



A HANDBOOK TO THE
RECEPTION OF
THUCYDIDES

EDITED BY CHRISTINE LEE AND NEVILLE MORLEY



A Handbook to the Reception of Thucydides

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A Handbook to the Reception of Thucydides

Edited by

Christine Lee and Neville Morley

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Introduction

Reading Thucydides

Christine Lee and Neville Morley

Over the last two decades, Thucydides has been one of the most frequently cited thinkers in debates about Western foreign policy and military intervention, especially in the United States. Irving Kristol, *éminence grise* of American neoconservatism, referred to Thucydides' history as "the favourite neoconservative text on foreign affairs." The question of the connection between Thucydides and neoconservative thought is perhaps most forcefully raised by the career of the ancient historian Donald Kagan: father of one of the cofounders of the Project for a New American Century, a signatory of the original declaration along with such figures as Dick Cheney and Paul Wolfowitz, and author, with his other son, of the wake-up call, *While America Sleeps*. Kagan has devoted almost his entire academic career to Thucydides, and his more popular works, including *Pericles of Athens and the Birth of Democracy* and *Thucydides: The Reinvention of History*, reveal that his reading of American politics and his reading of Thucydides are mutually inextricable. The continued relevance of Thucydides is likewise undeniable for Victor Davis Hanson, another prominent public figure associated with the neoconservative milieu. Hanson has not only returned repeatedly to Thucydides in his accounts of the importance of warfare in the triumph of the West but also invokes him regularly in his journalistic writing, most notably in the series of columns in *National Review* in the aftermath of 9/11 emphasizing the need for a swift, firm response against America's enemies (Hanson 2002). At the other end of the spectrum of conservative thought, no profile of Colin Powell is complete without reference to the (spurious) quotation that hung on his office wall as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff – "Of all manifestations of power, restraint impresses men most" – supposedly a legacy of the place of Thucydides in the curriculum at military training establishments like West Point and the Naval War College (where the

History was introduced in the 1970s in part as a means of wargaming the Cold War without reopening the wounds of Vietnam).

Yet Thucydides is not merely a puppet for the right, and more recent developments, including the limited success of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, have not led to the rejection of Thucydides as a source of political wisdom. On the contrary, rival schools of thought on global politics have reinforced their critique of the neo-conservative project by offering their own readings of Thucydides' work; arguing, for example, that the central message of the *History* is not that great states have the capacity to direct affairs and define reality in their own terms and interests but that such imperialistic hubris tends to lead to disaster (the Melian Dialogue is, after all, followed shortly afterwards by the Sicilian expedition), or that all foreign policy decisions need to be made on a rational, realistic basis rather than relying on excessive optimism or other emotions. Just as the end of the Cold War, in which Thucydides had been read as the key text for understanding a bipolar world, led not to the abandonment of the text but to its reinterpretation as a crucial text for understanding a multi-polar, anarchic world, so the failure of a foreign policy sanctioned by Thucydides has led not to the abandonment of the text but to its re-appropriation and redeployment in new contexts for new purposes. General Martin Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff since 2011, invokes Thucydides in order to support a policy toward Iran of diplomatic engagement rather than aggression, on the basis that all states are rational and driven by fear, honor, and interest (<http://thinkprogress.org/security/2012/03/01/435346/dempsey-iran-rational-actor/>). On the other side of the world, Chinese Premier Xi Jinping acknowledges the risk of the "Thucydides trap," the idea that an established power and a rising power are liable to push one another into war (<http://bergruen.org/topics/a-conversation-with-president-xi-at-big-s-understanding-china-conference>).

It is easy to dismiss the Thucydides of the American neoconservatives and the proliferation of references in journalism and foreign policy discussions as the product of a naive, partial, and entirely dehistoricized reading of the text – or, more likely, to judge from the limited range of reference of most of these, of a few isolated passages like the Melian Dialogue. However, this misses the point: the idea of Thucydides, however far removed it may be from a complex reality, has continuing power and currency, shaping ideas about how the modern world should be run and serving to legitimize them. This is by no means a new phenomenon; readers of Thucydides have been recognizing their own times and situations in his account since his work was reintroduced into Western Europe in the fifteenth century, and he played a prominent role in debates about inter-state relations even before Thomas Hobbes – generally dismissive of the wisdom of the ancients, but devoted translator of the *History of the Peloponnesian War* (Hoekstra 2012). Moreover, study of the history of his reception makes it clear that Thucydides the International Relations Theorist is not the only version with the power to influence debates; Thucydides the Political Theorist has been a significant figure in the analysis of the

workings of democracy and demagoguery and the ideas and ideals of citizenship, and Thucydides the Model Historian, the exemplar of critical practice or the purveyor of methodological precepts, dominated the development of “history as science” under Leopold von Ranke and others in the nineteenth century.

The perspective changes significantly over time: as each of these conceptions, developed within different disciplinary and national traditions, influences the others; as the valuation of Thucydides relative to potential rivals like Tacitus or Herodotus changes; as scholarship develops knowledge of the text and its context; and as conceptions of the relationship between ancient and modern are transformed by the experiences of modernization (cf. Morley 2009). Thucydides lost his exemplary status around the beginning of the nineteenth century – it ceased to be plausible to cite him as an expert on the evils of paper money, as a Prussian official once did (Koselleck 2004: 26) – but, far from being neglected as a result, he came instead to be seen as offering universal insights and precepts that transcended his time. However, even at a given moment the idea of Thucydides was never simple or straightforward; he could equally well be cited as a democrat or an anti-democrat, an activist or a quietist, a realist or an idealist, the archetypal scientific historian or the exemplary practitioner of rhetoric and historical art. Surveying this history, one is struck equally by the variety of readings of Thucydides and their often contradictory nature, and by the widespread conviction, despite these contradictions, that he is an author and thinker with important things to say to the present.

Thucydides’ influence over the centuries has certainly been less pervasive and unavoidable than that of Plato and Aristotle in the field of philosophy or literary authors like Homer and Vergil; at different times, he has been eclipsed by other ancient rivals (Plutarch, for example, or Tacitus). However, his influence has been far more important than one might assume from the almost complete lack of scholarship on the subject. Thucydides’ work was not read by everyone, but it was read by a select group of important thinkers at critical moments in the development of political theory, historiography, and international relations. His place in the wider culture is equally circumscribed, but at critical moments, at times of war (see for example John Barton’s *The War that Never Ends*, originally performed in the 1960s in response to Vietnam and revived in 1991 for the first Gulf War) or national crisis (the Gettysburg addresses, the aftermath of 9/11), he becomes suddenly prominent, a text for difficult times. Moreover, consideration of the reception of Thucydides illuminates more general issues in the study of the reception of classical texts, highlighting the multiplicity of possible interpretations of antiquity and ancient authors in response to changing circumstances, and the continuing (and often surprising) power of classical authorities in the modern world.

Remarkably, the history of the reception of Thucydides since antiquity has only recently begun to be studied in depth, and the coverage of different aspects remains partial. Detailed studies within the field of classical studies, looking at the narrative and rhetorical structures of Thucydides’ work, its relation to contemporary science, and its place in the development of historiography, are largely unknown

to those working on relevant material in other disciplines; conversely, debates on the place of Thucydides' ideas in the development of international relations or political theory are ignored by the vast majority of classicists. The two existing collections in this field (Fromentin, Gotteland, and Payen 2010; Harloe and Morley 2012) offer detailed studies of the reception of Thucydides by individual authors or within quite specific contexts, but their coverage of the entire field is limited, and above all there is only limited engagement between different disciplines. This *Handbook* aims to offer a more comprehensive overview of the whole range and variety of its subject, emphasizing the connections and debates between different traditions of reading and interpreting Thucydides, and highlighting the underlying issues in understanding his influence.

Part I: Scholarship, Criticism, and Education

This opening section considers the “conditions of knowledge” of Thucydides, the ways in which this complex text, written in a language which was fully comprehensible only to a few (even after it had been translated, one might say), was made available to a broader audience, and the ways in which this process of transmission and dissemination shaped readers' interpretations. Fromentin and Gotteland survey the reception of Thucydides in classical antiquity (a subject which is covered more extensively in Fromentin, Gotteland, and Payen 2010). In this period, the reputation of Thucydides as an important but problematic historiographic model was established, in a way which – as shown by Pade in her survey of Renaissance scholarship – shaped the expectations of those who first studied and translated the *History*. Thucydides was perceived from an early date as a “useful” text, above all – as Iglesias-Zoido shows in his account of Renaissance anthologies of the speeches contained in the *History* – as a model for rhetoric and political discourse. The practice of excerpting Thucydides and presenting him to a more general audience in an abridged form, tailored to specific (often educational) purposes, has a long history.

The other three chapters in this section focus on more recent scholarship, and its implications for contemporary understanding. Rusten offers a revealing account of the debates about the nature of the text and whether or not it was ever finished that dominated philological discussions through much of the twentieth century; these are not of purely academic interest, but raise important questions about any attempt at extracting messages or lessons from the work. Schelske embarks on the enormous task of considering the place of Thucydides in education at school and university – the main way in which most readers before the mid-twentieth century would have first encountered his work – by focusing on two case studies of writers who are known to have had some significant connection with the *History*. Finally, Greenwood considers the vital issue of the translation of Thucydides' often difficult and ambiguous Greek; the different strategies which modern translators have

used to convey its sense, significance, and literary qualities; and the consequences of different approaches for their readers' image and understanding of Thucydides and his work.

Part II: Thucydides the Historian

Thucydides is commonly understood and read as a historian. However, the precise meaning of this label is invariably open to question: Thucydides may, at different periods and in different contexts, be read as a typical classical historian, as a historian who somehow anticipated modern scientific historiography and may indeed even have developed it further than contemporary historians, as the originator of historiography as a discipline or as a betrayer of history, practicing it with a bad conscience because he really wanted to pursue a different project. Moreover, most of these characterizations can be understood in both positive and negative terms – the rhetorical nature of Thucydides' account, which from a modern perspective sits uneasily with his supposedly modern critical approach, could equally well be taken as grounds for dismissing him as a suitable model or for rethinking the attitude of historiography toward its literary nature.

Three chapters consider the more positive estimations of Thucydides' contribution to the development of historiography: Murari Pires (on the Renaissance and early modern period), Lianeri and Meister (focusing on the nineteenth century in Britain and Germany, respectively) all explore the idea of Thucydides as a model for the historian's practice and duty, and even as the exemplar of the characterization of the historian as a *hero* or a *genius*. This tradition, especially in the nineteenth century, tended to see Thucydides as *sui generis*, pursuing a historiographical project that was quite different from the mainstream of classical historiography, the better to claim it as a forerunner of contemporary practices; O'Gorman shows how, in the early centuries of Thucydidean reception, he was more likely to be read through and/or in comparison with other ancient "contemporaries." Payen considers his reception in France in terms of its relative absence, or at least underdevelopment, compared with Germany or Britain; a series of writers did turn to him as a source of inspiration or subject for debate, but he never acquired the same totemic status. Finally, Hesk considers the decline of that status in the twentieth century, with the progressive questioning of Thucydides' credentials as a modern historian – or even as a historian at all.

Part III: Thucydides the Political Theorist

Thomas Hobbes offered a widely cited characterization of Thucydides as "the most politic historiographer that ever writ." While historians have tended to understand this in terms of Thucydides' interest as a historian in the political affairs of ancient Greece, another tradition of interpretation has seen him as a

political theorist who happened to present his analysis in the form of a history, or at any rate as a thinker whose ideas on the workings of politics have a wider significance than just serving to explain the historical events described in his work. The first three chapters in this section discuss three different interpretations of Thucydides as a source of political wisdom and understanding. Sullivan focuses on the central figure of Thomas Hobbes, whose role in shaping the later reception of Thucydides in political theory – through his translation, his introductory remarks on the *History*, and its obvious influence on his own thought – has been enormous; Hobbes' individual take on the work is highlighted by comparing his reception with those of a number of other political thinkers in this period. Earley considers the Abbé de Mably, a figure who is far less significant for modern political thought (and thus tends to be ignored) but who was in his time widely read in both France and Britain; his conviction that important political lessons could be learnt from history chimes with Thucydides' own claims for the usefulness of his work. Finally, Jaffe offers an account of the importance of Thucydides for Leo Strauss, the particularities of his interpretation – and the importance of Strauss' influence as a teacher in establishing Thucydides' present position in American political discourse.

The other three chapters are concerned as much with the issues involved in reading Thucydides as a political theorist, and the implications of his ideas, as with the ways they have been read in the past. Zumbrunnen draws on the ideas of realism and constructivism that have dominated recent debates in international relations (see below) in order to interpret Thucydides' understanding of democracy, arguing that his political thought transcends such restrictive categories. Mara concentrates on the key issue of democratic citizenship and deliberation, moving from the supposed idealization of Pericles (implying Thucydidean distrust of democracy, as Hobbes believed) to the speech of Diodotus in the Mytilenean Debate. Lee analyzes the ways that various contemporary theorists have made use of Thucydides as a text for thinking about democratic politics, from Strauss' seminal reading of it as an antidemocratic text to later interpretations more attuned to the possibilities for democratic success.

Part IV: Thucydides the Strategist

As discussed above, Thucydides most commonly appears in contemporary discussions, outside the field of classical studies, in relation to the fields of global politics and international relations; these are the areas in which the study of his reception and influence is farthest advanced, at least in terms of the volume of material published on the subject. Thucydides is seen as a foundational text of the discipline, part of the canon of great thinkers with whose ideas contemporary theorists continue to engage – although, as Keene explores in his discussion of the history of this field of study, this seems surprising, given that the most prominent founders of international relations actually had little to say about Thucydides, and it was rather some

writers who are now largely ignored who played the most significant role in establishing him within the discipline. O’Driscoll’s chapter offers a different contrast between past and present: Thucydides is now scarcely mentioned in debates about Just War theory, because he is seen solely in terms of his appropriation by realist thought, despite his importance for pioneering figures in this field like Grotius and Gentili.

The theme of realism looms large, as Johnson discusses: Thucydides has most often been claimed as some sort of realist – although this interpretation is in some ways problematic and rests on a particular approach to reading his work, and at best he is probably not the sort of realist he is generally assumed to be. Ruback goes still further in his critique of contemporary international relations readings and appropriations: he argues that Thucydides’ role in the discipline must be understood above all as a means of legitimizing current practices, and indeed of constituting international relations as a discipline at all. Finally, Stradis’ chapter engages with another dimension of Thucydides’ influence on modern thinking about global politics, his introduction into the curriculum of the US Naval War College in the early 1970s as a means of helping officers develop their understanding of strategy and international relations, and their skills in critical thought and debate, in place of the older technical focus of military education.

Part V: Thucydidean Themes

Thucydides’ modern influence has not been confined to these three strands; particular sections of his work have been received in other contexts, as King and Brown show in their account of the way that his description of the plague at Athens has been interpreted by modern medical writers, and Rood discusses with respect to his “proto-anthropological” account of the early development of Greece. Hardwick and Workman discuss different aspects of the reception of Thucydides in broader theoretical terms, cutting across disciplines: the former explores the relationship between the concepts that are seen to organize Thucydides’ own thought and those that are deployed in his reception, while the latter considers the way his project has been interpreted in terms of conceptions of “science” and “tragedy” – arguing that it clearly transcends such one-sided claims and polarized categories. Sawyer studies the way that Thucydides has been cited in modern political rhetoric, establishing a clear contrast between the United States and United Kingdom that can be traced back to differences between their educational systems and their political cultures.

Part VI: Thucydidean Reflections

At least some readers of Thucydides have found it a life-changing experience, one that has shaped their view of the world; for these, he is a writer who can sustain a lifetime of engagement and debate. Part VI therefore includes four shorter

reflections from scholars who have spent much time reading and thinking about Thucydides and his work. These are not straightforward encomia – if anything, they raise more questions about the problems of interpreting Thucydides or identifying “lessons” that may be applied to the present than many of the supposedly more academic readings that are discussed in the rest of the volume – but they highlight the potential for Thucydides to continue to stimulate new ideas and to reward careful, engaged reading.

Prospects

Even a volume of this size cannot hope to be comprehensive; for some topics, most obviously the place of Thucydides within modern international relations theory, the literature is already so substantial that it formed the basis for one edited collection (Gustafson 2000), and there has been no let-up in the rate of publications in the subsequent fifteen years. Our hope is that this collection offers a good guide to the main strands of reception and the main issues of debate in the different fields where Thucydides is or has been a significant point of reference, with discussion of the most important contributions and interpretations, and that it has at least started a proper exploration of the complex relationships between these different fields and their various conceptions of Thucydides and his work.

A much more serious problem than a failure to cover every intricacy of the tradition in historiography or political theory is the patchiness of our coverage. The scope of this project has in a number of cases been limited by our ability to find people working on relevant themes, or amenable to turning their attention to Thucydides in the context of their work on related (sometimes only very loosely related) topics; we are especially grateful to those contributors (King and Brown, for example, and Schelske) who were willing to venture into largely unknown territory so that an important aspect of this subject would not be neglected. Although these chapters are by no means merely a summary of existing scholarship – even when they are dealing with relatively well-established fields of enquiry, all our authors offer original interpretations and arguments – the volume does undoubtedly reflect the current state of research on Thucydidean reception, insofar as we were in some cases simply unable to find contributors to cover particular topics which, it became clear, were potentially just as important as those topics which were already extensively discussed in the literature. We hope that this volume will be a starting point for future research, not only by providing an introduction to the main traditions of Thucydideanism but also by highlighting some of the major gaps.

If the history of the reception of Thucydides sometimes appears to consist of a limited number of milestones separated by long periods of emptiness – his rediscovery in Europe in the Renaissance, Hobbes, nineteenth-century “scientific”

history and post-World War II international relations, above all in the United States – then this is at least as much a consequence of the interests of contemporary scholars (not least in developing the foundational myths of their disciplines) as it is of the actual pattern of his reception, whether judged in terms of volume or significance. It is increasingly clear that there is far more going on in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than has hitherto been noticed (Scott 2009, and Payen and Earley in this volume offer some preliminary studies in this period). Still more striking is the lack of attention given to the first half of the twentieth century, precisely the period when Thucydides ceased to be a significant author for mainstream theories of historiography and instead crossed the Atlantic to become an influence in theories of global politics; Keene in this volume identifies the role of some hitherto-neglected figures in the early history of international relations in the transmission of Thucydides in this period, and there is clearly much more to be said about the impact of World War I and its aftermath on readings of Thucydides, including references to him in wartime propaganda and his use on war memorials. That raises the broader issue of Thucydides' place in the history of war, strategy, and tactics, from mentions of him in the writing of John Dee in the sixteenth century (mentioned in passing in Scott 2011) to the present. Stradis' chapter on the role of Thucydides in the new curriculum of the Naval War College in the 1970s barely scratches the surface of this topic, but we hope it will spark an interest in more sustained work in this area. The place of Thucydides in nonacademic contexts, meanwhile, remains almost entirely neglected.

This is not to say that we consider the debates within more familiar fields like historiography and international relations to be concluded or moribund; on the contrary, as we hope this volume demonstrates, they continue to be extremely lively, but it is also clear that they need to move forward and above all to start talking more consistently to one another. There is no doubt that historiographical receptions of Thucydides have shaped political ones, and vice versa, and that in many cases writers on different sides of national and disciplinary divides are engaged with similar issues from different perspectives: the nature of "science" and "social science," the relevance of the past for understanding the present, the roles of rhetoric, interpretation, and authority within the human sciences, the very identity of different disciplines. What is needed now is genuine dialogue and debate, based on learning each other's languages and taken-for-granted assumptions, not least as a means of holding one's own up for scrutiny. As Ruback suggests in his chapter, "Thucydides seems familiar because we've made him into us"; proper consideration of the Thucydideses of other disciplines – with the recognition that, however unnatural and implausible they may appear to us as historians or us as political theorists, they are believed in with equal conviction and equal plausibility – can help unsettle our preconceptions and restore the equally important sense of unfamiliarity in engaging with a text from the classical past with the potential to speak to the present.

Guide to Further Reading

Several edited collections on Thucydides include chapters on different aspects of his reception: Rengakos and Tsakmakis (2006) and Rusten (2009). Harloe and Morley (2012) is the first volume in English dedicated to this topic, offering a range of specialist studies; for readers of French, Fromentin, Gotteland, and Payen (2010) focuses on Thucydides' reception in France. There are now two monographs that focus on the reception of Thucydides in historiography, Meister (2013, in German) and Morley (2014). Gustafson (2000) offers an introduction to the tradition in international relations.

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Part I

Scholarship, Criticism,
and Education

Thucydides' Ancient Reputation

Valérie Fromentin and Sophie Gotteland

All attempts at describing the reception of Thucydides in the ancient world and assessing his influence come up against two major difficulties.

The first lies in the documentation that is available to us. The destruction of the greater part of ancient literature, and the too often fragmentary state of those works that do survive, lead us to run the risk, which is often met with in this kind of investigation, of overinterpreting the sparse data which we have, and hence overvaluing what has survived of the Thucydidean heritage. This risk is all the greater as witnesses from antiquity are not overly communicative: most of the time authors of antiquity do not cite their sources or refer back to their models; they do not necessarily see themselves as part of an intellectual tradition, and so explicit references to Thucydides are less common than one might have expected. Studying the historian's reception often comes down to flushing out a "hidden presence." The second major difficulty lies in the unique position which Thucydides has occupied for more than two centuries in the landscape of classical studies as a "monument" of Western thought and as constituting part of the famous "Greek miracle." The reconstructed picture which we have of ancient literature and of its development and its genres, constitutes an inhibiting framework from which it is difficult to escape, especially in the case of Thucydides to whom the dominant tradition has attributed the merit of having "invented" rational, scientific, and objective history, or – to borrow the phrasing of title of a famous work by Arnaldo Momigliano – of having laid "the classical foundations of modern historiography."

It is nonetheless the case that the presence of Thucydides, which at some times is diffuse, at others explicit, is apparent throughout antiquity. While we cannot pretend to give here an exhaustive inventory of borrowings from his work, nor a complete assessment of the influence which he exercised on Greco-Roman historiography and on other literary genres, the following presentation is deliberately organized around a

number of key moments and focused on certain writers, who represent, for us, the main forms taken by Thucydides' survival in the ancient world.

For the purposes of this presentation, it is convenient from the outset to distinguish two points in Thucydides' reception which are not necessarily either successive or independent of one another. The moment which appears to come first chronologically is when posterity's interest in Thucydides focused chiefly on the historical content of *The Peloponnesian War* and on what we can already refer to as its "documentary value." This interest is manifested by two kinds of historians.

There are first of all those who present themselves – or who were considered from the outset – as his followers. Xenophon has a unique position in this tradition, which he inaugurated. Thucydides having died (around 395 BCE?) before he was able to bring his narrative of the Peloponnesian War to its conclusion, Xenophon, whose *Hellenica* begins exactly where Thucydides stops (411 BCE), was seen in antiquity as *having completed* the work of Thucydides (perhaps using notes which he had left), before writing a *sequel* (up until 362 BCE). It seems moreover that the first two books of the *Hellenica* (covering the years 411–403) circulated under the names of both historians, and, in the era of Cicero at least, we have proof of the existence of supposedly "complete" editions of the work of Thucydides (i.e., including the beginning of the *Hellenica*), with a division into books different from that which has come down to us (Canfora 2006: 731–5). However, even if one may reasonably suppose that Xenophon (whose opinion on the matter is nowhere recorded) had in effect intended to finish and continue the work of Thucydides, he has never been considered by either ancients or moderns as an imitator of the historian, in that his historiographical choices, his methods and his style are clearly different. The same goes for all the historians of the fourth century BC whose works – regrettably preserved only in a fragmentary state – pass for or present themselves as sequels to *The Peloponnesian War*: Theopompus of Chios, for example, whose *Hellenics* "completed" Thucydides' history (Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* 14.84.7; Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis* 45), telling "the end of the Peloponnesian War" from the battle of Cynossema in 411 BCE up to the fall of Cnidus in 394 BCE (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Epistula Ad Pompeium Geminum* c. 6.2), had a marked taste for fabulous anecdotes and digressions (Theon, *Progymnasmata* 4; Photios, *Bibliotheca* 176), making him less like Thucydides than like Herodotus, whose work he had taken over (perhaps at the beginning of his *Philippica*) and which he aspired to excel (Nicolai 2006: 706–7). These authors from the beginning of the Hellenistic era belong above all in the tradition of *historia continua*: each continues the work of another, avoiding overlapping, but *continuation* does not imply *imitation*. These successors are often very critical of their predecessors, like the mysterious Cratippos, a young contemporary of Thucydides whose work covered the period 411–393 BCE at least (Schepens 2001): he prepared a list of Thucydides' "omissions" in Book 8 to demonstrate not only the unfinished aspect of the history but also its inconsistency – the end of the work, in his view, did not issue from "the same literary choices, and