

Strabo's Cultural Geography

THE MAKING OF
A KOLOSSOURGIA

Daniela Dueck
Hugh Lindsay
Sarah Potheary

CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE

www.cambridge.org/9780521853064

This page intentionally left blank

STRABO'S CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

Strabo of Amasia, a Greek geographer of the Augusto-Tiberian period, observed the Roman world of his time. He collected his observations in his magnum opus, the *Geography*, which he described as a 'Kolossourgia', a colossal statue of a work. This term reflects not only the work's size in seventeen books, but also its multi-faceted nature, composed of many different elements like the detailing on a statue. In this volume an international team of Strabo scholars explores those details, discussing the cultural, political, historical and geographical questions addressed in the *Geography*. The collection offers a number of different approaches to the study of Strabo, from traditional literary and historical perspectives to newer material and feminist readings. These diverse themes and approaches inform each other to provide a wide-ranging exploration of Strabo's work, making the book essential reading for students of ancient history and ancient geography.

DANIELA DUECK is Lecturer in Classics and History at Bar Ilan University. She is the author of *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (2000).

HUGH LINDSAY is Lecturer in Classics at the University of Newcastle, New South Wales. He is the author of *Suetonius, Caligula* (1993), *Suetonius, Tiberius* (1995) and a wide range of articles on the ancient world.

SARAH POTHECARY is an independent scholar. She has published a range of articles on Strabo and related topics which have appeared in journals such as *Phoenix*, *Mnemosyne* and *Classical Philology*.



The *Kolossos* of Zeus at Olympia. Engraving made by Philips Galle in 1572, from an original made by Maarten van Heemskerck between 1498 and 1574

STRABO'S CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

The Making of a Kolossourgia

EDITED BY

DANIELA DUECK, HUGH LINDSAY
AND SARAH POTHECARY



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521853064

© Cambridge University Press 2005

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provision of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published in print format 2005

ISBN-13 978-0-511-14636-7 eBook (EBL)

ISBN-10 0-511-14636-1 eBook (EBL)

ISBN-13 978-0-521-85306-4 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-85306-0 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Table of contents

<i>List of maps</i>	page	vii
<i>List of illustrations</i>		viii
<i>List of tables</i>		ix
<i>List of figures</i>		x
<i>List of contributors</i>		xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>		xiii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>		xiv
<i>Introduction</i>		I
1 <i>Kolossourgia. ‘A colossal statue of a work’</i> <i>Sarah Potheary</i>		5
2 <i>Reflections of philosophy: Strabo and geographical sources</i> <i>Christina Horst Roseman</i>		27
3 <i>Who is a barbarian? The barbarians in the ethnological and cultural taxonomies of Strabo</i> <i>Eran Almagor</i>		42
4 <i>Gender at the crossroads of empire: locating women in Strabo’s <i>Geography</i></i> <i>Denise Eileen McCoskey</i>		56
5 <i>Strabo and Homer: a chapter in cultural history</i> <i>Anna Maria Biraschi</i>		73
6 <i>Strabo’s use of poetry</i> <i>Daniela Dueck</i>		86
7 <i>Strabo’s sources in the light of a tale</i> <i>Nikos Litinas</i>		108

8	The foundation of Greek colonies and their main features in Strabo: a portrayal lacking homogeneity? <i>Francesco Trotta</i>	118
9	ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι or ‘men of high reputation’ in Strabo’s <i>Geography</i> <i>Johannes Engels</i>	129
10	Comparing Strabo with Pausanias: Greece in context vs. Greece in depth <i>Maria Pretzler</i>	144
11	The European provinces: Strabo as evidence <i>Sarah Pothecary</i>	161
12	Amasya and Strabo’s <i>patria</i> in Pontus <i>Hugh Lindsay</i>	180
13	Cappadocia through Strabo’s eyes <i>Silvia Panichi</i>	200
14	Greek geography and Roman empire: the transformation of tradition in Strabo’s Euxine <i>David Braund</i>	216
15	Josephus’ hidden dialogue with Strabo <i>Yuval Shahar</i>	235
16	Temporal layers within Strabo’s description of Coele Syria, Phoenicia and Judaea <i>Ze’ev Safrai</i>	250
	<i>Bibliography</i>	259
	<i>Index of geographical names</i>	276
	<i>Index of personal names</i>	282

Maps

- | | | | |
|---|---|-------------|-----|
| 1 | Western Europe according to Strabo, from Trotta (2000a) 58–9. Reproduction courtesy of RCS Libri SpA | <i>page</i> | 164 |
| 2 | The world according to Strabo, from Bunbury (1883), facing p. 238 | | 172 |
| 3 | Asia Minor, from Mitchell (1993), facing p. 40. Reproduction courtesy of the author | | 181 |
| 4 | Cappadocia, from Teja (1980), facing p. 1120. Reproduction courtesy of the author and Walter de Gruyter GmbH | | 201 |
| 5 | Judaea, based on R. Talbert, <i>Atlas of Classical History</i> (1985). Beckenham, p. 166. Reproduction courtesy of Taylor and Francis Group | | 240 |

Illustrations

Frontispiece The *Kolossos* of Zeus at Olympia.

Engraving made by Philips Galle in 1572, from an original made by Maarten van Heemskerck between 1498 and 1574. Reproduced courtesy of the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich

	<i>page</i>	ii
1	Plan of Amasya castle, drawn by John Rennie	182
2	Photo of Amasya, reproduced from Cumont and Cumont (1906) 171	184
3	Photo of location of fortified palace at Amasya and royal tombs. Photo: author	189
4	Photo of royal tombs at Amasya. Photo: author	189
5	Photo of bridge from the ancient city of Amasya to the suburbs: the Alçakköprü. Photo: author	191

Tables

1	Number of references to poetry in Strabo's <i>Geography</i>	<i>page</i>	88
2	Chronological distribution of citations in Strabo's <i>Geography</i>		91
3	Contexts of use of poetry in Strabo's <i>Geography</i>		104

Figures

- 1 Graph showing the number of references to poetry
in the *Geography* according to books *page* 93
- 2 Strabo's and Archelaus' genealogies 208

Contributors

ERAN ALMAGOR is an instructor in the Departments of Classical Studies and History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel.

ANNA MARIA BIRASCHI is a professor in the Department of Ancient History at the University of Perugia, Italy.

DAVID C. BRAUND is a professor in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at Exeter University, UK.

DANIELA DUECK is a lecturer in the Departments of Classical Studies and History at Bar Ilan University, Israel.

JOHANNES ENGELS is a professor at the Institute for Ancient Studies, University of Cologne, Germany.

HUGH LINDSAY is a senior lecturer in the Classics Department at the University of Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia.

NIKOS LITINAS is a member of the Department of Philology, University of Crete, Greece.

DENISE EILEEN MCCOSKEY is an associate professor in the Department of Classics, Miami University, Ohio, USA.

SILVIA PANICHI is a member of the Department of Ancient History, University of Perugia, Italy.

SARAH POTHECARY is an independent scholar based in Canada and in Boston, Mass., USA.

MARIA PRETZLER is a lecturer at the University of Wales, Swansea, UK.

CHRISTINA HORST ROSEMAN is the C. May Marston Professor Emeritus of Classics at Seattle Pacific University, USA.

ZE'EV SAFRAI is a professor in the Department of Land of Israel Studies at Bar Ilan University, Israel.

YUVAL SHAHAR is a senior lecturer in the Department of Jewish History at Tel Aviv University, Israel.

FRANCESCO TROTTA is a tutor in the Department of Ancient History at the University of Perugia, Italy.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful for contributions towards the cost of the conference on Strabo, held at Bar Ilan University, 25–27 June 2001, for which most of the papers in this volume were initially prepared.

We would like to thank Kai Brodersen for help in locating the images of the *kolossos* of Heliuss at Rhodes and the *kolossos* of Zeus at Olympia, used for the front cover and the frontispiece respectively: for further information on the images, see Brodersen (1996).

This volume contains excerpts taken from *Strabo: Geography*, Loeb Classical Library, vols. 1–8, translated by H. L. Jones, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1917–32. These excerpts are reprinted by permission of the publishers and the Trustees of the Loeb Classical Library. The Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Abbreviations

<i>AC</i>	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i> . Louvain
<i>AFLPer</i>	<i>Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia</i> . Perugia
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> . New York
<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> . Baltimore
<i>AncSoc</i>	<i>Ancient Society</i> . Leuven
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (1972–). Berlin
<i>ArchClass</i>	<i>Archeologia Classica</i> . Rome
<i>ASNP</i>	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa</i> . Pisa
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> . Cairo
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i> . Pennsylvania
<i>CA</i>	<i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i> . Ed. J. U. Powell (1925). Oxford
<i>CAF</i>	<i>Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta</i> . Ed. T. Kock (1880–8). Leipzig
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , volumes I to XIII. Cambridge
<i>CHI</i>	<i>Cambridge History of Iran</i> , volumes I to VIII. Cambridge
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin
<i>CIRB</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani</i> . St Petersburg
<i>CJ</i>	<i>The Classical Journal</i> . Athens, GA
<i>ClAnt</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i> . Berkeley, CA
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i> . Chicago
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i> . Oxford
<i>DNP</i>	<i>Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> . Stuttgart
<i>EGF</i>	<i>Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Ed. M. Davies (1988). Göttingen
<i>FGrHist</i>	<i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Ed. F. Jacoby (1923–). Berlin
<i>FHG</i>	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . Ed. C. Müller (1841–70). Paris
<i>G & R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i> . Oxford
<i>GB</i>	<i>Grazer Beiträge</i> . Graz

- GGM* *Geographi Graeci Minores*. Ed. C. Müller (1855–61). Paris
GIF *Giornale italiano di filologia*. Rome
GL *Greek Lyric*. Ed. D. A. Campbell (1982–93). Cambridge, MA
IE *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*. Ed. M. L. West (1989–92). Oxford
ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Ed. H. Dessau. Berlin
JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London
JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. London
JRA *Journal of Roman Archaeology*. Ann Arbor
JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*. London
LÄ *Lexicon der Ägyptologie*. Eds. W. Helck and E. Otto (1972–92). Wiesbaden
LEC *Les Études Classique*. Namur
LGS *Lyrica Graeca Selecta*. Ed. D. L. Page (1968). Oxford
LCM *Liverpool Classical Monthly*. Liverpool
LDAB *Leuven Database of Ancient Books*. Leuven
LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologicae Classicae*. Zurich and Munich
L-P *Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta*. Eds. E. Lobel and D. Page (1955). Oxford
LSJ *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Eds. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones (1996). Oxford
MDAIK *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*. Wiesbaden
MGWJ *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*. Stuttgart
MIL *Memoire del' Instituto Lombardo*. Milan
MLA *Metzler Lexikon antike*. Stuttgart
NC *Numismatic Chronicle*. London
 OCD *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Eds. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (1996). Oxford
OGIS *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. Leipzig
P & P *Past and Present*. Kendal
P.Oxy. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Eds. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (1898–). London
PCF *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis*. Ed. H. Maehler (1989). Leipzig
PCG *Poetae Comici Graeci*. Eds. R. Kassel and C. Austin (1983–91). Berlin
PCPhS *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*. Cambridge

- PEG* *Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum*. Ed. A. Bernabé (1996).
 Leipzig
- PIR*² *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2nd edn.
- PMGF* *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Ed. M. Davies
 (1991). Oxford
- PSI* *Papiri greci e latini (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la
 ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto)*. Florence
- QUCC* *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*. Rome
- RE* *Pauly's Real-encyclopaedie der Klassischen Altertumwissenschaft*.
 Stuttgart and Munich
- REA* *Revue des études anciennes*. Talence
- REG* *Revue des études grecques*. Paris
- RFIC* *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica*. Turin
- RHA* *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*. Paris
- RhM* *Rheinisches Museum*. Frankfurt
- SCI* *Scripta Classica Israelica*. Jerusalem
- SH* *Supplementum Hellenisticum*. Eds. H. Lloyd-Jones and
 P. Parsons (1983). Berlin
- SVF* *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*. Ed. H. von Arnim (1921).
 Leipzig
- TAPhA* *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.
 Decatur, GA.
- TDNT* *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids,
 MI.
- TGF* *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Ed. A. Nauck
 (1889–1964). Hildesheim
- TLG* *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*
- TrGF* *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Ed. S. Radt (1977–85).
 Göttingen
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. Bonn

Introduction

We do not know much about Strabo of Amasia. In his extant voluminous *Geography*, he is reluctant to surrender details regarding his personal life, even basic information such as his full name and his residential abode as an adult. Nevertheless, there is a generally accepted outline of the man's profile.

Strabo was born in Amasia, Pontus, in about 64 BCE. He received a traditional Hellenistic education from the best Asian teachers at the time. As a young adult he accompanied Aelius Gallus, the Roman governor of Egypt, on his mission and later spent some years in Rome. During his earlier career Strabo composed a historiographical work now mostly lost, which was intended to survey world events as a sequel to Polybius' *History*. Later he concentrated on the massive endeavour of describing the entire *oikoumene*, producing the seventeen-book work we hold now as the *Geography*.¹ He died sometime after 23 CE.

Strabo refers to his *Geography* as a *kolossourgia*, a 'kolossos of a work' (I.I.23). A *kolossos* is a statue of huge proportions and the point of the comparison, as Strabo tells us, is scale. Just as a colossal statue produces in the mind of the observer an overall impression that does not depend on a detailed representation in all its parts, so Strabo intends his *Geography* to represent the world as a whole, rather than individual regions in microcosm.²

When and where was this *kolossourgia* composed? On these questions the contributors to this volume did not get over-exercised. The editors

¹ Throughout the volume, we use the translation of Strabo's *Geography* by H. L. Jones in the Loeb series, 1917–32. Translations of other classical authors are also from the Loeb series unless otherwise noted. The Greek text from the Loeb edition of the *Geography* (based on Meineke's critical edition of 1852–3), which covers all seventeen books of the text, is used. Reference to other editions is made where the readings or emendations in them are relevant to the discussion in hand. Citations of Strabo's text are by book, chapter and section (e.g. 14.I.48) and are not prefaced with the name of Strabo, except where comparison is being made between the geographer and other authors, such as Pausanias or Josephus.

² See Potheary, '*Kolossourgia*. "A colossal statue of a work"', in this volume.

themselves had to agree to disagree on this matter. Hugh Lindsay opts for continuous but not necessarily consistent composition over time; Daniela Dueck for Tiberian composition of a work that nevertheless reflects Strabo's experiences in Augustan Rome; Sarah Pothecary suggests that Strabo's view of the present and the past is essentially a Tiberian one.³

How much of the *Geography* was written under Augustus, and how much of it was written under Tiberius, is indeed a complex issue. Situations pertaining under Tiberius were often a continuation of those pertaining under Augustus, and the words describing such situations could have been written under either emperor. Moreover, words written under Tiberius may easily have been the product of earlier notes and thought. The contributors make their own individual assumptions about the date of composition, but this is not the focus of their arguments. They focus instead on the *Geography* as evidence of a certain mindset which predisposed the author to include some material and omit other material.

Most contributors seek a connection between the criteria Strabo used for inclusion of material and his cultural and intellectual background. There is no doubt that Strabo straddled two worlds, the Greek and the Roman, and that he travelled and lived in both parts. Although totally Greek in his education and early background, Rome is also very important to his world because of his extensive residence there as well as in Alexandria.

This dual background emerges again and again in Strabo's work. Its relevance is apparent on three levels – the personal, the literary and the historical. On the personal level, Strabo represents a group of Greek intellectuals who had social relationships with Romans. His biography reflects inter-relations between the two cultures in a world where politics presented new cultural horizons. In this volume, the personal Greek dimension is particularly dominant in the papers of Almagor, Trotta, Engels and Lindsay.

On the literary level, the *Geography* represents the geographical genre deriving from Greek origins in historiographical contexts. The fact that such an extensive and encyclopaedic work has survived to reach the present is invaluable, and the work itself preserves a tradition of ancient scholarly approaches and trends. In this volume, the literary aspects of Strabo's work, including the complex problem of sources, feature in the papers of Roseman, Biraschi, Dueck, Litinas, Panichi, Shahar and Safrai.

On the historical level, both Strabo and his work reflect the historical era of Augustan rule and the early Roman principate in general. The papers by

³ Lindsay (1997b); Dueck (1999); Pothecary (1997 and 2002).

McCoskey, Potheary ('The European provinces') and Braund contribute to the understanding of Strabo and his work as both products and exhibits of an historical period with a unique political atmosphere. Thus in the broader literary, cultural and political context Strabo is an essential author and his work of major importance.

The various approaches suggested in this volume may eventually also help to decide the questions of where, when and how the *Geography* was written. The discussion is best split into two. The first question (where) is interesting for the subsequent textual history of the *Geography*, namely, where did the finished manuscript of the *Geography* (or unfinished, if Strabo died while still at work on it) end up in the first decade of Tiberius' reign, after 23 CE? And, as a direct derivative of this question, where and to whom was the manuscript, or copies of it, available?⁴

The remaining questions (when and how) pivot on the extent to which it is possible to distinguish between the man and his work. Are the many years of education, travel and experience which characterise the author necessarily evidence for many years of composition, or are they consistent with a shorter period of composition at a more precisely dateable time and in a particular place?

The originality of Strabo has very much to do with this last question. There used to be a tendency to see Strabo as an uncritical copier of his sources and thus to devalue him as an author in his own right. More recently, scholars have tended to appreciate the author's individuality and to emphasise the author in his cultural context.⁵ The contributors to this volume have taken the view that Strabo operated as an intellectual, who weighed the sources at his disposal to the best of his ability. Strabo's extensive Hellenistic background explains not merely his use of Homer but his whole outlook on the world, which in turn determines his omission and selection of material. It is in the author himself that we find answers to questions such as why Strabo mentions some Greek colonies and not others (Trotta), why he lists ἀνδρες ἔνδοξοι from certain places and not others (Engels), and why he is more interested in some areas of the *oikoumene* than others (Braund), to take just a few examples.

Although there are many different ways of analysing Strabo, they fall broadly into two categories. One category includes approaches in which Strabo's work is examined regionally, since this is the way that he himself

⁴ See Litinas, 'Strabo's sources in the light of a tale' and Shahar, 'Josephus' hidden dialogue with Strabo', in this volume.

⁵ Clarke (1999a); Engels (1999a); Dueck (2000a); Biraschi and Salmeri (2000).

deals with his narrative: after the introductory two books, each subsequent book or group of books is devoted to a particular region of the *oikoumene*. Another category consists of thematic analyses of Strabo's work, approaches that cross regional boundaries and consider the *Geography* as a whole.

The papers in this volume have been grouped according to these two categories. The first nine papers are thematic. We start with them precisely because they have the widest coverage. The tenth paper, by Maria Pretzler, acts as a fulcrum: although Pretzler deals with a particular area, she reminds us that Strabo's account of Greece can only be understood in terms of themes and preoccupations which characterise Strabo's work as a whole. It is thus a fitting point at which to turn to the remaining six papers, which fall into the regional category but where Strabo's own personality is never far away.

Although the papers have been broadly grouped in this way, there is nevertheless much interrelationship between them, reflecting the variety, scope and complexity of Strabo's work. Some contributors look at Strabo's text from a traditional philological viewpoint; some start from a particular interest in ethnology or narrative theory; some focus on Strabo in relation to later writers like Pausanias and Josephus; others look at those descriptions of Strabo which reveal his personal engagement with the areas described, while still others look at the value of his descriptions where no such personal experience is evident. Like a *kolossos*, Strabo's work can be viewed from many angles.

The chapters collected here are drawn mainly from papers presented at a conference, organised by the editors of this volume, at Bar Ilan University in Israel, 25–27 June 2001, under the title 'Strabo the Geographer – An International Perspective'. The editors commissioned two papers, those by Roseman and Braund, after the conference. The paper by Potheary entitled '*Kolossourgia*. "A colossal statue of a work"' was also added after the conference, to develop the theme of the volume as a whole, namely the interplay of culture and geography in Strabo's work.

We had great fun organising the conference at Bar Ilan and enjoyed meeting the participants and each other. We enjoyed, too, collecting and editing the papers to produce this volume. We particularly welcomed the opportunity to include papers by contributors who do not normally publish in English. We hope that this volume communicates something of our enthusiasm for our subject and that it bears witness to the variety, potential and relevance of Strabonian studies across many fields.

Daniela Dueck, Hugh Lindsay and Sarah Potheary, September 2004

Kolossourgia. *'A colossal statue of a work'*

Sarah Pothecary

καθάπερ τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς κολοσσικοῖς ἔργοις οὐ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβὲς ζητοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς καθόλου προσέχομεν μᾶλλον, εἰ καλῶς τὸ ὅλον οὕτως κἀν τούτοις δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν· κολοσσοουργία γάρ τις καὶ αὐτῇ, τὰ μεγάλα φράζουσα πῶς ἔχει καὶ ὅλα, πλὴν εἴ τι κινεῖν δύναται καὶ τῶν μικρῶν τὸν φιλειδημόνα καὶ τὸν πραγματικόν. (I.I.23)

Just as, in colossal statues, we do not seek detail¹ in each individual part but rather pay attention to general aspects [in deciding] whether the whole is finely done, so we must apply the same criteria to these [works].² For it [= the *Geography*], too, is a sort of *kolossourgia*, portraying major themes and overall context, except where some matter, though small, stirs the man who desires knowledge and is inclined towards action.³

This paper deals with Strabo's description of his work as a colossal endeavour. In the quoted passage, which comes near the beginning of book one of the *Geography*, Strabo shifts from discussing colossal 'works' (in the sense of 'statues') to reflecting on his own colossal 'work' (in the sense of 'literary endeavour'). The statues, the literary work and, perhaps, the Roman world of which the literary work is a description, are all distinguished by their 'colossalness'.

The point of this paper is to draw out the full implications of this 'colossalness', which would have been rather different for Strabo and his original audience than they are for the reader of today. To the modern English speaker, the words 'colossus' and 'colossal' are associated primarily with immense size.⁴ One might easily assume, for example, that the giant

¹ The literal meaning of ἀκριβὲς is 'precise' or 'accurate'. When applied to representational art, it is best translated as 'detailed' or 'realistic'. See n. 59.

² Strabo has been discussing both the *History* and the *Geography* at this point.

³ Translations of Strabo are my own.

⁴ See, for example, Niall Ferguson's choice of title for his recent book: *Colossus. The Price of America's Empire* (2004).

amphitheatre in Rome, known today as the ‘Colosseum’, received its name on account of its huge dimensions. The name of the amphitheatre turns out, however, to have more complicated origins, a point to which I shall return at the end of this paper. Similarly, Strabo’s description of his work as a *kolossourgia* turns out to be more complex than at first appears. In this paper, I argue that *kolossourgia* needs to be translated as more than ‘a colossal endeavour’ if its full impact is to be retained. I suggest that ‘a colossal statue of a work’ is a more apt translation, if not a more mellifluous one.

This enquiry into the phrase *kolossourgia* brings out the importance of Greek culture in Strabo’s *Geography*, an observation which is made to a greater or lesser extent in all the other papers in this volume and, indeed, serves as a unifying theme for the volume as a whole. Moreover, the enquiry covers two senses in which culture can be said to influence Strabo. First, Strabo considers it part of his task to provide accounts of cultural behaviour and achievements, both Greek and otherwise. Secondly, Strabo is so enmeshed in the Greek culture of his day that he cannot struggle free of it: his way of looking at the world is subjectively determined by his immersion in the Greek culture of which he is so proud.

The two senses in which culture and geography intertwine in this enquiry are apparent in the two parts into which this paper is divided. The first part deals objectively with *kolossoi* (‘colossal statues’) as they are described by Strabo himself in the pages of the *Geography*. Their inclusion in a geographical work – not an immediately obvious place in which to find giant statues – reflects both Strabo’s conceptualisation of them as symbols of Greek cultural achievement and his conceptualisation of geography as a science which embraces precisely such matters.

The second part of this paper reverts to a study of the specific term *kolossourgia* (‘a colossal statue of a work’). Although the term itself merely equates the work with a statue, the context makes it clear that Strabo intends a more extended comparison, such that the criteria applied in judging the merit of colossal statues are the same criteria as applicable to the judgement of the *Geography*. In making this point, Strabo is not entirely original. Rather, he is picking up on an idea which was part of contemporary literary debate, and which centred on the legitimacy of judging literature by the same criteria as statuary. Even in describing his work as a *kolossourgia*, therefore, Strabo reveals his participation in the cultural context of his times.

This investigation into the connotations of the terms *kolossoi* and *kolossourgia* has a by-product which well illustrates how cultural forces exert themselves both objectively and subjectively on Strabo. For Strabo must

have seen some of the colossal statues which he features in his *Geography*. Nevertheless, he never states that he has done so. Moreover, the liveliness and length of his descriptions seem to depend more on the extent to which the *kolossoi* have enjoyed literary celebration than on his own observations. Two caveats emerge from this, which are applicable to the *Geography* as a whole. First, an elaborate and vivid account by Strabo does not necessarily imply that Strabo has seen what he describes (although, of course, it does not preclude that possibility). Secondly and conversely, Strabo may well have seen the sights he describes, even where his accounts are cursory. We are forced to diagnose a case of 'cultural vision', with the result that Strabo's accounts need not be based on personal observation even where he has been present at the scene: and this is particularly the case where what he sees has been celebrated in Greek literature.

Before embarking on this two-fold enquiry into *kolossoi* and *kolossourgia*, it is worth looking in a little more detail at the precise point that Strabo is making in the passage quoted above (1.1.23). It is true that *kolossoi*, 'colossal statues', could be huge – 30, 40, 50 or even 100 feet high – but it straight away becomes obvious that it is not the size of the statues, or at least not primarily the size, that lies behind Strabo's analogy. Rather, it is what the size of the statues implies for the level of detail to be included by the statue-maker. This is very different from the level of detail that *could* be included, and recognition of this has important consequences for understanding the real point of Strabo's analogy. For *kolossoi* were large not only in absolute terms but also relative to what they depicted. They were representations of human figures (albeit human figures that in turn represented gods or goddesses) but were themselves much larger than the human figure, so that each individual part of the *kolossos* was larger than the body part it represented. The builder of a *kolossos* thus had ample space to provide exact detail. However, he was free, in Strabo's opinion at any rate, to disregard detail in favour of creating an overall impression.⁵

Two interesting points emerge from Strabo's analogy. First, it reveals an attitude towards scale which is completely the reverse of what we might expect. Strabo's comparison of his work to the visual arts leads us to think of geography, too, in visual terms, namely as cartography or map-making. For a cartographer, the greater the physical dimensions of a world map, the

⁵ Cf. the admiration which Strabo expresses later in the *Geography* for the 'extravagance' and 'size' of the colossal statues made by Phidias. In contrast, Strabo damns with faint praise the rival of Phidias, Polyclitus, whose work he acknowledges for its 'technical merit' (8.6.10). For the grudging nature of the acknowledgement, see pp. 11 and 22.

larger the scale (in the sense of the ratio of map distance to actual distance); and the larger this ratio or scale, the greater the amount of detail and number of small features which can be included. Strabo himself, in an excursus later in the *Geography* where he explicitly deals with making a map of the inhabited world, suggests that the map should be not less than seven feet (without specifying whether this figure applies to the length or to the height of the map) (2.5.10). The implication is that a map of this size can include more features. The sort of features given by Strabo as appropriate are: gulfs, seas, straits, isthmi, promontories, rivers, mountains, continents, nations, cities and other features, such as islands (2.5.17).

It is instructive at this point to look ahead to the later and more cartographically inclined geographer, Ptolemy, to see what he says about the scale of world maps. Ptolemy tells us that drawing a map of the world involves ‘gulfs, great cities, the more notable peoples and rivers and the more noteworthy things of each kind’,⁶ in other words, much the same features as stipulated by Strabo. Ptolemy draws on the visual arts to provide an analogy for what he says about world maps. He likens making a map of the world to drawing a portrait of the whole head. The point is explicitly made that a portrait involves fitting individual features, like the eyes and the ears, into the representation of the whole. By analogy, then, the ‘features’ included in a map of the world (the gulfs, cities, notable peoples and rivers, etc.) are the cartographic equivalent of the ‘features’ in a portrait (the ears and eyes) which are seen as details in relation to the overall head. The size of the map, by implication, should be such that these features can be seen by a viewer in their relationship to the map as a whole.⁷

Thus, Ptolemy draws on the visual arts, namely portraiture, in order to illustrate what he says about making a map of the world. Strabo, in stark contrast, uses his analogy with the visual arts to make a point, not about map-making, but about geography as a literary endeavour.⁸ The visibility of detail to a viewer is not therefore relevant. Instead, the level of detail depends on the selectivity of the writer. Strabo is quite clear about his criteria. A literary geography aims at overall impact, ‘portraying major themes and overall context except where some matter, though small, stirs the man who desires knowledge and is inclined towards action’ (I.I.23).

⁶ Ptol. *Geog.* I.I. Tr. Berggren and Jones (2000).

⁷ Ptolemy believes that, in order to show an even greater level of detail, such as harbours, branches of rivers, etc., a map has to be limited to a specific region (*Geog.* I.1). The implication is that the amount of physical space required, in order to render these extra details clearly visible, precludes these details from being shown on a map encompassing the inhabited world as a whole.

⁸ Berggren and Jones (2000) 57 n. 1 make the point that, for Strabo, this is what constitutes geography.

Paradoxically, Strabo's description of his work as a *kolossourgia*, despite the fact that it calls on a comparison with the visual arts, illustrates just how 'uncartographic' Strabo's intentions are. We should not take his work as the narrative equivalent of a map.

The second interesting point to emerge from Strabo's comparison of his work with a 'colossal statue', sacrificing detail for overall impression, is that the analogy does not seem quite in keeping with what actually transpires in the *Geography*, which to the modern reader seems full of overflowing with detail. Despite the abundance of material in the *Geography*, Strabo at I.1.23 appears to be anticipating and pre-empting criticism from his contemporary audience that his work was too selective, that he had left out too much detail. The fact that Strabo feels compelled to make a 'pre-emptive strike', defending his omission of material serves as a reminder, to the modern reader, of the vast wealth of material, which Strabo had at his disposal. It is an indication that the material which Strabo does present, though copious, is only a sampling of the work available to him.⁹

The reminder by Strabo, that he has to exercise selectivity, is salutary. It is curious how often, even today, despite the extraordinary length of Strabo's work, he is accused by some scholars of leaving out material that he 'should' have included. Strabo's defence, that he has had to exercise selectivity based on 'major themes and overall context', serves as well against modern criticism as against ancient.

Even so, Strabo may have ended up including more detail in the body of his work than he intended when he was writing the introductory books and, in particular, when he penned his programmatic statement at I.1.23. Perhaps Strabo found that, once he was into writing the bulk of his work, much of the material at his disposal seemed more relevant than he had imagined. Perhaps he discovered more details which 'though small, stirred the man who desires knowledge' and found that, in practice, his scope for exclusion and discrimination was less than he had supposed. Such a view entails that Strabo wrote his work in 'real time', to use current jargon. In other words, he started with book one, wrote the remaining books in order and did not go back and make subsequent changes. This is consistent with other features in the *Geography*,¹⁰ despite the traditionally held view that the work was much revised. Strabo's work may have ended up as more

⁹ For the large amount of material available to Strabo, from which he makes selection, see Engels, 'Ἄνδρες ἐνδοξοί', Pretzler, 'Comparing Strabo with Pausanias' and Trotta, 'The foundation of Greek colonies', all in this volume.

¹⁰ See Dueck (1999), esp. 469–75, and Potchecary (2002), esp. 392–5: both authors also deal extensively with the scholarship for the opposing view.

‘colossal’ in the modern sense than he had intended; and less ‘colossal’ in terms of the elimination of unnecessary detail.

KOLOSSOI

None of the colossal statues of antiquity have survived to the present day. Of those that Strabo mentions, we have no evidence for the survival of any beyond the beginning of the thirteenth century.¹¹ Our impressions of these giant statues are derived largely from literary references, such as those of Strabo himself.¹² For this reason alone it is important to understand the context in which such references are made. Conversely, a closer look at the way in which Strabo handles material relating to *kolossoi* is revealing of his larger approach to Greek culture in general and helps us to understand the overall context of his references.

The *kolossoi* which feature in Strabo’s work are introduced in connection with the Greek cities for which they were produced. Strabo tells us that the city of Taras in Italy has a *kolossos* of Zeus in the market-place, second only in size to the *kolossos* in Rhodes;¹³ and that the city once had a *kolossos* of Heracles on its acropolis (6.3.1). Apollonia, an island city in the Black Sea, had once boasted a *kolossos* of Apollo (7.6.1).¹⁴ In mainland Greece, one *kolossos* gets mentioned twice: this is a *kolossos* of Zeus, mentioned first in connection with the temple at Olympia, where it stands in Strabo’s day (8.3.30); and mentioned a second time in connection with Corinth, whose tyrant Cypselus gave it as an offering to Olympia (8.6.20). Another, larger, *kolossos* of Zeus stands (more appropriately, sits) in the same temple:¹⁵ this is the *kolossos* of Zeus by Phidias (8.3.30),¹⁶ which features in the frontispiece to this volume.

Continuing through his narrative, Strabo mentions the statues produced by Polyclitus, located in the temple of Hera, between Argos and Mycenae (8.6.10). Strabo chooses this moment to comment on the general superiority, in terms of ‘extravagance and size’, of Phidias’ works (including, as

¹¹ The *kolossos* of Heracles, originally from Taras in Italy, lasted until 1204 CE: see n. 19.

¹² Our impressions are also derived from the smaller Roman copies of the Greek originals; from depictions on coins; and, in the case for example of the *Zeus* from Olympia, from the remains of the base on which the *kolossos* stood.

¹³ Pliny gives a height of 40 cubits (60 ft) for the *Zeus* at Taras (*HN* 34.17.40). A cubit contains 1.5 ft, whatever the exact value (in modern terms) of the foot.

¹⁴ Pliny gives a height of 30 cubits (45 ft) for the *Apollo* from Apollonia (*HN* 34.17.39).

¹⁵ Strabo does not use the word *kolossoi* for the two statues at Olympia but does refer (8.3.30; 8.6.20) to their enormous size.

¹⁶ For the size of Phidias’ *Zeus* at Olympia, see p. 15; cf. Paus. 5.11.1–9 for general impressions of its size.

Strabo has already noted, the *Zeus* at Olympia) over those of Polyclitus. Although Strabo concedes the 'technical merit' of Polyclitus, the fact that he does not, at 8.6.10, make any specific mention of Polyclitus' *Hera*,¹⁷ the *kolossos* for which Polyclitus was famed and which was located in the temple which Strabo mentions, is surely an indication that Strabo's own preferences lie with Phidias. Against this failure by Strabo to mention the *Hera* by name, his reference to Polyclitus' 'technical merit' sounds very much like a case of damning with faint praise. In contrast, describing Athens, Strabo specifically refers to the presence in the temple there of the *Athena*, and specifically notes that it is the work of Phidias (9.1.16),¹⁸ he does not use the word *kolossos*, nor refer to the size of the *Athena*, perhaps because he has already referred to the size of Phidias' works at 8.3.30 and 8.6.10. Nevertheless, he does draw attention to the work by name and, in doing so, grants it a status denied to Polyclitus' *Hera*.

Turning now to the Greek islands, Samos has two *kolossoi*, an *Athena* and a *Heracles* respectively, and used to have a third, a *kolossos* of *Zeus* (14.1.14). Rhodes has its *kolossos* of *Heli*us, albeit toppled by an earthquake (14.2.5). Strabo does make reference to the size of the *kolossos* at Rhodes, giving it a height which works out as 105 feet. The figure is, however, given in an exceptionally literary way (see p. 19) and may not be reliable.

Not all the *kolossoi* which Strabo mentions still stand, in Strabo's day, on the sites for which they were originally intended. The reasons for their removal are given by Strabo. The *kolossos* of *Apollo* no longer stands at Apollonia, because it has been taken by the Romans and now (taking Strabo's own time as a reference point) stands on the Capitol in Rome (7.6.1). The same is true for the *kolossos* of *Heracles*, taken from the acropolis at Taras (6.3.1).¹⁹ The three *kolossoi* from Samos – the *Athena*, the *Heracles* and the *Zeus* – were all taken by Mark Antony:²⁰ Augustus restored two of them, the *Athena* and the *Heracles*, to Samos; but he transferred the *Zeus* to the Capitol (14.1.14). Strabo's choice of textual place to comment on the removal of these statues to Rome is illuminating. In each case, their current location is mentioned not as part of Strabo's description of Rome, but as part of his description of the relevant Greek city from which they originated. It is clear, then, that Strabo is not

¹⁷ Pausanias notes, in general, the size of the *Hera*, but does not give a specific figure for its height (2.17.4).

¹⁸ Pliny gives 26 cubits (39 ft) as the height of the *Athena* (HN 36.4.18); cf. Paus. 1.24.5.

¹⁹ This well-travelled *kolossos* was subsequently taken from Rome to Constantinople, where it survived until 1204 CE: Lasserre (1967) 174 n. 6.

²⁰ They were taken to Alexandria: cf. 13.1.30.

interested in the *kolossoi* as physical appurtenances of the sites that he describes: if he were, then the relocated *kolossoi* would be described in connection with Rome. Instead, Strabo sees the *kolossoi* as cultural artefacts, contributors to the cultural identity of the cities that produced them, wherever they currently reside.

Strabo's attitude towards the *kolossoi* is, in many ways, representative of his attitude towards other cultural products of the Greek cities. Chief among these products are the 'famous men' whom Strabo enumerates for many of the cities he describes. Included in their ranks are writers, philosophers, politicians and rhetors, some of whom took employment in Rome.²¹ As with the *kolossoi*, Strabo mentions individual cases of relocation, but he does so in connection with the city of origin of the relevant individual. We learn, in Strabo's description of the city of Tarsus in Cilicia, that the philosopher Athenodorus Cordylion originated there but moved to Rome to teach Cato (14.5.14); and, in Strabo's description of the city of Seleucia, also in Cilicia, that the philosopher Xenarchus did not stay long in Seleucia, his native town, but travelled widely, ending up in Rome (14.5.4). Textually, Athenodorus and Xenarchus inhabit Tarsus and Seleucia respectively, even though their actual residence was Rome. None of the Greeks who moved to Rome is noted as part of Strabo's description of that city. Strabo does make a comment, that it is at Rome that one is best able to appreciate the huge number of scholars from Tarsus: but significantly, he makes the comment in connection with Tarsus, not Rome (14.5.15).

'Dual residence' gets a somewhat different treatment when the city of current residence, as opposed to the city of origin, is not Rome but another Greek city. This is true of *kolossoi*: we have seen that one of the two statues of Zeus at Olympia is mentioned in connection with Corinth (8.6.20), by whose tyrant it was dedicated, as well as Olympia (8.3.30), in whose temple it is located. The same situation pertains with famous men with similar 'dual residence'. Both Apollonius Malaca and Apollonius Molon are mentioned in connection with Rhodes (14.2.13), where the two of them taught, and a second time in connection with Alabanda (14.2.26), their native town.²²

In a similar vein, returns to the city of origin from elsewhere are noted in connection with this city. In the case of *kolossoi*, Strabo tells us as part of his description of Samos that two of the three statues taken from Samos were subsequently returned there (14.1.14). Again, the same is true of famous

²¹ Dueck (2000a) 8–15, 130–44; Engels, "Ἀνδρες ἔνδοξοι", in this volume, esp. 130.

²² Engels, "Ἀνδρες ἔνδοξοι" in this volume.

men. For example, we hear as part of the description of Tarsus that one of its famous sons, the philosopher Athenodorus Cananites, having spent time in Rome teaching Augustus, ended up by returning to his native town and overhauling the government there (14.5.14). Of those who left their native cities, however, most ended their days abroad. Strabo laments that, of the many who leave their native city, the number who return is very small (14.5.13). Although Strabo is talking specifically about Tarsus, the comment is undoubtedly valid for many Greek cities.

Strabo's treatment of other relocated products of Greek culture reveals the same discrepancy between actual and textual residence that we have seen in his treatment of *kolossoi* and 'famous men'.²³ For example, Strabo mentions a painting of Dionysus by Aristides. Narratologically, the painting is located in Corinth: for it is in Strabo's description of that city that the painting is mentioned (8.6.23). In the relevant passage, Strabo tells us that the painting was taken from Corinth to Rome, where it was hung on the walls of the temple of Ceres. It is, however, absent from Strabo's description of Rome itself, although in this case a further factor is at work. Strabo tells us (still as part of his description of Corinth) that the painting was destroyed in Rome, along with the temple in which it was housed, by a fire (31 BCE). Given both Strabo's general practice of not mentioning Greek cultural exports to Rome in connection with Rome itself, and the destruction in any case of the painting by the time he wrote, it is not surprising that neither the painting, nor the temple that had once housed it, figure in Strabo's description of Rome. Nor is it, therefore, surprising that Strabo says nothing specific, in his description of Rome,²⁴ about the temple's reconstruction, some of which probably took place under Augustus even though the temple was dedicated by the emperor Tiberius in 17 CE.²⁵ The inference²⁶ that the *Geography* was written before 17 CE on the basis of Strabo's silence over the reconstruction is misguided. In any case, the silence may not be total. When Strabo refers to 'building work' undertaken

²³ The textual location of Strabo's comments thus acts as a counterbalancing force to the sentiments contained *within* his comments. Clarke (1999a) 210–28, esp. 222, notes Strabo's stress on the physical convergence of resources towards Rome: but this concerns his sentiments, rather than narratological location of the sentiments. Swain (1996) 3, 205, 313, emphasises Strabo's 'pro-Romanism', a view which should be somewhat tempered.

²⁴ It is even less surprising that Strabo does not mention the reconstruction of the temple at Rome in his description of Corinth at 8.6.23. Information about the temple's reconstruction would be completely irrelevant to Strabo's description there of the *Dionysus* and its ultimate fate.

²⁵ Blake (1959) 12.

²⁶ E.g. Pais (1908) 384; Baladié (1978) 6 n. 1, 190 n. 1. For doubts as to the validity of the inference: Syme (1995) 359.

in Rome by Pompey, by the divine Caesar, by Augustus, by Augustus' sons (a phrase which, of course, includes Tiberius)²⁷ and by Augustus' friends, wife and sister (5.3.8), the reconstruction of the temple of Ceres may well be included in the catch-all term, 'building work'.

Just as *kolossoi* bring cultural identification to the cities that produced them, *kolossoi* themselves may be given further cultural identification by their commemoration in Greek poetry.²⁸ In describing the *Zeus* at Olympia, Strabo tells us that certain writers set down its measurements in verse, among them Callimachus 'in some iambic poem'²⁹ (8.3.30). Strabo tells us that Callimachus set down the measurements, but does not tell us what those measurements were! Strabo's lack of interest in relaying the actual measurements of the *Zeus* shows that his focus is on Callimachus himself, and on the fact that a famous Greek poet should choose to make the *kolossos* a subject of his poetry, rather than on the precise information conveyed within the poem.

The poem by Callimachus survives independently – but only just. A copy was written (probably in the second century CE) on a papyrus roll, of which various pieces have been found at various times, making it a fragmentary poem in the literal sense of the word.³⁰ The relevant papyrus pieces give a figure³¹ of 'five feet, four times over' (20 ft), apparently for the breadth, or short dimension, of the platform³² which supported the throne on which Zeus sat. The figure for the length, the long dimension, of the platform is lost. The papyrus pieces give figures³³ of 'thrice ten' and

²⁷ Since the *Geography* was written, in my opinion, in the period 17 or 18 CE to 23 CE, Tiberius is already emperor: Potheary (2002).

²⁸ Cf. Strabo's frequent references to Greek proverbs in a similar context; e.g. he reports that, according to some, the *Dionysus* by Aristides was the subject of the Greek proverb οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον (8.6.23). See Dueck, 'Strabo's use of poetry', in this volume, p. 98; also now Dueck (2004).

²⁹ The metre is iambic trimeters alternating with ithyphallics: Pfeiffer (1941) 1.

³⁰ One part of the papyrus roll was found and classified as *PSI* 1216. Another part was classified as *P. Oxy.* 2171, published in *P. Oxy.* vol. XVIII, by Lobel, in 1941. *P. Oxy.* 2171 was found in pieces, some identified only later as belonging to it (see addenda to *P. Oxy.* vol. XVIII, pp. 183–4; and vol. XIX, p. 149). For the overall text of the reconnected papyrus pieces, see Pfeiffer (1941) 2–3. In a later work, Pfeiffer (1949) gives the patched-together (but still not complete) text as Fragment 196 of Callimachus (= *Iambus* vi). For other papyrus pieces possibly belonging to the same poem: Pfeiffer (1949) frs. 209, 212 and 214 (for which see also *P. Oxy.* vol. XIX, p. 149).

³¹ *P. Oxy.* vol. XVIII, pp. 183–4, line 4; Pfeiffer (1941) 3, line 25; see also *ibid.* p. 4.

³² This platform did not necessarily have the same dimensions as the base or pedestal on which throne and platform sat, *pace* Pfeiffer and Lobel. Pfeiffer (1941) 3, commentary on line 23, notes correctly that the ἐπιβάθρον ('platform') is probably not the same as the base, which would be called the βάθρον, as by Pausanias 5.11.8; Pfeiffer assumes, nevertheless, that the platform and base are commensurate; hence takes 20 feet as the breadth of the base as well as the platform (p. 4). Lobel, *P. Oxy.* vol. XVIII, p. 61, commentary on fr. 2, col. ii, line 2, and p. 183–4, takes platform and base as one and the same.

³³ *P. Oxy.* vol. XVIII, pp. 183–4, line 10; Pfeiffer (1941) 3, lines 31–2.

'twenty' (presumably feet), which seem to refer to the throne itself. The seated figure of the god is said to be five cubits (7.5 ft) higher than the throne.³⁴ R. Pfeiffer adds 7.5 feet to 30 ('thrice ten') to come up with a figure of 37.5 feet for the overall height of the statue,³⁵ a process which assumes that the 'thrice ten' of the text refers to the throne's height. However, the figure of 'thrice ten' is said to apply ἐς τὸ μακρόν, which surely means that it applies 'to the length'. Indeed, this is what E. Lobel assumes, noting that the figure for the 'length' is contrasted with the figure ἐς εὖρος, i.e., 'for the breadth'.³⁶ Thus Pfeiffer's calculation is not valid.³⁷ Even if Callimachus' poem did provide us with a figure for the height of the statue, working out a precise height in modern feet or metres would be a dangerous procedure. First, Callimachus' figures are poetically expressed in round numbers, and we cannot be sure that they are identical with the actual measurements of the statue, which may not have been constructed according to such round figures. Secondly, we cannot be sure of the exact value (in modern feet or in metres) of the foot and cubit which feature in Callimachus' poem.³⁸

The other *kolossos* whose commemoration in verse is noted by Strabo is the *kolossos* of Helios at Rhodes. Strabo relates:

ἄριστα δὲ ὁ τε τοῦ Ἥλιου κολοσσός, ὃν φησιν ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἰαμβεῖον, ὅτι ἐπτάκις δέκα Χάρης ἐποίει πηχέων ὁ Λίνδιος. (14.2.5)

the best [of the dedications] is the *kolossos* of Helios which, the composer of the iambic verse tells us, 'Chares the Lindian made, seven times ten cubits [high] [105 ft]'.

³⁴ *P. Oxy.* vol. xviii, pp. 183–4, line 16; Pfeiffer (1941) 3, lines 37–8.

³⁵ Pfeiffer (1941) 4. Pfeiffer gives the figure as 12.375 metres, based on a conversion of 0.33 metres per foot. Pfeiffer's metric figure is followed by Baladić (1978) 106 n. 1.

³⁶ *P. Oxy.* vol. xviii, p. 184. In addition, a summary of Callimachus' poem (*Diegesis* 7.25) informs us that the poem deals with μήκος, ὕψος, πλάτος ('length, height, breadth') of the statue's components, which surely suggests that the word ὕψος would be expected in the poem, were the statue's height being specified. For the summary, see Pfeiffer (1941) 2.

³⁷ For Pfeiffer's calculation to be valid, at least in terms of coming up with a figure in ancient feet or cubits for the height of the statue, we need to know the figure for the height of the throne. This figure may have been given in a mutilated part of the papyrus, lines 35–6. It was probably given in cubits.

³⁸ The methodology used by Pfeiffer (1941) 4 to arrive at a conversion rate between the Callimachan foot and the modern metre is suspect. Pfeiffer wrongly states that Callimachus' figure of 'five feet, four times over' is applied to the βᾶθρον ('base'), whereas it is applied to the ἐπίβαθρον ('platform'), which may not have been commensurate with the base (see n. 32). Dividing the known measurement of the breadth of the base (known from archaeological remains) by 20, as Pfeiffer does, is therefore unlikely to yield an accurate result for the value of the Callimachan foot. It seems likely that the platform, which supported the throne, was smaller than the base on which throne and platform sat. According to Pausanias (5.11.1–8), the base supported both the throne and other statues.

The lines to which Strabo alludes have survived independently, albeit with a different figure for the height of the statue, in the *Anthology* compiled by Maximus Planudes at Constantinople in 1301 CE.³⁹ In the *Anthology*, they are transmitted in the form of an iambic epigram:⁴⁰

τὸν ἐν Ῥόδῳ κολοσσὸν ὀκτάκις⁴¹ δέκα Χάρης ἔποιεῖ πρήχων
ὁ Λίνδιος.

Chares the Lindian made the *kolossos* in Rhodes,
eight times ten cubits [high] [120 ft].

The verse thus concerns the measurements of the *kolossos*, and is similar in this respect to the poem by Callimachus celebrating the dimensions of Phidias' *Zeus* at Olympia. Whereas, however, Strabo eschews quoting any lines from Callimachus' poem on the *Zeus*, he does quote from the 'iambic verse' on the *kolossos* of Rhodes. In quoting from the verse, Strabo omits the beginning of the first line as it appears in the *Anthology*. There, the opening words are τὸν ἐν Ῥόδῳ κολοσσόν, which are rendered grammatically unnecessary in Strabo's narrative by the sentence structure. In the *Anthology*, the epigram is attributed to Simonides. This is chronologically impossible,⁴² but the 'composer of the iambic verse' to whom Strabo refers remains unidentified.⁴³

We have seen, then, that Strabo uses Greek verse, in connection with *kolossoi*, to compound the statues' cultural importance and, in doing so, reveals his tendency to see things through a cultural lens. This tendency has wider ramifications for Strabonian studies. It entails that, in some cases, Strabo's personal observations may have little role to play in his descriptions. For example, it is certain that Strabo spent time in Rome, in the form of repeated visits or longer stays;⁴⁴ and he cannot have avoided the Capitol. Yet, when he deals with the Capitol in his narrative, his description is strangely impersonal. He refers to the wonderment felt by τις ('someone') walking among the Roman fora, basilicas and temples, seeing the Capitol

³⁹ Planudes was drawing on earlier collections: Gow and Page (1965) vol. 1, xvii, xxxviii–xl.

⁴⁰ Gow and Page (1965) vol. 1, 213: 'Anonymous Epigrams B', LVIII B, line reference 3916–17. 'Anonymous Epigrams B' are anonymous epigrams considered not to derive from Meleager's *Garland*.

⁴¹ Gow and Page (1965) vol. 1, 213, LVIII B (see *apparatus criticus*, line 1) emend to ἑπτάκις, which makes the epigram consistent with the lines as they appear in Strabo's text.

⁴² Simonides predates the *kolossos* of Rhodes: Gow and Page (1965) vol. 1, xxix, and vol. II, 516–17.

⁴³ Could it be Callimachus? Strabo cites Callimachus by name for an epigram (14.1.18 = Gow and Page (1965) vol. 1, 71: 'Callimachus LV,' line reference 1293–6). For Strabo's use of Callimachus: Dueck, 'Strabo's use of poetry', in this volume, p. 89.

⁴⁴ Dueck (2000a) 85–6.

and the ἔργα ('works') located there (5.3.8). The *kolossoi* relocated to the Capitol, to which Strabo will make specific reference later in his narrative in the context of their cities of origin, are here subsumed under this general term, as 'works'. Even when Strabo's narrative reaches the original homes of these *kolossoi*, namely Apollonia, Taras and Samos, where the *kolossoi* taken from these cities to Rome are mentioned explicitly (6.3.1; 7.6.1; 14.1.14), there is nothing in Strabo's words to give away the fact that he had seen any of the statues with his own eyes, albeit at Rome.

Strabo is not an art historian, but a cultural geographer. When he does mention his own observations, it is not to corroborate the detail of his description but to bolster his claim to be part of the Greek culture of which he is so proud. For example, when Strabo mentions that he had seen the *Dionysus* of Aristides in the temple of Ceres (8.6.23), he does not do so in order to provide evidence that he had been to Rome before the conflagration of the temple (even though, as discussed above, this is how Strabo's comment is used by modern scholars attempting to date Strabo's movements). Rather, Strabo mentions his own observation of the painting because it provides a material link between him and Polybius, one of his great predecessors and role models. Polybius, as Strabo is at pains to point out, had seen Roman soldiers playing dice on the painting after the sack of Corinth.⁴⁵ The painting had provided a thread, running back 100 years or more, between Strabo and Polybius. Strabo is upset at its loss in the fire which destroyed the temple and its contents, and that is surely why he mentions it.

The general irrelevance of personal observation to Strabo's cultural descriptions presents a problem for scholars trying to establish which of the sites Strabo describes he had actually seen; and attempting to assess the extent of his travels on the basis of those descriptions. The problem is exemplified in Strabo's handling of *kolossoi*. It is, for example, extremely likely that Strabo had been to Taras in Italy, so near to Rome.⁴⁶ He will therefore have seen the *Zeus* left there *in situ*, as well as the *Heracles* which had been transferred from Taras to Rome.⁴⁷ Nothing in Strabo's description of the *Zeus*, however, can be taken as evidence that he had seen it with his own eyes; nor, therefore, can his description be used as proof that he had been to Taras. But then again, nothing in Strabo's description of the *Heracles* gives away that he had seen that statue in its adopted home on the Capitol, even though we know for sure that Strabo had been to Rome. The corollary is that

⁴⁵ Strabo's words at 8.6.23 are taken as a 'fragment' (book 39, fragment 2) of Polybius' lost *Histories*: Walbank (1979) 728.

⁴⁶ Dueck (2000a) 25–6. ⁴⁷ Lasserre (1967) 174 nn. 4, 6.

any theory of Strabo's travels which rests solely on explicitly personal observations is bound to 'under-read' the extent of his travels.

Conversely, although Strabo does describe some *kolossoi* very vibrantly, the vibrancy of those accounts is not necessarily the result of personal observation. The *kolossos* of Zeus at Olympia by Phidias is among those most vividly described by Strabo, with the picturesque remark that it appears as if Zeus will derooof the temple if he stands up. However, there are good reasons for such a vivid description: the fame of the statue, Strabo's personal preference for Phidias and the commemoration of the statue in verse by Callimachus (both already noted, pp. 11 and 14). In addition, the statue may have played a role in the debate over the relevance of statuary to literature (as discussed below, p. 22). Against this background, any educated person might feel that they had seen the statue, even if they had not.⁴⁸ The liveliness of Strabo's description of Phidias' Zeus at Olympia is not evidence for Strabo's having seen the statue; nor can it be used as proof that he had visited Olympia. On other grounds, it seems unlikely that Strabo's travels in Greece were very extensive; and the vigour of his descriptions, such as that of the Olympian Zeus, cannot be taken as evidence to the contrary.

Strabo's descriptions thus exhibit a complex relationship, almost a conflict, between cultural cachet and personal observation. In the light of this, it is worth revisiting the *kolossos* of Rhodes. Strabo's personal presence in Rhodes cannot be proved from his text: for he gives no explicit and incontrovertible statement that he had been there. Rhodes was a major intellectual centre, however, and the likelihood is that Strabo had been there. It is quite probable that he had seen the famous, but fallen, *kolossos* of Helios. Gow and Page suggest that the verse from which Strabo cites a few lines took the form of an inscription at the base of the statue; that Strabo had seen the inscription while in Rhodes; and that he wrote down what he saw, or at least the last seven words of it.⁴⁹ The suggestion of Gow and Page rests on the assumption that Strabo's quotation of the verse was the result of his having seen it inscribed *in situ*. In the light of Strabo's general attitude towards literature, however, it is more likely that the mere mention of the *kolossos* was enough to prompt him to quote the verse in question, and that he was familiar with the verse from a literary source. Indeed, it

⁴⁸ How many people today feel as if they have seen the *Mona Lisa*, without ever having visited the Louvre in Paris? See also Pretzler, 'Comparing Strabo with Pausanias', in this volume, p. 147.

⁴⁹ Gow and Page (1965) vol. II, 588: 'Strabo's citation of the last seven words suggests that he had seen them there [= in Rhodes].'

seems likely that such a literary source existed, given the fact that Pliny, who does not use Strabo as a source, also gives the figure of 'seventy cubits' for the height of the statue (*HN* 34.18.41).⁵⁰

Thus it is not necessary to infer from Strabo's citation of the lines of verse concerning the *kolossos* of Rhodes that the verse was inscribed on the statue's base. Indeed, even Gow and Page concede that the lines of verse as they appear in the *Anthology*, beginning with τὸν ἐν Πόδῳ κολοσσόν, are not appropriate for an inscription on the statue's base; and they are forced into suggesting that these words are a substitution, made when the verse was incorporated into an anthology.⁵¹ It is misleading for Gow and Page to refer to the verse, cited in part by Strabo and included in fuller form in the *Anthology*, as an 'inscription', and to consider that it is, or should be, authoritative for the statue's dimensions.⁵² The figure given in the verse, whether it was originally seventy cubits or eighty cubits, was a literary one, and not necessarily reliable as a source for establishing the true height of the statue.

Strabo includes in his description of the *kolossos* of Rhodes the information that it has been toppled by an earthquake. His description of the *kolossos* as now lying 'cut down at the knees' has a Homeric ring to it. It may be that this literary way of describing the fallen statue is Strabo's own invention, or Strabo may be borrowing the phrase from a poet and poem unknown to us. It seems unlikely that Strabo chooses the expression for its anatomical accuracy, even if he had himself gazed on the collapsed *kolossos*. It is dangerous to take Strabo's description as the matter-of-fact account of a dispassionate observer and to conclude on the basis of Strabo's picturesque turn of speech that the *kolossos* had, quite literally, snapped at the knees.⁵³ Strabo's description here, like his quotation of a line and a half of Greek verse in connection with the height of the statue, is quite in keeping with his interest in *kolossoi* primarily as cultural artefacts, which pack an even stronger cultural punch when they have featured in poetry.

Kolossoi are presented by Strabo very much as part of the present identity of the cities and temples they grace (or used to, before relocation). This is so,

⁵⁰ The lines cited by Strabo at 14.2.5, and also transmitted in the *Anthology*, may originally have been part of a longer poem, like Callimachus' poem on the *Zeus* of Olympia (8.3.30).

⁵¹ Gow and Page (1965) vol. II, 589.

⁵² Gow and Page (1965) vol. II, 590, commenting on their emendation of 'eight times ten cubits' in the epigram to 'seven times ten cubits': '... it is unfortunate ... that in the inscription, which should be authoritative, the two versions should disagree'.

⁵³ E.g. Maryon (1956) 70 concludes that the sculptor had successfully reinforced the ankles but that the reinforcement failed at the knees. There are, anyway, problems with reconciling the collapse of the *kolossos* from the knees upwards with accounts of its subsequent fate, discussed by Maryon *ibid.*

despite the fact that the *kolossoi* are already ancient by the time that Strabo writes.⁵⁴ Of the two *kolossoi* of Zeus in the temple of Olympia, for example, the one dedicated by Cypselus is already over six hundred years old in Strabo's time,⁵⁵ and the one made by Phidias nearly five hundred years old.

Despite the temporal antiquity of these statues, they possess a cultural contemporaneity, as is particularly apparent in the case of the *kolossos* of Rhodes. This was among the most recently built (relative to Strabo's time) of the *kolossoi* but was paradoxically the most badly damaged. The earthquake that damaged it had occurred some two hundred and fifty years earlier. Yet Strabo's description at times gives the impression that the *kolossos* is still standing. This is partly the result of his citation of the verse which, as we have seen, commemorates the statue as it was when still erect. It is also partly a result of Strabo's choice of terminology. He singles the statue out as the ἄριστον ('best') of the city's adornments, which κείτται ('are situated') in its various parts (14.2.5). Admittedly, this impression that the statue is still standing is gainsaid by Strabo himself, who admits that the *kolossos* of Rhodes now κείτται (in its more literal sense of 'lies') on the ground. Nevertheless, the impression that the *kolossos* still stands is present in an earlier forward reference, when Strabo praises the *kolossos* of Zeus in Taras by referring to it as the largest 'after the *kolossos* of the Rhodians' (6.3.1).

KOLOSSOURGIA

Having looked at how Strabo's attitude towards *kolossoi* can be taken as emblematic of his attitude towards Greek culture overall, I now turn to the implications of Strabo's statement that his *Geography* is a *kolossourgia*, 'a colossal statue of a work'. The passage in which Strabo makes this statement and which is cited at the head of this article (1.1.23), has been taken as a 'fragment', i.e. a citation of a lost work which helps us to reconstruct the content of that lost work. More specifically, E. Ofenloch takes Strabo's words here as a 'fragment' of an Augustan author called Caecilius of Calacte.⁵⁶ Now, Strabo does not state that he is alluding to, or quoting, any earlier author, let alone specify Caecilius. Under current, generally accepted definitions of what constitutes a 'fragment', the passage does not

⁵⁴ For some interesting reflections on the merging of past and present by Greek writers under Rome, see Swain (1996) 65–100.

⁵⁵ I take as my date-point here the period c. 17/18–23 CE.

⁵⁶ Ofenloch (1907), collecting the 'fragments' of Caecilius, gives Strabo 1.1.23 as 'fragment' 3.

pass muster.⁵⁷ Before rejecting Ofenloch's scholarship out of hand, however, it is worth looking at the rationale behind his decision to take I.I.23 as a fragment of Caecilius. Closer scrutiny of the literary evidence on which Ofenloch bases his claim does not, it is true, tell us much about Caecilius: but it does tell us something about Strabo and the context in which he writes. For Strabo is not mouthing the words of an earlier writer, but is himself taking part in a contemporary debate on the relevance of statuary to literature.

The debate revolved around the questions of whether a flawed *kolossos* is artistically superior to a perfectly executed, smaller statue; and, if so, whether the same criteria should be applied to literary works; and whether a literary work can be judged brilliant, even if it contains flaws. The evidence for the debate comes from *On the Sublime*, whose author is now generally referred to as Pseudo-Longinus.⁵⁸ This author claims that literary genius aims for more than realism, and that great literary works transcend such mortal concerns; that statuary, in contrast, is judged according to technical skill, in which τὸ ἀκριβέστατον ('extreme accuracy') is paramount.⁵⁹ In other words, according to Pseudo-Longinus, the criteria by which statues are judged differ from those used in assessing the merit of written works.

In making these claims, the author of *On the Sublime* is explicitly reacting to an earlier writer, whom he does not name but whom he quotes for the statement that ὁ κολοσσὸς ὁ ἡμαρτήμενος οὐ κρείττων ἢ ὁ Πολυκλείτου Δορυφόρος ('the flawed *kolossos* is not better than the *Spear-bearer* by Polyclitus'), in other words, a large but imperfect statue is no better than a smaller but perfectly proportioned one. The earlier writer quoted in *On the Sublime* presumably also argued that the same judgement should be applied to literary works, with the corollary that the overall impact of a major work should not be allowed to compensate for flaws or errors contained within it; and such a flawed work should not be considered any better than a work more mundane but more accurate. At least, it seems necessary to postulate such a view on the part of the unnamed writer in order to explain the counter-reaction of Pseudo-Longinus, whose objection to the statement that the flawed *kolossos* is not better than the

⁵⁷ Generally, 'fragments' are only accepted as such if they are 'attested', i.e. if the piece of text that is supposed to comprise the 'fragment' contains a specific attribution to the author from whom it is supposed to be derived. See Kidd, in Edelstein and Kidd (1989) xvii–xxi.

⁵⁸ Most scholars no longer identify him with the rhetorician Longinus from the third century CE; on the other hand, he is not identified with any other named individual: DNP s.v. 'Pseudo-Longinos'.

⁵⁹ Ps.-Longinus, *On the Sublime* 36.3. Cf. Strabo's use of ἀκριβής at I.I.23. The context dictates that Ps.-Longinus uses ἀκριβής in the sense of 'accuracy' or 'realism'.

Spear-bearer concerns the applicability of the judgement to literature (not its truth as concerns statuary, in which Pseudo-Longinus agrees with the unnamed writer on the importance of ‘extreme accuracy’).

Strabo makes a comment within the *Geography* which is very pertinent to the passage from *On the Sublime*, and shows that Strabo’s view on the criteria by which statuary should be judged differs from the view of both Pseudo-Longinus and the unnamed writer cited by Pseudo-Longinus, both of whom praise accuracy in statues. In mentioning the work of Polyclitus, Strabo describes his statues as τῆ μὲν τεχνῆι κάλλιστα τῶν πάντων, πολυτελεία δὲ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν Φειδίου λειπόμενα (‘in technical merit, the finest of all; in extravagance and size, inferior to those of Phidias’) (8.6.10).⁶⁰ Strabo, it seems, prioritises grandeur in statues: Phidias was renowned as a maker of *kolossoi*.

Even Strabo, however, with his belief in the superiority of *kolossoi* and of Phidias’ work in particular, notes that one of Phidias’ statues, the *kolossos* of Zeus at Olympia, is out of proportion to the temple in which it is housed (8.3.30). As discussed above, there is no particular reason to think that Strabo had actually seen the *Zeus* of Phidias in the temple at Olympia, or even been to Olympia, so it seems that he is repeating a common saying rather than reporting an observation. If Phidias was generally held ἀστοχῆσαι τῆς συμμετρίας (‘to have missed the proper scale’), it is correspondingly possible that Phidias’ *Zeus* at Olympia is to be identified with ‘the flawed *kolossos*’ referred to by the unnamed writer cited in *On the Sublime*.⁶¹ The unnamed writer would thus be comparing Phidias unfavourably to Polyclitus, the complete reversal of the position taken by Strabo (8.6.10).

This brings us to the question of the identity of the unnamed earlier writer cited in *On the Sublime*. In his work, Pseudo-Longinus is, in general, reacting to points raised by a ‘Caecilius’, who is taken to be Caecilius of

⁶⁰ Similarly, Quintilian notes Polyclitus’ *diligentia* and *decor* but adds that some consider that his work lacks *pondus* (*Inst.* 12.10.7). It is possible that Quintilian’s statement is directed at *Geography* 8.6.10: more probably, it is directed at a widely held sentiment, one held by Strabo among many others. Quintilian’s remarks come in a passage (12.10.2–15) where he draws an analogy between statuary/artwork and oratorical works. Quintilian, using the analogy in a slightly different way from Ps.-Longinus and the unnamed writer, draws a comparison between the varied nature of oratorical merit in different individuals and the way in which sculptors and artists are admired for different reasons, since ‘no single form has pleased everyone’ (12.10.2).

⁶¹ For the various identifications: Russell (1964) 169. Wilamowitz suggested the identification with Phidias’ *Zeus* at Olympia. Russell finds Wilamowitz’ suggestion attractive but objects that the phrase ‘the flawed *kolossos*’ is ‘a very obscure way of talking about this famous work’. However, Strabo’s description of Phidias’ *Zeus* suggests that it was notorious for lack of proper proportion; and this notoriety would explain why the unnamed writer could refer to it in such an apparently oblique fashion.

Calacte,⁶² known to Dionysius of Halicarnassus and probably writing shortly after him, i.e. around 7 BCE. Ofenloch, working on the assumption that the unnamed writer *is* Caecilius of Calacte and indulging in some circular reasoning,⁶³ reaches the conclusion that Caecilius is cited, without the citation being acknowledged, by Strabo at 1.1.23. This cannot be the case. The statements made by Strabo in this passage are different from those attributed to the unnamed writer in *On the Sublime*. It is true that Strabo accepts that literature can be judged by the same criteria as statuary – οὕτως κἀν τούτοις δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν ('so we must apply the same criteria to these [works]') – in the same way as, by implication, does the unnamed writer. The point for Strabo, however, is that adherence to realism is *unimportant* in both literature and statues: while, for the unnamed writer, realism is *important* in both. Given this difference in approach, it is too cavalier to take Strabo's words as a 'fragment' of the unnamed earlier writer cited by Pseudo-Longinus.⁶⁴

There is uncertainty, too, over where Pseudo-Longinus should be placed chronologically. Most scholars, but certainly not all, now put him in the first half of the first century CE,⁶⁵ with one scholar suggesting Augustan/early Tiberian times.⁶⁶ It is possible that Pseudo-Longinus was writing at around the time Strabo was completing the *Geography* (c. 17/18–23 CE), or that he was writing within the following few decades. Given these uncertainties over the date of Pseudo-Longinus and over the identification of the writer he cites at *On the Sublime* 36.3, and given that Strabo does not acknowledge that he is using any source at 1.1.23, let alone name it, the most fruitful approach is to take all three (Strabo, Pseudo-Longinus and the unnamed writer) as general evidence for an argument in Greek intellectual circles concerning realism in art and literature. Rather than try to establish whether Strabo provides a 'fragment' of the unnamed writer cited by Pseudo-Longinus or, for that matter, whether the unnamed writer cited by Pseudo-Longinus, or Pseudo-Longinus himself, betrays any awareness of Strabo, it seems preferable to try to understand the argument in which

⁶² Russell (1964) 58–9.

⁶³ Ofenloch (1907) fr. 151 (= *On the Sublime* 36.3) implicitly assumes the identification of the unnamed writer as Caecilius of Calacte; further implies that Strabo is drawing on Caecilius, but not acknowledging him, at 8.3.30 and 8.6.10 (as well as at 1.1.23); uses 8.3.30 and 8.6.10 to support the view that Caecilius is the writer cited in *On the Sublime* 36.3.

⁶⁴ For reservations over the further and separate question, the question of whether the unnamed writer at *On the Sublime* 36.3 is Caecilius, see Russell (1964) 58 who, however, seems more confident at 169.

⁶⁵ DNP s.v. 'Pseudo-Longinos'.

⁶⁶ Kennedy (1972) 370–2. The favourable treatment by Ps.-Longinus of Moses, which Kennedy notes, is also found in Strabo. See Shahar, 'Josephus' hidden dialogue with Strabo', in this volume.

all three writers were participants, even if the precise chronological and literary relationship between the participants eludes us.

For instance, we have seen that the practice of taking criteria applicable to statues and using them for literature is endorsed by Strabo. We have also seen that it is necessary to infer a belief in the validity of this practice on the part of the unnamed writer cited by Pseudo-Longinus. Accordingly, Pseudo-Longinus, in stating that different criteria are applicable to literature than to statues, is in accordance neither with the writer he cites nor with Strabo. In his belief that statues should be judged according to technical skill, Pseudo-Longinus is in accordance with the unnamed writer (but not with Strabo). In his view that literature is judged by more than mere technical skill, Pseudo-Longinus is in accordance with Strabo (but not with the unnamed writer).

Against the background of this debate, it can be seen that Strabo, in describing his work as a *kolossourgia*, is not plucking the analogy out of thin air but is borrowing terminology and concepts which would have been familiar to well-educated men. In using such terminology, Strabo positions his own work in the Greek cultural landscape in much the same way as he does with the *kolossoi* and the cities that boast them. Indeed, Strabo opens his work by explicitly locating it in a Greek geographical tradition,⁶⁷ starting with Homer and continuing up to Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Polybius⁶⁸ and Posidonius (1.1.1). While Strabo criticises these authors, his criticisms are ‘back-handed’ in that, by deeming them worthy of correction, Strabo validates their standing, as he himself points out (1.2.1).⁶⁹ Strabo’s praise of the Greek tradition, even when ostensibly criticising individual writers, stands in marked contrast with his attitude towards Roman authors, whom Strabo conversely damns with faint praise. In a passage dealing specifically with historians, Strabo claims that, while Romans have added to the body of knowledge established by the Greeks, their contribution has been minimal; and, while there may be failings among the Greeks, these have hardly been remedied by Roman efforts (3.4.19).

⁶⁷ See Roseman, ‘Reflections of philosophy’, in this volume. Strabo’s repeated stress on the philosophical underpinnings of geography serves to emphasise its Greek credentials.

⁶⁸ Hence Strabo’s interest in his physical link with Polybius through Aristides’ painting of Dionysus at Corinth (8.6.23), discussed above, p. 17.

⁶⁹ Cf. Strabo’s freedom to criticise Phidias for the proportions of his *Zeus* at Olympia, even though he maintains that Phidias is a superior artist.

FROM KOLOSSOS TO COLOSSUS

Strabo both recognises and resists Romanisation. Significantly, the construction of *kolossoi* was soon to become, like so much else, thoroughly Romanised. Not long after Strabo died, the emperor Caligula was to commission a *kolossos* of Zeus, with the sole purpose of erecting it in the temple at Jerusalem, a deliberately provocative act.⁷⁰ Not long after that, the emperor Nero was to commission a huge *colossus* (it now seems appropriate to use the Latin equivalent of the Greek word), a statue of himself, rivalling the *kolossos* of Rhodes in size.⁷¹ With this, a *colossus* commissioned by a Roman, as a representation of a Roman, for display in Rome, the Romanisation of the *kolossos* was complete. Strabo would have disapproved; although, had he still been alive, he may have been able to take some small consolation from the fact that the *colossus* of Nero was constructed by a Greek.⁷² The Roman *colossus* was ultimately presented as the statue of a god, rather than the disgraced emperor Nero, and positioned near the massive amphitheatre built by the Flavians in Rome. Indeed, it was probably because of the statue that the amphitheatre became known as the *Colosseum*, the name by which it is known today.⁷³ This huge amphitheatre, with its Latin nomenclature, is probably as responsible for the connotations of size inherent in the modern English word 'colossal' as is the Greek word *kolossos* from which the amphitheatre's name is circuitously derived.

In conclusion, then, Strabo represents *kolossoi* as Greek cultural artefacts which, in attracting Roman attention, have revealed the strength of Greek cultural achievements and Roman dependency on the Greek cultural heritage. Not surprisingly, Strabo sometimes appears to be in two minds as to how to present Greek cultural accomplishments. On the one hand, Strabo is exceedingly proud of the continued currency of Greek cultural achievements in the present day Roman world. On the other hand, he is resistant towards Roman assimilation of culture which rightfully belongs to

⁷⁰ Philo, *Leg.* 203–338. Crossett and Arieti (1975) 2 and 39, suggest that the situation under Caligula prompts Ps.-Longinus' interest in *kolossoi* (*On the Sublime* 36.3), and use this to establish a *terminus post quem* of 40 CE for the composition of *On the Sublime*. The fact that Strabo, some twenty years earlier, is interested in *kolossoi* undermines this reasoning and the *terminus post quem* which comes with it.

⁷¹ The Rhodian *kolossos* and Nero's *colossus* are sometimes confused in later sources: Howell (1968) 294, with n. 5, and 297.

⁷² Namely, Zenodorus; Pliny, *HN* 34.18.45.

⁷³ *MLA* s. v. 'Colosseum'; see also Howell (1968). Presumably, the name was coined before the *colossus* was destroyed, which happened at an unknown date after the mid-fourth century CE. The name is attested by the eighth century CE.

the Greek world. Strabo looks two ways: he looks around him at the Roman present and backward to the Greek past. He is therefore an author essential to, but under-utilised in, the study of the Greco-Roman world, which has recently been the subject of some attention.⁷⁴

Just as the *kolossos* of Rhodes is envisaged in the popular imagination as bestriding the harbour entrance,⁷⁵ so Strabo's *kolossourgia* stands astride two worlds, the Greek and the Roman. One gets the impression that Strabo hopes his *kolossourgia* will convince Romans of their cultural dependency and promote their championship of Greek culture. This requires that the Romans be sufficiently cultured that they can appreciate the superiority of Greek culture over Roman. It is something of a fine line to walk. Was Strabo successful in walking it? Did the Romans listen to his message or even read his work? Were educated Romans the intended audience or was Strabo writing for Greeks? If writing for Greeks, did Strabo imagine them as future educators of the Romans like so many of the famous men who fill his pages? Was the need for such men passing and was the need for such a work as Strabo's already past? (Perhaps the one direction in which Strabo did not look was forward to the future.)⁷⁶

These questions have not yet been satisfactorily answered and need to be taken into consideration when dealing with the more familiar issue of where and when Strabo wrote the *Geography*. Thus, the cultural and biographical approaches coalesce and suggest a future direction for Strabonian studies.

⁷⁴ Recent studies have generally focused on the period known as the Second Sophistic, which slightly post-dates Strabo. Thus, Strabo plays little or no role in Swain (1996); Goldhill (2001); Salomies (2001); Whitmarsh (2001); Ostenfeld and Blomquist (2002). Strabo plays a lesser role than might be expected in Noy (2000). Noy names only three individuals mentioned by Strabo as moving to Rome (Aristodemus of Nysa, Xenarchus of Seleucia and Tyrannio, all teachers, 95–6); and does not include Strabo himself: for a more complete list, see Dueck (2000a) 8–15, 130–44; Engels, ‘Ἀνδρες ἑνδοξοί’, in this volume. See also Woolf (1994) and (1998).

⁷⁵ For the origin of this popular, but unfounded, belief: Brodersen (1996) 90.

⁷⁶ Swain (1996) 3 notes that ‘the leaders of Greek intellectual life in the second sophistic period did not need Rome’.

Reflections of philosophy: Strabo and geographical sources

Christina Horst Roseman

Unlike its companion volume the *History*, Strabo's *Geography* has not only survived, but is essentially complete. His handling of inherited traditions can thus be studied as a coherent whole, and the early books, especially, offer a unique perspective on scientific enquiry and natural science during the early principate.

Strabo considered both geography and its sister science astronomy integral to the philosopher's study of the physical world. They were also essential to the education of those politicians and military administrators involved in Roman governance. The following passage from I.I.14 is a brief example of the perspective repeatedly encountered in the first book of the *Geography*.¹

How could a person, setting out the differences between places, discuss these well and thoroughly if he hadn't considered [geography and astronomy] even briefly? And if it is not possible, because of the very political thrust of this work, to discuss everything in precise terms, still it is appropriate to do so to the extent that a political administrator is able to follow.

The lengthy introduction of I.I, with its emphasis on empirical data, transmitted by qualified observers and evaluated against a body of accepted philosophical theory, reflects a methodology for natural history first presented by Aristotle. Within this tradition, geography, whether chorographical or ethnographical, was a subset of natural history, and this in turn was a recognised area of scientific philosophy.² Such an approach was part of those philosophical/scientific studies being assimilated from Greece by the Roman world in the first century BCE. Strabo, confident in the authority of his Greek education, deliberately assumed the role of philosophical teacher in the *Geography*. This was, as he concluded in I.I.23, a treatise both 'serious and suitable for a philosopher'.

¹ The translations throughout are my own.

² I follow R. French (1994) 1–18 and 114–29 here.

Strabo was comfortably certain that his credentials in philosophical study equipped him well to write as a *philosophos*. The Peripatetic Aristodemus of Nysa was one of his teachers, and he continued with Xenarchus after he came to Rome.³ He was well acquainted with Tyrannio of Amisus, who aided the Peripatetic Andronicus in preparing the formal edition of Aristotle's works,⁴ and it was probably Tyrannio who told Strabo about the loss and rediscovery of the Aristotelian school texts once owned by Theophrastus, which Strabo relates at 13.1.54.

The recovery of these Peripatetic manuscripts spurred much new critical interest among philosophers from the middle of the first century BCE into the next decades, and Strabo's training with Peripatetic scholars was surely affected by their work on these newly available Aristotelian texts.⁵ His teachers were just in the process of assimilating this material, for Andronicus' edition stimulated the production of commentaries and a scholastic approach very different from earlier empirical work in the natural sciences. Boethus of Sidon and Athenodorus the Stoic, both friends of Strabo, wrote important commentaries on works from the Aristotelian corpus, with special interest in the *Categories*.⁶ All the major scholars known to have worked on the new texts in the first century BCE were familiar to Strabo, except Staseas.⁷

Much cosmological material was common to Academics, Peripatetics and Stoics alike, and Strabo's excellent education had given him familiarity with material from all the major schools of his time.⁸ He did, in fact, claim the Stoa as his inspiration, although he never mentioned having studied under a Stoic master, and by the time he came to write the *Geography*⁹ he could refer to Stoicism as 'ours' (1.2.3; 2.3.8), and to Zeno as 'our Zeno'

³ Aristodemus, 14.1.48; Xenarchus, 14.5.4; 16.2.24.

⁴ 12.3.16; 13.1.54. Gottschalk (1987) 1083–8. See Lindsay (1997a) for excellent discussion of these Aristotelian materials.

⁵ Gottschalk (1987) 1095–7. See also Todd (1989) 1365–71 for reflection of this in Stoic writers.

⁶ Boethus studied under Andronicus of Rhodes and was probably his successor as head of the Peripatetic school; on his commentary see Huby (1981) and Gottschalk (1987) 1107–10. The commentary by the Stoic Athenodorus of Tarsus was one of the first to circulate and was sharply critical: Gottschalk (1987) 1103–4.

⁷ Gottschalk (1987) 1081 lists them. Strabo's references to each are as follows: Boethus in 16.2.24; Athenodorus 1.2.8, 1.3.12, 3.5.7, 14.5.14, 16.4.21; Xenarchus 14.5.4, 16.2.24; Eudorus 17.1.5; Nicolaus of Damascus 15.1.73; Ariston of Alexandria 17.1.15; Arius Didymus 14.5.4.

⁸ As was noted, e.g. by Aly (1964) 9–19, who emphasised Peripatetic elements. Cf. Dueck (2000a) 62–4.

⁹ I find it most likely that Strabo collected notes for the *Geography* over an extended period of time and that the composition was largely complete by 2 BCE; limited revision was made around 18 CE, but little new factual material added. See Lindsay (1997b) with which I am in full agreement; Diller (1975) 1–18 on transmission of the text after Strabo's death.

(I.2.34; 16.4.27; cf. 7.3.4). Because he was critical of Posidonius for excessive interest in causes ‘like Aristotle’ (I.1.21 and 2.3.8), it may be that the scholasticism of Andronicus and other commentators explains his loss of interest in the Peripatetic approach. On the other hand, Stoic concentration on physics and the natural sciences certainly attracted him, and perhaps their rigour and dogma did as well.

It is also clear from the opening sentence of I.1.20 that Strabo employed some basic mathematical terms. The vocabulary in this important introductory section echoes that of Euclid, where κοινὰ ἔννοια was used as equivalent to *axiomata*: such axioms are known by the student and credible without proof.¹⁰ The term *ennoia* is repeated three times in the passage and stands in contrast to sense perceptions. According to Strabo in this section, both are used to develop a proper understanding of concepts like ‘the universe’, or ‘the earth’ which cannot ever be experienced *in toto*:

[I need indicate] this only, namely, whether something is directly derived from sense perception or from an accepted axiom (*ennoia*), and if so, demonstrate in a brief summary. For example, the recognition of ‘load is borne toward the centre’ and of ‘each body inclines toward its own centre of gravity’, on the one hand confirms indirectly that the earth is spherical; the recollection of things observed at sea and in the heavens [confirms it] directly: both sense perception and axiom are able to give witness. (I.1.20)

Strabo followed this passage with familiar observations and a quote from Homer, then constructed a similarly reasoned statement (at the end of I.1.20) about the revolution of heavenly bodies:

The revolution of heavenly bodies is clear and evident both from other things and from gnomon shadows. From these phenomena the *axiom* properly follows, since the same revolution would not result from the earth being rooted in [Anaximenes’] the unlimited (τὸ ἄπειρον).

The usual Stoic arrangement of philosophy held the theoretical branches, physics, ethics and logic, to be primary, and the productive or scientific branches, like astronomy, secondary. For Strabo, this meant that geography, which must use data compiled by astronomy and geometry, must of necessity also accept the principles and hypotheses provided by theoretical physics. Physics is defined at 2.5.2 as a kind of ‘excellence’ (*aretē*) and these ‘excellences’ depend upon themselves, containing their own principles and persuasive evidence within them. The distinction between

¹⁰ Kidd (1988) 694–6, 700–4 discusses these mathematical terms in the fragments of Posidonius.

theoretical and practical or scientific philosophy was well established, and here Strabo agreed with Posidonius in stressing the primacy of physics.¹¹

The principles identified at 2.5.2, which Strabo says must be accepted by geographers from natural philosophers, include the sphericity of the universe, the heavens and earth; the revolution of both heaven and earth around a common axis from east to west; the parallel circles of the equator, tropics and arctic circles; and that planets, sun and moon move obliquely within the zodiac. From geometry and astronomy come the five terrestrial zones (the equatorial, two tropical and two arctic), calculations of the size of the earth and empirical observations of the climatic conditions. These are the οἰκεῖα, the 'proper elements' of geography.¹²

The task of the geographer, according to Strabo, was 'to discuss the various aspects of earth and sea in the appropriate manner, and to point out where such matters have not been adequately discussed by the best writers who have been believed' (2.5.4). It was important to his 'appropriate' handling of traditional material that he critically evaluate his sources, and the term he uses for this correction of previous authorities is ἐπανορθῶσις. His approach is referred to in 1.2.1–3 and 2.1.8. At 2.1.41 and 2.4.8 it is discussed in considerable detail as applied to perceived errors in the work of Eratosthenes and Hipparchus. In this process of 'straightening out' inadequate source material, Strabo based his arguments on sense perceptions supplemented by reasoning from analogy and inference. Conclusions must be consonant with the general principles geographers accept from natural philosophy.

There is also an ethical basis for his use of *epanorthosis*, because the authorities worthy of extended correction were natural scientists and philosophers: scholars, who had a responsibility to accuracy. Homer was one of these, a revered source for Stoics, and Strabo was critical of those who rejected Homer's primacy (1.1.6 and 1.2.3 *inter alia*), commenting at 1.2.4: 'all educated men use the poet as a witness who speaks accurately'.¹³

In the early books this procedure for the correction of faulty data and reasoning also stems from what Strabo saw as conclusions inconsistent with those basic principles mentioned above. He may be following Posidonius in his insistence that discussion of causes and debates about such basic

¹¹ Kidd (1988) 131–2, 273–4.

¹² See also 1.1.20 and 2.5.5. That they were also to be found in Stoic cosmology is indicated by SVF II 547–57; 648; 654; 682.

¹³ He is not only *philosophos* but *polymatheios*. For fuller discussion of Strabo's handling of Homer see Biraschi, 'Strabo and Homer', in this volume. SVF II 906 demonstrates the use made of Homer by Zeno and Chrysippus.

principles are not properly part of the geographer's task, since we have a statement from Posidonius that the scientist should leave such matters to philosophers.¹⁴ Strabo relied quite heavily for data in his first books on this important scholar, who was deeply involved in the first century BCE debate over the correct relationship between theoretical and practical philosophy.¹⁵ Some of the polemic tone in books one and two may reflect Strabo's own contribution to this argument involving the primacy of physics. At any rate, the result for his handling of geographical traditions was that if empirical observations seemed to be in conflict with accepted principles, Strabo rejected the observations on logical grounds, preferring to save the principle rather than 'save the phenomena' (2.5.1).

For the general traditions inherited from previous geographers Strabo depended upon Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Polybius and Posidonius, all of whom he identified as *philosophoi* and thus worthy of being handled as authoritative.¹⁶ That he handled an 'historian' and 'natural scientists' and even 'the poet' Homer all as philosophers may seem disconcerting, but Strabo's contemporaries would have found the current narrow definition of philosophy strange indeed: all of these writers dealt with empirical data about the natural world and Strabo evaluated them in the same manner. As he remarked at 1.2.1: 'It is not appropriate to deal philosophically with everyone, but it is a worthy undertaking with Eratosthenes and Hipparchus, Posidonius and Polybius and others like them.'

1.3.1 is emphatic that while philosophers may have left material insufficiently discussed, they have never falsified anything (also at 2.1.8; 2.1.41; 2.4.8). According to Stoic ethics, the wise man makes no errors, never lies (*SVF* III 544–70) and is an educator, concerned with 'correct reason' (λόγον ὀρθόν): he is unable to be false (*SVF* III 611–14). Thus, Strabo saw it as his responsibility to offer correction of inaccurate or inadequate data in order that subsequent scholars should not be misled.

On two subjects critical to the physical principles underlying geography Strabo did not find his sources in agreement, and wrestled with his logical refutation of their errors, as well as with producing his own corrective explanation. The topics were the continuity of the outer ocean, to which observable behaviour like the rise and fall of tides was integral, and the definition of the northern limit of human habitability, which depended upon celestial observation, calculations and empirical reports from

¹⁴ Edelstein and Kidd (1972) fr. 18; Kidd (1988) 129–36. ¹⁵ Kidd (1988) 134–6.

¹⁶ Eratosthenes, Polybius and Posidonius, 1.1.1, Eratosthenes again, 17.3.22; Posidonius, 1.1.9; 1.3.12; 16.2.10; Hipparchus, 2.5.7; by implication, 1.2.1.

trustworthy observers.¹⁷ In both cases, Strabo's philosophical concepts determined how he constructed his arguments. Let me begin with the limits of the *oikoumene*.

THE LIMITS OF THE *OIKOUMENE*

The basic lines of reference for determining the relation of habitable lands to the rest of the earth were derived from the imaginary celestial lines drawn through the extreme points reached by the sun at summer solstice (the Tropic of Cancer), and at winter solstice (the Tropic of Capricorn). The equinoctial point between them is the celestial equator.¹⁸ The geographer transferred these to the earth and added arctic circles. All were part of Stoic cosmography (*SVF* II 651), as was the belief derived from Aristotle that north of the arctic circle conditions were too cold for habitation (*Meteor.* 2.5.362b5 and 25).¹⁹

Literally, the arctic is the 'circle of the Bear' and designated the course of the stars which do not rise or set during the night. To a classical Greek observer the stars forming the paws of the Great Bear appeared to skim the horizon during the night, but not to disappear beneath it. Thus, the stars closer to the celestial pole than the paws of the Bear were visible through the entire night. In Strabo's generation, this circle remained a variable, since it was determined by observation of a phenomenon that changed with the observer's position (1.1.6; 2.3.1–2; 2.5.43).²⁰ To use a variable for what should be fixed was unsatisfactory, and Strabo tried instead to calculate a distance in stades beyond which it would not be possible for humans to live, using calculations of the size of the earth, the few recorded gnomon observations to fix locations in latitude and rough estimates for distances between specific points. His sources were very skimpy, especially for the west; and, beyond the verifiable data, Strabo reasoned by analogy and inference from known conditions.²¹

Key pieces of data for his estimate of the northern European limits of habitation were attributed by both Eratosthenes and Hipparchus to a source Strabo mistrusted, Pytheas of Massilia. As will be shown also in

¹⁷ There are general comments on Strabo's handling of standing and flowing bodies of water in Aujac (1966) 274–304, and on the limits of the *oikoumene* on 160–70.

¹⁸ See Dicks (1970) 10–26 for a cogent summary of the principles of Hellenistic astronomy. See also Rihll (1999) 66–76.

¹⁹ 1.1.6–7 after quoting Homer (*Il.* 18.489 and *Od.* 5.275); 2.5.43.

²⁰ Dicks (1960) 24 and 154; Roseman (1994) 56–8.

²¹ 2.1.16; 17.3.23. At 2.5.6, analogy is necessary to help the mind perceive data about the *oikoumene* and harmonise it with basic theory.

the following discussion, I will use Pytheas as an important example of the empirical element in geography, for despite unhappiness with him as a source, Strabo did devote *epanorthosis* to Pytheas. This explorer, either unknown to or ignored by Aristotle,²² reported a gnomon reading for Massilia that both Eratosthenes and Hipparchus accepted as equivalent to that taken at Byzantium.²³ Thus it was possible to estimate distances farther north from both ends of this parallel (1.4.2; 2.5.7–8; 2.5.14). Hipparchus also accepted observations made by Pytheas of stars, the sun's position above the horizon and the length of day at solstice from various locations in the far north. Both geographers based their estimates for the northern extent of habitability upon this single observer, Pytheas, who reported living conditions and an environment that Strabo was not able to reconcile with his understanding of basic principles or to verify in other, more trustworthy sources (4.5.5).

Strabo was committed to an *oikoumene* with an east–west dimension somewhat more than twice as long as its north–south extent (as in 2.5.6), and reasoned that climatic conditions should be the same at both ends of a parallel (2.1.16; 17.3.23), because they resulted ultimately from the amount of solar heat reaching that latitude. His conviction that physical states were attributable to temperature can be found in Posidonius and it is ultimately traceable to Aristotle.²⁴ He also believed that the farther from the Mediterranean one travelled, the more primitive and barbaric humans were, especially as one approached those regions uninhabitable because of the cold.

The discussion takes the form of a polemic refutation of Eratosthenes, Hipparchus and the source for their data, Pytheas, at 1.4.2–5. Similar arguments are repeated in books two and four. Strabo's *epanorthosis* is complicated by his notion that a triangular Britain has its *longest* side parallel to the continent between the Pyrenees and the Rhine, with Ierne (Ireland) directly north.²⁵ The dimensions given in Eratosthenes and Hipparchus for the perimeter of Britain (which came from Pytheas' own travel around the British Isles) seemed much too large to him, and he chose the smaller numbers estimated by Polybius.

²² Roseman (1994) 51–2, 152–5, where I have discussed this as it relates to dating Pytheas' text.

²³ In fact, Massilia is roughly 250 km further north than Byzantium.

²⁴ Kidd (1988) 623 in his commentary to fr. 169. Brief statements of Aristotle's position can be seen in *Meteor.* 1.3.341a; 9.346b; 14.350b.

²⁵ His comments in the first book are expanded in the second (2.1.13; 2.5.15; 2.5.28), and restated in Strabo's main discussion of Britain (4.5.1).

Strabo, however, viewed even the northern Atlantic coasts of Iberia (Spain) as near the northern limits of habitability, remarking at 3.4.16 that there were no olives, grapes or figs along the Iberian littoral 'because of the heedlessness of the humans and the lack of an organised way of life; instead they are more inclined to live for necessity and animal instinct by means of vulgar custom'. Extensive archaeological evidence from Spain, Britain, the Western Isles and the European coastline makes it indisputable that complex, agricultural Iron Age societies had long existed: whatever observations Strabo found in Pytheas' report of conditions along the North Atlantic would not have fitted his preconceptions.

Strabo did not use reports from Agrippa's campaigns in the early books, nor did he use more recent data from Roman sources in the passages dealing with the Atlantic coasts. When he came to write books three and four, he made limited use of Caesar's *Commentaries* (3.4.9; 4.1.1; 4.5.2), and shows awareness of Agrippa's campaigns at 4.2.1, 4.3.4 and 4.5.3, but the data he chose to present in the first three books came from much older literary sources.²⁶

At least some of these originally gave distances in days of travel time, not in measured stades; that Pytheas used this method of reckoning is clear from three fragments and one *testimonium*.²⁷ When these were turned into stades, either by Strabo or a previous source, an illusion of accuracy was created but the results were highly inconsistent.²⁸ Eratosthenes' numbers, when transferred to the west, put habitability 16,500 stades north of Massilia (1.4.3). Strabo was convinced that this could not be possible, and presented his own calculations instead. His dismissal of Eratosthenes rested upon rejection of Pytheas for three reasons: travellers who went thousands of stades north of the Black Sea encountered tribal societies living in frigid conditions and these conditions should be the same at both ends of a parallel; Pytheas' reports about Britain and the coasts 'as far as Scythia' were wrong, so he was not trustworthy; and finally, there was no evidence from 'credible recent observers' to verify his account. Strabo seems to mean Posidonius and Polybius here, neither of whom got much beyond Gades, but it is clear that his knowledge of the Pontic environment was the determining factor in his argument.

The mid-continental conditions prevailing north of the Black Sea create temperature extremes, while the Atlantic coasts benefit from the mitigating

²⁶ My comment stands, whether or not Agrippa is indicated by Strabo's references to 'the chorographer'. See Dueck (2000a) 127–9 for excellent discussion of this.

²⁷ Roseman (1994) fr. 2–4; T 23.

²⁸ Dicks (1960) 181–2. Potheary (1995) 49–67 proves the use of a single stade length among geographers, but conversion of days of travel time into stades remains problematic.

effects of the Gulf Stream. Strabo refused to accept that temperate conditions might be found at higher latitudes in the west than the east, and certainly would not do so on the authority of Pytheas, whose accounts he was unable to verify (2.5.8). Pytheas had remarked on living conditions throughout Britain and the islands, and clearly indicated that he found people farming where summer nights were very short. If his empirical observations were accepted as true, they raised questions about *why* conditions differed so dramatically from those north of the Black Sea. In Strabo's mind, such a question would belong to that theoretical realm of natural philosophy which geographers accepted from theorists, and he was not prepared to deal with the kind of paradigm shift which acceptance of this data would involve. In conclusion he grudgingly allowed that Ierne (Ireland), which he believed lay directly north of a flattened triangular Britain, might be habitable but anything lying beyond certainly was not (2.1.13).

It is highly probable that questions about the northern limits of the *oikoumene* were part of Stoic tradition, and that Strabo's notions about Britain had been affected by these. There is a brief reference questioning the possibility of habitation in Britain given in Philodemus' *De Signis*. This Epicurean work defends the use of inference against Stoic objections, and the argument given is attributed to Zeno himself.²⁹ From the context, it appears to be a common *topos*.

THE OUTER OCEAN

Similar patterns of approach can be seen in his handling of the outer ocean and its behaviour. While a continuous ocean surrounding an island *oikoumene* was not included in his statement of the basic principles accepted from natural philosophy (2.5.2), Strabo obviously considered it fundamental. He introduced this axiom at 1.1.3. There is a defensive note in his discussion at 1.1.7–9 as he stressed the 'gentleness' and 'regularity' of normal oceanic behaviour, which suggests he found material incompatible with this in his sources. The continuity of the ocean is linked to his demonstration of Homer's authority in 1.1.6 and 1.1.7.³⁰

²⁹ De Lacy and De Lacy (1978) 36. The text shows an archaic P-spelling for Britain, which is also seen in Strabo's fourth book and in a manuscript of Diodorus Siculus: this may go back to Pytheas. Strabo mentioned Philodemus at 16.2.29.

³⁰ As Schenkeveld (1976) 57 and 63–4 noted, Strabo's view of Homer is a moralistic one and basic to his handling of geography. Ps.-Ar. *De Mundo* 3 also refers to a continuous ocean; the passage seems

At 2.5.6 and 2.5.15, where Strabo described the land masses as similarly shaped to a Greek cloak (*chlamys*), he noted that from this view the Mediterranean together with the Black Sea forms a huge oceanic gulf. Like early geographers, Strabo preferred a roughly symmetrical conception of his island *oikoumene* and described the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf in the south as balanced in the north by the Caspian, which Strabo also understood to connect with the outer ocean. The reflux current in the Straits of Messina and the slight fluctuations in water level within the Mediterranean supported his conception of 'normal' ocean behaviour: this rested on Archimedes' first postulate and second proposition.³¹ Reasoning that a continuous mass with a continuous surface will demonstrate homogeneous behaviour, and committed to belief in 'gentle' ocean phenomena, Strabo refused to believe empirical observations of conditions that were extreme by comparison with those in the Mediterranean; the most outrageous reports apparently came from Pytheas (3.2.11).³²

Hipparchus, who had reports of extreme tidal phenomena in the Indian Ocean from Seleucus of Babylon, as well as the descriptions from Pytheas for the North Atlantic, reasoned that because these phenomena were so different from Mediterranean conditions the ocean might not be continuous (1.1.9).³³ At 2.1.11, in another context, Strabo noted that Hipparchus had also argued in favour of retaining older empirical data when these did not fit general theories, and reserving judgement until more information was available, but he himself felt that it was more reasonable to discard whatever data did not fit general principles: more recent geographers were surely more accurate. At 2.5.1 Strabo stressed again the importance of starting with principles from mathematics and geometry, because the geographer works only with what follows from these.

Thus Strabo started from the Stoic tenet seen in a fragment from Cleanthes (*SVF* 1 501), that exhalations from the ocean nourish heavenly bodies, and added the belief that the ocean behaves like a living creature whose respirations are the tidal fluctuations (*SVF* 1 504 and 505).³⁴ Respiration in living creatures is even and predictably regular. If the tidal

derived from Hipparchus, and Gottschalk (1987) 1132–9 finds it influenced by Stoic ideas current in Strabo's generation. 1.1.7 quotes *Il.* 7.422. On Strabo's use of poetry see Dueck, 'Strabo's use of poetry', in this volume.

³¹ Heath (1981) 91–2; Rihll (1999) 31.

³² In Pliny an impossible tidal rise of eighty cubits is attributed to Pytheas (19). See Roseman (1994) 81–2 for discussion of the problems.

³³ See Dicks (1960) 114 and 124–5 for commentary.

³⁴ 1.3.8; at 3.5.7, this idea is attributed to Athenodorus, and it is amply attested among the Stoic fragments (*SVF* 1 652–9) although Posidonius did not accept it: Kidd (1988) 792–4.

influx and outflow are taken to represent respiration in the ocean, Strabo inferred by analogy with other animals that such 'breathing' must be regular and gentle.

At 1.3.5 he specifically rejected observations that oceanic increases manifest suddenly and unexpectedly, that flood tides remain high for 'such a time' (τοσοῦτον χρόνον), or that they are irregular and have ever flooded into the Mediterranean or any other gulf. His sources evidently included references to other kinds of high water than just tides, and it is important to remember that early Greek writers describing Atlantic conditions were *inventing* vocabulary to describe things Mediterranean readers had never seen.

Pytheas certainly encountered tidal phenomena that were extreme from a Mediterranean perspective, as he circumnavigated Britain and travelled along the outer coasts of Europe. He is cited for information on the Western Islands and for the Frisian islands along the European littoral as well as Thule, north of Britain by 'six days sailing' (fr. 2 from 1.4.2 and τ 18a from Pliny). Along all of these coasts one encounters extreme tidal conditions in estuaries and island channels. There was, for example, a normal tide of twenty-four feet at Douglas on the Isle of Man the day I was there, and it can reach thirty during the winter. From Strabo's viewpoint Pytheas' data threatened basic principles stated by Archimedes, which supported the axiom 'the ocean is continuous'. Had Strabo found substantiation for Pytheas' ocean observations in Posidonius and Polybius, his objections would have been less tenable, for verification of scholarly material in the work of other respected authorities was a criterion of his assessment of sources. Both Posidonius and Polybius, however, seem to have had personal observation of the Atlantic mainly in the vicinity of Gades; and Polybius was harshly critical of Pytheas for his own reasons.³⁵

Strabo concluded his refutation of Hipparchus by remarking: 'About this, now, we say it is better to believe thus regarding the sameness of emotion (ὁμοπαθεῖαν), for the heavens would be held together more strongly by the exhalations from there, if there is more water flowing around [the land]' (1.1.9). In other words, if the ocean is a continuous body it would be very large in extent and would produce a larger amount of exhalations, which the assumption that these nourish the stars would seem to require.³⁶

³⁵ 1.4.3-5; 2.4.1. Polybius' reasons for discounting Pytheas conceal his desire to be considered the first explorer outside the Straits: Walbank (1972) 127.

³⁶ This remained an accepted notion, although Aristotle (*Meteor.* 2.1.353b; 2.354b-355a) specifically rejected the idea that exhalations nourish the sun or the stars.

It is clear from Strabo's general comments about the ocean in 1.3.5–12 that he did not understand that even huge bodies of water flow from higher levels to lower, did not appreciate the cumulative effect of several forces acting at once, and had no conception of the actual role played by sea bottom contours in the movement of tides or waves.³⁷ Posidonius had demonstrated the moon's effect on daily and monthly tides, and even carried out research on annual phenomena, but correct understanding of the equinoctial Atlantic tides did not come until later. Strabo knew that storm winds drive water, and understood that the moon is related to the daily tides, but may not have understood Posidonius' explanations of the monthly variations.³⁸

STRABO'S METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

As we have seen in his discussion of the northern limits of habitability, Strabo was not willing to admit the possible existence of any unknown factors, either, for this seemed to him like 'marvelling at wonders', and would be inappropriate (1.3.16; 6.2.10). He was careful to explain, when describing catastrophic events such as earthquakes, seismic incursions and volcanic eruptions, that collections of these phenomena help the reasonable person to accept them as natural processes: 'They also enumerate the [geological] changes because they wish us to increase our ability not to marvel, which Democritus and all the other philosophers extol; for it accompanies control of astonishment, calmness and the ability to resist panic' (1.3.21). Reports putting agricultural societies at a higher latitude in the west than he knew was possible in the east, or describing tidal phenomena that operated only in some parts of the ocean's total extent seemed to Strabo in violation of basic principles provided by theoretical philosophy.

Most Stoics followed Zeno and objected to the use of inference at all; thus it is noteworthy that inference is prominent in Strabo's discussion of subjects for which the available sources seemed inadequate to him. In fact, the logical patterns he used have far more resemblance to those of the Epicureans and the Empiricists than to doctrinaire Stoic forms, especially his dependence upon inference by analogy. Like the medical writers, however, geographers reasoned from known conditions as shown by

³⁷ Strabo conceded only that a rise and fall of the sea-bed explained changes in sea level over long periods of time.

³⁸ Posidonius had a far better understanding of tidal phenomena than Strabo's inadequate comments suggest. See fr. 219 and commentary in Kidd (1988) 786–8.

empirical observations, to the unknown, which is what Strabo meant at 1.1.8: 'Whenever it isn't possible to grasp something with sense perception (*aisthesis*), reason (*logos*) demonstrates it.' 2.5.5 and 2.5.11 restate the idea. His employment of logic, analogy and deduction from accepted axioms thus conformed to established geographical practices, although most other writers had followed Hipparchus in emphasising the empirical. Strabo, however, by stressing the need for geographers to work from accepted principles and to leave questions of causality to natural philosophy, was obliged to discard data that did not support the hypotheses on which geography rested (2.5.2).

Careful reading of the first four books will show that many of the polemic passages 'correcting' his sources go back to Strabo's outrage with Pytheas. Note that Strabo's use of such extensive *epanorthosis* demonstrates that he considered the Massiliote a serious scientist, as well as the comment at 4.5.5: '... however, regarding celestial phenomena and mathematical theory, one may suppose he made use of the facts'. The surviving fragments and testimonia of Pytheas' treatise *On the Ocean* indicate that it was largely empirical, for they include measurements taken at the solstices, observations of stars, ocean conditions and habits of life he observed in the Atlantic islands. No theoretical remarks have survived, nor is his name associated in our sources with discussions of theory, so we cannot know whether he 'speculated on causes'.³⁹ Pytheas did engage in the investigation of what Strabo called mathematical and celestial phenomena, just as Hipparchus did later. Thus, if Pytheas was a *philosophos* (later writers like Cleomedes called him that) his reports should be trustworthy and accurate, but much of what Strabo found did not fit his preconceptions and either was not mentioned or was dismissed by later writers. His frustration derived from Stoic ethical positions, specifically the didactic responsibilities appropriate to the wise man and the philosopher.

The philosophic perspective Strabo brought to his work on geography was an eclectic blend of his early Aristotelian training and his commitment to the general tenets of the Old Stoa.⁴⁰ The dependence upon empirical observations, which he states at several points, recalls Stoic references to 'graspable presentations' (*phantasmata kataleptika*), but can as easily be paralleled in medical and astronomical texts. He certainly depended upon

³⁹ I must respectfully disagree with Aujac (1972) 79 and 84 on this point. Note, however, that if Strabo believed Pytheas had mixed theory with his geography or denied accepted principles, this would have provided a further reason for Strabo's contempt.

⁴⁰ Lapidge (1989) 1381 considers the fundamental orientation of the Old Stoa bio-logical, but does not develop the comment in relation to methods of logic.

the basic principles of empirical research: direct observation supplemented by records of previous observations, and the use of inductive inference from similar to similar where direct observation was not available. His reasoning, in spite of the use he makes of analogy, is based upon Stoic cosmological tenets, and the kind of criticism found in his *epanorthosis* of earlier writers who were misled by the 'fabrications' of Pytheas suggests derivation from Stoic ethical views.

Strabo's familiarity with Aristotle's thought can be found threaded throughout his work, but the formal study of his early years evidently left him impatient with any emphasis on 'causes'. Instead, he found in the Stoa a pragmatic concern for what was 'useful', and a convincing cosmology. Like Cicero and the unknown author of the *De Mundo* and Galen later, Strabo chose those elements most appropriate to his task from the various philosophical teachings available to a Greek of his generation. His *Geography* synthesised an impressive collection of data from Greek sources into a practical handbook for Romans, one he intended would prove Greek knowledge of the natural world essential to Roman governance.

Modern European scholarship has sometimes been sharply critical of Strabo's ability to reject data we now know authenticates the veracity of his sources, and impatient with what has seemed a pedantic insistence on saving traditional principles instead.⁴¹ The argument presented here has shown that Strabo started from a clear conception of the place of geography within the sciences, which was in accord with Stoic philosophy generally and followed that of Posidonius specifically. Once that position is understood, his *epanorthosis* of source material is not illogical, and his handling of the troubling data from Pytheas, while still regrettable, is at least comprehensible.

In conclusion, then, the *Geography* has an important place in the intellectual history of the first century BCE. Strabo was in a position to reflect in his writings the tone of scholarship during the early principate, for he shared acquaintance with Athenodorus, the friend and advisor to Augustus, and was a student of Tyrannio, the friend of Cicero, Caesar and Atticus.⁴² He was aware of the work of Philodemus, the Epicurean philosopher whose library at Herculaneum is slowly helping to clarify the

⁴¹ E.g. Aujac (1966) 40, 42–7, 309. The comments of R. French (1994) 114–48 provide a balanced summary of more recent scholarship.

⁴² In *Ad Att.* 2.6 and 7, dated to 59 BCE, Cicero indicated some interest in writing a geographical work himself, but discarded the idea after realising how much research would be involved. This revelation came after a discussion with Tyrannio, and it is not impossible that Tyrannio himself later encouraged Strabo to embark on the undertaking that resulted in the *Geography*.

role played by that philosophy. He was also connected to several of the more important intellectuals creating commentaries on the manuscripts of Aristotle. Thus, whether his writing was done in Italy or in Alexandria, he had access to the best libraries available and to most of the greatest scholars contemporary with him.⁴³

⁴³ I am glad to see that my comments, which were written long before I read his, are in substantial agreement with those of Lindsay (1997a) 297–8. See also Dueck (2000a) 8–15, 31–69. Clarke (1999a) 312–13 mentions projects from the Augustan period similar to the *Geography*.

*Who is a barbarian? The barbarians in the ethnological and cultural taxonomies of Strabo**

Eran Almagor

STRANGER: ‘... most people in this country ... separate the Hellenic race from all the rest as one, and to all the other races, which are countless in number and have no relation in blood or language to one another, they give the single name ‘barbarian’’. (Plato, *Politicus* 262d)

The *Geography* of Strabo, the most comprehensive ethnographic work to survive from classical antiquity, is one of the main sources for a study of the ancient attitude towards other races and nations, viz. the barbarians. Not only does it describe various barbarian groups of the *oikoumene*, but also, as has already been noticed, it uses the term *barbaros* quite extensively.¹ But what is the meaning of this term in the *Geography*? It generally connotes a classification of human societies, which are separated by some standards, and denotes the group that is judged to be different from the point of view of the speaker, whether ethnically, culturally or otherwise.² What taxonomy does the word *barbaros* imply in this particular work? It seems that so far, earlier researches of Strabo’s usage of this concept were limited in both their scope and conclusions,³ while there is no elaborate study which takes into consideration each instance of the term in order to establish its precise meaning. The aim of this paper is to draw attention to the variety of ethnological classifications embraced by Strabo. This diversity is discernible by an examination of various manifestations of the word *barbaros* in the *Geography*, which appear under three headings: (a) rhetorical antitheses

* I would like to thank Professor D. Mendels and Dr A. Vardi for commenting on earlier versions of this paper.

¹ The word *barbaros* and its derivatives appear in the *Geography* approximately 150 times, according to the *TLG* word-count. The extensive usage of it by Strabo is noticed mainly by Haarhoff (1948) 88, who contends that this employment was quite rare in the post-Alexandrian world, with its universalistic tendencies and the fading of boundaries. On the significance of the *Geography* as an ethnographic work, see Müller (1972–80) vol. II, 107–23; Jacob (1991) 147–66.

² For fundamental studies cf. Jüthner (1923); Speyer (1967–92); Dauge (1981); Funck (1981); E. Hall (1989).

³ Thompson (1979); Thollard (1987).

between barbarians and others; (b) explicit definitions of the term; (c) paratactic descriptions of barbarian groups. It will be argued that no clear-cut division of groups can be found in his work. Strabo uses, in fact, three types of criteria to divide humanity, and to differentiate the barbarians: (1) race or ethnicity; (2) language; (3) culture. One possible explanation for this variety will be the special position occupied by Strabo, as a person who exemplifies in his own life the juncture of Greek and Roman worlds, and as an author whose work is intended for both types of readers. He is influenced, therefore, by the different definitions these two cultural heritages provided for the identity of the barbarians.

Throughout the *Geography*, Strabo exhibits the traditional, mutually exclusive antithesis between Greeks and barbarians, which has an ethnic dimension. He describes historical episodes that were known in the Greek national heritage to assume such an antithesis. The main expressions of this group are references to the Persian Wars (1.1.17; 9.4.16; 15.3.23), the differentiation between Hellenes and the original occupants of Greece (7.7.1; 9.2.3) and the clash of ethnicities in southern Italy, between the Greek settlers and the local Italian tribes and the Carthaginians (6.1.2; 6.1.10; 6.3.2; 6.3.3). Absorbed as he is in the Hellenic tradition, Strabo uses the term *barbaros* in all these cases.⁴

The Italian episode is not unequivocal. While describing *Magna Graecia*, Strabo claims that, apart from Taras, Rhegium and Neapolis, all parts of the country have been 'completely barbarised' (ἐκβεβαρβαρωσθαι). He continues by saying that part of the region was held by the Leucani and Brettii, and another part by the Campani, but immediately adds: 'That is, the Campani only in name; actually by Romans, because they have become Roman' (6.1.2). Strabo could be referring to the act of barbarising the region by three Italian tribes.⁵ He could, however, be placing emphasis on the fact that the tribes were Latinised, and that the *Romans* did the barbarisation,⁶ for the latter were also not Greek and were treated as barbarians according to the classical scheme.

The geographer sometimes rejects an attempt to modify the traditional ethnic dichotomy. For example, he examines and denies the possibility of

⁴ On Strabo's Hellenic education and background, see 8.3.3; 8.3.23; 14.1.48; 14.5.4; 12.3.16; 16.2.24. Cf. Sihler (1923) 136–7.

⁵ Cf. other uses of that verb: Plato, *Ep.* 8.353a and Plut. *Tim.* 20 refer to Carthaginians in Sicily, whereas Isocr. 9.20 and Plut. *Lys.* 3 mean the Persians.

⁶ See Bowersock (1992); Musti (1994) 74. Another uncertain passage appears at the beginning of the eighth book, where Strabo is about to start the description of Greece, and notes that he has enclosed all the barbarian peoples in the western areas of Europe as far as Greece and Macedonia (8.1.1) including, as it were, the Romans.

merging or mixing the two groups. Strabo quotes the historian Ephorus as claiming that sixteen ‘races’ (γένη) inhabited Asia Minor, three of which were Greek and thirteen were barbarian. To those races, Ephorus added ones that were ‘mixed’ (μιγάδη) (14.5.23). Strabo refutes this theory, saying that there are no ‘mixed’ races, and even if they were mixed, the predominant element must have made them either Greeks or barbarians. He declares that he knows of no ‘third type’ of people (τρίτον γένος) that is mixed (14.5.25).

Alongside racial and ethnic attributes, language and speech constituted one of the traditional ways by which the ancient Greeks defined their uniqueness compared to the barbarians.⁷ But this is nowhere elaborated or stated more clearly than in one lengthy section of the *Geography* (14.2.28). It became a well-known passage that has been generally cited ever since, and is still found in discussions of the word *barbaros* and its development.⁸ Dealing with the Ionian coast, Strabo encounters one Homeric *hapax legomenon* that triggers a long discussion. This word is *barbarophonoi*, which Homer used to describe Asiatic Carians in his catalogue of Trojan ships:

Μάσθλης⁹ αὖ Καρῶν ἠγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων οἱ Μίλητον ἔχον.
(*Il.* 2.867–8)

Masthles in turn led the Carians, *barbarophonoi* (‘of barbarian speech’ or ‘of barbarian voice’), who held Miletus.

This verse posed several problems to ancient readers that needed clarification. Strabo undertakes to solve them, and while doing so, apparently arrives at two distinct taxonomies of humanity, in accordance with linguistic and vocal criteria. The first problem the geographer confronts concerns the identity of the Carians. Can they be considered barbarians? Strabo argues that no other reading is possible, for otherwise they could not be described as having a *barbarian* voice.¹⁰ The next difficulty pertains to the usage of the compound adjective *barbarophonoi*: why did Homer employ

⁷ Hdt. 8.144 used the phrase ὁμόγλωσσον (‘of the same tongue’) as one component of a shared Greek feeling. A salient feature of non-Greeks was their heterophone utterances. Cf. Long (1986) 134–7, 150–4; E. Hall (1989) 4–5, 8–9, 12–13, 117–21; Tuplin (1999) 50.

⁸ E.g. *TDNT* 1, s.v. βάρβαρος, esp. 546–7; Speyer (1967–92) 818–19; Funck (1981) 27–8; Coleman (1997) 178.

⁹ In Homeric MSS, Νάστης is to be found.

¹⁰ This argument also refutes the opinion of Thucydides (Thuc. 1.3.3) that Homer was not acquainted with the term *barbaros*. For earlier and elaborated reflections on this passage, see Almagor (2000).

an unusual appellation, which alluded to the *speech* or *voice* of the barbarians, a seemingly unnecessary attribute?

The response of Strabo is one of the rare instances in ancient literature which explicitly deal with the etymology of the term *barbaros* in connection with speech and language. He points out that this name originally referred to one type of voice, namely, a raucous and strident one. It was used onomatopoeically to signify a flaw of expression, much like the Greek words for 'lispings' (τραυλίζειν), 'stuttering' (βρατταρίζειν), or 'inarticulately speaking' (ψελλίζειν). This defect of pronunciation sounded like 'bar-bar-bar', and was imitated in the term. It can be concluded that, on the grounds that *barbaros* was a species of the genus *phonos*, one may regard a combination of these two elements as quite reasonable.

According to Strabo, the label gradually acquired another meaning. He sketches a historical process,¹¹ which involved an association of *crude* and *derided* speech with *alien* enunciation. Put differently, a feature of *speech* (its crudeness) was identified with a trait of its *speakers* (i.e. being aliens).¹² Strabo portrays this identification as derived from empirical discovery:

When all who pronounced words thickly were being called barbarians onomatopoeically, it appeared (ἐφάνη) that the pronunciations of all alien races (τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν) were likewise thick, I mean of those that were not Greek (τῶν μὴ Ἑλλήνων).¹³

It so happened that all of the non-Hellenes spoke harshly and thickly. Once this incidental vocal feature of the alien races was detected, they were immediately recognised as 'barbarians'. Strabo relates that the word was used at first 'derisively' (κατὰ τὸ λοῖδορον), but afterwards, it was utilised 'as a general ethnic term' (ὡς ἔθνικῶ κοινῶ ὀνόματι), separating certain groups from the Greeks. Here the geographer seems to suggest that pejorative overtones accompanied the usage of the term right from the start, and were not a later addition. In accordance with his depiction, a derogatory attitude was part and parcel of the classification of non-Hellenes as barbarians. Strabo narrates that a further demarcation between the two groups occurred when the nature of their vocal differences was

¹¹ Note the usage of the phrases κατ' ἀρχάς and ἐν ἀρχαῖς ('in the beginning'), εἶτα ('afterwards'), οὐκέτι ('no longer').

¹² In Homeric terminology, one could say that the two senses of the term *barbaros* were: first, a sense close to ἀγριόφωνος ('speaker in a rough voice') (*Od.* 8.294, cf. schol. T *ad loc.* in Dindorf (1855) 382); second, a meaning close to ἀλλόθροος ('speaker in a strange tongue') (*Od.* 1.183; 3.302; 15.453).

¹³ Note that the exposition gives an impression that speech did not initially signify the borders between the groups, yet fitted well into an already existing differentiation.

understood to reside 'in the divergence of languages' (κατὰ τὰς τῶν διαλέκτων ιδιότητος).¹⁴ In other words, the barbarians appeared inarticulate to Greek ears because their tongue was unintelligible to them. It is not clear from the description whether this recognition was associated with the demise of the negative approach towards the barbarians.

What was then so special about the language of the Carians, which led Homer to grant them alone the name *barbarophonoi*, and not to any of the barbarian nations whom the poet certainly knew? In his answer to this question, Strabo parts company with the classical ethnological dichotomy. For contrary to modern scholarly consensus,¹⁵ and apparently contrary to common sense, he takes the expression *barbarophonoi* to mean not 'speakers of a foreign language', but rather to refer to speakers of *Greek* in a foreign voice, or accent. This feature characterised the Carians alone. In earlier times, Strabo relates, only they chose to imitate the Hellenic way of life and to learn Greek. Serving as hired mercenaries, the Carians lived close to the Hellenes first in the islands and later in Asia. But whenever the Carians spoke Greek, the barbarous element (τὸ βαρβαρόφωνον) in their tongue was prevalent and could not be avoided. Their accent was felt and their pronunciation was unintelligible to the Hellenes. For this reason, then, Homer called them *barbarophonoi*. Strabo supports his argument by mentioning the employment of the verb βαρβαρίζειν ('to barbarise'), which connotes speech in faltering *Greek*, and not in some foreign barbarous language.¹⁶

The geographer allots the Carians definite features as a group: unlike other barbarians, they spoke Greek, but unlike the Greeks, they mispronounced it. Their language was unique not because of its barbarian harshness, but because it was some sort of bad Greek. We could say that they were Hellenised barbarians who spoke barbarised Greek. They seem to occupy an ethnological middle ground. Hence their unique designation and separate identification in Homer. If this is correct, then what we have here approaches a *threefold* division of humanity. As their special language was neither pure Greek nor truly barbarian, these *barbarophonoi* had the

¹⁴ This understanding apparently replaced a former one, which explained the harsh speech of the barbarians by a physical flaw in their vocal organs (κατὰ παχυστομίαν καὶ ἀφυΐαν τινὰ τῶν φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων). Presumably, in this narrative, the Hellenes of old believed that the barbarians were physiologically different from the Greeks.

¹⁵ E.g. Kirk (1985) 260: 'The Kares ... are βαρβαροφώνων, which means on any interpretation of βάρβαρος that they do not speak Greek ...'; Jüthner (1923) 2, 'fremdsprachig'; cf. also Schmidt (1982) 37.

¹⁶ Cf. Arist. *Soph. El.* 165b21; D.L. 7.59 (SVF III. 20).

appearance of a *tertium quid* in the classification of mankind, and did not belong fully to either side of the polarity.¹⁷

The queries Strabo endeavours to answer and the solutions given by him have special relevance largely in an Hellenic framework. The analysis revolves around the question of the identity of non-Greeks. The text chosen for answering it is none other than Homer, the ‘educator of Hellas’¹⁸ and the single most crucial source for the crystallisation of Hellenic self-identity.¹⁹ A subsidiary enquiry asked what was particular in the tongue of the Carians in comparison with Greek, taking the Hellenic language as a standard by which to judge this peculiarity.

Correspondingly, the answers given by Strabo exhibit a similarly Hellenocentric approach. Not only does he employ the classical taxonomy and depict Greek-speaking Hellenes versus barbarian races, whose utterances suffer from rough enunciation and whose language is obscure, but Strabo also seems to have a readership consisting mainly of Greek-speakers in his mind. When he describes the linguistic disparity between the two groups, which he considers entirely symmetrical, Strabo states that a person can make mistakes in Greek and pronounce the words ‘like barbarians who are only beginning to learn Greek and are unable to speak it accurately, as is also the case with *us* in speaking their languages’ (ὡς οὐδ’ ἡμεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνων διαλέκτοις).

Strabo probably reaches his threefold scheme due to the problematic nature of language as a classificatory device. The Strabonian narrative concludes by giving Greek language a privileged place to delineate the borders between ethnic groups (between those who speak it and those who do not). However, although dialects can demarcate societies, they can also be learnt, and may serve as a bridge between them. An actualisation of this possibility may cause serious difficulties to a classification, such as the Greek one, which assigns a highly important role to language as a dividing element. This was indeed a complication delivered by Hellenised peoples, that is, peoples who have adopted one trait or more of the Hellenes. From

¹⁷ Rochette (1997–8) also notes the threefold classification of Strabo. The Carians seem to have defied the traditional Greek taxonomy. Herodotus reserved for them (and for the Ionians) the appellation ἀλλόγλωσσοι (‘speakers of a different language’) (2.154), while Xenophon called them μιξοβάρβαροι (‘mixed barbarians’) (*Hell.* 2.1.15).

¹⁸ Plato, *Rep.* 606e.

¹⁹ On the attitude of Strabo towards Homer, cf. Kahles (1976); Schenkeveld (1976). The elaborate Homeric exegesis has tinges of Hellenistic scholarship. Strabo is probably influenced by the sources he read (possibly Posidonius, cf. Munz (1921)), or else reaches his conclusions from the debate with Hellenistic sages.

the Greek perspective, these persons were no longer barbarians, but still could not be considered entirely Greek.

It would perhaps not be inaccurate to suppose that while ostensibly interpreting Homer, Strabo, in his description of the Carians, also tackles this predominately Greek problem. He could be referring to the Hellenised nations, in an attempt to find an ethnological place for them. The solution he seems to propose to the conceptual problem they generate is to take not Greek, but *correct* Greek, as a mark of ethnic differentiation.²⁰

The traditional dichotomy faced other difficulties. Some post-classical revisionist approaches sought to replace its ethnic or racial emphasis with a cultural one, and to fashion the classification of mankind only as a contrast between the civilised and uncivilised nations. Others were willing to place several barbarians on the advanced and cultivated side.²¹ It seems that both of these attitudes can be found in the viewpoint of Eratosthenes of Cyrene,²² which is preserved by Strabo at the end of the first book of the *Geography* (1.4.9). According to Strabo, Eratosthenes had disapproved of the old partition of mankind into Greeks and barbarians, and preferred to draw the dividing lines anew, according to moral and cultural, rather than racial standards.

Eratosthenes seems to have turned against ethnic or racial prejudice, and to have insisted that persons should not pass judgement on other groups because of their ethnicity or race, but that each and every nation should be examined according to its own moral merit. Eratosthenes made this view the basis of his ethnology. He proposed a scheme where there was still a dichotomic framework. However, it was a dichotomy of the two cardinal ethical features 'virtue' (ἀρετή) and 'vice' (κακία).²³ In fact, Eratosthenes has put together both moral and cultural standards, and saw them as one. Thus, instead of an ethnic division, mankind is to be split up between two wholly new departments: on the one hand a group of what he termed 'bad' (κακοί) races, and on the other a number of 'refined' or 'civilised'

²⁰ However, one may note that, in the account of Strabo, the Carians received their name in virtue of their ethnicity, which was resonated in their accent. When they spoke Greek, they could not hide their alien nationality. By contrast, a Hellene speaking in violated Greek could not have been termed *barbarophonos* in the description of the geographer. A Greek by birth could only be viewed as a deserter from his linguistic tradition if he mispronounced it. In his case, it would have been a matter of 'barbarism', or adopting the language of the 'others'.

²¹ Barbarians were usually depicted in classical times as uncivilised. Cf. E. Hall (1989) 181–200. However, not all of them lacked civilisation in the old Greek perception. A notable example is the description of the Egyptians in the second book of Herodotus' *History*.

²² On Eratosthenes, see Pfeiffer (1968) 152–70. Cf. also Berger (1880); Fraser (1971).

²³ It is not simply a distinction between 'civilised' and 'uncivilised', as Baldry (1965) 170 suggests.

(ἄσπεῖοι) nations. This would result, apparently, in a novel distribution of races, peoples and tribes. For example, some of those who were considered Greeks in the traditional division would find their proper place amongst the evil races,²⁴ while several nations who were regarded as barbarian should belong to the more civilised group. The prominent nations among the latter group were the Indians and Arians in the east, and the Romans and Carthaginians in the west. In the latter two, refinement and political government (πολιτευόμενοι) can be found.²⁵

Eratosthenes appears to have made use of an historical anecdote to support his ideas, and to provide an ethical model for the view that disregards ethnic boundaries. He recounted that when the counsellors of Alexander the Great advised him to treat Greeks as friends and barbarians as enemies, the Macedonian king rejected their advice and decided rather to welcome and prefer all men of fair repute, regardless of their ethnicity.²⁶

Controversy and confusion dominate the interpretation of Strabo's words in the lines immediately following the ideas of Eratosthenes. A number of readers believe that they contain another quotation from Eratosthenes' work,²⁷ but this seems impossible because the lines are given as a direct statement, in contradistinction with the quoted passage from Eratosthenes, which is reported in indirect speech.²⁸ Even when interpreted as Strabo's response, the passage receives no unity of judgement. A few scholars do not notice any conflicting views between Strabo and Eratosthenes;²⁹ others stress the different opinions, but consider the whole debate uncalled for.³⁰

It is apparent that Strabo strongly objects to the taxonomy suggested by his adversary, and prefers to cling to the old-fashioned dichotomy of Greeks and barbarians. The context makes it clear. In previous sections (I.4.7–8), Strabo criticises the contention of Eratosthenes that there is no

²⁴ On the differences in mentality and *mores* amongst the Greeks cf. Livy 45.23.14–16.

²⁵ Although a staunch Peripatetic, Eratosthenes may be here under the influence of Stoic philosophy. Cf. Pohlenz (1964) 136; Baldry (1965) 170; Müller (1972–80) vol. 1, 280–1.

²⁶ A similar (but not identical) train of thought is found in the essay *De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut Virtute* (329a–d), attributed to Plutarch. Here also Alexander is linked to the idea of a division of mankind in accordance with moral criteria. Again, it is emphasised that the king did not follow the advice of his counsellors to treat the Greeks as if he were their leader and the barbarians as if he were their master. Yet Plutarch alone names the advisor as Aristotle. Cf. Aristotle, fr. 658 (ed. V. Rose). Some scholars assume Eratosthenes was the source for this passage as well. Cf. Schwartz (1885) 252–4; Jüthner (1923) 49–50; Tarn (1950) 438–9. Others disagree: Badian (1958) 432–44; Baldry (1965) 114–21.

²⁷ Schwartz (1885) 252–4; Tarn (1950) 438. ²⁸ A fact noted by Badian (1958) 433 n. 34.

²⁹ L. A. Thompson (1979) 223.

³⁰ Badian (1958) 432: '[the argument of Strabo] is dragged in for the sake of objecting'. He terms the response 'puerile' (433). Gabba (1991) 51 describes it as 'both ambiguous and uneven'.

utility in the study of borders. Strabo emphasises that this kind of knowledge is practical, and important even when there are no natural borderlines. It may be assumed that, as Strabo opposes disregarding the importance of boundaries, he now resents the removal of ethnic barriers. Furthermore, Strabo rejects an attempt to modify the known dichotomy, in a manner that resembles his answer to Ephorus, mentioned above.³¹

In his debate with Eratosthenes, the statements of Strabo are admittedly obscure, but this fact is probably due to the line of argument he chooses to pursue. Strabo strives to show that the new division proposed by Eratosthenes is redundant. In the opinion of the geographer, there is no need to devise a novel division of humanity, according to the principles of morality or cultural demarcation, since, after all, the conventional classification is based on the same principles.

Strabo maintains a dichotomic division matching that of the customary scheme. He claims that there are two human groups, the one including people who are praised and the other containing people who are censured. However, Strabo states that the allotment of praise or censure to each nation is done only in reference to the moral behaviour and cultural position of the group in question, and not given because of any other criteria. Strabo portrays the division as clear-cut: one group has a few dominant features, which are elements of laws, political constitution and a system of education and sciences (τὸ νόμιμον καὶ τὸ πολιτικόν and τὸ παιδείας καὶ λόγων οἰκεῖον, respectively), on account of which it is praised.³² The dominant attributes of the other group are the exact opposite traits (τάναντία), that is, presumably, lack of laws, and the absence of political life, or institutions for learning. For that reason, this group is censured.

Lastly, Strabo arrives at the problem of historical interpretation. He takes the same historical anecdote utilised by Eratosthenes and uses it to show that it does not support any new division, and is quite compatible with the old one. Strabo claims that the *literal* sense of the advice given to Alexander was indeed to treat the Greeks as friends and the barbarians as enemies, but the king disregarded it. Instead, Alexander understood the *intent* (διάνοια) of his advisors, which was to divide humanity into two halves, to treat one part favourably, the other adversely, and to carry such

³¹ Cf. the similar usage of ἐπικρατεῖ ('predominates') here and that of ἐπικράτεια ('the predominant element') in 14.5.25.

³² Note a similar collection of these phrases in Aristotle *Pol.* 1.65.7–8, contrasted with barbarian customs.

discrimination in accordance with moral and cultural criteria. Strabo seems to conclude that there is no contradiction between the actions of Alexander and the ancient division.

The response of Strabo seems to exhibit not only the impression made upon him by Greek cultural heritage, but also the impact of his surrounding Roman society. Most Latin authors, hardly being content with the unbridgeable ethnic differentiation that their Hellenic counterparts seemed to offer them, ignore it, as can be gleaned from their works, and embrace a cultural division. This taxonomy treats the barbarians chiefly as uncivilised.³³ It is not a dichotomous one, and does not include two mutually exclusive groups, but this classification is graded and involves a much more flexible mobility than the Greek world-view.³⁴ By adhering to a system with two terms in it, Strabo's conception is still typically Greek. Nevertheless, in other parts of his work, his statements conform more fully to the Roman attitude. This disposition is noted mainly in the paratactic descriptions of various nations of the world, which are explicitly intended by Strabo for generals and political leaders (I.I.16–17). We may assume that in this period the persons corresponding to this definition are mainly Romans,³⁵ and that the geographer clearly writes having their set of values in mind.

In fact, this is a point where typical Roman sentiment met Greek social theories. A conceptual system can be discerned in Strabo, which is historical in so far as it describes the stages that humanity passed until it reached its present state, and is anthropological in so far as it explained the cultural differences between contemporary groups. As shown by Thompson, Strabo quotes and accepts the description of the progressive evolution of mankind in Plato's *Nomoi* (3.676a–683a). This exposition had three stages:

1. The simplest form of life, the features of which were solitude and bare livelihood;
2. An agricultural state, in which societies were formed and farming was developed;
3. The civilised or political state, in which life was centred in cities, and laws were produced.³⁶

³³ Dauge (1981) 379–676. Some Roman writers even suggested a threefold division, between Romans, barbarians and Greeks. Cf. Cicero *Fin.* 2.4.9; *Lig.* 11; Quint. 5.10.24

³⁴ For the Roman flexible approach and readiness to allot citizenship to aliens, cf. also Haarhoff (1948) 219; Balsdon (1979) 82–96; Noy (2000) 23–6.

³⁵ Aujac (1969b) xxvi–xxix; cf. Niese (1878) 45.

³⁶ L. A. Thompson (1979) 213–29. Cf. Cole (1967) 97–103 on the Platonic passage.

Strabo calls the ultimate phase τὸ πολιτικόν, and the last two stages τὸ ἡμερον, or ‘refinement’.

Frequently, Strabo treats barbarians as people who had not attained even the basic civilised state of agriculture, and as nothing more than savages, dwellers in caves, nomads, brigands and warriors.³⁷ He sees certain communities as barbarian only on account of their cultural primitivism, and not because of certain ethnic or linguistic traits. For example, when Homer says that the people who had once lived in the vicinity of the temple of Dodona kept their feet unwashed and slept upon the ground (*Il.* 16.235), Strabo gathers that they were barbarians only from that mode of life (7.7.10).³⁸

Strabo even seems to have *measured* the degree of barbarism in definite groups. He portrays the customs of the people of Britain as, in part, like those of the Celts and, in part, ‘more simple and *more barbaric*’ (ἀπλούστερα καὶ βαρβαρώτερα) in comparison with the Celts. Thus the people of Britain, because of their lack of experience, although they are well supplied with milk, do not make cheese (4.5.2). Some tribes are given the designation ‘completely barbarian’ (τελέως βάρβαροι), such as the Ligurians who live on the mountain tops (4.6.4), and the people who inhabit Aria, west of India (2.5.32). But if barbarism is measurable, and if there is a scale by which to evaluate the degree of barbarity, then this scheme is not the classical dichotomy, in which one could be either Greek or barbarian, and where there were no grades in the application of the terms. In these passages, the word *barbaros* is almost synonymous with ‘savage’.³⁹

In another passage (13.1.58), Strabo cites the story of the city Gargara told by Demetrius of Scepsis, according to which the kings brought into that city colonists from Miletropolis, and so the original Aeolian population became ‘semi-barbarian’ (ἡμιβάρβαροι). This term has a parallel in Latin

³⁷ While lack of civilisation was normally the object of his scorn, Strabo also idealises it. This attitude is found mainly in the seventh book (7.3.2–9). The variant of primitivism adopted by Strabo falls under the categories ‘cultural’ (a longing for a savage condition, not necessarily an earlier one) and ‘hard’ (emphasising the hardships in the savage livelihood), according to the classification of Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 7–11. Cf. 287–90, 325–7.

³⁸ Cf. 3.4.16; 4.4.3 (Iberians and Celts).

³⁹ This is, perhaps, the case in Strabo’s description of the division of provinces into two types, found in the last chapter of the *Geography* (17.3.25). One type of province was assigned to Augustus. Included in this type were all areas that needed a military guard, were *barbarian*, and were close to peoples not subdued or were not fertile and hard to cultivate. The other type was given to the Roman people. Included in this type were the more peaceful areas. See Pothecaary, ‘The European provinces’, in this volume. Strabo seems to combine here the barrenness of the area, and the warlike tendencies of its population, with its being called ‘barbarian’. Cf. the account of Dio 53.12.2–3.

literature (Suet. *Iul.* 76.3: *semibarbari*), where it is to be understood as 'half-civilised'.⁴⁰

In several places Strabo interprets barbarism not as a feature dependent on origin and birth, but as an external state that can change under the civilising influence of more advanced nations, namely the Romans. The third and fourth books of the *Geography* are replete with examples of barbarians whose ways of life changed as a consequence of the Roman occupation. The new conquerors brought with them peace and the end of warfare and anarchy, giving the regions they conquered stability, and allowing the inhabitants to enjoy the leisure required to progress towards civilisation. For example, the Turdetanians in Iberia have completely changed over to the Roman way of life (3.2.15). After Strabo mentions that the name Cavari was given to all the barbarians in Gaul near the river Rhodanus, he at once corrects himself: 'They are no longer barbarians (οὐδὲ βαρβάρους ἔτι ὄντας), for they were largely transformed into the Roman type' (4.1.12).⁴¹ Probably no sentence in ancient Greek literature matches the explicitness of this one regarding the possibility of mobility from the state of barbarism. It is entirely in conformity with the Roman world-view.

Basing his conclusion on the third and fourth books of the *Geography*, Thollard⁴² suggests that Strabo himself uses the word *barbaros* only in the sense of 'uncivilised', and never in the sense of 'non-Greek'. Thollard even goes on to say that in Strabo's work, this concept has a scientific, precise and limited applicability, denoting a defined cultural state, and that it is a neutral and objective category, which makes it possible to classify and describe diverse groups without having to judge them. These statements are apparently only partially true. In other passages, Strabo is quite conservative in his understanding of the term *barbaros*, and designates by it non-Greek persons.

The name *barbaros* is also applied to certain nations which have features of high civilisation and are not therefore culturally challenged. These nations dwell in urban communities, and have laws and political institutions. The Egyptians (referred to as 'barbarians' on two occasions: 17.1.19; 17.1.29) have lived 'in a civilised and cultivated manner' (πολιτικῶς καὶ ἡμέρωσ) right from the beginning (17.1.3). They occupy a country that is blessed, and which they know how to divide and administer efficiently; they

⁴⁰ Cf. L. A. Thompson (1989) 87–8.

⁴¹ On this passage as an example of Romanisation in Gaul, cf. Woolf (1998) 52–3.

⁴² Thollard (1987) 27–31, 38–9. Cf. also L. A. Thompson (1979) 219–20; Jacob (1991) 159–60.

also have noteworthy cities (πόλεις ἀξιόλογοι) and villages (17.1.4). The ‘Georgi’, who are identified with one of the northern barbarian tribes, are considered ‘more civilised and refined’ (ἡμερώτεροί τε καὶ πολιτικώτεροι) (7.4.6). In these cases, the ethnic differentiation from the Greeks is evidently not matched at all by a variance in the *mores*. Presumably, the groups are called *barbarian* only due to their contrast with the Hellenes, and not because of any cultural backwardness.

Another example along the same lines is a passage in which Strabo consents to one of the popular philosophical ideas about the unity of mankind. He phrases it in a manner agreeable to a rhetorical commonplace, which sees humanity as the sum total of only two groups, Greeks and barbarians. After a favourable presentation of the religious belief of Moses, Strabo describes the decline that had occurred in the time of his successors. Superstitious and tyrannical men were appointed to the priesthood, and the habits of the Jews deteriorated. However, the Jews still had respect for their acropolis, says Strabo, and they revere it as a holy place. Strabo explains this behaviour by claiming that it is natural and common to both Greeks and barbarians, for they are members of political societies, and live under a common law (16.2.38).⁴³

We must conclude that there is no uniformity in the treatment of the barbarians by Strabo. Using linguistic criteria, he defines them as speakers of a different language or in a different manner from that of the Greeks. He also demarcates them from the Hellenes by ethno-racial means, which emphasise origin and birth. When he employs cultural standards, Strabo contrasts them with civilised nations, and portrays them as savages. These classifications do not cohere to form one single picture. They vary between twofold and threefold partition, a flexible system and an exclusive rigid one.

The conflicting taxonomies can be seen as the outcome of the cultural circumstances in which Strabo himself was present. As a person raised in the Hellenic tradition and imbued with its set of values, he adopts the classical ethnic dichotomy, and mostly rejects Hellenistic revisionist attitudes, which tried to adapt the old division to the changing ethnological realities. Nevertheless, Strabo incorporates into his work some of these approaches. He also manifests the sentiment of a Greek living in Rome, and he consents to the general contemporary view that differentiates barbarians from civilised nations.

⁴³ In similar vein is the statement of Strabo elsewhere (10.3.9), that both Greeks and barbarians conduct their religious ceremonies in the same manner, and that in both groups there is relaxation during the sacred rites.

This outline of the diversity in the attitudes of Strabo towards the 'others', as well as the proposed explanation in terms of Strabo's cultural contexts, would hopefully shed some further light on the varied nature of the *Geography*, and point the way to a better understanding of the complex identity of its author.

Gender at the crossroads of empire: locating women in Strabo's Geography

Denise Eileen McCoskey

This project began as an attempt to outline the role of women in Strabo's *Geography*; or, to speak more geographically, it began with a desire to determine the place women occupy in Strabo's account of the world. Given that women (with a few notable exceptions) remain relatively muted in Strabo's overall landscape, the topic initially seemed a straightforward one. Yet in working systematically through the *Geography* it soon becomes evident that Strabo's attitudes toward gender and sexual difference are both more complicated and, at times, more contradictory than perhaps anticipated.¹ If we demand from the text a consistent and coherent set of values and associations that frame the representation of women, we might be frustrated when, for example, Strabo categorically condemns the rule of women as contrary to civilised practice in one part of his work (3.4.18), while in another part he describes the reign of queen Pythodoris in notably positive terms (12.3.29).

Given the presence of such seeming contradictions in Strabo's lengthy text, my reading seeks not to determine what women meant categorically to Strabo (an impossible project), but to identify the numerous narrative frameworks that intersect in the *Geography*, frameworks that bring to Strabo's text divergent methods for conceptualising and representing women and sexual difference. My interrogation of sexual difference in Strabo is thus driven by an attempt to explore how women are employed in his text and with reference to what discursive and ideological systems. In short, I seek to map the position of 'woman' in Strabo's text at the crossroads of a number of ancient discourses, including those discourses adapted by Strabo from previous textual traditions and those newly initiated by the Augustan imperial regime.

¹ My articulation of the problem was greatly facilitated by conversation with fellow participants at the conference 'Strabo the Geographer – An International Perspective' (Bar Ilan, 25–27 June 2001).

To begin, however, it is worth briefly asking why Strabo's *Geography* contributes to the study of women in ancient ideology. Why should we assume, for example, that Strabo's discussions of historical individuals or his exposition of spatial location and regional 'character' convey assertions about the meanings and sources of sexual difference? Recent work in critical geography has answered such a question forcefully, insisting that geography serves as an intellectual or textual procedure by which the world is simultaneously structured *and* assigned value.² In helping to establish and regulate relationships of power, geographic discourses thus parallel other operations of social differentiation. Or as Shirley Ardener more succinctly writes: 'If space is an ordering principle, so, of course, is gender.'³ Feminist geographers have sought to demonstrate the manifold ways in which spatial procedures (both theoretical and physical) intersect with the construction and articulation of gendered identities. In doing so, they consider both the places women occupy in 'practice' and the places in which women are located, or from which they are excluded, conceptually.⁴ Susan Hanson writes of such projects:

In the most general sense, we are drawn to questions at the intersection of gender, space, and place – questions of how gendered identities, and the unequal power relations embedded in those identities, shape distinctive places and how, in turn, gendered experiences and identities are molded by space, place and geography.⁵

Because Strabo's *Geography* attempts to provide a comprehensive accounting of the world under Roman domination and, in doing so, to establish concomitant hierarchies of power and knowledge, feminist geography insists that the representations of gender and sexual difference in the text are fundamental, and not merely incidental, to Strabo's endeavour.

Although feminist geography outlines multiple approaches, my reading here focuses specifically on Strabo's appropriation of divergent narrative modes for representing sexual difference, that is, I wish to explore how certain ideologies and discourses arrive in his text and to what effect they

² Pickles (1992) argues that '... mapping is an interpretive act, not a purely technical one, in which the product – the map – conveys not merely the facts but also and always the author's intention, and all the acknowledged and unacknowledged conditions and values any author (and his/her profession, time and culture) bring to a work' (210–11). Harley (1988) similarly suggests that maps are not only descriptive, but also prescriptive in their attempts to both document *and* establish numerous relations of social, cognitive and political power (292).

³ Ardener (1993) 5.

⁴ For recent work in feminist geography, see: Duncan (1996); Jones, Nast and Roberts (1997); McDowell and Sharp (1997); McDowell (1999); Domosh and Seager (2001).

⁵ Hanson (1997) 121.

are produced and reproduced when representing the ‘place’ of women in the new imperial landscape. I will conclude, however, by showing where Strabo’s text begins to unravel in its plotting of sexual difference by considering one important site of cartographic failure: the Amazon homeland.

Scholars have long debated the precise date of Strabo’s work, and relatedly, albeit more expansively, have sought to determine what the historical context of the work, including the events of Strabo’s own life, might imply about his perspective on the world. In her recent intellectual biography of Strabo, Daniela Dueck presents carefully developed conclusions about the significant features of Strabo’s life and work, a brief outline of which is worth summarising here. To begin, Dueck dates Strabo’s birth sometime between 64 and 50 BCE, and his death sometime after 23 CE; she argues that the *Geography* itself was composed between the years 18 and 24 CE, but clarifies that its point of reference was nonetheless primarily Augustan.⁶

The fact that Strabo was born in Amasia (in Pontus) Dueck considers relevant to the development of his outlook, pointing out that ‘the region underwent some political and geographical transformations which affected Strabo’s family and possibly his approach to the politics of his adult life’.⁷ Most notable among these upheavals were the Mithridatic Wars conducted from 97 to 66 BCE, in which Mithridates VI Eupator eventually went down in defeat to the Romans, and the subsequent reorganisation of the area into the Roman province of Bithynia and Pontus.⁸ At first glance, then, Strabo’s origins in Pontus might seem provocative when applied to questions of his authorship of the *Geography*. As Katherine Clarke suggests, ‘Strabo himself should have been the prime candidate to write a version of the Roman world from a marginal viewpoint.’⁹

Yet in dramatic contrast to this suggestive origin, Strabo’s description of his own background continually asserts his emphatic participation in both

⁶ Dueck (2000a) 2, 150–1. Strabo’s Augustan frame of reference is key, for, as Nicolet (1991) argues, the importance of geographic terminology to the Augustan display and conduct of empire can also be witnessed in Agrippa’s map, a public depiction of the world unparalleled in Rome to that time, and in Augustus’ *Res Gestae*, as well as the poets Virgil, Horace and Ovid. Nicolet’s own work considers the many administrative documents that attest to the regime’s more pragmatic methods of controlling space.

⁷ Dueck (2000a) 3.

⁸ Dueck (2000a) 2–4; see also Dueck’s discussion of Strabo’s own familial connections to the royal courts of Mithridates V Euergetes and VI Eupator, connections that he traces solely through the maternal line, 5–6.

⁹ Clarke (1999a) 244.

Hellenistic culture and Roman society. By gathering references scattered throughout the *Geography*, Dueck is able to reconstruct Strabo's extensive Greek education, an education that is strongly reinforced by the fact that the *Geography* was written in Greek.¹⁰ In addition to his immersion in the Greek intellectual tradition, Dueck demonstrates Strabo's intimate involvement in the Roman society of his day, outlining the amount of time Strabo spent in Rome itself, the frequency with which he claimed social contact with various Roman figures, and the degree to which his text suggests knowledge of Latin.¹¹ Moreover, the *Geography* itself claims a strong affiliation with Rome and its empire; time and time again, Strabo's description of the world signals its validation and promotion of Roman imperialism, including an insistence from the outset that geography as a mode for describing space holds as its ultimate purpose the control of that space. The primacy Strabo grants the Roman empire in his own work is further accentuated, as Clarke has argued, by Strabo's use of a number of narrative strategies that depict the world as a dynamic site of continual transformations, one that is directed spatially toward Rome and evolving politically toward universal Roman domination.¹²

The concept of empire, then, plays a central role in the *Geography*, as it will likewise provide a framework for the representation of women. So, too, the context of empire helps articulate the position of its multifaceted author. Residing at the juncture of multiple points of reference (symbolised geographically by Pontus, Greece and Rome),¹³ Strabo, according to Clarke, can be read as representative of larger patterns of cultural assimilation; that is, Clarke suggests that the blending of cultural positions (or, we might say, the harnessing of people from divergent cultural backgrounds and traditions to the celebration of Roman hegemony) seems characteristic of Strabo's age, rather than distinctive to his work. She writes:

In this sense, we can see the *Geography* less as a unique creation by a Greek from the margins, and more as a perfect reflection of the first-century phenomenon of great geographical complexity whereby intellectuals from various parts of Asia Minor were given a Greek education in the coastal cities and brought the mixture of outlooks both physically to Rome and conceptually to their accounts of its empire.¹⁴

¹⁰ Dueck (2000a) 8–15. Dueck also presents a thorough discussion of Strabo's relationship to earlier Greek tradition, 31–84.

¹¹ Dueck (2000a) 85–96. ¹² Clarke (1999a) 210–28 *passim*.

¹³ Given these various potential terms of identification, the precise referent of the term 'we' is often ambiguous in Strabo's narrative, see Clarke (1999a) 213–14.

¹⁴ Clarke (1999a) 109.

As Clarke suggests, a unified (or unifying) imperial vision therefore emerges in Strabo's text not from a single framework, but from a blending of hybrid cultural and textual traditions – a condition his work shares with that of many imperial writers.¹⁵

The influence of multiple perspectives likewise informs Strabo's representation of women. As with his personal background, these perspectives can be demonstrated with reference to three competing geographic 'sites': Greece, Augustan Rome and contemporary Pontus. Strabo's use of previously established Greek ethnographic methods in situating his representation of women, for example, leads to his employment of concepts like inversion and barbarism. His absorption of the contemporary historical context, however, yields two additional narrative strategies: the first, an attempt to adapt the symbols and vocabulary of Augustan propaganda; and the second, an attempt to record a more adaptable political structure outside Italy, one that allows a practice seemingly incommensurate with the standard Roman elision of political power and masculinity.

In its attempt to describe and thus encapsulate a group of people, ethnography has traditionally relied on a number of tendencies, including the tendency to establish a boundary between 'us' (the describers) and 'them' (the described).¹⁶ From the time of Herodotus on, such oppositions in Greek ethnography were articulated primarily through the concept of the 'barbarian', a term that helped consolidate various cultural attitudes toward 'otherness'. Initially associated with the Persians, the term barbarian connotes in Herodotus' ethnography, as in the work of many Greek writers, a particular inclination for subservience and tyranny.¹⁷ Although Roman writers subsequently appropriated the concept of the barbarian in their ethnographic writings, given the political ideology of the new empire (which relied on an acceptance of subservience), they nonetheless shifted its connotations dramatically. As Tina Saavedra writes, 'the Roman use of the barbarian as "other", while drawing on Greek traditions, was quite distinct in that themes of civilisation and assimilation directed the definition of barbarian. Barbarism for the Romans implied an inferior condition, rather

¹⁵ Clarke (1999a) argues that Strabo's reliance on these earlier frameworks was essential given that certain concepts had been transformed faster than the representational systems used to communicate them. She writes: 'The *Geography* perfectly illustrates that the world which Strabo knew, and was trying to describe, was Roman in name and political power, but could not be conceptualised and depicted except through recourse to the Greek historiographical and geographical traditions ...', 334.

¹⁶ Hartog (1988) 368 notes that the tendency often invites greater reflection on 'us'.

¹⁷ Hartog (1988) 324. On the meaning of the term 'barbarians', see Almagor, 'Who is a barbarian?', in this volume.

than an inferior nature'.¹⁸ As A. N. Sherwin-White documents in Strabo, such an approach explicitly relied on viewing '... the barbarian condition as capable of assimilation to the Graeco-Roman model in favourable circumstances'.¹⁹ That is, by engaging ideologies that promoted the benefits of assimilating others into the category of civilised, Roman use of the term barbarian, in seeming contrast to the Greek, served in part to rationalise wide-scale imperial expansion.²⁰

As its reliance on the concept of the barbarian suggests, the project of ethnography thus devotes itself to the identification and explication of difference.²¹ Given these foundations, it should come as no surprise to find that anxieties about sexual difference are often intimately involved in attempts to describe other cultures in ancient ethnography. For example, the position of women in a culture's social structure is often used to help 'diagnose' that culture as either barbaric or civilised. Saavedra considers the elision of the categories 'woman' and 'barbarian' to be such a frequent *topos* in ancient thought that she asks whether '... depictions of women as barbarians become the fulcrum upon which ethnographic narratives pivot'.²² The example of such a collapse (woman into barbarian) in the ancient conceptualisation of Amazons, as well as the frequent speculation on matriarchy in ancient ethnography, suggests that the meanings of sexual difference in ethnography were often circumscribed by a particular uneasiness about power and women's autonomy.²³

The influence of Greek ethnographic strategies on Strabo's *Geography* can be demonstrated by Strabo's appropriation and transformation of two key terms utilised by Herodotus in his treatment of women: inversion and prostitution. In her discussion of women in Herodotus, Carolyn Dewald argues for Herodotus' overall conviction that women play a formative role in the production of culture, one equal to that of men.²⁴ The specific roles women hold with regard to culture, however, are complicated in

¹⁸ Saavedra (1999) 60.

¹⁹ Sherwin-White (1967) 33. See also L. A. Thompson (1989) 124–9 on the Roman ideology of acculturation.

²⁰ On Herodotus, see Hartog (1988) 369. On the meanings of barbarian in Strabo, see Sherwin-White (1967) 13; Clarke (1999a) 213–15; Saavedra (1999) 59–61; Dueck (2000a) 75–80. Van der Vliet (1984) examines the influence of both the earlier Greek tradition and the contemporary Roman climate on Strabo's use of the concept; see now also van der Vliet (2003). Thollard (1987) analyses the specific connotations the term acquires in books three and four of Strabo's *Geography*. Strabo discusses the category of the barbarian throughout his work, often noting the mixing of Greek and barbarian (e.g. 3.4.8; 16.2.38); he also discusses the use (and abuse) of the term 'barbarian' itself (e.g. 6.1.2; 14.2.28).

²¹ Hartog (1988) 312 calls Herodotus the 'rhapsode of otherness'. ²² Saavedra (1999) 59.

²³ Saavedra (1999) 59. On ethnography as a discourse of power, see also Hartog (1988) 322–39.

²⁴ Dewald (1981) 92.

Herodotus' narrative. For one, Herodotus often uses the status and behaviour of women as evidence of a culture's inversion, i.e., its antithetical relation to the 'norms' of Greek culture. While he uses the principle of inversion most notably to structure his representation of Amazons,²⁵ Herodotus also highlights the topsy-turvy position of women and men in two other passages. In the first, the overall categorical opposition of Egyptian society to its Greek counterpart is illustrated in part by their exchange of gender roles (Hdt. 2.35). In the second, the military manoeuvres of Artemisia cause Xerxes to remark in a famous passage that women have become men, men women (Hdt. 8.88). While the first usage situates the social role and behaviour of women as representative of the overall operations of a culture, the second expresses a discomfort with women performing in the public sphere, a sphere that was to the Greeks reserved almost exclusively for men.²⁶

Strabo uses the concept of inversion most notably in his discussion of the Iberians, where he likewise draws specific attention to their reversal of gender roles. Although the Iberians were already conquered at the time of Strabo's writing, they present him with certain conceptual difficulties not least because, according to Strabo, they were not yet completely assimilated to the Roman mode of civilisation.²⁷ After listing a few practices (e.g. bathing in urine) that characterise the Iberians as living according to physical drives rather than reason, Strabo first cites barbarian features with regard to Iberian women specifically when he discusses their attire, including description of an elaborate veil mechanism (3.4.17). He then admits that certain stories about the Iberians have been elaborated beyond truth with the intention of exaggerating not only their courage, but also their savagery (3.4.17); he follows this observation with a list of brutal acts committed by Cantabrian men and women during war (3.4.17).²⁸ Strabo, however, emphasises the courage of the people, both men and women, citing in particular the women's attention to manual labour over childbirth. In one story, a female ditch-digger leaves her post only briefly to give birth, then returns almost immediately to work 'in order not to

²⁵ Hartog (1988) 216–24.

²⁶ Although Munson (1988) 106 argues for a more complicated reading of Artemisia, considering her in part a reflection of Athenian ideals.

²⁷ For more extensive analysis of Strabo's description of the Iberians, see Sherwin-White (1967) 1–13; Saavedra (1999) 61–7. Saavedra makes the important point that Strabo treats areas within Iberia differently, attributing greatest savagery to the most remote areas (62–3). Thollard (1987) situates Strabo's description of Iberians among broader ethnographic tendencies in books three and four.

²⁸ Saavedra (1999) 63–7 focuses on the significance of war in Strabo's characterisation of Iberian women.

lose her pay' (3.4.17). Of the customs of the women in general, Strabo notes that they perform agricultural work and, after giving birth, nurse their husbands rather than retiring to bed themselves (3.4.17), a formulation that begins to suggest his reliance on inversion as an organising principle of the entire society.

Despite Strabo's ostensibly positive tone here, it is precisely this inversion of men's and women's roles that he shortly after declares a mark of barbarism. For Strabo comments that the unusual customs of the Cantabrians with regard to dowry and inheritance (in which wives receive dowries, daughters are heirs and sisters give brothers away in marriage), although they are not exactly the customs of savages, nonetheless suggest a type of 'woman rule' – a political order Strabo emphatically declares 'not at all part of civilisation' (3.4.18). Similarly, when later discussing the Gauls, Strabo considers their assignment of men's and women's roles to be done 'in a manner opposite to what we do' a reversal, he notes, shared by many barbarians (4.4.3).

Near the end of his description of transalpine Celtica, Strabo recounts a geographic space in which anxieties about women's roles and sexual difference reveal themselves more openly, in part by operating without any explicit reference to men. Indeed, the island of the women of Samnithae functions in Strabo as one of the primary ethnographic sites for fantasies about women's rule. Strabo pointedly remarks that no men set foot on the island (4.4.6). Basing his account on the previous work of Posidonius,²⁹ Strabo associates the women on the island with three primary functions: their possession by Dionysus, their departure from the island for reproduction and their custom of unroofing and re-roofing the temple once a year, all three of which emphasise their excess, their isolation and, overall, their departure from any normative practices.³⁰ Indeed, even the final task of re-roofing the temple is given a brutal aspect as the women are said to tear to pieces the member of their group who drops her load of building materials.

In his ethnography, then, Strabo like many other ancient writers employs women and the assignment of gender roles as a way of characterising both people and places. The inversion of gender roles helps classify

²⁹ For discussion of Posidonius' earlier works, including scholarly attempts to reconstruct them from surviving fragments, see Clarke (1999a) 129–92. Posidonius is also credited with the previous story of the female ditch-digger returning to work after giving birth, suggesting his important contribution to the perpetuation of the Greek ethnographic tradition for representing women that I have labelled in general terms as 'Herodotean'.

³⁰ See Mudimbe (1994) 88 for a discussion of this passage.

certain societies as barbaric, while the unrestrained rule of the women of Samnitae shows by example the dangers of geographic isolation.³¹ In both these accounts, however, Strabo engages another more latent theme that I believe illustrates some of the ways his ethnography not only adopts previous Greek traditions, but also simultaneously adapts them to the demands of his new genre of Roman imperial geography. If we gather specific details from his descriptions, namely that a certain Iberian woman worried more about wages than childbirth and that the Samnitae women engage in the relentless (and fruitless) act of re-roofing the same temple, we can witness in Strabo's text a pervasive attention to women's productivity, a concern that connects his practice of ethnography to the broader themes of economic exploitation and development that resonate throughout the *Geography*.

In his description of the world under Roman domination, Strabo devotes considerable attention to the natural resources of individual territories (e.g. on Iberian mines, see 3.2.3; 4.6.12; 5.2.6). So pronounced is the theme of economic development that the efficient exploitation of one's territory becomes another way of judging character; in one passage, Strabo accuses the Indians of being ignorant of their resources and simple at business because they do not take advantage of their various mines (15.1.30). Similarly, he tells his readers that the Aeolian city of Cyme is renowned for its stupidity because it allowed 300 years to pass before realising it could charge tolls for its harbour (13.3.6). Throughout all such descriptions, Strabo represents the Romans in a position of power rather than dependency with regard to trade and economic development. Thus, when he identifies important market cities, trade routes and goods, he situates their flow explicitly with regard to Rome. Parts of Iberia are praised as 'the everlasting storehouses of nature or a never-failing treasury of empire' (3.2.9) and Sicily more succinctly as 'the storehouse of Rome' (6.2.7). Interpreting the cumulative effect of such passages, Clarke writes that 'one of the most striking impressions of the world gained from Strabo's text is that of a constant deluge of resources towards its capital. These come in various forms – human, material and intellectual'; she later perceptively extends that all-encompassing magnetism to the emperor Augustus himself.³²

³¹ Thollard (1987) 60–2 argues for a strong connection between geographic position and status as 'barbarian' in Strabo's books three and four. See also Clarke (1999a) 215 on the potential spatial dimension of barbarism.

³² Clarke (1999a) 219–20.

Turning back to Strabo's treatment of women, we can now read the significance of images of labour and productivity within the context of the overall primacy Strabo grants to economic activities in accounting for the superiority of the empire and its emperor. In this light, for example, the futile re-roofing of the same temple by the women of Samnithae contrasts negatively with Strabo's praise of Augustus' extensive and forward-moving building projects at Rome, projects to which both his wife and sister (left unnamed) contribute enthusiasm and financial support (5.3.8).³³ It is within this economic framework, moreover, that we can witness Strabo's transformation of a second Herodotean concept linked to sexual difference: the *hetaira*.

In an important article, Leslie Kurke has identified Herodotus' discussion of the *hetaira* Rhodopis (2.134–5) as the first-attested use of the term *hetaira* to signify a type of prostitute. Although Kurke argues that the precise distinction between the *porne* and the *hetaira* in ancient social practice is difficult to determine, she nonetheless believes that the emergence of dual referents marks an attempt in Greek ideology to distinguish modes of sexual trade by their underlying system of economic exchange. Equating the *hetaira* with the elite preference for 'gift exchange' and the *porne* with 'the invention and circulation of money as an egalitarian, civic institution', Kurke believes such terminology reflects larger social tensions related to the rise of democracy.³⁴ While I certainly do not suggest that the *hetaira* presents in Strabo's work an opportunity for reflection on democratic institutions, I nonetheless believe that the term retains its ability to express certain anxieties about economic exchange, anxieties that, in Strabo, are articulated in relation to the imperial attempt to gain full control of the flow of economic resources.

Strabo tells a number of stories about prostitutes and prostitution in books 11–13.³⁵ It is his earliest discussion of prostitution in Corinth, however, that proves most illustrative in drawing out the meaning of

³³ In equally positive terms, Strabo cites Artemisia for erecting the tomb of Mausolus, one of the seven wonders of the world, for her husband (14.2.16). The fact that Strabo does not name the Roman women in this passage should perhaps be considered within a Greek tradition that avoided referring to upper-class women by name in public contexts: see Schaps (1977).

³⁴ Kurke (1997) 110, 145.

³⁵ See 11.14.16, in which Strabo discusses a form of sacred prostitution in Armenia, an account he compares explicitly to Herodotus' description of Lydian women. In his description of Sardis, Strabo lists the great mound of Alyattes among the 'monuments of kings', then repeats the claims that most of the work was done on the mound by prostitutes, that all the women of the country were prostitutes and that many called the mound itself a 'monument of prostitution' (13.4.7).

prostitution (he uses the term *hetaira*) as both a sexual and economic event. Highlighting the explicit way in which prostitution subverts traditional roles assigned to women, Strabo quotes one courtesan who specifically (and somewhat pornographically) responds to the critique that she does not like weaving. Appropriating the language of weaving, the work generally associated with the ideals of Greco-Roman femininity, the *hetaira* slyly retorts ‘... such as I am, in this short time I have taken down three webs’ (8.6.20). Even more relevant here, Strabo claims explicitly that it is because of prostitutes that Corinth has grown wealthy. So intrinsic is the link between Corinth and its prostitution that Strabo quotes a proverb about the city, ‘not for every man is the voyage to Corinth’, carefully explaining its reference to the wealth of Corinth earned from the money squandered there by ship captains (8.6.20). In a later description of Comana Pontica, a place he calls ‘little Corinth’ because of its prostitutes, Strabo again repeats the proverb, claiming there, however, that money was squandered on local prostitutes by merchants and soldiers rather than sailors (12.3.36).³⁶ In the terms of Strabo’s *Geography*, then, the *hetaira* is marked as subversive not because her sexuality threatens any moral order, but because excessive patronage of the *hetaira* threatens the appropriate flow of economic resources. In short, by providing an alternate site for the accumulation of wealth, Corinth seems to rival Rome and the prostitute to compete momentarily with the emperor Augustus.

In this way, although Strabo’s ethnography can be read as an appropriation of earlier Greek discourses about women, those ethnographic tendencies garner new connotations in the context of his imperial geography. When turning to his assessment of two prominent contemporary women, Cleopatra and Pythodoris, Strabo’s choice of narrative strategies can likewise be shown to adhere to the logic of his own text, despite the fact that his representations of them display an inconsistency in his treatment of women holding political power. By revealing their formulation within the competing perspectives of Augustan propaganda and Pontic politics, i.e., recognising once again the multiple frameworks operating within Strabo’s text, we can begin to reconcile the negative image Strabo

³⁶ This proverb is also attested in older sources, such as Aristophanes (fr. 902A), as is the long-standing association of Corinth with prostitution; see Salmon (1984) 398–400; Dueck (2004). Ancient sources attest to forms of prostitution at Corinth that were both ‘religious’ (connected to the temple of Aphrodite) and ‘secular’. Beard and Henderson (1998) discuss this passage in Strabo within a broader critical discussion of the ‘paradox of “sacred prostitution”’ in Greece and the ancient Near East.

presents of Cleopatra, Augustus' defeated enemy, with the flattering depiction of Pythodoris, queen of Pontus.³⁷

Even the most cursory examination of Augustan propaganda suggests the fundamental symbolic role played by the Egyptian queen Cleopatra, over whose dead body Augustus proclaimed the foundation of his empire. Rhetorically, this moment was the culmination of earlier attempts to cloak civil war with Antony under the guise of foreign war with Cleopatra.³⁸ By focusing on Cleopatra, always labelled emphatically as Egyptian, Augustus was able 'to promote the reunification of the divided empire against a common enemy without. She was incorporated into the culture specifically in order to identify and impersonate the other, to form an image against which Rome could constellate its own attributes and identify itself'.³⁹ While Cleopatra's representation in Roman texts before the war had been fairly unmarked, the Augustan period initiated an elaborate attention to, and hence production of, Cleopatra's foreignness, her outsider status, one made manifest in opposition to Augustus' Romanness.⁴⁰

In accordance with the terms established by Augustan propaganda, which emphasised first and foremost the ultimate conquest of Cleopatra, Cleopatra first appears in the *Geography* among a list of leaders who have been vanquished in their attempts to rebel against Rome (6.4.2). In his description of Actium soon after, Strabo highlights Cleopatra's emphatic willingness to engage in the fighting, pointedly informing the reader that Cleopatra was present (7.7.6). Like other Augustan authors, moreover, Strabo chooses to assign more explanatory force to Cleopatra's Egyptian milieu than her Macedonian heritage. He calls her the 'Egyptian' Cleopatra (6.4.2), the 'queen of the Egyptians' (7.7.6) or simply 'the Egyptian' (13.1.30), but drops the signifier when he gets to his description of Egypt itself. Strabo is aware of the mythologising of Cleopatra in his own lifetime, acknowledging two traditions about her suicide (either by asp or poison, 17.1.10). Yet in a formulation resonant of the Augustan poet Horace, who uses wine imagery throughout his poem celebrating Cleopatra's defeat (*Odes* 1.37), Strabo embraces Augustan imagery and finally exclaims that with the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, Augustus put 'an end to Egypt's being ruled with drunken violence' (17.1.11).

³⁷ Some have even suggested that Strabo's description of Pythodoris is so flattering that the *Geography* must have been written under her patronage, a hypothesis which Syme (1995) 293 refutes.

³⁸ Reinhold (1981-2) 97. ³⁹ Hamer (1993) 29.

⁴⁰ See Pelling (2001) and Williams (2001) for discussion of Cleopatra's actions and 'representations' before, during and after war with Augustus.

Despite Strabo's overall adherence to Augustan propaganda in his representation of Cleopatra, it is important to recognise that he avoids using one prominent slur attached to her by other Augustan authors: sexual promiscuity.⁴¹ Instead, Cleopatra's threat is embodied for Strabo primarily through her status as a competing (and degraded) receptacle of imperial resources.⁴² Thus, Strabo lists the objects, land and resources that Antony has turned over to the queen, including artwork (13.1.30), Hamaxia in Cilicia (14.5.3; 14.4.5) and Cyprus (14.6.6). In one of the passages, Strabo goes further in remarking that Augustus' ultimate victory involved not simply defeating Cleopatra, but also properly redistributing the goods she had acquired. As Strabo describes it, whereas Antony improperly took the best offerings from the best temples to satisfy 'the Egyptian woman', Augustus gave such objects back to the gods (13.1.30).

Although Cleopatra's representation conforms broadly to the terms of Augustan propaganda, her precise form is thus shaped by Strabo to adhere to the particular demands of his text. His emphasis on Cleopatra's 'resource management', for example, equates her with the earlier Corinthian prostitutes; that is, in Strabo's telling, Cleopatra, like the prostitutes, threatens the empire through her ability to initiate and manipulate alternative networks of exchange, rather than through any specific sexual acts *per se*. In addition to the particular emphasis Strabo places on Cleopatra's economic function in the *Geography*, however, she also holds an important political function, ruling as an autonomous queen, a position that, as we have seen, Strabo marks elsewhere as a problem, a form of transgression. Echoing the language of inversion in his earlier ethnography, Strabo explicitly labels another queen, Candace, 'a masculine sort of woman' who, as leader of the Ethiopians, challenged the authority of the Romans (17.1.54). Yet, in contrast to Augustan rhetoric and its attempts to present Cleopatra and other female rulers as an anomaly, their position in practice more closely resembled male client kings than the discourse of Augustan propaganda allowed.⁴³ In fact, Strabo himself depicts a queen in his narrative whose

⁴¹ See, for example, Propertius 3.11, where the poet accuses Cleopatra of having sex with her slaves (*famulos inter femina trita suos*, 30).

⁴² See Joshel (1997) 234 for an excellent discussion of Tacitus' related representation of Messalina as 'obsessively desiring'.

⁴³ Reinhold (1981–2) 98 argues that 'from the beginning of her reign in 57 BCE [Cleopatra] had maintained a correct role in fulfilling her obligations as Roman vassal'; he similarly argues that her support of Antony initially was 'eminently proper, indeed obligatory, as it was for numerous other client kings and dynasts under Antony's jurisdiction in the East'. See Macurdy (1937) for a discussion of other vassal queens.

participation in the empire evokes little representational crisis: queen Pythodoris of Pontus.

In 11.2.17–18, Strabo tells his readers that queen Pythodoris has been ruling a number of peoples since the death of her husband. Although Strabo calls these groups ‘barbarians’, the meaning he attaches here to the term barbarian seems complicated by the generally positive tone he adopts. Strabo later describes Pythodoris’ own route to power and her family connections in 12.3.29, where he also approvingly calls Pythodoris ‘wise and capable in ruling matters of the state’ (2.3.29).⁴⁴ While Pythodoris may be acceptable as a female ruler in Strabo’s world-view precisely because she rules barbarians, this section seems situated around a discourse very different from that of the ethnography of Iberia. Given Pythodoris’ close geographic proximity to Strabo’s own hometown, David Konstan has argued that Strabo’s treatment of her is determined to a large extent by Strabo’s experiences at these ‘margins’.⁴⁵ Konstan argues more specifically that Strabo’s text, by avoiding negative stereotypes of powerful women, ‘seems momentarily to transcend the hierarchies of gender’⁴⁶ – a thesis he expands to suggest Strabo’s overall destabilisation of the conventional binaries separating Greek and barbarian and male and female in ancient ideology. Such disruption ultimately ‘disarms the conventional formulas by which the status of women rulers is compromised’.⁴⁷ Referencing Strabo’s own complex positioning and his own origins in nearby Amasia, Konstan thus finds in Strabo’s text a radical restructuring of traditional conceptions of power and identity and therefore a surprisingly positive female ruler mediating between ‘the Roman centre ... and the Asian periphery of the empire’.⁴⁸

In arguing that Strabo embodies a potentially subversive Pontic perspective, one that achieves a deconstruction of some of the conceptual frameworks by which Roman imperial discourses traditionally organised questions of difference, Konstan strongly disagrees with Clarke’s assertion that, despite expectations we might bring to the text, Strabo ‘failed to rise to the occasion’ of producing any subaltern perspective.⁴⁹ But, as I hope to have demonstrated, it seems unnecessary to insist that Strabo is restricted solely to one framework in his *Geography*, or that he cannot be both

⁴⁴ On Pythodoris generally, see Macurdy (1937) 33–8; Sullivan (1980c) 920–2; Mitchell (1993) 93–4. Syme (1995) 292–301 discusses the series of political changes in Pontus, including those concerning Pythodoris, in an attempt to consider the limits of Strabo’s account of the area.

⁴⁵ Notably, Artemisia, the woman who causes a similar crisis in Herodotus’ text, also comes from her author’s native land, Halicarnassus. See Munson (1988) for further discussion.

⁴⁶ Konstan (2002) 19. ⁴⁷ Konstan (2002) 21. ⁴⁸ Konstan (2002) 20. ⁴⁹ Clarke (1999a) 244.

upholding Roman imperial ideologies and decentring them at times when the needs of his text require different forms. Indeed, in its attempt to define the contours of the Augustan empire, Strabo's text is both as vulnerable to self-contradiction and as adaptable to 'local variation' as the empire itself. And like empire, these inconsistencies do not necessarily diminish the text's authority or its rhetorical force. Yet I would like to consider finally one significant faultline at the intersection of these narrative modes, a gap that raises questions about Strabo's overall ability to locate sexual difference in the new imperial order. That is, I would like to conclude with something Strabo realises his text cannot achieve: a mapping of the Amazon homeland.

Throughout ancient Greek myth, the Amazons provide a potent site for fantasies about sexual difference and its potential disruptions to the norms of civilisation. Strabo's own accounting of the customs traditionally associated with the Amazons marks the qualities that make them so antithetical to traditional Greek femininity, including their interest in training horses, their removal of one breast to ease throwing the javelin, and their practice of going up into the mountains to have anonymous intercourse with neighbouring men, after which they keep only the female children (11.5.1). Strabo, however, expresses some scepticism about these stories, doubting not only the Amazons' ability to organise themselves without men, but also their ability to conquer men militarily. Using a formulation we have seen previously, he finds such a claim 'the same as saying that the men of those times were women and that the women were men' (11.5.3).

As a geographer, however, Strabo's interrogations are most pointed when discussing the current location of the Amazon homeland. Although he acknowledges outright that identification of the Amazon homeland presents serious problems, Strabo nonetheless underestimates the extent to which the geographic dimension of Amazon identity was always central to their function in Greek myth.⁵⁰ Thus, the ancient Greeks made the inverse geographic origins of themselves and the Amazons a key component of their account. So powerful was this paradigm that the Amazon homeland shifted as Greek knowledge of the world increased – precisely so that the Amazons could remain situated at a conceptual border that symbolically elided known/unknown with male/female. W. Blake Tyrrell argues: 'The first thing to notice about the Amazon homelands is

⁵⁰ For a general introduction to the function of Amazons in Greek myth, see duBois (1982); Tyrrell (1984); Fantham *et al.* (1994) 128–35.

that they are outside Greece ... As the known world expanded, Amazons were moved outward from Ionia to Phrygia and from the Thermodon River to Lake Maeotis and the Caucasus Mountains.⁵¹ This conceptual migration notably acknowledges that the geographic concepts of border and frontier serve as powerful sites for the construction of the other in Greek myth, as they often do as well in Roman ethnographies.⁵² But in placing previous geographic accounts under the microscope of plausibility and utility, Strabo's *Geography* explicitly attempts to make landscape rational, to highlight the increasing knowledge of geography produced by imperial ambition, and, in pursuing his project, to distinguish conclusively between myth and history. Within these parameters, the Amazon homeland brings his text to a screeching halt. Strabo writes:

A peculiar thing has happened in the case of the account we have of the Amazons; for our accounts of other peoples keep a distinction between the mythical and the historical elements; for the things that are ancient and false and monstrous are called myths, but history wishes for the truth, whether ancient or recent, and contains no monstrous element, or else only rarely. But as regards the Amazons, the same stories are told now as in early times, they are marvellous and beyond belief. (11.5.3)

Strabo's articulation of the problem thus provocatively suggests that the 'telling' of the Amazons (not the Amazons themselves) has distinguished them from every other population. Having argued that the Amazons refute historical as opposed to mythical accounting, Strabo goes on to make the startling claim that they have also defied location in the present. Discussing the Amazons according to their traditional abode near the Thermodon, from which they have been driven, Strabo writes that 'only a few writers make assertions as to where they are at the present time, but their assertions are without proof and beyond belief' (11.5.4). In short succession, we therefore see the Amazons subverting a number of key components Strabo employs in his description of landscape: they exist outside history, outside change, outside the present.⁵³ By overlooking the ideological needs that have structured prior Greek fantasies about the location of Amazons, Strabo fails moreover to recognise that this impasse is inevitable, that it has been produced by the irreconcilable tension between a totalising imperial

⁵¹ Tyrrell (1984) 56. ⁵² See Evans (1999).

⁵³ Clarke (1999a) discusses Strabo's complex synthesis of both past and present frames of reference in his writing, noting that his 'conception of the past was primarily one which might explain the present state of the world and account for the identities of its peoples and places', 307.

discourse and a myth founded in the demand that Amazons always be just out of reach, occupying a shifting borderline space that defies definition.

Following the work of many other scholars, I have tried to suggest that Strabo's *Geography* draws on a number of different discursive forms: Greek ethnography, Augustan propaganda and provincial politics – all of which serve to create a unifying imperial vision that is partially the objective of Strabo's work. My goal more specifically was to examine the ways in which Strabo's own textual hybridity impacts the representation of women; in short, to map the construction of women at the crossroad of these divergent discourses. Despite some internal contradictions, Strabo's overall treatment of 'woman' seems to be situated around a number of key concepts, such as inversion, economic agency and political power. In turning to the Amazons, however, I wanted to examine the very impossibility of their representation in Strabo's text. For Strabo's inability to pinpoint either the Amazon homeland or the reasons for his failure suggests the limitation of his method and its overall attempt to turn prior intellectual traditions toward the service of empire. In short, Strabo's frustration with the unique or peculiar position the Amazons occupy (including their very failure to hold any identifiable space) reveals that a language for mapping sexual difference in the new imperial order has not yet been fully established.

*Strabo and Homer: a chapter in cultural history***Anna Maria Biraschi*

This paper discusses and explains Strabo's defence of Homer and thus evaluates Strabo's purpose and attitude to the poet particularly in view of the historical and cultural goals of his *Geography*. It is mainly in the *Prolegomena* (books one and two) that we see Strabo's approach toward various adversaries, as he justifies the significant presence of the most authoritative of all poets in his geographical work. In addition, I will try to identify the role played by Homeric traditions in the *Geography* in general, particularly in books where it is most outstanding, such as the books on Greece and Asia Minor (eight to ten and twelve to fourteen). This identification will be based on explicit statements made by the author.

The main question here is what is the special meaning of this theme in the historical and cultural context of Strabo's work. In my opinion 'Strabo and Homer' is an interesting chapter of cultural history that goes beyond Strabo and his work. Our geographer is an important witness to a cultural transmission that allows us to perceive the distance, despite apparent analogies, between the two worlds, the Greek and the Roman, both of which are present in the author's biographical experience and fused into his work.

I begin with a brief survey of modern research on this subject. The large number of Homeric citations in the *Geography* has always struck modern scholars, starting in the nineteenth century, and it has often negatively influenced evaluations of the author. Coray, in the foreword to the translation of the *Geography* into Italian by Ambrosoli in 1827, was one of the first scholars to consider the excessive reverence Strabo had for Homer as a main reason for criticism.¹ Coray saw in Strabo a prejudiced philosopher because of the long and, in his opinion, annoying Homeric digressions that were of no use to the reader. In the foreword to the same book, Heeren,² writing

* This paper is based on my previous studies on the topic, particularly Biraschi (1984); (1994b); (2000).

¹ Coray (1827) 35–7. ² Heeren (1827) 104–5.

about Strabo's sources, believed Strabo's admiration for Homer to have led him to consider the poet a supreme authority on history and geography. Strabo had to strongly defend Homer against great geographers, especially Eratosthenes, who considered Homer a poet like others: an inventor of fables but not an author from whom one could gain precise historical and geographical information. The negative assessments of Strabo were applied especially to his books on Greece where he considered Homer an obligatory starting point. Tozer³ considered these books the least satisfactory of all because of the prevalence of an antiquated viewpoint: the past predominated over the present owing to Strabo's veneration of Homer. Such a negative assessment of Strabo and his excessive use of Homer still emerges in more recent studies on ancient geography⁴ and, even from a philological viewpoint, Strabo's Homer does not seem to merit any great interest.⁵

Notwithstanding these negative assessments, there has been an effort to understand what function these long Homeric digressions had in Strabo's work. Bunbury, for example, even though he deplored the length of the digressions, thought them justified by the substantial truth the Greeks attributed to ancient legends in general and by the authority contained in Homeric texts as sources of wisdom and knowledge in particular. All this in spite of Eratosthenes' criticism which eventually did not have many followers.⁶ Auerbach in turn, when enquiring into Strabo's objective in one of his chapters dedicated to the defence of Homer, revealed how this aspect probably emerged from the Stoic tradition and showed that Strabo's reverence for Homer was in fact a homage to 'his people'.⁷ As Pais justifiably observed, the long Homeric discussions, which could have been accepted and enjoyed by Greek grammarians, were actually inopportune in a work that according to Strabo himself met the needs of statesmen and commanders. Based on these observations Pais believed that Strabo's *Geography* was of no practical interest and could not have been destined for a Roman audience, or at least not only for it.⁸

From this brief review of nineteenth-century studies, the importance and interest of the 'Strabo and Homer' problem in order to understand

³ Tozer (1882) 22–5.

⁴ See Pédech (1971) 252–3 defining Strabo's books on Greece as mediocre because of his continuous references to Homer and his exegesis; Pédech (1976) 160–1. Cf. Bunbury (1883) 214; J. O. Thompson (1948) 209, 231.

⁵ See Bidder (1889) 54–5. ⁶ Bunbury (1883) 214. ⁷ Auerbach (1887) 61–71.

⁸ Pais (1887) 109–22.

Strabo's work is evident, and closely connected with other questions the readers of Strabo are still asking themselves today.

More recent studies examined Strabo's text with a newly acquired critical knowledge of Homeric problems of exegesis. These have clearly demonstrated how the Homeric quotations generally refer to the 'historical' context Strabo attributes to the information supplied by the poet. They have also shown how the defence of Homer, which occupied the geographer particularly in the first book, had the principal aim of safeguarding the substantial truth of Homer's affirmations.⁹ As Schenkeveld observed, it is obvious that Strabo and his contemporaries could not approach poetry and Homeric tradition as we do today. They were aware of the dominance of Homer in Greek culture and this was exactly what induced Strabo to consider the poet an expert, credible in the field of geography as well.¹⁰

Once again studies in recent years had to come to terms with the problem of the presence of Homer in the *Geography*. They reconfirm how the various geographic, historical, philosophic and cultural aspects kept the author in the setting of Greek tradition.¹¹ Strabo's ties with Stoic tradition were underlined and also his relationship with Polybius who, as can be seen in the *Prolegomena*, himself defended the 'historical truth' of Homeric information against Eratosthenes. Engels proposed some aspects of contemporary relevance that the debate on poetry and Homer seems to have had in Rome.¹² And it seems evident that Strabo wanted to take part in this debate and to give his contribution. We shall examine this point later on.

THE PROLEGOMENA

Let us now look more closely at the essential features of Strabo's assertions. Already in the first chapters of the *Prolegomena*, immediately after

⁹ This aspect was in fact present, more or less subtly, even in several earlier works: Sihler (1881); Auerbach (1887) 73; Sihler (1923) 143. For the historical exegesis of Homer, which is unanimously attributed to Strabo's interpretative method, see Buffière (1956) 228–31; Kahles (1976); Schenkeveld (1976); Calame (1996) 164–6; Desideri (1999).

¹⁰ Schenkeveld (1976) 63–4. Kahles' attempt was less convincing: following the indications that Strabo himself gave in the *Prolegomena*, he collected and analysed all Homeric citations in the *Geography*, and explained that the historical information supplied by the poet was basically useful to commanders and statesmen, concluding that Strabo wrote his work particularly for them; see Kahles (1976) 211–12. Note Pais's scepticism mentioned above of the usefulness of Homeric digressions for the Roman public.

¹¹ See Dueck (2000a) 31–40. ¹² Engels (1999a) 115–20.

including geography amongst the sciences worthy of the attention of a philosopher, he cites Homer as the first author who was audacious enough to deal with geography (1.1.1). Strabo says that both he and his predecessors, one of whom was Hipparchus, are right in regarding Homer as ‘the founder of the science of geography’ (ἀρχηγέτην εἶναι τῆς γεωγραφικῆς ἐμπειρίας) (1.1.2). Many authoritative representatives considered Homer the father of the science of geography. His name can therefore appear at the head of a geographic tradition that later included a series of worthy authors: Anaximander, Hecataeus, Democritus, Eudoxus, Dicaearchus, Ephorus, Eratosthenes, Polybius and Posidonius.

Strabo’s immediate concern was to present Homer as the first geographer. The justifications he gives however widen the picture, showing the entirety of experience that Homer represented for the Greeks. The unassailable position he held is justified not only because he exceeded everyone else ‘in the quality of his poetry’ (ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν ἀρετῇ) but also because of his experience in political life that led him to be interested in man’s actions as well as in the individuality of places and their relationship with the *oikoumene*, land and sea.

Strabo then passes straight to making a summary list of aspects of Homeric geographical knowledge that can be substantially considered valid, mainly the poet’s representation of the inhabited world being surrounded by the ocean and his substantial realism in placing regions and people without presuming for completeness, realising that this is impossible even for professional geographers (1.1.10).

It is immediately apparent, even though Strabo states it only after some chapters (1.1.10), that the defence of the poet is directed especially against Eratosthenes’ accusations. This geographer and scientist, who lived in the third to second century BCE, argued with anyone who considered Homer the source of all scientific knowledge. He also denied that the poet’s aim had been instruction. Eratosthenes was a major obstacle to overcome because as a geographer and a scientist he was the cornerstone of the ‘scientific’ tradition of geography whom Strabo could not ignore. Moreover, Eratosthenes undermined the importance of Homer from the point of view of geography which is exactly what Strabo – following earlier geographers, particularly Hipparchus, who also defended Homer against Eratosthenes – wanted and needed to affirm in the foreword to his geographical work.

Strabo’s goals then go into a wider context. The disavowal of the poet’s educational quality in fact radically denied his knowledge and experience. Strabo found these traits validly defended especially by Stoic philosophers

who considered poetry ‘the first manifestation of philosophy’ (I.1.10). As said above, from the very first lines of Strabo’s work, geography itself is proposed as an object of study for philosophers, that is, the men of culture for whom Strabo intended his work and for whom, as he says later on, he wants to be useful.

The defence of Homer is better and more fully expressed when Strabo passes to a systematic criticism of his predecessors starting with Eratosthenes (I.2.2 onwards). However, Strabo’s defence, as it is expressed here, is substantially inadequate because it presents consolidated opinions and assertions that do not precisely respond to the criticisms put forward. To Eratosthenes’ denial of any sort of educational goal in Homer and in poetry in general, Strabo replies by reaffirming the opinions of the ancients, who believed poetry to be the first philosophy, which through pleasure introduces life and teaches how to comprehend behaviour, feelings and actions. Eratosthenes recognised in Homer a great poet but at the same time wondered what topographic, strategic, agricultural and rhetorical elements, and anything else that was attributed to him, could add to his poetic value. To this Strabo reiterates that listening to poets helps in acquiring the ἀρετή and this calls on all that knowledge (topography, strategy, agriculture, rhetoric) that normally procures the ear of poets (I.2.3). Immediately after this he points out how Homer bestowed all this knowledge on Odysseus, thereby showing, through the example of a hero, his own knowledge of these subjects. In turn, people with a certain level of education would cite the example of the poet to demonstrate how he acquired wisdom through this knowledge (I.2.4).

This claim is followed by an interesting definition: the ἀρετή of the poet is his capacity to imitate life through language, an impossible thing to do if he had no knowledge or no wisdom (I.2.4). For Strabo this excludes the possibility that poets are capable only of attracting listeners without at the same time instructing them. The ἀρετή of the poet is in fact, according to Strabo, different from that of carpenters or blacksmiths, who are not limited by considerations of nobility and dignity. The excellence of a poet is inseparable from his excellence as a man: to be a good poet he must first be a good man.

There is evidently also a misunderstanding of the use of words.¹³ The ‘excellence of a poet’ (ἀρετή ποιητοῦ) which Eratosthenes mentioned

¹³ See Floratos (1972) 45. On the concept of ἀρετή in the Stoics and on a definition found in Strabo of physics as an ἀρετή, see Aujac (1969a); it seems that in Strabo there is oscillation, which Aujac detects also in other Stoic testimonies, between a subjective and an objective meaning of ἀρετή.

and recognised in Homer was generally a 'poetic excellence'. It was independent of the presence or absence of scientific information which was not essential, because science should be different from poetry whose aim is not to instruct. On the other hand, the ἀρετή that Strabo refers to is, as apparent in the example of Odysseus, 'virtue' that comes from reading Homeric poetry including indiscriminately both the moral value and the cognitive heritage contained in it.

Behind these incredibly dense chapters there is an argument based on acquisition of knowledge according to the belief of the majority of Greeks. One reads first of all about a concept of *paideia* that places Homer at the top and combines ethical–moral subject matter with cognitive subject matter. There are theories of probable Aristotelian genesis, for example the one of *mimesis* expressed here with Stoic assertions on the wisdom of poets and the paideutic value of myths. A rigid distinction of the precise derivation of these theories from specific philosophical schools is not essential for the understanding of Strabo. All schools had in fact substantially accepted what was rooted in Greek tradition and *paideia*. It is sufficient to see how Strabo talks here from within the Greek experience using assertions, terminology and mental categories of philosophical order that probably seemed to him suitable to communicate and justify his beliefs even when confronted with someone who was not formed within that experience.

In some passages it is particularly evident that Strabo defends not only Homer but an entire tradition centred on the exegesis of his text; for example when he attributes to the poet the assertion that Aeolus ruled the island of Lipara and that the region of Aetna was occupied by Cyclopes and Laestrygonians (1.2.9). Despite some divergence (1.2.18), and basically in agreement with Polybius (1.2.15), about the interpretation of the western travels of Odysseus, Strabo clearly shows that he does not distinguish between what is Homeric and what is part of the localisation of Homeric sites, thereby representing a chapter of the exegesis of the text. It is the current tradition connected with the places that in his view confirms the veracity of the hero's travels (1.2.14).

To illustrate this point, see, for instance, Strabo's symptomatic expressions which show that he is completely devoid of critical spirit:

For what poet or prose writer ever persuaded the Neapolitans to name a monument after Parthenope the Siren, or the people of Cumae, of Dicaearchia, and of Vesuvius, to perpetuate the names of Pyriphlegethon, of the Acherusian Marsh, of the oracle of the dead at Lake Avernus, and of Baius and Misenus, two of the companions of Odysseus? The same question may be asked regarding Homer's

stories of the SirenuSSae, the Strait, Scylla, Charybdis, and Aeolus – stories which we should neither scrutinise rigorously, nor set aside as baseless and as without local setting, having no claim to truthfulness or to utility as history. (1.2.18)

Here we see how Strabo is incapable of asking himself which interests and which historical processes are behind the misappropriation of Homer, behind the diffusion of Homer that goes hand in hand with the enlargement of geographical knowledge, and behind the entrenchment of Homeric myths in all regions and places the Greeks reached. It seems almost as though Strabo feels on him the weight of a tradition like a millstone. This tradition expresses its ‘history’ and is so closely connected with places that a separation would mean the loss of part of their historical and geographic identity. Certainly, in some cases this tradition should be clarified and discussed. However Strabo is always conscious that at the basis of Homeric poetry there are information and real facts because Homer’s aim was both to instruct and to entertain his audience (1.2.3).

It is clear that Strabo talks from within Greek culture. Therefore his primary aim is to defend the significance and use of Homer in Greek tradition and at the same time to defend the tradition itself as a whole. Clarifying every single detail seems irrelevant to him, unless it involves some contemporary interest.

THE BOOKS ON GREECE AND ASIA MINOR

In the books on Greece and Asia Minor, Homer appears as an essential witness for the *palaia historia*, an aspect Strabo never leaves out when describing cities, regions and peoples. The antiquity of Homer goes hand in hand with his authoritative status. Thus, the historical and geographical use of Homer dominates these books. Toponymy often leads Strabo to talk about the presence or absence of names in Homer,¹⁴ and shows how sometimes, with great effort at exegesis, a relationship was looked for

¹⁴ Strabo sometimes even justifies Homer’s silences; for him they are not signs of ignorance. See 7.3.6–7; 8.3.8; 9.1.5; 9.3.15; 12.3.26 where he states that Homer does not mention some cities because they had not been founded in his time and that then some geographical aspects were not considered important. See also already in the *Prolegomena*, 1.2.14. In some cases it is specifically an absent detail which is used to put forward a claim: the Acarnanians claimed autonomy from Rome because they had not taken part in the expedition against Troy which the Romans considered their origin (10.2.25). Strabo however did not consider their claim legitimate (10.2.24).

between Homeric localities and later ones to give greater prestige and historical background to places and peoples.

The sources available for this part of the work were primarily Homeric exegeses, starting with Demetrius of Scepsis and Apollodorus. Also available, however, was a large quantity and variety of affirmations by historians, geographers, poets and philologists whom Strabo probably found were used in Homeric exegeses. Homer left room for many historical and philological questions and these emerge in Strabo's text. These questions are often significant for the understanding of the Homeric text, particularly in view of the varied and original corrections, interpolations and interpretations of Homer's poems. Strabo is therefore an important witness of how the Homeric text was alive and at the centre of debates and polemics to such an extent that the traditions formed around it became an integral part of local history and culture. Our geographer, conscious of the weight of this tradition, quite often dwells on justifications and underlines the necessity to refer to the poet before assuming a position on any argument.

It is no accident that Strabo does this twice leading up to the descriptions of Elis where the problems of Homer's Pylus loom, and, similarly in the beginning of the description of the Troad. I cite here the most significant passages:

I say this because I am comparing present conditions with those described by Homer; for we must needs institute this comparison because of the fame of the poet and because of our familiarity with him from our childhood, since all of us believe that we have not successfully treated any subject which we may have in hand until there remains in our treatment nothing that conflicts with what the poet says on the same subject, such confidence do we have in his words. Accordingly, I must give conditions as they now are, and then, citing the words of the poet, in so far as they bear on the matter, take them also into consideration. (8.3.3)

Here we see that Strabo bases the necessity and, one might say, obligation to go back to Homer on two grounds: the poet's fame and his central role in primary Greek education. Later on Strabo says:

Perhaps I would not be examining at such length things that are ancient, and would be content merely to tell in detail how things now are, if there were not connected with these matters legends that have been taught us from boyhood; and since different men say different things, I must act as arbiter. In general, it is the most famous, the oldest, and the most experienced men who are believed; and since it is Homer who has surpassed all others in these respects, I must likewise both enquire into his words and compare them with things as they now are, as I was saying a little while ago. (8.3.23)

Thus, once again Strabo confirms Homer's position as both a virtual measuring-rod for assessing all other pieces of information and an important source for reliable facts. This springs from the absolute pre-eminence of Homeric tradition in Greek education, culture and history. The parallel with the present is also an indication of his contemporary interest in interpreting and bringing to life these themes.

This is particularly evident when writing about the Troad (13.1.1):¹⁵ according to Strabo, the region offers much descriptive material to support its fame (πολυθρύλητον). Due to the tradition that Rome had Trojan origins, great interest continued to be focused on legends regarding Troy. Given the multitude of Greek and Barbarian migrations that took place in the area and the great number of authors, the first being Homer, who wrote about it, in the presentation of this region, one must always, according to Strabo, go back to Homer. The Homeric text has given rise to conjecture and discussion on many topics. Therefore, Homer's testimony as well as others' should be carefully examined (δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦτου διαιτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων). Strabo apologises straightaway to the readers for his excessive length of discussion and says that it is caused by 'everyone that ardently wants to know about famous and ancient things' (τοῖς σφόδρα ποθοῦσι τὴν τῶν ἐνδόξων καὶ παλαιῶν γυνῶσιν). This affirmation is of great interest because it emphasises the type of reader who is presupposed for the *Prolegomena*. The author certainly does not forget the here-and-now approach of the *Prolegomena*, even though it emerges sporadically and less evidently in the work itself.

The method that Strabo uses in the *Geography* to put forward Homer as a witness of historical and geographical matters does not represent for him merely an interest in antiquity or an erudite curiosity. In some cases, a somewhat expressed consciousness of the contemporary relevance of certain questions is evident: for instance when without too many comments he shows that the Homeric tale does not agree with the presumed western peregrinations of Aeneas (13.1.53). He also subtly suggests the contemporary status of some cities – their affiliation with Laconia or Messenia – going back to the Homeric tale that sees Messenia annexed with Menelaus to Laconia and therefore excludes the possibility that the Pylus of Nestor was that of Messenia (8.4.1; 8.5.8).¹⁶ This is a subtle contemporary interest almost invisible to us, which encourages Strabo once again to present, with utmost intellectual honesty, an Homeric situation. He does this because in his view it could be functional to the story and because it is one of the

¹⁵ On Strabo's Troad see Franco (2000). ¹⁶ See Biraschi (1994b) 48–57.

antique and illustrious things that should be remembered and that can be useful both to knowledge and to action.¹⁷

STRABO AND HOMER: A CHAPTER IN CULTURAL HISTORY

Strabo was born at Amasia in Pontus and studied at Nysa where he was a pupil of the grammarian Aristodemus.¹⁸ He went to Rome at a young age, in about 44 BCE. There he studied under the Peripatetic grammarian Tyrannio (12.3.16), who acquired Theophrastus' library, which also included Aristotle's. This whole library was transferred to Rome in Sulla's time (13.1.54). Tyrannio was also the tutor of Quintus, Cicero's nephew and perhaps of Marcus, Cicero's son.¹⁹ Strabo was probably in contact with a cultural and philosophical environment where knowledge and appreciation of Peripatetic doctrines went hand in hand with the re-echoing of Stoic conceptions that saw in philosophy the unifying agent of all sciences (also in Posidonius). This was the concept adopted by Cicero who expressed the need of real encyclopaedic knowledge in order to train an orator.

Perhaps these initial contacts with the Roman world, and particularly with Tyrannio, made Strabo realise the need to write a geographic work. Cicero, prompted by Atticus, would have liked to have written such a work, but gave up the idea because he realised its vastness and complexity.²⁰ With the opening up of the borders of the inhabited world, there was in Rome a more or less diffused awareness that geography should be part of a cultured man's education at least for some basic information. It is exactly this awareness that one finds at the beginning of Strabo's *Geography*.

The task that Strabo took upon himself is of marked importance. His work aims to be a *kolossourgia* (1.1.23) where the most important knowledge about the inhabited world is condensed. It includes every noteworthy detail about sites that is characteristic not only of the present but also of famous and ancient times that should not be neglected or forgotten. This leaves the

¹⁷ See 2.5.17, where Strabo states that everything that is part of the consolidated tradition of places is as useful and worthy of being remembered as their physical characteristics.

¹⁸ 14.1.48. On Strabo's biography and educational influences see: Dueck (1999); Potheary (1999); Bowersock (2000); Dueck (2000a) 1–30.

¹⁹ Cicero *Q Fr.* 2.4.2. Tyrannio was born at Amisus in Pontus. On the fate of Aristotle's library see Lindsay (1997a); Desideri (2000); Schubert (2002). On Tyrannio and his influence in Rome see Lehmann (1988).

²⁰ Cicero *Att.* 2.4.3; 2.6.1; 2.7.1. In one of these passages (*Att.* 2.6.), Cicero mentions the geographers who criticised Eratosthenes also quoting Tyrannio. On the influence of Rome on Strabo see Maddoli (1988b); Engels (1999a); Dueck (2000a) 85–106.

geographer with a huge responsibility of choice, which figures also as a cultural responsibility for tradition. The *Geography* aims to be a work of common interest that usefully contributes to the education of politicians and in general to citizens capable of judging and evaluating all those significant and memorable aspects (1.1.22). Strabo's undertaking has, therefore, first of all a paideutic and cultural nature and the reintroduction of Homer must have seemed to him an important element in that perspective.

Some aspects of the cultural debate that went on in Rome, with which our geographer had frequent contact,²¹ and where Homer had a certain relevance, could have encouraged him in this reintroduction. A fervent aesthetic debate developed in the second half of the first century BCE around Philodemus of Gadara, author of *On Poetry*, and various Greek intellectuals present in Rome, who raised questions on the functions of poets and poetry. From this debate emerged many ideas apparent in the works of poets like Horace and Virgil. Philodemus, according to his remaining works, openly engaged in a polemic against anyone, especially Peripatetics and Stoics, who had written on poetry. One of the themes that became the object of his attention was the definition of the ἀρετή of the poet.²² Like Eratosthenes, who brought the previous aesthetic tradition into the debate, Philodemus too attacked anyone who attributed to poetry an ethical-paideutic goal and who identified its 'value' with its utility. Philodemus' polemic, similarly to Eratosthenes', was not so much against Homer as against the philosophers who wrongly interpreted his poems.

It seems that echoes of this debate exist in Strabo's work as well as in Horace. Strabo presented a problem raised first by Eratosthenes and prevalently developed by him in relation to Homer: whether a poet 'aims to entertain or to instruct' (στοχάζεται ψυχαγωγίας οὐ διδασκαλίᾳσχάριον) (1.1.10). This is the same problem examined by Horace in *aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae* and seems to be resolved by both authors in the same way, by recognising in poets the two aims.²³

The discussions that involved Homer, however, were not only of an aesthetic kind. Greek men of letters, grammarians and men of culture moved to Rome and proposed new grammatical, philosophical and

²¹ See Aujac (1969b) vii–xxiii.

²² The Epicurean Philodemus of Gadara went to Rome sometime in the first century BCE. The Pisones were perhaps his patrons. The work Περὶ Ποιημάτων was probably written in the third quarter of the first century BCE. On Philodemus' art of poetry, see Mangoni (1993); also Dorandi (1990), with bibliography. On Philodemus' work, see Asmis (1991).

²³ See Aly (1957) 376–85; also Sbordone (1981).

linguistic debates with important repercussions at an historical and political level.²⁴ In this context one must not forget Strabo's own social and mental ties to the Roman world. Spending significant periods of time in Rome, accompanying a Roman official, Aelius Gallus, on his mission to Egypt and socialising with other Roman notables, have all certainly influenced to some extent his overall intellectual perspective. This was probably particularly enhanced by the special atmosphere of the Augustan age. Thus, as a person growing up with an Hellenistic education but living in what might be called politically and geographically a Roman world, Strabo's writing orientation must have been more than one-dimensional.

In the search for connection between the Greek and Roman worlds there was an effort to link Rome through the myths to its Greek origins, or to define Latin as a Greek dialect of the Aeolic type.²⁵ Aristodemus of Nysa, who was an illustrious Aristarchan 'Homerologist' and Strabo's tutor at Nysa, affirmed that the poet was Roman. He based this affirmation on one of Homer's *Vitae* and on analogies in some Roman ἔθνη.²⁶ This interest in bringing Homer closer to Rome could have in the end misled Strabo.

The distance between Greeks and Romans on the level of *paideia* and the role of Homer in it was difficult to overcome. Horace was aware of this and in the *Ars Poetica* (322–33) he clearly singled out the differences between the Greeks who were 'avid for glory' and the Romans who were more concerned with an education focused only on utilitarian instructions.²⁷ Strabo seems strongly to believe that the two aspects of the diversity of the Greek and Roman worlds of which he was aware (for example in 5.3.8), should be integrated. He had no doubts about the utility inherent for Romans in learning all the knowledge and acquiring the cultural tools that were the foundations of Greek culture.

Homeric 'truth' in Strabo is therefore something that emerges on various levels. In the *Prolegomena* the philosophical level prevails. This however seems to be a particular way of justifying historical, geographical and cultural 'truth' in the wider sense, which Strabo attributes to Homer

²⁴ On the role of various Greek intellectuals in Rome, see Bowersock (1965) 122–39; Gabba (1991) 23–59; Dueck (2000a) 130–44, 190–216.

²⁵ See Gabba (1963) with sources cited there including Περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς διαλέκτου by Tyrannio, identified by some scholars as Tyrannio the Younger. Dionysius of Halicarnassus too, in connection with the theory of the 'Greekness' of the Romans, saw in their language a mixture of barbarian and Greek elements, where the Aeolic element is the most prevalent: see 1.90.1. On these linguistic discussions see Dubuisson (1984).

²⁶ See L. Robert (1940).

²⁷ On Horace's Homer see Ronconi (1973) 59–71; the idea of Homer as an 'educator' was also Cicero's: see Ronconi (1973) 44–5.

partly in the *Prolegomena* but especially later in the work. But this is a reintroduction of Homer which poses a major problem: if Homer, presented here in his role of 'sage', could be accepted by a non-Greek reader, the centrality of the poet in Greek culture and *paideia* is not equally admissible, for it is a profound symbiosis between subject matter and form, technical knowledge and ethical values. However, it is exactly this that Strabo seems to believe possible, or at least useful, particularly in view of the new political and cultural horizons opened up at that time for the readers for whom Strabo intended his work (I.I.21-3).

In my opinion, in the end it seems that Strabo wanted his *Geography* to contribute to this aspect of utility more than to the practical utility of acquiring new geographic and topographic knowledge, since his autoptic knowledge of places could only have been very limited. A contribution, even if minimal, of some novelty required an overall rearrangement of previous geographic tradition, that is, a whole patrimony of knowledge whose utility, for Strabo, was never in doubt. This was even truer during the time of his writing, which was no longer a period of conquest. Having obtained a situation of enduring peace and well-being, the Augustan world around him seemed in need of a refoundation of cultural, ethical and religious values and Strabo seemingly wanted to collaborate in his own way with the realisation of this project.²⁸ It is in this context, in his opinion, that Homer can and should still play an important and useful role: in the eyes of a Greek, a culture without Homer cannot be defined as such.

Together with Strabo we take part in an attempt, perhaps the last, to reaffirm the link between philosophy and poetry, between technical knowledge and ethical values. This link was fundamental for the Greeks and Homer was an exemplary witness of it. One wonders if Strabo's lack of success in Rome should be tied to these aspects of cultural incomprehension. Perhaps he did not completely understand his Roman interlocutors and what they expected from a geographical work.

²⁸ See Gabba (1991) 48-52.

*Strabo's use of poetry***Daniela Dueck*

The study of an author's sources throws light not only on the act of compiling information; it is also relevant for other issues pertaining to various aspects of the development and existence of an intellectual society. First, it is a reflection of the author's literacy. Second, it indicates norms of education among the readers. Third, it may imply the scholarly tastes of the society in which the work was composed.

Strabo's voluminous work required extensive use of many informants, particularly because his proposed task was very broad in three senses: geographically – it aimed at encompassing the entire *oikoumene*, chronologically – although focusing on the current situation of his world, Strabo included much information on past situations in order to explain the present; thematically – in the best tradition of Greek descriptive geography, the work referred to many aspects of life in each region such as botany, zoology, history, ethnography and topography. All these tendencies resulted in Strabo's encyclopaedic *Geography* which is based on hundreds of pieces of information.

The examination of Strabo's sources should not be limited to a mere listing of these authorities, although such a compilation may be illuminating in itself, at least in regard to the number of different sources, their variety and their chronological distribution relative to Strabo's own time. A further step would be an assessment of the nature of Strabo's use of these sources, whether as informants of facts otherwise unknown, as support to other pieces of information or as servants fulfilling other goals of the author. Thus, the following discussion begins with a somewhat statistical analysis but goes on into a deeper attempt to evaluate Strabo's personal attitude towards his sources in the hope that this will foreshadow some aspects of his personality as a scholar.

* I would like to thank Margalit Finkelberg, Joseph Geiger and Amiel Vardi for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

The present study focuses on Strabo's use of Greek poetry.¹ By 'use' I mean any indication of exploitation of the source. This may range from a loose allusion to the fact that a certain poet communicated some details relevant to the geographical survey, to direct quotations of entire verses. Of the latter the shortest citation consists of two letters (8.5.3); the longest is a sixteen-line quotation from Euripides' *Bacchae* 72–87(10.3.13). Whenever Strabo mentions a poet as his source I count this as one citation. Where he presents more than one quotation from the same poet in one context, each allusion is counted separately. This enumeration conforms to the accepted methodology of defining fragments as presented in the relevant corpora,² but, unlike this methodology, and because the present focus is on Strabo, allusions to the same fragment of poetry in two separate contexts in the *Geography* are counted separately in each instance. In addition, there are a few metrical citations, mostly proverbs (see below), where Strabo does not refer to an author. These are also counted. The idea behind the present inclusive way of enumeration is the assumption that when Strabo alludes to poetry, even through an indirect citation, this reflects his knowledge of poetry and serves the same purpose as when a direct quotation is attached.

Table 1 shows the number of references to poetry in the *Geography* according to genres. I include under the same generic category all shorter poems which are not dramatic or epic, that is lyric, elegy, epigram and iambus (defined 'Other' in the table). It seems that the generic distinction was not very significant for Strabo's choice of citations, which, as we will see, was influenced mainly by thematic considerations.³

Strabo incorporated citations of poetry 252 times throughout the *Geography*. The distribution shows that drama was quoted 82 times, tragedy 70 and comedy 12. Epic poetry – excluding the numerous quotations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* – was quoted 53 times, and other poetic genres 117. The distribution of cited poets is also illuminating. From tragedy Strabo cited the three canonical poets, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. Contrary to the clear preference for Euripides in school curricula and in various other authors,⁴ although this poet is the most cited tragedian with 26 references, he is not very

¹ I exclude Homer who, as is well known, has a special status in Strabo's *Geography*. See Biraschi, 'Strabo and Homer', in this volume. The enumeration also does not include metrical prophecies and inscriptions, see for instance 6.1.12 and 8.6.22.

² Unless otherwise specified, all numbers relating to corpora of fragments refer to fragment numbers.

³ If Strabo used Hellenistic editions of poetry he found them sorted according to genres. If he got the citations from an intermediary source there was probably no generic definition. Strabo sometimes refers to the genre, for instance indicating Callimachus' *iamboi* (8.3.30) or *elegeia* (1.2.39), but this does not seem to be relevant to his decision to include or exclude certain verses.

⁴ See Morgan (1998) 94–100 and tables 13, 15, 17, 19.

Table I. *Number of references to poetry in Strabo's Geography*

Poet	Number of references
TRAGEDY	
Aeschylus	19
Sophocles	17
Euripides	26
Ion	2
Theodectes	1
Anonymous	5
TOTAL	
	70
COMEDY	
Aristophanes	1
Menander	6
Ephicharmus	1
Anonymous	4
TOTAL	
	12
EPOS	
Alexander 'Lychnus' of Ephesus	1
Apollonius of Rhodes	1
Aratus	8
Aristeas of Proconnesus	2
Asius of Samos	1
Boethus of Tarsus	1
Choerilus	2
Creophylus of Samos	2
Empedocles	1
Hesiod	22
'Homer'	2
Neoptolemus of Parium	1
Pisander	2
Philetas of Cos	2
Xenophanes	1
<i>Alcmaeonis</i>	3
<i>Phoronis</i>	1
TOTAL	
	53
OTHER (lyric, elegy, epigram, iambos)	
Alcaeus	8
Alcman	6
Alexander of Aetolia	2
Anacreon	6
Antimachus	6
Archilochus	4
Bacchylides	1
Callimachus	15
Callinus	6

Table I. (*cont.*)

Poet	Number of references
Cleomachus	1
Daphitas	1
Euphorion of Chalcis	3
Hedylus of Samos	1
Hipponax	3
Ibycus	2
Mimnermus	3
Phocylides	1
Pindar	28
Sappho	3
Simmius of Rhodes	1
Simonides of Amorgus	1
Simonides of Iulis	3
Simus of Magnesia ¹	1
Sotades of Maronea	1
Stesichorus	4
Terpander	1
Thaletas of Gortyn	1
Tyrtaeus	3
Anonymous	1
TOTAL	117

TOTAL NUMBER OF REFERENCES TO POETRY 252

¹ On him see *RE* s.v. *Simodoi*.

far from Aeschylus' 19 and Sophocles' 17. In comedy Strabo clearly favours Menander. The one reference to Aristophanes does not mention him by name but rather alludes to 'somewhere in old comedy' (13.2.6).⁵ Among the epic poets, Hesiod leads, after Homer, with 22 citations and after him Aratus with 8. The rest have 1 or 2 references each, and they include philosophers such as Empedocles and Xenophanes and also epics whose authors are unknown, the *Alcmaeonis* and the *Phoronis*. In the last category, which includes other genres of poetry, Pindar leads with 28 references, after him Callimachus with 15 and then Alcaeus with 8.⁶

⁵ The quotation, however, is identified in *Pax* 1148 cf. *IE* Semonides fr. 21. Strabo refers also to Diphilus and Philemon, the comic poets, merely as *andres endoxoi* of their native cities, Sinope and Soli. These allusions are, of course, not counted as citations of poetry. On poets whom Strabo does not cite for their poetry, but knows as *andres endoxoi*, see Engels, 'Ἄνδρες ἐνδοξοί', in this volume.

⁶ Callimachus composed poetry in a wide variety of genres. Of the citations in the *Geography*, as far as can be assessed, 6 are from the *Aetia*, 2 from his iambic poems, 1 from his *Collection of Rivers*, 1 from a certain elegy, 1 from an epigram, 4 dubious, and see Pfeiffer (1949–53).

Table 2 shows a chronological distribution of the poetic citations in two categories: Early poetry (Archaic and Classical) and Hellenistic poetry.

37 out of a total of 51 poets are Early poets, with 199 references; the other 14 are Hellenistic, with 39 references. Thus, Strabo clearly preferred Archaic and Classical poetry, although he was well acquainted with Hellenistic trends.

In some cases Strabo refers to the title of the poems he uses. Citing drama, mainly tragedy, he often names the plays and these reflect on his choice of pieces of drama. Of Aeschylus' tragedies Strabo quotes *Prometheus Unbound* (5 times); *Niobe* (3); *Persians* (1); *Suppliants* (1); *Danaides* (1); *Glaucus Pontius* (1); *Edonians* (1); *Myrmidons* (1); *Carians* (1). Sophocles' cited plays are: *Electra* (1); *Triptolemus* (1); *Inachus* (1); *Mysians* (1); *Polyxena* (1); *Reclaiming of Helen* (1); *Antenoridae* (1). Euripides' plays cited in the *Geography* include the *Bacchae* (5); *Phoenicians* (2); *Troades* (1); *Phaethon* (1); *Archelaus* (1); *Ion* (1); *Rhadamanthys* (1); *Aeolus* (1); *Antiope* (1); *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1); *Orestes* (1); *Palamedes* (1); *Telephus* (1). Ion of Chios is quoted once for his satire drama *Omphale*, and among the 6 allusions to Menander Strabo refers to a comedy's title only once, the *Misogynes*. Thus, Strabo knew and quoted many plays now lost and this shows his wide education and his knowledge of a large variety of drama.⁷

Strabo mentions and cites many other titles of poems:⁸ Alcaeus, *Stasiotica*; Apollonius, *Argonautica*; Aratus, *Phaenomena* and *Catalepton*; Aristeas, *Arimaspean Epos*; Callimachus, *Collection of Rivers*; Choerilus, *Crossing of the Pontoon Bridge*; Creophylus, *Capture of Oechalia*;⁹ Hesiod, *Circuit of the Earth (periodos ges)*; Mimnermus, *Nanno*; Pisander, *Heraclia*; Philetas, *Hermenia*; Simonides, *Memnon*, which is part of the *Deliaca*; Simus, *Simoedia*; Stesichorus, *Rhadine*; Tyrtaeus, *Eunomia*; Xenophanes, *Silli*.

Most of the poetic citations in the *Geography* are fragments of poems now lost, but in some cases the quotation is taken from works still extant today. Thus, Strabo quotes Pindar's *Pythian Odes* 4 times (the same lines twice); *Nemean Odes* twice and *Olympian Odes* once. From Hesiod's poetry he cites *Works and Days*, the same lines twice, and *The Shield of Heracles* once.

⁷ This knowledge was probably the result of a literary knowledge rather than an acquaintance with live performances.

⁸ In many cases these are later titles which were not given by the poets themselves. See Vardi (1993).

⁹ PEG 2 cf. T 8.

Table 2. *Chronological distribution of citations in Strabo's Geography*

Poets	Number of references
<i>Early Poets</i>	
Aeschylus	19
Alcaeus	8
Alcman	6
Anacreon	6
Antimachus	6
Archilochus	4
Aristeas of Proconnesus	2
Aristophanes	1
Asius of Samos	1
Bacchylides	1
Callinus	6
Choerilus	2
Cleomachus	1
Creophylus of Samos	2
Empedocles	1
Epicharmus	1
Euripides	26
Hesiod	22
Hipponax	3
'Homer'	2
Ibycus	2
Ion	2
Menander	6
Mimnermus	3
Phocylides	1
Pindar	28
Pisander	2
Sappho	3
Simonides of Amorgus	1
Simonides of Iulis	3
Sophocles	17
Stesichorus	4
Terpander	1
Thaletas of Gortyn	1
Theodectes	1
Tyrtaeus	3
Xenophanes	1
<i>Hellenistic Poets</i>	
Alexander 'Lychnus' of Ephesus	1
Alexander of Aetolia	2
Apollonius of Rhodes	1
Aratus	8
Boethus of Tarsus	1

Table 2. (*cont.*)

Poets	Number of references
Callimachus	15
Daphitas	1
Euphorion	3
Hedylus	1
Neoptolemus of Parium	1
Philetas	2
Simmias of Rhodes	1
Simus of Magnesia	1
Sotades of Maronea	1

Some books of the *Geography* contain many poetic quotations, others very few. Figure 1 shows the distribution of citations from poetry according to books.

Books 8 (44 references) and 14 (41) are those in which poetry is most frequently cited. After them come books 1 (22 references), 9 (24), 10 (29) and 13 (21), which together create the three peaks in the diagram. Books 2, 4, 11, and 16–17 have each only very few poetic allusions (2 to 4 times). As books 8–10 include the description of Greece and books 13–14 describe Asia Minor, it is not surprising that they abound in poetic quotations, since most Greek poets from Archaic to Hellenistic times lived in these areas and their experience was incorporated in their poems. This also explains the lower number of citations in the books which deal with geographical regions beyond the scope of the Greek poets known to Strabo, book 4 on Britain, Celtica and the Alps; 11 on the eastern parts of Asia Minor and the south-eastern coastline of the Black Sea, 16 on Mesopotamia, Syria and Arabia; and book 17 on Egypt, Ethiopia and Libya. It is true that in the Hellenistic age and in Strabo's own time some poets were active also in the east, for instance Callimachus in Alexandria and Meleager in Syria, but Strabo's preference for earlier poets as well as the objective outnumbering of poets working in Greece and Asia Minor seem to explain the picture represented in the diagram. Books 1 and 2, which form the introduction to the entire work, have a very different number of poetic citations: book one with 22 references, because there Strabo deals with the diversity of regions in the *oikoumene*, and book two with only two citations, both from epics, because its focus is more scientific and has to do with some astronomical calculations and measurements (one citation is from Neoptolemus on the Ocean surrounding the *oikoumene* and the other from Aratus' *Phaenomena*).

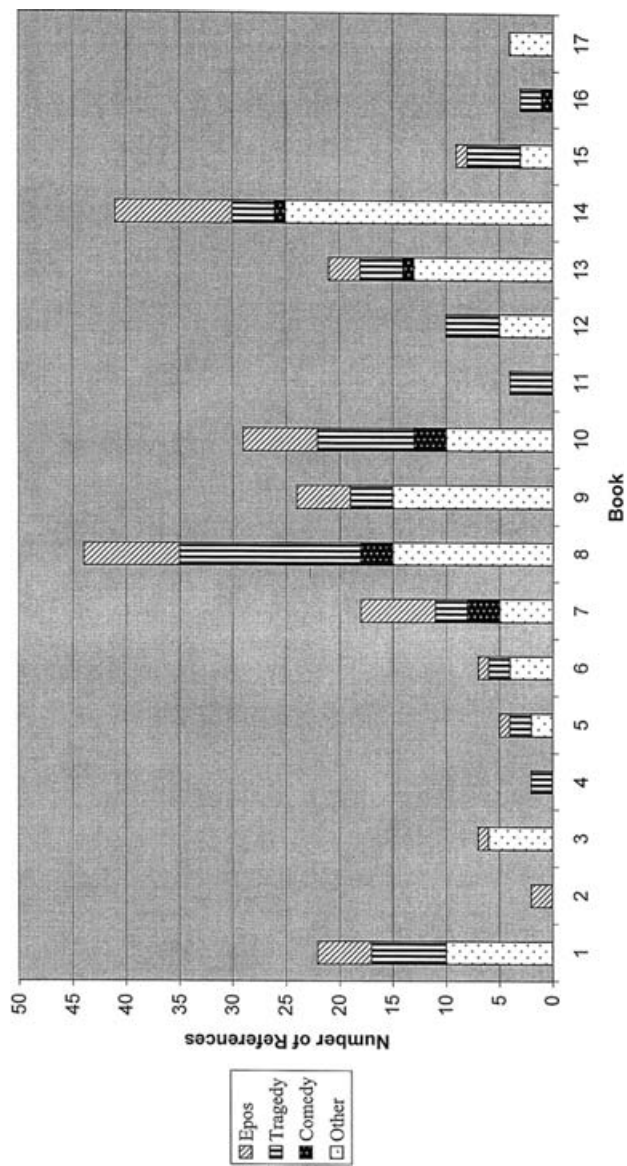


Figure 1. Graph showing the number of references to poetry in the *Geography* according to books

After this somewhat technical analysis of the frequency of Strabo's use of poetry, a better insight may be gained from examination of the role of poetry in his work. In order to assess this I have defined eleven categories of contexts in which poetic citations appear in the *Geography*. The following pages present these categories and adduce some examples demonstrating their application. Needless to say, these categories reflect my own analysis rather than any explicit statement in the text.

I GEOGRAPHY

Strabo often uses poetry for information, factual or mythical, on geographical matters such as topography, division of regions, identification and description of sites and nations, and special local phenomena. In these cases he exploits poetry as if it were a serious scientific source of facts. This method of using poetry for scientific purposes had originated in Homeric education and was the centre of a scholarly debate (see below).

In 9.1.9 Strabo mentions the geographical position of Aegina and supports the information with a quotation from Aeschylus: '... the ancient city, now deserted, faces towards Aegina and the south wind, just as Aeschylus has said: "And Aegina here lies towards the blasts of the south wind."¹⁰ And similarly in 10.1.9 he quotes Aeschylus' *Glaucus Pontius* for the location of the city of Eubois on the island of Euboea: 'Eubois, about the bending shore of Zeus Ceneaus, near the very tomb of wretched Lichas.'¹¹

Again in the context of the geography of Greece (9.1.6), Strabo refers to Sophocles' description of the division of central Greece:

Although different writers have stated the division into four parts in different ways, it suffices to take the following from Sophocles: Aegeus says that his father ordered him to depart to the shore-lands, assigning to him as the eldest the best portion of this land; then to Lycus 'he assigns Euboea's garden that lies side by side therewith; and for Nisus he selects the neighbouring land of Sceiron's shore; and the southerly part of the land fell to this rugged Pallas, breeder of giants'. These, then, are the proofs which writers use to show that Megaris was a part of Attica.¹²

Here Strabo is well aware that 'different writers' have addressed the matter, but prefers to cite Sophocles' version indicating that it is sufficient. This preference may be due to Sophocles' apparent special status in the eyes of Strabo: he is ancient, he is important and his poetry is beautiful. The last

¹⁰ *TrGF* 404. ¹¹ *TrGF* 25e ll. 13–14. ¹² *TrGF* 24.

words in this passage may hint at the possibility that other writers before Strabo have used this quotation to define the divisions. The poet therefore is not only compared to other sources, but even has an advantage over them.

Strabo derived pieces of geographical information from lyric poets as well. For instance in 10.2.22: 'Apollodorus says that in the interior of Acarnania there is a people called Erysichaeans who are mentioned by Alcman ...' In this particular case, the quotation from Alcman may have already appeared in Apollodorus and Strabo probably took both the information and the quotation from his predecessor.¹³ But in other contexts Strabo seems to rely on the poets from direct knowledge, for example when saying that Tyrtaeus, like Euripides, mentions the fertility of Laconia (8.5.6).¹⁴

Strabo does not refrain from citing poets even when they are clearly wrong. In such cases the question of the need to quote poetry is even more acute. See for instance the following:

If you did no more than go over the *Triptolemus* of Sophocles or the prologue to the *Bacchae* of Euripides, and then compare Homer's care with respect to geographical matters, it would be easy for you to perceive this difference, which lies on the surface ... But Sophocles and Euripides, even where there is need of orderly sequence – the latter when he describes the visits of Dionysus to the various peoples, and the former when he tells of Triptolemus visiting the earth that is being sown with seed – both poets, I say, bring near together regions that are very widely separated, and separate those that are contiguous: 'I have left behind me', says Dionysus, 'the gold-bearing glades of Lydia and of Phrygia, and I have visited the sun-stricken plains of Persia, the walled towns of Bactria, the wintry lands of the Medes, and Arabia the blest.' And Triptolemus does the same sort of thing. (1.2.20)¹⁵

Here Strabo probably intended to praise Homer's superiority as a well-informed and accurate poet through an opposition with other poets. Thus, the examples from drama play a role in the long pro-Homeric endeavour which lies behind the entire work.

Why then does Strabo present mistakes and inaccuracies when referring to the wind of Boreas in 7.3.1?

Even Sophocles when in his role as a tragic poet he speaks of Oreithyia, tells how she was snatched up by Boreas and carried 'over the whole sea to the ends of the earth and the sources of night and to the unfoldings of heaven and to the ancient garden of Phoebus'; his story can have no bearing on the present inquiry, but

¹³ *GL* 16. ¹⁴ *IE* 5; *TGF* 1083.

¹⁵ Euripides *Bacchae* 13–16; Sophocles *TrGF* p. 446, cf. *TGF* 538.

should be disregarded, just as it is disregarded by Socrates in the *Phaedrus*. But let us confine our narrative to what we have learned from history ...¹⁶

Although Strabo says explicitly that the story ‘should be disregarded’ he does refer to it. Perhaps this time he is seizing any occasion to display his erudition and his knowledge of both poetry and philosophy.

This wish to show off his knowledge of poetry may also explain Strabo’s comments that Alcaeus wrongly puts Onchestus near Mount Helicon (9.2.33)¹⁷ and that Bacchylides is mistaken in his notion that the Caicus flows from Ida (13.1.70).¹⁸ The inclusion of mistakes and inaccuracies is an opportunity to cite familiar poems and perhaps it is also meant to warn readers who know these poems not to accept them as geographical authorities.

2 ANTHROPOLOGY

Strabo quotes poetry when dealing with aspects of anthropology such as ethnic and physical characteristics, laws and habits of various foreigners and origins of nations.

Tragedy and lyric poetry are quoted in ethnographic contexts. In 11.11.8 Strabo mentions the Caucasians and says:

What Euripides refers to is said to be a custom among some of them, ‘to lament the new-born babe, in view of all the sorrows it will meet in life, but on the other hand to carry forth from their homes with joy and benedictions those who are dead and at rest from their troubles’.¹⁹

And in 17.1.19 he quotes Pindar for the worship of Pan and goats in Mendes, Egypt:

And, as Pindar says, the he-goats have intercourse with women there: ‘Mendes, along the crag of the sea, farthestmost horn of the Nile, where the goat-mounting he-goats have intercourse with women’.²⁰

In 7.3.4 Strabo refers to the Thracians:

See the statement of Menander about them, which, as one may reasonably suppose, was not invented by him but taken from history: ‘All the Thracians, and most of all we Getae (for I too boast that I am of this stock) are not very

¹⁶ *TrGF* 956 cf. Plato, *Phdr.* 229b4–d2 where Socrates presents the rationalistic version according to which the girl was simply pushed by the northern wind, Boreas, but at the same time does not wish to get into the question. Here, too, it is implied that Strabo goes for the more rationalistic and solid source, that is history.

¹⁷ *GL* 425. ¹⁸ *GL* 49. ¹⁹ *TGF* 449. ²⁰ *PCF* 201.

continent'; and a little below he sets down the proofs of their incontinence in their relations with women: 'For every man of us marries ten or eleven women, and some, twelve or more; but if anyone meets death before he has married more than four or five, he is lamented among the people there as a wretch without bride and nuptial song.' Indeed, these facts are confirmed by the other writers as well ...²¹

Note that Strabo here needs to add some force to Menander's words, first by saying that the information is 'not invented by him but taken from history', and then indicating that it is also 'confirmed by other writers'. There are no such emphases when Strabo refers to tragedy or to the lyric poets, and this may show that comedy was considered different in terms of reliability but still exploitable. The potential strangeness of barbaric habits, which is a central theme in ancient ethnography, suits well the kind of ethnic jokes found in comedy and this also explains the fact that most references to comedy in the *Geography* occur in ethnographic contexts. This however emphasises even more the fact that Strabo refrains from citing Aristophanes, whose comedies include many ethnic jokes.²² That is, he made a deliberate choice.

3 LOCAL ANECDOTES

Strabo interweaves in the geographical description stories, myths or historical events which occurred at the various sites he discusses. Some of these anecdotes derive from poetry, for instance in referring to Hyria in Boeotia where the myth of Hyrieus and the birth of Orion occurred, Strabo comments that Pindar mentioned these (9.2.12).²³

In 10.2.9 he describes Leucas in Acarnania:

It contains the temple of Apollo Leucatas, and also the 'Leap' which was believed to put an end to the longings of love. 'Where Sappho is said to have been the first', as Menander says, 'when through frantic longing she was chasing the haughty Phaon, to fling herself with a leap from the far-seen rock, calling upon thee in prayer, O lord and master.' Now although Menander says that Sappho was the first to take the leap, yet those who are better versed than he in antiquities say that it was Cephalus, who was in love with Pterelas the son of Dioneus.²⁴

Strabo was aware that there are others who are 'better versed in antiquities' than Menander, and even presents another version of the same local anecdote, but at the same time he decided not only to mention Menander's story but also to include a direct quotation of his verses.

²¹ PCG 877. ²² See for instance *Ach.* 63; 77–9; 84–87 and more.

²³ PCF 73. ²⁴ CAF 313.

4 PROVERBS

Similarly to his use of local anecdotes, Strabo incorporates proverbs which have special relevance to specific sites. These short sayings reflect historical events or refer to local characteristics.²⁵ Typically for such short condensed ideas put into metre, the original context is irrelevant and they appear sometimes with reference to their authors, but at other times independently. This has to do with the fact that they were remembered as proverbs without necessarily recalling their origin. In these cases we see that Strabo does not mention the author and he probably remembered the sentence as it stands and did not take it from the whole play or poem. Proverbs in their very essence of brevity and wit, best demonstrate the special trait of poetic expressions as opposed to plain prosaic ideas. Many proverbs were known as such and not necessarily as bits taken from a whole poem. The original context was lost and Strabo himself probably knew them as proverbs and not as parts of poetry.

In 14.1.15 on Samos Strabo notes: ‘... those who praise it do not hesitate to apply to it the proverb, that “it produces even bird’s milk”, as Menander somewhere says’. Here, it seems to me that the original context in Menander did not necessarily include Samos but employed this expression to denote extreme fertility, and it was Strabo who attached the maxim to a specific geographical context.

In 8.6.16 on Oenone Strabo says: ‘Long ago Aegina was called Oenone, the same name of that of two demes in Attica, one near Eleutherae, ‘to inhabit that border on Oenone and Eleutherae’; and another, one of the demes of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, to which is applied the proverb “To Oenone – the torrent”’.²⁶ And his reference to Priene in 14.1.12 calls for another saying: ‘Bias, one of the seven wise men, was a native of Priene, of whom Hipponax says “stronger in the pleading of his cases than Bias of Priene”’.²⁷

5 TOPONYMY AND ETHNONYMY

Explaining place-names, discussing their variations and noting identical names for different places were central themes in traditional Greek

²⁵ I include here proverbs which appear in the corpora of fragmentary poetry. The *Geography* includes many other proverbs, for which see Dueck (2004).

²⁶ TGF 179. ²⁷ IE 123.

geography. Strabo follows this tradition and incorporates in it poetic quotations.

Discussing the origin of the name of Rhegium (6.1.6), Strabo cites Aeschylus' version:

It was named Rhegium either, as Aeschylus says, because of the calamity that had befallen this region, for, as both he and others state, Sicily was once broken off (*aporagenai*) from the continent by earthquakes, 'and so from this fact', he adds, 'it is called Rhegium'.²⁸

Here, too, there is no claim that Aeschylus is the best authority and certainly not the only one. 'Both he and others' suggests the etymological explanation of the name, but Strabo chose to quote Aeschylus and not the 'others'.

Toponymic issues include also attribution of designations to various sites.

Because of the nearness of the two cities to one another the writers of tragedy speak of them synonymously as though they were one city; and Euripides, even in the same drama, calls the same city, at one time Mycenae, at another Argos, as for example in his *Iphigenia* and his *Orestes*. (8.6.19)²⁹

In 14.5.16 Strabo notes that Sophocles refers to Cilicia and 'following the custom of tragic poets, calls [it] Pamphylia, just as he calls Lycia "Caria" and Troy and Lydia "Phrygia"'.³⁰ These supposed toponymic inaccuracies may be ascribed to *licentia poetica* but Strabo takes them at their face value, possibly in order to clarify the factual toponymy.

Lyric poetry is also a source from which to draw toponymic information. Strabo notes that Sappho called the promontory near Mount Canae opposite Lesbos in Asia Minor 'Aega' (13.1.68) and Anacreon called Teos 'Athamantis' after its founder Athamas (14.1.3). These instances most probably reflect on the personal experience of the poets who lived in these regions and in this sense resemble Strabo's use of poetry for historical events lived by the poets (see below).

One case is particularly revealing as to Strabo's approach to poetry and his use of it for his own purposes. In 14.1.4 he discusses Ephesus and refers to the ethnonym of the inhabitants who are also called, for historical reasons, Smyrnaeans. To prove this he quotes Callinus' address to Zeus. This is a clear case in which the original context is broken for the sake of the new one, and the poem is exploited for Strabo's purposes in his *Geography*.

²⁸ *TrGF* 402. ²⁹ Euripides *Iphigenia in Tauris*, for instance 508 and 510; *Orestes* 98; 101; 1246.

³⁰ *TrGF* 180a.

6 HISTORY AND MYTHOLOGY

Strabo's earliest works were historiographic.³¹ He uses poetry also as a source for past events, including mythical incidents.

Pindar is quoted for the myth of floating Delos and the birth of Apollo and Artemis (10.5.2)³² and the tragedies are also a source for the mythical past, for instance in 13.1.53:

Sophocles says that at the capture of Troy a leopard's skin was put before the doors of Antenor as a sign that his house was to be left unpillaged; and Antenor and his children safely escaped to Thrace with the survivors of the Heneti, and from there got across to the Adriatic Henetice, as it is called, whereas Aeneas collected a host of followers and set sail with his father Anchises and his son Ascanius ...³³

Tyrtaeus and Mimnermus are Strabo's first-hand witnesses for historical events they themselves experienced: Tyrtaeus on the Messenian Wars (6.3.3. and 8.4.10)³⁴ and Mimnermus on the exile of the Smyrnaeans to Colophon (14.1.4):

Mimnermus tells us in his *Nanno*: 'After we left Pylus, the steep city of Neleus, we came by ship to lovely Asia, and with our overweening might settled in beloved Colophon, taking the initiative in grievous insolence. And from there, setting out from the Asteeis River, by the will of the gods we took Aeolian Smyrna.'³⁵

It is clear that in both these cases poetry is quoted not only for its own sake but for its value as a historical testimony. Here we can see once again the connection between the personal experience of the poets and the information incorporated in their poems. Since most Greek poets used by Strabo were born and active in Greece and Asia Minor, he drew on them mostly in the relevant books in his geographical survey (see above).

7 BIOGRAPHY

Strabo cites poetry for information on biographic details of certain lives, mostly those of the poets themselves. For example, Terpander, a native of Lesbos, was the first to use the seven-stringed cithara instead of the four-stringed lyre 'as we are told in the verses attributed to him ...' (13.2.4),³⁶ and Alcaeus abandoned his arms in battle (13.1.38).³⁷ Although a modern

³¹ Dueck (2000a) 69–75. ³² PCF 88. ³³ TrGF pp. 160–1.

³⁴ IE 2; 5; 8. ³⁵ IE 9. ³⁶ GL 6.

³⁷ LGS 184. Some editors think that this quotation was a note that crept from the margin to the text. In view of Strabo's use of poetry throughout the entire work, I see no thematic reason to assume this and not to accept that Strabo himself quoted the poem.

scholar would have treated these details as mere poetic themes,³⁸ Strabo takes them as reflections of actual events in the lives of the poets.

8 GRAMMAR AND LANGUAGE

In several instances Strabo discusses grammatical or linguistic phenomena and uses examples from poetry in order to demonstrate them.

In 8.5.3 he discusses the grammatical phenomenon of using part of a word to denote the whole word (*apokope*). The pretext for this discussion is Homer's use of 'Messe' instead of 'Messene', but then Strabo presents examples from no less than ten poets illustrating the same feature. These are Hesiod, Sophocles, Ion, Epicharmus, Empedocles, Antimachus, Euphoriion, Philetas, Aratus and Simmias. The number of examples may indicate that this grammatical phenomenon derived from the poetic licence reserved for poets, rather than that it was a common linguistic feature.

Strabo alludes to the fact that some writers avoid some names because their root has an indecent meaning, by omitting or changing them. He then mentions Simonides and in an indirect way Aristophanes who did not refrain from using such words: 'What, then, shall we say ... of the phrase of Simonides "banished *pardacian* clothes and all", instead of "wet" clothes, and, somewhere in the early comedy, "the place is *pardacian*" that is, the place that is "marshy"' (13.2.6).³⁹

9 POETRY

This category includes any discussion of particular features of poets and the theory of poetry and also discussions of Homeric issues in which citations of poetry occur.

Strabo discusses the mixture of fact and fiction in poetry and mentions two poets on this point:

No one could charge Hesiod with ignorance ... nor Aeschylus when he speaks of 'dog-headed men' or of 'men with eyes in their breasts' or of 'one-eyed men' ... for it is self-evident that they are weaving in myths intentionally, not through ignorance of the facts, but through an intentional invention of the impossible, to gratify the taste for the marvellous and the entertaining. (1.2.35 cf. 7.3.6)⁴⁰

³⁸ See Lefkowitz (1981) viii–xi and *passim*.

³⁹ *IE* 21 a and *Ar. Pax* 1148. The Greek root of '*perd*' has to do with breaking wind cf. *LSJ* s.vv. *pardakos*, *perdomai*.

⁴⁰ *TrGF* 431; 434a; 441.

In 8.3.8 Strabo mentions the ‘poetic figure’ (*poetikos schema*) of naming the part of a certain thing with the whole of the same thing, and he adds examples of this from Homer but also from Hipponax ‘when he says: “to those who have eaten the bread of the Amathusians”, for the Amathusians are also Cyprians’, and from Alcman and Aeschylus.⁴¹

Strabo refers to another tendency of poets: ‘the poets embellish things, calling all sacred precincts “sacred groves” (*alse*), even if they are bare of trees’ (9.2.33) and to demonstrate this feature he cites Pindar.⁴²

IO PHILOSOPHY

The only two instances which appear to be cited in a philosophical context are verses from Euripides’ *Phoenicians*. Strabo mentions in 16.2.38 the respect in which the Jews hold the acropolis in Jerusalem, considering it a holy place. He then continues in a philosophical reflection on the general tendency of humans to seek gods in holy sites and offers an example from Euripides’ play of men going to the oracle in Delphi ‘seeking to learn whether the child which had been exposed to die was no longer alive’; but the child himself ‘was on his way to the home of Phoebus, wishing to discover his parents’.⁴³

II DECORATION

The definition of this category is basically negative because it includes the use of poetry where none of the above-mentioned categories is applicable. The quotation in these cases does not seem to add any informative, educational or ideological value and stands on its own as a poetic citation.

In 4.1.7 Strabo mentions the destruction caused by the Trojan War and comments that it was ‘... a ruin which Euripides attributed to Zeus: “For Zeus, the father, willing not only evil for the Trojans but also sorrow for the Greeks, resolved upon all this”.’⁴⁴ The way Strabo uses this citation does not hold any essential information, nor does it suggest any ideological point. He could have said the same thing without citing Euripides. Another time, again in the context of destruction and again citing Euripides, Strabo says: ‘when a country is devastated, “things divine are

⁴¹ Hipponax: *IE* 125; Alcman: *PMGF* 55 (1); Aeschylus: *TrGF* 402a. Meineke holds that the text should read Archilochus instead.

⁴² *PCF* 51a. ⁴³ *Phoen.* 36–7; 34–5. ⁴⁴ *TGF* 1082.

in sickly plight and wont not even to be respected" says Euripides' (II.2.17).⁴⁵

In 3.3.7 Strabo describes the habits of the Lusitanians: 'they offer hecatombs of each kind, after the Greek fashion, as Pindar himself says "to sacrifice a hundred every day"'.⁴⁶ Strabo adduces the citation from Pindar not for the sake of ethnographic information about the habits of the Lusitanians, because Pindar did not have these people in mind. The Pindaric expression is quoted merely for the sake of ornamentation in order to express the notion of hecatombs in a nicer, metrical way.

In one case (I.2.14), Strabo does not even introduce the quotation as he does in the great majority of cases, i.e. he neither alludes to a poet nor indicates that he is incorporating a metrical quotation. He simply puts the line in a direct continuation with his own discourse, apparently because it seems more elegant:

Was it the proper thing for Hesiod not to talk nonsense and to follow prevailing opinions, but the proper thing for Homer to 'give utterance to every thought that comes to his inopportune tongue'?⁴⁷

Having defined and demonstrated eleven categories of the use of poetry in Strabo's *Geography*, we now turn to the frequency of occurrences of these eleven categories throughout the work (Table 3).

It is not surprising that Strabo uses poetry mostly in geographical contexts (70 times) and if we take geography in its broader sense, including anthropology, local anecdotes, geographical proverbs and toponymy we get a total of 162 out of 252 poetic citations on topics related to geography (64 per cent). The second most frequent category is history and mythology with 36 references. This relatively high rate may be explained by the close relationship between geography and history and also by Strabo's interest in history. Note that comedy is used mainly for the anthropological oddities of Barbaric peoples. This derives from the interests of the comic genre which exploits strange social phenomena. Tragedy, on the other hand, is cited mainly in reference to geography proper. This may show that one is expected to accept tragedy seriously as a reliable source.⁴⁸

In view of Strabo's extensive use of poetry throughout the *Geography*, the question emerges: why use poetry in such a work? On the face of it, particularly in light of the picture created by the above classification of

⁴⁵ *Troades* 27. ⁴⁶ *PCF* 170. ⁴⁷ *GL* 1020.

⁴⁸ On the incorporation of geographical details in tragedies see Finkelberg (1998).

Table 3. *Contexts of use of poetry in Strabo's Geography*

Category	Number of References				TOTAL
	Tragedy	Comedy	Epos	Other (lyric, elegy, epigram, iambos)	
Geography	29	—	12	29	70
Anthropology	11	5	8	9	33
Local Anecdotes	4	1	5	6	16
Proverbs	4	4	—	3	11
Toponymy and Ethnonymy	8	—	5	19	32
History and Mythology	3	—	6	29	38
Biography	—	—	9	5	14
Grammar and Language	2	2	7	6	17
Poetry	5	—	1	9	15
Philosophy	2	—	—	—	2
Decoration	2	—	—	2	4

categories, the answer would be ‘in order to find and adopt factual details pertaining to various aspects of a geographical narrative’. But in some cases Strabo himself indicates specifically that the same facts and details could be drawn from other, more reliable sources such as historians. Sometimes he even takes some trouble to emphasise a certain poet’s credibility. In citing verses some value seems to be added to the mere presentation of information.

First, since early times the Greeks considered poetry a higher form of human expression, derived from divine inspiration. They admired the wisdom of poets and ascribed to them the ability to teach. This notion later became the centre of a debate on the role and aims of poetry. Strabo in his introductory remarks argued against Eratosthenes who claimed that poetry has solely entertaining qualities. The context of this broad discussion in the *Geography* was Strabo’s defence of Homer as ‘the founder of geography’ (1.1.2), but it holds in it his notions about poetry as a whole. These ideas were clearly influenced by his Stoic background:⁴⁹

Our people (*hoi hemeteroi*) contend that the wise man alone is a poet. That is the reason why in Greece the various states educate the young, at the very beginning of

⁴⁹ For the role of poetry and the status of poets in Greek thought and particularly among Stoics, see Tate (1928); De Lacy (1948); Russell (1981) 85–98.

their education, by means of poetry, not for the mere sake of entertainment (*psychagogia*), of course, but for the sake of moral discipline (*sophronismos*). (1.2.3)

At the same time he adds:

We do not demand of the poet that he should have inquired accurately into every detail, nor do we demand scientific accuracy in his statements. (1.2.13)

Strabo continues the same idea by claiming that it is not the genre which makes a source reliable, but the content and the attitude of its author, and thus each case has to be examined separately:

One could more easily believe Hesiod and Homer in their stories of the heroes, or the tragic poets, than Ctesias, Herodotus, Hellanicus and other writers of this kind. Neither is it easy to believe most of those who have written the history of Alexander; for these toy with facts ... (11.6.3–4)

Therefore, Strabo did not see poetry in itself as a source of lesser quality. He adopted the view that poetry could teach and thus referred to its didactic content. True, the poets had not necessarily intended to teach in the verses quoted in the *Geography*, and they most probably had not thought of geography, ethnography and other themes for which Strabo used them. Strabo cut the verses out of their original context for the sake of his own purposes and used them in a new geographical context.⁵⁰

Second, Strabo followed a tradition of quoting poets in non-poetic texts, such as speeches and philosophical discourses.⁵¹ However, he was unique in the sense that he used poetry in a geographical work. We lack some information because of the loss of many works and it is difficult to assess the extent of the use of poetry for geographical information. Strabo's debate with Eratosthenes may indicate that the Alexandrian scholar rejected certain tendencies to exploit poetry but, at the same time, works we do possess that deal with geography do not reveal such exploitation. Alexander's geographers described the east and thus had fewer opportunities to incorporate Greek poetry;⁵² Eratosthenes denied in principle the ability of poetry to teach; Hipparchus engaged in scientific rather than descriptive geography, which was a genre different from the one applied by

⁵⁰ Halliwell (2000) defines this as transforming *mythos* into *logos*, see p. 99.

⁵¹ Perlman (1964); Halliwell (2000). Aristotle (*Rh.* 1375b26–35) says poets act as ancient witnesses in legal speeches.

⁵² On the relation between the geographical scope of a description and the application of poetry in Strabo see above on the distribution of poetic citations in Strabo's work according to books and regions. In one instance there is a debate between Onesicritus and Strabo on the interpretation of Theodectes regarding the black complexion of the Ethiopians (15.1.24).

Strabo; and from Posidonius' work we have only fragments. Therefore, there is no good way to compare Strabo with other authors, also because of his uniqueness: he focused on geography whereas his predecessors included geographical descriptions within historical ones.

Third, from content we turn to form: verses have some qualities that make them appropriate for citation: they are brief, condensed, and easy to remember because of the metre. These qualities affect both the author, who remembers certain lines, and the audience, who might recognise them. Why not then use a catchy phrase instead of a dry, even if more accurate, prosaic description? In the broader sense of the word, all quotations of poetry have a decorative function because they say things in a shorter, neater way.⁵³ In the case of proverbs, the poetic phrase was so catchy that the original context and composer were forgotten.

Fourth, quoted poetry indicates that the author is well educated and well versed in poetry.⁵⁴ The self-presentation of an author as an intellectual is enhanced by the way in which he quotes the poets. Strabo, for instance, in the great majority of cases mentions the poet and sometimes also the work from which the citation is taken. In his case the choice of poets does in fact add to his image as an intellectual. The fact that the number of references to Euripides is not much higher than those to Aeschylus and that the plays cited show a wide variety, wider than the plays we possess today, demonstrates that Strabo was a well-educated scholar who used poetry independently of any canon or anthology. He probably quoted mostly from memory, but in the longer citations he may have consulted the text and copied parts of it, possibly while staying in one of the cities that had public libraries, perhaps Alexandria. Only in 24 cases (9.5 per cent) are there hints that Strabo got the citation at second hand.

Strabo's intellectual tendencies are also apparent from the fact that he expresses his opinions concerning style and quality of poetry: 'the younger [Diodorus], who was a friend of mine, is the author ... also of melic and other poems, which display full well the ancient style of writing' (13.4.9) and also 'the best tragic poet among those enumerated in the *Pleias* was Dionysides' (14.5.15).

Finally, the interaction between author and audience also affects the use of poetry. Inclusion of poetic citations may have an appeal to both the uneducated and educated readers. The former would find the more serious

⁵³ However, the above ten categories of use show that in most cases, apart from this decorative feature, there are other benefits in citation, serving various themes in the general narrative.

⁵⁴ On Strabo's education see Dueck (2000a) 8–15.

matters easier to digest, so to speak, and the latter, who are interested in the serious matters in the first place, would appreciate the added value of entertainment. And Strabo is well aware of this function of poetry: he announces at the beginning of his work that he intends it for an audience composed of various sorts of people, educated as well as less educated. For the sake of the latter he adds poetry in order to teach them in a more pleasing way for he believes that 'pleasure acts as a charm to incite to learning' (1.2.8). The relation between transmitting ideas and poetry is further emphasised through the notions that 'the wisest of the writers on poetry say ... that poetry is a kind of elementary philosophy' (1.1.10) and that 'philosophy is for the few, whereas poetry is more useful to the people at large and can draw full houses' (1.2.8). All these contribute to the use of poetry as a means to deliver ideas and not only for its own sake.

Thus, Strabo had several reasons to include poetic citations in his *Geography*. His particular choice of poets was determined by several factors, mainly the geographical interest which made him choose quotations relevant to his theme. Although in some cases he depended on other intermediate sources who quoted these poets before him, Strabo seems to show a wider and independent knowledge of Archaic as well as Hellenistic poetry.

CHAPTER 7

Strabo's sources in the light of a tale

Nikos Litinas

After the last Ptolemaic dynastic conflicts, the interventions of Caesar and Antony and the addition of Egypt to the Roman world, there was a period of stability and peace. This provided an appropriate political and social situation for established scholars, native or foreign, to work in the famous library of Alexandria. Even though it was now not the only centre of knowledge, it continued to excite the admiration of visitors, and retained the prestige of its Hellenistic past, as well as a paramount role in intellectual activities.¹ Invited by his friend, the prefect of Egypt Aelius Gallus, Strabo had many good reasons to stay there, search the library for rare books and get pieces of information which could be difficult to find elsewhere. It is Strabo's track to information which I presently intend to examine through one case-study. Our task is first to compare variant accounts of the story under consideration and second, to analyse their origin. The purpose of this paper goes a little further, as it also touches on the issue of the place and the time of the compilation of the *Geography*, particularly of the seventeenth book on Egypt and Libya.

In the seventeenth book of his *Geography* Strabo tells the story of a courtesan in Egypt called Rhodopis or Doricha. Various tales were told of this courtesan by authors both before and after Strabo.

THE STORY BEFORE STRABO: SAPPHO, HERODOTUS AND DIODORUS SICULUS

In a *propemptikon*, or 'send-off' poem, Sappho (5 Loeb/L-P) addresses a prayer to Aphrodite and the Nereids, asking them to calm the sea and bring her brother back to Mytilene. The poetess, acting not only as a sister who loves her brother but also as a woman who cares for a man, clearly fosters hatred and feelings of malice towards the woman who managed to

¹ Canfora (1990) 71-6.

infatuate him. In another very fragmentary poem (15 Loeb/L–P), she hurls abuse at a certain Doricha: ‘Cypris, and may she find you very harsh; and may she, Doricha, not boast, telling how he came the second time to long for love’.

Herodotus, writing in the fifth century BCE, describes in his second book the construction and ownership of the pyramid complex at Memphis (2.134–5). He states that the third and smallest pyramid of Mycerinus, could not have been built by the courtesan Rhodopis, as was believed by some Greeks. There were two reasons for this: first, the cost of constructing and owning a pyramid was prohibited for a slave; second, Rhodopis lived in the time of Amasis and not of Mycerinus. The narrative continues with a brief biography of Rhodopis: she came to Egypt to work as a slave (apparently not as a *hetaira* in the very beginning) of Xanthus, a trader from Samos, but Sappho’s brother Charaxus bought her freedom at a high price. She settled in Egypt, was very alluring and acquired a great deal of money, but not enough to own a pyramid. Instead, she dedicated a number of iron spits in Delphi. The story ends with the fate of the two main characters: Rhodopis became notorious all over the Greek world on account of her charms, while Charaxus returned to Mytilene, where Sappho bitterly attacked him in one of her poems.²

The builders of the Giza pyramids are mentioned also in the first century BCE, this time by Diodorus Siculus in his *Bibliotheca Historica*. He states that general agreement existed neither among Egyptians nor between historians. As far as the third pyramid is concerned, some said that it was

² As Page (1955) 48–51 and Campbell (1982) 268 have noted, Sappho 5 (Loeb/L–P) could not be the poem to which Herodotus refers. Sappho refers to Doricha in 5 and 15 (Loeb/L–P) whereas Herodotus names her Rhodopis. Either Herodotus made a mistake or else Rhodopis was Doricha’s nickname, meaning ‘the rose-like face’, an attractive name for a courtesan. I do not wish here to detail the assumptions concerning the historicity of this person, on which see Burton (1972) 192–3. Still, Page (1955) 49 n. 1 strongly supports the possibility of the nickname as it tallies with the remainder of the tradition. See also Campbell (1982) n. *ad Test.* 14. Lentakes (1997) 23 n. 16, based on Athenaeus’ text (see below), thinks that Herodotus confused Rhodopis who lived in the time of Amasis (568–525 BCE) with the mistress Doricha who lived in seventh-century Naucratis. H. Hall (1904) 208–13 believes that Doricha was the Sphinx. Stecchini (1955) 177 argues that Rhodopis was Shepnapet at Thebes, wife of Psammetichus, who was given this particular nickname because she was of a black race, being a princess of the Ethiopian Dynasty. Kahlo (1960) 172 notes that Rhodopis is a Thracian rather than an Egyptian name. See also van de Walle (1934) 303; Coche-Zivie (1972) 115–38. Montserrat (1996) 109–10 states that many characters were conflated in the (historical?) name of Rhodopis, ‘the elegant courtesan who is a fit consort for a king’, ‘the vampire who will suck a man and discard him’ and ‘the ultimate user of men in a rags-to-riches *volte-face* of fortune’. For the motif-repetition of a king’s daughter prostituting herself, see Fehling (1989) 198–9. See also Lloyd (1993) 84–5, who gives several reasons for the genesis of Rhodopis’ connection with the third pyramid. For the dedication of iron spits to Delphi (ἀνέθηκε Ῥοδόπις), cf. Jeffery (1974) 102.

the tomb of the courtesan Rhodopis which was built as a token of affection by former lovers who were nomarchs, i.e. governors of nomes.

What we first notice is that the name of the courtesan is Rhodopis, as in Herodotus. Also the phraseology, ταύτην (sc. τὴν πυραμίδα) δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι 'Ροδώπιδος τάφον εἶναι τῆς ἑταίρας, reminds us of Herodotus' version, τὴν δὴ (sc. πυραμίδα) μετεξέτεροι φασὶ Ἑλλήνων 'Ροδώπιος ἑταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι. The name, however, is the only point common to both tales. While Herodotus attempts to argue that the tradition was corrupted, Diodorus does not discuss any problem in the story. He writes as if Rhodopis was a very well known figure and does not refer to Herodotus' objections, as if being entirely unaware of them. However, the details he quotes seem a sort of answer to Herodotus: Diodorus mentions the nomarchs as builders and not the courtesan herself; and refers to the joint funding of the project as if to account for the large amount of money needed. Furthermore, he specifies affection as a previously unmentioned motivation for the entire undertaking. The chronological problem is not discussed.

Apparently Diodorus borrows information from the third century BCE work of Hecataeus of Abdera.³ While Hecataeus certainly had Herodotus in mind and tried to refute him directly and indirectly, Diodorus is satisfied with his source's final inference.⁴

THE STORY ACCORDING TO STRABO

Some years later, Strabo returns to the tale in his book about Egypt. He uses phraseology different from that of Diodorus. The only detail common to both versions is the reference to the courtesan's lovers as builders of the pyramid. Strabo refers neither to the nomarchs nor to their motivation, but associates the courtesan with Sappho's brother, who imported Lesbian wine to Naucratis. He says that the poetess called this woman Doricha, while others, writers or people in general, knew her as Rhodopis. If Strabo's remarks ended there, we could conclude either that he and Diodorus used different sources, or that Strabo had another source in addition to Hecataeus of Abdera, or that Strabo was aware of Hecataeus' version but did not use it directly.⁵ However, the most interesting point in our enquiry

³ See *FGrHist* 264F 25, lines 858–63. Cf. Murray (1970) 141–71; Dillery (1998) 255–75.

⁴ See Sacks (1990) 70–1 for Diodorus' sources of the first six books; Marincola (1997) 108–9, 121 n. 297, 233 n. 88 for Diodorus' dependence on Hecataeus; cf. Burton (1972) 2–9.

⁵ Strabo used Hecataeus of Abdera in 7.3.6 = *FGrHist* 264F 8.

emerges in what follows. Strabo goes on to recount 'the fabulous story', which instantly brings to mind the fairytale of Cinderella:⁶

When she was bathing, an eagle snatched one of her sandals from her maid and carried it to Memphis; and while the king was administering justice in the open air, the eagle, when it arrived above his head, flung the sandal into his lap; and the king, stirred both by the beautiful shape of the sandal and by the strangeness of the occurrence, sent men in all directions into the country in quest of the woman who wore the sandal; and when she was found in the city of Naucratis, she was brought up to Memphis, became the wife of the king, and when she died was honoured with the above-mentioned tomb. (17.1.33)

It is surprising that Strabo mentions this tale without commenting on its veracity, particularly in view of his overall disapproval of myths. Indeed, on more than one occasion he deprecates Herodotus as a teller of fables (e.g. 12.3.21; 17.1.52). But here he not only discusses something to which Herodotus had dedicated a long paragraph of his *History* – the comment that Rhodopis could not have built this pyramid – but also cites what seems to be an entirely new tale. Furthermore, although the story could hardly be true, he makes no comment on it.

Strabo uses the verb *μυθεύουσι*(ν) referring either to people generally or to authors who write myths of certain regions. Since he felt so confident about this story, Strabo's source may also have been accepted as an authority on the subject. We may assume that he copied, or at least had in mind, passages from Agatharchides or Artemidorus, the latter being his main source for the seventeenth book of the *Geography*.⁷ We know that Agatharchides had read Hecataeus of Abdera, but differed from him on certain matters.⁸

THE STORY AFTER STRABO: PLINY, AELIAN AND ATHENAEUS

Pliny, writing in the middle of the first century CE, mentions authors who wrote on the Egyptian pyramids (*HN* 36.79). These are: Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris of Samos, Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Alexander Polyhistor, Butoridas, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles and

⁶ Mainly because of the motif of the shoes: see Aly (1921) 69; Scobie (1977) esp. 17–18; Wróbel (1984). A link between the ancient tale and the modern one is dubious.

⁷ For Strabo's authorities, see generally Tozer (1893) 46; for the seventeenth book especially, see Morr (1928) 306–15; Capelle (1953) 166–80 who shows Artemidorus, and Agatharchides before him, as a source on Syene and the affluents of the Nile common for Strabo, Diodorus, Juba and Heliodorus; cf. Aly (1957) 73–7; Knight (1998).

⁸ See Murray (1970) 152–7.

Apion.⁹ The reference to Artemidorus is significant because it proves that he indeed referred to the building of the pyramids. Pliny (*HN* 36.82) does not mention any names in connection with the builders of the three pyramids at Giza (considering the project as vain and frivolous on the part of the Egyptian kings), but does discuss every aspect of their construction and measurements.¹⁰ Moreover, it is surprising to read the end of his discussion:

Such are the wonders of the pyramids; and the last and greatest of these wonders, which forbids us to marvel at the wealth of kings, is that the smallest but most greatly admired of these pyramids was built by Rhodopis, a mere prostitute. She was once the fellow-slave and concubine of Aesop, the sage who composed the *Fables*; and our amazement is all the greater when we reflect that such wealth was acquired through prostitution.

Pliny did not know Strabo's work and, although it is uncertain if he mentioned his sources in chronological order,¹¹ we assume that Strabo should have been placed between Alexander Polyhistor and Apion. Of the first seven authors mentioned in Pliny's list, only Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris and Artemidorus are mentioned in Strabo's work. As for the 'Cinderella' story, Strabo perhaps does not wish to commend Herodotus for his logical objections, but he would certainly have mentioned Euhemerus¹² or Duris if he had used their works. Thus it appears – even though *argumenta ex silentio* are always uncertain – that the only source we can consider as Strabo's for the 'Cinderella' tale is Artemidorus, the most valuable contributor to the seventeenth book.

The story is cited again in the second century CE by Aelian (*VH* 13.33)¹³ with phraseology similar to Strabo's at some points.¹⁴ However, Strabo quotes the story under *μυθεύουσι* whereas Aelian uses *φασιν Αἰγυπτίων λόγοι*. Aelian uses the phrase *φάσιν λόγοι* when referring to popular myths usually taken from older compilations and rarely directly recorded

⁹ Euhemerus (end of fourth century to beginning of third century BCE) *FGrHist* 63F 10; Duris (340–270 BCE) *FGrHist* 76F 43; Aristagoras (fourth to third century BCE) *FGrHist* 608F 9; Dionysius (date unknown) *FGrHist* 653; Artemidorus (first century BCE); Alexander Polyhistor (110–40 BCE) *FGrHist* 273F 108; Butoridas (date unknown) *FGrHist* 654; Antisthenes (date unknown) *FGrHist* 655; Demetrius (date unknown) mentioned by Athenaeus 15.25, perhaps he was Demetrius of Callatis (*FGrHist* 85) whom Agatharchides used and Strabo mentioned favourably in 1.3.20; Demoteles (date unknown) *FGrHist* 656; Apion (end of first century BCE to middle of first CE).

¹⁰ For Pliny's method and style of writing on Egypt, see Ball (1942) 72–84.

¹¹ See Fornara (1994) 34–5.

¹² For Euhemerus' work depending on Hecataeus of Abdera, see Dillery (1998) esp. 269–72. Euhemerus is criticised by Strabo in 1.3.1; 2.3.5; 2.4.2.

¹³ Pignataro (2000) 267–70.

¹⁴ Cf. αὐτῆς λουομένης ... τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ὑποδημάτων ἀρπάσας ... ἐκόμισεν ἐς Μέμφιν ... ἐς τὸν κόλπον ... τοῦ ὑποδήματος τὸν ῥυθμόν.

by ancient authors (e.g. *VH* 1.15; 1.32; 11.1; *NA* 2.8.1). Wellmann and Scholfield think that Aelian's source about Egypt was Apion, the head of the Alexandrian school between the end of the first century BCE and the beginning of the first century CE, who wrote a compilation entitled *Aegyptiaca* on the marvels, sacred birds and behaviour of animals in Egypt.¹⁵ They connect the phrases λέγουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι and Αἰγυπτίων λόγοι with this work.¹⁶ As said above, Apion appears in Pliny's list. Moreover, it is assumed that the list was in fact made by Apion himself and copied by Pliny.¹⁷

Later in the second century CE, in the sometimes misjudged thirteenth book of the *Deipnosophistae*,¹⁸ Athenaeus, the rhetorician from Egyptian Naucratis, refers to famous prostitutes. One of them is Doricha/Rhodopis, a *hetaira* renowned in Herodotus' time, who lived in Athenaeus' Naucratis:

Famous courtesans, distinguished for beauty, were produced by Naucratis also; among them was Doricha, who became the mistress of the fair Sappho's brother Charaxus when he went to Naucratis on business and whom Sappho denounced in her poetry for having robbed him of a lot of money. But Herodotus calls her Rhodopis, being unaware that she is different from Doricha, the woman who dedicated, at Delphi the famous spits which Cratinus mentions in these verses ...¹⁹ Posidippus composed the following epigram on Doricha, although he often mentioned her also in his *Aesopia*.²⁰ (13.569b–d)

The phraseology used by Strabo and by Athenaeus is almost identical. Strabo:

ἦν Σαπφῶ μὲν ἡ τῶν μελῶν ποιήτρια καλεῖ Δωρίχαν, ἐρωμένην τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς Χαράξου γεγонуῖαν, οἶνον κατὰγοντος εἰς Ναύκρατιν Λέσβιον κατ' ἐμπορίαν, ἄλλοι δ' ὀνομάζουσι 'Ροδῶπιν;

Athenaeus:

Δωρίχαν τε, ἦν ἡ καλὴ Σαπφῶ ἐρωμένην γενομένην Χαράξου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς κατ' ἐμπορίαν εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν ἀπαίροντος – Ἡρόδοτος δ' αὐτὴν 'Ροδῶπιν καλεῖ.

But there are differences between the two accounts. First, Strabo mentions neither Herodotus' name, nor Herodotus' objection (ἄλλοι δ'

¹⁵ Wellmann (1896) 221–53; Scholfield (1958) xix–xx. For the problem of Aelian's sources, see Johnson (1997) 28–30.

¹⁶ See Fehling (1989) 164 for the non-Herodotean example of the Rhodopis story.

¹⁷ See Fornara (1994) 34–5; *DNP* I, s.v. 'Apion', 846–7. ¹⁸ See Henry (1992) 250–68.

¹⁹ The quotation is lost. ²⁰ The epigram follows.

ὀνομάζουσι Ῥοδῶπιιν). But in Athenaeus this is explicitly recorded (Ἡρόδοτος δ' αὐτὴν Ῥοδῶπιιν καλεῖ). Second, Athenaeus probably read both Strabo and Artemidorus, Strabo's main source, for he cites both authors in other contexts of his work.²¹ Thus, Athenaeus either read only Strabo's version or used the same source as Strabo did, i.e. Artemidorus. However, Athenaeus does not recount the 'Cinderella' tale and he is the first to stress an Herodotean mistake: Doricha is the courtesan's name and Rhodopis is another person. Still, he does not introduce the chronological problem. He writes as if he has discovered the mistake and is proud about it. To confirm his statement he cites Cratinus and Posidippus.²² Why does he not mention the 'Cinderella' tale? Perhaps because it does not fit in with the spirit of book thirteen where courtesans were presented as 'commodities or courses at banquets'.²³ However, from the third century CE only the name Rhodopis remained in the mind of the Greek world as one of the most famous courtesans.²⁴

PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE STORY

Scobie (1977) concludes that the narrative in Strabo and Aelian is 'complete in itself and shows no signs of drastic abbreviation'. He argues that since the source is not specified, the tale must be of Egyptian origin from some time between the seventh century BCE and the first two decades of the first century CE, although there is no known Egyptian version of the story. The tale may be Egyptian adapted to Greek mentality by a certain Greek author. The Egyptian and non-Egyptian, or Greek, details of the story remained distinct, but they

²¹ See Diller (1975) 8–9 who notes that Athenaeus is the earliest known source to use Strabo.

²² See Sanchis Llopis (1994) 163–87 for Athenaeus' wide knowledge of literary tradition and the way he used it; cf. Dueck, 'Strabo's use of poetry', in this volume.

²³ See G. Anderson (1997) 2181 for the theme 'courtesans' in book 13.

²⁴ In a papyrus from the end of the second century CE (*P.Oxy.* 15: 1800 fr. 1 = fr. 27 Wehrli = 252 V = Test. II Gallavotti) we read in a biography of Sappho that her brother spent a lot of money on a certain Doricha. The name Rhodopis appears in all the other sources; cf. *Suda* s.v. Ῥοδῶπιδος ἀνάθημα, ὀβελίσκοι ἐν Δελφοῖς πολλοί. Ἀπελλάς δὲ Ποντικός (*FGHHist* 266F 8 about 250–200 BCE; cf. n. *ad loc.* showing that it is difficult to believe that a Callimachean-style author repeated the story of Rhodopis' pyramid, already rejected by Herodotus) οἶεται καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πυραμίδα, Ἡροδότου ἐλέγχοντος τὴν δόξαν. ἦν δὲ Θραῖσσα τὸ γένος, ἐδούλευσε δὲ σὺν Αἰσώπῳ Ἄδμοιι Μιτυληναίῳ, ἐλυτρώσατο δὲ αὐτὴν Χάραξος, ὁ Σαπφούς ἀδελφός. ἡ δὲ Σαπφῶ Δωρίχαν αὐτὴν καλεῖ. Cf. also Lucian, *Salt.* 2; *CAF* III 579, 1; Plut. 400F. Heliodorus (*Aethiopica* 2.25.1–4) speaks of a Thracian woman named Rhodopis, who lived in Memphis, was rich, irresistibly charming and experienced in love making and dedicated many votive offerings to Isis. And note that there was an Isis temple in Delphi. It seems that Heliodorus knew Rhodopis' tale as a kind of popular mythology. See also Ov. *Pont.* 15.63.

were adapted by the two cultures to make sense in both. However, there is one detail which cannot be Egyptian: archaeological and literary evidence indicate that the eagle is not one of the sacred birds in Egyptian mythology.²⁵ On the other hand, in several non-Egyptian traditions the eagle is a symbol of *theodosia* ('god-giving') and the bird is usually sent to a person chosen to become a king.²⁶ Doricha/Rhodopis is going to be a queen, the Pharaoh's wife. Furthermore, the eagle was a symbol of the Ptolemaic dynasty and was even depicted as such on coins of the period. Was this tale, a Cinderella-like fairytale made up during the Ptolemaic period from a combination of Greek and Egyptian elements to be narrated by the elders to their children?²⁷

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, through a variety of texts we can glean a surprising account of a tale relating to a certain person and to her presentation as

- (a) a slave, bought by Charaxus, and later a courtesan,
- (b) a courtesan, who built the third pyramid,
- (c) a courtesan, for whom nomarchs (as her lovers) built the third pyramid either before or after her death,
- (d) a courtesan for whom her lovers (not named explicitly) built the third pyramid either before or after her death,
- (e) a courtesan with no connection to the third pyramid,
- (f) a kind of Cinderella.

As far as (a) is concerned, we can deduce either that both Strabo and Athenaeus had the same source, most probably Artemidorus, who must have mentioned Herodotus and discussed his version; or that Athenaeus read Strabo and used his phraseology, but did not adopt the 'Cinderella'

²⁵ There is no entry in Gardiner (1988) 467–74; cf. also *LÄ* s.v. 'Tierkult' 580. Moreover, Strabo says at 17.1.40: ἀετὸν δὲ Θηβαῖοι. Moreover, Strabo says at 17.1.40: ἀετὸν δὲ Θηβαῖοι (sc. τιμῶσι); and Diodorus Siculus at 1.87.9: τὸν δ' ἀετὸν Θηβαῖοι τιμῶσι διὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον καὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἄξιον. But the eagle is not mentioned by Strabo at 17.2.4 where the sacred birds of Egypt are described. It seems that also here Strabo and Diodorus have a common source on Theban worship.

²⁶ For parallels in other myths see Rose (1964) 291–2; Lloyd (1975) 102–4. Cf. the story of Gilgamesh (Ael. *NA* 12.21), a child who when born was thrown from the citadel of Babylon, where an eagle caught him transferring him to a safe haven. Gilgamesh later became king of Babylon. See also the story of Tarquinius in Cic. *Leg.* 1.4, Livy 1.34, Dion. Hal. 3.47.3, where an eagle caught his hat, flew high up in the air and then returned it to his head; he then became king of Rome. For other examples of an eagle as a portent, see D. W. Thompson (1966) 7; for the eagle who brought Venus' slipper to Mercury, see *id.* 12.

²⁷ Cf. Biffi (1997) 57–60 on events and figures joined together from popular memories and official Egyptian documentation.

The details occur in different stories as depicted in the following pattern:

a	b	c	d	e	f
Herodotus	Herodotus (refuting)	(Hecataeus?)			
(Artemidorus?)					(Artemidorus?)
		Diodorus			
Strabo	(Apion?)		Strabo		Strabo (Apion?)
	Pliny				
Athenaeus				Athenaeus	Aelian

part of the story. Strabo seems to have not followed Hecataeus of Abdera, even though we may assume that he knew his work. Diodorus however used Hecataeus with no direct reference. Pliny used a source which dealt with the miracles of Egyptian stories and nature, most probably Apion. And, because Apion's source was perhaps Artemidorus again, we have to assume that the latter was first to combine disparate details of the story. It is uncertain if Apion knew Strabo's text; he probably did not. The 'courtesan part' of the tale has a long tradition, going back to ancient Egyptian myths as they were learned and copied, with or without specific comments, by the Greeks. The 'Cinderella' part seems to be of an Alexandrian–Ptolemaic origin, first mentioned by an author who wrote on the pyramids, probably Artemidorus. Then Strabo and Aelian adopted it, the latter either through Apion or directly.

Several problems have disturbed any firm conclusions concerning Strabo's whereabouts. However, the study of Strabo's sources for certain tales and myths may help us to understand the circumstances under which he wrote. Strabo seems to have used material stored on the shelves of the Alexandrian library, for instance the works of Artemidorus and Hecataeus of Abdera, both of whom had lived in Alexandria. This material was used by other authors as well, e.g. Diodorus, Apion and Athenaeus, all connected with this city and its library.²⁸ Could we then assume that the place of compilation of this specific part, or even of book seventeen in its

²⁸ For Athenaeus' use of the Alexandrian library, see Lesky (1971) 954.

entirety, was Alexandria which was one of very few ancient places where all this information was extant?

As stated above, at the very beginning of the first century CE Strabo's work was probably unknown to the head of the Alexandrian library, Apion. From the fact that Josephus did not explicitly cite Strabo's *Geography*, although he mentioned many times his *Historika Hypomnemata*, it seems that even at the end of the first century CE the *Geography* was still not well known.²⁹ At the same time Strabo was also unfamiliar or unimportant to Roman literary society. But, four pieces of papyri from Egypt preserving Strabo's text (fragments of books two, seven and eleven) have been published in recent years.³⁰ Dated to the later second to third century CE, they show that Strabo was known in the cities of the Egyptian inland, e.g. Oxyrhynchus, at the time and that people ordered and read his work. Where did people in Egypt get a copy of Strabo's work? The most reasonable answer is in Alexandria and in its library, where some copies of Strabo's work were kept.³¹ And so Athenaeus and – with a high degree of certainty – other scholars who worked in this library, used or consulted his work and took some of his stories into consideration. We have tried to present here evidence to support this theory and we may conclude that the nature of the source material makes our search extremely difficult and complicated.

²⁹ See, however, Shahar, 'Josephus' hidden dialogue with Strabo', in this volume.

³⁰ See *LDAB* (1998) nos. 3976–9.

³¹ See Diller (1975) 8: 'we find it in Alexandria at the end of the second century and nowhere else for several centuries'. In contrast, see Clarke (1999a) 194.

*The foundation of Greek colonies and their
main features in Strabo: a portrayal
lacking homogeneity?*

Francesco Trotta

The Roman world of the first century BCE, which provides not only the historical and political but also the cultural and ideological context of Strabo's work, is perceived and consequently described in the *Geography* as a complex overall picture to which all the qualities and methodological knowledge peculiar to the philosopher must be applied. Within this picture, individual details may be played down or omitted if they risk diverting the reader's attention away from the overall view. This is the underlying theme of the famous chapters 22 and 23 of the first book of the *Geography*. Strabo's attitude towards elements of the Greek political and historical tradition that survive in the culture of the Augustan era should also be understood in this sense.

When we speak of historical and political tradition, there are probably few things more 'Greek' than a Greek colony, than an ἀποικία; and when we speak of Greek colonisation, nobody can overestimate Strabo's importance as a source, for we must thank him for a considerable number of fragments relating to colonial undertakings which were taken from both Greek and non-Greek authors.

The purpose of this contribution is to read the Strabonian account of Greek colonisation as part of his general view of the Augustan world and as an entirely consistent component in his concept of a geographical work as it is outlined in the opening chapters.

There he focuses on methodology and on the training not only of the geographer, but also of his reader. As we shall see, Strabo's references to colonisation include detailed excursuses but also contain silences that seem initially inexplicable.

At first reading, one might get the impression that the portrayal of the Greek colonies in the *Geography* is rich from a quantitative point of view but poor, or simply uneven, from a qualitative point of view: there are many cases in which Strabo merely makes quick notes about the *metropolis* or, at most, about the name of the *oikistes* of the *apoikia* concerned.

Among the many examples we might give, it seems sufficient to mention one of the most important ancient colonies, Cyrene. It appears that the impressive wealth of ancient sources regarding Cyrene has not stimulated Strabo's interest at all:

Cyrene was founded by colonists from Thera, a Laconian island, which in ancient times was called Calliste, as Callimachus says ... The naval station of the Cyreneans lies opposite the western promontory of Crete, Criumetopon, the distance across being two thousand stadia. The voyage is made with Leuconotus. Cyrene is said to have been founded by Battus; and Callimachus asserts that Battus was his ancestor. (17.3.21)

While we cannot of course imagine that Strabo, who quotes Callimachus, was unfamiliar with the fourth book of Herodotus or Pindar's *Pythians*, we must nevertheless note a significant lack of interest on his part in the events relating to the foundation of the Libyan colony. Together with Hipparchus, Strabo questions the historical reality of an inscription of the *theoroi* from Cyrene, but does not even mention the abundance of Delphic oracles on which the tradition relating to the *apoikia* in Libya is based:

Again, when Hipparchus says that the inscription on the dolphins, made by sacred ambassadors of Cyrene, is false, he gives an unconvincing reason when he says that although the founding of Cyrene falls within historical time, no historian has recorded that the oracle was ever situated on a sea. (1.3.15)

However, in other cases, Syracuse for example, the author reports, even if briefly, the circumstances of its foundation, providing the standard reference points such as *metropolis*, *oikistes*, oracle, events of the *ktisis* and relationships with the natives.¹

Why does Strabo deal with Greek colonial enterprises in such an uneven manner? The simplest answer to this question might be his limitations of historical method which prevent the balance of various parts of the work in an orderly manner. This may be partly true, but in most cases Strabo tends to give precedence to details that better suit his main interests.² The first of these interests is, undoubtedly, the geographical context of the specific colony. By this I do not mean the mere geographical position of the colony, but rather its geographical position combined with its strategic role within the Roman empire. It seems extremely satisfying for Strabo, as a Greek

¹ See Malkin (1985); (1987); (1998).

² Regarding Strabo's criteria of description related to ethnography, see van der Vliet (1977) and (1984); Thollard (1987).

author, to be able to point out how a colony came to be founded in such an important place that it is still thriving. His satisfaction is even greater if the favourable geographical position of a colony is combined with the capacity to exploit in the best way opportunities for further development of the Roman empire.

One of the many examples we could mention is Massilia, whose geographical position is defined by Strabo, in accordance with his source, in terms based directly on Hellenistic descriptive canons:

Massilia was founded by the Phocaeans, and it is situated on a rocky place. Its harbour lies at the foot of a theatre-like rock which faces south. (4.I.4)

The position of Massilia is therefore enviable; the word *theatroides*, as I have pointed out elsewhere,³ is a technical term that defines an urban settlement peculiar to the Hellenistic period, but here it refers to the orographic configuration of the bay near the city. The choice of the Phocaeans, a people of traders and navigators, was therefore also optimum from the point of view of the urban development of the polis.

Rome intervenes extremely energetically in the history of the Gallic town to support its expansion inland, to the detriment of the barbarian tribes, modifying the strategic role of Massilia so that it is no longer only a thriving Mediterranean port but also an obligatory corridor between Italy and Gaul. All this came about thanks to the friendship of the wise Phocaeans with the Romans.

Wishing to prove through the case of Massilia the theorem according to which Rome, with its political and economic power, represents the natural development of any favourable geographical situation, Strabo deals with Massilia at considerable length, presenting many geographical, historical, constitutional, religious and economic details. One example is the transfer of the cult of Artemis Ephesia. Strabo, through Posidonius, describes this episode using vocabulary and narrative structure which are characteristic of the *aition*, worthy of Herodotus.

In the above-mentioned passage about the founding of Massilia, Strabo insists on stressing the strong relationship between the Artemisium of Ephesus and the Phocaean *apoikia* and, consequently, the various Massaliote sub-colonies. According to the oracle, the settlers would find the guide for their expedition in Ephesus, and of course the obscure response would be delivered at the famous Ionian sanctuary:

³ Trotta (2000a [1996]) *ad loc.*

Now the goddess, in a dream, it is said, had stood beside Aristarcha, one of the women held in very high honour, and commanded her to sail away with the Phocaeans, ἀφίδρυμά τι τῶν ἱερῶν λαβούσης.⁴ (4.1.4)

After the foundation of Massilia was completed, Aristarcha would obtain from the Phocaeans the rank and honours of Artemis' priestess in the new sanctuary. The cult of the goddess of Ephesus was systematically exported to various Massaliote sub-colonies where, as Strabo specifies: 'they keep the artistic design (διάθεσις) of the *xoanon* the same, and all the other usages precisely the same as is customary in the mother-city'.

The *xoanon* mentioned is undoubtedly a copy of the Ephesian *agalma*, which would have been brought by Aristarcha together with the other *hiera*, thus becoming a model for all other Phocaean *agalmata* of the Massaliote sub-colonies. A *diathesis* is also mentioned in reference to the *xoanon* of Diana Aventina in Rome, as one of the many examples of the traditional friendship binding Rome and the Phocaean settlers:

Among the others [sc. examples] the Romans have consecrated Artemis' *xoanon* on the Aventine, taking the same model from the Massalioes.⁵ (4.1.5)

Strabo's expression should be interpreted, at least on an iconographical level, as Diana Aventina having been derived from the Massaliote *xoanon*. The impression gained from the entire passage, which is complex from a terminological point of view, is that the detailed reconstruction of the journey of the *xoanon* carried by Aristarcha serves more to confirm the favourable assumptions about Massilia's role in the history of Rome than merely to narrate the foundation of a Greek colony.

The association of the iconography of Diana Aventina with the Massaliote *xoanon* is not a Strabonian supposition, of course. It shows Strabo's use of this conjecture in order to demonstrate once again the connection between the fortunes of the Greek town and its sub-colonies on the one hand and the application of the Roman political model on the other. This is peculiar to the cultural context in which the *Geography* is placed: only in this context does it make sense to give a detailed description of the religious events of the *ktisis* of Massilia. Strabo, wisely manipulating the wealth of nuances offered by the Greek language, succeeds, when motivated by the general ideology of his

⁴ The interpretation and translation of the Strabonian expression ἀφίδρυμά τι τῶν ἱερῶν are controversial: Lasserre (1966) 127 translates 'un modèle réduit du sanctuaire'; H. L. Jones (1923) 173 and n. 2, proposes 'a certain reproduction which was among the sacred images'. Cf. Malkin (1991).

⁵ My translation of καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ξόανον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀβεντίῳ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν αὐτὴν διάθεσιν ἔχοντες παρὰ τοῖς Μασσαλιώταις ἀνέθεσαν. I do not believe Casaubon's emendation ἔχον τῷ after διάθεσιν (MSS A and ὡ give ἔχοντες) to be necessary.

work, in representing colonial events with a critical tone and a variety of themes worthy of a great historical work.

Episodes of *ktisis*, such as that of Cyzicus in Asia Minor, can be placed in the very same cultural context:

Cyzicus is an island in the Propontis, being connected with the mainland by two bridges; and it is not only most excellent in the fertility of its soil, but in size has a perimeter of about five hundred stadia ... This city rivals the foremost of the cities of Asia in size, in beauty, and in its excellent administration of affairs (*eunomia*) both in peace and in war. And its adornment appears to be of a type similar to that of Rhodes and Massilia and ancient Carthage ... But the Romans honoured the city [sc. after Lucullus' pillage]; and it is free to this day, and holds a large territory, not only that which it has held from ancient times, but also other territory presented to it by the Romans. (12.8.11)

Cyzicus' geographical position, together with its *eunomia* (cf. below) and allegiance to Rome, are the cornerstones of thriving, unstoppable development which places the polis of Propontis on the same level as Rhodes, Massilia or Carthage.⁶ Even the pillage perpetrated by Lucullus' Roman troops is justified as an unavoidable consequence of a period of local tyranny.

Another obvious example along these lines is that of Selge in Pisidia, which Strabo considers a Laconian colony:

Selge was first founded by the Lacedaemonians as a city,⁷ and still earlier by Calchas;⁸ but later it remained an independent city, having waxed so powerful on account of the law-abiding manner in which its government was conducted that it once contained twenty thousand men.⁹ ... Because of their natural fortifications, however, the Selgians have never even once, either in earlier or later times, become subject to others, but unmolested have reaped the fruit of the whole country except the part situated below them in Pamphylia and inside the Taurus, for which they were always at war with the kings; but in their relations with the Romans, they occupied the part in question on certain stipulated conditions. They sent an embassy to Alexander and offered to receive his commands as a friendly country, but at the present time they have become wholly subject to the Romans and are included in the territory that was formerly subject to Amyntas.¹⁰ (12.7.3)

⁶ On Strabo's tradition regarding Cyzicus, see Trotta (2000b) 194–6.

⁷ Note the uncertainty in the textual tradition: Σέλιγη δὲ καὶ <...> ἐξ ἄρχῆς ... Lasserre (1981) *ad loc.* supposes a lacuna to integrate with something like 'est une ville policée', to emphasise the contrast with the extremely bad living conditions of the other Pisidians. As to Selge and Strabo, see Trotta (2000b) 201–4. On Spartan colonisation in the Aegean and Asia Minor, see Malkin (1994) 67–114.

⁸ Cf. Prinz (1979) 16. ⁹ Cf. Nollé-Schindler (1991) 23.

¹⁰ For the geography of the *chora* of Selge, see Polyb. 5.72. Cf. again van der Vliet (1977) 73–4. See also Dihle (1962); Bean (1979) 110. Regarding Strabo and Alexander, see Oddo (1915); Pédech (1974); Cohen (1995) 351; Engels (1999b).

Many other examples could be discussed; nevertheless, in general we can conclude that Strabo's interest in the geographical position of a colonial polis is directly connected with the opportunity to explain the effects of *pronoia* on the fortunes of a people, effects that are strictly linked to the relationship of *fidelitas* with Rome.

Geographical position, however, is not the only factor that leads Strabo to present full and detailed descriptions. We have mentioned his scant interest in the foundation of Cyrene, only partially compensated by his reflections on the inscription of the *theoroi*; this is all the more remarkable if we remember that Strabo is one of the main sources for Spartan colonial traditions, so much so that some presumed Laconian *apoikiai* are documented only by him. Two of these, the Italiote Taras and the Cretan Lyttus, are treated with such particular interest that we actually owe the preservation of some important fragments of earlier historians to these Strabonian passages.

In the case of Taras, we find in Strabo the two main versions of the event, one based on Antiochus of Syracuse and the other on Ephorus.¹¹ The facts are very well known, but it is worth summarising them.

According to Antiochus, at the end of the first Messenian War the Lacedaemonian citizens who had refused to fight were punished with *atimia* and turned into Helots. Their children, born during the war, were called Partheniae and were deprived of their civil rights. Once grown up, the Partheniae refused to accept their status and organised a revolt. The Spartiates, anticipating what was going to happen, infiltrated the rebels; Phalantus, one of the spies who was unpopular with the Spartiates, even succeeded in becoming the leader of the rebellion. Warned by their spies, the Spartiates, through a herald, succeeded in preventing Phalantus from giving the signal agreed for the outbreak of the revolt, thus averting a clash with the Partheniae. To resolve the crisis, it was decided that a colony of Partheniae led by Phalantus would leave the country. After consulting the Delphic oracle, Phalantus left for Italy and founded Taras, where the Partheniae lived together with the barbarians and the Cretans who had stopped over in Iapygia after the death of their king Minos. According to Antiochus, the name of the town derives from that of a hero named Taras.

Ephorus' tale differs mainly in reference to the origin of the Partheniae. During the first Messenian War, after a ten-year siege (the Spartiates had sworn to return to their homeland only after the capture of Messene), the Spartan womenfolk went to the camp and reproached the warriors because,

¹¹ Strabo 6.3.2 = Antioch. *FGrHist* 555 F 13; Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 126.

in neglecting their conjugal duties and not marrying the maidens, they were not fathering children and were putting the very outcome of the war at risk. The Spartiates then decided to send home only those who did not swear the oath because they had left when they were still children. They were ordered to have sexual intercourse with all girls of marriageable age, in the hope that this would produce more offspring. The Partheniae were the result of these indiscriminate unions. After a nineteen-year war, Messene fell and the victors, when they returned to their homeland, refused to accept the Partheniae into the Spartan community because their paternity was unknown. Discriminated against and marginalised, the Partheniae organised a revolt together with the Helots. The plot was discovered and the Partheniae were induced to go to the colony with the promise of receiving a fifth of the conquered Messenian territory in the case of failure. On arrival, they found the Achaeans fighting against the barbarians, joined the former and founded Taras. In Ephorus' tale, the *oikistes* Phalantus does not appear and no mention is made of the Delphic oracle.

Elsewhere I have pointed out how the entire Strabonian account, in both the Antiochaeian and Ephorean versions, is constructed with strong characterisation of the various reference points for a colonial expedition;¹² that is to say, ancient authors reacted to the contradiction represented by a group of Laconians willing to abandon Sparta and its *eunomia* in order to found a colony. They did so by making continual reference to their knowledge of the Spartan constitution.

In the case of Taras, the stages of characterisation may be described as follows:

- 1 The settlers are not real Spartiates and thus harbour feelings of resentment towards the community from which they feel isolated;¹³
- 2 The *oikistes* is a Spartiate, but he loses elements of his '*spartanitas*' as the account progresses (at the beginning, Phalantus is a spy sent by the *homoioi*, but later he ends up as the Partheniae's leader). The oracle is nevertheless given to him, a Spartan;
- 3 The purpose of the colonial expedition is to avert *stasis* and, therefore, to safeguard the *eunomia*;
- 4 The settlers' isolation from the community derives from their 'un-Spartan' behaviour (refusal to obey/*hybris*);
- 5 The colony, even though it originates from a rift in the Laconian *kosmos*, itself becomes a point of diffusion of *eunomia* among the natives

¹² Trotta (1991).

¹³ The same occurs in the tradition of Thera's colonisation and Doricaeus' expedition to the West.

or other Greeks (always associated with the main Spartan colonial foundations).

It is precisely the possibility of diffusion of the Laconian *eunomia* through the colonies that is at the root of the Ephorean debate on the derivation of the Cretan constitution from Lycurgus', as mentioned in Strabo 10.4.17–18.¹⁴ There is no room here to enter into the complex arguments relating to the debate, originating in Greek times, on the antiquity of the Laconian colonies in Crete and on their relationship with Lycurgus and Cretan custom. I shall therefore restrict myself to underlining the importance of the long Strabonian excursus, not only because it includes a substantial fragment from Ephorus, but also because it is entirely consistent with Strabo's interest in constitutional matters. I would merely note that Strabo is the only one to document Spartan colonisation of the Cretan polis in Polyrrhenia (*synoikismos* in association with the Achaeans, similar to the arrangement at Taras); this demonstrates a certain 'independence' of Strabo's work, which is not a mere collection of other sources.

As mentioned above, the list of the presumed Laconian colonies documented by Strabo (mainly in the *Geography*) is long: Lyttus and Polyrrhenia in Crete, Lapethus and other minor towns in Cyprus, Selge and Nysa in Asia Minor, Taras, the Sabines and Formiae in Italy, and Cantabria in Iberia.¹⁵

In almost all of these cases Strabo concentrates on finding institutional links with Lycurgus' *kosmos*. He is keenly interested in the question of the Laconian colonies: in fact, he considers the Spartan *eunomia* as the main factor in developing a model of *apoikia* that both associates 'political' *pronoia* (represented by the choice of a good political *kosmos*) with the *pronoia* shown by the settlers in the choice of site and allows the diffusion and the multiplication of the model itself, the civilisation, and the spread of the *oikoumene*.

In almost all the episodes mentioned above, we see not only a short description, but rather a complex examination, sometimes expressed in remarkable style, of the degree of civilisation achieved: this implies that Strabo is willing to criticise the sources at his disposal; while not sharing his contemporaries' idea of *graecitas* spreading in the ancient world thanks to its cultural superiority, he does not ignore the recipient of his work, that is to say Augustan society, whether Greek or Roman.

¹⁴ Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 149, 17–18.

¹⁵ Lyttus, 10.4.17–18; Polyrrhenia, 10.4.13; Lapethus, 14.6.3ff.; Selge, 12.7.3; Nysa, 14.1.43ff.; Taras, 6.3.2; Sabini, 5.4.12; Formiae, 5.3.6; Cantabria, 3.4.3.

In this respect the case of the Sabines and their presumed Laconian origins is typical. This is not only documented by other reliable sources, but can be seen in the widespread context of regular Spartan visits to Latium.¹⁶ Strabo comes straight to the point:

- 1 He does not recognise the Sabines' *severitas*, despite its association by others with the Spartan *mores*;
- 2 He does not link the Sabine/Spartan frugality with the Roman *prisci mores*, in accordance with a model that was to meet up with the approval of some aristocratic Latin families (an example being the tradition of Publius Valerius Publicola's *spartanitas*). In short, he does not waste a word in supporting a tradition that nonetheless offered interesting possibilities for an in-depth analysis. Strabo simply denies the existence of a Roman tradition regarding the Sabines' Laconian past: the whole thing is an invention of the inhabitants of Taras.

How can we explain Strabo's clear position in this matter? By assuming his scant knowledge of the Latin sources? And how can this hypothesis be compatible with the details of the versions relating to the foundation of Formiae?¹⁷ And again, how come Strabo is ignorant of things that Dionysius of Halicarnassus knows?¹⁸ Perhaps Strabo realises the ineffectiveness and inappropriateness of any tradition that weakens the one on the penetration of the Trojan *mores* into Latium. This was the tradition strongly supported by Augustan ideology, the same ideology that produced Virgil's *Aeneid*.¹⁹

In Latium, the qualitative leap leading to political organisation and aggregation takes place, according to Strabo, only with the arrival of the Trojans led by Aeneas: formerly, Latium was inhabited in separate villages (κατὰ κώμας) only by groups (συστήματα) such as the Rutuli, the Aequi and the Volsci (Strabo does not mention the Sabines before the rape of their women by the Romans).²⁰ The tradition of an earlier Greek foundation of Rome, with Evander as protagonist, is hastily and briefly defined as older and fabulous (πρωτέρα καὶ μυθώδης) (5.3.3).

¹⁶ Dion. Halic. 2.49; Plut. *Rom.* 16.1; *Num.* 1.4; Serv. ad Aen. 8.638. For other traditions, of which the one about Amunclae is the most interesting, see Trotta (1986–7); Trotta (1989).

¹⁷ 'Next after Tarracina comes Formiae, founded by the Laconians, and formerly called "Hormiae" because of its good "hormos". And those people also named the intervening gulf "Caietas", for the Laconians call all hollow things "Caietas"; but some say the gulf was named after the nurse of Aeneas' (5.3.6). Cf. Fest. 83 Serv. ad Aen. 7.695.

¹⁸ For example, the Laconian foundation of Feronia in Tarracina, through which *spartanitas* penetrated the Sabines. See Dion. Halic. 2.49.2.

¹⁹ For the tradition regarding the Trojan foundation of Rome, see 5.3.2.

²⁰ On *systemata* as units prior to the *synoikismos*, see Trotta (1994).

The whole story of the *ktisis* in Rome is treated by Strabo as a fundamental example of *pronoia*, which leads to a potentially rich region improving and becoming prosperous:

- 1 Before Rome, people in Latium lived in separate villages (κατὰ κώμας) without any collective organisation;
- 2 Aeneas founds an early polis in the hinterland and not directly on the coast thus making a choice that was considered close to optimum in the ancient tradition; however, Romulus and Remus are obliged to found Rome 'in a place which was suitable more as a matter of necessity than of choice' (ἐν τόποις οὐ πρὸς αἴρεσιν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἐπιτηδείοις): it is the valour of the Romans that will overcome the difficulties caused by nature and by bellicose neighbours;
- 3 The first problem with which Romulus is confronted is the limited number of citizens: the *euanthropia*, as a parameter of the development of a population, is a classical theme in Greek sources;
- 4 The same effect of *euanthropia* observed in the Romans of Romulus, spreads in all directions to involve the Latins: it is the principle of the Roman civilising action;
- 5 What remains of the process of forming Rome are only some 'fossils' dating back to the *synoikismos*, like Collatia, Antemnae, Fidenae and Labicum, 'little cities, now mere villages, or else estates of private citizens' (πολίχνια, νῦν δὲ κῶμα, κτήσεις ἰδιωτῶν).

Such a detailed description of the application of *pronoia*, following descriptive schemes typical of Greek culture on the *ktiseis*, is connected with the following famous remark on the differences between Greek foundations and Roman foundations:

So much, then, for the blessing with which nature supplies the city; but the Romans have added still others, which are the result of their foresight (πρόνοια); for if the Greeks had the repute of aiming most happily in the founding of the cities, in that they aimed at beauty, strength of position, harbours, and productive soil, the Romans had the best foresight (προϋνόησαν) in those matters which the Greeks made but little account of, such as the construction of roads and aqueducts, and of sewers that could wash out the filth of the city into the Tiber. (5.3.8)

The success of a *ktisis* therefore depends not only on being able to recognise the potential offered by nature, but also on being able to use the *pronoia* with which man is endowed and of which the Romans, in Strabo's eyes, represent the best synthesis.²¹

²¹ *Status quaestionis* and important reflections on Strabo's vision of the Roman empire in Dueck (2000a) 107–29.

Strabo's method is based on a mixture, though not always balanced, between Greek historical–geographical tradition and the parameters offered by the success of Rome: new political parameters (*eunomia* = *fidelitas*), new strategic parameters (road networks in the Roman empire) and new economic and, if you will, 'technological' parameters.

The apparent variations we see in the descriptions of *ktiseis* in Strabo's work are in fact the result of the application and experimentation of this method. Strabo's ideal reader, conceived as a politician or an educated private citizen, that is to say someone devoted both to *negotium* and to Ciceronian *otium cum dignitate*, would not look for specific details of Greek traditions relating to the colonies unless these are still observable and pragmatically active; he would rather wish to be assured, step by step, that the process of Romanisation and the foundation of the empire are viewed as the result of a series of choices dictated by *pronoia*.

“Ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι or ‘men of high reputation’ in Strabo’s Geography

Johannes Engels

In the prooemium to his *Geography* Strabo announces that, among other topics, he intends to supply information on the lives of ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς.¹ And in fact, numerous passages of his κολοσσουργία give praise to famous persons and briefly characterise them in connection with the description of certain poleis. These passages may be regarded as a typical feature of his cultural geography of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean world. Strabo honours prominent men of letters and learning by calling them ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι καὶ ἀξιόλογοι.² Usually, he makes mention of such men of high reputation after providing a description of the main geographical features of their native towns. Other persons, however, are reported along with the cities where they have been active as prominent scholars, teachers or authors. For instance, Strabo bestows praise on the Stoic philosopher Posidonius, a born Apamean, and on two orators named Apollonius, natives of Alabanda, in his description of Rhodes. Finally, in other passages Strabo follows a custom well established among ancient biographers informing his readers about places where famous people had died, for instance the philosopher Aristotle at Chalcis or the orator Demosthenes at Calauria. It comes as no big surprise that Strabo mentions only three γυναικῆς ἔνδοξοι (the poetess Sappho, the Cyrenean philosopher Arete and an Alexandrian grammarian called Hestiaea) against over two hundred men of high reputation.³

¹ See 1.1.23.

² Or almost synonymous expressions, e.g. ἄνδρες ἐλλώγιμοι, λόγου ὄξιοι, ἄνδρες τῶν ὀνομαστῶν, γνώριμοι, ἀξιοὶ μνήμης, ἄνδρες τῶν μνημονευομένων, ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς and, using a particularly telling expression, ἄνδρες ἀξιόλογοι κατὰ παιδείαν.

³ Sappho 13.2.3, Arete 17.3.22, and Hestiaea 13.1.36. Apart from some female members of eastern Hellenistic dynasties and the *domus Augusta* Strabo only very rarely mentions γυναικῆς ἔνδοξοι. In antiquity, special treatises however provided their readers with information on eminent women, such as Artemon of Magnesia’s Τῶν κατ’ ἀρετὴν γυναικῶν πεπραγματευμένων διηγήματα (now lost) or the anonymous treatise on Γυναικῆς ἐν πολεμικοῖς συνεταιὶ καὶ ἀνδρεῖαι (no fragments preserved).

In the following paper I focus upon those passages in the *Geography* where ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι are mentioned in the context of the description of their places of origin. I hope to demonstrate that Strabo includes this biographical element with good reason and that it serves to glorify the cities of Asia Minor as flourishing centres of Hellenic culture. Strabo's choice of biographical information is certainly his own as far as contemporaries are concerned, and – at least to some degree – probably also with respect to famous men of the past. I omit deities, heroes and purely mythological persons named by Strabo along with certain places, as well as famous ancient or contemporary geographers and historians, if and whenever Strabo just quotes or criticises them for holding certain views.⁴ I also pass over eminent persons who are considered by Strabo in an exclusively military or historical context of battles, of the foundation, the capture or the destruction of cities, such as Alexander's followers and opponents, Hellenistic kings, generals and statesmen or Roman *nobiles* from the crucial year 146 BCE to the beginning of the principate of Tiberius.⁵

To start with, it should be clearly stated that in the *Geography* no ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι at all are mentioned as coming from the western part of the Roman empire, although this area includes many important Greek colonies along the coastlines of Iberia and southern Celtica. The same holds true for northern and central Italy and, astonishingly, also for Rome, capital of the Augustan empire (5.3.7–8).⁶ This observation comes as a kind of a surprise to any reader of Strabo's *Geography* who ponders this author's general pro-Roman attitude and the well-known fact that, when Strabo wrote his geographical work, the capital Rome was going through a time of cultural revival, the Augustan age. In the years after the decisive battle of Actium, eminent Greek philosophers, orators, grammarians and other authors had flocked to Rome – including Strabo himself. In the nineteenth century the German scholar Hillscher compiled a list of Greek philosophers, orators, historians, grammarians, poets and other authors who lived at Rome at some stage between the end of the third century BCE and the reign of the emperor Tiberius. This list has been recently updated by Dueck's chapter on Greek scholars in Augustan Rome.⁷ Now, most of these eminent men are also esteemed as ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι by Strabo, but not along with his

⁴ On Strabo as a critic of earlier geographers see already Dubois (1891); and, more recently, van Paasen (1957); Prontera (1984b); Jacob (1986).

⁵ See Dueck (2000b).

⁶ On Strabo's description of Rome see Wiseman (1979) 129–34; Biffi (1988) 274–6; Weiss (1991) 21–3; Engels (1999a) 298–302.

⁷ See Hillscher (1892); Dueck (2000a) 130–44. Cf. also Bowersock (1965).

description of Rome. Strabo deliberately names them along with the description of their eastern native towns. Only in this context does he add that later on the same men were living, teaching or writing at Rome. Moreover, it strikes the reader as a remarkable fact that hardly any of the numerous poleis of *Magna Graecia*, not even Neapolis, the most 'Greek' polis of all the cities of Italy, are honoured by Strabo with a list of ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι. For a possible explanation we may refer the reader to Strabo's theory of a temporary 'barbarisation' of *Magna Graecia* with the exception of the cities of Taras, Rhegium and Neapolis (6.1.2). One wonders why Strabo, completely omitting the most famous Latin poets of the Augustan age such as Virgil and Horace as ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι and passing over even some of the Latin historians he uses for his description of Celtica in book four (a testimony to his poor Latin?), renders prominent no one else but Ennius from Rhodiae among the Latin poets as a man of high reputation. Perhaps Suetonius gives us a clue calling Ennius a *semigraecus*.⁸

The number of ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι mentioned along with their places of origin rises astonishingly in the books of the *Geography* devoted to the description of the eastern part of the Roman empire. This area got its cultural stamp from Greek tradition and from the poleis as centres of civilisation. Despite Strabo's extensive education and his basic views, which were inspired by an intense study of the classical works of Greek literature, nevertheless in his description of mainland Greece in books eight and nine he completely passes over many famous men of high reputation in the fields of philosophy, oratory, literature and the sciences or at least does not mention them in connection with their native towns.⁹ In sharp contrast we hear of at least some ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι from the Aegean islands in book ten of the *Geography*. In book eleven and the main part of book twelve Strabo treats of admittedly semibarbarous regions with a low density of remarkable poleis. But still he registers hardly any men of high reputation as natives of these regions, although now he writes as a native and as eye-witness. That Strabo could not mention even one ἀνὴρ ἔνδοξος from his native town Amasia or any other polis of Cappadocia and Pontus must have been an irritating and provocative fact to the geographer.¹⁰ With the

⁸ Suet. *De Gramm.* 1.2. For a commentary see Kaster (1995) 50–1.

⁹ He mentions Aristotle (7, fr. 35 Jones), Hesiod of Ascrea (9.2.25), Mnasalces of Plataea (9.2.31), C. Julius Eurycles (8.5.8), Aratus of Sicyon (8.6.25), Euclides of Megara, Phaedo of Elis and Menedemus of Eretria (9.1.8) and Demetrius of Phalerum (9.1.20). On Strabo's description of mainland Greece and the Peloponnese see Baladié (1978) and (1980) as well as Biraschi (1994a).

¹⁰ On Strabo's description of Cappadocia and Pontus (including his own native town Amasia) see Syme (1995) 289–301; Gnoli (2000) 543–64; Panichi (2000) 509–42; Lindsay, 'Amasya and Strabo's *patria* in Pontus', in this volume.

harbour-town of Sinope on the north-western coast of the Black Sea, however, Strabo makes an exception and honours her by listing important men of high reputation. In book thirteen (covering the north-western coast of Asia Minor stretching from the Propontis region to the Troad) and especially in book fourteen (on Ionia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, western Cilicia and the islands of Samos, Chios, Rhodes and Cyprus) we find most of Strabo's biographical remarks on ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι along with their native towns. Notwithstanding Syme's severe criticism of Strabo's merits as an historian, *communis opinio* still holds that books thirteen and fourteen rank among the best parts of the *Geography*.¹¹ I should like to stress that by cataloguing famous men Strabo gives praise to several poleis of Asia Minor as centres of culture and learning, for instance Mytilene on Lesbos, Rhodes, Ephesus, Lampsacus, Trallis, Nysa, Halicarnassus, Pergamum and Tarsus. Leaving this geographical area and searching for ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι in books fifteen to seventeen, one finds few examples. Even in his description of Alexandria, the most important cultural centre of the eastern Hellenistic Mediterranean world, capital of the Ptolemies and for some years in the twenties BCE his own place of residence, Strabo names no other ἀνὴρ ἔνδοξος but the Academic philosopher and diplomat Dio, despite the fact that the description of Alexandria is by far the most detailed and best description of a polis in the *Geography*.¹² Thus, it would have been an easy task for Strabo to list an impressive number of ancient and contemporary scholars and authors of the highest reputation. He prefers, however, to mention Callimachus or Eratosthenes in his description of Cyrene, a city which Strabo sets apart as a centre of philosophical studies by providing his readers with a list of Cyrenean philosophers which stretches over three generations. To sum up, it appears that taking the number of ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι mentioned along with a polis as indicative of her importance as a centre of culture and learning, Strabo seems to have intentionally neglected Athens,¹³ Alexandria and Rome, but at the same time he has

¹¹ See again Syme (1995); but compare also important recent studies in Biraschi and Salmeri (2000) and many references to Strabo's *Geography* as an important source in Mitchell (1993).

¹² On Strabo's description of Alexandria (17.1.6–10 with an excursus on the Ptolemies in 17.1.10–11) see Fraser (1972) 11–37; for some important remarks from an Egyptologist's point of view compare also Yoyotte and Charvet (1997).

¹³ In his review of Dueck's monograph on Strabo, Behrwald (2001) has made the following comment: 'it is remarkable ... that just in the cases of Athens and Alexandria, when Strabo might have stressed Greek cultural achievements more than anywhere else, he misses this opportunity'. In my view, however, his silence on eminent men of letters and learning from Athens and Alexandria might better be understood as a symptom of a certain inferiority complex on Strabo's side with respect to the city of Athens, which in his age still was regarded as a centre of traditional learning and culture. Desideri (2000) 32–4 has even suspected a systematic strategy of 'occultamento' (32) and 'de-atenizzazione

strongly emphasised other centres such as Rhodes and especially several poleis of Asia Minor. Refraining from giving a list of very prominent and widely known Athenian, Roman or Alexandrian men of high reputation Strabo did not simply want to avoid his reader's *ennui*, but to focus his biographical notes on Asia Minor as his own cultural *patria*.

When he mentions and characterises ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι, Strabo separates two basic levels of time. Perhaps the same two had been used before as a fundamental structure in his *Historika Hypomnemata*, too. At least, one could presume this from the similar structure of the two works. As recent research has clearly demonstrated, in his *Geography* Strabo usually separates events as well as persons of the remote past from his contemporaries.¹⁴ The key terms 'contemporary events' (cf. τὰ νῦν (I.I.16), translated by Jones as 'present-day conditions') and 'contemporaries' (οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς), however, are not strictly defined by Strabo. He does not restrict himself to events and people of his own lifetime (c. 63 BCE to about 24 CE) but includes as his close contemporaries also famous persons born a few decades earlier, for instance Pompey or Caesar (cf. 5.3.8 οἱ νῦν καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς). In the *Geography* biographical remarks on ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι are generally linked with their place of origin, their most famous place of activity or the place of their death. The concentration of biographical information in these places corresponds well with a scheme commonly used by ancient Hellenistic biographers in arranging their material. In addition, when he catalogues several ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι Strabo likes to separate the men of letters and learning of ancient times from his contemporaries. He avoids, however, making strict divisions among them according to their profession, philosophical school or genre of literature. He also dislikes the alphabetical order preferred by other ancient authors on ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι (for instance by Philo of Byblus)¹⁵ and ancient and Byzantine lexicographers (such as Pseudo-Hesychius or the *Suda*).¹⁶

In his description of the town of Sinope (12.3.11), Strabo himself provides us with three categories of ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι: philosophers, poets and

della cultura greca' (34) in Strabo's biographical notes on eminent men. One should, however, be cautious in subscribing to Desideri's opinion that 'Strabone ha insomma riscritto la storia della cultura greca, presentandola come un *prodotto essenzialmente microasiatico*' (38, my italics).

¹⁴ On 'temporal markers' in Strabo's *Geography* cf. Potheary (1997); Clarke (1997); (1999a) 245–93.

¹⁵ See Philo of Byblus and his treatise Περὶ πόλεων καὶ οὐς ἐκάστη αὐτῶν ἐνδόξους ἤνεγκεν A–Λ, a late first-century or early second-century CE work which has only been preserved in a very fragmentary state; for the remains, see *FGrHist* IVA 7, 1060 with commentaries by J. Radicke.

¹⁶ In his treatise entitled Περὶ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων σοφῶν (*FHG* 4, 155–77), Ps.-Hesychius of Miletus concentrated on famous philosophers, scholars and writers. This work became a main source for the biblio-biographical lemmata in the Byzantine *Suda*, see Daub (1882); and, more recently, Tinnefeld (1998) 516–17 and Zecchini (1999).

historians. It is easy to see that by giving precisely these categories Strabo once more wants to make it clear that in his view ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι are primarily eminent scholars and authors of high reputation, but not politicians and military men. On the other hand, prosopographical research on the intellectual and social elite of the Hellenistic kingdoms and the Augustan empire has shown that a considerable number of the leading philosophers, scholars or prominent writers also fulfilled important diplomatic, administrative or even military tasks.¹⁷ Men such as Artemidorus of Ephesus, Hybreas of Mylasa or Athenodorus of Tarsus fulfil Strabo's ideal of a βίος θεωρητικός combined with features of a βίος πρακτικός. This mixed way of life was esteemed as a perfect life for members of the intellectual and social elite of his day especially by middle and younger Stoics. Although Strabo himself furnishes only three categories, I should prefer to separate nine categories of ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι: by far the highest number are philosophers of different philosophical sects and times, next come the poets of different genres, then the rhetoricians, the historians significantly taken together with the geographers, the grammarians, and with clearly smaller numbers some mathematicians, physicians, musicians and painters.

The predominant position of the philosophers among the ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι can be explained by Strabo's own pretensions not to have written a simple geographical treatise for some specialists but a philosophical work of general importance, composed to promote the higher education of the members of the elite of the Augustan empire. Judged by Strabo's standards, cultural or human geography is conceived as a philosophical discipline. Thus, Strabo begins with the Wise Men and Ionian natural philosophers and includes remarks on the philosophers of classical times, but, most importantly, he does not omit any philosophical sect that had been influential in Hellenistic and early imperial times. Personally, he is an adherent of the Stoa. He mentions Zeno of Citium as 'our Zeno' and Stoic philosophers as 'our philosophers'.¹⁸ But this special liking for the Stoics does not seduce him into giving praise exclusively to philosophers of this sect and their tenets. He is well aware of many important contributions made by other schools to the history of philosophy and to the current philosophical debate in late Hellenistic and Augustan times.¹⁹ Among

¹⁷ Historians, poets, tragedians and graphic artists, however, are recorded far more often than philosophers and scholars to have fulfilled such tasks; for a detailed discussion see Vatai (1984), Sonnabend (1996) and Scholz (1998).

¹⁸ Cf. 1.2.3; 1.2.13; 1.2.34; 2.3.8.

¹⁹ On Strabo's philosophical preferences cf. Aujac (1983) 17–29 and Engels (1999a) 40–4.

Strabo's teachers and friends we also find prominent adherents of the Peripatetic sect. Strabo even makes compliments to the founders and later members of the hedonistic schools of the Cyreneans and the followers of Epicurus despite their severe dogmatic differences from the Stoic school. Personal sympathy, however, only can be felt when Strabo enumerates some of his teachers such as Tyrannio of Amisus, Aristodemus of Nysa or Xenarchus of Seleucia, his friends and famous scholars Diodorus the younger of Sardis and Boethus of Sidon, and in addition to them some other ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι among his contemporaries who combined a βίος θεωρητικός as philosophers, scholars or teachers of high reputation with elements of a βίος πρακτικός, that is men who from time to time undertook special duties as counsellors, diplomats or administrators in the service of their native towns, with the aim of a stabilisation of the new Augustan principate.

When we examine Strabo's biographical remarks on famous orators among the ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι, we do not find even one of the canonical Athenian orators mentioned along with the description of Athens. Anaximenes of Lampsacus, however, a fourth-century BCE orator born in Asia Minor, is eulogised along with his native town. Contemporary orators of the first century BCE and the Augustan era are clearly more often listed as ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι than orators of ancient times. Strabo differs from Dionysius of Halicarnassus and other fervent Atticists in his opinions on contemporary orators. Admittedly, in one passage Strabo openly criticises Hegesias of Magnesia (14.1.41) for having initiated the Asiatic style and corrupted the established Attic custom, but in general there is no clear refusal of Asianism. On the contrary, leading exponents of this influential style such as Aeschines of Miletus, Damasus Scombrus and Dionysocles of Trallis, Hybreas of Mylasa or Menippus of Stratonicia (also called Menippus Catocas) are given praise. Concerning the schools of Apollodorus of Pergamum and Theodorus of Gadara, Strabo holds indifferent views. He likes to mention famous archaic and classical poets and quite frequently quotes from their works (especially from Homer, the three Attic tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides and the comic poet Menander),²⁰ but passes over some of them when describing their native towns. Strabo avoids committing himself to the rivalling claims of one of the many cities that claimed to be Homer's place of birth, *archegetes* of all later Greek poetry and higher education. It is a remarkable fact that the famous Hellenistic Alexandrian and Athenian grammarians and literary critics are not named by Strabo as ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι along with the description of these capitals of

²⁰ For an analysis of these quotations see Dueck, 'Strabo's use of poetry', in this volume.

Hellenistic culture. Contrary to modern expectation some of them are not even given a prominent place anywhere else in the *Geography*. Again, scholars coming from Rhodes, Pergamum, Trallis, Nysa and Tarsus are prominent.

Strabo was as much the composer of a universal history as he was the author of a geographical description of the civilised world. Consequently he did not draw a sharp dividing line between the writing of a geographical treatise and a historical work in the strict sense. Fitting examples among his ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι are Scylax of Caryanda or Hecataeus of Miletus, both of them called by Strabo historians of ancient times. I must confess that I am still puzzled as to why Strabo mentions some of the prominent historians and geographers whom he uses as his sources, along with their places of origin (Ephorus of Cyme, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Posidonius of Apamea and Rhodes, Theophanes of Mytilene), but passes over other equally famous men, even though he also uses them as his sources, in his description of their native towns.²¹ For instance, he does not mention Polybius of Megalopolis in his description of this town or of Arcadia. Perhaps, once more, historians from Asia Minor are intentionally glorified. However, he does not mention Artemidorus in connection with Ephesus either.

Only rarely does Strabo record famous mathematicians, physicians, musicians and painters as eminent men. The fact that he includes eminent men of these professions at all might point to a rising reputation of these disciplines during Strabo's lifetime. He does not concentrate on one school of physicians, e.g. those of Cos, to the detriment of other schools. Nowadays it would be strange to exclude so many famous musicians, painters and sculptors from the ranks of ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι. No doubt they would hold a prominent place in modern guides and descriptions of cities and regions. Perhaps Strabo shares the common prejudice of members of the Greco-Roman elite against professional artists as socially inferior people. Therefore, if Strabo chooses to enlist an important musician as a man of high reputation, he likes to add some remarks on his other activities such as being a counsellor of a Roman *nobilis*, a diplomat or an administrator at the head of the government of his native town. Anaxenor of Magnesia (14.1.41) or Theomnestus of Cos (14.2.19) may be named as examples. Perhaps even more remarkable is the negative attitude Strabo shows towards prominent athletes and even winners at the Olympic Games such as the famous Milo of Croton. Whereas their native towns usually paid them the highest honours, Strabo is disinclined to call them ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι. Milo of Croton (6.1.12) is an exception to the rule, but Strabo hurries to add that this athlete was also

²¹ On historians mentioned by Strabo see Stemplinger (1894) 37–41.

a man of philosophical interests. Damaretus of Heraea (8.26.1–2) is only mentioned, because he was the first man to win the race in armour at Olympia. Composed as *Hypomnemata* or 'research memoranda' Strabo's works avoided almost any embellishment through rhetorical devices, although his profound education would have easily enabled the geographer to give bright colour and deep pathos to his work. Strabo, however, restricts himself to mentioning the names of ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι. More extensive notes providing his readers with additional biographical or doxographical information are rare, for instance, his remarks on Athenodorus of Tarsus (14.5.14), Euthydemus and Hybreas of Mylasa (14.2.24 and 13.4.15) and Xenarchus of Seleucia (14.5.4).

Strabo's biographical remarks on the places of origin of ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι are usually correct and correspond well with other ancient testimonies. In some instances, however, he differs from the *communis opinio* with regard to the place of birth of quite famous men (e.g. Hecataeus, Terpander or Xanthus).²² Sometimes Strabo avoids taking a clear position in a current debate, for instance on Homer's native town. In addition, Strabo several times records a man of high reputation along with the description of two cities without giving his readers a clear hint as to which of these poleis he regards as this man's hometown or without making clear distinctions between two homonymous poets (for instance, Simonides the melic poet of Ceos 10.5.6 and Simonides the iambic poet from Amorgos 10.5.12).

Strabo's remarks on ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι have been scornfully labelled by leading scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as nothing but 'eingestreute literar-historische Bemerkungen'.²³ They explained these numerous notes as a consequence of Strabo's intense philological studies in his youth. If one collected the information provided in these notes, an almost complete picture of Strabo's literary education would emerge, so it was thought. However, I think some second thoughts on Strabo's further aims in introducing these notes might be necessary and rewarding. For Strabo had to make a deliberate choice whom of the men of high reputation he included along with the description of their native towns drawing from an abundant biographical source material accessible to him in the libraries of Asia Minor, Alexandria and Rome and from his intensely literary education. By recording the names of these ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι at the end of the descriptions of their home towns especially in books thirteen and fourteen, Strabo shows his personal pride in the Greek cultural tradition and in the cities of Asia Minor as flourishing centres of education and of Hellenic civilisation. For the leading citizens of these cities he claims a role in the Augustan empire

²² Cf. Stemplinger (1894) 82–93. ²³ Stemplinger (1894) 8.

appropriate to the high reputation of their prominent fellow-citizens. After all, these members of the intellectual and social elite of the eastern poleis are Strabo's own 'peers'.

During the Hellenistic era biographical remarks and excursuses had become a prominent feature of historical and geographical works. Rivalling to a certain degree biographical and doxographical works²⁴ in the strict sense such biographical notes completely satisfied many readers' curiosity. Historians and geographers had developed their individual methods to include such biographical remarks in their works. Polybius includes in his *Histories* an amount of biographical material on leading Greek and Roman statesmen and other eminent persons, but he does not usually add his remarks to his description of an individual city, be it such a man's place of birth, a polis connected with his *akme* or the place of his death. Diodorus likes to record memorable deeds and lives of prominent men at the end of an eponymous archon or consul year. Pompeius Trogus sometimes connects the life of an eminent man with his report on his entire people and his country.²⁵ Among the Augustan historians and geographers, however, it is Strabo who gives his biographical notes the most prominent place. In recent studies on Strabo it has been justly stressed that he intentionally does not follow his precursor Polybius in basic decisions concerning the method of composing a universal history and a comprehensive description of the civilised world. He differs from Polybius in his chronology, his dislike for direct or indirect speeches, the special relationship of history and geography and his hypomnematic and scientific style.²⁶ With his biographical notes Strabo again deliberately departs from the Polybian model.

If we carefully analyse Strabo's notes on ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι, we may draw some interesting conclusions as to the world-view of this author who in general avoids personal statements in order to give his *Geography* an objective and scientific character. But before we can draw any secure conclusions the difficult problem has to be discussed, whether and how far Strabo depends upon certain biographical, historical or geographical

²⁴ On the literary development of biography and doxography during the Hellenistic period, see Leo (1891), still an indispensable study; and more recently Dihle (1970); Momigliano (1993); Ehlers (1998); Paschoud, Grange and Buchwalder (1998).

²⁵ On the importance of biographical passages in historical works and esp. on Pompeius Trogus, cf. recently Clarke (1999b) 268 and 276. For instance, she remarks that 'the importance of individuals in Trogus' historical narrative is clear from his equation of Theban glory with the lifespan of Epaminondas' (268; and cf. Pomp. Trogus/Justin. 6.8.1–13).

²⁶ On Polybius as Strabo's predecessor, see, for instance, Clarke (1999a) 77–128 and Engels (1999a) 59–75 and 157–65.

sources. In this paper, I suggest considering more seriously than has been done before the Hellenistic Περὶ ἔνδοξων-works as possible sources for Strabo. Of course, Strabo's biographical notes are embedded in his comprehensive description of Asia Minor and the whole Mediterranean civilisation. Nevertheless, these remarks show similarities to preserved fragments taken from biographical works entitled Περὶ ἔνδοξων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. Contrary to the impression one gets today from the very fragmentary material, the ancient literature *On men of high reputation* was a flourishing genre. Unfortunately, of most of these works only testimonies along with the names of the authors and some scanty fragments have been handed down to us. These works were closely related to biographies in the strict sense, to doxographical studies, catalogues of philosophers or authors (Πίνακες, Ἐναγραφαί) and works on philosophical sects (Περὶ αἰρέσεων) and rhetorical schools. Most Ἴνδοξοι-works can be characterised as general collections on famous poets and other writers. More detailed information was provided by special treatises on eminent poets of certain genres. There was also a vast amount of biographical information in collective biographies of philosophers and scholars, the earliest of them focusing on the Socratics. Concerning the philosophers who are by far the greatest group of men of high reputation mentioned by Strabo one should also consider as possible sources the Ἐναγραφαί- and Διαδοχαί-works written by Hippobotus, Antisthenes and Sosicrates of Rhodes, the Alexandrian Sotio and Heraclides Lembus in the second century BCE and by Alexander Polyhistor, Jason of Nysa or Nicias of Nicaea in the first century BCE. Moreover, special treatises on rhetoricians and grammarians of different schools were accessible to Strabo in the libraries of Asia Minor, Alexandria and Rome, e.g. on the pupils of Isocrates.²⁷ Probably Strabo also will have known of catalogues and lists of famous physicians of certain schools, such as the schools of Alexandria or of Cnidus. Judged by the small number of musicians, painters and sculptors among the men of high reputation Strabo does not seem to have made extensive use of special treatises on these people.

Perhaps these cursory remarks have given an idea of the wealth and scope of the Ἴνδοξοι-works accessible to Strabo as possible sources. As far as we know Neanthes of Cyzicus' Περὶ ἔνδοξων ἀνδρῶν (about 200 BCE)²⁸ is the earliest known work with this title. There can be no doubt that Strabo knew of this work, because he gives praise to Neanthes' opinion in a dispute

²⁷ Cf. Engels (2003).

²⁸ For the preserved fragments, cf. Neanthes *FGrHist* 84; and see Susemihl (1891–2) vol. 1, 617–19.

over the journey of the Argo against later views held by Demetrius of Scepsis and Apollodorus (F 39 1.2.38). In the first century BCE Amphicrates of Athens composed a Σύγγραμμα περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν.²⁹ However, not a single fragment taken from Amphicrates' work has been preserved in Strabo's *Geography*. Perhaps this observation might be explained with the political position held by Amphicrates who was a partisan of king Tigranes of Armenia. On the other hand, Strabo did obviously quote historians who had been living as courtiers with Mithridates Eupator or Tigranes, such as Hysicrates of Amisus. Another first-century work entitled Βίοι ἐνδόξων was composed by Jason of Nysa,³⁰ son of Menecrates, a close relative of Posidonius, who inherited his school on Rhodes. He was probably also related to or acquainted with Aristodemus of Nysa, Strabo's teacher. Unfortunately, no fragments from his works have been preserved and, hence, any hypothesis on Jason as a Strabonian source remains pure speculation. The same holds true for Charon of Carthage³¹ with his Βίοι ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν and Βίοι ἐνδόξων γυναικῶν.

Past research on Strabo has been heavily influenced by German studies devoted to traditional 'Quellenforschung'. Scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries almost unanimously condemned Strabo as a completely derivative author without individual literary qualities and as a man of poor personal judgement who slavishly copied his sources. Now, if it could in fact be made evident that Strabo copied his biographical notes directly from his literary sources this demonstration would entail serious consequences for our opinion of Strabo. We would hardly be in a position any more to draw safe conclusions from these notes as to Strabo's personal ideas, although, even in this case, we would have to allow for Strabo's personal choices according to his geographical criteria. Many scholars assumed that either the extensive *Troikos Diakosmos* of Demetrius of Scepsis (Stempler's view) or the *Geographoumena* and the *Ionika Hypomnemata* written by Artemidorus of Ephesus (Daebritz's position) or these two works together with Apollodorus' *Commentary on the Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad* (Strenger's opinion)³² could be demonstrated to be the immediate sources of Strabo's notes especially on ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι from Asia Minor down to the end of the second century BCE. Whereas I do not wish to give

²⁹ For the preserved fragments, cf. Amphicrates *FHG* 4, 300; and see Susemihl (1891–2) vol. II, 372.

³⁰ For the preserved fragments, cf. Jason of Nysa *FHG* 4, 300; and see Susemihl (1891–2) vol. II, 245.

³¹ On Charon of Carthage and the testimonies of his works, see *FGrHist* IVA 7, 1077. Whereas Radicé (see n. 15) 238–9 regards Charon as an author of Roman imperial times, a date before 146 BCE cannot be ruled out.

³² Cf. Stempler (1894); Daebritz (1905) 52–69; Strenger (1913).

the impression that Strabo did not make some use of Demetrius, Artemidorus and Apollodorus in his description of Asia Minor, approximately one hundred years of subtle 'Quellenforschungen' have not brought any definite results concerning Strabo's biographical notes. Hence, to some degree the small topic of this paper may be telling for the general limitations of traditional 'Quellenforschungen' applied to Strabo's *Geography*.

About 120 years ago, another theory was put forward by the German scholar Otto. He held that in the *Geography* Strabo took most of his (several hundred) biographical, political and historical remarks from his earlier universal history, the *Historika Hypomnemata*, without openly indicating this to his readers. In my view, however, Otto's hypothesis is completely erroneous.³³ Other scholars have suggested that a close examination of Strabo's remarks on men of high reputation would support the hypothesis that the *Geography* has been only preserved in an unfinished or preliminary version.³⁴ This may very well be true, but we cannot base this theory on an examination of the biographical notes. Other observations on the *Geography* and its 'Nachleben', however, make this hypothesis an attractive guess.

To sum up, in my opinion it is plainly unnecessary to presuppose one or several immediate literary sources – his own *Historika Hypomnemata*, the works of Demetrius, Artemidorus and Apollodorus, or a certain ἔνδοξοι-*work* – for almost all of Strabo's notes on men of high reputation. Strabo's selection of biographical material perfectly suits his own purpose. A native of Amasia in Pontus who had travelled widely in Asia Minor and had been thoroughly educated at several cultural centres of this region such as Nysa, Strabo must have been familiar with the eminent philosophers, poets, and writers of the past and the present whom he mentions. His profound education, his personal knowledge of the region and his pride in Asia Minor as his cultural *patria* sufficiently explain his decision to name so many ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι in the context of a geographical work along with their native towns.

Given the fragmentary preservation of Neanthes of Cyzicus, Demetrius of Scepsis, Artemidorus of Ephesus and Apollodorus' works, with respect to the men of high reputation of the remote past whom Strabo names it cannot be demonstrated nor completely ruled out that Strabo took his biographical notes from these literary sources. Thus one should cautiously

³³ Cf. Otto (1889) esp. 14 with reference to two passages in Strabo's work, fr. 65a/b and 124a/b Otto, which in his view would offer decisive proof of his hypothesis of a general technique of quoting in the *Geography* from Strabo's earlier historical work. See, however, for a different interpretation of these key passages and an attempt to refute Otto's hypothesis, Engels (1999a) 76–80.

³⁴ See, for instance, Stemplinger (1894) 82.

refrain from drawing far-reaching conclusions on the basis of an examination of this part of the ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι. Strabo's biographical remarks on his contemporaries, however, in my view can be analysed in order to draw safe conclusions as to Strabo's literary personality and to his self-assessment as a member of the so-called 'Honoratiorenschicht' (or 'notabilities').³⁵ For to select these examples, but to neglect at the same time many other eminent people whom modern historians might have expected to be recorded by Strabo, must result from decisions taken by him as an author.

Without exception the contemporary ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι mentioned by Strabo are members of their native towns' social and intellectual elite. Most of them were radical supporters of the new order of the principate and held decisively pro-Roman opinions. Literary, epigraphical and archeological sources provide us with a wealth of information on these leading men of the eastern poleis and their self-confidence concerning social status and roles. Prosopographical research has demonstrated that the families to which Strabo's men of high reputation belonged, often were closely related by intermarriage and formed a widespread personal network in the cities of Asia Minor.³⁶ Members of this social and political elite were thoroughly educated in the Greek tradition. Some of them possessed enormous wealth. They regularly held local offices and performed other leading political and administrative functions in their native towns and on the provincial scale (e.g. as priests or diplomats). Most importantly, they fulfilled a vital function as personal links between their fellow-citizens in the cities of Asia Minor and leading Romans up to the members of the *domus Augusta*. It is not by chance that along with their native towns in Asia Minor Strabo records more contemporary ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι than eminent men of the remote past. By adding personal comments on these people as models that their fellow-citizens should strive to imitate, Strabo clearly emphasises that in his view these men of the first century BCE and the Augustan era are the most important group of the ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι. Some of them are eulogised as his teachers, fellow-pupils or friends. Highly reputed philosophers, rhetoricians, scholars, poets or authors of other genres are known to have been at the same time teachers, counsellors or administrators active in the service of leading Romans. With the expression 'men of exalted stations in life' (οἱ ἐν ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς 1.1.23) Strabo also describes

³⁵ The 'Honoratioren' were defined in Weber (1972) 170. On public benefactors and municipal patrons, see Veyne (1976) and Gauthier (1984).

³⁶ For an introduction to prosopographical and social studies of the eastern cities' elite, see Bowersock (1965) and (1969); Crawford (1978); Kaplan (1990); and esp. Quass (1993).

the readers who should learn something useful from his book. Perhaps the most impressive number of men of high reputation mentioned along with their native towns can be found in Strabo's description of the city of Tarsus. In many respects, the famous Stoic philosopher Athenodorus, teacher and personal friend of the *princeps* Augustus and successful administrator of Tarsus for over a decade, can be called a personification of Strabo's ideal of an ἀνὴρ ἔνδοξος who combines the ways of life of a βίος θεωρητικός and a βίος πρακτικός. In the 20s BCE Strabo himself had been a member of the *cohors amicorum* of Aelius Gallus in Egypt and had been active as a philosophical and perhaps a political counsellor. Strabo's many biographical notes clearly testify to his pride in the superior cultural tradition of the world of the Greek poleis and to his self-confidence as a member of Asia Minor's social elite. There is, however, no fundamental conflict between this proud self-assessment and Strabo's unwavering support of Roman rule over Asia Minor and the Mediterranean world and of the new order of the principate. For 'local autonomy was the corollary of a world empire. The central government had to devolve authority either upon cities or upon dynasts'.³⁷ At least with respect to Asia Minor, Strabo in his *Geography* clearly recommends choosing the flourishing cities governed by pro-Roman men of high reputation.

³⁷ Syme (1995) 124.

*Comparing Strabo with Pausanias: Greece in
context vs. Greece in depth**

Maria Pretzler

Strabo and Pausanias both came from Roman Asia Minor and wrote extensive descriptions of Greece. This is where the similarities seem to end. Since the ‘rediscovery’ of Greece in the early nineteenth century, most scholars have admired Pausanias’ detailed *Periegesis* as an excellent source and guide, while books eight and nine of Strabo’s *Geography* have often been dismissed because, with some exceptions, they look superficial and at times inaccurate in comparison. This paper aims to show that a comparison between the two authors should not merely be based on an assessment and evaluation of factual detail. I ask how the aims and interests of Strabo and Pausanias, influenced by their cultural and historical context, shaped their views of Greece and its past.

Mainland Greece posed a challenge to any author because of its long and widely known literary tradition and the large amounts of secondary literature that needed to be taken into account. Unlike the traditions for other regions of the Roman empire, the literary tradition concerning Greece is fairly well known today, and Second Sophistic literature in particular offers numerous texts that draw on the same material to deal with aspects of Greece and its past. In this literary context Strabo’s and Pausanias’ interests and preferences become easier to understand. In fact, their approaches to Greece are radically different. As we shall see, Strabo presents Greece as a part of the wider world while Pausanias focuses on the many local details, often leaving it to the reader to understand how they all combine to form a full description of Greece. A comparison of the two authors, therefore, has to start with the cultural context of their works.

In Strabo’s time, the early Roman empire under Augustus and Tiberius, Greece might have been seen as just another province, and a backwater

* My gratitude is due to Daniela Dueck, Hugh Lindsay and Sarah Potheary for admitting Pausanias to their stimulating dialogue about Strabo, and for their support, good advice and patience. I am also grateful to Katherine Clarke for establishing my first contacts with Strabo.

province at that. The splendid cities of the Greek East were across the Aegean, or even further away, and the main Roman road in the region, the Via Egnatia, passed by Greece in the north.¹ Greece became a separate province only under Augustus, after over a hundred years of Roman rule, and during most of its history the Romans did not find it necessary to station a legion there. This backwater, however, was at the centre of attention because of its cultural achievements some centuries earlier. When Rome conquered the Greek East, Greek culture and education were already widespread and firmly established. Roman elites quickly adopted educational standards focusing on classical Greek literature, rhetoric and philosophy, and these pursuits were likely to foster an interest in Greece itself.²

For their studies and exercises pupils everywhere in the Roman empire used a canon of texts that would remain their main frame of reference throughout their lives. They were thoroughly familiar with these books and they could expect that their peers' ideas, arguments and basic knowledge were based on the same texts as their own. Dio of Prusa provides a list of the absolute minimum of reading for a Greek education: the most important author is Homer, followed by historians, especially Herodotus and Thucydides, philosophical writers, first and foremost Xenophon, orators such as Demosthenes or Lysias and, if possible, some lyric poetry, to which one might add some Attic drama and the main philosophical works of Plato and Aristotle.³ In any case, all these texts were written by Greeks and mostly in mainland Greece, and many deal with matters concerning that region.⁴

By Strabo's time Greek myth and history had long become the common heritage of most of the known world. The Greeks themselves knew that their history and monuments were an asset which allowed some cities to attract a good number of wealthy visitors. Some of these, such as Cicero's friend Atticus, even stayed for longer periods, and some could be won as private benefactors. An illustrious past was also a good argument in a community's dealings with the Roman rulers: Sparta, for example, made a point of stressing her ancient way of life, and Strabo explicitly connects her 'Lycurgan' constitution with her good fortune which actually stemmed from good relations of Sparta's leading family with Rome.⁵ The tiny

¹ Roman roads in Greece: Alcock (1993) 120–4. ² Morgan (1998) 21–5.

³ Dio Chrys. 18.6–17; Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.1–12; 10.1.46–131; Morgan (1998) 94–100.

⁴ Swain (1996) 39. ⁵ Strabo 8.5.5; Bowersock (1961); Lindsay (1992); Alcock (1993) 78.

community Pallantium in Arcadia even claimed to be the *metropolis* of Rome and attracted generous benefactions from the emperor Antoninus Pius.⁶ In fact, Roman officials in the province may often have been ready to make allowances for Greece or individual Greek cities for mere emotional and nostalgic reasons.⁷ The Greeks, therefore, clearly had an interest in reminding everyone of their history and cultural importance, and it seems that many outsiders were impressed.⁸

The old tradition of connecting the histories of regions outside Greece with Greek myth gained momentum with Alexander's conquests, focusing mainly on stories of wandering heroes on their way home from Troy and the many deeds and affairs of Heracles. Such stories became particularly widespread in the Roman imperial period when their usefulness for defining communities' importance and relations was exploited in large parts of the Roman world. In Strabo's time several authors, for example Dionysius of Halicarnassus or Virgil, made use of connections between the Greek past and the histories of the known world, particularly Rome and Italy. A new sense of 'connectedness' developing in the Roman empire could therefore be expressed through widespread supraregional links that reached back into mythical times. Just as Rome was the undisputed centre of her empire, Greece was the hub of the myths that connected the putative past of the Mediterranean world. This special role gave it a significance that far surpassed the political or economic importance of the province of Achaëa. Greek history, which for the ancients included the mythical past, had, in fact, become the history of many inhabitants of the Roman empire.

Because of the general interest in the matter, numerous works about Greece were available in the great libraries of the empire: a special genre of local histories dealing with Attica was flourishing since its beginnings in the fourth century BCE, and the rest of Greece soon followed suit. There were also extensive commentaries on the classical texts, a variety of scientific works, such as biological and geographical studies, detailed guide books to the famous sites and various *periploi*. Many of these books had been produced during the Hellenistic period, by authors whose particular interest in Greece was probably often connected with their interest in the classical works of Greek literature.⁹ Strabo introduces book eight with references to literature about Greece.

⁶ Paus. 8.43.1–2; cf. Paus. 8.8.12; 8.9.7–8; 8.10.2 (Mantineia and Hadrian).

⁷ Pliny, *Ep.* 8.24.1–4: how to govern a historically significant province such as Achaëa. Cf. Dodwell (1819) I. iv, 77, 216, 403–4; Leake (1830) v–vi.

⁸ Swain (1996) 66. ⁹ For an overview of Strabo's sources see Clarke (1999a) 374–8.

Readers of a work about Greece would therefore come to the region with detailed previous knowledge and perhaps also strong preconceptions. They would expect certain places and facts to be mentioned precisely because they had heard of them already. Famous place-names would evoke special associations with myths and historical events, and whole lists of rather obscure place-names would be known to the many educated people who had memorised the Homeric epics. Many events from Greek history needed to be taken into account, too, and last but not least, Greece also contained some of the best known buildings and artworks, such as the Parthenon or Phidias' Zeus of Olympia. Any author dealing with Greece had to bear in mind the previous knowledge and high expectations of his readers.

By the time of Strabo the number of travellers who came to see famous ancient sites was also increasing. Strabo's boasts that he has travelled far are a reaction to this trend as well as to a long line of earlier authors, from Herodotus to Polybius, who cited their travel experience to establish themselves as trustworthy authorities.¹⁰ It is therefore likely that some of Strabo's readers knew parts of Greece, unlike Strabo himself who does not seem to have travelled extensively within the region. The only Greek site in the *Geography* that is clearly described on the basis of autopsy is Corinth. The extent of Strabo's knowledge of Greece has been a matter of scholarly debate for a long time¹¹ because Strabo's short comments on Greek sites rarely go beyond very general descriptions which could easily be found in literary sources. It seems rather surprising that he should never have visited Athens, but nothing he mentions there warrants the conclusion that he is writing from personal observation. He may, however, have stopped by at the Piraeus because some of the information he gives about the harbour and its surroundings is unusually detailed and focuses on aspects of the site that are less likely to be taken from earlier literary works, for example the description of the ruined site of Munychia.¹²

Increased travel activity throughout the empire also meant that more people had a chance to compare the Greece of their imagination with what could actually be seen in the province of Achaëa, and what they found often did not match the region's grand reputation. The region had not been very well off since it had become part of the Roman empire in 146 BCE. Many

¹⁰ Strabo 2.5.11; Polyb. 3.59; Engels (1999a) 28–9.

¹¹ Pace Dueck (2000a) 15–30. I follow the more cautious approach of Engels (1999a) 28–32; note Wallace (1979) 168–72 on the (ir)relevance of the question. Strabo (1.2.2) himself refers to a similar debate concerning Eratosthenes.

¹² Strabo 9.1.15.

famous sites were in a state of disrepair, the great sanctuaries had been plundered of their major artworks and the cities could no longer keep up with the high standards of wealthier cities such as Pergamum, Antioch, Alexandria or imperial Rome. In fact, even at the height of their power, the classical Greek poleis would have looked small and poor in comparison with the great centres of the Hellenistic and Roman world. Ancient visitors, like their counterparts in the early nineteenth century, came to Greece with high expectations and succumbed to melancholic nostalgia, lamenting the fate of cities that were once great and that were now reduced to insignificant places.¹³ Recent archaeological studies have shown that the situation was probably not as bad as the texts suggest, and it seems that the contrast between reality and grand expectations led authors of the Roman period to exaggerate the poor state of contemporary Greece.¹⁴

Thus, for most educated people in Strabo's time, the main attraction of Greece was its illustrious past and what remained of it, in memory or as monuments in the landscape. Even for a geographer with an interest in present conditions history was crucial,¹⁵ especially in Greece where many cities owed much of their status and identity to the stories that were told about them.¹⁶ In a country like Greece there was simply no avoiding the past. One could not just mention these meaningful place names without commenting upon history, one could not neglect readers' expectations and interests and one could not just pass over the bulk of information available. When Strabo apologetically explains his short treatment of Athens,¹⁷ he acknowledges this dilemma: it was impossible to squeeze Greece into a universal work without cutting some significant corners.

Strabo's main aim is a geographical overview of the known world, with detailed information about location, distances between places and general descriptions of the physical landscape, for example the shape of countries, the location of mountain ranges or the course of rivers. Greece with its complicated coastline, with its many mountains and extraordinary hydrography, also posed a challenge in this respect. Strabo presents Greece as a sequence of peninsulas, starting with the Peloponnese, the 'Acropolis of Greece', followed by Megaris and Attica, central Greece south of Thermopylae, another part extending as far as the Ambracian gulf, and finally a 'peninsula' that roughly includes Thessaly. Even this order is not entirely detached from the cultural history of the region, because the

¹³ E.g. Cic. *Fam.* 4.5.4; Paus. 8.33; cf. Strabo 8.4.11; 8.6.10; 9.2.5.

¹⁴ Alcock (1993) 24–32. ¹⁵ Strabo 1.1.16–18; 6.1.2; 12.3.1; Clarke (1999a) 246–52, 293.

¹⁶ Clarke (1999a) 280–1. ¹⁷ Strabo 9.1.16; 9.1.19.

hierarchy of these 'peninsulas', with the Peloponnese as the most eminent part, is mainly suggested by the historical importance of its inhabitants.¹⁸

This 'scientific' analysis is superimposed over the cultural and political landscape divided according to tribes and dialects.¹⁹ Such categories would be more familiar to Strabo's readers than strictly geographical divisions, although in the Roman imperial period cultural and linguistic differences were no longer very clear.²⁰ References to tribes or dialects did, however, provide a geographical division which added some historical depth, because the linguistic landscape had long been invested with a complicated history of mostly mythical migrations. In Strabo's account this can add up to a whole linguistic or ethnic stratigraphy, for example in Boeotia.²¹ As elsewhere in the *Geography*, the top layer of this stratigraphy, the comparatively recent provincial organisation of the Romans, does not feature at all.

Any historical geography needs such a stratigraphy, or several: an author who describes the history of Greece needs some reference points in the past that allow him to explain historical connections between different places. The choice of reference points depends on the author's preference, but it will only function properly if it provides a good framework that the readers can understand. Strabo's system is rather simple: at its centre is the Trojan War, and events before the Trojan War are often clearly marked as myth, mere stories which are only worth mentioning because they are widely known.²² Later historical events feature as special highlights that make a place noteworthy.²³ Strabo does not try to provide a clear historical framework, even where he presents an overview of regional history.²⁴ He does not use a universal chronological system such as the Olympiad dates, and only a few events, namely the Trojan War, the return of the Heraclidae to the Peloponnese and the battle of Actium are used as recurring 'date-markers'.²⁵ In some cases Strabo seems to expect his readers to know the dates of famous events such as the Persian Wars, the battle of Leuctra, or the actions of Philip II.²⁶ These historical highlights are taken from various periods, and there is no special bias towards classical history as in many other ancient works.²⁷ Strabo's *History* was a continuation of Polybius'

¹⁸ Strabo 8.1.3; Baladié (1980) 283–5; cf. Aujac (1966) 206–8. ¹⁹ Dueck (2000a) 45.

²⁰ E.g. in Strabo 8.1.2. ²¹ Strabo 9.2.2; cf. 8.1.2.

²² E.g. Strabo 8.3.22; 8.6.2; 8.6.8; 8.6.21–2; 9.1.17; 9.1.22. ²³ E.g. Attic demes, Strabo 9.1.17.

²⁴ E.g. Strabo 8.3.30; 8.5.5; 8.7.3; 9.1.20; 9.2.3–5. ²⁵ Clarke (1999a) 252–60.

²⁶ E.g. Strabo 8.4.2; 8.6.19; 8.7.1; 9.2.37; 9.2.39; 9.3.10.

²⁷ Bowie (1974); G. Anderson (1993) 69–85. Pausanias (1.6.1) notes the neglect of Hellenistic history.

work, and as an expert he apparently found events of the Roman or Hellenistic period no less noteworthy than earlier periods.²⁸

Unfortunately, much of this expertise is lost to us, because Strabo seems mainly occupied with describing how Homer's description of Greece relates to the present state of the landscape. He even says that some sites would not be worth mentioning if they were not listed in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Iliad* 2).²⁹ In fact, much of books eight and especially nine seems scarcely more than an attempt to describe the Homeric landscape and to bring it up to date.³⁰ This reflects the special importance of Homer for most ancient intellectuals. Strabo, who had himself studied with an eminent Homer expert, Aristodemus of Nysa,³¹ thought that the Homeric epics deserved special attention because everyone was familiar with them from childhood and also because they were seen as especially trustworthy.³² In Strabo's Greece Homer is paramount. For Strabo, Homer was the first geographer³³ because the *Catalogue of Ships* and some remarks in other parts of the epics could be seen as a slightly outdated but still comprehensive description of Greece.

Every Greek city was proud if it was mentioned in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, and those who were left out made an effort to snatch their part of the fame gained by such a reference. Strabo connects a number of forgotten Homeric places with settlements whose names were not in the *Catalogue*,³⁴ just as Pausanias relates stories presented to explain the absence of a name from the *Iliad*.³⁵ Many Homeric places could not be located at all, and extensive secondary literature dealt with such topographical problems. This type of research was crucial for Homeric scholars as part of a fundamental debate about the truth behind Homeric geography and, as some thought, about the reputation of the Homeric epics as a whole.³⁶

Following the line of the Stoics, his own philosophical school,³⁷ Strabo defends Homer's geography against the attacks of Eratosthenes and his followers who were trying to understand the world of the epics through critical assessment of the poet's geographical knowledge and ignorance. Strabo is, therefore, quite prepared to show his prowess in Homeric

²⁸ *Suda* P 1941, s.v. Πολύβιος; 19 fragments remain: *FGrHist* 91.

²⁹ Strabo 9.4.5; 8.3.23. On Strabo's adherence to Homer, see Biraschi, 'Strabo and Homer', in this volume.

³⁰ E.g. Strabo 9.4.5; 9.5.3. Clarke (1999a) 148–9; Dueck (2000a) 36, 175.

³¹ Strabo 8.3.3; 8.3.23. On Strabo's education see Engels (1999a) 26–8; Dueck (2000a) 8–15.

³² Strabo 1.1.2; 8.3.3; cf. Paus. 2.21.10; Engels (1999a) 115–20; Dueck (2000a) 31–9.

³³ Strabo 1.1.2. ³⁴ E.g. Strabo 8.4.5; 8.5.3; 9.2.32; 9.5.8.

³⁵ E.g. Paus. 8.23.4; 8.24.10; 8.28.4–6. ³⁶ Engels (1999a) 115–20. ³⁷ Strabo 1.2.3; 1.2.34; 2.3.8.

scholarship: for example, he uses a lot of space for his views on the location of Nestor's Pylus and the Homeric topography of Elis and Messenia more in general, a problem that was clearly one of these conundrums that create whole bookshelves of learned discussion.³⁸ Fortunately many Homeric places were known, and sometimes the ancient epithets still seemed accurate.³⁹ Most Homeric places, however, illustrated that Greece had changed a lot since Homeric times. In rare cases Strabo comments on such later developments, for example when he speaks of communities that became cities only after the Trojan Wars and others that had been deserted by his time.⁴⁰

Many places in Greece boasted a special historical significance in connection to events other than the mythical past recorded in Homeric epic. Strabo keeps references to Greek history to the bare minimum which makes his long discussions of Homeric geography all the more noteworthy. He does not have much space, so for every place worth mentioning at all only the most notable aspect is chosen. History therefore has to compete with many other aspects that, in Strabo's eyes, could distinguish a place. For example, the Greek books contain more references to artworks, monuments and sanctuaries than any other part of the *Geography*.⁴¹ These aspects of Strabo's Greece compare easily to the interests of other authors describing Greece, but his scope of noteworthy aspects is wider than that. The *Geography* also includes notes on strategic matters and economic details, for example special agricultural produce or interesting local resources such as the marble of Sparta or Scyrus.⁴² The combination of details Strabo selected for each city or region is often not easy to understand. In his Greece a somewhat patchy present exists alongside special historical highlights with a strong presence: this seems to be Strabo's way of documenting a region where geography and topography were impossible without taking into account the past.

I now turn to Pausanias, a Greek from Asia Minor who wrote his ten books about Greece between about 160 and 180 CE.⁴³ He collected the information gathered on his visits in a detailed description of Greek cities

³⁸ Strabo 8.1.14–17; 8.1.19; 8.1.21–3; 8.1.26–9; 8.3.1–9; 8.4.1–5; cf. 1.1.10; 1.2.3–40.

³⁹ Strabo 8.4.5 (several Messenian cities); 8.6.19 (well-built Cleonae); 8.6.20 (wealthy Corinth); 9.2.28 (Thisbe abounding in doves).

⁴⁰ Cities founded after the Trojan War, 8.3.2; ruined Homeric places, e.g. 8.6.10 (Mycenae); see also Clarke (1999a) 264–76.

⁴¹ Dueck (2000a) 81.

⁴² E.g. Strabo 8.4.8; 8.6.21; 9.3.15–16 (strategy); 8.8.1; 9.1.23; 9.3.3 (agricultural produce); 8.5.7; 8.6.16; 9.1.8; 9.1.23; 9.5.16 (marble).

⁴³ Habicht (1985) 9–12; Bowie (2001) 21–4.

and sites. Pausanias' description of Greece has a very different scope from Strabo's work: at about half the length of the *Geography*, it focuses only on the Peloponnese and parts of central Greece. It is organised as an imaginary tour through the various cities and regions. Usually a site is introduced by a short historical overview followed by a description of the most noteworthy monuments, with a strong preference for sanctuaries and ancient works of art.⁴⁴ Ruined buildings and sites are also often recorded, but Pausanias rarely offers information about residential quarters, administrative buildings or activities of his contemporaries apart from festivals and cult. He could have included such information because he saw most of the places he is describing. Nevertheless, he does manage to give the impression of a Greece that still has many thriving communities, even though it looks back on better times in the past.

Like Strabo, Pausanias did extensive library research and he knows the relevant texts. He may well have had access to Strabo's work, but the *Periegesis* contains neither references nor implicit allusions to the *Geography*.⁴⁵ Pausanias also treats Homer as the most important authority.⁴⁶ Many monuments and stories, however, even episodes from the Homeric epics or from Herodotus, are presented from a local point of view because Pausanias records what people told him on site. This accounts for Pausanias' special perspective which shows us hundreds of sites in their local context. Places or monuments appear connected with specific traditions, neighbouring sites and the surrounding area. The *Periegesis* provides a glimpse at whole memorial landscapes: for example, description of the battlefield at Marathon includes graves, a special cult, myths of local heroes and even ghost stories that are all linked through local tradition.⁴⁷ Pausanias takes great care to fit his stories into a wider historical context. Most regions are introduced with an extensive history, and carefully developed genealogies to provide the necessary chronological framework for readers to connect sites and regions.

Pausanias with his focused interests, thorough investigation and detailed descriptions set a standard against which ancient and at times modern approaches to Greece are measured. Indeed, a simple comparison often makes books eight and nine of Strabo's *Geography* look irrelevant, too short or even inaccurate. For example, Strabo describes Arcadia as a region whose numerous cities, except one, Tegea, can no longer be found. Pausanias needs a whole book to describe the same region and in his account most of

⁴⁴ See Habicht (1985) 1–27. ⁴⁵ Moggi (1996) 87–92 with Bowie's response on page 108.

⁴⁶ Paus. 2.21.10; cf. Strabo 1.1.2–10.

⁴⁷ Paus. 1.32; Strabo 9.1.22. Local material in Pausanias: Pretzler (2005a).

the 'deserted' cities listed by Strabo seem in relatively good condition.⁴⁸ Of course, times changed between Strabo and Pausanias and, even if the economic crisis in the early Roman period was not as severe as long assumed,⁴⁹ early imperial Greece was probably still recovering from the Roman Civil Wars that had affected much of the eastern Mediterranean for several decades.⁵⁰ Pausanias visited Greece at the end of a long period of peace and prosperity, and, perhaps more crucially, after the time of Hadrian, the emperor who did so much for a restoration of Greece. Therefore, the situation in the province of Achaea was probably much improved when Pausanias visited it, but Strabo's account still seems extreme. One wonders what Strabo's sources were for this passage and others like it since it resembles the many texts that lament the bad state of Greece, usually in comparison with the great old times.⁵¹

The case of landlocked Arcadia also illustrates the two authors' different approaches to the Greek landscape. Strabo is more attentive to detail as long as he follows the coasts. He points out that inland places are difficult to locate, and at times he dismisses them wholesale as not worth his while.⁵² This approach possibly originates from the long tradition of the *periplous*, the description of coastlines and harbours.⁵³ As Pausanias' work demonstrates, however, this approach is not a good choice for mainland Greece, where many ancient and important sites were not situated on the coast. In the *Periegesis* most cities and sites are connected by overland routes which also provide the basic structure of the text, and much attention is given to inland areas.

A major difference between the two works derives from the way in which their authors researched Greece. For Pausanias autopsy is everything: he says ἰδὼν οἶδα ('I know because I have seen it')⁵⁴ and for him that settles an argument. Indeed, he did apparently make a lot of effort to visit even very remote and modest places and it is clear from his descriptions that he often took the time to do research and to take extensive notes about what he saw.⁵⁵ The only Greek city where Strabo draws on his autopsy is Corinth where he climbed the Acrocorinthus to enjoy the magnificent view. The observations he recorded make one wish that he had described other Greek

⁴⁸ Strabo 8.8.1–2 is more or less the equivalent of Pausanias 8 which fills about 130 Teubner pages.

⁴⁹ The traditional view: Kahrstedt (1954); Baladié (1980) 301–21, revised by Alcock (1993).

⁵⁰ Larsen (1938) 422–37, cf. 465–83; Bowersock (1965) 1–2, 85–6.

⁵¹ Baladié (1980) 301–41; Desideri (2000) 39; Polyb. 36.17; Dio Chrys. 7.34; 33.25; Plut. *Mor.* 413F; Plut. *Antony* 68.4–5; see also Strabo 8.4.11; 9.1.15; 9.2.5.

⁵² Strabo 9.1.22; 9.2.21.

⁵³ Dueck (2000a) 40–3; cf. Strabo 8.1.3; 9.2.2; see also Clarke (1999a) 198–202.

⁵⁴ Paus. 2.22.3. ⁵⁵ Habicht (1985) 65; Pretzler (2005b) 204–10.

sites in a similar way. The description of the newly founded city of Corinth and the remains of the old city show that Strabo was a good observer. He presents aspects of the site that are not covered in the *Periegesis*, although Pausanias would have been in a good position to do so, at Corinth and elsewhere.

When Strabo describes the view from the Acrocorinthus he points out the locations of various mountain ranges around the Corinthian Gulf, explaining at the same time how various parts of his book fit together. In this case the geographer uses his autopsy to gain an overview, using a spot that is especially suitable to do so. Pausanias never comes closer to that than noting that from Mount Lycaeus in Arcadia you can see most of the Peloponnese.⁵⁶ In fact, the wider geographical context of sites in the *Periegesis* often remains vague, so much so that without additional knowledge or a map it is difficult to understand how the different areas described relate to each other in the landscape.⁵⁷

Strabo's description of the city and surroundings of Corinth also compares favourably with Pausanias, and it illustrates Strabo's different range of interests. He starts with the location of the city and the situation and shape of the Acrocorinthus hill. In spite of his usually dismissive attitude to ruined sites Strabo then mentions the ruins of the ancient fortifications, complete with information about the ancient city that was destroyed in 146 BCE and a description of the two harbours. He also comments on the state of the present city which had only recently been re-founded as a Roman colony, on its strategic qualities and especially on the economic advantages of its unique location; in fact, we hear more about the state of the contemporary city than in Pausanias' much longer description. The account includes matters that would also attract Pausanias' attention, for example the history and mythical past of the city and some of its sanctuaries. All in all, Strabo's description of Corinth reveals his broad interests and a keen eye for details that makes one regret that he did not pay a more extensive visit to Greece. Corinth remains a remarkable exception in Strabo's Greek books, which illustrates that his treatment of the region as a whole, including his apparent failure to visit even Athens when he was in the vicinity, may indeed be the result of a deliberate choice.

Not only ancient authors, but also modern commentators are influenced by Greece's impressive heritage. For a long time Pausanias and Strabo were mainly judged on their merits as a quarry of information, particularly for sites and historical events connected to Archaic and Classical Greece,

⁵⁶ Paus. 8.38.7. ⁵⁷ Snodgrass (1987) 81–6.

centuries before their own lifetimes. Pausanias' *Periegesis* guided the first travellers to explore the ancient sites of Greece,⁵⁸ and his specific interests strongly influenced ways in which 'cultured' travellers and early classical archaeologists looked at the landscape and the monuments they discovered. Recent studies, most notably by archaeologists such as Snodgrass and Arafat, also acknowledge Pausanias' sophisticated and thorough approach to ancient sites and artworks.⁵⁹ On large sites such as Olympia or Delphi archaeologists identified newly excavated buildings by consulting Pausanias while topographers linked the ancient names to remains in the landscape. Through these archaeological discoveries alone, Pausanias has become a lasting influence on how ancient Greece is perceived. Strabo's description could rarely supply details that added to Pausanias' information, and at times archaeological discoveries showed that his account was outdated or inaccurate.

On a literary level the *Periegesis* was less appreciated. Classical philologists keen on identifying earlier sources claimed that Pausanias had merely compiled excerpts from other texts, and that his claims to autopsy were just a literary device.⁶⁰ Unlike the *Geography*, the extant text of the *Periegesis*, which is likely to be (nearly?) complete, does not have a proem or elaborate declarations of intent and methodology.⁶¹ Habicht defends Pausanias against his classical philologist detractors by showing his accuracy in comparison with the archaeological evidence, but he still sees the *Periegesis* as the badly conceived and ultimately unsuccessful work of an eccentric loner.⁶² With Pausanias' usefulness as a quarry of information firmly established, scholarly interest could shift to Pausanias' merits as a writer and researcher,⁶³ and to the cultural context of his work.

A comparison between Strabo and Pausanias can yield interesting results once it is no longer focusing on the quality and quantity of particular pieces of information. Both authors, about 150 years apart, are Greek speaking intellectuals from Asia Minor. Both found that describing Greece involved

⁵⁸ Wheler (1682); Gell (1817); Dodwell (1819); Pouqueville (1820–1); Leake (1830). Later, Pausanias influenced the first travel guides such as the Baedeker: Lolling (1989) 22.

⁵⁹ Habicht (1985) 28–94; Arafat (1996) 45–75; Snodgrass (2001) 135–7.

⁶⁰ Cf. Kalkmann (1886) and C. Robert (1909). Defending Pausanias: e.g. Gurlitt (1890) 107–93. Regenbogen (1956) 1059–63 thought the matter was closed, but see Habicht (1985), esp. 165–75.

⁶¹ Statement of intent, Paus. 1.26.4; Habicht (1985) 7–8; Bowie (2001) 27–8.

⁶² Habicht (1985) 26–7.

⁶³ Pausanias as researcher, C. P. Jones (2001); historian, Musti and Bingen (1996); travel writer and mythographer, Elsner (2001) esp. 18–19; interpreter of ancient artefacts, Arafat (1996) 45–75 and Snodgrass (2001); literary aims, language: Hutton (2005).

a confrontation with the foundations of their cultural identity. Nevertheless, their versions of Greece turn out to be very different. The nature of the tasks they set for themselves is an important factor, and we need to ask why the two authors chose to spend a significant part of their life on these particular projects, and how their aims are influenced by their cultural context. The Greek world of Strabo's and Pausanias' time was part of the Roman empire. Polybius' work illustrates that, soon after Rome's power started to extend into the eastern Mediterranean, Greeks started to re-assess their position.⁶⁴ As subjects of the Roman empire, individuals and communities needed to redefine their place in the world. Greek literature reflects this adjustment over a long period: in the second century CE, authors are still preoccupied with negotiating their political and cultural identities, although their focus is very different from that of earlier periods.

Authors who lived in the Republican period or under Augustus saw great changes and difficulties caused by the establishment of Roman rule in the Greek world. They had to engage with the new world power, assessing both negative and positive aspects of their new rulers. In this context it was crucial to define the new Roman world through Greek eyes. Right at the beginning of this process Polybius creates his history designed to map how Rome came to dominate the East. Once the empire encompasses the whole Mediterranean authors explore this new unified space in universal works, such as Strabo's *Geography* or Diodorus' universal history, the *Bibliothēke*.⁶⁵

Later texts, especially those connected to the Second Sophistic which flourished in the second century CE, show a very different emphasis. Just when the empire was at its most prosperous,⁶⁶ Greek intellectuals turned to criticise Roman rule of the Greek world, or their texts abandon any reference to present circumstances to return to a Greece not yet ruled by outside powers, that is before Alexander.⁶⁷ Intellectuals engaged in this literary trend were usually Roman citizens and certainly members of the elite who were in the best position to enjoy the benefits of being part of the empire. The culture that underlies the literature of the Second Sophistic was stable, secure and prosperous, an environment that allowed intellectuals to explore the past and fantasise about a Greece without Rome, paradoxically exactly because Rome had been so successful in establishing

⁶⁴ J. Henderson (2001) 29–30.

⁶⁵ Bowie (1974) 175–8; Nicolet (1988) 79; J. Henderson (2001); for Strabo see Clarke (1999a) 286–9; Dueck (2000a) 48–9.

⁶⁶ Gibbon (1896) 78. ⁶⁷ Bowie (1974).

her *pax Romana*.⁶⁸ After the efforts of coming to terms with the new world order, Greek intellectuals now find new ways of defining their identity as subjects of Rome, and they opt for a thoroughly Greek identity. In their texts, intellectuals who travel widely and who have contacts throughout the empire reject universality in favour of the small world of the polis. Pausanias' work with its many minute local details puts this principle into practice.

All Greek authors from Polybius onwards had to define their attitude towards Romans and towards their control over the Greek world. Regrets about a Greece that was no longer free became something of a literary topos which could be expressed in many ways, depending how explicitly anti-Roman an author wanted to appear. Greeks, even friends of the Romans such as Polybius,⁶⁹ complained of uncivilised actions on the part of the occupiers whose status between Greek and barbarian remained ambiguous.⁷⁰ Pausanias was, in fact, quite moderate: he does not often include Roman monuments in his descriptions, but he also does not go out of his way to ignore the presence of Romans in Greece; and although he laments the loss of Greek freedom he cannot deny some of the Roman emperors his sincere admiration. On the whole, however, his views remain ambiguous and his focus is firmly on pre-Roman Greece.⁷¹

Strabo is not entirely uncritical of the Romans, either,⁷² but for him the Roman presence in Greece is not a matter of contention. He mentions many advantages of Roman rule, especially in comparison with the Macedonian kings who had ruled Greece before the Romans came. For example, when the Macedonians hold a strongpoint they use it to subdue their subjects, while Roman occupation facilitates free movement for all.⁷³ The Roman conquest of Greece and the destruction of Corinth is told without much emotion. Even Sulla's treatment of Athens is seen as a liberation from Mithridates rather than the atrocious destruction it really was, as most other authors acknowledge.⁷⁴ Good relations with the Romans distinguish a state which is governed well, for example Sparta, and lead to prosperity.⁷⁵ The Romans even rebuilt several cities, most

⁶⁸ Bowie (1974) 205–9. ⁶⁹ Polybius 39.2 in Strabo 8.6.23.

⁷⁰ Swain (1996) 68–9. Strabo also expresses this ambiguity: Dueck (2000a) 75–83; see also 96–105, 119–21.

⁷¹ Habicht (1985) 117–40; Arafat (1996) 202–15; Bowie (1996) 208–9; Swain (1996) 330–56; Bowie (2001) 27; Sidebottom (2002).

⁷² E.g. Strabo 8.6.23 (sack of Corinth and consequences); Dueck (2000a) 83–4.

⁷³ Strabo 9.4.15; cf. 9.4.11.

⁷⁴ Strabo 9.1.20; cf. Plut. *Sulla* 12–15; 19–20; Appian, *Mith.* 30; 38–40; Paus. 1.20.5–6.

⁷⁵ Strabo 8.5.5; 9.2.39; Baladić (1980) 290–5.

notably Corinth and Patrae.⁷⁶ This view is an interesting alternative to other authors' information, and Strabo's opinion may well be justified. Strabo's impression may have been shaped by the many texts lamenting the bad state of Greece in the late Hellenistic period, combined with a visit to the recently founded colony at Corinth. While a comparison between the province of Achaëa and fifth-century Greece might look bleak, the improvement seen in Strabo's lifetime must have been striking. One might accuse Strabo of exaggerating the benefits of the Roman empire, for whatever reason, but his view provides an important alternative to the attitude that dominates ancient literature and therefore modern scholarship.

Strabo is also not willing to accept Greece as the centre of his own Greek identity. He stresses the cultural achievements of Asia Minor while passing over those of mainland Greece.⁷⁷ From a contemporary point of view this seems justified: the cities in Roman Asia Minor surpassed even Athens in all aspects except her achievements that lay far in the past. Pausanias, also a man from Asia Minor, feels that he himself has a stake in the Greek past, and in this he was not unique among his contemporaries.⁷⁸ As a Greek, he could expect his own past and identity to be linked with what he found on his extensive visits. This is connected with a central aspect of the *Periegesis* that has no real parallel in the *Geography*. Pausanias is personally interested in some of the mythical stories he relates, and he gets involved in local cults and rituals. His research is also a personal journey that allows him to encounter holy places and significant historical or mythical locations.⁷⁹ Strabo would probably have found this problematic since he is often arguing for a sceptical attitude towards mythical stories. His local identity was apparently more important than his reverence for the common origins of Greek culture: for Strabo a trip to Greece does not equal going back to the roots.

With the exception of all things Homeric, Strabo is scarcely influenced by ideas about the importance of particular sites or themes that dominate other ancient works dealing with Greece. His short, almost dismissive treatment of Athens and much of Attica is a good indication of that. Strabo presents a Greece stripped of much of the mystique that made it so special: myth is often dismissed, much of the history is passed over, and some of the great ancient names are associated with less than impressive contemporary sites. At the same time, he is also free to pay attention to

⁷⁶ Strabo 8.6.21 (Corinth); 8.7.5 (Patrae); cf. 7.7.6 (Nicomolis); Baladié (1980) 321–6.

⁷⁷ Desideri (2000) 29–34. ⁷⁸ Bowie (1974) 195–6. ⁷⁹ Paus. 8.8.3; Elsner (1992).

mundane details that others may not have found fitting for Hellas. Even the choice of Homer over all other aspects of the Greek past underlines Strabo's preference for a 'global' view: the 'events' recorded in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were significant far beyond Greece: with all their links to the early histories of places all around the Mediterranean they were common property, much more so than later Greek historical highlights such as the Persian Wars or the Peloponnesian War.

The two authors' attitudes to topography and geographical context also reflect their difference in approach: as is appropriate to a universal geographical work Strabo seeks overviews and general connections, he provides a bird's eye's view, so to speak. Pausanias, however, rarely explains how different areas described in his book relate to each other in space. He prefers to keep his reader firmly on the ground, following roads from one stop to the next and concentrating on local topography. Pausanias' attitude to the narrative reflects his geography: once he arrives at a place he focuses on the local viewpoint, so much so that often he does not attempt to reconcile contradictory stories heard in different places.⁸⁰ The general overview is often omitted in favour of local detail, which makes Pausanias take up the same routes as well as the same stories over and over again, often leaving the reader to tie them in with areas or stories mentioned elsewhere in his work.

Thus, the differences in Strabo's and Pausanias' views of Greece are due to the very different aims of their works, which, in turn, reflect attitudes to the Roman world in their own time. Strabo wants to fit Greece into a wider context. The past plays a role in this description because it shaped the present state of the world, especially in Greece with its many connections to widely known literature. Nevertheless, it is just another part of the essentially Roman *oikoumene*, and, seen from a contemporary perspective, not as noteworthy as other more developed areas.⁸¹ For Pausanias Greece is the focus of Greek, and therefore of his own, identity. He does not deny that the region has seen better days, but even if its cities cannot compare with the great centres of Asia Minor, their connection to the past, and their very own historical identity, make them significant. This makes it worth zooming in on the minutiae of local identity. Pausanias assembles an intricate image of the whole region from the many stories and monuments he discovers, providing the local alternatives to Strabo's universal overview.

⁸⁰ Paus. 1.38.7; 8.53.5; 9.16.7; cf. 4.33.6; 8.15.7.

⁸¹ Strabo 8.1.1; Dueck (2000a) 165.

A comparison between the two authors, therefore, must bear in mind how different their approaches are. It will always be necessary to add to Strabo's account by consulting Pausanias, as scholars have done for a long time. Strabo does, however, also contribute to a reading of Pausanias. The *Geography* does not only make Greece a part of the *oikoumene*, it also provides a context for Pausanias' *Periegesis*. Where Pausanias easily lets us forget the wider context, Strabo shows how outsiders without a special interest may have approached the province of Achaëa.

In conclusion, a comparison between the two authors shows that Strabo's view of Greece is valuable exactly because it represents the somewhat detached perspective of an outsider. He does not present us with a detailed description that can serve as a quarry of information as Pausanias' work has done for such a long time. Nevertheless, his work, a balancing act between readers' expectations, limited space, overwhelming amounts of material and the author's wide interests, is an important source for Roman Greece. Strabo shows what an educated outsider under the early empire thought about Greece, and what he believed to be of interest to his potential audience, which probably included members of the well-educated elite anywhere around the Mediterranean. Strabo illustrates this outsiders' perception of Greece, rather than providing exact facts that make sense in a local context. This information is valuable because it allows us to understand which places, sites and stories might have been of global, rather than merely local, significance, and especially what names and facts many people all over the empire would have recognised easily.⁸² Often the crucial information in Strabo's account lies not in the facts he is recording but rather in his choice from the abundance of details he could have included and in his manner of presenting different regions and sites. It is, therefore, the unique combination of Strabo and Pausanias that allows us a special understanding of Roman Greece, both local and global.

⁸² E.g. Paus. 8.46; cf. Strabo 8.8.1–2; see Baladić (1980); Pretzler (1999) 108.

*The European provinces: Strabo as evidence**Sarah Pothe Cary*

My research for this paper¹ was prompted by the realisation that a reading of Strabo's *Geography* yields little impression of how the Roman world was divided and arranged into provinces. Strabo is often supposed to have been motivated in his work by the expansion of the Roman empire, and consequently he might be expected to have some considerable interest in its provincial structure. As it turns out, however, Strabo's remarks about the provinces are scattered and rather casual. I decided, therefore, to look at other evidence for the state of the provinces in the early part of Tiberius' reign. The result of combining the evidence of Strabo with the evidence provided by inscriptions and other literary sources is interesting. It suggests that Strabo is a more valuable witness than he first appears; and that his imprecise attitude towards the provinces may have its roots in the imprecision of provincial structure at this stage in the development of the Roman empire.

I take the years from 17 or 18 CE to 23 CE to be the period during which the *Geography* was written out.² While, in general, it may be admirable to keep an open mind on the question of the date of the *Geography*, when it comes to using Strabo as evidence for provincial development, a more specific approach is necessary. I take it that references in the present tense by Strabo are to circumstances in 17/18–23 CE, i.e. the early years of Tiberius' reign. Such situations *may* be extensions of provincial organisation under Augustus, but they are not necessarily so, or at least they cannot be claimed to be so on the basis of Strabo's evidence.

Space limitations have meant that I here restrict myself to the provinces of the European mainland. I look at whether these provinces influence Strabo's spatial conceptualisation; whether they lie behind the divisions of

¹ An early version of this paper was read at a seminar held in the Department of Classics at the University of Toronto, March 2001.

² Pothe Cary (2002).

his narrative; whether those names that are familiar to us as provincial names are used by Strabo as such, or whether they are used as ethnic identifiers. At the same time, I look at the terminology Strabo uses for the officials involved in governing the provinces. Conversely, I look at provincial nomenclature and official terminology as found in contemporary inscriptions and in other literary works.

As far as we know, Strabo had not visited any European mainland province except for Achaëa³ and he therefore has no value as a local eyewitness. Nevertheless, his attitude provides evidence of how the Roman provincial administration may have been understood by educated intellectuals of the time.⁴ An important factor in Strabo's understanding of the provinces is the establishment in 27 BCE of part of the empire as belonging to Augustus and part as belonging to the Roman senate and people.⁵ Strabo assumes familiarity with this division, although he does not dwell on it at length until the end of the *Geography*, in a passage (17.3.25) to which I will make frequent forward reference. I note briefly here that, at 17.3.25, Strabo lists the individual provinces which Augustus allocated to the portion of the empire belonging to the people.⁶ Strabo calls these 'public' (δημόσια), a nomenclature which I, too, have adopted throughout this paper. Strabo states that Augustus allocated the balance of the provinces to his own portion of empire. Strabo calls them 'Caesar's provinces', but does not list them.

THE EUROPEAN PROVINCES

I start, as Strabo does, with the geographical area of Iberia or Hispania (Spain), conceived of as a peninsula defined by sea on three sides and on the fourth side by the Pyrenees, which Strabo depicts as running north to south, instead of east to west (see Map 1, Western Europe according to Strabo). The old division of Iberia into the two provinces of Hispania Ulterior and Hispania Citerior has been superseded by Strabo's time.

³ Even there, his experience may have been limited. See Pretzler, 'Comparing Strabo with Pausanias', in this volume, esp. p. 147.

⁴ Strabo stands in contrast to Cassius Dio, for example, whose account of the provinces under the early empire was written retrospectively from a later date.

⁵ For the date, Dio 53.12.1–2. After 27 BCE, the territorial content of each part was subject to further changes, first under Augustus and then under Tiberius: Pothecary (2002) 412–14.

⁶ At 17.3.25 and elsewhere, Strabo uses the term 'the people'; sometimes, e.g. at 3.4.20, he uses the term 'the people and the senate'. Strabo at 17.3.25 gives the public provinces at what was effectively their numerical maximum, after the inclusion of Narbonitis, Cyprus and Baetica, but before the exclusion of Dalmatia.

Iberia is now divided into three provinces: Baetica and Lusitania (together roughly equivalent to Hispania Ulterior); and Hispania⁷ (roughly equivalent to Hispania Citerior). Describing first the south-western and southern part of Iberia, Strabo covers the area included in the province of Baetica but does not mention its provincial status. He does, however, note casually its name: 'they call (καλοῦσι) it Baetica from the river' (3.1.6),⁸ the river running through this area being called the Baetis. Strabo, as we shall see, often uses the term 'they call' where official Roman nomenclature is at stake. Hence I take Strabo to be using 'Baetica' as the official name of the province at 3.1.6, as he does later when he tells us at the end of his account of Iberia that Baetica is one of the public provinces (3.4.20).

In these two passages (3.1.6; 3.4.20), then, Strabo provides us with the earliest *literary* evidence for the provincial name, 'Baetica'.⁹ Datable epigraphic evidence may yet be found for the earlier use of the name. In the meantime, it is perhaps safest to assume that the *name* Baetica was not necessarily adopted as early as the date of the *division* of Hispania Ulterior into two parts,¹⁰ one part a public province (at some stage called Baetica) and the other part belonging to Caesar (and at some stage called Lusitania, as discussed below). An inscription dating to between 2 BCE and 14 CE refers to the public part as Hispania Ulterior Baetica,¹¹ i.e. the Baetic part of Hispania Ulterior,¹² rather than by the later-attested name of 'Baetica'. At the time of its allocation to the people, the province may simply have been

⁷ Some fifty years later, Pliny (*HN* 3.1.6) uses the name Hispania Tarraconensis, but this is not a designation used by Strabo.

⁸ I use my own translations throughout this paper.

⁹ The earliest *epigraphic* evidence post-dates Strabo. See Thomasson (1984) 215 (citations of Thomasson are by column and item number), C. Caetronius Miccio *proco[s.] pr[ovin]c. B[ae]ticae* (c. 38 CE), the first man attested as a proconsul specifically of Baetica. The evidence of Dio, who says that Baetica was allocated to the senate and people in 27 BCE (53.12.4), is worthless for the purposes of establishing the earliest occurrence of the name 'Baetica'. Dio himself tells us that he uses territorial designations familiar in his own time (early third century CE) (53.12.8).

¹⁰ Syme (1934) 313 suggests that the division took place around 15 BCE; cf. Fear (1996) 1, who gives 16 BCE. Dio's date of 27 BCE (53.12.4, see n. 9) probably refers to the inception of the idea of splitting Ulterior in two, and does not necessarily give us a date for the realisation of the idea. The evidence of Strabo, at 17.3.25, tends to suggest that the division of Ulterior had been realised before the exclusion of Dalmatia from the public provinces: see nn. 6 and 48.

¹¹ *ILS* 103 (= *CIL* 6, 31267), *imp. Caesari Augusto p. p. Hispania ulterior Baetica, quod beneficio eius et perpetua cura provincia pacata est*. The mention of Augustus dates the inscription to his reign, and his designation as *p(ater) p(atriciae)* dates the inscription to 2 BCE or later. Sutherland (1939) 140 n. 15 sees the inscription as referring to a change of boundary in Baetica, a change dated in or before 2 BCE; cf. M. I. Henderson (1942) 1 n. 4; Mackie (1983) 8 n. 23.

¹² The continued currency, even at the end of Augustus' reign, of 'Hispania Ulterior' as a geographical term, if not a term denoting a political unit, is implied at *RG* 28.1. Augustus refers there to the foundation of colonies 'in either Spain' (*in . . . utraque Hispania*), which is most naturally interpreted

called 'as much of what is called Hispania Ulterior as is around the Baetis river...' which is the periphrastic expression used by Strabo when specifically referring to Augustus' provincial organisation¹³ at 17.3.25.

Moving on to the area including the west coast of Iberia and its hinterland, Strabo uses the name Lusitania for the area stretching from the river Tagus up to the northern seaboard (3.3.3). This is not exactly the same as the area included in the Roman province of that name, which Strabo himself tells us extends only as far north as the river Durius (3.4.20). In the former case (3.3.3), Strabo is using the term Lusitania as an ethnic identifier, for he specifically tells us that 'Lusitania is the greatest of the Iberian tribes' (3.3.3). In doing so, he uses a place-name as a tribal designation, a usage which I have preserved in the English translation. In the latter case (3.4.20), Strabo is using official provincial nomenclature, for he specifies that a Caesarian legate is sent to dispense justice to those Lusitanians extending as far as the Durius and adds 'for thus they properly call (καλοῦσι ... ἰδίως) the territory (τὴν χώραν) at the present time'. Strabo often uses 'properly' (ἰδίως) in conjunction with 'they call' for official Roman nomenclature.

It is difficult to know when the name Lusitania had been officially given to what was essentially the Caesarian part of Hispania Ulterior. It is not necessarily the case that the *name* had been established at the same time as the allocation of this part of Hispania Ulterior to Caesar,¹⁴ with the rest going to the people and being called (though perhaps only later, as discussed above) Baetica. As far as we can tell from inscriptions, legates operating in the Caesarian part of Ulterior are at first simply known as legates of Caesar¹⁵ rather than as legates of a named province; and become known as legates of Lusitania under Tiberius.¹⁶

as meaning in both Hispania Ulterior and Hispania Citerior: see Pflaum (1960) 15–16. Cf. Pliny *HN* 3.1.6, *In eo prima Hispania terrarum est Ulterior appellata, eadem Baetica ... Ulterior in duas per longitudinem provincias dividitur, siquidem Baeticae latere septentrionali praetenditur Lusitania ...*

¹³ Strabo's statement concerning the Augustan organisation is introduced with the phrase ἐν ἄρχαῖς ... διέθηκε. Strabo's terminology implies a contrast between Augustan and Tiberian organisation.

¹⁴ The statement of Dio (53.12.5) that Lusitania was allocated to Caesar in 27 BCE should not be taken necessarily to indicate that the *name* Lusitania was officially applied at that stage. For uncertainty over the further question, the date at which the division of Ulterior was realised, see n. 10.

¹⁵ For the situation under Augustus, see Thomasson (1984) 27:1, P. Carisius, 26/22 BCE, *leg. pro pr.*; *leg.*; *leg. Augusti*; 27:3, Acutius Faiananus *leg. pro pr.*; 27:4, Articuleius Regulus, *leg. imp. Caesaris Aug. p. p.*; perhaps 14:9, Paullus Fabius Maximus, 3/2 BCE, *legat. Caesaris*; *leg. pro pr.*

¹⁶ For the situation under Tiberius, note that a suggested restoration would make L. Fulcinus Trio a [*leg. Aug. prov. Lusitaniae*] *design.* (31 CE) and provide the earliest epigraphic attestation of a legate of Lusitania as such: Thomasson (1984) 27:5. Cf. C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, *leg. Ti. Caesaris Aug. prov. Lusit.* (37 CE): *idem* 27:6.

Strabo takes exception to the territorial mismatch between the name Lusitania as applied to the province and the name Lusitania as an ethnic identifier. He makes it clear that in his opinion the name is given inappropriately to a province which excludes ethnic Lusitanian tribes, like the Callaecians, who live north of the Durus river. These tribes, at the time that Strabo is writing, fall under the aegis of the Caesarian legate of Hispania (the old Hispania Citerior) (3.4.20). This represents a change in their status. At some earlier stage they had been the responsibility of a Caesarian legate, to be sure, but the legate of the Caesarian part of Hispania Ulterior (Lusitania). Controversy surrounds the date of the change,¹⁷ and the relationship between the change and the attribution of the name Lusitania to the province is also unclear. Some such relationship does, however, seem to lie behind Strabo's references to nomenclature. First, Strabo includes the Callaecians at the end of a list of tribes with the comment: 'in contrast to men of today, some¹⁸ name (ὀνομάζουσι) these, too, Lusitanians' (3.3.3). This is simply a reverse way of making the same statement as at 3.3.2: 'they have brought it about that, even now, most of the Lusitanians are called (καλεῖσθαι) Callaecians'. Secondly, at the end of his Iberian account, Strabo refers to the 'entire area beyond the Durus to the north, whom men of earlier times called (ἔλεγον) Lusitanians, but men of today call (καλοῦσι) Callaecians' (3.4.20). Strabo's repeated allusions to the change in nomenclature suggest that it had happened only relatively recently at the time of writing or, at any rate, was still a current issue.¹⁹

At 3.4.20, Strabo treats in detail the question of the provincial command of Iberia under Tiberius, in a long passage which can be rather confusing to the modern reader approaching it with the expectation of finding Iberia divided into three provinces. What Strabo does is divide Iberia into two parts. On the one hand, there is Baetica, which belongs to 'the people' and to which a 'praetor' (στρατηγός) is appointed. On the other hand, there is the part of Iberia which belongs to Caesar: 'the rest is Caesar's' (ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ

¹⁷ Albertini (1923) 35, 56–9 (by 2 BCE); M. I. Henderson (1942) 1 and n. 3 (probably 3–2 BCE). Syme (1934) 300 gave 9 CE but later revised his opinion, *idem* (1970) 850, and gave 16–13 BCE. Mackie (1983) 8 n. 23 very pertinently notes that 'the only secure *terminus ante quem* is 14 CE'.

¹⁸ The contrast makes it clear that 'some' refers to men of earlier times. Strabo probably means authors, since the views of earlier writers whose works can still be read in the present may legitimately, albeit in this case confusingly, be expressed in the present tense.

¹⁹ The change meant that there was now only one army in Iberia, under the control of the legate of Hispania. It is possible that Velleius Paterculus (2.125.5) followed the words '*At Hispanias exercitumque . . .*' with a retrospective reference to this change. For the difficulties with the text as it stands, see Woodman (1977) 232–3, who is at a loss to explain why Velleius here makes any reference to Iberia at all.

Καίσαρός ἔστι). In this context, 'Caesar's' is best understood in the generic sense of 'Caesarian' or 'imperial', with the current Caesar being Tiberius,²⁰ whom Strabo explicitly credits with using the army inherited from Augustus to civilise, as well as to pacify, this part of Iberia (3.3.8). To the Caesarian part of Iberia, two 'legates' (πρεσβευταί) are sent, one legate being responsible for the province of Lusitania, the other legate having command in 'the rest' (ἡ λοιπή) of Caesar's Iberia. The expression 'the rest' is rather a favourite of Strabo's. 'The rest' of Caesar's Iberia is, in fact, the province usually called simply Hispania. The possibility of confusion between the provincial name and the geographical name for the peninsula as a whole perhaps lies behind Strabo's decision not to name the province but simply to describe it as the part of Iberia left over after allowing for Baetica and Lusitania. Strabo tells us that there is a legate attached to the legate of Lusitania; and that there are three legates attached to the legate of the rest of Caesar's Iberia, i.e. Hispania.²¹ Of the three legates in Hispania, one has command over Callaecia and over the two legions stationed there; one has control over the area alongside the Pyrenees and over the one legion posted there; the third has command over the interior. In addition, there are 'procurators of the Caesar'²² (ἐπίτροποι τοῦ Καίσαρος) looking after the maintenance of the soldiers.

Strabo's interest in the Iberian provinces lies in their command structure rather than their precise boundaries. Indeed, he prefaces his detailed account of the Iberian arrangements with an interesting comment. He notes that the Romans used the terms Hispania Ulterior and Hispania Citerior, but that 'at different times they make different divisions,

²⁰ Pothecary (2002) 388 n. 2. Note also that, at 3.2.1, the Caesar to whom Strabo refers is probably Tiberius, rather than Augustus: Fear (1996) 67–9. Strabo sometimes uses the expression 'the Caesar': e.g. 'procurators of the Caesar' (ἐπίτροποι τοῦ Καίσαρος) (3.4.20); the grant of power in Tarsus to Athenodorus 'by the Caesar' (ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος) (14.5.14). In the latter case, the Caesar in question is Augustus.

²¹ The term 'legates' (πρεσβευταί) in Strabo thus covers both those who are directly answerable to Caesar and those who are their subordinates. The legate of Hispania is, in this same passage, once referred to as a 'consular governor' (ὑπατικός ἡγεμών).

²² One such epigraphically attested procurator is Q. Octavius Sagitta, *Ivir quinq(uennalis) (ter), praefectus) fab(rum), praefectus) equi(tum), trib(unus) mil(itum) a populo, procurat(or) Caesaris Augusti in Vindaliciis et Raetis et in valle Poenina per annos IIII et in Hispania provincia per annos X et in Suria biennium*. *PIR*² ο 58. It seems clear from Strabo 3.4.20 that the procuratorship of this inscription must refer to a financial agency rather than to a governorship: see Frei-Stolba (1976) 359–60. The argument over whether the 'Caesar Augustus' of whom Sagitta is procurator is Augustus or Tiberius is unsolved (see n. 40): perhaps it is used generically and Sagitta served under both. However, it is consistent with the evidence of Strabo that, by the time Sagitta served in Hispania, Tiberius was in power: this is the dating suggested in *PIR*² ο 58. See Pflaum (1960) 14–16 for the term in *Hispania provincia*.

administering according to contemporary requirements' (ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλως διαιροῦσι πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς πολιτευόμενοι) (3.4.19). This is an important and recurring theme throughout the *Geography*, repeated almost word for word at 17.3.25 where Caesar is described as 'dividing the territories differently at different times and administering according to contemporary requirements' (διαίρων ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τὰς χώρας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς πολιτευόμενος).²³ In both cases, Strabo is talking about revisions made not only by Augustus but also by Tiberius, who is seen as the current representative of a regime which has passed seamlessly from father to son (6.4.2). The changing divisions to which Strabo refers may be changes in the allocation²⁴ of provinces between Caesar and the people rather than, or as well as, boundary changes between provinces. Either way, Strabo's words attest to frequent change and imply that, for this reason, inclusion of further detail is impractical.

After Iberia, Strabo describes Celtica, geographically delineated by the Pyrenees to the west (adopting for the moment Strabo's sense of orientation, for which see Map 1) and the Rhine to the east. Celtica is divided in Strabo's time into the four provinces of Narbonensis, Aquitania, Lugdunensis and Belgica. Strabo remarks that this fourfold division was implemented by Augustus Caesar, as a refinement of Julius Caesar's threefold division (4.1.1). He proceeds: 'the geographer should talk about physical divisions, and ethnic divisions when these are worthy of note, but the various divisions made by the leaders (οἱ ἡγεμόνες) in administering according to contemporary requirements are sufficiently dealt with summarily and the precise detail should be left to others'. I take the 'leaders' to whom Strabo here refers to include Tiberius.²⁵ The words echo Strabo's comments made in connection with Iberia (3.4.19) but here Strabo admits to a conscious choice not to include a greater level of detail.

The four Celtic provinces, unusually for Strabo, are used to structure his narrative. Narbonitis (Strabo's name for Narbonensis) is described as

²³ Note that the present tense is used in both cases: διαίροῦσι (3.4.19), πέμπει (17.3.25). Similar vocabulary is used at 12.3.1 (cited by Lindsay, 'Amasya and Strabo's *patria* in Pontus', in this volume, p. 194) concerning divisions in Pontus; and at 17.3.12 on the boundary between Maurousia and Roman territory. For the subtle tense shifts at 17.3.25, see Pothecary (2002) 412.

²⁴ Cf. διήρηνται, διεῖλε in this connection at 17.3.25.

²⁵ The type of leader implied by the word ἡγεμών in Strabo varies according to context: Pothecary (2002) 420 n. 98. It is sometimes applied to Tiberius: Pothecary *ibid.* 388 n. 2. For the plural ἡγεμόνες as including Tiberius, see: 4.1.5, [Julius] Caesar and 'the leaders who came after him' (οἱ μετ' ἐκείνων ἡγεμόνες), with the comments of Lasserre (1966) 130 n. 4; 6.4.2, 'the leaders of our times' (οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡγεμόνες), with the comments of Lasserre (1967) 193 n. 1; 12.3.1, 'the Roman leaders' (οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνες), with the comments of Lasserre (1981) 62 n. 63.

approximately the shape of a parallelogram, bounded by the Pyrenees on the west, the Cemmenus mountains on the north, the Alps on the east and the sea on the south (4.1.3). The approximation of Narbonitis to a parallelogram seems intended as an *aide-memoire* only. Even as drawn on a map constructed according to Strabo's conceptualisation, the shape of Narbonitis would include a prong jutting from its south-eastern corner: for Strabo himself tells us that, in the south, there is an addition to this parallelogram, consisting of the coastline as far as the river Varus, and that the Varus is the boundary between Narbonitis and Italy (4.1.3, cf. 5.1.1). Of course, the natural features Strabo mentions would not produce a parallelogram on a map on which they were accurately represented, so Strabo's analogy tells us nothing about the real shape of the province.

Aquitania is also described in terms of a parallelogram, or more precisely two parallelograms, the first lying between the Pyrenees and the river Garunas (Garonne), the second lying between the Garunas and the river Liger (Loire), having been incorporated into Aquitania by Augustus when he reorganised the Celtic provinces (4.2.1). The conceptualisation of Aquitania as two parallelograms depends on a misconception of the geographical configuration of the Pyrenees and the rivers (see Map 1).

The remaining territory of Celtica is described more vaguely. Strabo tells us that the region near the sources of the Rhine and the Rhone 'has been classified' (τέτακται) under Lugdunum (Strabo's name for Lugdunensis) and that 'the rest has been classified under a different part, which they assign, properly speaking (ἰδίως), to the Belgae' (4.3.1). 'Classified',²⁶ like 'properly speaking', seems to be an almost technical term in Strabo.

After Celtica, Strabo describes the Alps. The order of the narrative is influenced by the huge crescent shape²⁷ of the mountain range and is not affected at all by the various Alpine prefectures which had resulted from the campaigns waged in this area in Augustus' principate. Starting at the western edge of the Alps, a prefecture called Alpes Maritimae²⁸ is attested in an inscription honouring C. Baebius Atticus, whose *cursus honorum* includes a stint as prefect of the *civitates* in Alpes Maritimae.²⁹ Strabo

²⁶ Cf. Strabo's statement that greater Cappadocia has been decreed a province of the Romans but that currently he does not know its 'classification' (διάταξις, 12.1.4).

²⁷ For the curvature of the Alps: 5.1.3.

²⁸ Alpes Maritimae had been incorporated in the empire in 14 BCE (Dio 54.24.3). Its name would suggest that initially it extended down to the coast. Strabo is, however, adamant that the coastal area belonged to Narbonitis and Italy. For the frequent changes in this area, see Prieur (1968) 72 n. 1; *idem* (1976) 648.

²⁹ C. Baebius Atticus, *II vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo), primo pil(o) leg(ionis) V Macedonic(ae), praef(ecto) civitatum Moesiae et Treballiae, pr[a]ef(ecto) [ci]vitat(ium) in Alpib(us) maritimis, t[r]i(buno)*

makes no reference to this prefecture territorially, but he does specifically note that ‘a prefect (τις ὑπαρχος) from among those of equestrian rank’ is sent to govern this area (4.6.4). Baebius Atticus’ prefecture of Alpes Maritimae probably dates to Tiberius:³⁰ he may have been the very man in office when Strabo wrote. Strabo notes that such prefects are also sent ‘to others of those who are complete barbarians’. Strabo may be using ‘barbarian’ in the sense of ‘savage’ here: he is possibly thinking of the other Alpine tribes, whose ferocity was notorious and some of whom (e.g. in the Cottian Alps and in Raetia and Vindolicia) were indeed governed by prefects. However, Strabo describes the Caesarian part of the empire as ‘barbarian’ at 17.3.25, and it is thus possible that he is using the term to include other Caesarian provinces.³¹

Continuing on round the crescent shape of the Alps, after Alpes Maritimae comes the area which had been a kingdom subject to Cottius prior to Augustus’ conquest of the area in the mid-teens BCE.³² An inscription made shortly afterwards records a dedication by Cottius as *praefectus ceivitatium* (*sic*), showing that Augustus made Cottius a prefect over the tribes in the area.³³ Strabo refers to the area not as a prefecture but as ‘the land of Donnus³⁴ and Cottius, as it is called’ (4.6.6) and ‘the land of Cottius’ (4.1.3, *passim*). This suggests that Cottius, son of Donnus, was still in his post when Strabo was writing.³⁵ It also suggests that the prefecture was still considered, at least unofficially, as Cottius’ personal domain. In referring to this area at this period, other sources concur: Suetonius (*Tib.* 37.3) speaks of the *regnum Cotti* under Tiberius; Ammianus Marcellinus (15.10.7) refers to Cottius’ tomb as *sepulcrum reguli*. Indeed, in the manner of royalty, Cottius was later to be succeeded by his son, also called Cottius.³⁶ Furthermore, this second Cottius would go on, under Claudius, to receive the title of king. Dio (60.24.4) refers to this as the grant, to the second Cottius, of his ‘ancestral domain’.

mil(itum) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae), primo pil(o) iterum, procurator(i) Ti(berii) Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici in Norico: Pflaum (1960) 27. Note that the emperor named at the end of the inscription is Claudius. Thomasson (1984) 63 does not include Baebius Atticus in his list of governors of Alpes Maritimae, which he restricts to those labelled ‘procurators’, starting with Marius Maturus in 69 CE.

³⁰ Prieur (1976) 643 n. 27, 648.

³¹ I owe this point to Almagor, ‘Who is a barbarian?’, in this volume (see Almagor n. 39).

³² Prieur (1968) 71 (13 BCE); *idem* (1976) 638 (16–14 BCE).

³³ Thomasson (1984) 65:1. The inscription is on the Arch of Susa: *CIL* 5, 7231. The dedication there recorded was made by Cottius and the *ceivitates* (*sic*) *quae sub eo praefecto fuerunt*. The inscription is dated to 9/8 BCE: Prieur (1968) 73. For changes to Cottius’ territory, see Prieur (1968) 72; *idem* (1976) 649–50.

³⁴ The name of Donnus, Cottius’ father, is an editorial emendation.

³⁵ Prieur (1968) 119 puts Cottius’ death around 40 CE. ³⁶ Prieur (1968) 84 and nn. 1–2, 116–19.

Proceeding eastwards around the Alps, we come to the prefecture implied by an inscription commemorating a dedication made by Sextus Pedius Lusianus Hirrutus. This man's career included the post, probably under Tiberius, of 'prefect to the Raetians, to the Vindolicians, of the Vallis Poenina and of the *levis armatura*'.³⁷ Thus the prefecture implied by the inscription is referred to by a chain of names of tribes and places.³⁸ Of these names, Strabo mentions 'the Poeninus, as it is called (*λεγομένον*)' (4.6.7). Strabo also repeatedly mentions, or alludes to, the campaigns of Tiberius with his brother Drusus, which had brought the area under control in 15 BCE.³⁹ Strabo lists the tribes, including the Raetians and the Vindolicians (4.6.8), who used to raid their neighbours before Tiberius and his brother stopped them 'all' (4.6.9). The organisation of the prefecture is implied in his statement at 4.6.9 (famous because it gives a date of writing of 18/19 CE) that now, for the thirty-third year, the people of this area 'being at peace, pay their taxes'.⁴⁰

The Noricans are included by Strabo among the tribes subdued by Tiberius and Drusus in 15 BCE. This may be something of a distortion in Tiberius' favour,⁴¹ since the subjugation of the Noricans is elsewhere attributed to P. Silius Nerva.⁴² Nevertheless, the Noricans are included by Strabo among those now in the thirty-third year of paying their taxes to Rome as a result of Tiberius' activity. Strabo also notes that all the gold mines in the area are 'now subject to the Romans' (4.6.12). No reference is made by Strabo to any prefect in the area. Indeed, given his remark (4.6.4)

³⁷ Sextus Pedius Lusianus Hirrutus, *prim(us) pil(us) leg(ionis) XXI, praef(ectus) Raetis, Vindolicis, vallis Pjoeninae et levis armatur(ae), IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo), praef(ectus) Germanic[i] Caesaris, quinquennialici iuri[s] ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), quingen(nalis) iterum*: *PIR*² P 217, where the prefecture in Raetia is put c. 16/17 CE. Cf. Frei-Stolba (1976) 360 n. 253; Thomasson (1984) 77:3.

³⁸ This throws an interesting light on the statement by Velleius Paterculus (2.39.3) that Tiberius 'brought to our empire as new provinces (*provinciae*) Raetia and the Vindolicians and the Noricans and Pannonia and the Scordiscans'. Raetia and the Vindolicians were not governed as separate provinces, i.e. they were not separately subject to officials directly answerable to Rome.

³⁹ For Strabo's interest in these campaigns, see Potheciary (2002) 398–400.

⁴⁰ The collection of taxes might be the responsibility of a financial procurator. The *cursus honorum* of one such financial procurator, Octavius Sagitta (see n. 22), includes a four-year stint as procurator *in Vindolicis et Raetis et in valle Poenina*. Octavius Sagitta may have held his procuratorship of the Vindolicians, Raetians, etc., at approximately the time when Strabo was writing (for this passage at 4.6.9, definitely 18/19 CE). For the question of whether Sagitta should be dated to Augustus or Tiberius, see Frei-Stolba (1976) 359–60 nn. 250–2; *PIR* O 58. It is consistent with the evidence of Strabo that Sagitta's long procuratorial career, which lasted sixteen years in total, took place entirely under Tiberius: but the possibility that it started under Augustus cannot be excluded.

⁴¹ Velleius Paterculus (2.39.3, see n. 38), who, like Strabo, is writing under Tiberius, similarly claims that Tiberius brought the Noricans into the empire.

⁴² Dio 54.20.2. For the question of the date of submission and incorporation of the Noricans, see Alföldy (1974) 52–6.

on the sending of prefects to those who are 'complete barbarians', it is perhaps unlikely that Noricum was so governed, since the Noricans seem to have yielded for the most part peacefully.⁴³ Velleius Paterculus (2.109.5), writing somewhat later than Strabo in Tiberius' reign, calls the area 'the kingdom of Noricum'.⁴⁴ In this connection, it is worth noting the words with which Strabo ends the *Geography*: 'kings and dynasts and decarchies are part of his [Caesar's] portion, and always were' (17.3.25). It is possible that Noricum was ruled by a royal family, but still considered part of the Roman empire. The first epigraphically attested Roman representative in Noricum is Baebius Atticus as a procurator of the emperor Claudius.⁴⁵ He is the very Baebius Atticus who had earlier served as prefect in Alpes Maritimae.

Strabo's account of the Alps is followed by his description of the area stretching inland from the Adriatic coast to the Danube (see Map 2), an area which he calls 'Illyrica' or, translating more literally, 'the Illyrican [parts]' or 'the Illyricums' (τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ) (7.5.1). The conquest of the area had been started by Augustus in the mid-30s BCE; the conquered area had been extended, by Augustus but through the agency of Tiberius, to the Danube in 12–9 BCE;⁴⁶ and it had been the scene of a revolt, which Tiberius and Germanicus had put down in the period 6–9 CE.⁴⁷ Augustus had allocated at least part of the area to the people, as recorded by Strabo at the end of the *Geography* (17.3.25). Strabo's designation at 17.3.25 of the relevant area as 'the part of Illyris next to Epirus' perhaps reflects the periphrastic way in which the area was described at the time of allocation: it resembles Strabo's formulation 'as much of what is called Hispania Ulterior as is around the Baetis river' for what was, perhaps only later, to be known as Baetica. By 11 BCE, the part of Illyrica allocated to the people had been taken back into Caesar's portion of the empire.⁴⁸ From some point in 6–9 CE onwards, the legions in the area were under the command of two separate legates.⁴⁹ Illyrica then seems to have been thought of as

⁴³ Alföldy (1974) 55–7, 63.

⁴⁴ It is unclear whether Velleius' usage reflects the nomenclature of the area at the date of the event he is describing (6 CE) or at the time of writing (c. 30 CE).

⁴⁵ Thomasson (1984) 83:1. See n. 29.

⁴⁶ Velleius' claim (2.39.3, see n. 38) that Tiberius had brought to the empire Pannonia and the Scordiscans is perhaps based on Tiberius' activity in 12–9 BCE, although it should be taken to imply neither the separate existence, nor the name, of Pannonia as a province at that date. Dio (54.31.3) records that Tiberius subdued the Pannonians in 12 BCE 'using the Scordiscans as allies'.

⁴⁷ For a comprehensive summary of the sources, see Wilkes (1969) 46–77.

⁴⁸ Dio 54.34.4; cf. 53.12.7. Dio's use of the name Dalmatia should not be taken as evidence that the area was necessarily known by that name in 11 BCE.

⁴⁹ Thomasson (1984) 89:12 (cf. 88:10); 99:1.

having two parts, approximating to the command of the legates. As far as concerns names, we find the part controlled by P. Cornelius Dolabella, legate in the year of Augustus' death, described as the 'maritime part' of Illyricum and as 'upper Illyricum', although Dolabella himself is simply a 'legate of Augustus and Tiberius', rather than of a named province.⁵⁰

Strabo refers neither to the legates, nor to the separate parts under their control, and this may reflect a persistence of the view of Illyricum as one unit. Such a view would be understandable. Before the revolt, Illyricum had enjoyed the personal attention of Caesar's intimates: Agrippa had just started operations there before his death in 12 BCE;⁵¹ he was succeeded by Tiberius as Augustus' legate (*legatus meus*).⁵² After the revolt, the two legates there operated under the close oversight of various members of Caesar's family: Tiberius was overseeing operations in 6–9 CE, with the help of Germanicus;⁵³ Tiberius had been about to depart for Illyricum 'to strengthen by peace what he had subjugated by war' when Augustus' death prevented him;⁵⁴ Tiberius sent his own son Drusus instead;⁵⁵ and Drusus was sent again in 17 CE.⁵⁶ As far as the terms Dalmatia and Pannonia go, Strabo does not use them as provincial names. Strabo uses 'Pannonian' as a tribal designation: but the list of Pannonian tribes he provides consists of tribes who would, not much later, be considered part of the province of Dalmatia (7.5.3).⁵⁷ For Strabo, the Pannonians are outside Dalmatia (7.5.3; cf. 7.5.10). Shortly after Strabo, we find the terms Pannonia and Dalmatia being used to designate the areas of each legate's operation by Velleius Paterculus (2.110–16), in his extensive coverage of the campaigns of 6–9 CE.⁵⁸

Strabo makes an explicit reference to the boundary between Italy and Illyria being extended to the city of Pola in Istria (7.5.3). Typically, this is given as information about the city of Pola rather than as information

⁵⁰ Thomasson (1984) 89:14. For doubts about 'upper Illyricum', Wilkes *apud OCD*³ s.v. 'Illyricum'.

⁵¹ Dio 54.28.1–2. Dio's references to Pannonia and Dalmatia tell us nothing about the date at which the area became subject to two legates, since Dio tells us explicitly that he uses the names of the individual provinces of his own day (early third century CE), whereas at the time *about which* he is writing, such provinces may have been administered two or three together (53.12.8). See nn. 9, 10 and 14.

⁵² *RG* 30.1. ⁵³ For a summary of the sources, Wilkes (1969) 69–76. ⁵⁴ Vell. Pat. 2.123.1–2.

⁵⁵ Vell. Pat. 2.125.4. ⁵⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 2.44.1; 2.48.5.

⁵⁷ Wilkes (1969) 168. Strabo (7.5.3) includes, among the Pannonians, the Pirustans and the Daesitiatans, with their leader Bato, the conquest of whom is specifically attributed by Velleius (2.115.4) to Tiberius in the campaigns in 6–9 CE. Syme (1995) 361 makes the point that this reference is one of several that disproves claims that Strabo is unaware of these campaigns.

⁵⁸ Velleius sees the conquest of the Pirustans and the Daesitiatans as part of the Dalmatian war (2.115.1) and refers to them as Dalmatian tribes (2.115.4). Comparison with Strabo's treatment of them as Pannonians suggests a shift, with Velleius, from treating Dalmatia and Pannonia as tribal designations to thinking of them principally as provincial names.

about the course of the provincial boundary. Strabo tells us that the boundary of Italy was extended to Pola by 'the current leaders' (οἱ νῦν ἡγεμόνες).⁵⁹ The term surely includes Tiberius, and this may help with the dating of the boundary move. In mentioning the move of the boundary to Pola, Strabo notes that Istria is adjacent to the Carnians. Earlier, at 4.6.9, Strabo expressly included the Carnians among those whom Tiberius and Drusus subdued in their campaign (15 BCE). The boundary move is likely to have been connected with this campaign. Pola's status as marking the boundary between Italy and Illyricum is mentioned not once, but twice;⁶⁰ and Pola itself gets mentioned twice in other contexts.⁶¹ Strabo often repeats himself when it comes to activities in which Tiberius had been involved.

The final province along the Danube is Moesia, which was in existence by 15 CE, when we hear from Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.80.1) that it was given to Poppaeus Sabinus to govern. The history of the province prior to Poppaeus Sabinus is notoriously obscure, clouded by the difficulty in determining the point in time at which the Caesarian legate of the *army* in the region started to be considered the Caesarian legate of a *province*.⁶² Strabo makes no comment on the province's formation, but his remarks on nomenclature do imply the province's existence. Strabo says of the Mysians that 'they now call' (νῦν καλοῦσι) them Moesians (7.3.2); that a tribe from among the Getae, brought to the south of the Danube by Aelius Catus, now lives there as Moesians 'as they are called' (καλοῦμενοι), previously having probably been called Mysians (7.3.10); and that the Mysians in Asia Minor are said to be the colonists of the Moesians 'as they are now called' (νῦν λεγόμενοι) (12.3.3).⁶³ Strabo's interest suggests the formalisation of the name only recently. It perhaps took place around the time of the prefecture of Baebius Atticus, whose later career took him into Claudius' reign.⁶⁴

I turn now to Macedonia, which of course had enjoyed a long history, before becoming a Roman province in 148–146 BCE. Accordingly, we find the name 'Macedonia' in Strabo's text applied to what is a shifting spatial entity. We find this particularly in connection with its eastern boundary.

⁵⁹ See n. 25. ⁶⁰ 7.5.3 includes a back reference (ἔφαμεν) to 5.1.1.

⁶¹ 1.2.39; 5.1.9 (where the Carnians are mentioned again). ⁶² Syme (1971) 50.

⁶³ Μοισοί is an emendation for Μυσοί at 7.3.2 and 7.3.10, justified both by sense and by comparison with 12.3.3.

⁶⁴ See nn. 29, 45. Thomasson (1984) 121 does not include Baebius Atticus as a governor of Moesia, even though Baebius Atticus' title, *praefectus civitatum*, is similar to that of Cottius, whom Thomasson (1984) 65:1 includes under Alpes Cottiae (see n. 33); cf. S. Pedius Lusianus Hirrutus, whom Thomasson (1984) 77:3 includes under Raetia (see n. 37).

Thus Strabo can describe the Macedonian coastline as reaching to the river Strymon (7.7.4). The Strymon was surpassed as a boundary back in the fourth century BCE when Philip of Macedonia expanded into the area further east. Indeed, Strabo proceeds immediately to tell us ‘some⁶⁵ also add to Macedonia the region from the river Strymon to the river Nestus’ (i.e. the region east of the Strymon) (7.7.4; cf. 7 fr. 33, 35). But the Nestus was surpassed as a boundary in turn, in 167 BCE, when the Macedonian kings were ousted by the Romans and when Macedonia was extended even further eastwards, to the river Hebrus. Strabo himself notes the extension of Macedonia to the Hebrus (7 fr. 47).

In noting the Hebrus as a boundary, Strabo describes it as the boundary of ‘the Macedonia’ which the Romans took from Perseus and Pseudo-Philip (7 fr. 47). It seems as if Strabo is thinking of ‘the Macedonia’ of 167 BCE as opposed to ‘other Macedonias’ which are also present in his mind. And there are further such ‘Macedonias’. At 7 fr. 10, Strabo describes Macedonia as a parallelogram, bounded to the west by the Adriatic coast; to the east by the meridian line parallel to this running through the mouth of the Hebrus; to the north by mountain ranges; and to the south by the Via Egnatia (cf. 7 fr. 9). Which Macedonia is Strabo talking about here? It is not clear. The use of the Via Egnatia as the southern boundary cautions us against taking the Macedonia in question as the *province* of Macedonia, since the *province* of Macedonia included territory south of the Via Egnatia. Strabo is here using the shape of a parallelogram as an *aide-memoire*, as in the case of Narbonitis, rather than as a precise definition. Similarly, Strabo mentions a place called Pylon on the Via Egnatia as ‘dividing Illyris and Macedonia’ (7.7.4).⁶⁶ Again, which ‘Macedonia’ is being referred to here? Whichever it is, it can’t be the parallelogram-shaped one, which explicitly extends as far as the coast.

I turn finally to Achaea, which had been incorporated into the empire in 146 BCE, about the same date as Macedonia; which, like Macedonia, had been allocated to the people in 27 BCE;⁶⁷ and which, like Macedonia, had been transferred to Caesar in 15 CE.⁶⁸ The status of Achaea as a province has no bearing on Strabo’s narrative. When he uses the name Achaea, it is to designate the much smaller area called Achaea in the north of the Peloponnese (8.5.5; cf. 8.7.1–5), and not the province. Strabo notes the Roman destruction of Corinth (8.4.8; cf. 8.6.21; 8.6.23), but shows no interest in the formation of the province of Achaea which followed. This is

⁶⁵ ‘Some’ refers to past writers. See n. 18. ⁶⁶ For discussion, Papazoglou (1988) 74, 81–2.

⁶⁷ Papazoglou (1979) 325–6. ⁶⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 1.76.2.

not to say that Strabo ignores events current at the time of writing, for he mentions Eurycles of Sparta, who was famous for causing turmoil in his homeland under Augustus (8.5.5). Strabo's remark that Eurycles' son has forsworn the excessive ambition of his father⁶⁹ is rather over-optimistic, as things turn out. Eurycles' son, Laco, would go on to fall from grace by 33 CE.⁷⁰

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the Roman provinces do not feature very prominently in Strabo's description of Europe. All that Strabo gives us is an occasional comment on the prefect or governor, some allusions to the provincial names used by the Romans and the occasional observation that a given location marks a provincial boundary. The greater detail afforded to the provincial arrangements in Iberia concerns the division between Caesar, on the one hand, and the senate and people on the other hand. The only provincial divisions which affect the shape of Strabo's geographical narrative are those of Celtica, where Strabo divides his material to treat Narbonitis, Aquitania, Lugdunensis and the Belgae as separate units. The shapes of the Celtic provinces as detailed by Strabo, however, are conceptual and schematic, rather than detailed and real.

We are left searching for an explanation as to why Strabo does not pay greater attention to the provinces. Strabo's attitude towards the provinces of Asia and the provinces of Libya is as cursory as his attitude to the provinces of Europe, even though lack of space prevents an analysis here of Strabo's treatment of those provinces. His reluctance to deal with provincial arrangements and boundaries is apparent even for those areas, like Asia Minor, where he provides a far greater level of detail on cities than he does for Europe.

On one level, the reason for Strabo's avoidance of provincial detail is clear. He divides the world up according first and foremost to natural divisions. 'To geography' is a verb for Strabo. The answer to the question of 'what geographies?' is mountains, rivers and seas. It is these that 'geography' the land (2.5.17; 4.1.11). Within these natural divisions, Strabo concentrates on peoples, races, tribes. In other words, Strabo concentrates on ethnic divisions within a framework of natural features. However, the ethnic divisions which Strabo describes are in reality a reflection of the political conditions which preceded Roman domination. We are still left with the

⁶⁹ See Lindsay (1992) 295–6.

⁷⁰ I take it that Laco was in power when Strabo was writing. For Laco's downfall, Tac. *Ann.* 6.18.

question of why Strabo prefers to deal with past political units rather than current ones.

One obvious explanation is provided by his own repeated allusion to frequent changes in provincial organisation. The Roman provinces were still at a formative stage in administrative terms, and we should not expect that the provinces were already organised in the forms into which they would settle in later decades. Strabo's narrative suggests that the provinces were undergoing a transition in terms of nomenclature as well as boundaries. We should beware of a tendency to see the provinces as already fixed entities, even though this is an impression given by later writers who retroject the provincial terminology with which they themselves are familiar into their accounts of this earlier period.

Moreover, Strabo sees the Roman world as primarily divided into the portion belonging to Caesar and the portion belonging to the senate and people, with provincial divisions being secondary. All the European provinces except Baetica and Narbonitis were Caesar's. Either they had been originally so allocated by Augustus in 27 BCE; or, having initially been given to the people, they had then been transferred to Caesar, as had happened in the case of Illyricum and, more recently, Macedonia and Achaëa; or they had been conquered and incorporated into the Caesarian part of the empire after 27 BCE, as in the case of the Alpes Maritimae, the Cottian Alps, Raetia, Noricum (if indeed it can be thought of as a province) and Moesia. Dalmatia and Pannonia are a somewhat special case, formed out of Illyricum after its transfer to Caesar.

Thus, the number of provinces in Caesar's portion had actually increased quite dramatically. While we tend to think of these as Caesarian provinces, this may be something of a misconception. Strabo himself considers them rather as subdivisions within Caesar's portion of the empire. One asks oneself how much need there was to distinguish between the various parts of this portion, which was after all subject to one governor, Caesar; and indeed how much of this information would have been easily available. Other factors may have contributed to the relative unimportance of provincial demarcations in this portion. First, Caesar's portion included not only provinces, but 'kings and dynasts and decarchies' (17.3.25). Secondly, provinces in Caesar's portion were sometimes lumped together under one governor. Achaëa and Macedonia were, in the same year as they were transferred to Caesar, joined with Moesia under the governorship of one man, Poppaeus Sabinus, who held them until 35 CE.⁷¹

⁷¹ Tac. *Ann.* 1.80.1; 6.39.3.

Dalmatia and Pannonia, even when subject to separate legates, were under the oversight of a member of Caesar's family.

Strabo is a contemporary witness to the development of the provinces in the early empire. If he is not very forthcoming, that in itself tells us something about the fluid and transitional state of the development of the provinces as territorial and administrative units. On the other hand, we should not overlook what few specific comments Strabo does make. They provide context for the epigraphical evidence and help to shed a little further light on the state of the provinces in the early years of Tiberius.

*Amasya and Strabo's patria in Pontus**Hugh Lindsay*

Amasya¹ was the *patria* of our geographer, a city situated about 82 km from the south coast of the Black Sea (see Map 3, Asia Minor), but considerably further by road from Samsun (Amisus). The rugged mountain chain of the Pontic Alps creates a modern road journey of about 136 km, and follows an ancient itinerary formerly known as the Baghdad road.² Amasya was the only considerable inland city within Pontus. It was at an important crossroads, on the main route from Amisus to Mazaca, as well as on the East–West route from Armenia to Bithynia.³ The geographer twice mentions his connection with Amasya, always with considerable affection (12.3.15; 12.3.39); the more interesting of these passages is a detailed account of the site which is central to the present discussion. I intend to discuss here Strabo's approach to a familiar environment surrounding Amasya in particular but also Pontus in its wider scope. This approach would seem to be a yard-stick for assessing the development of his approach to geographical theory and descriptive geography. I shall look at Strabo's early life in Amasya and environs and discuss his interest in the location and fortification of the city as well as his concern with the economic geography of the surrounding territory. Finally I shall assess his political coverage of the region.

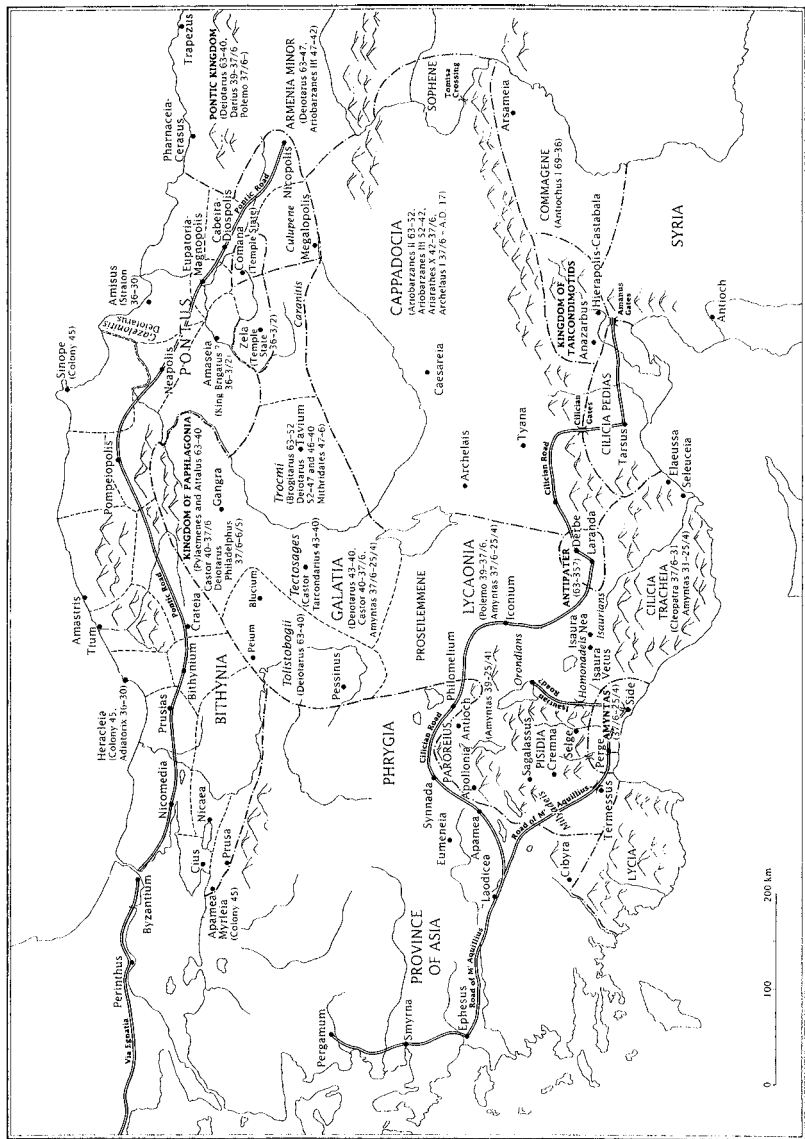
I set the scene for my paper with a quite lengthy description of Amasya as seen by W. J. Childs, a traveller in the East just before the First World War:

The gorge is about a mile in width, enclosed by stark precipices which rise, you are told, some 3000 feet on the eastern side, and a third that height on the western. Small lateral ravines ascend steeply into the heart of the rocks. On the western side is a fine old castle, crowning a crag which falls sheer to the town for a thousand

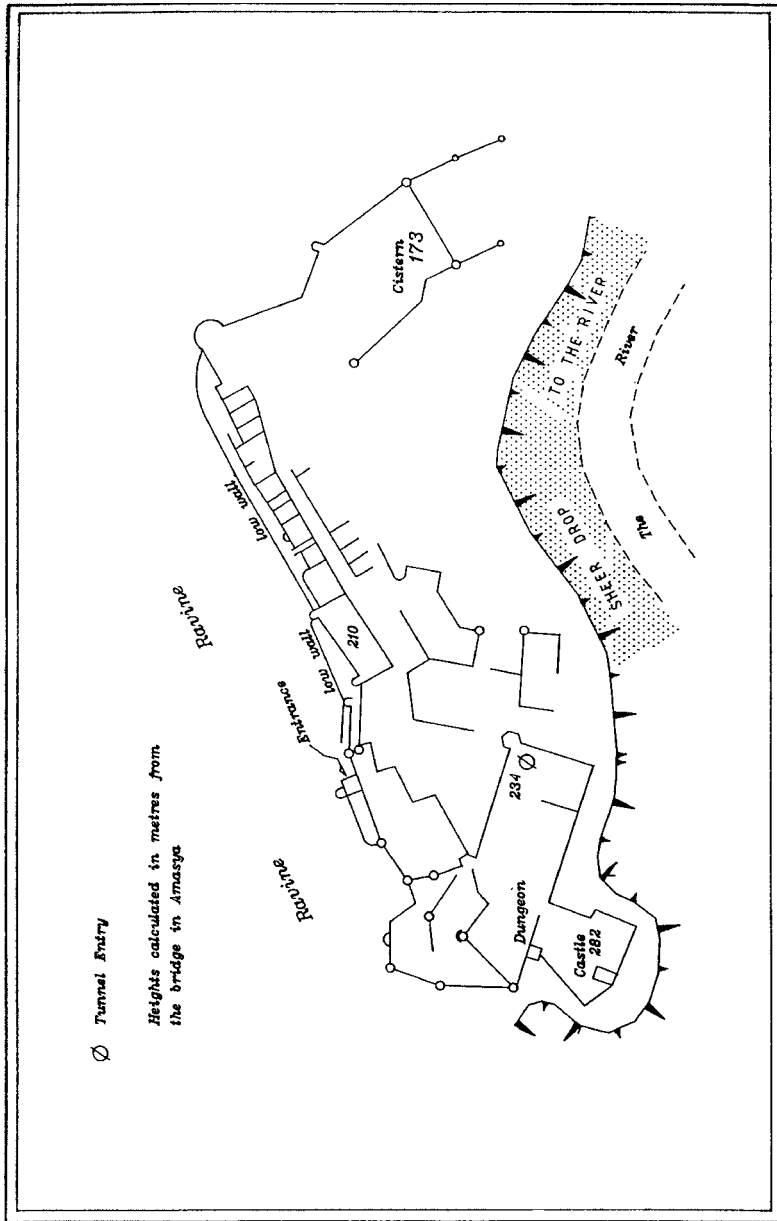
¹ I have used this spelling throughout, instead of the Latinised form Amasia, except in citations (see nn. 4, 5 and 35). My discussion centres on the modern site in Turkey. I would like to take the opportunity to thank John Rennie for his kindness in redrawing the plan of Amasya Castle for me (see Illustration 1). It is based on the plan provided by Cumont and Cumont (1906) 171.

² Distances cited from Wilson (1976) 47.

³ For its importance in the later defence system in the East, see French (1986) 278.



Map 3. Asia Minor



Amasya Castle

Illustration 1. Plan of Amasya castle

feet. Amasia city, once the capital of Pontus, and birthplace of Mithridates the Great, and still an important place with a population of 60,000 lies in the bottom between these great precipices. It stretches for more than a mile along both banks of the Yeshil Irmak – better known perhaps by its ancient name of Iris. A score of bridges, one at least showing Roman work, and others Seljukian, span the river, which runs between gardens and trees, and mosques and quaint old overhanging buildings, and crowded Eastern streets. There are many great water-wheels raising water for irrigation, whose slowly tipped buckets make a pervading sound like the ticking of gigantic clocks. Between the precipices the gorge is packed with houses and gardens, terraced in the ravines and on the slopes. There are Seljukian mosques, colleges, khans, and monuments. There is Roman work and Mithridatic work; and looking down on all from the face of the western precipice are the five great rock-hewn tombs of the Kings. They were old when Strabo, who was born here in 65 B.C., wrote of them, and they remain now unchanged and uninjured from the time they were cut. High cliffs are impressive enough when overhanging sea or river or lake; but when, as here, they are upon a grander scale, and confront one another across a belt of crowded city, they become awesome. So I thought as I walked slowly to a khan on the main street. As I went I had glimpses of old tekkes, and mosques, and mosqueyards and bridges, and river; on one hand were precipices and trees and buildings in bright sunlight, and upon the other hand precipices and trees and buildings in deep shadow; and always I was made conscious of enormous vertical height exhibited above me. Entering Amasia in the way I did, I thought that for situation it was the most impressive city I had ever beheld. It is said that by much the best time for seeing it is in spring; I saw it at the end of October, and was abundantly satisfied.⁴

There is also some comment by the same author on the surrounding territory:

There are no such gardens and orchards as those of Amasia. They go far up the gorge; they go far down it; I have seen them filling the ravine from the Marsovan plain. A rich soil abundance of water, strong sunlight reflected by cliffs, and heat given off at night by the same rocks, make the gorge and its ravines a gigantic hothouse. But the fruit is that of the colder latitudes; for the winter climate is severe – there were temperatures much below zero during the year of my visit.⁵

The picture in the city has changed today, but many of these impressions are still relevant.⁶ Childs provides an interesting picture intermediate between Strabo's own antique description and the impression that can be gained today. The water-wheels have gone, and some modern architecture intrudes, but the grandeur of the site remains. It remained an important centre of culture until the Ottoman period, and it was here that the idea of

⁴ Childs (1917) 72–3. ⁵ Childs (1917) 88.

⁶ See Illustration 2, an often-reproduced photo from Cumont and Cumont (1906) 171.



Illustration 2. Photo of Amasya

the foundation of the modern Turkish republic was first committed to paper in a document known as the Amasya notice (22 June 1919), during the War of Independence (1919–22). Present-day population is about 80,000, according to local tourist information.

STRABO'S EARLY LIFE IN AMASYA AND THE COMPETING CLAIMS OF NYSA

Strabo does not provide us with any means of determining how much of his life he spent at Amasya, but the city of his origin and its surrounding territory appears to have remained important for the geographer throughout his life. Anderson's 1923 article argued that the geographer did not have a direct acquaintance with the East after 2 BCE, and this would certainly have had an impact on his capacity to provide useful coverage.⁷ This might be a real obstacle in terms of the political geography, but less relevant to the descriptive approach. Childhood memory would be quite sufficient to

⁷ J. G. C. Anderson (1923) 1–13.

cover this, especially in the immediate vicinity of his childhood home. Bowersock in his paper on the *patria* of Strabo in the recent volume on Strabo and Asia Minor,⁸ emphasises Asia Minor as the author's spiritual home, but explains the prominence of Pythodoris and her family, not through their links with Amasya, but rather in terms of mutual links with Nysa in Caria. Pythodoris can however be seen as important to Strabo for more general cultural reasons, including her role in Pontus late in his life, and further reinforced by his youthful sojourn in Nysa.

At least some of Strabo's early training occurred at Nysa, and the significance of Nysa for Strabo's later interests can be emphasised. Nysa had the type of cultural atmosphere crucial to Strabo as cultural geographer. Several literary figures based themselves at Nysa, which had a library of some note. The remains of this building have been identified. The early imperial writer Julius Africanus, who shared Strabo's interest in Homer, spent time at a well-known library in Nysa.⁹ The study of Homer was something of a speciality at Nysa. Strabo's own teacher was Aristodemus, son of Menecrates, who had been a pupil of the famous grammarian and Homeric scholar Aristarchus.¹⁰ According to the *Suda*, Aristodemus was related to the philosopher Posidonius.¹¹ Another Aristodemus was the cousin of Strabo's teacher, and had been the teacher of Pompey the Great.¹² Strabo's teacher had himself at an earlier stage in his career taught grammar to the children of Pompey at Rome. By the time he taught Strabo, Aristodemus was very old, while Strabo on arrival at Nysa is called a *neos*. Aristodemus had links with Rhodes, and Strabo tells us that he maintained two schools, one in Nysa, and one on Rhodes, teaching rhetoric in the morning and grammar in the afternoon (14.1.48). Aristodemus had a brother named Sostratus, who wrote a geography of which fragments survive.¹³ These fragments share Strabo's interests in mythology and historical geography,¹⁴ and this man may have been responsible for developing Strabo's geographical interests. Aristodemus himself had strong Homeric interests which will have included Homeric geography in the traditional manner.

⁸ Bowersock (2000) 13–24.

⁹ On the library, see L. Robert (1940) 144–8. The building as it has survived is thought to post-date Strabo's time; for Strabo and the cultivation of his Homeric interests at Nysa, see Dueck (2000a) 38.

¹⁰ Strabo 14.1.48; see *RE* s.v. Aristodemus no. 30. See also Dueck (2000a) 8–9 for this background.

¹¹ *Suda* s.v. Jason. Strabo does not mention that Aristodemus' mother was a daughter of Posidonius. Nor does he mention a brother, Jason. Both of these details are only recorded in the *Suda*, which describes Jason as a son of Menecrates.

¹² See *RE* s.v. Aristodemus no. 31.

¹³ Mentioned by Strabo 14.1.48; see *RE* s.v. Sostratos no. 7. ¹⁴ *FHG* 4, 504, fr. 20.

Pais thought that Strabo's parents were compelled to abandon Amasya as a consequence of the victories of Pompey, and the overthrow of Mithridates.¹⁵ This does not seem plausible. Strabo's grandfather may have been mistrusted by Pompey, but the family maintained links with other Greeks who had a continuing relationship with Pompey. An example here is precisely Pythodorus of Trallis, who had originally been a native of Nysa, and had developed a friendship with Pompey.¹⁶ Strabo shows considerable interest, which, as Bowersock suggests, should be linked up with Strabo's sojourn at Nysa. Moreover, Aristodemus himself had conspicuous links with Pompey, although he largely devoted himself to academic pursuits. Strabo's early education from Aristodemus shows all the signs of having been along traditional lines. There is plenty of evidence in the *Geography* of his detailed knowledge of Homer's text,¹⁷ as well as an interest in etymology, no doubt fostered at this time.

Thus, the contacts Strabo had in Nysa were somewhat Pompeian in political colouring; both his teacher Aristodemus and Pythodorus had the Pompeian background outlined above. Could then Strabo's family have moved to the cultural centre of Nysa in the Maeander valley for educational rather than political reasons? It was also close to other significant centres including Rhodes. In contrast to the rich cultural environment at Nysa, Strabo cannot find a single resident of Amasya whom he can fit into the schema of his notices commemorating Hellenistic cultural achievers.¹⁸ He chooses instead another method of utilising experience from his place of origin.

AMASYA'S FORTIFICATIONS AND STRATEGIC STRENGTH

The description of Amasya and its location in the valley of the River Iris (12.3.39) is one of great pride, and immediately centres on the roles of *physis* and *pronoia*, nature and divine providence, on the fortunes of the site. The

¹⁵ See Pais (1908) 410.

¹⁶ Strabo 14.1.42. Pythodorus was the father of the future Pontic queen, Pythodoris. On his role as Asiarch see Campanile (1994) 33–4.

¹⁷ Stoic teachers in the Hellenistic period saw Homer as embodying all the virtues of the Stoic sage. See Marrou (1956) 169; Wardman (1976) 68; Biraschi, 'Strabo and Homer', in this volume. Dubois also emphasises Strabo's teacher as the source of his obsession with Homer. See Dubois (1891) 170–1. Dubois maintained that Strabo was more heavily influenced by the opponents of Aristarchus, such as Crates of Mallus, Demetrius of Scepsis and Apollodorus of Pergamum (176). In contrast to Strabo, Aristarchus is known to have shared Eratosthenes' scepticism about the bounds of Homer's geographical knowledge. See Lehrs (1882) 242. But this is no impediment to the institution of Strabo's interest in Homer by an Aristarchan.

¹⁸ See Engels, 'Ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι', in this volume.

result for Strabo is a location which can claim status both as a city and a fortress. His interest in providence can and has been related to Stoic beliefs;¹⁹ its importance in geographical terms is that *pronoia* is seen as creating the human element and the ordered environment in which Strabo believes high culture can flourish. It is not merely a comment on human ingenuity in employing a naturally strong site. As Germaine Aujac emphasises, even physical geography is seen by Strabo as something under the control of *pronoia* rather than *physis* because the combination of elements of nature is not through chance but planned (see, for example, 4.I.I4).²⁰ Comments on *physis* and *pronoia* emerge in his description of Sinope (12.3.11), and there is evidence also of great pride in his native domain in the description of Amisus. At the very beginning of his treatment of Pontus, Strabo provides an account which seems to be aimed at showing cultural if not political continuity from the time of Mithridates Eupator to his own time. The contrast may be seen as one between the unity of the region under Mithridates, as against fragmentation under Pompey and subsequent Roman potentates.

The interest in Amasya as a fortified site can also be seen as driven by something more than the geographical agenda. Strabo's maternal ancestors had been military men. Dorylaeus, nicknamed Tacticus, the great-grandfather of Strabo's mother, was a general of Mithridates V Euergetes, the Pontic king from about 150 BCE.²¹ When Mithridates had imperialistic designs against Cappadocia, Dorylaeus was used as a recruiting officer for mercenaries in Greece, Thrace and Crete.²² While Dorylaeus was on Crete, competing with pirates for the service of mercenaries, war broke out between the Cnossians and Gortynians, and Dorylaeus became involved (Strabo 10.4.10). He was appointed general by the Cnossians, and achieved high honours (App. *Mithr.* 10, 12). In the meantime in Pontus, Euergetes was assassinated by his courtiers at Sinope, and his wife and two young sons received the kingdom (Strabo 10.4.10; Justin 30.1.6; Memnon 30.2). This was in about 120 BCE.²³ Dorylaeus was disillusioned with prospects at home, and opted to stay at Cnossus, where he married a Macedonian woman by the name of Sterope. He had two sons and a daughter by her. The sons were named Stratarchas and Lagetas, names emphasising the military inclinations of the family. It was perhaps natural for a geographer with this background to discuss the military strength of his place of origin.

¹⁹ See Dueck (2000a) 63. ²⁰ Aujac (1983) 20–1. ²¹ See *RE* s.v. Dorylaos no. 2.

²² Magie (1950) 194. ²³ See Magie (1950) 1091 n. 50.

General characteristics of the site include the location of Amasya at the base of the fortified position. This can be contrasted with Strabo's hostile reaction to the location of Mazaca, which is seen as unsuitable both because of its unfortified location and because of its lack of natural water supply. Amasya itself was fortified with a wall along the river, remnants of which survive, and also boasted great natural strength because of the peaks behind it. This is today called the Harsena mountain (Harsene Kalesi). The two peaks are described in Strabo as magnificently towered (the Loeb edition doubts this, but surely without reason; it can hardly be a reference to the shape of the summits themselves, as suggested). Cumont in 1906²⁴ noted that the two summits of which Strabo speaks were still crowded with ruined towers with a neck between, as they are today. He noted that the position is impregnable, but changed from its primitive character.²⁵ Some of the existing structures are Medieval, but there are also elements dating back to Hellenistic times. He recognised that the lower courses of the tower on the most elevated summit were of the tower mentioned by Strabo. The dungeon within this is cited as the most ancient part of the structure. I shall return to this when I discuss the water supply.²⁶

The entire precinct encompassed not merely the city, but also the Palace and tombs of the Pontic kings. The term *basileia* is not usually applied to forts, although clearly this was a fortified palace, located on the ledge at a considerable elevation, close to the tombs.²⁷ The forts were not small, nor are the remains all of the same date; as many as six occupation levels have been identified in the existing structures, which have admittedly undergone massive alteration in Byzantine and later times. Latest work of consolidation of the *kale* was in the 1980s in the interests of the promotion of tourism. The five main tombs on the necropolis are widely believed to be those of antecedents of Eupator;²⁸ there is a further tomb, some distance away, the Ainali-Maghara, which has an epitaph of an *archibiereus*.²⁹ Similar rock-cut tombs are common in the vicinity of Amasya as well as in Paphlagonia.

²⁴ Cumont and Cumont (1906) 152. ²⁵ Cumont and Cumont (1906) 157.

²⁶ See Illustration 1. Plan of Amasya Castle.

²⁷ See Illustration 3. For the tombs see also Illustration 4.

²⁸ Cumont and Cumont (1906) 159–60, following Perrot and Guillaume (1862) 366–85. For further description see de Jerphanion (1928) 5–14.

²⁹ For comments on this obscure inscription see Bean (1953) 169. This was thought to be the tomb of the chief priest Tês. See de Jerphanion (1928) 11. Perrot and Guillaume (1862) 371–3 suggested that this tomb might be the tomb of a chief priest from Zela or Comana, one such as Dorylaus, son of Philetaerus, a relative of Strabo's who clearly had links with Amasya (12.3.33).



Illustration 3. Photo of location of fortified palace at Amasya and royal tombs



Illustration 4. Photo of royal tombs at Amasya

Strabo's description quickly returns to the theme of the defensibility of the site, and he describes how the peaks were connected by a neck – even the neck itself was five or six *stadia* in height. It was a further *stadium* to the peaks – described as sharp and stronger than any assault. Moreover it had an unassailable water supply. Cumont found some of the evidence:

A proximité du sommet occidental s'ouvre l'entrée d'un tunnel, creusé dans la roche vive, et descendant en ligne droite jusqu'à un vaste réservoir qui recueille l'eau filtrant à travers le calcaire. C'est l'une des deux citernes imprenables, dont parle le géographe, auxquelles on aboutissait par d'étroits boyaux pratiqués l'un à partir de l'arête de la montagne – c'est celui qui est conservé – l'autre près du fleuve.

Near the summit there opens the entrance of a tunnel, cut into the live rock, descending to the right to a vast cistern, which collects the water filtered through the limestone. This is one of two impregnable cisterns mentioned by the geographer, reached by narrow passages formed one at the end of the mountain – this is the one preserved – another near the river.³⁰

A total of three tunnels are known at Amasya; two from the summit and one further down the slope leading to the river. Cumont does not seem to have found the other two during his time at Amasya.

The two bridges also contributed to the picture of the security of Amasya. One connected the city to the suburbs (the Alçakköprü),³¹ the other joined the suburbs to outside territory. The suburbs of antiquity equate to the location of the modern city. Cumont notes that Strabo refers to a still extant but often restored bridge at the end of the defile (Tersakan Su). There were also in 1900 remnants of the other bridge between the city and the fortress, the Alçakköprü.³² Both these bridges are still visible. The bridge at the end of the mountain is easily identified. The bridge, from city to suburbs, has its arches preserved at a much lower level, and a modern foot-bridge has been built high above the remnants of the arches. When the river was at a low level in September 1926, Jerphanion was able to review the four arches; the two central arches were rather higher, and it was possible to ascertain that the river had silted up some five or six metres since antiquity.³³ He suggested that the ancient city as a whole should be sought at about this level. The four arches of the bridge were still clearly visible on a visit in August 2000.

Strabo's comments on the defensibility of Amasya are of interest in relation to a fine coin of Severan date (229 CE) which depicts the city and

³⁰ Cumont and Cumont (1906) 160.

³¹ Remains of this bridge can be seen under the modern footbridge in Illustration 5.

³² Cumont and Cumont (1906) 147–8. ³³ de Jerphanion (1928) 41–2.



Illustration 5. Photo of bridge from the ancient city of Amasya to the suburbs: the Alçakköprü

has been commented on by M. Price. Price comments that the walls of the city at that time are not depicted as continuous, but merely as independent towers. Clearly fortification at strategic points was the only requirement to defend this naturally strong position. By the time of this coin it seems that there was a temple of the imperial cult dominating the ledge on which the Hellenistic palace had been located.³⁴

NATURAL RESOURCES AND ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF THE REGION

Strabo describes a valley developing from the river at Amasya, initially narrow, but later widening out to form the plain called Chiliocomum, followed by Diacopene and Pimolisene. Strabo comments that all this country as far as the River Halys is fertile (12.3.39). Chiliocomum is described more fully by Anderson:

In an hour and a half from Amasia the road emerges from the gorge of the Tersakan Su into the wide rich plain Sulu Ova, the Chiliocomum of Strabo.

³⁴ Price and Trelle (1977) 91–3.

Near this point diverges an alternative way to Samsun by way of Ladik, Ahmed Serai and Kavak. Both roads are chaussées at the present day and it would appear that both were likewise Roman roads ...³⁵

Anderson also fills out a few details in relation to Diacopene:

The modern road to the Halys crosses the low spurs which run down from Tavshan Dagh to Sulu Ova and reaches in 2 1/4 hours the edge of the little plain of Hadji Keui, where it enters the district called in ancient times Diacopene.³⁶

Strabo is content to give a general description outlining some of the main resources of the country:

There are several demolished strongholds in my country, and also much deserted land because of the Mithridatic War. However, it is well supplied with trees; a part of it affords pasturage for horses and is adapted to the raising of other animals; and the whole of it is beautifully adapted to habitation. (12.3.39)

Strabo does not mention communications in his account, but there is a stress on the impact of recent history on the region, as well as its economic geography. Even major Roman roads are seldom mentioned in any section of the *Geography*.³⁷ The whole description of Pontus starting at 12.3.10 is rich in its emphasis on the main products of the country. The region around Amastris, for example was well known for its box-wood (12.3.10); Sinope was famous for its fisheries, and above the city there were highly fertile market-gardens (12.3.11). It also had a particularly fine harbour.³⁸ The area from Sinopitis to Bithynia had accessible ship-building timber, as well as maple and mountain-nut, timbers employed in cabinet making, in addition to substantial plantations of olives (12.3.12). Gazelonitis is especially praised: a completely level country productive of all manner of things, including sheep capable of producing fine wool, and also gazelles (12.3.13). Mountainous country behind Themiscyra is well wooded (12.3.15), and here the geographer gives particulars of the river system, including the Iris, which waters the plain of Dazimonitis, and culminates at the plain of Themiscyra. The Iris receives the waters of the Lycus, and as a result the plain of Themiscyra is grassy and can support cattle and horses as well as a range of crops and fruit. A panegyric on this fertile zone must surely reflect Strabo's memory of his homeland:

Indeed, their plenty of water offsets any drought, so that no famine comes down on these people, never once; and the country along the mountain yields so much fruit,

³⁵ J. G. C. Anderson (1903) 49. ³⁶ J. G. C. Anderson (1903) 100.

³⁷ For a useful general account see Munro (1901) 52–66. ³⁸ See Leaf (1916) 1–15.

self-grown and wild, I mean grapes and pears and apples and nuts, that those who go out to the forest at any time in the year get an abundant supply – the fruits at one time still hanging on the trees and at another lying on the fallen leaves or beneath them, which are shed deep and in great quantities. And numerous, also, are the catches of all kinds of wild animals, because of the good yield of food.³⁹ (12.3.15)

Sidene was less well favoured, and no such purple patch is provided (12.3.16). In the discussion of the area behind Trapezus and Pharnacia in the Paryadres mountains, there are culturally biased comments on the diet of the local tribes, who are said to live on the flesh of wild animals and nuts. They were reputed to have poisoned wayfarers with 'crazing honey' (12.3.18).⁴⁰ Pharnacia, on the other hand, is not part of this 'no go' zone, and is, like Sinope, involved in the fishing industry. Iron mines are also mentioned, as well as disused silver mines (12.3.19).⁴¹ There are fewer specifics as the description closes in on Lesser Armenia (12.3.28); the suitability of the Paryadres range for mountain strongholds had, however, been fully appreciated by Mithridates Eupator, and this is related to geographical features of the terrain (12.3.28). All of this material is inter-mixed with quite extensive but often not comprehensive comment on relatively recent political developments between the time of Mithridates and Augustus. This is also the case with Amasya which is described by Strabo as formerly under kings but now an *eparchia* (12.3.39). This has been taken to be a reference to the inclusion of the city in the province of Galatia in 2 BCE.⁴²

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY THROUGH AN HISTORICAL PRISM

Political geography also has an important role within Strabo's theoretical framework. The Pontic environment is important, because here the geographer is working with a familiar territory. In general, in the book on Pontus, Strabo is less dependent on absorbing literary influences, and can approach his geographical theme in a practical manner; in Pontus it is easier for the author to incorporate the immediate Hellenistic past and

³⁹ For this enthusiasm as evidence of autopsy, see also Dueck (2000a) 23.

⁴⁰ For comment on this area see L. A. Thompson (1979) 228. Interestingly, however, Cumont and Cumont (1906) 358 talk of brigandage as still a problem in the region between Trapezus and Satala in 1900.

⁴¹ Cumont and Cumont (1906) 356 note that the ancients do not seem to have known the later silver workings at Gumush-Hané.

⁴² J. G. C. Anderson (1923) 1–13.

concentrate on themes divorced from the world of Hellenistic cities, and the scholarly life associated with them.

Pontus did have a difficult history in the generations before Strabo's birth. It had emerged in the Hellenistic period from one of the Asian satrapies of the Persian empire. Mithridates Ktistes is said to have extended his power base from a fortress on Mount Olgassys named by him as Cimiata (12.3.41).⁴³ His origins are uncertain, but the claim to Persian ancestry may have some substance.⁴⁴ It is interesting to note in passing how hard it is to trace any of the early history of Pontus from what Strabo tells us – in strong contrast with his account of Pergamum.

What did emerge was a Hellenistic style monarchy, which clearly centred on Greek culture.⁴⁵ The heart of the kingdom of Pontus was Amasya until 184 BCE when Sinope was taken by Pharnaces I. The tombs of the Pontic kings mentioned above should then be those of the earlier members of the dynasty from before 184 BCE. Appian relates that the final Pontic dynasts, Mithridates V and VI, were buried at Sinope (*Mithr.* 113). There is thus reason to believe that those buried at Amasya were the first five Pontic dynasts. It has been thought that the incomplete tomb might be that of Pharnaces I, who, once in control of Sinope, suspended work at this site and inaugurated the new necropolis at Sinope.⁴⁶

At the beginning of the account of Pontus, Strabo excuses his treatment of historical aspects of the history of the country and specifically arrangements dating from the time of Mithridates on the grounds that these are, in Polybian terms, useful (12.3.1). The actual utility of what he provides is very questionable and may tell us more about his internal concerns than matters geographical. Strabo starts his description of Pontus with a survey of the kingdom at its greatest extent under Mithridates Eupator, and explains its dissipation under Pompey. This is followed by a general statement about certain changes which have occurred under Roman influence since that time; it is very non-specific over details:

But later the Roman [*hegemones*] made different divisions from time to time, not only establishing kings and potentates, but also, in the case of other cities, liberating some and putting others in the hands of potentates and leaving others subject to the Roman people. As I proceed I must speak of things in detail as they now are, but I shall touch slightly upon things as they were in earlier times whenever this is useful ... (12.3.1)

⁴³ Discussed by Marek (1993) 122–4. ⁴⁴ Bosworth and Wheatley (1998) 155–64.

⁴⁵ On this theme see Olshausen (1974) 153–70. ⁴⁶ Perrot and Guillaume (1862) 371.

This last point is almost a guilty acknowledgement that his obsession with earlier arrangements is tending to dominate. Some relatively recent issues do emerge; the notice on the behaviour of the Galatian tetrarch Adiatorix, an Antonian appointee, at Heraclia, is disapproving, but comment on current arrangements is cursory, only noting the city's inclusion in Bithynia-Pontus (12.3.6). At Sinope, a major theme is its long-term inability to remain free. Nevertheless its fine location, alluded to above, and its significance in economic terms, and especially within the kingdom of the Pontic kings, is given prominence (12.3.11). This is closely linked to Sinope's status as the birthplace of Eupator, and it is implied that its contemporary quality is a product of the special favour in which it was held in the Mithridatic period. Clearly this is a centre which was thoroughly appreciated by the geographer at several levels.⁴⁷ The removal of the globe of Billarus and the *Autolytus* of Sthenis by Lucullus is recorded as a diminution of its attributes, but, apart from this, only the presence of Roman colonists is noted. It is not important enough to date. In fact, the colony was established by Caesar in 47 BCE.⁴⁸ The inference is that Sinope has passed its zenith, and is consequently less interesting in this post-Mithridatic age. Vagueness over arrangements in Gazelonitis and contiguous areas also shows a focus on arrangements immediately after the fall of Mithridates rather than more recent developments:

Gazelonitis ... is a very fertile country ... One part of this country is occupied by the Amiseni, but the other was given to Deiotarus by Pompey, as also the regions of Pharnacia and Trapezusia as far as Colchis and Lesser Armenia. Pompey appointed him king of all these, when he was already in possession of his ancestral Galatian tetrarchy, and the country of the Tolistobogii. But since his death there have been many successors to his territories. (12.3.13)

At Amisus there is again emphasis on adornment of the city by Mithridates, and this is followed by a brief account of its chequered subsequent history, which included a siege by Lucullus, and another by Pharnaces from the Bosporan kingdom, and further changes under Caesar and Antony, including the tyranny of Strato. It was liberated by Augustus after Actium, and Strabo's final comment is on its contemporary stability (12.3.14). The geographer is quickly drawn into its economic viability as a result of the possession of the fertile terrain of Themisyra and Sidene (12.3.15–16).

⁴⁷ A point underlined by Dueck (2000a) 24, who points out the importance of Strabo's notes about sensual experience in reinforcing the notion of autopsy.

⁴⁸ See Head (1911) 509 (a coin dating the era of Sinope from 47 BCE); A. H. M. Jones (1971) 167.

The section of Pontus above Pharnacia and Trapezus, the domain of the Tibareni and the Chaldaei, is also seen from the perspective of the Mithridatic period. It had been under the control of potentates in Lesser Armenia:

But when Mithridates had increased in power, he established himself as master, not only of Colchis, but also of all these places ... he cared so much for these places that he built seventy-five strongholds in them and therein deposited most of his treasures ... the mountainous range of the Paryadres has numerous suitable places for such strongholds ... it was here that most of his fortified treasuries were built; and at last, in fact, Mithridates fled for refuge into these farthestmost parts of the kingdom of Pontus ... he stayed there until he was besieged and forced to flee across the mountains into Colchis and from there to the Bosporus. (12.3.28)

Links with the Homeric world are very prominent in the discussion of Pontus. Here as elsewhere, Strabo is compelled to argue for the authenticity of Homeric attributions. The description of Pontus is particularly dominated by his justification of the location of the Halizoni and Chalybians (12.3.19–27). The argument may be personally important to Strabo as part of the process of validating his homeland culturally through the demonstration of cultural continuity from the age of Homer.

The basis of land tenure in Pontus is interesting because it seems so closely linked to both religious and political life. Close comparisons with Cappadocia are possible.⁴⁹ Land, as elsewhere in the Hellenistic orient, was divided into the king's land, city land and temple land, with serfdom as a commonplace adjunct.⁵⁰ The clearest description of this arrangement is actually to be found in Strabo's description of Cappadocia (12.2.3–5). The forts held by Mithridates in the Paryadres mountains are typical of the king's land; in Cappadocia, a type of feudal system operated, and some fortresses were given out to the king's 'friends' (12.2.9). The system in Pontus appears to be similar, although the distribution of these resources to courtiers is never spelled out. City land is exemplified by Greek colonies such as Sinope and Amisus, both of which controlled a substantial hinterland, the latter holding Themiscyra and Sidene, as outlined above. Temple land in Pontus included estates at Cabira, Comana and Zela. Close to Cabira, a royal centre employed by Mithridates and later by Pythodoris (12.3.30; 12.3.31), there was at nearby Ameria a temple of Men Pharnacou, an Anatolian god by whom the kings swore their oaths. This centre had

⁴⁹ See Panichi, 'Cappadocia through Strabo's eyes', in this volume.

⁵⁰ See McGing (1986) 7–8, to whom I owe several points that follow.

numerous temple serfs and its fertile territory was under the control of the priest (12.3.31). The Anatolian religious arrangement may be important: these temple estates seem to be an element of continuity from the Iranian past, which was able to be adapted to new political arrangements, and had worked particularly well under the Hellenistic monarchs. At Pontic Comana, Strabo had a special interest since a relative, Dorylaeus, son of Philetaerus, had held the priesthood under Mithridates Eupator, but had attempted a revolt in favour of the Roman cause (12.3.33).

There is clearly much left unsaid in Strabo's account, although he makes it clear that certain Pontic notables were overlooked in the settlement of Pompey. The implication is that the geographer's own family was disadvantaged in the distribution of honours. As noted above, some authorities have believed that Strabo's parents were compelled to decamp from Amasya as a result of these manoeuvres. The priesthood continued under Roman supervision (showing its adaptability), and Pompey appointed Archelaus,⁵¹ adding to the land previously held sacred (12.3.34). Strabo notes that Archelaus had control (*hegemon*) over the temple serfs, who numbered 6,000, but was not empowered to sell them, perhaps a change from the arrangement under the Pontic kings. Archelaus became embroiled in Egyptian politics and died, but was succeeded at Pontic Comana by his son.⁵² His successor Lycomedes was given yet further territory, but was overthrown and replaced by Cleon at the time of Actium. Cleon lasted only a month before his death, attributed to the goddess's anger at his consumption of pork (12.8.9). Finally Strabo mentions Dyteutus, son of Adiatorix, who was miraculously preserved and honoured with the priesthood (12.3.35).⁵³ Another temple state, Zela, is of interest because it seems that Roman rule resulted in reducing the power of the priest; here the change was not merely the institution of a Roman nominee, but the transfer of the management of the temple lands to the reigning monarch, Pythodoris. Strabo says that this move to city status was initiated by Pompey (12.3.37).⁵⁴ Strabo also gives details of minor territories added to the ambit of responsibility of both Pythodoris and Dyteutus; these arrangements show the increasingly territorial focus of Roman arrangements (12.3.37). What Strabo fails to do is to discuss the early ancestry of this temple land.

⁵¹ *RE* s.v. Archelaos no. 13. ⁵² *RE* s.v. Archelaos no. 14.

⁵³ Dyteutus' line held the post until 34 CE when the temple state became a city. See A. H. M. Jones (1971) 169.

⁵⁴ For details see Firpo (1982) 1271–81.

STRABO AND PYTHODORIS

Strabo's relationship with Pythodoris has often been noticed;⁵⁵ Pais long ago formulated a case for seeing Strabo's comments on the purpose of the geography (I.1.23) as directed at a ruling class elsewhere than at Rome. He saw the repeated references to the family of Pythodoris as a product of personal acquaintance and an involvement in the life of her court.⁵⁶ Few will find this attractive today, but she is the one eminent figure associated with Pontus who is both contemporary and shares Strabo's Hellenistic Greek cultural heritage. She had married Polemo of Pontus, whose father had been Zeno, an orator and distinguished citizen of Laodicia. Zeno had shown spirit in response to the incursion of Labienus the 'Parthian emperor' into Asia (14.2.24), and his son Polemo was first made king by Antony. Despite siding with Antony at Actium, he survived the transition to the principate and was later confirmed as king in Pontus (Dio 53.25.1: 26 BCE). Polemo died in warfare against the Bosporean Aspurgiani in 8/7 BCE (Strabo II.2.11; 12.3.29).

Pythodoris had three children by Polemo, and the family remained prominent in the Eastern dynastic network. The eldest son, who is said by Strabo to have been assisting his mother in the administration of the empire at the time of writing (12.3.29), may be M. Antonius Polemo, the dynast of Olba;⁵⁷ the Teucid dynasty appears to disappear at the time of Germanicus' mission to the East, and the integration of Cappadocia into the empire could be associated with the change. The family was certainly entwined in arrangements supervised by Germanicus. The second son of Pythodoris, Zeno, was elevated to the throne of Greater Armenia in 18 CE under the name of Artaxias (12.3.29; Tac. *Ann.* 2.56.2). Strabo may have written book twelve before the death of Germanicus was known; he does not mention Germanicus' death, but this may be insignificant since he does not record Germanicus' connection with the appointment of Zeno to Armenia.⁵⁸ Finally the third child, Antonia Tryphaena, was critical in consolidating the family's impact within the Eastern dynastic network as a result of her marriage to Cotys Sappaeus in Thrace and her large ensuing family.⁵⁹

The appeal of Pythodoris is likely to be her origin in Strabo's cultural ambit; his knowledge of Pontus in the age of Tiberius has been considered

⁵⁵ For Strabo's view of Pythodoris and power politics see recent discussion in Konstan (2002) 19–21.

⁵⁶ Pais (1908) 41ff. On Pythodoris see McCoskey, 'Gender at the crossroads of empire', in this volume.

⁵⁷ As argued by Pani (1970) 327–34 and Barrett (1978) 437–48 but denied by Sullivan (1979) 6–20.

⁵⁸ As Sarah Potheary has pointed out to me. ⁵⁹ See Sullivan (1980a) 200–11.

flawed. He does refer to the inclusion of his own city Amasya into the province of Galatia in 3/2 BCE. Anderson thought that Strabo was wrong to claim that both Zelitis and Megalopolitis were still under Pythodoris in the age of Tiberius (12.3.31; 12.3.37). Strabo's information runs counter to the existence of coins for Megalopolitis with an era starting 2/1 BCE to 1–2 CE, since the commencement of an era is usually associated with Roman annexation.⁶⁰ This may imply that the information is antiquated, although it is hard to devise an infallible test. Pythodoris had on her father's side an aristocratic past and immense wealth; her marriage to Polemo brought the similarities closer with the intellectual heritage of Zeno. The survival of an eminent family from Asia Minor intrigues the geographer, and justifies her place in his political commentary on the region.

CONCLUSION

Strabo uses his early experience in Pontus to further his geographical goals. Political information may be antiquated but there is no denying his acute observations on the strategic strength of his *patria*. This is not all that emerges; he has a strong sense of the quality of the land in Pontus and understands its economic potential. His vision is that of an Hellenistic Greek who has undergone an extensive education, which he is able at the end of a long life to apply critically to the very familiar territory of his earliest years in the service of his aim of providing a valuable account of the *oikoumene*.

⁶⁰ J. G. C. Anderson (1923) 7–9; Bickerman (1980) 74.

*Cappadocia through Strabo's eyes**Silvia Panichi*

In this paper, I investigate the ways in which Strabo's personal experience in Cappadocia – his travels there, his interests and his family history – shape his account of the region. The result is a description which exceeds what we have from other sources concerning Cappadocian history in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman periods, but one which has to be understood in the context of Strabo's own perspective.

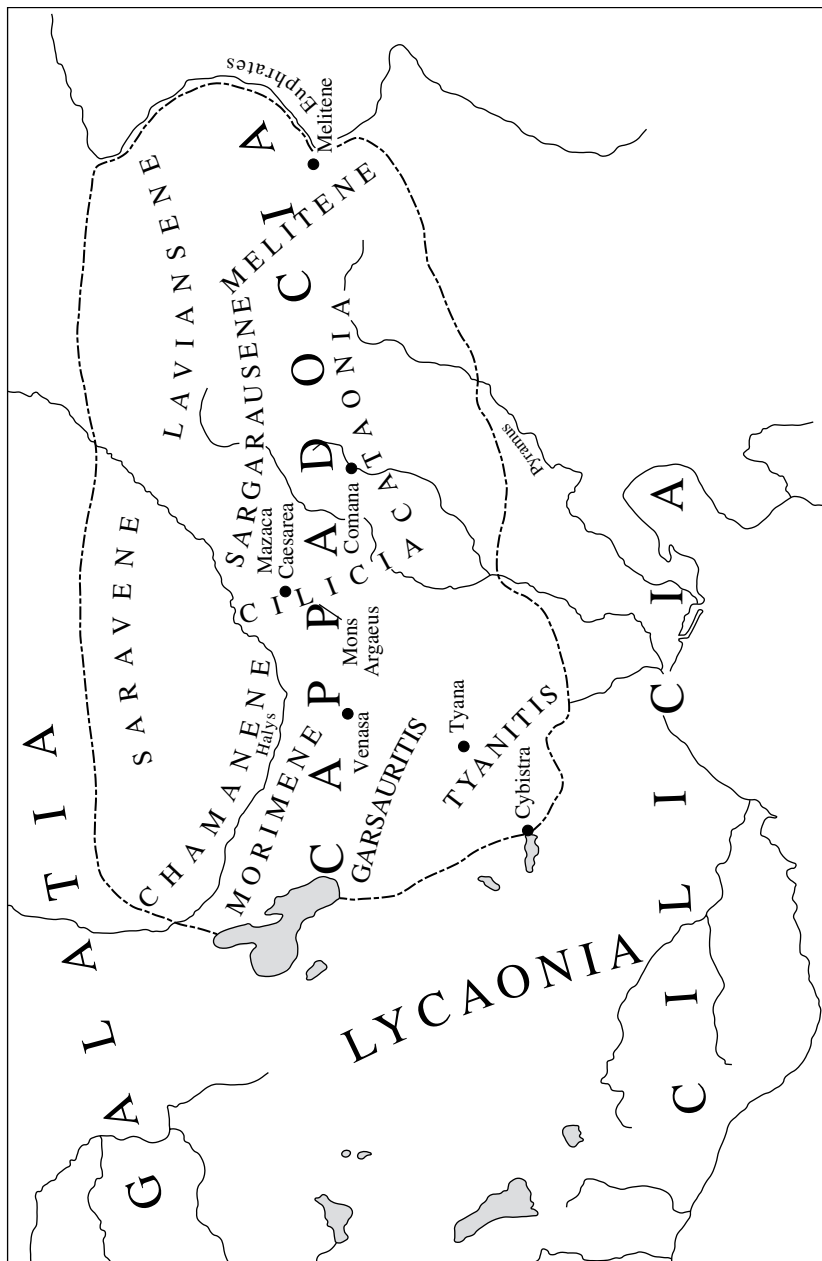
Strabo describes Cappadocia, the vast area between the Taurus mountains and the Pontus sea, after first having described Armenia. Ancient history connected Cappadocia with Armenia. In Strabo's work, this link emerges from the time of the Achaemenid domination. Horse breeding, important for the economy and the military needs of the Persians, was an occupation common to both regions; and, at the time of Strabo, both Cappadocia and Armenia still observed Persian rites.¹ The names of the dynasts, above all in Cappadocia, prove that, at least in the aristocratic class, a real process of Iranianisation had taken place.²

Cappadocia, unlike Armenia, was divided into two Persian satrapies, out of which two Hellenistic kingdoms, Pontus and Cappadocia, were created in the third century BCE.³ Therefore, within the Cappadocia stretching between the Taurus and the coast of the Pontus, characterised by a substantial Persian cultural background still evident in Strabo's time, another Cappadocia

¹ Armenian pastures were excellent (11.13.7) and numerous (11.14.9). The annual Armenian tribute was 2,000 colts (11.14.9), while that of Cappadocia was 1,500 horses (11.13.8). The Armenians worshipped above all Anaitis (11.14.16). The goddess was also worshipped in Zela, in northern Cappadocia (11.8.4). In the interior of Cappadocia, near the Taurus, the Magi, keepers of the fire cult, were widespread (15.3.15). On the ties between the two satrapies, see Briant (1996) 761–4.

² Mithridates (12.3.41), Ariarathes (12.1.2) and Ariobarzanes (12.2.11) (in Cappadocia) and Orontes (11.14.5) (in Armenia) are clearly names of Iranian origin: see Raditsa (1983) 111; Lang (1983) 507.

³ Only Strabo testifies to the division of Cappadocia into two satrapies. Scholars are divided on the authenticity of this information, but recently Debord (1999) 109 has expressed a favourable opinion. Strabo's statement regarding the independent origin of the two kingdoms perhaps reflects a dispute on the priority of royal power. According to Appian (*Mith.* 8–9), it was the Mithridatids who founded a single kingdom, which was only later shared with the Ariarathids: see Panichi (2000) 527.



Map 4. Cappadocia

existed. This was the kingdom founded around 250 BCE by Ariarathes III, the first to proclaim himself king of the Cappadocians (12.1.2).⁴

In the *Geography*, the Hellenistic history of Cappadocia, now politically divided into two kingdoms, is intertwined with that of the western regions. Mithridates VI (120–63 BCE), under whom the kingdom of Pontus reached its maximum expansion, conquered Bithynia and expanded his territory as far as Caria and Lycia (12.3.40).⁵ During the era of Archelaus (36 BCE–17 CE), the Cappadocian kingdom, after the annexation of Cilicia Trachia, opened a port on the Mediterranean sea (12.1.4; 12.2.7; 14.5.6).⁶ Thus, the very position of Cappadocia means that it oscillates between a continental perspective and a peninsular one (see Map 3). In the geographical representation of Asia, in which Strabo takes as his reference point the Taurus, Cappadocia together with Armenia constitute a single mountainous block⁷ while, from a maritime perspective, Cappadocia is the isthmus of the Anatolian peninsula (12.1.3; cf. 2.5.31–2).⁸

The boundaries of Cappadocia, before the birth of the two kingdoms, circumscribed a large area characterised by the same language, which still persisted in Strabo's time:

... the inhabitants who speak the same language are, generally speaking, those who are bounded on the south by the 'Cilician' Taurus, as it is called, and on the east by Armenia and Colchis and by the intervening peoples who speak a different group of languages, and on the north by the Euxine as far as the outlets of the Halys river, and on the west both by the tribe of the Paphlagonians and by those Galatians who settled in Phrygia and extended as far as the Lycaonians and those Cilicians who occupy Cilicia Trachia. (12.1.1)

⁴ He was the third member of a satrapical dynasty whose name was Ariarathes. For the origin of the Cappadocian 'kingdom' (βασιλεία), see Will (1979) 292–3.

⁵ Strabo does not mention the Mithridatic conquests known to us from Appian. On the territorial expansion of Eupator, see Ballesteros Pastor (1996) 43–65. The nucleus of the kingdom remained Pontus which, on the basis of Strabo's description, may be delimited precisely: Olshausen and Biller (1984) 3–67.

⁶ Thus, under Archelaus, the Cappadocian kingdom ended the isolation which, until then, had characterised it. Regarding Cilicia Trachia, subject to client princes, see Levick (1996) 646–7.

⁷ There are two representations of Asia in Strabo: one in 2.5.26–33 (included in a general survey of the world) and the other in 11.1.1–7 (on a larger and more detailed scale, forming an introduction to books 11–16). The Taurus divided the continent into a northern part (ἐντός) and a southern part (ἐκτός), each of which were subdivided into peoples and countries. Cappadocia, together with Armenia, was the next-to-last of the four parts into which Asia ἐντός τοῦ Ταύρου was divided (2.5.31; 11.1.7). On its west was the peninsula, which was the last region. On the Taurus in Hellenistic cartography, see Prontera (2000) 97–100.

⁸ Strabo confirms the existence of a debate already known to Herodotus, which became more heated after the elaboration of Eratosthenes' map (III A, 35–6 Berger: meridian Amisus-Issus). Janni (1984) 154 and n. 227.

The persistence of language obviously constitutes for Strabo the distinctive characteristic of a people and this is a typical, but not exclusive, aspect of the Cappadocians.⁹ In fact, Strabo records an analogous situation among both the Galatians (12.5.1),¹⁰ who, although divided into three groups, were linguistically united, and the Armenians (11.14.5).¹¹ In the western part of Asia Minor, most of the peoples had lost their original languages because of frequent migrations and alternating hegemonies, of which the last was the Roman (12.4.6).¹² These 'changes' (μεταβολαί) made it difficult, if not impossible, to establish ethnic confines (12.4.4), especially as ancient scholars were not in agreement (12.8.7). This was not the case in Cappadocia, Galatia or Armenia, where Strabo, thanks to a situation of linguistic and ethnic cohesion, easily defined regional limits. It is true that the development of Cappadocia, Galatia and greater Armenia is described in terms of μεταβολαί, but apparently these had not reached that degree of intensity and frequency that we find in the western part of the peninsula.

It seems that Strabo's personal experience in Cappadocia causes him to emphasise the theme of *homoglossia*, but he does so in a rather confused way.¹³ He alternates between the Cappadocian kingdom, whose genesis and administrative structure regarding the *strategiai* will be discussed below, and the region between the Taurus and the Pontic sea, which, on the basis of its ethno-linguistic homogeneity, he has just delineated:

Now as for the tribes themselves which speak the same language, the ancients set one of them, the Cataonians, by themselves, contradistinguishing them from the Cappadocians, regarding the latter as a different tribe; and in their enumeration of the tribes they placed Cataonia after Cappadocia, and then placed the Euphrates and the tribes beyond it so as to include in Cataonia Melitene, which lies between Cataonia and the Euphrates, borders on Commagene, and, according to the division of Cappadocia into ten prefectures (*strategiai*), is a tenth portion of the country. Indeed, it was in this way that the kings in my time who preceded Archelaus held their several prefectures over Cappadocia. And Cataonia, also, is a tenth portion of Cappadocia. In my time each of the two countries had its own prefect (*strategos*); but since, as compared with the other Cappadocians, there is no

⁹ On the Cappadocian language and its survival until late antiquity, Frank (1966) 91–4 is still very useful.

¹⁰ On the language of the Galatians, see Mitchell (1993) 50–1.

¹¹ Traina (1999) 32–40, with bibliography.

¹² As observed by Salmeri (2000) 174–5, in Strabo's time the dominant language was Greek. Its spread was intensified after the formation of the province of Asia (129 BCE) and Roman reinforcement of the poleis.

¹³ Salmeri (2000) 179 offers a profile of Greek historical–literary traditions from the point of view of authors interested in foreign languages.

difference to be seen either in the language or in any other usages of the Cataonians, it is remarkable how utterly all signs of their being a different tribe have disappeared. At any rate, they were once a distinct tribe, but they were annexed by Ariarathes, the first man to be called king of the Cappadocians. (12.1.2)

I have cited the entire passage to underline the rather confused manner in which Strabo proceeds. At the beginning of the passage, the Cappadocians from whom the Cataonians were clearly distinct were those peoples between the Taurus and the Pontic sea, but the division of the territory into *strategiai* was strictly limited to the Cappadocian kingdom. In the reference to ‘the other Cappadocians’, it is not clear which Cappadocia is meant, but the mention of king Ariarathes brings us, without doubt, back to the kingdom. One has the impression that Strabo, who here touches on the theme of *homoglossia*, seems to have wanted to communicate information gathered as a result of his personal experience in Cappadocia, which, as we will see, was mostly in Cataonia. This causes him to write a passage that is not very clear in its sequence of information.

Two aspects of the passage characterise, in my opinion, the overall representation of the kingdom of Cappadocia in Strabo: autopsy and contemporaneity,¹⁴ i.e. the author’s frequent references to his own times. It is to the kingdom of Cappadocia, and the implications of Strabo’s personal presence there for his account, that I now turn.

At the end of Strabo’s description of Cappadocia, a long passage summarises some of the events that took place in the kingdom of Cappadocia between 188 BCE and 36 BCE:

It came to pass, as soon as the Romans, after conquering Antiochus, began to administer the affairs of Asia and were forming friendships and alliances both with the tribes and with the kings, that in all other cases they gave this honour to the kings individually, but gave it to the king of Cappadocia and the tribe jointly. And when the royal family died out, the Romans, in accordance with their compact of friendship and alliance with the tribe, conceded to them the right to live under their own laws; but those who came on the embassy not only begged off from the freedom (for they said that they were unable to bear it), but requested that a king be appointed for them. The Romans, amazed that any people should be so tired of freedom [there appears to be a lacuna in the text here] – at any rate, they permitted them to choose by vote from their own number whomever they wished. And they chose Ariobarzanes; but in the course of the third generation his family died out;

¹⁴ By ‘contemporaneity’ I mean the earliest phase of the historical period expressed by καθ’ ἡμᾶς. Potheary (1997) has very convincingly proposed to take the expression as meaning not ‘in my lifetime’ but ‘in our times’, assuming as the starting point the Pompeian reorganisation of Asia (65–63 BCE) and not the birth date of Strabo, which readers could not know.

and Archelaus was appointed king, though not related to the people, being appointed by Antony.¹⁵ (12.2.11)

Only Strabo testifies to the special treatment of Cappadocia, which begins with the peace of Apamea, a treatment that in the following years would regulate the relationship between Rome and the client kingdom, especially when the Ariarathids died out.¹⁶ It is a completely pro-Roman summary of the facts in which the theme of freedom, here granted to a community that had always been governed by a monarchy, is tied to the theme of the necessity for Roman hegemony: barbarian peoples, incapable of self-government, need a guide.¹⁷ The connection between the intervention of Antony and the extraneousness of Archelaus, who had nothing to do with the kings who came before him, seems further to point to an Augustan perspective, according to which Strabo re-interpreted the history of relationships between Rome and the client kingdom.¹⁸

Although the passage at 12.2.11 ends with Archelaus' ascent to the throne, Strabo elsewhere provides further information about this king, who reigned from 36 BCE to 17 CE and was thus a contemporary of Strabo. Archelaus, like his predecessors, governed according to the system of the *strategiai* (12.1.4). In the hope that he would be able to eliminate piracy, the Romans assigned Cilicia Trachia to him (25 BCE), including the small island of Elaussa, to which he transferred his palace (12.2.7; 12.4.4; 14.5.6). On the Galatian border, the king possessed crystal and onyx mines (12.2.10). He was the last king chosen by the Romans to govern lesser Armenia, in about 20 BCE (12.3.29). He married Pythodoris, widow of king Polemo (died in 8 BCE), to whom Antony had assigned some territories of the former kingdom of Pontus. Upon Archelaus' death, Cappadocia became a province (17 CE) (12.1.4; 12.3.29).

Information about Roman policy in the East, which Strabo could have gathered in Rome, is also known to us from other literary sources,¹⁹ but it is only through Strabo that we know about Archelaus in a more detailed way,

¹⁵ For the Ariarathids, see Niese (1895). For the Ariobarzanids, who took power in 96 BCE and reigned until 36 BCE, and for Archelaus, see Sullivan (1980b). For the provincial phase, see Teja (1980) 1083–1124.

¹⁶ The situation in Cappadocia at the end of the Ariarathid dynasty is well illustrated by Justin (*Epit.* 38.2): the Roman intervention was intended to prevent the Bithynian and Pontic kings, in particular Mithridates VI, from taking advantage of the vacuum that was created. Regarding these events, see Mastrocinque (1999) 11–12.

¹⁷ The episode recalls to mind the Parthians (6.4.2), who have turned to Rome to be governed and have almost given up any authority. In the case of the Parthians, the justification for Roman domination is part of the famous digression on the formation of the empire: see Ambaglio (1990) 395–7.

¹⁸ On Strabo's severe criticism of Antony's political conduct, see Lasserre (1982) 875.

¹⁹ Power bestowed by Antony: Dio 49.32.3; assignment of Cilicia Trachia and lesser Armenia: Dio 54.9.2; creation of the province: Tac. *Ann.* 2.42.4; Dio 57.17.7.

that is, the preservation of the *strategiai*, the transfer of the palace, the possession of mines and his marriage to Pythodoris. It is possible that Strabo learned about these events where they took place, in Cappadocia itself, even if we cannot know when he did so, since the dates of his visits in Anatolia are still a matter of controversy.²⁰ Strabo was definitely in Cappadocia at some stage, however, and he turned his attention above all to Cataonia, which is described in a very detailed way. He visited the famous temple-state at Comana, where at that time there were 6,000 ‘temple-servants’ (ἱερόδουλοι), both men and women (12.2.3),²¹ and he admired the flow of the Pyramus river, at the point where it intersects with the Taurus and narrows spectacularly (12.2.4). As we saw, it was in Cataonia that he was struck by the disappearance of the Cataonian language and habits, which by then had already been completely absorbed into Cappadocian culture (12.1.2). In an unnamed place, Strabo witnessed a rite of fire celebrated by the Magi. In front of an altar where a fire had been lit, the Magi, called Πύρραιθοι:

... make incantations for about an hour, holding before the fire their bundle of rods and wearing round their heads high turbans of felt, which reach down over their cheeks far enough to cover their lips.²² (15.3.15)

There are hints that Strabo was also in other localities. The long and accurate description of Mazaca, centred on the paradoxical choice of the site for the capital (12.2.7–9), leads us to believe that Strabo could also have visited this city.

According to the hypothesis recently formulated by Bowersock, Strabo must have been in Pontus during the triumviral period.²³ This hypothesis, which fills a gap in Strabo’s biography, could also be extended to Cappadocia. The geographer is informed about a usurpation that happened during ‘his time’ in the kingdom:

In my time it [the fortress of Nora] served as the treasury of Sisines, who made an attack upon the empire of the Cappadocians. To him belonged also Cadena, which had the royal palace and had the aspect of a city. (12.2.6)

²⁰ Bowersock (2000) 25. On Strabo’s travels, see Dueck (2000a) 15–30.

²¹ On Cappadocian Comana, see Boffo (1985) 17–26. On the organisation of Anatolian temple states, see Virgilio (1981). On the ‘juridical condition’ of the ἱερόδουλοι, see Bussi (2001) 9–16.

²² Strabo’s description of the cult of fire in Asia Minor is the oldest: Wikander (1946) 89. It is confirmed by archaeological evidence: a stone altar from Bunyan (35 km south-east of Kayseri), dated between the third and second centuries BCE, decorated with a bas-relief depicting a Magus in the pose described by Strabo. See Akurgal (1961) 173–4.

²³ Bowersock (2000) 19.

Strabo says nothing more about Sisines, but we know from Appian (*BC* 5.7) that, in 41 BCE, he was aided by Antony in coming to power in Cappadocia. For a long time, the tendency among scholars was to identify Sisines with Archelaus. This identification was based on two considerations: both Sisines and Archelaus were sons of Glaphyra, Antony's lover; and, like Archelaus, Sisines was supported by the triumvir.²⁴ According to Syme, it is precisely Strabo's passage that negates the identification of the two men, because in his *Geography* they are clearly two distinct people. Strabo is not only well informed about the Cappadocian kingdom but also knows in detail events pertaining to the Anatolian rulers, especially his contemporaries such as Polemo and Pythodoris. Sisines and Archelaus were probably brothers or, what is even more probable, half-brothers, because only Archelaus was a descendant of the Archelaidai.²⁵ Only Strabo informs us of the usurpation of Sisines. He even knows the recent name of the fortress of Nora and demonstrates detailed knowledge of the facts and dynastic matters. This leads us to believe that already in the triumviral period Strabo was not only in Pontus, but in Cappadocia too.

But let us return to Archelaus. It is largely thanks to the geographer that we know about the king's ancestors²⁶ (see Figure 2, Strabo's and Archelaus' genealogies). All, or almost all, his ancestors bore the name Archelaus. His great-grandfather Archelaus, one of Mithridates VI's most famous generals, had defected to the Romans and been honoured by Sulla and the senate. In the reorganisation of Pontus, Pompey assigned to the king's grandfather Archelaus, the son of the general with the same name, the position of priest at the sanctuary of Pontic Comana.²⁷ Later, this Archelaus wanted to participate in the expedition which his friend Gabinius, the governor of Syria, was organising against the Parthians. He gave this up when the opportunity to become king of Egypt arose. Thanks

²⁴ App. *BC* 5.7; Dio 49.32.3. Among the scholars in favour of this identification is Pani (1972) 97–106, who clearly illustrates the question and reconstructs events: supported by Antony from 41 BCE, Archelaus-Sisines consolidated his power only in 36 BCE when the triumvir upheld him for the second time. Sullivan (1980b) 1147–9 does not accept the identification but is cautious in supporting the opposite hypothesis.

²⁵ According to Syme (1995) 149–52, Sisines and Archelaus have several analogies in the confused picture of the civil wars, when Antony, after Philippi, searched for support among faithful dynasts in the East.

²⁶ Strabo dedicates two long passages to Archelaus' ancestors: 12.3.34–5 and 17.1.11. For other sources, see Schottky (1996) 986.

²⁷ The sanctuary of Pontic Comana was ἄφιδρυμα with that of the same name in Cappadocia (12.3.32), which Strabo visited. The complicated nature of the ἄφιδρυμα is discussed by Malkin (1991) 77–96. Regarding the Roman intervention in Pontic Comana, see Debord (1982) 56–61.

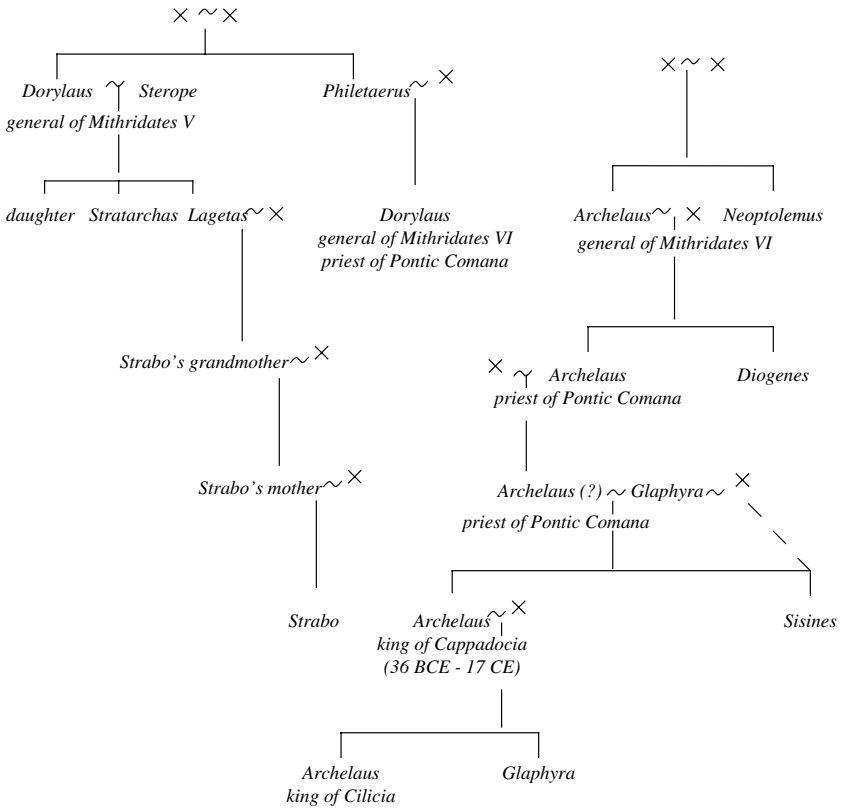


Figure 2. Strabo's and Archelaus' genealogies

to his claimed descent from Eupator, Archelaus was preferred over other pretenders to the Egyptian throne. He reigned for six months and died in the battle to restore Ptolemaic power that broke out in Alexandria. In the meantime, the king's father, or uncle,²⁸ was successor to the priesthood at Pontic Comana; strangely enough, Strabo does not name him. The post was taken from him by Caesar and assigned to Lycomedes. Unlike his ancestors, therefore, king Archelaus of Cappadocia had not been a priest at Pontic Comana nor had he been active in Pontus.

²⁸ I would like to thank the editors for pointing out that Strabo's description of family relationships leaves open this possibility.

The family roots of Archelaus and those of Strabo, as reconstructed from the literary sources, have several analogies.²⁹ To begin with, both had Greek–Macedonian ancestors, as can be seen from their names: ‘Dorylaus’ and ‘Philetaerus’ in the case of Strabo’s ancestors; ‘Archelaus’ and ‘Neoptolemus’ in the case of the king’s. It should also be remembered that Dorylaus came from Amisus, where Mithridates V had established his residence. Strabo’s ancestors – and the same could also be true for those of Archelaus – were perhaps descended from those Greeks and Macedonians who arrived in Asia Minor after Alexander the Great’s expedition, if they were not actually part of it. Both families were active at the Pontic court, the Hellenisation of which had begun in the epoch of the kingdom’s foundation and underwent a rapid increase under Mithridates V.³⁰ Strabo’s ancestors, like Archelaus’, included generals: Dorylaus the tactician, φίλος of Mithridates V, and his nephew, also named Dorylaus, a ‘foster-brother’ (σύντροφος) of Eupator.

It is at this point that the fortunes of the Archelaids begin to interweave with those of Strabo’s family. In 86 BCE, Archelaus and Dorylaus the nephew, both generals of Mithridates VI, were defeated by Sulla at Orchomenus.³¹ Both assumed pro-Roman positions, of which Eupator was aware, but while Archelaus managed to escape and arrived in Rome, where he was honoured (12.3.34; 17.1.11),³² Dorylaus did not (10.4.10; 12.3.32).³³ The other link between the two families was the sanctuary of Pontic Comana, where, after the defeat of Eupator, both the grandfather and the father (or the uncle) of king Archelaus were active. The priest of Pontic Comana, who by law had to be of the king’s family, had been ranked ‘second in honour after the king’ (δεύτερος κατὰ τιμὴν μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα) (12.3.32). Dorylaus had received this, as well as other prestigious honours from Mithridates VI (12.3.32).³⁴ Thus, in Strabo’s account, memories of facts, people and places of great historical importance are

²⁹ Strabo’s biographical data in his *Geography* are closely examined by Cassia (2000) 211–33.

³⁰ See Olshausen (1974) 153–70.

³¹ Plut. *Sull.* 20.3; App. *Mith.* 49. At the beginning of the conflict, Mithridates VI entrusted to Archelaus and Dorylaus the command of the Pontic army (Plut. *Sull.* 11. 5; App. *Mith.* 17).

³² When he realised that Eupator was suspicious of him, Archelaus defected to the Romans shortly before the second Mithridatic War began (App. *Mith.* 64).

³³ The pro-Roman choice of Dorylaus cannot be dated, but it seems to be contemporary with that of Archelaus. Perhaps he also participated in the third Mithridatic War. He died in 71 BCE during the conquest of Cabira (Plut. *Luc.* 17. 4–5).

³⁴ Besides the priesthood, Strabo talks in a general way about μέγιστοι τιμοί. An inscription from Delos (*OGIS* 372) from about 101 BCE found in the sanctuary of the Cabiri, confirms the role of ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου, who perhaps was responsible for the king’s personal security. On this expression, see Cassia (2000) 225 and n. 40.

interwoven with the memory of family events. This common inheritance favours the possibility of a meeting between Strabo and Archelaus, even if it is impossible to say precisely when it occurred, or whether it occurred in Rome or Cappadocia.

Strabo feels the need to specify the origins of the Anatolian ‘tribes’ (ἔθνη). The last to arrive were the Galatians who, after having wandered for a long time, invaded the territories of Pergamum and Bithynia until, with the king’s permission, they occupied that land which they called Galatia (12.5.1).³⁵ As for other Anatolian peoples, Strabo enumerates them among the Trojans’ allies and claims that, even if Homer does not mention them all, this is not a sign of ignorance, as there were many important things that the poet did not think of (12.3.27).³⁶ In the case of peoples ignored by Homer, for example the Bithynians (12.4.4), Strabo is nevertheless interested in their origins and migrations. But this is not the case for Cappadocia, nor for Pontus, both of which are presented in their historical perspective, starting with the Persian period. In the case of Armenia, Strabo knows an ‘ancient story’ (ἀρχαιολογία), but the Greeks elaborated the legend of an Armenian kinship with the Thessalians after Alexander the Great’s expedition (11.14.12).³⁷

This lack of an ἀρχαιολογία in connection with Cappadocia is counterbalanced by greater attention towards the geographical landscape. In an isolated position in the centre of Cappadocia lies Mount Argaeus, volcanic in origin, overlooking Mazaca (12.2.7). The Taurus borders Cappadocia along its southern boundary, which is shared with Cilicia Trachia (12.1.1). The Taurus has two branches: towards the south, the Amanus, which circles the Gulf of Issus; in the opposite direction, the Antitaurus, which runs inland (12.2.2). The rugged formation of the Taurus, and in particular the Antitaurus, where deep, wide valleys are found (12.2.3), explains the winding beds of those rivers that, after having crossed the Cataonian plain,

³⁵ See Mitchell (1993) 19–26.

³⁶ The claim is made against Apollodorus. The question is treated in detail in the end of the description of the peninsula (14.5.22–9). This is one of the most difficult questions regarding Homer’s geography. The problem of the ethnic map, which had to date back to Homer, is connected with that of the geographical representation of the same peninsula (shape and isthmus). It is not easy to reconstruct all aspects of the problem, because Strabo sometimes misunderstands the arguments of Homer’s interpreters, namely Demetrius and Apollodorus. Often, Strabo resorts to accusing the interpreters themselves and tries hard to demonstrate their errors, even at the risk of contradicting himself. On Homer’s defence, see Biraschi (2000) 45–72, with an ample critical bibliography, and ‘Strabo and Homer’, in this volume.

³⁷ Bernard (1997) 131–216.

must cross the mountain barrier.³⁸ Only the Pyramus river, however, forms a true canyon, which Strabo describes very accurately and in a stylistically elaborate way, without doubt the result of autopsy:

... when it reaches the Taurus, it undergoes a remarkable contraction; and remarkable also is the cleft of the mountain through which the stream is carried; for, as in the case of rocks which have been broken ... so it was in the case of the rocks I saw there, which, lying above the river on either side ... had cavities corresponding with the opposite projections. (12.2.4)

There is no digression to interrupt Strabo's treatment of Cappadocia, in the way that the long digression on the Chalybians breaks his description of Pontus (12.3.20–7).³⁹ The uninterrupted description accentuates the impression of a concrete image.⁴⁰ As if from inside the kingdom, Strabo's eyes turn towards the 'kings', the *philoï*, the 'priests' (βασιλεῖς, φίλοι, ἱερεῖς), and towards the local inhabitants, in a series of precise observations of a political, economic and social nature.⁴¹ Nor is it by chance that, in a scarcely urbanised context (Strabo mentions only two poleis, Mazaca and Tyana), the focal point of his considerations is the capital, to which he dedicates three long chapters (12.2.7–9).⁴² It is to these observations that I now turn.

In spite of numerous natural difficulties – lack of water, volcanic and marshy plains all around – the 'kings' (βασιλεῖς) had chosen the location of Mazaca because it was 'the most central' as far as resources were concerned: wood and stones for construction, but above all, forage which was indispensable for the activity of kings who were 'cattle breeders' (κτηνοτροφοῦντες) (12.2.9). The absence of a palace, together with this concentration of resources, produces the singular image of the capital as a 'camp' (στρατόπεδον). Strabo tells us that the Mazaceni use the 'laws of

³⁸ In modern geographical description, one still has the impression of reading Strabo: Taurus, Amanus and Antitaurus are names that western geographers continue to use, to indicate the same mountain groups. As Baladié (1980) 117 observes, Strabo uses appropriate vocabulary, especially in describing Anatolian orography. The description of Cappadocia offers an excellent example.

³⁹ Strabo places the Chalybians in the north-east corner of Pontus, unlike Demetrius, who placed them in the Troad near Scepsis, and unlike Apollodorus, according to whom the Trojans received no aid from any peoples situated west of the Halys. For the plausibility of the situation proposed by Strabo, see Camassa (1984) 155–86.

⁴⁰ The only mention of myths concerns Comana (12.2.3) and Castabala (12.2.7), where the rites of Artemis introduced by Orestes were celebrated. This is probably a late Hellenistic creation, in keeping with the tardy Hellenisation that characterises Cappadocia; for this, see L. Robert (1963) 449–540.

⁴¹ The description of the Cappadocian kingdom in Magie (1950) 491–5 is based mainly on Strabo.

⁴² The description of Mazaca, with its wealth of information, is exceeded only by the descriptions of Alexandria (17.1.6–12) and Rome (5.3.7–8). See Boffo (2000) 121.

Charondas'. The adoption of these laws suggests the initiative of a philhellenic king, such as Ariarathes V (163–130 BCE), thanks to whom Cappadocia was opened up to Greek cultural influence (D. S. 31.19).⁴³

The kings defended their riches and their persons in 'strongholds' (φρούρια), concentrated mainly in Cataonia and Melitene (12.2.2).⁴⁴ Along with these fortresses, there were others belonging to the φίλοι (12.2.9), who, as in all Hellenistic kingdoms, offered collaboration in administrative, diplomatic and military activities.⁴⁵ The king of Cappadocia was closely associated with the 'priests' (ιερείς), in particular the priest at Comana, who was 'second in rank after the king' (δεύτερος κατὰ τιμὴν μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα) (12.2.3). There was a hierarchy in the religious sphere since the priest of Venasa, in his turn, was second in rank after the priest at Comana, while the third in rank was the priest of Zeus (12.2.5–6).⁴⁶ Besides exercising a strong political–religious influence, the priests also had important economic power, as they collected the revenues of the 'sacred territory' (ιερὰ χώρα): at Venasa they collected fifteen talents a year (12.2.6).

In case of war, the Mazaceni were exposed to extreme danger because the city had no walls. Life was difficult even on a day-to-day basis, if only because forty stades from the capital there were marshy areas that made the summer air unbreatheable. Strabo points out the difficult conditions encountered by those people who worked in the stone quarries, situated in the marshy areas, and the dangers faced by those going to nearby Mount Argaeus to gather wood and graze their animals: both the woods and the pastures were dotted with wells of fire because of the volcanic nature of the ground (12.2.7).

The essentially agro-pastoral nature of Cappadocia did not preclude the activity of certain 'merchants' (ἔμποροι) who carried 'Sinopic ruddle' (Σινωπικὴ μίλτος) from the centre of the country to Sinope, and later to

⁴³ See Trotta (2000b) 200. Mühl (1929) holds that, after the fourth century BCE, the 'constitution of Charondas' was simplified and deprived of its original and authentic significance. It was precisely this simplification that permitted king Ariarathes V to adopt the laws of Charondas which, in the third century BCE, were sung in Athens (Hermippus, fr. 88 Wehrli). Perhaps the king could still hear them in Athens in the following century (D.L. 4.65). On the song of the laws, see Camassa (1988) 621–3.

⁴⁴ From Strabo we learn that Cappadocia had a constellation of fortresses. Regarding the archaeological evidence of the fortresses of Garsauritis, see Equini-Schneider (1997) 103–8. On the identification of the fortress of Nora (12.2.6), see Spanu (1997) 131–5.

⁴⁵ The most influential φίλοι also constituted the king's council. See, however, Savalli-Lestrade (1998) 196–7, who holds that Strabo (12.2.9) 'a projeté la terminologie hellénistique sur une réalité foncièrement différente de celle dans la quelle se développa l'institution hellénistique des φίλοι'.

⁴⁶ See Volkman (1937) 307.

Ephesus, in order to be exported; others were involved in the transport of huge blocks of transparent stone, perhaps mica: there was a place that furnished huge blocks of stone in such quantity that it was exported (12.2.10). Mazaca, in any case, needed merchants for its livelihood: because of the volcanic and marshy plain that encircled the city, essential supplies came from far away (12.2.7).

To sum up, Strabo has left us a political-administrative description of Cappadocia that, in some respects, is a *unicum* in the documentation of eastern Hellenistic history. He covers the succession of administrative stages in Cappadocian history, from the Persian phase to the Roman one. First, under the Achaemenids, Cappadocia was divided into two satrapies. After the Macedonian conquest, these satrapies provided the basis for the formation of two kingdoms. Until Strabo's time, the territory of the Cappadocian kingdom remained subdivided into ten *strategiai*, divided into two groups of five each. At some stage prior to Archelaus, the Romans added to Cappadocia some territories taken from Cilicia Trachia, and these formed the eleventh *strategia*. Other territories from Cilicia Trachia were added during Archelaus' time. Finally, on the death of Archelaus, Cappadocia became a province (12.1.4).

The most interesting information, in my opinion, concerns the *strategiai*. In imitation of the Seleucids, some Anatolian βασιλεῖς had used them as a form of territorial administration.⁴⁷ We do not have, however, so detailed a picture for any Hellenistic kingdom as we do for Strabo's Cappadocia. The first five *strategiai* (see Map 4) were very near to the Taurus: Melitene, Cataonia, Cilicia, Tyanitis and Garsauritis. The precise position of the other five is not given, but it is clear that they must have been located in the northern part of the kingdom: Laviansene, Sargarausene, Saravene, Camanene and Morimene.⁴⁸ In listing the *strategiai*, Strabo takes as his reference point the Taurus and proceeds, for each group, from east to west, according to a geographically contiguous order.

⁴⁷ Bengtson (1944) 194. In Bengtson's reconstruction, it was Antigonos 'Monophthalmus' at the end of the fourth century BCE who placed the *strategoí* at the apex of the satrapal administration of Asia Minor; his example was imitated by Lysimachus, by Seleucus Nicator and by his successors. Finally, Antiochus III (223–187 BCE) nominated *strategoí* even in the eastern satrapies.

⁴⁸ Only two *strategiai* took their names from their respective centres, T yana and Garsaura. The other names, with the exception of Cilicia, residue of the homonymous Persian satrapy, were probably of ethnic origin. Strabo alludes to Cataonians (12.1.2), Melitenians (11.14.2) and Morimenians (12.5.4) as peoples. On the town of Morima, see Regling (1932) 9–10. For the remaining *strategiai*, the absence of cities with the same names similarly suggests an ethnic origin: A. H. M. Jones (1971) 178. Ptolemy's list (*Geog.* 6.6) differs from that of Strabo in some fundamental points, while that of Pliny (*HN* 6.8) coincides in part with that of Strabo and in part with that of Ptolemy: see Teja (1980) 1103.

Practically speaking, it is as though he were reading a political–administrative map of Cappadocia. It is quite interesting that Strabo is almost apologetic about his inability to update the reader on the contemporary administrative situation of the province. At any rate, even the account of the *strategiai* can be inserted into that group of first-hand facts gathered by Strabo in Cappadocia.

It is probably not coincidental that information on political–administrative evolution emerges even for the outlying regions, such as Galatia and greater Armenia, where the weight of an ‘ancient story’ (ἀρχαιολογία) was similarly almost non-existent.⁴⁹ Pontus is a case in itself: nothing is said about its organisation during the royal phase. According to a plan outlined at the beginning of his account, Strabo describes the territories belonging to Mithridates VI and reorganised by Pompey (the creation of kingdoms in lesser Armenia, in Colchis and inner Paphlagonia, with the rest divided into eleven administrative units gathered around Bithynia). Strabo does not overlook successive Roman interventions (the creation of new kingdoms, freedom granted to some cities, others subjugated to local dynasties or to the Romans).⁵⁰

If we look at the western part of Asia Minor, we find a completely different situation. Here, the weight of the epic tradition, together with ethnic–geographical controversies fuelled by various interpretations of Homer, result in a compression of Hellenistic history. Information about administration is lacking for this phase: we have nothing about either the satrapies or the *strategiai*. There are some details about the Roman phase, but they are fragmentary and only occasionally update the political situation.⁵¹

In the introduction to his essays *Tra Ellenismo ed Iranismo* (1983: 15–17), David Asheri finds in the Asia Minor of the Achaemenids a dense *fascia*

⁴⁹ Galatia may be compared to Cappadocia in terms of the wealth of information which Strabo provides on it. At one time, each of the three tribes – Trocmi, Tolistobogii and Tectosages – was divided into four tetrarchies, but in Strabo’s time the Romans conferred power first on three rulers, then two rulers, then one ruler. On the death of the last ruler, Amyntas, Galatia became a province (12.5.1): see Mitchell (1993) 27–41. In the important historical–political outline of greater Armenia, from the Persian phase to the Roman one (11.14.4–5; 11.14.15), there is no mention of the *strategiai* to which Pliny refers (*HN* 6.27). We must ask ourselves, however, if *strategiai* perhaps lie behind the numerous regional names which characterise Strabo’s description.

⁵⁰ On the Roman administration of Pontus, see Olshausen (1980) 903–12. Regarding Strabo’s gaps in his description of the eastern provinces, see Nicolai and Traina (2000) 23. On the descriptive architecture of Strabo’s Pontus, see Gnoli (2000) 545–64.

⁵¹ 12.4.6; 13.4.12. On Strabo’s considerations regarding the administrative divisions introduced by the Romans in Asia Minor, see Syme (1995) 122. Lasserre (1982) 894–6 rightly underlines Strabo’s different attitude toward the Roman administration in the West.

intermedia between the Hellenised coastal strip and the inner regions of eastern Anatolia. This intermediate (in a strictly cultural sense) layer includes the Troad, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia and Pamphylia, along with sizeable tracts of Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Pontus to the north, and Cilicia to the south. It may be added that, after Alexander's expedition, this intermediate layer came to include Cappadocia. If we are here able to see a clear meeting of Hellenism and Iranianism, albeit more pronounced toward the Iranian side, it is thanks to Strabo. His personal experience, the information he gathered on site and his contemporary historical perspective all combine to give us a concrete and living picture of Cappadocia.

CHAPTER 14

Greek geography and Roman empire: the transformation of tradition in Strabo's Euxine

David Braund

In the seventeen books of Strabo's *Geography*, the Euxine or Black Sea region receives a lot of attention from the opening chapters onwards. Why so much? The question becomes still sharper when we observe Strabo's awareness of the sheer size of his work. His great text is like a colossal statue, as he puts it. There is an evident authorial pride in its scope and a claim to special quality to match the quantity, but Strabo also shows, sometimes explicitly, a concern to maintain limits: Athens, in particular, cannot be accommodated in all its glories within the work (9.1.16, a nice insight into his criteria for inclusion), while Strabo excuses his extensive treatment of Italy as 'going into detail on account of the reputation and power of Italy, as far as proper judgement permits (μέχρι τοῦ μετρίου)' (5.4.11). In approaching Strabo, it may therefore seem perverse to enlarge still further the field of our enquiry. However, for all that, if we are to understand the work in general and Strabo's concern with the Euxine in particular, there is much to be gained from setting the author and his *colossus* into a still bigger picture.

In what follows I shall first consider the broad context of geography within the tangled issues of Roman and Greek thinking about the Roman empire. Next, particularly in view of the intensely personal and sometimes opinionated nature of the *Geography*, I shall consider the significance of Mithridates and the Mithridatic Wars for geography in general and Strabo's *Geography* in particular. Finally, I shall explore the upshot of all this for Strabo's account of the Black Sea region.

CONTEXTS

Strabo's *Geography* is an imperial work in several senses. It is not simply an account of his world, but an account of the development of knowledge about the world from earliest history down to his own day under Augustus and Tiberius. There is an undercurrent of teleology beneath his descriptions, as the Roman empire comes to dominate this world. We should

perhaps expect as much from an author much impressed by Polybius. As he shows in the *Geography*, he also wrote a *History* which, according to the *Suda*, was a continuation of Polybius' account of the growth of Roman imperial power. Occasionally he pauses to review the outcome of Roman imperialism to date, which he seems to find very satisfactory by and large (6.4.2; 17.3.24–5, a coda).

The Black Sea region had long been perceived as a key terminus of the world. While Argonautic myth made the region a limit-busting objective, Plato's Socrates located the end of the Greek world at the easternmost point of the Euxine (Plato, *Phaedo* 109b) and poets wrote regularly of the Black Sea region and Scythia as a kind of metonymy for the frozen north. Strabo shows repeatedly through the two books which he devotes to introducing his *Geography* that the Black Sea was also well-established as a key point in the world through the geographic tradition too. Under the principate the whole region belonged to the Roman empire, as Strabo himself observes in his penultimate chapter, though unsure how to categorise the troublesome peoples of the north-east coast (17.3.24).¹ Meanwhile, as a man sprung from the Greek elite of Cappadocia, who was sufficiently at home in the Roman empire to explore the Nile with a Roman governor of Egypt, Strabo was working within and between the twin cultures of Greece and Rome, writing in Greek about the Roman empire, for a readership that might be Greek or Roman. To contextualise his work is therefore to engage with the self-images of Roman rulers and Greek subjects (albeit subjects who were incorporated and who regularly identified themselves with the ruling power), with their different perspectives and histories.²

We are now familiar enough with Roman notions of imperialism as a good in itself, a path to glory and riches for the conquerors, duly paraded in triumphal processions through Rome, in religious dedications, in historico-dramatic reenactments, in the construction of grand buildings, in numismatic designs and so on. Also well known are what may look like more generous outlooks whereby Romans see themselves as giving their civilised values to those they encounter and rule, especially their laws. Modern scholarship may perhaps be less comfortable with this more generous view: imperialism in any form is alien to our intellectual sensibilities. But not so in

¹ I take his exception of land beyond the Danube to refer not to the area of its mouth, but to its hinterland, not least because the exception he makes for territory west of the Tanais explicitly refers to the peoples thought to live along the shore of the Ocean. His whole discussion in book seven demands such an interpretation. The Black Sea coast was Roman enough, save for the recalcitrant and (for Strabo) insignificant Achaeans, Zygi and Heniochi.

² For a conspectus of these issues, see Whitmarsh (2001).

antiquity where the modern polarity of ‘empire’ and ‘not-empire’ was overwhelmed by the very different issue of what kind of empire was good. Imperialist values were so embedded in Roman thought and practice that debate centred upon not why or whether but *how* should Rome have an empire.

In exploring that question, Romans regularly constructed their own past as one of restraint and generosity, under threat from foreigners and a current decline in standards among Romans themselves. The twin strands of Roman exploitation and beneficence often come woven together, the former denounced, the latter applauded. That is very much the discourse of governorship as we find it most fully expressed in the works of Cicero or Caesar. As for Cicero, in speeches from the *Verrines* onwards, in his advice to his rather fierce brother Quintus, governor of Asia in 60 BCE, and in his trouble-filled letters from Cilicia, where he was governor in his own right in 51/50 BCE, Cicero presents himself as the champion of some form of traditional morality in the face of the conniving, greedy and immoral, whether provincials or indeed Romans. As some of his speeches show, Cicero is adept at depicting the worst delinquencies of Roman imperial government, taking these to be an aberration from the ‘true Rome’ and the empire as it used to be, and indeed from the standards he by implication set for himself in his theoretical writings on proper government and social values. Meanwhile, Caesar offers us a vision of himself as the best of Roman imperialism, firm but fair, beset by treacherous Gauls and self-seeking Romans.

At the same time, Romans were not so limited as to have difficulty in imagining and formulating the viewpoints of their foreign foes. For example, Caesar in his *Gallic War* gives Ariovistus a (reported) speech which was no doubt meant to display the German king’s outrageousness, but which may strike the modern reader as not unreasonably defiant in the face of Roman presumption. In fact, ancient Roman historians are very good at writing speeches against Roman imperialism: Tacitus’ speech for Calgacus is among the best known and the most successful.³

Also outstanding, though less familiar, is the so-called *Letter of Mithridates*, written by Sallust for his now fragmentary *Histories* and perhaps some inspiration for Tacitus, as more obviously also for Trogus’ own *Mithridates*.⁴ The letter, notionally sent by Mithridates Eupator to

³ I have explored these matters at length in Braund (1996a).

⁴ Justin 38.4–7. See Ahlheid (1988) on its formal structure; cf. Sall. *BJ* 81 where Sallust does similarly with Jugurtha addressing Bocchus with the argument that he will be the next victim of Roman greed and desire for empire.

the Parthian king in 69/8 BCE, is replete with the most exquisite denunciation of Roman imperialist ambition and injustice. Sallust's Mithridates foreshadows modern analysis by denouncing the 'deep desire for empire and riches' which has led the Romans to wage war upon all tribes, peoples and kings (*Ep. Mithr.* 5). He proceeds to catalogue Roman treachery against the series of eastern opponents from Philip V onwards, culminating in the forgery of Attalus III's will and similar deception to get Bithynia (*Ep. Mithr.* 6–9). Sallust proceeds to have Mithridates outline his own ill treatment at the hands of the outrageous Romans, when they heard that he 'was rich and would not be their slave' (*Ep. Mithr.* 10). Repeatedly he highlights the folly of those who would not listen to him, would not help him and had by now left it too late to help themselves; it was the custom of the Romans, he asserts, to overthrow all monarchies (*Ep. Mithr.* 15). Next, he makes explicit the implied threat that Rome posed to the Parthians. They, he suggests, are next on the Roman agenda. Not only Parthian monarchy and wealth are at issue, but also geography: Ocean has blocked Roman expansion west, so that the Romans can be expected to press on eastwards into Parthia, unless they are stopped (*Ep. Mithr.* 17). The Romans are 'plunderers of the world' (*latrones gentium*) who have stolen everything they have ever had, from the outset: their home, wives, lands, empire; *parvenus* once without a homeland they were founded as a plague on the world, who will stop at nothing to enslave it (*Ep. Mithr.* 17–23, esp. 17–18).

No doubt the real Mithridates took a dim view of Roman imperialist ambitions and behaviour, but the letter is very much Sallust's own work. As such it is rather happier in the period of its composition, c. 40 BCE, than in 69 BCE. Crassus' disaster at Carrhae in 53 BCE had made the Parthians much more a concern to Rome than they had been in 69 BCE. And it was not until Caesar's campaigns in the mid-50s that Roman conquest had really found itself engaged with the Ocean: of course, Iberia had entailed Ocean too, but the primary concern in Iberia prior to 69 had been Sertorius, not Ocean. Meanwhile, Mithridates' negative spin on Roman origins may have had a particular significance in the context of Asia Minor and Roman claims to a Trojan past there,⁵ but the potential discredit latent in Romulus' asylum and the rape of the Sabine women was at least as much a Roman anxiety, later to be played down by Livy and up by Juvenal. Much of the content of the letter probably had a greater and a more particular force when it stood in the narrative of the *Histories*. The mention of Roman will-forgery is no

⁵ Erskine (2001).

doubt to be linked with Roman accusations that Mithridates had invented his grounds for taking the Bosporus and Colchis: it looks like a riposte. Meanwhile, from the perspective of the Roman reader, Mithridates' letter no doubt illustrates the king's *superbia* towards Rome and thereby helps to justify Roman conduct towards him. And even while Sallust's Mithridates underlines Roman plundering, he does so in a way that at least allows Rome's greatness in the world: Rome is no petty bandit-state, but a threat to the world at large, stopped only by Ocean and only for the moment, as the reader knows.

Moreover, for Sallust himself, as for Cicero, the conduct of Roman imperialism was not unproblematic. It was taken to highlight the flaws in Roman society, in particular for Sallust the shortcomings of the greedy, self-interested nobility. The *Jugurthine War* is clear enough on the point. The Romans often present themselves as at risk from foreigners and time spent abroad: Cicero says as much to his brother. The quasi-monarchical power vested in a governor combined with exposure to foreign luxury in strange parts, and the wiles of fellow Romans and slick subjects there, constituted a heady mix for even the best of Romans. By contrast military problems were much easier to deal with: Romans expected to be able to handle that kind of thing.

In short, Romans were quick to see their imperial success not only as a good thing, but also as a problem. The shortcomings of Roman imperialism could be loaded on the shoulders of other, aberrant Romans, who failed to uphold the standards of the imagined *mos maiorum*. It is worth stressing 'imagined': as far as we can judge the notion that old imperial standards were no longer being upheld goes back at least to the early second century BCE and Cato the elder. The late Republic had no monopoly on yearnings for and rhetoric built around the 'good old days', though one might wish to retain the suspicion that the stresses were clearer and stronger still in the days of Sulla, Pompey and Caesar.

Amidst this tangle of ideas, the role of geography was central. The universalising language of Sallust's Mithridates indicates as much: Roman imperialism is about the world and Ocean. The notion of the Roman empire as a world empire was already in place in the second century BCE, as Polybius shows.⁶ Success against Mithridates, culminating in Pompey's massive triumph of 61 BCE, had given fresh impetus to the notion. Pompey himself declared publicly that he had found Asia the most outlying of the provinces and left it in the middle of the Roman

⁶ Richardson (1979).

patria (Plin. *NH* 7.98). An inscription erected by Pompey declared the borders of the Roman empire now to be the borders of the earth (D.S. 40.4). The Black Sea region was a key part of his conquests: after all, Mithridates had met his end in the Crimea. Subsequently Caesar and then Augustus were to claim again, for themselves, the achievement of establishing Roman rule over the whole world. Caesar in particular had triumphed over Pontus, after defeating Mithridates' son and partial heir Pharnaces II, who had been recognised by Rome as king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. The name was attached to a portion of Asia Minor, but it also meant the Black Sea as a whole.⁷

STRABO, MITHRIDATES AND GEOGRAPHY

In this context, with Romans campaigning and proclaiming ever more widely, there was a fresh impetus also for geography in the first century BCE. Sallust again serves to illustrate the broad phenomenon of the relationship between imperialism and geography. His *Jugurthine War* presents a geographical disquisition on Africa, while his *Histories* offered much the same on the Black Sea (as well as the *Letter of Mithridates*). Of course, there was also a generic imperative: historiography required geographical disquisitions after the manner of Thucydides' excursus on Sicily or indeed Polybius' disquisition on the Black Sea, tacked onto his account of the Rhodian war with Byzantium in the late third century BCE. Geography and historiography were integral to each other, as Clarke has recently stressed.⁸

However, whereas Romans had been writing in Latin about broadly geographical matters since Cato the elder, Latin works of a primarily geographical nature came a century or so later. Cicero seems to have been trying to break new ground for Latin geography in 59 BCE when he set himself the task of producing something based on the great Eratosthenes. He may already have done something similar by rendering Aratus' *Phaenomena* into Latin, his *Aratea*: having done the universe, the earth would be next perhaps. To his disappointment Cicero found that geography was fraught with disputes: other Greek geographers had launched criticisms at Cicero's would-be model and more might be on the way. Nor was geography much fun. Cicero may have struggled on, encouraged by Atticus, who had also sent him books from Greece, but not

⁷ See Nicolet (1991), including 32–3 on Pompey. ⁸ Clarke (1999a).

for long: his heart was not in it. Exile does not seem to have revitalised the lapsed project:

To writing I feel a downright repugnance. The *Geography* which I had purposed is really a big undertaking. Eratosthenes, whom I had meant to follow, is sharply criticised by Serapio and Hipparchus. What if Tyrannio joins in? And really the material is hard to set out, monotonous, not so easy to embellish as it looked, and (the main point) I find any excuse good enough for doing nothing.⁹

Other Romans would soon persevere: Varro and Nepos stand out, while in the next century we have Mela and the elder Pliny of course.¹⁰ From a Roman viewpoint, geography might readily be regarded as the kind of pursuit best left to others, along with astronomy, sculpture and so on, as Virgil famously has it at *Aeneid* 6.847–53.¹¹

The Greeks can be left to get on with the theory of and writing about the world; better for the Romans to focus on ruling it. In that way, the well-established notion of Roman practice as superior to Greek theory could counterpoint the ‘practical geography’ of Roman world conquest and the Greek ‘theoretical geography’ propounded by Eratosthenes and his ilk. That was to justify and encourage Roman neglect of geography proper. A more critical line was taken by Strabo, who complains (though without rancour) that Romans fail to show much curiosity about matters of geography, unlike even the Greek historians upon whom they model themselves. Unlike Cicero, Strabo grasps the nettle of following, critically, the likes of Eratosthenes (1.2.1). In their different ways, however, Virgil and Strabo are in broad agreement: for good or ill, geography is a Greek affair.

Since Strabo’s complaint is couched within his own Greek geography, he is of course writing about himself and his colossal work. His general neglect of Latin texts is excused: there was not very much to read, he implies. Accordingly, while Julius Caesar’s *Commentarii* demanded at least a small place,¹² Nepos does not appear at all in Strabo’s seventeen books. Even Strabo’s account of Rome and Italy mentions authorities which were overwhelmingly Greek or written in Greek. However, Strabo is at pains to reject the implied reason for Roman neglect of geography, implied at least by Virgil. From the first he stresses that geography is eminently practical and necessary for those who rule. His reply to the notion that ruling the

⁹ Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.6.1; Serapio’s book had been supplied by Atticus (2.4.1), evidently trying to encourage as he continued to do (2.7.1). Rawson (1985) puts all this in social and political context.

¹⁰ The scholar-king Juba II perhaps deserves special mention, however we consider his ethnicity: Roller (2003).

¹¹ As Nicolet (1991) 29 well observes. ¹² On Strabo and Caesar, see Clarke (1999a) 286.

world is better than studying it is that to rule the world properly requires the study of geography. Accordingly, Strabo begins his *Geography* by insisting on the usefulness of geography: not only is it very much the business of the philosopher, it is useful in ruling (1.1.1–22 esp. 16, 19).

However, there is no great criticism of Rome here: the Roman failure is at most to underestimate the usefulness of geography. Strabo simply agrees with the Virgilian perspective that Roman strength lies elsewhere, not in geography but in practice, especially in conquest, settlement, construction and government itself.¹³ Strabo's Rome, for example, is a buzzing hive of building activity, presided over, like the empire at large, by the excellent emperors, Augustus and then Tiberius. As has often been noted, he gushes with enthusiasm for them and their regime(s). His arguments on the utility of geography require that the Roman rulers of the world need it too, but they do not need to write it for themselves. That is, rather, a Greek tradition, stretching from Homer to the present day, as book one expounds in detail.

The Roman contribution has been to open up areas for knowledge, specifically north-west Europe to the Elbe. At the same time, however, Strabo credits Mithridates Eupator and his generals with having made known the vast area north and east from the Danube as far as the Caucasus and Colchis. And the Parthians have improved knowledge of the Caspian regions and Bactria. All these had augmented geographical knowledge since the great breakthroughs of Alexander's eastern campaigns (1.2.1). Here for the first of many times in the *Geography* Strabo integrates the Romans, in a prominent role, into a story of the expansion of knowledge which embraces other peoples too, though none which posed a direct threat to the Roman empire: Alexander was no threat to Rome, though his problematic myth lingered, while Mithridates had been conquered long since. The Parthians were, for Strabo, now part of the Roman empire, taking their royalty from young Parthians brought up at Rome to be client kings.¹⁴ Elsewhere he might suggest that *in a way* the Parthians, through the *size* of their empire, have become a counterpart to the Romans (11.9.2), but he nowhere diverges from his conception of their subjection to Rome, much as claimed by Augustus himself.¹⁵

In fact, Mithridates is given a large part in the geography. There are many reasons for this. The king had indeed been a major force in Asia Minor and

¹³ Note also 1.4.9 on the inadequacy of Greek/barbarian distinctions and the strengths of refined non-Greeks, who include the Romans. See Almagor, 'Who is a barbarian', in this volume.

¹⁴ 6.4.2 with Braund (1996b) 82.

¹⁵ *RG* 32.2. Nicolet (1991) 33 and 51 finds such a divergence here and in 17.3.24, which, however, is also readily reconcilable with Strabo's position in 6.4.2.

the Black Sea region in the course of a long reign (120–63 BCE), expanding geographical knowledge and impacting upon a range of cities and peoples across the whole area. Moreover, it was in fighting him that Rome had acquired so much territory and influence in the east, rippling way beyond his empire to Caucasian Albania in the north and Syria and Judaea to the south. On an easy Roman analysis, Mithridates had caused this Roman imperial expansion. Furthermore, particular Romans had benefited enormously from victory over him. Without Mithridates what would Lucullus have amounted to? In that sense even Pompey owed a lot to the king.

Strabo's family history is interwoven with these events. The very fact that he chooses to tell us of the parts played by members of his mother's forebears in Mithridates' regime requires some consideration. All the more so because Strabo says not a word about his parents or grandparents or indeed anything significant about his father's side of the family. Evidently Strabo took a pride in his Mithridatic connections, which included both loyalty to the king and treachery in favour of Rome. Strabo seems to have admired monarchy in general, whether Mithridates' or the more straightforwardly positive examples of the 'kings' Augustus and Tiberius. Mithridates really mattered to Strabo. And Strabo has nothing bad to say about him in his many appearances in the *Geography*: even his forces' destruction of Delos is not blamed upon the king himself (10.5.4). Nor does Strabo bring up the unsavoury details of Mithridates' seizure of power when he might have done so (e.g. 11.3.1). At times, as we shall see, Mithridates is often given credit, especially for his protection of Greeks, and by extension Greek civilisation, against the forces of extreme barbarism (though not against the Romans).

Finally, Mithridates – or at least the Mithridatic Wars – had brought Strabo to Rome in several senses. First, it was because of Mithridates that the city of Amasia became part of a Roman province; Strabo calls it his home-city (πατρίς) and treats it with all the local pride and affection usual among the civic elites of the Greek east.¹⁶ Secondly, the wars had accelerated the flow to Rome of Greek men of learning: Parthenius, for example, and the Tyrannio whom Cicero thought might have critical views on Eratosthenes. Brought to Rome by Lucullus, Tyrannio hob-nobbed with the rich and famous. He also gave lectures which Strabo attended there.¹⁷ A Rome with Tyrannio and men like him was a far more attractive prospect for Strabo than the city as it had been before Mithridates. Thirdly, the

¹⁶ See Lindsay, 'Amasya and Strabo's *patria* in Pontus', in this volume.

¹⁷ 12.13.16; cf. 13.1.54; Dueck (2000a) 8–9.

crucial gap in our evidence. We may be sure that Strabo came to Rome before 44 BCE, when Servilius Isauricus died.¹⁸ Suffice it to say that, in view of the upheavals caused by the Mithridatic Wars and his own family's sufferings in the process (at least on his mother's side), there must be a strong probability that the wars played some part, however indirectly, in leading young Strabo in person to Rome. We simply do not have the details.

STRABO'S EUXINE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITION

A striking feature of the opening books of Strabo's *Geography*, in which he offers a wide-ranging introduction to his work, is the sheer prominence of the Black Sea region. There seem to be two related explanations for this, as we have started to see. One is an explanation in terms of cultural history: Strabo was responding to the prominence of the region already established in the geographical tradition (in the broadest sense) in which he sought to locate himself and his *Geography*, from Homer through Eratosthenes and others to his own day.

The other explanation is more a matter of political and personal history. In the previous section we considered the regional affiliations of Strabo in northern Asia Minor, towards the Black Sea, and his particular concern with Mithridates Eupator. Mithridates' empire may be considered a Black Sea empire: his principal residence stood in Sinope, one of the oldest cities of the region, placed centrally on a promontory of the southern coast, reaching towards the north coast opposite. Mithridates, who had been born and brought up there, may even have claimed it as the centre of a developing world empire.

Certainly Sinope boasted a special sphere, known as the 'sphere of Billarus', which Lucullus singled out for looting, together with the statue of the civic founder, Autolycus, of whom he had an encouraging dream: Autolycus was on his side (Plut. *Luc.* 23). Otherwise, we are told, with these major exceptions, Lucullus treated the city very well: Plutarch even represents his removal of Autolycus' statue as an act of salvage from piratical Cilicians. So what was so special about the sphere of Billarus? Did it somehow encapsulate the king's imperial ambitions? Globes might readily

¹⁸ In principle, we might go so far as to imagine that Strabo (who claims only to have seen Isauricus) had confused the conqueror of the Isauri with his prominent son of the same name: 12.6.2; cf. Dueck (2000a) 88. But that would be a large error and if, as is quite likely, Strabo had a particular connection with the Servilii – his *nomen* might well be Servilius: Bowersock (2000) 19; cf. Pothecary (1999) – it would be out of the question.

do as much. Did it even depict a world with Sinope and the Black Sea at its centre? Our only evidence is Strabo himself (12.3.11) and he does not give detail, so we can only speculate. Be that as it may, there is no good reason to limit the possibilities of Mithridates' ambitions.¹⁹

Further, the region had particular claims to topicality. We have seen that Strabo saw the northern part of the region as a key focus of the advance of geographical knowledge in recent centuries thanks to Mithridates' empire. As he also tells us in a series of scattered observations, the Roman empire had been faced with substantial problems in the region even after the demise of Mithridates. Indeed, these touched even queen Pythodoris, of whom Strabo writes so warmly that it was once believed that he wrote under her patronage. Her husband, king Polemo I of Pontus, by whom she had three children, had died fighting a dirty war in the eastern portion of the Bosporean kingdom which Augustus had awarded to him. Having tried deception, Polemo was himself deceived, taken alive and died. Strabo knew all this, for he records what happened in two separate passages (11.2.11; 12.3.29).

The aftermath of Polemo's death in 8 BCE is a murky period, about which we are very short of information until the accession of king Aspurgus, who travelled to Rome to meet the emperor, presumably to ensure Roman acquiescence in his reign, shortly before the death of Augustus in 14 CE.²⁰ Meanwhile, a queen Dynamis played a central role in these events, though it remains uncertain whether she outlived Polemo and indeed quite what part she played. She, like Polemo, evidently enjoyed Roman imperial favour, for she dedicated separate statues of Augustus and Livia at Phanagoria, complete with honorific inscriptions in which she sports the name Philorhomaeus, 'friend to the Romans':

Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of a god, the ruler of all land and all sea, her own saviour and benefactor; queen Dynamis Philorhomaeus. (*CIRB* 1046)

Livia, the wife of Augustus; queen Dynamis Philorhomaeus (honoured) her benefactress. (*CIRB* 978)

The fact that she could be honoured with a lineage that stretched back to Mithridates Eupator has been taken to contradict these assertions of loyalty to Rome.²¹ But there is no need to suppose some lurking hostility to Rome on the part of Dynamis: rather, as Strabo's own remarks on Mithridates tend to show, the king's name was now a matter of historical interest, not

¹⁹ Clarke (1999a) 236–7 offers a balanced discussion.

²⁰ Braund (forthcoming) explores these matters in detail.

²¹ Notably by Funck (1985) 275–6, also on coinage.

a mark of an anti-Roman stance, as well as a key reference point in Bosporan legislation. Accordingly, she can be both Philorhomaeus and a proud descendant of Eupator.²²

How long Aspurgus spent at Rome is unclear: epigraphic evidence shows that he was newly returned to his kingdom in 15 CE, presumably having paid his respects to the new emperor, Tiberius. He may well have needed to make the journey to Rome in any case, for it is hard to avoid linking Aspurgus with those who had killed Augustus' nominee, Polemo, back in 8 BCE: Strabo describes Polemo's opponents as 'Aspurgiani' (12.3.29).²³ He mentions them in the context of the tribes of the region, but does not list them as a tribe. Rightly so, for they do not appear on our numerous inscriptions as among the peoples governed by the Bosporan rulers,²⁴ although Strabo locates them in the heart of the eastern half of the kingdom. Even Aspurgus does not include them among the peoples under his rule (*CIRB* 40). Perhaps they were the followers of Aspurgus himself or indeed his father, whom Aspurgus names 'King Asandrochus', perhaps grandiloquently (*CIRB* 40).²⁵

If Strabo was in Rome around 14 CE, as some have thought and as he may well have been, he can only have been struck by the arrival of this exotic Aspurgus, complete no doubt with entourage. Emperors made the most of such visits. However, Strabo says nothing at all about Aspurgus, though he writes of British rulers he had seen at Rome. There is no need to fasten on this omission as another mark of his relative neglect of more contemporary events, nor yet as proof of his residence away from Rome: his love for Pythodoris and her family might be enough on its own to account for the omission of the name of Polemo's killer, if such Aspurgus was, from his *Geography*. Moreover, the awkward fact (awkward especially for Pythodoris) that Aspurgus had been accepted by Tiberius as Bosporan king, sporting the epithets *Philorhomaeus* and *Philocaesar*, was a matter best avoided completely. In much the same way, Strabo also passes over the key fact that Tiberius himself had brought her second husband, Archelaus, to Rome by a trick and then kept him there on a charge until his death in 17 CE; Strabo mentions only that Pythodoris stayed with him, perhaps during his time in Rome

²² See for example Millar (1996) 169–70 for epigraphic evidence on the continued importance of Eupator's legislation in 15 CE.

²³ See conveniently Millar (1996) esp. 169.

²⁴ Thought see, later, *CIRB* 36; 1246; 1248, where there is a post in the Bosporan hierarchy 'over the Aspurgiani'; Molev (1995).

²⁵ On these tangled issues, Braund (forthcoming) and the literature there cited.

too.²⁶ Meanwhile, on artistic grounds too, these tangled dynastic conflicts required a light touch if they were not to enmesh the whole colossus: there were many details best left aside, which may well have been important to certain readers, but which were hard for the author to integrate and for many readers to digest.

Strabo's task was to respond in a single coherent account both to the written tradition and to the new knowledge and current political situation in which he was writing. For all his occasional polemic (itself a tradition of geographical writing: e.g. 2.1.41), Strabo's approach to the tradition on the Euxine is decidedly conservative.²⁷ He is committed to supporting the geographical value of Homer against his various critics, not least because, as he says and shows, Homeric geography played such a large part in conditioning views of the world even in the principate. It is hard to overestimate the passion of the Hellenistic engagement with Homer in all fields of scholarship and literature. There was no real difficulty in considering him as the founder of geographical science: this was not simply Strabo's fancy, for he cites Hipparchus as among the earlier geographers who shared that view with him (1.1.2). Strabo calls him 'archegetes', like the founder of a colonial community: for Strabo, Homer was a pioneering creator, who had founded geography as one might found a city. In Strabo's view errors and even inconsistencies in the Homeric poems are best understood as indications of historical change after the Trojan War.²⁸ Accordingly, Homer dominates Strabo's opening chapters and recurs regularly throughout his work: he begins the work as he 'began geography' (1.1.11).

The Black Sea region is no exception. Strabo asserts that in Homer's day the Black Sea was regarded as a kind of second Ocean, as the largest sea in their world, so that they called it 'the Pontus' ('the sea') and Homer transferred to Ocean characteristics taken from it (1.2.10). By Strabo's day geographers knew rather better, but much remained contentious for all that. The physical geography of the Black Sea remained a matter of debate: while its low salinity was understood, even Strabo was most uncertain of its depth and unaware of the two-way currents at its mouth (1.3.4; 1.3.10; 1.3.12).

As for the human geography of the broader region, Strabo notes that Homer refers to the peoples to its north under the generic labels derived from their lifestyle – 'mare-milkers' and the like (*Iliad* 13.5–6). Homer's

²⁶ Braund (1996b) 78. ²⁷ See esp. 1.2.1 for his general stance on the tradition.

²⁸ See esp. 8.3.23 with Clarke (1999a) 248–9, 267–8 and see Biraschi, 'Strabo and Homer', in this volume.

failure to use more specific names beyond reference to their nomadism, is excused on the less than adequate grounds that no single name is in use even in Strabo's own days.²⁹ Moreover, Strabo praises Homer's knowledge not only of the Mediterranean but also of the Black Sea from the Propontis to its eastern shore in Colchis, reached by Jason's route along the south.³⁰ He finds confirmation for Homer's Colchis in the Colchis of his own day, wherein the site of Aea is shown to visitors and the name Aeetes is in local use there: he does not consider the possibility that this might be the result of influence from Homeric poetry itself, not to mention the later texts (1.2.39). Likewise, he pronounces Medea historical and finds a rationalising cause for the Argonautic expedition in the current metal-production of the region, as well as sanctuaries founded by Phrixus and Jason (1.2.39). Traces of the Argonautic expedition and its aftermath, adds Strabo, are to be found not only around Sinope but also much further afield even in the Adriatic: Callimachus is his particular authority (1.2.39).³¹ On the northern shore Homer knew also the Cimmerians, and therefore by extension, argues Strabo, the Cimmerian Bosphorus with its foggy climate (1.2.9). He wonders also whether Homer may have drawn the notion of his Cyclopes from the Arimaspians later recounted by Aristeas of Proconnesus (1.2.10). On the west he knows of the lower Danube and Thracians (1.1.10). In short Strabo takes Homer to have at least an outline knowledge of all the Black Sea coastlands, offering an account which may have mythical elements but is based on historical fact (1.2.40). The Euxine is already included, therefore, in the beginnings of geography, even if it was still 'Axine' ('Inhospitable') in that Greek settlement had not yet tamed the wild peoples around its shores. Crucially, Strabo does not consider the sea to be some later accretion to Greek geography.

Indeed, he seems to envisage only limited progress in knowledge of the region after Homer except insofar as that might be implied by new civic settlements. Then the Romans are (strikingly) credited with having revealed (the verb is *anakaluptein*) the region from the Danube to the city of Tyras (about which even Eratosthenes had been particularly ignorant: 2.1.41). Mithridates and his generals made known (*gnorima*) the region east from Tyras to the Maeotians and the shoreline as far as Colchis (1.2.1). In the meantime, the broad term 'Scythians' had emerged, for what it was

²⁹ 1.1.6 cf. 1.2.27 and, for such criticism of Homer, 1.2.35. Cf. Ivanchik (1999).

³⁰ Cf. 1.2.10 and, against Demetrius of Scepsis' claim that Homer did not know of Jason's journey to Phasis, see 1.2.38–9.

³¹ See now Lordkipanidze (1996).

worth, but Strabo stresses its inadequacy in that it includes a variety of peoples under one name (1.2.27 cf. 1.2.28 on Ephorus). In so doing Strabo was catching the spirit of Herodotus who was centrally concerned to refine the term and proceed beyond it, though Strabo does not credit him with that initiative and does not take over his distinctions.³²

Modern scholarship has wavered between praise and blame of Strabo's account of the Black Sea region, but has not taken seriously enough the importance to Strabo of the literary and historical past in the Black Sea, as elsewhere.³³ For example, Strabo's treatment of the Scythians and Getae is quite extensive, but is couched almost entirely in the form of an argument in defence of Homer against his Hellenistic critics. Moreover, it is peppered also with thoughts about the statements of Attic playwrights, such as Aeschylus, Sophocles and Menander, together with the tale of the captive Lysimachus.³⁴ At the same time Strabo also engages with a substantial philosophical tradition, marked by Plato and Chrysippus (7.3.8). Strabo tries to weave this complex tradition together with current events and circumstances, in order to produce a picture of the region that meets the challenges *both* of canonical texts *and* of present circumstances. Accordingly, he tries to confound one criticism of Homeric geography by reference to the trans-Danubian campaign of Aelius Catus under Augustus: Homer's Mysians are now the Moesians (7.3.10).³⁵ Meanwhile, the gap between Homer's gentle Scythians and the no-less-familiar bloodthirsty Scythians is explained by reference to the enormous scope of the term 'Scythian' and, particularly, by reference to the corrupting effect upon Scythian culture of contact with seafaring, moneymaking Greeks (7.3.7).

It is idle to complain (as some have)³⁶ that Strabo gives an incomplete picture of, for example, the Bosporan rulers. He refers only to those of the ruling dynasty who had made it into the literary canon, thanks especially to Demosthenes, to whom Strabo alludes (7.4.6): namely Leucon, Satyrus, Paerisades (plus the latter's homonym who handed the kingdom to Mithridates) (7.4.4). He omits Spartocus, the founder of the dynasty, but why not? He was long dead and little remembered; being outside the canon,

³² Cf. 1.3.22 critical of Herodotus' Hyperboreans as well as of Eratosthenes' criticism of Herodotus.

³³ Cf. von Stern (1917); Funck (1985); Bosi (1986); Gratsianskaya (1988). Syme (1995) offers a range of attacks upon Strabo, but none concerning the Euxine; cf. Braund (1996b); Lindsay (1997b); Potter (1998).

³⁴ On Strabo's use of poetry as an authority see Dueck, 'Strabo's use of poetry', in this volume.

³⁵ See Pothecaary, 'The European provinces', in this volume.

³⁶ E.g. Bosi (1986) in an otherwise valuable discussion; so too Lindsay (1997b) 499 concerned with chronology.

he was irrelevant to Strabo. Accordingly, it was reasonable enough for Strabo to write of the dynasty of Spartocus as 'those around Leucon' (7.3.8).³⁷

Despite Strabo's family links in the region, he makes no claim to have visited the north, west or east coasts of the Black Sea. On the contrary, he makes plain enough his reliance on the accounts of others. Authors are sometimes named, including Homer and the dramatists. Information on Asander's rampart against the Scythians is attributed to Hypsicrates (7.4.6).³⁸ A visitor should have seen it. Elsewhere Strabo can quote an inscription on a broken bronze vessel dedicated in the temple of Aesculapius at Panticapaeum, but only because he has found it in the text of Eratosthenes, as he tells us (2.1.16).

Strabo's account of the physical geography of the region is broadly correct. He evidently had access to sources which set out the coast very well. He is also notably well informed on the shape and conditions of the Maeotis (Sea of Azov) and the still more recondite Putrid Sea in its western parts (*Sapra limne*, as he calls it). Hypsicrates may have written of this, perhaps in the context of Asander's rampart, which ended there. The campaign of Polemo in the area against Tanais may also have brought him information (11.2.3). Strabo knows a lot about his activities, about which we are otherwise largely ignorant. He also claims a particular knowledge about the course of the river Tanais above the city of the same name, rejecting the views of those who traced its source to the Caucasus or the Danube and explaining their mistake by reference to the obstructive behaviour of the local nomads who prevented passage up the river (11.2.2). We might see the hand of Pythodorus here, as also later in Strabo's account of Colchis and its hinterland to the east, about which he is extremely well informed. Pythodorus was its ruler (11.2.18).³⁹

And yet, for all that, Strabo had also to come to terms with the dominant theme of the Bosphorus and Maeotis in the tradition, namely that it froze hard. That was why Eratosthenes had quoted the inscription from Panticapaeum, which claimed that the broken bronze vessel stood as proof of the tendency for the sceptical. The phenomenon had been an issue for centuries. Herodotus had written about Scythian wagons crossing the strait on campaign in winter (Hdt. 4.28.1). Similarly, Strabo's poetic contemporaries, Virgil (*G.* 3.360–2) and Ovid (*Tr.* 3.10; *Pont.* 3.11). Strabo

³⁷ Note his priority also in 7.4.6. On the formulation in Strabo, see Gorman (2001).

³⁸ Cf. also the information on the Amazons in the north Caucasus (11.4.1). Von Stern (1917) sets about tracking down some of these sources, rather disappointed by Strabo's lack of autopsy.

³⁹ Strabo's mistake on Dioscurias (below) is exceptional and odd: it presumably lay in the farthest corner of her realm.

could not ignore the matter and, while Eratosthenes' text shows that there was scepticism, the overwhelming weight of the tradition insisted on the truth of the phenomenon. Moreover, Mithridates' general Neoptolemus was said to have fought on the Straits themselves with cavalry (in winter) and with ships (in summer) (7.3.18). Strabo is careful to maintain a distance from these (exaggerated) claims. He reports them, but does not overtly subscribe to them (11.2.8 makes a more balanced claim to passage on foot), any more than he does to the concomitant evidence of summer heat (7.3.18). He had not been there in summer or winter. Small wonder that his (false) report of the visibility of both the north and south coasts from a certain point when crossing to the Crimea is presented as hearsay (7.4.3). He had not made the crossing.

The fact that he did not visit in person may explain one or two slips in his text. In particular, the peculiar fact that the city of Borysthenes, alias Olbia, stood in the estuary of the Hypanis (Bug) and not the neighbouring river Borysthenes (Dnieper), has confused Strabo, who mistakenly places the city on the river of the same name (7.3.17). He is also mistaken in placing Dioscurias (modern Sukhumi) at the easternmost point in the Black Sea, probably misled by the accounts of the Mithridatic Wars upon which he seems to have relied for much of his description of this north-east coast (11.2.14, mentioning also Artemidorus). Characteristically, Strabo engages with the literary tradition and, in his false confidence, offers a re-interpretation of a tragic fragment which was more correct in placing Phasis at the easternmost point (11.2.16).

This misplaced confidence reminds us that Strabo retained a lot of authorial power in reacting to the tradition. His treatment of the Taurians shows as much. He knew Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, for he refers to it (8.6.19). In fact it seems to have remained well known through antiquity (*LIMC*). Accordingly, when Strabo reaches Halae Araphenides on the north-east coast of Attica he mentions (but only fleetingly) the cult of Artemis Tauropolus there. It owed its foundation, according to the play and presumably the cult-myth, to the bringing of a cult-statue from the Taurians by Iphigenia and Orestes: Strabo says nothing of these origins (9.1.22). He is still more noisily silent about the play and the myth when he discusses the Taurians and the city of Taurian Chersonesus: he refers only to a certain deity there named Parthenos (7.4.2).⁴⁰ Instead, he preferred to tackle the story much closer to home at Comana in Cappadocia, the cult-centre of the goddess Enyo or Ma, which had a massive importance to him, so that he

⁴⁰ Her cult is amply attested there: see Rusyayeva and Rusyayeva (1999).

had visited the place in person (12.2.3). On Strabo's own account his grandmother's family, which had been akin to Cappadocian royalty (12.2.3 implies as much), fell into disgrace through the failed betrayal of Comana to the Romans by his ancestor Dorylaeus (12.3.33). It is not hard to see why Comana's claims were to the fore in Strabo's thinking: the tradition of Comana attracted him more than that of Athenian Halae as embodied in the play. It is on Comana, therefore, that he comments: 'Orestes, with his sister Iphigenia, seems to have brought these sacred rites here from Tauric Scythia, the rites of Artemis Tauropolus . . .' (12.2.3). On this view, presumably the cult at Halae is some kind of reflection or copy of these rites. Strabo says the same on the Italian rites of Diana at Nemi: 'where a barbarian and Scythian practice predominates', in that (at Nemi) the priest is a runaway slave who has killed his predecessor and must therefore always be armed with a sword ready for the next would-be priest (5.3.12).

It is worth noticing Strabo's impatience with those at Castabala who 'babble on' (θρυλοῦσιν) about the story of Orestes and Tauropolus in connection with their cult of Artemis, encouraged no doubt by the element of violence in the cult-practice whereby the priestesses walk barefoot on hot coals (12.2.7). Yet even Castabala fares better than nearby Tyana, whose claim to take its name from the Taurian king Thoas is not even mentioned by Strabo: after all, it was part of the version that supported the claim of Castabala (12.2.7).⁴¹ Strabo seems very clear in his self-serving view of the story of Tauropolus: the real claim to her is that of Comana and by extension that of his family. Once Tauropolus had been brought there from the Taurians she was no longer the Taurians' business and could be omitted from their details: they had Parthenos. It is hard to overestimate the extent and depth of passions in these civic and personal struggles for a place in the heritage, as Pausanias later confirms in recounting the competition for possession of the story of Orestes and Iphigenia current in the late second century CE (Paus. 3.16.9).

However, under the various demands of genre, his own biography and the weight of cultural heritage, Strabo has succeeded in composing a picture of the region that weaves together the literary tradition of the past with a flavour of the present, especially in the person of Polemo. Mithridates and his generals emerge as champions of Hellenism against the barbarian menace and, in that spirit offering protection to the city of Chersonesus and the Bosporan king.⁴² In Colchis too, Mithridates is shown as having established order in place of fragmentation and decline

⁴¹ Contrast Arrian *Peripl.* 6.4, with Silberman (1995) 27–8.

⁴² Cf. also 11.2.13 for Mithridates' remarkable journey among the Achaeans and their neighbours.

(II.2.18). There is no conflict with Rome here. Rather, Rome has taken over Mithridates' role. It is now Rome that stands as the champion of the Bosporan kingdom and the cities of the region against the forces of barbarian chaos, while in the south-east of the Black Sea first Polemo and then Pythodoris have taken Mithridates' place for Rome (6.4.2).⁴³ Not that even the nomads are without a case: Homer had stressed their justice and so must Strabo, arguing that they only want to collect the land-rent due to them (7.4.6). Strabo can often be convicted of inconsistency in matters of chronology, evidently because his text was composed over a period and never properly edited. However, his inconsistent attitude towards Scythian nomads is perhaps more important than chronological issues, for it shows him caught up in the transformation of tradition. It was not easy, to say the least, at once to defend Homer's idealised view of Scythians *and* to acknowledge Mithridates' heroic actions against a Scythian menace *and* to characterise Rome's priorities in the region which centred upon support of the Bosporan kings against the nomads, not to mention the rest of the literary tradition.⁴⁴

We shall never know why Strabo's text was not edited to remove chronological inconsistencies: he may well have died before getting round to it. However, I would suggest that, in any case, in his broad approach contemporary changes may not have counted for as much as modern scholarship has wanted. His temporal perspective is much larger than that: his present, his 'now', easily embraces the late Republic as well as the early years of the first century CE. Moreover, his explicit pursuit of truth runs across the whole of recorded history: his treatment of the Amazons centres upon his puzzlement that such an untruth can have so long a life in the face of the development of hard knowledge which takes the Amazons ever further afield (II.5.3).

Strabo is concerned to produce not a snapshot of the narrow present – his moment of writing or completion – but a colossal geography which embraces a much wider horizon, including the history of geography, and more broadly still the whole Greek cultural heritage insofar as it touches on matters of physical and human geography. Certainly, he is concerned that his work be useful, but evidently not only fleetingly. By engaging so profoundly with the Greek cultural heritage Strabo has created something that would retain a significance long after even the revered Pythodoris, Augustus and Tiberius. His totalising approach to the Euxine is typical of that enormous ambition.

⁴³ Cf. II.2.2 on nomads above Tanais; II.2.18 on Pythodoris.

⁴⁴ Explored thoroughly by Marcaccini (2000); cf. Skrzhinskaya (1998).

Josephus' hidden dialogue with Strabo

Yuval Shahar

There are many parallels between Josephus and Strabo, both in their own lives and in the books that they wrote. Biographically, both of them note proudly that they belong to a high priestly origin on their mothers' side, and the lineage of both stems from the aristocratic class of an independent kingdom,¹ but during their lifetime they themselves cooperate with the conquering power. Both of them move from their homeland to the city of Rome (at least for a long period of time).² In both cases their connection with Rome appears to have affected the status of their family, back in the city where they were born.³ Both writers are rooted in a culture other than Roman Latin culture and, in general, they are convinced of the advantage of their original culture over that of Rome.⁴ Albeit with differing degrees of definition, they both work on bridging the gap between their national cultures and pasts and the all-embracing actuality of the Roman empire. And it is against this background that they both devote especial attention to a laudatory description of their individual homelands, Pontus and Judaea.

From the literary point of view, both Strabo and Josephus undoubtedly belong to the historiographic genre formed by Polybius in the second century BCE.⁵ The great innovation of Polybius, when compared with the

¹ The priestly origin of Strabo: 10.4.10; 12.3.33. His family ties with the Pontic court: 12.3.33; cf. Engels (1999a) 17–19; Dueck (2000a) 5–7. Josephus as a priest and a descendant of the Hasmonaean family on his mother's side: *Joseph. Vit.* 1.1–4; cf. Rajak (1983) 14–19. Here, and elsewhere, I refer to the more recent publications, where you can find references to earlier studies.

² Strabo at Rome: Pais (1908) 110–19; cf. Engels (1999a) 34–6; Dueck (2000a) esp. 85–8.

³ Strabo 12.3.33; *Joseph. BJ* 3.9.6 (438–41); 5.13.1 (533); 5.13.3 (544–7).

⁴ Strabo as a Greek intellectual: cf. Clarke (1997). His limited acquaintance with the Latin language and culture: cf. Dueck (2000a) 79–83, 88–96. There is no need to underline the fact that Josephus worked hard to improve his Greek and to deepen his knowledge of the Hellenistic world: cf. Rajak (1983) 46–64. Latin culture was not part of his world.

⁵ Strabo following Polybius: cf. Engels (1999a) 157–65; Dueck (2000a) 46–53. The generic similarity between Josephus and Polybius does not necessarily reflect a direct influence: see also Rajak (1983) esp. 101–2, 160.

rest of the school of Thucydides to which he belongs,⁶ is that for him geography is a distinct field of scholarship characterised as an essential generic element. He applies the Thucydidean rules to space and its description as well: the search for the exact truth; criticism of the sources; the goal of historical writing; the background for understanding the events and their results. Polybius' *Histories* is the first historical work to relate to the inclusion of space, i.e. the geographical description, both theoretically, on the programmatic level, and concretely, in an abundance of spatial and topographically detailed descriptions. Strabo, writing in the Augustan period, basically followed Polybius: indeed, he preserves important parts that had been lost from Polybius' original work. Polybius and Strabo complement each other because of the fact that the former included geography in his universal history, while the latter wove a historical thread into his universal geography.⁷ Josephus includes many geographical and topographical descriptions, especially in his first work, the *Jewish War*. Analysis of these descriptions and the way they are included in his historical work leave us in no doubt that Josephus belongs to the tradition of the school of Polybius and Strabo.⁸ It seems to me that Strabo, in particular, serves him as a primary guide.

Before I expand this discussion, I should note one further point which is important for the literary relationship of Josephus to Strabo: in the *Jewish Antiquities*, which he completed only in the last decade of his life, in the 90s CE, Josephus includes eleven passages in which he cites Strabo by name, probably from the latter's historical work. He also notes him as a source in his work *Contra Apionem*.⁹ The fact that Strabo's historical work served Josephus as a source might have induced scholars to track parallels between Josephus' works and between Strabo's *Geography* as well. But the opposite occurs: the scholarly consensus is that Josephus did not know Strabo's geographical work at all,¹⁰ and that he had no acquaintance with Strabo's historical work until he wrote his late work, the *Jewish Antiquities*.

⁶ Cf. Walbank (1972) 40–3. Clarke (1999a) 73–4, 82–5 emphasises 'the geographical, ethnographical, cultural, Herodotean aspects of Polybius' *Histories*' but she does agree that, in many other senses 'he could be seen as a worthy successor to Thucydides' (74). I hold the view that Polybius combines the contributions of his two great predecessors in the way in which he interweaves spatial descriptions into the historical narrative: cf. Shahar (2004) 130–68.

⁷ The *Geography* of Strabo as a universal geography: cf. Clarke (1999a) 294–336; Engels (1999a), esp. 90–102, calling it *Kulturgeographie*; Dueck (2000a) 48–9, 50–2.

⁸ Cf. Shahar (2004) 190–256. ⁹ Cf. Stern (1976) 261–85.

¹⁰ As far as I know, Pais (1908) 379–428, esp. 427, is the only scholar who assumed that Josephus knew the *Geography* of Strabo. He argued that Josephus knew it but Pliny ignored it, so Pais concluded that Strabo did not write his *Geography* in Rome. This argument is not convincing.

At this stage I shall confine myself to two prefatory observations. First of all, in his first work, the *Jewish War*, Josephus does not give any of his sources. Beyond its general importance, this point is especially relevant to my discussion since this is based on the geographical descriptions included in the *Jewish War*. Secondly, the named citation of a source is, of course, the most certain evidence of a relationship between two works, but there are other, indirect, ways by which a writer can refer to his predecessors.¹¹ Two sorts of literary resemblance point to a relationship between Josephus' geographical descriptions and the *Geography* of Strabo. In the first place, there is similarity of genre. Secondly, Josephus relates to Strabo's descriptions of Palestine and holds a hidden dialogue with him, which includes correction of his errors as well as apologetic material aimed against the anti-Jewish comments of Strabo, as I shall argue below. This paper will be mainly devoted to the second sort of literary resemblance, in other words, the hidden dialogue which Josephus held with Strabo. I have called this a 'hidden dialogue' because of the simple fact that Josephus does not mention Strabo, or any other source, in his geographical descriptions.

I shall just preface this with a brief note of the first sort of resemblance, citing the main points where we can see the resemblances of genre between Josephus' descriptions of space and the programmatic demands and characteristics of the descriptions, in Strabo's *Geography*:¹²

- Geography is a recognised basis for historical writing.
- In the search for the truth, geographical exactitude is an important element in attaining it.¹³
- Autopsy and verbal evidence are vital for writing the truth and analysing other sources.¹⁴

¹¹ 'What was Thucydides' relation to Herodotus, whom he never mentions?' asks Hornblower (1996) 21, and answers it in a fascinating discussion, cf. 19–38, 122–45. Similar methodological problems are part of the research of the relationship between other ancient writers like Herodotus and Hecataeus of Miletus, cf. Sterling (1992) 36–40 against Lloyd (1975) 134–9, or even Polybius and Thucydides, cf. Hornblower *loc. cit.*

¹² I sketch here briefly the main points which were broadly discussed in Shahar (1996) 36–47, 59–96. See now also Shahar (2004), esp. 238–56.

¹³ Strabo, following Polybius, stressed that 'the aim of history is truth, as when in the *Catalogue of Ships* the poet mentions the topographical peculiarities of each place' (1.2.17; also 1.2.19). Josephus underlined the importance of truth and exactitude in the *prolegomena* to the *BJ* (1–30), and mentioned the main historical and geographical components which he included in the book and which he knew personally.

¹⁴ Strabo (2.5.11) declared that he visited many countries, but admitted that some of his descriptions are based on others' written descriptions or hearsay evidence: cf. Clarke (1999a) 240–2; Engels (1999a) 109–10. Josephus defined three levels of evidence according to their proximity to the event: personal active participation; autopsy; hearsay or reading of first-hand evidence after its occurrence. On that ground he claimed his superiority over literary opponents: *Vit.* 64.361–75; *Ap.* 1.8–10 (44–56); 2.9 (115–20).

- A spatial description included in a historical work is intended to fulfil one or both of two functions: first, it can illuminate the material aspect, when geography affects historical events; secondly, the description can simply serve as a guide to the reader.¹⁵
- The literary construction of descriptive passages includes the delineation of a country by means of its rivers, or mountains, or seas, as well as through *ethnos* or *ethne*; confining itself to noting the main measurements of length and width; characterisation of the space described through four parameters: size, shape, essential characteristics and relationship to the whole or to the territories around.¹⁶ Methods of description of the regions include: a concentric model from the circumference to the centre or vice versa;¹⁷ noting border points, on intersecting east–west and south–north axes;¹⁸ listing of sites in geographical order on the model of a snaking strip or an ox ploughing – what the epigraphers call *boustrophedon*;¹⁹ stressing the importance of a site by placing it at the beginning or the end of a list;²⁰ comparison of the shape of a region to known objects from every-day life.²¹

It is possible to claim, and with a certain degree of justification, that every one of these parallels is due either to the fact that geographical descriptions have been included in a historical work or to the general influences of the genre, which do not necessarily demonstrate a direct relationship between Josephus and Strabo. In order to analyse more nicely the relationship between them, we shall turn therefore to passages where the two authors describe the same places.

Strabo and Josephus both describe the harbours of Alexandria²² and three regions of Palestine: the Lake of Gennesar (Sea of Galilee) and the

¹⁵ Cf. Shahar (2004) 150–65; 207–27.

¹⁶ Strabo 2.1.30; 2.5.4; 2.5.13; 2.5.17. Josephus practised exactly these programmatic demands while describing various regions of Palestine: *BJ* 2.9.2 (188–91); 3.3.1–5 (35–58); 3.7–8 (506–21); 4.1.1 (2); 4.8.2–4 (452–85); see the table in Shahar (2004) 228–31.

¹⁷ From the circumference to the centre: Strabo, for example 2.5.2; 5.2.6; Joseph. *BJ* 2.10.2 (188–91); 3.3.1–2 (35–43); 3.3.5 (51–5); 5.5.1–6 (184–227); 5.5.8 (238–41); *AJ* 15.416–19. From the centre to the circumference: Strabo, for instance 5.2.5; Joseph. *BJ* 1.21.10 (419–21); *AJ* 15.324–5; see more in Shahar (2004) 232–3.

¹⁸ Strabo 5.1.3; 6.3.11; 6.4.1; and many more; Joseph. *BJ* 3.3.1–5 (38–57); *AJ* 5.81–4.

¹⁹ For instance Strabo 5.4.2; Joseph. *BJ* 1.7.7 (156), *AJ* 13.395–7, 14.75–6. I thank my friend Dr Susan Weingarten for the nice proposal that this method of writing be compared with the *boustrophedon*.

²⁰ Strabo (1.2.33) ascribed this rule to Homer and practised it several times: see Capua, the metropolis and the ‘head’ of Campania (5.4.10); and the Peloponnese, the ‘acropolis’ of Greece (8.1.3). Josephus started the administrative list of Judaea with Jerusalem, like Capua ‘dominating all the neighbourhood as the head towers above the body’ (*BJ* 3.3.5 (54)); see also Jotapata (*BJ* 2.20.6 (573)). In all these cases the geographical order is confused.

²¹ Strabo 2.1.30; Joseph. *BJ* 1.21.10 (419–21), *AJ* 15.324–5 (Herodium), *BJ* 4.1.1 (5–8, Gamala).

²² Strabo esp. 17.1.6–7; 17.1.9–10; Joseph. *BJ* 4.10.5 (611–15). Fraser (1972) vol. I, 22; vol. II, 59 n. 137; vol. II, 60–1 n. 141, is aware of the resemblance between these two descriptions of Alexandria.

sources of the Jordan; the Valley of Jericho and the Lake of Asphalt (the Dead Sea); the coastal plain and the Sharon (*drymos*). I shall relate here only to the descriptions of Palestine (see Map 5).

The shared element in all these descriptions in Josephus' *Jewish War* is one of method, what I called above a guide to the reader: they introduce the reader to the arena of events, providing him with a first acquaintance and a feeling of being at home there. The toponymy includes mention of things known from Hellenistic and Roman literature: the sand for glass-making, near Ptolemais;²³ the Rock of Andromeda in the harbour of Jaffa;²⁴ the sources of the River Jordan and the lakes along it;²⁵ the balsam and dates in the Valley of Jericho;²⁶ the asphalt at the Dead Sea, the special manner of floating on this lake and the evidence for the fall of Sodom.²⁷ Josephus here uses exactly the tactic employed by Polybius, who wrote: 'Throughout the whole undertaking, I attempt to link together and harmonise those places which are unknown with things which are familiar, from personal experience or hearsay' (*Histories* 5.21.5, trans. Clarke (1999a) 101). The descriptive passages also include the names of the places where a battle will later take place, siting these within the region. Thus Josephus sets up a structure with three related elements, which ensures the reader gradual recognition and easy digestion of the historical narrative of an event which takes place at a site unfamiliar to him. The central element is the descriptive passage, which rests consciously on the base of material which is well known from Hellenistic and Roman literature (i.e. the first link); the descriptive passage itself then becomes a similar base for the reader when he reaches the third element, namely the description of the battle, which takes place at the sites mentioned in the descriptive passage.

Strabo and Tacitus are the only extant ancient authors to relate to all these regions and elements of description. I think Tacitus relies on Josephus here²⁸ and anyway, there can be no doubt that he post-dates him. Strabo is the only classical author before Josephus who wrote about all these places.

²³ *BJ* 2.10.2 (190-1); Strabo 16.2.25; Pliny *HN* 36.190; Tac. *Hist.* 5.7.2.

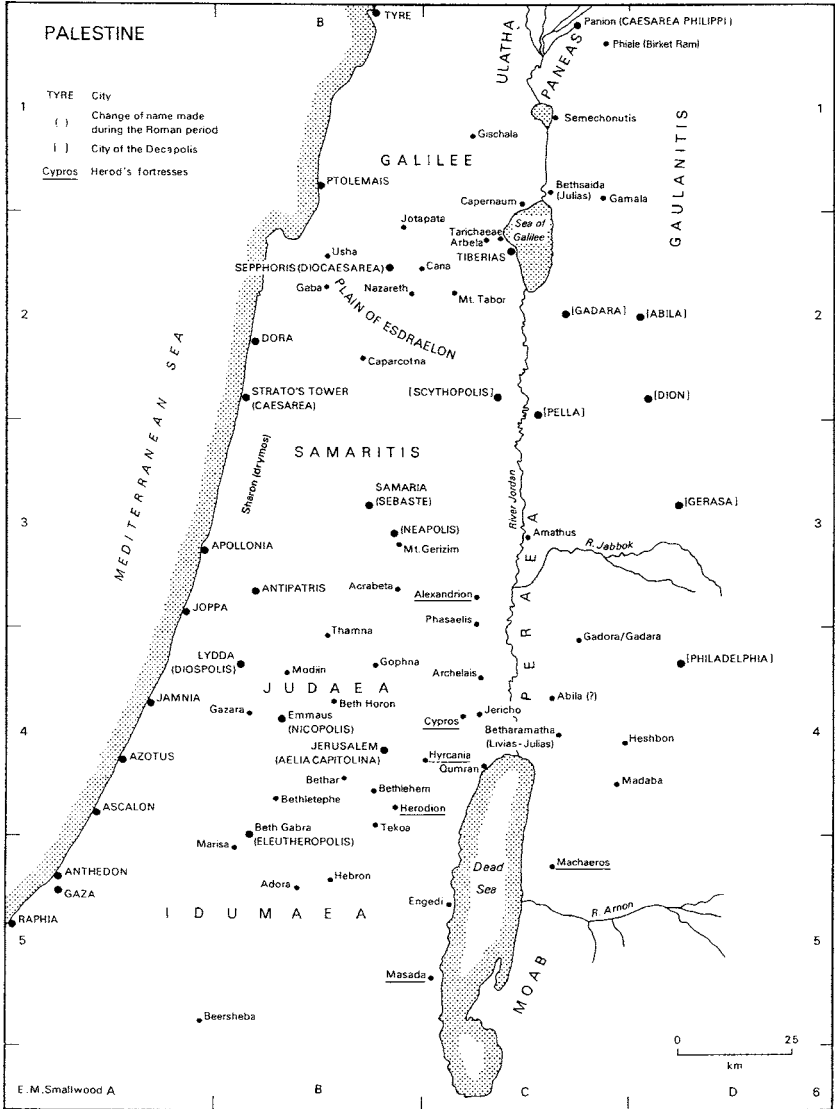
²⁴ *BJ* 3.9.3 (420); Strabo 16.2.28, see also 1.2.35; Pseudo-Scylax *GGM* 1, 104 p. 79 (= Stern (1984) 10); Conon the mythographer *apud* Photius, see Stern (1976) 353-4; Pompon. 1.11.64 (= Stern (1976) 371-2); Pliny *HN* 5.69; 5.128; 9.11; Paus. 4.35.9 and the commentary of Stern (1980) 193-4.

²⁵ *BJ* 3.10.7 (506-15); Strabo 16.2.16, 16.2.45; Pliny *HN* 5.71; Tac. *Hist.* 5.6.2; Paus. 5.7.4; Solinus 35.1-3 (= Stern (1980) 418), following Pliny.

²⁶ *BJ* 4.8.3 (467-75); Strabo 16.2.41; Pomp. Trog. *apud* Just. *Epit.* 36.3.1-5.

²⁷ *BJ* 4.8.4 (476-85); Strabo 16.2.42-4; Tac. *Hist.* 5.6.2-7.2; Solinus 35.2, 7-8 (= Stern (1980) 418-19). Many Greek and Latin authors wrote about the Lake of Asphalt and its peculiarities, cf. Stern (1984) Index s.v. 'Dead Sea'; but only Strabo (using the erroneous name 'Lake Sirbonis' for the Lake of Asphalt), Tacitus and Solinus referred also to the biblical tradition about Sodom and Gomorrah.

²⁸ Cf. Shahar (2004) 250-3. For the scholarly debate cf. Stern (1980) 3-6; Rajak (1983) esp. 190-4.



Map 5. Judaea

THE LAKE OF GENNESAR AND THE SOURCES OF THE JORDAN

There are two passages where Strabo describes the Jordan and its valley, both times incorrectly. In the first passage, in the context of his description of the Valley of the Lebanon, which he calls Coele-Syria, Strabo writes that this valley lies between the mountains of the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon, and above Damascus and the Trachones. The valley is drained by rivers, the biggest of which is the Jordan. These 'water a country that is fertile and all-productive'. The valley 'also contains a lake, which produces the aromatic rush and reed; and likewise marshes. The lake is called Gennesaritis. The plain also produces balsam' (16.2.16). In the second passage, in the context of his description of Judaea, Strabo adds: 'In Gadaris, also, there is noxious lake water; and when animals taste it they lose hair and hoofs and horns. At the place called Taricheae the lake supplies excellent fish for pickling (ἐν ... Ταριχέαις ... ταριχέαις ἰχθύων ...). The Egyptians use the asphalt for embalming the bodies of the dead (τὰς ταριχέαις τῶν νεκρῶν)' (16.2.45).²⁹

Thus the reader who learns about the Jordan Valley according to Strabo receives the following geographical picture: the source of the Jordan is in Coele-Syria, which extends as far as the Trachones. Strabo then moves over to the Lake of Gennesar, which he depicts as partly marshy; special plants grow by the lake, including balsam. And there is another lake, whose waters are poisonous, where Taricheae, the source of pickled fish, is mentioned in some sort of context which is not totally clear. There are at least two mistakes here: the River Jordan does not intersect and drain the Lebanon Valley, but the Jordan Valley; balsam grew by the Dead Sea, and not in the vicinity of the Lake of Gennesar.

Turning now to Josephus, in the two descriptions which he devotes to the surroundings of the River Jordan, one to the Lake of Gennesar and the sources of the Jordan and the other to the description of the Jordan Valley and the Lake of Asphalt, he is careful to be very exact about the sources of the Jordan. He clearly distinguishes between the site of the marshes in the Lake of Semechonitis (Lake Hule) and the clear, sweet Lake of Gennesar, whose excellent fish are caught near Taricheae; and between both of these and the Asphalt Lake, whose waters are bitter and where asphalt is produced.

Strabo links the sources of the Jordan and the Trachones. Josephus gently corrects him, saying that the source of the Jordan is at the tiny

²⁹ It seems that Strabo combined these two elements because of their linguistic resemblance.

Lake Phiale, at a distance of 120 furlongs from Caesarea (Philippi), on the right of, and not far from, the road ascending to Trachonitis (*BJ* 3.10.7 (510)). It is important to note that there is no natural connection between what is now called Birket Ram,³⁰ i.e. Phiale, and Trachonitis. Josephus is trying, on the one hand, to preserve the Strabonian starting point and, on the other, to be more exact about the geographical facts. Perhaps it is for the same reason that he notes: 'It was for long unknown that this was the true source of the Jordan, but the fact was proved by Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis' (*loc. cit.* 512). But Philip never was tetrarch of Trachonitis alone; his tetrarchy included Batanea, Auranitis and the territory of Caesarea Philippi as well. The stress on Trachonitis alone in Josephus' description of Philip seems to spring from the description of Strabo.³¹

Strabo claims that there are marshes at the Lake of Gennesar, where balsam grows, and that near to Gadaris the water is bitter and poisonous. No, Josephus corrects him, the marshes are found at Lake Semechonitis,³² through which the Jordan runs. The balsam and the bitter water characterise the Asphalt Lake. In the Lake of Gennesar, in contrast, the 'water is sweet to the taste and excellent to drink: clearer than marsh water with its thick sediment, it is perfectly pure, the lake everywhere ending in pebbly or sandy beaches' (*loc. cit.* 506–7). The statement that all the beaches round the Lake of Gennesar are dry is not exact, as Josephus himself makes clear when he describes his fall from horseback near Julias, north of the lake 'on a marshy spot' (*Vit.* 72. 403).

Strabo commends the excellent fish near Taricheae. Josephus gives details: 'The lake contains species of fish different, both in taste and appearance, from those found elsewhere' (*BJ* 3.10.7 (508)). The connection between Taricheae and the description of the lake in Josephus is clear and direct: the description is inserted straight after the conquest of Taricheae, and before the naval battle which takes place on the lake. Immediately afterwards, we return to Taricheae, where Vespasian judges the rebels. The continuous stress that Josephus puts on the source of the Jordan in relation to Trachonitis; the sweet waters of the lake, which are clear and unlike marsh

³⁰ It is identified with Birket Ram on the Golan Heights: cf. Tsafir, Di Segni, Green (1994) 203.

³¹ Philip as tetrarch of Trachonitis, Batanea and Auranitis or Gaulanitis: *AJ* 17.189; *BJ* 2.6.3 (95) = *AJ* 17.319; *BJ* 2.12.7 (247) = *AJ* 20.138. All these references are based upon official Herodian and Roman documents. I use careful language because of a single case where Josephus called Philip tetrarch of Trachonitis (*AJ* 18.137). Nevertheless, contrary to the above documents, here there is a short summary of the family tree of Agrippa I, and also Herod Antipas, called here (*loc. cit.* 136) shortly and inaccurately 'the tetrarch of Galilee' but elsewhere 'tetrarch of Galilee and the Peraea' (*AJ* 17.188; *BJ* 2.6.3 (95) = *AJ* 17.318; *AJ* 18.240).

³² See also *BJ* 4.1.1 (3).

water; the dry shores; the richness of the fishing, and the connection with Taricheae – all these are relevant only to the context of Strabo's description.

THE JERICHO VALLEY AND THE LAKE OF ASPHALT

The claim that there is a connection between Josephus' description of this region and Strabo's description rests on four supports: the historiographic context in which the description appears; the elements of the description and their order; the process of the hardening or removal of the asphalt; and the explanation of the geological phenomena in the area of Sodom.

First, there is the historiographic context. Strabo (16.2.41–4) includes the description of this region in the context of Pompey's expedition to conquer Judaea, after he finishes his resumé of the conquest. Josephus (*BJ* 4.8.2–4 (451–85)) describes the area in the context of Vespasian's expedition, after the taking of Jericho. In this passage from the *Geography*, Strabo preserves the indubitable characteristics of the historiographic genre to which he belongs. The stresses in the descriptive passages (16.2.34; 16.2.36) are those that come into play during Pompey's conquest (16.2.40). For our purposes, it is noticeable that, at the beginning of his description of Judaea, Strabo notes the ethnic mix in Galilee, Jericho, Philadelphia and the city of Samaria. In the context of Pompey's expedition he surveys the destruction of the tyrants' fortifications at the passes of Jericho, around Philadelphia and near Galilee. Immediately following this, Strabo continues with a description of the Jordan Valley. At this point I would just like to stress once more the generic similarities between Josephus and Strabo.³³ I accept the view that Josephus' first survey of Pompey's expedition in the *Jewish War* did not follow Strabo and that only when he wrote up the expedition a second time in his *Jewish Antiquities* did Josephus include several features relating to Strabo's historical work.³⁴ But Josephus, like Strabo, also adds an aside to his sketch of Pompey's expedition, observing that the soil of Jericho is the most fertile in Judaea, growing palm-trees and balsam. He adds a sentence about the way the liquid balsam is collected (*BJ* 1.6.6 (138); *AJ* 19.54).

Secondly, there are the elements of the description and their order. Both writers detail the following points in the same order: the site of Jericho and the valley between ridges; the fertility of the valley – the abundance of water, the economic and medical uniqueness of the palms and the balsam; the Asphalt Lake; the geological phenomena and their connection to the downfall of Sodom.

³³ Cf. Shahar (2004) 241–2. ³⁴ Cf. Stern (1991) 428–9.

Thirdly, there is the process of hardening or removal of the asphalt: Strabo (16.2.42–3) describes the hardening of the asphalt as a result of the cold waters of the lake. Then Strabo notes that Posidonius had written that the local people pretend that the process of hardening is a result of the use of ‘urine and other malodorous liquids’. Here Strabo adds a critical comment, that perhaps there may be something in the claims of the local people after all, if the urine contains substances like *chrysocolla*, ‘which forms in the bladder of people who have bladder-stones and is derived from the urine of children’. Josephus (*BJ* 4.8.4 (480)) corrects Strabo on two counts: the problem is the removal of the asphalt stuck to the sides of the collecting boats, not the process of hardening; the local people remove it with ‘the monthly secretions and urine of women, to which alone it yields’.

Lastly, there is the explanation of geological phenomena in the region of Sodom. Strabo (16.2.44) provides geological evidence for tectonic activity in the region of Sodom: ‘earthquakes and ... eruptions of fire and ... hot waters containing asphalt and sulphur’. The remains of cities there lead people to ‘believe the oft-repeated assertions of the local inhabitants, that there were once thirteen inhabited cities in that region of which Sodom was the metropolis ... some were swallowed up and others were abandoned by such as were able to escape’. It is clear that Strabo here is voicing some sort of criticism of the Jewish biblical tradition about the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah. When Josephus (*loc. cit.* 484–5) deals with this, he stresses the truth inherent in the biblical tradition, both at the opening of his description, and at its end: ‘and in fact vestiges of the divine fire, and faint traces of five cities, are still visible (484) ... So far are the legends about the land of Sodom borne out by ocular evidence’ (485). Against the tectonic, natural phenomena stressed by Strabo, Josephus stresses the ‘divine fire’ (τοῦ θείου πυρός). Strabo relates to the tradition about the cities of Sodom which were swallowed up as mere stories told by the local inhabitants; Josephus brings out the eyewitness evidence (ἰδεῖν, ὄψεως) as collateral for faith (πίστις). In his hidden dialogue he attacks Strabo with his own weapons: ‘So far are the legends about the land of Sodom, borne out by ocular evidence.’

Among the early descriptions of this region, which have survived in whole or in part, Strabo is the only writer before Josephus to relate to the points I have noted above.

Here I wish to relate to a possibility that has been raised by some scholars, that the similarities between the descriptions of Strabo, Josephus and Tacitus of the Jordan Valley, the area of Jericho and the Lake of Asphalt stem from a common source used directly or indirectly by all three. First of all, there can be no methodological justification for the

'invention' of an unknown source when it is possible to trace connections between the existing sources. It is preferable, and in our case actually possible, to trace the direct relation of Josephus to Strabo, and that of Tacitus to his two predecessors.³⁵ Secondly, in our case it has been suggested that Posidonius must have been the common source.³⁶

I would refute this suggestion on two grounds. (1) Without entering the complex debate as to whether Posidonius was the source for the image of the Law of Moses and the Jews in Strabo,³⁷ there is no any positive basis for the claim that Strabo relied on Posidonius either for his descriptions of Judaea in general or for the description of the Asphalt Lake in particular. (2) There is no real evidence that Josephus knew Posidonius' works at all.

With reference to my first contention (1), throughout all the narrative of the description of Judaea, Strabo includes only one sentence which he attributes to Posidonius. This speaks about the lies of the local people about the process whereby they harden the asphalt and are thus able to cut it up. Strabo works in the same way in other chapters dealing with the East, apart from Syria: the description of Babylon products is based on Eratosthenes, while Posidonius is added merely as a source for a note about the different sorts of naphtha (16.1.15); the survey of Arabia relies on Eratosthenes (16.4.24), Artemidorus (16.4.5–20), Athenodorus (16.4.21) and the report of the expedition headed by Aelius Gallus 'my friend and companion' (2.5.12; 16.4.22–4). Posidonius is only cited in his etymological discussion, where he wishes to stress the common origin of the Armenians, the Syrians and the Arabs (1.2.34; 16.4.27 = Kidd (1988) frs. 280, 281a). Similarly, at the end of his description of the Red Sea, Strabo adds a Posidonian sentence about the fragrant salts (16.4.24 = Kidd (1988) fr. 238). In contrast, when writing about the west of the Mediterranean, Strabo bases himself at length on Posidonius and says so specifically, for example, in his description of the 'Stony Valley' between Massilia and the mouth of the Rhone (4.1.7 = Kidd (1988) fr. 229).

As for my second contention (2), the only mention of Posidonius in Josephus is in the Latin translation of *Contra Apionem*. There, Josephus accuses Posidonius and Apollonius Molon of spreading a double calumny: on the one hand they claim that the Jews do not worship the same gods as the rest of mankind; on the other hand, they lie about the sacred worship which took place in the Jewish Temple. In my opinion, Kidd was correct

³⁵ Note 28, above. ³⁶ Cf. Morr (1926).

³⁷ Heinemann (1919) and Norden (1921) base the view that Posidonius is the source for Strabo on his Judaic chapter. Bar-Kochva (1997) holds a similar view. Kidd (1988) 951–2 refutes it. Cf. for the various views and for full references: Stern (1976) 265–7; Bar-Kochva (1997) 297–301.

when he proposed that Posidonius has been added here out of place by Josephus or his copiers.³⁸ Anyway, it is highly improbable to suppose on the basis of this very unclear reference that Posidonius was the direct source for Josephus' description of Judaea, and to prefer this theory over the simple supposition that Josephus here is in dialogue with Strabo.

THE COASTAL PLAIN AND THE SHARON

In his description of Palestine, Strabo distinguishes between the coast, which is included in Phoenicia, and Judaea, which lies inland, east of the coast. Jaffa (16.2.28) is used as a sort of axis and starting point for drawing the line of the Phoenician coastline: from Egypt to Jaffa, the coast tends eastwards; from this point, it runs straight northwards. Travellers from the north pass Ptolemais, the Carmel, Strato's Tower (later Caesarea Maritima) and arrive at Jaffa. From Jaffa it is possible to see Jerusalem, 'the metropolis of the Judaeans'. The Jews used the harbour of Jaffa as a robbers' den, when they extended their conquests to the sea; they also commanded the Carmel and the *drymos*. The *drymos* is an area so heavily populated that the village of Iamnia and its region can provide 40,000 soldiers. Josephus, in his general description of Palestine, (*BJ* 3.3.1-5 (35-58)) relates to all these places in a similar order: Ptolemais and the Carmel, 'a mountain once belonging to the Galileans' (*loc. cit.* 35), signify the outer western border of Galilee, and western Judaea stretches northwards, up to the territory of Ptolemais (*loc. cit.* 53); Jerusalem is sited in the centre of Judaea, between the Jordan and Jaffa (*loc. cit.* 51-2). Against the claim that Jaffa is a port of robbers, Josephus states that Jaffa is geographically and politically an organic part of Judaea. Strabo notes Iamnia as part of the *drymos* which the Jews took over; Josephus states that Iamnia, like Jaffa, is part of the body politic of Judaea, over which Jerusalem presides 'as the head towers over the body'. Against the claim of Strabo that Judaea was originally cut off from the sea until the Jews conquered the coast illegally, Josephus stresses that 'Judaea is, moreover, not cut off from the amenities of the sea, because it slopes down as far as Ptolemais' (*loc. cit.* 53).³⁹

³⁸ Cf. Kidd (1988) fr. 278 pp. 948-51. Many scholars who agree that Posidonius of Apamea is the man whom Josephus mentioned here hold the view that 'nowhere in his works does Josephus show any direct acquaintance with the works of Posidonius': cf. Stern (1976) 142; see also Kasher (1996) 376-9; Bar-Kochva (1997) 301 n. 10.

³⁹ It is interesting to note that, when Josephus wanted to explain the silence of Greek historians about the Jews, he stated that 'ours is not a maritime country; neither commerce nor the intercourse which it promotes with the outside world has any attraction for us. Our cities are built inland, remote from the sea' (*Ap.* 1.12 (60), see also *loc. cit.* 65).

At the centre of the hidden dialogue which Josephus is holding here with Strabo stands the collision of ideas on the question of the legitimacy of the Hasmonaean conquests in the west of Palestine. Strabo essentially presents here a popular view in the Hellenistic-Roman Near East, which sees Jewish expansion as the result of political and military brigandage. He repeats this several times: 'and indeed the Judaeans have used this place [Jaffa] as a seaport when they have gone down as far as the sea; but the seaports of robbers are obviously only robbers' dens' (16.2.28); 'and from the tyrannies arose the bands of robbers; for some revolted and harassed the country, both their own country and that of their neighbours' (16. 2.37; see also 16.2.40).

Against this common attitude, Josephus claims that Jaffa,⁴⁰ Iamnia and the access to the coast as far as Ptolemais are legitimate Jewish territory. The first stage in his contest with the claim of brigandage is already included in his description of Galilee. Strabo says explicitly that Jewish brigands forcibly seized parts of Syria and Phoenicia (16.2.37). Against this, Josephus opens his description with the claim that Galilee 'is enveloped by Phoenicia and Syria' (*BJ* 3.3.1 (35)). He stresses the threatening aspect of this reality and the fact that in spite of this (or perhaps we should say because of this) the Galileans always resisted any invasion attempt: 'With this limited area, and although surrounded by such powerful foreign nations, the two Galilees have always resisted any hostile invasion' (*BJ* 3.3.2 (41)).

'I stress that the case for dependence is cumulative' wrote Hornblower, when he discussed the relationship between Thucydides and Herodotus, and he added: 'There are occasions ... when Thucydides would be barely intelligible, or actually unintelligible, to a reader who did not know Herodotus very well.'⁴¹ Hornblower's analysis is equally applicable to our discussion of Strabo and Josephus. A number of things which Josephus stresses in his descriptions of Palestine cannot be understood except against the background of Strabo's descriptions. The similarity is basically not verbal, but thematic. This conclusion is based on an accumulation of data, which is not familiar from the Hellenistic and Roman literature written before Josephus that has reached us, but only from the *Geography* of Strabo. Against this hypothesis is the accepted supposition that Josephus did not know the *Geography* at all and that this work was not known in his time. I have already related to the first supposition and noted that in the *Jewish War* Josephus does not cite any of his sources by name. To this I should like to add that the direct references to Strabo's historical work in *Jewish*

⁴⁰ This had been a firm Jewish claim since the Hasmonaean period, I Macc. 14, 5-6; 15, 33-5.

⁴¹ Cf. Hornblower (1996) 28 and 123 respectively.

Antiquities are citations or paraphrases which relate to defined historical events that happened a long time before Josephus' own time, so that he wanted to base his survey on further sources. In contrast, the descriptions of Palestine in Josephus are based on personal acquaintance, while by his way of writing he takes into account the prior information which should have been available to the informed Greek reader.

The premiss that Strabo's geographical work was not known at all in the Roman period does not fit with the historiographic and papyrological evidence: the work is mentioned during the second century CE in the lexicon of Valerius Harpocration and in the works of Athenaeus of Naucratis and Dionysius Periegetes, as well as in the papyrological finds from the second and third centuries which were discovered at Oxyrhynchus. There is no significant difference between this evidence and the references to Strabo's historical work in Plutarch at the end of the first century, or the beginning of the second, and in Tertullian at the beginning of the third century.⁴²

Another considerable difficulty facing my premiss that Josephus knew the *Geography*, or at least its description of Judaea, is the question why he did not use the idealised portrait of Moses and his Law during the bitter controversy he waged in his work *Contra Apionem*. It is possible that the reason is to be found in two statements of Strabo: that Moses and those who followed him were originally Egyptians, a claim which Josephus fights tooth and nail;⁴³ and that some time after Moses' death there was a decline, the people deteriorated and even sunk into superstition, and there began a period of tyranny and brigandage. Strabo contrasts the period of Moses with Judaea and the Jews at a later period up to his own times. Josephus obviously wished to stress the positive continuity between the founder and the Jews of all generations up to his own day. It is possible to suggest other explanations, but in any case these difficulties which we have discussed are not sufficient in themselves to cancel out the cumulative evidence for the relationship between the descriptions of Palestine in Josephus and between those which are included in the *Geography* of Strabo.

The conclusion we reach from our analysis is, I think, clear and firmly based: Josephus not only followed in Strabo's footsteps when it came to genre but he actually knew the *Geography*, or at any rate the descriptions of Judaea and Phoenicia in book sixteen, as early as the 70s CE, when he was

⁴² Cf. Engels (1999a) 45–58 (48 n. 13 for dating the lexicon of Valerius Harpocration); Dueck (2000a) 145, 151.

⁴³ *Ap.* esp. 1.27–35 (252–317).

writing his *Jewish War*. He wove his descriptions on the basis of the warp and weft set up on Strabo's loom. As a result of this, he corrected, changed colour and replaced some of the threads, but preserved the basic fabric of his predecessor. Two elements could have drawn Josephus to the chapters on Palestine and the Jews in Strabo's *Geography*. The first was the sympathetic picture of the Law of Moses and of early Judaism up to Hasmonaean rule, as drawn by Strabo. If this were the case, it is easier to understand the polemics of the hidden dialogue which Josephus holds with Strabo and his readers in order to defend biblical Judaism and the right of the Jews to the coast. Secondly, Strabo had included a spatial description of Palestine at the beginning of the Roman period which, with all its inaccuracies, had no rival in Hellenistic and Roman literature before Pliny. Josephus could assume that the educated reader, to whom he turns in his *Jewish War*, already knew Strabo's descriptions, so that they could be a familiar point from which to start when he came to describe the military expeditions of Vespasian and Titus.

*Temporal layers within Strabo's description
of Coele Syria, Phoenicia and Judaea*

Ze'ev Safrai

One of the central problems inherent in the study of all ancient works is that authors used earlier works, most of which are now lost, and wove sources from different periods into their compositions. Sometimes they did mention earlier writers, but the system of scientific footnotes was not, of course, in use. The character of the author and his familiarity with his subject influenced the way in which he combined the sources and the way in which he used his own first-hand knowledge. In the *Geography*, various authors are mentioned as sources for details but it is unclear whether the entire description relies on them or only specific details.

In my opinion, we should not look for one writer or one text which influenced Strabo, but should rather examine the nature and period of these sources. Strabo's description of Judaea and Phoenicia is an especially interesting case in point and I shall examine the temporal layering in Strabo's text through this particular case-study.¹

Strabo lived between the second half of the first century BCE and the second decade of the first century CE. Before and during his lifetime the regions of Judaea and Phoenicia underwent a series of changes. During the fourth decade of the second century BCE, the Hasmonaean revolt broke out, and beginning in 112 BCE – according to archaeological findings in the past decade – Judaea gained formal independence.² At the same time, other cities, regions and nations attained independence, although the concept of nation (*ethnos*) was still undefined in that period. Soon, two mini-empires (Judaea and Nabataea) developed which

¹ There has been very little research into Strabo's description of Judaea. Among those who have studied it are Saliternik (1934–5) and my mentor, Menahem Stern, to whose memory I would like to dedicate this article. See Stern (1976) 261–315; also Bar-Kochva (1997) 297–336 esp. n. 19; Ludlam (1997). Stern, Bar-Kochva and Ludlam discuss the appendix on the history of the Jews. I do not deal with it here because it is not part of the main description and is already discussed fully in existing literature.

² Based on digs in Sebastia and Marisa, which were conquered that year. See Safrai (2000) 63–90.

conquered other territories. The Roman conquest (63 BCE) brought another change in the size and borders of Judaea.³

In view of this historical complexity, we may use this region as a test case for the study of Strabo's sources. We will limit our discussion to a narrow geographical sector within a broader area. We hope that this study will help understand Strabo as a writer and his *Geography* as a treatise, as well as enable us to use and date the information in the work.

Strabo loosely divides the area of Syria into five units: the cities of northern Syria, Coele Syria, Phoenicia, Judaea and Arabia (16.2.1–16.4.27; 16.2.21). Within Arabia, he dedicates a relatively short description to Nabataea (16.4.2). According to him, Syria is north and east of Judaea; Phoenicia extends along the coast from Orthosia to Pelusium; and Judaea is internal and includes Galilee, Samaria and Idumea. The area east of the Jordan River is mentioned only by the way, as we will see (see Map 5).

Such a division never existed. Moreover, Strabo contradicts himself in the description of the various regions. In the north he includes in the area of Coele Syria the entire coast as far as Berytus, but then Berytus and the area to the north of it is placed in Phoenicia as well. Strabo was aware of this contradiction and therefore in his description of Phoenicia he points out that the entire area from Orthosia to Berytus was already described in the context of Coele Syria (16.2.22). In the south, he is less aware of the overlapping. Thus, he describes Phoenicia but admits that Gadaris – apparently Gezer – belongs to Judaea (16.2.29). In describing Iamnia he adds that an army of 40,000 men assembles in this region (16.2.28), apparently describing an army of the Judaeian kingdom. He includes Lake Sirbonis, which is next to Pelusium, in Judaea, but also in Phoenicia. At the same time, he says that Judaea extends (only) from Gaza to the mountain opposite Lebanon (16.2.21) and thus parts of it are included in Phoenicia. But Lake Sirbonis is far from there. This description raises historical problems and shows that it is composed of contradictory sources. In my opinion each of these sources relates to a different period.

THE DESCRIPTION OF PHOENICIA

So far we have mentioned internal contradictions in Strabo but the main problem is historical–geographical. The description of Phoenicia as a

³ The series of changes is summarised in Avi-Yona (1966) and see my opinion in Aharoni and Avi-Yona (1993) 158–171.

geographical–cultural entity reflects the last period of the Persian empire. At that time control of the coastal strip was shared by two Phoenician cities (Tyre and Sidon). When the Ptolemaic and Seleucid monarchies ruled over the area, it lost its uniqueness. Most of the time it was divided between the two kingdoms. Only between 198–164 BCE was the entire coastal strip under Seleucid rule. Later, the Hasmonaeans held the central sector of this region, at least from Rhinocorora to the outskirts of Ptolemais (not including Ptolemais). After the Roman conquest, most of these cities returned to the region of Syria, but Jaffa remained in Judaea. During this period, most of the coastal region could be called Phoenicia as a geographic rather than a formal political definition. However, Damascus and the internal part of the country north of Judaea were part of the same region. This does not fit Strabo's division, in which Damascus is placed in Coele Syria (16.2.20). Later, more cities became part of Judaea but Strabo does not mention this.

We may assume that at the beginning of Hellenistic rule in the East the name Phoenicia, as defined here, was still accurate but gradually it became anachronistic. Thus, the name may preserve a hazy historical memory. In addition, I intend to show that other details in Strabo's description reflect the situation toward the end of the Persian period and beginning of Hellenistic rule, or at the latest, between 198–164 BCE. This means that Strabo uses an early Hellenistic source. This may seem extreme because this hidden text would date from two and a half centuries before Strabo's time of writing. However, there are several grounds for this suggestion:

- 1 In the description of Tyre Strabo mentions Alexander's conquest (16.2.23). This may still be explained as an historical memory, which is not true of some of the other components of the description.
- 2 Strabo describes the production of purple in Tyre. All known Phoenician purple manufacturing sites date to the Persian period. This industry seems to have waned during the third century BCE, owing to diminishing resources (the snail species became extinct). Although it is possible some sites were still active later as well, it is unlikely that they were as widespread as Strabo says.⁴
- 3 Strabo knows Ptolemais by its Hellenistic name given at the beginning of the second century BCE or at the end of the third century. But he also

⁴ Tyre continued to manufacture purple during the Roman and Byzantine periods but it seems that a large percentage of the factories ceased their activity. Factories uncovered in Judaea ceased their activity during the Hellenistic period at the latest. Such factories in Tyre itself have not yet been uncovered. See Karmon and Spanier (1987).

mentions its Semitic name of Ace (Acre), which hints at an early source that preserved the ancient name of the city. He calls Caesarea 'Stratonos Pyrgos' (Strato's Tower) and does not seem to know the new name given to the city by Herod.

- 4 Strabo mentions three ruined cities between the Carmel and Strato's Tower.⁵ One of the three ruined cities is Sycaminopolis (Shikmona), which was destroyed toward the end of the Persian period and during the entire Hellenistic period was only a fortress and a village.⁶ This proves his use of a source from the beginning of the Hellenistic period at the earliest rather than one from his own time.
- 5 Strabo says that Gaza remained uninhabited after being destroyed by Alexander. One could have thought that he is referring to its destruction by Alexander Jannaeus. Josephus does in fact leave the reader with the impression that the cities captured by the Hasmonaeans (John Hyrcanus and Jannaeus) were completely destroyed. But a series of studies published in recent years shows that most of the coastal cities continued to function under Hasmonaeon rule and Gaza is specifically mentioned as an active city. Apparently, then, Strabo was referring to the destruction of the city by Alexander the Great.⁷

In the course of the description Strabo quotes Posidonius, who lived about a generation before him (16.2.24). But the context indicates that Posidonius is not the source for the entire description but only for one detail about the Sidonians.

In spite of all this, it is reasonable to assume that in addition to the early source, Strabo had also some direct knowledge of the region. For example: he mentions that Tyre is famous in his day (16.2.23) and thinks the houses in Tyre are as beautiful as those in Rome (16.2.2). It is rather clear that such a description reflects the period after the Roman conquest.⁸

Strabo tells about the sand of Sidon used for making glass, and it is evident that these stories are based on a primary source. His knowledge is hazy, 'some say' this and 'others' differ, and seems to reflect popular

⁵ It is interesting that he does not mention Dora, which flourished during the entire period. Pliny (*HN* 5.75) also repeats the notion that of Dora 'only the memory exists'. Perhaps he used Strabo or both have used a common source.

⁶ Elgavish (1994). Gaza was rebuilt later and it is mentioned as a functioning city in the Zenon Papyri (third century BCE). Strabo therefore uses a source that predates the papyri.

⁷ Safrai (2000) 65–78.

⁸ Note that Josephus says that in his time the houses in Cabul (Zabulon) were as pretty as those in Tyre, Sidon and Berytus (*BJ* 2.504). The literary similarity seems coincidental but at the same time shows the difference in cultural horizons between the local writer (Josephus) on the one hand and the man of the world (Strabo) on the other.

contemporaneous hearsay rather than a defined text. He even says that he heard about it from the glass manufacturers during his visit to Alexandria (16.2.25). He mentions philosophers of his time (16.2.24) including Boethus, his fellow student in Alexandria and other philosophers from Sidon and Tyre such as Antipater and Apollonius.⁹ In connection with Ascalon, he mentions the philosopher Antiochus, who was active shortly before his time; and in connection with Gadara (Gezer) several other philosophers.¹⁰

Similarly, mentions of the scene of the battle between Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy IV (16.2.31) and the burial site of Pompey (16.2.32) are details of information that any informed person in the East would have known. Strabo also mentions a battle waged between Tryphon and Sarpedon (16.2.26), and this piece of information was probably taken from a source from the end of the second century BCE, or based on first-hand knowledge.

Strabo says that in Jaffa the coastline bends and turns up north (16.2.28). This is not true: the curve of the coastline is further south (in the Gaza region). But the very mention of this detail shows the use of a geographical text. The ordinary traveller does not notice any change in the coastline. It takes the eye of a person who measures directions systematically.

As mentioned, Strabo reports the large number of soldiers who assembled from Iamnia. This detail suits the period of the Hasmonaeans or his own time, in a period when Iamnia was under Jewish rule. Strabo also mentions Jewish Gadaris, probably referring to Gazara, which was conquered by Simon the Hasmonaeon between 142–135 BCE. But he does not refer to the capture of Jaffa at approximately the same time. Both Gezer and Jaffa continued to be part of the Jewish territory until the end of the Roman period. In the area between Gadaris and Carmel, Strabo mentions three details, all of them connected to the Jewish settlement.

We may assume that this section, which belongs in fact to the next chapter dealing with Judaea, was mistakenly inserted in the chapter about

⁹ On Boethus, see *RE* 3.603; on Antipater, see *RE* 1.2516.

¹⁰ Strabo seems to confuse Gezer with Gadara in the north of Transjordan, a confusion which testifies to a tenuous knowledge of the cities he describes. This confusion between Gezer and Gadara stems from a characteristic transliteration in Semitic languages. The Hebrew *zayin* ('z') is transliterated as *dalet* ('d') in Aramaic. Strabo therefore used a source which transliterated the Hebrew name into Aramaic, and from Aramaic to Greek. He himself used only the Greek version. This same transition between Gazara and Gadara appears also in the Jewish sources (see Yrushalmi, *Rosh Hashana* chap. I: 8, 57a; Bavli, *Rosh Hashana*, 22a). Gadara or Gader is situated, according to the description there, on the way to Iamnia, and this suits Gazara. Hebrew and Aramaic were the spoken languages in Judaea and many places had names adapted to both languages.

Phoenicia. This was done because these places were located in historical Phoenicia but, in first century BCE, were part of Judaea. These examples reflect Strabo's own times and so should be considered a part of the chapter on Judaea. In the entire description of Phoenicia there are no geographical errors, with the exception of the omission of Dora, and the exact point where the coastline turns up north. This is in contrast with the description of Judaea (below).

To sum up, the description of Phoenicia is based mainly on an ancient source from the beginning of the second century BCE. To this early source Strabo added first-hand information from his own time. This did not include an intimate familiarity with the region, but rather with philosophers of the period and with details he could have acquired in Egypt. The ancient source was geographical in nature, since it is hard to assume that the detail about the curving coastline in Jaffa derived from first-hand knowledge. We may also assume that some details in the description of Phoenicia were taken from the description of Judaea as we will see below.

THE DESCRIPTION OF JUDAEA

In contrast to Phoenicia, the description of Judaea clearly reflects Strabo's period or several decades before him at the most. Strabo knows Sebastea under its name given by Herod (unlike Caesarea, which he does not mention by that name, 16.2.34). He mentions Alexander Janneus.¹¹ Masada is described as an important fortress (16.2.44) and we know that it flourished only at the time of Herod.¹² Similarly, there is mention of Pompey and his arrangements in Judaea in 63 BCE (16.2.40; 16.2.46) and of the division of Herod's kingdom in 4 BCE (16.2.46). The latest event he mentions is the exile of Archelaus in 6 CE. I assume that the description of Jewish Jaffa, the Carmel forest and the army that set out from Iamnia, filtered into the description of Phoenicia from the description of Judaea, which reflects Strabo's days.

There are some errors in the description of Judaea as well. Strabo confuses Lake Kinneret (Lake of Gennesar) near Gadaris (Gadara) with the Dead Sea (16.2.45). The information about the persimmon belongs to the Dead Sea and not to the Lake of Gennesar. The claim that Philadelphia belongs to Judaea is also incorrect since it was never captured by the Hasmonaean (16.2.40). Strabo's wording is somewhat hazy. He speaks

¹¹ He includes a survey of Jewish history until the time of Janneus.

¹² For recent studies, see Netzer *et al.* (1991).

of Jewish fortresses near Philadelphia, perhaps referring to border fortresses opposite Philadelphia, whereas Philadelphia itself is not in Judaea. In the same sentence he speaks of Jewish fortresses near Scythopolis. Scythopolis was captured by the Jews but in Pompey's arrangement (63 BCE) was included in Syria. This sentence, therefore, may reflect recent history before Pompey, and not the situation in his time.

Another inaccuracy is found in the description of Lake Sirbonis as part of Judaea. Strabo describes Judaea from Gaza to the mountain opposite Lebanon (16.2.21). This description not only contradicts earlier details we have mentioned but is also not correct for any period at all, because when Gaza was part of Judaea, Raphia, to the south of it, was also part of Judaea. However, Raphia and Rhinocorora were small towns and the error is not significant. Philadelphia is described as one of the cities of Judaea, and more precisely as a type of regional capital in Judaea. Philadelphia was never captured by Judaea but lay close to its borders. This, then, is another error stemming from an insufficient familiarity with the region.

The suggested chronological disparity also explains Strabo's description of the nation (*ethnos*) of the Idumaeans. In the description of Judaea, the Idumaeans appear as a nation which joined the Jews (16.2.34). The reference is to the conquest of the region and the conversion of the Idumaeans. Josephus, however, implies that this was a forced conversion and many scholars discussed this contradiction.¹³ During the writer's time, or a short time before that, the violence or secret pressure applied by the Hasmonaeans was almost forgotten. The union had already become a permanent fact and, from the perspective of the later period, they seemed to have assimilated successfully. After all, Herod, the king of Judaea in Strabo's time, was Idumaeans. The Idumaeans as an ethnic entity still appear at the end of the Second Temple period (68 CE) as a close-knit group, Jewish in identity and behaviour, but also possessing a unique collective character. On the other hand, in the description of Phoenicia, the Idumaeans appear as one of the four nations in the region: Jews, Idumaeans, Gazans and Ashdodites (16.2.2).¹⁴ This identification of the Idumaeans is true for the period before the Hasmonaeans conquest. In addition, after the Macedonian conquest the coastal cities lost much of their local character and they all became Hellenistic poleis. Therefore, during this period it is strange to speak of nations of Gazans and the

¹³ Joseph. *AJ* 13.257. For modern research see for example Bar-Kochva (1977).

¹⁴ The book of Nehemiah mentions an Ashdodite language or dialect (Nehemiah 13:24); the definition of the residents of Gaza as a nation is not found elsewhere.

Ashdodites. Such terminology is more appropriate to an earlier period, probably at the beginning of the Macedonian conquest at the latest.

THE DESCRIPTION OF NABATAEA

The region of Nabataea is described twice, once in the description of Arabia Felix (16.4.21–4).¹⁵ Strabo describes in the first part mainly the brief previous history of the Nabataeans. He mentions king Obodas, king Aretas and his minister Syllaueus; Petra as their capital; various stories about Roman attempts to conquer their land. This region is directly connected to Judaea, since Strabo mentions a road from Nabataea to Jericho in Judaea (16.4.21).

The second part describes the land of Nabataea (16.4.26). The Nabataeans are defined as civilised people, as opposed to the Ituraeans, who are described as robbers (16.2.18)¹⁶ and as people who do not belong to a cultured society. Strabo speaks of a popular kingdom and of an inhabited land, but without any geographical details. Even Petra, the Nabataean capital, is not mentioned in this section.

Thus, it seems that there are two different descriptions of Nabataea as well. The first, historical and longer, reflects the situation at the time of Strabo. The information there relates to recent past, and derives more or less from the viewpoint of present situation. The second description is more remote both in time and in space: it comes from a source not very familiar with the region and its information is more legendary and general. Apparently it is also earlier, probably from a time before the Nabataean kingdom had taken shape, before its kings captured large parts of Transjordan and taken control of the entire eastern part of Transjordan up to the gates of Damascus.

The Nabataean kingdom strengthened from 112 BCE, taking advantage of the vacuum created after the collapse of the Seleucid monarchy.¹⁷ The description of the land of the Nabataeans therefore dates at least to the beginning of this period and perhaps earlier. On the other hand, the description of Coele Syria generally reflects the time of Strabo or about a generation earlier. He speaks of the annexation of Commagene by Pompey (63 BCE) as though it happened 'now' (16.2.3), although here too one can

¹⁵ For Nabataea and its description, see Negev (1977) 530; Bowersock (1983) 53–6.

¹⁶ Strabo (16.2.20) mentions their king, Zenondorus, active at the end of the first century BCE.

¹⁷ This date is based on the date of the Hasmonaean conquest of Marisa and Samaria which took place in that year. See Safrai (2000) 66–72.

detect an early layer. So, for example, Strabo defines Mesopotamia as a satrapy (16.2.4), a Persian term used during the Seleucid reign at the latest. In this case he mentions Posidonius as his source, but that does not solve the problem, since Posidonius himself may have used an earlier source.

In conclusion, in Strabo's description of these regions there are three literary layers: one early, from the beginning of the Hellenistic period; the second, contemporaneous with Strabo (it is difficult to assume that Strabo was personally acquainted with the remote regions of inland Palestine and Nabataea); the third, based on Strabo's first-hand knowledge. All three had to be combined because Strabo's knowledge of the true conditions in this region was tenuous.

Bibliography

- Aharoni, Y. and Avi-Yona, M. (1993) *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*. Revised by A. Rainey and Z. Safrai. Jerusalem.
- Ahlheid, F. (1988) 'Oratorical strategy in Sallust's *Letter of Mithridates* reconsidered', *Mnemosyne* 41: 67–92.
- Akurgal, E. A. (1961) *Die Kunst Anatoliens*. Berlin.
- Albertini, E. (1923) *Les Divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine*. Paris.
- Alcock, S. E. (1993) *Graecia Capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece*. Cambridge.
- Alcock, S. E. et al. (eds.) (2001) *Pausanias. Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*. Oxford.
- Alföldy, G. (1974) *Noricum*. London and Boston.
- Almagor, E. (2000) 'Strabo's *barbarophonoi*: a note', *SCI* 19: 133–8.
- Aly, W. (1921) *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen*. Göttingen.
- (1957) *Strabon von Amaseia, Untersuchungen über Text, Aufbau und Quellen der Geographica*. Bonn.
- (1964) 'Der Geograph Strabon als Philosoph', in *Miscellanea Critica* vol. 1, eds. J. Irmscher, B. Doer, U. Peters and R. Miller. Leipzig: 9–19.
- Ambaglio, D. (1990) 'Gli Historikà Hypomnemata di Strabo', *MLL* 39.5: 377–425.
- Ambrosoli, F. (ed.) (1827) *Della Geografia di Strabone Libri XVII* vol. 1. Milan.
- Anderson, G. (1993) *The Second Sophistic*. London.
- (1997) 'Athenaeus: the sophistic environment', *ANRW* II.34.3: 2173–85.
- Anderson, J. G. C. (1903) *Studia Pontica I. A Journey of Exploration in Pontus*. Brussels.
- (1923) 'Some questions bearing on the date and place of composition of Strabo's *Geography*', in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir W.M. Ramsay*, eds. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder. Manchester: 1–13.
- Arafat, K. W. (1996) *Pausanias' Greece. Ancient Artists and Roman Rulers*. Cambridge.
- Ardener, S. (1993) 'Ground rules and social maps for women: an introduction', in *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, ed. S. Ardener. Providence, RI and Oxford: 1–30.
- Asheri, D. (1983) *Tra Ellenismo ed Iranismo*. Bologna.
- Asmis, E. (1991) 'Philodemus's poetic theory and "On the Good King According to Homer"', *CLAnt* 1: 1–45.

- Auerbach, B. (1887) *Quid sibi voluerit Strabo Rerum Geographicarum libros componendo*. Nancy.
- Aujac, G. (1966) *Strabon et la science de son temps*. Paris.
 (1969a) 'Sur une définition d' ἄρετή', *REG* 72: 390–403.
 (1969b) *Strabon. Géographie* vol. 1, part 1 (book 1). Paris.
 (1972) 'Les traites "Sur l'océan" et les zones terrestres', *REA* 74: 74–85.
 (1983) 'Strabon et le Stoïcisme', *Diotima* 11: 17–29.
- Avi-Yona, M. (1966) *The Holy Land*. Jerusalem.
- Badian, E. (1958) 'Alexander the Great and the unity of mankind', *Historia* 7: 432–44.
 (ed.) (1979) *Roman Papers* vol. 11. Oxford.
- Baladié, R. (1978) *Strabon. Géographie* vol. v (book 8). Paris.
 (1980) *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon. Étude de géographie historique*. Paris.
- Baldry, H. C. (1965) *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought*. Cambridge.
- Ball, J. (1942) *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*. Cairo.
- Ballesteros Pastor, L. (1996) *Mitridates Eupátor, rey del Ponto*. Grenada.
- Balsan, J. P. V. D. (1979) *Romans and Aliens*. London.
- Bar-Kochva, B. (1977) 'Manpower, economics, and internal strife in the Hasmonean state', in *Armées et Fiscalité dans le monde antique*, ed. H. van Effentère. Paris: 167–95.
 (1997) 'Mosaic Judaism and Judaism of the Second Temple period – the Jewish ethnography of Strabo', *Tarbiz* 66: 297–336 (Hebrew).
- Barrett, A. A. (1978) 'Polemo II and M. Antonius Polemo', *Historia* 27: 437–48.
- Bean, G. E. (1953) 'Inscriptions from Pontus', *Bellesten* 17: 167–78.
 (1979) *Turkey's Southern Shore*, 2nd edn. London.
- Beard, M. and Henderson, J. (1998) 'With this body I thee worship: sacred prostitution in antiquity', in *Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. M. Wyke. Oxford: 56–79.
- Behrwald, R. (2001) 'Review of D. Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia. A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome*. London and New York, 2000', *BMCR* 2001.05.11.
- Bengtson, H. (1944) *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*. Jena.
- Berger, H. (1880) *Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes*. Leipzig.
- Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) *Ptolemy's Geography. An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*. Princeton.
- Bernard, P. (1997) 'Les origines thessaliennes de l'Arménie vues par deux historiens thessaliens de la génération d'Alexandre', *Topoi*, Suppl. 1: 131–216.
- Bickerman, E. J. (1980) *Chronology of the Ancient World*. London.
- Bidder, H. (1889) *De Strabonis Studiis Homericis Capita Selecta*. Berlin.
- Biffi, N. (1988) *L'Italia di Strabone. Testo, traduzione e commento dei libri V e VI della Geografia*. Bari.
 (1997) 'Le storie diverse della cortigiana Rhodopis', *GIF* 49: 51–60.
- Biraschi, A. M. (1984) 'Strabone e la difesa di Omero nei Prolegomena', in Prontera (ed.) (1984a) 127–53.
 (ed.) (1994a) *Strabone e la Grecia*. Naples.
 (1994b) 'Strabone e Omero. Aspetti e problemi della tradizione omerica nel Peloponneso di Strabone', in Biraschi (ed.) (1994a) 23–57.

- (2000) 'Omero e aspetti della tradizione omerica nei libri straboniani sull' Asia Minore', in Biraschi and Salmeri (eds.) (2000) 45–72.
- Biraschi, A. M. and Salmeri, G. (eds.) (2000) *Strabone e l'Asia Minore*. Incontri Perugini 10. Naples.
- Blake, M. E. (1959) *Roman Construction in Italy, from Tiberius through the Flavians*. Washington.
- Boffo, L. (1985) *I re ellenistici e i centri religiosi dell'Asia Minore*. Florence.
- (2000) 'Il lessico dell'insediamento', in Biraschi and Salmeri (eds.) (2000) 113–42.
- Bosi, F. (1986) 'La storia del Bosforo Cimmerico nell'opera di Strabone', in Maddoli (ed.) (1986) 173–88.
- Bosworth, A. B. and Wheatley, P. V. (1998) 'The origins of the Pontic house', *JHS* 118: 155–64.
- Bowersock, G. W. (1961) 'Eurycles of Sparta', *JRS* 51: 112–18.
- (1965) *Augustus and the Greek World*. Oxford.
- (1969) *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*. Oxford.
- (1983) *Roman Arabia*. London.
- (1992) 'Les Grecs "barbarisés"', *Ktéma* 17: 249–57.
- (2000) 'La patria di Strabone', in Biraschi and Salmeri (eds.) (2000) 13–24.
- Bowie, E. L. (1974) 'Greeks and their past in the Second Sophistic', in *Studies in Ancient Society*, ed. M. I. Finley. London and Boston: 166–209. Earlier version: (1970) *P&P* 46: 3–41.
- (1996) 'Past and present in Pausanias', in Musti and Bingen (eds.) (1996) 209–30.
- (2001) 'Inspiration and aspiration. Date, genre and readership', in Alcock *et al.* (eds.) (2001) 21–32.
- Braund, D. (1996a) *Ruling Roman Britain*. London.
- (1996b) 'Syme's Strabo', *Hermathena* 160: 73–83.
- (forthcoming) 'Polemo, Pythodoris and Strabo: friends of Rome in the Black Sea region', in *Roms auswärtige Freunde*, eds. A. Coskun and H. Heinen. Göttingen.
- Briant, P. (1996) *Histoire de l'empire perse*. Paris.
- Brodersen, K. (1996) *Die sieben Weltwunder. Legendäre Kunst- und Bauwerke der Antike*. Munich.
- Brunt, P. A. (1990) 'Laus imperii', in *Roman Imperial Themes*. Oxford: 288–323.
- Buffière, F. (1956) *Les Mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque*. Paris.
- Bunbury, E. H. (1883) *A History of Ancient Geography* vol. II. Reprinted 1959. New York.
- Burton, A. (1972) *Diodorus Siculus. Book I. A Commentary*. Leiden.
- Bussi, S. (2001) *Economia e demografia della schiavitù in Asia Minore ellenistico-romana*. Milan.
- Calame, C. (1996) *Mythe et histoire dans l'antiquité grecque*. Paris.
- Camassa, G. (1984) "'Dov'è la fonte dell'argento". Strabone, Alybe e i Chalybes', in Prontera (ed.) (1984a) 155–86.
- (1988) 'La codificazione delle leggi e le istituzioni politiche delle città greche della Calabria in età arcaica e classica', in *Storia della Calabria* vol. 1: *La Calabria antica*, ed. S. Settis. Rome: 613–56.

- Campanile, M. D. (1994) *I Sacerdoti del koinon d'Asia* (I sec. a. C.–III sec. d. C.). Pisa.
- Campbell, D. A. (1982) *Greek Lyric Poetry*. Bristol.
- Canfora, L. (1990) *The Vanished Library* (translated by Martin Ryle). Berkeley.
- Capelle, W. (1953) 'Zwei Quellen des Heliodor', *RhM* 96: 166–80.
- Cassia, M. (2000) 'La famiglia di Strabone tra fedeltà mitridatica e tendenze filoromane', *Mediterraneo Antico. Economia, Società, Cultura* 3.1: 211–33.
- Childs, W. J. (1917) *Across Asia Minor on Foot*. Edinburgh and London.
- Clarke, K. (1997) 'In search of the author of Strabo's *Geography*', *JRS* 87: 92–110.
- (1999a) *Between Geography and History. Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World*. Oxford.
- (1999b) 'Universal perspectives in historiography', in *The Limits of Historiography. Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts*, ed. C. Shuttleworth Kraus. Leiden: 249–79.
- Coche-Zivie, C. (1972) 'Nitocris, Rhodopis et la troisième pyramide de Giza', *BIAO* 72: 115–38.
- Cohen, G. M. (1995) *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*. Berkeley.
- Cole, T. (1967) *Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology*. Ann Arbor.
- Coleman, J. E. (1997) 'Ancient Greek ethnocentrism', in *Greeks and Barbarians*, eds. J. E. Coleman and C. A. Walz. Bethesda: 175–220.
- Coray, A. (1827) 'Prolegomeni di Adamanzio Coray alla Geografia di Strabone', in Ambrosoli (ed.) (1827) 35–7.
- Crawford, M. H. (1978) 'Greek intellectuals and the Roman aristocracy in the first century B.C.', in *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, eds. P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker. Cambridge: 193–207.
- Crossett, J. M. and Arieti, J. A. (1975) *The Dating of Longinus*. Studia Classica 3. Pennsylvania.
- Cumont, F. and Cumont, E. (1906) *Studia Pontica II. Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la petite Arménie*. Brussels.
- Daebritz, E. (1905) *De Artemidoro Strabonis auctore capita tria*. Leipzig.
- Daub, A. (1882) *Studien zu den Biographika des Suidas. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur griechischen Literaturgeschichte*. Freiburg and Tübingen. Reprinted Hildesheim, 1972.
- Dauge, Y. A. (1981) *Le Barbare: recherches sur la conception romaine de la barbarie et de la civilisation*. Brussels.
- De Lacy, P. (1948) 'Stoic views on poetry', *AJPh* 69, 3: 241–71.
- De Lacy, P. H. and De Lacy, E. H. (1978) *Philodemos 'On Methods of Inference'*. Naples.
- Debord, P. (1982) *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'Anatolie romaine*. Leiden.
- (1999) *L'Asie Mineure au IV^e siècle (412–323 a. C.). Pouvoirs et jeux politiques*. Bordeaux.
- Desideri, P. (1999) 'Strabone e la verità storica in Omero', in *Storiografia e poesia nella cultura medievale*. Rome: 127–36.
- (2000) 'Strabone e la cultura asiatica', in Biraschi and Salmeri (eds.) (2000) 26–44.

- Dewald, C. (1981) 'Women and culture in Herodotus' *Histories*', in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, ed. H. P. Foley. New York, London and Paris: 91–125.
- Dicks, D. R. (1960) *Geographical Fragments of Hipparchus*. London.
- (1970) *Early Greek Astronomy to Aristotle*. London.
- Dihle, A. (1962) 'Der fruchtbare Osten', *RhM* 105: 97–110.
- (1970) *Studien zur griechischen Biographie*, 2nd edn. Göttingen.
- Diller, A. (1975) *The Textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography*. Amsterdam.
- Dillery, J. (1998) 'Hecataeus of Abdera: Hyperboreans, Egypt, and the *Interpretatio Graeca*', *Historia* 47: 255–75.
- Dindorf, W. (1855) *Scholias Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*. Oxford.
- Dodwell, E. (1819) *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the years 1801, 1805, 1806*. London.
- Domosh, M. and Seager, J. (eds.) (2001) *Putting Women in Place: Feminist Geographers Make Sense of the World*. New York.
- Dorandi, T. (1990) 'Filodemo: gli orientamenti della ricerca attuale', *ANRW* II.36.4: 2328–68.
- Dubois, M. (1891) *Examen de la géographie du Strabon. Étude critique de la méthode et des sources*. Paris.
- duBois, P. (1982) *Centaur and Amazons: Women and the Pre-History of the Great Chain of Being*. Ann Arbor.
- Dubuisson, M. (1984) 'Le latin est-il une langue barbare?', *Ktéma* 9: 55–68.
- Dueck, D. (1999) 'The date and method of composition of Strabo's *Geography*', *Hermes* 127: 467–78.
- (2000a) *Strabo of Amasia. A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome*. London and New York.
- (2000b) 'Historical *exempla* in Augustan Rome and their role in a geographical context', in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History X, Collection Latomus*, ed. C. Deroux. Brussels 176–96.
- (2004) 'Bird's milk in Samos: Strabo's use of geographical proverbs and proverbial expressions', *SCI* 23: 41–56.
- Duncan, N. (ed.) (1996) *Bodyspace. Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*. London and New York.
- Edelstein, L. and Kidd, I. G. (1972) *Posidonius. The Fragments*. Cambridge.
- (1989) *Posidonius. The Fragments*, 2nd edn. Cambridge.
- Ehlers, W. W. (ed.) (1998) *La Biographie antique*. Entretiens Fondation Hardt 44. Geneva.
- Elgavish, J. (1994) *Shikmona on the Seacoast of Mount Carmel*. Tel Aviv.
- Elsner, J. (1992) 'Pausanias: a Greek pilgrim in the Roman world', *P&P* 135: 5–29.
- (2001) 'Structuring "Greece": Pausanias's *Periegesis* as a literary construct', in Alcock *et al.* (eds.) (2001) 3–20.
- Engels, J. (1999a) *Augusteische Oikumenengeographie und Universalhistorie im Werk Strabons von Amaseia*. *Geographica Historica* 12. Stuttgart.
- (1999b) 'Die Geschichte des Alexanderzuges und das Bild Alexanders des Großen in Strabons Geographika. Zur Interpretation der augusteischen Kulturgeographie Strabons als Quelle seiner historischen Auffassungen', in

- Alexander der Große. *Eine Welteroberung und ihr Hintergrund*, ed. W. Will. Bonn: 131–171.
- (2003) 'Antike Überlieferungen über die Schüler des Isokrates', in *Isokrates. Neue Ansätze zur Bewertung eines politischen Schriftstellers des 4. Jhdts. v. Chr.*, ed. W. Orth, Trier: 175–94.
- Equini-Schneider, E. (1997) 'Varia Cappadocica', *ArchClass* 49: 101–11.
- Erskine, A. (2001) *Troy between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power*. Oxford.
- Evans, R. (1999) 'Ethnography's freak show: the grotesques at the edges of the Roman earth', *Ramus* 28.1: 54–73.
- Fantham, E. et al. (1994) *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*. New York and Oxford.
- Fear, A. T. (1996) *Rome and Baetica*. Oxford.
- Fehling, D. (1989) *Herodotus and his 'Sources': Citation, Invention and Narrative Art*. Leeds.
- Ferguson, N. (2004) *Colossus. The Price of America's Empire*. New York.
- Finkelberg, M. (1998) 'The geography of the Prometheus Vinculus', *RhM* 141.2: 119–41.
- Firpo, G. (1982) 'La città di Zela nel contesto dell'organizzazione del Ponto di parte di Pompeo, a proposito di Strabone, 12,3,37', *ASNP* 12: 1271–81.
- Floratos, C. S. (1972) *Strabo über Literatur und Poseidonios*. Athens.
- Fornara, C. W. (1994) *Jacoby. FGrHist. Commentary on nos 608a–608*. Brill.
- Franco, C. (2000) 'La Troade di Strabone', in Biraschi and Salmeri (eds.) (2000) 261–82.
- Frank, L. (1966) 'Sources classiques concernant la Cappadoce', *RHA* 24: 91–4.
- Fraser, P. M. (1971) *Eratosthenes of Cyrene*. London.
- (1972) *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. Oxford.
- Frei-Stolba, R. (1976) 'Die römische Schweiz: Ausgewählte staats- und verwaltungsrechtliche Probleme im Frühprinzipat', *ANRW* 11.5.1: 288–403.
- French, D. (1986) 'Cappadocia and the eastern limes: aspects of Romanisation at Amaseia in Cappadocia', in *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, eds. P. Freeman and D. Kennedy. Oxford: 277–85.
- French, R. (1994) *Ancient Natural History*. London.
- Funck, B. (1981) 'Studie zur Bezeichnung βάρβαρος', in *Soziale Typenbegriffe im alten Griechenland und ihr Fortleben in den Sprachen der Welt* vol. IV, ed. E. Ch. Welskopf. Berlin: 26–51.
- (1985) 'Das Bosporianische Reich aus der Sicht Strabons', *Klio* 67: 273–80.
- Gabba, E. (1963) 'Il latino come dialetto greco', in *Miscellanea di Studi Alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni*. Turin: 188–94.
- (1991) *Dionysius and the History of Archaic Rome*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Gardiner, A. (1988) *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd edn. Oxford.
- Gauthier, P. (1984) *Les Cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (IV^eme – Ier siècle avant J.-C.). Contribution à l'histoire des institutions*. Paris.
- Gell, W. (1817) *The Itinerary of Greece with a Commentary on Pausanias and Strabo and an Account of the Monuments of Antiquity at Present Existing in that Country, Compiled in the Years 1801, 1802, 1805 and 1806*. London.

- Gibbon, E. (1896) *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury. London. (First edition, 1776).
- Gnoli, T. (2000) 'Il Ponto e la Bitinia', in Biraschi and Salmeri (eds.) (2000) 543–64.
- Goldhill, S. (ed.) (2001) *Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*. Cambridge.
- Gorman, R. (2001) 'Οἱ περὶ τινῶν in Strabo', *ZPE* 136: 201–13.
- Gottschalk, H. B. (1987) 'Aristotelian philosophy in the Roman world from the time of Cicero to the end of the second century AD', *ANRW* II.36.2: 1079–1174.
- Gow, A. S. F. and Page, D. L. (1965) *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams* (2 vols.). Cambridge.
- Gratsianskaya, L. I. (1988) 'Geografiya Strabona' ('Strabo's *Geography*'), *Drevneyshiy gosudarstva na territorii SSSR 1986*, 6–175.
- Gurlitt, W. (1890) *Über Pausanias*. Graz.
- Haarhoff, T. J. (1948) *The Stranger at the Gate*. Oxford.
- Habicht, C. (1985) *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London.
- Hall, E. (1989) *Inventing the Barbarian*. Oxford.
- Hall, H. R. (1904) 'Nitokris-Rhodopis', *JHS* 24: 208–13.
- Halliwell, S. (2000) 'The subjection of *muthos* to *logos*: Plato's citations of the poets', *CQ* 50: 94–112.
- Hamer, M. (1993) *Signs of Cleopatra: History, Politics, Representation*. London and New York.
- Hanson, S. (1997) 'As the world turns: new horizons in feminist geographic methodologies', in J. P. Jones III *et al.* (eds.) (1997) 119–28.
- Harley, J. B. (1988) 'Maps, knowledge and power', in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, eds. D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels. Cambridge: 277–312.
- Hartog, F. (1988) *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London.
- Head, B. (1911) *Historia Numorum; A Manual of Greek Numismatics*. London.
- Heath, T. (1981) *A History of Greek Mathematics* vol. II. Reprint of 1921 edition. New York.
- Heeren, A. H. (1827) 'Dei fonti dei libri geografici di Strabone. Dissertazioni due', in Ambrosoli (ed.) (1827) 104–5.
- Heineman, I. (1919) 'Poseidonius über die Entwicklung der Jüdischen Religion', *MGWJ* 63: 113–21.
- Henderson, J. (2001) 'From Megalopolis to Cosmopolis: Polybius, or there and back again', in Goldhill (ed.) (2001) 29–49.
- Henderson, M. I. (1942) 'Julius Caesar and Latium in Spain', *JRS* 32: 1–13.
- Henry, M. M. (1992) 'The edible woman: Athenaeus' concept of the pornographic', in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. A. Richlin. Oxford: 250–68.
- Hillscher, A. (1892) 'Hominum litteratorum Graecorum ante Tiberii mortem in urbe Roma commoratorum historia critica', *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, ed. A. Fleckeisen Supplementbd. 18. Leipzig: 353–444.

- Hornblower, S. (1996) *A Commentary on Thucydides* vol. II. Oxford.
- Howell, P. (1968) 'The Colossus of Nero', *Athenaeum* 46: 292–9.
- Huby, P. M. (1981) 'An excerpt from Boethus of Sidon's commentary on the *Categories*', *CQ* 31: 398–409.
- Hutton, W. (2005) *Describing Greece. Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias*. Cambridge.
- Ivanchik, A. I. (1999) 'Mlekoyedy i Abii Iliady. Gomerovskiy passazh v antichnoy literaturye i problemy vozniknoveniya idealizatsii skifov' ('The Milk-eaters and Abioi of the *Iliad*. A Homeric passage in classical literature and problems of the origin of the idealization of the Scythians'), in *Severnoye Prichernomor'ye v antichnosti: voprosy istochnikovedeniya (The North Coast of the Black Sea in Classical Antiquity: Issues in Source-Criticism)*, ed. A. V. Podosinov. Moscow: 7–45.
- Jacob, C. (1986) 'Cartographie et rectification', in Maddoli (ed.) (1986) 27–64. (1991) *Géographie et ethnographie en Grèce ancienne*. Paris.
- Janni, P. (1984) *La mappa e il periplo*. Rome.
- Jeffery, L. H. (1974) *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*. Oxford.
- de Jerphanion, G. (1928) *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne* Beirut.
- Johnson, D. L. (1997) *Claudius Aelianus' Varia Historia and the Tradition of the Miscellany* (diss.). University of British Columbia.
- Jones, A. H. M. (1971) *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd edn Oxford.
- Jones, C. P. (2001) 'Pausanias and his guides', in Alcock *et al.* (eds.) (2001) 33–9.
- Jones, H. L. (1923) *The Geography of Strabo* vol. II. Cambridge, Mass. and London.
- Jones, J. P. III. H. J. Nast and S. M. Roberts (eds.) (1997) *Thresholds in Feminist Geography: Difference, Methodology, Representation*. Lanham Maryland.
- Joshel, S. (1997) 'Female desire and the discourse of empire: Tacitus' Messalina', in *Roman Sexualities*, eds. J. P. Hallett and M. B. Skinner. Princeton: 221–54.
- Jüthner, J. (1923) *Hellenen und Barbaren*. Leipzig.
- Kahles, W. R. (1976) *Strabo and Homer: The Homeric Citations in the Geography of Strabo*. Chicago.
- Kahlo, G. (1960) 'Antike Märchen', *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 34: 171–2.
- Kahrstedt, U. (1954) *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit*. Bern.
- Kalkmann, A. (1886) *Pausanias der Perieget: Untersuchungen über seine Schriftstellerei und seine Quellen*. Berlin.
- Kaplan, M. (1990) *Greeks and the Imperial Court from Tiberius to Nero*. New York.
- Karmon, N. and Spanier, E. (1987) 'Archaeological evidence of the purple dye industry from Israel', in *The Royal Purple and the Biblical Blue*, ed. E. Spanier. Jerusalem: 141–58.
- Kasher, A. (1996) *Against Apion. A New Hebrew Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- Kaster, R. A. (1995) *C. Suetonius Tranquillus. De grammaticis et rhetoribus*. Oxford.
- Kennedy, G. A. (1972) *The Art of Rhetoric in the Ancient World*. Princeton.
- Kidd, I. G. (1988) *Posidonius. The Commentary*. Cambridge.
- Kirk, G. S. (1985) *The Iliad: A Commentary* vol. 1. Cambridge.

- Knight, M. (1998) *A Geographical, Archaeological and Scientific Commentary on Strabo's Egypt* (diss.). N. University.
- Konstan, D. (2002) 'Women, ethnicity and power in the Roman empire', *Ordis Prima* 1: 11–23.
- Kurke, L. (1997) 'Inventing the hetaira: sex, politics, and discursive conflict in Archaic Greece', *CLAnt* 16: 106–50.
- Lang, D. M. (1983) 'Iran, Armenia and Georgia', in *CHI* III.1: 505–36.
- Lapidge, M. (1989) 'Stoic cosmology and Roman literature, first to third centuries AD', *ANRW* II.36.3: 1379–1429.
- Larsen, J. A. O. (1938) 'Roman Greece', in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* vol. IV, ed. T. Frank. Baltimore: 259–498.
- Lasserre, F. (1966) *Strabon. Géographie* vol. II (books 3–4). Paris.
(1967) *Strabon. Géographie* vol. III (books 5–6). Paris.
(1981) *Strabon. Géographie* vol. IX (book 12). Paris.
(1982) 'Strabon devant l'empire romain', *ANRW* II.30.1: 867–96.
- Leaf, W. (1916) 'The commerce of Sinope', *JHS* 36: 1–15.
- Leake, W. M. (1830) *Travels in the Morea*. London.
- Lefkowitz, M. R. (1981) *The Lives of the Greek Poets*. Baltimore, Maryland.
- Lehmann, Y. (1988) 'Varron et le grammairien Tyrannion: l'apport doctrinal d'aristotélisme', *Ktéma* 13: 179–86.
- Lehrs, K. (1882) *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*. Leipzig.
- Lentakes, A. (1997) *Ho erōtas stēn archaia Hellada* vol. III. Athens.
- Leo, F. (1891) *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer litterarischen Form*. Leipzig. Reprinted Hildesheim 1965.
- Lesky, A. (1971) *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, 3rd edn. Bern.
- Levick, B. M. (1996), 'Greece (including Crete and Cyprus) and Asia Minor from 43 B.C. to A.D. 69', in *CAH* X, 2nd edn.: 641–75.
- Lindsay, H. (1992) 'Augustus and Eurycles', *RhM* 135: 290–7.
(1997a) 'Strabo on Apellicon's library', *RhM* 140: 290–8.
(1997b) 'Syme's Anatolica and the date of Strabo's *Geography*', *Klio* 79.2: 484–507.
- Lloyd, A. B. (1975) *Herodotus. Book II* vol. I. Leiden.
(1993) *Herodotus. Book II* vol. III. Leiden.
- Lolling, H. G. (1989) *Reisenotizen aus Griechenland 1876–77*, eds. B. Heinrich and H. Kalcyk. Berlin.
- Long, T. (1986) *Barbarians in Greek Comedy*. Carbondale and Edwardsville, Illinois.
- Lordkipanidze, O. (1996) *Das alte Georgien (Kolchis und Iberien) in Strabons Geographie: neue Scholien*. Amsterdam.
- Lovejoy, A. O. and Boas, G. (1935) *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*. Baltimore and London.
- Ludlam, I. (1997) 'The god of Moses according to Strabo', *Tarbiz* 66: 337–50 (Hebrew).
- Mackie, N. (1983) *Local Administration in Roman Spain A.D. 14–212*. Oxford.
- Macurdy, G. H. (1937) *Vassal-Queens and Some Contemporary Women in the Roman Empire*. Baltimore.

- Maddoli, G. (ed.) (1986) *Strabone. Contributi allo studio della personalità e dell'opera* vol. II. Perugia.
- (ed.) (1988a) *Strabone e l'Italia antica*. Naples.
- (1988b) 'Strabone e l'Italia antica. Dalla genesi della *Geografia* alla problematica dei libri V e VI', in Maddoli (ed.) (1988a) 11–22.
- Magie, D. (1950) *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*. Princeton.
- Malkin, I. (1985) 'What's in a name? The eponymous founders of Greek colonies', *Athenaeum* 63: 114–30.
- (1987) *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. Leiden.
- (1991) 'What is an Aphidryma?', *ClAnt* 10: 77–96.
- (1994) *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*. Cambridge.
- (1998) *The Returns of Odysseus. Colonization and Ethnicity*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Mangoni, C. (1993) *Filodemo. Il quinto libro della Poetica*. Naples.
- Marcaccini, C. (2000) 'Strabone e l'etnografia ellenistica', in Biraschi and Salmeri (eds.) (2000) 589–619.
- Marek, C. (1993) *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynien und Nord-Galatia*. Tübingen.
- Marincola, J. (1997) *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*. Cambridge.
- Marrou, H. I. (1956) *A History of Education in Antiquity*. London.
- Martin, R. P. (1996) 'The Scythian accent: Anacharsis and the Cynics', in *The Cynics: the Cynic Movement in Antiquity and its Legacy*, eds. R. B. Branham and M. O. Goulet-Caze. Berkeley: 136–55.
- Maryon, H. (1956) 'The Colossus of Rhodes', *JHS* 76: 68–86.
- Mastrocinque, A. (1999) *Studi sulle guerre Mitridatiche*. Stuttgart.
- McDowell, L. (1999) *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies*. Minneapolis.
- McDowell, L. and Sharp, J. P. (eds.) (1997) *Space, Gender, Knowledge: Feminist Readings*. London and New York.
- McGing, B. C. (1986) *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus*. Leiden.
- Millar, F. (1996) 'Emperors, kings and subjects: the politics of two-level sovereignty', *SCI* 15: 159–73.
- Mitchell, S. (1993) *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* vol. I. Oxford.
- Moggi, M. (1996) 'L'exkursus di Pausania sulla Ionia', in Musti and Bingen (eds.) (1996) 9–44.
- Molev, E. A. (1995) 'Aspurgianye u Strabona' ('The Aspurgianoï in Strabo'), *Drevnosti. Khar'kovskiy istoriko-arkheologicheskij yezhegodnik* 60–3.
- Momigliano, A. (1993) *The Development of Greek Biography*. 2nd edn. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Montserrat, D. (1996) *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. London.
- Morgan, T. (1998) *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*. Cambridge.
- Morr, J. (1926) 'Die Landeskunde von Palästina bei Strabon und Josephus', *Philologus* 81: 256–79.

- (1928) 'Poseidonios, eine Quelle Strabons im XVII. Buche', *Philologus Supplementband* 37: 306–15.
- Mudimbe, V. Y. (1994) *The Idea of Africa*. Bloomington, Indianapolis and London.
- Mühl, M. (1929) 'Die Gesetze des Zaleukos und Charondas', *Klio* 22: 423–63.
- Müller, K. E. (1972–80) *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung*. Wiesbaden.
- Munro, J. (1901) 'Roads in Pontus, Royal and Roman', *JHS* 21: 52–66.
- Munson, R. V. (1988) 'Artemisia in Herodotus', *CLAnt* 7: 91–106.
- Munz, R. (1921) 'Über γλωττα und διάλεκτος und über ein posidonianisches Fragment bei Strabo', *Glotta* 11: 85–94.
- Murray, O. (1970) 'Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic kingship', *JEA* 56: 141–71.
- Musti, D. (1994) *Strabone e la Magna Graecia*. Padova.
- Musti, D. and Bingen, J. (eds.) (1996) *Pausanias Historien*. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 41. Geneva.
- Negev, A. (1977) 'The Nabateans and the Provincia Arabia', *ANRW* 11.8: 520–686.
- Netzer, E. et al. (1991) *Masada III*. Jerusalem.
- Nicolai, R. and Traina, G. (2000) *Strabone, Geografia, Il Caucaso e l'Asia Minore, libri XI–XII*. Milan.
- Nicolet, C. (1988) *L'Inventaire du monde. Géographie et politique aux origines de l'empire romain*. Paris.
- (1991) *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*. Ann Arbor.
- Niese, B. (1878) 'Beiträge zur Biographie Strabos', *Hermes* 13: 33–45.
- (1895) 'Ariarathes', in *RE* 2.1: 815–21.
- Nollé, J. and Schindler, F. (1991) *Die Inschriften von Selge. Inschr. gr. St. aus Kleinasien* vol. 37. Bonn.
- Norden, E. (1921) 'Jahave und Moses in hellenistischer Theologie', in *Festgabe von Fachgenossen und Freunden A. von Harnack zum siebzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht*. Tübingen: 276–82.
- Noy, D. (2000) *Foreigners at Rome*. London.
- Oddo, A. (1915) *Studi straboniani. La storia di Alessandro il Grande di Strabone e la fonte di Arriano e di Plutarco*. Caltanissetta.
- Ofenloch, E. (1907) *Caecilii Calactini Fragmenta*. Leipzig.
- Olshausen, E. (1974) 'Zum Hellenisierungsprozess am pontischen Königshof', *AncSoc* 5: 153–70.
- (1980) 'Pontos und Rom (64 v. Chr.–64 n. Chr.)', *ANRW* 11.7.1: 903–12.
- Olshausen, E. and Biller, J. (1984) *Historisch-geographische Aspekte der Geschichte des Pontischen und Armenischen Reiches. Teil I. Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie von Pontos unter den Mithradaten*, Beihefte zum TAVO. Reihe B. Nr. 29/1. Wiesbaden: 3–67.
- Ostenfeld, E. and Blomquist, K. (eds.) (2002) *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks. Studies in Cultural Interaction*. Aarhus.
- Otto, P. (1889) *Strabonis ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΩΝ fragmenta collegit et enarravit adiectis quaestionibus strabonianis Paulus Otto*. Leipziger Studien 11, Supplement. Leipzig.

- van Paassen, C. (1957) *The Classical Tradition of Geography*. Groningen.
- Page, D. (1955) *Sappho and Alcaeus*. Oxford.
- Pais, E. (1887) 'Straboniana', *RFIC* 15: 97–246.
- (1908) *Ancient Italy*. Chicago.
- Pani, M. (1970) 'Archelao e la fine della dinastia dei Teucridi di Olba', *Athenaeum* 48: 327–34.
- (1972) *Roma e i re d'Oriente da Augusto e Tiberio*. Bari.
- Panichi, S. (2000) 'La Cappadocia', in Biraschi and Salmeri (eds.) (2000) 509–42.
- Papazoglou, F. (1979) 'Quelques aspects de l'histoire de la province de Macédoine', *ANRW* II.7.1: 302–69.
- (1988) *Les Villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*. Paris.
- Paschoud, F., Grange, B. and Buchwalder, C. (eds.) (1998) *La Biographie grecque*. Geneva.
- Pédech, P. (1971) 'La géographie urbaine chez Strabon', *AncSoc* 2: 234–53.
- (1974) 'Strabon historien d'Alexandre', *GB* 2: 129–45.
- (1976) *L. Géographie des Grecs*. Paris.
- Pelling, C. (2001) 'Anything truth can do, we can do better: the Cleopatra legend', in *Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth*, eds. S. Walker and P. Higgs. London: 292–301.
- Perlman, S. (1964) 'Quotations from poetry in Attic orators of the fourth century BC', *AJPh* 85: 155–72.
- Perrot, G. and Guillaume, E. (1862) *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie*. Paris.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1941) 'The measurements of the Zeus at Olympia', *JHS* 61: 1–5.
- (1949–53) *Callimachus*. Reprinted 1988. Oxford.
- (1968) *History of Classical Scholarship*. Oxford.
- Pflaum, H. G. (1960) *Les Carrières procuratoriales équestres sous le haut-empire romain* vol. 1. Paris.
- Pickles, J. (1992) 'Texts, hermeneutics and propaganda maps', in *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, eds. T. J. Barnes and J. Duncan. London and New York: 193–230.
- Pignataro, C. (2000) 'Rodopi ("Cenerentola") e il faraone Psammetico: Eliano/var. hist. 13, 33', in *Eros. Antiche trame greche d'amore*, ed. A. Stramaglia. Bari: 267–70.
- Pohlenz, M. (1964) *Die Stoa* vol. 1. Göttingen.
- Pothecary, S. (1995) 'Strabo, Polybios, and the stade', *Phoenix* 49.1: 49–67.
- (1997) 'The expression "our times" in Strabo's *Geography*', *CPh* 92: 235–46.
- (1999) 'Strabo the geographer: his name and its meaning', *Mnemosyne* 52.6: 691–703.
- (2002) 'Strabo, the Tiberian author: past, present and silence in Strabo's *Geography*', *Mnemosyne* 55.4: 387–438.
- Potter, D. (1998) 'Strabo and early Roman Asia Minor', *JRA* 11: 659–64.
- Pouqueville, F. C. (1820–1) *Voyage dans la Grèce*, Paris.
- Pretzler, M. (1999) 'Myth and history at Tegea – local tradition and community identity', in *Defining Ancient Arkadia*, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6, eds. T. H. Nielsen and J. Roy. Copenhagen: 89–128.

- (2005a) 'Pausanias and oral tradition', *CQ* 55: 235–49.
- (2005b) 'Turning travel into text: Pausanias at work', *G & R* 51: 199–216.
- Price, M. and Trell, B. L. (1977) *Coins and their Cities: Architecture on the Ancient Coins of Greece, Rome, and Palestine*. London.
- Prieur, J. (1968) *La Province romaine des alpes cottiennes*. Villeurbanne.
- (1976) 'L'histoire des régions alpestres (Alpes Maritimes, Cottiennes, Graies et Pennines) sous le haut-empire romain (1er–IIIe siècle après J.C.)', *ANRW* II.5.2: 630–56.
- Prinz, F. (1979) *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie*. Zetemata 72. Munich.
- Prontera, F. (ed.) (1984a) *Strabone. Contributi allo studio della personalità e dell'opera* vol. 1. Perugia.
- (1984b) 'Prima di Strabone: materiali per uno storio della geografia antica come genere letterario', in Prontera (ed.) (1984a) 187–257.
- (2000) 'Dall'Halys al Tauro. Descrizione e rappresentazione nell'Asia Minore di Strabone', in Biraschi and Salmeri (eds.) (2000) 93–112.
- Quass, F. (1993) *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens. Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*. Stuttgart.
- Raditsa, L. (1983) 'Iranians in Asia Minor', in *CHI* III.1. Cambridge: 100–15.
- Rajak, T. (1983) *Josephus, the Historian and his Society*. London.
- Rawson, E. (1985) *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*. Baltimore.
- Regenbogen, O. (1956) 'Pausanias', *RE* Suppl. 8 (1956) 1008–97.
- Regling, K. (1932) 'Dynastennünzen von Tyana, Morima and Anisa in Kappadokien', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 42: 1–23.
- Reinhold, M. (1981–2) 'The declaration of war against Cleopatra', *CJ* 77: 97–103.
- Richardson, J. S. (1979) 'Polybius' view of the Roman empire', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 47: 1–11.
- Rihll, T. E. (1999) *Greek Science*. New Surveys in the Classics 29. Greece and Rome. Oxford.
- Robert, C. (1909) *Pausanias als Schriftsteller*. Berlin.
- Robert, L. (1940) 'La bibliothèque de Nysa de Carie', *Hellenica* 1: 144–8.
- (1963) *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*. Paris.
- Rochette, B. (1997–8) 'La langue des Cariens à propos de B 867', *Glotta* 74: 227–36.
- Roller, D. W. (2003) *The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene*. London.
- Ronconi, A. (1973) *Interpreti latini di Omero*. Turin.
- Rose, H. J. (1964) *A Handbook of Greek Mythology*. London.
- Roseman, C. H. (1994) *Pytheas of Massalia 'On the Ocean'. Text, Translation and Commentary*. Chicago.
- Russell, D. A. (1964) *Longinus. On the Sublime*. Oxford.
- (1981) *Criticism in Antiquity*. Berkeley, Los Angeles.
- Rusyayeva, A. and Rusyayeva, M. (1999) *Verkhovnaya boginya antichnoy Tavriki (The Chief Goddess of the Ancient Crimea)*. Kiev.
- Saavedra, T. (1999) 'Women as focalizers of barbarism in conquest texts', *Echos du Monde Classique* n.s. 18: 59–77.
- Sacks, K. S. (1990) *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century*. Princeton.

- Safrai, Z. (2000) 'The gentile cities of Judea: between the Hasmonaean occupation and the Roman liberation', in *Studies in Historical and Biblical Historiography, Presented to Zecharia Kallai*, eds. G. Galil and M. Weinfeld. Leiden: 63–90.
- Saliternik, D. (1934–5) 'Hellenistic sources on the Land of Israel, Strabo *Geog.* xvi', *Journal of Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 2: 227–35.
- Salmeri, G. (2000) 'Regioni, popoli e lingue epicorie d'Asia Minore nella Geografia di Strabone', in Biraschi and Salmeri (eds.) (2000) 157–88.
- Salmon, J. B. (1984) *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 BC*. Oxford.
- Salomies, O. (ed.) (2001) *The Greek East in the Roman Context. Proceedings of a Colloquium Organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, May 21–22, 1999*. Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 7. Helsinki.
- Sanchis Llopis, J. L. (1994) 'Tradición y erudición en el libro xiii de Deipnosophistae de Ateneo de Naucratis', *Minerva* 8: 163–87.
- Savalli-Lestrade, I. (1981) *Les Philoi royaux dans l'Asie hellénistique*. Geneva.
- Sbordone, F. (1981) 'La poetica oraziana alla luce degli studi più recenti', *ANRW* II.31.3: 1877–80.
- Schaps, D. (1977) 'The women least mentioned: etiquette and women's names', *CQ* n.s. 27: 323–30.
- Schenkeveld, D. M. (1976) 'Strabo on Homer', *Mnemosyne* 29: 52–64.
- Schmidt, M. (1982) 'Barbarophonos', in *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, ed. B. Snell. Göttingen.
- Scholfield, A. F. (1958) *Aelian: On the Characteristics of Animals* vol. 1. London.
- Scholz, P. (1998) *Der Philosoph und die Politik. Die Ausbildung der philosophischen Lebensform und die Entwicklung des Verhältnisses von Philosophie und Politik im 4. und 3. Jh. v. Chr.* Stuttgart.
- Schottky, M. (1996) 'Archelaos', in *DNP* I, nn. 5–7: 986.
- Schubert, P. (2002) 'Strabon et le sort de la bibliothèque d'Aristote', *LEC* 70: 225–37.
- Schwartz, E. (1885) 'Hekataeos von Teos', *RhM* 40: 223–62.
- Scobie, A. (1977) 'Some folktales in Graeco-Roman and Far Eastern sources', *Philologus* 121: 1–23.
- Shahar, Y. (2004) *Josephus Geographicus: The Classical Context of Geography in Josephus*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 98. Tübingen.
- Sherwin-White, A. N. (1967) *Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome*. Cambridge.
- Sidebottom, H. (2002) 'Pausanias: past, present, and closure', *CQ* 52: 494–99.
- Sihler, E. G. (1881) 'On Homer and Strabo', *TAPhA* II: 4–5.
- (1923) 'Strabo of Amaseia: his personality and his works', *AJPh* 44: 134–44.
- Silberman, A. (1995) *Arrien: Périple du Pont-Euxin*. Paris.
- Skrzhinskaya, M. V. (1998) *Skifiya glazami ellinov (Scythia in the Eyes of the Greeks)*. St. Petersburg.
- Snodgrass, A. M. (1987) *An Archaeology of Greece: The Present State and Future Scope of a Discipline*. Berkeley.
- (2001) 'Pausanias and the chest of Kypselos', in Alcock *et al.* (eds.) (2001) 127–41.

- Sonnabend, H. (1996) *Die Freundschaft der Gelehrten und die zwischenstaatliche Politik im klassischen und hellenistischen Griechenland*. Hildesheim, Zurich and New York.
- Spanu, M. (1997) 'Varia Cappadocica', *ArchClass* 49: 111–51.
- Speyer, W. (1967–92) 'Barbar', in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* vol. 1: 812–95.
- Stecchini, L. C. (1955) 'Rhodopis', *AJA* 59: 177.
- Stemplinger, E. (1894) *Strabons litterarhistorische Notizen*. Munich.
- Sterling, G. E. (1992) *Historiography and Self-Definition*. Leiden, New York and Cologne.
- von Stern, E. (1917) 'Bemerkungen zu Strabons Geographie der taurischen Chersonesos', *Hermes* 52: 1–38.
- Stern, M. (1976) *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* vol. I. Jerusalem.
 (1980) *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* vol. II. Jerusalem.
 (1984) *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* vol. III. Jerusalem.
 (1991) *Studies in Jewish History*. Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- Strenger, F. (1913) *Strabos Erdkunde von Libyen*. Berlin.
- Sullivan, R. D. (1979) 'King Marcus Antonius Polemo', *NC* 19: 6–20.
 (1980a) 'Thrace in the Eastern dynastic network', *ANRW* II.7.1: 186–211.
 (1980b) 'The dynasty of Cappadocia', *ANRW* II.7.2: 1125–67.
 (1980c) 'Dynasts in Pontus', *ANRW* II.7.2: 913–30.
 (1990) *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome, 100–30 BC*. Toronto.
- Susemihl, F. (1891–2) *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*. Leipzig. Reprinted Hildesheim, 1965.
- Sutherland, C. H. V. (1939) *The Romans in Spain*. London.
- Swain, S. (1996) *Hellenism and Empire. Language, Classicism and Power in the Greek World*. Oxford.
- Syme, R. (1934) 'The Spanish war of Augustus (26–25 BC)', *AJPh* 55: 293–317.
 (1970) 'The conquest of north-west Spain', in Badian (ed.) (1979) 825–54.
 (1971) *Danubian Papers*. Bucharest.
 (1995) *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo*, ed. A. R. Birley. Oxford.
- Talbert, R. (1985) *Atlas of Classical History*. Beckenham.
- Tarn, W. W. (1950) *Alexander the Great* vol. II. Cambridge.
- Tate, J. (1928) 'Horace and the moral function of poetry', *CQ* 22: 65–72.
- Teja, R. (1980) 'Die römische Provinz Kappadokien in der Prinzipatszeit', *ANRW* II.7.2: 1083–1124.
- Thollard, P. (1987) *Barbarie et civilization chez Strabon. Étude critique des livres III et IV de la Géographie*. Paris.
- Thomasson, B. E. (1984) *Laterculi Praesidium* vol. I. Gothenburg.
- Thompson, D. W. (1966) *A Glossary of Greek Birds*. Hildesheim.
- Thompson, J. O. (1948) *History of Ancient Geography*. Cambridge.
- Thompson, L. A. (1979) 'Strabo on civilization', *Platon* 31: 213–29.
 (1989) *Romans and Blacks*. London and Oklahoma.
- Tinnefeld, F. (1998) 'Hesychios (4)', in *DNP* 5: 516–17.

- Todd, R. (1989) 'The Stoics and their cosmology in the first and second centuries AD', *ANRW* II.36.3: 1365–78.
- Tozer, H. F. (1882) *Geography of Ancient Greece*. London.
- (1893) *Selections from Strabo*. Oxford.
- Traina, G. (1999) 'Momenti dell' incontro con Roma (II a.C.–II d.C.)', in *Roma-Armenia*, Catalogo della Mostra (Città del Vaticano, 25.3–16.7, 1999). Rome: 32–40.
- Trotta, F. (1986–7) 'Tradizioni di frequentazioni greche arcaiche nel Lazio meridional', *AFLPer*, n.s. 24: 285–304.
- (1989) 'Minturnae preromana e il santuario della ninfa Marica', in *Minturnae*, eds. F. Coarelli and P. Arthur. Rome: 11–28.
- (1991) 'Lasciare la madrepatria per fondare una colonia. Tre esempi nella storia di Sparta', in *Idea e realtà del viaggio*, eds. G. Camassa and S. Fasce. Genova: 37–66.
- (1994) 'L'Acaia di Strabone e i sinecismi peloponnesiaci', in Biraschi (ed.) (1994a) 167–84.
- (2000a [1996]) *Strabone. Geografia. Iberia e Gallia*, 2nd edn. Milan.
- (2000b) 'Politeiai e gradi di civilizzazione', in Biraschi and Salmeri (eds.) (2000) 189–208.
- Tsafriir, Y., Di Segni, L. and Green, J. (1994) *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea-Palaestina, Maps and Gazetteer*. Jerusalem.
- Tuplin, C. (1999) 'Greek racism: observations on the character and limits of Greek ethnic prejudice', in *Ancient Greeks West and East*, ed. G. R. Tsetschladze. Leiden: 47–76.
- Tyrrell, W. B. (1984) *Amazons: A Study in Athenian Mythmaking*. Baltimore and London.
- Vardi, A. (1993) 'Why Attic Nights or what's in a name?', *CQ* 43, 1: 298–301.
- Vatai, F. L. (1984) *Intellectuals in Politics in the Greek World from the Early Times to the Hellenistic Age*. London.
- Veyne, P. (1976) *Le Pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique*. Paris.
- Virgilio, B. (1981) *Il tempio stato di Pessinunte fra Pergamo e Roma nel II–I sec. a.C.* Pisa.
- van der Vliet, E. Ch. L. (1977) *Strabo over Landen, Volken en Steden*. Amsterdam.
- (1984) 'L'ethnographie de Strabon: idéologie ou tradition?', in Prontera (ed.) (1984a) 27–86.
- (2003) 'The Romans and us: Strabo's Geography and the construction of ethnicity', *Mnemosyne* 56: 257–72.
- Volkman, H. (1937) 'Der zweite nach dem König', *Philologus* 92: 285–316.
- Walbank, F. W. (1972) *Polybius*. Berkeley.
- (1979) *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* vol. III. Oxford.
- Wallace, P. W. (1979) *Strabo's Description of Boiotia*. Heidelberg.
- van de Walle, B. (1934) 'La "Quatrième Pyramide" de Gizeh et la légende de Rhodopis', *AC* 3: 303–12.
- Wardman, A. E. (1976) *Rome's Debt to Greece*. London.

- Weber, M. (1972) *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. 5th edn. Tübingen.
- Weiss, I. (1991) *Die Italienbücher des Strabon von Amaseia*. Prismata 2. Frankfurt am Main.
- Wellmann, M. (1896) 'Aegyptisches', *Hermes* 31: 221–53.
- Wheler, G. (1682) *A Journey into Greece*. London.
- Whitmarsh, T. J. G. (2001) *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire. The Politics of Imitation*. Oxford.
- Wikander, S. (1946) *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*. Lund.
- Wilkes, J. J. (1969) *Dalmatia*. London.
- Will, E. (1979) *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, 2nd edn. Nancy.
- Williams, J. H. C. (2001) '“Spoiling the Egyptians”': Octavian and Cleopatra', in *Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth*, eds. S. Walker and P. Higgs. London: 190–9.
- Wilson, D. R. (1976) 'Amaseia', in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, eds. R. Stillwell, W. L. MacDonald and M. H. McAllister. Princeton.
- Wiseman, T. P. (1979) 'Strabo on the Campus Martius 5.3.8 C235', *LCM* 4: 129–34.
- Woodman, A. J. (1977) *Velleius Paterculus. The Tiberian Narrative (2.94–131)*. Cambridge.
- Woolf, G. (1994) 'Becoming Roman, staying Greek: culture, identity and the civilizing process in the Roman East', *PCPhS* 40: 116–43.
(1998) *Becoming Roman*. Cambridge.
- Wróbel, M. (1984) 'Fabula de puella cineraria primo a Strabone enarrata', *Meander* 39: 161–8 (Polish).
- Yoyotte, J. and Charvet, P. (1997) *Strabon. Le voyage en Égypte. Un regard romain*. Paris.
- Zecchini, G. (ed.) (1999) *Il lessico Suda e la memoria del passato a Bisanzio. Atti della giornata di studi Milano, 29 april 1998*. Bari.

Index of geographical names

g. = gulf; is. = island; l. = lake; mt. = mountain; s. = sea

- Acarmania is. 95, 97
Ace (Acre) 253
Achaea 146, 147, 153, 158, 160, 162, 176, 178
Achaens 124, 125
Acherusian marsh 78
Acrocorinthus 153–4
Actium 67, 130, 149, 195, 197, 198
Adriatic s. 173, 176
Aea 229
Aega 99
Aegean is. 131
Aegean s. 145
Aegina is. 94, 98
Aequi 126
Aetna mt. 78
Africa see also Libya 221
Ahmed Serai 192
Ainali-Maghara 188
Alabanda 12, 129
Albania 224
Alexandria 2, 41, 92, 106, 108, 116, 117, 132, 137, 139, 148, 208, 238, 254
Alpes Maritimae 169–70, 173, 178
Alps 92, 169–70, 171, 173, 178
Alps, Pontic 180
Amanus r. 210
Amasia 1, 58, 69, 82, 131, 141, 180–99, 224
Amastris 192
Amasya see Amasia
Amathusians 102
Amazons 56, 61, 62, 70–2, 234
Ambracian g. 148
Ameria 196
Amiseni 195
Amisus see also Samsun 180, 187, 195, 196, 209
Amunclae 126
Anatolia 202, 206, 215
Andromeda, Rock of 239
Antemnae 127
Anti-Lebanon 241
Antioch 148
Antitaurus 210
Apamea 205
Apollonia 10, 11, 17
Aquitania 168, 169, 177
Arabia 92, 95, 245, 251, 257
Arabian s. 36
Arabs 245
Arcadia 136, 152, 153, 154
Argaeus mt. 210, 212
Argos 10, 99
Aria 52
Arians 49
Arimaspians 229
Armenia 180, 193, 195, 198, 200–3, 205, 210, 214
Armenians 203, 245
Ascalon 254
Ashdodites 256–7
Asia see Asia Minor
Asia Minor 44, 46, 59, 73, 79, 92, 99, 100, 122, 125, 129, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140–1, 142, 143, 151, 155, 158, 159, 175, 177, 180, 185, 198, 199, 202, 203, 204, 209, 214, 218, 219, 220, 221, 223, 225
Asphalt l. see also Dead Sea 239, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245
Aspurgiani 198, 227
Asteeis r. 100
Athamantis 99
Athens 11, 132, 135, 147, 148, 154, 157, 158, 216
Atlantic 34, 37, 39
Attica 94, 98, 146, 148, 158, 232
Auranitis 242
Avernus l. 78

Babylon 245
Bactria 95, 223
Baetica 163, 165, 166, 167, 173, 178

- Baetis r. 163, 165, 173
 Baghdad 180
 Batanea 242
 Belgae 169, 177
 Belgica 168
 Berytus 251
 Birket Ram *see also* Phiale 242
 Bithynia 180, 192, 202, 210, 214, 215, 219
 Bithynians 210
 Bithynia-Pontus 58, 195
 Black Sea *see also* Euxine 10, 34, 35, 36, 92, 132, 180, 216–34
 Boeotia 97, 149
 Borysthenes (Dnieper) r. 232
 Borysthenes *see also* Olbia 232
 Bosphorus 196, 220, 229, 231
 Brettii 43
 Britain 33, 34, 35, 37, 52, 92
 Bunyan 206
 Byzantium 33, 221

 Cabira 196
 Cabul (Zabulon) 253
 Cadena 206
 Cadiz
 Caesarea (Philippi) 242
 Caesarea Maritima *see also* Strato's Tower 246, 253, 255
 Caicus r. 96
 Caietas g. 126
 Calauria 129
 Callaecia 167
 Callaecians 166
 Calliste 119
 Amanene 213
 Campani 43
 Campania 238
 Canae mt. 99
 Cantabrians 62, 63
 Cantabria 125
 Cappadocia 131, 187, 196, 198, 200–15, 217
 Cappadocians 202, 203–4, 206
 Capua 238
 Caria 99, 132, 202, 215
 Carians 44, 46, 47, 48
 Carmel 246, 253, 254, 255
 Carnians 175
 Carrhae 219
 Carthage 122
 Carthaginians 43, 49
 Caspian s. 36, 223
 Castabala 233
 Cataonia 203–4, 206, 212, 213
 Cataonian plain 210
 Cataonis 203, 204

 Caucasians 96
 Caucasus 71, 223, 231
 Cavari 53
 Celtica *see also* Gaul 63, 92, 130, 131, 168, 169, 177
 Celts 52
 Cemmenus mt. 169
 Chalcis 129
 Chaldaei 196
 Chalybians 196, 211
 Chersonesus 232, 233
 Chiliocomum 191
 Chios 132
 Cilicia 99, 132, 213, 215, 218
 Cilicia Trachia 202, 205, 210, 213
 Cilicians 202, 225
 Cimiata mt. *see also* Olgassys 194
 Cimmerian Bosphorus 221
 Cimmerians 229
 Cleonae 151
 Cnidus 139
 Cnossians 187
 Coele Syria 241, 251, 252, 257
 Colchis 195, 196, 202, 214, 220, 223, 229, 231, 233
 Collatia 127
 Colophon 100
 Comana Cappadocia 232–3
 Comana Pontica 66, 196, 197, 206, 207–8, 209, 212
 Commagene 203, 257
 Corinth 10, 12, 13, 17, 65–6, 147, 151, 153–4, 157, 158, 176
 Corinthian g. 154
 Cos 136
 Cretans 123
 Crete 125, 187
 Crimea 221, 232
 Criumetopon 119
 Cumae 78
 Cyclopes 78, 229
 Cyme 64
 Cyprians 102
 Cyprus 68, 125, 132
 Cyrene 119, 123, 132
 Cyreneans 119
 Cyzicus 122

 Dalmatia 174, 178
 Damascus 241, 252, 257
 Danube 173, 175, 223, 229, 231
 Dazimonitis 192
 Dead Sea *see also* Asphalt l. 239, 241, 255
 Delos 100, 224
 Delphi 102, 109, 113, 155
 Diacopene 191–2
 Dicaearchia 78

- Dioscurias (Sukhumi) 232
 Dodona 52
 Dora 255
 Douglas 37
 Durius r. 165, 166

 Egypt 1, 67, 84, 92, 96, 108, 109, 110, 113, 117, 143,
 207, 217, 246, 255
 Egyptians 53, 109, 241, 248
 Elaeussa 205
 Elbe 223
 Eleutheræ 98
 Elis 80, 151
 Ephesus 99, 120–1, 132, 136, 212
 Epirus 173
 Erysichæans 95
 Ethiopia 92
 Ethiopians 68
 Euboea 94
 Eubois 94
 Euphrates r. 203
 Europe 177, 223
 Euxine *see also* Black Sea 202, 216–34

 Feronia 126
 Fidenæ 127
 Formiæ 125, 126
 Frisian is. 37

 Gadara *see also* Gezer 254
 Gadaris 241, 242, 251, 254, 255
 Gades 34, 37
 Galatia 193, 199, 203, 210, 214
 Galatians 202, 203, 210
 Galileans 246, 247
 Galilee 243, 246, 247, 251
 Galilee s. *see* Gennesar, Lake of
 Gamala 238
 Gargara 52
 Garsaura 213
 Garsauritis 213
 Garunas (Garonne) r. 169
 Gaul *see also* Celtica 53, 120
 Gauls 63, 218
 Gaza 251, 253, 254, 256
 Gazans 256–7
 Gazara 254
 Gazelonitis 192, 195
 Gennesar, Lake of 238, 241, 242, 255
 Gennesaritis *see also* Gennesar, Lake of 241
 Georgi 54
 Getae 96, 175, 230
 Gezer 251, 254
 Giza 109, 112
 Gomorrhah 244

 Gortynians 187
 Great Bear 32
 Greece 4, 18, 43, 59, 60, 71, 73, 74, 79, 92, 94, 100,
 131, 144–60, 187
 Greeks *see also* Hellenes 24, 44, 45, 54, 70, 74,
 76, 78, 109, 125, 127, 145, 146, 157, 209, 222,
 224, 230
 Gulf Stream 35

 Hadji Keui 192
 Halae 233
 Halae Araphenides 232
 Halicarnassus 132
 Halizoni 196
 Halys r. 191–2, 202
 Hamaxia 68
 Harsena mt. (Harsene Kalesi) 188
 Hebrus r. 176
 Helicon mt. 96
 Hellas *see also* Greece 159
 Hellenes *see also* Greeks 43, 46, 47, 54
 Helots 123, 124
 Heneti 100
 Henetice 100
 Heraclia 195
 Herculaneum 40
 Herodium 238
 Hispania Citerior *see also* Iberia 167
 Hispania Ulterior *see also* Iberia 165–6,
 167, 173
 Hormiæ 126
 Hule *see* Semechonitis, Lake of
 Hypanis (Bug) r. 232
 Hyria 97

 Iamnia 246, 251, 254, 255
 Iapygia 123
 Iberia *see also* Hispania *and* Spain 34, 53, 64, 125,
 130, 162–5, 166–7, 168, 177, 219
 Iberians 62, 64
 Ida mt. 96
 Idumea 251
 Idumeans 256
 Ierne (Ireland) 33, 35
 Illyrica 173, 174
 Illyricum 174, 175, 178
 Illyris 173, 176
 India 52
 Indian Ocean 36
 Indians 49, 64
 Ionia 44, 71, 132
 Iris (Yeshil Irmak) r. 183, 186, 192
 Isle of Man 37
 Issus g. 210
 Istria 175

- Italy 41, 43, 120, 123, 125, 130, 131, 146, 169, 174,
175, 216, 222
- Ituraeans 257
- Jaffa 239, 246–7, 252, 254, 255
- Jericho 239, 243, 244, 257
- Jerusalem 25, 102, 238, 246
- Jews 54, 102, 245, 246, 248, 249, 256
- Jordan r. and valley 239, 241–2, 243, 244,
246, 251
- Jotapata 238
- Judaea 224, 235, 241, 243, 245, 246, 248, 250–1,
252, 254–6, 257
- Judaeans *see also* Jews 246, 247
- Julias 242
- Kavak 192
- Kayseri 206
- Kinneret l. *see* Gennesar, Lake of
- Labicum 127
- Lacedaemonians 122
- Laconia 81, 95
- Laconians 126
- Ladik 192
- Laestrygonians 78
- Lampsacus 132
- Laodicia 198
- Lapethus 125
- Latins 127
- Latium 126–7
- Laviansene 213
- Lebanon 241, 251, 256
- Lesbos 99, 100, 132
- Leucani 43
- Leucas 97
- Leuctra 149
- Libya 92, 108, 119, 177
- Liger (Loire) r. 169
- Ligurians 52
- Lipara is. 78
- Lugdunensis 168, 177
- Lugdunum 169
- Lusitania 163, 165–6
- Lusitanians 103, 165, 166, 167
- Lycaeus mt. 154
- Lycaonians 202
- Lycia 99, 132, 202, 215
- Lycus r. 192
- Lydia 95, 99, 215
- Lyttus 123, 125
- Macedonia 175–6, 178
- Macedonians 157, 209
- Maeander 186
- Maeotians 229
- Maeotis l. (Sea of Azov) 71, 231
- Magi 206
- Magna Graecia* 43, 131
- Marathon 152
- Marsovan plain 183
- Masada 255
- Massilia 33, 34, 120–1, 122, 245
- Massiliotes 121
- Mazaca 180, 188, 206, 210, 211, 213
- Mazaceni 211, 212
- Medes 95
- Mediterranean 33, 36, 153, 159, 160, 202, 229, 245
- Megalopolitis 199
- Megarid 94, 148
- Melitene 212, 213
- Memphis 109, 111
- Mendes 96
- Mesopotamia 92, 258
- Messene 101, 124
- Messenia 81, 151
- Messina, Straits of 36
- Miletopolis 52
- Miletus 44
- Moesia 175, 178
- Moesians 175, 230
- Morima 213
- Morimene 213
- Munychia 147
- Mycenae 10, 99
- Mysia 215
- Mysians 175, 230
- Mytilene 108, 109, 132
- Nabataea 250, 251, 257–8
- Narbonensis 168
- Narbonitis 168–9, 176, 177, 178
- Naucratis 109, 110, 111, 113
- Neapolis 43, 131
- Neapolitans 78
- Nemi 233
- Nereids 108
- Nestus r. 176
- Nile 96, 217
- Nora 206, 207
- Noricans 171–3
- Noricum 173, 178
- North Atlantic *see also* Atlantic 34, 36
- Nysa 82, 84, 125, 132, 136, 141, 185, 186
- Ocean 92, 219, 220, 228
- Oenone 98
- Olba 198
- Olbia *see also* Borysthenes 232
- Olgassys mt. *see also* Cimiata 194

- Olympia 10, 12, 18, 137, 155
 Onchestus 96
 Orchomenus 209
 Orthosia 251
 Oxyrhynchus 117, 248
- Palestine 237, 238–9, 246, 247, 248, 249, 258
 Pallantium 146
 Pamphylia 99, 122, 132, 215
 Pannonia 174, 178, 179
 Pannonians 174
 Panticapaeum 231
 Paphlagonia 188, 214, 215
 Paphlagonians 202
 Partheniae 123–4
 Parthenon 147
 Parthia 219
 Parthians 207, 219, 223
 Patrae 158
 Paryadres mt. 193, 196
 Peloponnese 148–9, 152, 154, 176, 238
 Pelusium 251
 Pergamum 132, 136, 148, 194, 210
 Persia 95
 Persian g. 36
 Persians 60, 200
 Petra 257
 Phanagoria 226
 Pharnacia 193, 195, 196
 Phasis 232
 Phiale 242
 Philadelphia 243, 255–6
 Philippi *see* Caesarea
 Phocaeans 120–1
 Phoenicia 246, 247, 248, 250–5, 256
 Phrygia 71, 95, 99, 202
 Pimolisene 191
 Piraeus 147
 Pisidia 122
 Poeninus 171
 Pola 174–5
 Polyrrhenia 125
 Pontic s. 203, 204
 Pontic Comana *see* Comana Pontica
 Pontus 1, 58, 59, 60, 131, 180, 183, 187, 192,
 193–4, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200–2, 205,
 206, 207–8, 210, 211, 214, 215,
 221, 235
 Priene 98
 Propontis 122, 132, 229
 Ptolemais 239, 246–7, 252
 Putrid s. 231
 Pylon 176
 Pylus 80, 81, 100, 151
 Pyramus r. 206, 211
- Pyrenees mt. 33, 162, 167, 168, 169
 Pyriphlegethon 78
- Raetia 170, 178
 Raetians 171
 Raphia 256
 Red Sea 245
 Rhegium 43, 99, 131
 Rhine 33, 168, 169
 Rhinocorora 252, 256
 Rhodanus *see also* Rhone r. 53
 Rhodes 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 122, 129, 132, 133, 136,
 140, 185, 186
 Rhodiae 131
 Rhone r. 169, 245
 Romans 11, 24, 43, 49, 51, 53, 58, 64, 120, 121, 122,
 126, 127, 145, 149, 157, 171, 176, 177, 204, 205,
 213, 214, 217–18, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224,
 229, 233
 Rome 1, 2, 6, 11–12, 13, 14, 16–17, 25, 28, 54, 59,
 60, 64, 65, 66, 81, 82, 83–4, 121, 126, 127,
 130–1, 132, 137, 139, 146, 148, 185, 205,
 209, 210, 217, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226,
 227, 235, 253
 Rutuli 126
- Sabines 125, 126
 Samaria 243, 251
 Samnitae 63, 64
 Samos 11, 12, 17, 98, 109, 132
 Samsun *see also* Amisus 192
 Saravene 213
 Sardis 65
 Sargarausene 213
 Sceiron 94
 Scyrus 151
 Scythia 34, 217, 233
 Scythians 229, 230, 231
 Scythopolis 256
 Sebastea 255
 Seleucia 12
 Selge 122, 125
 Selgians 122
 Semechonitis, Lake of (Hule) 241, 242
 Sharon 239
 Sicily 64, 99, 221
 Sidene 193, 195, 196
 Sidon 252, 254
 Sinope 132, 133, 187, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 212,
 225–6, 229
 Sinopitis 192
 Sirbonis, Lake 251, 256
 Sireussae 79
 Smyrna 100
 Smyrnaeans 100

- Sodom 239, 243, 244
Spain *see also* Hispania and Iberia 34
Sparta 145, 151
Spartiates 123, 124
Strato's Tower 246, 253
Strymon r. 176
Sulu Ova 191–2
Sycaminopolis (Shikmona) 253
Syracuse 119
Syria 92, 207, 224, 245, 247, 251, 252, 256
Syrians 245
- Tagus r. 165
Tanais r. 231
Taras 10, 11, 17, 43, 123, 124, 125, 126, 131
Taricheae 241, 242–3
Tarracina 126
Tarsus 12, 13, 132, 136, 143, 202
Taurians 232, 233
Taurus 122, 200, 202, 203, 204, 206, 210–11, 213
Tavshan Dagh 192
Tectosages 214
Tegea 152
Teos 99
Tersakan-Su 191
Thebes, Egypt 109
Themiscyra 192, 195, 196
Thera 119
Thermodon r. 71
Thermopylae 148
Thessalians 210
Thessaly 148
Thisbe 151
Thrace 100, 187, 198
Thracians 96, 229
- Thule 37
Tibareni 196
Tiber r. 127
Tolistobogii 195, 214
Trachones 241
Trachonitis 242
Trallis 132, 136
Transjordan 257
Trapezus 193, 196
Trapezusia 195
Troad 80, 81, 132, 215
Trocmi 214
Trojans 126, 210
Tropic of Cancer 32
Tropic of Capricorn 32
Troy 81, 99, 100, 146
Turdetanians 53
Tyana 211, 213, 233
Tyanitis 213
Tyras 229
Tyre 252, 253–4
- Vallis Poenina 171
Varus r. 169
Venasa 212
Vesuvius mt. 78
Via Egnatia 145, 176
Vindolicia 170
Vindolicians 171
Volsci 126
- Western Isles 34
- Zela 196, 197
Zelitis 199

Index of personal names

- Achaemenids 213, 214
Acutius Faienanus 165
Adiatorix 195, 197
Aeetes 229
Aegeus 94
Aelian 112–13, 114, 116
Aelius Catus 175, 230
Aelius Gallus 1, 84, 108, 143, 245
Aeneas 81, 100, 126, 127
Aeolus 78, 79
Aeschines of Miletus 135
Aeschylus 87–9, 90, 94, 99, 101, 102, 106, 135, 230
Aesculapius 231
Aesop 112
Agatharchides 111
Agrippa I of Judaea 242
M. Agrippa 34, 174
Alcaeus 89, 90, 96, 100
Alcman 95, 102
Alexander the Great 49, 50–1, 105, 122, 130, 146,
156, 209, 210, 215, 223, 252, 253
Alexander Janneus 253, 255
Alexander Polyhistor 111, 112, 139
Alyattes 65
Amasis 109
Ammianus Marcellinus 170
Amphicrates of Athens 140
Amyntas 122, 186, 214
Anacreon 99
Anaitis 200
Anaxenor of Magnesia 136
Anaximander of Miletus 76
Anaximenes of Lampsacus 135
Anaximenes of Miletus 29
Anchises 100
Andronicus 28, 29
Antenor 100
Antigonus ‘Monophthalmus’ 186, 213
Antimachus 101
Antiochus III the Great 186, 204, 213, 254
Antiochus of Ascalon 254
Antiochus of Syracuse 123
Antipater of Tyre 254
Antisthenes (on pyramids) 111
Antisthenes of Rhodes 139
Antonia Tryphaena 198
Antoninus Pius 146
M. Antonius *see* Antony
M. Antonius Polemo of Olba 198
Antony 11, 67, 68, 108, 195, 198, 205, 207
Aphrodite 108
Apion 111, 112, 113, 116, 117
Apollo 97, 100
Apollo from Apollonia 10, 11
Apollodorus of Athens 80, 140–1
Apollodorus of Pergamum 95, 186, 213
Apollonius of Rhodes 90
Apollonius of Tyre 254
Apollonius Malaca of Alabanda 12, 129
Apollonius Molon of Alabanda 12, 129, 245
Appian 194, 207
Aratus of Sicyon 131
Aratus of Soli 89, 90, 92, 101, 221
Archelais 207, 209
Archelaus I of Cappadocia 202, 203, 205,
207–10, 227
Archelaus priest at Pontic Comana 197, 207
Archelaus son of Herod 255
Archimedes 36, 37
Aretas of Nabataea 257
Arete 129
Ariarathes III of Cappadocia
202, 204
Ariarathes V of Cappadocia 212
Ariarathids 205
Ariobarzanes I of Cappadocia 204
Ariovistus 218
Aristagoras 111
Aristarcha 121
Aristarchus 185, 186, 214
Aristeas of Proconnesus 90, 229
Aristides 13

- Aristodemus of Nysa 28, 82, 84, 135, 140, 150,
 185, 186
 Aristodemus, teacher of Pompey 185
 Aristophanes 89, 97, 101
 Aristotle 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 40, 41, 82, 129, 131, 145
 Artaxias *see also* Zeno 198
 Artemidorus of Ephesus III, 112, 114, 115, 116, 134,
 136, 140–1, 232, 245
 Artemis 100, 121, 232, 233
 Artemisia 62
 Artemon of Magnesia 129, 140
 Articuleius Regulus 165
 Asander 231
 Asandrochus 227
 Ascanius 100
 Aspurgus 226, 227
 Athamas 99
Athena by Phidias 11
Athena from Samos 11
 Athenaeus of Naucratis 113, 114, 115, 116,
 117, 248
 Athenodorus Cananites of Tarsus 13, 28, 40, 134,
 137, 143, 245
 Athenodorus Cordylion of Tarsus 12
 Attalus III of Pergamum 219
 Atticus *see* T. Pomponius Atticus
 Augustus 11, 13, 14, 40, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 143, 144,
 145, 156, 161, 162, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 173,
 174, 177, 178, 193, 195, 216, 221, 223, 224, 226,
 227, 230, 234
 Autolyclus of Sinope 225
Autolyclus 195

 Bacchylides 96
 C. Baebius Atticus 169–70, 173, 175
 Baius 78
 Battus 119
 Bias of Priene 98
 Billarus 195, 225
 Bocchus 218
 Boethus of Sidon 28, 135, 254
 Boreas 95, 96
 Butoridas 111

 Caecilius of Calacte 20–1, 22–3
 Caesar, Julius *see* C. Iulius Caesar
 Calchas 122
 Calgacus 218
 Caligula 25
 Callimachus 14, 15, 16, 18, 89, 119, 132, 229
 Callinus 99
 Candace 68
 Cassius Dio *see* Dio Cassius
 Cato the elder *see* M. Porcius Cato Censorius
 Cato the younger *see* M. Porcius Cato Uticensis

 P. Carisius 165
 Cephalus 97
 Ceres 13, 14, 17
 Charaxus 109, 113, 115
 Chares of Lindus 15, 16
 Charybdis *see* Scylla
 Charon of Carthage 129, 140
 Charondas 211
 Choerilus 90
 Chrysippus 230
 Cicero *see* M. Tullius Cicero
 Cinderella 111
 Claudius 173, 175
 Cleanthes 36
 Cleomedes 39
 Cleon 197
 Cleopatra 66, 67–8
 P. Cornelius Dolabella 174
 Cottius 170
 Corys Sappaeus 198
 Crassus 219
 Crates of Mallus 186, 213
 Cratinus 113, 114
 Creophylus 90
 Cresias of Cnidus 105
 Cyprus 109
 Cypselus 10, 20

 Damaretus of Heraea 137
 Damasus Scombrus 135
 Demetrius of Scepsis 52, 80, 140–1,
 186, 213
 Demetrius of Phalerum 131
 Demetrius (on pyramids) 111
 Democritus 38, 76
 Demosthenes 129, 145, 230
 Demoteles 111
 Diana 121, 233
 Dicaearchus 76
 Dio of Alexandria 132
 Dio Cassius 170
 Dio Chrysostom of Prusa 145
 Diodorus of Sardis 106, 135
 Diodorus Siculus 109, 110, 116, 138, 156
 Dioneus 97
 Dionysides 106
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 23, 126, 135, 146
 Dionysius Periegetes 248
 Dionysius (on pyramids) 111
 Dionysocles of Trallis 135
 Dionysus 63, 95
Dionysus by Aristides 13, 17
 Diphilus 89
 Diotarus 195
 Donnus 170

- Doricha see also Rhodopis 108, 109, 110, 113,
 114, 115
 Dorylaos of Amisus ('Tacticus') 187, 209, 233
 Dorylaos son of Philetaerus 197, 209
 Drusus, brother of Tiberius 171, 175
 Drusus, son of Tiberius 174
 Duris of Samos III, 112
 Dynamis ('Philorhomaeus') 226
 Dyteutus 197
- Empedocles 89, 101
 Ennius 131
 Enyo 232
 Epaminondas 138
 Ephorus 44, 50, 76, 123, 124, 125, 136
 Epicharmus 101
 Epicurus 135
 Eratosthenes 24, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 48–50, 74, 75,
 76, 77, 83, 104, 105, 132, 150, 186, 213, 221,
 222, 224, 225, 229, 231–2, 245
 Euclid 29
 Euclides of Megara 131
 Eudoxus 76
 Euhemerus III, 112
 Euphorion 101
 Euripides 87, 90, 95, 96, 99, 102–3, 106,
 135, 232
 Eurycles 177
 Euthydemus of Mylas 137
 Evander 126
- P. Fabius Maximus 165
 L. Fulcinius Trio 165
- Gabinius 207
 Galen 40
 Germanicus 173, 174, 198
 Gilgames 115
 Glaphyra of Cappadocia 207
- Hadrian 153
 Hasmonaean 253, 254, 255, 256
 Hecataeus of Abdera 110, 111, 116
 Hecataeus of Miletus 76, 136, 137
 Hegesias of Magnesia 135
 Helius II, 15, 18
 Hellanicus 105
Hera by Polyclitus 10, 11
 Heracles 146
Heracles from Samos 11
Heracles from Taras 10, 11, 17
 Heraclidae 149
 Heraclides Lembus of Alexandria 139
 Herod the Great 253, 255, 256
 Herod Antipas 242
- Herodotus 60, 61–2, 65, 105, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113,
 115, 119, 120, 136, 145, 147, 152, 230, 231, 247
 Hesiod of Ascra 89, 90, 101, 103, 105, 131
 Hestiaea 129
 Hipparchus 24, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 39, 76, 105,
 119, 222, 228
 Hippobotus of Rhodes 139
 Hipponax 98, 102
 Homer 3, 24, 29, 30, 31, 35, 44, 46, 47, 48, 52,
 73–85, 87, 89, 95, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 135,
 137, 145, 150, 152, 159, 185, 186, 196, 210, 214,
 223, 225, 228–30, 231, 234
 Horace 67, 83, 84, 131
 Hybreae of Mylasa 134, 135, 137
 Hysicrates of Amisus 140, 231
 Hyrieus 97
- Ion of Chios 90, 101
 Iphigenia 232, 233
 Isocrates 139
 C. Iulius Caesar 14, 34, 40, 108, 133, 195, 208, 218,
 219, 220, 221, 222
- Jason of Nysa 139, 140
 Jason Argonauticus 229
 John Hyrcanus 253
 Josephus 4, 117, 235–49, 253
 Jugurtha 218
 Julius Africanus 185
 Julius Caesar see C. Iulius Caesar
 C. Julius Eurycles 131
 Juvenal 219
- Labienus 198
 Laco 177
 Lagetas 187
 Leucon 230–1
 Lichas 94
 Livia 226
 Livy 219
 Lucullus 122, 195, 224, 225
 Lycomedes 197, 208
 Lycurgus 125
 Lycus 94
 Lysias 145
 Lysimachus 186, 213, 230
- Ma 232
 Mark Antony see Antony
 Masthles 44
 Maximus Planudes 16
 Medea 229
 Mela 222
 Meleager 92
 Men Pharnacou 196

- Menander 89, 90, 96–7, 98, 135, 230
 Menecrates 140
 Menedemus of Eretria 131
 Menelaus 81
 Menippus of Stratonicia 135
 Mercury 115
 Milo of Croton 136
 Mimnermus 90, 100
 Minos 123
 Misenus 78
 Mithridates Ktistes 194
 Mithridates V Euergetes 187, 194, 209
 Mithridates VI Eupator 140, 157, 183, 186, 187,
 188, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 202, 207, 208,
 209, 214, 216, 218–20, 221, 223–4, 225–7,
 229, 230, 232, 233–4
 Mnasalces of Plataea 131
 Moses 54, 245, 248, 249
 Mycerinus 109

 Neanthes of Cyzicus 139, 141
 Neleus 100
 Neoptolemus of Parium 92
 Neoptolemus general of Mithridates 232
 Nepos 222
 Nestor 81, 151
 Nicias of Nicaea 139
 Nisus 94

 Obodas of Nabataea 257
 Octavius Sagitta 167
 Odysseus 77, 78
 Onesicritus 105
 Oreithyia 95
 Orestes 232, 233
 Orion 97
 Ovid 231

 Paerisades 230
 Pan 96
 Pallas 94
 Parthenius 224
 Parthenope 78
 Parthenos 232, 233
 Pausanias 4, 144–60, 233
 S. Pedius Lusianus Hirrutus 171
 Perseus 176
 Phaedo of Elis 131
 Phalanthus 123, 124
 Phaon 97
 Pharnaces I of Pontus 194, 195
 Pharnaces II of Bosphorus 221
 Phidias 10–11, 18, 20, 22
 Philemon 89
 Philetaerus

 Philetas 90, 101
 Philip II of Macedon 149, 176
 Philip V of Macedon 219
 Philip, tetrarch 242
 Philo of Byblus 133
 Philodemus 35, 40, 83
 Philorhomaeus 226, 227
 Phoebus 95, 102
 Phrixus 229
 Pindar 89, 90, 96, 97, 100, 102, 103, 119
 Pisander 90
 Planudes *see* Maximus Planudes
 Plato 51, 145, 217, 230
 Pliny the elder 19, 111, 112, 113, 116, 222, 249
 Plutarch 225, 248
 Polemo I of Pontus 198, 199, 205, 207, 226, 227,
 231, 233
 Polybius 1, 17, 24, 31, 33, 34, 37, 75, 76, 78, 136, 138,
 147, 149, 156, 157, 217, 220, 221, 235–6, 239
 Polyclitus 10–11, 21, 22
 Pompeius Trogus 138, 218
 Pompey 14, 133, 185, 186, 187, 194, 195, 197, 198,
 207, 214, 220–1, 224, 243, 254, 255, 256, 257
 T. Pomponius Atticus 40, 82, 145, 221
 Poppaeus Sabinus 175, 178
 M. Porcius Cato Censorius 221
 M. Porcius Cato Utricensis 12
 Posidippus 113, 114
 Posidonius 24, 29, 30–1, 33, 34, 37, 38, 40, 63, 76,
 82, 106, 120, 129, 136, 140, 185, 244, 245–6,
 253, 258
 Psammetichus 109
 Pseudo-Hesychius of Miletus 133
 Pseudo-Longinus 21–2, 23–4
 Pseudo-Philip 176
 Pterelas 97
 Ptolemy the geographer 8
 Ptolemy IV of Egypt 254
 Pytheas of Massilia 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40
 Pythodoris of Pontus 56, 66, 67, 69, 185, 196,
 197–9, 205–6, 207, 226, 227, 231, 234
 Pythodorus of Trallis 186

 Remus 127
 Rhodopis *see also* Doricha 65, 108, 109–10, 111, 112,
 113, 114, 115
 Romulus 127, 219

 Sallust 218–19, 220
 Sappho 97, 99, 108, 109, 113, 129
 Sarpedon 254
 Satyrus 230
 Scylax of Caryanda 136
 Scylla and Charybdis 79
 Seleucids 213

- Seleucus Nicator 186, 213
 Seleucus of Babylon 36
 Serapio 222
 Sertorius 219
 Servilius Isauricus 225
 Shepnupet 109
 P. Silius Nerva 171
 Simmias 101
 Simon the Hasmonean 254
 Simonides of Amorgus 101, 137
 Simonides of Iulis in Ceos 16, 90, 137
 Simus 90
 Sisines 206–7
 Socrates 96, 217
 Solinus 239
 Sophocles 87, 90, 94, 95, 99, 100, 101, 135, 230
 Sosicrates of Rhodes 139
 Sostratus 185
 Sotio of Alexandria 139
 Spartocus 230–1
 Staseas 28
 Sterope 187
 Stesichorus 90
 Sthenis 195
 Stratarchas 187
 Strato 195
 Suda 133, 185
 Suetonius 131, 170
 Sulla 82, 207, 209, 220
 Syllaes 257

 Tacitus 175, 218, 239, 244, 245
 Tarquinius 115
 Terpander 100, 137
 Tertullian 248
 Theodectes 105
 Theodorus of Gadara 135
 Theomnestus of Cos 136
 Theophanes of Mytilene 136
 Theophrastus 28, 82
 Thoas king of Taurus 233
 Thucydides 145, 221, 236, 247

 Tiberius 13, 14, 130, 144, 161, 165, 166, 167, 168,
 170, 171–3, 174, 175, 179, 198–9, 216, 223,
 224, 227, 234
 Tigranes of Armenia 140
 Titus 249
 Triptolemus 95
 Trogus *see* Pompeius Trogus
 Tryphon 254
 M. Tullius Cicero 40, 82, 145, 218, 220, 221,
 222, 224
 M. Tullius Cicero, his son 82
 Q. Tullius Cicero, his brother 218
 Q. Tullius Cicero, his nephew 82
 Tyrannio of Amisus 28, 82, 135, 222, 224
 Tyrtaeus 90, 95, 100

 Ummidius Durmius Quadratus 165

 Valerius Harpocraton 248
 P. Valerius Publicola 126
 Varro 222
 Velleius Paternulus 173, 174
 Venus 115
 Vespasian 243, 249
 Virgil 83, 126, 131, 146, 222, 231

 Xanthus of Lydia 137
 Xanthus of Samos 109
 Xenarchus of Seleucia 12, 28, 135, 137
 Xenophanes 89, 90
 Xenophon 145
 Xerxes 62

 Zeno of Citium 28, 35, 38, 134
 Zeno of Laodicia 198, 199
 Zeno Artaxias 198
 Zeus 94, 99, 102, 212
 Zeus from Taras 10, 17, 20
 Zeus from Olympia by Cypselus 10, 20
 Zeus from Olympia by Phidias 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18,
 20, 22, 147
 Zeus from Samos 11