

De nuevo sobre Estrabón

MONOGRAFÍAS DE GAHIA

3

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PRESENTACIÓN

En noviembre de 2014, nace, en una sesión fundacional que tuvo como sede la Universidad de Alcalá, la red internacional de investigadores *Geography And Historiography In Antiquity* (en adelante, GAHIA). Como su propio nombre indica, esta asociación internacional tiene como epicentro el análisis de la geografía histórica y de la historiografía clásica, estando, en su génesis, el empeño personal y profesional de tres investigadores de reconocido prestigio en el ámbito del estudio de la Antigüedad como son los profesores Francisco Javier González Ponce, de la Universidad de Sevilla, Francisco Javier Gómez Espelósín, de la Universidad de Alcalá, y Gonzalo Cruz Andreotti, de la Universidad de Málaga.

Durante esta primera sesión, se diseñó un ambicioso marco de actividades con el objetivo de que GAHIA se fuera convirtiendo, de manera paulatina, en un referente sustancial dentro del campo de estudio que nos ocupa. De esta manera, se propuso, por una parte, la celebración de un encuentro científico internacional, de carácter bienal, que sirviese de foro de intercambio entre los distintos miembros de GAHIA y de éstos, a su vez, con la comunidad universitaria y académica. Fruto de este compromiso ha sido la organización, hasta la fecha, de dos *Workshops* que han contado con una amplia aceptación tanto entre los especialistas en la materia como entre el alumnado de distintas titulaciones. El primero de ellos llevó como título *Actualización científica sobre Estrabón* y tuvo lugar los días 31 de mayo y 1 de junio de 2016, en la Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid) y la Universidad de Alcalá. Dos años más tarde, concretamente, a principios de noviembre de 2018, se celebra, siendo anfitriona la Universidad de Málaga, el segundo de los encuentros. En esta ocasión, el tema elegido fue *Cartografía antigua e Historia* sirviendo, dentro de un foro de discusión de primer nivel, para rendir un emotivo y merecido homenaje al profesor Francesco Prontera con motivo de su jubilación.

Por otra parte, de forma interconectada con la organización y celebración de estos encuentros, se gestó la creación de la colección Monografías de GAHIA. Inaugura esta serie, en el año 2016, *La letra y la carta. Descripción verbal y representación gráfica en los diseños terrestres grecolatinos. Estudios en honor de P. Janani*. Este volumen –coordinado por los profesores F. J. González

Ponce, F. J. Gómez Espelosín y A. L. Chávez Reino— reúne casi una veintena de trabajos, firmados por investigadores internacionales de reconocido prestigio, con motivo de la celebración del octogésimo aniversario del profesor Pietro Janni. Al año siguiente y firmado por Pierre Moret, ve la luz el segundo título de la serie: *Des noms à la carte. Figures antiques de l'Ibérie et de la Gaule*. Una síntesis, esta, que pone sobre la mesa, con el rigor y la capacidad analítica que caracterizan todos los trabajos de este autor, las principales problemáticas que plantea, en el imaginario greco-latino, el complejo proceso de «invención» de los territorios extremo-occidentales de la ecúmene. La tercera monografía, correspondiente al año 2018, es la que estamos presentando en estas líneas. En ella, y como el lector ya ha podido ver, volvemos *De nuevo sobre Estrabón* y lo hacemos, precisamente, tomando como base de partida las ponencias presentadas en ese primer encuentro de GAHIA que tuvo lugar en Madrid y Alcalá y al que hemos hecho referencia unas líneas más arriba. Como parte de nuestra tarea como editora, nos ha correspondido dotar de un hilo rector a las distintas contribuciones y, de ahí, el subtítulo elegido *Geografía, cartografía, historiografía y tradición*. Sobre la base de estas cuatro palabras clave, decidimos estructurar en cuatro partes el conjunto de los distintos trabajos. Así, la primera de ellas —el «redescubrimiento» de la *Geografía* en la historiografía contemporánea— actúa a guisa de introducción y contextualización del tema que nos ocupa, al presentar Daniela Dueck un amplio recorrido por distintos ítems que han marcado la pauta de los estudios centrados en el geógrafo de Amaseía. A continuación, la segunda parte de la monografía aborda la problemática tocante a la relación entre Estrabón y los alejandrinos. De este modo, José María Candau se centra en el uso, no siempre neutral, por parte de nuestro autor, de la producción eforea. Acto seguido, Francisco Javier Gómez Espelosín se hace eco del interés mostrado por Estrabón hacia los historiadores de las campañas de Alejandro. El tercer bloque —titulado *Geografía, historia y mapas*— recoge una clarificadora síntesis de Francesco Prontera a propósito de la impronta de la cartografía alejandrina sobre las teorizaciones propuestas por Estrabón. Toda vez planteada y discutida la influencia eratóstenica, el siguiente trabajo, firmado por Pierre Moret y la que escribe estas líneas, toma el relevo ocupándose de la elaboración cartográfica e histórico-cultural que Estrabón pergeña, a través de Polibio, Artemidoro y Posidonio, de Iberia y Galia. Cierra la monografía un cuarto apartado centrado en la recepción y transmisión de la *Geografía* en dos periodos fundamentales como son la época bizantina y el renacimiento. De esta manera, Inmaculada Pérez Martín se interesa por el uso que hace Miguel Pselo del texto estraboniano en su *Sobre el mapa* y Aude Cohen-Skalli y Didier Marcotte se aproximan, a partir de

la casuística del *Bodleianus Canonici Class. Lat. 301*, a la particular visión de Guarino Veronese y su intervención en el texto de nuestro geógrafo.

No quisiera cerrar estas breves líneas de presentación sin mostrar mi agradecimiento más sincero hacia todos aquellos que, en una u otra medida, han colaborado para que este proyecto llegue a buen puerto. Así, mi gratitud va, en primer lugar, y como no podía ser de otro modo, hacia los autores de los trabajos que conforman este volumen, por la calidad indiscutible de sus contribuciones y por su disposición e implicación a lo largo de todo el proceso editorial. Del mismo modo, mi reconocimiento se hace extensivo a José María Candau Morón y Francisco Javier Gómez Espelosín –directores de la colección de Monografías GAHIA– y a Francisco Javier González Ponce y Gonzalo Cruz Andreotti –presidente y secretario, respectivamente, de la Asociación– por haberme confiado la coordinación científica del original. Tampoco quiero olvidarme, en esta presentación, del personal de la Editorial Universidad de Sevilla por su buen hacer y su gestión del manuscrito y de Antonio Chávez Reino, secretario de la colección de monografías GAHIA por su minuciosa revisión, que no ha hecho sino mejorar el resultado final. Pero, sobre todo y ante todo, quiero dar las gracias a Gonzalo Cruz, por su apoyo incondicional, y a mi familia, por todas las horas robadas.

La editora

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Traditions, trends and topics in Strabonian studies	3
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DANIELA DUECK

Abstract: This article is a brief survey of trends in modern scholarship of Strabo, highlighting frequencies of allusions to Strabo, prevalent and unique research themes related to Strabo, Strabo's modern reputation and most recent Strabonian scholarship.

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JOSÉ MARÍA CANDAU MORÓN

Abstract: Analysis of the account about the foundation of Tarentum who, according to Strabo, offered Ephorus. The account shows signs of manipulation carried out by the transmitter, Strabo. A manipulation intended to adapt the version of his source to the demands and tastes of the time of Augustus. As a result the account of Ephorus is changed into a banal story and lose sharpness. This contributes to the simplified and negative view of Ephorus prevailing in the traditional philology.

De Estrabón a Alejandro	37
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FRANCISCO JAVIER GÓMEZ ESPELOSÍN

Abstract: The knowledge on Alexander's history that appears in Strabo's *Geography* is the result of the use of Alexander historians and the selection of

the pertinent information in them relating to the own aims of the author. His special interest in the macedonian conqueror has been reflected in this complex and difficult historiographical process.

3. GEOGRAFÍA, HISTORIA Y MAPAS

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FRANCESCO PRONTERA

Abstract: Before Ptolemy's *Guide to Geography* it is Strabo who documents the progress of Hellenistic cartography along the path pioneered by Eratosthenes. In fact an entire section of his proem (Str., II 5, 1-40) is devoted entirely to cartography. The geometric schemes which guide the Strabo's periegesis cannot be explained as a casual elaboration of 'mental maps' for the use of the reader. The correspondence between cartographic delineation and text must be presupposed above all when Strabo describes complex oro-hydrographic systems, whose articulation in turn serves to circumscribe ethno-regional units of various dimensions.

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ENCARNACIÓN CASTRO-PÁEZ Y PIERRE MORET

Abstract: On the following pages, we present an assessment of the image of Iberia and Gaul that we can infer from Strabo. This assessment will come from a dual approach; on the one hand, cartographic, and on the other hand, historical-cultural. Before that, we will have a look at the constructions that Polybius, Artemidorus and Posidonius offer us of the far-western territories so that we can try to elucidate up to what point the development of Strabo is indebted or not to his illustrious predecessors.

4. ESTRABÓN EN LAS TRADICIONES BIZANTINA Y RENACENTISTA

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INMACULADA PÉREZ MARTÍN

Abstract: The scientific texts composed by Michael Psellos (1018-1078), imperial professor of philosophy (ὑπάτος τῶν φιλοσόφων) from 1047 onwards, are an exceptional case of popularisation of a knowledge that was available to the Byzantines at their libraries. This textual production has been approached by classicists as evidence on Aristotle's writings among others, while from the perspective of the Byzantine culture it constitutes an important piece of

evidence about the interest in explaining the physical environment and the place of the human beings in there by cultivated Byzantines in the 11th century. In the present case, Psellos' treatise *On the map* (Περὶ τοῦ γεωγραφικοῦ πίνακος) was published by Lasserre as a fragmentary testimony of Strabo's *Geography* from the MS Par. gr. 1630; in the current contribution, however, we offer a critical edition of the text (tackled as an independent text) that includes the supplementary testimonies of the MSS Barocci 131 and Mutin. α.Τ.9.3. The author's method can be noted: Strabo's reading brought him in contact with the scientific discussion on the map of the inhabited world explained by the geographer in his second book, and Psellos decided to summarize in a sketch or *hypotyposis* some of the data arising from the cartographical debate. Thus, his choice of *excerpta* from Strabo is introduced as a description of the oikoumené's map, to which thereby the attention of Psellos' pupils and readers was drawn.

Guarino Veronese, annotateur de Strabon. Observations sur le Bodleianus Canonici Class. Lat. 301..... 137

AUDE COHEN-SKALLI Y DIDIER MARCOTTE

Abstract: In the middle of the 15th century, Guarino Veronese completed a translation of books 1-10 of Strabo at the behest of pope Nicholas V (1447-1455). In due course he decided to continue this work by translating the rest of the *Geography*. His autograph manuscript (Bodleianus Canonici Class. Lat. 301), still extant today, is the author's "working" manuscript which is the focus of our study. Choosing three Greek manuscripts as his model (Etonensis 141, Mosquensis Sinod. gr. 204, Vaticanus gr. 174), Guarino took significant pains in critical edition, as an analysis of the annotations in his own handwriting in the three sources confirms. The humanist also dedicated himself to much rewriting work, composing a description of Verona which was not present in Strabo's text; we give here its first edition. He thus situated himself as Strabo's continuator.

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TRADITIONS, TRENDS AND TOPICS IN STRABONIAN STUDIES

Daniela DUECK

Bar Ilan University

Abstract: This article is a brief survey of trends in modern scholarship of Strabo, highlighting frequencies of allusions to Strabo, prevalent and unique research themes related to Strabo, Strabo's modern reputation and most recent Strabonian scholarship.

The “big bang” of Strabonian studies occurred in the 15th century with the first printed editions of the *Geography* and its translation, primarily into Latin. Once the text gained a wider circulation, still mainly and perhaps exclusively among scholarly readership, various research questions began to emerge. In 1532 Ziegler¹ took interest in Ptolemy but Strabo was joined in as a comparative supplement with other relevant authors. Evidently and typically for these first steps, the reception of Ptolemy was wider, but Strabo's text began to be acknowledged. In 1709 Stillingfleet² set forth to investigate “The different censures of Strabo and Eratosthenes concerning the poetical age of Greece and the reasons of them”. Again, Strabo was still linked with another author, Eratosthenes, but this time one that was mainly preserved through Strabo. And in 1884 Häbler³ targeted his attention solely on Strabo and sought to know if Strabo wrote his *Geography* in Rome.

There is no need, however, to offer presently a mere catalogue of bibliographic items related to Strabo; this has already been done by an Italian team in the early 1980s including all items related to Strabo – editions, translations, commentaries and studies – up to 1978⁴ and today various online search engines

¹ ZIEGLER 1532.

² STILLINGFLEET 1709.

³ HÄBLER 1884.

⁴ BIRASCHI–MARIBELLI–MASSARO–PAGNOTTA 1981.

can provide an updated information. Accordingly, the aim of this chapter is to briefly point out several modern trends in Strabonian studies and to highlight a few unique discussions.

1. Trends in modern interest in Strabo

Let us begin with a general visual presentation of modern interest in Strabo. Our tool for this purpose is Google books Ngram viewer which is an online search engine that charts frequencies of given terms in sources printed between 1500 and 2012. There are some reservations regarding its level of accuracy and the target sources it analyses, but for the sake of a very general reflection it seems worth taking a notice.

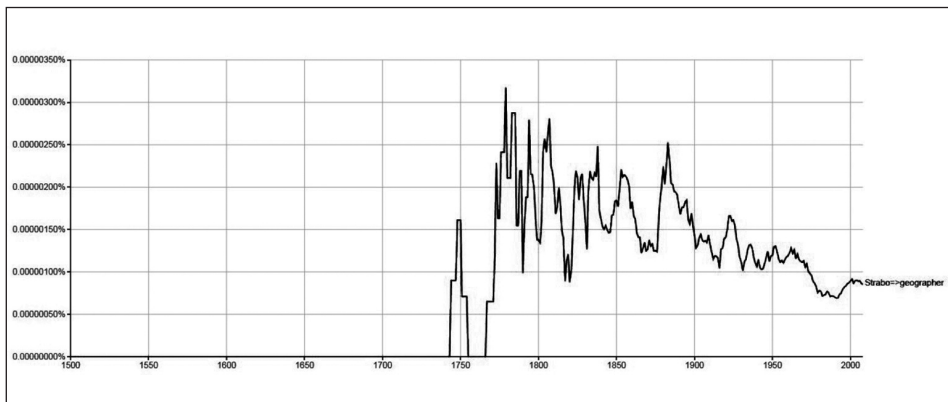


Figure 1. Frequency of “Strabo” in printed English material from 1500-2008.

Figure 1 surveys the frequency of appearances of the name “Strabo”, specifically associated with “geographer”, in English printed material, books, articles and other publications. We see a relatively early small awakening in the late 17th century followed by a small decline and then a mass ascent in interest towards a peak at the end of the 18th century. In the next years appearance of “Strabo” is constant and relatively high, with small ups and downs, although the general tendency is downward. However, in the last two decades of the 20th century there is a beginning of a gradual increase of allusions to Strabo.

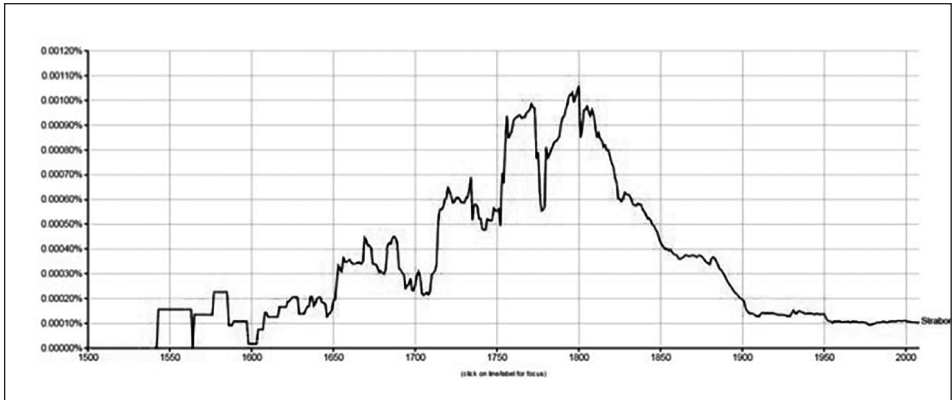


Figure 2. Frequency of “Strabon” in printed French material from 1500-2008.

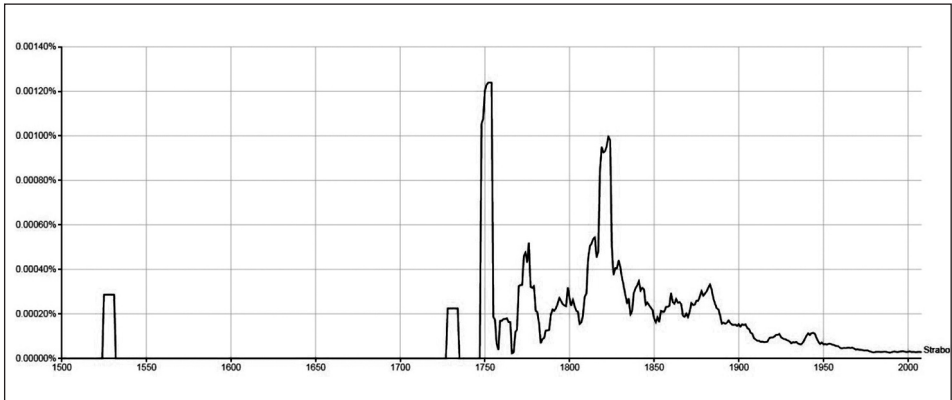


Figure 3. Frequency of “Strabon” in printed German material from 1500-2008.

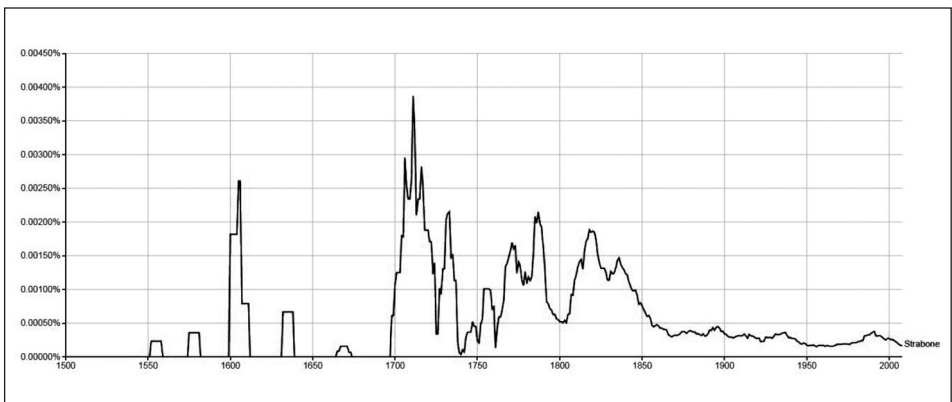


Figure 4. Frequency of “Strabone” in printed Italian material from 1500-2008.

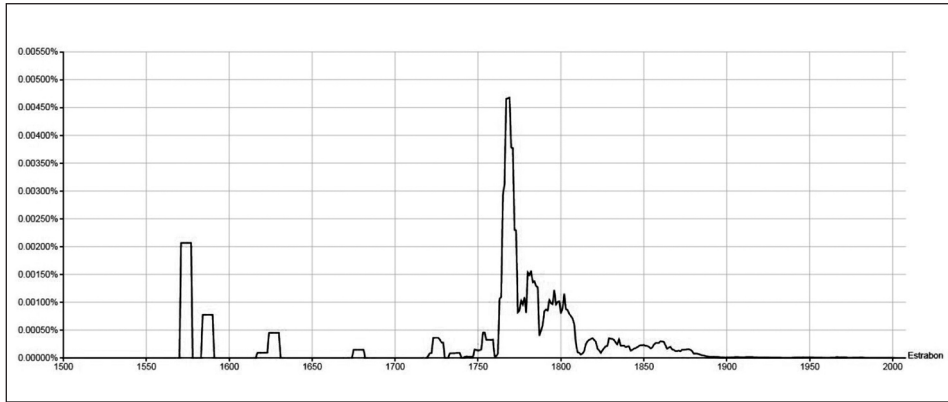


Figure 5. Frequency of “Estrabon” in printed Spanish material from 1500-2008.

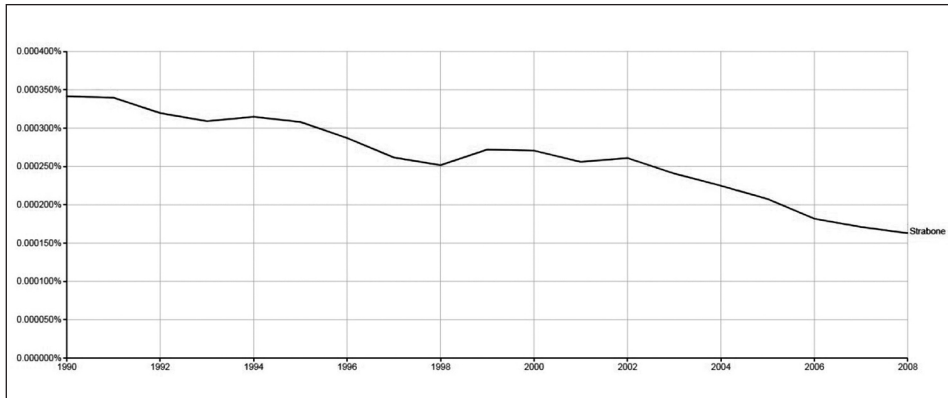


Figure 6. Frequency of “Strabone” in printed Italian material from 1990-2008.

In a more general view we can see the frequencies of the occurrence of “Strabo” (Strabon, Strabone, Estrabón) in French (figure 2), German (figure 3), Italian (figure 4) and Spanish (figure 5) printed material.

- ✦ French interest in “Strabo” is larger than in the other inspected languages and generally more constant through the centuries.
- ✦ German interest is generally declining.
- ✦ “Strabone” is steadily alive in Italian publications.
- ✦ The rating of Spanish writing on Strabo is relatively low in more recent sections of time.

When we focus on the 18 years between 1990-2008, we can see the difference between the situation in Italian publications (figure 6), which points to a

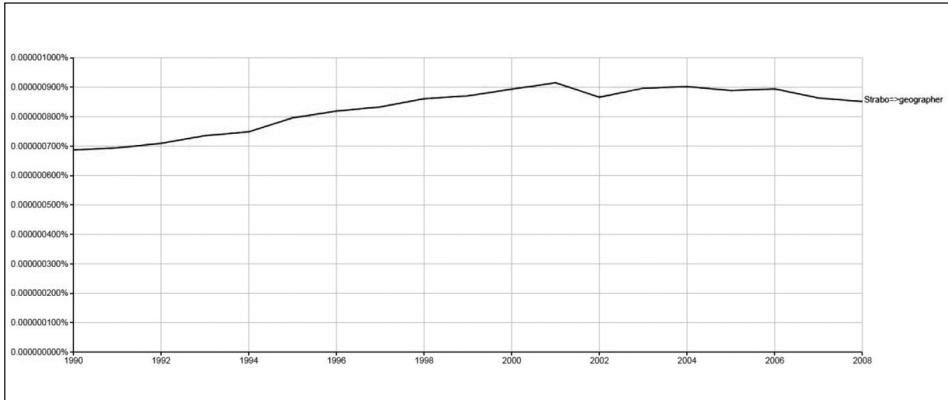


Figure 7. Frequency of “Strabo” in printed English material from 1990-2008.

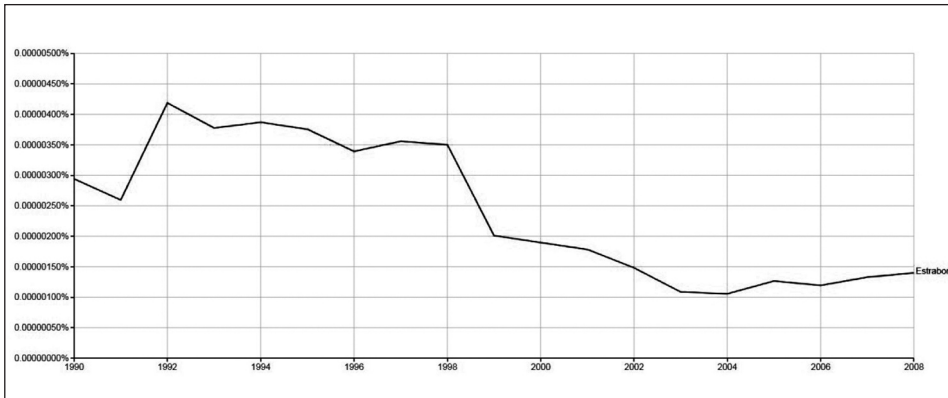


Figure 8. Frequency of “Estrabón” in printed Spanish material from 1990-2008.

gradual decline in allusions to Strabo; in English (figure 7) a mild rise; and in Spanish (figure 8) a peak in 1992 with an abrupt fall later and a mild recovery in recent years. In French and German there is a more or less steady tendency with no sharp ups and downs. But, as said, these graphs merely reflect very general trends.

The above impressions are just that: somewhat entertaining images, which are not academically very accurate for several reasons, such as the fact that this tool does not separate academic from general printed material and that it might not contain all printed material. But it seems that, while raising awareness to this reservation, these diagrams still reflect general trends of modern written interest in Strabo. Let us now have a closer look at the main trends in academic discussions of Strabo and his work.

2. Prevalent research themes related to Strabo

Strabonian studies are essentially no different than any other research dealing with an author and a text within the discipline of Classical studies or the broader academic skill of critical reading of texts. Accordingly, when turning to Strabo's text we find typical studies of its textual tradition, dealing with manuscript versions, textual difficulties, critical and philological notes. A key publication is the well-known volume of Aubrey Diller⁵, and most recently an article by Roberto Nicolai⁶. Then there are studies dealing with the language and style of Strabo's *Geography* including questions related to grammar, to Strabo's choice of words, or to the literary structure of the entire work. One example focusing on grammatical issues is the study by A.F. Ştef, on Greek syntax in Strabo⁷, and, another, dealing with the literary structure of the *Geography*, is the fresh analysis by Sarah Pothe Cary⁸.

Another very large group of modern discussions is devoted to the broad issue of Strabo's sources. We all know that the *Geography* is a *magnum opus* based on numerous pieces of information taken from many sources. Accordingly, studies in this group either deal with a specific text or author as one of Strabo's sources, especially when these are very central to his ideas, for instance Homer or Eratosthenes⁹; or discuss Strabo's sources for his survey of an individual region of the world, India for instance¹⁰, or for a specific section within the *Geography*, book 3 as an example¹¹. This complicated and extensive theme is still in need of further comprehensive research.

Questions related to Strabo himself as an author are Strabo's biography – his birthplace, family, education, social ties, significant dates within his life, and more. Modern studies usually treat one of these aspects, but sometimes take a wider look at Strabo's life as a whole. One of the earliest items to walk this path is the 1863 dissertation of Hasenmüller¹². Another direction, which is typical to any research of text and author, is the discussion of Strabo's activity within his geo-political and historical context. Here, Hellenistic Asia and Augustan/Tiberian Rome stand at the fore as significant backgrounds which are claimed

⁵ DILLER 1975.

⁶ NICOLAI 2017.

⁷ ŞTEF 1974.

⁸ POTHECARY 2017.

⁹ Homer: LIGHFOOT 2017; Eratosthenes: BIANCHETTI 2006.

¹⁰ PUSKÁS 1993.

¹¹ MORR 1926.

¹² HASENMÜLLER 1863.

to have influenced his scholarly tendencies. Note for example one of the first studies with this orientation by François Lasserre¹³.

Another group of themes, still very traditional, stems from the specific nature of Strabo's work as a geographical work. Here we have themes more unique to Strabo according to the following divisions. First, there are studies dealing with descriptive geography in Strabo, referring to traditional Hellenic approaches included in this genre, for instance topography, archaeology, mythology¹⁴. Then there are studies focusing on specific regions or geographical sections within the *Geography*, for instance Gaul or Asia Minor¹⁵; more chorographically –the Troad or Egypt¹⁶; or according to geographical sections within the internal division of Strabo's work, that is, specific books of the *Geography*. Studies focusing on the identification of specific place names are also part of this regional focus.

Historiographical issues are also prominent in Strabonian studies. Such are discussions of specific historical events and periods as presented in the *Geography*, or references to political and economical situations. Emphasis on ethnography puts to the fore Strabo's description and definition of peoples, nations and tribes¹⁷. The natural sciences within the *Geography* are another important aspect of Strabo's work¹⁸, and, last but certainly not least, is mathematical geography including the question of whether or not Strabo relied on cartographic drawings and/or included some in his original manuscript¹⁹.

Finally, although for reasons of partial preservation it is relatively marginal to the *Geography*, Strabo's historiographical work occupied and is still occupying modern scholars, including the definition of its fragments and the analysis of their meaning²⁰.

¹³ LASSERRE 1982.

¹⁴ E.g. CRUZ ANDREOTTI 1994.

¹⁵ Gaul: DIRKZWAGER 1975; Asia Minor: BIRASCHI–SALMERI 2000.

¹⁶ The Troad: LEAF 1916; Egypt: PIERCE 2007.

¹⁷ A key study is THOLLARD 1987.

¹⁸ Treated for instance in the seminal work of AUJAC 1966.

¹⁹ Two early ones are LETRONNE 1883 and DOGNON 1898, and two most recent ones, which exploit modern methodologies and tools such as GIS and digitations, are GEUS–GUCKELSBERGER 2017 and MORET 2017.

²⁰ E.g. AMBAGLIO 1990.

3. *Similar topics—different approaches*

Another question related to modern trends in Strabonian studies is how different authors – often living in different times and places – treat a similar research topic. Let us offer one such an example.

When approaching the question of the time when Strabo wrote his *Geography* and whether there was more than one version of the text still in Strabo's lifetime, several scholars have proposed different opinions (Table no. 1). Since we have no external evidence for Strabo, all answers to this question derived solely from within Strabo's own writings and specifically the *Geography*. Accordingly, the differences between the suggestions of modern scholars relied on often partial reading of the text and on various interpretations of it.

Table no. 1. When did Strabo write his *Geography*? Different modern views²¹

Author	Date of publication	Time of Strabo's composition
Johannes Fabricius	1717	19 CE
Benedictus Niese	1878	18-19 CE
Ettore Pais	1908	1 st version by 7 BCE; updates in 18 CE
Wolfgang Aly	1957	2 nd decade BCE-19 CE
Ronald Syme	[1995]	1 st draft by 3 BCE; revision in 18 CE
Hugh Lindsay	1997	Layers of composition
Daniela Dueck	1999	18-24 CE
Sarah Potheary	2002	17/18-23 CE; temporal omissions are a product of politics and not historicity

Earlier attempts, such as the ones by Fabricius 1717 and Niese 1878, relied on single, even if very clear and emphasized, passages in Strabo, for instance the one in book 4 indicating that thanks to Tiberius and Drusus the Alpine tribes are “now, for thirty three years have been in a state of tranquility” (STR., IV 6, 9). Since these tribes surrendered to Tiberius in 15 BCE the calculation added to 19 CE as the “now” date, and therefore marked for both Fabricius and Niese the time when they presumed Strabo was writing this comment and, according to their assumption, the entire work. These theories were based

²¹ Full bibliographic details appear in the bibliography below.

mainly on a single reference, but since Pais' 1908 study, modern scholars took a broader look of temporal references in the *Geography*. Even then, their different readings led to different conclusions as Table no. 1 shows. Without going into the many details of each study on this list, it should be pointed out that the end of this line of modern debate is currently marked by Sarah Pothecary's 2002 thorough and systematic inspection of every occurrence of temporal references in the *Geography*. This is then a demonstration of a consistent question which gained through generations different answers, occasionally based on different academic approaches. This topic which has persistently occupied Strabonian studies for 300 years also shows how theses rely on methods and views and reflect individual tendencies, for, after all Fabricius read the same text as Pothecary and all readers of Strabo do, and there is not much of a new information or new methodologies which have not been available to anyone in this line of scholars.

4. *Unique Strabonian research themes*

Beside the "classic", so to speak, questions raised by scholars regarding the text and the author of the *Geography*, every now and then there are unusual or original themes within Strabonian studies. These may be characterized through one of the following traits:

- (1) Topics that either do not fit within the sort of canonic themes mentioned above, or treat specific details within the *Geography* that never or rarely have been treated.
- (2) Topics that apply modern ideas to the analysis of the Strabonian text.
- (3) Topics that use original methodology.

Let us offer several examples for each category, from the earliest to the latest.

In 1893 Serbin's dissertation turned attention to Strabo's treatment of volcanic activities²². Strabo theorized that volcanic eruptions created the islands of Sicily and the Lipareans and described in detail the eruption of Mount Etna. Serbin's topic was unique and, as far as I know, it is so far the only one to approach this theme. Another German dissertation, dated to 1922, also attended to a unique topic; this was Wolfram on Strabo and primitive religion²³.

²² SERBIN 1893.

²³ WOLFRAM 1922.

I found no comprehensive treatment of religion in Strabo other than sporadic references to the *Geography* in various wider discussions. But, in 2014 Muñiz Grijalvo attended to Greek religion in Strabo²⁴. A third example for a unique niche within Strabonian studies is the one revealed by Aujac in her discussion of Strabo and music²⁵.

What about studies applying modern ideas to Strabonian studies? Paul Pédech incorporated the modern idea of urban geography into an analysis he published in 1971²⁶, very near the time, during the 1960s, when urban geography became a recognized sub-discipline within geographical studies. Similarly, the application of economic categories, clearly a modern notion, was presented by Daniele Foraboschi²⁷, who discussed Strabo's idea of prosperity and fertility and showed that, perhaps unsurprisingly, Strabo revealed a simple economic thought, with no profound economic terminology. A third example for modern world views within Strabonian studies is Denise MacCoskey's search for women within Strabo's work²⁸. MacCoskey proposed to study the place women occupy in Strabo's account of the world and Strabo's attitudes toward gender and sexual difference. She showed how in his ethnography Strabo employed women and assigned gender roles as a way to characterize people and places. This very discussion clearly demonstrates a modern approach to this old text, and one that reflects its time of publication and could not have been written a few decades ago.

Another category within what we may see as unique Strabonian studies is the application of modern methodologies to solve issues related to Strabo. Here we offer three examples. One, by Geus and Guckelsberger²⁹, applied big-data and digitation to draw conclusions as to Strabo's use of measurements and distances. The other two are brief allusions to on-going and unfinished research projects related to geology and paleogeography. Alicia Newton³⁰ commented on how the geography revealed in ancient Greek narratives often bears little resemblance to current modern conditions, specifically in today's Greek isles. She showed that sea level change alone could not account for the extra islands featuring in the ancient texts, suggesting that ancient poets and geographers used a bit of creative license. But, stratigraphic analysis sometime showed that some islands were once several islands separated by marine channels and revealed a

²⁴ MUÑIZ GRIJALVO 2014.

²⁵ AUJAC 1986.

²⁶ PÉDECH 1971.

²⁷ FORABOSCHI 2000.

²⁸ MCCOSKEY 2015.

²⁹ GEUS–GUCKELSBERGER 2017.

³⁰ NEWTON 2011.

slow and steady progression from isle to mainland. Thus, Strabo's identification of the Piraeus as a former island shows that he accurately captured one era of the rapidly changing landscape of the Greek islands. Daniel Kelterbaum³¹ in turn proposed geochemical and sedimentological methods to prove the existence of a lake as part of the Tamanian Bosphorus (between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov), which could be identified with a lake mentioned by Strabo. This geoarchaeological project also proposed to offer a realistic reinterpretation for relocating the towns and distances mentioned by the ancient writers.

5. *Scholarly trends in Strabonian studies*

Just as the beginnings of modern Strabonian studies were probably influenced by the availability of the text in its Latin translation, so do translations and editions in more recent years point to periodical and local interest in the *Geography*. To these projects belong the English translation by Jones in the Loeb Classical Library (1917-1932); The French translation and notes by Aujac, Lasserre, Baladié and Laudenbach in Les Belles Lettres series (1969-2014); The Italian translation and notes for parts of the *Geography* by Biraschi, Trotta, Nicolai and Traina in the Bibliotheca Universale Rizzoli (BUR Classici Greci e Latini); and the English translation and commentary by Roller in Cambridge University Press (2014 and 2018 respectively). These editions and particularly the translation of the text into modern languages demonstrate how wider readership beyond experts and scholars may now approach Strabo.

Undoubtedly, the most thorough and monumental recent project involved in Strabo's text is the edition by Stefan Radt and his team published in ten volumes between 2002 and 2011. This edition presents a fresh reading of the text's Greek manuscripts and includes manuscript fragments unavailable to earlier editors. It offers full critical notes to the text, a German translation, commentary and indices. Both the effort and the time invested in this project and its final publication point to a significant milestone in the evolution of modern Strabonian studies.

As demonstrated so far, and generally speaking, there are no real trends within Strabonian studies in the sense that Strabo's *Geography* is subjected to the regular questions which are essential to the disciplines of history, philology, literature and geography. However, in the history of Strabonian studies we may discern several teams or clusters of studies which reflect something of a trend. First and foremost is the centre for research of Strabo based in the university of Perugia and active

³¹ KELTERBAUM 2012.

mainly in the last decade and a half of the 20th century. We already mentioned the important collection of Strabo's bibliography published in 1981 and marking off the activity of this group of scholars. In the next years numerous volumes focusing on Strabo were published by the Italian team. Two volumes focusing on Strabo and his work³² became an important milestone in Strabonian studies by joining together scholars who introduced for the first time essential questions, such as, in the first volume: Prontera on geography as a literary genre; Lasserre on the place of history within Strabo's *Geography*; Van der Vliet on Strabo's ethnographical perspective; and Janni on translating ancient geographies; and, in the second volume: Greco on the topography of Magna Graecia; Jacob on cartography and rectification; and Massaro on historiographical narrative in Strabo's description of Italy.

Following these two collections, the Italian team produced several publications, mainly in a series of monographs, each devoted to a specific geographical region and eventually covering up practically every region of the Strabonian *oikoumene*. Such were the monographs on Strabo's Italy³³, Magna Graecia³⁴, Greece³⁵, and Asia Minor³⁶.

Another collection of Strabonian studies, first of its kind, was essentially a product of a Strabo conference which took place in Israel in 2001³⁷. This volume did not centre on a specific theme or region within the *Geography* but rather offered a collection of studies of the author and his writings from various perspectives.

Speaking of trends, in Strabonian studies there is also a tendency, not altogether consistent but nevertheless apparent, of scholars to study Strabo's treatment of their own modern regions. In the present volume it seems appropriate to demonstrate this tendency in relation to Iberia, where we see that most of the studies on Strabo's Iberian peninsula are led by scholars of local origin³⁸. There are similar, perhaps natural, tendencies among Italian scholars who write on Strabo's Italy, Israeli scholars on the Dead Sea, French scholars on Gaul and so forth.

And might we mention the coincidental fact that three independent publications devoted to Strabo and his work appeared within a year and a half towards the end of the millenium? These were Clarke and Engels in 1999 and Dueck in 2000³⁹. Earlier similar broad approach to Strabo and his work is dated to 1828

³² PRONTERA 1984; MADDOLI 1986.

³³ MADDOLI 1988.

³⁴ MUSTI 1988.

³⁵ MADDOLI 1994.

³⁶ BIRASCHI-SALMERI 2000.

³⁷ DUECK-LINDSAY-POTHECARY 2005.

³⁸ Here are five example from each recent decade: BLÁZQUEZ MARTÍNEZ 1971; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 1984; CRUZ ANDREOTTI 1999; GARCÍA QUINTELA 2010; CRUZ ANDREOTTI 2014.

³⁹ CLARKE 1999; ENGELS 1999; DUECK 2000.

when a panoramic monograph by Siebelis appeared⁴⁰. But the 1999-2000 monographs introduced fresh approaches to Strabo, even if with different emphases, and attempted at offering a comprehensive analysis of Strabo and his *Geography* tying together text and personality. All three contributed to a brief peak which promoted renewed interest within modern Strabonian studies.

Finally, the recent *Routledge Companion to Strabo*⁴¹ by its very birth marks current modern scholarly recognition of the importance of the geographer from Amasia. In it there is a selection of various insights to the literary and historical context of Strabo and his world. In twenty-eight chapters written by an international group of scholars, it examines aspects of Strabo's personality, the political and scholarly environment in which he was active, his choices as an author and his ideas of history and geography. It reflects both traditional scholarly views and on-going ground breaking research.

6. *Strabo's image and reputation*

Towards the end of our survey it should be stressed out that, while we see a lively interest in Strabo and his work among modern scholars, the author has not always enjoyed favourable assessments by academics. Studying an author or a text clearly does not require positive feelings towards one's theme of research; indeed and ideally no feeling should be involved at all. But when we look, mostly at 18th and 19th century scholarly discussions of Strabo, we occasionally find some negative appreciations. Here are several examples.

Bayle declared that "Strabo's negligence is inexcusable"⁴²; Chevalier asserted that "... Demetrius and Strabo are equally censurable, the one for his negligence in committing the blunder, and the other for adopting it and endeavouring to give it authenticity"⁴³; and Balbi and Malte-Brun confirmed that "... Strabo is often nothing more than a faithless compiler and a partial and superficial judge"⁴⁴. When examining Strabo's reference to the Propamisades, an Indian region, Lassen determined that "... this is to be accounted for by a similar negligence in expression, as Strabo sometimes commits"⁴⁵. And, Ronald Syme in his study of Strabo which was posthumously published, claimed that "Strabo is generally

⁴⁰ SIEBELIS 1828.

⁴¹ DUECK 2017.

⁴² BAYLE 1731, p. 307.

⁴³ CHEVALIER 1791, p. 59.

⁴⁴ BALBI-MALTE-BRUN 1842, p. 5.

⁴⁵ LASSEN 1840, p. 471.

overvalued” and that “almost every page of the *Geography* betrays the hand of the hasty compiler”⁴⁶. It seems that despite these harsh judgments, which emphasize mainly Strabo’s carelessness and lack of creativity, Strabonian studies, at least in the last two decades, have uncovered a Strabo who is a much more present author and revealed his text as enfolding more than seems to the eye at first sight, including defined structures and deliberate choices. Our brief survey here, as is the entire present volume, proves that Strabo is very much alive in modern scholarship.

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⁴⁶ SYME 1995 on pp. 160 and 82-83 respectively.

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