PSEUDO-SKYLAX ON THE PELOPONNESE

Graham J. Shipley
University of Leicester

Abstract
In this paper I take the opportunity to celebrate the work of our honorands, both of whom are distinguished in Peloponnesian studies, by focusing on a description of the Peloponnese in a somewhat neglected work of fourth-century BC geography. This distinctive passage, rather different in character from much of the work in question, bears re-examination in the light of recent historical and archaeological advances as well as changing fashions in textual criticism.

Introduction

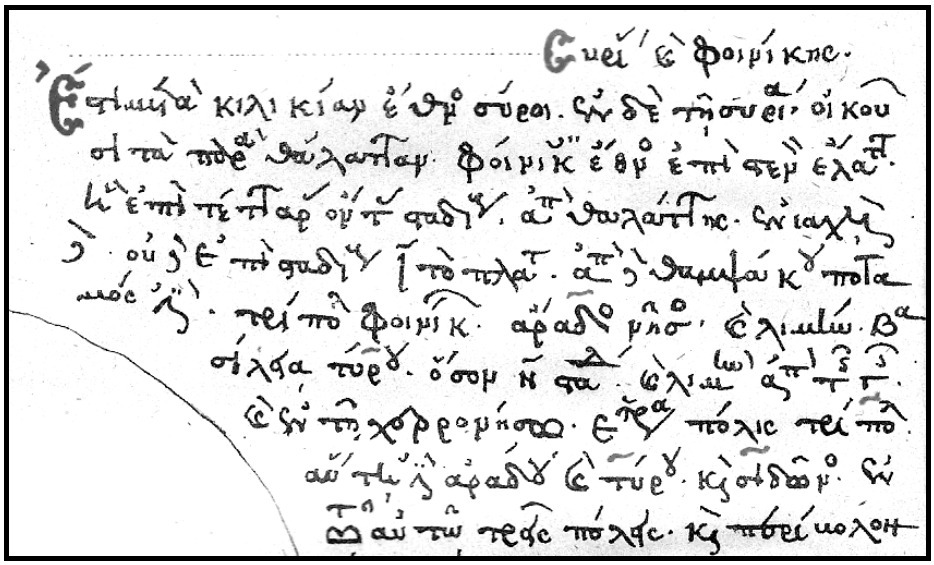


FIG. 1. The principal manuscript, Parisinus suppl. gr. 443: part of p. 92 (part of Syria and Phoenicia). From facsimile in Poulain de Bossay 1864, between pp. 596 and 597. Approx. actual size.

The *Periplous* or *Circumnavigation* attributed to Skylax of Karyanda is preserved, together with other Greek geographical works, in a thirteenth-century manuscript now in Paris (**FIG. 1**; on the history of this and the few derivative manuscripts, see Marcotte 2000, lxxvii–lxxxvii). In about 9,000 words of prose it enumerates the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea by starting at Gibraltar, making a clockwise circuit back to the Straits, and continuing some way down the Atlantic coast of Africa. A small amount of introductory text appears to have been lost already by the late thirteenth century (Müller 1855, xlviii); the near-complete loss of most of one folio (pp. 93–4) has deprived us of most of the account of Arabia and Egypt. Otherwise the text appears almost complete; but it is full of misspellings and other errors. Some of these, such as the many unnecessary iota subscripts, may be due to the copyist; but most are due to his predecessors. Our scribe was a slow penman and a careful copier **(FIG. 1)** who simply did not know enough Greek to correct the mistakes he encountered. Neither, presumably, did his colleague the rubricator, who added principal letters in red and occasionally noted where the scribe had omitted something, but made no other corrections.

The standard text and commentary are still those in *Geographi Graeci minores* (Müller 1855, xxxiii–li, 15–96), though the later edition of the Greek text by 'B. Fabricius' (Fabricius 1878; or H. T. Dittrich, to give him his real name) is superior. Since then, there has been no full edition, though we now have an excellent commentary on the Black Sea chapters, with an improved text (Counillon 2004), and D. Marcotte is preparing a Budé edition. There is no published English translation or commentary (a deficiency the present author hopes to repair), despite the work's value for classical geography and the history of the Greek city-state or *polis*. The author of the *periplous* seems particularly interested in cities, both Greek and non-Greek: the term *polis* and its plural, *poleis*, occur more often than in any other pre-hellenistic text (Flensted-Jensen and Hansen 1996, 137).

The title of the work in the manuscript is 'Skylax of Karyanda, his *periplous* of the *oikoumene*'; but, as we shall see, this attribution cannot be accepted. We know from Herodotos (4.44) that a Skylax of Karyanda (*FGrHist* 709) explored the river Indus for Darius I around 500 BC. He is cited (with or without his *ethnikon*, or city name) by several Greek and Roman authors, including Aristotle (*Politics*, 7.13.2, 1332b24), for information on Indian politics and society. Our text, however, does not mention the Indus or India, though it may have touched upon the Indian ocean (the words 'Er[ythraian sea]' can be tentatively restored at the edge of the damaged folio).

Moreover, from many datable references in the text it is certain that the work is much later than the era of Darius and should be placed firmly in the mid-fourth-century BC. The latest reliable *terminus post quem* is the inclusion of the *polis* of Naupaktos within Aitolia (§62), which was a fact only from 338 (Theopompos fr. 235; Strabo 9. 4.7; Rousset 2004, no. 165). A *terminus ante quem* of 338-336 is given by the inclusion of Asine and Mothone within Lakedaimon rather than Messene, and of Anthana within Lakedaimon rather than Argolis, for after Chaironeia Philip II removed southern Messenia and the Thyreatis (NE Laconia) from Spartan control (Polybios 9.28. 7,9. 33. 10,18. 14. 7; Shipley 2000a, 371, 376). Philip, of course, died in 336. A comparable *terminus ante quem* is given by Ps.-Skylax's reference to Boiotian Thebes (§59), which was destroyed by Alexander the Great in the autumn of 335 (e.g. Deinarchos, 1. 24; Tracy 1995, 9). Together these statements give a *prima facie* date for the work's composition of 338, though one should probably regard the lower limit as less watertight than the upper: the author may have been using out-of-date information for the southern Peloponnese or Boiotia, or may have wished to gloss over the fate of Thebes. That city was also rebuilt in 316, making a later date theoretically possible, but nothing else in the text indicates a time later than the 330s: there is no sign of Alexander's conquests, and Alexandria (founded in 331) is absent even though Pharos appears.

Since we know of no fourth-century Skylax of Karyanda, the work and its author are known as 'Pseudo-Skylax' (abbreviated to Ps.-Skylax). The attribution to a man of that name, however, goes back at least to the early first century AD, since Strabo (12.4.8) and other post-classical sources (the scholia to Apollonios of Rhodes, 1.1177, 4.1215; Avienus, *Ora maritima*, 370-74) cite 'Skylax' or 'Skylax of Karyanda' for information about places our text mentions but with slightly different information. They may have had access to a different, perhaps fuller, version of the text. (One report, however, in Strabo 13.1.4, agrees exactly with Ps.-Skylax.) Müller (1855, xlix) goes so far to as to identify numerous post–fourth-century changes to the text, but this seems excessive.

Some scholars (notably Peretti 1979) have claimed to detect nuggets of early information linking the work, in a supposed earlier version, to the time of Darius's Skylax; but this hypothesis is susceptible to Occam's razor. It is impossible to prove from within the text, the supposed chronological 'strata' are impossible to unravel conclusively, and the theory depends on Skylax having written other works besides the account of India, for which the evidence is unconvincing (cf. the confused entry in Suda; translation in Shipley 2000b).

It is true that there are *terminus ante quem* dates in the text that are earlier than 338 - at first sight a logical impossibility, given the *terminus post quem* supplied by the location of Naupaktos. They include the dates reported by other ancient authors for the destructions of certain cities which Ps.-Skylax mentions as if extant (Klausen 1831, 264-72, assembles the evidence). The latest is Olynthos, named by Ps.-Skylax (§66) but destroyed by Philip in 348. Some of these problems can be argued away by pointing to archaeological evidence that a site continued to be occupied; but there are too many similar cases for comfort, and it is preferable to suppose that the author was consulting out-of-date sources.

The *periplous* is not, and does not pose as, the direct record of an actual voyage or voyages, though of course real, accumulated experience of the sea underlies it at some level. Neither does it contain the kind of navigational information a ship-captain would actually need. Rather, it is a work of research, based upon other written accounts and probably intended for consumption in an academic or intellectual milieu. It is unlikely to have been designed a commentary on a map, or designed to be read alongside one (Janni 1982, 605-7; on the rarity of pre-Roman maps see Janni 1984, 23-32, etc.). The writer cites no authorities, but appears to have drawn upon sources of various dates, often without updating their information. Peretti has argued that his sources do not include most of the major historiographical writings such as those of Hekataios, Ephoros, and Theopompos (Peretti 1961; Peretti 1963; Peretti 1979, 118-49, 485-90). They may have included *periploi* (circumnavigations, perhaps similar in aim to the modern books known as 'pilots') that detailed the coasts of particular regions, as has been argued for the Black Sea chapters (Counillon 2004, 41-46, 72-73, etc.). The existence of such *periploi* is not directly attested for the classical period, but is a reasonable inference from Pseudo-Skylax and other texts. Whether such works were intended as practical aids to navigation, or had literary or academic purposes like Ps.-Skylax, cannot be known.

The author occasionally adopts the vantage-point of an observer located in or near Athens, in phrases like 'the sea on our side' (§40). Conceivably he was connected to the school of Aristotle, who returned to Athens in, as it happens, 335/4 (Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Letter to Ammaeus*, 5). Given that Ps.-Skylax covers part of West Africa but not the North Atlantic, it is tempting to wonder what relationship his work had, if any, to the voyage of Pytheas of Massalia to the far north, which took place (on current dating) in the 320s or shortly after (Roller 2006, 60-66). Perhaps the relationship is simply that Ps.-Skylax was compelled to omit entirely a region for which he had no information, a gap filled later by Pytheas.

Whether or not we can link the work to any named writer, its author was working in the mid-fourth-century Athenian context of sophistic discourse and research. Perhaps relevantly, the text employs a number of basic rhetorical or focalizing devices and framing techniques. It uses a consistent diction, though with deliberate variations in phraseology. Internal cross-references and linkages confirm its unitary authorship. For example, in the section on the Peloponnese, the author marks the start of what he calls 'continuous Hellas':

> 33. After Molottia is Ambrakia, a Hellenic *polis*; and this is distant from the sea 80 *stadia*. And there is also upon the sea a fort with an enclosed harbour. From here Hellas begins to be continuous as far as the Peneios river and Homolion, a *polis* in Magnetic (*Magnesian*) territory, which is beside the river. And the coastal voyage of Ambrakia: 120 *stadia*.

Later, he does not forget to mark the end of 'continuous Hellas', at the boundary between Magnesia and Macedonia (§65).

On the other hand, the way in which he organizes his material is inconsistent, no doubt reflecting the varying density and nature of the information at his disposal. For Iberia, France, and much of Italy, for example, the description is extremely spare, almost list-like, and is divided into sections according to the local *ethnos* (roughly translatable as 'community' or 'people'); only isolated historical details occur here, such as the observation that the men of certain *poleis* are colonists from Massalia (§§2, 4). On Greece and the Aegean the narrative is more detailed and up-to-date, as we shall see in the description of the Peloponnese. In the Black Sea the text becomes spare once more, particularly for the innermost, eastern part (angle brackets indicate text supplied by modern editors):

> 76. After the Achaioi are the Heniochoi (*Drivers*), an *ethnos*.
> 77. <After the Heniochoi are the Koraxoi, an *ethnos*.>
> 78. After the Koraxoi is Korike, an *ethnos*.
> 79. After Korike are the Melanchlainoi (*Black-cloaks*), an *ethnos*, and among them the river Metasoris, and the Aigipios river.

Upon reaching North and West Africa, by contrast, the author has more to say about coastal forms, and enlivens the narrative with details of local economies and customs, such as the transhumance of the Makai of Libya (§109). A coda to the work is provided, perhaps unintentionally, by the long paragraph on the 'great Aithiopes' of western Morocco, who they trade in skins, have tattoos, use ivory, are tall and beautiful, and buy Egyptian and Attic wares from the Phoenicians (§112).

Having illustrated, adequately I hope, not only the

unitary authorship of the work but its variable organization and level of detail, I turn to the passage describing the Peloponnese.

Translation

The translation of these chapters, like those above, is based on a revised Greek text, resulting from a re-examination of the manuscript in 2007. It attempts to mirror the somewhat laconic, often awkward diction of the original as well as seemingly insignificant, but in fact characteristic, variations and oddities of word order (The numbered sections are post-medieval inventions, and do not always correspond to the 'natural' breaks in the text. In revising the Greek text, I have followed the practice of Fabricius 1878 in removing the headings, such as 'Megarians' or 'Messene', that stand before most paragraphs; they are to be regarded as later additions).

40. After the Megarians are Corinth, a *polis* with a sanctuary, Lechaion, and the isthmus. Now from here begins the Peloponnesos. From the sea the road towards the sea on our side, through the isthmus, is 40 *stadia*. These places are all gulf-shaped. The coastal voyage of the territory of the Corinthians: a half of a day.
41. After Corinth is Sikyon, a *polis*. Of this the coastal voyage: 120 *stadia*.
42. After Sikyon are the Achaians, an *ethnos*, and among them the cities are as follows: Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai, Aigion, and Rhypes; and outside Rhion are Patrai and Dyme. The coastal voyage of the Achaian territory: 700 *stadia*.
43. After the Achaians is Elis, an *ethnos*, and in it the following cities: Kyllene with a harbour; and the river Alpheios: and there is also another amalgamation of cities, Elis, in the interior. Opposite this territory is the island of Zakynthos, in which there is both a *polis* and a harbour. The coastal voyage of the territory of the Eleians right up to the <borders> of the Lepreatai: 700 *stadia*.
44. After Elis is Arkadia, an *ethnos*. Arkadia comes down to the sea by Lepreon out of the interior. Their cities in the interior are the following: <Megalopolis>, Tegea, Mantineia, Heraia, Orchomenos, and Stymphalos. There are also other cities. The coastal voyage of the territory of the Lepreatai: 100 *stadia*.
45. After Arkadia is the *ethnos* of Messene, and in it the following cities: Kyparissos, distant from the sea 7 *stadia*; Prote island with a harbour; Ithome in the interior, distant from the sea 80 *stadia*. The coastal voyage of the Messenian territory: 300 *stadia*.
46. <After Messene is> Lakedaimon, an *ethnos*, and in it the cities are the following: Asine, Mothone, Achilleios harbour, and back to back with this Psamathous harbour. In the middle of both these, projecting into the sea, is a sanctuary of Poseidon, Tainaros; and Las, a *polis* with a harbour; Gytheion, in which is a shipyard; and a fort; and the river Eurotas; and Boïa, a *polis*; and Malea, a cape. Opposite this lies Kythera island, with a *polis* and a harbour. Opposite this is Crete island. After the aforesaid cape Malea are Sidē, a *polis* with a harbour; Epidauros (*sc. Epidauros 'Limera'*), a *polis* with a harbour; Prasia, a *polis* with a harbour; Anthana, a *polis* with a harbour. There are also many other cities of the Lakedaimonians. In the interior is Sparta, and many others. The coastal voyage of the territory of the Lakedaimonians: days, three.
47. Opposite Lakedaimon lies the island of Crete: for Lakedaimon lies closest to it in Europe. The voyage across from Lakedaimon as far as to the promontory of Crete upon which is the *polis* of Phalasarna: a day's run. . . . [*Places in Crete are enumerated in* c.*300 words*.] . . . There are also other cities in Crete: and it is said to be hundred-citied.
48. The following are the Cyclades, opposite the Lakedaimonian territory, that are inhabited: . . . [*Seven islands are listed, the rest being reserved to follow the description of Attica.*] . . . I return again onto the mainland, from where I turned away.
49. After Lakedaimon is the *polis* of Argos, and in it Nauplia, a *polis* with a harbour: and in the interior Kleonai and Mykenai and Tiryns. Coastal voyage of the Argeian territory in a circle - for it is a gulf, called the Argolic: 150 *stadia*.
50. After Argos is the territory of Epidauros: for it comes down to this gulf for 30 *stadia*.
After the Epidaurian territory is the Halia (*territory of Halieis*) with a harbour. This is upon the mouth of the Argolic gulf. The voyage round this is of 100 *stadia*.
51. After this is Hermion, a *polis*, and a harbour. The voyage round this is of 80 *stadia*.
After Hermion, Skyllaion is the promontory of the gulf towards the Isthmus: and Skyllaion belongs to Troizenia. Directly facing it is Sounion, the promontory of the territory of the Athenians. Opposite this is the island of Belbina with a *polis*. Of this gulf, from this mouth inwards to the Isthmus, there are 740 *stadia*. This gulf itself is very straight at the mouth.

52. After Hermion is Troizen, a *polis* with a harbour. The coastal voyage of it: 30 *stadia*.
After these places is the island of Kalauria, with a *polis* and a harbour. The coastal voyage of it is 300 *stadia*.
53. Opposite this is the island and *polis* of Aigina with two harbours. I return again onto the mainland, from where I turned away.
54. After Troizenia is the *polis* of Epidauros with a harbour. The coastal voyage of the territory of Epidauros: 30 *stadia*.
55. After Epidauros is the territory of the Corinthians), <the part> towards the dawn, and the fort of Kenchreiai, and the Isthmus, where there is a sanctuary of Poseidon. Here the Peloponnesos ends. The Corinthians also have territory outside the Isthmus, and the fort of Sidous, and the other fort, Kremmyon. The coastal voyage of the territory of the Corinthians as far as the frontiers of the Megarians: 300 *stadia*.
56. Past the territory of the Corinthians is Megara . . .

The text

In a short paper one cannot treat all the problems raised by the Peloponnesian passage, or trace fully the development of earlier views about the correct form of the text. I focus instead on examples of certain kinds of problems and their various solutions.

Problems of transmission

Conventional manuscript emendation solves some problems in the text, but can be reinforced by a sensitivity to the author's general usage, as well as by advances in historical and archaeological understanding.

In the manuscript, a striking feature is the absence of the new 'capital' of Arkadia founded in the 360s, Megalopolis—though strictly speaking we should call it Megalepolis (*hē Megalē polis*, The Great City). Ps.-Skylax's information is more up to date for mainland Greece than for other places, so this omission would be surprising as well as potentially damaging to the notion of sole authorship in the 330s. The unemended text reads εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πόλεις ἐν μεσογείᾳ αἱ μεγάλαι αἵδε· Τεγέα . . . ('of them [sc. the Arkadians] the great cities in the interior are the following: Tegea . . .'). But we can plausibly insert Megalopolis, since the phrase 'the great cities' (*hai megalai poleis*) occurs just the place where we would expect. 'Megalopolis' may have dropped out by simple haplography, the omission of one of two similar words or phrases (this is the view of Klausen 1831, 267). Alternatively, we need not retain 'the great cities' at all: it is not a phrase Ps.-Skylax uses anywhere else to introduce a region, and is probably a corruption of 'the Great City'.

In §45, after the introduction to 'the *ethnos* of Messene' (here denoting the area we call Messenia), we read in the manuscript that the first *polis* in the region is Messene (πρώτη μεσσήνη), which at first sight should be the well-known regional capital founded in the 360s. Then comes Kyparissos, then Ithome. But it is now clear that 'Ithome' is an early alternative name for the *polis* of Messene (Shipley 2004b, no. 318), so here it duplicates the earlier mention of the *polis*. The problem is resolved, as Müller saw, by taking πρώτη (*prōtē*) as the island of Prote (cf. Thuc. 4.13.3) rather than as the ordinal adjective 'first', and by replacing μεσσήνη with νῆσος (*nēsos*, 'island'). If simple misreading is not to blame, it may be that at some stage in the transmission of the text a copyist who knew of the existence of the *polis* of Messene, but was unaware that Ithome was the same place and knew nothing of Prote, 'corrected' νῆσος to μεσσήνη. The same or another copyist, misled by understanding πρώτη as 'first', moved Kyparissos to the second place in the sequence, whereas it is well to the north of Prote (Müller 1855, 40) and should certainly precede it. Although moving Kyparissos back into first position is not essential and even smacks of arbitrary intervention, it has a strong rationale in the obvious potential of the name Πρώτη to be misunderstood.

The last place named in the circuit of Lakedaimon (apart from Sparta in an afterword) appears in the manuscript as Methana (μέθανα), which properly belongs later, after Troizen in the Argolis. The word might be transplanted to that passage (§52; Pritchett 1989, 91–101), but it is a big leap. It is preferable to emend to 'Anthana' (Gail 1826, 399), and archaeological evidence can now be invoked to place this small city at one of two coastal sites in the Thyreatis (Shipley 2004a, no. 324).

Deviations from geographical sequence

We have already noted the probable misplacing of Prote before Kyparissos. Other incorrect sequences can be found. Sometimes the best available

explanation will be manuscript error, as in the first example below; but other explanations are possible in certain instances.

Ps.-Skylax correctly (unless he is writing more than a very few years after 338) gives Messenia a coastal extent that reflects the situation after *c*.369, when the Lakedaimonians had lost the Messenian heartland but still held the southern coast. Thus the Spartan perioikic *poleis* of Asine and Mothone are included under Lakonike (here called 'Lakedaimon'), from which they were detached by Philip II in 338 or shortly after. But they appear in the wrong order: Mothone is at the SW corner of the Messenian gulf and Asine at its NW corner, so we should reach Mothone first. Accidental transposition may, of course, be responsible - probably not by the copyist of the 13th-century manuscript, who was a careful worker **(FIG. 1)** though he knew little Greek, but by some earlier scribe. Another theoretical possibility, not previously considered as far as I am aware, is that some of Ps.-Skylax's sources included place-names arranged in vertical columns, which might make it easier for errors to happen in transcription. Athenian epigraphic texts, such as casualty lists, might provide a model. But this hypothesis has not been tested against the text of Ps.-Skylax, and is advanced here only as a tentative possibility.

The second example comes from the opening of the passage. The author has just taken us eastwards along the north shore of the gulf of Corinth until we reach 'Corinth, a *polis* with a sanctuary, Lechaion, and the isthmus' (as translated above). If Lechaion is correctly restored (replacing the meaningless ἄγνον of the manuscript; the suggestion is that of Gail 1826, 389), the geographical order is incorrect: Lechaion is west of Corinth, and should come after it if we are hugging the coast. Should we suppose that the order of the names became inverted in the manuscript? But this is not the only problem: the Isthmus follows Corinth, the opposite of what we would expect. Ought we, then, to change to the manuscript to put this right too?

There are places elsewhere in the *periplous* of Ps.-Skylax where he deviates from strictly coastwise enumeration at a local level; and even though Ps.-Skylax is notoriously one of the most corrupt texts from classical antiquity, one should in general emend the text only where it is unavoidable. In his Black Sea study Counillon has shown how it is possible, without incoherence, to remain closer to the manuscript than earlier editors (discussion at Counillon 2004, 28). We simply have to accept that, in some cases, minor errors may reflect the original text of Ps.-Skylax rather than later corruptions.

In the present instance, though corruption is possible, there are other possible explanations. Perhaps the author imagines himself in the position of a ship's captain sailing east along the gulf, who may first spot the city of Corinth with its prominent temple of Apollo, and only then sight Lechaion to the right of Corinth, then the Isthmus to its left. Alternatively, Ps.-Skylax may be treating Corinth, Lechaion, and the Isthmus (all within a few miles of each other) as a single item, so that their precise order is immaterial; the most important of the group, Corinth itself, occupies the leading place (as Gail 1826, 389, suggests). (The sanctuary could be that of Hera on the *Perachóra* peninsula opposite Corinth, as various scholars have supposed; but the site is low down near the sea, and not a prominent landmark.)

The third case in this section concerns the way in which Ps.-Skylax often departs from a mainland to cover islands, returning to the same place after his diversion. After Lakedaimon he temporarily leaves the Peloponnese for Crete and the southern Cyclades (reserving the remaining Aegean islands for later). This is logical enough, as Kythera (off SE Laconia) is indeed the best point of departure for western Crete. What is interesting is that, having flagged up Crete (though not the Cyclades) at the point where he names Kythera, he postpones its description till he has finished Lakedaimon.

On other occasions, too, he completes a mainland region before turning seawards to large islands - treating Corsica and Sardinia between Etruria and Latium (§§6-7), and the western Aegean islands between Attica and Boiotia (§58) - though he does interrupt Lucania to describe Sicily (§§13-15), perhaps because the island almost touches the mainland. Although one might have thought, from those examples, that Ps.-Skylax always tries to trace the most logical, continuous route from place to place, the way in which Crete and the southern Cyclades are brought into his programme shows that his primary way of dividing up the world is by geographical bloc. In general, he is not trying (as a colleague has memorably put it to me) 'to draw the world without lifting his pencil from the paper', but 'to create a more or less comprehensible tessellation of regions' (A. Merrills, pers. comm. 2008). The mode in which he does this, however, involves the pretence that coastal progression is the determinant

factor in sequence and selection.

Ps.-Skylax's Peloponnese

Coastal over-representation

An emphasis on coasts, and on places not far inland, may explain some features of the text, but is not the sole item on Ps.-Skylax's agenda.

In Achaia, Ps.-Skylax omits the coastal *poleis* of Boura and Helike. Both were destroyed by a natural catastrophe in 373; Boura was soon revived (Paus. 7.25.8-9), but perhaps not soon enough to appear in Ps.-Skylax's source. He leaves out two inland *poleis*, Pharai and Tritaia, but includes another, Pellene (Pallene), perhaps because it is relatively near the coast. Thus far the idea of coastal preference seems to hold good. The omission of coastal Olenos, between Patrai and Dyme, is harder to understand; the city appears to have existed past 300 (Strabo 8.7.1) but may possibly have been in decline by the time of Ps.-Skylax, since it had disappeared by the time of Polybios (2.41.7).

In Lakedaimon, though nearly half the known *poleis* are named, they are all coastal other than Sparta; the inland *perioikoi* are strikingly absent.

In Elis, where a small proportion of known *poleis* are named, this may be explained by the prevalence of inland settlement and the lack of harbour towns (Kyllene and Pheia being the only substantial ones).

Also in Elis, Ps.-Skylax omits the Panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia even though he mentions the synoikized inland *polis* of Elis. Similarly, when describing the north-east Peloponnese, he omits the other Panhellenic sanctuary in the Peloponnese, Nemea, another inland place; but includes the coastal Panhellenic sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. Earlier he has mentioned 'the sanctuary of Apollo and Delphi, a *polis*' (§37); Delphi, too, is not far inland. These inclusions and omissions may reflect a tendency to include sanctuaries only when they are on or near the coast, perhaps because they offer prominent landmarks.

Arkadia presents four inland *poleis*, but the proportion of all known *poleis* mentioned is low **(FIG. 2)**, so it is reasonable to suppose that here, too, a coastal bias plays a part. Elsewhere in the *periplous*, Ps.-Skylax is not averse to mentioning inland towns in relation to a coast or navigable river, perhaps because of their significance to trade. Given Arkadia's landlocked position and lack of navigable rivers, one might wonder why he bothers to name any towns at all; but in his scheme the region extends to the sea at Lepreon. This was actually true from about the 360s, when the city, earlier incorporated into the short-lived *ethnos* state of Triphylia, joined the new Arkadian league (Nielsen 1997, 153-4; 2004, no. 306). It may be because Arkadia technically has a coastline that Ps.-Skylax feels able, or obliged, to mention some of its *poleis*. On the other hand, he might have mentioned Megalopolis and the other three largest towns even if Arkadia had not had a coastline in his day. As we have already observed, coastal enumeration provides the ostensible structure but is not his overriding aim of Ps.-Skylax's work.

		Notes
Achaia	8 out of 16 (50%)	Excludes Helike.
Lakedaimon	11 out of 24 (46%)	Includes 'Messenian' Asine and Mothone; assumes that Tainaros is not a *polis*, and that Aigys, Belbina, and Kyphanta became *poleis* in C4.
Messenia	2 out of 9 (22%)	Assumes Prote is not a *polis*; includes Ithome–Messene; counts Asine and Mothone as Laconian.
Eleia	2 out of 13 (15%)	Assumes Kyllene is a *polis*; discounts the short-lived Pisa.
Arkadia–Triphylia	7 out of 46 (15%)	Includes Lepreon and Megalopolis.

FIG. 2. *Poleis* named by Ps.-Skylax in Peloponnesian regions (other than Korinthia and Sikyonia) as a proportion of those that were probably extant *c*.400 BC or in C4, by descending order of percentage. It must be emphasized that the number of *poleis* in a region according to the *CPC Inv*. is very much at the mercy of the data: only those place are designated *poleis* for the Cl period for which there is positive evidence, whereas many further settlements are known, particularly in Laconia, some of which may have been *poleis* without our having firm evidence of their status.

Multiple sources

Lakedaimon is unusual among the regions of the Peloponnese in having the length of its coast expressed in days of sailing rather than in *stadia*. The distance from Lakedaimon to Crete is also given as one day. Perhaps Ps.-Skylax used a separate source for this part of the Peloponnese. The notorious secrecy of Sparta might provide a possible explanation of the need to find a separate source for this region. We have already noted the possibility that there were local *periploi* for parts of the Black Sea.

Apart from Lakedaimon, the only region of the Peloponnese whose coastline is given in days rather than *stadia* is Korinthia. Yet in a later section the Aegean shore of Korinthia is measured in *stadia*, another sign that Ps.-Skylax may be combining data from plural sources.

Territories and Histories

The way in which Ps.-Skylax introduces each new region varies.

(*a*) At six points in this extract he uses the name of the main *polis* of the region: Corinth (at the first encounter), Sikyon, Argos, Hermion, Troizen, and Epidauros (at the second encounter).
(*b*) Twice he defines a region as the *chora* of a *polis* (Epidauros, §50) or the *chora* of a people (the Corinthians, §55). He also uses *chora* several times to refer back to a region, for example when giving the length of its coast (§§40, 42–6, 49–50, 54–5).
(*c*) Five times he introduces a region as an *ethnos* (his regular practice in earlier passages from western Europe to central Greece): he does so for the Achaians, Elis, Arkadia, Messene, and Lakedaimon.

Within (*c*), Ps.-Skylax on the first occasion introduces an area using the name of its people ('the Achaians, an *ethnos*') and on the next four occasions using a place-name ('Elis, an *ethnos*'; 'Arkadia, an *ethnos*'; 'the *ethnos* of Messene'; 'Lakedaimon, an *ethnos*'). (In the preceding pages he has done the same in the cases of Kassopia (§31), Akarnania (§34), and Aitolia (§35).) In two of the last four Peloponnesian cases the name can denote both a *polis* and a region. The first, Elis- or Walis (*Fᾱλις*), 'the vale', in the local dialect - is the name of a particular area but also of the *polis* created in 471 (Roy 2004, no. 251). The second, Lakedaimon, refers to the upper Eurotas valley or a wider area roughly equating to Laconia, but is also used as a synonym for Sparta. In both cases Ps.-Skylax must have in mind the wider of the two meanings; but in one case he over-extends the scope of the name, for in other classical sources Lakedaimon is never unambiguously applied to the whole of the Spartan-dominated territory in Laconia and Messenia. That area is usually called Lakonike (e.g. Thuc. 5.34.1; Shipley 2004a, 569-71).

In fact, Ps.-Skylax's designation of Lakedaimon as an *ethnos* is awkward, not to say perverse. It would have been consistent with his practice to write 'Lakonike, an *ethnos*' or 'the Lakedaimonians, an *ethnos*'. Perhaps he was conscious of the fact that Eleia and Lakonike had unusual political structures, with a dominant *polis* exercising power over dependent *perioikoi* (though in different fashions); but if so, in taking account of it he created an unconvincing classification.

As to the other inconsistencies of expression, it would be tempting to explain them as the result of Ps.-Skylax having used different sources—a possibility we have already raised for Lakedaimon and for the opposite shores of the Korinthia. Since some territories are designated differently in different places, not all of these sources may have covered whole regions.

An alternative, or additional, explanation would be *variatio*, the desire to vary forms of expression in order to keep the reader interested and to display literary skill. There are many examples throughout Ps.-Skylax where the opportunity to repeat a phrase verbatim, or replicate a verbal pattern, is not taken. This habit could explain why, within one of the three sets of regions (those introduced by *polis*, by *chora*, and by *ethnos*), some are identified by toponym and others by *ethnikon*.

For the choice between *ethnos* on the one hand and *polis* (or *chora*) on the other, however, another explanation is tempting. If we exclude Lakedaimon and Elis - which can refer to *poleis* but are here used to refer to districts - Ps.-Skylax uses *polis* names to define regions only in the north-east of the Peloponnese. The remainder of the peninsula, the contiguous area of regions from Achaia to Laconia, is presented as a set of five *ethnē*. In this respect Ps.-Skylax seems to be reflecting a genuine historical difference. The north-east Peloponnese (Korinthia, Sikyonia, and Argolis) was an area of *polis*

territories each of which was not usually under the heel of one central place - though Argos, as Ps.-Skylax acknowledges, did control several small *poleis* in its immediate vicinity. Ps.-Skylax assimilates the bulk of the Peloponnese, like central Greece, to the scheme of *ethnos*-based divisions he uses for other parts of the world, but only because in those places it makes sense to represent a region as an *ethnos* unit, something larger than a single *polis*. On the other hand, he refrains from straitjacketing historical realities by talking, for example, of the *ethnos* of the Corinthians or the *ethnos* of the Argives.

Only in the case of Megara does the scheme break down: at §39 he calls the Megarians an *ethnos* and says it includes several *poleis*, while at §56 he simply calls it a *polis*. (Both its coasts, incidentally, are measured in *stadia*, unlike those of Korinthia which are measured in two different ways.) At §39 Megara has perhaps been drawn, somewhat uneasily, into the *ethnos* mode of organization because it immediately follows the Boiotian *ethnos*-region. At §56 he may have found it more plausible, or euphonious, to call Megara a *polis*, since single-*polis* territories both preceded and followed it (the Argolic *poleis*, Corinth, and Athens).

Ps.-Skylax perhaps felt a tension between his wish to organize the world neatly into *ethnē*, albeit implementing *variatio* of a simple kind, and historical realities. He applies the *ethnos* label somewhat awkwardly to Megara on one occasion, but not on Argos, whose political geography was similar. He imposes it on Elis and Messenia, rather implausibly despite both being large, multi-*polis* regions. More plausibly he applies it to Achaia and Arkadia, which not only corresponded to acknowledged Greek dialect groups (coordinate with Ionians and Dorians). But in Lakonike he has to strain to find the right name, and strangely passes up the opportunity to simply introduce it as 'the Lakedaimonioi, an *ethnos*'.

Conclusion

Much previous work on Ps.-Skylax has wrestled with problems of chronology and authorship. Now that a consensus has more or less been reached about these fundamentals, we can reassess the text in the light of our new understanding. We have seen how traditional textual criticism can be enhanced by sensitivity to the author's voice - once it is recognized as a unitary voice - and by an awareness of new historical interpretations and archaeological discoveries. A cautious approach to emendation can yield a sharper image of the author's aims. Comparison with the results of recent work on the *polis* has clarified the degree and purposes of the coastal emphasis in the text. Examination of Ps.-Skylax's working methods in his Black Sea passage can be applied to the remainder of the *periplous* with fruitful results.

We cannot confidently credit the author with a practical aim such as the development of trade or plans for conquest. He is interested in cities, but his horizon is not restricted to places settled by Hellenes. He is concerned to indicate the structure of the world, for example by establishing where the continents divide (Europe-Asia at §§68-70, Asia-Libya at §106). By our standards he is inconsistent with regard to major land units, categorizing certain places (such as Lucania, Mysia, Carthage, and Libya as a whole) with the term *aktē*, 'headland', but naming Iberia only in passing while neither defining nor naming Italy, the Balkan peninsula, and Asia Minor. He is more interested in the extent and the form of major arms of the Mediterranean (such as the Adriatic and, in the present extract, 'our sea', the Aegean, to which he gives no name) and of smaller gulfs (such as the Gulf of Corinth and the Argolic).

It has long been observed that Ps.-Skylax operates with a model of the world built up out of ethnic blocs. He aims to relate these to each other spatially and to indicate their size by the formal device of coastal measurement, probably the only means available to him. If, as seems likely, the *periplous* was not complemented by a map, it may nevertheless be regarded as a kind of verbal map in its own right, enabling the reader to envision the form and features of the world in a linear fashion and only occasionally in two dimensions. (On the prevalence of one-dimensional description in ancient geographical writing, see Janni 1984, 120-30.)

The Peloponnese as represented by Ps.-Skylax must be seen in the light of these observations, and his silences must be considered. Beyond marking the beginning and end of the peninsula, he takes no steps to construct a Peloponnesian identity. The same is true of the rest of his passage on 'continuous Hellas', which is almost entirely deprived of the kind of enlivening detail which occurs sporadically elsewhere and most frequently in the description of Libya. This absence may, of course, reflect his Athenian or Saronic vantage-point: he may have

assumed that his readers did not need to be told about the history or mythology of places close to 'home'.

Ps.-Skylax has chosen the *periplous* format for his geographical analysis of the world, but does something new with it. He exploits the structure of a 'travelogue' to give order, direction, and momentum to his exposition, but does not allow the coastal emphasis dictated by this format to overwhelm his main aim. That aim we may describe, without too much exaggeration, as that of writing an accessible yet scientific presentation of Mediterranean and Black Sea geography.

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