

Lost Geography: The Geographical Fragments of Daës of Coloniae, Democles of Phygela and Dionysius of Chalcis¹

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Introduction

Greek and Roman sources do not offer a clear definition of γεωγραφία, and it was never even an independent scholarly discipline.² Geographical themes appeared in almost every literary genre and works devoted to geographical issues were written in prose or verse, discussed the world as a whole or a region within it or dealt with either concepts or calculations. Scientists, mathematicians, astronomers, historians, philosophers, poets and travellers — all could produce written records discussing geographical issues. The following collection includes fragments containing geographical data by authors of varied identity and intellectual orientation.

It has long been recognized, even if not declared outright, that the *Geography* of Strabo is an encyclopedic compilation. It is neither arranged thematically nor does it include an organized catalogue, as opposed, for instance, to the *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny the Elder.³ However, it is definitely a collection of numerous items of information on a wide range of topics pertaining to the entire world known at the time (first century BCE). Strabo himself sets the standards for good geographical writing: its author must have acquired a broad range of learning (πολυμαθία), and his proposed audience must have had an encyclopedic training (ἐγκύκλιος ἀγωγή) (1.1.12; 1.1.22). The *Geography* is therefore a work that warrants being called encyclopedic because it includes copious and diversified data. The encyclopedic nature of the compilation, as well as its variety, are reflected in many modern studies that do not deal specifically with Strabo, yet often cite his work on very specific points. Three random examples of particular subjects

1 This article is the result of research supported by the Israel Science Foundation (ISF 254/08). I am grateful to Tal Relles-Shorer for her invaluable assistance and to Nurith Shoval for her comments. Thanks are due to the anonymous SCI referees as well as to the editors for their helpful comments.

2 The adjective γεωγραφικός is first attested as late as Eratosthenes (third century BCE). See LSJ, s.v. In the education of the Greek and Roman upper classes, children and adolescents studied geography only in its Homeric context or as the backdrop for historical events, mainly wars. For the place of geography within ancient education, see Marrou (1965), 265-279; Rawson (1985); Morgan (1998), esp. 33-39. Neither was history ever studied as a discipline. See discussion in Clarke (1999), 4-22.

3 Discussion in Doody (2010).

corroborated by Strabonian allusions may illustrate this point: Egyptian drinking habits,⁴ the definition of myth vs. history⁵ and wanderers who lie.⁶

It is not surprising, therefore, that in order to compile this impressive collection Strabo had to use numerous sources.⁷ Naturally, he could not and did not visit all parts of the world then known; rather, he must have gathered information from other works, even if not always doing so with an adept critical approach or literary style. Despite these shortcomings, Strabo's *Geography* is not only a treasure trove of information but also, by its very nature, a goldmine of fragments from lost literary works.

In what follows we collect, translate and provide commentary for geographical fragments of three authors that Strabo of Amasia cited in his monumental *Geography*: Daës, Democles and Dionysius.⁸ The point of departure is each author's citation in the *Geography*. Other fragments of the same authors that are cited by other sources are added to the compilation, but only those fragments that deal with geographical issues. The methodology for definition of fragments follows the customary scholarly tradition of accepting any hint — direct or indirect — of the content of a lost work.⁹

Daës of Coloniae Δάης ὁ Κολωναεύς
(Before 310 BCE)

Biography

Only Strabo mentions Daës.¹⁰ The short citation introduces Daës of Coloniae, who reports the dedication of a temple to Apollo in Coloniae (*BA* 56 C 2).¹¹ The fact that Daës was located in Coloniae together with his comment on an issue relating to that locale, may hint at the broader context of his work, possibly a local history of Coloniae. There is no solid information regarding the date of Daës' activity. Two suggestions, both somewhat dubious, are offered: (1) Significant parts of Strabo's text preceding the one alluding to Daës include references to the Homeric epics, occasionally mentioning Demetrius of Scepsis (c. 205-130 BCE), the commentator of Homer. If Strabo's citation of Daës is also taken from Demetrius' commentary, it could offer a *terminus ante quem* for Daës. (2) Daës' definition as Κολωναεύς indicates that Coloniae was then still

4 Garnsey (1999), 118.

5 Price (1999), 15.

6 Montiglio (2005), 252.

7 See lists in Clarke (1999), 374-378.

8 This publication is part of a comprehensive collection in progress of all geographical fragments preserved by Strabo. The final collection will be arranged in alphabetic order of authors' names; the present sample comprises of three authors whose name begins with Delta.

9 For methodological discussions, see Most (1997).

10 Modern references include only this single fragment (no commentary) in *FHG* 4.376 and a short entry by Schwarz, *RE* s.v. Daës.

11 For the sake of clarity and consistency, ancient sites are referred to according to the Barrington Atlas (= *BA*), following its system of page numbers and grid references.

independent, before being incorporated by synoecism into Alexandria Troas c. 310 BCE.¹² This offers an even earlier *terminus* for Daës.

Works

On Coloniae (Περὶ Κολωνῶν) (?)

Fragments

On Coloniae (Περὶ Κολωνῶν) (?)

F 1. Strabo, *Geog.*, 13.1.62 (612 C) (= *FHG* 4.376)

φησὶ δὲ Δάης ὁ Κολωναεὺς ἐν Κολωναῖς ἰδρυθῆναι πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πλευσάντων Αἰολέων τὸ τοῦ Κιλλαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν.¹³

F 1. Daës of Coloniae says that the temple of the Cillaeian Apollo was first founded in Coloniae by the Aeolians who sailed from Greece.¹⁴

Commentary

F 1. πρῶτον ... ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πλευσάντων Αἰολέων — Daës reports an early foundation of a local sanctuary of Apollo tracing it back to an archaic Aeolian colonization in Coloniae. Archaeological evidence points to Greek presence at the site in the eighth century BCE (Cook 1973, 196), which may therefore be the approximate date of the first erection of this temple.

τὸ τοῦ Κιλλαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν — The god's epithet "Cillaeian" coincides with the Homeric site of Cilla (*Il.* 1.38 = 1.452), which was Apollo's abode together with Chryse and Tenedos (*BA* 56 C 2 for both). But, apparently, by Strabo's time, 'neither is there any place called Cilla to be seen in the territory of the Alexandrians, nor any temple of Cillaeian Apollo' (13.1.63). Strabo reports that along the northern coast of west Asia Minor as far as Tenedos, 'Apollo is highly honoured, being called Sminthian¹⁵ or Cillaeian (of Cilla) or Grynaian¹⁶ or by some other appellation' (13.2.5). Moreover, he continues, the numerous small islands between Asia and Lesbos are called "Hecatonnesi" (*BA* 56 D 3), meaning "Apollonnesi", that is, the islands of Apollo. There is no literary or epigraphic evidence for later activities at the temple of Apollo in Coloniae or at any of the other sanctuaries in the vicinity, with the exception of the Smintheion. The sanctuary at Coloniae is not known to have been an oracular centre,¹⁷ and, as noted, all activities on the site pre-date 310 BCE.

¹² Cook (1973), 196-198, 219-221; Hansen and Nielsen (2004) no. 782 (Kolonai).

¹³ Variations in MS transmission are indicated only when significant to the meaning of the text. For a critical edition of Strabo see Radt (2002-).

¹⁴ Translations are those of the *LCL* versions when available with minor changes.

¹⁵ Sminthian = 'Mouse-god', i.e. the god who destroys mice that are damaging crops; or who controls plagues carried by mice; or associated with Smintheion, a town in the Troas (*BA* 56 C 2). See Draper (2002) ad loc. In later coins of Alexandria Troas, Apollo is depicted with a mouse: see Sear (1978), no. 4027.

¹⁶ Of Gryneion, a town in Aeolis in Asia Minor (*BA* 56 E 4).

¹⁷ Parke (1985), 171-180. On the Smintheion see Lang (1901).

Democles of Phygela Δημοκλῆς ὁ Φυγελεύς

(Late sixth / early fifth cent. BCE)

Biography

Democles was a native of Phygela or Pygela (*BA* 61 E 2).¹⁸ This polis was situated in Carian near Ephesus and according to one tradition it was founded by Agamemnon, who named it after the buttock aches (*πυγαλγέας*) of his soldiers (*Str.* 14.1.20, 639 C).¹⁹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Thuc.* 5) lists historians who were active before Thucydides or in his lifetime. He has one list for historians who lived before the Peloponnesian War and this includes a Democles.²⁰ A separate list in Dionysius enumerates writers who were born shortly before the War and were still alive during Thucydides' time. Accordingly, Democles — if he is the one — must have been active no later than in the first decades of the fifth century BCE. Democles' work was still in circulation at least up to the time of the Homeric commentator Demetrius of Scepsis (c. 205-130 BCE), whom Strabo mentions as quoting Democles. This means that Strabo has probably not consulted the work directly. The details in the single fragment refer to the local natural history of regions in Democles' birthplace, which may suggest, similarly to Daës' case, that the broader context was a local history.

Works*On Phygela* (Περὶ Φυγέλας) (?)**Fragments²¹***On Phygela* (Περὶ Φυγέλας) (?)**F 1.** *Str.* 1.3.17 (58 C) (= *FHG* 2.20-21 F 1; Fowler F 1)

Μιμνήσκειται δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ὑπὸ Δημοκλέους λεγομένων, σεισμούς τινας μεγάλους τοὺς μὲν πάλαι περὶ Λυδίαν γενομένους καὶ Ἴωνίαν μέχρι τῆς Τρωάδος

18 *FHG* 2.20-21; Schwartz, *RE* s.v. Demokles (12); Fowler (2000-) 78. Ragone (1996), after a detailed study, opts for Phygela. Cf. *FHG* 2.20.

19 The MSS however have *πυγαλίας* or *πυγαλλίας*. For a discussion of the grammatical form of various diseases, see Radt (2002-) vol. 8, p. 27 ad loc. In any case, the root is *πυγή*, meaning 'buttocks'. The twelfth-century *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Πύγελα, adds that Agamemnon's men were rowers (*ἑρέται*), which might explain their specific aches.

20 As far as other Demoklai are known, he is the only suitable candidate. The rest are mostly Athenian trierarchs and thesmothetai. See *RE* s.v. Demokles (nos. 1-13).

21 In *FHG* 2.21 F (2), Müller, after Schweighaeuser, suggests that an otherwise unknown author named Democlidēs might represent Democles. The former is cited in Athenaeus 4.174 F regarding the Phoenician word for the flute being named after Adonis. Because the theme does not suit what we assume to be Democles' work, either thematically or geographically, it seems too bold to include it here.

ἱστοροῦντος, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ κῶμαι κατεπόθησαν καὶ Σίπυλος κατεστράφη, κατὰ τὴν Ταντάλου βασιλείαν.²² καὶ ἐξ ἐλῶν λίμναι ἐγένοντο, τὴν δὲ Τροίαν ἐπέκλυσε κύμα.

He [Demetrius of Scepsis] recalls on this point the words of Democles, who recorded certain great earthquakes, some of which took place near Lydia and Ionia as far north as the Troad; by their action not only were villages swallowed up but Mount Sipylus was shattered in the reign of Tantalus. Also, lakes arose from swamps and a tidal wave submerged Troy.

Commentary

F 1. Μιμνήσκειται — Demetrius of Scepsis (c. 205-130 BCE), grammarian and commentator on Homer, author of a work comprising thirty books on the catalogue of Trojan forces. An on-line edition of his fragments is being prepared by Alexandra Trachsel, of Hamburg University. Strabo thoroughly examined Demetrius' exegetical work on Homer (most of it is preserved in Strabo), motivated by his own reverence towards the poet and thus to his commentators. See Biraschi (2005).

σεισμούς τινας μεγάλους — On the history of earthquakes in the region see Cook (1973) 394. The destruction of Troy IV is ascribed to an earthquake.

καὶ Σίπυλος κατεστράφη — Sipylus (*BA* 56 E 4) refers to a chain of mountains in Lydia, but it was also the name of an ancient city, earlier called Tantalus, which was submerged due to seismic activity under what became Lake Saloe (Plin. *HN* 2.205; 5.117). The earlier name of Tantalus hints at the tradition of Tantalus' rule in the region. Cf. Radt (2002-) vol. 5, p. 163 ad loc.

κατὰ τὴν Ταντάλου βασιλείαν — Tantalus is traditionally known as the king of Paphlagonia who betrayed the mysteries of the gods to men and offered ambrosia to his friends. For this he was eternally punished in the underworld, where he stood in a pool of water with branches of a fruit tree hanging over his head, but whenever he tried to drink or eat, the water receded and the fruit eluded his grasp (*Od.* 11.582-592; Pind. *O.* 1.37-66; *DS* 4.74.2). Tantalus was also Agamemnon's great-grandfather (Tantalus > Pelops > Atreus > Agamemnon), which dates him roughly to c. 1500 BCE. Democles introduces Tantalus as the king of Sipylus. This tradition is supported by testimony of the ancient name of Sipylus — Tantalus (Pliny *supra*) and by Pausanias' report that he himself saw the tomb of Tantalus on Mount Sipylus (Paus. 2.22.3, and Tantalus' monument in *BA* 56 F 4). Pausanias also tells of the vanished polis of Sipylus, whose ruins were at first visible in the lake but then disappeared forever (Paus. 7.24.13).

22 Groskurd suggests that μέν indicates another part missing from the MSS. Even if this is true, it is impossible to restore the supposedly missing section. See Radt (2002-), vol. 5, p. 163 ad loc.

Dionysius of Chalcis Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς**(Fourth cent.? BCE)****Biography**

Dionysius was most probably a native of Chalcis on the island of Euboea (BA 55 F 4).²³ He is identified as Χαλκιδεύς, a rather ambiguous reference, as there is another Chalcis in Aetolia; but his specific allusions to Euboea and to the environs of Euboean Chalcis (FF 5b, 8, 12, 13) imply that Dionysius came from Euboean Chalcis.

As to the time in which he lived: Demetrius of Scepsis (Strab. 12.4.8, 566 C and F 1 below), asserts that Bithynia was formerly a Mysian colony. To prove this he relies on four authors: Scylax of Caryanda, who lived in the late sixth century BCE; Dionysius of Chalcis; and the Hellenistic poets Euphorion and Alexander of Aetolia. It has been suggested that these authors appear in chronological order and thus Dionysius postdates Scylax but predates the Hellenistic age. Even if this conclusion is based on inaccurate and circumstantial inferences, we may conclude that Dionysius flourished before Demetrius of Scepsis' time. Dionysius is also cited by pseudo-Scymnus (ll. 115-116, Marcotte, 2002), where he is mentioned together with Eratosthenes, Ephorus and others.²⁴

Dionysius composed a work on foundations of cities (Κτίσεις) consisting of five books. Foundation records were a literary *topos* rather than a genre, and what was sporadically encountered in Archaic Greek literature became more prominently displayed within poetic *ktiseis* in the Hellenistic age.²⁵ Callimachus, for instance, composed several related works: *On Foundations* (in prose), on changes in names of islands and cities, and, in the first book of his *Aitia*, on the origins of Greek cities.²⁶ These works usually dealt with foundation stories and local myths of various *poleis*. Their common components were: names of founders, names of settlers, early toponymy, early genealogies, prophets and prophecies.²⁷ Foundation records often contain many geographical details as is apparent in all of Dionysius' fragments.²⁸

23 *FHG* 4.393-396; *RE* s.v. Dionysios (107). He should not be confused with Dionysius Chalcus (Χαλκός), a fifth-century BCE Athenian elegist and orator.

24 On pseudo-Scymnus see Marcotte (2002); Bravo (2009).

25 Dougherty (1994).

26 Massimilla (1996).

27 Pfeiffer (1968), 135 and 144; Fraser (1972), 513-514; 775-776.

28 One fragment in Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. Πραξιδική (Porson, 1822) (= *FHG* F 3; Suidas s.v. Πραξιδική, Adler P 2212) alludes to the names of the three daughters of Ogyges. With no broader context, this fragment does not contain "geographical" information and therefore does not appear in the present collection.

Works*Foundations* (Κτίσεις)**Fragments***Foundations* (Κτίσεις)**F 1.** Strabo, *Geog.*, 12.4.8 (566 C) (= *FHG* F 7)

“Οτι δ’ ἦν κατοικία Μυσῶν ἢ Βιθυνία, πρῶτον μαρτυρήσει Σκύλαξ ὁ Καρυανδεύς, φήσας περιοικεῖν Ἀσκανίαν λίμνην Φρύγας καὶ Μυσούς, ἔπειτα Διονύσιος ὁ τὰς κτίσεις συγγράψας, ὅτι τὰ κατὰ Χαλκηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον στεινά, ἃ νῦν Θράκιος Βόσπορος καλεῖται, πρότερόν φησι Μύσιον Βόσπορον προσαγορεύεσθαι·

Scylax of Caryanda will testify first that Bithynia was a colony of Mysians when he says that Phrygians and Mysians lived around Lake Ascania. After him, Dionysius who wrote *Foundations*, who says that the straits at Chalcedon and Byzantium, now called Thracian Bosphorus, were earlier called Mysian Bosphorus.

F 2. Dion. Hal. *AR* 1.72.6 (= *FHG* F 11)

Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς οἰκιστὴν μὲν ἀποφαίνει τῆς πόλεως Ῥῶμον. Τοῦτον δὲ λέγει κατὰ μὲν τινὰς Ἀσκανίου κατὰ δὲ τινὰς Ἡμαθίωνος εἶναι παῖδα.

Dionysius of Chalcis names Romus as the founder of the city; but he says that according to some, he [Romus] was the son of Ascanius, and according to others the son of Emathion.

F 3. Plut. *On the Malice of Herodotus*, 22 = *Mor.* 860 B (= *FHG* F 13)

Κορκυραῖοι Σαμίων μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ λόγον οὐ πολλὸν ἔχουσι, Κνιδίων δὲ μέμνηται καὶ Κνιδίοις εἰσὶ τιμαὶ καὶ ἀτέλειαι καὶ ψηφίσματα παρ’ αὐτοῖς· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς Περιάνδρου φύλακας, αὐτοὶ δ’ ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς παῖδας εἰς Κέρκυραν διεκόμισαν, ὡς Ἀντήνωρ ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς ἰστόρηκε, καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν ταῖς Κτίσεσιν.

Corcyraeans do not much appreciate the Samians’ part in this affair: They remember the Cnidians and that honours and special privileges and decrees commending them were granted by the Corcyraeans to the Cnidians because they were the ones who sailed in and drove Periander’s guards away from the temple. And they picked up the boys and brought them back to Corcyra, as is described by Antenor in his *History of Crete* and by Dionysius of Chalcis in his *Foundations*.

F 4. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4.263-4b (Wendel, 1935) (= *FHG* F 14)

Καὶ Ἀριστίας ὁ Χίος ἐν ταῖς κτίσεσι καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν α’ Κτίσεων καὶ ἔθνος φασὶν Ἀρκαδίας Σεληνίτας εἶναι.

Aristias of Chios in his *Foundations* and Dionysius of Chalcis in Book 1 of his *Foundations* say that the people of Arcadia are “Mooners”.

F 5a. Harpocration s.v. Ἡφαιστία (Dindorf, 1853) (= *FHG* F 2)

Ἐπερίδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Ἀκαδήμου. “Οτι β’ πόλεις ἦσαν τῆς Λήμνου, Μύρινά τε καὶ Ἡφαιστία, δηλοῖ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν γ’ Κτίσεων.

Hephaestia: Hyperides in his speech *In Defence of Academos*. That there were two poleis of Lemnos — Myrina and Hephaestia — is indicated also by Dionysius of Chalcis in Book 3 of his *Foundations*.

F 5b. *Anecdota Graeca* (Cramer, 1835) (= *FHG F 2*)

Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τοῖς ῥήμασι τοῖς συνασσομένοις δοτικαῖς αἰτιατικὰς πρότερον ἐπιφέροντες τὰς δοτικὰς συνάπτουσιν· οἷον Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς· Μυρίνην τὴν Ἀμαζόνιδα περιβλεψάμενος, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὰς ἄλλας Ἀμαζονίδας μετακαλέσασθαι.

In their word-order, the Chalcidians in Euboea, by first adding the accusatives to the datives, connect the datives. As Dionysius of Chalcis says: 'after he saw Myrina the Amazon, he allowed him to recall the other Amazons'.

F 6. Harpocration s.v. Ἡραῖον τεῖχος (Dindorf, 1853) (= *FHG F 2a*)

Δημοσθένης Φιλίππικῶς. Χωρίον ἐστὶν ἐν Θράκῃ οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον, ὑπὸ Σαμίων δὲ ὠκίσθη, ὡς φησι Διονύσιος ἐν ἐ' Κτίσεων.

Hera's Fortress: Demosthenes in his *Philippics*. There is a place in Thrace named thus, that was inhabited by Samians, as Dionysius says in Book 5 of his *Foundations*.

F 7. Zenobius 5.75 (Bühler, 1999) (= *FHG F 5*)

Πᾶσα γῆ πατρίς· τοῦτο μέρος ἐστὶ χρησμοῦ, ὃν ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς Μελέω τῷ Πελασγῷ περὶ οἰκίσεως μαντευομένης. Μέννηται τοῦ χρησμοῦ καὶ Μνασέας καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς.

All earth is fatherland: This is part of a prophecy the god gave to Meleus the Pelasgian when he was asking about a dwelling place. Mnaseas and Dionysius of Chalcis both mention the prophecy.

F 8. Joannes Laurentius of Lydia, *De mensibus*, 2.2 (Wuensch, 1898) (= *FHG F 8*)

ὁ γοῦν Διονύσιος ἐν ταῖς Κτίσεσιν φησι, τὸν Χαλκιδικὸν Εὐριπὸν ἐπτάκις καθ' ἡμέραν στρεφόμενον κατὰ μόνας τὰς ἑβδομάδας ἵστασθαι.

At any rate Dionysius in his *Foundations* says that the Chalcidian Euripus, which rises and falls seven times a day, stands still only every several weeks.

F 9. Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. Τελμισεῖς (Porson, 1822) (= *FHG F 4*; Suidas s.v. Τελμισσεῖς, Adler T 279)

Τελμισὸς δὲ πόλις ἐν Λυκίᾳ ἀπὸ Τελμισσοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μιᾶς τῶν Ἀντήνορος θυγατέρων, ἣ ἐμίγη εἰς σκύλακα μεταβαλὼν· διὸ καὶ τερασκόπον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν, ὡς Διονύσιος ἐν Κτίσεσιν.

Telmisseis: ... Telmisos — a polis in Lycia named after Telmissos, the son of Apollo and of one of the daughters of Antenor, with whom he had intercourse after he changed into a puppy. Because of this he [Apollo] made him [Telmissos] a diviner, as Dionysius says in his *Foundations*.

F 10. Schol. Euripides, *Andromache* 10 (Schwarz, 1891)

Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς τὸν Ἀκάμαντα παρὰ Ἐλένου καὶ Ἀγχίσου φησὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Λαοδίκην οἰκειότητα Σκαμάνδριον τὸν Ἑκτορος εἰληφότα καὶ Ἀσκάσιον τὸν Αἰνείου ἐπιχειρῆσαι μὲν Ἴλιον καὶ Δάρδανον τειχίζειν, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸ παραιτησαμένων, τῆνικαὺτα τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀποστάντα τῆς Τρωάδος Γέργιθα καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Κολωνάς καὶ Χρύσην καὶ Ὀφρύνιον καὶ Σιδήνην καὶ Ἀστυρα καὶ Σκῆψιν καὶ Πολίχνην καὶ πρὸς τούτοις Δασκύλειον καὶ Ἰλίου κολώνην καὶ Ἀρίσβαν οἰκίσαντα ἀναγορεῦσαι οἰκιστὰς Σκαμάνδριον καὶ Ἀσκάσιον.

Dionysius of Chalcis says that Acamas, because of his intimate relationship with Laodice, took from Helen and Anchises Scamandrius son of Hector and Ascanius son of Aeneas and attempted to fortify Ilium and Dardanus; but after the Athenians demanded it, he abandoned this Trojan plan and founded Gergis and Percote and Colonae and Chryse and Ophrynon and Sidene and Astyra and Scepsis and Polichna and in addition Daskyleion and Iliocolone and Arisbe; and he proclaimed Scamandrius and Ascanius as founders.

F 11. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1.558 (Wendel, 1935) (= *FHG* F 6)

[ἄλλοι] καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς οὐ τὴν περὶ Ἀχιλλέως διεσπαρμένην ἀφείκασιν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ χώρας δόξαν. Ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον οἱ μὲν ἐκ Θέτιδος αὐτὸν νομίζουσι γεγενῆσθαι τῆς Χείρωνος, Δηίμαχος δὲ ἐκ Φιλομήλης τῆς Ἄκτορος· ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀποφαίνονται.

[others] and Dionysius of Chalcis did not neglect the common opinion spread among us about Achilles, but, rather, some of them think he was born of Thetis the daughter of Cheiron, but Deimachus — of Philomela the daughter of Actor. Still others offer another opinion on this matter.

F 12. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1.1024a (Wendel, 1935) (= *FHG* F 10)

Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς εἰρήσθαι φησιν αὐτοὺς Μάκρωνας, ἐπειδὴ Εὐβοέων εἰσὶ Μάκρωνες ἄποικοι.

Dionysius of Chalcis says that they are called Macrones, because the Macrones are colonists of Euboea.

Dubious fragments**F 13.** Plin. *HN* 4.64 (= *FHG* F 9)

Antea vocitata est Chalcodontis aut Macris ut Dionysius et Ephorus tradunt.

Formerly it [Euboea] was called Chalcodontis or Macris, as Dionysius and Ephorus record.

F 14. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata (Miscellanies)*, 1.21.131.7 (= *FHG* F (14))

Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς περὶ τὴν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς δὲ Διονύσιος περὶ τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην Θάσον ἐκτίσθαι.

Xanthos of Lydia says that Thasos was founded about the eighteenth Olympiad, but Dionysius says about the fifteenth.

F 15. Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Ἰλαμοί

Πόλις Λυκίας, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πολυῖστων ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Λυκίας. Εἶτα Διονύσιος φησι Τούβεριν καὶ Τέρμεριν δύο ἀδελφὰς γῆμαι καὶ γεννηῆσαι δέκα ἄρρενας ἐκάτερον.

Hylamoi: a polis in Lycia, as Alexander Polyhistor says in Book 2 of his *On Lycia*. Dionysius says that Tuberis and Termeris married two sisters and begot ten male children each.

F 16. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2.279a (Wendel, 1935) (= *FHG* F 12)

... Διονύσιος δέ φησιν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν ταῖς κήσεσι τὰς ἐλάφους οὕτω λέγεσθαι, πρόκας. Ὅθεν καὶ Προκόννησος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πληθύνουσιν ἔλαφοι.

Dionysius of Athens says in his *Conceptions* that the deer are thus called: *prokas*. And hence comes Proconnesus, since on it too deer are abundant.

Commentary

F 1. Σκύλαξ ὁ Καρυανδεύς — *FGrHist* 709 F 11. Scylax was a Greek from Caryanda (Asia Minor) who made an exploratory sailing trip on the orders of Darius I, king of Persia, around 519/512 BCE. Scylax sailed from Caspatyrus (*BA* 6 C 3), modern Gandara in Afghanistan, down the Indus River into the Indian Ocean along the coast of the Arabian peninsula, into the Persian Gulf. He completed this journey in thirty months (Hdt. 4.44). Scylax left written records of his journeys although not all that survives is beyond all doubt his (Peretti [1979]; Marcotte [1986]). Dmitri Panchenko (1998; 2003) suggested that Scylax also sailed down the Ganges and explored Sri Lanka and the eastern regions of India. In the present fragment he is said to refer to the region of the Bosphorus, which might indicate that he left records of sailing expeditions in parts of the world other than the southern seas (Panchenko [2002]; [2005]).

Ἰασκανίαν λίμνην — A lake between Mysia and Bithynia; Nicaea is situated on its coast (*BA* 52 E-F 4).

Θράκιος Βόσπορος — The strait between Thrace and Bithynia leading to the Maeotis (*BA* 52). Herodotus indicates specifically that when planning his expedition against the Scythians, Darius ordered that a bridge be built on the Thracian Bosphorus (Hdt. 4.83). This is meant to distinguish between the southern and the northern mouth of the Black Sea, i.e. the Cimmerian Bosphorus in Scythia (Hdt. 4.12), situated between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov (*BA* 87 L 2). Thus, as early as the fifth century BCE, when Herodotus composed his work, the southern straits were known as ‘Thracian’.

Μύσιον Βόσπορον — the less common name of the same strait. This designation appears also in a fragment of Arrian of Nicomedia (*FGrHist* 156 F 20b). The use of this or that name of the strait (Thracian or Mysian) seems to be associated with the geographical viewpoint: with the European continent (‘Thracian’) or with the Asian (‘Mysian’).

F 2. οἰκιστής — Interest in founders is typical of foundation stories (Malkin [1985]) and naturally belongs with Dionysius’ attributed work.

Ῥώμος — probably a variation of Remus (Classen [1963]; Wiseman [1995]). Early Greek authors, who referred to the foundation of Rome, have independently formed a mythical eponym and a founder named Romus. Later, when Roman tradition became

known to the Greeks, Romus was identified with the Roman Remus. In Dionysius' version there is no indication of Romulus or of any other twin.

Ἄσκανίου — according to most traditions, Ascanius (later Iulus) was the son of Aeneas and Creusa. He is associated with the foundation of Alba Longa (Liv. 1.3; Dion. Hal. 1.66.1).

Ἡμαθίωνος — Plutarch also mentions Romus son of Emathion (Plut. *Rom.* 2.1). On the political significance of this version see Wiseman (1995), 53-54.

F 3. ἐπὶ τούτῳ λόγον — This was the *logos*: Periander sent 300 boys from Corcyra to be castrated in Sardes, and according to one version, the Samians saved them from this fate. Another version attributes the actual rescue to the Cnidiens. The original story is brought by Herodotus 3.48, and was criticized by Plutarch (*Rom.* 2.1).

Τοῦ ἱεροῦ — Under the Samians' initiative the boys first found refuge in the temple of Artemis in Samos.

τοὺς Περιάνδρου φύλακας — Periander was eager to perform the castration and sent his guards to take the boys.

Ἀντήνωρ ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς ἱστορήκε — *FGrHist* 463 F 2. This is Antenor "Delta" of Crete, who in the second century BCE composed a local history of Crete. Antenor was nicknamed "Delta" because he was good and loved his polis, and in Crete δέλτος means ἀγαθός (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 190, 151 b Bekker). See *FHG* 4.305; Schwartz *RE* s.v. Antenor (7).

F 4. ἐν πρώτῳ Κτίσεων — This is a specific indication of an inner division of Dionysius' *Foundations*. F 5a below refers to Book 3 of Dionysius' work, and F 6 to Book five. These allusions add to the information given by pseudo-Scymnus' that the work comprised five books (l. 115, Marcotte, 2002). According to the fragments, Book 1 dealt with Arcadia, Book 3 (F 5a) with Lemnos, i.e. the Aegean islands, and Book 5 (F 6) with Thrace. These allusions cannot offer any clear conclusion regarding the organizing principle of the work, whether geographical or other. The geographical locations, however, show that the work progressed from Greece through the Aegean islands to Thrace, perhaps indicating a sort of zooming out starting from Greece as the centre.

Σεληνίτας — the designation of this Arcadian tribe as "Mooners" (after σελήνη = 'moon'), appears only in this fragment. The more common nickname of the Arcadians is Προσέληνοι, meaning 'before the moon', which was understood as indicating their great antiquity; a specific early battle that took place before the moon had risen; an attribution referring to an eponymous early Arcadian king named Proselenos, or their outrageous behaviour. See the wider context in the scholia to Apoll. Rhod. 4.264, and cf. Cappelletto (2003), 205-209.

F 5a. Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Ἀκαδήμου — In *For Lycophrone* 18, where he also mentions Myrina. The speech in defence of Academos is otherwise unknown.

Λήμνου — The Aegean island of Lemnos (*BA* 56 A 2) was central to the cult of Hephaestus ('Lemnios'). According to tradition, Zeus pushed Hephaestus from Olympus and he fell on Lemnos, becoming lame forever. Hephaestus is then the eponym of the second polis mentioned by Dionysius.

Μύρινα — On the western coast of Lemnos, *BA* 56 A 2, traditionally named after Myrina the Amazon (Hectaeus *FGrHist* 1 F 138c), and see F 5b.

Ἡφαιστία — The main polis on Lemnos, named after Hephaestus, *BA* 56 A 2.
 ἐν γ' Κτίσεων — See F 4 for the inner division of the work.

F 5b. Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τοῖς ῥήμασι κτλ. — This grammatical discussion points to a particular usage among the people of Chalcis in Euboea related to the order of words. This detail is “geographical” in its ethnographic aspect because it describes a local linguistic usage. Generally, the description of foreign nations traditionally included ethnic customs (mainly diet, dress, religion, sex). However, discussion of language generally, and grammatical constructions specifically, are very rare in such contexts. See Gera (2003).

οἶον Διονυσίος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς — It is unclear how this sample of Dionysius’ supposed Chalcidian language demonstrates the grammatical rule.

Μυρίνην τὴν Ἀμαζόνιδα — queen of the Amazons, daughter of Cretheus and wife of Thoas (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1.601). Although the context in the *Anecdota Graeca* is linguistic, the citation shows that Dionysius referred to Myrina, the eponym of the Lemnian polis. The broader original context is unknown. On Myrina’s endeavours see Diod.Sic. 3.542-7; 3.55.2-11.

F 6. Ἡραῖον τεῖχος — Hera’s Fortress on the propontis (*BA* 52 B 2). The site is mentioned in Dem. *Olynth.* 3.4 and not in the *Philippics*. Other fortresses on the same coastline are Neon Teichos, Sereion Teichos and Daunion Teichos.

ὑπὸ Σαμίῳ δὲ οἰκίσθη — see Shipley (1987), 51-52.

ἐν ἐ' Κτίσεων — see F 4 for the inner division of the work.

F 7. Πᾶσα γῆ πατρίς — a proverb cited also by Lysias, *Against Philo* 31.6. A similar spirit characterized the later cosmopolitan view of the Stoics, who discarded such aristocratic prerequisites as blood and virtue. On this proverb, see the comprehensive commentary in Bühler (1999) 354-363.

χρησμοῦ — On the role of prophecies in tales of colonization and foundations, see Malkin (1987). Here the tie between oracular and proverbial traditions is apparent.

ὁ θεός — Probably Apollo. The oracle in Delphi was particularly associated with colonial prophecies; see Malkin (1987) especially 17-29.

Μελεῶ τῷ Πελασγῷ — Nothing is known about him. See discussion in Bühler (1999) 354-356; Cappelletto (2003) 347-352. The tie between the proverb and the Pelasgians derives from their identification with the earliest inhabitants of Hellas.

καὶ Μνασέας — Mnaseas of Patara (third to second centuries BCE), who probably knew Dionysius’ work (Cappelletto (2003) 347-352). For another overlap between the two see F 4.

F 8. τὸν Χαλκιδικὸν Εὐριπον — The Chalcidian Euripus (*BA* 55 F 4) was the strait between Euboea and Boeotia. Chalcis was situated on its shores at the narrowest point of the strait (38 m wide). Dionysius, a native of this very place, offers some probably firsthand details on the currents in the strait. The tides of the strait reach Chalcis from the northwest and southeast, and the current changes direction four to six times daily. The expression εὐριπος was also ‘any strait or narrow sea where the flux and reflux is violent’ (*LSJ* s.v. εὐριπος I; cf. *OLD* s.v. Euripus).

ἐπτάκις καθ’ ἡμέραν στρεφόμενον — The constant and frequent change of tides explains the proverbial use of the word εὐριπος to describe ‘an unstable, weak-minded person’ (*LSJ* s.v. εὐριπος II) and as an *exemplum* and a *parabolē* for constant change, as

in Aeschin. *Against Ctesiphon*, 3.90; Plat. *Phaedo* 90 c 5; Arist. *EN* 9.3, 1167 b 7; and in Latin: Cic. *De leg.* 2.2; *De nat. deo.* 24; Plin. *HN* 2.219.

F 9. Τελμισσός δὲ πόλις ἐν Λυκίᾳ — This Lycian polis (*BA* 65 B 4) is more often spelled Telmessos (Τελμησσός) and is sometimes confused with the Carian Telmissos (*BA* 61 E 3), later merging with Halicarnassus.

Τελμισσοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μιᾶς τῶν Ἀντήγορος θυγατέρων — According to this genealogy, Telmissos was the grandson of Antenor, the Trojan nobleman. Telmissos' mother was very likely Crinō (Paus. 10.27.4), a priestess of Apollo Smintheus (Polemon *FHG* 3.124-125, F 31). Near the Carian polis was a temple of Apollo Telmissus; see Hicks (1894).

τερασκόπον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν — both poleis, but particularly the Lycian Telmissos, were traditionally prophetic. Arrian (*Anab.* 2.3.3) tells of Telmissian prophets who were skilled in the divination of prodigies. Women and children too inherited this prophetic skill.

F 10. τὸν Ἀκάμαντα — Acamas the Athenian, son of Theseus, was the lover of Laodice, daughter of Priam.

τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸ παραιτησαμένων — The Athenians vetoed Acamas' scheme to restore Troy.

οἰκίσαντα ἀναγορεῦσαι οἰκιστὰς Σκαμάνδριον καὶ Ἀσκάμιον — This is an alternative tradition to the cyclic epic according to which the infant Scamandrius, that is Astyanax (*Il.* 6.402-403), was killed in Troy by Neoptolemus. It probably reflects disputes over territories in the Troad in the Archaic Age, and specifically the dispute between Athens and Lesbos. See Smith (1981).

F 11. οὐ τὴν περὶ Ἀχιλλέως διεσπαρμένην ἀφείκασιν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ χώρας δόξαν — the main line of Homeric tradition held that Achilles was the son of Thetis the daughter of Nereus and Doris (*Il.* 1.538; 18.35-38; Hes. *Th.* 240-244). But Dionysius and others said that Thetis was the daughter of Cheiron.

Δήμαχος — *FGrHist* 716 F 8a. Deimachus of Plataea (fl. 280-260 BCE) an ambassador of Antiochus I to king Allitrochades of Palimbothra, India (Str. 2.1.9). Composed several works, one of which on India.

ἐκ Φιλομήλης τῆς Ἄκτορος — this version is expanded in the Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4.816 where Peleus is said to have married Philomela, the daughter of Actor, but his friend Cheiron, wishing to render Peleus celebrated, spread the rumour that he was married to Thetis. See Smith (1867) s.v. Thetis.

ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀποφαίνονται — see Smith (1867) s.v. Thetis.

F 12. Εὐβοέων εἰσὶ Μάκρωνες ἄποικοι — Dionysius simply suggests that the explanation of the ethnonym Macrones relies on the ancient name of Euboea being Macris, for its long shape (see F 13).

Dubious fragments

F 13. *Chalcodontis* = Χαλκωδοντίς — possibly an early poetic version of the later Euboean polis Chalcis.

Macris — 'long island'. This is the suggestion attributed to Dionysius and Ephorus. See also Strabo 10.1.2: 'Because of its narrowness and of the above mentioned length, it

was named Macris by the Ancients'. The name Macris is given also to Attica and Corcyra (Apoll. Rhod. 4.1175), and to Icaros and Chios (Plin. *HN* 4.68; 5.136).

Dionysius — Pliny does not specify which Dionysius he means. Dionysius of Chalcis is plausible on chronological grounds and because in another fragment (F 13) he refers to the inhabitants of Euboea as 'Macrones' and he was a native of Euboea. Pliny does not cite him elsewhere.

Ephorus — *FGrHist* 70 F 151

F 14. Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδός — Also known as Xanthus of Sardes; he flourished c. 450 BCE and wrote a *Lydiaka* (*FGrHist* 765 FF 12-30).

περὶ τὴν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα — 708-705 BCE.

Διονύσιος — There is no specification as to which Dionysius is referred to. Müller (*FHG* F 14) thought that this allusion better suited Dionysius of Halicarnassus in a lost work *On Times*. However, it is not unlikely that Dionysius of Chalcis referred to the foundation date of Thasos.

περὶ τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην — 720-717 BCE.

Θάσον ἐκτίσθαι — Archaeological evidence proves that Thasos was founded by colonists from Paros (including Archilochus) at the beginning of the seventh century BCE. This does not allow for a definite preference of one version over the other, although Xanthus seems closer.

F 15. Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πολυίστωρ ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Λυκίας — *FGrHist* 273 F 73. Alexander of Miletus (110-40 BCE) composed numerous works on the history and geography of various places in the known world.

Διονύσιος — Again, there is no specification of the identity of this Dionysius. The fragment is nevertheless associated with Dionysius of Chalcis because of the mythological element related to the offspring of Tuberis and Termeris, which refers specifically to the eponyms of the Lycian polis.

Τούβεριν καὶ Τέρμεριν — these were brothers, Termeris being the father of the Hylamoi.

F 16. Διονύσιος ... ὁ Ἀθηναῖος — The description of Dionysius as 'Athenian' gave rise to several suggestions: (1) that this is another, unknown, Dionysius and not Dionysius of Chalcis, a suggestion that is supported by the further confusion regarding the title of the work; (2) that it is Dionysius of Chalcis, who spent a significant part of his life in Athens.

ἐν ταῖς κηήσεσι — The problem of Dionysius' identification is made more acute by the confusion regarding his work. If it is indeed Dionysius of Chalcis, then the work should be *Ktiseis*. It might be a corrupted text.

Προκόνησος — that is, 'Deer Island' in the Propontis (*BA* 52 B 3).

Conclusion

A collection of fragments can hardly produce conclusive observations suggesting general notions. Even fragments from one work are often too dispersed, and sometimes too few, to allow for a comprehensive deduction. However, it seems possible to cautiously offer some insights.

The small remnants of the works of Daës, Democles and Dionysius reflect the growing interest in local matters in the fourth and third centuries BCE: both Asian

authors — Daës and Democles — dealt with details of the history and geography of their native locales, and there are hints in Dionysius' work that he too emphasized some details of his own homeland. The original works of the three were apparently not widely received in antiquity. Strabo, who is the only author to quote Daës and Democles, used numerous and varied details from obscure informants. His choice of sources probably relied on the availability of certain texts and on copying citations from intermediate sources without reading the originals in their natural contexts. In the above collection, for example, Demetrius of Scepsis appears as an important mediator. Strabo's *Geography* is therefore a mosaic of pebbles of various origins that together make up a larger picture, and the art of its author lies in the smooth integration of all these details into a complete and coherent composition. The geographical orientation of this collection shows once again that information relevant to the traditional Greek interest in geography, such as local rites, physical and natural phenomena, foundation stories and toponymy, was searched for and found in any text that could provide it regardless of its original literary goals.

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