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*PATRIA PERSORUM, INDIA DIMIRICA-EVILAT AND INDIA
THERMANTICA-ELAMITIS IN THE COSMOGRAPHIA
OF RAVENNAS ANONYMUS*

SUMMARY

This study examines the toponyms largely within the Iranian sphere (excluding Central Asia) that are recorded in the *Cosmographia* of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna. Previous identifications are examined and evaluated. Based upon the most probable toponymic identifications, the internal logic of sequences of toponyms is considered, and these sequences are compared with those of the older *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

Keywords: Ravennas Anonymus; Persia; historical geography; India Dimirica; Thermantica; Elamitis; Patria persorum.

RÉSUMÉ

La présente contribution analyse les toponymes en rapport large avec la sphère iranienne (à l'exclusion de l'Asie centrale) qui sont répertoriés dans la *Cosmographia* du Géographe Anonyme de Ravenne. Les identifications antérieures sont réexaminées et évaluées. Sur la base des identifications toponymiques les plus probables, on étudie la logique interne des séquences des toponymes, puis on compare ces séquences avec ceux présents dans la *Tabula Peutingerina*, plus ancienne que la *Cosmographia*.

Mots clés : Anonyme de Ravenne ; Perse ; géographie historique ; India Dimirica ; Thermantica ; Elamitis ; Patria persorum.

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The *Cosmographia*, written at Ravenna in the early eighth century by an unidentified author commonly referred to as the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, or Ravennas Anonymus (hereafter Rav.), has been an object of study since the 17th century. Many scholars have clearly demonstrated Rav.'s debt to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (hereafter *Tab. Peut.*), Cl. Ptolemy's *Geography*, Jordanes' *Getica*, the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the *Annales regni Francorum*, Roman maps and itineraries, various writers known and unknown (e.g. Arbitio, Athanasius, Castorius,

Epiphanius, Isidorus, Lollianus, etc.) and at least three otherwise unattested Gothic ‘philosophers’ – Marcomir, Heldebald and Athanarid.¹ Apart from several overarching studies, like those of d’Avezac² and Schnetz,³ most expositions of Rav.’s work focus on a particular geographical area covered in the *Cosmographia*,⁴ but as Louis Dillemann noted, ‘Unfortunately its bare enumerations, generally lacking in any significant detail, are often disfigured by serious errors; an over-all view of the work makes these show up more clearly than does any partial study.’⁵ Such errors, at least those of a broadly systematic nature, were undoubtedly due to multiple factors, including the orientation and directionality of the maps and itineraries used by Rav.; the multiple linguistic origins (e.g. Dravidian, Iranian, Semitic) of the toponyms cited; copyists’ errors in the sources used; and the mediation of older material, originating in the post-Achaemenid (Seleucid, Arsacid) era, via Greek and later Roman writers. Yet, if one accepts Dillemann’s characterization, then the presumption ought to be that the individual parts of the *Cosmographia* should be more internally coherent than the work as a whole. The present study seeks to test this hypothesis by examining the paragraphs dealing with a) the cities of the *patria Persorum*; and b) the two divisions of India (India Dimirica-Evilat and India Thermantica-Elamitis) most closely related to Iran, omitting for the present, India Bactria/ Bactriana and Serica Bactriana / Bactrianis. Is there any coherence or internal logic to these sections? Are toponyms enumerated according to any particular scheme? Does the order of names reflect fragments of itineraries that Rav. may have consulted? Such questions have never been systematically examined in Rav.’s treatment of these sections of the *Cosmographia*.

PATRIA PERSORUM: THE PROVINCES

Rav.’s conception of the Earth as a circular plate, like the face of a sundial, divided into 24 ‘hours’ (*horae*), 12 for the night and 12 for the day, is well-known.⁶ Beginning in the southern half the first ‘hour’ is

¹ E.g. Tomaschek 1890a; Miller 1898; Schnetz 1919, 1926, 1932, 1934; Stolte 1949; Staab 1976; Lozovsky 2000. I am very grateful to two anonymous reviewers of the original version of this study for their valuable observations, many of which have been incorporated here. I would also like to warmly thank my student, Alireza Khounani (Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University), who prepared the map accompanying this article.

² D’Avezac 1888.

³ Schnetz 1919, 1942, 1951.

⁴ To cite just a few see e.g. Parthey 1858 on Egypt, Schnetz 1920 on Arabia or Dillemann 1979 on Britannia.

⁵ Dillemann 1979, p. 61.

⁶ Schnetz 1932, p. 83.

represented by the Indians, followed in the second, which included the Persian Gulf, by that of the Persians.⁷ Rav. begins his treatment of the *patria Persorum* (Book 2.5.1) by stating that, in addition to the land of the Parthians, there is the land of the Persians,⁸ called Parsagade [*patria Persorum que dicitur Parsagade*].⁹ After reading the works of many scholars, Rav. tells us, he has described it according to the still unidentified source Castorius.¹⁰

In a classic case of synecdoche, Rav. used the name of Cyrus the Great's capital to denominate the land of the Persians as a whole.¹¹ His spelling *Parsagade* is unusual, although paralleled by that of Quintus Curtius who wrote *Parsagada*.¹² The next paragraph (Book 2.5.2) is an enumeration, beginning with the statement, 'This land contains provinces, those which are called of the 1. Karmanon, 2. Cossion, 3. Massabaton, 4. Chaloniton, 5. Ascion, 6. Oriton, 7. Teriton, 8. Gyrilion, 9. Gargaridion, 10. Tantaleon, 11. Agrienon, 12. Latramon, 13. Cabeon, 14. Cletabion and 15. Carbinisacron.'¹³

1. Carmanon – Karmania.¹⁴
2. Cossion – the Kossaeans, placed by most sources in the Zagros mountains,¹⁵ between Susa and Ecbatana.¹⁶ Arrian, however, said that some lived in Persis,¹⁷ and Strabo even suggested that Kossaea extended as far north as the Caspian Gates.¹⁸
3. Massabaton – or Massabatenians inhabited Massabatene,¹⁹ an area located between Media and Susiana.²⁰

⁷ See the discussion e.g. in Parthey 1860, p. 632.

⁸ For Rav.'s use of *ethnika* in combination with the noun *patria* (*Völkernamen* rather than *Ländernamen*) see Schnetz 1934, p. 85ff.

⁹ Pinder and Parthey 1860: 51, 'Item iuxta scriptam patriam Parthorum est patria Persorum quae dicitur Pasargade.'

¹⁰ Book 2.5.1.

¹¹ Parsagade was interpreted by Schnetz 1934, p. 87 as an adjective taking the place of a noun, 'tatsächlich ist öfters in dem genannten Abschnitt die Hauptstadt einer Provinz in Form eines beim Provinznamen stehenden Adjektivs angegeben.'

¹² Cf. Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 10.1.22, as opposed to Pasargadai/Pasargadae in Herodotus 1.125, Strabo, *Geog.* 15.3.7, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6.99.

¹³ The numbers inserted here and elsewhere are not in the original text. They have been added for ease of reference.

¹⁴ Strabo, *Geog.* 15.2.14. See in general Kroll 1919; Potts 1989.

¹⁵ Diodorus 5.44.7.

¹⁶ Strabo, *Geog.* 11.13.6; Diodorus 19.19.2.

¹⁷ Arrian, *Anab.* 7.23.1.

¹⁸ Strabo, *Geog.* 16.1.17.

¹⁹ Nöldeke 1874, p. 102. Cf. Massabatike, Mes(s)abatani, Massabene, Masabadhan, Mihrgānqadhaq.

²⁰ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6.135, writing about the Eulaios river which arose in Media and flowed through Massabatene before reaching Susa. Cf. Weissbach 1907, p. 1063.

4. Chaloniton – despite the fact that Pliny wrote of ‘Ctesiphon in Chalonitis’,²¹ it has long been recognized that Chaloniton are the inhabitants of Chalonitis, mod. Ḥolwān around Qaṣr-e Šīrīn.²²
5. Ascion – in 1688 Porcheron compared this with Ἀσκήται²³, in which he was followed by Pinder and Parthey.²⁴ If Askitai/Ascitae, however, is connected to *Asakalitis/Sachalites* [*sinus*], as Porcheron, followed by Schmidt,²⁵ suggested, then we are no longer in Iran but on the south coast of Arabia, where the modern name Ḥāsik, near Ra’s Nuṣṣ, preserves a memory of Askitai.²⁶ An Iranian alternative seems to rest on a spurious foundation. Some early scholars, beginning with d’Anville, identified the Uxii of antiquity with the geographic name *Asciac/Asciat*.²⁷ The Uxii were encountered by Alexander after he left Susa, crossed the Pasitigris (mod. Karun), and entered the foothills of the Zagros on his march to Persepolis.²⁸ It is not clear, however, what toponym or ethnonym lies behind *Asciac/Asciat*, which is otherwise unattested in 18th and 19th century geographical sources, unless it represents a confusion, as sometimes suggested, with ‘*Koasp*’, folk

²¹ Nat. Hist. 6.122.

²² Nöldeke 1874, p. 100. Cf. Fraenkel 1899b.

²³ Porcheron 1688, p. 46, n. e. See Cl. Ptol., *Geog.* 6.7.26 cf. Steph. Byz., ed. Meineke 1849, p. 133 and Marcian 1.15, Ἀσαχαλίτης.

²⁴ Pinder and Parthey 1860, p. 51.

²⁵ Schmidt 1999, pp. 54, 263 and Ἀσαχαλίτης κόλπος (Σαχαλίτης κόλπος) and *Periplus Maris Erythraei* §29.

²⁶ Gosselin 1813, p. 31, ‘Immédiatement après le *Syagros*, Ptolémée place les peuples *Ascitae*, qui ne sont que les habitans du territoire de l’*Asichon* du Périples, ou de la ville d’Hasec d’aujourd’hui.’ Cf. Groom 1994, p. 207, ‘The last entry in Ptolemy’s tribal list reads: “Near Syagrum as far as the sea are the Ascitae.” In its context this appears to place the Ascitae to the west of the Syagros Promontory, but, as von Wissmann and others have noted, the name ties in both with the mountains called Asikhonos, mentioned in the *Periplus* as being to the east of Moscha, and with the present-day coastal village of Ḥāsik, near Ra’s Nuṣṣ.’ Forbiger 1844, p. 757, n. 85, located them further east at Ras al-Hadd, the easternmost promontory of Oman.

²⁷ d’Anville 1764, p. 167, ‘Plusieurs rivières qui sortent des montagnes d’*Asciac*, ou des *Uxii*’ and map. Cf. d’Anville 1791, p. 486; Vincent 1797: 384; Schmiieder 1798: 214; Sainte-Croix 1804, p. 676, n. 2, ‘Leur [the Uxii] pays est appelé *Ascion*, par l’anonyme de Ravenne...et *Asciat* par les géographes orientaux’; Jullien du Ruet 1809, p. 523; Gosselin in La Porte du Theil, Koraës and Letronne 1819, p. 117, n. 2; van der Chys 1828, p. 68, ‘hodie dicuntur *Ascion* vel *Asciat*.’ Halling 1835, p. 227, n. 860, ‘das *Asciat* orientalischer Geographen, letzterer das *Ascion* des *Ravennas Anonymus*.’

²⁸ Potts 2016, p. 343ff. Attempts to identify toponyms in the Persepolis Fortification texts (written in Elamite) along the route followed by Alexander, are generally spurious. See Potts 2009 with bibliography.

etymologically associated with *Choaspes*, one of the rivers of Susiana.²⁹ This does not provide a link to Rav.'s use of Ascion, however.

6. **Oriton** – almost certainly the Oritae/Oreitae of the Makran coast mentioned by Arrian,³⁰ as recognized already by Porcheron,³¹ and cognate with the toponym Ora (*Tab. Peut.*)³² and of the *Periplus*.³³
7. **Teriton** – Teredon³⁴, described by Pliny as a village ‘below the confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris.’³⁵
8. Gyrilion [Grilion] – unidentified, although the name has been compared with the Persian Gulf coastal region (*regio maritima*) called Cyropolis by Pliny.³⁶
9. Gargaridion [Gargaridon] – Dionysius Periegetes mentions the Gargaridae (Γαργαρίδαι) in connection with the Ganges³⁷ but Kiessling suggested over a century ago that the correct form was *Gandaridai*, in which we see a cognate of Gandāra, rather than Gargaridai.³⁸
10. Tantaleon – Schnetz suggested that this was a corruption of *Pant(i)aleon*,³⁹ referring to the Panthialaioi (Πανθιαλαῖοι), one of the Persian tribes mentioned by Herodotus.⁴⁰
11. Agrienon – a corruption of *Drangianon*, i.e. inhabitants of Drangiane (mod. Seistan)?⁴¹
12. Latramon – a corruption, according to Schnetz, but identified.⁴²

²⁹ Thus Anonymous 1845, p. 611, ‘Choaspes, (Koh-asp, Mountain of the Horse,) a River of Media, now called the Ahwaz. It rises in the country of the Uxians (Asciac or Louristan).’ Jean de Thévenot (1633-1667) heard of a mountain called ‘Koasp’ near Shushtar while travelling up the Karun. Thévenot 1727, p. 545, ‘Cette rivière de Caron [Karun], doit être le Khoaspes de Anciens; & même l’on m’a assuré, qu’il y a encore à présent, proche la ville de Souster, une montagne qu’on appelle Khoasp, où est le commencement de cette rivière de Caron.’ Cf. d’Anville 1764, p. 178, ‘Ce nom de *Koh-asp* est Persan, & signifie montagne du cheval: *koh* ou *kouh*, montagne, *asp*, cheval’; Potts 2002, p. 30 and n. 34.

³⁰ Arrian, *Indica* 23.5. Cf. Forbiger 1844, p. 530 and n. 47; Tomaschek 1890b, pp. 17-22; Holdich 1896, p. 389.

³¹ Porcheron 1688, p. 46, n. f.

³² Tomaschek 1883, p. 19.

³³ *Periplus Maris Erythraei* §37, ἐμπόριον Ὠραία.

³⁴ Dillemann 1997, p. 114.

³⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6.145. By contrast, Ammianus Marcellinus 23.6.23 called it a city of Assyria.

³⁶ Dillemann 1997, p. 114, citing Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6.115. From the reference that immediately follows to a ‘steep gorge ascending the mountain by stages,’ this must refer to the very difficult ascent leading up to the Dasht-e Arjan from Kazerun, the so-called Kotal-e Dukhtar. See e.g. Sykes 1902, p. 318.

³⁷ Dion. Per. 1144. Cf. Porcheron 1688, p. 46, n. h.

³⁸ Kiessling 1910a, p. 689; Kiessling 1910b, p. 759.

³⁹ Schnetz 1951, p. 26, n. 1.

⁴⁰ Herodotus 1.125.

⁴¹ Schnetz 1951, p. 26, n. 2. Cf. Streck 1903a, p. 31, ‘Gebiet in Persien.’

13. Cabeon – an interpolation from Arabia, perhaps a corruption of *Sabeon* / *Sabea*?⁴³
14. Cletabion [Eletabion] – associated by Pinder and Parthey with Cabeon, since Sabea and Cletabis appear elsewhere in Rav.’s treatment of Arabia maior.⁴⁴
15. Carbinisacron – identified by Schnetz as a corruption of *Carbidis acron* = Καρβίς ἀκραιῶν, the fish-eating (*ichthyophagoi*) inhabitants of **Karbis**, a part of the Makran coast mentioned by Arrian.⁴⁵

Rav.’s list of the provinces of the *patria Persorum* begins with Karmania and ends with Chalonitis, thus describing an arc moving from southeastern Iran (Karmania), westward through the mountains north of Susa (Kossaea, Massabatene) to the Zagros Gates (Chalonitis). At this point, however, we have what seems to be a confused sequence of ethnonyms beginning on the southern coast of Arabia (Ascion), jumping to the Makran coast (Oriton), moving north to the Gandaran area (Gargaridion), including the corrupted names of a Persian tribe (Tantaleon) and the eastern province of Drangiane (Agrienon). From here we have a possible reversion to southern Arabia (Cabeon, Cletabion) followed by another name on the Makran coast (Carbinisacron). It is difficult to discern any logic in this meandering list of Persian provinces.

THE CITIES (fig. 1)

At Book 2.5.3 Rav. tells us, ‘We have read, that in this land of the Persians there were many cities, some of which we want to cite, namely...’ There follows an enumeration of 53 toponyms. Before he was halfway through this list, however, Rav. had introduced names, comprising the majority of the last 30 cited, which are in Mesopotamia, rather than Iran. Like the list of provinces, the list of cities begins in Karmania. For convenience the 53 city names are preceded by a number.

⁴² Schnetz 1951, p. 26, n. 3, derived it from from Patr(i)a<g>adon, suggesting the *-m-* in Latramen was a corruption of ΑΔ in *-adon*.

⁴³ Pinder and Parthey 1860, p. 51.

⁴⁴ Pinder and Parthey 1860, p. 51. See Book 2.7.2-3. By contrast, Streck 1903c, p. 323, ‘**Cletabion**, Landschaft in Persien’ and Streck 1903d, p. 323, ‘**Cletabis**, Ortschaft in Arabia maior (etwa Centralarabien).’ Schnetz 1951, p. 26, n. 4, considered Cletabion a corruption of Derusieon, another of the Persian tribes according to Herodotus 1.125.

⁴⁵ Arrian, *Indica* 26.8. Cf. Tomaschek 1890b, p. 27; Schnetz 1951, p. 26, n. 5, ‘Bewohner jenes Vorgebirges (ἀκραιῶι), das von dem Καρβίς genannten Gestade ins Meer vorspringt.’ Cf. Streck 1903b, p. 275, ‘**Carbinisacron**, Landschaft in Persien.’

1. Archedotis – a variant of *Arciotis* on the *Tab. Peut.*⁴⁶ identified as Jiroft by Tomaschek⁴⁷ but, in view of its distance from Pantylene (see below), more likely to in the area of Baft.⁴⁸
2. Pat[h]ienas – a variant of *Pantylene* on the *Tab. Peut.*⁴⁹ Although a correspondence with Batthina (Βάτθινα) in Ptolemy's *Geography*⁵⁰ has been suggested,⁵¹ most scholars have followed Tomaschek in identifying Pat[h]ienas/Pantylene, based on its distance from Persepolis in the *Tab. Peut.*, with the area of Sirjan in Kerman.⁵² The name has also been assimilated with that of the Panthialaeans (Πανθιαλαῖοι) mentioned by Herodotus.⁵³
3. Parsagada – Pasargade, a city name that already appeared as that of a province.
4. Persepolis [Perseotis]
5. Armoza Regio – Hormuz, the coastal area around Minab.⁵⁴
6. Stagus – a variant of Siacus/*Isacus on the *Tab. Peut.*;⁵⁵ identical to Yazd-e Khāst according to Herzfeld.⁵⁶
7. Palmodes⁵⁷ – unknown, but understood as a corruption of *Paludes* by Dillemann.⁵⁸

⁴⁶ Porcheron 1688, p. 47, 'Arciotis Peutinger. tabulæ.' Cf. Pinder and Parthey 1860, p. 52.

⁴⁷ Tomaschek 1883, pp. 179-180; Tomaschek 1896, p. 603; Herzfeld 1908, p. 23, Šahr-e Daqianus on upper Halil Rud; Eilers 1954, p. 329, n. 107.

⁴⁸ Potts 1989, p. 584.

⁴⁹ Porcheron 1688, p. 47. Cf. Schnetz 1942, p. 23.

⁵⁰ *Geog.* 6.4.6.

⁵¹ Katancsich 1825, p. 410. Batthina was, however, in Persis. It is not clear what the toponym *Moukhareghey*, identified with Pantylene by Fortia d'Urban 1845, p. 309, actually represents.

⁵² Tomaschek 1883, p. 176.

⁵³ *Hist.* 1.125. Kiepert 1878, p. 64, n. 3, 'die Πανθιαλαῖοι als unarisch Stamm durch die Namensform bezeichnet, falls diese mit dem fremden l...richtig überliefert ist. Sie scheint sich im Bezirk *Fahlijān* an der Grenze von Susiana (dessen Volk sicher nicht arisch) erhalten zu haben.' Against this location see Tomaschek 1878, p. 852, 'Bei den Πανθιαλαῖοι vermuthet K. unarische Abkunft und findet eine Spur derselben in dem Bezirke *Fahlyān* des westlichen Fars. Ich halte das λ für den Stellvertreter eines ursprünglichen n und stelle die Panthyanā zu dem XL. m. p. östlich von Persepolis angesetzten Gauen Pantylene (TP.) Pathienas (GR.), worin das altpers. pathi baktr. panthan "Weg, Pfad" ebenso deutlich hervortritt wie bei den med. Παντίμαθοι.' Cf. Marquart 1907: 80; Schmitt 1971: 23, 'Πανθιαλαῖοι/Πανθήλαιοι (Herodot I, 125, 4) weiß ich nach wie vor nichts beizutragen, außer daß schon H. Kiepert den Stamm wegen des "fremden l" in seinen Namen als nicht-arisch angesehen und J. Marquart offenbar an Dissimilation aus n und Zusammenhang mit dem Stationennamen *Pantylene* der Tabula Peutingeriana gedacht haben.'

⁵⁴ Carls 1982.

⁵⁵ Pinder and Parthey 1860, p. 52; Herzfeld 1907, p. 13.

⁵⁶ Herzfeld 1926, p. 240.

8. Bregnana – a station between Ecbatana and Persepolis on the *Tab. Peut.*; spurious identification with a Παραχάνα in Paraitakene;⁵⁹ identified by Tomaschek with the area of Qohistān/ Kūhistān, north of Isfahan, belonging to Media.⁶⁰ An assimilation with *Fereidān* (see below) has been rejected.⁶¹
9. Piratum – a corruption of the ethnonym *Paraitakai* and the region *Paraitakene*, cf. Ferēdān, northwest of Isfahan, according to Andreas.⁶²
10. Babsa [Basba] – identified with Rapsa on the *Peut. Tab.* by Pinder and Parthey.⁶³ Its distance from Ecbatana inclined Tomaschek to identify it with the mediaeval city of Kārāğ.⁶⁴ Andreas, however, associated *Rabsa/Rapsa with the Rhapsioi (Ράψιοι) in Persis⁶⁵ and Paraitakene.⁶⁶
11. Bicus – unidentified; fragment of a divided word like ‘*Ur-bicus*’ or ‘*Ara-bicus*’?⁶⁷ Dillemann suggested it was an error for Lacus.⁶⁸
12. Sostrate – Pliny’s Sosirate, Elymaidis oppidum,⁶⁹ mod. Šuštar.
13. Seva vicina – a station east of Ecbatana⁷⁰ on the *Tab. peut.*, the name is a compound composed of Seva + vicina, Lat. ‘in the neighborhood, near, neighboring;’ identified by Müller with mod. Saweh/Sāveh, between Qom and Tehran.⁷¹
14. Duina – unidentified. Could it have any relation to Duwîn/Dvin in Armenia?⁷² It is also a hydronym.⁷³ Dillemann identified it with Rav.’s

⁵⁷ Lat. ‘palpitations.’

⁵⁸ Dillemann 1997, p. 114.

⁵⁹ Müller 1855, p. xciv. The name is corrupt and does not appear, e.g. in Ziegler 1998.

⁶⁰ Tomaschek 1883, p. 170-171. Cf. Weissbach 1899; Herzfeld 1907, p. 13, ‘Bregnana in Kūhistān.’

⁶¹ Eilers 1954, p. 352.

⁶² Andreas 1894a. Cf. Eilers 1954, p. 351, ‘Parā’dumba...vielleicht = Piratum.’

⁶³ Pinder and Parthey 1860, p. 52.

⁶⁴ Tomaschek 1883, p. 170.

⁶⁵ Cl. Ptol. *Geog.* 6.4.3. Ziegler 1998, pp. 66-67.

⁶⁶ Andreas 1894a. Cf. Eilers 1954, p. 351.

⁶⁷ Cf. Schnetz 1934, p. 86, ‘Besondere Beachtung verdienen die geographischen Namen auf *-icus*.’

⁶⁸ Dillemann 1997, p. 114.

⁶⁹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6.31.136. Cf. Porcheron 1688, p. 47, n. f; Pinder and Parthey 1860, p. 52; Marquart 1907, p. 65.

⁷⁰ Tomaschek 1883, p. 159, identified it with Sāwah, following Müller, assuming a Latinized Sevacina, cf. Pahlavi Çavaka.

⁷¹ Müller 1855, p. xciv, ‘Sevavicina (hod. *Saweh*)’, but a few lines later he has ‘*Sevavicina (Sewah)*’ which is probably a misprint. Cf. Houtum-Schindler 1888, p. 624ff; Okhravi and Djamali 2003, p. 331.

⁷² On which see e.g. Le Strange 1905, p. 182.

⁷³ E.g. the Duina river that empties into the Baltic at Riga, see Bell 1763, p. 10, and a river in Herzegovina, see Hammer-Purgstall 1850, p. 190.

- Divina in India Thermanica-Elamitis (see below) and considered it a contraction of *Dianae templum augustissimum*.⁷⁴
15. Onoadas – although Porcheron noted that the *Tab. peut.* showed Onoadas in close proximity to Ecbatana,⁷⁵ Tomaschek argued that the order of names was confused and placed Onoadas immediately after Carena (mod. Kerend), identifying it with Hārūnābād, mod. Islamabad.⁷⁶
 16. Ecbatanas – Ecbatana.
 17. Carema – Karina/Kerend.⁷⁷
 18. Ydean[m]talia [ceantalia, Ydeamtalia] – Miller compared this with Nicea Nialia on the *Tab. Peut.*, a station on the Artaxata-Ecbatana route.⁷⁸ Herzfeld suggested that this toponym was identical to Donantilia on the *Tab. Peut.* and identified it with Fam al-ṣilḥ in lower Iraq.⁷⁹
 19. Asta – abbreviated form of Čēčast (Av. *Chaēchasta*), the mythical lake in northwestern Iran?⁸⁰
 20. Presidim [Persidum] – unidentified but cf. Persidis, ‘Persian?’
 21. Cistra – unidentified.
 22. Bernasda – compared by Fraenkel with *Barne/iš* in the Talmud;⁸¹ identified by Neubauer with Khan Bīrnūs near Hilla.⁸²
 23. Ranchi – unidentified.
 24. **Spasinu Caras** – Spasinou Charax, capital of the kingdom of Characene.⁸³

⁷⁴ Dillemann 1997: 115, citing Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6.31.135. Cf. Speidel 2016, p. 106, on the *templ(um) Augusti* near Muziris on the *Tab. Peut.*, and p. 109, ‘ein Hinweis auf Roms politische Allianzen in diesem östlichen Weltteil.’

⁷⁵ Porcheron 1688, p. 67, ‘peuting. tabula huic loco situm quoque assignat prope Ecbatanas.’

⁷⁶ Tomaschek 1883, p. 150. Cf. Herzfeld 1926, p. 230, ‘Der Weg, den ich nahm, erreichte die Hauptstraße wieder bei As‘adābād, am Fuße des großen Überganges über den *Atwand-Orontes*. In der Ebene liegen einige große Hügel, ein Kullīn Tepe, ein anderer Khākīrīz, beide von der Art von Harnawā etc. As‘adābād, al Khunwādh, d. i. *Onoadas* der *Tabula Peutingeriana*, ist reich an hellenistischen und arsakidischen Architekturteilen;’ Herzfeld 1948, p. 38. For the etymology see Eilers 1954, p. 279, **H/Xvan(u)vatī* and p. 327, n. 93, possibly meaning ‘sunny pass.’

⁷⁷ Potts 2017.

⁷⁸ Miller 1916, p. 782.

⁷⁹ Herzfeld 1948, p. 58, n. 2. For Fam al-ṣilḥ see Oppenheimer 1983, pp. 32-34.

⁸⁰ Jackson 1906, pp. 118, 138, identified it with Lake Urmia, but Hoffmann 1880, p. 251 disagreed and Marquart 1907, p. 10 identified it with the lake at Takht-e Suleiman. See Tafazzoli 1990 for full refs.

⁸¹ Fraenkel 1899a, p. 295, citing Talmud Erubīn 21a.

⁸² Neubauer 1868, pp. 345-346. Cf. Oppenheimer 1983, p. 65, s.v. Barneš.

⁸³ Schuol 2000.

25. As[s]abe – Assabe on the *Tab. peut.*⁸⁴ Could (As)Sabe reflect the Sabians (Šābī, pl. Šābī’ūn/Šābīyūn, ‘baptists’, i.e. Mandaeans) of south-western Iran (Mohamrah [mod. Khorramšahr], Dezful, Šuštar)?⁸⁵
26. Narra [Naira] – Naharra on the *Tab. peut.*⁸⁶ Naharra, Naarda and Nearda were identified as variants of Nehardaa in the Talmud and Nearda by Josephus.⁸⁷ Located on the Euphrates in northern Babyonia;⁸⁸ identified with Tell Nihar, west of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.⁸⁹
27. Barblana – unidentified.
28. Naarre[æ] – cf. no. 26.
29. Monumentum – unidentified.
30. T[h]amara – a station between Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and Spasinu Charax on the *Tab. Peut.*;⁹⁰ perhaps related to Tāmarrā, the name of the great Kātūl canal at Ba’quba, above Baghdad.⁹¹
31. Scene – cf. Gr. σκηνή, ‘tent’ and *skenitai/scenitae*, ‘tent dwellers.’⁹²
32. **Dorista** – appears on the *Tab. Peut.* as the first station south of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris which Tomaschek compared hesitantly with Δαριστάνη of Stephen of Byzantium;⁹³ identified with Borsippa by Forbiger⁹⁴ but later disputed by Streck who compared it with Diristānu, a Median town mentioned in the annals of Sargon II.⁹⁵ Considering Dorista’s position on the *Tab. Peut.*, however, a Babylonian location seems more likely than a Median one.⁹⁶
33. Seleut[c]ia – **Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.**
34. **Babylon.**
35. Rache – located between Babylon and Rutarata on the *Tab. Peut.*⁹⁷
36. Rutarata – east of Rache according to the *Tab. Peut.* Herzfeld suggested that the route east of Seleucia, via Rache and Rutarata, was an alternative to the traditional Khorasan road, via Khanaqin and Ḥolwān,

⁸⁴ Porcheron 1686, p. 47, n. 1; Schnetz 1926, p. 87, n. 7.

⁸⁵ Houtum-Schindler 1891.

⁸⁶ Pinder and Parthey 1860, p. 53, n. 9.

⁸⁷ For the many Talmudic refs. see Oppenheimer 1983, pp. 276-293; for Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 18.311-314, 379.

⁸⁸ Neubauer 1868, pp. 350-351.

⁸⁹ Oppenheimer 1983, p. 286 and n. 21.

⁹⁰ For the sequence see Tomaschek 1890, p. 57.

⁹¹ Le Strange 1905, pp. 59-60. Ritter 1844, p. 954 gave the name as ‘Tamora (?)’.

⁹² Strabo, *Geog.* 16.1.26. Cf. Scharrer 2002, pp. 197-199.

⁹³ Tomaschek 1890, p. 57.

⁹⁴ Forbiger 1844, p. 623. Cf. Herzfeld 1948, p. 58.

⁹⁵ Streck 1906, p. 345. Cf. Fuchs 1994, p. 430.

⁹⁶ Diristānu, as distinct from Dorista, was certainly an Iranian name containing the Iranian element *-stāna*, ‘place.’ See Scheftelowitz 1905, p. 274.

⁹⁷ Porcheron 1688, p. 48.

which instead ran via mod. Mandali which Herzfeld identified with Rutarata.⁹⁸

37. Narta — cf. nos. 26 and 28 above.⁹⁹
38. **Borcoe** — perhaps a corruption of Orchoë i.e. Uruk (mod. Warka), just as Rav. has a superfluous initial D- in ‘Dorcadès’ for Orkneys.¹⁰⁰
39. Suretala — identified with mod. Surieh on the Euphrates,¹⁰¹ Pliny’s Σούρα;¹⁰² mentioned just before Barbalissos (see below, no. 45) in the Ka‘aba-ye Zardošt inscription of Šāpur I¹⁰³ and located on a well-travelled route running south to Babylon, along the Euphrates, and north to Eraziga via Barbalissos (see below, no. 44).
40. Dertha — also noted on the *Tab. Peut.*; identified by Moritz with Βίρθα¹⁰⁴ or Γάδειρθα, both of which were located by Cl. Ptolemy on the right bank of the Euphrates, opposite the mouth of the Khabur river.¹⁰⁵ Tomaschek, on the other hand, identified it with Syriac *Hértâ*, Stephen of Byzantium’s Ἐρθα, in southernmost Babylonia.¹⁰⁶ Identified by some with Deir-ez Zor in Syria.¹⁰⁷
41. Diothaze — unidentified but possibly in the marshes of southern Iraq, according to Hartmann.¹⁰⁸
42. Sepe — identified with mod. *Şifîn*, Σέμφοη/Sephe,¹⁰⁹ c. 55 km. west of al-Raqqā, where the village of Abu Hurayra now stands.¹¹⁰
43. Ati — unidentified.¹¹¹
44. Barspis [Barpsis] — identified with Cl. Ptolemy’s Βαράμψη on the Euphrates above Barballis.¹¹² Hartmann suggested the name was a corruption of Thapsis/Thapsacus, the famous if still elusive crossing

⁹⁸ Herzfeld 1948, p. 25.

⁹⁹ Herzfeld 1948, p. 14.

¹⁰⁰ Schnetz 1926, p. 94. Cf. Parroni 1984, p. 354. See also Schnetz 1926, p. 90, on Oristhenis, Voristhenis, Borysthenes.

¹⁰¹ d’Anville 1768, p. 141. Cf. Hartmann 1899, p. 137; Honigmann 1924, p. 41.

¹⁰² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 5.21.26.

¹⁰³ Huyse 1999, p. 29, §11, hereafter ŠKZ.

¹⁰⁴ Aram. ‘fortress.’

¹⁰⁵ Moritz 1889, p. 30.

¹⁰⁶ Tomaschek 1890a, p. 58.

¹⁰⁷ Müller 1901, p. 1014; Sarre and Herzfeld 1911, p. 155 suggested emending the name in Rav. to Ta/Ladertha.

¹⁰⁸ Hartmann 1899, p. 137; contested by Honigmann 1923, p. 153.

¹⁰⁹ d’Anville 1768, p. 140; Schefer 1879, p. 107, n. 1; Hartmann 1899, p. 137.

¹¹⁰ Honigmann 1924, p. 39; Hitti 1916, p. 232.

¹¹¹ Hartmann 1899, p. 137, ‘Schwierigkeit macht die Unterbringung des Ati—Anthis—Attas—Ἄθις. Zwischen *bālis* und *şifîn* ist kaum mehr Platz, als für eine Station. Nur *Rav.* hat zwei: Ati und Barpsis.

¹¹² Moritz 1889, p. 31. Honigmann 1923, p. 172 hesitantly suggested an original **bārapsa*.

- point on the Euphrates.¹¹³ Dillemann identified it with Assyrian Til Barsip and Cl. Ptolemy's Bersiba (Βερσίβα).¹¹⁴
45. Barballissum – Barbalisso on the *Tab. Peut.*, mentioned by Procopius and in the passion of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus,¹¹⁵ Barballissum/Barbalission has long been identified with Bālis/Eske Meskene on the Middle Euphrates.¹¹⁶
46. Cubicumbilo [Cumicumbilo] – long compared with 'C/Kommisimbela, a fortified place: by which flows the river Bilecha [Balikh]' in Syria, mentioned by Isidore of Charax.¹¹⁷ The identity of the ancient site of Kommisimbela is disputed.¹¹⁸
47. Zaro – unidentified but possibly identical to Cl. Ptolemy's Αὔζαα or the Zaragardia (Ζαραγαοδία) of Zosimus, both of which were on the Euphrates,¹¹⁹ though closer to Anah and perhaps too far south.
48. Yctiupon – commonly identified with Ctesiphon,¹²⁰ although elsewhere Rav. used alternative spellings for this city.¹²¹
49. Imda – unidentified, although Andreas suggested emending Imda to *Imba*, and saw in this an echo of Bit-Imbî, on the Elamite-Babylonian border.¹²² Dillemann compared it to Artemita/(Arte)mida in Assyria.¹²³
50. Ange – compared to Aginis/Ampe and associated by Andreas with Dur-Iakin, a city mentioned in connection with Sargon II's campaigns against Merodach-Baladan in 709 B.C.¹²⁴ Aginis/Dur-Iakin was connected to the lower Euphrates in southern Mesopotamia by a canal.¹²⁵ Rawlinson located it near mod. Basra.¹²⁶

¹¹³ Hartmann 1899, p. 137, 'und das passt vortrefflich, denn Thapsacus — *dibse* liegt ja wie das Barpsis zwischen Barballissum — *bālis* und Sepe — *šiffin*.' The location of Thapsacus remains disputed but see Graslin and Lemaire 2004 for its identification with Akk. ^{uru}Tapsuhu.

¹¹⁴ Dillemann 1997, p. 115.

¹¹⁵ Porcheron 1688, p. 48, n. c.

¹¹⁶ Sarre and Herzfeld 1911, p. 128. Cf. Honigmann 1923, p. 168; Séquier and Blanco 1998, p. 185.

¹¹⁷ *Parthian Stations* §1, Schoff 1914, pp. 2-3. Andreas 1894b, p. 2186, 'dem zwischen Anthemusias (jetzt Sarûg) und Ichnai (jetzt Tell Khnêze am Flusse Bilecha (jetzt Balikh) liegenden Κομμισίμβηλα (var. Κομβισίμβηλα) des Isidoros von Charax.' Cf. Dillemann 1979, p. 73, n. 19; Chaumont 1984, p. 79.

¹¹⁸ Thus de Jong 2011, p. 269, 'perhaps Hammam et-Turkman or Tell Sahlan.'

¹¹⁹ Cl. Ptol., *Geog.* 5.19.3; Zosimus 3.15.3, cf. Amm. Mar. 24.2.3, 'Ozogardana.' See Andreas 1894b, p. 2186.

¹²⁰ Miller 1896, p. 35.

¹²¹ E.g. in 'patria Persorum-Assyriorum Ctessifontis' and 'confinalis supra scripte Perside-Assyriorum Ctessipontis Peloriarce'; see Schnetz 1934, p. 87 and n. 8.

¹²² Andreas 1894b, p. 2186.

¹²³ Dillemann 1997, p. 115.

¹²⁴ Andreas 1894b, p. 2187.

¹²⁵ Powell 1982, p. 59; Melville 2016, p. 165.

¹²⁶ Rawlinson 1857, p. 188.

51. Parduce – compared by Streck with Pard/tukka or Partakka in Media, mentioned in the reign of Esarhaddon,¹²⁷ which is itself cognate with Paraitakene (cf. nos. 8-10 above).¹²⁸
52. Tare – compared by Andreas with Cl. Ptolemy's Ταρσιάνα/Ταρειάνα, southwest of Susa, and the Nahr-Tirê, "river/canal of Tiraios," named after Tiraios I (95/4-88/7 B.C.) of Characene.¹²⁹
53. **Spasinu Caras** – Spasinou Charax (cf. no. 24).

Although by no means all of these toponyms can be identified, the following regional allocation results if we accept the most probable of those locations cited above.

- Kerman** (1. Archedotis, 2. Pat[h]ienas)
Fars (3. Parsagada, 4. Persepolis)
Hormozgan (5. Armoza Regio)
Fars (6. Stagus)
 ? (7. Palmodes)
Media (8. Bregnana, 9. Piratum, 10. Rabsa)
 ? (11. Bicus)
Khuzestan (12. Sostrate)
Markazi [Arak] (13. Seva vicina)
 ? (14. Duina)
Media (15. Onoadas, 16. Ecbatana, 17. Carema)
lower Iraq (18. Ydean[m]talia)
 ? (19. Asta, 20. Persidum, 21. Cistra)
central Iraq (22. Bernasda)
 ? (23. Ranchi)
lower Iraq (24. Spasinu Caras)
 ? (25. Assabe)
lower Iraq (26. Narra)
 ? (27. Barblana)
lower Iraq (28. Naare)
 ? (29. Monumentum)
central Iraq (30. T[h]amara)
 ? (31. Scene)
central Iraq (32. Dorista, 33. Seleut[c]ia, 34. Babylon, 35. Rache, 36. Rutarata, 37. Narta)
southern Iraq (38. Borcoe)
Syrian Euphrates (39. Suretala, 40. Dertha)

¹²⁷ Streck 1906, p. 346, see Col. IV, 20.

¹²⁸ Diakonoff 1985, p. 104.

¹²⁹ Andreas 1894b, p. 2186, citing Cl. Ptol. *Geog.* 6.3.5.

? (41. Diothaze)
Syrian Euphrates (42. Sepe)
 ? (43. Ati)
Syrian Euphrates (44. Barspis, 45. Barballisum, 46. Cubicumbilo, 47
 Zaro)
central Iraq (48. Yctiopon)
southern Iraq (49. Imda, 50. Ange)
Media (51. Parduce)
southern Iraq (52. Tare, 53. Spasinu Caras)

It is clear that many question marks appear scattered throughout this list. There are two principal ways in which these may be explained, according to whether one assumes coherence or incoherence in Rav.'s list. If we assume coherence, then the names 'belong' where they appear in the given sequence and, even if we cannot identify a name we may assume that, if it appears between two names that can be identified, then the unidentified name belongs in the same region as well. For example, although we cannot identify Diothaze (no. 41), the fact that it appears between other toponyms that can be located on the Syrian Euphrates suggests that Diothaze was located there as well. If, however, we take a more skeptical approach and assume incoherence, then the unidentified names which appear scattered throughout Rav.'s list could have been located anywhere.

The assumption of coherence does not always mean that the order of names in Rav.'s list reflects his use of itineraries or maps with routes marked on them, like the *Tab. Peut.* For example, it is difficult to see how the first seventeen names in Rav.'s Persian list conform to an itinerary. The list ranges from Kerman, to Fars, to Hormozgan, back to Fars, up to Media, down to Khuzestan, onto the central Plateau (Arak/Markazi) and back to Media, as follows:

Kerman (1. Archedotis, 2. Pat[h]ienas)
Fars (3. Parsagada, 4. Persepolis)
Hormozgan (5. Armoza Regio)
Fars (6. Stagus), ? (7. Palmodes)
Media (8. Bregnana, 9. Piratum, 10. Rabsa)
 ? (11. Bicus)
Khuzestan (12. Sostrate)
Markazi [Arak] (13. Seva vicina)
 ? (14. Duina)
Media (15. Onoadas, 16. Ecbatana, 17. Carema)

The remainder of the names, although included by Rav. under the rubric *patria Persorum*, are all located in Iraq and Syria and fall into three geographical groups (A-C).

Group A - Fam al-ṣilḥ north to Seleucia and then south to Warka (Borcoe)

- lower Iraq** (18. Ydean[m]talia)
- ? (19. Asta, 20. Persidum, 21. Cistra)
- central Iraq** (22. Bernasda)
- ? (23. Ranchi)
- lower Iraq** (24. Spasinu Caras)
- ? (25. Assabe)
- lower Iraq** (26. Narra)
- ? (27. Barblana)
- lower Iraq** (28. Naare)
- ? (29. Monumentum)
- central Iraq** (30. T[h]amara)
- ? (31. Scene)
- central Iraq** (32. Dorista, 33. Seleut[c]ia, 34. Babylon, 35. Rache, 36. Rutarata, 37. Narta)
- southern Iraq** (38. Borcoe)

Group B – Sure to Zaro via Barballissum

- Syrian Euphrates** (39. Suretala, 40. Dertha)
- ? (41. Diothaze)
- Syrian Euphrates** (42. Sepe)
- ? (43. Ati)
- Syrian Euphrates** (44. Barspis, 45. Barballissum, 46. Cubicumbilo, 47. Zaro)

Group C – Ctesiphon (Yctiopon) to Spasinou Charax (Spasinu Caras)

- central Iraq** (48. Yctiopon)
- southern Iraq** (49. Imda, 50. Ange)
- Media** (51. Parduce)
- southern Iraq** (52. Tare, 53. Spasinu Caras)

If we impute coherence to these three groups then the simplest explanation, at least in the case of Groups B (along the Syrian Euphrates)¹³⁰ and C (Ctesiphon to Spasinu Caras), is to suggest that they each derive from one or more itineraries. Group A, on the other hand, seems more confused although, with additional identifications, one could perhaps suggest that it

¹³⁰ Cf. Séquier *et al.* 1998, p. 188.

reflects a pair of itineraries running from southern Iraq northwards to Seleucia and from there south again, via a more westerly route, to Warka (Borcoe). The consistency of names located in Iraq in Group C, beginning with Yctiupon/Ctesiphon (no. 48) and ending with Spasinu Caras (no. 53), suggests that Parduce (no. 51) may not be the Median toponym with which it has been identified. On the other hand, an itinerary following an easterly route from Ctesiphon to Spasinu Charax could conceivably include a western Median toponym, although any that lay east of the Zagros Gates would seem misplaced.

INDIA DIMIRICA-EVILAT

Two sections of Rav. pertaining to India will be examined briefly because of their association with Iran. India consists of three sub-areas: Dimirica-Evilat; Thermantica and Elamitis; and Serica Bactriana. Dimirica was first recognised in 1875 as the name of the Tamil region ‘which, by a mistake of Δ for Λ, Ptolemy wrote as Λιμυρίκη,’ whereas, ‘The D retains its place...in the Cosmography of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, who repeatedly mentions Dimirica.’¹³¹ The association of Dimirica with Evilat may reflect an ancient geographical speculation, for Evilat is a Latinized variant of Hebrew *Ḥavīla*,¹³² a ‘descendant of Kush’ in *Genesis* said to possess gold.¹³³ The extent of India Dimirica has been described variously as peninsular India from Hormuz to the Ganges,¹³⁴ and as the entire land mass from southeastern Iran, through Pakistan and the northwest coast of India to the Ganges delta.¹³⁵ Although it is not the intention here to review all of the toponyms associated with the subdivisions of India, some of those in India Dimirica correspond with a segment of the *Tab. Peut.*, albeit with the addition of other names and an imperfect sequence. Tomaschek identified the route from Jiroft to Maškid in Baluchistan on the *Tab. Peut.* as follows: [Archaeotis –] Caumatis – Aradarum – Tazarene – Bestia Desolata – Rana. Rav., however, lists these in reverse order, i.e. moving from west to east thus: Rana, Bestigia Daselenga,¹³⁶ (then five names), Parazene, Aradarum (then four names), Caumatis. Two of these names in particular stand out. Tazarene on the

¹³¹ Caldwell 1875, p. 14. Cf. Kiepert 1878, p. 41, n. 4; Oppert 1893, p. 27; Warmington 1933, p. 325; De Romanis 2012, pp. 335-336.

¹³² Cf. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1.134, who writes of Evilas (Εὐίλας) and the Evilaean (Εὐίλαίου). Cf. Schnetz 1932, p. 99, n. 31.

¹³³ Genesis 2.11, 10.7. Josephus and St. Jerome identified Havila with India and may have been the source of Rav.’s association of Evilat with India. See Stavig 1999, p. 85.

¹³⁴ Pullé 1901, p. 118.

¹³⁵ Classen 2008, p. 360.

¹³⁶ Bust in Afghanistan according to Rapin 2004, p. 163; 2017, p. 61.

Tab. Peut. or Paradene (Παραδηνή) according to Cl. Ptolemy,¹³⁷ was recognised as *Pāradān* in the Paikuli inscription by Marquart¹³⁸ and identified with Gedrosia.¹³⁹ Caumatis is identical to the plain of Qamadin, outside Jiroft, where, according to Seljuq sources, the bazaar and warehouses of Greek and Indian merchants were located. This is the same area called Camadi by Marco Polo.¹⁴⁰

INDIA THERMANTICA-ELAMITIS

At Book 2.2.1 Rav. described the second sub-area of India as follows: ‘The second land is so-called Greater India, called Thermantica and Elamitis, which is the right hand of India Dimirica.’¹⁴¹ The designation ‘right hand’ implies that India Thermantica-Elamitis was to the south of India Dimirica.¹⁴² Taprobane (Sri Lanka), for example, was located in *Oceano Indiae Thermanticae*.¹⁴³ The Latin term *thermantica*, otherwise applied to drugs possessing warming properties,¹⁴⁴ recalls Persian *garmsīr*, ‘warm’ territory.¹⁴⁵ Rather than a genuine association with the notion of heat or warmth, based on its geographical location, however, Herzfeld suggested that Thermantica was a corruption of ΟΥΕΠΠΙΑΤΙΚΑ, which he identified with Gulpaigān (Garbādikān, from an earlier Vardpātikān).¹⁴⁶ In Elamitis we have an obvious variant of Elam, the ancient designation for Khuzestan and parts of Fars in the pre-Achaemenid period. Pullé suggested that Thermantica-Elamitis extended from the Caspian to Persepolis.¹⁴⁷ Is this borne out by the names of the ‘many cities’ located ‘in this India’, according to Castorius, Rav.’s source?

As elsewhere in Rav.’s work, the toponyms listed are generally opaque, although some in the list stand out and have been marked here in bold:

¹³⁷ *Geog.* 6.21.5.

¹³⁸ Marquart 1901, p. 31. Cf. Skjærvø 1983, p. 71, §92; Kettenhofen 1995, pp. 10-11.

¹³⁹ Tomaschek 1883, p. 183.

¹⁴⁰ Potts 1989, p. 583. Cf. Houtum-Schindler 1898, p. 46; Minorsky 1970, p. 374.

¹⁴¹ At Book 1.6.1. we have Dimirice-Evilat.

¹⁴² Schweder 1886, p. 17, India; Schweder 1895, p. 329, on its position to the right or left of India Dimirica; Eggermont 1993, pp. 60, 62.

¹⁴³ Conte 2008, p. 74.

¹⁴⁴ The term appears in the mediaeval *Alphabet of Galen* as a property of certain drugs. See Everett 2012, p. 42 and cf. Bincken 1755, p. 2108, ‘Thermantica, heissen in der Medizin erwärmende Arzneyen.’

¹⁴⁵ Eilers 1954, p. 273, ‘*gārmā’sīr*.’

¹⁴⁶ Herzfeld 1926, p. 240.

¹⁴⁷ Pullé 1901, p. 118. Cf. Classen 2008, p. 360, ‘mittlerer Iran.’

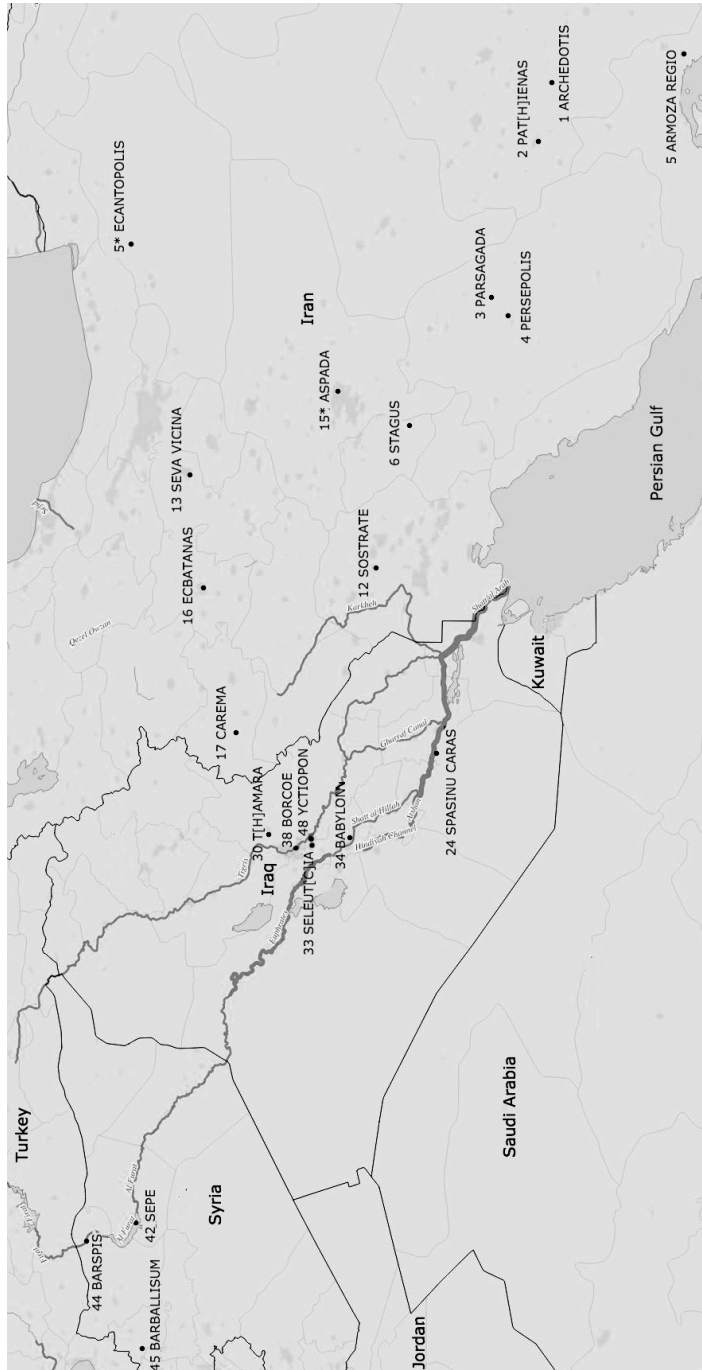


Fig. 1: Identifiable toponyms in Rav.'s list of cities in *Patria Persorum*. Numbers correspond to those given in the text. Numbers with an asterisk (*) belong to Rav.'s list of cities in *India Thermantica-Elamitis* (© D.Potts, 2017).

1. **Modovistica** [Mouvistica], 2. Cameza,¹⁴⁸ 3. Pictis, 4. Stal [Stalec], 5. **Ecantopolis** [Antopolis], 6. Modmot,¹⁴⁹ 7. Antera,¹⁵⁰ 8. **Gobdie**, 9. **Belfra**, 10. **Crubicaria** [Orubicaria/Orudicaria], 11. Divina, 12. **Sostrate**, 13. **Porrepa**, 14. **Nessaci**, 15. **Aspada**, 16. **Mardane**, 17. Murge,¹⁵¹ 18. Termantica, 19. **Aris**, 20. **Bacesia**.

1. Modovistica – Modomastikē (Μοδομαστική) in the northern-eastern borderlands of Karmania according to Cl. Ptolemy.¹⁵²
5. Ecantopolis – scribal error or misreading caused the initial *Ec-* to be added to the previous toponym (Stal), and omitted from *–antopolis*. If emended to Ecantopolis, following Schnetz,¹⁵³ this is clearly Hecatompylos (mod. Shahr-e Qumis), between Semnan and Damghan.¹⁵⁴ Although it seems unlikely to be a corruption of Ecbatana, the location of this latter city and its association here with other toponyms in Media (e.g. Concobar, Belfra) make it a possibility to consider.
8. Gobdie – Gobdi on the *Tab. Peut.*, along the route from Artaxata (see below) to Persepolis; emended tentatively by Miller to Gobai¹⁵⁵ and identified hesitantly with *Covai*, near mod. Khoy.¹⁵⁶
9. Belfra – Beltra of the *Tab. Peut.*, a town located between Concobar (Kangāvar, see below) and Ecbatana.¹⁵⁷
10. Crubicaria – the Kāšān region, according to Tomaschek.¹⁵⁸
12. Sostrate – Šuštar, see above.
13. Porrepa – Portipa on the *Tab. Peut.*, *Πόρτηπα, identified with Farawāb, at the source of the Pulvar river in Fars, by Tomaschek, followed by Herzfeld.¹⁵⁹
14. Nessaci – the Nisāyek or Nisā of the Arab geographers, northwest of Shiraz.¹⁶⁰

¹⁴⁸ Dillemann 1997, p. 139 identified this with Komisene (Κομισηνή), Cl. Ptolemy, *Geog.* 6.5.1, in Parthia but this is not entirely convincing.

¹⁴⁹ Dillemann 1997, p. 153, suggested a corruption of Mos Mot, for Mons Taurus.

¹⁵⁰ Dillemann 1997, p. 138, cf. *Tab. Peut.* Anteba, near Artaxata.

¹⁵¹ Dillemann 1997, p. 139, suggested ‘Margiana.’

¹⁵² *Geog.* 6.6.2. Cf. Dillemann 1997, p. 139.

¹⁵³ Schnetz 1951, p. 24.

¹⁵⁴ For the sources see Mordtmann 1869. Based on the distances given on the route from Holwān (Albana) to Hecatonpolis on the *Tab. Peut.*, Tomaschek 1883, p. 147 believed this was not the well-known Hecatompylos in Parthia but a homonymous city.

¹⁵⁵ If the emendation is accepted, Gobai recalls Gabae (Strabo, *Geog.* 15.3.3), site of an Achaemenid royal residence, and identified with Isfahan by Andreas and others. For refs. see Weissbach 1910.

¹⁵⁶ Miller 1916, p. 781.

¹⁵⁷ Tomaschek 1883, p. 148.

¹⁵⁸ Tomaschek 1883, p. 160.

¹⁵⁹ Tomaschek 1883, p. 174; Herzfeld 1908, p. 17.

15. Aspada – Cl. Ptolemy’s Aspadana/Appadana (Ἀσπάδανα/ Ἀππαδάνα), mod. Isfahan.¹⁶¹
16. Mardane – certainly related to the A/Mardians (A/Μαρδοί), a Persian tribe mentioned by Herodotus, Strabo, Arrian and others.¹⁶²
19. Aris – possibly a truncated form of Pārīs, a station on the route from Kerman to Tehran.¹⁶³
20. Bacesia – Bādġīs?¹⁶⁴

It can thus be seen that nearly half of the toponyms listed, and possibly more, belong in Iran, confirming the identification of India Thermantica-Elamitis with the central Iranian plateau, from Hecatompylos south to Kerman. One of the names, Sostrate, is apparently misplaced, since it appears in the section on the *patria Persorum*, as discussed above. Termantica is obviously a variant of Thermantica; whether it is intentionally spelled differently, so as to denote a toponym rather than a choronym, is unclear.

CONCLUSION

The questions posed at the beginning of this study—do the individual sections of the *Cosmographia* display internal coherence; is there a discernible scheme at work; do sequences of names reflect itineraries used by Rav.—may now be answered. That Rav. made use of itineraries or route books seems highly probable, although only his use of the *Tab. Peut.* is indisputable. Not so clear, however, is why his lists of names sometimes proceed in inverse order to that found on the *Tab. Peut.*, or why he seemingly omitted so many names found on the *Tab. Peut.* Repetitions may have resulted from unintentional mechanical error by the copyist, but it is not obvious how one should interpret the interpolation of individual names or sequences of toponyms that clearly belong in a different region and almost certainly came from itineraries other than the one(s) used at the start of a section, although in this regard it is important to remember Schnetz’s observation that Rav. frequently introduced names without citing his source.¹⁶⁵ In the case of the *patria Persorum*, the simplest explanation seems to be that the non-Iranian names, i.e. those in southern and central Iraq, and along the Syrian Euphrates, reflect something of the territorial extent of the Arsacid empire, rather than simple confusion over what

¹⁶⁰ Tomaschek 1883, p. 173.

¹⁶¹ Cl. Ptol. *Geog.* 6.4.4. See Herzfeld 1908, p. 17.

¹⁶² For full discussion and refs. see Potts 2014, pp. 94-99.

¹⁶³ Herzfeld 1908, p. 25; ‘Pareiz’ according to Gibbons 1841, p. 145.

¹⁶⁴ Tomaschek 1883, p. 214.

¹⁶⁵ Schnetz 1942, p. 86, something he often did with names found in Jordanes which were interpolated without attribution. For these see particularly Schnetz 1926.

should properly be classified as ‘Persian’ toponyms. In the case of India Dimirice-Evilat and India Thermantica-Elamitis, one might suggest that the inclusion of toponyms that belong on the central or eastern Iranian plateau reflects the view that, east of Fars and south of Hyrcania, all lands, even those on the Iranian plateau, belonged to distant ‘India.’

We must, of course, remember that Rav.’s goal was not to be encyclopaedic but rather exemplary. As he wrote of India Thermantica-Elamitis (Book 2.2.1), ‘We have read in the works of the scholars named [above] that in this India there were many cities, but I want to cite some of those following the previously mentioned Castorius, namely...’¹⁶⁶ Similarly, he wrote (Book 2.5.3), ‘We have read that in this land of the Persians were many cities, some of which we would like to mention, namely...’¹⁶⁷ Rav. tells us (Book 1.1) that Brother Odo, ‘possessed by the divine inspiration,’ compelled him ‘to describe the world in detail,’ a request with which he was only too happy to comply in order to better understand God and his works.¹⁶⁸ It is hardly to be expected that Brother Odo would have subjected Rav.’s sections on the *patria Persorum* and the divisions of India to the sort of scrutiny exercised here. But it is nonetheless striking that the Persian toponyms and choronyms embedded in Rav.’s treatise are an amalgam of names attested from the Neo-Assyrian period through late Antiquity. Regardless of how distant Rav.’s Ravenna may have been from the Zagros or Gedrosia, his sequences of names constitute an extraordinary window on earlier moments of geographical reality. It is as though most of what had once been known about these regions—routes, names, and transects across regions—had faded to the point of oblivion, and yet portions, represented by relict sequences of names in Rav., whether or not in the same order found on the *Tab. Peut.*, somehow survived. Unlocking the integrity and confirming the coherence of those sequences demands the identification of toponyms often masked in late Latin garb. Such a task, though difficult, is by no means impossible, as this study has hopefully demonstrated.

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¹⁶⁶ Schnetz 1951, p. 24. Pinder and Parthey 1860, p. 44, ‘in qua India plurimas fuisse civitates legimus per ipsos philosophos; sed ego secundum praefatum Castorium aliquantas designare volo, id est.’

¹⁶⁷ Schnetz 1951, p. 26. Pinder and Parthey 1860, p. 51, ‘quam patriam ego relegens plures philosophos secundum Castorium ipsam patriam designavi. quae patria habet provincias quae dicuntur.’

¹⁶⁸ Lozovsky 2000, p. 30.

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