

## **The Ancient Near East and the genre of Greek historiography\***

Birgit Gufler – Irene Madreiter

### **1. Introductory notes**

Ancient historiography is generally understood as a product of the so called Western world. In this context two fields of research which have triggered an emotional discussion, play an important role. The first one deals with the contacts between the Ancient Near East<sup>1</sup> and the ‘Greek World’. In this regard, the impact of the East on Greek culture versus the independent development of the single city states in the Aegean region is disputed controversially. The second one debates the genre of ancient historiography as a history of events and its narrative character as well as the reliability of the ancient authors.

The analysis of elements from the Middle East and their meaning in Greek historiographical (con-)texts is a desideratum for research and promises a better understanding of the genre of historiography between fact and fiction. In our project “Altorientalische Elemente in der antiken Historiographie: Herodot und Ktesias”, we analyze the *Histories* of Herodotus (5<sup>th</sup> c. BC) and the *Persika* of Ctesias (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC).

In this paper we will expose some basic ideas underlying the topic respectively the project. Our paper is divided into three main parts: we will start with some considerations about Greek historiography. In the second part we will briefly focus on the scholarly debate on the contacts between the Ancient Near East and the Greek world and on methodological aspects. By giving two examples we will then illustrate how difficult it can be to evaluate individual information in Herodotus and Ctesias.

---

\* Supported by funds of the Tiroler Wissenschaftsfonds, project “Altorientalische Elemente in der antiken Historiographie: Herodot und Ktesias”. We thank Claudia Schwarz for correcting our English.

<sup>1</sup> van Dongen, 2014 argues for abandoning the concept of the Near East. Nevertheless we use the terms ‘Ancient Near East’, ‘Near East’ or ‘Middle East’ as vague geographical indicators for the regions dominated by Assyrians, Babylonians and Achaemenids in the first millennium BC. Being aware that the concept of the ‘Orient’ has been criticized since Saïd, 1978, we also sometimes refer to ‘oriental’ elements, denominating the Eastern provenience of the material.

## 2. Phrasing the problem<sup>2</sup>

The differentiation between research disciplines and an increasing specialization have led to a separate handling of texts that originate in the Ancient World, i.e. the time of early literate societies until the transformation of the Roman World and the area of the Near East and the Mediterranean world. The period of institutionalization of the relevant disciplines (Ancient History, Classical Philology, Classical Archaeology, Assyriology, Egyptology, etc.) until the time after the Second World War was marked by a nationalist, ethnic and partly racist thinking in intellectual history. The changing political conditions also had an impact on the perspectives in the academic world. This led to the fact that, among other things, the notion of peoples as homogeneous cultures was put into question.<sup>3</sup>

Against this background it was possible to examine similarities that stood out between the written and archaeological legacies from the Middle East and the Aegean and to discuss the contacts between the allegedly separate spheres. It was no longer necessary to act on the assumption of the birth of single accomplishments on the basis of a presumed Greek genius ('Greek miracle').<sup>4</sup> Influences of literary works in Hittite and Assyrian languages on the epics of the Greek Archaic period have been formulated and discussed.<sup>5</sup>

The institutionalizing period of the disciplines dealing with antiquity and history in the 18th and 19th centuries has shaped the approach to ancient texts and the assessment of individual genres and text sources. According to scholars such as Albin Lesky, Klaus Meister or recently Beat Näf, the genre of historiography has been understood as a product of Greek culture.<sup>6</sup> Exploring the past is regarded as an essential feature of historiographical writings.<sup>7</sup> This includes, amongst other things, the use of specific methods such as autopsy or the questioning of informants and a critical assessment of the sources.<sup>8</sup> The result is a certain claim for truth, which had already been attributed to historical texts in antiquity and which also served as a sign of quality of a historiographical work.<sup>9</sup> Exploring the legacies of Mesopotamia, Ancient Iran, and Egypt played an important role for the assessment of historiographical works because the new testimonies – texts as well as the archeological record – could not always be

---

<sup>2</sup> This phrase is borrowed from Hall, 1997: 1.

<sup>3</sup> Homi Bhabha, 1994. In regard to classical antiquity cf. e.g. Wenskus, 1961. Pohl / Reimitz, 1998. Hall, 1997. Ulf, 2009. Ulf, 2014. Gufler, in prep.

<sup>4</sup> Burkert, 1984. Burkert, 1992.

<sup>5</sup> See for example Bernabé, 2004. van Dongen, 2010. Ulf / Rollinger, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Meister, 1990: 9f. Näf, 2010: 45–48. Indirectly Lesky, 1971: 254. Rengakos, 2011: 326.

<sup>7</sup> Näf, 2010: 45.

<sup>8</sup> Characteristics of historiographical writings are listed in Meister, 1990: 199–205. Rengakos, 2011: 326.

<sup>9</sup> On the fictional character of the Greek historiography in the Classical period see e.g. Bichler, 2007b.

harmonized with the reports of the ancient historiographers.<sup>10</sup> For some authors such as Herodotus of Halicarnassus, the question of the quality of the sources which could be attributed to the writer was discussed in this context. In a different way, doubts about the veracity of Herodotus' narrative were expressed by Detlev Fehling because he assumed that the author had provided invented sources.<sup>11</sup> For this he has been strongly criticized by W. K. Pritchett and others.<sup>12</sup>

Some scholars have pointed to the literary character of Herodotus' *Histories*,<sup>13</sup> which does not exclusively conform to the design principles of modern historical writings, but has other facets, too. François Hartog, for example, suggested that Herodotus' narrative would have a mirror function.<sup>14</sup> According to Kai Ruffing in his introduction to "Herodots Quellen – die Quellen Herodots", the question of truth and lie is not adequate any longer.<sup>15</sup> The debates, however, differed depending on the claimed quality of the text of an ancient author. In regard to Ctesias, for example, scholars have also discussed the genre of his work. Since this author eludes attempts of a modern categorization, especially the literary value of his work on Persian history has been emphasized in recent years.<sup>16</sup>

Studies on Greek historiography usually deal with her origins. Scholars have argued that historiographers recourse to elements – in form and/or content – of non-historiographical texts,<sup>17</sup> including references to poetry. Herodotus for example refers to Homer, Phrynichus or Pindarus.<sup>18</sup> A well-known example of reception is Homer's catalogue of ships in the *Iliad*,<sup>19</sup> which is paralleled by Herodotus' register of king Xerxes' armed forces in book 7.<sup>20</sup> Later historiographical works also access elements of content from earlier historiographical writings and treat them in a different way. Ctesias' depiction of history led to controversies about the reliability of his work since ancient times. Photius says in the *Epitome* that Ctesias differs in his account of early Persian history not only from Herodotus, but also disagrees in some

---

<sup>10</sup> Rollinger, 2011: 139–143.

<sup>11</sup> Fehling, 1971. Fehling, 1989.

<sup>12</sup> Pritchett, 1993. See now Dunsch / Ruffing, 2013 [2014], with different positions.

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. the relevant articles in: Boedeker, 1987. Luraghi, 2001. Bakker / de Jong / van Wees, 2002. Dewald / Marincola, 2006. Baragwanath / de Bakker, 2012.

<sup>14</sup> Hartog, 1980. For other aspects see e.g. Armayor, 1978. Bichler, 2001. Bichler, 2007a. Baragwanath, 2008.

<sup>15</sup> Ruffing, 2013 [2014].

<sup>16</sup> Bichler, 2007c. Madreiter, 2012. Stronk, 2011. And more general Wiesehöfer / Rollinger / Lanfranchi, 2011.

<sup>17</sup> Meister, 1990. Lendle, 1992. Marincola, 2007. For historiography in general see White, 1973. White, 1978.

<sup>18</sup> Strasburger, 1972. Grethlein, 2010 and Boedeker, 2011 with further references.

<sup>19</sup> Hom. Il. 2, 484–760. On the early Homer-reception see Graziosi, 2002. Haubold, 2002. Graziosi, 2011.

<sup>20</sup> Hdt. VII 61–99. Armayor, 1978: 7f. Waters, 1985: 61.

respects with Xenophon.<sup>21</sup> A reception of known elements can also be determined in the literature on Alexander the Great, where various forms of references can be worked out. There is an analogy between the *Anabasis* of Arrianus of Nicomedia and that of Xenophon of Athens. But also elements of content could be re-used. There are parallels between the reports of the marches of the Persian resp. the Macedonian army to the shrine of Ammon, in which the army of Cambyses failed, but that of Alexander was successful.<sup>22</sup>

In research, the received elements known from earlier Greek literature are treated differently from those showing parallels to texts from the Ancient Near East. Due to the different languages and the spatial distance of the texts questions are raised about the sources and the channels of transmission.<sup>23</sup> Thereby, elements that are seen as a result of the investigation (of the facts) by the ancient author are assessed in a different way than those whose historicity are disputed or may be denied. The first group includes, for example, the story of Darius' I takeover in Herodotus' *Histories*, which is similar to Darius' report in the Bisotun inscription in many details. The second group contains stories or parts of them that do not have a factual background, such as Herodotus' episode on the flying serpents of Arabia.<sup>24</sup>

Another important problem regards the assumed uniqueness of Greek historiography: some Classical scholars (at least) implicitly deny the existence of this genre in the Near East. They postulate that historiography began in the Aegean world.<sup>25</sup> According to Martin Mulsow, the question of the beginnings of historiography is strongly related to her definition.<sup>26</sup> He points out that the understanding of (the beginnings of) historiography has changed in the scholarly discussion. In antiquity, Strabo and Pliny stated that Cadmus of Miletus was the first historian.<sup>27</sup> In Christian literature, however, Moses had been regarded as the eldest historian until the 17<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>28</sup> Significant changes in the question of the beginnings of historiography are linked with the distinction between history and myth during the Enlightenment.<sup>29</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century this differentiation was amplified. In this time also national and racial trends gained in importance. Against this intellectual background, Mulsow asked: "Konnte echte Historiographie bei einem semitischen, nicht arischen Volk

---

<sup>21</sup> Ctes. F \*0a Stronk, 2010. Madreiter, 2012.

<sup>22</sup> Müller, 2011.

<sup>23</sup> West, 2011 ad Herodotus. See also Heller, this volume.

<sup>24</sup> Rollinger, 2004. Rollinger / Lang, 2005.

<sup>25</sup> See n. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Mulsow, 2005: 25.

<sup>27</sup> Mulsow, 2005: 19 referring to Strab. I 18 and Plin. NH V 112. VII 205.

<sup>28</sup> Mulsow, 2005: 19.

<sup>29</sup> Mulsow, 2005: 20–23.

vorliegen?<sup>30</sup> Following Mulsow's analysis, the alleged non-existence of the genre historiography seems to be the result of tradition.

Jacob J. Finkelstein calls attention to the "hazard of applying Western categories to phenomena completely alien to us."<sup>31</sup> He states that all societies had concepts of the past but that they were crafted into different forms of historical writings.<sup>32</sup> The author discusses selected genres, e.g. the omen-literature or the chronicles as sources which include historical concepts. In his conclusion Finkelstein quotes two text-passages by Thucydides, whom he calls "a most eloquent and rational historian".<sup>33</sup> The first one reflects the aim of the historiographer to present "[...] exact knowledge of the facts [...]". The second passage shows that Thucydides underlines the magnitude of the Peloponnesian War by linking extraordinary natural phenomena like eclipses, earthquakes etc. with the outbreak of the war. By quoting this paragraph, Finkelstein emphasizes that even one of the most prominent Greek historiographers includes aspects that do not fit all criteria of historical writing in a modern sense.

### **3. Approaching the problem**

Dealing with the impact of the Near East on Greek literature and art is a relatively new field of research that has strongly gained in importance in Classical studies for about three decades. There was a special interest in the Archaic period, the so called Orientalizing phase. As a spiritus rector Walter Burkert has to be mentioned. In numerous works he pointed out the manifold influences of the Near East on Greek culture.<sup>34</sup> Burkert as well as Martin West or Stephanie Dalley focused mainly on analogies between motifs in literary sources.<sup>35</sup> In the early 1990s, some studies dealt explicitly with questions of methodology of a supposed motif-transfer within the ancient world. Jeffrey H. Tigay and Alberto Bernabé established criteria that should help determine probable dependencies between motifs in texts from different cultures.<sup>36</sup> They can be classified into criteria regarding to the relating texts on the one hand and to the "circumstantial evidence"<sup>37</sup> on the other.<sup>38</sup> The first group includes, for example,

---

<sup>30</sup> Mulsow, 2005: 24.

<sup>31</sup> Finkelstein, 1963: 461.

<sup>32</sup> Finkelstein, 1963: 461f.

<sup>33</sup> Finkelstein, 1963: 472.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. Burkert, 1984. Burkert, 1992. Burkert, 2004.

<sup>35</sup> West, 1997. Dalley, 1998.

<sup>36</sup> Tigay, 1993. Bernabé, 1995.

<sup>37</sup> Tigay, 1993: 255.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Gufler, 2002: 115–120.

the specificity of a theme or the complexity of a motif.<sup>39</sup> Criteria concerning the second group are, inter alia, the distance in time and space of sources or the traceability of the channels of transmission between them.<sup>40</sup> A new impetus has been provided by Margret Miller's influential monograph *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.: A Study in Cultural Receptivity*<sup>41</sup> because her focus is now on the recipient. Miller demonstrates the various forms of handling with Persian goods through the Athenians, which could range from class-specific adaption of foreign goods to their hybridization. The idea of hybridization was then picked up several times.<sup>42</sup> Recently, Johannes Haubold has made a case for a close reading of Greek and Mesopotamian texts, preferring the application of methods of comparative literature to the simple listing of parallels or the search of contact zones.<sup>43</sup> Especially his emphasis on Mesopotamian and Greek sources as literary texts with a specific audience is shared by us, as it breaks down ideological boundaries between the disciplines.

For the Archaic period, the evidence of the existence of contact spheres between 'East' and 'West' was important in research. On the contrary, the question of an assumed transmission between Persia and the Greek poleis is not the main problem in the Classical period because everyone accepts the Greek-Persian wars as a fact. However, the channels of transmission still remain elusive and a matter of discussion. The Ancient Near East as a topic gained in significance in the Greek classical period. This becomes additionally apparent in new forms of literature, particularly tragedy and historiography. The connections between the 'Orient' and historiography have thus been viewed in a number of perspectives. Case studies have demonstrated analogies between Greek stories (or parts of them) and texts of the Ancient Near East.<sup>44</sup> A new approach has been provided by the members of the *Achaemenid history project*, initiated by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, who tried to analyze the sources without a Eurocentric perspective.<sup>45</sup> Another research interest centers on historiography and the Ancient Near East, for example on Herodotus, Ctesias, Berossos or the historians on Alexander the Great.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Tigay, 1993: 251. Bernabé, 1995: 15f. 20.

<sup>40</sup> Tigay, 1993: 255. Bernabé, 1995: 13f. 19.

<sup>41</sup> Miller, 1997.

<sup>42</sup> Ulf, 2009 provides a model of "cultural contacts". Ulf, 2014. Ulf / Rollinger, 2011.

<sup>43</sup> Haubold, 2013. See also Haubold, 2002.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. n. 24; e.g. Huber, 2005. Rollinger / Ruffing, 2013. Rollinger, 2013 [2014].

<sup>45</sup> Cf. the proceedings of the first workshops e.g. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 1987. Sancisi-Weerdenburg / Kuhrt, 1987. Kuhrt / Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 1988.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. e.g. the studies in the series *Classica et Orientalia* edited by Reinhold Bichler, Bruno Jacobs, Giovanni B. Lanfranchi, Robert Rollinger, Kai Ruffing, and Josef Wiesehöfer.

The project “Altorientalische Elemente in der griechischen Historiographie: Herodot und Ktesias” follows earlier studies insofar as it studies ‘oriental’ elements within the Greek texts. The focus is now on the original context and the literary processing of these elements in historiographical works with the explicit aim to reflect the character of ancient historiography. Therefore we will analyze various source genres because there is no Near Eastern equivalent to ‘Greek historiography’.<sup>47</sup> – We will not establish probable criteria for a genre of historiography in the Ancient Near East but try to deconstruct historiography as historiography in a modern sense.<sup>48</sup> – The material from the Middle East includes inter alia cuneiform royal annals and the chronicle tradition of the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid kings,<sup>49</sup> further ritual texts like the apotropaic Namburbi-rituals<sup>50</sup> or rituals in connection to kingship. Other advantageous sorts of texts are prophecies and the omen literature, as are literary texts like the Gilgamesh-epic<sup>51</sup>.

By using approaches from literary studies<sup>52</sup>, the leading question is the manner how the Near Eastern source material is incorporated into a new literary, cultural and historical context. This aspect is also stressed by the Anglo-Saxon reception studies.<sup>53</sup> Lorna Hardwick, for instance, provided a “working vocabulary”, which helps to describe the relationship between the involved texts.<sup>54</sup> Based on this vocabulary we will try to create categories for our material. Some of Hardwick’s terms are applicable to the description of elements known from the Ancient Near East in the Greek material, especially adaptation<sup>55</sup>, refiguration<sup>56</sup>, and transplantation<sup>57</sup>. The estimation of their relevance and the defining of categories are to be done in the future.

---

<sup>47</sup> On this problem see Finkelstein, 1963. Michalowski, 1999: 70. Rollinger, 2014: 188f.

<sup>48</sup> There might be useable approaches that discuss concepts of the past or analyze historical thinking, e.g. Gehrke, 2005. Rollinger, 2014.

<sup>49</sup> E.g. da Riva, 2012. Grayson, 1975. Grayson, 1996. Grayson / Novotny, 2012. Schmitt, 2009. Tadmor / Yamada, 2011.

<sup>50</sup> Maul, 1994.

<sup>51</sup> George, 2003.

<sup>52</sup> E.g. Schmitz, 2002. Grethlein / Rengakos, 2009. Recently de Jong, 2013/14 with further references.

<sup>53</sup> Hardwick, 2003: 5. On reception studies in general see Graziosi, 2002. Martindale / Thomas, 2006. Hardwick / Stray, 2011.

<sup>54</sup> Hardwick, 2003: 5–11.

<sup>55</sup> According to Hardwick, 2003: 9, an adaptation is a “version of the source developed for a different purpose”, but no literal interpretation.

<sup>56</sup> Refiguration denominates “selecting and reworking material from a previous or contrasting tradition”, Hardwick, 2003: 10.

<sup>57</sup> Transplantation means “to take a text or image into another context and allow it to develop”, Hardwick, 2003: 10.

#### 4. Facing the problem: examples

In this chapter we will point to some of the basic challenges within the source material and exemplify that Herodotus and Ctesias reworked more than one ‘historical’ source. We argue that they used additional elements to craft their stories. The manner of the handling of these elements in Herodotus and Ctesias is closely connected with their assessment in research as representatives of the genre *historiography*. This assessment depends on several points, which we will not discuss here any further. It includes, for example, the intention of the work, the biography of the author (traveler, autopsy), his access to the sources (archives, indigene informants etc.), the kind of his sources (written, oral, romance, royal inscription etc.), and his interpretation of the material (following/not following the original structure, patterns etc.). By using two episodes within the *Histories* and the *Persika* we concentrate on this latter aspect, as we compile the correspondences and the differences to the Near Eastern sources.

Darius’ takeover is narrated in different genres and within different contexts. This story is the main subject of the Bisotun inscription (DB)<sup>58</sup> ordered by Darius in around 520 BC and one episode in Herodotus’ *Histories*<sup>59</sup> (III 61–88), written about 100 years later. The sources show parallels and differences.

Some elements of narration correspond to each other. We summarize the main ones: Darius and Herodotus report that king Cambyses murdered his brother Bardiya resp. Smerdis.<sup>60</sup> A look-alike who pretended to be Bardiya resp. Smerdis became king.<sup>61</sup> Cambyses died.<sup>62</sup> Darius killed the usurper together with a few companions.<sup>63</sup> Darius became king.<sup>64</sup> According to both sources Darius was assisted by six Persian nobles in slaying the imposter.<sup>65</sup> These men are mentioned by name. Five of the six names of Darius’ companions match each other.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, the two accounts show a high level of complexity of a motif. There are further similarities in the narrations that vary in detail and additional aspects in Darius’ report which do not match the account in the *Histories*. We just want to mention all the rebellions

---

<sup>58</sup> The text was composed in different languages: cf. Weißbach, 1911. Schmitt, 1991. Schmitt, 2009. von Voigtlander, 1978. Grillot-Susini / Herrenschmidt / Malbran-Labat, 1993. Greenfield / Porten, 1982.

<sup>59</sup> Editions, translations are listed in Rollinger, 2011: 181–184.

<sup>60</sup> DB § 10. Hdt. III 61. This story is reported in detail in Hdt. III 30.

<sup>61</sup> DB § 11–12. Hdt. III 61.

<sup>62</sup> DB § 11. Hdt. III (62–)66.

<sup>63</sup> DB § 13. Hdt. III 71–73 and 76–78.

<sup>64</sup> DB § 13. Hdt. III 84–88.

<sup>65</sup> DB § 68. Hdt. III 71–73 and 76–78.

<sup>66</sup> DB § 68. Hdt. III 68–70. But see also the different narrative in Ctesias (e.g. the names of the conspirators, Ctes. F 13 § 16 Stronk, 2010). Kuhrt, 2007: 141–173 mentions further sources.



which Darius cut off successfully.<sup>67</sup> This may be attributable to the source material Herodotus could have referred to. The concrete channels of transmission are unclear. One does not have to base the argument on the assumption that the author had been traveling. However, there are other possibilities because the inscription was well-known. It seems that there have existed several copies of the text, as mentioned by Darius in the inscription.<sup>68</sup> But there are additional sequences in Herodotus' story too, which seem to be his own makings. These include, for example, the constitutional debate<sup>69</sup> between Darius and the six Persians before Darius became king or the so called horse oracle.<sup>70</sup> Five of the six Persians declared that the one of them should become king whose horse neighs first at sunrise. Darius was the winner. Herodotus' debate on constitutions has no parallels, neither in the Bisotun inscription nor in any other cuneiform writing as far as we know. This addition is generally recognized as non-factual and interpreted as an aspect of a Greek discourse.<sup>71</sup> The last part of the episode, the horse oracle, can be traced back to different sources from the Ancient Near East.<sup>72</sup>

The fall of Nineveh as reported by the Ctesias-tradition<sup>73</sup> reveals similar problems. In this case the fragmentary state of the *Persika* makes it even more difficult to detect oriental elements processed by him. We even do not know how many 'oriental' details are Ctesias' own, or how many go back to Diodorus and other later transmitters of the Ctesian text.<sup>74</sup> Some details within the plot of the siege of Nineveh correspond with official records, others with literary texts or even omen-literature: the destruction of the city by a coalition of Medes and Babylonians (a historical fact neglected in the *Histories*) shows analogies to written accounts of the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib. Especially the flooding of Babylon and the ritual deportation of ashes mentioned in the Assyrian annals strongly resemble Ctesias' account of events in Nineveh.<sup>75</sup> But Ctesias probably heard of this tradition without knowing the cuneiform texts because the story was well-known across the Ancient Near East, as is evident in the version of the prophetic book of Nahum.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> DB §§ 16–54.

<sup>68</sup> DB § 70. Cf. Schmitt, 1990: 302f. with further references. West, 2011: 265f.

<sup>69</sup> Hdt. III 80–82.

<sup>70</sup> Hdt. III 84–88.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. How / Wells, <sup>2</sup>1928: 277f. and Asheri, 2007: 472f. also mention studies which argue for a Persian background of the debate of parts of it.

<sup>72</sup> See Rollinger / Wiesehöfer, in prep.

<sup>73</sup> Ctesias F 1b Stronk, 2010 (= Diod. II 25, 1–27, 3).

<sup>74</sup> See the discussion in Lenfant, 2004: CLXXXII ff. Stronk, 2010: 60ff.

<sup>75</sup> In detail Madreiter, 2011: 260–263.

<sup>76</sup> Nahum 2, 7. 9.

Ctesias also used traditions about other Neo-Assyrian kings: the duration of the siege is identical to the fratricidal war between Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šūmu-ukīn, but the besieged town then was Babylon, not Nineveh. The famous suicide of Šamaš-šūmu-ukīn as recorded on a prism of Assurbanipal but also on a demotic papyrus may have influenced Ctesias' depiction of the last Assyrian king called Sardanapalus dying on a pyre.<sup>77</sup> Recently, also the account of this Sardanapalus' eccentric lifestyle was linked to elements of the Ishtar-cult and prophetic literature.<sup>78</sup> Among the Neo-Assyrian we also find Neo-Babylonian traditions in the *Persika*, just to mention the motif of revenge on Assyria for the destruction of Babylon comparable to the Nabopolassar-epic and the basalt-stela of Nabonidus.<sup>79</sup> Again, the dissemination of ideas or narratives across the Ancient Near East is obvious, but the exact channels of transmission remain obscure. As a further problem Ctesias only provides scattered pieces of a puzzle but no narrative patterns from the original. Therefore Ctesias' modern (just as much as ancient) assessment as historian of the Ancient Near East is negative.<sup>80</sup> The transfer of stories from Babylon to Assyria is evidence that Ctesias used his models freely to appropriate them for a Greek audience. The result is an alienation of the original sources which corresponds to Hardwick's definition of refiguration.<sup>81</sup>

Darius' rise to power as reported in the Bisotun inscription and in Herodotus' *Histories* show strong similarities. These similarities are used as an argument for the reliability of Herodotus' information in modern research.<sup>82</sup> However, the differences are considered less in the assessment of the author. The opposite seems to be true for Ctesias and the *Persika*. Although there are obvious analogies between his fragmentary report and the sources from the Ancient Near East, his mixture of sources and his garbled information led to a negative evaluation of his historiographical method, especially when compared to Herodotus or even Thucydides. Nevertheless, some hints of how Greek authors worked on their texts become clear: historiographers did not only refer to one single source but incorporated material that originated from different kinds of sources, different genres and sometimes also from different centuries. Ctesias and Herodotus intentionally selected the source material, changed the

<sup>77</sup> Ctes. F 1b Stronk, 2010 (= Diod. II 27, 1) and F 1q Stronk, 2010 (= Athen. XII 529 BD). Madreiter, 2011: 261 with further literature.

<sup>78</sup> Lanfranchi, 2011: 211–216.

<sup>79</sup> Madreiter, 2011: 262 with further references.

<sup>80</sup> But cf. Sayce, 1883: XXXIII who lays the blame on Ctesias' informants: "many of the charges of falsehood brought against him (i.e. Ctesias) must be laid, not upon him, but upon his eastern friends." The same apologies also work for Herodotus, e.g. Rollinger, 2011: 150.

<sup>81</sup> Hardwick, 2003: 10.

<sup>82</sup> Rollinger, 2011: 139.

historical context and added further details. They adapted Near Eastern sources for a Greek speaking audience in order to inform or entertain them. Elements from the Middle East served to create an oriental flavor of the stories but also to legitimate the authority of the historiographers as ‘serious’ writers of Ancient Near Eastern themes.

## **5. Concluding remarks**

Within the last decades postcolonial and transnational approaches to history, literature and arts led to a fracturing of the allegedly separated spheres ‘East’ and ‘West’. Nevertheless, the existing academic division of Classics and Assyriology and their different methodologies limited a broader look on the ancient world. The Melammu-project helped building a bridge between the disciplines.<sup>83</sup>

In the last decades also the understanding of (Classical) historiography has changed. Scholars have stressed the narrative character of the texts. This has required a reappraisal of the genre historiography between fact and fiction. The introduced project will analyze the significance of ‘oriental’ elements in Greek historiographical texts, because the manner, in which they were integrated into narratives of ancient authors, has influenced the assessment of historiography by scholarship. It owes much to the methodological framework developed by literary studies like narratology. Moreover the application of the vocabulary provided by reception studies seems to be promising because it reveals the kind of reworking of the source material. The aim of the project is a deeper understanding of historiography, as the ancient texts transcend conventional genre boundaries. In postmodern times it seems no longer adequate to keep hold on historiography in a modern sense.

---

<sup>83</sup> See <http://www.aakkl.helsinki.fi/melammu>.

## 6. Bibliography

- Armayer, O. K., 1978: "Herodotus' Catalogues of the Persian Empire in the Light of the Monuments and the Greek Literary Tradition". *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 108, 1–9.
- Asheri, D., 2007: "Book III". In D. Asheri / A. Lloyd / A. Corcella: *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV, with a Contribution by Maria Brosius*, ed. by O. Murray / A. Moreno. Oxford. Pp. 57–218.
- Bakker, E. J. / de Jong, I. J. F. / van Wees, H. (eds.), 2002: *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*. Leiden / Bosten / Köln.
- Baragwanath, E., 2008: *Motivation and Narrative in Herodotus*. Oxford.
- Baragwanath, E. / de Bakker, M. (eds.), 2012: *Myth, Truth, and Narrative in Herodotus*. Oxford.
- Bernabé, A., 1995: "Influences orientales dans la littérature grecque: Quelques réflexions de méthode". *Kernos* 8, 9–22.
- , 2004: "Hittites and Greeks. Mythical Influences and Methodological Considerations". In R. Rollinger / Chr. Ulf (eds.): *Griechische Archaik. Interne Entwicklungen – Externe Impulse*. Berlin. Pp. 291–310.
- Bhabha, H., 1994: *The Location of Culture*. London / New York.
- Bichler, R., 2001: *Herodots Welt. Der Aufbau der Historie am Bild der fremden Länder und Völker, ihrer Zivilisation und ihrer Geschichte*. Berlin.
- , 2007a: *Historiographie – Ethnographie – Utopie. Gesammelte Schriften, Teil 1. Studien zu Herodots Kunst der Historie*, ed. by R. Rollinger. *Philippika* 18,1. Wiesbaden.
- , 2007b: "Geschichte und Fiktion – Bemerkungen zur klassischen Historie der Griechen." In R. Bichler: *Historiographie – Ethnographie – Utopie. Gesammelte Schriften, Teil 1. Studien zu Herodots Kunst der Historie*, ed. by R. Rollinger. *Philippika* 18,1. Wiesbaden. Pp. 75–89.
- , 2007c: "Ktesias ‚korrigiert‘ Herodot. Zur literarischen Einschätzung der *Persika*". In R. Bichler: *Historiographie – Ethnographie – Utopie. Gesammelte Schriften, Teil 1. Studien zu Herodots Kunst der Historie*, ed. by R. Rollinger. *Philippika* 18,1. Wiesbaden. Pp. 229–245.
- Boedeker, D., (ed.), 1987: *Herodotus and the Invention of History*, Arethusa 20.
- Boedeker, D., 2011: "Early Greek Poetry as/and History". In A. Feldherr / G. Hardy (eds.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing. Volume 1: Beginnings to AD 600*. Oxford / New York. Pp. 122–147.
- Burkert, W., 1984: *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur*. Heidelberg.
- , 1992: *The orientaling revolution: Near eastern influence on Greek culture in the early archaic age*. *Revealing Antiquity* 5. Cambridge, MA.
- , 2004: *Die Griechen und der Orient*. München.
- Dalley, St., 1998: *The Legacy of Mesopotamia*. Oxford.
- de Jong, I., 2013/14: "Diachronic Narratology. (The example of Ancient Greek Narrative)". In P. Hühn et al. (eds.): *The Living Handbook of Narratology*. Hamburg. vide: <http://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/article/diachronic-narratology-example-ancient-greek-narrative> [view date: 28/03/2014].

- Dewald, C. / Marincola, J. (eds.), 2006: *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus*. Cambridge / New York.
- Dunsch, B. / Ruffing, K. (eds.), 2013 [2014]: *Herodots Quellen. Die Quellen Herodots. Herodot-Forschung 40 Jahre nach Detlev Fehlings „Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot“*. Classica et Orientalia 6. Wiesbaden.
- Fehling, D., 1971: *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot. Studien zur Erzählkunst Herodots*. Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 9. Berlin / New York.
- , 1989: *Herodotus and his „Sources“*. *Citation, Invention and Narrative Art*. Translated by J. G. Howie. Leeds.
- Finkelstein, J. J., 1963: “Mesopotamian Historiography”. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107/6, 461–472.
- Gehrke, H. J., 2005: “Die Bedeutung der (antiken) Historiographie für die Entwicklung des Geschichtsbewußtseins”. In E.-M. Becker (ed.): *Die antike Historiographie und die Anfänge der christlichen Geschichtsschreibung*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 129. Berlin / New York. Pp. 29–51.
- George, A. R., 2003: *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*. 2 vols, Oxford.
- Grayson, A. K., 1975: *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. Locust Valley, NY.
- , 1996: *Assyrian rulers of the early first millennium BC, Vol. 2: 858–745 BC*. The royal inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian periods 3. Toronto.
- Grayson, A. K. / Novotny, J., 2012: *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 1*. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3/1. Winona Lake.
- Graziosi, B., 2002: *Inventing Homer: The early reception of epic*. Cambridge.
- , 2011: “The ancient reception of Homer”. In L. Hardwick / Chr. Stray (eds.): *A Companion to Classical Receptions*. Oxford. Pp. 26–37.
- Greenfield, J. C. / Porten, B., 1982: *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Aramaic Version. Text, Transliteration and Commentary*. Hand copy by Ada Yardeni. *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part I: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran, Vol. 5: The Aramaic Versions of the Achaemenian Inscriptions, etc., Texts I*. London.
- Grethlein, J., 2010: *The Greeks and their past. Poetry, oratory, and history in the fifth century BCE*. Cambridge / New York.
- Grethlein, J. / Rengakos, A. (eds.), 2009: *Narratology and Interpretation. The content of narrative form in ancient literature*. Berlin / New York.
- Grillot-Susini, F. / Herrenschildt, C. / Malbran-Labat, F., 1993: “La version élamite de la trilingue de Behistun: une nouvelle lecture”. *Journal Asiatique* 281, 19–59.
- Gufler, B., 2002: *Die Gorgo in der griechischen Kunst und ihre orientalischen Wurzeln*. Diplomarbeit, Univ. Innsbruck.
- , in prep.: *Perser (und Meder) bei Herodot. Eine Untersuchung ethnographischer Darstellung unter Berücksichtigung ausgewählter Quellen aus dem Vorderen Orient*. Dissertation, Innsbruck.
- Hall, J., 1997: *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge.

- Hardwick, L., 2003: *Reception Studies. Greece and Rome: New surveys in the Classics* 33. Oxford.
- Hardwick, L. / Stray, Chr. (eds.), 2011: *A Companion to Classical Receptions*. Oxford.
- Hartog, F., 1980: *Le Miroir d'Hérodote: Essai sur la représentation de l'autre*. Bibliothèque des Histoires, NRF. Paris.
- Haubold, J., 2002: "Greek epic: a near eastern genre?" *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 48, 1–19.
- , 2013: *Greece and Mesopotamia. Dialogues in Literature*. Cambridge.
- How, W.W. / Wells J., 1928: *A Commentary on Herodotus, with Introduction and Appendixes*. vol. 1. Oxford (reprint 1967).
- Huber, I., 2005: "Ersatzkönige in griechischem Gewand: Die Umformung des šar puhir-Rituale bei Herodot, Berossos, Agathias und den Alexander-Historikern". In R. Rollinger (ed.): *Von Sumer bis Homer, Festschrift für Manfred Schretter zum 60. Geburtstag am 25. Februar 2004*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 325. Münster. Pp. 339–397.
- Kuhrt, A., 2007: *The Persian Empire. A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*. London / New York.
- Kuhrt, A. / Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. (eds.), 1988: *Method and Theory, Proceedings of the London 1985 Achaemenid History Workshop*. *Achaemenid History* III. Leiden.
- Lanfranchi, G. B., 2011: "Gli ΑΣΣΥΡΙΑΚΑ di Ctesia e la documentazione assira". In J. Wiesehöfer / R. Rollinger / G. B. Lanfranchi (eds.): *Ktesias' Welt / Ctesias' World*. *Classica et Orientalia* 1. Wiesbaden. Pp. 175–223.
- Lenfant, D., 2004: *Ctésias de Cnide. La Perse. L'Inde. Autres fragments*. Paris.
- Lendle, O., 1992: *Einführung in die griechische Geschichtsschreibung. Von Hekataios bis Zosimos*. Darmstadt.
- Lesky, A., 1971: *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*. Bern / München.
- Luraghi, N., (ed.), 2001: *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus*. Oxford / New York.
- Madreiter, I., 2011: "Ktesias und Babylonien: über eine nicht-existierende Größe in den Persika". In J. Wiesehöfer / R. Rollinger / G. B. Lanfranchi (eds.): *Ktesias' Welt / Ctesias' World*. *Classica et Orientalia* 1. Wiesbaden. Pp. 247–277.
- , 2012: *Stereotypisierung – Idealisierung – Indifferenz: Formen der literarischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Achaimeniden-Reich in der griechischen Persika-Literatur des vierten Jahrhunderts v.Chr.* *Classica et Orientalia* 4. Wiesbaden.
- Marincola, J., 2007: "Introduction". In J. Marincola (ed.): *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, 2 vol. *Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World*. Malden / Oxford / Carlton. Pp. 1–9.
- Martindale, Ch. / Thomas, R. F. (eds.), 2006: *Classics and the Uses of Reception*. Oxford.
- Maul, St. M., 1994: *Zukunftsbewältigung: eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löserituale (Namburbi)*. Mainz.
- Meister, K., 1990: *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Hellenismus*. Stuttgart / Berlin / Köln.
- Michalowski, P., 1999: "Commemoration, Writing, and Genre in Ancient Mesopotamia". In Chr. S. Kraus (ed.): *The Limits of Historiography. Genre and Narrative in Historical Texts*. *Mnemosyne Supplements* 191. Leiden / Boston / Köln. Pp. 69–90.

- Miller, M. C., 1997: *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.: A Study in Cultural Receptivity*. Cambridge.
- Müller, S., 2011: “Die frühen Perserkönige im kulturellen Gedächtnis der Makedonen und in der Propaganda Alexanders d.Gr.”. *Gymnasium* 118, 105–131.
- Mulsow, M., 2005: “Zur Geschichte der Anfangsgeschichten”. In E.-M. Becker (ed.): *Die antike Historiographie und die Anfänge der christlichen Geschichtsschreibung*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 129. Berlin / New York. Pp. 19–28.
- Näf, B., 2010: *Antike Geschichtsschreibung. Form – Leistung – Wirkung*. Stuttgart.
- Pohl, W. / Reimitz, H. (eds.), 1998: *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800*. The Transformation of the Roman World 2. Leiden / Boston / Köln.
- Pritchett, W. K., 1993: *The liar school of Herodotos*. Amsterdam.
- Rengakos, A., 2011: “Historiographie: Gattungsgeschichte. Voraussetzungen”. In B. Zimmermann unter Mitarbeit von A. Schlichtmann (ed.): *Handbuch der griechischen Literatur der Antike. Die Literatur der archaischen und klassischen Zeit*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 7. Abteilung, 1. Band. München. Pp. 326–328.
- da Riva, R., 2012: *The twin inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar at Brisa (Wadi esh-Sharbin, Lebanon). A Historical and Philological Study*. Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 32. Wien.
- Rollinger, R., 2004: “Herodot (II 75f, III 107–109), Asarhaddon, Jesaja und die fliegenden Schlangen Arabiens”. In H. Heftner / K. Tomaschitz (eds.): *Ad Fontes! Festschrift für Gerhard Dobesch zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag am 15. September 2004*. Wien. Pp. 927–944.
- , 2011: “Forschungsteil”. In R. Bichler / R. Rollinger: *Herodot*. Olms Studienbücher Antike, Bd. 3. Hildesheim / Zürich / New York. Pp. 109–202.
- , 2013 [2014]: “Dareios und Xerxes an den Rändern der Welt und die Inszenierung von Weltherrschaft. Altorientalisches bei Herodot”. In B. Dunsch / K. Ruffing (eds.): *Herodots Quellen. Die Quellen Herodots. Herodot-Forschung 40 Jahre nach Detlev Fehlings „Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot“*. Classica et Orientalia 6. Wiesbaden. Pp. 95–116.
- , 2014: “Thinking and writing about history in Teispid and Achaemenid Persia”. In K. A. Raaflaub (ed.): *Thinking, Recording, and Writing History in the Ancient World*. Malden / Oxford / Chichester. Pp. 187–212.
- Rollinger, R. / Lang, M., 2005: “Die fliegenden Schlangen Arabiens: Transfer und Wandlung eines literarischen Motivs in der antiken Überlieferung – ein Florilegium”. In F. Beutler / W. Hameter unter Mitarbeit von R. Beutler, M. Gerhold, V. Scheibelreiter, I. Weber-Hiden (eds.): *„Eine ganz normale Inschrift“ ... und ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber, Festschrift zum 30. April 2005*. Althistorisch-Epigraphische Studien Band 5. Wien. Pp. 101–109.
- Rollinger, R. / Ruffing, K., 2013: “‘Panik‘ im Heer? Dareios III., die Schlacht von Gaugamela und die Mondfinsternis vom 20. September 331 v. Chr.”. *Iranica Antiqua* 47, 101–115.
- Rollinger, R. / Wiesehöfer, J., in prep.: “Herodotus and the Persian Empire: The Transformation of Ancient Near Eastern Motifs”. In E. Irwin / Th. Harrison (eds.): *The*

- Past in the Present. Interpreting Herodotus after Charles W. Fornara*, 20.–22. September, Columbia University, New York.
- Ruffing, K., 2013 [2014]: “Einführung”. In B. Dunsch / K. Ruffing (eds.): *Herodots Quellen. Die Quellen Herodots. Herodot-Forschung 40 Jahre nach Detlev Fehlings „Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot“*. Classica et Orientalia 6. Wiesbaden. Pp. 1–5.
- Saïd, E. W., 1978: *Orientalism*. London.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. (ed.), 1987: *Sources, Structures and Syntheses, Proceedings of the Groningen 1983 Achaemenid History Workshop*. Achaemenid History I. Leiden.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. / Kuhrt, A. (eds.), 1987: *The Greek Sources, Proceedings of the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop*. Achaemenid History II. Leiden.
- Sayce, A. H., 1883: *The Ancient Empires of the East: Herodotos I.–III. With notes, introductions, and appendices*. London.
- Schmitt, R., 1990: “Bisitun III. Darius’s inscriptions”. *Encyclopedia Iranica* IV, 299–305. vide: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bisitun-iii> (update 2013) [view date 29/04/2014].
- , 1991: *The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great. Old Persian Text*. *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part I: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran, Vol. 1: The Old Persian Inscriptions, Texts I*. London.
- , 2009: *Die altpersischen Inschriften der Achaimeniden. Editio minor mit Übersetzung*. Wiesbaden.
- Schmitz, Th. A., 2002: *Moderne Literaturtheorie und antike Texte. Eine Einführung*. Darmstadt.
- Strasburger, H., 1972: *Homer und die Geschichtsschreibung*. *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*. Heidelberg.
- Stronk, J. P., 2010: *Ctesias’ Persian History, Part I: Introduction, Text, and Translation*. Reihe Geschichte 2. Düsseldorf.
- , 2011: “Ctesias the Poet”. In J. Wiesehöfer / R. Rollinger / G. B. Lanfranchi (eds.): *Ktesias’ Welt / Ctesias’ World*. *Classica et Orientalia* 1. Wiesbaden. Pp. 385–402.
- Tadmor, H. / Yamada, Sh., 2011: *The Royal inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744-722 BC), and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria*. *The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period* 1. Winona Lake.
- Tigay, J. H., 1993: “On Evaluating Claims of Literary Borrowing”. In M. E. Cohen / D. C. Snell / D. B. Weisberg (eds.): *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*. Betscheda, MD. Pp. 250–255.
- Ulf, Chr., 2009: “Rethinking Cultural Contacts”. *Ancient West & East* 8, 81–132. [Reprint in R. Rollinger / K. Schnegg, (eds.), 2014: *Kulturkontakte in antiken Welten: Vom Denkmodell zum Fallbeispiel. Proceedings des internationalen Kolloquiums aus Anlass des 60. Geburtstages von Christoph Ulf, Innsbruck, 26. bis 30. Januar 2009*. *Colloquia Antiqua* 10. Leuven / Paris / Walpole, MA. Pp. 507–564.]
- , 2014: “Eine Typologie von kulturellen Kontaktzonen (‘Fernverhältnisse‘ – middle grounds – dichte Kontaktzonen), oder: Rethinking Cultural Contacts auf dem Prüfstand”. In R. Rollinger / K. Schnegg (eds.): *Kulturkontakte in antiken Welten: Vom Denkmodell zum Fallbeispiel. Proceedings des internationalen Kolloquiums aus Anlass des 60.*



- Geburtstages von Christoph Ulf, Innsbruck, 26. bis 30. Januar 2009. Colloquia Antiqua 10. Leuven / Paris / Walpole, MA. Pp. 469–504.*
- Ulf, Chr. / Rollinger, R. (eds.), 2011: *Lag Troia in Kilikien? Der aktuelle Streit um Homers Ilias*. Darmstadt.
- van Dongen, E. W. M., 2010: *Studying external stimuli to the development of the ancient Aegean. The 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme from Kumarbi to Kronos via Anatolia*. PhD Thesis UCL, London.
- , 2014: “The Concept of ‘The Near East’: A Reconsideration”. In R. Rollinger / K. Schnegg (eds.): *Kulturkontakte in antiken Welten: Vom Denkmodell zum Fallbeispiel. Proceedings des internationalen Kolloquiums aus Anlass des 60. Geburtstages von Christoph Ulf, Innsbruck, 26. bis 30. Januar 2009. Colloquia Antiqua 10. Leuven / Paris / Walpole, MA. Pp. 253–267.*
- von Voigtlander, E. N., 1978: *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian Version*. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part I: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran, Vol. 2: The Babylonian Versions of the Achaemenian Inscriptions, Texts I. London.
- Waters, K. H., 1985: *Herodotus, the Historian: His Problems, Methods, and Originality*. London.
- Weißbach, F. H., 1911: *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 3. Leipzig.
- Wenskus, R., 1961: *Stammesbildung und Verfassung. Das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen gentes*. Köln / Graz.
- West, M. L., 1997: *The East Face of Helicon. West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*. Oxford.
- West, St., 2011: “Herodotus’ sources of information in Persian matters”. In R. Rollinger / B. Truschnegg / R. Bichler (eds.): *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich / Herodotus and the Persian Empire*. Classica et Orientalia 3. Wiesbaden. Pp. 255–272.
- White, H., 1973: *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore / London.
- , 1978: *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Baltimore / London.
- Wiesehöfer, J. / Rollinger, R. / Lanfranchi, G. B. (eds.), 2011: *Ktesias’ Welt / Ctesias’ World*. Classica et Orientalia 1. Wiesbaden.