

SPAIN (Espagne)

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1. ANTIQUITY

As a result of its situation at the very Western limit of the World, according with the geographic knowledge of the Ancient Greeks, Iberia was always drawing the attention and the imagination of the Greeks; it is easy to understand that this distant Western area became a scene for mythical and legendary stories. So, the hero *Herakles* would have achieved some of his exploits far away, somewhere in the South of Iberia. In fact, some remind of the hero has been kept in the so-called Heracles' "columns" or Heracles' *pillars* (*cf.* texts 1.3 and others). As a matter of fact, two mountains placed in Europe and Africa are considered to be the proper limit for the nowadays Gibraltar Strait. Through this strait the link and communication were possible between the Mediterranean Sea (*the Inner Sea*), well known and familiar to the coastal inhabitants, and the unknown (*the Outer Ocean*, *cf.* text 1.1). The so-called *Atlantida* was located just in front of the southwestern shore of Iberia. The continent of *Atlantida* was supposedly named after the eldest son of God *Poseidon*, who shared the whole land among his nine children (*cf.* text 1.4). Because of a geological cataclysm the continent sank, with some islands remaining as actual vestiges of the old continent: The Canary Islands –nowadays belonging to Spain– and the Azores, with Madeira, which nowadays are under Portuguese rule.

In the 10th century B.C. the Phoenician together with the Greeks started travelling quite frequently: of course, those trips always had commercial purpose. The travellers were not interested at all in creating permanent settlements in the area. The Phoenicians were bold enough to cross the so-called Heracles boundary and to arrive as far as Tartessos (Betica). Such was the report, that both, the city and the surrounding area, was a prosperous and happy region (*cf.* texts 1.2 and 1.3). They were even able to set up a new city *Gadeira* –today known as Cádiz– (*cf.* text 1.7).

Contacts between Greece and Iberia become little by little more frequent after the beginning of the Greek Settlement, the pioneer being *Coleo* from Samos (*cf.* text 1.3). Trips became more continuous and frequent between 7th B.C. and 3rd B.C. up to the Roman Occupation. In this way, the presence of the Greeks

inside Iberia became permanent and coincident with the development of Iberian Civilisation, not forgetting that Phoenicians and later on Carthaginians were also present into Iberia. The Iberian Civilisation, whose roots were somewhat unknown, spread all over the peninsula giving it its name, and was especially developed along the eastern area, whilst the western area instead maintained a permanent presence of Celtic inhabitants of no doubt indo-European origin.

As a result of such much contact, both commercial and cultural exchanges were achieved: importation of wine, oil, pottery and Greek bronze was counter balanced with exportation of Iberian wheat, pickled food and tin. At the same time, there is an increasing influence of Greek Art and Greek Culture seen through the statues, bronzes and *terracotae* made by the Iberian people. The Ionian alphabet was even introduced in the south-eastern area –nowadays land of Murcia and Alicante– in order to adapt to the Iberian phonetic system. Today it is possible to read Iberian language, but the writing system remains un-deciphered.

The meeting point was supposed to be somewhere in the Northeastern area of the Iberian Peninsula, just at the foothills of Pyrenean Mountains. This is where the Phocian coming from Marsella settled for good; they created *Emporion* –today Ampurias– very near *Rhode* –today Rosas. Both, Emporion and Rhode would be the only two Greek cities in Iberia.

For this reason, buildings, bridges, stone roads do not form part of the Greek legacy in Iberia. Instead, many playwrights and mostly historians were interested and attracted by this mysterious distant peninsula. The authors writing about Iberia seemed to know quite in detail the geographic environment together with the political, cultural and economic one. This was specially remarkable since 3rd B.C. once the Romans went into the area. So, besides Homer, Anacreon, Herodotus and Plato, who spoke of the most genuine and ancient legends, it is compulsory to mention now quite a lot of historians and playwrights: Polibius of Megalopolis, Diodorus of Sicily, Strabo, Plutarchos of Cheronea, Apianus, Lucian of Samosata, not to forget either some of the others maybe not so well known, such as Philo of Byzantium, Scimnos of Chios, Paulus of Tarsos, Flavius Arrianus, Dio Casius and Claudius Elianus.

These authors depict a very accurate image of the land: detailed geographic descriptions, exhaustive lists of natural resources, artisan activities to be found everywhere. The authors used to mention different human ethnic tribes living in the peninsula together with the names they gave to the small settlements they founded. Last, but not least, a quite remarkable number of portraits of famous people is also to be found amongst the texts. They used to be native and foreign military leaders. Many chapters deal with war affairs mostly from the very moment the Roman Army invaded Iberia. Some relaxing anecdotic apparently meaningless texts are also to be found here and there.

As far as authors and texts go, the number is so great and the subjects mentioned so different, that we have been forced to define the frame of our

contribution to the project. We will present a selection of the most wellknown authors or those who pay more attention to Iberia in their works. We have emphasized texts dealing with geography and anthropology, excluding those related to biographies and war episodes, these being found to an exhaustive extent in the Roman sources and Roman Literature.¹

Iberia: Geography and Civilisations



Iberia: Towns and Tribes



¹ We must acknowledge Mr. Roberto ELIZALDE, teacher of English, to supervise the English text of the chapter, and Mr. Pablo OLÓRIZ to prepare the maps of Iberia from the texts of ancient writers.

1.1. The Cimmerians of the end of World – *Les cimmeriens du but du Monde*

HOMER, *Odyssey* 11.9-22 (T.W. ALLEN. Oxford U.P., Oxford, 1917)

Odysseus explains how, following Circe's advice, he decides to sail on his way to Hades, arriving to an exotic and mysterious region on the Western Ocean:

ἡμεῖς δ' ὄπλα ἕκαστα πονησάμενοι κατὰ νῆα
ἤμεθα· τὴν δ' ἄνεμός τε κυβερνήτης τ' ἴθυνε.
τῆς δὲ πανημερίας τέταθ' ἰστία ποντοπορούσης·
δύσετό τ' ἠέλιος σκιῶντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγυαί.
ἡ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἴκανε βαθυρροῦ Ὠκεανοῖο.
ἔνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός τε πόλις τε,
ἠέρι καὶ νεφέληι κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοῦς
ἠέλιος φαέθων καταδέρκεται ἀκτίεσσιν,
οὔθ' ὅπότε ἂν στείχησι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα,
οὔθ' ὅτ' ἂν ἄψ ἐπὶ γαίαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προτράπηται,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νύξ ὅλοη τέταται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι.
νῆα μὲν ἔνθ' ἔλθόντες ἐκέλσαμεν, ἐκ δὲ τὰ μῆλα
εἰλόμεθ'· αὐτοὶ δ' αὐτε παρὰ ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο
ἦιομεν, ὄφρ' ἐς χῶρον ἀφικόμεθ', ὃν φράσε Κίρκη.

1.2. Prosperity of Tartessos and long life of their Kings – *Prosperité de Tartessos et longévité de ses rois*

ANACREON, fr. 16 Page (D.L. PAGE. Oxford U.P., Oxford, 1968)

Extant text at STRABO, *Geography* 3.2.14, a paragraph mentioning Herodotus and his specific allusion to king Argantonios (cf. the following text):

ἔγωγ' οὔτ' ἂν Ἀμαλθίης
βουλοίμην κέρασ οὔτ' ἔτεα
πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατὸν
Ταρτησοῦ βασιλεῦσαι,

1.3. Koleos' Travel and arrival to Tartessos – *Voyage de Coléos et arrivée à Tartessos*

HERODOTUS, *History* 4.152.1-3 (C. HUDE, Oxford U.P., Oxford 1927)

Koleos from Samos deviates his way to Egypt, comes through Mediterranean Sea, gets across Gibraltar Strait and finally arrives to Tartessos. Herodotus himself mentions Argantonios as being the king of the city at 1.163:

(1) ἀποδημεόντων δὲ τούτων πλέω χρόνον τοῦ συγκειμένου τὸν Κορώβιον ἐπέλιπε τὰ πάντα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα νηὺς Σαμίη, τῆς ναύκληρος ἦν Κωλαῖος, πλέουσα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπηνείχθη ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν ταύτην· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορωβίου τὸν πάντα λόγον, σιτία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσι.

(2) αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου καὶ γλιχόμενοι Αἰγύπτου ἔπλεον, ἀποφερόμενοι ἀπὴλιώτη ἀνέμῳ. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἡρακλέας στηλάς διεκπερήσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ταρτησσόν, θείη πομπῇ χρωόμενοι. (3) τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν ἀκήρατον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ὥστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι ὀπίσω μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκεῖν ἴδμεν ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετὰ γε Σώστρατον τὸν Λαοδάμαντος Αἰγινίτην· τοῦτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστὶ ἐρίσαι ἄλλον.

1.4. The Atlantida – *L'Atlantida*

PLATO, *Critias* 113e-114b (J. BURNET. Oxford U.P., Oxford 1902)

Poseidon, married to Clito, distributes the Atlantida, located into the Ocean at the West of Iberia (*cf. Timaeus* 24e-25d about its sinking into the sea), among his five couples of twin children. He gave to Atlas' twin —they both were the eldest couple— a piece of land in front of the mainland. Γάδειρον is the actually named Cadiz:

(Ποσειδῶν) παίδων δὲ ἀρρένων πέντε γενέσεις διδύμους γεννησάμενος ἐθρέψατο, καὶ τὴν νήσον τὴν Ἀτλαντίδα πᾶσαν δέκα μέρη καταλείψας τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτάτων τῷ προτέρῳ (114a) γενομένῳ τὴν τε μητρῶαν οἴκησιν καὶ τὴν κύκλῳ λῆξιν, πλείστην καὶ ἀρίστην οὔσαν, ἀπένευμε, βασιλέα τε τῶν ἄλλων κατέστησε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄρχοντας, ἐκάστῳ δὲ ἀρχὴν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τόπον πολλῆς χώρας ἔδωκεν. ὀνόματα δὲ πᾶσιν ἔθετο, τῷ μὲν πρεσβυτάτῳ καὶ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο οὐδὲ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ νήσος τὸ τε πέλαγος ἔσχεν ἐπωνυμίαν, Ἀτλαντικὸν λεχθέν, ὅτι τοῦνομ' ἦν τῷ πρώτῳ βασιλεύσαντι (114b) τότε Ἄτλας τῷ δὲ διδύμῳ μετ' ἐκεῖνόν τε γενομένῳ, λῆξιν δὲ ἄκρας τῆς νήσου πρὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν εἰληχότι ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Γαδειρικῆς νῦν χώρας κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον ὀνομαζομένης, Ἑλληνιστὶ μὲν Εὐμηλον, τὸ δ' ἐπιχώριον Γάδειρον, ὅπερ τ' ἦν ἐπὶ κλην ταύτη ὄνομ' ἄν παρασχοί.

1.5. Iberia

POLYBIUS, *History* 3.37.9-11 (F. HÖFER. Hachette, Paris 1865)

As a matter of fact, Iberia (before to be named Hispania), supposed to be the furthest boundary of Europe, alludes at that moment only to the Eastern area of the Peninsula: that means the Mediterranean seashore together with the inner territories linked to, an area occupied by different population of Iberian origin. On the other side, also different Celtic population of Indoeuropean origin occupied the Western area in a diagonal shape. As it is easy to suppose, the expected relationship between both groups of people, mostly in the border areas, created a new mingled region called Celtiberia, in fact inner territories away from the sea:

(9) ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Νάρβωνος καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦτον Κελτοὶ νέμονται μέχρι τῶν προσαγορευομένων Πυρρηναίων ὁρῶν, ἃ διατείνει κατὰ τὸ συνεχές ἀπὸ

τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττης ἕως εἰς τὴν ἑκτός. (10) τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων ὁρῶν τὸ συνάπτον πρὸς τε τὰς δύοσεις καὶ πρὸς Ἡρακλείους στήλας περιέχεται μὲν ὑπὸ τε τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης, καλεῖται δὲ τὸ μὲν παρὰ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς παρῆκον ἕως Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν Ἰβηρία, (11) τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἔξω καὶ μεγάλην προσαγορευομένην κοινὴν μὲν ὀνομασίαν οὐκ ἔχει διὰ τὸ προσφάτως κατωπεύσθαι, κατοικεῖται δὲ πᾶν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἔθνων καὶ πολυανθρώπων, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμεῖς μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν κατὰ μέρος λόγον ἀποδώσομεν.

1.6. Strange features of Iberian soldiers – *Traits bizarres des soldats ibères*

POLYBIUS, *History* 3.114.1-4 (F. HÖFFER. Hachette, Paris 1865)

The author underlines the remarkable contrast between Carthaginian and Iberian soldiers, even if they both fought together the battle at Cannas.

(1) ἦν δ' ὁ καθοπλισμὸς τῶν μὲν Λιβύων Ῥωμαϊκός, οὐς πάντας Ἀννίβας τοῖς ἐκ τῆς προγεγενημένης μάχης σκύλοις ἐκλέξας κατακεκοσμήκει. (2) τῶν δ' Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν ὁ μὲν θυρεὸς ἦν παραπλήσιος, τὰ δὲ ξίφη τὴν ἐναντίαν εἶχε διάθεσιν. (3) τῆς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ κέντημα τῆς καταφορᾶς ἴσχυε πρὸς τὸ βλάπτειν, ἡ δὲ Γαλατικὴ μάχαιρα μίαν εἶχε χρεῖαν τὴν ἐκ καταφορᾶς, καὶ ταύτην ἔξ ἀποστάσεως. (4) ἐναλλάξ δὲ ταῖς σπείραις αὐτῶν παρατεταγμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν Κελτῶν γυμνῶν, τῶν δ' Ἰβήρων λινοῖς περιπορφύροις χιτωνίσκοις κεκοσμημένων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ξενίζουσιν ἅμα καὶ καταπληκτικὴν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὴν πρόσοψιν.

1.7. Foundation of Cádiz – *Fondation de Cádiz* (Γάδειρα)

DIODORUS SICULUS, *Historic Library* 5.20.1-2 (I. BEKKER, L. DINDORF, F. VOGEL. Teubner, Leipzig 1888-1890)

The Phoenician were bold enough as for travelling beyond Gibraltar:

(1) ... Φοίνικες ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων συνεχῶς πλέοντες κατ' ἐμπορίαν πολλὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἀποικίας ἐποιήσαντο, οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐν τοῖς πρὸς δύοσιν κεκλιμένοις μέρεσι. τῶν δ' ἐπιβολῶν αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν προχωρουσῶν, πλούτους μεγάλους ἤθροισαν, καὶ τὴν ἑκτὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐπεβάλοντο πλεῖν, ἦν ὠκεανὸν ὀνομάζουσι. (2) καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς στήλας πόρου πόλιν ἔκτισαν ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἦν οὖσαν χερρόνησον προσηγόρευσαν Γάδειρα, ἐν ἧ' τὰ τε ἄλλα κατεσκεύασαν οἰκείως τοῖς τόποις καὶ ναὸν Ἡρακλέους πολυτελεῆ, καὶ θυσίας κατέδειξαν μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τοῖς τῶν Φοινίκων ἔθεσι διοικουμένας. τὸ δ' ἱερὸν συνέβη τοῦτο καὶ τότε καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους χρόνους τιμᾶσθαι περιττότερον μέχρι τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλικίας. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρες καὶ μεγάλας πράξεις κατειργασμένοι ἐποιήσαντο μὲν τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ εὐχάς, συνετέλεσαν δ' αὐτὰς μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν κατορθωμάτων.

1.8. Foundation of Cartagena – *Fondation de Cartagena* (Νέα Καρχηδόν)

DIODORUS SICULUS, *Historic Library* 25.12 (I. BEKKER, L. DINDORF, F. VOGEL Teubner, Leipzig 1888-1890)

Once Hannibal escaped, his son in law Hasdrubal comes to Iberia. The so mentioned Λευκή Ἄκρα (its foundation is cited in XXV 10) to be identified with the actual city Alicante:

(12) Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ὁ γαμβρὸς Ἀμίλκα μαθὼν τοῦ κηδεστοῦ τὸ ἀκλήρημα, ταχέως ἀναζεύξας πρὸς τὴν Λευκὴν Ἄκραν ἦλθεν, ἔχων θηρία πλεόν τῶν ἑκατόν. Οὗτος δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀναγορευθεὶς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ Καρχηδονίων πεντακισμυρίους ἐμπείρους πεζοὺς συνέλεξε καὶ ἵππεις ἑξακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ διακοσίους. Πολεμήσας δὲ πρῶτον τὸν Ὀρισσῶν βασιλέα κατέσφαξε πάντας τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς Ἀμίλκα φυγῆς. Παρέλαβε δὲ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν οὖσας δώδεκα καὶ πάσας τὰς πόλεις Ἰβηρίας. Γήμας δὲ θυγατέρα βασιλέως Ἰβήρου ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἰβήρων ἀνηγορεύθη στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. Ὅθεν ἔκτισε παραθαλασσίαν πόλιν, ἣν προσηγόρευσε Νέα Καρχηδόνα, καὶ ἑτέραν πόλιν ὕστερον, θέλων τὴν Ἀμίλκα δύναμιν ὑπερβῆναι. Καὶ ἐστράτευσεν ἑξακισμυρίους, ἵππεις ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας διακοσίους. Ὑπὸ δὲ οἰκέτου ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἐσφάγη, στρατηγῆσας ἔτη ἑννέα.

1.9. Climate and ground accidents – *Climat et relief*

STRABO, *Geography* 3.1.2 (A. MEINEKE. Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

The full book III is devoted to the description of Iberia: it is divided into 5 long chapters dealing with lands located between the Sacred Hill (Cape San Vicente at the south of Portugal) and the so called Heracles Pillars (Gibraltar); Turdetania (Bética) and its resources; West and North sides (Lusitania and the Cantabrian shore, together with neighbour territories of the inland occupied by tribes of Celtic origin); the Eastern shore together with the inland territories (Iberian and Celtiberian); and finally the islands located both in Mediterranean Sea and Atlantic Ocean:

(2) Πρῶτον δὲ μέρος αὐτῆς ἐστὶ τὸ ἐσπέριον, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ἡ Ἰβηρία. ταύτης δὴ τὸ μὲν πλεόν οἰκεῖται φαύλως· ὄρη γὰρ καὶ δρυμοὺς καὶ πεδία λεπτήν ἔχοντα γῆν οὐδὲ ταύτην ὁμαλῶς εὐυδρον οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολλήν· ἡ δὲ πρόσβορος ψυχρά τέ ἐστὶ τελέως πρὸς τῇ τραχύτητι καὶ παρωκεανίτις, προσειληφύια τὸ ἄμικτον κἀνεπίπλεκτον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσθ' ὑπερβάλλει τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ τῆς οἰκίσεως. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τὰ μέρη τοιαῦτα, ἡ δὲ νότιος πᾶσα εὐδαίμων σχεδόν τι καὶ διαφερόντως ἡ ἔξω στηλῶν· ἔσται δὲ δηλὸν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα ὑπογράψασιν ἡμῖν πρότερον τό τε σχῆμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος.

1.10. Limits and extension – *Limites et étendue*

STRABO, *Geography* 3.1.3 (A. MEINEKE. Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

Following the former paragraph, STRABO achieves his description of the

main geographic features concerning shape and size of the Peninsula. The so-called Artabroi were a Celtic tribe located at the northwestern area of the Peninsula. Νέριος seems to be the actual cape Finisterre:

(3) Ἔοικε γὰρ βύρση τεταμένη κατὰ μῆκος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω τὰ πρόσθια ἐχούση μέρη πρὸς τῆ ἕω, κατὰ πλάτος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων πρὸς νότον. ἔχει δὲ σταδίων ἑξακισχιλίων ὁμοῦ τὸ μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ πεντακισχιλίων τὸ μέγιστον, ἔστι δ' ὅπου πολὺ ἔλαττον τῶν τρισχιλίων καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τῆ Πυρρήνῃ τῇ ποιούσῃ τὴν ἑώϊαν πλευράν· ὄρος γὰρ διηνεκὲς ἀπὸ νότου πρὸς βορρᾶν τεταμένον ὀρίζει τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. οὐσης δὲ καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀνωμάλου τὸ πλάτος καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸ στενώτατον τοῦ πλάτους ἑκατέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας θαλάττης ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἔστι τὸ τῆ Πυρρήνῃ πλησιάζον μάλιστα ἐφ' ἑκάτερον αὐτῆς τὸ μέρος καὶ ποιοῦν κόλπους τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ὠκεανῷ τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττῃ· μείζους δὲ τοὺς Κελτικούς, οὓς δὴ καὶ Γαλατικούς καλοῦσι, στενώτερον τὸν ἰσθμὸν ποιοῦντας παρὰ τὸν Ἰβηρικόν. καὶ δὴ τὸ μὲν ἑώϊον πλευρὸν τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἢ Πυρρήνῃ ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ νότιον ἢ τε καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλαττα ἀπὸ τῆς Πυρρήνης μέχρι σπηλῶν καὶ ἢ ἐκτὸς τὸ ἐξῆς μέχρι τοῦ ἱεροῦ καλουμένου ἀκρωτηρίου· τρίτον ἔστι τὸ ἐσπέριον πλευρὸν παράλληλόν πως τῇ Πυρρήνῃ, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου μέχρι τῆς πρὸς Ἀρτάβροις ἄκρας ἢν καλοῦσι Νέριον· τέταρτον δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε μέχρι τῶν βορείων ἄκρων τῆς Πυρρήνης.

1.11. The Baetica: language and writing – *La Bétique: langue et écriture*

STRABO, *Geography* 3.1.6 (A. MEINEKE. Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

Inside the wide southwest area, the Betica (Βαιτική) is very well known since first contacts between Greeks and Phoenician took place, being probably the ancient Tartessos a part of it. There was both spoken and written a still undeciphered language. Concerning the actual rivers Guadiana, Tajo and Guadalquivir, they can be identified with the ancient Ἄνας, Τάγος and Βαίτις:

(6) Τῆς δὲ συνεχοῦς τῷ ἱερῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ παραλίας ἢ μὲν ἔστιν ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἐσπερίου πλευροῦ τῆς Ἰβηρίας μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Τάγου ποταμοῦ, ἢ δὲ τοῦ νοτίου μέχρι ἄλλου ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἄνα καὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς αὐτοῦ. φέρεται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἑώϊων μερῶν ἑκάτερος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐπ' εὐθείας εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐκδίδωσι πολὺ μείζων ὢν θατέρου, ὁ δ' Ἄνας πρὸς νότον ἐπιστρέφει τὴν μεσοποταμίαν ἀφορίζων, ἢν Κελτικοὶ νέμονται τὸ πλεόν καὶ τῶν Λυσιτανῶν τινὲς ἐκ τῆς περαιᾶς τοῦ Τάγου μετοικισθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄνω μέρεσι καὶ Καρπητανοὶ καὶ Ὀρητανοὶ καὶ Οὐεττῶνων συχνοὶ νέμονται. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἢ χώρα μετρίως ἔστιν εὐδαίμων, ἢ δ' ἐφεξῆς πρὸς ἕω κειμένη καὶ νότον ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπει πρὸς ἅπασαν κρινομένη τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀρετῆς χάριν καὶ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀγαθῶν. αὕτη δ' ἔστιν ἢν ὁ Βαίτις διαρρεῖ ποταμός, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μερῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἀφ' ὧν περ

καὶ ὁ Ἄνας καὶ ὁ Τάγος, μέσος πῶς ἀμφοῖν τούτων ὑπάρχων κατὰ μέγεθος· παραπλησίως μέντοι τῷ Ἄνα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν ῥυεῖς εἶτ' ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς νότον καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκδίδωσι τούτῳ παραλίαν· καλοῦσι δ' ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βαιτικήν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων Τουρθητανίαν· τοὺς δ' ἐνοικοῦντας Τουρθητανούς τε καὶ Τουρδούλους προσαγορεύουσιν, οἱ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζοντες οἱ δ' ἑτέρους· ὧν ἔστι καὶ Πολύβιος συνοίκους φήσας τοῖς Τουρθητανοῖς πρὸς ἄρκτον τοὺς Τουρδούλους· νυνὶ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς φαίνεται διορισμός· σοφώτατοι δ' ἐξετάζονται τῶν Ἰβήρων οὗτοι καὶ γραμματικῇ χρῶνται καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης ἔχουσι συγγράμματα καὶ ποιήματα καὶ νόμους ἐμμέτρους ἑξακισχιλίων ἐπῶν, ὡς φασι· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δ' Ἰβηρες χρῶνται γραμματικῇ, οὐ μιᾶ δ' ἰδέα· οὐδὲ γὰρ γλώττη μιᾶ· τείνει δὲ ἡ χώρα αὕτη ἢ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἄνα πρὸς ἕω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Ὠρητανίας, πρὸς νότον δὲ μέχρι τῆς παραλίας τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ἄνα μέχρι στηλῶν· ἀνάγκη δὲ διὰ πλειονῶν περὶ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων, ὅσα συντείνει πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν τὴν εὐφυΐαν τῶν τόπων καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν.

1.12. Romanization and latinization – *Romanisation et latinisation*

STRABO, *Geography* 3.2.15 (A. ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ. Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

The chapter devoted to Turdetania (Bética) ends here with a mention of the Roman influence concerning customs and language of its population. The cities of Beja, Mérida and Zaragoza are identified as Παξαυγοῦστα, Αὐγοῦστα Ἡμέριτα and Καισαραυγοῦστα:

(15) Τῇ δὲ τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονία καὶ τὸ ἡμερον καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν συνηκολούθησε τοῖς Τουρθητανοῖς, καὶ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν, ὡς δ' εἶρηκε Πολύβιος διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν· ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν ἦττον· τὰ πολλὰ γὰρ κωμηδὸν ζῶσιν· οἱ μὲντοι Τουρθητανοὶ καὶ μάλιστα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βαίτιν τελέως εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαίων μεταβέβληνται τρόπον οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς σφετέρας ἔτι μεμνημένοι· Λατῖνοί τε οἱ πλείστοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἐποίκουσιν εὐλίφασιν Ῥωμαίους, ὥστε μικρὸν ἀπέχουσι τοῦ πάντες εἶναι Ῥωμαῖοι· αἱ τε νῦν συνωικισμένοι πόλεις, ἢ τε ἐν τοῖς Κελτικοῖς Παξαυγοῦστα καὶ ἢ ἐν τοῖς Τουρδούλοις Αὐγοῦστα Ἡμέριτα καὶ ἢ περὶ τοὺς Κελτίβηρας Καισαραυγοῦστα καὶ ἄλλα ἔναι κατοικίαι, τὴν μεταβολὴν τῶν λεχθειῶν πολιτειῶν ἐμφανίζουσι· καὶ δὴ τῶν Ἰβήρων ὅσοι ταύτης εἰσὶ τῆς ἰδέας τογαῖοι λέγονται· ἐν δὲ τούτοις εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες οἱ πάντων νομισθέντες ποτὲ θηριωδέστατοι· ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων.

1.13. Northern highlanders – *Montagnards du nord*

STRABO, *Geography* 3.3.7-8 (A. ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ. Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

Book III ends mentioning the most northern areas of the peninsula together with the closest areas to the inland (7). Between all the tribes (successively cited), those nearer to the shore (Asturian and Cantabrian) were the most hard-resistant to the Roman rule. The chapter closes with a short survey on the influence of the *Pax Romana* on the daily life of its inhabitants (8):

(7) ἅπαντες δ' οἱ ὄρειοι λιτοὶ ὑδροπόται χαμαιεῦναι βαθεῖαν κατακεχυμένοι τὴν κόμην γυναικῶν δίκην· μιτρῳσάμενοι δὲ τὰ μέτωπα μάχονται. τραγοφαγοῦσι δὲ μάλιστα, καὶ τῷ Ἄρει τράγον θύουσι καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ ἵππους· ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἑκατόμβας ἑκάστου γένους ἑλληνικῶς¹. τελοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνας γυμνικούς καὶ ὀπλιτικούς καὶ ἵππικούς, πυγμῆ καὶ δρόμῳ καὶ ἀκροβολισμῷ καὶ τῇ σπειρηδὸν μάχῃ. οἱ δ' ὄρειοι τὰ δύο μέρη τοῦ ἔτους δρυοβαλάνῳ χρῶνται ξηράναντες καὶ κόψαντες, εἶτα ἀλέσαντες καὶ ἀρτοποιησάμενοι ὥστ' ἀποτίθεσθαι εἰς χρόνον. χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ζῦθει· οἶνῳ δὲ σπανίζονται, τὸν δὲ γινόμενον ταχὺ ἀναλίσκουσι κατενωχούμενοι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν· ἀντ' ἐλαίου δὲ βουτύρῳ χρῶνται. καθήμενοι τε δειπνοῦσι περὶ τοὺς τοίχους καθέδρας οἰκοδομητὰς ἔχοντες, προκάθηνται δὲ καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ τιμὴν· περιφορητὸν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον. ξυλίνοις δὲ ἀγγεῖοις χρῶνται, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Κελτοί. καὶ παρὰ πότον ὀρχοῦνται πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ σάλπιγγα χορευόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναλλόμενοι καὶ ὀκλάζοντες· ἐν Βαστητανίᾳ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀναμιξὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀντιλαμβάνόμεναι τῶν χειρῶν. μελανεῖμονες ἅπαντες τὸ πλεόν ἐν σάγοις, ἐν οἷσπερ καὶ στιβαδοκοιτοῦσι, αἱ γυναῖκες δ' ἐν ἐνδύμασι καὶ ἀνθίνας ἐσθήσεσι διάγουσιν. ἀντὶ δὲ νομίσματος οἱ λίαν ἐν βάθει φορτίων ἀμοιβῆ χρῶνται ἢ τοῦ ἀργυροῦ ἐλάσματος ἀποτέμνοντες διδοάσι. τοὺς δὲ θανατουμένους καταπετροῦσι, τοὺς δὲ πατραλοίας ἔξω τῶν ὄρων² καταλεύουσι. γαμοῦσι δ' ὥσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες. τοὺς δὲ ἀρρώστους, ὥσπερ οἱ Ἀσσύριοι τὸ παλαιόν, προτιθέασιν εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῖς πεπειραμένοις τοῦ πάθους ὑποθήκης χάριν. διφθερίοις τε πλοίοις ἐχρῶντο ἕως ἐπὶ Βρούτου διὰ τὰς πλημμυρίδας καὶ τὰ τενάγη, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ μονόξυλα ἤδη σπάνια. ἄλλες πορφυροὶ, τριφθέντες δὲ λευκοί. ἔστι δὲ τῶν ὄρειων ὁ βίος οὗτος, ὥνπερ ἔφην, λέγω δὲ τοὺς τὴν βόρειον πλευρὰν ἀφορίζοντας τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Καλλαϊκοὺς καὶ Ἄστουρας καὶ Καντάβρους μέχρι Ὀυασκῶνων καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης· ὁμοειδεῖς γὰρ ἀπάντων οἱ βίοι. ὀκνῶ δὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασι πλεονάζειν φεῦγων τὸ ἀηδὲς τῆς γραφῆς, εἰ μὴ τινι πρὸς ἡδονῆς ἔστιν ἀκοῦειν Πλευταύρους καὶ Βαρδυήτας καὶ Ἀλλότριγας καὶ ἄλλα χεῖρω καὶ ἀσημότερα τούτων ὀνόματα.

(8) τὸ δὲ δυσήμερον καὶ ἀγριῶδες οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν συμβέβηκε μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸν ἔκτοπισμόν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πλοῦς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μακρὸς καὶ αἱ ὁδοί, δυσεπίμικτοι δ' ὄντες ἀποβεβλήκασιν τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον. ἦττον δὲ νῦν τοῦτο πάσχουσι διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδημίαν· ὅσοις δ' ἦττον τοῦτο συμβαίνει, χαλεπώτεροί εἰσι καὶ θηριωδέστεροι. τοιαύτης δ' οὔσης καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πόπων λυπρότητος ἐνίοις καὶ τῶν ὄρων, εἰκὸς ἐπιτείνεσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀτοπίαν. ἀλλὰ νῦν, ὡς εἶπον, πέπαυται πολεμοῦντα πάντα· τοὺς τε γὰρ συνέχοντας ἔτι νῦν μάλιστα τὰ ληστήρια Καντάβρους καὶ τοὺς γειτονέοντας αὐτοῖς κατέλυσεν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ πορθεῖν τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους στρατεύουσι νῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ τε Κωνιακοὶ καὶ οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Ἰβηρος οἰκοῦντες Πληντουῖοι. ὃ τ' ἐκείνον διαδεξάμενος Τιβέριος τριῶν ταγμάτων στρατιωτικὸν ἐπιστήσας τοῖς τόποις, τὸ ἀποδειχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐ μόνον εἰρηνικούς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικούς ἤδη τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀπεργασάμενος τυγχάνει.

1.14. East Coast, mythical foundations – *Côte de Levant, fondations mythiques*

STRABO, *Geography* 3.4.1-3 (A. MEINEKE. Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

Regions of Iberia close to Mediterranean seashore north-south are described: Celtiberia and Eastern Bética together with their inhabitants are mentioned in detail, some of them linked to mythological heroes. The so-called Trophys of Pompeius (Πομπηίου ἀναθήματα) correspond to the actual Col de Perthus (French-Spanish border); Κάλη could be identified with Gibraltar Rock and Abilix (Dschebel Musa, a mountain of Ceuta) would represent the opposite rock of Gibraltar, both identified as Herakles Pillars. The so-mentioned cities of Μάλακα, Sexi (ἡ τῶν Ἐξιτανῶν πόλις) and Ἄβδηρα correspond to the actual Málaga, Almuñecar and Adra:

(1) Λοιπὴ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἢ τε ἀπὸ τῶν στηλῶν μέχρι τῆς Πυρήνης καθ' ἡμᾶς παραλία καὶ ἡ ταύτης ὑπερκειμένη μεσόγαια πᾶσα, τὸ μὲν πλάτος ἀνώμαλος τὸ δὲ μήκος μικρῶ πλειόνων ἢ τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων· τὸ δὲ τῆς παραλίας ἔτι πλεῖον καὶ δισχιλίους σταδίους εἴρηται. φασὶ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Κάλπης τοῦ κατὰ στήλας ὄρους ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα νέαν δισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους οἰκεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν ἡίονα ταύτην ὑπὸ Βαστητανῶν οὖς καὶ Βαστούλους καλοῦσιν, ἐκ μέρους δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ὀρητανῶν. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ἄλλους τοσοῦτους σχεδόν τι (ταύτην δ' ἔχειν Ἐδητανούς), ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἰβηρος μέχρι Πυρήνης καὶ τῶν Πομπηίου ἀναθημάτων χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους· οἰκεῖν δὲ Ἐδητανῶν τε ὀλίγους καὶ λοιπὸν τοὺς προσαγορευομένους Ἰνδικήτας μεμερισμένους τέτραχα. (2) κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἀπὸ Κάλπης ἀρξαμένοις ῥάχιν ἐστὶν ὄρεινὴ τῆς Βαστητανίας καὶ τῶν Ὀρητανῶν δασεῖαν ὕλην ἔχουσα καὶ μεγαλόδενδρον, διορίζουσα τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μεσογαίας. πολλαχοῦ δὲ κἀνταῦθά ἐστι χρυσεῖα καὶ ἄλλα μέταλλα. πόλις δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ ταύτῃ πρώτη Μάλακα, ἴσον διέχουσα τῆς Κάλπης ὅσον καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα· ἐμπόριον δ' ἐστὶν τοῖς ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ νομάσι, καὶ ταριχείας δὲ ἔχει μεγάλας. ταύτην τινὲς τῇ Μαινάκῃ τὴν αὐτὴν νομίζουσιν, ἣν ὑστάτην τῶν Φωκαϊκῶν πόλεων πρὸς δύσει κειμένην παρειλήφαμεν, οὐκ ἐστὶ δέ· ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν ἀπώτερόν τῆς Κάλπης ἐστὶ, κατεσκευασμένη, τὰ δ' ἴχνη σώζουσα Ἑλληνικῆς πόλεως, ἡ δὲ Μάλακα πλησίον μᾶλλον, Φοινικικῇ τῷ σχήματι. ἐφεξῆς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Ἐξιτανῶν πόλις, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὰ ταρίχη ἐπωνύμως λέγεται. (3) μετὰ ταύτην Ἄβδηρα Φοινίκων κτίσμα καὶ αὐτὴ. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τόπων ἐν τῇ ὄρεινῃ δεικνύται Ὀδύσεια καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡς Ποσειδώνιος τε εἶρηκε καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανός, ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ Τουρθητανίᾳ παιδεύσας τὰ γραμματικὰ καὶ περιήγησιν τινὰ τῶν ἔθνων ἐκδεδωκὼς τῶν ταύτη. οὗτος δὲ φησὶν ὑπομνήματα τῆς πλάνης τῆς Ὀδυσσεῶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀσπίδας προσπεπατταλεῦσθαι καὶ ἀκροστόλια. ἐν Καλλαϊκοῖς δὲ τῶν μετὰ Τεύκρου στρατευσάντων τινὰς οἰκῆσαι, καὶ ὑπάρξαι πόλεις αὐτόθι, τὴν μὲν καλουμένην Ἑλλήνες τὴν δὲ Ἀμφίλοχοι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιλόχου τελευτήσαντος δεῦρο καὶ τῶν συνόντων πλανηθέντων μέχρι τῆς μεσογαίας. καὶ τῶν μεθ' Ἡρακλέους δὲ τινὰς

καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Μεσσηνίας ἱστορησθῆναι φησὶν ἐποικῆσαι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, τῆς δὲ Κανταβρίας μέρος τι κατασχεῖν Λάκωνας καὶ οὗτός φησι καὶ ἄλλοι. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ὠκέλλαν πόλιν Ὠκέλλα κτίσμα λέγουσι τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντήνορος καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ διαβάντος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ δὲ πεπιστευκάσι τινες τοῖς τῶν Γαδειριτῶν ἐμπόροις προσέχοντες, ὡς καὶ Ἄρτεμίδωρος εἶρηκεν, ὅτι οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαυρουσίας οἰκοῦντες πρὸς τοῖς ἑσπερίοις Αἰθίοψι Λωτοφάγοι καλοῦνται, σιτούμενοι λωτόν, πόαν τινὰ καὶ ρίζαν, οὐ δεόμενοι δὲ ποτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἔχοντες διὰ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν, διατείνοντες καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Κυρήνης τόπων. ἄλλοι τε πάλιν καλοῦνται Λωτοφάγοι τὴν ἑτέραν οἰκοῦντες τῶν πρὸ τῆς μικρᾶς Σύρτεως νήσων, τὴν Μήνιγγα.

1.15. Individualism of the Iberians – *Individualisme des Ibères*

STRABO, *Geography* 3.4.5 (A. ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ. Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

Specific features of the Iberian people are described together with the problems they had to face when being in touch with other tribes in the area:

(5) Τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλάνης τῆς εἰς τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη νομίζοι τις ἂν αἴτιον τὸ διεσπᾶσθαι κατὰ μέρη μικρὰ καὶ δυναστείας ἐπιπλοκὴν οὐκ ἐχούσας πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατ' αὐθάδειαν, ὥστε ἐκ τούτου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἔξωθεν ἀσθενεῖς εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ αὐθαδὲς ἐν δὴ τοῖς Ἰβηρσι μάλιστα ἐπέτεινε προσλαβοῦσι καὶ τὸ πανοῦργον φύσει καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀπλοῦν· ἐπιθετικοὶ γὰρ καὶ ληιστρικοὶ τοῖς βίοις ἐγένοντο τὰ μικρὰ τολμῶντες, μεγάλοις δ' οὐκ ἐπιβαλλόμενοι διὰ τὸ μεγάλας μὴ κατασκευάζεσθαι δυνάμεις καὶ κοινωνίας. εἰ γὰρ δὴ συνασπίζειν ἐβούλοντο ἀλλήλοις, οὔτε Καρχηδονίοις ὑπῆρξεν ἂν καταστρέψασθαι ἐπελθοῦσι τὴν πλείστην αὐτῶν ἐκ περιουσίας, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Τυρίοις, εἴτα Κελτοῖς οἱ νῦν Κελτίβηρες καὶ Βήρωνες καλοῦνται, οὔτε τῷ ληιστῇ Οὐριάθῳ καὶ Σερτωρίῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἴ τινες ἕτεροι δυναστείας ἐπεθύμησαν μείζονος. Ῥωμαῖοί τε τῷ κατὰ μέρη πρὸς τοὺς Ἰβήρας πολεμῆν καθ' ἑκάστην διὰ ταύτην τὴν δυναστείαν πολὺν τινα διετέλεσαν χρόνον, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλους καταστρεφόμενοι τέως ἕως ἅπαντας ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβον διακοσιοστῷ σχεδόν τι ἔτει ἢ μακρότερον. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν περιήγησιν.

1.16. The Via Augusta – *La Via Augusta*

STRABO, *Geography* 3.4.9 (A. ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ. Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

After the coast (4, 6-8), STRABO continues describing the long way from North to South parallel to the Seashore (nowadays the National Road N-340 and the Motorway 7, both linking the French border with Algeciras, beside Gibraltar, European Itinerary E-15). Several curious names for different cities to be found all along the road are La Junquera (French-spanish frontier) an actual name that comes from Ἰουγκάριον πεδῖον, Ampurias (Ἐμπόριον), Tarragona (Ταρράκων), Tortosa (Δέρτωσσα), Sagunto (Σαγούντος), Játiva (Σαιτάβις) and Córdoba (Κορδύβη):

(9) Ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς πλησίον, ἐκ τῆς Πυρήνης ἔχων τὰς ἀρχάς, ἡ δὲ ἐκβολὴ λιμὴν ἔστι τοῖς Ἐμπορίταις. λινουργοὶ δὲ ἰκανῶς οἱ Ἐμπορίται· χώραν δὲ τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἔχουσι τὴν μὲν ἀγαθὴν τὴν δὲ σπαρτοφόρον τῆς ἀχρηστοτέρας καὶ ἐλείας σχοίνου, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἰουγκάριον πεδίον· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν τῆς Πυρήνης ἄκρων νέμονται [τὰ] μέχρι τῶν ἀναθημάτων τοῦ Πομπηίου, δι' ὧν βαδίζουσιν εἰς τὴν ἔξω καλουμένην Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Βαιτικὴν. αὕτη δ' ἡ ὁδὸς ποτὲ μὲν πλησιάζει τῇ θαλάττῃ ποτὲ δ' ἀφέστηκε, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν μέρεσι. φέρεται δὲ ἐπὶ Ταρράκωνα, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τοῦ Πομπηίου διὰ τοῦ Ἰουγκαρίου πεδίου καὶ Βετέρων καὶ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος καλουμένου πεδίου τῇ Λατίνῃ γλώττῃ, φύοντος πολὺ τὸ μάραθον· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ταρράκωνος ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τοῦ Ἰβηρος κατὰ Δέρτωσσαν πόλιν· ἐντεῦθεν διὰ Σαγούντου καὶ Σαιτάβιου πόλεως ἐνεχθεῖσα κατὰ μικρὸν ἀφίσταται τῆς θαλάττης καὶ συνάπτει τῷ Σπαρταρίῳ ὡς ἂν Σχοινοῦντι καλουμένῳ πεδίῳ· τοῦτο δ' ἔστι μέγα καὶ ἄνυδρον, τὴν σχοινοπλοκικὴν φύον σπάρτον ἐξαγωγὴν ἔχουσαν εἰς πάντα τόπον καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. πρότερον μὲν οὖν διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου καὶ Ἐγελάστας συνέβαινε εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν χαλεπὴν καὶ πολλήν, νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάττῃ μέρη πεποιήκασιν αὐτήν, ἐπιψαύουσιν μόνον τοῦ Σχοινοῦντος, εἰς ταῦτο δὲ τείνουσαν τῇ προτέρᾳ, τὰ περὶ Καστλῶνα καὶ Ὀβούλκωνα, δι' ὧν εἴς τε Κορδύβην καὶ εἰς Γάδειρα ἡ ὁδός, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐμπορίων. διέχει δὲ τῆς Κορδύβης ἡ Ὀβούλκων περὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους. φασὶ δ' οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἐλθεῖν Καίσαρα ἐκ Ῥώμης ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέραις εἰς τὴν Ὀβούλκωνα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐνταῦθα, ἠνίκα ἔμελλε συνάπτειν τὸν περὶ τὴν Μοῦνδαν πόλεμον.

1.17. Towns of the Ebro valley – *Villes de la vallée de l'Ebro*

STRABO, *Geography* 3.4.10 (A. MEINEKE. Teubner, Leipzig 1877)

The detailed journey along the inner Iberia ends with a description of river Ebro (Ἰβηρ) valley, between Pyrenees (Πυρήνη), continuously mentioned in previous texts, and Iberic Mountains (Ἰδοῦβεδα). Actual cities mentioned are: Zaragoza (Καισαραυγοῦστα, cf. III 2, 15; text 12), Velilla de Ebro (Κέλσα), Lérida (Ἰλέρδα), Huesca (Ὅσκα), Calahorra (Καλαγούρις), Oyarzun (Οἰασῶν, beside San Sebastián) and finally Pamplona (Πομπέλων-Πομπηιόπολις):

(10) Ἡ μὲν δὴ παραλία πᾶσα ἡ ἀπὸ στηλῶν μέχρι τῆς μεθορίας τῆς Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν τοιαύτη. ἡ δ' ὑπερκειμένη μεσόγαια (λέγω δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν τε Πυρηναίων ὄρων καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου πλευρᾶς μέχρι Ἀστύρων) δυνεὶν μάλιστα ὄρεσι διορίζεται. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν παράλληλόν ἔστι τῇ Πυρήνῃ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Καντάβρων ἔχον, τελευταίην δ' ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλατταν· καλοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο Ἰδοῦβέδαν· ἕτερον δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου διηκον ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν, ἐκκλίνον δὲ πρὸς νότον καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ στηλῶν παραλίαν· ὁ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γεώλοφόν ἔστι καὶ ψιλόν, διέξεισι δὲ τὸ καλούμενον Σπαρτάριον πεδίον, εἶτα συνάπτει τῷ δρυμῷ τῷ ὑπερκειμένῳ τῆς τε Καρχηδονίας καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Μάλακαν τόπων· καλεῖται δὲ Ὀροσπέδα. μεταξὺ μὲν δὴ τῆς Πυρήνης καὶ τῆς Ἰδοῦβέδας ὁ Ἰβηρ Ῥεῖ ποταμός, παράλληλος τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἀμφοτέροις, πληρούμενος ἐκ

τῶν ἐντεῦθεν καταφερομένων ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑδάτων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἰβηρι πόλις ἐστὶ Καισαραυγοῦστα καλουμένη καὶ Κέλσα κατοικία τις ἔχουσα γεφύρας λιθίνης διάβασιν. συνοικεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἔθνων ἢ χώρα, γνωριμωτάτου δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ἰακκητανῶν λεγομένου. τοῦτο δ' ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς παρωρείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν Πυρήνην εἰς τὰ πεδία πλατύνεται καὶ συνάπτει τοῖς περὶ Ἰλέρδαν καὶ Ὅσκαν χωρίοις, τοῖς τῶν Ἰλεργετῶν οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν τοῦ Ἰβηρος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις ἐπολέμει τὸ τελευταῖον Σερτώριος καὶ ἐν Καλαγούρι Οὐασκῶνων πόλει καὶ τῆς παραλίας ἐν Ταρράκωνι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡμεροσκοπεῖω μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κελτιβήρων ἔκπτωσιν, ἐτελεύτα δ' ἐν Ὅσκα. κὰν Ἰλέρδαι ὕστερον Ἀφράνιος καὶ Πετρήιος οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατηγοὶ κατεπολεμήθησαν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ. διέχει δὲ ἡ Ἰλέρδα τοῦ μὲν Ἰβηρος ὡς ἐπὶ δύοσιν ἰόντι σταδίοις ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα, Ταρράκωνος δὲ πρὸς νότον περὶ τετρακοσίους ἐξήκοντα, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ Ὅσκα πεντακοσίους τετταράκοντα. διὰ τούτων δὲ τῶν μερῶν ἢ ἐκ Ταρράκωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἐπὶ τῷ ὠκεανῷ Οὐάσκωνας τοὺς κατὰ Πομπέλωνα καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ ὠκεανῷ Οἰασῶνα πόλιν ὁδός ἐστι σταδίων δισχιλίων τετρακοσίων πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τῆς Ἀκυτανίας ὄρια καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. Ἰακκητανοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἐν οἷς τότε μὲν Σερτώριος ἐπολέμει πρὸς Πομπήιον, ὕστερον δ' ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου υἱὸς Σέξτος πρὸς τοὺς Καίσαρος στρατηγούς. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς Ἰακκητανίας πρὸς ἄρκτον τὸ τῶν Οὐασκῶνων ἔθνος, ἐν ᾧ πόλις Πομπέλων ὡς ἂν Πομπηῖοπολις.

1.18. Geography and folks of Iberia – *Géographie et peuples d'Iberia*

ARRIAN, *Roman History* 6.1-2 (L. MENDELSSOHN. Teubner, Leipzig 1879)

An introduction to the book VI, completely devoted to the Roman presence in Iberia until its definite submission and conquest:

(1) Ὅρος ἐστὶ Πυρήνη διήκον ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν, οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἕω Κελτοί, ὅσοι Γαλάται τε καὶ Γάλλοι νῦν προσαγορεύονται, πρὸς δὲ δύοσων Ἰβηρές τε καὶ Κελτίβηρες, ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους, περιόντες δ' ἐν κύκλῳ διὰ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν. οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰβηρία περικλυστος, ὅτι μὴ τῇ Πυρήνῃ μόνῃ, μεγίστῳ τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν ὄρων καὶ ἰθυτάτῳ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων· τοῦ δὲ περίπλου τοῦδε τὸ μὲν Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος διαπλέουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους, τὸν δ' ἐσπέριον καὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν οὐ περῶσιν, ὅτι μὴ πορθμεύεσθαι μόνον ἐπὶ Βρεττανούς, καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς ἀμπώτεσι τοῦ πελάγους συμφερόμενοι· ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ διάπλους ἡμισὺ ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτε τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πειρῶνται τοῦδε τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ. μέγεθος δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τῆς Ἰσπανίας νῦν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀντὶ Ἰβηρίας λεγομένης, ἐστὶ πολὺ καὶ ἄπιστον ὡς ἐν χώρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅπου τὸ πλάτος μυρίους σταδίου ἀριθμοῦσι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῇ τὸ πλάτος ἀντὶ μήκους. ἔθνη τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυώνυμα αὐτὴν οἰκεῖ, καὶ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ ῥέουσι ναυσίποροι. (2) οἳ τινες δ' αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι πρῶτοι νομίζονται, καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους κατέσχον, οὐ πάνυ μοι ταῦτα φροντίζειν ἀρέσκει, μόνα τὰ Ῥωμαίων συγγράφοντι, πλὴν ὅτι Κελτοὶ μοι δοκοῦσὶ ποτε, τὴν Πυρήνην

ὑπερβάντες, αὐτοῖς συνοικῆσαι, ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ Κελτιβήρων ὄνομα ἐρρῦη. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ Φοίνικες, ἐς Ἴβηριαν ἐκ πολλοῦ θαμινὰ ἐπ' ἐμπορία διαπλέοντες, οἰκῆσαι τινα τῆς Ἴβηρίας, Ἑλληνές τε ὁμοίως, ἐς Ταρτησὸν καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλεῖα πλέοντες, ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τῶνδ' εἰς ἐν Ἴβηρίᾳ· ἡ γὰρ Ἀργανθωνίου βασιλεία ἐν Ἴβηρσιν ἦν. καὶ Ταρτησσοῦ μοι δοκεῖ τότε εἶναι πόλις ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ἣ νῦν Καρπησσοῦ ὀνομάζεται. τὸ τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν στήλαις Φοινικέσ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἰδρῦσασθαι: καὶ θρησκευεῖται νῦν ἔτι φοινικικῶς, ὅ τε θεὸς αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὁ Θηβαῖός ἐστιν ἀλλ' ὁ Τυρίων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παλαιολογοῦσι μεθεῖσθω.

1.19. Organisation of Hispania by Augustus – *Organisation d'Hispania par Auguste*

ARRIAN, *Roman History* 6.102 (PH. REMACLE. Teubner, Leipzig 1879)

Epilogos of book VI. There the administrative division of Hispania into three big regions (Tarraconensis, Betica and Lusitania) is explained. It took place once Augustus submitted the last resistant tribes in the North and then Rome became the ruler of the whole Peninsula:

(102) μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σύλλα θάνατον Γάιος Καῖσαρ αἰρεθεὶς Ἰβηρίας στρατηγεῖν, ὥστε καὶ πολεμεῖν οἷς δεήσειεν, ὅσα τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐσαλεύετο ἢ Ῥωμαῖοις ἔτι ἔλειπε, πολέμῳ συνηγάκασε πάντα ὑπακούειν. καὶ τινα αὐθις ἀφιστάμενα Ὀκταούσιος Καῖσαρ ὁ τοῦ Γάιου παῖς, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπὶ κλην, ἐχειρώσατο. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μοι δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἣν δὴ νῦν Ἰσπανίαν καλοῦσιν, ἐς τρία διαιρεῖν καὶ στρατηγούσ ἐπιπέμπειν, ἐτησίους μὲν ἐς τὰ δύο ἢ βουλή, τὸν δὲ τρίτον βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὅσον δοκιμάσειεν.

1.20. Sea journey over the ocean – *Navigation par delà de l'océan*

LUCIAN OF SAMOSATA, *True stories* 1.5-7 (A.M. HARMON. Heinemann, London 1913)

LUCIAN (same as Cervantes in *Don Quijote*) writes a funny parody of literature of 2nd century A.D. He is able to imagine a fantastic travel to the Moon. He arrives to the most western lands in the world and he will find there some evidence of the presence of both Herakles and Dionysos since mythical times:

(5) ὀρμηθεὶς γάρ ποτε ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν καὶ ἀφείς εἰς τὸν ἐσπέριον ὠκεανὸν οὐρίῳ ἀνέμῳ τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιούμην. αἰτία δέ μοι τῆς ἀποδημίας καὶ ὑπόθεσις ἢ τῆς διανοίας περιεργία καὶ πραγμάτων καινῶν ἐπιθυμία καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν τί τὸ τέλος ἐστὶν τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ καὶ τίνες οἱ πέραν κατοικοῦντες ἄνθρωποι. τούτου γέ τοι ἔνεκα πάμπολλα μὲν σιτία ἐνεβαλόμην, ἱκανὸν δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐνεθέμην, πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν προσεποισάμην τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἔχοντας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὄπλων πολὺ τι πλῆθος παρεσκευασάμην καὶ κυβερνήτην τὸν ἄριστον μισθῷ μεγάλῳ πείσας παρέλαβον καὶ τὴν ναῦν — ἄκατος δὲ ἦν — ὡς πρὸς μέγαν καὶ βίαιον

πλοῦν ἐκρατυνάμην. (6) ἡμέραν οὖν και νύκτα οὐρίῳ πλέοντες ἔτι τῆς γῆς ὑποφαινομένης οὐ σφόδρα βιαίως ἀνηγόμεθα, τῆς ἐπιούσης δὲ ἅμα ἠλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι. ὁ τε ἄνεμος [p. 254] ἐπεδίδου και τὸ κύμα ἠϋξάνετο και ζόφος ἐπεγίνετο και οὐκέτ' οὐδὲ στεῖλαι τὴν ὀθόνην δυνατὸν ἦν. ἐπιτρέψαντες οὖν τῷ πνέοντι και παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐχειμαζόμεθα ἡμέρας ἑννέα και ἑβδομήκοντα, τῇ ὀγδοηκοστῇ δὲ ἄφνω ἐκλάμψαντος ἠλίου καθορώμεν οὐ πόρρω νῆσον ὑψηλὴν και δασεῖαν, οὐ τραχεῖ περιηχουμένην τῷ κύματι: και γὰρ ἤδη τὸ πολὺ τῆς ζάλης κατεπαύετο. προσσχόντες οὖν και ἀποβάντες ὡς ἂν ἐκ μακρᾶς ταιαιπωρίας πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐπὶ γῆς ἐκείμεθα, διαναστάντες δὲ ὅμως ἀπεκρίναμεν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τριάκοντα μὲν φύλακας τῆς νεῶς παραμένειν, εἴκοσι δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. (7) προελθόντες δὲ ὅσον σταδίου τρεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης δι' ὕλης ὀρώμεν τινα στήλην χαλκοῦ πεποημένην, Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν καταγεγραμμένην, ἀμυδροῖς δὲ και ἐκτετριμμένοις, λέγουσαν Ἄχρη· τούτων Ἡρακλῆς και Διόνυσος ἀφίκοντο. ἦν δὲ και ἴχνη δύο πλησίον ἐπὶ πέτρας, τὸ μὲν πλεθριαῖον, τὸ δὲ ἔλαττον — ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διονύσου, τὸ μικρότερον, θάτερον δὲ Ἡρακλέους. προσκυνήσαντες δ' οὖν προῆμεν οὕτω δὲ πολὺ παρήμεν και ἐφιστάμεθα ποταμῷ οἶνον ῥέοντι ὁμοιότατον μάλιστα οἷόσπερ ὁ Χιός ἐστιν. ἀφθονον δὲ ἦν τὸ ῥεῦμα και πολὺ, ὥστε ἐνιαχοῦ και ναυσίπορον εἶναι δύνασθαι. ἐπήει οὖν ἡμῖν πολὺ μᾶλλον πιστεῦειν τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης ἐπιγράμματι, ὀρώσι τὰ σημεῖα τῆς Διονύσου ἐπιδημίας.

2. THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

The Emperor Theodosius divided the Roman Empire into two sections: The Eastern Empire and the Western Empire. This fact together with the occupation of the Western area by the Barbarian meant a remarkable decrease of contacts between Hispania and Greece. They stopped being as fluid and frequent as they used to be during the Roman Domain.

During 6th and 7th centuries A.D. a certain part of the peninsula continued being one of the most Western provinces of Byzantium (*cf.* Procopius text 2.1.). However, it was Justinian who achieved the military occupation of the south and Southeast areas of the peninsula. In fact, those territories were under the Byzantine rule between 555 and 624 and kept on fighting continuously against the Visigoths who settled definitely in Spain after the fall of the Roman Empire.

Then a very important unexpected event occurred, smashing Hispania in a peculiar way for the whole of Middle Age: the invasion of groups of Arabs crossing Gibraltar strait and settling in the peninsula for eight centuries. They destroyed the Visigoth domain and they occupied in a short space of time the full territory of Hispania and only in the mountains near Cantabrian Sea and

at the foothills of the Pyrenees, did the Arabs face strong resistance from the local inhabitants; then small Christian kingdoms started appearing. In the year 722, king Pelayo from Asturias together with his army made of Romans and Spaniards were able to defeat the Arabs for the first time in battle at *Covadonga*. This was the first step for a stronger and wider reaction against the Arab rule. It would last 800 years and would be called “*La Reconquista*” –*The “Reconquest”* of the land–. Little by little the Christian troops pushed back the Arabs, forcing them to move south. This process would finally end in 1492 with the exile of king Boabdil from Granada forever. Immediately afterwards, the first national state in modern Europe was born out of the union of two new kingdoms: Castilla and Aragon. Navarra would join Castilla a few years later, in 1512.

It is easy to suppose the occasional presence of Spanish groups –Arabs and Christian– on Greek territory. They used to arrive in the Aegean Sea depending on various reasons at different moments; quite often they were survivors from inner conflicts or victims of the political affairs in the area. Around 827 groups of exile Arabs from Spain settled in Crete, where they will constitute an emirate lasting until 960, based on commerce and farming. A few centuries later, Emperor Andronikos II Paleologos tried to stop the Turkish invasion in Minor Asia: he decided to contract a group of the so-called *Almogávares* (also called *Great Aragonese-Catalonian Company*). This was a mix of undisciplined people from Aragon, Barcelona and Valencia, whose leader was *Roger de Flor*. These Spanish troops would arrive to Constantinople in 1303 and would stay there until 1390. They would be involved, both in Anatolia and Greek land, in several warlike conflicts and violent revolts, becoming quite often more violent and destructive than the Turks themselves were. They also came to odds with the Emperors: Roger de Flor was murdered in 1305. Later, under the leadership of *Roger de Lauria* they went to control the duchies of Athens and Neopatras (Thessaly). In fact, nowadays the mountain range to the south of Boeotia facing Corinth’s Gulf is still called “*Mountains of the Catalonians*”, and on the other side citizens from Catalonia were not allowed access to Mount Athos until 2000.

With such a history, Iberia has been drawing the attention of Byzantine writers since late Antiquity. Many references to Hispania are to be found here and there; they are used in the traditions of classical writers, who are also frequently mentioned. Note the geographer MARCIANUS of Heraclea –5th century– (*Periplus maris exteri*) together with the lexicographer STEPHANUS of Byzantium –6th century– (*Ethnika and Epitome*) and even the historian PROCOPIUS of Caesarea (ca. 500-ca. 560) in *De bellis*.

A similar trend to be underlined too concerning texts of the so-called Old Middle Age, such as *Lexicon Suidas* and some small works by the Emperor KONSTANTINE VI (909-959) along the 10th century; *The History* by Michael

ATTALEIATES; *Compendium Historiarum* by George KEDRENOS, both in the 11th century. In the next century, some other works to be found too as for example *Conspectus rerum naturalium* by Simeon SETH, *Epitome Historiarum* by John ZONARAS (ca. 1074-1130 or 1159), *Chiliades* by John TZETZES (ca. 1110-1180) and finally several *Comentarii* by EUSTATHIUS of Thessalonica (ca. 1110-1198).

Up to the end of the Byzantine period most writers prefer to compose works related to History, some of which became even exhaustive describing events from the Origins of the World. As a result, they narrate many events that are simultaneous to the writers themselves. Thus, Hispania is often mentioned in *Historiae demonstrationes* by Laonikos CHALKONDYLES (1423-1490) also in *Chronicon maius* by Makarios MELISSENOs, indeed the authentic author of the work: note that for many years George SPHRANTZES (1401-ca. 1478) was supposed to be the author himself and this is the reason why Melissenos was called PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES. This list ends at John RHYNDACENUS LASCARIS (ca. 1445-1535).

These so mentioned writers gather remarkable information about Spain. The ancient ones insist on geographic data, resources, personality and customs of the inhabitants in a similar way as the writers of the Classical period. Since 10th century onwards, war episodes and portraits of personalities related to the Spanish Middle Age are to be found. Eventually it is possible to find literary texts mentioning identified or anonymous people from Hispania.

To conclude: if we consider the peculiar situation of Hispania along the centuries of the so-called “*Reconquista*” –The “*Reconquest*” of the land–, texts dealing with historical facts should be pointed out. We think inconvenient to present texts dealing with the same subjects as those written in the Classical Greek and Roman period. Once the Greeks no longer travel to Iberia, and it is the Spaniards who travel to Greece for many purposes (not simply commercial exchanges), it is meaningless to insist on the same topics of the Ancient period. So, the selection of texts and authors that follows has been arranged according with the so mentioned patterns.²

2.1. Hispania, first earth of West Europe – *Hispania, première terre de l'Europe ouest*

PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA, *De bellis* 5.12.3-5 (G. WIRTH. Teubner, Leipzig 1962-1963)

There are not many byzantine sources about Hispania as a province of the Roman Empire, information about to be found in other authors is lacking too,

² We are extremely thankful to Professor José Manuel FLORISTÁN of the Complutense University of Madrid, for his suggestions, useful help and cooperation.

nor any archaeological evidence has been found. Only PROCOPIUS seems to be conscious of the existence of Hispania, even if his work ends at Justinianus' military attack. The text below can be considered as a certain evidence of the immediate presence of Greeks in Hispania. Procopius underlines the very extremity of that territory:

Εὐρώπη δὲ εὐθὺς ἀρχομένη Πελοποννήσῳ βεβαιοτάτα ἐμφερῆς ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς θαλάσση ἐκατέρωθι κεῖται. καὶ χώρα μὲν ἢ πρώτη ἀμφὶ τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν καὶ δύνοντα ἥλιόν ἐστὶν Ἰσπανία ὠνόμασται, ἄχρι ἐς Ἄλλεις τὰς ἐν ὄρει τῷ Πυρρηναίῳ οὖσας. Ἄλλεις δὲ καλεῖν τὴν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ διόδον οἱ ταύτη ἄνθρωποι νενομίκασι. τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε μέχρι τῶν Λιγυρίας ὀρίων Γαλλία ἐκλήθη. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Ἄλλεις ἕτεροι Γάλλους τε καὶ Λιγούρους διορίζουσι. Γαλλία μέντοι Ἰσπανίας πολλῶ εὐρυτέρα, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἐστὶν, ἐπεὶ ἐκ στενοῦ ἀρχομένη Εὐρώπη ἐς ἄφατόν τι εὖρος ἀεὶ προΐοντι κατὰ λόγον χωρεῖ.

2.2. About the nouns “Iberia” and “Hispania” – *Sur les noms “Iberia” et “Hispania”*

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENNETOS, *De administrando imperio* 23-24 (G. MORAVCSIK. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington 1967)

CONSTANTINE VII was considered to be very wise and well-educated Emperor: he was also deemed as a good painter and writer, with diplomacy and good ruling of the Empire. He mentions Hispania in two works: *De legationibus* and mostly *De administrando imperio*. The text below offers some former etymological explanations, whose authors he quotes about the different names of the Iberian Peninsula along the centuries:

(23) Περί Ἰβηρίας καὶ Ἰσπανίας.

Ἰβηρίαί δύο· ἢ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς Ἡρακλείαις στήλαις, ἀπὸ Ἰβηρος ποταμοῦ, οὗ μέμνηται Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Περί γῆς β'. «Ἐντὸς δὲ Πυρήνης Ἰβηρ τ' ἐστὶ μέγας ποταμὸς φερόμενος ἐνδοτέρω». Ταύτης δὲ πολλὰ φασιν ἔθνη διαιρεῖσθαι, καθάπερ †Ἡρόδοτος† ἐν τῇ ι' Τῇ καθ' Ἡρακλέα γέγραφεν ἱστορία οὕτως· «Τὸ δὲ Ἰβηρικὸν γένος τοῦτο, ὅπερ φημὶ οἰκεῖν τὰ παράλια τοῦ διάπλου, διώρισται ὀνόμασιν ἐν γένος ἐὼν κατὰ φύλα· πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις οἰκοῦντες τὰ πρὸς δυσμέων Κύνητες ὀνομάζονται (ἀπ' ἐκείνων δὲ ἤδη πρὸς βορέαν ἰόντι Γλήτες)· μετὰ δὲ Ταρτήσιοι· μετὰ δὲ Ἐλευσίνιοι· μετὰ δὲ Μαστινοί· μετὰ δὲ Κελκιανοί· ἔπειτα δὲ †ἠδιορόδανος†». Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ ἐν τῇ β' τῶν Γεωγραφουμένων οὕτως διαιρεῖσθαι φησιν· «Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Πυρρηναίων ὀρῶν ἕως τῶν κατὰ Γάδειρα τόπων ἐνδοτέρω καὶ συνωνύμως Ἰβηρία τε καὶ Ἰσπανία καλεῖται. Διήρηται δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων εἰς δύο ἐπαρχίας * * * διατεινούσα ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρρηναίων ὀρῶν ἅπαντα {καὶ} μέχρι τῆς Καινῆς Καρχηδόνας καὶ τῶν τοῦ Βαίτιος πηγῶν, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ἐπαρχίας τὰ μέχρι Γαδείρων καὶ Λυσιτανίας». Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἰβηρίτης. Παρθένιος ἐν Λευκαδίαις· «Ἰβηρίτη πλεύσει ἐν αἰγιαλῷ». Ἡ δ' ἕτερα Ἰβηρία πρὸς Πέρσας

ἐστίν [...]

(24) Περί Ἰσπανίας.

Πόθεν εἴρηται Ἰσπανία; Ἀπὸ Ἰσπανοῦ γίγαντος οὕτω καλουμένου. Ἰσπανίαί δύο τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπαρχίαι· ἡ μὲν μεγάλη, ἡ δὲ μικρά. Ταύτης ἐμνήσθη Χάραξ ἐν ἰ' Χρονικῶν· «Ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ τῇ μικρᾷ τῇ ἕξω Λουσιτανῶν πάλιν ἀποστάντων, ἐπέμφθη ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Κύιντος». Ὁ αὐτὸς ὁμοῦ περὶ τῶν δύο· «Κύιντος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολέμαρχος ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς Ἰσπανίαις. Ἡσώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Οὐριάθου σπονδὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο». Ταύτην κεκλήσθαι φησιν Ἰβηρίαν ἐν Ἑλληνικῶν γ'· «Τὴν δὲ Ἰσπανίαν Ἕλληνας τὰ πρῶτα Ἰβηρίαν ἐκάλου, οὕτω ξύμπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους τὴν προσηγορίαν μεμαθηκότες, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μέρους τῆς γῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν πρὸς ποταμὸν Ἰβηρα, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ὀνομάζεται, τὴν πᾶσαν οὕτω καλοῦντες»· Ὑστερον δὲ φασὶν αὐτὴν μετακεκλήσθαι Πανωνίαν.

2.3. The “lucky men” islands – *Les îles des “Bienheureux”*

MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, *History* 2.220-221 (I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, C. S. de Investigaciones Científicas. Madrid 2002)

This man was a remarkable public servant of the Empire and also a historian. He founded at Constantinople (1077) a charity home and a monastery, whose rules he wrote himself and these are a very valuable source in order to know the way of life and the customs of those years at the 11th century. Maybe because of his continuous care about social problems he alludes in detail to the so-called *Lucky Men Islands*, that classical sources used to mention only linking them to the Atlantida. Some scholars have concluded that in fact those are the Canary Islands still now known as “Fortunate Islands”:

ἡ γὰρ Ἰβηρία κυρίως καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Κελτιβηρία πρὸς τὰ δυσμικὰ μέρη τῆς Ῥώμης διάκεινται πρὸς τὸν ἐσπέριον ὠκεανόν, ἥτις νῦν Ἰσπανία κατωνομάζεται. Τῆς Ῥώμης γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κειμένης, τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα μέρη ἄνω Γαλλίαι διονομάζονται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα μέχρις Ἄλπεων ὄρων κάτω, ὅπου νῦν ἡ Νεμιτζία γνωρίζεται, τὸν ἴδιον ἄρχοντα ῥῆγα κατονομάζουσα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐγκάρσια μέρη τῶν Ἄλπεων ὡς πρὸς νότον ἄχρι τοῦ ἐσπερίου ὠκεανοῦ Ἰβηρία καὶ Κελτιβηρία ἐλέγοντο, τῶν εἰσρεόντων ἐκεῖσε ποταμῶν τῇ χώρα χαρισαμένων τουτὶ τὸ ὄνομα. Ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ τὸν μὲν βουλούμενον τὴν μὲν παρακειμένην ἀκτὴν παραπλευσαι πρὸς τὰς κάτω Γαλλίας ὁ τῶν Ἡρακλειῶν στηλῶν πορθμὸς ἐκδέχεται, τὸν δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐνδοτέρω δηλονότι τῆς χώρας ἐπεκτεινόμενον τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ, πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῶν Βρεττανικῶν νήσων καθοδηγεῖ καὶ προτρέπεται, τῷ δὲ βουλομένῳ πρὸς τὰς τῶν Μακάρων νήσους ἀπᾶραι ὁ ἀπόπλους ἀχανῆς παρατείνεται, ἀπέχουσι γὰρ τῆς γῆς μέτρον μιλίων χιλίων. Δύο δὲ αἱ νησοὶ εἰσιν, οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων ἀπέχουσαι, παντοίων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ποικίλων διηνεκῶς βρίθουσαι καὶ πόαν μαλακὴν καὶ εὐδὴ δι' ὄλου τοῦ ἔτους τρέφουσαι. Ἀπφικισμέναι γὰρ οὔσαι τῆς κοσμικῆς ἰλῶς καὶ

τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπιμιξίας, ἥτις ἐκ τῶν δυσόδμων τῆς γῆς αὐχμῶν ἐπιγίνεται, οὐδόλως μεταλαμβάνουσαι, ὑγιεινότατον καὶ ἄλυπον τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτήνεσι τὸν βίον πεποιήνται καὶ διατριβὴν ἡδίστην καὶ ἀπράγμονα καὶ χαρίεσσαν πάντη καὶ εὐζωΐαν παρέχουσιν.

2.4. Arabs from Hispania in Creta – *Des Arabes d’Hispania en Crète*

GEORGE KEDRENOS, *Compendium historiarum* 2.91 (I. BEKKER. Weber, Bonn 1838-1839)

During the occupation of Hispania, a group of Arabs living into the peninsula were planning to move somewhere where they could find resources lacking in the peninsula. After travelling along the Mediterranean Sea, they arrive to Crete and they finally decide to remain there, even if that one was not a land of “milk and honey” as his ruler and organiser said. That man was Abu Hafis (Ἀπόχαψ), called Al Iqritishi (The Cretan one). This fact seems to be coincident with the revolt of Thomas (Θωμάς), called The Slave (*ca.* 760-823) against the Emperor Miguel II. Both men are mentioned in the text below:

ἄρτι γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Θωμᾶν ἄρξαντος νεωτερισμοῦ, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἠκούετο πανταχοῦ, οἱ τὸν ἐσπέριον κόλπον τῆς Ἰβηρίας οἰκοῦντες Ἀγαρηνοί, πρόσχωροι τῷ Ὠκεανῷ ὄντες (Ἰσπάνους τούτους κατονομάζουσιν), εἰς εὐανδρίαν ἐληλακότες, καὶ ἦν ψῆκον γῆν λυπρὰν οὖσαν καὶ μετρίως εὐδαίμονα ὀρώντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τρέφειν μὴ δυναμένην αὐτούς, προσελθόντες τῷ ἑαυτῶν ἄρχοντι Ἀπόχαψ (ἀμερμουμένην οἶδε τοῦτον ἢ ἐγγώριος γλῶσσα καλεῖν) ἀποικίαν καὶ γῆς μετανάστασιν ἀπήτουν γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς πλήθει τε στενοχωρουμένοις καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανίζουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀσπασίως τὸν λόγον δεξάμενος, πλοῖα εὐθέως ἐπισκευάσας μακρὰ καὶ δύναμιν τούτοις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐμβιβάσας, ἐπὶ ληστείαν τέως, λανθάνουσαν ἔχων τὴν ἔννοιαν, τῶν πρὸς τῇ ἔφ κειμένων νήσων καὶ ἡμετέρων ἐτράπετο, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὸ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ὀρεκτὸν ἐκπληρῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων αὐτούς κορεννύς, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ μετασκεψόμενος εἴ τίς ἐστιν εὐφορος τῶν νήσων καὶ πρὸς μετοικίαν ἐπιτηδεῖα αὐτοῖς. ποιησάμενος δὲ τὸν ἀπόπλουον ἔαρος ὥρα, καὶ πολλὰς ἐπιῶν τῶν νήσων, οὐδένα εὗρισκε τὸν ἀντιπαραταττόμενον· ἐχῆρευον γὰρ πᾶσαι βοηθείας, τοῦ εἰωθότος φυλάττειν στόλου παντὸς συστρατευομένου τῷ Θωμᾶ. διὸ καὶ μεγάλας ὠφελείας ἐκ πασῶν, αἷς καὶ προσώρμιζεν, ἔκαρπούτο. ἦκε δὲ ποτε καὶ εἰς Κρήτην, καὶ ταύτην καταδραμῶν καὶ ἀνδραποδισάμενος ὡς ἐνήν, καὶ τὴν τῆς νήσου καταμαθῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ χάριν, τοῦτο ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, «ἰδοὺ γῆ ρέουσα γάλα καὶ μέλι». καὶ τότε μὲν ἔφη πλέον οὐδέν, παντοίων δὲ τὸν στόλον ἐμπεπληκῶς ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐπ’ οἶκον νόστων ἐμέμνητο. ὡς δ’ ὁ χειμῶν ὑπέληγε καὶ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέλαμπε, τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων καὶ οὐριον ἄνεμον ἐπιτηρήσας πρὸς Κρήτην ἀπέπλει, τὰς ἄλλας τῶν νήσων παρατρέχων ἐπιεικῶς. καταλαβῶν δὲ τὴν νήσον τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Χάρακι προσορμίζεται. ὡς δ’ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἀπόβασιν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν καταγωγὴν ἐφάνη πολέμιον, παρεμβολὴν

πηξάμενος ὄχυρὰν τοὺς μὲν ἐπιτηδεῖους εἰς προνομὴν ἐξαπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔχων ἄρτι δὴ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπακμάζοντος, κάκεινων πορρωτέρω σταδίων δέκα ἢ καὶ ἰε' γενομένων, πῦρ ἐμβάλων ταῖς ναυσὶ τὰς πάσας κατέφλεξε, φεισάμενος τὸ παράπαν οὐδεμιᾶς, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς (καὶ γὰρ ἐπαλινόστουν εὐθέως ἐκδειματωθέντες, τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ θεαθέντος πράγματος καταπλαγέντες) τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπυθάνοντο καὶ εἰς λόγους ἤλθον νεωτερικοὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουον ἅ πάλαι ὠδινον, ὡς αὐτοὶ τε τούτων ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι, ἀποικίαν ζητοῦντες καὶ γῆν ἀγαθὴν, ἔμοι δὲ ταύτης οὐδετέρα νενόμισται κρείττων, εἰς ταύτην ἤλθον τὴν ὁδόν, τὰ ὑμῖν τε θυμῆρη πράττων καὶ ἑμαυτὸν τῆς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀπαλλάττων ὀχλήσεως, ὡς δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ἐμέμνητο, «καὶ γυναῖκες» ἔφη ὁ Ἀπόχαψ «ὧδε, ἡμέτεροι αἰχμάλωτοι, καὶ παῖδες μετὰ μικρὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν». τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις κατασιγασθέντες, καὶ ἀποδοχῆς ἄξια κρίναντες τὰ λεγόμενα, τάφρον μὲν ἠγειραν πρῶτον βαθεῖαν, καὶ χάρακας ἐν ταύτῃ καταπήξαντες, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν λαβῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὁ τόπος σώζει τὴν προσηγορίαν, Χάνδαξ ὀνομαζόμενος, ἐκεῖσε διενυκτέρευον.

2.5. The expression “bull skin” – *L'expression “peau de taureau”*

EUSTATHIUS OF THESSALONICA, *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* 285 (K. MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci minores*, 2. Didot, Paris 1861 / Olms, Hildesheim 1965)

Just a short explanation of the typical name of Hispania, already mentioned by STRABO (cf. *Geography* III, 1, 3; see former text 1.10), without any additional commentary at all:

Ἰστορεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ που Ἰβηρικὴν ἠπειρον ὁμοίαν εἶναι βύρση, οὐ τῷ χρώματι οὐδὲ τῇ λειότητι, ἀλλὰ τῷ σχήματι. Βύρση γὰρ τεταμένη ἔοικεν ἢ Ἰβηρία, ἧς φασὶ τὰ οἶον τραχηλιμαῖα μέρη εἰς τὴν συνεχῆ Κελτικὴν πρὸς τὴν ἔω ὑπερεκπίπτουσι.

2.6. The arabs in Hispania – *Les arabes en Hispania*

LAONIKOS CHALKONDYLES, *Historiae Demonstrationes* 1.82 (E. DARKÓ, *Academia Litterarum Hungarica*, Budapest 1922-1927)

CHALKONDYLES belonged to a high-level family in Athens and he wrote a long work devoted to the arising Turkish Empire, in fact a kind of General History of the world since 1389 until 1464. The first book describes events taking place before 1389 and he informs about the Arabs invasion of Hispania. After the first years of the occupation, the battle of Roncesvalles (Navarra/Ναβάρρη) took place in 778. The army of CARLOMAGNUS was defeated either by Vascones or by Arabs (we are still doubtful). The Emperor himself (Κάρουλος) is mentioned together with a couple of generals, ROLDAN (Ὀρλάνδος) and RENALDO DE MONTAUBAN (Ρινάλδος). The first one died into the battle and the French epic poem (*Chanson de Roland*) is devoted to him:

Λίβυες γὰρ διαβάντες τὸν πρὸς Ἡρακλείους στήλας πορθμὸν κατέσχον τε κατὰ βραχὺ προϊόντες τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ναβάρην τε χειρωσάμενοι καὶ Πορτογαλλίαν χώραν, ἔστε ἐπὶ Ταρακῶνα ἐλαύνοντες, τὰ ἐς τήνδε αὐτὴν χώραν καταστρεψάμενοι ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὴν Κελτικήν. Κάρουλος μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πόλεμον ἐξενεγκόντες πρὸς τοῦσδε τοὺς Λίβυας μεγάλα ἀπεδείκνυντο ἔργα, ἄνδρες γενόμενοι ἀγαθοί, καὶ τῆς τε Κελτιβήρων καὶ Κελτικῆς χώρας ἐξελάσαντες ἐς τὴν Γρανάτην πόλιν ὄχυρωτάτην ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ἐς ὠκεανὸν καθήκοντος, παρ' αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν πορθμὸν κατὰ βραχὺ προϊόντες τὴν τε Ἰβηρίας χώραν πολλὴν κατασχόντες ᾤκουν καὶ συνελαύνοντες ἐπολιόρκουν. καὶ τὴν τε χώραν ἀπέδωσαν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν προσήκουσι, τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Ναβάρην καὶ Ταρακῶνα, καὶ τοὺς σφῶν αὐτῶν προσήκοντας ὑπὸ βαρβάρων πολιορκουμένους ἀπέλυον τε τῆς πολιορκίας, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδιελόμενοι σφίσι ᾤκουν, ἀπολαβόντες ἕκαστος τὸ ἀνήκον αὐτῷ μέρος. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτῃ κάλλιστα θέμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τότε αἰεὶ ὑμνοῦνται ὡς ἄνδρες γενόμενοι ἀγαθοί. καὶ Ὀρλάνδον μὲν τὸν γε στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ δίψους ἐκπολιορκηθέντα ἀποθανεῖν, Ῥινάλδον δὲ διαδεξάμενον τὸν πόλεμον καταλιπεῖν τοῖς Ἰβηρίας βασιλεῦσιν. οἱ δὲ διαδεξάμενοι τὸνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐς ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς Λίβυας τούτους ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν νομίζουσι. τὸ δὲ γένος τοῦτο Λιβύων γλώττῃ μὲν διαχρήται τῇ Ἀραβικῇ, καὶ ἦθεσι δὲ καὶ θρησκείᾳ τῇ Μεχμέτεω, ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοῦτο μὲν βαρβαρικῇ, τοῦτο δ' αὐτὴ καὶ Ἰβηρικῇ.

2.7. Facts of hispanes in Greece and Turkey – *Faits d'hispanes en Grèce et Turquie*

PSEUDO –SPHRANTZES, *Chronicon maius* 172 (V. GRECU, *Georgios Sphrantzes. Memorii 1401-1477, Scriptores Byzantini* 5. Academia Republicae Romanicae, Bucharest 1966)

Once the ALMOGAVARES arrived to Greece, these mercenary soldiers fought the Turkish following the mandate of the Emperor. They overpass the fair play rules and so Andronikos changed his mind about them. ROGER DE FLOR (Ρογέριος, Λατίνος τις Καταλάνος) commended the Spanish Army. When he was murdered —the Emperor himself ordered it— BERENGUER DE ENTENZA (Μπιγκέριο Τέντζας) became the leader of the Spanish army, being Gallipoli (Καλιουπόλις) the head quarter:

Ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις ἐμπεσεῖν Λατίνόν τινα Καταλάνον, Ῥογέριον τοῦνομα, ἀθροῖσαι ἐκ τῆς κάτω Ἰβηρίας στρατόπεδον. Καὶ τριῆρεις τέσσαρας πληρώσας, καὶ ληστρικὸν ἀδεῶς μετῆι βίον, δεινότατος ἐν τούτῳ γενόμενος οὐ μόνον ναυσι φορτίοις ἐπετίθετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰς δὴ τὰς μεγάλας τῶν νήσων ἐσκύλευε καὶ φοβερὸς ἐν τῇ κάτω θαλάσῃ ἐδόκει εἶναι. Ἔδοξε τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι, διαπρεσβευσασμένῳ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἀνδρόνικον συμμαχῆσαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν Τουρκῶν. Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν πρεσβείαν δεξάμενος, ἄρας ἐκείνος ἐκ τῶν ἐσπερίων πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἔρχεται, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ δισχιλίους ἄνδρας μαχικούς· καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς ὀφικίῳ τοῦτον ἐτίμησε. Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἦκει καὶ ἕτερος Καταλάνος

τοῦνομα Μπιγκέριο Τέντζας, συγγενῆς τοῦ Ῥογερίου. Καί ὁ βασιλεὺς μὲν τὴν τῶν χρημάτων δαπάνην τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν περὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἐνδύματα καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα σιτηρέσια εἰς πλησμονὴν ἔδωκεν. Ὀλίγου δὴ καιροῦ παρελθόντος διέβησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ στρατοῦ τοῦ πολεμῆν τοὺς ἐχθρούς. Περὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὀλίγα αὐτοῖς ἔμελεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑπήκοον πλεῖστα ἐλύπων. Καὶ τί χρὴ λέγειν ὅποσα εἰργάσαντο κακὰ παρόντες καὶ δεινὰ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς; ἀνδράσι τε καὶ γυναιξίν οὐδὲν ἄμεινον οἴω ἀνδραποδισμῶ ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ οὐκ ἠλέουν τινὰ δακρύνοντα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐποίουν κακὰ ὑπὲρ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἐχθρούς. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν οὐ μόνον τὰς οὐσίας ἀρπάζειν τῶν ταλαιπόρων Χριστιανῶν, ἀλλὰ θυγατέρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑβρίζοντες. Πρεσβῦται καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐδεσμεύοντο καὶ ἔμαστιγοῦντο. Ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς, θυμῶ ἐτήκετο καὶ τινος μηχανῆς βοηθοῦσης ἐδέετο. Διαβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν Θράκην τὸν Ῥογέριον μετὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐκέλευσε πρὸς τὸ τῆς Καλιουπόλεως φρούριον. Καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκεῖ κατέλιπον καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὁ Ῥογέριος μετὰ τινων εἰς προσκύννησιν ἔρχεται, οὗ γενομένου, ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς περιστάτας ξιφήρεις προστάτας τούτους κατακόπτει. Μαθόντες δὲ οἱ ἕτεροι Λατίνοι, οἱ ἐν τῇ Καλιουπόλει, τὰ γενόμενα, εἰς ἀποστασίαν ἐτρέπησαν καὶ τὸ φρούριον ὀχυρώσαντες, ὡς ὀρμητήριον εἶχον. Καὶ μετὰ τῶν Τουρκῶν ὁμονοήσαντες εἰς φανεράν ληστείαν καὶ ἀρπαγὴν ἐξήλθον. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ τὰς Θρακικὰς καὶ Μακεδονικὰς δυνάμεις λαβὼν ἦλθε κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα καὶ ζημιωμένος ἐπανεστρεψεν. Εἶτα οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ αὐτῶν διαφερόμενοι ἐμερίσθησαν· καὶ τινες μὲν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἦλθον, ἕτεροι δὲ μετὰ τῶν Τουρκῶν ἐστράτευον, ἕτεροι δὲ ληστεύοντες τοῦ ζῆν ἐπορίζοντο, ἕως καὶ εἰς τέλος ἐξουθενήθησαν.

3. SPANISH AUTHORS FROM RENAISSANCE PERIOD

Spain was not at all separate from the humanistic stream originated from the exile from Constantinople to Western Europe due to the Turkish occupation of the city. Since the 16th century a lot of scholars started being interested in the study and the promotion of Greek Language. The so-called Spanish Humanism becomes quite unique and cannot be considered positive especially throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

Chairs in the study of Greek Language existed in Universities of Salamanca, Alcalá de Henares –the ancient Complutum near Madrid–, Barcelona, and Valencia. Later on, new chairs were created for a short period in Valladolid and Zaragoza throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, but in the 18th century they became permanent up to the 21st century. Those who occupied so many chairs were not well-qualified teachers: they had a low level and used inaccurate methods for teaching. We must also consider that the wages they received were extremely low, often it being quite difficult for teachers to survive. Besides there were a reduced number of pupils attending lessons in the classrooms. So the general outlook was not positive at all because of internal and external reasons.

As a matter of fact, the Greek Language was not studied for its own value but as an instrumental subject related to Arts, Laws, Theology and Medicine. On the one hand, learning Greek made it easier to understand these subjects. On the other hand, most of the scholars used to make a quite remarkable number of mistakes when writing or speaking Greek; many of those mistakes have lasted up to the 20th century.

One must also point out that printing was extremely difficult; the editors were not able to publish easily. Some editions could be found abroad and only a few texts dealing with catholic religion could be published. Their authors had to be extremely careful when writing and should bear in mind the very strict rules of the so-called “catholic orthodoxy” certified by the *Inquisition Board*. This very strict unpopular Board started working in 1478 and stopped in 1834. It was compulsory that every work would be supervised by strict short minded members of the Board who very often condemned the authors to prison or had them put to death.

Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the use of Greek as daily current language was promoted at Universities: teachers and students spoke fluently, compositions in Greek were as usual as compositions in Latin, translations from Latin into Greek or the opposite way-round were promoted up to the 18th century. Then, they were little by little replaced by comprehension tests. This way of working and learning Greek lasted until the 20th century.

Some scholars should be pointed out. Miguel Jerónimo LEDESMA (1510-1547) who was a medical and a Professor in Ancient Greek in Valencia University since 1531; Juan Lorenzo PALMIRENO (1524-1579) playwright and an excellent teacher of Rhetoric at his birth place Alcañiz, and later on at Zaragoza and Valencia; Juan de Pablo BONET (1573-1633) who was the first scholar publishing a course book in Phonetics, and Juan GONZÁLEZ MARTÍNEZ (without dates). In the 17th century two scholars to be mentioned: Gonzalo CORREAS (1571-1631) who became a professor in Ancient Greek at University of Salamanca, together with Vicente MARINER (*ca.* 1580-1642) translator and composer of many texts in Greek. In the 18th at least four eminent scholars should also be pointed out: Manuel MARTÍ Y ZARAGOZA (1663-1737), an epigraphist and archaeologist; Pedro MERCADO (1620-1701); Antonio MARTÍNEZ DE QUESADA (1718-1751), who was an expert in History of the Religions, and José LASSO DE DIOS (without dates).

In the 19th century the so-called Real Academia Greco-Latina de Madrid starts working, the professor in Greek Saturnino LOZANO Y BLASCO (1789-1860) being one of the most eminent members together with another professor who was also an editor and translator, Antonio BERGNES DE LAS CASAS (1801-1879).

It has been a common trend in most of the Spanish Scholars to use the composition in Greek of small texts, mostly epidictic texts that their authors

use to include in their wider works. Sometimes instead, they are a simple lot of exercises for private use and enjoyment. There is not any original, poetic or dramatic style to them. It must also be pointed out that those texts were never properly edited: this means that some of them have been kept in manuscripts at National or Universities Libraries. Recent research has been achieved by Spanish Scholars. Researchers have published copies underlining peculiar features of the old scholars' writing (diacritic signs). The selection we are presenting now tries to restore the right writing we use to deal with today.

It is not difficult to conclude that most of the texts are meaningless even if they are plenty; most of them have a short extension and deal with a remarkable variety of subjects. This is the reason why we are presenting a short repertory of texts written throughout the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, including some arguments related to Spain³.

3.1. Hermes asks the emperor Carlos V to judge the feats of the knights – *Hermes demande à l'empereur Charles V de juger les exploits des chevaliers*

Francisco y Jacobo ROCABERTÍ, *Περὶ ἀντιφιλοτιμίας πολέμου* (J. M. FLORISTÁN, *Erytheia* 30. Madrid 2009)

"*About the triumph of the military glory*" is a long dialogue dedicated to king Philip II. In it two bold soldiers of the Catholic Kings years (Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba and Ramon Folch de Cardona), once they are dead, start a discussion about their own military value. They appoint Minos as the judge but this one does not make up his mind and decides instead to send them back to life in order to be the Emperor the one taking the final decision. So Hermes asks the Emperor Carlos V to become the definite judge in order to deliver the triumph to the best one (the text below). But the Emperor becomes unable to take the definite decision:

(Hermes) Χαῖρε, ὦ ἄμαχε καὶ ἰσχυρότατε Καῖσαρ. ἐψηφίσαντο οἱ θεοὶ οἱ κάτω διὰ τὴν σὴν τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν ἰσχύον, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ἄλλα λαμπρὰ καὶ ὑπερέχοντα λέξω, τούτου τοῦ ἀγῶνος κριτὴν γενέσθαι, οὗ πέρι ὄντος ἀναγκαίου τὸν πάνυ ἐπιστάμενον τῶν πολεμικῶν πραγμάτων ὀρίζειν, οὐχ οἶόν τε μηδένα ἄλλον πλὴν σου κρίσιν περαίνειν· περὶ ὧν γὰρ ἅπαντες ἀκριβῶς γινώσκουσι, καλῶς ὀρίζουσι. τούτων οὐς ὄρας πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀνδραγαθήματα ἐνώπιον τῶν καταχθονίων θεῶν διελθόντων, δέδοκται ἐκείνοις, τῷ σε ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔξοχον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων, τὴν δίκαιαν τοῦτου τοῦ ἀγῶνος σοὶ ἐπιτρέψαι· σὸν ἄρα ἐστὶ τοῦτο καταστήσαι φανερόν,

³ The authors must acknowledge very respectfully the cooperation, suggestions and useful help offered once again by Prof. Dr. José Manuel FLORISTÁN, and also by Prof. Dr. Francisco GARCÍA JURADO and Prof. Dr. Alfonso MARTÍNEZ DÍEZ, all of the Complutense University of Madrid.

ὁπότερος τούτων τῶν στρατηγῶν πάντων τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν πατέρας ἰσχυροτάτων ἀμείνων ἐστί.

3.2. Δίκη φωνήεντων

Beginning of the dialog – *Commencement du dialogue*

Miguel Jerónimo DE LEDESMA, *Graecaum institutionum compendium* (J. LÓPEZ RUEDA, *Helenistas del siglo XVI*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid 1973, p. 405)

De Ledesma, born in Valencia, wrote mostly works about medicine, even if he became also a helenist achieving the two more extensive literary works in greek language in the 16th century. He called them *exercitamenta* and included them at the end of his Greek Grammar (*Compendium graecarum institutionum*). One of them is a dialogue between the consonants sigma and tau, inspired, no doubt, in Lucian of Samosata, just its six pages beginning as follows:

Πάλαι μὲν σκοπῶ πρὸς ἑμαυτόν, ὧ φωνήεντα δικασταί, τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἢ τί ὕστατον ἀποκρινοῦμαι τούτων, ἅτινά μοι εἰκὸς ἐπελθεῖν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν ἀκούοντι τούτου κατ' ἑμοῦ Σίγμα τόσα τε καὶ τοῖα ματαίως διεξιόντος. Καὶ γὰρ μεταξύ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, οὐ δίκαια μὲν ἐκεῖνα, ἃ περ ἔλεγε, οὔτε κόσμια, ὥσπερ ἦται τὸ ὑμῶν ἀξίωμα τε καὶ ἀγχίνουν, ἀπειρόκαλα δέ, καὶ ἄκοσμα, καὶ μάταια, καὶ ὡς κεφάλαιον εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος, ἐς τὸ μέσον φέροντα, τί με πεπονθέναι φράσαιμι ἄν; Νῦν μὲν ἐριθρυᾶν (*sic*) ἐπῆλθε, δι' αὐτοῦ νῆ Δία, νῦν δὲ λυπεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄθυμειν.

3.3. Sonet on the Philip III's death – *Sonnet dans la mort de Philippe III*

Gonzalo CORREAS ÍÑIGO

(E. DE ANDRÉS, *Helenistas españoles del siglo XVII*. Fundación Universitaria Española, Madrid 1988, p. 305)

Gonzalo Correas was not only an expert in proverbs but a scholar particularly devoted to the teaching of phonetics and orthography. His innovative proposals in the field of Grammar was the reason why of permanent discussions with his colleagues. At the end of his works *Prototypi in Graecam linguam grammatici canones* (1600) and *Arte Griega of Maestro Gonzalo Korreas* (1627), he enclose two sonets and one ode with latin translation written by himself. The text below shows one of those sonets dedicated to king Philippe III's death:

Λυγρὰ πάντα τυγχάνει τοῖς ἀηδοῦσι
καὶ θρήνων ἔστ' ἐνταῦθα ὅλα πλεῖα,
σοφίας παντοίας τὰ διδασκαλεῖα

φαίνεται ἡλλαγμένα τοῖς θρηνοῦσι.
 Φιλίππῳ τὰ ἐναγίσματα ποιούσι
 σοφοὶ ἄνδρες προσώπων κατηφεία,
 ὃν ἤδη ἐν οὐρανίῳ βασιλείᾳ
 σὺν θεῷ βασιλεύοντα φρονοῦσι.
 Τὸν ἅγιον ὅμως ἄρχοντα ποθοῦσα
 Σαλμαντικὴ φανόντ' Ἀκαδημία
 δάκρυα λείβει πόλλ' ἄκριτα λιγέως.
 Τὸν δὲ φρόνιμον ἄνακτα λαχοῦσα
 υἱὸν ἀντὶ πατρὸς ἐν νέᾳ ἡλικίᾳ
 δοκεῖ χρόνον τε πάντ' ἄγειν ἡδέως.

3.4. Epigram on the birth of prince of the Spains – *Epigramme pour la naissance du prince des Espagnes*

Vicente MARINER DE ALAGÓN

(E. DE ANDRÉS, *Helenistas españoles del siglo XVII*. Fundación Universitaria Española, Madrid 1988, pp. 307-308)

Mariner was mostly a translator who put into Spanish a lot of Greek works. But he was, no doubt, the most prolific author composing his own texts: it is possible to catalogue up to 380 according to 13 manuscripts kept in the National Library (*cf.* p. 375-387 of the source *essai*). Most of them are short, many of them indeed no more than two verses and quite enough do not go beyond 14 verses. These use to be epigrammes quite often presented with latin translation. One of those poems is dedicated to the borning of the so called Prince of the Spains (*sic*) very presumebly the future king Philippe IV:

ἌΜΜΙΝ ἀοσητήρ, καὶ ἐπίρρυτος ἀρχὸς ἀνέστη.
 Κόσμῳ πέμψε φάος, καὶ ὄλβια πᾶσιν ἔδω.
 Ἦλθε δὲ ὡς πάντων μὲν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀλάκειν
 Δῶρα βίοιο φέρων, δῶρα νόμοιο νέμων.
 Ἐξανόρουσε βροτοῖς πατρὸς μεγάλοιο γένεθλον
 Σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς, ὡς φάος ἡελίου.
 Οὗτος δ' ὡς βλάστημα διοτρεφὲς ἀντὶ τέθλην
 Ἄρεος ἀνδροφόνου καὶ ἔστι κλάδος σθεναρός.
 Ἦδη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ μόρσιμον ἔλλαβε κῦδος
 Ἐμμορε καὶ τιμῆς ἔξοχα θεσπεσίης.
 Αὐτὶς μὲν τε μετεπρέπει ὃς παρὰ πολλὸν Ἰβήροις
 Οὐ μὲν ὁμοιον ἔχει εἵκελος ἔνθα θεοῖς
 Ἦλθεν καὶ κρατέων μὲν ἀρειμανέων γένος ἀνδρῶν
 Καὶ λαῶν πάντων ὄρχαμος ὃς γέγονεν.
 Εἰρήνης βαθυπέπλου ἀπείριτον ὄλβον ἔπευσεν
 Καὶ νίκησε μέγας τοῦ πολέμοιο σθένος.

Οὔτις καὶ προπάροιθε μακάρτατος, ἡμέρα δ' αὕτη.
Ἄρχῃ δ' εὐγενίης, κύδεός ἐστι τέλος.

3.5. The Virgin of Pillar in Zaragoza – *La Vierge du Pilier à Saragosse*

Pedro MERCADO

(C. HERNANDO, *Helenismo e Ilustración* (el griego en el siglo XVIII español). Fundación Universitaria Española, Madrid 1975, p. 285)

Pedro Mercado dedicated his work *Νέα ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* to the Virgin of Pillar, the protectoress of Zaragoza, including a short description of the miracle who gave birth to the tradition and her worship, as a matter of fact developed all over Spain. The work is written in Greek, translated from his own original Latin composition:

ὡς γὰρ εὐσεβῆς καὶ παλαιὰ παράδοσις ἔχει, ὅταν ὁ Ἰάκωβος ἀπόστολος ὁ μέγας θεία συμβουλῇ πρὸς Ἰσπανίαν ἦλθε, καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐν τῇ Καισαραυγούστα ἔμενε, εὐχομένῳ αὐτῷ μετὰ τινων μαθητῶν ἡ ἀγιωτάτη θεοτόκος, ἔτι ἐν τῇ ζωῇ οὔσα, παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἰβήρου ἐφαίνετο, καὶ ἱερὸν αὐτόθι κτίζειν ἐκέλευσε· διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν μέλλον ὁ Ἀπόστολος συνεργούντων τῶν μαθητῶν οἰκίδιον τῷ θεῷ πρὸς τὴν τῆς Παναγίας Παρθένου τιμὴν καθιέρωσεν· τοῦτω δὲ οἰκιδίῳ μετὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς αἰῶνας μεγαλοπρεπέστερον προσετέθη ἱερὸν, ὃ ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα πάλαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου εἰλημμένον, ἐπειδὴ τῆς θεοτόκου τὸ ἄγαλμα μαρμαρίνῳ τῷ στόλῳ ἐφιστάμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου τῶν λαῶν πλήθους, καὶ μεγίστη εὐσεβεία αὐτόθι σέβεται.

3.6. Greek distics – *Distiques grecs*

José LASSO DE DIOS

(C. HERNANDO, *Helenismo e Ilustración* (el griego en el siglo XVIII español), Fundación Universitaria Española, Madrid 1975, pp. 289-290)

José Lasso de Dios wrote some elegiac couplets as a prologus of *Elements of Greek Grammar* (1775), a work written by his literature master, Joseph Ortiz de la Peña:

Φέρτατε τῆς σοφίης διδάξιν ἔξοχε πάντων,
οἷς τὰ ὑπ' ἐμπείρων ἔστ' ἀναταξόμενα.
Ταῦτά σὺ ἔργῳ σοῦ συλλήβδην καὶ δὲ συνάξων,
βραχύλογος γράφειν, ἀλλά τοι εὐμεγέθης.
Πᾶς οὖν σοῦ κοιμιδῆ ἑλληνίζοντος ἀκούσει,
Ὅδε μὲν εὖ ἀγαθός, αὐτὸς ἐπεὶ δὲ νοεῖ.
Ἄνθ' ὧν οὖν ἐπιχαίρετε τῇ μεθόδῳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ.
Καὶ δ' ἐπὶ παιδευτῇ ὅστις ἐπραγμάτευε.
Ὡστ' ἄνευ παιδαγωγοῦ, μῆτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων,
Ἐμπείρως τ' ἀκριβῶς τις διάλεκτον ἔχη.

3.7. περὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς ἔπαινος

Saturnino LOZANO Y BLASCO (P. HUALDE PASCUAL y F.-G. HERNÁNDEZ MUÑOZ, “La Real Academia Greco-Latina y un discurso griego en defensa de los estudios helénicos”, *CFC* 10 (2000), pp. 303-304)

The Royal Latin Matritensis Academy was created in 1830 under the protection of king Ferdinand VII and queen Maria Cristina and one year later it became Academia Greco-Latina, the statutes being approved in 1831. This year, on November 27th the official opening ceremony took place. For the occasion Luis de Mata y Araujo delivered his speech in Latin and the professor in Greek Saturnino Lozano delivered his own speech in Greek. After praising (as expected) Phonetics and Greek Grammar, the speaker focusses on the Greek Heritage in the fields of religion, philosophy and science, devoting them more than seventy per cent of the full text, as follows:

Ἀλλὰ μὲν τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι μόνος τῶν θησαυρῶν τῇ φωνῇ Ἑλληνικῇ κεκλεισμένων. Τὸ δὲ φιλοσοφίας ἔργον, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἤρξατο, γεγενῆσθαι δὲ παρὰ μὲν Πέρσας τοὺς μάγους, παρὰ δὲ Βαβυλωνίους ἢ Ἀσσυρίους τοὺς Χαλδαίους, καὶ γυμνοσοφιστὰς παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς, καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀλλ’ οἱ δ’ Ἕλληνες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν εἰσήνεγκαν καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν πρῶτος ὠνόμασε Πυθαγόρας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ μετριότητι φιλόσοφον· καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν τοσοῦτο κατεγένοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὥστε τοὺς ἀβροὺς καρποὺς διῆξαι εἰς ἡμᾶς. Διὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιστάμεθα τὰς τῶν παλαιῶν δόξας περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κόσμου, περὶ τῆς φύσεως τῶν ἀστρῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ περὶ τῆς ἠθικῆς. Ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασι εὐρίσκονται πολλαὶ γνώσεις, ὧν εὕρημα οἱ νέοι ἑαυτοῖς ἀνέθεντο· τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα τῆς νομικῆς, ἣ δὲ καὶ γένεσις τῶν χρήσεων καὶ τῶν ἠθῶν, ὧν πόλλιστα (*sic*) διῆξαν εἰς ἡμᾶς.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ (τὸ ἡμῖν χριστιανοῖς κυριώτατόν ἐστι) τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασι ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶ γεγραμμένη, πᾶσα διδασκίμη ἦν ἡμῖν ἔλιπε ὁ Υἱὸς Θεοῦ. Χωρὶς τῆς γνώσεως τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς ἀπολλοῖται μὲν λόγοι τῶν ἁγίων βιβλίων διάκεινται ἀσαφεῖς οὐδ’ ἀποφαίνονται αἱ ἀβραϊκῆς ἰδέαι κατακεκλεισμέναι ἐν τοῖς λόγοις Ἑλληνικοῖς, καὶ ἡ ἔμφασις παντελῶς ἀφανίζεται. Ὁ ἔρμηνεύς γὰρ ῥωμαϊκὸς μεθερμηνεύων κατὰ τὴν λέξιν μετεγράψατο τὰς φράσεις, καὶ τὰς παροιμίας Ἑλληνικὰς ἠμφιεσμένας ῥήματα ῥωμαϊκὰ.

Τέλος δ’ ἀνέβλυξε ἐκ τῶν γραπτῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἡ κρήνη, ἡ αἰδὶος τῆς παιδείας. Τὸ ὕψος τῶν ἐννοημάτων, ὁ πλοῦτος τῶν ῥημάτων, ἡ κυριολεξία καὶ ἡ τῶν φθόγγων ἀρμονία, ταῦτ’ ἐστὶ, τὸ δ’ ἀληθές, τῶν γραπτῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τ’ ἀγαθὰ. Ἀναπτυσάσθω μὲν Ὀμηρος, καὶ ὥστ’ ἐρήμιον δι’ οὐρανοῦ τὴν καθ’ ἡμέραν, οὐ φαίνεται κάλλιον ἄστρον τοῦ Ἡλίου λαμπετέωντος, τοιοῦτος ὁ αἰδοῦς τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως. Ἀναπτυσάσθω δὲ Δημοσθένης, καὶ ὥστε ποταμὸς χειμάρρους ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους καταβαίνων πάντ’ ὤκα ἐσκέδασε τὸν δ’ οὐτ’ ἄρα τε ἰσχάνουσιν αἱ γέφυραι, οὐτ’ ἀρ’ ἔρηκη, τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ νικητῆς Αἰσχίνου. Ἀναπτυσάσθω

τε Πίνδαρος, καὶ ὥστ' ἀετὸς ὑπερήφανος ἐκπτερύσσεται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀέρι καὶ κρύπτεται ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῶν ὀξυδερκεστάτων, τοιοῦτος ὁ ἀοιδὸς τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων. Ἀναπτυσάσθω δὲ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ ὥστ' ὕδωρ διαφανές, τὸ διὰ τὸν λειμῶνα διολισθαίνει, τοιοῦτος μεταξὺ τῶν συγγραφέων ὁ τῆς Κύρου ἀναβάσεως. Ἀναπτυσάσθωσαν Θουκιδίδης, Πλάτων, Σοφοκλῆς, Εὐριπίδης, Ἀριστοφάνης, Θεόκριτος, Καλλιμαχος, Ἀνακρέων, Σαπφῶ, καὶ ὥστε πίτυς βλωθρὰ ἐν ὕλῃ πυκινῇ ὑπεραίρεται πάντων τῶν δένδρων, τοιοῦτοι ἐκεῖνοι μεταξὺ τῶν νέων γραπτῆρων.

Τίς τ' ἄρ' ἐπιθυμῶν τὴν βεβαίαν παιδεῖαν οὐκ σπουδάσει περὶ ταύτην φωνὴν οὕτω πλουσίαν, ἀρμονικὴν καὶ φιλοσοφικὴν τυγχάνουσαν, τόσους καὶ ὑπερμεγέθεις θησαυροὺς ἐκκλείουσαν; Τίς δὲ φιλόλογος ὀνομασθήσεται, ὃς μὴ διατρίβει περὶ τὰ συγγράμματα Ἑλληνικὰ νύκτα καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν;

Ἄσκειτε, ὦ Ἰβήροι, αὐτὴ βασιλικὴ Ἀκαδημία ὑμῖν λέγει, ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν, εἰ ἀληθῶς ἐπιθυμεῖτε ἐπισταμένους εἶναι ἄνδρας. Ὡ θεολόγοι, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ἑλληνιστί ἐστι γεγραμμένον· Ἑλληνιστὶ γεγραφήκασι οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, πρῶτοι δακτύλιοι τῆς σειρᾶς τῆς παραδόσεως. Ὡ φιλόσοφοι, συγγράμμασι Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐπίκεινται τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς φιλοσοφίας. Τὰ συστήματα τοῦ Δήσκαρτης, τοῦ Μαλήβρανκε, τοῦ Λεϊβνιθ, τοῦ Νεέδαν, τοῦ Βηρκέλει ἐπίκεινται ταῖς δόξαις Ἀναξαγόρου, Πυθαγόρου, Πλάτωνος, Λευκίππου, Δημοκρίτου, Ἐπικούρου, καὶ Πρωταγόρου. Ὡ ἰατροί, ὁ θεῖος Ἴπποκράτης Ἑλλῆν ἐστὶ, ὁμοίως Ἀρεταῖος, ὁ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἢ ὀνοματογραφία τῆς ἰατρικῆς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν αὐτῆς συμμάχων Ἑλληνικὴ οὐσα τυγχάνει. Ὡ ῥήτορες, ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν ἐκμαθήσετε πῶς χρῆ ἀμύνασθαι περὶ τῶν μεγάλων πραγμάτων ὑμῖν παραδιδόμενων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀκακίας βιαζομένης. Ὡ ποιηταί, τὰ τέλεια ἀρχέτυπα τῆς ποιήσεως ἐπίκεινται τοῖς συγγράμμασι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ἡ καλλίστη φύσις εἰς ἀπαξ ἦρατο τὸ κάλυμμα, ἵνα αὐτὴν ἀποτυπώσιν οἱ Ἑλληνες.

Ἔφην

Σατόρνινος Λοθάνο

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