I/II d.C.   **Agathemerus** geographus (Agathem.)
Diller, A., «Agathemerus, sketch of geography», *GRBS* 16, 1975, pp.59-76.

Diller 1975.pdf

Agathemerus, *Sketch of Geography*

Aubrey Diller

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

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

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

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

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

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

[3] Diller pp.34–37. Bits of the K-excerpts are found in the additions to the *Etymologicum Gudianum,* ed. F. W. Sturz (Leipzig 1818) pp.220 (Εὐρώπη), 369 (Λιβύη), 555 (Φοίνικες), 577 ('Ωκεανός); ed. A. de Stefani (Leipzig 1909–1920, repr. Amsterdam 1965) p.564 (Εὐρώπη.)

[4] A writer in *RE* 46 (1959) 1872 gratuitously dates Agathemerus "um 350 n. Chr."

Geographically the treatise is pre-Ptolemaic and comparable with those of Pomponius Mela and Dionysius Periegetes. The three are of similar scope (description of the οἰκουμένη), but the *Sketch* by Agathemerus is meagre in scale and without literary pretensions. Most of his work consists of *verbatim* excerpts, and part is mere names and numbers. All three draw on such great Hellenistic geographers as Eratosthenes[6] and Artemidorus. At this period Strabo was unknown.

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

Ἀγαθημέρου τοῦ Ὄρθωνος γεωγραφίας ὑποτύπωσις

I

4ʳ   **1.** ¹¹Ἀναξίμανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἀκουστὴς Θάλεω πρῶτος ἀπετόλμησε τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν πίνακι γράψαι, μεθ᾽ ὃν Ἑκαταῖος ⟨ὁ⟩ Μιλήσιος ἀνὴρ πολυπλανὴς διηκρίβωσεν ¹²ὥστε θαυμασθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα· Ἑλλάνικος γὰρ ὁ Λέσβιος ἀνὴρ πολυΐστωρ ἀπλάστως παρέδωκε τὴν ἱστορίαν. εἶτα Δαμάστης ὁ Κιτιεὺς τὰ πλεῖστα ἐκ τῶν ¹³Ἑκαταίου μεταγράψας περίπλουν ἔγραψεν. ἑξῆς Δημόκριτος καὶ Εὔδοξος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς γῆς περιόδους καὶ περίπλους ἐπραγματεύσαντο. **2.** Οἱ μὲν οὖν παλαιοὶ ¹⁴τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔγραφον στρογγύλην, μέσην δ᾽ ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ταύτης Δελφούς· τὸν ὀμφαλὸν γὰρ ἔχειν τῆς γῆς. πρῶτος δὲ Δημόκριτος πολύπειρος ἀνὴρ συνεῖδεν ὅτι προμήκης ¹⁵ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ ἡμιόλιον τὸ μῆκος τοῦ πλάτους ἔχουσα. συνήνεσε τούτῳ καὶ Δικαίαρχος ὁ περιπατητικός. Εὔδοξος δὲ τὸ μῆκος διπλοῦν τοῦ πλάτους, ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης πλεῖον τοῦ ¹⁶διπλοῦ, Κράτης δὲ ὡς ἡμικύκλιον, Ἵππαρχος δὲ τραπεζοειδῆ, ἄλλοι ⟨δὲ⟩ †οὐροειδῆ, Ποσειδώνιος δ᾽ ὁ Στωϊκὸς σφενδονοειδῆ καὶ μεσόπλατον ἀπὸ νότου εἰς βορρᾶν, στενὴν πρὸς ἔω ¹⁷καὶ δύσιν, τὰ πρὸς

11 ὁ θαλοῦ μαθητὴς post δημόκριτος (13) K   11 ἐτόλμησε C   11 ὁ add. C
12 ὁ 1° om. C   12 κιτιεὺς TenNuyl, κητιεὺς B, ςιγειεὺς Hoffmann
12 πλεῖστα oblitum C   14 ἔγραψαν K   14 δὲ κεῖσθαι Gronovius
14 συνεῖδεν C, συνοῖδεν B   16 δὲ add. K   16 εὐροειδῆ K, θυροειδῆ Bernhardy
16 δ᾽ὁ B, δὲ K

⁶ H. Berger, *Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes* (Leipzig 1880).

εὗρον δ' ὁμοίως πλατύτερα ⟨τὰ⟩ πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδικήν. 3. Ὅροι ἠπείρων·
Εὐρώπης μὲν καὶ Λιβύης αἱ Ἡρακλέους στῆλαι, Λιβύης δὲ καὶ Ἀσίας
ὁ Νεῖλος· οἱ δ' ἰσθμὸν τὸν [18]ἀπὸ Σερβωνίδος λίμνης καὶ Ἀραβίου
κόλπου· Ἀσίας δὲ καὶ Εὐρώπης οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖοι Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν
ἕως Κασπίας ἰσθμόν, οἱ δ' ὕστερον νεώτεροι Μαιῶτιν [19]λίμνην καὶ
Τάναϊν ποταμόν. 4. Ἐκλήθησαν δ' ἤπειροι ἄπειροί τινες οὖσαι δι'
ἄγνοιαν· Ἀσία δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄσσον ἰέναι τοῖς ἀπ' Εὐρώπης ἀπιοῦσι καὶ
πεζῇ καὶ νήσοις στιχηδὸν [20]κειμέναις· Εὔβοια Ἄνδρος Τῆνος Μύκονος
Ἰκαρία Σάμος Μυκάλη· ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπη ἀπὸ τοῦ εὔρους ὠνομάσθη·
Λιβύη δ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἦν ἄγνωστος πάνυ, ἀπὸ δὲ ἔθνους [21]ἐπισήμου
†Φοίνικες ὠνομάσθησαν πλέοντες· ὠκεανὸς δὲ διὰ τὸ ὠκέως ἀνύειν
κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν. 5. Δικαίαρχος δ' ὁρίζει τὴν γῆν οὐχ ὕδασιν ἀλλὰ τομῇ
εὐθείᾳ εὐκράτῳ [22]ἀπὸ Στηλῶν διὰ Σαρδοῦς Σικελίας Πελοποννήσου
Ἰωνίας Καρίας Λυκίας Παμφυλίας Κιλικίας καὶ Ταύρου ἑξῆς ἕως
Ἰμάου ὄρους· τῶν τοίνυν τόπων τὸ μὲν βόρειον τὸ δὲ νότιον ὀνο[23]μάζει.

II

6. Ἄνεμοι δὲ πνέουσιν ἀπὸ μὲν ἰσημερινῆς ἀνατολῆς ἀπηλιώτης, ἀπὸ
δὲ ἰσημερινῆς δύσεως ζέφυρος, ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας νότος, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄρκτου
ἀπαρκτίας· ἀπὸ δὲ [24]τροπῆς θερινῆς καικίας, ἑξῆς δὲ ἀπὸ ἰσημερινῆς
ἀνατολῆς ἀπηλιώτης καὶ ἀπὸ χειμερινῆς εὖρος· δυσμικοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν
δύσεως χειμερινῆς λίψ, καὶ ἑξῆς πάλιν ἀπὸ δύσεως [25]ἰσημερινῆς
ζέφυρος, ἀπὸ δὲ δύσεως θερινῆς ἀργέστης ἤτοι Ὀλυμπίας ⟨ὁ καὶ
Ἰᾶπυξ⟩· εἶτα νότος καὶ ἀπαρκτίας ἀντιπνέοντες ⟨ἀλλήλοις⟩· γίνονται
οὖν ὀκτώ. 7. Τιμοσθένης δὲ ὁ γράψας τοὺς περίπλους [26]δώδεκά φησι
προστιθεὶς μέσον ἀπαρκτίου καὶ καικίου βορέαν, εὔρου δὲ καὶ νότου
φοίνικα τὸν καὶ εὐρόνοτον, μέσον δὲ νότου καὶ λιβὸς τὸν λευκόνοτον
ἤτοι λιβόνοτον, μέσον δὲ [27]ἀπαρκτίου καὶ ἀργέστου θρασκίαν ἤτοι
κίρκιον ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων ⟨ὀνομαζόμενον⟩. ἔθνη δὲ οἰκεῖν τὰ πέρατα
κατ' ἀπηλιώτην Βακτριανούς, κατ' εὖρον Ἰνδούς, κατὰ φοίνικα
[28]Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν καὶ Αἰθιοπίαν, κατὰ νότον τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἴγυπτον

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

Αἰθιοπίαν, κατὰ λευκόνοτον τοὺς ὑπὲρ Σύρτεις Γαράμαντας, κατὰ
λίβα Αἰθίοπας [καὶ] δυσμικοὺς ὑπὲρ Μαύρους, ²⁹κατὰ ζέφυρον Στήλας
καὶ ἀρχὰς Λιβύης καὶ Εὐρώπης, κατὰ ἀργέστην Ἰβηρίαν τὴν νῦν
Ἱσπανίαν, κατὰ [δὲ] θρασκίαν ⟨Κελτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὅμορα, κατὰ ἀπαρκ-
τίαν⟩ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Θράκην Σκύθας, κατὰ [δὲ] βορρᾶν Πόντον Μαιῶτιν
Σαρμάτας, ³⁰κατὰ καικίαν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν καὶ Σάκας.

III

8. ἔστι δὲ ἡ μεγάλη Σύρτις σταδίων ͵ε, ἡ δὲ μικρὰ σταδίων ͵αχ. τὸ δὲ
στόμα τοῦ Ἀδρίου ὃ καλοῦσί τινες Ἰόνιον πέλαγος ἔχει ³¹διάπλουν
σταδίων [͵α]ψ ἀπὸ ἄκρας Ἰαπυγίας ἐπὶ Κεραύνια ὄρη τῆς Ἠπείρου.
9. διαδέχεται τὸ Αἰγαῖον ⟨πέλαγος⟩ Ἑλλήσποντος λήγων εἰς Ἄβυδον
καὶ Σηστόν, εἶτα ἡ Προποντὶς λήγουσα εἰς ³²Χαλκηδόνα καὶ Βυζάν-
τιον, ἔνθα τὰ στενὰ ἀφ' ὧν ὁ Πόντος ἄρχεται· εἶτα ἡ Μαιῶτις λίμνη.
πάλιν δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης Ἰβηρικὸν τὸ ἀπὸ Στηλῶν
εἰς Πυρήνην ³³τὸ ὄρος, Λιγυστικὸν δὲ τὸ ἕως τῶν τῆς Τυρρηνίας
περάτων, Σαρδῶον δὲ τὸ ὑπὲρ Σαρδὼ νεῦον πρὸς Λιβύην κάτω, Τυρ-
ρηνικὸν δὲ τὸ μέχρι Σικελίας λῆγον ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ ³⁴τῶν Λιγυστικῆς
ἄκρων, εἶτα Λιβυκόν, εἶτα Κρητικὸν καὶ Σικελικὸν καὶ Ἰόνιον καὶ
Ἀδρίαν ⟨καὶ⟩ τὸν ἀνακεχυμένον ἐκ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πελάγους, ὃν
καλοῦσι Κορινθιακὸν κόλπον ³⁵ἤτοι Ἀλκυονίδα θάλασσαν. τὸ δὲ
Σουνίῳ καὶ Σκυλλαίῳ περιεχόμενον πέλαγος Σαρωνικόν, εἶτα Μυρ-
τῶον καὶ Ἰκάριον ἐν ᾧ αἱ Κυκλάδες, εἶτα Καρπάθιον καὶ Παμ³⁶φύλιον
καὶ Αἰγύπτιον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ Ἰκάριον ἑξῆς ἀναχεῖται τὸ Αἰγαῖον.
10. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ τῆς Εὐρώπης παράπλους ἀπὸ Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ
ἐκβολῶν ἕως Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν σταδίων ³⁷μυριάδων ἓξ καὶ ͵θψθ,
τῆς δὲ Λιβύης ἀπὸ Τιγγὸς ἕως στόματος Κανωβικοῦ σταδίων μυριάδων
δύο καὶ ͵θῡβ, τῆς δ' Ἀσίας ἀπὸ Κανώβου ἕως Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ μετὰ
τῶν κόλπων ὁ παρά³⁸πλους σταδίων μυριάδων δ καὶ ͵ρͱᾱ· ὁμοῦ παράλιος
σὺν κόλποις τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης σταδίων μυριάδων ιγ καὶ ͵θοβ
συμμετρουμένης τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης, ἧς περίμετρος ³⁹σταδίων ͵θ,

28 κατὰ 2° J C, κατατὰ B   28 λευκόνοτον vel λιβόνοτον J   28 σύρτιν J
28 γεράμαντες vel γέρμαντες J   28 καὶ del. Müller   28 ὑπὲρ μαύρους edd.,
ὑπερμαύρους B, ὑπέρμαυροι J   29 νῦν ἱσπανίαν B, νυνὶ σπανία J   29 δὲ utr.
B, om. J   29 add. J Müller   29 σαυρόματας edd. ante Müller   30 ἰώνιον B
31 ͵α del. Müller   31 πέλαγος add. J   31 λήγων edd., λῆγον B C J
31 λήγουσα J, λήγει B C   33 τυρηνίας B   33 σαρδώνιον J   33 τὴν σαρδὼ et
τὴν λιβύν J   33 τυρηνικὸν Bᶜ   33 λῆγον om. C   34 τῶν om. Bᵃ   34 ἰώνιον B
34 καὶ add. Diller   35 τὸ δὲ B, τῶ δὲ J, τὸ (om. δὲ) C   35 καὶ αἱ Müller
(non J)   36 ἀναχεῖται J Gronovius, ἀνάκειται B   36 ἡρακλέους J   37 τίγας J

τὸ δὲ στόμα ὁ Κιμμέριος Βόσπορος σταδίων [ō]κ̄. 11. ὁ δὲ Πόντος
σταδίων ‚γτ̄ν̄· ὁ δὲ Θράκιος Βόσπορος τὰ στενὰ ὅπῃ Δαρεῖος ἔζευξεν
ἐπὶ Σκύθας τὴν σχεδίαν σταδίων ἕξ. 12. ⁴⁰῾Η δὲ Περσικὴ θάλασσα
κυκλοτερὴς οὖσα συνάγουσα τὸ στόμα ἄκρῳ Καρμανίας καὶ ᾿Αραβίας
περίμετρον ἔχει μυριάδων δύο σταδίων· ἔστι δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ στόμα
᾿Αραβίας ⁴¹καὶ Καρμανίας σταδίων ῡ. 13. ῾Η δὲ ῾Υρκανία ἤτοι
Κασπία θάλασσα μηνοειδὴς οὖσα, κατὰ δέ τινας καὶ προμήκης, ἐστὶ
σταδίων δισμυρίων [δισχιλίων]· τοῦ δὲ στόματος ἔχει τὸ δίαρμα
σταδίους ⁴²‚α. 14. ῾Ο δὲ ᾿Αράβιος κόλπος στενὸς ὢν καὶ προμήκης
ἄρχεται ἀπὸ ῾Ηρώων πολίτου μυχοῦ παρὰ τὴν Τρωγλοδυτικὴν ἕως τῆς
Πτολεμαΐδος τῆς ἐπὶ θήρας σταδίων ‚θ τὸ μῆκος, [τὰ δὲ ⁴³κατὰ
Δειρὴν στενὰ σταδίων ξ̄,] ἔνθεν ἑξῆς πλοῦς σταδίων ‚ϲφ̄, [τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν
οὐ πλεῖται] παρὰ τὴν ᾿Ερυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἕως ὠκεανοῦ σταδίων ‚ε· τὸ
δὲ παρὰ τὴν ᾿Αραβίαν πλευρὰν ἀπὸ Αἰλανίτου μυχοῦ ⁴⁴σταδίων μυρίων
‚δ. αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ ᾿Αραβία εἰς τὴν ᾿Ερυθρὰν καθήκει καὶ μεμήκυται ἐπὶ
σταδίων μυρίων δισχιλίων.

<div style="text-align:center">IV</div>

15. Μῆκος δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ Γάγγου εἰς τὰ Γάδειρα σταδίων
⁴⁵μυριάδων ϲ̄ καὶ ‚ηϝμ̄ε̄ οὕτως· ἀπὸ μὲν Γάγγου ποταμοῦ ἕως
Μυριάνδρου τῆς ἐν ᾿Ισσικῷ κόλπῳ σταδίων μυριάδων τεσσάρων καὶ
χιλίων ψ̄κ̄ε̄ οὕτως· ἀπὸ Γάγγου ¹ἐπὶ ἐκβολὰς ᾿Ινδοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίων
[δις]μυρίων ‚ϲ, ἀπὸ ᾿Ινδοῦ ἕως Κασπίων πυλῶν μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων
τριακοσίων, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην σταδίων μυρίων ῡ, ²εἰς Μυρίανδρον
σταδίων ϝ̄ο̄ε̄, 16. ἀπὸ δὲ Μυριάνδρου ἐπὶ Γάδειρα σταδίων δισμυρίων
‚ϲω̄κ̄ οὕτως· ἀπὸ Μυριάνδρου ἐπὶ Κλεῖδας Κύπρου σταδίων ³χιλίων
τετρακοσίων, ἐπὶ ᾿Ακάμαντα τὸ ἀκρωτήριον στάδιοι ‚αϝ̄, ἐπὶ δὲ
Χελιδονίας διὰ Παμφυλίου πελάγους στάδια ‚αϝ̄, εἰς Πάταρα στάδια
ω̄, ⁴[ὡς] εἰς ῾Ρόδον στάδια ψ̄, εἰς ᾿Αστυπάλαιαν διὰ Καρπαθίου στάδια
†ρμ̄, ἐπὶ Ταίναρον στάδια ‚αϝ̄ν̄, ἐπὶ Πάχυνον Σικελίας στάδια ‚δ, ἐπὶ
Λιλύβαιον ⁵διὰ Λιβυκοῦ πελάγους στάδια ‚αφκ̄, ἐπὶ δὲ Κάραλιν
Σαρδοῦς διὰ Τυρσηνικοῦ πελάγους στάδια ‚αω̄, ἐπὶ Γάδειρα ὑπερπλεύ-

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39 κ̄ Diller, ō Müller, ōκ̄ B, ōη edd.   39 δισμυρίων ante ‚γτ̄ν̄ add. edd.
39 ἕξ edd., ἑξακισχιλίων B   40 ἀρραβίας 2° B   41 δισχιλίων del. Diller
42 ‚α Diller, ‚δ B   42 πολίτου Diller, ποταμοῦ B, πόλεως TenNuyl
42 μυχοῦ om. C   42 θήρας vel θῆρας edd., θύρας B   42 τὰ δὲ --ξ̄ post ‚ϲφ̄
legenda, sed et aliquid deest ·   43 τὸ δὲ --πλεῖται post ‚ε legenda   44 μυρίων
1° TenNuyl, μυριάδων B   45 ‚ηϝμ̄ε̄ B Hoffmann, ‚ηϝμ̄θ C   1 δισ- del. edd.
1 πεντακις- Bᶜ, δισ- Bᵃ   3 ‚αϝ̄ Hoffmann, ‚γϝ̄ B   3 ‚αϝ̄ Diller, ‚αϝ̄ B   4 ὡς
del. Müller   4 ‚αϝ̄ν̄ Diller, ‚αῡῡ B   4 ‚δ B, ‚δχ̄ Hoffmann   5 ‚αω̄ Diller, ‚βω̄ B

cαντι Γυμνησίας ⁶νήςους cτάδια μύρια, ἀπὸ Γαδείρων δὲ διὰ 'Ιεροῦ
ἀκρωτηρίου καὶ 'Αρτάβρων λιμένος cτάδιοι ͵ζῆλβ· ὁμοῦ γίνονται
μυριάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ⁷͵ϛυοῖ. 17. καὶ ἄλλως· ἀπὸ Γάγγου ἕως Εὐφράτου
ποταμοῦ μυριάδων τεccάρων καὶ χιλίων τ̄ῡ, ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου εἰς Μάζακα
Καππαδοκῶν cτάδια ͵αῖῡ, ἀπὸ δὲ ⁸Μαζάκων διὰ Φρυγίας τῆς παρορίου
καὶ μεγάλης ⟨καὶ⟩ Καρίας ἕως 'Εφέcου cτάδιοι ͵γῆϛ· ὁμοῦ ἀπὸ Γάγγου
εἰς "Εφεcον cταδίων μυριάδων τεccάρων καὶ ͵ζτϛ· ⁹ἀπὸ δὲ
'Εφέcου εἰς Δῆλον διὰ τοῦ Αἰγαίου cτάδια ͵αχ̄, ἐπὶ 'Ιcθμὸν cτάδια ͵αψ,
ἀπὸ 'Ιcθμοῦ διὰ Κορινθίου κόλπου εἰς Πάτρας cτάδια ψ̄κ̄, ἐπὶ Λευκάδα
¹⁰cτάδια ψ̄, ἐπὶ Κόρκυραν cτάδια ψ̄, ἐπ' 'Ακροκεραύνια ὄρη cτάδια
χ̄ξ̄, ἐπὶ Βρεντέcιον cτάδια ψ̄, ἀπὸ Βρεντεcίου πεζῆ ὁδεύοντι ἕως
¹¹'Ρώμης cτάδια ͵βῶπ̄, ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης ἐπὶ τὰς "Αλπεις ἕως Σκιγγομάγου
⟨κώμης⟩ ὑπὸ ταῖς "Αλπεcιν οὔcης cτάδια ͵δρῦβ, εἶτα διὰ Κελτικῆς
ἕως πό¹²λεως 'Ιλλυγύρεως ⟨ὑπὸ τῇ Πυρήνῃ οὔcης cτάδια ͵γψμ̄δ, εἶτα
διὰ 'Ιβηρίας⟩ ἕως Γαδείρων cτάδια ͵ϛχ̄ῡδ, καὶ ὁ διάπλους ἐπὶ Γάδειρα
διὰ τῶν πανδοκίων cτάδια ξ̄· ὁμοῦ ἀπὸ Γάγγου εἰς Γάδειρα ¹³cταδίων
μυριάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ͵αφ̄ξ̄. 18. Πλάτος δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ τῆς
Αἰθιοπικῆς θαλάccης ἐπὶ Μερόην cταδίων ͵ε, ἀπὸ Μερόης εἰς 'Αλεξάν-
δρειαν ¹⁴cταδίων μυρίων [͵α], ἀπὸ δὲ 'Αλεξανδρείας ἐπὶ Τάναϊν
μυρίων †͵αῦϡ (τὰ γὰρ ἄνω τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Τανάιδος ἀγνοεῖται εἰς
βορρᾶν) οὕτως· ἀπὸ 'Αλεξανδρείας ¹⁵εἰς Λίνδον 'Ρόδου cτάδια ͵δφ̄,
ἐπὶ τὸ Θοάντιον δεξιὸν παραπλέοντι 'Ρόδον cτάδια ῡ, ἐπὶ Τῆλον
cτάδια ρ̄ξ̄, ἐπὶ Λακτῆρα τῆς Κῶας cτάδια ρ̄κ̄, ¹⁶ἐπὶ Δρέπανον Κῶας
cτάδια ρ̄, ἐπὶ 'Αρκίτιν νῆcον cτάδια ϲ̄λ̄, ἐπὶ Κορcίας ρ̄, ἐπὶ Σαμίων
"Αμπελον cτάδια λ̄, ἐπὶ τὸ †Αἰγαῖον "Αργεννον ¹⁷διὰ τοῦ Αἰγαίου
cτάδια φ̄, ἐπὶ τὸ 'Ερυθραῖον Κορυναῖον cτάδια ϲ̄ō, ἐπὶ †Φλίον ἄκρον
Χίου cτάδια ῡ, ἐπὶ Μελανέα ἄκρον Λέcβου cτάδια ῡῡ, ¹⁸ἐπὶ Σίγριον
Λέcβου cτάδια φ̄, εἰς Τένεδον νῆcον cτάδια ῡῡ, εἰς Σίγειον cτάδια ρ̄,
ἐπὶ cτόμα Πόντου cτάδια ͵βφ̄, ἐπὶ Κάραμβιν cτάδια ¹⁹͵βῶ, ἐπὶ cτόμα
Μαιώτιδος cτάδια ͵βφ̄, ἐπὶ Τάναϊν cτάδια ͵βϲ̄. 19. ἄλλως, ἀπὸ πόλεως
εἰς πόλιν, ἀπὸ 'Αλεξανδρείας εἰς 'Ρόδον cτάδια ²⁰͵δχ̄ō, εἰς Κνίδον
cτάδια ψ̄, εἰς Κῶ cτάδια ϲ̄, εἰς Σάμον cτάδια ō, εἰς Χίον cτάδια ψ̄ν, εἰς

Μιτυλήνην στάδια φκ, εἰς Τένεδον ²¹τ̄ῦ, εἰς Σίγειον ρ̄, ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα
Πόντου ,ββ̄, εἰς Κάραμβιν ,βῶ, εἰς στόμα Μαιώτιδος ,ββ̄, ἐπὶ Τάναϊν
ποταμὸν ,βε̄· ὁμοῦ ἀπὸ ²²Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔως Τανάιδος σταδίων μυρίων
,ηχ̄ς.

V

20. Λοιπὸν δὲ ἐροῦμεν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς νήσων τὰς περιμέτρους
λαβόντες παρὰ Ἀρτεμιδώρου ²³καὶ Μενίππου καὶ ἑτέρων ἀξιοπίστων.
Γάδειρα μῆκος σταδίων ρ̄κ, πλάτος σταδίων ῑς· ὁ δὲ καθ' Ἡρακλείους
στήλας πορθμὸς στενότατός ἐστι σταδίων ²⁴π̄· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰβηρικῷ
πελάγει νῆσοι Πιτυοῦσσαι ἡ μείζων καὶ οἰκουμένη σταδίων τ̄ μῆκος,
ἡ δὲ ἐλάττων σταδίων ρ̄· τῶν δὲ Γυμνασίων ἅς Καρχη²⁵δόνιοι Βαλιαρίας
καλοῦσιν (οἱ γὰρ σφενδονηταὶ οὕτω καλοῦνται οἱ Βαλιαρεῖς) ἡ μείζων
μῆκος σταδίων ,αε̄, πλάτος σταδίων ῡ, ἡ ἐλάττων σταδίων ²⁶τ̄. αἱ δὲ
Στοιχάδες αἱ φερώνυμοι ἑξῆς ἐπ' εὐθείας κεῖνται πρὸ τῶν Μασσαλιακῶν
πόλεων αἱ μὲν μείζους τρεῖς δύο δὲ μικραὶ αὐτῆς ἐγγὺς ²⁷Μασσαλίας.
ἡ δὲ Σαρδὼ ἔχει σχῆμα ὡς ποδὸς ἴχνος μεσόκοιλος τὸ μῆκος ,βε̄·
Κύρνος ἐγγὺς Σαρδοῦς πολλῷ δὲ ἀγενεστέρα ἔλαττον ἢ ἥμισυ ²⁸τοῦ
Σαρδοῦς μήκους ἔχει· ἀφετήριον δ' εἰς Σαρδὼ καὶ Κύρνον Ποπουλώ-
νιον τῆς Τυρσηνίας, τὸ δὲ δίαρμα σταδίων ,αε̄. τῆς Σιλεκίας κατὰ
Τιμοσθένην ²⁹περίμετρος σταδίων ,δψμ̄, σχῆμα τρίγωνον σκαληνοειδές,
δίαρμα δ' ἔχει ἀπὸ Πελώρου ἄκρου εἰς Ἰταλίαν σταδίων ῑβ πορθμῷ·
πλευρὰ νήσου ἀπὸ Πε³⁰λώρου εἰς Πάχυνον στάδια ,ατ̄ξ, ἀπὸ Παχύνου
εἰς Λιλύβαιον στάδια ,αχ· κατὰ Τιμοσθένην ἀπὸ Λιλυβαίου εἰςΠε λω-
ριάδα στάδια ,αψ· ἀπὸ Λιλυ³¹βαίου διάπλους εἰς Ἀσπίδα τῆς Λιβύης
ἐγγὺς στάδια ,αφ. **21.** Κέρκινα νῆσος μῆκος ⟨ε̄⟩ πλάτος στάδια ō, ὅπου
δὲ στενοτάτη στάδια μ̄· ὑπέρκειται δὲ πόλεως ἠπει³²ρωτικῆς Θεήνης
ἥ κεῖται τῆς μικρᾶς Σύρτιδος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς· τῇ δὲ Κερκίνῃ παράκειται
νῆσος Καρκινῖτις γεφύρᾳ ζευχθεῖσα στάδια μῆκος μ̄ ³³πλάτος δὲ
στάδια κ̄ε. **22.** ἀπὸ Κερκίνης ἐπὶ νῆσον Μήνιγγα τὴν Λωτοφαγῖτιν ὁ
διάπλους στάδια χ̄, ὅσον τῆς μικρᾶς λέγεται Σύρτιδος τὸ στόμα, ἡ δὲ
³⁴Μήνιγξ μῆκος σταδίων χ̄ πλάτος σταδίων ρ̄π, μεγάλαι δ' εἰσὶ περὶ

21 τ̄ῦ Müller, τ̄ῦ B   21 σίγιον B   21 ,ββ̄ 2° edd., ,αφ̄ B   23 ρ̄κ B, ρ̄η edd.
24 πιτυοῦσσαι Diller, πιτυοῦσα Müller, πιτύουσα B   24 μῆκος B, τὸ μῆκος edd.
25 μῆκος B, μῆκος ἔχει edd.   27 ποδὸς Gronovius, πόλος B   27 ἴχνος edd.,
ἰσχνὸς B   27 ἀγενεστέρα B, ἀγεννεστέρα C   28 τοῦ σαρδοῦς μήκους B, τῆς
σαρδοῦς μῆκος edd.   28 ποπουπώνιον B   28 ,αε̄ Hoffmann, ,βε̄ B   29 ,δψμ̄
edd., ,αψμ̄ B, ,ψμ̄ C   29 ῑβ Diller, ῑα B   29 πορθμῷ B, πορθμὸν C, πορθμῶν
edd.   31 ,αφ̄ B, ,αχ̄ C   31 ε̄ add. Müller   31 στάδια 2° om. C   32 θρήνης C
32 κερκινῖτις edd.   32 μῆκος στάδια edd.   33 σύρτιδος λέγεται C

αὐτὴν παλίρροιαι. 23. Κεφαλληνία νῆσος τετράπολις μῆκος σταδίων ῡ.
εἴςι δὲ καὶ ³⁵ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ νῆσοι παρὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα ὧν ἐπισημότεραι
Ἴσςη καὶ ἡ μέλαινα Κόρκυρα καὶ Φάρος καὶ Μελίτη, ὧν ἀγνοῶ τὰς
περιμέτρους. 24. ³⁶Πελοποννήςου δὲ ὁ περίπλους καὶ τῶν κόλπων
συμμετρουμένων στάδια ͵εχ̄ζ̄, χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ κατακολπίςαι ὁ περίπλους
στάδια ͵δ· ³⁷μῆκος δὲ ἀπὸ Μαλέας ἕως Αἰγίου στάδια ͵αῡ· ἔχει δὲ
ὅμοιον σχῆμα φύλλῳ πλατάνου κόλποις μεγάλοις τεμνομένη· συνάγεται
μὲν εἰς ³⁸τὸν Κορινθίων ἰςθμὸν πλάτος σταδίων μ̄ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κορινθίου
κόλπου καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ . . . ἐπὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον ἄκρον, ἔνθα ἐξ εὐωνύμων
πρόκειται νῆςος ³⁹Καλαυρία Ποσειδῶνος ἱερά, ἑξῆς δ' ὁ Ἀργολικὸς
κόλπος μέχρι Μαλέας ἄκρου ὁ πολὺ προπέπτωκεν εἰς πέλαγος, [εἶτα ὁ
Ἑρμιονικὸς κόλπος,] ἑξῆς δὲ ⁴⁰μετὰ Μαλέαν Λακωνικὸς κόλπος ἕως
Ταινάρου ἐκ δεξιῶν, ὁ περιορίζει ἐξ εὐωνύμων τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν
κόλπον οὗ ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἀκρίτας ἄκρα, εἶτα ⁴¹προπέπτωκεν ἄκρον
Ἰχθὺς καθ' ὃν κεῖται Ζάκυνθος, καὶ ἕτερον ὁ Χελωνάτας, τελευταῖον
δ' ἄκρον Ἄραξος ἀντιπρόσωπον Ἀκαρνανίᾳ, μεθ' ὃν ⁴²ὁ Κορινθιακὸς
ἀναχεῖται κόλπος ζ σταδίων συγκλειόμενος στόματι κατὰ τὸ Ῥίον
ἄκρον ὅ ἐςτι τῆς Πελοποννήςου τὸ δ' Ἀντίριον Λοκρίδος. ἀπὸ ⁴³Ταινά-
ρου ἐπὶ Φυκοῦντα Λιβύης τὸ δίαρμα στάδια ͵γ. 25. Αἴγινα νῆςος
προμήκης στάδια ρ̄ξ̄ ἐξ ἐναντίας κεῖται τῆς Ἀττικῆς· Σαλαμὶς ⁴⁴μῆκος
σταδ. ō· ἡ Κεία ρ̄κ̄. τῶν δὲ Κυκλάδων κρατίςτη ἐςτὶν ἡ Νάξος, διὸ
μικρὰ λέγεται Σικελία· ἐκ δεξιῶν δ' αἱ Σποράδες. ἡ δ' Εὔβοια ⁴⁵γεφύρᾳ
πρὸς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἔζευκται, παρατείνει δὲ Βοιωτίδα Φωκίδα Λοκρούς,
5ͬ   ἐκ δὲ θατέρου ἐπὶ ποσον καὶ τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἔςτι γὰρ μακρά, ¹διὸ Μάκρις
ὠνομάσθη· μῆκος σταδίων ͵αψ̣. 26. ἡ δὲ Κρήτη κατὰ Μαλέαν πλησιάζει
Πελοποννήςῳ, περίμετρος δὲ αὐτῆς σταδίων ͵δρ̄ μῆκος ͵β̄ϛ̄, ²κατὰ
πολὺ γὰρ μεμήκυται. Κύθηρα μέσον Κρήτης καὶ Λακωνικῆς. Κύπρος
βύρςῃ τὸ σχῆμα ὁμοία, περίπλους στάδια ͵γυκ̄, ³μῆκος δὲ ͵ατ̄· ἀπὸ
Πάφου εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν δίαρμα βορέου σταδίων ͵γω̄. Ῥόδου περί-
μετρος στάδια ͵ατ̄. Κῶ περίμετρος στάδια φ̄ν̄. Σάμος στά⁴δια χ̄λ̄.
Ἰκαρία δέ ἐςτι μακρὰ τραχεῖα, μῆκος σταδίων τ̄. Χίου περίμετρος
στάδια χ̄ξ̄. Λέςβου περίμετρος στάδ. ͵αρ̄.

37 αἰγίου Gronovius, αἰγαίου B   37 ͵αῡ edd., ͵αῡ B   38 κορίνθιον 1° edd.
38 lac. stat. Müller   38 ἐξ εὐωνύμων ἔνθα B, transp. Diller   39 Hermonicus
sinus ante Argolicum ponendus   40 ἐκδεξιῶν utr. B   40 ὁ περι- B, ὃς περι-
edd., ὅπερ Müller   41 ἄρραξος B   44 ἐκδεξιών B   45 βοιωτίδα B, βοιωτίαν
Müller   45 τῇ ἀττικῇ B, τὴν ἀττικὴν Berkel, Müller   2 μεμήκυνται B, cf.
4ͬ44   3 cάμος B, cάμου edd.   4 ςτάδ ult. om. C   5 subscr. Ἀγαθημέρου
τοῦ ὄρθωνος ὑποτύπωςις γεωγραφίας B

Agathemerus son of Orthon
Sketch of Geography

I

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

II

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

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

III

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

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

IV

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

to Corcyra 700 stades, to the Acroceraunian mountains 660 stades, tc Brundisium 700 stades, from Brundisium by land to Rome 288C stades, from Rome to the Alps at the village Scingomagus beneath the Alps 4152 stades, then through Celtica to the town Illygyris beneath Pyrene 3744 stades, then through Iberia to Gades 6654 stades, and the passage to Gades by way of the inns 60 stades. Altogethei from the Ganges to Gades 71560 stades. **18.** The breadth of the earth from the Aethiopian sea to Meroe 5000 stades, from Meroe to Alex-andria 10000 stades, from Alexandria to the Tanais †11056, above the outlet of the Tanais to the north is unknown, thus: from Alexandria to Lindus in Rhodes 4500 stades, to Thoantion passing Rhodes on the right 400 stades, to Telos 160 stades, to Lacter in Cos 120 stades, to Drepanon in Cos 100 stades, to the island Arcitis 230 stades, to Corsiae 100, to Ampelus in Samos 30 stades, to Argennon through the Aegean 500 stades, to Erythraean Corynaion 270 stades, to Cape †Phlion in Chios 50 stades, to Cape Melaneus in Lesbos 450 stades, to Sigrion in Lesbos 500 stades, to the island Tenedos 450 stades, to Sigeum 100 stades, to the mouth of Pontus 2500 stades, to Carambis 2800 stades, to the mouth of Maeotis 2500 stades, to the Tanais 2200 stades. **19.** Another way, from city to city: from Alexandria to Rhodes 4670 stades, to Cnidus 700 stades, to Cos 200 stades, to Samos 800 stades, to Chios 750 stades, to Mitylene 520 stades, to Tenedos 950, to Sigeum 100, to the mouth of Pontus 2500, to Carambis 2800, to the mouth of Maeotis 2500, to the Tanais River 2200; altogether from Alexandria to Tanais 18690 stades.

V

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

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

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

inconperta existimavit. Eratosthenes put the northern limit at the Borysthenes (apart from the problem of Thule) (see on v13 *supra*). The Tanais must be an improvement by Artemidorus. [v15] *Thoantion:* Strabo 655B, Ptol. 5.2, 33. *Lakter:* Strabo 657C, *RE* 22 (1922) 1473.15. [v16] *Drepanon:* Strabo 657C, *RE* 10 (1905) 1646, 22 (1922) 1471.61. *Arkitis:* *RE* 1 (1894) 1197.33. *Korsiai:* *RE* 22 (1922) 1377f, 1438. *Ampelos:* *RE* 2 (1894) 1882.5. *Argennon:* *RE* 3 (1895) 705. [v17] *Korynaion:* *RE* 22 (1922) 1460, 1448, 1451. *Phlion:* unknown. *Melaneus:* Malea, Malia, *RE* 24 (1925) 2128.66. [v18] *Sigrion:* *RE* 4A (1923) 2456. 450 and 100 stades: Plin. 5.140. [v18 and 21] 2500 stades: Strabo 125C 1500 stades, Isidorus in Plin. 5.150 322$\frac{1}{2}$ miles (2580 stades). [v19] 2800 stades: Strabo 546CD. 2500 stades: Strabo 309C. 2200 stades: Strabo 310C, 493CD.

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

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

Iɴᴅɪᴀɴᴀ Uɴɪᴠᴇʀsɪᴛʏ
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