

den handelnden Personen des Untersuchungszeitraums eine derartige 'idée directrice'⁵ — und sei sie auch noch so diffus — nicht ermitteln, erweist sich in letzter Konsequenz der Idealtyp als nicht operationalisierbar. Nun geht aber schon aus der Tatsache, daß Strabon Historien und eine Geographie vorgelegt hat, eindeutig hervor, daß die beiden Themenfelder zumindest von ihm nicht als identisch angesehen wurden und daß sich Strabon einer unterliegenden Dichotomie durchaus bewußt war — ein Punkt, der auch von C. konzidiert wird (196; 244; 303; 331). Mehr noch: Strabon definiert in der Geographie das zu behandelnde Sujet in einer Weise, die eindeutige Analogien zu den von C. zu Anfang gegebenen schematischen Abgrenzungen von Geographie und Geschichte aufweist. Strabon schreibt diesbezüglich bspw.: ὁ τι δ' ἂν διαφύγη τῆς παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας, τοῦτο μὲν ἐατέον, οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸ τῆς γεωγραφίας ἔργον, τὰ δὲ νῦν ὄντα λεκτέον.⁶ Diese Unterscheidung, wie wenig sich Strabon auch im folgenden an ihr orientiert haben mag, und das zuvor angesprochene Arrangement der Materie beweisen m. E., daß zumindest zur Zeit Strabons ideelle Objektivationen von Geographie und Geschichte als prinzipiell unterschiedlichen Disziplinen existierten. Ähnlich klare Aussagen wie von Strabon gibt es von Polybios oder Poseidonios nicht, doch spricht nichts dagegen, daß schon zu ihrer Zeit die angesprochene grundsätzliche Dichotomie bekannt war und als Handlungsorientierung (*in concreto* bei der Konzeptualisierung ihrer jeweiligen Studien) fungierte. Ihre Werke sind m. E. ebensowenig wie Strabons zwischen Geographie und Geschichte angesiedelt gewesen. Zur Kategorisierung von antiken wissenschaftlichen Werken sind generische Begriffe wie Geographie nicht nur weiterhin als tauglich anzusehen, sie bleiben im Grunde auch unerläßlich. Richtig ist lediglich, daß in der Antike (aber auch noch lange danach und, wie C. mit Recht feststellt, in einigen Teilbereichen der Disziplinen auch noch heute) die beiden Wissenschaften nicht scharf getrennte Sphären bildeten, denen jeweils ein eigener Satz von Methoden und Begrifflichkeiten zugeordnet wurde, die keinerlei Schnittmenge hatten. Jeder Interpretationsversuch antiker Autoren, der eine stringente Trennung in zwei unterschiedliche Sphären, eine historische und eine geographische — und sei es auch nur artifiziell zu heuristischen Zwecken — unterlegt, kann daher kaum Erfolge zeitigen. Dies noch einmal mit aller Klarheit unter Beweis gestellt zu haben, ist das große Verdienst von C.s Buch.

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Daniela Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia. A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome*, London/New York: Routledge, 2000. ix + 227 pp. ISBN 0 415 21672 9.

The recent literature on Strabo of Amasia fills a long-felt gap in scholarly discussion, both on this important but relatively neglected writer, and on the rich tapestry of geographical and ethnographic details, historical facts, scientific approaches, and moral or political attitudes that make up his *Geography*. Dueck's book is no exception. In an erudite and lucid exposition, she provides a clear and concise picture of Strabo, his background, his writing, and the value of his achievements. As one of the more extensive works to survive from antiquity, with nearly all of its 17 original volumes preserved intact, the *Geography* supplies a very broad survey of the known

⁵ Zu dem Begriff in diesem Zusammenhang siehe J. Weiß, Max Webers Grundlegung der Soziologie, München et al.² 1992, 69.

⁶ 12, 8, 7 (C 574). Vgl. auch 6, 1, 2 (C 253); 9, 4, 18 (C 429) u. ö.

world in a particular period. Dueck presents this work and its author as integral parts of a specific historical period, the Augustan era.

With admirable skill, and meticulous attention to detail, Dueck succeeds in encompassing the difficult questions relating to the geographer. Because of the encyclopaedic character of the *Geography*, anyone who writes on Strabo could easily lapse into a lengthy enumeration of items, repetitious descriptions and references, obscure arrangement of material, and an uncritical borrowing of stock quotations from his work. Dueck manages to avoid most of these vices. One prominent puzzle here could be termed 'the Strabonian problem', that is, the question how far Strabo was a mere compiler of existing works and how far an original author. We have a variety of answers to this question, moving between two poles of interpretation. At one pole is the view, represented by Syme in his posthumous *Anatolica*, which stresses Strabo's total reliance on earlier material and his complete lack of originality. Strabo is represented as a writer who follows his texts verbatim, without any judgement, even to the point of self-contradiction. Similarly, there is the view that the *Geography* should be examined only for the information it conveys, on numerous geographical sites and intellectual fields of interest, and because of the fragments of lost sources embedded in it. At the other extreme, some scholars see personal considerations in the composition of the work, an individual style, novel pieces of data, and an original thought on nearly all issues and controversial matters. Such scholars often emphasise the influence of Strabo's experience and environment on his writing. Dueck occupies a middle ground. She admits that 'the *Geography* was necessarily founded on numerous sources' (p. 180), and naturally so, for most of the details in the work cannot derive from Strabo's own experience. Nevertheless, Dueck strongly emphasizes that this does not turn Strabo into a mere compiler of literary excerpts. She is prepared to grant the geographer originality in the organization of his work, in the critical judgement whether or not to use various pieces of information. As for the dominant source(s) in each book (cf. the survey in pp. 181-6), it is the opinion of this reader that distinguishing Strabo's own words from those of his sources is a difficult and often impossible task. At times, Dueck herself is not sure (cf. p. 114).

The book can be divided into three different parts, unequal in their length. The first deals with the geographer himself, portrayed as a Greek man of letters. It contains 'Strabo's background and antecedents' (pp. 1-30), and 'Strabo and the Greek tradition' (pp. 31-84). The second, shorter, section, treats Augustan Rome. It embraces three chapters, 'Strabo and the world of Augustan Rome' (pp. 85-106), 'Geography, politics and Empire' (pp. 107-29), and 'Greek scholars in Augustan Rome' (pp. 130-44). The last part concerns the *Geography* itself. Regrettably, it encompasses only one chapter, to which Dueck gives the name 'The *Geography* — a "colossal work"' (pp. 145-87).

By examining the intricate relationships between Strabo and his work, his cultural heritage, his possible theoretical influences, and the social and cultural surroundings, Dueck apparently hopes to follow in the footsteps of the historiographical tradition initiated by Syme's great *Tacitus*. In this pioneering work, Syme proposed to deal with Tacitus and his writings not in isolation, but through an inspection of his epoch, the careers and activities of his contemporaries and friends, and the literary tastes of his time. And at the same time, Tacitus' works are used to interpret the historical changes during that period. In similar vein, Dueck endeavours to discuss the *Geography* not from a philological or a textual point of view, but through a study of Strabo's social background, including his family and his ties with friends and teachers, and the general political and intellectual climate in Augustan Rome. She describes the position of Strabo's family in the Pontus as intimates of the kings, and the cooperation of some of its members with Romans (pp. 5-7). The possible grant of Roman citizenship to Strabo is also mentioned (pp. 7-8). Unfortunately, the arrangement of sections separates the treatment of Strabo's Roman friends (pp. 87-8) from that of the Roman friends and associates of Strabo's Greek teachers and colleagues (pp. 8-12). However, Dueck returns to the topic of Greek men of letters in Rome and their relations

with Roman patrons in another chapter (pp. 130-44), thereby supplying a cultural setting for the composition of the *Geography*. Strabo's debt to earlier writers (like Polybius) and genres of geographical description (the *Periplus*) is elaborated (pp. 40-53), as is his affinity with the Stoic school or Greek philosophy at large (pp. 62-9). Another resemblance to Syme's masterpiece is Dueck's attempt to explore, albeit not extensively, the structure of the *Geography* and to see the book as exemplifying Augustan Rome and the sentiments of the era (pp. 85-129).

The *Geography* is virtually the only ancient source for details on Strabo's life, personality, and background. Yet he does not present this information systematically. The result is that Strabo still remains an elusive figure. It is this blurred image that scholars try to clarify. Several puzzles, like the dates of Strabo's birth and death, and the date and place of composition of the *Geography*, cannot be resolved with certainty. In fact, these difficulties derive in part from the 'Strabonian problem', for expressions like 'here', 'hither', 'now', 'recently' and 'in my time' could come equally from Strabo himself or from his sources. The scholarly debate on these matters is briefly surveyed by Dueck, but surprisingly not treated together (for the date see pp. 14-5; for the place see pp. 146-51), even though both themes arise from suggestions made by Niese. Dueck's own answer is interesting. On the one hand, she rejects Niese's methodology. She mentions the objections made by Haebler that the local words in Strabo often refer to the place which is the subject of the sentence and not to the location of the writer, reservations she calls 'to some extent persuasive' (pp. 14-5). She is also aware that the work 'abounds in passages that contain the terms "now" and "recently", yet refer ... to a wide range of dates' (p. 147). On the other hand, Dueck accepts Niese's proposals relating to Rome as the place of composition, and to the *Geography* as written in one piece in a relatively short space of time (pp. 147-51), though she opts for the years 18-24 CE. The questions of the dates of Strabo's birth and death are also relevant, but they are found in yet a different part of the book (pp. 2-3). In any case, Dueck's belief that the actual composition of such an immense work took place in the span of a few years is tenable only if we assume a long period of research and gathering of sources by Strabo before he began writing (cf. p. 150).

The ethnic identity of Strabo is far from obvious. Josephus called him 'the Cappadocian'; the *Suda* preferred 'the Amasian'. By modern scholars he has been termed an 'Anatolian who failed of Roman recognition' (G.C. Richards, in *G&R*, 10, 1940, 79-90), described as 'the swan-song of Hellenism' (Tarn, in *Hellenistic Civilization*, 1930, p. 257), and advanced as an example of 'racial prejudice in Imperial Rome' (by Sherwin-White). Dueck stresses Strabo's greekness in a number of ways in depicting him as a Greek man of letters. Starting from the Hellenistic character of Amasia, and of its elite aristocracy, of which Strabo's family was part (pp. 4-5), Dueck discusses his Greek teachers and Hellenic education (pp. 8-15), and passes to the influence of earlier Greek writers and traditions on the framework and the contents of his work. For Strabo, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the works of a revered and admired poet, to be consulted constantly. Dueck explains this habit in the words of Strabo himself, 'because of the fame of the poet and because of our familiarity with him from our childhood' (8.3.3). The Homeric inclination of Strabo's teachers, and his acquaintance with famous Homeric commentators, also played their part (pp. 38-9). Dueck shows how Strabo treats Homer as the founder of geography, using his epics as sources, and the Homeric narrative as a geographical frame for his descriptions, notably utilizing the 'Catalogue of Ships' for a survey of the Greek regions (It is regrettable that W.R. Kahles, *Strabo and Homer: The Homeric Citations in The Geography of Strabo*, Chicago, 1976, is missing from the bibliography). Dueck underlines the acceptance by Strabo of many traditional Greek concepts of the shape and internal divisions of the *oikoumene* (pp. 43-5), and maintains that he was well versed in the Greek historiographical (pp. 46-53, 69-75) and scientific geographical traditions (both the descriptive and the mathematical) (pp. 53-62). The treatment of Strabo's history, which Dueck argues is a chronological and ideological continuation of Polybius (pp. 69-75), is sadly divorced from the discussion of the latter (46-53). Strabo also shows Greek philosophical

orientation through the ideas and terminology he employs. Dueck assumes that the philosophical tendency of Strabo was Stoic (pp. 62-69), but it is also shown to be eclectic.

In the section on 'Hellenica' and 'barbarica' Dueck claims that 'Strabo preserves the traditional Greek distinctions between barbarians and Greeks' (p. 75). It is true that occasionally the customary exclusive ethnic antithesis between the two groups is visible in the *Geography*. However, the picture is more complicated. In some cases, Strabo shows not a dichotomous taxonomy of groups, but a graded classification of societies, according to the degree of civilization found in them. Dueck alludes to this when she speaks of the position of each people 'on a sort of conceptual spectrum lying between two extremes — Barbaric or civilized' (p. 79). Clearly 'barbarism' in this conceptual spectrum is not an ethnic feature dependent on origin and birth, but an external state that can change (cf. 4.1.12). Furthermore, it is not entirely correct to see the difference between culture and savage life as constituting Strabo's distinction between barbarians and Hellenes (p. 75), for some barbarian nations (the Egyptians, the Persians, the Georgi) have features of high civilization. In these cases, the differentiation is purely ethnic. It is perhaps better to say that there is no uniformity in the treatment of the barbarians by Strabo, as he embraces a variety of ethnological and cultural taxonomies to differentiate human groups. This variety can be explained by the special position of Strabo himself, as a person who exemplifies in his own life the juncture of the Greek and Roman worlds, and is influenced by the different definitions these two cultural heritages provided for the identity of the barbarians (cf. p. 164).

Augustan Rome, the other half of the book's title, is reviewed under several aspects. Dueck treats Strabo's conjectured visits to the city, and concludes that we have evidence of three or four separate sojourns by him there (pp. 85-6). Strabo's social contacts, attested and presumed, are also enumerated, notably the friendship with Aelius Gallus, governor of Egypt (pp. 87-8). Dueck examines Strabo's knowledge of Latin and concludes that he probably had at least passive knowledge, (pp. 88-92). However, she insists that Strabo used two Latin sources which he does not mention: the *Commentarii* of Agrippa and the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (pp. 92-6). The echoes of Augustan literature and propaganda in the *Geography* are laid out by Dueck in her discussion of the image of the emperor in the work (pp. 96-106). She shows how Strabo expresses 'notions similar to other contemporary literary expressions' — namely the *Res Gestae* — 'which depicted the time as an age of peace and prosperity' and attributed these achievements to the great and benevolent leader Augustus (p. 106 — though a divergence from the *Res Gestae*, such as Augustus' emphasis on the restoration of republican institutions (1, 34) against a disregard by Strabo of the 'democratic' element in the constitution of Rome (6.4.2. C 286) is regrettably relegated to a note, p. 194, n. 87). Yet, as Dueck rightly argues, praise for Augustus is not the aim of Strabo, but may be considered 'a sort of by-product' (p. 103). Dueck divides her examination of the attitude of the geographer towards Roman political ascendancy into three — geographical, moral and political (p. 107). She notes Strabo's recurrent identification of the boundaries of the empire with those of the *oikoumene* (pp. 109-13) and inspects both his favourable attitude to the process of acculturation or advancement of civilization prompted by the Roman conquest (pp. 115-9) and his resentment at some of its bad consequences (pp. 119-22). She also locates the *Geography* in the general development of awakening Roman awareness of space and *oikoumene* manifested particularly in works of prose and poetry and in Republican and Augustan visual monuments (pp. 122-7). As for Agrippa's *Commentarii*, she accepts the suggestion of Brodersen that it was a mere list of regions, cities, mountains, rivers and nations, and not a map. She claims that Strabo saw it in Rome (pp. 127-9). Finally, Dueck elaborates on the Greek intellectual and social milieu in Augustan Rome (pp. 130-44).

After a brief survey of the work's manuscript tradition, its editions, the circumstances and date of its composition, and its reception in ancient and early modern times (pp. 145-54), Dueck looks at the character and structure of the work itself. She expounds the contribution of Strabo to the discipline of geography, in that the general framework of his treatise is presented as a

geographia (i.e., it is comprehensive and panoramic, dwelling on the description of the earth (*ge*) in general outline, the distances between sites and their size), while the description of each country is a *chorographia* (i.e., it focuses on a certain region (*chora*) and includes many particular details) (pp. 154-6). She also stresses the encyclopaedic and pragmatic propensities of Strabo (pp. 156-61), in aiming his work at statesmen, men in high social positions, and an educated audience. Following Dubois, Dueck claims that this readership comprises both Greeks and Romans (pp. 161-5). In the last sections of her book, Dueck presents her views on the 'Strabonian problem', attributing originality to Strabo mainly in the assembly and ordering of material. This ordering results, according to Dueck, 'from a calculated and defined plan' (p. 166). Several systems of arrangement are exhibited, from the progression of a *periplous* to the sequence of traditional geographical and ethnographic approach (first the country, then its inhabitants), and in accordance with several other conjectured suggestions of order (pp. 165-8). Moreover, because of regional differences and the use of a variety of sources, every one of the 17 books demands a different approach and methodology, so Dueck proceeds to describe the unique tone and stylistic characteristics of each (pp. 168-78). Dueck briefly surveys *Quellenforschung* in modern studies of Strabo, specifying the presumed authorities of each of the 17 books of his work (pp. 180-6). The inclusion here of the scholarly bibliography, especially the updated items, in accordance with the books of the *Geography* they treat, is very helpful. The book ends with a final note on Strabo's ideal of a geographer. Dueck concludes that Strabo is not far from his own model (pp. 186-7).

Describing his *Geography*, Strabo states at the outset: 'in this work ... I must leave untouched what is petty and inconspicuous, and devote my attention to what is noble and great, and to what contains the practically useful, or memorable, or entertaining' (1.1.23). Dueck succeeds in writing a book that accomplishes Strabo's aims. Her book entertains and is of use. And while concentrating on particular details, it also provides the general picture. Strabo called his *Geography* a 'monumental work' (*Kolossourgia*). It still awaits a monumental study. However, Dueck's book on this elusive geographer will certainly be the first corner-stone in such a future enterprise.

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Strabone e l'Asia minore: Incontri di storia della storiografia antica e sul mondo antico, X Collana: Pubblicazioni dell' Università degli Studi di Perugia, a cura di Anna Maria Biraschi e Giovanni Salmeri, Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane 2000. ISBN 88 495 0151 X.

This series of essays is the product of the 10th conference on ancient historiography and the ancient world held at Perugia in 1997. Perugia has for more than two decades been a centre for Strabonian studies, and this volume contains 23 contributions from Italian scholars, preceded by an introductory paper by Glen Bowersock.

The preface situates the work amongst recent efforts to rehabilitate the author Strabo and to see him as more than a very useful compendium of no longer extant sources. Attention has turned to the geographer himself and the mode of employment of these sources. Asia Minor takes on special importance in such work, since it is both his original home and his cultural base. In Italy this type of study of Strabo's links with Asia Minor started at the end of the nineteenth century with the work of Ettore Pais. His conclusion that the work was written for Pythodoris, queen of Pontus, rather than for a Roman audience, has been widely rejected, but not the notion that the eastern origin of the geographer is a crucial datum, recently reemphasised in Syme's posthumous *Anatolica* (Oxford 1995).

Bowersock in his paper on the *patria* of Strabo emphasises Asia Minor as the author's spiritual home, but explains the prominence of Pythodoris and her family in terms of mutual links with Nysa in Caria, where at least some of Strabo's early training occurred. Amasya, which Strabo