedition and Arrian points out that Macedonian boasting may have been behind other achievements of Alexander. Nearchos need not be denigrated here. His achievement was sufficiently great and, although he may have been preceded by Skylax,
few other Greeks, if any, seem in the intervening period to have made such a perilous voyage.

The evidence indicates that the account of Herodotus is based on actual events and that Darius did send an expedition, in which Skylax took part, to explore the Indus River. Unfortunately Herodotus does not tell us in what capacity Skylax served on this venture, but only singles him out for particular notice. Although it is tempting to assume that he was a sea captain, he may have served in some lesser post and may even have been sent specifically to record the observations and make them known to the king. Precise dating of this expedition is impossible, but the inscription found at Suez indicates that western India was subdued sometime before 513 B.C. 49 The expedition of Skylax, therefore, probably took place between 520 and 515.50

Skylax may have remained in the service of the king for some time following this expedition. Karia, however, circa 498 became involved in the Ionian revolt. A fellow countryman of Skylax, Herakleides of Mylosa, led the Karian forces and defeated a Persian army in 497.51 Since Skylax evidently wrote about the achievements of Herakleides (T7), he was probably sympathetic to the revolt against the Persians.52 The Ionian uprising was soon crushed and Karia was once again under Persian control by 494. Because of his sympathies for the revolt from Persia Skylax may have become a Karian refugee living in Athens. Hermann Bengston believes that a bilingual inscription found in 1954 in the Themistoklean wall mentions our Skylax as the father of Tymnes of Karia.53
This is the tomb of the Karian Tymnes, the son of Skylax.

Aristokles made this stele.

σεμα τοδε: Τυμ[νεο]
Καρδς το Σκύλ[ακος]

line with Karian letters
[Α]ριστοκλης ἐπ[οε]

Bengston dates this inscription between 494 B.C. and 479, but L. H. Jeffery basing her argument on the style of letters believes a date closer to 525 is more likely. Although Bengston's association of Skylax of Karyanda with this inscription is very questionable, this notice does serve to demonstrate that Karians were in Athens during the time that Skylax lived.

The residency of Skylax in Athens may have lasted for quite some time, since the Persians maintained control of Karia until the battle of Eurymedon circa 469. If Skylax was still alive at that time, he probably returned to his homeland, but such a supposition is surely too romantic to maintain with any reliability. In any event he could not have lived much beyond that date.

The Works of Skylax

A. On India

Although there should be little doubt that Skylax of Karyanda actually made his voyage for Darius, the manner in which the events of that expedition were transmitted to Herodotos and indeed other writers
of antiquity remains to be considered. Cary and Warmington doubt that a report such as that by Skylax would have been committed to writing and have survived to the time of Herodotos. As a fellow Karian from Halikarnassos Herodotos, with or without a written source, presumably would have been aware of the travels of Skylax. The details such as the places named and the measurement of the journey at sea by thirty months indicate a written source. Writers other than Herodotos, moreover, had knowledge of a work on India by Skylax. In the fragments listed above Aristotle (F2) seems to be quoting a work of Skylax; Philostratos (F3) speaks of the writings (σφυγραφαὶ) of the Karian; and Tzetzes (F4) mentions a book (τὰ Βελαλίων) by Skylax. These fragments clearly point to written material about India and, since they present material not found in the Periplous attributed to him and different from it in character, they must have belonged to a separate work.

Herodotos unquestionably employed Skylax as a source for the account of the expedition of the Indus River and surely must have used other material about India from the same author. His work on India also seems to have been known to Hekataios, who like Skylax (F3, F4) mentions a fantastic tribe called the Skiapodes. Hekataios, however, places them in Aethiopia. Other items in his fragments about India also indicate that he used Skylax' work as a source.

The writings of Hekataios and especially Herodotos probably eclipsed those of Skylax and as a consequence his original work may have been lost very early. Athenaeus (F1) states that his information about the Indus River came from either Skylax or Polemon. This could
mean that direct access to the explorer's work was impossible by that
time. If this is true, then the fragment in Tzetzes (F4) must also
be viewed in the same light. It is impossible to tell just when in
antiquity the complete work by Skylax became lost. Based on the as-
sumption that Aristotle knew the work directly, I suggest that the
loss occurred shortly after his time. Later writers probably knew this
work only through fragments cited by other authors.

The early loss of the work on India by Skylax means that there is
little indication as to the nature of the whole book. Stephanos of
Byzantion (T6) called Skylax an ancient logographer (παλαιός
λογογράφος) and the variety of topics mentioned in the fragments in-
dicates that his description of India included several logoi. The
fragment from Athenaeus (F1) shows that natural phenomena were de-
scribed; that political organization was discussed is clear from Aris-
totle (F2); and according to Philostratos (F3) and Tzetzes (F4) tribal
descriptions were also apparently abundant. The tribes most often re-
ferred to from this work were unfortunately the fantastic. As a re-
sult of the description of these tribes Skylax seems to have gained an
unsavory reputation. Philostratos and Tzetzes, at least, seem to have
held a low regard for his trustworthiness. The work on India by
Skylax was probably written in the Ionian dialect and included several
logoi that illustrated the geographical phenomena, political organiza-
tion, social customs, and tribal makeup of the region. Regarded in
this light his work may have been a forerunner of that by Nearchos,
whose use of Ionian dialect may be a hint of his familiarity with the
work of Skylax. Assuming that it was written shortly after the
expedition sent by Darius to the Indus River and that Hekataios used this text, I should date its writing circa 515 B.C.

B. The Achievements of Herakleides, the King of the Mylasians

Strabo (T2) considers Skylax a writer of the distant past (παλαιός συγγραφεύς). The use of the adjective παλαιός clearly indicates that Strabo, like Stephanos of Byzantion (T6), is referring to the Skylax of Karyanda mentioned by Herodotos (T1). Συγγραφεύς was a term sometimes used to describe historians and συγγραφαί, which was used by Philostratos (F3) speaking of the writings of Skylax, often referred to historical works. The term, however, should be interpreted loosely and was, indeed, used to describe Ionian logographers. The Suda (T7) lists two works that seem to have been historical in nature, the Reply to the History of Polybios and The Achievements of Herakleides, the King of the Mylasians. It is obvious that the former work had to be written after the publication of the Histories of Polybios circa 134 B.C. Müller rather unconvincingly suggests that the titles are duplications and refer to the same work. It is more probable that the Reply to the History of Polybios was written by another Skylax, perhaps the one from Halikarnassos mentioned above in the quotation from Cicero. The Achievements of Herakleides, the King of the Mylasians, on the other hand, can be attributed to Skylax of Karyanda, the Ionian logographer.

Herodotos (F5) describes how during the Ionian revolt Herakleides of Mylasa successfully led the Karian forces against the Persians. His deeds were probably well known to Herodotos, who was also from
Karla. As Bengston demonstrates, however, the recollection of details such as the names of all three Persian generals makes it unlikely that the story of Herakleides belonged to some oral tradition. The written source of Herodotos was probably that of another Karian, Skylax of Karyanda.

Herakleides was evidently known for other achievements. On a papyrus located in the University Library of Würzburg there is a fragment of a work by Sosylos, who was an associate and teacher of Hannibal. In this text a naval battle between the Carthaginians and Romans is described, which took place at the mouth of the Ebro River in 217 B.C. and is also described by Polybios and Livy. The Romans led by Gnaeus Scipio with aid of Massalian ships won the day. According to Sosylos the Roman success was due primarily to the prowess of the Massaliotes, who employed a tactic that had been used by Herakleides of Mylasa at Artemision against the Phoenicians. Herodotos, however, says nothing of Herakleides' activities at Artemision. Although a battle tactic is described by Herodotos, it is difficult to tell if this is the same one described by Sosylos. Bengston attributes this silence of Herodotos to a supposed Athenian source and possibly to neighborly disdain. In light of the glory Herodotos has given Herakleides elsewhere the latter possibility seems unfeasable. An Athenian source is an appealing solution, but it would certainly be surprising if the Halikarnassian did not know of the exploit of another Karian. The whole account of the events at Artemision, indeed, glorifies Athenian participation not only in this specific encounter, but in the naval operations during the entire conflict. Since this
was a major theme of the account of this battle, Herodotos may have felt the mention of Herakleides to be unnecessary or inappropriate. Despite the silence of Herodotos, for whatever reason, the remarks of Sosylos indicate that Herakleides participated in the battle of Artemision in 480.

Since Herodotos was silent about the activities of Herakleides at Artemision, the source of this information about him in the text of Sosylos was probably the work by Skylax of Karyanda. If this was the case, then the work on Herakleides would have to have been written after 480. If Skylax was about thirty years old when he was on the expedition to India, that would make him at least seventy while writing this later work. This assumes, of course, that he wrote it shortly after 480. It is surely not unreasonable to believe that he could have lived this long and continued to write at that age. Bengston believes that Skylax wrote this work in Athens because Karia remained in Persian control until the battle of Eurymedon, circa 469. His argument is that Skylax as a refugee from the Persian domination of Asia Minor wrote this work after 480 and before 469 in order to remind the Greeks that Karia was still not free. Since the work on Herakleides of Mylasa had to be completed after 480, Bengston's hypothesis that it was done before Karia was liberated circa 469 is very plausible and Skylax, possibly as a refugee from the Persian domination of his homeland, may have written this work in Athens.

C. The Periploous of the Inhabited World

The *Periploous*, whose text has survived and which has been
attributed to Skylax of Karyanda could not have been written by him. Müller has demonstrated thoroughly and convincingly that much of the information contained in this text reflects the geographical situation of the fourth century B.C. A few examples from various geographical regions described in this periplous can best illustrate its date.

In the west the geography described in Italy indicates a situation that existed after 390. The meagre territory allotted to the Tyrrhenians (sections 5 and 17) is indicative of their weakness already evident in 389, when Dionysios I of Syracuse raided their coast. The mention of Kelts who were left behind from an expedition (section 18) probably refers to Gauls from the invasion of 390. In Greece the mention of Lepreon as a part of Arkadia (section 40) suggests a period after 369; the extension of Phokis to include Thronion (section 61) probably reflects the period of the Sacred War (356-346). Within the region of Asia Minor the towns of Leukai, which were founded circa 383, are mentioned. Although the areas of Egypt and Libya do not fit as easily into the picture of the fourth century, the method of measuring intervals between locations and identifying cities clearly tie these sections to the rest of the text and must also belong to the same period.

The scholion which precedes our periplous (T5) relates that its author clearly knew nothing about the changes that Alexander the Great had brought to the eastern Mediterranean. The scholiast's observation is correct and is, indeed, supported among other places in the Peri­plous by the description of Macedonia (section 67). Its eastern boundary is considered to be the Strymon River, but in 335 Alexander's
campaign in Thrace probably pushed the boundary to the Nestos River. Our text clearly had to be written before that time. Although establishing the terminus ante quem is relatively simple, the terminus post quem is difficult to determine. Based on the mention of Naupaktos as a city of Aetolia (section 62) Müller suggests 338 for the earliest date of composition. Such a narrowing of the period of composition may be a bit too convenient, since there are several items that disturb this arrangement. For example, Amphipolis, Pydna, Methone, and Olynthus are all listed as existing cities (section 66-67), but they were eliminated by Philip between 357 and 348. Müller's date may be a bit too rigid, but 335 must still be considered the latest possible date for the composition of this text and, although the work may have been written as early as 361, I believe that it was probably completed closer to the terminus ante quem of 335.

The discussion about the date of this Periplous provides some indication of the confusion and inconsistency that pervades this whole text. Although most scholars agree that it was written in the fourth century B.C., they also agree that it contains information from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The use of a day's voyage, similar to Hanno and Herodotos, as a basic unit of measurement in most of the text indicates an early date, since Herodotos also employed this method of nautical measurement. In addition to this rough indication every geographical region presents scattered pieces of information that further indicate a date earlier than the fourth century. In the far west, for example, the presence of Ligurians west of the Rhodanos River indicates an earlier period, fifth century at least (sections 3 and 4).
The mention of Himera and Akragas as existing Hellenic cities of Sicily also indicates a time before the fourth century (section 13). The city of Atarneus in Lydia is listed as though belonging to the Chians (section 98); their possession of this city on the mainland began about the time of Cyrus and continued to approximately 397 B.C. This piece of information, therefore, probably came from a time prior to the fourth century. In the far western portion of Libya cities which bear Hellenic names are listed (section 111). The precise location of these places is unknown, but Hekataios also noted the presence of Ionians in this area. Since the Carthaginians were clearly in control of this region by 500 B.C. and Herodotos made no mention of these cities, these names also indicate an earlier date, possibly even the sixth century. These notices are not meant to be exhaustive of the references which indicate a time of origin prior to the fourth century, but they are probably the most outstanding and show most readily that early material can be detected in each region described.

The confusion and variety of historical periods exemplified by this text indicate that it was a compilation constructed from several sources, most of which were earlier periploi. Although scattered pieces of early information appear, it is generally a hopeless task to distinguish which parts are from sources prior to the fourth century. It is reasonable, nevertheless, to assume that one of these early sources was a periplos written by Skylax of Karyanda. Aubrey Diller has demonstrated how the text of Pseudo-Arrian or the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos was compiled. Arrian actually did write a Periplous of the Euxine Pontos, but it was only one of three
basic sources for the anonymous Periplous. To enrich its text the compiler added some material from a fourth source and a few pieces of information of his own. Arrian can hardly be considered the author of this text, yet his name was attached to it just as it was to the Periplous which he actually wrote. Although it is worthwhile to keep in mind that the compilation of the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos was very late, it still provides an example that demonstrates how these texts were constantly revised and augmented. This was due to the useful nature of periploi. If they were to continue to be practicable, they had to undergo some sort of updating.

The Periplous of Skylax was also probably compiled in this way and given the name of its most famous source. Unlike the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos, however, most of the sources for our periplous have not survived. There is one notable exception, the Periplous of Hanno. The names of places and some of the description by Skylax of the region outside the Pillars of Herakles (section 112) clearly demonstrate that he relied upon the text of Hanno. It is also evident, however, that another source was used, because within this section the same coastal region is described twice, once following Hanno and again following another unknown source. Since the text reads as though two separate portions of the coast were being described, the geography is hopelessly confused. It is evident that this portion of our periplous is a compilation from more than one source and, indeed, much of the inconsistency and confusion found throughout our text is undoubtedly the result of this kind of inept compilation.
The *Periplus* of Skylax, therefore, must be considered a piece of pseudo-literature. For the sake of convenience, however, I shall continue to call it the *Periplus* of Skylax. Some earlier scholars theorized that the final compilation was made in the time of Polybios and others thought much later in the Byzantine period.⁹² According to Müller the name of Skylax was added by a later schoolmaster, since such teachers frequently added the name of a famous person to pieces of literature. As evidence of the work of scholars of later antiquity the linguistic barbarizations, corruptions, and interpolations are cited. To Müller the work is really a compendium or epitome written in the third or fourth century A.D.⁹³ The difficulty with these theories is that there is nothing in the text to support a date beyond 335 B.C. As Bunbury has pointed out, even with ample allowances made for corruptions and interpolations the style seems to belong to the fourth century B.C. and it is difficult to believe that a later work would be free of allusions to changes in the geographical order as great as those during the age of Alexander.⁹⁴

The authors of antiquity evidently regarded Skylax of Karyanda as the genuine author of our *periplous*. Among the titles of works attributed to him in the *Suda* (T7) are a *Periplus of the Regions outside the Pillars of Herakles* (*Περιπλοὺς τῶν ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἡρακλέως στῆλῶν*) and a *Description of the Earth* (*Γῆς Περινοῦσα*). Müller considers these titles to be a duplication of the same work and to support his assumption adopts the theory that ἐκτός in the one title should be either ἐντός or ἐντός καὶ ἐκτός.⁹⁵ That these titles indeed refer to the same work seems reasonable to me, but the alteration of the text may
not be necessary. Section 112 of our periplous is about the region outside the Pillars of Herakles and the title in the Suda may simply reflect a confusion in its sources regarding this section. In later periploi this region is treated separately and in some respects section 112 resembles a regional periplous. The authors of the Suda may have considered that Skylax treated this region separately, as later writers had, and gave it a separate title.

As the discussion in my first chapter has pointed out, Ἔνεος Ἔπει-οδός was a term frequently associated with maps and the Periplous of Skylax seems to have been accompanied by a map. The Periegesis of Hekataios, moreover, seems to have been called a Ἔνεος Ἔπει-οδός and his fragments indicate that it was little more than a periplous. The Ἔνεος Ἔπει-οδός credited to Skylax is probably just another name for the Periplous of the Inhabited World. Both titles of geographical works in the Suda, therefore, probably refer to the same work, one to just a portion of it, the other to the whole. Since the compilers of the Suda seem to have been speaking about the Periplous written in the fourth century, they must have accepted Skylax as its true author.

Markian of Heraklea seems also to have accepted our Periplous as genuine. This conclusion is based on the assumption that he is the author of the scholion preceding it (T5). He considers Skylax a man of the distant past and observes that the Periplous is pre-Alexandrian. The statement by Allios Dios at the end of the scholion also relates the author of the Periplous to the Skylax described by Herodotos (T1). Dios states that Skylax dedicated his work to Darius and, as Müller has pointed out, there is no reason to believe that his reference is to
Darius III (circa 336-330 B.C.). The most likely king, on the contrary, is Darius I, who sent out the expedition to the Indus River. The entire scholion indicates that by late antiquity Skylax of Karyanda was believed to have written the *Periplous* which was compiled in the fourth century B.C.

Additional testimony by Markian about Skylax leads to the same conclusion. In the Proemium to his *Epitome of the Periplous of the Inner Sea* by Menippos (T4) he states that he had carefully considered the periploi of several men, whom he deemed worthy to enumerate. After listing several of them he mentions Skylax of Karyanda and Botthaios, of whom we know nothing beyond this reference. The statement that they used days' voyages as a means of measuring intervals of the sea clearly refers to data in the *Periplous* of the fourth century. Although several measurements in stadia can be found in this text, they are used generally to measure very short distances. The basic unit of measurement of distances at sea, nevertheless, is the days' voyage. This point is illustrated by the author's equation of 500 stadia to one day's voyage (section 69) and his summaries of the total extent of certain large coastal areas (sections 69, 106, 111, and 112), whose distance he renders in days' voyages.

The scholiast to Apollonios of Rhodes also seems to have regarded our *Periplous* as genuine. A scholion to the *Argonautica* (F11) repeats some information that Skylax had offered about the Nestaioi. They were surely the same group of people called the Nestoi by Pseudo-Skylax, for the information in this scholion agrees with that in sections 22-23 of our periplous. Another scholion to the *Argonautica* (F13) seems
to agree with our text. In section 93 of our periplous Mysia is described and the Kios River is mentioned, but nothing is said of its flowing around the city. All the scholiast claims, however, is that Skylax of Karyanda "mentioned the river." The scholiast to Apollonios, therefore, probably used our Periplous.

Constantine Prophyrogenitus (F12) also seems to have known this text. Although it could possibly be argued that he had another work of Skylax in mind, it is more likely that he was speaking of the Periplous. Porphyrogenitus speaks of Skylax in a context with Strabo and Menippos, both of whom wrote geographical works of a general nature. It is probable, therefore, that in this passage he also meant a general work or periplous of Skylax. Porphyrogenitus may, of course, have known other works by Skylax and this passage about his silence on Armenia may include all of his works. This fragment, in any case, is clearly in agreement with the Periplous written in the fourth century.

Avienus, a writer of late antiquity, provides puzzling information about Skylax. In the poem Ora Maritima he states that he used Skylax among others as a source (T6). Later in the same work, while discussing the breadth of the Straits between the Pillars of Herakles, Avienus (F7) offers the specific piece of information that Skylax claims the breadth between the Pillars and that of the Bosporos are the same. Both the coastal orientation of this poem and the data provided about these two straits indicate that the work of Skylax which Avienus used was a periplous. The difficulty in this case is that no statement equating the breadth of these two straits can be found in the surviving Periplous attributed to Skylax. In section 67 of this text the breadth
of the Bosporos beyond Hieron in Thrace is given as seven stadia, but
the distance between the Pillars of Hercules is rendered as a day's
voyage. In lines 370-372 of Ora Maritima, just prior to the informa-
tion from Skylax, Avienus states that Damastus says the breadth of the
strait at the Pillars is seven stadia. Avienus may have combined and
confused these two sources in order to arrive at this equation, but
as his statement reads the equation was that of Skylax. Although this
poem by Avienus is confusing and difficult, the possibility must re-
main that he had knowledge of a periplous different from the one which
we possess and genuinely written by Skylax of Karyanda.

The fragments found in Strabo also do not agree well with our
Periplous. Relating what predecessors had stated about the boundaries
of the Troad (F9) he states that Skylax begins this region at Abydos
or perhaps more literally "from Abydos" (ἀπὸ Ἀβυδῶν). Our eriplous
clearly places Abydos in Phrygia (section 94), but it is the last city
mentioned in that region. The next section (95) is Troas and the au-
thor writes that "Thereupon Troas begins" (ἐν τῇ Δαρδανίᾳ).
The first city of Troas according to this text is Dardanos. Although
agreement between these passages can be argued, it is disturbing that
the Periplous includes Abydos in Phrygia. The other fragment from
Strabo (F8) relates that Skylax offers testimony about the inhabitants
around the Askanian Lake, but in section 92 about Bithynia and 93 on
Mysia our periplous is silent about this lake. Strabo clearly had a
source which does not correspond to our Periplous. There is a strong
possibility that Strabo quoted Skylax at second hand through Demetrios
of Skepsis, who was a major source for Strabo's discussion of the Tro- 
ad. He refers to Skylax as an ancient writer and he seems to mean 
the Skylax mentioned by Herodotos (T1). Both fragments from Strabo 
seem to fit most appropriately into a periplous. They certainly can-
not be associated with a work on India and there is nothing to support 
their inclusion within a work on Herakleides of Mylasa. If these frag-
ments belonged to a periplous by Skylax, then it was clearly different 
from the one available to us.

Another fragment at variance with our Periplous is that from 
Harpokration citing Antiphon (F10), who spoke of people who live be-
neath the earth, more accurately, perhaps, cave-dwellers. According to 
Antiphon Skylax in his Periplous called them Troglodytes. Müller be-
lieves this fragment is from the work on India, but because other an-
cient writers place these people in southern Libya, usually Aethiopia, 
and Antiphon speaks of the Periplous of Skylax, I have assumed that he 
located them similarly. In order for Antiphon to cite this work it 
had to be written by the latter part of the fifth century B.C. There 
is, in any case, no recollection of Troglodytes in our periplous. The 
text of Skylax to which Antiphon made reference was clearly different 
from the one which we possess.

The fragments, particularly those of Strabo and Harpokration and 
possibly that of Avienus, indicate that these writers refer to a geo-
ographical work by Skylax which no longer survives. According to Har-
pokration Antiphon called this work a Periplous and the various frag-
ments mentioning places in diverse regions indicate that it was a
universal periplous. In the testimony, moreover, Strabo describes Skylax as a writer with the term συγγραφεὺς, which frequently was used for the authors of Ionian prose. The author of this early Periplous can, therefore, be identified with the author of the works on India and Herakleides of Mylasa.

Based on indications from our Periplous, the testimony, and the fragments I believe that there was a universal periplous genuinely written by Skylax of Karyanda. He may still have been in the service of the Persian king when this text was written. At any rate Skylax had completed his work on India before he wrote the Periplous, perhaps a few years before 500, about the same time that Hekataios write his Periegesis. Shortly before the advent of Alexander the Periplous of Skylax with several other periploi was incorporated into a revised Periplous of the Inhabited World, but the name of Skylax was maintained in the heading of the text. This compilation was surely done at Athens, which is the basic point of reference for the later version. Shortly afterwards the original Periplous fell into disuse, not only because the revised version was more serviceable, but also because other geographical material like that of Hekataios and Herodotos were superior. The original text probably survived in fragments, which Strabo, Harpokration, and possibly Avienus knew. The work which has survived bearing the name of Skylax of Karyanda is clearly a compilation from the fourth century B.C. and as such must be regarded as a piece of pseudo-literature. One of its sources, however, was the Periplous actually written by Skylax and as a consequence traces of this earlier work have survived in our text.
The stated intention of the poem is to clarify geographical knowledge about the Euxine Pontos and the Maeotic Gulf. In reality, however, the 713 lines of the poem that have survived are largely concerned with the passage from Gades to Massalia. Lines 1-79 provide introductory material including a statement to Probus about the author's geographical knowledge and a listing of his sources.

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2GGM Volume I, pp. 565-566.

3This scholion appears in the codices just before the extended title of the Periplous of the Inhabited Seacoast of Europe, Asia, and Libya (Περίπλος τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς οἰκουμένης Εὐρώπης καὶ Ἀσίας καὶ Λιβύης). As Aubrey Diller has shown, much of the codex Parisinus of supplement 443, the earliest manuscript to contain the Periplous of Skylax, bears traces of Markian. The implication is that the whole corpus passed through the hands of Markian. The phraseology employed in this scholion (...ὢ Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρέων τολέων τοῦτων κρατήσασα...) is similar to that used in Markian's Epitome of the Periplous of Menippos I,3 (...τῷ Ῥωμαίων μηδέω τολέων κεκατομμένω τοῖς...) and throughout the codex suggests that he was responsible for this scholion. The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers, pp. 45-46.

4In codex Parisinus of supplement 443 the testimony of Ailios Dios stands apart and may, therefore, not have been written by Markian. The fragments of Ailios Dios indicate that his work On Alexandria was used by Sopater the sophist, a writer perhaps of the fourth century A.D., and that Dios was the student of Harpokration. (FGrH Volume III,C, p. 179; for Sopater see RE Volume III,A,1 "10) & 11) Sopatros" 1002-1007). Müller points out the use in the final sentence of φράντυσαμα instead of book as a later usage (GGM Volume I. pp. 565-566). Since Philostratos (The Lives of the Sophists, Proemium, 1) also uses this work in the same way, the statement could be a direct quote from Ailios Dios, who may have lived around the same time, but Markian certainly could have used this word.

5The Ethnika of Stephan is a grammatical work concerned with the correct formation of the ethnic adjectives. It survives in an epitome written sometime between the sixth and tenth centuries by Hermolaus.

Cicero, *On Divination* II,42 and SEG XII,36.

Book II of the *Deipnosophists* survives only in an epitome.

The genuineness of Hekataiós' authorship of the *Peregesis* is questioned by Athenaeus, who says that Kallimachos attributed this work to Nesiotes.

Apollonios of Tyana was a mystic of the first century A.D. In this passage he is receiving some wisdom imparted by an Indian sage named Iarchos. Philostratos belonged to the Philosophical circle of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus.

The work of Tzetzes, a Byzantine writer of the twelfth century A.D. is a review of Greek literature and is composed of generally short discussions on a variety of problems.


Polybios, III, 95-96; Livy, XXII, 19-20; See also Howard H. Scullard, *A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C.* (London 1951) p. 197. Hermann Bengston believes that the tactic described is called the kyklos (κυκλος) "Skylax von Karyanda und Herakleides von Mylasa," *Historia* III, 1954/55, pp. 301-307; on the kyklos see pp. 302-306) and that after the use at Artemision of this tactic it came into general use throughout the Hellenic world. Thucydides, II, 83-84 recorded that the Corinthians used it against Phormio in 429, but that time the maneuver was unsuccessful. Afterward the tactic seems to have passed from general use except in the west where the Massaliotes continued the practice and, indeed, employed it in 217.


The *Lexicon* of Valerius Harpokration was intended as an aid to readers, presumably of the ancient orators. Little is known about his life, although he probably knew the works of Athenaeus and, therefore, may be dated after that writer, perhaps in the third century A.D. See William Smith, editor, *A Dictionary

16. The Scholia of Apollonios probably had their origin in the first century A.D.

17. Constantine Porphyrogenitus was Eastern Emperor in A.D. 911 to 959.

18. Strabo and Menippos did, indeed, discuss Armenia, but the territory they called by this name was clearly different from that described by Porphyrogenitus (Strabo, XI,1,5; XI,14,1-6; Markian, Epitome of the Periplus of Menippos I,9, GGM Volume I, p. 571). Pausanias of Damascus was probably a later writer, who may have lived during the fourth century A.D. All that survives of his work is fragmentary and it is impossible to discern whether he mentioned Armenia. See FGrH Volume III,C #854, pp. 938-942; RE Volume XVIII,4, "13) Pausanias," 2402-2404.

19. Mathematics and music could easily have been associated with the movements of heavenly bodies or astrology, as Plato demonstrated through his consideration of the Pythagoreans (Republic VII, 530C-531C; X, 616C-617C).

20. Müller cites these arguments in his discussion, GGM Volume I, pp. xxxv-xxxvi. The same criticism levelled against the veracity of the voyage of Skylax is also levelled against that of the Phoenician circumnavigation of Libya (Herodotos IV, 42-44).


22. Herodotos, II,158; IV,39.

23. Translation by A. T. Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire (Chicago 1948) p. 146; The inscription is on five granite stelai and written in three cuneiform languages. On the reverse side is a fuller version in Egyptian of the king’s achievement. (Olmstead, pp. 146-147; CAH Volume IV, p. 200; Cary and Warmington, p. 79; Walter Woodburn Hyde, Ancient Greek Mariners [New York 1947] p. 176).

24. For pre-Alexandrian voyages of Greeks into the Atlantic Ocean see Cary and Warmington, pp. 43-44; for Karian explorers see Thucydides, I,4,7,8, Strabo XIV,1,2,28, Cary and Warmington, p. 39, Hyde, p. 52; and the voyage of Hanno should be sufficient evidence of Phoenician naval enterprise.


28 For Volume I, p. 38 #294, 295.

29 Herodotos, III,91; VII,66; Other writers also mentioned the Gandarians. See Pliny, Natural History VI,43,48; Pomponius Mela, De Situ Orbis I,2.

30 Bunbury, Volume I, pp. 238-239.

31 CCNH Volume I, p. xxxv.

32 Herodotos, III,97-102.

33 Herodotos, III,93.


37 For distortions of the Ister and Nile Rivers see Herodotos, II, 33-34; Bunbury, Volume I, pp. 169-172.


41 Olmstead, p. 145; Herodotos, III,98-106.


indeed, believes that Nearchos showed an awareness of other earlier writers, specifically Herodotos and Ktesias.

Richard Hennig (Volume I, p. 117) has suggested a date of 519.

Herodotos, V,119-121.

Miller (GCM Volume I, p. xxxviii) believes that his title is a duplication of the Reply to the History of Polybios. This doubtful hypothesis is in part predicted on the belief that Polybios wrote about Herakleides in the lost portion of his Histories, XXX. In XXX, 5 Polybios describes the conflict in the second century B.C. between Rome and Rhodes, which at that time controlled Mylasa.

Bengston, pp. 303-306.

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (Leiden 1923-) This inscription was originally published in SEG 1956, pp. 29-30; a supplement was published in SEG 1965 #166, p. 53; a picture of it is available in AJA, 58, 1954, p. 231 and BCH LXXVIII 1954, p. 109, figure 10. It was found on a stele by M. Threpsiades in 1954 and was located in the Themistoklean wall along the Erysichthon Way near the Gate of Piraeus.

Because of the location of the stele in the Themistoklean wall Bengston considers 479 to be the latest possible date for this inscription. He also feels that 494 should be the earliest possible date because Karians were more likely to remain in Athens after the collapse of the Ionian revolt. L. H. Jeffery ("The Inscribed Gravestones of Archaic Attica," The Annual of the British School at Athens, 57, 1962, pp. 126-127) believes that the Tymnes of this inscription may have been the man from Termess, who was the father of Histiaios, who in turn was seized in the early stages of the Ionian revolt. Histiaios was evidently restored to his former position, for he is listed among the men who sailed in the fleet of Xerxes (Herodotos, V,37). Just what the tomb of the father of a
medizing Karian was doing in Athens has not been explained by Jeffery. The sculptor Aristokles could be the same as that of the famous stele dated circa 510 B.C. (John Boardman, *Greek Art* [New York 1964], p. 86). Jeffery, however, points out that other sculptures of an earlier date, circa 540-530 were also created by an Aristokles. There has been some difficulty about the meaning of the Karian letters, but M. Treu (*Glotta* XXXIV 1954, pp. 67-71) and P. Kretchmer (*Glotta* XXXIV 1954, p. 160) believes that these characters repeat the name of Tymnes, the son of Skylax.

56 Cary and Warmington, p. 228.


58 FGrH Volume I, 294-299, p. 38.

59 GGM Volume I, p. xxxvi.

60 Another writer who seems to have been fascinated with stories of strange creatures was Ktesias of Knidos, who wrote during the early part of the fourth century B.C. His reputation for veracity was evidently quite low among the ancients. (FGrH Volume II, C 688, pp. 416-517; Bunbury, Volume I, pp. 338-342) Tzetzes (VII, 642-649) listed several writers in addition to Skylax and Ktesias that mentioned strange peoples of this sort.


62 Strabo, XII,1,19; Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *On Thucydides*.

63 Michael Grant, *The Ancient Historians* (New York 1970) pp. 144-148; J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (New York 1908) pp. 191-193; By 150 B.C. Polybios may have completed at least the first fifteen books of his work, but he completed the whole composition about 134, although he continued to add material as late as 120.

64 See note 52:

65 Cicero, *On Divination* II, 42.

66 Bengston, p. 305.

J. A. R. Munro (CAH Volume IV, p. 289) believes that the Artemision referred to was Hemeroskopeion in Iberia, which according to Strabo (III,4,6) was also called by that name. Lacking evidence of a well known encounter between Phoenicians and Massaliotes there I agree with Bengston (pp. 302-303) that the Artemision to which Sosylos refers was the famous naval battle between the Persian and Greek forces in 480.

68 See note 17.

69 J. A. R. Munro (CAH Volume IV, p. 289) believes that the Artemision referred to was Hemeroskopeion in Iberia, which according to Strabo (III,4,6) was also called by that name. Lacking evidence of a well known encounter between Phoenicians and Massaliotes there I agree with Bengston (pp. 302-303) that the Artemision to which Sosylos refers was the famous naval battle between the Persian and Greek forces in 480.

70 Herodotos, VIII, 1-18.

71 Herodotos, VIII,11.

72 Bengston, pp. 305-306.

73 Gisinger, "Skylax," RE Volume III,A,1, 624; Bengston, p. 306. As a sailor he probably was very sound physically, but the age of Sophocles and Socrates among others attest to the fact that old age was not rare in antiquity.

74 Bengston, pp. 303-306.

75 GGM Volume I, pp. xliii-xlix.

76 Scullard, p. 85.

77 Xenophon, Hellenica VII,1,26.

78 Diodoros, XVI,333.

79 Diodoros, XV,18.

80 GGM Volume I, p. xlv.

81 GGM Volume I, p. xlv. Philip had promised this city to the Aetolians in 341, but he does not seem to have actually bestowed it upon them until 338. See Strabo IX,426; Diodoros, XVI,69; and Demosthenes, Philippic III, 120,1.

82 As a consequence Paul Fabre ("La Date De La Rédaction Du Périple De Syclax," Les Études Classiques XXXIII, 1965, pp. 353-366) dates our periplous before 357. He feels that it was written after 361, because of the mention of the foundation of Daton by Kallistratos (section 67), circa 361-355. His argument is not new, but according to Müller (GGM Volume I, p. xlv), was first put forward by an earlier scholar, Barthold Niebuhr, circa 1815.

83 Pearson, p. 34; Tozer, p. 120; GGM Volume I, p. xlv.
Herodotos, II, 34; Hanno, Periplous.

Herodotos, I, 160; VIII, 160; Xenophon, Hellenica III, 2, 11; Diodoros, XIII, 65; According to Müller Letronne earlier made this point, but the German scholar believes that it is tenuous (GGM Volume I, p. xlvi).

E. Grützmann Volume I, 1, F343, p. 46; Cary and Warmington, p. 35.


Earlier scholars sometimes tried to assign specific geographical portions of the Periplous to Skylax. Müller has summarized most of these theories, but points out that the overwhelming evidence of information from the fourth century throughout the text renders them extremely tenuous (GGM Volume I, pp. xxxvii-xlvi).

Some scholars consider the Periplous of Skylax to be an outright forgery (J. Wells, "The Genuineness of the Περιπλοῦς τοῦ Ἡκαταιοῦ", JHS XXIX, 1909, p. 42). That such forgeries occurred especially in the Hellenistic world Galen (Against on Human Nature of Hippokrates Proemium III, 128) offers testimony. He tells how men out of greed for money opportunistically used the competition between the Attalids and Ptolemies to offer careless compilations as works of learned men. Lionel Pearson (Early Ionian Historians, pp. 9-10) has pointed out that much of this was due to the Alexandrians' interest in the logographers, but also that for forgeries to be successful there had to be some legitimate texts.

This practice evidently was not limited to geographical texts. Galen in an attack on a treatise of Hippokrates states that the work he is criticizing was really a compilation from two works, one by Hippokrates himself, the other by one of his disciples. Galen adds that there were also insertions from another source, possibly by the same man who made the compilation. (Galen, Against On Human Nature of Hippokrates Proemium III, 128).

GGM Volume I, p. xliv.

GGM Volume I, pp. xlii-l. Müller offers Phileas of Athens, who was mentioned by Markian (Epitome of the Periplous of Menippus I, 2; GGM Volume I, p. 565) and Avienus (F3), as a possible author of the original work. This has some appeal because there are certain parallels between our periplous
(section 33 and 65) and the Description of Hellas, 31-48 by Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon. (GGM Volume I, p. 239). Most notable of these parallels is the delineation of Hellas from Ambrakia to the Peneos River. Dionysios claims that his source for this information was Phileas of Athens. According to Gisinger ("Phileas," RE 2133-2134) Phileas seems to have lived during the fifth century B.C. or perhaps the early fourth century and, therefore, would have been in not much better position to make our compilation than Skylax of Karyanda. It is more probable that Phileas was a source for both Dionysios and Pseudo-Skylax.

94 Bunbury, Volume I, pp. 405-406.


96 Among other things it bears no ethnic title as the other sections do. For examples of separate treatment of this region in periploi see Markian's Periplous of the Outer Sea and his Epitome of the Periplous of Menippos (GGM Volume I, pp. 515-573).

97 GGM Volume I, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.


99 Bunbury, Volume I, pp. 392-393. The size of some islands and gulfs are given in stadia, but Markian refers only to intervals of the sea.

100 Bunbury, Volume II, pp. 49-50.

101 Hanno, Periplous, 7; Herodotos, IV, 123; Agatharchides, On the Erythran Sea 61-63 (GGM Volume I, pp. 153-156); and Diodoros, III, 32-40; Diodoros probably used Agatharchides as a source.
The Periplous of Skylax of Karyanda

Introduction: the text

The text of the Periplous of Skylax is based primarily on the Codex Parisinus Graecus Supplementi, 448 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.¹ This codex is dated from the late thirteenth century and is in very poor condition. One leaf has been torn away leaving a lacuna in our Periplous. There are two apographs of this codex. One is the Codex Monacensis Graecus 566 in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the other is the Codex Palatinus Graecus in the Vatican Library at Rome. The latter is really an apograph of the former. Both are dated circa 1505 by Diller.² Although they provide some help, the text is by and large dependent on the Codex Parisinus, to which I shall refer to simply as the codex. In the sixteenth century there was evidently another codex that included the Periplous of Skylax, but it was apparently a copy based on the two apographs.³ Since the author of the anonymous Periplous of the Periplous of the Euxine Pontos drew material from our Periplous, the Codex Palatinus Graecus 398 in the Universitätsbibliothek at Heidelberg, which includes this work, offers some slight help to our text. This codex is dated from the ninth century.⁴
The text I have used is that of Müller. As I indicated in the last chapter, the *Periplous* is filled with inconsistencies and geographical confusion. This is due partly to the nature of the work, which is a compilation from several sources. The compiler, however, seems to have been particularly inept and frequently ignorant about many geographical locations. All of the confusion, however, may not be the fault of the compiler. An earlier scholar speaking of our *Periplous* said it is "one of the most corrupted books in the world." Müller considers most of the problems in our text to be the result of corruptions by later schoolmasters and scribes. According to him the text was in extensive use in schools and was probably heavily annotated. In the course of time the notes in the margin and the text itself frequently became confused. As a consequence he believes that many inconsistencies in the text are the result of marginalia creeping into the text. Although I have generally followed Müller's text, there are several places where I have disagreed with him. When this is the case I have made note of it in the commentary. In all other instances it can be assumed that I have accepted Müller's reading and I shall not make note of it unless a problem seems particularly severe. The condition of the text demands that even the most conservative scholar make considerable adjustments. In the belief that the most serious problems are the fault of the compiler of the fourth century B.C., I have tried to keep such adjustments to a minimum.
Footnotes:


2 Diller, pp. 22-24.

3 Diller, pp. 24-25.

4 Diller, p. 3.

5 GGM Volume I. pp. 15-96.

6 GGM Volume I. p. xlii.

7 GGM Volume I. pp. xlii-xliii.
The Periplous of the Inhabited World
by Skylax of Karyanda

The Periplous by Skylax of Karyanda of the seacoast of inhabited Europe, Asia, and Libya; how many peoples there are and the character of each; then arranged in geographical order the lands, harbors, rivers, the length of the voyages, and the situation of each of the seven inhabited islands in relationship to the mainland.

Europe:

1. I shall begin at the Pillars of Herakles in Europe and proceed to the Pillars of Herakles in Libya and all the way to the great Aethiopians. The Pillars of Herakles are opposite each other and separated by a day's voyage. Beyond the Pillars of Herakles in Europe there are many Emporia.

2. The Iberians: In Europe first there are the Iberians or the people of Iberia and there is also an Iber River. Within the same area there are two islands named Gadeira. One of these has a city, which is a day's voyage from the Pillars of Herakles. Next is Emporion, a Hellenic city by that name. Its inhabitants are colonists of the Massiliotes. The voyage past Iberia is seven days and seven nights.

3. The Ligurians and the Iberians: Next to the Iberians all the way to the Rhodanos River live the ligurians and the Iberians, mixed together. The voyage past the Ligurians from Emporion to the Rhodanos River is two days and one night.
4. The Ligurians: From the Rhodanos River to Antion live the Ligurians. In this area is the Hellenic city of Massalia and its harbor. The cities here are colonies of Massalia. The voyage past this region from the Rhodanos River to Antion is four days and nights. The whole region from the Pillars of Herakles to Antion has good harborage.

5. The Tyrrhenians: From Antion to the city of Rome live the people known as Tyrrhenians. The voyage past this region is four days and four nights.

6. Kyrnos: Opposite Tyrrhenia lies the island of Kyrnos. There is a voyage of one and one-half days from Tyrrhenia to Kyrnos. Midway in this voyage is an inhabited island named Aithalia and many other deserted islands.

7. Sardo: From the island of Kyrnos to the island of Sardo there is a voyage of one-third of a day; and between the two there is a deserted island. From Sardo to Libya there is a voyage of a day and a night, to Sicily from Sardo a voyage of two days and a night. I return again, however, to the mainland at the point where I digressed to Kyrnos.

8. The Latins: Next to Tyrrhenia all the way to Kirkaion live the Latins and the tomb of Elpenor belongs to the Latins. The voyage past the Latins is a day and a night.

9. The Volsci: Next to the Latins the Volsci live. The voyage past the Volsci is one day.
10. The Campanians: Next to the Volsci live the Campanians and these are the Hellenic cities in Campania: Kyme and Neapolis. Opposite them are the island and Hellenic city of Pithekoussa. The voyage past Campania is one day.

11. The Samnites: Next to the Campanians live the Samnites; and the voyage past the Samnites is a half-day.

12. The Lucanians: Next to the Samnites all the way to Thuria live the Lucanians. The voyage along Lucania is six days and six nights. Lucania is a peninsula, on which there are the following Hellenic cities: Poseidonia, Elea, a colony of the Thurians known as Laos, Pandosia, Plateeis, Terina, Hipponion, Mesma, and the promontory and city of Rhegion.

13. Sicily: Opposite Rhegion is the island of Sicily, which is 12 stadia from Europe, from Rhegion to Pelorias. In Sicily there are the following barbarian peoples: Elymoi, Sikanoi, Sikels, Phoenicians, and Trojans. Although these people are barbarians, Hellenes also dwell in Sicily. Pelorias is a promontory of Sicily. After Pelorias there are the following Hellenic cities: Messene with a harbor, Tauromenion, Naxos, Katane, and Leontinoi. The voyage upstream along the Terias River to Leontinci is twenty stadia. Then there is the Symaithos River, the city of Megaris, and the harbor of Xiphoneios. Next to Megaris is the city of Syracuse; and in it are two harbors, one within the wall, the other outside. After Syracuse are the city of Heloron and the promontory of Pachynos. Beyond Pachynos there are the following Hellenic cities: Kamarina, Gela,
Akragas, Selinous, and the promontory of Lilybaion. Beyond Lilybaion is the Hellenic city of Himera. After the city of Himera is the island of Lipara and the Hellenic city and harbor of Mylai. From Mylai to the island of Lipara there is a voyage of a half-day. Sicily is triangular in shape; each of its sides is almost 1500 stadia.

I return again, however, to the mainland at the point where I digressed. After Rhegion there are the following cities: Lokroi, Kaulonia, Kroton, the Lakinian shrine of Hera, the island of Kalypso, the Krathis River, Sybaris, and the city of Thouria. These are the Hellenic settlements in Lucania.

14. Iapygia: After Lucania all the way to Mount Orion of the Adrian Gulf are the people known as Iapygians. The voyage past Iapygia is six days and six nights. Hellenes live in Iapygia and in it there are the following cities: Herakleion, Metapontion, Taras, and the harbor of Hydrous at the mouth of the Adrian or Ionian Gulf.

15. The Samnites: After Iapygia and beyond Mount Orion are the people known as Samnites (among whom there are the following languages or dialects: Laternoi, Opikoi, Kramones, Boreontinoi, and Peuketieis). The Samnites inhabit a region extending from the sea of Tyrrenhenia across to the Adrian Gulf. The voyage past Samnis is two days and a night.

16. The Umbrians: After the Samnites are the people known as the Umbrians and in this region is the city of Ankon. These people honor Diomedes because they benefited from his achievements; and
his temple is in this region. The voyage past Umbria is two days and a night.

17. The Tyrrhenians: After the Umbrians are the Tyrrhenians. They also inhabit a region extending from the outer Sea of Tyrrhenia across to the Adrian Gulf; and in this region is a Hellenic city and a river. Along the river there is a voyage upstream of about 20 stadia to this city; and the journey overland from the city of Pisa to the same place is three days.

18. The Kelts: After the Tyrrhenians on a narrow strip of land touching the Adrian Gulf are the people known as the Kelts, who were left behind from an expedition. Here is the deepest recess of the Adrian Gulf.

19. The Enetians: After the Kelts are the people known as the Enetians and in their territory is the Eridanos River. From there the voyage past the Enetians is one day.

20. The Istrians: After the Enetians are the people known as the Istrians and the Ister River. This river flows into the Pontos, where it looks across to Egypt.

21. The Liburnians: After the Istrians are the people known as the Liburnians. In their territory there are cities along the sea: Lias, Idassa, Attienites, Dyurta, Aloupsoi, Olsoi, Pedetai, and Hemionoi. These cities are ruled by women who are the wives of free men; but they are promiscuous with their own slaves and the men of the neighboring territory. Opposite this territory there are the following islands, whose names I can give, but there are many others
which are nameless: the island of Istris, 310 stadia in length, 120 in breadth; the Electrides; and the Mentorides. These islands are large. The Katarbates River is also in this region. The voyage past the territory of Liburnia is two days.

22. The Illyrians: After the Liburnians are the people known as the Illyrians. They dwell along the sea all the way to Chaonia, which is opposite Kerkyra, the island of Alkinoos; and the Hellenic city and harbor named Herakleia is in this region. The following barbarians called Lotus-eaters are also in this region: the Hierastamnai, the Boulinoi, and the Hylloi, who border upon the Boulinoi. The Hylloi say that Hyllos, the son of Herakles, established their colony, but they are barbarians. They inhabit a peninsula slightly smaller than the Peloponnesos. Directly beyond the peninsula the Boulinoi inhabit a region along a narrow strip of land. The Boulinoi, however, are a tribe of Illyrians. The voyage past the territory of the Boulinoi to the Nestos River is a long day.

23. The Nestoi: After the Nestos River there is a winding voyage, but this whole gulf is called that of Manios. The voyage past it is one day. In this gulf are the islands of Proteras, Krateiai, and Olynta, which are separated from one another by 2 stadia or slightly more and are opposite Pharos and Issa. In this area, indeed, is the Hellenic island of New Pharos and the island of Issa, on which there are also Hellenic cities of the same names. Before one reaches the Naron River there is a large tract of land extending far into the sea. Near the seacoast there is also an island named Melite
and near it is another island named Black Kerkyra. The latter island has one promontory that recedes for some distance away from the seacoast, but it has another promontory that runs toward the Naron River. Black Kerkyra is 20 stadia from Melite and 8 stadia from the seacoast.

24. The Manioi: After the Nestoi is the Naron River. The entrance to the Naron River is not narrow; both a trireme and a cargo vessel sails to the emporion upstream, which is 80 stadia from the sea. The people here are the Manioi, a tribe of Illyrians. There is a large lake inland from their emporion and the lake extends into the territory of the Autariatai, a tribe of Illyrians. In the lake there is an island of 120 stadia in circumference and this island is very good for farming. The Naron River flows from this lake. From the Naron River to the Arion River is a voyage of a day. The rocks of Kadmos and Harmonia are in this region and their temple is some distance from the Arion River. From the Arion River to Bouthoe and the emporion known as Rhizon there is a voyage of a half-day.

25. The Encheleis: There is a tribe of Illyrians known as the Encheleis, who live near the emporion of Rhizon. From Bouthoe to the Hellenic city of Epidamnos there is a voyage of a day and a night, an overland journey of three days.

26. The Taulantioi: There is also an Illyrian people known as the Taulantioi in Illyria, in whose territory Epidamnos is; and a river named the Palamnos flows by this city. From Epidamnos to the Hellenic city of Apollonia is an overland journey of two days.
Apollonia is 50 stadia from the sea and the Aias River flows by this city. From Apollonia to Amantia is 320 stadia. From a point somewhat inland to the Ionian Gulf the Orikoi live. The portion of Orikia that reaches the sea is 80 stadia long, but the portion of Amantia that touches the sea is 60 stadia. In the hinterland as far as Idonia above Orikia and Chaonia and bordering upon each are the Atintanes. On the mainland adjacent to this region are the mountains of Keraunia and near them is a small island named Sason. From here to the city of Orikos there is a voyage of one-third of a day.

27. Up to this point and coming after the Boulinoi the Illyrians live. The mouth of the Ionian Gulf extends from the mountains of Keraunia to the promontory of Iapygia. The voyage across from the mountains of Keraunia to the city of Hydrous in Iapygia is about 500 stadia. Such is the mouth of the Ionian Gulf and the regions within. There are many harbors in the Adrian Gulf, which is the same thing as the Ionian Gulf.

28. The Chaonians: After the Illyrians are the Chaonians. Chaonia has good harbors, but the Chaonians live in villages. The voyage past Chaonia is a half-day.

29. Corcyra: Opposite Chaonia is the island of Corcyra and on it is a Hellenic city that has three harbors down from the city, one of which is enclosed. Corcyra faces more toward Thesprotia than Chaonia. I return again, however, to the mainland at the point where I digressed.
30. The Thesprotians: After Chaonia are the people known as Thesprotians. They live in villages, but their territory has good harbors. In this region there is a harbor named Elaia. The Acheron River empties into this harbor and there is a Lake Acherousia, from which the Acheron River flows. The voyage past Thesprotia is a half-day.

31. The Kassopoi: After Thesprotia are the people of Kassopia. These people also live in villages and they have their habitation all the way to the Gulf of Anaktorion. The voyage past the territory of the Kassopoi is a half-day. The Gulf of Anaktorion from its mouth to its deepest recess is slightly less than 120 stadia long. The mouth is 4 stadia in breadth.

32. Molossia: After Kassopia are the people known as the Molossians. They live in villages and inhabit a territory that lies a short distance from the sea, but extends for a great distance into the hinterland. The voyage past the territory of Molossia is 40 stadia.

33. Ambrakia: After Molossia is the Hellenic city of Ambrakia, which lies 80 stadia from the sea. Ambrakia also has a fortification and an enclosed harbor on the sea. From this point Hellas begins and extends continuously to the Peneios River and the Magnesian city of Homolion, which is on this river. The voyage past Ambrakia is 120 stadia.

34. Akarnania: After Ambrakia is the territory of Akarnania. The first city in this region is Amphiliochian Argos and outside the Gulf of Anaktorion are the following places: Anaktorion with its harbor,
Akte, and the city and harbor of Leukas, Akte stretches to Leukata, which is a promontory reaching a long distance from the sea toward the coast. Previously this city was called Epileukadioi. The Akarnanians during civil strife received a thousand colonists from Corinth. The colonists killed the Akarnanians and took their land. This is now an island because a trench has been dug cutting across the isthmus. Next is the city of Phara and opposite it is the city and harbor of Ithake; after these places is the island of Kephalenia. I return again, however, to the mainland at the point where I left off. Next is the city of Alyzia, opposite it the island of Karnos, then the city and harbor of Astakos, the Achelous River, and the city of Oiniadai, to which there is an upstream voyage on the Achelous. There are also other cities of the Akarnanians in the hinterland. The voyage past Akarnania is two days. All of Akarnania has good harbors and opposite it lie many islands, which the Achelous, when it silts up, makes part of the mainland. They are called the Echinades islands and they are deserted.

35. Aetolia: After Akarnania is the territory of Aetolia and in it are the following cities: Kalydon, Halikarna, and Molykreia; then there is the Gulf of Delphi; the mouth of this gulf is 10 stadia in breadth and next to it is a temple. Next is the city of Naupaktos and near it the Aetolians have many other cities in the hinterland. The voyage past Aetolia is one day. Aetolia extends in the hinterland past the whole of Lokris to the territory of the Ainianes.
36. The Lokrians: After the Aetolians are the people known as the Lokrians, among whom are those called the Ozolians, and the following cities: Auanthis and Amphissa. They also have cities in the hinterland. The voyage past the territory of the Lokrians is a half-day.

37. The Phokeans: After the Lokrians next to the plain of Kirrhaion are the people known as the Phokeans, the temple of Apollo, the city of Delphi, and the city of Antikyra, where they do the best anointing with hellebore. The voyage past the territory of the Phokeans is a half-day.

38. The Boeotians: After the Phokeans are the people known as the Boeotians and the following cities: Korsiai, Siphai with its harbor, and Eutretos with the wall of the Boeotians. The voyage past Boeotia is less than a half-day.

39. The Megareans: After the Boeotians are the people known as the Megareans and the following cities: Aigosthena, Pegai, the wall of Geraneia, and Aris. The voyage past the territory of the Megareans is 100 stadia.

40. Corinth: After the Megareans are the city and temple of Corinth, Lechaion, and the Isthmus. Here, indeed, the Peloponnesos begins. The overland journey across the Isthmus from the far sea to that near us is 40 stadia. This whole coast winds in the waters of inlets. The voyage past the territory of the Corinthians is a half-day.
41. Sikyon: After Corinth is the city of Sikyon. The voyage past it is 120 stadia.

42. The Achaians: After Sikyon are the people known as the Achaians and they have the following cities: Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai, Aigion, Rhypes, and beyond Rhion are Patrai and Dyme. The voyage past the territory of Achaia is 700 stadia.

43. Elis: After the Achaians is the territory of Elis and in it there are the following cities: Kyllene with its harbor, then the Alpheios River; but in the hinterland Elis is also another loose federation of cities. Opposite this region is the island of Zakynthos, on which there is a city and harbor. The voyage past the territory of the Eleans to the borders of the Lepreatoi is 700 stadia.

44. Arkadia: After Elis is the territory of Arkadia. Arkadia extends from the hinterland to the sea at Lepreon. The people of this region have the following large cities in the hinterland: Tegea, Mantinea, Heraia, Orchomenos, and Stymphalos, but there are also other cities. The voyage past the territory of the Lepreatoi is 100 stadia.

45. Messene: After Arkadia is the territory of Messene and in it are the following cities: the island of Prote, on which there is a harbor: Kyparissos, which is situated 7 stadia from the sea; and Ithome, which is situated in the hinterland 80 stadia from the sea. The voyage past the territory of Messenia is 300 stadia.

46. Lakedaimon: After Messene is the territory of Lakedaimon and in it there are the following cities: Asine, Methone, the harbor of
Achilleios, and across a ridge behind it the harbor of Psamathous. Jutting into the sea between both harbors is Tainaros with its temple of Poseidon. Then there is the city and harbor of Las, Gytheion, in which there is a shipyard and fortification, the Eurotas River, the city of Boia, and the promontory of Malea. Opposite this region lies the island, city, and harbor of Kythera. Opposite it is the island of Kephale. Next are the promontory of Malea, which has already been mentioned, the city and harbor of Side, the city and harbor of Prasia, and the city and harbor of Anthene. There are also many other cities of the Lakedaimonians and in the hinterland are Sparta and several others. The voyage past the territory of the Lakedaimonians is three days.

47. Crete: Opposite Lakedaimon lies the island of Crete, for Lakedaimon is the nearest region of Europe to this island. The crossing from Lakedaimon to the promontory of Crete, on which the city of Phalasarna is located, is a day's sail. After Phalasarna is a promontory of the Ram's Head. The voyage to Libya is in the direction of the south wind and to the Chersonesos of Achitides in the territory of the Cyrenaeans is a voyage of a day and a night. Crete is 2500 stadia long, but it is narrow and stretches from the direction of the setting sun to that of the rising sun. Hellenes inhabit Crete; some are colonists of the Lakedaimonians, some are colonists of the Argives, some are colonists of the Athenians, and there are some from just about any place in Hellas. Some Kretans, however, are indigenous to the island. There are many cities on Crete. On the promontory
of Korykos in the direction of the setting sun the first city is Phalasarna, which has already been mentioned, with an enclosed harbor; then Polyrrhenia extends from the north to the south of the island; next in the land of Pergamia Diktynnaion, the temple of Artemis, faces the north wind; to the south is Hyrtakina; Kydonia and its enclosed harbor is to the north; in the hinterland is the city of Elyros; to the south near the Ram's Head is the city and harbor of Lissa; in the direction of the north wind is the land of Apteraia; then there is Lampaia and it extends to both sides; in this region is the Mesapios River; next is Osmida and after Osmida to the north is Eleuthernai; to the south is Sybrita and its harbor; to the south is Phaistos; to the north are Oaxos and Knossos; to the south is Gortyna and Rhaukos; in the hinterland is Lyktos and it extends to both sides of the island; in the direction of the north wind is Mount Kadistos and on its side is the harbor of Olous and the city of Kamara; then Praisos extends to both sides of the island; Granos is the promontory of Krete in the direction of the rising sun. There are also other cities on Krete and it is said to have a hundred cities.

48. The Islands of the Cyclades: The following islands of the Cyclades are off the territory of Lakedaimon and are inhabited: Melos with its harbor, next to it Kimolos, next to it Oliaros, next to it Sikinos, which is also a city, next to it Thera, next to it Anaphe, and next to it Astypalaia. I return again, however, to the mainland at the point where I digressed.

49. Argos: After Lakedaimon is the city of Argos and in its territory is the city and harbor of Nauplia; in the hinterland are
Kleonai, Mycenae, and Tiryns. The voyage past the Argive territory is circuitous, for it is through what is called the Gulf of Argolis, and is 150 stadia in length.

50. Epidauros: After Argos is the territory of Epidauros, for it touches this gulf for 30 stadia. After the Epidaurian territory is Halia and its harbor, which is at the mouth of the Gulf of Argolis. The voyage past this city is a hundred stadia.

51. Hermion: Next is the city and harbor of Hermion. The voyage past this region is 80 stadia. After Hermion is the promontory of Skyllaion, which is on the gulf of the isthmus. Skyllaion is in Troizenia and directly across from it is the promontory of Sounion in the territory of the Athenians. Opposite this promontory is the island and city of Belbina. From the mouth of this gulf inward to the isthmus there are 740 stadia. This same gulf has a very straight mouth.

52. Troizenia: After Hermion is the city and harbor of Troizenia. The voyage past this region is 30 stadia. Next is the island, city, and harbor of Kalauria. The voyage past this region is 300 stadia.

53. Aegina: Opposite this region are the island, city, and two harbors of Aegina. I return again, however, to the mainland at the point where I digressed.

54. Epidauros: After Troizenia is the city and harbor of Epidauros. The voyage past the territory of Epidauros is 130 stadia.
55. Corinthia: After Epidauros is the eastern territory of the Corinthians, the wall of Kenchreai, and the isthmus, where the temple of Poseidon is. Here the Peloponnesos ends. The fortification of Sidous and another fortification of Kremmyon are in territory outside the isthmus and also belong to the Corinthians. The voyage past the territory of the Corinthians to the borders of the Megareans is 300 stadia.

56. Megara: After the territory of the Corinthians is the city and harbor of Megara and the fortification of Nisaia. The voyage past the territory of the Megareans to Iapis, which is the boundary of the territory of the Athenians, is 140 stadia.

57. Attica: After the Megareans are the cities of the Athenians. The first in Attica is Eleusis, where there is a temple of Demeter and a fortification. Opposite it is the island, city, and harbor of Salamis. Then comes the Piraeus, the long walls, and Athens. The Piraeus has three harbors. Next are the fortification and harbor of Anaphlystos, the promontory and fortification of Sounion, the temple of Poseidon, the fortification of Thorikos with its two harbors, and the fortification of Thamnos. There are also many other harbors in Attica. The voyage past the territory of the Athenians is 1140 stadia; from the region of Iapis to Sounion there are 490 stadia; from Sounion all the way to the borders of the Boeotians there are 650 stadia.

58. The Islands of the Cyclades: Off Attica are the following islands called the Cyclades and in them are the following cities:
Keos, which has four cities; they are Poissa with its harbor, Koressia, Ioulis, and Karthaia; next are Helene, the island and city of Kythnos, the island, city, and harbor of Seriphos, Paros, which has two harbors, one of them enclosed, Naxos, Delos, Rhene, Syros, Mykonos, which has two cities, Tenos with its harbor, and Andros with its harbor. Now these are the islands of the Cyclades, but to the south of them there are other islands: Ios with its harbor, where Homer was buried, Amorgos, which has three cities and a harbor, and Ikaros with two cities.

After Andros is the island of Euboea, which has four cities on it; they are Karystos, Eretria with its harbor, Chalkis with its harbor, and Hestiaia with its harbor. From the temple of Zeus of Kenaios to the temple of Poseidon at Geraistos Euboea is 1350 stadia in length; in breadth, however Euboea is narrow.

Also in the Aegean Sea there are the following islands: Opposite Eretria is Skyros with its city, Ikos, which has two cities, Peparethos, which has three cities and a harbor, and Skiathos, which has two cities and a harbor.

After these islands I return again to the mainland at the point where I digressed.

59. The Boeotians: After Athens are the people known as the Boeotians, for they also live next to this sea. In this region first is the temple of Delion, then the temple of Aulis, the fortification of Euripos, the fortification of Anthedon, Thbes, Thespiai, and in the hinterland Orchomenos. There are, however, other cities in this
area. The voyage past the territory of Boeotia from Delion to the borders of the Lokrians is 250 stadia.

60. The Lokrians: After the Boeotians are the people known as the Lokrians. Opposite Euboea they have the following cities: Larymna, Kynos, Opous, and Alope, but the Lokrians also have many other cities. The voyage past their territory is 200 stadia.

61. The Phokeans: After the Lokrians are the Phokeans, for they also inhabit a region that touches this sea. They have the following cities: Thronion, Knemis, Elateia, and Panopeus. They also have other cities in the hinterland. The voyage past the territory of the Phokeans is 200 stadia.

62. The Melians: After the Phokeans are the Melians and the Gulf of Melieus. On this gulf are the people called the Limodorians and the following places: Erineos, Boion, and Kythinon. Also in this region are Thermopylai, Trachis, Oite, Herakleia, and the Spercheios River. The Malians: After the Melians are the people known as the Malians. The first city of the Malians is Lamia, the last Echinos, but the Malians also have other cities all the way to the region that touches the gulf. Next to the territory of the Malians upland for some distance into the hinterland live the Ainianes and the Sperchios River flows through their territory.

63. The Achaians: Outside the Gulf of Malia are the people known as the Achaians of Phthiotis. They live on the Pagasetic Gulf to the left of one sailing into the gulf for half its distance. The following are cities of the Achaians: Antrones, Larissa, Melitaia, Demetron,
and Thebes, but the Achaians also have other cities in the hinterland.

64. Thessalia: After the Achaians and stretching from the hinterland to the Pagasetic Gulf Thessalia touches the sea with a narrow tract of 30 stadia. The following cities of Thessalia are on the sea: Amphanaiion and Pagasai; in the hinterland there are: Pherai, Larissa, Pharsalos, Kieron, Pelinnaion, Skotousa, and Krannon; but there are also other cities of the Thessalians in the hinterland. Thessalia extends into the hinterland above the Ainianes, the Dolopian, the Malians, the Achaians, and the Magnesians all the way to Tempe. The length of the Pagasetic Gulf from its mouth to its deepest recess at Pagasai is a morning's sail. The mouth of the gulf is 5 stadia in breadth. In the Pagasetic Gulf is the island and city of Kikynethos.

65. The Magnesians: The territory of the Magnesians is on the sea and has the following cities: Iolkos, Methone, Korakai, Spalathra, Olizon, and the harbor of Tisai. Outside the Pagasetic Gulf are Meliboia, Rhizous, Eurymenai, and Myrai. In the hinterland next to the Magnesians live the people known as the Perrhaiboi, who are Hellenes. To this point from Ambrakia Hellas is continuous and practically everything in these seas likewise is in Hellas.

66. Macedonia: Beyond the Peneios River are the people known as the Macedonians and the Gulf of Thermaios. The first city of Macedonia is Herakleion; Next are Dion, the Hellenic city of Pydna, the Hellenic city of Methone, the Haliakmon River, the city of Aloros, the Lydias River, and the city of Pella, in which there is a palace and
to which the voyage is up the Lydias River; next are the Axios River, the Echedoros River, the city of Therme, Hellenic Aineia, and the tall promontory of Pallene extending into the sea. The following Hellenic cities are on Pallene: Potidaia, which cuts the isthmus in two, Mende, Aphytis, Thrambeis, Skione, and Kanastraion, which is a sacred promontory of Pallene. Outside the isthmus there are the following cities: Hellenic Olynthos, Hellenic Mekyberna, Hellenic Sermylia and the Sermylid Gulf, the Hellenic city and harbor of Torone, Hellenic Dion, Hellenic Thyssos, Hellenic Kleonai, Mount Athos Hellenic Akrothooi, Hellenic Charadrous, Hellenic Olophyxos, Hellenic Akanthos. Hellenic Alapta, Hellenic Arethousa, Lake Bolbe, and Hellenic Apollonia. There are also many other cities of Macedonia in the hinterland. The land winds around gulfs; the voyage around these gulfs and past this region is two days. After Macedonia is the Strymon River, which separates Macedonia from Thrace.

67. Thrace: Thrace extends from the Strymon River to the Ister River on the Buxine Pontos. There are in Thrace the following Hellenic cities: Amphipolis, Phagres, Galepsos, Oisyme, and some additional emporia of the Thasians. Opposite this region are the island and city of Thasos with its two harbors, one of which is enclosed. I return again, however, to the point where I digressed. Then there is Neapolis and next to it is the Hellenic city of Daton, which the Athenian Kallistratos founded; next to it are the Nestos River, the city of Abdera, the Koudetos River, and the cities of Dikaia and Maroneia. Opposite this region are the island and harbor of
Samothrace. On the mainland opposite are the emporia of Drys and Zone; then there is the Hebros River and adjacent to it the fortification of Douriskos; next are the city and harbor of Ainos, the fortifications of the Ainians in Thrace, the Gulf of Melas, the Melas River, the emporion of Deris, the Kardian emporion of Kobrys, and another known as Kyparis. Opposite the Gulf of Melas are the island and harbor of Imbros. I return again to the mainland at the point where I digressed. After the Gulf of Melas is the Thracian Chersonesos and on it there are the following cities: Kardia, Ide, Paion, Alapekonnesos, Araplos, Elaious, Madytos, and on the mouth of the Propontis, which is 6 stadia in breadth, is Sestos. Within Aigospotamos are Kressa, Krithote, and Paktye. The region to this point is the Thracian Chersonesos. Across the neck of land from Paktye to Kardia there is a march of 40 stadia from sea to sea and between these two places is a city named Agora. The length of the Chersonesos from Kardia to Elaious, where its most distant point lies, is 400 stadia. After the Chersonesos there are the following Thracian fortifications: first is the coastal tract of Leuke; next are Teiristasis, Herakleia, Ganos, Ganai, the fortification of Neon, the city and harbor of Perinthos, the fortification of Daminon, and the city and harbor of Selymbria. From here to the mouth of the Pontos there are 500 stadia. The area along the Bosporos until you come to Hieron is called the Anaplous. At Hieron the breadth of the mouth of the Pontos is 7 stadia. In the Pontos there are the following Hellenic cities in Thrace: Apollonia, Mesembria, Odessopolis, Kallatis, and
the Ister River. The voyage past Thrace from the Strymon River to Sestos is two days and two nights; from Sestos to the mouth of the Pontos is two days and two nights; from this mouth to the Ister River is three days and three nights. From Thrace and the Strymon River to the Ister River the whole voyage around this region is eight days and eight nights.

68. Scythia, the Taurians: After Thrace are the people known as the Scythians and in their territory there are the following Hellenic cities: the Tyris River, the city of Nikonion, and the city of Ophiousa. Next to the Scythian territory the Taurian people inhabit a portion of the mainland that is a promontory extending into the sea. Hellenes live in Taurika and have the following cities, the emporion of Chersonesos, and the Ram's Head, a promontory of Taurika. Next there are again some Scythians and the following Hellenic cities are in this region: Theudosia, Kytaia, Nymphaea, Pantikapaion, and Myrmekeion. Directly from the Ister to the headland of Kriou the voyage past is three days and three nights, but along the coast the voyage is double, for this is a gulf. In this gulf is an island named Leuke, which is deserted and is a sacred precinct of Achilles. From the Ram's Head to Pantikapaion the voyage is a day and a night; from Pantikapaion to the mouth of Lake Maiotis is 20 stadia. Lake Maiotis is said to be half the size of the Pontos. Directly to the left of one sailing into Lake Maiotis there are Scythians, for they inhabit a region extending from the outer sea above Taurika to Lake Maiotis.
Next are the people known as the Syrmatai; then the Tanais River separates Asia and Europe.

69. The Voyage Past All of Europe: From the Pillars of Herakles in Europe to one sailing around the coasts of the gulfs the voyage past Europe is one hundred fifty-three days. This total is achieved by calculating the nights that have been recorded as days and, where stadia have been recorded, calculating 500 stadia as a day's voyage; half of the Pontos is equal to Lake Maiotis.

The largest rivers in Europe are the Tanais, the Ister, and the Rhodanos.

70. The Sauromatai: At the Tanais River Asia begins and the first tribe living on the Pontos in Asia is that of the Sauromatai. The tribe of the Sauromatai is ruled by women.

71. The Maiotai: Next to those governed by women are the Maiotai.

72. The Sindoi: After the Maiotai are the Sindoi, for these people inhabit a region that extends even outside Lake Maiotis; in their territory there are the following Hellenic cities: the city of Phanagorcs, Kepoi, the harbor of Sindikos, and Patous.

73. The Kerketai: After the harbor of Sindikos are the people known as the Kerketai.

74. The Toretai: After the Kerketai are the people known as the Toretai and the Hellenic city and harbor of Torikos.

75. The Achaians: After the Toretai are the people known as the Achaians.
76. The Heniochoi: After the Achaians are the people known as the Heniochoi.

77. The Koraxoi: After the Heniochoi are the people known as the Koraxoi.

78. Kolike: After the Koraxoi is the territory of Kolike.

79. The Melanchlainoi: After Kolike are the people known as the Melanchlainoi and in their territory are the Metasoris River and the Aigipios River.

80. The Gelones: After the Melanchlainoi are the Gelones.

81. The Kolchians: After them are the people known as the Kolchians and the city of Dioskouris, the Hellenic city of Gynos, the Gynos River, the Cherobios River, the Chorsos River, the Arios River, the Phasis River, and the Hellenic city of Phasis. The voyage up this river to the great barbarian city of Aia, where Medea lived, is 180 stadia; in this region is the Rhis River; next are the Isis River, the Laston River, and the Apsaros River.

82. The Byzeres: After the Kolchians are the people known as the Byzeres, the Daraanon River, and the Arion River.

83. The Ekecheirieis: After the Byzeres are the people known as the Ekecheirieis, the Pordanis River, the Arabis River, the city of Limme, and the Hellenic city of Odeinios.

84. Becheirike: After the Ekecheirieis are the people known as the Becheiroi, the harbor of Becheirikos, and the Hellenic city of Becheirias.
85. The Makrokephalois: After Becheira are the people known as the Makrokephalois, the harbor of Psoron, and the Hellenic city of Trapezous.

86. The Mossynoikoi: After the Makrokephalois are the people known as the Mossynoikoi, the harbor of Zephyrios, the Hellenic city of Choirades, and the island of Areos. These people dwell in the mountains.

87. The Tibarenoi: After the Mossynoī are the people known as the Tibarenoi.

88. The Chalybes: After the Tibarenoi are the people known as the Chalybes, the enclosed harbor of Genetes, the Hellenic city of Stameneia, and the Hellenic akropolis of Iasonia.

89. Assyria: After the Chalybes is the territory of Assyria, the Thermodon River, the Hellenic city of Themiskyra, the river and the Hellenic city of Lykastos, the Halys River, the Hellenic city of Karoussa, the Hellenic city of Sinope, the Hellenic city of Kerasous, the Ocherainos River, the Hellenic city and harbor of Harmene, and the Hellenic city of Tetrakis.

90. Paphlagonia: After Assyria is the territory of Paphlagonia, in which are the harbor of Stephane, the Hellenic city of Koloussa, the Hellenic city of Kinolis, the Hellenic city of Karambis, the Hellenic city of Kytoris, the Hellenic city of Sesamos, the Parthenios River, the Hellenic city and harbor of Tieion, Psylla, and the Kallichoros River.
91. The Mariandynoi: After Paphlagonia are the people known as the Mariandynoi. In this region are the Hellenic city of Herakleia, the Lykos River, and another river known as the Hypios.

92. The Bithynians: After the Mariandynoi are the people known as the Thracian Bithynians, the Sagarios River, another river known as the Artanes, the island of Thynias, which the Herakleans inhabit, and the Rhebas River. The very next thing is the strait and the previously mentioned temple on the mouth of the Pontos and after it outside Thrace is the city of Chalkedon, after which is the Gulf of Olbianos. From the territory of the Mariandynoi all the way to the deepest recess of the Gulf of Olbianos is the extent of the Thrace of the Bithynians and the voyage past it is three days. From the mouth of the Pontos to the mouth of Lake Maiotis the voyage past both Europe and Asia is about the same in length.

93. Mysia: After Thrace is the territory of Mysia. It is on the left of the Gulf of Olbianos to one sailing into the Gulf of Kianos as far Kios. Mysia is a peninsula, on which there are the following Hellenic cities: Olbia with its harbor, Kallipolis with its harbor, which is also a promontory of the Gulf of Kianos, and on the left the city of Kios and the Kios River. The voyage past Mysia to Kios is one day.

94. Phrygia: After Mysia is the territory of Phrygia and the following Hellenic cities: Myrleia, the Rhyndakos River and near it the island of Besbikos, and the city of Plakia; on the isthmus is Cysicus, which blocks entrance to the isthmus and farther onto the
isthmus is Artake. Opposite it is the island and city of Prokonnesos and another island known as Elaphonnesos, which has good harborage, and the Prokonnesioi farm it. On the mainland are the cities of Priapos, Parion, Lampsakos, Perkote, and Abydos; and at Sestos is the mouth of the Propontis.

95. Troas: Thereupon Troas begins and in it are the following Hellenic cities: Dardanos, Rhoiteion, and Ilion, which is 25 stadia from the sea. In this region is the Skamandros River. Opposite this region lies the island and harbor of Tenedos, from where Klaostratos the astrologer comes. On the mainland are Sige, Achilleion, Krateres of the Achaians, Kolonai, Larissa, Hamaxitos, and the temple of Apollo where Chryses was priest.

96. Aeolis: Thereupon is the region called Aeolis, in which there are on the seacoast the following Aeolic cities: Antandros...; in the hinterland are: Kebren, Skepsis, Neandreia, and Pityeia. The voyage past Phrygia is from Mysia to Antandros.

97. Lesbos: Opposite this region is the Aeolic island of Lesbos, on which the following five cities are located: Methymna, Antissa, Eresos, Pyrrha with its harbor, and Mitylene, which has two harbors. Opposite Lesbos is the island and city by the name of Pordoselene. I return again, however, to the mainland at the point where I digressed to these islands.

98. Lydia: From Antandros and the region of Aeolis throughout the area as far as Teuthrania the coast was previously Mysian territory, but now it is Lydian. The Mysians were forced to migrate into
the interior of the mainland. In this region and in Lydia there are
the following Hellenic cities: Astyra, where there is a temple, and
Adramyttion. And there is Lesbian territory; and beyond it is Chian
territory including the city of Atarneus; south of this region on the
seacoast are the harbor of Pitane and the Kaikos River. After Pi-
tane are Elaia, Gryneion, and the harbor of the Achaians, in which the
Achaians are said to have deliberated upon whether to campaign
against Telephos or to depart. Then there is the city and harbor of
Myrina and Kyme with its harbor; and above Kyme in the hinterland is
the Hellenic city of Aigai. Next are Leukai with its harbors, Smyrna,
in which Homer lived, Phokaia with its harbor, the Hermos River,
Klazomenai with its harbor, and Erythrai with its harbor. Opposite
this region is the island and harbor of Chios. I return again to the
mainland. Next are the city and harbor of Agra, the city and harbor
of Teos, Lebedos, Kolophon in the hinterland, Notion, with its harbor,
the temple of Apollo Klarios, the Kaustros River, Ephesos with its
harbor, Marathesion, in the interior the Hellenic city of Magnesia,
Anaia, Panionion, Erasistratios, Charadrous, Phokaia, Akadamis, and
Mykale. These places are in territory belonging to the Samians.
Facing Mykale is the island of Samos, which has a city and an enclosed
harbor. This island is no smaller than Chios. I return again, how-
ever, to the mainland at the point where I digressed. Near Mykale is
the city of Priene, which has two harbors, one enclosed; next is the
Meander River. The voyage past Mysia and Lydia from Astyra to the
Meander River is two days and one night.
99. Karia: After Lydia is the territory of Karia and in it are the following Hellenic cities: Herakleia, then Miletos, then Myndos with its harbor, Halikarnassos with an enclosed harbor and another harbor near its island and a river, the island of Kalymna, the island, city, and harbor of Karyanda, whose people are Karians, and the island, city, and enclosed harbor of Kos. Next to this region are the Gulf of Keramiakos in Karia and the island and harbor of Nisyros. I return again to the mainland. Next are the sacred promontory of Triopion, the Hellenic city of Knidos, the territory on the mainland belonging to the Rhodians, the Karian city of Kaunos with an enclosed harbor, and the promontory of Kryassos. Opposite it is Rhodes, the island and city comprised of three ancient cities; these are the cities in it: Ialysos, Lindos, and Kameiros. Next to Rhodes are the following inhabited islands: Chalkeia, Telos, Kasos, and Karpathos, which is comprised of three cities. The voyage past Karia from the Meander River to Kryassos, which is a promontory of Karia, is two days. I return again to the mainland at the place where I digressed.

100: Lycia: Beyond Karia is the territory of Lycia; and the Ly- cians have the following cities: Telmissos with its harbor, the Xanthos River, on which there is a voyage upstream to the city of Xanthos, the city of Patara, which has a harbor, the city of Phellos with its harbor. Opposite this region is the island of Megiste belonging to the Rhodians. Then there is the city of Limyra, to which there is a voyage upstream on a river. Next are the city of Gagaia, then the promontory and two islands of Chelidoniai, the island of
Dionysias, and the promontory and harbor of Siderous, above which on
the mountain there is a temple of Hephaistos. Here a great spontane­
ous fire flames from the earth and is never extinguished. If you
proceed from the seacoast farther inland, there is the city and harbor
of Phaselis and there is a gulf here. Next are the city of Idyros,
the island of Lyrnateia, Olbia, Magydos, the Katarraktes River, the
city of Perge, and the temple of Artemis. The direct voyage past
Lycia from Karia is a day and a night, but along the land it is
double this, for it is a winding tract.

101. Pamphylia: After Lycia is the territory of Pamphylia and
there are the following cities in this region: the city of Aspendos,
to which there is an upstream voyage along a river; and this river is
the Eurymedon; next are the city of Syleneion and another city known
as Side, which is a colony of the Kymaiains and has a harbor. The voy­
age past Pamphylia from Perge is a half-day. There are also other
cities in Pamphylia. There is Kibyra and after it Korakesion.

102. Cilicia: After Pamphylia is the territory of Cilicia and in
it there are the following cities: Selinous, the city and harbor of
Charadrous, the promontory and city of Anemourion, and the city of
Nagidos, which also has an island. Facing the harbor of Setos is
Poseideion; next are Salon, Myous, the city and harbor of Kelenderis,
Aphrodisios, which is another harbor, the Hellenic city of Holmoi,
which is some distance away, the deserted city of Sarpedon, a river,
the Hellenic city of Soloi, the city of Zephyrion, the Pyramos River,
the city of Mallos, to which there is an upstream voyage on this
river, the emporion of Adane, the harbor of Myriandos belonging to the Phoenicians, and the Thapsakos River. The voyage past Cilicia from the borders of Pamphylia to the Thapsakos River is three days and two nights. The journey from seacoast to seacoast, from Sinope on the Pontos and across the mainland and Cilicia to Soloi, is five days.

103. Cyprus: Opposite Cilicia is the island of Cyprus and on it there are the following cities: Hellenic Salamis, which has an enclosed harbor that is suitable in the winter, Karpaseia, Keryneia, Lepethis of the Phoenicians, Soloi, which also has a harbor suitable in the winter, Hellenic Marion, and Amathous, whose inhabitants are indigenous; all of these cities have deserted harbors. There are also other cities in the hinterland, but they are barbarian. I return again, however, to the mainland at the point where I digressed.

104. Syria and Phoenicia: After Cilicia is the territory of the Syrians. The Phoenicians live in Syria. They inhabit the region of the seacoast and live on a narrow tract of land, which extends less than 40 stadia from the sea, although in some places the breadth is not even 10 stadia. Beyond the Thapsakos River are Tripolis of the Phoenicians and the island and harbor of Arados, which is a kingdom of Tyre and lies about 8 stadia away from the land. On the Chersonesos there is another city known as Tripolis, which belongs to Arados, Tyre, and Sidon; at this location the three cities each keep their own circuit of fortification. Next are a mountain known as the Countenance of God, the city and harbor of Trieres, the city and
harbor of Berytos, Leontos, Borinos, the city of Prophyreon, the city and enclosed harbor of Sidon, and the city of Ornithon belonging to the Sidonians. From the city of Leontos to the city of Ornithon is... Then there is the city of Sarapta belonging to the Tyrians and another city known as Tyre, which has a harbor within a fortification; this is the island that is the kingdom of the Tyrians and it is 3 stadia from the seacoast. Next are the city and river of Palaityros, which flows through the middle of this region, the city ...[there is a lacuna here due to a mutilated page in the codex.]

105. Arabia?

106. Egypt?

...[A little below the city of Memphis the Nile is split into three branches, the Kanopic, the Sebennytic, and] the Pelousiac. Then in turn it is split into two. The Sebennytic branch flows both into the Mendesian and into the sea; but from the Mendesian branch the Nile flows into the Phatnitic mouth; also from the Pelousiac branch the Nile flows into the Tanic mouth; the branch from the Kanopic stream flows all the way to the Sebennytic Lake and the Bolbitine mouth flows out of the lake. There are also many other lakes and marshes of Egypt on the seacoast. Egypt is similar in shape to a double-edged axe in the following ways: at the sea it is broad; in the hinterland it is rather narrow and at Memphis is the narrowest part of this region; thereafter to one going beyond Memphis into the hinterland Egypt is broader and farther upland is its broadest part. The portion of Egypt upland from Memphis is larger than that next to the sea.
The mouth of Kanopis separates Asia and Libya. The voyage past Egypt from the Pelousiac mouth is 1300 stadia. The voyage around is, indeed, filled with twists and turns; and to one calculating in the same manner that has been recorded for Europe the voyage is eighty-seven days. Near the Kanopic mouth there is a deserted island named Kanopos, on which there are memorials of Menelaos. There is the monument of his helmsman on the voyage from Troy, whose name was Kanopos. The Egyptians and their neighbors in this area say that Pelousios came to Kasion and that Kanopos came to the island where the monument of the helmsman is.

Libya

107. Libya begins beyond the Kanopic mouth of the Nile. The Adyrmachidai: First is a tribe of Libyans known as the Adyrmachidai. The voyage from Thonis to the deserted island of Pharos is 150 stadia and is through an area of good harborage, which, however, lacks drinking water. At Pharos there are also many harbors. Water is drawn from Lake Mareia, for it is potable and the voyage upstream from Pharos to the lake is short. Then there is a Chersonesos and harbor. There are 200 stadia to the voyage past this region. Beyond the Chersonesos is the Plinthine Gulf. The mouth of the Plinthine Gulf opens to the coast of Leuke and is a voyage of a day and a night in breadth, but through the deepest recess of the Plinthine Gulf the voyage is twice as much. The circuitous shore of this gulf is inhabited. From the coast of Leuke to the harbor of Laodomanteion there is a voyage of a half-day. From the harbor of Laodomanteion to the harbor Paraitonion
there is a voyage of a half-day. Next is the city of Apis. The Egyptians control the region up to this point.

108. The Marmaridai: Beyond Apis all the way to the Hesperides is a tribe of Libyans known as the Marmaridai. From Apis to the rocky headlands of Tyndareos there is a voyage of a day. From the rocky headlands of Tyndareos to the harbor of Plynous there is a voyage of a day. From Plynous to the Greater Petras there is a voyage of a half-day. From Petras to Menelaos there is a voyage of a day. From Menelaos to Kyrthaneion there is a voyage of a day. From Kyrthaneion the harbor of Antipygos is a distance of a half-day's voyage. From Antipygos the harbor of the Lesser Petras is a distance of a half-day's voyage. From the Lesser Petras the harbor of the Chersonesos of Achitides, which is in the territory of the Cyrenaeans, is a distance of a day's voyage. In between Petras and the Chersonesos are the islands of Aedonia and Plateiai. Close to them there are places of safe anchorage. In this region silphion begins to grow in the fields. From the Chersonesos across the hinterland to the Hesperides lie about 1500 stadia of land. Then there is the island of Aphrodisias with safe anchorage and the harbor of Naustathmos. The voyage from the Chersonesos to Naustathmos is one day, but from Naustathmos to the harbor of Cyrene is 100 stadia; from this harbor to Cyrene is 80 stadia, and Cyrene is in the hinterland. These harbors are always safe for anchorage. There are also other places of refuge close to small islands and there are places of safe anchorages and many beaches along the intervening land. From the harbor of Cyrene to the
harbor below Barke is 500 stadia; the city of the Barkaians is 100 stadia from the sea. From the harbor at Barke to the Hesperides is 620 stadia. From Cyrene to the Hesperides there are the following harbors and inlets: there is the Gulf of Phykos and upland in this region is the garden of the Hesperides. The location is a precipitous height of 18 orgyiai in the shape of a circle and has no means of descent; in every direction there is a breadth and length of no less than 2 stadia. This garden is shaded with trees intertwined among each other so that they are as dense as they can possibly be. Its trees are: lotus, all sorts of apple, pomegranate, pear, arbutus, mulberry, vine, myrtle, laurel, ivy, olive, wild olive, almond, and nut. Among the places which have not been mentioned are Ampelos adjacent to the garden, Apios, which is a distance of 30 stadia, Chersonesos, several gardens, Zenertis, Taucheira, the village of Kaukalos, the city and harbor of Hesperides, and next to the city the river of Ekkeios. In this area from the Chersonesos of Achitides to the Hesperides, some places belong to the Cyrenaeans, others to the Barkaians.

109. The Nasomones and the Makai: Beyond Hesperides there is a large gulf named the Syrtis. To someone making a very close approximation its size is roughly speaking 5000 stadia. In respect to its breadth from Hesperides to Neapolis on its other side there is a voyage of three days and three nights. A tribe of Libyans known as the Nasamones inhabit the land on the left as far as the deepest recess. Next to them on the coast of the Syrtis as far as the mouth of this gulf live a tribe of Libyans known as the Makai. To one sailing into
the Syrtis from Hesperides there are the banks of Herakles; next to them are Drepanon and the three islands of Pontiai; next to them are the islands called the Leukai. In the deepest hollow of the deepest recess of the Syrtis are the Altars of Philainos, a naval station, and the grove of Ammon of the Syrtis. Beyond this area the Makai live next to the Syrtis. They spend their winters on the seacoast and enclose their herds, but during the summer, when water gradually begins to be insufficient, they migrate into the hinterland and take their herds with them. After the Syrtis there is a beautiful country and city named Kinyps, but it is deserted. From Neapolis to the Syrtis there are 80 stadia. From this region flows the Kinyps River and an island is near this river. In respect to the length of the Syrtis, within the Hesperides to the deepest recess of the gulf near the Altars of Philainos there is a voyage of three days and nights; in respect to the distance from the Kinyps River to the islands of Leukai there is a voyage of four days and four nights.

110. The Lotus-Eaters: A tribe of Libyans known as the Lotus-Eaters inhabit the region outside the Syrtis all the way to the mouth of the second Syrtis. They use lotus as food and drink. Beyond Neapolis in the territory of the Carthaginians is the city of Graphara. From Neapolis the voyage past this region is a day. Beyond Graphara is the city and harbor of Abrotonon and the voyage past this region is one day. Beyond Abrotonon is the city and harbor of Taricheiai. From Abrotonon the voyage past is one day. Opposite this region there is an island named Bracheion by the Lotus-Eaters of
Taricheiai. This island is 300 stadia in length, but slightly less in breadth; it lies about 3 stadia away from the mainland. On this island there is a lotus, which these people eat, and another, from which they make wine. The fruit of the lotus is the size of that of the arbutus. These people also make olive oil from wild olives and the island bears much grain, both wheat and barley, since the island is fertile. The voyage from Taricheiai to the island of Bracheion is one day. After this island is the city of Eschides. From the island to Eschides there is a voyage of a day; and next to this island there is a deserted island. After it is the island and city of Kerkinitis and opposite it is Thapsos. From Kerkinitis to Thapsos the voyage past is a day and a half. From Thapsos...Projecting inland from Lesser Leptis and Adrymetos there is a large gulf, in which the Lesser Syrtis called Kerkinitis is located; it is much more troublesome and poor for sailing than the other Syrtis. The circumference of the Kerkinitis is 2000 stadia. Within this Syrtis the lake called Triton and the Triton River are located; and in the same area is the temple of Athena Tritonis. The lake has a small mouth and in the mouth an island is situated and sometimes; when there is an ebb-tide, the lake does not appear to have an entrance. This lake is large, since it has a circumference of almost a thousand stadia. All the tribes that live about the lake are Libyans and there is a city on the far side in the direction of the setting of the sun. All these Libyans are said to be naturally golden and very beautiful. Their land is very good and very productive and their herds are very large and very numerous. These
people are also very wealthy and very beautiful. After this Syrtis is Neapolis. From Adrymetos to Neapolis the voyage past is a day. After Neapolis is the peninsula and city of Hermaia and from Neapolis to Hermaia the voyage past is a day and a half. From Neapolis on foot into an isthmus and to the other sea in the direction of Carthage there are 180 stadia. There is a peninsula, across which the isthmus lies. Thereupon from the river to Carthage the voyage past is a half-day. The land of the Carthaginians is on a gulf.

111. Carthage: After the isthmus is the city and harbor of the Phoenicians known as Carthage. From Hermaia to Carthage the voyage past is a half-day. Nearby are some islets close to the promontory of Hermaia, the island of Pontia, and Kosyros. The voyage from Hermaia to Kosyros is a day. Beyond the promontory of Hermaia in the direction of the rising sun there are three small islands inhabited by the Carthaginians. They are Melite, which is also a city and harbor, Gaulos with its city, and Lampas, which has two or three fortresses. From Kosyros to the promontory of Lilybaion in Sicily there is a voyage of one day. After Carthage is the city and harbor of Ityke. The voyage past the area from Carthage to Ityke is one day. From Ityke to the promontory of Hippo...; then there is the city of Hippo and adjacent to it is a lake. The following islands are in this lake and on these islands around the lake are the following cities: the city of Psegas and opposite it are the numerous islands of Naxikai. Next is Pithekousai with its harbor; and directly opposite it is the island of Euboea and on this island is a city; next are the city and harbor of
Thapsa, the city and harbor of Kaukakis, the city of Sida, the promontory, city, and harbor of Ioulios, the city and harbor of Hebdomos, the island of Akion, on which there is a city and harbor, and the island, city, and harbor of Psamathos. Then there is a gulf; and on this gulf is the island and harbor of Bartas. Next are the city of Chalka on a river, the city of Arylon, the city and harbor of Mes, and the city of Sige on a river. Facing this river is the island of Akra. Then there is a large city and harbor; this city and the gulf within its territory are known as Akros. Next are the deserted island named Drinaupa, the Pillar of Herakles in Libya, which is the promontory of Abilyke, a city on a river and opposite it the islands of Gadeira.

From Carthage the voyage past this region is comprised of seven days and seven nights under the best sailing conditions. Gadeira: These islands are near Europe; one of them has a city and near them are the Pillars of Herakles, the low one in Libya, the lofty one in Europe. They are high promontories opposite each other and they are separated from each other by a voyage of a day. If the calculation is made in the same way as that described in respect to Asia and Europe and if one sails circuitously along the gulfs, the voyage past Libya from the Kanopic mouth in Egypt to the Pillars of Herakles is seventy-four days. All the towns or emporia, which have been recorded in Libya from the Syrtis of the Hesperides to the Pillars of Herakles in Libya belong to the Carthaginians.

112. After the Pillars of Herakles, to one sailing into the outer seas and keeping Libya on the left, there is a large gulf all the way
to the promontory of Hermaia; for there is also a promontory of Hermaia in this region. In the middle of this gulf is the region and city of Pontion. A large lake is situated in the vicinity of this city and in this lake there are many islands. Around the lake grow calamus, galingal, phleos, and thryon. The birds of Meleager are in this region and nowhere else unless they have been exported from here. The name of this lake is Kephesias; the name of this gulf is Kotes. It is between the Pillars of Herakles and the promontory of Hermaia. Stretching from the promontory of Hermaia and from Libya to Europe are large sunken rocks that do not rise much above the sea, which sometimes beats against them. The rock of the promontory stretches directly across to another promontory in Europe. The name of the promontory in Libya is the Sacred Promontory. Beyond the promontory of Hermaia is the Anides River, which flows into a large lake. After the Anides are another large river known as the Lixos, the city of Lixos that belongs to the Phoenicians, and across the river another city and harbor of the Libyans. After the Lixos are the Krabis River and the harbor and city of Thymiateria belonging to the Phoenicians. From Thymiateria there is a voyage to the promontory of Solois, which protrudes very far into the sea. The whole region of Libya is very famous and very sacred. On the tip of the promontory there is a large altar of Poseidon of the Sea. Figures of men, lions, and dolphins have been drawn on the altar and people say that Daidalos made them. Beyond the promontory of Solois there is a river named the Xion. Around this river the holy Aethiopians live. Opposite this region is
an island named Kerne. From the Pillars of Herakles to the promontory of Hermaia the voyage past is two days; from the promontory of Hermaia to the promontory of Solois the voyage past is three days; from Solois to Kerne the voyage past is seven days. Altogether from the Pillars of Herakles to the island of Kerne the voyage past is twelve days.

The regions beyond the island of Kerne are no longer navigable because of the shallowness of the sea, mud, and sea-weed. The sea-weed is a span of the hand in breadth and sharp at the tip so that it can pierce. The merchants in this region are Phoenicians. When they arrive at the island of Kerne they put in their galleys, since on Kerne they have already set up their quarters. Then they depart and transport their merchandise in small vessels to the mainland. In this region on the mainland there are Aethiopians, with whom trade agreements are made. They deal in the skins of stags, lions, and leopards, the skins and tusks of elephants, and the skins of their own cattle. The Aethiopians use spotted hides for ornamentation and bowls of ivory for drinking cups. Their women use bracelets of ivory for ornamentation; these people also use ivory ornamentation on horses. These Aethiopians are the tallest of any men, whom we know, taller than four cubits; some of them are even five cubits in height. They also wear beards, have long hair, and are the most beautiful of all men. The man who is tallest is their king. They are horsemen, javelin throwers, and bowmen, and they use charred missiles. The Phoenician merchants import to the Aethiopians unguent, Egyptian stone, slaughtered boars, and Attic pottery of a pitcher's measure; for the vessels used in the
Festival of Pitchers are saleable. These Aethiopians are meat eaters and milk drinkers and from vines they make much wine, which the Phoenicians export. The Aethiopians also have a large city, to which the Phoenician merchants sail. Some say that these Aethiopians inhabit a region that extends continuously from here to Egypt, that this sea is continuous, and that Libya is a large peninsula.

113. A Parallel

Through the sea along a fairly straight line from Europe to Asia

The parallel begins at Chalkis and runs from the Euripos River for 750 stadia to Geraistos.

It runs 80 stadia from Geraistos to Paionion in Andros.

It runs 280 stadia from Andros to the Strait of Aulos.

There is a voyage across the Strait of Aulos to Tenos of 12 stadia.

To the promontory of this island opposite Rhenia it is 150 stadia.

The crossing to Rhenia is 40 stadia.

Rhenia itself, however, and the crossing to Mykonos are 40 stadia.

The voyage across from Mykonos to the rocky headlands of Melantia is a little less than a morning's sail of 140 stadia.

From the rocky headlands of Melantia to Ikaros there is a morning's voyage.
There are 300 stadia in the length of Ikaros itself.
From Ikaros to Samos there is a morning's voyage.
Samos itself comprises 200 stadia.
From Samos to Mykale there is a crossing of 7 stadia.
If one sails under the best conditions and does not calculate the voyage from Mykale to Samos, the total is 2370 stadia.

114. Another Parallel along a straight line:

From Malea to Kythera is 20 stadia.
The length of Kythera is 200 stadia.
To Aigilia is a morning's voyage.
The length of Aigilia itself is 50 stadia.
From Aigilia to Krete is a morning's voyage.
The length of Krete itself is 2500 stadia.
From Krete to Karpathos is 500 stadia.
The length of Karpathos itself is 300 stadia.
To Rhodes from Karpathos there is a voyage of 300 stadia.
The length of Rhodes itself is 600 stadia.
From Rhodes to Asia is 100 stadia.
The parallel from the voyage across is 4270 stadia.

115. The Magnitude of the Islands:

The largest is Sardo, second Sicily, third Krete, fourth Cyprus,
Fifth Euboea, sixth Kyrnos, seventh Lesbos, eighth Rhodes, ninth Chios,
tenth Samos, eleventh Corcyra, twelfth Kasos, thirteenth Kephallenia, fourteenth Naxos, fifteenth Kos, sixteenth Zakynthos, seventeenth Lemnos, eighteenth Aegina, nineteenth Imbros, and twentieth Thasos.
The title: In the Codex Parisinus, the title reads Σκύλακος Καρυανδέως Περίπλος τῆς οίκουμενῆς; then follows the scholion (T5) and a more complete title Περίπλος τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς οίκουμενῆς κτλ. In the Codex Palatinus, the name Skylax of Karyanda is stated first, then the scholion and, finally the title as it reads in the Codex Parisinus. The Codex Monacensis is the same except that the words preceding the scholion appear to be missing.

"then arranged in geographical order": The codex reads ἐξ ἕως, but I have followed Müller and read ἐξῆς in the belief that it refers to the sequential order in which the geographical phenomena are found as one sails around the inhabited world of Skylax.

"Beyond the Pillars": Just prior to this statement Müller transposes from section 2 the statement, "Within the same area there are two islands named Gadeira. One of these has a city, which is a day's voyage from the Pillars." (See notes on section 2).

"seven inhabited islands": The number seven is totally incongruous, since the Periplous records many more than seven islands. Although it was a common practice among ancient geographers to list the seven largest islands (see Bunbury, Volume II, p. 406), at the end of the Periplous there is a list, which numbers twenty of the largest islands. Müller believes that the author of the titles carelessly inserted seven based on his own predilections. The word could perhaps be ἄνασαι instead of αἱ ἐπτά.

Section 1.

"the Pillars of Herakles": While the name seems to mean twin peaks, perhaps Kalpe and Abilyx (Strabo, III, 5, 5), on the opposite sides of the Straits of Gibraltar, in section 111, our author here uses the plural σηλωμῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, in speaking of just one side. The statement possibly reflects a general confusion among the ancients as to the nature and number of the Pillars of Herakles, which were considered by various people to be mountain peaks, islands, promontories, or cities (see Hysychios; GGM, Volume I, p. 15).

"Pillars...separated by a day's voyage": A full day's voyage seems too long for the actual distance between the Pillars. Between
Kalpe and Abilyx is 14 miles (Encyclopedia Britannica V, 10, pp. 401-402), which is roughly equivalent to 120 stadia, but only 9 miles of water (Encyclopedia Britannica V, 10, pp. 401-402) or roughly 80 stadia separate the two land masses at their narrowest point. Somewhat more accurately Strabo calculates the Strait's breadth at its narrowest point to be 70 stadia (II, 5, 19) and 60 stadia (XVII, 3, 6); Agathemerus 80 stadia (V, 20; GGM Volume II, p. 481); Markian 80 stadia (Periplus of the Outer Sea I, 3; GGM Volume I, p. 518); Livy and Nepos in Pliny state 7 miles at the narrowest, 10 at the broadest (Natural History III, 1); Euctemon in Avienus (Ora Maritima, 340) underestimates the distance with 3 miles; Skymnos (139-140; GGM Volume I, p. 199) states that the mouth of the Atlantic Ocean is 120 stadia, perhaps referring to the distance between the twin peaks. Since our author in section 69 calculates a day's sail as 500 stadia, his estimate is off considerably. Allowing for difficult sailing conditions does not seem to account for such a large discrepancy. What our author may have had in mind was a voyage from Gadeira (see section 2) to one of the cities on the Libyan side.

"Beyond the Pillars...emporia": See Strabo, III, 2, 13 and Justin XIV, 5.

Section 2

"The Iberians": Other ancient writers do not place the Iberians first. See most notably Polybios (III, 37), who makes a definite distinction between the Iberians living on the Mediterranean side of the Pillars of Herakles and other barbarians living along the outer sea. See also Hekataios FGrH Volume I #1 F38-52, pp. 16-17.

"Iber River": See Strabo, III, 4, 10. This is probably identical with the Ebro River (see Pliny, IV, 120).

"Within the same area...Pillars of Herakles": Müller has transferred these lines to section 1 following "a day's voyage," because it makes better geographical sense. Since our author in section 1 seems very confused about the nature of the Straits and in general has little knowledge of Europe in the far west, I have chosen to leave the lines in section 2. This seems to reflect more accurately the geographical confusion which pervades much of this text. By using the word ἑντάσσα, instead of a more specific reference the author conveys his vague impression of the region. There may, however, be something lost here, since we should expect more cities to be named in Iberia between Gadeira and the Iber River.

"two islands named Gadeira": In some authors a second island was called Erytheia (Strabo, III, 5, 4; Pliny, IV, 120). According to Pliny the earlier town of Gades was located on Erytheia.
"Emporion": See Strabo, III, 4, 8; Polybios, III, 36, who place Emporion too far from the Pyrenees Mountains. Skymmos (201-204; GGM Volume I, p. 204) places this city in Liguria and Stephanos of Byzantion in Keltika. See Rhys Carpenter, Greeks in Spain, p. 99.

"a Hellenic city by that name."; the Greek reads πάλιν Ἐλληνικὴ ἡ ὄψας Ἐμπορίῳν. The name is perhaps clarified in order to distinguish this city from other geographical locations referred to as emporia, which seem to have been little more than trading posts (see section 1). The use of the accusative, nevertheless, is inexplicable. Something such as φεύγειν may be lost or more probably the nominative should have been used.

"Its inhabitants": The Greek word is ὄτοι. Our author is frequently inconsistent in the use of plural pronouns where we should expect the singular (see sections 24 & 31). The nature of Emporion, however, seems also to have been confusing to other ancient authors. In general Latin authors use the plural Emporiae (Livy, XXVI, 19; XX, 60; XXVII, 42; Mela II, 6; Silius Italicus, III, 369; XV, 176) and Greek authors use the singular Emporion (Polybios III, 39 & 76; Strabo, III, 4, 8). Since there is evidence of other colonies in Spain (Strabo, III, 4, 8) it is also possible that something is missing here. On the other hand the confusion might simply indicate further the vague impression that our author has of Iberia.

"The voyage past Iberia": Iberia seems to mean all the land as far as Emporion, since in section 3 discussing the next geographical region the voyage past (παράπλος) begins from Emporion.

"seven days and seven nights": There are 6600 stadia from the Straits to Emporion (GGM Volume I, p. 17). According to the equation in section 69 there should be about 7000 stadia. Polybios (III, 39) calculates 7200 stadia.

Section 3.

"The Ligurians": (Ἄγυες) These people can with little question be identified with the Ligurians known to the Romans (see Strabo, IV, 6, 2; Livy, III, 19; Pliny). Evidence that Ligurians at one time lived west of the Rhodanos River can also be found in Hekataios, who mentions the Elisykoi, a Ligurian tribe (FGrH Volume I #1, F53, p. 17). Avienus (Ora Maritima, 586-588) states that the capitol of the Elisykoi was Narbo. According to Stephan (Ἐλύακόι) Hekataios mentioned Narbo, but described its inhabitants as Narbaioi. According to Herodotos (VII, 165) some Elisykoi were among the troops that fought alongside the Carthaginians at Himera in 480. That Ligurians once lived in Iberia is also mentioned by Thucydides (VI, 2), who says that the Sikanoi of Sicily were driven out of Iberia by the Ligurians. For archaeological and anthropological
evidence that the Ligurians as a result of a great migration reached their historical location in Italy through Iberia see T. E. Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, (Oxford 1909) pp. 163-175.

"the Iberians mixed together": Müller believes that this statement reflects the general confusion among ancient authors regarding the boundaries of Iberia and Liguria. Strabo tells how earlier writers considered Iberia to extend as far as the Rhodanos River, while his contemporaries set the Pyrenees as the limit (III. 4, 19). See also Pliny citing Aeschylus (XXXVII, 11, 32) and Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, 608-610.

Section 4

"Antion": This city can probably be identified with the city of Antipolis (Skymnos, 216; Strabo, IV, 1, 9; Mela, II, 76; Pliny, III 4, 35).

"The cities here are colonies of Massalia": (εἰσὶ δὲ οὖτοι Μασσαλίωται ἄντων). There may be a lacuna here, in which the names of some of these cities were given, possibly Tauroes and Olbia (Skymnos, 215-216). See also Strabo, IV, 1, 9 and Mela, II, 76.

"four days and four nights": The actual distance is almost 1500 stadia, but by our author's calculations a voyage of four days and nights should be 4000 stadia. Müller believes that the numeral δ' may have been transcribed instead of the word δύο. If he is correct, the number of stadia reckoned by Skylax would be 2000 and, therefore, closer to reality.

"The whole region from the Pillars of Herakles to Antion has good harborage": Strabo (III, 4, 8) disagrees with this statement, since he claims that from the Pillars of Herakles to the region near the Pyrenees there is hardly any good harborage.

Section 5

"The Tyrrenians": These people are, of course, also known as the Etruscans (see Strabo, V, 2, 2). It is most conspicuous that no cities of the Tyrrenians are mentioned. This is hardly indicative of the political strength wielded by these people during the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. (Herodotos, I, 166;) see also Scullard, *A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C.* (London 1960) pp. 33-38; pp. 70-74).

"Rome": Although this is an early mention of Rome, it is not the earliest. According to Pliny (III, 5, 57) Theopompos first mentioned Rome, but Damastes and Antiochos of Syracuse seem to have mentioned it earlier (Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* I, 72-73). The former was a contemporary of Herodotos, while the
latter was probably slightly younger (Bunbury, Volume I, p. 158).

"four days and nights": This distance agrees roughly with Pliny (III, 5) who calculates this same distance as 502 miles (4016 stadia).

Section 6

"Kymos": This is the island of Corsica (see Herodotos I, 165-166; Strabo, V, 2, 7; Diodoros V, 13, 3; and Pliny III, 6, 80).

"one and one-half days": This distance seems far too great, although it is impossible to ascertain between what two points our author makes his calculation. Diodoros (V, 13) says the distance is about 400 stadia.

"Aithalia": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F59, pp. 17-18) mentions this island, which he calls Aithale, as an island of the Tyrrenians. According to Diodoros (V, 13) Aithalia was not midway in the voyage, but closer to Italy. It is probably the island of Elba.

Section 7

"Sardo": This is clearly the island of Sardinia. See Herodotos, I, 170; Strabo, V, 2, 7; and Pliny, Natural History III, 7.

"one-third of a day": Strabo, (V, 2, 6) says 60 stadia and Pliny, (III, 6, 83) says 8 miles (64 stadia).

"two days and a night": According to Müller the distance is about 1020 stadia. Our author in this case seems to be more accurate than Strabo (V, 2, 8), who offers 200 stadia, and Pliny, (III, 8, 87), who offers almost 200 miles.

Section 8

"to Kirkaion the Latins": According to Strabo (V, 3, 4) and Pliny (III, 5, 56-59) ancient Latinum extended from the Tiber to Kirkaion but later stretched as far as Sinuessa.

"the tomb of Elpenor": See Homer, Odyssey XII, 10-15.

Section 9

"The Volsci": The Greek reads 'Ολκοι', but these people can probably be identified with the Volsci, whose power extended to the Italian coast during the fifth century B.C. (Scullard, pp. 67-70). Strabo (V, 33, 4) calls them 'Γόλσκοι'.
Section 10

"The Campanians": According to Diodoros (XII, 31, 1) the Campanian people were established as a tribal group circa 438 B.C.; according to Livy (IV, 37) circa 423.

"Kyme": The Campanians gained control of Kyme circa 420 (Diodoros, XII, 76, 4; Livy, IV, 44). Thucydides (VI, 4) makes no mention of the Campanians, but states that Kyme was in a region called Opikia.

Section 11

"The Samnites": See Strabo, V, 4, 11-12. The Samnites migrated into central Italy during the fifth century. By the middle of the fourth century they had gained some prominence in Italy and came into conflict with Rome. Their holdings on the west coast of Italy were never extensive (see Scullard, p. 66; pp. 85-87).

Section 12

"The Lucanians": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I # 1, F64-71, p. 18) and Herodotos (I, 167) call this region Oinotria. Our author makes no mention of the Bruttians, who formed a nation before the middle of the fourth century (Diodoros, XVI, 15; Strabo VI, 1, 4). According to Strabo Antiochos of Syracuse, who lived circa 350, also made no distinction between the Lucanians and Bruttians.

"six days and six nights": Müller notes that this distance seems too great. From the Silaris River to Thouria is about 3700 stadia, which should be about six or seven days' sail. Since the voyage past the next region on the mainland, Iapygia, is also given as six days and six nights, but is only about 3200 stadia, Müller believes that the distance of these two regions may have become confused.

"Poseidonia": This city was a colony of Sybaris and later came under Lucanian control (Strabo, VI, 4, 73). It is the earlier name of Paestum (Pliny, III, 5, 71). See also Herodotos, I, 161.

"Elea": This city was a colony of the Phokaians (Skymnos, 247, GGM Volume I, p. 206; Strabo, VI, 1, 1; Suda 'Elea'). This is probably the city called Hyele by Herodotos (I, 167).

"Laos": According to Herodotos (VI, 21) the Sybarites after the loss of their city (circa 510) settled in Laos (see also Strabo, VI, 1, 1). According to Müller the colonies of Sybaris and Thouria were frequently confused and Thouria probably eventually gained control of several Sybarite settlements.
"Pandosia": The location of Pandosia is difficult to ascertain. It may have been somewhat inland (see Strabo, VI, 1, 5). Livy (VIII, 24) places Pandosia near the southern border of Lucania.

"Plateeis": Müller believes that the name of the city should be Klampetea (Κλαμπετεία). A city by this name was located just north of Terina (see Mela II, 69; Pliny, III, 72; and Livy XXIX, 38, XXX, 19). This name would fit very well into the geographical order. There is, however, evidence of Boeotian settlement in southern Italy (Strabo, IX, 2, 13). As a consequence I have kept the reading of the codex.

"Terina": See Strabo, VI, 1, 5 and Skymnos, 306.

"Mesma": There was evidently considerable variation in the spelling of the name of this city. Apollodoros in Stephanos agrees with our author. Hekataios (FGrH Volume I # 1 F81, p. 19), Skymnos (308,) and Strabo (VI, 1, 5) call it Medma. See also Pliny, III, 5, 73.

Section 13

"Sicily": In both Lucania and Sicily our author has neglected much territory. In Lucania the eastern coast of the peninsula is lacking description and in Sicily the southern coast has been neglected. Some of this may be due to a combination of geographical ignorance and an inept compilation of sources on the part of our author. We should note, however, that after 409 Greek influence on the southern coast of Sicily suffered a serious setback and that the Carthaginians dominated the area.

"12 stadia": According to Müller this is correct, but not for the distance between Rhegion and Pelorias, which is almost 80 stadia. He believes that this phrase may be an interpolation. I have left the phrase in because it may be indicative of the geographical ignorance of the compiler of the Periplus.

"Elymoi, Sikanoi, Sikels, Phoenicians, and Trojans": According to Thucydides (VI, 2) after the fall of Troy some Trojans settled in Sicily and they were called Elymoi (see also Dionysios of Halikarnassos, R.A., I, 52, and Strabo, XIII, 1, 53). The author of our Periplus, however, seems to distinguish between the Elymoi and the Trojans. Hellanikos (FGrH Volume I # 4 P796 p. 127) states that the Elymoi migrated from Italy to Sicily before the Trojan War. Thucydides continues that the Sikanoi were the first settlers after the Homeric Cyclopes and Laistrygones and that they migrated to Sicily from Iberia. He also states that the Sicilians migrated from southern Italy.
"Tauromenion": This city was founded circa 396 by the Sikeloi (Diodoros XIV, 592), but circa 358 seems to have been refounded by the survivors from Naxos (Diodoros, XVI, 7, 1).

"Naxos": Naxos was captured and destroyed circa 403 by Dionysios of Syracuse (Diodoros XIV, 15, 2).

"the Symaithos River": This is another case of geographical confusion, for Thucydides (VI, 50) places this river between Katane and Leontinoi.

"the Therias River": See Thucydides (VI, 50); Diodoros (XIV, 14, 3); and Pliny (III, 8, 89).

"the harbor of Xiphoneios": Strabo (VI, 2, 2) mentions a promontory of Xiphonia; Theopompos (FGrH Volume IIB #115 F190 p. 576) mentions the city of Xiphonia.

"Himera": This city was destroyed circa 409, but a new city named Therma was built nearby (Diodoros XIII, 62; Cicero Against Verres, II, 35, 86). Since the later settlement is not mentioned, this entry may be from a source prior to that date, perhaps even the original Periplous of Skylax of Karyanda. The omission of the later city, however, could be the result of textual confusion. In the codex the statement that "Sicily is triangular in shape; each of its sides is almost 1500 stadia" follows the initial mention of Himera. Müller believes that this statement was a marginal note and that its insertion may have caused something else, perhaps the city of Therma, to be dropped from the text. I believe the omission of Therma is due to the use of an earlier source.

"After the city of Himera...a voyage of a half-day": The text is confused here. The statement begins κατὰ περαν and the scribe left περαν unaccented to indicate a corruption. The use of κατὰ does not make geographical sense, because Lipara is not opposite Himera, but it is near Mylai. Müller believes there is something missing from this passage and that it was lost due to the insertion of the marginal note about the shape of Sicily. I have followed his cogent suggestion and substituted μετὰ δὲ Ἰμεραν for κατὰ περαν.

"Mylai": According to Thucydides (III, 90) this city belonged to the Messeneans. Strabo (VI, 2, 6) states that the people of Zankle founded Mylai.

"Sicily is triangular...1500 stadia": Müller considers this a marginal note, which found its way into the text. In the codex this statement follows the initial mention of Himera, but Müller places it at the end of this paragraph. I have read it in that part of the text, but see no reason to delete it. Although there is clearly
textual confusion in connection with this statement, it may still have been part of the original compilation.

"temple of Hera": See Diodoros, XIII, 3, 4.

"Sybaris...Thouria": The mention of both cities is, indeed, strange, since the former was destroyed circa 510. This indicates the mixture of more than one source for this portion of the Periplus.

Section 14

"Mount Orion": Although earlier scholars believed this to be a corruption of Arion, Müller has argued somewhat convincingly that Orion be retained. Herodotos (VII, 170) mentions a city named Hyria in Iapygia and it can probably be identified with Ourion of Strabo (VI, 3, 9). Dionysios Periegetes (379) speaks of a Hyriou in this region, which may be the same city. The city of Hydrous, which our author locates at the mouth of the gulf, may be the same place. There is also a modern Mount Origone in the mountains of Garganus within this region, and it may have derived its name from the ancient Mount Orion.

"Herakleion": This city was founded by the people of Taras circa 433 (Diodoros, XIII, 36, 4; Strabo, VI, 1, 14).

"Hydrous": See note on Mount Orion.

"the Adrian or Ionian Gulf": There is little mention of the Adrian Gulf among early writers. Hekataios (FGrH Volume I # 1 F90 p. 20) mentions this gulf, but seems to refer to a small area near the city of Adria. The rest of his fragments on this region refer to the Ionian Gulf (FGrH Volume I # 1 F91-106 pp. 20-22). Neither Herodotos nor Thucydides mention the Adrian Gulf.

Section 15

"The Samnites": The codex reads Δαυνύταυ, but the Daunitai should have been in Iapygia. Since the territory in question extends across the whole peninsula, I have followed Müller, who believes that Δαυνύταυ is a corruption of Σαυνύταυ, and considered these people the Samnites.

"among whom...Peuketies": This whole statement seems out of place. Müller believes that it was originally a marginal note that found its way into the text. He cites the use of στάμα to mean language as a later convention. This information is clearly inconsistent with the description, but this whole text is plagued with inconsistencies. More importantly the following remarks, which begin with δυνκοντες, result in a strange syntax. Since
this participle probably refers back to the Samnites, something may be missing and was possibly replaced by the insertion of a marginal note. I have left this statement in the text because it may reflect true information about the region and, indeed, may give some indication of information that was originally embodied in this description. I have placed it in parentheses to demonstrate its questionable character. Any identification of the regions implied is highly tenuous.

"Laternoid": (Λατέρνοι) This may be a corruption of Λευτέρνοι mentioned by Strabo (VI, 3, 5).

"Boreontinoi": (Βορέοντινοι) This should perhaps be written Βρεωντινοι as Niebuhr suggested. If that is the case, this may be an early reference to the people of Brundisium (see also Skymnos, 264.)

"Peuketies": Dionysios Periegetes (361) mentions Peukentis, which seems to refer to Picenum. The Peuketies of our author, therefore, may be a reference to the Piceni. See also Strabo, VI, 3, 8.

"two days and two nights": This agrees roughly with the calculations of Pliny (III, 13, 111).

Section 16

"The Umbrians": (Ομβρικοι) See Strabo V, 4, 2.

"in this region": The Greek reads ἐν αὐτῇ. The syntax is strained because η Ομβρική does not precede this pronoun, but rather ἔθνος Ομβρικός.

"Ankon": This is undoubtedly the city known to the Romans and still today as Ancona. It was founded circa 385 by Dionysios of Syracuse (see Diodoros XV, 13; Strabo, V, 4, 2; and Pliny, III, 13, 111).

"Diomedes": See Strabo, V, I, 9.

"his temple in this region": Strabo (V, 1, 8) mentions a temple of Diomedes, but it is in the territory of the Enetians.

"two days and a night": If Umbria began near Ankon, this calculation is wrong, since this city is only about 800 stadia or almost two days' sail from the Po River. Skylax, however, does not state precisely where the regions of Samnis, Umbria, and Tyrrenhia begin and end. Unless the measurements and therefore the territories overlap, the total distance given for the coast of these regions seems too great.
Section 17

"The Tyrrhenians": See also section 5.

"The Umbrians": The syntax is again unusual. The Greek reads τὸ ὀμβρήκον as though it refers to ἕθνος in section 16, but these people were described there as ὀμβρήκοι.

"in this region": The Greek reads ἐν αὐτῇ as though the author were referring to Tyrrhenia, but in reality only the people, the Tyrrhenians have been mentioned. This same problem occurs in section 16.

"a Hellenic city and a river": The city mentioned here is probably Spina (see Strabo V, 1, 8) and Müller even inserts this name. Because the name does not appear in the text and there is question whether Spina could be considered a Hellenic city, I have left the city unnamed. If Spina is the city mentioned, the river would be one mouth of the Po (see Pliny, III, 16, 120).

"and the journey overland...three days": The text is very confused here and in part repeats almost word for word some of the description of Tyrrhenia. I have followed Müller's emendation, which involves inserting the phrase "from the city of Pisa to the same place" from section 19 into this section.

Section 18

"Kelts...from an expedition": These people can probably be associated with the invasion of 390. The small tract of land they hold indicates a time in the early or mid fourth century (see H.H. Scullard, A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C., (London 1950) pp. 76-77.

"narrow strip of land": This may be part of the delta of the Po River.

"the deepest recess": Since the region in question seems to be the mouth of the Po River, the geographical perspective of our author seems to be incorrect. We should expect the deepest recess of this gulf to be in the territory of Enetia or Istria. For distortions of this sort among ancient geographers see John L. Myres, "An Attempt to Reconstruct the Maps Used by Herodotus" The Geographical Journal Volume VIII (London 1896), pp. 605-609.

Section 19

"The Enetians": They are undoubtedly the Veneti known to the Romans (see Pliny, III, 18, 126). Strabo (V, 1, 4-5) calls them
the Henetois.

"the Eridanos River": This is surely the Po River (see Pliny, III, 16, 117).

"the voyage past": Following the words παράπλους έττς the text has the phrase, "from the city of Pisa to the same place (έξ αυτῆς)," which has been transposed into section 17.

Section 20

"the Ister River": This is the ancient name for the Danube River (see Herodotos, II, 33-34).

"This river flows into the Pontos": See also Apollonios of Rhodes, Argonautica IV, 302-308 and Skythnos, 775-776. The source of this error is not clear. Herodotos (II, 33) locates the Kelts at the source of the Ister, but in a region beyond the Pillars of Hercules. When Kelts eventually settled in Italy, probably at the mouth of the Po, it may have become associated with the Ister. Bunbury (A History of Ancient Geography, 2 Volumes [New York 1883] Volume I, pp. 388-389) believes this error resulted from the association of the Istrians on the northern coasts of the Adriatic with the Ister River.

"where it looks across to Egypt": The Greek reads ένολεσκεύνως είς Αίγυπτου. Although the meaning of ένολεσκεύνως is totally unclear, the phrase είς Αίγυπτου provides a clue to the meaning. Herodotos (II, 33, 34) places the mouths of the Ister and the Nile opposite each other. The author of the Periplous probably had a similar idea in mind. The meaning of ένολεσκεύνως remains a puzzle, but perhaps it should be έν διασκοπή ύσ.

Section 21

"The Libcianis": See Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F93 p. 20); Strabo (VII, 5, 9); and Pliny (III, 19, 129). This whole section is very puzzling. It presents little more than a list of names that afford at best very tenuous conjectures about their identification.

"Lias...Hemionoi": In addition to the extreme difficulty in identifying these cities, the quality of the text may have distorted the spellings of their names. Müller hesitatingly adjusts the names of these cities as follows: Alos, Dassatika, Senites, Dyrta, Aloupsi, Olsopeletai, and Heginoi. I prefer to leave the names as they appear in the codex.
"they are promiscuous": According to Nikolaos of Damascus (FGrH Volume IIA # 90 F 103d p. 384) the wives of the Liburnians were held in common.

"the island of Istris": This may be one of the islands from the group called Apsyrtides by other authors (see Apollonios of Rhodes, Argonautica IV, 515; Skymnos, 373; Strabo, VII, 5, 5; and Pliny, III, 26, 151). Artemidoros (Stephanos, Α’ ωρτός) mentions one island called Apsyrtos.

"the Electrides": The codex reads κλεύτρες ηλτρώα, but this surely should be Ηλακτός, as in Skymnos (374). There was evidently some confusion among the ancients about the location of these islands (see Pliny, III, 26, 152). Some authors seem to have placed them near the mouth of the Eridanos or Po River (see Strabo, V, 1, 9). As Pliny demonstrates, however, they seem to have been located farther east by later authors.

"the Mentorides": Apollonios of Rhodes (IV, 551-552) describes how Hyllus was killed in a cattle-raid on the Mentores and Nekatas (FGrH Volume I # 1 F94 p. 20) mentions the tribe of Mentores in Liburnia.

"the Katarbates River": This river seems to be the southern boundary of Liburnia, which also seems to extend to the peninsula of Hyllus. If this is the case, it agrees roughly with Pliny (III, 21-22). The Katarbates River, therefore, corresponds to the Tityus River of Pliny.

Section 22

"Lotus-eaters": Theophrastos (Enquiry into Plants VII, 15, 3) states that there are many plants called lotus. There was, perhaps, a local plant by this name from which these people derive their name. Outside of this Periplus there is no mention of lotus-eaters in this region.

"the Hierastamnai": Nothing is known of these people.

"the Boulinoi": Following these people the text shows a people called the Hyllinoi. This name seems to be a scribal error incorrectly repeating Boulinoi, although it could also be a duplication of the next group of people, the Hylloi. For the Boulinoi see Skymnos, 404; Dionysios Periegetes, 386: Livy, XLIV, 30; and Strabo, VII, 7, 8, who calls them the Bylliones.
"the Hylloi": See Skymnos, 408 and Dionysios Periegetes, 386.

"but they are barbarians": Skymnos (408-413) citing Timaios explains somewhat more fully that although Hyllos founded this colony, the Hellenes were barbarized by their neighbors.

"a peninsula slightly smaller than the Peloponnesos": See Pliny, III, 21, 141. Although the shape of this peninsula is similar to that of the Peloponnesos, the calculation of relative size in this passage is grossly exaggerated.

"Directly beyond the peninsula...along a narrow strip of land": The codex reads ἀπὸ δὲ χερσονήσου παραστάνου ὅρθεν· ταύτην παρακούσι βουλινοῦ· παραστάνου renders the passage senseless. Müller believes that something is missing and offers the following reading: ἀπὸ δὲ χερσονήσου Σύσσα νησὸς παρατείνει ὡς ταῦτα ὁρθεν· ταῦτην κτλ. I suggest that παραστάνου should be παρὰ στενῶν, similar to ἐπὶ στενῶν in section 16, and that the semicolon after ὅρθεν be deleted.

"the Nestos River": The text reads Νεστὸν κόλπον , but in section 23 the name of this gulf is Manios. In both sections 22 and 23 Nestos is referred to as if it was a particular point of reference, more appropriately a river than a gulf. Müller also mentions that in the codex Κόλπος and ποταμὸς are confused elsewhere. Stephanos (Νεστός) also speaks of the Nestos River. Müller believes this is the Tityus River of Pliny (III, 21, 139), but as mentioned above, that river may be the same as the Katarbates of Skylax.

Section 23

"The Nestoi": In a scholion, which cites Skylax, to the Argonautica IV, 1215 of Apollonios of Rhodes these people are called the Nestaioi.

"one day": According to Müller the calculation of our author is a bit short. Müller’s calculations, however, are based on the supposition that the Nestos River of Skylax is the Tityus of Pliny (III, 21, 139).

"Proteras": This island is not known elsewhere and Müller consequently believes the name of Tragylos, similar to Tragourion of Strabo (VII, 5, 5) and Tragurium of Pliny (III, 22, 141), belongs here. I prefer to keep the name as it is read in the text.

"Krateiai": This is probably the Crateae of Pliny (III, 26, 152). Müller believes that the scribe neglected an island named
Brattia between Krateiai and Olynta. (see Pliny III, 26, 152). I do not believe our text justifies its insertion.

"Olynta": It is not clear what island this is. Müller suggests an island mentioned as Solenta in the Peutinger Table. As Strabo (VII, 5, 5) points out, however, there is a large number of islands in this region.

"Issa": See Strabo VII, 5, 5. This island was colonized by the Syracusans (Skymnos, 414-415) probably under the direction of Dionysios of Syracuse (Diodoros, XV, 13, 1).

"New Pharos": This island was founded by the Parians (see Skymnos, 425-426 and Strabo, VII, 5, 5)

"Black Kerkyra": This island was a colony of Knidos (see Skymnos, 428; Strabo, VII, 5, 5; and Pliny, III, 26, 152).

Section 24

"The people here": (οὗτοι) I have taken this to refer to the people of the entire region, but it could refer only to the inhabitants of the emporion upstream.

"the Autariatai": See Strabo, VII, 5, 6.

"From the Naron River...a voyage of a half-day": This portion of the text is most confusing. Not only does there seem to be something missing after the word οἷς following "from the Arion River to Bouthoe, but the geography is especially confusing. Müller makes several adjustments in order to make geographical sense, most significantly the substitution of the Rhizon River for the Arion River in the last two instances of its mention. I prefer to maintain the name of Arion, although I consider the first instance of its mention to be a scribal error repeating information that is given in the last sentence of this section. A problem remains, however, because Rhizon is clearly mentioned in section 25 as a point of reference. It may, therefore, have appeared in the missing portion after οἷς and was possibly the emporion mentioned there (see Strabo, VII, 5, 7 and Stephanosīπετρίου).

"The rocks of Kadmos and Harmonia...and their temple": See Herodotos, V, 161; Apollodoros III, 5, 4; Diodoros, XIX, 53-54; Strabo, VII, 7, 8.

Section 25

"The'Encheleis": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F103 p. 23) calls these people the Encheleai and Polybios (V, 108) mentions a
city named Enchelanai. See also Skymnos, 437-439; Strabo, VII, 7, 8; and scholion to Apollonios, IV, 507.

"overland journey": (δος) This expression seems to be used to distinguish this interval from the more customary "voyage past" (καράκλαους). Since a journey by land is implied, I have translated this as a formulaic "overland journey."

Section 26

"The Taulantioi": This whole section is marred by textual problems. The Taulantioi themselves are never mentioned. The people who appear in the heading to this section are the Illyrians and the first words of the description are ΚΑΤ’ ἄντειον. Since the Illyrians were already introduced in section 22, this has been emended to ΤΑΟΛΑΝΤΙΟΥ • ΤΑΟΛΑΝΤΙΩΝ • See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I, #1 F99 p. 21.

"Apollonia": According to Thucydides (I, 26) this was a colony of Corinth. See also Skymnos, 409-410; Strabo, VII, 5, 8; and Dio Cassius XLI, 45.

"the Aias River": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I, #1 F102 p. 21 and Strabo, VI 2, 4: VII, 5, 8.

"From a point...the Orikoi live": The text is extremely confusing here. I have adopted Müller's suggestion that a preceding statement that "the Aias River flows from Mount Pindos by Apollonia" is a marginal note that found its way into the text and consequently caused considerable distortion. Müller even inserts Amantia as the place inland, but since it is not in the text, I prefer to leave the statement vague with "a point inland." The insertion of this marginal note has so completely disturbed this portion of the text that the statement about the Orikoi is incomprehensible syntactically. Confusion is added by a statement at the beginning of section 27 that the Orikoi live next to Amantia. This statement does not fit with the rest of the description in section 27 and probably should be in some way associated with this portion of section 26. Müller believes that the scribe who made the marginal insertion attempted to return to the text with this statement. I have tried to render this matter about the Orikoi, in any case, into some sort of coherent English.

"Amantia": The inhabitants of this region probably were the Abantes of Euboea, who came to this region after the destruction of Troy (see Pausanias, V, 22).

"Atintanes": See Thucydides, II, 80; Polybios, II, 5; Livy, XXVII, 30; and Strabo, VII, 7, 8).
"Idonia": Just where this was I do not know, but I see little justification for altering the name to read Dodonia, as it appears in Müller's text. Following this there is a statement that "in the territory of Kestris there is said to be a plain. In this region Geryon is said to have come and pastured his cattle." This statement is totally out of place and, as Müller points out, was probably incorporated into the text from a marginal note (for Kestris see Thucydides, I, 46). As a consequence I have not included this statement into the body of the translation.

"on the mainland": (ἐν τῇ Ἑπιρῷ ) Müller prefers to interpret this as "in Epiros".

"Sason": See Polybios, V, 110, 2; Strabo, VI, 3, 5; and Pliny, III, 26, 152.

"the city of Orikos": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F106 pp. 20-21. According to Skymnos (441-443) Euboeans blown off course, when returning from Troy, founded this city. Apollonios of Rhodes (IV, 1214-1216), however, says that it was founded by Kolchians.

Section 27

"up to this point...the Illyrians live": I have followed Müller's text here, although with some reluctance, because it involves so much alteration of the wording in the codex. The confusion inherent in the geography of this section, however, makes such alteration necessary. The opening statement of this section is about the Orikoi and Amantia. Müller considers this to be part of the problem resulting from insertions into section 26. In any case it hardly seems reasonable that the Orikoi or the Amantians should extend all the way from the Boulinoi. This section, therefore, seems to be a summary statement about the Ionian or Adrian Gulf, similar to section 69. Another possible solution, however, is that a section 27 containing the title "The Orikoi" began earlier in the text, perhaps in the place that the insertion about the Aias River occupies.

Section 28

"Chaonia": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F105 p. 21.

"live in villages": According to Thucydides (II, 80) the Chaonians were one of two peoples in this area, who were not ruled by kings. The Molossians, the Atintanes, and others not mentioned by our author were governed by kings. The Atintanes are given a brief notice in section 26, but the Molossians in section 32 are described, similar to the Chaonians, as living in villages. Since
both peoples lived similarly according to our author they may also have been governed similarly, i.e. by kings. If this is the case, this piece of information may pre-date Thucydides.

"a half-day": Since Skylax offers no specific points of reference for this voyage, the precise measurement of Chaonia is difficult.

Section 29

"three harbors": Thucydides (III, 72) mentions only two harbors, but Müller points out that there was adequate harborage on the east, south, and north sides of the island.

"one of which is enclosed": The adjective enclosed (κλειστός) is an emendation of καλλιστός. This may have been the harbor of Hyllaios described by Thucydides (III, 72).

"Corcyra faces more toward Thesprotia than Chaonia": The Greek reads Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Θεσπροτίαν πλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Χαονίαν. Skymmos (445) states that Corcyra is opposite Thesprotia, but says nothing of its relationship to Chaonia.

Section 30

"The Thesprotians": Thucydides (II, 80) says nothing of their living in villages, but only that they were not ruled by a king.

"Elaia": Ptolemy Geography (III, 14) mentions the harbor of Elaia near the mouth of the Acheron.

"Lake Acuerousia": Strabo (VII, 7, 5) calls this Lake Glykys.

"a half-day": According to Müller, the distance from the promontory of Poseidon to the harbor of Elaia is about 500 stadia, which should be a voyage of a whole day.

Section 31

"The Kassopoi": Strabo (VII, 7, 5) calls them the Kassopaioi and considers them to live among the Thesprotians, whose territory extended to Ambrakia. Herodotos (VIII, 47) also considers this region part of Thesprotia, although he makes no mention of the Kassopoi.

"the Gulf of Anaktorion": This is certainly the Gulf of Ambrakia mentioned by Thucydides (I, 55). According to Müller, it is about 200 stadia in a direct line from Aktion to the deepest recess of this gulf. There are, however, two mouths to this gulf,
one next to the open sea and one nearest the gulf itself. Aktion
was nearer to the open sea and the measurement of our author, there­
fore, may have been from the inner mouth. The breadth of 5 stadia,
however, conforms more closely to that of the outer mouth (see
Polybios IV, 63, 6). The inner mouth is about twice as broad.

Section 32

"Molossia": See Thucydides, I, 136 and II, 80.

"the Molossians": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F107-108 p. 22)
mentions the Orestai as a tribe of the Molossians and he considers
Dodona in Molossia. Thucydides (II, 80) also mentions the Orestai
and says that the Molossians were led by a king. Herodotos (VIII,
47) considers this region part of Thesprotia and makes no mention
of the Molossians.

Section 33

"Ambrakia": See Herodotos, VIII, 47.

"80 stadia from the sea": Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon
(Description of Hellas, 27-28, GGM Volume I, p. 239) offers the
same measurement, but Strabo (VII, 7, 6) says that there are only
a few stadia inland to the city.

"fortification and enclosed harbor": Polybios (IV, 61, 7)
says that Ambrakia was well fortified and Dionysios, the son of
Kalliphon (28-30) also mentions an enclosed harbor in Ambrakia.

"From this point...on this river: Dionysios, the son of
Kalliphon (30-35) states that Phileas of Athens also defines the
limits of Hellas in the same way.

"continuously": i.e. the cities of Hellas within this region
are not interrupted by any barbarian territory as they are in other
regions that are described in this text.

Section 34

"Amphilochian Argos": See Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F109
p. 22) and Thucydides (II, 68). Skymnos (455-461) and Dionysios,
the son of Kalliphon (46-47), do not regard this Argos as part of
Akarnania, but Strabo (X, 2, 2) and Pliny (IV, 1, 5) do.

"and outside the Gulf of Anaktorion are the following places":
The text is again very confused here, perhaps due to another in­
serterion. Müller considers the phrase "Euripos Dioryktos on the
isthmus." He considers it to be a gloss describing the isthmus of Leukas and that it was ineptly inserted. He places it after "This is now an island because a trench has been dug cutting across the isthmus." Since the phrase "Euripos Dioryktos on the isthmus" seems to be a later insertion, I have left it out altogether.

"Anaktoron": According to Strabo (X, 2, 2) this city was on a peninsula near Aktion.

"Akte": This should be identical with Aktion, but its location here in relation to Leukas makes this doubtful.

"Akte...toward the coast": The text is very confused and Müller believes that a statement about Akte is missing. I prefer to attribute much of the problem to geographical confusion on the part of the compiler of this text. Although we should expect Akte to be on the mainland proper, it appears to be described here as part of Leukas.

"Epileukadioi": See Hekataios FGrH Volume I #1 F 110 p. 22.

"The colonists...took their land": See Herodotos, VIII, 45; Thucydidès, I, 30; Skymnos, 465; and Plutarch, 24.

"This is now an island": Strabo (X, 2, 8) also mentions how this peninsula became an island by a channel which the Corinthians dug. See also Pliny, IV, 1, 5.

"Phara": The description here indicates that this city was in the southern reaches of the island of Leukas, not necessarily on the promontory of Leukata.

"Alyzia": The Greek reads Σαλυττίζα, but has been emended to Σαλυστίζα. Thucydidès (VII, 31) says that Alyzia is opposite Anaktoron. Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F 111 p. 22) calls it Lyzeia and considers it a city of Akarnania. See also Xenophon, Hellenica V, 4; Strabo X, 2, 9, X, 2, 21; and Pliny, IV, 1, 5.

"Karnos": Stephanos (Κάρνος) citing Artemidoros also mentions this as an island off Akarnania.

"Oiniadai": See Sophokles, Trachiniai, 509; Strabo, X, 2, 21; and Stephanos, Ερημοίκη. This city was on the Achelous River.

Section 35

"Halikarna": The codex reads Μύκαρνα, but has been emended to Άλκαρνα. See Pliny, IV, 2. Strabo (X, 2, 4) and Stephanos call it Halikyrna.
"Molykreia": See Strabo, X, 2, 21 and Pliny, IV, 2. This may be the Olykrai of Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F112 p. 22).

"the Gulf of Delphi": i.e. the Gulf of Corinth or in Thucydides (II, 69) the Gulf of Krisaios.

"10 stadia": According to Müller this measurement is more accurate than that of Thucydides (II, 86) and Agathemerus (V, 24), who say 7 stadia, and Pliny (IV, 2), who says slightly less than a mile.

"a temple": This was probably a temple of Poseidon (see Thucydides, II, 84).

"Naupaktos": According to Thucydides (I, 103) Naupaktos belonged to the Lokrians until the Athenians captured it circa 460. He does not say that at that time it became part of Aetolia. Skymnos (478) considers Naupaktos in Aetolia. Strabo (IX, 4, 7) says that it came under the control of the Aetolians when Philip gave it to them. Although he had promised this, possibly as early as 341 (Demosthenes, Philippic III, 34), he probably did not accomplish it until his victory in 338 at Chaironea.

Section 36

"Euanthis": Stephanos (Oλάνθη) citing Hekataios and Hellanikos calls this city Odanthe and Oantheia. See also Thucydides, III, 101; Polybios, IV, 57, 2; Strabo, VI, 1, 7 IX, 4, 8; and Pausanias, X, 38, 5.


"a half-day": According to Müller it is about 320 stadia. Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon (69), says it is not a whole day.

Section 37

"Kerirhaion": See Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F115 p. 22).

Section 38

"the following cities": It is indeed surprising that neither here nor in section 59 is the city of Chaironea mentioned, yet Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F116 p. 23) notes this city.

"Korsial": See Diodoros, XVI, 58, 1. Harpokration says that both Demosthenes and Theopompos mention this city. Pausanias (IX, 24, 5) calls it Korseia.

"Siphai": Thucydides (IV, 76) says that Siphai is in Thespian
territory. See also Pliny, IV, 4 and Stephanos.

"Eutretos": This is probably the Eutresis mentioned by Homer (Iliad II, 502). See also Strabo, IX, 2, 28 and Stephanos, Eυτρεσις.

"the wall of the Boeotians": Just where this wall was is not clear. It may have been near the border of Attica.

Section 39

"Aigosthena": See Xenophon, Hellenica V, 4, 18, VI, 4, 25; Pausanias, I, 44, 4 and Pliny, IV, 7, 23.

"Pegai": This is undoubtedly the port which Athens controlled circa 459-446 (Thucydides I, 103, I, 115).

"Geraneia": Thucydides (I, 105, 107) mentions the heights of Geraneia, but says nothing of the fortification.

"Aris": This is possibly a contraction of Ageiros mentioned by Stephanos citing both Strabo, who calls it Aigeirousa and Theopompos.

Section 40

"temple of Corinth": Müller believes this was a temple of Hera.

"Lechaion": See Strabo, VIII, 6, 22.

"Here, indeed, the Peloponnessos begins": Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon (108) also states that this is the beginning of the Peloponnessos. Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 Pl20 p. 23) says simply that Corinth is on the Isthmus of the Peloponnessos.

"across the isthmus...40 stadia": See also Agathemeros, V, 24. The phrase, "that near us," surely refers to the Saronic Gulf and indicates that our Periplous was written at Athens.

Section 41

"Sikyon": See Strabo, VIII, 6, 24-25.

Section 42

"the following cities": Herodotos (I, 45) notes these cities

"Rhion": Although our author does not mention it, this was the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth or, as he names it, the Gulf of Delphi (see Thucydides, II, 86).

Section 43

"federation of cities": The Greek reads συνολώς πόλεως. According to Strabo (VIII, 3, 2) after the Persian invasions Elis was formed by the synoecism of its villages.

Section 44

"Arkadia": Most notably missing from this description is the city of Megalopolis, which was founded circa 370.

"Lepreon": Thucydides (V, 31) says that before the Peloponnesian War Lepreon had been in conflict with Arkadia and received help from Elis. After this conflict the Eleans demanded a tribute to be paid to Olympian Zeus. This was paid until the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. With the cessation of hostilities in 421 the Eleans demanded the tribute but the people of Lepreon appealed to Sparta, who declared them independent. In Aristophanes' Birds, 149, (circa 414) Lepreon seems again to be in the hands of Elis. This situation evidently continued to 398, when Lepreon revolted from Elis and joined the Spartan king Agis (Xenophon, Hellenica III, 2, 2). By 369 this whole area seems to have been considered part of Arkadia (Xenophon, Hellenica VII, 1, 26). Pliny (IV, 4, 4) includes Lepreon in the territory of Elis.

Section 45

"the island of Prote": The codex reads πρώτη Μεσσήνη κατ' λυμήν. Although Epaminondas founded Messene circa 370, it should not be located north of Kyparissos. Scholars are in general agreement that this passage is corrupt. I have followed Muller's text and viewed Prote as the name of an island near Pylos (see Thucydides, IV, 13; Strabo VII, 3, 23; and Stephanos. He suggests the following reading: Πρώτη νήσος ἐν ἡ κατ' λυμήν. This is still somewhat disruptive to the geography, since we should expect Kyparissos to be mentioned before Prote. This passage, moreover, may be missing some items, since there is no mention of Pylos.

"Kyparissos": See Strabo, VII, 3, 16; Pausanias, IV, 36, 5; and Pliny, IV, 5, 15.
"300 stadia": This figure indicates that the Messene described in this text should have included Pylos (see Pausanias, IV, 36, 1).

Section 46

"After Messene is the territory of Lakedaimon": There seems to be a slight lacuna here, for the text begins Λακεδαίμων έθνος. Müller has suggested that μετὰ έκ Μεσσηνίας be placed at the beginning of this section and I have adopted that reading to facilitate translation.

"Asine, Methone,:" The proper geographical order should be Methone, Asine. These cities would probably have been included in Messenia after the battle of Mantinea in 362. Müller believes they may have retained their Lakedaimonian identity later than that because the inhabitants had ties to Sparta. Although this is certainly possible, another reason these cities may have been included in Lakedaimon is that this information derives from a source written prior to 362.

"the harbor of Achilleios...the harbor of Psamathous...temple of Poseidon": This is a description of the promontory of Tainaros that separates the Gulfs of Messenia and Lakonia. Our author seems to place these two harbors near the tip of the promontory with Achilleios on the Messenian side and Psamathous on the Lakonian. Strabo (VIII, 5, 1), Pliny (IV, 5, 17), and Pausanias (III, 25, 4), however, indicate that the order was the other way around.

"Gytheion...shipyard and fortification": According to Pausanias (III, 22, 3) the fortification was about 30 stadia to the left of Gythion.

"Boia": See Polybios, VI, 19, 8; Strabo, VIII, 5, 2; and Pausanias, III, 21, 6 and 22, 9, who calls it Boiai.

"Opposite this region": In the codex this statement is preceded by the heading "Kythera." Müller has placed this word in brackets and evidently feels it does not belong in the text. It seems, indeed, to be out of place, because all of the places that follow are not in Kythera. As a consequence I have not translated it.

"the promontory of Malea, which has already been mentioned": Although this is clearly repetitious and there may be a problem in the text, I have chosen to keep this reading based on the codex. The idea seems to be that description is resuming at the point on the mainland where this brief digression to the islands of Kythera and Crete began. To indicate this the author simply states
that the promontroy of Malea has already been mentioned instead of using the formula, "I return again to the mainland at the point where I digressed," as he does elsewhere.

"Side": See Pausanias, III, 22, 9.

"Epidauros": There was an Epidauros called Limera on the coast of Lakonia (see Thucydides, IV, 56). This Epidauros seems to be confused with the more famous one of the Saronic Gulf. The codex lists Methana, which was between Epidauros and Troizen, as the next city in this section. The city that probably should be listed is Anthene, which was in Lakedaimon near the borders of Argos (Thucydides, V, 41). Stephanos calls it Anthana. Thus I read Anthene for the Methana of the codex.

Section 47

"Krete": The description of this island by our author bears a striking similarity to that of Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon (110-129). This similarity indicates that they both used the same source, possibly Philias of Athens. There are two salient features to this description. The first is that the author proceeds from west to east instead of circumnavigating the island. To do this he must constantly make references to the north and south of the island. The second feature is that there is a greater number of cities mentioned in the western part of the island than in the eastern portion.

"Phalasarna": See Strabo, X, 4, 2; Pliny, IV, 12, 59; Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon, 119; the anonymous Stadiasmos or Periplus of the Great Sea (GCM Volume I, p. 510); and Stephanos.

"Promontory of the Ram's Head": See Strabo, X, 4, 2 and the Stadiasmos, 336.

"a day's sail": (ἡμέρας δρόμος) This expression is unique to this passage and may have some nautical significance. It perhaps indicates direct sailing as opposed to coasting or it could mean a rather full day's sail.

"the Chersonesos of Achitides": Strabo (XVII, 3, 22 also mentions a Chersonesos opposite Crete. Ptolemy (IV, 5) calls this the great Chersonesos to distinguish it from the smaller one at Alexandria. See also Stephanos Χερσονήσος. The name of this Chersonesos is most perplexing. In this section the codex reads 'Αλυδός, but in section 108 our author calls this promontory 'Αχιλλέως and 'Αντιώς. Müller believes that Achilides is a variation of Aziris mentioned by Herodotos (IV, 157) as a place in Libya opposite the island of Platea. The author of the Stadiasmos (46) calls it Azaris
and Stephanos calls it Azilis. A variation from Aziris to Aliades is not impossible, since the name may have been Libyan and, therefore, recorded differently by several Greek authors. As Müller points out, however, it is impossible to discern how great such a fluctuation of forms would have been among different authors. Although I believe this place is the same as Aziris mentioned by Herodotos, I have used the form, Achitides, which appears in section 108 in the belief that it may reflect an older variation of the name of this place.

"A day and a night": Pliny (IV, 12, 60) citing Agrippa says the distance from a promontory near Cyrene to the promontory of the Ram's Head is 125 miles or about 1000 stadia, a calculation that agrees roughly with that of our author. According to Müller, the actual distance is about 1750 stadia and Strabo's (XVII, 3, 22) measurement of 2000 stadia is clearly more accurate.

"2500 stadia long": See also Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon, 113-114. The actual length measured directly from east to west is about 1500 stadia, but as Müller notes, the measurement of our author may be along the coast and not in a straight line.

"the setting sun...the rising sun": I have translated these formulae designating west and east literally in order to maintain the archaic flavor of this text.

"On the promontory of Korykos": The text reads χρήτης Θήβως ὡς ἀκρωτηρίῳ ἐστὶ. I have followed Müller, who believes the heading, "The Arrangement of Krete," to be an insertion from the marginal notes. A problem remains, however, that this insertion may have eliminated something else, because the next words seem to be in medias res. Since the promontory of Korykos (Strabo, VII, 5, 1) should have been mentioned, Müller suggests the following reading: έπὶ Κωρύκην ἀκρωτηρίῳ and I have adopted this.

"Polyrrhenia": See Strabo, X, 4, 13 and Stephanos. Pliny, (IV, 12, 59) calls it Polyrrhenenum.

"Diktynnaion": See Strabo, X, 4, 12-13 and Dionysios the son of Kalliphon, 121-122. Diktynnaion may also have been the name of a mountain and promontory known to other writers as Tityros (see Strabo, X, 4, 12; Pliny, IV, 12, 60; and Dionysios the son of Kalliphon, 129). The author of the Stadiasmos (341-342) regards Tityros and Diktynnaion as two separate places.

"Hyrtakina": See Ptolemy, III, 15 and Stephanos, Ὡρτακός.

"Kydonia": According to Herodotos (II, 44, 59) Kydonia was founded by exiles from Samos during the time of Polykrates. See
also Thucydides, II, 85 and the *Stadiasmos*, 343.

"Elyros": See Pausanias, X 16, 3 and Stephanos, "Ελυρος."

"Lissa": Strabo (X, 4, 14) calls it Lissen, the author of the *Stadiasmos* (333) Lissos, and Stephanos (Φαωτός) Lisses. It was evidently in the territory of Phaistos.

"Apteraia": See Diodoros, V, 64, 5 and Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon, 122-123. Strabo (X, 4, 13), Pliny (IV, 12, 59), Stephanos notes Aptera.

"the Messapios River": See Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon, 128.

"next is Osmida and after Osmida": The text reads μετὰ δὲ Ὄσμιδα. I have followed Müller, who suggests a lacuna, since some information about Osmida should come before this phrase. The words, "next is Osmida," are inserted, therefore, in order to facilitate an understandable reading of this passage.

"Eleuthenaï": See Polybios, IV, 53, 2, and 55, 4 and Stephanos, 'Ελευθεραί. It is probably identical with Eleutheraí of Ptolemy (III, 17) and Eleuthera of Dio Cassius (Roman History, XXXVI, 18, 21).

"Sybrita and its harbor": Ptolemy (III, 17) says that this city is in the hinterland of Crete, and as a consequence Müller believes there is something missing between "Sybrita" and "and its harbor". The place he believes has been left out was perhaps Panhormum or Pantomatum of Pliny (IV, κ2, 59), or possibly Astale of the *Stadiasmos* (347). I have maintained the text as it reads in the codex, since so little is known about Sybrita.

"Oauos": This city can probably be identified with Axos of Herodotus (IV, 154). See also Stephanos, "Οαυος."

"Rhaukos": See Polybios, XXX, 23, 1. Stephanos locates this city in the hinterland of Crete.

"Lyktos": See Homer, Iliad II, 647.

"in the direction of the north wind...Kamara": I have followed Müller and transposed this line from its position in the codex following the mention of Lissa. Olous and Mount Kadistos are not located in the same region as Lissa. The text is further emended from Κάλλιστον and "Ὀλούς" to Κάδυστον and "Ὀλοὺς. This is based on the assumption that Mount Kadistos and Olous can be located on the large promontory directly east of modern Heraklion (see..."
Pliny, IV, 12, 60; Ptolemy, III, 17; Pausanias, IX, 40, 3 and the Stadiasmos 350-351). After these two cities the text reads ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΞΥ and I have altered this to read Kamara (see Ptolemy, III, 17 and the Stadiasmos, 361). Ἡπειρός makes little sense, but there may be something missing. Müller hesitatingly leaves Ἡπειρός to indicate a possible place called Pannona located between Lyktos and Knossos.

"Granos": This may be Grammion mentioned as a city of Crete by Stephanos.

"a hundred cities": This is clearly borrowed from Homer (Iliad II, 649), but other authors took up the same idea (see Strabo, X, 4, 15 and Pliny, IV, 12, 58).

Section 48

"The Islands of the Cyclades": Strabo (X, 5, 1) considers the islands near Crete the Sporades. Our author is very imprecise about the location of these islands and merely strings them one after the other with the phrase ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΑΙΤΗΝ.

"Oliaros": This has been emended from νωυχόρος by an earlier scholar named Salmasius. Müller rightly questions this, but his suggestion of Pholegandros (see Strabo, X, 5, 1) does not seem any better to me.

Section 49

"Argos": See Strabo, VIII, 6, 1-2.

Section 50

"Halia": This is probably the Haliai of Thucydides (I, 105) and the Halies of Strabo (VIII, 6, 11) and Diodoros (XI, 78, 2). Stephanos (Ἀλεξάτεις) considers this an Argolic city.

Section 51

"the promontory of Skyllaion": See Thucydides, V, 53.

"the gulf of the isthmus": i.e. the Saronic Gulf.

"Belbina": See Strabo, VIII, 6, 16, IX, 1, 21 and Pliny, IV, 12, 57.

"740 stadia": As Müller points out this distance probably includes the bends of the coastline.
"a very straight mouth": The idea that the author has tried to convey is that the gulf has a U-shaped mouth rather a narrow mouth similar to a bottle-neck.

Section 52

"The voyage past": 30 stadia seems to be the distance from Skyllaion to the region near the island of Kalauria, 300 stadia from that region to the other border of Troizenia. According to Müller the total number of stadia supplied for Hermion and Troizenia is in error, but this is difficult to discern, since our author is not precise about the border between Hermion and Troizenia.

"Kalauria": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F125 p. 24.

Section 53

"Aegina": See Strabo, VIII, 6, 16.

Section 54

"130 stadia": The codex reads λ' or 30 stadia. Our author gives the distance to the isthmus as 740 stadia (section 51) and Müller calculates that the border of Epidauros to the isthmus is 260 stadia. He continues that this figure should be added to the 330 offered for Troizenia to give a total of 590 stadia. This leaves 130 (ρλ') for the territory of Epidauros. If the border of Hermion and Troizenia, however, was not at the promontory of Skyllaion, the number could be greater, perhaps 230 (σλ').

Section 55

"Kenchreai": According to Thucydides (IV, 42) the Corinthians were using this as a fortified place by 425.

"Sidous": See Xenophon, Hellenica IV, 4, 13, IV, 5, 19 and Athenaeus, III, 23.

"Kremmyon": See Stephanos. Thucydides (IV, 42-44) and Xenophon (Hellenica IV, 4, 13, IV, 5, 19) call it Krommyon.

Section 56

"Iapis": Stephanos citing Kallimachos says that Iapis is a small stream between Attica and Megara

Section 57

"Eleusis...fortification": Xenophon (Hellenica II, 4, 7) says
that Eleusis had a protecting wall by 404. Although I have translated the word in Greek (τεῖχος) as fortification it could mean wall. The fortification mentioned by our author, therefore, may have been little more than a wall protecting the precinct. Livy (XXXI, 25, 2), however, speaks of a more extensive fortification (castellum), which was in existence circa 200.

"the long walls": They were first built circa 458, but were rebuilt again circa 391 by Konon (see Xenophon, Hellenica IV, 8, 9).

"The Piraeus has three harbors": Our author probably means Phaleron, Mounychia, and Zea. Thucydides (I, 93) also mentions that the Piraeus has three harbors.

"Anaphlystos": Xenophon (Ways and Means, 4, 43) speaks of the fortification in this location. See also Strabo, IX, 1, 21.

"Sounion": According to Thucydides (VIII, 4) Sounion was fortified in 412.

"Thorikos": According to Xenophon (Hellenica I, 2, 1) Thorikos was fortified in 409. Hekataios (FGrH Volume I, #1 F126 p. 24) mentions Thorikos as a city.

Section 58

"The Islands of the Cyclades": In the codex this title appears just before the mention of Keos, but I have followed Müller and transposed it to this position before "Off Attica."

"Keos": See Strabo, X, 5, 6 and Dionysios, the son of Kalliophon, 135.

"Poiessa": The name of this city does not appear in the codex, but since our author states that Keos has four cities and Strabo (X, 5, 6), who makes a similar statement about this island, lists this as one of the cities, I have followed earlier scholarship and added it to the text.

"Koressia": See Strabo, X, 5, 6 and Stephanos (Κορησσός) says it is a small town and harbor.

"Karthaia": See Strabo, X, 5, 6.

"Helene": See Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F128 p. 24). This island is directly off the promontory of Sounion and should have been mentioned before Keos to maintain the same geographical order that our author uses throughout his discussion of the rest of these islands. Helene, however, was usually excluded from the group of Cyclades, which were originally twelve in number (Strabo, X, 5, 3).
"Rhene": See Ptolemy, III, 15 and Stephanos.

"Syros": Although the codex reads ΕΚΔΟΟΣ, this island must surely by Syros (ΣΥΡΟΣ) (see Strabo X, 5, 3). Although confusion between these two islands also seems to occur in Pliny (IV, 12, 69-71), our author mentions Skyros as a completely different island later in his text.

"Ios, on which Homer was buried": See Strabo, X, 5, 1, Pliny, IV, 12, 69, and Pausanias, X, 24, 2-3.

"Amorgos, which has three cities": According to Stephanos these cities were Arkesine, Minoa, and Aigiale.

"Ikaros with two cities": According to Pliny (IV, 12, 68) Ikaros originally had three cities, but only two survived. Strabo (XIV, 1, 7) names two towns, Oinoe, Drakanon.

"Hestiaia": See Herodotos, VIII, 23. According to Skymnos (578) Hestiaia was founded by the Perraiboi. Thucydides (I, 114) tells how the original inhabitants were expelled when Athens conquered Euboea (circa 447). Strabo's statement (X, 1, 3) citing Theopompos indicates that this city became known as Oreus when the Athenians settled there after the expulsion of the former inhabitants. Pausanias (VII, 26, 4) however, says that even in his time some people continued to use the name of Hestiaia.

Section 59

"they also live next to this sea": This is a reference back to section 38, which located the Boeotians on the Gulf of Delphi.

"the fortification of Euripos": See Strabo, IX, 2, 8. According to Diodoros (XIX, 77, 4) this area was fortified during the time of Antigonus (circa 313). This does not have to be treated as an interpolation to maintain a pre-Alexandrian date. The word used to describe this fortification is ΕΛΧΟΣ, which could simply refer to a wall at a city such as Aulis.

"other cities": Our author ignores the cities of Koroneia and Gephyra mentioned by Hekataios (FGN Volume I #1 F117-118 p. 23).

Section 60

"Larymna": This may refer to Upper Larymna, since the Larymna on the coast was apparently built by the Romans (see Strabo, IX, 2, 18; Pliny, IV, 7, 27; and Pausanias, IX, 23, 7.)
"Kymos, Opous": See Hekataios FGrH Volume I #1 F131 p. 25. For Opous see Herodotos, VIII, 203.


"200 stadia": A direct measurement from Larymna to Alope is 250 stadia and a coastal calculation, according to Müller would be about 350 stadia. Since our author does not provide points of reference, his accuracy is impossible to judge.

Section 61

"they also inhabit": See section 37.

"the following cities": The geographical order seems strained again, since Knemis probably should come before Thronion (see Strabo IX, 4, 4).

"Thronion": The expanse of territory belonging to the Phokeans seems to be from the period of the Sacred War (circa 356-346). According to Thucydides (II, 26) and Diodoros (XII, 44, 1) in 431 Thronion belonged to the Lokrians. The Phokean Onomarchos circa 353 captured Thronion and shortly thereafter other Lokrian territory and some Boeotian territory (Diodoros XVI, 33, 3-4). The prowess of the Phokeans was brought to an end by the advance of Philip.

"Knemis": See Pliny, IV, 7, 27. It is called Knemides by Ptolemy (III, 15).

Section 62


"on this gulf...Kytinion": Müller believes that this whole statement about the Limodorians is a later insertion, because these people should be located in the hinterland. Hesychios, the Suda, and Photios (Ἀμφιθύμωτες) describe how these people received their name. They migrated from the Peloponnesos because of a famine and after wandering for some time settled in Rhodes and Knidos. No mention is made of their settlement in northern Greece, but they are probably to be identified with the territory of Doris in this region. Herodotos (VIII, 31) says that there was a small strip of Dorian land between Malis and Phokis and in ancient times it was called Dryopis. Unfortunately Herodotos gives no indication of whether or not this area touched the sea. I have left the passage in the text, since it is hardly uncharacteristic of the geographical confusion found in much of this Periplous. Although "on this gulf" is, perhaps, a mistake and should have been "in the hinterland", it
is also possible that the area did, indeed, at one time touch the sea.

"Erineos, Boion, Kyтинion": See Strabo, IX, 4, 10 and Skymnos, 593-599. There was a fourth city named Pindos usually mentioned with these three.

"Trachis, Oite": See Thucydides, III, 92; Skymnos, 597-599; Strabo, IX, 4, 12-14; and Diodoros, XII, 59, 3-4.

"Heraklea": This city was founded circa 427 by the Spartans (see Thucydides, II, 92).

"The Malians": The Melians (Μαλίες) and the Malians (Μαλείς) may be variant spellings for the same group of people. This duplication, however, may reflect an acquisition of territory by the Malians. According to Demosthenes (Philippic III, 120, 3) Philip circa 341 removed the city of Echinos from the control of Thebes. Some scholars (CGM Volume I, p. 49) believe that Μαλείς should be Λαμείς, since these two places seem to be confused elsewhere (see Strabo, IX, 5, 10; X, 1, 6 and Diodoros I, 43). The description of Diodoros shows, moreover, that the Lamian territory extended from the Sperchios River to Echinos on the coast. The Territory in question was probably originally known as Lamis or Lamia; it may have come under the control of Thebes during the time of Epaminondas and was possibly given to the Malians by Philip. Although the Malians may have gained control over this whole area, it would still be inhabited by others, who are possibly evident in the alternate spelling.

"Lamia": See Strabo IX, 5, 10 and Diodoros, XVIII, 11, 1.

"Echinos": According to Skymnos (602-604) Echinos was founded by a man named Spartis. Skymnos also considers Echinos as part of Malis.

"the Ainianes": See Strabo, IX, 4, 10.

Section 63

"The Achaians:...known as the Achaians": The codex reads: ὁ Ἐπερχελός ποταμός ἐξω τοῦ Μαλαίου κάλλου. Ἅχαιοι. Ἐὰν δὲ Ἅχαιοι, κτλ., but this makes little sense. The Sperchios River may be a dittographic error, for it also concludes section 61. There may, however, also be something missing here about the mouth of the Sperchios. That possibility presents additional problems because this river flows into the Gulf of Malia. I have followed Müller here by discarding the mention of the Sperchios River and bringing everything within the heading of "The Achaians."
"into the gulf for half its distance": This is probably as far as the promontory of Pyrrhus mentioned by Strabo, IX, 5, 14.

"Antronès": See Strabo (IX, 5, 7), who calls it Antron.

"Larissa": According to Müller, Larissa should come before Antronès. This is based on the assumption that this is Larissa Kremaste (see Strabo, IX, 5, 13). I agree in the belief that Larissa is an earlier name for this place.

"Melitaia": See Thucydidès, IV, 78; Polybios, V, 97, 5; Strabo, IX, 5, 10; and Diodoros, XVIII, 15, 1.

"Demetrion": See Homer, Iliad II, 695 and Strabo, IX, 5, 14.

"Thebes": See Strabo, IX, 5, 14.

Section 64

"Amphanaión": Stephanos (Ἀμφαναίον) says that Hekataios in his Genealogies considers a city named Amphanai, Dorian and that Theopompos calls it Amphanaios. Euripides (Herakles, 392) says that Kyknos was an inhabitant of Amphanaios and Apollodoros (II, 7, 7) adds that Herakles killed Kyknos at Itonos in Thessalia of Phthiotis. As a consequence the Amphanaios of Euripides can probably be located in Thessalia and be identified with the Amphanaios of our text.

"Kieron": See Strabo, IX, 5, 14. This city can probably be identified with the Kierion of Stephanos (Ἀπαναίον).

"Pelinnaión": See Strabo, IX, 5, 17 and Livy, XXXVI, 10, 5. Arrian (Anabasis I, 7, 5) calls it Pellina.

"Krannon": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I # 1 F133 p. 25) says that this was a Pelasgian city.

"Kikynethos": See Strabo, IX, 5, 15.

Section 65

"The territory of the Magnesians": This section begins somewhat uncharacteristically without a connective phrase such as "after Thessalia."

"Methone": See Strabo, IX, 5, 16; Pliny, IV, 9; and Stephanos.

"Spalathra": Stephanos names Spalethra as a city of Thessalia and says that Hellanikos calls it Spalathra. This place can
probably be identified with Spalathra mentioned by Pliny (IV, 9). Müller feels that Spalauthra could also be the Palauthra of Lykoptron (Alexandria, 899), which is commonly known as Pelethronion. If this is the case, then it is located next to Mount Pelion (see Virgil, Georgics III, 115; and Strabo, VII, 3, 6).

"Olizon": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F135 p. 25) places Olizon in Thessalia.

"the harbor of Tisai": The codex reads "Ἰσαὶ λωθῆν", but nothing is known of such a place. One possible reading is "ὌΛΞΩΝ καὶ λωθῆν", but since none of the other cities, most of which were on the coast, are so listed, this seems improbable. Another possibility is that this is the place known as Ipnous to Herodotos (VII, 188) and Strabo (IX, 5, 2). I have followed Müller, who offers Tisai from the name Tisaie given to the promontory near Mount Pelion by Apollonios of Rhodes (I, 568).

"Rhizous": See Strabo, IX, 5, 15 and 22, but Stephanos locates this city in Thessalia.

"Eurymenai": See Apollonios of Rhodes, I, 597; Strabo, IX, 5, 22; Livy, XXXIX, 25, 3 and Pliny, IV, 9. Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F136 p. 25) places this city in Thessalia.

"To this point...continuous": See section 33. The text is somewhat confusing. Müller basing his judgement on the parallel between this passage and that of Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon (31-48) believes that something is missing here and would like to see a statement added that other authors do not include Magnesia in Hellas. I prefer to maintain a reading closer to the text, since the relationship between the description of Hellas by Dionysios and our Periplus is not clear.

"everything in these seas...Hellas": I have taken this to mean not only the seacoast, but all of the waters off Hellas. Thus, our author includes the islands, or at least most of them, surrounding the mainland of Hellas.

Section 66

"Macedonia": Description in this section contrasts with that in the preceding description. Topographical identification is noticeably sparse and, indeed, consists of little more than a list of cities. The section on Macedonia, possibly better than other, reflects the problem of dating our text. As Müller (GGM Volume I, p. xliiv) notes, the inclusion of Naupaktos in Aetolia (section 35) and Echinos in Melia (section 62) indicate a period after 341 B.C. In the
description of Macedonia, however, our author mentions several cities eliminated by Philip before that date. This indicates that our author used more than one source. One of his sources must have included those cities eliminated by Philip. The final compilation, however, of our text was probably completed after 341. Since, moreover, the boundary of Macedonia is set by our author at the Strymon River, the compilation was probably pre-Alexandrian, because by 335 Alexander seems to have established that boundary at the Nestos River.

"Herakleion": See Livy, XLIV, 8, 8-9 and Pliny, IV, 9, 34.

"the Hellenic city": This formula, of course, was also used to describe the Greek cities in the west. This usage is in keeping with the definition of Hellas stated in sections 33 and 65, from Ambrakia to the Peneios River. Macedonia, however, had so many Hellenic cities, that the formula becomes redundant. I have continued to translate it, nevertheless, because it preserves the flavor of our author's bland and repetitious prose.

"Pydna": Philip circa 356 captured this city from the Athenians.

"Methone": This city was destroyed circa 353 by Philip, but was probably restored later since Strabo (VII, fr. 22) mentions it as an existing city. Our author probably refers to the city destroyed by Philip.

"Aloros": See Strabo, VII, fr. 22 and Stephanos ("Ἀλώρος").

"the Lydias River": See Hakataios, EGrH Volume I #1 F145 p. 26. Herodotos (VII, 127) says that this river and the Haliakmon join into one, They do not join today, but their mouths are very close and their aluvial deposits may have resembled the delta of larger rivers.

"Pella...palace": This palace was probably built by Philip, but could refer to the earlier one of Archelaos. According to Strabo (VII, fr. 22) the voyage upstream to Pella was 120 stadia.


"Aineia": According to Skymnos (628-630) this city was originally founded by Aeneas and later by the Corinthians.

"Potidaia": This city was destroyed and the land handed over to the Olynthians (circa 356). See Demosthenes, Olynthiac II, 7; Against Aristokrates, 107; Diodoros, XVI, 8, 5; Strabo, VII,
fr. 25 says that it was restored and called Kassandra by Kassander.

"Mende": See Herodotos, VII, 123; Diodoros, XII, 72, 7-9; and Strabo, VII, fr. 27; and Pausanias, V, 10, 27.; Pliny (IV, 10, 36) call it Mendae.

"Aphytis": See Thucydides, I, 64; Strabo, VII, fr. 27; Pausanias, III, 18, 3; and Stephanos, ἁμάτον ἡ "Ἀφύτος ἡ ἂφυτος."

"Thrambeis": This is probably the Therambo of Herodotos (VII, 123), the narrow strip of land called Thrambousia by Lykophron (1405), and the promontory of Thrambos of Stephanos (ὁ νῆσος).

"Kanastaion": See Stephanos, ἐνοικία. This promontory was probably sacred to Poseidon (see Thucydides, IV, 129).

"Olynthos": See Herodotos, VII, 122. This city was destroyed circa 348 by Philip (see Diodoros, XVI, 53; Skymnos, 632-634; and Strabo, VII, fr. 28.

"Sermylia": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 Fl51 p. 27) considers this city to be in Thrace. See also Herodotos, VII, 122. Thucydides (V, 18) calls it Sermyle.

"the Sermylic Gulf": This is generally called the Gulf of Torone.

"Dion": This was a city on the peninsula of Akte (see Thucydides, IV, 36, 109 and Strabo, VII, fr. 33).

"Thyssois": Thucydides (IV, 109, V, 35) identifies it as another city on Akte. See also Strabo, VII, fr. 33 and Pliny, IV, 10, 37.

"Kleonai": Thucydides (IV, 109) locates it on Akte.

"Akrothoei": Thucydides (IV, 109) locates it on Akte. Strabo (VII, fr. 33) and Pliny (IV, 10, 37) locate this city near the summit of Mount Athos. See also Stephanos.

"Charadrous": Nothing is known of this city, but it was probably on Akte.

"Olophyxos": Thucydides (IV, 109) and Strabo (VII, fr. 33) locate this city on Akte.

"Alapta": In this region there is no city known to correspond to this name. It could be a corruption of Akte, but the designation of "Hellenic" indicates that it should be a city. Müller suggests
that this may have been a Phoenician name. Neither of these possibilities seem to me convincing and I have left the spelling as it is in the codex.

"Arethousa": Strabo (VII, fr. 36) locates this city next to lake Bolbe. Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVII, 4, 8) locates it between the Strymon and Stagera. Stephanos says it is a city of Thrace.

"Lake Bolbe": See Thucydides, IV, 103.

"two days": Müller suggests that because of a difficult voyage along the coast and through gulfs, this should be two days and two nights, but since we know so little about our author's method of measurement, I have left it as "two days".

"the Strymon River": Müller believes that the campaign of Alexander in 335 would have moved the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace to the Nestos River. This boundary was probably fixed firmly at the Nestos River by Alexander, but Philip had evidently already begun to extend the boundary of Macedonia to this point (see Strabo, VII, fr. 35).

Section 67

"Phagres": Herodotos (VII, 112) and Thucydides (II, 99) locate this city near Mount Pangaion. See also Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F156 p. 27 and Strabo, VII, fr. 33.

"Galepsos": Thucydides (IV, 107), Strabo (VII, fr. 33) and Livy (XLIV, 45) locate this city in the vicinity of Amphipolis. Herodotos (VII, 122), however, speaks of Galepsos near Torone. Hekataios (FGrH Volume I, #1, F152 p. 27) says it is a city of Paonia and Thrace. According to Herodotos (VII, 124) and Thucydides (II, 96) Paonia extended to Strymon River, where, according to our author, Thrace begins. The statement of Hekataios therefore, may identify two distinct cities of Galepsos, one in Paonia mentioned by Herodotos and the other in Thrace mentioned by Thucydides. The author of our Periplous, in any case, seems to know only of the one in Thrace. This city was probably located near the Strymon River and was eventually eliminated by the city of Philippi (see Strabo, VII, fr. 33-35 and 41).

"Oisyme": According to Thucydides (IV, 106) and Skymnos (656-657) this city belonged to the Thasians, but Skymnos adds that later it belonged to the Macedonians. See also Diodoros, XII, 68, 4 and Stephanos. Pliny (IV, 11, 42) considers this city to be in Thrace.

"additional emporia of the Thasians": The indication is that
Amphipolis, Phagres, Galepsos, and Oisyme were also emporia of the Thasians, but Thucydides (IV, 107) mentions only Galepsos and Oisyme as such. There is some question whether Thasians should be read here, because the codex reads Σαγιων. An earlier scholar named Palmer conjectured Σαγιοι from Strabo (X, 2, 17). The Saoi were Thracians, but the identification of Galepsos and Oisyme as emporia of the Thasians by Thucydides indicates that our author is also referring to the Thasians.

"Neapolis": See Strabo, VII, fr. 32 and 36; Pliny, IV, 11, 42; and Skymnos, 659;

"Daton": See Strabo, VII, fr. 36.

"Kallistratos": According to Isokrates (On the Peace, 24) Kallistratos took part in the founding of Daton during his exile from Athens, which began circa 361. The colony of Daton, therefore, would have been founded after that date. Herodotos (IX, 75), on the other hand, says that Daton was in the territory of the Edonians, who inhabited the coast of Thrace near the Strymon (see also Thucydides, I, 100). Müller suggests that Daton together with other cities in this area were replaced circa 357 by Philippi, when the Macedonian king colonized this region (see Diodoros, XVI, 8, 6). Kallistratos was probably one of the leaders of the colonists and established a new Daton, which may have been the port of Philippi (see Strabo VII, fr. 36).

"the Koudetos River": This could be one of the rivers, possibly the Kampsaton, mentioned by Herodotos (VII, 109) that flow into Lake Bistonis near Dikaia north of Abdera.

"Dikaia and Maroneia": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F159 p. 27, and Herodotos, VII, 109.

"Opposite this region...Ainos": The text is hopelessly confused. I have followed Müller's text, which is based on earlier scholarship.

"Drys and Zone": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F160-161 p. 27.

"Douriskos": See Herodotos, VII, 59 and Livy, XXXI, 16, 4.

"Deris": Nothing is known of this place. It can perhaps be related to the Darsioi of Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F175 p. 29) and the Dersaioi of Herodotos (VII, 110).

"Kobrys": See Stephanos (Κωβρυς) who cites Theopompos in reference to this place.

"Kyparis": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F162 p. 27.
"Ide": This city may possibly be related to the Idakos of Thucydides (VIII, 104), although that city is on the other side of the peninsula opposite Abydos.

"Paion": Nothing is known about this city.


"Araplos": Müller believes that this is Drabos mentioned by Strabo (VII, fr. 51), but this must be strongly questioned. Drabos should come before Alopekonnesos.

"Madytos": According to Herodotos (VII, 33) Xerxes built his bridge across the Hellespont midway between Madytos and Sestos. See also Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 Fl65 p. 28; Xenophon, Hellenica I, i, 3; Strabo, VII, fr. 55; and Skymnos, 709-7170.

"6 stadia": Herodotos (VII, 34) and Strabo (II, 522; VII, fr. 56) say 7 stadia and Polybios (XVI, 29, 9) says 2 stadia.

"The region...Thracian Chersonesos": Polybios (IV, 44, 6) and Agathemeros (III, 8, GGM Volume II, p. 473) also consider Sestos as the beginning of the Propontos.

"Aigospotamos": This is generally known in the plural, Aigospotamoi (Xenophon, Hellenica II, 1). Our author writes as though he were speaking of a specific river, when in reality this is an area of open beach. The phraseology also seems to mean that Kressa, Krithote, and Paktye were within Aigospotamos. Strabo (VII, fr. 55) says that the town of Aigospotamoi was destroyed.

"Kressa": This may have been on the site of Aigospotamoi, which according to Strabo (VII, fr. 55) was destroyed. Kressa may be identified with Crissa of Pliny (IV, 11, 48).

"Krithote and Paktye": According to Skymnos (711-712) they were founded by Miltiades. See also Strabo VII, fr. 55, and Pliny, IV, 11, 48.

"40 stadia": See also Strabo, VII, fr. 51.

"Agora": See Herodotos, VII, 58.

"400 stadia": Strabo (VII, fr. 5) says the length of this Chersonesos is slightly more than 400 stadia.

"Herakleia": See Ptolemy III, 11.
"Ganos, Ganiai": See Xenophon, *Anabasis* VII, 5, 8; and the *Suda* Γάνως. This may be a duplication of the same place.


"Daminon": This may be Daunion of Stephanos.

"Hieron": This probably refers to the temple of Zeus of the Fair Breezes (see the anonymous *Periplous of the Euxine Pontos*, 2, GGM Volume I, p. 402 and Markian's *Epitome of the Periplous of Menippos*, 7, GGM Volume I, p. 568) Herodotos (IV, 85) also calls this place simply Hieron. Herodotos, Polybios (IV, 43, 1) and Philostratos (*Lives of the Sophists* I, 34, 1) consider this location to be at the entrance to the Pontos.

"7 stadia": Herodotos (IV, 85) calculates the mouth of the Pontos to be 4 stadia; Polybios (IV, 43, 2) about 5 stadia, and Agathemeros (III, 10) 6.

"eight days and eight nights": The figures provided by our text should provide a total of seven days and seven nights.

Section 68

"the Tyris River...Nikonion...Ophioussa": After preparing to list the Hellenic cities in this region our author mentions first the Tyris River. This is typical of the inconsistency and geographical confusion throughout much of this text. The confusion may be due to the location of the two cities, which were upstream on the Tyris River and were sometimes considered one city (see Strabo, VII, 3, 16). Herodotos (IV, 51) also describes the Tyris River. Pliny (IV, 12, 82) mentions the town of Ophiusa and says that it was later called Tyra after the Tyris River. Skymnos (803-804) mentions only the city of Tyras.

"the Taurian people...extending into the sea": The Greek text reads: ἑκοκοῦσα ταύρος ἐδρος, ἀκρωτήριον τῆς ἱππίου· ἐς ᾧθαμαίν ἄτ' ἀκρωτήριον ἑστιν. This is described so ineptly that it is hard to understand what the author had in mind. The area described is clearly a peninsula, but its size and shape seem to have caused some problem. Herodotos (IV, 99) had similar difficulties, but his description is far more elaborate, although he too seems confused about the shape of Taurika.

"Hellenes live...following cities": The Greek text reads: ἐν ἄτ' τῆς ταυρικῆς οἴκουσιν ἑλληνες αὖδε. Either something is missing such as καὶ τὸλες αὐτῶν or αὖδε should be αὖδε.
"the emporion of Chersonesos": It is possible that the harbor of Symbolon should have been mentioned here (see the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos, 55). Strabo (VII, 4, 2-3) however, mentions an old Chersonesos which was destroyed. Our author may be referring to the old Chersonesos.

"Theodosia": See Strabo, VII, 4, 4 and the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos, 51.

"Kytaia": See Apollonios of Rhodes, II, 399-403; Pliny, IV, 12, 86; and in the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos, 50, it is called Kyta.

"Nymphaia": Strabo (VII, 4, 4) and the anonymous author of the Periplous of the Euxine Pontos (50) call this place Nymphaion.

"Myrnekeion": See Strabo, VII, 4, 5, XI, 2, 6 and Stephanos, Μυρνουκλον.

"Directly from the Ister...three days and three nights": Müller calculates the distance from the Ister to the Ram's Head as 1650 stadia, which should be a voyage of only three days. Even if extra distance is allowed for coasting, the discrepancies between Müller's figure and our author's seems too great.

"From the Ram's Head...a day and a night": Müller calculates this distance from the Ram's Head to Pantikapaion as 2200 stadia, much more than a day and a night.

"from Pantikapaion...20 stadia": The distance from Pantikapaion to the mouth of Lake Maiotis is about 120 stadia. The text should possibly read ρΚ instead of Κ.

"half the size of the Pontos": The same measurement of Lake Maiotis is supplied in the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos (44). Herodotos (IV, 86) says that Lake Maiotis is not much smaller than the Pontos. Patrokles, who is cited by Strabo (XI, 7, 1) and Strabo (VII, 4, 5) hold a similar view.

"the Syrmatai": The Greek text is confusing in this statement about the Syrmatai and the Tanais River. Müller hesitatingly follows Niebuhr and treats the description of the Syrmatai as a separate section. They were not Taurians, but were Scythians and we should expect a separate heading. Since, however, this text is filled with such inconsistencies, I have chosen to follow the codex more closely and keep the Syrmatai in section 68. These people and the Sauromatai of section 70 are probably the same (see the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos, 45 and Stephanos, Συρμαται). A
distinction similar to that between the Melians and Malians of section 62 seems to have occurred here. Pliny (VI, 7, 19) says that the Sauromatai are just one group of the Sarmatai, who live near the Tanais River.

Section 69

"one hundred fifty-three days": Müller engages in an elaborate calculation and provides a chart of the various intervals recorded in our Periplus. He arrives at a total of one hundred fifty-one days. In light of the textual problems and geographical confusion this seems to me to be amazingly exact. Our author's accuracy, however, is most questionable, since sailing conditions could vary and the measurement of coastal voyaging could be very problematical without adequate technology.

Section 70

"The Sauromatai": See section 68.

"ruled by women": The anonymous author of the Periplus of the Euxine Pontos (45) says that this state of affairs came into existence as a result of intermarriage with the Amazons.

Section 71

"The Maiotai": According to Ephoros (anonymous Periplus of the Euxine Pontos, 45) they were a tribe of the Sauromatai.

Section 72


"Phanagoros": Strabo (XI, 2, 10) calls it Phanagoreia.

"Kepoi": This city was probably located between Phanagora and the southern mouth of the Hypanis River (see Strabo, XI, 2, 10; Pliny VI, 6, 18; and Stephanos, Ψεύδοσος. According to Skymnos (899) it was a city of the Milesians.

"Sindikos": See Strabo, XI, 2, 14. Stephanos says that some people called it Gorgippe.

"Patous": This may be an early form for the town of Apatus mentioned by Pliny (VI, 61, but Müller believes it is the Sacred Harbor of Arrian (Periplus of the Euxine Pontos, 18, 4). This Sacred Harbor, Pliny (VI, 5, 1-7) apparently locates 136 miles from Heraklea.
Section 73


Section 74

"The Toretai": There is some disagreement among ancient authors about the location of these people. Dionysios Periegetes (682) locates them, as our author does, between the Kerketai and the Achaians. Pliny (VI, 5, 17) places them between the Sindoi and the Kerketai. Strabo (XI, 2, 11), who calls them the Toreatai, locates them among the peoples of Maiotia with the Sindoi.

Section 75

"The Achaians": Strabo (XI, 2, 12) says that they were phthiotic Achaians from Jason's crew. See also Aristotle, Politics VIII, 3, 4; Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Roman Antiquities, I, 89; Arrian, Periplus, 27; and Ammianus, (XXII, 8, 25) says that these Achaians settled in this region after a Trojan War, but not the one fought over Helen.

Section 76

"The Heniochoi": See Strabo, XI, 2, 1; Pliny VI, 4, 14; and Arrian, Periplus 15. Strabo (XI, 2, 12) says that they were Lakonians from Jason's crew.

Section 77

"The Koraxoi": Hekataios (FGIH Volume I #1 F210 p. 31) considers them a tribe of the Kolchians. See also Pliny, VI, 5, 15.

Section 78

"Kolike": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F209 p. 31 and Pliny, VI, 5, 15.

Section 79

"The Melanchlainoi": Hekataios (FGIH Volume I #1 F185 p. 29) locates them in Scythia. Herodotos (IV, 20, 100, 101, 107), however says that they are not Scythians, but have Scythian customs. He locates them north of Scythia. See also Dionysios Periegetes, 309 and Pliny, VI, 5, 15.
"The Gelones": According to Herodotos (IV, 108) these people were originally Hellenes. They fled their coastal emporia and settled with the Boudinoi, who lived a considerable distance inland and to the north, certainly not near Kolchia. According to Herodotus (IV, 109) the Boudinoi ate lice and pine cones; Strabo (XI, 2, 19) and Pliny (VI, 4, 14) locate a tribe with similar eating habits near Kolchia. Müller reasonably suggests that out of association of the Gelones and the Boudinoi and confusion of the Boudinoi with a similar tribe in the vicinity of Kolchia (see Strabo, XI, 2, 19) our author has transferred the Gelones to this region by mistake.

"Gyenos": This may be Pyenis of Stephanos.

"the Gyenos River": This is probably the Cyaneos River of Pliny (VI, 4, 13). He and Stephanos (Aia) claim that this river flows into the Phasis.

"the Cherobios River": It is impossible to discern what river this is. Müller's suggestion of the Rhoan (Pliny VI, 4, 14) is not adequate, because it is not clear what Pliny is designating with the name of Rhoan.

"the Chorsos River": This may be the Chobon River of Arrian (Periplous, 13) and the Chobus of Pliny (VI, 4, 14).

"the Arios River": Müller suggests that this is the Charies of Arrian (Periplous, 13) and Pliny (VI, 4, 14) and this is, indeed a good possibility.

"to the great barbarian city of Aia": The codex reads εἰς πόλιν μάλαν μεγάλαν ἐβασθαρα. Müller regards this as an error of dittography and merely deletes μάλαν. I have adopted the suggestion of some earlier scholars that a scribal error eliminated the city of Aia spelled Ἀλαυαν (GGM Volume I, p. 62). Aia was, indeed, the legendary home of Medea (see Apollonios of Rhodes, II, 1266-1268; Strabo, XI, 2, 17-18; and Pliny, VI, 4, 13).

"the Rhis River": Pliny (VI, 4, 12) mentions several rivers in this region. The Rhis could be one of them.

"the Isis River": See Arrian, Periplous, 9 and Pliny, VI, 4, 12.
"the Apsaros River": According to Arrian (Periplous, 9) Apsaros is at the deepest recess of the Pontos and beyond this point the coast turns northward. See also Pliny, VI, 4, 13 and Stephanos,

Section 82

"The Byzeres": These people may be the Dizeras mentioned by Stephanos (Xοώ), whose source for this information was probably Hekataios (see FGrH Volume I #1 F207 p. 31). See also Apollonios, II, 396, 124 and Strabo (XII, 3, 18).

"the Daraanon River": If the Pordanis River in section 83 is the same as the Prytanis of Arrian (Periplous, 8), then the Daraanon may be identical with Arrian's Archabis. Müller believes reasonably that Ἀρχάβις is a corruption of "Ἀρχαῖος".

"the Arion River": There are several rivers in this area, but perhaps this one can be associated with the region of Armenos mentioned in the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos (40).

Section 83

"The Ekecheirieis": See the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos, 42. The author of this text, however, gives the Ekecheirieis more territory than does our author. Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F207 p. 31) locates the Choi in this region and Apollonios of Rhodes (II, 395, 1243) places the Sapeirai here.

"the Pordanis River": This may be the Prytanis of Arrian (Periplous, 8).

"the Arabis River": Little can be discerned about this river. Arrian (Periplous, 8) places the Zagatis River in this region.

"Limne": This may be Xylene of Ptolemy (V, 6) or Athene mentioned by Arrian (Periplous, 8).

"Odeinios": Arrian (Periplous, 8) calls this Adienos and the anonymous author of the Periplous of the Euxine Pontos (40) Adienon.

Section 84

"Becheirias": The city that should be here is Rhizos because no other cities of this area are known (see Ptolemy, V, 6). Becheirias is perhaps an alternative name for Rhizos. Apollonios of Rhodes (II, 394, 1242) mentions the Becheiroi.
Section 85

"The Makrokephaloi": These people were probably also known as the Makrones (see Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F206 p. 31; Herodotos, III, 94, VII, 78; Xenophon, Anabasis IV, 8, 1, V, 5, 18 VII, 8, 25; and Strabo, XII, 3, 18; and Pliny, I, 19, VI, 4, 11).

Section 86

"The Mossynoikoi": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume #1 F204-205; Xenophon, Anabasis V, 4, 1; Apollonios of Rhodes, II, 1016; Skymnos, 901-910; Strabo, XII, 3, 18; and Diodoros, XIV, 30, 5.

"Zephyrion": See Arrian, Periplus, 24 and the anonymous Periplus of the Euxine Pontos, 36.

"Choirades": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume #1 F204 p. 31. This may be an earlier name for the city later called Pharnakia. Arrian (Periplus, 24) and the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Euxine Pontos (34) say that the former name of Pharnakia was Kerasous, but Xenophon (Anabasis V, 3, 2) located Kerasous farther east in the territory of the Kolchians. Müller points out that these names are indicative of terrain; Choirades of rocks resting low in the water and Kerasous of a horn of land, possibly a promontory or cape. He argues rightly that these terms could be used easily to describe the same location and, therefore, Choirades and Kerasous can both be regarded as appellations of the same place, later known as Pharnakia.

"Areos": This island was probably opposite Choirades or Pharnakia (see Pliny, VI, 13 and the anonymous Periplus of the Euxine Pontos, 34, 37).

Section 87

"The Tibarenoi": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F204 p. 31 and Skymnos, 914-916. Strabo (XI, 14, 1; XII, 1, 3; 3, 18; 3, 28) places these people in the vicinity of the Kolchians.

Section 88

"The Chalybes": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I, #1 F203 p. 31. Herodotos (I, 28) says they were conquered by Croessus. Xenophon (Anabasis V, 5, 1) places them in the territory of the Mossynoikoi. Strabo (XII, 3, 19) locates them near Pharnakia. Their territory at one time may have extended for some distance inland, possibly to Armenia (see Xenophon, Anabasis IV, 5, 34 and Skymnos 938-939). Pliny (VI, 4, 11) does not include them in Armenia.
"Genetes": See Strabo, XII, 3, 17. The anonymous author of Periplus of the Euxine Pontos (32) only mentions a river by this name.

"Stameneia": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F202 p. 31) calls this city Stamene.

"Iasonia": Xenophon (Anabasis, VI, 2, 1) seems to consider this place a peninsula. Strabo (XII, 3, 17), Arrian (Periplus, 23), and the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Euxine Pontos (32) note this as a promontory.

Section 89

"Assyria": Herodotos (I, 72) calls the people of this region Syrians, but Strabo (XII, 3, 9) and Pliny (VI, 3, 9) regard them as Leukosyrians. Apollonios of Rhodes (II, 946-1001) presents a geographical arrangement very similar to that of our author, except that the poet includes the Amazons in this region. See also Dionysios Periegetes, 7772-777.

"Themiskyra": Apollonios of Rhodes (II 994-997) considers this in the territory of the Amazons.

"Lykastos": Apollonios of Rhodes (II, 999) names one tribe of the Amazons the Lykastial. See also the scholion to Apollonios; Pliny, VI, 3, 9; and the anonymous Periplus of the Euxine Pontos, 28.

"Sinope": See Herodotos, II, 34.

"Kerasous": Müller suggests that this is the promontory of Kerambis, but it is mentioned below in section 90 and there is no indication that there is a duplication of Kerambis in this section.

"the Ocherainos River": This is probably the Ochosbates River of Markian (Epitome of the Periplus of Menippos I, 9).

"Harmene": Xenophon (Anabasis V, 1, 15-17) considers Harmene part of Sinope. See Strabo, XII, 3, 10; Pliny, VI, 2, 6; Arrian, Periplus, 21; the anonymous Periplus of the Euxine Pontos, 21; and Markian, Epitome of the Periplus of Menippos I, 9.

"Tetrakis": This city is otherwise unknown.

Section 90

"Stephane": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F198 p. 30) mentions a city called Stephanis, but says it is a city of the Mariandynqi.
The author of the anonymous *Periplous of the Euxine Pontos* (20) says that Stephane was a village and harbor and Markian (*Epitome of the Periplous of Menippos I*, 9) speaks of it as a village. See also Pliny, VI, 2, 5.

"Kaloussa": Little is known about this city. It may be the same as the Antekinolios of Markian (*Epitome of the Periplous of Menippos I*, 9).

"Kinos": See Strabo, XII, 3, 10; Pliny, VI, 2, 5; Arrian, *Periplous*, 21; and the anonymous *Periplous of the Euxine Pontos*, 20.

"Karambis": See Strabo, XII, 3, 10; Pliny, VI, 2, 6; and Markian, *Epitome of the Periplous of Menippos I*, 9.

"Kytoris": See Homer, *Iliad* II, 853; Apollonios of Rhodes II, 942; Strabo, XII, 3, 10; Pliny, VI, 2, 6; Arrian, *Periplous*, 27; the anonymous *Periplous of the Euxine Pontos*, 17; and Markian, *Epitome of the Periplous of Menippos I*, 9.

"Sesamos": See Homer, *Iliad* II, 853; Apollonios of Rhodes II, 941; Strabo XII, 3, 10; and Pliny VI, 2, 5.

"Tieion": See Strabo, XII, 3, 5. Arrian (*Periplous*, 19), the anonymous author of the *Periplous of the Euxine Pontos* (17), and Markain (*Epitome of the Periplous of Menippos I*, 8) call this place Tion.


"the Kallichoros River": See Apollonios of Rhodes, II and the scholion to Apollonios, 904.

Section 91

"The Mariandynoi": See Stephanos Μαριανδυνόια.

"the Lykos River": See Apollonios of Rhodes, II, 724; Arrian, *Periplous*, 18; and the anonymous *Periplous of the Euxine Pontos*, 9.

"the Hypios": See Apollonios of Rhodes II, 795; Arrian, *Periplous*, 18; the anonymous *Periplous of the Euxine Pontos*, 8-9; and Markian, *Epitome of the Periplous of Menippos I*, 8.
Section 92

"the Thracian Bithynians": According to Herodotos (VII, 75) these Thracians migrated from Europe and had earlier lived near the Strymon River. See also Xenophon, Anabasis VI, 2, 18-19 and Strabo, XII, 3, 3.

"the Sagarios River": See Strabo, XII, 3, 7 and Stephanos, Εγγερτος.

"the Artanes": See Arrian, Periplous, 17 and the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos, 3.

"Thynias": See Apollonios of Rhodes II, 673 and Strabo, XII, 3, 7.

"the Rhebas River": See Apollonios of Rhodes, II, 650; Dionysios Periegetes, 794-796; Arrian, Periplous, 17; and the anonymous Periplous of the Euxine Pontos, 3.

"outside Thrace...Chalkedon": Just how Chalkedon is outside Bithynian Thrace is not clear. There may be something missing here and Müller suggests the following reading: Εξω του πορου της θορίνης. I have maintained a reading closer to the codex because such inconsistencies are not uncharacteristic of this Periplous.

"the Gulf of Olbianos": Strabo (XII, 4, 2) and Pliny V, 43, 148) call this the Gulf of Astakenos. Olbianos is perhaps an earlier name for this gulf (see "Olbia", section 93).

"three days": Müller calculates about 1300 stadia, which seems reasonably close to the 1500 that would equal 3 days.

Section 93

"the Gulf of Kianos": See Strabo XII, 4, 3.

"Olbia": Pliny (V, 43, 148-149) says that this was the earlier name for the city of Nicaea located on the Askanian Lake. Strabo (XII, 4, 8) claims that Skylax of Karyanda mentions this lake, but it is not described in our Periplous. This recollection of Olbia is possibly a faint trace of the earlier Periplous actually written by Skylax.

"Kallipolis": This is probably the promontory of the Mysian peninsula.

"Kios": See the scholion to Apollonios of Rhodes I, 1279.
"one day": According to Müller from Artakos or Olbia to Kios is about 800 stadia, which should be slightly more than a day's voyage.

Section 94

"Plakia": According to Herodotos (I, 57) this was a city of the Pelasgians. See also Pliny, V, 40, 142 and Stephanos, Πλάκεια.

Section 95

"Thereupon Troas begins": For the various theories of ancient authors, including Skylax, about the extent of Troas see Strabo XII, 1, 4.

"Rhoiteion": See Herodotos, VII, 43; Thucydides, VIII, 101; Strabo, XIII, 1, 30; Pliny, V, 33, 125; and Stephanos.

"Kleostrotratos": The major work of Kleostrotratos was a poem in hexameters called the Astrologia, in which he explained the signs of the zodiac. Hermann Diels (Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker Volume 6, pp. 41-44) dates Kleostrotratos circa 520. See also J.K. Fotheringham, "Cleostrotratos" JHS XXXIX (1919) pp. 164-184, XL (1920) pp. 208-209 and Kathleen Freeman, The Pre-Socratic Philosophers (Oxford 1953) pp. 34-35.

"Sige": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F221 p. 33. This is probably the Sigeon of Herodotos (V, 65, 94), Strabo (XIII, 1, 33) and Pliny (V, 33, 24).

"Achilleion": This city was evidently very near Sige (see Herodotos V, 94; Strabo, XIII, 1, 39; Pliny, V, 33, 125; and Stephanos, Αχιλλειον δρόμος.

"Krateres of the Achaians": Strabo (XIII, 1, 31-32, 46) says that beyond Sigeion there are places known as the harbor of the Achaians and the camp of the Achaians and opposite Tenedos a place called Achaiion, but he never mentions Krateres.

"Kolonai": See Thucydides, I, 131; Xenophon, Hellenica III, 11-13; Strabo, XIII, 1, 19; and Pausanias, X, 14, 1.

"Larissa": See Xenophon, Hellenica III, 1, 11-13.

"Hamaxitos": See Xenophon, Hellenica III, 1, 11-13; Strabo, XIII, 1, 47 and Stephanos.

"the temple of Apollo": This was the temple of Sminthian Apollo (See Strabo XIII, 1, 61).
Section 96

"on the seacoast the following cities": There seems to be a lacuna in this passage, because the four cities mentioned are not on the coast. Müller suggests three cities which would fit here, Assos, Gargara, and Antandros. Since the last city is mentioned later as a point of reference for the measurement of Aeolis, it was probably mentioned in the geographical description. The other cities I have not mentioned, since there does not seem to me to be strong enough justification to identify these cities in our text. I have adopted Müller's suggestion that prior to Kebron there was a phrase of this sort: "in the hinterland are:"

"Kebren": See Xenophon, Hellenica III, 1, 15-17; Strabo, XIII, 1, 33; and Stephanos, Κεβρηνία.

"Neandreia": Strabo (XIII, 1, 51) seems to locate Neandreia somewhat inland and not too far from Ilios.

"The voyage past Phrygia...Antandros": There seems to be something missing from this statement, for we should expect to find the measurement of this interval listed. It is also somewhat surprising to come across Phrygia again without any explanation. The implication is that our author regarded Troas and Aeolis as part of Phrygia. Müller, however, considers this true of Aeolis only and envisions the Phrygia of this text as touching the sea in two places, one north, the other south of Troas. The hinterland behind Troas would also be part of Phrygia. I believe that Troas and Aeolis should not be separated in this way (see Strabo, XIII, 1, 8) and I regard them as part of Phrygia in this text.

Section 97

"the following five cities": Thucydides (III, 18) mentions all five cities mentioned by our author.

"Pordoselene": See Strabo, XIII, 2, 5 and Stephanos.

Section 98

"From Antandros...now it is Lydian": The Greek text is confused here and I have followed Müller's emendations. His text reads as follows: ἀπὸ Ἀντάνδρου καὶ τῆς Αἰολίκης τὸ κάτω ἢν πρότερον μὲν ὄν αὖν ἢ χώρα Μυσία μέχρι τευθρανύτες, νῦν δὲ Λυδία.
He takes πρότερον in the sense of place and believes that it refers to the Mysia on the Hellespont. I prefer to read it in the sense of time, since our author states that the Mysians migrated inland. The idea is, therefore, that in an earlier period the Mysians also
inhabited this coast and it was known by that name, but since they were driven into the hinterland, it is now called Lydia. Our author continues to employ both names in this section, possibly because the older name of Mysia may still have been in use. His use of Mysia could also be justified by the fact that his description includes places in the hinterland, which still had a legitimate claim to this name. There is also a strong possibility that this juxtaposition of names is the result of our author's use of more than one source. For the confusion of tribal groups in this area see also Strabo XIII, 4, 12.

"Teuthrania": According to Strabo (XIII, 1, 69) Teuthrania was near the Kaikos River.

"Astyra": According to Strabo (XIII, 1, 65) this city was near Adramyttion. As Müller suggests, this may have been originally a Phoenician city, whose name is derived from the goddess Astarte. Artemis, who was highly honored in this city, was evidently closely associated with Astarte (see Stephanos, "Αστυρα").

"temple, and Adramyttion": This is undoubtedly the temple of Artemis (see Xenophon, Hellenica IV, 1, 41 and Strabo, XIII, 1, 65). Some scholars have even inserted the name of Artemis. Although there is a textual problem here, I do not believe it warrants such an insertion.

"Lesbian territory": The Athenians took control of this land in 427 (see Thucydides, III, 50), but Strabo (XIII, 1, 51) mentions some coastal area of the mainland that belonged to the Mytileneans. In the belief that our text was a compilation made in the fourth century, I suggest that this information is from a source written prior to 427, possibly a work actually written by Skylax of Karyanda.

"Chian territory": The Chians were given this land by Cyrus I, king of Persia (Herodotus, I, 160) and still had control of it in 480 (Herodotus, VIII, 106). By 399 the area was clearly under Persian control, although Chian refugees were using this area as a haven (see Xenophon, Hellenica III, 2, 11; Diodoros, XIII, 65, 3-4). The presence of Chians in this region during the fourth century could indicate that they had some claim to it at that time. Strabo (XIII, 1, 57) however, speaks of Atarneus in the time of Aristotle and says that it was ruled by a tyrant, who was killed by the Persians (see also Diodoros, XVI, 52, 5-6) who, after his death, took control of Atarneus. Strabo, in any case, makes no mention of Chian control of this area. This information about this region probably comes from a source, written before the fourth century, because of the clear evidence of Herodotus.
"After Pitane": Müller believes that the Kaikos River was the boundary of Mysia and that another distinction of territories should have been mentioned at this point. The territory may have been Ionia, but the name was left out because of the compiler's negligence. Although the extent of Mysian territory is very confusing in this section, our author seems to have relegated the Mysians to the hinterland. At one time the Mysians may have inhabited the coast as far as the Kaikos River, but this hardly seems to me to justify the supposition that another group, the Ionians were mentioned after them.

"Gryneion": Strabo (XIII, 3, 5) locates this city near the harbor of the Achaians and Myrina.

"the harbor of the Achaians": See Strabo, XIII, 3, 5.


"Leukai": See Strabo, XIV, 1, 38; Diodoros, XV, 18, 1; and Pliny, V, 31, 119. Diodoros indicates that it was founded circa 383.

"Smyrna": This city was destroyed during the reign of Alyattes (circa 627), but was refounded (circa 330) by Antigonos (Strabo XIV, 1, 37). It is tempting to regard this statement as from an early source. Such a source would have to come from a period before 627 and that is very unlikely. The overwhelming evidence throughout this text makes it unlikely that this information was written after the time of Antigonos. Although ancient Smyrna had been destroyed, the statement of Strabo, who speaks of two cities by this name, one ancient one more recent, indicates that it was not forgotten. He states that even after old Smyrna was destroyed its inhabitants continued to live in villages. The fact that our author mentions no harbor for Smyrna indicates that our author is speaking of those villages.

"Agra": The codex reads "Ἀγρά. This may be the city of Erai of Thucydides (VIII, 19-20). Müller inserts Gerai into the text (from Gerrhaidai of Strabo, XIV, 1, 30). Although this supposition is tempting, I prefer a reading closer to the codex in the belief that it may include earlier alternative forms for some cities.

"Notion": Thucydides (III, 34) says that Notion was the harbor of Kolophon, but Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F233 p. 34) and Herodotos (I, 149) consider it a city by itself.

"in the interior": The Greek reads ἐν τῷ ἡπείρῳ. We should expect the formula ἐν τῷ οἰκουμενῷ, since the other cities in this sequence are also on the mainland. The meaning, in any case, seems to be that this city is not on the coast, but completely on the mainland. The word ἀνω may have originally appeared here, for this formula is used earlier in this section to locate the Mysians.


"Anaia": Thucydides (III, 32) mentions some Samians from this city, but Stephanos considers it a city of Karia. Ephoros (FGrH Volume 2A #70 Fl66, p. 93) says that it was named for Anaia, an Amazon who was buried there.

"Panionion": According to Herodotos (I, 141-143) it was the temple built by twelve cities of Ionia who had banded together. See also Strabo, XIV, 1, 20; Pliny, V, 31, 113.

"Erasistratos": The only other reference to this place is found in the Suda, Ερασιστράτος. Erasistratos was a famous doctor from Keos and his tomb was located on the promontory of Mykale. He lived during the first part of the third century B.C. This is most disturbing, since our text shows such overwhelming evidence that it was written before the accession of Alexander. This could refer to an earlier Erasistratos, as Müller suggests, but it is more probable that this statement is a later interpolation and, indeed, could be a marginal note that found its way into our text.

"Charadrous": Little is known about this place, but it was evidently located somewhere on the promontory of Mykale.

"Akadamis": As in the case of Charadrous, our text is the basic source for this place. It too was probably located on the promontory of Mykale.

"Mykale": Our author does not describe it as a promontory, as is generally the case (see Herodotos, I, 148). Although it seems to be listed as a city, it may have been left with just its name because it was so well known and needed no clarification. The poor description of this place may also be due to negligence of either our author or a scribe. Stephanos, however, also regards Mykale as a city.

"no smaller than Chios": See also section 113, where our author lists the twenty largest islands according to size.
"the Meander River": Strabo (XIV, 2, 1) also considers the Meander River as the boundary between Lydia and Karia.

Section 99

"Herakleia": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I, #1 F239 p. 34) states that it was called Latmos and was situated next to the mountain called Phtheison by Homer (Iliad II, 868).

"Miletos": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F240 p. 34) also regards Miletos as a city of Karia.

"Myndos": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F243 p. 34.

"near its island": (περὶ τῆς νῆσου) Our author provides little information about this island, but it was probably Arkonnesos (see Strabo, XIV, 2, 16 and Arrian, Anabasis I, 23, 3).

"Halikarnassos": The geographical order seems to be distorted here. Halikarnassos should not come before Karyanda, Kalymna and Kos.

"Kalymna": See Strabo, X, 5, 19; and Stephanos. This island and those near it seem to have caused some confusion among ancient authors. Homer (Iliad II, 677) mentions the islands of Kalydna, which may have included several islands in this vicinity (see also Strabo, X, 5, 19 and Diodoros V, 54). Herodotos (VII, 19) speaks of people known as the Kalydnians.

"Karyanda": We should expect this island before Myndos. Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F243 p. 34) states that in Karia there was another Myndos, which was an ancient city. The Myndos of our author is, perhaps, that more ancient city.

"whose people are Karions": (οὗτοι Καρίες). This phrase seems to be out of place. Despite the problems in the grammar, I have tried to read it as is, for it is not out of character with other inconsistencies in our text.

"the island and harbor of Nisyros": The codex reads συγγραφέας δὴ εὔρος καὶ λυμὼν . I have followed Müller who emends it in the following way: καὶ νῆσος Νήσυρος καὶ λυμὼν . An earlier scholar named Vossius, however, suggests the following ξύμη νῆσος καὶ Νήσυρος . Although Syme was an island off the coast of Karia, it is not on or opposite the Gulf of Korumlakos.

"territory on the mainland belonging to the Rhodians": Müller believes this is a scribal error, and that the land in
question is really the shore of the island facing the mainland, but I see no reason to make such an assumption. Rhodes was in control of most of Karia by 188 B.C., but she may have established domination over various parts of this region even earlier (see W.W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, revised by W.W. Tarn and G.T. Griffith [Cleveland 1952], pp. 174-176). Stephanos moreover, describes Loryma, which was on the mainland, as a Karian city and says that it was a harbor of Rhodes. His source for this information seems to be Hekataios.

"Kaunos": See Herodotos, I, 172 and Strabo, XIV, 2, 2.

"Opposite it...cities in it": Although the syntax is strained, I have tried to follow the codex as closely as possible. The statement, in any case, seems to reflect the synoecism that took place on this island shortly after 411 B.C. At that time the city of Rhodes itself was founded.

"Ilyssos, Lindos, and Kameiros": See Thucydides, VIII, 44.

"Chalkeia": This is probably the Chalke of Thucydides (VIII 41, 44, 45). See also Strabo, X, 5, 14-15, XIV, 2, 12; Pliny, V, 36, 133; and Stephanos, Χάλκεια.

"Kasos": See Strabo, X, 5, 14; Pliny, V, 36, 133; and Stephanos.

"Karpathos, which is comprised of three cities": Strabo (X, 5, 17) claims that it was comprised of four cities.

"Kryassos": See Plutarch, Bravery of Women, VII; the Stadiasmos, 258; and Stephanos, Κρυσάσσος.

Section 100

"the city of Xanthos": This does not appear in the codex, but has been added by Müller. This is probably correct, otherwise the city described as upstream by our author would be Patara, which was on the coast (see Strabo, XIV, 3, 4). For Xanthos see also Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F255 p. 35 and Pliny, V, 28, 100.

"Patara": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F258 p. 35) locates Phellos in Pamphylia. This city is called Antiphellos in the Stadiasmos (242, 243).

"Megiste": See Pliny (V, 35, 131) the Stadiasmos, 243-244. This may be the island of Kisthene mentioned by Strabo (XIV, 3, 7).
"Limyra": Strabo (XIV, 3, 7) says it is 20 stadia upstream, but according to the Stadiasmos (236) it is 60 stadia.

"Gagaia": This is probably the Gagai of the Stadiasmos (235-236) and Pliny (V, 28, 100).

"Chelidonia": See Strabo XIV, 3, 8. Pliny (V, 27, 97), who also calls it the promontory of Taurus (V, 35, 131). Both the promontory and islands are mentioned in the Stadiasmos (232-234).

"the island of Dionysios": See Pliny V, 35, 131.

"Siderous": This is probably identical with the Posidarius of the Stadiasmos (230-231).

"temple of Hephaistos": Pliny (V, 28, 100) names Hephaestium a city in this region. This may be the city called Olympos by Strabo (XIV, 3, 8) but the mountain is called Phoinikous. The author of the Stadiasmos (228-229) considers the city to be Phoinikous and the mountain Olympos.

"a great spontaneous fire": See Pliny V, 28, 100. This mountain seems to have been a very active volcano.

"from the seacoast...Phaselis": There seems to be some confusion here because according to Strabo (XIV, 3, 9) and the Stadiasmos (227) Phaselis is on the coast. Our author may have meant that the course turns away from the open sea and into a gulf on which Phaselis is located.

"there is a gulf here": Although the grammar is confusing, the sense seems clear enough.

"Idyros": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F260 p. 35) mentions a city and river by this name, but he places them in Pamphylia.

"Lyrnateia": Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F261 p. 35) considers this city in Pamphylia. Strabo (XIV, 4, 1), Dionysios Periegetes (875), and Pliny (V, 26) call this place Lyrnessos. In the Stadiasmos (225) it is known as Lyrnata. The island may have actually been a Chersonesos, for Stephanos (Λυρνατέα) mentions the Chersonesos of Lyrnata.

"Magydos": See Ptolemy, V, 5. This may be the Mygdalis of the Stadiasmos (222-223).

"Kataraktes": See Strabo, XIV, 4, 1 and the Stadiasmos, 221.

"The direct voyage...a winding tract": The syntax of this statement in the codex is distorted. I have reluctantly followed Müller's reading, but I am not fully convinced that "for it is a winding tract" has to be transposed to the end of this passage from its position following "a day and a night".

Section 101

"Pamphylia": Arrian (Anabasis I, 26) follows the same sequence of cities in this region as our author.

"Aspendos": See Strabo, XIV, 667.

"Syllion": See Strabo, XIV, 4, 2 and Stephanos, Σύλλευ. Arrian (Anabasis I, 26, 5) calls it Syllion.

"Side": See Strabo, XIV, 4, 2 and Arrian, Anabasis I, 26, 4.

"The voyage past Pamphylia": The boundary between Pamphylia and Lycia is confused. According to Müller from Perge to Side is about 300 stadia, which could be considered a half-day's voyage. Pliny (V, 22, 93) says that at one time this boundary was at the Melas River (see also the Stadiasmos, 213-214). If in our text this were the case, however, Kibyra and Korakesion would not be in Pamphylia. Pliny (V, 23) places the boundary at the promontory of Anemourion and Artemidoros (Strabo, XIV, 5, 3) states that the beginning of Cilicia is at Kelenderis. The statement of Artemidoros could also agree with Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F266 p. 36), who says that the city of Nagidos lies between Cilicia and Pamphylia. The boundaries of Pliny, Artemidoros, and Hekataios would leave Kibyra and Korakesion in Pamphylia, but would demand at least a day's voyage. Müller believes that the confusion is due to either a later addition or the use of divergent sources by our author. The latter supposition seems to me more reasonable.

Section 102

"Charadrous": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F265 p. 35; Strabo, XIV, 5, 3; and the Stadiasmos, 199-200.

"Nagidos": See Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F266 p. 36 and Strabo, XIV, 5, 3.

"the promontory and city of Anemourion": The Greek reads: 'Ανεμουρένη ἄκρα καὶ πόλις. 'Άκρα refers to a promontory (see Strabo
XIV, 5, 3 and Pliny, V, 22, 93, V, 23). This indicates the use of more than one source by our author because throughout much of this text the word from promontory has been ἄκρωτηριον.

"Setos": The location of this place cannot be verified in other ancient sources. Some scholars have substituted Syke, a city mentioned by Athenaeus (III, 786) and Stephanos (Ἐυκατ'). Müller suggests Keton or Ketion, a Phoenician city founded by a group of people known as the Ketioi, who settled Cyprus (see Josephus, Jewish Antiquities I, 127-128). He theorizes that some of them may have migrated to Cilicia. Since neither of these suppositions seems very convincing, I have read the name as it appears in the codex.

"Poseideion": According to the Stadìasmos (193) this was a promontory.

"Salon": Outside of our text nothing is known of this place.

"Myous": This may be the Mandane of the Stadìasmos (192-194).

"Aphrodisios, which is another harbor": The text reads: κελένδερες πόλες καὶ λιµὴν Ἄφροδιτος καὶ λιµὴν ἕτερος. I have taken καὶ λιµὴν with κελένδερες πόλες and καὶ λιµὴν ἕτερος with Ἄφροδιτος. Müller prefers to take the first λιµὴν with Ἄφροδιτος and to treat καὶ λιµὴν ἕτερος as a separate place altogether. The use of ἕτερος here is very strange and its meaning is not clear. For Aphrodisios see Livy, XXXIII, 20, 4; Diodoros, XIX, 64, 5; Pliny, V, 22, 93; the Stadìasmos, 184-187; and Stephanos, Ἀφροδιτος.

"Holmoi...away": ("Ολμοὶ πόλες Ἐλληνος ἄχωσα ) There seems to be something missing from this statement, since no figures appear to specify how far away Holmoi is. There is also no indication as to the place from which Holmoi is some distance away. Pliny (V, 22, 93) speaks of Seleucia, which was located on a river and somewhat removed from the sea. He says that this city used to be called Holmia (see also Strabo, XIV, 5, 4). The author of the Stadìasmos (179-181) mentions Seleukeia and Holmoi as though they were on the coast. Müller suggests the following reading: Ἐλληνος λιμένα ἔχωσα, but I prefer to regard this statement as a reflection of the older settlement of Holmoi, which may have been located somewhat inland.

"Sarpedon": Strabo (XIV, 6, 3), Pliny (V, 22, 92), and the author of the Stadìasmos (177-179) speak of Sarpedon only as a promontory.

"a river": This may be the Kalykadnos River of the Stadìasmos (177).
"Soloi": This city may have been Phoenician in origin, for its name in the Phoenician language denotes rock or cliff (see GGM Volume I, p. 77)

"Adane": (Ἄδανη) This has been emended from ἀλάνη. Pliny (V, 22, 99) mentions a city named Adana. Strabo (XIV, 5, 18) mentions the Gates of Manis and Mount Amanon, beyond Mallos, so that it is possible that our author meant Amane.

"Myriandos": It was generally called Maryandros (see Strabo, XIV, 5, 19 and Stephanos).

"The Thapsakos River": This may be another name for the Orontes River, which according to Letronne (GGM Volume I, p. 77) was the boundary between Lycia and Syria during the time of Xenophon (see also Strabo XIV, 5, 20).

"from seacoast to seacoast...five days": Herodotos (II, 34) expresses the same distance across Asia Minor, but Skymnos (923-925) says the journey is seven days.

Section 103

"Karpaseia": See the Stadiasmos, 314-315. Strabo (XIV, 6, 3; Diodoros, XX, 47, 2; and Stephanos) call this city Karpasia; Pliny (V, 35, 130) mentions Carpasium.

"Keryneia": See the Stadiasmos, 312-313 and Diodoros, XIX, 59, 1; XIX, 62, 6.

"Lepethis": This was probably the Lapathos of Strabo (XIV, 682) and the Lapithos of Diodoros (XIX, 59, 1) and the Stadiasmos (313-314).

"Marion": See Diodoros, XII, 3, 3; XIX, 59, 1; XIX, 79, 4 and Stephanos. Pliny (V, 35, 130) mentions Mareum.

"Amathous, whose inhabitants are indigenous": The Greek reads: Ἀμάθους αὐτόχθονες εἶσον. This syntax is unusual, because there are no plural nouns to which αὐτόχθονες can refer. Although it could refer to all of the cities in this group, that would be illogical because our author has already stated that Lepethis is Phoenician and Marion is Hellenic. Αὐτόχθονες, therefore, must refer to Amathus. One possibility is that it is an insertion from the marginalia. This may simply be another indication of the author's poor style or something may be missing from the text.

"deserted harbors": This may indicate the period of Persian conquest and Phoenician control of this island. Shortly after 448
Its harbors may have fallen out of use by the Greeks and, indeed, seemed deserted. According to Isocrates (Evagoras, 47), when Evagoras recovered Salamis for the Greeks (circa 410), neither the emporion nor the harbor were in use.

Section 104

"Beyond the Thapsakos River...Tripolis": Nothing is known about this Tripolis and there is a strong possibility that it is really a duplication of the Tripolis which is mentioned below. Such duplication could have occurred from the inept compilation of two sources describing the same area.

"the Countenance of God": See Polybios, V, 68, 8 and Strabo, XVI, 2, 15.

"Trieres": See Polybios, V, 68, 9; Strabo, XVI, 2, 15; and Stephanos.

"Leontos": This city does not appear in the codex between Berytos and Borinos. Because our author refers to it later and other authors mention it in this region, Müller adds it to the text and I have adopted this emendation (see Strabo, XVI, 2, 22 and Pliny, V, 16, 78).

"Porphyreon": See Polybios, V, 68, 6 and Stephanos.

"Orinithon": See Strabo, XVI, 2, 24, and Pliny, V, 17, 76.

"From the city of Leontos to the city of Orinithon is": There is evidently a small lacuna here because the syntax indicates that the author was about to supply the distance between these two cities. Just why he designates an interval of distance at this point is not clear.

"Sarapta": See Stephanos. According to Pliny (V, 17, 76) it is Serepta. Josephus (VIII, 320) mentions Sarephthra not far from Sidon and Tyre.

"the island...3 stadia from the seacoast": The meaning of this statement is not very clear. I believe that it refers to Tyre itself, which in the time of Alexander was an island (see Diodoros, XVIII, 40, 3-4).

"the lacuna: It is still possible to read a few things on these pages, but a coherent text is impossible to discern. Several scholars have offered some interesting hypotheses about these lines and Müller presents and discusses the various suggestions.
(GGM Volume I, pp. 79-80). The places that can definitely be dis­tinct ated are a city named Ake, a mountain sacred to Zeus, the city of Arados, the city of Dris (see Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F275 p. 36), another kingdom of the Tyrians, and Askalon. The voyage past Koile Syria is also mentioned and there seems to be a heading for Arabia (105?). In Arabia there seems to be a des­cription of some people who are wanderers on horseback and something is said about sheep and camels.

Section 106 was probably devoted to Egypt. The remainder of the text shows that our author considers that Arabia extends all the way to the Nile, specifically to the Pelousiac mouth of the delta. This mouth is that which is farthest east (see also Strabo, XVII, 1, 21). After several incomplete and confusing remarks about the Arabs and Egyp­tians, the text breaks off. It resumes again on the next page of the codex with the words τὸ δὲ Πελούσιακὸν . This resumption of the text occurs in the midst of a rather complicated description of the delta of the Nile River.

Section 106

"A little below...the Pelousiac": Müller suggests this line to lead into the discussion which follows. This description of the Nile delta is similar in nature to that of Herodotos (II, 17), but the names that he used for some of the branches differ in some cases from those used by our author.

"a double-edged axe": This image is different from that described by Herodotos (II, 8). He says that beyond Memphis the ridge of Arabian hills bends away to the Erythran Sea, but that the Libyan ridge simply runs from north to south. See also Strabo, XVII, 17, 1, 4.

"1300 stadia": Diodoros (I, 34, 1) and Strabo (I, 4, 5; XVII, 1, 6) agree. Pliny calculates 170 miles (1360 stadia).

"Island named Kanopos": See Strabo XVII, 1, 16-17. Aeschylus (Prometheus, 846) mentions a town named Kanopos. Strabo (XIV, 3, 8) says that Kanopos seemed to be situated opposite the islands of Chelidonia in Lycia.

"the monument...Kanopos": See Strabo, XVII, 1, 17; Tacitus, Annals II, 60; and Ammianus, XXII, 16, 14.

"Pelousios came to Kasion": Kasion was probably mentioned in that part of the text in which the lacuna of two pages now appears. The reason for such a statement in this part of the text is not clear. Pelousios seems to refer to some hero, otherwise unknown. Ammianus (XXII, 16, 3) says that the town of Pelousion was founded by Peleus, the father of Achilles.
Section 107

"The Adyrmachidai": We should expect the title, "The Adyrmachidai" first, but the codex has the statement that "Libya begins beyond the mouth of Kanopos" first. Herodotos (V, 168) also considers the Adyrmachidai to be the first tribe of Libya.

"from Thonis": Something may be missing from the text, since our author refers to this city as though it had already been mentioned. Strabo (XVII, 1, 16) and Diodoros (I, 19) speak of this as an ancient city that no longer existed in their time. See also Stephanos, Νευτ.

"150 stadia": See also Strabo, XVII, 1, 6.

"through an area...lacks drinking water": Müller believes this phrase is an insertion from the margin. Although the syntax of the Greek is somewhat strained, I have read the phrase as it is in the codex. In light of the following statement about potable water being transported from Lake Mareia this description of the voyage from Thonis to Pharos seems justified.

"upstream from Pharos to the lake": Upstream must be taken in a broad sense, because this voyage would be through what we would call a channel and not a river.

"the Plinthine Gulf": Herodotos (II, 6) regards this as the western boundary of Egypt.

"The mouth of the Plinthine Gulf": See Strabo, X, 5, 17.

"a half-day": The author of the Stadiasmos (15-16) calculates 110 stadia.

"Paraitonion": See Strabo, XVII, 1, 14; Pliny, V, 5, 32; and Arrian, Anabasis III, 3, 3.

"Apis": Herodotos (II, 18) states that Mareia and Apis are both in that area of Egypt which borders upon Libya. If Mareia is to be associated with Lake Mareia, he seem to have been confused about the proximity of Mareia and Apis. His statement, however, is vague enough to be correct, since both places were, indeed, in the western part of Egyptian territory. On the location of Apis, see Strabo, XVII, 1, 14 and Pliny, V, 6, 39.

Section 108

"The Marmaridai": These people are not mentioned by Herodotos. Although a few place-names in this section of our text are similar to those found in the description of Herodotos, our author is more
detailed in topographical features and speaks of several places not mentioned at all by Herodotos.

"the rocky headlands of Tyndaresos": See Strabo, XVII, 1, 14. The codex reads: τὴν δαρέων σκοπέλους and τὴν δαρέων σκοπέλων; this same corruption appears in the Stadiasmos (25).

"Plynous": Herodotos (IV, 168) says that the territory of the Adyrmachidaí extends all the way to Plynous. See also Strabo, XVII, 3, 22.

"Greater Petras": See Ptolemy, IV, 5 and the Stadiasmos, 33.

"Menelaos": See Herodotos, IV, 169; Strabo, XVII, 3, 22; and the Stadiasmos, 35.

"Krythaneion": See the Stadiasmos, 37-38. This may be the harbor of Skythranios mentioned by Ptolemy (IV, 5).

"Antipygos": Ptolemy (IV, 5) and the author of the Stadiasmos (38) call it Antipyrgos. The name of Antipygos also occurs in section 46 of our text.

"Lesser Petras": See Ptolemy, IV, 5.

"the Chersonesos of Achitides": Our author is extremely inconsistent in the use of these names. In this section he speaks of this Chersonesos in the plural, but in section 47 in the singular. I have chosen to use the singular instead of the plural because that is the way it appears in section 47 and the same term is used regularly in the singular in other parts of our text as well (sections 67 and 104). Our author refers to this Chersonesos by name three times and spells it three different ways. I have chosen the spelling of Achitides based on the codex for this section. The place can probably be identified with Aziris of Herodotos (IV, 157) See the note to section 47.

"the islands of Aedonia": See Ptolemy, IV, 5. This may be the island called Sidonia which is mentioned in the Stadiasmos (41).

"Plateiai": See also the Stadiasmos (42). This is undoubtedly the Platea of Herodotos (IV, 153, 156, and 169).

"silphion": Herodotos (IV, 169) also says that this plant begins to grow in the same region.

"Naustathmos": See Strabo, XVII, 3, 22 and the Stadiasmos 51-52.
"the harbor of Cyrene": It was later called Apollonia (see the Stadiasmos, 52-53).

"100 stadia": This interval is 120 stadia in the Stadiasmos (52).

"the Gulf of Phykos": See Strabo, XVII, 3, 20 and the Stadiasmos, 53.

"the garden of the Hesperides": This inland region does not seem to correspond with the Hesperides mentioned by other writers. Herodotus (IV, 121) speaks of a place called Euesperides, but he locates it on the seacoast. The Garden of the Hesperides may be identical with an area mentioned by Pliny (V, 5, 31) and the author of the Stadiasmos (57). It was later called Berenike, but it was located on the coast southwest of Taucheira, where our author, indeed, locates a city and harbor of Hesperides. This may, therefore be a duplication due to the compilation of our text from more than one source.

"Ampelos...Taucheira": Little is known of any of these places. The garden may be that considered the Hesperides by other writers (see Pliny, V, 5, 31). Apios is perhaps the place called Aspis by Strabo (XVII, 3, 20).

"the village of Kaukalos": Nothing is known of this location.

"the city and harbor of Hesperides": See the note above on "the Garden of the Hesperides."

"the river of Ekkeios": This may be the Lathon River of Strabo (XVII, 3, 20), the Lethon of Athenaeus (II, 71, b), and the Leiton of Pliny (V, 5, 31).

Section 109

"The Nasomones and the Makai": See Herodotus, IV, 172-175.

"5000 stadia": Our author does not say what this measurement includes or how it is calculated. Eratosthenes (Strabo, II, 5, 20) and Agathemeros (III, 8) give this figure as the circumference of this gulf, but the calculations at the end of this section indicate that this measurement is of some part of the Syrtis, for the figures for coastal intervals, which are given in days' voyages amount to more than 5000 stadia.

"the Nasamones inhabit...as far as the deepest recess": See Herodotus, (II, 32; IV, 172; Strabo, II, 5, 33; XVII, 3, 20; and Pliny, V, 5, 33. Pausanias (I, 33, 5) locates them farther west.
"the banks of Herakles": See the *Stadiasmos*, 66.

"three islands of Pontiai": These were probably Skopelites, Pontia, and Maia mentioned in the *Stadiasmos* (73-76).

"the islands called the Leukai": According to Müller there are in this area several small islands that our author could have had in mind.

"the Altars of Philainos": See Polybios, III, 39, 2; Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, 19, 3; Strabo, XVII, 3, 20; and the *Stadiasmos*, 84-85.

"the grove of Ammon of the Syrtis": The codex reads: "Ἀμώνος ἄλος τῆς Συρτιδος". I have followed Müller's suggestion and read ἄλος as ἄλος. This place may be identified with the Springs of Ammon mentioned in the *Stadiasmos* (82-83). It should be noted, however, that the *Stadiasmos* has a different geographical order for this region than that followed by our author. Although "of the Syrtis" seems to be repeated unnecessarily here, I have taken this as part of the identification of this particular shrine to Ammon.

"the Makai": See Herodotos, IV, 175; Diodoros, III, 49, 1; and Pliny, V, 5, 34.

"They spend their winters...herds with them": In addition to this information Herodotos (IV, 172) provides more detail about the way of life of the Makai.

"Kinyps": See Herodotos, IV, 175 and Pliny, V, 4, 27.

"Neapolis": This was later called Leptis (see Strabo, XVII, 3, 18).

"From Neapolis...80 stadia": There seems to be some portion of the text missing here, for Neapolis is mentioned so abruptly and without any attempt to locate it. In section 110 our author says that Neapolis is in the territory of the Carthaginians. The statement that seems to be lost is that describing the beginning of the territory of Carthage. Assuming that the city of Kinyps was located on the Kinyps River, I suggest that our author considered this river as the limit of Carthaginian territory. It should also be noted that the Kinyps River would probably have been introduced before the distance between Neapolis and the Syrtis was specified. I have followed Müller and not read the word πάντα, which appears in the codex after the number 80 (π'').

"the length of the Syrtis...three days and nights": This should
be about 3000 stadia. The actual distance is about 1600 stadia and, although some extra distance could be the result of coasting, our author's figure seems much too large. Eratosthenes (Strabo, II, 5, 20) calculates 1800 stadia; the author of the Stadiasmos (84) 2000 stadia.

"from the Kinyps River...four days and four nights": This should be about 4000 stadia, but in reality is closer to 3000.

Section 110

"The Lotus Eaters": See Homer, Odyssey IX, 82-93; Herodotos, IV, 177; Strabo, III, 4, 3, XVII, 3, 8; and Pliny, V, 4, 28.

"Neapolis in the territory of the Carthaginians": This statement occurs without any indication of where the territory of Carthage begins. Müller believes that our author used a source which made the Altars of Philainos the beginning of Carthaginian territory. I suggest that the beginning is at the Kinyps River (see notes to section 109 regarding "from Neapolis").

"Graphara": This can possibly be identified with Garapha of Ptolemy (IV, 3).

"Abrotonon": See Strabo, XVII, 3, 18 and Stephanos. Pliny (V, 4, 27) calls this place Habratonum. Müller believes that this was a Phoenician town known as Sabratha (see Silius Italicus, Punica III, 256 and the Stadiasmos, 99-100). Pliny (V, 3, 25) calls this place Sabrata, but he does not seem to identify it with Habratonum. Although the city of Abrotonon may have originally been Phoenician, it should not be identified with Sabratha.

"Taricheiai": There is a Taricheiai mentioned in the Stadiasmos (91-92), but it is within the Greater Syrtis. Müller suggests that the Taricheiai of our text be identified with Zeocaris of the Stadiasmos (101-102). This city is 600 stadia west of Sabratha. Leocharis, moreover, can possibly be identified with Ζουχηις of Strabo (XVII, 3, 18), who says in this city there are all sorts of places for salting fish (ταυροξεύων ταυρομυζών). He goes on to say, however, that after Taricheiai is Abrotonon. Stephanos (Ταξικέαυς) indicates that Taricheiai, surely a form of Tarichei, was a common name. Places for salting fish were probably numerous along a coast such as this and there could easily have been several places with this name.

"an island named Bracheion": Although this island is located opposite the region inhabited by the Lotus Eaters, its position is not clear, as is demonstrated somewhat later, when our author says
that this island is a day's voyage from Taricheiai. Because the name of Bracheion is not mentioned in other authors, some scholars believe that there is a problem with the text (GGM Volume I, pp. 86-87). This may be the island named Meninx by Polybios (I, 39,2) Strabo (III, 4, 3; XVII, 3, 17), Dionysios Periegetes (480), and Stephanos (Μήνης). The author of the Stadiasmos (103-104) calls it Meninga.

"by the Lotus-Eaters of Taricheiai": (μετὰ Λωτοφάγους κατὰ Ταρικέτας) Müller following earlier scholars assumes this phrase locates the island. Since, however, our author has stated that the Lotus-Eaters live in a region extending all the way to the Lesser Syrtis, Bracheion cannot be located after (μετὰ) the Lotus Eaters. Besides our author has already provided a point of reference, albeit vague, by saying "opposite this region" (κατὰ δὲ τὰ ῥώματα), i.e. that of the Lotus-Eaters. Instead of suggesting drastic emendation, as Müller does, I believe that the author of our Periplous used μετὰ in the sense of "according to" more precisely, "following the custom of this group of Lotus-Eaters." Κατὰ, in turn identifies the specific group of Lotus-Eaters as those living in the vicinity of Taricheiai.

"this island is 300 stadia in length": According to Müller, Pliny (V, 7, 41) is more accurate when he says this length is 25 miles (200 stadia).

"3 stadia away from the mainland": Today there is a distance of 20 stadia separating this island from the mainland.

"lotus...wine": Herodotos (IV, 77) also mentions that lotus is used to produce wine.

"Eschides": The codex names this place "Εσχὶδες and "Εσχίδες", which are undoubtedly the same unless something has fallen out of the text between these two names. Müller believes that this city can be identified with Gichthis of Ptolemy (IV, 3) and even feels this name should be inserted into the text. It may also be the same as the Gergis of the Stadiasmos (102-105), although the geographical order for this region in the latter text is confusing. I agree that this identification is probable, but have adhered to a spelling based on the codex and chosen the name that seems to resemble Gichthis most closely.

"Neapolis": This name does not appear in this part of the codex, but we should expect a city to be named, to which there is a day's sail from Eschides. I have adopted Müller's suggestion that the city named was Makomada or Neapolis (see Pliny, V, 3, 25). Beyond Gergis the author of the Stadiasmos (107) mentions a Neapolis and Müller
points out that Makom-ades is the Semitic equivalent of *vēs bāyṯ.* This is probably the same Neapolis mentioned later as the termination of the Lesser Syrtis.

"Kerkinitis": Strabo (XVII, 3, 16) mentions a small island named Kerkinitis, which is next to a large island that he calls Kerkinna. Which of these islands our author had in mind is not clear.

"From Thapsos...the Lesser Syrtis": There seems to be a lacuna in this passage, for we should expect something more to be said about the Lesser Leptis and Adrymetos and, indeed, description seems to be resumed in mid-sentence. The location of the Lesser Syrtis is also distorted, since it should be mentioned before Thapsos. Our author, in fact, reverses his progress and returns to the Lesser Syrtis. This gulf is, nevertheless, inland from Lesser Leptis and Adrymetos because they are on that part of the Libyan coast that turns northward.

"2000 stadia": Eratosthenes (Strabo, II, V, 20) and Agathemeros (III, 8) calculate 1600 stadia; Polybios (Pliny, V, 4, 26) says it is 2400 stadia (300 miles).

"the lake called Triton": The codex reads: ἡ νῆσος Τριτωνής καλομεῖνη, but the description that follows is clearly of a lake. Herodotus (IV, 178-179) also describes Lake Triton, although he seems to regard the Lesser Syrtis and this lake as the same place.

"the Triton River": Herodotus (IV, 178) says that this river is large and that it flows into Lake Triton, but there are only some small streams that flow into this lake. There is a possibility that the river in question actually flowed into the Lesser Syrtis (see George Rawlinson's note in his translation of the Histories of Herodotus, Volume III, p. 154.)

"the temple of Athena Tritonis": Herodotus (IV, 88) mentions that Athena is especially important to the inhabitants of this region and he describes some sacred rites performed for her by the natives of this area (Herodotus, IV, 180).

"in the mouth an island": This is probably Phla mentioned by Herodotus (IV, 178), although he says that it is in Lake Triton.

"All the tribes...All these Libyans": Müller believes that Πάντες and ἄχαντες in this passage are corruptions of Πυγαντες (Herodotus, IV, 194) or Ζωγαντες (Hekataios, FGrH Volume I #1 F337 p. 44) or Ηὗταντες (Ptolemy, IV, 5). Herodotus, however, does not locate the Guzantes around Lake Triton. Although the syntax in parts of this passage is somewhat strained, I have chosen to read Πάντες and ἄχαντες as though the author was generalizing
about the tribal makeup of this region.

"naturally golden": The codex reads: ξανθός ἄραστος. The meaning of ἄραστος is very unclear. I have treated it as though it should be ἄραστος. Müller believes it should be ἀράστος.

"very wealthy and very beautiful": Although it is repetitious, I have chosen to read it, since it is not uncharacteristic of the prose of our author. Some scholars (CCM Volume I, p. 89) believe the second "very beautiful" καλλιότος should be deleted.

"Neapolis": Our author seems to be speaking of two different cities with the name of Neapolis in this region. One is at the limit of the Lesser Syrtis and the other is beyond Adrymetos. As noted above, however, the geographical order into which the Lesser Syrtis falls is disturbed and there may simply be confusion about one place. The mention of Neapolis and Adrymetos, in any case, returns the narrative to that point at which our author digressed back into the Lesser Syrtis. For the Neapolis beyond Adrymetos see Strabo XVII, 3, 17 and Pliny, V, 4, 27.

"from the river": Something may be missing from the text at this point since this river is abruptly introduced and its name is not even supplied. It seems to be situated near the isthmus just before Carthage.

Section 111

"From Hermaia...a half-day": Müller calculates 300 stadia, which can reasonably be considered a half-day.

"Pontia": This may have been the same as Aigimouros of Strabo (XVII, 3, 16). See also Livy, XXX, 24, 9 and Pliny, V, 7, 42.

"Kosyros": This may be Korsoura or Kossoura, both of which are mentioned by Strabo (XVII, 3, 16) as though they were two different islands.

"Melite": This is the modern island of Malta (see Strabo XVII, 3, 16).

"Ityke": This may have been a variant of Utika (see Strabo, XVII, 3, 13).

"From Ityke...the city of Hippo": Müller believes that the mention of the city of Hippo is an insertion from the margin. Another possibility, which Müller mentions and which I have followed is, that this was originally a statement of the distance between
Ityke and the promontory of Hippo. In this case, the distance, which should be about 300 stadia, has fallen out. Following this statement was the introduction of the city of Hippo and in the midst of that introduction our text resumes. The promontory and city of Hippo are mentioned by Diodoros, XX, 55, 3 and Stephanos 'Ιπποδακρα. Müller believes that this was a Phoenician city, but Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F343 p. 44) says that it is an Ionian city. I consider the Hippo of this text to be the same as that of Hekataios. If this is the case then this reference to it must have come from an early source, because the Ionians were probably no longer settled in this area after 520 B.C. (see Hans Treidler, "Eine alte ionische Kolonisation im numidischen Afrika - ihre historische und geografische Grundlage," Historia VIII (1959), pp. 265-269).

"The following islands...the following cities": This is a confusing statement. After prefacing this list with "the following islands" and saying "on these islands" our author mentions Psegas as though it was not an island. The names of places that follow, moreover, indicate an area much larger than the relatively small lake near Hippo. It is most probable that only Psegas and the islands of Naxikai opposite it are to be connected with the lake. The rest of the places would, therefore, be located along the shores west of Hippo. Müller believes that the phrase "on these islands" should be deleted since he can find only one island in this lake. I have read the phrase because it is not uncharacteristic of the confusing and inconsistent style used throughout this text.

"Psegas": This city is not known among other writers of antiquity.

"islands of Naxikai": Their location is very unclear, but their name indicates they were settled by Greeks, but they may have been little more than trading posts. Since the Greeks probably left this area by 520 B.C., this information could be from an early source (see Treidler, pp. 275-277).

"Pithekousai": This city was also probably part of the early Greek colonization of Libya (see Treidler, pp. 269-275). This might account for the name of this city. Diodoros (XX, 58, 3) mentions that there are three cities by this name in the hinterland.

"Euboea": This was probably another Greek settlement established very early in this region (see Treidler, pp. 275-281).

"Thapsa": Strabo (XVII, 3, 16) and Pliny mention a city named Thapsos.

"Akion": This island is unknown to other ancient writers, but
Müller suggests the modern island of Aschah, which is a reasonable possibility.

"Chalka": Although the location of this island is uncertain, Stephanos speaks of a city named Chalke.

"Arylon, Mes": Outside our text, nothing is known of these cities.

"Sige on a river": This may be the Siga of Strabo (XVII, 3, 9) and the Sicca of Pliny (V, 22)

"Akra": Müller rightly suggests the modern city of Harchgoun.

"Akros": The text is confusing. I have followed Müller and treated Akros and Akra as two different places.

"the Pillar of Herakles": There seems to have been some confusion among ancient authors about the number of the Pillars. (see note to section 1). In any case the peak of Abilyke seems to have been frequently considered one of them.

"the voyage past...seven days and seven nights": An earlier scholar named Gailius inserted "to the Pillars of Herakles" into this statement. Although this is certainly the measurement our author had in mind, it gives the sentence a precision that is unwarranted and, indeed, creates some strain to the Greek syntax. As a consequence I have not inserted this phrase into my reading.

"under the best sailing conditions": For this phrase I have followed the interpretation of Bunbury (Volume I, p. 391).

Section 112

"After the Pillars of Herakles": The author of our Periplous seems to have used two sources for this section. The first describes the area to the Anides River, the second mentions the Lixos River, the Krabis River, and Thymiateria, but both are discussions of the same geographical area. The latter description parallels that of Hanno and his Periplous must have been the source.

"also a promontory of Hermaia": The other one is mentioned in section 111.

"Pontion": Precise identification of this place is impossible. Although our author says it is located in the middle of the Gulf of Kotes, that hardly provides enough detail. Müller somewhat questionably suggests that this was the Phoenician name for the city
called Thymiateria by the Greeks. Since Hanno (2) mentions a Thymiaterion, there is no reason why this could not be the other way around, i.e. that Pontion was the Greek and Thymiateria the Phoenician name. Although these two places were probably near each other, I believe they should be regarded as separate locations.

"a large lake...many islands...Kephesias": Hanno (4) and Pliny (XXXVII, 11, 37) also describe this lake, but say nothing about these islands. Since they refer to it as a marsh, the islands of our author may have been no more than bogs.

"Around the lake calamus...exported from there": There is a problem in the Greek here and I have followed Müller's text. The most problematical emendation concerns the Birds of Meleager, but Pliny's account (XXXVII, 11, 38) supports Müller's alteration. Pliny also mentions that the birds of Meleager are found in this region.

"Kotes": Strabo (XVII, 3, 2) mentions a spur of land extending westward from Mount Atlas and he considers the waters south of this spur of land the Gulf of Emporion. Müller perhaps rightly considers the names Kotes to be Phoenician, because the Semitic kotef is associated with the wine harvest and this area was evidently rich in vineyards.

"sunken rocks": According to legend they were part of the road of Herakles, which he built when searching for his herd (see Avienus, Ora Maritima 323-328 and the Suda, "Eppa.

"the Anides River": This is probably the Anatis River of Pliny (V, 1, 9) citing Agrippa.

"Lixos": The Lixos River is also mentioned by Hanno (6). From this point the author of our Periplous relies more strongly upon the text of Hanno. Instead of proceeding from the Lixos River, however, our author returns to the places mentioned by Hanno just after the Pillars of Herakles. This may have been the result of confusion between a more northerly Lixos and that of Hanno. Artemidoros (Strabo, XVII, 3, 2) speaks of a Lixos near Lingsos, which is probably Tingis. Stephanos (Λύγις) mentions a river and city named Lingx in Mauritania and says that some call it Lixos (see also Λύγις and Λύξα). Hekataios (FGrH Volume I #1 F355 p. 45) mentions a Lixan River, but says that it is near a lake called Douriza which might be the lake called Kephisias by our author.

"the Krabis River": This may be the Crathis of Pliny (XXXVII, 11, 38) who says that it flows out of the lake of Kephisias. There is evidently no river flowing out of this lake, but there is one that
flows into the sea somewhat to the south of the lake.

"Thymiateria": Hanno (2) calls this city Thymiaterion. See also Stephanos, Θυμιατηρία.

"From Thymiateria...Solois": Something seems to be missing from the codex. I have followed Müller who adds the word πλοῦς. Although it is tempting to supply the distance between these two points, there is no reason to do so, because our author provides this information later in this section.

"the promontory of Solois": See Hanno, 3.

"a large altar of Poseidon of the Sea": The codex reads: ἐν μέγιστῃ ποιήσει ποσειδῶνος. The μεγίστη must surely be μεγάς, but the ποιήση is most perplexing. Although Clausen suggests that this was an altar to the goddess Vengeance (Ποσείδών) and Poseidon, I have followed the interpretation of others (CGM Volume I, p. 93) that this refers to some aspect of Poseidon and perhaps could be παντοποσειδῶνος. Hanno (4) claims to have established this altar, but simply says it was to Poseidon.

"the Xion": This may be identified with the Lixos of Hanno (6).

"holy Aethiopians": Instead of "holy" (ἱεροῦ), which appears in the codex, Müller reads, "western" (ἐξωτερικοῦ). In the belief that our author is making reference to the favor shown to the Aethiopians by the gods (see Homer, Iliad I, 283; Odyssey I, 22–26; V, 282) I have followed the codex.

"Kerne": Hanno (8) claims to have established a city named Kerne after sailing beyond the region of the Lixos River for thirteen days. Our author states that Kerne is seven days from the promontory of Solois.

"Altogether...the voyage past is twelve days": According to Hanno the voyage to Kerne was about seventeen days. The major discrepancy is due to the calculation of the voyage from the promontory of Solois to Kerne. Our author claims it is seven days, Hanno about fifteen.

"The regions beyond": According to Plutarch (Theseus, I) such statements about the peril of the seas in distant areas were quite regularly used to mask the author's ignorance. This comment, however, about poor sailing conditions probably came from one of our author's sources. It was not Hanno, because such remarks are not included in his narrative.
"The merchants...are Phoenicians": The Phoenicians referred to are probably Carthaginians.

"they have already set up their quarters": (οκνας πολυσωμενα) The use of οκνας, as Müller points out, indicates that this was a trading post and not a permanent settlement. Herodotos (IV, 196) also describes an active trade in this region and how it was carried on by the Carthaginians. The trade he speaks of, however, was done by mute bargaining and does not seem to have been as carefully organized as that described by our author. Herodotos does not specify that the Libyans involved in this trade were Aethiopians nor does he say much about the merchandise traded.

"In this region...Aethiopians...agreements are made": There is a problem in the Greek text and I suggest the following reading: εις δε ουτοι Αθεοτες προς (or possibly κατωτην ηπειρου προς ους βλατθεντα). Müller suggests either δορας or δερματος. I have adopted the latter suggestion.

"These Aethiopians are the tallest": Herodotos (II, 20, 114) also speaks of the extraordinary height of these people.

"tallest is their king": The Greek is μεγατος. I have translated "tallest", instead of "greatest", because in the preceding description of the Aethiopians our author calls attention to their extraordinary height.

"charred missiles": Herodotos (VII, 71) describing a contingent of Libyans in the army of Xerxes says that they carried javelins that were hardened by fire. Strabo (III, 5, 1) says that some men of the Balearic islands carried javelins with tips hardened by fire.

"unguent": Pliny (XIII, 2, 6), Athenaeus (XV, 38, and Lucian Dialogues of the Courtesans, 14) also mention Phoenician unguent.

"Egyptian stone": This may be glass (see Herodotos, 11, 69 and Strabo, XVI, 2, 25).

"slaughtered boars": (εκρους εξαρδκους). It is impossible to discern with any certainty what εξαρδκους means. I have taken it to be derived from εξαρδσου and stretching the meaning a bit I have suggested "slaughtered". An earlier scholar named Gailius offers "castrated", and Müller merely notes that it is a strange type of merchandise.
"a large city": Diodoros (III, 53, 6) speaks of a city named Menes sacred to the fish-eating Aethiopians and Pliny (V, 8) mentions a town called Magium of the Aethiopians. It is, of course, impossible to discern whether our author had either of these places in mind.

Section 113

"A Parallel": (Ἀτδφραγμα) Although I have translated this as parallel, it is inaccurate, for the measurements lack any precision. The lines moreover, are not straight and only roughly parallel. I have designated them as parallels because they are a rude attempt at establishing some lines of latitude.

"from the Euripos River...750 stadia": the numbers are corrupt in this statement; I have followed Müller's text and his calculations.

"Paionion": This place is not known by other ancient writers.

"From Andros": Müller would insert Paionion before Andros. I prefer to leave Paionion unmentioned in this sentence.

"Melantia": See Strabo, XIV, 1, 13 and Apollonios, IV, 1706-1707.

"from Mykonos to...140 stadia": According to Müller this segment should not be so long, but the rocks of Melantia could demand a circuitous voyage.

"From Melantia...a morning's voyage": According to Müller this is about 190 stadia, which could be a morning's voyage.

"300 stadia...of Ikaros itself": Agathemeros (V, 26) agrees with this figure; Strabo (XIV, 1, 19) says the circumference of this island is 300 stadia. Müller gives the true measurement of 214 stadia, but we should keep in mind that our author's figures may be based on coastal measurement.

"Samos...200 stadia": According to Müller 250 stadia is a more accurate figure.

"From Samos to Mykale...7 stadia": Müller claims that it should be 17 (ς') rather than 7 (ζ'). Since our author did not have any sophisticated equipment for his measurements, I have followed the reading of the codex.

"the total": This whole statement is confused. I have followed Müller's suggestions, although they demand considerable emendation of the text. The total is most difficult to arrive at because two
measurements were given as a morning's voyage. In addition something seems to be missing at the end of this statement.

Section 114

"Another Parallel": Most of the figures in this section are corrupt and grossly inaccurate. Müller offers more reasonable figures and I have followed his suggestions.

"From Malea": This phrase does not appear in the codex, but has been inserted by Müller. Otherwise the statement would read "to Kythera is 30 stadia."

"The length of Aigilia...Krete is a morning's voyage": Müller has added these two lines. It seems, indeed, unreasonable that Crete would be mentioned before the distance to it was provided.

Section 115

"The Magnitude of the Islands": We should expect that Sicily would be first (see Strabo, II, 5, 19). Besides our author Timaios (cited by Strabo, XIV, 2, 10) is the only other ancient writer who places Sardo first. Ironically, modern surveying shows that Sardo is, indeed, the largest of the Mediterranean islands (see Bunbury, Volume I, p. 406).
1. Herodotos, V, 33

When Negabates was making his rounds of the watches on the ships, nobody was guarding a ship of Myndia. He became quite angry at this and ordered his bodyguard to find the man in charge of this ship. The captain's name was Skylax and Megabates ordered his men to seize and bind the offender in an oar-port on the side of the ship and put his head outside, his body inside. After Skylax was bound, someone informed Aristagoras that his Myndian friend had been bound and was being mistreated by Megabates. Aristagoras went to Megabates and pleaded with him, but when he did not gain his request, he went himself and released his friend.

2. CIG II # 2953b, 5-7

A Skylax, the son of Leonteaios, is named as Secretary of the Overseers of Temples. According to A. Boekh this inscription on marble was probably from Ephesos; he suggests a date of circa 330 B.C.
3. *IG* I\(^2\) 1492, pp. 103-118

This attic inscription on Hymettic marble, which is an account of the transactions under the direction of the Treasurers of Athena, mentions the name of Skylax. The date is circa 306/5 B.C.

4. *IG* VII. 280

This is a Boeotian inscription of the period when Lysimachos was King (circa 306-281 B.C.), which lists special favors bestowed upon the benefactor, Theomnastos, the son of Skylax.

5. *IG* XII, 883

This inscription from the island of Tenos of the first century B.C. lists Skylax, the son of Theodotos as a Gymnasiarch.

7. *IG* VII, 3103

This Boeotian inscription circa A.D. 14-23, names Skylax, the son of Sosikrates, in connection with honors bestowed upon Drusus Germanicus Caesar.

8. *IG* VII, 2234

This inscription from Thisbe in Boeotia of the Roman Imperial Period records the dedication of a temple to Artemis by Skylax, the son of Skylax.

8. *CIG* IV, 7258

The name of Skylax in the Genitive case (Σκυλάκως) has been inscribed on several gems and is probably the name of the craftsman who made them. There is no indication of their origin or date.
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