

THE AUTHORITATIVE HISTORIAN

In this volume an international group of scholars revisits the themes of John Marincola's groundbreaking *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*. The nineteen chapters offer a series of case studies that explore how ancient historians' approaches to their projects were informed both by the pull of tradition and by the ambition to innovate. The key themes explored are the relation of historiography to myth and poetry; the narrative authority exemplified by Herodotus, the 'father' of history; the use of 'fictional' literary devices in historiography; narratorial self-presentation; and self-conscious attempts to shape the historiographical tradition in new and bold ways. The volume presents a holistic vision of the development of Greco-Roman historiography and the historian's dynamic position within this practice.

K. SCARLETT KINGSLEY is an Assistant Professor of Classics at Agnes Scott College. Her research focuses on Greek historiography and philosophy, and she has published articles on Herodotus, Thucydides, and the Presocratics. She is finishing a monograph on Herodotus and intellectual culture, which was awarded a Loeb Classical Library Foundation Fellowship.

GIUSTINA MONTI is a Senior Lecturer in Classical Studies (Greek Culture) at the University of Lincoln. Her main research interests lie in Greek historiography, and she has published articles on Alexander the Great, Herodotus, and Polybius. She is the author of *Alexander the Great. Letters: A Selection* (2023).

TIM ROOD is a Professor of Greek Literature at the University of Oxford and Fellow and Tutor in Classics at St Hugh's College. He is the author of *Thucydides: Narrative and Explanation* (1998), *The Sea! The Sea!* (2004), *American Anabasis* (2010), and (with Carol Atack and Tom Phillips) *Anachronism and Antiquity* (2020). He is also the co-editor (with Luuk Huitink) of *Xenophon: Anabasis Book III* for the Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics series (2019).





THE AUTHORITATIVE HISTORIAN

Tradition and Innovation in Ancient Historiography

EDITED BY

K. SCARLETT KINGSLEY

Agnes Scott College

GIUSTINA MONTI

University of Lincoln

TIM ROOD

University of Oxford







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009159456

DOI: 10.1017/9781009159463

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2022

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 & Assessment.

First published 2022

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

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Kingsley, K. Scarlett, 1984- editor. | Monti, Giustina, 1981-editor. | Rood, Tim,
1969- editor.

TITLE: The authoritative historian : tradition and innovation in ancient historiography / edited by K. Scarlett Kingsley, Giustina Monti, Tim Rood.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, [2022] |
Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2022033168 (print) | LCCN 2022033169 (ebook) | ISBN 9781009159456 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009159449 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009159463 (epub) SUBJECTS: LCSH: History, Ancient—Historiography.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC D56.A95 2022 (print) | LCC D56 (ebook) | DDC 930.1072/2-dc23/eng/20220720

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022033168 LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022033169

ISBN 978-1-009-15945-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 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.



For John Marincola





Contents

Pref	of Contributors Face of Abbreviations	page x xv xvi
	oduction: The Authoritative Historian Scarlett Kingsley, Giustina Monti, and Tim Rood	I
PAR	TI MYTH, FICTION, AND THE HISTORIAN'S AUTHORITY	17
I	Seven Types of Fiction in the Greek Historians Michael A. Flower	19
2	Folktale and Local Tradition in Charon of Lampsacus Nino Luraghi	41
3	Mythical and Historical Time in Herodotus: Scaliger, Jacoby and the Chronographic Tradition <i>Tim Rood</i>	, 62
4	Myth and History in Livy's Preface A. J. Woodman	82
	TT II DISLOCATING AUTHORITY IN HERODOTUS'	99
5	Herodotus as Tour Guide: The Autopsy Motif Scott Scullion	101
6	Interpretive Uncertainty in Herodotus' <i>Histories</i> Carolyn Dewald	121

vii



viii	Contents	
7	'It is no accident that': Connectivity and Coincidence in Herodotus *Richard Rutherford*	139
8	Through Barbarian Eyes: Non-Greeks on Greeks in Herodotus Deborah Boedeker	157
	T III PERFORMING COLLECTIVE AND PERSONAL HORITY	177
9	Singing and Dancing Pindar's Authority <i>Lucia Athanassaki</i>	179
10	Authority, Experience, and the Vicarious Traveller in Herodotus' <i>Histories</i> K. Scarlett Kingsley	206
II	Veni, vidi, vici: When Did Roman Politicians Use the First-Person Singular? Harriet I. Flower	224
12	Self-Praise and Self-Presentation in Plutarch Frances B. Titchener	241
PAR	T IV GENERIC TRANSFORMATIONS	259
13	Thucydides' Mytilenaean Debate: Political Philosophy or Authoritative History? Paul Cartledge	261
14	Tradition, Innovation, and Authority: Caesar's Historical Ambitions Kurt A. Raaflaub	271
15	Tradition and Authority in Philostratus' <i>Lives of the Sophists Ewen Bowie</i>	292
PAR	T V INNOVATION WITHIN TRADITION	313
16	'When one assumes the <i>ethos</i> of writing history': Polybius' Historiographical Neologisms Giustina Monti	315



	Contents	ix
17	How Tradition Is Formed: From the Fall of Caesar to the Rise of Octavian Mark Toher	335
18	Burn Baby Burn (<i>Disco</i> in Furneaux): Tacitean Authority, Innovation, and the Neronian Fire (<i>Annals</i> 15.38–9) <i>Rhiannon Ash</i>	353
19	The Authority to Be Untraditional Christopher Pelling	373
Bibi	liography	392
Index Locorum		
General Index		



Contributors

RHIANNON ASH is Professor of Roman Historiography and Fellow and Tutor in Classics, Merton College, Oxford. She publishes widely on Latin prose narratives, especially Tacitus, including *Ordering Anarchy: Armies and Leaders in Tacitus' Histories* (1999) and two commentaries in the Cambridge 'green and yellow' series on Tacitus, *Histories* 2 (2007) and Tacitus, *Annals* 15 (2018). Her wider research interests embrace ancient epistles, Greek and Roman biography, battle narratives, paradoxography, Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Pliny the Elder (on whom she is currently writing a monograph), and Pliny the Younger.

LUCIA ATHANASSAKI is Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Crete. She has published extensively on Greek (and occasionally on Latin) lyric and Greek tragedy with emphasis on the dialogue of poetry with material culture. Lately she has been drawn to Imperial Greek literature, Plutarch in particular. She is the author of ᾿Αείδετο πὰν τέμενος. Οι χορικές παραστάσεις και το κοινό τους στην αρχαϊκή και πρώιμη κλασική περίοδο (2009). She is co-editor of Apolline Politics and Poetics (with R. P. Martin and J. F. Miller, 2009); Archaic and Classical Choral Song: Performance, Politics and Dissemination (with E. L. Bowie, 2011); Ιδιωτικός βίος και δημόσιος λόγος στην ελληνική αρχαιότητα και τον διαφωτισμό (with A. Nikolaidis and D. Spatharas, 2014); Gods and Mortals in Greek and Latin Poetry: Studies in Honor of J. Strauss Clay (with C. Nappa and A. Vergados, 2018); and Plutarch's Cities (with F. B. Titchener, 2022). She is presently co-editing a volume titled Lyric and the Sacred (with A. Lardinois) and working on a book on Euripides.

DEBORAH BOEDEKER is Professor Emerita of Classics at Brown University; from 1992 to 2000, together with Kurt Raaflaub, she co-directed Harvard's Center for Hellenic Studies. Her publications include Aphrodite's Entry into Greek Epic (1973); Herodotus and the Invention of History (1987); Democracy, Empire, and the Arts in Fifth-Century Athens



List of Contributors

хi

(co-edited with Kurt Raaflaub, 1998); *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire* (co-edited with David Sider, 2001); and other monographs, articles, and edited volumes on Greek historiography, religion, and poetry (epic, lyric, elegy, tragedy). Her current work focuses on Herodotus and Hipponax.

EWEN BOWIE, an Emeritus Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, formerly was its Praelector in Classics from 1965 to 2007, and successively University Lecturer, Reader, and Professor of Classical Languages and Literature in Oxford University. He has written on early Greek elegiac, iambic, and melic poetry; Aristophanes; Herodotus; Hellenistic poetry; and many aspects of Greek literature and culture under the Roman Empire. He has published a commentary on Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* (2019); edited a collection entitled *Herodotus: Narrator, Scientist, Historian* (2018); and co-edited collections entitled *Archaic and Classical Choral Song* (2011) and *Philostratus* (2009). His collected papers (three volumes) are being published by Cambridge University Press with the title *Essays in Ancient Greek Literature and Culture*; the first volume appeared in 2021.

PAUL CARTLEDGE is A. G. Leventis Senior Research Fellow, Clare College, Cambridge University, and A. G. Leventis Professor of Greek Culture emeritus, Cambridge University. He is the author, co-author, editor, or co-editor of some thirty books, most recently *Democracy: A Life* (2018) and *Thebes: Forgotten City of Ancient Greece* (2021). He is President of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, UK. He is a Commander of the Order of Honour, Hellenic Republic, and an Honorary Citizen of Sparti, Greece.

CAROLYN DEWALD, currently retired, taught Classics for many years at the University of Southern California, and then Ancient History and Classics at Bard College. She is the author of *Thucydides' War Narrative: A Structural Study* (2005) and the Introduction and Notes to the Oxford World's Classics translation of Herodotus (1998). With John Marincola she co-edited the *Cambridge Companion to Herodotus* (2006), and she has written a variety of articles on the Greek historians.

HARRIET I. FLOWER, Andrew Fleming West Professor of Classics, Princeton University, has published on Roman social and cultural history, in both the republican and imperial periods. Her books include *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (1996), *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture* (2006),



xii

List of Contributors

Roman Republics (2010), and The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden: Religion at the Roman Street Corner (2017).

MICHAEL A. FLOWER is the David Magie '97 Class of 1897 Professor of Classics at Princeton University. He is the author of *Theopompus of Chios: History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century BC* (1986), *The Seer in Ancient Greece* (2008), and *Xenophon's Anabasis, or The Expedition of Cyrus* (2012). He is the co-editor (with Mark Toher) of *Georgica: Greek Studies in Honour of George Cawkwell* (1991) and the editor of *The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon* (2017). With John Marincola he edited *Herodotus, Histories, Book IX* for the series Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics (2002).

K. SCARLETT KINGSLEY is an assistant professor of Classics at Agnes Scott College. Her research focuses upon fifth-century historiography and philosophy. She is currently finishing a monograph, *Herodotus and the Presocratics: Inquiry and Intellectual Culture in the Fifth Century.* Her upcoming book project (co-authored with Tim Rood), *The End of the Histories: Land, Wealth, and Empire in Herodotus*, explores the end of the *Histories* and its relation to contemporary debates on these themes and their reception.

NINO LURAGHI is the Wykeham Professor of Ancient (Greek) History at the University of Oxford. He specializes in Greek historiography, tyranny, ethnicity, and the history of the ancient Peloponnese. His publications include *Tirannidi arcaiche in Sicilia e Magna Grecia* (1994) and *The Ancient Messenians: Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory* (2008). He edited *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus* (2001), *Helots and Their Masters in Laconia and Messenia* (with S. Alcock, 2004), *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League* (with P. Funke, 2009), and *The Splendors and Miseries of Ruling Alone* (2013).

GIUSTINA MONTI is Senior Lecturer in Classical Studies (Greek Culture) and Joint Programme Leader for the BA in Classical Studies at the University of Lincoln. Her main research interests lie in Greek historiography, and she has published articles on Alexander the Great, Herodotus, and Polybius. She is the author of *Alexander the Great. Letters: A Selection* (2023).

CHRISTOPHER PELLING is Emeritus Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford University. Among his books are *Literary Texts and the Greek Historian* (2000), *Plutarch and History* (2002), *Twelve Voices from Greece and Rome:*



List of Contributors

xiii

Ancient Ideas for Modern Times (with Maria Wyke, 2014), Herodotus and the Question Why (2019), and commentaries on Plutarch, Lives of Antony (1988) and Caesar (2011), Herodotus 6 (with Simon Hornblower, 2017), and Thucydides 6 and Thucydides 7 (2022).

KURT A. RAAFLAUB is David Herlihy University Professor and Professor of Classics and History emeritus at Brown University. From 1992 to 2000 he was co-director of the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, DC, and from 2005 to 2008 the Royce Family Professor for Teaching Excellence at Brown. He is the author of Dignitatis contentio: Studien zur Motivation und politischen Taktik im Bürgerkrieg zwischen Caesar und Pompeius (1974) and The Discovery of Freedom in Ancient Greece (rev. English ed., 2004), co-author of Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece (2007), co-editor of Democracy, Empire, and the Arts in Fifth-Century Athens (1998) and Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate (1990), and editor of (among several other volumes) Social Struggles in Archaic Rome: New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders (expanded and updated ed., 2005), War and Peace in the Ancient World (2007), Peace in the Ancient World: Concepts and Theories (2016), and The Adventure of the Human Intellect: Self, Society, and the Divine in Ancient World Cultures (2016).

TIM ROOD is Professor of Greek Literature and Dorothea Gray Fellow and Tutor in Classics at St Hugh's College, Oxford. He is the author of Thucydides: Narrative and Explanation (1998); The Sea! The Shout of the Ten Thousand in the Modern Imagination (2004); American Anabasis: Xenophon and the Idea of America from the Mexican War to Iraq (2010); and (with Carol Atack and Tom Phillips) Anachronism and Antiquity (2020). With Luuk Huitink he has edited Xenophon: Anabasis Book III (2019) for the Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics series.

RICHARD RUTHERFORD is Professor of Greek and Latin Literature at Oxford and Tutor in Classics at Christ Church, Oxford. Among his publications are commentaries on Homer, *Iliad* 18 (2019) and *Odyssey* 19 and 20 (1992), *The Art of Plato* (1995), and *Greek Tragic Style* (2012). He has a long-standing interest in ancient historiography and has published papers on Herodotus, Thucydides, and Tacitus.

SCOTT SCULLION is Fellow and Tutor in Classics, Worcester College, University of Oxford. He works primarily and has published widely on Greek religion; Greek literature, especially tragedy; and Greek textual criticism.



xiv

List of Contributors

FRANCES B. TITCHENER is Distinguished Professor of Classics and History and Director of the Classics Program at Utah State University. She was a Fulbright Research Fellow in Leuven Belgium (2003) as well as a Visiting Scholar at the University of Crete in Rethymno (2017) and is currently Secretary of the International Plutarch Society and co-editor of the journal *Ploutarchos*. She is the co-editor of numerous volumes on Plutarch or Plutarch scholars, and co-editor of the volumes *Plutarch's Cities* (2022) and *The Cambridge Companion to Plutarch* (2023).

MARK TOHER is Frank Bailey Professor of Classics (emeritus) at Union College. He is the author of *Nicolaus of Damascus: The Life of Augustus and the Autobiography* (2017) and of articles and essays on Greek and Roman history and historiography.

A. J. WOODMAN, BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE Professor of Classics Emeritus at the University of Virginia and Emeritus Professor of Latin at Durham University, is currently Visiting Professor at Newcastle University. He is author or co-author of 'orange' commentaries on Velleius Paterculus (1977, 1983) and Tacitus, Annals Books 3 (1996), 4 (2018), and 5-6 (2016), and likewise of 'green and yellow' commentaries on Tacitus, Annals 4 (1989) and Agricola (2014), and Horace, Odes 3 (2021). He is author of Rhetoric in Classical Historiography (1988), Tacitus Reviewed (1998), From Poetry to History: Selected Papers (2012), and Lost Histories: Selected Fragments of Roman Historical Writers (2015), co-author of Latin Historians (1997), and translator of Tacitus' Annals (2004) and Sallust (2007). Currently, he is writing a commentary on Sallust's Bellum Catilinae for the series Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics, preparing a new edition and translation of Velleius Paterculus for the Loeb Classical Library, and working on a new edition of Tacitus' Annals for the series Oxford Classical Texts.



Preface

The contributors to this volume are all friends and colleagues of John Marincola, formerly Leon Golden Professor of Classics at Florida State University, who is widely seen as one of the most influential students of ancient historiography in our time. All but four of them were participants in *Revisiting Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*, a conference held in Marincola's honour in Martina Franca, Puglia, Italy, in April 2019; another speaker, Christina Kraus, was prevented by other commitments from contributing. The brief for the conference participants was to return to the themes of Marincola's groundbreaking *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*, which was published by Cambridge University Press in 1997; our Introduction sets that monograph in some of its intellectual contexts and briefly explores how its themes have been pursued in subsequent scholarship, much of it indebted to the wide-ranging perspectives opened by Marincola.

We are extremely grateful to the late Nicola Leone (honorary president, founder, and former CEO of Carton Pack) for sponsoring the conference and so helping to create in a masseria in the hills above Bari a truly (and almost trulli) friendly and hospitable spirit in keeping with the character of the honorand. We were delighted to be joined, too, by John's wife, Laurel Fulkerson. All the participants would like to join one of the editors in thanking the other two, Giustina Monti and Scarlett Kingsley, both former students of John's at FSU, for their initiative in organizing the conference, and Giustina for her local expertise in Puglia. At Cambridge University Press we would like to thank Michael Sharp and his team for their willingness to take on a substantial edited volume of this kind and their efficiency in dealing with it, and also the press's readers for their helpful reports on the draft typescript. Moreover, we were greatly assisted by Flavio Santini at Berkeley in preparation of the indexes, and we are grateful to Agnes Scott College for providing the funding for this. But above all we join the other contributors in offering this small token of gratitude to John for his warmth, humour, and friendship.

> K.S.K., G.M., T.C.B.R. October 2021

Decatur, Lincoln, Oxford



Abbreviations

For ancient authors, we follow the abbreviations used by *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Abbreviations for journal titles follow *L'Année Philologique*.

CIL	Corpus In	scriptionum	Latinarum	(Berlin.	1803-).
CIL	Corpus In	scripilonini	Lummann	(Dellin,	1095 /

- DK H. Diels (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁶, 3 vols., rev. W. Kranz (Berlin, 1951–2).
- FHG C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, 5 vols. (Paris, 1841–70).
- FRHist T. J. Cornell, E. Bispham, J. W. Rich, and C. J. Smith (eds.), The Fragments of the Roman Historians, 3 vols. (Oxford, 2013).
- GE F. Montanari et al. (eds.), The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek (Leiden, 2015).
- ILLRP A. Degrassi (ed.), Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae, vol. 1² (Berlin, 1965), vol. 2 (Florence, 1963).
- ILS H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (Berlin, 1892–1916).
 LSJ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon⁹, revised and augmented by H. Stuart Jones, with the assistance of
 - R. McKenzie (Oxford, 1996).
- PMGF M. Davies (ed.), Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta I (Oxford, 1991).
- SEG J. J. Hondius et al. (eds.), Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, 66 vols. to date (Leiden, 1923–).