CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-04028-1 - Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography: 'Futures Past' from Herodotus to Augustine
Jonas Grethlein
Frontmatter
More information

EXPERIENCE AND TELEOLOGY IN ANCIENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

The past is narrated in retrospect. Historians can either capitalize on the benefit of hindsight and give their narratives a strongly teleological design or they may try to render the past as it was experienced by historical agents and contemporaries. This book explores the fundamental tension between experience and teleology in major works of Greek and Roman historiography, biography and autobiography. The combination of theoretical reflections with close readings yields a new, often surprising assessment of the history of ancient historiography as well as a deeper understanding of such authors as Thucydides, Tacitus and Augustine. While much recent work has focused on how ancient historians use emplotment to generate historical meaning, *Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography* offers a new approach to narrative form as a mode of coming to grips with time.

JONAS GRETHLEIN holds the Chair in Greek Literature at Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg. His recent publications include *The Greeks and their Past: Poetry, Oratory and History in the Fifth Century* BCE (2010) and, co-edited with Christopher B. Krebs, *Time and Narrative in Ancient Historiography: The 'Plupast' from Herodotus to Appian* (2012).

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-04028-1 - Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography:
'Futures Past' from Herodotus to Augustine
Jonas Grethlein
Frontmatter
More information

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-04028-1 - Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography:
'Futures Past' from Herodotus to Augustine
Jonas Grethlein
Frontmatter
More information

EXPERIENCE AND TELEOLOGY IN ANCIENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

'Futures Past' from Herodotus to Augustine

JONAS GRETHLEIN
Heidelberg University

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-04028-1 - Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography: 'Futures Past' from Herodotus to Augustine
Jonas Grethlein
Frontmatter
More information

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

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

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107040281

© Jonas Grethlein 2013

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

First published 2013

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Grethlein, Jonas, 1978–
Experience and teleology in ancient historiography : futures past from Herodotus to Augustine / Jonas Grethlein, Universitat Heidelberg.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and indexes.
ISBN 978-1-107-04028-1 (hardback)
1. History, Ancient – Historiography. 2. Rhetoric, Ancient – Historiography. 3. History – Methodology. I. Title.
D56.G74 2013
930.072 – dc23 2013009541

ISBN 978-1-107-04028-1 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.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-04028-1 - Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography:
'Futures Past' from Herodotus to Augustine
Jonas Grethlein
Frontmatter
More information

Ihr alle kennt die wilde Schwermut, die uns bei der Erinnerung an Zeiten des Glückes ergreift. Wie unwiderruflich sind sie doch dahin, und unbarmherziger sind wir von ihnen getrennt als durch alle Entfernungen.

Ernst Jünger, *Auf den Marmorklippen*

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-04028-1 - Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography:
'Futures Past' from Herodotus to Augustine
Jonas Grethlein
Frontmatter
More information

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-04028-1 - Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography: 'Futures Past' from Herodotus to Augustine
Jonas Grethlein
Frontmatter
More information

Contents

Acknowledgments *page* ix
Abbreviations xi

1 Introduction: 'futures past' – historiography between experience and teleology 1

PART I. EXPERIENCE: MAKING THE PAST PRESENT 27

2 Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War* 29
3 Xenophon, *Anabasis* 53
4 Plutarch, *Alexander* 92
5 Tacitus, *Annals* 131
Summary of Part I 180

PART II. TELEOLOGY: THE POWER OF RETROSPECT 183

6 Herodotus, *Histories* 185
7 Polybius, *Histories* 224
8 Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 268
Summary of Part II 309

PART III. BEYOND EXPERIENCE AND TELEOLOGY 311

9 Augustine, *Confessions* 313
10 Epilogue: experience in modern historiography 353

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-04028-1 - Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography:
'Futures Past' from Herodotus to Augustine
Jonas Grethlein
Frontmatter
More information

Bibliography 368
Index locorum 397
Index of Greek and Latin words 411
General index 412

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-04028-1 - Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography:
'Futures Past' from Herodotus to Augustine
Jonas Grethlein
Frontmatter
More information

Acknowledgments

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the support of various kinds that I received while working on this book. Much of *Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography* was written in the East Coast idyll of Providence, Rhode Island where I spent the academic year 2010/11 as Gerda-Henkel fellow at Brown University. Many thanks to the Gerda-Henkel-Stiftung and Brown's Classics Department for an invaluable year of thinking, reading and writing! A research seminar at King's College, Cambridge, in February 2011 allowed me to put three chapters to the test and provided much intellectual stimulation. I am most grateful to Robin Osborne for the invitation and splendid hospitality as well as to all participants for their probing questions. Further astute comments came from Chris Pelling and Kostas Vlassopoulos who responded to my paper at the Triennials 2011, also in Cambridge. I am fortunate to have in Bill Furley and Christopher Krebs two friends and learned philologists who read the entire manuscript with great care. I also benefitted from the expertise of Johanna Hanink, Bob Morstein-Marx and Kurt Raaflaub and their comments on individual chapters.

It would be impossible to name everyone from whom I have learnt in discussion and correspondence, but that does not prevent me from expressing my gratitude at least to Debby Boedeker, Angelos Chaniotis, Monika Fludernik, Renaud Gagné, Simon Goldhill, Christian Grethlein, Albert Henrichs, Marianne Hopman, Simon Hornblower, David Konstan, Ted Lendon, Elizabeth Meyer, Sara Monoson, Joe Pucci, Tim Rood, Michael Squire, Christian Tornau and Bob Wallace. I am also indebted to Sabine Hug, Benjamin Allgaier, Anne-Elisabeth Dönig, Helen Enders, Leonhard Graf von Klinckowstroem, Marie-Charlotte von Lehsten, Dominic Meckel and Steffen Schmieke for their assistance in formatting the manuscript. Helpful suggestions came from Michael Sharp and the two anonymous readers for the Press. I thank Martin Thacker for his thoughtful copy-editing. The book is dedicated to Agnetha: *can't take my eyes off you . . .*

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-04028-1 - Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography:
'Futures Past' from Herodotus to Augustine
Jonas Grethlein
Frontmatter
More information

Parts of Sections 1.III and 10.II draw on 'Experientiality and narrative reference. With thanks to Thucydides' *History and Theory* 49, 2010: 315–35; Chapter 2 is a revised version of 'The presence of the past in Thucydides', in M. Tamiolaki and A. Tsakmakis, eds. *Thucydides' Techniques. Between Historical Research and Literary Representation*; Section 6.1 expands on a section of 'How (not) to do history: Xerxes in Herodotus' *Histories*' *AJPh* 130, 2009: 195–218. I am grateful for permission to reuse these articles for this book. Part of the research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007–2013) / ERC Grant Agreement n. 312321 (AncNar).

My argument combines broad theoretical reflections on history and narrative with close readings of ancient texts. To make the argument accessible to readers with no Greek and Latin, I have added translations that, while forgoing elegance and sometimes even straining readability, attempt to convey the features crucial to my interpretation. I have consulted and used, with modifications, the following translations: Waterfield (1998) for Herodotus; Lattimore (1998) for Thucydides; Brownson (1998) [1922] for Xenophon; Paton (1922–7) for Polybius; Rolfe (1921) for Sallust; Usher (1974–85) for Dionysius; Russell (2001) for Quintilian; Woodman (2004) for Tacitus; Babitt (1936) and Perrin (1914–26) for Plutarch; Cary (1914–27) for Dio; Sheed (2011) for Augustine. As to Greek names, I tend to adopt Latinized forms, except where familiarity dictates otherwise. The abbreviations of journals follow the *Année Philologique*, those of ancient authors the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-04028-1 - Experience and Teleology in Ancient Historiography: 'Futures Past' from Herodotus to Augustine
Jonas Grethlein
Frontmatter
More information

Abbreviations

Blass-Thalheim	F. Blass and T. Thalheim (eds.) (1914) *Antiphontis Orationes et Fragmenta*. Leipzig.
DK	H. Diels and W. Kranz (eds.) (1952) *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. 3 vols. (6th edn). Berlin.
FGrH	F. Jacoby (ed.) (1923–) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (1873–) Berlin.
Lex. Tac.	A. Gerber, A. Greef and C. John (eds.) (1877–1903) *Lexicon Taciteum.* 2 vols. Leipzig.
Peter	H. Peter (ed.) (1883) *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*. Leipzig.
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (1900–) Leipzig.
Usener-Radermacher	H. Usener and L. Radermacher (eds.) (1899–1929) *Dionysii Halicarnasei Opuscula*. 2 vols. Leipzig.
V	E.-M. Voigt (ed.) (1971) *Sappho et Alcaeus. Fragmenta.* Amsterdam.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org