

STRABO

GEOGRAPHY

BOOKS 6-7

**WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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Ζ'

I

C 289 1. Εἰρηκόσι δ' ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῶν Κελτικῶν ἔθνῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν σὺν ταῖς πλησίον νήσοις ἐφεξῆς ἀν εἶη λέγειν τὰ λειπόμμενα τῆς Εὐρώπης μέρη, διελοῦσι τὸν ἐνδεχόμενον τρόπον. λείπεται δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἔω μὲν τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου μέχρι τοῦ Τανάϊδος καὶ τοῦ στόματος τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης, καὶ ὅσα μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ τῶν ἀριστερῶν τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάττης μερῶν ἀπολαμβάνει πρὸς νότον μέχρι τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος ὁ Ἰστρος. διαιρεῖ γὰρ οὗτος ἅπασαν ὡς ἐγγυτάτω δίχα τὴν λεχθεῖσαν γῆν, μέγιστος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ποταμῶν, ῥέων πρὸς νότον κατ' ἀρχάς, εἴτ' ἐπιστρέφω ἐνθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὸν Πόντον. ἀρχεται μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν Γερμανικῶν ἄκρων τῶν ἐσπερίων, πλησίον δὲ καὶ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ, διέχων αὐτοῦ περὶ χιλίους σταδίους· τελευτᾷ δ' εἰς τὸν Πόντον οὐ πολὺ ἀπωθεν τῶν τοῦ Τύρα καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένους ἐκβολῶν, ἐκκλίνων πῶς πρὸς ἄρκτους. Προσάρκτια μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τῷ Ἰστροῦ τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς·

¹ The Don.

³ The Adriatic.

⁵ The Sea of Marmora.

² The sea of Azof.

⁴ The Danube.

BOOK VII

I

1. Now that I have described Iberia and the Celtic and Italian tribes, along with the islands near by, it will be next in order to speak of the remaining parts of Europe, dividing them in the approved manner. The remaining parts are: first, those towards the east, being those which are across the Rheneus and extend as far as the Tanais¹ and the mouth of Lake Maeotis,² and also all those regions lying between the Adrias³ and the regions on the left of the Pontic Sea that are shut off by the Ister⁴ and extend towards the south as far as Greece and the Propontis;⁵ for this river divides very nearly the whole of the aforesaid land into two parts. It is the largest of the European rivers, at the outset flowing towards the south and then turning straight from the west towards the east and the Pontus. It rises in the western limits of Germany, as also near the recess of the Adriatic (at a distance from it of about one thousand stadia), and comes to an end at the Pontus not very far from the outlets of the Tyras⁶ and the Borysthenes,⁷ bending from its easterly course approximately towards the north. Now the parts that are beyond the Rheneus and Celtica are to the north of the Ister; these are the

⁶ The Dniester.

⁷ The Dnieper.

ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ τε Γαλατικὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ μέχρι Βασταρῶν καὶ Τυρεγετῶν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Βορυσθένους, καὶ ὅσα μεταξὺ τούτου καὶ Ταναΐδος καὶ τοῦ στόματος τῆς Μαιώτιδος εἰς τε τὴν μεσόγειαν ἀνατείνει μέχρι τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ καὶ τῆ Ποντικῆ κλύζεται θαλάττη· μεσημβρινὰ δὲ τὰ τε Ἰλλυρικὰ καὶ τὰ Θράκια, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἀναμείκται τῶν Κελτικῶν ἢ τινῶν ἄλλων, μέχρι τῆς Ἑλλάδος. λέγωμεν δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ἰστρου· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπλούστερα τῶν ἐπὶ θάτερα μερῶν ἐστίν.

C 290 2. Εὐθύς τοίνυν τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου μετὰ τοὺς Κελτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἕω κεκλιμένα Γερμανοὶ νέμονται, μικρὸν ἐξαιλλάττοντες τοῦ Κελτικοῦ φύλου τῷ τε πλεονασμῷ τῆς ἀγριότητος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς ξανθότητος, τὰλλα δὲ παραπλήσιοι, καὶ μορφαῖς καὶ ἡθεσι καὶ βίοις ὄντες οἷους εἰρήκαμεν τοὺς Κελτοὺς. διὸ δὴ καὶ¹ μοι δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τούτο αὐτοῖς θέσθαι τὸννομα, ὡς ἂν γνησίους Γαλάτας φράζειν βουλόμενοι· γνήσιοι γὰρ οἱ Γερμανοὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτον.

3. Ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μέρη τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ῥήνῳ μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἀρξαμένους· σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τούτ'

¹ δὴ καί, Meineke, for δίκαια; so Müller-Dübner.

¹ Strabo here means the "exterior" or "Northern" ocean (see 2. 5. 31 and the *Frontispiece*, Vol. I).

² 4. 4. 2-3.

³ So also Julius Caesar, Tacitus, Pliny and the ancient writers in general regarded the Germans as Celts (Gauls).

territories of the Galatic and the Germanic tribes, extending as far as the Bastarnians and the Tyregetans and the River Borysthenes. And the territories of all the tribes between this river and the Tanaïs and the mouth of Lake Maeotis extend up into the interior as far as the ocean¹ and are washed by the Pontic Sea. But both the Illyrian and the Thracian tribes, and all tribes of the Celtic or other peoples that are mingled with these, as far as Greece, are to the south of the Ister. But let me first describe the parts outside the Ister, for they are much simpler than those on the other side.

2. Now the parts beyond the Rheneus, immediately after the country of the Celti, slope towards the east and are occupied by the Germans, who, though they vary slightly from the Celtic stock in that they are wilder, taller, and have yellow hair, are in all other respects similar, for in build, habits, and modes of life they are such as I have said² the Celti are. And I also think that it was for this reason that the Romans assigned to them the name "Germani," as though they wished to indicate thereby that they were "genuine" Galatae, for in the language of the Romans "germani" means "genuine."³

3. The first parts of this country are those that are next to the Rheneus, beginning at its source and extending as far as its outlet; and this stretch of

Dr. Richard Braungart has recently published a large work in two volumes in which he ably defends his thesis that the Boii, Vindelici, Rhaeti, Norici, Taurisci, and other tribes, as shown by their agricultural implements and contrivances, were originally, not Celts, but Germans, and, in all probability, the ancestors of all Germans (*Südgermanen*, Heidelberg, 1914).

ἔστι τὸ ἐσπέριον τῆς χώρας πλάτος, ἢ ποταμία πᾶσα. ταύτης δὲ τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν μετήγαγον Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ δ' ἔφθη μεταστάντα εἰς τὴν ἐν βάθει χώραν, καθάπερ Μαρσοί· λοιποὶ δ' εἰσὶν ὀλίγοι καὶ τῶν Σουγάμβρων μέρος· μετὰ δὲ τοὺς παραποταμίους τᾶλλά ἐστὶν ἔθνη τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Ἄλβιος ποταμοῦ, δὲ παράλληλός πως ἐκείνῳ ῥεῖ πρὸς τὸν ὠκεανόν, οὐκ ἐλάττω χώραν διεξιὼν ἤπερ ἐκεῖνος. εἰσὶ δὲ μεταξὺ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ πλωτοὶ (ὧν ἐν τῷ Ἀμασίᾳ Δροῦσος Βρουκτέρους κατεναυμάχησε), ῥέοντες ὡσαύτως ἀπὸ νότου πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ τὸν ὠκεανόν. ἐξήρται¹ γὰρ ἡ χώρα πρὸς νότον καὶ συνεχῆ ταῖς Ἀλπεσι ποιεῖ ῥάχιν τινα πρὸς ἑω τεταμένῃν, ὡς ἂν μέρος οὖσαν² τῶν Ἀλπεων καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπεφήναντό τινες οὕτως διὰ τε τὴν λεχθεῖσαν θέσιν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ὕλην ἐκφέρειν· οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε ὕψος ἀνίσχει τὰ ταύτη μέρη.³ ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ⁴ ὁ Ἐρκύνιος δρυμὸς καὶ τὰ τῶν Σοίβων ἔθνη, τὰ μὲν οἰκούντα ἐντὸς τοῦ δρυμοῦ, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν Κολδοῶν,⁵ ἐν

¹ ἐξήρται, Casaubon, for ἐξήρηται; so the later editors.

² οὖσαν, Xylander, for ὄσα; so the later editors

³ μέρη, Meineke emends to ὄρη.

⁴ καὶ, Kramer and Meineke omit; a typographical error, apparently.

⁵ καθάπερ . . . Κολδοῶν, Meineke relegates to the foot of the page; Κολδοῶν, Cluver emends to Κουδῶν, Kramer to Κοαδοῶν (perhaps rightly).

¹ e.g. the Ubii (see 4. 3. 4). ² The Elbe. ³ The Ems.

⁴ The chain of mountains that extends from northern Switzerland to Mt. Krapak.

⁵ Now called the "Black Forest," although the ancient term, according to Elton (*Origins*, p. 51, quoted by Tozer),

river-land taken as a whole is approximately the breadth of the country on its western side. Some of the tribes of this river-land were transferred by the Romans to Celtica, whereas the others anticipated the Romans by migrating deep into the country, for instance, the Marsi; and only a few people, including a part of the Sugambri,¹ are left. After the people who live along the river come the other tribes that live between the Rhenus and the River Albis,² which latter flows approximately parallel to the former, towards the ocean, and traverses no less territory than the former. Between the two are other navigable rivers also (among them the Amasias,³ on which Drusus won a naval victory over the Bructeri), which likewise flow from the south towards the north and the ocean; for the country is elevated towards the south and forms a mountain chain⁴ that connects with the Alps and extends towards the east as though it were a part of the Alps; and in truth some declare that they actually are a part of the Alps, both because of their aforesaid position and of the fact that they produce the same timber; however, the country in this region does not rise to a sufficient height for that. Here, too, is the Hercynian Forest,⁵ and also the tribes of the Suevi, some of which dwell inside the forest, as, for instance, the tribes of the Coldui,⁶ in whose territory is Boihaemum,⁷ the

embraced also "the forests of the Hartz, and the woods of Westphalia and Nassau"

⁶ Müller-Dübner and Forbiger, perhaps rightly, emend "Coldui" to "Coadui." But as Tozer (p. 187) says, the information Strabo here gives about Germany "is very imperfect, and hardly extends at all beyond the Elbe."

⁷ Hence the modern "Bohemia," "the home of the Boii."

οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Βουίαιμον, τὸ τοῦ Μαρροβόδου βασιλείου, εἰς ἃν ἐκεῖνος τόπον ἄλλους τε μετα-
 νέστησε πλείους καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ὁμοθενεῖς ἑαυτῷ
 Μαρκομμάνους. ἐπέστη γὰρ τοῖς πράγμασιν
 οὗτος ἐξ ἰδιώτου μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπάνοδον·
 νέος γὰρ ἦν ἐνθάδε καὶ εὐεργετεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβα-
 στοῦ, ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐδυνάστευσε καὶ κατεκτήσατο
 πρὸς οἷς εἶπον Λουγίους¹ τε, μέγα ἔθνος, καὶ
 Ζούμους καὶ Βούτωνας² καὶ Μουγίλωνας καὶ
 Σιβινούς καὶ τῶν Σοήβων αὐτῶν μέγα ἔθνος,
 Σέμνωνας. πλὴν τὰ γε τῶν Σοήβων, ὡς ἔφην,
 ἔθνη τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς οἰκεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς τοῦ δρυ-
 μοῦ, ὅμορα τοῖς Γέταις. μέγιστον μὲν οὖν τὸ
 τῶν Σοήβων ἔθνος· διήκει γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου
 μέχρι τοῦ Ἄλβιος· μέρος δὲ τι αὐτῶν καὶ
 πέραν τοῦ Ἄλβιος νέμεται, καθάπερ Ἑρμόν-
 C 291 δοροὶ³ καὶ Λαγκόβαρδοι, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τελέως εἰς
 τὴν περσίδα οὗτοί γε ἐκπεπτώκασι φεύγοντες.
 κοινὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἅπασιν τοῖς ταύτη τὸ περὶ τὰς
 μεταναστάσεις εὐμαρὲς διὰ τὴν λιτότητα τοῦ βίου
 καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ γεωργεῖν μηδὲ θησαυρίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐν
 καλυβίοις οἰκεῖν, ἐφήμερον ἔχουσι παρασκευὴν
 τροφῆς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἢ πλείστη, καθάπερ

¹ Λουγίους, Meineke, for Λουίους.

² For Βούτωνας, Kramer and Meineke read Γούτωνας (perhaps rightly).

³ Ἑρμόνδοροι, Casaubon, for Εὐμόνδοροι; so the later editors.

¹ Scholars have suggested different emendations for "Zumi," "Butones," "Mugilones," and "Sibini," since all these seem to be corrupt (see C. Müller, *Ind. Var. Lect.*,

domain of Marabodus, the place whither he caused to migrate, not only several other peoples, but in particular the Marcomanni, his fellow-tribesmen; for after his return from Rome this man, who before had been only a private citizen, was placed in charge of the affairs of state, for, as a youth he had been at Rome and had enjoyed the favour of Augustus, and on his return he took the rulership and acquired, in addition to the peoples aforementioned, the Lugii (a large tribe), the Zumi, the Butones, the Mugilones, the Sibini,¹ and also the Semnones, a large tribe of the Suevi themselves. However, while some of the tribes of the Suevi dwell inside the forest, as I was saying, others dwell outside of it, and have a common boundary with the Getae.² Now as for the tribe of the Suevi,³ it is the largest, for it extends from the Rheneus to the Albi; and a part of them even dwell on the far side of the Albi, as, for instance, the Hermondori and the Langobardi; and at the present time these latter, at least, have, to the last man, been driven in flight out of their country into the land on the far side of the river. It is a common characteristic of all the peoples in this part of the world⁴ that they migrate with ease, because of the meagreness of their livelihood and because they do not till the soil or even store up food, but live in small huts that are merely temporary structures; and they live for the most part off their flocks, as the Nomads do,

p. 981). For "Butones" it is fairly certain that Strabo wrote "Gutones" (the Goths).

² The "Getae," also called "Daci," dwelt in what are now Rumania and southern Hungary.

³ Strabo now uses "tribe" in its broadest sense.

⁴ Including the Galatae (see 4. 4. 2).

τοῖς Νομάσιν, ὥστ' ἐκείνους μιμούμενοι τὰ οἰκεία ταῖς ἀρμαμάξαις ἐπάραντες, ὅπη ἂν δόξη, τρέπονται μετὰ τῶν βοσκομάτων. ἄλλα δ' ἐνδεέστερά ἐστιν ἔθνη Γερμανικὰ Χηροῦσκοί τε καὶ Χάττοι καὶ Γαμαβριούιοι¹ καὶ Χαττουάριοι· πρὸς δὲ τῷ ὠκεανῷ Σούγαμβροί τε καὶ Χαῦβοι καὶ Βρούκτεροι καὶ Κίμβροι, Καῦκοί τε καὶ Καοῦλλοι καὶ Καμφριανοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους. ἐπὶ ταῦτά δὲ τῷ Ἀμασίᾳ φέρονται Βίσουργίς τε καὶ Λουπίας ποταμός, διέχων Ῥήνου περὶ ἑξακοσίους σταδίους, ῥέων διὰ Βρουκτέρων τῶν ἐλατόνων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σάλας ποταμός, οὗ μεταξὺ καὶ τοῦ Ῥήνου πολεμῶν καὶ κατορθῶν Δροῦσος ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Γερμανικός. ἐχειρώσατο δ' οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ πλείστα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ νήσους, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Βυρχανίς, ἣν ἐκ πολιορκίας εἶλε.

4. Γνώριμα δὲ ταῦτα κατέστη τὰ ἔθνη πολεμοῦντα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, εἰτ' ἐνδιδόντα καὶ πάλιν ἀφιστάμενα ἢ καὶ καταλείποντα τὰς κατοικίας· κὰν πλείω δὲ γνώριμα ὑπῆρξεν, εἰ ἐπέτρεπε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὁ Σεβαστὸς διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἀλβιν, μετιούσι τοὺς ἐκείσε ἀπανισταμένους.² νυνὶ δ' εὐπωρότερον ὑπέλαβε στρατηγεῖν τὸν ἐν χερσὶ πόλεμον, εἰ τῶν ἕξω τοῦ Ἀλβιος καθ' ἡσυχίαν

¹ Γαμαβριούιοι, Corais, for Γαμαβριούιοι; so Meineke.

² ἀπανισταμένους, Corais, for ἐπανισταμένους; so the later editors.

¹ The Weser.

² The Lippe.

³ The Lesser Bructeri appear to have lived south of the Frisii and west of the Ems, while the Greater Bructeri lived east of it and south of the Western Chauci (cp. Ptolemaeus 2. 11. 6-7).

so that, in imitation of the Nomads, they load their household belongings on their wagons and with their beasts turn whithersoever they think best. But other German tribes are still more indigent. I mean the Cherusci, the Chatti, the Gamabrivii and the Chattuarii, and also, near the ocean, the Sugambri, the Chaubi, the Bructeri, and the Cimbri, and also the Cauci, the Cailci, the Campsiani, and several others. Both the Visurgis¹ and the Lupias² Rivers run in the same direction as the Amasias, the Lupias being about six hundred stadia distant from the Rhene and flowing through the country of the Lesser Bructeri.³ Germany has also the Salas River⁴; and it was between the Salas and the Rhene that Drusus Germanicus, while he was successfully carrying on the war, came to his end.⁵ He had subjugated, not only most of the tribes, but also the islands along the coast, among which is Burchanis,⁶ which he took by siege.

4. These tribes have become known through their wars with the Romans, in which they would either yield and then later revolt again, or else quit their settlements; and they would have been better known if Augustus had allowed his generals to cross the Albi in pursuit of those who emigrated thither. But as a matter of fact he supposed that he could conduct the war in hand more successfully if he should hold off from those outside the Albi, who

⁴ The Thuringian Sasle.

⁵ In his thirtieth year (9 A.D.) his horse fell on him and broke his leg (Livy, *Epitome* 140).

⁶ Now Borkum. The Romans nicknamed it "Fabaria" ("Bean Island") because of the wild beans that grew there (Pliny 4. 27).

ὄντων ἀπέχοιτο, καὶ μὴ παροξύνουσι πρὸς τὴν κοινωσίαν τῆς ἔχθρας. ἤρξαντο δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Σούγαμβροι πλησίον οἰκοῦντες τοῦ Ῥήνου, Μέλωνα ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα· κάκειθεν ἤδη διείχον¹ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοι, δυναστεύοντες καὶ καταλλύμενοι, πάλιν δ' ἀφιστάμενοι, προδιδόντες καὶ τὰ ἄμνηρα καὶ τὰς πίστεις. πρὸς οὗς ἡ μὲν ἀπιστία μέγα ὄφελος, οἱ δὲ πιστευθέντες τὰ μέγιστα κατέβλαψαν, καθάπερ οἱ Χηρούσκοι καὶ οἱ τούτοις ὑπήκοοι, παρ' οἷς τρία τάγματα Ῥωμαίων μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Οὐάρου Κουιντίλλιου παρασπονδηθέντα ἀπώλετο ἐξ ἐνέδρας. ἔτισαν δὲ δίκας ἅπαντες καὶ παρέσχον τῷ νεωτέρῳ Γερμανικῷ λαμπρότατον θρίαμβον, ἐν ᾧ ἐθριαμβεύθη τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν σώματα καὶ γυναικῶν, Σεγιμούντος τε Σεγέστου υἱός, Χηρούσκων ἡγεμόν, καὶ ἀδελφῆ αὐτοῦ, γυνῆ δ' Ἀρμενίου τοῦ πολεμαρχήσαντος ἐν τοῖς Χηρούσκοις ἐν τῇ πρὸς

0292 Οὐάρου Κουιντίλλιον παρασπονδήσει καὶ νῦν ἔτι συνέχοντος τὸν πόλεμον, ὄνομα Θουσνέλδα, καὶ υἱὸς τριετῆς Θουμέλικος· ἔτι δὲ Σεσίθακος, Σεγιμήρου² υἱὸς τῶν Χηρούσκων ἡγεμόνος, καὶ γυνῆ τούτου Ῥαμῖς, Οὐκρομίρου θυγάτηρ, ἡγεμόνος Χάττων,³ καὶ Δευδόριξ, Βαιτόριγος τοῦ Μέλωνος ἀδελφοῦ υἱός, Σούγαμβρος. Σεγέστης δὲ ὁ πενθερὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διέστη

¹ διείχον, Corais emends to διεδέχοντο (cp. 4. 3. 4); Kramer and Meineke following.

² Σεγιμήρου, Kramer, for Αλγιμήρου; so the later editors.

³ Χάττων, Cluver, for Βάττων; so the later editors.

¹ May 26, 17 A. D. (Tacitus, *Annals* 2. 41).

were living in peace, and should not incite them to make common cause with the others in their enmity against him. It was the Sugambri, who live near the Rhenus, that began the war, Melo being their leader; and from that time on different peoples at different times would cause a breach, first growing powerful and then being put down, and then revolting again, betraying both the hostages they had given and their pledges of good faith. In dealing with these peoples distrust has been a great advantage, whereas those who have been trusted have done the greatest harm, as, for instance, the Cherusci and their subjects, in whose country three Roman legions, with their general Quintilius Varus, were destroyed by ambush in violation of the treaty. But they all paid the penalty, and afforded the younger Germanicus a most brilliant triumph¹—that triumph in which their most famous men and women were led captive, I mean Segimuntus, son of Segestes and chieftain of the Cherusci, and his sister Thusnelda, the wife of Armenius, the man who at the time of the violation of the treaty against Quintilius Varus was commander-in-chief of the Cheruscan army and even to this day is keeping up the war, and Thusnelda's three-year-old son Thumelicus; and also Sesithacus, the son of Segimerus and chieftain of the Cherusci, and Rhamis, his wife, and a daughter of Ucomirus chieftain of the Chatti, and Deudorix,² a Sugambrian, the son of Baetorix the brother of Melo. But Segestes, the father-in-law of Armenius, who even from the outset had opposed³ the purpose of Armenius, and, taking advantage of an opportune

¹ The same name as "Theodoric."

² So Tacitus, *Annals*, 1. 55; see also 1. 58, 71.

πρὸς τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ καὶ λαβὼν καιρὸν ἠτύ-
 μόλησε καὶ τῷ θριάμβῳ παρῆν τῶν φιλιτάτων, ἐν
 τιμῇ ἀγόμενος· ἐπόμπευσε δὲ καὶ Δίβης τῶν
 Χάττων ἱερεῦς, καὶ ἄλλα δὲ σώματα ἐπομπεύθη
 ἐκ τῶν πεπορθημένων ἐθνῶν, Καούλκων,¹ Καμψα-
 νῶν,² Βρουκτέρων, Οὐσίπων, Χηρούσκων, Χάττων,
 Χαττουαρίων, Δαιδῶν, Τουβαττίων.³ διέχει δὲ τοῦ
 Ἀλβιος ὁ Ῥήνος περὶ τρισχιλίουσιν σταδίοις, εἴ τις
 εὐθυπαρούσας ἔχει τὰς ὁδοὺς· νυνὶ δὲ διὰ σκολιᾶς
 καὶ ἐλώδους καὶ δρυμῶν κυκλοπορεῖν ἀνάγκη.

5. Ὁ δὲ Ἐρκύνιος δρυμὸς πυκνότερος τέ ἐστι
 καὶ μεγαλόδενδρος, ἐν χωρίοις ἐρυμνοῖς κύκλον
 περιλαμβάνων μέγαν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἰδρυται χώρα
 καλῶς οἰκείσθαι δυναμένη, περὶ ἧς εἰρήκαμεν.
 ἔστι δὲ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἢ τε τοῦ Ἰστρου πηγῆ καὶ
 ἢ τοῦ Ῥήνου, καὶ ἢ μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν λίμνη καὶ τὰ
 ἔλη τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ῥήνου διαχεόμενα. ἔστι δ' ἡ λίμνη
 τὴν μὲν περίμετρον σταδίων πλείονων ἢ τριακο-
 σίων,⁴ διάστημα δὲ ἐγγὺς διακοσίων. ἔχει δὲ καὶ
 νῆσον, ἢ ἐχρήσατο ὀρμητηρίῳ Τιβέριος ναυμαχῶν
 πρὸς Οὐίνδολικούς. νοτιωτέρα δ' ἐστὶ τῶν τοῦ
 Ἰστρου πηγῶν καὶ αὕτη, καὶ ὁ Ἐρκύνιος δρυμὸς,

¹ Καούλκων, Meineke, for Καθούλκων.

² Καμψανῶν, Meineke, for καὶ Ἀμψανῶν.

³ Τουβαττίων, Kramer, for Σουβαττίων; so the later editors.

⁴ For τριακοσίων (τ') Meineke writes πεντακοσίων (φ'). But Jones conjectures ἑξακοσίων (χ'), which is almost certainly what Strabo wrote.

¹ 4. 6. 9 and 7. 1. 3.

² Now the Lake of Constance; also called the Bodensee.
 Cp. 4. 3. 3 and 4. 6. 9.

³ The Untersee.

⁴ Cp. 4. 3. 3.

time, had deserted him, was present as a guest of honour at the triumph over his loved ones. And Libes too, a priest of the Chatti, marched in the procession, as also other captives from the plundered tribes—the Caulci, Campsani, Bructeri, Usipi, Cherusci, Chatti, Chattuarii, Landi, Tubattii. Now the Rhene is about three thousand stadia distant from the Albis, if one had straight roads to travel on, but as it is one must go by a circuitous route, which winds through a marshy country and forests.

5. The Hercynian Forest is not only rather dense, but also has large trees, and comprises a large circuit within regions that are fortified by nature; in the centre of it, however, lies a country (of which I have already spoken¹) that is capable of affording an excellent livelihood. And near it are the sources of both the Ister and the Rhene, as also the lake² between the two sources, and the marshes³ into which the Rhene spreads.⁴ The perimeter of the lake is more than three hundred stadia, while the passage across it is nearly two hundred.⁵ There is also an island in it which Tiberius used as a base of operations in his naval battle with the Vindelici. This lake is south of the sources of the Ister, as is also the Hercynian Forest, so that necessarily, in

⁵ These figures, as they stand in the manuscripts, are, of course, relatively impossible, and Strabo could hardly have made such a glaring error. Meineke and others emend 300 to 500, leaving the 200 as it is; but on textual grounds, at least, 600 is far more probable. "Passage across" (in Strabo) means the usual boat-passage, but the terminal points of this passage are now unknown. According to W. A. B. Coolidge (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Lake of Constance") the length of the lake is now 46½ miles (from Bregenz to Stein-am-Rhein), while its greatest width is 10½ miles.

ὥστ' ἀνάγκη τῷ ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρκυ-
νιον δρυμὸν ἰόντι πρῶτον μὲν διαπερᾶσαι τὴν
λίμνην, ἔπειτα τὸν Ἴστρον, εἴτ' ἤδη δι' εὐπε-
τεστέρων χωρίων ἐπὶ τὸν δρυμὸν τὰς προβάσεις
ποιεῖσθαι δι' ὄροπεδίων. ἡμερήσιον δ' ἀπὸ τῆς
λίμνης προελθὼν ὁδὸν Τιβέριος εἶδε τὰς τοῦ
Ἴστροῦ πηγὰς. προσάπτονται δὲ τῆς λίμνης ἐπ'
ὀλίγων μὲν οἱ Ῥαιτοί, τὸ δὲ πλεόν Ἑλουήττιοι καὶ
Οὐνδολικοὶ καὶ ἡ Βοίων ἐρημία. μέχρι Παννο-
νίων πάντες, τὸ πλεόν δ' Ἑλουήττιοι καὶ Οὐνδο-
λικοὶ, οἰκοῦσιν ὄροπέδια. Ῥαιτοὶ δὲ καὶ Νωρικοὶ
μέχρι τῶν Ἀλπίων ὑπερβολῶν ἀνίσχουσι καὶ
πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περινεύουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἰνσού-
βροις συνάπτοντες, οἱ δὲ Κάρνοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ
τὴν Ἀκυληίαν χωρίοις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη ὕλη
μεγάλῃ Γαβρήτα ἐπὶ τὰδε τῶν Σοήβων, ἐπέκεινα δ'
ὁ Ἑρκύνιος δρυμὸς, ἔχεται δὲ ἀκείνους ὑπ' αὐτῶν.

II

1. Περὶ δὲ Κίμβρων τὰ μὲν οὐκ εὖ λέγεται, τὰ
δ' ἔχει ἀπιθανότητος¹ οὐ μετρία. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν
τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τοῦ πλάνητας γενέσθαι καὶ
ληστρικοὺς ἀποδέξαιτ' ἂν τις, ὅτι χερρόνησον
οἰκοῦντες μεγάλη πλημμυρίδι ἐξελαθεῖεν ἐκ τῶν
C 293 τόπων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν χώραν, ἣν εἶχον
πρότερον, καὶ ἐπεμφαν τῷ Σεβαστῷ δῶρον τὸν
ἱερώτατον παρ' αὐτοῖς λέβητα, αἰτούμενοι φιλίαν

¹ ἀπιθανότητας, Cobet, for πιθανότητας.

¹ The Forest of the Bohemians.

going from Celtica to the Hercynian Forest, one
first crosses the lake and then the Ister, and from
there on advances through more passable regions—
plateaus—to the forest. Tiberius had proceeded
only a day's journey from the lake when he saw the
sources of the Ister. The country of the Rhaeti
adjoins the lake for only a short distance, whereas
that of the Helvetii and the Vindelici, and also
the desert of the Boii, adjoin the greater part of it.
All the peoples as far as the Pannonii, but more
especially the Helvetii and the Vindelici, inhabit
plateaus. But the countries of the Rhaeti and the
Norici extend as far as the passes over the Alps
and verge toward Italy, a part thereof bordering
on the country of the Insubri and a part on that of the
Carni and the regions about Aquileia. And there is
also another large forest, Gabreta;¹ it is on this side
of the territory of the Suevi, whereas the Hercynian
Forest, which is also held by them, is on the far side.

II

1. As for the Cimbri, some things that are told
about them are incorrect and others are extremely
improbable. For instance, one could not accept
such a reason for their having become a wandering
and piratical folk as this—that while they were
dwelling on a peninsula they were driven out of
their habitations by a great flood-tide; for in fact
they still hold the country which they held in
earlier times; and they sent as a present to Augustus
the most sacred kettle² in their country, with a

² When the throats of prisoners of war were cut, the blood
was caught in huge brazen kettles (7. 2. 3).

καὶ ἀμνηστίαν τῶν ὑπηργμένων· τυχόντες δέ, ὧν ἠξίου, ἀπήραν· γελοῖον δὲ τῷ φυσικῷ καὶ αἰωνίῳ πάθει, δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρας συμβαίνοντι, προσοργισθέντας ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου. ἔοικε δὲ πλάσματι τὸ συμβῆναι ποτε ὑπερβάλλουσαν πλημμυρίδα· ἐπιτάσεις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀνέσεις δέχεται τεταγμένας δὲ καὶ περιοδικούσας ὁ ὠκεανὸς ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις πάθεσιν. οὐκ εὖ δ' οὐδὲ ὁ φήσας ὄπλα αἵρεσθαι πρὸς τὰς πλημμυρίδας τοὺς Κίμβρους, οὐδ' ὅτι ἀφοβίαν οἱ Κελτοὶ ἀσκοῦντες κατακλύζεσθαι τὰς οἰκίας ὑπομένουσιν, εἰτ' ἀνοικοδομοῦσι, καὶ ὅτι πλείων αὐτοῖς συμβαίνει φθόρος ἐξ ὕδατος ἢ πολέμου, ὅπερ Ἐφορός φησιν. ἢ γὰρ τάξις ἢ τῶν πλημμυρίδων καὶ τὸ τὴν ἐπικλυζομένην χώραν εἶναι γνώριμον οὐκ ἔμελλε ταύτας¹ τὰς ἀτοπίας παρέξειν· δις γὰρ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τούτου συμβαίνοντος τὸ μῆδ' ἄπαξ αἰσθάνεσθαι φυσικὴν οὖσαν τὴν παλίρροιαν καὶ ἀβλαβῆ, καὶ οὐ μόνους τούτους συμβαίνουσαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς παρωκεανίταις πᾶσι, πῶς οὐκ ἀπίθανον; οὐδὲ Κλείταρχος εὖ· φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἰππέας ἰδόντας τὴν ἔφοδον τοῦ πελάγους ἀφιππάσασθαι καὶ φεύγοντας ἐγγὺς γενέσθαι τοῦ περικαταληφθῆναι. οὔτε δὲ τοσοῦτῳ τάχει τὴν ἐπίβασιν ὀρμωμένην² ἰστοροῦμεν, ἀλλὰ λεληθότως προσιοῦσαν τὴν θάλατταν· οὔτε τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν γιγνώμενον καὶ πᾶσιν ἔναυλον ἤδη ὧν τοῖς πλησιάζειν

¹ ταύτας, Corais and Meineke emend to τοιαύτας.

² ὀρμωμένην, Corais, for ὀρμμένην; so the later editors.

¹ Cp. 3. 5. 9.

plea for his friendship and for an amnesty of their earlier offences, and when their petition was granted they set sail for home; and it is ridiculous to suppose that they departed from their homes because they were incensed on account of a phenomenon that is natural and eternal, occurring twice every day. And the assertion that an excessive flood-tide once occurred looks like a fabrication, for when the ocean is affected in this way it is subject to increases and diminutions, but these are regulated and periodical.¹ And the man who said that the Cimbri took up arms against the flood-tides was not right, either; nor yet the statement that the Celti, as a training in the virtue of fearlessness, meekly abide the destruction of their homes by the tides and then rebuild them, and that they suffer a greater loss of life as the result of water than of war, as Ephorus says. Indeed, the regularity of the flood-tides and the fact that the part of the country subject to inundations was known should have precluded such absurdities; for since this phenomenon occurs twice every day, it is of course improbable that the Cimbri did not so much as once perceive that the reflux was natural and harmless, and that it occurred, not in their country alone, but in every country that was on the ocean. Neither is Cleitarchus right; for he says that the horsemen, on seeing the onset of the sea, rode away, and though in full flight came very near being cut off by the water. Now we know, in the first place, that the invasion of the tide does not rush on with such speed as that, but that the sea advances imperceptibly; and, secondly, that what takes place daily and is audible to all who are about to draw near it, even before they

μέλλουσι, πρὶν ἢ θεάσασθαι, τοσοῦτον ἔμελλε παρέξασθαι φόβον, ὥστε φεύγειν, ὡς ἂν εἰ ἐξ ἀδοκίτου προσέπεσε.

2. Ταῦτα δὲ¹ δικαίως ἐπιτιμᾷ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι Ποσειδώνιος καὶ οὐ κακῶς εἰκάζει, διότι ληστροκοὶ ὄντες καὶ πλάνητες οἱ Κίμβροι καὶ μέχρι τῶν περὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν ποιήσαιντο στρατείας, ἀπ' ἐκείνων δὲ καὶ ἡ² Κιμμέριος κληθείη³ βόσπορος, ὅλον Κιμβρικός, Κιμμερίου τοὺς Κίμβρους ὀνομασάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Βοίους τὸν Ἐρκύνιον δρυμόν οἰκεῖν πρότερον, τοὺς δὲ Κίμβρους ὀρμήσαντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ἀποκρουσθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βοίων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ τοὺς Σκορδίσκους Γαλάτας καταβῆναι, εἰτ' ἐπὶ Τευρίστας καὶ Ταυρίσκους, καὶ τούτους Γαλάτας, εἰτ' ἐπὶ Ἐλουηττίους, πολυχρύσους μὲν ἄνδρας, εἰρηναίους δὲ ὀρώντας δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῶν ληστηρίων πλοῦτον ὑπερβάλλοντα τοῦ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς Ἐλουηττίους ἐπαρθῆναι, μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν Τιγυρηνοὺς τε καὶ Τωυγένους, ὥστε καὶ συνεξορμῆσαι. πάντες μέντοι κατελύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Κίμβροι καὶ οἱ συναράμειοι τούτοις, οἱ μὲν ὑπερβαλόντες τὰς Ἀλπεις εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δ' ἔξω τῶν Ἀλπεων.

3. Ἔθος δὲ τι τῶν Κίμβρων διηγοῦνται τοιοῦτον, ὅτι ταῖς γυναιξίν αὐτῶν συστρατενοῦσαις παρηκολούθουν προμάντιες ἱέρειαι πολιότριχες, λευχεί-

¹ δέ, Meineke emends to τε δή.

² ἡ, Meineke emends to ἰ, perhaps rightly.

³ κληθείη, Cassaubon, for κληθείς; so the later editors.

¹ The Strait of Keroh (or Yenikale).

behold it, would not have been likely to prompt in them such terror that they would take to flight, as if it had occurred unexpectedly.

2. Poseidonius is right in censuring the historians for these assertions, and his conjecture is not a bad one, that the Cimbri, being a piratical and wandering folk, made an expedition even as far as the region of Lake Maeotis, and that also the "Cimmerian" Bosphorus¹ was named after them, being equivalent to "Cimbrian," the Greeks naming the Cimbri "Cimmerii." And he goes on to say that in earlier times the Boii dwelt in the Hercynian Forest, and that the Cimbri made a sally against this place, but on being repulsed by the Boii, went down to the Ister and the country of the Scordiscan Galatae,² then to the country of the Teuristae³ and Taurisci (these, too, Galatae), and then to the country of the Helvetii—men rich in gold but peaceable; however, when the Helvetii saw that the wealth which the Cimbri had got from their robberies surpassed that of their own country, they, and particularly their tribes of Tigyreni and of Toygeni, were so excited that they sallied forth with the Cimbri. All, however, were subdued by the Romans, both the Cimbri themselves and those who had joined their expeditions, in part after they had crossed the Alps into Italy and in part while still on the other side of the Alps.

3. Writers report a custom of the Cimbri to this effect: Their wives, who would accompany them on their expeditions, were attended by priestesses who

² These Galatae lived between the Ister (Danube) and Morava Rivers on the confines of Illyria.

³ Cp. "Tauristae," 7. 3. 2.

μονες, καρπασίνας ἐφαπτίδας ἐπιπεπορημένοι, ζῶμα χαλκοῦν ἔχουσαι, γυμνόποδες· τοῖς οὖν αἰχμαλώτοις διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου συνήντων ξιφῆρεις, καταστέψασαι¹ δ' αὐτοὺς ἦγον ἐπὶ κρατῆρα χαλκοῦν ὅσον ἀμφορέων εἰκοσι· εἶχον δὲ ἀναβάθραν, ἣν ἀναβάσα ὑπερπετῆς τοῦ λέβητος ἐλαιμοτόμει ἕκαστον μετεωρισθέντα· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ προχομένου αἵματος εἰς τὸν κρατῆρα μαντεύαν τινὰ ἐποιούντο· ἄλλαι δὲ διασχίσασαι ἐσπλάγχχνον ἀναφθεγγόμεναι νίκην τοῖς οἰκείοις. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐτυπτον τὰς βύρσας τὰς περιεταμένας τοῖς γέροισι τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν, ὥστ' ἀποτελείσθαι ψόφον ἐξαίσιον.

4. Τῶν δὲ Γερμανῶν, ὡς εἶπον, οἱ μὲν προσάρκτιοι παρήκουσι τῷ ὠκεανῷ, γνωρίζονται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥήνου λαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν μέχρι τοῦ Ἄλβιος, τούτων δ' εἰσὶ γνωριμώτατοι Σούγαμβροί τε καὶ Κίμβροι, τὰ δὲ πέραν τοῦ Ἄλβιος τὰ πρὸς τῷ ὠκεανῷ παντάπασιν ἄγνωστα ἡμῖν ἐστίν. οὔτε γὰρ τῶν προτέρων οὐδένα ἴσμεν τὸν παράπλουν τούτου πεποιημένον πρὸς τὰ ἑθρινὰ μέρη τὰ μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τῆς Κασπίας θαλάττης, οὔθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοί πω προῆλθον εἰς τὰ περαιτέρω τοῦ Ἄλβιος· ὡς δ' αὐτως οὐδὲ περὶ παρωδεύκασιν οὐδένες. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν κατὰ μήκος ἰούσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω τὰ κατὰ

¹ καταστέψασαι (ACI).

¹ About 120 gallons. ² Cp. 7. 2. 1. ³ 7. 1. 1.

⁴ Cp. 7. 1. 1 and the footnote on "ocean."

⁵ See the *Frontispiece*, Vol. I.

⁶ On the "climata," see 1. 1. 12 and the footnote.

were seers; these were grey-haired, clad in white, with flaxen cloaks fastened on with clasps, girt with girdles of bronze, and bare-footed; now sword in hand these priestesses would meet with the prisoners of war throughout the camp, and having first crowned them with wreaths would lead them to a brazen vessel of about twenty amphorae;¹ and they had a raised platform which the priestess would mount, and then, bending over the kettle,² would cut the throat of each prisoner after he had been lifted up; and from the blood that poured forth into the vessel some of the priestesses would draw a prophecy, while still others would split open the body and from an inspection of the entrails would utter a prophecy of victory for their own people; and during the battles they would beat on the hides that were stretched over the wicker-bodies of the wagons and in this way produce an unearthly noise.

4. Of the Germans, as I have said,³ those towards the north extend along the ocean;⁴ and beginning at the outlets of the Rhenus, they are known as far as the Albis; and of these the best known are the Sugambri and the Cimbri; but those parts of the country beyond the Albis that are near the ocean are wholly unknown to us. For of the men of earlier times I know of no one who has made this voyage along the coast to the eastern parts that extend as far as the mouth⁵ of the Caspian Sea; and the Romans have not yet advanced into the parts that are beyond the Albis; and likewise no one has made the journey by land either. However, it is clear from the "climata"⁶ and the parallel distances that if one travels longitudinally towards the east, one encounters the regions that are about

τὸν Βορυσθένη καὶ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν¹ τοῦ Πόντου
χωρία ἀπαντᾶ, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν κλιμάτων καὶ τῶν
παραλλήλων διαστημάτων τί δ' ἐστὶ πέραν
τῆς Γερμανίας καὶ τί τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐξῆς, εἴτε
Βαστάρνας χρὴ λέγειν, ὡς οἱ πλείους ὑπονοοῦσιν,
εἴτ' ἄλλους μεταξὺ ἢ Ἰάζυγας ἢ Ῥωξολανούς ἢ
τινας ἄλλους τῶν Ἀμαξοίκων οὐ βῆδιον εἰπεῖν
οὐδ' εἰ μέχρι τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶν
τὸ μήκος, ἢ ἐστὶ τι ἀοίκητον ὑπὸ ψύχους ἢ ἄλλης
αἰτίας, ἢ εἰ καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἄλλο διαδέχεται
μεταξὺ τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ὧν Γερμανῶν
ἰδρυμένον. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγνόημα καὶ περὶ
τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐφεξῆς προσαρκτίων ἐπέχει.²
οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς Βαστάρνας οὔτε τοὺς Σαυρομάτας
καὶ ἀπλῶς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πόντου οἰκοῦντας ἴσμεν,
οὔθ' ὅποσον ἀπέχουσι τῆς Ἀτλαντικῆς θαλάττης,
οὔτ' εἰ συνάπτουσι αὐτῇ.

III

1. Τὸ δὲ νότιον μέρος τῆς Γερμανίας τὸ πέραν
τοῦ Ἀλβίου τὸ μὲν συνεχῆς ἄκμην ὑπὸ τῶν
Σοίβων κατέχεται· εἴτ' εὐθὺς ἢ τῶν Γετῶν
συνάπτει γῆ, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν στενή, παρατετα-
C 295 μένη τῷ Ἰστρῷ κατὰ τὸ νότιον μέρος, κατὰ δὲ
τοῦναντίον τῇ παρωρείᾳ τοῦ Ἑρκυνίου δρυμοῦ,

¹ μέρη, after βορρᾶν, Corais deletes; so Meineke.

² ἐπέχει, conj. of Kramer, for ἔλεγεν; so the later editors read.

¹ Cp. 2. 5. 7 and 7. 3. 17.

the Borysthenes and that are to the north of the
Pontus; but what is beyond Germany and what
beyond the countries which are next after Germany
—whether one should say the Bastarnae, as most
writers suspect, or say that others lie in between,
either the lazyges, or the Roxolani,¹ or certain
other of the Wagon-dwellers²—it is not easy to say;
nor yet whether they extend as far as the ocean
along its entire length, or whether any part is
uninhabitable by reason of the cold or other cause,
or whether even a different race of people, succeed-
ing the Germans, is situated between the sea and
the eastern Germans. And this same ignorance
prevails also in regard to the rest of the peoples
that come next in order on the north; for I know
neither the Bastarnae,³ nor the Sauromatae, nor, in
a word, any of the peoples who dwell above the
Pontus, nor how far distant they are from the
Atlantic Sea,⁴ nor whether their countries border
upon it.

III

1. As for the southern part of Germany beyond
the Albis, the portion which is just contiguous to
that river is occupied by the Suevi; then immediately
adjoining this is the land of the Getae, which,
though narrow at first, stretching as it does along
the Ister on its southern side and on the opposite
side along the mountain-side of the Hercynian Forest

² Cp. 2. 5. 26.

³ See 2. 5. 30.

⁴ The same in Strabo as "the Atlantic Ocean," including
the "Northern Ocean."

μέρος τι τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ αὐτὴ κατέχουσα, εἴτα πλατύνεται πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους μέχρι Τυρεγετῶν· τοὺς δὲ ἄκριβεῖς ὄρους οὐκ ἔχομεν φράζειν. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν τόπων τούτων οἱ τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη καὶ τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους μυθοποιούντες λόγου ἡξίωται, καὶ ἂν Πυθέας ὁ Μασσαλιώτης κατεψεύσατο ταῦτα τῆς παρωκεανίτιδος, προσχῆματι χρώμενος τῇ περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὰ μαθηματικὰ ἱστορία. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐάσθωσαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ τινα Σοφοκλῆς τραγωδεῖ περὶ τῆς Ὀρειθυίας λέγων, ὡς ἀναρπαγεῖσα ὑπὸ Βορέου κομισθεῖη

ὑπὲρ τε πόντου πάντ' ἐπ' ἔσχατα χθονὸς
νυκτός τε πηγὰς οὐρανοῦ τ' ἀναπτυχὰς
Φοῖβον τε¹ παλαιὸν κῆπον,

οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρὸς τὰ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐατέον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Φαίδρω ὁ Σωκράτης. ἂ δὲ ἕκ τε τῆς παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας καὶ τῆς νῦν παρειλήφαμεν, ταῦτα λέγωμεν.

2. Οἱ τοίνυν Ἕλληνες τοὺς² Γέτας Θρᾶκας ὑπελάμβανον· ᾤκουν δ' ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ Ἰστροῦ καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ Μυσοί, Θρᾶκες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ οὗς νῦν Μοισοὺς³ καλοῦσιν· ἀφ' ὧν ὠρμήθησαν καὶ οἱ νῦν μεταξὺ Λυδῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Τρώων

¹ τε, Meineke deletes.

² τε, before Γέτας, Meineke deletes.

³ Μοισούς, Tyrwhitt, for Μυσοί; so the later editors read.

¹ Cp. Pliny 4. 26.

² Cp. 1. 3. 22.

³ Cp. 1. 4. 3-5, 2. 3. 5 and 2. 4. 1-2.

⁴ The daughter of Erechtheus, a mythical Attic king. The passage here quoted is a fragment (Nauck, *Fragmenta*, 870) of a play now lost. Cp. *Antigone*, 981 ff.

⁵ The west.

⁶ The east.

(for the land of the Getae also embraces a part of the mountains), afterwards broadens out towards the north as far as the Tyregetae; but I cannot tell the precise boundaries. It is because of men's ignorance of these regions that any heed has been given to those who created the mythical "Rhipaeian Mountains"¹ and "Hyperboreans,"² and also to all those false statements made by Pytheas the Massalian regarding the country along the ocean, wherein he uses as a screen his scientific knowledge of astronomy and mathematics.³ So then, those men should be disregarded; in fact, if even Sophocles, when in his rôle as a tragic poet he speaks of Oreithyia,⁴ tells how she was snatched up by "Boreas" and carried "over the whole sea to the ends of the earth and to the sources of night"⁵ and to the unfoldings of heaven⁶ and to the ancient garden of Phoebus,⁷ his story can have no bearing on the present inquiry, but should be disregarded, just as it is disregarded by Socrates in the *Phaedrus*.⁸ But let us confine our narrative to what we have learned from history, both ancient and modern.

2. Now the Greeks used to suppose that the Getae were Thracians; and the Getae lived on either side the Ister, as did also the Mysi, these also being Thracians and identical with the people who are now called Moesi; from these Mysi sprang also the Mysi who now live between the Lydians and the

⁷ The south, apparently; and thus Boreas would have carried her to the four ends of the earth. The home of Boreas (North Wind), according to the poets, was in the Haemus (Balkan), or Rhipaeian, Mountains, on the "Sarpedonian Rock."

⁸ Plato, *Phaedrus* 229.

οἰκοῦντες Μυσοί. καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ Φρύγες Βρίγες εἰσί, Θράκιόν τι ἔθνος, καθάπερ καὶ Μυγδόνες καὶ Βέβρυκες καὶ Μεδοβιθυνοί¹ καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Θῦνοι, δοκῶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μαρριανδυνούς. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τελῶς ἐκλελοίπασιν πάντες τὴν Εὐρώπην, οἱ δὲ Μυσοὶ συνέμειναν. καὶ Ὅμηρον δ'² ὀρθῶς εἰκάζειν μοι δοκεῖ Ποσειδώνιος³ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Μυσοὺς κατονομάζειν (λέγω δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ), ὅταν φῆ·

αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὄσσε φαεινῶ,
νόσφιν ἐφ' ἵπποπόλων Θρηκῶν καθορώμενος
αἶαν

Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων·

ἐπεὶ εἴ γε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Μυσοὺς δέχοιτό τις, ἀπηρητημένος ἂν εἴη ὁ λόγος. τὸ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν Τρώων τρέψαντα τὴν ὄρασιν ἐπὶ τὴν Θρακῶν γῆν συγκαταλέγειν ταύτη τὴν τῶν Μυσῶν, τῶν οὐ νόσφιν ὄντων,⁴ ἀλλ' ὁμόρων τῇ Τρωάδι καὶ ὀπισθεν αὐτῆς ἰδρυμένων καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν, διειρηγομένων δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Θράκης πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, συγγέοντος ἂν εἴη τὰς ἡπείρους καὶ ἅμα τῆς φράσεως οὐκ ἀκούοντος. τὸ γὰρ πάλιν τρέπεν μάλιστα μὲν ἔστιν εἰς τοῦπίσω· ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν Τρώων μεταφέρων τὴν ὄψιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἦ⁵ ὀπισθεν

¹ Μεδοβιθυνοί, Meineke, Müller-Dübner and others, following Tzschucke, emend to Μαιδοβιθυνοί, the correct spelling of the word. But both here and in 7. 5. 12 (Μεδων) the MSS. of Strabo are unanimous.

² δ', after Ὅμηρον, Jones inserts; Kramer and the later editors, *de*.

³ *de*, after Ποσειδώνιος, Kramer deletes.

⁴ ὄντων, Corais, for ἐόντων; so the later editors.

Phrygians and Trojans. And the Phrygians themselves are Brigians, a Thracian tribe, as are also the Mygdonians, the Bebricians, the Medobithynians,¹ the Bithynians, and the Thynians, and, I think, also the Mariandynians. These peoples, to be sure, have all utterly quitted Europe, but the Mysi have remained there. And Poseidonius seems to me to be correct in his conjecture that Homer designates the Mysi in Europe (I mean those in Thrace) when he says, "But back he turned his shining eyes, and looked far away towards the land of the horse-tending Thracians, and of the Mysi, hand-to-hand fighters,"² for surely, if one should take Homer to mean the Mysi in Asia, the statement would not hang together. Indeed, when Zeus turns his eyes away from the Trojans towards the land of the Thracians, it would be the act of a man who confuses the continents and does not understand the poet's phraseology to connect with Thrace the land of the Asiatic Mysi, who are not "far away," but have a common boundary with the Troad and are situated behind it and on either side of it, and are separated from Thrace by the broad Hellespont; for "back he turned" generally³ means "to the rear," and he who transfers his gaze from the Trojans to the people who are either in the rear of the Trojans or

¹ The correct spelling of the word is "Maedobithynians."

² *Iliad* 13. 3-5.

³ The other meaning of the word in question (πάλιν) is "again." Aristarchus, the great Homeric scholar (fl. about 155 B.C.), quoted by Hesychius (*s. v.*), says that "generally the poet uses πάλιν in the place-sense and not, as we do, in the time-sense."

⁵ *η*, Madvig, for *μή*.

C 296 αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκ πλαγίων ὄντας προσωτέρω μὲν μεταφέρει, εἰς τοῦπίσω δ' οὐ πάνυ. καὶ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον δ' αὐτοῦ τούτου μαρτύριον, ὅτι τοὺς Ἴππημολγοὺς καὶ Γαλακτοφάγους καὶ Ἀβίους συνῆψεν αὐτοῖς, ὅπερ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀμάξιοι Σκύθαι καὶ Σαρμάται. καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἀναμεικταὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς Θραξί καὶ τὰ Βασταρνικά, μᾶλλον μὲν τοῖς ἐκτὸς Ἰστρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐντός. τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὰ Κελτικά, οἳ τε Βόιοι καὶ Σκορδίσκοι καὶ Ταυρίσκοι. τοὺς δὲ Σκορδίσκους ἔνιοι Σκορδίστας καλοῦσι καὶ τοὺς Ταυρίσκους δὲ Λιγυρίσκους¹ καὶ Ταυρίστας φασί.

3. Λέγει δὲ τοὺς Μυσοὺς ὁ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ ἐμφύχων ἀπέχεσθαι κατ' εὐσέβειαν, διὰ δὲ τούτου καὶ θρεμμάτων· μέλιτι δὲ χρῆσθαι καὶ γάλακτι καὶ τυρῶ ζῶντας καθ' ἡσυχίαν, διὰ δὲ τούτου καλείσθαι θεοσεβεῖς τε καὶ καπνοβάτας· εἶναι δὲ τινὰς τῶν Θρακῶν, οἳ χωρὶς γυναικὸς ζῶσιν, οὗς Κτίστας καλείσθαι, ἀνιερώσθαι τε διὰ τιμῆν καὶ

¹ For Λιγυρίσκους, Meineke writes Τευρίσκους, perhaps rightly.

¹ *i.e.* "to the rear" of *himself*.

² "And of the proud Hippemolgi (mare milkers), Galactophagi (curd-eaters), and Abii (a resourceless folk), men most just" (*Iliad* 1-3. 5-6). Cp. 1. 1. 6.

³ "Ligurisci" is almost certainly corrupt. Meineke is probably right in emending to "Teurisci."

⁴ Cp. "Teuristae," 7. 2. 2.

⁵ Scholars have suggested various emendations to "capnobatae," but there is no variation in the spelling of the word in any of the manuscripts, either here or in § 4 below. Its literal meaning is "smoke-treaders" (cp. ἀεροβάτης,

on their flanks, does indeed transfer his gaze rather far, but not at all "to the rear."¹ Again, the appended phrase² is testimony to this very view, because the poet connected with the Mysi the "Hippemolgi" and "Galactophagi" and "Abii," who are indeed the wagon-dwelling Scythians and Sarmatians. For at the present time these tribes, as well as the Bastarnian tribes, are mingled with the Thracians (more indeed with those outside the Ister, but also with those inside). And mingled with them are also the Celtic tribes—the Boii, the Scordisci, and the Taurisci. However, the Scordisci are by some called "Scordistae"; and the Taurisci are called also "Ligurisci"³ and "Tauristae."⁴

3. Poseidonius goes on to say of the Mysians that in accordance with their religion they abstain from eating any living thing, and therefore from their flocks as well; and that they use as food honey and milk and cheese, living a peaceable life, and for this reason are called both "god-fearing" and "capnobatae";⁵ and there are some of the Thracians who live apart from woman-kind; these are called "Ctistae,"⁶ and because of the honour in which they are held, have been dedicated to the gods and live with freedom from every fear;

ἀεροβάτης Aristophanes, *Clouds* 225, 1503), and it seems to allude in some way to the smoke of sacrifice and the more or less ethereal existence of the people, or else (see Herodotus 1. 202 and 4. 75) to the custom of generating an intoxicating vapour by throwing hemp-seed upon red-hot stones. Berkel and Wakefield would emend, respectively, to "capnopatae" and "capnobotae" ("smoke-eaters," *i.e.* people who live on food of no value).

⁶ Literally, "creators" or "founders." But, like "capnobatae," the force of the word here is unknown.

μετὰ ἀδείας ζῆν'· τούτους δὴ συλλήβδην ἅπαντας τὸν ποιητὴν εἰπεῖν ἀγαυοὺς Ἴππημολγούς, Γαλακτοφάγους Ἀβίους τε, δικαιοτάτους ἀνθρώπους. Ἀβίους δὲ προσαγορεύειν μάλιστα, ὅτι χωρὶς γυναικῶν, ἡγούμενον ἡμιτελῆ τινα βίον τὸν χῆρον, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἡμιτελῆ τὸν Πρωτεσίλαου, διότι χῆρος· ἀγχεμάχους δὲ τοὺς Μυσοὺς, ὅτι ἀπόρθητοι, καθὰ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ πολεμισταί· δεῖν δὲ ἐν τῷ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ¹ ἐγγράφειν ἀντὶ τοῦ Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων Μοισῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων.²

4. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τὴν γραφὴν κινεῖν ἐκ τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν εὐδοκιμήσασαν περιττὸν ἴσως. πολὺ γὰρ πιθανώτερον ὀνομάσθαι μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Μυσοὺς, μετωνομάσθαι δὲ καὶ³ νῦν. τοὺς Ἀβίους δὲ τοὺς χῆρους οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἀνεστίους καὶ τοὺς ἀμαξοίκους δέξαιτ' ἂν τις· μάλιστα γὰρ περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια καὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐκτίμησιν⁴ συνισταμένων τῶν ἀδικημάτων, τοὺς οὕτως ἀπ' ὀλίγων εὐτελῶς ζῶντας δικαιοτάτους εὐλογον κληθῆναι· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ φιλόσοφοι τῇ σωφροσύνῃ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐγγυτάτω τιθέντες τὸ αὐτάρκες καὶ τὸ λιτὸν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐξήλωσαν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ προεκπτώσεις⁵ τινὰς αὐτῶν παρέωσαν ἐπὶ τὸν κυνισμόν. τὸ δὲ χῆρους γυναικῶν οἰκεῖν οὐδεμίαν τοιαύτην ἔμφασιν ὑπογράφει, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Θραξί, καὶ τούτων

¹ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ, Corais, for δεκάτῳ; so the later editors.

² Μοισῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων, Meineke inserts.

³ καί, Meineke emends to ὡς.

⁴ For ἐκτίμησιν, the reading of the MSS., Meineke writes κτήσιν.

⁵ προεκπτώσεις, Meineke and others, for προσεκπτώσεις.

accordingly, Homer speaks collectively of all these peoples as "proud Hippemolgi, Galactophagi and Abii, men most just," but he calls them "Abii" more especially for this reason, that they live apart from women, since he thinks that a life which is bereft of woman is only half-complete (just as he thinks the "house of Protesilaüs" is only "half complete," because it is so bereft¹); and he speaks of the Mysians as "hand-to-hand fighters" because they were indomitable, as is the case with all brave warriors; and Poseidonius adds that in the Thirteenth Book² one should read "Moesi, hand-to-hand fighters" instead of "Mysi, hand-to-hand fighters."

4. However, it is perhaps superfluous to disturb the reading that has had approval for so many years; for it is much more credible that the people were called Mysi at first and that later their name was changed to what it is now. And as for the term "Abii," one might interpret it as meaning those who are "without hearths" and "live on wagons" quite as well as those who are "bereft"; for since, in general, injustices arise only in connection with contracts and a too high regard for property, so it is reasonable that those who, like the Abii, live cheaply, on slight resources, should have been called "most just." In fact, the philosophers who put justice next to self-restraint strive above all things for frugality and personal independence; and consequently extreme self-restraint diverts some of them to the Cynical mode of life. But as for the statement that they live "bereft of women," the poet suggests nothing of the sort, and particularly in the country of the Thracians and

¹ *Iliad* 2. 701.

² *Iliad* 13. 5.

τοῖς Γέταις. ὄρα δ' ἃ λέγει Μένανδρος περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐ πλάσας, ὡς εἰκός, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἱστορίας λαβῶν·

C 297 πάντες μὲν οἱ Θρᾶκες, μάλιστα δ' οἱ Γέται
ἡμεῖς ἀπάντων (καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς εὐχόμενος
ἐκείθεν εἶναι τὸ γένος) οὐ σφόδρ' ἐγκρατεῖς
ἐσμέν,

καὶ ὑποβάς μικρὸν τῆς περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀκρασίας
τίθησι τὰ παραδείγματα·

γαμεῖ γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδὲ εἰς δς¹ οὐ δέκ' ἢ
ἑνδεκα γυναῖκας δώδεκά τ' ἢ πλείους τινές·
ἂν τέτταρας δ' ἢ πέντε γεγαμηκῶς τύχη
καταστροφῆς τις, ἀνυμέναιος, ἄθλιος,
ἀνυμφος οὗτος ἐπικαλεῖτ' ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ.

ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων.
οὐκ εἰκός δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅμα μὲν ἄθλιον νομίζειν
βίον τὸν μὴ μετὰ πολλῶν γυναικῶν, ἅμα δὲ
σπουδαῖον καὶ δίκαιον τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν χῆρον.
τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ θεοσεβεῖς νομίζειν καὶ καπνοβάτας
τοὺς ἐρήμους γυναικῶν σφόδρα ἐναντιοῦται ταῖς
κοιναῖς ὑπολήψεσιν. ἅπαντες γὰρ τῆς δεισι-
δαιμονίας ἀρχηγούς οἴονται τὰς γυναῖκας· αὐταὶ
δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας προκαλοῦνται πρὸς τὰς ἐπι-
πλέον θεραπείας τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἑορτὰς καὶ ποτνια-
σμούς· σπάνιον δ' εἶ τις ἀνὴρ καθ' αὐτὸν ζῶν
εὐρίσκειται τοιοῦτος. ὄρα δὲ πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν
ποιητὴν, ἃ λέγει εἰσάγων τὸν ἀχθόμενον ταῖς
περὶ τὰς θυσίας τῶν γυναικῶν δαπάναις² καὶ
λέγοντα·

¹ δς, before οὐ, Jones inserts. Pletho inserts δ, Tzschucke
ξ; but Corais, whom Müller-Dübner and Meineke follow,
deletes οὐ and inserts εἰ μή.

of those of their number who are Getae. And see the statement of Menander about them, which, as one may reasonably suppose, was not invented by him but taken from history: "All the Thracians, and most of all we Getae (for I too boast that I am of this stock) are not very continent";¹ and a little below he sets down the proofs of their incontinence in their relations with women: "For every man of us marries ten or eleven women, and some, twelve or more; but if anyone meets death before he has married more than four or five, he is lamented among the people there as a wretch without bride and nuptial song." Indeed, these facts are confirmed by the other writers as well. Further, it is not reasonable to suppose that the same people regard as wretched a life without many women, and yet at the same time regard as pious and just a life that is wholly bereft of women. And of course to regard as "both god-fearing and capnobatae" those who are without women is very much opposed to the common notions on that subject; for all agree in regarding the women as the chief founders of religion, and it is the women who provoke the men to the more attentive worship of the gods, to festivals, and to supplications, and it is a rare thing for a man who lives by himself to be found addicted to these things. See again what the same poet says when he introduces as speaker the man who is vexed by the money spent by the women in connection with

¹ This and the succeeding fragment are otherwise unknown (Kock, *Com. Attic. Frag.* 547-548).

² δαπάναις ("expenses"), Corais and the later editors, for ἀπάταις ("deceits").

ἐπιτρίβουσι δ' ἡμᾶς οἱ θεοί,
 μάλιστα τοὺς γήμαντας· ἀεὶ γάρ τινα
 ἄγειν ἑορτὴν ἔστ' ἀνάγκη·

τὸν δὲ μισογύνην, αὐτὰ ταῦτα αἰτιώμενον·
 ἐθύομεν δὲ πεντάκις τῆς ἡμέρας,
 ἐκυμβάλιζον δ' ἑπτὰ θεράπαινοι κύκλω,
 αἱ δ' ὠλόλυζον.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἰδίως τοὺς ἀγύνοους τῶν Γετῶν εὐσεβεῖς νομίζεσθαι παράλογόν τι ἐμφαίνει· τὸ δ' ἰσχύειν ἐν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον σπουδὴν ἐκ τε ὧν εἶπε Ποσειδώνιος οὐκ ἀπιστητέον (καὶ ἐμφύχων ἀπέχεσθαι δι' εὐσέβειαν¹) καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης ἱστορίας.

β. Λέγεται γάρ τινα τῶν Γετῶν, ὄνομα Ζά-
 μολξιν,² δουλεύσαι Πυθαγόρα, καὶ τινα τῶν
 οὐρανίων παρ' ἐκείνου μαθεῖν, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ'
 Αἴγυπτίων, πλανηθέντα καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο ἐπαν-
 ελθόντα δ' εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν σπουδασθῆναι παρὰ
 τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τῷ ἔθνει, προλέγοντα τὰς ἐπι-
 σημασίας· τελευτώντα δὲ πείσαι τὸν βασιλέα
 κοινωνῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, ὡς τὰ παρὰ
 τῶν θεῶν ἐξαγγέλλειν ἱκανόν· καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς
 μὲν ἱερέα κατασταθῆναι τοῦ μάλιστα τιμωμένου
 C 298 παρ' αὐτοῖς θεοῦ, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Θεὸν
 προσαγορευθῆναι, καὶ καταλαβόντα ἀντρώδης τι

¹ καὶ . . . εὐσέβειαν, Meineke deletes as a marginal gloss.

² Ζάμολξιν (C).

¹ A fragment from some play now lost (Kock, *fr.* 601).

² A fragment from the *Misogynes* (*Woman-Hater*). Kock, *fr.* 326.

³ For another version of the story of Zamolxis, see Herod-

the sacrifices: "The gods are the undoing of us, especially us married men, for we must always be celebrating some festival";¹ and again when he introduces the Woman-hater, who complains about these very things: "we used to sacrifice five times a day, and seven female attendants would beat the cymbals all round us, while others would cry out to the gods."² So, then, the interpretation that the wifeless men of the Getae are in a special way reverential towards the gods is clearly contrary to reason, whereas the interpretation that zeal for religion is strong in this tribe, and that because of their reverence for the gods the people abstain from eating any living thing, is one which, both from what Poseidonius and from what the histories in general tell us, should not be disbelieved.

5. In fact, it is said that a certain man of the Getae, Zamolxis by name, had been a slave to Pythagoras, and had learned some things about the heavenly bodies from him,³ as also certain other things from the Egyptians, for in his wanderings he had gone even as far as Egypt; and when he came on back to his home-land he was eagerly courted by the rulers and the people of the tribe, because he could make predictions from the celestial signs; and at last he persuaded the king to take him as a partner in the government, on the ground that he was competent to report the will of the gods; and although at the outset he was only made a priest of the god who was most honoured in their country, yet afterwards he was even addressed as

otus (4. 94-96), who doubts whether such a man ever existed, but says that he was reputed to have been, for a time, a slave of Pythagoras in Samos.

χωρλον ἄβατον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνταῦθα διαιτᾶσθαι, σπάνιον ἐντυγχάνοντα τοῖς ἐκίος, πλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων· συμπράττειν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα, ὀρώντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσέχοντας ἑαυτῷ πολὺ πλέον ἢ πρότερον, ὡς ἐκφέρουσι τὰ προστάγματα κατὰ συμβουλήν θεῶν. τουτὶ δὲ τὸ ἔθος διέτεινεν ἄχρι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἀεὶ τινος εὐρισκομένου τοιοῦτου τὸ ἔθος, ὃς τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ σύμβουλος ὑπῆρχε, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Γέταις ὠνομάζετο Θεός· καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὑπελήφθη¹ ἱερόν, καὶ προσ-αγορεύουσιν οὕτως· ὄνομα δ' αὐτῷ Κωγαίονον, ὀμῶν μιν τῷ παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ. καὶ δὴ ὅτε Βυρεβίστας² ἤρχε τῶν Γετῶν, ἐφ' ὃν ἤδη παρεσκευάσατο Καῖσαρ ὁ Θεὸς στρατεύειν, Δεκαίνεος εἶχε ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν· καὶ πως τὸ τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀπέχεσθαι Πυθαγόρειον τοῦ Ζαμόλξιος ἔμεινε παραδοθέν.

6. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν καλῶς³ ἂν τις διαποροίη περὶ τῶν κειμένων παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ, περὶ τε Μυσῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν Ἰππημολγῶν ἃ δ' Ἀπολλόδορος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ Νεῶν προοιμαζόμενος εἰρηκεν, ἥκιστα λέγοιτ' ἂν. ἐπαινεῖ γὰρ Ἐρατοσθένους ἀπόφασιν, ὅτι φησὶν ἐκεῖνος καὶ Ὀμηρον

¹ ὑπελήφθη, all editors, for ὑπελείφθη.

² So the name is spelled here and in 16. 2. 39; but Βοερεβίστας in 7. 3. 11 and 7. 3. 12.

³ καλῶς, Jones (following *l*), for κακῶς. Others insert οὐ before κακῶς.

¹ The "cavernous place" previously referred to.

² Some scholars identify this mountain with what is now Mt. Gogany (near Mika); others, with Mt. Kaszon (on the borders of Transylvania and Moldavia). The former is more likely.

god, and having taken possession of a certain cavernous place that was inaccessible to anyone else he spent his life there, only rarely meeting with any people outside except the king and his own attendants; and the king cooperated with him, because he saw that the people paid much more attention to himself than before, in the belief that the decrees which he promulgated were in accordance with the counsel of the gods. This custom persisted even down to our own time, because some man of that character was always to be found, who, though in fact only a counsellor to the king, was called god among the Getae. And the people took up the notion that the mountain¹ was sacred and they so call it, but its name is Cogaeonum,² like that of the river which flows past it. So, too, at the time when Byrebistas,³ against whom already⁴ the Deified Caesar had prepared to make an expedition, was reigning over the Getae, the office in question was held by Decaeneus, and somehow or other the Pythagorean doctrine of abstention from eating any living thing still survived as taught by Zamolxis.

6. Now although such difficulties as these might fairly be raised concerning what is found in the text of Homer about the Mysians and the "proud Hippemolgi," yet what Apollodorus states in the preface to the Second Book of his work *On Ships*⁵ can by no means be asserted; for he approves the declaration of Eratosthenes, that although both

⁵ Strabo also spells the name "Boerebistas (7. 3. 11, 12).

⁴ Cp. 7. 3. 11.

⁵ Or rather *On the Catalogue of Ships* (1. 2. 24).

καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιούς, τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ εἰδέναι, τῶν δὲ πόρρω πολλὴν ἔχειν ἀπειρίαν, ἀπείρους μὲν μακρῶν ὁδῶν ὄντας, ἀπείρους δὲ τοῦ ναυτίλλεσθαι. συνηγορῶν δὲ τούτοις Ὀμηρόν φησι τὴν μὲν Αἰλίδα καλεῖν πετρήεσσαν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔστι, πολύκημον δὲ τὸν Ἐτεωνόν, πολυτρήωνα δὲ τὴν Θίσιβην, ποιήεντα δὲ τὸν Ἀλίαρτον τὰ δ' ἀπῶθεν οὐτ' αὐτὸν εἰδέναι οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους. ποταμῶν γοῦν περὶ τετταράκοντα ρεόντων εἰς τὸν Πόντον, μηδὲ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων μηδενὸς μεμνήσθαι, οἶον Ἴστρου, Ταναΐδος, Βορυσθένου, Ἰππηνίου, Φάσιδος, Θερμῶδοντος, Ἄλυος· ἔτι δὲ Σκυθῶν μὲν μὴ μεμνήσθαι, πλάττειν¹ δὲ ἀγαθοὺς τινας Ἰππημολγοὺς καὶ Γαλακτοφάγους Ἀβίους τε. Παφλαγόνας τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ ἱστορηκέναι παρὰ τῶν πεζῆ τοῖς τόποις πλησιασάντων, τὴν παραλίαν δὲ ἀγνοεῖν καὶ εἰκότως γε. ἄπλουν γὰρ εἶναι τότε τὴν θάλατταν ταύτην καὶ καλεῖσθαι Ἄξεον διὰ τὸ δυσχείμερον καὶ τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν περιουκούντων ἔθνῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Σκυθικῶν, ξενοθυτούντων καὶ σαρκοφαγούντων καὶ τοῖς κρανίοις ἐκπώμασι C 299 χρωμένων· ὕστερον δ' Εὐξεινον κεκληῖσθαι, τῶν Ἴωνων ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ πόλεις κτισάντων· ὁμοίως δ' ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην, οἶον τὰς ἀναβάσεις τοῦ Νείλου καὶ προσχώσεις

¹ πλάττειν, the editors (from conj. of Villebrun) for πάντας.

² *Iliad* 2. 496.

³ *Iliad* 2. 497.

⁴ *Iliad* 2. 502.

⁵ *Iliad* 2. 503.

⁶ Now, respectively, the Danube, Don, Dnieper, Bog, Rion, Termeh, and Kizil-Irmak.

Homer and the other early authors knew the Greek places, they were decidedly unacquainted with those that were far away, since they had no experience either in making long journeys by land or in making voyages by sea. And in support of this Apollodoros says that Homer calls Aulis "rocky"¹ (and so it is), and Eteonus "place of many ridges,"² and Thisbe "haunt of doves,"³ and Haliartus "grassy,"⁴ but, he says, neither Homer nor the others knew the places that were far away. At any rate, he says, although about forty rivers flow into the Pontus, Homer mentions not a single one of those that are the most famous, as, for example, the Ister, the Tanais, the Borysthenes, the Hypanis, the Phasis, the Thermodon, the Halys;⁵ and, besides, he does not mention the Scythians, but invents certain "proud Hippemolgi" and "Galactophagi" and "Abii"; and as for the Paphlagonians of the interior, he reports what he has learned from those who have approached the regions afoot, but he is ignorant of the seaboard,⁶ and naturally so, for at that time this sea was not navigable, and was called Axine⁷ because of its wintry storms and the ferocity of the tribes that lived around it, and particularly the Scythians, in that they sacrificed strangers, ate their flesh, and used their skulls as drinking-cups; but later it was called "Euxine,"⁸ when the Ionians founded cities on the seaboard. And, likewise, Homer is also ignorant of the facts about Egypt and Libya, as, for example, about the risings of the Nile and the silting up of the sea,⁹

⁶ Cp. 12. 3. 26.

⁷ That is "Inhospitable."

⁸ "Hospitable," euphemistically.

⁹ Cp. 1. 2. 29.

τοῦ πελάγους, ὧν οὐδαμοῦ μεμνήσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τοῦ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας θαλάττης, οὐδὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν καὶ Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ τὸν ὠκεανόν, εἰ μὴ Ζήνωνι τῷ φιλοσόφῳ προσεκτέον γράφοντι.

Αἰθιοπίας θ' ἰκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους Ἀραβάς τε. οὐ θαυμαστὸν δ' εἶναι περὶ Ὀμήρου· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἔτι νεωτέρους ἐκείνου πολλὰ ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τερατολογεῖν. Ἡσίодον μὲν Ἡμίκκυας λέγοντα καὶ Μεγαλοκεφάλους καὶ Πυγμαίους, Ἀλκμᾶνα δὲ Στεγανόποδας, Αἰσχύλον δὲ Κυνοκεφάλους καὶ Στερονοφθαλμούς καὶ Μονομμάτους (ἐν τῷ Προμηθεΐ φασι¹) καὶ ἄλλα μυρία. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τοὺς συγγραφέας βαδίζει Ῥιπαία ὄρη λέγοντας καὶ τὸ Ὀγύιον² ὄρος καὶ τὴν τῶν Γοργόνων καὶ Ἐσπερίδων κατοικίαν καὶ τὴν παρὰ Θεοπόμπῳ Μεροπίδα γῆν, παρ' Ἐκαταίφ δὲ Κιμμερίδα πόλιν, παρ' Εὐημέρῳ δὲ τὴν Παγχαίαν γῆν, παρ' Ἀρισ-

¹ (ἐν . . . φασι), Corais and Meineke, following ο, delete as being a gloss.

² Ὀγύιον, the reading of the MSS. except C (Ὀγόν), I (Ὀγυεν), and ικ (Ὀγύγιον) which last is followed, perhaps rightly, by Xylander and Corais.

¹ Red.

² Mediterranean.

³ *Odyssey* 4. 84. Zeno emended the Homeric text to read as above (see 1. 2. 34).

⁴ Cp. 1. 2. 35.

⁵ Aeschylus refers to "one-eyed" men in *Prometheus Bound* (l. 804). The other epithets (See Nauck, *Frs.* 431, 441) were taken from plays now lost.

⁶ Cp. 7. 3. 1.

⁷ "Mt. Ogyium" is otherwise unknown. The reading is probably corrupt.

⁸ Aelian (*Var. Hist.*, 3. 18) says that Theopompus the

things which he nowhere mentions; neither does he mention the isthmus between the Erythraean¹ and the Egyptian² Seas, nor the regions of Arabia and Ethiopia and the ocean, unless one should give heed to Zeno the philosopher when he writes, "And I came to the Ethiopians and Sidonians and Arabians."³ But this ignorance in Homer's case is not amazing, for those who have lived later than he have been ignorant of many things and have invented marvellous tales: Hesiod, when he speaks of "men who are half-dog,"⁴ of "long-headed men," and of "Pygmies"; and Alcman, when he speaks of "web-footed men"; and Aeschylus, when he speaks of "dog-headed men," of "men with eyes in their breasts," and of "one-eyed men" (in his *Prometheus*, it is said⁵); and a host of other tales. From these men he proceeds against the historians who speak of the "Rhipaean Mountains,"⁶ and of "Mt. Ogyium,"⁷ and of the settlement of the Gorgons and Hesperides, and of the "Land of Meropis"⁸ in Theopompus,⁹ and the "City of Cimmeris" in Hecataeus,¹⁰ and the "Land of Panchaea"¹¹ in

historian related a conversation between King Midas and Silenus in which Silenus reported a race called "Meropians" who inhabited a continent larger than Asia, Europe, and Africa combined.

⁹ Theopompus (b. about 380 B.C.) wrote, among other works, two histories, (1) the *Hellenica*, in twelve books, being a continuation of Thucydides and covering the period from 411 to 394 B.C., and (2) the *Philippica*, in fifty-eight books, being a history of the life and times of Philip of Macedon (360-336 B.C.). Only a few fragments of these works remain.

¹⁰ Hecataeus (b. about 540 B.C.) wrote both a geographical and an historical treatise. Only fragments remain.

¹¹ Cp. 2. 4. 2.

τοτέλει δὲ ποταμίους λίθους ἐξ ἄμμου, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὄμβρων τήκεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβύῃ Διονύσου πόλιν εἶναι, ταύτη δ' οὐκ ἐνδέχεσθαι δις τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιτυχεῖν.¹ ἐπιτιμᾶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Σικελίαν τὴν πλάνην λέγουσι καθ' Ὀμηρον τὴν Ὀδυσσεῶς· εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς² χρῆναι τὴν μὲν πλάνην ἐκεῖ γεγονέναι φάσκειν, τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν ἐξωκεανικένας μυθολογίας χάριν· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις συγγνώμην εἶναι, Καλλιμάχῳ δὲ μὴ πάνυ, μεταποιουμένῳ γε γραμματικῆς· ὃς τὴν μὲν Γαῦδον Καλυψοῦς νήσον φησι, τὴν δὲ Κόρκυραν Σχερίαν· ἄλλους δ' αἰτιᾶται ψεύσασθαι περὶ Γερήνων καὶ τοῦ Ἀκακησίου καὶ Δήμου ἐν Ἰθάκῃ, Πελεθρονίου δ' ἐν Πηλίῳ, Γλαυκωπίου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις. τούτοις δὲ μικρὰ τινα προσθεῖς τοιαῦτα παύεται, τὰ

¹ ἐπιτυχεῖν, Jones, following conj. of Capps, for ἐπιτεῖναι. Others emend to ἐξευρεῖν.

² αὐτὸς, Corais emends to ἄν. Meineke rightly suspects that εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς is corrupt.

¹ Euhemerus (fl. about 310 B.C.) wrote a work on *Sacred History* (cp. 1. 3. 1).

² Such words as these have not been found in the extant works of Aristotle.

³ Cp. 1. 2. 17-19.

⁴ Callimachus of Cyrene (fl. about 250 B.C.) is said to have written about 800 works, in prose and verse. Only 6 hymns, 64 epigrams and some fragments are extant.

⁵ Cp. 1. 2. 37.

⁶ See footnote 2 on 1. 2. 37.

⁷ Cp. 8. 3. 7, 29 and the *Odyssey* (the "Gerenian" Nestor).

⁸ Strabo alludes to the wrong interpretation which some put upon ἀκάκητα, the epithet of Hermes (*Iliad* 16. 185), making it refer to a cavern in Arcadia, called "Acacesium," near Mt. Cyllene, where Hermes was born. Hesiod (*Theog.*

Euhemerus,¹ and in Aristotle "the river-stones, which are formed of sand but are melted by the rains."² And in Libya, Apollodorus continues, there is a "City of Dionysus" which it is impossible for the same man ever to find twice. He censures also those who speak of the Homeric wanderings of Odysseus as having been in the neighbourhood of Sicily; for in that case, says he, one should go on and say that, although the wanderings took place there, the poet, for the sake of mythology, placed them out in Oceanus.³ And, he adds, the writers in general can be pardoned, but Callimachus⁴ cannot be pardoned at all, because he makes a pretence of being a scholar;⁵ for he calls Gaudos⁶ the "Isle of Calypso" and Corcyra "Scheria." And others he charges with falsifying about "Gerena,"⁷ and "Acacesium,"⁸ and "Demus"⁹ in Ithaca, and about "Pelethronium"¹⁰ in Pelion, and about Glaucopium¹¹ in Athens. To these criticisms Apollodorus adds some petty ones of like sort and then stops, but he

614) gives the same epithet to Prometheus, who, according to the scholiast, was so called from "Mt. Acacesium" in Arcadia, where he was much revered.

⁹ *Iliad* 3. 201. The critics in question maintained that "demus" ("deme," "people") was the name of a place in Ithaca.

¹⁰ "Pelethronium" is not found in Homer or Hesiod. According to some it was a city of Thessaly; others, a mountain (or a part of Mt. Pelion) in Thessaly; and others, the cave where Cheiron trained Achilles.

¹¹ "Glaucopium" is not found in Homer or Hesiod. According to Eustathius it was applied by the ancients to the citadel of Athens, or to the temple of Athene, and was derived from Athene "Glaucopis" ("Flashing-eyed"); but Stephanus Byzantinus derives the word from Glaucopus, son of Alalcomeneus.

πλεῖστα μετενέγκας παρὰ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐκ εὖ εἰρημένα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ὕστερον ἐμπειροτέρους γεγονέναι τῶν πάλαι¹ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ Ἐρατοσθένη καὶ τούτῳ δοτέον· τὸ δ' οὕτω πέρα τοῦ μετρίου προάγειν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐφ' Ὀμήρου, δοκεῖ μοι κἂν ἐπιπλήξαι τις δικαίως, καὶ τούναντίον εἰπεῖν, ὡς περὶ ὧν ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτοί, περὶ τούτων. τῷ
C 300 ποιητῇ προφέρουσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα οἰκείας μνήμης τυγχάνει, τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς καθόλου.

7. Νυνὶ δὲ περὶ Θρακῶν ἐλέγομεν,

Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν Ἴππημολγῶν,

Γλακτοφάγων Ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων,

βουλόμενοι συγκρίναι τὰ τε ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Ποσειδωνίου λεχθέντα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τούτων πρότερον δ' ὅτι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ὑπεναντίαν τοῖς προτεθείσι πεποιήνται. προὔθεντο μὲν γὰρ διδάξαι, διότι τῶν πόρρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος πλείων ἢ ἀγνοία τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἢ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἔδειξαν² δὲ τὰναντία, καὶ οὐ κατὰ³ τὰ πόρρω μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἀλλ', ὡς ἔφην, τὰ ἄλλα μὲν ὑπερκείσθω· τὰ δὲ νῦν σκοπώμεν. Σκυθῶν μὲν γὰρ μὴ μεμνήσθαι κατ' ἀγνοίαν φασί,

¹ τὰ, after πάλαι, the editors delete.

² ἔδειξαν, Xylander, for ἔδειξε; so the later editors.

³ κατὰ, Groskurd inserts; so the later editors.

¹ 1. 2. 24.

² For example, 12. 3. 26-27.

³ The first and second books, *passim*.

⁴ See 7. 3. 2 and the footnote.

borrowed most of them from Eratosthenes, and as I have remarked before¹ they are wrong. For while one must concede to Eratosthenes and Apollodorus that the later writers have shown themselves better acquainted with such matters than the men of early times, yet to proceed beyond all moderation as they do, and particularly in the case of Homer, is a thing for which, as it seems to me, one might justly rebuke them and make the reverse statement: that where they are ignorant themselves, there they reproach the poet with ignorance. However, what remains to be said on this subject meets with appropriate mention in my detailed descriptions of the several countries,² as also in my general description.³

7. Just now I was discussing the Thracians, and the "Mysians, hand-to-hand fighters, and the proud Hippemolgi, Galactophagi, and Abii, men most just,"⁴ because I wished to make a comparison between the statements made by Poseidonius and myself and those made by the two men in question. Take first the fact that the argument which they have attempted is contrary to the proposition which they set out to prove; for although they set out to prove that the men of earlier times were more ignorant of regions remote from Greece than the men of more recent times, they showed the reverse, not only in regard to regions remote, but also in regard to places in Greece itself. However, as I was saying, let me put off everything else and look to what is now before me: they⁵ say that the poet through ignorance fails to mention the Scythians, or their savage dealings with strangers, in that they

⁵ Eratosthenes and Apollodorus.

μηδὲ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ξένους ὠμότητος αὐτῶν, καταθύνωνται καὶ σαρκοφαγούντων καὶ τοῖς κρανίοις ἐκπώμασι χρωμένων, δι' οὗς Ἄξενος ὠνομάζετο ὁ πόντος, πλάττειν δ' ἀγαυοὺς τινὰς Ἴππημολγούς, Γαλακτοφάγους Ἀβίους τε, δικαιοτάτους ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς οὐδαμοῦ γῆς ὄντας. πῶς οὖν Ἄξενον ὠνόμαζον, εἰ μὴ ᾗδεισαν τὴν ἀγριότητα, μὴδ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μάλιστα τοιούτους; οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ δῆπου οἱ Σκύθαι. πότερον¹ δ' οὐδ' Ἴππημολγοὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἐπέκεινα τῶν Μυσῶν καὶ Θρακῶν καὶ Γετῶν, οὐδὲ Γαλακτοφάγοι καὶ Ἀβιοὶ; ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν εἰσὶν Ἀμάξιοι καὶ Νομάδες καλούμενοι, ζῶντες ἀπὸ θρεμμάτων καὶ γάλακτος καὶ τυροῦ, καὶ μάλιστα ἰππέων, θησαυρισμὸν δ' οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ καπηλείαν, πλὴν ἡ² φόρτον ἀντὶ φόρτου. πῶς οὖν ἠγνοεῖ τοὺς Σκύθας ὁ ποιητής, Ἴππημολγούς καὶ Γαλακτοφάγους τινὰς προσαγορεύων; ὅτι γὰρ οἱ τότε τοὺς Ἴππημολγούς ἐκάλου, καὶ Ἡσίοδος μάρτυς ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' Ἐρατοσθένους παρατεθείσιν ἔπειν·

Αἰθιοπίας τε Λίγυς τε ἰδέ³ Σκύθας ἰππημολγούς.

τί δὲ θαυμαστόν, εἰ διὰ τὸ πλεονάζειν παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἀδικίαν, δικαιοτάτους εἶπεν ἀγαυοὺς⁴ τοὺς ἥκιστα ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις καὶ τῷ ἀργυρισμῷ ζῶντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὰ κεκτημένους πάντα πλὴν ξίφους καὶ ποτηρίου, ἐν δὲ

¹ πότερον, conj. Kramer, for πρότερον; so the later editors.

² η, Meineke emends to εἰ.

³ Λίγυς τε ἰδέ, Kramer, for Λιγυστὶ δέ; so the later editors.

⁴ ἀγαυοὺς, Meineke emends, without noting, to ἀνθρώπους.

"Mare-milkers."

"Curd-eaters."

sacrifice them, eat their flesh, and use their skulls as drinking-cups, although it was on account of the Scythians that the Pontus was called "Axine," but that he invents certain "proud Hippemolgi, Galactophagi, and Abii, men most just"—people that exist nowhere on earth. How, then, could they call the sea "Axine" if they did not know about the ferocity or about the people who were most ferocious? And these, of course, are the Scythians. And were the people who lived beyond the Mysians and Thracians and Getae not also "Hippemolgi,"¹ not also "Galactophagi"² and "Abii"?³ In fact, even now⁴ there are Wagon-dwellers and Nomads, so called, who live off their herds, and on milk and cheese, and particularly on cheese made from mare's milk, and know nothing about storing up food or about peddling merchandise either, except the exchange of wares for wares. How, then, could the poet be ignorant of the Scythians if he called certain people "Hippemolgi and Galactophagi"? For that the people of his time were wont to call the Scythians "Hippemolgi," Hesiod, too, is witness in the words cited by Eratosthenes: "The Ethiopians, the Ligurians, and also the Scythians, Hippemolgi."⁵ Now wherein is it to be wondered at that, because of the widespread injustice connected with contracts in our country, Homer called "most just" and "proud" those who by no means spend their lives on contracts and money-getting but actually possess all things in common except sword and drinking-cup, and above all things have their

⁴ "A resourceless folk."

⁵ Cp. the similar words quoted from Ephorus, 7. 3. 9.

⁶ A fragment otherwise unknown (*fr.* 232; Rzach, *fr.* 55).

τοῖς πρώτων τὰς γυναῖκας Πλατωνικῶς ἔχοντας κοινὰς καὶ τέκνα; καὶ Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐμφαίνει συνηγορῶν τῷ ποιητῇ, φήσας περὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν,

C 301 ἄλλ' ἰππάκης βρωτῆρες εὐνομοὶ Σκύθαι.

αὕτη δ' ἡ ὑπόληψις καὶ νῦν ἔτι συμμένει παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἄπλουστάτους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς νομίζομεν καὶ ἥκιστα κακεντρεχεῖς εὐτελεστέρους τε πολὺ ἡμῶν καὶ αὐταρκεστέρους· καίτοι ὁ γὰρ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίος εἰς πάντας σχεδὸν τι διατέτακε τὴν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολήν, τρυφήν καὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ κακοτεχνίας εἰς¹ πλεονεξίας μυρίας πρὸς ταῦτ' εἰσάγων. πολὺ οὖν τῆς τοιαύτης κακίας καὶ εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμπέπτωκε τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας. καὶ γὰρ θαλάττης ἀψάμενοι χείρους γεγόνασι, ληστεύοντες καὶ ξενοκτονούντες, καὶ ἐπιπλεκόμενοι πολλοὺς μεταλαμβάνουσι τῆς ἐκείνων πολυτελείας καὶ καπηλείας· ἃ δοκεῖ μὲν εἰς ἡμερότητα συντείνειν, διαφθείρει δὲ τὰ ἥθη καὶ ποικιλίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀπλότητος τῆς ἄρτι λεχθείσης εἰσάγει.

8. Οἱ μέντοι πρὸ ἡμῶν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐγγύς τοῖς Ὀμήρου χρόνοις, τοιοῦτοί τινες ἦσαν καὶ ὑπελαμβάνοντο παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὁποῖους Ὀμηρὸς φησιν. ὄρα δὲ ἃ λέγει Ἡρόδοτος περὶ τοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ' ὃν ἐστράτευσε Δαρεῖος, καὶ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα παρ' αὐτοῦ. ὄρα

¹ εἰς, Corais, Meineke and other editors emend to καί. See πλεονεξίας, 7. 4. 6 (end of §).

¹ Republic, 457 D, 458 C-D, 460 B-D, 540, and 543.

wives and their children in common, in the Platonic way?¹ Aeschylus, too, is clearly pleading the cause of the poet when he says about the Scythians: "But the Scythians, law-abiding, eaters of cheese made of mare's milk."² And this assumption even now still persists among the Greeks; for we regard the Scythians the most straightforward of men and the least prone to mischief, as also far more frugal and independent of others than we are. And yet our mode of life has spread its change for the worse to almost all peoples, introducing amongst them luxury and sensual pleasures and, to satisfy these vices, base artifices that lead to innumerable acts of greed. So then, much wickedness of this sort has fallen on the barbarian peoples also, on the Nomads as well as the rest; for as the result of taking up a seafaring life they not only have become morally worse, indulging in the practice of piracy and of slaying strangers, but also, because of their intercourse with many peoples, have partaken of the luxury and the peddling habits of those peoples. But though these things seem to conduce strongly to gentleness of manner, they corrupt morals and introduce cunning instead of the straightforwardness which I just now mentioned.

8. Those, however, who lived before our times, and particularly those who lived near the time of Homer, were—and among the Greeks were assumed to be—some such people as Homer describes. And see what Herodotus says concerning that king of the Scythians against whom Darius made his expedition, and the message which the king sent

² From a play now lost (Nauck, *fr.* 198).

δὲ καὶ ἂ λέγει Χρῦσιππος περὶ τῶν τοῦ Βοσπόρου βασιλέων τῶν περὶ Λεύκωνα. πλήρεις δὲ καὶ αἱ Περσικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ τῆς ἀπλότητος, ἧς λέγω, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν ἀπομνημονεύμενα. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις καὶ Ἀβάρης καὶ τινες ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκίμου, ὅτι ἔθνικόν τινα χαρακτῆρα ἐπέφαινον εὐκολίας καὶ λιτότητος¹ καὶ δικαιοσύνης. καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς πάλαι λέγειν; Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ὁ Φιλίππου κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Θράκας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Αἴμου στρατεῖαν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Τριβαλλοὺς, ὄρων μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστρου καθήκοντας καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ νήσου Πεύκης, τὰ πέραν δὲ Γέτας ἔχοντας, ἀφίχθαι λέγεται μέχρι δεῦρο, καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν νήσον ἀποβῆναι μὴ δύνασθαι σπάνει πλοίων· ἐκέλευε γὰρ καταφυγόντα τὸν τῶν Τριβαλλῶν βασιλέα Σύρμον ἀντισχεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἐπιχειρήσιν· εἰς δὲ τοὺς Γέτας διαβάντα ἐλείψιν

¹ λιτότης (conj. Casaubon), for λειότητος (ABC), τελειότητος (g); so the later editors.

¹ Cp. 7. 3. 14. Darius sent a message to King Idanthyrsus in which he reproached the latter for fleeing and not fighting. Idanthyrsus replied that he was not fleeing because of fear, but was merely doing what he was wont to do in time of peace; and if Darius insisted on a fight, he might search out and violate the ancestral tombs, and thus come to realize whether or no the Scythians would fight; "and in reply to your assertion that you are my master, I say 'howl on'" (Herodotus, 4. 127).

² Chrysippus of Soli (fl. about 230 B.C.), the Stoic philosopher, was a prolific writer, but with the exception of a few fragments his works are lost. The present reference is obviously to his treatise on *Modes of Life*, which is quoted by Plutarch (*De Stoicorum Repugnantibus*, 20. 3 = 1043 B).

³ Leuco, who succeeded his father Satyrus I, reigned from 393 to 353 B.C. (see 7. 4. 4).

back to him.¹ See also what Chrysippus² says concerning the kings of the Bosphorus, the house of Leuco.³ And not only the Persian letters⁴ are full of references to that straightforwardness of which I am speaking but also the memoirs written by the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Indians. And it was on this account that Anacharsis,⁵ Abaris,⁶ and other men of the sort were in fair repute among the Greeks, because they displayed a nature characterized by complacency, frugality, and justice. But why should I speak of the men of olden times? For when Alexander, the son of Philip, on his expedition against the Thracians beyond the Haemus,⁷ invaded the country of the Triballians⁸ and saw that it extended as far as the Ister and the island of Peuce⁹ in the Ister, and that the parts on the far side were held by the Getae, he went as far as that,¹⁰ it is said, but could not disembark upon the island because of scarcity of boats (for Syrmus, the king of the Triballi had taken refuge there and resisted his attempts); he did, however, cross over to the country of the Getae, took their city, and

⁴ i.e. the letters of the Persian kings, such as those quoted by Herodotus.

⁵ Anacharsis was a Scythian prince and philosopher, one of the "Seven Sages," a traveller, long a resident of Athens (about 590 B.C.), a friend of Solon, and (according to Ephorus) an inventor (7. 3. 9). See Herodotus, 4. 76.

⁶ Abaris was called the "Hyperborean" priest and prophet of Apollo, and is said to have visited Athens in the eighth century, or perhaps much later. According to the legend, he healed the sick, travelled round the world, without once eating, on a golden arrow given him by Apollo, and delivered Sparta from a plague.

⁷ The Balkan Mountains.

⁸ See 7. 3. 15 and footnote.

⁹ A Thracian tribe.

¹⁰ i.e. as far as the island.

αὐτῶν πόλιν καὶ ἀναστρέφαι διὰ ταχέων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, λαβόντα δῶρα παρὰ¹ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Σύρμου. φησὶ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου κατὰ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν συμμίξαι τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Κελτοὺς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν φιλίας καὶ ξενίας χάριν, δεξάμενον δὲ αὐτοὺς φιλοφρόνως τὸν βασιλέα ἐρέσθαι παρὰ πότον, τί μάλιστα εἶη ὃ φοβοῦντο, νομίζοντα αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν· αὐτοὺς δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι, ὅτι οὐδένα² πλὴν εἰ ἄρα μὴ ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέσοι, φιλίαν γε μὴν ἀνδρὸς τοιοῦτου περὶ παντὸς τίθεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἀπλότητος τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐστὶ σημεῖα, τοῦ τε μὴ συγχωρήσαντος μὲν τὴν ἀπόβασιν τὴν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, δῶρα δὲ πέμψαντος καὶ συνθεμένου φιλίαν, καὶ τῶν φοβεῖσθαι μὲν οὐδένα φαμένον, φιλίαν δὲ περὶ παντὸς τίθεσθαι μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν. ὃ τε Δρομικαίτης κατὰ τοὺς διαδόχους ἦν τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου³ Γετῶν βασιλεύς· ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν λαβὼν ζωγρίᾳ Λυσίμαχον ἐπιστρατεύσαντα αὐτῷ, δείξας τὴν πενίαν τὴν τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτάρκειαν, ἐκέλευσε τοῖς τοιοῦτοις μὴ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ φίλοις χρῆσθαι· ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν, ξενίσας καὶ συνθέμενος φιλίαν, ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν.

¹ παρὰ, Corais inserts ; so the later editors.

² οὐδένα, Groskurd emends to οὐδέν, and so Meineke ; but see οὐδένα in sixth line below.

³ τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου is probably a gloss ; Meineke deletes.

¹ Ptolemaeus Soter, "whom the Macedonians believed to be the son of Philip" of Macedon (Pausanias 1. 6), was founder of the Egyptian dynasty and reigned 323-285 B.C.

² Lagus married Arsinoë, a concubine of Philip.

returned with all speed to his home-land, after receiving gifts from the tribes in question and from Syrmus. And Ptolemaeus,¹ the son of Lagus,² says that on this expedition the Celti who lived about the Adriatic joined Alexander for the sake of establishing friendship and hospitality, and that the king received them kindly and asked them when drinking what it was that they most feared, thinking they would say himself, but that they replied they feared no one, unless it were that Heaven might fall on them, although indeed they added that they put above everything else the friendship of such a man as he. And the following are signs of the straightforwardness of the barbarians: first, the fact that Syrmus refused to consent to the debarkation upon the island and yet sent gifts and made a compact of friendship; and, secondly, that the Celti said that they feared no one, and yet valued above everything else the friendship of great men. Again, Dromichaetes was king of the Getae in the time of the successors of Alexander. Now he, when he captured Lysimachus³ alive, who had made an expedition against him, first pointed out the poverty both of himself and of his tribe and likewise their independence of others, and then bade him not to carry on war with people of that sort but rather to deal with them as friends; and after saying this he first entertained him as a guest, and made a compact of friendship, and then released him.

³ Lysimachus, one of Alexander's generals and successors, obtained Thrace as his portion in the division of the provinces after Alexander's death (323 B.C.), assuming the title of king 306 B.C. He was taken captive, and released, by Dromichaetes 291 B.C.

καὶ Πλάτων δὲ ἐν τῇ Πολιτεία τὴν θάλατταν ὡς πονηροδιδάσκαλον φεύγειν οἶεται δεῖν ὅτι πορρωτάτω τοὺς εὐ πολιτευσομένους καὶ μὴ οἰκεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῇ.¹

9. Ἐφορος δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ μὲν τῆς ἱστορίας, Εὐρώπῃ δ' ἐπιγραφομένη βίβλῳ, περιοδεύσας τὴν Εὐρώπην μέχρι Σκυθῶν ἐπὶ τέλει φησὶν εἶναι τῶν τε ἄλλων Σκυθῶν καὶ τῶν Σαυροματῶν τοὺς βίους ἀνομοίους· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι χαλεπούς, ὥστε καὶ ἀνθρωποφαγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἀπέχεσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι, φησί, τὰ περὶ τῆς ὠμότητος αὐτῶν λέγουσιν, εἰδότες τὸ δεῖν² δὲ τὰναντία καὶ λέγειν καὶ παραδείγματα ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὖν περὶ τῶν δικαιοτάτοις ἤβησι χρωμένων ποιήσεσθαι τοὺς λόγους· εἶναι γὰρ τινὰς τῶν Νομάδων Σκυθῶν γάλακτι τρεφόμενους ἵππων, τῇ τε³ δικαιοσύνῃ πάντων διαφέρειν, μεμῆσθαι δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ποιητάς· Ὀμηρον μὲν

Γλακτοφάγων Ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων,

φήσαντα τὴν γῆν καθορᾶν τὸν Δία,⁴ Ἡσίοδον δ' ἐν⁵ τῇ καλουμένῃ Γῆς Περιόδῳ, τὸν Φινέα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρπυιῶν ἄγεσθαι

Γλακτοφάγων εἰς γαίαν, ἀπήναις⁶ οἰκί' ἐχόντων.

¹ καὶ Πλάτων . . . αὐτῇ, Meineke relegates to the foot of the page; Groskurd transfers back to end of § 7.

² δεῖν, Corais, for δεινόν; so the later editors.

³ τε, Corais inserts; so the later editors.

⁴ Δία, Tzschucke, for δέ; so the later editors.

⁵ δ', before ἐν, Meineke inserts (δέ, Kramer).

⁶ ἀπήναις, all editors, for ἀπηνέες.

Moreover, Plato in his *Republic* thinks that those who would have a well-governed city should flee as far as possible from the sea, as being a thing that teaches wickedness, and should not live near it.¹

9. Ephorus, in the fourth book of his history, the book entitled *Europe* (for he made the circuit² of Europe as far as the Scythians), says towards the end that the modes of life both of the Sauromatae and of the other Scythians are unlike, for, whereas some are so cruel that they even eat human beings, others abstain from eating any living creature whatever. Now the other writers, he says, tell only about their savagery, because they know that the terrible and the marvellous are startling, but one should tell the opposite facts too and make them patterns of conduct, and he himself, therefore, will tell only about those who follow "most just" habits, for there are some of the Scythian Nomads who feed only on mare's milk,³ and excel all men in justice; and they are mentioned by the poets: by Homer, when he says that Zeus spies the land "of the Galactophagi and Abii, men most just," and by Hesiod, in what is called his *Circuit of the Earth*,⁴ when he says that Phineus is carried by the Storm Winds "to the land of the Galactophagi, who have their dwellings in wagons." Then Ephorus reasons out

¹ Corais and Groskurd point out that the reference should have been, not to the *Republic*, but to the *Laws* (4. 704-705), where Plato discusses the proper place for founding a city; cp. Aristotle's *Politics* (7. 6) on the same subject.

² In his description, not literally.

³ Cp. the similar statement in 7. 3. 7.

⁴ This poem seems to have comprised the third book of the *Megalae Eoae* (now lost). See Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Hesiodus," p. 1206.

C 303 εἰτ' αἰτιολογεῖ, διότι ταῖς διαίταις εὐτελεῖς ὄντες καὶ οὐ χρηματισταὶ πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους εὐνομούνται, κοινὰ πάντα ἔχοντες τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα καὶ τὴν ὄλην συγγένειαν, πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἄμαχοί εἰσι καὶ ἀνίκητοι, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὑπὲρ οὐ δουλεύσουσι. καλεῖ δὲ καὶ Χοιρίλον, εἰπόντα ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τῆς σχεδίας, ἦν ἔξευξε Δαρείους·

μηλονόμοι τε Σάκαι, γενεᾷ Σκύθαι· αὐτὰρ ἔναιον

Ἄσιδα πυροφόρον· Νομάδων γε μὲν ἦσαν ἄποικοι,

ἀνθρώπων νομίμων.

καὶ τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν δὲ σοφὸν καλῶν ὁ Ἔφορος τούτου τοῦ γένους φησὶν εἶναι· νομισθῆναι δὲ καὶ τῶν¹ ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ἓνα τελεία² σωφροσύνη καὶ συνέσει· εὐρήματά τε αὐτοῦ λέγει τὰ τε ζώπυρα καὶ τὴν ἀμφίβολον ἄγκυραν καὶ τὸν κεραμικὸν τροχόν. ταῦτα δὲ λέγω, σαφῶς μὲν εἰδῶς ὅτι καὶ οὗτος αὐτὸς οὐ τἀληθέστατα³ λέγει περὶ πάντων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀναχάρσιδος (πῶς γὰρ ὁ τροχὸς εὐρημα αὐτοῦ, ὃν οἶδεν Ὀμηρὸς πρῆσβυπερος ὢν ;

ὡς δ' ὅτε τις κεραμεὺς τροχὸν ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃσι,

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς).⁴ ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα διασημῆναι βουλό-

¹ τῶν, before ἑπτὰ, Corais inserts ; so Meineke.

² ἓνα τελεία (the reading of the MSS.), Jones restores, for ἐν εὐτελείᾳ (Kramer) ; ἐπ' εὐτελείᾳ (Meineke).

³ οὐ τἀληθέστατα, Corais, for οὐτε ἀληθέστατα ; so Meineke.

⁴ ὡς δ' ὅτε . . . ἐξῆς. Meineke relegates to the foot of the page.

the cause as follows: since they are frugal in their ways of living and not money-getters, they not only are orderly towards one another, because they have all things in common, their wives, children, the whole of their kin and everything, but also remain invincible and unconquered by outsiders, because they have nothing to be enslaved for. And he cites Choerilus¹ also, who, in his *The Crossing of the Pontoon-Bridge* which was constructed by Dareius,² says, "the sheep-tending Sacae, of Scythian stock ; but they used to live in wheat-producing Asia ; however, they were colonists from the Nomads, law-abiding people." And when he calls Anacharsis "wise," Ephorus says that he belongs to this race, and that he was considered also one of Seven Wise Men because of his perfect self-control and good sense. And he goes on to tell the inventions of Anacharsis—the bellows, the two-fluked anchor and the potter's wheel. These things I tell knowing full well that Ephorus himself does not tell the whole truth about everything ; and particularly in his account of Anacharsis (for how could the wheel be his invention, if Homer, who lived in earlier times, knew of it? "As when a potter his wheel that fits in his hands,"³ and so on) ; but as for those

¹ Not, apparently, the tragic poet, contemporary of Aeschylus, but the epic poet of Samos (fl. towards the end of the fifth century B.C.), who wrote, among other poems, an epic poem (exact title uncertain) based on the Persian Wars. *The Crossing of the Pontoon-Bridge* was probably a sub-title of the epic. The same Choerilus is cited in 14. 5. 9.

² In his campaign against the Scythians, including the Getae, as described by Herodotus (4. 83-93) ; see 7. 3. 15.

³ *Iliad* 18. 600.

μενος, ὅτι κοινή τινι φήμη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὕστερον¹ πεπιστεῦσθαι συνέβαινε τὸ τῶν Νομάδων, τοὺς μάλιστα ἀπφικισμένους ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων γαλακτοφάγους τε εἶναι καὶ ἀβίους καὶ δικαιοτάτους, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου πεπλάσθαι.

10. Περὶ τε τῶν Μυσῶν δίκαιός ἐστιν ὑποσχεῖν λόγον τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι λεγομένων Ἀπολλοδώρου, πότερ' ἡγεῖται καὶ τούτους εἶναι πλάσματα, ὅταν φῆ ὁ ποιητής·

Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγανῶν Ἴππημολγῶν, ἢ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δέχεται; τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δεχόμενος παρερμηνεύσει τὸν ποιητήν, ὡς προείρηται, πλάσμα δὲ² λέγων, ὡς μὴ ὄντων ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ Μυσῶν, παρὰ τὰ ὄντα ἐρεῖ.³ ἔτι γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γοῦν⁴ Αἴλιος Κάτος μετώκισεν ἐκ τῆς περαιῆς τοῦ Ἰστρου πέντε μυριάδας σωματίων παρὰ τῶν Γετῶν, ὁμογλώττου τοῖς Θραξίν ἔθνοισι, εἰς τὴν Θράκην· καὶ νῦν οἰκοῦσιν αὐτόθι Μοισοὶ⁵ καλούμενοι, ἧτοι καὶ τῶν πρότερον οὕτω καλουμένων, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Μυσῶν μετονομασθέντων, ἢ, ὅπερ οἰκειότερόν ἐστι τῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὑποφάσει τοῦ ποιητοῦ, τῶν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ Μυσῶν καλουμένων πρότερον. περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἄλλισ' ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξῆς περιήγησιν.

¹ For ὕστερον, Meineke reads ὑστέρον, following A.

² δὲ, after πλάσμα, Corais inserts; so the later editors.

³ ἐρεῖ, after ὄντα, Corais inserts; so the later editors.

⁴ γοῦν, Meineke deletes, following no.

⁵ Μοισοί, Tyrwhitt, for Μυσοί; so the later editors.

¹ Cp. 7. 3. C.

² 7. 3. 2.

other things, I tell them because I wish to make my point clear that there actually was a common report, which was believed by the men of both early and of later times, that a part of the Nomads, I mean those who had settled the farthest away from the rest of mankind, were "galactophagi," "abii," and "most just," and that they were not an invention of Homer.

10. It is but fair, too, to ask Apollodorus to account for the Mysians that are mentioned in the verses of Homer, whether he thinks that these too are inventions¹ (when the poet says, "and the Mysians, hand-to-hand fighters and the proud Hippemolgi"), or takes the poet to mean the Mysians in Asia. Now if he takes the poet to mean those in Asia, he will misinterpret him, as I have said before,² but if he calls them an invention, meaning that there were no Mysians in Thrace, he will contradict the facts; for at any rate, even in our own times, Aelius Catus³ transplanted from the country on the far side of the Ister into Thrace⁴ fifty thousand persons from among the Getae, a tribe with the same tongue as the Thracians.⁵ And they live there in Thrace now and are called "Moesi"—whether it be that their people of earlier times were so called and that in Asia the name was changed to "Mysi,"⁶ or (what is more apposite to history and the declaration of the poet) that in earlier times their people in Thrace were called "Mysi." Enough, however, on this subject. I shall now go back to the next topic in the general description.

³ Perhaps as governor of Macedonia. He was consul with C. Sentius 4 A. D.

⁴ Lower Moesia.

⁵ Cp. 7. 3. 2.

⁶ See 7. 3. 4.

11. Τῶν δὲ Γετῶν τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ ἀφείσθω, τὰ δ' εἰς ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρξε. Βοιρεβίστας, ἀνὴρ Γέτης, ἐπιστάς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπιστάσιαν, ἀνέλαβε κεκακωμένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ συχῶν πολέμων καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπῆρεν ἀσκήσει καὶ νήψει καὶ τῷ προσέχειν τοῖς προστάγμασιν,¹
 C 304 ὥστ' ὀλίγων ἐτῶν μεγάλην ἀρχὴν κατεστήσατο, καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων τοὺς πλείστους ὑπέταξε τοῖς Γέταις· ἤδη δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φοβερὸς ἦν, διαβαίνων ἀδεῶς τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ τὴν Θράκην λεηλατῶν μέχρι Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, τοὺς τε Κελτοὺς τοὺς ἀναμειγμένους τοῖς τε Θραξῖ καὶ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐξεπόρθησε, Βοῖους δὲ καὶ ἄρδην ἠφάνισε τοὺς ὑπὸ Κριτασίρω καὶ Ταυρίσκους. πρὸς δὲ τὴν εὐπείθειαν τοῦ ἔθνους συναγωνιστὴν ἔσχε Δεκαίνεον ἄνδρα γόητα, καὶ² πεπλανημένον κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καὶ προσημασίας ἐκμεμαθηκότα τινάς, δι' ὧν ὑπεκρίνετο τὰ θεῖα· καὶ δι' ὀλίγου καθίστατο θεός, καθάπερ ἔφαμεν περὶ τοῦ Ζαμόλξεως διηγούμενοι. τῆς δ' εὐπειθείας σημεῖον· ἐπίεσθησαν γὰρ ἐκκόψαι τὴν ἄμπελον καὶ ζῆν οἶνον χωρὶς. ὁ μὲν οὖν Βοιρεβίστας ἔφθη καταλυθεὶς ἐπαναστάντων αὐτῷ τινων, πρὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους στείλαι στρατείαν ἐπ' αὐτόν· οἱ δὲ

¹ πράγμασιν (BCI).

² καί, Corais encloses in brackets; Meineke deletes.

¹ Also spelled Byrebistas (see 7. 3. 5 and footnote).

² See 7. 3. 2 and 7. 5. 1.

³ Also a Celtic tribe (7. 3. 2).

⁴ 7. 5. 2.

11. As for the Getae, then, their early history must be left untold, but that which pertains to our own times is about as follows: Boerebistas¹ a Getan, on setting himself in authority over the tribe, restored the people, who had been reduced to an evil plight by numerous wars, and raised them to such a height through training, sobriety, and obedience to his commands that within only a few years he had established a great empire and subordinated to the Getae most of the neighbouring peoples. And he began to be formidable even to the Romans, because he would cross the Ister with impunity and plunder Thrace as far as Macedonia and the Illyrian country; and he not only laid waste the country of the Celti who were intermingled² with the Thracians and the Illyrians, but actually caused the complete disappearance of the Boii³ who were under the rule of Critasirus,⁴ and also of the Taurisci.⁵ To help him secure the complete obedience of his tribe he had as his coadjutor Decaeneus,⁶ a wizard, a man who not only had wandered through Egypt, but also had thoroughly learned certain prognostics through which he would pretend to tell the divine will; and within a short time he was set up as god (as I said when relating the story of Zamolxis).⁷ The following is an indication of their complete obedience: they were persuaded to cut down their vines and to live without wine. However, certain men rose up against Boerebistas and he was deposed before the Romans sent an expedition against him;⁸ and those who

⁵ Also under the rule of Critasirus (7. 5. 2).

⁶ See 7. 3. 5.

⁷ 7. 3. 5.

⁸ Cp. 7. 3. 5.

διαδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς πλείω μέρη διέστησαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν, ἡνίκα ἔπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεῖαν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ, εἰς πέντε μερίδας,¹ τότε δὲ εἰς τέσσαρας διεστῶτες ἐτύγχανον· οἱ μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτοι μερισμοὶ πρόσκαιροι καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλοι.

12. Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος τῆς χώρας μερισμὸς συμμένων ἐκ παλαιοῦ· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Δακοὺς προσαγορεύουσι, τοὺς δὲ Γέτας· Γέτας μὲν τοὺς πρὸς τὸν Πόντον κεκλιμένους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἕω, Δακοὺς δὲ τοὺς εἰς τὰναντία πρὸς τὴν Γερμανίαν καὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἰστρου πηγάς, οὓς οἶμαι Δάους καλεῖσθαι τὸ παλαιόν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἐπεπόλασε τὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὀνόματα Γέται καὶ Δᾶοι. τοῦτο γὰρ πιθανώτερον ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν Σκυθῶν οὓς καλοῦσι Δάας· πόρρω γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι περὶ τὴν Ἰρκανίαν, καὶ οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐκεῖθεν κομίζεσθαι ἀνδράποδα εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. ἐξ ὧν γὰρ ἐκομίζετο, ἢ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκείνοις ὁμωνύμους ἐκάλουν τοὺς οἰκέτας, ὡς Λυδὸν καὶ Σύρον, ἢ τοῖς ἐπιπολάζουσιν ἐκεῖ ὀνόμασι προσηγόρευον, ὡς Μάνην ἢ Μίδαν τὸν Φρύγα, Τίβιον δὲ τὸν Παφλαγόνα. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ'² ὑπὸ τοῦ Βοερεβίστα τὸ ἔθνος ἐξαρθὲν ἐταπεινώθη τελῶς ὑπὸ τε τῶν στάσεων καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων· ἱκανοὶ δ' ὁμοῦ εἰσὶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν στέλλειν τέτταρας μυριάδας.

¹ μερίδας, Casaubon, for μυριάδας.

² δ' before ὑπό, Casaubon inserts; so the later editors.

succeeded him divided the empire into several parts. In fact, only recently, when Augustus Caesar sent an expedition against them, the number of parts into which the empire had been divided was five, though at the time of the insurrection it had been four. Such divisions, to be sure, are only temporary and vary with the times.

12. But there is also another division of the country which has endured from early times, for some of the people are called Daci, whereas others are called Getae—Getae, those who incline towards the Pontus and the east, and Daci, those who incline in the opposite direction towards Germany and the sources of the Ister. The Daci, I think, were called Daī in early times; whence the slave names "Geta" and "Daüs"¹ which prevailed among the Attic people; for this is more probable than that "Daüs" is from those Scythians who are called "Daae,"² for they live far away in the neighbourhood of Hyrcania, and it is not reasonable to suppose that slaves were brought into Attica from there; for the Attic people were wont either to call their slaves by the same names as those of the nations from which they were brought (as "Lydus" or "Syrus"), or addressed them by names that were prevalent in their countries (as "Manes" or else "Midas" for the Phrygian, or "Tibius" for the Paphlagonian). But though the tribe was raised to such a height by Boerebistas, it has been completely humbled by its own seditions and by the Romans; nevertheless, they are capable, even to-day, of sending forth an army of forty thousand men.

¹ In Latin, "Davus."

² Cp. 11. 7. 1, 8. 2, 9. 2.

13. Πρὶ δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Μάρισος ποταμὸς εἰς τὸν Δανούιον, ᾧ τὰς παρασκευὰς ἀνεκόμεζον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄνω καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς μέρη μέχρι τῶν καταρακτῶν Δανούιον προσηγόρευον, ἃ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν Δακῶν φέρεται, τὰ δὲ κάτω μέχρι τοῦ Πόντου τὰ παρὰ τοὺς Γέτας καλοῦσιν Ἰστρον ὁμόγλωττοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Δακοὶ τοῖς Γέταις. παρὰ μὲν οὖν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οἱ Γέται γινωρίζονται μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ συνεχεῖς τὰς μεταναστάσεις ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς Θραξί¹ καὶ τοῖς Μυσοῖς² ἀναμειχθαι· καὶ τὸ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν δ' ἔθνος, Θρακικὸν ὄν, τὸ αὐτὸ πέπονθε τοῦτο. μεταναστάσεις γὰρ δέδεκται, τῶν πλησιοχώρων εἰς τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἔξανασιτάντων,³ τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς περαίας Σκυθῶν καὶ Βασταρνῶν καὶ Σαυροματῶν ἐπικρατούντων πολλάκις, ὥστε καὶ ἐπιδιαβαίνειν τοῖς ἐξελαθείσι καὶ καταμένειν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἢ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ἢ ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ· τῶν δ' ἐκ θατέρου μέρους ὑπ' Ἰλλυριῶν μάλιστα κατισχυομένων. αὐξηθέντες δ' οὖν ἐπὶ πλείστον οἱ τε Γέται οἱ τε Δακοί, ὥστε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐκπέμπειν στρατείας, νῦν ὅσον εἰς τέτταρας μυριάδας συνεσταλμένοι τυγχάνουσι καὶ ἐγγὺς μὲν ἦκουσι τοῦ ὑπακούειν Ῥωμαίων· οὐπω δ' εἰσὶν

¹ καὶ τοῖς Θραξί, inadvertently omitted by Kramer and Meineke.

² Μυσοῖς, Meineke emends to Μοισοῖς (unnecessarily here).

³ ἔξανασιτάντων (ABC), Jones restores; ἔξανασιτάντων (E); ἔξανασιτάντων (Kramer, Müller-Dübner, Meineke).

13. The Marisus River flows through their country into the Danuvius,¹ on which the Romans used to convey their equipment for war; the "Danuvius" I say, for so they used to call the upper part of the river from near its sources on to the cataracts, I mean the part which in the main flows through the country of the Daci, although they give the name "Ister" to the lower part, from the cataracts on to the Pontus, the part which flows past the country of the Getae. The language of the Daci is the same as that of the Getae. Among the Greeks, however, the Getae are better known because the migrations they make to either side of the Ister are continuous, and because they are intermingled with the Thracians and Mysians. And also the tribe of the Triballi, likewise Thracian, has had this same experience, for it has admitted migrations into this country, because the neighbouring peoples force them² to emigrate into the country of those who are weaker; that is, the Scythians and Bastarnians and Sauromatians on the far side of the river often prevail to the extent that they actually cross over to attack those whom they have already driven out, and some of them remain there, either in the islands or in Thrace, whereas those³ on the other side are generally overpowered by the Illyrians. Be that as it may, although the Getae and Daci once attained to very great power, so that they actually could send forth an expedition of two hundred thousand men, they now find themselves reduced to as few as forty thousand, and they have come close to the point of yielding obedience to the Romans, though as yet

¹ The Getae.

² Getae.

ὑποχείριοι τελῶς διὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν Γερμανῶν ἐλπίδας, πολεμίων ὄντων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

14. Μεταξὺ δὲ¹ τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάττης τῆς ἀπὸ Ἰστρου ἐπὶ Τύραν καὶ ἡ τῶν Γετῶν ἐρημία πρόκειται, πεδιάς πᾶσα καὶ ἀνυδρὸς, ἐν ἣ Δαρεῖος ἀποληφθεὶς² ὁ Ἰστιάσπεω, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν διέβη τὸν Ἰστρου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας, ἐκινδύνευσεν πανστρατιά διψῆ διαλυθῆναι, συνήκε δ' ὄψιν καὶ ἀνέστρεψε. Λυσίμαχος δ' ὕστερον στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Γέτας καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Δρομιχαίτην οὐκ ἐκινδύνευσεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐλόω ζωγρία· πάλιν δ' ἐσώθη, τυχὼν εὐγνώμονος τοῦ βαρβάρου, καθ' ἃπερ εἶπον πρότερον.

15. Πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς μεγάλης νησὸς ἐστὶν ἡ Πεύκη· κατασχόντες δ' αὐτὴν Βαστάρναι Πευκῖνοι προσηγορεύθησαν· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι νῆσοι πολλὴ ἐλάττους, αἱ μὲν ἀνωτέρω ταύτης, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ. ἑπτάστομος γάρ ἐστι· μέγιστον δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν στόμα καλούμενον, δι' οὗ

¹ After μεταξὺ δέ, Meineke (following Groskurd) wrongly inserts Γετῶν καὶ (cp. μεταξὺ δὲ κ.τ.λ., 6. 3. 11).

² ἀπολειφθεὶς (ABC); cp. ἀποληφθεὶς and footnote, 6. 1. 12.

¹ The Dniester.

² As in a trap. Cp. the experience of Milo in 6. 1. 12 where the same Greek word is used.

³ 7. 3. 8.

⁴ Literally, "Pine" Island. The term "Peuce" was applied also to what is now the St. George branch of the delta, which branch was the southern boundary of the island.

⁵ Strabo seems to mean by "Sacred Mouth" what is now the Dunavez branch of the delta, which turns off from the St. George branch into a lagoon called Lake Ragim, which

they are not absolutely submissive, because of the hopes which they base on the Germans, who are enemies to the Romans.

14. In the intervening space, facing that part of the Pontic Sea which extends from the Ister to the Tyras,¹ lies the Desert of the Getae, wholly flat and waterless, in which Darius the son of Hystaspis was caught² on the occasion when he crossed the Ister to attack the Scythians and ran the risk of perishing from thirst, army and all; however, he belatedly realised his error and turned back. And, later on, Lysimachus, in his expedition against the Getae and King Dromichaetes, not only ran the risk but actually was captured alive; but he again came off safely, because he found the barbarian kind-hearted, as I said before.³

15. Near the outlets of the Ister River is a great island called Peuce;⁴ and when the Bastarnians took possession of it they received the appellation of Peucini. There are still other islands which are much smaller; some of these are farther inland than Peuce, while others are near the sea, for the river has seven mouths. The largest of these mouths is what is called the Sacred Mouth,⁵ on

opens into the sea at the Portidje mouth; for (1) the length of the Dunavez to the lake is about 120 stadia, and (2) what is known about the alluvial deposits and topographical changes in the delta clearly indicates that the lake once had a wide and deep opening into the sea. Ptolemaeus (3. 10. 2), in giving the names of the mouths, refers to what is now the St. George branch as "Sacred Mouth or Peuce," thus making the two identical; but Strabo forces a distinction by referring to the inland voyage of 120 stadia, since the branch (Peuce) is a boundary of the island (Peuce). Cp. M. Besnier, *Lexique de Géographie Ancienne*, s.v. "Peuce," and Pauly-Wisowa, s.v. "Danuvius," pp. 217-20.

σταδίων ἀνάπλους ἐπὶ τὴν Πεύκην ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, ἧς κατὰ τὸ κάτω μέρος ἐποίησε τὸ ζεῦγμα Δαρείος, δύναιτο δ' ἂν ζευχθῆναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄνω. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρῶτόν ἐστι στόμα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ εἰσπλέοντι εἰς τὸν Πόντον· τὰ δ' ἐξῆς ἐν παράπλω τῷ ἐπὶ τὸν Τύραν διέχει δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔβδομον στόμα περὶ τριακοσίου σταδίου. γίνονται οὖν μεταξὺ τῶν στομάτων νησίδες. τὰ μὲν δὴ τρία στόματα τὰ ἐφεξῆς τῷ ἱερῷ στόματι ἐστὶ μικρά· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοῦ μὲν πολὺ ἐλάττονα, τῶν δὲ μείζονα. Ἐφορος δὲ πεντάστομον εἶρηκε τὸν Ἴστρον. ἐντεύθεν δ' ἐπὶ Τύραν C 306 ποταμὸν πλωτὸν ἐννακόσιοι στάδιοι· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ δύο λίμναι μεγάλαι, ἡ μὲν ἀνεωγμένη πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, ὥστε καὶ λιμένι χρῆσθαι, ἡ δ' ἄστομος.

16. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Τύρα πύργος ἐστὶ Νεοπτολέμου καλούμενος καὶ κώμη Ἑρμώνακτος λεγομένη. ἀναπλεύσαντι δὲ ἑκατὸν τετταράκοντα σταδίου ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πόλεις, ἡ μὲν Νικωνία, ἡ δ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ὀφιοῦσσα· οἱ δὲ προσοικούντες τῷ ποταμῷ πόλιν φασὶν ἀνιόντι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίου. διέχει δὲ τοῦ στόματος ἡ νῆσος ἡ

¹ Cp. 7. 3. 9.

² From the Sea of Marmara through the Bosphorus.

³ Strabo and Ptolemaeus (3. 10. 7) agree in placing the "mouth of the Tyras" at the outlet of the lake (into the Pontus), not at what was the outlet proper (into the lake), nor yet at the narrowest part of the lake where the city of Tyras (now Akkerman) was situated.

⁴ According to Forbiger (Strabo, Vol. II, p. 89, footnote) this tower was "recently" (about 1850) discovered at the end of the west coast of the lake. Cp. the Towers of Caepio (3. 1. 9), Pelorus (3. 5. 5), and Pharos (17. 1. 6).

which one can sail inland a hundred and twenty stadia to Peuce. It was at the lower part of Peuce that Dareius made his pontoon-bridge,¹ although the bridge could have been constructed at the upper part also. The Sacred Mouth is the first mouth on the left as one sails² into the Pontus; the others come in order thereafter as one sails along the coast towards the Tyras; and the distance from it to the seventh mouth is about three hundred stadia. Accordingly, small islands are formed between the mouths. Now the three mouths that come next in order after the Sacred Mouth are small, but the remaining mouths are much smaller than it, but larger than any one of the three. According to Ephorus, however, the Ister has only five mouths. Thence to the Tyras, a navigable river, the distance is nine hundred stadia. And in the interval are two large lakes—one of them opening into the sea, so that it can also be used as a harbour, but the other mouthless.

16. At the mouth³ of the Tyras is what is called the Tower of Neoptolemus,⁴ and also what is called the village of Hermonax.⁵ And on sailing inland one hundred and forty stadia one comes to two cities, one on each side, Niconia⁶ on the right and Ophiussa⁷ on the left. But the people who live near the river speak of a city one hundred and twenty stadia inland.⁸ Again, at a distance of five

⁵ The exact site of the village is unknown, but Strabo certainly places it at the mouth. Ptolemaeus (3. 10. 7), places it 10 miles (in latitude) farther south than the mouth.

⁶ Niconia was situated on the lake near what is now Ovidiopol.

⁷ According to Pliny (4. 26), the earlier name of Tyras was Ophiussa; but this is doubtful.

⁸ Tyras, on the site of what is now Akkerman.

Λευκή διάρμα πεντακοσίων σταδίων, ἱερὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, πελαγία.

17. Ἐἴτα Βορυσθένης ποταμὸς πλωτὸς ἐφ' ἑξακοσίου σταδίου καὶ πλησίον ἄλλος ποταμὸς Ἰπανίς καὶ νῆσος πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Βορυσθένου, ἔχουσα λιμένα. πλεύσαντι δὲ τὸν Βορυσθένη σταδίου διακοσίου ὁμώνυμος τῷ ποταμῷ πόλις ἢ δ' αὐτὴ καὶ Ὀλβία καλεῖται, μέγα ἐμπόριον, κτίσμα Μιλησίων. ἢ δὲ ὑπερκειμένη πᾶσα χώρα τοῦ λεχθέντος μεταξὺ Βορυσθένου καὶ Ἰστρου πρώτη μὲν ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν Γετῶν ἐρημία, ἔπειτα οἱ Τυρεγέται, μεθ' οὓς οἱ Ἰάζυγες Σαρμάται καὶ οἱ Βασίλειοι λεγόμενοι καὶ Οὔργοι,¹ τὸ μὲν πλεον νομάδες, ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ γεωργίας ἐπιμελούμενοι· τούτους φασὶ καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον οἰκεῖν, ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολλάκις. ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ Βαστάρναι μὲν τοῖς Τυρεγέταις ὄμοροι καὶ Γερμανοῖς, σχεδόν τι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ γένους ὄντες, εἰς πλείω φύλα διηρημένοι. καὶ γὰρ Ἀτμονοὶ λέγονταί τινες καὶ Σιδόνες, οἱ δὲ τῆν

¹ For Οὔργοι, Mannert conjectures Γεωργοί, and C. Müller, Ἀγάθυρσοι. But in the margin of A, *pr. m.*, is found Οὐγγροὶ νῦν, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ Τούρκοι λέγονται. See Theoph. on Photius, 64, and Suidas, *s. v.* Βόσπορος.

¹ "White" Island (now Ilan-Adassi); known as "Isle of the Blest" (Pliny 4. 27); where the shade of Achilles was united to that of Helen.

² The Dnieper.

³ The Bog.

⁴ Now Berezan (see C. Müller, *Ptolemaeus*, Didot edition, note on 3. 10. 9, p. 471).

⁵ Now in ruins, near Nickolaiev.

⁶ Now Bessarabia.

⁷ The city and territory of Tyras.

hundred stadia from the mouth is the island called Leuce,¹ which lies in the high sea and is sacred to Achilles.

17. Then comes the Borysthenes River,² which is navigable for a distance of six hundred stadia; and, near it, another river, the Hypanis,³ and off the mouth of the Borysthenes, an island⁴ with a harbour. On sailing up the Borysthenes two hundred stadia one comes to a city of the same name as the river, but the same city is also called Olbia;⁵ it is a great trading centre and was founded by Milesians. Now the whole country that lies above the said seaboard between the Borysthenes and the Ister consists, first, of the Desert of the Getae;⁶ then the country of the Tyregetans;⁷ and after it the country of the Iazygian Sarmatians and that of the people called the Basileians⁸ and that of the Uрги,⁹ who in general are nomads, though a few are interested also in farming; these people, it is said, dwell also along the Ister, often on both sides. In the interior dwell, first, those Bastarnians whose country borders on that of the Tyregetans and Germans—they also being, one might say, of Germanic stock; and they are divided up into several tribes, for a part of them are called Atmoni and Sidoni, while those who took

⁸ Called by Herodotus (4. 20, 22, 56, 57, 59) the "Basileian ('Royal') Scythians," but by Ptolemaeus (5. 9. 16) the "Basileian Sarmatians."

⁹ The "Urgi" are otherwise unknown. In the margin of Manuscript A, first hand, are these words: "Ungri"⁵ (cp. 'Hungarians') "now, though the same are also called Turci" (cp. 'Turks'). But the editors in general regard "Urgi" as corrupt, and conjecture either "Georgi" (literally, "Farmers"; cp. 7. 4. 6 and Herodotus 4. 18) or "Agathyrsi" (cp. Herodotus 4. 125).

Πεύκη κατασχόντες τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἴστρῳ νῆσον Πευκῖνοι, Ῥωξολανοὶ δ' ἀρκτικώτατοι τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Ταναΐδος καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένους νεμόμενοι πεδιά. ἡ γὰρ προσἀρκτικός πᾶσα ἀπὸ Γερμανίας μέχρι τῆς Κασπίας πεδιάς ἐστίν, ἣν ἴσμεν ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Ῥωξολανῶν εἶ τινες οἰκοῦσιν, οὐκ ἴσμεν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωξολανοὶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μιθριδάτου τοῦ Εὐπάτορος στρατηγούς ἐπολέμουν, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα Τάσιον ἠκον δὲ Παλάκῳ συμμαχήσαντες τῷ Σκιλούρου, καὶ ἐδόκουν μὲν εἶναι μάχιμοι πρὸς μέντοι συντεταγμένην φάλαγγα καὶ ὠπλισμένην καλῶς τὸ βάρβαρον φύλον ἀσθενὲς πᾶν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ γυμνητικόν. ἐκεῖνοι γοῦν περὶ πέντε μυριάδας πρὸς ἑξακισχιλίου¹ τοὺς Διοφάντῳ, τῷ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγῷ, συμπαραταξαμένους οὐκ ἀντέσχον, ἀλλ' οἱ πλείστοι διεφθάρησαν. χρώνται δὲ ὠμοβοῖνοις κράνεσι καὶ θώραξι, γερροφόροι, ἀμυντήρια δ' ἔχοντες καὶ λόγχας καὶ τόξον καὶ ξίφος· τοιοῦτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους.

C 307 τῶν δὲ Νομάδων αἱ σκηναὶ πλωταὶ πεπηγήσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀμάξαις, ἐν αἷς διαιτῶνται· περὶ δὲ τὰς σκηναὺς τὰ βοσκήματα, ἀφ' ὧν τρέφονται καὶ γάλακτι καὶ τυρῷ καὶ κρέασιν· ἀκολουθοῦσι δὲ ταῖς νομαῖς μεταλαμβάνοντες τόπους αἰεὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας πόαν, χειμῶνος μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι τοῖς περὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν, θέρους δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις.

18. Ἄπασα δ' ἡ χώρα δυσχείμερός ἐστὶ μέχρι

¹ ἑξακισχιλίου, Tzschucke, for ἑξ; so the editors.

¹ The Dnieper.

² King of Pontus 120-63 B.C.

possession of Peuce, the island in the Ister, are called "Peucini," whereas the "Roxolani" (the most northerly of them all) roam the plains between the Tanaïs and the Borysthenes.¹ In fact, the whole country towards the north from Germany as far as the Caspian Sea is, so far as we know it, a plain, but whether any people dwell beyond the Roxolani we do not know. Now the Roxolani, under the leadership of Tasius, carried on war even with the generals of Mithridates Eupator;² they came for the purpose of assisting Palacus,³ the son of Scilurus, as his allies, and they had the reputation of being warlike; yet all barbarian races and light-armed peoples are weak when matched against a well-ordered and well-armed phalanx. At any rate, those people, about fifty thousand strong, could not hold out against the six thousand men arrayed with Diophantus, the general of Mithridates, and most of them were destroyed. They use helmets and corselets made of raw ox-hides, carry wicker shields, and have for weapons spears, bow, and sword; and most of the other barbarians are armed in this way. As for the Nomads, their tents, made of felt, are fastened on the wagons in which they spend their lives; and round about the tents are the herds which afford the milk, cheese, and meat on which they live; and they follow the grazing herds, from time to time moving to other places that have grass, living only in the marsh-meadows about Lake Maeotis in winter, but also in the plains in summer.

18. The whole of the country has severe winters

³ A prince in the Tauric Chersonese (now the Crimea); ep. 7. 4. 3.

τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τόπων τῶν μεταξὺ Βορυσθένους καὶ τοῦ στόματος τῆς Μαιώτιδος· αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τὰ ἀρκτικώτατα τό τε στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένους καὶ¹ ὁ μυχὸς τοῦ Ταμυράκου κόλπου, καὶ² Καρκινίτου,³ καθ' ὃν ὁ ἰσθμὸς τῆς μεγάλης Χερρονήσου. δηλοῖ δὲ τὰ ψύχη, καίπερ ἐν πεδίοις οἰκούντων ὄνους τε γὰρ οὐ τρέφουσι (δύσριγον γὰρ τὸ ζῷον), οἷ τε βόες οἱ μὲν ἄκερω γεννῶνται, τῶν δ' ἀπορρινῶσι τὰ κέρατα (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δύσριγον τὸ μέρος), οἷ τε ἵπποι μικροί, τὰ δὲ πρόβατα μεγάλα· ῥήττονται δὲ χαλκαὶ ὑδρῖαι, τὰ δ' ἐνόητα συμπήττεται. τῶν δὲ πάγων ἢ σφοδρότης μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν συμβαινόντων περὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος δηλὸς ἐστίν. ἀμαξέυεται γὰρ ὁ διάπλους ὁ εἰς Φαναγορίαν ἐκ τοῦ Παντικαπαίου, ὥστε καὶ πάγον⁴ εἶναι καὶ ὄδον· ὄρυκτοὶ τέ εἰσιν ἰχθύες οἱ ἀποληφθέντες⁵ ἐν τῷ κρυστάλλῳ τῇ προσαγορευομένῃ γαγγάμῃ, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ

¹ καί, Tzschucke inserts; so the later editors.

² τοῦ, before καί, Corais inserts, unnecessarily; so the other editors; cp. Ταυρικὴν καὶ Σκυθικὴν 7. 4. 1.

³ Καρκινίτου, Xylander, for Καρπηνήτου; so the later editors.

⁴ πάγον, Jones, for πηλόν (*mud*), omitted by E, a space for five letters being left. Others emend to πλοῦν (*voyage*). See ἐπὶ τῷ πάγῳ (*ice*), 2. 1. 16. Capps conjectures πόρον, which is most tempting.

⁵ ἀποληφθέντες (E); ἀπολειφθέντες (ABC).

¹ Now Karkinit Bay.

² The Tauric Chersonese, now the Crimea.

³ See 2. 1. 16.

as far as the regions by the sea that are between the Borysthenes and the mouth of Lake Maeotis; but of the regions themselves that are by the sea the most northerly are the mouth of the Maeotis and, still more northerly, the mouth of the Borysthenes, and the recess of the Gulf of Tamyraes,¹ or Carcinites, on which is the isthmus of the Great Chersonesus.² The coldness of these regions, albeit the people live in plains, is evident, for they do not breed asses, an animal that is very sensitive to cold; and as for their cattle, some are born without horns, while the horns of others are filed off, for this part of the animal is sensitive to cold; and the horses are small, whereas the sheep are large; and bronze water-jars burst³ and their contents freeze solid. But the severity of the frosts is most clearly evidenced by what takes place in the region of the mouth of Lake Maeotis: the waterway from Panticapaeum⁴ across to Phanagoria⁵ is traversed by wagons, so that it is both ice and roadway. And fish that become caught in the ice are obtained by digging⁶ with an implement called the "gangame,"⁷ and particularly the antacaei,⁸ which are about the

⁴ Now Kertch.

⁵ Near what is now Taman.

⁶ Strabo seems to mean that the fish were imbedded in the ice, and not that "the ice was first broken, and the fish extracted from the water beneath with a net" (Tozer, *Selections from Strabo*, p. 196).

⁷ A pronged instrument like a trident. Tozer (*loc. cit.*) takes "gangame" to mean here "a small round net;" but see Stephanus, Thesaurus, and especially Hesychius (*s.v.*).

⁸ A kind of sturgeon (see Herodotus 4. 53), being one of the fish from the roe of which the Russian *caviar* is now prepared.

ἀντακαῖοι, δελφίσι πᾶρισι τὸ μέγεθος. Νεοπτόλεμον¹ δέ φασι, τὸν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγόν, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πόρῳ θέρους μὲν ναυμαχία περιγε-
νέσθαι τῶν βαρβάρων, χειμῶνος δ' ἵππομαχία·
φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀμπελον ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ κατο-
ρῦττεσθαι χειμῶνος, ἐπαμώντων πολὺ τῆς γῆς.
λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰ καύματα σφοδρὰ γίνεσθαι,
τάχα μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ἀθιζομένων, τάχα δὲ
τῶν πεδίων ἀνηνεμούντων τότε, ἢ καὶ τοῦ πάχους
τοῦ ἀέρος ἐκθερμαινομένου πλέον, καθάπερ ἐν
τοῖς νέφεσιν οἱ παρήλιοι ποιοῦσιν. Ἀτέας δὲ
δοκεῖ τῶν πλείστων ἄρξει τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων
ὁ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολεμήσας τὸν Ἀμύντου.

19. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένους νῆσον
ἐξῆς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἤλιον ὁ πλοῦς ἐπὶ ἄκραν
τῆν τοῦ Ἀχιλλείου δρόμου, ψιλὸν μὲν χωρίον,
καλούμενον δ'² ἄλσος, ἱερὸν Ἀχιλλέως· εἶθ' ὁ
Ἀχιλλεῖος Δρόμος, ἀλιτενῆς χερρόνησος· ἔστι
γὰρ ταιῖα τις ὅσον χιλίων σταδίων μῆκος ἐπὶ
τὴν ἑῶ, πλάτος δὲ τὸ μέγιστον δυεῖν σταδίων,

¹ Νεοπτόλεμον . . . ἵππομαχία, Meineke transposes back to position after ὁδόν, unnecessarily (see footnote to translation).

² δ', Corais inserts; so the later editors.

¹ This sentence is transposed by Meineke to a position after the sentence that follows, but see footnote on "Carcinates," 7. 4. 1.

² Cp 2. 1. 16.

³ Aristotle (*Meteorologica* 3. 2. 6 and 3. 6. 5) refers to, and explains, the phenomena of the "parhelia" ("mock-suns") in the Bosphorus region.

⁴ According to Lucian (*Macrob.* 10) Antreas (*sic*) fell in the

size of dolphins.¹ It is said of Neoptolemus, the general of Mithridates, that in the same strait he overcame the barbarians in a naval engagement in summer and in a cavalry engagement in winter.² And it is further said that the vine in the Bosphorus region is buried during the winter, the people heaping quantities of earth upon it. And it is said that the heat too becomes severe, perhaps because the bodies of the people are unaccustomed to it, or perhaps because no winds blow on the plains at that time, or else because the air, by reason of its density, becomes superheated (like the effect of the parhelia³ in the clouds). It appears that Ateas,⁴ who waged war with Philip⁵ the son of Amyntas, ruled over most of the barbarians in this part of the world.

19. After the island⁶ that lies off the Borysthenes, and next towards the rising sun, one sails to the cape⁷ of the Race Course of Achilles, which, though a treeless place, is called *Alsos*⁸ and is sacred to Achilles. Then comes the Race Course of Achilles, a peninsula⁹ that lies flat on the sea; it is a ribbon-like stretch of land, as much as one thousand stadia

war with Philip when about ninety years of age. The Roman writers spell the name "Atheas."

⁵ 359-336 B.C.; the father of Alexander the Great.

⁶ See 7. 3. 17.

⁷ Now Cape Tendra.

⁸ *i.e.*, "a grove"; the word usually means a sacred precinct planted with trees, but is often used of any sacred precinct.

⁹ The western part (now an island) of this peninsula is called "Tendra," and the eastern, "Zharylgatch" (or "Djarilgatch"). According to ancient legends Achilles pursued Iphigeneia to this peninsula and there practised for his races.

C 308 ἐλάχιστον τεττάρων πλέθρων, διέχουσα τῆς ἐκα-
 τέρωθεν τοῦ ἀνέμου ἠπείρου σταδίου ἐξήκοντα,
 ἀμμώδης, ὕδωρ ἔχουσα ὀρυκτόν· κατὰ μέσσην δ'
 ὁ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ ἀνχὴν ὅσον τετταράκοντα σταδίων·
 τελευτᾶ δὲ πρὸς ἄκραν, ἣν Ταμυράκην καλοῦσιν,
 ἔχουσαν ὑφορμον βλέποντα πρὸς τὴν ἠπειρον·
 μεθ' ἣν ὁ Καρκινίτης¹ κόλπος εὐμεγέθης, ἀνέχων
 πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους ὅσον ἐπὶ σταδίου χιλίου, οἱ
 δὲ καὶ τριπλασίους φασὶ μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ· . . .²
 καλοῦνται δὲ Τάφριοι.³ τὸν δὲ κόλπον καὶ
 Ταμυράκην καλοῦσιν ὁμωνύμως τῇ ἄκρᾳ.

in length, extending towards the east; its maximum breadth is only two stadia, and its minimum only four plethra,¹ and it is only sixty stadia distant from the mainland that lies on either side of the neck. It is sandy,² and water may be had by digging. The neck of the isthmus is near the centre of the peninsula and is about forty stadia wide. It terminates in a cape called Tamyrace,³ which has a mooring-place that faces the mainland. And after this cape comes the Carcinites Gulf. It is a very large gulf, reaching up towards the north as far as one thousand stadia; some say, however, that the distance to its recess is three times as much. The people there are called Taphrians. The gulf is also called Tamyrace, the same name as that of the cape.