

# THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO

# **HERODOTUS**

#### EDITED BY

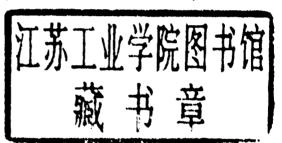
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#### The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus

Herodotus' Histories is the first major surviving prose work from antiquity. Its range of interests is immense, covering the whole of the known world and much beyond, and it culminates in a detailed account of the Persian Wars of the early fifth century BCE. Moreover, recent research has shown that Herodotus is a sophisticated and at times even ironic narrator, and a pioneer and serious practitioner of historical research at a time when the Greeks' traditions about their past were still the fluid transmissions and memòries of a largely oral society. This Companion provides a series of up-to-date and accessible chapters, written by distinguished scholars, illuminating many aspects of Herodotus' work: his skill in language and his narrative art; his intellectual preconceptions; his working methods and techniques; his attitude towards nature and the gods; his attitude towards foreign cultures and peoples; and his view of human life and human history.

EGBERT J. BAKKER is Professor of Classics at Yale University. His publications include Linguistics and Formulas in Homer (1988) and Poetry in Speech: Orality and Homeric Discourse (1997). He is co-editor of Brill's Companion to Herodotus (2002).

CAROLYN DEWALD taught for many years at the University of Southern California, and is now Professor of History and Classics at Bard College. She has written extensively on Herodotus, including the Introduction and Notes to the Oxford World's Classics translation of Herodotus (1998). Her latest publication is *Thucydides' War Narrative: A Structural Study* (2006). She is currently co-editing (with Rosaria Munson) a commentary on Herodotus 1 for the Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics series.

MICHAEL A. FLOWER is a Lecturer in the Department of Classics at Princeton University. In addition to articles on Greek history and historiography, he is the author of *Theopompus of Chios*. History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century B.C. (1994) and (with John Marincola) of Herodotus, Histories, Book IX (2002). His current project is a book on the role of the seer in archaic and classical Greece.

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RACHEL FRIEDMAN is an Assistant Professor of Classics at Vassar College. She wrote her Ph.D. thesis, 'Home and Displacement in Herodotus' *Histories*', at Columbia University. She is interested in ancient cultural studies and has written articles on Homeric poetics and on the use of myth in Euripides. Her current projects include an expansion of her dissertation and work on the Caribbean poet Derek Walcott.

JASPER GRIFFIN retired in 2004 as Professor of Classical Literature at Oxford University; he is a Fellow of Balliol College. Amongst his numerous publications are *Homer on Life and Death* (1980), *Virgil* (1986), and *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (1985). He is currently working on a book about the relation between Attic tragedy and contemporary history.

ALAN GRIFFITHS is Senior Lecturer in Greek and Latin at University College London. He is editor of *Stage Directions: Essays in Ancient Drama in Honour of E. W. Handley* (1995), and has published in the areas of archaic and Hellenistic poetry and Greek vase-painting. His main field of interest is the typological study of Greek accounts of the mythical and historical past. He is preparing an edition of Herodotus Book 3, and a series of studies on Herodotean narrative for a book, provisionally titled *Herodotos His Stories*. He proselytises tirelessly for the (free, but priceless) Linux computer-operating system.

SIMON HORNBLOWER is Professor of Classics and Ancient History at University College London. He is writing a large-scale commentary on Thucydides (in progress, two volumes published, 1991 and 1996), and has published articles and book-chapters on both Thucydides and Herodotus. He edited and contributed to *Greek Historiography* (1994). His most recent book is *Thucydides and Pindar: Historical Narrative and the World of Epinikian Poetry* (2004).

RACHEL KITZINGER is the Matthew Vassar Professor of Greek and Latin Language and Literature at Vassar College. Her work on Sophocles includes articles, productions of plays, and a translation of the *Oedipus at Colonus* with the poet Eamon Grennan (2005). She also does recitals of ancient Greek and Latin poetry using restored pronunciation.

NINO LURAGHI has taught at the Universities of Parma, Freiburg, and Toronto, and is now Professor of Classics at Harvard University. He is the author of *Tirannidi arcaiche in Sicilia e Magna Grecia* (1994; English edition forthcoming), and has edited *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus* (2001) and (with S. A. Alcock) *Helots and their Masters in Laconia and Messenia* (2003).

JOHN MARINCOLA is Professor of Classics at Florida State University. He is the author of Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography (1997), Greek Historians (2001), and (with M. A. Flower) Herodotus: Histories Book IX (2002). His current project is a book on Hellenistic historiography.

ROSARIA VIGNOLO MUNSON is Professor of Classics at Swarthmore College. She is the author of *Telling Wonders: Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Work of Herodotus* (2001), several articles on Herodotus, and *Black Doves Speak: Herodotus and the Languages of Barbarians* (2005). She is currently co-editing (with Carolyn Dewald) a commentary on Herodotus Book I for the Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics series.

CHRISTOPHER PELLING is Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford University. He has published widely on Greek and Latin literature and history. His latest books are *Literary Texts and the Greek Historian* (2000) and *Plutarch and History* (2002).

JAMES ROMM is the James H. Ottaway Jr. Professor of Classics at Bard College, and author of *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Greek Thought* (1992) and *Herodotus* (1998). He is currently preparing an edition of Arrian's history of Alexander's campaigns for the Landmark Series of Ancient Historians.

TIM ROOD is Fellow and Tutor in Classics at St Hugh's College, Oxford. He is the author of *Thucydides: Narrative and Explanation* (1998) and *The Sea! The Sea! Xenophon and the Modern Imagination* (2004), as well as several articles on Greek historiography.

SCOTT SCULLION is Fellow of Worcester College and Faculty Lecturer in Classical Languages and Literature, University of Oxford. His principal interests are Greek religion and Greek literature, especially tragedy, and he has published a number of articles on these subjects. He is author of *Three Studies in Athenian Dramaturgy* (1994), and is presently at work on an introductory monograph on Euripides for Blackwell.

PHILIP A. STADTER, Falk Professor in the Humanities Emeritus at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is author of many articles on the Greek historians, and of Arrian of Nicomedia (1980) and A Commentary on Plutarch's Pericles (1989) and has edited The Speeches in Thucydides (1973), Plutarch and the Historical Tradition (1992), and (with L. Van der Stockt) Sage and Emperor: Plutarch, Greek Intellectuals, and Roman Power in the Time of Trajan (98–117 A.D.) (2002).

ROSALIND THOMAS is Fellow in Ancient History at Balliol College, Oxford. She has written extensively on literacy and orality in the ancient world, and is the author of Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens (1989), Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece (1992), and, more recently, Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion (2000). She is currently working on Greek historiography.

LAWRENCE A. TRITLE is Professor of History at Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles. His most recent books are From Melos to My Lai. War and Survival (2000) and Crossroads of History: The Age of Alexander, co-edited with W. Heckel (2003). He is currently writing a book on the Peloponnesian War, and editing another on Alexander the Great.

#### **PREFACE**

Arnaldo Momigliano remarked of Herodotus nearly forty years ago that 'the secrets of his workshop are not yet all out', and this is still the case; paradoxically, new approaches to the ancient world and to the writing of history in general have shown more clearly how little we understand the genesis of this great work and Herodotus' own accomplishment.

From the variety of approaches that one can adopt in studying Herodotus, ours in this volume has been primarily literary. It is certainly not the case that we consider Herodotus *only* or even *primarily* a literary artist – far from it. Despite his shortcomings, flaws and errors, he is manifestly the first historian of the Western tradition, and in writing history he needed to undertake travels and engage in research before he had any work to offer the public. But since we do in fact consider him an extraordinary writer and artist who shaped the raw material of his history into a monument *aere perennius*, we also believe that this volume's more detailed treatment of his work as an artist is amply justified as part of our understanding of him as a historian.

In producing this volume we have been greatly assisted by many people, beginning with those at Cambridge University Press: Anne Sanow, formerly of the Press' offices in New York, first suggested a number of years ago the idea of a *Companion* to Herodotus; Pauline Hire in Cambridge was our guide for a time, and her successor there, Michael Sharp, has seen us through to the completion of the volume with his customary kindness, interest and support. Our copy-editor, Tony Rainer, helped us greatly in working through the manuscript, and our Production Editors, Jackie Warren and Anna-Marie Lovett, assisted quickly and courteously with our many inquiries and requests. To each of these we offer our thanks.

CJD thanks Thomas Habinek, Donal Manahan, and the University of Southern California Zumberge Fund that made possible her participation in this volume, and Deborah Boedeker, Donald Lateiner, Rachel Kitzinger and Rosaria Vignolo Munson for bibliographical and editorial advice generously given.

#### PREFACE

JM thanks Michael Flower, Laurel Fulkerson, Christopher Pelling, Scott Scullion, and Mark Toher for advice and assistance along the way (and along so many previous ways). He is also grateful to Florida State University for a semester's teaching relief.

Finally, we wish to thank our contributors who have made the volume possible, and who have made our task so very pleasant from start to finish. Not the least of their virtues was an admirable patience with their editors, each of whom engaged in a major *metoikēsis* as the volume was being completed.

#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

Ancient authors and their works are cited according to the abbreviations of H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn, with revised supplement (Oxford 1996) and (for Latin authors) P. G. W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1982).

CAH Cambridge Ancient History

CEG P. A. Hansen, Carmina Epigraphica Graeca, Saeculorum VIII-V a.Chr.n. (Berlin and New York 1983)

CHI Cambridge History of Iran, vol. II: The Median and Achaemenid Period (Cambridge 1985)

EGM R. Fowler, Early Greek Mythography (Oxford 2000-)

F or FF Fragment or Fragments

FGE D. L. Page, ed., Further Greek Epigrams (Cambridge 1981)

FGrHist F. Jacoby, et al., Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–58; Leiden 1994–). Authors are cited by the number they are given in the collection, followed by either the testimonium (T) or fragment (F) number(s)

FHG C. and F. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, 5 vols. (Paris 1841-7)

GGM C. Müller, Geographi Graeci Minores, 2 vols. (2nd edn) (Paris 1861)

IEG M. L. West, ed., Iambi et Elegi Graeci, 2 vols. (2nd edn) (Oxford 1989-92)

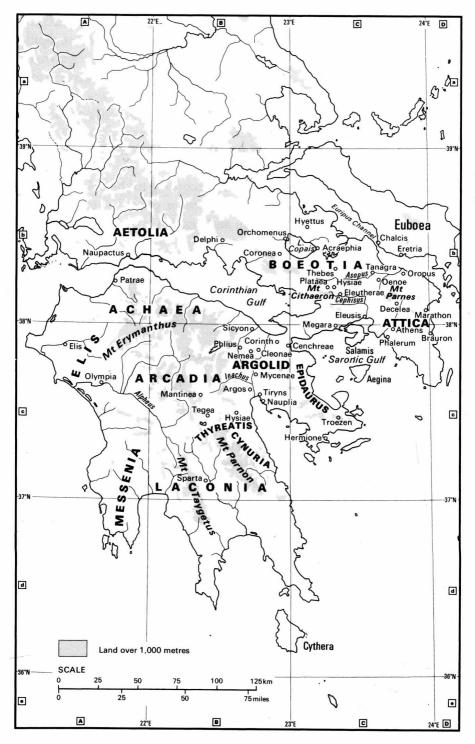
PMG D. L. Page, ed., Poetae Melici Graeci (Oxford 1962)

T or TT Testimonium or Testimonia

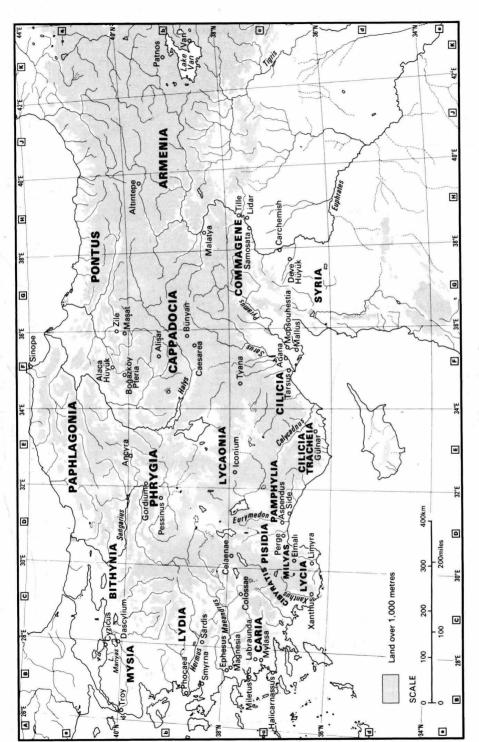
TGF A. Nauck, ed., Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (2nd edn) (Leipzig 1889)

TrGF B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. Radt, eds., Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (Berlin 1971-)

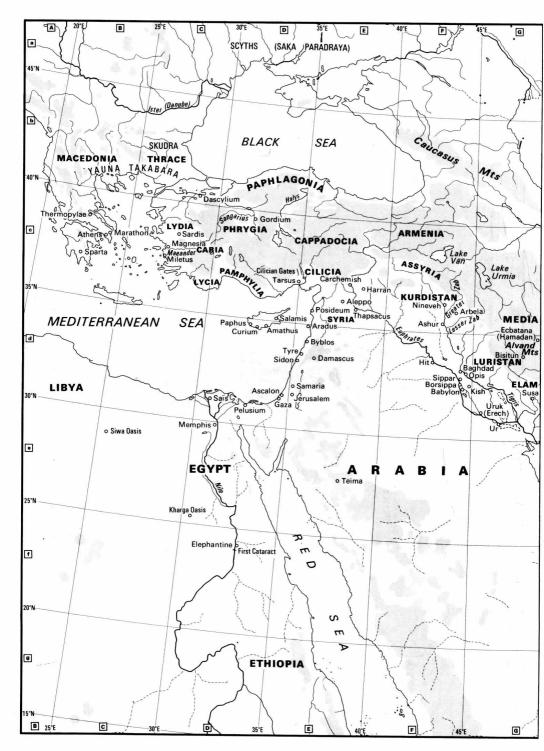
VS H. Diels and W. Kranz, Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker (6th edn) (Berlin 1951-2). Authors are cited by the number they are given in the collection, followed by either the testimonium (A) or fragment (B) number(s)



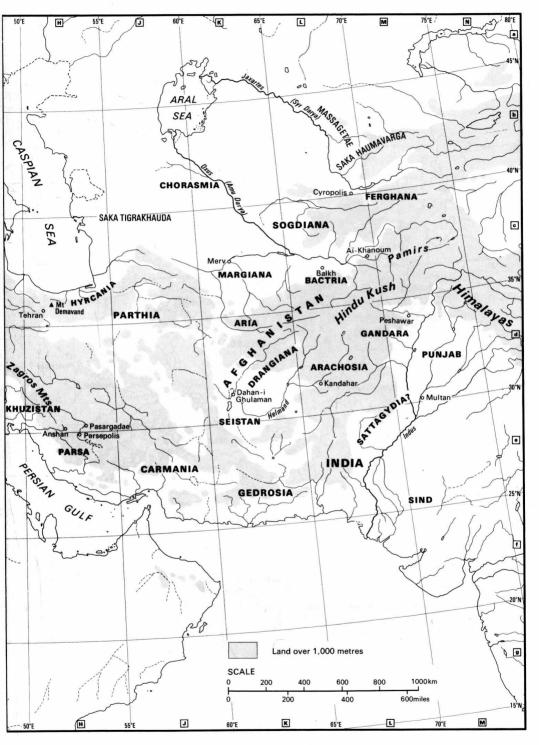
Map 1: Central Greece and the Peloponnese



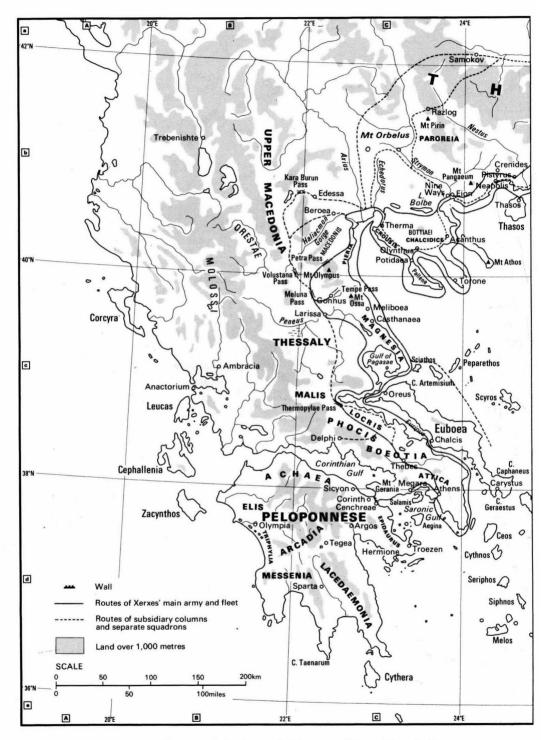
Map 2: Anatolia



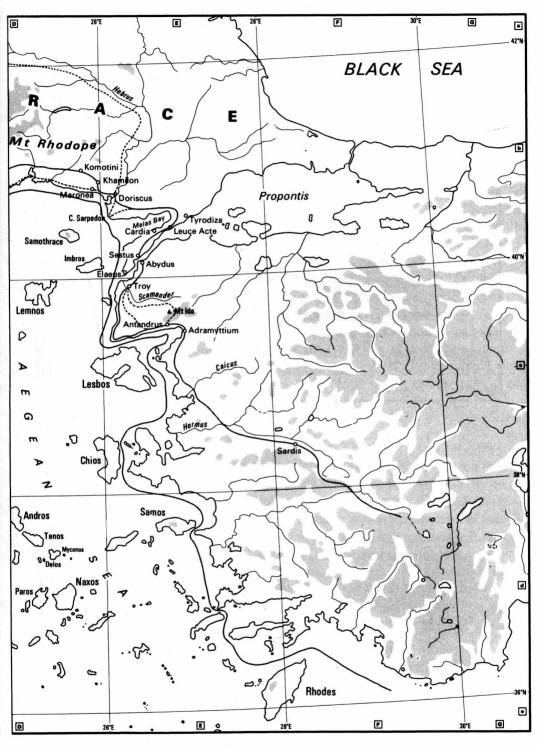
Map 3: The Achaemenid Empire



Map 3: (continued)



Map 4: Greece and the Aegean (with route of Xerxes' invasion)



Map 4: (continued)

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