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LIMENES:

**THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN
PORTS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AS DOCUMENTED IN
THE LITERARY SOURCES**

by

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ABSTRACT

This research forms part of the Portus Limen Project, which investigates the Mediterranean port networks in the Roman Empire. The aim of my research is to investigate the precise semantic and pragmatic implications of the Greek and Latin terms referring to ports or anchorages, especially in relation to one another: what does each harbour form require? Where is it located? What are its singularities in relation to other harbour forms?

My research represents an ontological approach to the study of the Greek and Roman port terminology. A literature review is included, where I discuss the relevant modern research methods. However, this review appears twofold, due to the novelty of combining linguistics research with archaeological finds – two disciplines that are rarely combined with one another. Next, I describe my methodology, based on text mining, decomponential analysis and prototype theory applied to ancient Greek and Latin texts as the only direct testimonies of speech acts in those languages. This leads me to the exposition of all relevant data as far as possible for the period and for the space chosen. I discuss in the first place the usage of each harbour term in isolation in order to seek its prototype. Secondly, I include two case-studies in order to verify if the conclusions reached in the theoretical discussion do apply in the realities on land, and how the different harbour terms co-exist and interact with one another by means of particular sites. Finally, I provide further discussion on the ontological relations between different port terms. In the end, I hope I am offering satisfactory conclusions on the semantics and pragmatics as to the usage of ancient Greek and Latin harbour terms, as well as some ideas for future work.

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LIST OF ACCOMPANYING MATERIALS

This volume contains the physical accompanying materials to this thesis. The data collection is compiled in the databases of the Portus Limen Project. The databases are still not available to the general public. To this effect, a guest account has been created for the purposes of this examination:

1. Go to the following address in your browser:
<https://data.portuslimen.soton.ac.uk/login>

2. Log in with the following details:

User: **guest**

Password: **Portu5Guest**

For the databases related to this research, go to the sections **Ancient sources**, and then **Ancient literature**. In there, you will find the databases related to **Books**, **Passages** and **Words**, created by the author of this thesis. The rest of the databases belong to the other members of the Project.

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Núria Garcia Casacuberta

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Rome's Mediterranean Ports in the Light of the Ancient Literary Sources

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

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Date:

ABBREVIATIONS

Bailly = Bailly, A.; Séchan, L. and Chantraine, P. (20004) *Dictionnaire grec-français*, Paris: Hachette

LSJ = Liddell, H. G.; Scott, R.; Jones, J. S. and McKenzie, R. (1996, reprint 9th ed.) *A Greek-English lexicon*, Avon: The Bath Press

OCD = Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. (1996³) *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

PHI = Packard Humanities Institute Latin Corpus: <http://latin.packhum.org/>

TLG = Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/index.php>

RE = von Pauly, A. F.; Wissowa, G. et alii (1980) *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Munich: Druckenmüller

cf. = confer, compare, it refers to further bibliography

s.v. = sub voce, it refers to the entry of a word or lemma in a dictionary or encyclopaedia.

9.1 SELECTION OF RELEVANT AUTHORS AND WORKS

GREEK

Peripli:

- *Stadiasmus or Circumnavigation of the Great Sea*
- *Periplus Scylacis*

Geography:

- Strabo, *Geography*
- Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

History and biography:

- Appian
- Cassius Dio, *Roman Histories*
- Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*
- Flavius Josephus, *Wars of the Jews; Jewish Antiquities*
- Flavius Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana; Lives of the sophists; Heroicus*
- Plutarch, *Parallel Lives; Moralia*
- Polybius, *Histories*
- Procopius, *On the Wars of Justinian*

Technical treatises:

- Procopius, *On buildings*

Fiction:

- Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*
- Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*
- Chariton, *Callirhoe*
- Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*

Texts relating to language:

- Suda, *Lexicon*
- *Etymologicum Magnum*
- *Etymologicum Gudianum*
- Julius Pollux
- (*Scholia to major authors also used where relevant*).

LATIN

Geography:

- Pomponius Mela, *Geography*
- Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, esp. books 3 and 4

History and biography:

- Aulus Gellius, *Attic nights*
- Caesar and Corpus Caesarianum: *Galic War; Civil War; Alexandrian War; African War*
- Cicero, *Speeches; treatises; letters*
- Cornelius Nepos, *Lives*
- Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander the Great*
- Florus, *Summary on the wars*
- Frontinus, *Stratagems*
- Fronto, *Letters; Arion* *
- *Historia Augusta*
- Livy, *From the foundation of Rome*
- Pliny the Younger, *Letters; Panegyric*
- Sallustius, *The war of Jugurtha* *
- Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*
- Tacitus, *Annals; Histories; Life of Julius Agricola*
- Velleius Paterculus, *Roman history* *
- Valerius Maximus, *memorable deeds and sayings* *

Technical treatises:

- Hyginus Gromatius, *Constitutio Limitum*
- Servius, *Commentaries on Virgil's Aeneid*
- Vitruvius, *On architecture*

Fiction:

- Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* *
- Plautus
- Petronius, *Satyricon*
- Virgil, *Aeneid*

Texts relating to language:

- Paulus Diaconus's *Epitome* to Festus
- Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*

* *Texts consulted, but not quoted in this thesis due to their lack of content.*

9.2 APPENDIX: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS QUOTED

The texts are ordered following the usual standard: authors name', work title (if the author has more than one work), paragraph numbering. The quotes are ordered alphabetically by the name of the author or, if anonymous, by the title of the work. Abbreviations have been avoided for the sake of clarity. Names and titles have also been translated into English in order to help the readers who may not be familiar with ancient Greek or Latin. The texts are grouped as quoted in each chapter.

4.1 Limen: the port

Appian, <i>Hannibalic War</i> , 142-143	
<p>λιμένες δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς Ταραντίνοις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἐκ πελάγους ἐσπλέοντι διὰ ἰσθμοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἀπέκλειον γεφύραις, ὧν τότε κρατοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων φρουροὶ σφίσι μὲν ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ θαλάσσης, Ταραντίνοις δ' ἐκώλυον ἐσκομίζεσθαι. ὅθεν ἠπόρουσαν ἀγορᾶς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, ἕως ἐπελθῶν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἄννιβας ἐδίδαξε λεωφόρον ὁδόν, ἣ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἔφερεν ἀπὸ τῶν λιμένων ἐπὶ τὴν νότιον θάλασσαν, ὀρύξαντας ἰσθμὸν ἕτερον ποιήσασθαι.</p>	<p>The <i>limenes</i> of the Tarentinians are facing the north wind from the sea through the isthmus, and the isthmus can be closed with bridges. At the time, the Romans controlled those bridges, their strongholds had the maritime agora, and the Tarentinians were banned from exporting there. When the Tarentinians were lacking supplies, then Hannibal came and showed them a road for plenty of people, which passed through the middle of the city from the ports into the southern basin, and he had another isthmus excavated.</p>

Appian, <i>Mithridatic War</i> , 94 ¹	
<p>ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ῥόδιοι τὰ τε τείχη σφῶν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἐκρατύναντο καὶ μηχανὰς ἅπασιν ἐφίστανον.</p>	<p>At that time, the Rhodians reinforced their walls and harbours, and they set up war machines everywhere.</p>

¹ 4.24 in other editions.

Appian, <i>Mithridatic War</i> , 103 ²	
<p>ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς ἑτέραν ναυμαχίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολιορκίαν ἠτοιμάζετο, σαμβύκην δέ τινα, μηχανήμα μέγιστον ἐπὶ δύο νεῶν φερόμενον, ἐποίει. αὐτομόλων δ' αὐτῶ λόφον ὑποδειξάντων ἐπίβατον, ἧ Ἄταβυρίου Διὸς ἱερὸν ἦν καὶ κολοβὸν τειχίον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὰς ναῦς νυκτὸς ἐπέβησε καὶ ἑτέροις ἀναδούς κλίμακας ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν ἑκατέρους μετὰ σιωπῆς, μέχρι τινὲς αὐτοῖς πυρσεύσειαν ἐκ τοῦ Ἄταβυρίου, καὶ τότε ἀθρόως μετὰ βοῆς ὅτι μάλιστα μεγάλης τοὺς μὲν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐμπίπτειν, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τείχη βιάζεσθαι.</p>	<p>Mithridates got ready for another naval fight and siege against them [the Rhodians]. He built a sambuca, a huge [war] machine³. When some deserters showed him a hill that he could climb, where there was the temple of Zeus Atabyrios with a low wall around it, [Mithridates] embarked his army on the ships at night, and gave them the two ladders. He ordered them to take their positions on either side in silence, until they would see a fire signal from Mount Atabyrius, and then to fall against the <i>limenes</i> all of a sudden with a big uproar, the louder the better, and to attack the city walls.</p>

Appian, <i>Mithridatic War</i> , 261-263 ⁴	
<p>αἱ δὲ πόλεις, ἀποροῦσαί τε καὶ δανειζόμεναι μεγάλων τόκων, αἱ μὲν τὰ θέατρα τοῖς δανείζουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια ἢ τεῖχος ἢ λιμένας ἢ <εἶ> τι δημόσιον ἄλλο, σὺν ὕβρει στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων ὑπετίθεντο. τὰ μὲν δὴ χρήματα ὧδε τῷ Σύλλα συνεκομίζετο, καὶ κακῶν ἄδην εἶχεν ἡ Ἀσία. ἐπέπλει δ' αὐτὴν καὶ ληστήρια πολύανδρα φανερώς, στόλοις ἐοικότα μᾶλλον ἢ</p>	<p>[Sulla put a fine on the Asian cities]. The cities, stricken by poverty, borrowed the money at high interest, some had to mortgage their gymnasia, or their walls, or their <i>limenes</i>, or whatever other public property, they were instructed by proud soldiers hastening them. The money was thus brought to Sulla, and that part of Asia went through tough times. A large number of pirates attacked it openly, they looked</p>

² 4.26 in other editions.

³ A sambuca was a sort of purpose-built large ladder mounted on ships to scale the walls of a besieged town. Cf. Polybius, 8.6.

⁴ 9.63 in other editions.

<p>λησταῖς, Μιθριδάτου μὲν αὐτὰ πρῶτου καθέντος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅτε πάνθ' ὡς οὐκ ἐς πολὺ καθέξων ἐλυμαίνετο, πλεονάσαντα δ' ἐς τότε μάλιστα, καὶ οὐ τοῖς πλέουσι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ λιμέσι καὶ χωρίοις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπιχειροῦντα φανερώς. Ἴασσός γέ τοι καὶ Σάμος καὶ Κλαζομεναὶ καὶ Σαμοθράκη Σύλλα παρόντος ἐλήφθησαν, καὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐσυλήθη τὸ Σαμοθράκιον χιλίων ταλάντων κόσμον, ὡς ἐνομιζέτο.</p>	<p>like fleets rather than robbers. Mithridates had established them on the sea at first, when he was attacking the whole [coast] that he would not hold for much longer. At that time many more were sailing, and they sailed not only against lone [ships], but they also attacked openly harbours, districts and cities. Iassos, and Smaos, and Clazomene, and Samothrace (where Sulla was staying) were taken, and the Samothracian temple (<i>hieron</i>), bearing ornaments for a thousand talents, as it is thought, was plundered.</p>
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Appian, <i>Mithridatic War</i> , 303-304 ⁵	
<p>ὁ τε Μιθριδάτης τῇ φορᾷ τῆς εὐτυχίας χρώμενος ἐπῆγεν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ κλειθρον, ἀλύσει χαλκῇ δεδεμένον, ἀπορρήξας τέσσαρας μὲν ἐνέπρησε τῶν πολεμίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἐξήκοντα ἀνεδήσατο, οὐδὲν οὔτε Νούδου κωλύοντος ἔτι οὔτε Κόττα, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ τείχη συγκεκλεισμένων. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ἑρωμαίων μὲν ἐς τρισχιλίους, καὶ Λούκιος Μάλλιος, ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ βουλῆς, Μιθριδάτου δὲ Βαστερνῶν τῶν πρῶτων ἐσπεσόντων ἐς τὸν λιμένα εἴκοσι.</p>	<p>Mithridates took the chance of his success and moved his ships into the <i>limen</i> that same day, breaking the boom (<i>kleithron</i>) tied by a bronze chain (<i>halusis</i>), he burned four enemy ships, and he towed the other sixty away. Nudus did not oppose resistance, nor did Cotta, instead they shut themselves inside the walls. About three thousand Romans were killed, including Lucius Manlius, a man from the Senate. Twenty Bastarnae⁶ of Mithridates, who were the first to attack the <i>limen</i>, [were also killed].</p>

⁵ 10.71 in other editions.

⁶ The Bastarnae were a people who inhabited the territory between the Carpathus and the river Dnieper.

Appian, <i>Mithridatic War</i> , 315 ⁷	
κατὰ δὲ τοὺς λιμένας δύο πεντήρεις ἐξευγμέναι πύργον ἕτερον ἔφερον, ἐξ οὗ γέφυρα, ὅποτε προσπελάσειαν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ὑπὸ μηχανῆς ἐξήλλετο.	On the <i>limenes</i> he joined together two quinqueremes and brought a tower onto each of them. When they would be sailing against the city walls, a bridge would deploy from the towers.

Appian, <i>Mithridatic War</i> , 333-334 ⁸	
Λούκουλλος δ', ἐπεὶ τὸ κατὰ γῆν εἴργαστο διὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ναῦς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀγείρας διέδωκε τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατηγοῦσι. καὶ Τριάριος μὲν Ἀπάμειαν εἶλεν ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ πολλῶν Ἀπαμέων, συμφυγόντων ἐς τὰ ἱερά, ἐγίγνετο σφαγή· Βάρβας δὲ Προυσιάδα εἶλε τὴν πρὸς τῷ ὄρει καὶ Νίκαιαν ἔλαβε, τῶν Μιθριδάτου φρουρῶν ἐκφυγόντων. Λούκουλλος δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα τρισκαίδεκα ναῦς εἶλε τῶν πολεμίων.	After Lucullus had achieved [this victory] by starvation on land, he collected ships from Asia and distributed them among his generals. Triarius sailed against Apamea and captured it, there was a slaughter of many Apamaeans who had fled for refuge to the temples. Barbas captured Prusias, that lies next to a mountain, and occupied Nicaea, as the Mithridatic garrison had fled. Lucullus captured thirteen enemy ships around the Limen of the Achaeans.

Appian, <i>Mithridatic War</i> , 569 ⁹	
Παρῆγεν ἐς μὲν τοὺς λιμένας ἑπτακοσίας ναῦς ἐντελεῖς, ἐς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ θριάμβου ζεύγη καὶ φορεῖα χρυσοφόρα καὶ ἕτερα κόσμου ποικίλου.	[For the triumph of Pompey] seven hundred entire ships were brought into the <i>limenes</i> , and in the triumphal procession there were carriages and litters laden with gold, and other rich ornaments

Appian, <i>Punic Wars</i> , 347	
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⁷ 11.73 in other editions.

⁸ 11.77 in other editions.

⁹ 17.116 in other editions.

<p>οἱ μὲν δὴ φόβου καὶ ἀπορίας ἦσαν ἐν τούτῳ, Ἰτύκη δέ, ἡ Λιβύης μεγίστη μετὰ Καρχηδόνα πόλις, λιμένας τε ἔχουσα εὐόρμους καὶ στρατοπέδων καταγωγὰς δαφιλεῖς, ἐξήκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνας ἀφροστῶσα καὶ καλῶς ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένη, τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἄρα καὶ αὐτὴ τότε ἀπογνοῦσα καὶ τὸ πάλαι μῖσος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρουσα ἐν καιρῷ, πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, οἱ τὴν Ἰτύκην Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέτρεπον.</p>	<p>While [the Carthaginians] were in fear and despair about that [new conflict with Rome], Utica, the largest city in Libya after Carthage, when Carthage was in despair and recalling their ancient hatred towards them at that point, sent ambassadors to Rome, to align Utica with the Romans. It had <i>limenes</i> safe for mooring (<i>euormous</i>) and plenty of berths (<i>katagogas</i>) of the army, it lies 60 stadia distant from Carthage, and it is well placed for a war against them.</p>
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Appian, <i>Punic Wars</i> , 360 ¹⁰	
<p>διαπλεύσαντές τε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ὁ μὲν πεζός, ἔνθα πάλαι τὸ Σκιπίωνος ἦν στρατόπεδον, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων.</p>	<p>[The Roman authorities] sailed across [from Sicily to Africa] and established their infantry camp there where Scipio had his camp; the ships stayed in the <i>limenes</i> of Utica.</p>

Appian, <i>Punic Wars</i> , 408-414 ¹¹	
<p>“ὁ καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε ἐγένοντο ναυτικοί, μάλιστα ηὔξησέ τε καὶ καθεῖλεν· ἔοικε γὰρ τὰ θαλάσσια τοῖς ἐμπορικοῖς κέρδεσιν, ἃ καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀθρόαν. ἴστε γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους, ὧν ἐπεμνήσθην, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴονιον ἐκτείνοντες ἐς Σικελίαν οὐ πρὶν ἀπέστησαν τῆς πλεονεξίας, πρὶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς</p>	<p>“The Athenians, when they became sailors, rose greatly and then they fell. Sea power is like the profit of the merchants: sometimes it brings abundance, sometimes complete loss. You know that those people that I just mentioned, when they had extended their empire to Ionia and to Sicily, they wouldn’t give up their greed before their whole empire was taken from them, and they had to surrender their</p>

¹⁰ 11.78 in other editions.

¹¹ 12.87 in other editions.

<p>παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνδέξασθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ τεῖχη σφῶν αὐτοὶ τὰ μακρὰ καθελεῖν καὶ σχεδὸν ἠπειρῶνται τότε κάκεινοι γενέσθαι. [...] ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν Λιβύην ἀπίδετε, ὅσαι μεσόγειοι πόλεις ἀκινδύνως βιοῦσιν. ὧν ἥς ἂν ἐθέλητε, γείτονες ἔσεσθε, ἵνα τὴν ἐρεθίζουσαν ὑμᾶς ὄψιν τε καὶ μνήμην ἀφῆτε τῶν νῦν ἐνοχλούντων κακῶν, ὅταν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν κενὴν σκαφῶν ἀφορῶντες ἀναμιμνήσκησθε τοῦ πλήθους ὧν εἴχετε νεῶν, καὶ λαφύρων ὅσων ἐφέρετε, καὶ ἐς οἴους γε τοὺς λιμένας κατήγεσθε σοβαροὶ καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν σκευῶν ταμιεῖα ἐνεπίμπλατε.”</p>	<p><i>limenes</i> and their ships to their enemies, and to receive a garrison in the city, and to destroy their Long Walls, and then they became almost fully land-based. [...] But look at your Libya, how many harmless inland cities there are! Pick whichever you want and be their neighbours so that you abandon your war-rousing ideas and memories of the evils that now trouble you when you see the sea empty of boats and you remember the multitude of ships that you used to have, and how many spoils you used to bring and disembark proudly in your excellent <i>limenes</i>, and the docks (<i>neoria</i>) and how you had your store-houses (<i>tamieia</i>) full of engines.”</p>
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Appian, *Syrian War*, 112-113¹²

<p>Λίβιος δ' ὁ ναύαρχος, ἐπεὶ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας τῶν Σκιπιώνων ἐπύθετο, Πausίμαχον μὲν τὸν Ῥόδιον μετὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων νεῶν ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατέλιπε καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ ἰδίου στόλου, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον ἔπλει τὸν στρατὸν ὑποδεξόμενος. καὶ Σηστός μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ Ῥοίτειον καὶ ὁ Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα προσέθετο, Ἄβυδον δὲ ἀπειθοῦσαν ἐπολιόρκει.</p>	<p>When the admiral Livius was informed that the Scipios were on their way, he left Pausimachus the Rhodian with the Rhodian ships and part of his own fleet in Aeolis, and he sailed with the majority [of his ships] to the Hellespont to reinforce the army. Sestos, and Rhoeteios, and the Limen of the Achaeans, and some others surrendered to him, but Abydos refused and he besieged it.</p>
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Cassius Dio, 60.11.1-5

¹² 5.23 in other editions.

<p>Λιμοῦ τε ἰσχυροῦ γενομένου, οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἀφθονίας τῶν τροφῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐς πάντα τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνα πρόνοιαν ἐποίησατο. ἐπεσάκτου γὰρ παντὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῦ σίτου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντος, ἡ χώρα ἢ πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐκβολαῖς, οὔτε κατάρσεις ἀσφαλεῖς οὔτε λιμένας ἐπιτηδείους ἔχουσα, ἀνωφελές σφισι τὸ κράτος τῆς θαλάσσης ἐποίει· ἔξω τε γὰρ τῶν τῆ τε ὠραία ἐσκομισθέντων καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀποθήκας ἀναχθέντων οὐδὲν τὴν χειμερινὴν ἐσεφοίτα, ἀλλ' εἴ τις παρεκινδύνευσε, κακῶς ἀπήλλασε. τοῦτ' οὖν συνιδῶν λιμένα τε κατασκευάσαι ἐπεχείρησεν, οὐδ' ἀπετράπη καίπερ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων εἰπόντων αὐτῷ, πυθομένῳ πόσον τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἔσοιτο, “ὅτι οὐ θέλεις αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι”· οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ δαπανήματος ἀναχαιτισθῆναι αὐτόν, εἰ προπύθοιτο αὐτό, ἤλπισαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη πρᾶγμα καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης ἄξιον καὶ ἐπετέλεσε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐξορύξας τῆς ἠπείρου χωρίον οὐ μικρόν, τὸ πέριξ πᾶν ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσεδέξατο· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πελάγει χῶματα ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ μεγάλα χῶσας θάλασσαν ἐνταῦθα πολλὴν περιέβαλε, καὶ νῆσον ἐν αὐτῇ πύργον τε ἐπ' ἐκείνη</p>	<p>A harsh famine broke out, [so much that] there was no memory [of a famine like that] not only from the present scarcity of food but but from all ages before that. Once all of the wheat, as they say, from the Romans had been consumed, the terrain by the outlets of the Tiber, which had no safe approaches nor any suitable <i>limenes</i>, and it prevented them from domaining the sea. For the [wheat cargoes] were brought from the exterior to the shore and shipped to the storehouses, nothing had been imported during winter, and if a [warehouse] was in danger, it was extremely disastrous. So [Claudius] planned to build a <i>limen</i> and set to work, and he didn't change his mind even though the architects were trying to talk him out of it, when they tried to persuade him of such a large expense, he would reply that: “you do not want to do it!”. In this way he made the population assume the costs, if he could convince them of it, they would have hope. But he wished for that deed, which was worthy of Rome both in the aspiration and in its greatness, and he completed it. So he excavated a zone of no small size on the mainland, and all around it he built quays (<i>ekrepidose</i>), and he enclosed the sea within it. Then in that very [space of] sea, he threw long moles (<i>khomata</i>) on both sides, he encircled there a large [part of] the sea,</p>
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<p>φρυκτωρίαν ἔχοντα κατεστήσατο. ὁ μὲν οὖν λιμὴν ὁ καὶ νῦν οὕτω κατὰ γε τὸ ἐπιχώριον ὀνομαζόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε ἐποιήθη·</p>	<p>and he arranged an island with a tower on it supporting a beacon (<i>pyrgon phyktorian ekhonta</i>). The <i>limen</i> is still nowadays on that place, it is named after he who founded it.</p>
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Cassius Dio, 74.10.5	
<p>οἱ τε λιμένες ἐντὸς τείχους ἀμφοτέροι κλειστοὶ ἀλύσειν ἦσαν, καὶ αἱ χηλαὶ αὐτῶν πύργους ἐφ' ἐκάτερα πολὺ προέχοντας ἔφερον, ὥστ' ἄπορον τῷ πολεμῖῳ τὸν πρόσπλον ποιεῖν.</p>	<p>The <i>limenes</i> inside the walls were both closeable with chains, and the moles enclosing their basins [<i>khelai</i>] had towers on either side projecting for a long distance, in order to make the advance of the enemy hopeless.</p>

Cassius Dio, 75.10 ¹³	
<p>Οἱ δὲ δὴ Βυζάντιοι καὶ ζῶντος τοῦ Νίγρου καὶ τελευτήσαντος πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔδρασαν. ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἐν καιρῷ πάνυ καὶ τῶν ἡπείρων καὶ τῆς διὰ μέσου σφῶν θαλάσσης κεῖται, τῇ τε τοῦ χωρίου ἅμα καὶ τῇ τοῦ Βοσπόρου φύσει ἰσχυρῶς παρεσκευασμένη. αὐτὴ τε γὰρ ἐπὶ μετεώρου πεπόλισται, προέχουσα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ ἐκείνη χειμάρρου δίκην ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου καταθέουσα τῇ τε ἄκρᾳ προσπίπτει, καὶ μέρει μὲν τινὶ ἐς τὰ δεξιὰ ἀποτρέπεται κἀνταῦθα τὸν τε κόλπον καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ποιεῖ, τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείονι πρὸς τὴν Προποντίδα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν πολλῇ σπουδῇ χωρεῖ. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ</p>	<p>The people of Byzantium made many wonderful works both while Niger was alive and after his death. Their city lies on a very convenient place on the two continents and the sea flows in the middle of them, and it is built strong both by the nature of the land and that of the Bosphorus. [As for the land], city is built on high ground, projecting onto the sea; and [in relation to the Bosphorus] it looks like the winter rains pouring down from Pontus towards the cape (<i>akra</i>), and a part of it is curved to the right, and on that place it forms the bay (<i>kolpos</i>) and the <i>limenes</i>, but the greater part [of the sea water] flows past the city at great speed</p>

¹³ This numbering corresponds to the Loeb edition by E. Cary, which is slightly more modern than the TLG edition by Bossevain. The passage number in Bossevain's edition is 74.10.

<p>τείχη καρτερώτατα εἶχον. ὃ τε γὰρ θώραξ αὐτῶν λίθοις τετραπέδοις παχέσι συνωκοδόμητο, πλαξὶ χαλκαῖς συνδουμένοις, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χώμασι καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν ὠχύρωτο, ὥστε καὶ ἐν τεῖχος παχὺ τὸ πᾶν εἶναι δοκεῖν, καὶ ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ περιδρομον καὶ στεγανὸν καὶ εὐφύλακτον ὑπάρχειν. πύργοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι ἔξω τε ἐκκείμενοι καὶ θυρίδας πέριξ ἐπαλλήλας ἔχοντες ἦσαν, ὥστε τοὺς προσβάλλοντας τῷ κύκλῳ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι· δι' ὀλίγου τε γὰρ καὶ οὐ κατ' εὐθύ, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῇ οἱ δὲ τῇ σκολιώτερον ὠκοδομημένοι, πᾶν τὸ προσπίπτον σφισιν ἐνεκυκλοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ δὴ περιβόλου τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῆς ἠπείρου μέγα ὕψος ἦρτο, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀμύνασθαι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ ἦττον· αἱ τε γὰρ πέτραι ἐφ' ὧν ἐπωκοδόμητο καὶ ἡ τοῦ Βοσπόρου δεινότης θαυμαστῶς σφίσι συνεμάχουν. οἱ τε λιμένες ἐντὸς τείχους ἀμφοτέρω κλειστοὶ ἀλύσεσιν ἦσαν, καὶ αἱ χηλαὶ αὐτῶν πύργους ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολὺ προέχοντας ἔφερον, ὥστ' ἄπορον τῷ πολεμίῳ τὸν πρόσπλον ποιεῖν. τὸ δ' ὅλον ὁ Βόσπορος σφας μέγιστα ὠφελεῖ· ἀνάγκη γὰρ πᾶσα, ἂν ἄπαξ τις ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα ἐμπέσῃ, καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐκπέσειν. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ μὲν φίλῳ ἡδιστόν ἐστι, τῷ δὲ ἐναντίῳ ἀπορώτατον.</p>	<p>into Propontis. And their walls are very strong indeed. The structure is made of square, thick stones held together with bronze plates. On the inner part they are reinforced with buttresses and buildings, so that the whole looks like it is one thick wall, and on top there are covered ramparts good for the surveillance. Many tall towers were embedded to the outer part [of the walls] with windows all around close to one another, so that those who attacked would be caught inside that circuit. For they were built at short distances and not in a straight line, but some here, some there on a very curvy direction, so anyone attacking them would be encircled. The circuit [of the walls] on the side of the continent was raised to a great height, so that they could repel from [their walls] even those [attackers] who chanced it, but [the walls] facing the sea were less [high]. The rocks on which they had been built and the harshness of the Bosphorus were terrific allies for the people [of Byzantium]. The ports inside the walls were both closed with chains, and their quays (<i>khelai</i>) had towers on both sides jutting out [of the defensive walls?] a lot, in order to make it impossible for the enemy to sail against them. The whole of Bosphorus is most advantageous to them: once someone enters their currents, sheer necessity will throw him to land even</p>
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	against his will. This is very pleasant for friends, but completely helpless for their enemies.
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Chariton, <i>Callirhoe</i> , 1.7.1-3	
<p>Θήρων γάρ τις ἦν πανοὔργος ἄνθρωπος, ἐξ ἀδικίας πλέων τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ληστὰς ἔχων ὑφορμοῦντας τοῖς λιμέσιν ὀνόματι πορθμείου, πειρατήριον συγκροτῶν. οὗτος τῇ ἐκκομιδῇ παρατυχῶν ἐπωφθάμισε τῷ χρυσῷ καὶ νύκτωρ κατακλινεῖς οὐκ ἐκοιμᾶτο λέγων πρὸς αὐτὸν “ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ κινδυνεύω μαχόμενος τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας ἀποκτείνων ἕνεκα λημμάτων μικρῶν, ἐξὸν πλουτῆσαι παρὰ μιᾶς νεκρᾶς; ἀνερρίφθω κύβος· οὐκ ἀφήσω τὸ κέρδος. τίνας δ’ οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν στρατολογήσω; σκέψαι, Θήρων, τίς ἐπιτήδειος ὢν οἶδας.” [...] ἐπεξιῶν δὲ τῷ λογισμῷ καθέκαστον ὥσπερ ἀργυρογνώμων [...] διατρέχων εἰς τὸν λιμένα, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀνεζήτει. εὔρε δὲ ἐνίοις μὲν ἐν πορνείοις, οὓς δ’ ἐν καπηλείοις, οἰκεῖον στρατὸν τοιοῦτω στρατηγῷ.</p>	<p>Theron was a wicked man, who sailed the seas for piracy, anchoring at the limenes under the name of a ferryman, but in fact being a pirate. He happened to be there and he saw the burial with the gold, and at night, while he was lying down, he couldn’t sleep and he told himself: “am I going to take risks fighting the sea and killing the living for a small booty, when I can get rich with one corpse? I will open the coffin, I won’t let go of the gain. Who can I recruit for the action? Think, Theron, whom you know to be suitable”. [...] When he had made an exact count like an assayer of silver [...], he ran down to the harbour to look for each of them. He found some in the brothels, others in the taverns: like the general, such is the army.</p>

Chariton, <i>Callirhoe</i> , 1.11.6-8	
<p>ἐδόκει δὴ πᾶσι καταπλεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας, οὐκ ἤρεσκε δὲ Θήρωνι τῆς πόλεως ἢ περιεργία· “μόνοι γὰρ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀκούετε</p>	<p>It pleased everyone [of the pirates] to sail to Athens, but Theorn didn’t like the curiosity of that city. “Are you the only</p>

<p>τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην τῶν Ἀθηναίων; δῆμος ἐστὶ λάλος καὶ φιλόδικος, ἐν δὲ τῷ λιμένι μυρίοι συκοφάνται πεύσονται τίνες ἐσμὲν καὶ πόθεν ταῦτα φέρομεν τὰ φορτία. ὑποψία καταλήφεται πονηρὰ τοὺς κακοήθεις. Ἄρειος πάγος εὐθύς ἐκεῖ καὶ ἄρχοντες τυράννων βαρύτεροι. μᾶλλον Συρακοσίων Ἀθηναίουσ φοβηθῶμεν. χωρίον ἡμῖν ἐπιτήδειόν ἐστὶν Ἴωνία, καὶ γὰρ πλοῦτος ἐκεῖ βασιλικὸς ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης Ἀσίας ἄνωθεν ἐπιρρέων καὶ ἄνθρωποι τρυφῶντες καὶ ἀπράγμονες· ἐλπίζω δὲ τινὰς αὐτόθεν εὐρήσειν καὶ γνωρίμους.” ὕδρυσάμενοι δὲ καὶ λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῶν παρουσῶν ὀλκάδων ἐπισιτισμὸν ἔπλεον εὐθὺ Μιλήτου, τριταῖοι δὲ κατήχθησαν εἰς ὄρμον ἀπέχοντα τῆς πόλεως σταδίου ὀγδοήκοντα, εὐφυέστατον εἰς ὑποδοχὴν.</p>	<p>ones who haven't heard of the zealousness of the Athenians? They are a chatty folk and they like lawsuits. On the <i>limen</i>, thousands of denouncers will ask who we are, and from where are we bringing our cargo. Their suspicion catches badly those who want evil. The Areopagus is right there and the archons are harsh tyrants. We must fear the Athenians more than the Syracusans. Ionia is a convenient place for us. Besides, the wealth there is royal, flowing in from above the greater Asia, and the people are luxurious and free from business. I hope in that place we will find some well-known people”. So they took drinking water and food from the merchant ships nearby and they sailed right to Miletus. On the third day, they put in in a <i>hormos</i> 80 stadia distant from the city, a best-formed one to accommodate them.</p>
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Chariton, *Callirhoe*, 1.14.3-5

<p>Θήρων δὲ τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος τοῦ Λεωνᾶ “τὰ μὲν παρ’ ἐμοῦ σοι” φησὶ “πιστῶς πεπλήρωται, σὺ δὲ ἔχε μὲν ἤδη τὴν γυναῖκα (φίλος γὰρ εἶ λοιπόν), ἦκε δὲ εἰς ἄστυ καὶ λάμβανε τὰς καταγραφὰς καὶ τότε μοι τιμὴν ἣν θέλεις ἀποδώσεις.” ἀμείψασθαι δὲ θέλων [ὁ] Λεωνᾶς “οὐ μὲν οὖν” φησὶν, “ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγὼ σοι τὸ ἀργύριον ἤδη πιστεύω πρὸ τῆς καταγραφῆς,” ἅμα δὲ καὶ</p>	<p>Theron took Leonas's right hand and said: “I will sell you my stuff in confidence. You take the woman (for you are now a friend), go to the citadel and take the contracts [for registering the merchandise], and then you give me whatever price you want.” Leonas wanted the exchange, and said: “No way. I also will entrust to you the money [as an upfront payment] before the contract”.</p>
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<p>προκαταλαβεῖν ἤθελε, δεδιὼς μὴ ἄρα μετάθῃται· πολλοὺς γὰρ <ἄν> ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐθέλοντας ὠνεῖσθαι. τάλαντον οὖν ἀργυρίου προκομίσας ἠνάγκαζε λαβεῖν, ὁ δὲ Θήρων ἀκκισάμενος λαμβάνει. [...] “βούλομαι” φησὶν “ἄφ’ ἑσπέρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν πλεῦσαι, τῆς δ’ ὑστεραίας ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι συμβαλοῦμεν.”</p>	<p>And at once he wanted him to take it and he gave it to him, lest he should change his mind. For the potential buyers in the city were numerous. So he produced a silver talent and forced him to take it, and Theron took it faking indifference. [...] [Theron] said: “I want to sail to the city this evening. Tomorrow we shall meet each other in the limen”.</p>
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Chariton, <i>Callirhoe</i> , 3.4.11	
<p>καθεζόμενος οὖν ἐν τῷ πλήθει τις ἀλιεύς ἐγνώρισεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τοὺς <παρα>καθεζομένους εἶπε “τοῦτον ἐγὼ καὶ πρότερον εἶδον περὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἡμέτερον στρεφόμενον.” ταχέως οὖν ὁ λόγος εἰς πλείονας διεδόθη, καὶ τις ἐξεβόησε “ψεύδεται.”</p>	<p>A fisherman who was sitting among the crowd recognised him, and quietly told to those who were sitting next to him: “I saw him going around at our port”. Word came swiftly to the majority [of the crowd], and someone yelled: “he’s lying!”.</p>

Chariton, <i>Callirhoe</i> , 4.1.5	
<p>Διονύσιος δὲ ἐφθόνησε Χαιρέα τῆς γειτνιασεως καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ἐφύλαττεν αὐτῷ. θέλων οὖν ἅμα καὶ τριβὴν ἐγγενέσθαι τῇ φροντίδι “βαδίζωμεν, ὦ γυναῖ” φησὶν, “εἰς ἄστν, κάκεῖ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἀρίδηλον κατασκευάσωμεν τάφον, ὡς κεν τηλεφανῆς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσις εἴη. καλοὶ δὲ Μιλησίων εἰσὶ λιμένες, εἰς οὓς καθορμίζονται καὶ Συρακόσιοι</p>	<p>Dionysius felt envy of the proximity [of the memorial] for Chaereas [to the temple of Aphrodite], because he coveted that place for himself. As he wanted that care to appear in [Callirhoe’s] thoughts¹⁴, he said: “Wife, let us go to the citadel, and in there by the city we will arrange a high tomb that can be seen from afar, <i>so that it can be seen from long out to sea by men</i>¹⁵. The Milesians have good <i>limenes</i>, on which the Syracusans often moor. In this</p>

¹⁴ i.e. Dionysius wanted to influence Callirhoe on where to set the memorial for Chaereas.

¹⁵ From Homer, *Odyssey*, 24.83, said about the tomb of Achilles.

πολλάκις. οὐκουν οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἀκλεᾶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἔξεις.”	way your generosity would not go unnoticed among your fellow citizens.”
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Chariton, <i>Callirhoe</i> , 7.2.8-9	
ἡ μὲν γὰρ πόλις ἐν θαλάσῃ κατῳκίσται, λεπτή δὲ εἴσοδος αὐτὴν συνάπτουσα τῇ γῆ κωλύει τὸ μὴ νῆσον εἶναι· ἔοικε δὲ νηὶ καθωρμισμένη καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς τεθεικυῖα τὴν ἐπιβάθραν. πανταχόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον ἀποκλεῖσαι ῥάδιον· τὴν μὲν πεζὴν στρατιὰν τέκ τῆς θαλάσσης†, ἀρκούσης αὐτῇ πύλης μιᾶς, τὸν δὲ ἐπίπλουν τῶν τριηρῶν τείχεσιν, ὀχυρῶς ὠκοδομημένης τῆς πόλεως καὶ λιμέσι κλειομένης ὥσπερ οἰκίας.	The city [of Tyre on the offshore island] is founded on the sea, a fine access unites it to the mainland and prevents it from being an island. It looked like a ship lying at anchor and moored to the land as a platform. So it was easily shut out from all sides by the enemies. One single gate was enough for the infantry coming from the sea [through the causeway?], the triremes [launched] a naval attack against the walls, in the way the city that was built it could be shut like a room [separated from] the <i>limenes</i> .

Dio Chrysostomus, 11.23b	
καθάπερ οἶμαι θετταλίζοντα ἢ κρητίζοντα, οἰονεὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκάλει λιμένα, Θετταλῶν ἀκούσας.	So I think [in mixing up the Greek dialects, Homer] was imitating the Thessalians or the Cretans, as if you call the <i>agora limen</i> , like I hear it from the Thessalians.

Diodorus Siculus, 20.85.4	
οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι θεωροῦντες τοῦ Δημητρίου τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιβολὴν οὖσαν ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τούτου παρεσκευάζοντο. δύο μὲν οὖν ἔστησαν μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, τρεῖς δ' ἐπὶ φορτηγῶν	The Rhodians, upon seeing all these assault preparations from Demetrius against the <i>limen</i> , they, too, made preparations for their defense. They put up two machines on the mole (<i>khoma</i>), and three cargo ships close to the boom (<i>kleithron</i>) of the small <i>limen</i> .

πλοίων πλησίον τῶν κλείθρων τοῦ μικροῦ λιμένος·	
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<i>Etymologicum Gudianum</i> , λ, p. 370	
<Λιμήν>, διὰ τὸ λίαν μένειν ἀχειμάστως ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ πλοῖα.	<i>Limen</i> : because the ships can stay gently (<i>lian menein</i>) in it safe from the storms.
<Λιμήν>, παρὰ τὸ λεῖον αὐτὸν διαμένειν ἤγουν πραῦν, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀτάκτους φοράς ῥευμάτων καὶ κυμάτων, τὰ πολλὰ ἀντεγείρεσθαι.	<i>Limen</i> : because it is smooth (<i>leion</i>), that is, calm (<i>praun</i>), so that it is not agitated most of the time on the irregular impulses of the currents and waves.

Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> , 11.78 ¹⁶	
ἤρξαντο δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ πολλὰ τοῖς τε λατόμοις καὶ τέκτοσι χρήματα δόντες καὶ τὰ πρὸς τροφήν τῶν εἰσαγομένων, τοῖς τε Σιδωνίοις ἠδὺ καὶ κοῦφον ἦν τὰ τε κέδρινα κατάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου ξύλα δήσασιν αὐτὰ καὶ σχεδιάν πηξαμένοις εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἰόππης κομίζειν λιμένα· τοῦτο γὰρ πρῶτος μὲν Κῦρος ἐκέλευσεν, τότε δὲ Δαρείου κελεύσαντος ἐγίνετο.	They began the construction of the temple by giving many materials to the stonecutters and to the carpenters, and the rations for the workmen. The Sidonians were delighted and at ease in bringing the timber of cedars down from Libanus: they tied them together making a raft, and they brought it to the <i>limen</i> at Jaffa. That was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and it was then carried out by Darius.

Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> , 14.147 ¹⁷	
ἀσπίδα χρυσοῦν σύμβολον τῆς συμμαχίας γενομένην ἀνήνεγκαν ἀπὸ χρυσοῦν μυριάδων πέντε, καὶ γράμματ' αὐτοῖς ἠξίωσαν δοθῆναι πρὸς τε τὰς αὐτονομούμενας πόλεις καὶ πρὸς	[The ambassadors at the renewal of the treatise of alliance] brought a golden shield as a symbol of alliance worth fifty thousand pieces of gold, and they deemed it worthy to pass letters to the autonomous

¹⁶ 11.4.1 in other editions.

¹⁷ 14.8.5 in other editions.

<p>βασιλεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἀδείας τυγχάνειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι.</p>	<p>cities and to the kings that both their country and their <i>limenes</i> had to be free of harm and not attacked.</p>
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Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> , 14.249-250 ¹⁸	
<p>ὅπως μηδὲν ἀδικῆ Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντιόχου υἱὸς Ἰουδαίους συμμάχους Ῥωμαίων, ὅπως τε φρούρια καὶ λιμένας καὶ χώραν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀφείλετο αὐτῶν ἀποδοθῆ καὶ ἐξῆ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν λιμένων μηδ' ἐξαγαγεῖν, ἵνα τε μηδεὶς ἀτελής ἢ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίων χώρας ἢ τῶν λιμένων αὐτῶν ἐξάγων βασιλεὺς ἢ δῆμος ἢ μόνος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρέων βασιλεὺς διὰ τὸ εἶναι σύμμαχος ἡμέτερος καὶ φίλος.</p>	<p>[The decree of Pergamus stated] that king Antiochus, the son of Antiochus, must not harm the Jews, the allies of the Romans, and that he has to abandon the garrisons, and the <i>limenes</i>, and the territory, and anything else, and return it to them, and that it is not legitimate for them to export from their <i>limenes</i>, so that nobody, king or townspeople, is untaxed when exporting from the Jewish territory or <i>limenes</i>, only Ptolemy, the king of Alexandria, because he is our ally and friend.</p>

Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> , 15.331-332 ¹⁹	
<p>Κατιδῶν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότατον δέξασθαι πόλιν, ὃ πάλαι Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος [...], τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ πλείστην ἐργασίαν παρασχόν, ἀκλύστῳ λιμένι, μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καταγωγὰς δ' ἔνδον ἔχοντι καὶ δευτέρους ὑφόρμους, τῇ δὲ δομήσει περιβλεπτον, ὅτι μηδ' ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τῆς μεγαλουργίας εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεισάκτοις καὶ πολλαῖς ἐξετελειώθη ταῖς δαπάναις.</p>	<p>[Herod] noticed a place by the sea that was very suitable to accommodate a city. It used to be called Strato's Tower [...], the greatest and largest work that he furnished was a <i>limen</i> free from swell (<i>aklystos</i>), about the size of Piraeus, with berths (<i>katagogai</i>) inside and two <i>hyphormoi</i>, it was admirable for its construction, because that place was in no way the most suitable for such a monumental work, and he completed it at great expenses bringing in materials from outside.</p>

¹⁸ 14.10.22 in other editions.

¹⁹ 15.9.6 in other editions.

Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> , 16.13 ²⁰	
<p>κάκεινος [...] ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, Ἡρώδης δὲ οὐδὲν ἀρεσκείας ἀπέλιπεν ἔν τε ταῖς νεοκτίστοις πόλεσιν ὑποδεχόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ τὰς κατασκευὰς ἐπιδεικνύναι πᾶσαν ἀπόλαυσιν διαίτης καὶ πολυτελείας ἐξαλλάττων αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἔν τε τῇ Σεβαστῇ καὶ Καισαρείᾳ περὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασκευασμένον κἂν τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, ἃ πολλὰς δαπάναις ἐξωκοδόμησεν, τό τε Ἀλεξάνδρειον καὶ Ἡρώδειον καὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν.</p>	<p>[Agrippa] [...] travelled to Judea. Herod spared no pleasureable thing as he was showing him his new-built cities and he showed him their facilities, he amused him and his friends with all sorts of enjoyable treats and expenses at Sebaste and Caesarea, with the <i>limen</i> that he had built with the moles (<i>erymata</i>), which he had erected at great costs, and the Alexandreion and the Herodeion and Hyrcania.</p>

Flavius Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i> , 4.605-609 ²¹	
<p>Προτρεπομένων δ' αὐτὸν ἤδη Μουκιανοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων ὡς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ἄγειν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀντίπαλον, ὃ δὲ πρῶτον τῶν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας εἶχετο πραγμάτων, εἰδὼς πλεῖστον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μέρος τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὔσαν διὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου χορηγίαν [...]. ἐνεθυμείτο δὲ καὶ πρόβλημα τὴν χώραν ἔχειν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀδήλων· ἔστι γὰρ κατὰ τὴν γῆν δυσέμβολος καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης ἀλίμενος, κατὰ μὲν ἑσπέραν προβεβλημένη τὰ ἄνυδρα τῆς Λιβύης, κατὰ δὲ μεσημβρίαν τὴν διορίζουσαν</p>	<p>Mucianus and the other generals urged [Vespasian], as if he was the emperor, to take control of the other legions against every rival. He had to settle first the affairs in Alexandria, conscious that it was by far the capital part of Egypt thanks to its abundance of grain [...]. But he considered the problem of conquering the territory thanks to an invisible fortune. For it is hard to enter by land, and on the sea side it is alimenos, to the west it faces waterless Lybia, to the south it borders with Aethiopia and Syene and the unnavigable waterfalls of the river [Nile],</p>

²⁰ 16.2.1 in other editions.

²¹ 4.10.6 in other editions.

ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίων τὴν Συήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀπλώτους τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταράκτας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀνατολῆς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἀναχεομένην μέχρι Κοπτοῦ.	and to the east, the Red Sea flows until Coptos.
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Herodotus, 1.185	
Κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῶ βαβυλῶνος ὤρυσσε ἔλυτρον λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· [...] Ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ ὀρώρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπίδα κύκλω περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε.	[Queen Nitocris] dug a reservoir in the form of a lake a long way above Babylon, extending not very far from the river, always digging deep [enough to find] water, making its width 420 stadia in perimeter. [...] When it was dug, she brought stones and built a quay (<i>krepis</i>) in a circle around it.

Hesychius, epsilon, 3252	
ἔνορμος· ἡ ἀγορὰ παρὰ Θετταλοῖς	<i>en-hormos</i> : the agora by the Thessalians.

Hesychius, lambda, 1033	
λιμὴν· ἀγορὰ, καὶ ἐνδιατριβή. Πάφιοι	<i>limen</i> : agora and living-place. The Paphians [say this].

Herodotus, 2.170	
Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὄσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τὸ ὄνομα ἐν Σαί, ἐν τῷ ἱρῶ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ὀπισθε τοῦ νηοῦ [...]. Καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει ὀβελοὶ ἐστᾶσι μεγάλοι λίθινοι, λίμνη τέ ἐστι ἐχομένη λιθίνη κρηπίδι κεκοσμημένη [καὶ] ἐργασμένη εὖ	There are also tombs at Sais for someone whose name, I think, is not revered to say when you speak about this subject. It is by the temple of Athena, behind the nave [...]. And on the precinct there stand large stone obelisks, there is also a port that has a quay (<i>krepis</i>) made of stone, adorned

κύκλω καὶ μέγαθος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκεε, ὅση περ ἢ ἐν Δήλῳ ἢ τροχοειδῆς καλεομένη.	and shaped in a good circle of the size like the one in Delos called Circular, as I believe.
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Pausanias, 1.1.2-3	
ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς δῆμος μὲν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν ἐπίνειον οὐκ ἦν· Φαληρὸν δέ—ταύτη γὰρ ἐλάχιστον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως ἢ θάλασσα—, τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον ἦν [...]. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἤρξε—τοῖς τε γὰρ πλέουσι ἐπιτηδειότερος ὁ Πειραιεὺς ἐφαίνετό οἱ προκεῖσθαι καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἔχειν τοῦ Φαληροῦ—τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον εἶναι κατασκευάσατο· [...] Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀθηναῖος ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Μουνυχίαι λιμὴν [...].	Piraeus used to be a village in ancient times, it was not the <i>epineion</i> for the Athenians before Themistocles ruled. Phaleron used to be their <i>epineion</i> , since it is the shore least far from the city. But when Themistocles ruled he made it into their <i>epineion</i> , as it seemed to him that Peiraeus lies in a location more suitable for sailors and it had three <i>limenes</i> instead of only one in Phaleron. [...] There is still another <i>limen</i> for the Athenians: the one in Mounychia [...].

Pausanias, 2.2.3	
Κορινθίοις δὲ τοῖς ἐπινείοις τὰ ὀνόματα Λέχης καὶ Κεγχρίας ἔδωσαν, Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι καὶ Πειρήνης τῆς Ἀχελῷου λεγόμενοι· [...] ἔστι δὲ ἐν Λεχαίῳ μὲν Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν, τὴν δὲ ἐς Κεγχρέας ἰόντων ἐξ ἰσθμοῦ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανον ἀρχαῖον. ἐν δὲ Κεγχρέαις Ἀφροδίτης τέ ἐστι ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρύματι τῷ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης Ποσειδῶνος χαλκοῦν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον πέρασ τοῦ	The Corinthians gave the names Lech<aeum> and Cenchreae to their <i>epineia</i> , who are said [to be the children] of Poseidon and Pirene, [the daughter] of Aqueoos. [...] In Lech<aeum> there is a temple (<i>hieron</i>) of Poseidon with a bronze statue, and in Cenchreae, crossing the isthmus, a temple (<i>naos</i>) of Artemis with an ancient wooden statue. In Cenchreae, there is a temple (<i>naos</i>) of Aphrodite with a marble statue, and apart from that, on the breakwater (<i>eruma</i>) through the sea, a

<p>λιμένος Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἴσιδος ἱερά. Κεγχρεῶν δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τὸ Ἑλένης ἐστὶ λουτρόν· ὕδωρ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκ πέτρας ρεῖ πολὺ καὶ ἀλμυρὸν ὕδατι ὅμοιον ἀρχομένῳ θερμαίνεσθαι.</p>	<p>bronze one of Poseidon. To the other side of the <i>limen</i>, there are temples (<i>hiera</i>) of Asklepios and Isis. Opposite Cenchreae there are the Baths of Helen. A lot of water flows to the sea from a rock, and the water is salty and warm.</p>
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Pausanias, 3.22.5

<p>Ἀκριᾶται δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα ποτὲ ὀλυμπιονίκην παρέσχοντο Νικοκλέα, ὀλυμπίασι δύο ἀνελόμενον δρόμου νίκας πέντε· πεποίηται δὲ καὶ μνημα τῷ Νικοκλεῖ τοῦ τε γυμνασίου μεταξὺ καὶ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι.</p>	<p>The people of Acriae once produced an olympic champion, Nicocles, who earned two Olympic games by winning five races. There is also a commemorating statue (<i>mnema</i>) to Nicocles between the gymnasium and the walls next to the <i>limen</i>.</p>
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Pausanias, 3.25.4

<p>ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρρίχου καταβάντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἔστι Τευθρώνη· τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν οἱ ταύτη Τεύθραντα Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα ἀποφαίνουσι [...]. Τευθρώνης δὲ ἀπέχει πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἐς θάλασσαν ἀνέχουσα ἄκρα Ταίναρον, καὶ λιμένες ὃ τε Ἀχιλλεῖος ἐστὶ καὶ Ψαμαθοῦς.</p>	<p>Going down to the sea from Pyrrichos, there is Teuthrone. Its founder was Teuthras, who is known to be Athenian [...]. Going away from Teuthrone 150 stadia to the sea, there rises Cape Taenareum, and the <i>limenes</i> of Achilles and Psamathous ('Sandy').</p>
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Pausanias, 2.29.6

<p>προσπλεῦσαι δὲ Αἴγινα ἐστὶ νήσων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων ἀπορωτάτη· πέτραι τε γὰρ ὑφαλοὶ περὶ πᾶσαν καὶ χοιράδες ἀνεστήκασιν. μηχανήσασθαι δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες ταῦτα Αἰακὸν φασὶ</p>	<p>When you sail towards Aegina, it is the most difficult of the Greek islands. There stand high rocks all around it and submerged rocks. They say Aeacus planned it like this on purpose, to scare the</p>
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<p>ληστειῶν τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης φόβῳ, καὶ πολεμίοις ἀνδράσι μὴ ἄνευ κινδύνου εἶναι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ὀρμίζονται ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης, ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ Αἰάκειον καλούμενον, περίβολος τετράγωνος λευκοῦ λίθου.</p>	<p>pirates from the sea, and so that the approach of enemy men would not be without peril. Closer to the limen on which most [ships] anchor, there is a temple (naos) to Aphrodite, and in the most visible spot of the city, the so-called Aeaceum, a square precinct of white marble.</p>
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Pausanias, 2.29.11	
<p>Τελαμῶν δὲ ὕστερα κήρυκα ἀποστέλλων ἠρνεῖτο μὴ βουλευσάμενος Φώκῳ θάνατον. Αἰακὸς δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν νῆσον ἀποβαίνειν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶα, ἐστηκότα δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶς, εἰ δὲ ἐθέλοι, χῶμα ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ χῶσαντα ἐκέλευεν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπολογήσασθαι. οὕτως ἐς τὸν Κρυπτὸν καλούμενον λιμένα ἐσπλεύσας νύκτωρ ἐποίει χῶμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξεργασθὲν καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι μένει· καταγνωσθεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀνάτιος εἶναι Φώκῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σαλαμίνα ἀπέπλευσε. τοῦ λιμένος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Κρυπτοῦ θεάτρον ἐστὶ θεᾶς ἄξιον, κατὰ τὸ Ἐπιδαυρίων μάλιστα μέγεθος καὶ ἐργασίαν τὴν λοιπὴν. τούτου δὲ ὀπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται σταδίου πλευρὰ μία, ἀνέχουσά τε αὐτὴ τὸ θέατρον καὶ ἀντὶ ἐρείσματος ἀνάλογον ἐκείνῳ χρωμένῃ.</p>	<p>Telamon later sent a messenger to announce that he had not wanted to kill Phocus. But Aeacus wouldn't allow him to disembark on the island, but he ordered him stand on the ship or, if he wanted, to throw a mole on the sea and pronounce his defence from there. He sailed to the so-called Secret <i>Limen</i> and during the night he built a mole. And it was completed and it still remains to our days. In the end he was proclaimed not guilty about Phocus, and the second day he sailed back to Salamis. Not far from the Secret [<i>limen</i>] there is a theatre worth seeing, quite from the size of Epidaurus and the style and the rest. Behind it, a race-course is built on one buttress, which is upholding the theatre as well as a support, it is used by this building at the same time.</p>

<p>Τημενίου δὲ ἀπέχει Ναυπλία πεντήκοντα ἔμοι δοκεῖν σταδίου, τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημος, οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῆς Ναύπλιος Ποσειδῶνος λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀμυμώνης εἶναι. λείπεται δὲ καὶ τειχῶν ἔτι ἐρείπια, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν καὶ λιμένες εἰσὶν ἐν Ναυπλία καὶ πηγὴ Κάναθος καλουμένη·</p>	<p>Temenion is distant from Nauplia 50 stadia, I think. In our days, [Temenion] is deserted, its founder was Nauplios, said to be [the son] of Poseidon and Amymone. Now there remain the walls and the ruins, and the temple of Poseidon and the limenes are in Nauplia, as well as the fountain called Canathus.</p>
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Pausanias, 3.23.10

<p>κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ Βοιωτῶν εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον τὴν Λιμηρὰν ἄγουσαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ Λιμνάτιδος. ἡ πόλις δὲ ἀπέχουσα οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ μετεώρῳ μὲν ὤκισται, θεὰς δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια τὸ μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, τὸ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου, καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναός, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ λιμένος Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Σωτήρος.</p>	<p>On the road that goes from Boeae to Epidaurus Limera, there is the temple (<i>hieron</i>) of Artemis on the region of Epidaurus Limnatis. The town is not very far from the sea and it is founded on a cliff. It is worth seeing the temple (<i>hieron</i>) of Aphrodite, that of Asclepius with a sculptured image of marble, and the temple (<i>naos</i>) of Athena on the acropolis, and by the limen, that of Zeus surnamed Saviour.</p>
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Pausanias, 4.23.7

<p>Ζάγκλην δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέλαβον λησταί, καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῳ τῇ γῆι τειχίσαντες ὅσον περὶ τὸν λιμένα ὀρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐχρῶντο·</p>	<p>Zankle was taken by pirates at first, and they built as much was necessary for the <i>limen</i> on deserted land, they used it as an anchorage for their raids and their attacks.</p>
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Pausanias, 4.35.1

<p>Μοθῶνη δέ, πρὶν ἢ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς Τροίαν ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς</p>	<p>Mothone, before the army for fighting the Trojan War was gathered, used to be</p>
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<p>Ἰλίῳ πολέμου καλουμένη Πήδασος, μεταβέβληκεν ὕστερον τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ Μοθωναῖοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰνέως θυγατρὸς· Οἰνεῖ γὰρ τῷ Πορθάονος μετὰ ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου παρὰ Διομήδην ἀναχωρήσαντι ἐς Πελοπόννησον θυγατέρα φασὶν ἐκ παλλακῆς Μοθώνην γενέσθαι· δόξη δὲ ἐμῇ δέδωκε τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ὁ Μόθων λίθος. οὗτος δὲ σφισι καὶ ὁ ποιῶν τὸν λιμένα ἐστὶ· τὸν τε γὰρ ἔσπλον στενώτερον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐργάζεται παρήκων ὕφαλος καὶ ἅμα μὴ ἐκ βυθοῦ ταρασσεσθαι τὸν κλύδωνα ἔρυμα ἔστηκεν.</p>	<p>called Pedasos, but it changed its name later, as the very Mothonians say, for that of the daughter of Oeneus. Oeneus, son of Porthaonus, made the journey back with Diomedes to the Peloponesus after the capture of Troy, and they say he had a daughter, Mothone, from a young girl. But in my opinion, I think that the name the Mothon Rock gave the name to this place. This [rock] is what makes their <i>limen</i>. For it makes the entrance narrower for ships, while also standing [in the function of] as a high breakwater (<i>eryma</i>) so that the swell from the depths does not cause agitation.</p>
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Pausanias, 4.36.6	
<p>τοῦ λιμένος δὲ ἡ Σφακτηρία νῆσος προβέβληται, καθάπερ τοῦ ὄρμου τοῦ Δηλίων ἡ Ῥήνεια· εἰκόασι δὲ αἱ ἀνθρώπειαι τύχαι καὶ χωρία τέως ἄγνωστα ἐς δόξαν προῆχθαι. Καφηρέως τε γὰρ ἐστὶν ὄνομα τοῦ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τοῖς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Ἑλλησιν ἐπιγενομένου χειμῶνος ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου· Ψυττάλειαν τε τὴν ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνι ἴσμεν ἀπολομένων ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν Μήδων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν Σφακτηρίαν τὸ ἀτύχημα τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώριμον τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν·</p>	<p>The island of Sphacteria lies offshore the <i>limen</i>, just like Rheneia in respect to the <i>hormos</i> of Delos. The destinies of mankind relate [to these kind of places] and sites unknown until now have sprung to fame. The name of Capherus in Euboea is [famous for] the storm that befell there the Greeks accompanying Agamemnon back from Troy. We know Psyttaleia by Salamis for the defeat of the Medes there. In the same way, the disaster of the Lacedaemonians made Sphacteria known to all²².</p>

²² This probably refers to the defeat of Sparta against Athens at the Battle of Sphacteria in 425 BC.

Pausanias, 5.7.5	
τῶ δὲ Ἀλφειῶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχει καὶ ὕδωρ ἄλλο ἐν Ἴωνίᾳ· τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος πηγὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῶ ὄρει, διεξελθὼν δὲ θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξὺ ἄνεισιν αὐθις κατὰ Βραγχίδας πρὸς λιμένι ὀνομαζομένῳ Πανόρμῳ.	Like the Alpheiios, another water basin in Ionia suffers from the same [i.e. flowing through a sea]. The source of the water course is on the mountain of Mycale. It crosses the sea in the middle and it rises again at Branchidae, at the harbour called Panormos.

Pausanias, 7.5.6	
ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφίκετο ἡ σχεδία τὴν Ἰώνων, φασὶν αὐτὴν ὀρμίσασθαι πρὸς ἄκρᾳ καλουμένην Μεσάτη· ἡ δὲ ἔστι μὲν τῆς ἠπειροῦ, τοῖς <δὲ> ἐκ τοῦ Ἐρυθραίων λιμένος ἐς νῆσον τὴν Χίων πλέουσι τοῦτό ἐστι μεσαίτατον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ σχεδία κατὰ τὴν ἄκρᾳ ἔσχεν, ἐνταῦθα πολὺν μὲν οἱ Ἐρυθραῖοι πόνον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δὲ ἔσχον οἱ Χῖοι ποιοῦμενοι σπουδὴν παρὰ σφᾶς καταγαγεῖν ἑκάτεροι τὸ ἄγαλμα·	They say that when the raft [of Heracles] reached the Ionian sea, it rested by the cape called Mesate. This is on the continent, for those sailing from the <i>limen</i> of the Erythraeans to the island of Chios, this is on the most central point. When the raft put in at that cape, the Erythraeans made a great effort, and no less the Chians, each to draw the image [of Heracles] to their own [territory].

Pausanias, 9.23.7	
ὑπερβαλόντων δὲ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Πτώων ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Βοιωτῶν πόλις Λάρυμνα [...]. Διονύσου δὲ ἐνταῦθα ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν πεποιήται. λιμὴν δὲ σφισίν ἐστὶν ἀγχιβαθῆς, καὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ὕψων παρέχεται θήραν ἀγρίων.	Beyond the mountain of Ptoos, on the sea, there is the Boeotian city of Larymna [...]. In that place there is a temple to Dionysus with a statue. Their <i>limen</i> has good inshore depth (<i>ankhibathes</i>) and the mountains above the city offers [the chance for] hunting wild swines

<i>Periplus of the Red Sea, 29</i>	
Μετὰ δὲ Κανή, τῆς <γῆς> ἐπὶ πλείων ὑποχωρούσης, ἄλλος ἐκδέχεται βαθύτατος κόλπος, ἐπὶ πολὺ παρεκτείνων, ὁ λεγόμενος Σαχαλίτης.	After Kane, the land recedes greatly, and there follows another very deep bay that extends for a long way, it is called Sachalites.

<i>Periplus of the Red Sea, 32</i>	
Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σύαγρον κόλπος ἐστὶν συναφῆς, ἐπὶ βάθος ἐνδύνων εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον, Ὅμανα, σταδίους ἔχων ἑξακοσίους τὸ διαπέραμα.	Right after Syagros there is a bay penetrating deep into the mainland, Omana, it has a width of six hundred stadia.

<i>Periplus of the Red Sea, 44</i>	
Τούτου χάριν περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν εἰσπλου βασιλικοὶ ἀλιεῖς ἐντόπιοι πληρώμασιν μακρῶν πλοίων, ἃ λέγεται τράππαγα καὶ κότυμβα, πρὸς ἀπάντησιν ἐξέρχονται μέχρι τῆς Συραστρήνης, ἀφ' ὧν ὁδηγεῖται τὰ πλοῖα μέχρι Βαρυγάζων. Κλίνουσιν γὰρ εὐθύς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ κόλπου διὰ τὰ τενάγη τοῖς πληρώμασιν καὶ ῥιμουλκοῦσιν αὐτὰ σταθμοῖς ἤδη τεταγμένοις, ἀρχομένης δὲ τῆς πλήμης αἶροντες, ἰσταμένης δὲ διορμίζοντες κατὰ τινὰς ὄρμους καὶ κυθρίνους. Οἱ δὲ κυθρίνοι τόποι εἰσὶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαθύτεροι μέχρι Βαρυγάζων· ἀπέχει γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνω παρὰ ποταμὸν κειμένη ὡς σταδίων τριακοσίων.	Because [the passage into the river Baragyza is difficult], royal fishermen are stationed at its mouth in crews on big boats. These are called <i>trappaga</i> and <i>kotymba</i> , and they go up to the Syrastrene on the opposite site, from which they lead the ships to the Barygaza. They steer them straight from the mouth of the bay through the shoals with their crews and they tow them to the station (<i>stathmoi</i>) that lie in line when the high tide begins, and they moor when [the tide] lowers in the <i>hormoi</i> and the <i>kythrinoi</i> . The <i>kythrinoi</i> are the deeper places on the river down to Barygaza [the river's mouth]. The distance from the mouth up to the river is about 300 stadia.

Philostratus, <i>Heroicus</i> , 33.17-18	
<p>πρὸς γὰρ τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ τὰς κινήσεις αὐτῶν ὧδε ἐσοφίσατο· καθελκύσας ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἐνεβίβαζε τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ μέρος, ἐρέπτοντάς τε καὶ ἀμιλλωμένους ἀλλήλοις ἢ ἀκρωτήριον περιβαλεῖν ἢ σκοπέλου ἄψασθαι ἢ προκατᾶραι τῶν πέλας ἐς λιμένα τινὰ ἢ ἀκτὴν, ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα προθεῖναί σφισι τοῦ ταχυναυτεῖν ἄθλα. χαίροντες οὖν ἐγυμνάζοντο καὶ ξυγιέντες τὸ ὑγιαίνειν·</p>	<p>This was instructed about their way of life and their exercising [of the Greek army at Troy]. [Palamedes] towed a hundred ships [into the water] and put the army on board in groups, so that they would compete against each other rowing until they sailed round a promontory or they reached some reef, or they came into some port or shore from the sea. He even persuaded Agamemnon to set up for them a competition on the naval races. They rejoiced and they took exercise and they also took care of their health.</p>

Philostratus, <i>Heroicus</i> , 33.23	
<p>αἱ μὲν οὖν πόλεις ἠλίσκοντο καὶ εὐδόκιμα τοῦ Παλαμήδους ἔργα ἀπηγγέλλετο· ἰσθμῶν διορυχαὶ καὶ ποταμοὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐπιστρεφόμενοι καὶ σταυροὶ λιμένων καὶ ἐπιτειχίσματα νυκτομαχία τε ἢ περὶ Ἄβυδον, ὅποτε τρωθέντες ὁ μὲν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ Παλαμήδης δὲ οὐκ ἀπέῤῥηκεν ἀλλὰ πρὶν μέσσην ἐστάναι νύκτα, εἶλε τὸ χωρίον.</p>	<p>The cities were conquered and news came of the good works of Palamedes: channels [forming] isthmuses and rivers diverted to the cities, and palisades on the ports, and strongholds, and a night battle by Abydos, where both [Achilles and Palamedes] were wounded, but Achilles retreated, and Palamedes did not go back but captured the place before midnight came.</p>

Philostratus, <i>Life of Apollonius of Tyana</i> , 5.20	
<p>καταβάς δὲ ἐς Πειραιᾶ ναῦς μὲν τις ὥρμει πρὸς ἰστίοις οὔσα καὶ ἐς Ἴωνίαν ἀφήσουσα, ὁ δ' ἔμπορος οὐ ξυνεχώρει ἐμβαίνειν, ιδιόστολον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἄγειν.</p>	<p>When [Apollonius] came down to Piraeus, a ship was deploying the sails, it was departing for Ionia, but the merchant would not agree [to Apollonius]</p>

<p>ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου “τίς ὁ φόρτος;” “θεῶν” ἔφη “ἀγάλματα ἀπάγω ἐς Ἴωνίαν, τὰ μὲν χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου, τὰ δὲ ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ”. [...]. “οὕτω τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τοὺς λιμένας τε καὶ τὰς ἀγοράς ἄγων οὐδὲν οἶει ἀσεβῆς πράττειν; [...].” τοιαῦτα ἐπιπλήξας ἐπὶ νεῶς ἐτέρας ἔπλει.</p>	<p>embarking, because he fared at his own expense. When Apollonius asked: “what is your cargo?”, he replied, “gods, I carry statues to Ionia, some of marble and gold, others of ivory and gold”. [...] “And by transporting the gods to the <i>limenes</i> and the <i>agorai</i> in this way you don’t think you are committing any heresy? [...]”. After saying that, he boarded another ship.</p>
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Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 7.15

<p>τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον παραιτούμενον τοῦτο “δείλη ἤδη” φάναι “καὶ χρῆ περιλύχων ἀφὰς ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα ἀφεῖναι, τουτὶ γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις νόμιμον.”</p>	<p>Apollonius begged [his disciples] saying this: “it is evening already, and it is necessary to depart for the <i>limen</i> of Rome when the lamps are lit, for it is the accustomed [time] for this ships [to sail]”.</p>
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Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, 1.515

<p>ἐδείπνουν μὲν κατὰ τὴν Λῆμνον ὑπὸ δρυὶ μεγάλη θερισταὶ ὀκτῶ περιτὸ καλούμενον Κέρας τῆς νήσου, τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο λιμὴν ἐστὶν ἐς κεραίας ἐπιστρέφων λεπτάς.</p>	<p>Eight harvesters ate their meal at Lemnos, under a large oak, on the area of the island called The Horns. That place is a <i>limen</i>, it is shaped like two fine horns.</p>
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Philostratus, *Lives of the sophists*, 2.606

<p>πλούτου δὲ ἐπίδειξιν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ κάκεῖνα εἶχεν· πρῶτα μὲν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα, ὀπόσην ἐκέκτητο, ἐκπεφυτευμένη δένδροισι καρπίμοις τε καὶ εὐσκίοις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ νῆσοι χειροποίητοι καὶ λιμένων προχώσεις βεβαιούσαι τοὺς ὄρμους καταιρούσαις</p>	<p>Proof of the wealth of this man is the following: first, all the land that he had bought was planted with fruit-bearing, shadowy trees; and artificial islands and embankments of <i>limenes</i> secured the anchorages (<i>hormoi</i>) in those [properties] by the sea for the ships that were</p>
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τε καὶ ἀφιεῖσαις ὀλκάσιν, οἰκίαι τε ἐν προαστείοις αἱ μὲν κατεσκευασμένοι τὸν ἐν ἄστει τρόπον.	downloading and embarking; and his houses on the suburbs were arranged in the [same] way as those on the city.
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Plutarch, <i>Pompey</i> , 76.1	
Ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐκομίζετο, προσίσχων ὄρμοις ἀναγκαίοις ὕδωρ ἢ ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν.	Taking his wife and his friends, [Pompey] sailed away, putting in at the necessary <i>hormoi</i> to obtain water or food supplies (<i>agora</i>).

Polybius, 1.24.8-9	
Τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ στρατόπεδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτὸν οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἔπραξαν λόγου, τότε δὲ προσδεξάμενοι τοὺς ἐπικαθεσταμένους ἄρχοντας Αὔλον Ἀτίλιον καὶ Γάιον Σολπικίον ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Πάνορμον διὰ τὸ τὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων δυνάμεις ἐκεῖ παραχειμάζειν.	The armies of the Romans in Sicily had accomplished nothing worthy of mention in the past year, but then, upon receiving the newly-appointed commanders, Aulus Atilius and Gaius Sulpicius, they sailed against Panormos, because the Carthaginian forces were spending the winter there.

Polybius, 1.47.2-5	
Ῥοδίου τόλμη πιστεύσαντες καὶ πλείους ἀπεθάρρησαν τῶν εἰδόντων τοὺς τόπους τὸ παραπλήσιον ποιεῖν· ἐξ ὧν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δυσχρηστούμενοι τῷ συμβαίνοντι χωννύειν τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἐπεχείρησαν. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οὐδὲν ἤνυσον διὰ τὸ βάθος τῆς θαλάττης καὶ διὰ τὸ μηθὲν δύνασθαι τῶν ἐμβαλλομένων στήναι μηδὲ συμμεῖναι	Many others became confident from the boldness of [Hannibal] the Rhodian [sailing through the Roman ships], and being acquainted with those places, they also dared to do the same. Because of them, the Romans were in distress at what was happening, and they attempted to block the mouth of the limen. Indeed, for the most part of the undertaking, they did not accomplish anything due to the depth

<p>τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε τοῦ κλύδωνος καὶ τῆς τοῦ ῥοῦ βίας τὸ ῥιπτούμενον εὐθέως ἐν τῇ καταφορᾷ παρωθεῖσθαι καὶ διασκορπίζεσθαι, κατὰ δέ τινα τόπον ἔχοντα βράχεια συνέστη χῶμα μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας, ἐφ' ᾧ τετρήρης ἐκτρέχουσα νυκτὸς ἐκάθισε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχείριος ἐγένετο, διαφέρουσα τῇ κατασκευῇ τῆς ναυπηγίας.</p>	<p>of the sea and because they could not make the blocks that they were throwing into the sea to stand and stay on place at all, but because of the swell and the strength of the currents, whatever they were throwing was pushed sideways at once down to the bottom, and it was scattered, afterwards they found a place that was shallow and they erected a mole with a lot of effort. From that [mole] they captured a quadrireme of distinguished structure in the building that was sailing fast at night and the enemies were taken.</p>
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Polybius, 1.49.12	
<p>ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων Πόπλιος Κλαύδιος ἔφη καιρὸν εἶναι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ Δρέπανα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ. [...] κατιδὼν Ἀτάρβας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξενίσθη διὰ τὸ παράδοξον· ταχὺ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ γενόμενος καὶ νοήσας τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἔκρινε παντὸς ἔργου πείραν λαμβάνειν καὶ πᾶν ὑπομένειν χάριν τοῦ μὴ περιδεῖν σφᾶς εἰς πρόδηλον συγκλεισθέντας πολιορκίαν. [...] ἐτοίμως δ' αὐτῶν παρορμηθέντων πρὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ βοῶντων ἄγειν καὶ μὴ μέλλειν, ἐπαινέσας καὶ δεξάμενος τὴν ὀρμὴν παρήγγειλε κατὰ τάχος ἐμβαίνειν καὶ βλέποντας πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν ἔπεσθαι ταύτῃ κατὰ πρύμναν.</p>	<p>The commander of the Romans, Publius Claudius²³, said that the time was good to sail against Drepana with the whole fleet. [...] Upon seeing them, Adherbal was taken by surprise at first. He quickly came back to his senses and, reflecting upon the attack of the enemies, he decided to make every effort and resist everything rather than not prepare for their becoming trapped in an obvious blockade. [...] At once [the Carthaginians] were all ready for the naval battle and they shouted [to Adherbal] to act and not to wait. He rejoiced and accepted their energy, then he ordered to embark as fast as possible, and to keep looking at his ship and follow it from the stern. Once he made the orders</p>

²³ Publius Claudius Pulcher, consul in 249 BC.

διασαφήσας δὲ τὰ προειρημένα κατὰ σπουδὴν πρῶτος ἐποιεῖτο τὸν ἀνάπλου, ὑπ' αὐτὰς τὰς πέτρας ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ λιμένος ἐξάγων τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων εἴσπλου.	clear, he first undertook the task of the sailing-out below those rocks on the contrary side of the <i>limen</i> to where the enemies were performing the sail-in.
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Polybius, 1.54.6-8	
ἐπιγενομένου δὲ χειμῶνος [...], οἱ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων κυβερνηταὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων καὶ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐμπειρίαν προορώμενοι τὸ μέλλον καὶ προλέγοντες τὸ συμβησόμενον ἔπεισαν τὸν Καρθάλωνα φυγεῖν τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ κάμψαι τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ Παχύνου. [...] οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στόλοι, τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπιγενομένου καὶ τῶν τόπων εἰς τέλος ὑπαρχόντων ἀλιμένων, οὕτως διεφθάρησαν ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν ναυαγίων μηδὲν γενέσθαι χρήσιμον.	When a storm rose [...], the captains of the Carthaginians, thanks to their experience in those places and on the subject [of weather] foresaw what was about to happen and discussed the event, they persuaded Carthalo to avoid the storm and sail around Cape Pachynus. [...] But the Roman fleet, when the storm had risen, as the places were absolutely <i>alimenos</i> , suffered such a bad wreck that nothing of the wreckage was useful any more.

Polybius, 5.37.8	
ἀποβαίνων δ' ἐκ τῆς νεῶς καταλαμβάνει τὸν τε Κλεομένην καὶ τὸν Παντέα καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Ἰππίταν ἐν τῷ λιμένι παρὰ τὴν κρηπίδα περιπατοῦντας.	As he disembarked from the ship, he caught Cleomenes and Panteas, who were strolling around on the <i>limen</i> by the quay (<i>krepis</i>), and Hyppitas with them.

Polybius, 8.30.6	
ὁ μὲν οὖν Γάιος, προσπεσούσης αὐτῷ τῆς εἰσόδου τῶν πολεμίων, συννοήσας ἀδύνατον αὐτὸν ὄντα διὰ τὴν μέθην,	Gaius, as the arrival of his enemies was imminent, and as he was unable to think because he was drunk, at once he left the

<p>εὐθέως ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τὴν φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ φύλακος ἀνοίξαντος αὐτῷ τὴν ῥινοπύλην, διαδύς ταύτη καὶ λαβόμενος ἀκατίου τῶν ὀρμούντων, ἐμβὰς μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν παρεκομίσθη.</p>	<p>house with his servants and turned up at the gate that leads to the <i>limen</i>, and after that, the guard opened the side-gate for him and he slipped through it. He took one of the boats moored there and went on board with his servants, coasting along towards the cape.</p>
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Polybius, 10.1.1	
<p>Ὅντων γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῆς Ῥηγίνων πόλεως σταδίων εἰς Τάραντα πλείονων ἢ δισχιλίων, εἰς τέλος ἀλίμενον εἶναι συμβαίνει τὴν πλευρὰν τῆς Ἰταλίας ταύτην πλὴν τῶν ἐν Τάραντι λιμένων.</p>	<p>Between the strait and the city of Reginus till Tarentum there are more than 2,000 stadia. That side of Italy happens to be absolutely <i>alimenos</i>, except for the <i>limenes</i> in Tarentum.</p>

Polybius, 18.1-4	
<p>Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ὁ Τίτος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπέσχε, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐκέλευε λέγειν ἅπερ ἑκάστοις αὐτῶν οἱ πέμψαντες εἶσαν ἐντεταλμένοι. πρῶτος δὲ Διονυσόδωρος ὁ παρ' Ἀττάλου μεταλαβὼν τὸν λόγον τὰς τε ναῦς ἔφη δεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦναι τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως τὰς γενομένας αἰχμαλώτους ἐν τῇ περὶ Χίον ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄμα ταύταις ἄνδρας, ἀποκαταστῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἀκέραιον καὶ τὸ Νικηφόριον, ἃ κατέφθειρε. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων ναύαρχος</p>	<p>After he said this, Titus himself stopped speaking, he turned to the others and ordered them to say the cause for which each side had sent them as envoys. First, Dionysodoros, [the envoy] from Attalus, took the chance to speak and he said that it was necessary to return the ships of the king, that had been captured in the naval battle at Chios, and the men with them, and to rebuilt completely both the temple of Aphrodite the Nicephorion, which had been destroyed. After that, the Rhodian admiral Acesimbrotos ordered to Philippus to evacuate Peraea, which he</p>

<p>Ἄκεσίμβροτος τῆς μὲν Περαιᾶς ἐκέλευεν ἐκχωρεῖν τὸν Φίλιππον, ἧς αὐτῶν παρήρηται, τὰς δὲ φρουρὰς ἐξάγειν ἐξ Ἴασου καὶ Βαργυλίων καὶ τῆς Εὐρωμέων πόλεως, ἀποκαταστήσαι δὲ καὶ Περινήθους εἰς τὴν Βυζαντίων συμπολιτείαν, παραχωρεῖν δὲ καὶ Σηστοῦ καὶ Ἀβύδου καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων καὶ λιμένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπάντων.</p>	<p>had taken from them, and to withdraw the garrisons at Iasos and Bargyilion and the city of Euromus, to restore the citizenship of the Perinthians to Byzantium as well, and to move out of Sestos and Abydos and all the <i>emporía</i> and <i>limenes</i> of Asia.</p>
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Strabo, 3.1.9	
<p>Ἐφεξιῆς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Μενεσθέως καλούμενος λιμὴν καὶ ἡ κατὰ Ἄσταν ἀνάχυσις καὶ Νάβρισσαν. λέγονται δὲ ἀναχύσεις αἱ πληρούμεναι τῇ θαλάττῃ κοιλάδες ἐν ταῖς πλημμυρίσι καὶ ποταμῶν δίκην ἀνάπλους εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἔχουσαι καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐταῖς πόλεις. εἴτ' εὐθύς αἱ ἐκβολαὶ τοῦ Βαίτιος διχῆ σχιζόμεναι· ἡ δὲ ἀπολαμβανομένη νῆσος ὑπὸ τῶν στομάτων ἑκατόν, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι καὶ πλείονων σταδίων, ἀφορίζει παραλίαν. ἐνταῦθα δέ που καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Μενεσθέως ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Καιπίωνος ἴδρυται πύργος ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀμφικλύστου, θαυμασίως κατεσκευασμένος, ὡσπερ ὁ Φάρος, τῆς τῶν πλοῖζομένων σωτηρίας χάριν.</p>	<p>After this there is the <i>limen</i> called Of Menestheus, and the tidal canals (<i>anachysis</i>) at Asta and Nabrissa. They call 'tidal canals' to the hollows that get filled by the sea at high tide and create sailing passages like rivers into the land and the cities there. Right next to it there are the outlets of the Baetis, split in two. The island formed at each side, which is several stadia long as some say, marks the boundary of the shore. In that place there is also the oracle of Menestheus and the tower of Kaipion also stands there, on a rock washed by waves on both sides, wonderfully constructed, like the Pharos, for the salvation of sailors.</p>

Strabo, 3.3.5

<p>“Υστατοι δ’ οἰκοῦσιν Ἄρταβροι περὶ τῆν ἄκραν ἢ καλεῖται Νέριον, ἢ καὶ τῆς ἑσπερίου πλευρᾶς καὶ τῆς βορείου πέρας ἐστί. [...] ἔχουσι δὲ οἱ Ἄρταβροι πόλεις συχνὰς ἐν κόλπῳ συνοικουμένας, ὃν οἱ πλείοντες καὶ χρώμενοι τοῖς τόποις Ἄρτάβρων λιμένα προσαγορεύουσιν·</p>	<p>At the farthest point there dwell the Artabri, on the cape called Nerium, which is also the the side [most] to the west and the limit to the north. [...] The Artabri have many cities built close together on the gulf, which the majority call the Limen of the Artabri, because of their use of the place.</p>
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Strabo, 3.4.6

<p>Μετὰ τοίνυν Ἄβδηρα ἔστι Καρχηδῶν ἡ νέα, κτίσμα Ἀσδρούβα τοῦ διαδεξαμένου Βάρκαν τὸν Ἄννίβα πατέρα, κρατίστη πολὺ τῶν ταύτη πόλεων· καὶ γὰρ ἐρυμνὴ τ’ ἐστὶ καὶ τεῖχει κατεσκευασμένῳ καλῶς καὶ λιμέσι καὶ λίμνη κεκόσμηται καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀργυρίων μέταλλοις, περὶ ὧν εἰρήκαμεν· κἀνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλησίον τόποις πολλὴ ἡ ταριχεία· καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο μέγιστον ἐμπόριον τῶν μὲν ἐκ θαλάττης τοῖς ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ, τῶν δ’ ἐκεῖθεν τοῖς ἔξω πᾶσιν.</p>	<p>After Abdera, there is New Carthage, a foundation of Asdrubal, who was succeeded by Barca, the father of Annibal. It is the mightiest by fare of the cities in that region. For it is furnished with a fortification, and walls, and it is adorned with good <i>limenes</i> and a lagoon, as well as the silver mines that I mentioned earlier. Besides, in many nearby places there is a large fish-preserving industry. It is the largest emporion for the import and export of merchandise from the sea into the mainland.</p>
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Strabo, 3.5.9

<p>Φησὶ δ’ οὖν Σέλευκον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάττης καὶ ἀνωμαλίαν τινὰ ἐν τούτοις καὶ ὁμαλότητα λέγειν κατὰ τὰς τῶν ζῳδίων διαφοράς· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἰσημερινοῖς ζῳδίοις τῆς σελήνης οὕσης ὁμαλίζειν τὰ πάθη, ἐν δὲ τοῖς</p>	<p>[Posidonius] says that Seleucus, from the Red Sea, reports of some irregularity and uniformity [of the tides] in those places, depending on the stars²⁴. For when the moon is on the equinoctial zodiac signs, [the tides] occur in a uniform state, but</p>
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²⁴ literally: “on the zodiac”.

<p>τροπικοῖς ἀνωμαλίαν εἶναι καὶ πλήθει καὶ τάχει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐκάστου κατὰ τοὺς συνεγγισμοὺς εἶναι τὴν ἀναλογίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς περὶ τὴν πανσέληνόν φησιν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ γενόμενος τῷ ἐν Γαδείροις πλείους ἡμέρας μὴ δύνασθαι συνεῖναι τὰς ἐνιαυσίους διαφοράς. περὶ μέντοι τὴν σύνοδον ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς τηρῆσαι μεγάλην παραλλαγὴν ἐν Ἰλίπα τῆς τοῦ Βαίτιος ἀνακοπῆς παρὰ τὰς ἔμπροσθεν, ἐν αἷς οὐδὲ ἕως ἡμίσεως τὰς ὄχθας ἔβρεχε· τότε δ' ὑπερχεῖσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ ὥσθ' ὑδρεύεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτόθι (διέχει δ' Ἰλίπα τῆς θαλάττης περὶ ἑπτακοσίου σταδίου)· τῶν δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττη πεδίων καὶ ἐπὶ τριάκοντα σταδίου εἰς βάθος καλυπτομένων ὑπὸ τῆς πλημμυρίδος, ὥστε καὶ νήσους ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι, τὸ τῆς κρηπίδος ὕψος τῆς τε τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ τῆς τοῦ χώματος, ὃ τοῦ λιμένος πρόκειται τοῦ ἐν Γαδείροις, οὐδ' ἐπὶ δέκα πήχεις καλυπτόμενον ἀναμετρῆσαί φησι· κἂν προσθῆ δέ τις τὸ διπλάσιον τούτου κατὰ τὰς γενομένας ποτὲ παραυξήσεις, [οὐδ'] οὕτω παρασχεῖν ἂν τὴν ἔμφασιν, ἦν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις παρέχεται τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πλημμυρίδος. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ</p>	<p>when it is on the tropics, they are irregular both in their height and in their speed [of change], and for the rest [of the zodiac signs] the irregularity depends on how close they are [to the equinoctial or tropical signs]. But [Posidonius] says that during the summer solstice, at the time of the full moon, he stayed at the temple of Hercules at Gades for several days without being able to see these periodical differences. Although by the full moon of the next month he observed a great variation at Ilipa²⁵, as the waters of the Baetis recoiled forwards, until that time [the Baetis river] had not flooded even halfway up the banks. But at that time the water was overflowing to the point that the soldiers could take their drinking water right on site²⁶ (Ilipa is 700 stadia distant from the sea). [Posidonius also] says that the plains by the sea were covered by the high tide for a distance up to 30 stadia²⁷, even to the point of forming islands, while the quay (<i>krepis</i>) supporting the temple (<i>naos</i>) of Heracles and the breakwater (<i>khoma</i>) lying in front of the <i>limen</i> of Gades were measured to be covered not even ten cubits. And if someone added two times the rising [of the river] that happened at that time, they would not</p>
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²⁵ A site near present-day Seville.

²⁶ Perhaps the soldiers serving on ship-board at the port, cf. Thucydides, 2.88, for στρατιώτης used in this sense. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand what soldiers Strabo is referring to and, consequently, the rest of the passage.

²⁷ Some manuscripts read 50 stadia.

<p>πάθος κοινὸν ἱστορεῖται κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν κύκλῳ παρωκεανίτιν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἰβηρος ποταμοῦ καινὸν καὶ ἴδιόν φησιν οὗτος· πλημμυρεῖν γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπου καὶ χωρὶς ὄμβρων καὶ χιόνων, ἐπειδὴν τὰ βόρεια πνεύματα πλεονάσῃ, αἰτίαν δ' εἶναι τὴν λίμνην δι' ἧς ῥεῖ· συνεκβάλλεσθαι γὰρ τὸ λιμναῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων.</p>	<p>render the force with which the greatness of the high tide occupies the plains. [Posidonius] reports that this force is common all over the perimeter of the oceanic side [of Iberia], but he also says that the river Ebro is strange and particular. For the high tide happens sometimes without rains or storms, whenever the north winds cause it to overflow. The cause of it is the estuary (<i>limne</i>) through which it flows, because the lagoonal waters are carried over by the winds.</p>
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Strabo, 4.1.4	
<p>Κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ Φωκαιέων ἢ Μασσαλία, κεῖται δ' ἐπὶ χωρίου πετρώδους· ὑποπέπτωκε δ' αὐτῆς ὁ λιμὴν θεατροειδεῖ πέτρα βλεπούση πρὸς νότον. τετείχισται δὲ καὶ αὕτη καλῶς καὶ ἡ πόλις σύμπασα μέγεθος ἔχουσα ἀξιόλογον. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τὸ Ἐφέσιον ἱδρύεται καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δελφινίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν· τοῦτο μὲν κοινὸν Ἰώνων ἀπάντων, τὸ δὲ Ἐφέσιον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶ νεῶς τῆς Ἐφεσίας. ἀπαίρουσι γὰρ τοῖς Φωκαιεῦσιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας λόγιον ἐκπεσεῖν φασιν ἡγεμόνι χρῆσασθαι τοῦ πλοῦ παρὰ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος λαβοῦσι· τοὺς μὲν δὲ προσαχθέντας τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ζητεῖν ὄντινα τρόπον ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ πορίσαιντο τὸ προσταχθέν. Ἀριστάρχη δὲ τῶν</p>	<p>Massalia is a foundation of the Phoceans, it lies on rocky ground. The <i>limen</i> is situated beneath it, it has the shape of a stone theatre, it faces south. This city is also beautifully walled and the whole of it has a considerable size. On the cape there stands the Ephesium and the temple of Apollo of Delphi. All the Ionians have this thing in common. The Ephesium is the temple of Artemis of Ephesus. They say that when the Phoceans departed from home [to found a colony], an oracle instructed them to take Artemis Ephesia as their leader for the sailing. When they arrived at Ephesus, they asked in what way they would receive from the goddess what had been promised. The goddess appeared in a dream to Aristache, a very</p>

<p>ἐντίμων σφόδρα γυναικῶν παραστῆναι κατ' ὄναρ τὴν θεὸν καὶ κελεῦσαι συναπαίρειν τοῖς Φωκαιεῦσιν ἀφίδρυμά τι τῶν ἱερῶν λαβούση· γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ τῆς ἀποικίας λαβούσης τέλος, τό τε ἱερὸν ιδρύσασθαι καὶ τὴν Ἀριστάρχην τιμῆσαι διαφερόντως ἰέριαν ἀποδείξαντας, ἔν τε ταῖς ἀποίκις πόλεσι πανταχοῦ τιμᾶν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ταύτην τὴν θεὸν καὶ τοῦ ξοάνου τὴν διάθεσιν τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ τᾶλλα νόμιμα φυλάττειν τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπερ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει νενόμισται.</p>	<p>honourable woman, and ordered her to go with the Phoceans, taking some plans of the temples. When this had been accomplished and the colony was finally deducted, they honoured Aristarche by making her priestess. In the colonial towns [deducted from Massalia] everywhere this goddess receives the highest respects and they observe the disposition of her image (<i>xoanon</i>) and all other customs like they are cultivated in the metropolis.</p>
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Strabo, 5.1.7	
<p>Πλησίον δὲ τὸ Πατάουιον, πασῶν ἀρίστη τῶν ταύτη πόλεων [...]. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πεμπομένης κατασκευῆς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατ' ἐμπορίαν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐσθῆτος παντοδαπῆς τὴν εὐανδρίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν εὐτεχνίαν. ἔχει δὲ θαλάττης ἀνάπλουν ποταμῷ διὰ τῶν ἐλῶν φερομένῳ σταδίων πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἐκ λιμένος μεγάλου· καλεῖται δ' ὁ λιμὴν Μεδόακος ὁμωνύμως τῷ ποταμῷ.</p>	<p>Close to that is Patavium, the best of all cities in that area [...]. You can see the large quantity of the assets sent to Rome for trade, and above all, clothing, thanks to the virtue of the city and its crafting skill. It has an access to the sea from the river that runs through marshy ground for 50 stadia, and two-hundred from the large limen. The limen is called Meduacus, like the river.</p>

Strabo, 5.1.11	
<p>τὸ δὲ Ἀρίμινον Ὀμβρων ἐστὶ κατοικία, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Ῥάουεννα· δέδεκται δ' ἐποίκους Ῥωμαίους ἑκατέρα. ἔχει δὲ τὸ</p>	<p>Ariminum is a colony of the Umbrians, just like Ravenna, but each of the two</p>

Ἄριμινον λιμένα καὶ ὁμώνυμον ποταμόν.	received Roman colons. Ariminum has a <i>limen</i> and a river of the same name.
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Strabo, 5.2.5	
<p>τούτων δ' ἡ μὲν Λοῦνα πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ λιμὴν, καλοῦσι δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες Σελήνης λιμένα καὶ πόλιν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις οὐ μεγάλη, ὁ δὲ λιμὴν μέγιστός τε καὶ κάλλιστος, ἐν αὐτῷ περιέχων πλείους λιμένας ἀγκιβαθεῖς πάντας, οἷον ἂν γένοιτο ὀρητήριον θαλαττοκρατησάντων ἀνθρώπων τοσαύτης μὲν θαλάττης τοσοῦτον δὲ χρόνον. περικλείεται δ' ὁ λιμὴν ὄρεσιν ὑψηλοῖς, ἀφ' ὧν τὰ πελάγη κατοπτεύεται καὶ ἡ Σαρδῶ καὶ τῆς ἠόνος ἐκατέρωθεν πολὺ μέρος. μέταλλα δὲ λίθου λευκοῦ τε καὶ ποικίλου γλαυκίζοντος τοσαῦτά τ' ἐστὶ καὶ τηλικαῦτα, μονολίθους ἐκδιδόντα πλάκας καὶ στύλους, ὥστε τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐκπρεπῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν τὴν χορηγίαν. καὶ γὰρ εὐεξάγωγός ἐστιν ἡ λίθος, τῶν μετάλλων ὑπερκειμένων τῆς θαλάττης πλησίον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς θαλάττης διαδεχομένου τοῦ Τιβέριος τὴν κομιδὴν καὶ τὴν ξυλείαν τὴν εἰς τὰς οἰκοδομὰς σελμάτων εὐθυτάτων καὶ εὐμηκεστάτων ἡ Τυρρηνία χορηγεῖ τὴν πλείστην, τῷ ποταμῷ κατάγουσα ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν εὐθύς.</p>	<p>Among those, there is the city of Luna and its <i>limen</i> ('harbour'). The Greeks call both the <i>limen</i> ('harbour') and the city Selene. The present city is not big, but the <i>limen</i> ('harbour') is very large and best quality, inside it there are many <i>limenes</i> ('berths'), all of sufficient inshore depth (<i>ankhibathes</i>), so that it becomes an anchorage for the men who have the domain over that sea at the time. The <i>limen</i> ('harbour') is enclosed by high mountains, from which you can see the sea and even Sardinia, and even the shores on the other side [of the continent]. They have mines of white and blueish-grey marble, there is so much of it and in such a quality that they provide one-stone boards and pillars, so that the majority of the honourable works at Rome and other cities receive their supplies from there. And the marble is easy to transport, as the mines lie just above the sea. The cargo is brought by sea to the Tiber. And Tyrrenia is also the main supplier in timber for building, because its logs are the straightest and the longest, it is brought down the river from the mountains there.</p>

Strabo, 5.4.5	
<p>ταῖς δὲ Βαίαις συνεχῆς ὁ τε Λοκρῖνος κόλπος καὶ ἐντὸς τούτου ὁ Ἄορνος χερρόνησον ποιῶν τὴν ἀπολαμβανομένην μέχρι Μισηνοῦ γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς μεταξὺ Κύμης καὶ αὐτοῦ. [...] ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν Ἄορνος κόλπος ἀγχιβαθῆς καὶ ἀρτίστομος, λιμένος καὶ μέγεθος καὶ φύσιν ἔχων, χρεῖαν δ' οὐ παρεχόμενος λιμένος διὰ τὸ προκεῖσθαι τὸν Λοκρῖνον κόλπον προσβραχῆ καὶ πολύν. περικλείεται δ' [ὁ] Ἄορνος ὄφρυσιν ὀρθαῖς ὑπερκειμέναις πανταχόθεν πλήν τοῦ εἴσπλου, νῦν μὲν ἡμέρωσ ἐκπεπονημέναις πρότερον δὲ συνηρεφέσιν ἀγρία ὕλη μεγαλοδένδρω καὶ ἀβάτω, αἱ κατὰ δεισιδαιμονίαν κατάσκιον ἐποιοῦν τὸν κόλπον. προσεμύθευον δ' οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ τοὺς ὄρνεις τοὺς ὑπερπετεῖς γινομένους καταπίπτειν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ φθειρομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναφερομένων ἀέρων, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς Πλουτωνίοις.</p>	<p>Close to Baiiae there is the Lucrine bay, and inside it, the Avernus, which makes the land up to Misenum into a peninsula between itself and Cumae. [...] The Avernus gulf has much inshore depth (ankhibathes) and it has a narrow entrance (artistomos), and it forms a limen both by size and by nature, but it does not offer use as a limen, because the Lucrine bay is right next to it, and that one is less deep and it is large. Avernus is surrounded by steep hills lying all around it except for the entrance to the harbour, now they are cultivated with much labour, but at first there were thickly shaded, wild, impenetrable forests of huge oaks, and those used to cast a shadow as if fearing the gods over the bay. The locals also used to say that the birds that flew over [Lake Avernus] would collapse and fall into the water due to the gases evaporating, like in the Plutonian places.</p>

Strabo, 8.1.1	
<p>Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων τῆς Εὐρώπης μερῶν, ὅσα τῇ θαλάττῃ περιέχεται τῇ ἐντὸς καὶ τῇ ἐκτός, τὰ τε βάρβαρα ἔθνη περιωδεύσαμεν πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ μέχρι τοῦ Τανάιδος καὶ τῆς</p>	<p>After going over the western parts of Europe, I will now move on to those parts surrounded by the sea, both the internal and the external²⁸, and the barbarian</p>

²⁸ i.e. the remaining Eastern part of the Mediterranean, starting from book 8, and the Indian Ocean, Arabic Sea and Red Sea on books 15-17.

<p>Ἑλλάδος οὐ πολὺ μέρος, ἀποδώσομεν νυνὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Ἑλλαδικῆς γεωγραφίας, ἅπερ Ὅμηρος μὲν πρῶτος, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους ἐπραγματεύσαντο, οἱ μὲν ἰδίᾳ λιμένας ἢ περίπλους ἢ περιόδους γῆς ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο ἐπιγράψαντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ Ἑλλαδικὰ περιέχεται, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ κοινῇ τῆς ἱστορίας γραφῇ χωρὶς ἀποδείξαντες τὴν τῶν ἠπειρῶν τοπογραφίαν, καθάπερ Ἐφορός τε ἐποίησε καὶ Πολύβιος· ἄλλοι δ' εἰς τὸν φυσικὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν μαθηματικὸν προσέλαβόν τινα καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, καθάπερ Ποσειδωνίος τε καὶ Ἴππάρχος.</p>	<p>nations, all of those up to the Tanais²⁹ and a small part of Greece. I will deliver now the remaining part of the Greek geography, which Homer was the first [to describe]. Later, many others also treated this subject, some calling it limenes, or peripli, or circuit of the earth or something like that. The Greek world is contained in these works. Some [writers], attached to the writings of their research a separate topography of the continent, like Ephorus and Polybius did. Others added physics and mathematics studies, and other things of the sort, like Posidonius and Hipparchus.</p>
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Strabo, 8.6.14

<p>Τροιζῆν δὲ ἱερά ἐστι Ποσειδῶνος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ποσειδωνία ποτὲ ἐλέγετο· ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς θαλάττης εἰς πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίου, οὐδ' αὐτὴ ἄσημος πόλις. πρόκειται δὲ τοῦ λιμένος αὐτῆς Πώγωνος τοῦνομα Καλαυρία νησίδιον ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίων ἔχον τὸν κύκλον· ἐνταῦθα ἦν ἄσυλον Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν.</p>	<p>Troezen is sacred to Poseidon, because of this it was once called Posidonia. It lies 15 stadia above the sea, it is not an insignificant city. Calauria lies in front of its <i>limen</i>, called Pogon, it is an island about 30 stadia in perimeter. The temple of Poseidon there served as an asylum place.</p>
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Strabo, 8.6.22

<p>τὸ δὲ Λέχαιον ὑποπέπτωκε τῇ πόλει κατοικίαν ἔχον οὐ πολλήν· σκέλη δὲ καθείκυσται σταδίων περὶ δώδεκα</p>	<p>Lechaeum lies below the city, but it does not have a large population. Long walls of about twelve stadia on either side of the</p>
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²⁹ The river Don.

<p>ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ παρεκτείνουσα ἢ ἤων μέχρι Παγῶν τῆς Μεγαρίδος κλύζεται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου, κοίλη δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ποιεῖ τὸν δίολκον πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν ἡόνα τὴν κατὰ Σχοινοῦντα πλησίον ὄντα τῶν Κεγχρεῶν.</p>	<p>road link Lechaeum to the sea. The sea-shore extends from there to Pagae in Megaris, and it is washed by the Corinthian Gulf. [The sea-shore] is curved and it forms the <i>diolkos</i> towards the other shore, up to the area of Schoenus, which is close to Cenchreae.</p>
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Strabo, 9.3.10

<p>Ἄγων δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀρχαῖος ἐν Δελφοῖς κιθαρῳδῶν ἐγενήθη παιᾶνα ἀδόντων εἰς τὸν θεόν· [...] ἐμελοποίησε μὲν οὖν Τιμοσθένης, ὁ ναύαρχος τοῦ δευτέρου Πτολεμαίου ὁ καὶ τοὺς λιμένας συντάξας ἐν δέκα βίβλοις.</p>	<p>An ancient contest was held at Delphi for players of the cithara to sing a paean in honour of the god. [...] Timosthenes, the admiral of the second Ptolemy who wrote a Treatise on the Ports in ten books, composed a song.</p>
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Strabo, 9.4.3

<p>Ἐξῆς μετὰ τὸν Κύνον Ἀλόπη ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Δαφνοῦς, ὃν ἔφαμεν κατεσπᾶσθαι· λιμὴν δ' ἐστὶν αὐτόθι διέχων Κύνου περὶ ἐνενηκόντα σταδίους, Ἐλατείας δὲ πεζεύοντι εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν. ἤδη δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Μαλιακοῦ κόλπου· μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Ὀπούντιον συνεχῆς ἐστὶν οὗτος.</p>	<p>Next, after Cynus, there is Alope and Daphnous, which lie in ruins as I have said. There is a <i>limen</i> in that place, about 90 stadia distant from Cynus, and 120 on foot to Elateia in the inland. But this is already in the Maliac Gulf. After it, the Opuntian [Gulf] is contiguous with it.</p>
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Strabo, 9.4.4

<p>Μετὰ δὲ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ Κνημίδων λιμὴν, ὑπὲρ οὗ κεῖται τὸ Θρόνιον ἐν σταδίοις τοῖς ἴσοις κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιαν.</p>	<p>20 stadia from Cnemides there is a <i>limen</i>, Thronion lies above it as many stadia inland.</p>
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Strabo, 10.2.12	
Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ δοκεῖ ὑπεναντιότητά τινα δηλοῦν „αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτη εἶν ἀλί κέϊται.“ χθαμαλὴ μὲν γὰρ ἢ ταπεινὴ καὶ χαμηλὴ, πανυπερτάτη δὲ ἢ ὑψηλὴ, οἶαν διὰ πλειόνων σημαίνει, Κραναὴν καλῶν· καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος „τρηγεῖαν ἀταρπὸν χῶρον ἀν’ ὑλήεντα“.	There seems to be a contradiction here: <i>[Ithaca] lies on the sea, low and very high</i> ³⁰ For <i>khthamale</i> means flat and low-lying, but <i>panypertate</i> means elevated, it means the same in many other [passages], when he calls it Cranae. And [Homer describes thus] the road that comes from the <i>limen</i> : “a rocky path through a wooden place.” ³¹

Strabo, 10.2.16	
Μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς Ἰθάκης καὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας ἢ Ἀστερία νησίον (Ἀστερίς δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λέγεται) ἦν ὁ μὲν Σκήσιος μὴ μένειν τοιαύτην οἶαν φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς „λιμένες δ’ ἐνὶ ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ ἀμφίδυμοι.“ ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος μένειν καὶ νῦν, καὶ πολίχνιον λέγει ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀλαλκομενάς τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τῷ ἰσθμῷ κείμενον.	Between Ithaca and Cephallenia there is the island of Asteria (called Asteris by the poet [Homer]). But according to the Scepsian ³² it does not remain in the state that the poet describes: “ <i>it has double (amphidymoi) limenes affording safe anchorage (naulokhoi)</i> ” ³³ . But according to Apollodorus, it still remains so nowadays, and he says there is a village (<i>polikhnion</i>) in it, Alalcomenae, lying on the isthmus.

Strabo, 10.2.21	
Μεταξὺ δὲ Λευκάδος καὶ τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου λιμνοθάλαττα ἐστὶ Μυρτούντιον λεγομένη. ἀπὸ δὲ	Between Leucas and the Ambracian Gulf there is a sea lagoon called Myrtuntium. Beyond Leucas follow Palaerus and

³⁰ Homer, *Odyssey*, 9.25.

³¹ Homer, *Odyssey*, 14.1-2.

³² Demetrius of Scepsis, a Greek grammarian who probably flourished in the 2nd century BC.

³³ Homer, *Odyssey*, 4.846.

<p>Λευκάδος ἐξῆς Πάλαιρος καὶ Ἀλυζία τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας εἰσὶ πόλεις, ὧν ἡ Ἀλυζία πεντεκαίδεκα ἀπὸ θαλάττης διέχει σταδίου, καθ' ἣν ἐστὶ λιμὴν Ἡρακλέους ἱερός καὶ τέμενος, ἐξ οὗ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους ἄθλους, ἔργα Λυσιππου, μετήνευκεν εἰς Ῥώμην τῶν ἡγεμόνων τις, παρὰ τόπον κειμένους διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν.</p>	<p>Alyzia, cities of Acarnania. Alyzia is fifteen stadia from the sea. On that area there is a <i>limen</i> sacred to Heracles with a precinct from which the Labours of Heracles, a work by Lysippus, was transferred to Rome by one of their governors, because they were lying on a deserted place.</p>
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Strabo, 10.5.4	
<p>Τὴν μὲν οὖν Δῆλον ἔνδοξον γενομένην οὕτως ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠΰξησε κατασκαφεῖσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Κόρινθος· ἐκεῖσε γὰρ μετεχώρησαν οἱ ἔμποροι, καὶ τῆς ἀτελείας τοῦ ἱεροῦ προκαλουμένης αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς εὐκαιρίας τοῦ λιμένος· ἐν καλῷ γὰρ κεῖται τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πλέουσιν· [...] παρέλαβον ἐρήμην οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πάλιν τὴν νῆσον, ἀναχωρήσαντος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ διετέλεσε μέχρι νῦν ἐνδεῶς πράττουσα.</p>	<p>Delos was famous, but it flourished even more after the Roman destruction of Corinth. The merchants gathered in that place, attracted by the exemption of tax (<i>ateleia</i>) from the temple and the convenient location of the <i>limen</i>. For it lies in a good place for those who sail from Italy and from Greece towards Asia. [...] The Romans received the island deserted after the king [Mithridates] went back home, and even nowadays it remains empty.</p>

Strabo, 10.5.6	
<p>Κέως δὲ τετράπολις μὲν ὑπῆρξε, λείπονται δὲ δύο, ἣ τε Ἴουλις καὶ ἡ Καρθαία, εἰς ἃς συνεπολίσθησαν αἱ λοιπαί, ἣ μὲν Ποιήεσσα εἰς τὴν Καρθαίαν ἣ δὲ Κορησία εἰς τὴν Ἴουλίδα [...]. κεῖται δ' ἐν ὄρει τῆς θαλάττης</p>	<p>Ceos used to be a tetrapolis [union of four cities] but now only two of them are left, Ioulis and Carthaia, into which the others were integrated, Poieessa into Carthaia and Coresia into Ioulis [...]. It lies on the shore of the sea, which is within twenty-</p>

<p>διέχουσα ἡ πόλις ὅσον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίου, ἐπίνειον δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῆς τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἴδρυτο ἡ Κορησία κατοικίαν οὐδὲ κώμης ἔχουσα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ Κορησίᾳ Σμινθαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν καὶ πρὸς Ποιήεσση, μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν τῆς Ποιήεσσης ἐρειπίων τὸ τῆς Νεδουσίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἰδρυσαμένου Νέστορος κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Τροίας ἐπάνοδον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἐλιξος ποταμὸς περὶ τὴν Κορησίαν.</p>	<p>five stadia away from the city; its epineion is in the place where Coresia was, it has no more inhabitants than a village. There is a temple of Apollo Smintheus by Coresia and Poieessa. Between this temple and the ruins of Poieessa there is a temple of Athena Nedusia built by Nestor on his return from Troy. In addition, there is the river Elixus in the area of Coresia.</p>
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Strabo, 10.5.16

<p>Νίσυρος δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον μὲν ἐστὶ Τήλου διέχουσα αὐτῆς ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίου ὅσους καὶ Κῶ διέχει, στρογγύλη δὲ καὶ ὑψηλὴ καὶ πετρώδης τοῦ μυλίου λίθου· τοῖς γοῦν ἀστυγείτοσιν ἐκεῖθεν ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν μύλων εὐπορία. ἔχει δὲ καὶ πόλιν ὁμώνυμον καὶ λιμένα καὶ θερμὰ καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν·</p>	<p>Nisyros lies to the north of Telos, up to 60 stadia distant from it, and the same from Cos. It is rounded and high and rocky with stones of the type for grinding. In fact, the local inhabitants have plenty of grindstones from there. [Nisyros] also has a city of the same name and a <i>limen</i> and hot baths and a temple of Poseidon.</p>
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Strabo, 12.8.11

<p>Ἔστι δὲ νῆσος ἐν τῇ Προποντίδι ἡ Κύζικος συναπτομένη γεφύραις δυσὶ πρὸς τὴν ἥπειρον, ἀρετῇ μὲν κρατίστη μεγέθει δὲ ὅσον πεντακοσίων σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον· ἔχει δὲ ὁμώνυμον πόλιν πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς γεφύραις καὶ λιμένας δύο κλειστοὺς καὶ νεωσοίκους πλείους τῶν διακοσίων· τῆς δὲ πόλεως τὸ μὲν</p>	<p>Cyzicus is an island in Propontis connected to the mainland by two bridges, the strongest by its virtue. Its size is up to 500 stadia in perimeter. Next to these bridges there is a city of the same name and two closeable <i>limenes</i> and more than 200 shipsheds (<i>neosoikoi</i>). A part of the city is on a plain, the other part on the mountain</p>
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<p>ἔστιν ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρει· καλεῖται δ' Ἄρκτων ὄρος· ὑπέρεται δ' ἄλλο Δίνδυμον μονοφυές, ἱερὸν ἔχον τῆς Δινδυμῆνης μητρὸς θεῶν, ἴδρυμα τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν. ἔστι δ' ἐνάμιλλος ταῖς πρώταις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἢ πόλις μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει καὶ εὐνομίᾳ πρὸς τε εἰρήνην καὶ πόλεμον· ἔοικέ τε τῷ παραπλησίῳ τύπῳ κοσμεῖσθαι ὥσπερ ἢ τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ Μασσαλιωτῶν καὶ Καρχηδονίων τῶν πάλαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ ἔω, τρεῖς δ' ἀρχιτέκτονας τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους οἰκοδομημάτων τε δημοσίων καὶ ὀργάνων, τρεῖς δὲ καὶ θησαυροὺς κέκτηται, τὸν μὲν ὀπλῶν τὸν δ' ὀργάνων τὸν δὲ σίτου· ποιεῖ δὲ τὸν σῖτον ἄσηπτον ἢ Χαλκιδικῆ γῆ μιγνυμένη. ἐπεδείξαντο δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῆς παρασκευῆς ταύτης ὠφέλειαν ἐν τῷ Μιθριδατικῷ πολέμῳ.</p>	<p>called the Mount of the Bears. There is another [mountain] above it with a single peak, Dindymon, with a temple to Dindymene, the mother of the gods, founded by the Argonauts. This city is among the first of those in Asia for its size, its beauty and its state of affairs, both in peace and in war. It is adorned in a similar manner to Rhodes and Marseille and ancient Carthage. I omit many things, but [Cyzicus has] three architects that take care of the public buildings and of the engines. [Cyzicus is also furnished] with three storehouses, one for arms, one for engines, and one for grain. They preserve the grain by mixing it with chalcidic earth. The effectivity of this procedure was proved during the Mithridatic war.</p>
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Strabo, 13.1.22

<p>Φησὶ δὲ τὴν Σηστόν Θεόπομπος βραχεῖαν μὲν εὐερκῆ δέ, καὶ σκέλει διπλέθρῳ συνάπτειν πρὸς τὸν λιμένα, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ διὰ τὸν ῥοῦν κυρίαν εἶναι τῶν παρόδων.</p>	<p>Theopompus says that Sestos is small but well-fortified, and that walls (<i>skele</i>) two plethra in length connect it to the <i>limen</i> and that thanks to them and to the current [circulation on the sea] it controls the passage [into the Black Sea].</p>
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Strabo, 13.1.32

<p>Ἔστι δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῆς παραλίας ταύτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥοιτείου μέχρι Σιγείου καὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως μνήματος εὐθυπλοούντων ἑξήκοντα σταδίων· ὑποπέπτωκε δὲ τῷ Ἰλίῳ πᾶσα, τῷ μὲν νῦν κατὰ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίους διέχουσα, τῷ δὲ προτέρῳ τριάκοντα ἄλλοις σταδίοις ἀνωτέρῳ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἰδην μέρος.</p>	<p>The length of this shore from Rhoiteion to Sigeion and to the Memorial of Achilles is 60 stadia on a straight sailing journey. It lies entirely below Troy. It is up to twelve stadia distant to the present-day <i>Limen</i> of the Achaeans, but another thirty [stadia] to the ancient one above, towards the area of the Ida.</p>
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Strabo, 13.1.57

<p>Ἔστι δὲ ἡ Ἄσσοσ ἐρυμνὴ καὶ εὐτειχῆς, ἀπὸ θαλάττης καὶ τοῦ λιμένος ὀρθίαν καὶ μακρὰν ἀνάβασιν ἔχουσα, ὥστ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς οἰκείως εἰρησθαι δοκεῖ τὸ τοῦ Στρατονίκου τοῦ κιθαριστοῦ „Ἄσσον ἴθ', ὡς κεν θᾶσσον ὀλέθρου πείραθ' ἴκηαι.“ ὁ δὲ λιμὴν χώματι κατεσκεύασται μεγάλῳ.</p>	<p>Assos is strong and well-fortified, it has a straight and large access to the <i>limen</i> from the sea, so that it seems you can say about it the [verse] of Stratonicus the citharist with full justice: “go to Assos if you wish to encounter your death more swiftly”. The <i>limen</i> is formed by means of a large breakwater (<i>khoma</i>).</p>
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Strabo, 13.2.2

<p>ἔχει δ' ἡ Μιτυλήνη λιμένας δύο, ὧν ὁ νότιος κλειστός τριηρικὸς ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα, ὁ δὲ βόρειος μέγας καὶ βαθύς, χώματι σκεπαζόμενος· πρόκειται δ' ἀμφοῖν νησίον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἔχον αὐτόθι συνοικούμενον·</p>	<p>Mitylene has two <i>limenes</i>, of which that in the south is closeable and able to support fifty triremes, that in the north is large and deep, and protected by a breakwater (<i>khoma</i>). An islet lies in front of both of them and part of the city is founded on it.</p>
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Strabo, 13.2.4

<p>Ἡ δὲ Πύρρα κατέστραπται, τὸ δὲ προάστειον οἰκεῖται καὶ ἔχει λιμένα,</p>	<p>Pyrrha is destroyed, but the suburb (<i>proasteion</i>) is inhabited and it has a <i>limen</i>,</p>
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ὄθεν εἰς Μιτυλήνην ὑπέρβασις σταδίων ὀγδοήκοντα.	from which the passage to Mitylene is 80 stadia.
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Strabo, 13.3.6

Σκώπτεται δ' εἰς ἀναισθησίαν ἡ Κύμη κατὰ τοιαύτην τινά, ὡς φασιν ἔνιοι, δόξαν, ὅτι τριακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς κτίσεως ἀπέδοντο τοῦ λιμένος τὰ τέλη, πρότερον δ' οὐκ ἐκαρπούτο τὴν πρόσσοδον ταύτην ὁ δῆμος· κατέσχεν οὖν δόξα ὡς ὀψὲ ἠσθημένων ὅτι ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλιν οἰκοῖεν.	Kyme is looked down on as stupid because of this reputation, as some say, that they established taxes (<i>tele</i>) at the <i>limen</i> three hundred years after the foundation [of the city], before that the town did not collect that revenue. So they acquired the reputation that they realised very late that they inhabited a city by the sea.
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Strabo, 14.1.30

Καὶ ἡ Τέως δὲ ἐπὶ χερρονήσῳ ἴδρυται λιμένα ἔχουσα·	Teos is founded on a peninsula, and it has a <i>limen</i> .
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Strabo, 14.1.31

Εἴτα Χαλκιδεῖς [καὶ] ὁ τῆς χερρονήσου ἰσθμὸς τῆς Τηίων καὶ Ἐρυθραίων· [...] ἢ δ' ὑπέρβασις τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείου καὶ τῶν Χαλκιδέων μέχρι τοῦ Ὑποκρήμνου πεντήκοντά εἰσι στάδιοι, ὁ δὲ περίπλους πλείους ἢ χίλιοι. κατὰ μέσον δέ που τὸν περίπλουν αἱ Ἐρυθραί, πόλις Ἴωνικὴ λιμένα ἔχουσα καὶ νησιῶδες προκειμένας τέτταρας Ἴππους καλουμένας.	After the Chalcides there is the isthmus of the peninsula of Teos and Erythraea. [...] The passage of the isthmus from Alexander and the Chalcideans until Hyppocremnus was 50 stadia, but the circumnavigation is more than a thousand. Erythrae is somewhere halfway through the circumnavigation, an Ionian city with a <i>limen</i> and four islets in front of it called Horses.
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Strabo, 14.1.32

<p>Πρὶν δ' ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐρυθράς, πρῶτον μὲν Ἐραι πολίχνην ἔστι Τηίων· εἶτα Κώρυκος ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καὶ λιμὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ Κασύστης καὶ ἄλλος Ἐρυθρᾶς λιμὴν καλούμενος καὶ ἐφεξῆς πλείους ἕτεροι. φασὶ δὲ τὸν παράπλου τοῦ Κωρύκου πάντα ληστήριον ὑπάρχει τῶν Κωρυκαίων καλουμένων, εὐρομένων τρόπον καινὸν τῆς ἐπιβουλής τῶν πλοῖζομένων· κατεσπαρμένους γὰρ ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς καθοριζομένοις ἐμπόροις προσφοιτᾶν καὶ ὠτακουστῆν τί φέροιεν καὶ ποῦ πλέοιεν, εἶτα συνελθόντας ἀναχθεῖσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ καθαρπάζειν·</p>	<p>Before arriving to Erythraea, the first village is Erae of the Teians. Next is the high mountain Corycus and a <i>limen</i> below it, Casystes, and another one called the Red <i>Limen</i>, and many more after those. They say pirates dwell all over the sailing route of Corycus, those called Corycaeans, and they found a new way to ambush the sailors. They would scatter around the <i>limenes</i> frequenting the arriving merchants and listening to what they transported and where they were sailing to. Then, they would gather their men, sail to their encounter, attack them and rob them.</p>
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Strabo, 14.1.37

<p>Ἐξῆς δὲ ἄλλος κόλπος, ἐν ᾧ ἡ παλαιὰ Σμύρνα ἀπὸ εἴκοσι σταδίων τῆς νῦν. Λυδῶν δὲ κατασπασάντων τὴν Σμύρναν [...] εἶτα ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴν Ἀντίγονος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Λυσίμαχος, καὶ νῦν ἔστι καλλίστη τῶν πασῶν, μέρος μὲν τι ἔχουσα ἐπ' ὄρει τετειχισμένον, τὸ δὲ πλεον ἐν πεδίῳ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι καὶ πρὸς τῷ μητρῷω καὶ πρὸς γυμνασίῳ. ἔστι δ' ἡ ῥυμοτομία διάφορος ἐπ' εὐθειῶν εἰς δύναμιν καὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ λιθόστρωτοι στοαὶ τε μεγάλαι τετράγωνοι, ἐπίπεδοί τε καὶ ὑπερῶοι· [...] ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ τῆς πόλεως καὶ λιμὴν κλειστός. ἐν δ' ἐλάττωμα τῶν</p>	<p>Next there is another bay, where the ancient Smyrna [was situated], 20 stadia from the present [site]. After the Lydians destroyed Smyrna [...] Antigonus reconstructed it, and later Lysimachus, and now it is the most beautiful of all. A part of it is built on the hill, but the larger part [of the city lies] on the plain, by the <i>limen</i> and by the Metroon and the gymnasium. The divisions [of the streets] are regular and as much as possible in straight lines, and there are roads paved with stone and large quadrangular porticoes, both on one level and with an upper floor. [...] Among the other facilities in the city there is a closed <i>limen</i>.</p>
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<p>ἀρχιτεκτόνων οὐ μικρόν, ὅτι τὰς ὁδοὺς στορνύντες ὑπορρύσεις οὐκ ἔδωκαν αὐταῖς, ἀλλ' ἐπιπολάζει τὰ σκύβαλα καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ὄμβροις ἐπαφιεμένων τῶν ἀποσκευῶν.</p>	<p>But there is one shortcoming from the engineers – and not a small one – that when they made the roads they did not add drains to them, and the filth accumulates particularly when it rains and the rubbish spreads [all over the pavement].</p>
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Strabo, 14.2.3

<p>Ἔχει δ' ἡ πόλις νεώρια καὶ λιμένα κλειστόν· ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ὕψει φρούριον Ἴμβρος.</p>	<p>The city [of Caunus] has docks (<i>neoria</i>) and a closed <i>limen</i>. High above the city lies the fortress of Imbros.</p>
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Strabo, 14.2.20

<p>Ἐν δὲ τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς ἡπείρου κατὰ τὴν Μυνδίαν Ἀστυπάλαιά ἐστιν ἄκρα καὶ Ζεφύριον· εἴτ' εὐθύς ἡ Μύνδος λιμένα ἔχουσα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Βαργύλια, καὶ αὕτη πόλις· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ Καρύανδα λιμὴν καὶ νῆσος ὁμώνυμος, ἣν ὥκουν Καρυανδεῖς.</p>	<p>On the shore of the continent, around Myndia, there is Astypalaia and Cape Zephyrion. Then, straightaway is Myndos with a <i>limen</i>, and after that is Bargylia, this is also a city (<i>polis</i>). Between those there is the <i>limen</i> of Caryanda and an island of the same name, the Caryandans inhabit it.</p>
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Strabo, 14.2.21

<p>Εἴτ' Ἴασος ἐπὶ νήσῳ κεῖται προσκειμένη τῇ ἡπείρῳ· ἔχει δὲ λιμένα, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἐκ θαλάττης· εὐοφεῖ γὰρ χώραν τ' ἔχει παράλυτρον. καὶ δὴ καὶ διηγήματα τοιαῦτα πλάττουσιν εἰς αὐτήν· κιθαρωδοῦ γὰρ ἐπιδεικνυμένου τέως μὲν ἀκροᾶσθαι πάντας· ὡς δ' ὁ κώδων ὁ κατὰ τὴν ὀψοπωλίαν</p>	<p>Next is Iasos, situated on an island facing the continent. It has a <i>limen</i>, and the locals make most of their living from the sea. It is abundant in fish, and the earth is quite barren. And they also tell this sort of stories about [Iasos]: a cithara-player was playing a show and everyone listened attentively. But when the bell (<i>kodon</i>) rang announcing the selling of the fish, they left</p>
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<p>ἐψόφησε, καταλιπόντας ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄψον πλὴν ἐνὸς δυσκώφου· τὸν οὖν κιθαρῳδὸν προσιόντα εἶπεῖν ὅτι „ὦ ἄνθρωπε πολλήν σοι χάριν οἶδα τῆς πρὸς με τιμῆς καὶ φιλομουσίας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι ἅμα τῷ κώδωνος ἀκοῦσαι ἀπιόντες οἴχονται.“ ὁ δὲ „τί λέγεις;“ ἔφη „ἤδη γὰρ ὁ κώδων ἐψόφηκεν;“ εἰπόντος δὲ „εὔ σοι εἶη“ ἔφη καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπῆλθε καὶ αὐτός.</p>	<p>and abandoned him for the food, except for one deaf man. The musician approached him and said: “My friend, you are making me a great honour and you do love music! The others went away as soon as they heard the bell (<i>kodon</i>)”. He replied: “what do you say? The bell has rung already?”, when [the musician] said yes, he replied: “goodbye”, and stood up and left himself.</p>
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Strabo, 14.3.4

<p>Μετὰ δ' οὖν τὰ Δαίδαλα τὸ τῶν Λυκίων ὄρος πλησίον ἐστὶ Τελεμησοῦς πολίχνη Λυκίων, καὶ Τελεμησίς ἄκρα λιμένα ἔχουσα.</p>	<p>After Daedala, close to the Lycian mountain, there is Telemessus, a Lycian village, and Cape Telemessis, which has a <i>limen</i>.</p>
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Strabo, 14.3.9

<p>Εἶτα Φάσηλις τρεῖς ἔχουσα λιμένας, πόλις ἀξιόλογος καὶ λίμνη. ὑπέρκειται δ' αὐτῆς τὰ Σόλυμα ὄρος καὶ Τερμησοῦς Πισιδικὴ πόλις, ἐπικειμένη τοῖς στενοῖς δι' ὧν ὑπέρβασίς ἐστιν εἰς τὴν Μιλυάδα. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τοῦτο ἐξεῖλεν αὐτὴν ἀνοῖξαι βουλόμενος τὰ στενά. περὶ Φασήλιδα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν στενά, δι' ὧν Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγε τὴν στρατιάν. ἔστι δ' ὄρος Κλίμαξ καλούμενον, ἐπίκειται δὲ τῷ Παμφυλίῳ πελάγει, στενήν ἀπολεῖπον πάροδον ἐπὶ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ταῖς μὲν νηνεμίαις</p>	<p>Next is Phaselis, with three <i>limenes</i>, a city worthy of notice, and a lake. Mount Solyma [lies] above it, and Termessus, a Pisidian city situated on the straits which form the passage to Milyas. Alexander destroyed it because he wanted to open the straits. On the region of Phaselis there are the straits on the sea through which Alexander led his army. There is a mountain called Climax, it lies above the Pamphilian sea leaving just a narrow passageway to the <i>aigialos</i>. In calm weather it is empty, so it is accessible for those who walk, but on high tide it is</p>
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<p>γυμνουμένην ὥστε εἶναι βάσιμον τοῖς ὀδεύουσι, πλημμύροντος δὲ τοῦ πελάγους ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων καλυπτομένην ἐπὶ πολὺ· ἢ μὲν οὖν διὰ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπέρβασις περίοδον ἔχει καὶ ροσάντης ἐστί, τῷ δ' αἰγιαλῷ χρῶνται κατὰ τὰς εὐδίας.</p>	<p>covered by the sea waves for the most part. The passage through the mountains takes a detour and is steep, so [people] use [the route] on the <i>aigialos</i> if there is good weather.</p>
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Strabo, 14.5.6	
<p>Εἰθ' ἢ Ἐλαιουῖσσα νῆσος μετὰ τὴν Κώρυκον, προσκειμένη τῇ ἠπείρῳ [...]. εὐφυοῦς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τόπου πρὸς τὰ ληστήρια καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν (κατὰ γῆν μὲν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ὄρων καὶ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων ἔθνων, πεδία καὶ γεώργια ἐχόντων μεγάλα καὶ εὐκατατρόχαστα, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τε ναυπηγησίμου ὕλης καὶ τῶν λιμένων καὶ ἐρυμάτων καὶ ὑποδυτηρίων), ἐδόκει πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ τοιοῦτο βασιλεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τοὺς τόπους ἢ ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμόσιν εἶναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις πεμπομένοις, οἳ μὴτ' ἀεὶ παρεῖναι ἔμελλον μήτε μεθ' ὀπλων.</p>	<p>Next is the island of Elaioussa, after Corycus, facing the continent [...]. The place is naturally suited for robbery, both by land and by sea: by land thanks to the size of the mountains and the men who climb them, as they have spacious plains and farms that can be attacked very easily; by sea thanks to the abundance of timber for ship-building and the <i>limenes</i> and breakwaters (<i>erymata</i>) and coves. It looks totally like this sort of thing [i.e. robbery] rules these places more than the Roman officers sent to administer justice, because they are neither there all the time nor with arms.</p>

Strabo, 14.6.3	
<p>εἶτα κολπώδης καὶ τραχὺς παράπλους ὁ πλείων εἰς Κίτιον ... ἔχει δὲ λιμένα κλειστόν·</p>	<p>After that, the sea journey becomes full of bays and difficult up to Kition (...) ³⁴; it has a closeable <i>limen</i>.</p>

³⁴ Meineke indicates missing text.

Strabo, 17.1.6

(see case study 1, Alexandria)

Strabo, 17.1.14

Ἄπο μὲν οὖν Καταβαθμοῦ εἰς Παραιτόνιον εὐθυπλοοῦντι σταδίων ἑστὶν ἑνακοσίων ὁ δρόμος· πόλις δ' ἔστι καὶ λιμὴν μέγας τετταράκοντά που σταδίων· καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν Παραιτόνιον τὴν πόλιν οἱ δ' Ἀμμωνίαν. μεταξύ δὲ ἢ τε Αἰγυπτίων κώμη καὶ ἢ Αἰνησίφυρα ἄκρα, καὶ Τυνδάρειοι σκόπελοι, νησίδια τέτταρα ἔχοντα λιμένα·	From Catabathmus to Paraetonium there are 900 stadia on a straight sailing course. There is a city and a large <i>limen</i> , about 40 stadia [in size]. Some call the city Paraetonium, others Ammonia. Between these there is a village (<i>kome</i>) of the Egyptians and Cape Ainesisphyra, and the Tyndareian Rocks, four islets with a <i>limen</i> .
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Strabo, 17.1.19

προσεπιφημισθῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸ „Αἴγυπτόνδ' ἰέναι δολιχὴν ὁδὸν ἀργαλέην τε,” προσλαμβάνοντος πρὸς τοῦτο πάμπολυ καὶ τοῦ ἀλιμένου καὶ τοῦ μηδὲ τὸν ὄντα λιμένα ἀνεῖσθαι τὸν πρὸς τῇ Φάρω, φρουρεῖσθαι δ' ὑπὸ βουκόλων ληστῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων τοῖς προσορμιζομένοις.	[Eratosthenes] also says that “the way to Egypt is difficult and rough”. This originated mainly because it was <i>alimenos</i> and because the <i>limen</i> at Pharos was not accessible due to the garrisons of sheperds, who were pirates, and attacked those who approached for mooring.
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Strabo, 17.3.9

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σίγαν Θεῶν λιμὴν ἐν ἑξακοσίοις σταδίοις·	The <i>Limen</i> of the Gods is 600 stadia after Siga.
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Strabo, 17.3.12

Ἐν δὲ τῇ παραλίᾳ ταύτῃ πόλις Ἴωλ ὄνομα, ἣν ἐπικτίσας Ἰούβας ὁ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πατήρ μετωνόμασε Καισάρειαν, ἔχουσα καὶ λιμένα καὶ πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος νησίον.	On that coast there is a city called Iol. Juba, the father of Ptolemy, re-built it and changed its name to Caesarea. It as a <i>limen</i> and, in front of the <i>limen</i> , an islet.
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Stadiasmus, 2

Ἀπὸ Χερσονήσου εἰς Δυσμᾶς—λιμὴν ἔστι ἀγωγῆς χιλίων οὐ μείζονος ζ'.	From Chersonesus to Dysmae, there is a <i>limen</i> for ships of a tonnage no larger than 7 thousand [modii?].
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Stadiasmus, 3

Ἀπὸ Δυσμῶν εἰς Πλινθίνην—σάλος ἔστιν· ὁ τόπος ἀλίμενος—στάδιοι ζ'.	From Dysmai to Plinthine, there is a <i>salos</i> . The place is <i>alimenos</i> . 90 stadia.
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Stadiasmus, 16

Ἀπὸ Ζύγρεως εἰς Λαδαμαντίαν στάδιοι κ'· νῆσος ἰκανὴ παράκειται (μεγάλῃ)· αὐτὴν ἔχων δεξιᾶν, κατάγου· λιμὴν ἔστι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ· ὕδωρ ἔχει.	From Zygris to Ladamantia, 20 stadia. There is an island large enough near it. Put in when you have it to your right side. The <i>limen</i> is suitable for all winds. It has drinking water.
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Stadiasmus, 20

Ἀπὸ Παραιτονίου εἰς Δελφῖνας [καὶ] ἐπὶ τὸ Ζεφύριον στάδιοι ζ'· νησοὶ εἰσι δύο καὶ ἀκρωτήριον· λιμὴν ἔστι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ· καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχει.	From Paraetonium to Dephini and until Zephirion, 7 stadia. There are two islands and a cape. There is a <i>limen</i> suitable for all winds. And it has drinking-water.
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Stadiasmus, 35

Ἄπο τῆς Καρδάμεως ἕως εἰς Μενέλαον στάδιοι ρ´ λιμὴν ἔστιν ὕδωρ ἔχει πλοῦν ἐν τῇ ἄμμω.	From Cardamis up to Menelaos, 100 stadia. There is a <i>limen</i> . It has plenty of drinking-water on the sand. ³⁵
<i>Stadiasmus</i> , 86	
Ἄπο Ἴππου ἄκρας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑπερον στάδιοι τν´ λιμὴν ἔστι πλοίοις μικροῖς ἔχει ὕδωρ τοῦτό ἐστι φρούριον βαρβάρων.	From cape Hippo to Eperon, 350 stadia. There is a <i>limen</i> for small ships. It has drinking water. There is a fortress of the barbarians.

<i>Stadiasmus</i> , 101	
Ἄπο Λοκρῶν ἐπὶ Ζεύχαριν στάδιοι τ´ φρούριον ἔχον πύργον (ὁ δὲ πύργος) λιμὴν ἔστι ἐπίσημος.	From Locroi to Zeucharis, 300 stadia. The fortress has a tower. The tower is indicative of the <i>limen</i> .

<i>Stadiasmus</i> , 102	
Ἄπο Ζευχάριος ἐπὶ Γέργιν στάδιοι τν´ πύργος ἐστὶ, καὶ φρούριον ἔχει καὶ λιμένα καὶ ὕδωρ.	From Zeucharis to Gergis, 350 stadia. There is a tower, and it has a fortress and a <i>limen</i> and drinking water.

<i>Stadiasmus</i> , 112	
Αὗται αἱ πόλεις λιμένας ἔχουσι, διὰ [δὲ] τὸ ἐπικεῖσθαι αὐταῖς βράχη εἰς ταύτας πλέουσι σύμμετρα πλοῖα.	These cities have <i>limenes</i> , but because of the presence of shallows, to those there only sail ships of certain measures.

<i>Stadiasmus</i> , 125	
Ἄπο δὲ Καρχηδόνας εἰς Κάστρα Κορνηλίου στάδιοι τγ´ λιμὴν ἔστι παραχειμαστικός ἐν τούτῳ παραχειμάζει μεγάλα πλοῖα.	From Carthage to Castra Corneli, 303 stadia. There is a <i>limen</i> where you can winter. Large ships spend the winter in it.

³⁵ Cuntz notes that the first hand read πλατὺν, the second hand corrected πολὺν.

<i>Stadiasmus</i> , 139-140	
Κάμψαντι δὲ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον λιμὴν ἔστι καλούμενος Λευκός· στάδιοι λ΄.	Doubling the cape there is a <i>limen</i> called White. 30 stadia.
Ἄπὸ Λευκοῦ λιμένος ἐπὶ κώμην καλουμένην Πασιερίαν στάδιοι λ΄.	From the White <i>limen</i> to the village called Pasieria, 30 stadia.

<i>Stadiasmus</i> , 182	
Ἄπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἐπὶ λιμένα Νησοῦλιον καὶ ἄκραν ἐπινησίαν στάδιοι ξ΄.	From that cape to ³⁶ the <i>limen</i> Nesoulion and its cape on the island, 60 stada.

<i>Stadiasmus</i> , 297	
Ἄπὸ τοῦ Ἀκάμαντος, τὴν Κύπρον εὐώνυμον ἔχοντι εἰς Πάφον στάδιοι τ΄· πόλις ἔστι κειμένη πρὸς μεσημβρίαν· ἔχει δὲ λιμένα τριπλοῦν παντὶ ἀνέμῳ, καὶ ἱερόν Ἀφροδίτης.	From Acamantos to the place in Cyprus of the same name, 300 stadia. The city lies facing south. It has a triple <i>limen</i> suitable for all winds and a temple of Aphrodite.

<i>Stadiasmus</i> , 304	
Ἄπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πηδαλίου ἐπὶ νήσους στάδιοι π΄· πόλις ἐστὶν ἔρημος, λεγομένη Ἀμμόχωστος· ἔχει δὲ λιμένα παντὶ ἀνέμῳ· ἔχει δὲ ἐν τῇ καταγωγῇ χοιράδας· διαφυλάττου.	From Pedalios to the islands, 80 stadia. There is a deserted city called Ammochostos. It has a <i>limen</i> suitable for all winds. But it has sunken rocks on the berth, take care.

<i>Stadiasmus</i> , 305a	
Ἄπὸ Σαλαμῖνος εἰς Παλαιάν στάδιοι ρκ΄· κώμη ἔστι καὶ λιμένα ἔχει καὶ ὕδωρ.	From Salamina to Palaia, 120 stadia. There is a village and it has a <i>limen</i> and drinking water.

<i>Stadiasmus</i> , 309	
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³⁶ Cuntz notes that the manuscript reads ἐπὶ, but Müller edited εἰς.

Ἄπὸ Ἀκάμαντος ἔχων δεξιὰν τὴν Κύπρον εἰς Ἀρσινόην τῆς Κύπρου στάδιοι σο΄ πόλις ἐστὶ· λιμένα ἔχει ἔρημον· χειμάζει βορέου.	From Acamas, having Cyprus to your right, to the Arsinoe of Cyprus, 270 stadia. There is a city. It has a deserted <i>limen</i> . Storms are raised by the north wind.
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Stadiasmus, 314

Ἄπὸ Λαπάθου εἰς Καρπάσειαν στάδιοι τν΄ πόλις ἐστίν· ἔχει λιμένα μικροῖς πλοίοις· χειμάζει βορέου.	From Lapathos to Carpaseia, 350 stadia. There is a city. It has a <i>limen</i> for small ships. Storms are raised by the north wind.
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Stadiasmus, 325

Ἄπὸ Σουλήνας εἰς Ψυχέα στάδιοι ιβ΄· ἀπὸ δὲ Πύδνης ἐπὶ τὸν Ψυχέα στάδιοι τν΄ λιμὴν θερινός· καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχει.	From Soulena to Psychea, 12 stadia. From Pidne to Psychea, 350 stadia. There is a <i>limen</i> for the summer season (<i>therinos</i>). And it has drinking water.
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Stadiasmus, 338

Ἄπὸ τοῦ Τρητοῦ εἰς Ἀγνεῖον στάδιοι ν΄ λιμὴν ἐστίν ἔχων ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος· ἔστι δὲ ἐσώτερος κόλπος, καὶ καλεῖται Μυρτίλος· καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχει.	From Tretos to Agneion, 50 stadia. There is a <i>limen</i> with a temple of Apollo. It is on the outer part of the bay, and it is cognominated Myrtilos. And it has drinking water.
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Stadiasmus, 343

Ἄπὸ τοῦ Ἀκοιτίου εἰς Κυδωνίαν στάδιοι ξ΄ πόλις ἐστίν· ἔχει λιμένα, καὶ εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον βράχη ἔχει.	From Acoetus to Cydonia, 60 stadia. There is a city. It has a <i>limen</i> , and it has shallows on the way in.
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Stadiasmus, 345

Ἄπὸ τῆς Μίνωος εἰς Ἀμφιμάτριον στάδιοι ρν´ ποταμός ἐστι καὶ λιμὴν περὶ αὐτὸν παραχειμαστικός, καὶ πύργον ἔχει.	From Minoos to Amphimatrion, 150 stadia. There is a river and a <i>limen</i> around it with where you can winter, and it has a tower.
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Stadiasmus, 349

Ἄπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου εἰς Χερρόνησον πόλιν στάδιοι λ´ ὕδωρ ἔχει καὶ νῆσον ἔχουσαν πύργον καὶ λιμένα.	From Heracleion to the city of Chersonesos, 30 stadia. It has drinking water and an island, which has a tower and a <i>limen</i> .
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Suda, κ, 483 (= Polybius fragment 168b Büttner-Wobst)

Καταβολή: καινούργησις. ἐκ καταβολῆς πεντήκοντα ναῦς ναυπηγήσασθαι, πεντήκοντα δὲ ὑπαρχουσῶν κατελθεῖν ἐκ τῶν νεωρίων. Πολύβιος.	Katabole: an inauguration. From the beginning, 50 ships were constructed, and fifty more to be towed from the existing neoria. Polybius.
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Suda, κ 2310

Κωφότερος τοῦ Τορωνέος λιμένος: περὶ Τορώνην τῆς Θράκης καλεῖται τις κωφὸς λιμὴν. εἴρηται δὲ ἡ παροιμία, παρόσον ἐν Τορώνῃ τῆς Θράκης λιμὴν στενὰς ἔχει καὶ μακρὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους κατάρσεις, ὡς μὴ ἀκούεσθαι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς θαλάττης ἦχον.	Kophoteros (<i>Very deaf</i>), the <i>limen</i> of Torone: Around Torone in Thrace some <i>limen</i> is called Deaf. The motive is said because the <i>limen</i> of Torone in Thrace has narrow and long accesses from the harbour, so that you do not hear the echoes of the sea when you are inside it.
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Suda, π 2150³⁷

³⁷ Troezen is a town in north-eastern Peloponnese. The pun of the proverb lies in the fact that πῶγων in Greek means beard. The reference to Aristophanes is: Ar. *Ec.* 71.

<p>Πώγων, πώγωνος: Τροιζήνιος λιμὴν οὕτω καλούμενος· ὅθεν καὶ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν κακογενείων· ἐς Τροιζῆνα δὲ βαδίζειν. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης· κάγω γ' Ἐπικράτους οὐκ ὀλίγω καλλίονα πώγων' ἔχω.</p>	<p><i>Pogon</i>, [genitive] <i>Pogonos</i>: It is the <i>limen</i> of Troezen, that it's called like this. Hence also the proverb against short-bearded people: "walk to Troezen". So Aristophanes: "Me too, I have a beard (<i>pogon</i>) much more beautiful than that of Epicratus!"</p>
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Xenophont, *Economics*, 8.22

<p>ἴσμεν γὰρ δήπου ὅτι μυριοπλάσια ἡμῶν ἅπαντα ἔχει ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὅποιον ἂν τῶν οἰκετῶν κελεύσης πριάμενόν τί σοι ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐδεὶς ἀπορήσει, ἀλλὰ πᾶς εἰδῶς φανεῖται ὅποι χρῆ ἐλθόντα λαβεῖν ἕκαστα. τούτου μέντοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο αἴτιόν ἐστιν ἢ ὅτι ἐν χώρᾳ κεῖται τεταγμένη.</p>	<p>Certainly, we know that the whole city has all our stuff a thousand times, and still, you can ask your servants to go and buy anything for you from the agora, and nobody will be at loss, but they know perfectly where they have to go to pick each thing. And this, I say, is thanks to no other reason that [every stall] lies in a fixed place.</p>
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IG 9.2.517, ll. 41-42 (Larisa, 214 BC)

<p>τὸς ταγὸς ἐ[γ]γρά[ψαν]τας ἐν λεύκουμα ἐσθέμεν αὐτὸς ἐν τὸν λιμένα</p>	<p>The college of magistrates wrote [this decree] on a stele and we put it in the market-place (<i>limen</i>)</p>
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IG 11(2).203 A 95, from 3rd century BC Delos

<p>κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· Φιλανδρίδει Παρίωι τῆς λιθείας τῆς εἰς τὰς κρηπίδας τὰς ἐν τῷ θεάτρωι ἐγλαβόντι πόδας χιλίους ἔδομεν τὴν πρῶτην δόσιν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν δραχμὰς :XXXI^ϛ:</p>	<p>After calling the architect and the curators, to Philandrides of Paros, as he carved out of marble the rows of seats (<i>krepides</i>) in the theatre of a thousand feet, we gave him the first payment in the list, 3500 drachmae.</p>
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*Mishnah Avodah Zarah 3:4*³⁸

שלאפרודיטי במרחץ רוחץ שהיה בעכו גמליאל רבן את פלוספוס בן פרוקלוס שאל
 במרחץ רוחץ אתה מה מפני – החרם מן מאומה בידך ידבק ולא: בתורתכם כתוב: לו אמר
 במרחץ משיבין אין: לו אמר? שלאפרודיטי
 בגבולי באת היא בגבולה באתי לא אני: לו אמר וכשיצא
 למרחץ נוי אפרודיטי נעשית אומרים אלא נוי לאפרודיטי מרחץ נעשה אומרים אין
 ומשתין קרי ובעל ערם שלך זרה לעבודה נכנס אתה אי הרבה ממון לך נותנין אם: אחר דבר
 בפניה
 לפניה משתינין העם וכל הביב פי על עומדת וזו
 אלוה משום בו נוהג שאינו ואת אסור אלוה משום בו שנוהג את – אלהיהם: אלא נאמר לא
 מתר

Proklos ben Philosophos asked Rabban Gamliel in Acco, who was bathing in the bathhouse of Aphrodite. He said to him: It is written in your Torah: ‘Let nothing of the herem remain in your hand’ (Deut. 13:18), why are you bathing in the bathhouse of Aphrodite? He said to him: One does not respond [to questions about the Torah] in a bathhouse. And when he went out, he said to him: I did not come into her domain, she came into my domain. They do not say: Let us make a bathhouse for Aphrodite, but they say: Let us make an Aphrodite [statue] for the bathhouse. Another matter: [Even] if they gave you a lot of money, you would not enter your avodah zarah [pagan temple, pagan religious practice] naked, polluted [a man who had ejaculated and not yet immersed in the miqveh was not allowed to study Torah], and urinating before her [the statue of the goddess]. And she stands over the water-pipe and everyone urinates before her. It is only written ‘their gods’ [possibly referring to Deut. 12:3: ‘You shall dismember the idols of their gods’], that which is treated like a god is prohibited, but that which is not treated like a god is permitted.

³⁸ Text and translation copied from: <https://jnjr.div.ed.ac.uk/primary-sources/rabbinic/palestinian-rabbis-encounter-with-graeco-roman-paganism-rabban-gamliel-in-the-bathhouse-of-aphrodite-in-acco-m-a-z-34/>, consulted: 24th May 2017.

4.2 Epineion: the offsite port

Achilles Tatius, <i>Leucippe and Clitophon</i> , 2.17.3	
<p>ὁ δὲ (ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως εὐρωστος τὸ σῶμα καὶ φύσει πειρατικός) ταχὺ μὲν ἐξεῦρε ληστὰς ἀλιεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης ἐκείνης καὶ δῆτα ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Τύρον. ἔστι δὲ μικρὸν ἐπίνειον Τυρίων, νησίδιον ἀπέχον ὀλίγον τῆς Τύρου (Ῥοδόπης αὐτὸ τάφον οἱ Τύριοι λέγουσιν), ἔνθα ὁ λέμβος ἐφήδρευεν.</p>	<p>He [Zeno] (who had a strong body and was by nature piratical) quickly found some pirate fishermen from that village and at once sailed away to Tyre. There is a small <i>epineion</i> of the Tyrians, an islet at a little distance of Tyre itself (the Tyrians call it Rhodope's Tomb), in there he moored the boat.</p>

Appian, <i>Prooemium</i> , 61	
<p>ἡ δὲ τελευταία καὶ τὴν στρατιάν αὐτῶν, ὅσῃν ἔχουσιν, ἢ πρόσοδον, ἢ καρποῦνται καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος, ἢ εἴ τι προσαναλίσκουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐπινείους φρουρὰς ὅσα τε τοιουτότροπα ἄλλα ἐπιδείξει.</p>	<p>The last [book] will show the army [of the Romans], as powerful as they have it, their income, which they collect from each nation, whatever they spend in the <i>epineioi</i> fortresses, and many other things.</p>

Appian, <i>Hannibalic War</i> , 30 ³⁹	
<p>ἐπίνειον δὲ ἦν τι βραχὺ Πλακεντίας, ᾧ προσβαλὼν ὁ Ἄννιβας ἀπώλεσε τετρακοσίους καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτρώθη.</p>	<p>There was an <i>epineion</i> near Placentia, which Hannibal attacked. He lost four hundred men and he himself was wounded.</p>

Appian, <i>Punic Wars</i> , 470	
<p>ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠχύρου, τεῖχος τε ἀντὶ</p>	<p>Manilius [made] the military camp even more secure by building a wall instead of a</p>

³⁹ Ed. Gabba, Roos and Viereck; but passage 7 in the editions of Mendelssohn and White.

χάρακος αὐτῷ περιτιθεῖς καὶ ἐπίνειον φρούριον ἐγείρων ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης διὰ τὴν καταπλέουσιν ἀγοράν·	palisade around it, and raising an <i>epineion</i> fortress on the sea for the shipping of supplies.
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Appianus, <i>Civil War</i> , 4.10.81-82	
Βροῦτος δὲ ἐς Πάταρα ἀπὸ Ζάνθου κατῆι, πόλιν ἐοικυῖαν ἐπινείῳ Ζανθίων [...]. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λέντλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς Ἀνδριάκη Μυρέων ἐπινείῳ τὴν τε ἄλυσιν ἔρρηξε τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἐς Μύρα ἀνήι.	Brutus went down to Patara from Xanthos, a city which is something like the <i>epineion</i> of the Xanthians [...]. At the same time, Lentulus, who had been sent to Andriake, the <i>epineion</i> of the Myreans, broke the chain of the harbour and sailed up to Myra.

Appian, <i>Syrian War</i> , 123-124 ⁴⁰	
Σέλευκος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τὴν Εὐμένους γῆν ἐδήου καὶ Περγάμῳ παρεκάθητο, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατακλείσας. ὅθεν ὁ Εὐμένης ἐς Ἐλαίαν, τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίνειον, διέπλει κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Ῥηγίλλος, ὁ Λιβίου τὴν ναυαρχίαν παραδεδεγμένος.	Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, ravaged the land of Eumenes and besieged Pergamon, shutting the men inside the city. Upon [knowing this], Eumenes sailed at all speed to Elaia, the <i>epineion</i> of the empire, with Lucius Aemilius Regillus, who had received the admiralship from Livius.

Cassius Dio, 78.39.3	
διεξήλασε διὰ τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς τε Βιθυνίας μέχρι Ἐριβόλου τοῦ ἐπινείου τοῦ κατ' ἀντιπέρας τῆς τῶν Νικομηδέων πόλεως ὄντος.	He marched through Cappadocia and Galatia and Bithynia until Eribolon, which is the <i>epineion</i> of the city of the Nicomedians lying on the opposite site.

⁴⁰ Passage 124 in the edition of Gabba, Roos and Viereck, but 26 in the editions of Mendelssohn and White.

Diodorus Siculus, 15.14.3-4	
<p>Διονύσιος δὲ χρημάτων ἀπορούμενος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίαν, ἔχων τριῆρεις ἑξήκοντα, πρόφασιν μὲν φέρων τὴν τῶν ληστῶν κατάλυσιν, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ συλήσων ἱερόν ἅγιον, γέμον μὲν ἀναθημάτων πολλῶν, καθιδρυμένον δ' ἐν ἐπινείῳ πόλεως Ἀγύλλης Τυρρηνίδος· τὸ δ' ἐπίνειον ὠνομάζετο Πύργοι. καταπλεύσας δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκβιβάσας, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προσπεσὼν ἐκράτησε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς· ὀλίγων γὰρ ὄντων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ φυλάκων, βιασάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐσύλησε τὸ ἱερόν καὶ συνήθροισεν οὐκ ἔλαττον ταλάντων χιλίων. τῶν δὲ Ἀγυλλαίων ἐκβοηθησάντων, μάχη τε ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν καὶ τὴν χώραν πορθήσας ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας. ἀποδόμενος δὲ τὰ λάφυρα συνήγαγεν οὐκ ἔλάττω ταλάντων πεντακοσίων. εὐπορήσας δὲ χρημάτων, ἐμισθοῦτο στρατιωτῶν παντοδαπῶν πλῆθος, καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συστησάμενος φανερὸς ἦν πολεμήσων Καρχηδονίοις.</p>	<p>Dionysius, as he was in need for money, made an expedition against Tyrrhenia with sixty triremes, under the pretext of bringing a solution for piracy, but in truth to sack a holy temple, full of many votive offerings, which was situated in the <i>epineion</i> of the city of Agylle of Tyrrhenia. This <i>epineion</i> was called Pyrgi. Having sailed at night and having disembarked his army, at the break of day when he attacked he won the assault. For there were few guards in that place, and after he had aggressed them, he sacked the temple and collected no less than a thousand talents. When the Agyllaeans came to bring help, he won the fight against them, he took many prisoners and destroyed their land, and then he sailed back to Siracuse. When he sold the spoils, he received no less than five hundred talents. When he had enough money, he hired mercenaries from every land, and when he had gathered an appropriate army, it became clear that he intended to go to war against Carthage.</p>

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 9.56.5-6	
<p>ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἢ τε γῆ αὐτῶν ἢ πολλὴ ἐτμήθη, καὶ πολίχνη τις ἐπιθαλάττιος ἑάλω, ἣ ἐπινείῳ τε καὶ ἀγορᾷ τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων ἐχρῶντο, ἐκ</p>	<p>In the meantime, a great part of their land was devastated and a coastal village was taken, one which they used as <i>epineion</i> and agora for everyday-life necessities,</p>

<p>θαλάττης τε καὶ διὰ ληστηρίων τὰς πολλὰς ἐπαγόμενοι ὠφελείας. ἀνδράποδα μὲν οὖν καὶ χρήματα καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐμπορικοὺς φόρτους ἢ στρατιὰ συγχωρήσει τοῦ ὑπάτου διήρπασε, τὰ δ' ἐλεύθερα σώματα, ὅποσα μὴ ὁ πόλεμος ἔφθη διειργασμένος, ἐπὶ τὸ λαφυροπώλιον ἀπήχθη. ἐλήφθησαν δὲ καὶ νῆες τῶν Ἀντιατῶν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο μακραὶ καὶ ἄλλα νεῶν ὄπλα τε καὶ παρασκευαί. μετὰ ταῦτα κελεύσαντος τοῦ ὑπάτου τὰς τ' οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπρασαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τοὺς νεωσοίκους κατέσκαπτον καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤρειπον ἐκ θεμελίων· ὥστε μὴδ' ἀπελθόντων σφῶν χρηστὸν ἔτι τοῖς Ἀντιάταις εἶναι τὸ φρούριον.</p>	<p>bringing to that place the majority of the spoils from the raids on sea and on land. The army seized as plunder the slaves, wealth, cattle and the cargo of merchants with the consul's permission. The free individuals who had not been killed in the war were taken to an auction of the booty. Twenty-two big ships of the people from Antium were captured as well along with the rest of the naval weapons and equipment. After that, on orders of the consul, the Romans set fire to the buildings, they destroyed the docks and they demolished the walls from their foundations, so that even after they had left the fort would be of no use for the people of Antium.</p>
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Etymologicum Magnum, s. v. Γέραστος

<p>Γέραστος: [...] Γεραστός δέ, ἀκρωτήριον ἅμα καὶ ἐπίνειον Εὐβοίας, ἐν ᾧ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν.</p>	<p><i>Gérastos</i>: <i>Gerastós</i> is both a promontory and an <i>epineion</i> in Euboea, in which there is a temple to Poseidon.</p>
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Pausanias, 1.1.2

<p>ὁ δὲ Πειραιεύς δῆμος μὲν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν ἐπίνειον οὐκ ἦν· Φαληρὸν δέ—ταύτη γὰρ ἐλάχιστον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως ἢ θάλασσα—, τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον ἦν. [...] Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἤρξε—τοῖς τε γὰρ πλέουσι ἐπιτηδειότερος ὁ Πειραιεύς ἐφαίνετό οἱ</p>	<p>Piraeus used to be a deme in ancient times, it was not an <i>epineion</i> at first, before Themistocles governed the Athenians. Phaleron was their <i>epineion</i>, as it is the coast closest to the city. [...] When Themistocles governed he made Piraeus their <i>epineion</i> [of the Athenians], as he found Piraeus was more conveniently</p>
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προκειῖσθαι καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἔχειν τοῦ Φαληροῖ—τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον εἶναι κατεσκευάσατο·	situated for sailors and it had three <i>limenes</i> instead of only one in Phaleron.
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Pausanias, 2.36.2

Μάσητι δὲ οὔση πόλει τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καθὰ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἀργείων καταλόγῳ πεποιήκεν, ἐπινείῳ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐχρῶντο Ἑρμιονεῖς.	Mases in old times used to be a city, as Homer represents it in the catalogue of the Greeks ⁴¹ , but in our times the Hermionians use it as their <i>epineion</i> .
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Pausanias, 4.3.10

Ἴσθμιος δὲ ὁ Γλαύκου καὶ ἱερὸν τῷ Γοργάσῳ καὶ Νικομάχῳ τὸ ἐν Φαραῖς ἐποίησεν· Ἴσθμίου δὲ γίνεται Δωτάδας, ὃς ἐπίνεια καὶ ἄλλα τῆς Μεσσηνίας παρεχομένης τὸ ἐν Μοθῶνῃ κατεσκευάσατο.	Isthmius, the son of Glaucus, also made a temple to Gorgasus and Nicomachus in Pherae. Dotadas was born to Isthmius, he built the <i>epineion</i> in Mothone, even though Messenia already had others.
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Pausanias, 7.26.1

ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Αἰγειρατῶν—ὄνομα τὸ αὐτὸ ἢ τε πόλις καὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον ἔχει—, ἐς οὖν τὸ ἐπίνειον Αἰγειρατῶν δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Βουραϊκὴν εἰσιν Ἡρακλέους στάδιοι. ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ μὲν δὴ Αἰγειράταις οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην, ὁδὸς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπινείου δύο σταδίων καὶ δέκα ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν.	To the <i>epineion</i> of the Aigeiraeans – both the city and the <i>epineion</i> have the same name –, so, to the <i>epineion</i> of the Aigeiraeans there are seventy-two stadia from the Heracles on the road to Boura. On the coast of Aigeira there is nothing memorable, the road from the <i>epineion</i> is twelve stadia to the city above.
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Pausanias, 7.26.14

⁴¹ Hom. *Il.* 2.562: οἳ τ' ἔχον Αἴγινα Μάσητά τε κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν.

<p>ἐς τοῦτο ἐξ Αἰγείρας τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσση σταδίων ἔστιν εἴκοσιν ὁδὸς καὶ ἑκατόν· ταύτης δὲ ἡμίσεια ἐς Πελλήνην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπινείου.</p>	<p>To [the town of Donussa] from Aegeira, on the coast, the road is 120 stadia. From Pellene to the <i>epineion</i> is the half of that.</p>
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Pausanias, 8.10.4	
<p>Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ σταδίους μάλιστα εἴκοσιν ἀφέστηκε τῆς πόλεως ἢ πρὸς Φαληρῶν θάλασσα, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Μυλασεῦσιν ἐπίνειον σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα ἀπέχον ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως·</p>	<p>In the case of the Athenians, the coast of Phaleron is a good 20 stadia away from the town, whereas the <i>epineion</i> of the Mylasians is 80 stadia away from the town.</p>

Pausanias, 8.14.12	
<p>ἔστι δὲ ὁ Πέλοψ δηλὸς οὐ πολλὴν τινα παραπλεύσας θάλασσαν, ἀλλὰ ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄλφειοῦ τῶν ἐκβολῶν ἐς τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Ἠλείων.</p>	<p>It is obvious that Pelops did not sail long coasting on the sea, but only from the mouth of the Alpheios until the <i>epineion</i> of the Elaeans.</p>

Pausanias, 10.37.4	
<p>ἐς δὲ Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν ὁδὸς μὲν σταδίων ἑξήκοντά ἐστιν ἐκ Δελφῶν· καταβάντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἵππόδρομος τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀγῶνα Πύθια ἄγουσιν ἐνταῦθα τὸν ἵππικόν.</p>	<p>The road from Delphi to Cirra, the <i>epineion</i> of Delphi, is sixty stadia. If you go down to the plain there is a horse-race track and during the Pythian games the horse-races are held there.</p>

Philo Judaeus, <i>Against Flaccus</i> 155	
<p>διελθὼν δ' ἀπὸ Λεχαίου τὸν Ἴσθμόν εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέραν θάλατταν καὶ καταβὰς εἰς Κεγχρεάς, τὸ Κορίνθιον ἐπίνειον, ἀναγκάζεται πρὸς τῶν φυλάκων</p>	<p>Crossing the Isthmus from Lechaion towards the opposite coast and sailing down to Cenchræae, the <i>epineion</i> of Corinth, it is necessary to go up to the</p>

<p>ἀναχώρησιν οὐδ' ἦντιναοῦν ἐνδιδόντων εὐθύς ἐπιβάς βραχείας ὀλκάδος ἀνάγεσθαι καὶ πνεύματος ἐναντίου καταρραγέντος μυρία ταλαιπωρηθεῖς μόλις ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατασύρεται.</p>	<p>shore where the guards are and, without paying a passage, you go directly on board of a small ship. As there is a headwind, after enduring thousands of difficulties you barely reach Piraeus.</p>
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Procopius, 4.14.40	
<p>σταδίους τε τριακοσίους ἀνύσαντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Μισοῦαν τὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐπίνειον.</p>	<p>After completing three hundred stadia, they reached Misoua, the <i>epineion</i> of the Carthaginians.</p>

<i>Scholion to Demosthenes, 9.37</i> ⁴²	
<p>Πορθμὸς ἐπίνειον τῆς Ἐρετρίας· ὁμωνύμως δὲ ἐκλήθη τῷ πελάγει τῷ μεταξύ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀθηνῶν.</p>	<p>Porthmos [“the Strait”] is the <i>epineion</i> of Eretria. The name is the same for the sea between that and Athens.</p>

Synesius, <i>letters</i> , 148	
<p>Ὀλυμπίῳ. Ἀπέλιπον τὴν τάξιν τῶν φόρων. τί γὰρ ἦν ποιεῖν, οὐδενὸς Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὴν Λιβύην ἐπωκηκότων θέλοντος εἰς τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν θάλατταν ἐκπέμπειν ὀλκάδας; καὶ σὲ δὲ ἀφήμι τῆς συντάξεως· οὐδὲ γὰρ Σύροις ἐπιμελὲς καταίρειν εἰς τὰ Κυρηναίων ἐπίνεια. λάθοι δ' ἂν με τοῦτο ποτε καὶ γενόμενον· οὐ γὰρ εἰμι γείτων θαλάττης οὐδ' ἐλλιμενίζω συχνά, ἀλλ' ἀνῶκισμαι πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον</p>	<p>To Olympius. I neglected the obligation of the tributes. What else could I do when none of the Greeks who settled Libya is willing to send merchant ships? And I also release you of this obligation. For none of the Syrians takes care to reach the <i>epineia</i> of Cyrenaica. And even if they did, I would not know, for I am not a neighbour of the sea, and I don't often go to the port, but I moved to the southern limit of</p>

⁴² Scholion 37 in Demosthenes's 9th oration, the Third Philippic, refers to passage 33. The relevant sentence reads: πέμπει δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμόν, τὸν δὴμον ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν Ἐρετριῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὠρεόν, τύραννον Φιλιστιδίην καταστήσοντας;

<p>Κυρηναίων ἔσχατος, καὶ γείτονες ἡμῖν εἰσὶν οἴους Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ τὴν Ἰθάκην τὸ πηδάλιον ἔχων ἐζήτει, μῆνιν Ποσειδῶνος ἐκ τοῦ χρησιμοῦ παραιτούμενος, <i>οἱ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλασσαν</i> <i>ἀνέρες, οὐδέ θ' ἄλεσσι μεμιγμένον</i> <i>εἶδαρ ἔδουσιν.</i></p>	<p>Cyrenaica, and my neighbours are such like those that Odysseus had to seek in Ithaca with his oar, in order to calm the wrath of Poseidon as the oracle had told him: <i>Men who do not know the sea</i> <i>and do not eat their food mixed with</i> <i>salt.</i></p>
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Strabo, 3.2.6

<p>Ἐξάγεται δ' ἐκ τῆς Τουρδητανίας σίτος τε καὶ οἶνος πολὺς καὶ ἔλαιον οὐ πολὺ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστον· καὶ κηρὸς δὲ καὶ μέλι καὶ πίττα ἐξάγεται καὶ κόκκος πολλὴ καὶ μίλτος οὐ χείρων τῆς Σινωπικῆς γῆς. τὰ τε ναυπήγια συνιστάσιν αὐτόθι ἐξ ἐπιχωρίας ὕλης, ἄλες τε ὀρυκτοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰσι καὶ ποταμῶν ἀλμυρῶν ρεύματα οὐκ ὀλίγα· οὐκ ὀλίγη δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν ὄψων ταριχεῖα οὐκ ἔνθεν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἐκτὸς στηλῶν παραλίας, οὐ χείρων τῆς Ποντικῆς. πολλὴ δὲ καὶ ἐσθῆς πρότερον ἦρχετο, νῦν δὲ ἔρια μᾶλλον τῶν κοραξῶν. καὶ ὑπερβολὴ τίς ἐστὶ τοῦ κάλλους· ταλαντιαίους γοῦν ὠνοῦνται τοὺς κριοὺς εἰς τὰς ὀχείας. ὑπερβολὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν λεπτῶν ὑφασμάτων, ἅπερ οἱ Σαλτιγιῆται κατασκευάζουσιν. [...] τὴν δὲ ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐκκομιζομένων ἐκ τῆς Τουρδητανίας ἐμφανίζει τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν</p>	<p>Turdetania exports wheat, a lot of wine and no less oil from the best quality. It also exports wax, honey, pitch, grain and ochre of no worse quality than that of the region of Sinope. The territory produces its own timber for shipbuilding, and they also have mineral salt and many salt- water rivers. They trade a large quantity of salted fish, not only from that place, but also from the other side of the Pillars, and it is no worse than that from Pontus. They used to export much clothing, but now it is rather the wool, which is better than that of the Coraxi, and it is of remarkable beauty. Rams for breeding are worth a talent. The fineness of their robes is also remarkable, just like those that the Saltigitai make. [...] The enviable exports of Turdetania are evidenced by the size and number of their merchants (<i>nauklerion</i>). Their enormous cargo vessels sail from there to</p>
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ναυκληρίων· ὀλκάδες γὰρ μέγιστα παρὰ τούτων πλέουσιν εἰς Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ τὰ ὕστια τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίνειον· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος μικροῦ δεῖν ἐνάμιλλον τοῖς Λιβυκοῖς.	Dicaearchia ⁴³ and to Ostia, Rome's <i>epineion</i> . They are just about the same number as the ships from Libya.
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Strabo, 4.1.12	
Τὴν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἰουόλκαι νέμονται τὴν πλείστην, οὓς Ἄρηκομίσκους προσαγορεύουσι. τούτων δ' ἐπίνειον ἢ Νάρβων λέγεται, δικαιότερον δ' ἂν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κελτικῆς λέγοιτο· τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληται τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρωμένων τῷ ἐμπορίῳ.	On the biggest part of the other bank of the river [Rhone] live the Volcae, who are named Arecomisci. Their <i>epineion</i> is called Narbo, but it would be fairer to call it also [the <i>epineion</i>] of the rest of Gaul. To such a great extent it proves excellent for the crowds using this <i>emporion</i> .

Strabo, 5.2.6	
τὸ δὲ Ποπλώνιον ἐπ' ἄκρας ὑψηλῆς ἴδρυται κατερρωγίας εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ χερρονησιζούσης [...]. τὸ μὲν οὖν πολίχνιον πᾶν ἔρημόν ἐστι πλὴν τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ κατοικιῶν ὀλίγων, τὸ δ' ἐπίνειον οἰκεῖται βέλτιον, πρὸς τῇ ρίζῃ τοῦ ὄρους λιμένιον ἔχον καὶ νεωσοίκους δύο· καὶ δοκεῖ μοι μόνη τῶν Τυρρηνίδων τῶν παλαιῶν αὕτη πόλεων ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἰδρῦσθαι· αἴτιον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἀλίμενον· διόπερ παντάπασιν ἔφευγον οἱ κτίσται τὴν θάλατταν ἢ προεβάλλοντο ἐρύματα πρὸ αὐτῆς, ὥστε μὴ λάφυρον ἔτοιμον	Poplonium is founded on a high cape falling onto the sea and with the aspect of a peninsula [...]. The village now is completely deserted, except for the temples and a few households. The <i>epineion</i> is better inhabited, it has a small berthing space (<i>limenion</i>) at the foot of the mountain and two shipsheds (<i>neosoikoi</i>). And I do think that only this town in Tyrrenia was founded by that sea. The cause is that the territory is <i>alimenos</i> . Because of that the city-founders shunned the sea or threw moles against it, so that their spoils would not be exposed to the

⁴³ This is the name of the Greek colony in Puteoli (present-day Pozzuoli in Italy).

ἐκκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐπιπλεύσασιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ θυννοσκοπεῖον ὑπὸ τῇ ἄκρᾳ.	[pirates] sailing against them. There is also a look-out for tunnies under the cape.
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Strabo, 5.2.8

μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ποπλώνιον Κόσαι πόλις μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης· ἔστι δ' ἐν κόλπῳ βουνὸς ὑψηλός, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ κτίσμα· ὑπόκειται δ' Ἡρακλέους λιμὴν καὶ πλησίον λιμνοθάλαττα καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόλπου θυννοσκοπεῖον. [...] ἀπὸ δὲ Γραουίσκων εἰς Πύργους μικρὸν ἐλάττους τῶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα, ἔστι δ' ἐπίνειον τῶν Καιρετανῶν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων.	After Poplonium there is the city of Cossae, a little distance from the sea. It is in a bay, on a high hill, where the settlement is. Below it there is the <i>limen</i> of Hercules and closer to it, a marsh formed by the sea, and by its side, a cape over the bay with a look-out for tunnies. [...] From Gravisci to Pyrgi ⁴⁴ there are a little less than 180 [stadia], the <i>epineion</i> of the Caeretani is 30 stadia further.
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Strabo, 5.4.2

μῆκος δ' ἀπὸ Αἴσιος ποταμοῦ μέχρι Κάστρου παράπλου ἔχον σταδίων ὀκτακοσίων. πόλεις δ' Ἀγκῶν μὲν Ἑλληνίς, Συρακουσίων κτίσμα τῶν φυγόντων τὴν Διονυσίου τυραννίδα· κεῖται δ' ἐπ' ἄκρας μὲν λιμένα ἐμπεριλαμβανούσης τῇ πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους ἐπιστροφῇ, σφόδρα δ' εὖοιός ἐστι καὶ πυροφόρος [...]. εἶτα Σεπτέμπεδα καὶ Πνευεντία καὶ Ποτεντία καὶ Φίρμον Πικηνόν· ἐπίνειον δὲ ταύτης Κάστελλον. ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὸ τῆς Κύπρας ἱερόν, Τυρρηνῶν ἴδρυμα καὶ κτίσμα· τὴν δ' Ἥραν ἐκεῖνοι Κύπραν	The distance from the river Aisios to Castrum is eight hundred stadia of navigation. The cities are, first, Ancona, which is a Greek foundation of the people from Siracuse who fled from the tyrant Dionysius. It lies on a cape that forms a <i>limen</i> because it is bent to the north, and it is very fertile in wine and wheat. Beyond that is Septempeda, Pneuventia, Potentia y Firmum Picenum. Its <i>epineion</i> is Castellum. Next is the temple of Cypra, built and founded by the Tyrrhenians. They call Cypra to Hera. Beyond is Castrum Novuum and the river Matrinus,
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⁴⁴ Pyrgi is a town some miles north of Ostia/Rome. It probably lay where the modern town of Santa Severa is nowadays.

καλοῦσιν· [...] εἶτα Καστρονόουν καὶ ὁ Ματρῖνος ποταμός, ῥέων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδριανῶν πόλεως, ἔχων ἐπίνειον τῆς Ἀδρίας ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ. [...] τὸ δὲ πόλισμα τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ Ἰουηστίνων μὲν ἐστί, κοινῶ δ' ἐπινείω χρῶνται καὶ οἱ Πελίγνοι καὶ οἱ Μαρρουκῖνοι·	that flows from the city of Adria; Adria has an <i>epineion</i> with is very same name. [...] The village bearing the same name [as the river Aternus] belongs to the Vestini, but the <i>epineion</i> is used in common with the Peligni and the Marrucini.
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Strabo, 5.4.8

Νώλης δὲ καὶ Νουκερίας καὶ Ἀχερρῶν, ὁμωνύμου κατοικίας τῆς περὶ Κρέμωνα, ἐπίνειόν ἐστιν ἡ Πομπηία, παρὰ τῷ Σάρνω ποταμῷ καὶ δεχομένῳ τὰ φορτία καὶ ἐκπέμποντι.	The <i>epineion</i> of Nola, Nuceria and Acherrae, which has the same name as the settlement near Cremona, is Pompeii. It is situated next to the river Sarno and it receives and sends out all the merchandise.
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Strabo 8.1.3

δευτέρα δὲ ἡ καὶ ταύτην περιέχουσα, ἧς ἰσθμός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκ Παγῶν τῶν Μεγαρικῶν εἰς Νίσαιαν, τὸ Μεγαρέων ἐπίνειον, ὑπερβολῇ σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐπὶ θάλατταν.	The second [peninsula of Greece] also includes that [first peninsula], its isthmus extends from Pagae in the Megarian region until Nisaia, the <i>epineion</i> of the Megarians, in a distance of 120 stadia from coast to coast.
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Strabo 8.3.4

μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν προϊοῦσι τὸ τῶν Ἡλείων ἐπίνειον ἡ Κυλλήνη, ἀνάβασιν ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν πόλιν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων.	Beyond that, if you're going west, there is Cyllene, the <i>epineion</i> of the Eleians, with a road leading up to the modern city one hundred and twenty stadia long.
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Strabo 8.3.12

<p>ὁ μὲν οὖν Εὐρώτας κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Βλεμινάτιδος ἀναδείξας τὸ ρεῖθρον, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Σπάρτην ῥυεῖς καὶ διεξιὼν αὐλῶνά τινα μακρὸν κατὰ τὸ Ἔλος, οὗ μέμνηται καὶ ὁ ποιητής, ἐκδίδωσι μεταξὺ Γυθείου τοῦ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπινείου καὶ Ἀκραίων.</p>	<p>The stream Eurotas appears again at the border of the region Bleminatis, it flows through Sparta itself and it crosses a long glen into Helus, which is mentioned by the poet⁴⁵, and it reaches the sea between Gytheion, the <i>epineion</i> of Sparta, and Acraea.</p>
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Strabo, 8.6.25	
<p>Τὴν δὲ Σικυῶνα πρότερον Μηκώνην ἐκάλουν, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον Αἰγιαλεῖς· ἀνῶκισε δ' αὐτὴν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίοις (οἱ δὲ δώδεκά φασιν) ἐπὶ λόφον ἐρυμνὸν Δημήτριος· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν κτίσμα ἐπινεῖόν ἐστιν ἔχον λιμένα.</p>	<p>Sicyon was called Mecone at first, and Aigialeis even earlier. The city was moved more to the inland from the coast about 20 stadia (but some say 12), up to a strong hill sacred to Demeter. The old foundation is an <i>epineion</i> with a <i>limen</i>.</p>

Strabo, 9.1.4	
<p>ἡ δὲ Νίσαια ἐπινεῖόν ἐστιν τῶν Μεγάρων δεκαοκτῶ σταδίου τῆς πόλεως διέχον, σκέλεσιν ἐκατέρωθεν συναπτόμενον πρὸς αὐτὴν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Μινῶα.</p>	<p>Nisaia is the <i>epineion</i> of the Megarians, 18 stadia away from the city, joined to it by walls on both sides. This (<i>epineion</i>) also used to be called Minoa.</p>

Strabo, 9.2.28	
<p>ἡ δὲ Θίσβη Θίσβαι νῦν λέγονται, οἰκεῖται δὲ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ὄμορον Θεσπιεῦσι τὸ χωρίον καὶ τῇ Κορωνειακῇ, ὑποπεπτωκὸς ἐκ τοῦ νοτίου μέρους τῶ Ἑλικῶνι καὶ αὐτό· ἐπινεῖον δ' ἔχει πετρῶδες περιστερῶν μεστόν, ἐφ' οὗ</p>	<p>Thisbe is now called Thisbai, it is situated a little above the sea, on the border with the territory of the Thespians and that of Coroneia, to the south it lies at the foot of the Helicon. It has an <i>epineion</i>, a rocky one full of</p>

⁴⁵ Hom. *Il.* 2. 584.

φησιν ὁ ποιητῆς „πολυτρήρωνά τε Θίσβην.“ πλοῦς δ' ἐστὶν ἐνθένδε εἰς Σικυῶνα σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα.	doves, hence the poet says: “Thisbe, abounding in doves”. From there to Sicyon the sailing is 160 stadia.
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Strabo, 9.4.2	
Ἐφεξῆς τοίνυν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς, εἰς ἅς κατέληγεν ἡ Βοιωτικὴ παραλία ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίᾳ, τὸν Ὀπούντιον κόλπον κεῖσθαι συμβαίνει. ὁ δ' Ὀποῦς ἐστὶ μητρόπολις [...]. ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς θαλάττης περὶ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίου, τοῦ δ' ἐπίνειου καὶ ἐξήκοντα. Κῦνος δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον, ἄκρα τερματίζουσα τὸν Ὀπούντιον κόλπον σταδίων ὄντα περὶ τετταράκοντα· μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀποῦντος καὶ Κύνου πεδῖον εὐδαιμον·	Right after Halae, where the Boeotian seashore facing Euboea ends, there lies the gulf of Opus. Opus is the metropolis [...]. It is about 15 stadia distant from the coast, and sixty from the <i>epineion</i> . Cynos is the <i>epineion</i> , a cape which is the limit of the gulf of Opus, about forty stadia long. Between Opus and Cynos there is a nice plain.

Strabo, 9.5.15	
Φεραὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι πέρασ τῶν Πελασγικῶν πεδίων πρὸς τὴν Μαγνησίαν, ἃ παρατείνει μέχρι τοῦ Πηλίου σταδίου ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα. ἐπίνειον δὲ τῶν Φερῶν Παγασαὶ διέχον ἐνενηκόντα σταδίου αὐτῶν, Ἴωλκοῦ δὲ εἴκοσιν.	Pherae is the boundary of the Pelasgic plains to the side of Magnesia. They extend until Pelion, for a hundred and sixty stadia. The <i>epineion</i> of Pherae is Pagasae, ninety stadia away from there, and twenty from Iolcos.

Strabo, 10.5.6	
Κέως δὲ τετράπολις μὲν ὑπῆρξε, λείπονται δὲ δύο, ἣ τε Ἴουλῖς καὶ ἡ Καρθαία, εἰς ἅς συνεπολίσθησαν αἰ λοιπαί, ἣ μὲν Ποιήεσσα εἰς τὴν Καρθαίαν ἢ δὲ Κορησία εἰς τὴν Ἴουλίδα	Ceos used to be a tetrapolis [union of four cities] but now only two of them are left, Ioulis and Carthaia, into which the others were integrated, Poieessa into Carthaia and Coresia into Ioulis [...]. It lies on the

[...]. κείται δ' ἐν ὄρει τῆς θαλάττης διέχουσα ἢ πόλις ὅσον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίου, ἐπίνειον δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῆς τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἴδρυτο ἢ Κορησία κατοικίαν οὐδὲ κώμης ἔχουσα.	shore of the sea, which is within twenty-five stadia away from the city; its <i>epineion</i> is in the place where Coresia was, it has no more inhabitants than a village.
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Strabo, 13.1.67	
ἐν δὲ τῷ πέραν τοῦ Καΐκου δώδεκα διέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίους Ἐλαία πόλις Αἰολικὴ καὶ αὕτη, Περγαμηνῶν ἐπίνειον, ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίου διέχουσα τοῦ Περγάμου.	In the boundary with the Caicus, twelve stadia away from this river, there is Elaia, the Aeolic city. This one is the <i>epineion</i> of the Pergamenians, it being a hundred and twenty stadia away from Pergamon.

Strabo, 14.5.10	
ἔστι δὲ λιμνάζων τόπος ἔχων καὶ παλαιὰ νεώρια, εἰς ὃν ἐκπίπτει ὁ Κύδνος ὁ διαρρέων μέσσην τὴν Ταρσὸν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου τῆς πόλεως Ταύρου· καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίνειον ἢ λίμνη τῆς Ταρσοῦ.	There is a place on the lake with ancient shipsheds, in which the [river] Cydnos discharges, the one that flows through Tarsos, having its origins on the city of the Tauros above. And the lake is the <i>epineion</i> of Tarsos.

Strabo, 16.2.12-13	
Τοιαύτη μὲν ἢ μεσόγαια τῆς Σελευκίδος, ὁ δὲ παράπλους ὁ λοιπὸς ἀπὸ τῆς Λαοδικείας ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος· τῇ γὰρ Λαοδικεῖα πλησιάζει πολίχνια, τό τε Ποσείδιον καὶ τὸ Ἡράκλειον καὶ τὰ Γάβαλα· εἴτ' ἤδη ἢ τῶν Ἀραδίων παραλία ⁴⁶ , Πάλτος καὶ Βαλαναία καὶ	Such is the inner land of the Seleucid territory, the rest of the sailing journey from Laodicea is as follows: near Laodicea are the small villages of Poseidion and Heracleion and Gabala ⁴⁷ . Next, the coast of the Aradii, [in which there are] Paltos and Balanaia and

⁴⁶ I am accepting here the correction of Casaubon, as it seems the most plausible and best-fitting in context. The manuscripts read παλαιά. Other emendations have been proposed, including περαία, by Letronne, accepted by Radt.

⁴⁷ Gabala was a town in Syria, south of Laodicea, to be identified with present-day Yabla, according to the *Diccionario Griego Español*.

<p>Κάρνος, τὸ ἐπίνειον τῆς Ἀράδου λιμένιον ἔχον [...].</p> <p>Πρόκειται δ' ἡ Ἄραδος ῥαχιώδους τινὸς καὶ ἀλιμένου παραλίας μεταξύ τοῦ τε ἐπινείου αὐτῆς μάλιστα καὶ τῆς Μαράθου, διέχουσα τῆς γῆς σταδίου εἴκοσιν.</p>	<p>Carnos⁴⁸, the <i>epineion</i> of Arados, which has a <i>limenion</i> [...].</p> <p>Arados lies on a rough and <i>alimenos</i> coast, between its <i>epineion</i> and Marathos, 20 stadia distant from the land.</p>
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Strabo, 16.2.28	
<p>Εἶτα Ἰόπη, καθ' ἣν ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου παραλία σημειωδῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον κάμπτεται, πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω τεταμένη. [...] ἐν ὕψει δέ ἐστιν ἰκανῶς τὸ χωρίον ὥστ' ἀφορᾶσθαί φασιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων μητρόπολιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπινείῳ τούτῳ κέχρηται καταβάντες μέχρι θαλάττης οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· τὰ δ' ἐπινεία τῶν ληστῶν ληστήρια δῆλον ὅτι ἐστί.</p>	<p>Next, there is Joppa⁴⁹. In this place, the coast of Egypt has a significant bend to the west, first it extended itself to the east. [...] This place is in a sufficient height, they say it provides a view of Jerusalem, the capital city of the Jews. Moreover, the Jews use it as an <i>epineion</i> when they go down to the sea. It is obvious that the <i>epineia</i> of the pirates are nests of piracy.</p>

⁴⁸ According to the notes in Hamilton and Falconer's edition: «Pococke places Paltus at Boldo; Shaw, at the ruins at the mouth of the Melleck, six miles from Jebilee, the ancient Gabala». Carnos should correspond to Carnoon.

⁴⁹ Present-day Jaffa in Israel.

4.3 Emporion: the commercial (area of the) port

Scholia in Aeschines, <i>oration against Ctesiphon</i> ⁵⁰	
οὐχ ὅτι τείχος περιεβάλλοντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐμπόριον ἔκτισαν καὶ οἰκήματα τοῖς καταίρουσιν. (codd. Vat., Laur.)	Not because they surrounded it with a wall, but because they founded an <i>emporion</i> and dwellings for those who put in the ships in the port.

Appian, <i>Punic Wars</i> , 452-455	
οἱ δὲ λιμένες ἐς ἀλλήλους διεπλέοντο, καὶ ἔσπλους ἐκ πελάγους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦν εἰς εὖρος ποδῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, ὃν ἀλύσειν ἀπέκλειον σιδηραῖς. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἐμπόριος ἀνεῖτο, καὶ πείσματα ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ πυκνὰ καὶ ποικίλα· τοῦ δ' ἐντὸς ἐν μέσῳ νῆσος ἦν, καὶ κρηπίσι μεγάλαις ἢ τε νῆσος καὶ ὁ λιμὴν διείληπτο. νεωρίων τε ἔγεμον αἰ κρηπίδες αἶδε ἐς ναῦς διακοσίας καὶ εἴκοσι πεπονημένων καὶ ταμιείων ἐπὶ τοῖς νεωρίοις ἐς τριηριτικά σκεύη. κίονες δ' ἐκάστου νεωσοίκου προὔχον Ἴωνικοὶ δύο, ἐς εἰκόνα στοᾶς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ τε λιμένος καὶ τῆς νήσου περιφέροντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς νήσου σκηνὴ πεπονητοτῶ ναυάρχῳ, ὅθεν ἔδει καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν σημαίνειν καὶ τὸν κήρυκα προλέγειν καὶ	The <i>limenes</i> are connected with one another, and the entrance from the sea to both [basins] was seventy feet wide, and it could be closed with iron chains. The first [basin] was destined to the merchants, and the mooring cables (<i>peismata</i>) were close together and abundant. Inside the other [basin], there was an island in the middle, and both the island and the <i>limen</i> were surrounded with large quays (<i>crepides</i>). The quays were full of docks (<i>neoria</i>), with capacity for 220 ships, and there were storehouses on top of the shipsheds for the weaponry of the triremes. Two Ionian columns stood in front of each [individual] shipshed (<i>neosoikos</i>), so that they provide a view of the <i>limen</i> as if it was a portico. On the island there is the seat of the

⁵⁰ The original text of Aeschines reads: Ταύτης τῆς ἀρᾶς καὶ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῆς μαντείας ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες παρανομώτατοι, ἐπηργάζοντο τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον πάλιν ἐτείχισαν καὶ συνώκισαν, καὶ τέλη τοὺς καταπλέοντας ἐξέλεγον, καὶ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων εἰς Δελφοῦς πυλαγῶρων ἐνίους χρήμασι διέφθειρον, ὧν εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης.

<p>τὸν ναύαρχον ἐφορᾶν. ἔκειτο δ' ἡ νῆσος κατὰ τὸν ἔσπλουν καὶ ἀνετέτατο ἰσχυρῶς, ἵνα ὁ τε ναύαρχος τὰ ἐκ πελάγους πάντα ἐφορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπλέουσιν ἀφανῆς ἦ τῶν ἔνδον ἢ ὄψις ἢ ἀκριβής. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐσπλεύσασιν ἐμπόροις εὐθὺς ἦντὰ νεώρια σύνοπτα· τεῖχος τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς διπλοῦν περιέκειτο καὶ πύλαι, αἱ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λιμένος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέφερον, οὐ διερχομένους τὰ νεώρια.</p>	<p>admiral (<i>nauarchos</i>). It was necessary that the trumpeter gave signals from that place, too, and that the messenger proclaimed his announcements and that the admiral kept his watch. The island lay facing the entrance and rose up considerably, so that the admiral could keep watch on everything coming from the sea. The view in focus of the things inside [the port] was unclear for those sailing in. The docks (<i>neoria</i>) were not even straight on sight of the merchants who sailed in, for a double wall with gates lay around them, so that the merchants went from the first <i>limen</i> to the city without crossing through the docks (<i>neoria</i>).</p>
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Old scholia in Aristophanes's *Frogs*, v. 363⁵¹

<p>δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔδει ἀποπέμπειν τούτων ἐξ Αἰγίνης, ὧν Θωρυκίων τὰ ἀπόρρητα Ἀθήνηθεν ἀποπέμπει. [...] ἦτοι δὲ ὁ Θωρυκίων ἐξ Αἰγίνης ὧν, ἢ εἰς Αἴγιαν ἐξάγων. καθὼ δὴ κοινὸν ἐμπόριον ἡ Αἴγινα.</p>	<p>It is obvious that you could send none of the things from Aegina that Thorycius sent as contraband into Athens. [...] Indeed, Thorycius was from Aegina or he smuggled [products] out of Aegina. Because Aegina was a common <i>emporion</i>.</p>
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Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 51.4⁵²

<p>ἐμπορίου δ' ἐπιμελητὰς δέκα κληροῦσιν· τούτοις δὲ προστέτακται τῶν τ' ἐμπορίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦ σίτου τοῦ καταπλέοντος εἰς τὸ σιτικὸν</p>	<p>They appoint ten curators (<i>epimeletai</i>) of the <i>emporion</i>. They are in charge of taking care of the merchandises, and of the grain that is shipped to the grain <i>emporion</i>, to</p>
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⁵¹ ἢ τὰ πόρρητ' ἀποπέμπει // ἐξ Αἰγίνης Θωρυκίων ὧν εἰκοστολόγος κακοδαίμων.

⁵² For the epimeletes of the emporion, see Vélissaropoulos, 1980, pp. 33-34 and Vélissaropoulos, 1977.

ἐμπόριον τὰ δύο μέρη τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀναγκάζειν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κομίζειν.	order the merchants to bring two parts of it to the city.
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Cicero, <i>Letters to Atticus</i> , 5.2.2	
'Non vidisti igitur hominem?' inquires. qui potui non videre cum per emporium Puteolanorum iter facerem?	'So you did not see that man?', you'll say. How could I not see him, while I was on my way through the <i>emporium</i> of the people of Puteoli?

Demosthenes, <i>Against Lacritus</i> , 51	
<p>μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνάγνωθι αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ἵν' ἀκριβέστερον μάθωσιν. ΝΟΜΟΣ. Ἀργύριον δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐκδοῦναι Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν μετοίκων τῶν Ἀθήνησι μετοικούντων μηδενί, μηδὲ ὧν οὗτοι κύριοί εἰσιν, εἰς ναῦν ἥτις ἂν μὴ μέλλη ἄξειν σῖτον Ἀθήναζε, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ γεγραμμένα περὶ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν. ἔαν δέ τις ἐκδῶ παρὰ ταῦτα, εἶναι τὴν φάσιν καὶ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν τοῦ ἀργυρίου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιμελητάς, καθάπερ τῆς νεῶς καὶ τοῦ σίτου εἴρηται, κατὰ ταῦτά. καὶ δίκη αὐτῶ μὴ ἔστω περὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου, ὃ ἂν ἐκδῶ ἄλλοσέ ποι ἢ Ἀθήναζε, μηδὲ ἀρχὴ εἰσαγέτω περὶ τούτου μηδεμία.</p>	<p>But rather let them read this law, so that they know it more exactly: LAW. It is not legitimate for any Athenian or alien residing in Athens or for anyone over whom they are lords, to lend money to any ship, if it does not bring grain to Athens, or the other goods written here⁵³. If someone did lend the money for other purposes, be it to tell by word and in writing [the quantity] of money to the curators, just like the ship and [the quantity] of grain, for the same purposes. And they will have no claim on the money which they have lent in anywhere but Athens, and there shall be no judgement at all about this matter.</p>

Diodorus Siculus, 5.13.2

⁵³ The law is not quoted in full.

<p>ταῦτα συναγοράζοντες ἔμποροι καὶ μεταβαλλόμενοι κομίζουσιν εἰς τε Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ εἰς τᾶλλα ἐμπόρια. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ φορτία τινὲς ὠνούμενοι καὶ τεχνιτῶν χαλκῆων πλῆθος ἀθροίζοντες κατεργάζονται, καὶ ποιοῦσι σιδήρου πλάσματα παντοδαπά. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν εἰς ὄπλων τύπους χαλκεύουσι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δικελλῶν καὶ δρεπάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐργαλείων εὐθέτους τύπους φιλοτεχνοῦσιν· ὧν κομιζομένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων εἰς πάντα τόπον πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης μεταλαμβάνει τῆς ἐκ τούτων εὐχρηστίας.</p>	<p>The merchants buy these things ⁵⁴ or exchange them for other goods, and they take them to Dicaearchia⁵⁵ and the other <i>emporía</i>. Some men buy this cargo and, together with a multitude of smiths, they work on it and they make iron objects of every kind. Some are fashioned into the shape of armour, others into forks and knives, and made into the other well-formed types of tools. These are then brought by the merchants to every place, and the largest part of the inhabited world participates in these good uses.</p>
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Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 7.20.2

<p>οἱ τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν σιτωνίαν ἀποσταλέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρέσβεις πολὺν ἐκ τῶν παραθαλαττίων τε καὶ μεσογείων ἐμπορίων σῖτον ὠνησάμενοι κατήγαγον δημοσίᾳ, οἱ τε διαμείβεσθαι τὰς ἀγορὰς εἰωθότες ἐκ παντὸς τόπου συνῆλθον.</p>	<p>The envoys that had been sent for grain by those consuls, once they had bought plenty of grain both in the maritime and inland <i>emporía</i>⁵⁶ brought it to the city, and those who used to trade in the <i>agorai</i> gathered there from every place.</p>
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Herodotus, 2.179

⁵⁴ He is narrating the process of the iron brought from the island Aethaleia.

⁵⁵ I.e., Puteoli.

⁵⁶ μεσογείων, or inland, might refer to river ports or cities that are using ἐπίνεια towns. Note in this respect Rome itself, which is not by the sea but has its maritime ports in Ostia and Portus. Cf. the *Periplus* of Scylax, where he uses the same expression every now and then interrupting his navigation routes. For Rome specifically in Scylax, see his *Periplus*, 5.

<p>Ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπίκοιτο, χρῆν ὁμόσαι μὴ μὲν ἐκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν· ἢ εἰ μὴ γε οἷά τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρις οὗ ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο.</p>	<p>In ancient times, only Naucratis and nowhere else was an <i>emporion</i> in Egypt. If someone arrived to one of the other mouths of the Nile, they had to swear that they had not gone there on purpose, taking a solemn oath to sail with the same ship to the Canopic mouth. And if it wasn't possible to sail due to contrary winds, it was necessary to carry the cargo on flat-bottomed boats around the Delta until they arrived at Naucratis. To that extent was Naucratis honoured.</p>
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Herodotus, 4.24

<p>μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων πολλὴ περιφανείη τῆς χώρας ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθε ἐθνέων· καὶ γὰρ Σκυθέων τινὲς ἀπικνέονται ἐς αὐτούς, τῶν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ πυθέσθαι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθένης τε ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ποντικῶν ἐμπορίων· Σκυθέων δὲ οἱ ἂν ἔλθωσι ἐς αὐτούς, δι' ἑπτὰ ἑρμηνέων καὶ δι' ἑπτὰ γλωσσέων διαπρήσσονται.</p>	<p>Nowadays the land of those bald men is very well-known and also the folks beyond them. For some Scythians have reached their lands, from whom it is not difficult to get information, and Greeks as well, from the Borysthenes <i>emporion</i> and the other <i>emporion</i> in the Pontus. The Scythians, those that go there, make their business with seven interpreters in seven languages.</p>
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Scholia in Homer's *Iliad*, 2.570⁵⁷

<p>ἐμπόριον γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ Θουκυδίδην ἢ Κόρινθος.</p>	<p>Corinth is an <i>emporion</i> of Greece according to Thucydides.</p>
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⁵⁷ ἀφνειὸν τε Κόρινθον εὐκτιμένας τε Κλεωνάς.

Scholia in Homer's <i>Odyssey</i> , 4.355 ⁵⁸	
<p>τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέχει Ναυκράτεως ἢ Φάρος, ἔνθα τότε τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ ἐμπόριον ἦν, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης.</p>	<p>Pharos was that far from Naucratis; in that place there was the <i>emporion</i> of Egypt, as Aristoteles says.</p>

Julius Pollux, 7.132	
<p>φόρτακας μέντοι ἢ παλαιὰ κωμῳδία τοὺς ἀχθοφοροῦντας ἐκ τοῦ ἐμπορίου καλεῖ.</p>	<p>The ancient comedy calls <i>phortakes</i> ('porters') those who carry weights in the <i>emporion</i>.</p>

Julius Pollux, 8.47-48	
<p>φάσις δὲ ἦν τὸ φαίνειν τοὺς περὶ τὰ μέταλλα ἀδικοῦντας, ἢ περὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον κακουργοῦντας ἢ περὶ τὰ τέλη, ἢ τῶν δημοσίων τι νενοσφισμένους, ἢ συκοφαντοῦντας, ἢ περὶ τοὺς ὀρφανούς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας. ἐφαίνοντο δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα. κοινῶς δὲ φάσεις ἐκαλοῦντο πᾶσαι αἱ μηνύσεις τῶν λανθανόντων ἀδικημάτων. ἐδίδοσαν δὲ ἐν γραμματείῳ γράψαντες τὴν φάσιν, τὰ θ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὸ τοῦ κρινομένου ὄνομα προσγράψαντες καὶ τίμημα ἐπιγραψάμενοι· ὁ δὲ ἄρχων παρεδίδου τὴν κρίσιν δικαστηρίῳ. καὶ τὸ μὲν τιμηθὲν ἐγίνετο τῶν ἀδικουμένων, εἰ καὶ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φήνειεν· ὁ δὲ μὴ μεταλαβὼν τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων τὴν ἐπωβελίαν προσωφλίσκανεν.</p>	<p>The 'sentence' was to make appear [in court] those who committed a crime about money, or those who acted wrongly in the <i>emporion</i>, or about the tributes, or those who have somehow neglected the public affairs, or the accusers, or those who have deceived the orphans. They appeared in front of the governor. They called out the sentences in public, all of the details of the hiding offenders. They gave [the sentences] in a notice, writing the sentence, adding their own [names] and that of the accused, and finishing with the penalty. The governor gave the judgement in court. And the compensation came on those who had suffered the ill, even if someone else would appear in their defence. He who received the fifth part of the votes also incurred the penalty of an <i>epobelía</i>⁵⁹.</p>

⁵⁸ Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε, Φάρον δὲ ἐ κικλήσκουσι.

⁵⁹ See below, Suda, *Lexicon*, epsilon 2830.

Julius Pollux, 8.63	
ἐμπορικαὶ δὲ δίκαι ἔμμηνοι αἱ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἢ τῶν περὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον.	The <i>emporikai dikai</i> ⁶⁰ are the monthly [proceedings] of the merchants or those concerned with the <i>emporion</i> .

Julius Pollux, <i>Onomasticon</i> , 8.132	
Τέλη δ' ἦν τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πεντηκοστολόγοις ἢ ἐλλιμενισταῖς· ταῦτα δ' ἐκαλεῖτο ἐλλιμένια καὶ ἐμπορικά.	Taxes were [paid] at the office of the <i>pentekostologoi</i> ⁶¹ or that of the <i>ellimenistai</i> . These were called <i>ellimenia</i> ⁶² and <i>emporika</i> .

Julius Pollux, <i>Onomasticon</i> , 9.34	
τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς λιμένας μέρη δεῖγμα, χῶμα, ἐμπόριον, καὶ ὡς Ὑπερείδης φησὶν, ἐξαίρεσις, ὅπου τὰ φορτία ἐξαίρεται, [...].	The parts of the limenes are the samples-place (<i>deigma</i>), the breakwater (<i>khoma</i>), the <i>emporion</i> and, as Hypereides says, the unloading-place (<i>exairesis</i>), where the cargoes are unloaded [...].

Julius Pollux, <i>Onomasticon</i> , 9.34	
τοῦ δ' ἐμπορίου μέρη καπηλεῖα καὶ πορνεῖα, ἃ καὶ οἰκήματα ἂν τις εἴποι· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ ναυτικὸν μόνον,	The parts of an <i>emporion</i> are the shops and the brothels, which one could mistake for dwellings. And the mass of the people,

⁶⁰ In Athens, juridical procedures involving imports and exports. For details see: Gernet (1938); Cohen (1973); Vélissaropoulos (1980), pp. 235 ss; Reed (2004²) pp. 89-92; and Knorringa, 1927, pp. 129 ss. Knorringa also mentions a so-called ναυτικὸν δάνεισμα in Demosthenes (see pp. 92 ss.). I have been unable to find this compound expression as such in the TLG. The word δάνεισμα, though, does appear in isolation in 44 instances, although I cannot confirm that all of those refer to this naval merchant contract. The same is valid for one of the equivalents that he provides in Latin, namely *foenus nauticum*. The second equivalent, *traiecticia pecunia*, can be found in Justinian's *Digest*: 3.5.12.pr.10, 13.4.2.8.6, 15.1.3.8.3, 22.2.1 (multiple times) and 44.7.23.pr.1.

⁶¹ This name refers to the tax on the fiftieth part of the things traded.

⁶² For ἐλλιμένια, cf. Xenophon, *De Vectigalibus*, 4.40. The *ellimenia* seem to be taxes on the fact of bringing the ship into harbour (<λιμὴν, 'harbour'), whereas the *emporika*, as the name indicates, are taxes related to the operations of trade.

ὅσον ἐν τοῖς περὶ νεῶν ἐστὶν εἰρημένον, ἀλλ' ἔμποροι καὶ κάπηλοι, καὶ ὅσα ἔχεις ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς τέχνας.	not just the sea-farers, all that are in the affairs related to the ships are to be mentioned, the merchants (<i>emporoi</i>) and the sellers and all those you have in those jobs.
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Digest, 50.16.203 (Alphenus Varus)

Idem libro septimo digestorum. In lege censoria portus Siciliae ita scriptum erat: 'seruos, quos dom<um> quis ducet suo usu, pro is portorium ne dato'. quaerebatur, si quis a Sicilia seruos Romam mitteret fundi instruendi causa, utrum pro his hominibus portorium dare deberet nec ne. respondit duas esse in hac scriptura quaestiones, primam, quid esset 'domum ducere', alteram, quid esset 'suo usu ducere'. [...]	The same [Alfenus Varus] in the seventh book of his codes of law: In the censorial law of the port (<i>portus</i>) of Sicily it was written: "Customs tax (<i>portorium</i>) need not be paid for the slaves that one takes home for one's own use". It was asked: if someone sent slaves from Sicily to Rome in order to employ them at the fields, whether they had to pay customs tax (<i>portorium</i>) for these persons or not. [The judge] answered that there were two issues in that writing: first, what it was to "take home"; second, what it was "for one's own use". [...]
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Lexica Juridica Byzantina, epsilon, 47

Ἐξερκιτορία· ἢ κατὰ τοῦ προβαλλομένου κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐμπορίας.	<i>Exercitoria</i> ⁶³ : the [legal action] against he who made a substitution in the trade at sea (<i>kata thalassan emporias</i>).
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Lexica Juridica Byzantina, iota, 81

⁶³ In some cases, trade by sea was not undertaken by the owner of the cargo or the ship, but instead they delegated on someone else to carry out the trade operations. However, the owner, not the person they had delegated on, remained ultimately responsible if the trading operation was not successful. Therefore, if legal action was undertaken, it was against the person responsible for the deal, not against their agent. This kind of process is the *exercitoria*.

Ἡ ἰνστιτουτόρια ἀγωγή ἀρμόζει ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ γῆν ἐμπορίας [...].	The <i>actio institutoria</i> is suitable for the commerce on land (<i>tes kata ges emporias</i>) [...].
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Livy, 34.9	
Iam tunc Emporiae duo oppida erant muro diuisa. unum Graeci habebant, a Phocaea, unde et Massilienses, oriundi, alterum Hispani [...]. tertium genus Romani coloni ab diuo Caesare post deuictos Pompei liberos adiecti. [...] porta ad Hispanorum oppidum uersa nunquam nisi frequentes, pars tertia fere cuius proxima nocte uigiliae in muris fuerant, egrediebantur. causa exeundi haec erat: commercio eorum Hispani imprudentes maris gaudebant mercarique et ipsi ea quae externa nauibus inueherentur et agrorum exigere fructus uolebant.	There were two settlements at Emporiae, separated by a wall. One of them belonged to the Greeks from Phocaea, from which place the Massalians also come from [...]. The third tribe were the Roman colonists brought there by the Divine Caesar after he defeated Pompey's sons. [...] They never exited the gate facing the Hispanic settlement unless they were in a big group, usually the third part of those who had set the guard on the walls the night before. The cause to exit was this one: their commerce with the Spaniards, who were afraid of the sea, and they profited from the trade, and they themselves brought in all those things from afar and they wanted to export the fruit of the fields.

Livy, 38.18.10-12	
postero die ad Gordium peruenit. id haud magnum quidem oppidum est, sed plus quam mediterraneum celebre et frequens emporium. tria maria pari ferme distantia interuallo habet, ad Hellespontum, ad Sinopen, et alterius orae litora, qua Cilices maritimi colunt; multarum magnarumque praeterea	The next day [the consul] arrived at Gordium. This is not a large town, but it is a busier and more frequented <i>emporium</i> [as is usual for those located] inland. It has three seas more or less at the same distance: the Hellespont, that at Sinope and the shores of the opposite coast, where the Cilicians dwell by the sea. Besides, it is at

gentium finis contigit, quarum commercium in eum maxime locum mutui usus contraxere.	the confluence of the borders of many great nations, whose commercial deals take place together in that specific place of mutual custom.
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Livy, 38.30.7-8

id aegre patientes Lacedaemonii, ut aliqua liberum ad mare haberent aditum, si quando Romam alioque quo mitterent legatos, simul ut emporium et receptaculum peregrinis mercibus ad necessarios usus esset, nocte adorti vicum maritimum nomine Lan improviso occupauerunt. vicani quique ibi exules habitabant primo inopinata re territi sunt; deinde sub lucem congregati leui certamine expulerunt Lacedaemonios.	The Lacedaemonians could barely tolerate [that the exiles held the fortresses around Sparta]. In order to gain free access to the sea, if they ever wanted to send ambassadors to Rome or somewhere else, and at the same time to create an <i>emporium</i> and a storage place for the foreign merchandise for their needs, at night they sallied forth against a village by the sea called Lan, and they occupied it all of a sudden. The villagers who lived there, who were exiles, at first were terrified of that unexpected action, but later, at daylight, they gathered together and they expelled the Lacedaemonians after a light fight.
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Livy, 39.25.9

Thebas Phthias unum maritimum emporium fuisse quondam Thessalis quaestuosum et frugiferum: ibi nauibus onerariis comparatis regem, quae praeter Thebas Demetriadem cursum derigerent, negotiationem maritimam omnem eo auertisse.	Phthian Thebes once used to be a maritime <i>emporium</i> very lucrative and fruitful for the Thessalians: the king had diverted all of the maritime trade to that place by assembling there the cargo ships, which used to sail [instead] to Demetrias before [being diverted to] Thebes.
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Livy, 41.1.3-5	
<p>aduersus Illyriorum classem creati duumviri nauales erant [...]. L. Cornelius dextra litora usque ad Tarentum, C. Furius laeua usque ad Aquileiam tueretur. eae naues ad proximum portum in Histriae fines cum onerariis et magno commeatu missae, secutusque cum legionibus consul quinque ferme milia a mari posuit castra. in portu emporium breui perfrequens factum, omniaque hinc in castra supportabantur.</p>	<p>Against the troops of the Illyrians two <i>duumviri nauales</i> were created [...]. Lucius Cornelius would protect the right-hand shore up to Tarentum, Gaius Furius, the left-hand shore until Aquileia. These warships were sent to the nearby <i>portus</i> on the border with Histria, with cargo ships and a great convoy, and the consul followed with the legions and established the camp five miles from the sea. In the <i>portus</i>, there had recently been made an <i>emporium</i> that was very crowded, and all the goods were transported thence into the camp.</p>

Livy, 41.27.8	
<p>et extra portam Trigeminam emporium lapide strauerunt stipitibusque saepserunt, et porticum Aemiliam reficiendam curarunt, gradibusque ascensum ab Tiberi in emporium fecerunt.</p>	<p>And outside the Trigemina Gate, they covered the <i>emporium</i> in stone and they enclosed it with wooden logs, and they took care to rebuild the Porticus Aemilia and they made steps to go up from the Tiber into the <i>emporium</i>.</p>

Pausanias, 3.23.3-4	
<p>τῆς γὰρ Δήλου τότε ἐμπορίου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οὔσης καὶ ἄδειαν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις διὰ τὸν θεὸν δοκούσης παρέχειν, Μηνοφάνης Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς εἴτε αὐτὸς ὑπερφρονήσας εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου προστεταγμένον —ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ</p>	<p>At that time Delos was an <i>emporion</i> of the Greeks, and it seemed to offer security to workers thanks to the god [Apollo], but Menophanes, the general of Mithridates, either planning it himself or on orders of Mithridates, this certain Menophanes, as Delos was unwalled and its men did not</p>

<p>ἀφορῶντι ἐς κέρδος τὰ θεῖα ὕστερα λημμάτων—, οὗτος οὖν ὁ Μηνοφάνης, ἅτε οὔσης ἀτειχίστου τῆς Δήλου καὶ ὄπλα οὐ κεκτημένων <τῶν> ἀνδρῶν, τριήρεσιν ἐσπλεύσας ἐφόνευσε μὲν τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας τῶν ξένων, ἐφόνευσε δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Δηλίους· κατασύρας δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπόρων χρήματα, πάντα δὲ <τὰ> ἀναθήματα, προσεξανδραποδισάμενος δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλε τὴν Δήλον.</p>	<p>possess weapons, he sailed against it with his triremes, and he killed the foreigners that dwelled there and he killed the Delians – for he was a man who disregarded the divinity of the offerings reducing them to their value⁶⁴. He tore down many of the things of the merchants and the votive offerings, he enslaved both women and children, and destroyed Delos to its foundations.</p>
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Pausanias, 8.33.2

<p>τὰ δὲ ὑπερηκότα πλούτῳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, Θῆβαι τε αἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ὁ Μινύης Ὀρχομενὸς καὶ ἡ Δήλος τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐμπόριον, αἱ μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου μέσου δυνάμει χρημάτων καταδέουσιν ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν, ἡ Δήλος δέ, ἀφελόντι τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἐς τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν φρουράν, Δηλίων γε ἔνεκα ἔρημὸς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων.</p>	<p>The [cities] most abundant in richness in antiquity were Thebes in Egypt and Minyan Orchomenus and Delos, which was the common <i>emporion</i> of the Greeks. Now they have diminished their welfare to the might of the riches of an average private man, and Delos in particular has been deprived of Delian men in favour of the Athenians who guard the sanctuary.</p>
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Periplus of the Red Sea, 1

<p>Τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων ὄρμων τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐμπορίων πρῶτός</p>	<p>Among the official <i>hormoi</i> (= ‘anchorage points’) of the Red Sea and the <i>emporía</i> (‘commercial hubs’) around them, the first is the Egyptian <i>limen</i> (= ‘anchoring installation’) Myos Hormos; after that,</p>
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⁶⁴ i.e. the Persian general did not observe the riches in Delos that were protected by the sanctity of the god Apollo, but instead robbed them for their economic value. Thus, he disrespected the divine relics and reduced them to the gain he could obtain from their robbery.

ἔστι λιμὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μυὸς ὄρμος.	sailing a further one thousand eight hundred stadia, there is Berenice to the right.
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Polybius, 3.23.2	
οὐ καθάπαξ ἐπέκεινα πλεῖν ὡς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν οὐκ οἴονται δεῖν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μακραῖς ναυσι διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι γινώσκειν αὐτούς, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, μήτε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Βυσσάτιν μήτε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν μικρὰν Σύρτιν τόπους, ἃ δὴ καλοῦσιν Ἐμπόρια, διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας.	the Carthaginians did not think it was necessary at all for the Romans to sail to the south [of the Fair Promontory] with big ships, as I think, because they didn't want them to know those places, neither those around Byssatis nor those in Lesser Syrtis, which they call Emporia for the virtue of that land.

Plautus, <i>Amphitruo</i> , 1009-1014 ⁶⁵	
Naucratem quem convenire volui, in navi non erat, neque domi neque in urbe invenio quemquam qui illum viderit. nam omnis plateas perreptavi, gymnasia et myropolia; apud emporium atque in macello, in palaestra atque in foro, in medicinis, in tonstrinis, apud omnis aedis sacras sum defessus quaeritando: nusquam invenio Naucratem.	Naucratis, whom I wanted to meet, was not in the ship, nor do I find at home nor in town anyone who has seen him. For I have searched through all the squares, gymnasia and oils shops, in the <i>emporium</i> and in the market (<i>macellum</i>), in the sports hall and in the forum, by the doctors and by the barbers, and in all the sacred temples have I exhausted myself looking for him: nowhere do I find Naucratis.

Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 6.105

⁶⁵ Note the difference in the employment of the prepositions: *apud emporium* but *in macellum*. This can probably be explained out of metrical necessities or as a stylistic variation. One wonders, though, whether the difference in prepositions might be explained because the *emporium* was a concept, unlike the *macellum*, which refers quite strongly to the physical structures of the market.

<p>Alius utilior portus gentis Neacyndon, qui vocatur Becare; ibi regnabat Pandion, longe ab emporio mediterraneo distante oppido quod vocatur Modura; regio autem ex qua piper monoxyllis lintribus Becaren convehunt vocatur Cottonara.</p>	<p>A more useful port is that of the Neacyndon tribe, which is called Becare. In there reigned Pandion, in an inland town (<i>mediterraneum oppidum</i>) a long distance from the <i>emporium</i>, which is called Modura. But the region from which pepper [comes] is called Cottonara. They bring [the pepper] down to Becare in canoes made of one piece of wood.</p>
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Plutarch, *Pompey*, 50.1-2

<p>Ἐπισταθεὶς δὲ τῇ περὶ τὸ σιτικὸν οἰκονομίᾳ καὶ πραγματείᾳ, πολλαχοῦ μὲν ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς καὶ φίλους, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδόνα καὶ Λιβύην ἤθροιζε σῖτον. ἀνάγεσθαι δὲ μέλλων πνεύματος μεγάλου κατὰ θάλατταν ὄντος καὶ τῶν κυβερνητῶν ὀκνούντων, πρῶτος ἐμβὰς καὶ κελεύσας τὴν ἄγκυραν αἴρειν ἀνεβόησε· “Πλεῖν ἀνάγκη, ζῆν οὐκ ἀνάγκη.” τοιαύτη δὲ τόλμη καὶ προθυμία χρώμενος μετὰ τύχης ἀγαθῆς ἐνέπλησε σίτου τὰ ἐμπόρια καὶ πλοίων τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώποις ἐπαρκέσαι τὴν περιουσίαν ἐκείνης τῆς παρασκευῆς, καὶ γενέσθαι καθάπερ ἐκ πηγῆς ἄφθονον ἀπορροὴν εἰς πάντας.</p>	<p>Once [Pompey] had been appointed [responsible] for the grain administration and business, he sent ambassadors and friends everywhere and he himself sailed to Sicily and Sardinia and collected grain from Libya. He was about to set sail when a great storm appeared in the sea and, as the captains were hesitating, he first commanded them to go aboard and to weigh anchor crying: “It is necessary to sail, it is not necessary to live!” With such audacity and determination and with good luck he filled the <i>emporía</i> with grain and the sea with ships, so that the excess of those preparations would even be sufficient for foreign men and [the grain] seemed to flow as if from a fountain for everybody.</p>
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Ἀπὸ Βιέννου εἰς Φαλάσαρναν στάδιοι οξ' ὄρμος ἐστίν, ἐμπόριον, πόλις παλαιά·	From Biennos to Phalasarna, 260 stadia. It is a <i>hormos</i> , an <i>emporion</i> , an ancient city (<i>polis</i>).
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Strabo, 3.4.2	
πόλις δ' ἐστίν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ ταύτῃ πρώτη Μάλακα, ἴσον διέχουσα τῆς Κάλπης ὅσον καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα: ἐμπόριον δ' ἐστίν τοῖς ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ νομάσι, καὶ ταριχείας δὲ ἔχει μεγάλας.	On that coast, the first town is Malaca, which is the same distance from Calpe and from Gades. It is an <i>emporion</i> for the nomads in the other side [of the coast] ⁶⁶ , and it has big factories of salting fish.

Strabo, 3.4.8	
Καὶ ἡ σύμπασα δ' ἀπὸ στηλῶν σπανίζεται λιμέσι μέχρι δεῦρο, ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἤδη τὰ ἐξῆς εὐλίμενα καὶ χώρα ἀγαθῆ τῶν τε Λητανῶν καὶ Λαρτολαιητῶν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων μέχρι Ἐμπορίου. αὐτὸ δ' ἐστὶ Μασσαλιωτῶν κτίσμα, ὅσον τετταράκοντα διέχον τῆς Πυρήνης σταδίου καὶ τῶν μεθορίων τῆς Ἰβηρίας πρὸς τὴν Κελτικὴν· καὶ αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἀγαθὴ καὶ εὐλίμενος. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστι καὶ ἡ Ῥόδη πολίχνιον, Ἐμποριτῶν κτίσμα, τινὲς δὲ Ῥοδίω φασί· κἀνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἐμπορίῳ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Ἐφεσίαν τιμῶσιν·	The whole [coast] is deprived of <i>limenes</i> from the Pillars until here. But from there and the following [coast] is <i>eulimena</i> and a good land, that of the Leetani and Lartolaeetae and all others as far as Emporion ⁶⁷ . This is a foundation of the people of Marseilles, about four thousand ⁶⁸ stadia away from the Pyrenees and the boundaries between Iberia and Gaul. This place, too, is all good and <i>eulimenos</i> . In there, there is the village of Rhodes ⁶⁹ , a foundation of the people of Emporion, or (others say), of the Rhodians ⁷⁰ . Both in that place and in Emporion they worship Artemis Ephesia.

⁶⁶ Remember that an ἐμπόριον is mainly a port-market, thus it is logic that the writer says it is for the nomads “on the other side” of the coast. Malaca is situated in southern Spain, at a point where the crossing from Africa is relatively short and feasible.

⁶⁷ Present-day Empúries.

⁶⁸ The number is patently corrupt.

⁶⁹ This name is corrupt in the textual transmission. It refers to the modern town of Roses.

⁷⁰ I.e., the inhabitants from the Greek island of Rhodes.

Strabo, 4.1.12	
<p>Τὴν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ὀυόλκαι νέμονται τὴν πλείστην, οὐς Ἄρηκομίσκους προσαγορεύουσι. τούτων δ' ἐπίνειον ἢ Νάρβων λέγεται, δικαιοτέρον δ' ἂν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κελτικῆς λέγοιτο· τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληται τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρωμένων τῷ ἐμπορίῳ.</p>	<p>The Volci that are surnamed Arecomisci inhabit the larger part of the other side of the river. Their <i>epineion</i> is called Narbo, but it would be fairer to call it the [<i>epineion</i>] of the rest of Gaul. So large are the crowds using the <i>emporion</i>.</p>

Strabo, 4.3.2	
<p>Αὐτὸ μὲν δὴ τὸ Λούγδουνον ἐκτισμένον ὑπὸ λόφῳ κατὰ τὴν συμβολὴν τοῦ τε Ἄραρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ κατέχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. εὐανδρεῖ δὲ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων πλήν Νάρβωνος· καὶ γὰρ ἐμπορίῳ χρῶνται καὶ τὸ νόμισμα χαράττουσιν ἐνταῦθα τό τε ἀργυροῦν καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνες.</p>	<p>The Romans possess this Lugdunum, which is founded at the bottom of a hill at the confluence of the rivers Araros⁷¹ and the Rhone. It has a population greater than all others except Narbonne. For they used it as an <i>emporion</i> and the Roman governors mint both silver and gold coins there.</p>

Strabo, 4.6.2	
<p>Τῶν οὖν Λιγύων τῶν μὲν ὄντων Ἰγγαύνων τῶν δὲ Ἰντεμελίων, εἰκότως τὰς ἐποικίας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ τὴν μὲν ὀνομάζεσθαι Ἄλβιον Ἰντεμέλιον οἶον Ἄλπειον, τὴν δὲ ἐπιτετμημένως μᾶλλον Ἀλβίγγαυνον. Πολύβιος δὲ προστίθησι τοῖς δυσὶ φύλοις τῶν Λιγύων τοῖς λεχθεῖσι τό τε τῶν</p>	<p>The Ligurians being either from the Ingauri or Intemeli [tribes], it is suitable to name their [different] colonies on the sea, one [is] Albium Intemelium, like the Alpine, and the other [is called by] the shortened name of Albingaunum. Polybius adds to these two tribes of the Ligurians just mentioned those of the Oxybii and</p>

⁷¹ The river Saone.

<p>Ὀξυβίων καὶ τὸ τῶν Δεκιητῶν. ὅλως δὲ ἡ παραλία αὕτη πᾶσα μέχρι Τυρρηνίας ἐκ Μονοίκου λιμένος προσεχῆς τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀλίμενος πλὴν βραχέων ὄρμων καὶ ἀγκυροβολίων. [...] ταῦτά τε δὴ κατάγουσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον τὴν Γένουαν.</p>	<p>Deciates. Their whole coast down to Tyrrhenia starting from Monoecus Limen is exposed and <i>alimenos</i>, except for some shallow <i>hormoi</i> and <i>agkyrobolia</i>. [...] They bring down [all of their produce] to the <i>emporion</i> of Genoa.</p>
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Strabo, 6.3.9

<p>Ἐκ δὲ Βαρίου πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν Αὔφιδον, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ ἐμπόριον τῶν Κανυσιτῶν, τετρακόσιοι· ὁ δ' ἀνάπλους ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον ἐνενηκόντα.</p>	<p>From Barium to the river Aufidius, in which there is the <i>emporion</i> of the Canusitae, four hundred [stadia]. Sailing up the river to the <i>emporion</i>, ninety [stadia].</p>
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Strabo, 8.6.16

<p>Ἐφορος δ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἄργυρον πρῶτον κοπῆναί φησιν ὑπὸ Φεΐδωνος: ἐμπόριον γὰρ γενέσθαι, διὰ τὴν λυπρότητα τῆς χώρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων θαλαττουργούντων ἐμπορικῶς, ἀφ' οὗ τὸν ῥῶπον Αἰγιναίαν ἐμπολήν λέγεσθαι.</p>	<p>Ephoros says that in Aegina silver was first minted into coins by Pheidon. For an <i>emporion</i> was created there, thanks to the fertility of the land, its men turning to maritime commerce (<i>thalattourgounton emporikos</i>), from where smallish goods are called “wares of Aegina”.</p>
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Strabo, 8.6.20

<p>Ὁ δὲ Κόρινθος ἀφνειὸς μὲν λέγεται διὰ τὸ ἐμπόριον, ἐπὶ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ κείμενος καὶ δυεῖν λιμένων [ῶν] κύριος, ὧν ὁ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐγγύς ἐστι.</p>	<p>Corinth is said to be rich through its <i>emporion</i>, which lies on the isthmus and rules over two <i>limenes</i>, of which one is closer to Asia and the other to Italy.</p>
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Strabo, 8.6.20

καὶ οἱ Βακχιάδαι τυραννήσαντες, πλούσιοι καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ γένος λαμπροί, διακόσια ἔτη σχεδόν τι κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον ἀδεῶς ἐκαρπώσαντο	And also the Bracchiadai, when they were tyrants, a family rich and numerous and distinguished, held the power for almost two-hundred years and profited from the <i>emporion</i> with impunity.
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Strabo, 10.2.2

πόλεις δ' εἰσὶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς Ἀκαρναῖσις Ἀνακτόριον τε ἐπὶ χερρονήσου ἰδρυμένον Ἀκτίου πλησίον, ἐμπόριον τῆς νῦν ἐκτισμένης ἐφ' ἡμῶν Νικοπόλεως.	The cities in the [territory of] the Acarnanians are Anactorion, which is founded on a peninsula near Actium, and is the <i>emporion</i> of Nicopolis which was founded in our times.
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Strabo, 10.4.11

ἡ τῶν Γορτυνίων πόλις [...] διέχει δὲ τῆς Λιβυκῆς θαλάττης κατὰ Λεβῆνα τὸ ἐμπόριον αὐτῆς ἐνενηκοντα	The city of the Gortynians [...] is ninety stadia far from the Libyan sea at Leben, its <i>emporion</i> .
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Strabo, 11.2.3

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ τῇ λίμνῃ πόλις ὁμώνυμος οἰκεῖται Τανάϊς, κτίσμα τῶν τὸν Βόσπορον ἔχοντων Ἑλλήνων. [...] ἦν δ' ἐμπόριον κοινὸν τῶν τε Ἀσιανῶν καὶ τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν νομάδων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Βοσπόρου τὴν λίμνην πλεόντων τῶν μὲν ἀνδράποδα ἀγόντων καὶ δέρματα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τῶν νομαδικῶν, τῶν δ' ἐσθῆτα καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα τῆς ἡμέρου διαίτης οἰκεῖα ἀντιφορτιζομένων.	On the river and the lagoon there is a city of the same name, Tanaïs, a foundation of the Greeks who held the Bosphorus. [...] It was the common <i>emporion</i> of the Asian and of the European nomads and of those who sailed on the coast of the Bosphorus, the first brought slaves and skins and the other things typical of the nomads; the latter sold in exchange clothing and wine and such other things of the civilised everyday living.
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Strabo, 11.2.11

τῶν τε συμπάντων Μαιωτῶν τῶν Ἀσιανῶν οἱ μὲν ὑπήκουον τῶν τὸ ἐμπόριον ἐχόντων τὸ ἐν τῷ Ταναΐδι οἱ δὲ τῶν Βοσπορανῶν.	Of all the inhabitants in Asian Maeotae, some obeyed those who held the <i>emporion</i> on the Tanaïis, others, the inhabitants of Bosphorus.
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Strabo, 14.1.24

Ἔχει δ' ἡ πόλις καὶ νεώρια καὶ λιμένα· [...] ἡ δὲ πόλις τῇ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα εὐκαιρία τῶν τόπων αὖξεται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐμπόριον οὔσα μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου.	The city [of Ephesus] has both dockyards and a <i>limen</i> . [...] And the city, thanks to the other advantages of the place grows [bigger and bigger] every day, as it is the largest <i>emporion</i> of Asia on the inner side of the Taurus.
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Strabo, 14.5.2

ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἐξαγωγή πρὸςκαλεῖτο μάλιστα εἰς τὰς κακουργίας ἐπικερδестаτή γενομένη· καὶ γὰρ ἠλίσκοντο ῥαδίως, καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον οὐ παντελῶς ἄπωθεν ἦν μέγα καὶ πολυχρήματον, ἡ Δῆλος, δυναμένη μυριάδας ἀνδραπόδων αὐθημερόν καὶ δέξασθαι καὶ ἀποπέμψαι, ὥστε καὶ παροιμίαν γενέσθαι διὰ τοῦτο „ἔμπορε, κατάπλευσον, ἐξελοῦ, πάντα πέπραται.“ αἴτιον δ' ὅτι πλούσιοι γενομένοι Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τὴν Καρχηδόνας καὶ Κορίνθου κατασκαφὴν οἰκετείαις ἐχρῶντο πολλαῖς· ὀρῶντες δὲ τὴν εὐπέτειαν οἱ λησταὶ ταύτην ἐξήνθησαν ἀθρώως, αὐτοὶ καὶ ληζόμενοι καὶ σωματεμποροῦντες.	The exportation of slaves induced them most of all to wrongdoing, as it was most profitable. Indeed, they captured them very easily and Delos, the <i>emporion</i> , was not very far away, and it was big and full of riches, capable of both receiving and sending out thousands of slaves on the same day. Hence the saying appeared because of this: “merchant, put in, disembark your cargo, everything is sold”. The cause of this is that the Romans, who had become rich after the destructions of Carthage and Corinth, used lots of domestic slaves. The pirates, seeing this easiness [with which slaves could be sold] came forth from all sides in crowds, committing robberies and trafficking in people.
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Strabo, 17.1.13	
<p>τῆς δ' εὐκαιρίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τὸ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάσης μόνος ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ τόπος πρὸς ἄμφω πεφυκῶς εὔ, τὰ τε ἐκ θαλάττης διὰ τὸ εὐλίμενον, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅτι πάντα εὐμαρῶς ὁ ποταμὸς πορθμεύει συνάγει τε εἰς τοιοῦτον χωρίον ὅπερ μέγιστον ἐμπόριον τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστί.</p>	<p>Its greatest advantage is the good situation of the city [of Alexandria], because in the whole of Egypt this is the only place well formed on both sides, on the sea thanks to it being <i>eulimenon</i>, and on land, because the river comfortably transports everything, and gathers it in such a place, which is the greatest <i>emporion</i> of the inhabited world.</p>

Strabo, 17.1.13	
<p>πρότερον μὲν γε οὐδ' εἴκοσι πλοῖα ἐθάρρει τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον διαπερᾶν ὥστε ἕξω τῶν στενῶν ὑπερκύπτειν, νῦν δὲ καὶ στόλοι μεγάλοι στέλλονται μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ πολυτιμότετος κομίζεται φόρτος εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, κἀντεῦθεν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπέμπεται τόπους, ὥστε τὰ τέλη διπλάσια συνάγεται τὰ μὲν εἰσαγωγικά τὰ δὲ ἐξαγωγικά· τῶν δὲ βαρυτίμων βαρέα καὶ τὰ τέλη.</p>	<p>At first not even twenty ships dared crossing the Arabian Gulf far enough to see the straits, now great fleets sail to India and the extremities of Aethiopia, from which places the most valuable cargo is brought into Egypt, and from there again it is sent into the other places, so that the duties are raised twice, on the imports and on the exports. On heavily valuable goods the duties are also heavy.</p>

Strabo, 17.1.18	
<p>μάλιστα μέντοι τῶ Κανωβικῶ στόματι ἐχρῶντο ὡς ἐμπορίῳ, τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν λιμένων ἀποκεκλειμένων, ὡς προείπομεν.</p>	<p>Certainly, they used especially the Canobic mouth as an <i>emporion</i>, once the <i>limenes</i> in Alexandria were closed, as we have already said.⁷²</p>

⁷² This passage is linked to two other places in the same Strabo: 17.1.6 and 2.3.5. The kings of Egypt had banned the access to the ports of the future location of Alexandria and settled their markets at Herakleion-

Strabo, 17.3.2	
πρὸς νότον δὲ τῇ Λίξῳ καὶ ταῖς Κώτεσι παράκειται κόλπος Ἐμπορικὸς καλούμενος, ἔχων Φοινικικὰς ἐμπορικὰς κατοικίας.	To the South of Lixos and the Koteis there lies the gulf called <i>Emporikos</i> , which contains commercial (<i>emporikas</i>) colonies of the Phoenicians.

Strabo, 17.3.20	
εἴτ' ἄλλος τόπος Χάραξ καλούμενος, ᾧ ἐμπορίῳ ἐχρῶντο Καρχηδόνιοι κομίζοντες οἶνον, ἀντιφορτιζόμενοι δὲ ὄπῳ καὶ σίλφιον παρὰ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης λάθρα παρακομίζόντων.	Next there is another place called Charax, which the Carthaginians use as an <i>emporion</i> , selling wine and buying in exchange laserwort and its juice ⁷³ , from those who bring it clandestinely from Cyrene.

<i>Suda</i> , delta 300	
Δεῖγμα: κυρίως μὲν τὸ δεικνύμενον ἀφ' ἑκάστου τῶν πωλουμένων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τόπος τις ἐν τῷ Ἀθήνησιν ἐμπορίῳ, εἰς ὃν τὰ δείγματα ἐκομίζετο, καλούμενος οὕτως. Ἀττικὸν δὲ ἔστιν ἔθος τὸ καλεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τόπους. Δεῖγμα τόπος ἦν ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἔνθα πολλοὶ συνήγοντο ξένοι καὶ πολῖται καὶ ἐλογοποιοῦν. τὸ δὲ τῶν δικῶν προσέθηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης, ἵνα δείξῃ καὶ διαβάλλῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς φιλοδίκους [...]. Δεῖγμα καὶ ἡ ἔνδειξις. [...]	<i>Deigma</i> : technically, the sample [seen by] either of those who trade ⁷⁴ . It is also a place in the Athenian <i>emporion</i> in which the samples are provided, it is named like this. It is an Attic custom to name places from those who are in those places. The <i>Deigma</i> was a place in Piraeus, lots of foreigners and citizens gathered in there and they conversed. Aristophanes adds “the [<i>Deigma</i>] of the tribunals” so that he can show and slander the Athenians as lovers of trials [...]. A <i>deigma</i> is also a sample. [...]

Thonis. Strabo makes a small chronological mistake, for at the time of the prohibition Alexandria had not been founded yet. I thank Dr Pascal Arnaud for his notes on this passage.

⁷³ A plant used for medicine.

⁷⁴ i.e., the seller and the buyer.

<i>Suda</i> , epsilon 2465 ⁷⁵	
Ἐπιμελητὰς ἐμπορίου: δέκα ἐκλήρου ἐπιμελητὰς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμπορίου, οἷς προστέτακτο τῶν τε ἐμπορίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ σίτου καταπλέοντος εἰς τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐμπόριον τὰ δύο μέρη ἀναγκάζειν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κομίζειν.	Curators of the <i>emporion</i> : The Athenians appointed ten curators of the <i>emporion</i> , whose task was to take care of the merchandise and of the grain being transported to the Attic <i>emporion</i> by ship, to ensure that two thirds of it be brought into the city ⁷⁶ .

<i>Suda</i> , epsilon 2830	
Ἐπωβελία· πολλῶν εἰς χρήματα συκοφαντούντων τοὺς ἐπεικεῖς καὶ ἀπράγμονας τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτο πράττειν διαβαλλομένων τῶν περὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον συμβαλλόντων ἐπὶ ναυτικοῖς τόκοις, Ἀθηναῖοι ζημίαν ἔταξαν κατὰ τῶν ἐγκαλούντων ὀβολὸν ἐκτείνειν, εἰ μὴ καθ' ὧν ἐνεκάλουν, τούτους ἔλοιεν. ταύτην τὴν ζημίαν ἐπωβελίαν ὠνόμασαν.	<i>Epobelía</i> : When many people were blackmailing the decent and innocent citizens for riches, and especially, by doing this, slandering those who collected money around the <i>emporion</i> for sailing loans, the Athenians established a fine against accusers, that they would have to pay an obol if they did not get a conviction against those who they were accusing. This fine is called <i>epobelía</i> .

<i>Suda</i> , ny 86	
Ναυτοδίκαι: ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ναυκλήροις δικάζοντες καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον ἐργαζομένοις· ὡς καὶ ναυφύλακες ἄρχοντές τινες ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν	<i>Nautilikai</i> : magistrates [<i>archontes</i>] in charge of the trials involving ship-owners [<i>naukleroi</i>] and those working about the <i>emporion</i> . Just like <i>nauphylakes</i> are some

⁷⁵ Cf. *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. Ἐπιμεληταί – Kallierges pp. 361-362. For the functions of the ἐπιμεληταί a very illustrative decree from Delos is available to us. For an edition, translation and concise study of this decree, see Tréheux and Charneux, 1998 (including further bibliography), especially pp. 247 ss. See also Velissaropoulos, 1977, p. 63.

⁷⁶ For the functions of the ἐπιμεληταί, see Velissaropoulos, 1977, p. 63. Ibidem, note that there are similar types of public servants with other names attested in epigraphy, e.g. in Alexandria (*SB* 1.5021: τῆι ἐπιστρατεῖαι τοῦ ξενικοῦ ἐμπορίου) and in Memphis (*RA* 1933 II pp.121-147: ἐμποριο[φύλαξ]).

νεῶν φυλακῆς. ἀρχή τις ἦν Ἀθήνησιν οἱ ναυτοδίκαι. Κρατερός γοῦν φησίν· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γενοῖν γεγονῶς φρατίζῃ, διώκειν δεῖ τῷ βουλομένῳ Ἀθηναίῳ, οἷς δίκαι εἰσὶ· λαγχάνειν δὲ τῆ ἔνῃ καὶ νέα πρὸς τοὺς ναυτοδικὰς [...].	magistrates [<i>archontes</i>] for the surveillance of ships ⁷⁷ . The <i>nautodikai</i> were a special magistracy in Athens. Certainly, Crateros says: “if someone born from parents both [foreign] ⁷⁸ joins a phratria ⁷⁹ , it is necessary for any Athenian who wishes to prosecute him, as they have access to the tribunals; and to deliver him to the <i>nautodikai</i> on the last day of the month [...]. ⁸⁰
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Suda, chi, 579

Χρυσόπολις: ἐμπόριον τῆς Χαλκηδονίας, ἔνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ μισθοφορήσαντες ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ λαφυροπωλοῦντες, ὡς φησὶ Ξενοφῶν.	Chrysopolis (“The Golden City”): an <i>emporion</i> of Chalcedonia. The Greeks who were mercenaries of Cyrus spent seven days there selling their stolen booty, as Xenophon says ⁸¹ .
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Thucydides, 4.102.3

ὠρμῶντο δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἡΐονος, ἦν αὐτοῖ εἶχον ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιθαλάσσιον, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίου ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν	They [the Athenians] were anchored in Eion, which they held as a maritime <i>emporion</i> at the mouth of the river, 25 stadia distant from the present city, which Hagnon named Amphipolis.
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⁷⁷ The Stoa Consortium in their translation of the *Suda On Line* annotate ‘war ships’.

⁷⁸ This adjective is not in the original text, but we must infer it out of context.

⁷⁹ A political subdivision of Athens.

⁸⁰ The text states that the ναυτοδίκαι were special magistrates in charge of the ἐμπόριον and the juridical procedures of the people involved in that space of the city. The fact that foreigners wanting to join a phratria can also be handed to them for trial may well be explained by the fact that the sea was the place where contacts with foreigners would be most frequent thanks to trading operations. Thus, it is logic that a kind of magistrates in the port is also in charge of “foreign affairs”. Remember that in order to obtain Athenian citizenship the parents had to be both Athenian citizens. Thus it would be “illegal” for a non-citizen (i.e., someone born from non-Athenian parents) to join a phratria and hence the need to hand that individual to the ναυτοδίκαι.

⁸¹ See *Anabasis* 6.6.38.

πόλεως, ἦν Ἀμφίπολιν Ἄγνων ώνόμασεν.	
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Xenophon, <i>ways and means</i> , 3.12	
Ὅποτε γε μὴν ἀφορμὴ ὑπάρχοι, καλὸν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ναυκλήροις οἰκοδομεῖν καταγωγία περὶ λιμένας πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἐμπόροις [ἐπὶ] προσήκοντας τόπους <ἐπ'> ὠνῆ τε καὶ πράσει, καὶ τοῖς εἰσαφικνουμένοις δὲ δημόσια καταγωγία.	When there are sufficient funds, it is suitable and good to build inns for the ship-owners (<i>naukleroi</i>) around the harbours in which they are established, and for the merchants (<i>emporoi</i>) on the places where they arrive for buying and selling, and for the travellers, public inns.

Xenophon, <i>ways and means</i> , 3.13	
εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγοραίοις οἰκήσεις τε καὶ πωλητήρια κατασκευασθεῖη καὶ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ἅμα τ' ἂν κόσμος εἴη τῇ πόλει καὶ πολλὰ ἂν ἀπὸ τούτων πρόσσοδοι γίγνοιτο.	If houses and auction spaces (<i>poleteria</i>) were offered to sellers both in Piraeus and in the city, these would both decorate the city, and produce plenty of revenues (<i>prosodoi</i>) from them.

Inscriptions:

IC I xxiii 1*
Φαιστίων. τάδε συνέθεντο Φαίστιοι καὶ Μιλήσιοι κοσμιόν<των τῶν> σὺν Μητιόχῳ[ι] ἐμ Φαιστῶι, ἐμ Μιλήτῳι δὲ στεφανηφόρου Δημητρίου· σῶμ[α] ἐλεύθερον μὴ ὠνεῖσθω ὁ Μιλήσιος Φαίστιον μηδ' ὁ Φαίστιος Μιλ[ή]- σιον, ἄμ μὴ κελομένου πρίαται· ἂν δὲ κε<λ>ομένου πρίαται, τᾶς ἰσων[ι]- ας ἀπολυσάτω· ἂν δὲ μὴ κελομένου πρίαται, ἀπαγέσθω ὁ τε Φαί- στιος ἐγ Μιλήτου καὶ ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐκ Φαιστοῦ· ἂν δέ τις δοῦλον πρία- ται ὠνᾶι καὶ πράσει καὶ μὴ ἀνδραποδίξεται, ἀποδοὺς τὰν τιμὰν ὁ ἐφαψάμενος, ὅσου ἐπρίατο, τῶι ἔχοντι, τὸ σῶμα ἀγαγέσθω. ἂν δέ τι ἀντιλέγωσιν περὶ ὀτινοσοῦν, κρίνειν ἐμ Μιλήτῳι μὲν τοὺς

τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἐπιμελητὰς πένθ' ἡμερᾶν, ἐμ Φαιστῶι δὲ τὸ δικασ-
 τήριον τὸ πολιτικὸν πένθ' ἡμερᾶν. τὰς δὲ πράξεις εἶναι ἐμ Μιλή-
 τῶι μὲν κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῶν τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἐπιμελετῶν, ἐμ Φαισ-
 τῶι δὲ τοὺς κόσμους πράξαντας ἀποδοῦναι τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂμ βού-
 λωνται ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ἀφ' ἧς κα καταδικασθῆι. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰς
 συνθήκας ἐμ Φαιστῶι μὲν εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον, ἐμ Μιλήτῳ <δὲ> εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ
 Ἀπόλλωνος. κατὰ ταῦτὰ Ματάλιοι, Πολυρρήνιοι.

Of the Phaistians.

The Phaistians and the Milesians agreed on these things, in Phaistos with the regulators (*kosmoi*) under the leadership of Metiochos; in Miletos, with Demetrios the crown-bearer. A Milesian shall not buy a free Phaistian person, nor [shall] a Phaistian [buy] a Milesian, if he is not requested to buy⁸². If he is requested to buy, he shall return the same sum of money [when he restores the freedom to the individual]. If he was not requested to buy, the Phaistian shall be seized in Miletos, and the Milesian in Phaistos. If someone buys a slave through purchase and sale and [the slave] is not a captive, so as to restore the honour to the captive, the person [wishing to free the slave] shall recover him from he who has it for as much as he bought it⁸³. If someone has objections [to the purchase of the slave] on whichever aspect, the judges in Miletos are the curators of the *emporion* (*emporiou epimeletai*) [who will give a verdict] within five days; but in Phaistos, it's the town's court of justice (*to dikasterion to politikon*), within five days. In Miletos, the execution of the sentences is according to the authority of the curators of the *emporion* (*emporiou epimeletai*); but in Phaistos, the practising regulators (*kosmoi*) shall restore [the captive] in such a way as they wish within ten days from pronouncing the sentence. These agreements shall be written in Phaistos on the Pritaneion; in Miletos, on the temple of Apollo. The Matalioi and the Polyrhenioi abide by the same agreements.

⁸² i.e. unless the slave-to-be asks explicitly to be bought.

⁸³ In other words, if someone buys a slave who is not a prisoner, the person wishing to free the slave can buy his freedom by paying the same sum of money from the purchase to the person who bought – and has – the slave.

4.4 Hormos: the mooring point

Apollonius Rhodius, <i>Argonautica</i> , 2.727-751	
<p>ἠῶθεν δ', ἀνέμοιο διὰ κνέφας εὐνηθέντος, ἀσπασίως ἄκρης Ἀχερουσίδος ὄρμον ἴκοντο. ἢ μὲν τε κρημνοῖσιν ἀνίσχεται ἠλιβάτοισιν, εἰς ἄλα δερκομένη Βιθυνίδα· τῇ δ' ὑπὸ πέτραι λίσσάδες ἐρρίζωνται ἀλίβροχοι, ἀμφὶ δὲ τῆσιν κῦμα κυλινδόμενον μεγάλα βρέμει· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεν ἀμφιλαφεῖς πλατάνιστοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασιν. ἐκ δ' αὐτῆς εἴσω κατακέκλιται ἥπειρόνδε κοίλη ὑπαιθα νάπη, ἵνα τε σπέος ἔστ' Ἄϊδαο ὔλη καὶ πέτρῃσιν ἐπηρεφές, ἔνθεν αὐτμῆ πηγυλῖς, ὀκρυόεντος ἀναπνείουσα μυχοῖο, συνεχῆς ἀργινόεσσαν αἰεὶ περιτέτροφε πάχνην, οὐδὲ μεσημβριόωντος ἰαίνεται ἠελίοιο. σιγῇ δ' οὔποτε τήνδε κατὰ βλοσυρὴν ἔχει ἄκρην, ἀλλ' ἄμυδις πόντοιο θ' ὑπὸ στένει ἠχήεντος</p>	<p>About dawn, the wind having ceased during the night, they gladly reached the <i>hormos</i> in the Acherousian cape (<i>akra Akherousidos</i>). It is restrained by high cliffs facing the Bithynian sea. Under its smooth rocks rooted in the sea, on both their sides the rolling swell roars aloud. But on top, plane-trees grow on all sides of the summit. From there descends away towards the land a hollow glen where there is the cave of Hades roofed in wood and stone; from there, an ice-cold breath from the innermost chilling recess as accustomed constantly glittering spins around in a rime and the midday sun does not heat it. And the silence never takes the solemn cape (<i>akra</i>) but at the same time it resounds with the echo of the sea and the leaves that blow in the inner swirls [of the cave]. In there, there are also the outlets of the river Acheron, which makes its way through the cape (<i>akra</i>) and discharges in the Eastern sea, and a hollow ravine brings it down from above. [...] Thus [they manned] the ship through the Acherousian cape (<i>Akherousidos akres</i>) when the wind had ceased.</p>

<p>φύλλων τε πνοιῆσι τινασσομένων μυχίησιν. ἔνθα δὲ καὶ προχοαὶ ποταμοῦ Ἀχέροντος ἔασιν, ὅς τε δι᾽ ἄκρης ἀνερεύγεται εἰς ἄλλα βάλλων τήοιην, κοίλη δὲ φάραγξ κατάγει μιν ἄνωθεν. [...] τῆ ρ' οἴγ' αὐτίκα νῆα δι᾽ Ἀχερουσίδος ἄκρης εἰσωποί, ἀνέμοιο νέον λήγοντος, ἔκελσαν.</p>	
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Appian, *Mithridatic War*, 420

<p>ναῦς τε καὶ ὄπλα πάντα ἔτεκταίνοντο, μάλιστα περὶ τὴν Τραχεΐαν λεγομένην Κιλικίαν, ἣν κοινὸν σφῶν ὑφορμον ἢ στρατόπεδον ἐτίθεντο εἶναι, φρούρια μὲν καὶ ἄκρας καὶ νήσους ἐρήμους καὶ ναυλοχίας ἔχοντες πολλαχοῦ, κυριωτάτας δὲ ἀφέσεις ἡγούμενοι τὰς περὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν, τραχεΐαν τε καὶ ἀλίμενον οὔσαν καὶ κορυφαῖς μεγάλαις ἐξέχουσαν.</p>	<p>They framed the ship and all the weapons, especially in the so-called Cilicia Tracheia, which they had established to be their common <i>hyphormos</i> or military camp, because they had fortresses and capes and desert islands and anchorages (<i>naulochiai</i>) everywhere, they had the most lordly baseposts in Cilicia, because it is rough (<i>tracheia</i>) and <i>alimenos</i>, and it has great peaks.</p>
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Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 6.19.3

<p>ἐν κερκούροιν δυοῖν προπέμπει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τοὺς κατασκευομένους τὴν νῆσον, ἐς ἣντινα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἔφασκον ὀρμιστέα εἶναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· Κίλλουτα δὲ τῆ νήσῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἔλεγον. ὥς δὲ</p>	<p>[Alexander] sent forward the explorers on two lighters (<i>kerkouroi</i>) down the river, to wherever the locals said that there was a place for him to anchor on the sailing journey out to sea. They said the island was called Killous. [The explorers]</p>
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<p>ἐξηγγέλθη ὅτι ὄρμοι τε ἐν τῇ νήσῳ εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτὴ μεγάλη καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχουσα, ὁ μὲν ἄλλος αὐτῷ στόλος ἐς τὴν νῆσον κατέσχευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ἀριστα πλεούσαις τῶν νεῶν ἐπέκεινα προύχωρει, ὡς ἀπιδεῖν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εἰ παρέχει τὸν ἔκπλουον εὐπορον.</p>	<p>reported back that there were <i>hormoi</i> on the island, and that it was large and it had drinking water. So a part of his army put in at the island, he himself with the best sailing ships would go in advance, to inspect the outlets of the river into the sea, to see if the route [down the river] was favourable.</p>
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Diodorus Siculus, 22.10.4

<p>φρουρὰν δὲ καταστήσας ἐν αὐτῇ, ἀπῆρε πρὸς τὴν Ἰαιτίνων πόλιν, ὀχυρότητι διαφέρουσαν καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Πανόρμου καλῶς κειμένην. τῶν δὲ Ἰαιτίνων ἐκουσίως προσχωρησάντων, εὐθύς ἤκεν ἐπὶ τῶν Πανορμιτῶν πόλιν, ἔχουσαν λιμένα κάλλιστον τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν πόλιν συμβέβηκε τετευχέναι ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας.</p>	<p>After stationing a garrison there, [Pyrrhus] set out for the city of Iaetia, a distinguished stronghold and well situated for an attack on Panormos. The people of Iaetia surrendered out of their own will, so he marched straight against the city of Panormos, which has the best <i>limen</i> in Sicily, from which the city happens to receive its name.</p>
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Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 15.332 (ed. Niese)

<p>ἀκλύστῳ λιμένι, μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καταγωγὰς δ' ἔνδον ἔχοντι καὶ δευτέρους ὑφόρμους.</p>	<p>a <i>limen</i> free from inundation, roughly of the size of Piraeus, with mooring-rings (<i>katagogai</i>) and two basins (<i>deuteroi hyphormoi</i>) inside.</p>
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Flavius Josephus, *Jewish War*, 1.408 (ed. Niese)

<p>ἀλλ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν καὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ νικήσας τὴν φύσιν μείζονα μὲν τοῦ Πειραιῶς λιμένα κατεσκεύασεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μυχοῖς αὐτοῦ βαθεῖς ὄρμους ἐτέροισιν.</p>	<p>The king [Herod I], dominating nature with great expenses and a desire for honour, built a harbour (<i>limen</i>) larger than that at Piraeus, and its corners [he</p>
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	built] two deep basins (<i>batheis hormoi heteroi</i>).
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Flavius Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i> , 2.396	
καλόν, ὧ φίλοι, καλόν, ἕως ἔτι ἐν ὄρμῳ τὸ σκάφος προσκέπτεσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα χειμῶνα μηδ' εἰς μέσας τὰς θυέλλας ἀπολουμένους ἀναχθῆναι·	It is good, my friends, it is good while the boat is still at <i>hormos</i> , to foresee the coming storm and not sail out helplessly into the heart of the thunderstorms.

Flavius Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i> , 3.419-423	
Ἀλιμένου δ' οὔσης φύσει τῆς Ἰόππης, αἰγιαλῷ γὰρ ἐπιλήγει τραχεῖ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πᾶν ὀρθίῳ, βραχὺ δὲ συννεύοντι κατὰ τὰς κεραίας ἐκατέρωθεν· αἱ δὲ εἰσιν κρημνοὶ βαθεῖς καὶ προύχουσαι σπιλάδες εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, [...] τύπτων δὲ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐναντίος βορέας καὶ πρὸς ταῖς δεχομέναις πέτραις ὑψηλὸν ἀναπέμπων τὸ κῦμα σφαλερώτερον ἐρημίας τὸν ὄρμον ἀπεργάζεται· κατὰ τοῦτον σαλεύουσιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰόππης ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω πνεῦμα βίαιον ἐπιπίπτει· μελαμβόριον ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτη πλοιοιζομένων καλεῖται· καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀλλήλαις τῶν νεῶν αὐτόθι συνήραξεν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις, πολλὰς δὲ πρὸς ἀντίον κῦμα βιαζόμενας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, τὸν τε γὰρ αἰγιαλὸν ὄντα πετρώδη καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πολεμίους ἐδεδοίκεσαν, μετέωρος ὑπεραρθεῖς ὁ κλύδων ἐβάπτιζεν.	Joppa is <i>alimenos</i> by nature, for the <i>aigialos</i> presents itself as rocky and for the rest it is all straight, but the ends on either side bend briefly towards each other. There are deep precipices and rockets projecting into the sea, [...] the Boreas (North Wind) falls against the <i>aigialos</i> and to the rocks that receive it, sending the swell high up, and renders the <i>hormos</i> more dangerous than the deserted land. In that moment, the people from Joppa were anchored in the high seas (<i>saleuousin</i>) when a violent wind fell against them. It is called Black Boreas by those who sail there. It immediately dragged some of the ships against each other and others against the rocks, and others were forced by the swell into the sea; they [the exiles from Joppa] feared the <i>aigialos</i> because it was rocky and had so many of the enemies on it, the high risen swell drowned them.

<i>Lexica Segueriana, Glossae rhetoricae, ny, 282, 25</i>	
Ναυλοχίας: τὰς καθορμίσεις τῶν νεῶν, ὅπου ἔστιν ὑφορμίσασθαι.	<i>Naulokhiaí:</i> the berths of the ships, where we have to moor.

Longus, <i>Daphnis and Chloe</i> , 2.25.1-2	
Ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ τῶν Μηθυμναίων ὅσον δέκα σταδίους ἀπελάσας ἠθέλησε τοὺς στρατιώτας τῇ καταδρομῇ κεκμηκότας ἀναλαβεῖν. Ἄκρας οὖν ἐπεμβαινούσης τῷ πελάγει λαβόμενος ἐπεκτεινομένης μηνοειδῶς, ἧς ἐντὸς θάλασσα γαληνότερον τῶν λιμένων ὄρμον εἰργάζετο, ἐνταῦθα τὰς ναῦς ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν μετεώρους διορμίσας, ὡς μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῶν ἀγροίκων τινὰ λυπῆσαι, ἀνῆκε τοὺς Μηθυμναίους εἰς τέρψιν εἰρηνικὴν.	The general of the Methymnians, advancing about ten stadia away, wanted that his soldiers to recover from the effort of the raid. Indeed, he picked a cape (<i>akra</i>) that projects into the sea – it stretches in the shape of a half-moon, and the sea inside it furnishes a <i>hormos</i> calmer than any <i>limen</i> ; in there he anchored the ships with anchors in the high sea, so that none of the peasant women on the land would be grieved in any way, and urged the Methymnians to the enjoyment of peace.

Pausanias, 5.7.5	
τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος πηγὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῷ ὄρει, διεξελθὼν δὲ θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξὺ ἄνεισιν αὔθις κατὰ Βραγχίδας πρὸς λιμένι ὀνομαζομένῳ Πανόρμῳ.	The source of this water is in Mount Mycale, and it crosses the sea and goes mid-way back up on the zone of the Branchidae by the <i>limen</i> called <i>Panormos</i> .

Pausanias, 6.19.9	
ὁ δὲ ὄρμος ταῖς ναυσὶ χειροποίητος καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἐστὶν ἔργον.	The <i>hormos</i> for the ships is artificial and a work of Emperor Hadrian.

Pausanias, 7.22.10	
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πλέοντι δὲ ἐς Αἴγιον ἐκ Πατρῶν ἄκρα πρῶτόν ἐστιν ὀνομαζομένη Ῥίον, [...] λιμὴν δὲ ὁ Πάνορμος σταδίοις πέντε καὶ δέκα ἀπωτέρω τῆς ἄκρας.	Sailing to Aegeum from Cape Patrae there is first the so-called Rhium, [...] the <i>limen</i> called <i>Panormus</i> is 15 stadia distant from the cape.
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Periplus of the Euxine Sea, 20

Ἐν Κινώλῃ σαλεύοιεν ἂν νῆες ὥρα ἔτους· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὕφορμον εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Ἀντικίνωλιν.	At Kinole the ships ride at anchor on the sea (<i>saleuoien</i>) during the summer season. But it also has a <i>hyphormos</i> on the so- called Antikinolis.
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Periplus of the Euxine Sea, 89

Οὗτος δ' ὁ Σαλμυδησσὸς αἰγιαλὸς ἐφ' ἑπτακόσια στάδια τεναγώδης ἄγαν καὶ δυσπρόσορμος ἀλίμενός τε παντελῶς παρατέταται, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐχθρότατος τόπος.	This <i>aigialos</i> in Salmydessos is formed of many shoals for about seven hundred stadia, and it extends itself <i>dysprosormos</i> and <i>alimenos</i> everywhere, a place most harmful for ships.
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Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 4.13

ἐκέλευσε τὸν κυβερνήτην κατασχεῖν ἐς τὴν Αἰολέων, ἣ ἀντιπέρας Λέσβου κεῖται, πρὸς Μήθυμνάν τε μᾶλλον τετραμμένον ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ὄρμον.	He ordered the captain to moor ⁸⁴ at Aeolis, which lies opposite Lesbos, and to make the anchoring turning in the direction of Methymna.
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Plutarch, *Pompey*, 76.1

Ἄναλαβὼν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐκομίζετο, προσίσχων ὄρμοις ἀναγκαίοις ὕδωρ ἢ ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν.	Taking his wife and friends, he carried them away, putting in in <i>hormoi</i> for the necessities of water or foodstuffs.
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Periplus of Scylax, 108

⁸⁴ The verb κατασχεῖν literally means “to hold fast”.

Εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι λιμένες πάνορμοι. Καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ καταφυγαὶ ὑπὸ νησιδίοις καὶ ὑφορμοὶ καὶ ἀκταὶ πολλαὶ ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ χώρα.	These are <i>limenes panormoi</i> . And there are other refuges (<i>kataphygai</i>) on the islets and <i>hyphormoi</i> and many salient points (<i>aktai</i>) in the territory in between.
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Stadiasmus, 8

Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀντιφρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Δέρραν— ὑφορμός ἐστι θερινός, καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχει— στάδιοι ζ’.	From Antiphron to Derra. There is a <i>hyphormos</i> for the summer season, and it has drinking water. 7 stadia. ⁸⁵
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Stadiasmus, 12

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνιγέως εἰς τὸν Φοινικοῦντα στάδιοι ρμ’ νησία εἰσὶ Δίδυμα· ὑφορμος ὑπ’ αὐτά· βάθος φορτηγοῖς· ὕδωρ ἔχει λακκαῖον ἐν τῇ φάραγγι.	From Pnigeus to Phoenicus, 140 stadia. There are the Didyma islands. There is a <i>hyphormos</i> on them. Depth for cargo ships. The cistern in the gorge has water.
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Stadiasmus, 14

Ἀπὸ Ἑρμαίων ἐπὶ Λευκὴν ἀκτὴν στάδιοι κ’ νησίον παράκειται ἐκεῖ ταπεινόν, ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σταδίου β’· ὑφορμός ἐστι φορτηγοῖς, τοῖς ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας ἀνέμοις· ἐν δὲ τῇ γῆ ὑπὸ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον ὄρμος ἐστὶ μακρὸς παντοίαις ναυσίν· ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐπίσημον χρηστήριον· καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχει παρὰ τὸ ἱερόν.	From the Hermaia to Leuke Akte, 20 stadia. There lies a flat island in that place, two stadia distant from the land. There is a <i>hyphormos</i> for cargo ships with winds from the west. On the land under the promontory there is a large <i>hormos</i> for all ships. The temple of Apollo, a significant oracle. And it has water to the side of the temple. ⁸⁶
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Stadiasmus, 17

⁸⁵ Cuntz notes the following orthographical variations in this passage: ἀντιφρον, δέρρον, and θερινοῦ.

⁸⁶ Cuntz notes ἀφ’ ἐσπέραν, and seems to indicate a lacuna after that.

Ἄπο Λαδαμαντίας ἐπὶ τὰ Καλαμαίου στάδιοι μ´ ἀκρωτήριόν ἐστιν ἔχον σκόπελον ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ὑφορμον.	From Ladamantia to Calamaeus, 40 stadia. There is a cliff that has ⁸⁷ a watch- tower, and a <i>hyphormos</i> to its right.
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Stadiasmus, 18

Ἄπο τῶν Καλαμαίου ἐπὶ Γραίας γόνυ στάδιοι θ´ ἄκρα ἐστὶ τραχεῖα, ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ σκόπελον· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς δένδρον· ὄρμος ἐστὶ, καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχει ὑπὸ [τὸ] δένδρον· φυλάσσου νότον.	From Kalamaios to Graias Gony ⁸⁸ , 9 stadia. There is a rocky cape, which as a watch-tower on the summit. On the land there is a tree. It is a <i>hormos</i> and it has water under the tree. Beware the south wind.
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Stadiasmus, 19

Ἄπο Γραίας γόνατος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρτον στάδιοι ρκ´ ἀκρωτήριόν ἐστι τραχὺ, οὐκ ἔχον ὑφορμον.	From Old Woman's Knee (Graias Gony) to Artos, 120 stadia. There is a rough cliff, but it doesn't have a <i>hyphormos</i> .
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Stadiasmus, 21

Ἄπο τοῦ Ζεφυρίου καὶ τῶν Δελφίνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄπιν στάδιοι λ´ κώμη ἐστὶ· ταύτην πλέεις σταδ. κ´ ὄρμος ἐστίν· ὕδωρ ἔχει ἐν τῇ κώμῃ.	From Zephyrion and Delphinoi to Apis, 30 stadia. There is a village. You sail there for 20 stadia, there is a <i>hormos</i> . It has water in the village.
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Stadiasmus, 23

Ἄπο τῶν Νήσων εἰς Σεληνίδα στάδιοι ο´ ἄκρα ἐστίν, ἔχουσα ὑφορμον· ἔχει δὲ ἐκ δεξιῶν βράχη· καθορῶν τὸ βράχος κατάγου.	From The Islands to Selenis, 70 stadia. There is a cape that has a <i>hyphormos</i> . But it has shoals to the right. When you see the shoals, drop anchor.
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⁸⁷ Cuntz notes ἔχων.

⁸⁸ Graias Gony means "old woman's knee".

<i>Stadiasmus, 28</i>	
<p>Ἄπο Ζυγρῶν εἰς Ἐννησύφοραν στάδιοι ς´· ὕφορμός ἐστι θερινός· ὕδωρ ἔχει ἐν τῇ ἄμμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης σκόπελον.</p>	<p>From Zygroi to Ennesyphora, 200 stadia. There is a <i>hyphormos</i> for the summer season. It has drinking water on the sand, and there is a look-out (<i>skopelos</i>) above the sea.</p>

<i>Stadiasmus, 30</i>	
<p>Ἄπο Καταβαθμοῦ εἰς Πετράντα στάδιοι ρν´. Παραπλεύσας ὡς σταδίους λ´ ὄψει παρεμφαίνουσαν ἄκραν ὑψηλὴν καὶ μεγάλην· κατ' αὐτὴν ὄψει εἰς σάλον καὶ λίμνην μεγάλην· ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐωνύμων χειροποίητος ὄρμος ἐστίν· ἔχει δὲ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ τὴν συκῆν· διὸ καὶ ὁ τόπος Συκῆ καλεῖται.</p>	<p>From Catabathmus to Petras, 150 stadia. Sailing about a further 30 stadia, you will see a cape appearing at your side, high and large. In there you will see a <i>salos</i> and a large lagoon. On the left side there is an artificial <i>hormos</i>. It has water under a fig tree. This is why the place is called Fig.</p>

<i>Stadiasmus, 32</i>	
<p>Ἄπο Πανόρμου ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρεΐαν στάδιοι ρν´· φάραγξ ἐστίν, ἔσω δὲ αἰγιαλὸς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ συκαῖ· ὄρμος ἐστὶ καλός· ὕδωρ ἔχει γλυκύ.</p>	<p>From Panormos to Eureia, 150 stadia. There is a cistern, and beyond there is an <i>aigialos</i>, and there are fig-trees on it. The <i>hormos</i> is good. It has sweet water.</p>

<i>Stadiasmus, 34</i>	
<p>Ἄπο Πετράντος ἐπὶ τὴν Κάρδαμιν στάδιοι ρν´· ὄρμος ἐστίν· ἄκρα ἀπολήγουσα, σκοπὰς ἔχουσα· ὀρμίζου ἐπ' αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄνωθεν ἀνέμοις· ὕδωρ ἔχει ἐν ταῖς ἠπείροις.</p>	<p>From Petras⁸⁹ to Kardamis, 34 stadia. It is a <i>hormos</i>. Where the cape ends, there are lookouts. Anchor at it with the winds from above. It has water on the mainland.</p>

⁸⁹ Cuntz notes the text here as reading πετρεῖοντος.

<i>Stadiasmus, 38</i>	
Ἄπὸ Κυρθανίου εἰς Ἀντίπυργον στάδιοι σκ'· ὄρμος ἐστὶ θερινός· νῆσος δέ ἐστι, καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν πύργος· ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος· ὕδωρ ἔχει ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τῷ ἐξ ἐναντίας.	From Kyrthanios to Antipyrgos, 220 stadia. There is a <i>hormos</i> for the summer season. There is an island, and on it there is a tower. The temple of Ammon. It has drinking water on the <i>aigialos</i> on the opposite side.

<i>Stadiasmus, 40</i>	
Ἄπὸ τοῦ Μικροῦ Πετράντος εἰς τὸν Βάτραχον στάδιοι λ'· ὕφορμός ἐστι θερινός· ἄκρα ἐστὶ σκοπὰς ἔχουσα· ἔχει ὕδωρ πολὺ ἐν τῇ νάπη.	From Petras ⁹⁰ Mikron to Batrachos, 30 stadia. The <i>hyphormos</i> is for the summer season. There is a cape (<i>akra</i>) that has look-outs. It has look-outs (<i>skopai</i>). It has plenty of water on the glen.

<i>Stadiasmus, 41</i>	
Ἄπὸ τοῦ Βατράχου εἰς Πλατεῖαν στάδιοι σν'· πρὸς τῷ πελάγει κέῖται νῆσος καλουμένη Σιδωνία (ἔχει ὕφορμον θερινὸν φορτηγοῖς) ἀπὸ σταδίων λ'· ἔχει δὲ ὕδωρ πρὸς τῇ γῆ ἐν τῷ πύργῳ.	From the Frog (Batrachus) to Plateia, 250 stadia. 30 stadia further out to sea there lies an island called Sidonia (it has a <i>hyphormos</i> for the summer season for cargo ships). It has water on land on the tower.

<i>Stadiasmus, 48</i>	
Ἄπὸ Δάρνης ἐπὶ τὸ Ζεφύριον στάδιοι ρν'· ἄκρα ἐστὶ δασεῖα· ὕφορμός ἐστι θερινός.	From Darne to Zephyrion ⁹¹ , 150 stadia. There is a bushy cape (<i>akra</i>). The <i>hyphormos</i> is for the summer season.

<i>Stadiasmus, 53</i>	

⁹⁰ Cuntz notes: *πετρεύοντος.

⁹¹ Ζεφύριον, ι in rasura, notes Cuntz.

Ἀπὸ Ἀπολλωνιάδος εἰς Φυκοῦντα στάδιοι ρ´ κώμην ἔχει· ὀρμίζοιο ἂν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἀνέμοις· ὄρμος ἔστι θερινός· ἔχει ὕδωρ.	From Apollonias to Phycous, 100 stadia. There is a village. Moor with the winds from the west. ⁹² There is a <i>hormos</i> for the summer season. It has water.
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Stadiasmus, 57

Ἀπὸ Τευχεῖρων εἰς Βερνικίδα στάδιοι τν'. Ὁ πλοῦς κάμπτεται· πλεύσας ἐς σταδίους ζ' ὄψει ἀκρωτήριον προτεῖνον πρὸς ἑσπέραν· παράκειται δὲ βράχη μετέωρα· φυλάσσου παραπλέων· ὄψει δὲ νησίον ταπεινὸν μελανόν· Βραχέα καλεῖται τὸ ἀκρωτήριον· εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα ἔχει ὄρμον πλοιαρίοις μικροῖς.	From Teukheiroi to Bernikis, 350 stadia. The sailing route bends. After you sail for 90 stadia, ⁹³ you will see a summit (<i>akroterion</i>) stretching to the west. There are shallow rocks, take care when you sail past. You will see a large, flat island. The summit (<i>akroterion</i>) is called Brachea ⁹⁴ . It has a <i>hormos</i> to the left for small ships.
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Stadiasmus, 60

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Πίθου ἐπὶ Θεοτιμαῖον στάδ. α' ὄρμος ἔστι θερινός· αἰγιαλὸς βαθύς.	From Pithon to Theotimaion, 1 stadion. ⁹⁵ The <i>hormos</i> is for the summer season. There is a deep <i>aigialos</i> .
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Stadiasmus, 63

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορείου εἰς Χέρσιν στάδιοι ρμ' ὄρμος ἔστι τοῖς ἑτησίοις· ὕδωρ ἔχει ἐπὶ τοῦ φρουρίου.	From Boreion to Chersis, 140 stadia. There is a <i>hormos</i> with the Etesian winds. It has water on the fortress.
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⁹² Cuntz notes that the original reading was ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς. The correction by Müller into ὑπ' αὐτὸν τοῖς makes little sense and is unnecessary.

⁹³ Cuntz notes πλεύσαντες instead of πλεύσας ἐς, which is Müller's correction. Müller also notes that the number of stadia is ζ', but Cuntz explains that the reading should be ζ'. Müller corrected the figure to 6 stadia because he assumed that the harbour was that of present-day Benghazi, but Cuntz explains that the location is not such, according to him the harbour is that of Teuchira / Tukrah.

⁹⁴ 'Shallows'.

⁹⁵ According to Cuntz, there is a curvy line after the alpha, and so he interprets the figure to be ια' (11 stadia). With the information provided in his book, I find his note hard to understand, I would need personal inspection of the manuscript. Cuntz also notes that the text reads ἀκαλός, but he does not specify where – instead of αἰγιαλός?

<i>Stadiasmus, 75</i>	
Ἄπὸ Ποντίας πρὸς μεσημβρίαν [έν] σταδίοις ζ' νῆσός ἐστι καλουμένη Μαία, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν ὕφορμος· ὕδωρ ἔχει ἀνακτόν.	From Pontia to the south there is an island called Maia within 7 stadia, ⁹⁶ and there is a <i>hyphormos</i> on it. It has water from a spring.

<i>Stadiasmus, 77</i>	
Ἄπὸ τοῦ Ἀστροχονδα ἐπὶ τὸν Κροκόδειλον στάδιοι π' ὄρμος ἐστὶ θερινὸς καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχει ρεύματα ἔχον.	From Astrokhondas to Krokodeilos ⁹⁷ , 80 stadia. The <i>hormos</i> is for the summer season, and it has drinking water because it has a stream.

<i>Stadiasmus, 78</i>	
Ἄπὸ τοῦ Κροκοδείλου ἐπὶ τὸ Βόρειον στάδιοι πδ' κώμη ἐστὶ φρούριον ἔρημον· ὄρμος καλὸς ἀπὸ λιβός· ὕδωρ ἔχει	From Krokodeilos ⁹⁸ to Boreion, 84 stadia. There is a village. There is a deserted fortress. There is a good <i>hormos</i> to the south-west. It has drinking water.

<i>Stadiasmus, 81</i>	
Ἄπὸ τοῦ Μενδρίου ἐπὶ τὸ Κοζύνθιον στάδιοι ρκ' ἄκρα ἐστὶ τραχεῖα· ὄρμος καλὸς, ἄνυδρος δέ.	From Mendrion to Kozynthion, 120 stadia. There is a rocky cape (<i>akra trakheia</i>). ⁹⁹ There is a good <i>hormos</i> , but it has no water.

<i>Stadiasmus, 84</i>	
Ἄπὸ Αὐτομαλάκων ἐπὶ Φιλαίνων βωμοὺς στάδιοι ρπε' ὄρμος ἐστὶ θερινὸς καλὸς, καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχει. Ἔως τούτου τοῦ	From Automakakoi to the Altars of the Philainoi, 185 stadia. There is a good <i>hormos</i> for the summer season, and it has drinking water. Until that summit

⁹⁶ Cuntz notes that the manuscript reads ζ̄ and μαῖα.

⁹⁷ According to Cuntz, the manuscript reads κορκόδειλον, with the first o made from an erased ρ.

⁹⁸ Cuntz notes that the manuscript reads κορκοδείλου.

⁹⁹ Cuntz notes τραχεῖα.

ἀκρωτηρίου εἰσὶ Κυρηναίων ὄρη καὶ χώρα.	(<i>akroterion</i>) it is the mountains and the land of Cyrenaica.
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Stadiasmus, 85

Ἀπὸ Φιλαίνων βωμῶν ἕως Ἴππου ἄκρας στάδιοι υ´ ἀκρωτήριόν ἐστὶ τραχύ· ἔχει ὑφορμον καὶ ὕδωρ.	From the Altars of the Philaeni to the Cape of the Horse, 400 stadia. There is a rough cliff. It has a <i>hyphormos</i> and water.
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Stadiasmus, 95

Ἀπὸ Ἑρμαίου ἐπὶ Γάφαρα στάδιοι τ´ ἄκρα ἐστὶν ἔχουσα ὄρμον ἐξ ἐκατέρων τῶν μερῶν· ἔχει ὕδωρ· καλεῖται <Αἰ>νεόσπορα· ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁμοία νήσῳ.	From Hermaion ¹⁰⁰ to Gaphara, 300 stadia. There is a cape (<i>akra</i>) that has a <i>hormos</i> on either side. It has water. [The cape] is called Aineospora, because it is like an island.
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Stadiasmus, 96

Ἀπὸ τῶν Γαφάρων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀμαραίαν στάδιοι μ´ πύργος ἐστὶ ὑφορμος· ὕδωρ ἔχει ποτάμιον· ἐστὶ δὲ γεώργιον πλησίον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Οἰνολάδων ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται.	From Gaphara to Amaraia, 40 stadia. There is a tower [and] a small anchorage. The river has water. There are croplands near the river. The river is called Oenoladon.
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Stadiasmus, 303

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Κουριακοῦ ἐπὶ Καραίας στάδιοι μ´ ἀκρωτήριόν ἐστὶν ἔχον λιμένα, ὑφορμον καὶ ὕδωρ.	From Kouriakos to the Karaiai ¹⁰¹ , 40 stadia. There is a cliff that has a <i>limen</i> , a <i>hyphormos</i> and water.
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¹⁰⁰ According to Cuntz, the manuscript reads ἀμαραία. Müller's correction to Ἑρμαίου could be right, but it is difficult to explain taking into account that the repeated word in the previous paragraph of the stadiasmus is abbreviated, and it is not clear that the abbreviation has to be developed as Ἑρμαῖον in *Stad.* 94.

¹⁰¹ Cuntz notes the reading of the manuscript as καραίας, but Müller edited Καργαίας. Cuntz explains that the place is unknown elsewhere, but he understands it to be a cape (Καραίας ἄκρας).

Stadiasmus, 310

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Κρομμυακοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Μελαβρόν στάδιοι νʹ ὄρμος ἐστὶ θερινός.	From Krommyakos to Melabron, 50 stadia. There is a <i>hormos</i> for the summer season.
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Stadiasmus, 312

Ἀπὸ Σόλων εἰς Κερύνειαν στάδιοι τνʹ πόλις ἐστὶν ἔχει ὕφορμον.	From Solon to Ceryneia, ¹⁰² 350. There is a city. It has a <i>hyphormos</i> .
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Stadiasmus, 313

Ἀπὸ Κερυνείας εἰς Λάπαθον στάδιοι υνʹ πόλις ἐστὶν ἔχουσα ὄρμον.	From Keryneia ¹⁰³ to Lapathos, 450 stadia. There is a city that has a <i>hormos</i> .
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Stadiasmus, 318

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Κάσου ἐπὶ τὸ Σαμώνιον τῆς Κρήτης, στάδιοι φʹ ἀκρωτήριόν ἐστὶ τῆς Κρήτης ἀνέχον πρὸς βορρᾶν ἐπιπολύ· ἐστὶ δὲ ἱερόν Ἀθηνᾶς· ἔχει ὕφορμον καὶ ὕδωρ· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἠφανισμένα.	From Casus to Samonion in Crete, 500 stadia. It is a cliff of Crete, stretching much to the north. There is a temple to Athena. It has a <i>hyphormos</i> and water. The other things have disappeared.
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Stadiasmus, 319

Ἀπὸ Σαμωνίου εἰς Ἱερὰν Πύδναν στάδιοι πʹ πόλις ἐστὶν ἔχει ὄρμον· ἔχει δὲ καὶ νῆσον [ἦ] καλεῖται Χρύσεια· ἔχει λιμένα καὶ ὕδωρ.	From Samonion to Hiera Pydna, 80 stadia. There is a city. It also has an island called Khrysea (Golden). It has a <i>limen</i> and drinking water.
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Stadiasmus, 329

¹⁰² According to Cuntz, the reading of the manuscript is κυρηναί(ον).

¹⁰³ Cuntz notes the reading of the manuscript as κυρενίου.

Ἄπὸ Φοίνικος εἰς Τάρρον στάδιοι ξ΄ πόλις μικρά ἐστίν· ἔχει ὄρμον.	From Phoinix ¹⁰⁴ to Tarron, 60 stadia. There is a small city. It has a <i>hormos</i> .
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Stadiasmus, 330

Ἄπὸ Τάρρου εἰς Ποικιλασσὸν στάδιοι ξ΄ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ ὄρμον ἔχει καὶ ὕδωρ.	From Tarron to Poikilassos, 60 stadia. There is a city and it has a <i>hormos</i> and drinking water.
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Stadiasmus, 334

Ἄπὸ Καλαμύδης εἰς Κριοῦ Μέτωπον στάδιοι λ΄ ἀκρωτήριόν ἐστίν ὑψηλόν· ἔχει ὕδωρ καὶ ὕφορμον.	From Kalamys to Criou Metopon, 30 stadia. There is a high promontory. It has drinking water and a <i>hyphormos</i> .
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Stadiasmus, 336

Ἄπὸ Βιέννου εἰς Φαλάσαρναν στάδιοι σξ΄ ὄρμος ἐστίν, ἐμπόριον, πόλις παλαιά· νῆσος δὲ ἀπὸ σταδίων ξ΄ Ἰουσάγουρα, βλέπουσα πρὸς ἀνατολὰς· ἔχει λιμένα· ἔχει δὲ ἱερόν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῷ λιμένι· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλη νῆσος ἀπὸ σταδίων γ΄ καλεῖται Μέση, καὶ ὄρμον ἔχει· ἢ δὲ τρίτη καλεῖται Μύλη· ὁ δὲ πλοῦς βαθύς· ἀγορὰν ἔχει.	From Biennos to Phalasarana, 260 stadia. It is a <i>hormos</i> , an <i>emporion</i> , an ancient city. The island of Iousagoura is 60 stadia distant, facing west. It has a <i>limen</i> . It also has a temple of Apollo in the <i>limen</i> . There is another island 3 stadia away, it is called Mese and it has a <i>hormos</i> . The third is called Myle. The sailing route is deep. It has supplies.
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Stadiasmus, 342

Ἄπὸ τοῦ Δικτυνναίου ἐπὶ τὴν Κοίτην στάδιοι ρο΄ νῆσός ἐστίν· ἔχει ὄρμον καὶ	From Diktyinnaion to Koite, 170 stadia. There is an island. It has a <i>hormos</i> and
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¹⁰⁴ According to Cuntz, the manuscript's reading is φοινίκης – Phoenicia.

ὔδωρ· βλέπει πρὸς τὴν Κρήτην [καὶ] πρὸς ἄρκτον.	drinking water. It faces Crete and southwards.
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Stadiasmus, 350

Ἄπο Χερρονήσου εἰς Ὀλοῦντα στάδιον ἑξήκοντα ἄκρα ἐστίν· ὑφορμον ἔχει καὶ ὔδωρ καλόν· ἀπέχει δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σταδίου κ'.	From Cherronesos to Olous ¹⁰⁵ , 60 stadia. There is a cape (<i>akra</i>). It has a <i>hyphormos</i> and good drinking water. It is 20 stadia distant from the land ¹⁰⁶ .
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Strabo, 8.4.5

ταύτην δὲ τινες Πήδασον λεχθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ. „πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλός,“ Καρδαμύλη μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῇ, Φαραὶ δ' ἀπὸ πέντε σταδίων, ὑφορμον ἔχουσα θερινόν, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ἀνωμάλοις κέχρηται τοῖς ἀπὸ θαλάττης διαστήμασι.	Some say this [city] is called Pedasos by the poet [Homer]. “All [the cities] close to the sea”, Kardamyle next to it, and Pharai after five stadia, having a <i>hyphormos</i> for the summer season. The others are at varying distances from the sea.
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Strabo, 8.6.1

ἔστι δὲ τραχὺς ὁ παράπλους εὐθύς ἀπὸ Μαλεῶν ἀρξάμενος μέχρι πολλοῦ ὁ Λακωνικός, ἔχει δ' ὅμως ὑφόρμους καὶ λιμένας.	The sea journey starting directly from [Cape] Malea through to most of the Laconian territory is rough, but it has <i>hyphormoi</i> and <i>limenes</i> anyway.
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Strabo, 11.2.12

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σινδικὴν καὶ τὴν Γοργιπίαν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἢ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ζυγῶν καὶ Ἠνιοχῶν παραλία τὸ πλεόν ἀλίμενος καὶ ὄρεινῇ, τοῦ Καυκάσου μέρος οὔσα. ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ	After the Sindike and the Gorgipia on the sea of the Achaians and the Zygoi and Heniokhoi the coast is <i>alimenos</i> for the most part and hilly, it being the part of the Caucasus. On the part of the sea there live
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¹⁰⁵ According to Cuntz, the manuscript's reading is εἰς σολοῦντος.

¹⁰⁶ Olous is an island.

<p>θάλατταν ληστηρίων, ἀκάτια ἔχοντες λεπτὰ στενὰ καὶ κοῦφα, ὅσον ἀνθρώπους πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δεχόμενα, σπάνιον δὲ τριάκοντα δέξασθαι τοὺς πάντας δυνάμενα· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὰ οἱ Ἕλληνες καμάρας. [...] τῶν δ' οὖν καμαρῶν στόλους κατασκευαζόμενοι καὶ ἐπιπλέοντες τοτὲ μὲν ταῖς ὀλκάσι τοτὲ δὲ χώρα τινὶ ἢ καὶ πόλει θαλαττοκρατοῦσι. προσλαμβάνουσι δ' ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ οἱ τὸν Βόσπορον ἔχοντες ὑφόρμους χορηγοῦντες καὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ διάθεσιν τῶν ἀρπαζομένων·</p>	<p>the pirates, who have thin and narrow light boats, admitting about twenty-five persons, rarely capable of admitting thirty in total. The Greeks call them <i>camarai</i>. [...] Once [the pirates] have prepared the fleets of <i>camarai</i> they sail against the merchant ships or against some territory or a city and they fight on the sea. Those who hold the Bosphorus took [the pillaged things] to themselves, furnishing [the pirates] with <i>hyphormoi</i> and a market and the selling of the pillage.</p>
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Strabo, 14.1.7

<p>Πρόκειται δ' ἡ Λάδη νῆσος πλησίον καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς Τραγαίας νησία ὑφόρμους ἔχοντα λησταῖς.</p>	<p>The island of Lade lies closer [to Miletus] and also the Tragaiai islands, which have <i>hyphormoi</i> for the pirates.</p>
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Strabo, 14.1.8

<p>ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Λατμικὸς κόλπος, ἐν ᾧ Ἡράκλεια ἢ ὑπὸ Λάτμω λεγομένη, πολίχνιον ὑφορμον ἔχον·</p>	<p>Outside this area there is the Latmikos Gulf, in which there is Heracleia, the one that is called Under The Latmos, a village having a <i>hyphormos</i>.</p>
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Strabo, 14.1.20

<p>εἶτα λιμὴν Πάνορμος καλούμενος ἔχων ἱερόν τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος· εἶθ' ἢ πόλις.</p>	<p>Next is the <i>limen</i> called <i>Panormos</i>, which has a temple to Artemis Ephesia. Next is the town.</p>
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Strabo, 14.5.19

Μετὰ δὲ Αἰγαίας Ἴσσος πολίχνιον ὕφορμον ἔχον καὶ ποταμὸς Πίναρος.	After the Aigaiai there is Issos, a village that has a <i>hyphormos</i> , and the river Pinaros.
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Strabo, 14.6.3	
ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Λάπαθος τέ ἐστι πόλις ὕφορμον ἔχουσα καὶ νεώρια, Λακῶνων κτίσμα καὶ Πραξάνδρου, καθ' ἣν ἡ Νάγιδος.	Between [Tracheia Cilicia in the mainland and Cleides in Cyprus] there is Lapathos, a city that has a <i>hyphormos</i> and shipsheds (<i>neoria</i>), a foundation of the Laconians and Praxandros, and after that is Nagis.

4.5 Salos: the anchorage on open waters

Ps.-Arrian, <i>Periplus of the Red Sea</i> , 55	
Ἐτέρα δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ στόμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρόκειται κώμη Βακαρῆ, εἰς ἣν ἀπὸ Νελκύνδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς προκαταβαίνουνσι τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐπὶ σάλου διορμίζεται πρὸς ἀνάληψιν τῶν φορτίων διὰ δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔρματα καὶ διάπλους ἔχειν ἑλαφροῦς.	On the other side of the mouth of the river lies the village of Barake, to which from Nelkundon they take [the ships] up to the high seas and they anchor in the <i>salos</i> for the loading of cargo brought down the river, in order to have ballasts and journeys light in weight.

Ps.-Caesar, <i>African War</i> , 62-63	
Quibus rebus Varus ex perfugis cognitis [...] primo mane Leptim cum universa classe vectus naves onerarias quae longius a portu in salo stabant vacuas a defensoribus incendit et penteres duas nullo repugnante cepit. [...] Reliquae naves hostium promunturium superarunt atque Hadrumetum in cothonem se universae contulerunt. Caesar eodem vento promunturium superare non potuit atque in salo in ancoris ea nocte commoratus prima luce Hadrumetum accedit.	Varus, once he had been told these things by deserters, [...] at the break of day he arrived at Lepti [Minus] with his whole fleet, and he set fire to some cargo ships that lay at some distance from the port, in the <i>salum</i> ¹⁰⁷ , deprived of defenders, and he captured two quinqueremes without anyone opposing him. [...] The rest of the ships of the enemy sailed past the promontory and gathered all together in the <i>cothon</i> of Hadrumetum. Caesar, with the very same wind, could not make it past the promontory and he had to stay at anchor in the <i>salum</i> that night, he reached Hadrumetum at dawn.

Diodorus Siculus, 14.68.5

¹⁰⁷ The Greek word σάλος, which is masculine, came into Latin in the neutral form, *salum*. This may possibly be to avoid homonymic clash with the native word *salus* ('health, salvation').

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Πάνορμον δυνάμενος παρατάξασθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀποβαινόντων ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ σώματα κακῶς ἐχόντων διὰ τὸν σάλον, οὐκ ἤβουλήθη·	Firstly, about Panormus, he could have arranged the troops against the enemies, as they were disembarking from the ships and their bodies were in bad condition because of the <i>salos</i> , but he did not want to.
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Diodorus Siculus, 20.74.3	
τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ μὲν Νείλου διέστηκεν οὐ μακρὰν, ἀλίμενον δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ τὰς χειμερίουσ περιστάσεις ἀπροσόρμιστον. διόπερ ἠναγκάζοντο τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀφέντες ὡς ἂν ἐν δυσὶ σταδίοις ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀποσαλεύειν, ἅμα πολλοῖς περιεχόμενοι δεινοῖς·	This place is not far from the Nile; it is <i>alimenos</i> and in the stormy season it is impossible to moor there (<i>aprosormiston</i>). Because of this, they were forced to drop their anchors and stay floating (<i>aposaleuein</i>) about two stadia away from the land, where they at once encountered many dangers.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 3.44.3	
αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ κωποὶ νῆες ὀπηλίκαι ποτ' ἂν οὔσαι τύχῳσι καὶ τῶν ὀλκάδων αἱ μέχρι τρισχιλιοφόρων εἰσάγουσὶ τε διὰ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ῥώμης εἰρεσίᾳ καὶ ῥύμασι παρελκόμεναι κομίζονται, αἱ δὲ μείζους πρὸ τοῦ στόματος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν σαλεύουσαι ταῖς ποταμηγοῖς ἀπογεμίζονταί τε καὶ ἀντιφορτίζονται σκάφαις.	Indeed, the oared ships however big they happen to be and the cargo ships up to three thousand amphorae enter the mouth of the river and are brought up to Rome by rowing or by towing on the stream, those that are bigger ride at anchor on the sea [<i>ep'agkyron saleuousai</i>] in front of the river's mouth and river boats unload and reload them.

Flavius Josephus, <i>The Jewish War</i> , 1.409	
μεταξὺ γὰρ Δώρων καὶ Ἰόππης, ὧν ἡ πόλις μέση κεῖται, πᾶσαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν τὴν παράλιον ἀλίμενον, ὡς πάντα τὸν τὴν Φοινίκην ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου	Between Doron and Joppa (this city lies between them), the whole coast happens to be <i>alimenos</i> , so that for he who sails along the whole coast between Phoenicia and

παραπλέοντα σαλεύειν ἐν πελάγει διὰ τὴν ἐκ λιβὸς ἀπειλήν.	Egypt it is necessary to anchor on the open seas [<i>saleuein en pelagei</i>], because of the threat of the south wind.
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Livy, 25.25	
Bomilcar noctem eam nactus, qua propter uim tempestatis stare ad ancoram in salo Romana classis non posset, cum triginta quinque nauibus ex portu Syracusano profectus libero mari uela in altum dedit quinque et quinquaginta nauibus Epicydae et Syracusanis relictis.	Bomilcar profited from that night when due to the violence of the storm, the Roman fleet could not stay at anchor in the <i>salum</i> , he sailed out of the <i>portus</i> with thirty-five ships and deployed the sails on a sea free [of enemies] ¹⁰⁸ leaving fifty-five ships to Epicydes and the Syracusans.

Lucian, <i>Toxaris</i> , 19	
Ἄκουε τοίνυν καὶ ἄλλον, ὧ Τόξαρι, Εὐθύδικον τὸν Χαλκιδέα. [...] πλεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἔφη ἐξ Ἰταλίας Ἀθήναζε [...]. Ἄχρι μὲν οὖν Σικελίας εὐτυχῶς διαπλευσαὶ ἔφη ὁ Σιμύλος σφᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν πορθμὸν διαπεράσαντες ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη τῷ Ἴονίῳ ἔπλεον, χειμῶνα μέγιστον ἐπιπεσεῖν αὐτοῖς. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τί ἂν τις λέγοι, τρικυμίας τινὰς καὶ στροβίλους καὶ χαλάζας καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα χειμῶνος κακά; ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤδη σφᾶς κατὰ τὴν Ζάκυνθον εἶναι [...] περὶ μέσας νύκτας οἷον ἐν τοσοῦτῳ σάλῳ ναυτιάσαντα τὸν Δάμωνα ἐμεῖν ἐκκεκυφῶτα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν·	Now, Toxaris, listen to yet another thing about Euthydicus of Chalcis. [...] [Simylos] told me they were sailing from Italy to Athens [...]. Simylos told me they had a fortunate journey until Sicily, but when they crossed the strait and they were already sailing in the Ionian sea, a huge storm befell them. And it was so big that one could say waves were coming in threes, and there were swirls and hail and all the other disasters of such a big storm. When they were already by Zacynthos [...] in the middle of the night in such a big tumult (<i>salos</i>) Damon, who was suffering from sea-sickness, leaned overboard to vomit into the sea.

¹⁰⁸ i.e. the sea is free of Romans because due to the storm they could not stay at anchor in open water (the *salum*) and would have probably retreated into a port for safety. That is the chance that Bomilcar takes to sail away.

<i>Periplus of the Pontus Euxinus, 19</i>	
Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαρίου τόπου εἰς Ἀβώνου τεῖχος, τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Ἴωνόπολιν, στάδια ρκ', μίλια ις'. ἐνταῦθα ὄρμος ναυσὶν οὐκ ἀσφαλής· σαλεύοιεν δὲ ἀπαθεῖς, εἰ μὴ μέγας χειμῶν καταλάβοι.	From the Garius place to Abonus fortress, which is now called Ionopolis, 120 stadia, 16 miles. In this place, there is a <i>hormos</i> for the ships but it is not secure. It would be safe to anchor on the high seas [<i>saleuoien</i>], unless a great storm catches you.

Plutarch, <i>Camillus</i> , 3.3	
τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀλβανίδος λίμνης <ὔδωρ>, ἀρχὴν ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τελευτήν, ὄρεσιν εὐγείοις περιεχόμενον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς αἰτίου (πλὴν εἴ τι θεῖον) αὐξόμενον ἐπιδήλως διωγκοῦτο καὶ προσίστατο ταῖς ὑπωρείαις καὶ τῶν ἀνωτάτω λόφων ἔψαυεν ὁμαλῶς, ἄνευ σάλου καὶ κλύδωνος ἐξιστάμενον.	The water on the lake at Mount Albano has its beginning and end in itself, because it is surrounded by fertile mountains. For no cause (except a divine one) it would increase significantly and raise in level, and it sits against a mountain range, and the hills above it act as a leveller, so that [the water] circulates without agitation (<i>salos</i>) or swell.

Plutarch, <i>Lucullus</i> , 13.3	
αὐτὸς δέ, τῆς ὀλκάδος ἐφ' ἧς ἔπλει μήτε πρὸς τὴν γῆν εὐπαρακομίστου διὰ μέγεθος ἐν σάλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ κύματι τυφλῷ παρισταμένης τοῖς κυβερνήταις, πρὸς τε τὴν θάλασσαν ἤδη βαρείας καὶ ὑπεράντλου γενομένης, μετεμβὰς εἰς ληστρικὸν μουπάρωνα καὶ τὸ σῶμα πειραταῖς ἐγχειρίσας, ἀνελπίστως καὶ παραβόλως εἰς τὴν Ποντικὴν Ἡράκλειαν ἐξεσώθη.	The merchant ship (<i>holkas</i>) on which he was sailing could not reach the land due to the great agitation (<i>salos</i>) and was riding the seas due to the lack of visibility among the waves for the helmsmen, but it had already become heavy with the sea water filling it; but he transferred to a piratical <i>myoparon</i> ¹⁰⁹ and entrusted his body to the pirates, desperate and reckless, he was saved at Heracleia in Pontis.

¹⁰⁹ A type of ship.

Plutarch, <i>Sertorius</i> , 7.6-7 ¹¹⁰	
<p>ζεφύρω δὲ λαμπρῶ τοῦ πελάγους ἀνισταμένου καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν τοῦ Σερτωρίου πλοίων ὑπὸ κουφότητος πλάγια ταῖς ραχίαις περιβάλλοντος, αὐτὸς ὀλίγαις ναυσί, τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰργόμενος, τῆς δὲ γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἡμέρας δέκα σαλεύων πρὸς ἐναντίον κῦμα καὶ κλύδωνα τραχύν ἐπιπόνως διεκαρτέρησεν.</p>	<p>when the sea rose with a violent west wind, the majority of Sertorius's ships were driven against a rocky shore because they were so light, and he himself with few ships, prevented by the storm from going into the open seas and from going into the land by the enemies, spent ten days enduring with difficulty to float about (σαλεύων) against the wave and the rough swell.</p>

Polyaenus, <i>Stratagemata</i> , 3.4.3	
<p>Φορμίων περὶ Ναύπακτον ἐν τῇ Παράλῳ πλέων ὑπὸ δύο τριήρων ἐδιώκετο. ὀρμούσης δὲ ἐπὶ σάλου νεῶς ὀλκάδος, ἥδη καταλαμβανόμενος περὶ ταύτην ἔκαμψεν καὶ τῇ βραδυτέρᾳ τῶν τριήρων κατὰ πρύμναν ἐνσεῖσας κατέδυσε καὶ διὰ τάχους ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἐπιστρέψας εὐκόλως καὶ ταύτην διέφθειρεν.</p>	<p>Phormio, while he was sailing in the Paralus about Naupactus, was chased by two triremes. Advancing straight to the <i>salos</i> of a cargo ship, as he reached it, he sailed round it and he sailed into the slowest of the triremes and sank it, and with speed he turned to the other trireme and destroyed that one, too, easily.</p>

Polybius, 1.53.10	
<p>οἱ δὲ νομίσαντες οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καθωρμίσθησαν πρὸς τι πολισμάτιον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ταττομένων, ἀλίμενον μὲν, σάλους δ' ἔχον καὶ προβολὰς περικλειούσας ἐκ τῆς γῆς εὐφυεῖς.</p>	<p>[the Romans], considering that their ships would not resist a battle at sea, anchored by a subject village. It was <i>alimenos</i>, but it had <i>saloi</i> and conveniently-shaped headlands projecting from the mainland.</p>

¹¹⁰ Ed. Ziegler, corresponding to 7.4 ed. Perrin.

<i>Scholia in Lycophron, scholion 100</i>	
πεύκης ὀδόντας καλεῖ τὰς ἀγκύρας· αὗται γὰρ ἔκτορες καὶ ἐχέτορες s καὶ φύλακές εἰσι τοῦ σάλου τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος.	The anchors are called Pine-Teeth. For they are holders and drainers and guardians of the <i>salos</i> of the sea and the sea-swell.

<i>Scholia in Oppian's Halieutica, 3.474</i>	
Εὐκῆλον· ἤσυχον, ἀργήν· ὑπογράφει τὸν ἀλιέα, πῶς ἀλιεὺς τοὺς μελανούρους· μὴ γινώσκων γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ζάλης καὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ σάλου τῶν κυμάτων, εἰ ἔλαβον τὰ ἄγκιστρα, συχνῶς ἀναφέρει, ἀποπειρώμενος αὐτῶν καὶ βουλόμενος γνῶναι, εἰ ἔχουσί τι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄραν αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος δύναται.	'At ease': peaceful, calm. It describes the fisherman, how the fisherman [fishes] eels. For because of the rain and the great tumult (<i>salos</i>) of the waves, he didn't know if they had bitten the fish-hooks, and he pulled them up frequently, to try them, because he wanted to know if he had caught something, since he could not see anything in that storm.

<i>Septuaginta, psalm 88.10¹¹¹</i>	
σὺ δεσπόζεις τοῦ κράτους τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸν δὲ σάλον τῶν κυμάτων αὐτῆς σὺ καταπραΰνεις.	you shall master the might of the seas, you shall make the tumult (<i>salos</i>) of its waves still.

<i>Stadiasmus, 3</i>	
Ἀπὸ Δυσμῶν εἰς Πλινθίνην—σάλος ἐστίν· ὁ τόπος ἀλίμενος—στάδιοι ζ'.	From Dysmae to Plinthine, there is a <i>salos</i> . The place is <i>alimenos</i> . 90 stadia.

<i>Stadiasmus, 9</i>	
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¹¹¹ 89.9 according to the numbering in modern English translations.

Ἄπο τῆς Δέρρας ἐπὶ τὸ ζεφύρον—λιμὴν ἐστὶ καὶ σάλον ἔχει—στάδιοι υ'.	From Derra towards the west there is a <i>limen</i> and it has a <i>salos</i> , ¹¹² 400 stadia.
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Stadiasmus, 30

Ἄπο Καταβαθοῦ εἰς Πετράντα στάδιοι ρν'. Παραπλεύσας ὡς σταδίους λ' ὄψει παρεμφαίνουσαν ἄκραν ὑψηλὴν καὶ μεγάλην· κατ' αὐτὴν ὄψει εἰς σάλον καὶ λίμνην μεγάλην· ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐωνύμων χειροποίητος ὄρμος ἐστίν· ἔχει δὲ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ τὴν συκῆν· διὸ καὶ ὁ τόπος Συκῆ καλεῖται.	From Catabathmus to Petras, 150 stadia. Sailing about a further 30 stadia, you will see a cape appearing at your side, high and large. In there you will see a <i>salos</i> and a large lagoon. On the left side there is an artificial <i>hormos</i> . It has water under a fig tree. This is why the place is called Fig.
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Stadiasmus, 55

Ἄπο Ναυσίδος εἰς Πτολεμαίδα στάδιοι σν'· πόλις ἐστὶ μεγίστη· ἐπίσαλός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος, καὶ νῆσον ἔχει· Ἴλος καλεῖται· ἀσφαλίζου.	From Nausis to Ptolemais, 250 stadia. It is a very big city. The place is an <i>episalos</i> and it has an island. It is called Ilos. ¹¹³ Take care.
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Stadiasmus, 99

Ἄπο Μακαραίας εἰς Σαβράθαν στάδιοι υ'· πόλις ἐστὶν ἀλίμενος· σάλον ἔχει.	From Macaraia to Sabratha, 400 stadia. The city is <i>alimenos</i> . It has a <i>salos</i> .
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Stadiasmus, 126

Ἄπο Κάστρων Κορνηλίου εἰς Οὔτικα στάδιοι κδ'· πόλις ἐστὶ· λιμένα οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ σάλον ἔχει· ἀσφαλίζου.	From Castrum Corneli to Utica there are 24 stadia. It is a city. It doesn't have a <i>limen</i> but it has a <i>salos</i> . Take care.
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Stadiasmus, 128

¹¹² Cuntz notes that the manuscript seems to read σάλος in the nominative, but that could easily be a mistake from the scribe.

¹¹³ Cuntz notes *Ἴλος.

Ἄπὸ (<i>lacuna</i>) εἰς Κάρνας στάδιοι κδ'· σάλος ἐστί· κοιτῶνας δὲ ἔχει πλοίοις μικροῖς· ἀσφαλῶς κατάγου.	From (<i>lacuna</i>) to Carnae, 24 stadia. There is a <i>salos</i> . It has <i>koitones</i> for small ships. Put in with caution.
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Strabo, 5.3.5	
πόλεις δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττη μὲν τῶν Λατίνων εἰσὶ τὰ τε Ὦστια, πόλις ἀλίμενος διὰ τὴν πρόσχωσιν ἣν ὁ Τίβερις παρασκευάζει πληρούμενος ἐκ πολλῶν ποταμῶν· παρακινδύνως μὲν οὖν ὀρμίζονται μετέωρα ἐν τῷ σάλῳ τὰ ναυκλήρια, τὸ μὲντοι λυσιτελεῖς νικᾷ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ὑπηρετικῶν σκαφῶν εὐπορία τῶν ἐκδεχομένων τὰ φορτία καὶ ἀντιφορτιζόντων ταχὺν ποιεῖ τὸν ἀπόπλουν πρὶν ἢ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄψασθαι, καὶ μέρους ἀποκουφισθέντος εἰσπλεῖ καὶ ἀνάγεται μέχρι τῆς Ῥώμης, σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἐνενηκοντα.	The cities on the coast of the Latium are, first, Ostia, a city <i>alimenos</i> , due to the sedimentation that the Tiber brings down after collecting it from many tributaries. Therefore, the ships anchor with peril on the <i>salos</i> , yet they still gain profit. For the multitude of transshipment boats that receive their cargo also load [the merchant ships] back swiftly, and they sail out even earlier into the river, once they are lightened of a part [of their cargo]. They sail in[to the Tiber] and upstream to Rome, 190 stadia.

4.6 Naustathmon: the war (area of the) port

Ps.-Apollodorus, <i>Epitome</i> , 4.3	
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τοῦ ναυστάθμου τεῖχος ποιοῦνται καὶ τάφρον, καὶ γενομένης μάχης ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ οἱ Τρῶες τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος διώκουσιν·	The Greeks built a wall and a moat, and when the battle started, the Trojans chased the Greeks on the plain until the walls.

Appian, <i>Punic Wars</i> , 577 ¹¹⁴	
Ῥωμαίους δὲ τό τε στόμα ¹¹⁵ ἄφνω γενόμενον καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι ἔς τοσόνδε κατέπληξεν, ὡς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, εἰ αὐτίκα ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέθεντο, ἡμελημέναις τε ὡς ἐν τειχομαχίᾳ καὶ οὐδενὸς ναύτου παρόντος οὐδ' ἐρέτου, ὅλου ἂν τοῦ ναυστάθμου κρατῆσαι.	With the sudden appearance of this entrance [to the port of Carthage] the fleet in the entrance struck the Romans so much that, if the Carthaginians had at that very moment fallen upon the ships of the Romans, which had been uncared for during the siege, with no sailors or rowers present, they would have won over the whole (<i>fleet? harbour?</i>).

Arrian, <i>Anabasis of Alexander</i> , 6.18.2	
Περὶ δὲ τοῖς Πατάλοις σχίζεται τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς <δύο> ποταμούς μεγάλους, καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν σώζουσι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἕστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἐνταῦθα ναύσταθμόν τε καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐποίει Ἀλέξανδρος·	Near Patalene the water of the Indus splits into two big rivers, and they both keep the name of Indus until the sea. In there, Alexander built a <i>naustathmon</i> and docks.

¹¹⁴ 18.122 in other editions.

¹¹⁵ This passage narrates how the Carthaginians excavate a new access to the port in order to launch a surprise attack on the Romans. An interesting question would be why this new access is called *στόμα* and not *εἰσπλός*, like the main entrance channel.

Cassius Dio, 40.1	
<p>ὁ Καῖσαρ [...] ἐπειδὴ πλόιμα ἐγένετο, ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν αὖθις ἐπεραιώθη [...]. κατῆρέ τε οὖν ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον, μηδενὸς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν νεῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλαχόσε ἅμα αὐτὰς κατασχεῖν τολμήσαντος ἀντιστῆναι, καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον εὐθύς ἐκρατύνατο.</p>	<p>Caesar [...], when the weather became fit for sailing, crossed again to Britain. He landed at the same place as before, with no-one daring to oppose him because of the great number of ships and because they arrived in many places at once, and he took the <i>naustathmon</i> straightaway.</p>

Cassius Dio, 50.12.2	
<p>αὐτὸς ταῖς ναυσὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρουρούντων λαβῶν ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὸν γλυκὺν ὠνομασμένον κατέσχε (καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσβάλλοντος γλυκαίνεται), καὶ ναύσταθμόν τε ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποίησατο καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον ἐπέπλει.</p>	<p>[Caesar Octavian] captured Corcyra with his ships, which had been abandoned by the guards, and put in in the harbour called Sweet (it is called like this from the river that discharges in it, which makes the water sweet), and arranged a <i>naustathmon</i> in it and from there as his base he sailed to Actium.</p>

Diodorus Siculus, 11.20.3	
<p>ὡς δ' ἦλθε πλησίον τῆς προειρημένης πόλεως, δύο παρεμβολὰς ἔθετο, τὴν μὲν τῷ πεζῷ στρατεύματι, τὴν δὲ τῇ ναυτικῇ δυνάμει. καὶ τὰς μὲν μακρὰς ναῦς ἀπάσας ἐνεώλκησε καὶ τάφρω βαθεῖα καὶ τείχει ξυλίνῳ περιέλαβε, τὴν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν παρεμβολὴν ὠχύρωσεν ἀντιπρόσωπον ποιήσας τῇ πόλει καὶ παρεκτείνας ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρατειχίσματος μέχρι τῶν ὑπερκειμένων λόφων.</p>	<p>When he arrived near the aforesaid city, he established two camps, one for the army on foot, the other for the naval force. And he hauled all warships to land, and made a deep trench around them and a wooden palisade. He reinforced the infantry camp, making it face directly the city and extended the palisade from the naval camp until the hills over the city.</p>

Diodorus Siculus, 13. 96.2	
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ παραγενόμενος εἰς Συρακούσας κατεσκήνωσεν ἐν τῷ ναυστάθμῳ, φανερώς αὐτὸν ἀναδείξας τύραννον. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι βαρέως φέροντες ἠναγκάζοντο τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν·	However, when [Dionysius] was in Syracuse, he established his headquarters in the <i>naustathmon</i> , having openly proclaimed himself a tyrant. The Syracusans, tolerating it with difficulty, were forced to keep calm.

Diodorus Siculus, 14.86.3 ¹¹⁶	
καὶ οἱ μὲν φυγάδες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον καὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον ἐπελθόντες νυκτὸς κατὰ κράτος εἴλαν·	And the exiles together with the Lacedaemonians and their allies fell upon Lechaion and the <i>naustathmos</i> at night and took it by force.

Livy, 37.31.10	
mille et ducentos passus ibi latitudo patet; inde lingua in altum mille passuum excurrens medium fere sinum uelut nota distinguit; ubi cohaeret faucibus angustis, duos in utramque regionem uersos portus tutissimos habet. qui in meridiem uergit, Naustathmon ab re appellant, quia ingentem uim nauium capit; alter prope ipsum Lamptera est.	In that place the width is one thousand and two-hundred feet, thence there is a tongue running one thousand feet into the open seas, well through the middle of the bay, like a mark. Where it joins them in very narrow cavities, it becomes two extremely sheltered ports, one in each side. The one on the south is called Naustathmon, because it has a capacity for a great force of ships; the other one near it is Lamptera.

Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 3.88-89	
Coloniae ibi V, urbes ac ciuitates LXIII [...], portus Naustathmus, [...].	[In Sicily] there are five colonies and sixty-three cities and towns [...], the Naustathmus port, [...].

¹¹⁶ This passage is ambiguous. It could be argued that “Lechaion and the *naustathmos*” refer to the town and to the port, which was militarised, or else Lechaion might refer to the civilian port, whereas *naustathmos* to the military zone.

Plutarch, <i>Pompey</i> , 24.3	
<p>ἦν δὲ καὶ ναύσταθμα πολλαχόθι πειρατικὰ καὶ φρουκτώρια τετειχισμένα, καὶ στόλοι προσέπιπτον οὐ πληρωμάτων μόνον εὐανδρίαῖς οὐδὲ τέχναις κυβερνητῶν οὐδὲ τάχεσι νεῶν καὶ κουφότησιν ἐξησκημένοι πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φοβεροῦ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τὸ ἐπίφθονον ἐλύπει καὶ ὑπερήφανον, στυλίσι χρυσαῖς καὶ παραπετάσμασιν ἀλουργοῖς καὶ πλάταις ἐπαργύροις, ὥσπερ ἐντρυφόντων τῷ κακουργεῖν καὶ καλλωπιζομένων.</p>	<p>Everywhere there were piratical <i>naustathma</i> and fortified beacon-towers, and the fleets put in there fully adorned not only with good sailors and skilled pilots and fast and light ships for their usual doings, but their odious and arrogant ways hurt worse than the fear, with golden masts and purple sails and silvery oars as if rejoicing in their bad doing and glorifying themselves upon it.</p>

Polyaenus, <i>Stratagemata</i> , 3.10.17	
<p>Τιμόθεος περὶ Λευκάδα Λακεδαιμονίοις ναυμαχήσας ἐνίκησε. πολλῶν συντριβέντων σκαφῶν περιῆσαν δέκα νῆες τῶν πολεμίων ἀναυμαχῆτοι, ἃς ἐδεδοίκει. Τιμόθεος ἐπανιών ἐπὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον καὶ δὴ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἔταξεν ἐν μηνοειδεῖ σχήματι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ κυρτὸν, ἐντὸς τὰ ναύγια συναγαγών· τὸν δὲ ἀπόπλου ἐποίητο πρὸς τὴν γῆν κελεύσας ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ πρύμναν, ὅπως ἀντίπρωροι τὰς πολεμίας δέκα ναῦς ῥαδίως ἀμύνοντο. τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τῆς τάξεως οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δέκα νεῶν φοβηθέντες οὐκ ἐπέθεντο.</p>	<p>Timotheus won a naval battle against the Lacedaemonians in Leucas. Although many boats were wrecked, ten of the enemy ships remained intact, which he feared. Timotheus, when he was returning to the <i>naustathmos</i>, arranged the fleet in the shape of a crescent with the arch facing the enemies, and inside it he gathered the wreckage. He then sailed back towards the earth, with the command to advance in the direction of the stern, so that they could defend themselves more easily from the ten enemy ships, which faced their bows. This arrangement of the ships, the people from</p>

	the ten ships did not attack because they were scared.
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Pomponius Mela, 1.40	
In litore promunturia sunt Zephyrion et Naustathmos, portus Paraetonius, urbes Hesperia, Apollonia, Ptolemais, Arsinoë atque unde terris nomen est ipsa Cyrene.	On the coast there are the promontories Zephyrion and Naustathmus, the port Paraetonius, the cities Hesperia, Apollonia, Ptolemais, Arsinoe and from there the name of the land is Cyrene itself.

Strabo 4.1.9	
Ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀυᾶρον ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς ταύτη Λίγυας τὰς τε τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν ἔχει πόλεις Ταυροέντιον καὶ Ὀλβίαν καὶ Ἀντίπολιν καὶ Νίκαιαν καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον τὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ὃ καλοῦσι Φόρον Ἰούλιον. Ἰδρυται δὲ τοῦτο μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀλβίας καὶ τῆς Ἀντιπόλεως, διέχον Μασσαλίας εἰς ἑξακοσίους σταδίου.	The [coast] until the river Var and the Ligurians from there has the Massalian cities of Tauroentium and Olbia and Antipolis and Nicaea and the <i>naustathmon</i> of Caesar Augustus, which they call Forum Iulium. This one has been founded between Olbia and Antipolis, about 600 stadia far from Massalia.

Strabo, 4.5.2	
Τέτταρα δ' ἐστὶ διάρματα, οἷς χρῶνται συνήθως ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τῶν ποταμῶν, τοῦ τε Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Σηκοάνα καὶ τοῦ Λίγηρος καὶ τοῦ Γαρούνα. τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον τόπων ἀναγομένοις οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκβολῶν ὁ πλοῦς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμορούντων τοῖς Μεναπίοις Μορίνων,	There are four passages by sea to the island [of Britain], which are used regularly: those from the mouths of the rivers Rhine, Sequana, Liger and Garumna. But for those who sail from the places in the Rhine, the navigation is not from its very mouth, but from the land of the Morini, who border the Menapii. Among them there is Itium, which the divine Caesar

παρ' οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἴτιον, ᾧ ἐχρήσατο ναυστάθμῳ Καῖσαρ ὁ θεός, διαίρων εἰς τὴν νῆσον· νύκτωρ δ' ἀνήχθη, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ κατῆρε περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν τριακοσίου καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίου τοῦ διάπλου τελέσας·	used as a <i>naustathmon</i> when he crossed to the island. He sailed by night and reached it in the fourth hour of the following day, after completing a naval voyage of 320 stadia.
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Strabo, 8.6.13	
Ἠιόνες δὲ κώμη τις ἦν, ἣν ἐρημώσαντες Μυκηναῖοι ναύσταθμον ἐποίησαν, ἀφαν[ισθεῖσα δ' ὕστερον] οὐδὲ ναύσταθμόν ἐστιν.	Eiones used to be a village, which the Myceneans, after depopulating it, turned it into a <i>naustathmon</i> , but later it became unimportant and it is no longer a <i>naustathmon</i> .

Strabo, 9.1.15	
Λόφος δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Μουνυχία χερρονησιάζων [...]. ὑποπίπτουσι δ' αὐτῷ λιμένες τρεῖς. τὸ μὲν οὖν παλαιὸν ἐτετείχιστο καὶ συνώκιστο ἡ Μουνυχία [...], προσειληφυῖα τῷ περιβόλῳ τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τοὺς λιμένας πλήρεις νεωρίων, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ ὀπλοθήκη Φίλωνος ἔργον· ἄξιόν τε ἦν ναύσταθμον ταῖς τετρακοσίαις ναυσίν, ὧν οὐκ ἐλάττους ἔστελλον Ἀθηναῖοι.	Mounychia is a hill in the shape of a peninsula [...]. At its foot there are three <i>limenes</i> . It was walled since old times and inhabited [...], its circuit including Piraeus and the <i>limenes</i> , full of dockyards, in which there was also the armoury, a work of Philon. Its <i>naustathmon</i> was considerable, with a capacity for 400 ships, the Athenians would have no less at the ready.

Strabo, 9.2.8	
Εἶτα λιμὴν μέγας ὃν καλοῦσι Βαθὺν λιμένα· εἶθ' ἡ Αὐλὶς πετρῶδες χωρίον καὶ κώμη Ταναγραίων· λιμὴν δ' ἐστὶ πεντήκοντα πλοίοις, ὥστ' εἰκὸς τὸν	After [Delium] is a big <i>limen</i> that they call Deep <i>Limen</i> . After that comes Aulis, a rocky land and the village of the Tanagraeans. There is a <i>limen</i> for fifty ships, so that it was adequate that the

ναύσταθμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ὑπάρξει λιμένι.	<i>naustathmon</i> of the Greeks would be in the big <i>limen</i> .
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Strabo, 9.5.15 ¹¹⁷	
καὶ δὴ καὶ ναύσταθμον ἦν τοῦτο καὶ βασιλεῖον μέχρι πολλοῦ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐπεκράτει δὲ καὶ τῶν Τεμπῶν καὶ τῶν ὄρων ἀμφοῖν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοῦ τε Πηλίου καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης·	And indeed [Iolcos] was for a long time a <i>naustathmon</i> and a palace of the kings of Macedon, and it dominated Tempe and also the two mountains, as they say, of Pelion and Ossa.

Strabo, 12.3.11 ¹¹⁸	
ἴδρυται γὰρ ἐπὶ αὐχένι χερρονήσου τινός, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ λιμένες καὶ ναύσταθμα καὶ πηλαμυδεῖα θαυμαστά.	[Sinope] is founded at the neck of a peninsula, and on either side of the isthmus there are <i>limenes</i> and <i>naustathma</i> and wonderful fishing spots.

Strabo, 13.1.31	
Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ῥοίτειον ἔστι τὸ Σίγειον, κατεσπασμένη πόλις, καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον καὶ ὁ Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν καὶ τὸ Ἀχαικὸν στρατόπεδον καὶ ἡ στομαλίμνη καλουμένη καὶ αἱ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ἐκβολαί.	After Rhoiteion there is Sigeion, a city in ruins, and the <i>naustathmon</i> , and the <i>limen</i> of the Achaeans and the Achaean camp (<i>stratopedon</i>), and the so-called Stomalimne and the mouths of the Scamander.

Strabo, 13.1.51	
πλησίον δ' εὐθύς τὸ Ἀδραμύττιον, Ἀθηναίων ἀποικὸς πόλις ἔχουσα καὶ λιμένα καὶ ναύσταθμον·	Directly close to [Astyra] is Adramyttium, a colony town of the Athenians, which has both a <i>limen</i> and a <i>naustathmon</i> .

¹¹⁷ Cf. above, Strabo 13.3.5, for another passage regarding kingly rule.

¹¹⁸ Sinope is located in present-day Turkey, in the Black Sea, but the example is still adequate to illustrate this point.

Strabo, 13.3.5	
εἴθ' ἑβδομήκοντα εἰς Ἐλαίαν, λιμένα ἔχουσαν καὶ ναύσταθμον τῶν Ἀτταλικῶν βασιλέων, Μενεσθέως κτίσμα καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων τῶν συστρατευσάντων ἐπὶ Ἴλιον.	After seventy [stadia, you get] to Elaia, which as a <i>limen</i> and a <i>naustathmon</i> of the Attalid kings, it is a foundation of Menestheus and the Athenians who were with him in the expedition against Troy.

Strabo, 14.1.14	
Ἄπο δὲ τῆς Τρωγιλίου στάδιοι τετταράκοντα εἰς τὴν Σάμον· βλέπει δὲ πρὸς νότον καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ λιμὴν ἔχων ναύσταθμον.	From Trogillum, there are 40 stadia to Samos. It faces the south both it and its <i>limen</i> , which has a <i>naustathmon</i> .

Strabo, 14.1.35	
Ἡ δὲ Χίος τὸν μὲν περίπλουν ἐστὶ σταδίων ἑνακοσίων παρὰ γῆν φερομένω, πόλιν δ' ἔχει εὐλίμενον καὶ ναύσταθμον ναυσὶν ὀγδοήκοντα.	The navigation around Chios is 900 stadia following the land, it has a town <i>eulimenos</i> ¹¹⁹ and a <i>naustathmon</i> for 80 ships.

Strabo, 14.2.5	
τῶν δὲ ναυστάθμων τινὰ καὶ κρυπτὰ ἦν καὶ ἀπόρρητα τοῖς πολλοῖς, τῷ δὲ κατοπτεύσαντι ἢ παρελθόντι εἴσω θάνατος ὄριστο ἢ ζημία. κἀνταῦθα δὲ ὡσπερ ἐν Μασσαλία καὶ Κυζίκῳ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ τὰς ὀργανοποιίας καὶ θησαυροὺς ὄπλων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπούδασται διαφερόντως, καὶ ἔτι γε τῶν παρ' ἄλλοις μᾶλλον.	Some of the <i>naustathma</i> [of Rhodes] were both hidden and forbidden to the majority, and to whoever spied or wandered within their premises the punishment would be death. In there, just like in Marseilles and Cyzicus, the things relating to the engineers and the apparatus and the weapon stores and all other things are zealously kept, unlike and even more than in other places.

¹¹⁹ See the chapter on the word *Limen* for discussion on this adjective.

Strabo, 14.2.15	
εἶτα Κνίδος δύο λιμένας ἔχουσα, ὧν τὸν ἕτερον κλειστὸν τριηρικὸν καὶ ναύσταθμον ναυσὶν εἴκοσι.	After that is Cnidus, which has two <i>limenes</i> , of which one is closed, fit for triremes, and a <i>naustathmon</i> for twenty ships ¹²⁰ .

Strabo, 14.3.2	
ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὀρμητηρίοις ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς τόποις πρὸς τὰ ληστήρια, αὐτοὶ πειρατεύοντες ἢ τοῖς πειραταῖς λαφυροπώλια καὶ ναύσταθμα παρέχοντες·	But [the people from Pamphilia and Cilicia Tracheia] use their anchoring-posts for piratical purposes, being themselves pirates or furnishing them with places to sell their booty and <i>naustathma</i> .

Strabo, 17.1.16 ¹²¹	
διέχει δὲ τετράσχοινον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἢ Σχεδία, κατοικία πόλεως, ἐν ἣ τὸ ναύσταθμον τῶν θαλαμηγῶν πλοίων, ἐφ' οἷς οἱ ἡγεμόνες εἰς τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἀναπλέουσιν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ τελώνιον τῶν ἄνωθεν καταγομένων καὶ ἀναγομένων·	Schedia is four schoeni ¹²² far from Alexandria. It is a colony of this city, in which there is the <i>naustathmon</i> for the barges, in which the governors sail to the upper land. In that place there is also the customs-office of the merchandise circulating up and down the river.

¹²⁰ The text states that Cnidus has two λιμένες, one is closed and able to admit triremes, “and” a ναύσταθμον for 20 ships. The text is ambiguous in that whether the καὶ is disjunctive or not, i.e. “one of the ports is closed and fit for triremes and (the other) is a ναύσταθμον” vs. “one of the ports is closed and fit for triremes and (also) a ναύσταθμον”. However, since the trireme is a warship, it is sensible to understand that the καὶ is conjunctive, i.e., the second option should be the correct one.

¹²¹ The example is from a river port, but still illustrative to the case. Note the connection between the ναύσταθμα and the possibly militarised administrative structures such as the customs office.

¹²² i.e., 240 stadia, roughly 42.624 km.

4.7 Aigialos: the sea shore

Apollonius Rhodius, <i>Argonautica</i> , 4.1232-1273	
<p>καὶ τότε ἀναρπάγδην ὀλοῆ βορέας θύελλα μεσσηγὺς πέλαγόςδε Λιβυστικὸν ἐννέα πάσας νύκτας ὁμῶς καὶ τόσσα φέρ' ἡματα, μέχρις ἴκοντο προπρὸ μάλ' ἐνδοθι Σύρτιν, ἴν' οὐκέτι νόστος ὀπίσσω νηυσὶ πέλει, ὅτε τόνδε βιώατο κόλπον ικέσθαι· πάντη γὰρ τέναγος, πάντη μνιόεντα βυθοῖο τάρφεα, κωφὴ δέ σφιν ἐπιβλύει ὕδατος ἄχνη· ἡερίη δ' ἄμαθος παρακέκλιται, οὐδέ τι εἴσι έρπετον οὐδὲ ποτητὸν ἀείρεται. ἔνθ' ἄρα τούσγε πλημυρίς (καὶ γὰρ τ' ἀναχάζεται ἠπείροιο ἢ θαμὰ δὴ τότε χεῦμα, καὶ ἄψ ἐπερεύγεται ἀκτάς λάβρον ἐποιχόμενον) μυχάτη ἐνέωσε †τάχιστα ἠίονι, τρόπιος δὲ μάλ' ὕδασι παῦρον ἔλειπτο. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηὸς ὄρουσαν, ἄχος δ' ἔλεν εἰσορόωντας ἠέρα καὶ μεγάλης νῶτα χθονὸς ἠέρι ἴσα τηλοῦ ὑπερτείνοντα διηνεκές· οὐδέ τιν' ἀρδμόν, οὐ πάτον, οὐκ ἀπάνευθε κατηγάσσαντο βοτήρων αὔλιον, εὐκήλω δὲ κατείχετο πάντα</p>	<p>At that time, a destructive hurricane of North wind siezed them in the middle of their route and sent them to the Libyan sea for nine nights and as many days, until they arrived far within the Syrtis, where there is no return [into the sea] for the ships when they are forced into the gulf. There are shoals everywhere, everywhere the [water] depths are thick with seaweed, and the foam of the waters washed against them without noise . The misty sand lays all over the place, and there is nothing that creeps or that possesses wings. The high tide threw them suddenly to that innermost shore (the current often recedes from the land, and then flows back violently against the beaches (aktai)), a small part of the keel was left in water. They disembarked the ship, and distress seized them when they saw the horizon and the huge surface of the land extending far away continuously like a mist. No means for watering, no path, no stables of herdsmen could be heard in the distance, but every place was</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">γαλήνη.</p> <p>ἄλλος δ' αὐτ' ἄλλον τετιμημένος ἐξερέεινεν· “Τίς χθῶν εὐχεται ἦδε; πόθι ξυνέωσαν ἄλλαι ἡμέας; [...] μετὰ δ' αὐτὸς ἀμηχανίη κακότητος ἰθυστήρ Ἀγκαῖος ἀκηχεμένοις ἀγόρευσεν· “Ὀλόμεθ' αἰνότατον δῆθεν μόρον οὐδ' ὑπάλυξις ἔστ' ἄτης, πάρα δ' ἄμμι τὰ κύντατα πημανθῆναι τῆδ' ὑπ' ἐρημαίῃ πεπτηότας, εἰ καὶ ἀῆται χερσόθεν ἀμπνεύσειαν· ἐπεὶ τεναγώδεα Λεύσσω τῆλε περισκοπέων ἄλα πάντοθεν, ἦλιθα δ' ὕδωρ ξαινόμενον πολιῆσιν ἐπιτροχάει ψαμάθοισι· καὶ κεν ἐπισμυγεῶς διὰ δὴ πάλαι ἦδε κεάσθη νηῦς ἱερὴ χέρσου πολλὸν πρόσω, ἀλλὰ μιν αὐτή πλημυρὶς ἐκ πόντοιο μεταχρονίην ἐκόμισσεν. νῦν δ' ἡ μὲν πέλαγόςδε μετέσσεται, οἰόθι δ' ἄλμη ἄπλοος εἰλεῖται, γαίης ὑπερ ὅσον ἔχουσα. τούνεκ' ἐγὼ πᾶσαν μὲν ἀπ' ἐλπίδα φημὶ κεκόφθαι ναυτιλίας νόστου τε·</p>	<p>possessed by a silent stillness. Then one [sailor] said to the other in a sorrowful tone: “What is this land? Where has the storm dragged us to? [...]”. After that spoke Ancaeus, the most wretched helmsman, in grief about their despair: “Indeed, we are lost in a most dreadful destiny, there is no escape from this ruin. The cruellest things are harming us, when we have fallen in this desert, even if breezes should be blowing from the land. Because I only see a sea of shoals everywhere when I look around into the distance, and plenty of water frets into foam covering the greyish sand. And our sacred ship would have shattered gloomily very far from the shore, but this time the high tide brought her from the sea [onto dry land]. But now [the tide] is receding back into the sea, and the brine where it is not possible to sail has taken this place, covering all this ground. Because of this I state that all hope of our return sailing is lost.”</p>
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<p>Φύεται μὲν οὖν τὰ ὄστρεα καθάπερ εἴρηται, φύεται δὲ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς τενάγεσι, τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς, τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς πηλώδεσι τόποις, ἔνια δ' ἐν τοῖς σκληροῖς καὶ τραχέσι, τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀμμώδεσιν.</p>	<p>They say oysters grow precisely in these places, some grow on the shoals, others on the aigialoi, some on the muddy places, few on the hard and rocky ones, and others on the sandy.</p>
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Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 2.20

<p>Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο οἱ Τύριοι, ἐπέπλει τῇ πόλει· καὶ ἐς μὲν τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς Σιδῶνος βιάζεσθαι ἀπέγνω διὰ στενότητα τοῦ στόματος καὶ ἅμα ἀντιπρώροις τριήρεσι πολλαῖς ὀρῶν πεφραγμένον τὸν ἔσπλον [...]. τότε μὲν δὴ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποιητοῦ χώματος κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἵνα σκέπη τῶν ἀνέμων ἐφαίνετο, οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὠρμίσαντο·</p>	<p>As the Tyrians were not opposing him, Alexander sailed against the city, but he desisted from attacking the <i>limen</i> at Sidon, because its mouth was extremely narrow and at the same time he saw many triremes blocking the access [...]. At that point, Alexander's fleet anchored not far from the artificial mole by the <i>aigialos</i>, where there seemed to be shelter from the winds.</p>
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Diodorus Siculus, 1.45.1

<p>Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Τρῶες οἱ σὺν Αἰνεΐα διαφυγόντες ἐξ Ἰλίου τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης κατέσχον εἰς Λωρεντόν, αἰγιαλὸν Ἀβοριγίνων ἐπὶ τῷ Τυρρηρικῷ πελάγει κείμενον, οὐ πρόσω τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Τεβέριος·</p>	<p>Around this time the Trojans fleeing with Aeneas from the conquered city of Ilium reached Laurentum, the <i>aigialos</i> of the Aborigines, that lies in the Tyrrhenian sea (<i>pelagos</i>), not far away from the mouth (<i>ekbolai</i>) of the Tiber.</p>
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Diodorus Siculus, 14.68.7

<p>μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν, μεγάλων πνευμάτων ἐπιγενομένων καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀναγκασθέντων νεωλκῆσαι τὸν στόλον, καιρὸν εἶχε τοῦ</p>	<p>After the naval battle, as a great wind was suddenly blowing and the Carthaginians were forced to haul their fleet to land, he took the chance of the best victory. For the</p>
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<p>νικᾶν κάλλιστον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πεζὸν στρατεύμα τῶν πολεμίων οὐπω κατηντηκὸς ἦν, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν αὐτοῖς τὰς ναῦς ἐξέβραττεν.</p>	<p>land troops of the enemies were not yet opposing them, and the big tempest had driven their ships to the <i>aigialos</i>.</p>
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Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 14.1.5	
<p>φασὶ δὲ καὶ τινες, ὅτι τοῖς πρώτοις Ἑλλησιν εἰς τήνδε τὴν γῆν περαιουμένοις αἱ νῆες ἀνέμῳ βιαίῳ φερόμεναι κατὰ τὸν κόλπον ἔκελσαν τὸν Γαλατικόν, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐλάβοντο, Κελσικὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος αὐτοῖς πάθους τὴν χώραν ἐκάλεσαν, ἣν ἐνὸς ἀλλαγῆς γράμματος οἱ μεταγενέστεροι Κελτικὴν ὠνόμασαν.</p>	<p>Some say that the ships of the first Greeks that reached this land were driven by a violent wind and they put to shore in the Gallic bay, and the men, when they reached the <i>aigialos</i>, they called the land Kelsike out of their own experience, which their descendants today by the alteration of one letter called Keltike.</p>

Flavius Josephus, <i>The Jewish War</i> , 3.419-422	
<p>Ἀλιμένου δ' οὔσης φύσει τῆς Ἰόππης, αἰγιαλῷ γὰρ ἐπιλήγει τραχεῖ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πᾶν ὀρθίῳ, βραχὺ δὲ συννεύοντι κατὰ τὰς κεραίας ἐκατέρωθεν· αἱ δὲ εἰσὶν κρημνοὶ βαθεῖς καὶ προύχουσαι σπιλάδες εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, [...] τύπτων δὲ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐναντίος βορέας καὶ πρὸς ταῖς δεχομέναις πέτραις ὑψηλὸν ἀναπέμπων τὸ κῦμα σφαλερώτερον ἐρημίας τὸν ὄρμον ἀπεργάζεται· κατὰ τοῦτον σαλεύουσιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰόππης ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω πνεῦμα βίαιον ἐπιπίπτει· μελαμβόριον ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτη πλοῖζομένων καλεῖται· καὶ τὰς μὲν</p>	<p>Joppa is <i>alimenos</i> by nature, for it ends in a rock <i>aigialos</i>, and for the rest it is all straight, but the two ends on either side bend a little towards each other. But these are deep abysses and rocks projecting to the sea, [...] the north wind beats against the <i>aigialos</i> and sends high waves against the rocks that receive them, and renders the <i>hormos</i> more dangerous than the desert. In this moment the people of Joppa were anchored in the sea when a violent wind fell upon them. It is called “Black North Wind” by those that sail there. And some of the ships were wrecked on the</p>

<p>ἀλλήλαις τῶν νεῶν αὐτόθι συνήραξεν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις, πολλὰς δὲ πρὸς ἀντίον κῦμα βιαζομένας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, τὸν τε γὰρ αἰγιαλὸν ὄντα πετρῶδη καὶ τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ πολεμίους ἐδεδοίκεσαν, μετέωρος ὑπεραρθεὶς ὁ κλύδων ἐβάπτιζεν. ἦν δ’ οὔτε φυγῆς τόπος οὔτε μένουσιν σωτηρία, βία μὲν ἀνέμου τῆς θαλάσσης ἐξωθουμένοις, Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῆς πόλεως.</p>	<p>spot, others against the rocks; many others were pushed by the waves into the open seas, and as the <i>aigialos</i> was rocky and they feared the enemies on it, the waves were so high that they drowned them. There was no place to escape nor they could expect any salvation because the strength of the wind was thrusting them out of the sea, and the Romans, out of the city.</p>
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Plutarch, <i>Antony</i> , 7	
<p>αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν μετ’ ὀλίγων ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου διαπεράσας τὸν Ἴόνιον, ἔπεμψεν ὀπίσω τὰ πλοῖα Γαβινίῳ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ, τὰς δυνάμεις ἐμβιβάζειν καὶ περαιοῦν κατὰ τάχος εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπιστείλας. Γαβινίου δὲ πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν χαλεπὸν ὄντα χειμῶνος ὥρα καταδειλιάσαντος καὶ πεζῆ μακρὰν ὁδὸν περιάγοντος τὸν στρατόν, Ἀντώνιος [...] ἐμβιβάσας δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἵππεῖς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δισμυρίου ὀπλίτας ἀνήχθη. καὶ γενόμενος καταφανῆς τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ διωκόμενος, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τούτων κίνδυνον διέφυγε, λαμπροῦ νότου κῦμα μέγα καὶ κοίλην θάλατταν ταῖς τριήρεσιν αὐτῶν περιστήσαντος, ἐκφερόμενος δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς κρημούς καὶ φάραγγας ἀγχιβαθεῖς, οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας εἶχεν. ἄφνω δὲ τοῦ κόλπου πολὺν ἐκπνεύσαντος λίβα, καὶ τοῦ κλύδωνος</p>	<p>After a short while, Caesar crossed the Ionian sea from Brundisium and sent back ships to Gabinius and Antony telling them to embark their troops and to come to Macedonia as fast as possible. Gabinius was afraid of that difficult sailing journey because it was the winter season, and he took his army in a long detour by land. Antonius, [...] however, when he had embarked in his ships eight hundred chivalry men and two thousand foot soldiers, set sail. And even when it became obvious that his enemies were pursuing him, he also escaped that peril, as a mighty south wind revolved into a huge swell and a sunken sea around their triremes. It swept the ships into cliffs and narrow chasms, so that they had no hope of salvation. But suddenly, the south-west wind started blowing from the bay, and it sent the waves from land to sea. Once he</p>

ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος διαχεομένου, μεταβαλόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ πλέων σοβαρῶς ὄρᾳ ναυαγίων περίπλεων τὸν αἰγιαλόν.	could re-direct the course away from land, he saw many violent wreck pieces floating along the <i>aigialos</i> .
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Plutarch, *Pompey*, 77.3, 78.3

καὶ τοιοῦτου δικαστηρίου ψῆφον Πομπηΐος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν πρόσω τῆς χώρας ἀποσαλεύων περιέμενεν [...]. ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλᾶς ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν Ἑλληνιστὶ παρεκάλει μετελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀλιάδα· τέναγος γὰρ εἶναι πολὺ, καὶ βάθος οὐκ ἔχειν πλόϊμον τριήρει τὴν θάλατταν ὑπόψαμμον οὔσαν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ ναῦς τινες ἐωρῶντο τῶν βασιλικῶν πληρούμεναι, καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ὀπλιταὶ κατεῖχον, ὥστ' ἄφυκτα καὶ μεταβαλλομένοις ἐφαίνετο.	Pompey was awaiting the result of such a judgement ¹²³ at anchor away from the land [...]. Achilles, greeting him in the Greek tongue, invited him to go on board of the boat. The waters were very shallow and it didn't have enough depth for a trireme to sail, as the sea floor was sandy. At the same time also they saw some full royal ships, and the soldiers took the <i>aigialos</i> , so that it was clear that they would have no escape even if they changed their minds.
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Plutarch, *Sayings of the kings and emperors*, 183 A

Μιθριδάτην ἐβουλεύσατο κτεῖναι καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ υἱῷ φράσας ὥρκωσειωπῆσαι, [ὁ δὲ] παραλαβὼν τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ συμπεριπατῶν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ κατέγραψε τῷ σαυρωτῆρι τοῦ δόρατος 'φεῦγε, Μιθριδάτα.' ἐκεῖνος δὲ νοήσας ἔφυγεν εἰς Πόντον κάκεῖ βασιλεύων διετέλεσε.	He wanted to kill Mithridates and after he declared it to the son of Demetrius, he swore to keep quiet. So when Demetrius took Mithridates and brought it by the sea, he wrote on the <i>aigialos</i> with the tip of his spear: 'go away, Mithridates!' He understood it and fled to Pontus and he lived to the end reigning there.
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¹²³ Pompey has come to Egypt after the battle of Pharsalus seeking refuge and help. The Egyptians, though, first debate whether they have to assist him or not, because providing help to Pompey would entail having Caesar as an enemy.

<i>Stadiasmus, 32</i>	
Ἄπο Πανόρμου ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρεΐαν στάδιοι ρν· φάραγξ ἐστίν, ἔσω δὲ αἰγιαλὸς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ συκαῖ· ὄρμος ἐστὶ καλὸς· ὕδωρ ἔχει γλυκὺ.	From Panormos to Eureia, 150 stadia. There is a cistern, further there is an <i>aigialos</i> and figs on it. The <i>hormos</i> is good. It has sweet water.

<i>Stadiasmus, 38</i>	
Ἄπο Κυρθανίου εἰς Ἀντίπυργον στάδιοι σκ· ὄρμος ἐστὶ θερινός· νῆσος δὲ ἐστὶ, καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν πύργος· ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος· ὕδωρ ἔχει ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τῷ ἐξ ἐναντίας.	From Kyrthanion to Antipyrgos, 220 stadia. There is a <i>hormos</i> for the summer season. There is an island and a tower on it. A temple of Ammon. There is water on the <i>aigialos</i> on the opposite side.

<i>Stadiasmus, 54</i>	
Ἄπο Φυκοῦντος εἰς Ναυσίδα στάδιοι ρζ· κώμη ἐστίν· ἔχει ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ.	From Phycus to Nausida, ¹²⁴ 190 stadia. There is a village. It has water on the <i>aigialos</i> .

<i>Stadiasmus, 60</i>	
Ἄπο τοῦ Πίθου ἐπὶ Θεοτιμαῖον στάδ. α· ὄρμος ἐστὶ θερινός· αἰγιαλὸς βαθύς.	From Pithos to Theotimaion, 1 stadion. There is a <i>hormos</i> for the summer season. The <i>aigialos</i> is deep.

<i>Stadiasmus, 71</i>	
Ἄπο τοῦ Καινοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐσχοῖνον στάδιοι ο· (ὀ) αἰγιαλὸς ἐστὶ βαθύς· βουνὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περιφερῆς· ὕδωρ ἔχει.	From Kainos to Euschoenus, 70 stadia. The <i>aigialos</i> is deep. There is a round altar in that place. It has water.

¹²⁴ According to Cuntz, the manuscript reads ναυσί. Müller, in the Latin translation accompanying his edition corrects Ausigda.

<i>Stadiasmus, 72</i>	
Ἄπο τοῦ Εὐσχοίνου ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὑφάλους στάδιοι ο΄ νησίον ἐστὶν ὑπόσαλον· ἔχει δὲ καὶ αἰγιαλὸν βαθύν.	From Euschoenus to Hypaloi, 70 stadia. There is a <i>hyposalos</i> islet. It has a deep <i>aigialos</i> .

<i>Stadiasmus, 82</i>	
Ἄπο τοῦ Κοζυνθίου ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίου Πηγᾶς στάδιοι ρι΄ αἰγιαλός ἐστιν.	From Kozynthios to the Sources of Ammonion, 110 stadia. There is an <i>aigialos</i> .

<i>Stadiasmus, 93</i>	
Προσφερόμενος ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ὄψει χώραν ταπεινήν, νησία ἔχουσαν· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐγγίσης, ὄψει τὴν πόλιν παραθαλάσσιον καὶ θίνα λευκὸν καὶ αἰγιαλόν· ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐστὶ λευκὴ ὅλη· λιμένα δὲ οὐκ ἔχει· ἀσφαλῶς ὀρμίζου ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑρμαίου. Αὕτη καλεῖται Λέπτις.	If you keep going on the sea you will see flat land with islets. When you are close to them, you will see a sea-side city and a white sea-shore and an <i>aigialos</i> . The city is all white. It does not have a <i>limen</i> . Anchor safely by the temple of Hermes. [The city] is called Leptis.

<i>Stadiasmus, 134</i>	
Ἄπο Παλτηνῶν ἐπὶ λιμένα κείμενον ἐπ' αἰγιαλῶ, ἔχοντα καθ' αὐτὸν φάραγγα, στάδιοι κ΄.	From Palteni to the <i>limen</i> lying against the <i>aigialos</i> , which has a cistern, 20 stadia.

<i>Stadiasmus, 341</i>	
Ἄπο Τιτύρου ἐπὶ τὸ Δικτυναῖον στάδιοι π΄ ὄρμος ἐστὶν ἐν αἰγιαλῶ.	From Tityrus to Dictynaeum, 80 stadia. There is a <i>hormos</i> in the <i>aigialos</i> .

<i>Stadiasmus, 346</i>	
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<p>Ἄπο Ἀμφιματρίου εἰς Ὑδραμον στάδιοι ρ'. πόλις ἐστίν· ἔχει αἰγιαλόν· καλεῖται δὲ ἡ πόλις Ἐλευθέρα· πεζῇ δὲ ἀναβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀμφιματρίου στάδιοι ν'.</p>	<p>From Amphimatrion to Hydramon, 100 stadia. There is a city. It has an <i>aigialos</i>. The city is called Eleuthera. But you walk on foot from Amphimatrion for 50 stadia.</p>
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Strabo, 9.5.22

<p>ἔστι δ' αὕτη μὲν ἀκτὴ πετρῶδης, μεταξὺ δ' αὐτῆς καὶ Κασθαναίας κώμης ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ κειμένης αἰγιαλός ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Ξέρξου στόλος ναυλοχῶν ἀπηλιώτου πολλοῦ πνεύσαντος ὁ μὲν εὐθύς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ξηρὸν ἐξώκειλε καὶ διελύθη παραχρῆμα, ὁ δ' εἰς Ἴπνους τόπον τραχύν τῶν περὶ τὸ Πήλιον παρενεχθεῖς ὁ δ' εἰς Μελίβοιαν ὁ δ' εἰς τὴν Κασθαναίαν διεφθάρη.</p>	<p>This (coast) is a rocky cape. Between it and the village that lies at the foot of the Pelion, Kasthanaia, there is an <i>aigialos</i>. In there, as a violent eastern wind blew, at once part of the fleet of Xerxes was pushed to the land and it was lost, and another part was brought to Ipnos, a rocky place near Pelion, and another part of the fleet was destroyed in Meliboea, and another in Castanea.</p>
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4.8 Ankyrobolion: the anchoring point

<i>Periplus of the Red Sea, 24</i>	
<p>Τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον ἢ Μούζα ἀλίμενον μὲν εὔσαλον δὲ καὶ εὖορμον διὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀμμόγεια ἀγκυροβόλια. Φορτία δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν προχωρεῖ πορφύρα διάφορος καὶ χυδαία καὶ ἱματισμὸς Ἀραβικὸς χειριδωτός, ὃ τε ἀπλοῦς καὶ ὁ κοινὸς καὶ σκοτουλαῖτος καὶ διάχρυσος, καὶ κρόκος καὶ κύπερος καὶ ὀθόνιον καὶ ἀβόλλαι καὶ λώδικες οὐ πολλαί, ἀπλοῖ τε καὶ ἐντόπιοι, ζῶναι σκιωταὶ καὶ μύρον μέτριον καὶ χρῆμα ἱκανόν, οἴνος τε καὶ σῖτος οὐ πολὺς· φέρει γὰρ καὶ ἡ χώρα πυρὸν μετρίως καὶ οἶνον πλείονα.</p>	<p>The <i>emporion</i> in Mouza is <i>alimenos</i>, but it has good anchorage on open waters (<i>eusalos</i>) and good inshore anchorage (<i>euormos</i>) throughout its sandy <i>ankyrobolia</i>. The cargoes brought to this place are an abundant, bright purple dye and Arabic clothing with sleeves, some plain, some common and with a chequered pattern and with gold embroidery, saffron [is also imported], and spices, and linen and woollen cloth, and blankets in lesser quantity, the plain, local ones, colourful belts and measured unguents and much gold, wine, but not much grain. That land provides little wheat and more wine.</p>

<i>Periplus of the Red Sea, 43</i>	
<p>Ὁ δὲ κόλπος αὐτὸς ὁ κατὰ Βαρύγαζαν στενὸς ὢν τοῖς ἐκ πελάγους ἐρχομένοις ἐστὶν δυσεπίβολος· ἢ γὰρ εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ ἢ εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα παραπίπτουσιν, ἢ τε ἐπιβολὴ κρείσσων ἐστὶν τῆς ἐτέρας. Ἄλλ' ἐκ μὲν τῶν δεξιῶν κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ στόμα τοῦ κόλπου παράκειται ταινία τραχεῖα καὶ διάσπιλος, Ἡρώνη λεγομένη, κατὰ Καμμωνὶ κώμην· ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐωνύμων ἀπέναντι ταύτης τὸ πρὸ Ἀστακά[ν]πρων</p>	<p>The bay at Barygaza, as it is narrow, is hard to approach for those who go by sea. For they err either to the right or to the left, but this passage is better than the other one. On the right, to the mouth of the gulf there is a shoal, abrupt and rocky, called Herone, at the village of the Cammoni. On the left, opposite it, facing Astakanpron, there is the promontory called Pantike, which is difficult to anchor because of the strong current around it and the cutting</p>

ἀκρωτήριον, ἢ Παπικὴ λεγομένη, δύσορμος οὔσα διὰ τε τὸν ροῦν τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀποκόπτειν τὰς ἀγκύρας τραχὺν ὄντα καὶ πετρώδη τὸν βυθόν.	off of the anchors, because it is abrupt and stony at the bottom.
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Synesius, <i>letters</i> , 4, lines 172-177	
ἡ μὲν οὖν ναῦς ἐσάλευεν ἐπὶ μετεώρου (λιμὴν γὰρ ὁ τόπος οὐκ ἦν) καὶ ἐσάλευεν ἐπ’ ἀγκύρας μιᾶς· ἡ ἑτέρα γὰρ ἀπημπόλητο, τρίτην δὲ ἄγκυραν Ἀμάραντος οὐκ ἐκτήσατο. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπειδὴ τῆς φιλάτης ἠψάμεθα γῆς, περιεβάλομεν ὥσπερ ἔμψυχον οὔσαν μητέρα.	Indeed, the ship was shaking ¹²⁵ in the high seas (for that place is no <i>limen</i>), and it was shaking on one anchor. The second one had been lost in the current ¹²⁶ , and the third anchor, Amarantos had not bought it. And we, when we reached our dearest land, we threw ourselves about it as if it was a live-giving mother.

<i>Strabo</i> , 4.6.2	
ὅλως δὲ ἡ παραλία αὕτη πᾶσα μέχρι Τυρρηνίας ἐκ Μονοίκου λιμένος προσεχῆς τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀλίμενος πλὴν βραχέων ὄρμων καὶ ἀγκυροβολίων. ὑπέρκεινται δὲ οἱ τῶν ὄρων ἐξαίσιοι κρημνοὶ στενὴν ἀπολείποντες πρὸς θαλάττην πάροδον.	This whole coast from Monoecus Limen up to Tyrrhenia is exposed and <i>alimenos</i> except for some shallow <i>hormoi</i> and <i>ankyrobolia</i> . Some extraordinary cliffs lie before the mountains ¹²⁷ , leaving a narrow passage by the sea.

¹²⁵ I am translating ἐσάλευεν for ‘shake’ for lack of a better word. The verb refers to the movement of the ship on the rough seas.

¹²⁶ This verb is a compound from πολέω ‘to revolve’ > ἐμπολέω ‘to revolve inside’, > ἀπεμπολέω ‘to revolve inside and away from’, so the second anchor had been swallowed by the currents and dragged away from the ship.

¹²⁷ i.e. the Alps.

4.9 Portus: the port

Aulus Gellius, 10.16.1-3	
<p>Reprehendit Hyginus Vergilium correcturumque eum fuisse existimat, quod in libro sexto scriptum est. Palinurus est apud inferos petens ab Aenea, ut suum corpus requirendum et sepeliendum curet. Is hoc dicit: eripe me his, invicte, malis, aut tu mihi terram inice, namque potes, portusque require Velinos. "Quo" inquit "modo aut Palinurus novisse et nominare potuit portus Velinos aut Aeneas ex eo nomine locum invenire, cum Velia oppidum, a quo portum, qui in eo loco est, Velinum dixit, Servio Tullio Romae regnante post annum amplius sescentimum, quam Aeneas in Italiam venit, conditum in agro Lucano et eo nomine appellatum est?"</p>	<p>Hyginus reproaches Virgil and believes he has to be corrected for that which is written in the sixth book. Palinurus is in the underworld asking Aeneas to take care to give rest to his body and to bury it. [Palinurus] says this: "Champion, drag me out of these evils, or throw earth upon me, for you can, and make for the Veline ports (<i>portus</i>)". [Hyginus] says: "how could Palinurus ever know and name the Veline ports (<i>portus</i>) or [how could] Aeneas find the place from that name when the town of Velia, from which [Virgil] calls Veline the port (<i>portum</i>) situated in that place, was founded in the ager Lucanus and called by that name when Servius Tullius was reigning in Rome, a good six hundred years since Aeneas arrived to Italy?"</p>

Caesar, <i>Gallic War</i> , 4.20-21	
<p>Exigua parte aestatis reliqua Caesar [...] in Britanniam proficisci contendit, [...] et si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitratur, si modo insulam adiisset, genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset; quae omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. [...] Itaque</p>	<p>For the small part of the summer that was still left, Caesar [...] resolved departing for Britannia [...] and if there was enough time to wage the war, he considered that it would be of great use for him, if he was to go into the island, to investigate the nations of men and to know the places, the <i>portus</i> and the accesses, which were all unknown to the</p>

<p>vocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, neque quanta esset insulae magnitudo neque quae aut quantae nationes incolerent, neque quem usum belli haberent aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad maiorem navium multitudinem idonei portus reperire poterat. Ad haec cognoscenda, prius quam periculum faceret, idoneum esse arbitratus C. Volusenum cum navi longa praemittit.</p>	<p>Gauls. [...] Therefore, he summoned merchants from everywhere, but he could not find out how big was the island, nor how many nations inhabited it, nor what tactics they used in war or what institutions they observed, not even what ports were best for a large group of ships. In order to learn these things before he put himself at risk, he considered it was best to send Gaius Volusenus in advance with a long ship.</p>
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Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 1.25	
<p>Pompeium remanere Brundisii cum cohortibus viginti; neque certum inveniri poterat, obtinendine Brundisii causa ibi remansisset, quo facilius omne Hadriaticum mare ex ultimis Italiae partibus regionibusque Graeciae in potestate haberet atque ex utraque parte bellum administrare posset, an inopia navium ibi restitisset, veritusque ne ille Italiam dimittendam non existimaret, exitus administrationesque Brundisini portus impedire instituit. Quorum operum haec erat ratio. Qua fauces erant angustissimae portus, moles atque aggerem ab utraque parte litoris iaciebat, quod his locis erat vadosum mare. Longius progressus, cum agger altiore aqua contineri non posset, rates duplices quoquoersus pedum XXX e regione molis collocabat. Has quaternis ancoris ex</p>	<p>Pompey stayed in Brundisium with twenty cohorts. [Caesar] could not learn for certain if he stayed in order to occupy Brundisium and take control more easily of the whole Hadriatic sea and the extreme parts of Italy and the regions of Greece so that he could administer the war on both sides, or was left behind due to lack of ships. Fearing that he wanted to control Italy, [Caesar] ordered the blocking of the access and advantages of the <i>portus</i> of Brundisium. This is the list of his works: Since the mouth (<i>fauces</i>) of the harbour was extremely narrow, he threw a mole (<i>moles</i>) and a rampart (<i>agger</i>), as the sea was shallow in that place. In the longer distance, as the rampart (<i>agger</i>) could not contain the deep water, he placed at the site of the moles double rafts of thirty square feet. These were held in place with anchors at the four angles, so that the currents</p>

<p>III angulis destinabat, ne fluctibus moverentur. His perfectis collocatisque alias deinceps pari magnitudine rates iungebat. Has terra atque aggere integebat, ne aditus atque incursus ad defendendum impediretur. A fronte atque ab utroque latere cratibus ac pluteis protegebat; in quarta quaque earum tures binorum tabulatorum excitabat, quo commodius ab impetu navium incendiisque defenderet.</p>	<p>would not move them. When they were finished and in place, he attached more rafts of a similar size. He covered them over with earth and into the rampart (<i>agger</i>), so that [soldiers] would not be prevented from going onto it and walking on it to defend [the port]. He protected the front and both sides with hurdles and mantlets and he erected a tower of two stories on every fourth [raft], in order to defend [the blockade] more comfortably against the shock of the ships and against fire.</p>
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Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 1.27	
<p>Pompeius [...] adventu navium profectionem parare incipit et, quo facilius impetum Caesaris tardaret, ne sub ipsa profectione milites oppidum irrumperent, portas obstruit, vicos plateasque inaedificat, fossas transversas viis praeducit atque ibi sudes stipitesque praeacutos defigit. Haec levibus cratibus terraque inaequat; aditus autem atque itinera duo, quae extra murum ad portum ferebant, maximis defixis trabibus atque eis praeacutis praesepit.</p>	<p>Pompey [...] starts to prepare the departure of the ships and, in order to delay Caesar's attack with more ease, so that [his soldiers] do not break in by the departing time, he blocks the gates, builds on neighbourhoods and squares, he digs trenches cross-wise across the roads and plants them with very sharp stakes and spikes. He levels the ground with weak hurdles, but he plants the most poles the gateway and the two roads that led outside the walls into the <i>portus</i>, and he also seeded them with the sharpest [spikes].</p>

Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 1.31	
<p>Tubero cum in Africam venisset, invenit in provincia cum imperio Attium Varum [...]. Hic venientem Uticam navibus Tuberonem portu</p>	<p>When Tubero arrived in Africa, he found that Attius Varus held the government (<i>imperium</i>) at the province [...]. When he was arriving at Utica, he banned the ships of Turbo from the</p>

atque oppido prohibet neque adfectum valetudine filium exponere in terra patitur, sed sublatis ancoris excedere eo loco cogit.	<i>portus</i> and from the town (<i>oppidum</i>), and he wouldn't even allow his son, who was sick, to disembark on land, but he forced them to lift the anchors and sail out of that place.
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Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 1.35	
Evocat ad se Caesar Massilia XV primos [...]. Cuius orationem legati domum referunt atque ex senatus auctoritate haec Caesari renuntiant: intellegere se divisum esse populum Romanum in partes duas; neque sui iudicii neque suarum esse virium discernere, utra pars iustiore habeat causam. Principes vero esse earum partium Cn. Pompeium et C. Caesarem patronos civitatis; quorum alter agros Volcarum Arecomicorum et Helviorum publice iis concesserit, alter bello victos Sallyas attribuerit vectigaliaque auxerit. Quare paribus eorum beneficiis parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere et neutrum eorum contra alterum iuvare aut urbe aut portibus recipere.	Caesar summons to him fifteen of the principal men of Massalia [...]. The delegates reported Caesar's petition back home and replied this to Caesar from the authority of their senate: that they understood the Roman folk to be divided into two factions, and it was not to their mind or to their forces to decide which of the factions had a more righteous cause. The leaders of these factions were Gnaeus Pompey and Gaius Caesar, patrons of the city. The one had granted to them publicly the territory of the Volcae Arecomisci and of the Helvians. The other, after winning the Sallians in war, added [their territory to Massalia's] and enriched it with taxes (<i>vectigalia</i>). Because of this, they owed the same benefits and therefore also the same good will [to both Caesar and Pompey], and they would not help the one against the other or receive them in the city or in the ports.

Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 2.1	
Dum haec in Hispania geruntur, C. Trebonius legatus, qui ad oppugnationem Massiliae relictus erat, duabus ex partibus aggerem, vineas	While these things happened in Hispania, Gaius Trebonius, who had been left to the siege of Massalia, ordered to build in two areas a rampart (<i>agger</i>), mantlets (<i>vineae</i>) and

<p>turresque ad oppidum agere instituit. Una erat proxima portui navalibusque, altera ad portam qua est aditus ex Gallia atque Hispania ad id mare quod adiacet ad ostium Rhodani.</p>	<p>towers (<i>turris</i>) against the town. One [of the zones] was next to the <i>portus</i> and the shipsheds (<i>navalia</i>), the other [zone was] by the gate which is the access from Gallia and Hispania into the sea adjacent to the mouth of the Rhone.</p>
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Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 2.22	
<p>Massilienses omnibus defessi malis, [...] sese dedere sine fraude constituunt. Sed paucis ante diebus L. Domitius cognita Massiliensium voluntate navibus III comparatis, ex quibus duas familiaribus suis attribuerat, unam ipse conscenderat nactus turbidam tempestatem profectus est. Hunc conspicatae naves, quae iussu Bruti consuetudine cotidiana ad portum excubabant, sublatis ancoris sequi coeperunt. Ex his unum ipsius navigium contendit et fugere perseveravit auxilioque tempestatis ex conspectu abiit, duo perterrita concursu nostrarum navium sese in portum receperunt. Massilienses arma tormenta ex oppido, ut est imperatum, proferunt, naves ex portu navalibusque educunt, pecuniam ex publico tradunt. Quibus rebus confectis Caesar magis eos pro nomine et vetustate, quam pro meritis in se civitatis conservans duas ibi legiones praesidio relinquit.</p>	<p>The Massalians, exhausted with all sorts of evils, [...] decided to surrender in good faith. But a few days before, Lucius Domitius, knowing of the decision of the Massalians, prepared three ships, in two of them he placed his friends, and he boarded the other himself, and sallied forth under a heavy storm. He was seen by the ships that Brutus had ordered to patrol the harbour on a daily basis, they levied their anchors and chased him. Out of the [three escaping] ships, one put up a fight and persevered on the flight, and with the help of the storm it disappeared from sight, [the other] two, panicking at the offensive of our ships, returned into the harbour. The Massalians gave up their arms and war machines from the town, as was ordered, as well as the ships both in the port or in the docks, and they surrendered the public funds. Caesar spared them more in regards to their reputation and antiquity rather than for the merits of their city towards himself, and left two legions as a garrison there.</p>

Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 3.23	
Libo [...] Brundisium venit insulamque, quae contra portum Brundisinum est, occupavit, quod praestare arbitrabatur unum locum, qua necessarius nostris erat egressus, quam omnia litora ac portus custodia clausos teneri.	Libo [...] arrived at Brundisium and occupied the island which is opposite the port, because he thought that that one place was excellent so that, when it was more necessary for our men to exit, he would keep control of the whole coast and the ports shut under his supervision.

Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 3.25-27	
Quibus rebus permotus Caesar Brundisium ad suos severius scripsit, nacti idoneum ventum ne occasionem navigandi dimitterent, si vel ad litora Apolloniaticum cursum dirigere atque eo naves eicere possent. Haec a custodiis classium loca maxime vacabant, quod se longius a portibus committere non audebant. Illi [...] nacti austrum naves solvunt atque altero die Apolloniam praetervehuntur. Qui cum essent ex continenti visi, Coponius, qui Dyrrachii classi Rhodiae praeerat, naves ex portu educit, et cum iam nostris remissiore vento appropinquasset, idem auster increbuit nostrisque praesidio fuit. Neque vero ille ob eam causam conatu desistebat, sed labore et perseverantia nautarum etiam vim tempestatis superari posse sperabat praetervectosque Dyrrachium magna vi venti nihilo secius	Furious for these reasons, Caesar wrote sternly to his men at Brundisium that when a favourable wind would rise, they mustn't miss the chance for sailing, if they should direct their course to the coast of Apollonia, and they could launch their ships from there. These places were free of the vigilance of the enemies, who did not dare to venture far from the ports. When the south wind rose, they [...] launched the ships and the following day they reached Apollonia. When they were sighted from the land, Coponius, who was in charge of the Rhodian fleet at Dyrrachium, brought the ships out of the harbour, and when the wind was vanishing and [the Rhodian ships] were approaching our troops, the southerly increased, and it was the salvation for our men. But Coponius did not abandon his attempt because of this, but he hoped to be able to overcome the violence of the tempest with effort and the insistence of the sailors, and despite [the Caesarian ships] having passed Dyrrachium with the great force of the wind,

<p>sequebatur. Nostri [...] impetum classis timebant, si forte ventus remisisset. Nacti portum qui appellatur Nymphaeum, ultra Lissum milia passuum III, eo naves introduxerunt (qui portus ab Africo tegebatur, ab austro non erat tutus) [...]. Quo simulatque introitum est, incredibili felicitate auster, qui per biduum flaverat, in Africum se vertit. [...] Qui modo sibi timuerant, hos tutissimus portus recipiebat; qui nostris navibus periculum intulerant, de suo timere cogebantur. Itaque tempore commutato tempestas et nostros texit et naves Rhodias afflixit, ita ut ad unam omnes, constratae numero XVI, eliderentur et naufragio interirent, et ex magno remigum propugnatorumque numero pars ad scopulos allisa interficeretur, pars ab nostris detraheretur; quos omnes conservatos Caesar domum dimisit.</p>	<p>[Coponius] in no way stopped the pursuit. Our men [...] feared the clash of the fleet if the wind chanced to disappear. They sailed to the port called Nymphaeum, three miles beyond Lissus, and they sailed their ships in. This port protects from the south-west wind, but not from the south. [...] Then [Coponius] attempted to sail in but, with unbelievable luck, the southerly, which had been blowing for two days, changed into south-westerly. [...] Those who were fearing for themselves were lodged at the highly sheltered port, and those who threatened peril onto our ships, started to fear for their own. Thus, with the changing weather, the tempest both protected our men and caused suffering on the Rhodian ships so that all up to the number of 16 decked ships were shattered and wrecked in one go. The most part of the great number of oarsmen and marines were dashed against the reefs and died, the other part were spared by our men, and Caesar sent them home.</p>
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Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 3.40	
<p>simul ex terra scalis et classe moenia oppidi temptans [...] eodemque tempore ex altera parte molem tenuit naturalem obiectam, quae paene insulam oppidum effecerat, et IIII biremes subiectis scutulis impulsas vectibus in interiorem portum traduxit.</p>	<p>[Gnaeus Pompey, the son,] attacked the town simultaneously from land with ladders and the walls with the fleet [...]. At the same time he seized a projecting natural mole, which made the town [of Oricum] into a peninsula, and transferred four biremes into the inner port by putting plates underneath and pushing them on rollers.</p>

Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 3.102	
<p>Cognito Caesaris adventu, ex eo loco discessit et Mytilenas paucis diebus venit. Biduum tempestate retentus navibusque aliis additis actuariis in Ciliciam atque inde Cyprum pervenit. Ibi cognoscit consensu omnium Antiochensium civiumque Romanorum, qui illic negotiarentur, arma capta esse excludendi sui causa nuntiosque dimissos ad eos, qui se ex fuga in finitimas civitates recepisse dicerentur, ne Antiochiam adirent: id si fecissent, magno eorum capitis periculo futurum. Idem hoc L. Lentulo, qui superiore anno consul fuerat, et P. Lentulo consulari ac nonnullis aliis acciderat Rhodi; qui cum ex fuga Pompeium sequerentur atque in insulam venissent, oppido ac portu recepti non erant missisque ad eos nuntiis, ut ex his locis discederent contra voluntatem suam naves solverant. Iamque de Caesaris adventu fama ad civitates perferebatur.</p>	<p>Upon learning that Caesar was coming, [Pompey] left that place and arrived at Mytilene after a few days. He was stopped there for two days because of a storm and after collecting some other <i>naves actuariae</i> he sailed to Cilicia and thence to Cyprus. In there he learned of the agreement of all the Antiochians and the Roman citizens who traded there, that they had taken up arms to push him out, and they had also sent messengers to those who had taken refuge in the neighbouring cities telling them not to come to Antiochia. If they did, it would be at the risk of their life. The same happened to Lucius Lentulus, who had been consul the year before, and Publius Lentulus, of consular rank, and many others at Rhodes. As they had followed Pompey in his flight and arrived at the island, they had not been received at any town or port, and messengers had been sent to them to leave those places, they sailed away against their will. The rumour of Caesar's arrival had already reached those cities.</p>

Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 3.111-112
<p>His copiis fidens Achilles paucitatemque militum Caesaris despiciens occupabat Alexandriam praeter eam oppidi partem, quam Caesar cum militibus tenebat, primo impetu domum eius irrumpere conatus; sed Caesar dispositis per vias cohortibus impetum eius sustinuit. Eodemque tempore pugnatum est ad portum, ac longe</p>

maximam ea res attulit dimicationem. Simul enim diductis copiis pluribus viis pugnabatur, et magna multitudine naves longas occupare hostes conabantur; quarum erant L auxilio missae ad Pompeium proelioque in Thessalia facto domum redierant, quadriremes omnes et quinqueremes aptae instructaeque omnibus rebus ad navigandum, praeter has XXII, quae praesidii causa Alexandriae esse consuerant, constratae omnes; quas si occupavissent, classe Caesari erepta portum ac mare totum in sua potestate haberent, commeatu auxiliisque Caesarem prohiberent. Itaque tanta est contentione actum, quanta agi debuit, cum illi celerem in ea re victoriam, hi salutem suam consistere viderent. Sed rem obtinuit Caesar omnesque eas naves et reliquas, quae erant in navalibus, incendit, quod tam late tueri parva manu non poterat, confestimque ad Pharum navibus milites exposuit.

Pharus est in insula turris magna altitudine, mirificis operibus exstructae; quae nomen ab insula accepit. Haec insula obiecta Alexandriae portum efficit; sed a superioribus regibus in longitudinem passuum a DCCC in mare iactis molibus angusto itinere ut ponte cum oppido coniungitur. In hac sunt insula domicilia Aegyptiorum et vicus oppidi magnitudine; quaeque ibi naves imprudentia aut tempestate paulum suo cursu decesserunt, has more praedonum diripere consuerunt. Eis autem invitis, a quibus Pharus tenetur, non potest esse propter angustias navibus introitus in portum. Hoc tum veritus Caesar, hostibus in pugna occupatis, militibus expositis Pharumprehendit atque ibi praesidium posuit. Quibus est rebus effectum, uti tuto frumentum auxiliaque navibus ad eum supportari possent. Dimisit enim circum omnes propinquas provincias atque inde auxilia evocavit. Reliquis oppidi partibus sic est pugnatum, ut aequo proelio discederetur et neutri pellerentur (id efficiebant angustiae loci), paucisque utrimque interfectis Caesar loca maxime necessaria complexus noctu praemuniit. In eo tractu oppidi pars erat regiae exigua, in quam ipse habitandi causa initio erat inductus, et theatrum coniunctum domui quod arcis tenebat locum aditusque habebat ad portum et ad reliqua navalia. Has munitiones insequentibus auxit diebus, ut pro muro obiectas haberet neu dimicare invitus cogereetur. Interim filia minor Ptolomaei regis vacuum possessionem regni sperans ad Achillam sese ex regia traiecit unaque bellum administrare coepit. Sed celeriter est inter eos de principatu controversia orta; quae res apud milites largitiones auxit; magnis enim iacturis sibi quisque eorum animos conciliabat. Haec dum apud hostes geruntur, Pothinus, nutricius pueri et procurator regni in parte Caesaris, cum ad Achillam nuntios mitteret hortareturque, ne negotio

desisteret neve animo deficeret, indicatis deprehensisque internuntiis a Caesare est interfectus. Haec initia belli Alexandrini fuerunt.

Achillas, trusting these troops and looking down on the scarcity of Caesar's soldiers, was occupying Alexandria except for that part of the town (*oppidum*) that was held by Caesar with his soldiers. In the first attack, [Achillas] tried to break into his palace (*domum*), but Caesar, who had placed his cohorts in the streets, resisted his attack. At the same time there was a battle in the port, and it entailed a great struggle for a long time because. For the troops were divided in groups and it was fought with many forces at the same time, and a great number of war ships were trying to seize [the territory of] the enemies. Among these were fifty auxiliaries sent to Pompey, and once the combat in Thessalia was finished¹²⁸, they returned home. All the quadriremes and quinqueremes were acting together and skilled in all things related to sailing, except for the twenty-two which used to stay at Alexandria for its protection, all were roofed¹²⁹. If they were able to seize [Caesar's ships], they would deprive Caesar's fleet from the port and they would have the whole sea in their power, thus preventing Caesar from [receiving] supplies and reinforcements. Therefore, the bigger the struggle [on the Egyptian side], the bigger the struggle in response [on Caesar's side], for [the Egyptians] realised their fast victory depended in that effort, whereas [Caesar's troops saw] their salvation [depending on the same effort]. But Caesar won the clash and set fire to all those ships as well as the remaining ones that were in the docks (*navalia*), because he was not able to defend such a wide stretch of land with a small battalion. Then at once he transferred his soldiers in ships to Pharos.

Pharos is a very high tower on an island, constructed with magnificent works, and it receives its name from the island. This island's position makes the port of Alexandria, but the ancient kings attached it to moles on the sea one thousand and eight hundred feet long in a narrow passage like a bridge with the town. In this island there are dwellings of the Egyptians, and a neighbourhood the size of a village (*oppidum*). Whichever ships go astray from their course due to recklessness or a storm, they use to rip them to pieces in the way of the pirates. If those who hold Pharos are against it, you cannot enter the port due to the narrowness for the ships. But in truth Caesar, while the enemies were engaged in the fight, sent forth some soldiers and took Pharos, and placed a garrison

¹²⁸ This refers to the Battle of Pharsalia, which Pompey lost.

¹²⁹ To protect the soldiers from enemy missiles.

there. This was done because of the following reasons: so that the grain would be safe and reinforcements could be brought to him by ship. He sent envoys around to all nearby provinces and from there he called for reinforcements. In the rest of the town it was fought in such a way that [the troops] parted after an equal combat, and neither was driven from their positions (that was due to the narrowness of the places), and as there were few dead on either side, Caesar fortified the most essential places covered by the night. In that area of the town there was the restricted part of the palaces (*pars regiae exigua*), in which Caesar himself was introduced to live at first. There was also a theatre attached to the palace (*domus*), which contained the place for the citadel (*arx*), and it had an access to the port and to the surviving shipsheds (*navalia*). He increased these fortifications in the following days, so that he could have barriers in the function of walls and would not be forced to fight against his will. In the meantime, Ptolemy's youngest daughter, with a vain expectation to possess the kingdom, reached Achilles from the palace and at once started to direct the war. But soon a row over the ruling power surged among them, something that increased the rewards to the soldiers, each of them brought their spirits together in their favour by adding bigger [briberies]. While these things took place among the enemies, Pothinus, tutor of the children and procurator of the kingdom on Caesar's side, was executed by Caesar because he had sent envoys to Achilles encouraging him not to give up the cause nor to get discouraged, but he was discovered by intermediary messengers and captured. This was the start of the Alexandrian War.

Ps.-Caesar, *African War*, 10

<p>Itaque ibi relicto P. Saserna fratre eius, quem Lepti proximo oppido reliquerat, cum legione iubet comportari ligna in oppidum quam plurima. Ipse cum cohortibus vii quae ex veteranis legionibus in classe cum Sulpicio et Vatino rem gesserant, ex oppido Ruspina egressus proficiscitur ad portum qui abest ab oppido milia passuum duo, ibique classem sub vesperum cum ea copia conscendit.</p>	<p>After he was left there, Publius Saserna ordered his brother, whom he had left in a town near Leptis, to bring into the town as much timber as possible with the legion. He himself with seven cohorts, who had been formed from the legions' veterans and now served in the fleet with Sulpicius and Vatinius, leaving the town of Ruspina he made his way to the portus which is two miles distant from the town, and he hid the fleet in there at the evening with those supplies.</p>
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Ps.-Caesar, <i>African War</i> , 98	
Ante diem IIII Kal. Quint. navis conscendit et a Caralibus secundum terram provectus duodetricensimo die, ideo quod tempestatibus in portibus cohibebatur, ad urbem Romam venit.	on the fourth day before the first of July ¹³⁰ he boarded the ship and on the 28th day since he reached land from Caralis ¹³¹ he arrived at Rome, because the storms kept him at port.

Cicero, <i>Against Verres</i> , 2.2.171	
Canuleius vero, qui in portu Syracusis operas dabat, furta quoque istius permulta nominatim ad socios perscripserat, ea quae sine portorio Syracusis erant exportata; portum autem et scripturam eadem societas habebat.	Canuleius, who worked at the port in Syracuse, also wrote about his [Verres's] many stealths to his colleagues by name, all those things which had been exported to Syracuse without customs tax (<i>portorium</i>), for that company was responsible for the port and the registers.

Cicero, <i>Against Verres</i> , 2.2.176	
Dico te maximum pondus auri argenti eboris purpurae, plurimam vestem Melitensem, plurimam stragulam, multam Deliacam suppellectilem, plurima vasa Corinthia, magnum numerum frumenti, vim mellis maximam Syracusis exportasse; his pro rebus quod portorium non esset darum, litteras ad socios misisse L. Canuleium, qui in portu operas daret	I declare that you exported to Syracuse many pounds of gold, silver, ivory, purple, many robes of Malta, many bed-spreads, plenty of household wares from Delos, lots of Corinthian vases, a large quantity of grain, strong honey-water. For these things [you instructed that] no customs-tax (<i>portorium</i>) was to be paid, [according to] Lucius Canuleius, who was working at the port and sent letters to his colleagues.

¹³⁰ 27th June.

¹³¹ Present-day Cagliari, in Sardinia. The 28th day is in fact 27 days after arrival, as the Romans included both the first and the last day in the count.

Cicero, <i>Against Verres</i> , 2.2.182	
<p>Sciebam enim hanc magistrorum qui tabulas haberent consuetudinem esse ut, cum tabulas novo magistro traderent, exempla litterarum ipsi habere non nollent. Itaque ad L. Vibium, equitem Romanum, virum primum, quem reperiebam magistrum fuisse eo ipso anno qui mihi maxime quaerendus erat, primum veni. Sane homini praeter opinionem improvise incidi. Scrutatus sum quae potui et quaesivi omnia: inveni duos solos libellos a L. Canuleio missos sociis ex portu Syracusis, in quibus erat scripta ratio mensuum complurium rerum exportatarum istius nomine sine portorio.</p>	<p>I knew that: among the masters who held the registers it was customary that, when they received registers (<i>tabulae</i>) from a new master (<i>magister</i>), they very much wanted to have a sample of his writing. Therefore I soon came to Lucius Vibius, a Roman knight, an eminent man, whom I found out to be the master at the same year that I had to investigate. I received unexpectedly the man's opinion. I searched all I could and I asked everything. But I only found two single books sent by Lucius Canuleius to his colleagues at the port in Syracuse, in which there was written the list by months of many things exported under his name [Verres's] without customs-tax (<i>portorium</i>).</p>

Cicero, <i>Against Verres</i> , 2.4.3	
<p>nam ipsa Messana, quae situ moenibus portuque ornata sit, ab his rebus quibus iste delectatur sane vacua atque nuda est.</p>	<p>Messana itself, which is ornated by its location, its walls and its port, became empty and naked from these things with which [Verres] delights himself.</p>

Cicero, <i>Against Verres</i> , 2.4.26	
<p>In populi Romani quidem conspectum quo ore vos commisistis? Nec prius illam crucem, quae etiam nunc civis Romani sanguine redundat, quae fixa est ad portum urbemque vestram, revellistis neque in profundum abiecit locumque</p>	<p>With what face do you [dare] come in sight of the people of Rome? Why have you not pulled out that cross before, the one that still overflows with the blood of a Roman citizen, that is planted in your <i>portus</i> and city? [Why have you not] thrown it into the depths [of the sea] and purified that</p>

illum omnem expiastis, quam Romam atque in horum conventum adiretis?	whole place before coming to Rome and to this assembly?
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Cicero, <i>Against Verres</i> , 2.5.50	
<p>Quid? si eius modi esse haec duo foedera duorum populorum, iudices, doceo, ut Tauromenitanis nominatim cautum et exceptum sit foedere ne navem dare debeant, Mamertinis in ipso foedere sanctum atque praescriptum sit ut navem dare necesse sit, istum autem contra foedus et Tauromenitanis imperasse et Mamertinis remisisse [...], qui ex foedere ipso navem vel usque ad Oceanum, si imperassemus, sumptu periculoque suo armatam atque ornatam mittere debuerunt, hi ne in freto ante sua tecta et domos navigarent, ne sua moenia portusque defenderent, pretio abs te ius foederis et imperi condicionem redemerunt.</p>	<p>So? Judges, if these two treaties of the two towns were made in this way, I think, that the people of Taurometum explicitly were spared and made an exception of by the treaty that they did not have to provide a ship, but for the people of Messina in that same treaty it was sanctified and prescribed that they must provide a ship. [Verres] however, against the treaty ordered one from the Tauromenians while at the same time sparing the Messinians [...], who, because of this same treaty, had to provide a ship [capable of] sailing to the Ocean, if we ordered them to, and arm it and ornate it to the greatest risk, but so that they would not have to sail under their own roofs and houses, or defend their own walls and ports (<i>portus</i>), they re-bought for a price from you they rights of the treaty and the imperial condition.</p>

Cicero, <i>De inventione</i> , 2.95	
<p>In p r u d e n t i a est, cum scisse aliquid is, qui arguitur, negatur; ut apud quosdam lex erat: ne quis Dianae vitulum immolaret. Nautae quidam, cum adversa tempestate in alto iactarentur, voverunt, si eo</p>	<p><i>Ignorance (inprudencia)</i> is when the defendant denies that they knew something, like that law by some people: you mustn't sacrifice a calf to Diana. But some sailors, when they were caught in a contrary storm on the high seas, vowed that they would sacrifice a calf to the god of the</p>

<p>portu, quem conspiciebant, potiti essent, ei deo, qui ibi esset, se vitulum immolatueros. Casu erat in eo portu fanum Dianae eius, cui vitulum immolare non licebat. Inprudentes legis, cum exissent, vitulum immolaverunt. Accusantur. Intentio est: "Vitulum immolastis ei deo, cui non licebat". Depulsio est in concessione posita. Ratio est: "Nescivi non licere". Infirmatio est: "Tamen, quoniam fecisti, quod non licebat ex lege, supplicio dignus es". Iudicatio est: cum id fecerit, quod non oportuerit, et id non oportere nescierit, sitne supplicio dignus?</p>	<p><i>portus</i> that they had in sight if they could reach it. By chance, the shrine in that port was Diana's, to whom it was not legitimate to sacrifice a calf. Ignorants of the law (<i>inprudentes legis</i>), when they were saved, they sacrificed a calf. They were accused. The <i>accusation</i> is: "you sacrificed a calf to that god, to whom it was not legitimate to do so". The <i>defence</i> lies on a concession, the reason being: "I didn't know it was not legitimate". The <i>confirmation</i> is: "yet, since you did something that was not legitimate by law, you are worthy of a punishment". The <i>judgement</i> is: "even if he did what was not permitted, and he did not know that it was not permitted, is he still worthy of a punishment?"</p>
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Cicero, <i>De inventione</i> , 2.153-154	
<p>Definitio est, cum in scripto verbum aliquod est positum, cuius de vi quaeritur, hoc modo: lex: " QUI IN ADVERSA TEMPESTATE NAVEM RELIQUERINT, OMNIA AMITTUNTO; EORUM NAVIS ET ONERA SUNTO, QUI IN NAVE REMANSERINT ". Duo quidam, cum iam in alto navigarent, et cum eorum alterius navis, alterius onus esset, naufragum quendam natantem et manus ad se tendentem animum adverterunt; misericordia commoti navem ad eum adplicarunt, hominem ad se sustulerunt.</p>	<p>A definition is when some words are put down in writing, the strength of which is challenged, in this way: Law: "those who abandon the ship in a contrary storm shall lose everything, their ship and the cargo will belong to those who stayed in the ship". Two men were sailing in the high seas, the ship belonged to one of them, and the cargo to the other. They found the victim of a shipwreck swimming around and throwing his hands at them. They felt compassion and they called him and took him on board. Later, when they were themselves hit violently by a storm, to the point that the</p>

<p>Postea aliquanto ipsos quoque tempestas vehementius iactare coepit, usque adeo, ut dominus navis, cum idem gubernator esset, in scapham confugeret et inde funiculo, qui a puppi religatus scapham adnexam trahebat, navi, quod posset, moderaretur, ille autem, cuius merces erant, in gladium in navi ibidem incumberet. Hic ille naufragus ad gubernaculum accessit et navi, quod potuit, est opitulatus. Sedatis autem fluctibus et tempestate iam commutata navis in portum pervehitur. Ille autem, qui in gladium incubuerat, leviter saucius facile ex vulnere est recreatus. Navem cum onere horum trium suam quisque esse dicit. Hic omnes scripto ad causam accedunt et ex nominis vi nascitur controversia. Nam et relinquere navem et remanere in navi, denique navis ipsa quid sit, definitionibus quaeretur.</p>	<p>owner of the ship, who was also the helmsman, ran away in a boat, and from there he guided the ship as he could with the cable attached to the stern that dragged the boat. He to whom the merchandise belonged threw himself on his sword. Then, the shipwrecked man went to the helm and helped the ship as he could. But when the currents were calm and the storm was over, the ship reached the <i>portus</i>. He who had thrown himself on his sword was only superficially wounded and was healed from his wound easily. Each of the three men claimed that the ship with the cargo was his. They all go to court based on the written law and the controversy arises from the meaning of the words. For it is necessary to define what is abandoning the ship, and staying in the ship, and even what is the ship itself.</p>
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Cicero, *De Officiis*, 2.14

<p>Adde ductus aquarum, derivationes fluminum, agrorum irrigationes, moles oppositas fluctibus, portus manu factos, quae unde sine hominum opere habere possemus?</p>	<p>Add the aqueducts, the diversion of rivers, the watering systems of fields, the moles breaking the waves, the ports artificially made: how could we ever have them without the effort of men?</p>
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Cicero, *De Officiis*, 2.60

<p>Atque etiam illae impensae meliores, muri, navalia, portus, aquarum ductus omniaque, quae</p>	<p>And the spending of money [is] better [for these things]: walls, shipsheds (<i>navalia</i>), <i>portus</i>, aqueducts, and all those things that belong to the</p>
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ad usum rei publicae pertinent, quamquam, quod praesens tamquam in manum datur, iucundius est, tamen haec in posterum gratiora.	usefulness of the commonwealth. While whatever [money] is given by hand is more welcome at the present, future generations will be more grateful [for those construction works].
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Cicero, *For Tullius*, 33

Hic mihi isti singulari ingenio videntur esse qui et id quod mihi contra illos datum est ipsi adripiunt et scopulo atque saxis pro portu stationeque utuntur.	It seems to me that they have a particular cleverness because, even despite the evidence I gave against them, they seize it and use reefs and rocks in place of <i>portus</i> and <i>statio</i> .
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Cicero, *On divination*, 2.145

Medici signa quaedam habent ex venis et ex spiritu aegroti multisque ex aliis futura praesentiunt; gubernatores, cum exsultantis lolligines viderunt aut delphinos se in portum conicientes, tempestatem significari putant. Haec ratione explicari et ad naturam revocari facile possunt, ea vero, quae paulo ante dixi, nullo modo.	The doctors have signs: they predict the future from the veins and from the ill spirit and from many other indications; the helmsmen, when they see the squid leaping up or the dolphins gathering in the port, they think it announces a storm. These things can be explained by reason and attributed to the nature, but those that I said before, in no way [are scientific].
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Cicero, *On the Agrarian Law*, 2.40

Regnum Bithyniae, quod certe publicum est populi Romani factum, num quid causae est quin omnis agros, urbis, stagna, portus, totam denique Bithyniam xviri vendituri sint?	The kingdom of Bithynia, which was certainly donated as public for the Roman people, what reason is there so that the decemviri would not sell all the fields, cities, pools, <i>portus</i> , and indeed all of Bithynia?
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Cicero, *On the agrarian law*, 2.95

<p>Carthaginienses fraudulentum et mendaces non genere, sed natura loci, quod propter portus suos multis et variis mercatorum et advenarum sermonibus ad studium fallendi studio quaestus vocabantur.</p>	<p>The Carthaginians are deceivers and liars not by birth, but by the nature of their place: because of their ports, the search for profit called in the search for deception in the many and varied languages of the merchants and the travellers.</p>
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Cicero, <i>On Pompey's Command</i> , 15	
<p>Nam in ceteris rebus cum venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur; at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse adfert calamitatem. Nam cum hostium copiae non longe absunt, etiam si inruptio nulla facta est, tamen pecuaria relinquitur, agri cultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu neque ex decumis neque ex scriptura vectigal conservari potest: quare saepe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi atque uno belli terrore amittitur. Quo tandem igitur animo esse existimatis aut eos qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos qui exercent atque exigunt, cum duo reges cum maximis copiis propter adsint? Cum una excursio equitatus perbrevis tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit? cum publicani familias maximas, quas in saltibus habent, quas in agris, quas in portibus atque custodiis, magno periculo se habere arbitrentur? Putatisne vos illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos qui vobis</p>	<p>For the rest of the things, when a disaster comes, it results in damage. But in the case of taxes, not only the happening of an evil, but also the fear [of damage] itself entails disaster. For, when the troops of the enemies are not far away, even if no incursion is made, still livestock are neglected, agriculture is abandoned, the sailing of merchants is stopped. Thus, tax cannot be kept from the ports, nor from the tithes nor from the registers. Because of this, often the harvest of the whole year is lost as a result of one rumour of danger or one panic about war. So what mood do you think will have those who plan our taxes or those who extract and demand them, when there are two kings with major armies nearby? When one single raid of the cavalry in the shortest time can take away the tax of the whole year? In what great peril will they think they are, the families of the taxmen (<i>publicani</i>), some in the forests, others in the fields, others in the <i>portus</i> and guardposts (<i>custodiae</i>)? Do you think that you could enjoy those things, if you not only protect those who collect the fruit for you</p>

fructui sunt conservaritis non solum (ut ante dixi) calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidine liberatos?	from disaster (as I said before), but also free them from the fear of disaster?
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Cicero, *On Pompey's Command*, 33

An vero ignoratis portum Caietae celeberrimum ac plenissimum navium inspectante praetore a praedonibus esse direptum?	Do you really not know that the most famous port of Caieta, extremely full of ships, was ravaged by the pirates under the eyes of the praetor?
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Cicero, *On the Republic*, 3.43

Vrbs illa praeclara, quam ait Timaeus Graecarum maxumam, omnium autem esse pulcherrimam, arx visenda, portus usque in sinus oppidi et ad urbis crepidines infusi, viae latae, porticus, templa, muri nihilo magis efficiebant, Dionysio tenente, ut esset illa res publica; nihil enim populi, et unius erat populus ipse.	That city ¹³² is illustrious, Timaeus calls it the greatest of the Greek ones, it is the most beautiful of all, the citadel is a must-see, the <i>portus</i> stretches to the heart of the city and the piers (<i>crepidines</i>) wet the city, the roads are large, there are porticoes, temples, the walls, could be nothing more while Dionysius was its ruler so that [those structures] could become such a commonwealth. For nothing belonged to the people and the very people belonged to one man.
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Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, 5.15

Plura scribam tarde tibi redditu iri ¹³³ , sed dabam familiari homini ac domestico, C. Andronico Puteolano. tu autem saepe dare tabellariis publicanorum poteris per magistrōs scripturae et portus nostrarum dioecesium.	I will write more to you, but it will arrive late, but I'll give it to a man you know, one of your own, Gaius Andronicus Puteolanus. You can often give [letters] to the couriers of the tax-collectors (<i>tabellarii publicanorum</i>) through the <i>magistri scripturae et portus</i> of my district.
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¹³² Syracuse.

¹³³ This phrase is corrupt in the manuscript tradition. The translation represents the logical meaning that we would be expecting, but the grammar makes no sense.

Cicero, <i>Letters to Atticus</i> , 11.10	
Ad meas incredibilis aegritudines aliquid novi accedit ex iis quae de Q. Q. ad me adferuntur. P. Terentius meus necessarius operas in portu et scriptura Asiae pro magistro dedit. is Quintum filium Ephesi vidit vi Idus Decembr. eumque studiose propter amicitiam nostram invitavit; cumque ex eo de me percontaretur, eum sibi ita dixisse narrabat, se mihi esse inimicissimum	Something new added to my incredible pains, the news that my friend Publius Terentius brought me about the Quinti. Publius Terentius, my friend, was working as a <i>magister portus et scripturae</i> in [the province of] Asia. He saw Quintus, the son, at Ephesus on the sixth day before the Idus of December, and he invited him eagerly for our friendship. But when they were having a conversation about me, he told him this: that I was most hateful to him.

Cicero, <i>Letters to his friends</i> , 1.9.21	
Nos [...] secuti sumus classem Dolabellae, cui L. Figulus praeerat. Qui [...] novissime Corycum se contulit et clauso portu se tenere coepit.	I ¹³⁴ [...] followed the fleet of Dolabella, which was under the command of Lucius Figulus. He [...] recently retreated into Corycum and after barricading the port shut himself inside.

Cicero, <i>Letters to his friends</i> , 16.5.2	
Poteris igitur et facies [...] ut quotidie sit Acastus in portu: multi erunt, quibus recte litteras dare possis, qui ad me libenter perferant.	You can and you shall arrange [...] to have Acastus in the <i>portus</i> every day. There are lots of people to whom you can give letters [for me], who will be delighted to bring them to me.

Cornelius Nepos, <i>Life of Themistocles</i> , 6.1	
Magnus hoc bello Themistocles fuit neque minor in pace. Cum enim Phalerico portu	Themistocles was great in war, but not the less in peacetime. The Athenians were

¹³⁴ The writer of that letter is the quaestor Gaius Cassius Parmensis.

neque magno neque bono Athenienses uterentur, huius consilio triplex Piraei portus constitutus est isque moenibus circumdatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate aequiperaret, utilitate superaret.	making use of the <i>portus</i> at Phaleron, which was not large and not good. But on his advise they built the triple <i>portus</i> at Piraeus and they surrounded it with walls, so that it would equal the city itself in honour and it would surpass it in usefulness.
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Curtius Rufus, 4.4.9

Portumque omnia simul navigia repetunt. Confestim rex insecutus portum quidem intrare non potuit, cum procul e muris missilibus summovertetur, naves autem omnes fere aut demersit aut cepit.	All the [Tyrian] ships at once made for the port. King [Alexander] followed them immediately. He could not enter the port because he was thrown missiles from the walls from afar, but he sank all of the ships or captured them.
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Curtius Rufus, 4.5.20-21

Forte Aristonicus, Methymnaeorum tyrannus cum piraticis navibus, ignarus omnium quae apud Chium acta erant, prima vigilia ad portus claustra successit interrogatusque a custodibus, quis esset, Aristonicum ad Pharnabazum venire respondit. Illi Pharnabazum quidem iam quiescere et non posse tum adiri, ceterum patere socio atque hospiti portum et postero die Pharnabazi copiam fore adfirmant. Nec dubitavit Aristonicus primus intrare, secuti sunt ducem piratici lembi, ac, dum adplicant navigia	By chance, Aristonicus, the tyrant of the Methymnians, ignorant of all the events that had taken place at Chios, arrived at the first vigil ¹³⁵ with pirate ships to the barrier (<i>claustra</i>). When he was asked by the guards who he was, he answered that Aristonicus came to see Pharnabazes. They replied that Pharnabazes was already resting and could not come at the moment, but the <i>portus</i> was open to an ally and a guest, and the next day Pharnabazes would receive them. Aristonicus did not doubt to sail in, the pirate boats followed their leader, and, while they were attaching the ships to the piers (<i>crepidines</i>) of
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¹³⁵ Between 6 and 9 pm.

crepidini portus, obicitur a vigilibus claustrum, et, qui proximi excubabant, ab isdem excitantur.	the <i>portus</i> , the barrier (<i>claustrum</i>) was thrown open by the guards and those who were sleeping nearby were woken by them as well.
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<i>Digest, 50.16.1.pr. (Ulpian)</i>	
Ulpianus libro sexagesimo octavo ad edictum. 'Portus' appellatus est conclusus locus, quo importantur merces et inde exportantur: eaque nihilo minus statio est conclusa atque munita.	Ulpianos on the 68 th book of the edict. <i>Portus</i> is called an enclosed place where merchandise is impored to and exported from. A <i>statio</i> is enclosed but also fortified.

Florus, <i>Epitome</i> , 1.11	
Nihil hospitalius mari: hic illi nobiles portus Caieta, Misenus, tepentes fontibus Baiae, Lucrinus et Avernus, quaedam maris otia. Hic amicti vitibus montes Gaurus, Falernus, Massicus et pulcherrimus omnium Vesuvius, Aetnaei ignis imitator.	There is nothing more hospitable than that sea: there are the ports there of Caieta, Misenum, the hot springs of Baiae, [lakes] Lucrinus and Avernus, whatever leisure in the sea. There are the mounts Gaurus, Falernus and Massicus, flooded with vines, and the most beautiful of all, Vesuvius, imitator of the fires in the Aetna.

Florus, <i>Epitome</i> , 1.12	
Grande illud et ante id tempus invictum caput, Syracusae, quamvis Archimedis ingenio deferentur, aliquando cessarunt. Longe illi triplex murus totidemque arces, portus ille marmoreus et fons celebratus Arethusae; nisi quod hactenus profuere ut pulchritudini victae urbis parceretur.	Syracuse, that great cape not defeated up to that day, in spite of the intelligence of Archimedes, at one point it was conquered. For a long time there the triple walls and the three citadels, its <i>portus</i> made of marble and the famous spring Arethusa, even if they had not been of good service thus far, the would have been spared for the beauty of the conquered city.

Florus, <i>Epitome</i> , 1.13	
Tarentos, Lacedaemoniorum opus, Calabriae quondam et Apuliae totiusque Lucaniae caput, cum magnitudine et muris portuque nobilis, tum mirabilis situ, quippe in ipsis Hadriani maris faucibus posita in omnis terras, Histriam, Illyricum, Epiron, Achaia, Africam, Siciliam vela dimittit. Inminet portui ad prospectum maris positum mavis theatrum, quod quidem causa miserae civitati fuit omnium calamitatum.	Tarentum, the work of the Lacedaemonians, is a capital of Calabria and of the whole of Apulia, noble for the greatness of its walls and <i>portus</i> , admirable for its location, certainly it is placed in the very mouth of the Adriatic sea and it sends sails to every land: Histria, Illyricum, Epirus, Achaia, Africa, Sicily. The theater is situated right by the port, overlooking the sea if you prefer, which was the cause of the misery for the city with every disaster.

Florus, <i>Epitome</i> , 1.31	
Compulsis in unam arcem hostibus portum quoque mari Romanus obstruxerat. Illi autem sibi portum ab alia urbis parte foderunt, nec ut fugerent.	After forcing the enemies in one single citadel, the Romans blockaded the <i>portus</i> and even the sea. [The Carthaginians] excavated themselves a <i>portus</i> from another side of the city, in case they could escape.

Florus, <i>Epitome</i> , 1.40	
Itaque L. Sulla festinat, vir armis optimus, parique violentia ruentem ulterius hostem quadam quasi manu reppulit. Primumque Athenas urbem [...] frugum parentem, obsidione ac fame ad humanos cibos compulit; mox subrutus Piraei portus sex aut amplius muris cinctus.	Therefore, Lucius Sulla hurries, an excellent man at arms, and storming in with the same force dives the enemy away as if it was [just] a squadron. And [arriving] first at the city of Athens, he produced nourishment, he gathered the people around the food away from the famine caused by the siege, once he had broken into the port of Piraeus, enclosed by walls of six [feet] or larger.

Florus, <i>Epitome</i> , 2.18	
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<p>Quippe interciso Herculanae viae limite refossisque litoribus Lucrinus lacus mutatus in portum eique interrupto medio additus est Avernus, ut in illa aquarum quiete classis exercita imaginem belli navalis agitaret.</p>	<p>Thus, cutting the edge of the Via Herculana and digging the shores, the Lucrine Lake was transformed into a <i>portus</i> and after removing [the land] in between, the Lake Avernus was added to it, so that in the calmness of those waters the fleet can manoeuvre and practice the imitation of a naval war.</p>
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Frontinus, *Stratagemata*, 1.5.6

<p>C. Duellius consul in portu Syracusano, quem temere intraverat, obiecta ad ingressum catena clausus universos in puppem rettulit milites atque ita resupina navigia magna remigantium vi concitavit: levatae prorae super catenam processerunt. Qua parte superata transgressi rursus milites proras presserunt, in quas versum pondus decursum super catenam dedit navibus.</p>	<p>The consul Gaius Duellius was afraid of sailing into the <i>portus</i> of Syracuse because a chain (<i>catena</i>) had been thrown across its entrance and he was barred. He gathered all his soldiers in the sterns, and having thus made the ships face upwards, he urged the force of the oarsmen. They advanced with the bows raised up above the chain. When they had passed that part, he moved the soldiers again to put pressure on the bows, the weight was transferred there and thus the ships gave way over the chain.</p>
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Hyginus Gromaticus, *Constitutio Limitum*, 144-145

<p>Hanc constituendorum limitum rationem seruare debemus, si huic postulationi uel locorum natura suffragabit. Saepe enim propter portum colonia ad mare ponitur. Cuius fines aquam non possunt excedere, hoc est litore terminantur; et cum sit colonia ipsa in litore, fines a decimano maximo et kardine in omnes quattuor partes aequaliter accipere non potest.</p>	<p>We have to keep this proportion throughout the establishment of the [city] limits if the project or the nature of the place is to be favourable. For a colony is often placed close to a port. Its limits cannot go beyond the water, that is, they end at the shoreline (<i>litus</i>), and if the colony itself was on the shore (<i>litus</i>), it cannot take equal limits in all four parts</p>
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Quaedam propter aquae commodum monti applicantur; quarum aequae decumanus maximus aut kardo relictis locis intercitur ita, si trans montem coloniae fines perducuntur.	from the Decumanus Maximus and the Cardo. Because of the water it is beneficial to built it on a hill, so that the Decumanus Maximus or the Cardo are intersected equally at the remaining places, if the limits of the colony are extended beyond the hill.
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Historia Augusta, Life of Antoninus Pius, 8.3

Fari restitutio Caietae portus, Terracinensis portus restitutio, lavacrum Ostiense, Antiatium aquae ductus, templa Lanuviana.	[Sources] mention the restoration of the port of Caieta, the restoration of the port of Tarracina, the baths at Ostia, the Antian aqueduct and the temples at Lanuvium.
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Historia Augusta, Life of the two Maximini, 23.1-2

Quare Maximinus sperans suorum ignavia bellum trahi duces suos interemit, eo tempore quo minime oportebat. Unde sibi milites etiam iratiores reddidit. Huc accedebat, quod defiebat commeatibus, quia senatus ad omnes provincias et portuum custodes litteras dederat, ne aliquid commeatuum in Maximini potestatem veniret.	Maximinus, fooled that the war was dragging on due to the cowardice of his men, killed his generals at the time when it was least convenient. Because of this the soldiers became even more angry against him. It also happened that supplies were running out, because the senate had sent letters to all provinces and supervisors of the <i>portus</i> , that no supplies should come into the power of Maximinus.
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Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, 14.40

Portus autem locus est ab accessu ventorum remotus, ubi hiberna opponere solent: et portus dictus a deportandis commerciis.	A <i>portus</i> is a place sheltered from the impact of the winds, where [ships] are usually kept for the winter: and the <i>portus</i> is called from the <i>ex-port</i> of merchandise.
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<p>Hamilcarem Poenosque ea condicione ut foedus extemplo aequis legibus fieret in urbem acceperunt [...]. Locrensibus iussu Hannibalis data pax ut liberi suis legibus uiuerent, urbs pateret Poenis, portus in potestate Locrensi esset, societas eo iure staret ut Poenus Locrensem Locrensisque Poenum pace ac bello iuuaret.</p>	<p>[The Locrians] received Hamilcar and the Carthaginians under the condition that they would make a treatise in equal terms without delay [...]. On the orders of Hannibal, peace was granted to the Locrians so they could live free under their own laws, the city would be open to the Carthaginians, the port would remain under the control of the Locrians, and an alliance would be such that the Carthaginian would help the Locrian and the Locrian the Carthaginian both in peace and in war.</p>
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Livy, 25.26

<p>Hippocrates castris ad magnum portum communitis signoque iis dato qui Achradinam tenebant castra uetera Romanorum adortus est, quibus Crispinus praeerat, et Epicydes eruptionem in stationes Marcelli fecit et classis Punica litori, quod inter urbem et castra Romana erat, adpulsa est ne quid praesidii Crispino summitti a Marcello posset.</p>	<p>Hippocrates, after fortifying the camp by the Great Port [of Syracuse], gave the sign to those that were occupying Achradina and launched an attack against the old Roman camp, which Crispinus commanded. Epicydes made a sally against the outposts of Marcellus. The Carthaginian fleet disembarked on the shore between the city and the Roman camp, so that no reinforcements could be sent to Crispinus from Marcellus.</p>
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Livy, 25.30

<p>In tempore legati a Marcello redierunt, falsa eos suspitione incitatos memorantes nec causam expetendae poenae eorum ullam Romanis esse. Erat e tribus Achradinae praefectis Hispanus Moericus nomine. Ad eum</p>	<p>At the right time the ambassadors from Marcellus came back, they said they had been tricked by false suspicion and that there was no reason to demand any punishment from the Romans. Of the three prefects of Achradina¹³⁶, one was a Spaniard, Moericus by name. One</p>
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¹³⁶ One of the districts in Syracuse.

<p>inter comites legatorum de industria unus ex Hispanorum auxiliariis est missus, qui sine arbitris Moericum nanctus primum, quo in statu reliquisset Hispaniam—et nuper inde uenerat—exponit [...]. Motus his Moericus, cum legatos ad Marcellum mitti placuisset [...]. Partibus diuidendis ipsi regio euenit ab Arethusa fonte usque ad ostium magni portus: id ut scirent Romani fecit. Itaque Marcellus nocte nauem onerariam cum armatis remulco quadriremis trahi ad Achradinam iussit exponique milites regione portae quae prope fontem Arethusam est. Hoc cum quarta uigilia factum esset expositosque milites porta, ut conuenerat, recepisset Moericus.</p>	<p>of the Hispanic auxiliaries was sent to him on purpose among the followers of the ambassadors. He met with Moericus without intermediaries and told him first in what state he had abandoned Hispania, and how he recently arrived there [...]. Moved by these things, Moericus decided to send ambassadors to Marcellus [...]. Upon the distribution of the parts, the region assigned to [Mericus] was from the fountain of Arethusa up to the mouth of the Great Harbour, he made the Romans aware. Then Marcellus at night ordered a cargo ship to be towed with a cable from fully-armed quadriremes against Achradina and to post the soldiers at the area of the gate which is near the fountain of Arethusa. By the fourth vigil¹³⁷ this had been done and the soldiers were posted at the gate, and as agreed, Moericus let them in.</p>
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Livy, 26.20.7-11

<p>aestatis eius extremo qua capta est Capua et Scipio in Hispaniam uenit, Punica classis ex Sicilia Tarentum accita ad arcendos commeatus praesidii Romani quod in arce Tarentina erat, clauserat quidem omnes ad arcem a mari aditus, sed adsidendo diutius artioremm annonam sociis quam hosti faciebat; non enim tantum subuehi oppidanis per pacata litora apertosque portus praesidio</p>	<p>That same summer when Capua was taken and Scipio arrived in Spain, the Carthaginian fleet from Sicilia was summoned to Tarentum in order to shut down the transport of supplies to the Roman battalion that was in the Tarentine citadel. Thus, they closed all access to the sea for those at the citadel, but the long-term blocking of the <i>annona</i> caused more scarcity among their allies than among their enemies. For the townspeople could not at all be supported through the pacified shores (<i>litora</i>) and the open</p>
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¹³⁷ 3-6 am.

<p>nauium Punicarum poterat quantum frumenti classis ipsa turba nauali mixta ex omni genere hominum absumebat, ut arcis praesidium etiam sine inuecto quia pauci erant ex ante praeparato sustentari posset, Tarentinis classique ne inuectum quidem sufficeret. tandem maiore gratia quam uenerat classis dimissa est; annona haud multum laxauerat quia remoto maritimo praesidio subuehi frumentum non poterat.</p>	<p><i>portus</i> with the protection of the Carthaginian ships inasmuch as the grain of the [annonarian] fleet was consumed by that same mob of mixed mariners from all nations of men. In consequence, the battalion in the citadel, even without the introduction [of more supplies], could subsist with what they had prepared before because they were few, but for the Tarentinians and the fleet not even the [new supplies] introduced were enough. Eventually the fleet was sent away with more joy than it had come, but the <i>annona</i> did not expand much because when the garrison at sea was removed grain could not be brought in at all.</p>
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Livy, 26.42	
<p>Carthaginem Nouam interim oppugnare statuit urbem [...], sitam praeterea cum opportune ad traiciendum in Africam tum super portum satis amplum quantaueis classi et nescio an unum in Hispaniae ora qua nostro adiacet mari. [...] Etenim sita Carthago sic est. sinus est maris media fere Hispaniae ora, maxime Africo uento oppositus, <ad duo milia> et quingentos passus introrsus retractus, paululo plus passuum <mille et ducentos> in latitudinem patens. huius in ostio sinus parua insula obiecta ab alto portum ab omnibus uentis praeterquam Africo tutum facit. ab intimo sinu paeneinsula excurrit, tumulus is ipse in quo condita urbs est, ab ortu solis et a</p>	<p>In the meantime, he determined to attack New Carthage [...], which is situated at the most convenient point for the journey into Africa, besides the port is quite large [to receive] a fleet as big as you wish, and I do not know of any other in the shores of Hispania that faces our [Italian] sea. [...] (New) Carthage is positioned in this way: there is a bay in the sea in a central point in the Hispanic shore, facing the wind from Africa, indented two thousand and five hundred miles, and a bit more than 1,200 miles in width. In the mouth of this bay there is a small island situated at the deeper part of the port, which protects against all the winds except for the African. In the innermost part of the bay, a peninsula</p>

meridie cincta mari: ab occasu stagnum claudit paulum etiam ad septentrionem fusum, incertae altitudinis utcumque exaestuat aut deficit mare. continenti urbem iugum ducentos fere et quinquaginta passus patens coniungit.	extends, where the city itself is founded on a hill, surrounded by the sea from the east and the south. To the west, it is enclosed by a pool lying a bit to the north, its depth changes with the rise and fall of the tide. A stretch of land about 250 feet connects the city with the land.
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Livy, 27.15	
Q. Fabius consul oppidum in Sallentinis Manduriam ui cepit [...]. Inde Tarentum profectus in ipsis faucibus portus posuit castra.	The consul Quintus Fabius took by force the town of Manduria in the Sallentine territory [...]. From there he departed to Tarentum and set the camp at the very mouth of the <i>portus</i> .

Livy, 28.17-18	
ipse cum C. Laelio duabus quinqueremibus ab Carthagine profectus tranquillo mari plurimum remis, interdum et leni adiuuante uento, in Africam traiecit. Forte ita incidit ut eo ipso tempore Hasdrubal, pulsus Hispania, septem triremibus portum inuectus, ancoris positis terrae applicaret naues cum conspectae duae quinqueremes, haud cuiquam dubio quin hostium essent opprimique a pluribus priusquam portum intrarent possent nec ultra tumultum ciere quisquam in regio portu audebat. percussa enim ex alto uela paulo acriori uento prius in portum intulerunt quinqueremes quam Poeni	[Scipio] himself with Gaius Laelius and two quinqueremes departed from [New] Carthage with much rowing because the sea was calm; eventually, and with the help of a gentle breeze, he crossed into Africa. By chance it happened that at the same time Hasdrubal, expelled from Spain, had sailed into the port with seven triremes. He was reaching land after throwing the anchors when the two quinqueremes were sighted, and nobody doubted that they were the enemy's, and that they would be destroyed by the superior numbers [of Hasdrubal's soldiers] before they could enter the port, nor did anyone stir further trouble in the port of the King [Syphax]. But [Scipio's quinqueremes] deployed the sails from the high seas and with

<p>ancoras molirentur [...]. Ita in terram prior Hasdrubal, mox Scipio et Laelius egressi ad regem pergunt. [...] Scipio, foedere icto cum Syphace, profectus ex Africa dubiisque et plerumque saevis in alto iactatus uentis die quarto Nouae Carthaginis portum tenuit.</p>	<p>a slightly sharp wind they reached the port before the Carthaginians could even raise the anchors [...]. So Hasdrubal disembarked first, and then Scipio and Laelius, and they went to the king [Syphax]. [...] Once he had arranged a treatise with Syphax, Scipio departed Africa, he was tossed by changing and very strong winds on the high seas and reached the port of New Carthage on the fourth day.</p>
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Livy, 29.27	
<p>iam terram cernebant. haud ita multo post gubernator Scipioni ait non plus quinque milia passuum Africam abesse; Mercuri promunturium se cernere; si iubeat eo dirigi, iam in portu fore omnem classem. Scipio [...] dare uela et alium infra nauibus accessum petere iubet. Vento eodem ferebantur; ceterum nebula [...] conspectum terrae ademit et uentus premente nebula cecidit. Nox deinde incertiora omnia fecit; itaque ancoras ne aut inter se concurrerent naues aut terrae inferrentur iecere. ubi inluxit, uentus idem coortus nebula disiecta aperuit omnia Africae litora. Scipio quod esset proximum promuntorium percontatus cum Pulchri promunturium id uocari audisset, 'placet omen;' inquit 'huc dirigite naues.' eo classis decurrit, copiaequae omnes in terram expositae sunt.</p>	<p>They were already seeing the land. Not much later, Scipio's helmsman said that Africa was at no longer than five miles, he could see the Promontory of Mercury. If he ordered to go there, the whole fleet would be at harbour. Scipio [...] ordered to set sail and to make for other land side under the ships. They were carried by the wind, but fog [...] blurred the sight of land and the wind ceased pressured by the fog. Night made everything more uncertain, therefore they dropped the anchors so that the ships would not crash into each other or run aground. When daylight came, the wind rose and faded the fog away, opening the whole coast of Africa. Scipio asked what was the closest promontory and upon hearing it was the Promontory of Pulcher, he said: "I like this omen, direct the ships there." The fleet sailed for that place, and all the troops disembarked on land.</p>

Livy, 30.24	
<p>Per indutiarum tempus ex Sardinia a P. Lentulo praetore centum onerariae naues cum commeatu uiginti rostratarum praesidio, et ab hoste et ab tempestatibus mari tuto, in Africam transmiserunt. Cn. Octauio ducentis onerariis triginta longis nauibus ex Sicilia traicienti non eadem fortuna fuit. In conspectum ferme Africae prospero cursu uectum primo destituit uentus, deinde uersus in Africum turbauit ac passim naues disiecit. ipse cum rostratis per aduersos fluctus ingenti remigum labore enisus Apollinis promunturium tenuit: onerariae pars maxima ad Aegimurum insulam—ea sinum ab alto claudit in quo sita Carthago est, triginta ferme milia ab urbe—, aliae aduersus urbem ipsam ad Calidas Aquas delatae sunt. omnia in conspectu Carthaginis erant. itaque ex tota urbe in forum concursum est; magistratus senatum uocare: populus in curiae uestibulo fremere ne tanta ex oculis manibusque amitteretur praeda. [...] Consensum est ut classem quinquaginta nauium Hasdrubal Aegimurum traiceret, inde per litora portusque dispersas Romanas naues conligeret.</p>	<p>Around the time of the truce the praetor Lentulus transferred from Sardinia with a hundred cargo ships (<i>naues onerariae</i>) with supplies and twenty warships (<i>rostratae</i>) for protection, the sea being free both from the enemy and from the tempests. Gnaeus Octavius with two hundred cargo ships (<i>onerariae</i>) and thirty warships (<i>longae naues</i>) did not have the same luck. When they already had Africa in sight after a prosperous journey, first the wind disappeared, then revolved against Africa and scattered the ships. [Octavius] himself with the warships (<i>rostratae</i>) reached the promontory of Apollo against the currents with a great effort from the oarsmen, the bigger part of the cargo ships (<i>onerariae</i>) [drifted] to the island of Aegimurus – it encloses the bay from the high seas, in which Carthago is situated, about thirty miles from the city. The rest [of the cargo ships] drifted against the very city [of Carthago] into Calidae Aquae. All were at the sight of Carthage. Thus, [people] from the whole city gathered in the forum, the magistrate called for the senate: the townspeople were impatient at the entrance of the curia, so that they wouldn't miss such a large booty from their eyes and from their hands. [...] It was decided that Hasdrubal would cross to Aegimurus with a fleet of fifty ships and from there he would collect the</p>

	Roman ships which were scattered through the shores (<i>litora</i>) and ports (<i>portus</i>).
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Livy, 30.39	
Claudium consulem profectum tandem ab urbe inter portus Cosanum Loretanumque atrox uis tempestatis adorta in metum ingentem adduxit. Populonium inde cum peruenisset stetitque ibi dum reliquum tempestatis exsaeuaret, Iluam insulam et ab Ilua Corsicam, a Corsica in Sardiniam traiecit.	When the consul Claudius finally departed from the city, a violent storm arose between the ports of Cosa and Loretum ¹³⁸ , and it caused a great fear. He reached the town of Populonium and waited there until the rest of the storm vanished, then he crossed to the Ilua Isle and from Ilua into Corsica and from Corsica into Sardinia.

Livy, 32.18	
Itaque relicta obsidione, quia nullus in tota Acarnaniae atque Aetoliae ora portus erat qui simul et omnes onerarias quae commeatum exercitui portabant caperet et tecta ad hibernandum legionibus praerberet, Anticyra in Phocide in Corinthium uersa sinum ad id opportunissime sita uisa, quia nec procul Thessalia hostiumque locis aberat et ex aduerso Peloponnesum exiguo maris spatio diuisam, ab tergo Aetoliam Acarnaniamque, ab lateribus Locridem ac Boeotiam habebat.	The siege was abandoned because in the whole of the Acarnanian and Aetolian shores there was no <i>portus</i> that could accommodate all the cargo ships at once that brought the supplies for the army and that would furnish shelter for the hibernation of the legions. Anticyra in Phocis, which faces the Gulf of Corinth, was seen as most conveniently situated, because it was not far from Thessaly and the locations of the enemies, it had the Peloponnesus in front, separated by just a small stretch of sea, and Aetolia and Acarnania at the back, Locris and Boeotia at the sides.

Livy, 35.12.14-17	
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¹³⁸ I have not been able to locate this *portus Loretanus*.

<p>haec Philippo Nicander: alia Dicaearchus Antiocho; et omnium primum praedam de Philippo Romanorum esse dicere, uictoriam Aetolorum, et aditum in Graeciam Romanis nullos alios quam Aetolos dedisse et ad uincendum uires eosdem praebuisse; deinde quantas peditum equitumque copias praebituri Antiocho ad bellum essent, quae loca terrestribus copiis, quos portus maritimis. tum de Philippo et Nabide libero mendacio abutebatur: paratum utrumque ad rebellandum esse et primam quamque occasionem recipendi ea quae bello amisissent arrepturos. ita per totum simul orbem terrarum Aetoli Romanis concitabant bellum.</p>	<p>Nicander [used] these arguments with Philip; Dicaearchus [used] others with Antiochus. And first of all he said that Philip's spoils belonged to the Romans, but the victory, to the Aetolians, and added that no other tribes than the Aetolians had given the Romans [access] to Greece and had offered their forces for the victory. Next, [he listed] how many troops of infantry and cavalry were ready to be offered to Antiochus at war, what places for the land troops and what sea <i>portus</i>. Then, he deceived them with a lie free from Philip and Nabis¹³⁹: that both were ready to rebel and to seize the the first opportunity to recover what they had lost in the war. Thus, the Aetolians were urging war against the Romans simultaneously all around the world.</p>
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Livy, 35.39	
<p>Villius quinqueremi naue ad ostium portus est inuectus. Eo multitudo Magnetum omnis cum se effudisset, quaesiuit Villius utrum ad amicos an ad hostes uenisse se mallent. respondit Magnetarches Eurylochus ad amicos uenisse eum, sed abstineret portu et sineret Magnetas in concordia et libertate esse nec per conloquii speciem multitudinem sollicitaret.</p>	<p>Villius arrived at the mouth of the <i>portus</i> with a ship of five banks. When the whole people of the Magnetes arrived there, Villius asked whether they preferred that they came as friends or foes. The Magnetarch Eurylochus replied that they came as friends to him, but he should not enter the <i>portus</i> and allow the Magnetes to leave in peace and freedom, and not stir up the people with the excuse of a conference.</p>

¹³⁹ I.e. neither king Philip V of Macedon nor Nabis, the ruler of Sparta, were present to contradict Dicaearchus and tell King Antiochus that it was a lie that they were preparing war.

Livy, 35.48	
<p>Antiochi legatus prior quam Aetoli est auditus. Is, ut plerique quos opes regia alunt, uaniloquus maria terrasque inani sonitu uerborum compleuit: equitum innumerabilem uim traici Hellesponto in Europam, partim loricated, quos cataphractos uocant, partim sagittis ex equo utentes [...], adiciebat multiplices copias peditum [...], naualium uero copiarum, quas nulli portus capere in Graecia possent, dextrum cornu Sidonios et Tyrios, sinistrum Aradios et ex Pamphylia Sidetas tenere, quas gentes nullae unquam nec arte nec uirtute nauali aequassent.</p>	<p>The ambassador of Antiochus spoke before the Aetolian. He, like so many others nourished by kingly riches, filled the seas and the lands with the vain and void sound of words: an infinite force of cavalry was crossing the Hellespont into Europe. Part of them were armoured – which they call <i>cataphracti</i> – and the other part were shooting arrows from the horse [...]. He added many troops of infantry [...]. As for the marine troops, which no port in Greece was able to accommodate, the right wing [was formed by] Sidonians and Tyrians, the left one with Aradians and Sidetae from Pamphylia, no other nation could ever equal those in their naval skill or virtue.</p>

Livy, 36.43	
<p>Liuium Deli per aliquot dies—et est uentosissima regio inter Cycladas fretis alias maioribus, alias minoribus diuisis—aduersi uenti tenuerunt. Polyxenidas certior per dispositas speculatorias naues factus Deli stare Romanam classem, nuntios ad regem misit. [...] Polyxenidas negabat cessandum et utique prius confligendum quam classis Eumenis et Rhodiae naues coniungerentur Romanis; ita numero non ferme impares futuros se, ceteris omnibus superiores, et</p>	<p>Contrary winds detained Livy in Delos for several days – and it is a very windy region between the bigger and smaller Cyclades [islands] separated by straits. Polyxenidas was informed by his arranged spying ships that the Roman fleet was staying at Delos, he sent messengers to the king. [...] Polyxenidas was denying that they had to give up, and said they had to attack before the fleet of Eumenes and the Rhodian ships joined the Romans. Thus, they would not be very unequal in numbers, and they would be</p>

celeritate nauium et uarietate auxiliorum. [...] multum etiam adiuturam notitiam maris terrarumque et uentorum, quae omnia ignaros turbatura hostis essent.	superior in other things: the speed of the ships and the variety of auxiliary troops. [...] They would get a greater advantage by their knowledge of the sea, the land and the winds, all of which would throw their unskilled enemies into confusion.
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Livy, 37.11	
Forte quidam Antiochi miles, cum Samum rei priuatae causa uenisset, pro speculatore deprehensus deducitur Panhormum ad praefectum. Is percunctanti, quid Ephesi ageretur, incertum metu an erga suos haud sincera fide, omnia aperit: classem instructam paratamque in portu stare; remigium omne Magnesiam ad Sipylum missum; perpaucas naues subductas esse et naualia detegi; numquam intentius rem naualem administratam esse.	By chance, a soldier of Antiochus happened to come to Samos on private business. He was arrested as a spy and brought to the prefect at Panhormus. When he asked what was happening at Ephesus, it is uncertain whether out of fear, or because he didn't have an honest trust towards his superiors but [the soldier] told everything [about the treachery]: the fleet was ordered and ready in the <i>portus</i> , every oarsmen had been sent to Sipylus in Magnesia, a few ships had been beached and the shipsheds (<i>navalia</i>) had been dismantled. Never had the naval affairs been administered with greater will.

Livy, 37.14	
se in animo habuisse tota classe Ephesum petere et onerarias ducere multa saburra grauatas, atque eas in faucibus portus suppressere; et eo minoris molimenti ea claustra esse, quod in fluminis modum longum et angustum et uadosum ostium portus sit. ita adempturum se maris usum	He had in his mind to make for Ephesus with the whole fleet and to bring along cargo ships laden with lots of gravel, and to sink those at the entrance of the port, and thus shut it with the least effort, since access to the port is like a long and narrow river, full of shallows. In this way he would

hostibus fuisse inutilemque classem facturum.	deprive the enemies of the use of the sea and would make their fleet useless.
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Livy, 37.27	
itaque priusquam appropinquaret classis Myonnesum perfugerunt, unde se e portu ratus abstracturum naues, ignarus loci sequebatur praetor. Myonnesus promunturium inter Teum Samumque est. Ipse collis est in modum metae in acutum cacumen a fundo satis lato fastigatus; a continenti artae semitae aditum habet, a mari exesae fluctibus rupes claudunt, ita ut quibusdam locis superpendentia saxa plus in altum, quam quae in statione sunt naues, promineant. circa ea appropinquare non ausae naues, ne sub ictu superstantium rupibus piratarum essent, diem triuere. Tandem sub noctem uano incepto cum abstitissent, Teum postero die accessere et in portu, qui ab tergo urbis est—Geraesticum ipsi appellant.	Before the fleet came too close, [the pirates] fled to the Myonnesos, then the praetor, hoping to compel the ships out of the harbour, pursued them despite being unfamiliar with the place. Myonnesos is a promontory between Teos and Samos. The place itself is a hill in the shape of a pyramid with a sharp point rising from a rather wide base. A narrow strait from the continent gives access to it, and some consumed rocks close it from the currents, like in some places where overhanging rocks cover the ships that are stationed underneath them. The ships did not dare approach them, in case the pirates would throw rocks at them from above, so they wore out the day. Just before nightfall they gave up their useless attempt, the next day they arrived at the port in Teos, which is behind the city – they call it Geraesticus.

Livy, 37.32	
Quia hiems iam appetebat, Phocaeae portus ad hibernandum classi delegit.	As winter was already close, he directed the fleet to the <i>portus</i> of Phocaeae for wintering.

Livy, 39.26	
Nam quae sibi crimina obiciantur de insidiis legatorum et maritimis	Some accusations were thrown to him, [king Philip,] about the ambushes to the legates and

portubus frequentatis aut desertis, alterum ridiculum esse, se reddere rationem, quos portus mercatores aut nautici petant, alterum mores respuere suos.	about the maritime ports being crowded or deserted. To the second, [he replied] it was ridiculous that he was held responsible for what ports the merchants or the sailors made for; to the first, that he disliked their customs.
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Livy, 40.4.11	
ceterum in aduersum uentum nequiquam eos tendentes prope terram lux oppressit, et regii, qui praeerant custodiae portus, lembum armatum ad retrahendam eam nauem miserunt cum graui edicto, ne reuenterentur sine ea.	However big their efforts against the wind, daylight caught them near the land, and the royal [guards] who were in charge of the security of the port sent an armed boat to capture that ship with strict orders not to return without it.

Livy, 40.51	
Censores fidei concordia senatum legerunt. [...] Opera ex pecunia attributa diuisaque inter se haec fecerunt. [...] M. Fuluius plura et maioris locauit usus: portum et pilas pontis in Tiberi, quibus pilis fornices post aliquot annos P. Scipio Africanus et L. Mummius censores locauerunt, imponendos; basilicam post argentarias nouas et forum piscatorium circumdatis tabernis quas uendidit in priuatum; et porticum extra portam Trigeminam, et aliam post naualia et ad fanum Herculis et post Spei ad Tiberim <et ad> aedem Apollinis medici.	The censors elected the senate in loyal concord. [...] They attributed themselves the [public] works and distributed them among themselves to execute them. [...] Marcus Fulvius gave [the money] a more numerous and greater use: he had the port and the pillars of the bridge on the Tiber put into place. Publius Scipio Africanus and Lucius Mummius disposed the arches for those pillars many years later. He [also built] the basilica behind the <i>argentariae novae</i> ¹⁴⁰ and the Forum Piscatorium, surrounded by taverns, which he sold to private individuals, and the porticus outside the Porta Trigemina, and another one after the shipsheds (<i>navalia</i>) and by the shrine of Hercules and after the Spes ¹⁴¹ by the Tiber and by the temple of Apollo Medicus.

¹⁴⁰ A set of shops and taverns. See Platner-Ashby, 2015, s.v. *tabernae circa forum*.

¹⁴¹ The temple or the aqueduct of the Spes Vetus.

Livy, 44.28	
Cassandreae deductae naues in portus primum, qui sub Atho monte sunt, <in>de Tenedum placido mari cum traiecissent.	The ships were brought out from Cassandra, they first [stopped] at the ports that lie under Mount Athos, from there, they crossed into Tenedos with a calm sea.

Livy, 45.6	
Demetrium est portus in promunturio quodam Samothraeae; ibi lembus stabat.	Demetrium is a port at some promontory in Samothrace, the boat was there.

Plautus, <i>Menaechmi</i> , 2.2.65-72	
Morem hunc meretrices habent: ad portum mittunt servolos, ancillulas; si quae peregrina navis in portum advenit, rogitant cuiatis sit, quid ei nomen siet, postilla extemplo se applicant, agglutinant: si pellexerunt, perditum amittunt domum. Nunc in istoc portu stat navis praedatoria, aps qua cavendum nobis sane censeo.	The prostitutes have this habit: they send slaves and maidservants to the <i>portus</i> , and if some foreign ship arrives at the port, they enquire whose it is, what their name is, then they immediately gather together, they group. If they entice [the sailors], they send him to the house of perdition. Now in this <i>portus</i> there is a ship of plunder, from which I believe we'd better beware.

Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 2.201	
Eadem nascentium causa terrarum est [...]. Nascuntur enim, nec fluminum tantum inventu, sicut Echinades insulae ab Acheloo amne congestae maiorque pars Aegypti a Nilo, in quam a Pharo insula noctis et diei cursum fuisse Homero credimus, nec recessu maris, sicuti olim Cerceis. Quod accidisse [...] et Ephesius quondam aedem Dianae	The cause for the generation of lands is this. For [new land] is generated not only from the sediments of the rivers, like the Echinades islands from the Achelous river and a larger part of Egypt from the Nile (if we believe Homer, the crossing from Pharos island used to take a night and a day), but also from the retreat of the sea, like Cerceis in ancient times. The same occurred [...] to Ephesus, [where

adluebat. Herodoto quidem si credimus, mare fuit supra Memphim usque ad Aethiopum montes itemque a planis Arabiae, mare circa Ilium et tota Teuthraniae quaque campos intulerit Maeander.	the sea] once washed the temple of Diana. If we believe Herodotus, the sea reached just above Memphis until the Aethiopian Mounts, and also towards the Arabian plains, and also around Troy and the whole of Teuthras, where the Maeander has now created fields.
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Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 3.119

Augusta fossa Ravennam trahitur, ubi Padusa vocatur, quondam Messanicus appellatus. proximum inde ostium magnitudinem portus habet qui Vatreni dicitur, qua Claudius Caesar e Britannia triumphans praegrandi illa domo verius quam nave intravit Hadriam.	The Fossa Augusta carries [the river Po] to Ravenna, that place is called Padusa, once it was called Messanicus. The nearby mouth has the amplitude for a port, which is called Vatreni, where Claudius Caesar after his triumph in Britannia entered Hadria in that huge palace, rather than ship.
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Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 3.151

Insulae in Ausonio mari praeter iam dictas memoratu dignae nullae, in Ionio paucae Calabro litore ante Brundisium, quarum obiectu portus efficitur.	There are no other islands in the Ausonian sea worthy of mention apart from those already mentioned; in the Ionian sea, only a few in the Calabrian coast opposite Brundisium, whose port is made with the presence of these islands.
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Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 4.16-17

omnes autem Maleo promunturium includuntur. Qui sequitur sinus ad Scyllaeum Argolicus appellatur, traiectu L, idem ambitu CLXII. oppida Boea, Epidaurus Limera cognomine, Zerax, Cyphans portus.	All of these are included Cape Malea. The bay that follows up to Scyllaeum is called Argolic, 50 (miles?) across, and 162 in perimeter. The towns are Boea, Epidaurus surnamed Limera, Zarax and Port Cyphas.
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Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 5.124	
est tamen, <u>t prius, Scamandria civitas parva ac MM D p. remotum a portu Ilium immune, unde omnis rerum claritas.	Scamandria, as [I said] before, is a small city, and 2,500 miles away from the port, which is exempt from tax (<i>immunis</i>), there is Troy, where all illustrious things [happened].

Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 6.110	
A promunturio Carmanis iunguntur Harmozaei. [...] Ibi portus Macedonum et arae Alexandri in promunturio.	From the promontory, the Carmanians border with the Harmozaei. [...] In that promontory there is the Port of the Macedonians and the Altar of Alexander.

Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 6.150	
Dabanegoris regio, mons Orsa cum portu, sinus Duatas, insulae multae, mons Tricoryphos, regio Chardaleon...	The Region of Dabanegoris, Mount Orsa with its port, Duatas bay, many islands, Mount Tricoryphos, Chardaleon region...

Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 6.165	
Daneon Portus, ex quo navigabilem alveum perducere in Nilum qua parte ad Delta dictum decurrit, $\overline{\text{Ixii}}$ d intervallo, quod inter flumen et Rubrum Mare interest, primus omnium Sesostris Aegypti rex cogitavit, mox Darius Persarum, deinde Ptolemaeus Sequens, qui et duxit fossam latitudine pedum c, altitudine xxx, in longitudinem $\overline{\text{xxxiv}}$ d p. usque ad Fontes Amaros.	Danaeon Portus, from where a navigable canal (<i>alveum</i>) reaches all the way to the Nile at the so-called Delta, a distance of 62,500 feet, which is between the river and the Red Sea. First of all it was planned by the Egyptian king Sesostris, but it was Darius of the Persians, and then Ptolemy the Second, who dug the trench in a width of a hundred feet and a depth of thirty, and 34,500 feet in length up to the Bitter Springs.

Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 9.14-15	
<p>Orca et in portu Ostiensi visa est oppugnata a Claudio principe. Venera<t> tum exaedificante eo portum, invitata naufragiis tergorum advectorum e Gallia, satiansque se per conplures dies alveum in vado sulcaverat, adtumulata fluctibus in tantum, ut circumagi nullo modo posset et, dum sag<i>nam persequitur in litus fluctibus propulsam, emineret dorso multum super aquas carinae vice inversae. Praetendi iussit Caesar plagas multiplices inter ora portus profectusque ipse cum praetorianis cohortibus p<opulo> R<omano> spectaculum praebuit, lanceas congerente milite e navigiis adsultantibus, quorum unum mergi vidimus reflatu beluae oppletum unda.</p>	<p>A killer whale was seen in the port of Ostia ¹⁴² and attacked by the emperor Claudius. It came during his construction of the port, attracted by the wrecks of the last arrivals from Gallia. After eating for many days, it went through a river into a shallow, and it became so stuck in the currents that it could not turn around and, while it was chasing the food washed against the shores by the currents, its back stood out much above the water, like a capsized keel. [Claudius] Caesar ordered to spread many nets between the banks of the <i>portus</i> and he himself went out with the praetorian cohorts to offer a show for the Roman people, with the soldiers brandishing lances from the assaulting ships, one of which we saw sinking due to the breath full of water of the monster.</p>

Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 9.50-51	
<p>Sed in Pontum nulla intrat bestia piscibus malefica praeter vitulos et parvos delphinos. Th<y>nni dextera ripa intrant, exeunt laeva. [...] Opperiuntur autem aquilonis flatum, ut secundo fluctu exeant e Ponto, nec nisi intrantes po<r>tum Byzantium capiuntur.</p>	<p>In the Pontus Euxinus there is no beast damaging for the fish except for seals and small dolphins. The tunnies enter it from the right shore and leave it on the left. [...] They wait for the blowing of the north wind and leave the Pontus following the currents, they are captured as they enter the <i>portus</i> of Byzantium.</p>

¹⁴² Claudius's Basin at Portus?

Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 34.74	
Cephisodorus Minervam mirabilem in portu Atheniensium et aram ad templum Iovis Servatoris in eodem portu, cui pauca comparantur.	Cephisodorus [made] the wonderful Minerva in the <i>portus</i> of the Athenians and the altar at the temple of Jupiter Servator in the same <i>portus</i> , with whom few [artists] can compare themselves.

Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 35.140	
Ctesicles reginae Stratonices iniuria. Nullo enim honore exceptus ab ea pinxit volutantem cum piscatore, quem reginam amare sermo erat, eamque tabulam in portu Ephesi proposuit, ipse velis raptus. Regina tolli vetuit, utriusque similitudine mire expressa.	Ctesicles [became famous] for his insult to queen Stratonice. As he received no honour from her, he painted her eloping with a fisherman, with whom the queen was said to have an affair, and he put the painting in the <i>portus</i> of Ephesus, and he himself made a swift escape by ship. The queen banned to take it away, as she was so surprised at the resemblance between the two ¹⁴³ .

Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 36.70	
divus Augustus eam, quae priorem advexerat, miraculi gratia Puteolis perpetuis navalibus dicaverat; incendio consumpta ea est. Divus Claudius aliquot per annos adservatam qua C. Caesar inportaverat omnibus quae umquam in mari visa sunt mirabiliorem, in ipsa turribus Puteolis e pulvere	The Deified Augustus dedicated that [ship] which transported the first [obelisk] to the permanent shipsheds (<i>navalia</i>) at Puteoli for the sake of admiration, but that one was burnt down. The Deified Claudius preserved for a number of years [that ship] with which Gaius Caesar imported [the obelisk] most beautiful of all those ever seen in the sea. He brought it to

¹⁴³ I. e. the queen in person and the portrait.

exaedificatis, perductam Ostiam portus gratia mersit.	Ostia and sunk it for the sake of the port, and built towers with powder of Puteoli ¹⁴⁴ on it.
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Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 36.124-125

Eiusdem Claudii inter maximam memoranda equidem duxerim, quamvis destitutum successoris odio, montem perfossum ad lacum Fucinum emittendum [...]. Nam portus Ostiensis opus praetereo, item vias per montes excisas, mare Tyrrhenum a Lucrino molibus seclusum, tot pontes tantis impendiis factos.	I would consider as the main fact for remembrance of the same Claudius, although it was dismissed by the hatred of his successor, the channel through the mountain to drain the Fucine Lake [...]. I shall overcome the work at Ostia ¹⁴⁵ , and also the roads excavated through the mountains, the enclosing of the Tyrrhenian sea from the Lucrine Lake with moles, and the many bridges constructed with so great efforts.
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Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 6.31.15-17

Villa pulcherrima cingitur viridissimis agris, imminet litori, cuius in sinu fit cum maxime portus. Huius sinistrum brachium firmissimo opere munitum est, dextrum elaboratur. In ore portus insula assurgit, quae illatum vento mare obiacens frangat, tutumque ab utroque latere decursum navibus praestet. Assurgit autem arte visenda: ingentia saxa latissima navis provehit contra; haec alia super alia deiecta ipso pondere manent ac sensim quodam velut aggere construuntur. Eminent iam et apparet saxeam dorsum impactosque fluctus in immensum elidit et tollit [...]. Saxis deinde pilae adicientur quae procedente	A most beautiful villa is surrounded by the greenest fields, it is right on the coast, in which a bay forms the port [in Centumcellae]. Its left-hand side is very firmly built, the right one is still under construction. At the shore of the port there rises an island that breaks the wind coming from the sea and offers protection on both sides for the passage of ships. [The island] raises in a way worthy of seeing: a huge ship carries enormous stones, and one is thrown on top of the other, they remain in place by their own weight and it is built in a way like a rampart. A body of rocks is already prominent and visible and it mitigates and suppresses the impact of the currents [...].
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¹⁴⁴ This so-called powder of Puteoli is what we know as Roman concrete nowadays.

¹⁴⁵ I. e. the excavation of the first basin at Portus, an enormous technical achievement at the time.

tempore enatam insulam imitentur. Habebit hic portus, et iam habet nomen auctoris, eritque vel maxime salutaris; nam per longissimum spatium litus importuosum hoc receptaculo utetur.	Pillars will be thrown on top of the rocks so that in the future it will look like a natural island. This port will have – and it already has – the name of its maker, and it will be of great assistance; for it will serve as a refuge in a shore that is harbourless (<i>litus importuosum</i>) for a long distance.
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Pliny the Younger, *Panegyric*, 34-35

Nihil tamen gratius, nihil seculo dignius, quam quod contigit desuper intueri delatorum supina ora [...]. Congesti sunt in navigia raptim conquisita, ac tempestatibus dediti. [...] Memoranda facies, delatorum classis permissa omnibus ventis, coactaque vela tempestatibus pandere, iratosque fluctus sequi, quoscunque in scopulos detulissent. Iuvabat, prospectare statim a portu sparsa navigia, et apud illud ipsum mare agere principi gratias, qui, clementia sua salva, ultionem hominum terrarumque diis maris commendasset.	Nothing is more graceful, nothing more worthy of this age, than what concerns our looking down on the informers' submissive faces [...] ¹⁴⁶ . They gathered in ships collected in haste, and they were abandoned to the storms. [...] A memorable sight, the fleet of the informers scattered by all the winds, forced to deploy the sails amid the storms, following the violent currents, and some [ships] tossed against the reefs. It was delightful to contemplate at that moment from the port the scattered ships and with that fact [contemplate] the very sea thanking the emperor who, with his safe clemency, commanded the vengeance of men and lands to the gods of the sea.
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Pomponius Mela, 1.80

Lycia [...] Sidae portu et Tauri promunturio grandem sinum claudit.	Lycia [...] encloses a great bay at the port of Sida and the Promontory of Taurus.
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¹⁴⁶ The poetic image in the original text is that the winners are literally looking downwards to see the informers, who are bending in submission to them.

Pomponius Mela, 2.50	
portus Saronicus et Schoenitas et Pogonus, oppida autem Epidaurus et Troezene et Hermiona his litoribus adposita sunt.	The ports situated in that stretch of coast are the Saronicus, the Schoenitas and the Pogonus, the towns are Epidaurus and Troezene and Hermiona.

Pomponius Mela, 2.76	
In litoribus aliquot sunt cum aliquis nominibus loca: ceterum rarae urbes quia rari portus, et omnis plaga austro atque africo exposita est.	On the coast [between Narbonne and Nice] there are a few more places with some name. For the rest, cities are rare because portus are rare, and every beach (<i>plaga</i>) ¹⁴⁷ is exposed to the sirocco and the African wind.

Pomponius Mela, 2.76	
deinde est Forum Iuli, Octavanorum colonia, tum post Athenopolim et Olbiam et Tauroin et Citharisten est Lacydon, Massiliensium portus, et in eo ipsa Massilia.	Next is Forum Iulium, a colony of the Octavians, and after Anthenopolis and Olbia and Taurois and Cithariste is Lacydon, the <i>portus</i> of the Massalians, and on it is Massalia itself.

Pomponius Mela, 2.77	
deinde [...] est Lacydon, Massiliensium portus, et in eo ipsa Massilia.	Next [...] is Lacydon, the port of the Massalians, and on it Massalia itself.

Pomponius Mela, 3.4	
in proximo sinu portus est quem Gaditanum, et lucus quem Oleastrum adpellant, tum castellum	In the nearby bay there is a port that they call Gaditanum, and a sacred grove that they call Oleastrum. Next in the coast is the fortress of

¹⁴⁷ The original meaning of the word *plaga* was ‘fishing-net’, but later, by metathesis, it became ‘beach’. In other words, the place for the fishing-nets was the beach, and eventually the two words got confused and speakers identified *plaga* not with the original object, but with the place it was connected to.

Ebora in litore et procul a litore Hasta colonia.	Ebora and further on the coast, the colony of Hasta.
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Suetonius, *the deified Caesar*, 58

In obeundis expeditionibus dubium cautior an audentior, exercitum neque per insidiosa itinera duxit umquam nisi perspeculatus locorum situs, neque in Britanniam transvexit, nisi ante per se portus et navigationem et accessum ad insulam explorasset.	When [Caesar] was going on expeditions it is doubtful if he was more cautious or more daring, he never led [the army] through roads that could be ambushed unless he had examined the situation of the places thoroughly, and he did not cross into Britain before he had explored the route of the <i>portus</i> and the access into the island.
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Suetonius, *the deified Augustus*, 16

portum Iulium apud Baias inmisso in Lucrinum et Avernum lacum mari efficit.	He made the Portus Julius at Baiae [by opening] Lake Lucrine and Lake Avernus into the sea.
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Suetonius, *Nero*, 9

Antium coloniam deduxit [...] ubi et portum operis sumptuosissimi fecit.	[Nero] created a colony at Antium [...], where he also constructed a port with a magnificent work.
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Tacitus, *Annals*, 3.1

Agrippina Corcyram insulam advehitur, litora Calabriae contra sitam. [...] Interim adventu eius audito intimus quisque amicorum et plerique militares, ut quique sub Germanico stipendia fecerant, multique etiam ignoti vicinis e municipiis, [...] ruere ad	Agrippina arrived at the island of Cocyra, which is situated opposite the shores (<i>litora</i>) of Calabria. [...] In the meantime, having heard of her arrival, some of her closest friends and many army men who had served under Germanicus, and even many strangers from the neighbouring towns [...] flocked to
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<p>oppidum Brundisium, quod naviganti celerrimum fidissimumque adpulsu erat. Atque ubi primum ex alto visa classis, complentur non modo portus et proxima maris sed moenia ac tecta, quaque longissime prospectari poterat, maerentium turba et rogantium inter se silentione an voce aliqua egredientem exciperent.</p>	<p>Brundisium, because the coming by sea was fastest and most reliable [to that town]. And when the fleet was first seen from the high seas, they filled not only the ports and the places close to the sea, but also the walls and the roofs, wherever they could watch as far as possible, a mourning mob asking silence among themselves if someone let out some sound.</p>
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Tacitus, *Annals*, 15.18

<p>Nero frumentum plebis vetustate corruptum in Tiberim iecit, quo securitatem annonae sustentaret. Cuius pretio nihil additum est, quamvis ducentas ferme naves portu in ipso violentia tempestatis et centum alias Tiberi subvectas fortuitus ignis absumpsisset.</p>	<p>Nero threw the grain of the people into the Tiber because it was old and spoiled, so as to provide security to the annona. Nothing was added to its price, even despite a good two-hundred ships sunk in the port due to the violence of a storm and another hundred that had been towed up the Tiber were consumed by an accidental fire.</p>
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Tacitus, *Annals*, 16.23

<p>At Baream Soranum iam sibi Ostorius Sabinus eques Romanus poposcerat reum ex proconsulatu Asiae, in quo offensiones principis auxit iustitia atque industria, et quia portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumpserat vimque civitatis Pergamenae prohibentis Acratum, Caesaris libertum, statuas et picturas evehere inultam omiserat.</p>	<p>Ostorius Sabinus, a Roman knight, had claimed the accusation against Barea Soranus from the proconsulate of Asia, when he increased his offences to the emperor and because he took care to open the port of the Ephesians and he neglected without punishment the violence at the city of Pergamon, when [the citizens] prevented Acratus, one of Caesar's freedmen, to carry away statues and paintings.</p>
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Tacitus, <i>Histories</i> , 3.40-42	
Ipse paucis [...] comitantibus flexit in Vmbriam atque inde Etruriam, ubi cognito pugnae Cremonensis eventu [...] atrox consilium iniit, ut arreptis navibus in quamcumque partem Narbonensis provinciae egressus Gallias et exercitus et Germaniae gentis novumque bellum cieret. [...] Fabius Valens e sinu Pisano segnitia maris aut adversante vento portum Herculis Monoeci depellitur.	[Fabius Valens] himself advanced with a few [friends] [...] to Umbria and from there, to Etruria, where he was informed of the result of the battle of Cremona and [...] conceived a harsh plan: to seize ships in some part of the Narbonensis province, and rouse Gaul, and to cause another war with the nation of Germania. [...] Fabius Valens departing from the bay of Pisa was driven to the port of Hercules Monoecus either due to the sluggishness of the sea or to a contrary wind.

Tacitus, <i>Agricola</i> , 24	
Quinto expeditionum anno [...] eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit [...]. Spatium eius, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius nostri maris insulas superat. Solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt; [in] melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti.	On the fifth year of the expedition, [...] [Agricola] stationed troops in that part of Britain that faces Ireland [...]. Its space, if compared to Britain, is larger than the islands in our sea by not much. The soil and the weather and the nature and culture of men are not very different from Britain. The access [to Ireland] and her ports are known best through trade and through the merchants.

Tacitus, <i>Agricola</i> , 25	
Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostilis exercitus itinera timebantur,	For the rest, in the summer when he began the sixth year in office ¹⁴⁸ , he embraced [the idea of conquering] the cities situated at the other side of Bodotria ¹⁴⁹ , because he feared a revolt of all the nations the nations beyond [the Roman

¹⁴⁸ AD 83.

¹⁴⁹ Bodotria is the Roman name for the Firth of Forth in Scotland.

<p>portus classe exploravit; quae ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra, simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis [...]. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur.</p>	<p>border] and that the roads would be infested with a hostile army. He explored the <i>portus</i> with the fleet. [The fleet] was first added as a part of the forces by Agricola, and an excellent result followed when the war was initiated at once by land and by sea, and often mixed troops of infantry, cavalry and mariners [operated] from the same camps [...]. The Britons, when they heard [the plans] from the hostages, were shocked at the sight of the fleet, as if the last refuge for the conquered had been shut once the secret of their sea had been revealed.</p>
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Tacitus, <i>Agricola</i> , 31 ¹⁵⁰	
<p>Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutum suam cotidie emit, cotidie pascit. [...] Neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur.</p>	<p>Slaves born for servitude, once they are bought, since that time they are fed by their master. But Britannia buys her slavery every day, it feeds her slavery every day. [...] And we don't even have fields, or metals or <i>portus</i> so that we can be spared to work in.</p>

Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i> , 1.157-169
<p>Defessi Aeneadae, quae proxima litora, cursu contendant petere, et Libyae vertuntur ad oras. Est in secessu longo locus: insula portum efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos. Hinc atque hinc vastae rupes geminique minantur</p>

¹⁵⁰ This speech is a military harangue by one of the local chieftains, Calgacus, urging his men to war with the promise that they will either win the battle or lose their lives, since there is nothing in Britain that makes it worthy for the Romans to spare their lives for the humiliation of slavery.

in caelum scopuli, quorum sub vertice late
 aequora tuta silent; tum silvis scaena coruscis
 desuper horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra.
 Fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum,
 intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,
 nympharum domus: hic fessas non vincula navis
 ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu.

The companions of Aeneas were exhausted, they turned their course to the nearest shore and made their way to the coasts of Libya. There is a place in a long recess: an island forms a *portus* lying opposite one of the sides [of the shore], against which all [the current] from the high seas breaks and where the wave divides itself in separate bays. Here and there large rocks and twin cliffs project into the sky, under them the wide whirls go silent into a calm seas; next, tremulous forests [formed] a stage overhead, and shadow projects on a horrifyingly black woodland. On the other side, a cave hangs from the cliffs; inside, [there is] sweet water and seats on the live rock, the house of the nymphs. In there, they kept the ships unattached by any chain, the anchor does not tie them with the bite of its hook.

Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.86-89

non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus
 exercet portusve aut propugnacula bello
 tuta parant: pendent opera interrupta minaeque
 murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.

Towers rise that are not yet begun, the youth does not exercise with the weapons or prepare the port or defensive ramparts for war. Interrupted works are dangling, the enormous crenellations of the walls, and the cranes reaching the sky.

Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6.365-366

eripe me his, invicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram
 inice, namque potes, portusque require Velinos;

Champion, drag me out of these evils, or throw earth upon me, for you can, and make for the Veline ports (*portus*).

Vitruvius, 1.3.1	
Publicorum autem distributiones sunt tres, e quibus est una defensionis, altera religionis, tertia opportunitatis. [...] opportunitatis communium locorum ad usum publicum dispositio, uti portus, fora, porticus, balinea, theatra, ambulationes ceteraque, quae isdem rationibus in publicis locis designantur.	The types of public buildings are three: one is defensive, the second is religious and the third is utilities. [...] The type of utilities in common places for the public use are [buildings] like ports, forums, porticoes, baths, theatres, walks and all the rest of things that for these reasons [of public use] are destined to public places.

Vitruvius, 1.4.12	
in Apulia oppidum Salpia vetus [...], ex quo incolae quotannis aegrotando laborantes aliquando pervenerunt ad M. Hostilium ab eoque publice petentes impetraverunt ut is idoneum locum ad moenia transferenda conquireret eligeretque. Tunc is moratus non est [...]. his confectis lacum aperuit in mare et portum e lacu municipio perfecit.	In Apulia there was the old town of Salpia [...]. Its inhabitants, who suffered ill-health for many years, eventually went to Marcus Hostilius, and asked him publicly requesting that he conquered and picked a good location to transfer their walls. This was not delayed [...]. After this was accomplished, he opened their lake into the sea and made a port out of the lake for the municipality.

Vitruvius, 1.5.1	
Cum ergo his rationibus erit salubritatis moenium conlocandorum explicatio regionesque electae fuerint fructibus ad alendam civitatem copiosae, et viarum mutiones aut opportunitates fluminum seu per portus marinae subvectionis habuerint ad moenia conportationes expeditas, tunc turrium murorumque fundamenta sic sunt facienda [...].	Following these reasons there is the explanation of the collocation of the walls for salubrity: areas abundant in fruits for the nourishment of the city have to be elected, and they also shall have preparations for roads or the possibility of transport by river or maritime ports in order to keep the conjoining walls clear, next the foundations for the towers and the walls are to be made in the following way [...].

Vitruvius, 1.7.1	
Divisis angiportis et plateis constitutis arearum electio ad opportunitatem et usum communem civitatis est explicanda aedibus sacris, foro reliquisque locis communibus. Et si erunt moenia secundum mare, area ubi forum constituatur eligenda proxime portum, sin autem mediterraneo, in oppido medio.	Once the streets and squares have been distributed, you have to plan the choice of the places for the utility and common use of the city, like the sacred temples, the forum and the rest of the communal places. And if there were walls by the sea, the place where the forum is placed has to be chosen next to the <i>portus</i> ; but if the town is inland, in its centre.

Vitruvius, 2.8.11	
cum esset enim natus Mylasis et animadvertisset Halicarnasso locum naturaliter esse munitum, idoneum portum emporiumque utile, ibi sibi domum constituit. Is autem locus est theatri curvaturae similis. itaque in imo secundum portum forum est constitutum.	Despite [King Mausolus] being born in Mylasa, he noticed in Halicarnassus a place naturally protected, an ideal <i>portus</i> and a useful <i>emporium</i> , and he settled his palace there. That place is in a curved shape similar to a theatre. So the forum was established in the lower part by the <i>portus</i> .

Vitruvius, 2.8.13	
quemadmodum enim in dextra parte fanum est Veneris et fons supra scriptus, ita in sinistro cornu regia domus, quam rex Mausolus ad suam rationem conlocavit. conspicitur enim ex ea ad dextram partem forum et portus moeniumque tota finitio, sub sinistram secretus sub moenibus latens portus, ita ut nemo possit, quid in eo geratur, aspicere nec scire, at rex ipse de sua domo remigibus et militibus sine ullo sciente, quae opus essent, imperaret.	To the right side [of Halicarnassus] is the shrine of Venus and the fountain mentioned above; on the left horn there is the royal palace, which King Mausolus placed there at his own decision. For it looks towards the forum at the right side, and to the <i>portus</i> and to the whole limits of the walls. On the left, there is a secret <i>portus</i> hidden beneath the walls so that no-one can see or know what happens in it, but the king himself from his palace would

	instruct the oarsmen and the soldiers to the necessary things without anybody knowing.
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Vitruvius, 7.prologue.12	
Postea Silenus de symmetriis doricorum edidit volumen; [...] Philo de aedium sacrarum symmetriis et de armamentario, quod fuerat Piraei portu.	Later, Silenus published a book on the proportions of the doric order; [...] Philo, on the proportions of the sacred temples and on the armoury that used to be in the port of Piraeus.

4.10 Statio: the secondary anchorage, possibly offshore

<i>Digest, 43.12.1.pr. (Ulpian)</i>	
Stationem dicimus a stando: is igitur locus demonstratur, ubicumque naues tuto stare possunt.	We say <i>statio</i> from <i>staying</i> . This shows that in this place ships can stay sheltered all around.

<i>Digest, 50.16.1.pr. (Ulpian)</i>	
Ulpianus libro sexagesimo octavo ad edictum. 'Portus' appellatus est conclusus locus, quo importantur merces et inde exportantur: eaque nihilo minus statio est conclusa atque munita.	Ulpianos on the 68 th book of the edict. <i>Portus</i> is called an enclosed place where merchandise is imported to and exported from. A <i>statio</i> is enclosed but also fortified.

<i>Festus, de verborum significatu, s.v. Formiae¹⁵¹</i>	
Formiae oppidum appellatur ex Graeco, velut Hormiae, quod circa id crebrae stationes tutaeque erant, unde proficiscebantur navigaturi.	Formiae, a town, is named from the Greek, Hormiae, because all around it there were many sheltered <i>stationes</i> , from where sailors set sail.

<i>Isidore of Seville, Etymologies, 14.39</i>	
Statio est ubi ad tempus stant naves; portus, ubi hiemant.	<i>Statio</i> is where ships stay for a while, <i>portus</i> , where they winter.

<i>Livy, 10.2</i>	
Eodem anno classis Graecorum Cleonymo duce Lacedaemonio ad Italiae litora adpulsa Thurias urbem in Sallentinis cepit. Adversus hunc hostem consul Aemilius	That same year a Greek fleet led by Cleonymus, the Spartan general, sailed to the coast of Italy and occupied the city of Thuriae in the Sallentine territory. The

¹⁵¹ This is, in fact, the epitome by Paul the Deacon. This entry is in page 73 of Lindsay's edition.

<p>missus proelio uno fugatum compulit in naves [...]. Circumvectus inde Brundisii promunturium medioque sinu Hadriatico ventis latus [...] penitus ad litora Venetorum pervenit. Expositis paucis qui loca explorarent, cum audisset tenue praetentum litus esse, quod transgressis stagna ab tergo sint inrigua aestibus maritimis, agros haud procul [proximos] campestres cerni, ulteriora colles videri; esse ostium fluminis praealti quo circumagi naves in stationem tutam <possint> [vidisse],— Meduacus amnis erat—, eo invectam classem subire flumine adverso iussit.</p>	<p>consul Aemilius was dispatched against this enemy and in one single combat sent the ships in flight [...]. From there they sailed to the promontory of Brundisium, and they were brought by the winds to a central point of the Hadriatic sea [...], they reached the furthest part at the coasts of the Venetii. After sending a few men to explore the sites, they heard that the beach (<i>litus</i>) had a small extension, and after crossing it there were lagoons behind it that suffered the maritime tides, they saw fields not far away on level terrain, farther away they saw hills. There was the mouth of a river deep enough for the ships to sail in and set a sheltered <i>statio</i>, it was the Meduacus river. Once they brought the fleet there, they could sail the river upstream.</p>
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Livy, 24.27

<p>Vt uero Appius naues ad ostium portus, quid aliae partis hominibus animus accederet, in statione habere coepit.</p>	<p>Appius began to have his ships at <i>statio</i> at the mouth of the <i>portus</i>, so that he would give courage to the hearts of the people from the other side.</p>
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Livy, 25.27

<p>Epicides metuens ne, si pergerent iidem qui tum tenebant ab ortu solis flare per dies plures uenti, classis Punica Africam repeteret, tradita Achradina mercennariorum militum ducibus ad</p>	<p>Epicides, fearing that if the easterly winds that detaining would persist, the Carthaginian fleet would return to Africa, he passed Achradina on to the generals of the military soldiers and sailed to</p>
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<p>Bomilcarem nauigat. Classem in statione uersa in Africam habentem atque timentem nauale proelium, non tam quod impar uiribus aut numero nauium esset—quippe etiam plures habebat—quam quod uenti aptiores Romanae quam suae classiflarent, perpulit tamen ut fortunam naualis certaminis experiri uellet.</p>	<p>Bomilcar. He had his <i>statio</i> facing Africa and feared a naval battle, not so much because of a difference in the forces or the number of ships (for he had many more), but because the winds would blow more favourably for the Roman fleet than for his, but eventually he decided to try his luck at the naval battle.</p>
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Livy, 28.6	
<p>Sulpicius tam facili ad Oreum successu elatus Chalcidem inde protinus uictrici classe petit [...]. Ex patenti utrimque coactum in angustias mare speciem intuenti primo gemini portus in ora duos uersi praebuerit; sed haud facile alia infestior classi statio est. Nam et uenti ab utriusque terrae praealtis montibus subiti ac procellosi deiciunt, et fretum ipsum Euripi non septiens die, sicut fama fert, temporibus statis reciprocatur, sed temere in modum uenti nunc huc nunc illuc uerso mari, uelut monte praecipiti deuolutus torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte nec die quies nauibus datur.</p>	<p>Sulpicius was rejoicing for such an easy success at Oreum. From there he made straight for Chalcis with the victorious fleet [...]. For he who takes a first look, the sea is constrained in narrow spaces, so that it seems two twin ports facing the shore [of Euripus], but it would not be easy to find a worse station for the fleet. For sudden and stormy winds from both sides of the land blow down the high mountains, and the tides at the very strait of Euripus do not change seven times a day at known times, as rumour has it, but you fear it in the same way as the winds, now this way now that way towards the sea, like a torrent rolling down a high mountain. Therefore, peace is not granted to the ships neither by day nor by night.</p>

Livy, 28.46	
<p>Igitur Poenus Sauone oppido Alpino praeda deposita et decem longis nauibus in</p>	<p>Then the Carthaginian [Mago, son of Hamilcar,] deposited his booty at Savo, an</p>

statione ad praesidium relictis, ceteris Carthaginem missis ad tuendam maritimam oram quia fama erat Scipionem traiecturum.	Alpine town, and left ten long ships there in the <i>statio</i> . The rest he sent to Carthage for the protection of the sea shore, because there was a rumour that Scipio was going to cross into there.
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Livy, 30.9

Pars maxima classem, quae ad commeatus excipiendos parata erat, mittere iubent ad opprimendam stationem nauium ad Uticam incaute agentem; forsitan etiam naualia castra relicta cum leui praesidio oppressuros.	The majority [of the Carthaginians] ordered to send the fleet, which had been ready for the capture of supplies, to attack the <i>statio</i> of the [Roman] ships at Utica, taking them by surprise, perhaps also they could attack the naval camp (<i>navalia castra</i>), which had been left with little defence.
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Livy, 37.27

Myonnesus promunturium inter Teum Samumque est. Ipse collis est in modum metae in acutum cacumen a fundo satis lato fastigatus; a continenti artae semitae aditum habet, a mari exesae fluctibus rupes claudunt, ita ut quibusdam locis superpendentia saxa plus in altum, quam quae in statione sunt naues, promineant.	Myonnesus is a promontory between Teos and Samos. This promontory is in the shape of a pyramid rising to a sharp peak from a broad base. From the continent it has an access through a narrow path, on the side of the sea it ends in cliffs so eroded by the waves that in some places the rocks hanging on the top part project over the ships that lie at <i>statio</i> there.
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Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 3.82.3

Aenaria a statione navium Aeneae, Homero Inarime dicta, Pithecusa, non a	Aenaria [is named] from a <i>statio</i> of the ships of Aeneas, it was called Inarime by Homer, [which is] Pithecusa, not from a
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simiarum multitudine, ut aliqui existimavere, sed a figlinis doliorum.	crowd of monkeys ¹⁵² , as some people believe, but from the potters of <i>dolia</i> .
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Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 6.104.12

Inde vento Hippalo navigant diebus XL ad primum emporium Indiae Muzirim, non expetendum propter vicinos piratas qui optinent locum nomine Nitrias, neque est abundans mercibus; praeterea longe a terra abest navium statio, lintribusque adferuntur onera et egeruntur.	From there, they sail with the Hippalus wind for 40 days to the first emporium of India, Muziris. It is not desirable due to the pirates in the vicinity, who occupy a place called Nitriae, and it is also not abundant in merchandise. Besides, the <i>statio</i> for the ships is a long way from the land, and cargoes are brought in and disembarked with skiffs.
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Servius, *On Virgil's Aeneid*, 2.23

STATIO statio est ubi ad tempus stant naves, portus ubi hiemant. Male fida aut minus fida propter periculum navium, quia statio est, quam plagiam dicunt.	<i>Statio</i> . <i>Statio</i> is where the ships stay for a while, the <i>portus</i> , where they spend the winter. They are badly reliable or less reliable because of the danger for ships, because a <i>statio</i> is what they [now] call <i>plagia</i> .
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Servius, *On Virgil's Aeneid*, 10.297

STATIONE statio est portus temporalis; nam portus est ubi hiematur. Sed modo statio siccum litus significat: hoc enim dicit potiar terra, et navem frangere non recuso.	<i>Statione</i> . <i>Statio</i> is a temporary <i>portus</i> , for the <i>portus</i> is where the ships spend the winter. But the <i>statio</i> is in no way a dry <i>litus</i> : in that case you can rather say land, and I don't deny it wrecks ships.
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Virgil, *Georgics*, 4.418-422

Est specus ingens exersi latere in montis, quo plurima vento	There is a huge cave on the hollow side of a mountain, where many waves are
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¹⁵² It seems that the name Inarime could be related to the Etruscan word for *monkey*.

cogitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos,
deprensis olim statio tutissima nautis;
intus se vasti Proteus tegit obice saxi.

collected by the wind, and it is divided
in two bays, long ago a most sheltered
statio for the sailors. Proteus takes
shelter inside covered by a large rock.

4.11 Litus: the sea shore

Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 2.23	
L. Caesar filius cum X longis navibus ad Clupea praestolans [...], veritus navium multitudinem ex alto refugerat appulsaque ad proximum litus trireme constrata et in litore relicta pedibus Adrumetum perfugerat. [...] Marcus Rufus [...], postquam in litore relictam navem conspexit, hanc remulco abstraxit; ipse ad C. Curionem cum classe redit.	Lucius Caesar the Younger was sailing for Clupea with 10 warships [...], but fearing the multitude of the [enemy] ships, he fled, and after beaching his decked trireme in a nearby <i>litus</i> , he abandoned it and escaped to Hadrumetum by foot. [...] Marcus Rufus [...] when he saw the abandoned ship on the shore, towed her with ropes, and he himself went to join Gaius Curio with the ship.

Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 2.43	
His rebus cognitis M. Rufus quaestor in castris relictus a Curione cohortatur suos, ne animo deficient. Illi orant atque obsecrant, ut in Siciliam navibus reportentur. Pollicetur magistrisque imperat navium, ut primo vespere omnes scaphas ad litus appulsas habeant.	When these things were known, Marcus Rufus, who had been left as a quaestor in the camp by Curio, urged his men not to lose hope. But they begged and pleaded to return with the ships to Sicily. He consents, and orders his commanders of the ships that at the first hour of the evening they have their ships ready at the <i>litus</i> .

Ps.-Caesar, <i>Bellum Alexandrinum</i> , 17	
His pulsus custodia portus relicta navis ad litora et vicum applicarunt seque ex navibus ad tuenda aedificia eiecerunt.	After [the Alexandrians] were expelled and the guard at the port was abandoned, [our men] put in at the <i>litus</i> and at the borough, and they rushed out of the ships to the protection of the buildings.

Ps.-Caesar, <i>Bellum Hispaniense</i> , 40	
Nonnullique ea pugna scaphas quae ad litus fuerant occupant, item	[Didius and his men] seized some skiffs that lay at the <i>litus</i> during that battle, and many of them

complures nando ad naves quae in salo fuerunt, se recipiunt, ancoris sublatis pelagus remis petere coeperunt.	saved themselves by swimming to the ships that were on the open waters (<i>salum</i>), they had leaved anchor and started to sail for the open seas (<i>pelagus</i>) with the oars.
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Digest, 50.16.96.pr. (Celsus)

Celsus libro uicensimo quinto digestorum. Litus est, quousque maximus fluctus a mari peruenit.	Celsus on the 25 th book of his digests. A <i>litus</i> is wherever the waves from the sea arrive.
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Digest, 1.8.5.pr. (Gaius)

In mare piscantibus liberum est casam in litore ponere, in qua se recipiant.	Those who fish in the sea are free to set a hut on the <i>litus</i> where they can take shelter.
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Frontinus, *Stratagemis*, 3.16.5

Diodorus, cum praesidio Amphipolim tueretur et duo milia Thracum suspecta haberet, quae videbantur urbem direptura, mentitus paucas hostium naves proximo litori applicuisse easque diripi posse: qua spe stimulos Thracas emisit ac deinde clausis portis non recepit.	When Diodorus ¹⁵³ was holding Amphipolis with a garrison, he became suspicious of two thousand Thracians, who seemed ready to plunder the city. He lied to them that a few enemy ships had put in at the nearby <i>litus</i> and that they could plunder them. He made the Thracians go out excited by that hope, and then he shut the gates and did not let them back in.
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Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, 14.41

¹⁵³ Perhaps the correct name is Diodotus, as recorded in Livy, 44.44, in events of 168 BC.

<p>Litus est terra aquae et mari vicina: et dictum litus quia fluctu eliditur, vel quod aqua adluitur.</p>	<p><i>Litus</i> is the land that is close to the sea, and it is called <i>litus</i> because the currents flow [to that place], or because the water washes there.</p>
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Pliny, *Natural History*, 31.191-192

<p>Fama est adpulsa nave mercatorum nitri, cum sparsi per litus epulas pararent nec esset cortinis attollendis lapidum occasio, glaebas nitri e nave subdidisse, quibus accensis, permixta harena litoris, tralucens novi liquoris fluxisse rivis, et hanc fuisse originem vitri.</p>	<p>The legend is that some merchants on natron put in with their ship. When they prepared their food along the shore and there were no rocks that would support their cooking pots at the spot, they took lumps of natron from their ship. When they were on fire, they mixed with the sand at the beach, and there flowed shiny streams of a new liquid, this was the origin of glass.</p>
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Servius, *On Virgil's Aeneid*, 1.3

<p>Litus enim dicitur terra quoque mari vicina, sicut ipse Vergilius in quarto "cui litus arandum", cum per naturam litus arari non possit. Ergo scire debemus, litus posse et terram dici.</p>	<p>The land that is in contact with the sea is called <i>litus</i>, just like Virgil in the fourth book: "whose <i>litus</i> they had to plow", even if by nature a <i>litus</i> cannot be plowed. Therefore we have to know that the soil can also be called <i>litus</i>.</p>
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Servius, *On Virgil's Aeneid*, 1.170

<p>Neptunus postquam sensit tempestatem commotam, potuit de periculo liberare Troianos, ante facta vero mutare non potuit. nam et Orontis navem cum omnibus sociis eius constat perisse: [...]. volunt autem septem naves ita interim</p>	<p>When Neptune noticed the appearance of the storm, he could save the Trojans from the danger, but he could not change what had already happened. For it is known that the ship of Orontes was lost with all his friends [...]. They say at that time seven</p>
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colligi, ut una Aeneae sit, tres de saxis a Cymothoe et Tritone, tres de syrtribus, Neptuno syrtes navigabiles faciente, liberatae sint, reliquae tantum dispersae sint, quas paulo post legimus ad Africae litus adpulsas.	ships were spared: one, where Aeneas was, three from the rocks Cymothoe and Triton, and three were freed from the Syrtes, as Neptune made the Syrtes navigable. The rest were scattered, just later we read that they were pushed to the <i>litus</i> of Africa.
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Servius, <i>On Virgil's Aeneid</i> , 3.300	
progredior portu classes et litora linquens hysteropteron in sensu: ante enim linquitur litus et sic a portu proceditur.	“the fleets entered the <i>portus</i> and left the <i>litus</i> ” is a last-to-first sense, for you first leave the <i>litus</i> and then you enter the port.

Servius, <i>On Virgil's Aeneid</i> , 4.212	
litus {non ait agros, sed 'litus'}, ut et supra diximus, terram mari vicinam.	<i>Litus</i> (it doesn't say <i>fields</i> , it says <i>litus</i>), as we said above, the land in contact with the sea.

Servius, <i>On Virgil's Aeneid</i> , 4.257	
litus arenosum Libyae, bene 'arenosum' addidit: nam in Libya erat, sed non in arenosa: Mauretania enim aspera et silvestris est.	“The sandy <i>litus</i> of Libya”. [Virgil] rightly added “sandy”, for it was in Libya but not in the sandy part. Mauretania is rough and forestry.

Servius, <i>On Virgil's Aeneid</i> , 5.163	
'litus' est omne quod aqua adluitur: unde et saxum 'litus' vocavit.	<i>litus</i> is everything that the water washes. Hence also a rock is called <i>litus</i> .

Servius, <i>On Virgil's Aeneid</i> , 12.248	
Nam litus dicitur omnis terra aquis vicina, ut "viridique in litore conspicitur sus".	All the land in contact with the sea is called <i>litus</i> , as in: “he sees a swine on the green <i>litus</i> .”

5.1 Alexandria:

Agathias, 2.15	
<p>Ἵπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, θέρους ὥρα, ἔσεισε μέγα ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς [...]. τότε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τῇ πρὸς τῷ Νείλῳ ἰδρυμένη ποταμῶ, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ εἰωθὸς σειεσθαι τὸ χωρίον, συναίσθησις τις τοῦ κλόνου ἐλαχίστη μὲν καὶ ἀφαιροτάτη καὶ οὐ πάμπαν ἀρίδηλος, γέγονε δὲ ὅμως. ἅπαντες δὴ οὖν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ μάλιστα οἱ σφόδρα γεγηρακότες ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ τὸ ξυνενεχθὲν ἐποιοῦντο, ὡς οὔπω πρότερον γεγενημένον, ἔμενέ τε οἴκοι ὅστις οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ τὰς λεωφόρους τὰ πλήθη ξυνέρρει, τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ δὴ που καὶ παραδόξῳ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου καταπεπληγμένοι. ἐμοὶ δέ γε καὶ αὐτῷ (ἐτύγχανον γὰρ αὐτοῦ διατρίβων παιδείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τῶν νόμων) δεδιέναι προσῆει [...]. οἱ γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους ἀναθυμιάσεις τινὰς εἶναι λέγοντες ξηρὰς τε καὶ λιγνυώδεις, ὑπὸ τὰ γλαφυρὰ τῆς γῆς εἰργομένας καὶ τῷ μὴ διαπνεῖσθαι ῥαδίως σφοδρότερον ἔνδον περιδινουμένας, <ἄς> τὸ ἐπιπροσθοῦν ἅπαν σαλεύειν, ἕως τῇ βιαίᾳ φορᾷ τῆς στεγνότητος ἐνδιδούσης ἐς τοῦμφανὲς ἀναχθεῖεν, οἱ</p>	<p>About the same time, in the summer season, there was a great earthquake in Byzantium and in many places of the Roman Empire [...]. At that time even in the great Alexandria, the one that is founded next to the Nile river, the earth shook, even if these phenomena are not usual. The perception of the shaking was most brief and most weak, and not at all clear, yet it happened. All of the inhabitants and especially the oldest took this event for a great wonder, as if it had never happened before, no-one at all rested inside the house, but the mob ran through the streets, astounded by this [event] unexpected and rare beyond measure. I myself happened to be [in Alexandria] spending time for my education in the laws, and panic seized me [...]. Some say that the cause of this accident is some dry and burning smoke that is trapped under the surface of the earth and that, as it cannot escape easily, it revolves violently in there, and it shakes the whole over layer, until it goes up to the surface with a violent movement of the contours that hold it. Indeed, these natural scientists say that this kind of phenomenon should never cause quakes in the land of</p>

<p>δὴ οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα φυσιολογοῦντες τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν φασὶ χώραν οὐ πώποτε σείεσθαι πεφυκέναι, ὡς δὴ χθαμαλήν τε ἀτεχνῶς καὶ ὑπτίαν καὶ ἥκιστα σηραγγώδη ἐντεῦθεν τε οὐκ ἐμπορουμένην, εἰ δέ γε καὶ ὑποδέξαιτο, ἀλλ' αὐτομάτως ὑπὸ χαννότητος θαμὰ ἐξατμιζομένην.</p>	<p>Egypt, because the terrain is completely flat and regular and it has tiny pores in it, and it would not fill up if it received this smoke, but it would expel it spontaneously thanks to its close-set porousness.</p>
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Ps.-Caesar, *Alexandrian War*, 1

<p>Ex aedificiis autem per foramina in proxima aedificia arietes immittuntur, quantumque aut ruinis deicitur aut per vim recipitur loci, in tantum munitiones proferuntur. nam <ab> incendio fere tuta est Alexandria, quod sine contignatione ac materia sunt aedificia et structuris ac fornicibus continentur tectaque sunt rudere aut pavimentis.</p>	<p>Rams were brought through open spaces from buildings to [other] buildings nearby, the more places can either be thrown down to ruins or captured by force, the more ammunition was brought in. For Alexandria is well protected against fire, because its buildings have no beams or wood and structures and arches are held together¹⁵⁴ and the ceilings are made of <i>rudus</i>¹⁵⁵ or tiling.</p>
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Ps.-Caesar, *Alexandrian War*, 5

<p>Alexandria est fere tota subfossa specusque habet ad Nilum pertinentes quibus aqua in privatas domos inducitur, quae paulatim spatio temporis liquescit ac subsidit. hac uti domini aedificiorum atque eorum familiae consuerunt: nam quae flumine Nilo fertur, adeo est limosa ac turbida ut multos variosque morbos efficiat; sed ea plebes ac</p>	<p>Alexandria is wholly excavated underneath and it has caves [i.e. cisterns] related to the Nile with which water is brought into private houses, where water little by little in the course of time settles down and becomes clear. The owners of the buildings and their families usually use those [water installations]. For [the water]</p>
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¹⁵⁴ i.e. as opposed to wooden pieces nailed together.

¹⁵⁵ A mixture of stones broken small and lime.

<p>multitudo contenta est necessario, quod fons urbe tota nullus est.</p>	<p>that is brought by the Nile is muddy and turbid, so that it provokes many and different types of sickness. But it is necessary that the populace and crowds be content with that, because there is no fountain at all in the whole city.</p>
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Ps.-Caesar, <i>Alexandrian War</i> , 9-10	
<p>Eo biduo legio XXXVII ex dediticiis Pompeianis militibus cum frumento, armis, telis, tormentis imposita in naus a Domitio Caluino ad litora Africae paulo supra Alexandream delata est. Hae naues Euro, qui multos dies continenter flabat, portum capere prohibebantur; sed loca sunt egregia omni illa regione ad tenendas ancoras. Hi cum diu retinerentur atque aquae inopia premerentur, nauigio actuario Caesarem faciunt certiorem. Caesar, ut per se consilium caperet quid faciendum uideretur, nauem conscendit atque omnem classem se sequi iussit nullis nostris militibus impositis, quod, cum longius paulo discederet, munitiones nudare nolebat.. Cumque ad eum locum accessissent, qui appellatur Chersonensus, aquandique causa remiges in terram euissent, non nulli ex eo numero, cum longius a nauibus praedatum processissent, ab equitibus hostium sunt excepti. Ex his cognouerunt Caesarem ipsum in classe</p>	<p>The next two days Domitius Calvinus embarked the XXXVII Legion, formed by surrendered Pompeian soldiers, on a ship with grain, weapons, ammunition and torture machines. They sailed to the African coast, a short distance above Alexandria. The Eurys prevented those ships to reach a port, as it had been blowing incessantly for many days, but there are excellent places to hold the anchors all over that region. When they had been held back for a long time and they had a pressing need for water, they informed Caesar with a swift boat. In order to decide in person what had to be done, Caesar embarked on a ship and ordered the whole fleet to follow him, but none of the infantry embarked because, as he was travelling somewhat farther, he did not want to dismantle his defences [at Alexandria]. When they arrived at that place called Chersonesus, the oarsmen disembarked in order to take in drinking water, and a few of them advanced further to take plunder, but they were captured by enemy cavalry. [The enemy] knew from [those oarsmen] that Caesar</p>

uenisse nec ullos milites in nauibus habere.	himself was coming with the fleet but without having any infantry on the ships.
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Ps.-Caesar, <i>Alexandrian War</i> , 12-13	
Eo detrimento adeo sunt fracti Alexandrini [...]. Ac tametsi amplius CX nauibus longis in portu naualibusque amiserant, non tamen reparandae classis cogitationem deposuerunt. Videbant enim non auxilia Caesari, non commeatus supportari posse, si classe ipsi ualerent [...]. Erant omnibus ostiis Nili custodiae exigendi portorii causa dispositae; naues ueteres erant in occultis regiae naualibus, quibus multis annis ad nauigandum non erant usi: has reficiebant, illas Alexandream reuocabant.	The Alexandrians were devastated after this loss [...]. But, despite having lost more than 110 ships in the harbour and in the docks (<i>navalía</i>), they did not give up their plans to rebuild their fleet. For it seemed to them that no troops and no supplies could be conveyed to Caesar if they had a strong fleet [...]. There were guardships at all the mouths of the Nile in order to levy tolls (<i>portorium</i>); there were old ships in secret docks (<i>navalía</i>) of the palace, which had not been sailing for many years: they repaired these, and recalled those to Alexandria.

Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 3.111-112	
His copiis fidens Achilles paucitatemque militum Caesaris despiciens occupabat Alexandriam praeter eam oppidi partem, quam Caesar cum militibus tenebat, primo impetu domum eius irrumpere conatus; sed Caesar dispositis per vias cohortibus impetum eius sustinuit. Eodemque tempore pugnatum est ad portum, ac longe maximam ea res attulit dimicationem. Simul enim diductis copiis pluribus viis	Achillas, trusting these troops and looking down on the scarcity of Caesar's soldiers, was occupying Alexandria except for that part of the town (<i>oppidum</i>) that was held by Caesar with his soldiers. In the first attack, [Achillas] tried to break into his palace (<i>domum</i>), but Caesar, who had placed his cohorts in the streets, resisted his attack. At the same time there was a battle in the port, and it entailed a great struggle for a long time because. For the troops were divided in groups and it was fought with many forces at the same time, and a great

<p>pugnabatur, et magna multitudine naves longas occupare hostes conabantur; quarum erant L auxilio missae ad Pompeium proelioque in Thessalia facto domum redierant, quadriremes omnes et quinqueremes aptae instructaeque omnibus rebus ad navigandum, praeter has XXII, quae praesidii causa Alexandriae esse consuerant, constratae omnes; quas si occupavissent, classe Caesari erepta portum ac mare totum in sua potestate haberent, comteatu auxiliisque Caesarem prohiberent. Itaque tanta est contentione actum, quanta agi debuit, cum illi celerem in ea re victoriam, hi salutem suam consistere viderent. Sed rem obtinuit Caesar omnesque eas naves et reliquas, quae erant in navalibus, incendit, quod tam late tueri parva manu non poterat, confestimque ad Pharum navibus milites exposuit.</p> <p>Pharus est in insula turris magna altitudine, mirificis operibus exstructae; quae nomen ab insula accepit. Haec insula obiecta Alexandriae portum efficit; sed a superioribus regibus in longitudinem passuum a DCCC in mare iactis molibus angusto itinere ut ponte cum</p>	<p>number of war ships were trying to seize [the territory of] the enemies. Among these were fifty auxiliaries sent to Pompey, and once the combat in Thessalia was finished ¹⁵⁶, they returned home. All the quadriremes and quinqueremes were acting together and skilled in all things related to sailing, except for the twenty-two which used to stay at Alexandria for its protection, all were roofed ¹⁵⁷. If they were able to seize [Caesar's ships], they would deprive Caesar's fleet from the port and they would have the whole sea in their power, thus preventing Caesar from [receiving] supplies and reinforcements. Therefore, the bigger the struggle [on the Egyptian side], the bigger the struggle in response [on Caesar's side], for [the Egyptians] realised their fast victory depended in that effort, whereas [Caesar's troops saw] their salvation [depending on the same effort].</p> <p>But Caesar won the clash and set fire to all those ships as well as the remaining ones that were in the docks (<i>navalia</i>), because he was not able to defend such a wide stretch of land with a small battalion. Then at once he transferred his soldiers in ships to Pharos.</p> <p>Pharos is a very high tower on an island, constructed with magnificent works, and it receives its name from the island. This island's position makes the port of Alexandria, but the ancient kings attached it to moles on the sea one thousand and eight hundred feet long in a</p>
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¹⁵⁶ This refers to the Battle of Pharsalia, which Pompey lost.

¹⁵⁷ To protect the soldiers from enemy missiles.

<p>oppido coniungitur. In hac sunt insula domicilia Aegyptiorum et vicus oppidi magnitudine; quaeque ibi naves imprudentia aut tempestate paulum suo cursu decesserunt, has more praedonum diripere consuerunt. Eis autem invitis, a quibus Pharos tenetur, non potest esse propter angustias navibus introitus in portum. Hoc tum veritus Caesar, hostibus in pugna occupatis, militibus expositis Pharumprehendit atque ibi praesidium posuit. Quibus est rebus effectum, uti tuto frumentum auxiliaque navibus ad eum supportari possent. Dimisit enim circum omnes propinquas provincias atque inde auxilia evocavit. Reliquis oppidi partibus sic est pugnatum, ut aequo proelio discederetur et neutri pellerentur (id efficiebant angustiae loci), paucisque utrimque interfectis Caesar loca maxime necessaria complexus noctu praemuniit. In eo tractu oppidi pars erat regiae exigua, in quam ipse habitandi causa initio erat inductus, et theatrum coniunctum domui quod arcis tenebat locum aditusque habebat ad portum et ad reliqua navalia. Has munitiones insequentibus auxit diebus, ut pro muro obiectas haberet neu dimicare invitus cogeretur. Interim filia minor Ptolomaei regis vacuum possessionem</p>	<p>narrow passage like a bridge with the town. In this island there are dwellings of the Egyptians, and a neighbourhood the size of a village (<i>oppidum</i>). Whichever ships go astray from their course due to recklessness or a storm, they use to rip them to pieces in the way of the pirates. If those who hold Pharos are against it, you cannot enter the port due to the narrowness for the ships. But in truth Caesar, while the enemies were engaged in the fight, sent forth some soldiers and took Pharos, and placed a garrison there. This was done because of the following reasons: so that the grain would be safe and reinforcements could be brought to him by ship. He sent envoys around to all nearby provinces and from there he called for reinforcements. In the rest of the town it was fought in such a way that [the troops] parted after an equal combat, and neither was driven from their positions (that was due to the narrowness of the places), and as there were few dead on either side, Caesar fortified the most essential places covered by the night. In that area of the town there was the restricted part of the palaces (<i>pars regiae exigua</i>), in which Caesar himself was introduced to live at first. There was also a theatre attached to the palace (<i>domus</i>), which contained the place for the citadel (<i>arx</i>), and it had an access to the port and to the surviving shipsheds (<i>navalia</i>). He increased these fortifications in the following days, so that he could have barriers in the function of walls and would not be forced to</p>
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<p>regni sperans ad Achillam sese ex regia traiecit unaque bellum administrare coepit. Sed celeriter est inter eos de principatu controversia orta; quae res apud milites largitiones auxit; magnis enim iacturis sibi quisque eorum animos conciliabat. Haec dum apud hostes geruntur, Pothinus, nutricius pueri et procurator regni in parte Caesaris, cum ad Achillam nuntios mitteret hortareturque, ne negotio desisteret neve animo deficeret, indicatis deprehensisque internuntiis a Caesare est interfectus. Haec initia belli Alexandrini fuerunt.</p>	<p>fight against his will. In the meantime, Ptolemy's youngest daughter, with a vain expectation to possess the kingdom, reached Achilles from the palace and at once started to direct the war. But soon a row over the ruling power surged among them, something that increased the rewards to the soldiers, each of them brought their spirits together in their favour by adding bigger [briberies]. While these things took place among the enemies, Pothinus, tutor of the children and procurator of the kingdom on Caesar's side, was executed by Caesar because he had sent envoys to Achilles encouraging him not to give up the cause nor to get discouraged, but he was discovered by intermediary messengers and captured. This was the start of the Alexandrian War.</p>
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Cassius Dio 42.38.2

<p>κάκ τούτου πολλὰ μὲν μάχαι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αὐτοῖς ἐγίνοντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατεπίμπρατο, ὥστε ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ νεώριον τὰς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βίβλων, πλείστων δὴ καὶ ἀρίστων, ὡς φασί, γενομένων, καυθῆναι.</p>	<p>Afterwards many battles took place both by day and by night, and many things were burnt down, among others the shipyard (neorion) and the warehouses of grain and of books [i.e. the Library], which had become the largest and the best, as they say, it burnt.</p>
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Cassius Dio, 51.18.1

<p>τὰς τε διώρυχας τὰς μὲν ἐξεκάθηρε τὰς δὲ ἐκ καινῆς διώρυξε,</p>	<p>[Caesar Augustus] dredged some canals and he had new ones excavated.</p>
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Diodorus Siculus, 1.31.2-5	
<p>ἡ τετάρτη τοίνυν πλευρὰ πᾶσα σχεδὸν ἀλιμένῳ θαλάττῃ προσκλυζομένη προβέβληται τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος, ὃ τὸν μὲν παράπλου ἔχει μακρότατον, τὴν δ' ἀπόβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δυσπροσόρμιστον· ἀπὸ γὰρ Παραιτονίου τῆς Λιβύης ἕως Ἰόπης τῆς ἐν τῇ Κοίλῃ Συρίας, ὄντος τοῦ παράπλου σταδίων σχεδὸν πεντακισχιλίων, οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἀσφαλῆ λιμένα πλὴν τοῦ Φάρου. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ταινία παρ' ὅλην σχεδὸν τὴν Αἴγυπτον παρήκει τοῖς ἀπείροις τῶν προσπλεόντων ἀθεώρητος· διόπερ οἱ τὸν ἐκ πελάγους κίνδυνον ἐκπεφευγέναι νομίζοντες, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἄσμενοι πρὸς τὴν γῆν καταπλέοντες, ἐξαίφνης ἐποκελλόντων τῶν σκαφῶν ἀνεπίστως ναυαγοῦσιν· ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὴν ταπεινότητα τῆς χώρας οὐ δυνάμενοι προϊδέσθαι τὴν γῆν λαθάνουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκπίπτοντες οἱ μὲν εἰς ἐλώδεις καὶ λιμνάζοντας τόπους, οἱ δ' εἰς χώραν ἔρημον.</p>	<p>The fourth part, which has almost its whole flank exposed to flooding, an <i>alimenos</i> coast, faces the Egyptian sea. The sailing along the coast is too long, and the disembarking on land is too difficult. For from Paraetonium in Libya to Joppa in Coele-Syria the sailing is about five thousand stadia, there is no way to find a safe <i>limen</i> except for Pharos. Except for those places, almost the whole of Egypt is a sandbank, invisible to those who approach it, if they don't know it. Because of this reason, those who think they have escaped the danger of the sea and sail towards the land happy in their ignorance, suddenly they wreck when their ships run aground unexpectedly. Thus, as they are unable to see the ground because the terrain was so level, without noticing some of them fall in swampy and marshy places, others, in the desert.</p>

Diodorus Siculus, 1.36.1	
<p>Χωρὶς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων θηρίων ὁ Νεῖλος ἔχει παντοῖα γένη ἰχθύων καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἄπιστα· τοῖς γὰρ ἐγχωρίοις οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν προσφάτως ἀλισκομένων παρέχεται δαψιλῆ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλῆθος εἰς ταριχείαν ἀνίησιν ἀνέκλειπτον.</p>	<p>Apart from the aforesaid animals, the Nile has all sorts of fish and in quantities beyond belief. Indeed, it provides not only abundant advantages to the locals from the freshly fished [fish], but also the majority are sent up [into the country] incessantly for fish-preserved.</p>

Diodorus Siculus, 1.52.6	
<p>εἴκοσι γὰρ καὶ δύο γένη τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν φασιν ἰχθύων εἶναι, καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν ἀλίσκεσθαι πλῆθος ὥστε τοὺς προσκαρτεροῦντας ταῖς ταριχεΐαις ὄντας παμπληθεῖς δυσχερῶς περιγίνεσθαι τῶν ἔργων. περὶ μὲν οὖν Μοίριδος τοσαῦθ' ἱστοροῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι.</p>	<p>They say there are twenty-two types of fish in [Lake Moeris], and each of them is fished in such abundance that the owners of the fish-preserving industries, even though they are many, can barely keep up with the workload. This is what the Egyptians report of the Moeris.</p>

Diodorus Siculus, 17.52	
<p>Κρίνας δ' ἐν ταύτῃ πόλιν μεγάλην κτίσαι προσέταξε τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ταύτην καταλειπομένοις ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς τε λίμνης καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης οἰκίσαι τὴν πόλιν. διαμετρήσας δὲ τὸν τόπον καὶ ῥυμοτομήσας φιλοτέχνως τὴν πόλιν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ προσηγόρευσεν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, εὐκαιρότατα μὲν κειμένην πλησίον τοῦ Φάρου λιμένος, εὐστοχία δὲ τῆς ῥυμοτομίας ποιήσας διαπνεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν τοῖς ἔτησίοις ἀνέμοις καὶ τοῦ τῶν πνεόντων μὲν διὰ τοῦ μεγίστου πελάγους, καταψυχόντων δὲ τὸν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀέρα πολλὴν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν εὐκрасίαν καὶ ὑγίειαν κατεσκεύασεν. καὶ τὸν μὲν περίβολον αὐτῆς ὑπεστήσατο τῶν τε μεγέθει διαφέροντα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα θαυμάσιον· ἀνὰ μέσον γὰρ ὦν μεγάλης λίμνης καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης δύο μόνον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἔχει προσόδους στενὰς καὶ παντελῶς εὐφυλάκτους. τὸν δὲ τύπον ἀποτελῶν</p>	<p>[Alexander] decided to found a great city in that place, and he entrusted to those who had been left behind the care of founding a city between the lake (<i>limne</i>) and the sea. He measured the place and skilfully planned the city, and he named it Alexandria after himself. It lay in a most beneficial place near the <i>limen</i> of Pharos, and he made a well-aimed planning so that the Etesian winds could blow through the city so that they blow across the length of the seas, thus cooling down the air in the city: [thus Alexander] furnished great comfort and hygiene to its inhabitants. He also established the circuit of the walls, so that they were of outstanding size and admirable for their great resistance. Being situated between the great lake and the sea, [the city] only has two</p>

χλαμύδι παραπλήσιον ἔχει πλατεῖαν μέσην σχεδὸν τὴν πόλιν τέμνουσαν καὶ τῷ τε μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει θαυμαστήν· ἀπὸ γὰρ πύλης ἐπὶ πύλην διήκουσα τεσσαράκοντα μὲν σταδίων ἔχει τὸ μῆκος, πλέθρου δὲ τὸ πλάτος, οἰκιῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερῶν πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς πᾶσα κεκόσμηται. προσέταξεν δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ βασιλεία κατασκευάσαι θαυμαστὰ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ βάρος τῶν ἔργων. οὐ μόνον δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν βασιλεύσαντες Αἰγύπτου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου σχεδὸν ἅπαντες πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς ἠΐξησαν τὰ βασιλεία. καθόλου δ' ἡ πόλις τοσαύτην ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβεν ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ὥστε παρὰ πολλοῖς αὐτὴν πρώτην ἀριθμεῖσθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην· καὶ γὰρ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει καὶ προσόδων πλήθει καὶ τῶν πρὸς τρυφήν ἀνηκόντων πολὺ διαφέρει τῶν ἄλλων. τὸ δὲ τῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὴν πλῆθος ὑπερβάλλει τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν οἰκίτορας· καθ' ὃν γὰρ ἡμεῖς παρεβάλομεν χρόνον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔφασαν οἱ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἔχοντες τῶν κατοικούντων εἶναι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ διατρίβοντας ἐλευθέρους πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν προσόδων τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον λαμβάνειν τὸν βασιλέα πλείω τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων. ὁ δ' οὖν βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιστήσας τινὰς τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ διοικήσας ἅπαντα τὰ

ways of access on land, both narrow and very easy to guard. The shape looks like a chlamys but the city is cut along approximately down the middle by an avenue admirable by its size and beauty. From gate to gate it extends a length of forty stadia, and it is a plethrum¹⁵⁸ wide, all [of Alexandria] is adorned with the lavish buildings of houses and temples. Alexander also projected arrangements for palaces magnificent for their size and the abundance of the works. And not just Alexander, but also the kings of Egypt after him until almost our times, all augmented the palaces with lavish arrangements. This is why the city on the whole grew to such an extent in subsequent times, so that for many it counted as the first of the inhabited world. And it is greatly distinguished from the others in beauty and size and the meeting of crowds and the amounts of luxury. The crowd of dwellers surpasses the inhabitants in the other cities. During the time we spent in Egypt, the holders of the census of the inhabitants said there were more than three hundred thousand free men dwelling there and that the king received more than six thousand talents in revenues. Indeed,

¹⁵⁸ 1 plethrum measures 100 feet.

κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐπανῆλθε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Συρίαν.	king Alexander entrusted the foundation of Alexandria to some of his friends, and having settled all the affairs in Egypt, left again with his forces to Syria.
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Oribasius, <i>Collectiones Medicae</i> , 2.58.54-55	
γίνονται δὲ καὶ γένη πελωρίδων τε καὶ χημῶν· διάφοροι δὲ ποικίλαι καὶ στρογγύλαι, ὡς αἱ ἐν Δικαιαρχίᾳ ἐν τῷ Λουκρίνῳ λάκκῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λιμένι· γλυκεῖαι γὰρ καὶ εὐχυλοὶ. αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ Φάρον καὶ τὸν Δίολκον τὴν τε γέφυραν καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπιμήκεις, τραχεῖαι, βαλάνοις ἐοικυῖαι δρυίναις, ἐμπερῶς φηγοῖς τὸν ἐχῖνον φερόμεναι· λευκαὶ δ' εἰσὶ καὶ σκληραὶ καὶ δριμεῖαι.	[shell-fish] also include the species of mussels and clams. [The species are] different in colours and shapes, such as those in Dicaearchia in the Lucrine Lake and those in the port (<i>limen</i>) of Alexandria. Those [in Dicaearchia?] are sweet and succulent. Those at Pharos; both on the <i>Diolkos</i> and on the bridge and on the island, are oblong and rough, they look like oak-tree acorns, resembling the fruit that grows in the beech trees. They are white, and hard and bitter.

Oribasius, <i>Collectiones Medicae</i> , 2.58.129	
διαλλάττουσι δὲ κατὰ τόπους τοῖς εἴδεσιν, ὡς πελωρίδες καὶ χημαί, ποικιλία καὶ σχηματισμῶ· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λιμένι ἄρισται, αἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δίολκον καὶ Φάρον καὶ γέφυραν ἐπιμήκεις καὶ τραχεῖαι.	[Shellfish] have a different aspect depending on the places, like mussels and clams, [they differ] in colours and shape. Those in the port (<i>limen</i>) of Alexandria are the best, those around the <i>Diolkos</i> and the Pharos and the bridge are oblong and rough.

Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> , 5.62
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<p>Sed iure laudetur in litore Aegyptii maris Alexandria, a Magno Alexandro condita in Africae parte ab ostio Canopico XII p. iuxta Mareotim lacum, qui locus antea Rhacotes nominabatur.</p>	<p>On the coast of the Egyptian sea, Alexandria can be rightfully praised, a city that was founded by Alexander the Great in the part of Africa where there is the Canopic mouth, 12 (thousand) feet close to the Lake Mareotis, the place which was called Rhakotis before.</p>
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Plutarch, <i>Caesar</i> , 49.6-7	
<p>έν ζ᾽ πρώτον μὲν ἐκινδύνευσεν ὕδατος ἀποκλεισθεῖς· αἱ γὰρ διώρυχες ἀπρωκοδομήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων· δεύτερον δὲ περικοπτόμενος τὸν στόλον, ἠναγκάσθη διὰ πυρὸς ἀπώσασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ὃ καὶ τὴν μεγάλην βιβλιοθήκην ἐκ τῶν νεωρίων ἐπινεμόμενον διέφθειρε· τρίτον δὲ περὶ τῆ Φάρω μάχης συνεστῶσης, κατεπήδησε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος εἰς ἀκάτιον καὶ παρεβοήθει τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις, ἐπιπλεόντων δὲ πολλαχόθεν αὐτῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπενήξατο μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς.</p>	<p>In that [battle], the first danger was that [Caesar] was prevented access to the water, for the canals were blocked by the enemies. Secondly, as he had been cut off from his fleet, he was compelled to repel the danger with fire, and it destroyed the great library advancing from the shipsheds (<i>neoria</i>). Finally, in the clash in the fight around Pharos, he jumped from the mole (<i>choma</i>) onto a boat and tried to help his warriors, but as the Egyptians sailed against him from every side, he jumped into the sea and managed to escape by swimming with difficulty.</p>

Ptolemy, <i>Geography</i> , 4.5.8-9	
<p>Νομοῦ Μαρειώτου (Μαραιώτου) παράλιος· Χειμῶ (Χεῖ) κώμη νθ° Ϲ' λα° ιβ' Πλινθίνη νθ° Ϲδ'λα° Χερσόνησος Μικρὰ λιμὴν ξ° λα° ιβ' Αἰγύπτου πάσης μητρόπολις Ἀλεξάνδρεια ξ° Ϲ' λα°</p>	<p>The coast of the nome Mareotis (Maraiotis): Chimo village 59°30 31°05 Plinthine 59°45 31°00 Lesser Chersonesos <i>limen</i> 60°00 31°05</p>

Μενελαίτου μητρόπολις Κάνωβος	Alexandria, the metropolis of all Egypt 60°30 31°00 Canopus, the metropolis of Menelaitae 60°45 31°05
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Periplus of Scylax, 107

Ἐκ Θώνιδος δὲ πλοῦς εἰς Φάρον νῆσον ἔρημον [εὐλίμενος δὲ καὶ ἄνυδρος] στάδια ρν'. Ἐν δὲ Φάρῳ λιμένες πολλοί. Ὑδωρ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Μαρείας λίμνης ὑδρεύονται· ἔστι γὰρ πότιμος. Ὁ δὲ ἀνάπλους εἰς τὴν λίμνην βραχὺς ἐκ Φάρου. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Χερρόνησος καὶ λιμὴν· ἔστι δὲ τοῦ παράπλου στάδια σ'.	From Thonis, the sailing to the deserted island of Pharos, which is <i>eulimenos</i> but has no drinking water, 150 stadia. At Pharos there are many <i>limenes</i> . They take drinking water from Lake Mareotis. It is also drinkable. The sailing up into the lake is short from Pharos. There is also Cherronesos, with a <i>limen</i> . The sailing route there is 200 stadia.
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Stadiasmus, 1

Ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς Χερσόνησον—λιμὴν ἔστι—στάδιοι β'.	From Alexandria to Chersonesos. There is a <i>limen</i> . 2 stadia.
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Strabo, 17.1.6

<p>Τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ὅλου καὶ ἀνωτάτω περὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταῦτα λέγομεν, τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτῆς νῦν διέξιμεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἔργου τούτου καὶ τὸ κυριώτατον ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρειά ἐστι καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν, ἐντεῦθεν ἀρκτέον. ἔστι τοίνυν ἡ ἀπὸ Πηλουσίου παραλία πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν πλέουσι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ στόματος χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων σταδίων, ὃ δὴ καὶ βάσιν τοῦ Δέλτα ἔφαμεν· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ Φάρον τὴν νῆσον ἄλλοι στάδιοι πεντήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν. ἡ δὲ Φάρος νησίον ἐστὶ παράμηκες, προσεχέστατον τῇ ἠπείρῳ, λιμένα πρὸς αὐτὴν ποιοῦν ἀμφίστομον. ἤων γὰρ ἐστὶ κολπώδης, ἄκρας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος προβεβλημένη δύο· τούτων δὲ μεταξύ ἡ νῆσος ἴδρυται κλείουσα τὸν κόλπον, παραβέβληται γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ μῆκος· τῶν δ' ἄκρων τῆς Φάρου τὸ μὲν ἑῶν μᾶλλον ἐστὶ προσεχὲς τῇ ἠπείρῳ καὶ τῇ κατ'</p>
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αὐτὴν ἄκρα (καλεῖται δ' ἄκρα Λοχιάς), καὶ ποιεῖ τὸν λιμένα ἀρτίστομον· πρὸς δὲ τῇ στενότητι τοῦ μεταξὺ πόρου καὶ πέτραι εἰσὶν αἱ μὲν ὕφαλοι αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐξέχουσαι, τραχύνουσαι πᾶσαν ὥραν τὸ προσπίπτον ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους κλυδώνιον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς νησίδος ἄκρον πέτρα περίκλυτος, ἔχουσα πύργον θαυμαστῶς κατεσκευασμένον λευκοῦ λίθου πολυώροφον, ὁμώνυμον τῇ νήσῳ· τοῦτον δ' ἀνέθηκε Σώστρατος Κνίδιος, φίλος τῶν βασιλέων, τῆς τῶν πλοιζομένων σωτηρίας χάριν, ὡς φησὶν ἡ ἐπιγραφή. ἀλιμένου γὰρ οὕσης καὶ ταπεινῆς τῆς ἐκατέρωθεν παραλίας, ἐχούσης δὲ καὶ χοιράδας καὶ βράχη τινά, ἔδει σημείου τινὸς ὑψηλοῦ καὶ λαμπροῦ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους προσπλέουσιν ὥστ' εὐστοχεῖν τῆς εἰσβολῆς τοῦ λιμένος. καὶ τὸ ἐσπέριον δὲ στόμα οὐκ εὐείσβολόν ἐστιν, οὐ μὴν τοσαύτης γε δεῖται προνοίας· ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἄλλον λιμένα τὸν τοῦ Εὐνόστου καλούμενον· πρόκειται δ' οὗτος τοῦ ὀρυκτοῦ καὶ κλειστοῦ λιμένος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ λεχθέντος πύργου τῆς Φάρου τὸν εἴσπλον ἔχων ὁ μέγας ἐστὶ λιμὴν· οὗτοι δὲ συνεχεῖς ἐν βάθει ἐκείνῳ, τῷ ἑπτασταδίῳ καλουμένῳ χώματι διειργόμενοι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παράκεινται· τὸ δὲ χῶμά ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου γέφυρα ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον κατὰ τὸ ἐσπέριον αὐτῆς μέρος ἐκτεταμένη, δύο διάπλους ἀπολείπουσα μόνον εἰς τὸν Εὐνόστου λιμένα καὶ αὐτοὺς γεγεφυρωμένους· ἦν δ' οὐ γέφυρα μόνον ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑδραγωγίον, ὅτε γε ᾠκεῖτο· νῦν δ' ἠρήμωσεν αὐτὴν ὁ θεὸς Καῖσαρ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀλεξανδρέας πολέμῳ τεταγμένην μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων· ὀλίγοι δ' οἰκοῦσι πρὸς τῷ πύργῳ ναυτικοὶ ἄνδρες. ὁ γοῦν μέγας λιμὴν πρὸς τῷ κεκλείσθαι καλῶς τῷ τε χώματι καὶ τῇ φύσει ἀγχιβαθῆς τέ ἐστιν ὥστε τὴν μεγίστην ναῦν ἐπὶ κλίμακος ὀρμεῖν, καὶ εἰς πλείους σχίζεται λιμένας. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρότεροι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖς ἀγαπῶντες οἷς εἶχον καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἐπεισάκτων δεόμενοι, διαβεβλημένοι πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς πλείοντας καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας (πορθηταὶ γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας (πορθηταὶ γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ ἐπιθυμηταὶ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατὰ σπάνιν γῆς), ἐπέστησαν φυλακὴν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ κελεύσαντες ἀπείργειν τοὺς προσιόντας· κατοικίαν δ' αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν τὴν προσαγορευομένην Ῥακῶτιν, ἣ νῦν μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἐστὶ μέρος τὸ ὑπερκείμενον τῶν νεωρίων, τότε δὲ κώμη ὑπῆρχε· τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ τῆς κώμης βουκόλοις παρέδοσαν δυναμένοις καὶ αὐτοῖς κωλύειν τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντας. ἐπελθὼν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἰδὼν τὴν εὐκαιρίαν ἔγνω τειχίζειν ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι τὴν πόλιν· τῆς δ' ὕστερον ἐπηκολουθηκίας εὐδαιμονίας τῇ πόλει μνημονεύουσί τι σημεῖον κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν τοῦ κτίσματος συμβάν· τῶν γὰρ

ἀρχιτεκτόνων γῆ λευκῆ διασημαιομένων τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου γραμμὴν, ἐπιλιπούσης τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιόντος, οἱ διοικηταὶ τῶν ἀλφίτων μέρος τῶν παρεσκευασμένων τοῖς ἐργάταις παρέσχον, δι' ὧν καὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ κατετεμήθησαν εἰς πλείους· τοῦτ' οὖν οἰωνίσθαι λέγονται πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ γεγονός.

I will now talk in full about Egypt and its higher part, and I will show its advantages on each side. Since Alexandria and its environs are the largest part of this work and the noblest, I shall start with it. The sailing from the coast of Pelusium to the west until the Canopic mouth is about one thousand three-hundred stadia, it [forms] the base of the delta, [as] I have said. From there to the Island of Pharos there are 150 stadia more. Pharos is an oblong island very close to the continent, which forms a harbour with a double entrance (*limen amphistomos*) in it. The coast has many bays and projects two capes (*akrai*) into the sea. The island is situated in the middle of these and it shuts the bay, it faces them lengthways. The eastern extremity of Pharos is exposed to the continent and the cape there, called Lochias, and forms the harbour with the best entrance (*limen artistomon*). Besides the narrowness of the passage, there are also rocks, some high [but under water] and some others that stand out [of the water], they roughen all the time the impact of the swell from the sea. There is also in that island a cape of rock washed all around by sea, which has a tower of many stories made of wonderful white stone, it has the same name as the island. Sostratos of Cnidos constructed it, a friend of the kings, for the salvation of the sailors, as the inscription says. For the coastline was *alimenos* and low on either side, and it had sunken rocks and some shoals, some high and bright signal was needed for those who sailed from the sea so that they could find the entrance to the harbour (*eisbole tou limenos*). And the western mouth is not easy to penetrate, but it does not require as much skill [as the eastern harbour]. That side forms another harbour, called Eunostos. This one faces the artificial and closed *limen*¹⁵⁹. It is the Great Harbour that has its entrance from the aforesaid tower of Pharos. They [the eastern and western harbours] are contiguous to that elevation [Pharos, with the lighthouse on the western side], the mole (*choma*) called Heptastadion, which separates them from one another. The mole (*choma*) is a bridge (*gephyra*) from the continent to the island, extending to its western part, but it leaves two sailing passages (*diaploos*) into the harbour of Eunostos, which are also bridged over (*gegephyromenoi*). And that work was not just a bridge into the island, but also an aqueduct (*hydragogion*), when [Pharos]

¹⁵⁹ i.e. the smaller basin known as Kibotos, or The Box.

was inhabited. In our times the Divine Caesar had [Pharos] deserted during the war at Alexandria against the kings. Only a few mariners inhabit it grouped at the foot of the tower. Indeed, the Great Harbour is advantageous thanks to its enclosure with the breakwater (*choma*) and its natural inshore depth (*agkhibathes*), so that the largest ship can anchor by the steps (*epi klimakos*) and it is divided in multiple basins (*limenas*). The first kings of Egypt, happy with the things they had, and not needing foreign produce, as they mistrusted all the sailors and in particular the Greeks (for they were plunderers and coveters of others' goods due to the scarcity of their land), they erected guard-posts in that place with the order to reject those who approached. They provided a residence for them [i.e. for the guards] in the place called Rhakotis, where there is now the city of the Alexandrians, in the part above the shipsheds (*neoria*), but at that time it was an unwallled village. They gave the land around the village to shepherds who were also able to reject strangers who came from outside. When Alexander arrived, seeing the advantage [of that territory] decided to build the city on the *limen*. In addition, something significant recalls the subsequent prosperity in the city, something that happened by the marking of the [circuit] of the new foundation. For the architects were marking out the shape of the perimeter with white earth, but when the white earth ran out and the king came along, the administrators (*dioiketai*) furnished the workers with a part of the flour which they had prepared, with which they could even distribute the majority of the streets. They said this had become a good omen.

Strabo, 17.1.7

Ἡ δ' εὐκαιρία πολύτροπος· ἀμφίκλυστον τε γάρ ἐστι τὸ χωρίον δυσὶ πελάγεσι, τῷ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ λεγομένῳ τῷ δ' ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τῷ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαρείας ἢ καὶ Μαρεῶτις λέγεται· πληροὶ δὲ ταύτην πολλὰς διώρυξιν ὁ Νεῖλος ἄνωθεν τε καὶ ἐκ πλαγίων, δι' ὧν τὰ εἰσκομιζόμενα πολλῶ πλείω τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐστὶν ὥσθ' ὁ λιμὴν ὁ λιμναῖος ὑπῆρχε πλουσιώτερος τοῦ θαλαττίου· ταύτη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκκομιζόμενα ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας πλείω τῶν εἰσκομιζομένων ἐστὶ· γνοίη δ' ἂν τις ἔν τε τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τῇ Δικαιαρχείᾳ γενόμενος, ὁρῶν τὰς ὀλκάδας ἔν τε τῷ κατάπλω καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγωγαῖς ὅσον βαρύτεραι τε καὶ κουφότεραι δεῦρο κάκεισε πλείοιεν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ πλούτῳ τῶν καταγομένων ἐκατέρωσε εἰς τε τὸν κατὰ θάλατταν λιμένα καὶ εἰς τὸν λιμναῖον καὶ τὸ εὐάερον ἄξιον σημειώσεώς ἐστιν, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ συμβαίνει διὰ τὸ ἀμφίκλυστον

καὶ τὸ εὐκαίρον τῆς ἀναβάσεως τοῦ Νείλου. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πόλεις αἰ ἐπὶ λιμνῶν ἰδρυμέναι βαρεῖς καὶ πνιγώδεις ἔχουσι τοὺς ἀέρας ἐν τοῖς καύμασι τοῦ θέρους· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς χείλεσιν αἱ λίμναι τελματοῦνται διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἡλίων ἀναθυμίασιν· βορβορώδους οὖν ἀναφερομένης τοσαύτης ἰκμάδος, νοσώδης ὁ ἀήρ ἔλκεται καὶ λοιμικῶν κατάρχει παθῶν. ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δὲ τοῦ θέρους ἀρχομένου πληρούμενος ὁ Νεῖλος πληροῖ καὶ τὴν λίμνην καὶ οὐδὲν ἑᾶ τελματώδες τὸ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιῆσον μοχθηράν· τότε δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐτησίαι πνέουσιν ἐκ τῶν βορείων καὶ τοῦ τοσοῦτου πελάγους, ὥστε κάλλιστα τοῦ θέρους Ἀλεξανδρεῖς διάγουσιν.

The advantages [of Alexandria] are varied: for the place is washed by two seas, on the north, by the so-called Egyptian [sea], and to the south by the Lake Mareia, which is also called Mareotis. This [lake] is filled with many canals from the Nile, from above and on the sides, and the products brought through them are many more than those from the sea, so that the *limen* in the lake becomes richer than that on the sea. And also the products in there exported from Alexandria are greater than the products imported. Anyone would notice this if they were in Alexandria and in Dicaearchia, seeing the cargo ships at their arrival and at their departure, how much heavier or lighter they sailed to and from these places. In addition to the riches brought down to either side of the maritime port and of the one in the lake, the good quality of the air is important to remark, for it is a result of [Alexandria] being washed by sea on both sides and the advantageous rises of the Nile. Indeed, the other cities which are founded by a lagoon have heavy and choking airs in the summer heats. The lagoons become marshy in their banks due to the evaporation by the sun. When so much moisture evaporates from marshes, the air carries disease and spreads ill pathologies. But in Alexandria, when the summer begins, the Nile fills up and fills the lake as well, and it does not allow the marshes to start causing the distress. Also at that time the Etesian winds blow from the north and the open seas, so that the Alexandrians spend a very pleasant summer.

Strabo, 17.1.8

Ἔστι δὲ χλαμυδοειδὲς τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς πόλεως, οὗ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ μῆκος πλευρά ἐστι τὰ ἀμφίκλυστα ὅσον τριακόντα σταδίων ἔχοντα διάμετρον, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πλάτος οἱ ἰσθμοί, ἑπτὰ ἢ ὀκτῶ σταδίων ἑκάτερος, σφιγγόμενος τῇ μὲν ὑπὸ θαλάττης τῇ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς λίμνης. ἅπανσα μὲν οὖν ὁδοῖς κατατέμνεται ἰππηλάτοις καὶ ἄρματηλάτοις, δυοὶ δὲ πλατυτάταις ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ πλέθρον ἀναπεπταμέναις,

αἱ δὴ δίχα καὶ πρὸς ὀρθὰς τέμνουσιν ἀλλήλας. ἔχει δ' ἡ πόλις τεμένη τε κοινὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὰ βασιλεία, τέταρτον ἢ καὶ τρίτον τοῦ παντός περιβόλου μέρος· τῶν γὰρ βασιλέων ἕκαστος ὥσπερ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀναθήμασι προσεφιλοκάλει τινὰ κόσμον, οὕτω καὶ οἴκησιν ἰδίᾳ περιεβάλλετο πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις, ὥστε νῦν τὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐξ ἐτέρων ἕτερον ἔστιν· ἅπαντα μέντοι συναφῆ καὶ ἀλλήλοις καὶ τῷ λιμένι καὶ ὅσα ἔξω αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ βασιλείων μέρος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἔχον περίπατον καὶ ἐξέδραν καὶ οἶκον μέγαν ἐν ᾧ τὸ συσσίτιον τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ Μουσείου φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν. ἔστι δὲ τῆ συνόδου ταύτη καὶ χρήματα κοινὰ καὶ ἱερεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Μουσεῖῳ τεταγμένος τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων νῦν δ' ὑπὸ Καίσαρος. μέρος δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Σῆμα, ὃ περίβολος ἦν ἐν ᾧ αἱ τῶν βασιλέων ταφαὶ καὶ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου· ἔφθη γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἀφελόμενος Περδίκκαν ὁ τοῦ Λάγου Πτολεμαῖος κατακομίζοντα ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος καὶ ἐκτρεπόμενον ταύτη κατὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἐξιδιασμόν τῆς Αἰγύπτου· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπώλετο διαφθαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐπελθόντος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ κατακλείσαντος αὐτὸν ἐν νήσῳ ἐρήμῃ· ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἀπέθανεν ἐμπεριπαρεῖς ταῖς σαρίσσαις ἐπελθόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν· σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ ... καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς Ἀριδαῖός τε καὶ τὰ παιδιά τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Ῥωξάνη ἀπῆραν εἰς Μακεδονίαν· τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κομίσας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐκήδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὅπου νῦν ἔτι κεῖται, οὐ μὴν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πύλῳ· ὑαλίνη γὰρ αὕτη, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐν χρυσῇ κατέθηκεν· ἐσύλησε δ' αὐτὴν ὁ Κόκκης καὶ Παρείσακτος ἐπικληθεὶς Πτολεμαῖος, ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἐκπεσὼν εὐθύς, ὥστ' ἀνόνητα αὐτῷ τὰ σῶμα γενέσθαι.

The shape of the base of the city is like a chlamys, the long sides are surrounded by water and they measure up to thirty stadia. The [sides] of the breadth are the isthmuses, each seven or eight stadia, bound on the one side by the sea, on the other by the lake. The whole [city] is divided with streets wide enough for horse-riding and for chariots, but two of them are the widest, extending more than a plethrum, and cut one another in two at right angles. The city also has most beautiful common precincts and palaces, a fourth or third part of the whole perimeter. For each of the kings wished to add some ornament to the common monuments, so that they added their own buildings to the existing ones, thus the [saying] of the poet: "there is one after the other". Incidentally, all [the buildings] are connected with one another and also with the *limen*, even those that are away from it. On the side of the palaces there is also the Museum, which has a

walkway (*peripatos*) and seats (*exedra*) and a big building, in which there is the common meals hall of the learned men who are part of the Museum. And in that meeting place there are common riches, as well as a priest who presides over the Museum, before [the priest used to be appointed] by the kings, now by Caesar¹⁶⁰. Also in the neighbourhood of the palaces there is the so-called Sema. This was a precinct in which there were the tombs of the kings and also that of Alexander. Indeed, it is said that Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, took away [Alexander's] body from Perdiccas, who was bringing it down from Babylon but he had taken a detour because of his ambition and wanted to conquer Egypt. Indeed, [Perdiccas] lost his life, killed by his own soldiers, because upon attacking Ptolemy [he lost, and] was confined to a deserted island. In truth, he was killed traversed by the sarissas¹⁶¹ when his own soldiers attacked him. Together with him [missing text] and the kings, and Arrhidaeus and the children of Alexander with his wife Roxana returned to Macedonia¹⁶². Once Ptolemy obtained the body of Alexander, he took care of it in Alexandria, where it still rests nowadays, but not in the same coffin. For that one was made of glass¹⁶³, and this one, of gold. Ptolemy, surnamed Coccoes and Pareisaktos¹⁶⁴, sacked it when he came from Syria but was overthrown straightaway, so that his plundering was useless.

Strabo, 17.1.9

¹⁶⁰ Note that Caesar was originally Gaius Julius Caesar, but also Octavius – under whose time Strabo was writing – had to take his name upon adoption, thus becoming Gaius Julius Caesar Octavian. In time, the word *Caesar* became void of its original use as a proper name and became a kind of title equivalent to the designated successor of the present emperor. In this respect, cf. esp. Tacitus, *Histories*.

¹⁶¹ A sarissa was a kind of long spear used by the Macedonian soldiers.

¹⁶² Clearly some part of the text is missing to correctly link the previous sentence with this one, as already identified in the edition of Meineke (1877). This Arrhidaeus possibly refers to one of Alexander's generals, who was appointed by Ptolemy to bring Alexander's body to Egypt. It is believed that Perdiccas wanted to bring the body to Macedon. After the murder of Perdiccas, Arrhidaeus was temporarily appointed regent of Macedon.

¹⁶³ The sense of the Greek word *ύαλίνη* is unclear in this context. *LSJ* defines it as “made of glass”, but Hamilton and Falconer (1903) in their translation of Strabo, suggest it might be alabaster.

¹⁶⁴ The first nickname, Coccoes, means ‘Scarlet’. The text refers to Ptolemy XI, whom the Alexandrians dubbed Pareisaktos, ‘The Usurper’, because he was imposed by Sulla as a co-regent with Cleopatra-Berenice III when the old monarch died. Egypt had indeed a tradition of co-regency between a man and a woman, and at the death of the former king, Sulla seized the chance to impose his protégé. Cleopatra-Berenice was Ptolemy's step-mother and elder cousin, and she was more popular and beloved by the Egyptians than him, which is why the folk gave him this nickname. Ptolemy re-married Cleopatra-Berenice, but after only 18 days of co-regency he murdered her and was lynched by the mob. See Fletcher, 2009, p. 67.

<p>εἶτα τὸ Καισάρειον καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον καὶ ἀποστάσεις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ νεώρια μέχρι τοῦ ἑπτασταδίου. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα.</p>	<p>Next comes the Caesareum and the <i>emporion</i> and the warehouses (<i>apostaseis</i>), and after those, the dockyards (<i>neoria</i>) until the Heptastadium. All of these on the Great Harbour.</p>
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Strabo, 17.1.9	
<p>ὑπέγκειται δὲ τούτου τὸ θέατρον· εἶτα τὸ Ποσειδῖον, ἀγκῶν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ θέατρον· εἶτα τὸ Ποσειδῖον, ἀγκῶν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμπορίου καλουμένου προπεπτωκῶς, ἔχων ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος·</p>	<p>The theatre lies above that [i. e. the artificial <i>limen</i>]. Next, comes the sanctuary of Poseidion, an elbow projecting from the so-called <i>emporion</i>, which has a temple of Poseidon.</p>

Strabo, 17.1.10	
<p>Ἐξῆς δ' Εὐνόστου λιμὴν μετὰ τὸ ἑπταστάδιον, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου ὁ ὀρυκτὸς ὄν καὶ Κιβωτὸν καλοῦσιν, ἔχων καὶ αὐτὸς νεώρια. ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τούτου διώρυξ πλωτὴ μέχρι τῆς λίμνης τεταμένη τῆς Μαρεώτιδος· ἔξω μὲν οὖν τῆς διώρυγος μικρὸν ἔτι λείπεται τῆς πόλεως· εἴθ' ἢ Νεκρόπολις τὸ προάστειον, ἐν ᾧ κῆποι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ταφαὶ καὶ καταγωγαὶ πρὸς τὰς ταριχείας τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτήδεια. ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς διώρυγος τό τε Σαράπειον καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀρχαῖα ἐκλελειμμένα πῶς διὰ τὴν τῶν νέων κατασκευὴν τῶν ἐν Νικοπόλει· καὶ γὰρ ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ στάδιον καὶ οἱ πεντητηρικοὶ ἀγῶνες ἐκεῖ συντελοῦνται· τὰ δὲ παλαιὰ</p>	<p>To the outer part there is the Eunostos Harbour, after the Heptastadion, and above it, there is the [harbour] that is artificial and they call the Box (<i>Kibotos</i>): it, too, has shipsheds (<i>neoria</i>). Towards the inside part of it [there ends] the navigable canal (<i>dioryx plote</i>) that extends to Lake Mareotis. To the outer part of this canal there is still a little stretch to the city. Then [comes] the Necropolis in the space before the city, in which there are gardens and lots of tombs and buildings suited for the embalming of the dead. On the inner part of the canal there is the Serapeion and other ancient sacred precincts, somehow abandoned because of the constructions of temples in the Nicopolis. Indeed, the</p>

<p>ὠλιγώρηται. συλλήβδην δ' εἰπεῖν ἡ πόλις μεστή ἐστὶν ἀναθημάτων καὶ ἱερῶν· κάλλιστον δὲ τὸ γυμνάσιον μείζους ἢ σταδία εἶχον τὰς στοάς· ἐν μέσῳ [δὲ] τό τε δικαστήριον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Πάνειον, ὕψος τι χειροποίητον στροβιλοειδὲς ἐμπερὲς ὄχθῳ πετρῶδει διὰ κοχλίου τὴν ἀνάβασιν ἔχον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς ἔστιν ἀπιδεῖν ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ὑποκειμένην αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νεκροπόλεως ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος πλατεῖα διατείνει παρὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον μέχρι τῆς πύλης τῆς Κανωβικῆς· εἴθ' ἵπποδρόμος καλούμενός ἐστι καὶ αἰ παρακείμεναι ἄλλαι μέχρι τῆς διώρυγος τῆς Κανωβικῆς. διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου διελθόντι ἡ Νικόπολις ἔστιν, ἔχουσα κατοικίαν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάττω· τριάκοντα δὲ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας στάδιοι.</p>	<p>amphitheatre and the stadium [lie there] and the quinquennial games take place there. The ancient [temples?] are held in little esteem. To speak briefly, the city is full of votive monuments and temples. The most beautiful one is the gymnasium, with colonnades longer than a stadium. In the middle [of the gymnasium complex] are the court of justice and the sacred grove. There is also the Paneion, an artificial, conical mound that looks like a rocky hill with a spiral staircase to the top. At the top it is possible to see the whole city lying beneath it on all sides. From the Necropolis the wide street extends itself past the gymnasium to the Canopic gate. Next there is the so-called hippodrome and the other [buildings] up to the Canopic canal. After walking through the hippodrome, there is the Nicopolis, which is a colony by the sea, no smaller than a city. It is 30 stadia away from Alexandria.</p>
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Strabo, 17.1.13

<p>τῆς Αἰγύπτου δὲ τὰς προσόδους ἔν τι λόγῳ Κικέρων φράζει φήσας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας πατρὶ τῷ Αὐλητῇ προσφέρεσθαι φόρον ταλάντων μυρίων δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων. [...] πρότερον μὲν γε οὐδ' εἴκοσι πλοῖα ἐθάρρει τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον διαπερᾶν ὥστε ἔξω τῶν</p>	<p>Cicero shows the revenues of Egypt in a speech saying that, in a year, [Ptolemy] Auletes, the father of Cleopatra, received tax of 12,500 talents. [...] Indeed, in the beginning not even twenty ships dared to cross the Arabian Gulf, so that they could venture beyond the strait¹⁶⁵. But now large fleets are sent up to India and the</p>
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¹⁶⁵ Bab al-Mandab Strait, between present-day Djibouti and Yemen.

<p>στενῶν ὑπερκύπτειν, νῦν δὲ καὶ στόλοι μεγάλοι στέλλονται μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ πολυτιμότερος κομίζεται φόρτος εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, κἀντεῦθεν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπέμπεται τόπους, ὥστε τὰ τέλη διπλάσια συνάγεται τὰ μὲν εἰσαγωγικά τὰ δὲ ἐξαγωγικά·</p>	<p>Aethiopian capes, from these [expeditions] they bring back the most luxurious cargo into Egypt, and from there it gets sent away to other [countries], in this way tax is raised twice: by the import and by the export.</p>
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Strabo, 17.1.14	
<p>ἡ δὲ Μάρεια λίμνη παρατείνουσα μέχρι καὶ δεῦρο πλάτος μὲν ἔχει πλειόνων ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων, μῆκος δ' ἐλαττόνων ἢ τριακοσίων. ἔχει δ' ὀκτῶ νήσους καὶ τὰ κύκλω πάντ' οἰκούμενα καλῶς· εὐοινία τέ ἐστὶ περὶ τοὺς τόπους ὥστε καὶ διαχεῖσθαι πρὸς παλαιώσιν τὸν Μαρεώτην οἶνον.</p>	<p>Lake Mareotis extends up to this place, it has a width of more than 150 stadia, and a length of less than 300. It contains eight islands and its perimeter is well inhabited everywhere. There is such a good production of wine around these places that the Mareotic wine is even filtered to be aged.</p>

Papyri:

p.panop.beatty 2, section 2, lines 43-48	
<p>Αὐρήλ[ι]ος Ἰσίδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω [Θηβαίδος στρα(τηγοῖς) τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς χαίρειν. τῶν ἀποστελλομένων ἐν Συήνη πλοίων δημοσίων δέκα διὰ τὴν τῶν κίωνων [κατ]ακομιδὴν οὐκ ὑποδεξαμένων πάντας καὶ τῆς κατακομιδῆς</p>	<p>Aurelius Isidorus, procurator of the armies of Inferior Thebaid to the procurators' office, greetings. Ten public ships have been sent from Syene¹⁶⁶ to transport some pillars. As the transport has not been received in its totality, and this transport was greatly necessary, we had to send</p>

¹⁶⁶ Aswan.

<p>ἀναγκαιοτάτης] οὔσης ἐδέησεν καὶ ἕτερα ἀποστα[λῆναι ἴν]α τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑποδεξάμενα κατακομίσειεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλε[ξάνδρε]ϊαν· ἅπερ εἰ μὴ τύχοι βοθηίας ἰκανῆς τῶν ἀνέμων επ[- ca. 15 -]/...ν τυχανόντων τὸν καιρὸν παραδραμεῖται καθ' ὃν δεήσει εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοὺς κίονας κατα[κομισ]θῆναι, καὶ τῆς ὑπονοστήσεως τῶν ὑδάτων μάλιστα ὀσημέρα[ι αὐξανομένης. [...] ὁπότε μὴ ἀνάγοιτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων, [διὰ τε τῶν ναυτῶν] καὶ ἐνοικούντων τὰς ἐπινείους κώμας ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς ἐπιστὰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀνάξαι.</p>	<p>other [ships] for the rest. Once those were received, they were transported to Alexandria. Since there happened to be not enough help from the winds [<i>lacuna</i>] and the time in which the pillars had to be transported to Alexandria was running out, and they could also not be taken back due to the rise of the waters, as happens every day. [...] As the ships were not dragged by the winds, I decided to have them dragged by the sailors and the men inhabiting the <i>epineía</i> villages.</p>
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P. Tebt. 1.5 lines 25-27 and 33-36

<p>μηδὲ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι ἐὰν μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξά[νδρειαν] ὄρ[μω]ν [ἐ]πὶ τῆς ἐξαιρεως εὐρ[ίσκ]η τι τῶν μὴ τετελωνημέν[ων] ἢ τῶν ἀπορρήτων, τ[αῦ]τα δὲ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τὸν διοικητήν. [ὄμ]οίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς πεζῆι ἀ[ν]απορε[υομένους] ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν [ἄ]γουσαν πεζὴν ὁδὸν παραγε[.....] καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν [τ]αινιῶν ἐπὶ τ[ῆ]ς ταινίας μη[δὲ ἀπαι]τεῖν μηδὲ πράσσει[ν] [τι κα]θ' οὖν[τιν] οὖν τρόπον ἐ[κτὸ]ς τῶν καθηκόντων λελεῖσθαι</p>	<p>[The officers at the customs house] may not seize any goods unless they find in the <i>hormoi</i> of Alexandria at the unloading-place something on which tax has not been paid or something which is forbidden [to import]. These things they must bring to the dioicetes. Likewise, those who convey goods on foot to the city [of Alexandria] following the land road [<i>lost letters</i>] and those who [go] from a tongue of land into another tongue of land do not have to pay or give anything in any way except clearing the legal [tax]. [<i>Lost text</i>]. Likewise, in the case of those who import [goods] through</p>
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5.2 Port systems in Puglia, Basilicata and Calabria

Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 3.24	
<p>Erat eo tempore Antonius Brundisii; is virtute militum confisus scaphas navium magnarum circiter LX cratibus pluteisque contextit eoque milites delectos imposuit atque eas in litore pluribus locis separatim disposuit navesque triemes duas, quas Brundisii faciendas curaverat, per causam exercendorum remigum ad fauces portus prodire iussit. Has cum audacius progressas Libo vidisset, sperans intercipi posse, quadriemes V ad eas misit. Quae cum navibus nostris appropinquassent, nostri veterani in portum refugiebant: illi studio incitati incautius sequebantur. Iam ex omnibus partibus subito Antonianae scaphae signo dato se in hostes incitaverunt primoque impeto unam ex his quadriremibus cum remigibus defensoribusque suis ceperunt, reliquas turpiter refugere coegerunt. Ad hoc detrimentum accessit, ut equitibus per oram maritimam ab Antonio dispositis aquari prohiberentur. Qua necessitate et ignominia permotus Libo discessit a</p>	<p>At that time¹⁶⁸, Antony was at Brundisium. Trusting in the strength of his soldiers, he attached about sixty skiffs together with harrows and parapets to form larger ships, he embarked some selected soldiers, and he distributed them along the coast in many separate places. He ordered two trireme ships, which he had had made at Brundisium, to go in advance to the mouth of the <i>portus</i> in order for the oarsmen to exercise. When Libo saw them advancing boldly, hoping that he would be able to intercept them, he sent five quadriemes against them. But when they captured our ships, our veterans escaped back into the <i>portus</i>. The others [Libo's men] followed recklessly excited by their success. Then suddenly Antony's skiffs came out of everywhere at a given signal and they threw themselves upon the enemy. At the first attack they captured one of the quadriemes with its oarsmen and defenders, the others managed to escape without dignity. Adding to the humiliation, the cavalry placed along the sea shore by Antony prevented [Libo] from taking water. Urged by necessity and</p>

¹⁶⁸ i.e. when Bibulus died and the commandment of the navy besieging Brundisium was passed on to Libo.

Brundisio obsessionemque nostrorum omisit.	disgrace, Libo sailed away from Brundisium and gave up on his siege of our men.
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Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 3.101	
Isdem fere temporibus C. Cassius cum classe Syrorum et Phoenicum et Cilicum in Siciliam venit, et cum esset Caesaris classis divisa in duas partes, dimidiaie parti praeesset P. Sulpicius praetor ad Vibonem, dimidiaie M. Pomponius ad Messanam, prius Cassius ad Messanam navibus advolavit.	About that time, Gaius Cassius with his fleet of Syrians, Phoenicians and Cilicians, arrived to Sicily. As Caesar's fleet was separated in two parts – half of it led by the praetor Publius Sulpicius at Vibo, and half of it by Marcus Pomponius at Messina –, Cassius hurried first to Messina.

Cassius Dio, 41.48	
ἕως μὲν γὰρ ὁ Βίβουλος ἔζη, οὐδ' ἀπαραι ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου ἐτόλμησεν· τοσαύτη που φυλακὴ αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἐκκαμῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἐτελεύτησε καὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν ὁ Λίβων διεδέξατο, κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνηγάγετο ὡς καὶ βιασόμενος τὸν ἔκπλουν. καταραχθεῖς τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμίνατό τε αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς προσβαλόντα οἱ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπεκβῆναί ποι βουλευθέντα οὐδαμῇ τῆς ταύτης ἡπείρου προσορμισθῆναι εἶασεν. ἀπορήσας οὖν ὁ Λίβων καὶ ὄρμου καὶ ὕδατος (τὸ γὰρ νησίδιον τὸ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος ὄν, ἐς ὅπερ μόνον προσέχειν ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἄνυδρον καὶ ἀλίμενόν ἐστιν) ἀπέπλευσε πόρρω	While Bibulus was alive, [Antony] had not dared to set out from Brundisium ¹⁶⁹ : so great was his vigilance. But when he became unwell due to hardship and died, Libo received the admiralty. He looked down on him, so he put to sea to force his way through. When [Antony] got pushed back to land, he defended himself strongly and threw [Libo] back [out to sea], and after that, when he wanted to disembark somewhere, [Antony] did not let him moor anywhere on that territory. When Libo became on dire need of <i>hormos</i> and water –for the island that is in front of the harbour, which was the only place where he could put in, is both waterless and harbourless (<i>alimenon</i>) – he sailed a little

¹⁶⁹ Because Brundisium was under siege at the time.

<p>ποι, ὅπου ἀμφοτέρων εὐπορήσειν ἔμελλε. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξαναχθεὶς ὕστερον πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνου, καίπερ μετεώροις σφίσιν ἐπιχειρήσαι ἐθελήσαντος, οὐδὲν ἔπαθε· χειμῶν γὰρ σφοδρὸς ἐπιγενόμενος ἐκώλυσε τὴν ἐπίθεσιν· πρὸς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀμφότεροι ἐκακοπάθησαν.</p>	<p>farther, where he would find both in abundance. Later, Antony, who set sail after him, even if [Libo] tried to attack them on the high seas, suffered no harm, because of the rising of a violent storm that prevented the attack. But both of them were harmed because of this [storm].</p>
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Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 19.3.1

<p>καταθέντος δὲ τοῦ στόλου περὶ Καλλίπολιν ἐπίνειόν τι τῶν Ταραντίνων ἀγασθεὶς τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν ὁ Λεύκιππος πείθει Ταραντίνους συγχωρῆσαι σφισιν ἡμέραν αὐτόθι καὶ νύκτα ἐναυλίσασθαι.</p>	<p>Putting in with his fleet around Callipolis, an <i>epineion</i> of the Tarantinians, Leucippus wondered at the nature of the place and he convinced the Tarantinians to let them stay with them one day and take their night quarters there.</p>
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Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 3.101-103

<p>Ab Hydrunte Soletum desertum, dein Fratuentium, portus Tarentinus, statio Miltiopes, Lupia, Balesium, Caelia, Brundisium Ἐ π. ab Hydrunte, in primis Italiae portu nobile ac velut certiore transitu sicuti longiore, excipiente Illyrici urbe Durrachio CCXXV traiectu. Brundisio conterminus Poediculorum ager. [...]</p>	<p>After Hydruntum, Soletum, which is deserted, Fratuentium, a <i>portus</i> of the Tarentines, the Statio Miltopes, Lupia, Balesium, Caelia, Brundisium – fifty miles from Hydruntum, notable for its <i>portus</i>, among the first Italy, and a safer but longer journey, departing from the Illyrian city of Dyrrhacium, a journey of 225 [miles?]. The Ager Poediculorum borders with Brundisium. The towns (<i>oppida</i>) of the Poediculori are Rudiae, Gnatia, Barium, the river Iapyx, from the son of king Daedalus, from which also Cape Iapygia [is named], then Pactius, [and the river] Aufidius, flowing from</p>
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<p>Acra, Pactius, Aufidus ex Hirpinis montibus Canusium praefluens. Hinc Apulia Dauniorum cognomine a duce Diomedis socero, in qua oppidum Salapia Hannibalis meretricio amore inclutum, Sipuntum, Urvia, amnis Cerbalus, Dauniorum finis, portus Aggasus, promunturium montis Gargani, a Sallentino sive Iapygio CCXXXIII ambitu Gargani, portus Garnae, lacus Pantanus, flumen portuosum Fertor. Teanum Apulorum itemque Larinum, Cliternia, Tifernus amnis. inde regio Frentana.</p>	<p>the Hirpini mountains at Canusi. From there it is [the region of] Apulia of the Daunii, with the surname from the father-in-law of the general Diomedes. In it there is the town (<i>oppidum</i>) of Salapia, famous for the prostitute whom Hannibal was in love with, Sipuntum, Urvia, the river Cerbalus, which is the limit of the Daunii, Portus Aggasus, the promontory of Mount Garganus. From the Salentum or Iapygium, the circuit of Garganus is 234 [miles?]. Portus Garnae, lake Pantanus, the river Fertor with many ports (<i>portuosum</i>). Teanum of the Apulii, and then Larinum, Cliternia, the river Tifernus. Next is the Frentana region.</p>
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Procopius, *Wars*, 7.28.8

<p>ἐνταῦθα μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν Ῥουσκιανή ἐστὶ τὸ Θουρίων ἐπίνειον, ὑπερθεὶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον ἐδείμαντο οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι. ὅπερ Ἰωάννης πολλῶ πρότερον καταλαβὼν ἔτυχεν φρουρὰν τε λόγου ἀξίαν ἐκείνη καταστησάμενος.</p>	<p>In that place, by the headland, there lies the <i>epineion</i> of Rouskiane. About sixty stadia above it, the ancient Romans built a very strong fortress. John had taken it long ago, and he happened to be occupying that fortress worthy of praise.</p>
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Strabo, 6.1.5

<p>Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κωσεντίαν Ἰππώνιον Λοκρῶν κτίσμα· Βρεττίους δὲ κατέχοντας ἀφείλοντο Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ μετωνόμασαν Ὀυιβῶνα Ὀυαλεντίαν. [...] ἔχει δ' ἐπίνειον, ὃ κατεσκεύασέ ποτε Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ τύραννος τῶν</p>	<p>After Cosentia comes Hipponion, a foundation of the Locrians. The Romans took it from the Brutii, who had occupied it, and changed its name to Vibo Valentia. [...] It has an <i>epineion</i>, built by Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily, when he</p>
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<p>Σικελιωτῶν κρατήσας τῆς πόλεως. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέους λιμένα πλεύσασιν ἄρχεται ἐπιστρέφειν τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ πρὸς τῷ πορθμῷ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν. ἐν δὲ τῷ παράπλω τούτῳ Μέδμα πόλις Λοκρῶν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὁμώνυμος κρήνη μεγάλη, πλησίον ἔχουσα ἐπίνειον καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον· ἐγγὺς δὲ καὶ Μέταυρος ποταμὸς καὶ ὕφορμος ὁμώνυμος. πρόκεινται δὲ τῆς ἡόνος ταύτης αἱ τῶν Λιπαραιῶν νῆσοι διέχουσαι τοῦ πορθμοῦ σταδίου διακοσίους. [...] εἰσὶ δ' ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐν ἀπόψει πᾶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Μέδμαν ἀφορῶσι· περὶ ὧν ἐροῦμεν, ὅταν περὶ τῆς Σικελίας λέγωμεν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Μεταύρου ποταμοῦ ἕτερος·</p>	<p>came to the power of that city. From there, the sailing towards the Limen of Heracles begins by doubling the cape (<i>akra</i>) of Italy that faces the strait [of Messina] to the west. On that journey there is Medma, a city of the same Locrians, which has the same name as a large water spring, and close to it, [the city of Medma] has an <i>epineion</i> called Emporion. Nearby there is also the Metauros river and a <i>hyphormos</i> of the same name. The Liparian islands lie facing that coast, 200 stadia from the strait. [...] They are seven in total and they appear in sight both from Sicily and from the mainland around Medma. I will talk about them when I describe Sicily. After that, there is another Metauros river.</p>
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Strabo, 6.1.14

<p>εἴθ' Ἡράκλεια πόλις μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ ποταμοὶ δύο πλωτοὶ Ἄκιρις καὶ Σῆρις, ἐφ' οὓς πόλις ἦν ὁμώνυμος Τρωική· χρόνῳ δὲ τῆς Ἡρακλείας ἐντεῦθεν οἰκισθείσης ὑπὸ Ταραντίνων, ἐπίνειον αὕτη τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ὑπῆρξε. διεῖχε δ' Ἡρακλείας μὲν τέτταρας καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, Θουρίων δὲ περὶ τριακοσίους τριάκοντα. [...] τινὲς δὲ καὶ Ῥοδίων κτίσμα φασὶ καὶ Σειριτίνων καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τράεντος Σύβαριν. φησὶ δ' Ἀντίοχος</p>	<p>Next is the city of Herakleia, a little way from the sea, and two navigable rivers, the Akiris and the Siris, on which there is a Trojan city of the same name. In time, though, the Tarentines sent colons from Heraklea to that place, and [Siris] became an <i>epineion</i> of the Herakleians, but it is 24 stadia distant from Herakleia, and about 330 from Thurii. [...] But some others say that it was a foundation of the Rhodians, this Siris as well as the Sybaris on the</p>
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<p>τοὺς Ταραντίνους Θουρίοις καὶ Κλεανδρίδα τῷ στρατηγῷ φυγάδι ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος πολεμοῦντας περὶ τῆς Σειρίτιδος συμβῆναι, καὶ συνοικῆσαι μὲν κοινῇ, τὴν δ' ἀποικίαν κριθῆναι Ταραντίνων, Ἡράκλειαν δ' ὕστερον κληθῆναι μεταβαλοῦσαν καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὸν τόπον.</p>	<p>Traentos ¹⁷⁰. Antiochus says that the Tarentinians and the Thurians, led by Cleandridas the general, an exile from Sparta, were fighting for Siris. They came to an agreement to co-inhabit the place together, but the colony should be considered Tarentine, although later both the name and the location were changed and it was called Herakleia.</p>
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Strabo, 14.5.10	
<p>μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀγχιάλην αἱ τοῦ Κύδνου ἐκβολαὶ κατὰ τὸ Ῥῆγμα καλούμενον. ἔστι δὲ λιμνάζων τόπος ἔχων καὶ παλαιὰ νεώρια, εἰς ὃν ἐκπίπτει ὁ Κύδνος ὁ διαρρέων μέσσην τὴν Ταρσὸν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου τῆς πόλεως Ταύρου· καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίνειον ἢ λίμνη τῆς Ταρσοῦ.</p>	<p>After Anchiale there are the outlets of the Kydnos and Rhegma, as it is called. It is a lagoonal place that has some ancient docks (<i>neoria</i>), where the Kydnos discharges after flowing through Tarsos. Its sources lie in Taurus, above that city. The lagoon is also the ἐπίνειον of Tarsos.</p>

FD III 1:176, Delphi, ca. 280 BC	
<p>[θε]ός. Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Δημάρχῳ Φιλῶτα Λοκρῶι ἐκ τῶν Ἐπι- [ζε]φυρίων Ἴππωνιῆ προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, ἀτέλει- [αν π]άντων αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγόνοις καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς [ἄλλ]οις προξένοις. ἄρχοντος Ξενοχάρους, βουλευόν- των Ἐχέμμα, Κράτωνος, Φιλώνδα.</p>	
<p>The God. Delphi awarded public friendship (<i>proxenia</i>) to Demarchus, the [son] of Philotes from Epizephyrian Locri, Hipponian, preference in consulting the oracle (<i>promanteia</i>), full tax exemption (<i>ateleia panton</i>) to him and his descendants and all other things [awarded] to the rest of the allies (<i>proxenoi</i>). The archont being Xenochareus, the decision-makers Echemmas, Craton, Philondas.</p>	

¹⁷⁰ present-day Trionto river.

<i>CIL</i> 1, 3163a = <i>AE</i> 1974, 297
[---]s N(umeri) f(ilius) C(aius) Full[ius] [--- III]vir(i) iu(re) [dic(undo)] / [Mefiti] Utianae
<i>(missing text)</i> son of Numerius, Gaius Fullius <i>(missing text, quattuor)viri iure dicundo, to Mefitis Utiana.</i>

<i>AE</i> , 1996, 462, ca. 50 BC to 14 AD
L(ucio) Annelio L(uci) f(ilio) Aem(ilia) Rufo p(atri) [tr(ibunus) mil(itum) pont(ifici) IIIvir(o) iur(e) d(icundo) iter(um)] / L(ucio) Annelio L(uci) f(ilio) Aem(ilia) Rufo f(ilio) IIIvir(o) [iur(e) d(icundo) Caesiae P(ubli) f(iliae) Rufae uxori] / L(ucio) Annelio L(uci) f(ilio) Aem(ilia) Cordo // fratri // III[Ivir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) iter(um)] Safinae L(uci) f(iliae) socru[i] / ex testamento Ca[esia P(ubli) f(ilia) Rufa uxor fecit HS XXV(milibus)]
To Lucius Annelius Rufus, son of Lucius, from the Aemilia tribe, the father, military tribune, pontifex, twice quattuorvir iure dicundo; to Lucius Annelius Rufus, son of Lucius, of the Aemilia tribe, the son, quattuorvir iure dicundo; to Caesia Rufa, daughter of Publius, the wife; to Lucius Annelius Cordus, son of Lucius, from the Aemilia tribe, the brother, quattuorvir iure dicundo twice; to Safinia, daughter of Lucius; to her father-in-law; Caesia Rufa, daughter of Publius, the wife, made it in compliance with the last will for twenty-five thousand sestertii.

6. Linguistic pragmatics and ontological interrelation between port forms

Appian, <i>Punic Wars</i> , 100-101 ¹⁷¹	
<p>Ἄμιλχαρ δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἔσπευσμένως εἰς τὸν ναύσταθμον ἀνήγετο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ἐλπίσας αὐτὸν τε φθάσειν ἐπανιόντα καὶ τὰς οὐσας ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων εἴκοσι τριήρεις ῥαδίως ταῖς ἑκατὸν αἰρήσειν. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀπόπλουν προύπεμπέ τινα τὸν ἔσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξει στρογγύλοις πλοίοις ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐκ διαστήματος, ἵνα ὡς διὰ πυλῶν αἱ τριήρεις ἐκθέοιεν, ὅτε καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα τοῖς κέρασι συνδῆσαί τε καὶ ἀρμόσαι πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἵνα ἀντὶ τείχους ᾗ.</p>	<p>Hamilcar the admiral hastened with a hundred ships to attack the <i>naustathmon</i> of Scipio with the hope that he would arrive there before him and that he could capture easily the twenty Roman triremes that were stationed there with his one hundred [ships]. And Scipio, who saw him sailing away, sent someone in advance [with orders] to block the entrance (<i>esploos</i>) of the <i>limen</i> with the round ships at anchor at regular intervals, so that [Hamilcar's] triremes would have to sail through as if through a gate. When the right time came, the [round] ships bound and roped themselves to each other by their yard arms, so that they formed an ad hoc wall.</p>

Appian, <i>Punic Wars</i> , 347 ¹⁷²	
<p>Ἰτύκη δέ, ἡ Λιβύης μεγίστη μετὰ Καρχηδόνα πόλις, λιμένας τε ἔχουσα εὐόρμους καὶ στρατοπέδων καταγωγὰς δαφιλεῖς, ἐξήκοντα σταδίου ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνας ἀφεστῶσα καὶ καλῶς ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένη, τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἄρα καὶ αὐτὴ τότε</p>	<p>Utica sent ambassadors to Rome, who would offer Utica to the Roman side. It was the largest city in Libya after Carthage thanks to its <i>limenes</i> offering good anchorage (<i>euormoi</i>) and many berths (<i>katagogai</i>) suitable for an army. It was 60 stadia away from Carthage and well</p>

¹⁷¹ 4.24-25 in other editions.

¹⁷² 11.75 in other editions.

<p>ἀπογνοῦσα καὶ τὸ πάλαι μῖσος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρουσα ἐν καιρῷ, πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, οἱ τὴν Ἰτύκην Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέτρεπον.</p>	<p>situated for the war against them, Utica did not agree with the Carthaginians and it held an ancient hatred against them at that time.</p>
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Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 3.6-8	
<p>Caesar [...] II. Non. Ian. naues soluit. Impositae, ut supra demonstratum est, legiones VII. Postridie terram attigit. Inter Cerauniorum saxa et alia loca periculosa quietam nactus stationem et portus omnes timens, quos teneri ab aduersariis arbitrabatur, ad eum locum, qui appellabatur Palaeste, omnibus nauibus ad unam incolumibus milites exposuit. [...] Expositis militibus naues eadem nocte Brundisium a Caesare remittuntur, ut reliquae legiones equitatusque transportari possent. Huic officio praepositus erat Fufius Calenus legatus [...]. Bibulus enim Corcyrae certior factus de aduentu Caesaris, sperans alicui se parti onustarum nauium occurrere posse, inanibus occurrit et nactus circiter XXX in eas indiligentiae suae ac doloris iracundiam erupit omnesque incendit eodemque igne nautas dominosque nauium interfecit, magnitudine poenae reliquos terreri sperans. Hoc confecto negotio a Sasonis ad Orici portum stationes litoraue omnia longe lateque classibus occupauit.</p>	<p>Caesar [...] put to sea on the 4th of January. He boarded seven legions, as explained above. The next day he reached land. Between the Ceraunian Rocks and other dangerous places he sailed to a quiet <i>statio</i>, and, as he was afraid of all of the ports, because he thought they were held by the enemies, he disembarked his soldiers from all of the ships to the last one undammaged at the place called Palaeste. [...] Once he had disembarked his soldiers, Caesar sent the ships back to Brundisium that same night, so that they could bring in the rest of the legions and the cavalry. Fufius Calenus was chosen as a legate to lead that task [...]. But Bibulus had been informed of Caesar's arrival to Corcyra. He expected he could come across the laden transport ships in some place, and he found them empty. He burst into a raging pain and he sank about thirty ships because of his disappointment [at finding them empty], and he burned all of them, killing the crew and the captains of the ships with the same fire, and hoping to scare away the rest [of Caesar's troops] with that enormous punishment. After that, he</p>

	occupied the <i>portus</i> , the <i>stationes</i> and the whole coast (<i>litora omnia</i>), long and wide, from Salona to Oricum
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Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> , 3.73	
Recordari debere, qua felicitate inter medias hostium classes oppletis non solum portibus, sed etiam litoribus omnes incolumes essent transportati.	[Caesar exhorted his troops] that they had to bear in mind, with what felicity they had all crossed the sea undamaged amidst the fleets of the enemies, although they had been deprived not only of ports, but also of the shores.

Ps.-Caesar, <i>African War</i> , 10	
Ipsa cum cohortibus VII quae ex ueteranis legionibus in classe cum Sulpicio et Vatiniore gesserant, ex oppido Ruspina egressus proficiscitur ad portum qui abest ab oppido milia passuum duo, ibique classem sub uesperum cum ea copia conscendit.	Caesar and the seven cohorts formed from the veteran legions serving in the fleet of Sulpicius and Vatinius, departing from the town (<i>oppidum</i>) of Ruspina, left to the port which is two miles distant from the town (<i>oppidum</i>), and in there he embarked the fleet by the evening with those supplies ¹⁷³ .

Ps.-Caesar, <i>African War</i> , 62-63	
Quibus rebus Varus ex perfugis cognitiss [...] primo mane Leptim cum uniuersa classe uectus naues onerarias quae longius a portu in salo stabant uacuas a defensoribus incendit et penteres duas nullo repugnante cepit. [...]	Varus, once he had been told these things by deserters, [...] at the break of day he arrived at Lepti [Minus] with his whole fleet, and he set fire to some cargo ships that lay at some distance from the port, in the <i>salum</i> ¹⁷⁴ , deprived of defenders, and he

¹⁷³ Caesar had travelled on purpose to Ruspina to obtain grain supplies from that town and from the neighbouring area, as explained earlier in the text.

¹⁷⁴ The Greek word σάλος, which is masculine, came into Latin in the neutral form, *salum*. This may possibly be to avoid homonymic clash with the native word *salus* ('health, salvation').

<p>Reliquae naues hostium promunturium superarunt atque Hadrumetum in cothonem se uniuersae contulerunt. Caesar eodem uento promunturium superare non potuit atque in salo in ancoris ea nocte commoratus prima luce Hadrumetum accedit.</p>	<p>captured two quinqueremes without anyone opposing him. [...]</p> <p>The rest of the ships of the enemy sailed past the promontory and gathered all together in the <i>cothon</i> of Hadrumetum. Caesar, with the very same wind, could not make it past the promontory and he had to stay at anchor in the <i>salum</i> that night, he reached Hadrumetum at dawn.</p>
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Ps.-Caesar, *Alexandrian War*, 9

<p>Eo biduo legio XXXVII ex dediticiis Pompeianis militibus cum frumento, armis, telis, tormentis imposita in nauis a Domitio Caluino ad litora Africae paulo supra Alexandream delata est. Hae naues Euro, qui multos dies continenter flabat, portum capere prohibebantur; sed loca sunt egregia omni illa regione ad tenendas ancoras. Hi cum diu retinerentur atque aquae inopia premerentur, nauigio actuario Caesarem faciunt certiozem.</p>	<p>On the space of two days the 37th legion, formed of surrendered Pompeian soldiers, with grain, weapons, arrows and torture machines, had been embarked in ships by Domitius Calvinus and brought to the African shore (<i>litora</i>) a little above Alexandria. The Eurus [southeast wind], which had been blowing continuously for many days, prevented the ships from reaching the port, but there are many good places in that region to retain the anchors. As they were being detained for a long time and the scarcity was pressing, they informed Caesar with a swift sailer.</p>
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Ps.-Caesar, *Alexandrian War*, 25

<p>rumoresque existerent magna Caesari praesidia terrestri itinere [ex] Syria Ciliciaque adduci, quod nondum auditum Caesari erat, commeatum, qui mari nostris supportabatur, interciperere statuerunt.</p>	<p>Rumours arose that Caesar was receiving great reinforcements from the land route from Syria and Cilicia, but as they were not hearing anything about Caesar yet, they decided to intercept the supplies that</p>
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Itaque expeditis nauigiis locis idoneis ad Canopum in statione dispositis nauibus insidiabantur nostris commeatuque.	were shipped to our troops by sea. Therefore, after dispatching ships to suitable places at <i>statio</i> in Canopus, they ambushed the supplies for our ships with their pre-arranged ships.
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Chariton, *Callirhoe*, 1.11.4-2.1.9

Μόνοι δὲ ἐβουλευόντο ὅπου χρῆ τὸν στόλον ὀρμίσει. καὶ τις εἶπεν “Ἀθηναίῳ πλησίον, μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων πόλις. ἐκεῖ πλῆθος μὲν ἐμπόρων εὐρήσομεν, πλῆθος δὲ πλουσίων” [...]. οὐκ ἤρεσκε δὲ Θήρωνι τῆς πόλεως ἢ περιεργία. “μόνοι γὰρ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀκούετε τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην τῶν Ἀθηναίων; δῆμὸς ἐστὶ λάλος καὶ φιλόδικος, ἐν δὲ τῷ λιμένι μυριοὶ συκοφάνται πεύσσονται τίνες ἐσμέν καὶ πόθεν ταῦτα φέρομεν τὰ φορτία. ὑποψία καταλήψεται πονηρὰ τοὺς κακοήθεις. Ἄρειος πάγος εὐθύς ἐκεῖ καὶ ἄρχοντες τυράννων βαρύτεροι. μᾶλλον Συρακοσίων Ἀθηναίους φοβηθῶμεν. χωρίον ἡμῖν ἐπιτήδειόν ἐστιν Ἰωνία, καὶ γὰρ πλοῦτος ἐκεῖ βασιλικὸς ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης Ἀσίας ἄνωθεν ἐπιρρέων καὶ ἄνθρωποι τρυφῶντες καὶ ἀπράγμονες” [...]. ὑδρευσάμενοι δὲ καὶ λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῶν παρουσῶν ὀλκάδων ἐπισιτισμὸν ἔπλεον εὐθὺ Μιλήτου, τριταῖοι δὲ κατήχθησαν εἰς ὄρμον ἀπέχοντα τῆς πόλεως σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα, εὐφρέστατον εἰς ὑποδοχὴν. [...] “εὐκαίρως” φησὶν, “ὦ Λεωνᾶ, συνεβάλομεν. ἔμπορός εἰμι καὶ πλέω νῦν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, ὅθεν οὐδὲν οἶδα τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ. γυνὴ δὲ Συβαρῆτις, εὐδαιμονεστάτη τῶν ἐκεῖ, καλλίστην ἄβραν ἔχουσα διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν ἐπώλησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπριάμην. σοὶ οὖν γενέσθω τὸ κέρδος, εἴτε σεαυτῷ θέλεις τροφὸν κατασχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου (πεπαίδευται γὰρ ἱκανῶς) εἴτε καὶ ἄξιον ὑπολαμβάνεις χαρίσασθαι τῷ δεσπότῃ”. [...] “ἀπίωμεν οὖν” ἔφη Λεωνᾶς, “καὶ δεῖξον αὐτήν.” ὁ δὲ “οὐκ ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν” ἀπεκρίνατο, “διὰ γὰρ τοὺς τελῶνας περιέστημεν τὴν πόλιν, ἀπὸ ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ σταδίων τὸ πλοῖον ὀρμεῖ,” καὶ τὸν τόπον ἔφραζεν. [...] τὴν μὲν οὖν Καλλιρόην ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν οἰκημάτων κατακλίναντες εἶασαν ἡσυχάζειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐδεῖτο πολλῆς ἀναπαύσεως ἐκ λύπης καὶ καμάτου καὶ φόβου· Θήρων δὲ τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος τοῦ Λεωνᾶ “τὰ μὲν παρ’ ἐμοῦ σοὶ” φησὶ “πιστῶς πεπλήρωται, σὺ δὲ ἔχε μὲν ἤδη τὴν γυναῖκα (φίλος γὰρ εἶ λοιπόν), ἦκε δὲ εἰς ἄστυ καὶ λάμβανε τὰς καταγραφὰς καὶ τότε μοι τιμὴν ἦν θέλεις ἀποδώσεις.” ἀμείψασθαι δὲ θέλων [ὁ] Λεωνᾶς “οὐ μὲν οὖν” φησὶν, “ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγὼ σοὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἤδη πιστεύω πρὸ

τῆς καταγραφῆς,” ἅμα δὲ καὶ προκαταλαβεῖν ἤθελε, δεδιῶς μὴ ἄρα μετάρηται· πολλοὺς γὰρ <ἄν> ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐθέλοντας ὠνεῖσθαι. τάλαντον οὖν ἀργυρίου προκομίσας ἠνάγκαζε λαβεῖν, ὁ δὲ Θήρων ἀκκισάμενος λαμβάνει. κατέχοντος δὲ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον αὐτὸν τοῦ Λεωνᾶ (καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας) “βούλομαι” φησὶν “ἄφ’ ἐσπέρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν πλεῦσαι, τῆς δ’ ὑστεραίας ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι συμβαλοῦμεν.” Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπηλλάγησαν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ὁ Θήρων ἐκέλευσεν ἀραμένους τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀνάγεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην, πρὶν ἐκπύστους γενέσθαι. [...] περιῶν δὲ τοὺς Μιλησίων λιμένας ἅπαντας καὶ τὰς τραπέζας καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὄλην οὐδαμοῦ Θήρωνα εὐρεῖν ἠδύνατο. ἐμπόρους ἐξήταζε καὶ πορθμεῖς, ἐγνώριζε δὲ οὐδεὶς. ἐν πολλῇ τοίνυν ἀπορίᾳ γενόμενος κωπηῆρες λαβῶν παρέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν κάκειθεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον· οὐκ ἔμελλε δὲ εὐρήσειν τὸν ἤδη πλέοντα. μόλις οὖν καὶ βραδέως ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Διονύσιος σκυθρωπὸν ἤρετο τί πέπονθεν· ὁ δὲ φησὶν “ἀπολώλεκά σοι, ὦ δέσποτα, τάλαντον.” “συμβαῖνον” εἶπεν ὁ Διονύσιος. “ἀσφαλέστερόν σε τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ ποιήσει. τί δὲ ὅμως συμβέβηκεν; ἢ μή τι ἡ νεώνητος ἀποδέδρακεν;” “οὐκ ἐκείνη” φησὶν, “ἀλλ’ ὁ πωλήσας.” “ἀνδραποδιστῆς ἄρα ἦν, καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν σοι πέπρακε δούλην διὰ τοῦτ’ ἐπ’ ἐρημίας”.

When [the pirates] were alone, they decided where they should moor the ship. Someone said: “Athens is close, it is a large and fortunate city. We will find a multitude of merchants there, a multitude of buyers [...]”. But Theron did not like the over-questioning in that city: “Are you the only ones who haven’t heard from the intrusiveness of the Athenians? They are a gossipy and litigious folk. There are a thousand denouncers in the port asking who we are and where do we come from and what cargo have we brought in. Heavy suspicion will fill these malicious men. The Areopagus¹⁷⁵ is right there, and their judges are harsher than tyrants. Ionia is the convenient place for us, as the richness there is worthy of kings, flowing from the wider upper Asia, and men live luxuriously and lazily”. [...] They took water and victuals from the merchants near them and sailed right to Miletus. On the third day, they put in at a *hormos* eighty stadia distant from the city, very well-shaped for shelter. [...] “Leonas!”, [Theron] said, “how good that we met. I am a merchant and I’m sailing from Italy now, this is why I know nothing about Ionia. So a woman from Sybaris, the richest in that place, had a most beautiful slave, which she sold because of jealousy, and

¹⁷⁵ i.e. the Athenian court of justice.

I bought her. It will be to your advantage, if you are seeking to acquire a wet nurse for the child (she is quite skilled) or if you think it's worth taking her to please your master". [...] Leonas said: "Let's go, and show her to me", but [Theron] replied: "she is not here. We avoided the city because of the customs, my ship is moored eighty stadia away", and he described the place. [...] They sent Callirhoe to the most beautiful room and they let her rest. She needed plenty of rest because of her grief, and weariness, and fear. Theron shook the hand of Leonas and said: "I sell you my property in good faith. You take the woman (you are a friend now), go to the city and take the contracts, and then you pay me whatever price you want". Leonas [really] wanted to buy, and said: "Definitely not! I will entrust the money to you ahead of the contract" he wanted to anticipate [the purchase], afraid that [Theron] might change his mind. There were many people in the city who would [also] want to buy. He produced a silver talent and forced him to take it. Theron took it faking indifference. Leonas offered him to stay for dinner (for it was that late in the day), but [Theron] said: "I want to sail to the city by the evening. We will meet tomorrow at the *limen*", and they said goodbye. When Theron arrived at the ship, he gave orders to weigh the anchors and to leave as fast as possible, before they would notice. [...] [The next day, Leonas] went around all the *limenes* in Miletus, the bankers, the whole city, he could not find Theron anywhere. He asked the merchants and the ferrymen, nobody knew him. He was in such despair that he took the oars and sailed along the coast (*akte*) to that spot [where Theron had told him that he had moored], but he was not going to find he who has already sailed away. In the end, he went back slowly to his master. When Dionysius saw him so gloomy, he asked what had happened. He replied: "Master, I lost you a talent." Dionysius replied: "okay, this will make you more aware for the future. But what happened? Has the newly-bought ran off?", "Not her", he said, "but the seller". "He certainly was a kidnapper, and sold you someone else's slave, because of this [you made the purchase] in the middle of nowhere!".

Cicero, *Letters to his friends*, 12.15.2

<p>quae res nos uehementer fefellit; tantum enim afuit, ut illorum praesidio nostram firmaremus classem, ut etiam a Rhodiis urbe, portu, statione, quae extra urbem est,</p>	<p>The thought [that the Rhodians would respect the treatise they had just renewed] strongly deceived me. They prevented that my fleet would be secured at their refuge,</p>
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<p>commeatu, aqua denique prohiberentur nostri milites, nos uix ipsi singulis cum nauigolis reciperemur.</p>	<p>my soldiers were banned by the Rhodians from their city, from their portus, from the statio that is outside the city, from food supplies, even from water: I myself had to reach them with a single small boat.</p>
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Cornelius Nepos, <i>Life of Themistocles</i> , 6.1	
<p>Magnus hoc bello Themistocles fuit neque minor in pace. Cum enim Phalerico portu neque magno neque bono Athenienses uterentur, huius consilio triplex Piraei portus constitutus est isque moenibus circumdatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate aequiperaret, utilitate superaret.</p>	<p>Themistocles was great in war, but not the less in peacetime. The Athenians were making use of the <i>portus</i> at Phaleron, which was not large and not good. But on his advise they built the triple <i>portus</i> at Piraeus and they surrounded it with walls, so that it would equal the city itself in honour and it would surpass it in usefulness.</p>

Diodorus Siculus, 11.41.2	
<p>τοῦ γὰρ καλουμένου Πειραιῶς οὐκ ὄντος λιμένος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ἀλλ' ἐπιτείω χρωμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ Φαληρικῷ, μικρῷ παντελῶς ὄντι, ἐπενόησε τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατασκευάζειν λιμένα, μικρᾶς μὲν προσδεόμενον κατασκευῆς, δυνάμενον δὲ γενέσθαι λιμένα κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.</p>	<p>The place called Piraeus was not a <i>limen</i> by that time, but the Athenians used as an <i>epineion</i> the place called Phaleron. But, as it was small on every side, [Themistocles] planned to build Piraeus into a <i>limen</i>, because by adding some small structures, it could become the best and largest <i>limen</i> of those in Greece.</p>

Diodorus Siculus, 13.15.3-4	
<p>ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικίας τοιοῦτοις χρησάμενος λόγοις πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν</p>	<p>After speaking in this way, Nicias returned to his position in the line of combat again.</p>

<p>ἐπανῆλθεν· οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ παιανίσαντες ἔπλεον, καὶ φθάσαντες τοὺς πολεμίους διέλυον τὸ ζεύγμα. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ταχέως ἐπαναχθέντες συνετάττοντο ταῖς τριήρεσι, καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἠνάγκασαν αὐτοὺς ἐπιστρέφειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ζεύγματος καὶ διαμάχεσθαι. ποιουμένων δὲ τὰς ἀνακρούσεις τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, τῶν δ' εἰς μέσον τὸν λιμένα, τινῶν δὲ πρὸς τὰ τείχη, ταχέως ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεσπάρσθησαν αἱ τριήρεις ἅπασαι, καὶ χωρισθέντων ἀπὸ τῶν κλείθρων πλήρης ἦν ὁ λιμὴν τῶν κατ' ὀλίγους ναυμαχούντων.</p>	<p>The men on the ships sailed forth singing the paean, they overtook the enemies and broke through the line of ships. The Syracusans sailed round swiftly and repositioned their triremes. Locking themselves together, they forced the enemies to turn around facing the line of ships and to fight. When [the Athenians] manoeuvred to back water, all the triremes got quickly separated from each other, some against the <i>aigialos</i>, others in the middle of the <i>limen</i>, and some others against the walls, and when they opened the boom, the <i>limen</i> became full of [ships] fighting in small groups.</p>
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Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1.51.3	
<p>οἱ δὲ σὺν Αἰνεΐᾳ ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀπόβασιν οὐ καθ' ἓν χωρίον τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς μὲν πλείσταις ναυσὶ πρὸς ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίας ὀρμισάμενοι, ἣ τότε Σαλεντῖνος ἐλέγετο, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς κατὰ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀθήναιον, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς Αἰνεΐας ἐτύγχανεν ἐπιβὰς Ἰταλίας (τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἐστὶν ἀκρωτήριο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ θερινὸς ὄρμος, ὃς ἐξ ἐκείνου λιμὴν Ἀφροδίτης καλεῖται) [...].</p>	<p>Those who sailed with Aeneas did not make the sailing-up to Italy to one single place, but most of the ships put in at Cape Iapygia, which at the time was called Salentine. The rest [put in] at the place called Athenaion. Aeneas happened to be at that place himself. That place is a cape with a <i>hormos</i> for the summer season on it, and it is named Limen of Aphrodite¹⁷⁶ from him [...].</p>

Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> , 15.331-332 ¹⁷⁷
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¹⁷⁶ Aeneas was said to be the son of Aphrodite.

¹⁷⁷ 15.9.6 in other editions.

<p>Κατιδῶν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότατον δέξασθαι πόλιν, ὃ πάλαι Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος [...], τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ πλείστην ἐργασίαν παρασχόν, ἀκλύστῳ λιμένι, μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καταγωγὰς δ' ἔνδον ἔχοντι καὶ δευτέρους ὑφόρους, τῇ δὲ δομῇσι περίβλεπτον, ὅτι μὴδ' ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τῆς μεγαλοουργίας εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεισάκτοις καὶ πολλαῖς ἐξετελειώθη ταῖς δαπάναις.</p>	<p>[Herod] noticed a place by the sea that was very suitable to accommodate a city. It used to be called Strato's Tower [...], the greatest and largest work that he furnished was a <i>limen</i> free from swell (<i>aklystos</i>), about the size of Piraeus, with berths (<i>katagogai</i>) inside and two <i>hyphormoi</i>, it was admirable for its construction, because that place was in no way the most suitable for such a monumental work, and he completed it at great expenses bringing in materials from outside.</p>
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Livy, 27.30	
<p>In Maliaco sinu is locus est, quondam frequenter habitatus propter egregium portum tutasque circa stationes et aliam opportunitatem maritimam terrestremque.</p>	<p>In the Maliac gulf there is a place that has been frequently inhabited thanks to its perfect <i>portus</i> and the sheltered <i>stationes</i> around it, as well as every other maritime and terrestrial advantage.</p>

Livy, 29.27	
<p>iam terram cernebant. haud ita multo post gubernator Scipioni ait non plus quinque milia passuum Africam abesse; Mercuri promunturium se cernere; si iubeat eo dirigi, iam in portu fore omnem classem. Scipio [...] dare vela et alium infra nauibus accessum petere iubet. Vento eodem ferebantur; ceterum nebula [...] conspectum terrae ademit et uentus premente nebula cecidit. Nox deinde incertiora omnia fecit; itaque ancoras ne</p>	<p>They were already seeing the land. Not much later, Scipio's helmsman said that Africa was at no longer than five miles, he could see the Promontory of Mercury. If he ordered to go there, the whole fleet would be at harbour. Scipio [...] ordered to set sail and to make for other land side under the ships. They were carried by the wind, but fog [...] blurred the sight of land and the wind ceased pressured by the fog. Night made everything more uncertain, therefore</p>

<p>aut inter se concurrerent naues aut terrae inferrentur iecere. ubi inluxit, uentus idem coortus nebula disiecta aperuit omnia Africae litora. Scipio quod esset proximum promuntorium percontatus cum Pulchri promunturium id uocari audisset, 'placet omen;' inquit 'huc dirigite naues.' eo classis decurrit, copiaequae omnes in terram expositae sunt.</p>	<p>they dropped the anchors so that the ships would not crash into each other or run aground. When daylight came, the wind rose and faded the fog away, opening the whole coast of Africa. Scipio asked what was the closest promontory and upon hearing it was the Promontory of Pulcher, he said: "I like this omen, direct the ships there." The fleet sailed for that place, and all the troops disembarked on land.</p>
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Livy, 37.16	
<p>C. Liuius [...] nauigat Patara. Primo secundus uentus ad ipsam urbem ferebat eos, [...], postquam circumagente se uento fluctibus dubiis uolui coeptum est mare, peruicerunt quidem remis, ut tenerent terram; sed neque circa urbem tuta statio erat, nec ante ostium portus in salo stare poterant aspero mari et nocte imminente.</p>	<p>Gaius Livius [...] sails for Patara. At first, favourable winds were bringing them to that city [...], but when the wind changed, the sea began to revolve in erratic currents, they won it over with their oars, so that they could reach the land. But there was neither a sheltered <i>statio</i> by the city, nor could they stay in the <i>salum</i> facing the entrance of the port because of the rough seas and the imminence of the night.</p>

Livy, 41.1.3-5	
<p>aduersus Illyriorum classem creati duumviri nauales erant [...]. L. Cornelius dextra litora usque ad Tarentum, C. Furius laeua usque ad Aquileiam tueretur. eae naues ad proximum portum in Histriae fines cum onerariis et magno commeatu missae, secutusque cum legionibus consul quinque ferme milia a mari posuit castra.</p>	<p>Against the troops of the Illyrians two <i>duumviri nauales</i> were created [...]. Lucius Cornelius would protect the right-hand shore up to Tarentum, Gaius Furius, the left-hand shore until Aquileia. These warships were sent to the nearby <i>portus</i> on the border with Histria, with cargo ships and a great convoy, and the consul</p>

<p>in portu emporium breui perfrequens factum, omniaque hinc in castra supportabantur.</p>	<p>followed with the legions and established the camp five miles from the sea. In the <i>portus</i>, there had recently been made an <i>emporium</i> that was very crowded, and all the goods were transported thence into the camp.</p>
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Pausanias, 1.1.2	
<p>ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς δῆμος μὲν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, πρότερον δὲ πρὶν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν ἐπίνειον οὐκ ἦν· Φαληρὸν δέ—ταύτη γὰρ ἐλάχιστον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως ἢ θάλασσα—, τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον ἦν. [...] Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἤρξε—τοῖς τε γὰρ πλέουσιν ἐπιτηδειότερος ὁ Πειραιεὺς ἐφαίνετό οἱ προκεῖσθαι καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἔχειν τοῦ Φαληροῦ—τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον εἶναι κατεσκευάσατο·</p>	<p>Piraeus used to be a deme in ancient times, it was not an <i>epineion</i> at first, before Themistocles governed the Athenians. Phaleron was their <i>epineion</i>, as it is the coast closest to the city. [...] When Themistocles governed he made Piraeus their <i>epineion</i> [of the Athenians], as he found Piraeus was more conveniently situated for sailors and it had three <i>limenes</i> instead of only one in Phaleron.</p>

Pausanias, 2.2.3	
<p>Κορινθίοις δὲ τοῖς ἐπινείοις τὰ ὀνόματα Λέχης καὶ Κεγχρίας ἔδοσαν [...]· ἐν δὲ Κεγχρέαις Ἀφροδίτης τέ ἐστι ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρύματι τῷ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης Ποσειδῶνος χαλκοῦν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον πέρασ τοῦ λιμένος Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἰσιδος ἱερά.</p>	<p>The Corinthians gave to their <i>epineia</i> the names of Lechaeum and Cenchreae [...]. At Cenchreae there is a temple (<i>naos</i>) of Aphrodite with a marble statue. Behind it, on the mole (<i>eryma</i>) through the sea there is a bronze [statue of] Poseidon, and to the other side of the <i>limen</i> there are temples (<i>hiera</i>) to Asklepius and to Isis.</p>

Pausanias, 6.26.4	
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Κυλλήνη δὲ σταδίου μὲν εἴκοσι Ἡλίδος καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀφέστηκε, κείται δὲ τετραμμένη τε πρὸς Σικελίαν καὶ ὄρμον παρεχόμενη ναυσὶν ἐπιτήδειον· ἐπίνειον δὲ οὔσα Ἠλείων ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Ἀρκάδος τὸ ὄνομα εἴληφε.	Cyllene is a hundred and twenty stadia from Elis. It lies facing Sicily and it offers a <i>hormos</i> suitable for the [larger? / war?] ships. It is the <i>epineion</i> of Elis, and it took its name from an Arcadian man.
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Pausanias, 7.26.14	
ὄνομα δὲ Ἀριστοναύτας γενέσθαι τῷ ἐπινείῳ λέγουσιν, ὅτι καὶ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν λιμένα ὠρμίσαντο οἱ πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς.	They say the name of Aristonautae came from the <i>epineion</i> , because those who sailed to Argos ¹⁷⁸ moored on that <i>limen</i> .

Pausanias, 10.1.2	
τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπαντικρὺ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας καθήκουσιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν οἱ Φωκεῖς, τῇ μὲν ἐς Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν, τῇ δ' ἐπὶ Ἀντίκυραν πόλιν·	The Phocceans inhabit the territory right opposite Peloponnesus and above Boeotia down to the sea, to Cirra, the <i>epineion</i> of Delphi, and to the town of Anticyra.

Pausanias, 10.8.8	
οὔτος ὁ Πλεῖστος ἐπὶ Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν καὶ τὴν ταύτην κάτεισι θάλασσαν.	This river Pleistos [flows] to Cirra, the <i>epineion</i> of Delphi, and in that place it joins the sea.

Pausanias, 10.37.4	
ἐς δὲ Κίρραν τὸ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν ὁδὸς μὲν σταδίων ἑξήκοντά ἐστιν ἐκ Δελφῶν·	From Delphi the road to Cirra, the <i>epineion</i> of Delphi, is sixty stadia.

¹⁷⁸ i.e. the mythical heroes called Argonauts led by Jason, who sailed to Argos in search of the Golden Fleece.

Pausanias, 10.37.8	
Ἀμφικτύονες δὲ ὡς εἶλον τὴν πόλιν, ἐπράξαντο ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ δίκας παρὰ Κιρραίων, καὶ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν ἐστὶν ἡ Κίρρα.	The Amphictyons, once they captured the city, imposed a fine to the people of Cirra claiming justice to the god, and Cirra is the <i>epineion</i> of Delphi.

Periplus of the Red Sea, 24	
Τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον ἡ Μούζα ἀλίμενον μὲν εὐσαλον δὲ καὶ εὐορμον διὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀμμόγεια ἀγκυροβόλια. Φορτία δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν προχωρεῖ πορφύρα διάφορος καὶ χυδαία καὶ ἱματισμὸς Ἀραβικὸς χειριδωτός, ὃ τε ἀπλοῦς καὶ ὁ κοινὸς καὶ σκοτουλαῖτος καὶ διάχρυσος, καὶ κρόκος καὶ κύπερος καὶ ὀθόνιον καὶ ἀβόλλαι καὶ λώδικες οὐ πολλαί, ἀπλοῖ τε καὶ ἐντόπιοι, ζῶναι σκιωταὶ καὶ μύρον μέτριον καὶ χρῆμα ἰκανόν, οἶνός τε καὶ σῖτος οὐ πολὺς· φέρει γὰρ καὶ ἡ χώρα πυρὸν μετρίως καὶ οἶνον πλείονα.	The <i>emporion</i> in Mouza is <i>alimenos</i> , but it has good anchorage on open waters (<i>eusalos</i>) and good inshore anchorage (<i>euormos</i>) throughout its sandy <i>ankyrobolia</i> . The cargoes brought to this place are an abundant, bright purple dye and Arabic clothing with sleeves, some plain, some common and with a chequered pattern and with gold embroidery, saffron [is also imported], and spices, and linen and woollen cloth, and blankets in lesser quantity, the plain, local ones, colourful belts and measured unguents and much gold, wine, but not much grain. That land provides little wheat and more wine.

Periplus of Scylax, 46	
Λακεδαίμων ἔθνος, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσὶν αἶδε· Ἀσίνη, Μοθώνη, Ἀχίλλειος λιμὴν καὶ ἀντίπυγος τούτου Ψαμαθοῦς λιμὴν. Τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἐν μέσῳ προέχον εἰς θάλασσαν ἱερόν Ποσειδῶνος, Ταίναρος· καὶ Λᾶς πόλις καὶ λιμὴν, Γύθειον ἐν ᾧ νεώριον, καὶ	The nation of the Lacedaemonians and their cities are the following: Asine, Mothone, the <i>Limen</i> of Achilles and opposite that is the Sandy <i>Limen</i> . Between these two, jutting out to the sea, the temple (<i>hieron</i>) of Poseidon, Taenarum. And the city of Las with a <i>limen</i> , Gytheion, where

τείχος, καὶ ποταμὸς Εὐρώτας, καὶ Βοία πόλις, καὶ Μαλέα ἄκρα.	there are <i>neoría</i> , and walls, and the river Eurotas, and the city of Boia and cape Malea.
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Periplus of Scylax, 64

Μετὰ δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς Θετταλία καθήκει ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐκ μεσογείας κατὰ στενὸν εἰς τὸν Παγασητικὸν κόλπον στάδιοι λ'. Καὶ εἰσι Θετταλίας πόλεις αἶδε ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ· Ἀμφαναῖον, Παγασαί· ἐν δὲ μεσογείᾳ Φεραὶ, Λάρισσα, Φάρσαλος, Κίερον, Πελινναῖον, Σκοτούσα, Κραννῶν. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις Θετταλῶν ἐν μεσογείᾳ.	Among the Achaians, Thessaly faces the sea from the inland through a strait into the Pagasetic bay, 30 stadia. And these are the Thessalian cities by the sea: Amphanaeum, Pagasae. Inland there is Pherae, Larissa, Pharsalum, Kierum, Pelinnaeum, Skotousa, Krannum. There are other towns in inland Thessaly as well.
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Periplus of Scylax, 109

Ἐν δὲ τῷ κοιλοτάτῳ τῆς Σύρτιδος (ἐν τῷ μυχῶ) Φιλαίνου βωμοὶ, ἐπίνειον, Ἄμμωνος ἀλοῦς τῆς Σύρτιδος ¹⁷⁹ .	In the innermost part of Syrtis, on the creek, there are the Arae Philanaeorum, an ἐπίνειον, a shrine of Ammon in the Syrtis.
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Philo, De Specialibus Legis, 4.154

καὶ πρὸς εὐπλοίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τῶν θαλαττευόντων οὐχ ὀλαχῶν κυβερνᾶν εὐθύς ἐπὶ πρύμναν παραπέμπεται [...], ἀλλ' ὅστις ἂν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὴν κυβερνητικὴν τέχνην ἐπιμελῶς φαίνεται δεδιδαγμένος· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ πολλακίς μὲν πεπλευκῶς, τὰ δὲ σύμπαντα ἢ πλεῖστα πελάγη περαιωσάμενος, ἐμπόρια δὲ καὶ λιμένας καὶ ὑφόρους καὶ ὑποδρόμους τοὺς ἐν τε νήσοις καὶ	And for the sake of a good journey and the salvation of they who sail, you do not sort the helmsman by lot and send them straightaway to the stern [...], but he who has been proven to learn professionally the helmsmanship skills since his early youth. This person is he who has sailed extremely often, and has experienced the whole or the larger part of the seas, having examined professionally the <i>emporía</i> , and
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¹⁷⁹ Editions of the text indicate corruption after ἀλοῦς.

ἡπίροις ἐπιμελῶς ἐξητακῶς καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν κατὰ γῆν ὁδῶν τὰς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀτραπούς ἐπιστάμενος ἐκ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς θεάς τῶν οὐρανίων·	the <i>limenes</i> , and the <i>hyphormoi</i> , and the <i>hypodromoi</i> ¹⁸⁰ on the islands and on the mainland, and knows the shortcuts by sea in no inferior way than the roads on the land from the accurate inspection of the skies.
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Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 4.7

Vltra Cirrhaei Phocidis campi, oppidum Cirr<h>a, portus Chalaeon, a quo VII p. introrsus liberum oppidum Delphi sub monte Parnaso, clarissimi in terris oraculi Apollinis.	Beyond the fields of Cirrhaean Phocis, the town (oppidum) of Cirrha, the port of Chalaeon, from there seven miles inland, the free town (oppidum) of Delphi, under Mount Parnasus, most illustrious in the world for its oracle of Apollo.
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Polybius, 1.53.10

οἱ δὲ νομίσαντες οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καθωρμίσθησαν πρὸς τι πολισμάτιον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ταττομένων, ἀλίμενον μὲν, σάλους δ' ἔχον καὶ προβολὰς περικλειούσας ἐκ τῆς γῆς εὐφυεῖς.	[the Romans], considering that their ships would not resist a battle at sea, anchored by a subject village. It was <i>alimenos</i> , but it had <i>saloι</i> and conveniently-shaped headlands projecting from the mainland.
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Polybius, 5.19.6

Μεταβαλόμενος δ' αὖτις ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν παρὰ τὸν ναύσταθμον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Γύθιον, ἔχει δ' ἀσφαλῆ λιμένα, τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἀπέχει περὶ (διακόσια καὶ) τριάκοντα στάδια.	He turned around quickly and he made his way towards the <i>naustathmon</i> of the Lacedaemonians, which is called Gythion. It has a safe <i>limen</i> . The city is distant about 230 stadia.
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¹⁸⁰ This is another harbour category, but due to its marginality, this term was not included in the study of this thesis. It is probably best understood as a form of minor harbour and it is certainly not a typical one in the Mediterranean.

Polybius, 5.102.9	
αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας περὶ Πάνορμον, ὃς ἔστι μὲν τῆς Πελοποννήσου λιμῆν, κεῖται δὲ καταντικρὺ τῆς τῶν Ναυπακτίων πόλεως, ἀνέμενε τοὺς τῶν συμμάχων συνέδρους.	[Philip] himself crossed over with his forces and moved his army to Panormus, which is a <i>limen</i> in the Peloponnesus. It lies opposite the city of Naupactus. He waited there for the ambassadors of the allies.

Polybius, 18.2	
Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων ναύαρχος Ἀκεσίμβροτος τῆς μὲν Περαιᾶς ἐκέλευεν ἐκχωρεῖν τὸν Φίλιππον, ἧς αὐτῶν παρήρηται, τὰς δὲ φρουρὰς ἐξάγειν ἐξ Ἴασοῦ καὶ Βαργυλίων καὶ τῆς Εὐρωμέων πόλεως, ἀποκαταστήσαι δὲ καὶ Περινθίους εἰς τὴν Βυζαντίων συμπολιτείαν, παραχωρεῖν δὲ καὶ Σηστοῦ καὶ Ἀβύδου καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων καὶ λιμένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπάντων.	After that, the Rhodian navach Acesimbrotos ordered that Philip must leave Peraea, which he had taken from them, and to withdraw the garrisons away from the cities of Iasos and Bargylia and Euromus, to restore the Perinthians to their confederation with Byzantium; to retreat from Sestos and Abydos and all of the <i>emporía</i> and the <i>limenes</i> in Asia.

Pomponius Mela, 1.61	
Arabia hinc ad Rubrum mare pertinet, sed illic magis laeta et ditior ture atque odoribus abundat, hic nisi qua Casio monte adtollitur plana et sterilis portum admittit Azotum suarum mercium emporium, qua in altum abit adeo edita, ut ex summo uertice a quarta vigilia ortum solis ostendat.	From that place until the Red Sea belongs to Arabia, but in there it is more fortunate and richer, it is full of frankincense and perfumes. Apart from Mount Casius, it is flat and sterile. The <i>portus</i> Azotus receives its merchandise as an <i>emporium</i> , and what travels by sea is received, so that

	from the farthest point it can be displayed on the fourth vigil since sunrise.
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Pomponius Mela, 1.71	
Non longe hinc Corycos oppidum portu saloque incingitur, angusto tergoze continenti adnexum.	Not too far from there, the town (oppidum) of Corycus is surrounded by a portus and a salum, attached to the mainland [only] by a narrow stretch of land.

Procopius, <i>On Buildings</i> , 5.9.38	
πτωχεῖον τοῦ ἁγίου Μιχαήλ ἐν Ἐμπορίῳ ἐπίκλην ἐπινείου πόλεως Πέργης τῆς Παμφυλίας.	Saint Michael's hospice for the poor is in Emporion, this is the name of the <i>epineion</i> of the city of Perge in Pamphilia.

<i>Stadiasmus</i> , 126	
Ἀπὸ Κάστρων Κορνηλίου εἰς Οὔτικα στάδιοι κδ'· πόλις ἐστὶ λιμένα οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ σάλον ἔχει· ἀσφαλίζου.	From Castra Cornelia to Utica, 24 stadia. There is a city. It does not have a <i>limen</i> , but it has a <i>salos</i> . Take care.

Strabo, 5.2.6	
τὸ δὲ Ποπλώνιον ἐπ' ἄκρας ὑψηλῆς ἵδρυται κατερρωγυίας εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ χερρονησιζούσης [...]. τὸ μὲν οὖν πολίχμιον πᾶν ἔρημόν ἐστι πλὴν τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ κατοικιῶν ὀλίγων, τὸ δ' ἐπινεῖον οἰκεῖται βέλτιον, πρὸς τῇ ρίζῃ τοῦ ὄρους λιμένιον ἔχον καὶ νεωσοίκους δύο· καὶ δοκεῖ μοι μόνη τῶν Τυρρηνίδων τῶν παλαιῶν αὕτη πόλεωσ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἰδρῦσθαι· αἴτιον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ	Poplonium is founded on a high cape falling onto the sea and with the aspect of a peninsula [...]. The village now is completely deserted, except for the temples and a few households. The <i>epineion</i> is better inhabited, it has a small berthing space (<i>limenion</i>) at the foot of the mountain and two shipsheds (<i>neosoikoi</i>). And I do think that only this town in Tyrrhenia was founded by that sea. The

<p>τῆς χώρας ἀλίμενον· διόπερ παντάπασιν ἔφευγον οἱ κτίσται τὴν θάλατταν ἢ προεβάλλοντο ἐρύματα πρὸ αὐτῆς, ὥστε μὴ λάφυρον ἔτοιμον ἐκκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐπιπλεύσασιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ θυννοσκοπεῖον ὑπὸ τῆ ἄκρα.</p>	<p>cause is that the territory is <i>alimenos</i>. Because of that the city-founders shunned the sea or threw moles against it, so that their spoils would not be exposed to the [pirates] sailing against them. There is also a look-out for tunnies under the cape.</p>
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Strabo, 6.1.5	
<p>Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κωσεντίαν Ἴππώνιον Λοκρῶν κτίσμα· Βρεττίους δὲ κατέχοντας ἀφείλοντο Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ μετωνόμασαν Ὀυιβῶνα Ὀυαλεντίαν. [...] ἔχει δ' ἐπίνειον, ὃ κατεσκεύασέ ποτε Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ τύραννος τῶν Σικελιωτῶν κρατήσας τῆς πόλεως. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέους λιμένα πλεύσασιν ἄρχεται ἐπιστρέφειν τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ πρὸς τῷ πορθμῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν. ἐν δὲ τῷ παράπλω τούτῳ Μέδμα πόλις Λοκρῶν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὁμώνυμος κρήνη μεγάλη, πλησίον ἔχουσα ἐπίνειον καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον· ἐγγὺς δὲ καὶ Μέταυρος ποταμὸς καὶ ὕφορμος ὁμώνυμος. πρόκεινται δὲ τῆς ἡόνος ταύτης αἱ τῶν Λιπαραίων νῆσοι διέχουσαι τοῦ πορθμοῦ σταδίου διακοσίους. [...] εἰσὶ δ' ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐν ἀπόψει πᾶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Μέδμαν ἀφορῶσι· περὶ ὧν ἐροῦμεν, ὅταν περὶ τῆς Σικελίας λέγωμεν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Μεταύρου ποταμοῦ ἕτερος·</p>	<p>After Cosentia comes Hipponion, a foundation of the Locrians. The Romans took it from the Brutii, who had occupied it, and changed its name to Vibo Valentia. [...] It has an <i>epineion</i>, built by Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily, when he came to the power of that city. From there, the sailing towards the Limen of Heracles begins by doubling the cape (<i>akra</i>) of Italy that faces the strait [of Messina] to the west. On that journey there is Medma, a city of the same Locrians, which has the same name as a large water spring, and close to it, [the city of Medma] has an <i>epienion</i> called Emporion. Nearby there is also the Metauros river and a <i>hyphormos</i> of the same name. The Liparian islands lie facing that coast, 200 stadia from the strait. [...] They are seven in total and they appear in sight both from Sicily and from the mainland around Medma. I will talk about them when I describe Sicily. After that, there is another Metauros river.</p>

Strabo, 8.5.2	
εἶτ' Ἀσίνη καὶ Γύθειον τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπίνειον ἐν διακοσίοις καὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίοις ἰδρυμένον· ἔχει δ', ὡς φασι, τὸ ναύσταθμον ὀρυκτόν· εἶθ' ὁ Εὐρώτας ἐκδίδωσι μεταξὺ Γυθείου καὶ Ἀκραιῶν. τέως μὲν οὖν ὁ πλοῦς ἐστὶ παρ' αἰγιαλὸν ὅσον διακοσίων καὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίων· εἶθ' ἑλώδες ὑπέρκειται χωρίον καὶ κώμη Ἑλος·	Next, there is Asine and Gytheion, the epineion of Sparta, founded 240 stadia away. As they say, it has an excavated (orykton) naustathmon. Next, the Eurotas discharges between Gytheion and Akraia. Finally, the sailing journey along the coast is up to 240 stadia. There lies a marshy location above it and the village of Helos.

Strabo, 8.6.14	
Τροιζῆν δὲ ἱερά ἐστὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ποσειδωνία ποτὲ ἐλέγετο· ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς θαλάττης εἰς πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους, οὐδ' αὕτη ἄσημος πόλις. πρόκειται δὲ τοῦ λιμένος αὐτῆς Πώγωνος τοῦνομα Καλαυρία νησίδιον ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίων ἔχον τὸν κύκλον·	Towards Troizen there are temples (<i>hiera</i>) of Poseidon, because of this it was once called Posidonia. It lies about 15 stadia above the sea, and it is not an insignificant city. Lying opposite its <i>limen</i> , called Pogonos, there is the little island of Kalauria, which has a perimeter of about 300 stadia.

Strabo, 8.6.25	
Τὴν δὲ Σικυῶνα πρότερον Μηκώνην ἐκάλουν, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον Αἰγιαλεῖς· ἀνέκτισε δ' αὐτὴν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίοις (οἱ δὲ δώδεκά φασι) ἐπὶ λόφον ἐρυμνὸν Δημήτριος· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν κτίσμα ἐπίνειόν ἐστιν ἔχον λιμένα.	Sicyon was called Mecone at first, and Aigialeis even earlier. The city was moved more to the inland from the coast about 20 stadia (but some say 12), up to a strong hill sacred to Demeter. The old foundation is an <i>epineion</i> with a <i>limen</i> .

Strabo, 9.1.4	
ἡ δὲ Νίσαια ἐπίνειόν ἐστιν τῶν Μεγάρων δεκαοκτῶ σταδίους τῆς πόλεως διέχον, σκέλεσιν ἐκατέρωθεν συναπτόμενον πρὸς αὐτήν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Μινῶα.	Nisaia is the <i>epineion</i> of the Megarians, 18 stadia away from the city, joined to it by walls on both sides. This (<i>epineion</i>) also used to be called Minoa.

Strabo, 14.1.35	
Ἡ δὲ Χίος τὸν μὲν περίπλουν ἐστὶ σταδίων ἑνακοσίων παρὰ γῆν φερομένῳ, πόλιν δ' ἔχει εὐλίμενον καὶ ναύσταθμον ναυσὶν ὀγδοήκοντα.	The navigation around Chios is 900 stadia following the land, it has a town <i>eulimēnos</i> ¹⁸¹ and a <i>naustathmon</i> for 80 ships.

Strabo, 16.2.12-13	
Τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ μεσόγαια τῆς Σελευκίδος, ὁ δὲ παράπλους ὁ λοιπὸς ἀπὸ τῆς Λαοδικείας ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος· τῇ γὰρ Λαοδικεῖα πλησιάζει πολίχνια, τό τε Ποσειδίων καὶ τὸ Ἡράκλειον καὶ τὰ Γάβαλα· εἴτ' ἤδη ἡ τῶν Ἀραδίων παραλία ¹⁸² , Πάλτος καὶ Βαλιαναία καὶ Κάρνος, τὸ ἐπίνειον τῆς Ἀράδου λιμένιον ἔχον.	Such is the inner land of the Seleucid territory, the rest of the sailing journey from Laodicea is as follows: near Laodicea are the small villages of Poseidion and Heracleion and Gabala ¹⁸³ . Next, the coast of the Aradii, [in which there are] Paltos and Balanaia and Carnos ¹⁸⁴ , the <i>epineion</i> of Arados, which has a <i>limenion</i> .

Suda, π, 2150	

¹⁸¹ See the chapter on the word *Limen* for discussion on this adjective.

¹⁸² I am accepting here the correction of Casaubon, as it seems the most plausible and best-fitting in context. The manuscripts read παλαιά. Other emendations have been proposed, including περαία, by Letronne, accepted by Radt.

¹⁸³ Gabala was a town in Syria, south of Laodicea, to be identified with present-day Yabla, according to the *Diccionario Griego Español*.

¹⁸⁴ According to the notes in Hamilton and Falconer's edition: «Pococke places Paltus at Boldo; Shaw, at the ruins at the mouth of the Melleck, six miles from Jebilee, the ancient Gabala». Carnos should correspond to Carnoon.

<p>Πώγων, πώγωνος: Τροιζήνιος λιμὴν οὕτω καλούμενος· ὅθεν καὶ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν κακογενείων· ἐς Τροιζήνα δὲ βαδίζειν. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης· κἀγὼ γ' Ἐπικράτους οὐκ ὀλίγω καλλίονα πώγων' ἔχω. οὗτος γὰρ μέγαν πώγωνα ἔχων ἐκαλεῖτο Σακεσφόρος καὶ ἐκωμωδεῖτο εἰς δασύτητα. ἦν δὲ ῥήτωρ καὶ δημαγωγός. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν· ἄναξ ὑπήνης Ἐπικράτες σακεσφόρε.</p>	<p><i>Pogon</i>, genitive <i>pogonos</i>: a <i>limen</i> in Troezen called like this. Thence the joke against those who have a poor beard: to walk to Troezen. And Aristophanes: “I myself have a [false] beard no less beautiful than that of Epicrates”. As he had a big beard, he was nicknamed Beard-Bearer and he was made fun of for being hairy. He was a rhetorician and a demagogue. And Aristophanes says: “Lord of the Moustache, Epicrates, Beard-Bearer!”¹⁸⁵.</p>
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Vitruvius, 2.8.11

<p>cum esset enim natus Mylasis et animaduertisset Halicarnasso locum naturaliter esse munitum, idoneum portum emporiumque utile, ibi sibi domum constituit. Is autem locus est theatri curvaturae similis. itaque in imo secundum portum forum est constitutum.</p>	<p>Despite [King Mausolus] being born in Mylasa, he noticed in Halicarnassus a place naturally protected, an ideal <i>portus</i> and a useful <i>emporium</i>, and he settled his palace there. That place is in a curved shape similar to a theatre. So the forum was established in the lower part by the <i>portus</i>.</p>
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Vitruvius, 2.8.14

<p>Itaque post mortem Mausoli Artemisiam uxorem eius regnantem Rhodii indignantes mulierem imperare ciuitatibus Cariae totius, armata classe profecti sunt, uti id regnum occuparent. Tum Artemisiae cum esset id renuntiatum, in eo portu abstrusam classem celatis remigibus et</p>	<p>After the death of Mausolus, when his wife Artemisia was reigning, the Rhodians felt furious that a woman would rule upon all of the Carian cities, and they set off with their fleet in order to occupy the kingdom. When it was announced to Artemisia, in that port where the fleet was hiding she</p>
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¹⁸⁵ *Women at the assembly*, 71.

<p>epibatis comparatis, reliquos autem ciues in muro esse iussit. Cum autem Rhodii ornata classe in portum maiorem exposuissent, plausum iussit ab muro his darent pollicerique se oppidum tradituros. Qui cum penetrauissent intra murum relictis nauibus inanibus, Artemisia repente fossa facta in pelagum eduxit classem ex portu minore et ita inuecta est in maiorem. Expositis autem militibus classem Rhodiorum inanem abduxit in altum. Ita Rhodii non habentes, quo se reciperent, in medio conclusi in ipso foro sunt trucidati.</p>	<p>concealed the oarsmen and made the navy soldiers ready, and she ordered the rest of the citizens to go to the walls. When the Rhodians set forth into their Portus Maior with their fleet fully equipped, they broke in applause from the walls and pretended to promise to surrender the town. When the Rhodians entered inside the walls leaving their ships empty, Artemisia took out her fleet through a moat excavated all of a sudden into the sea from the Portus Minor, and it sailed into the Maior. The soldiers being thus exposed, the Rhodian fleet sailed back empty into the high seas. The Rhodians had nowhere to retreat, and they were killed shut inside the forum and slaughtered.</p>
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