History Part II: Paper 9 = Classics Part II Paper C3 [2018-19]

Course Director: Dr J.R. Patterson (jrp11@cam.ac.uk)

Aims and objectives

1. To introduce students to a range of historical writers from the Classical world.

2. To examine the aims of Classical historians, and how they conceived of, and resolved, the problems associated with writing about the past.

3. To explore how the writings of Classical historians related to those of their predecessors, and to the concerns of their own times, warfare and politics in particular.

4. To investigate how Classical historians perceived outsiders.

5. To consider ways (particularly poetic, epigraphic and visual) other than through literary historiography in which the past was recorded in the Classical world.

Scope and structure of the examination paper 2018-19

The three-hour paper will contain about fourteen questions: candidates will be required to answer Question 1 and two others. Question 1 will consist of nine passages from a list of specified ancient texts, each given with a translation. Candidates will be required to comment on any three of these passages. The remainder of the questions on the paper will be essay-questions concerning various of the topics covered in lectures, classes and supervisions.

(SUPERVISIONS FOR THIS COURSE WILL BE CENTRALLY ORGANISED.)

Course description

Writing History in the Classical World  DR J R PATTERSON, DR H. WILLEY and others (18L and 6C: Lent)

The aim of the course is to explore ancient historiography in a comparative and thematic way, through the study of some central ancient historical writers, and (in particular) what classical historians themselves said about the challenges involved in writing history. The six themes selected relate to the aims, techniques, and content with which classical historians – both Greek and Roman - are concerned. The introductory segment, on ‘Genre(s) of histor(ies)’ reviews the different possible models for history-writing in antiquity, and also serves as an introduction to the key authors being studied in the course; ‘War and peace’ examines the representation of warfare, a fundamental (often defining) theme for ancient writers; ‘Selves and others’ looks at how Greeks and Romans represented those outside the Greco-Roman world, and each other; ‘Past and present’ relates the writing of history to configurations of power within which historians were writing; ‘Truth and lies’ looks at techniques of information-gathering, the use of rhetoric to enhance the impact of the text, and historians’ (frequently polemical) engagement with their predecessors; ‘The ends of history’ explores the aims, moral and commemorative, of history-writing. The course will also engage with the ways, other than through literary historiography, by which a record or narrative of the past was preserved in antiquity; in other words, how
individuals and communities shaped and marshalled their past. The course will seek, then, to promote the understanding of these historians within a broader tradition as well as within their immediate intellectual and political context.

Each of these themes will be explored in a sequence of three lectures and a class, during which some of the students taking the course will give presentations, and more general discussion of the theme and particular key passages will take place. Herodotus 4 and 5, Thucydides 2, Polybius 6, Livy 1 and Tacitus Annals 4 are prescribed for study, together with a list of shorter passages of particular historiographical interest, taken from a wider range of authors. We would also strongly recommend that in advance of the lectures, students read (in translation) the whole of at least one of the following: Thucydides; Herodotus; Polybius; Sallust Catiline and Jugurtha; Tacitus Annals.

Introductory bibliography:


Provisional lecture programme:

Introduction: Genre(s) of Histor(ies): Dr Patterson and Mr Basso

1. Classical Greek Historiography: From Homer to Xenophon (Dr Patterson)

2. Hellenistic Historiography: Local and Universal Histories, and the Histories of Great Men (Dr Patterson)

3. Roman Historiography: Annales and alternatives (Dr Patterson)

4. Getting at the Facts: Use of documents, autopsy, witnesses etc. (Mr Basso)

War and Peace: Dr Millett

5. In command of history: Thucydides

6. Polybius writes warfare

7. The cost of ancient warfare

8. CLASS: The Historiography of War
Selves and Others: Dr Willey

9. Ethnography and politics
10. Ethnography and identity
11. Prejudice and racism
12. CLASS: Writing the Other, Writing as the Other

Past and Present: Dr Patterson

13. Writing from the Top (i): inscribed texts and the Greek historians
14. Writing from the Top (ii): documents, monuments and the historians of Rome
15. Responses to Power: acquiescence
16. CLASS: Responses to Power: retirement and resistance

Truth and Lies: Mr Basso

17. Invention and Rhetoric
18. The Passions of the Historian
19. CLASS: Competitive Truths: Accusing Your Predecessors

The Ends of History: Dr Patterson

20. Learning from History: Models and Warnings
21. Historical exempla
22. Remembering and Forgetting: Shaping the collective past
23. CLASS: The Limits of Historiography
24. CONCLUDING CLASS: What’s History Good For? // Why Write History?
Specified Texts 2018-2019

(in addition to Herodotus 4 and 5, Thucydides 2, Polybius 6, Livy 1 and Tacitus

1. Herodotus 1.1-6; Thucydides 1.1-23; Hecataeus BNJ 1 F 1a, 17, 19, 27, 27a, 324a; Phercydes BNJ 3 F1c, 2, 33, 155.
2. Xen.Hell.1.1; Semos BNJ 396 F4, 7, 9, 12; Fornara 1 (Parian Chronicle); Lindian Chronicle (Higbie 2003); Polyb. 1. 3-5; Diodorus 1.1-5, 20.43; Dion.Hal. 1.1-8; Justin Epitome of Trogus, Preface.
3. Aulus Gellius NA 2. 28; 5.18; Cic De Oratore 2. 51-4; Sallust Hist. Fr. 1; Livy 6.1; Quint. Inst. Or. 10.1. 101-104.
4. Eye witnesses: Hdt.8.65, 9.16; other informants: Hdt.2.54, Thuc.7.43-44; autopsy: Hdt. 2.99, 102-106; Ephorus BNJ 70 F 9; Polyb. 3.47-8; 3.58-9; 4.2; 7.9; 9.25.
5. Thuc. 2. 47-54; 2. 71-8; 3.82; 4.102-8, 5.26; 5.105. Caesar BG 5.24-37.
6. Polyb. 2.56; 12.12-22; 25; 10.15; 13.3. 2-6; 38.19-22.
7. Hdt.7.89, 184-7; Thuc.1.54-55, Thuc. 2. 47-54; Xen.Anab. 4.7.1-14; Ag. 2.9-14; Diod. 13.57; Liv. 9.2-3; Liv. 21.1; Tac.Ann.1. 61-2.
8. Battle of Hydaspes: Arrian 5.8-19, Plut.Alex.60-61, Curtius 8.13-4; Xen. Anab. 3.1; 4.5.3-15; 6.4.12-5.2; Plut.Art.8.1-5.
9. Hdt 5.49-54; Arrian Indica 7-10; Caes. BG 1.1; 6.11-28; Tac. Agr. 9-13; 30-2.
10. Hdt. 4. 2-45; Dion. Hal. 1.9-13; 17-20; 31-35; 39-44; 72-74; Plut. Rom. 1-4; Strab. 3.4.3.
11. Hdt. 2. 32-33; 37; 39-41; 43-44; 112-116; 4. 46-81; Paus.9.21.4; Posid. BNJ F 16; Tac. Hist. 5. 1-13.
13. and 14. Hdt.9.81, Thuc.1.132, [Dem.]59.94-107; Polyb. 3.22-8; 3.33.17-18; Cic. Brut. 62; Liv. 8.40; ILS 1-3; Fornara 59, 60, 78, 147; RO 13, 30.
15. Josephus BJ 3.392-408, Liv. 4.20; Tac. Hist. 1.1; Vell. Pat. 2. 104-7; 121; 126-31; Polyb. 31.23-25; Dio 73.18-23.
16. Sallust Cat.3.1-4.2; Tacitus Ann. 4 esp. 32-35; Pausanias 1.26.1-4, 8.2.1-5, 8.27.1, 9.36.5.
17. Lucian On how History ought to be written; Cicero De Oratore 2.62-63; Ad. Fam. 5.12; Hdt.3.80-4; Thuc. 2.34-46; 2. 59-65; 5. 84-106; Polybius 36.1; Tac. Ann. 4.10-11.
18. Lucian, On how History ought to be written [as well as for 17], Plutarch On the Malice of Herodotus 1-10; 43 [as well as for 19], Dionysius of Halicarnassus, On Thucydides 1-20 and Letter to Pompeius Geminus 3-6, Josephus, BJ 1.1-5.
Josephus BJ 1.1-6, Against Apion 1.1-6; Thuc.1.10; 1.20-23, Hdt.9.53; Hdt.2.143;
Plutarch On the Malice of Herodotus 1-10; 43.
20. Cic. De Orat. 2.35-36; Pol. 1.35; 3.4; 36.17.2-4; Hdt. 7. 8-18; 46-53; 9.16.
21. Cic. In Cat.; Livy 1 preface, 43.13.1-2; Plut. Aem.1, Per.1-2, Demetr.1.3-8; Sall. Cat. 3-4; 8-13; Jug. 4-5; Tac. Hist. 1.3.
22. Paus.1.41.2-5; 4.1-3, 6-8, 14, 18-20.4, 26-7; Fornara 18 and Hdt.4.150-9;
Lycurgus 1.117-9, Thuc.1.20, 6.53-9.
23. Simonides Fr 3-5, 11, 13-16 W2; Aeschylus Persai 1-119, 155-172, 300-432;
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Here is a preliminary bibliography for the course: more material will be made available in the lectures.

General and introductory material on ancient historiography:

M. Bentley (ed.), *Companion to historiography* (London 1997).
T.F. Scanlon, *Greek historiography* (Chichester, 2015).
G.S. Shrimpton, *History and Memory in Ancient Greece* (Montreal, 1997).

Collections of articles on historiography:

A. Lianeri (ed), *Knowing future time in and through Greek historiography* (Berlin, 2016).

**Topics covered in the course itself:**

(i) **Introduction: Genre(s) of Histor(ies)**

D. Konstan & K. Raaflaub (edd.), *Epic and history* (Chichester, 2010), Chh. 8-10.

(ii) **War and Peace**

V.D. Hanson, *Why the West Has Won. Carnage and Culture from Salamis to Vietnam* (London, 2002).

N. Whately, 'On the possibility of reconstructing Marathon and other ancient battles’ *JHS* 84 (1964) 119-39.
V. Hanson, *The Western way of war: infantry battle in classical Greece* 2nd edn, (Berkeley, 2000).
V. Hanson, *A War Like No Other: how the Athenians and Spartans fought the Peloponnesian War* (London, 2005).

G. Daly, *Cannae: the experience of battle in the second Punic war* (London, 2002).

(iii) Selves and Others


T. Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians* (New York, 2002).

A. Augoustakis, ‘The Other as Same: Non-Roman Mothers in Silius Italicus’ *Punica*’ in *Classical Philology* 103 (2008), 55-76.

A. Riggsby, *Caesar in Gaul and Rome: War in Words* (Austin, TX, 2006).
I. Peirano, ‘Hellenized Romans and Barbarized Greeks. Reading the End of Dionysius of Halicarnassus Antiquitates Romanae’ in *JHS* 100 (2010), 32-53.
G. Woolf, *Tales of the barbarians: ethnography and empire in the ancient world* (Chichester 2011).

**(iv) Past and Present**

W. Hutton, *Describing Greece: Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias* (Cambridge, 2005), Ch. 2.


P. Low (ed.), *The Athenian Empire* (Edinburgh, 2008), Part II.


C. Smith and A. Powell (eds), *The lost memoirs of Augustus and the development of Roman autobiography* (Swansea, 2009).


T.P. Wiseman, *Clio’s Cosmetics* (Leicester, 1979), 57-139.


**(v) Truth and Lies**


T. P. Wiseman, ‘Lying Historians: Seven Types of Mendacity’ in Gill and Wiseman (eds), *Lies and Fiction*, 122-146 [reprinted in Marincola, *Greek and Roman Historiography*].


G.W. Bowersock, Fiction as History (Berkeley and London, 1994).

F.W. Walbank, ‘History and Tragedy’ in Historia 9 (1960) 216-34 [reprinted in Marincola, Greek and Roman Historiography].

J.A.S. Evans, ‘Father of History or Father of Lies; The Reputation of Herodotus’ in Classical Journal 64 (1968), 11-17.
J. Priestley and V. Zali (eds), Brill’s Companion to the Reception of Herodotus in Antiquity and Beyond (Leiden, 2016).
W. Kendrick Pritchett, The Liar School of Herodotos (Amsterdam, 1993).


C.A. Baron, Timaeus of Tauromenium and Hellenistic Historiography (Cambridge, 2013), ch 6.

C. Lee and N. Morley (eds), A Handbook to the Reception of Thucydides (Oxford, 2014)
(vi) The Ends of History

A. Powell (ed.), *Hindsight in Greek and Roman History* (Swansea, 2013).

J. Shear *Polis and Revolution: Responding to Oligarchy in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 2011)
A. Mackay (ed.), *Orality, literacy, memory in the ancient Greek and Roman world* (Leiden, 2008).
H. Flower, *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and oblivion in Roman political culture* (Chapel Hill, 2006).

Select bibliography on individual writers of history:

(i) Herodotus:

H.R. Immerwahr, *Form and Thought in Herodotus* (Cleveland [APA Philological Monograph], 1966).

(ii) Thucydides

C. Dewald, *Thucydides’ war narrative* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2005).
A. Rengakos and A. Tsakmakis (eds), *Brill’s companion to Thucydides* (Leiden, 2006).

(iii) Xenophon

C.J. Tuplin (ed.), *Xenophon and his world* (Stuttgart, 2004).

**(iv) Polybius**


**(v) Sallust**


**(vi) Livy**

B. Mineo (ed) *A companion to Livy* (Chichester, 2015).
(vii) Tacitus

1. Discuss separately what we can learn from any three of the following passages about the exercise of writing history.

(a) Ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὅμως τοιαῦτα ἄν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἀ διήλθον ὅψιν ἀμιρτάνοι, καὶ οὕτω ώς ποιητὰ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες μᾶλλον πιστεύον, οὕτω ὡς λογογράφοι ἐξυνθέσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροασίᾳ ἢ ἀληθεύτερον, δόντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθόδεις ἐκκενικήκότα.

Still, from the evidence that has been given, any one would not err who should hold the view that the state of affairs in antiquity was pretty nearly such as I have described it, not giving greater credence to the accounts, on the one hand, which the poets have put into song, adorning and amplifying their theme, and, on the other, which the chroniclers have composed with a view rather of pleasing the ear than of telling the truth, since their stories cannot be tested and most of them have from lapse of time won their way into the region of the fabulous so as to be incredible.

Thucydides 1.21.1

(b) Ἀννίβας γε μήν, ὅπις οὗτοι γράφουσι, λίγαν δὲ περὶ ταῦτα πραγματικῶς ἐχρῆτο ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, καὶ γὰρ τὴν τῆς χώρας ἀρετήν, εἰς ἣν ἐπεβάλετο καθότερον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀχλῶν ἀλλοτρίωτη τρόπος Ῥώμαιοις ἐξητάκει σαφῶς, εἰς τὰ τάς μεταξὺ δυσχωρίας ὁδηγοῖς καὶ καθηγούμενοι ἐγχωρίους ἐχρῆτο τοῖς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων μέλλουσι κοινονεῖν, ἡμές δὲ περὶ τούτων εὐθαρσῶς ἀποφασίνωμεθα διὰ τὸ περὶ τῶν πράξεων παρ᾿ αὐτῶν ἱστορικῶν τὸν παρατετευχότοις τοῖς καιροῖς, τοὺς δὲ τόπους κατοπτευκέναι καὶ τῇ διὰ τῶν Ἀλπέων αὐτοῦ κεχρῆσθαι πορεία γνώσεως ἔνεκα καὶ θέας.

Of course Hannibal did not act as these writers describe, but conducted his plans with sound practical sense. He had ascertained by careful inquiry the richness of the country into which he proposed to descend and the aversion of the people to the Romans, and for the difficulties of the route he employed as guides and pioneers natives of the country, who were about to take part in his adventure. On these points I can speak with some confidence as I have inquired about the circumstances from men present on the occasion and have personally inspected the country and made the passage of the Alps to learn for myself and see.

Polybius 3.48. 11-12
It is not easy to choose between the accounts or the authorities. The records have been vitiated, I think, by funeral eulogies and by lying inscriptions under portraits, every family endeavouring mendaciously to appropriate victories and magistracies to itself—a practice which has certainly wrought confusion in the achievements of individuals and in the public memorials of events. Nor is there extant any writer contemporary with that period, on whose authority we may safely take our stand.

**Livy 8.40**

(d) ἐπεβίων δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ, αἰσθανόμενός τε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ προσέχον τὴν γνώμην ὅπως ἄκριβές τι εἴσημαι· καὶ ἐξουδέτερον τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἐκείνην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκείνην ἑκατοστόν ἑκάστην, καὶ γενομένον παρ᾽ ἐμφατοτέρος τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οὐχ ἦσον τοῖς Πελοποννησίων διὰ τὴν φυγήν, καθ᾽ ἑπιστεύον τι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον αἰσθάνομαι.

I lived through the whole war, being of an age to form judgments, and followed it with close attention, so as to acquire accurate information. It befell me also to be banished from my own country for twenty years after my command at Amphipolis, and being conversant with affairs on both sides, especially with those of the Peloponnesians by reason of my banishment, to gain at my leisure a better acquaintance with the course of events.

**Thucydides 5.26.5-6**

(e) Duae ad Luceriam ferebant viae, altera praeter oram superi maris, patens apertaque sed quanto tutior tunc longior, altera per furculas Caudinas brevior; sed ita natus locus est: saltus duo alti angusti silvosque sunt montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti; iacet inter eos satis patens clausus in medio campus herbidus aquosusque, per quam medium iter est; sed antequam venias ad eum. intrandae primae angustiae sunt, et aut eadem qua te insinuaveris retro via repetenda aut, si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum artiorem impeditoremque, evadendum.

There were two roads to Luceria. One skirted the Adriatic, and though open and unobstructed, was long almost in proportion to its safety. The other led through the Caudine Forks, and was shorter, but this is the nature of the place: two deep defiles, narrow and wooded, are connected by an unbroken range of mountains on either hand; shut in between them lies a rather extensive plain, grassy and well-watered, with the road running through the middle of it; but before you come to it, you must enter the first defile, and afterwards either retrace the steps by which you made your way into the place, or else—should you go forward—pass out by another ravine, which is even narrower and more difficult.

**Livy 9.2.6**
Therefore, concerning the conspiracy of Catiline I shall provide a brief account, as truthfully as I can; for I regard that enterprise especially worthy of notice because of the novelty of the crime and danger arising from it. But before I can begin my narrative, a few remarks must first be made concerning that man’s character.

Sallust, *Catiline* 4. 3-5

And now I have undertaken this present work in the belief that the whole Greek-speaking world will find it worthy of attention; for it will embrace our entire ancient history and political constitution, translated from the Hebrew records.

Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1.2

Hard by stand statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who killed Hipparchus. The reason of this act and the method of its execution have been related by others; of the figures some were made by Critius, the old ones being the work of Antenor. When Xerxes took Athens after the Athenians had abandoned the city he took away these statues also among the spoils, but they were afterwards restored to the Athenians by Antiochus.

Pausanias 1.9.5

What Herodotus the Halicarnassian has learnt by inquiry is here set forth: in order that so the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time, and that great and marvellous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners and especially the reason why they warred against each other may not lack renown.
2. ‘Aims and structure were closely related in classical historiography.’ Discuss.

3. ‘In classical antiquity, accounts of the past were not only to be found in the writings of those who defined themselves as historians.’ Discuss with reference to either Greece or Rome.

4. Why were classical historians so frequently polemical about their predecessors?

5. Assess the contribution of rhetoric to ancient historiography.

6. To what extent were documents consulted by ancient writers of history?

7. ‘Politics by another name’. Discuss this view of history writing in the Roman Republic.

8. How did historians cope with the advent of autocratic power in imperial Rome?

9. ‘Ancient battle narratives are inevitably stereotyped.’ Discuss.

10. To what extent, and for what reasons, did ancient historians present the destructive impact of warfare in their writings?

11. To what extent was explaining the ways of other peoples thought to be one of the roles of the historian in antiquity?

12. How significant a component of the ‘Second Sophistic’ was the writing of history?

13. How important were moral issues to writers of ancient history?

14. ‘Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.’ (SANTAYANA). Would ancient writers of history have agreed?