

Roman Geography and Spatial Perception ins the Republic

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Roman geography was based on a series of spatial representations; as a culture the Romans did not seem to be concerned with accurate quantitative descriptions of the world. Was this due to a lack of ability on their part, or did they simply not need to communicate geographic intervals through representation? If we analyze the structure of Roman texts using comparisons between opposite environments (extreme African temperatures versus the temperate climate of central Italy) and opposite cultures (“uncivilized” societies versus “civilized” Rome) we can gain insight into what can be labeled as “ethno-geography.” The Romans created distinct associations between an environment and its inhabitants. These associations were generally coupled, with the Romans evaluating another culture against their own self-worth. This dual contrast of ethnicity fits into a linear writing model, illustrated by geographic writings by Roman authors such as Sallust, Cicero, Pliny the Elder, and Pliny the Younger. Geographic and ethnographic descriptions were combined in narration, and while territory was outlined in linear itineraries, populations and cultures were outlined in the same style. Maps were not in demand during the Roman Republic, and consequently,

only military or municipal itineraries were created.

While the Romans accepted the concept of territorial and landscape variance, they did not have the same geographic perceptions that were prevalent in Greek culture, nor did they practice the art of map making. Classical Greek historians like Thucydides (460-400BC) traveled across many states and regions surrounding the Mediterranean and included climatic and environmental accounts within their historical narratives. These geographic descriptions encouraged others, such as Ptolemy (87-150AD) and Strabo (64BC-24AD), to continue in this branch of research. Lengthy reports on different topographic zones and their inhabiting cultures offered insights into societies that ordinary citizens would have otherwise never had the chance to encounter for themselves.¹ The skills associated with illustrating a different land through literature became a trend in Roman science only at the end of the first century BC. In 44BC, for example, Julius Caesar and Marcus Antonius hired three Greek geographers to create an itinerary of Roman municipal structures- a task that lasted 32 years.² During the reign of the Emperor Augustus (27BC-14AD), and while Rome was pushing to expand its borders, geographers were hired to write accounts of the territories they came across. Historians also looked to their earlier Greek counterparts for geographic descriptions and evidence of the societies linked with these regions.

Geographic and topographic details dating to the Republic are scarce. References to new overseas territories and foreign societies seem to be dropped into narratives at random and are often only there to provide sufficient background material for the story.³ Were Romans simply not con-

cerned with the idea of geographic exploration during the Republic? There is a likely parallel between Roman territorial growth and the emergence of a desire to not only know foreign lands, but to also describe and map them. Although these territories had native peoples, the Romans saw themselves as making a new “discovery” by documenting the landscape in an official account. In a sense, they were conquering the land. As Rome’s cultural and territorial boundaries expanded, so too did their model of geographic settings.

Ethno-geographic descriptions before the mid-first century BC differed greatly in style from those written in the late-first century AD. Spatial representation was conveyed through indefinite categories of position. Geographic descriptions did not include any sort of global direction and read much like an inventory of space.⁴ The organizational structure used by the Romans in their descriptions can be defined as internal, rather than wide ranging, meaning that they tended to omit external reference points and focus on directions ranging only from the original location to the final target. In this sense, the Roman method of recording geography can be described as linear. Pliny the Younger (63-113AD) includes a description of two of his countryside villas, one of which was in Tuscany and the other in Laurentinum, in separate letters to his friends.⁵ Pliny uses the same linear method in his descriptions, and focuses on certain aspects of his villas. He also mentions the surrounding countryside, but only in relation to certain landmarks. In doing so, Pliny knows that his reader will be able to create a mental image of the villas in their settings. The interior is not only represented linearly in writing, but also in architecture. Rooms are situated on an

axis that is built with specific relation to the outside scenery and favourable climactic elements.⁶ For example, “a second [drawing-room] of a smaller size, which has one window to the rising, and another to the setting sun.”⁷ Corresponding with this linear construction, personal and municipal spaces were also sequential or track-based.

Another Roman author writing at the early beginnings of the Empire was Pliny the Elder (23-79AD). In his *Natural History*, he describes a number of topographic regions and their indigenous inhabitants. The goal in his writing is not to explain to the reader *how* to get somewhere, it is to show his reader what he, himself, found at those locations. In this sense, Pliny’s *Natural History* is an example of primitive Roman mapping skills. Geographic and topographic trends are commonly expressed in maps and modern interpretations require a mathematical approach to measures of distance and space. *Natural History* does include some numerical distances but these are again centered on one common focal point. The spatial descriptions of the early Roman Republic did not include a standard set of calculations but often used a qualitative commentary instead. Perhaps this subjective, and even slightly anecdotal, geography was modeled after the Greek historian Herodotus, whose fifth century BC writings provided little in the way of cartographic details.

Both Pliny the Elder and his nephew Pliny the Younger lived and wrote during the early Empire. They should, however, be included when discussing the representation of physical geography during the Republic. Contextually, their writing style differs from Republican writers, however not in the construction of the individual letters. Using examples from these

early Empire authors shows both a transition period in Roman ideals as well as uniformity in spatial awareness during the Republic and several decades after Caesar. Pliny the Elder's writing style is certainly linear, especially illustrated in his description of Rome and the Italian provinces, in which he can only describe the provinces in relation to a physical landmark, here it is the sea-line.

"We will now describe its extent and its different cities; in doing which, it is necessary to premise, that we shall follow the arrangement of the late Emperor Augustus, and adopt the division which he made of the whole of Italy into eleven districts; taking them, however, according to their order on the sea-line, as in so hurried a detail it would not be possible otherwise to describe each city in juxtaposition with the others in its vicinity."⁸

Pliny the Younger also employs a linear method in his descriptions. Each scene is organized into a sequence of the settings that one would see when looking down a straight line of sight.

"...from the back you see the middle court, the portico, and the area; and from another point you look through the portico into the courtyard, and out upon the woods and distant mountains beyond."⁹

As Rome expanded her territories, and Augustus set a new cultural tone, geographic and ethnographic writings began to reflect this change and show Rome at the centre of a new world. Previous histories always included this element, although to a smaller extent.¹⁰ The linear constructs that shape both Plinys' writings endure both geographic and political changes. Therefore, to see both the stability and the evolution between time periods, we can and should include both Plinys, as well as other authors writing at the beginning of the Empire (>c. 27BC), when analyzing the structural and ethnographic associations with the physical geography of the Roman Republic.

This change in technique was accompanied by a change in motivation. Although the annexation of territory following a successful battle suggests a great deal of geographic attention, it is doubtful that the Romans were actually seeking new territory for any other reasons than those of a political nature. It is clear that international travel for either exploration or pleasure was uncommon. We see this illustrated in a cultural aside in his historical narration, when Sallust reminds us that he can only speak of countries with which Rome has had political or military relations. The second line of his geographic digression claims that countries with climates that were extreme in comparison to central Italy "have been but little visited."¹¹ This also suggests an indistinctness of convention surrounding a city or province's boundaries. Maps of political territories divide a space into definitive parts, using a line to graphically represent a boundary, with no "grey area." Perhaps these borders were not as clear as suggested by modern maps or even those drawn up in the later Roman Empire.

It is important to keep in mind that Romans did not have a modern sense of geography or mapping skills. Prominent topographic settings served as territorial landmarks. For example, a common Roman judgment surrounding Germanic tribes was that a wider expanse of land surrounding a tribe's core position indicated a position of military dominance.¹² Vacant land signified the degree of fear that other tribes held of inciting a confrontation with the dominant tribe. Hence a dominant community status was achieved through aggressive tactics which developed into a defensive strategy. This is merely a Roman perspective and reasoning to account for the vacant land.

The particular location of the Roman urban centre was topographically unattractive, and provided few means of protection. Flat plains surrounded the eastern and southern borders, and the west was adjacent to the sea. All these conditions made it less difficult for neighbouring populations to attack the city, and easier to force Rome into a defensive position. Perhaps this played a part in the drastic increase in expansionist actions in the late Republic. Military and political figures realized that if they could not impart a defensive authority over the territory that they controlled, then they would have to take an offensive approach. Instead of securing their land, Rome put their soldiers into the field and aggressively proved their strength. However, looking further into territorial description during and after the progression into the Roman Empire, there is a lasting spatial element as evidence that Rome was still politically defensive. Looking back at the Roman notion of Germanic tribes, the aggressive tactics are developing into a defensive strategy, and “proving” their strength can be changed to “defending”

their strength. Maps were still drawn up as itineraries for the purpose of civic or military routes. The association between a physical territory and its inhabitants did not undergo any transformations from the early to the late Republic, or into the early Empire. Harsh environments still yielded rough peoples. If there was no change in these beliefs, it is possible that Rome was still acting defensively in the early first century BC. Perhaps on a smaller military scale, particular battles were executed in an offensive fashion, but politically Rome wanted to hold onto her dominance and actions were made to defend this self-imposed status.

The Romans had two principally acknowledged categories of geography; one which dealt with civilizing factors and the other with natural factors. The former included aspects of the environment that affected, or were affected by, the spread of human population. Thus, fertile land reflected an applied civilization factor. Agriculture and the Roman economy were closely linked to this type of geography because of the desirability of fertile land. Agriculturally productive land was in demand for the Romans and this terrain was looked at through a strictly economic perspective.¹³ Territory that was economically convenient for inter-state relations also fell into this category of human, or community-based, geography.

The second type of geography recognized by the Romans was physical or environmental geography. This included climactic conditions, natural landscapes and harsh or burdensome terrain. From a Roman perspective, environmental factors had undeniable bearing on the morals and nature of the peoples in a region.¹⁴ From Pliny's letters, we see that geographical setting and climate acted as a positive stimulant in daily Roman life.¹⁵ He

makes it quite clear, for example, that his villas were places of relaxation from a hectic day in the urban centre of Rome. When compared to various other Roman historians' references to the association of leisure with weakness, this shows Roman confidence that they were above the enervating features of living in a moderate climate. Pliny also makes certain to note that his villa was at a reasonable distance from the sea. He describes a drawing-room which had "a prospect of the sea, but being at a greater distance, is less incommoded by it."¹⁶ This villa is a refuge from any harmful influence the sea might have.

During the Republic, the Romans believed that the environment had a much greater impact on its inhabitants rather than the other way around. This fact indicates how Romans really saw the geography-civilization relationship. They considered civilized Rome itself to be above the negative influences of the environment and saw barbarian societies as being unable to gain enough control to rise above their surroundings.¹⁷ They were thus left under the corrupting influences of the environment and unable to become civilized. It is important to note that the status of "civilized" bestowed by the Romans on certain cultures did have an impact on the way they treated its members, whether indigenous or immigrants. Civilized societies were certainly seen as "better" from the Roman position but there were also particular reputations which corresponded to the more hostile and war-like populations.¹⁸

Extreme environments and climates impart a more bellicose quality on its inhabitants. If this is analyzed in the same way as the Roman definition of civilization, then these aggressive peoples were a product of being

able to overcome their harsh condition of life. If they could conquer the severe terrain, then they could easily conquer an opposing tribe or community.

Most Republican ethnographers agreed that cultural bonds existed between human character and physical geography. Mediterranean and North African lands encompass a large variety of topography and climates. The geographic provinces defined by the Romans included desert, forest, mountainous, lowlands or plains, and communities established in coastal settings. The physical world was also divided into zones based on temperature and typical weather. This tradition of a laterally segmented Earth dates back to early Greek mythological models adapted by Ovid to fit into verse in his *Metamorphoses*.¹⁹ Although more divisions were allocated in later models, the Roman Republic was aware of severe heat along the Earth's equator and severe cold at the poles.²⁰ These two antithetical temperature ranges allegedly yielded more hostile men than a more temperate climate. This paradigm is prominently displayed in Sallust, who gives a short history of the existing races in Africa.²¹ Through all of the intermarriages between the African tribes and outside races, a hierarchy of civilization was established. Roman knowledge of African ethos began with two tribes, the Getulians and the Libyans, who were both seen as uncivilized because of their lack of political structure and economy. Both of these tribes were also nomadic and, although unrestricted by physical geography, remained in dry, desert regions in middle latitudes. As Persians migrated into Africa, they took up territory closer to the ocean, yet rejected the economy and travel benefits that a coastal life could offer. Once in Africa, the Persians flipped their ships upside down, turning them into crude houses.²² Many of them united with the

Getulians and formed the race of Numidians, named for their nomadic lifestyle. The Persian factions in Africa slowly declined and took the customs and name of the Numidian population.²³ These Persian settlers could not adapt to the African climate and terrain and were accordingly portrayed as an inherently weak culture.

Authors could use the connection between geography and ethnography against a rival nation. By showing a foreign society's inability to overcome territorial adversity, they could promulgate Roman nationality to a Roman audience. The geographic model was modified on an accommodating basis, especially concerning Roman foreign affairs. In this way, ethnographic descriptions were like the dynamic Roman Republic religious system. If the correlation between the nature of a foreign society and their inhabiting territory was inconsistent with previous "patterns" this society became a new example of one that was unable to adapt to outside components in the environment. New settlements, immigration and neighbouring communities were among the deterring external influences.

During the time when Sallust was writing his *Jugurthine War* the Parthian Empire ruled over Persia, and this power clashed with Rome, provoking battles and sieges between the two powers. From the subtly reproachful language that he chooses whenever he mentions the Persians in his ethnographic digression, Sallust cannot help but instill contemporary political feelings into his writing. He makes clear the uneasy relationship between Rome and Persia and hints at showing what the Romans thought to be a fundamental weakness from the time the Persians were introduced into his history.

The language that Sallust uses throughout the *Jugurthine War* reflects Roman attitudes towards foreign geography. When he is referring to particular topographic locations the tone is that of possession. In the beginning of his ethnographic digression on the tribes in Africa, Sallust describes the division of the continents. He points out that while many include Africa as a third division, a geographic entity in itself, they are incorrect in this classification. Africa is indeed a part of Europe (“sed Africam in Europa”).²⁴ Several times throughout the description, Sallust encounters a territory that he relates in some way back to Rome. A coastal territory is still associated with Roman land because it is bounded on one or more sides by “nostro mari” (*our sea*). Sallust obtained much of his historical resources while holding magistracy in Africa, and he makes his satisfaction for Roman jurisdiction over Africa clear through this narrative. The period in which he is writing also influences his foreign preconceptions. Sallust was a supporter of Caesar, and although he did not live to see the formation of the second triumvirate, he participated in political affairs during the waning Republic.

Concerning coastal geography, the Romans believed the sea played a strong influence on the moral character of the inhabitants living off of maritime resources. The sea had potential to bring luxury and leisure, and submission to such extravagances would weaken a population. Not every coastal city allowed itself to be weakened and abate an honourable status. Cicero makes certain that despite Rome’s coastal location in central Italy, the enervating physical features of the land were used to their advantage. For religious impact, he cites the city’s celebrated founder, Romulus: “Romulus was admirably successful in achieving all the benefits that could be-

long to maritime cities, without incurring the dangers to which they are exposed.”²⁵ The paragraph preceding this sentence presents a scrutiny of Greek culture, and the ways in which it had become weakened by overindulging in maritime vices. Both international sea commerce and a worthy naval force were the methods by which luxury was brought into Greek society. In accordance with what Cicero is describing, these maritime luxuries were bought to Greece from the interaction between other populations.

Cicero uses the word “barbarian” in reference to the Carthaginians and the Etruscans. These two nations are mentioned as the only barbarian cultures that had a position in the maritime world. He claims that all other barbarians were not sea-faring people and were unconcerned with this aspect of culture.²⁶ “Barbarian” in this context can be taken to mean uncivilized, because civilization is the status given to a society with an economy and some form of political management. If barbarian equates to savagery, then one would expect this comparison to apply to the model of extreme climates yielding savagery (aggressive behaviour). The Getulians, living in the African desert, were savage and barbarous and uncivilized. Conversely, a second African tribe, the Libyans, resettled along the coastal areas. After settling and establishing social and commercial order, they became more civilized as they began to value the comfort of an agreeable and indulgent coastal lifestyle. A unified identification of “barbarian” cannot be drawn on from all ancient sources; many authors do not utilize this word with consistency, even within their own works.

Moral degeneracy was a common theme in Roman Republican de-

scriptions of coastal impact on Greek societies. Strabo assesses the balance of cultures of the civilized, uncivilized and Greek Mediterranean world in his *Geography*. Although born a Greek, Strabo gained Roman citizenship later in life, and therefore straddles both geographic traditions. Both Rome and Greece are civilized cultures but have taken diametrically opposite roles in their respective environments. A population can either profit from its natural surroundings and essentially develop the inner-workings of civilization through exploitation of the land, or it can let the environment exploit the inner-workings of civilization and lose control. Rome was able to succeed in the former, and Greece ceded to the latter. Strabo advocates that it is not the will to overcome the environment so much as strength of character. Instead of the environment as an obstacle to overcome, it is something to tame and to cultivate. It is the basic quality of humans that can “navigate” the geography. This ideal of the moral character of man fundamentally governing all human affairs is a very Greek thought. Strabo is preserving some of the basic historiographic analysis methods of Greek predecessors, such as Herodotus.

Religious philosophies played a large part in Strabo’s notion of a civilizational dichotomy. Uncivilized people, who are characterized by a similar judgment that civilization requires economic communication and an overall set of governing rules, lived high in the mountains. According to Strabo, these mountain people represented a lower evolutionary stage of human development.²⁷ He draws on human emotion, fear, for the reason that early isolated villages remained at higher or rugged territories. The undeveloped locations of these secluded worlds paralleled the undeveloped moral

character and the consequently undeveloped civilizing character of the inhabitants. The somewhat distorted Roman spatial awareness gave rise to the notion that mountains and other uninviting territories were on the outskirts of the world. It is not so difficult to understand why a Roman might believe this; the city was centered on a flat and level landscape, and their instinctive world-view was based on Rome as the political focus. Since civilized peoples settled in communities within an urban nucleus, those living in regions unlike that of Rome were seen as being of an opposite character. Once again, this follows the idea that a population could overcome its adversarial environment. In the case of small groups migrating from the “outskirts” and merging into villages or tribes, overcoming the environment meant having the moral strength to leave a poor situation and create a better one.

Van der Vliet sees the pattern of civilized versus non-civilized cultures, with respect to the Roman urban nucleus, as “circles of identity.”²⁸ Given Strabo’s Greek background and rhetorical reasoning, it is possible that he defined people and places in a way that Romans had not done before. Although the events that he described are rooted in Herodotean measures of human nature, this does not carry into his geographic narration. Populations are identified between distinct dichotomies, some with varying levels of separation in between.²⁹ There is a scale of human evolution from the mountains to the Roman centre of civilization, and there seems to be no clear evidence for a circular model. Van der Vliet’s model seems to put too modern a perspective on a science that, at this time in Rome (the turn of the first century AD), was not advanced. Strabo’s Geography comes only a few

decades after Julius Caesar employed three Greeks, Polyclitus, Theodotus and Zenodoxus, in 44BC on a land survey.³⁰ Each man plotted a section of the city's roads and municipal structures for military and commercial purposes. However a map did not develop from this exploration, it became an "itinerary."³¹ Since Strabo had begun his geographic inquiry by the time the Roman road itinerary had been completed, it is unlikely that his approach to spatial representation was much more advanced than the existing style. Using this knowledge and the assumption that Strabo applied a Herodotean cause-and-effect style to his writing, a circular configuration of human and physical geography is flawed. The idea of a community living a certain distance from a central focus of civilization can be described as radial, rather than rotational, or concentric, as Van der Vliet proposes.³² The same idea corresponds to the physical geography related to the population geography model; it is a radial relationship between harsh, distant mountainous regions and the favourable coastal or plain territories that civilized populations have later settled in.

In Strabo's description, he mostly employs only dual comparisons between two groups of people, typically choosing groups of contrasting character.³³ This is still a linear construction of geography and the associated ethnography- from pole to pole, one tribe to another. Strabo is similar to Pliny the Younger in this way, comparing a smaller set of people or places within a larger scheme. They are internal relationships represented on a scale that is independent of all features except what exists on each end of the scale. This can be used to demonstrate how his level of spatial rationalization is equal to other contemporary Roman geographers. It is only in his

writing style that Strabo differs, as a geographer, from historians of the Roman Republic.

Romans still saw themselves as above the troubling influences of the sea, and still believed themselves to have overcome their physical geography. Greek societies had allowed maritime luxury to weaken their culture, and the Romans wanted to prove, more to themselves than anyone else, that they were still strong and able to resist enervating forces in their environment. Around 58BC, the start of the Gallic Wars, the Romans were just beginning to take offensive military action. It is at this point, with the emergence of the titles *triumvir* and *princeps* that imperialistic ideology allowed for offensive military behaviour. These leaders kept a defensive political scene as they defended their legitimacy. Geographic motivation changed in the first century AD as powerful figures such as Augustus hired geographers to survey foreign lands. Moreover, their desire to map new territories proposes an offensive military approach. In the *Gallic Wars*, Caesar documented his own military actions in Gaul. He describes many battles and attacks, but the Roman perception of space in physical geography reveals a defensive burden on his troops. One tribe used their environment to their advantage and fashioned trees into a barrier, both from passage and vision.³⁴ This was a defensive tactic on the part of the Gallic tribe, and Caesar's troops could not seem to advance and defeat this obstacle.³⁵ It may seem as though they could not defeat this new environment, however the actual barrier was a man-made fortification. Here we see the Roman army fighting offensively as the Gauls defend themselves. Thus, Rome continued to be politically defensive in the late Republic and early Empire, yet there

was a change to offensive military behaviour.

As the Roman political landscape changed, so too did their views concerning the physical landscape. Perceived associations between territory and populations were communicated through geographic constructs and a notably linear writing style. Spatial representation in geographic texts played a significant role in interpreting the Roman understanding of geography as well as ethnographic biases. The physical attributes of a territory could affect the character of its inhabitants, either in a positive or harmful way. Moreover, the people living in a particular region could use the terrain to their advantage and establish civilizing aspects of society. A belief that they had taken control of their natural surroundings was the Romans' way to justify their expanding boundaries. Geographic descriptions were written in a manner that indicated a defensive military and political scene in the Republic as well as the division of an offensive military approach from a defensive political approach in the later Republic.

Endnotes

¹ Grime, 1923

² Smith, 1870

³ Sallust begins a digression to his history of the *Jugurthine War* with the line, "My subject seems to require of me, in this place, a brief account of the situation in Africa, and of those nations in it with whom we have had war or alliances." and only continues his ethnographic aside for a few paragraphs.

⁴ Riggsby finds fault with previous scholar's attempts to justify spatial representation in Pliny the Younger's writing, claiming that they model the ancient descriptions to a quantitative approach. However, the ancient narratives are, themselves, qualitative, therefore we should analyze them based on qualitative variations.

⁵ Plin. *Ep.* 2.17, 5.6

⁶ Riggsby, 2003

⁷ Plin. *Ep.* 2.17

⁸ Plin. *NH.* 3.6.5

⁹ Plin. *Ep.* 2.17

¹⁰ Cic. *Rep.* Bk.2

¹¹ Sall. *Iug.* 17.2-4

¹² Caes. *BGall.* 6.23 “They consider this the real evidence of their prowess, that their neighbours shall be driven out of their lands and abandon them, and that no one dare settle near them; at the same time they think that they shall be on that account the more secure, because they have removed the apprehension of a sudden incursion.”

¹³ In the case of territory acquisitioned in a military victory, the land was typically taken and distributed to the citizens who had fought in the army. “These towns, which were remarkable for their wealth and fine lands and houses, they intended to allocate to the army, complete with lands and houses, like a substitute for plunder taken on enemy soil.” Appian. *BCiv.* 4.3.

¹⁴ Pol. 34.8 “In Lusitania both animals and man are extraordinarily productive, owing to the excellent temperature of the air.”

¹⁵ Plin. *Ep.* 2.17 “The angle which the projection of the hall forms with this drawing-room, retains and increases the warmth of the sun, and this forms a retreat in the winter and a family gymnasium; it is sheltered from all winds except those which are generally attended with clouds, so that nothing can render this place useless,...”

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ “Control” over the land would be the ability to cultivate the land.

¹⁸ Morstein-Marx, 2001

¹⁹ Ovid. *Met.* Bk.1

²⁰ The Greek geographer Ptolemy created a global “grid” with latitude and longitude divisions c.150AD, Ptolemy *Geographica*

²¹ Sallust only mentions the tribes known in Rome at the time; Sall. *Iug.* 17-19

²² Sall. *Iug.* 18

²³ Morstein-Marx, 2001

²⁴ Sall. *Iug.* 17.6-7; Morstein-Marx, 2001

²⁵ Cic. *Rep.* 2.24-25

²⁶ Cic. *Rep.* 1.16-19

²⁷ Strab. 3.3.8 “The quality of intractability and wildness in these peoples has not resulted solely from their engaging in warfare, but also from their remoteness; for the trip to their country, whether by sea or by land, is long, and since they are difficult to communicate with, they have lost the instinct of sociability and humanity... it is likely that those who live in the mountains are still more outlandish.”

²⁸ Van der Vliet, 2003

²⁹ Strabo describes three towns, Pisa, Tyrrhenia and Liguria, situated in a line. He then compares the inhabitants of Tyrrhenia and Liguria to those living in Pisa, “for they were, to begin with, more warlike than the Tyrrheni, and their warlike spirit was sharpened by the Ligures, bad neighbours living at their flank.” Strab. 5.2.5

³⁰ Smith, 1870

³¹ Riggsby, 2003

³² Van der Vliet, 2003, p.270

³³ Strab. 5.2.5

³⁴ Caes. *BGall.* 2.17-19

³⁵ Caes. *BGall.* 2.17.10-11 “had made these hedges present a fortification like a wall, through which it was not only impossible to enter, but even to penetrate with the eye.”

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