

Robert L. Fowler

# Myth, Mythography, and Historiography

Studies in Herodotus,  
His Contemporaries, and Others



*Themes and Forms in Graeco-Roman Literature 9*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

# Themes and Forms in Graeco-Roman Literature

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His Contemporaries, and Others

Mohr Siebeck

*Robert L. Fowler*, born 1954; 1977 MA, University of Toronto; 1980 DPhil (Literae Humaniores), Oxford; Henry Overton Wills Professor of Greek, University of Bristol (Emeritus since 2017); Fellow of the British Academy.  
orcid.org/0009-0008-8120-668X

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[www.mohrsiebeck.com](http://www.mohrsiebeck.com), [info@mohrsiebeck.com](mailto:info@mohrsiebeck.com)

## Preface

In recent decades ancient mythography has shed its reputation as a minor sub-literary genre, useful as a source of mythology when studying other things, but of limited interest in itself. Undeniably it served a handbook function in antiquity (and still serves), but scholars have come to realise that even the modest handbook has a cultural context, responding to needs and tastes that vary over time and place. Moreover, the idea of the ‘modest’ handbook itself can be challenged. The epigram that Photius found at the start of his copy of Apollodorus is anything but humble, claiming that readers of his book need not bother reading Homer, tragedy and the rest – they can find everything they need here, in the *Library*, as its author grandly called it. Whatever one may think of his presumption, it is certainly true that anyone undertaking to summarise the whole of Greek mythology in antiquity needed a good education, an organised mind and an appetite for hard work. We may assume that discerning readers accorded such writers a degree of respect, and that the works themselves would be a valuable addition to anyone’s library, in an age when myth itself had an importance far greater than it has now, and long before printed books, let alone modern information technology, made it easy to discover mythological data. Given the importance of myth, indeed, and given the widespread use of mythography, one can even ask, as a recent collection of essays has asked, whether mythography is in fact derivative of the ‘high’ genres, or (on occasion at least) the other way around.<sup>1</sup> Scholars have also become more sensitive to the variety of forms mythography can assume, and to the different stances and methods of the authors. Hitherto unappreciated literary artifice and subtleties are being noticed.

Work on myth and religion routinely now makes room for mythography,<sup>2</sup> and students of other genres have become alert to a mythographic impulse in their writers.<sup>3</sup> We have seen a proliferation of editions, translations, surveys and (ahem) handbooks.<sup>4</sup> A prominent theme in much of this writing is the inter-

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<sup>1</sup> Romano & Marincola (2019).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Woodard (2007), Edmunds (2014), Edmunds (2021), Eidinow & Kindt (2015), Zajko & Hoyle (2017) and Bremmer (2021d).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Morgan (2000) (Plato); Partenie (2009) (Plato); Collobert, Destrée & Gonzalez (2012) (Plato); Patterson (2013) (Strabo); Ford (2019) (Pindar, Callimachus); Hawes (2021) (Pausanias); Arriaza & Pàmias (forthcoming) (Euripides).

<sup>4</sup> A selection: on authors: Dionysius Scytobrachion: Rusten (1982a); Parthenius: Lightfoot (1999); Conon: Brown (2002); Antoninus Liberalis: Papathomopoulos (2002); Euhemerus: Winiarczyk (2002); Heraclitus: Stern (2003); Pherecydes: Dolcetti (2004) and Pàmias (2008); Apollodorus: Scarpi & Ciani (1996), Dräger (2005), Papothomopoulos (2010), Cuartero (2010),

action between myth and history, which is the salient theme also of this volume. The problem of distinguishing them might seem more acute in antiquity than nowadays, when people may be apt to think the difference is clear. Yet, as any thoughtful student realises, the two are still intertwined in fundamental ways – as modes of story-telling, as ways of conveying truth, as means of stimulating the imagination, or as guides to our place in the world. In antiquity too, the apparent clarity with which a Plutarch, say, or a Strabo states the difference masks an ineradicable uncertainty, given the belief that Achilles and other figures of ‘myth’ were historical. In the classical period, when the distinction was not yet articulated, matters become even more complicated. In general one can say that the belief in the factuality of the heroic tales was stronger (if belief is even a pertinent concept), but already these god-touched stories belonged to a special category that would before long acquire the name of myth. The problem is how best to describe mythographical activity in such a context. I leave it to readers to decide whether the complexities have been adequately navigated in these essays.

From one point of view, one can argue that the lack of a distinction makes things easier: it allows one better to see, or to tease out, similarities between myth and history that must be acknowledged if one is to isolate differences. It enables one also to think about ways in which the dichotomy can be productively set aside. This realisation struck me early on in my work on mythography, as I explain in my retrospective final chapter. It underlies the methodology of ‘Herodotus and his Contemporaries’ which starts the collection. There, by putting mythographers and Herodotus into the same frame, I tried to put my finger on the distinctive element in Herodotus’ procedures. The essay also sets out some foundations of the edition of the early mythographers on which I began work in the late 1980s, and whose first volume appeared in 2000.<sup>5</sup>

The remaining chapters in the volume are arranged thematically rather than chronologically. Chapters 2–4 continue the discussion of myth vs. history. Chapter 2 revisits an old question, and seeks to find middle ground between the poles of a debate; among other things, it assesses the lexical history of *μῦθος*

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Kenens (2011), Pàmias (2017) and Michels (2023); Cornutus: Nesselrath (2009); ps.-Plutarch: Delattre (2011); Eratosthenes: Pàmias & Zucker (2013) and Pàmias (2016); Palaephatus: Hawes (2014a); Acusilaus: Andolfi (2019); Mythographus Homericus: Pàges & Villagra (2022) and all the *BNJ* editions. The older Loeb edition of Apollodorus by J. G. Frazer (1939–1946) is a classic, worth consulting not only for the information in its notes but as an example in itself of modern mythography. Some of the books above include translations; see further Hard (1997), Trzaskoma & Smith (2004) and Smith & Trzaskoma (2007). Introductions, surveys, period studies: van Rossum-Steenbeek (1998), Lightfoot (1999), Cameron (2004), Higbie (2007), Clarke (2008), Trzaskoma & Smith (2013), Meliadò (2015), Zucker & al. (2016), Trzaskoma (2017), Delattre (2021) and ch. 4 in this volume. Smith & Trzaskoma (2022) is indispensable. See Fowler (2023) for more bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> Fowler (2000–2013); henceforth *EGM*. See further the prefaces to the two volumes, and chapter 19 herein.

as opposed to λόγος, and stresses Protagoras' crucial contribution. Chapter 3, originally entitled simply 'History', was written for the *Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*.<sup>6</sup> The interface between historiography and religion inevitably involved myth (especially as aetiology), so in my two case studies, Herodotus and Phanodemus, I looked at the dynamics of these relationships. Chapter 4 is a survey of Greek mythography written for the *Handbook to the Reception of Classical Mythology*,<sup>7</sup> asking what kind of reception is involved in mythography, and what the implications are for the functioning of myth.

The next three chapters address aspects of ethnicity. Another early realisation in this project was that, since genealogies were so important in early mythography, anthropology was an obvious place to seek help if one wished to understand their workings. Furthermore, Hellenic ethnicity, from the Hellenes collectively to the many constituent branches, furnished structure and content for the early writers. Hence Chapter 5, an early piece. Chapter 6 responded to an invitation to participate in a conference on the *nostoi* traditions,<sup>8</sup> which gave me an opportunity after a few years' abeyance to look out my genealogical charts (a mythographer's delight) and consider them afresh. At first I worried that I might not have much to say that had not already been said in *EGM*, but as I pondered I realised that the *nostoi* tradition and the Hellenic stemmata were like oil and water. Their independence was borne out at the most minute level of detail: a remarkable state of affairs. The necessary manoeuvres to bring them together, and the subsequent fixity of the composite picture, tells us something about the history of Greek myth-making, both pan-Hellenic and local. Chapter 7 looks at the foil to Hellenic ethnicity, the foreign nations; in addition to comments about their treatment in Herodotus and the authors of *EGM*, I look at one who is not in the collection, Xanthus of Lydia.

Chapters 8–14 get to grips with specific topics: literacy (ch. 8), contemporary politics (ch. 9), the stylistic register of mythography (ch. 11), the character of three major authors (ch. 12), mythical or semi-mythical geography (ch. 13). Chapter 10 develops some themes from 'Herodotus and his Contemporaries', looking more closely at the meaning of ἱστορίη and at Herodotus' relationship with Hecataeus. Chapter 14 is new for this collection. It too could be described as an exercise in stylistic analysis, but it ranges more widely, aiming to describe the experience of reading Herodotus' text as we have it without speculating about what lies behind it, and to transcend the dichotomy of oral vs. literate. A theme here and already in Chapter 1 is the treacherous concept 'development'; yet in re-reading these essays, I fear I have not myself always succeeded in escaping its hold.<sup>9</sup> Things do

<sup>6</sup> Eidinow & Kindt (2015).

<sup>7</sup> Zajko & Hoyle (2017).

<sup>8</sup> Hornblower & Biffis (2018).

<sup>9</sup> Jordi Pàmias rightly takes me to task on this point in his recent article (2024: 25).

change and ‘develop’, but the challenge is to avoid unwanted teleological overtones in describing the process.

Chapters 15 and 16 focus more closely on religion (which figured also in Chapter 3). They offer thoughts on how myths, cults, heroes and gods are treated in mythography and in Herodotus, with (once again) implications for understanding both mythography and historiography in context. In my opinion the intellectual heft of the mythographers’ efforts to interpret myth has been underestimated; as for Herodotus, I make the case that his treatment of the gods is a crucial aspect of his philosophy of history, in the sense that he asked simultaneously (the first to do so, so far as we know), ‘what is god?’ and ‘what is history?’ (p. 286).

Chapters 17 and 18 move forward to post-classical times. Apollodorus could hardly be absent from a collection of essays on Greek mythography, even if it focuses on the early period (from which many passages in Apollodorus are not so very far removed). Here I treat his handling of mythological variants as an entrée into the character of his admirable book. Chapter 18, as the title indicates, looks at the contribution to mythography of Aristotle and his school, but it sets that discussion in the context of the overarching debate between myth and history before and after; the Peripatos offers connections in either direction. In this way Ephorus, Polybius, Diodorus, Dionysius and others come into the story. Plato’s remarkable take on myth is once again emphasised. Among Peripatetics I devote most space to Dicaearchus, suggesting that his *Life of Greece* can be considered a remythologisation of stories that had by his day been demythologised. Chapter 19, also new for this collection, is retrospective and summative, offering further thoughts and arguments on key themes, arranged as responses to a particularly insistent critic. Retrospective; but the upshot of the discussion indicates the direction of travel I hope will prevail in the future.

As these brief summaries indicate, many topics come up in different ways in different chapters. A partial list: myth and history, of course; myth and religion; heroes and the *spatium mythicum*; lexical history; outsiders’ vs. insiders’ terminology (‘etic’ vs. ‘emic’); change and continuity in antiquity; orality and literacy; individual mythographers and historians. Given the recurring points of contact, a certain amount of repetition was to be expected. Overlaps were brief, however, and context and perspective were always different, sometimes quite different. I have provided ample cross-references, and I hope an adequate index.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> One originally substantial overlap (ch. 15, at n. 3), which outlined the main theses of chapter 2 in advance of its publication, has been reduced. I have omitted from this collection some of the articles I have written on mythography, either because they are too specific and/or technical, or because they overlap with parts of *EGM* 2, or because they are freely available online; see the list at the end of the Bibliography.

As much as if not more than the mythographers, Herodotus is at the centre of this collection. He has been a figure of fascination and puzzlement to me since I first met him in school, when I was assigned to write on his account of the Battle of Marathon. I regret to say that I am still puzzled about that. On the whole, though, I think I have come to understand his procedures and character better as a result of working on mythography. Of course, there are many secrets of his workshop left to discover.

In substance the previously published essays have retained their original form, which I hope will serve the reader's convenience (if not their preference!) better than partial or wholesale revision. Instead, I have provided addenda (identified by square brackets, and confined to the footnotes) where a point or fact has been corrected or supplemented in important ways by subsequent research. References to Jacoby's *FGrHist* have been updated to *BNJ* numbers, unless Jacoby's own discussion is being cited; the mythographers in *EGM* are all cited here by their numbers in that edition unless otherwise indicated. Translations too are my own unless otherwise indicated. Ancient names have been Latinised and bibliographical conventions converted to accord with the publisher's style. Abbreviations follow standard references such as the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

I am very grateful to Mohr Siebeck for including this volume in their series *Themes and Forms in Graeco-Roman Literature*. Many of the essays were written in response to invitations, and I am thankful to the organisers of events and collective volumes for eliciting the respective contributions. Others who have kindly offered comments are identified in the notes to each chapter; here I should like to single out those who have supported me and furthered my mythographical work over the years. At the head of the list stands Jan Bremmer, indefatigable historian of ancient religion, who also suggested the idea of this volume. Robert Parker, another great name in the study of ancient religion, has promoted my work in a variety of contexts since I first met him in (probably) 1977; I was starting my doctorate, and he was a junior Fellow of Oriel and Secretary of the Oxford Philological Society. I have profited more than I can say from conversations (and co-teaching) with my Bristol colleagues Richard Buxton, Ellen O'Gorman and Vanda Zajko; profited too from students' input to courses I have taught year in and year out, whether 'Classical Mythology' in Waterloo, or 'Myth and History in Fifth-Century Athens' in Bristol. Those two institutions, as well as the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Leverhulme Trust via the British Academy, provided leave and funding without which the research would not have been done. The stalwarts of the Polymnia network – directors Jacqueline Fabre-Serris and Françoise Graziani, and their colleagues (especially Minerva Alganza-Roldán, Charles Delattre, Stephen Trzaskoma and Arnaud Zucker) – have been a source of inspiration and encouragement, to say nothing of the network's convivial and stimulating conferences. Another mainstay of that association is Jordi Pàmias, who has made the Universitat Autòn-

oma de Barcelona a major centre for the study of mythography. I thank him for many discussions, and for some memorable hospitality. All the other scholars I have learned from are too numerous to name here, but I cannot omit mention of Carolyn Dewald, Simon Hornblower, Irene de Jong, John Marincola, Rosaria Vignolo Munson, and Rosalind Thomas. And as ever, I thank Judy, my companion of over 50 years; *sine qua non*.

Coombe Dingle, Bristol  
2 March 2025

Robert L. Fowler

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## GROUNDWORK

### Chapter 1

## Herodotus and his Contemporaries

‘Real data is messy.’

(Tom Stoppard, *Arcadia* I iv)

Among early Greek historians, Herodotus and Thucydides, owing to their survival, inevitably dominate our attention. But of course they were not alone. We have some substantial citations and numerous shorter fragments of many contemporaries. Difficulties of interpretation and the authority of their greatest modern interpreter, Felix Jacoby, have for many years prevented a thorough re-evaluation of early historiography and the position of Herodotus within it. The present paper is a contribution to this effort. In the first section, the list of Herodotus’ contemporaries is drawn up as a necessary starting-point. We shall find that Jacoby’s assessment of the evidence, and in particular his late date for some historians, is to be rejected, and that his conclusions about Herodotus’ position in the development of historiography, which still dominate the field, lack at least part of their foundation. In section 2 an alternative method, in the absence of certain chronology, is developed for identifying the salient characteristics of the individual historian; the method owes something to narratology. It is illustrated from the fragments of the authors listed in section 1, together with those of other historians down to the beginning of the fourth century. Section 3 then focuses on Herodotus; it will emerge that the most distinctive thing about him is his constant talk about sources and how to assess them. Other historians (and, indeed, poets) knew that sources contradict each other, but Herodotus first realised that this situation exists as a theoretical problem requiring the development of new methods. His is a second-order, or meta-cognitive awareness. Section 4 goes on to deal, as seems necessary, with Detlev Fehling’s theory about Herodotus’ sources, since if he is right Herodotus is not really serious about them. An epilogue draws attention to a fifth-century passage in the Theognidean corpus with striking parallels to a passage in Plato’s *Protagoras*; the two together throw light on Herodotus’ proem, and confirm the picture drawn in this paper of his historical activity.

## 1. Who were Herodotus' contemporaries?

Discussion must begin with the well-known passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus in which he assesses the contributions of Thucydides' predecessors:<sup>1</sup>

Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 5.1 (1.330.7 Usener-Radermacher, 48.17 Aujac). μέλλων δὲ ἄρχεσθαι τῆς περὶ Θουκυδίδου γραφῆς ὀλίγα βούλομαι περὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων εἰπεῖν, τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀκμασάντων ἐκεῖνῳ χρόνους, ἐξ ὧν ἔσται καταφανὴς ἢ τε προαίρεσις τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἢ χρησάμενος διήλλαξε τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ δύναμις. (2) ἀρχαῖοι μὲν οὖν συγγραφεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐγένοντο πρὸ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου (a. 431)· ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν Εὐγαίων τε ὁ Σάμιος (*test.* 1) καὶ Δηΐοχος (ὁ Κυζικηνὸς (*test.* 1) καὶ Βίων) ὁ Προκοννήσιος (*BNJ* 332 T2) καὶ Εὐδημος ὁ Πάριος (*test.* 1) καὶ Δημοκλῆς ὁ Φυγελεύς (*test.* 1) καὶ Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος (*test.* 17a), ὃ τε Ἀργεῖος Ἀκουσίλαος (*test.* 2) καὶ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς Χάρων (*test.* 3a) καὶ ὁ Καλχηδόνιος (<...> Ἀμελησαγόρας (*BNJ* 330 T1), ὀλίγῳ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Θουκυδίδου παρεκτείναντες ἡλικίας Ἑλλάνικος τε ὁ Λέσβιος (*test.* 5) καὶ Δαμάστης ὁ Σιγαιεύς (*test.* 2) καὶ Ξενομήδης ὁ Κεῖος (*test.* 1) καὶ Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδὸς (*BNJ* 765 T4) καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί. (3) οὗτοι προαίρεσις τε ὁμοία ἐχρήσαντο περὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ δυνάμεις οὐ πολὺ τι διαφερούσας ἔσχον ἀλλήλων, οἳ μὲν τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἀναγράφοντες ἱστορίας, οἳ δὲ τὰς βαρβαρικὰς, {καὶ} αὐτὰς τε πάντας οὐ συνάπτοντες ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διαιροῦντες καὶ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἐκφέροντες, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττοντες σκοπόν, ὅσαι διεσώζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις μνήμαι {κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις},<sup>2</sup> εἴτ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴτ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκειμέναι γραφαί, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν, οἷας παρέλαβον, μῆτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι μῆτε ἀφαιροῦντες ἐν αἷς καὶ μῦθοι τινες ἐνήσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πεπιστευμένοι χρόνου καὶ θεατρικαί τινες περιπέτεια πολὺ τὸ ἡλίθιον ἔχειν τοῖς νῦν δοκοῦσαι. (4) λέξιν τε ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὴν αὐτὴν ἅπαντες ἐπετήδευσαν, ὅσοι <γε><sup>3</sup> τοὺς αὐτοὺς προείλοντο τῶν διαλεκτῶν χαρακτῆρας, τὴν σαφὴ καὶ κοινὴν καὶ καθαρὰν καὶ σύντομον καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι προσφυῇ καὶ μηδεμίαν σκευωρίαν ἐπιφαίνουσιν τεχνικὴν· ἐπιτρέχει μέντοι τις ὥρα τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν καὶ χάρις, τοῖς μὲν πλείων, τοῖς δ' ἐλάττων, δι' ἣν ἔτι μένουσιν αὐτῶν αἱ γραφαί. (5) ὁ δ' Ἀλικαρνασεὺς Ἡρόδοτος, γενόμενος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῶν Περσικῶν (480/479), παρεκτείνας δὲ μέχρι τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν, τὴν τε πραγματικὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἐξήνεγκε καὶ λαμπρότερον ... καὶ τῇ λέξει προσapedῶκε τὰς παραλειφθεῖσας ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων ἀρετάς.

Before beginning my account of Thucydides I wish to say a few things both about the writers who preceded him and about his contemporaries, so that the plan of his work, in which he surpassed his predecessors, as well as his overall ability will become apparent. The old writers, then, were many and came from many places; among those

<sup>1</sup> For treatments of the passage, see Pearson (1939: 3–4), Pritchett (1975), Brown (54: 834–838), Gozzoli (1970–1971) and Toye (1995). For details of the textual criticism I refer to *EGM*.

<sup>2</sup> Following Usener's deletion. Dionysius, of course, has no independent knowledge of early archives and pre-literary chronicles; he infers their existence from the text of the historians, especially Herodotus and Thucydides.

<sup>3</sup> For the reading ὅσοι <γε>, cf. *Thuc.* 23 (= *Hec. test.* 17b), where Dionysius carefully reminds us that each dialect has its own character.

living before the Peloponnesian War were *Eugaeon of Samos*, *Deiochus* <of *Cyzicus*, *Bion*> of *Proconnesus*, *Eudemus of Paros*, *Democles of Phygela*, *Hecataeus of Miletus*, *the Argive Acusilaus*, *the Lampsacene Charon*, *the Chalcedonian* <... and *the Athenian*> *Amelesagoras*; born a little before the Peloponnesian War and living down to the time of Thucydides were *Hellanicus of Lesbos*, *Damastes of Sigeum*, *Xenomedes of Ceos*, *Xanthus the Lydian* and many others. These writers had a similar plan in respect of subject matter, and did not differ greatly from one another in ability. Some wrote about Greece, others about barbarians, not joining their inquiries together into a continuous whole, but separating them by nations and cities and bringing them out individually, with one and the same object in view, of bringing to the attention of the public traditions preserved among the local people {by nations and by cities}, whether records were preserved in sacred or profane archives, just as they received them, without adding or subtracting anything. Among these sources were to be found occasional myths, believed from time immemorial, and dramatic tales of upset fortunes, which seem quite foolish to people of our day. The style which they all employed was for the most part the same (at any rate among those who used the same dialect): clear, ordinary, unaffected, concise, suited to the subject and displaying none of the apparatus of professional skill; nonetheless, a certain grace and charm attends their works, some more than others, and this has ensured their preservation. But *Herodotus of Halicarnassus*, who was born a little before the Persian Wars and lived down to the time of the Peloponnesian War, both raised the choice of subject to a more ambitious and impressive level ... and added to his style those virtues which had been omitted by writers before him.

Dionysius divides the early historians into two groups: first those who lived before the Peloponnesian War, then those who lived or flourished from a date not long before the war down to the time of Thucydides. Then there is Herodotus, who Dionysius says was born just before the Persian Wars and lived to see the start of the Peloponnesian War. The lower terminus we know to be correct from Herodotus' own words (9.73.3), and the higher one is in all likelihood correct as well. Dionysius' list is partly chronological, but also schematic, in that he is attempting to sketch, no doubt after Theophrastus, the history of early prose style. It is possible that the chronological lines have been stretched in some cases in order to accommodate an author's perceived place in the history of style. In one instance he has been taken in by a forgery, that of Amelesagoras. His list has some remarkable omissions, but as there seems to be lacunae in the manuscripts, the fault may not be his.

On the other hand, where we can test his information directly, he scores not badly. We must take his word for the very early date of the first four authors he mentions, *Eugeon*,<sup>4</sup> *Deiochus*,<sup>5</sup> *Eudemus*<sup>6</sup> and *Democles*,<sup>7</sup> but he is right about

<sup>4</sup> 'Eugaion' and 'Euagon' in the MSS; the truest form of the name (*Euagon*) is given in *IPriene* 37 (= *test.* 1A). He wrote local history of Samos (no title transmitted).

<sup>5</sup> Transmitted titles are *Περὶ Κυζίκου* and *Περὶ Σαμοθράκης*.

<sup>6</sup> Parian or Naxian; no titles transmitted.

<sup>7</sup> No titles transmitted.

the date of Hecataeus and Acusilaus.<sup>8</sup> Damastes of Sigeum<sup>9</sup> is said to be a contemporary of Herodotus by the *Suda* (*test.* 1), which, however, also says that he was a student of Hellanicus, and indeed he can occasionally be seen to follow that writer's version of events. Damastes also named as a source for details of Persian geography Diotimus son of Strombichus, who was strategos in 433/432.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the testimony that Hellanicus' book *Barbaric Customs* was pilaged from Damastes and Herodotus tends rather to support an earlier date for the Sigean (or a later date for Hellanicus).<sup>11</sup> For the precise date of Xenomedes of Ceos<sup>12</sup> we have really no other indications than those Dionysius gives us. As for Xanthus,<sup>13</sup> his book on Lydian history contained some spectacular information which it is hard to believe Herodotus would have omitted had he known about it, e.g., that King Cambles ate his wife (*BNJ* 765 F18), or that the magi have sexual relations with all their female relatives (F31). A stronger indication than this argument from silence is that Xanthus dated an event by its Olympic year (*BNJ* 765 F30), using a technique we do not expect to find in advance of the publication of Hippias of Elis' list; but for this very reason some scholars reject the fragment as spurious.<sup>14</sup> Ephorus (*BNJ* 70 F180) explicitly says that Xanthus gave Herodotus his ἀφορμαί, either 'starting point' or 'source material',<sup>15</sup> and Athenaeus, who preserves the fragment, took him to mean (if he did not say so himself) that the Lydian was the earlier of the two. A *terminus a quo* is provided by a reference to Artaxerxes (*BNJ* 765 F12), who reigned from 465–425. On balance, H. Herter's assessment – 'an older contemporary of Herodotus'<sup>16</sup> – is probably right.

<sup>8</sup> Hecataeus wrote Γενεαλογίαι (also cited as Ἱστορίαι and once as Ἡρωολογία, *fr.* 8) and the *Periodos*; Acusilaus wrote Γενεαλογίαι.

<sup>9</sup> Transmitted titles are Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι γενομένων, Περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσαμένων, Ἑθνῶν κατάλογος καὶ πόλεων, Περὶ ποιητῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν and Περίπλους.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo 1.3.1 p. 47 (= *test.* 7a).

<sup>11</sup> Porph. 409F Smith *apud* Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 10.3.16 p. 466b (= *Dam. test.* 5, *Hellanic test.* 17 and *Hec. test.* 22).

<sup>12</sup> Wrote local history (no title transmitted); he was an authority for Callimachus *fr.* 75 Harder.

<sup>13</sup> Λυδικά, Μαγικά and Περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους.

<sup>14</sup> See Pearson (1939: 115). The Olympic date in this fragment, which is preserved by Clement, might be someone else's calculation on the basis of some synchronism in Xanthus; on this assumption the fragment may be accepted as genuine.

<sup>15</sup> See Drews (1973: 102), who, however, thinks that Ephorus may have drawn an incorrect inference about their chronological relationship from Xanthus' subject matter which for the most part seems to treat an earlier period than Herodotus. Against this, see Kingsley (1995: 174 n. 12).

<sup>16</sup> Herter (1967: 1354).

That leaves Hellanicus<sup>17</sup> and Charon.<sup>18</sup> Jacoby argued repeatedly that Herodotus knew nothing of either writer, even though Charon is placed in Dionysius' first group. At most Jacoby would concede that some of their works, like those of some of the other early historians, might have been published before Herodotus' *logoi*, but *not* before his travels, so that he could play out his part in *Entwicklungsgeschichte* unencumbered by familiarity with anybody but the old ethnographers.<sup>19</sup> Jacoby's view is tied up with his still influential theory of the development of Greek historiography, which held that the ethnography and geography of Hecataeus was first succeeded by the panoramic *Hellenica* of Herodotus, who indeed first set out to write ethnography, but changed into an historian as a result of his experience in Athens, and of the Persian Wars.<sup>20</sup> Local history, Jacoby held, originated in the desire of the individual city to 'secure in Greek history a place for herself, which Great Historiography [i.e., Herodotus] did not assign to her ... The local chronicles ... deliberately place the history of one city in the framework of the general history of the Greek people as designed by "scientific" historiography.'<sup>21</sup> So local history had to wait for Herodotus. But *some* Greek sense of an historical framework had existed for a long time. We must not forget the poets. Mimnermus had written historical verse at the end of the seventh century.<sup>22</sup> Xenophanes wrote the foundation of Colophon and the colonisation of Elea.<sup>23</sup> Herodotus' own uncle (or cousin) told the story in verse of the colonisation of Ionia,<sup>24</sup> which is to say the starting-point for many prose histories. Epic poems in which legendary local history played a leading role are the *Corinthiaca*, the *Meropis*, the *Naupactia*, the *Phoronis*, and the *Phocais*; many lyric poems such as Alcman's or Pindar's, though not historical in purpose, dis-

<sup>17</sup> Φορωνίς, Δευκαλιωνεία, Ἀτλαντίς, Ἀσωπὶς, Τρωϊκά, Αἰολικά / Λεσβι(α)κά, Ἀργολικά, Περί Ἀρκαδίας, Ἀθίς, Βοιωτικά, Θεσσαλικά, Αἰγυπτιακά, Εἰς Ἀμμωνος ἀνάβασις, Κυπριακά, Περί Λυδίας, Περσικά, Σκυθικά, Κτίσεις ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων, Περί Χίου κτίσεως, Βαρβαρικά νόμιμα, Ἰέρειαι τῆς Ἦρας αἱ ἐν Ἀργεῖ, Καρνεονῖκαι οἱ καταλογάδην and Καρνεονῖκαι οἱ ἔμμετροι. Of course this list and the others I have given are attended by the usual problems, but there is no need here to discuss the various efforts of scholars to combine or otherwise modify the list of Hellanicus' works, which must remain impressive on any reconstruction.

<sup>18</sup> Αἰθιοπικά, Περσικά, Ἑλληνικά, Περί Λαμψάκου, Λιβυκά, Ὅροι Λαμψακηνῶν, Πρυτάνεις {ἢ ἄρχοντες} (deleted by editors as a gloss) τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων (but see below, p. 8), Κτίσεις πόλεων, Κρητικά and Περίπλους τῶν ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν.

<sup>19</sup> Jacoby (1949: 184) and introduction to *FGrHist* 323a pp. 8–9.

<sup>20</sup> Jacoby (1912a), Jacoby (1912b), Jacoby (1913) all reprinted in Jacoby (1956b), Jacoby (1949: chapter III § 4 *et passim*) and introduction to *FGrHist* 323a. Support (with some qualifications) in von Fritz (1967) and more recently in Hornblower (1994: 15–16); compare Hornblower (1987: 19 n. 14). [See further Rengakos (2015).]

<sup>21</sup> Jacoby (1949: 201).

<sup>22</sup> *Fr.* 13–13a West.

<sup>23</sup> 21 A 1 Diels-Kranz (= D 1 Laks-Most).

<sup>24</sup> Panyasis *test.* 1 Davies. Cf. also Callinus *fr.* 7 West. On ktisis-poetry, see Dougherty (1994); to her discussion of the occasion of elegy add Fowler (1987a: ch. 3). Her general scepticism about the genre's separate existence does not affect the point made here.

play detailed knowledge of local traditions.<sup>25</sup> A local history in prose before Herodotus would be in no way surprising; the argument from a theory of development is no stronger than that which placed the *Supplikes* of Aeschylus at the head of his surviving tragedies.<sup>26</sup>

Jacoby further argued that Herodotus shows no sign of knowing any such local histories or chronicles.<sup>27</sup> If we could be sure of that, it would be a stronger argument. Jacoby's main reason for his diagnosis was that Herodotus uses very few archon-dates or similar devices. But we do not know how frequent these were in the earliest chronicles, in spite of their name,<sup>28</sup> nor what use Herodotus might have chosen to make of them. His aims were quite different. Scholars disagree strongly about how much of Hecataeus made its way into his pages, when we do in fact have a respectable number of fragments of that author; how much more hazardous must it be to make any statement about works represented by a mere handful of citations. The gaps in the record are simply too great for dogmatism.

Hellanicus, as we know from his fragments, was still active towards the end of the Peloponnesian War;<sup>29</sup> tradition held that he lived a long life,<sup>30</sup> and indeed he must have lived to mature, if not very ripe years to compose so many works. If his name is really connected with the victory of the Greeks over the Persians,<sup>31</sup> we may reasonably conjecture that his happy parents chose to commemorate a recent event in such a manner; but if his name is to be read Ἑλλάνικος, with short iota,<sup>32</sup> one may rather think that the tradition of his longevity is owed to

<sup>25</sup> The Ἀρχαιολογία τῶν Σαμίων attributed to Semonides of Amorgos (*test.* 1 West), though scarcely a title originating with the author, presumably treated the island's foundation. Cf. Las-serre (1976: 119–127).

<sup>26</sup> Jacoby repeatedly questioned Dionysius' evidence because it was ultimately based only on the style of the authors concerned; consequently he simply ignored him (e.g. 'ganz unbrauch-bar', Jacoby (1912b: 109). But style is no very bad criterion – indeed, it is a better one than Jacoby's, if you have nothing else to go on.

<sup>27</sup> Jacoby (1949: 182) and Jacoby (1913: 404).

<sup>28</sup> Jacoby (1909: 109–119) (= Jacoby 1956a: 49–59) insists that anything called Ὀροί must have proceeded κατ' ἔτος. But we do not know if these titles were assigned by their authors (note the variance in the title of Aristophanes' work, below n. 54, and see on Charon, below n. 44), and anything that proceeded in chronological order using expressions such as 'during King X's reign', 'in the time of his son', 'a few years later', 'twenty years after the destruction of Y' (expressions we often see in the fragments of early historiography and in Herodotus) might have earned such a title from a later scholar looking for the right pigeon-hole in which to place the work.

<sup>29</sup> BNJ 4 FF171–172 (= BNJ 323a FF25–26) (references to events of 407/406 B.C.).

<sup>30</sup> [Lucianus] *Macr.* 22 (= *test.* 8 EGM and BNJ 323a T6) (lived to 85 years of age).

<sup>31</sup> *Vit. Eurip.* (1 2.5 Schwartz) (= *test.* 6 EGM and BNJ 323a T4) (he and Euripides both born on the day of Salamis). Wilamowitz (1935–1972: 4.673 n. 1) explains the name on the analogy of Πυθιόνικος and Ὀλυμπιόνικος as 'victor over the Greeks' in athletic contests (he might have cited also Ἀνδρόνικος). Cf. Pearson (1942: 5–6).

<sup>32</sup> The name is then the ethnic with changed accent. For other occurrences of the name, see Fraser & Matthews (1987: s.v.). (One example from the 3rd century A.D. is written -νείκος, for what it is worth; the name of the historian himself may also occur, so spelled, twice in *P.Oxy.* 3711.)

someone who scanned the iota long and drew the appropriate inference. At all events, while Dionysius here places his career as a whole after Herodotus, other testimonies unequivocally place him before;<sup>33</sup> and even Dionysius in another place says that some work(s) of Hellanicus came first.<sup>34</sup> The evidence really presents no serious difficulties: Hellanicus was almost exactly contemporary with Herodotus, lived a long life, and died sometime after 406 B.C. Within that life we know the approximate dates of only a few of his works.

For Charon, the one secure fact is a reference to the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes: Charon said that Themistocles in exile went not to Xerxes' court but to his son's.<sup>35</sup> Artaxerxes acceded in 465/464 and died in 425/424. This accords well enough with the date given by Dionysius, and with the admittedly confused indications in the *Suda*<sup>36</sup> (none of which, however, point to a later date, rather the opposite). Jacoby's arguments for dating Charon to after the end of the fifth century are weak.<sup>37</sup> The reference to an event near the beginning of Artaxerxes' reign he managed to change into a reference to the end: 'Der Ansatz [by chronographers] im ersten Jahr eines Königs bedeutet oft, dass man den Autor überhaupt nach seiner Regierungszeit bestimmt; und das Jahr 425/424 wäre an sich ein passender Schluss auch für ein Werk über persische Geschichte.'<sup>38</sup> Another argument has little more to recommend it. Thucydides 1.97.2 says that apart from Hellanicus no one before him has treated the Pentecontaetia. Therefore Charon had not yet written his *Hellenica*.<sup>39</sup> We do not know, however, what the scope of this book was.<sup>40</sup> Just as importantly, one cannot know

<sup>33</sup> Aul. Gell. 15.23 (= *test.* 3 EGM and BNJ 323a T5) and *Suda* δ 41 (= Damastes *test.* 1 EGM and Hellan. *test.* 9) (quoted above p. 4). Aulus' source is Pamphila, *FHG* 3.521 fr. 7, who places his birth in 496/495 (reckoning inclusively; she says he was 65 in 432/431); this would place his ἀκμῇ in 457/456, close to the year of Euripides' first production (456/455), which Rühl (1906: 475) argued was the foundation of his (Apollodorus') date; Hellanicus' *Suda* article (= *test.* 1 EGM and BNJ 323a T1) synchronises the two writers. See further Mosshammer (1973). At Eus. (Hieron.) *Chron.* p. 107e Helm (= *test.* 4a EGM), Hellanicus is said to have been *clarus* in Ol. 70.1 (a. 500/499; the Armenian version gives Ol. 69.3, the *Chronicon Paschale* Ol. 67.1); on the assumption that this date represents a misreading of γέγονε as a *floruit* rather than a birth-date, we have another testimony to the standard ancient view, which should not be tossed aside without reason: whether born in 495 or 480, he was born early in the century like Herodotus.

<sup>34</sup> *Pomp.* 3.6 (= *test.* 12 EGM, BNJ 323a T2b and BNJ 687a T1), referring to work(s) which treated the same subject as Herodotus; there are several candidates (Αἰγυπτιακά, Εἰς Ἀμμωνος ἀνάβασις, Περί Λυδίας, Περσικά, Σκυθικά and Βαρβαρικά νόμιμα). The *Suda* entry synchronises him with Herodotus.

<sup>35</sup> Plut. *Them.* 27.1 (= BNJ 262 F11).

<sup>36</sup> *Suda* χ 136 (= *test.* 1 EGM).

<sup>37</sup> Jacoby (1938) (= Jacoby 1956a: 178–206). Westlake (1977a: 108 n.74) finds Jacoby's arguments weak; detailed criticism in Gozzoli (1970–1971: 169 n.33), Drews (1973: 24–44), Maggi (1977: 5 n.17) and Accame (1982: 26–31).

<sup>38</sup> Jacoby (1938: 209) (= Jacoby 1956a: 179).

<sup>39</sup> Jacoby (1938: 213) (= Jacoby 1956a: 182).

<sup>40</sup> Drews (1973: 25). One might think a discussion of Themistocles' exile points to a treatment of the Pentecontaetia; but he could have looked briefly forward to the admiral's demise after a

what books Thucydides might disdain to mention in so polemical a passage. A final argument is that Charon's book *Πρυτάνεις Λακεδαιμονίων* described by the *Suda* as *χρονικά*, was presumably inspired by Hellanicus' *Priestesses of Hera in Argos* (BNJ 4FF 74–84, EGM fr. 74–82 and 84), which we infer from Thucydides 4.133 was published sometime after 423, or at any rate (since the inference is not quite secure) sometime after 429, on the basis of Thucydides 2.2.1.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, Jacoby argues, interest in the officials of Sparta is much more likely after 404 with the rise of Sparta to hegemony.<sup>42</sup> This third argument is no stronger than the first two. Sophists were interested in systems of government long before 404; Critias (*ob.* 404/403) in fact wrote a book entitled *Πολιτεία Λακεδαιμονίων*, of which several fragments are preserved.<sup>43</sup> Anyhow the title of Charon's book is suspicious. Sparta never had *πρυτάνεις*. Anton Westermann in 1838 emended to *Πρυτάνεις τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν*.<sup>44</sup> This still leaves the argument about possible influence from Hellanicus untouched, but even if this book was produced late in Charon's career (late 420s?), there were many others that preceded it. Like Dionysius, both in *Thuc.* and *Pomp.* (3.6, cited above), Plutarch is perfectly clear that Charon was the older writer.<sup>45</sup>

In brief, Herodotus could have known the works of many of the writers mentioned by Dionysius, as well as others not mentioned by him. These include Scylax of Caryanda<sup>46</sup> and the other early periegetes Euthymenes of Massilia and Hanno of Carthage,<sup>47</sup> Dionysius of Miletus,<sup>48</sup> Pherecydes of Athens,<sup>49</sup> Antiochus

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treatment of Salamis. Jacoby (1938: 208) (= Jacoby 1956a: 178) calls this idea 'very improbable', but obviously it is perfectly possible. The reasons given in support of his dating at Jacoby (1938: 237–242) (= Jacoby 1956a: 202–206) are of a very general kind.

<sup>41</sup> See Jacoby, intro to *FGrHist* 323a p. 4 and Gomme on *Thuc.* 4.133.2–3.

<sup>42</sup> Jacoby (1938: 219) (= Jacoby 1956a: 187). He might have added, given his penchant for arguments from silence, that Thucydides might have been expected to use the data of such a book at least once or twice, just as he used Hellanicus' book of priestesses.

<sup>43</sup> 88 B 32–37 Diels-Kranz.

<sup>44</sup> In his re-edition of Vossius' *De historicis graecis*, 21 n. 63. If the emendation is correct (it is certainly plausible, though Jacoby (1956a: 187) thought it 'most improbable'), the further question arises whether this is not simply an alternative title for the *Ὁροι Λαμψακηνῶν* listed immediately before in the *Suda*. It is possibly relevant that a Spartan king bore the name Prytanis (*Hdt.* 8.131).

<sup>45</sup> *De Hdt. mal.* 20 p. 859b (= BNJ 262 F9). Similarly Tert. *De Anim.* 46 (= BNJ 262 F14).

<sup>46</sup> BNJ 709, *FGrHist* 1000 and *FGrHist* 2046 (pseudo-Scylax). Transmitted titles are *Περὶ πλοῦς τῶν ἐκτὸς (ἐντὸς conl. quidam) τῶν Ἑρακλέος στηλῶν, τὰ κατὰ Ἑρακλείδην τὸν Μυλασσῶν βασιλέα* and *Γῆς περίοδος*. Herodotus, of course, names Scylax himself at 4.44.

<sup>47</sup> *FHG* 4.408 and *GGM* 1.1–14.

<sup>48</sup> BNJ 687. Only transmitted title, *Περσικά*. Synchronised by the *Suda* s.v. *Ἐκαταῖος* (= *test.* 1) with Darius; the same entry says Herodotus borrowed from him.

<sup>49</sup> Wrote genealogical *Ἱστορίαι* (once cited as *Θεογονία*, fr. 54, no doubt by confusion with the Syrian). He is probably to be dated to about 470: see Huxley (1973) and Thomas (1989: 161–165).

of Syracuse,<sup>50</sup> Ion of Chios,<sup>51</sup> and Simonides of Ceos the Genealogist.<sup>52</sup> These are all authors for whom a sufficiently early date is attested. In addition we must mention the names of others whom various indications assign to a date at least as early as the first half of the fourth century, and who could for all we know be earlier: Aethlius of Samos,<sup>53</sup> Aristophanes of Boeotia,<sup>54</sup> Armenidas,<sup>55</sup> Creophylus of Ephesus,<sup>56</sup> Menecrates of Xanthus,<sup>57</sup> and Scythinus of Teos.<sup>58</sup>

Jacoby's theory of early Greek historiography, though a work of undeniable genius, thinks too much in terms of development, a concept self-evident to scholars of the day. A theory in which all the characteristics of the first stage of historiography are found in one author, Hecataeus, and all the characteristics of the logical second stage in another, Herodotus, all of the logical third stage in another, Hellanicus, and all of the fourth stage, in another, Thucydides, all of whom fit together like ashlar blocks, squeezing out anyone caught between, is inherently unlikely. Jacoby based the arrangement of his edition on his theory; consequently it is very easy to forget just how many historians were active during Herodotus' lifetime, since everybody after volume 1 (indeed, everybody after number 3 in volume 1) is conceptually post-Herodotus in Jacoby's scheme. We have compiled a lengthy list of Herodotus' contemporaries. If a god could restore all the works of these people to us, with dates helpfully attached, we would surely receive many shocks.

Was there then a Herodotus before Herodotus? In theory one must admit the possibility. Practically speaking, one would expect to have *some* inkling of the fact, if (say) Charon's *Hellenica* was a book of similar scope. We can at least say this much, that of all the early titles known to us, Charon's is the *only* one which suggests a work anything like Herodotus'; and that is encouraging.<sup>59</sup> Herodotus, on any reconstruction, is likely to remain the cardinal turning-point in the history of historiography. But it has long been recognised that Herodotus drew

<sup>50</sup> *BNJ* 555 and *EGM* 1.49–53; *Περὶ Ἰταλίας* and *Σικελικά*. Died sometime after 424/423 (below, n. 109).

<sup>51</sup> *BNJ* 392, Diels-Kranz 36, *TrGF* 19, *West IE* 2 2.79 and *EGM* 1.258–263; wrote Χίου κτίσις plus poetic, philosophical, and other works. First tragedy produced Ol. 82 (452/449); dead by 421 (*Ar. Pax* 827 ff.).

<sup>52</sup> *BNJ* 8 and *EGM* 1.368–369; son of the poet's daughter *κατὰ τινας*. Wrote *Γενεαλογία*, *Εὐρήματα*, perhaps also *Σύμμικτα*.

<sup>53</sup> *BNJ* 536 and *EGM* 1.29–30; Ὀροι Σαμίων.

<sup>54</sup> *BNJ* 379 and *EGM* 1.54–59; *Θηβαῖοι* Ὀροι (also cited as *Θηβαϊκά* and *Βοιωτικά*).

<sup>55</sup> *BNJ* 378 and *EGM* 1.60–62; *Θηβαϊκά*.

<sup>56</sup> *BNJ* 417 and *EGM* 1.65–66; Ἐφεσίων Ὀροι.

<sup>57</sup> *BNJ* 769 and *EGM* 1.264–267; *Λυκιακά*.

<sup>58</sup> *BNJ* 13, *West IE* 2 2.97 and *EGM* 1.367; *Ἱστορίη*.

<sup>59</sup> Damastes' *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι γενομένων* (a phrase, as Jacoby *ad loc.* remarks, presumably taken from the proem) was, it seems, a *Hellenica*, but was probably later than Herodotus. The fragments of Charon contain tantalising references to Persian affairs; for discussion of possible connections with Herodotus, see Accame (1982) and Piccirilli (1975).

on various kinds of material for his history, and if (as I think we have now established as a strong possibility) Herodotus knew works of local history and others mentioned here, no one can really know how many of these writers might have shaped his thinking, or schooled him in the technique of *historiē*.

Of course Greek historiography developed in some sense, but one must be careful to describe developments in appropriate terms. Rather than thinking of a step-by-step development, we would be wise to think in terms of a long and mutually beneficial exchange of work and ideas between Herodotus and his many contemporaries. Therefore if we wish to prove Herodotus' uniqueness, it is best to do so by demonstrating that those qualities which seem most characteristic of him are intimately bound up with his *own* perception of his task as an historian. If that is the case, it becomes less likely that he was anticipated by a predecessor in any essential point, and would not matter anyway if he was.

## 2. The historian's voice

Scholars have looked again and again at Herodotus' proem, where indeed insight into his self-perception is most likely to be found. Close examination of Herodotus' proem shall here be postponed to the end. In the meantime it will be useful to look at various aspects of what may be termed the 'historian's voice'. Any historiographical text involves the historian and the object of study. In reading the text, we are frequently aware of the intercession of the investigator between ourselves and the data. Most obviously, this obtrusion may take the form of first-person statements or self-reference of some kind. The proem is a place where such statements are apt to occur. A surprisingly large number (ten) of beginnings of fifth-century prose works by named authors is known.<sup>60</sup> The first-person deictic pronoun (in Hecataeus, ὧδε μυθέεται and τάδε γράφω; in Herodotus, ἀπόδεξις ἦδε; in Antiochus, Ἀντίοχος τάδε συνέγραψε, and so on) is a well-known stylistic habit of these passages, as if to say, here I am, this is my work. The pronoun is often accompanied by assertions of the importance of the subject or the accuracy of the information.<sup>61</sup> The historian's voice is strong and egotis-

<sup>60</sup> The qualification 'by named authors' excludes the works in the Hippocratic corpus. Known beginnings are: Hecataeus *fr.* 1, Heraclitus 22 B 1 Diels-Kranz (= D 1 Laks-Most), Ion of Chios *Τριαγμός fr.* 20 von Blumenthal, Antiochus of Syracuse *Περὶ Ἰταλίας fr.* 2, Alcmeon of Croton 24 B 1 Diels-Kranz (= D 4 Laks-Most), Philolaus of Croton 44 B 1 Diels-Kranz (= D 2 Laks-Most), Diogenes of Apollonia 64 B 1 (= D 2 Laks-Most), Critias *Πολιτεία Λακεδαιμονίων* 88 B 32 Diels-Kranz, Herodotus and Thucydides. Depending on the reading, Anaxagoras 59 B 1 Diels-Kranz (= D 9 Laks-Most) may be included as an eleventh example: that is, whether '... λέγων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς: "ὁμοῦ πάντα ἦν" or '... λέγων "ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁμοῦ πάντα ἦν"' is correct.

<sup>61</sup> This chest-thumping habit of early writers is commented on by Aristides (28.68) in a minor testimonium that escaped Jacoby's notice: ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἀλλ' ἢ ἐνδείκνυται τῷ Ἡροδότῳ καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλαντικοῖς καὶ τοῖς Ἑκαταίοις καὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑμῶν προέχω

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