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AS HERODOTUS SAYS: DIRECT AND INDIRECT USE OF HERODOTUS'S HISTORIES IN STRABO'S GEOGRAPHY

Abstract: This paper aims to show that the geographer Strabo used the historian Herodotus directly in his *Geography* and valued his geographical knowledge more than previously thought. The paper examines nineteen instances where Strabo explicitly quotes Herodotus, which suggests these may be direct quotations and indicates Strabo had direct access to Herodotus' *Histories* when composing these passages. This is confirmed primarily through direct quotations that Strabo designates with ὡς Ἡρόδοτος φησι(v) ("as Herodotus says") and similar expressions. There is a reason to believe that in most such instances Strabo directly used and quoted Herodotus rather than relying on intermediary sources. Most of the instances analyzed here refer to geographical and ethnographic matters, with a focus on rivers. A significant number of these instances, as many as ten, pertain to Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories*, which suggests that Strabo frequently consulted this particular book.

Keywords: Strabo, Herodotus, intermediary sources, influences, quotations, fragments, Geography, Historiography.

The Greek scholar Strabo of Amaseia in Asia Minor, who lived and worked in the Augustan Age, is best known for his *Geography* in seventeen books, the only extant work of that genre. Strabo's *Geography*, which has survived complete, except for the last portions of Book 7, is an incredibly comprehensive work covering the geographical description of the world then known and often provides unique information on various fields of knowledge. It is essentially a geographical text written by a historian because it abounds with information about historical events and topics of a historical nature. When he wrote the *Geography*, Strabo relied on hundreds of different sources from different periods. His intention was to describe and explain the world using all the sources available in a selective and critical way. As Strabo's work includes an encyclopedic look at the world known at the time, a discussion of its sources is therefore essential. It is certain that the writer used personal experiences from numerous travels across the Mediterranean world, as well as a range of earlier sources from a variety of genres, when compiling geographical descriptions. Nevertheless, the greatest value of Strabo's *Geography* lies in the fact that he, openly and

unwaveringly, used and quoted the works of earlier writers, the majority of which were lost in antiquity, thus partially preserving the works of many of his predecessors from oblivion.

Geographical knowledge often depends on the historical narrative of a place and on the information historians have delivered. Therefore, Strabo felt compelled to use the works of historians, particularly those who exhibited a keen interest in geography such as Ephorus or Polybius, and historians of Alexander the Great. Like almost all ancient historians and geographers, Strabo used some sources directly and some indirectly.¹ Among the writers Strabo is believed to have used and cited indirectly was the historian Herodotus from Halicarnassus. Even though Strabo frequently mentions Herodotus by name, it is the *communis opinio* as articulated by Felix Jacoby that Strabo rarely directly (“*selten direkt*”) used Herodotus, but rather knew him through the mediation of the Alexander historians and earlier geographers (“*mehr durch Vermittlung von Historikern der Alexanderzeit und älteren Geographen*”).² Some modern scholars adopt a more critical stance in that evaluation and hold that Strabo used Herodotus almost exclusively through intermediaries,³ and that the historian from Halicarnassus in no way influenced the work of the geographer and historian from Amaseia.⁴ Indeed, there are more moderate assessments suggesting the opinion that Strabo relied exclusively on Herodotus through intermediary sources is methodologically questionable.⁵ Additionally, some recognize Herodotus’ influence on Strabo in various areas, including ethnographic and geographic matters, as well as historical events and figures.⁶ It also appears that Strabo often turned to Herodotus to provoke debates and stir controversy.⁷

There are approximately thirty instances (thirty-one including a fragment from Book 7) in which Herodotus is mentioned by name in Strabo’s *Geography*. In this regard, he is among the most frequently cited authors in Strabo’s voluminous work, even when considering only the first two introductory books.⁸ However, not all of these references indicate specific sections in Herodotus’ *Histories*. There are general statements such as when Strabo names Herodotus as the first of three prominent men (ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι) who came from Halicarnassus (14.2.16, C 656) or when he assesses Herodotus as a writer, whether in his own judgment or by conveying someone else’s opinion. Strabo’s assessment of Herodotus appears to be that he is one of those writers who “talk nonsense by adding marvelous tales to their accounts” (17.1.52, C 818). He also quotes the historian Theopompus who, like Herodotus, intended to

¹ The bibliography on this subject is vast. For a general survey of Strabo’s sources, see Clarke 1999: 315–319, 374–378; Dueck 2000: 180–186.

² Jacoby 1913: 508.

³ Althaus 1941; Prandi 1988.

⁴ Cf. e.g. Dueck 2000: 46: “Nevertheless, his methods and his approach did not impress Strabo, to say the least, and it is in fact very difficult to refer to any direct influence of Herodotus on the *Geography*. Surprising as it may seem, such an influence is simply non-existent.”

⁵ See Engels 1999: 124: “Methodisch anfechtbar ist aber meines Erachtens die Auffassung, sämtliche Zitate aus den *Histories*, die Strabon unter direkter Namensnennung Herodots macht, ausschließlich auf Zwischenquellen zurückzuführen.” Cf. also Lenfant 2013.

⁶ Cf. Almagor 2021: 1376–1377.

⁷ But see Lenfant 1999: 108–109: “La fonction la plus fréquente des citations d’Herodote n’est pas de nourrir une polémique, mais d’illustrer le propos de géographe.”

⁸ With seven mentions in the first two books, Herodotus ranks among the top ten authorities who appear five or more times in the introductory books of the *Geography*. Cf. Wietzke 2017: 242 n.4.

narrate myths in his history (1.2.35, C 43). These general statements would inevitably include Herodotus's famous assertion that Egypt is the gift of the Nile (δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, 2.5.1), which appears as many as four times in various books of Strabo's *Geography*.⁹ There are also instances in his introductory books where Herodotus is undoubtedly quoted indirectly as part of a larger polemic that Strabo engages in with Posidonius or Eratosthenes. This certainly includes Herodotus's account of the Phoenician circumnavigation of Africa, which Strabo incorporates from Posidonius within a much broader context (2.3.4, C 98; 2.3.5, C 100).¹⁰ It also includes Herodotus's information about the Hyperboreans, which was evidently quoted incorrectly and likely derived from Eratosthenes (1.3.22, C 61).¹¹ All such instances should be set aside, and we should focus solely on those passages where Strabo directly references Herodotus and quotes specific information from Herodotus's *Histories*. This information is typically presented in the standard manner used for citing other written sources, with phrases like ὡς Ἡρόδοτος φησι(ν) ("as Herodotus says") or similar expressions like ὡς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, φησὶ δ' Ἡρόδοτος, εἰρηκότος δ' Ἡροδότου, ἃ λέγει Ἡρόδοτος, even κατὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ("according to Herodotus"), clearly attributing the statements or information to Herodotus as the author. There are many reasons to believe that in almost all such cases, Strabo directly used Herodotus rather than relying on intermediaries. Most of these instances are quotations from Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories*, but there are also direct references to Books 2, 4, and several others.

Passages from Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories* quoted by Strabo:

- 1) Strab. 12.1.3, C 534: ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ λέγομεν χερρόνησον τὴν προσεσπέριον τοῖς Καππάδοξιν ἅπασαν, ἣν Ἡρόδοτος μὲν ἐντὸς Ἄλως καλεῖ (αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἣς ἤρξεν ἀπάσης Κροῖσος, λέγει δ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος 'τύραννον ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλως ποταμοῦ').¹²
I consider the peninsula everything that is within the isthmus and west of Cappadocia, **which Herodotus calls** "within the Halys." This in its entirety was ruled by Croesus, whom **he describes** as "tyrant of the peoples within the Halys River."¹³
- 2) Strab. 12.3.9, C 544: Τοὺς δὲ Παφλαγόνας πρὸς ἔω μὲν ὀρίζει ὁ Ἄλως ποταμός, '[δς] ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας μεταξὺ Σύρων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξίεσι' κατὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον 'ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλεόμενον πόντον' (Σύρους λέγοντα τοὺς Καππάδοκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Λευκόσυροι καλοῦνται, Σύρων καὶ τῶν ἔξω τοῦ Ταύρου λεγομένων).
The Halys River is the Paphlagonian boundary to the east, which "flows from the south between the Syrians and Paphlagonians and empties... into the sea called the Euxinus,"

⁹ Strab. 1.2.23, C 30; 1.2.29, C 36; 12.2.4, C 536; 15.1.16, C 691.

¹⁰ It refers to Hdt. 4.42, but contains a significant factual error that Strabo apparently adopted from Posidonius, as he credits the Persian king Darius with organizing the expedition instead of Pharaoh Necho of the 26th Dynasty of Egypt. Cf. Aly 1957: 414: "Das Versehen stammt also von Jemand, der den Herodottext vor Augen hatte. Das war Poseidonios, nicht Strabon."

¹¹ It refers to Hdt. 4.36.1. Cf. Roller 2017: 325: "It is obvious that Strabo had a text of Herodotos at hand – he was quoted nearly forty times – but the citation at 1.3.22 (based on Herodotos 4.36) is incorrect, and thus it is probable that Strabo relied on Eratosthenes or Hipparchos and did not check Herodotos directly, since he would have caught the error."

¹² Greek text of Strabo's *Geography* follows Radt's edition (Radt 2002–2005).

¹³ All translations of Strabo's *Geography* into English are by Roller 2014, with minor adaptations regarding transliterations of proper names.

according to Herodotus. By Syrians **he means** Cappadocians, who are still today called White Syrians, while those outside the Taurus are said to be Syrians.

Both passages refer to Hdt. 1.6.1:

Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττειο, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέει ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίας μεταξὺ Συρίων <τε> καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξίει πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλεόμενον πόντον.

Croesus was by birth a Lydian, son of Alyattes, and monarch of all the nations west of the river Halys, which flows from the south between Syria and Paphlagonia, and issues northward into the sea called Euxinus.¹⁴

In passages 12.1.3 and 12.3.9, Strabo defines the western border of Cappadocia and the eastern border of Paphlagonia, which followed the Halys River (modern-day Kızılırmak), citing Herodotus as an authority on the matter. Some scholars believe that Strabo relied on an intermediary source, such as Apollodorus of Athens,¹⁵ Posidonius of Apamea, or Demetrius of Scepsis,¹⁶ when using Herodotus. However, there appears to be no compelling reason to seek any intermediaries in these instances. Strabo not only adopts Herodotus's terminology when, for example, referring to Croesus as a "tyrant" (τύραννος), the Cappadocians as Syrians (Σύρους λέγοντα τοὺς Καππάδοκας),¹⁷ and the region west of the Halys River as "within the Halys River" (ἐντὸς Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ),¹⁸ but also incorporates Ionic forms (ἐς instead of εἰς, καλεόμενον instead of καλούμενον) that are characteristic of the historian from Halicarnassus. It is highly probable that Strabo had direct access to Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories* while compiling these passages.¹⁹

- 3) Strab. 13.2.4, C 618: ἔπειτα Μήθυμνα· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἦν Ἀρίων ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ δελφίνι **μυθεύόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἡρόδοτον** εἰς Ταίναρον σωθῆναι καταποντωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ληιστῶν· οὗτος μὲν οὖν κιθαροδός.

Then there is Methymna, from which Arion came, who, **according to the story told by those following Herodotus**, safely went to Taenarum on a dolphin, after being thrown into the sea by brigands. He was a citharodist.

¹⁴ Greek text of Herodotus's *Histories* follows new OCT edition (Wilson 2015), and all English translations are by Godley 1920–1925 (*Loeb Classical Library*).

¹⁵ Althaus 1941: 10–12, and Riemann 1967: 44, see Apollodorus as the intermediary. Apollodorus of Athens wrote, inter alia, lengthy *Commentary on the Catalogue of the Ships* in twelve books, which Strabo cited several times, but often to express his disagreement.

¹⁶ Luisa Prandi opts for Posidonius, but emphasizes that, given the small number of examples, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between Demetrius and Posidonius as intermediaries. Cf. Prandi 1988: 61: "Sarebbe aleatorio individuare una qualche differenza fra Demetrio e Posidonio nella loro funzione di tramite, dato lo scarso numero di esempi, e anche la presenza di errori o imprecisioni non puo essere imputata se non a sviste o a confusione." It is essential to acknowledge that while Posidonius stands as Strabo's primary source, Demetrius of Scepsis's extensive *Commentary on the Trojan Allies*, cited frequently by Strabo, serves not only as a significant reference but also as a platform for expressing dissent.

¹⁷ Cf. also Hdt. 1.72.1.

¹⁸ Cf. also Hdt. 1.28; 5.102.1.

¹⁹ However, it is important to acknowledge that some scholars hold differing views on this matter. Cf. Radt 2008: 355: "die Weglassung von Herodots Worten πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον (nach ἐξίσι) zeigt dass Strabon, als er dies schrieb, den Herodottext nicht 'aufgeschlagen' vor sich hatte."

This refers to Hdt. 1.23–24, the well-known tale of Arion’s miraculous rescue by a dolphin. The expression ὁ μυθεύόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἡρόδοτον, which Roller translates as “according to the story told by those following Herodotus” is best understood as referring to Herodotus himself or as “Herodotus and others who relate the story.” This aligns with earlier translations of Strabo’s *Geography*: “as Herodotus relates the story” (Hamilton, Falconer), or “according to a myth told by Herodotus and his followers” (Jones).²⁰ When discussing the city of Methymna on the island of Lesbos, Strabo only briefly mentions Arion as its most famous citizen and recounts the myth of Arion and the dolphin. The most likely source for this story is Herodotus. It is difficult to imagine where else Strabo could have taken the account of Arion’s rescue by the dolphin and the mention of Cape Taenarum if not directly from Herodotus. Although the tale predates Herodotus, it is clear that later authors who dealt with Arion’s story based their accounts on Herodotus.²¹ If the possibility of an intermediary must be considered, Theopompus’s *Epitome of Herodotus* in two books comes to mind, though there are only four lexicographical citations from it.²² However, there is no evidence that Strabo used this relatively obscure work by Theopompus. Besides, it seems unlikely that this story would have been included in a two-book epitome. Theopompus’s other works, the *Hellenica* and the *Philippica*, were much more widely known and read. Strabo, after all, holds a similar opinion of Herodotus and Theopompus as historians, and criticizes both for being storytellers and lovers of myths.²³

- 4) Strab. 13.4.5, C 625–626: ρεῖ δ’ ὁ Πακτωλὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιμόλου, καταφέρων τὸ παλαιὸν ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ πολὺ, ἀφ’ οὗτὸν Κροίσου λεγόμενον πλοῦτον καὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ διονομασθῆναι φασί· καταφέρεται δ’ ὁ Πακτωλὸς εἰς τὸν Ἑρμόν, εἰς ὃν καὶ ὁ Ὑλλος ἐμβάλλει, Φρύγιος νυνὶ καλούμενος· συμπεσόντες δ’ οἱ τρεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι ἀσημιότεροι σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν κατὰ Φώκαιαν ἐκδιδόσασιν θάλατταν, ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησιν.

The Pactolus flows from Tmolus, and they say that in antiquity a large amount of gold dust was carried down, from which, they say, the well-known wealth of Croesus and his ancestors became famous. The Pactolus is carried down to the Hermus, into which the Hyllus – today called the Phrygius – also empties. These three – and others less notable – come together and empty into the sea around Phocaea, **as Herodotus says**.

This refers to Hdt. 1.80.1:

ἐς τὸ πεδῖον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεός ἐστι τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ὑλλος συρρηγνῶσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλούμενον δὲ Ἑρμόν, ὃς ἐξ ὄρεος ἱεροῦ μητρὸς Δινδυμῆνης ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φώκαιαν πόλιν).

So the armies met in the plain, wide and bare, which is before the city of Sardis: the Hyllus and other rivers flow across it and rush violently together into the greatest of them, which is called Hermus (this flows from the mountain sacred to the Mother Dindymene and issues into the sea near the city of Phocaea). Cf. 5.101.2.

²⁰ Cf. also the translation into German, Radt 2004: 627 *ad loc.*: “von dem Herodot fabelt.”

²¹ Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 160a–160b; Ov. *Fast.* 2.79–118; Lucian, *Dial. Mar.* 8.

²² *FGrHist* 115 FF 1–4.

²³ See Strab. 1.2.35, C 43.

When referring to the river Hermus and its tributaries, Strabo could hardly omit Herodotus's account. The expression that these rivers “empty into the sea around Phocaea” (εἰς τὴν κατὰ Φώκαιαν ἐκδιδόασι θάλατταν) aligns perfectly with Herodotus, who states that the river Hermus “issues into the sea near the city of Phocaea” (ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φώκαιαν πόλιν). Strabo explicitly adds, “as Herodotus says” (ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησιν). Although Herodotus does not mention the Pactolus River by name in this instance, it does not diminish the well-known importance of this river, which carried gold dust from Mt. Tmolus and contributed significantly to the wealth and prosperity of the Lydian kings.²⁴ It is precisely the expression that Strabo uses in the preceding sentence, the Pactolus flows from Tmolus, carrying down in antiquity a large amount of gold dust (ῥεῖ δ' ὁ Πακτωλὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τμώλου, καταφέρων τὸ παλαιὸν ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ πολὺ) that corresponds exactly to what Herodotus reports elsewhere (5.101.2) that the Pactolus “carries down gold dust from Tmolus” (ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου). The only difference is that Strabo uses the participle of the verb καταφέρω and Herodotus the participle of the verb καταφορέω with the same meaning. Therefore, there is no need to rely on an intermediary source such as Callisthenes or any other author in this passage.²⁵ Nevertheless, Strabo clearly consulted other sources besides Herodotus, as he accurately notes that the river Hyllus is now called Phrygius (ὁ Ὑλλος -Φρύγιος νυνὶ καλούμενος), and that the Pactolus River in his time was no longer gold-bearing as it once had been (νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπε τὸ ψῆγμα).²⁶

5) Strab. 13.4.7, C 627: περικειται δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ Κολόῃ τὰ μνήματα τῶν βασιλέων· πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Σάρδεσιν ἔστι τὸ τοῦ Ἀλυάττου, ἐπὶ κρηπίδος ὑψηλῆς χῶμα μέγα, ἐργασθέν, **ὡς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος**, ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῆς πόλεως, οὗ τὸ πλεῖστον ἔργον αἱ παιδίσκαι συνετέλεσαν (λέγει δ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ πορνεύεσθαι πάσας· τινὲς δὲ καὶ πόρνης μνήμα λέγουσι τὸν τάφον). Lying around Lake Coloe are the memorials of the kings. Near Sardeis is the great mound of Alyattes on a high base, built, **as Herodotus says**, by the people of the city, with most of the work accomplished by the prostitutes. **He says** that all the women prostituted themselves, and some say that the tomb is the prostitute's monument.

6) Strab. 11.14.16, C 533: τοιοῦτον δὲ τι καὶ Ἡρόδοτος λέγει τὸ περὶ τὰς Λυδάς· πορνεύειν γὰρ ἀπάσας. **Herodotus says** something like this about Lydian women, all of whom prostitute themselves.

These refer to Hdt. 1.93. 2–4:

ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν ἔστι λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρόνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὗροι δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καὶ σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεῖμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πάσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσαι· ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐαυτάς.

²⁴ Hdt. 5.101.2; cf. 1.93.1.

²⁵ Prandi 1988: 61–62, thinks that Strabo usually found earlier Herodotean material in Callisthenes (“Callistene si prestava ad essere un formidabile mediatore di materiale erodoteo”), while Althaus 1941: 56–58, introduces Demetrius of Scepsis as an intermediary source.

²⁶ Cf. also Strab. 13.1.23, C 591.

There is in Lydia the tomb of Alyattes the father of Croesus, the base whereof is made of great stones and the rest of it of mounded earth. It was built by the men of the market and the artificers and the prostitutes. There remained till my time five corner-stones set on the top of the tomb, and on these was graven the record of the work done by each kind: and measurement showed that the prostitutes' share of the work was the greatest. All the daughters of the common people of Lydia ply the trade of prostitutes, to collect dowries, till they can get themselves husbands; and they offer themselves in marriage.

Strabo briefly describes the famous monumental tomb of Alyattes (Αλυάττεω σῆμα), adding that “some say that the tomb is the prostitute’s monument” (τινὲς δὲ καὶ πόρνης μνήμα λέγουσι τὸν τάφον). This “some say” (τινὲς λέγουσι) could indicate that, in addition to directly consulting Herodotus, whom he mentions by name, Strabo also referred to other unnamed sources. However, it could also be understood as a “general statement.” After all, the conclusion that it is “the prostitute’s monument” (πόρνης μνήμα) could already be drawn on the basis of what Herodotus states (“that the prostitutes’ share of the work was the greatest” [τὸ τῶν παιδισκῶν ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον]) and what Strabo remarks in slightly different words (“with most of the work accomplished by the prostitutes” [οὗτ’ τὸ πλεῖστον ἔργον αἱ παιδίσκαι συνετέλεσαν]). It is worth noting that both Herodotus and Strabo use the same term for prostitutes, αἱ παιδίσκαι, which is not uncommon, but the cited passage is the only instance where the term παιδίσκη occurs at all in Herodotus’s *Histories*, even twice, whereas in Strabo it occurs once more in Book 14 to denote a young female slave as a prostitute.²⁷ Setting aside the complex issue of the custom of prostitution among Lydian women,²⁸ it is not necessary to rely on an intermediary source, as some scholars suggest.²⁹ It is more plausible that Strabo directly used Herodotus at 13.4.7 and relied on his own memory at 11.14.16, where he only mentions the practice of Lydian women prostituting themselves.

- 7) Strab. 3.2.14, C 151: ὑπολάβοι δ’ ἂν τις ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ μακραιόνας νομισθῆναι τοὺς ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώπους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀνακρέοντα μὲν οὕτως εἰπεῖν· “ἔγωγ’ οὗτ’ ἂν Ἀμαλθίης βουλοίμην κέρας οὗτ’ ἔτα πεντήκοντά τε κάκατὸν Ταρτησοῦ βασιλεῦσαι,” **Ἡρόδοτον δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως καταγράψαι καλέσαντα Ἀργανθώνιον.**

One might assume that it was from their great prosperity that the people there were also named the “Long Lived,” especially their leaders, and because of this Anacreon said the following: “I would not wish for the horn of Amalthea, or to be king of Tartessus for a hundred and fifty years,” and **Herodotus even recorded the name of the king, calling him Arganthonius.**

This passage refers to Hdt. 1.163.2:

ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησὸν προσφίλεες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησίων, τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτα, ἐβίωσε δὲ <τὰ> πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν.

²⁷ Strab. 14.1.41, C 648, regarding Cleomachus, the boxer turned into a poet, a well-known native of Magnesia on the Maeander.

²⁸ Herodotus’s account is a reference to the prenuptial practice of Lydian common girls of prostituting themselves to acquire dowries. For a commentary see Dewald, Munson 2022: 316: “the term δῆμος, however, may limit it in the Lydian context to the non-elite population.”

²⁹ As Prandi 1988: 61–62, does with Callisthenes, whom she considers an important source for Strabo for “Lydian matters,” and as Althaus 1941, 56–58, does with Demetrius of Scepsis.

When they [*sc.* the Phocaeans] came to Tartessus they made friends with the king of the Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he ruled Tartessus for eighty years and lived a hundred and twenty.

Strabo cites the poet Anacreon and the historian Herodotus as authoritative sources regarding Arganthonius, the long-lived king of Tartessus in ancient Turdetania, located near the mouth of the river Guadalquivir.³⁰ Even though he quotes Herodotus, some scholars believe that Strabo obtained this piece of information about the name of the king Arganthonius through an intermediary source rather than directly from him. This intermediary might be found either among the numerous sources that are cited by name in Book 3 of the *Geography*³¹ or in some other unnamed source. Of Strabo's favored authors, such as Polybius, Posidonius, and Ephorus, Posidonius could be a prime candidate.³² However, considering the nature of the information, one might question which writer would likely document such details in his own work. Although Theopompus is not explicitly listed as a source of information in Book 3 of Strabo's *Geography*, which describes the Iberian Peninsula and the surrounding islands, in this instance he might still have acted as an intermediary. An author like Theopompus undoubtedly had a keen interest in documenting such information. Therefore, not only should Theopompus's *Epitome of Herodotus* be considered, but so too should his voluminous work, the *Philippica*. We know through extant fragments that Theopompus devoted as many as five books of the *Philippica* to western history and geography. Although only a few extant short fragments of Book 43 of the *Philippica* refer to the Iberian Peninsula and the area around Tartessus,³³ it is almost certain that Theopompus, with his thorough dedication to geographical matters, left valuable insights about this part of Europe. When writing about the Tartessians situated on the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula in the Guadalquivir River valley (modern Andalusia, southern Spain), Theopompus might have recalled their most renowned king, Arganthonius, who was mentioned by Herodotus. Consequently, Strabo could have obtained information on Arganthonius through Theopompus as an intermediary, and stated that Herodotus was the author who first recorded the king's name. However, without compelling evidence, it would be premature to dismiss the possibility that Strabo directly relied on Herodotus in this instance, just as he often did with most other quotations from Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories*. The frequency of citations from Book 1 could suggest that Strabo frequently consulted it, thus indicating that he might not have needed an intermediary for the information it contained.

- 8) Strab. 12.8.5, C 573: καὶ οἱ Κἄρες δὲ νησιῶται πρότερον ὄντες καὶ Λέλεγες, ὡς φασιν, ἠπειρώται γεγόνασι, προσλαβόντων Κρητῶν, οἱ καὶ τὴν Μίλητον ἔκτισαν, ἐκ τῆς Κρητικῆς Μιλήτου Σαρπηδόνα λαβόντες κτίστην, καὶ τοὺς Τερμίλας κατέκτισαν ἐν τῇ νῦν Λυκίᾳ· τούτους δ' ἀγαγεῖν ἐκ Κρήτης ἀποίκους Σαρπηδόνα, Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθους ἀδελφὸν

³⁰ For the commentary on this passage, cf. Roller 2018: 145.

³¹ On sources Strabo referred to by name in Book 3 of *Geography*, see Clarke 1999: 374; Lowe 2017: 71–75.

³² Posidonius from Apamea, who spent 30 days in Gades, which we know Strabo never visited, is the most important source for Strabo's account on the Iberian Peninsula. Cf. Lowe 2017: 73–74. On Strabo's relationship to Posidonius generally, see Engels 1999: 166–201.

³³ *FGrHist* 115 FF 199–201.

όντα, καὶ ὀνομάσαι Τερμίλας τοὺς πρότερον Μιλύας, ὡς φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον Σολύμους, ἐπελθόντα δὲ τὸν Πανδίωνος Λύκον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσαγορευοῦσαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς Λυκίους. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος ἀποφαίνει τοὺς αὐτοὺς Σολύμους τε καὶ Λυκίους, ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς χωρίζει·

The Carians were formerly islanders, and the Lelegians, as they say, became mainlanders with the help of the Cretans, who founded Miletus, taking Sarpedon from the Cretan Miletus as their founder. They settled the Termilians in what is now Lycia, with Sarpedon having brought the settlers from Crete. He was the brother of Minos and Rhadamanthys, and named those formerly called the Milyans the Termilians, **as Herodotus says**. Still earlier they were the Solymians, but when Lycus the son of Pandion went there he named them Lycians after himself. This account shows that the Solymians and Lycians were the same, but the Poet distinguishes them.

This refers to Hdt. 1.173.2–3:

διενειγθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιλείης τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνοιο τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσει Μίνω, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλιάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλιάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. ἕως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδὼν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τὸ πέρ τε ἠνεύκοντο οὐνομα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι· ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέοιο, ἀπικέτο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν.

Now there was a dispute in Crete about the royal power between Sarpedon and Minos, sons of Europe; Minos prevailed in this division and drove out Sarpedon and his partisans; who, being thrust out, came to the Milyan land in Asia. What is now possessed by the Lycians was of old Milyan, and the Milyans were then called Solymi. For a while Sarpedon ruled them, and the people were called Termilae, which was the name that they had brought with them and that is still given to the Lycians by their neighbours; but after the coming from Athens of Lycus son of Pandion—another exile, banished by his brother Aegeus—to join Sarpedon in the land of the Termilae, they came in time to be called Lycians after Lycus.

Cf. 7.92: Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες, ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.

The Lycians were of Cretan descent, and were once called Termilae; they took the name they bear from Lycus, an Athenian, son of Pandion.

In his *Geography* (12.8.5, C 573), Strabo recounts Herodotus's observations (1.173.2–3, briefly reiterated at 7.92) on the diverse ethnic names used for the peoples who inhabited the same territory in ancient Lycia during different historical periods: the Milyans, the Solymians, the Termilians, and the Lycians. Strabo attempts to harmonize these accounts with the geographical references found in Homer (ὁ ποιητής),³⁴ and he adds “as Herodotus says” (ὡς φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος). Herodotus believed that Mylias was the ancient name of Lycia, originally inhabited by the Solymians who later changed their name to Mylians. He connected the ethnic name Termilians with Sarpedon, the brother of Minos, who became king of what would later be named Lycia after Lycus, son of Pandion. Lycus had joined Sarpedon after being banished from Athens by his brother Aegeus.³⁵ All this is also recorded by Strabo, who includes additional generally known facts not found in Herodotus, such as

³⁴ The Solymians occurred, for example, in Homer (*Ill.* 6.184), as enemies of the Lycians.

³⁵ For a commentary see Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella 2007: 194–195; Dewald, Munson 2022: 418–419.

the name of Rhadamanthys, the brother of Minos and Sarpedon, who is not mentioned at all in Herodotus's *Histories*. On the other hand, Herodotus emphasizes only that Sarpedon and Minos are sons of Europa (τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνοϋ τε καὶ Μίνω), without mentioning Zeus, in accordance with the matrilineal principle characteristic of the Lycians.³⁶ There appears to be no reason to doubt that Strabo directly used Herodotus here, although Apollodorus of Athens, a knowledgeable Hellenistic interpreter of Homer, has sporadically been suggested as an intermediary.³⁷

- 9) Strab. 13.1.59, C 611: Ἡ μὲν τοίνυν ἐκλειφθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτῶν πόλις Πήδασος οὐκέτ' ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῶν Ἀλικαρνασέων τὰ Πήδασα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομασθέντα ἦν πόλις, καὶ νῦν ἡ χώρα Πηδασίς λέγεται. φασὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὀκτὼ πόλεις ὄκισθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Λελέγων πρότερον εὐανδρησάντων, ὥστε καὶ τῆς Καρίας κατασχεῖν τῆς μέχρι Μύνδου καὶ Βαργυλίων, καὶ τῆς Πισιδίας ἀποτεμεσθαι πολλήν. ὕστερον δ' ἅμα τοῖς Καρσί στρατευόμενοι κατεμερίσθησαν εἰς ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἠφανίσθη τὸ γένος. τῶν δ' ὀκτὼ πόλεων τὰς ἑξὶ Μαύσωλος εἰς μίαν τὴν Ἀλικαρνασὸν συνήγαγεν, ὡς Καλλισθένης ἱστορεῖ, Στάγγελα δὲ καὶ Μύνδον διεφύλαξε. **τοῖς δὲ Πηδασεῦσι τούτοις φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος** ὅτε μέλλοι τι <ἀν>επιτήδειον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις, τὴν ἱερείαν τῆς Ἀθηναῶν πάγωνα ἴσχειν· τρίς δὲ συμβῆναι τοῦτο αὐτοῖς. The city of Pedasus, today abandoned by them, is no longer in existence, but inland of Halicarnassus there was a city of Pedasa, named by them, and the territory is today called Pedasis. They say that eight cities were settled in this territory by the Lelegians, who formerly were so numerous that they took possession of Caria as far as Myndus and Bargylia, but also cut off a large part of Pisidia. Later they made expeditions with the Carians and became distributed throughout the whole of Hellas, and the ethnic group disappeared. Regarding the eight cities, Mausolus united six into one, Halicarnassus, as Callisthenes records, but preserved Syangela and Myndus. **These are the Pedasians of whom Herodotus says** that when anything disagreeable was about to happen to them and their neighbors, the priestess of Athena would grow a beard, and this happened three times.

Strabo refers here to Hdt. 1.175:

Ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασεῖς οἰκόντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ μεσόγαιαν, τοῖσι ὄκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδειον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσι τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοις, ἡ ἱερεὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίης πάγωνα μέγαν ἴσχε. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο.

There were also certain folk of Pedasa, dwelling inland of Halicarnassus; when any misfortune was coming upon them or their neighbours, the priestess of Athene grew a great beard. This had happened to them thrice.

Cf. 8.104: οἱ δὲ Πηδασεῖς οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ. ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τούτοιςι τοιόνδε συμφέρεται πρήγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὰν τοῖσι ἀμφικτυόσι πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπὸν, τότε ἡ ἱερεὶ αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πάγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δὲ σφι δις ἤδη ἐγένετο.

The people of Pedasa dwell above Halicarnassus. This happens among these people: when aught untoward is about to befall within a certain time all those that dwell about their city, the priestess of Athene then grows a great beard. This had already happened to them twice.

When telling of the originally Lelegian cities in Caria, Strabo also mentions Pedasa, one of the six settlements that were synoecized into Halicarnassus by Mausolus,

³⁶ Cf. Dewald, Munson 2022: 418.

³⁷ Cf. Althaus 1941: 5–6, while Prandi 1988: 60, is undecided between Demetrius of Scepsis and Posidonius of Apamea.

the satrap of Caria.³⁸ Strabo specifically cites the historian Callisthenes as his source for this synoecism (ὡς Καλλισθένης ιστορεῖ), and references Callisthenes’s *Hellenica* rather than his *Praxeis Alexandrou* (*The Deeds of Alexander*).³⁹ He also recounts an intriguing story about the priestess of Athena who grew a beard whenever a misfortune threatened the people of Pedasa or their neighbors. This tale is mentioned twice in Herodotus’s *Histories* (1.175 and 8.104), with the second instance likely being a paraphrase or later interpolation of the first.⁴⁰ Since Callisthenes is mentioned by Strabo as an authority on the synoecism of Halicarnassus in the sentence preceding Herodotus’s story about Athena’s priestess at Pedasa, it could be inferred that Strabo indirectly quoted Herodotus through Callisthenes as an intermediary.⁴¹ However, there is no need to rely on an intermediary source in this instance. Since Strabo repeats Herodotus’s quote from Book 1 (1.175) almost word for word, including the term the *perioikoi* (“dwelling round,” “neighbors,” or “inhabitants of dependent communities”), which is frequent in Herodotus⁴² but less so in Strabo,⁴³ it appears as if he had Herodotus’s Book 1 in front of him when he wrote that paragraph. Strabo certainly did not have Book 8 of Herodotus’s *Histories* at hand, as there is a factual error at 8.104 where “twice” is stated instead of “thrice” regarding the growth of the priestess’s beard. Additionally, instead of the term the *perioikoi*, the unusual term *amphyctiones* is used in this context.⁴⁴

10) Strab. 11.14.13, C 531: οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ἀράξου ποταμοῦ λεγόμενος ἔχει τι πιθανόν, ὁ δὲ Ἡροδότειος οὐ πάνυ· φησὶ γάρ ἐκ Ματινηῶν αὐτὸν ῥέοντα εἰς τετταράκοντα ποταμοὺς σχίζεσθαι, μερίζειν δὲ Σκύθας καὶ Βακτριανούς· καὶ Καλλισθένης δὲ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ.

This account of the Araxes River can be said to have some plausibility, but **the Herodotean one** none at all, for **he says** that after flowing from the Matienians it splits into forty rivers, dividing the Scythians from the Bactrians. Callisthenes follows him.

This refers to Hdt. 1.202.3:

ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματινηῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης, τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τρηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κύρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσαράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἔλαά τε καὶ τενάγεια ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθῦς ὠμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκῆων δέρμασι.

The Araxes flows from the country of the Matieni — as does the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into the three hundred and sixty channels — and empties itself through forty mouths, whereof all except one issue into bogs and swamps, where men are said to live whose food is raw fish, and their customary dress sealskins. The one remaining stream of the Araxes flows in a clear channel into the Caspian Sea.

Here, Strabo appears to have identified an error in Herodotus concerning the river

³⁸ On Pedasa as a polis, see *IACP* no. 923, p. 1131.

³⁹ *FGrHist* 124 F 25.

⁴⁰ For a commentary of this Herodotus’s story, see Bowie 2007: 194; Dewald, Munson 2022: 422.

⁴¹ See Prandi 1988: 61, while Althaus 1941: 52–54, points to Demetrius of Scepsis as an intermediary.

⁴² To denote neighbouring and peripheral communities located at the outskirts of a specific place, and has nothing to do with the *perioikoi* of Laconia. Cf. Hdt. 1.166.1; 1.173.3; 3.159.2; 4.31.2; 4.90.1; 4.159.4; 4.161.3; 5.91.2; 7.61.2; 7.201.1; 8.73.3.

⁴³ Cf. Strab. 4.1.13, C 188; 5.2.9, C 226; 6.1.5, C 255; 7.7.6, C 325; 8.3.10, C 341.

⁴⁴ For verbal oddities in this Herodotus’s passage, see Bowie 2007: 194.

Αράξης (today the Aras River in the Caucasus), which Herodotus locates in the territory of the Massagetians, east of the Caspian Sea. What Herodotus calls Araxes seems to best correspond with the Oxus (the modern Amu Darya).⁴⁵ Since Herodotus in his *Histories* never mentions the Araxes River as the boundary between the Scythians and the Bactrians, and what Strabo explicitly stated as a quote from Herodotus (αὐτόν [sc. the Araxes] μερίζειν δὲ Σκύθας καὶ Βακτριανούς), scholars assume that Strabo could have taken this information from some other writer and attributed it to Herodotus. That author, it is believed, might potentially be Callisthenes and his work *The Deeds of Alexander* (*Praxeis Alexandrou*), because Strabo notes that “Callisthenes follows Herodotus” (Καλλισθένης δὲ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ), which suggests this geographic understanding continued from one historian to another.⁴⁶ There is, however, only weak evidence that Strabo used Callisthenes’s *Praxeis Alexandrou* directly,⁴⁷ and some scholars believe that, even in this case, Callisthenes was also used only through an intermediary.⁴⁸ Bearing in mind that the quote in question refers to Book 1 of Herodotus’s *Histories*, which Strabo frequently referenced, it is better to assume that Strabo carefully read Herodotus firsthand, found an error in his account, and then sought corroboration from Callisthenes (directly or indirectly). There he found that Callisthenes, for unknown reasons,⁴⁹ had repeated the same error, which he did not fail to notice.

Passages from Book 2 and other books of Herodotus’s *Histories* quoted by Strabo:

- 11) Strab. 1.3.18, C 59: καὶ ἡ πρότερον δὲ Ἀρτεμίτα λεγομένη μία τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων ἤπειρος γέγονε· καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῶν νησίδων τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος φασὶ παθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσχώσεως τοῦ πελάγους, συγχοῦνται δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαί, ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησι.
One of the Echinades Islands, formerly called Artemita, has become part of the mainland, and they say that other islets around the Achelous have experienced the same thing because of the silting of the open sea by the river, and the rest of them are being obliterated, **as Herodotus says.**

Here Strabo refers to Hdt. 2.10.3:

εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐόντες μεγάθρα, οἵτινες ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσὶ· τῶν ἐγὼ φράσαι ἔχω οὐνόματα καὶ ἄλλων καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα Ἀχελῶου, ὃς ῥέων δι’ Ἀκαρνανίης καὶ ἐξείεις ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων τὰς ἡμισείας ἤδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε.
There are also other rivers, not so great as the Nile, that have had great effects; I could rehearse their names, but principal among them is the Achelous, which, flowing through Acarnania and emptying into the sea, has already made half of the Echinades Islands mainland.

In addition to Book 1, Strabo likely had frequent access to Book 2 of Herodotus’s *Histories*, which extensively covers Egypt. Thus, he could have found the information about

⁴⁵ Cf. Dewald, Munson 2022: 466. See also How, Welles 1912, 1: 152, that Herodotus in his account combines as many as four rivers (the Aras, the Oxus, the Jaxartes, the Volga).

⁴⁶ See Prandi 1985: 89–90. Cf. also Prandi 1988: 63.

⁴⁷ Cf. Molina Marín 2017: 297.

⁴⁸ Althaus 1941: 65–67, presumes the mediation of Apollodorus or Demetrius of Scepsis, and Riemann 1967: 50–51, presumes the mediation of Eratosthenes.

⁴⁹ Cf. Roller 2018: 682: “Strabo realized that there was a problem, but did not elaborate. Callisthenes was the official historian of Alexander’s expedition (11.11.4). Unlike Herodotus, he was subject to the topographical confusions created by Alexander and his recorders.”

the natural disappearance of the Echinades Islands in Book 2 as well, where Herodotus mentions the mouth of the Achelous River in central Greece, when discussing the Nile Delta. He describes how its silting process significantly contributed to the disappearance of the Echinades Islands and transformed them into mainland (ἤπειρον). Herodotus is notably the earliest known writer to document this phenomenon.⁵⁰ Strabo likely consulted Herodotus directly (he himself emphasized ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησι), even though he does not provide the quote precisely. Herodotus mentions that in his own time half of the Echinades Islands were connected to the mainland by alluvial deposits from the Achelous River.⁵¹ Strabo, however, mentions one of the Echinades Islands, Artemita, directly by name, and asserts it became connected to the mainland. By referencing Herodotus’s account, Strabo implies that the other islands in the Echinades group underwent a similar transformation.⁵² While Strabo undoubtedly consulted other sources for his account,⁵³ his use of the phrase ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησι (“as Herodotus says”) suggests that he directly referenced Herodotus’s *Histories*, rather than relying solely on intermediary sources.⁵⁴

- 12) Strab. 17.2.5, C 823: Ἀληθές δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἡροδότου, καὶ ἔστιν Αἰγυπτιακὸν τὸ τὸν μὲν πηλὸν ταῖς χερσὶ φεράν, τὸ δὲ στέαρ τὸ εἰς τὴν ἀρτοποιίαν τοῖς ποσὶ.
The statement of Herodotus is also true, that it is an Egyptian custom to knead mud with the hands, but the dough for breadmaking with the feet.

This passage refers to Hdt. 2.36.3:

φωρῶσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῖσι ποσὶ, τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῆσι χερσὶ καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναρέονται <...>. They knead dough with their feet, and gather mud and dung with their hands.

Herodotus, when discussing the distinctive customs of the Egyptians (2.35–37) and highlighting contrasts between the practices of Egyptians and Greeks, mentions that Greeks knead bread by hand, whereas Egyptians uniquely use their feet for this task. As a contrast, Herodotus notes that Egyptians gather mud and dung with their hands (2.36.3), a practice that differs markedly from Greek customs.⁵⁵ Strabo supports Herodotus’s statement by suggesting that these customs persisted also in Strabo’s era, and that the geographer from Amaseia personally observed them. Strabo quotes Herodotus with precision, though he excludes the practice of gathering dung (κόπρος) by hand. Nevertheless, it is very likely that Strabo had direct access to Book 2 of Herodotus’s *Histories* and consulted it firsthand, without intermediaries. In any case, Strabo’s confirmation of Herodotus’s assertions about

⁵⁰ It is worth noting that the MSS of Strabo’s *Geography* have here Hesiodus (Ἡσίοδος) instead of Herodotus. The editors, beginning with Adamantios Korais, emended this to Herodotus, and this emendation is widely accepted. However, cf. Aly 1968: 70, who retains reading ὡς Ἡσίοδος φησι.

⁵¹ Thucydides (2.102.3) also seems to support Herodotus’s statement, so one might get the impression that Strabo followed Thucydides rather than Herodotus. Cf. Prandi 1988: 60 n.29: “Si può notare che per quanto riguarda i termini usati, le notizie straboniane sulle Echinadi non sono più vicine al testo di Erodoto di quanto lo siano a quello di Thuc. II, 102,3.”

⁵² For the verb συγγέω, which even the *LSJ* does not record in this meaning, see Radt 2006: 166 (“werden durch Anschüttung (mit dem Festland) verbunden”).

⁵³ Cf. also Strab. 10.2.19 C458.

⁵⁴ Prandi 1988: 59–60, thinks first of Demetrius of Scepsis as an intermediary source.

⁵⁵ For the commentary, see Lloyd 1976: 155–157.

Egypt and the Egyptians is particularly significant. This is underscored by Strabo's own admission that he traveled extensively along the Nile, reaching as far as Syene and the borders of Ethiopia.⁵⁶ Moreover, a substantial portion of Strabo's observations on Egypt relies not on the works of his predecessors but on his own firsthand experiences.

- 13) Strab. 10.3.21 C473: Ἡρόδοτος δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφει λέγει τῶν Καβείρων ἱερὰ καθάπερ καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, διαφθεῖραι δ' αὐτὰ Καμβύσην.
Herodotus says that there was a sanctuary of the Cabeiri in Memphis, as well as one of Hephaestus, but that they were destroyed by Cambyses.

This refers to Hdt. 3.37.3:

ἔσηλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ οὐ θεμιτόν ἐστι εἰσέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱερά: ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπηρσε πολλὰ κατασκώψας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοια τοῖσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου· τούτου δὲ σφέας παῖδας λέγουσι εἶναι.
Also he entered the temple of the Cabeiri, into which none may enter save the priest; the images here he even burnt, with bitter mockery. These also are like the images of Hephaestus, and are said to be his sons.

In this instance, Strabo refers to Herodotus when mentioning the disrespectful behavior of the Persian king Cambyses toward the shrines in Memphis. It is certainly not a main subject of interest for him, but rather an episode within the broader discussion about the Cabeiri. Additionally, he made some obvious mistakes by quoting Herodotus. For instance, that, when discussing Cambyses's madness, Herodotus emphasizes that the king mocked the cult statues (τὰ ἀγάλματα) of the Cabeiri and burned them, while Strabo comments on the destruction of temples (cf. the aorist active infinitive of the verb διαφθείρω). Herodotus again uses the singular when talking about the temple of the Cabeiri (τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρόν), while Strabo, associating the Cabeiri with Hephaestus, uses the plural (τὰ ἱερά). From this one might conclude that Strabo is using Herodotus here through an intermediary source. According to some scholars, that intermediary could be Demetrius of Scepsis.⁵⁷ However, the use of this plural form (τὰ ἱερά) and the association of the statues of the Cabeiri with that of Hephaestus indicate that Strabo had this entire chapter of Book 3 of Herodotus's *Histories* (3.37) in mind,⁵⁸ and errors crept into his summarization when he attempted to summarize it in a single sentence. However, Strabo obviously deemed it important to note that Herodotus also confirms the existence of the temple of the Cabeiri in Memphis, while the actions of the Persian king are only an incidental addition. In Herodotus, of course, it was quite the opposite, because the emphasis is placed precisely on the actions of the "mad" king.

- 14) Strab. 7.3.8, C 301: ὄρα δὲ ἃ λέγει Ἡρόδοτος περὶ τοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ' ὃν ἐστράτευσε Δαρεῖος, καὶ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα παρ' αὐτοῦ.
See what **Herodotus says** about the Scythian king against whom Darius made war, and the messages sent between them.

⁵⁶ 2.5.12, C 118.

⁵⁷ Althaus 1941: 58–60. Cf. Prandi 1988: 59.

⁵⁸ Hephaestus's temple (τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρόν) is mentioned at 3.37.2. For the identification of Egyptian Ptah with Hephaestus see Lloyd 1976: 7–8.

Strabo here refers to Hdt. 4.127.1–4:

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος ἔλεγε τάδε...
To this Idanthysrus the Scythian king made answer...

To demonstrate Homer’s accurate characterization of the Scythians, Strabo naturally referenced Herodotus, whom he could hardly ignore, when he focused specifically on the “Scythian logoi” “Σκυθικοὶ λόγοι” (4.1–144). However, Strabo directly cites Herodotus only for the Scythian king’s response to the Persian king Darius during his expedition (4.127). This reference by Strabo is both a general affirmation, widely recognized in antiquity, and a direct quotation from Herodotus’s *Histories*.⁵⁹ No particular intermediary source was needed in this context.

- 15) 10.1.10, C 448: τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίαν πόλιν κατέσκαψαν Πέρσαι, σαγηνεύσαντες, ὧς φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῷ πλήθει, περιχουθέντων τῶν βαρβάρων τῷ τείχει·
The Persians razed the original city, and netted the people, as Herodotus says, since the barbarians, with their great numbers, were spread around the walls.

This refers to Hdt. 6.101.2–3:

οἱ δὲ Ἐρετριεὺς ἐπεξελεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσασθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλὴν, εἰ κως δὲ διαφυλάττειν τὰ τείχεα, τούτου σφι περὶ ἔμελε, ἐπεὶτε ἐνίκα μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. προσβολῆς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιπτον ἐπὶ ἕξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων· τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ Εὐφορβὸς τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνέω ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκιμοι προδιδοῦσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι. οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν τούτου μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτινύμενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τούτου δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνδραποδίσαντο κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.
The Eretrians had no design of coming out and fighting; all their care was to guard their walls, if they could, seeing that it was the prevailing counsel not to leave the city. The walls were stoutly attacked, and for six days many fell on both sides; but on the seventh two Eretrians of repute, Euphorbus son of Alcimachus and Philagrus son of Cineas, betrayed the city to the Persians. These entered the city and plundered and burnt the temples, in revenge for the temples that were burnt at Sardis; moreover they enslaved the townspeople, according to Darius’ command.

Cf. 6.31.1–2: ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ὡς ἀνέπλωσε, αἰρέει εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ κειμένας, Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. ὅκως δὲ λάβοι τινὰ τῶν νήσων, ὡς ἐκάστην αἰρέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσαγήνεον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. σαγηνεύουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἀψάμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορηῆς ἐπὶ τὴν νοτιὴν διήκουσι καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου διέρχονται ἐκθηρεύοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἰρεον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς Ἰάδας κατὰ ταῦτά, πλὴν οὐκ ἐσαγήνεον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οὐ γὰρ οἶά τε ἦν.

The Persian fleet wintered at Miletus, and putting out to sea in the next year easily subdued the islands that lie off the mainland, Chios and Lesbos and Tenedos. Whenever they took an island, the foreigners would “net” each severally. This is the manner of their doing it: — the men link hands and make a line reaching from the northern sea to the southern, and then advance over the whole island hunting the people down. They took likewise also the Ionian cities of the mainland, albeit not by netting the people; for that was not possible.

⁵⁹ As was shown by Riemann 1967: 53–55. See also Engels 2008: 152–153: “In this passage the geographer differs significantly from his usual way of introducing Herodotean material. For he directly calls upon his readers to look up a Herodotean passage on a Scythian king (named Idanthysrus) and his proud answer to the Persian king, as he had done before himself. It is not by accident that Strabo consulted the original text of the *Histories* in this peculiar context in order to refute attacks on his admired hero Homer, which had been made by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus.”

Strabo discusses the city of Eretria, located on the island of Euboea (10.1.10), and its fate during the Persian expedition to Greece in 490 BCE. He attributes his information to Herodotus (ὡς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος), and notes that the Persians surrounded Eretria in great numbers and “netted” (σαγηνεύσαντες) its inhabitants. However, Herodotus’s account (6.101) of the siege and fall of Eretria makes no mention of this Persian tactic. Instead, he describes a fierce six-day siege culminating in the city’s surrender to the Persians on the seventh day by its wealthy citizens. Herodotus is indeed familiar with this Persian practice of “catching the population with a net” (σαγηνεύειν), as he records it in Book 6 in relation to the Persian conquest of the Greek islands along the coast of Asia Minor—Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos—following the failure of the Ionian revolt (6.31).⁶⁰ One might infer that Strabo, despite citing Herodotus, did not directly rely on the historian from Halicarnassus. Instead, he possibly accessed Herodotus’s account through an intermediary source who independently applied the well-known Persian tactic to the subjugation of Eretria. According to some scholars, this intermediary could be the historian Ephorus.⁶¹ While Ephorus, the first universal historian, undoubtedly influenced Strabo significantly, attributing Ephorus as his sole source here might underestimate Strabo’s own capabilities. Was Strabo not capable of reaching the same conclusion when he had direct access to the text of Book 6 of Herodotus’s *Histories*? He instinctively applied the common Persian practice of *sageneuein*, which he had found in Herodotus 6.31 and recalled well, to the Persian conquest of Eretria, even though it was not explicitly mentioned at 6.101. Interestingly, Plato in the *Laws* also uses the same verb σαγηνεύω (σαγηνεύσαιεν, 3 plur. aor. act. opt.) in reference to the Persian conquest of Eretria in 490 BCE.⁶² Apparently, as early as the fourth century BCE there existed a tradition that the citizens of Eretria were caught using the Persian practice of *sageneuein*. Does this mean that one must seek intermediaries for Plato as well?

- 16) 7 Fr. 21a: ...ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον, καλούμενον οὕτως ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Μέλανος ἐκδιδόντος εἰς αὐτόν, **καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος** καὶ Εὐδοξος· **εἴρηκε** δέ, φησὶν, **ὁ Ἡρόδοτος** μὴ ἀνταρκεῖσθαι τὸ ρεῖθρον τῇ Ξέρξου στρατιᾷ τοῦτο·
 ...and the Gulf of Melas on the right, which is so called from the Melas River that empties into it, according to Herodotus and Eudoxus. Herodotus, he [sc. Strabo] says, reports that the stream was insufficient for the army of Xerxes.

This refers to Hdt. 7.58.3:

ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον τὸν Μέλανα καλούμενον καὶ Μέλανα ποταμόν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ρέεθρον ἀλλ’ ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐπ’ οὗ καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, ἦτε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, Αἴνόν τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντοριῶδα λίμνην παρεξιών, ἐς ἃ ἀπύκετο ἐς Δορίσκον.
 Thence turning the head of the Black (*Melas*) Bay (as it is called) and crossing the Black (*Melas*) River, which could not hold its own then against the army, but fell short of its needs — crossing this river, which gives its name to the bay, they went westwards, past the Aeolian town of Aenus and the marsh of Stentor, till they came to Doriscus.

⁶⁰ The verb σαγηνεύω Herodotus uses also in Book 3 regarding Persian conquest of the island of Samos (3.149). For the commentary, see Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella 2007: 521–522.

⁶¹ See Prandi 1988, 59. Cf. also Engels 2008, 157–158.

⁶² Pl. *Leg.* 698d. Cf. Lenfant 1999, 109 n.34: “*C’est peut-être la source de la confusion de Strabon.*” See also Hornblower, Pelling 2017: 224, that Strabo wrongly attributed that version to Herodotus himself.

Unfortunately, Book 7 of Strabo's *Geography* has not survived in its entirety. For the reconstruction of missing parts, collections of excerpts such as *Epitome Vaticana* and *Epitome Palatina* are of exceptional value. The authors of these epitomes had access to the complete text of Strabo's *Geography*, including the end of Book 7. Even though only a fragment of Book 7 of Strabo's *Geography* preserved in *Epitome Vaticana* is in question, it nonetheless suggests that Strabo might have used Herodotus directly, in addition to Eudoxus of Cnidus, for information regarding the Gulf of Melas (Μέλας κόλπος) and the Melas (Black) River (Μέλας), where Xerxes's massive army marched during the attack on Greece in 480 BCE. That is how Herodotus's interesting side-remark that the Melas River ran out of water for Xerxes's army at that time, attracted Strabo's attention and found a place in the geographer's account. And here it seems quite likely that Strabo used Herodotus directly and not through an intermediary source.⁶³

- 17) 14.4.3, C 668: **φησὶ δ' Ἡρόδοτος** τοὺς Παμφύλους τῶν μετὰ Ἀμφιλόχου καὶ Κάλχαντος εἶναι λαῶν μιγάδων τινῶν ἐκ Τροίας συνακολουθησάντων· τοὺς μὲν δὴ πολλοὺς ἐνθάδε καταμεῖναι, τινὰς δὲ σκεδασθῆναι πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς.
Herodotus says that the Pamphylians belong to the mixed crowd of people from Troy who followed along with Amphilochochus and Calchas, most of whom remained here but some of whom were scattered everywhere on earth.

This refers to Hdt. 7.91.3:

Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοῖσι ὄπλοισι ἐσκευασμένοι. οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὗτοι εἰσι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι The Pamphylians furnished thirty ships: they were armed like Greeks. These Pamphylians are descended from the Trojans of the dispersal who followed Amphilochochus and Calchas.

This is another instance where Strabo probably used Herodotus directly. Although Strabo does not quote verbatim from Herodotus's *Histories* after saying "and Herodotus says" (φησὶ δ' Ἡρόδοτος), the meaning remains the same in both accounts. According to the tradition shared by Herodotus and Strabo, the Pamphylians ("Those of all tribes") descended from the Greeks scattered after the Trojan war. This tradition inevitably mentions the heroes Amphilochochus and Calchas, who, after the fall of Troy, traveled southward and initiated the migration to southern Asia Minor. The fact that Strabo also references Callisthenes regarding the hero Mopsus, who traveled with Amphilochochus after the death of Calchas in Clarus, does not conclusively prove indirect use of Herodotus through Callisthenes as an intermediary.⁶⁴ It is even less likely to assume the existence of several different intermediaries.⁶⁵

- 18) Strab. 6.3.6, C 282: τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ πολίχνια εἴρηται. ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ Ῥοδίαί τε εἰσι καὶ Λουπίαί καὶ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης Ἀλητία, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ μέσῳ Οὐρία, ἐν ἣ βασιλείον ἐτι δαίκενται τῶν δυναστῶν τινος (**εἰρηκότος δ' Ἡροδότου** Ὑρίαν εἶναι ἐν τῇ

⁶³ See Roller 2018: 417: "Since Strabo regularly used Herodotus directly, the suggestion that he was only accessed through Eudoxus is probably the opinion of the epitomizer, and Eudoxus may have had more to say about the river than survives."

⁶⁴ As Prandi 1988: 63, states, adding Strabo's quote of Callisthenes at 14.4.1, C 667 = *FGHist* 124 F 32. See also Prandi 1985: 88–89; Radt 2009: 110.

⁶⁵ For Althaus 1941: 47–48, the passage in question comes to Strabo from Ephorus via Apollodorus.

Ἰαπυγία, κτίσμα Κρητῶν τῶν πλανηθέντων ἐκ τοῦ Μίνω στόλου τοῦ εἰς Σικελίαν, ἦτοι ταύτην δεῖ δέχεσθαι ἢ τὸ Οὐερῆτον).

This is what can be said about the small towns on the coast. In the interior are Rhodiae, Lupiae, Aletia (slightly above the sea), and on the isthmus, Uria, where the palace of one of the leaders is still visible. **Herodotus states** that Hyria is in Iapygia, founded by Cretans who wandered from the expedition of Minos to Sicily, and this must be taken either as here [Uria] or Veretum.

This refers to Hdt. 7.170.2:

ὡς δὲ κατὰ Ἰηπυγίην γενέσθαι πλέοντας, ὑπολαβόντά σφεας χειμῶνα μέγαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν· συναραχθέντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, οὐδεμίαν γάρ σφι ἐτι κομιδὴν ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ὑρίην πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμεῖναι τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας ἠπειρώτας.

But when they [sc. the Cretans] were at sea off Iapygia, a great storm caught and drove them ashore; and their ships being wrecked, and no way left of returning to Crete, they founded there the town of Hyria, and abode in it, changing from Cretans to Messapians of Iapygia, and from islanders to dwellers on the mainland.

In his description of the cities between Brundisium and Tarentum in the Apulia region, Strabo pays particular attention to the city of Uria, known also as Hyria (modern-day Oria). Uria, situated along the *Via Appia*, which leads to the port of Brundisium, was notably visited by Strabo himself. He highlights the existence of the local dynast's palace, which could still be seen during his visit.⁶⁶ When discussing the founding traditions of Uria and other cities in the region, Strabo refers specifically to Herodotus. He draws from Herodotus's account in Book 7 of the *Histories* regarding Minos's expedition to Sicily and its aftermath, which led to the foundation of settlements on the Iapygian Peninsula (7.170). Herodotus left a detailed account of how the Cretans, after the death of Minos and the unsuccessful siege of Camicus, ended up in Iapygia, where they founded cities and "became the Messapians of Iapygia instead of Cretans and mainlanders instead of islanders" (μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας ἠπειρώτας). Strabo acknowledges that Herodotus provides the earliest detailed account of these events, though he himself is uncertain whether Uria (Hyria) or perhaps Veretum (Οὐερῆτον) in the southeastern part of Apulia was the primary city founded by the Cretans.⁶⁷ Additionally, Strabo consulted other sources, such as Ephorus,⁶⁸ who noted that the Cretans founded Brundisium but later moved to Bottiaea – a detail not covered by Herodotus, either due to a lack of knowledge or interest in that aspect of the story.⁶⁹ However, this does not negate Strabo's direct use of Herodotus for the earlier statement.

19) Strab. 9.4.14, C 428: πρὸς γὰρ τῷ Σπερχεῖω τῷ παραρρέοντι τὴν Ἀντίκυραν καὶ ὁ Δύρας ἐστίν, ὃν φασιν ἐπιχειρήσαι τὴν Ἡρακλέους σβέσαι πυρὰν, καὶ ἄλλος Μέλας διέχων Τραχῖνος εἰς

⁶⁶ The verb δαίκνεται ("it is to be seen") used by Strabo here could indicate city sightseeing available to travellers on the route *Via Appia* between Brundisium and Tarentum. See Dueck 2000: 26.

⁶⁷ Cf. Roller 2018: 327, who seems to be more inclined to this second ancient site at what is now the church of the Madonna di Vereto.

⁶⁸ Through the continuation of the story on the origin and early history of Taras/Tarentum. Cf. Strab. 6.3.2–3 = *FGrHist* 70 F 216.

⁶⁹ Herodotus actually knows (7.170.3) that the other cities there were founded from the city of Hyria (ἀπὸ δὲ Ὑρίης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι).

πέντε σταδίου· Πρὸς δὲ μεσημβρίαν τῆς Τραχίνος **φησιν Ἡρόδοτος** εἶναι βαθεῖαν διασφάγα, δι' ἧς <ὁ> Ἀσωπὸς – ὁμώνυμος τοῖς εἰρημένοις Ἀσωποῖς – εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐκπίπτει τὴν ἐκτὸς Πυλῶν παραλαβὸν καὶ τὸν Φοῖνικα ἐκ τῆς μεσημβρίας συμβάλλοντα αὐτῷ, ὁμώνυμον τῷ ἥρωι, οὗ καὶ τάφος πλησίον δέικνυται· στάδιοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐπὶ Θερμοπύλας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ πεντεκαίδεκα.

In addition to the Spercheus, which flows past Anticyra, there is the Dyras which, they say, attempted to quench the pyre of Heracles, and another, the Melas, which is 5 stadia from Trachis. **Herodotus says** that to the south of Trachis there is a deep gorge through which the Asopus—having the same name as the previously mentioned Asoposes—empties into the sea outside the Gates after receiving the Phoenix, which joins it from the south and has the same name as the hero, whose tomb is visible nearby. To Thermopylai from the Asopus is 15 stadia.

This refers to Hdt. 7.199–200.1:

Τραχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταύτη δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἃ Τραχίς πεπόλισται· δισχιλία τε γὰρ καὶ δισμυρία πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ ὄρεος τὸ περικληῖται τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην ἐστι διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρειαν τοῦ ὄρεος, ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοί. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν στενίστατόν ἐστι· ἀμαξίτιος γὰρ μούνη δέδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοῖνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἔστι ἐς Θερμοπύλας.

The town of Trachis is five furlongs distant from this Black (*Melas*) river. Here is the greatest width in all this region between the sea and the hills whereon Trachis stands; for the plain is two million and two hundred thousand feet in extent. In the mountains that hem in the Trachinian land there is a ravine to the south of Trachis, wherethrough flows the river Asopus past the lower slopes of the mountains. There is another river south of the Asopus, the Phoenix, a little stream, that flows from those mountains into the Asopus. Near this stream is the narrowest place; there is but the space of a single builded cart-way. Thermopylae is fifteen furlongs distant from the river Phoenix.

In his discussion of the region of Malis in central Greece near Thermopylae, Strabo (9.4.14, C 428) lists various rivers and places, including the Melas (*Black*) River, located five stadia from Trachis (Μέλαις διέχων Τραχίνος εἰς πέντε σταδίους). Herodotus mentions the same proximity (7.199.1), though he states it differently, noting that the city of Trechis/Trachis is five stadia away from the Melas River (Τραχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει).⁷⁰ Strabo's reliance on Herodotus is evident in the following sentence when he directly cites Herodotus (φησιν Ἡρόδοτος) regarding the deep gorge (διασφάξ)⁷¹ south of Trachis, through which the Asopus River flows on its way to the Malian Gulf⁷² and is joined by the smaller (ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας) Phoenix River.⁷³ Here, Strabo condenses and retells Herodotus's account while focusing on what he finds interesting and relevant. In this summarization, however, Strabo makes a factual error: He states that the distance from the

⁷⁰ On Trachis as a polis, see *IACP* no. 832 p. 713.

⁷¹ The term διασφάξ meaning gorge, cleft, is typically Herodotean (cf. 2.158.3; 3.117; 7.216), and Strabo uses it only once more in his *Geography* (11.14.13, C 531).

⁷² In Herodotus' (and Strabo's) time the Asopus river emptied directly into the Malian gulf, but today it empties into the Spercheus river. For the commentary, see How, Welles 1912, 2: 221.

⁷³ Herodotus writes elsewhere (7.176.2) that the road leading from Trachis is narrowest around the Phoenix River near the city of Anthela.

Asopus River to Thermopylae is fifteen stadia (στάδιοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐπὶ Θερμοπύλας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ πεντεκαίδεκα), whereas Herodotus (7.200.1) states this was the distance from the Phoenix River to Thermopylae (ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἔστι ἐς Θερμοπύλας). Such errors are common when summarizing and condensing sources and do not suggest reliance on an intermediary source beyond Herodotus. It is clear that Strabo consulted additional sources alongside Herodotus, as is evident from his mention of the hero Phoenix's tomb near the homonymous Phoenix River (τὸν Φοίνικα... ὁμώνυμον τῷ ἥρωι, οὗ καὶ τάφος πλησίον δείκνυται) – a detail absent in Herodotus's *Histories*. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Strabo had direct access to Herodotus's Book 7 when composing this passage.

Conclusion

The information presented here suggests that Strabo primarily relied on Herodotus directly rather than through intermediaries. This paper has examined nineteen instances where Strabo explicitly cites Herodotus and suggests that these may be direct quotations, thus indicating that Strabo had direct access to Herodotus's *Histories* when composing these passages. Contrary to the prevailing scholarly opinion that Strabo rarely and only incidentally used Herodotus directly and often quoted him indirectly through various Hellenistic-era scholars and historians, this paper argues that Herodotus, renowned in antiquity for his geographic and ethnographic descriptions, significantly influenced Strabo's *Geography* on a broader scale. This is confirmed primarily through direct quotations that Strabo designates with ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησι(ν) (“as Herodotus says”) and similar expressions referring to the historian from Halicarnassus as the author of a certain statement or information. There is reason to believe that in most such instances, Strabo directly used and quoted Herodotus rather than relying on an intermediary. Most of these instances—as many as ten—pertain to Book 1 of Herodotus's *Histories*, which suggests that Strabo frequently consulted this particular book. Strabo's familiarity with Book 1 of the *Histories* is further evidenced by his use of Herodotus in sections concerning Persian and Lydian history. Additionally, there are four quotations from Book 7, two from Book 2, and one each from Books 3, 4, and 6 of Herodotus's *Histories*. Most of the instances analyzed here pertain to geographic and ethnographic matters, with a significant focus on rivers, for example, the Halys (instances 1-2), rivers in Lydia (instance 4), the Araxes (instance 10), the Achelous (instance 11), the Melas in Thrace (instance 16), and rivers in Malis (instance 19). Notably, more than a third of these references concern rivers, thus indicating that Strabo valued Herodotus's geographical knowledge more than previously thought.

While Strabo may not have held the highest opinion of Herodotus as a geographer, he frequently turned to him for geographic matters. Often, Strabo seems to have been compelled to do so due to the absence of better sources on certain topics. Despite his critical stance toward Herodotus, Strabo's direct use of him, even in cases where he identifies errors, such as in instance 10 regarding the Araxes River's location, demonstrates his preference for direct citation over indirect reliance through intermediaries. In conclusion, while there are numerous direct quotations from Herodotus in *Geography*, there are likely many more instances in which Strabo references Herodotus without explicitly naming him as the source. These questions, however, exceed the scope of this paper and could be the subject of future research.

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МИРКО ОБРАДОВИЋ
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**КАКО ХЕРОДОТ КАЖЕ. ДИРЕКТНО И ИНДИРЕКТНО КОРИШЋЕЊЕ
ХЕРОДOTOVIХ ИСТОРИЈА У СТРАБОНОВОЈ ГЕОГРАФИЈИ**

Резиме

Херодот из Халикарнаса је један од историчара и, уопште, од писаца које Страбон најчешће наводи по имену у својој волуминозној *Географији*. Од нешто више од 30 таквих навода, у раду се анализира 19 случајева за које аутор верује да би могли бити директни цитати, односно да је Страбон имао пред собом текст Херодотових *Историја* када је састављао поглавља у којима се ти цитати јављају. Насупрот преовлађујућем мишљењу у науци да је Страбон ретко и само изузетно користио Херодота директно, већ да га је познавао и цитирао посредно, преко различитих, понајвише стручних писаца из хеленистичког периода (Аполодор из Атине, Дионисије из Скепсиса, Ератостен из Кирене, Посејдоније из Апамеје) или историчара (Ефор из Киме, Калистен из Олинта), аутор сматра да је историчар Херодот, славан у антици и по својим географским и етнографским екскурсима, нашао своје место у *Географији* у далеко већем обиму. То потврђују најпре директни цитати које Страбон одређује са ὡς Ἡρόδοτος φησι(ν) („како Херодот каже“) и сличним изразима који упућују на историчара из Халикарнаса као на власника одређене тврдње или податка. Има разлога да верујемо да је у већини таквих случајева Херодот коришћен и цитиран директно, а не преко посредника. Највише тих случајева, чак 10, односи се на прву књигу Херодотових *Историја*, коју је географ из Амације изгледа често имао пред собом и радо је консултовао. Ту су, међутим, и четири цитата из седме, два из друге, а по један из треће, четврте и шесте књиге *Историја*. Већина анализираних случајева односи се на права географска и етнографска питања, а од тога значајан се број тиче најпре река и речних токова: бр. 1–2 (река Халис), бр. 4 (реке у Лидији), бр. 10 (река Аракс), бр. 11 (река Ахелој), бр. 16 (река Мелан у Тракији), бр. 19 (реке у Малиди). То сигурно није случајно и показује да је Страбон више уважавао Херодотова географска знања него што се то обично мисли. Можда он и није имао најбоље мишљење о Херодоту као географу, али је опет за многа географска питања знао да се окрене Херодоту. А често је изгледа био и принуђен да то чини, јер коме би другом и могао да се окрене за одређене теме у недостатку бољих извора? Чак и она места где проналази очигледне грешке код Херодота, као што је бр. 10 (у вези положаја реке Аракс), показују пре да је Страбон историчара из Халикарнаса користио директно него да га је цитирао преко неког посредника. У вези с тим, ако већ постоји значајан број места у *Географији* где је Херодот цитиран директно, може се с правом претпоставити да је далеко већи број оних где су Херодотове *Историје* коришћене а да он није поименце наведен као извор. Та питања, међутим, излазе из оквира ове студије и биће вероватно предмет неког будућег истраживања.

Кључне речи: Страбон, Херодот, посредни извори, утицаји, цитати, фрагменти, географија, историографија.