

THE EXPOSITIO TOTIUS MUNDI ET GENTIUM:
ITS GEOGRAPHY AND ITS LANGUAGE

A Thesis

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by

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Introduction

The Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium is much less pretentious than its title implies. The fourth-century (A.D.) geographical treatise is less than 600 lines in length, fails to mention several of the known lands and peoples of the world, and is quite weak in its treatment of those that it does mention. Yet in spite of all of these faults in the early part of the twentieth century the work was the subject of a controversy which involved such well-known scholars as Alfred Klotz and Eduard Wölfflin.

The little geography is written in a conversational if less than literary style and, moving from the unknown East of the "orbis terrae," counterclockwise around the Mediterranean, and through the islands therein to Britain, it describes many known (and some unknown) countries and provinces in terms of outstanding characteristics and matters of economic importance. Its title is derived from a single line in capital letters at the end of the work: **EXPLICIT EXPOSITIO TOTIVS MVNDI ET GENTIVM.**

The work was discovered in the early part of the 17th century by one Franciscus Juretus.¹ He gave it to his friend, the classical scholar Claudius Salmasius, and he, in turn, handed it on to Jacobus Gothofredus, who published the first critical edition in 1628.² Among other things he postulated a longer Greek original from which the

Latin text he possessed had been translated, and wrote a duplicate version of the Expositio in either Latin or Greek.³ Since the manuscript has been lost,⁴ all later texts are based on this edition.

Significant commentaries on the text were published by Jacobus Gronovius in 1697 and by G. Joseph Vossius in 1712;⁵ then in 1861 Karl Müller in his Geographi Graeci Minores published an outstanding emended edition of the text. Not only did he make many excellent observations on the language and content of the work, but he printed with the original a later, parallel edition of the text with the original. Taken from a twelfth-century manuscript by Angelo Mai in 1831, this second edition, bearing the title Iunioris Philosophi Orbis Descriptio, is written in much better Latin than the earlier one, and poses an interesting problem. If, as Gothofredus and the later commentators maintain, there was a Greek original, did the author of the later text have access to it? Or was his edition merely a stylistic improvement of the earlier Latin version?

Alexander Riese in his Geographi Latini Minores⁶ of 1878 published an edition of the text with a minimal amount of emendation and confined all clarifying references to the later text and to earlier commentators to footnotes.⁷

The 1903 edition of the text by Giacomo Lumbroso largely eclipses that of Riese in that he prints the original manuscript without any emendations whatsoever and interpolates lines from the later version into the text where they may be necessary for clarification. His edition is also characterized by a great deal of learned commentary, not only on the text itself but also on its geography.

The latest edition of the text is that of Thaddaeus Sinko in the Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie of 1904. In a brief introduction Sinko challenges the hitherto unquestioned idea of a Greek original; his text, based on that of Lumbroso, contains many emendations, several of which are grounded in this premise.

Wölfflin in an article in the same volume of the Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie defends Sinko's idea that the Expositio may very well be an original Latin work. On the other side of this question, Alfred Klotz in an article in Philologus of 1906 soundly defends the idea of a Greek original and presents some excellent criticisms of Sinko's text.

The purpose of this thesis is not to decide the still unsolved question of the Greek original, but to provide a locus of information on the subject of the Expositio for such students as may have occasion to look into it. The author believes that these students will fall into two categories: those interested in ancient geography, and those interested in Late Latin. For the former group there is a short treatise on the geography of the Expositio and a translation of the text which, it is hoped, will serve to indicate its content. For the latter group there is a short treatise on the language of the Expositio and a new edition of the text.

Though the older texts of Müller, Riese, Lumbroso, and Sinko are all excellent and well done, no one of these suits the requirements of this paper: the author would like to present a text which is both readable and at the same time retains as many of the linguistic pecu-

liarities of the Expositio as possible. The texts of Müller, Riese, and Sinko are readable at the expense of the Latin involved, while that of Lombroso is hardly able to be deciphered. Another reason for a new text is that the emendations suggested by Klotz in his article have never been incorporated into any text. And finally it was thought that the inclusion of a text in the body of this thesis would be a convenience for the reader because of the numerous references to it in both essays.

Footnotes

¹ Alfred Klotz, "Über die Expositio totius mundi et gentium," Philologus, volume LXV, 1906, p. 97; Berger, "Expositio totius mundi et gentium," Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Alterumswissenschaft, volume VI, p. 1693; Thaddaeus Sinko, "Die Descriptio orbis terrae, eine Handelsgeographie aus dem 4. Jahrhundert," Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie, volume XIII, 1904, p. 531; and Karl Müller, "Incipit Liber Iunioris Philosophi," Geographi Graeci Minores, (Paris: Institutum Franciae Typographo), volume II, p. 513.

² Klotz, loc. cit.; Berger, loc. cit.; Sinko, loc. cit.; Müller, loc. cit.; and Giacomo Lumbroso, "Expositio totius mundi et gentium," Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, series 5, volume VI, p. 124.

³ Klotz, loc. cit.; and Berger, loc. cit. The title of Gothofredus' edition is:

Vetus orbis descriptio Graeci scriptoris sub constantio et
Constantio imperatoribus nunc primum post mille trecentos
ferme annos edita cum duplici versione et notis Iacobi
Gothofredi IC. Genevae ex typographia Petri Chouët.

Since the duplex versio does not survive, there is room for much speculation as to exactly what it was.

⁴ Klotz, loc. cit.; Sinko, loc. cit., and Müller, loc. cit.

⁵ Berger, loc. cit., and Sinko, loc. cit.

⁶ Heilbronn: Henningeri Fratres, 1878.

⁷ Klotz, op. cit., p. 98; Berger, loc. cit.; and Sinko, loc. cit.

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A Text of the Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium

The following text is based upon that of Thaddaeus Sinko which appeared in the 1904 edition (volume XIII) of Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie on pages 543 through 571. All departures from this text are noted in the supplied critical apparatus. These departures are either expressed or implied in the article "Über die Expositio totius mundi et gentium" by Alfred Klotz in the 1906 edition (volume LXV) of Philologus on pages 97 through 127, or are expressed in the emended edition of the text which appears on pages 514 through 528 of volume II of Karl Müller's Geographi Graeci Minores (Paris: Institutum Franciae Typographo, 1861). With the exception of one, all of the emendations of Sinko's text suggested by Klotz revert to the original edition by Gothfredus which was taken from the now lost manuscript of Juretus. This is referred to throughout this thesis as the "A" edition and is most conveniently found on pages 126 through 168 of the Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, series 5, volume VI as read by Giacomo Lumbroso. The Iunioris Philosophi text, to which several references are made for purposes of clarification, is called the "B" edition, and is found on pages 513 through 528 of the above-mentioned book by Müller. Si= Sinko, Kl= Klotz, and Mue= Müller's edition of the Expositio.

EXPOSITIO TOTIUS MUNDI ET GENTIUM

I....sunt autem et sine imperio, se regentes videlicet. escam vero non utuntur omnibus communem scilicet quod neque malitiam corporis nostri habent; neque enim pulex neque pedulus nec cimes aut lindes apud eos in-
 5 venit aut in corpore aliquid infirmum. neque vero vestimenta utuntur omnibus communia, sed ita inlibata est vestis eorum quae neque insordidari potest; et si hoc contingat, per ignem labium loturam expetunt, ardens enim melior fit. neque seminant neque metunt. sunt enim
 10 species excellentes variae et pretiosae, veluti lapides pretiosi, hoc est smaragdi, margaritas, iacinti et carbunculus et saphirus in montibus, et inde omnes exeunt sic secundum hunc modum: fluvius exiens exit in montibus per singulos dies et noctes manans, magis vero adsidet
 15 cacumina montium et in multitudine aquae cingit. proximae gentis astutia invenit artem per quam quae exinde exeunt invenire possit; facientes retias in congesta loca fluvii suscipiunt ventura. cum tanta vero felicitate neque laborant neque aegrotant, solum autem moriuntur
 20 scientes et diem mortis suae. moriuntur enim omnino centum decem et octo et centum viginti annorum, et maior

1 se regentes A; Serae gentes Si. 13 secundum hunc modum secl. Si. exiens A; Exiens Si. 14 dies et noctes A; divisus alveos Si. magis vero adsidet secl. Si; abscindit B. 15 montium et in multitudine Mue; montium in multitudine Si. 17 facientes A; iacientes Si. 21 decem...viginti secl. Si.

minoris mortem non dolet, nec parentes filiorum. scientes singuli diem mortis suae sibi faciunt sarcofagum de aromatibus varium (quoniam ad eos omnia aromata abundant)
 25 et ponens se ibi expectat horam expetentem animam; ventura autem hora omnes salutans et omnibus valedicens sic debitum reddit; et est multa securitas. et haec quidem huius gentis bona ex parte diximus; multa enim habentes dicere praetermisimus. habitatio autem terrae eorum est
 30 mansionum septuaginta.

II. Post ipsam gentem quid aliud est venientibus ad Occidentem Braṣmani degunt; et ipsi sine imperio transigunt bene et detinent vicinorum bonitatem. et est habitatio eorum mansionum quinque. post hos adiacet altera
 35 regio Eviltarum; et ipsi sine imperio et paene deorum vitam viventes. et horum terra mansionum triginta duo. post hos altera gens quae vocatur Emer, et ipsa vivens sine imperio transigit legaliter. et habitant terram mansionum quadraginta septem. post hos regio quae appellatur Nebus, a qua invenitur tyrannorum initium, et regi-
 40 tur a maioribus et est mansionum sexaginta. hinc seminatio et messio. praedictae autem gentes sine Camarinis vivunt pomis et pipere et melle; Camarini panem enim caelestem cotidianum accipiunt. inter eos omnis nec

24 varium A; variis Si. 42 Camarinis Mue;
 Camarinas A; sine Camarinas secl. Si. 43 pipere et
 melle Mue; piper et mella A. 43-44 et piper...
 accipiunt secl. Si.

45 irascitur nec iudicium appetunt, neque rixa neque
cupiditas neque dolum vel aliquid mali est.

III. Post ergo Nebus gentem adiacet regio Disaph,
quam qui habitant reguntur bene quomodo vicini; et
habitant terram tenentem mansiones ducentas quadraginta.
50 post hanc gens sic appellanda Ioneum cuius homines eodem
modo vicinantibus viventes vitam transigere putant;
indifferens enim ad eos vita. et habitant terram centum
viginti mansionum. deinde Diva gens; eodem modo reguntur
a maioribus, habentes terram mansionum ducentarum decem.
55 deinde est India Maior, a qua siricum et omnia necessaria
exire dicuntur; similiter proximis viventes bene transi-
gunt, et habitant terram magnam et bonam mansionum du-
centarum decem. deinde adiacet Exim iam regio quae dici-
tur viros habere fortes et valde industrios in bellis et
60 utiles in omnibus; inde India Minor, cum ei motus fuerit
belli a Persis, petit auxilium quo in omnibus habundant.
et habitant terram mansionum centum quinquaginta. post
hos India Minor cuius gens regitur a maioribus; et ad
eos elefantorum innumerabilis multitudo et Persae ab
65 ipsis accipiunt propter multitudinem. habitant terram
mansionum quindecim.

IV. Post hos sunt Persae, Romanis propinquantes, qui
istoriantur valde mali in omnibus et bellis esse fortes.
et impietates ab eis magnas agi dicunt; non cognoscentes

51 putant A; putantur Si. 64 elefantorum A;
elephantorum Si.

70 enim naturae dignitatem sicuti muta animalia matribus et
 sororibus condormiunt, et impie faciunt in illum qui
 fecit eos, deum. alias autem habundare dicuntur in
 omnibus; data enim potestate ad eos appropinquantibus
 gentibus negotii suae regionis, omnia habundare videntur.
 75 horum autem prope Sarracenorum gens degit. rapina
 operantium suam vitam transigere et mulieres aiunt in
 eos regnare. [et haec quidem de praedictis gentibus
 historicus ait. quoniam vero necessarium est et nostram
 terram, hoc est Romanorum conscribere, experiar exponere,
 80 ut possit legentibus prodesse. incipiamus ergo. diximus
 enim Persarum terras quot mansionum esse dixerunt, qui
 conscripserunt et quia.] sunt autem impii ac periuri et spon-
 siones non custodientes nec belli neque alterius negotii.

V. Post hos nostra terra est. sequitur enim Meso-
 85 potamia et Osdroena. Mesopotamia quidem habet civitates
 multas et varias quarum excellentes sunt quas volo
 dicere. sunt ergo Nisibis et Edessa quae in omnibus
 viros habent optimos et in negotio valde acutos et
 bene pugnantes praecipue et divites. et omnibus bonis
 90 ornati sunt; accipientes enim a Persis ipsi in omnem
 terram Romanorum vendentes et ementes, iterum tradunt
 extra aeramen et ferrum quia non licet hostibus dare
 aeramen et ferrum. istae autem civitates per se stantes
 et domini imperatoris sapientia habentes moenia inclyta;

71-72 et impie...deum secl. Si. 89 bene pug-
 nantes Kl; vendentes Si; bene nantes A. 90 enim a A;
 enim ea a Si.

95 bello semper virtutem Persarum dissolvunt. ferventes
negotiis et transigentes cum omni provincia bene.
deinde Osdroenae Edessa et ipsa civitas splendida.

VI. Deinde iam regio Syriae omnis. partitur in
tres Syrias: Punicam et Palestinam et Coelam. et habent
100 civitates varias et excellentes et maximas; quarum ex
parte memoratus delectabor audientes. est ergo Antiochia
prima, civitas regalis et bona in omnibus, ubi et dominus
orbis terrarum sedet; civitatem splendidam et operibus
publicis eminens. et multitudinem populorum accipiens
105 omnis sustinet, habundans omnibus bonis. iam alterae
civitates veluti Tyrus, quae omnium negotium ferventer
agens magnifice felix est; nulla enim forte civitas
Orientis est eius spissior populis et ferventior in
negotio, et divites viros habens et potentes in omnibus.
110 post ipsam Berytus, civitas valde deliciosa et auditoria
legum habens, per quam omnia iudicia Romanorum stare
videntur. inde enim viri docti in omnem orbem terrarum
adsedent iudicibus et scientes leges custodiunt provin-
cias, quibus mittuntur legum ordinationes. iam et
115 Caesarea civitas est similiter deliciosior et habundans
omnibus et dispositione civitatis in multa eminens.
tetrapylon enim eius nominatur ubique, quod unum est
novum aliquid spectaculum. iam alterae omnes, quarum et
ipsarum nomina ex parte necessarium est dicere, quid sin-

115 deliciosior Mue; delitiosior Si.

120 gulae earum habent. praecipua est ergo et bona civitas
 Ladicia, quae suscipiens omne negotium et emittens
 Antiochiae magnifice adiuvit et exercitui. his similiter
 et Seleucia civitas optima, quae et ipsa omnia quae
 veniunt praedictae Antiochiae offert et fiscales species
 125 et privatas. dominus orbis terrarum imperator Constan-
 tius, videns quod sic utilis est ei et exercitui, montem
 maximum secavit et introduxit mare et portum fecit
 magnum et bonum ubi venientes naves salvarentur et
 fiscale onus non periret. deinde aliae iam civitates
 130 omnes, Ascalon et Gaza, civitates eminentes et in negotio
 bullientes et habundantes omnibus, mittunt omni
 regioni Syriae et Aegypto vinum optimum. Neapolis et
 ipsa civitas gloriosa et valde nobilis, Tripolis et
 Scytopolis et Bibilus et ipsa civitas in industria
 135 posita. Heliopolis, quae propinquat Libano monti,
 mulieres speciosas pascit quae apud omnes nominantur
 Libanotides; ubi Venerem magnifice colunt: dicunt enim
 eam ibi habitare et mulieribus gratiam formositatis
 dare. sunt autem iterum civitates et ipsa Sidon,
 140 Sarepta, Ptolemes, Eleutheropolis optima, similiter et
 Damascus. quoniam ergo ex parte praedictas civitates
 descripsimus et diximus, necessarium est dicere quid
 singulae earum habent. in litore enim sunt hae: Scyto-

122 his omittit Si. 125 imperator omittit Si.
 132 Aegypto A; Aegypti Si.

polis, Ladicia, Biblus, Tyrus, Beritus, quae linteamen
 145 omni orbi terrarum emittunt et sunt eminentes in omni
 habundantia; similiter autem et Sarepta et Caesarea et
 Neapolis et Lydda purpuram alitinam. omnes autem
 praedictae civitates gloriosae et fructiferae in
 frumento, vino et oleo habundant et omnibus bonis.
 150 Nicolaam itaque palmulam invenies in Palaestines
 regionis loco qui sic vocatur Iericho, similiter et
 Damascenam et alteram palmulam minorem et psittatium et
 omne genus pomorum habundanter. quoniam autem oportet
 et singula earum describere, quid ad singulas civitates
 155 delectabile esse potest, et hoc dicere necessarium est.
 habes ergo Antiochiam quidem in omnibus delectabilibus
 habundantem maxime autem circensibus. omnia autem
 quare? quoniam ibi imperator sedet; necesse est omnia
 propter eum. ecce similiter Ladicia circenses et Tyrus et
 160 Beritus et Caesarea. et Laodicia mittet aliis civitatibus
 agitadores optimos, Tyrus et Beritus mimarios, Caesarea
 pantomimos, Heliopolis choraulas maxime, quod a Libano
 Musae illis inspirent divinitatem dicendi. aliquando
 autem et Gaza habet bonos auditores; dicitur autem
 165 habere eam et pammacharios. Ascalon athletas luctatores,
 Castabala calopettas. omnes autem per negotia stant et
 viros habent divites et excellentes in omnibus et

144 Tyrus mue; Tirus Si. 146 Sarepta Mue;
 Sarefta Si. 151-152 similiter et Damascenam omittit
Si. 165 luctatores secl. Si.

ornatione et opere et virtute. et aeres temperatos
 habent. et haec quidem Syriae ex parte diximus; praeter-
 170 misimus enim multa ut non extendere extra oportunum
 orationem videamur et ceteras regiones quoque et
 provincias describere possimus.

VII. Habes ergo de laeva parte Syriae et Aegypti et
 Alexandriae et totius Thebaidis partes quae describere
 175 necessarium est. habes ergo omnem Aegypti regionem.
 coronat eam fluvius qui sic vocatur Nilus, qui veniens
 rigat omnem faciem terrae. ea fructuum feret omnia
 (sine oleo): triticum autem, hordeum, legumen et vinum
 habundanter; viros similiter nobiles, deos colentes
 180 eminenter. nusquam enim deorum misteria sic perficitur
 quomodo ibi ab antiquo et usque modo. et paene ipsa omni
 orbi terrarum tradidit deos colere. dicunt autem
 Chaldeos melius colere; tamen quos videmus miramur et
 in omnibus primos esse dicimus. etenim ibi deos
 185 habitasse aut et habitare scimus. aliqui autem et
 literas ab eis inventas esse dicunt, alii autem a
 Chaldaeis, alii autem a Punicis; quidam autem Mercurium
 inventorem esse literarum volunt, et multis dicentibus
 nemo verum scit nec credi potest. tamen viros sapientes
 190 prae omnem mundum Aegyptus habundat; in metropoli enim

174 totius omittit Si. 180 perficitur A;
 perficiuntur Si. 186 literas A; litteras Si. 183
 literarum A; litterarum Si.

eius Alexandria in omnem gentem invenies philosophorum
 omnem doctrinam. itaque aliquando certamine facto
 Aegyptiorum et Graecorum quis eorum Musium accipiat,
 argutiores et perfectiores inventi Aegyptii et vicerunt
 195 et Musium ad eos iudicatum est. et impossibile est in
 quacumque re volueris invenire sapientem quomodo
 Aegyptium. et ideo omnes philosophi et qui sapientiam
 literarum scientes ibi semper morati sunt meliores
 fuerunt. non enim est ad eos ulla impostura, sed
 200 singuli eorum quod pollicentur certe sciunt propter
 quod non omnes omnium, sed quisque sua per suam
 disciplinam ornans perficit negotia.

VIII. Alexandria autem civitas est valde maxima et
 eminens in dispositione et habundans omnibus bonis et
 205 escis dives; piscium enim tria genera manducat, quod
 altera provincia non habet: fluminale et stagnense et
 marinum. omnes autem species aut aromatibus aut aliqui-
 bus negotiis barbaricis in ea habundant; supra caput
 enim habens Thebaidis Indorum genus et accipiens omnia
 210 praestat omnibus. et dii coluntur eminenter et templum
 Serapis ibi est, unum et solum spectaculum novum in
 omni mundo; nusquam enim terrae aut aedificum aut
 dispositio templi aut religionis invenitur. undique
 autem Musium ei redire videtur. possedit cum omnibus

191 omnem secl. Si. 198 literarum A;
 litterarum Si. 213 religionis A; religio talis Si.
 214 redire Mue; reddere A; circumiacere Si.

215 quibus habundat bonis et unam rem, quae nusquam nisi in
 Alexandria et regione eius fit , cuius penuria neque
 iudicia neque privata negotia regi possunt, sed paene per
 ipsam rem omnis hominum natura stare videtur. et quid est
 220 omni mundo emittens, utilem speciem omnibus ostendet et
 sola hoc supra omnes civitates quoque et provincias
 possidens, sed sine invidia praestans suorum bonorum.
 et Nili autem bonitatem supra omnem provinciam
 possidens. qui Nilus fluvius aestatis hora descendens
 225 rigat omnem terram et ad seminationem parat, quem
 seminati habitantes magna benedictione implentur; ad
 eos enim una mensura centum et centum viginti mensuras
 facit. et sic per singulum annum terra reddens et aliis
 provinciis utilis est; Constantinopolis enim Traciae ab
 230 ea quam plurime pascitur similiter et Orientales partes
 maxime propter exercitum imperatoris et bellum
 Persarum, propter non posse aliam provinciam sufficere
 nisi divinam Aegyptum. quam et nominans a diis plus
 esse puto, ubi deos, uti praediximus, colentes bene
 235 historiae maxime offerunt. et sunt sacra omnia et
 templa omnibus ornata; aeditimi enim et sacerdotes et
 ministri et aruspices et adoratores et divini optimi
 habundant. et fit omnia ordine; aras itaque invenies

semper igne splendentes et sacrificiorum et turis
 240 plenas, vittas simul et turabula plena aromatibus
 divinum odorem spirare. iam et civitatem iudicibus bene
 regentem invenies; in contemptu est enim solus populus
 Alexandriae, iudices enim in illa civitate cum timore
 et tremore intrant populi iustitiam timentes; ad eos
 245 enim ignis et lapidum emissio ad peccantes iudices non
 tardat. et est in omnibus et civitas et regio incom-
 prehensibilis, et totius orbis terrae paene veritate
 philosophiae ipsa sola habundat, in qua inveniuntur
 plurima genera philosophorum. itaque et Ascolapius dare
 250 ei voluit medicinae peritiam, et ut habeat in toto
 mundo medicos optimos praestare dignatus est. et
 quamplurime initium salutis omnibus hominibus illa
 civitas constat. et aeres ~~vero habet valde~~ temperatos.
 et haec quidem diximus praedictas regiones quoque et
 255 civitates ex parte; non enim omnia describere possibile
 est.

IX. Deinde iam de dextris iterum Syriae supra
 invenies Arabiam; cuius civitas maxima est Bostra quae
 negotia maxima habere dicitur, propinqua Persis ac
 260 Saracenis, in qua publicum opus tetrapyli mirantur.
 deinde iterum regio ciliciae quae faciens multum vinum
 laetificat et alias provincias; et habet civitatem
 magnam et bonam quae sic vocatur Tarsus. post haec in

superiore parte Cappadocia est quae habet viros nobiles
 265 et civitatem maximam Caesariam. frigora autem maxima
 habere dicitur ut non posse hominem imperitum locorum
 sine aliquo artificio habitare. negotia autem haec
 optima ubique mittere eam aiunt: leporinam vestem et
 Babilloniarum pellium et illorum divinatorum animalium
 270 formositatem. inde obviat Galatia, provincia optima
 sibi sufficiens. negotiatur vestem plurimam, aliquotiens
 vero et milites bonos dominis praestat. et habet civita-
 tem maximam quae dicitur Ancyra. divinum panem et
 eminentissimum manducare dicitur. iterum Frigia et ipsa
 275 regio bona, et ipsa fortes viros possidens secundum
 scripturas antiquorum, Homeri quoque et Vergilii, aliorum-
 que bellum ipsorumque Frigum et Graecorum conscribentium.
 quae et civitatem maximam habere dicitur Laodiciam quae
 vestem solam et nominatam emittit, quae sic vocatur
 280 Laodicina. deinde huius supra Armenia Minor quam equites
 et sagittarios praestare aiunt utiles ad bellum. deinde
 Paphlagonia et Pontus, virorum divitum habitatio et valde
 eminentium, similiter Cappadocibus et Galatis, in
 doctrina quoque et in omnibus bonis. et mulieres spe-
 285 ciosas habent. historia vero de eas dicit speciosas
 esse et candidas nimis ut visae deae esse putentur.
 viros itaque praedictae provinciaeque et civitates (hoc
 est Pontus et Paphlagonia et Galatia et Cappadocia)

266 ut A; et Si. 285 de eas dicit A; dicit eas
Si. 287-288 hoc...Cappadocia secl. Si.

habent et prudentes viros. si autem vis et prudentiam
290 virorum audire, aspice in duo comitata Orientis quoque
et Occidentis et multos ibi invenies, quam in aliis
civitatribus et provinciis, quomodo Ponticos aut
Paplagones et Cappadoces et Galatas. propterea et
temptari per eos iussione imperatorum negotia putant.
295 sunt enim valde fideles debitis, a natura bonum in se
habentes; sic maioribus et melioribus proficere
urgentur. hic autem desinens orationem iam incipiam
sequentia dicere. sunt enim haec media terrena.

X. Quoniam autem necessarium est significare partes
300 propinquantem mari, iterum, ut diximus, Cilicia est et
Isauria quae viros fortes habere dicitur. et latrocinia
aliquando facere conati sunt, magis vero et adversarii
Romanorum esse voluerunt, sed non potuerunt invictum
nomen vincere. post quam est Pamphilia, regio optima et
305 sibi sufficiens, oleum autem multum faciens et alias
regiones implens. habet autem duas civitates splendidas,
Pergen et Siden. post hanc Licia, regio sibi sufficiens.
et habet montem maximum qui Caucasus dicitur quo
maiores sub caelo non esse aiunt. post Liciam Caria. et
310 sic est maxima Asia quae eminet in omnem provinciam et
habet civitates innumerabiles. maximas vero et ad mare
multas quidem habet ex quibus nominare duas necessarium
est. Ephesum quoque quae portum praecipuum habere
dicitur; similiter autem Smyrna et ipsa civitas

315 splendida. regio autem tota lata et frugifera in omnia
 bona: vina varia, oleum, oridzam, purpuram bonam, alicam.
 et est valde admirabilis cuius laudem per multa ponere
 difficile est. post hanc est Hellespontus, regio
 frugifera, frumento, vino et oleo ornata. civitates
 320 autem habet antiquas illas Troiam et Ilium; horum autem
 maiorem Cyzicum quae et positioni et magnitudini et
 ornamento et formonsitati omnem laudem superare potest.
 et ibi enim Venus mulierum pulchritudinem sagitta
 Cupidinis ornatam constituere voluit. post Hellespontum
 325 est invenire admirabilem Bitiniam quae maxima est et
 obtima atque sibi omnem fructum facit. civitates habet
 multas quidem sed admirabiles Niciam et Nicomediam. et
 Niciae quidem civitati dispositioni difficile est
 alibi invenire; regulam autem putet aliquis impositam
 330 esse omni civitati propter aequalitatem et formonsitatem;
 et est in omnibus ornata et constans. Nicomedia vero et
 ipsa eminens et admirabilis et in omnibus habundans et
 habens opus publicum optimum, basilicam antiquam; atque
 divinum ignem de caelo descendisse et combussisse eam
 335 dicunt. et condita est postea a Constantino. habet
 autem et circense, structuram valde bonam; in qua enim
 et circensium spectaculum diligentius spectatur.

XI. Post Bitiniam iterum Tracia provincia et ipsa

314	Smyrna <u>A</u> ; Smyrnam <u>Si</u> .	316	varia oleum <u>A</u> ;
	varia proferens, oleum <u>Si</u> ex <u>B</u> .		purpuram bonam,
	alicam <u>Mue</u> ; purpuram bonam alicem <u>A</u> ;		purpuram alitinam
	<u>Si</u> .	328	civitati dispositioni <u>A</u> ; civitatis dispositionem
	<u>Si</u> .		

dives in fructibus et maximos habens viros et fortes in
 340 bello propter quod et frequenter inde milites tollentur.
 habet autem civitates splendidas, Constantinopolim et
 Heracleam. quae Constantinopolis cum esset aliquando
 Byzantium, Constantius condidit eam et suum cognomen
 civitati imposuit. Heraclea vero excellentissimum opus
 345 habet et theatrum et regale palatium. Constantinopolis
 autem omnia praecipua habere potest propter Constantinum.
 nec non vero et circensium spectaculum saevissime
 spectatur. a Tracia ergo obviantem invenies Macedoniam
 quae habundans omnia, negotium vero eicit ferrum et
 350 plumam, aliquotiens enim et lardum et caseum Dardanicum
 (adiacet enim ei Dardania). et habet civitatem
 splendidam Thessalonicam quae est et ipsa una eminentium.

XII. Post Macedoniam Thessalia multa ferens,
 tritico et aliis sufficere dicitur. et habet montem
 355 Olimpum quem deorum habitaculum Homerus ait. post
 Thessaliam Achaiae, Graeciae et Laconicae terra quae
 pauca in se habens, sufficere sibi potest non sic aliis;
 nam et ipsa provincia brevis est et montuosa et non
 tantum frugifera potest esse. oleum vero ex paucis
 360 generat et mel Atticum; et magis fama doctrinarum et
 orationum glorificari potest; in aliis enim quam-
 plurime non sic. Civitates habet has: Corintum et
 Athenas: Corintum enim civitatem multam in negotio et

349 ferrum Mue; ferum Si.

habentem opus praecipuum amphiteatri; Athenas vero et
 365 historias antiquas et aliquid dignum nominatu: arcem
 ubi multis statuis stantibus mirabile est videre
 dicendum antiquorum bellum. Laconica vero solo Crocino
 lapide, quem dicunt Lacedaemonium, ornari putatur. post
 Achaïam est inveniri Epiri partes et civitas quae sic
 370 vocatur Epirus; provincia vero a quibusdam Epirus, a
 quibusdam Aetolia. civitas Nicopolis quae piscem multum
 marinum habundat ut odire speciem videntem aliquantam.
 post hanc paulo superius Dalmatia est quae in negotiis
 eminens esse dicitur. caseum itaque Dalmatenum et tigna
 375 tectis utilia similiter et ferrum (tres species cum
 sint utilia) habundans emittit. et habet civitatem
 splendidam Salonam. Dirracium enim propter habitantium
 malitiam, a deo magis vero, ut dicunt, descendit et non
 apparuit.

380 XIII. Deinde iam ordine provinciae. Calabria, quae
 frumentifera cum sit, habundat in omnibus bonis. post
 hanc Brittia, et ipsa optima cum sit, negotium emittit
 vestem byrrum et vinum multum et obtimum. post
 Brittiam Lucania, regio optima et ipsa omnibus
 385 habundans, et lardum multum foras emittit propter esse
 in montibus eius escam animalium varium. post iam
 Campania provincia non valde quidem magna, divites

369 civitas A; civitatem Si. 372 ut odire
 speciem videntem A; et abire speciem vident inde Si.
 377-378 propter...dicunt secl. Si.

autem viros possidens; et ipsa sibi sufficiens est et
 cellarium regnanti Romae. et postea iam Italia quae et
 390 nominata verbo solum aut in nomine gloriam suam
 ostendit; multas et varias civitates habens et omnibus
 bonis plena regitur a providentia. invenies enim in
 ipsa Italia vinum, multa genera, Picenum, Sabinum,
 Tiburtinum, Tuscum (etenim Tuscia adiacet praedictae
 395 provinciae; cuius formositatem non post multum
 narrabimus). Italia ergo omnibus habundans insuper et
 hoc maximum bonum possidet: civitatem maximam et
 eminentissimam et regalem quae de nomine virtutem
 ostendit et vocatur Roma. quam aiunt condidisse Romulum
 400 puerum. est itaque quam maxima et aedificiis divinis
 ornata. quisque enim ex antifactis imperatorum aut nunc
 qui sunt in eam condere aliquid voluerunt, et singuli
 eorum opus quaecumque in nomine suo faciunt. si enim
 volueris Antoninum, opera invenies innumerata, sicut et
 405 quod dicitur forum Traianum quod habet basilicam
 praecipuam et nominatam. habet autem et circense bene
 positum et aeramento multo ornatum. sunt autem in ipsa
 Roma et virgines septem ingenuae et clarissimae quae
 sacra deorum pro salute civitatis secundum antiquorum
 410 morem perficiunt et vocantur virgines Vestae. similiter
 et fluvium habet multis notum, Tyberim, qui utilis est
 praedictae civitati quia incidens eam pervenit in mare

et per ipsum omnia quae veniunt de peregre ascendent a
decem et octo milibus; et sic civitas omnibus bonis
415 habundat. habet autem et senatum maximum virorum
divitum. quos si per singulos probare volueris,
invenies omnes iudices aut factos aut futuros esse aut
potentes quidem, nolentes autem propter suum 'frui cum
securitate' velle. colunt autem et deos ex parte: Iovem et
420 Solem; nec non et sacra Matris deum perficere dicuntur.
et haruspices ad eos esse certum est. hos habet vicina
Tuscia. quae Tuscia quamplurime hoc ab iis nomen
maximum accepit. unde enim aiunt ab origine inventam
esse haruspicinam, quod bonum ad eos esse dicebant; nam
425 et ipsa habundans omnibus bonis et hoc possidet maxime,
circa deos haruspicia multa. etenim huius rei certum ad
eos esse dicitur. et haec quidem Romae et Tusciae.
Italiae vero et aliae civitates sunt splendidae quae
sic vocantur Aquileia et Mediolanum.

430 XIV. Post ergo Italiam quas praetermisimus
civitates dicamus: Mysiam et Daciam, provincias sibi
quidem sufficientes, frigora autem magna habentes.
quarum civitas magna Naessus dicitur. deinde Pannoniae
regio, terra dives in omnibus, fructibus quoque et
435 iumentis et negotiis ex parte et mancipiis. et semper

414 omnibus bonis A; bonis omnibus Si. 419
securitate A; dignitate Si. 421 haruspices Mue;
aruspices Si. 426-427 circa...dicitur secl. Si.
433 quarum Mue; quorum Si.

habitatio ibi imperatorum est. habet autem et civitates
 maximas, Syrmium quoque et Noricum, unde et vestis
 Norica exire dicitur. haec Pannoniae regio. quae
 adiacet trans flumen Danuvium gens barbarorum Sarmatum
 440 est.

XV. Post Pannoniam Galliarum provincia quae, cum
 maxima sit, et imperatorem semper eget (hunc ex se ~~habet~~
 habet); et propter maioris praesentiam omnia in
 multitudine habundat et plurimi pretii. civitatem autem
 445 maximam dicunt habere quae vocatur Triveris ubi et
 habitare dominus dicitur; et est mediterranea.
 similiter autem habet alteram civitatem in omnibus ei
 adiuvantem, quae est super mare, quam dicunt Arelatum;
 quae ab omni mundo negotia accipiens praedictae civitati
 450 emittit. omnis autem regio viros habet fortes et nobiles;
 in bello itaque plurimum exercitum et fortia Gallorum
 esse dicuntur. et est in omnibus provincia admirabilis.
 et habet adiacentem gentem barbaram Gothorum.

XVI. Deinde ad Gallias Spania, terra lata et maxima
 455 et dives viris doctis et habundans in omnibus negotiis;
 quorum ex parte dicemus. oleum enim et liquamen et
 vestem variam et lardum et iumenta mittens, omni mundo
 sufficiens, omnia bona possidens et praecipua in
 omnibus bonis, insuper autem et sparti virtutem omni
 460 terrae praestans. videtur quidem necessaria apud multos

445 dicunt A; dicuntur Si.

quoniam omne navium genus salvat. et per ipsum
 quamplurime omne negotium stare videtur (apud multos
 autem debilis esse videtur). inde Oceanum esse dicunt
 et huius partem quam nemo hominum narrare potest. sed
 465 quis ibi esse potest? est enim desertum et, sicut
 aiunt, est ibi finis mundi.

XVII. Deinde girans te ad Austri partes invenies
 terram Mauritaniam. homines barbarorum vitam et mores
 habent tamen Romanis subditi. quae provincia vestem et
 470 mancipia negotiatur et frumentum habundat; et habet
 civitatem Caesaream. deinde post Mauritaniam Numidia
 provincia fructibus habundans et sibi sufficiens; et
 negotia habet vestem variam et animalia optima. ad hanc
 provinciam Africae regio dives in omnibus invenitur.
 475 omnibus bonis ornata est, fructibus quoque et iumentis
 et paene ipsa omnibus gentibus usum olei praestat. quae
 multas et differentes civitates possidens, unam
 praecipuam et admirabilem nimium habet, quae sic vocatur
 Kartago, quam condidit mulier Tyria nomine Dido. quae
 480 cum Libiam venisset, locum emit quantum corium bubulum
 circumtenere potuit, ut Virgilius ait, cognomine Byrsam.
 quae dispositione valde gloriosissima constat, for-
 monsitatem vero locorum possidens habet et oleum. ete-
 nim ordines arborum habet in vicos aequalis. et portum
 485 super omne novum visum habens, Neptunum sine timore

462-463 apud...videtur secl. Si. omne novum A;
 omne bonum, novum Si.

navium serenum praestare videtur; securitatis enim
 plenus est. et iterum praecipuum invenies opus publicam
 in eam: vicum argentariorum. in delectabilibus vero
 unum solum spectaculum valde contentiose expectant
 490 habitantes, munerum. ipsa autem regio Africae est
 valde maxima et bona et dives, homines autem habens non
 dignos patriae; regio enim multa et bona, homines vero
 non sic. dolosi enim quam plurime omnes esse dicuntur,
 alia quidem dicentes, alia autem facientes. difficile
 495 autem inter eos invenitur bonus; tamen in multis pauci
 boni esse possunt. deinde post Africae omnem regionem
 adiacet et deserta terra maxima in Austri partibus. ubi
 aiunt in minima parte ipsius deserti habitare
 barbarorum paucam gentem quae sic vocatur Mazicum et
 500 Aethiopum. post hos invenitur regio Pentapolitana,
 pauca sed fructibus et iumentis dives, quae civitates
 habet antiquas duo: Ptolemaidem et Quirenem quas dicunt
 in tempore regnasse. post quam altera provincia Libiae
 nomine propinquans et ipsa ab Occasu Alexandriae. quae
 505 non accipit aquam de caelo non pluyente ei per singulos
 annos. viros quidem habet paucos tamen bonos et pios et
 prudentes. puto autem quod bonum eis inest, nisi a
 dei eruditione. deinde iam iterum Alexandria. et haec

486-487 securitatis enim plenus est omittit Si.
 489 expectant A; spectant Si. 495-496 tamen...
 possunt secl. Si. 507-508 puto...eruditione secl. Si.

quidem orbis terrae, Romanorum quoque et barbarorum
 510 terram, quae ex parte dicere potuimus. non enim omnia
 certissime conscribere possibile erat. tamen etsi
 fortasse latuit nos aliqua pars tamen, ut opinor, non
 valde. ut non autem insularum totam istoriam
 praetermittere videar dicam iam et insulas quae in
 515 medio mari positae sunt, et ipsarum memoratus sic
 orationem desinam.

XVIII. Habes ergo ab Oriente insulas sic: primam et
 maximam Cyprum quae solet navem conficere. dicitur non
 indigens alterius provinciae quicquam pro fabrica
 520 navium; necessaria ipsa insula habet omnia inferius
 declarata: ligna, aeramentum, ferrum, picem, nec non
 vero linteamen pro velaria et funium usum. dicunt autem
 et aliis bonis omnibus habundare. deinde Euboeam et
 ipsam insulam nobilem esse dicunt. inde invenies quae
 525 sic vocantur Cycladas insulas plurimas (numero quin-
 quaginta tres) quae omnes unum iudicem habent; quarum
 aliquas ex nomine dicere necessarium est: nempe Rodum
 insulam et civitatem maximam, quae, sicut profetavit
 Sibilla, ab ira dei esse peritura. dolus enim in ipsa
 530 fuit secundum profetiam praedictae Sibillae. est autem
 in ipsam civitatem statua quam omnes Colossum nominant,
 novum visum magnitudinis. iam et Delus et altera est

510-513 non enim...valde secl. Si. 524 ipsam
 insulam Mue; ipsa insula Si. 529 ab ira dei secl. Si.
 esse A; esset Si. 529-530 dolus...Sibillae secl. Si.

Apollinis Tenedos. ad ipsas invenies Imbrum, quae
 Imbrus leporinam vestem multam eicit propter habun-
 535 dantiam ipsius rei. ibi animalium multitudo, in
 ceteris vero rebus moderate sibi sufficiens. inde
 Lemnus adiacet et ipsa moderate sibi sufficiens, vinum
 autem multum faciens, Macedoniae et Traciae regioni sic
 mittens. postea Cretam insulam invenies quae centum
 540 numero civitatibus ornata est. et est in omnibus dives
 et mirabilis; quae habet maximam civitatem nomine
 Gortinam in qua et circense esse dicunt. et habet viros
 divites ex parte et eruditos. deinde Cithera alia
 insula, inde Zacynthus et Cephalonia, insulae habentes
 545 et habundantes omnia bona.

XIX. Post quas insulas omnes optima et maxima
 Sicilia insula quae †solidam terrae differens. multa
 enim bona Sicilia generat et emittit ubique negotia
 utilia in habundantiam: lanam infinitam similiter et
 550 iumenta. habet autem et viros divites et eruditos omni
 doctrina, Graeca quoque et Latina. civitates autem
 habet splendoras, Syracusam et Cathanam, in quibus
 spectaculum circensium bene completur. animalia enim
 bona et fortia habentes contendunt delectantes
 555 animalium virtute. in qua insula invenies et montem qui
 sic vocatur Hetna. si fide dignum est, divinitas est in

547 quae solidam A; neque solidum Si; quae propter
 soliditatem B. 556 si fide Mue; et aliquid nominatu
Si. divinitas est secl. Si.

illo monte, quoniam diebus noctibusque ardet ignis in
capite montis unde et fumus ascendere apparet. qui mons
in girum vineta multa habens generat vina praecipua.

560 deinde Cossora. post hanc alia insula quae sic vocatur
Sardinia et ipsa ditissima fructibus et iumentis; et
est valde splendidissima. deinde alia quae sic vocatur
Britannia insula, sicut qui fuerunt narrant, valde
maxima et praecipua in omnibus.

565 EXPLICIT EXPOSITIO TOTIVS MVNDI ET GENTIVM

A Translation of the Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium

An Exposition of the Whole World and its Peoples

I. . . . they are not ruled, but rule themselves. They do not eat the food common to all since they do not have bodies which are poor like ours. Neither flea nor louse nor bug nor meal worm is found among them, nor is there anything unsound in their bodies. They do not make use of the clothing common to all, but have garments which are almost impossible to soil. If these should happen to become soiled, they clean them with fire; for when the material is heated, it becomes clean.

They neither sow nor reap, for they possess many different kinds of costly things -- emeralds, pearls, rubies and sapphires in the mountains. These come out from the mountains in the following manner: a river which flows out of the mountains runs day and night among them; moreover it lies around the mountain peaks and surrounds them in a great deal of water. The ingenuity of the people living next to the river hit upon an idea whereby they might be able to obtain the substances from the mountains; building nets into the narrow places in the river they catch them as they go by.

With such good fortune they neither labor nor grow sick; moreover they alone die knowing the day of their death. They live one hundred and eighteen or one hundred and twenty years and the elder does not grieve the death of the younger, nor parents their sons.

The individual knowing the day of his death makes a variegated coffin for himself from spicewoods (all spicewoods are available to them in quantity) and, placing himself in it, awaits the hour seeking his life. When the hour arrives, greeting and saying good-bye to all he pays back whatever he owes. And there is a great lack of care among them. I have mentioned but a few of the good things which this nation possesses and have neglected to mention many. Their land is seventy days' journey wide.

II. After this nation the Brachmani inhabit what land there is next as one goes toward the west. They live well and without dominion, and they have the good will of their neighbors. The land they inhabit is five days' journey wide.

After these there is another land, that of the Eviltæ. They are without dominion and almost live the life of the gods. Their land is thirty-two days' journey wide.

After these there is a nation which is called Emer. Its inhabitants live without being ruled and conduct their lives justly. They inhabit a land forty-seven days' journey wide.

After these there is a region which is called Nebus. This is the first nation which has rulers; it is ruled by elders and is sixty days' journey wide.

From this point there are sowing and reaping, but the above-mentioned nations, except the Camarini, live on fruits, pepper, and honey; the Camarini receive bread daily from the sky. Among all of these there is no anger nor do they go to court. There is no such thing as a quarrel nor is there covetousness nor grief nor anything

bad.

III. Next to the nation of Nebus there lies the region of Disaph. Its inhabitants are ruled well, just like their neighbors. They inhabit a land which has a width of two hundred and forty days' journey.

After this there is the nation named thus: Ioneum. The people of this nation are thought to live their lives in the same way as their neighbors, for there is no difference in their mode of living. They inhabit a land one hundred and twenty days' journey wide.

Then there is the Divan nation; they are ruled in the same way by elders and have a land two hundred and ten days' journey wide.

Then there is Greater India. Silk and all sorts of necessities are said to be exported from here. Living like their neighbors they pass their lives well and their land is great and good, being two hundred and ten days' journey wide.

Next to it, then, lies the region of Exim. It is said to have brave men who are very active in war and skilled in all sorts of endeavors. Whenever the Persians have begun to make war on Lesser India, its inhabitants seek aid here where they are prosperous. Their territory is one hundred and fifty days' journey wide.

After these there is Lesser India, which is ruled by elders. They have a great number of elephants and the Persians get their elephants from there because of their quantity. Their land is fifteen days' journey wide.

IV. After these are the Persians who are the neighbors of the Roman territories. It is written that they are very evil in all things but brave in wars. They say that a great sacrilege is done by these, for they do not acknowledge the dignity of nature, and, just like dumb animals, they sleep with their mothers and sisters, thus being irreverent toward the god who created them. Otherwise they are said to abound in all things, for, since they have the power to trade with all the neighboring nations, they abound in plenty.

Next to these lives the nation of the Saracens. They say that they spend their lives in plundering those who are engaged in work and that women rule among them.¹ They are also godless and lying, and do not maintain their oaths in war or any other affair.

V. After these is our territory, for Mesopotamia and Osdroena follow. Mesopotamia has many different cities and I wish to mention the most outstanding. These are Nisbus and Edessa, which have men who are good in many fields. There are very sagacious traders, good fighters, and wealthy men. They are provided with all sorts of goods, for they take in things from the Persians and are engaged in buying and selling throughout the entire Roman world; in their turn they trade with the Persians except for copper and iron, for it is not permitted to give copper and iron to enemies. These independent cities have, through the wisdom of their lord and master, walls which are renowned; in war these always render the Persians' valor useless. The cities

¹The secluded section of the text which begins at line 77 ~~therein~~ has been omitted in this translation for the sake of clarity.

are eager traders and transact their business well with every province. Edessa of Osdroena is also a fine city.

VI. Now there is the land of Syria. It is divided into three Syrias: Phoenicia, Palestine, and Coela. These have many different excellent and great cities; by mentioning just a little about these I shall surely delight my audience. First of all there is the prosperous, royal city of Antioch where the ruler of the world has his seat. It is a fine city, outstanding in its public works, and, although it takes in a great number of immigrants, it sustains them all as it abounds in all sorts of goods.

The other cities are like Tyre, which is quite well off in that it carries on a thriving business with many peoples (indeed, probably no eastern city is more crowded with people or more avid in its business) and that it has men who are rich and able in all fields.

After this there is the very delightful city of Berytus, which possesses legal institutions; indeed the Roman judicial system seems to rest largely on this city, for learned men from Berytus take up positions throughout the entire world as judges, and knowing the laws they take care of the provinces to which legal charters are sent.

Next there is the city of Caesarea. It too is very delightful and abounds in all things, and the disposition of the city is outstanding. Its tetrapylon, a singular and famous sight, is spoken of everywhere.

It is necessary to name part of the other cities and what singular things each possesses. First of all, then, there is the

good city of Laodicia which undertakes every kind of trade, exports to Antioch, and has provided many troops for the army.

Similarly the fine city of Seleucia sends all that it receives (both public and private goods) to Antioch. Constantius, the ruler of the earth, seeing that it would be useful to both Antioch and his army, divided a great mountain, let in the sea, and made a fine, big harbor where incoming ships might be sheltered and their cargos of public wares not be lost.

Now here are all the other cities. Ascalon and Gaza are outstanding, "boiling" in business, and abound in all things. They export fine wine to all of Syria and to Egypt.

The city of Neapolis is renowned and very celebrated, while Tripolis, Scythopolis, and the city of Byblus are very busy. Helio-polis, which is next to Mount Lebanon, produces the beautiful women who are known to all as Libanitides. There they worship Venus magnificently; they even say that she lives there and gives the women the grace of beauty. Then there are the following cities: Sidon, Sarepta, Ptolemais, the excellent Eleutheropolis, and also Damascus.

Since I have partly described the above-mentioned cities and have spoken about each, it is now proper to tell what singular things each possesses. The following lie along the coast: Scythopolis, Laodicia, Byblus, Tyre, and Berytus. They export linen cloth to the entire world and are outstandingly in their abundance in all things; likewise Sarepta, Caesarea, Neapolis, and Lydda produce genuine purple dye. All the above-mentioned cities grow grain, grapes, and olives, and are prosperous. You will find the Nicolaan date in the region of

Palestine which is known as Jericho, as well as the Damascan and the other smaller date; you will also find the pistachio and all types of fruit in abundance.

Since I am obliged to describe their individual features, it is necessary to speak here of the entertainment of the individual cities. First of all you have Antioch, which abounds in all sorts of entertainment, especially circuses. Why are all things here? Because the emperor has his seat there; all things are necessary because of him. Laodicia too has circuses, as do Tyre, Berytus, and Caesarea. Laodicia sends the best jockies to other cities, while Tyre and Berytus produce mime actors, and Caesarea dancers, while Heliopolis produces mostly flute players, because the Muses of Mount Lebanon inspire them with their divine speech. Gaza too sometimes has good musicians and is said to have good prize fighters. Ascalon produces wrestlers and Castabala rope dancers.

All these support themselves by their trade and they have men who are rich and excel in all areas--speech, work, and virtue. They also have a moderate climate. I have, then, mentioned a few things about Syria, but I have omitted many so that I shall not be said to have talked too long and so that I may be able to describe the other regions and provinces.

VII. On the left side of Syria you have the lands of Egypt, Alexandria, and Thebes, which it is necessary to describe. First you have the whole area of Egypt. The river Nile, which irrigates the face of the land in its course, crowns this area. It produces all crops except olives, wheat, barley, the legume, and the vine--

abundantly. Its people are noble and outstandingly devout. Indeed, nowhere are the mysteries of the gods conducted in the same way as there in ancient times and even up until the present. It has taught almost the entire world to worship the gods. They say that the Chaldeans are more reverent in their worship, yet I admire that which I see certainly and I say that the Egyptians are best of all; indeed I know that gods have lived or are living there. Some say that the alphabet was invented by them, while others maintain that it was the Chaldeans, and still others that it was the Phoenicians. Certain ones even believe that Mercury invented it. Among so many opinions no one knows which is true, nor is it possible to believe in any one. Still Egypt abounds in more learned men than any other nation; indeed in its chief city, Alexandria, you will find all the learning of the philosophers of every nation. There was a contest some time ago between the Egyptians and the Greeks over which should be the recipient of the great library. The Egyptians were judged to be more sagacious and more polished; they won and the library was awarded to them. Choose any subject you wish; you will find no one wiser than an Egyptian in it. A large number of the superior philosophers and men of letters have always lived there. There is no false knowledge among them, but each individual knows completely whatever he claims to know, because he does not attempt everything, and distinguishes and perfects his own particular field through his learning.

VIII. Alexandria is a very large city, outstanding in its disposition, abounding in all sorts of goods and rich in foodstuffs. Its inhabitants dine on three types of fish (a thing which the rest of the

country does not have)--river, pond, and marine. All types of spices and other barbarian trade goods abound in it; it has the wares of the Indians from beyond Thebes and, as it takes in all kinds of things from them, it is distinguished for all kinds of things. Its people are outstandingly devout and the temple of Serapis, the one and only such singular sight in the whole world, is there. Nowhere in the world is such a building or such a disposition of temple or sacred place to be found, for a library is seen to surround the temple completely.

Along with all of its other goods it possesses one thing which occurs nowhere except in Alexandria and the surrounding area. If there were a lack of it, it would be impossible for judicial matters or private business to be conducted; indeed the whole essence of humanity almost seems to depend on it. What is this material which I am praising so highly? Papyrus! Alexandria manufactures and exports it to the entire world; it also makes this useful product known to all. Alexandria alone of all the nations and provinces has this, which is ungrudgingly the most outstanding of its goods. It possesses the goodness of the Nile exclusive of all other provinces. As it descends in the summer, it irrigates all the soil and prepares it for sowing; sowing inhabitants then fill this soil with a bountiful harvest. Indeed one measure of seed yields from one hundred to one hundred and twenty measures of grain. Every year this productive land is of great benefit to the other provinces; Constantinople in Thrace is almost wholly supported by it, as are the eastern lands because of the emperor's army

and the Persian war and because no other province could support this endeavor except Egypt. I am very much inclined to think that this place, where, as I mentioned above, histories show the people to be devout in their worship, is favored by the gods. And all its religious rites and temples are furnished with all things; temple keepers, priests and their assistants, diviners, devout worshippers, and highly religious people abound there. In addition everything is done in proper order; thus you will always find their altars glowing with fire and piled high with sacrifices and incense, and their fillets and spice-filled censers giving off a wonderful odor.

You will find the city to be very overbearing on its judges (only the people of Alexandria are engaged in this scorn). Judges enter this city with fear and trembling and they fear the type of law that the people practice; a shower of fire and stones is not far off for the erring judge. Still the city and its surrounding area are in all ways unable to be appreciated. It alone of all the cities of the world comes closest to abounding in the truth afforded by philosophy (most types of philosophers are to be found there). Aesculapius, for instance, assented to give it skill in medicine; he was good enough to take this responsibility on himself in order that Alexandria might have the best doctors in the whole world. The city is known far and wide as the "wellspring of health," and it has a very moderate climate. I have mentioned, then, just a few things about the above-mentioned regions and cities, for it is not possible to describe all of their features.

IX. At the upper left of Syria you will find Arabia. Its chief city is Bostra, which is reported to carry on a great amount of trade. It borders on the nations of the Persians and Saracens, who admire its public work, a tetrapylon.

Next is the land of Cilicia, which produces much wine and brings joy to the other provinces; and it possesses the great and excellent city of Tarsus.

Next to and above this is Cappadocia, which has noble men and the great city of Caesaria. They say that it is very cold here and that a man who is not accustomed to the area cannot live here without taking some precautions. It is also said to export the following fine trade goods everywhere: rabbit fur and the beautiful skins and wonderful animals of Babylon.

Then occurs the fine self-supporting province of Galatia. It does a great deal of trading in furs and several times has provided soldiers for our emperors. Its greatest city is called Ancyra, and it is said that its citizens eat the finest bread in the world.

Next is the fine land of Phrygia, which, according to the writings of the ancients--Homer, Vergil, and such others as wrote on the war between Phrygia and Greece--produces brave men. Its chief city is called Laodicia, and it exports the only fur which is named thus: Laodician.

Above this is Lesser Armenia, which is reported to furnish excellent horses and bowmen for war.

Then there are Paphlagonia and Pontus, which are the homelands of men who are rich and ones who are outstanding in learning and all

sorts of goods, like the Cappadocians and Galatians above; they also have beautiful women. A story says that they are so beautiful and so very fair that, when seen, they are thought to be goddesses. The above-mentioned provinces and cities (that is, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Cappadocia) also have intelligent men. If you wish proof of this intelligence, look at the imperial courts, both east and west, and there you will find many more Pontic, Paphlagonian, Cappadocian, and Galatian men than you will find in other cities or provinces. The reason for this is that all of their business is thought to be undertaken by them in accordance with the orders of the emperors. They are also very reliable in matters of debt and are naturally good people; thus they are urged toward bigger and better things. Here I shall finish my narrative about these countries and begin to speak about those that follow: the countries on the sea.

X. Since, then, it is necessary to mention the areas which border on the sea, first there is Cilicia, which I mentioned above, and then Isauria, which is said to have brave men. At one time they attempted to be a pirate nation, then they thought that they could be full-fledged enemies of Rome, but they were not able to conquer that invincible power. After this is the land of Pamphilia. It is fine and self-sufficient, manufacturing much olive oil and filling other lands with it. It also has two splendid cities--Perge and Side.

After this there is the land of Lycia, which is self-sufficient and has the great mountain called Caucasus. This is reported to be the biggest mountain in the world.

After Lycia there is Caria and then there is the great nation of Asia, which stands out before every other province and has innumerable cities. Many of these are, to be sure, along the coast, and it is necessary to name at least two of them here: Ephesus, which is reported to have an excellent harbor, and Smyrna, a magnificent city. The whole area is broad and productive in all goods: various wines, olive oil, rice, good purple dye, and spelt. It is a wonderful land, but it is a difficult task to praise its features since there are so many of them.

After this there is Hellespontus, a fertile land furnished with grain, wine, and olive oil. It also has the ancient cities of Troy and Ilium, as well as Cyzicus, which is larger than these. The latter's site, size, ornamentation, and beauty are beyond the power of praise; indeed it was here that Venus wished to establish woman's beauty endowed with the arrow of Cupid.

After Hellespontus one can find the praiseworthy land of Bithynia; it is a fine, large country, which produces many foodstuffs. It also has many cities, and outstanding among these are Nicaea and Nicomedia. It would be difficult to find a city elsewhere which has a plan like that of this city. Indeed anyone looking at it would think that a rule had been applied to it throughout because of its evenness and beauty; moreover the city is ornamented in all respects and solid. Nicomedia too is outstanding, praiseworthy, and prosperous. It has a fine public work, an ancient basilica, which is reported to have been destroyed by a divine fire that descended from the sky (it was later rebuilt by Constantine). It also has a circus, which is constructed

very well and in which its people watch the races with great enthusiasm.

XI. After Bithynia in turn, there is the province of Thrace. It is rich in crops and produces large men who are brave in war; for this reason auxiliaries are often taken from here. It has the outstanding cities of Constantinople and Heraclea. Constantinople was formerly called Byzantium until Constantine built it up and applied his name to it. Heraclea has excellent public works in its theater and royal palace. Constantinople has all things in abundance because of Constantine, and its races are watched very fiercely.

From Thrace you come next to Macedonia, a prosperous country which exports iron, scale armor, and, sometimes, salt pork and Dardanian cheese (for Dardania borders on Macedonia). It also possesses the fine city of Thessalonica, which is one of the outstanding ones.

XII. After Macedonia there is Thessaly, a very productive land which is reported to support other countries with its wheat. It also possesses Mount Olympus, which Homer called the abode of the gods. After Thessaly there is the land which contains Achaia, Greece, and Laconia. It has little within its borders, and, though able to support itself, cannot support any other lands, for it is a small, mountainous province which is not capable of much production (though it does produce a little olive oil and Attic honey). It is, then, rather able to be extolled on the basis of the fame of its learning and its eloquence, but not much in other areas. Its main cities are Corinth and Athens. The former does a great deal of trading and has an excellent public work in its amphitheater, while the latter has its tales of the

past and a thing which is indeed worthy of mention--its citadel. It is indeed a wonderful experience to view the fabled war of bygone days as told in the monuments standing there. They say that Laconia is indeed decorated only with the saffron-colored marble which they call "Lacedaemonian."

After Achaia you would find the fields of Epirus and the city which is called by the same name. This province is called Epirus by some and Aetolia by others. Its chief city, Nicopolis, abounds in so many sea fish that it hates to look on its considerable quantity of them. Next to and slightly above this nation is Dalmatia, which is reported to be outstanding in business. Rich, it exports Dalmatian cheese, construction lumber, and iron--for, these three things are useful. It has the fine city of Salo; Dyrrachium indeed, because of the wickedness of its people or rather, as they say, by the agency of a god, sank down and never appeared again.

XIII. The next provinces are, in order: Calabria, which, since it is a fertile land, is quite prosperous; after this Brittzia, a fine province which exports rain cloaks and much good wine; and after Brittzia Lucania, a fine prosperous area which exports much salt pork, for all the various foods which salt pork-producing animals eat are found in its mountains.

After this land there is the province of Campania, which, though not really very large, possesses rich men, is self-supporting, and is known as the "pantry of mistress Rome."

After this there is the famous Italy, which is famous in the word alone and also shows its glory in its name. It has many different cities, is prosperous, and is governed by providence. In Italy you will find many kinds of wine--Picenian, Sabine, Tiburtinan, and Tuscan (Tuscia borders on the above-mentioned province, but I will talk of its beauty quite soon). Italy abounds in all things, but the very best of all that it possesses is that royal city which is the largest and most outstanding in the world, and which shows its virtue even in its name: Rome, the city which Romulus is said to have founded as a boy. It is a huge city and it is further enhanced by fine buildings, for each of the former emperors and those in power today has wished to incorporate something into the city, and each has built some sort of structure which bears his name. Take Antoninus for example; you will find innumerable public works ascribed to him. Likewise you will find that the forum which contains the great and well-known basilica is ascribed to Trajan. The city's circus is well placed and is decorated with much bronze. Also in Rome are seven very famous free-born virgins, who perform the rites of the gods for the safety of the city according to the custom of the ancients, and who are called "Vestal virgins." It also has a river which is known to many--the Tiber. This is of great use to Rome as it cuts through the city and flows to the sea. Everything that comes to Rome from abroad goes up its eighteen-mile channel; thus the city abounds in all things. Rome has, moreover, a great senate of rich men, whom, if you were to examine the credentials of each, you would find to be men who have been, will be, or, at least, are able to be judges, although some may not

wish the positions because they want to "enjoy with no cares." The city's inhabitants worship Jupiter and Sol among other gods; the rites of the mother of the gods are said to be observed by them, and there are certainly diviners among them.

The area of Tuscia also possesses these; indeed it owes its great fame to them, for they say that the science of entrail inspection originated here and that this was good for the country. Indeed it is a prosperous land, but its special feature is its great amount of divination of religious matters; indeed it is said that they have certainty in this matter of divination. These, then, are the characteristics of Rome and Tuscia. But the other cities of Italy--Aquila and Mediolanum--are also outstanding.

XIV. After Italy let me talk about those cities which I have bypassed. First there are the provinces of Mysia and Dacia, which are self-sufficient and very cold; their largest city is called Naessus. Then there is Pannonia, a land rich in all things--crops, cattle, slaves, and a little trade. The dwelling place of the emperors are always here. Its greatest cities are Syrmium and Noricum; the Noric overcoat is reported to come from the latter. This is the area of Pannonia; across the Danube from it lies the Sarmatian tribe of barbarians.

XV. After Pannonia there is the province of the Gaulish nations, which, as it is large, is constantly in need of a military commander (now it has one of its own people in this position). Because of the assistance of the emperor the country is prosperous and many expensive things are to be found there. Its greatest city is reported to be

Triveris, where the commander lives; this is a land-locked city.

There is also another city, Arelatum by name, which aids the other in all ways. It is a coastal city; it takes in goods from the whole world and supplies them to Triveris. The whole land possesses men who are brave and renowned; thus the Gauls are famous for their bravery and great army in war. It is a fine province in all respects, and it borders on the barbaric nation of the Goths.

XVI. Next to the Gaulish lands is Spain, a great, broad land, rich in learned men, and abounding in all trade goods; I shall speak of a few of these. It exports and supplies many nations with olive oil, salt sauce, several sorts of garments, salt pork, and cattle; it possesses many goods, even an overabundance of them. But even apart from all of these it is famous throughout the world by virtue of the Spanish rope-plant, which is vital for many in that it preserves every sort of ship, and much trade rests on ships (still there are many who maintain that this plant is weak). The ocean is said to begin at this point and then comes that area of it which no man is able to describe. Who would be able to exist there, for it is deserted and, as they say, the end of the earth is out there?

XVII. As you turn toward the south, you will find Mauritania. The men here lead the life and have the manners of barbarians although they are Roman subjects. This province trades in garments and slaves and abounds in grain; its chief city is Caesarea. After Mauritania there is the province of Numidia, which abounds in crops, is self-sufficient, and trades in several types of garments and the finest animals.

Next to this province is found the region of Africa, which is rich in all things. It is furnished with all sorts of goods, agricultural products, and cattle; and it supplies many nations with its olive oil. It has many different cities, but the most outstanding of these is the much-admired Carthage, which the Tyrian woman Dido founded. When she came to Libia, she bought the area of the city, which was to be as large as the hide of an ox could encompass, and she called it, as Vergil says, *Byrsa*. It is a fact that the city's disposition is quite famous. While it possesses a truly beautiful site, it also has olive trees throughout, which are in rows along the city's streets with their uniform lines of buildings. Yet it has a harbor, which, beyond every famous sight, is seen to afford calm water where ships may remain without fear. You will also find in the city a fine public work in its street of the money-changers. In these rich surroundings the people quite obstinately watch only one thing, the public show. Africa itself is very great, good, and rich, but the men which it produces are not worthy of their native land. While the land is great and good, its men are definitely not. They are said to be extremely treacherous, saying one thing and doing another. It is difficult to find a good man among them, although it is possible that there are a few good ones among their large numbers.

To the south of the great land of Africa lies a great desert. They say that a small nation composed of Mazicans and Ethiopians lives in a tiny part of this desert. Pentapolitanta is found after these; it is small but rich in crops and cattle, and it has two ancient cities--Ptolemais and Cyrene--which are said to have held sway in the

past. Then there is another province, Libya; it is just west of Alexandria and has not received any rain for many years. It has but few men, but these are good, pious, and prudent (such a good could happen to them only, I feel, through divine instruction). Then there is Alexandria again. This then is the circle of the earth, the lands of both Romans and barbarians. I was able to say but a little about them, for it was not possible to write all that could have been said with certainty. And although one section has by chance escaped us, I think that it will not do so very much. So in order that I may not appear to have bypassed the whole field of islands, I shall now mention the islands which are in the middle of the sea, and, when I am done, shall conclude my talk.

XVIII. I shall then name the islands, starting from the east. The first and largest is Cyprus, which is engaged in shipbuilding. It is said that there is not anything native to another province in the manufacture of its ships. The island has all that is necessary: wood, bronze, iron, pitch, even linen for the sails, and rope. Moreover it is said to abound in all other goods. Next there is Euboea, an island which is said to be a fine place. Next you will find the many islands which are known as the Cyclades; there are fifty-three of them and they all have one judge. It is fitting to mention some of these by name at this time. First there is Rhodes, a great island and city, which, just as the Sibyl prophesied, was to perish through the wrath of a god; indeed there was evil in it according to the prophecy of the Sibyl. There is in the city a statue which everyone calls the Colossus,

and which is outstanding because of its great size. Next is Delus, and next is Tenedos of Apollo. Next you will find Imbrus, which exports many rabbit furs because of the abundance of this animal; there are tremendous numbers of these here, though in other matters the island is moderately self-sufficient. Next to it lies the moderately self-sufficient Lemmus; it manufactures much wine and exports it to the countries of Macedonia and Thrace.

Next you will come upon the island of Crete, which boasts a hundred cities. It is rich and admirable in many ways; its greatest city bears the name Gordina, and it is rumored that there is a circus there. It also has a few rich and learned men. After this there is the island of Cithera; and then there are Zacynthus and Cephalonia, prosperous lands.

XIV. After all these islands there is the fine, large island of Sicily whose soil differs from that of the other islands in its solidity.¹ Sicily produces many goods and exports such useful trade goods as it has in abundance--a great deal of wool and cattle--everywhere. It possesses rich men and ones who are erudite in both Greek and Latin letters. It also has the outstanding cities of Syracuse and Cathana; in both of these the circus spectacles are well attended. The men of the leisure class own fine, powerful animals, and they have contests with each other over the qualities of their animals. You will find on this island a mountain which is called Etna, and, if this is worthy of belief, there is a divine presence on that mountain, since a

²Interpretation of daggered passage from text of B.

flame glows both day and night on the mountain top and smoke is seen rising up from it. It has vineyards all around its slopes and these produce fine wine.

After this there is Cossora and then the outstanding island which is called Sardinia; the latter is very rich in crops and cattle, and is also very fine.

The next island is called Britannia, and it, as those who have been there say, is very large and superabundant in all things.

The Geography of the Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium

The Expositio has been called a "commercial geography,"¹ and, indeed, this title serves to characterize the work quite well. The slender volume is certainly not in the same class with Strabo's massive commentary or the five books of the Naturalis Historia which Pliny wrote on the subject; still it names many of the important countries and cities of its day, and, for all its conciseness, does this with enough supplementary material to make it less than boring and, at times, even interesting reading.

J. Oliver Thompson in his History of Ancient Geography sees the Expositio as symptomatic of the decline of the science of geography during and after the third century A.D.² Several features of the work account for its being characteristic of this period of decline. First of all there is a very noticeable lack of geographical theory in the Expositio. Not only is there no discussion of Ptolemaic meridians³ or the simple zones of the earth that Vergil mentions,⁴ but even such a time honored and irresistible subject as the source of the Nile remains untouched by the author.⁵ The phrase orbis terrae might masquerade as a remnant of theory in that it means "the circle of the earth;" however, this phrase had lost any connection with the idea of a globe or a circle by the time of Ovid and had come to mean simply "the inhabited world."⁶ Another phrase that might be taken for theory,

the finis mundi of line 466, is far too vague because of its attached 'sicut aiunt' and its complete lack of emperical referents⁷ to be called a theory.

A second characteristic of the Expositio which may be construed as symptomatic of decline is the lack of real scope that its world possesses. The far East has become the home of some mythical, utopian people called Camarini. These "noble savages" and several other fictitious Eastern tribes serve to illustrate the "fall of man," since the farther west a given tribe lies, the more decadent institutions such as "rulers"⁸ or "sowing and reaping"⁹ it has. The Camarini receive bread from the sky¹⁰ and have no rulers.¹¹ Nebus, four countries later, is the first to have rulers,¹² and Disaph is the first to be involved with sowing and reaping.¹³ Trade begins with Greater India,¹⁴ and the first mention of war is in connection with the Exim region.¹⁵ Thus from a utopian beginning the author managed gradually to establish the main institutions of his Mediterranean society. Plainly, however, he had no clear idea of the East beyond India, just as he had no clear idea of the West beyond the Mediterranean, as his poor, single sentence on Britain (lines 562-564) shows. There is no mention of the Indian Ocean in the south nor is there mention of the Black Sea or the Caspian Gulf¹⁶ in the North; and the various districts of Gaul receive as little attention as the western seacoast of Africa. Actually the world of the Expositio is largely confined to the Mediterranean seaport cities and countries, and, within this narrow context, largely to the great cities of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome and their vicinities.

Gibbon might well approve of the inclusion of the Christian influence in this list of features of the Expositio as a text of the decline. There are several references in the text to things which might easily be construed as Christian, and though Professor Sinko has carefully removed all direct references to 'deus' or 'Camarini' from his version of the text, still even he has retained the tribal name, Eviltæ, which is only found among Christian writers, as well as the theme of the "fall of man," which, in the fourth century A.D. could be derived only from Christian thought.¹⁷

Another characteristic of the Expositio which is applicable to geography of the decline is that of the "geographic cliché." A geographic cliché results when an idea associated with one location becomes confused with an idea associated with another and both ideas are then retained. The Expositio is well supplied with examples of this phenomenon. As Caesarea of Syria is famous for its tetrapylon,¹⁹ so also is nearby Bostra in Arabia.²⁰ Paphlagonia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Galatia all have exceptionally beautiful women²¹ as does also Heliopolis.²² The cliché can, of course, get out of hand to the point that it becomes a commonplace, as has happened with the 'habundat omnibus' which occurs ad nauseam throughout the text.

Perhaps one of the most telling criteria of a text of the period of decline is factual inaccuracy. To ascertain to what extent the Expositio conforms to this characteristic it will be necessary to go into the assertions of the text in some detail.

The Expositio begins, in spite of conjectures of 'Serae gentes' by Gothofredus and Sinko, with the Camarini. These people have been

defined as "those who dwell in Eden," but in the Expositio they are probably derived from the fusion or, better, confusion of the eastern "emporium of Camara" as described in the Periplus Maris Erythraei,²⁴ with the utopian overtones of the Christian legend. The fact that its natives are long-lived and not bothered by any of the small pests which plague westerners may conveniently be linked with either Pliny's Indians or his Hyperboreans.²⁵ Their cloth which can neither be soiled nor burned is certainly asbestos; this Pliny attributes to the eastern deserts of India.²⁶ He also attributes the gem-bearing quality described in lines 11-16 to India,²⁷ while Pomponius Mela mentions gem-bearing rivers as existing in Britain.²⁸ On the basis of the many indications of India in the text, Sinko makes the conjecture that the fluuius exiens of the original text should be fluuius Exiens and thus refer to India's Oxos river.²⁹ Such an emendation is clever but inadmissible for the following reasons: 1) there is no proof that the Oxos was ever a gem-bearing stream; 2) the only connections between the words Oxos and Exiens are an x and an s; 3) this emendation gives rise to five others in the same sentence. Sinko³⁰ also finds a rather obscure connection between Mela's phoenix³¹ and the death rites described in lines 23-28 of the Expositio; his second note based on Mela,³² however, makes much better sense. In book III, section 7, Mela describes the old men of India thus: "when disease or old age strikes them, they go away from the others and, with no anxiety, await death by themselves." Much of the ritual and the coffin, though it may sound very familiar to those who have read Moby Dick, still remain unsupported in other sources.

The Brachmani which the author mentions next are not the high-stepping priestly caste mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus³³ and Strabo,³⁴ but the Bragmanae, a tribe living on the river Cambari, who are described by Pliny.³⁵ The Eviltae are the same as the Brachmani according to Epiphanius in the Expositio Fidei Catholicae,³⁶ while an Exordium of Biblical lands as edited by Alexander Riese shows them to be the people of "Eviltat, son of Chus, and grandson of Cham."³⁷

The next four lands--Emer, Nebus, Dysaph, and Ioneum--are unknown in any other authors, and the present author's conjecture that these are the names of Eastern towns or cities transliterated from Sanskrit or some other Eastern language, has as little backing as any of the other conjectures on record. The Divi gens,³⁸ however, seems certainly to be the Divi whom Ammianus Marcellinus described at XXII, 7, 10;³⁸ they lived on the island of Diu at the mouth of the Indus river.³⁹

Greater India, the mysterious region of Exim, and Lesser India form an interesting whole. Do Greater and Lesser India conform to the usual division of the land into Citerior and Ulterior India with the Ganges as the division line?⁴⁰ If so, the widths given seem greatly out of proportion, not to mention the fact that the Exim region is then unclearly defined. If, however, a second division of India is made at the Indus river, then the proportions conform quite nicely. Lesser India lies between the Indus and Persia, while the Exim region lies between the Indus and the Ganges, and Greater India lies beyond.⁴¹

The author of the Expositio has, up to this point, been very careful to provide his audience with the width of each land mentioned.

He has also implied that these lands lie one after another in a straight westward line. Allowing for an average σταθμός of twenty miles, the total number of miles covered by the lands mentioned is just less than 24,000 or just less than the circumference of the earth. Granted that it was common practice to extend the land area of the unknown East too far in ancient times,⁴² still the Expositio's author seems to have exceeded all bounds here. Are the figures then completely unreliable? Perhaps. The alternatives open to belief are: that the author simply fabricated them; or that he derived his figures from more than one source and, because of differences in place names, was unable to realize that his different sources were actually referring to the same areas. If the sources were based on trade routes and trade route information, the latter conjecture becomes even more likely. The Diva gens, for example, whose land was really the small island of Diu, might be reckoned to have sway over an area some 210 days' march wide on one trade route, because it was the only large population group encountered in that distance on that particular route, while on another route the land of Brachmani might be encountered. The author, then, in piecing together an account of the unknown East would put these into a chain as it were, the lesser known regions farther east than the better known ones. Such an explanation accounts for the obvious errors in the Expositio on the subject of the East without branding the author as a simple liar at the very beginning of his narrative.

Treated next are the Persians. Their practice of sexual intercourse with close relatives is noted among several other authors,⁴³ but this idea is a known geographic cliché, used especially in cases of

foreign enemies. Even more suspect than this, however, is the amount of trade that the Persians carry on.⁴⁴ Most of the comments on the Saracens are quite in order, though a good case can hardly be made for the rule of women among them.⁴⁵

Once the Persian frontier is passed, "our land" is next. This means, of course, that divisions of the Roman empire are next and does not signify anything about the author's homeland. The City of Nisibis⁴⁶ in Mesopotamia gives a clue as to the date of the original Expositio, for "the walls which have always rendered the valor of the Persians useless" were, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, surrendered to the Persians in 362 A.D.⁴⁷ This, then, establishes an upper limit for the date of the first writing. The two Edessas are no doubt a mistake on the part of the author. Mesopotamia in earlier years was a large division which contained the two later provinces of Mesopotamia and Osdroena. Here the author has confused the two Mesopotamias so that Edessa, which is really in Osdroena,⁴⁸ belongs not just to its rightful province, but the older, larger division as well.

If the author of the Expositio makes the geography of Syria less than lucid, he has good company; Strabo and Pomponius Mela both are loud in their disapproval of its multiple divisions.⁴⁹ Actually, the author's division of Syria into three sections, were there but one more to encompass the northern cities of Antioch, Berytus, Laodicia, and Seleucia, would be quite effective. The mixed order in which he presents the cities, however, tends to belie the notion that the author intended any degree of organization in this section. Briefly Tyre,⁵⁰ Tripolis,⁵¹ Bybilus,⁵² Heliopolis,⁵³ Sidon,⁵⁴ Sarepta,⁵⁵ Ptolemes,⁵⁶

and Eleutheropolis⁵⁷ are all Phoenician cities, while Caesarea,⁵⁸ Ascalon, Gaza,⁵⁹ Neapolis,⁶⁰ Scytopolis,⁶¹ and Lydda⁶² belong to Palestine and, Damascus⁶³ is Coelan. Most of the things mentioned about the cities are supportable, but certain of the attributes of the various cities do not seem to correspond to familiar classical references. Tyre is the prime example here, for while Caesarea, Neapolis, and Sarepta are noted in the Expositio for dye production, Tyre, which was so renowned for it in earlier days that its name became synonymous with purpura,⁶⁴ is mentioned only for its cloth production. In addition Berytus, which Pliny notes as a wine producer,⁶⁵ is noted for its cloth production in the Expositio, while Gaza and Ascalon are noted for their wine. Do these differences in the Expositio indicate that there was a change in the types of things produced by the various cities in the land of Syria? Probably not, because Isidore of Seville, writing during the early six hundreds, again mentions Tyre as an outstanding dye producer.⁶⁶ Does this then mean that the rest of the statement is untrustworthy? Again the answer would seem to be "no," for Ammianus Marcellinus alludes to the clothing industry at Tyre in two places in his Res Gestae.⁶⁷ The answer to the problem here seems to be either a conscious reaction against the existing literary tradition in order to bring out new facts about Tyre, or an ignorance of the previous literary tradition.

Antioch as the seat of royal rulers is well attested,⁶⁸ as is its mixed population.⁶⁹ Lumbroso makes a good case for the connection of Roman law with Berytus,⁷⁰ and Antioch's trade relationship with the cities of Laodicia and Seleucia may easily be deduced from existing

evidence.⁷¹ Another bit of evidence for dating comes from the great harbor at Seleucia, which was built by the "lord and master"⁷² of the world, Constantius, about 347 A.D.⁷³ The original of the Expositio must, then, have been written between 347 and 362 A.D. The wine of Ascalon and Gaza,⁷⁴ the clothing industries of the coastal cities, and the dye-producing areas are all supportable, while the statements on the various food trees of Jericho and the surrounding area are at least as accurate, if not as complete, as those of Pliny.⁷⁵ And, finally, although the delightful little section on what each of the Syrian cities was known for in entertainment has no parallel in any other locus classicus, it may easily be seen as a logical expansion of statements on the subject by Ammianus Marcellinus and Julius Capitolinus.⁷⁶

Less sure are the author's statements on tetrapyla and beautiful women called Libanotides. The author's interest in tetrapyla⁷⁷ is unparalleled in ancient literature. His mention of the one at Caesarea as being "spoken of everywhere" is probably an exaggeration, for the tetrapylon is scarcely known in literature except for the Expositio. The beautiful Libanotides are not known elsewhere in literature either. Usually the region around Mount Lebanon is praised for its vegetation or the rites of Venus which the Expositio mentions.⁷⁸ An analysis of the relation between these religious rites and the appearance of the beautiful women would probably lead to a clearer understanding of the mechanism behind the geographic cliché if more textual evidence were available.

After Syria the Expositio speaks of Egypt and especially, Alexandria. Its material here is very good. The author's remarks on the

Nile,⁷⁹ the crops that Egypt produces,⁸⁰ its religious attitudes,⁸¹ and its supplying of the eastern countries and Constantinople⁸² with food-stuffs are all well supported in other sources. Likewise the learning of Alexandria is noted in a multitude of authors⁸³ as are the wondrous temple of Serapis,⁸⁴ the best doctors in the world,⁸⁵ and even the belligerent attitude of its inhabitants toward its judges.⁸⁶ The only item mentioned that might raise some questions is the alleged competition between the Egyptians and the Greeks for the possession of the great library. Sinko points out the contest in library founding that Pliny mentions as existing between Ptolemy I of Egypt and Attalus I of Pergamum as being the source of this tale.⁸⁷ Indeed it is an easy matter to arrive at the story by attaching the obviously patriotic sentiments of the natives to this basic tale and allowing the mixture to ferment for five hundred years. In the background of philosophic rivalry that had existed between Greece and Egypt for centuries, Pergamum might well become identified with the inimical Greece and in the legal atmosphere that pervaded the Roman Empire the idea of a contest might well become that of a contest-at-law in which an arbiter's decision prevails, as appears in the Expositio.

The author's knowledge about Egypt and Alexandria, not to mention his partiality toward them, has led commentators to conjecture that he was a resident of Alexandria, and some even believe him to be the Egyptian philosopher, Apollonius, who is mentioned by Syncellus.⁸⁸ Interesting in regard to the author's identity is his attitude toward papyrus;

"without it," he says, "neither judicial matters nor private business could be conducted." There is no mention of literature. The author, then, if a philosopher, is certainly a very worldly one. More likely, however, is the conjecture that he is a businessman or merchant or, perhaps better, an Egyptian priest.

The position of Arabia is not quite correct in the Expositio. The author puts it above and to the right of Syria and implies that Cilicia lies next to it. These three indicators would put Arabia to the northeast of Syria⁸⁹ or approximately in the position of the Mesopotamia-Osdroena complex mentioned above. No other explanation can be offered for this location except that it is simply a mistake on the author's part. The extreme cold in Cappadocia appears to be a mistake too. The emperor Valens went there to avoid the heat of his court to be sure,⁹⁰ but the frigora maxima of the Expositio has no support elsewhere. That Homer and Vergil wrote on the subject of a war between the Greeks and the Phrygians shows the quality of the author's literary background, surely the Trojans are the people to whom he should refer here. The "brave Phrygians" of the Expositio are described elsewhere as being effeminate and cowardly.⁹¹ Also unsupported in other sources are the fine bread of the Galatians⁹² and the beautiful women of Paphlagonia and Pontus, while the tetrapylon at Bostra remains strongly suspect. Supported elsewhere are the trade-goods mentioned,⁹³ the mercenaries of Galatia and Armenia Minor,⁹⁴ and the governmental ability of the men of Paphlagonia, Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia,⁹⁵ though why the author does not even mention Greater Armenia,⁹⁶ if only on the analogy of Greater and Lesser India above, is not at all clear.

Much better is the Expositio's record of the coastal countries of Asia Minor. With no omissions the author names the countries in order, even such singularly unspectacular ones as Pamphilia, Licia, and Caria. Ample parallel material on the war of the Isaurians and Cilicians on Rome is found in the Res Gestae of Ammianus Marcellinus,⁹⁷ while Isidore supports the story of Cupid at Cyzicus,⁹⁸ and Pliny is a strong authority on the beauty of Nicia (Nicaea).⁹⁹ It is interesting to note that the two cities, Troy and Ilium, in Hellespontus also occur in the Cosmographia Aetheici and the Res Gestae of Ammianus.¹⁰⁰ The final destruction of Nichomedia, which occurred in 362 A.D.,¹⁰¹ is another valuable piece of dating evidence, for the Expositio does not allude to this occurrence.

The material on Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly is all well supported in other sources,¹⁰² as is the history of Constantinople,¹⁰³ while the picture of Greece in the fourth century is quite moving (if such a term is applicable to the Expositio) in comparison with the Greece of classical times. Corinth, as always, is still a great trading city, but Athens has only its memories of the past and its citadel with its commemorative statues, and Lacedaemonia is but a name applied to saffron-colored marble.

The enumeration of coastal provinces continues smoothly after Greece with Epirus and Dalmatia, but is interrupted at Italy, for from Dalmatia the narrative drops down to Calabria, Bruttia (Bruttii), and Lucania which are located on the lower part of the peninsula; Apulia, Samnium, Picenum, Flaminia, and Venetia are not mentioned. This

seemingly strange state of affairs is explained by the fact that the Adriatic Sea was considered as a gulf in ancient times. After these provinces Campania is mentioned and then Italy, a conception which is unparalleled in any other author. There is a substantial list of Italy's wines and then the author speaks of Rome.

He shows a good knowledge of this city and its lore. There are no questionable points in his material concerning the Vestals, the Tiber, the system of public works, and the Senate. His comments on the religion at Rome give clues to the identity of the author and the date of the original. Sol as one of the chief gods at Rome must certainly refer to the Sol Invictus associated with Mithraism, which appears to have been thriving at Rome during this time in spite of Christianity.¹⁰⁴ The fact that Mithraism and the Magna Mater cult, which the author mentions next, are Eastern religions, coupled with the fact that the author's treatment of religion at Alexandria is more comprehensive and enthusiastic than the simple reference to the favorite Roman gods and the native priestly college show that the author was very probably a native of Alexandria.¹⁰⁵ Also in regard to religion, the reference to the "haruspices," who foretold events by inspecting animal entrails, at Rome is valuable in dating the original because Constantius outlawed them in 357.¹⁰⁶

The Expositio is also clear on Etruria and the history of divination, but when it discusses Mysia, Dacia, and Pannonia it becomes less so. Not only is the order of the provinces confusing, since the author neglects to mention Mysia Superior, but the Noricum which it refers to as a "great city" is certainly the province of Noricum in fact. The

subject of the province of the "Gauls," however, is handled quite accurately, if tersely; this may be taken as an indication of the importance of this part of the world in the Roman Empire at the middle of the fourth century, because no northern province before it has been handled nearly so accurately. Furthermore, a final bit of evidence concerning the date of the original which appears at this point in the text says that "the (province) has (a ruler) from its own people." This can indicate only a time between 350 and 353 A.D. when Magnentius, a native of Gaul, held the rule therein.¹⁰⁷

The Expositio's treatment of Spain is accurate if not expansive, as are its comments on Mauretania and Numidia. Its ocean is a vague body of water in which at some unknown point there occurs the end of the earth, a concept which will have far reaching implications for the later Middle Ages. Carthage in Africa is interesting in that it affords a second literary reference to Vergil, while the invective against Africans shows a remnant of the hatreds engendered by the Punic Wars. Though the Mazices and the Ethiopians appear to be incorrectly joined into a single nation,¹⁰⁸ the remainder of his material on the Sahara, Pentapolitanus (Cyrenaica) and Libya appears to be supportable.¹⁰⁹

Little can be said for the Expositio's rapid treatment of the islands except that it is accurate as far as it goes. The ship building of Cyprus,¹¹⁰ the Sibylline prophecy of the destruction of Rhodes,¹¹¹ and, of course, Aetna of Sicily¹¹² are found in other literature. Apollinis Tenedos for Tenedos is somewhat surprising as is Cossora where Corsica might be expected, and the treatment of Britain is very vague indeed.

The geography of the Expositio, then, cannot be said to be homogeneously inaccurate. It is possible to distinguish four degrees of accuracy within the context of the whole: 1) detailed and fully accurate, as, for example, the description of Alexandria; 2) generally accurate, as, for example, the description of Cyprus or Hellespontus; 3) factually confused, as, for example, the description of Arabia or Noricum; 4) definitely inaccurate, as, for example, the description of the countries of the East. It will further be noted that these divisions, if applied to the whole work give rise to the following general distribution: 1) Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome; 2) the countries bordering on the Mediterranean and the islands therein; 3) the inland countries of the Roman Empire; and 4) the countries of the East. In consequence of this distribution the appellation of "commercial geography" certainly suits the Expositio, for the bulk of its accurate narrative centers about the coastal and, hence, trading countries of the Mediterranean. The sources of the Expositio, then, since no solid literary tradition of any sort can be demonstrated for the work, must be the reports of Mediterranean traders.

In conclusion, the Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium has been shown to be a representative geography of the period of decline in Roman scientific thought. It was written in Alexandria between 350 and 353 A.D. by a businessman or priest with a meager literary background. Based on the reports of traders it is accurate, if not always detailed, insofar as the Mediterranean coastal countries are concerned, but its statements concerning other places must be compared with existing materials from other works.

Footnotes

¹Thaddaeus Sinko, "Die Discriptio orbis terrae, eine Handelsgeographie aus dem 4. Jahrhundert," Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie, volume 13, 1904, p. 531.

²J. Oliver Thompson, History of Ancient Geography (Cambridge: The University Press, 1948), p. 363.

³Ibid., pp. 336-350.

⁴Vergil, Georgicon i, 233.

⁵J. Oliver Thompson, op. cit., pp. 41, 65, 66, 70, 71, 77, 89, 117, 124, 138, 267-268, 272, 278, 323, 327, 329, 348, 361, 362, 374, 389-90.

⁶Ibid., p. 201.

⁷In order to be considered a theory, the "end of the earth" would have to be defined in terms of its location (as by distance from the known world or by referents to the geographic peculiarities of the surrounding area) or its appearance (an abrupt ledge beyond which there is nothing or simply the farthest extent of the known ocean).

⁸Expositio, line 40.

⁹Expositio, line 9.

¹⁰Expositio, lines 43-44.

¹¹Expositio, line 1.

¹²Expositio, line 40.

¹³Expositio, lines 41-42.

¹⁴Expositio, lines 55-56.

¹⁵Expositio, line 59.

¹⁶In almost all ancient sources the Caspian Sea was considered as an arm of the unknown North Sea and thus a gulf. See Thompson, op. cit., pp. 127-129, 163, 199, 208, 294 and 390. A notable exception is the geography of Ptolemy.

¹⁷The tendency to idealize remote sections of the earth, to be sure, may be found in the Scythia of Herodotus and the Germania of Tacitus, but since the author's mechanism (the Far East motif) is new

in content, and since, as will be shown, his literary background was a meager one, it is fallacious to assume that he applied the old literary themes to his new material. The two main influences on the thought of this time (mid-Fourth Century A.D.) were Neo-Platonism and Christianity, and although the former might well give rise to some Utopian legends, the contention that the latter was the real influence on the Expositio is supported by the references to things Christian (Camarini, "bread from the sky," Eviltæ, etc.) in the text and the lack of reference to Platonism. See also the Christian Latin in the Expositio, page 79, below.

¹⁸Thompson, op. cit., p. 110.

¹⁹Expositio, line 117.

²⁰Expositio, line 260.

²¹Expositio, lines 285-286.

²²Expositio, lines 135-136.

²³Domino Du Cange. Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis. (Niort: L. Favre Imprimeur, 1886) s.v. Camerini.

²⁴Karl Müller, Geographi Graeci Minores (Paris: Institutum Franciae Typographo, 1861), volume I, p. 301, paragraph 60.

²⁵Plinius, Naturalis Historia iv, 12; vii, 28.

²⁶Plinius, xix, 4.

²⁷Plinius, xxxvii, 76.

²⁸Pomponius Mela, De Situ Orbis iii, 6.

²⁹Sinko, op. cit., p. 534.

³⁰Ibid., p. 541.

³¹Mela iii, 8.

³²Sinko, loc. cit.

³³Ammianus Marcellinus Res Gestae xxviii, 1, 13; xxiii, 6, 33. He represents the priests as capable of levitation.

³⁴Strabo Geographia, xv, 1, 59; xv, 1, 66; xv, 1, 70.

³⁵Plinius, vi, 21.

³⁶cf. Sinko, op. cit., p. 545, note 70.

³⁷Alexander Riese, Geographi Latini Minores (Heilbronn: Henningeri Fratres, 1878), p. 173, line 16; see also Giacomo Lumbroso, "Expositio totius mundi et gentium," Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, serie 5, volume 6, 1898, p. 132, note 51; also Karl Müller, op. cit., volume II, p. 515, note 9.

³⁸Giacomo Lumbroso, op. cit., p. 133, note 64.

³⁹J. C. Rolfe, Ammianus Marcellinus (The Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge: The Harvard University Press, 1937), volume II, p. 212.

⁴⁰André Berthelot, L'Asie Ancienne Centrale et sud-Orientale d'après Ptolemée (Paris: Pagot, 1930) p. 258.

⁴¹The terms of the Greater India-Exim-Lesser India proportion in the text are 210-150-15. Discounting mountains, a section taken through the region occupied by ancient India (as specified in the map enclosed in volume VII of the Loeb Strabo series) at 35° of latitude yields the following results (approximately): 725 miles-500 miles-55 miles. If the middle term is reduced to 150, the resulting proportion, 217.5-150-16.5, is very close to that suggested by the text.

⁴²J. Oliver Thompson, op. cit., p. 181.

⁴³Minucius Felix and Tertullian. See also Sinko, op. cit., p. 547, note 106.

⁴⁴Sinko, loc. cit., note 107 and Lumbroso, op. cit., p. 135, note 78-79.

⁴⁵Lumbroso, op. cit., p. 136, note 81.

⁴⁶See Strabo xvi, 1, 23 and Plinius vi, 16. See also Lumbroso, op. cit., p. 137, note 96-97.

⁴⁷Ammianus xxv, 7, 9-11.

⁴⁸Ammianus xxi, 7, 7.

⁴⁹Strabo xvi 2, 1-3; Mela i, 11.

⁵⁰Mela i, 12 and Plinius v, 17.

⁵¹Mela i, 12; Plinius v, 17; and Strabo xvi, 2, 15.

- 52 Mela i, 12.
- 53 M. Louis Baudet, Pomponius Mela: De Situ Orbis (Paris: C.L.F. Panckouche, 1843), p. 76, note 19.
- 54 Mela i, 12; Plinius v, 17.
- 55 Plinius v, 17.
- 56 idem.
- 57 Plinius v, 17 and Strabo xvi, 2, 12; xvi, 2, 14.
- 58 Plinius v, 14.
- 59 Isidorus Etymologicae xx, 3, 7.
- 60 Isidorus xv, 1, 21.
- 61 Plinius v, 16.
- 62 Plinius v, 15.
- 63 Plinius v, 16.
- 64 Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, A Latin Dictionary (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1958), s.v. Tyrus.
- 65 Plinius xiv, 9 and xv, 18.
- 66 Isidorus xv, 1, 27.
- 67 Ammianus xiv, 7, 20 and Tyrus texttrini at xiv, 9, 7.
- 68 Strabo xvi, 5; Müller, op. cit., p. 517.
- 69 Lombroso, op. cit., p. 138, note 102-103.
- 70 Lombroso, op. cit., p. 139, note 108.
- 71 Mela i, 12 and Strabo xvi, 2, 8-9.
- 72 Ammianus xv, 1, 3 on this title.
- 73 Hieronymus in the Chronicles. See Sinko, op. cit., p. 550, note 165 and Müller, op. cit., p. 518, note 28.
- 74 Isidorus xx, 3, 7.

⁷⁵Plinius xiii, 9-10.

⁷⁶Ammianus xxii, 10, 1; Julius Capitolinus, Ver. 8. See also Sinko, *op. cit.*, p. 552, notes 196, 197-207, and 206.

⁷⁷Lumbroso, *loc. cit.*, note 112; Strabo's word at xii, 4, 7 is certainly a different structure.

⁷⁸Cosmographia Aethici (in *Geographi Latini Minores* at p. 83), 25. See also Sinko, *op. cit.*, p. 551, note 173.

⁷⁹Isidorus xiv, 3, 28.

⁸⁰Plinius xviii, 31.

⁸¹Ammianus xvii, 4, 6 and xxii, 16, 20.

⁸²See Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, p. 147, note 195 and 196 for references to rare authors.

⁸³See Ammianus xvii, 4, 8-11 for just one example.

⁸⁴Ammianus xxii, 16, 12.

⁸⁵Plinius vii, 56; Ammianus xxii, 16, 18. See also Sinko, *op. cit.*, p. 557, note 288.

⁸⁶Ammianus Marcellinus at xxii, 16, 23 describes the men of Egypt as "controversi et reposcenes acerrimi. erubescit apudeos siqui non infitiando tributa, plurimas in corpore vibices ostendat. et nulla tormentum vis inveniri adhuc potuit, quae obdurato illius tractus latroni invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat." Sinko, *op. cit.*, p. 556 quotes Seneca, dial. xi, 19, 6 "ingeniosa in contumelias praefectorum provincia," and Curtius, iv, 1, 28 "Aegyptios semper praetoribus eorum infestos."

⁸⁷Sinko, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

⁸⁸Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 513.

⁸⁹At line 173 Egypt is described as being "de laeva parte Syriae," or south of Syria. At lines 257-258 Arabia is described as being "de dextris . . . syriae supra," or northeast of Syria.

⁹⁰Ammianus xxvi, 7, 2.

⁹¹Tertullian and Ausonius. See Sinko, *op. cit.*, p. 558, note 312.

⁹²This bread has been associated with the Cappadocians, however. See Sinko, loc. cit., note 310.

⁹³Plinius vi, 3; Strabo xii, 8, 16. See Sinko op. cit., p. 558, note 306 also.

⁹⁴Sinko, loc. cit., note 317 and Lombroso, op. cit., p. 151, note 224.

⁹⁵Ammianus xix, 12, 6; xxi, 6, 9.

⁹⁶Plinius vi, 9.

⁹⁷Ammianus xiv, 2ff; 8, 2; and 8, 3. See also Plinius v, 22.

⁹⁸Isidorus xiii, 13, 3.

⁹⁹Plinius v, 43.

¹⁰⁰Cosmographia Aetheci (Geographi Latini Minores, p. 85) 32, and Ammianus xxii, 8, 2.

¹⁰¹Final destruction, Ammianus xxii, 13, 5; on previous disasters see xvii, 7ff and xxii, 9, 3.

¹⁰²Ammianus xxii, 2-3 and Plinius iv, 17.

¹⁰³Ammianus xx, 8, 1.

¹⁰⁴Franz Altheim in his History of Roman Religion (translated by Harold Mattingly. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1937) states concerning Rome that (p. 469) the old religions were "still tolerated there by the imperial government, when (they) had long since been forbidden in the rest of the empire." He shows (p. 470) that the final prohibition of non-Christian religions did not occur until 395 and that (p. 469-70) "in the calendar of the Chronographer of 354 the old festivals of the gods including those of Oriental origin still appear." For a more detailed account of Mithraism during this time see Franz Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra (translated by Thomas J. McCormack. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1956), pp. 201-203.

¹⁰⁵Not to mention the fact that the author devotes roughly twice as much space (55 lines as opposed to 29 lines) to his discussion of Alexandria. For the sun god at Alexandria, see Ammianus xvii, 12, 18-23.

¹⁰⁶Sinko, op. cit., p. 560, note 460.

¹⁰⁷Sinko, op. cit., p. 566, note 479.

¹⁰⁸The text at lines 499-500 has "barbarorum paucam gentem quae sic vocatur Mazicum et Aethiopum post hos. . .," which strongly implies that the author thought of these tribes as being divisions of a single nation. For the refutation of this, see Ammianus xiv, 8, 3 and xxix, 25, 21.

¹⁰⁹Ammianus xxii, 16, 4.

¹¹⁰Ammianus xiv, 8, 14.

¹¹¹Sinko, op. cit., p. 570, note 564.

¹¹²Plinius iii, 8.

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The Language of the Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium

Before the early part of the twentieth century there was no question about the language of the Expositio. Commentators from the time of Gothofredus to that of Müller took the Expositio as simply a shortened, literal translation from a Greek original. This line of reasoning certainly explains all of the text's Graecisms and clumsy constructions easily, but it gives rise to a difficult problem as to exactly when the Latin version might have been written. Logically speaking the translation should have been done between 350 and 353 A.D., otherwise the passage "imperatorem . . . ex se habet" at lines 442-443 of the text would be known to be false to the translator and thus he would not have included them.¹ This sort of reasoning, however, would have little bearing on monasterial translations or school translations, where translation was either an expedient for study or a study in its own right.²

In 1904 Thaddaeus Sinko attacked the idea of a Greek original and proceeded to emend the Expositio accordingly. His case is less than solid in that it is based only on the alleged weakness of the case for a Greek original and not on any amount of textual evidence. He claims that all subsequent commentators dogmatically followed the line of thought initiated by Gothofredus, who had been so enamored of the idea of a Greek original that he wrote a parallel edition in Greek.³

Far more convincing than this are the "Bemerkungen zu der Descriptio orbis" by Eduard von Wölfflin, which, among other things, vigorously support Sinko's thesis by noting that there are not only many Graecisms in the text, but also many Latinisms, and that, while parallel examples of almost all of the Graecisms may be found in Late Latin texts, certain of the Latinisms have no parallels in Greek.⁴

In "Über die Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium" in Philologus of 1906, Alfred Klotz attacks both Sinko and Wölfflin on the question of a Greek original, and, in a very powerful article supports his position with a huge amount of internal evidence. So well did he make his case, in fact, that no significant article has been written on the Expositio for almost sixty years.

The present author proposes to examine not only the material involved in the dispute described above, but also several other features of the Expositio's language which have been previously omitted.

As every commentator has pointed out, the Expositio is full of Graecisms of various sorts. Perhaps the simplest of these are transliterations and loan translations from the Greek,⁵ which, as they occur only in this single source, have never been accepted into the Latin vocabulary by philologists. In the former category are alitinam (ἀληθινήν) at line 147 and calopettas (καλωπαίκτας)⁶ at line 166. To the second category belongs auditores (loan translation from ἀκροατά) at line 164.⁷ Literal translation of Greek words is possibly responsible for some of the confusing places in the text as, for example, at line 163 where a literal translation of λέγειν or φώνειν would lead to the colorless Latin dicere, whereas the sense

of the Greek would be that of ῥάδιον.⁸ Similarly there is a question at line 383 as to whether the word byrrus refers to the normal Latin burrus (from πυρρός) and means "red," which would seem unlikely in the face of the purpura used elsewhere,⁹ or whether it refers to the Greek βίρος¹⁰ and has the more likely meaning of "rain cloak." Interesting too in regard to Graecisms in the text are the insertions of Greek letters in Braχmani (for Brachmani) at line 32 and Karthago at line 479.

Several types of Greek constructions occur throughout the Expositio. Greek preposition with the genitive are found, examples of which are horum prope at line 75 and huius supra¹¹ at line 280. The genitive is also found with a special adjective in dignos patriae¹² at line 492 and in the genitive of comparison construction in eius spissior at line 108 and horum maiorem¹³ at lines 321-322. Finally the genitive with special verbs is found in quarum memoratus (for μνησθεῖς) at lines 100-101, ipsarum memoratus at line 515, and praestans suorum bonorum¹⁴ at line 222.

There are also many instances of neuter plural subjects that take singular verbs as in necesse est omnia¹⁵ at line 158, misteria perficitur¹⁶ at line 180, omnia fit¹⁷ at line 238, and, in a slightly different sense, est inveniri Epiri partes et civitas¹⁸ at line 369.

There is a definite tendency for many of the participles in the Expositio to approach Greek forms. The function of the Greek aorist active participle appears to be taken by the Latin present active participle in horam expetentem animam at line 25, facientes retias at line 17, deos . . . calentes at line 234, and bellum conscribentium at

line 277.¹⁹ Dicendum in dicendum antiquorum bellum at line 367 and appellanda at line 50 seem to stand for the Greek present passive or, perhaps, aorist passive participle.²⁰ Latin perfect passive participles assume new roles as in memoratus at line 101 for the Greek aorist passive participle μνησθεῖς, and seminati at line 226 for the Greek aorist active participle σπεῖραντες.²¹ The Latin future active participle ventura at lines 18 and 25-26 also appears to stand for the Greek aorist active participle.²² An ablative absolute construction, multis dicentibus at line 188, with a Latin present participle appears to stand for the Greek genitive absolute πολλῶν λεγομένων with a present passive participle.²³ Regentem, however, in iam et civitatem iudicibus bene regentem invenies at lines 241-242 is probably not, as Klotz claims,²⁴ a Latin attempt to render the force of the Greek present passive participle, but a present active participle in normal usage. With bene taken as an adverb of intensity the sense of the Latin would be: "and you will find the city to have a great deal of power over its judges." This idea fits in well with those that follow it (better in fact than "they are well ruled by judges," which is antithetical to the remarks that follow), and avoids a needless conjecture in a highly controversial area.

A fourth set of Greek constructions is based on the misinterpretation of ὥστε clauses and Greek substantive infinitives. Examples of the former occur at lines 266-267 in the clause ut non posse hominem . . . habitare and at line 372 in ut odire speciem videntem aliquantam where the ut is taken for ὥστε.²⁵ The second clause also contains a

rare form, a present active infinitive for the verb odisse, which may be taken as an approximation of the Greek form μισεῖν.²⁶ Examples of the substantive construction occur at lines 232-233 in propter non posse aliam provinciam sufficere nisi divinam Aegyptum, at lines 385-386 in propter esse in montibus eius escam animalium variam, and at lines 418-419 in propter suum frui cum securitate velle.²⁷

Greek prepositions with the accusative may be seen at line 111 in in multa (εἰς πολλά), at line 191 in in omnem gentem (εἰς πᾶν γένος), at line 522 in pro (εἰς) velaria et funium usum, at line 190 in prae (ὑπέρ) omnem mundum, and at line 285 in de (περὶ) eas.²⁸

Greek dative forms are also in evidence. The dative of likeness²⁹ is used in eodem modo vicantibus at lines 50-51, similiter proximis at line 56, and, in a slightly more complicated sense, in et Niciae quidem civitati dispositioni difficile est alibi invenire in which civitatem similem is implied at lines 328-329.³⁰ The Greek dative of respect³¹ appears in positioni et magnitudini et ornameto et formositate at lines 321-322.³²

Several prepositions are used in their normal Latin constructions, but have Greek overtones in their meanings. Examples of these are: sine at lines 42 and 178 in the meaning of ἄνευ; extra at line 92 in the meaning of ἔξω; ex pauco at line 359 in the meaning of ἐξ ὀλίγου; and ex nomine at line 527 in the meaning of ἐξ ὀνόματος.³³

Klotz makes a good case for singulus as ἕκαστος throughout the work³⁴ and believes the many instances of multiple conjunctions to be directly translated from Greek. Quoque . . . et, as, for example, at line 284 in quoque et in omnibus bonis, is taken to stand for

τὲ . . . καὶ , and et autem at line 223 for καὶ . . . δὲ .³⁵ Further-
more he cites several words and phrases, which, though rare and clumsy
in Latin, are common and syntactically sound in Greek. Among these are
the plural ad Occidentes at line 31-32 for πρὸς δύσεις , the plural
aeres at lines 168 and 253, which is common in Greek for "climate,"
but seldom used as a plural in Latin for this meaning, aestatis hora
for "season of summer" at line 224, and civitas regalis for πόλις
βασιλική at line 102.³⁶ In addition Klotz cites several full
clauses, such as dicendum antiquorum bellum at line 367 and possedit
cum omnibus quibus habet bonis et unam rem at lines 214-215, as making
sense only in their respective Greek translations, τὸν λεγόμενον τῶν
παλαιῶν πόλεμον³⁷ and κέκτηται σὺν πᾶσιν οἷς ἔχει
ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἓν πρᾶγμα³⁸ .

But, as Wölfflin points out, on the other hand there is much
in the Expositio that is not Greek. Less spectacular to be sure than
the Graecisms pointed out above, native Latin forms the core of the
narrative. Odire, for example, which was mentioned above as a poten-
tial Graecism, may also be taken as a Late Latin form.³⁹ But, since
going over all the points of typical Latin in the Expositio would take
more space than is expedient for this treatise, suffice it to say that
even in the above-mentioned Graecisms, syntactical changes have often
been made so that constructions may fit into typical Latin. Several
Greek constructions of prepositions with the genitive, for example, have
been changed over to ablative constructions.

Part of Wölfflin's argument against a Greek original is based
on one of these potentially Greek constructions. He believes that ex

parte, which occurs eleven times in the text, must equal the Greek ἐκ (ἀπὸ) μέρους , an expression which was hardly current enough in Greek at the time of the Expositio to be used as the commonplace that it obviously is therein.⁴⁰ He further notes that the Bellum Hispaniense, which contains even so Greek a construction as a genitive absolute and yet is original Latin literature, tends to belie the idea that a great number of Graecisms implies a translation.⁴¹ Finally he points out the great number of conversational expressions in which the author leaves the main line of his narrative and speaks in terms of the first person to his audience. One of many examples of this occurs at lines 27-29 in "et haec quidem huius gentis bona ex parte diximus; multa enim habentes dicere praetermissimus." These, claims Wölfflin, are not the kind of thoughts that one would normally translate.⁴²

Wölfflin's argument for the text as a Latin original is based on these points, while that of Klotz for a Greek original is based on sheer bulk of material. It is difficult indeed to choose between their cases and, unfortunately, their positions leave almost no room for a solution based on compromise. One interpretation which might possibly be construed to rest on middle ground, is that the body of the work is a translation from a Greek original, and that the personal passages are the translator's own insertions. In favor of this idea is the fact that ex parte occurs regularly in the personal passages, while against it would be the lack of logical continuity between the terribly literal translation of the body of the work and the original thought expressed in these passages. Perhaps the most satisfactory explanation is one to

which allusion was made earlier. Translation for its own sake was current in the schools and monasteries of the Late Latin period. If Wölfflin's ex parte be taken as a more common Greek phrase, ἐν ὀλίγω for instance, then the origin of a slavishly literal translation from a Greek original becomes obvious; and the personal passages no longer present a problem since, if the Greek original had them, the Latin translator would be obliged to put them in his translation.

Be this as it may, there are several good examples of Late Latin in the Expositio. The Christian influence may be seen in such words as benedictione for "harvest" at line 226, salvarentur and salvat for "preserve" at lines 128 and 461, and, perhaps, the phrase cum timore et tremore at lines 243-244.⁴³ Interesting too in this regard is the use of the adjective divinus, at 233 and 273 for example, as a commonplace for "good."

Late Latin confusions of "h"⁴⁵ in spelling are evident in Hetna for Aetna at line 556 and habundare for abundare at lines 72, 74, and, virtually, throughout the work; though the editio princeps contains both habundare and abundare, the former is by far the more common of the two. The Late Latin -f- for -ph-⁴⁶ is seen in elefantorum at line 64 and Frigum at line 277. The spelling t for th in Scytropolis at lines 134 and 143-144 is a product of the common speech,⁴⁷ while the Qu in Quirene at line 502 can be explained only as a hyperurbanism in which the more normal Latin tendency of -c- to replace -qu-⁴⁸ is consciously reversed. -I- for -y- or Greek -v- as a product of the common speech occurs⁴⁹ at many places in the text: Beritus for Berytus at lines 144, 160, and 161, and Sibilla for Sibylla at lines 529 and 530, for example.

The Late Latin confusion of -e- for -i-⁵⁰ is seen throughout the original, but has been largely eliminated in text except for certain verbs which will be discussed below.

Though the editio princeps has twenty examples of the -e- for -ae- spelling that was probably common at the time during which the Expositio was written,⁵¹ it also contains nine examples of -ae- for -e-; this might be considered correct if the -e- involved were short,⁵² but, as the situation stands, these examples of -ae- for -e- are sufficient to cast doubt on the whole -ae-, -e- question. In addition to this, there is a strange situation in the A text because over half of the examples of -e- for -ae- occur within its first hundred lines.⁵³ In consequence of these two factors Sinko's emendations of -ae- for -e- and -e- for -ae- in all the cases in question have been adopted in the present text.

The ending -es- for -ex- is certainly an established development in the Latin language,⁵⁴ but such forms as lindes and cimes for lindex and cimex at line 4 did not come about until very late. Spania at line 454, however, is not a normal Latin development. This hyperurbanism for Hispania resulted from the mistaken idea that the His- prefix was an improper of the long s before a consonant as may be found in ismaragdus (smaragdus), for example.⁵⁵

An interesting, but unproductive line of thought involves the two cases, at line 121 and line 462, where omnem negotium occurs in the manuscript. Since the masculine of omnis occurs with the accusative of negotium in both instances in the manuscript, a confusion between neuter and masculine might be postulated. Against this idea

is the fact that the plural negotia occurs throughout the text and the analogy of locus is too weak for any kind of case to rest upon it. Parallel with Klotz's reasoning about Sinko's circense emendation in both mechanism and quality⁵⁶ is the notion that the final -m- in omnem is a remnant from the original Greek πάν πρᾶγμα . Omnem, then, must be just another of the many examples in the original of the addition of -m- to final syllables.

Were there more evidence in the text, a case for some third conjugation verbs assuming second conjugation endings might possibly be built. The only available evidence here, however, consists of mittet at line 160, ostendet at line 220, and tollentur at line 340. Since mittit occurs several times in the text, the case rests on but two verbs which only occur once in the text. The -et- ending for the -it- ending, then, must be taken as a simple -e- for -i- confusion on the part of a copyist.

What appears to be a case of accusative subject appears at lines 362-365. Corintum et Athenas is certainly in apposition with civitates has; the two longer phrases that follow then do not, however, begin with free standing nouns, but with ones in apposition with Corintum and Athenas. This double double-appositive is a peculiar and clumsy construction to be sure, but it does not warrant the title of accusative subject because there are no verbs in the longer clauses.

Another Late Latin construction is the ablative of extent of time construction,⁵⁷ diebus noctibusque at line 557. Utor with the accusative⁵⁸ occurs at line 6 in vestimenta utuntur omnibus communia; and there is an interesting appositive multa genera at line 462.

Finally quid for quod⁵⁹ appears at line 31 and 143.

No discussion of the Expositio would be complete without some mention of the principal emendations in the text. Almost all of those in the present edition follow the ones of Thaddaeus Sinko's edition. Several insertions of words or phrases have been made for smoothness. The justification for these is that they all occur at some other place in the text in a similar context or that they have been drawn from a parallel section in the B or Iunioris Philosophi text. Thus at line 60 Sinko inserts inde from B, enim at line 70, stare videntur at lines 111-112 from B on the analogy of lines 217-218 and line 462, necessarium est dicere quid singulae earum habent at lines 142-143 on the analogy of lines 119-120 above and lines 154-155 below, habundant at line 149, invenies at line 150, et excellentes at line 167 on the analogy of line 550, diximus at line 169, est at line 242, et at line 250, habent at line 285, ibi at line 436, habundans at line 455, negotium stare at line 462, dicam at line 514, invenies at line 524 from B, invenies at line 555, and ignis at line 557 from B. Penuria at line 216, though it has no justification as far as either manuscript is concerned, is inserted for the sense of the passage. A larger insertion, populis et forventior, takes place at line 108 where Sinko, on good authority,⁶⁰ denies that spissior in negotio is possible.

He also changes several of the words and structures of the original text. He substitutes labium for A's gladium at line 8, for example. Here he uses an otherwise unknown genitive plural form; however he is justified in this by the fact that the other plural forms are well established⁶¹ and that his emendation is a vast improvement

over the original text. Though it was changed to margaritae by previous commentators, Sinko allows the original margaritas to stand on the analogy of Latin collective nouns ending in -as-, and on the resultant parallelism with carbunculus and saphirus which follow. At line 120 he replaces in singulae the final -e- which, he claims, was lost through the haplography of -e- in the manuscript. At line 122 he changes exercit to exercitui on the analogy of civitatem in omnibus ei adiuvantem at lines 447-448. Alteram palmulam minorem from altera palmula minore at line 152 is the result of a needed parallel with the -um- ending of psittatium. A is changed to ad at line 154 because of the accusative which follows. Quoque for quae at line 220 is in accordance with the sense of the passage involved, as are also ut diximus for autem de at line 300, autem for ut at line 320, cupidis ornata for cupis ornatam at line 324, and girans te for girantem at line 467. Propter for propterea at line 232 and propter quod at line 385 are the results of WBlfflin's noun clause studies.⁶² Turis at line 239 is postulated because it is parallel in construction with the genitive sacrificiorum. Diximus is used for manuscript de at line 254 and 300, while de is excluded at line 247 because the structure that it implies does not appear elsewhere in the text, as also omnibus replaces hominibus at line 523 for the same reason.

Because of the great number of lacunae in the section of the text concerning islands, Sinko feels justified in inserting the name Delus from B at line 532 and Lemnus from B at lines 536-537. He brackets all lines which have definite Christian overtones, but these have

been inserted back into the present text because elements of Christian thought and language are really very basic to the whole text. A far better seclusion is that of the passage at line 77:

et haec quidem de praedictis gentibus historicus ait.
quoniam vero necessarium est et nostram terram, hoc est
Romanorum, conscribere, experiar exponere ut possit legen-
tibus prodesse. incipiamus ergo. diximus enim Persarum
terras quot mansionum esse dixerunt, qui conscripserunt et
quia.

This passage is not redone in B, reports things which are not in the text, and is so poorly connected with the main narrative that it is quite confusing in context. For these reasons Sinko has quite rightly secluded the passage.

Another excellent, if unprecedented, emendation is that of circense for circenses at lines 336 and 406. Sinko claims that this neuter singular form of the adjective is a substantive for the structure in which the races take place.⁶³ Strong support is found for this idea in the fact that circense is an apposition with structuram valde bonam at line 336 and is modified by the neuter singular adjectives positum and ornatum at lines 406-407. A weak counter-argument by Klotz states that the -s- of the original circenses results from the -ς- ending of ἵπποδρόμος in the Greek.⁶⁴ Had the supported translation from the Greek original been that literal, there would probably be -n- endings on all the accusatives in the text.

More interesting, however, than these items of technical material is the way in which they are used in context. The Expositio's style is marked by a constant tendency toward overstatement that well illustrates the weakening of word force associated with Late Latin. Almost every

city "habundat omnibus" where the true sense can only be "habet multa." The comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives and praecipuus are used indiscriminately throughout, valde constantly reinforces adjectives, and an almost forceless ipse is attached to nouns. Unum et solum spectaculum novum in omni mundo⁶⁵ has the force of "outstanding sight," while the fact that Sardinia is ditissima and splendidissima⁶⁶ fails to distinguish it particularly from any other place in the Expositio. The situation engendered by this reckless procedure causes the author to use strange forms for emphasis. Thus in the wake of the men of Edessa and Nisibus who are in negotio valde acutos and ferventes,⁶⁷ and of Tyre negotium ferventer agens,⁶⁸ the author must raise the temperature and describe Ascalon and Gaza as in negotio bullientes.⁶⁹ If the circus spectacles are watched diligentius at Nichomedia, then they must be watched saevissime at Constantinople.

In conclusion, then, it may be said that the language of the Expositio is resplendent with Graecisms while it nevertheless maintains a solid foundation in literary, Late, and Vulgar Latin. Its style is typically exaggerated and shows several forms and usages peculiar to itself.

Footnotes

¹This, of course, implies an awareness of current affairs and, perhaps, an intention of circulating the work on the part of the postulated translator.

²See Eric Jacobsen, Translation, A Traditional Craft, (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel-Nordisk Forlag, 1958), pp. 39-58 for a description of translation in the Roman school.

³Thaddaeus Sinko, "Die Discriptio orbis terrae, eine Handelsgeographie aus dem 4. Jahrhundert," Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie, volume 13, 1904, p. 531.

⁴Eduard von Wölfflin, "Bemerkungen zu der Descriptio orbis," Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie, volume 13, 1904, p. 577.

⁵Even more simple than these are the Greek loan words such as tetrapylum at lines 118 and 260 for **τετραπύλον**. These, however, are of little significance here as they have been accepted into the Latin vocabulary. The great number of them in the Expositio has little bearing on the question of a Greek original.

⁶Sinko, op. cit., p. 552, note 206.

⁷Sinko, loc. cit., note 197-207.

⁸Alfred Klotz, "Über die Expositio totius mundi et gentium," Philologus, volume 65, 1906, p. 123; Giacomo Lumbroso, "Expositio totius mundi et gentium," Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, series 5, volume 6, 1898, p. 143, note 147.

⁹Expositio, line 147.

¹⁰Sinko, op. cit., p. 563, note 416.

¹¹Wölfflin, op. cit., p. 574; Klotz, op. cit., p. 115.

¹²Idem.

¹³Idem.

¹⁴Idem.

¹⁵Klotz, op. cit., p. 122.

¹⁶Klotz, loc. cit.; Wölfflin, loc. cit.

- 17 Idem.
- 18 Klotz, loc. cit.
- 19 Klotz, op. cit., pp. 120-122.
- 20 Ibid., p. 121.
- 21 Idem.
- 22 Ibid., p. 122.
- 23 Ibid., p. 121.
- 24 Ibid., p. 120.
- 25 Wblfflin, op. cit., p. 575; Klotz, op. cit., p. 116.
- 26 Klotz, loc. cit.
- 27 Wblfflin, op. cit., pp. 574-575.
- 28 Wblfflin, op. cit., p. 576; Klotz, op. cit., p. 123.
- 29 William Watson Goodwin and Charles Burton Gulick, Greek Grammar (New York: Ginn and Company, 1930), p. 247.
- 30 Klotz, op. cit., p. 123.
- 31 Goodwin and Gulick, op. cit., p. 249.
- 32 Klotz, loc. cit.
- 33 Wblfflin, loc. cit.
- 34 Klotz, op. cit., pp. 119-120.
- 35 Ibid., pp. 117-118.
- 36 Ibid., pp. 123-124.
- 37 Ibid., p. 121.
- 38 Ibid., p. 122.
- 39 Alexander Souter, A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1949), s.v. odio.
- 40 Wblfflin, op. cit., p. 577.

⁴¹Idem.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 577-578.

⁴³Klotz, op. cit., p. 111.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 110.

⁴⁵C. H. Grandgent, An Introduction to Vulgar Latin (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 106-107.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 139.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 138-139.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 107.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 80.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 84-85.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 88.

⁵²Ibid., p. 75.

⁵³Of twenty examples, the first eleven occur in the following lines: 7, 10, 15, 16, 19, 35, 44, 64, 92, 93, and 94.

⁵⁴Grandgent, op. cit., p. 108.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 98.

⁵⁶See below, page .

⁵⁷William Gardner Hale and C. D. Buck, A Latin Grammar (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1903), p. 231, paragraph 440.

⁵⁸Charleton T. Lewis and Charles Short, A Latin Dictionary (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1879), s.v.

⁵⁹Grandgent, op. cit., p. 37.

⁶⁰Not one commentator has accepted this.

⁶¹Lewis and Short, op. cit., s.v.

⁶²See above, page .

⁶³Sinko, op. cit., p. 561, note 369.

⁶⁴Klotz, op. cit., p.

⁶⁵Expositio, lines 211-212.

⁶⁶Expositio, lines 561-562.

⁶⁷Expositio, lines 88 and 95-96.

⁶⁸Expositio, line 106.

⁶⁹Expositio, line 131.

⁷⁰Expositio, line 337.

⁷¹Expositio, line 347.

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INDICES

The following indices are arranged in alphabetical order according to either English or Latin words. Thus the same thing or place may occur at two different places in the listings (citadel and arx, for example). In general the listings under a Latin word refer only to where the Latin may be found, and the listings under an English word refer only to where the English may be found. All references in English have the Latin from which they were derived in parentheses next to them. Where two Latin forms are given, the second is a special form found in the Expositio. Where the English and Latin are very similar (Spain and Spania, for example), the references to both forms are given under a single heading.

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