THE SPEECHES IN HERODOTUS AND THUCYDIDES: A COMPARISON

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'The only sensible way of approaching any topic related to the Histories of Herodotus

and Thucydides is to do so on their terms and not ours.'   (Moses Finley)

The past century and a half of our era has seen a plethora of research, analysis and comment on the two major Greek historians of antiquity. Seminal commentaries have appeared, notably those of Macan (1895, 1908), of How and Wells (1913), and of Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella (1988-1998) on Herodotus, and of Gomme, Andrewes and Dover (1945-1981), and of Hornblower (1991-2008) on Thucydides. These have concentrated, as one would have expected of historical commentaries, on analysing the texts from an historical viewpoint although all, to a greater or lesser extent (Hornblower's fully), do comment in their introductions or appendices on matters of composition, language and style. There have also appeared many studies of both historians, either in book or article form, most of which are well known and cited often in this thesis.

The post-modern revolution in the study of language and literature over the past century has also had a significant effect upon historiographical studies and thus upon this thesis. Its progress into the twenty-first century is well described in summary by Dewald (2005, 1-13), and analysed in the case of Herodotean studies by Luraghi (2001, 1-9). Meanwhile the corresponding revolution in Thucydidean studies is pithily summed up by Connor (1977), while excellent summaries of the progress of Herodotean and Thucydidean scholarship over the same period are provided by Marincola (2001, 1-8), and by Dewald and Marincola (2006, 1-7).

An important offshoot of this revolution, not least because of its effect upon the subject of this thesis, has been the rise of narratology, the most illuminating explanation of which so far for classical students has been written by de Jong (2014) in her book *Narratology and Classics*; this thesis takes cognisance of this relatively new science.

Despite the advances in the study of both historians, however, there had still been few attempts comprehensively to compare their Speeches, until the important work appeared, in German, of Scardino in 2007. In addition, there has been the recent

publication, in 2012 during the writing of this thesis, of a complete book devoted to a comparison of Herodotus and Thucydides, edited by Foster and Lateiner and containing articles by Pelling, Stadter and, again, by Scardino, all three of which are directly relevant to this topic and which I cite *passim*. Other recent works of direct relevance are de Bakker (2007) and Zali (2014).

Nevertheless, the controversy about the origins of the Speeches and the respective contributions made by our two historians to this medium in the history of historiography is still far from settled. And yet it is the use of speeches that provides one of the most obvious similarities methodologically between the two Histories. Indeed the Speeches may hold the key to a better understanding of their authors' overall methodology and message, and thus to their individual and combined contribution to the early development of historiography.
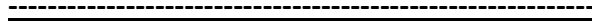
Terminology

Throughout this thesis the following terms will be used:

historiography – the writing of history.

the Histories – the works of both Herodotus and Thucydides.

the *Histories* - the complete extant works of Herodotus.

the *History* – the complete extant works of Thucydides (The Peloponnesian War).

the Speeches – the speeches in both Herodotus and Thucydides.

Abbreviations

BNJ = Brill's New Jacoby.

CAH = Lewis, D.M., Boardman, J., Davies, J.K., Ostwald, M. eds. (1992) *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 5, *The Fifth Century B.C.*, 2nd. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CT = Hornblower, S., (1991-2004) *A Commentary on Thucydides*, 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

DD = Direct Discourse.

DG = Dillon, J. and Gergel,T., (2003) *The Greek Sophists*. London: Penguin Group.

DK = Diels, H. and Kranz, W., (1964) *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 3 vols. 7th ed. Berlin: Weidmann.

Fr = Fragment.

FGrH = Jacoby, F., (1957) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 3 vols. Leiden: Brill.

H = Herodotus.

HCT = Gomme, A.W., Andrewes, A., and Dover, K.J., 1945-1981, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

HW = How, W.W., and Wells, J. (1912) *A Commentary on Herodotus,* 2 vols. (reprinted 1991, 2010). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ID = Indirect Discourse.

IEG = West, M.L. (1992) *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

 LSJ = H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, (1968) *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

PLF = Lobel, E., and Page, D.L. eds. (1955) *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

PMG = Page, D.L. ed. (1962) *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

T = Thucydides.

TrGF = Snell, B., Kannicht, R. et al. eds. (1971-2007) *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 5 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Ty = Testimony.

W = West, M.L. trans. and ed. (2003) *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Loeb ed.). Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press.

 Abbreviations of journals, where used, are as those used by *L'année philologique*.

Chapter One: Introduction

λόγος

As an aid to comprehending the function of the Speeches, and before offering my own definition of 'speech', I should like to explore the meaning of this powerful Greek word.[1] It has many meanings but, for the purpose of this thesis, two: 'speech' and 'rational discourse'. The transition from the former, more simple and literal meaning derived directly from the verb λέγειν, 'to say', to the latter, with its etymological connections to the English word 'logic', is a journey through the Greek mind which visits the early stages of the development of the historians' craft. It is a journey which undoubtedly took place partly through the lifetimes of Herodotus and Thucydides, but it is no more true to say that that journey began with the former than to say that it ended with the latter. Before Herodotus there were the logographers,[2] and before them Homer. Moreover, to say, as some critics[3] of Herodotus have with varying degrees of vehemence, that his speeches are little more than an adornment of human character, a dramatic embellishment, an imitation of a celebrated Homeric precedent, while those of Thucydides have become a vehicle for political debate, for aetiological explanations and for the recording of men's aims and motives, is a vast oversimplification. There is, in short, as much 'rational discourse' in the speeches of Herodotus as in those of Thucydides. The point is, the discourse is of a different type, and written for a different purpose. In comparing the Speeches (λόγοι) this thesis will recognise these differences while highlighting the often neglected similarities.

For our purposes there are other ways in which we must understand the semantic nuances of λόγος and the way in which they are used in the scholastic community. One of these is the distinction between 'a speech', given on a particular occasion by an individual or a group, and 'an account', meaning a particular episode in the

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[1]Cf. Pelling (2006, 103), where he assigns the meaning 'reason' to *λόγος*.
[2]See my Chapter 3 for more details.
[3]E.g. in antiquity Cicero (*Laws*, 1.1.5), who, although fêting H as 'the father of history', nevertheless mentions that his works are full of *fabulae*. In modern times Fehling (1971) has questioned the validity of all H's sources; Evans (1991) and Nagy (1987) both describe H as a *logios* or professional storyteller.

Histories as a whole, such as the 'Lydian λόγος' or the 'Scythian λόγος' in Herodotus.[4] For some reason, probably because Thucydides has his own chronological method of organising his work and because there is, therefore, no need to distinguish his mainstream narrative from *excursus*, we do not usually speak of, say, the 'Sicilian λόγος' but, in a work such as this thesis, where the *modus operandi* of the two authors is being constantly analysed, we could well have done so.

Two other senses of λόγος are important in our context: that which distinguishes it from, on the one hand, μῦθος[5] and, on the other, from ἔργα. I take the μῦθος example first, since it is this distinction which, Thucydides claims,[6] sets his work apart from previous attempts at historical writing, including Herodotus' (although he does not refer to his predecessor by name). For our part, however, we should perhaps give more credit to Herodotus for advancing historiography from the status of μῦθος to λόγος than apparently does Thucydides. Both recognised that the stories of Homer and other writers of epic, although still accepted in the relatively enlightened culture of fifth century Athens as an 'historical' account of happenings in archaic Greece, were not based on any accurate or systematic enquiry. But Herodotus, through his conscientious research methods (ἱστορίη) was the first historian we know of to attempt to put this to rights.

The 'myths', handed down by the epic poets, and including words supposedly spoken by gods and heroes, were the only available record of bygone ages; but they were timeless and, as such, worthless in regard to providing any coherent account of past events set in an established chronological order, in short to providing what we would regard as 'history' in the modern sense.[7] This era has come to be known as the *spatium mythicum*, an era which Fowler (2011, 46) credits Herodotus with a desire to bridge by testing the truth of these 'old' stories. As an example Fowler cites

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[4] See Powell (1938, 4e), who records H using *logos* to refer to the whole work as well as to its constituent parts.

[5] Kirk (1970, 8) says 'For the Greeks *mythos* just meant a tale, or something one uttered, in a wide range of senses: a statement, a story, the plot of a play'; contra Bremmer (1982), Edmunds (1990, 4), Dowden (1992). Most recently Fowler (2011, 48) again challenges our modern use of the word 'myth' in interpreting H's use of μῦθος: 'for all we know "mythos" might differ no more from "logos" than "tale" does from "story" '.

[6] = τὸ...μυθῶδες , 1.21.1.

[7] Cf. Finley (1975).

Herodotus' statement at 1.5.3 that, in the matter of the rival accounts of the Persians and the Phoenicians, he will favour neither, but will recount something that he knows himself (οἶδα αὐτός) for sure is historically accurate; he also notes (ibid.) Herodotus' use of the phrase 'the human age' with reference to the time of Polycrates (3.122.2) (τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπηίης λεγομένης γενεῆς), thus attempting to define a point within the *spatium historicum*.[8] Herodotus' account (λόγος) was an attempt to establish some kind of time sequence for events going back for some two centuries before his own era, that is to about the middle of the seventh century; the closer he gets to his own time, the more detailed and accurate his account becomes, as we should expect.[9]

Thucydides, for his part, in order to explain to his readers what had occurred in the fifty years prior to the opening of the Peloponnesian War and beyond into the distant past, was compelled to follow his predecessors, simply because the written records that he might have consulted existed no more for him than they did for them. How these developments in historiography impacted on the Speeches and, to reverse the question, what part the Speeches played in the development of historiography, are both important considerations of this thesis and will be examined in subsequent chapters.

The second relevant distinction mentioned above is that between λόγος and ἔργα (literally 'deeds'). In this comparative context, by ἔργα I mean 'narrative' as opposed to 'speech', i.e. that part of the overall account in both works which describes what was done as opposed to what was said. Here I follow Immerwahr (1960, 263), who proposes three possible meanings of ἔργον in Herodotus derived from his proem: (1) physical buildings or monuments; (2) 'achievements' (i.e. both monuments and deeds); (3) deeds only (i.e. the wars between the Greeks and the Persians). For our

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[8] Harrison (2000, 196-207) discusses the distinction between 'mythical' and 'historical' time in H and T, esp. 197-8, challenging the idea that H was the 'Ionian "scientific" historian' who drew a neat line between the *spatium mythicum* and the *spatium historicum*; Thomas (2001) makes a connection between this debate and the notion of a 'floating gap', a phenomenon of societies dependent on memory and oral tradition for their knowledge of the past (see also my Chapter 2). Cf. generally Marincola (1997, 117-27) on myth and history in Greek historiography.

[9] Cf. Thomas (1992, 108-113) and below (pp. 37-44). However, as Asheri points out (2007, 31), '(H's) 'indifference towards myth should not be taken as ... a denial of the historicity of the main characters of traditional epic'. For H's chronology see esp. Strasburger (1956).

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purposes in discussing the speeches I take (2) as being the most appropriate. For Thucydides, Immerwahr says (ibid. 275-290), the word ἔργον has undergone a decisive change and refers 'to an activity rather than an achievement, and to a fact rather than a deed.'[10] This distinction was probably less recognisable to the ancient reader than to the modern,[11] who is less familiar with the technique of introducing the direct or indirect words of historical characters into written history and for whom the Speeches leap out of the pages, especially from Thucydides' *History* where they are longer and more rigidly 'set' than those in Herodotus.

Thucydides clearly, unlike Herodotus, separates ἔργα (facts/deeds) from λόγος (speech): this is shown in the way he distinguishes between them in his program at 1.22 (see this introduction below). Moreover, Thucydides' manner of historiography is to stress events rather than the achievement of individuals.[12] However, the *memory* of past achievement (μνήμη) is present in the speeches, e.g. most notably in the Funeral Oration (2.35-46), in Pericles' final address (2.64.3), in the battle speeches at 4.92.7 (by Pagondas) and 6.68.4 (by Nicias). A Homeric type desire for personal reputation to be preserved is expressed, for example, in the speeches of Brasidas, Hermocrates, Nicias and Alcibiades, who, as Immerwahr remarks (1960, 282), are 'especially motivated by a desire for contemporary fame'.

Hunter (1973, 177-84), has attempted to show how Thucydides, despite the apparent antithesis between the two forms, has painstakingly moulded speech and narrative into an alliance, enabling the author to construct an intelligible and comprehensive account. The link between λόγος and ἔργα can also be shown to exist in the *Histories*, and no writer who attempts to compare the speeches of both authors can afford to overlook this important literary technique. I, therefore, devote a whole chapter (Chapter 6) to the subject.

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[10]Cf. Parry (1957); at 1.21.2 T comes close to using ἔργα to mean (verifiable) 'facts': 'the present war... will appear to be the greatest to those who base their investigation on the 'erga' themselves (ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων)'.
[11]Although T himself makes the distinction in his 'programme' at 1.22. 1-2.
[12]Cf. Stahl in Stadter (1973a, 75): 'The speeches are elucidated by the course of events rather than vice versa'.

Definition of 'speech'

I define 'speech' as 'any words in Direct Discourse or Indirect Discourse[13] intended by the author to communicate to the reader or hearer the voice of a person or persons distinct from himself who is in communication with one or more other persons'. The definition includes all the large 'set' speeches in both works delivered by characters, mostly named but occasionally unnamed, in assemblies, war councils, political debates, trials and military harangues.

In the case of Thucydides such speeches have previously been identified and listed, most recently by W.C. West III,[14] who lists one hundred and forty-one. Of these I have essentially followed West, since nobody previously listed speeches in ID, a type the importance of which has most recently been recognised and highlighted by Scardino (2007, 2012), of whose work I take especial cognisance. However, I have discounted the type of ID which Scardino (2012, 68) describes as 'a narrative expression of sources external to the text'. This type is especially prevalent in Herodotus, for example in his proem at 1.1-5 where he allows focalisation to the Persian λόγιοι but maintains an authorial presence through parenthetical insertions of λέγουσι at 2.1 and 3.1. Gould (1989, 50) comments that this technique of Herodotus in using ID as narrative is a way of distancing 'himself as storyteller from a particular section of his narrative'. Thucydides, by contrast, seldom allows participants in his account to become storytellers.[15] I also discount as 'speech' a wide

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[13]Henceforth referred to as DD and ID. In using these terms I follow, with most other modern analysts on this topic (esp. de Bakker (2007), Scardino (2007), de Jong (2014) and Zali (2014) their definitions in Laird (1999, 88), viz. of DD: 'This is the "standard quotation" - we are given the impression of hearing the original speaker's words'; of ID: 'we are given the explicit impression that the words of the original speaker(s) have been modified by the speaker or narrator presenting them'. DD comes under Cohn's (1999) third signpost of fictionality i.e. (embedded) focalisation: she says that this is impossible in an historical text since the historian can never know what a historical character thought or felt and can only work from inference, either his own or that of others (this begins to explain T's claims at 1.22.1, including the concept of τὰ δέοντα [see below and Appendix C]). On narratological terms see also n.107 below.

[14]In Stadter (1973a, 7-15). Other attempts to define what constitutes a speech, apart from Scardino (2007), are Jacoby (1913, 492-3); Hohti (1976, 7, 139); Heni (1977, 18-22).

[15]Herodotus uses the verb λέγουσι 214 times and λέγεται 111 times as opposed to only 4 and 21 instances respectively in T, for instance at 1.138.4 where he ascribes a variant story of the death of Themistocles to a different source (λέγουσι δέ τινες) and at 1.118.3 where, in using ὡς λέγεται, he displays a mistrust of his source, in this case the Delphic Oracle. Harrison (2000, 25) claims that neither the use of *legetai* (relevant in this thesis as introductory to ID), nor the practice of 'alternative versions', which Gould (1994, 96) calls 'a cautionary mode of narrative', nor the 'intrusive oblique

variety of verbal phenomena which, it could be argued, might derive from speech but which do not represent the kind of personal communication between individuals and groups which I have specified above, for example: the wording of oracles and inscriptions, and the terms of treaties. I have, however, followed West in including letters[16] as 'speech', since I believe the words and sentiments contained therein are such as would have been spoken directly to their intended audiences by the writers had they been present.

In the case of Herodotus, I have yet to come across a scholar or critic who has attempted to list his speeches in a similar way to those of Thucydides by West.[17] I believe the chief reason for this is that it is generally agreed that Herodotus' use of speeches is quite different from Thucydides', in that they are mostly shorter, more informal and conversational, and often contained within stories or anecdotes. They do not provide the same stark contrast in form, content or purpose with the mainstream account, which is the hallmark of the work of the later historian. I have nevertheless, as an integral part of this study, made my own lists,[18] similarly constructed for both works based on the definition I have given above.

Purpose and Method

Purpose

Herodotus, unlike Thucydides, does not make any attempt to claim authenticity for the speeches in his *Histories*; they are often part of story-telling episodes, the authenticity of which is itself in doubt. As is well known, he also frequently questions his sources or gives alternative versions of events mythical and historical,

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infinitive', on which see Cooper (1974) and also Harrison's (2000, 248-250) objections to this theory, are necessarily 'distancing techniques'. On *legetai* in H cf. Lateiner (1989, 22ff): 'H employs this convenience for (1) what he has not seen and deems most unlikely; (2) what is divine or miraculous (e.g. the tale of Epizelus at 6.117.3); (3) what seems best or worst or otherwise superlative; (4) when more than one account of a given event is current and no secure resolution is discernible. See Gray (2011) for a discussion of T's use of *legetai* and his source citations.

[16]On letters as a common expedient in international intrigue and military communications cf. Harris (1989); Cecarelli (2013). Hornblower (*CT* ii, 128) mentions the letter from Themistocles to Xerxes (at 1.137.4), presented in the first person, in that it assumes knowledge of H 8.75 and 8.110-3, the two messages sent by Themistocles to Xerxes via Sicinnus.

[17]Not even Lang (1984), although she has enumerated 397 of all types.

[18]Together with explanatory notes; see Appendix A.

disclaiming responsibility for recording the truth and leaving it to his reader to decide which may be the most accurate account.[19] This indecision on his part (we might call it honesty), arising from his apparent mistrust of his sources, may be the reason why there has been no adequate attempt, with the exception of Lang (1984), fully to analyse and categorise the speeches in the *Histories*. After all, there is no reason to think that his speeches are any more authentic than his narrative, and every reason, when we read them, to suppose that they are less so. Lang's account, for those who desire a scientific and scrupulously analytical categorisation, is superb. Its very nature and purpose, however, apart from an excellent chapter on Herodotus' debt to Homer, prevent the author from proposing any other explanation as to the origins of and inspiration for the speeches in the *Histories*. Other scholars have attempted brief explanations *passim* within their accounts but, in general, we may lament the paucity of analyses and extensive reasoned opinions on this topic.[20]

The main purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to make a close comparison of the Speeches in both Histories, partly through direct reference to the texts and partly by searching the oral and literary tradition known to both authors for common themes, in order to show how Herodotus and Thucydides shared common sources, values, motives and methods to an extent not previously understood. An inevitable by-product of this enquiry will be to assess how much Thucydides owed to Herodotus, with specific reference to the Speeches: the final chapter (10), which is self-explanatory, reinvestigates in detail two particular areas which, up to the present day, have exercised scholars' minds on this issue.

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[19] E.g. at 1.5.3 where he disclaims responsibility for judging as to the truth between the Persian and the Phoenician accounts of the abductions of women: ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κως ἐγένετο. On variant versions generally see esp. Groten (1963, 79): 'The frequency with which double (*and other multiple*) versions occur in Herodotean narrative must be ascribed not only to his diligence in checking information but also to his particular concept of the historian's role in handling his material' (my added italics) and, I might add in agreement with Asheri (2007, 20), to his earnest desire to report τὰ λεγόμενα throughout the whole of his work even if he does not believe it all. Cf. Asheri (2007, 20-23) on possible reasons for H's variant accounts, who himself cites Groten (op. cit. 20, n.58). For a complete list of 'alternative versions' in H see Lateiner (1989, 84-90).

[20] Scardino (2007) apart, the same may be said for T's possible reliance on earlier writers, especially H, in relation to speeches, with the exception of Hornblower (*CT* ii, 137-145), with which I deal in detail below (Chapter 10).

This thesis is predicated, like that of Rogkotis (2006), upon the idea that Thucydides wrote in awareness of Herodotus, although I shall take cognisance of other theories and possibilities, in particular the largely nowadays unsupported theory of Kennelly (1992) (see my Chapter 10) that Thucydides worked independently of Herodotus and may even have been ignorant of him, a theory which revolves around the much discussed debate concerning the publication dates of the two historians and to what extent they can be regarded as contemporaries.[21] I shall support the view succinctly expressed by Hunter (1973, 181 n.7), that 'too much has been made of the differences between Herodotus and Thucydides and not enough of the similarities, or, one might even say, the debt of Thucydides to his predecessor'. I realise that the history of classical scholarship has often seen violent swings between the extremes of various theories and that this is no less the case in Herodotean and Thucydidean studies than in others. I will, therefore, forbear to assert at every turn the

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[21] Most recently discussed by Irwin (2013), who refers to H's retelling of the myth of the abduction of Helen by Theseus (9.73), in which he mentions how the Lacedaemonians refrained from damaging Decelea 'in the war which many years later after these events arose between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians' (ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι). Irwin (op.cit. 9) argues that 9.73 was written after the Spartans had begun their incursion into Decelea in 413 and that this *logos* was written at the end of the Peloponnesian War in response to T, a claim she admits herself to be 'potentially controversial'. Contra this Cobet (1977, 1987) and Sansone (1985), who both support the traditional date of H's publication, i.e. prior to 425, based on the supposed parody of 1.1-4 by Aristophanes in *Acharnians*; see also Evans (1987), Flower and Marincola (2002, 2 and 239) and Raaflaub (2002). Fornara (1971b) takes the presence of the aorist participle γενόμενον to indicate an allusion to the formal conclusion to the Archidamian War in 421, providing a *terminus post quem* for the publication of H's work; both Fornara (ibid.) and Kennelly (1992) rely on H 6.98, the implied knowledge of the death of Artaxerxes I in 424, and on H 9.73 (see Irwin above), the reference to Decelea, for the late date of 414. But, as Hornblower (*CT* ii, 19-38) states, even if the late date is correct we are still left with the possibility of pre-publication recitations, and it is not enough to ridicule the unreliable story by Diyllus about H receiving a large payment to recite at Athens (*FGrHist* 73F3) in order to discredit this possibility. Kennelly's rejection of the recitation theory and his denunciation of 'the persuasive over-emphasis which has been placed on the oral nature of classical literature' (1992, 37) is totally opposed by Hornblower, who 'could not disagree more', and who confesses that he does 'believe in the recitation hypothesis' (*CT* ii, 26). The likelihood of pre-publication recitations is backed up by the studies of Thomas (1992, esp. 125), by Evans (1991, 90) and by Murray (1987, 2001). Asheri (2007, 2), in the general introduction to his commentary, makes light of the whole controversy over the date of the publication of the *Histories*, offering no attempt to refute, or even to mention, the 414 theory (although he does provide a useful list of contributors to the debate [op. cit. 51, n.125]), but accepting the traditional notion that H's 'activity as a writer ended shortly after' the events described at 7.137.1-3, i.e. the late summer of 430, as dated by T at 2.67.1-4. Asheri (op. cit. 51) describes claims that 'verses by Sophocles, Euripides or Aristophanes allude to, recall, or parody H.' as 'questionable evidence' and that 'it is therefore impossible to date the so-called "publication" of the work'. The quotation marks around the word 'publication' give evidence to Asheri's belief in the extreme likelihood of the existence of recitations of H's work, either public or private, before or after 430; see also Asheri (op. cit. 3-4) for discussion on recitations. For more detail on the associated recitation debate see my n.36.

'Herodotean in Thucydides' and the 'Thucydidean in Herodotus', since I realise that to compare is to differentiate as well as to liken. Apart, then, from considerations of time and space, which preclude a comparison of the complete works of the two historians, and a healthy recognition that we cannot read the speeches in either author without some reference and understanding of the main narrative, why should I consider an examination of the Speeches in particular a worthwhile enterprise?

It has always been recognised that the Speeches have formed a substantial part of either work and, as I have already shown, a considerable number have been enumerated in both; for instance, Kennedy (1973) has calculated that, in Thucydides' *History*, speeches comprise between one fifth and one quarter of the whole work. Because, then, the speeches are so numerous in both works and because, if we include those in ID and in letter form as mentioned above, they are omnipresent throughout the entire corpus if not always evenly spread,[22] it is clear that both authors regarded them as an important medium and an indispensible part of their accounts. Therefore, I believe we need to examine why both authors thought fit to insert them. Was there a reason over and above the oft-stated but important idea, which I discuss in detail below, that both writers were the children of an 'age of orality'?[23]

And why, we may also ask, did Thucydides, if indeed he included Herodotus amongst those whom he so pointedly describes as purveyors of myth and therefore have been aware of the dubious authenticity of the speeches in the *Histories*, decide to continue to employ them so prolifically in his own work? Was it despite the practice of Herodotus or, perhaps, because of it? We are told by How and Wells in the introduction to their commentary on Herodotus [24] that it was the purpose of Thucydides to improve his predecessor's work. To what extent, if at all, did Thucydides achieve this? How and Wells also remind us of how Hecataeus, the logographer and immediate forerunner of Herodotus, introduces his work with the

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[22]N.B. especially in Book 2 of Herodotus, which is almost entirely devoted to geo- and ethnographic description, and in Book 7 of Thucydides, which contains only 10 items, in contrast to Book 8 which contains 45 items, but all in ID.
[23]Thomas (1989) and (1992) challenges the concept of such an 'age'.
[24]HW i, esp. pp. 43 (character portrayal) & 50 (lack of political and military insight).

words: Ἑ. Μιλήσιος ὧδε **μυθεῖται**,[25] in contrast to Herodotus' announcement (1.0): Ἡ. Ἁλικαρνασσέως **ἱστορίης** ἀπόδειξις ἥδε, and the introduction of Thucydides (1.1): Θ. Ἀθηναῖος **ξυνέγραψε** τὸν πόλεμον.

In one sense the words in bold print tell us how Herodotus, the earnest researcher, improved upon the work of Hecataeus, the reteller of stories,[26] and how Thucydides, the accurate collector of information, improved upon Herodotus, together providing a kind of shorthand description of the progression of historiography throughout the fifth-century. But these introductions refer to the Histories as a whole. Can they, therefore, give us any clue as to the ways in which Herodotus and Thucydides constructed specifically the Speeches contained in them? I believe they may provide a starting point for just that. For Herodotus, despite the longstanding accusation of his being a liar and an inventor,[27] was selective in what he chose to report and is at pains to tell us what he believes to be true and what he does not. On the face of it there is no reason to suppose that a ἵστωρ,[28] who travelled the known world in the search for true information about its wonders and marvels, should have been less than conscientious in researching the words he was to give to his speakers, bearing in mind the unreliability of his sources, about which he is genuinely honest, and the distance in time between himself and the subjects of his discourse.

For his part, was Thucydides aware of some virtue in Herodotus' speeches, despite his general criticism of his methods, that he does not communicate with us? The story in Marcellinus,[29] Thucydides' biographer, that he wept at one of Herodotus' recitations, even if apocryphal, may give us some reason to believe so; but it is difficult to ascertain the extent of Thucydides' admiration for Herodotus from such scanty evidence, although it is also true, while admittedly arguing *ex silentio*, that

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[25]*FGrHist. Hecataeus*, Fr. 338.

[26]See my Chapter 3, p.75ff. on the logographers for more detail.

[27]Cf. esp. in ancient times Plutarch, *de Herodoti malignitate*, and in modern times Armayor (1978), Sayce (1983), S. West (1985), and especially Fehling (1989); contra Pritchett (1993).

[28]ἵστωρ is a Homeric usage and only found once in H. LSJ render its meaning as either adjectival = 'knowing, acquainted with' or, as a substantive, = 'one who knows law and right (i.e. a judge)'. This rendition is connected with the verb οἶδα = 'I know', but also with the root ϝιδ = 'see' and describes H's method well as being a researcher relying on autopsy. The 'οἶδα' connection is probably more appropriate where speeches are concerned as, unlike T in some instances, H would have gathered knowledge of them from his sources rather than having heard them himself.

[29]Marcellinus, *Vit.Thuc.* 54.

there must be many personal thoughts and feelings that Thucydides does not vouchsafe to us about his motives and methods because, apart from his excursus on methodology at 1.22, he is normally reluctant to make authorial comments in or on his work.

What, in turn, was Herodotus' motive for including so many speeches? Was it in order to enrich even further his already lively narrative and story-telling? Or was there some more 'historical' or other motive which links him to his successor? Are there occasions when, like Thucydides, he is attempting to share a political nicety or to make some universal comment on human nature? My contention is that there *are* such occasions and that these bring him closer to Thucydides in thought and method than has sometimes been supposed. The well-known tripartite debate on the respective merits of democracy, oligarchy and monarchy at 3.80-82 is the obvious example of a speech event in Herodotus with a Thucydidean-type political input. More common than political speeches are the occasions when Herodotus is revealing the frailty of human life or the tragic consequences of greed and overconfidence, such as the sufferings, both physical and mental, of Croesus in Book One and the discourse between Xerxes and Artabanus (7.46-52). Yet, even in this type of speech, we can detect perhaps unexpected similarities to Thucydides, who himself brings out the tragedy of human suffering in Nicias' speech to his men prior to the ultimate sea-battle of the Sicilian campaign in the Great Harbour at Syracuse (7.61-64), and in his final letter to the Athenian assembly (7.11-15).

My second reason for choosing to investigate the speeches is that they seem to me to deserve a treatment separate from the narrative, not because they are not connected with it (indeed they are an integral part) but because they mark a change of literary style. This change can be easily recognised by the discerning modern reader, but was also noted by the ancient critic Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who praises 'change' (μεταβολή) in historiography inasmuch as it provides sweetness and variety: ἡδὺ χρῆμα ἐν ἱστορίας γραφῇ μεταβολὴ καὶ ποίκιλον.[30]

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[30]*Letter to Pompeius* 3.11.

The Speeches, moreover, allow both authors to digress from the main thesis in order to illuminate events described in the main narratives. This aspect of the Histories has been well researched and commented upon in the past but usually in order to illustrate the differences between the historians in the use and purpose of their speeches rather than any similarities. Thucydides, it has been acknowledged,[31] will employ his speeches to add explication and sense to events being narrated in the main discourse, allowing his readership to draw general conclusions from incidents recently related in the text and enabling them, perhaps, to predict what is likely to happen in the future. This, as he claims himself, is a principal purpose of his whole discourse.[32]

Herodotus makes no such explicit claim for his work as a whole.[33] As for his speeches, it can be easily detected from reading them that his principal purpose for them is different from Thucydides': they are, for instance, often used as a vehicle for an excursus into past historical and mythical happenings; they may contain a story (λόγος) of their own, which may carry a moral or ethical message. These differences I acknowledge, but this does not mean that they have no points of similarity with the speeches in the *History*. The very point I made earlier, that the Speeches are a feature of both Histories distinct from the narratives, leads us to a self-evident similarity: the distinction, in both accounts, between λόγος and ἔργα.[34] This is a clear feature in the structure of both works. How the λόγοι relate to the ἔργα has been explored in the past,[35] but only in relation to Thucydides and not with a view to comparison with Herodotus.

Another purpose of the Speeches is to introduce us to, or to acquaint us further with, characters which we meet in the drama of the main historical discourse. The key word here is 'drama' because, for all that the Speeches may set out to comment

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[31]Cf. e.g. Hanson (1996, xvii).
[32]At 1.22.4: ὅσοι βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ... 'as many as will wish to take a clear view of both past and future events' (N.B. all translations in this thesis are mine unless otherwise stated).
[33]Although he states in his proem (1.0) that one of his purposes is to prevent great and wonderful deeds (ἔργα) from becoming uncelebrated (ἀκλεᾶ).
[34]Greek thought has traditionally linked 'logos' and 'ergon' but often as partners rather than opposites. Cf. Phoenix's words at *Iliad* 9.443 where he reminds Achilles of the ideal to which he has been moulded: μύθιον τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.
[35]Cf. esp. Hunter (1973, 177-80); Parry (1981); Hornblower (2004, ch.10).

upon ideas in the narrative or to lay down lessons for posterity, I do not believe either author intended them only to be didactic. They contain a clear dramatic element, stronger in Herodotus no doubt than in Thucydides but still recognisable in the latter. Moreover, I believe that this dramatic element is purposefully included by both authors as a means of capturing the attention of the readership, or 'audience' as I would prefer to call them if we accept the idea that the Histories were recited to audiences before and/or after publication.[36]

Less in doubt, I shall suggest, is that this strong dramatic element has a common origin. For both historians would have been brought up and educated in the tradition of dramatic poetry; the tragic and comic dramatists of fifth century Athens would have been well known to them. There is internal evidence that Herodotus' account of the battle of Salamis owed much to Aeschylus' *Persae*,[37] and Finley (1938, 23-68)[38] argues convincingly that Thucydides was strongly influenced by the plays of Euripides, and to a lesser extent by Sophocles. Perhaps the best example of dramatic characterisation in the Speeches is the invention of the 'wise adviser' figure by Herodotus. Lattimore (1939, 29) has no fewer than 21 examples of the 'tragic warner' and 35 of the 'practical adviser' in Herodotus. There is a clear connection between the 'wise adviser' and the concept of *hybris* and retribution, which is also prominent in fifth-century Attic drama, suggesting a close link between that and the

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[36]As with the associated publication question (see n. 21), the bibliography on the recitation debate is vast. For full evidence of H having made recitations at Athens in 446-5 prior to publication, see HW i, 6-7, which refers to T's mention of ἀγώνισμα (1.22.4) and Syncellus the chronologer, who says that H ἐτιμήθη παρὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίων βουλῆς ἐπανάγνους αὐτοῖς τὰς βίβλους; for a summary of ancient views on Herodotean recitations see Myres (1953, 20-31). T himself gives more than a hint that H made such pre-publication recitations, and perhaps a suggestion that he himself did not intend to, in his remark at 1.22.4 where he says that by avoiding storytelling his account may appear less attractive to the *listener* (ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν), although, as Marincola (2001, 65) suggests, this same remark may also indicate that T expected his work to be thus promulgated; Lattimore (1998, intro. pp. xviii-xix) argues that there is less evidence to suggest that T made public recitations than H. Thomas (1992, 103-4), however, suggests oral features in T, while Hornblower (*CT* i, n. on 1.22) cites passages in T which might have been material for recitation at symposia, e.g. the highly polished section on the Corcyrean *stasis*. Hornblower (*CT* ii, 27 n.63) thinks T may have even been prior to H, and (*CT* ii, 21) reminds us that T never mentions H by name; it has been assumed that he lumps him in with the logographers and has no separate opinion about H's worth; the fact that, famously at 1.22, he denies wishing his work to be an ἀγώνισμα does not necessarily exclude recitation, although cf. Boedeker (1995), who suggests that the recitation of an historical poem might have been an example of the kind of ἀγώνισμα that T had in mind.
[37]Cf. Parker (2007).
[38]Also a broad outline of the development of historical writing and its relation to poetry is provided by von Fritz (1967).

Histories. It has been perceptively remarked by Fehling (1989, 203-9) in a discussion on this topic that Herodotus will use any available sage if the historical or mythical tradition does not already provide one. I shall be contending and providing evidence that Thucydides was aware of this form of characterisation, and that there are echoes of it in his speeches.[39]

Drama is not the only oral genre which can be said to have influenced the writing of the Speeches. We need to consider epic and lyric poetry and rhetoric, the former two inherited from Homer and the lyric poets, notably Pindar and Bacchylides, both of whom make abundant use of speeches in their odes:[40] The art of rhetoric was introduced into the social and cultural life of Athens from the middle of the fifth century having originated from the Sicilian School founded earlier by Corax. The chief agents of the spread of rhetoric were the sophists, Hippias, Prodicus, Protagoras and Gorgias, and the art was well established at Athens by the end of the fifth century. There is, therefore, no doubt that rhetoric and sophistic teaching had a great influence on Thucydides towards the end of his life and there is also some evidence to suggest that Herodotus could also have been influenced in his later years.

In their earlier lives there is evidence from ancient sources to support the theory that our authors both had personal contact with rhetoricians: Herodotus may have met the young Lysias at Thurii when he migrated there soon after its foundation (c. 444), while Thucydides is thought by some ancient sources to have been a pupil of the rhetorician Antiphon. Whether or not this is true I shall adduce evidence that Thucydides' speeches certainly show his influence. The visit of Gorgias to Athens in 427 is very likely also to have had an influence on the early work of Thucydides and possibly on Herodotus as he was revising or completing his *Histories*.

Herodotus could have been influenced as well by the earlier Sicilian School, since we know that it set out to teach the basic skills of marshalling facts and arguing from probability. This latter technique uses the τελικὰ κεφάλαια: the argument from probability (τὸ εἰκός), from expediency (τὸ σύμφερον) and from justice (τὸ δίκαιον),

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[39]See my Chapter 9.
[40]Hornblower (2004, 325-6) notes 26 speeches in DD in Pindar and 14 in Bacchylides.

which are present in varying degrees in the speeches of both authors and will be explored in this thesis. It is scarcely credible, then, that the speeches in both writers should not have been affected by the absorption of rhetorical devices and techniques. In particular I shall explore the idea that the use of antithetical argument is the most obvious example of a rhetorical device common to both sets of Speeches.

I shall argue further that, through the Speeches, Herodotus and Thucydides sought to reveal the motives and the lives of the people who made them, and thus to add a human element to their writing. What Lateiner (1989, 24) says of non-verbal behaviour in Herodotus can apply equally to verbal, namely that (in his speeches) 'drama and history complement each other: the narrative of the past is now more interesting because it is more human, and more significant because the roots of men's actions are exposed'. Marincola (2011a, 132) says of the Speeches that 'they made the past and its historical actors come alive with an immediacy that could not always be imagined in the narrative itself.' I believe we have understood for some time the importance of this human element in the case of the speeches in Herodotus but that the same understanding has been lacking in the case of Thucydides and, certainly, few attempts have been made to compare the two.

Marincola (ibid.) makes the additional point that modern historians tend to look for differences between the past and the present and to determine the essential uniqueness of an event at a particular time and place: this is what constitutes history as we know it nowadays. The ancients, however, were more concerned with what they thought of as timeless truths, and so they usually sought what connected them to the past. I would add that the recording of words spoken by influential people aided the credibility of this process.

I am also concerned to support the trend of present day scholars to correct the time-worn stereotypes of Thucydides as the 'scientific historian' and Herodotus as the 'mythmonger', which have resulted in the former being regarded as lacking in human interest and the latter as being obsessed by it. Therefore, I shall attempt to respond, as do Evans (1968) and Pritchett (1993), to the so-called 'Liar School of Herodotus',

by reconstructing some of the lost cultural context that Thucydides and Herodotus shared with their audiences. I have mentioned above the likelihood that they had audiences to which they would have given recitations of their work. This was a powerful motive for both historians to make their accounts more engaging, interesting and, as far as they were able, factually accurate to their audience.[41] The Speeches represent the single most important method whereby both authors could accomplish this, and I shall contend that Thucydides, in his own way, succeeded in this respect as triumphantly as Herodotus. Speeches are made by real people even if, in the Histories, they contain some degree of invention, and a description of real people, their character, their trials and hopes, is what brings history to life.

I regard this topic as a much neglected aspect of Herodotean and Thucydidean studies. Therefore, throughout this account (and especially in Chapter 9), I shall take note of the Histories' most vivid characters to illustrate this point. It is largely through these characters and the speeches that they make that both authors extend the purview of their accounts beyond the mere chronicling of events. That this is true of Herodotus has, I believe, already been long recognised, in particular his didactic intention to 'educate' his readership in morality through the portrayal of his characters. The lives of his Croesus, his Polycrates and his Xerxes follow a similar pattern. As noted by Hunter (1973b, 181), they involve 'a morality cycle of ὕβρις, κόρος, ἄτη, νέμεσις, in which the φθόνος of the gods is instrumental in bringing about a tragic decline in fortune (μεταβολή)' in order to restore equilibrium.[42] But this also occurs in Thucydides, although here the tyrant/ruler is replaced by the polis, the polis in question being Athens. It is no accident that the prime characters portrayed by Thucydides, who are the agents of this μεταβολή, are mainly Athenian politicians or generals (Pericles, Phormio, Cleon, Euphemus, Nicias, Alcibiades) and that the motivation for their actions, benevolent or malevolent, is expressed via their speeches.

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[41]Cf. Marincola (1997, 20-21) for how H and T may have viewed their audience/readership in terms of the balance between accuracy and '*enargeia*', implying a conscious need to entertain.
[42]Cf. Cornford (1907, 222-3, 235); Macleod (1983, 140-58); Connor (1984, 202 n.47).

There is a further type of speech with which I shall deal and which has recently captured the interest of scholars. These are the 'harangues' given prior to battle by generals. This field of study was begun most notably by Albertus (1908) and Luschnat (1942) and continued into modern times by Hansen (1993) and Pritchett (1994). But, again, this type of speech has been under-researched in Thucydides, with no attempt at all seriously to compare his usage with Herodotus in a sustained way.

Method

The analysis presented in this thesis consists of two types, quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative is formally recorded in the Appendices, principally in Appendix A, which describes and annotates the Speeches in a new way by combining, where appropriate, what have hitherto been regarded as individual speeches into 'events', comprising multiple 'items'. It will be seen that I have grouped the Speeches in a manner different from most other commentaries and analyses. A full rationale of this grouping and method can be found in the introduction to Appendix A. The titles of the other Appendices are sufficient to explain their function.

For my own purposes in Appendix A and elsewhere I have found it most convenient to take an eclectic view of the different ways of categorising speeches made by the ancients. Clearly, as most of the Speeches can be classed as **symbouleutic** according to Aristotle's terminology,[43] this term in its original Aristotelian sense is not particularly useful for the purposes of differentiation.[44] I therefore elect to keep symbouleutic, but to limit its reference to consultations held between individuals or groups. In order to differentiate more clearly the types of speeches included under Aristotle's original term symbouleutic, I have adopted the three terms proposed by Polybius (12.25a.3): *demegoriae* (public speeches); *presbeuticoi* (logoi) (ambassadorial speeches) and *paracleseis* (generals' harangues). The Aristotelian terms **dicanic** and **epideictic** I have also kept since, in the case of the former, there is

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[43] At *Rhetoric*, 1.3.5-6 (1358b-59a) and *Rhetoric to Alexander*, chapter 7.
[44] Despite acceptance of the term in this sense by Marincola (2001, 83).

a number of speeches in both authors which simulate the milieu of the courtroom and, whereas, in the case of the latter, only Thucydides' Funeral Oration conforms to this type in either work, it provides an accurate, and therefore useful, description. In addition to these five, although Quintilian did not intend to classify the Speeches, I have adopted his **sermones** as a distinct category,[45] referring as it does to the brief conversations characteristic mainly of the Histories. Meanwhile, Quintilian's term **contiones**, although characteristic of Thucydides' work, as Quintilian himself implies, corresponds more or less to the Polybian categories of *demegoriae* and *presbeuticoi*, and I have therefore not needed to use it in my formal classification.

The seven categories, then, which I use in my categorisation of the Speeches are, in hellenised form (understanding λόγος): **συμβουλευτικός; δημηγορικός; πρεσβευτικός; παρακλητικός; δικανικός; ἐπιδεικτικός; διαλεκτικός**. It will be noted that the distinguishing factor among these types is not always the speaker or deliverer of the speech but often the receiver or audience; this is the case with δημηγορικός (the people represented in an assembly); παρακλητικός (the general's own troops and/or officers); δικανικός (the prosecutor or defendant in a trial or 'virtual' trial); ἐπιδεικτικός (a large group usually of common citizens/countrymen).

The major part of the thesis contains a qualitative intertextual survey of the Speeches in such a way that both historians are continually compared across the following topics: authorial comment; the influence of poetic and prose predecessors; the influence of contemporary fifth-century drama and rhetoric; the relationship between speech and narrative; the characterisation of individuals and groups; the alleged debt owed by Thucydides to Herodotus. There is a concluding summary.

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[45]For the sake of consistency I have taken the liberty of Hellenising Quintilian's *sermones* into διαλεκτικός. It will be seen from my survey that most of H's speeches fall into this category, as was noted by Croiset (1904, 273), who remarks that H's speeches resemble conversations more closely than oratory, T being the first to compose true orations.

Authorial Testimony

In this section I propose to scrutinise those parts of the Histories where each author either makes an explicit comment about his method and purpose in using speeches, or uses language by way of introduction or summary to direct speeches in such a way that we may reasonably (a) make judgements about their authenticity and/or (b) infer what their purposes may have been.

There is evidence that both writers, to varying degrees, were conscious of their use of speeches. In the case of Thucydides the evidence is explicit and is contained in his so-called 'programme' at 1.22.1. Herodotus does not make an equivalent explicit statement, but he makes frequent comments on the credibility or otherwise of his sources. We have to decide, then, whether Herodotus derived his speeches from these sources or whether he simply invented all or some of them. There is further evidence, which I believe has hitherto been largely overlooked,[46] in the language both authors adopt in introducing and in following up their speech events in DD. I shall begin with an analysis of this evidence.

Introductions and Summaries

It has been suggested[47] that the way in which either author introduces and/or summarises his direct speeches is an indication of how much credence the reader may place in their authenticity. For instance, Herodotus is often found to use τάδε ('these things'= definite) in conjunction with a verb of speaking (e.g. εἶπε or ἔλεξε) whereas Thucydides may use τοιάδε ('such as these' = indefinite). Gomme (*HCT* i, 144) explains this as Herodotus giving his speeches 'in the novelist's manner, as though he knew the actual words used', whereas Thucydides' use of τάδε may indicate that he is quoting 'word for word' or 'quoting verbally from a document'.[48] I therefore surveyed the Speeches which I identify in Appendix A, in order to obtain

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[46]Although Westlake (1973) does analyse some of the settings of T's speeches.

[47]By, for example, Finley (1942) and Hornblower (*CT* i, 1.85,3 n).

[48]Gomme (*HCT* i, 432, 1.128.6 n; 144). T also uses τάδε to introduce the short speech of Teutiaplus (3.29.2), supporting Gomme's implied theory (op. cit. 432) that this usage relates only to non-public speeches.

more exact data from which I might be able to come to some conclusion about what the use of this language may imply.

In the speeches of Herodotus surveyed I found that, from a total of 369 items of DD, 162 are introduced by the demonstrative adjective τάδε together with some verb of speaking, usually εἴπε, ἔλεξε or plural form where appropriate. 30 more, where the answer to a previous question is being given, are introduced by τοισίδε plus ἀμείβεται/ο or plural form. DD items are summarised, following the item, by ταῦτα (+ a verb of speaking) in another 30 cases. Other 'strong' demonstratives used are: τόνδε (3 times); τοῦτο (2) and ὅδε (1). In other instances, where forms of introduction or summary are used, the following, less assertive, demonstrative adjectives are used: τοιάδε (10 times); τοιούτοισι (3); τοιαῦτα (1); τοίονδε (2). Thus, in all, in 228/369 (= 63.51% of) cases a 'definite' ὅδε/οὗτος type demonstrative is used, and in only 16/369 (= 4.46% of) cases is an 'indefinite' τοιόσδε/ τοιοῦτος type used. The remaining 125 items have no such introductory or summarising demonstratives.

In the case of Thucydides, τοιάδε is used as an introduction in 37 out of 87.5 (= 42.29% of) DD items. Of these items, 25 are included individually, in my survey, from the Melian dialogue, thus reducing the total effectively to 62.5. τοιαῦτα is used in 32 instances as a summariser (in 27 cases following τοιάδε) and τοσαῦτα in a further 11 instances (all following τοιάδε). Thucydides uses τάδε only 5 times and ὧδε twice as introductions. Superficially, then, it appears that Thucydides is attempting to remain true to his programmatic statement that he will 'keep as closely as possible to the general opinion of what was actually said'. He has given himself some leeway in declaring this and ingenuously uses the cautionary τοιάδε rather than the more affirmative τάδε on most occasions.[49]

Additional evidence that Thucydides is consciously using τοιάδε + associated words or phrases in connection with speeches made by groups or individual characters is

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[49]Hornblower (1987, 56) sees T's use of τοιάδε as evidence for his allowing himself to compress speeches which feature two or more speakers, e.g. 'Gylippus and the generals' (7.5.3-4); 'Cnemus, Brasidas and other Peloponnesian commanders' (2.87-89); the Plataeans to Archidamus (2.71.2-74.2).

that when, by contrast, he refers to documents, such as treaties,[50] he reverts to the use of τάδε. This is most notable when he introduces the terms of the Peace of Nicias of 422/421.[51] Here the τάδε of Thucydides' narrative introduction is an echo of the τάδε in the phrase κατὰ τάδε contained in the first, introductory, sentence of the treaty itself.[52] This affirmative language is backed up at 5.20.1 by the phrase Αὗται αἱ σπονδαὶ,[53] which leads us to suppose that Thucydides is quoting from a document he has seen or, which is more likely, a verbatim or near verbatim report of the terms of the treaty brought to him in exile by one of his reliable sources.

Moreover, the terms of the abortive alliance made between Athens and Sparta following the treaty are similarly introduced by κατὰ τάδε, although here Thucydides does not echo the τάδε in his introduction. Even so he does use a phrase containing a definitive demonstrative adjective, ξυμμαχία ἥδε,[54] which again suggests a confidence in the accuracy and authenticity of the wording of the terms he quotes, and contrasts markedly with his use elsewhere of the less confident τοιάδε.

Further use by Thucydides of the demonstrative adjective is in the introduction to the texts of two other treaties. The first is at 5.76.3 where the phrase ἔστι δὲ ὅδε (ὁ λόγος) is used to refer to a proposed peace pact between Sparta and Argos, the text of which follows. The second example is at 5.78 where καὶ ἐγένοντο αἵδε (αἱ σπονδαὶ) introduces the text of the eventual treaty made between the two states. A secondary, but important, point is that the text of each of the Sparta/Argos treaties is written in the Doric dialect, a realism which Thucydides fails to include in the speeches which he attributes elsewhere to native Doric speakers,[55] but which nevertheless indicates the same confidence in the fidelity of the treaty text he is quoting as that which he shows by his use of the demonstrative adjectives I have referred to above.

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[50]It will be noted that I do not include the statements of oaths and treaties in my definition of 'speech'.
[51]5.17.2.
[52]5.18.1.
[53]Also noted by Finley (1942, 106, n. 51).
[54]5.22.3.
[55]E.g. at 1.68-87.2(3&4) (Archidamus and Sthenelaidas); 1.139.3 (Spartan ambassadors at Athens); 2.71.2-74.2(4) (Archidamus); 4.85-87 (Brasidas at Acanthus); 4.126 (Brasidas at Lyncus) ; 5.9 (Brasidas at Amphipolis).

Thucydides also uses τάδε when dealing with letters, and here there is some evidence that it is because he is confident of the authenticity of the contents. Thus 1.128.7, the incriminating letter of Pausanias to Xerxes in betrayal of Sparta, is not only introduced by ἐνεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε, but is also accompanied by the explanatory ὡς ὕστερον ἀνηυρέθη ('as was later discovered'), an unusual and helpful piece of additional information by the author. Again, at 1.129.3, Xerxes' missive in reply is prefaced by ἀντενεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε and summarised with the definitive ταῦτα λαβὼν ὁ Παυσανίας τὰ γράμματα. A third example is provided by Themistocles' letter to Artaxerxes (1.137.4): its introduction does not use τάδε but is supplied by the equally assertive ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφή ('the contents were as follows ...'). The introduction to the much longer letter (more important to Thucydides' main theme) of Nicias in Sicily to the Athenian assembly (7.11-15) is partly revealing and partly cautious: τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ... δηλοῦσαν τοιάδε.

To test how revealing Thucydides' use of τοιάδε as an introduction to speeches might be when considering authenticity, I reviewed 1.32-43 – 4.126 (see table below), these being the speeches which took place prior to his exile and which, therefore, he was most likely to have witnessed himself,[56] or to have received reliable information about. For completeness I also provide the relevant accompanying summarising words where they occur:

Total number of items = 44

Introductory words	occurrences	Summarising words	occurrences
τοιάδε	26	τοιαῦτα	23
τάδε	4	τοσαῦτα	9
ὧδε	2	ταῦτα	1
ταῦτα/ τοιούτους/ τοσόνδε	1		
none	9	none	11

By way of conclusion in the case of Thucydides, my belief is that he was too conscientious about his use of language for his usage of weaker demonstratives to

be a chance happening. He was an inventive writer, as is shown by his coinage of neologisms, so that he could have found other ways of introducing and summarising his speeches if he had wanted to. The inference, therefore, is simple enough to make and is backed up by his programmatic statement at 1.22.1: Thucydides, while attempting to get as close as possible to the true version, recognised that he could not attain exact verisimilitude for his speeches; thus he customarily uses the cautionary τοιάδε etc. to introduce them. It is possible that Thucydides' use of τοιάδε is a conscious attempt to correct the negligence of his predecessor in not taking enough care in selecting and verifying his sources.[57]

Although the evidence is not conclusive, since there were many other *logographoi* contemporary with and precedent to Herodotus,[58] it may be that Thucydides is hitting specifically at Herodotus at this point (1.21.1). If he *is* doing so, we may reasonably infer that Thucydides' criticism of Herodotus' carelessness with sources is directed as much to his speeches as to the rest of his narrative, although he does not bother to distinguish between these two modes of expression, as he does when referring to his own practice at 1.22.1.

Thucydides' distinction between speech and narrative in his methodological 'program'at 1.22.1 represents a conscious attempt to recognise the important part that speeches play in his narrative: Herodotus makes no such distinction.[59] It is important to reiterate that Thucydides has no problem with the principle of including speeches in historical narrative. How could he? He follows, whether deliberately or subconsciously we do not know, the example of first Homer and then of Herodotus in using speeches himself, albeit for different purposes.

The conclusion of my survey in Herodotus' case is not as clear. Even if we agree to the criticism of Herodotus by Thucydides, it would be too simple, and too harsh, for us to claim that Herodotus' use of τάδε implies that he is disingenuously attempting

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[57]At 1.21.1 where T claims that the subjects treated by the logographers are 'out of the reach of evidence' (ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα).

[58]Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*On Thucydides, 5),* where the eight most famous logographoi of the classical world are named. See also Fowler (1996).

[59]Pelling (2000, 118) suggests that T's audience might have been struck by his claim to any kind of accuracy in his speeches, accustomed as they were to the inventions of his predecessors.

to convince his reader of the authenticity of his speeches. The fact that it is such a common usage in Herodotus may merely suggest that he gave it little thought. Alternatively, it may be intended to increase the dramatic impact of a speech upon the reader or listener by capturing their attention and putting them, as it were, *in situ*, about to hear the very words that were spoken. It is impossible to know whether this was Herodotus' conscious intention, but there is no doubt that his speeches do have a dramatic impact. Fehling (1989, 175) has stated that his 'speeches and dialogues are generally recognised as free inventions' and compares Herodotus' whole method, not just his speeches, with the modern historical novel.

Direct Authorial Comment

I shall now go on to look at the parts of the respective Histories where each author makes some specific comment about his use of speeches, or where the reader may reasonably make an inference about what the writer's purpose and intention may have been. I shall begin with Thucydides, as he is at pains to explain, even to justify,[60] his method.

The so-called 'program' of Thucydides, expounded at 1.22, has long been a source of analysis and debate among scholars; the bibliography on this topic is indeed vast and beyond the purview of this thesis fully to analyse.[61] I shall only add to the debate insofar as it sheds light on the relationship between the Speeches in our two authors. With regard to the speeches, we need to look at the first section of this chapter (1.22.1) in order to understand Thucydides' professed intentions. I am well disposed to agree with Develin (1990, 59), who makes the refreshingly simple but pertinent observation that Thucydides 'mentions speeches (λόγοι) before facts (ἔργα) because he saw them as more important for the long term value of his work'.

We may indeed sympathise with Thucydides when he says that it was difficult (χαλεπόν) to reconstruct an accurate account of what was said but, as Garrity (1998, 369)[62] points out, it was not impossible. Even so, it is difficult to believe that

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[60]See interestingly Hornblower (*CT* i, 59), who implies that T had a 'bad conscience' about his inclusion of speeches.
[61]A useful list of the more modern contributors to this debate is given by Marincola (2001, 77, n.77).
[62]Esp. n.15, where he rightly criticises some scholars for taking χαλεπόν to mean 'impossible'.

Thucydides is being less than ingenuous in his 'program' (why else would he bother to write one?), and so we must surely accept the historicity of his speeches, that is that they actually took place. As to their accuracy, it is difficult to be categorical but it seems most likely that where a speech was delivered at a recognised state event, such as the Funeral Oration of Pericles, or where the words were likely to be heard by many people such as in the assembly at Athens or Sparta, the rendition is close to the original. Where Thucydides was able to hear the speech himself (ὧν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα), we might expect even greater accuracy. As we do not know how accurately his sources reported the speeches he did not hear, we cannot know how close to the original they are, but it is safe to assume that the style in which they were written would be Thucydides' own, if only because we have no evidence of the use of any form of shorthand until the Roman era, and because another two millennia would pass before the aid of sound recording would make it possible to reproduce in written form the idiosyncratic nuances of a speaker's language and tone. Therefore, my agreement with Gomme (*HCT* i, 141, n. on 1.22.1-3), when he says Thucydides 'was substituting his own personality for that of the speaker', is subject only to the proviso I have outlined above, that this varied according to how close Thucydides may have been to the original speech event.

Garrity (op. cit.) sees Thucydides' method of creating speeches as one of *re*construction rather than construction. I find this comment useful for, as I have explained above, I do not believe his speeches are pure inventions. The first part of 1.22.1, according to Garrity, refers to the content of the speeches while the second part refers to both the content and the style. Garrity's argument for supposing that Thucydides is referring to style is his use of the correlatives ὡς and οὕτως. Garrity believes the true force of this correlation has been overlooked and/or underestimated by previous commentators. He assigns to this combination a specific and strong adverbial meaning of *manner*. Thus a translation of the partial sentence ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ... οὕτως εἴρηται would read: 'they (the speeches) have been reported in the manner in which I believe each speaker is most likely to have spoken ...' This implies that Thucydides is referring here as much, if not exclusively, to *how* the speeches were spoken as to what was contained in them.

I find this analysis interesting in that it draws our attention to an alternative interpretation of Thucydides' meaning. But I do not find it conclusive evidence that he is referring specifically to style, since there is another way of construing ὡς ... οὕτως, which does not refer to any attempt on Thucydides' part to reproduce the style but merely the actual words of the original as closely as possible, a difficult enough task in itself. Thus, in this interpretation, the second correlative οὕτως merely picks up the original ὡς but does not emphasise it to the point where the meaning crosses the boundary between simple correlation and an emphatic expression of manner.[63]

This second part of 1.22.1 (ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ... οὕτως εἴρηται) has also been analysed, among others, by Adcock (1963, 27-42), who refers to the phrase ἐχομένῳ ... λεχθέντων as being in need of further analysis. While I agree that this phrase does indeed call for elucidation and, in particular, the words τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης contained in it, I do not agree that it is all that needs explanation. We also need to be clear what exactly is meant by the much quoted τὰ δέοντα. I should like to offer my own translation of this important section, which I hope will help to clarify its meaning:

> ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστ' εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται.
>
> I have recorded what in my opinion were the words that each speaker was most likely to have spoken, bearing in mind the demands of the situation in which he found himself and keeping always as close as possible to the generally accepted view of what was actually said.

I have said that the two phrases here which need special explanation are τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης and τὰ δέοντα. The first, which I have rendered as 'the generally accepted view', may seem vague for someone like Thucydides with his reputation for precision to have written, but he may have had good reason to be vague; it may be that he consulted and discussed the authenticity of those speeches with which he had had no first hand experience with a number of friends and collaborators. Add to

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[63]Cf. Hornblower (*CT* i, 59-60), who believes 'the two halves of this sentence to be incompatible'.

this number the plethora of possible sources supplying the information and there is a considerable input into the debate before 'the generally accepted view' on which he would finally base his text could be decided upon. Another possible reason is that Thucydides is being deliberately vague, not wishing to reveal the identity of his informants. This seems to me quite likely when we remember that he is not in any case given to naming or mentioning his sources throughout the *History* as a whole.

The second phrase, τὰ δέοντα, I have rendered as 'the demands of the situation'. Harding (1973, 45) quite rightly reminds us that this expression is used several times by Thucydides in the first two books, and with different meanings, but uses this as an argument to call Thucydides' exact meaning into doubt in this passage. I see no reason for this: Greek participial phrases can often be construed in different ways, but one must always consider the context. The verb δεῖν can have a stronger or a weaker meaning: here the stronger element expressing obligation is less appropriate than the weaker connoting appropriateness (to the occasion). True, speech makers, especially those charged with state responsibilities such as ambassadors, envoys or speakers at public assemblies are sometimes compelled to say things, perhaps, that they do not want to. The meaning here, however, is more neutral, more general.[64] I do not pursue this well-worn debate any further here but have expounded my further thoughts on the issue in Appendix C.

By contrast with Thucydides, Herodotus has no such professed programme and therefore no comment on their origin. This does not mean that his speeches are all entirely constructed from his own imagination but, when we observe their ubiquity and variety, their mimetic tone, and the way in which they are used to emphasise character and to point out moral lessons, we cannot help comparing them with their Homeric counterparts.[65]

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[64]This interpretation deals effectively with the objection of Finley (1972, 26): 'If all speakers said what, in T's opinion, the situation called for, the remark becomes meaningless. But if they did not ... then ... he could not have been "keeping as closely as possible to the general sense of the words used" '. In agreement is Wilson (1992); cf. however Hornblower (*CT* i, 60), who is not happy with the idea of 'appropriateness' and refers to Macleod (1983, 52), who stresses the rhetorical force of τὰ δέοντα; cf. supporting this Marincola (2001, 78).

[65]Cf. Marincola 2001, 42-3.

We may also look at what Herodotus has to say about his sources to see if this may shed some light on how he regarded the authenticity of his speeches and whether he had a definite *modus operandi* for employing them. There are eleven places in the *Histories* where Herodotus refers to and/or comments upon his sources.[66] Only one of these, however, at 6.82, refers to a speech or, rather, to words reputedly spoken, since the speech is fairly short and in ID. The context is Cleomenes' defence to the accusation that he took bribes to spare Argos when that city was found guilty of medising. Herodotus tells us that he cannot rightly judge whether Cleomenes was telling the truth or not: οὔτε εἰ ψευδόμενος οὔτε εἰ ἀληθέα λέγων, ἔχω σαφηέως εἶπαι (6.82.1). The difference between this comment and the other ten is that he is not specifically referring to the reliability of the source of this reported speech (unless, as is unlikely, it was Cleomenes himself), but to the veracity of Cleomenes' words.

This seems to suggest that, in Herodotus' mind, these words are an accurate enough account of what Cleomenes actually said, albeit in reported form, to be given credence both by himself and, just as importantly for Herodotus, by his audience, to whom at any subsequent recital of his work[67] he would have been accountable and to whom the story of the trial and acquittal of Cleomenes at Sparta would have been well known. We might progress tentatively from here to suggest that Herodotus may have employed in this particular case some of the diligence that Thucydides professes in his statement that he kept ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων.

In the other ten instances of authorial comment I have mentioned, Herodotus is decidedly non-committal, adopting what we might call a 'take-it-or-leave-it' attitude. At 2.123.1, for instance, he declares ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἑκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω: 'I undertake throughout my whole account to set down what I have heard from my individual sources', the implication being ... 'and nothing more'. At 7.152 the comment on his authorial responsibility is even

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[66] Pointed out by Fornara (1971, 21-22 n.34) as: 2.123; 2.130; 2.146; 4.96; 4.173; 4.187; 4.191; 4.195; 6.82; 6.137; 7.152.

[67] See n. 36 above.

more explicit, and I take Waterfield's translation here: 'I am obliged to record the things I am told, I am certainly not required to believe them – this remark may be taken to apply to the whole of my account'[68] (ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γε μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω, καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγον). The point here is that both of these statements make reference to 'the whole (of my) account' (πάντα [τὸν] λόγον) and this of necessity includes the speeches.

There is, however, another telling comment by Herodotus at 3.80.1 by way of preface to his Persian debate on the constitution: he tells us that the speeches held no credibility (ἄπιστοι) to some Greeks. Did this imply that Herodotus distrusted the accuracy of speeches as a method of factual recording, as is suggested by Bowie (2001, 65)? Possibly, although he is then very assertive that they did in fact take place (ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὦν).

Herodotus, then, unlike Thucydides, does not differentiate between narrative and speech when he comments on what he derived from his sources, nor do his comments tell us much about whether he considered them reliable, although he does give us on occasion more than one version of an event or story. The best example of this, which is worth citing in full, is at the very beginning of the *Histories* (1.5.3), where he gives both the Persian and the Phoenician accounts of the 'women abduction' stories, which contain ID speeches (1.2.3 and 1.3.2); but, starting presumably as he means to continue, Herodotus typically absolves himself from responsibility for the authenticity of either version: ταῦτα μέν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο ('this is what the Persians and Phoenicians say, but I am not prepared to verify that these things happened one way or the other').

In conclusion to this section we can say that there is a significant difference in the way our authors comment on their speeches. Herodotus finds no need to make any authorial intra-textual comment, so that we have to make inferences drawn from the way in which speeches are introduced and summarised, as we can also do with

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[68]Waterfield (1998, 457).

Thucydides. Herodotus does, however, often make remarks upon the reliability or otherwise of his sources but this is not directed specifically at speech, although it is implied.

Thucydides, by contrast gives us an assessment of the authenticity of his speeches in his 'programme', during which he sets a standard for the whole of his work, which he finds it difficult to maintain. If, furthermore, Thucydides professes to write a more accurate account than his predecessor, it is interesting to speculate the extent to which he relies on Herodotus for hard historical information in his speeches.[69]

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[69]Chapter 10 addresses this point.

Chapter Two: The Oral Tradition

The origin of prose-written historiography is still uncertain, as is, therefore, the exact position of Herodotus and Thucydides within its chronological development. Much recent debate on this question has centred around the relationship between orality and literacy. Fowler (2001, 99) allows for 'a surprising number of written sources' for the Histories and yet admits that 'his (i.e. Herodotus') main sources were oral', a view supported by Bertelli in the same publication.[70]

Before the Histories of Herodotus and Thucydides and the earliest prose works of logographoi such as Cadmus and Hecataeus, the Greek world relied upon two main sources for its understanding of its own past, Homer and Hesiod. And in the Archaic Period the Homeric epics, together with lyric and celebratory poetry, were transmitted orally. This form of poetry, often performed publicly as choric song, was the most important medium in the transmission of a literary tradition, a tradition which via the Homeric epics included an embryonic historiography.

For the Greek world of the time knew no 'history' in the modern sense of a written chronology of past events authenticated by reliable and accurate sources, impartially recounted. Therefore, one would have expected that, as inheritors of this oral tradition, both Herodotus and Thucydides should include some record of speech in their accounts. Achilles, after all, if we accept the powerful influence of Homer, is enjoined by Phoenix to become 'a speaker of words' as well as 'a doer of deeds': μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων (*Iliad* 9.443).

Although both historians advanced the progress of historical writing in their own way, their modes of thinking were alike. Hunter (1982) has explained this mode of thinking as *processual*, meaning that they were both caught up in the *process* of history rather than being limited to a description of isolated events, unlike modern writers who are involved with linear time and causality. Both historians were indeed part of a process involving a gradual cultural transition from an oral to a written transmission of literary art, of which historiography was a neophytic genre. In short, they were, in their own connected ways, pioneers.

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[70]Luraghi (2001, 72). But see also n. 75 below re. 'pseudo-orality'.

Nowadays, in a world of virtually instant communication and twenty-four hour news reporting, 'set' speeches, as opposed to cut-and-thrust debate given even by prominent political figures, are very rare. Added to this, the contemporary culture of the 'sound-bite' ensures that such speeches as are made in public live, on television or on radio, are usually too brief to convey more than a fraction of what the speaker could, should or would like to have said on any particular topic. The American politician Mitt Romney in a short public address[71] had to admit regrettably but realistically that 'change cannot be measured by speeches; it is measured by results.' In other words, to return to a familiar ancient historiographical antithesis, the modern politician is judged not by what he says (λόγος) but by what he does (ἔργα): not that ancient statesmen and generals would, in the final analysis, have been judged otherwise.

The point is that live speeches given to live audiences, such as in the ecclesia or the law courts at Athens, together with conversations and debates conducted between individuals or within groups of friends at, for instance, the symposia and dinner parties that we read of in Plato's dialogues, was the only medium through which it was possible to conduct public political, legal and social communication in the Greek world of the fifth century B.C. In an age before the existence of state documents, printed reports and memos, and certainly before the electronic emails and social media of our own century, even the recording of a speech by the written word was a novel departure.[72]

It is Herodotus, rather than his successor, who has most often been thought of as an 'oral' writer, on the grounds of his fluent and leisurely style and features such as ring composition; these, but interestingly not his speeches, are seen typically as archaic and 'oral'.[73] An additional argument for this view has been that we know that Herodotus gave oral recitations of his work prior to publication.[74] Such awareness of the value of oral recitation and performance has been shown in more recent times

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[71]During the U.S. presidential election on 5th November 2012.
[72]As far as we know the earliest stenographical notes used to record speeches were invented by Marcus Tullius Tiro, a freedman of Cicero's, in the first century B.C.
[73]For instance by Flory (1987, 16), who says: 'we need "special poetics" to handle Herodotus, as his approach is largely oral'; also by Nagy 1987, 175-184.
[74]See n.36 above.

by celebrated authors such as Charles Dickens, who between 1858 and 1870 gave no fewer than 472 recitations of his novels in the UK and the USA. How much more likely would it have been the norm for an author to advertise his product in this way in an age devoid of mass media and swift communication?[75]

In contrast to the 'orality' of Herodotus, the prose style of Thucydides is usually classified as the product of a 'literate mentality', destined to be read rather than heard. It might be inferred from this that to find speeches in the work of Thucydides is anomalous and 'unmodern', especially since he criticises earlier logographers, amongst whom he seems to include Herodotus, for being purveyors of myth (1.21.1). This simplistic view of an 'oral' Herodotus and a 'literate' Thucydides has been challenged by Thomas (1992, 103), who wonders whether Herodotus is credited with an oral style simply because his sources are oral and because he is seen both historiographically and chronologically as the predecessor of a 'literate' Thucydides. This challenge is well justified.

Most importantly, we should be wary about how the modern world regards literacy and its relationship with orality.[76] A remark by Edward Gibbon, made over two hundred years ago, and reported by Bury (1896, 218) is illustrative of an opinion still held in some quarters about the inferior status of an 'oral' to a 'literate' society: 'The use of letters is the principal circumstance that distinguishes a civilised people from a herd of savages, incapable of knowledge or reflection.'

This presumptive and, as would be widely acknowledged today, politically incorrect statement has led to certain popular deterministic assumptions that these two types of society, if indeed each in its own right can be called a 'type', are mutually exclusive. With regard to the ancient Greek world and to fifth-century Athens in particular, Thomas (1989) points out the inappropriateness of such a strict

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[75]But cf. Fowler in Luraghi (2001, 95-115), on the question of 'pseudo-orality' in H, who contests that by the early 5th c. there was a massive quantity of fixed texts available as potential sources for H, although literate methods are not found in practice; the quantity of written texts did not therefore irrevocably transform the oral culture and H's sources were mainly oral. However, as indicated by Lateiner (1989, esp. 101-2, 254 n.43), H uses a surprising number of written sources. Fowler (ibid. 99) concludes: 'both (literacy and oracy) sit side by side; they are not opposed as either/or'. See also, importantly, Thomas (1989; 1992).
[76]A complete discussion of this issue and how it affects our understanding of fifth-century Athenian culture is given by Thomas (1989, 15-34).

distinction. Research during the last century[77] has shown up as a fallacy the notion that, as soon as writing is known within a society, it will at once be used for anything and everything and will immediately supersede oral methods. A more likely theory is that orality and literacy will continue concurrently, with writing taking over functions performed hitherto orally only gradually. Relating this specifically to ancient Athens and historiography we can point to a preference for oral debate among philosophical schools well into the fourth century and beyond; Plato, at best, restricts the value of a written text to nothing more than an aide-memoire to the giving or recording of a speech in the *Phaedrus* (274b-279b), and displays his preference for memory and oral transmission over writing in the recording of past events in the *Timaeus* (21e-25d) as well as, famously, in his retelling[78] of the myth of Atlantis in the *Critias* (109d-110d). Even Galen, as late as the second century A.D., reckoned books to be inadequate for the transmission of knowledge, unless accompanied by the physical presence of a teacher: 'I order that these notes be shared only with those who would read the book with a teacher'.[79]

There is, however, a broader sense of 'oral tradition' which would be recognised by both ancients and moderns as a very simple and practical method of reconstructing the past. It has been defined by Vansina (1965, 19-20) as: 'reported statements ... which have been transmitted from one person to another through the medium of language'. Simply put, this method involves the questioning of one's parents and grandparents or others of the same generations. Members of my own generation, including myself, born immediately after the Second World War, are well acquainted with this process, having often been subjected to a stream of unsolicited war memories. Due to the lack of written sources, such verbal reports, as it were the communal 'oral tradition', were of paramount importance in the times of our two ancient historians and, I would suggest, not just for events 'beyond the present generation'.

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[77]Esp. by Ruth Finnegan (1988, Chapter 8) on oral poetry.
[78]He may have obtained it from the logographer Hellenicus.
[79] *Scripta Minora* 2.118, 22-24. For a more contemporary opinion cf. Alcamas' attack 'On Those who Compose Written Speeches'.

By this I mean that both Herodotus, even for his account of the relatively recent Persian Wars, and Thucydides, for the whole of his account except possibly for the Pentecontaetia (1.89-117) and the Archaeology (1.2-23), must have relied on reports of what were contemporary or near-contemporary events from informants with personal experience of them: indeed, Thucydides tells us as much at 5.26.5 when he describes his proximity to both sides, including the Peloponnesians, during his exile: καὶ (μοι) γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τοῖς Πελοποννησίων διὰ τὴν φυγήν.

When we apply this idea to the Speeches, the need for our authors to acquire contemporary informants becomes even more urgent, simply because of the almost impossible task of remembering a speech verbatim. Thucydides tells us (1.22.1) how difficult (χαλεπόν) it was to carry the words of a speech in one's memory (διαμνημονεῦσαι) even when he had been present at its delivery himself. Despite the difficulties of recall, however, we should not underestimate the power of collective memory when it comes to recent events at the distance, say, of not more than three generations.[80]

Herodotus, as we have seen, makes no explanation for the sources of his speeches but, if there is any authenticity in them at all beyond pure invention, he must perforce have relied on oral tradition, accurately or inaccurately relayed by intermediaries. That our writers relied on oral tradition is further supported by Thomas (1989, 3 n.3), who accepts that Herodotus regularly mentions ἀκοή ('hearing' or 'hearsay') along with ὄψις ('seeing') in connection with the reports he gathers from his sources, and I have already mentioned how often he uses the verb λέγουσι; φασί is almost as common. Both Thomas (ibid.) and Hunter[81] note that Thucydides uses ἀκοή in the sense of 'oral tradition', e.g. at 1.20.1, where he is criticising men for their uncritical acceptance of τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων; at 1.73.2 where the Athenian delegation at Sparta refer to ἀκοαί being the evidence for accounts (λόγων μάρτυρες) of archaic history; again at 6.53.3, where we are told the

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[80]Cf. my arguments (Chapter 10 below) in regard to Kennelly's opposition to Hornblower's thesis that T relied on H for historicity in his speeches.
[81]Cf. Hunter (1973, 27, n.5): '... most fifth-century history was a kind of 'hearsay', since it was based primarily on oral tradition or the oral reports of informants.'

Athenians knew about the Pisistratid tyranny, a distant historical event, 'through hearsay' (ἀκοῇ); and again, at 6.60.1, where, at the time of the affair of the *Hermae* and the abuse of the Mysteries, the Athenians suspected an oligarchic conspiracy when they recalled what they knew through hearsay (ἀκοῇ) about former Pisistratid plots.

It almost goes without saying that an enormous amount of material of public interest will have been lost from what we might call the post-heroic period.[82] Much of this would have been recorded but for a reliance on an oral tradition dependent on human memory which, in the nature of things, would go back no further than three or four generations, before which information would be lost in the mists of time. Some of this tradition may have been maintained for a longer period by noble families, such as the recording of victories at the four games events of the Hellenic calendar, which was then set down in writing by encomiasts such as Pindar and Bacchylides[83], or the memory of outstanding events such as victory in war, or the founding of a new city or colony.

In addition, as Finley (1975, 28-9) indicates, any material which may have survived such as, in our case, the words of a significant speech, could have been subject to any number of random alterations, modifications and conflations. An example here may be Thucydides' version of the Funeral Oration of Pericles at 2.35-46, which may contain material heard and handed down from a previous ἐπιτάφιος given by Pericles in 441 at the end of the war with Samos.[84]

There is a further argument that suggests to us that the Speeches were the result of a common oral tradition. Even if we accept the consensus opinion that Herodotus could not have been writing after about 424, and there are scholars who think that the *Histories* may not have been completed until as late as 414,[85] and that Thucydides was still writing or revising his work, although not completing it, in 404,

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[82]I.e. the 'age of men' when the epic poems were being written down as opposed to the earlier 'age of gods'. Cf. Finley (1975, 24-5).
[83]See below (Chapter 3**,** pp.69-75).
[84]This speech and its historical context has been treated by many scholars, most recently by Hornblower (*CT* i, 294-316); Connor (1984, 66-72); Bosworth (2000), 'The Historical Context of Thucydides' Funeral Oration', *JHS* 120, 1-16.
[85]See n. 21 above; also Connor (1982).

we can easily judge that the two works are separated at the most by barely a generation. In addition, the very fact that Thucydides bothers to explain how he formulated his speeches shows us that their inclusion would not have been unexpected or have seemed anomalous to his hearers and readers. For his exposition at 1.22.1 is not a justification, much less an apology, for the inclusion of speeches but an explanation of how he formulated them, written in an earnest attempt to enlighten his readers as to his methods. As with the main body of his narrative (τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων), which he noticeably distinguishes from the speeches (ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι) and for which he also provides an explanation of its formulation (1.22.2), he clearly prided himself on attaining an authenticity superior to his predecessors, Herodotus included. There is no intimation that he criticised the inclusion *per se* of speeches by Herodotus; the simplest way of doing this would have been to omit them altogether. On the contrary, since it appears that other logographers did not include speeches of any length,[86] it is more likely that Thucydides appreciated Herodotus' artistic, if not so much his historical, use of speeches but, of course, wished to use them to better effect and for a different purpose. If we further note that Thucydides, as he says himself at 1.1, began his *History* at the start of the Peloponnesian War (ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου), we could count the writing of the two Histories as partly contemporary.[87]

The inclusion of speeches, then, in both authors, even if we can see a clear literary indebtedness to Homeric epic, is most likely to be a reflection of the overriding social and cultural importance of oracy in fifth-century Athenian society. We may adduce as evidence of this the impact made by the sophists, such as Protagoras, Gorgias and Antiphon, at that time; their arguments were certainly intended to be heard and not read. The antithetical rhetorical style of Thucydides' speeches clearly owes much to

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[86]See below pp.75-81. Hornblower (*CT* ii, 27) on earlier logographers points to T's use of the verb ξυντίθημι at 1.97.2 (ξυνετίθεσαν) and at 1.21.1 (ξυνέθεσαν), both of which can be taken as indicating either a written or an oral composition (see op.cit. 19-20 and 19 n.58). In addition, τῇ ἀκροάσει at 1.21.1 further suggests oral recitation, as do ἀκρόασιν and ἀκούειν at 1.22.4. But the idea that ancient audiences would experience historical texts heard rather than read is not new: cf. Momigliano (1978).
[87]See n. 21 above.

Protagoras and Gorgias and he also praises the oratorical powers of Antiphon in making a defence speech on his own behalf at 8.68. Indeed, from the start of the *Histories*, Herodotus (1.1) sets himself in the tradition of Homer, celebrating fame (κλέος) and recording famous events and wondrous deeds (ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά). Oswyn Murray (1987) stresses the point that Herodotus is an offshoot from the Ionian story-telling tradition and reminds us that Herodotus himself (7.152.3) tells us his task is to record what was said (τὰ λεγόμενα), whether or not he believed it.[88] Given then that, unlike Thucydides, it is impossible for Herodotus to have heard any of the speeches he records personally, and virtually impossible for any of them to have been recorded *verbatim*, the most likely and most widely held explanation for the origin of his speeches is that he invented them based on what he could glean from his sources, these being, in the case of his travels, story-tellers (λογίοι), who knew of them from a local oral tradition, as well as, in the case of his Persian War λόγος (Books 7-9), actual surviving participants.[89]

We now need to pass on from a general survey of the effects of orality on the Speeches to (in Chapters 3, 4 and 5) a more specific analysis of the influence of earlier and contemporary literary genres.

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[88]For a full survey of what exactly constituted the Greek 'oral tradition' and how it influenced Herodotus see Murray (1987, 93-115).
[89]But Stroud (1994, 275 n.10), in referring to H, T and Polybius, makes a similar claim for all three: '... these historians spent most of their time in travel, examining monuments, and talking to hundreds of informants'.

Chapter Three: Early Influences

Intuitively one might suppose that the influence of a culture of orality and the use of oral sources might be a sufficient factor in explaining the presence of speeches within a work of historiography. A little further thought, however, and one realises that other factors must come into play, such as an established tradition of the use of 'speech', especially DD, in the works, poetic or prose, of preceding writers. This, in turn, might lead to an expectation by the audience of such historical works that their form and style remain familiar, and this, in consequence, to a desire on the part of their authors to conform to a recognised stylistic pattern in order effectively to convey their message.

Harder evidence even than this, however, is needed to establish a link between the Histories and preceding and contemporary[90] works. Which other works, for instance, even contained speeches? Which, if they did contain them, were our historians acquainted with? And, finally, what aspects of these speeches influenced Herodotus and Thucydides, and how did they progress them? The present chapter considers these questions in relation to four genres: Homer and the Epic Cycle; Hesiod; lyric; and logography. These represent works mainly precedent to Herodotus,[91] and most probably to Thucydides. A discussion of the role of drama in this regard, being a genre more contemporaneous to both authors, is the topic of the following chapter.

Homer and the Epic Cycle

The debt owed by our authors to the archaic Greek tradition of epic poetry cannot be overestimated. Rutherford (2012, 13) has recently referred to 'important affinities between the epic and early prose historiography ... which are evident at every level, from small points of phraseology through the extensive use of speeches to the whole world-view'. Indeed, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his comparison between Herodotus and Thucydides, recognises this close affinity when he uses the

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[90]Important here in establishing which works preceded H and which were contemporary is Fowler (1996), esp. 62-69, who challenges the long held orthodoxy of Jacoby on the question.
[91]But see n.90 above.

word ποίησις in two different senses: first, he refers to both of their 'compositions' as beautiful (καλαί μὲν αἱ ποιήσεις ἀμφότεραι ...), and then, in a statement which reveals the continuing primacy of poetry, adds in parenthesis that he would not be ashamed to call them 'poems': οὐ γὰρ ἂν αἰσχυνθείην ποιήσεις αὐτὰς λέγων.[92]

The mid-nineteenth-century historian George Grote (1846, 525) summed up the position of both our historians vis-a-vis epic poetry: neither had any alternative but to accept that the stories of the poets and mythographers referred to a real past. Even Thucydides, Grote comments, who inveighed against the exaggerations of the poets and the unsubstantiated accounts of the prose chroniclers of a previous era (1.21.1), like Herodotus 'had imbibed that complete and unsuspecting belief in the general reality of mythical antiquity, which was interwoven with the religion and the patriotism, and all the public demonstrations of the Hellenic world'. Though this comment might seem radically overstated and rather simplistic, an important observation lies at its core.

Before the rise of the so-called 'logographers', who were the first recorders of history to write in prose[93] and who were the immediate forerunners of Herodotus, history to the ancient Greeks meant tales (*mythoi*) of gods and heroes set in poetry and handed down through the oral tradition as well as by the written word. From archaic times poets were the interpreters of divine law and the teachers of Greece.[94] Indeed, the tradition and influence of epic poetry, particularly of Homer, upon classical Greek education and literature of all genres has lasted well beyond the lifetimes of our historians. Although described as 'mythoi', a term suggestive to the modern ear of fiction, these tales were regarded as a true account of the early history of Hellas. We can conveniently separate the early 'epopoioi' into four groups: first Homer; secondly, the poets of the 'epic cycle'; thirdly, Hesiod and those

[92]*Letter to Pompeius*, 3. I have little doubt that this is a general remark on the part of Dionysius and that he has the lyric and dramatic poets in mind as well as the epic poets when making this comparison; cf. Aristotle's famous remark at *Poetics* 1457b2-4 on how H written in verse would still be history; also Guzie (1955) on the poetic element in H's speeches.
[93]See in this chapter below.
[94]Cf. Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1054ff., where Aeschylus and Euripides argue over the poet's duty either to hide or to publicise shameful deeds such as the adulteries of Phaedra and Stheneboea.

(mostly unknown) poets who probably wrote much of what has been ascribed to him; fourthly, the writers of the 'Homeric' Hymns.

Homer

That Homer was peerless and by far the greatest exponent of the epic genre is clear from the veneration in which he was held by all Greeks and many non-Greeks, arguably up to the present day.[95] Thus, for example, Achilles, Agamemnon, Odysseus and Nestor, characters portrayed in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, were, to the Greeks of the fifth century (for it is they who were the first recipients of the Histories), real historical personages from whom citizens could trace their aristocratic ancestry and derive their family and tribal origins. Furthermore, that both Herodotus and Thucydides were not only acquainted with Homer but much influenced by his poetry is a longstanding *communis opinio* among scholars. Herodotus is described by Longinus as ὁμηρικώτατος[96] and is linked by the same critic with Homer via the lyric poet Stesichorus. Herodotus himself quotes Homer when describing how the Athenian envoy at Syracuse supports the Athenian claim to lead the fleet against the Persians: it is a reference to the Athenian Menestheus who, Homer tells us, was second only to Nestor in the art of marshalling infantry and cavalry.[97] Dionysius of Halicarnassus also links Herodotus to Homer by judging him superior to Thucydides by 'wishing to give variety to his writing, thereby showing himself to be an eager admirer of Homer': ποικίλην ἐβουλήθη ποιῆσαι τὴν γραφὴν Ὁμήρου ζηλωτὴς γενόμενος.[98]

Marcellinus, meanwhile, tells us that Thucydides 'admired Homer on account of his choice of words, because of the precision of his composition and for the strength, beauty and pace of his expression': ἐζήλωσεν Ὅμηρον καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐκλογῆς καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν ἀκριβείας, τῆς τε ἰσχύος τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν

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[95]Evelyn-White (1967, introd. p.ix) enumerates three phases of epic poetry: development, maturity and decline. The Homeric poems belong to the second of these periods: nothing as supreme as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* either preceded them or superseded them.
[96]*De Subl*. 13.4.
[97]H 7.161.3. The reference is to *Iliad* 2. 552-555.
[98]*Letter to Pompeius* 3. On how the ancients viewed the relationship between H and Homer generally see Strasburger (1972), Norden (1958) and Walbank (1960, 221-8).

καὶ τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τοῦ τάχους.[99] Thucydides himself declares his historic debt to Homer in his *Archaeologia* even if he appears somewhat equivocal about his respect for the authority of Homer when he questions his reliability as a source of information on Agamemnon's navy: ὡς Ὅμηρος τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν, εἴ τῳ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι.[100] The question for us is how much these undoubted links are recognisable in the speeches of Homer's two epics.

Of modern scholars, Woodman (1988, 1-5) cites three important intertexts between Homer and Herodotus: (1) in his proem (1.1) Herodotus states that he wishes the great and wonderful deeds ... of Greeks and barbarians not to become 'unglorified' (ἀκλεᾶ), an allusion to Iliad 9.189 where Achilles sings of the 'glorious deeds of men' (κλέα ἀνδρῶν);[101] (2) at *Odyssey* 1.3 the hero 'saw the cities of many men' (πολλῶν δ'ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα), echoed in Herodotus (1.5.3): '(Herodotus) investigated the cities of men' (ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών); (3) In his recounting of the legend of Helen (2.112-20), Herodotus cites Homer's account (*Iliad* 6.289-92) of Menelaus wandering off course to Sidon when bringing Helen home. However, Woodman (ibid. 3) is equally willing to accept another parallel: 'There are many Homeric words and phrases in Herodotus, but the judgement (that Herodotus imitated Homer) might just as well be based ...on...his frequent use of direct speech...'

Zali (2014, 21) emphasises the amount of rhetoric in Homer and its influence on Herodotus, giving examples of the three kinds of speech defined by Aristotle: deliberative, constituting the majority of Homer's speeches; forensic, which I designate 'dicanic' (e.g. *Iliad* 18. 497-508); epideictic (e.g. *Iliad* 24. 723-776). Particularly strong, Zali notes (121-6), is the link between the Homeric and the Herodotean forms of literary debate, for example the rhetorical similarity between the Persian court 'debate' conducted by Xerxes (7.8-18) and the divine debates of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: the issue is already decided despite Xerxes' invitation to his courtiers to express their opinions. Such scenarii, without the divine connotation but including the biting rhetoric, are a forerunner of the Thucydidean

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[99]*Vita Thucydidis* 37.
[100]T 1.9.4.
[101]Cf. also Immerwahr (1966, 17-19 and 80-81) on H's extended proem (1.1-5) and its connection and intertext with Homer.

agon, exemplified in the highly emotional debate at Sparta (1.68-87.2), the Mytilenean debate (3.37-49), where both antagonists criticise the *ecclesia*, the Melian dialogue (5.84-113), in which pragmatism wins the day over idealism, and in the Sicilian debate (6.8-26), where the taking of the 'wrong' decision exposes the weaknesses of the Athenian democratic process.[102]

When we first compare the speeches in Homer with those in Herodotus and Thucydides, a difference rather than a similarity immediately springs to mind: in Homer speeches are made by men and gods, in the Histories only by men, except insofar as oracles and dreams intervene. In both epic poems of Homer the gods effectively 'run the show' and make many speeches which take the form of conversations with each other and with mortals; these comprise debates about how the course of events should proceed and injunctions upon, and warnings towards, each other and earthly heroes. In the *Odyssey* in particular, Athena, in her passionate desire to protect Odysseus and Telemachus, is scarcely ever out of the action, whether in her own guise or in disguise as some other character.

By contrast, in the *Histories*, the gods are absent, at least as participating characters, even from the main narrative. Herodotus, it is true, although not giving the gods any 'set' speeches in the Homeric vein, displays a reverence for the supernatural, as he shows in his inclusion of oracles and of stories originating from or involving them. Despite the absence of gods as individual characters in the *Histories*, there is much to suggest in the selection and organisation of Herodotus' narrative that it is based on a theological assumption, first that gods exist and, secondly, that they have some influence over the lives and affairs of humans. Harrison (2000, 245) is a particular adherent of this position: 'there is no necessary reason ... why democratic decision-making and divination should have been incompatible'.[103]

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[102]Cf. Scardino (2007, 46-49), who also compares the function of speeches in the political life of the archaic and classical periods. For further on the *agon* in Homer and historiography (and tragedy) see Barker (2009); for further on rhetoric in the Histories, see Chapter 5 below.

[103]This represents a broader view than that proposed by Fornara (1971, 78), who does not deny that H was persuaded of a tragic view of history, but puts this down to his 'historical philosophy' rather than to any overriding conviction concerning divination. See also Mikalson (2002 & 2003), Gould (1994), and Scullion (2006, 194), who refers to H's attitude to religion as 'a contrast between H's interest in

Despite his evident respect for the gods, Herodotus has a legitimate claim to have demythologised history[104], bringing, as it were, his characters down to earth from Olympus and so, by simply eliminating the direct presence of any supernatural deity, beginning a process of demystification and rationalisation which was to be continued and perfected by Thucydides. And so, despite Thucydides' disparaging remarks made about his being a 'mythologer', we see that Herodotus, so far from being a purveyor, was in reality a debunker, of mythology.

Turning back briefly to the *History*, Dover (1973, 42) summarises a commonly held opinion of Thucydides' religious views as: 'Thucydides does not himself speak the language of religion'.[105] Marinatos (1981a), however, challenged this opinion by reinterpreting many of Thucydides' apparently disparagingly dismissive statements on oracles. His argument is based on the idea that Thucydides, in believing that the onus was on the receiver(s) of an ambiguous oracle to interpret it correctly, was in accord with standard contemporary religious practice: to this extent Marinatos believes Thucydides was at one with Herodotus in an acceptance of the divine origin and validity of oracles.[106] Hornblower (1992a) appears to be one of the subscribers to the view expressed by Dover in remarking upon the relative absence of any theological reference in Thucydides, except, interestingly for us, in his speeches, citing (op.cit. 170) in particular, the speech of the Plataeans (3.56.1), in which the Plataeans complain that the Thebans took advantage of a religious festival to attack 'at a holy time in the month' (ἱερομηνίᾳ). However, Hornblower does not attempt

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[104]ritual and his wariness of theology'. Harrison (2003) further advances the hypothesis that the origins of history-writing in general were, to a significant degree, theological.

[104]This is not the same as saying that H was irreligious: a point made by Veyne (1998, 98) and cited by Harrison (2000, 14), for whom see full reference.

[105]There is much indecision on the question of T's religiosity. Connor seems to leave the question open, for example on oracles cf. 1984 143 n.9; 101 n.53; on divine retribution cf. 86 n.16; however, for a possible hint at sarcasm in connection with Spartan belief in the gods, cf. 48 n.57. Marinatos (1981a) clearly supports the idea that T accepted oracles like most of his contemporaries and gives five examples to back this up: 'Thus,' Marinatos concludes, 'he (T) is hardly the irreverent atheist that he is often made out to be, but in some respects stands in the mainstream of fifth-century tradition' (140). Both Gomme (*HCT* ii ad 2.17.2, 5.26.3) and Dover (*HCT* v ad 7.18.2) are cautious, the former implying that T respected divination, the latter suggesting he 'may well have been an atheist'. Hornblower (*CT* i, 270; *CT* iii, 49, 574-5) appears to make no certain pronouncement on the issue at any of these three references.

[106]Cf., in support of this link, H's blaming of Croesus for misinterpreting the oracle; see n.223 below re. this *inter alia*.

to interpret Thucydides' personal beliefs and so does not in principle disagree with Marinatos on the matter.

Another remarkable and easily recognisable feature to note about Homer's speeches is their number: 668 DD items of all lengths in the *Iliad* and 578 in the *Odyssey*, making 1,246 in total. In all, DD takes up 6,912 lines out of 15,693 in the *Iliad*, or 44.05% of the whole work. The first twelve books of the *Odyssey* contain 3,198 lines of speech out of a total of 6,213, that is if we count the 'speech' of Odysseus in books 9-12 relating the story of his journey to the court of Alcinous as narrative, which it is in effect. Books 13-24 of the *Odyssey* contain 3,637 lines of speech out of a total of 5,898, making the proportion of 'speech' lines to 'narrative' lines in the *Odyssey* an overall 56.44%. The overall proportion of 'speech' to 'narrative' in the whole of Homer's works, then, is 49.45%, or very nearly one half.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that educated Greeks such as our two historians, raised on a literary and moral diet of Homer, should have assimilated the notion that speeches were an important, if not indispensible, ingredient of the written poetic tradition. What would be more natural as a consequence than that they should include this medium in their own work as a matter of course? However, there is still a need to provide some evidence from the texts to show beyond doubt that this connection exists. I shall therefore continue by citing the most important examples.

First, in the *Odyssey*, as I have noted above, almost four complete books, 9 to 12, or 2,233 lines, are devoted to a speech of Odysseus' telling his own story to Alcinous and the Phaeacian court. It could be reasonably argued that this section of the epic does not represent 'speech' in the true sense of the word since it is merely an alternative method of recounting the story.[107] But, in fact, when we look at this long

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[107]See pp. 171-2 below for a detailed comparison of this and the speech of Socles (5.92) in the context of what I call 'Speech as Narrative', a narratological device effectively distancing the primary narrator from a (often dramatic) story by embedding it in a speech made by a character in the primary narrative, i.e. using the character as an 'embedded focaliser'. For examples of 'speech within speech' see de Jong (2001b, 51) on *Odyssey* 2.96-102: 'all instances except one in the Odyssey form part of embedded narratives.' Their inclusion may be the result of a leisured and full manner of narration ... but they often fulfil one or both of two specific rhetorical functions: (i) to increase the persuasiveness of the embedded narrative (it is as if we actually hear the person talking), (ii) to highlight a decisive point. For other examples and uses of embedded narratives see de Jong (2014, 34-37, 159-63); Griffin (1980, 61-6). For a clear explanation of 'embedded focaliser' see de Jong (2014, 50-56).

section more closely, we see that it is not unlike the kind of digression that we find in Herodotus, although it has one specific purpose, namely to provide an analepsis, whereas Herodotus' digressions have many purposes and do not necessarily take the form of speeches; we observe, by the way, that Thucydides eschews digression except where, as with the *Archaeologia* and the *Pentecontaetia,* it serves further to explain and illuminate his master narrative.

Books 9-12 of the *Odyssey*, then, fill in the story of Odysseus' adventures between leaving Troy and reaching the cave of Calypso where we first meet him in Book Five, the first four books having been concerned with Athena's visitation to Telemachus and his subsequent journeys to Pylos and Lacedaemon to meet Nestor and Menelaus. It may be that Homer's use of his main character as a speaker embedded, as it were, within the wider narrative, and recounting his own saga is a device for varying his *modus fabulae narrandae*: it may have helped the reciting rhapsodist to recapture the interest of the listener when his attention began to flag. In this case it is possible that Herodotus copied the idea of using speeches as a kind of digression, the uses of which he is very well aware of,[108] with a view to envigorating his own recitals.

Speeches which are shorter but which fulfil a similar purpose, to recall previous events, are found elsewhere in both the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*. Nestor, who is a prominent speech-maker in both works and is held up to be a paragon among orators, famed for his exhortatory and persuasive powers, makes two long speeches in the *Odyssey* (3.103-200 and 255-312) where he reminisces for the benefit of his guest Telemachus, first on the events of the nine years' siege of Troy and then on the fate which befell the various Greek heroes on their returns home ('nostoi'). Menelaus and Helen give similar accounts (4.78-112 & 235-264), the former of his own homecoming adventures and his lament for the loss of Odysseus, the latter of her meeting with Odysseus when he made his secret entry into Troy disguised as a beggar.

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[108]Cf. H's comment on digression at 7.171.1.

This reminiscence-type speech is found also in the *Iliad* (at 1.254-284), where Nestor recalls previous successes he has had in settling arguments but fails, in this instance, to reconcile Agamemnon with Achilles. Also in the *Iliad* (11.656-803), and again involving Nestor, he recalls the victories and glories of his own halcyon days in an effort to persuade Patroclus to speak to Achilles with a view to returning him to the battle against Hector. Prior to this, Phoenix, the former guardian and friend of Achilles, had tried to persuade his protégé, unsuccessfully, to return to the fray by a similar ruse, a long speech[109] reminiscing on how he brought Achilles up 'to be a speaker of words and a doer of deeds' (μύθων τε ῥητῆρ ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρα τε ἔργων),[110] and warning him not to suffer the same fate as the dishonoured Meleager, who opted out of a war against the Curetes.

In a similar fashion Herodotus sometimes uses the speeches given to his characters as vehicles for recounting an event to do with their past life or that of someone else, which explains or illustrates some point being made in the main narrative. Pedrick (1983) has called this type of speech 'paradigmatic', and there are clear examples in Herodotus: at 3.65, where Cambyses, in a speech to Persian nobles in his retinue in Syria, expresses his regret, with reasons, at killing Smerdis; at 5.92, this time with an added didactic purpose, where Socles of Corinth opposes a Lacedaemonian plan to restore Hippias to the Athenian tyranny by recounting the long and convoluted story of how Periander came to power at Corinth with disastrous results. In addition, akin to this type of speech is the story-within-a-speech or the speech-within-a-speech, a feature of the works of both Homer and Herodotus. A good example from Homer is at *Iliad* 2.56-75, where Agamemnon speaks to his assembled host and tells them of his visitation by a dream-figure, whose words he quotes. A version of this technique in Herodotus is at 6.86 where king Leotychidas of Sparta arrives in Athens to ask for the return of certain hostages being held by the Athenians. He proceeds to tell a story about a Spartan named Glaucus, who failed to repay to the sons of a Milesian some money which their father had left to him a generation earlier for safe keeping (6.86).

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[109]*Iliad* 9.434-605.
[110]*Iliad* 9.443.

This passage, in fact, incorporates speeches within the main story-telling speech given by Leotychidas and so exactly parallels the Homeric Agamemnon dream model. But Homer's Agamemnon dream sequence is undoubtedly also the forerunner of the celebrated incident in Herodotus (7.12-18), where Xerxes is visited in a dream on two successive nights by a tall handsome man, who eventually persuades him and Xerxes' uncle Artabanus, who sleeps in Xerxes' bed the next night and has the same dream, to invade Greece. There are differences here, however: the visitation in Herodotus is not sent by a god as is the dream by Zeus in the Homeric passage; there is only one visit to Agamemnon, whereas Xerxes has two and is not so easily persuaded, dismissing the first dream as insignificant. The accompanying 'wise advisers' also play different roles, Artabanus reluctantly agreeing to retreat the following morning.

Mention of the 'wise adviser' role, however, brings us to a definite point of contact between Homer and our historians. The presence of this figure is an important dramatic theme in Herodotus, and it has its parallels also in Thucydides. I shall deal later in more detail with this as it pertains specifically to the Speeches.[111] For now, let us explore this figure in Homer and see how it permeates through from epic to historiography. I have already mentioned Phoenix, who advises Achilles in the *Iliad*, and Nestor, who plays this part admirably in the *Odyssey*. Another such character from the *Odyssey* is Theoclymenus, who warns the suitors but then exits Odysseus' palace and is not heard of again.[112] While recognising the presence of this character-type in the *Odyssey*, I shall draw my examples mainly from the *Iliad* because of their number and the diversity of the characters involved, on both the Greek and the Trojan sides.

In the *Iliad* there are two characters, who stand out most in the role of 'wise adviser', and often as 'warner'. One is the familiar character Nestor, King of Pylos, to whom I have already referred above in a different context. He is an ever-present figure, usually advising and backing up Agamemnon in his plans and decisions but not

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[111]See pp.218-225.
[112]We can say of the 'wise adviser' characters in Homer that, apart from Odysseus, such personalities tend to be less involved in the main narrative than in either of the Histories.

always being taken notice of, particularly in his attempts to reconcile his master with the impetuous Achilles. Agamemnon, however, does appreciate Nestor's services: 'give me ten counsellors such as this and Priam's city...would quickly fall...' (2.372-3). Nestor's shorter speeches are mostly conversations or brief exhortations to the soldiery to do battle. The number of Nestor's speeches in the *Iliad* of all lengths and types amounts to 30, 25 of which occur in the first twelve books and only 5 in Books 13-24, which contain more action and where attention is drawn to the Trojan, particularly Hector's, view of the conflict.[113]

The other character who often acts as a 'wise adviser' is Odysseus, who, although not to be neglected, is sufficiently ubiquitous in both of Homer's epics and who performs so many different roles in the narratives, including warrior and trickster, as not to need special categorisation as specifically a 'wise adviser' figure. It is worth noting, however, that major heroes in the *Iliad*, such as Odysseus, who enjoys the epithet 'polymetis' as well as 'ptoliporthos', are often as much famed for their powers of oratory and wit (we might say 'rhetoric') as for their physical prowess.[114] Achilles himself employs as sharp a tongue against Agamemnon in Book One as he does a spear against Hector in Book 22.

Hector in the *Iliad* has his own Trojan version of the 'wise adviser', namely his constant companion Polydamas, although, as with Agamemnon on the Greek side in the *Iliad*, with Croesus, Cyrus and Xerxes in the *Histories* and with Archidamus, Nicias and Alcibiades in the *History*, his advice is not always taken. The best example of Hector not taking Polydamas' advice, although it is given at length, is at *Iliad* 18.254-283, where his companion unsuccessfully tries to persuade Hector to retreat from the walls protecting the Greek ships. At 18.312-313, Homer comments on the fact that nobody supported his good counsel but shouted approval for Hector's mistaken plan of attack:

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[113]The locations of the speeches of Nestor in both epics (books highlighted in bold) are: *Iliad*: **(1)** 255-284; **(2)** 79-83, 337-368, 434-440; **(4**) 303-309, 318-325; (**6**) 67-71; (**7**) 124-160, 327-343; **(8)** 139-144, 152-156; **(9)** 53-78, 96-113, 163-172; **(10)** 82-85, 103-118, 129-130, 144-147, 159-161, 169-176, 193-194, 204-217, 533-539, 544-553; **(11)** 656-803; **(14)** 3-8, 53-63; **(15)** 372-376, 661-666; **(23)** 304-348, 626-663. *Odyssey*: **(3)** 69-74, 103-200, 211-224, 254-328, 346-355, 375-384, 418-429, 475-476; **(24)** 54-56.

[114]Demonstrated, for example, by Antenor's description of Odysseus: *Iliad* 3.221-24.

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Ἕκτορι μὲν γὰρ ἐπήνησαν κακὰ μητιόωντι,

Πουλυδάμαντι δ' ἄρ' οὔ τις, ὃς ἐσθλὴν φράζετο βουλήν.

As with Nestor, Phoenix and Odysseus, Homer emphasises Polydamas' prowess as a speaker, comparing it with Hector's prowess in battle (ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἄρ μύθοισιν, ὁ δ' ἔγχεῖ πολλὸν ἐνίκα, *Iliad* 18.252). Polydamas also features at *Iliad* 12.61-79 and at 12.211-229, where he tells us that Hector often objects to his sound advice (… ἀεὶ μέν πώς μοι ἐπιπλήσσεις ἀγορῇσιν ἐσθλὰ φραζομένῳ, ll.211-212). Hector then threatens to kill him if he dissuades others from fighting (αὐτίκ' ἐμῷ ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπεὶς ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσεις. l.250), an extreme measure perhaps for a hero to take towards a loyal companion, but then we may be reminded that, in Herodotus, Xerxes made it clear to Artabanus that it was only the fact that he was his uncle that saved him from a similar fate (7.8.α-δ2). On the other hand, Hector speedily accepts Polydamas' advice when he considers it sound, for example at 13.726-753 during the battle at the ships. Also, Polydamas acts as Hector's conscience at 22.99-100 when Hector's father and mother beg him not to go out to face Achilles: εἰ μέν κε πύλας καὶ τείχεα δύω, Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει.

My final example from the *Iliad* of a 'wise adviser', this time more of a 'warner', is Sarpedon, who makes a stinging rebuke of Hector and his male relations (5.472-492), reminiscent of Mardonius' instigation of Xerxes to attack Greece (7.5.2), although less respectful of the senior party. This use of rhetorical argument we find in many of the 'set' speeches in Thucydides but, especially here, the use of challenging questions is paralleled closely in the speech of Hermocrates (6.76-80), who is persuading the Camarinaeans of the mortal dangers of their not opposing the Athenian invasion.

So far we have seen how Homeric speeches, and the characters that made them, foreshadowed similar features, mainly in Herodotus. But to what extent was Thucydides influenced directly by Homer? I have already remarked on his direct references to Homer but what evidence is there that he adopted any of his themes and techniques? Immerwahr (1985, 456) has remarked that Thucydides' speeches owe much to both Homer and Herodotus, but that it is from Homer that 'they derive

in particular the concept of fame (κλέος) as we see it developed in several speeches of Pericles' (2.41.4 and 42-43; 2.64.3-4). Ironically, in view of the anti-poetic invective which it carries, the best example of Homer's influence in this respect is probably the famous passage (2.41.4), where the historian claims that Athens 'has no need of a Homer to sing her praises or any other poet whose sweet words last only for a moment and whose fancies the hard truth of our deeds will destroy': καὶ οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεσι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει, τῶν δ' ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἡ ἀλήθεια βλάψει.

I argue elsewhere (below, Chapter 9) that the 'wise adviser' figure is an idea inherited by Thucydides from Herodotus, his immediate predecessor, but it is difficult to believe that he was not influenced, even perhaps inspired, by his readings of the great epic poet. From what we learn from the author himself about the composition and purposes of his speeches (1.22), together with his rejection of mythological invention, it will be clear that Thucydides does not attempt to emulate or parallel the kind of Homeric storytelling speech such as those of Nestor and Phoenix in the *Iliad* and of Menelaus and Helen in the *Odyssey*. There are, however, some parallels to, and echoes of, other speech types which we may be able to attribute to a direct influence.

The most likely example is the famous statement made by the Spartiate Melesippus, who is sent to Athens by Archidamus in advance of the initial Peloponnesian invasion force to see if Athens would yield to their attack. Melessipus, however, is not admitted into Athens and is sent back under escort. At the border he turns to his escorts and says 'this day will be the beginning of great misfortunes for the Hellenes': ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει (2.12.3). We can trace this idea back through Herodotus[115] to Homer (*Iliad* 11. 604), where Patroclus' death is predicted as soon as he emerges from his hut at the call of his friend Achilles (κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή), and to *Iliad* 5.62-63 where Phereclus, Paris's shipbuilder, meets his death at the hands of Meriones and the trim ships that he built are blamed

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[115]H 5.97. 3 : αὗται δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροισι. H is referring to the twenty ships sent by Athens to support Aristagoras of Miletus in his revolt against Persia. The words of Melesippus are also alluded to in Aristophanes, *Peace* 435-6, suggesting that T's quotation is authentic and that they were both using a well-known Homeric phrase.

for initiating Troy's woes: ὃς (Φέρεκλος) ... τεκτήνατο νῆας ἐΐσας ἀρχεκάκους, αἳ πᾶσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γένοντο.

It is easy to see how all three writers we have been considering use speeches to illuminate the character of heroes, statesmen and other leading figures in their narratives. But they do more than this. As we have seen, the speeches are used, especially in Homer and Herodotus, as an alternative means of pursuing the main narrative in a voice separate from the author: they explain and emphasise important parts of the 'story'; they also provide, and this is especially true of Thucydides, a method of authorial analysis, and they are used as a medium for the art of rhetorical persuasion.

One final parallel between Thucydides and Homer may be noted by way of codicile. Demodocus, the bard in the court of Alcinous is praised by Odysseus (*Odyssey*, 8.487-91) for recalling famous events as if he had been there or heard them from one who was. The accuracy of record and the reliability of one's sources were clearly important criteria for characters in Homer as they were also for Thucydides.

<u>The Epic Cycle</u>

The non-Homeric poets of the so-called 'epic cycle', sometimes referred to as the 'Ionic School',[116] either attempted to continue the Trojan theme of epic, choosing events which purportedly happened before or after Homer's stories, or selected themes to do with other events in Greek 'history' such as the Theban saga.[117] The

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[116]Notable here is Panyassis, as being the uncle (or cousin) of H, but there are very few fragments: cf. Matthews, V.J. (1974), *Panyassis of Halicarnassus*: text and commentary, Leiden, Brill. Gould (1989, 49) says P 'had inherited from Homeric epic the use of long speeches to bring variation of pace and weight and to give a perspective to the narrative'. Matthews (op.cit. 19) accepts his birth as c. 505-500, with his lifespan up to 455-450. His poems are part of an undoubted Halicarnassian poetic tradition (21), of which only a few fragments of two survive: a *Heracleia* and an *Ionica*. The *Ionica*, the Suda says, had 7,000 lines, and was about Codrus and his son Neleus and the founding of the Ionian colonies. It is possible that H took his account of the Ionians (1.142-150) from this poem, but nothing certain can be stated (Matthews op.cit. 30), similarly Herodotus' mention of the temple of Eleusinian Demeter at 9.97. In fact it is more likely that fifth-century writers interested in the Ionian migrations, such as H, would have cited earlier prose writers (logographers) on the subject rather than this poem, as most works on the topic were written in prose. It is, therefore, unlikely that Panyassis had any direct influence over either the content or, for our purposes, the form of the Histories (e.g. the speeches), since not only does H not mention Panyassis but nor do other extant writers of his period.
[117]On the epic cycle cf. especially West (2013) for full commentary; Howatson (2011, 214); West (2012) on Eumelus and the possibility of a Corinthian epic cycle; Huxley (1969) generally.

main extant works of this group were the *Cypria*[118] and the *Little Iliad*, and of these we now have only fragments and excerpts handed down by later writers, scholiasts or commentators.[119] By expanding and enriching the scope of their storylines, both dramatically and geographically, the poets of these works, some of whose names we know, in their own turn provided material for later tragedies, which would have been known to Herodotus and Thucydides, but of which only the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles and *The Trojan Women* of Euripides survive to us.

Although no speeches occur in the fragments of the poets of the 'epic cycle'[120] which we can ascribe for certain to the original author, there is every reason to suppose that these 'epics' did contain them, since many were quite lengthy and clearly followed the Homeric pattern in structure and language. We gather, for instance, that *The Thebaid* by Homer contained seven thousand verses,[121] and that *The Cypria* took up eleven books[122]. We cannot be certain that Herodotus derived ideas or templates for his speeches from this source but it is clear that he was acquainted with at least one work, the *Cypria*, as he alludes to it in connection with the legend of Paris and Helen.[123]

Belonging also to the 'epic cycle' are various burlesque poems of which two, *The Margites* and *The Battle of Frogs and Mice*, have been attributed, probably erroneously, to Homer.[124] Very little of the former work survives, apart from short references by later authors. However, but for a couple of brief lacunae which do not detract from the reader's understanding of the story, we have in its entirety *The Battle of Frogs and Mice*. This work is by no means a masterpiece and, despite the author's intention, is not especially humorous to the modern reader, but it is of

[118]The first epic in the 'Trojan Cycle', attributed originally to Homer but later to Stasinus of Cyprus. Cf. H 2.117 where H denies that the *Cypria* was written by Homer; also 2.117-120 where he displays an abundant knowledge of epic Greek poetry.
[119]Other works of the 'epic cycle', existing only in fragmentary form and containing no speeches, are: *The War of the Titans; The Story of Oedipus; The Thebaid; The Epigoni; The Cypria; The Aethiopis; The Sack of Ilium; The Returns (including the Return of the Atreidae); The Telegony; The Expedition of Amphiaraus; The Taking of Oechalia; The Phocais ; The Margites; The Cercopes.*
[120]With the exception of *The Battle of Frogs and Mice* described below.
[121]See West (2003, 344), *The Contest of Homer and Hesiod*: ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος ... ἔλεγε ... πρῶτον ... τὴν Θηβαίδα, ἔπη, ζ.
[122]*Proclus, Chrestomathy,* i: ... τὰ λεγόμενα Κύπρια ἐν βιβλίοις φερόμενα ἔνδεκα.
[123]H 1.3-5.
[124]Cf. Howatson (2011, 100-1 and 362), and West (2013, 1-54) on attribution and approximate dating.

particular interest to us as it contains a considerable number of speeches: to be precise DD constitutes 138, or very nearly half, of the poem's 304 lines.

The whole poem is a parody of the Homeric epics and, as we would expect, the language of the speeches is a mock echo of the heroic tenor and aristocratic register of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The mouse 'Bread-nibbler' (Τρωξάρτης) swears (ll.110-121) to avenge the death of his son 'Crumb-snatcher' (Ψιχάρπαξ), who was lured into believing he was being welcomed as a guest into the home of the king frog 'Puff-jaw' (Φυσίγναθος), who promised him 'many noble gifts such as men give to their guests'.[125] Crumb-snatcher was then drowned at sea while being carried by Puff-jaw who, in his turn, denies any guilt and rouses the frogs to battle in an impassioned and persuasive call to arms (ll.145-159). As in the two Homeric epics the gods intervene at timely intervals, as when Ares aids the mice in arming themselves and Athena refuses Zeus' invitation to take the side of either party, preferring to suggest that the gods amuse themselves as spectators to the strange ensuing battle (ll.178-196).

A blood-thirsty descriptive narrative follows reminiscent of Iliadic battle scenes involving various characters from both sides, who enjoy their respective 'aristeiai' before meeting their doom (ll.202-259). Eventually the mouse 'Slice-snatcher' (Μεριδάρπαξ), who is the Achilles of this story, 'excelling the rest' (ἔξοχος ἄλλων, l.260), enters the fray. Thereupon, Zeus is minded to intervene on the side of the frogs and is persuaded by Hera to cast his thunderbolt, but this does not deter the mice. Ironically the one-day war only ends when an army of crabs is sent by Zeus to disperse the mice.

What can we deduce from all this concerning the influence of the 'epic cycle' writers on later speech composition and particularly Herodotus and Thucydides? The truth is, not very much beyond conjecture and the almost certain fact that their works were known and heard by them. As we have seen, the epic cycle speeches, in as much as we have them, resemble the Homeric model much more closely than anything we read in our authors.

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[125]l.16: δῶρα δέ τοι δώσω ξεινήια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ. This is the 'Odysseyan' part of the story.

Hesiod

The third influential group contained Hesiod[126] and his unknown retinue of contemporary co-writers, representative of the Boeotian School of epic. These were also inheritors and perpetuators, although inferior imitators, of the same Homeric epic tradition. Hesiod's father was a farmer from Aeolis but returned to mainland Greece through poverty where he settled at Thespiae in Boeotia. We do not know whether Hesiod was born in Aeolia or Boeotia but we gather from *The Contest of Homer and Hesiod*[127] that he was a contemporary of Homer.[128] In any case his father must have passed on to him sufficient elements of Homer's dialect for his son's works to be comparable with his contemporary in language if not in subject matter.[129]

Although shorter than Homer's epics, the *Works and Days*, the *Theogony* and the *Shield of Heracles*[130] of Hesiod can be regarded as epic poems having been written in the same hexameter measure as Homer albeit, in the case of the first two at least, with a less heroic storyline: the *Works and Days* concerns itself with everyday tips and information of interest to those who, like Hesiod, worked on the land; the *Theogony*, at base, is a chronological classification of the gods, a divine genealogy in effect, with no dramatic plot but a retelling of the main incidents of interest in each generation; the *Shield of Heracles* is virtually dependent on the Homeric account of the shield of Achilles[131] and is a poor imitation of it.[132] Another main extant work of

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[126]For general works on Hesiod see Evelyn-White (1967); West (1967, 1985, 1990 & 1999); Schegel and Weinfield (2006).

[127]A romantic and fanciful tract dating, in the form we have it, from the early 2nd c. A.D. Its earliest version may have been written by the sophist Alcidamas (c. 400 B.C.) and therefore unknown to H and probably to T, although some evidence (Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1282ff.) suggests that the work was extant in some form long before Alcidamas (cf. Meyer, *Hermes,* 1892, 377ff.).

[128]By contrast we learn from a scholiast on Homer (*Iliad,* 23.683) that Hesiod is later in date than Homer; cf. Evelyn-White (1967, 164) for citation. The question has been much debated by modern scholars without much certainty, if we accept Taplin's (1986, 50) dates for Homer as 750-650, and Griffin's (1986, 88) for Hesiod as c.700. Cf. also West (1966, 40 and 47).

[129]For a complete description of Hesiod's life, work and the colourful descriptions of his death see Evelyn-White (1967, introd. pp. ix – xlii).

[130]These three being the only complete extant 'Hesiodic' works. For evidence that the *Theogony* is not Hesiod's see Evelyn-White (1967, introd. p.xv).

[131] *Iliad* 18.478ff.

[132]Cf. eg. Evelyn-White (1967, introd. p.xxiv): '... an inferior description of the shield of Heracles, in imitation of the Homeric shield of Achilles'. In support of this both Howatson (2011, 294 and 522) and West (2012, 700) deny Hesiod's authorship.

Hesiod in terms of authenticity and length, although not complete, is *The Catalogues* of which *The Catalogues of Women* and *Eoiae*[133], a genealogical poem, forms the major part; another genealogical poem, *The Melampodia*, also contains minor speeches. I list here the speeches in the works of Hesiod to which I have referred above, with the speeches they contain:

Works and Days

54-58: Zeus warns Prometheus of the coming 'gift' of the maiden Pandora to mankind.

207-211: The hawk to the nightingale on the futility of the weak resisting the strong.[134]

Theogony

26-28: The Muses address Hesiod: 'we know how to speak many false things as though they were true, but we know, when we will, to utter true things'.[135]

164-166 and 170-172: conversation between Ge and Cronos on punishing Uranus.

543-545; 548-549; 559-560: Zeus is not fooled by Prometheus' trick into accepting the dressed up bones of a sacrifice.

644-653: Zeus exhorts the gods to fight the Titans.

655-663: Cottus vows to aid Zeus in the fight.

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[133]So named from the introductory words ἢ οἵη ('or like her').

[134]Notable especially for its rhetorical content and similarity in argument to that of the Athenian representatives in the Melian dialogue (T 5.89): see Walker, J. (2000), *'Rhetoric and Poetics in Antiquity'*, Oxford, OUP; Kirby J. (1990), 'Rhetoric and Poetics in Hesiod', *Ramus* 21, 34-60.

[135]Cf. Harrison (2004) for the apparently equivocal attitude of Persians to truth-telling and lying, esp.(p.256) the speech of Darius to his fellow conspirators on how to gain admission to the palace of the false Smerdis (H 3.72). For rhetoric in general in Hesiod see Clay, J.S. (2007), Hesiod's Rhetorical Art, in I. Worthington (ed.) *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric*, Oxford, OUP, 447-57; also Zali (2014, 21): the *Theogony* 'has been considered an example of epideictic, the *Works and Days* an amalgam of deliberative and epideictic rhetoric'.

<u>Shield of Heracles</u>

78-101; 103-114; 118-121: Heracles speaks to Iolaus his charioteer; Iolaus answers; Heracles, pleased with Iolaus, asks for his aid.

327-337: Athena addresses Iolaus, the 'offspring of far-famed Lynceus'.

350-367: Heracles addresses Cycnus in hexametric style of Phoenix in *Iliad*.

<u>The Catalogues of Women and Eoiae</u>

14, ll.8(13)-20(25): Schoeneus, the father of Atalanta, makes his promise to Hippomenes, his daughter's suitor, if he be victorious and escape death.

14, ll.28(34)-29(35): Hippomenes to Atalanta about to cast the first apple.

58, ll.7-13: Peleus comes to Phthia and the people honour him.

<u>The Melampodia</u>

1 (apud *Strabo*, 14, 642): Calchas sets Molpus a problem and Molpus answers.

2 (apud *Tzetzes on Lycophron*, 682): Teiresias addresses Zeus.

The above speeches, written as they are in hexameter verse, naturally resemble Homer in form and style more closely than any speech in Herodotus or Thucydides. The content is also generally in the Homeric mode, comprising mainly duologues involving gods and heroes as opposed to real-life persons. Some, however, contain themes reminiscent of certain *topoi* in the Speeches. For example, the didactic and moralistic tone of the extracts from *Works and Days* is repeated in the Herodotean 'wise adviser' theme (see my Chapter 9); the warning of the futility of resisting the strong is echoed in the Thucydidean Melian dialogue (5.89).

In the *Theogony*, Zeus' exhortation to the gods to fight the Titans might have been the precursor of the typical Thucydidean pre-battle military address, or of Cyrus' invitation to the Persians to free themselves from their Median masters (1.126), while Prometheus' attempt to trick the father of the gods reminds us of similar tricksters portrayed in the Speeches, such as Themistocles (e.g. 8.109.2-4 and 1.90.3-

4), Cyrus (1.125.2) and Artayctes (9.116.3). The conspiracy of Ge and Cronos to exact punishment on Uranus provides a precedent for the theme of τίσις, commonly encountered in Herodotus (see Chapter 4, pp. 97-100).

In *The Catalogues of Women*, the conditional promise of marriage by Schoeneus to his would-be son-in-law Hippomenes might remind us of the encounter of the Athenian suitors, Hippoclides and Megacles, with Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, in Herodotus' account of the rise of the Alcmaeonidae (6.129.4 & 188).

Finally, problems and puzzles, such as that posed by Calchas to Molpus in *The Melampodia*, can also be found in Herodotus, albeit usually in the form of prophesies or warnings emanating from ambiguous oracles rather than from human sources, sometimes being solved, as in the case of the wooden walls by Themistocles (7.142.1-143.3), and sometimes not, as Croesus regretfully admits at 1.87.3-4.

The Homeric Hymns

My final section under the title of 'epic' refers to the thirty-three hymns, ascribed to Homer but possibly written by unknown writers of the Epic School at dates ranging from the second half of the seventh to at least the fifth century, although there is still much modern debate about the exact dating of this collection.[136] Of special interest to us is that Thucydides (3.104) quotes the Delian *Hymn to Apollo* in his account of the purification of Delos in the winter of 426/5. His interest appears to be more historical than religious, as one would expect, since he uses the Hymn as evidence from Homer that contests were regularly held at one time by the islanders and the Athenians. He also mentions that Polycrates, at the height of his naval power, occupied Rheneia, a close neighbouring island of Delos. Apart from this reference, and the extreme likelihood that both authors would have read or heard them, there is no clear evidence that either historian took any inspiration from the Homeric Hymns or the speech events in them, of which I have nevertheless identified 63, and of which I give the exact locations, with notes, in Appendix D.

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[136]See esp.: Janko (1982) and Clay (1997, 489-90). West (2003, 5) thinks dates for some examples are 'possibly even later' than the fifth century, in which case these would have no relevance to our enquiry. Projected dates for all 33 examples can be gleaned from West's preliminary notes on the individual hymns (op.cit. 6-20).

Lyric

Any discussion of lyric poetry[137] and its relationship to the Speeches needs to be prefaced by some clarifying definitions, since the term 'lyric', although naturally and linguistically referring to any poem sung to the accompaniment of a lyre, is commonly used loosely to refer to poems accompanied also by the pipe ('aulos') or harp. Even more loosely it is (strictly incorrectly) used to refer to a number of related genres viz. melic, elegy and iambus. These terms also overlap in usage. 'Melic' refers to a poem specifically written for song, but then elegy and iambus were also often sung.[138] 'Elegy' is most easily defined by the elegiac couplet but does not carry the mournful and funereal overtones of its English literary counterpart. 'Iambus' was originally the designation given to popular songs which were performed at the festivals of Demeter and Dionysus and which were bawdy or ludicrous. It is not defined by the 'iambic' metre, which is so called because it is a typical metre of iambus. These definitions having been made, I shall continue to use the term 'lyric' in a generic sense for the sake of brevity.[139]

The link between lyric and historiography is well established:[140] the genre has long been an important source for the recognition of historical events. The earliest choral lyric composition may have been the Prosodion written, according to Pausanias (4.33.2) by Eumelus for the Messenians to perform in honour of Delian Apollo in the mid-eight century.[141] Of other early elegiac poets, we know that both Aristotle and Plutarch relied on Tyrtaeus for the history of seventh-century Sparta and on Solon for sixth-century Athens. In particular, Tyrtaeus' elegies[142] exhort fellow Spartans to

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[137]Fragment references for Greek lyric are complicated. In this thesis I use either the numeration supplied in Campbell (1982-1993, vol. 3) followed by the equivalent in LPF or PMG where applicable, or the numeration in West 1992 (= W).

[138]Cf. Page (1962, v-x) on why he includes six major poets under this heading.

[139]For the above working definition of 'lyric' I am indebted mainly to the succinct exposition of Budelmann (2009, 2-5), who understands the term in its 'broad sense' while recognising it as 'anachronistic but convenient' (ibid. 3). But for more wide-ranging definitions see Bowra (1961, 1-15), and West (1993, introd. pp. vii-viii).

[140]See esp. for links: Hornblower (2004) for T and Pindar's epinician poetry; Graziosi and Haubold (2009, 108-9) for H and Stesichorus. Also Bowie (2001), Marincola (2006, 25), and Nagy (1990, 215-338).

[141]Fr. 696 PMG. Cf. Howatson (2011, 224); however, cf. West (2012, 567) on the dubious authenticity of this claim.

[142]E.g. Fr.9 in Prato (1968, *Tirteo*, Roma, Ateneo, 35-38).

fight and were made compulsory listening for Spartan armies in the Second Messenian War. Other Tyrtaean poems, such as the 'Eunomia' (Law and Order),[143] upheld the traditional values and authority of the Spartan kings. Bowie (1986, 30-31) proposed that the verb πειθώμεθα occurring in this poem was part of a speech which itself was contained in a narrative regarding the Spartan arrival in the Peloponnese, but later (47) suggested it could be part of an exhortatory poem which had narrative elements similar to those speeches assigned to characters in the *Iliad*. In either case it seems as if some form of speech was used.

Also relevant is the work of another early elegiac poet, Mimnermus.[144] This is the *Smyrneis*, which contains 'historic' accounts of battles between Gyges and Smyrna. Kowerski (2005, 68) claims that 'the use of first person verbs in the fragments of Mimnermus (and Tyrtaeus) is suggestive of the narrative use of speeches'. Moreover Bowie (1986), although apparently concluding (29-30) that only two fragments of Mimnermus (13 W and 13a W) appear to provide evidence that the *Smyrneis* contained a narrative long enough to introduce DD, nevertheless accepts (2001, 65) the presence of speeches in this work as well as in Simonides (14 W). Bowie states (ibid.) that this is 'unremarkable, given their presence in epic and in "lower" forms of poetry like Archilochean and Hipponactian *iamboi*',[145] and that 'it is *possible* (my italics) that the presence of speeches in these verse narratives about 'historical' events could have played a part in their retention by prose historiography'.

The elegiac fragments of the so-called New Simonides are the most relevant factor in our present discussion.[146] While the debate continues as to whether their discovery entitles us to believe that there was such a literary genre as 'historical elegy',[147] we can begin to draw some ideas about the relevance of these fragments to the question of the development of speech in historiographic narrative. The fragments contain up to three poems apparently narrating incidents in the Persian Wars: the battles of Artemisium, Salamis and Plataea, although it is still contested as to

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[143]Cf. Prato op.cit. frr. 1a, 1b, pp. 23-4.
[144]The *Suda* offers 632-629 as his floruit.
[145]Archilochus 23 W, 177 W, 196a W; Hipponax 3a, 36.
[146]The circumstances and immediate importance of their discovery and subsequent publication in 1992 are well summarised by Bowie (2001, 54-60).
[147]See Sider (2006), who questions this notion.

whether all three episodes are depicted in separate poems.[148] We do know, however, that the Plataea poem contains a substantial prophetic speech by the seer Tisamenus prior to the battle, comparable to the speech by Calchas at Aulis in the *Iliad* (Book 1, ll. 92-100). Tisamenus' story is retold by Herodotus at 9.33-36, the speech being represented by a short focalised reference at 9.36: the recent commentary on Book 9 by Flower and Marincola (2002, 318) provides a text, translation and commentary on this extract.

The Homeric theme is found in the prophecy of Tisamenus before the battle of Plataea: '[I de]clare that, should the a[rmy pr]ess [across] the river first...a great disaster will [be theirs; but if they wait]...' (Fr.el.14).[149] There is a direct link with Herodotus here when he describes Tisamenus performing the divination on behalf of the Greeks before the battle.[150] Bowra (1961, 347-8) also points out that ideas of Thucydides in the Funeral Oration (ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν...ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται, 2.35-46, 2.43.2) are 'fundamentally similar to those of Simonides' (Fr.531 = 26 PMG), where the fame of Leonidas is celebrated (ll.7-9): μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδας κοσμὸν...ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπὼς ἀέναόν τε κλέος.[151] Both authors here use praise as an essential element in remembrance.

Two lyric poets stand out from among the rest as providers of speeches in their works, namely Pindar and Bacchylides. I shall therefore treat them separately. Apart from these two exceptions, West (1993, v-vi) cites 32 definitively named lyric poets who lived and wrote over a period of roughly 300 years from the mid-eighth to the mid-fifth century. Of these the fragments of only four, Sappho, Stesichorus, Simonides and Archilochus,[152] contain more than five lines of speech.

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[148]See Bowie (2001, 54-55, esp. n. 31). Kowerski (2005, 58) says: 'the current scholarly orthodoxy that the 'New Simonides' contains three separate elegies on the battles of Artemisium, Salamis and Plataea is unsubstantiated, but this conclusion does not remove the possibility that the fragments of the NS are related as part of the same poem or group of poems'.

[149]The numeration used here for elegiac ('el.') and iambic fragments is the latest standard, found in West (1989-92).

[150]At H 9.36: τοῖσι μέν νυν ἝλληΣι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὔ· ('The omens were good for the Greeks if they only defended themselves, but not if they crossed the Asopus and gave battle').

[151]Cited by Diodorus Siculus (11.6.2).

[152]H's mention (1.12.2) of Archilochus of Paros, the lyric poet (c. 680-c.645) as having written a poem in iambic trimesters on the story of Gyges, his contemporary, may suggest a close literary connection.

Sappho creates a conversation between herself and a deserting lover (Fr.1, 18-24 PLF), a short speech to herself by the goddess Aphrodite,[153] and some other lines, where Sappho addresses maidens and a bridegroom but which, although written as DD, cannot be distinguished from the first person styled narrative in which the remainder of her extant poems are composed, for example Fr.44, 4-10 PLF (a speech of Idaeus, the Trojan herald) and Fr.44a, 5-7 PLF (a short speech by Artemis).

The works of Stesichorus are very fragmentary, but evidence of speech occurs in *The Song of Geryon*: 'He spoke an answer...' (Fr.S11[154]; in *Eriphyle*: 'The warrior Adrastus addressed him (Alcmaeon) chidingly...' and 'Amphiarius' son replied...' (Fr.S148); in *The Sack of Troy* where there is an Homeric type exhortation by an unknown Trojan to ignore the horse which is 'a trick of the Danaans' (Frr. S88 & S89); in *The Returns of the Heroes* where Helen addresses Telemachus, exhorting him to set off back home with the prophecy that Odysseus will soon follow him aided by Athena (Fr.209 = 32 PMG); in *The Orestes Saga (Oresteia)*, where Apollo speaks to Orestes promising to give him his bow (Fr.217 = 40 PMG); in *The Sons of Oedipus* (Fr.222A),[155] where Jocasta makes a substantial speech of 31 lines, as in a drama or an Homeric type speech, praying for her own death before her own sons kill each other. In the same fragment, Teiresias advises Polynices to seek the house of king Adrastus. Finally, in an unidentified poem (Fr.222B), an unknown person addresses Althaea, the daughter of Thestius, whose son was destined to kill his uncle, Althaea's brother.

As I have indicated in two of these citations, the style of these speeches by Stesichorus owes much to the Homeric model.[156] Even the setting in the case of

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However, Waterfield (1998, 736) marks this reference as probably an interpolation (see also *OCT* ad loc., l.14n.); HW (i, 59) is undecided on this point.

[153]Cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*On Literary Composition* 23).

[154]The fragments marked 'S' in Campbell (1982-93, vol.3) refer to the new fragments from P.Oxy. 2617 and are not included in PMG. See Campbell (op. cit. 65) for an explanation.

[155]Fragments 222A & B are not recorded in PMG.

[156]Cf. Longinus (*de Sublimitate* 13.3), who cites Stesichorus and Antilochus as preceding H and as being equally 'Homeric': μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὁμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο; Στησίχορος ἔτι πρότερον ὅ τε Ἀρχίλοχος. Parsons (1998, 690) says 'Stesichorus' works cover a wide range of myths...Their large scale and narrative sweep recall the traditional epic; their language is often Homeric.' Kelly (2015, 21) goes further by claiming that we see something new in the interaction of Stesichorus with Homer, not only Homeric allusions but 'themes and sequences across large swathes of those (= his) poems.' In

Helen's exhortation to Telemachus is reminiscent of *Odyssey* Book 4, where Telemachus is entertained richly by Menelaus and Helen, brought up to date on the returns of the heroes and then, gift laden, is despatched homewards.

Of the remaining eight instances of speeches in lyric poems three can be designated as proto-comic (iambic). These are: bawdy language by Hipponax (late sixth century) written in Lydian (Fr.92); a jestful speech reputed to be made by Pythagoras in Xenophanes (Fr.7-7a); a crab saying as he catches a snake 'a friend should be straightforward, and think no devious thought' (from *Anonymous Party Songs*, Fr.892). Two more, by Callinus (Fr.2, 2a) and Alcman (Fr.81) are short prayers to Zeus. Archilochus (Fr.23) has a lengthy erotic epode addressed by an apparent third party to a female lover. In the disconnected collection generally attributed to Theognis[157] we find a reply to the gods conventionally in direct quotes, but spoken most probably by the author (ll. 520-2). Finally, at Fr. 944 PMG, a woman appears to speak directly to an unknown party: 'do not wear out my own swift feet, or my brother's (sister's)'.

Apart from drawing attention to the debt owed to Homeric epic in many of these lyric fragments and the direct link to Herodotus in the case of the Simonides reference, it is difficult to assess how much influence this genre may have had on the Speeches beyond the undoubted fact that it would have been extremely likely that these poems were familiar to both historians in oral if not in written form.

Pindar and Bacchylides

There are no absolutely agreed dates for the lives of these two poets. Pindar's dates are conventionally set at c.518-438.[158] Bacchylides is reputed to have been younger and to have been born c.507 and to have died c.428,[159] although some scholars put him slightly earlier. Thus it is probable that both lives overlap those of our two

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general agreement are Howatson (2011, 537) and Campbell (1991, 4). See also Davies and Finglass (2014).

[157]Described by West (1993, xxi) as 'in general ... characterised by a simplicity of language not out of place in the sixth or fifth century', and therefore of interest here.

[158]Cf. Gaspar (1900) for dates of Pindar's epinician poems.

[159]According to the Chronicle of Eusebius, Bacchylides was in his prime (ἤκμαζεν) c.467. For a full discussion of Bacchylides' dates and life, including his relationship with Pindar and his uncle Simonides, see Jebb (1905 intro., 1-26).

historians by varying amounts, and just about enough in the case of Thucydides and Pindar, the eldest and the youngest of the quartet, for the two to have met in person when Thucydides was in his formative teenage years and Pindar in his old age, assuming Thucydides to have been born in the early 450s. There is no evidence, however, that either historian was personally acquainted with, or had actually met in person, either Pindar or Bacchylides, although Herodotus does mention Pindar at 3.38: καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι δοκέει Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι: 'I think Pindar was right to have said in his poem that custom is king of all'.

In any case, as Hornblower argues (2004, 56-58), there is good reason to believe that Thucydides knew Pindar's work well and thus to have been influenced by him, even though, unlike Herodotus, he does not mention him in his History. Perhaps the strongest argument for a link between Thucydides and Pindar with regard to the speeches, and which at least shows the historian's awareness of epinician poetry, is the speech given to Alcibiades at 6.16.2. Here Alcibiades not only recalls his own achievements at the Olympian games of 416 by entering more chariots (seven) than any previous contestant and winning first, second and fourth prizes, but also reflects upon the prestige that this success brought to his own city in the eyes of the other Greeks, who believed Athens' power to be even greater than it really was when they would have expected Athens to have been exhausted by war (οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν μείζω ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν τῷ ἐμῷ διαπρεπεῖ τῆς Ὀλυμπίαζε θεωρίας ... [6.16.2]). We may recall the sixth *Isthmian Ode* and the fourth *Olympian* of Pindar in this context. In the first of these the Aeginetan Phylacides 'brings to his city an adornment in which all share' (ξυνὸν ἄστει κόσμον ἑῷ προσάγων, l.69); in the second Psaumis is 'eager to arouse glory for Camarina' (κῦδος ὄρσαι σπεύδει Καμαρίνᾳ, ll.11-12).

On the same topic of human glory we may consider the fine phrase uttered by Pericles in his Funeral Oration: δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν (2.42.4). Translators have had much difficulty with this sentence but I quote Lattimore (1998, 95): 'through the fortune of the briefest critical moment, at the height of their glory rather than fear, (they) departed'. Despite the fact that the text of Hornblower's book omits the crucial

word ἀκμῇ, he rightly refers us to Rusten (1986, 67-71), who compares its use (i.e. without the usual ἐν) to a phrase at Pindar (*Pyth*.4.64): ὥτε φοινικανθέμου ἦρος ἀκμᾷ, ('as at the height of red-flowered spring'). For a thematic parallel we can turn to the speech of Nicias at 6.9-14, where the Athenian general is criticising fellow Athenians for their overweening ambition to conquer Sicily. Cornford (1907, 206) points out that in this speech Thucydides is quoting from Pindar in using the expression δυσέρωτας τῶν ἀπόντων (6.13.1), translated by Lattimore (1998, 313) as 'sharing the fatal desire for the faraway' and, more poetically by Hornblower (2004, 73), as 'doomed lovers of things remote'. Cornford is referring to Pindar *Pythian* 3, where the poet remarks that Coronis, the mother of Asclepius, 'was in love with things remote' (ἤρατο τῶν ἀπεόντων, l.20). To this I would say, with Hornblower (2004, 335), that Thucydides' words are not exactly a quote, but they do echo the sentiment of Pindar, and are closely linked with him, in verbal expression.

An expression of impatience with the human frailty of seeking what is distant while overlooking what is near at hand is not foreign to Bacchylides either, for instance at 1.64-67: τὸ δὲ πάντων εὐμαρεῖν οὐδὲν γλυκὺ θνατοῖσιν, ἀλλ'αἰεὶ τὰ φεύγοντα δίζηνται κιχεῖν. 'mortals find no sweetness in opulence but are ever pursuing visions that flee before them.' And a similar γνώμη, the theme of which is familiar in Herodotus, is also found in Bacchylides 5.53-55: οὐ γάρ τις ἐπιχθονίων πάντα γ'εὐδαίμων ἔφυ. 'no mortal man is blessed in all things'. Compare this idea, for example, with the words of wisdom spoken by Solon to Croesus at 1.32.8, where he declares it impossible for mere mortals to have all the blessings of life at once: τὰ πάντα μέν νυν ταῦτα συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἐόντα ἀδύνατόν ἐστι.[160]

Lefkowitz (1976, 97, 157 and 173) has drawn attention to the abstractions and generalisations found in Pindar's victory odes, particularly in the proem to *Olympian* One and *Pythian* One which, she says, bear comparison to speeches in Thucydides which 'attempt to express abstractly the enduring meaning of events'[161] found in this very proem. She does not, however, go on to address the specific question of the

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[160]The commonplace nature of this kind of phrase weakens the case for direct borrowing, however.
[161]Op.cit. 97.

relationship of the speeches in Pindar and Bacchylides with those in Thucydides or Herodotus, an omission which is pointed out by Hornblower (2004, 321).

Segal (1986, 35ff.) has indicated a similar technique in Pindar, which can also be found in Thucydides and Herodotus, that of characterisation conveyed through the speeches, for example in *Pythian* 4, where a masterful contrast is drawn between the polite and urbane Jason and the deceitful Pelias. There are obvious parallels in both of our writers for this kind of contrast in characterisation via the Speeches, for example: in Thucydides, Nicias contrasted with Alcibiades in the Sicilian debate (6.9-14–18); in Herodotus, Xerxes with Artabanus and Mardonius in the long discussion over the invasion of Europe (7.9-18).[162]

In all there are 42 speech items in DD contained in the epinician odes of these two poets, of which two are in poems whose authorship is disputed, although attributed by most scholars to Bacchylides.[163] Hornblower (2004, 318) makes the important general point that speeches in the odes of both Bacchylides and Pindar only occur in the longer odes containing myths.[164] These speeches are made solely by characters, whether mythological or quasi-mythical humans or gods, who feature in the myth in question. Such a character is Croesus, whose dramatic portrayal by Bacchylides as he faces death on the pyre is closely linked with a similar scene in Herodotus (1.86-87). The Croesus who speaks at Bacchylides 3.37-47[165] is a quasi-mythical character rescued by Apollo from his pyre and transported miraculously to the land of the Hyperboreans.[166] In Herodotus, however, at 1.87.1, he regains his rightful historical status and the circumstances of his near immolation are different, inasmuch as Croesus is a prisoner of the invading Persians and suffers at the hands of Cyrus, whereas Bacchylides' version has the defeated Lydian king mounting his own funeral pyre with the intention of committing suicide.

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[162]See my Chapter 9 on 'Characterisation'.
[163]These are listed by Hornblower (2004, 325-326).
[164]Apart from Pindar, *Olympian* 4, which is only 27 lines long but contains a myth and also DD in the form of an address by Erginus to Hypsipyle, as Hornblower (2004, 318) indicates.
[165]The ode is the first of three in the ms. addressed to Hieron of Syracuse in praise of his last chariot victory at Olympia in 468, the year before his death.
[166]See Burnett (1985, 79) for a critique on this myth-creation of Bacchylides.

The speech the Bacchylidean Croesus makes is a rebuke addressed to Apollo and other gods who have failed to repay Croesus' generous gifts made at Delphi by not coming to his rescue and by not saving Sardis from destruction. It is assertively interrogative, even accusatory: ποῦ θεῶν ἐστιν χάρις; ποῦ δὲ Λατοίδας ἄναξ; πίτνουσι Ἀλυάττα δόμοι, τίς δὲ νῦν δώρων ἀμοιβὰ μυρίων φαίνεται Πυθωνόθεν; 'Where do the gods give me thanks? Where is the lordly son of Leto? The house of Alyattes is in ruins, what recompense now do I see from Pythian Delphi for my manifold gifts?'

The Herodotean Croesus, by contrast, at 1.87.1 appeals submissively to Apollo: (λέγεται) Κροῖσον ... ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστῆναι καὶ ῥύσασθαί μιν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. He is subsequently saved from the flames by a downpour of rain sent, we are to believe, by the god. This appeal is recounted by Herodotus in ID, purposefully, I believe, to render it low-key compared to the strong diatribe of Bacchylides' version. It is clearly intended to be subsidiary to the subsequent dialogue, in DD at 1.87.3-1.90 between Cyrus, who is duly impressed by the apparently supernatural powers of his intended victim, and Croesus, who thankfully seizes the opportunity to become Cyrus' 'wise adviser'.

Thus we note a contrast in authorial intent. Bacchylides is keen to emphasise the part played, or rather not played, by the gods in this scene, while Herodotus, by lowering the dramatic impact of Croesus' appeal to Apollo by describing it in ID and by omitting the fanciful removal of Croesus by Apollo to the land of the Hyperboreans, has diminished the religious significance of the story. This, I would submit, provides further evidence of how Herodotus attempted to demythologise much of the early history he recorded. Meanwhile, the Herodotean Croesus still remains in character by defiantly blaming 'the god of the Greeks' (Zeus) for his original decision to wage war against the Persians.

A further comparison has to do with dialogue which is used by both Pindar and Bacchylides to convey extreme emotional effect. I am defining 'dialogue' here as an extended speech event in DD involving two parties and comprising alternate speech

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items. To give one instance of this technique in either poet, we find good examples at Pindar *Nemean* 10 and at Bacchylides 5. The first of these odes reaches a climax in which Polydeuces appeals to Zeus to restore his twin brother Castor to life. Zeus then presents Polydeuces with a choice, either to accept immortality for himself, or for himself and Castor but on alternate days. The dialogue (*Nemean* 10.76-88) is the principal technique whereby Pindar dramatises the critical moment of choice for Polydeuces. The second example, in Bacchylides, involves a dialogue between Heracles, who is entering Hades in order to retrieve Cerberus, and Meleager's ghost: there are five exchanges,[167] during which both heroes conclude that no mortal can enjoy lasting benefits. The dialogue culminates in the declaration by Meleager that his sister, Deianeira, will be available for marriage to Heracles. Another, humorous, example is at Pindar *Pythian* 9 where Apollo features in an exchange with the centaur Chiron.

Both of these examples illustrate how, in the epinician poets, the gods and demi-gods, here Zeus, Apollo and Heracles, are present not only as protagonists but as speakers. This is a privilege which Herodotus, despite his predilection for dramatic dialogue,[168] does not allow to immortals. There are also two pieces of dialogue in Thucydides which illustrate this type of speech (διαλεκτικός): at 3.113.3-4, where the tragedy of the demise of the Ambraciot army is accentuated by the dramatic dialogue between the Ambraciot herald and an unknown Acarnanian; and at 5.84.3-113, the Melian Dialogue.

The final connection I should wish to make between the lyric poets and the Speeches is contained in a remark by Hornblower (2004, 317), that the interaction of narrative (ἔργον) and speech (λόγος) is 'a crucial feature of the art of Thucydides as of the epinician poets.' Thucydides himself, as we have seen, distinguishes between λεχθέντα and πραχθέντα at 1.22.1-2. We may also include Herodotus in this

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[167]At Bacchylides 6.76-84, 86-92, 94-154, 160-168, 172-175.

[168]I would also identify the following comparable examples of dramatic dialogues in Herodotus: encounters between Candaules and Gyges and subsequently between Gyges and Candaules' wife (1.8.2-9 & 1.11.2-5); the famous conversation between Croesus and Solon (1.30.2-32); Croesus' attempts to dissuade his son to go on the hunt (1.37-40); the discourse between Xerxes and Artabanus on human life (7.46-52); Demaratus explains to Xerxes the prowess of the Greeks (7.101-104).

comparison, who, at 3.72.2, as the seven conspirators set out to enter the royal palace to assassinate Smerdis, has Darius tell Otanes, in a double antithesis, that 'many things cannot be clarified by words, but can by action. Then again, some things may be clearly describable but lead to nothing spectacular' (πολλὰ ἔστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οἶά τε δηλῶσι, ἔργῳ δέ· ἄλλα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οἶά τε, ἔργον δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαμπρὸν γίνεται.).[169] Pindar, at *Pythian* 4.104, also uses this antithesis, in abbreviated form, in a speech of Jason: οὔτε ἔργον οὔτ' ἔπος. The contrast between λόγος and ἔργον will be explored further below in Chapter 6.

I have shown that there is some evidence of a thematic link between the lyric poets and our historians with reference to the Speeches, which develops over a period of some two centuries but is in direct line with the epic tradition. In the case of the earlier lyric poets, this evidence is weak, as we have examples of speech from only four authors, but by the time of Pindar and Bacchylides, the use of speech in epinician poetry to announce and promulgate celebrity has become almost commonplace, and I have given examples which indicate, but cannot ultimately prove, a connection in content and style with similar instances of dramatic episodes in the Speeches.

We go on now to see how both Herodotus and Thucydides progress the use of speeches not only for dramatic effect, as in the style of Pindar and Bacchylides, but also, more functionally, in order to illustrate and elucidate their historical narratives.

The Logographers

The terms λογογράφος and λογοποιός are both defined initially by LSJ as 'prose-writer',[170] as opposed to writers of verse, and later as 'chroniclers'. Modern scholars[171] have used the term to refer particularly to Ionian chroniclers and story-tellers of the late sixth to early fifth centuries. By the late fifth and into the fourth

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[169]Translation by Waterfield (1998, 200).

[170]Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Thuc. 5*) names the most famous as: Charon of Lampsacus, Hecataeus of Miletus, Hellanicus of Lesbos, Melesagoras of Chalcedon, Pherecydes of Leros, and Xanthus of Sardis. Murray (2001, 25) finds it 'hard to resist the conclusion that he (H) would have described himself as 'logopoios' like Hecataeus (2.143; 5.36, 125) and Aesop (2.134), thus emphasising the oral nature of his enquiry rather than the written.

[171]Following C. and T. Müller (1841), and Jacoby, F. (1923). Cf. esp. Pearson (1939); Shotwell (1939); Badian (1966); Toye (1995); Marincola (1997), and Garfield (2011).

century the term was used disparagingly to refer to professional writers, who wrote bespoke speeches to be used by their clients in court without appearing in court themselves;[172] subsequently these writers were often accused, in Thucydidean manner, of composing without regard for truth or relevance. In this thesis I take the term to refer especially to the early Greek historians up to and including Herodotus, who are pejoratively described by Thucydides as 'prose chroniclers', who have composed 'for attractive listening rather than for truthfulness' (ἐπι τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει [μᾶλλον] ἢ ἀληθέστερον).[173] The works of these 'logographoi' are further unfavourably compared by Thucydides to his own historiographical efforts: whereas theirs are poorly researched, unverifiable and written for entertainment, his are derived from the clearest of sources and the most reliable evidence (1.21.2).

With regard to the presence of speeches in these early works we are in the realm of conjecture. Well over a century ago Jebb (1880, para.2) wrote: 'If these Ionian writers introduced dialogues or speeches ... it may be conjectured that these were of the simplest kind' (cf. also Pearson (1939) and Toye (1995). Fowler (2001, 97) counters Jacoby's (1913) long-held theory that Herodotus transformed himself through sheer fine intellect from ethnographer to historian [174]. In fact he believes the two types of history (more accurately ἱστορίη) 'sprouted from the same earth', and that Herodotus' achievement was to limit the scope of his history to the three generations before the Persian Wars; whereas Thucydides took this concept a step further by insisting on writing only the history of his own time. Fowler (op.cit. 95-6) differentiates, moreover, between 'local' and 'universal' (panhellenic) historians, although want of evidence prevents us from knowing which came first. Herodotus appears to have been the first to draw the two genres together to create a

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[172]Such is the definition given by Connor (1984, 28).

[173]1.21.1; trans. by S. Lattimore (1998, 12).

[174]See also Fowler (1996, 62-9)**,** who has challenged Jacoby's long-standing development theory of early historiography by listing (62-8) many logographers, thought hitherto to have been predecessors, as contemporaries of H. The work most akin to H, Fowler affirms, is the *Hellenica* of Charon of Lampsacus. Moreover, Jacoby's idea, Fowler suggests, of a neat, teleological progression, whereby each of three authors, Hecataeus, H and Hellanicus, uniquely exhibits one of the three stages of historiography before T, is inherently unlikely; see also Marincola, J., 'Genre, Convention, and Innovation in Greco-Roman Historiography' in Kraus (1999, 281-324).

continuum between the remote and the recent past, thus apparently recognising the phenomenon of the 'floating gap' described by Thomas (2001, 198-210).

Fowler, however, (2001, 96) suggests that history is 'embedded' in the early genealogies, and it is therefore among the prose writers that Jacoby listed under his Band 1, 'Genealogie und Mythographie' that we are most likely to find evidence of speeches, since these involve (we assume) characters from mytho-history, rather than those works listed under 'Zeitgeschichte' (Band 2) and 'Horographie/Ethnographie' (Band 3).[175] This, then, is where the search for speeches has been made and, although fleeting reference may be made to other pre-Thucydidean logographers[176], emphasis will be placed upon two main exponents: Hecataeus of Miletus and Xanthus of Lydia, there being evidence of their works containing speeches.

Hecataeus of Miletus (1)[177]

Although of different ages, Hecataeus and Herodotus were both part of the Ionian intellectual enlightenment of the late sixth and early fifth centuries[178] and, indeed, Hecataeus is recognised by some past and modern scholars as the true '*pater historiae*' and as having had a significant influence on Herodotus in the fields of geography and ethnography.[179] Similarly, the Suda acknowledges Herodotus' debt to his predecessor, although perhaps as a result of being his junior rather than his inferior: Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεὺς ὠφέληται τούτου (Ἑκαταίου), νεώτερος ὤν.[180] However, the sparse and scanty remaining fragments of Hecataeus' works[181] provide, unfortunately for us, a poor hunting ground for any evidence that Herodotus may have drawn ideas from him for the composition of his speeches. Yet,

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[175]For a discussion of (i) the part played by ethnography in historiological development see Skinner (2012, esp. 242-253), (ii) the relationship between geography and history see Clarke (1999).

[176]For prose writers earlier than Hecataeus (i.e early sixth century) see Bury (1909, esp. 14-21).

[177]Numbers following the names of logographers refer to the identification numbers in *BNJ*.

[178]Cf. Raaflaub (2006, 156-160). For a complete account of the genealogical origins of historiography through the invention of 'chronological genealogy' by Hecataeus see Bertelli, L., in Luraghi (2001, 67-94).

[179]Cf. also Pearson (1939), Shotwell (1939), Badian (1966), Toye (1995), Marincola (1997).

[180]*FGrHist.* vol.1, Ty 1, p.1. However, some ancient critics are more scathing in their remarks regarding Hecataeus' unscientific attitude, for example Strabo (8.3.9; 7.3.6) and Aelian (*Hist. Animal.* 9.23).

[181]The *Periegesis* and the *Genealogiae*.

despite this lack of extant material, we do have some evidence of like-thinking between the two historians. In the opening sentence to his *Genealogiae*[182] Hecataeus says: 'I write what I believe to be the truth; for many and ridiculous, so they seem to me, are the stories of the Greeks' (τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοίοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσίν). This at least indicates that Hecataeus, like Herodotus, was attempting to rationalise earlier mythographical accounts of archaic Greek history.

It is too great a step from here to try to assess how much Herodotus may have owed to Hecataeus by way of historical fact or historiographical method, much less how much he owes in the way of speeches, but he does make four references in the *Histories* to his eminent logographic predecessor (2.143; 5.36, 125; 6.137). Two of these (2.143 and 6.137) mention him as a source of information.

Although there is no direct evidence from the fragments, we know that Hecataeus *did* include DD in his works from evidence supplied by the author of *De Sublimitate* (Pseudo-Longinus), who quotes a passage[183] to show how Hecataeus would introduce a dramatic switch to the first person in the direct words of his characters comparable to Homer and Herodotus: ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἑκαταίῳ· Κῆυξ δὲ ταῦτα δεινὰ ποιούμενος αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἐπιγόνους ἐκχωρεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν δυνατός εἰμι ἀρήγειν ('We find this example in Hecataeus; "Ceyx took this ill and immediately bade the younger descendants of Heracles be gone. For I cannot help you." '). However, the passages from Homer (*Iliad* 5.85) and Herodotus (2.29) quoted by (Pseudo-) Longinus[184] are not exact parallels, since they refer to sudden changes in person during a part of the narrative rather than in a speech or dialogue. Even so, the idea behind all these techniques, Longinus explains, is the same in all three authors, namely to set the hearer in the centre of the action and to make him more empathetic (ἐμπαθέστερον) and more attentive (προσεκτικώτερον).

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[182]*FGrHist.* vol. 1, Fr 1(a), 7-8.
[183]*De Sublimitate* 27.2-3.
[184]Op.cit. 26.3.

<u>Xanthus of Lydia (765)</u>

As with Hecataeus, the unresolved dispute about the dates of Xanthus' life detracts somewhat from our ability to determine what influence he may have had upon our two historians. Strabo (1.3.4) tells us that Xanthus described a great drought which happened in the reign of Artaxerxes, which gives a *terminus a quo* for the publication of his works of 464, the year of Artaxerxes' succession. In addition, Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions Xanthus as being among several writers who were 'living rather earlier than the time of the Peloponnesian War and extending as far as the age of Thucydides'.[185] We know through Athenaeus (*FGrHist*. vol.1, Fr180, 70) that Ephorus says Xanthus provided Herodotus with 'starting points', 'sources' or 'resources': Ἔφορος ὁ συγγραφεὺς μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ (sc. Ξάνθου) ὡς παλαιοτέρου ὄντος καὶ Ἡροδότῳ ἀφορμὰς δεδωκότος. The likeliest interpretation of this is that given by Pearson (1939, 109), that Herodotus took inspiration from Xanthus' *Lydiaca*, that is to say his version of historiography, which is a 'combination of historical narrative with anecdote'.

This evidence in itself is not enough to suppose that Herodotus took the idea of using speeches in his Lydian account, especially as we have no surviving speeches from the fragments of the *Lydiaca*. The nearest we come to justifying such a proposition is in the evidence of two fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus (Fr 71 and Fr 68). The first is a passage which has been set in parallel with a fragment of Xanthus quoted by Strabo (Fr 15 = Strabo 12.8.3), which tells how the Mysians derived their name from the Lydian 'mysas' meaning 'beech-tree', which in Greek is ὀξύη.

The Nicolaus passage is a classic Lydian tale involving Alyattes, the Lydian king, and a multi-talented Thracian woman whom he spies as he sits near the city wall of Sardis: she manages to carry a water jar on her head while spinning from a distaff and pulling a horse tethered to her girdle, all at the same time. The king is impressed and asks the woman where she is from. She replies she is from Mysia, 'and this is a small town in Thrace'. Alyattes later sends to Thrace to help populate his kingdom with a number of immigrants from that country. The exchanged words in this passage are a

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[185]*De Thucydide* 5.

mixture of DD and ID. A strikingly similar story is told by Herodotus (5.12-14) involving Darius and the sister of two Paeonian men, who is dressed up by them and made to present herself to the sight of Darius, in a similar way to the woman in the Alyattes story, in order to impress the king. The exchanged words this time are between the king and the two Paeonian brothers.

The second passage of Nicolaus is a retelling of the story of Croesus on the pyre, paralleled in Herodotus (1.86-88). Here longer passages of DD do appear, being at first interchanges between Croesus and his mute son, who offers to join his father on the pyre. Croesus forbids this but, as in the Herodotean version, is forced to be accompanied by fourteen Lydian youths. Croesus' son has then to be dragged away from the pyre, but appeals to Apollo to rescue his father. In the Herodotean version the son plays a different role, begging a Persian soldier not to kill his father when he is first captured at the fall of Sardis: these are the first words he ever spoke, thus fulfilling a previous prophecy delivered to Croesus from the Pythia (1.85.2). Apart from the role of the son and the staged appearance of the Sibyl, which I take to be the Hellespontine Sibyl, and Zoroaster, the sequence of events and direct conversations in the Nicolaus account then follow the Herodotean version closely, even to the point where Croesus is taken back to Cyrus' palace, where he makes a request to Cyrus (1.90.2) that he be allowed to send the fetters he had been wearing to the Pythia to shame the god for having tricked him with his oracle. A possible explanation of the link between the accounts is that Nicolaus borrowed from Herodotus,[186] although he must have obtained the variations in the story, for example the role played by Croesus' son and the presence of the Sibyl and Zoroaster, from a different source: this would probably have been Xanthus since he would have been a leading authority on Lydian mythology. It is possible that Herodotus may also have inherited the story, along with its speeches, from Xanthus,[187] but excluded the reference to the Sibyl and Zoroaster in an attempt to create more of a Greek saga, preferring to emphasise the importance of the reverence paid by Croesus to Solon,

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[186]As Pearson argues (1939, 130); or the account could have been a 'roving anecdote', which, Hornblower tells us (1987, 23-4), neither in H nor in T should 'be regarded as necessarily fatal to their general trustworthiness'.
[187]I.e. from the *Lydiaca*, which provides a history of Lydia to the fall of Sardis.

an Hellenic as opposed to an oriental luminary, by exclaiming his name out loud while awaiting his fate.

The change in the role of Croesus' mute son can also be explained by Herodotus' wish to draw attention to the fulfilment of a previous oracle, a process much favoured by Herodotus throughout the *Histories*, in an attempt to explain how historical events are often the inevitable outcome of earlier prophecies, dreams and oracles. Pearson (1939, 130), however, denies the Xanthian link: 'the differences between the versions of this tale in Herodotus and Nicolaus are great enough to make it clear that the two authors are drawing on different sources.' I cannot altogether agree with this: although there are undoubtedly differences, there are at least as many similarities in the narratives and in the use of speech in the two accounts. Moreover, while the differences are explainable, as I have shown above, the similarities, in the main events of the story and in some of the detail, are striking.

In conclusion we can say that, despite the closeness of the so-called 'logographers' to our authors in terms of both genre and chronology, together with the fact that the earliest of them led the way in the development of written prose, there is remarkably little evidence, albeit partly explained by a lack of extant material, either that the logographers continued or developed the practice of speech writing from the epic poets or, much less, that they provided a precedent for the Speeches in Herodotus and Thucydides.

Chapter Four: Drama

Of all the influences on the Speeches, with the possible exception of Rhetoric, it could be argued that drama, by which I mean here Attic tragedy and comedy, is the greatest. Yet it is worth noting that, considering the amount of material which has been written about the influence of drama on the Histories as a whole, comparatively little attention has been paid as to how, in particular, the Speeches relate to this genre.[188]

In the case of Thucydides, however, we have Cornford's *Thucydides Mythistoricus* (1907), a work which, although over a century old, is seminal when it comes to a discussion of the literary aspects of the *History*. Subsequently Finley (1938, 1967) has shown a close affinity existing between Thucydides and Euripides, while others have acknowledged a link between Thucydides and Attic drama.[189] Of Herodotus' work, Lateiner (1989, 24) says: 'Drama and history complement each other: the narrative of the past is now more interesting because it is more human, and more significant because the roots of men's actions are exposed'.

A cornerstone of Cornford's original thesis is that Thucydides took up the dramatic, and particularly the tragic, element in the *Histories* of Herodotus and applied them to his own work, not just in portraying individual characters and events but as an overarching theme. For just as Herodotus came to write the tragedy of Xerxes in Books 7-9, so Thucydides came to write the tragedy of Athens. I shall show, therefore, in this chapter how our authors derived both inspiration and material from the Attic dramatists of the fifth century, both tragic and comic, in order to bring alive, through the dramatic effect of their speeches, the characters who feature in the stories and the historical events they describe, and thereby to illuminate and explain their narratives.

Nor do I here neglect the courageous comic genius of Aristophanes, whose extant plays give us the window into contemporary everyday and political life which the

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[188]Cf. more recently, however, Lateiner (1989), Pelling (1997), and Scardino (2007).
[189]E.g. de Romilly (1956, 1962), Connor (1977,1982,1984). Pelling (2000) has highlighted in general the link between drama and historiography.

tragedies, for all their didactic morality, lack. It is as well to note, however, with Foley (1988, 47), that 'comedy uses the authority of tragedy to bolster its claims to free speech', and thus becomes part of the 'legitimate theatre' at Athens 'using this license to accomplish what tragedy did not undertake'. The character and speeches of Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians*, which was presented in 425 after the dual trials of the devastation of Attica and of the plague had reduced the morale of the common Athenian citizen to a low ebb, managed to produce the kind of satirical representation of the Origins of the War and its consequences with which Thucydides, a victim of both disasters, would have identified; as he would have, no doubt, with Aristophanes' denigrating portrayals of Cleon in the same play, in the *Knights* of 424, in the *Clouds* of 423 and in the *Wasps* of 422.[190]

De Romilly (1956, 84 and 105-6) emphasises the close relationship between Thucydides' speeches and the dramatists, when she explicitly describes Thucydides as 'a kind of playwright-cum-stage director', presenting characters as they would appear on stage and giving them lines to speak but leaving it to the audience/readership to decide the meaning of the play/narrative. She believes Thucydides' intention to have been 'to let the facts, as far as possible, speak for themselves' ("l'histoire de Thucydide tend a laisser le plus possible les faits parler d'eux-mêmes").[191] But for Hunter (1973b, 177) this is not enough: she defines Thucydides' purpose as (a) to select and dispose the facts that events themselves would conform to and so demonstrate the pattern of history and (b) (referring in part to the speeches) to show how far and by what means man is capable of intervening in this process. Hunter's idea links in very closely with that of Lateiner (above) and agrees with the theory that, in the Speeches, the two historians shared a common purpose, to reveal and to explain the human element in history, what Thucydides refers to as τὸ ἀνθρώπινον (1.22.4).

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[190]Cf. *Acharnians*, l.6: 'the fine talents that Cleon coughed up', referring to an alleged bribe by 'islanders' to persuade Cleon to relieve them from payment of their tax; also Dicaeopolis' obscene description of Cleon at l.664, and at ll.502-3, a reference to Cleon's attempt to prosecute Aristophanes in 426 over his (lost) play *Babylonians*. For further comment on Cleon's denigrated character in *Acharnians* see Sommerstein (1980, 158). In *Knights*, cf. ll. 230-2, where Cleon is depicted as a Paphlagonian slave.
[191]Op. cit. 84.

It may reasonably be proposed that, since Greek drama, by definition,[192] concerns itself with actors and choruses speaking their parts live to an audience, there already exists a link, in method at least, between that genre and the speeches which contemporary or later historians may have inserted into their accounts. There is a sense in which the historian in his speeches has the opportunity to communicate with his 'audience' in a less inhibited way than in his narrative, where, if he is being true to his avowed intention, he is committed to greater accuracy and detachment. However, it is the *content* of the Speeches which are here our concern, the main questions being: to what extent can they be said to be 'dramatic'[193] or, more specifically, to convey a tragic or comic message to the listener or reader, to reveal the tragic or, more rarely perhaps, the comic side of the particular speaker.

Of the Attic tragedians, Sophocles and Euripides, in regard to age, are closer to our historians than Aeschylus,[194] but this does not mean necessarily that they were more influential. Aeschylus undoubtedly influenced Herodotus[195] and also, to a great extent, as Cornford (1907)[196] has shown, Thucydides. There is also some tentative evidence to show that Herodotus was a friend of Sophocles[197] and that the playwright influenced his work, but I will seek to show that, with regard to his speeches, he took his ideas much more abundantly from Aeschylus and, in particular, from one play, the *Persae,* although, bearing in mind that only seven plays of Aeschylus have survived out of an estimated ninety, it is impossible to be categorical about the exclusivity of this influence.

Aristophanes (c. 448-380), the comic playwright, although the youngest of the writers we are considering, was nevertheless a partial contemporary of all the other

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[192]At least by our modern definition, since the word 'drama' is derived from the verb δρᾶν ('to do') rather than from any verb of speaking.

[193]In using the terms 'drama' and 'dramatic' I henceforth include both 'tragedy' and 'comedy' and their derivatives.

[194]Aeschylus (525-456), Sophocles (496-406), Euripides (480-406).

[195]Although he only mentions Aeschylus once (2.156. 6).

[196]Esp. 139ff and 154ff. with regard to 'reversal of fortune' (περιπέτεια) and 'necessity' (ἀνάγκη) respectively.

[197]This friendship is alluded to by Plutarch (*Moralia* 785b), in that Sophocles purportedly wrote a short epigram for H but, as Asheri notes (1989, 4), Herodotus was a common name in Ionia and the islands. Apart from this, the only trace of a link between the two writers is in the biographical tradition (that H at one time met and befriended Sophocles possibly during the latter's stay at Thurii) and in the scholia – see Said (2002, 117) for details.

five except Aeschylus. Since he was in his prime during the Peloponnesian War,

Aristophanes' satirical representations of events and characters help us to evaluate

the authenticity of speeches in Thucydides purportedly made up to the time of his

exile and what influence, if any, Sophocles and Euripides may have had upon them.

Such is the paucity of fragments remaining of other tragedians and comic

playwrights of the fifth century that it is almost impossible to assess what relevance,

if any, they may have to this enquiry.[198]

Herodotus

I begin with what may seem, to the modern reader, an anomaly regarding the

relationship of Herodotus with drama: while modern analysts and commentators so

commend the *Histories* for their inventively dramatic stories, Herodotus is hardly

praised at all by ancient critics for any dramatic quality or vividness of narrative. This

compares with the way in which Isocrates, for example, praises the tragedians

(*Nicoclem*. 49), or as Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*ad Pompeium* 3.11) and (Pseudo-)

Longinus (*De Sublimitate* 13.3) praise Thucydides or Xenophon. In fact, Dionysius

prefers to couple Herodotus with Homer, describing him as Ὁμήρου ζηλωτής (ibid.).

This, together with Aristotle's earlier description of Sophocles as 'the same kind of

"imitator" as Homer' (*Poetics* 1448a4), would seem to support the intuitive theory

that Herodotus and Sophocles owed more to Homer than to each other. This does

not, however, preclude the possibility, as I indicate below, that Herodotus may owe

a great deal to other dramatists.

Two further perspectives on the *Histories*, this time modern, though mildly

contradictory, provide a good introduction to the exact topic in hand, which is, what

do the speeches in Herodotus owe to poetic drama? First, Regenbogen (1961), in

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[198]Of the most celebrated tragedians, Phrynichus, Pratinas and Choerilus preceded Aeschylus. Agathon, whose first victory was in 416, the celebration of which at his house is the setting for Plato's *Symposium*, is lampooned by Aristophanes in the *Thesmophoriazusae* for his effeminacy and died at the court of Archelaus of Macedonia in 400. As is the case with many other Athenian playwrights of the fifth century, very few fragments of Agathon survive. As for comic playwrights of the period, the so-called Old Comedy, apart from Aristophanes we know very little about them. Cratinus (520-423) was the most successful of those we do know about (cf. Bakola, 2010), his most famous victory being *The Bottle* in 423, which defeated Aristophanes' *Clouds* and in which he defended himself against his having been mocked by his rival as a drunkard in the *Knights* the previous year. Eupolis (c. 446-c. 411) was a contemporary, friend and collaborator of Aristophanes but, although he was much praised by ancient critics for his wit and his seven victories, very little of his work survives.

theorising about a division in the *Histories* between speech and action (Wort und Tat) inherited by Herodotus from both epic and tragedy, asserts that Herodotus is in a direct line from epic, via tragedy to Thucydides. He makes the further point that it was via tragedy that Herodotus inherited the idea that it was only through powerful speeches that the heroes and heroines of myth could articulate their emotions and that great events could be presented and experienced by an audience.

Secondly, and slightly in opposition to this, we have Griffin (2006, 54) telling us that 'the alternation of conversation and narrative, so central to the *Histories*, recalls the style of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* rather than the division of a tragedy into speech and song: moral comments and lessons are drawn not by a chorus, as in tragedy, but by characters'. I would not disagree with Regenbogen's division of 'Wort und Tat', but would extend it also to Thucydides.

The demarcation of 'Wort und Tat' is self-evident even upon first reading the texts of both Histories and is, indeed, the feature which above all others marks the main structural similarity between the two works.[199] I would quibble, however, with Regenbogen's second statement, that it was through tragedy that Herodotus learnt to present great events through speeches, since I hope to have shown in Chapter Three (pp. 45-60) above that it is to the paradigm of speeches in epic that the successful presentation of characters and events in Herodotus owes a great deal. This is, in fact, what Griffin (2006) is partly trying to tell us when he persuasively makes the point that moral comments and lessons are often drawn by characters and, I would have added, via their speeches.[200] However, unless it is being used in a technical sense to do with speech act theory, Griffin's use of the term 'conversation' in the context of epic and history is unhelpful and even misleading when, I assume from the context, he means 'speech'. By using this term he shows that he completely undervalues the potency of speech in both genres since, among other uses and purposes, the speeches in Homer and Herodotus are at times capable of

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[199]See my Chapter 6, 'λόγοι and ἔργα'.
[200]The best examples, some of which I refer to in the main text, are: Solon at 1.30.2-32; Croesus at 1.87; Artabanus at 7.10 & 7.46-52.

conveying drama, and tragic drama to boot: they transmit to the listener or reader far more than mere 'conversation'.

Picking up Griffin's point about Herodotus making moral comments through speeches, I would add here that I agree with the observation of Fornara (1971, 61) and of Schmid-Stählin (1934, 569), the latter of whom said that Herodotus' work is very like Attic drama 'in spirit and general effect'. Thus, like Aeschylus and Sophocles, he involves his audience and expects them to come to their own conclusions about the moral implications of his story without the aid of the author. The best example of this is in his treatment of Pausanias, whom he praises highly as the saviour of Greece through the short speech he attributes to the Aeginetan Lampon, son of Pytheus at 9.78: Ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυὲς μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος, καί τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε ῥυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ('O son of Cleombrotus, the deed you have done is truly outstanding in its greatness and its magnificence; for saving Greece the god has surely bestowed upon you the greatest fame of any Greek we have known'). And yet Herodotus does not mention the ὕβρις of Pausanias and his eventual downfall except at 8.3.2, where he is talking about the Athenians using the ὕβρις of Pausanias as a pretext for taking over the hegemony of Greece.[201] The degeneration of Pausanias is so well known to his audience that it hardly needs to be mentioned and, indeed, Herodotus uses it subtly as an illustration of his 'law of history' principle concerning the instability of fortune for mortals and for states.[202]

This principle is developed into a major theme by Herodotus, expressed dramatically by way of the speeches, nowhere better illustrated than by Solon's words to Croesus, which warn the Lydian king to count no man, including himself, fortunate until he is

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[201]πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίεω ὕβριν προϊσχόμενοι, which is virtually a 'throw away' phrase.
[202]Cf. Fornara (1971, 61), who says that Pausanias' speeches are an example of H's dramatic/artistic method, e.g. his irony to the Greek generals at the 'feast' at 9.82.2; his kind treatment of a desperate woman about to be sold into slavery at 9.76: this in spite of or perhaps, as Fornara suggests, because of the fact that H knew his audience was well aware of Pausanias' ultimate disgrace and demise. Fornara (1987, 64) states: 'H's dramatic treatment of Pausanias ... acquires its significance from the common knowledge of his time. His portrait of P. is, in the light of that knowledge, a masterpiece of irony and a harbinger of tragedy' and 'provides a striking example of H's law of history' as provided in Solon's admonition to Croesus: σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτὴν κῇ ἀποβήσεται (1.32.9). See below (pp. 211-12) for a comparison with the Thucydidean portrait of Pausanias.

dead (1.32.9). Solon adds: 'we must look to the end of every matter to see how it will turn out' (σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτὴν κῇ ἀποβήσεται). Herodotus tells us what a dramatic effect this had on Croesus' life, since he ignored the warning, continued to consider himself the happiest of men, and so caused 'the weight of divine anger to descend on him' (ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, [1.34.1]). If we are in any doubt as to whether this theme constitutes true drama, we can note that identical sentiments, if not the exact words, are represented in the works of all three major Attic tragedians.[203] It is therefore well proven that Herodotus incorporates a dramatic element into his speeches to illuminate the strengths and faults of his characters.

Perhaps the best example of how Herodotus uses speech to create a dramatic story is the very first 'logos' of its type in the *Histories*, that is the transformation of the existing folktale of Gyges and Candaules' wife into a dialogue incorporating the tragic motif of a moral dilemma (1.8-12). The story is well known, so I will not reiterate it whole, except to point out the dilemma facing Gyges, which was that he either undertook to kill his master Candaules or to die himself. A crucial part of this story is the exchange of words between Gyges and his master's wife (1.11.2-5). We could point to some parallels in the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus such as the dilemma facing Agamemnon at Aulis (*Agamemnon* ll.192-257), or that confronting Orestes as he decides whether to kill his mother (*Choephoroe* ll.892-930). The moral dilemma motif is continued in Herodotus with the story of Pactyes, the leader of a Lydian uprising against Cyrus (1.157-61), in which Pactyes, in taking refuge at Cyme, becomes a suppliant of the Cymeans, who are then ordered by the oracle at Branchidae to hand him over to the Persians. Aristodocus, the Cymean spokesman, challenges the god's command by evicting the sparrows from the god's temple, which elicits divine anger, whereupon he dares to liken his eviction of the god's suppliants (the sparrows) with that of the god's order to hand over Pactyes.

Another, perhaps less close parallel, is provided in the *Suppliants*, an early play of Aeschylus produced c.470, in which Pelasgus, king of Argos, refuses to hand over his

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[203]Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 928-9; Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 1528-30; Euripides, *Andromache* 100-1.

suppliants, the fifty daughters of Danaus, to their cousins, the sons of Aegyptus, incurring their wrath in the form of a declaration of war. The essence of the dilemma for Pelasgus is that the maidens threaten to kill themselves within the temple if they are surrendered. This takes place in a dramatic section of stichomythia (ll.455-67). In the Herodotean story the crucial encounter is contained in 1.159, and can justly be described in this instance as a dramatic conversation between Aristodicus and the god who insists on the handing over, thus enforcing the moral point that the gods' commands should not be challenged and stressing the conflict between religion and politics. This is a common theme in Attic tragedy to be found in Sophocles' *Antigone* and the *Heraclidae* of Euripides, the latter of which carries a plot involving the dilemma of whether or not to surrender suppliants, very similar to the Aeschylean play.

Herodotus was interested in why and how the characters in his account were driven to act, what desires and considerations gave rise to decisions, as well as the much larger issue, which is the central and unifying theme of his *Histories*, expressed in his proem, namely, how the Persians and the Greeks came to war.[204] To take an historical event of such magnitude as this as the subject of a complete work of art was a revolutionary idea. But, except that it was composed in prose, it was not unique. As far as we know, Phrynichus (fl. 512-476) was the first to write tragic dramas which took historical events as their subject. One of these was *The Phoenician Women*,[205] which celebrated the Greek victories of 480-479 over the Persians. Following this, the *Persae* of Aeschylus was produced in 472 and constitutes the earliest complete tragedy that has come down to us. Thenceforth the Persian Wars became an acceptable subject for drama. Drews (1973, 35) says: 'the περιπέτεια of Persia could be ranked with the fate of the seven who marched against Thebes, or the career of the house of Atreus'. In other words a near-contemporary event became as exploitable a theme for tragedy as any myth depicting action from the distant past, and Herodotus became a subsequent exploiter of the tragic theme of the Persian Wars.

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[204]Whether the *Histories* contain a central theme has been a much discussed question. My conclusion agrees with Pohlenz (1937); but see Immerwahr (1966, 19).
[205]*TrGF* vol.1, Fr. 8. p.75.

We can point to particular verbal echoes in the DD and ID of Herodotus which illustrate his use of the *Persae* of Aeschylus.[206] One example is that both the Queen,[207] in the *Persae*, and Artabanus, in a speech in the *Histories*, portray a king, Xerxes, led astray by his 'consorting with bad men': ταῦτά τοι κακοῖς ὁμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκεται θούριος Ξέρξης· (*Persae* 753-4); ... σὲ ... ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλίαι σφάλλουσι (Η 7.16α). Another instance is where Themistocles, at 8.109.2-4, attributes Greek success to the gods and condemns the sacreligious and hybristic acts of Xerxes by 'burning and toppling the statues of the gods; he also whipped the sea and fettered its feet': ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατῆκε. In this, he almost precisely echoes the sentiment of Darius' ghost in the *Persae* (745-8), where the ghost upbraids Xerxes for having dared to think he could stop the flow of the Hellespont by fettering it as if it were a slave: Ἑλλήσποντον ἱρὸν δοῦλον ὣς δεσμώμασιν ἤλπισε σχήσειν ῥέοντα ... καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις περιβαλών ..., and at 809-12, where Darius deplores the shameless Persian plundering of divine images and the burning of temples upon arriving in Greece: οἳ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ' οὐ θεῶν βρέτη ᾐδοῦντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς.[208]

The speeches of Artabanus contain other allusions to the *Persae*. We might consider, as an example, his warning to Xerxes not to attack Greece (7.10), which parallels the Queen's (Atossa's) report of how she was warned of Xerxes' coming disaster (*Persae* 176-214), the difference being that Artabanus relies on his previous personal experience in the reign of Darius to argue against invasions into Europe, whereas the Queen recounts a terrifying dream in which a hawk viciously attacks an

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[206]Although H only mentions Aeschylus once (at 2.156.6).

[207]Probably Atossa, although Aeschylus does not name her. For a list of scholars who have taken the identification of the 'Queen' as Atossa see Harrison (2000, 132 n.32). But cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1983, 24): there is 'nothing to suggest that explicit information about Persian queens was available to the poet'; Podlecki (1991) cautiously designates the Queen simply as 'the Queen'; Hall (1996, 121) says the name of Atossa was probably imported from H or from the scholia by ancient scholars but, she adds: 'This does not mean that Aeschylus did not know her name; her anonymity may reflect Aeschylus' knowledge that Persian royalty, unlike Greek, did not permit underlings to address them by name'.

[208]Cf. HW (ii, n. on 8.109.3) for the importance of this as historical verification: 'The burning of the temples is proved by instances adduced (see also 5.102.1 n.), and by the ruins of temples never restored seen, by Pausanias (10.35.2ff.)'.

eagle, this being symbolic of the Greek resistance to Xerxes' invasion force (*Persae* 205-10). The overriding idea that Xerxes' invasion of Greece involves the joining of Europe and Asia, and that this constitutes ὕβρις, is common to Herodotus and Aeschylus. In the very first chorus of the *Persae* attention is drawn to the bridging of the Bosphorus by the king's army, which 'has thrown a yoke about the sea's neck': ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν αὐχένι πόντου (71).

The same simile is re-emphasised (722) where the Queen uses the verb cognate with ζυγόν (ζευγνύναι) to explain to the ghost of Darius how her son managed to 'contrive to yoke the strait of Helle to create a pathway': μηχαναῖς ἔζευξεν Ἕλλης πορθμόν, ὥστ' ἔχειν πόρον. The simile is associated closely with the yoke of slavery in several other places in the *Persae*, notably (592-4), where the chorus, in antistrophe, delight in how the people, once under 'the yoke of (Persian) military force', are now 'free to speak their minds': λέλυται γὰρ λαὸς ἐλεύθερα βάζειν, ὡς ἐλύθη ζυγὸν ἀλκᾶς. Also the Queen (181-99) recalls her dream in which two women are allotted respectively the two domains of Europe and Asia. They are 'put under the same yoke by Xerxes ('my son') beneath his chariot and secured by the neck by the yoke-strap' (cf. l.71 above): παῖς δ' ἐμὸς ... ζεύγνυσιν αὐτὼ καὶ λέπαδν' ὑπ' αὐχένων τίθησι. But one woman, the European, struggles and the yoke breaks, spilling Xerxes out.

This tableau is paralleled by Herodotus when he pictures Xerxes boasting that he will bridge the Hellespont and lead his army through Europe against Greece: μέλλω ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπι τὴν Ἑλλάδα (7.8β.1), and when Artabanus warns Xerxes of the folly of his plan, repeating his nephew's words almost verbatim and, in particular, reusing the participle ζεύξας, as if he could scarcely believe that Xerxes had dared to countenance such a scheme (7.10β.1). As if to emphasise to his listeners the importance he attached to Xerxes' ὕβρις in the total context of his work, Herodotus states an authorial opinion at 7.24.1 which, although not in a speech, is worth noting. It has to do with the digging of the Athos canal; 'Xerxes ordered it,' he says, 'out of a sense of grandiosity and arrogance': μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. Herodotus had already informed us about unnaturally turning land into sea at 1.174.3-6, when the Cnidians were forbidden to dig a canal in order to turn their peninsula into an island, thus

arrogantly interfering with nature: 'if Zeus had wanted an island,' the Pythia proclaimed,' he would have made one' (Ζεὺς γὰρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο.).

As we should expect in an Aeschylean tragedy, the downfall of Xerxes' expedition in the *Persae* is put down to the intervention of the gods, for instance by the ghost of Darius[209] at 739-40 and 827-28, by a messenger at 353-4, by the Queen at 472-3, by the chorus at 515-16 and even by Xerxes himself at 909-12, where he bewails his misfortune yet recognises his fate and its unpredictability: δύστηνος ἐγώ, στυγερᾶς μοίρας τῆσδε κυρήσας ἀτεκμαρτοτάτης. Herodotus, however, usually distances himself from a wholly divine explanation by prefacing his account with 'it is said' or 'x says/said that'[210] or by putting it in DD form, such as in the case of the declaration by Dicaeus to Demaratus[211] when, just before the battle of Salamis, they saw a cloud emanating from Eleusis and heard a voice crying 'Iacchus!'. Dicaeus explains that, as there are no more people left in Attica, the voice must be of divine origin forewarning the coming defeat of the Persian navy at Salamis: 'there is no way a great disaster will not overtake the king's forces' (οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατιῇ.).

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[209]For the possibility of Darius acting as a mouthpiece for the playwright cf. Hall (1996, ad loc.) Also see Goldhill (1991, 167-222) for discussion of a connected question in Aristophanic comedy, notably in the case of Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians* who speaks at ll. 377-78 of '... what I suffered from Cleon because of last year's comedy', a clear reference apparently to Aristophanes' own experience when taken to law the previous year (426) by Cleon in response to his *Babylonians* (for discussion on this cf. Norwood 1930). De Ste. Croix (1972, 363) states that Dicaeopolis here, 'alone of Aristophanes' characters of whom we know anything' is closely identified with the dramatist himself. Contra, Bowie (1982, 29 n.14), who suggests similar identifications in earlier plays. There have been many other objections to De Ste. Croix's strong assessment, for a summary of which cf. Goldhill (op.cit. 191-93), based on the idea that the focalisation of the speech attributed to Dicaeopolis is complex: 'to stress a rigid identification between the poet and one of his characters is to underemphasise the playful manipulation of comic characterisation which resists precisely such a unified persona' (192); cf. also on this point Whitman (1964, 22), Forrest (1963, 8-9), Dover (1963, 15), and Reckford (1987, 179). The situation, however, is quite different from the scene involving Darius in the *Persae*: Dicaeopolis is clothed in a disguise borrowed from Euripides' play *Telephus*, thus imposing yet another level of fictionalisation onto the drama. Goldhill (ibid.) concludes that these complications have led to the unwillingness of critics to accept the identification of Dicaeopolis and Aristophanes. How much harder, then, to suppose that this occurrence supports the concept of the character of Darius' ghost being identified with Aeschylus.

[210]As at 7.189.1-3, where the account is introduced by λέγεται δὲ λόγος; at 8.38, where H distances himself with ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι; at 39.1 and 84.2, both introduced by λέγουσι.

[211]The whole pendant is in the form of a report by Dicaeus, and so his direct words to Demaratus are, in effect, part of an account in ID, an interesting departure and usage by H.

The part played by natural, in contrast to supernatural, forces in Herodotus is further illustrated again by Artabanus who, like Darius in the *Persae*, plays the familiar part of the 'wise adviser' or, to be more exact here, the 'tragic warner'.[212] At 7.49.1-2, he tells Xerxes that the two mightiest powers in the world, namely the sea and the land, are his worst enemies, the sea because there are no harbours big enough for his fleet, the land because it cannot produce enough food to feed his enormous army. Similarly, in the *Persae* (792-4), Darius says 'the land itself is the Greeks' ally and will kill the huge Persian army through starvation: αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ γῆ ξύμμαχος κείνοις πέλει … κτείνουσα λιμῷ τοὺς ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν, a truth already demonstrated by the messenger's description of the Persian retreat at 488-91.

Perhaps the most convincing evidence that Herodotus borrowed directly for his speeches from the *Persae* is shown at 8.68.α-γ, where Artemisia, through Mardonius, warns Xerxes not to allow the destruction of his fleet to cause the loss of his land force: δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς τὸν πέζον προσδηλήσηται.[213] Not only is the reference to the dual nature of the expedition stressed here but also the language is so similar to *Persae* (728) (ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς πεζὸν ὤλεσε στρατόν) as to be unmistakably derivative, a conclusion which Garvie (2009, 288) makes a persuasive case for accepting. This motif is further enhanced in the *Persae* (558-9), where the chorus reminds us that it was 'ships which brought both land and sea soldiers (marines) and destroyed both' (πεζοὺς γάρ τε καὶ θαλασσίους … νᾶες μὲν ἄγαγον … νᾶες δ' ἀπώλεσαν).

Even though it appears likely that Herodotus borrowed heavily from the *Persae* of Aeschylus, other quite subtle differences can be detected, apart from those mentioned above, which show how, in borrowing from the dramatists, he managed to temper both the tragedy and the drama of his account without losing either facet. He did this by retaining them in the speeches he gave to his main participants in order to reveal their characters. A good example of how this tempering took place is the difference in the portrayal of the character of Xerxes between the two works. In

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[212]Cf. Chapter 9, pp. 218ff.
[213]Cf. Lazenby (1988) on this and other verbal echoes of the *Persae* in H.

the *Persae*, Xerxes is portrayed as a passionate, vengeful autocrat, bent on punishing Athens for the defeat at Marathon.

Again it is the Queen who emphasises the wayward character of her son by using strong words to question the idea that he could have had such an 'overweening desire to hunt down that city as you would a wild animal': ἀλλὰ μὴν ἵμειρ' ἐμὸς παῖς τήνδε θηρᾶσαι πόλιν; (233). The ghost of Darius accuses his son of 'lusting for other than what he already possesses' (ἄλλων ἐρασθεὶς) (826): Xerxes is affected, in turn, by the brashness of youth (νέῳ θράσει) (744), by impetuosity (θούριος) (754), even by madness (ἐμώρανεν) (719). Darius (765-81) explains Xerxes' decision to be at variance with previous Persian policy: Xerxes' predecessors 'controlled their passions' (767), had 'sound minds' (772), were 'beloved by the gods and successful' (768 & 772). Cyrus, for instance, was wise enough to limit his conquests to Asia (770-1), that is to say the domain allotted to the barbarian by the gods (186-7); the Aeschylean Darius did not cross the Halys (864-6).

Although revenge is spoken of in Herodotus in connection with Xerxes,[214] we are not given the impression that it is his prime motive.[215] It is difficult to argue with Said's view (2002, 143) that revenge was more of a pretext for Xerxes than a direct cause, when we remember that it was primarily at the instigation of the ambitious Mardonius that Xerxes decided to act. This was then backed up by the Aleuadae and the Peisistratidae. It could be argued then that, notwithstanding all the similarities, echoes and parallels which exist between the *Histories* and the *Persae*, Xerxes is not the real tragic 'hero' of Herodotus' story; at least not in the Aeschylean sense, since, apart from the arrogance he displays in his speech to the assembled Persian nobles at 7.8, which one could even argue is nothing more than an assertion of monarchical power, he exhibits few of the personal failings manifest in Aeschylus' tragedy.[216]

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[214]E.g. in Book 7 at 5.3; 8α.2 & 8β.1-2; 9α.1; 11.2-3 & 9, where 'revenge' type words occur: τιμωρός , τιμωρίη , τιμωρέειν.
[215]H, in fact, makes it clear that Xerxes 'was persuaded': … ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης … (7.7.1).
[216]Harrison (2014, 11) points out that, unlike Mardonius, who uses the revenge (against Athens) argument to persuade Xerxes to invade Greece and unlike Artabanus, who advises caution, Xerxes is clear about his motives for imperial expansion: it is an imperative handed down through the Achaemenid line. He cannot, therefore, achieve less than any of his ancestors; conquest for its own sake is a source of pride (this contrasts with the 'self-interest' motive expounded by the Athenians at

There are grounds for saying, when we view the broad canvas of Herodotus' ἱστορίη and the statement in his proem that his particular (τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ...) concern is to record the origins of the war between the Greeks and the barbarian, that his true tragic heroine is Persia itself. But as Persia makes no speeches, except by means of its kings and rulers, that proposition is beyond the remit of this thesis. There are certain other caveats that could be mentioned in order not to overplay the similarities of the *Histories* to the *Persae*. The 'Remember Athens' motif is perhaps the best illustration of this: it occurs in both works but in different contexts.[217] In the Herodotean version Darius orders a *slave* constantly to remind him of that city, whereas in the *Persae* (823-6) he asks the *chorus* to remember Athens' victory in order to remind him not to send another expedition.

The *Histories* are full of the characters of which tragic drama[218] is made: Croesus, Candaules, Polycrates, Cleomenes, Cyrus, Cambyses, Xerxes, to name just some of his tyrannical tragic heroes. In Hartog's view (1988, 335), Herodotus used tragic heroes such as these to make his recounting of the Persian Wars palatable to his contemporary audience, brought up, educated and entertained as they were on the stuff of Attic drama. This opinion is backed up by Evans (1991, 5): 'it seems Herodotus borrowed tragic elements when it suited his dramatic purposes, but they were literary devices to catch his audience; they did not inform his historical vision.'

T 1.75.4-5). In an incidental comparison with T, Harrison describes the Council Scene as 'an informed reasoned reconstruction of Persian motives, albeit dramatically elaborated and "enriched" ' (p.3). Harrison continues: 'In sum the debate constitutes both a rhapsody on genuine Persian themes and a scintillating reconstruction of the manner in which pressure for a war may mount until it becomes inevitable.' (p.28). For a comparison of this with the pre-Sicilian expedition (T 6.9-23) debate at Athens and the speeches of Nicias and Alcibiades, see esp. my Chapter 10 below.

[217]Cf. Said (2002, 138).

[218]For a summary of H's familiarity with, and knowledge of, Greek poetry cf. Chiasson (1982, 156 n.2). Chiasson is concerned with diction in H and poetry, and notes some vocabulary found rarely in prose writers but commonly in the poets, esp. the tragedians e.g. the verb πυρόω, which is found in Xerxes' first speech to the Persian nobles at 7.8. β2; this also contains a sustained iambic rhythm: πρὶν ἢ ἕλω τε καὶ πυρώσω τὰς Ἀθήνας. Chiasson (ibid.) thinks that this may echo the rhythm of tragic dialogue; that, moreover, Artemisia later concludes her speech advising Xerxes' withdrawal with a similar phrase: σὺ δὲ, τῶν εἴνεκα τὸν στόλον ἐποιήσαο, πυρώσας τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπελᾷς (8.102.3). ' ... thus, Herodotus marks the beginning and end of Xerxes' personal involvement in the invasion of Greece by using a verb (πυρόειν) that may well have had strong associations with tragedy for the historian's original audience' (ibid.). See also other examples, e.g. θεήλατος and τὰ σκῆπτρα. For Xerxes' character in general cf. Evans (1991, 60-7), and pp. 215-17 below.

Although I do not believe that we can be sure exactly what Herodotus' 'historical vision' was, the first part of Evans' statement seems a plausible enough theory, especially when we consider, with Waters (1971, 86ff), how each of the above tyrants becomes embroiled in his own 'little tragedy' incorporated into the broader framework of the narrative. Despots in Herodotus, such as Xerxes, reap their just reward, or rather their just punishment, for their hybristic behaviour just as they do in Aeschylus' *Persae* (821-2) where: 'outrage has blossomed and has produced a crop of ruin, from which it reaps a harvest of universal sorrow' (ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν ἄτης , ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾷ θέρος).

The list of characters who suffer a downfall in Herodotus is long, as is the number of expressions of human helplessness in the face of inevitable ill-fortune. I give just two examples taken from the first six books, insofar as they relate to the speeches. Polycrates of Samos was so fortunate in every respect that fate was bound to overtake him eventually. This was recognised by Amasis, his potential ally, who sent him a letter telling him to discard his most valuable possession because he, Amasis, feared Polycrates' good fortune knowing how the gods are envious of success: ἐμοὶ δὲ αἰ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, ἐπισταμένῳ τὸ θεῖον ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν (3.40.2-4). Amasis was proved right when Polycrates' most treasured possession, the ring which he threw into the sea, was miraculously recovered by a fisherman. Polycrates is then lured to his death by the Persian governor of Sardis by a promise to provide money for his navy. Cambyses, who belatedly realised his tragic mistake in killing his own brother and who died from a similar injury to Miltiades, sums up this theme in a speech (3.65) to his Persian subjects with a fatalistic message: 'a man does not – as I now see – have the resources to deflect his destiny' (ἐν τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπηίῃ φύσι οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι ἀποτρέπειν).

There is no doubt that Herodotus draws upon the same mythological treasure house plundered by the epic and dramatic poets for many of his stories. The motif of vengeance and just punishment (τίσις), familiar in tragedies such as the Oresteian trilogy of Aeschylus, is particularly strong in the *Histories*. Speeches, commonly attributed to characters involved in such *topoi*, whether perpetrators or victims, and happening at critical points in the account, are a skilful means employed by the

author of injecting a dramatic nuance into his story. However, Herodotus does not always follow the traditional dramatic formula: for instance, the moment of retribution is often closer in time to the act of *hybris* or fault than in stories taken by the dramatists from mythological subjects, where τίσις is visited upon the sons, grandsons or even more distant relatives of the original perpetrator.[219]

An excellent illustration of the Herodotean τίσις event is the story of Harpagus' revenge upon Astyages. This story is interwoven into the account of the revolt by the Persians against the Medes and the subsequent rise to power of Cyrus (1.108-129). First Astyages, king of Media, punishes Harpagus for not carrying out his order to kill the infant Cyrus, who, according to the interpretation of a dream, is destined to replace him as king. He does this by cutting up Harpagus' son and inviting Harpagus to dine upon the cooked body parts.[220] Harpagus remains remarkably cool when he realises what has happened, but secretly plots revenge. He instigates, and actively participates in, the revolt by Cyrus against Astyages who, following Cyrus' victory, is brought before Harpagus as a prisoner of war and a slave (1.129) to be taunted by him.

The ongoing drama is cleverly highlighted by Herodotus at critical points in the broader account of the rise of Cyrus by the use of speech, both DD and ID, but vividly begun and ended in DD. First, at 1.108.4, Astyages warns Harpagus against any betrayal of duty, whereupon Harpagus, in turn at 1.108.5, assures him of his loyalty. Subsequently Astyages, at 1.117.2-5, learns the truth through Harpagus' confession and then, at 1.118.2, treacherously gives his servant the impression he has forgiven him by inviting him to dinner. 1.119.5, where Astyages asks whether Harpagus has enjoyed his meal, is matched in its callousness only by the pretended obsequiousness of Harpagus' reply at 1.119.7 that he is pleased to do his master's will; in fact he is plotting revenge. Eventually, at 1.129.1, Harpagus can gloat in his turn over the misfortune of his adversary.

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[219]E.g. the unfolding of the Atreid curse in the *Oresteia*.
[220]An idea surely associated with 'Thyestes' feast'.

The story of Hermotimus, the eunuch, and Panionius, described at 8.105-6 and containing 8.106.3, is another illustration of this type.[221] Here Hermotimus, having previously been castrated by Panionius and gifted to the Persian court, bides his time, but eventually exacts revenge by forcing Panionius to castrate his sons and then forcing his sons to do the same to their father. The historian puts forward in the narrative (8.106.4) the conventional idea, found also in tragedy, that this revenge is inevitable and 'came around' (περιῆλθε) in the natural course of time. Hermotimus, however, is here specifically identified with τίσις (ἥ τε τίσις καὶ Ἑρμότιμος), having been the prime mover in its exactment, even though Herodotus, as if wishing to reaffirm his religious piety, puts into Hermotimus' mouth (8.106.3) the claim that Panonius 'believed the gods would overlook what you were then planning' (ἐδόκεές τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμηχανῶ τότε), and that he was delivered into his hands (ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμάς) by the gods who were 'following the law of justice' (νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι).[222]

The notion that Herodotus does not quite abandon the divine intervention technique of earlier poets is further illustrated by the reply of the Pythia to the Lydian delegation sent by Croesus to Delphi. This speech (1.91) is a lengthy diatribe on why Croesus failed in his attack on Cyrus' kingdom and confirms what the reader is intended to learn from the account: that fate is inevitable and that 'not even a god

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[221]For the concept of reciprocity in the case of Hermotimus and Panionius (8.106.3-4) see Hornblower (2003), who points out that Hermotimus' revenge is hardly reciprocal as he exacts vengeance on five victims; cf. also generally Braund (1998); Harrison (2000, 58 and n.69); Lateiner (1989, 143); Immerwahr (1966, 284ff); Gray (2002, 308ff).

[222]Cf. Harrison (2000, 102): 'That H believed in the possibility of divine retribution is ... irrefutable'. Harrison also backs up my example of revenge (Hermotimus on Panionius), which H describes as 'the greatest revenge of anyone who has been wronged of all the men we know': τῷ μεγίστη τίσις ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν (8.105.1). For H (2.120.5) there was no greater act of vengeance than the outcome of the Trojan War, planned moreover by the gods in order to make it clear that great injustices receive great vengeances at their hands: ὡς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. For full discussion of the nature of instances of divine retribution in H see Harrison (2000, 102-121): e.g. delayed vengeance is seen as more powerful and as strong evidence for divine intervention, for example Croesus paid the full price for his ancestor Gyges (1.91.1), and Talthybius' vengeance was wrought upon the sons of the heralds who had volunteered to die in expiation of the hero's wrath (7.137). 'The delay', Harrison says (op.cit. 113), 'and the fact that punishment fell on the sons of the very same men, indeed make that punishment especially divine': Gould (1994, 97) describes this avenging as 'uncanny'. For ancestral fault in ancient Greece see esp. Gagné (2013); for a list of impieties punished in H see Mikalson (2002, 193); also generally on H and religion cf. Scullion (2006).

can escape his ordained fate': Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῷ.[223]

The theme of divine-inflicted punishment is pursued in many other parts of the *Histories*, even if we cannot exactly define them as τίσις, since they do not all involve an act of revenge. There is, nevertheless, usually some reference to divine origins. Pheretime, for example, was infested with worms in return for taking excessive vengeance on the Barcans 'as if to show people that excessive vengeance earns the gods' displeasure':[224] ὡς ἄρα ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ τιμωρίαι πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται (4.205). Miltiades dies from the putrefaction of an injured thigh after falling from the wall of a sacred shrine on Paros in an attempt to prevent himself from committing a sacrilege: even this last minute recantation did not avert his death since, as the Pythia explains, 'it was fated that Miltiades should die a horrible death' (δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ ... (6.135.3).

Cleomenes goes mad and dies by self-mutilation, an end he deserved, according to Herodotus, for causing the Pythia to renounce Demaratus' claim to the Spartan kingship: ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκέει τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτῳ ἐκτεῖσαι (6.84.3). Here Herodotus insists on giving us his own explanation for Cleomenes' death, referring to it as a punishment exacted on him presumably by some supernatural force; this despite the more mundane Spartan view, which is also reported, that the king's death was caused by his over-drinking 'Scythian style'. Another example, this time in a speech, of Herodotus' dramatic employment of this theme will also serve to demonstrate his eagerness to emphasise the inevitability of just punishment: the message (5.56.1) delivered by a tall, handsome man in the dream of Hipparchus, which he experienced on the eve of the procession in which he was assassinated: 'no

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[223]Dewald (1998, 605, n. on 1.91) reminds us that Croesus was guilty inasmuch as he failed to question the oracle more closely, this being sufficient to incur τίσις, although not fatally in this instance; cf. p. 50 and n.106 above re. a link here with T. For further comment on τίσις in H cf. Dewald (1998, 598, n. on 1.9); Lateiner (1989, 141-3, 153-5, 203-4).

[224]H uses the participle τεισαμένη (4.205.1) ostensibly referring to Pheretime's excessive retribution on the Barcans but in fact, by association, to the τίσις of the gods on herself. For the dramatic effect of this, see also Waterfield (1998, 662, n. on 4.205).

man who has committed a crime will fail to pay for it' (οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσει).

The previous example above of τίσις in the Herodotean story of Hermotimus recalls a related Aeschylean motif also to be found in the *Oresteia*, produced c.458. Here, famously, the plot of the whole trilogy concerns the vengeance taken by Orestes on Clytemnestra and Aegisthus at the instigation of Apollo. The parallel with the Hermotimus story lies in the fact that the vengeful punishment is meted out by means of the reciprocal mirroring of the original crime. In the *Agamemnon*, for example, Cassandra, in a sense the ultimate 'tragic warner', prophecies a time soon to come 'when the death of a woman for a woman will be exacted (that is Clytemnestra for Cassandra herself), and a man (Aegisthus) will fall in turn for a man (Agamemnon) who had an evil wife': ὅταν γυνὴ γυναικὸς ἀντ' ἐμοῦ θάνῃ ἀνήρ τε δυσδάμαρτος ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς πέσῃ· (1318-19).

So too, in the *Choephoroe*, Orestes instructs the chorus to keep secret his plan 'so that those who by trickery killed a man of renown may be trapped by the same trickery': ὡς ἂν δόλῳ κτείναντες ἄνδρα τίμιον δόλῳ γε καὶ ληφθῶσιν, (556-7). Or again, we could consider the fatal words of Clytemnestra in the same play (888), where she finally understands Orestes' intention to kill her as well as Aegisthus and declares that they both will have died by deception just as they killed by deception: δόλοις ὀλούμεθ', ὥσπερ οὖν ἐκτείναμεν.

It may be going too far to say that these themes and motifs are a sign of the direct influence of Aeschylus on Herodotus; rather, it may be an indication that both were using ideas that were prominent in contemporary Greek popular consciousness. However, it is strongly attested that there was a personal link of friendship between Herodotus and Sophocles.[225] It would hardly be surprising, in that case, that one should have been influenced in his work by the other. The question has long existed, however: who, if either, borrowed from whom? The most celebrated instance of 'borrowing' is at 3.119.3-6, where Darius offers the wife of Intaphernes the possibility of saving the life of one member of her family, all of whom have been

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[225]Cf. Jacoby (1913, 233-7); Ehrenberg (1956, 35); HW (i, 7).

condemned to death. Much to Darius' surprise she chooses her brother rather than her husband on the grounds that, because her parents are dead, she can never acquire another brother. This passage has been compared to the speech of Antigone, in Sophocles' *Antigone* (904-15), where the heroine makes a hypothetical choice as to which dead family member she might bury. As we well know from the plot, she chooses her brother Polyneices, the last surviving male member of her natal family who, due to Creon's decree, remains unburied.

Much scholarly debate has surrounded the authenticity of this passage: for example Griffith (1999, 278) reports that 'in 1825 Goethe expressed his wish that Sophocles had never written these lines.' The German poet advocated its deletion on the grounds that Antigone's declaration (454-60) was hypothetical, pedantic and seemingly inconsistent with her previous assertions regarding divine laws. Griffith (op.cit. 277) is clear that, in this instance, Sophocles must be the borrower and not Herodotus, since Intaphernes' wife is afforded a *real* choice in contrast to Antigone's, which is hypothetical.

Griffith (1999, 2) concludes thus despite the fact that Sophocles' play is dated reliably to 442-1 and was therefore publicly produced as much as twenty years before the completion of the *Histories*, and he justifies his attribution of 'borrower' to Sophocles on the idea that the *Histories* 'were doubtless circulating earlier' (op.cit. 277), and that the two authors were friends. Griffith (ibid.) attests that 'there can be little doubt that Herodotus is the original', but I would have thought that the twenty year discrepancy between their 'publications' would cast considerable doubt upon this theory. Griffith also points to what he describes as the unmistakeable 'syntactical and lexical echoes from Herodotus 3.119' in the lines 909-12. Syntactical echoes exist perhaps, since the arrangement and order of clauses is similar, but hardly lexical echoes, as the vocabulary is singularly different: Sophocles uses the poetical πόσις/φωτός, ἤμπλακον, κεκευθότοιν, βλάστοι, while Herodotus has the more prosaic ἀνήρ, ἀποβάλοιμι, οὐκέτι … ζωόντων, γένοιτο.

Thucydides

The strongest and most convincing evidence for a link between our two historians and the Attic dramatists is that for a link between the works of Euripides and Thucydides. This is, not least, because all the nineteen complete plays of Euripides that have come down to us were produced during or before the twenty-seven year period of the War, and so, whether we accept or not the unity of composition theory of the *History*, namely that it was written not before 404,[226] Thucydides could possibly have had some knowledge and/or access to them. The two authors were, then, almost exact contemporaries. This establishes the opportunity for an exchange of ideas; the critical question is whether Euripides influenced Thucydides (if at all) or vice versa.

What we know is that this final quarter of the fifth century saw a great change in the social and political climate at Athens,[227] initiated not only by the onset of the Peloponnesian War but also by the death of Pericles during only its second year and the subsequent decline in control and statesmanship which eventually brought about Athens' defeat. These events were accompanied by the rise of sophistry and rhetoric which brought a new intellectualism, more dynamic and critical than any preceding mode of thinking, to the city.[228]

It is not then surprising that two of the foremost writers of the day, albeit of differing genres, should have been commonly influenced by the *Zeitgeist*. It could be objected that Thucydides spent twenty years of this time in exile, but we can imply from what he says at 5.26.5[229] that he was in contact with affairs at Athens during

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[226]A theory supported by Finley (1940 and 1967, 118-169); but cf. Hanson (1996, xiii), who summarises other theories.

[227]See Thomas (2000, 161-7, *Historie* and the *Histories*, and 271): 'the *Histories* (my italics) are ... partaking of the gradual development of modes of argument ... which were developing in the latter half of the fifth century'; also 'The Intellectual Milieu of Herodotus', in Dewald and Marincola (2006, 60-75). Cf. Zali (2014, 19-20): a theory of rhetoric had not yet evolved by H's time but earlier 'prose writers and poets are valuable evidence for articulating such a theory and the interest in speech, persuasion, correct phrasing and adaptation of argument ... is already there'.

[228]Cf. Thomas (2000, 213-69), who discusses in detail the intellectual climate in which H formulated his ideas on persuasion, polemic and performance.

[229]I.e. that T 'was present at the activities of both sides' (μοι ... γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασιν) and 'had time to understand affairs even more because of his exile' (καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον αἰσθέσθαι). Cf. Griffith (1999, 277-9) for a very full discussion on this.

this time. In any case, it has been argued that, as Thucydides was not exiled until the age of thirty-six, he would have had enough time in his younger years to assimilate the ideas and writing style prevalent in the Athens of his youth. He would also have been in Athens in 427, as indeed would have Euripides also, to witness the embassy of Gorgias during which the famous orator is reputed to have introduced his rhetorical skills to a dazzled Athenian audience. Alternatively, both authors could have absorbed these ideas well before 427, possibly from Protagoras, as the rational and skilful arguments of the *Medea* and the carefully crafted antithetical prose of the early speeches of Thucydides' Pericles might suggest.[230] I shall therefore begin by examining some of the best known recognised parallels between the speeches of our historian and his playwright contemporary.[231]

As I have already postulated an affinity between some of Thucydides' early speeches with the *Medea* of Euripides, let us first consider the well-known speech of the Corcyreans at Athens (1.31-36), the main argument of which is based on the idea that the Athenians, regardless of any former alliances or historical inclinations to the contrary, would be best advised to prepare for the inevitable war by allying with another strong naval power, namely themselves, Corcyra, on the grounds that it is better to act in anticipation rather than be forced to react later: καὶ προεπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντεπιβουλεύειν (1.33.4). We can compare this with the plea of Creon in the *Medea* (349-51) that it is a weakness to be turned from one's material interest by moral scruple, and further (289) that evils should be anticipated by action: ταῦτ' οὖν πρὶν παθεῖν φυλάξομαι. Further from the *Medea*, Jason (551-575) uses an argument from expediency (τὸ σύμφερον) masked, as it were, by one from justice (τὸ δίκαιον) to justify his marriage to Medea, his reasoning being that marriage into a royal family to a princess would bring him and his offspring honour and recognition. Jason questions whether Medea has any need of children (σοί τε γὰρ παίδων τί δεῖ; l. 565), but *he* may profit by them. He then

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[230]Although cf. Finley (1967, 53-54), who gives examples of Gorgian figures from the Medea (408-9) and from a sentence attributed by Stesimbrotus to Pericles (in Plutarch *Pericles*, 8).
[231]Cf. especially, in comparing T and Euripides, Finley (1938, repr. 1967) and Macleod (1983, 146-158).

embarks upon an attack on the unreasoning tendencies, as he sees them, of women towards jealousy.

The argument from expediency is seen again at 3.9-14, where the Mytileneans plead for Spartan help in a lengthy speech, the essence of the argument being that it is in Sparta's interest to support any city under Athenian subjugation, since the subject states are Athens' true means of income. At 1.72.1, in the preamble to the Athenian speech at Sparta in counter to the Corinthians, they claim to be coming forward because 'they wanted ... to give the elder listeners a reminder of things they knew and the younger ones an account of things they were ignorant about': ἐβούλοντο ... ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις ὧν ᾔδεσαν καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἐξήγησαν ὧν ἄπειροι ἦσαν. In the *Suppliants* of Euripides, Theseus asks Adrastus via the chorus to instruct the youth of Athens about the pedigree of the seven Argive chiefs who fought against Thebes: εἰπέ γ', ὡς σοφώτερος, νέοισιν ἀστῶν τῶνδ'... (842-3). Such is the close affinity of Thucydides' speeches to passages in Euripides.

Nor are parallels with Thucydides limited to the works of Euripides. The effective debate in Thucydides engaged in by Archidamus 1.80-85.2 and assertions by Pericles in the Funeral Oration (2.37.3), where the iron discipline and traditional laws of Sparta are contrasted with the 'unwritten laws' of Athens,[232] is foreshadowed in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus (490-565), where the chorus of Furies threaten the loss of power and the overthrow of 'ordained laws', if Orestes the 'mother killer' is absolved of his guilt by the Athenian court presided over by Athena herself: νῦν καταστροφαὶ νόμων θεσμίων, εἰ κρατήσει δίκα καὶ βλάβα τοῦδε ματροκτόνου. In addition, both the *Ajax* and the *Antigone* of Sophocles have similar antithetical debates. In the *Ajax* (1073-80), Menelaus forbids Teucer to bury Ajax, enforcing his demand on the grounds that law cannot endure without fear (δέος). Likewise Creon, in the *Antigone* (666-76), identifies civil obedience with military discipline; 'whoever the city sets in power must be obeyed in all things, small, just and the opposite': ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στήσειε, τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ τἀναντία. Returning again to

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[232]Here T has Pericles emphasise the same 'acknowledged disgrace' (αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην), which follows the breaking of these 'unwritten laws', as is recognised by Sophocles' Antigone and Odysseus in the *Antigone* and the *Ajax* respectively.

Archidamus in Thucydides at 1.84.3, in a description of the Spartan way of life (ἀγωγή), we find him, in a speech to troops, representing discipline as resulting from a combination of shame (αἰδώς) and courage (εὐψυχία).[233]

For the next comparison we will look at the speech of the Corinthians at Sparta (1.120-124), which, as well as encouraging the Lacedaemonians to go to war, has the sub-theme of the need to keep a cool head in a crisis. The Corinthians accept that, 'although we make war plans in security, we fall short of our purpose in action through fear':[234] ἀλλὰ μετ' ἀσφαλείας μὲν δοξάζομεν, μετὰ δέους δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλείπομεν. There are two passages in Euripides from which this sentiment may have derived. The first is at *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (729-30), produced c.413, where the heroine remarks: οὐδεὶς αὐτὸς ἐν πόνοις τ' ἀνὴρ ὅταν τε πρὸς τὸ θάρσος ἐκ φόβου πέσῃ ('no man in times of trouble is the same as when he passes from fear to confidence'). The second is at *Ion* (585), produced c.418, where the hero says to Xuthus: οὐ ταὐτὸν εἶδος φαίνεται τῶν πραγμάτων πρόσωθεν ὄντων ἐγγύθεν θ' ὁρωμένων ('the shape of things does not appear the same when they are far off as when viewed from close at hand'). In passing we might also note that, in this speech, Ion anticipates all the problems which may be caused by his returning to Athens and thus displays the qualities of πρόγνωσις (foresight) which Thucydides values so much in the characters of Themistocles at 1.138.3, who was excellent at foreseeing the future: τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής, and of Pericles at 2.65.5, who when war broke out 'clearly foresaw even at that time the power the city possessed': ὁ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνοὺς τὴν δύναμιν.[235]

In fact there is some evidence that the Thucydidean speeches of Pericles may owe some ideas and sentiments to Euripidean drama. For instance, The Funeral Oration (2.35-46) as a whole corresponds in essence with a speech in the *Suppliants* of

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[233]Both of these qualities are judged to be, respectively, the greater part of σωφροσύνη and of αἰσχύνη. Lattimore (1998, 41) translates as 'a sense of respect is the greater part of moderation, and courage is the greatest part of respect'.
[234]I am minded here of the famous speech of F.D. Roosevelt during the great depression when he said 'we have nothing to fear but fear itself'.
[235]This quality was also valued by later generations as we see in Demosthenes, *De Corona* 246, where the task of an orator (i.e. a 'politician') is: ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα καὶ προαισθέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις.

Euripides, produced soon after 424,[236] of Adrastus (857-917) praising the virtues of the fallen Seven, while, earlier in the same play (403-8), Theseus waxes strong, a touch anachronistically for us perhaps, on the virtues of Athenian democracy, explaining how government is shared among the people: she is not ruled by one man (οὐ γὰρ ἄρχεται ἑνὸς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς) and favours neither rich nor poor (οὐχὶ τῷ πλούτῳ διδοὺς τὸ πλεῖστον, ἀλλὰ χὠ πένης ἔχων ἴσον). Pericles (2.37.1) almost exactly echoes this eulogy using similar language and ideas, albeit more expansively: the government is called a democracy 'because it is administered in the interests of the many not the few' (διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν); 'neither poverty nor obscurity of renown is a bar to anyone from benefitting the city in any way' (οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων γέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανείᾳ κεκώλυται).

These speeches share a common irony as well as a common sentiment: both Theseus and Pericles, while extolling the virtues of democratic free speech, are absolute rulers, Theseus *de iure* king, Pericles *de facto* dictator, in the guise of an Augustus-like *princeps* (ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή, 2.65.9). They also share common qualities as statesmen, the most obvious being an unwillingness to allow themselves to be dictated to by the enemy: Theseus (*Suppliants*, 518-521) refuses the peace offering of the Seven; Pericles (1.140.1) argues against acceptance of Peloponnesian demands at the beginning of the war: τῆς μὲν γνώμης, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομαι, μὴ εἴκειν Πελοποννησίοις.

In contrast to the egalitarian sentiments of Theseus, the Theban herald (*Suppliants* 409-25) supports the rule of one man, the autocratic Creon, and opposes the idea of democratic debate, caricaturing it as the mob 'appealing to her (the city's) vanity with words' (αὐτὴν ... ἐκχαυνῶν λόγοις). His argument is summed up in ll. 420-22 where the herald declares that 'it is impossible for a poor land-tiller, be he ever so shrewd, to turn his attention to public affairs': γαπόνος δ' ἀνὴρ πένης εἰ καὶ γένοιτο

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[236]There is no problem with the relative dating of this if we accept the 'unity of composition' argument for T's work; Gomme (*HCT*, vol.2, 126), however, puts the Funeral Oration 'closer to the early 50's than to the end of the century'; Hornblower (*CT* i, 294-296; 1987, 62 and 62 n.66) is curiously non-commital but follows Loraux (1986), who, he points out (op.cit. 295), 'wobbles between the two views', these being that the Funeral Oration was written either soon after its purported date of delivery (431-430), or post-404.

μὴ ἀμαθής ... οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο πρὸς τὰ κοίν᾿ ἀποβλέπειν. Theseus thereupon takes up the debate on the side of freedom, in the guise of democracy, and proceeds to put what Euripides no doubt believed was the 'better argument', finally dismissing both the herald and his long-winded diatribe with what I take to be a humorous quip: 'in future let Creon send a less wordy messenger than you!' (τὸ λοιπὸν ... Κρέων ἧσσον λάλον σου πεμπέτω τιν᾿ ἄγγελον [462]).

The irony of this passage conceals what was a serious contemporary debate on the relative constitutional merits of democracy as opposed to other regimes, notably oligarchy and monarchy. That this debate was both serious and contemporary with the last years of the Periclean age is supported by the Old Oligarch (Pseudo-Xenophon)[237] who, characteristically in support of oligarchy, says: 'among the best people there is a minimum of wantonness and injustice but a maximum of scrupulous care and concern for what is good, whereas among the people there is a maximum of ignorance, disorder and wickedness' (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς βελτίστοις ἔνι ἀκολασία τε ὀλιγίστη καὶ ἀδικία, ἀκρίβεια δὲ πλείστη εἰς τὰ χρηστά, ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ ἀμαθία τε πλείστη καὶ ἀταξία καὶ πονηρία·).

We can see that this passage in Euripides' *Suppliants* provides us with a link not only with Thucydides but with Herodotus also, since it reminds us of the Constitutional Debate at 3.80-82, where Megabyxus prefers the rule of a tyrant since 'he acts out of knowledge, while the mob is not only incapable of any action but incapable of acquiring any knowledge': ὁ δὲ (τύραννος) μὲν γὰρ εἴ τι ποιέει γινώσκων ποιέει, τῷ δὲ (δήμῳ) οὐδὲ γινώσκειν ἔνι. It is by no means clear whether this link constitutes an influence by Euripides over Herodotus, although this would just be a possibility if we accept that the Constitutional Debate is a very late addition to the *Histories*, that the *Suppliants* was produced about 424, and that Herodotus survived beyond that date.[238] This additional parallel further strengthens the theory that political debate in the form of arguments for and against democracy was rife in the final years of Periclean Athens and adds weight to the theory that the words Thucydides puts into

[237]*Ath. Pol.* 1.5.
[238]For full discussion of the Constitutional Debate (CD) see pp.162ff.

the mouth of Pericles in books 1 and 2 of his *History* are more Periclean and less his own.

To return to the Funeral Oration of Pericles, let us look at the famous sentence (2.41.1), where he says that Athens, a free city, prided itself on the wisdom and versatile grace of her citizens. This is perhaps an echo of the chorus (824-45) of the *Medea*, which was produced only a few months before the outbreak of war (431) and less than a year before the Funeral Oration was delivered.[239] This being the case, we might contemplate the possibility that this chorus made an impact on the historical Pericles as well as on the Thucydidean version, but this can only be surmised as we cannot know for certain how close the latter comes to Pericles' original words. In Euripides' play the chorus contemplate whether the child-murderess Medea could ever be welcomed in such a contented and peaceful city as Athens, whose people they hail as 'the race of Erechtheus, happy from ancient time, children of the blessed gods': Ἐρεχθεῖδαι τὸ παλαιὸν ὄλβιοι καὶ θεῶν παῖδες μακάρων (824-5).

The chorus, too, in the *Heracleidae*, produced in the early part of the Peloponnesian War (429-427), warn Eurystheus via his herald not to abuse with his spear 'that city which is the favourite of the Graces': τὰν εὖ χαρίτων ἔχουσαν πόλιν (ll. 379-80).[240] Both of these passages from relatively early Euripidean plays may also have influenced Thucydides in his writing of the Funeral Oration.

Goldhill (in Easterling 1997, 133) has also drawn attention to affinities between the Funeral Oration and Sophocles' *Antigone*, where Creon, in his first speech, twice outlines his personal ideological position on duty and obligation in the polis. On the first occasion (187-8) he argues that nobody who is hostile to the state can be his friend: οὔτ' ἂν φίλον ποτ' ἄνδρα δυσμενῆ χθονὸς θείμην ἐμαυτῷ. On the second occasion (209-10), more positively, he vows to honour anyone, living or dead, who will show good will towards the city: ἀλλ' ὅστις εὔνους τῇδε τῇ πόλει, θανὼν καὶ ζῶν

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[239]The best full analyses of these theories are by Finley (1967) and Pelling (1991).
[240]Cf. μετὰ χαρίτων in the speech of Pericles (2.41.1).

ὁμοίως ἐξ ἐμοῦ τιμήσεται. These statements of allegiance to the state Goldhill finds echoed in Pericles' words at 2.37.3: 'we do not publicly transgress the law through fear (διὰ δέος) and in obedience to those in office and the laws'. This may be an 'echo' of the sentiment in Creon's statements, especially of the fear factor, but the language does not suggest as strong a dependence as, for instance, Herodotus' reliance on the *Persae*.

Closer even in sentiment to Creon's idea of loyalty and allegiance might be Pericles' injunction at 2.43.1 that Athenians 'should fix their eyes on Athens ... and become her lovers (ἐραστάς)'. This theme of extreme patriotism is also combined with freedom from corruptibility in the third and final speech of Pericles (2.60-64), where the Athenian general declares himself both 'lover of country and above money' (φιλόπολίς τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων) (2.60.5), while a man who is 'ill-disposed towards his city' (τῇ πόλει δύσνους) or 'overcome by money' (χρήμασι δὲ νικωμένου) (2.60.6) can bring disaster on his fellow citizens. Of such a person might Creon be thinking when he says that 'there is no institution endemic in human society as evil as silver' (*Antigone*, 295-6).

We shall now look further at the third and final speech of Pericles (2.60-64), in which he attempts to assuage the anger of his citizens and to justify the war. He speaks of the war's main purpose, which is to maintain the independence and freedom of Athens and to retain her empire, which was rightfully acquired. Athens has not only the moral right but the power to maintain these interests and therefore 'it is right that you, her citizens, should defend that which you all enjoy, the prestige the city derives from her empire': τῆς τε πόλεως ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς τῷ τιμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν, ὧπερ ἄπαντες ἀγάλλεσθε, βοηθεῖν (2.63.1). The argument that Athenians are justified in maintaining and enjoying an empire, in order to preserve their freedom, is common in Thucydides and is found also in Euripides' *Heracleidae* (286-7) and *Suppliants* (517-23). In the first of these, Demophon, king of Athens, dismisses Copreus, the herald of Eurystheus, and prepares to defend the children of Heracles and the city against an Argive attack: οὐ γὰρ Ἀργείων πόλει ὑπήκοον τήνδ᾽ ἀλλ᾽ ἐλευθέραν ἔχω ('this city which I hold is not subject to Argos but is free'). In the *Suppliants*, Theseus, this time in support of Adrastus, dismisses the herald of Creon,

king of Thebes, and asserts Athens' right to oppose Creon's decree to refuse burial to the Seven: οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγὼ Κρέοντα δεσπόζοντ' ἐμοῦ οὐδὲ σθένοντα μεῖζον, ὥστ' ἀναγκάσαι δρᾶν τὰς Ἀθήνας ταῦτ'· ('I do not recognise Creon as ruling over me nor having greater power to force Athens to do this [give up the suppliants]').

Pericles makes an even stronger case for empire when he exhorts his fellow citizens 'not to flee from its labours nor from pursuing its honours': μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους ἢ μηδὲ τὰς τιμὰς διώκειν (2.63.1). Again the *Suppliants* (323-25) furnishes a parallel with the words of Aethra, the mother of Theseus, who asserts that the city (Athens) 'prospers through labour unlike other states which, by being over-cautious, grope in the dark': ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πόνοισιν αὔξεται· αἱ δ' ἥσυχοι σκοτεινὰ πράσσουσαι πόλεις σκοτεινὰ καὶ βλέπουσιν εὐλαβούμεναι. The use of ἥσυχοι here, with its implication of idle inactivity in contrast to the πολυπραγμοσύνη[241] of the Athenians, is reminiscent of that part of the speech of the Corinthians at Sparta (1.69.4), where they reproach the Spartans for being the only Hellenic state to be at peace: ἡσυχάζετε γὰρ, μόνοι Ἑλλήνων, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

Remaining with the *Suppliants* of Euripides and on the same anti-Spartan theme, we note the scathing attack on Sparta by Adrastus: Σπάρτη μὲν ὠμὴ καὶ πεποίκιλται τρόπους ('Sparta is savage and her moods unpredictable') (187): this can be compared with the Athenian assessment of the Spartan character in Thucydides' Melian dialogue (5.105.4): ἐπιφανέστατα ὧν ἴσμεν τὰ μὲν ἡδέα καλὰ νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ ξυμφέροντα δίκαια ('they are the most striking example we know of men who regard what is agreeable as noble and what is expedient as just').

Another forceful Periclean theme in this speech is the idea that a prosperous man in a failing state will nevertheless be ruined, whereas a man who fares poorly in a prosperous city (he means Athens) will be more likely to save himself: καλῶς μὲν γὰρ φερόμενος ἀνὴρ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαφθειρομένης τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἧσσον ξυναπόλλυται, κακοτυχῶν δὲ ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ πολλῷ μᾶλλον διασῴζεται (2.60.3). This

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[241]A word which T himself does not use in the Corinthian speech at Sparta but which, together with its opposite ἀπραγμοσύνη (lack of action), elsewhere pervades the debate over the rights and wrongs of the Athenian empire under Pericles.

thought may have been inspired by a similar proposition put forward in Euripides' *Erechtheus*, produced around 421: εἴπερ γὰρ ἀριθμὸν οἶδα καὶ τοὐλάσσονος τὸ μεῖζον, οὑνὸς οἶκος οὐ πλέον σθένει πταίσας ἁπάσης πόλεος οὐδ' ἴσον φέρει ('for, if I know my arithmetic and can tell the greater from the lesser, the household of a single man counts no more than a whole city when it falls into ruin, nor even as much').[242]

I shall now move on to the post-Periclean part of the *History*; first to the interchange of speeches between Cleon and Diodotus over the question of the defection of Mytilene (3.37-48). Cleon's policy towards the rebellious city advocates for Athens the expedient and harsh execution of power which brooks no feeling of pity (οἶκτος). Thus, at 3.37-48, Cleon warns the Athenians to beware of the consequences: 'if you make the mistake of being persuaded by their speeches or give in to pity' (ἂν ἢ λόγῳ πεισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἁμάρτητε ἢ οἴκτῳ ἐνδῶτε), while (3.40.2) he adds 'clemency' (ἐπιείκεια) to 'pity' and 'enjoyment of speeches' (ἡδονὴ λόγων) to make up a triad of forbidden emotions which are 'most detrimental to empire' and which must not therefore be fallen foul of: μηδὲ τρισὶ τοῖς ἀξυμφορωτάτοις τῇ ἀρχῇ, οἴκτῳ καὶ ἡδονῇ λόγων καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ, ἁμαρτάνειν. In the *Medea* Creon twice regrets his use of mild emotions, first at l.349, where, he says, 'feelings of pity have caused me to ruin many a plan': αἰδούμενος δὲ πολλὰ δὴ διέφθορα,[243] and then at ll.1051-52: 'in a cowardly mood I allowed soft words to touch my heart' (ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐμῆς κάκης, τὸ καὶ προέσθαι μαλθακοὺς λόγους φρενί). Cleon's opposition to intelligent debate, which his disapproval of ἡδονὴ λόγων seems to indicate, is once more convincingly exemplified by his words at (3.37.3): οἵ τε φαυλότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ξυνετωτέρους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ἄμεινον οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις ('the less gifted of men usually run their states better than the more intelligent').

In another Euripidean parallel, the chorus of the *Andromache*, the production date of which is uncertain but was probably in the mid 420's, seems to agree with Cleon's anomalous idea of how the politics of a city-state should be run and take up a similar

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[242]*TrGF* vol.5, Fr.360, 19-21. For a survey of Periclean political rhetoric, see Brock (2013, 107-145).
[243]To give the statement enhanced authority Euripides deliberately uses the verb αἰδείσθαι here, which was a common Attic term of litigation meaning *to be reconciled to (a person)*; cf. LSJ, 36.

position (481-3), although the phrasing is the reverse of the Thucydidean version: σοφῶν τε πλῆθος ἀθρόον ἀσθενέστερον φαυλοτέρας φρενὸς αὐτοκρατοῦς ἑνός ('the collected throng of the wise is weaker than the all-powerful mind of the united masses'). My understanding of these parallel passages is that Thucydides is putting the word φαυλότεροι into Cleon's mouth in order to emphasise Cleon's anti-intellectual, and, by implication, anti-democratic stance; Thucydides' own opinion is clearly in opposition to Cleon. In the chorus of the *Andromache*, however, Euripides' use of φαυλοτέρας is totally positive and carries no derogatory nuance; he intends here to emphasise and celebrate the power of the 'lower classes', which constitute the Athenian δῆμος. Taking the nuances of meaning thus, we may conclude that both authors, in their own ways, are making a big 'hooray' for democracy.

The Mytilenean debate speech of Cleon affords yet more parallels with poetic drama. We should not expect him to have much in common with Phaedra's nurse in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, produced in 428, but let us compare what Cleon has to say at (3.38.7), where he accuses the Athenians of 'seeking, through argument, things beyond their ken with no sufficient understanding of conditions prevailing' (ζητοῦντές τε ἄλλο τι ὡς εἰπεῖν ἢ ἐν οἷς ζῶμεν, φρονοῦντες δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἱκανῶς), with the words of Phaedra's nurse to her mistress at ll.184-85: οὐδέ σ' ἀρέσκει τὸ παρόν, τὸ δ' ἀπὸν φίλτερον ἥγῃ ('what is near at hand pleases you not, what is distant you find more attractive'). Finley (1967, 31) notes that the 'sweeping accusations' of Cleon's speech are echoed in similar Euripidean diatribes such as that by Theseus in the *Hippolytus* (936-80) in banishing his son, and by Jason in the *Medea* (446-64). However, I cannot agree with Finley that this latter illustrates 'rash intensity', but rather shows forebearance by Jason towards Medea and therefore is more akin to the conciliatory speech of Diodotus in response to Cleon (3.42-48), as does the reasoned defence made by Hippolytus on his own behalf (*Hippolytus*, 983-1035), which we could compare in its turn with the, for once, cool-headed speech of Creon in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (577-615), in which he calmly defends himself against Oedipus' charge of treason.

Similarly, the neatness and orderliness of Diodotus' speech (3.42.1), where he attacks those (i.e. Cleon) who would oppose careful debate and considered

argument through speech-making, can be compared with the succinct objection of Menelaus to Tyndareus' rage in the *Orestes* of Euripides (490),[244] where the latter is only too ready emotionally to condemn Orestes for the revenge killing of his mother, Tyndareus' daughter, Clytemnestra. Tyndareus is told: 'your anger combined with old age does not make for wisdom' (ὀργὴ γὰρ ἅμα σου καὶ τὸ γῆρας οὐ σοφόν). On the same topic, the neatness of antithesis can also be noted at 3.42.2, where Diodotus observes that those who deny that speeches teach practicality are 'either stupid or have some personal axe to grind' (ἢ ἀξύνετός ἐστιν ἢ ἰδίᾳ τι αὑτῷ διαφέρει). This is echoed in the earlier (416-414)[245] *Heracles* by Amphitryon (347), where he dares to blame Zeus for being either unwise or unjust for not saving his grandchildren: ἀμαθής τις εἶ θεός, ἢ δίκαιος οὐκ ἔφυς. Thus, we have seen by virtue of a sufficient number of examples drawn from just the first three books of the *History* and from a wide selection of the plays of Euripides how, through speeches made by their characters, both authors attempt the contrast between impetuosity and reason.

I have only briefly touched upon the speech of Diodotus in the Mytilenean debate: this is because of the amount it, and other speeches in Thucydides, owe to the new rhetoric, as do many parallels from the plays of Euripides. Suffice it to say here that Diodotus' speech exemplifies the argument from expediency (τὸ συμφέρον) which, in terms of tragic drama, expounds the view that, although men do no wrong, they often have no choice but to follow a certain course of action which inevitably brings about their downfall. This provides the central theme for, among other dramas, Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (produced c. 429) as well as for the *Medea* and the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, in which latter two the heroines both claim to be following the irresistible course of their natures. I shall now pass on to deal with later speeches in the *History* and how they relate to Attic drama.

The speech of the Plataeans, at 3.52.4-67.7, is an example of where past events are revisited in order to defend an accusation or charge. In this case, the Plataeans recall

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[244]But, again, only if we accept a composition or revision date later than 408, when the *Orestes* was produced.
[245]In this dating I follow the argument of Bond (1981, introd. p. xxx-xxxii).

that they were the only Boeotians not to medize, thus stating the debt owed to them in the eventuality by the rest of Greece, including their accusers, Thebes. In the *Medea* (475-95), the eponymous heroine recalls her past services to Jason and, by implication, his debt to her. Similarly, Orestes, the eponymous hero of Euripides' play produced in 408, justifies his support for his father Agamemnon in the eyes of Menelaus by reminding him of the reason his father led the expedition to Troy (that is, to recover Menelaus' wife Helen), and to beg his uncle to rescue him from the avenging Tyndareus. Also, in the same Thucydidean speech (3.57-8), the Plataeans appeal to the Spartans, their judges, not to disgrace the religious laws of Greece by executing them, their former allies.

Often where Euripides applies a truth, as he sees it, to an individual, such as in the case of Medea and Phaedra where expediency triumphs over justice, Thucydides applies it to a wider social context, for instance the πόλις, by way of a speech. For example, we have Euphemus at 6.85.1, again using the argument from τὸ συμφέρον, to justify both the rule of an individual autocrat and the wider Athenian Empire: ἀνδρὶ δὲ τυράννῳ ἢ πόλει ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ οὐδὲν ἄλογον ὅτι ξυμφέρον ('for a man who is a tyrant, or for a city which possesses an empire, nothing which is expedient is unreasonable'). Again, in the *Hecuba*, produced c.423, we find a similar contrast between the 'useful' (τὸ ὠφέλιμον, 306ff.) and the 'just', which is echoed in Thucydides' Plataean debate (3.52.4-67.7): Hecuba was of previous service to Odysseus when he infiltrated Troy, now she and the other prisoners are in fear of their lives; the Plataeans are asked by the Spartan judges (3.52.4) what use they have been to the Lacedaemonians and their allies in the present war.

Both parties plead their case in the knowledge that their fate appears to be predetermined, as indeed it has been, in the case of Hecuba by the conquering Greeks, in the case of the Plataeans by the Spartans in punishment for the Plataean alliance with Athens.[246] In the *Hecuba*, this common theme is picked up by Agamemnon, who, resignedly and pitilessly explains to the former Trojan queen that

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[246]We may incidentally note here that the appeal to traditional Hellenic religious law as made here by the Plataeans (3.59.1) is also a strong theme in drama, a good Euripidean example being in the *Suppliants* (297-319), where Aethra pleads with Theseus, her son, to support the campaign of Adrastus against Thebes in order to recover the dead bodies of the Seven for due burial at Eleusis.

the same fate, 'ill fortune for the bad, prosperity for the good, befalls both individual man and city': ἰδίᾳ θ' ἑκάστῳ καὶ πόλει, τὸν μὲν κακὸν κακόν τι πάσχειν, τὸν δὲ χρηστὸν εὐτυχεῖν (ll.903-4).[247]

It is, however, in the Melian dialogue (5.84.3-113) that Thucydides comes closest in form and style to Attic drama, and especially to Euripides.[248] As Macleod points out (1983, 54), this dialogue in its form is unique in the *History*, coming close to Platonic dialectic but with clear similarities in style to tragic drama, most obviously the *stichomythia*-like lines from 5.92 to 95. According to what we are told in the preliminary speeches, the form of the debate was proposed by the Athenian delegation, namely a dialogue between a few representatives from either side rather than a lengthy and potentially fruitless speech before a multitude which might deceive the ear by seductive argument. Thucydides' composition is either a very compressed version of what actually transpired between the antagonists or, what is more likely, an invention. In either case, we are here concerned as much with what the dialogue owes in content as in form to contemporary drama.[249]

The essence of the Athenian argument is once more taken from τὸ συμφέρον: from their own viewpoint it is most advantageous in the war situation in which they find themselves not to forego their imperial hold over the Melians lest other subject states decide also to join the enemy or to declare neutrality. The Melians, then, should look to their own safety, which lies in not resisting the power of Athens but in giving in to the inevitable. As for the moral aspect, the Athenian delegates advise the Melians not to expect justice since that only exists between equals; 'possibilities are what superiors impose, and the weak acquiesce to': δυνατὰ δὲ οἱ προύχοντες πράσσουσι καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν (5.89). Echoing this sentiment, that it is

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[247]For a complete comparison between the *Hecuba* and the Plataean dialogue see esp. Hogan (1972, 241-57); also Macleod (1983, 154-57). De Romilly (1963, 39-40) provides a tentative argument for supposing that T included the Thebans' speech, denouncing the Plataean alliance with Athens, in order to illustrate the tragic consequences of Athenian imperialism.

[248]Cf. Hornblower (1987, 117). Finley (1967, 42) also agrees that the Melian dialogue uses arguments familiar in Euripides and 'closely touches the thought of the time'. See also Kip (1987, 414-19) on 'Euripides and Melos', esp. with ref. to the *Troades*, performed at the Dionysia of 415, although she does not suggest a Thucydidean dependency.

[249]For more on the form of the Melian Dialogue with reference to DD and ID see pp. 167-70.

expedient to bow to might,[250] Talthybius, in Euripides' *Troades* (728), produced in 415, tells Andromache, having announced to her the coming death of her son, Astyanax, meekly to bow to superior force and not to cling to her son 'nor think yourself strong, being defenceless': μήτε σθένουσα μηδὲν ἰσχύειν δόκει.

The Melian dialogue has other parallel themes which we have already touched upon. At 5.105.1-2 the Athenians assert they are offending no divine law by their actions, the gods having the same laws as mortals. Perhaps we should not be surprised when Hecuba in the *Troades* invokes Zeus, 'whether he be the power behind nature or the mind of man': Ζεύς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεως εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν (886). The Athenians then go on ambivalently to praise the Melians' innocence but to deplore their folly in trusting the Spartans to come to their rescue: μακαρίσαντες ὑμῶν τὸ ἀπειρόκακον οὐ ζηλοῦμεν τὸ ἄφρον (5.105.3), reminding us of Heracles' praise of the honourable behaviour of Admetus in ruing his wife's death while blaming him for bringing the folly (of grief) upon himself: αἰνῶ μὲν αἰνῶ· μωρίαν δ' ὀφλισκάνεις (*Alcestis*, 1093).

A contrast between the attitudes of the young and the old is found in the plays of Euripides and Aristophanes on the one hand, and in Thucydides' speeches on the other.[251] In Thucydides, the conflict of interests between the age groups is brought out by Nicias in his first speech in the Sicilian debate with Alcibiades before the Athenian assembly (6.12.2-13.1), not only in the way that he doubts the ability of his rival, 'especially being too young as yet to take command' (ἄλλως τε καὶ νεώτερος ὢν ἔτι ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν), but 'also by his (Nicias') calling upon the elders not to be ashamed' (καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀντιπαρακελεύομαι μὴ καταισχυνθῆναι) to rally against Alcibiades' supporters. Alcibiades, in reply (6.16-18), argues against the ἀπραγμοσύνη of Nicias and tells the assembly to ignore Nicias' division of the young from the old (διάστασις τοῖς νέοις ἐς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους); they should 'understand that youth and old age can accomplish nothing without each other' (νομίσατε

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[250]Not that 'might is right' as is often, inexactly, taken as the derivative maxim from this incident, since that would misconstrue what is happening in this debate. The Melians are not accepting that 'might is right' as a universal truth but are being forced to debate on Athenian terms; the argument from expediency is conquering that from justice, as the Melians admit to the Athenians at 5.89: ἀνάγκη γὰρ, ἐπειδὴ ὑμεῖς οὕτω παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ ξυμφέρον λέγειν ὑπέσθεσθε.
[251]See Forrest (1975), Strauss (1993).

νεότητα μὲν καὶ γῆρας ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μηδὲν δύνασθαι), a clever piece of rhetoric which no doubt helped to win the day for Alcibiades.

The words of Nicias resemble those of Theseus in the *Suppliants* (232-3), where he accuses Adrastus of having been led astray by young men who love honour too highly and raise wars unjustly: οἵτινες τιμώμενοι χαίρουσι πολέμους τ' αὐξάνουσ' ἄνευ δίκης νέοις παραχθείς. Likewise the young are portrayed as revolutionary followers of Lycus by Amphitryon in the *Heracles*: they sowed sedition and ruined the land (στάσιν ἔθημαν καὶ διώλεσαν πόλιν, [590]), while Lycus himself is seen as no Cadmean, an arrivé of the worst kind as well as being their leader: οὐ Καδμεῖος ὢν ἄρχει κάκιστος τῶν νέων ἔπηλυς … (256-7).

We also find this generation conflict famously portrayed in the comedies of Aristophanes. In the *Acharnians*, the chorus, despite Dicaeopolis being about to open up a free trade market, maintain that in law-suits henceforth the young should sue the young and the old the old: κἀξελαύνειν χρὴ τὸ λοιπόν, κἂν φύγῃ τις, ζημιοῦν τὸν γέροντα τῷ γέροντι, τὸν νέον δὲ τῷ νέῳ (718-9). Dicaeopolis himself earlier explains to Lamachus why he made his own peace: 'I was so disgusted at those young layabouts who, like you, skeddadled off to Thrace on three drachmas a day, while I saw grey-haired veterans serving in the ranks': … ἐγὼ βδελυττόμενος ἐσπεισάμην, ὁρῶν πολιοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν, νεανίας δ' οἵους σὺ διαδεδρακότας τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης μισθοφοροῦντας τρεῖς δραχμάς … (599-602).

In the *Clouds*, the exasperation caused to Strepsiades by his profligate son Pheidippides is sufficiently well-known, I am sure, as not to require quotation. Indeed, the grief suffered by the older man and his peers at the hands of the new sophistically-educated young generation as a whole is one of the recurring comic motifs of the play. Yet also we see such a conflict in an earlier drama: Creon and Haemon dispute over the rights and wrongs of the burial of Polynices in Sophocles' *Antigone*, produced as early as 442/441. Creon becomes indignant at being instructed in life-skills by men of his son's age: οἱ τηλικοίδε καὶ διδαξόμεσθα δὴ φρονεῖν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς τηλικοῦδε τὴν φύσιν (726-7). Haemon responds that, if he is

young, he should be judged on his merits and not on his age: εἰ δ' ἐγὼ νέος, οὐ τὸν χρόνον χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ τἄργα σκοπεῖν (728-9).

The parallels which can be made between the works of Euripides and Thucydides are not limited to those evident in orthodox DD. If we take letter writing as an extension of DD,[252] as I have done in my initial definition (above, p.11-12), we can point to the letter of Nicias (7.11-15), in desperate straits with the ill-fated Athenian expedition at Syracuse, to the Athenian assembly as having similar purposes and carrying similar messages to pertinent remarks in the plays of Euripides. Orestes in the *Electra*, before the recognition scene with his sister, laments to have to transmit the sad tale of Agamemnon's death to Electra's 'brother', describing the tale as 'joyless but which must be heard' (λόγους ἀτερπεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίους κλύειν [293]) just as Nicias, in his letter, declares that he 'could have sent them something pleasanter than these tidings, but not more useful' (7.14.4): Τούτων ἐγὼ ἡδίω μὲν ἂν εἶχον ὑμῖν ἕτερα ἐπιστέλλειν, οὐ μέντοι χρησιμώτερά γε ..., the 'γε' here underlining Nicias' conviction that the epistolar route was better than the oral.

By this reference to his letter, however, I do not intend to suggest that the direct words which Thucydides attributes to Nicias do not owe as much to tragic drama. Take, for instance, the speech he makes to his troops immediately before the final battle at Syracuse (7.61-64). In this speech,[253] Nicias' account of the benefits of living in Athens, which are envied all over Greece and which include linguistic and cultural ties enjoyed by allies fighting in the Athenian forces, are very similar to those claimed for the privilege of residing in Hellas by Jason to Medea (*Medea,* 536-41). When we consider the impact these words of Nicias may have had on Thucydides' readers and listeners in the light of the Athenian disaster in Sicily, it is worth comparing the two passages in some detail. Many readers of the *History* will have recalled the corresponding lines of Euripides, recognising the commonality of citizenship and thought that both authors express:

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[252]T has the letter read aloud by a γραμματεύς and introduced by τοιάδε (see 7.10) as if it contained Nicias' direct, but not necessarily actual, words. Cf. generally Ceccarelli (2013).
[253]At 7.63.3.

οἳ τέως Ἀθηναῖοι νομιζόμενοι καὶ μὴ ὄντες ἡμῶν τῆς τε φωνῆς τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ τῶν τρόπων τῇ μιμήσει ἐθαυμάζεσθε κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. (Herodotus 7.63.3):

'(you) who all this time have been considered Athenians, though you were not, understanding our language and imitating our customs as you do, are the envy of the Greek world.'

πρῶτον μὲν Ἑλλάδ' ἀντὶ βαρβάρου χθονὸς
γαῖαν κατοικεῖς καὶ δίκην ἐπιστάσαι
νόμοις τε χρῆσθαι μὴ πρὸς ἰσχύος χάριν· (Euripides *Medea*, 536-38)

'First, then, in Helladic and not in barbarian land
You dwell, knowing its justice
And protected by its laws, without recourse to force'.

The similarity in sentiment between the two extracts is notable. On the one hand, Nicias emphasises the exclusivity of Athenian citizenship even for those sailors, possibly metics, who didn't quite qualify for it (καὶ μὴ ὄντες) and, on the other hand, Jason reminds Medea of the blessings of not living in a barbarian land (ἀντὶ βαρβάρου χθονὸς). Both passages stress the security and protection enjoyed by those who live in Athens, even if they are not citizens.

The dramatic effect of Nicias' tragic situation in Sicily can be felt even in speeches which are reported by Thucydides indirectly. The pre-battle plea that Nicias makes to his trierarchs not to disgrace their wives, children and ancestral gods at 7.69.2, its immediacy heightened by Thucydides' harrowing reference to the fact that such entreaties were only made in times of desperate crisis,[254] is comparable to the Persian messenger's report in Aeschylus *Persae* (402-405) concerning the cries of the Greek sailors he heard at the commencement of the battle of Salamis: 'ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε, ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρῴων ἕδη, θήκας τε προγόνων·'.

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[254]The critical part being: καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων παραπλήσια ἔς τε γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ θεοὺς πατρῴους προφερόμενα ...

Even so, Thucydides would rather reserve his most dramatic moments for DD, such as Nicias' valiant words of encouragement, spoken in his state of illness, to his retreating soldiers at 7.77: 'We have suffered enough already' (ἀποχρώντως ἤδη τετιμωρήμεθα ...), 'and can expect milder treatment from the gods from now on' (... καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς νῦν τά τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλπίζειν ἠπιώτερα ἕξειν.). Pylades, in *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (721-2), similarly tries to comfort his comrade Orestes with the thought that Apollo's oracle may not in the end destroy him: chance may cause even the most evil circumstance to change (... ἔστιν ἡ λίαν δυσπραξία λίαν διδοῦσα μεταβολάς, ὅταν τύχῃ), while the eponymous heroine in the *Helen* (1082) assures Menelaus that his 'bad luck might quickly turn to good fortune': τὸ δ' ἄθλιον κεῖν' εὐτυχὲς τάχ' ἂν πέσοι.

One play of Euripides I have scarcely mentioned thus far is the *Phoenissae*; yet this play contains many parallels with the *History*, maybe because it was one of Euripides' later productions (c. 410). The most obvious parallel between the two works, if again we accept a late composition or revision for Thucydides' Periclean speeches, is that between Pericles in his third speech to the Athenian people (2.64.2) and Jocasta (*Phoenissae*, 382) on the subject of bearing afflictions sent by the gods. According to Pericles, his people 'should bear what comes from heaven with resignation': φέρειν δὲ χρὴ τά τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως. Jocasta's exclamation is more personally felt but expressed in like mode: δεῖ φέρειν τὰ τῶν θεῶν. Thucydides tells us that Nicias, in the speech to his trierarchs, which I have already referred to above (7.69.2), does not fear to speak trite words (ἀρχαιολογεῖν) when he appeals to the memory of wives, children and ancestral gods; so neither does Eteocles in the *Phoenissae* (438), when he quotes the well-worn lines 'Wealth is that which is most honoured among men, and of all things among men has the greatest power', although he recognises their triteness: πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμνηθὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐρῶ.

To conclude this section on Thucydides' relationship with the dramatists, I would mention a remark made by Finley (1967, 49) to the effect that there was no question of direct borrowing from Euripides on the part of Thucydides but that, since he was recounting 'what he had heard from witnesses, if anyone was the borrower it should be Euripides'. Although Finley is specifically referring to the *Phoenissae* here, the

observation could equally apply to all of Euripides' works produced after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, which would be fifteen out of nineteen of those extant. And yet, as Finley goes on to remark, if we accept the Unitarian theory of Thucydides work, 'chronology seems to make that impossible'.

I should find it difficult to be categorical about who owed what to whom, since we cannot be entirely sure at what stage Thucydides would have made any of his work public or available for Euripides to read or hear, except that this would have been unlikely during the twenty years of his exile from 424. What is most likely is that both were affected by the rise of rhetoric, which at first influenced verse and then prose so that both Euripides and Thucydides, through the words they put into the mouths of their characters, could, as Finley says (ibid.), 'work by the same methods for the same ends'. Cornford (1907, 139) is more explicit about the link and sees an 'intellectual kinship' between Thucydides and Euripides: although 'the two men are of different temperaments … we find … the same conscious resolve … to present the naked thoughts and actions of humanity, just as they saw them'. Macleod (1983, 157), however, doubts 'if tragedy should be numbered among the literary influences on Thucydides' and goes on to acknowledge Thucydides' greater debt to Herodotus, 'another tragic historian', while admitting that Homer was an even greater influence on both.

Summary

We can say that the speeches of both historians owe a debt to the Attic dramatists, but in different ways according to the age they lived in and the stage of development reached by drama during their time. Cornford (1907, 137-8) was only partially right when he said that Herodotus 'had chosen the lax form of epic', in contrast to Thucydides who was 'to draw no inspiration from the tradition of Ionian Epos' (op. cit. 138). For, as we have seen, Herodotus, like his successor, turned to drama when the occasion and necessity arose. Specifically, the dramatic account of the Persian Wars in his final three books and the speeches contained in them owes much to the historically based theme of Aeschylus' *Persae*. There are also echoes of Sophocles throughout the *Histories* in certain recurring tragic themes and motifs. As for

Thucydides, we have seen in some detail how his speeches link in thought and purpose particularly with dramatic ideas and expression in Euripides, but also, at times, with Sophocles and Aeschylus. This supports, I believe, one of the main points of comparison between the Speeches to which I have already alluded, namely that both Herodotus and Thucydides were interested in presenting dramatically, through their speeches, the more intimate motives of their characters and that this in turn enabled them to amplify and explain the action described in their main narratives.
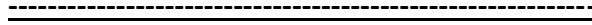
Chapter Five: Rhetoric

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the origin, types and usage of rhetoric as far as they relate to the Speeches, and to compare their uses in both authors. I intend to go about this in six main sections: (i) a brief clarification of what I understand by the term 'rhetoric', and its relationship to 'speech'; (ii) the origins of rhetoric; (iii) a survey of the influence of fifth-century sophists on the Speeches; (iv) a description of the types of rhetorical argument found in the Speeches; (v) a summary of the opinions held by ancient critics and commentators on rhetorical method as it relates to our topic; (vi) a comparative survey of examples from each author.

Rhetoric and Speech

To the modern thinker there appears nothing anomalous in referring to written discourse, such as the Speeches, as containing 'rhetoric'. And yet to the ear of a fifth-century Athenian I suspect that such a reference would seem strange, even contradictory, since the word 'rhetoric' is, in Greek, connected with the verb ῥέω (= I speak) and therefore rhetoric to a Greek speaker would be, linguistically at least, dissociated from the concept of writing. Aristotle indeed (*Rhetoric* 1.2) defines rhetoric as 'the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion', suggesting that the principal requirement for a speaker was oral improvisation rather than the ability to read a script. By way of support for this idea it is worth quoting in full the powerful invective, itself highly rhetorical and *written*, used by the fourth-century rhetorician Alcidamas of Elaea[255]:

> ἡγοῦμαι δ' οὐδὲ λόγους δίκαιον εἶναι καλεῖσθαι τοὺς γεγραμμένους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἴδωλα καὶ σχήματα καὶ μιμήματα λόγων, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κατ' αὐτῶν εἰκότως ἂν δόξαν ἔχοιμεν, ἥνπερ καὶ κατὰ τῶν χαλκῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ λιθίνων ἀγαλμάτων καὶ γεγραμμένων ζώων, ὥσπερ γὰρ ταῦτα μιμήματα τῶν ἀληθινῶν σωμάτων ἐστί, καὶ τέρψιν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἔχει, χρῆσιν δ' οὐδεμίαν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ παραδίδωσι.

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[255]In his diatribe *On Those Who Compose Written Speeches*, para.27.

> Written discourses, in my opinion, certainly ought not to be called real speeches, but they are as wraiths, semblances, and imitations. It would be reasonable for us to think of them as we do of bronze statues, and images of stone, and pictures of living beings; just as these last mentioned are but the semblance of corporeal bodies, giving pleasure to the eye alone, and are of no practical value.[256]

What then do I mean by 'rhetoric' in a sense understandable to a fifth-century Athenian? I take it to mean the art of oratory, employed for the purpose of persuasion in a law court, in the assembly at Athens or elsewhere, by ambassadors seeking an alliance, or by a general to troops.[257] And because rhetoric, in the oral context of the fifth century, demanded an immediacy of contact between speaker and listener, I shall show that its preferred medium in Herodotus and Thucydides is DD. However, it might be argued that, since he already enjoys contact of a sort with his reader through the written word,[258] either historian, at any particular time, could be using rhetorical language through ID,[259] through any one of the other types of communication I have previously defined as 'speech', such as conversation or letters, or even in the normal course of his narrative. Nevertheless, in this chapter I shall deal with rhetoric mainly where it appears in DD, but not in narrative as that is beyond the remit of this thesis.

The Origins of Rhetoric

The art of rhetoric is inseparably connected with, and arises from, the oral tradition which I have already described above and was developed during the fifth century at Athens.[260] From that time onwards a ῥήτωρ was either a writer of bespoke speeches, used to defend or oppose a proposition in litigation, that is to say in modern terms a legal advocate, or a public speaker in the ecclesia, what we should

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[256]Translated by LaRue Van Hook, *Classical Weekly*, January 20th, 1919. For the text see Muir (2001).
[257]Although exhortatory speeches made by generals before battles in H and T may be considered rhetorical, they do have other features including the fact that they are all almost certainly inventions. I shall therefore deal with them separately in Chapter 8 below.
[258]Or perhaps through the spoken word by way of recitation, if we are not to ignore this medium as an outlet for either author (cf. n.36 above). Cf. also Herodotus' own repeated references to his *hearing* the evidence on which his narrative is based: 1.20.1; 2.29.1; 2.52.1; 2.148.6; 3.117.6; 4.14.1; 4.16.2.
[259] This is precisely argued and illustrated by Scardino in Foster and Lateiner (2012, 80-94).
[260] See Lloyd (1978, 79-86) for an excellent summary of the development of rhetoric.

now call a 'politician'.[261] Perhaps the earliest critique of written rhetoric is by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his treatise on Thucydides (87), who mentions *antithesis* (contrasting speeches, paragraphs, sentences etc.)*, isocolon* (balanced clauses) and *homoioteleuton* (similar endings) being used in early fifth-century Athenian regulations regarding the Eleusinian mysteries.[262] By far the most important of these techniques, as far as we are concerned, was 'antithesis' to which I devote a section below. Aristotle tells us[263] that professional oratory was beginning to be exported about 467 from Sicily where a new school of oratory had been founded by Corax and Tisias when the fall of the Deinomenid dynasty at Syracuse led to an increasing number of lawsuits being set up to recover property.

Thus, among the several types of rhetoric later codified by Aristotle and others, it was forensic (dicanic) oratory which became the main driving force in the genre particularly post-462 at Athens, when political reforms enabled the law courts (δικαστήρια) to hear more 'first instance' cases, the increased instances of litigation demanding more and better oratory. Also, subject allies with no vote in the assembly needed trained Attic orators to plead their cases when reviewing rates of tribute. Fragments of such speeches still survive, written by Antiphon on behalf of Rhodes and Samothrace.[264] There may also have been wrangles between trierarchs over who was to pay for the fitting out of triremes as there were in Demosthenes' day, since the trierarchic system was operative in the mid-fifth century.[265] All these situations called for well composed persuasive speeches.

As the fifth century progressed, life at Athens became more complicated and competitive. It was the aristocratic classes who first began to learn the new art of oratory, which was becoming an obligatory tool in statecraft,[266] while the middle

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[261]There was in the fifth century no clear distinction between a 'rhetorician' and a 'sophist', (see DG intro. xviii).
[262]See Pritchett (1975).
[263]Via Cicero, *Brutus* 46 in the lost Συναγωγὴ Τεχνῶν, a summary of early rhetorical theory.
[264]This would have been the Antiphon who was the author of the *Tetralogies* and other forensic speeches, who plotted the establishment of the Four Hundred in 411, and was subsequently condemned to death by the restored democracy. See Hill (1951, 19-21) for references to his Samothracian speeches.
[265]Cf. Cawkwell (1969, 163).
[266]Thucydides would have been eligible to attend debates in the ecclesia from c. 451 if he was born in c. 471**.**

classes found an opportunity to learn similar skills in order to succeed politically and in the law courts. These skills the sophists purported to teach and did so, often in return for very handsome fees. By the last quarter of the fifth century they had acquired a notoriously bad name in popular circles, being considered by many to be 'too clever by half'.[267] The sophists inherited the function of the poets as interpreters of experience from a wider, more generic, world as evidenced by the relatively distant places they hailed from: Protagoras from Abdera, Gorgias from Leontini, Hippias from Elis, and Prodicus from Ceos.

The Influence of the Sophists

Although he is not specifically named as a pupil or follower of the sophists, Herodotus was an almost exact contemporary of both Protagoras (c. 490-c. 420) and Gorgias (c. 485-375), making it highly likely that he would have fallen under their influence at some stage during his writing career. We know, for instance, that Herodotus visited Athens and knew Pericles; he is said to have made a public reading there of (part of) his history in 446 and the fact that he mentions events which happened early in the Peloponnesian War[268] indicates that he returned to Athens some time after 431.

Moreover, although we only have evidence of two visits by Protagoras, one in c. 433 as represented in the *Protagoras* of Plato and the other in c. 422 attested by the comic poet Eupolis in his play *The Flatterers*, and one major visit by Gorgias, as a member of an official Leontine embassy in 427,[269] they may well have made other visits, any of which could have coincided with sojourns by Herodotus. Hornblower (1987, 16) has indeed pointed out that there are frequent signs in the *Histories* that Herodotus was alert to the intellectual movements of the third quarter of the fifth century, especially to dialectical debate as in a political or legal 'contest' (ἀγών), and when we analyse his speeches we find that Herodotus, like his successor, commonly

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[267]Cf. the unfair treatment (as we regard it) of Socrates in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes of 423.

[268]At 6.91 (the Athenian expulsion of the Aeginetans, cf. T 2.27, see also Lattimore [1998, 88, n. on 2.27]); at 7.137 (the execution of Spartan 'spies', cf. T 2.67); at 7.233 (the murder of Eurymachus, son of Leontiadas, Theban commander at Thermopylae, cf. T 2.2-5); at 9.73 (the sparing of Decelea by the Lacedaemonians).

[269]According to Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, 1.9.492-3, although this could refer to an earlier occasion because Pericles is also mentioned as being present.

uses rhetorical devices, the exact derivation of which, it is true, is difficult to pinpoint, but which share features in common with the methods of the fifth-century sophists.

The prime example of sophistic rhetoric in Herodotus is the well-known Constitutional Debate at 3.80-82.[270] Despite the eagerness of Herodotus to convince us of the authenticity of the occasion of this debate,[271] it is obvious from its form and language that it is Greek and not Persian in origin and character, adopting as it does the 'classical' tripartite dialectical format fashionable in Attic oratory of the time.[272]

The speech of Otanes (3.80.2-6), arguing in favour of democracy, is especially rich in oratorical device and language and will serve as the best example of how Herodotus here imitates contemporary sophistic rhetorical usage. Despite its brevity (only eleven sentences), we can point to: the overall bipartite antithetical structure of the argument, now anti-monarchy (3.80.2-5), now pro-democracy (3.80.6); frequent use of antithetically balanced sentences, four marked by μέν ... δέ (... δέ); eight occurrences of γάρ as an explanatory connector; a potent rhetorical question, attacking the licence enjoyed by monarchs (3.80.3); the emphatic and repeated use of superlative forms e.g. ἄριστον, ἀρίστοισι, κακίστοισι, ἄριστος, ἀναρμοστότατον, μέγιστα, κάλλιστον; the repetition of ἤν τε ... ἤν τε and ἄχθεται ... ἄχθεται as well as of the cognate verbs θεραπεύεται and θεραπεύῃ in the same chiasmically formatted sentence to bring home the contrasting ways in which a subject can incur the wrath of a monarch (3.80.5).

There is also much evidence among ancient authors about Thucydides' indebtedness to sophistic rhetoric, and in particular to Gorgias. Philostratus tells us that Thucydides was 'enthralled' by Gorgias during the latter's visit to Athens in 427.[273] He further attests at *Letters* 73: 'Critias[274] and Thucydides are not unknown to have taken from Gorgias both grandeur of thought and dignity of style (ὀφρύς) ... in the

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[270]On the Constitutional Debate see pp. 162-66 below; also esp. Pelling (2002); also Zali (2014, 146-51). On H as a link between Homer and T in debate (ἀγών) generally, cf. Zali (op.cit. 121-7).
[271]At 3.80. 1: ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπιστοι ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὧν.
[272]E.g. the three speeches at H 8.140-144 discussed below (pp. 166-7).
[273]*Lives of the Sophists* 1.9. 492-3.
[274]The Athenian sophist and contemporary of T.

one through fluency of speech, in the other (Thucydides) through force of expression'. It is also generally accepted among modern scholars and ancient critics alike that the style of Thucydides' speeches is largely influenced by the artistic expression advocated and practised by Gorgias: Marcellinus, in his *Life of Thucydides* (para.36), attests that Thucydides 'for a short time ... strove to emulate the balanced clausulae (παρισώσεις) and the verbal antitheses (τὰς ἀντιθέσεις τῶν ὀνομάτων) practised by Gorgias of Leontini'.

In the *Encomium of Helen* Gorgias describes *logos* (speech, language) as 'master' (δυναστής) (para.8). This is not surprising, as the purpose of an encomium by definition is epideictic. As 'master', logos has the power to alter men's emotional state by persuading and deceiving the soul (ψυχή), thus putting an end to fear and grief by instilling joy and evoking pity, the ultimate medium for this being poetry. Gorgias parallels speech with medicine in that both can be either beneficial or harmful to the body (medicine) or the soul (speech). For speeches, like medicine, may poison or bewitch the soul by an evil kind of persuasion: οἱ δὲ (λόγοι) πειθῷ τινι κακῇ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐφαρμάκευσαν καὶ ἐξεγοήτευσαν (para.14). This acknowledgement, that rhetoric can be used for deception, is a factor which links Gorgias with both Thucydides and Herodotus. We might compare the above extract from the *Helen* with Cleon's speech in the Mytilenean debate (T 3.38-40), where he warns the Athenian assembly against the deceptive charms of oratorical speech-makers (οἱ τε τέρποντες λόγῳ ῥήτορες [3.40.3]). Cleon previously charges the Athenians of reversing nature by being 'spectators of words and listeners to deeds': θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων ... ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων (3.38.4), that is they will trust what they hear to be a true account of events from a clever speaker more readily than they will believe the evidence of their own eyes.[275] Another parallel with the *Helen* occurs later at T 7.11-15, where Nicias, in a letter, complains that the Athenians want to hear only what is most pleasant (βουλομένων μὲν τὰ ἥδιστα ἀκούειν) only to attribute blame later (7.14.4).

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[275]That listening to sophists was a form of entertainment comparable to the theatre in fifth-century Athens is also implied in the same speech of Cleon at 3.38.7, where he blames his fellow citizens for being overcome by the pleasure of listening and beguiled by speeches ,'like men seated for entertainment by sophists' (σοφιστῶν θεαταῖς ἐοικότες καθημένοις).

Hunter (1986, 425) believes Thucydides himself embraced Gorgias' teaching on the theory that speech persuades, charms, bewitches and deceives enough to employ it in his *History* in reconstructing debates at Athens. Of Pericles' oratorical abilities Hunter says that 'he (Pericles) knew that men can be persuaded to go to war, but that what they feel under the sway of πειθώ is a mere illusion'. Thucydides has Pericles at (1.140.1) himself say that he 'knows that men do not pursue a war once in it with the same conviction that persuaded them into it': εἰδὼς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ ἀναπειθομένους τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ πράσσοντας. Thus Thucydides' thoughts on *logos* are similar to Gorgias, since for him men's rational faculties are quite inadequate to deal with persuasive speech. In the opinion of Gorgias most men fall under the sway of *logos* due to a deficiency in memory, critical thought and foresight.[276]

By way of comparison with Thucydides it is worth noting that Herodotus is also influenced by this idea that rhetoric in speech can be used to deceive. Consider the ways in which, in the *Histories*, Themistocles tricks groups and individuals into acting or believing something contrary to their inclination. Examples of this type of deception include the speech of Themistocles at 8.109.2-4, where he disingenuously[277] persuades the Athenians not to pursue Xerxes to the Hellespont following the battle of Salamis, telling them to concentrate on repairing their homeland and warning them that a defeated enemy could strike back viciously, yet all the time intending to ingratiate himself with the Great King. It might be deduced that, in showing Themistocles in this unfavourable light, Herodotus displays his dislike of him. But other examples suggest that, for all Themistocles' trickery and duplicity, Herodotus, like Thucydides,[278] admires his cleverness and persuasive talk. Another example is much shorter but equally forceful: at 8.5.1-2, where Themistocles bribes Adeimantas, the unwilling Corinthian commander, to stay and fight at Artemisium. True, the chief incentive used here is bribery, to the sum of

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[276]This thinking can be traced back to the materialistic philosophy of Empedocles, who posited a theory of perception based on the idea of the existence of pores through which our eyes and ears convey knowledge of the outside world to the soul (see DK 31A86, 92,320 & 321, collected in Kirk et al. 1983).
[277]ταῦτα λέγων διέλλαβε (8.110.1).
[278]Cf. Thucydides' praise of Themistocles' natural intelligence, foresight and ability at 1.138.3 although he does not give Themistocles direct words to speak except through a letter to Artaxerxes at 1.137.4.

three talents of silver, but there is even more silver in Themistocles' tongue: 'you won't be leaving us then' (Οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις). Deception in Herodotus is also found in Histiaeus' tricking of the Scythians at 4.139.2-3; in Zophyrus' fooling of the Babylonian council into believing his hatred of Darius at 3.155; and in Darius' plan to get at Smerdis (3.72).[279]

Nor is Gorgias the only sophist to have influenced Thucydides. Cicero (*Brutus*, 12.47) tells us that 'Antiphon of Rhamnus produced similar writings (i.e. to Gorgias), about whom we have the reliable assurance of Thucydides (8.68) that no one ever pleaded a better case than when he heard Antiphon defending himself on a capital charge'. The evidence as to whether Thucydides was a pupil of Antiphon is equivocal. There were as many as six contemporary Antiphons, of which the Suda[280] refers to three, but it is probable that the orator and politician of that name from Rhamnus is the one cited by the Suda reputed to have been the teacher of Thucydides,[281] although Thucydides himself, despite his eulogy of Antiphon at 8.68, does not mention any close personal connection with him.

Types of Rhetorical Argument in the Speeches

<u>The Sicilian Canon</u>

This was a system of rhetorical argument reputedly devised by Corax of Syracuse and his pupil Tisias c.480 comprising: *proem* (introduction), *prothesis* (statement of argument), *narration* (giving necessary information), *proof* (refuting the opposition, supporting your own case), *epilogue* (summary and restatement of case). The following are examples in Thucydides: Hermocrates to Syracusan assembly at 6.33-34; Athenagoras to Syracusan assembly at 6.36-40; Euphemus at Camarina at 6.82-87. I take the speech of Euphemus to illustrate this technique:

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[279]An echo here perhaps of the entry of Odysseus into Troy (*Iliad* 4, 242ff). Cf. Lateiner, D. (1990); Hesk (2000).
[280]DK vol.1, Ty1, 87.
[281]Pseudo-Plutarch, in *Lives of the Ten Orators* (832b), cites Caecilius of Caleacte as confirming that Antiphon *was* Thucydides' tutor.

proem (= 6.82): designed to gain the goodwill of the Camarinaeans but the arguments are dishonest since the Ionians did not willingly provide forces to the Persians nor did the Athenians overthrow the Persians single-handed.

prothesis (= 6.83): we, the Athenians, are here in Sicily to preserve our safety and yours.

narration (= 6.84): we are all motivated by fear; we want to save you from the Syracusans; they will overpower you if/when we leave.

proof (= 6.85-87): do not rely on your Dorian connections; the motives of Syracuse are driven by expediency; we come by your own invitation; join with us against Syracuse.

epilogue (= end 6.87): do not reject this opportunity for the sake of your own security.

<u>Argument from expediency (τὸ συμφέρον)</u>

The argument from τὸ συμφέρον is most commonly found in speeches in Thucydides but not, to the same extent, in Herodotus.[282] It is closely allied to symbouleutic debate and particularly used in discourses where one side is attempting to persuade another of a political 'truth' with a view to winning them over to their side or to exhorting them to action against a common enemy. The method is very well summarised again by the words of Euphemus (6.82-87), the Athenian representative at Camarina, who is attempting to justify Athenian rule in order to establish an alliance with the Camarinaeans against Syracuse (6.85.1): ἀνδρὶ δὲ τυράννῳ ἢ πόλει ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ οὐδὲν ἄλογον ὅτι ξυμφέρον οὐδ' οἰκεῖον ὅτι μὴ πιστόν· πρὸς ἕκαστα δὲ δεῖ ἢ ἐχθρὸν ἢ φίλον μετὰ καιροῦ γίγνεσθαι. ('for a tyrant or a city ruling an empire nothing which is expedient is to be regarded as unreasonable, nor anything untrustworthy unfitting; in either case hostility or friendship must suit the situation').[283] In short, the γνώμη here is 'men do what profits them'.

Other Thucydidean examples of speeches using τὸ συμφέρον are: the Athenian ambassadors at Sparta at 1.73-78, justifying the empire on the grounds, amongst

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[282]On the question of whether this is due to the inherently political nature of Thucydidean speeches as opposed to the moral and ethical positioning of those in H see Raaflaub (2002, 183ff).
[283]Translation from Lattimore (1998, 347-8) adapted.

others, of self-interest (ὠφελία); Pericles, in his third speech at 2.63 advocating war, admitting that empire is a tyranny but that it is not in Athens' interests or safety to give it up (ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτήν, ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον); Cleon, in the Mytilenean debate at 3.37-40, advocating the death penalty for the Mytileneans on the grounds of its setting a clear example towards other would-be rebellious cities (κολάσατε δὲ ἀξίως τούτους τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις παράδειγμα σαφὲς καταστήσατε).

The best example of argument from expediency in Herodotus is the speech given by Darius at 3.72, where he justifies at some length lying to the palace guards in order to gain access to assassinate the magus Smerdis: 'people lie when they expect to profit from others falling for their lies, and they tell the truth for the same reason – to attract some profit to themselves or to gain more room in which to manoeuvre' (οἱ μέν γε ψεύδονται τότε ἐπεάν τι μέλλωσι τοῖσι ψεύδεσι πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι, οἱ δ' ἀληθίζονται ἵνα τι τῇ ἀληθείῃ ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος καί τις μᾶλλόν σφι ἐπιτράπηται). The reader feels the power of this argument by Darius all the stronger for having read Herodotus' assertion at 1.138.1 that the telling of lies is the most disgraceful possible contravention of Persian νόμος: αἴσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται. Herodotus, and indeed Thucydides, may have derived this form of argument from the Gorgianic *Defence of Helen* (10-11), which contains a justification of deception.[284]

Arguments from honour (τὸ καλόν) and justice (τὸ δίκαιον)

The sophistic argument from τὸ συμφέρον contrasts with the traditional Homeric ideals of τὸ καλόν (honour) and τὸ δίκαιον (justice), although these latter two do appear in the Histories. Τὸ καλόν is, however, scantily represented in both Herodotus and Thucydides, the only obvious example being the Funeral Oration of Pericles (2.35-46), this speech corresponding to the 'epideictic' formula noted by Aristotle (see below). Τὸ δίκαιον is exemplified by those speeches which contain forensic rhetorical discourse. In Thucydides these are notably the speeches of the Plataeans and the Thebans at the trial of the Plataeans before the Spartans at 3.52.4-

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[284]On deceit in H cf. Zali (2014, 26, esp. n. 127) re. Darius' lie and the Gorgias connection.

67.7. In Herodotus there are no such set court-room speeches, unless we count the brief self-defence by the young ten year old Cyrus at 1.114.3-115 or the even briefer defence in reported form by Cleomenes against the charge of treachery at 6.82.

The antithetical debate between the Athenians and the Tegeans at Plataea at 9.26-27 is not held in a forensic setting but does contain arguments from τὸ δίκαιον, since each side is appealing for the right to hold the second wing of the battle line based on their past record of prowess in war. Moreover, both sides employ a form of the word δίκαιος in the critical part of their argument: the Tegeans at 9.26.7 (οὕτω ὦν δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας); the Athenians at 9.27.6 (ἆρ᾽ οὐ δίκαιοί εἰμεν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν). It could be argued that the use of the word δίκαιοι here by Herodotus rather than, say, ἄξιοι might be a deliberate attempt to add weight to the Athenian case.

The argument from τὸ δίκαιον can be overridden by τὸ συμφέρον as is shown in Thucydides at 2.60-64, where Pericles in his third speech defends his conduct of the war up till now: ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτὴν (τὴν ἀρχὴν), ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον ('for you hold it [your empire] like a tyranny which, if it seems unjust to have acquired it, it is perilous to let go').

Argument from probability (τὸ εἰκός)

The argument from τὸ εἰκός, as used in the Histories, is a rhetorical tool designed to enable the speaker to use his experience or knowledge of past events to predict what is likely to happen in the future, and thence to persuade people that it actually *will* happen. It derives directly from the early Sicilian school of rhetoric which sought to teach both this skill and the marshalling of facts upon which it depends. Both of these skills, being indispensible in the Syracusan law courts, were used by both sides in court to persuade the judges that their own version of past events was correct, and so became highly prized by the time they reached the litigious atmosphere of late fifth-century Athens.

The argument from τὸ εἰκός was developed in particular by the sophists and appears strikingly in the Old Oligarch (Pseudo-Xenophon), *Constitution of Athens* in 424. It is,

along with the argument from τὸ συμφέρον, the commonest form of rhetorical argument in the Histories where, however, it is used in a much wider context than just the dicanic. Within the speeches of Thucydides it is ubiquitous; many examples can be found in speeches of all types involving warnings, advice, consultation and exhortation[285] but at this point I shall offer just one illustration,[286] from the speech, at 2.87-89, by the Peloponnesian generals, of whom only Brasidas and Cnemus are named, to the sailors of their fleet immediately following their first defeat by the smaller Athenian fleet commanded by Phormio.

We can distinguish three parts: (i) a review and attempted explanation of the defeat recently suffered (87.1-3), (ii) encouragement and advice for the coming second encounter (87.4-7), and (iii) a final exhortation (87.8-9). Of these we are only concerned with (i) and (ii). The sailors are told in (i) that, whatever the cause for their defeat, and it may have been inexperience (ἀπειρία), cowardice (μαλακία) was not a contributory factor; in (ii) that ἀπειρία is not easily overcome but can be outweighed by courage (τόλμη). A universal 'truth' (γνώμη) is then offered: 'art (τέχνη) without valour (ἀλκή) is useless'. Then another γνώμη: 'superior numbers (which the Peloponnesian fleet possesses), and better preparation (which they can ensure) usually bring victory'. Therefore, the men are persuaded, defeat is at no point probable: hence the argument from τὸ εἰκός.

Argument from nature (ἡ φύσις)

I have already discussed (p. 112ff.) examples of argument from ἡ φύσις in connection with drama and, in particular, in the *Medea* and *Hippolytus* of Euripides: the speeches of Jason and the nurse respectively in these plays reflect the move towards a greater naturalism prevalent in all forms of Attic art in the second half of the fifth-century. We have some strong evidence that the sophists contributed greatly to this movement in a fragment of the Ἀλήθεια of Antiphon (the sophist),[287] where Antiphon argues that the laws of nature (ἡ φύσις) govern the acts of men

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[285]An excellent explanation of its use by Thucydides throughout the whole of his *History* is supplied by Hunter (1973b), especially Chapter 2.
[286]Summarised from Hunter (1973b, 47-48).
[287]DK vol. 1, Fr. 44, 346-355.

much more strongly than those of social convention (νόμος). Thus, whether or not under the influence of Antiphon as his tutor, we find Thucydides making his speakers appeal to the authority of the laws of nature, for example in the speech of the Athenian ambassadors to Sparta at 1.73-78: ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καθεστῶτος τὸν ἥσσω ὑπὸ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου κατείργεσθαι ('it always having been an established law that the weaker should be subject to the stronger') and immediately again but even more emphatically at 1.76.3: ἐπαινεῖσθαί τε ἄξιοι οἵτινες χρησάμενοι τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει ὥστε ἑτέρων ἄρχειν δικαιότεροι ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν γένωνται ('and those who follow human nature by ruling others are praiseworthy whenever they become more just than the power they exert dictates').

In the second passage, which the modern critic may think exceeds the bounds of moral acceptability, τῇ φύσει is reinforced by ἀνθρωπείᾳ leaving us in no doubt that Thucydides is referring here to human as opposed to divine laws and reminding us of the famous dictum of Protagoras, reputedly the first sophist, quoted by Socrates in Plato's *Theaetetus* that 'Man is the measure of all things'.[288]

Just as we have seen how argument from τὸ συμφέρον can override τὸ δίκαιον, so it can be supported by ἡ φύσις. Diodotus, at 3.42-48, in response to Cleon's proposal of the death penalty for the seceding Mytileneans, does not argue for their reprieve on moral grounds but from expediency; he backs this up by arguing that the death penalty is ineffective since 'it is natural for all men … to make mistakes and there is no law that will prevent this': πεφύκασί τε ἅπαντες … ἁμαρτάνειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος ὅστις ἀπείρξει τούτου.

Other sophistic arguments

Some speeches in Herodotus would appear to reflect and to discuss in depth ethical problems previously explored by sophists. We may point to the problem of involuntary murder explored by Protagoras[289] and by Antiphon (*Tetralogies* 2), which

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[288]Although reference to the divine element in human affairs is made strongly in the Melian Dialogue, esp. 5.105.
[289]Cf. examples of model cases of the unintentional killing of an opponent or innocent bystander by Plutarch (*Pericles* 36) in Stadter (1989, 328).

is discussed again in the story of Adrastus (1.35-45),[290] while Raaflaub (2002, 160) further suggests, with reason, that Artabanus' outburst against slander at 7.10ε may reflect a similar condemnation by the sophist Hippias.

Examples of Rhetoric in the Speeches

<u>Herodotus</u>

I have detected thirty-one speech events in Herodotus which contain examples of rhetorical language; I list them here and tag them with a description according to the divisions mentioned above.

1.30.2-32 Solon's account to Croesus on why he did not choose him as the happiest of men employs much antithetical language, especially in Chapter 32 (διαλεκτικός).

1.114.3-115 The ten year old Cyrus, as if on trial, justifies his treatment of a playmate (δικανικός).

1.155 Croesus uses a specious argument to persuade Cyrus not to enslave the Lydians (διαλεκτικός).

3.71-73 Darius uses sophistic argument in his reply to Otanes in the three-speaker debate on how to kill the imposter Smerdis (διαλεκτικός).

3.80-82 The Constitutional Debate among Darius, Otanes and Megabazus, forming an 'agon' of thesis and antithesis as in a Greek set-piece sophistic discussion (διαλεκτικός).

3.137.2-3 The Persians try to persuade the Crotonians to hand over Democedes using rhetorical questions (δημηγορικός).

4.119.2-4 The Scythian kings respond to their neighbours' request for help against Darius (δημηγορικός).

4.136.3-4 The first Scythian division persuade the Ionians to abandon the bridge on the Hellespont (δημηγορικός).

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[290]'Far beyond the rational and legal aspects important to the sophist and the rhetorician': so Raaflaub (2002, 160).

5.49-50 Aristagoras attempts to persuade the Spartans to free Ionia from Persian rule (διαλεκτικός).

5.97.1-2 A reported version of Aristagoras persuading the Athenians to support the Ionian revolt (δημηγορικός).

6.65.3-4 Leotychidas gives evidence against Demaratus on oath (δικανικός) (ID).

6.82 Cleomenes defends himself in forensic rhetorical style against the accusation of not taking Argos (δικανικός).

6.109.3-6 Miltiades persuades Callimachus to make the casting vote to attack the Persians at Marathon (διαλεκτικός).

7.5.2 Mardonius uses mild rhetoric to persuade Xerxes to invade Greece (διαλεκτικός).

7.8 Xerxes' plan to invade Europe (διαλεκτικός and παρακλητικός).

7.38 Pythius pleads with Xerxes for his son to be spared military service (διαλεκτικός).

7.46-52 A conversation between Xerxes and Artabanus on the vicissitudes of life and the dangers of the coming war, comparable in structure if not in topic with the exchange between Nicias and Alcibiades at 6.9-14 and 6.16-18 (διαλεκτικός).

7.147.3 A clever reply by Xerxes to his courtiers on the subject of grain ships heading towards the Greek mainland (διαλεκτικός).

7.157-162.1 The Greek delegation to Gelon of Syracuse, especially the Athenian claim to naval superiority and the right to overall command, which is comparable to the speech of Euphemus at Camarina in Thucydides (6.82-87) (πρεσβευτικός).

7.172.2-3 The Thessalian speech at the Isthmus asking for help but supporting the Hellenic cause (πρεσβευτικός).

8.60-62 Themistocles persuades Eurybiades to fight at Salamis (διαλεκτικός).

8.68.α-γ Artemisia, using rhetorical questions, attempts to persuade Xerxes not to fight at Salamis (διαλεκτικός).

8.79.3-81 Themistocles persuades Aristeides to tell the Greek commanders they are hemmed in by the Persians at Salamis (διαλεκτικός).

8.101-102 Artemisia gives diplomatic advice to Xerxes on whether to accept Mardonius' offer to fight on alone after Salamis (διαλεκτικός).

8.109.2-4 Themistocles disingenuously persuades the Athenians not to pursue Xerxes to the Hellespont (διαλεκτικός).

8.111.2-3 The Andrians' argument against paying Themistocles contains an element of courtroom rhetoric (δικανικός).

8.142-4 The debate following Alexander's attempt to persuade the Athenians to accept Xerxes' offer of an alliance (δημηγορικός and διαλεκτικός).

9.26-27 An adversarial verbal contest (ἀγών) between the Tegeans and the Athenians on the right to hold the right wing at Plataea (δικανικός).

Thucydides

As to how Thucydides came to construct his speeches, we have already seen that he gives his own account in his 'programme' at 1.22.1. Hornblower (1987, 56) regards Thucydides' 'excessive obedience to the "rules" of rhetoric' in the speeches as a good reason for supposing they were invented. On the other hand (op.cit. 65), referring again to 1.22.1, he concludes: 'none of the arguments for artificiality is so strong that we are forced to think in terms of "what was appropriate" (τὰ δέοντα) rather than "what was really said" (τὰ ἀληθῶς λεχθέντα)'. When we consider how important a part rhetorical argument would have played in contemporary speeches, we must surely incline to the belief that Thucydides did his best to represent them accurately. As for their compositional worth, even von Ranke (1921, 224), writing in an era which was perhaps more insistent on historiographical rigour than literary embellishment, found himself able to praise the rhetorical content of Thucydides'

speeches: 'Thucydides was at the same time orator and history writer; his narrative is free from all rhetoric; that celebrates its greatest triumph in the speeches'.

On the value of rhetoric itself, we can detect similarities between Thucydides and Plato: in the *Phaedrus* (267cd), where ῥήτωρ equates with 'politician', Thrasymachus speaks of the ability of the ῥήτωρ to cool people down and to warm them up. We might compare this with Thucydides' obituary of Pericles at 2.65.9, where we are told that Pericles used his oratorical powers both to shock the Athenians out of complacency and to restore them to confidence when they were fearful. Also, at 2.59.3, in the prelude to Pericles' final speech, we are told he called together the assembly in order to encourage them and to make them calmer by ridding their minds of anger: ἐβούλετο θαρσῦναί τε καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης πρός τὸ ἠπιώτερον καὶ ἀδεέστερον καταστῆσαι.

Not only is Thucydides, like Herodotus, alert to the dialectical ἀγών, as is obvious from the style of debate adopted by him for the Melian Dialogue as a whole, but he also has the Athenian delegation admit at 5.85, in a disingenuous attempt to assist the Melians' deliberations, that a public meeting (as opposed to the small select meeting then in progress) might be 'taken in' (ἀπατηθῶσιν) by 'things that may appeal to them with no chance of rebuttal' (ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ ἀνέλεγκτα). There is also evidence that Thucydides rejected sophistic values when the occasion suited, the best example being the speech of Nicias to his troops at 7.69.2, when the expedition was in dire straits and Nicias suffering from a mortal illness. Here Nicias appeals to his men's traditional values of family, honour and patriotism, his speech exhibiting a lack of specious rhetoric and reflecting the kind of simplicity (τὸ εὔηθες) to which he refers at 3.83 in his treatment of the Corcyrean stasis.[291]

I have found thirty-eight speech events which contain rhetorical devices in Thucydides:

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[291]At 3.83 T tells us that simplicity (τὸ εὔηθες) is especially found in noble natures (τὸ γενναῖον), but is particularly lacking in time of civil war. We might compare this with Keats' poetic sentiment in his famous prologue to *Endymion* where, he says, thoughts of beauty persist in our minds 'spite of despondence, of the inhuman dearth of noble natures'.

1.32-43 The assembly at Athens; speech of the Corcyreans and of the Corinthians (πρεσβευτικός).

1.68-87.2 The first conference of the Peloponnesian League at Sparta (πρεσβευτικός).

1.120-124 The Corinthians speak at the second conference at Sparta (πρεσβευτικός).

1.140-144 Speech of Pericles before the assembly at Athens (δημηγορικός).

2.11 King Archidamus addresses the Spartan army at the Isthmus (παρακλητικός).

2.13 Pericles reminds the Athenians of their resources (δημηγορικός).

2.35-46 Pericles' Funeral Oration (ἐπιδεικτικός).

2.60-64 Pericles exhorts the Athenians to fight on and win the war (δημηγορικός).

2.87-89 Combatants prepare for a naval battle near Rhium; Cnemus, Brasidas et alii encourage the Peloponnesian forces; Phormio does likewise for the Athenians (παρακλητικός).

3.30 A proposal by Teutiaplus of Elis to surprise the Athenians at Mytilene is rejected (διαλεκτικός).

3.37-48 The Mytilenean debate in the Athenian assembly; Cleon speaks for execution, Diodotus for clemency (δημηγορικός).

3.52.4-67 The trial of the Plataeans by the Spartans (δικανικός).

4.10 Demosthenes addresses his troops on Sphacteria (παρακλητικός).

4.11.4 Brasidas exhorts his fellow trierarchs and steersmen during the battle at Pylos (παρακλητικός).

4.17-20 Spartan envoys sue for a peace treaty unsuccessfully at Athens (πρεσβευτικός).

4.27.3-28.4 Cleon and Nicias clash over the Sphacteria question (δημηγορικός).

4.59-64 Hermocrates at Gela calls upon the Sicilian cities to unite against Athens (δημηγορικός).

4.92 At Tanagra, Pagondas the Boeotarch encourages the Boeotian army to attack Athens (παρακλητικός).

4.95 Hippocrates encourages the Athenian army at Delium (παρακλητικός).

4.126 Brasidas addresses the Peloponnesians at Lyncus (παρακλητικός).

5.9 Brasidas reveals his plan of attack at Amphipolis (παρακλητικός).

5.69 Before Mantinea, the Argives and Spartans rally their troops (παρακλητικός).

5.84.3-113 The Melian Dialogue (διαλεκτικός).

6.9-14 Speech of Nicias at the Athenian assembly on the Sicilian expedition (δημηγορικός).

6.16-18 Alcibiades opposes Nicias (δημηγορικός).

6.20-23 Nicias advocates a powerful Athenian force for the invasion of Sicily (δημηγορικός).

6.33-41.4 The assembly at Syracuse (δημηγορικός).

6.68 Nicias addresses his soldiers at Syracuse (παρακλητικός).

6.76-80 Hermocrates urges the Camarinaeans to join the Sicilian allies (δημηγορικός).

6.82-87 Euphemus assures the Camarinaeans of Athens' best intentions (δημηγορικός).

6.89-92 Alcibiades urges the Spartans to aid the Sicilians and to fortify Decelea (δημηγορικός).

7.5.3-4 Gylippus addresses his soldiers after his abortive attack on the Athenian wall at Epipolae and prepares them for the next assault (παρακλητικός).

7.61-64 Nicias addresses his troops before the final Sicilian sea battle (παρακλητικός).

7.69.2 Nicias tries to raise morale despite the need to retreat (παρακλητικός).

8.27.1-4 Phrynichus sensibly advocates Athenian withdrawal from Miletus to Samos (διαλεκτικός) (ID).

8.48.4-7 At Samos, Phrynichus argues unsuccessfully against Alcibiades' return (δημηγορικός) (ID).

8.53 At Athens, Pisander and the Samian envoys persuade the assembly to vote in an oligarchy and to restore Alcibiades (δημηγορικός) (ID).

8.81.2 At Samos, Alcibiades makes extravagant promises of Persian help (δημηγορικός) (ID).

Antitheses and Linked Speeches

Antithesis was deeply ingrained into the Greek psyche, the concept of balance and proportion being the basis of many art forms such as sculpture, pottery and architecture. We have already seen from the evidence of Marcellinus that Thucydides was enthusiastic about using balanced clauses and verbal antitheses. As to the probable origin of this technique in his longer speeches, Finley (1963, 46) has no doubts: 'political questions, phrased by the method of searching antithesis introduced by Protagoras, must have formed the essence of Thucydides' early training'. The practice can be seen also at the macro level in the Speeches of both Thucydides and Herodotus but, although the speeches are linked,[292] there is sometimes an important difference. Whereas in Herodotus speeches occur within the same spatial and temporal framework, this is not always the case in Thucydides,

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[292]Speeches in both authors are often referred to as 'paired' but many other combinations occur (see my Appendix A, and Lang [1984] for the full gamut of combinations in H). I therefore prefer the broader term 'linked' when referring generally to these combinations.

where a speech may be understood to refer or reply to another delivered some time in the past and/or in a distant location.

The best example of this is the first speech of Pericles at 1.142.2, which, as de Romilly points out (1963, 28-29), corresponds in its structure with the earlier speech of the Corinthians at the second congress at Sparta at 1.122.1.[293] Even a cursory examination of the progress of the argument in the two speeches shows them to be linked antithetically. Moreover, the speech of Archidamus, 1.80-85, at the first congress at Sparta can be linked with these two as complementary.[294] I give here a short summary of the three arguments as given by the speakers in historical order as presented by Thucydides to illustrate my point:[295]

Archidamus - admits Athenian superiority - the Peloponnesians have no fleet - training will take a long time - they have no money or contributions of ships unlike Athens - there is no way of causing the Athenian subject states to revolt - therefore the war will be long.

The Corinthians - claim Peloponnesian superiority - they will obtain a fleet through loans - thus they can corrupt the loyalty of the Athenian sailors - therefore the war will be short if they win a victory, if not they will have the time and money for training - they will be able to use this to effect a revolt - they will be able to place a fort in enemy territory.

Pericles - declares the Peloponnesians are inferior as (a) they have no money, (b) contributions from their allies will be difficult to obtain - the war will thus be long - they will not be able to built a fort in Athenian territory - they will have no fleet - no money for training - no means to raise a loan - no way to corrupt Athenian sailors.

Despite the separation in time and space, the links here are clear. I use this example to illustrate how the chronological continuity of narrative, which might be of importance to the modern reader, is subordinated by Thucydides to the interests of instructing his reader in the 'whys' and 'hows' of events which he is describing. The

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[293]Cf. Moles (2010).
[294]As agreed by Jacoby in Zahn (1934, 46).
[295]See de Romilly (1963, 31 n.3) for a more detailed analysis.

reader benefits from this technique since, as he progresses through the three speeches, the writer succeeds in clarifying and then emphasising for him the salient points of the overall argument. There is, however, more often a closer chronological linkage or pairing between speeches in Thucydides, which are equally obviously intended to be antithetical. I shall cite examples of these without analysing them deeply, as the links between them are self-explanatory: Hermocrates and Euphemus at Camarina at 6.76-80, 6.82-87; Nicias and Alcibiades in the Athenian assembly at 6.9-14, 6.16-18; Cleon and Diodotus in the Mytilenean debate at 3.37-48; the Plataeans and the Thebans at 3.53-67; the Spartan generals and Phormio before the battle at Rhium at 2.87-89; the Corcyreans and the Corinthians at Athens at 1.32-43.[296]

Where there are two linked antithetical speeches (ἀντιλογίαι), Thucydides' reader is invited to choose between them as to which is the better argument (κρείττων λόγος) and which therefore is the lesser (ἥττων λόγος). The subsequent course of events (ἔργα) decides the issue for the reader.[297] The ability to distinguish between the 'weaker' and the 'stronger' argument was a skill much advocated by Protagoras and would have been an important topic in Thucydides' early training in rhetoric.[298] Such was its currency that when, towards the end of the century, the reputation of the sophists came into decline, the 'weaker' versus 'stronger' argument was famously lampooned by Aristophanes in the mock ἀγών between the Just Plea and the Unjust Plea in the *Clouds* (889-1104), which constitutes the core of the play.

The antithetical linking of speeches also occurs in Herodotus, especially where speeches by two or more characters are juxtaposed in the form of an ἀγών. The most obvious example is the Constitutional Debate, which has already been mentioned above, but there are others.[299] For instance, the deputation of the Greek

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[296]Jaeger (1939, 389) adds the speeches of Archidamus at 1.80-85 and Sthenelaidas at 1.86 to this list.
[297]A development of this is the ἔργα-λόγοι-ἔργα theory, for which cf. Hunter (1973 *passim*) and my Chapter 6.
[298]Cf. Finley (1963, 46): '... it is not too much to say that political questions, phrased by the method of searching antithesis introduced by Protagoras, must have formed the essence of Thucydides' early training'. De Romilly (1956, 181) also attests to this influence of Protagoras over Thucydides: 'il n'est pas improbable que Protagoras lui ait fourni ses bases et son essor.'
[299]Cf. esp. Lang (1984, App.2, 80-131) for a full analytical list of Herodotean speeches including various forms of 'linked'.

allies to Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, at 7.157-162.1 comprises six speeches presented in a balanced format opening with the request of the allies for help and ending with Gelon's complete rejection. In between, Gelon makes two proposals, the first that he command the land forces, which is rejected by the Spartan Syagrus, the second that he command the naval forces, which is rejected by the Athenian representative. Additionally, the speech here of the Athenian ambassador claiming Athenian naval superiority is comparable to the embassy of the Athenian Euphemus to Camarina, at T 6.82-87, prior to the Sicilian Expedition.

The commonality between Herodotus and Thucydides in their usage of linked speeches has not escaped the notice of modern scholars. De Romilly (1963, 30), although writing in the Thucydidean context, makes a helpful remark which could be applied also to Herodotus: 'as the themes (in linked speeches) are repeated from one speech to another, they grow in precision and accuracy, exactly as an idea takes shape in the course of an actual (single) dialogue'(my parentheses).[300] She also, like Finley (see above), thinks it likely that Thucydides derived his inspiration and taste for antithesis from Protagoras. Jaeger (1939, 388ff.) comments that Thucydides' speeches are 'filled with antitheses that seem artificial to modern taste' but that they are 'the most direct expression' of his thought.[301] Jaeger goes on to consolidate the idea of a commonality of usage when he says rather coyly (op.cit. 388): 'this technique of constructing speeches to suit various characters may have been externally modelled on the Homeric epics, and *to some slight extent* on Herodotus' (my italics). This last quotation illustrates well my contention that the similarities between the speeches in our two authors have been sadly underestimated.

Summary

I have shown in this chapter that the undoubted importance of oratorical skills in the public life of late fifth-century Athens, the contemporary influence of the sophists, together with the prolific number of instances of rhetoric to be found in the

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[300]See also similar comments of Hornblower (1991, 196-197).
[301]Jaeger (1939, 389) also cites the Melian Dialogue as 'a work of rhetoric on Thucydides' part' written to express 'two irreconcilable principles, justice and power', thus recognising the antithetical relationship within the subject matter as well as between the human antagonists.

Speeches of both works (see pp.136-142 above and my Appendix A), all leads us to the conclusion that both Herodotus and Thucydides regarded the usage of this genre as a *sine qua non*.

Chapter Six: λόγοι and ἔργα

As I have already indicated in my introduction (pp. 9-10), it is a given in Thucydidean studies that the speeches (λόγοι) in the *History* cannot be understood, either as to their content or as to their purpose, without reference to the narrative (ἔργα). My intention in this chapter is to show that this is equally, although perhaps not so obviously, true for speeches in the *Histories*.[302] First, however, a brief explanation and definition of ἔργα in this context is necessary.

By ἔργα, simply put, I mean 'deeds' as opposed to 'words', although it is inaccurate to suppose that the non-speaking parts of the Histories describe only action. The feelings, the motives and even the prognostications of characters in both works are sometimes expressed via the author within the narrative. It is, in fact, often difficult to distinguish between what we might call 'pure narrative' and the authorial representation of a character's mind-set expressed outside of either DD or ID.[303] We might borrow Kipling's six 'working men' ('who', 'what', 'when', 'where', 'why', and 'how') in order to explain this further. Thucydides is clear about the overall purpose of his *History*: it is, partly, to describe the Peloponnesian War as far as possible in the way that it happened, that is to report 'who' did 'what', 'when' and 'where'.

But he has another purpose: at 1.22.4 he pointedly tells us that for him 'it will be satisfying enough if my work is judged useful by those who will[304] desire not only to investigate the past clearly but also to gain an understanding of the future, which according to the course of human events will inevitably come close to resembling, even if not to repeating, it' (ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἕξει). What Thucydides is implying here, even if he does not categorically state it, is that in order to gain a full understanding of past events, which in turn will enable him to understand the future, his reader must be given the missing elements in the narrative, the 'why' and

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[302]Cf. Pelling (2006, 103), who, in referring to H, almost equates the two: 'in an important sense speeches are action. They play their part ... in a chain of events.'
[303]See the section 'Speech as Narrative or Narrative as Speech' in Chapter 7**,** p. 171-2.
[304]In view of T's reference to his work as a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί (1.22.4), the future tense here is, I believe, significant.

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the 'how'.[305] And the medium through which this is achieved is the speeches (λόγοι). Thucydides nowhere makes this method explicit,[306] but we shall see that it becomes evident as we read through the account.

For Herodotus, ἔργα means more than 'deeds'; in his proem, for instance, he uses the word to mean 'monuments' or 'buildings' constructed by men as well as the great and wonderful (μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά) 'things they have done'(1.0). Even so, throughout the account we can still see an antithesis between ἔργα and λόγοι, just as we can in Thucydides. Hunter (1973b), taking up the lead of de Romilly (1956), has already illustrated the interdependence between λόγοι and ἔργα in Thucydides.[307] I will therefore not reiterate her argument at length, but will use only two of her examples as a basis for comparison with the usage of Herodotus, adding points of my own in the process.

The pattern or process which can be detected beneath Thucydides' alternate use of λόγοι and ἔργα can best be summarised as 'reasoning *post factum*'. De Romilly (1956, 123-128 & 159ff) observed that a speech in Thucydides often previews events that follow, preparing the reader for what is to come later in the narrative. An example of this given by Hunter (1973b, 12) is the speech by Archidamus at 2.11 where Archidamus speaks to the army, as the Peloponnesian allies assemble at the Isthmus, calling for caution, vigilance and discipline. He warns that Athens will be prepared for an invasion, the Athenians will already have sent out a force to defend their land, they will become annoyed at having their land ravaged and therefore will fight with vigour to keep it. When we look at the ἔργα which this speech anticipated we find (at 2.22-23) language very similar to the previous words of Archidamus: the

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[305]Peter Derow (in Hornblower 1994, 86) is correct in stating that it was Polybius (11.19a.3) who explicitly insisted 'upon the paramount importance of the "how" and above all the "why" ', thus taking the definition of the historian's task to a level above T's 'ἀκρίβεια conducing to τὸ σαφές' (T 1.22.2-4).

[306]Although, as I have noted above, he does give equal weight to the explanation of his use of speech and narrative in his programme at 1.22.

[307]Nor should we imagine that this is a purely modern observation. For if T postulated a close link between words and deeds, Polybius makes a remark at 12.25b.1 which indicates that he thought the link even closer: next to the accurate recording of events, he says, the main task of a historian is to ascertain the cause 'why a deed or speech succeeded or failed'. Therefore, as Marincola points out (2011, 123), advice given by a character in a speech is bound up causally with the action which emanates from it, and the historian is duty bound to report what was actually said in order for the reader or listener to understand why subsequent events took place.

Athenians were not accustomed to seeing such terrible devastation before their eyes (... ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ὁρᾶν πάσχοντας τι ἄηθες [λόγοι] / ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ... ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ, ὃ οὔπω ἑοράκεσαν ... δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο ... [ἔργα]); the whole city was 'up in arms' against Pericles (ὀργὴ προσπίπτει [λόγοι] / παντί τε τρόπῳ ἀνηρέθιστο ἡ πόλις, καὶ τὸν Περικλέα ἐν ὀργῇ εἶχον [ἔργα]). We know that Thucydides' account was historically true if only because of the opposition the Acharnians put up against Archidamus, who set up camp within their deme, and the resentment they felt towards Pericles' order to abandon the countryside.[308]

One other example of this technique in Thucydides, from a later part of his account, should suffice to make the point. In fact, this example extends the pattern of λόγοι-ἔργα to ἔργα-λόγοι-ἔργα, a pattern indicated again by Hunter (op.cit. 125f). If we look at 5.26.2, in what has been called the 'second programme', we find Thucydides arguing that the so-called Peace of Nicias was not peaceful at all. He says: 'Looked at in the light of the facts it cannot, it will be found, be rationally considered a state of peace':[309] τοῖς τε γὰρ ἔργοις ὡς διῄρηται ἀθρείτω, καὶ εὑρήσει οὐκ εἰκὸς ὂν εἰρήνην αὐτὴν κριθῆναι. He then goes on to explain why he thinks this is true, justifying the statement and setting the scene, as it were, for the whole of the remainder of his *History*.

Now we should go forward to the important speech of Nicias at 6.9-14 following the Athenian decision in 415 to send an expedition to Sicily. Nicias tries unsuccessfully to argue against the sending of any force away from the home theatre of operations, adducing as his main argument the fragility of the present 'peace', despite the fifty year treaty.[310] Nicias says that it is a treaty (σπονδαί) 'which will be a treaty only in name as long as you (the Athenians) do nothing' (αἳ ἡσυχαζόντων μὲν ὑμῶν ὀνόματι ἔσονται) (6.10.2). Picking up from this basis, Nicias then proceeds to present dire prognostications concerning the possible consequences of an expedition to Sicily: (a) many enemies await an opportunity to attack us nearer home (10.2); (b) Sicily is too

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[308]Cf. esp. Aristophanes' play *The Acharnians*, albeit not produced until 425 but still providing evidence of the kind of popular divisions created by the Peloponnesian invasions of the Archidamian War. See also Hunter (1973b, 16 n.6).
[309]Translation by Crawley (revised in Strassler 1996, 316).
[310]Described at 5.23.

distant to be permanently governed even if initially subdued (11.1); (c) it would need only one reverse in Sicily for the Athenian reputation for invincibility to be destroyed (11.4); (d) the barbarian Egestaeans, although pretending to be allies, should not be trusted (11.2 & 7 and 13.2); (e) Athens faces the greatest danger in her history (μέγιστον δὴ τῶν πρὶν κίνδυνον) (13.1) and should use the respite of the 'peace' to recover from the plague and from losses already suffered (12.1).

It can be easily seen that these 'predictions' do indeed come true: (a) at 6.88.8 when Corinth answered an appeal for help from Syracuse, at 6.93.2 when the Spartan Gylippus was sent to take command in Sicily, but especially at 7.18 when, at the instigation of Alcibiades (6.89-92), the Spartans intensified the mainland war by fortifying Decelea; (b) this, because of Athens' defeat, never reached the point of testing but in a way was proved true by events; (c) as early as the winter of 415/414 Hermocrates was sufficiently heartened by the Athenian inability to follow up a victory over the Syracusans to use this fact in a speech to bring Camarina onto his side (6.79.3); (d) the ruse of the Egestaeans is discovered by Athenian envoys at 6.46.3-5; (e) the words of Nicias at 13.1 are echoed after the final defeat in the harbour at Syracuse (7.75.7: μέγιστον γὰρ δὴ τὸ διάφορον) and later by Thucydides, who, impartially and magnanimously as an Athenian, describes the final defeat at Syracuse as 'the greatest Hellenic achievement in this war': ἔργον τοῦτο Ἑλληνικὸν τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε μέγιστον (7.87.5). These examples are complemented in Hunter's account (1973b, *passim*) and, I feel, justify her remark (op.cit. 126 n.4) that 'the ἔργα-λόγοι-ἔργα technique is omnipresent' in the *History*. I shall now turn to Herodotus by way of comparison.

As we have seen, the long accepted view of speeches (λόγοι)[311] in the *Histories* was that they were little more than fictitious embellishments created to provide entertainment, diversion and variety to the narrative (ἔργα) and to assist in enlivening the process of story-telling. However, we do not have to believe that the

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[311]The term λόγος, in the sense of 'account' or 'story' as it has been applied to the *Histories*, covers a wider area of topics than in the *History*, since H deals with geographical and ethnographical as well as the strictly 'historical' topics. Moreover, there are λόγοι within λόγοι, such as the Atys λόγος, cited in the text, which is contained within the broader Croesus λόγος. For a full description of these λόγοι see Immerwahr (1966, 67ff). λόγοι is also, however, most commonly used, as in this thesis, to refer to the Speeches in both works; see also my introduction (pp.7-10).

words spoken by Herodotus' characters are authentic, or even that in real life they spoke at all on the occasions portrayed, for us to accept the idea that the speeches in the *Histories*, or some of them, are closely related to the rest of the narrative. We can surely accept, even if the speeches were inventions, that the author strove to have his speakers say what may have been necessary or appropriate for the occasion, in short what, in relation to his own work, Thucydides calls τὰ δεόντα. If there is a close relationship between λόγοι and ἔργα in Herodotus, as there is in Thucydides, then it matters not if either is an invention. What matters is Herodotus' purpose in creating this link and how it relates, if at all, with a similar link in Thucydides. This point accepted, we may proceed to find examples of the λόγοι - ἔργα technique in the *Histories*.[312]

A useful starting point might be a remark by Hunter (1973b, 135 n.13) in relation to the λόγοι - ἔργα pattern we have been discussing: 'In both Thucydides and Herodotus there is a kind of pattern or rhythm to catastrophe'. The key idea here is *catastrophe*: we have seen above (Chapter 4) that both historians owe a great deal to the fifth-century Attic tragedians, that elements of tragedy are present in both Histories. In Thucydides the chief element is the tragedy of Athens, in Herodotus that of Xerxes;[313] but there are other λόγοι involving tragic figures, both as sufferers and as warners, in both works.[314] It is in the treatment of these tragic λόγοι that we see Herodotus employing a similar technique to his successor.

Let us take the story (λόγος) of Atys, the son of Croesus, at 1.34-44.[315] In this, Croesus tries to protect his son from a death he foresaw in a dream, whereby Atys would be killed by a spear. He therefore removes him from any contact with weapons of warfare, although Atys had previously shown himself to be a brave warrior. Croesus takes in a noble Phrygian, Adrastus, who asks for refuge as a

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[312]I exclude here the famous Constitutional Debate (H 3.80-2), which I discuss elsewhere (esp. pp. 162-6); for the Persian Council Scene (H 7.8-18) see Chapters 9 & 10 *passim*.

[313]Cf. Hunter (1973b, 181 n.7), who suggests that this similarity could be 'a point of departure for a fresh comparison of the two historians'.

[314]We have already seen Archidamus, as a warner, and Nicias, as a warner and a sufferer, in such roles in T.

[315]For a narratological close reading of this story see de Jong (2014, 174-90), who offers it (190) as an example of the Herodotean view that a mortal cannot escape fate. One theory of H's concept of causation (τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι) is put forward by Derow (in Hornblower 1994, 74-9).

suppliant having killed his brother by accident. Later, Atys asks Croesus to allow him to go on a hunting expedition to kill a huge boar which has been ravaging the fields of the neighbouring Mysians. Croesus remembers the dream and refuses, but his son persuades him otherwise by making an earnest plea to let him go, as he does not wish to appear cowardly to his new wife. Croesus, in turn, persuades Adrastus, who is at first unwilling, to take Atys on the hunt. The result is that Adrastus involuntarily kills Atys with his spear and on arrival back with Croesus, he commits suicide. Thus there are two tragic characters, Atys and Adrastus, who meet their deaths while Croesus tragically pays the price for trying to outwit the prophecy brought by the dream.

Although the structure of this episode bears a close resemblance to that of an Attic tragedy, the causal linkage of the λόγοι, that is the conversations between Croesus and Atys and between Croesus and Adrastus, and the ἔργα, that is (a) the decision by Croesus to allow his son to go on the expedition and (b) the subsequent deaths of Atys and Adrastus, is very similar to the Thucydidean technique. The main difference is that Thucydides, unlike his predecessor, has no truck with supernatural causes, the origin of the tragedy in Herodotus being Croesus' earlier arrogance in thinking himself the most fortunate of men and his subsequent punishment by the 'great vengeance of the god' (ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη: 1.34.1),[316]although, as with characters in Attic tragedy, such as Sophocles' Oedipus, Croesus himself does not escape blame, as being the responsible agent of his own misfortune. Ultimately, then, the common causal link between the respective tragic accounts in both Herodotus and Thucydides is the human factor (τὸ ἀνθρώπινον), the intentions, motives and predictions of the human characters involved, whether they be sufferers or warners, being communicated by both authors via their λόγοι.

For a second example from Herodotus we may return to the court of Xerxes, the tragic hero par excellence of the *Histories*. At 7.10, after Xerxes has finished outlining to the Persian nobles his plans for the invasion of Greece, Artabanus, Xerxes' uncle, counsels caution by reminding his nephew of the hazards suffered by

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[316]We are not told exactly which god, although at 1.44.2 Croesus calls upon Zeus to witness his distress which arose 'from misfortune' (τῇ συμφορῇ).

Darius when he refused to take Artabanus' advice when invading Scythia.[317] We can already see that the process here begins to take on the appearance of the Thucydidean ἔργα-λόγοι-ἔργα pattern in that Artabanus is relying on previous ἔργα to bolster the argument in the present λόγος. Artabanus is insistent in his opinion that restraint (τὸ ἐπισχεῖν) is better than hasty action from which severe penalties (ζημίαι μεγάλαι) can result. He then goes on to accuse Mardonius of belittling the prowess of the Hellenes in battle in order to persuade Xerxes to attack (7.10.η).

Once again we have a reference to 'the god' at 7.10.ε, who humbles those who become too mighty and powerful: 'for the god will not tolerate pride in anyone but himself' (οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν), and once again we can see that a supernatural moral agent is an involvement which is lacking in the Thucydidean version of this technique. To this extent this example is consistent with the previous one above and therefore does not detract from the validity of the comparison; in fact it supports the possible view that Thucydides may have derived this technique from his predecessor, if we accept the contested view, namely that Thucydides has little or no interest in assigning religious or supernatural causes to events.[318]

The ἔργα which follow Artabanus' λόγος, resulting in the ultimate demise of Xerxes' expedition, are sufficiently well known for my argument not to need further elaboration. It is true that much narrative intervenes before this particular cycle of ἔργα-λόγοι-ἔργα is completed, but this is no different from the second example I have cited from Thucydides, where well over a whole book elapses between the prognostications of Nicias and the final declaration by Thucydides of the completeness of the Athenian disaster.[319]

Overall I have shown that it is possible to detect a pattern of the ἔργα-λόγοι-ἔργα cycle in both authors within which one or more speeches, usually by critical characters, play a central linking role.

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[317]Described by H at 1.134ff.
[318]On T's religious views see n.105 above.
[319]I.e. from 6.15 to 7.75.

Chapter Seven: Direct and Indirect Discourse

In this chapter I will compare the usage of DD and ID[320] in the Histories, in particular with reference to the different types of speech in either category. But before I move on with this, I must deal briefly with two important preliminary questions: (i) how I recognise and differentiate between DD and ID in the texts; (ii) how do our own 'modern' ideas on the usage of these two ways of reporting speech compare with those of our two historians?

(i) DD presents the lesser problem, since words spoken directly are easier to recognise than indirect forms of communication. The recognition is, superficially at least, assisted by modern texts using speech marks and/or capital letters to commence sections of DD.[321] A consistent and accurate identification of ID is, however, more difficult, since it is sometimes hard to distinguish between instances where the author's purpose is to record, on the one hand, the thoughts or intentions of a character in the narrative and, on the other, to report, more or less, the words, either factually or fictionally, that a character may have spoken. I have used what I believe to be a simple but effective test in order to make this distinction: where the verb introducing the reported words is clearly a verb of speaking, indicating an attempt verbally to communicate with another person or persons, I have counted the passage as ID, whether that be in the grammatical form of statement, question or command and however those structures may be expressed in Greek.

(ii) Modern practical usage has long accepted that there are two clear ways in which a speech may be represented in formal documents, such as official reports (e.g. Hansard with respect to parliamentary debates) or historical treatises: either the direct words may be reported *verbatim*, or a summary of the main points may be given using ID. This may still be a helpful approach for those who compile official reports, but its usefulness in the reading and understanding of historical narrative

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[320]For an instructive comparison of ID only in H and T see Scardino (2012); see also my definition of both usages in the introduction to Appendix A. Zali (2014, 45-52) gives an excellent summary of the alternation of speech modes in H, together with a comparison to Homer. For a fuller account of T, see Luschnat, O. (1978), 'Thucydides', *RE* Suppl. XII, 1085-354.

[321]But cf. Wilson (1982, 102), who, accusing us of being 'bewitched by inverted commas', reminds us that T does not differentiate between DD and ID at 1.22.1.

has been challenged recently, most notably by Laird (1999, 140), who, in referring to modern historical narrative, comments that the formal differentiation between DD and ID 'has led to an overestimation of the semantic and pragmatic differences between the two modes ... these differences are largely significant only as a matter of style and syntax.' The important consideration, Laird believes, is that, whether DD or ID be used, 'the message it governs is *not* the narrator's property' (ibid.), the division between the narrator's text and the speaker's intrusion being clearly demarcated by a *verbum declarandi vel dicendi*.[322] If this is true for the modern age, how much more does it apply to the ancient context, at a time when there was no way of recording the spoken word, apart from extraordinary memorisation on the part of someone present. Thus, for Herodotus and Thucydides, some degree of invention was inevitable in the reporting of speeches and the choice between the use of DD or ID rested upon factors other than the achievement of verisimilitude.

These other choices may not, in fact, have been too far removed from our own. DD, for instance, could have added to a speech a sense of drama, a vivid feeling of reality and an impression, at least, of authenticity.[323] In addition, it would have served to distance the narrator from the reader/listener further than ID. Scardino (2012, 70), on the other hand, argues that ID would have provided the narrator with a stronger presence and thus enabled him to 'influence the reception of the speech through his choice of words and parenthetical remarks'.

My analysis of ID will be limited to those parts of the text where the 'external narrator' (i.e. the historian) reports the *spoken* words of characters involved in the action and will not include those occasions where, as Scardino (2012, 69) explains, the author 'indirectly reports ... non-verbal sensual perceptions, thoughts and memories', nor will it include those passages where the writer allows focalisation[324]

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[322]I find Laird's explanation of this function of ID more enlightening than that of Lanser (1981, 188), which is unnecessarily over-analytical, viz. 'the thoughts and feelings presented are the character's but they are filtered through the narrator's consciousness'. Does this say any more than that the narrator reports what the character has to say?

[323]Cf. Li (1986, 40) 'since direct speech requires the reporter-speaker to act out the role of the reported speaker, it is a natural vehicle for vivid and dramatic representation.'

[324]For the best full general explanation of this narratological term cf. Genette (1980) and Bal (1997); for further theory relating specifically to historical narrative cf. Laird (1999, 140); de Jong (2014, *passim*).

to sources external to the text, for example at H. 1.1.1; 1.2; 4.3; 5.1; 5.3, where the narrative is seen through the eyes of the Persian λόγιοι.

DD is a much simpler narratological technique than ID,[325] being only one step removed from simple narrator text, where the author, in our case Herodotus or Thucydides, himself tells the story. In DD a character, usually already introduced, becomes both the narrator and the focaliser, that is to say he takes over the role of the author and tells the story from his/her own viewpoint. Looking at the statistical summary of my surveys (Appendix B) we see that, in terms of the percentage of DD and ID items to the total (which is the only meaningful way of analysing the statistic), DD items in Herodotus exceed those in Thucydides by roughly the same amount as ID items in Thucydides exceed those in Herodotus. Although this statistic does not take into account the length of items,[326] it indicates a simple but salient fact that will not surprise the discerning reader of the *Histories*: that Herodotus uses DD significantly more often than Thucydides.

The reason, I believe, is not difficult to deduce: it is because Herodotus' account includes many more individual characters than Thucydides' (cf. Appendix E), most of whom he wishes to highlight dramatically and some of whom he uses as focalisers, in both respects in order to vary his narratological method. Further evidence for this we may derive from comparing the percentage of διαλεκτικοί λόγοι (= conversational category speeches) within speech events in both works. This category is easily the most frequently occurring in Herodotus, while being only the second most frequent in Thucydides.

Direct Discourse

It is only recently[327] that any attempt has been made to compare the uses of DD in Herodotus and Thucydides. Indeed, the study of DD in our two historians has been almost exclusively the preserve of Thucydidean scholars. This is surprising when one considers the large contribution, in terms of the number of occurrences, that DD

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[325]Cf. Scardino (2012, 69 table 4.1) for a convenient summary of DD and ID narratological types.
[326]Or the 'problem' of whether any of the ID speeches in Book 8 of T were destined to become DD; but see below, in this chapter, for a discussion of this.
[327]By Scardino, 2007, 717-42.

plays in the *Histories*: the statistical summary of my survey (Appendix B) shows that direct discourse in Herodotus, as a percentage of all speech items, exceeds that in Thucydides by about a quarter, and that, again in terms of speech items, it exceeds indirect discourse numerically in the *Histories* by an even greater margin.

'Set' Speeches

The ways in which our authors employ DD is quite different from their usage of ID. Those acquainted with the work of Thucydides will immediately associate the idea of 'speeches' with the lengthy 'set' speeches made by politicians, statesmen and ambassadors,[328] which dominate most of the non-narrative sections of the *History*, apart from Book 8. These can be listed as follows: 1.32-43; 1.68-87.2; 1.120-124; 1.140-144; 2.35-46; 2.60-64; 3.9-14; 3.37-48; 4.17-20; 4.59-64; 4.85-87; 6.9-14; 6.16-18; 6.20-23; 6.33-41.4; 6.76-80; 6.82-87; 6.89-92; 7.11-15. Of these the following are lengthy single DD speech events, spoken by an individual or a group: 1.120-124 (the Corinthians at the Peloponnesian conference), 1.140-144 (Pericles' first speech to the Athenian assembly), 2.35-46 (the Funeral Oration of Pericles), 2.60-64 (Pericles' final speech), 3.9-14 (the Mytileneans defend their actions), 4.17-20 (Spartan envoys sue for peace at Athens), 4.59-64 (Hermocrates at Gela), 4.85-87 (Brasidas at Acanthus), 6.9-14 & 6.20-23 (Nicias' speeches in the Sicilian expedition debate), 6.16-18 (Alcibiades opposing Nicias), 6.76-80 (Hermocrates at Camarina), 6.82-87 (Euphemus at Camarina), 6.89-92 (Alcibiades at Sparta), 7.11-15 (Nicias' letter to the Athenian assembly). These constitute what are arguably some of the best known and most memorable speeches in Thucydides, and yet there are no exact parallels of this type in Herodotus. The two closest are sizeable speeches which come within the category of συμβουλευτικός: 5.91.2-3 (the Spartans attempt unsuccessfully to persuade their allies to assist them in restoring Hippias as tyrant of Athens); 8.109.2-4 (Themistocles persuades the Athenians not to pursue the retreating Persians).

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[328]I.e. those I categorise as δημηγορικός, συμβουλευτικός and πρεσβευτικός. The military exhortatory speeches (παρακλητικός) are dealt with in Chapter 8.

<u>Antilogiai</u>

Next, we can recognise a type of DD, prevalent in Thucydides, but this time also commonly present in Herodotus, involving a debate, discussion or argument between two individuals or groups with antithetical viewpoints.[329] These are either doubles, two complementary events, or complementary items within an event[330].

In Thucydides they are:

1.32-43 (= **T1**); Corcyreans/Corinthians.

1.68-71 & 1.73-78 (=**T3[1/2]**); Corinthians/Athenians.

1.80-85.2 & 1.86 (= **T3[3/4]**); Archidamus/Sthenelaidas.

3.37-48 (=**T27**); Cleon/Diodotus.

6.9-14 & 6.16-18 (= **T56 & T57**); Nicias/Alcibiades.

6.76-80 & 6.82-87 (= **T68 & T69**); Hermocrates/Euphemus.

These types correspond in Herodotus with:

1.37-40 (= **H10[1/2] & H10[3/4]**); Croesus/Atys.

3.142.3-5 (= **H110**); Maeandrius/a Samian subject.

4.118.2-5 & 4.119.2-4 (= **H124** & **H125**); the Scythians/their neighbouring kings.

4.126 & 4.127 (= **H 126 & H127**); Darius/Idanthyrsus.

7.8.α-δ2 & 7.9; 7.9 & 7.10.α-θ3; 7.10.α-θ3 & 7.11 (= **H196-H199**); Xerxes/Mardonius/Artabanus at the Persian Council.

7.157-162.1 (= **H227**); the Greek embassy at Gelon's court.

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[329]See esp. Barker (2009, 148-9). Jacoby (1913, 205-520) distinguished between H's 'novelistic' style in Bks 1-6 and his 'political-historical' speeches in 7-9 (492). Barker (op.cit. 148) says this distinction may not be so clear-cut; early egs. of DD 'tend to be conducted in private circumstances among notable individuals, the later exchanges in public among citizen bodies'.
[330]See my Appendix A for definitions of these types; I include here my numbering in bold for easy ref. to Appendix A.

9.26-27 (= **H 281**); the Athenean/Tegean debate before Plataea.

I shall consider H 4.118.2-119.5 first as this pair is most often cited[331] as being the closest to the Thucydidean model, comparable in particular with the ἀγών at T 6.76-87, which constitutes the debate at Camarina between Hermocrates of Syracuse and Euphemus the Athenian envoy, who are both attempting to woo the Camarinaeans, and through them other cities of Sicily, onto their respective sides prior to any Athenian invasion of the island. In the Herodotus speeches the Scythians have already sent messengers to assemble the kings of neighbouring nations in the context of the Persian invasion of Scythia; these nations have been listed by Herodotus at 4.102.2. The purpose of the Scythians is to persuade the kings to take up arms against the invading enemy. Their arguments in this speech are closely parallel to those used by the Thucydidean Hermocrates to the Camarinaeans.

I select a sentence from each to illustrate the similarity in the use of rhetorical language: (from Herodotus [4.118.3]) ἥκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας, οὐδέ οἱ καταχρήσει ἡμέας καταστρεψαμένῳ ὑμέων ἀπέχεσθαι ('... the invader has no more come to conquer us than you also; he will not be satisfied in conquering us and leaving you alone.'). Likewise, at T 6.77.2, Hermocrates asks rhetorically: καὶ οἰόμεθα τοῦ ἄπωθεν ξυνοίκου προαπολλυμένου οὐ καὶ ἐς αὐτόν τινα ἥξειν τὸ δεινόν, πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὸν πάσχοντα καθ' ἑαυτὸν δυστυχεῖν; ('do we suppose that, when disaster has overtaken a distant neighbour, the same evil will not be visited upon each of us in turn, or that he who suffers before us will suffer alone?'). Both sentences use a two-part argument, the parts of the first example linked by οὐδέ, those of the second by a simple, but equally effective, δὲ; the use of μᾶλλον is remarkably apposite and similar in both, as are the participial phrases which condense, and thereby augment, the rhetorical effect; both employ the strong and emphatic phrase οὐ καὶ, while the Herodotean version goes further by repeating οὐ in different forms: οὐδέν... οὐ... οὐδέ. In short, both sentences display a degree of craft and artistry that we might associate closely with sophistic oratory.

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[331]Cf. esp. Corcella (2007, 660).

There is also an incidental but clear linkage in subject matter and tone between H 7.161, where an unnamed Athenian envoy clarifies the point that Athens will not cede command of the navy to Gelon even at the cost of his not agreeing to support the Greeks against the Persian invasion, and the much longer speech of Euphemus in the Camarina debate (T 6.82-87). Both speeches justify Athenian naval power and prowess, Euphemus' argument admittedly being the stronger as he can allude to the Athenian victory over the Persians. By contrast, the Athenian envoy in Herodotus, in order to make his point, has to make a reference to a Homeric character, Menestheus the Athenian, who Homer says was the best man to go to Troy to marshal troops (*Iliad* 2.552-554).

T 1.68-78 and H 7.157-162.1 have a number of similarities. They each contain two pairs of complementary items in DD: in the Thucydides passage we have the competing and contrasting speeches of the Corinthians and the Athenians, while in the Herodotean speeches we hear Gelon's demand to command all the Hellenic forces, which is then rejected by Syagrus of Sparta. At T 1.80-86 Archidamus' admonitory speech is countered by the practical advice of Sthenelaidas, while, at the same Herodotean reference, Gelon's second demand to command the fleet is rejected, this time by the envoy from Athens.

H 1.37-40 also bears some resemblance to T 1.68-78 and H 7.157-162.1 as it contains two pairs of complementary DD items. This time, however, the content and context are quite different: Croesus and his son Atys discuss the merits and dangers of Atys going on the boar hunt. The event is a two-part duologue, comprising four items, with the participants sharing the speeches alternately.[332]

The remaining four Herodotean examples in this grouping (Maeandrus/Samian; Darius/Idanthyrsus; Xerxes/Mardonius/Artabanus ; Atheneans/Tegeans) share at least one characteristic with the Thucydidean (Corcyreans/Corinthians; Cleon/Diodotus; Nicias/Alcibiades): they all involve two characters, or groups, who are in an adversarial conflict of some kind, except for H 7.9 where Mardonius

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[332]Lang (1984) might have marked this as 'abab'.

actually supports Xerxes' plans to invade Europe, albeit for the wrong reasons.[333] The other three are: (3.142.3-5) Maeandrius' right to rule as tyrant at Samos is challenged by an unnamed, but obviously courageous, subject; (4.126-127) Idanthyrsus' defiant reply to Darius' petulant request for him to remain in one place and give battle; (9.26-27) the Atheneans and the Tegeans contesting the honour of holding the right wing at Plataea, a debate which is highly adversarial, although honourable, as it is conducted as if it were a courtroom trial.

The three Thucydidean examples are well known and all involve lengthy items, which are designed to bring to the reader further understanding and comment to key moments in the narrative and, indeed, in the history of the War in general: (1.32-43) the competing arguments of Corcyra and Corinth concerning a Corcyrean alliance with Athens; (3.37-48) the two sides of the Mytilenean debate presented by Cleon and Diodotus; (6.9-18) the adversarial clash between Nicias and Alcibiades on the merits of the Sicilian expedition.

The examples from the *Histories* do not further the narrative to the same degree as in the *History*, being as much concerned with the portrayal of character and the promotion of a story, but they nevertheless indicate a crisis or turning point of some proportion in the lives of individuals or groups important in the narrative,[334] such as at 4.127, mentioned above, where the fearless response of Idanthyrsus to Darius' message brings it home forcibly to the Persian king that his Scythian campaign will be more difficult than he had anticipated.

However, other Herodotean speeches in this grouping are used by the author as vehicles for political, cultural or historical comment: 3.142.3-5 contains an example of fierce anti-tyrannical rhetoric on the part of Maeandrius, the delegate of Polycrates, who condemns the authoritarian rule of his predecessor, invites the Samian people to accept equal rights (ἰσονομίη), but is then rejected by the citizenry

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[333]These two adversarial speeches are, however, immediately followed by another two: first Artabanus contradicts Mardonius' praise of Xerxes and then Xerxes brands Artabanus a coward for opposing the opinion of Mardonius, sparing him his life only because he is Artabanus' nephew. There is, therefore, as we can see, an interconnected link even among all four of these events at Xerxes' court.

[334]Cf. Corcella (2007, 663): 'The turning point in the development of events is signalled by a pair of speeches, as is usual in Herodotean narrative'.

as baseborn and a scoundrel (γεγονώς τε κακῶς καὶ ἐὼν ὄλεθρος). H 9.26-27, which

for DD speeches approaches Thucydidean proportions in length, expounds the

mytho-historical background to each of the arguments by the Tegeans and the

Athenians as to who should occupy the right wing at the battle of Plataea. At 7.9,

Mardonius, in order to embolden Xerxes, takes the opportunity to rehearse the

names of various nations conquered previously by the Persians and to deny,

ultimately to his cost, the ability of the Hellenic states to withstand the power of the

Persian empire.

The tripartite ἀγών

This type of speech involves three parties, usually understood to be individuals,

although I would include groups, engaged in a debate. In a 'true' tripartite ἀγών one

would assume, in logical progression from the more common dual ἀγών, that each

participant would propose and support a different argument from the other two.

However, I have detected only one 'true' example in DD[335] of this species in either

history: the so-called 'Constitutional Debate' at H 3.80-82.

The Constitutional Debate [336]

This is a debate in which three of the seven conspirators vying for the Persian throne,

Darius, Otanes and Metabyxus, argue the case each for one of three forms of

government: monarchy, democracy and oligarchy. It holds a unique place among the

speeches in Herodotus and has been much commented upon, notably by Pelling

(2002), in an important monograph; by Asheri (2007, 471-3) in his commentary; and

most recently by Zali (2014, 146-51). These three consider chiefly its historical

authenticity and its contribution to rhetoric.   We must also consider, in addition,

how it compares with any similar Thucydidean speech event.

The first, and principle, judgement is that it is highly untypical of speeches in

Herodotus, both in content and in style and, as is agreed by most commentators,

owes its origin to Greek rhetoric of the last quarter of the fifth century rather than to

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[335]Other similar speeches exist in ID as 'triples' (see my Appendix A for examples) in both works.
[336]Henceforth referred to in this chapter as 'the CD'.

any Persian or Asiatic influence.[337] Pelling (op.cit. 124) makes the point that the Greeks found it impossible either to accept (i) that Otanes proposed a democratic government for Persia (6.43.3), or (ii) that the debate took place at all. Free debate, as Pelling says (ibid.), is a 'travesty' where Persia is concerned; in short the whole episode is a θῶμα (123). Surely Herodotus would have realised that his audience would recognise its anachronistic nature for a sixth-century Persian fake?[338] Even so Herodotus, bearing in mind its context in the saga of Darius' seizure of the monarchy, would have us believe it was historically authentic, despite disbelief on the part of some Greeks: καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὧν (3.80.1).

The style of the debate is compressed, all three constituent speeches being shorter than most other 'set' speeches in Herodotus cited above. This is possibly because, although a complete entity in itself, it is a kind of digression (παρενθήκη), although it has to be admitted that digressions elsewhere in the *Histories* are often lengthy. The argument, in places, is at best perfunctory and often weak. Despite the fact he is arguing in its favour, Otanes (3.80.2-6) has very little which is positive to say about democracy: he does not mention democracy by name (although Herodotus does so elsewhere), but as ἰσονομίη. Megabyxus (3.81) similarly has little to say on oligarchy, apart from, as Pelling says (op.cit. 141), 'feeble clichés'. Darius (3.82), in supporting monarchy, employs the cleverest rhetoric of the three speakers by stealing Megabyzus' argument against democracy, such as it is, and dismissing oligarchy as corrupt, conveniently overlooking the possibility that a single ruler could also become corrupted by power or money. The final point about freedom being an argument for tyranny is particularly odd.

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[337]Cf. Asheri (2007, 471-3), who gives a full analysis of the origin of this debate, concludes (472): 'In the form it has reached us it is a Greek debate on Greek ideas'; Pelling (2002, 129 and n.21), estimates its purported date as 522, following the killing of the false Smerdis, and explores the possibility that some such debate may have been mediated to H by Hellenised Persians; see also HW i, 277-8, Gould (1989, 15), Lateiner (1989, 167) on its origins. The tripartite classification had already been mentioned by Pindar (*Pyth*. 2, 158ff.).

[338]Perhaps it is evidence for H's 'lying'; see Fehling (1989, 120-2), who takes H's assurance of truthfulness as an e.g. of 'lie-signals' [Lügensignale]. Pelling (op.cit. 125 n.9) asks whether H took it from another composition, e.g. of Protagoras or Hippias.

As Pelling (op.cit. 130) remarks, the debate is closely attuned to the narrative, since Book 3 also contains accounts of the two tyrants, Polycrates and Periander and, as Zali (op.cit. 132) points out, Otanes' comments on the evil nature of tyrants are exemplified in Socles speech at H 5.92. Thus, Pelling answers his own question (132) ('how do the narrative and the debate complement each other?') by saying 'partly by the debate picking up points from the narrative and the narrative illustrating the themes of the debate'.[339] The close relationship between speech and narrative, as we have already seen (Chapter 6), is also a prominent feature in the *History*.

How similar, then, is the CD to anything in the *History*? As I have indicated above, the CD has no exact parallels in either work, but the debate at Syracuse among Hermocrates, Athenagoras and a Syracusan general (T 6.33-41.4), comes closest to it, being in DD and having three participants. However, the Syracusan general does not truly take an independent stand, but acts as a kind of arbiter between the basic proposition of Hermocrates, that the Athenians are coming, and the opposition of Athenagoras, that they are not: this is a similar situation to that at T 1.86, where Sthenelaidas, the Spartan ephor, effectively adjudicates over the preceding three speeches (of the Corinthians, the Athenians and Archidamus) on the question of whether Sparta should declare war on Athens.[340]

It is nevertheless significant perhaps, as we compare the CD and the Syracusan debate, that the speech of Athenagoras (T 6.36-40) contains a short but telling argument (6.39) on the merits of democracy as opposed to oligarchy or aristocracy, as if it were an abbreviated version of Otanes' speech in the CD. Moreover, although Athenagoras, unlike Otanes or either of his adversaries, uses the word δημοκρατίαν and the phrase ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ (39.1), he explains the concept of 'democracy' itself in terms of the 'equal sharing' of power in hearing and judging, i.e. ἰσομοιρεῖν, which is close to the idea of ἰσονομίην, a word used by Otanes at 3.80.6.

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[339]Cf. Lateiner (1989, 172-9).

[340]On the nature and authenticity of this speech see Allison, J.W. (1984) Sthenelaidas' Speech: Thucydides 1.86, *Hermes* 112: 9-15.

Other tripartite-type speeches in Thucydides, which are in any way comparable to the CD, are all in ID:[341] 5.44.3-46.1 (the debate at Athens on the alliance with Argos); 6.28.2-29 (the accusation of Alcibiades and his defence); and 6.47-49 (the debate on future strategy at Rhegium among the three generals). Of these, the last is the closest in ilk to the CD since Nicias, Alcibiades and Lamachus, like Otanes, Megabazus and Darius, put forward independent ideas which are mutually exclusive. In the other two examples, two individuals support one side of the argument and only one the other.

Can we say, then, that the CD had any influence on Thucydides; or perhaps, more controversially, whether Herodotus derived this format from Thucydides? Since there is only one speech event in DD in Thucydides which in any way resembles the CD, I think the former proposition highly unlikely. In order to accede to the second possibility, we must assume, with Fornara (1971, 25-34), that the CD is a late inclusion in the *Histories*, reflecting an interest in sophistic rhetoric gained by Herodotus in the latter part of his life, assuming, in turn, that we accept that Gorgias' visit to Athens in 427 was the initiating point for the dissemination of this genre of rhetoric and, moreover, that Herodotus survived the Archidamian War, beyond the generally accepted date of his death (around 425) and published his own work at a date close to 414. But two further assumptions still need to be made for the theory to hold.

The first, in accordance with the so-called 'separatist' theory, is that by 421, or soon after, Thucydides had completed his account, including the speeches in their rhetorical style therein contained, to the end of the Archidamian War, that is to what we now know as Book Five chapter 24, the argument for this being that Thucydides tells us that he began recording the war from its outset: ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου (1.1.1). But I have already indicated that I favour the contrary 'unitarian' theory on this point.[342]

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[341]Zali (2014, 53) points out that H's compression of Greek debates is usually accomplished by putting them into ID. This, she says, creates 'a picture of hampered discussion among Greeks', which, if true, is certainly in contrast to T's very lengthy and clear 'set speech' type debates in DD.
[342]See nn. 21and 36 above.

The other assumption is that Herodotus had the opportunity, by reason of being in possession of the relevant manuscripts or by being in the right place at the right time, to read at least some of the speeches written by his successor or to hear them at recitation. This brings us, once again, to the question of how far Thucydides' had advanced in his work, if at all, by 414, the latest possible date for the death of Herodotus. The 'unitarian' theory seems to rule out any kind of part-completion, such that Thucydides would have been able or willing to give preview-type recitations. I therefore conclude that the theory that Herodotus borrowed the concept and format of the CD from Thucydides is highly unlikely to be true.

To me the CD reads like an exercise in rhetoric rather than an attempt to recapture an authentic historical event. Even Herodotus' appeal that it is authentic, itself has a rhetorical ring about it. In any event, there is no direct equivalent in Thucydides, who, although he commonly uses rhetorical speeches to explain and enhance his narrative, certainly has no need of blatant falsification, and shows no desire to make any further appeal of authenticity to his readers other than that at 1.22.1.

Other 'tripartite' parallels

There are other DD 'triples' in both histories, which I mark and refer to in Appendix A; these are mainly conversations (διαλεκτικοὶ λόγοι) rather than ἀγῶνες, for which I would claim no meaningful parallel between the two works other than their three-fold composition.

The nearest parallel in Herodotus to the CD, in form if not in purpose, is the combination of the three complementary speech events at 8.140, 8.142 and 8.143-4,[343] a combination which is also worth considering in relation to a parallel in Thucydides. 8.140 concerns the proposition of Xerxes, brought to the Athenians by Alexander, that they should agree to the Great King's terms: there are two items, the first being Alexander's transmission of the offer, the second Alexander's advice that the Athenians accept. 8.142 is a plea by the Spartans that Athens should refuse to come to terms with Xerxes. 8.143-144 comprises two separate items which are the

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[343] = H268, H269 and H270 in Appendix A.

Athenian replies, first to Alexander and then to the Spartans, that nothing will induce them to go over to the Persians. The three events together form a kind of triangular ἀγών, except that there are only two sides to the argument, for or against. Each speech is quite long by Herodotean standards of DD but not by Thucydidean.

Herodotus is clearly here making much of the Athenian dedication to the Hellenic cause and, just as importantly, her moral superiority over the Lacedaemonians, tempered only by an expression of thanks to the Spartans for supporting their dispossessed families. Generally, the highly moral and patriotic language used by the unnamed Athenians to express the utter refusal of their city ever to submit to Persian domination is reminiscent in tone, if not in context, of Pericles' Funeral Oration in Thucydides (2.35-46), which is the archetypal 'set-piece' speech in either work. The Athenian avowal is, at any rate, the nearest Herodotus comes to an epideictic speech:[344] ἐπίστασθέ τε οὕτω ... ἔστ' ἂν καὶ εἷς περιῇ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὁμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ. Critics might even accuse Herodotus of hyperbole here, especially in the rhetorical and emotional sentence, which parallels Churchill's 'we will fight to the last man, we will never surrender' speech before the Battle of Britain.

The Melian Dialogue

If the Constitutional Debate differs in form from other speeches in Herodotus, so too does the Melian Dialogue (5.84.3-113) differ from other speeches in Thucydides. It is this very uniqueness that would appear to exclude it from the possibility of meaningful comparison with any other speech event in either Herodotus or Thucydides within the context of this thesis.[345] There are, however, speeches in both works in which we can discern possible generic influences on the Melian Dialogue at two related levels: language and morality.[346] But before passing on to a comparison with Herodotus, let us first consider a speech in Thucydides which foreshadows, to a

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[344]I have, however, categorised it as πρεσβευτικός (ambassadorial) to fit the context demanded by the previous three items.
[345]For extensive analysis of the dialogue see *CT* iii, 216-25; Macleod (1983, 52-67); Connor (1984, 147-57); also Scardino (2007, 467-83), but without any detailed comparison with H.
[346]There is also a precedent for the rapid interchange DD style of this dialogue, viz. 3.113 (the Ambraciot herald); cf. *CT* i ad loc.n.

degree, both the language and the morality of the Melian Dialogue. This is 1.73-78, the speech of the unnamed Athenian envoys at Sparta prior to the beginning of the war. It contains two passages in particular which express sentiments similar to those which permeate the Melian Dialogue, namely that no state can be faulted for pursuing its own interests: πᾶσι δὲ ἀνεπίφθονον τὰ ξυμφέροντα ... εὖ τίθεσθαι (1.75.5); and that praise is due to those who maintain an empire but who 'are more just than their underlying power compels them to be': δικαιότεροι ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν γένωνται (1.76.3).

This thinking could well be the beginning of the deterioration in Athenian morality and political stability caused by the debilitating effects of the war that we can detect in the Melian Dialogue. Indeed, Finley (1967, 38) has called the Melian Dialogue 'a symbol of the increasing brutalization of the Greek mind'.[347] It would appear to be, at any rate, a symbol of the brutalization of the *Athenian* mind and represents a transitional moment between mild and aggressive democracy, a stage along the road from the stable principate of Pericles, through the disruptive demagogic rule of Cleon, to the self-seeking autocracy of Alcibiades. Hornblower (1987, 69-71) goes further into the question and decides that the dialogue is part of a Thucydidean theme, which illustrates how Athenian morals deteriorated as the war progressed, the idea being that, in the Athenian psyche, τὸ δίκαιον became progressively less important than τὸ ξύμφερον.[348]

To deal now with the comparison with Herodotus: in the first point, language, we note that the Melian Dialogue, like other speeches in Thucydides, is highly rhetorical. Indeed, as its accepted title suggests, it is not strictly a 'speech' in the sense in which we have defined the term in this thesis; it is a dialogue or, to be more exact, an eristic discussion, using a dialectic technique with which, it appears, Thucydides was familiar,[349] but which might seem more at home in a work of Plato,[350] or even in an

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[347]Cf. also Gomme's comment (1945, 90) on T's own words that 'war is a violent teacher': ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ... βίαιος διδάσκαλος (3.82.2).
[348]See my earlier Chapter 5 for a full discussion of these terms in the context of the 5th century rhetorical tradition.
[349]We can infer this from the Athenians' injunction to the Melians not to make a 'set speech' but to dispute the matter by answering each point in turn: καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ καὶ μηδ' ὑμεῖς ἑνὶ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ ... εὐθὺς ὑπολαμβάνοντες κρίνετε (5.85).

Euripidean drama when, as noted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*On Thucydides* 37), the historian changes from narrative to full dramatic form, as in a script, by prefixing the names of the speakers to the speeches: προσωποποιεῖ τὸν ... διάλογον καὶ δραματικόν. It may, therefore, owe its origin to the same style of eristic oratory which inspired the Constitutional Debate in Herodotus.[351] Against this is the still widely held opinion that the Melian Dialogue was written after the end of the war in 404 or later, reminiscent, as it is, more of a Socratic dialogue than of an earlier sophistic-styled ἀγών.[352]

Secondly, there is the morality aspect of the comparison. We note that the Athenian envoys threaten coercion and violence without having suffered any provocation; they make constant reference to the inequality of power as between themselves and the Melians. Worst of all, and contrary to all Greek religious tradition, they blasphemously discount, if not actually ridicule, the value of any appeal to the gods for help. Such language is fit, Dionysius says, only for barbarian (= 'oriental') kings: βασιλεῦσι γὰρ βαρβάροις ταῦτα πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἥμοττε λέγειν (*On Thucydides* 39). This reference to barbarian kings recalls a passage in Herodotus 7.8, where Xerxes begins the announcement to the Persian court of his intended invasion of Greece by reminding them that he is merely following a tradition of conquest handed down from his ancestors and guided by the god (Θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει).

See how this callous renunciation of Melian piety combines with the Athenians' own self-justifying attitude towards τὸ θεῖον voiced repeatedly in the dialogue (5.105): 'neither do we expect to be left behind when it comes to divine goodwill' (τῆς μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐμενείας οὐδ' ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα λελείψεσθαι); 'we claim nor do anything beyond men's opinion of the divine or their wishes for themselves' (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπείας τῶν μὲν ἐς τὸ θεῖον νομίσεως, τῶν δ' ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλήσεως δικαιοῦμεν ἢ πράσσομεν); 'we believe that the divine (like humankind)

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[350]Cf. the claims made for dialogue over oratory in Plato's *Protagoras,* 329 a-b, 336 c-d, noted by Macleod (1983, 54)

[351]Hornblower (*CT* iii, 219) does indeed suggest that H's Constitutional Debate may have had a 'generic' influence on the Melian Dialogue.

[352]Cf. esp. de Romilly (1963, 275-286). Andrewes (*HCT iv*, 166-7) is uncertain about the dating but thinks parts could have been written soon after the Melian affair.

rules wherever it can gain mastery': (ἡγούμεθα γὰρ τό (τε) θεῖον ... οὗ ἂν κρατῇ, ἄρχειν). Dionysius (*On Thucydides,* 41) picks up on this linguistic lack of propriety by accusing the Athenian officials, and thereby Thucydides, of 'bringing in the law of violence and covetousness' (τὸν τῆς βίας καὶ πλεονεξίας νόμον εἰσάγοντες). Connor (1984, 156-7) draws attention to the similarity of language here to that of the Herodotean Xerxes in speaking to his councillors (7.8 α.1) in justification of his decision to attack Greece: 'Thus the god leads us and, as far as we ourselves are willing to obey him in all things, guides us to a better future' (ἀλλὰ θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον). This assertion of the divine righteousness of a cause, together with Xerxes' idea that aggression is justified by ancestral νόμος, illustrates how, in Connor's words (ibid.), 'the restless energy of the Athenians becomes a reflection of (the) aggressive designs of the Persian monarch'.

Here we are also reminded of another parallel passage from Herodotus, at 8.111.2-3, where Themistocles attempts to bully the medising Andrians into paying tribute.[353] As in the Melian Dialogue, the gods here are also invoked but only, one supposes, ironically: Persuasion (Πειθώ) and Necessity (Ἀναγκαίη) by Themistocles; Poverty (Πενίη) and Helplessness (Ἀμηχανίη), in retort, by the Andrians. The scene presented is, like the Melian Dialogue, quasi-forensic (hence I categorise it as δικανικός), a category which could arguably be assigned to the Melian Dialogue itself. Both encounters have evoked a critical discussion on the question of power and its relationship to justice (τὸ δίκαιον). The Athenians, represented in Thucydides by the ναυκράτορες and in Herodotus by Themistocles, have the monopoly on 'might' in both debates and one gives little chance of victory to the weaker side,[354] although, in the case of the Andrians, we are left in doubt as to their eventual fate: the fate of the Melians, meanwhile, is well attested.[355]

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[353]Cf. Hornblower (*CT* iii, 219).

[354]The opposition of 'might' and 'right', finds an interesting parallel in Hesiod's parable of the hawk and the nightingale: 'a fool is he who would wish to go against those who are stronger' (ἄφρων δ', ὅς κ' ἐθέλῃ πρὸς κρείσσονας ἀντιφερίζειν), *Works and Days*, 210.

[355]Macleod (1983, 54) draws a further (incidental) comparison with H: between the recommendation of the Athenians (5.85-9) that a dialectic format be adopted for the debate rather than uninterrupted speech, in order to avoid the beguilement of an audience, and the 'wry comment' attributed to

<u>'Speech as Narrative' and 'Speech within Speech'</u>

Herodotus makes one use of DD that is not seen at all in the *History*. Like many of his ideas and motifs it is derived from Homer. At *Odyssey* 8, 572-574 Alcinous calls upon Odysseus to give a true account of his wanderings: ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι ... ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον ὅππη ἀπεπλάγχθης τε καὶ ἅς τινας ἵκεο χώρας ἀνθρώπων ... . He continues by asking his guest; 'to what part of the inhabited world did they take you; what lovely cities did you see; what people in them; did you meet hostile tribes and lawless savages, or did you fall in with some god-fearing folk?' Odysseus' account then proceeds to take up four whole books (IX – XII) or 2298 lines. What is happening here is that Homer is using the direct words of Odysseus to Alcinous and his court as an alternative way of narrating the story: we might call this 'speech as narrative'. In narratological terms this example conforms to the model for historical and epic writing proposed by Bal (1997) and tabulated by Scardino (2010, 69),[356] where the character, speaking in DD, is also the narrator and the point of focalisation.

As this ingenious idea was adopted by later poets, including Vergil in the *Aeneid* (Books 2 and 3), where Aeneas recounts the story of the sack of Troy and of his travels to date to the Carthaginian court at queen Dido's invitation, it is difficult to believe that Herodotus, four centuries closer to Homer, would not have been influenced by the same literary device. Would he not have had this part of the *Odyssey* in mind when writing the account of his journeys? Indeed, the speech that Herodotus gives to Socles, the Corinthian, at 5.92 is clearly of this type.[357] The speech, characteristically in DD, follows a request by the Lacedaemonians to their allies to aid them in restoring Hippias as tyrant to Athens. The allies are clearly unwilling but, in the absence of any response, Socles comes forward to reply. His speech is an anti-tyrannical polemic by Herodotus, thinly disguised as a recounting of

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Aristagoras by H in ID (5.97.2) that 'it seems easier to deceive many people than just one' (πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἕνα).
[356]Also applied by de Jong (1987) to the *Iliad* and (1999) to Herodotus; cf. also Scardino (2007, 37ff); Fehling (1989, 184-88) refers to these speeches as 'inventions with a compositional function', and the story-within-a story technique as a 'framing' story; see also n.107 below. This type is marked in Appendix A as SAN.
[357]Cf. my notes on 5.92 (= H157 in Appendix A).

the story of Cypselus and his son Periander, former tyrants of Corinth. The tale of their cruel deeds and despotic reigns is intended to persuade the Lacedaemonians against aiding Hippias. It constitutes the longest piece of DD by one speaker in the *Histories* and, although it does not approach the length of Odysseus' narration in the *Odyssey*, its purpose is similar, to provide an analepsis in the narrative while simultaneously progressing the 'plot' and, just as importantly, providing a good story.

Similar speech events occur at 6.86 and at 3.65. In the first of these Leotychidas tells the story of Glaucus to the Athenians, who were reluctant to give up their hostages; there are three separate speakers, in DD and ID, tied into the overall DD account of Leotychidas.[358] In the second example Cambyses recalls a dream he had, in which a messenger told him (in ID) that his brother Smerdis had usurped his throne. Both of these examples, like the Socles event, contain speeches within speech; however, although the cautionary tale of Glaucus' story is intended to express a moral, neither speech, unlike Socles' account, furthers the main narrative.

There is nothing like either of these two types of event in Thucydides. They thus provide examples of an important difference in the usage of DD between the two writers.

Indirect Discourse

I propose to investigate four principle uses of ID in both authors: to separate from the main narrative (a) less important themes and incidents often involving minor, including unnamed, characters[359] or groups; (b) unsuccessful ideas and proposals; (c) arguments repeated from DD; (d) occasional lengthy debates, negotiations and councils. Types (b),(c) and (d) I have based on the analysis of Scardino (2012), and can be found in the conclusion to his article (92-94), whilst type (a) is based partly on the impression I have formed from reading the Speeches and cataloguing them, and partly on a type referred to by Scardino (ibid.) as possessing 'less intense emotion'.

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[358]Cf. Johnson (2001).
[359]The distinction between 'minor' and 'major' characters conforms to that used in Chapter 9.

These types are by no means mutually exclusive, and so the same speech item[360] may be found in more than one group.

<u>Type a</u>

This constitutes the largest group and I have adopted the purview proposed by Scardino (2012, 76) by including (in my lists below) speech events, usually single, and items involving a minor character or characters, but I have also taken in examples of trickery, apophthegms and other incidental events only distantly related to the main narrative. Also included are some events which are quite lengthy but which are spoken by unnamed individuals or groups; these may also appear under type d.

Herodotus

1.24.3,7; 1.59.2; 1.111.2; 1.112.1; 1.126.4; 1.152.1; 1.164.2; 1.170.2; **2**.2.2; 2.91.6; 2.107.2; 2.121; 2.126.1; 2.132.3; 2.160; 2.162.3 (Patarbemis); 2.181.4; **3**.4.3; 3.32.2,3; 3.36.6; 3.46.2; 3.68.4; 3.69.4; 3.124.2; 3.140.3; **4**.84.1; 4.144.2; 4.149.1; **5**.13.1,2,3; 5.30.3,6; 5.33.3; 5.36.2; 5.73.3; 5.79.1; 5.80.2; 5.118.2; 5.125; **6**.50.2,3; 6.52.6; 6.86.1; 6.134.1; 6.139.4; **7**.120; 7.132.2; 7.136.1; 7.142.2,3; 7.148.4; 7.168.1; 7.173.3; 7.203; 7.219.1; 7.226.2; 7.239.4; **8**.27.3; 8.38; 8.134.2; **9**.16.2; 9.31.2; 9.38.2; 9.53.2; 9.72.2; 9.90.2-3; 9.107.1; 9.109.2; 9.110.2; 9.117 (= **83** items).

Thucydides

2.2.4; 2.3.1; 2.4.7; 2.5.5; **5**.27.2; 5.30.1; 5.30.2-4; 5.43.3; 5.55.1; 5.60.2; 5.65.2; 5.69; 5.84.3; **6**.19.1; 7.25.9; **8**.40.1; 8.55.2; 8.74.3; 8.78; 8.92.10; 8.93.2-3; 8.98.3 (= **21** items).

The commonest feature in both authors in this group is the minor, and sometimes anonymous, speaker/character. Overall, Herodotus is much more likely to name his minor characters than Thucydides: e.g. Phanes (3.4.3), Megabazus (4.144.2), Theras (4.149.1), Megacreon (7.120), Dianeces (7.226.2), Gorgo (7.239.4), Amphiaraus (8.134.2), Callicrates (9.72.2), Masistes and Artyantes (9.107.1).[361] Moreover, Herodotus will take pains to identify a connexion with a main character where the

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[360]Where an event has mixed DD and ID items I refer to the specific ID item(s).
[361]See Appendix E for a complete list of named speakers in both works.

speaker might otherwise remain anonymous: thus, at 2.132.3, it is the daughter of Myceratus, who asks to see the sun once a year; at 3.124.2, it is Polycrates' daughter, who tries to prevent her father from falling into Oroetes' trap.

By contrast, Thucydides prefers to cloak this class of speakers in anonymity; of the 21 instances I have cited, only 4 items have named speakers: 5.55.1 (Euphamidas of Corinth), 8.55.2 (Xenophantidas), 8.74.3 (Chaereas) and 8.98.3 (Aristarchus). In one instance (5.69), Thucydides would rather construct an impersonal periphrasis (παραινέσεις ... ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων στρατηγῶν τοιαίδε ἐγίγνοντο) than tell us the names of the commanders who rallied the Mantinean and Argive troops before the battle of Mantinea. It is difficult to believe he didn't know who they were, or could not have found out, especially since every other commander who gives a martial address in the *History* is named. This example can only give weight to the idea that Thucydides was primarily concerned with historical events, and less interested than Herodotus in personalities.[362] Other notable absentees in Thucydidean discourse are female characters; this in direct contrast to the *Histories*. One reason for this may be the cultural convention that to mention a woman is to shame her; we may refer to Pericles' well-known statement in the Funeral Oration (2.45.2): 'a woman's reputation is the greater the less it is voiced abroad (βραχείᾳ παραινέσει)'.[363]

We usually associate the reporting of trickery and deceit to Herodotus, and my survey can point to 9 instances of this in speeches, mostly in DD (viz. **1**.59.2; 1.59.4; 1.125.2; **3**.156.3; **4**.139.2-3; 4.201.2; **5**.19-20; 5.30.4; **9**.89.3), but this particular grouping (a) also throws up some Thucydidean examples: at 1.90.3-4 Themistocles tricks the Spartans into giving the Athenians time to rebuild their walls; at 1.137.2, in attempting to evade his Athenian pursuers in exile, Themistocles deceitfully threatens to denounce a sea captain with a charge of bribery if he is not transported to Ephesus; at 8.74.3 Chaereas deliberately exaggerates the carnage at Athens in reporting the oligarchical takeover to troops on Samos; at 8.98.3 Aristarchus tricks

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[362]See further Chapter 9 on characterisation.
[363]Cf. Schaps (1977).

the Athenian garrison at Oenoe to abandon the fort. The Themistoclean examples have parallels in Herodotus, but in DD this time, at 8.75.2-3 and 8.79.3.[364]

Other events in Thucydides, which could possibly be included in group (a) are single speeches made by ambassadors, which in Appendix A I have categorised as πρεσβευτικός: **5**.45.1; 5.61.2; **8**.32.3; 8.53.1. In fact, there are only three single ambassadorial speech events standing in DD in Thucydides: 1.139.3, 4.50.2 and 6.82-87, of which 4.50.2 is a letter and 6.82-87 is the lengthy rhetorical speech of Euphemus at Camarina. By contrast, Herodotus has 18 speeches of this usage in DD, and only 2 in ID.

Type b

The items comprising unsuccessful speeches in ID, can be listed as follows:

Herodotus

1.2.3; 1.3.2; 1.45.1; 1.59.2; 1.170.2; **3**.124.2; **4**.83.1; 4.84.1; 4.162.3; **5**.36.3-4; 5.118.2; **6**.133.2.

Thucydides

4.21.3; **6**.44.3; **8**.32.3; 8.45.1; 8.55.2.

Direct comparisons among examples in this grouping are difficult to make because each event deals with a different circumstance. The most that can be said is that there are sufficient examples to suggest that both historians, not unnaturally, regarded a failed outcome as less valuable than a successful one, and therefore allotted an inferior speech usage to their reportage. This theory, however, relies upon the idea that ID was in some way regarded by our authors as second best to DD, a supposition that is supported by no evidence beyond the tenuous theory that the indirect speeches of Thucydides Book 8 are an unfinished work-in-progress awaiting the refinement of a metamorphosis into DD, a theory to which, for lack of substantive evidence, I cannot subscribe.

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[364]1.59.2 provides one instance of trickery in ID in H. See H13 in Appendix A for a full description.

Here we find examples of ID which repeat information given in previous DD or in the narrative and which, in addition, often provide supplementary material to augment the narrative. First, in Herodotus, at 7.8.α-δ2, in DD, Xerxes declares his desire to conquer the whole of Europe, while at 7.54.2, in ID, he prays to the sun to be allowed to do that same thing. At 7.173.3, in DD, messengers from Alexander the Macedonian warn the Greeks in Thessaly to retreat from the advancing Persians; this advance into Thessaly by Xerxes Herodotus' reader already knows about from the narrative at 7.128ff.

In Thucydides, at 7.25.9 in ID, we find the Syracusan ambassadors reporting the outcome of the battle at Plemmyrium to their allies, the essential details of which have already been narrated at 7.23.3;[365] but we learn, in addition, about the state of mind of the Syracusans and how they are determined to do better next time. It is also worth noting the three speeches given by Brasidas in greeting the Acanthans (4.85-87), the Toroneans (4.114.3-5) and the Scioneans (4.120.3). By means of authorial comment, both 4.114.3-5 and 4.120.3, in ID, recall 4.85-87, which is in DD, while 4.120.3 also recalls 4.114.3-5. Both later speeches, however, add details not present in the original Acanthan address.[366] At Torone, Brasidas needed to direct the citizens not to undertake any reprisals against those who had come over to him (ἔλεξε ... ὅτι οὐ δίκαιον εἴη ... τοὺς πράξαντας πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν λῆψιν τῆς πόλεως χείρους οὐδὲ προδότας ἡγεῖσθαι). At Scione, which had already come over to the Spartan side without force, Brasidas was able to add congratulatory language to his well-tried Acanthan spiel (... καὶ προσέτι φάσκων ἀξιωτάτους αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἐπαίνου).

As well as employing the ID speeches to provide variants, Thucydides continues certain *topoi* present in the original DD, the most prominent being 'freedom', since this is the concept that epitomises Brasidas' ostensible purpose in annexing the cities to the Spartan cause: ἐλευθερίᾳ τῆς πόλεως (4.85-87); ἐλευθεροῦντες ... οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ, ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει ... ἐλευθεροῦν (4.114.3-5); ἐχώρησαν πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν

[365]See my notes on 7.25.9 (= T73) in Appendix A; also Scardino (2012, 77 n.53).

[366]Cf. Hornblower (1996, 87): 'This is a new Thucydidean technique for handling speeches: he gives in full the Brasidan patter (Acanthus) and thereafter adds the variants'.

(4.120.3).[367] Again, at 2.13 in ID, Thucydides amplifies the previous lengthy DD account by Pericles (1.140-144), in which he sets out his basic strategy for the war, by proposing some very specific tactics: bringing in their portable property from the country into the city; preparing the navy; keeping a tight (monetary) rein upon their allies (τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι ... τὸ ναυτικόν ... ἐξαρτύεσθαι ... τά τε τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν). The succinct practicality of the ID passage contrasts markedly with the full-blown rhetorical style of the earlier DD speech.[368] Although ID can on occasions carry rhetorical language, this is not an example.[369]

Type d

This group includes occasions when both historians describe lengthy debates, councils etc. in ID and is well exemplified by Scardino (2012, 78). Of those he cites, I would discount as invalid the example of Amompharetus and the Pitana brigade (9.53.2), since this is a relatively unimportant event in the prelude to the battle of Plataea and has only obtained notoriety through the famous correction of Herodotus by Thucydides (1.20) in denying the existence of any brigade or regiment originating from there. The interpretation of the 'wooden walls' oracle (7.142.1-143.3) and the post-Salamis tactical discussion (8.108.2-4) are both important historical events, not least because they involve Themistocles and instruct us greatly on the subject of his political prowess and cunning. These are not the only occasions when we might have expected to be given a more character- revealing speech in DD by Themistocles; there is also the occasion of his brief martial harangue before Salamis (8.83.1-2).

Examples of this type in Thucydides included by Scardino (2012, 78) are: **1**.90.3-4; **4**.27.3-28.4; 4.97.2-99; **6**.28.2-29; 6.44.3; 6.47-49; **7**.47.3-49. To these I would add the following: 1.91.4-7 (a quite lengthy and important piece of diplomacy by Themistocles); 2.13 (a significant speech by Pericles and might have been in DD but

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[367]For other examples of repeated *topoi* in T cf. Scardino (2012, 77).

[368]Fantasia (2003, 265) is surely correct here in observing that T's reason for choosing ID at 2.12.3 is that the speech is 'purely factual and informative': 'Il motivo per cui questo secondo discorso è in forma indiretta ha probabilmente a che fare con il suo contenuto quasi puramente fattuale e informativo.'

[369]Contra this Hornblower (1996, 87 and 2008, 24); also Foster (2010, 162-3).

for 2.35-46 and 2.60-64 which follow fairly closely); 4.17-20 (represents the first appearance of Cleon as he demands the Spartan surrender at Pylos); 5.44.3-46.1 (the debate in the assembly at Athens on the alliance with Argos, it being Alcibiades' debut).

It is possible to argue for all of these Thucydidean examples to be candidates for inclusion as DD speeches, some perhaps more than others, especially 1.91.4-7 where Themistocles makes it clear to the Spartans that Athens will go her own way; one could argue that this is an important preliminary text for Thucydides in his consideration of the rise of Athenian imperialism, and thereby a cause of the Peloponnesian War. One could also argue for 4.27.3-28.4, as being, like 4.21.3-22, a crucial event in the rise of Cleon and his influence over the Athenian *demos* in resisting a peace deal with Sparta. However, it may be that Thucydides regarded Cleon's clash with Diodotus over the Mytilenean affair (3.37-48) and the Sicilian expedition debate between Nicias and Alcibiades (6.9-14-6.16-18) as being sufficient to bring out the essential personalities of both characters.

The discussions among the generals which go to make up 6.47-49 and 7.47.3-49 are also worthy of consideration for DD, especially 6.47-49, as this is a turning point in the strategic conduct of the Sicilian campaign. Of the three proposals put forward at this debate, that of Nicias was the weakest, to settle the war with Selinus and then, meekly, return home. Yet Nicias was to assume supreme command. Alcibiades' plan was more ambitious, but he was on the point of being summoned home and was about to defect to Sparta. In retrospect, Lamachus' plan of attacking Syracuse immediately may have been the best option and yet he, apparently under Alcibiades' charismatic influence, gave way to Alcibiades' plan, which itself was destined never to be carried out. I am sure the drama and irony of this situation would not have escaped the notice of a modern author, but then we are not dealing with modern authors, and it is easy to assume, as I have noted above, that ID cannot do justice to a dramatic event. Finally in this group, the following ID speeches in Book 8 of the

History fit the given criterion: 8.43.3-4, 8.48.4-7, 8.53,[370] 8.63.4, 8.76.3-7,[371] 8.86.3-7. I would also propose these as the best candidates in Book 8 for conversion to DD.

In addition to the above types, Scardino (2012, 78-9) has pointed out examples of where ID is often juxtaposed to DD. However, I do not find all of his examples convincing because they are not exactly 'juxtaposed', i.e. immediately adjacent to the associated direct speech in the text. Those I do find convincing in Herodotus are: 7.5.2, where Mardonius' direct words are immediately amplified by a short passage in ID; 7.168.1, where the negotiations on Corcyra in ID, which have already been mentioned, are followed by the Corcyreans' imaginary speech to Xerxes in DD (7.168.3); 8.108.2-4, where the disagreement between Themistocles and Eurybiades is followed by Themistocles' advice, at 8.109.2-4 in DD, to the Athenians to let the Persians escape; 9.90.2-91, where a quick interchange in DD follows Hegesistratus' instigation, in ID, of the Ionians to revolt; 9.122.3, where Cyrus' response again follows immediately from the proposal of Artembares.

On this point in Thucydides, I accept Scardino's examples of 2.13, 2.71.2-74.2 and 4.21.3-22 except that, in the case of 2.13, Pericles' ID is separated by a considerable interval from Archidamus' speech, during which we hear from the Spartan emissary Melesippus. And yet they are still closely linked in the narrative, as I have indicated in my listing by marking them as complementary (cpy.). My system of recording speech 'events' (Appendix A) shows the example of 2.71.2-74.2 particularly well; after the initial two items in DD deal with the plea of the Plataeans and the offer of Archidamus, the remaining six items run alternately ID/DD according as the Plataeans respond or the main players, the Spartans and Athenians, attempt to negotiate a settlement. 4.21.3-22 is virtually a structural reversal of H 8.108.2-4/8.109.2-4: in the Herodotean encounter the DD event follows the ID; in 4.21.3-22 the preceding lengthy rhetorical and overly optimistic speech in DD of the Lacedaemonians offering peace (4.17-20) is given short shrift in ID by the Athenians instigated by Cleon.

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[370]For a full analysis of this speech cf. McCoy (1973, 78-89).
[371]See my note for T101 in Appendix A.

I can agree with Scardino's inclusion of 6.25.1, the Athenians demanding to know from Nicias what forces he required for the Sicilian expedition, if we understand 'juxtaposed' as meaning 'adjacent strictly in terms of chronology' in the narrative: it certainly is not juxtaposed in the text, since Thucydides has interjected the very important narrative passage (6.24.2-4) describing how the Athenian passion for the expedition was aroused rather than subdued by Nicias' speech. In all, then, although this line of enquiry throws up some interesting examples, I do not think there are enough to justify saying that both authors use ID habitually in this way in relation to DD.

There is one other usage for ID speeches, which Scardino seems to have overlooked but which is detectable in my system, which illustrates not a similarity but a notable difference between the two historians. This is the usage, common in Herodotus but not noticeable in Thucydides, whereby a short speech, or speeches, in ID lead(s) into a dramatic speech or series of speeches in DD. I have noted as many as 13 events of this type altogether in Herodotus: **1**.126; **3**.32.4; **5**.51; **6**.80; 6.139.3-4; **8**.5.1-2; 8.65.2-5; 8.101-102; 8.111.2-3; 8.118.2-3; **9**.5.2; 9.6-7; 9.90.2-91.

The most common form of this usage is a single ID leading into a single DD: 6.139.3-4, the Pelasgians respond to the Athenians' demand to leave their land with an impossible condition; 8.5.1-2, when Adeimantus refuses to fight at Artemisium, Themistocles bribes him; 8.111.2-3, the Andrians counter Themistocles' demand for tribute money; 9.5.2, the Boeotians follow up their invitation to Mardonius to camp in their territory with the suggestion he bribe the Greeks; 9.6-7, after complaining of the lack of Lacedaemonian support, the Athenian messengers declare that Athens has refused a Persian peace offer. There are three examples of a single ID leading up to two speeches in DD: 8.65.2-5; 8.101-102; 8.118.2-3: one example (9.90.2-91) of a single ID leading to three DD speeches: two examples (5.51 and 6.80) of two ID speeches leading to one DD: and one example each of DD following three and four speeches in ID (3.32.4 and 1.126 respectively).[372]

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[372]See my list in Appendix A for a description of these last eight examples.

The Rarity or Absence of DD in Thucydides Books 5, 7 & 8

I must now turn briefly to a consideration of the much debated question of the absence of DD speeches in long stretches of the *History*, and in particular throughout the whole of Book Eight. The earliest explanation for this can be found in a citation by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*On Thucydides* 16, 349) from a work by the historian Cratippus (*FGrHist.* 64, Fr 1), who, being a contemporary and continuator of Thucydides, possibly had some influence upon him on the subject of speeches: 'they (the speeches) not only by their nature impede the flow of narrative, but are also tedious to listeners': οὐ μόνον ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτὰς ἐμποδὼν γεγενῆσθαι λέγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὀχληρὰς εἶναι.

There are two conflicting current views, which bear upon the further question of the composition of Book Eight. The first originates from Eduard Meyer (1899, 406), which holds that Book Eight was completed by Thucydides and therefore does not stand in need of revision. The opposing view, and the one I consider to be the more likely, is expressed by Andrewes (*HCT* 1981, vol. 5, 382),[373] who has no doubt that the absence of DD speeches from Book Eight is due to its being an early stage in the process of composition.

To support this latter opinion we could point out other long stretches of narrative without DD speech, for example in Book Five where, if we discount the unusual nature of the Melian Dialogue, there is only one item of DD in all 116 chapters, this being the fourth of a succession of addresses by Brasidas (4.114 to 5.9), which bridge Books 4 and 5, suggesting, together with the 'new programme' at 5.26, that the existing division between the two books is artificial. 5.44.3-46.1, which involves three items where Nicias and Alcibiades disagree over whether to ally with Argos, could well have been in DD, except for the possibility that Thucydides, in a desire to avoid repetition, may not have wished to record more than one heated dispute between these two antagonists, the Sicilian debate (6.9-22) being the more important.

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[373]See also Westlake (1973, 103), who argues similarly for Book 5.25-116.

Book Eight has two speeches in ID (8.27.1-4 and 8.48.4-7), which could well have been presented in DD by Thucydides. They have three characteristics in common which suggest a 'promotion' to DD status might have been in the author's mind: they contain information as well as argument, they are lengthy and they are both spoken by Phrynichus, for whom Thucydides has an obvious regard, describing him as οὐκ ἀξύνετος, 'a man of sense' (8.27.5).

Apparent preference on the part of Thucydides for ID where we may have expected DD is not, however, proof enough that Book 8 is in an unfinished or unrevised state.[374] In other parts of the *History*, 2.13, a most important speech for Pericles in which he outlines his strategy for the war and reports Athens' financial and military resources to the people, might well have been a candidate for DD in a revised version. Unlike other lengthy passages in ID elsewhere, it has a series of connecting verbs of introduction, each slightly variant in meaning: παρῄνει (2.13.2); ἐκέλευε (2.13.3); προσετίθει and ἀπέφαινε (2.13.5), suggesting a subtlety in the character of the speaker that the author was intending to bring out more dramatically in DD at a later stage. The long exchange between the Athenians and the Boeotians at 4.97.2-99 could also be considered possible DD material, when one considers the highly charged emotional atmosphere which no doubt prevailed at this interchange.[375]

Finally, while surmising on the possible substitution of ID for DD in Thucydides, I must disagree with Andrewes (op.cit. 378) in his discussion of the 'speechless' stretch in Book 7 16-60, where he implies that the status of 7.47.3-49 in ID is satisfactory. I would suggest that by not presenting this important debate at Epipolae between Nicias and Demosthenes in DD, an opportunity to heighten the dramatic tension of the narrative was lost, seeing that its outcome decided the eventual fate of the expedition.

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[374]In fact, Andrewes (*HCT* 1981, 369-75 and 382-3) draws upon other evidence to support this theory.
[375]I have recognised the adversarial nature of this event by categorising it as δικανικός.

<u>Chapter Eight: Military Harangues</u>

Doit-on dans l'histoire insérer des harangues et faire des portraits? Si, dans une occasion importante, un général d'armée, un homme d'état a parlé d'une manière singulière et forte qui caratérise son génie et celui de son siècle, il faut sans doute rapporter son discours mot pour mot, de telles harangues sont peut-être la partie de l'histoire la plus utile. Mais pourquoi faire dire à un homme ce qu'il n'a pas dit? C'est une fiction imitée d'Homère. (Voltaire 1765, 'Histoire'. In *L' Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, vol. 8, 225)

This comment, by one of historiography's most perceptive critics, despite its negative tenor, would seem to cast approval, in principle at least, upon the reporting of generals' harangues in historical writing, provided only that they are genuine. In this chapter I shall identify and compare examples of this genre in the Speeches.[376] First, however, it is worth recalling what other previous commentators have had to say on this topic.

There are two ancient authorities who speak to us on the subject, Polybius by implication, and Quintilian directly, with reference to rhetorical devices. Polybius (12.25b.1), in the same spirit as Voltaire but not limiting his remark to harangues, says the historian is obligated to discover in the case of speeches the words actually spoken, and then decide why what was done or spoken resulted in success or failure. As it happens, this opinion is particularly pertinent in the case of generals' harangues, since the reader can soon make his own assessment of their success, depending upon an ensuing victory or defeat. In this respect, the speech of Brasidas to the Peloponnesians and other allies at Amphipolis (T 5.9) is a good example and has, indeed, been used by Hunter[377] to illustrate the close relationship between *logoi* and *erga* in the *History*.[378] There is a good chance also, in the case of Thucydides, that the words he puts into the mouths of his generals in harangues may be closer to τὰ δέοντα than in other speeches by reason of the author having been a general

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[376]In my survey (Appendix A) these are categorised as παρακλητικός. The best modern analysis of this genre is given by Zali (2014, 237-302) with specific ref. to H but also with some comparison to T (esp. 237-51).

[377]Cf. Hunter (1973), table on p.37. Also, on the authenticity of this speech, see esp. Hornblower (*CT* ii, 442).

[378]See my Chapter 6 on this topic.

himself, not only because he would have known what to say in the circumstances but also because he could have gathered the major part of a speech from former comrades-in-arms or, in the case of non-Athenians, for instance Brasidas, from erstwhile adversaries.[379]

It is not clear exactly what Quintilian (9.4.18) meant when he opined that military harangues were ill-suited to the elaborate methods of rhetorical devices. Was he discounting them from the writing of history, since history was still in his day regarded as an offshoot of rhetoric? In fact, judged by modern criteria of what constitutes rhetoric, much of the language in the examples I give below from both historians is rhetorical, more so in Thucydides than in Herodotus simply because his generals' speeches tend to be longer, with the marked exception of the brief exhortation of Brasidas in ID at 4.11.4, which is very short and comparable to 8.83.1-2, Themistocles' address before Salamis, the substance of which takes less than a sentence to report.

The harangues contain common and familiar themes: appeals to patriotism, to traditions for bravery, to standing firm in the face of the enemy; reminders of past heroic deeds; dismissive denigration of the enemy. Even in the final emotional addresses by Nicias to his men in Sicily (7.69.2 and 7.77), where the tunes of glory give way to notes of desperation, we can still find no shortage of rhetorical language, in apparent contradiction to Quintilian's thought.

The modern inaugurator of discussion on this topic was Albertus (1908),[380] who listed 105 speeches from historians to which, as Hansen (1993, 161) implies, we must add innumerable passages in which a historian refers to an exhortation without reporting it; he could well have been thinking of Themistocles' speech (8.83.1-2) here.[381] Pritchett (1985), not referring solely to ancient writers but making a general assessment, claims to have proved that exhortations before battle are presented by historians in a form in which they could realistically have been presented in real life.

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[379]Cf. at 5.26.5 where T tells us he had contact as much with the Peloponnesians as with the Athenians: καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τοῖς (πράγμασι) Πελοποννησίων.
[380]Followed successively by Luschnat (1942), Hunter (1973, 35-37), and Leimbach (1985).
[381]Other passages adduced from historians can be found in Erhardt (1995, 120-1).

Hansen (op.cit. 165-6) demurs and suggests that such deliveries are inventions, a literary genre only, added later by historians for dramatic effect. He claims that Pritchett's allusion to Henry the Fifth's speech before Agincourt is not enough evidence upon which to rest such an all-enveloping theory. My own opinion comes down on the side of Hansen (op.cit. 163) on this, especially since he also claims to have found no examples of such military exhortations in ancient rhetorical literature.

An example relevant to our discussion would be Brasidas' speech before Amphipolis (5.9), which Thucydides tells us he delivered to 'all his soldiers' (τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας). Are we to take this literally? Gomme (*HCT* iii, 643) says 'no': 'it is better not to try to visualise these addresses too clearly'. Except that it is not colourfully depicted on celluloid in a 1950's epic starring Laurence Olivier, this is a similar case in point to the Harfleur and St. Crispin's Day speeches of Henry V mentioned above. In any case, Thucydides himself gives us a big clue as to the probable disposition of armies in these circumstances, when he tells us how Brasidas at Amphipolis divided his forces up into three sections (5.9.6), his own 150 select men, Clearidas' force, and the northern Greek allies. We could also employ another harangue involving Brasidas at 2.87 to illustrate this point. Here Brasidas is not alone in delivering the speech. In fact, Thucydides mentions Cnemus[382] and 'the rest of the Peloponnesian commanders' as assembling the men and giving them encouragement. He does not say how many commanders all this involved but it suggests that, rather than each commander addressing the whole army in turn, which could have taken an interminable length of time and become unbearably tedious, the host was split into manageable groups to be addressed each by its own commander.

What, then, each commander actually said and to what extent they all spoke from the same hymn sheet remains a mystery, but if my conjecture about the disposition of the men is correct, the version of the speech given by Thucydides is obviously a composite. A further speech by Brasidas at Lyncus (4.126) gives weight to the theory that we cannot take the circumstances of this genre of speech described by Thucydides completely seriously; at the start the men are addressed as

[382]Interestingly before Brasidas, who at that time would have been a relatively junior officer.

'Peloponnesians' (ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι) when, as Gomme points out,[383] most were Chalcidians. The mode of address, and therefore possibly the whole speech, is, in Gomme's view, 'purely a convention'. Aside from these last three examples (all, as it happens, taken from the Brasidas speeches), it is not altogether impossible to suppose that harangues could have been delivered to whole armies, since armies were considerably smaller in Greek times than in modern times, and could therefore have been addressed together in one place (ξύλλογος) and at one time.

Hansen divides military speeches into two types, 'deliberative' and 'exhortative' and it may well be that the speeches he considers in his own study fall neatly into these categories. Ours, however, do not, as can be seen from the lists I make below, where I have indicated my assessment in the attached notes. In considering which category might be appropriate, I have recorded the verbs of speaking which introduce, or finalise, the speeches,[384] together with the principal meaning of the verb, or its cognate(s), according to LSJ. Hansen makes the further point that both Thucydides and Xenophon knew what they were talking about on this as they were generals. Therefore, if Thucydides has transformed their brief exhortations into fully-fledged speeches, he has not strayed from his principle to report τὴν ξύμπασαν γνώμην τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων. Herodotus was not a general, which could explain why his military addresses are relatively brief and lack the emotional intensity and detailed tactical exegeses of the Thucydidean versions.

I now list the examples in both authors which I consider fall into the description of 'military harangue'. All such speeches are made by generals to their troops and/or officers. In most cases they are made immediately prior to a battle and have two main purposes: to bolster morale (exhortatory) and/or to explain tactics (deliberative). In the case of Thucydides my selection numbers 16 items and agrees with Harding (1973), except that I include two more than he: Brasidas during the battle at Pylos at 4.11.4, and Gylippus after the first battle on Epipolae at 7.5.3-4. The first I justify as being a genuine exhortation, albeit brief and in ID, but in the spirit of other military harangues. The second, although given after a battle,

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[383]*HCT* iii, 614.
[384]Similarly to the method I employ in comparing the uses of ταῦτα, τάδε etc. in Chapter 1, p.25ff.

prepares Gylippus' troops for the next, and is conducted in a similar spirit to the Brasidas speech. It could also be argued that 4.92 and 6.72.2-5 are not true harangues since they do not occur immediately before a battle. However, I have counted 4.92 as it is delivered by Pagondas to the soldiers of the line,[385] in order to explain general tactics. 6.72.2-5 is in ID and spoken after the first battle at Syracuse, but is clearly intended to be a speech of encouragement to an assembly, as Thucydides tells us that Hermocrates 'heartened them and did not allow them to give in to what had happened' (ἐθάρσυνέ τε καὶ οὐκ εἴα τῷ γεγενημένῳ ἐνδιδόναι).

The full list from Thucydides is as follows:

2.87 Brasidas and others to Spartans at Rhium; deliberative/exhortatory; (παρεκελεύσαντο = exhort/advise).

2.89 Phormio to Athenians at Rhium; deliberative/exhortatory (παρεκελεύσατο).

4.10 Demosthenes to Athenians at Sphacteria; deliberative/exhortatory (παρακελευσαμένου).

4.11.4 Brasidas to Lacedaemonians at Pylos (ID); exhortatory (ἐπέσπερχε = urge on/hasten).

4.92 Pagondas to Boeotians at Tanagra; deliberative (παραινέσας = advise/recommend).

4.95 Hippocrates to Athenians at Delium; deliberative/exhortatory (παρακελευομένου).

4.126 Brasidas to Peloponnesians at Lyncus; deliberative (παραινέσας).

5.9 Brasidas to Peloponnesians and allies at Amphipolis; deliberative (τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν = speak/say).

5.69.1 The Argives are exhorted by unknown commanders at Mantinea (ID); deliberative (παραινέσεις ... ὑπὸ τῶν ... στρατηγῶν ... ἐγίγνοντο).

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[385]T says, 'calling them forward company by company': προσκαλῶν ἑκάστους κατὰ λόχους.

6.68 Nicias to his troops before the first battle at Syracuse; deliberative/exhortatory (παρακελευσάμενος).

6.72.2-5 Hermocrates after the first battle at Syracuse; exhortatory (ἐθάρσυνε = encourage/cheer).

7.5.3-4 Gylippus after Epipolae (ID)[386]; deliberative (ξυγκαλέσας ... οὐκ ἔφη = summon ... speak/say).

7.61-64 Nicias before the final sea battle in the Great Harbour; deliberative/exhortatory (παρακελευσάμενος).

7.66-68 Gylippus and the Syracusan generals before the final sea battle; deliberative/exhortatory (παρακελευσάμενοι).

7.69.2 Nicias addresses his captains; exhortatory (παρηνῆσθαι [7.69.3])

7.77 Nicias prior to the Athenian retreat; deliberative/exhortatory (παρακελευόμενος).

In comparison with Thucydides, we are hard pressed to find examples of military harangues in the *Histories*, which fit the exact model we find in the subsequent work.[387] This is scarcely because there is a dearth of battles, or generals, in Herodotus; quite the contrary. Nor is there a lack of emphasis on the subject of war; we may be reminded that it was one of Herodotus' purposes, stated in his proem, to record the causes of the war between the Greeks and the barbarian (τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι), and that his final three books are devoted almost entirely to the expedition of Xerxes and its consequences. The likely explanation is one already made: that Herodotus, although he was interested in depicting the characters of military leaders, such as Themistocles, Miltiades and Mardonius, had never commanded an army in battle and so was unable, or disinclined, to see a battle through the eyes of its participants. In terms of military

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[386]Hornblower (*CT* iii, ad loc.) does not count this, as it is not in DD.
[387]Cf. Hansen (1993, 161): 'In Herodotus' *Histories* there is not yet any genuine battlefield exhortation to be found. It must be Thukydides who invented the genre...'

field tactics, his descriptions of the battles themselves are comparatively brief and lacking in detail.

Despite this dearth of Thucydidean type pre-battle speeches in Herodotus, Zali (2014, 237-302), in her excellent study of Herodotean rhetoric, devotes a whole chapter to the subject. She sees Herodotus pre-battle speeches as an undeveloped stage in 'a long process that started with the Homeric epics and continued in elegy, tragedy ...' (237), reaching a culmination in Thucydides. Zali stretches the criteria for the recognition of the pre-battle exhortation as a distinctive type of speech in order to show only that Herodotus was 'making use of comparable motifs, terminology and forms, as well as mixing diverse strands of rhetorical argument' (247), rather than being the inventor of a new genre.

I have identified eight speeches, two of which (8.83.1-2 and 9.90.2-3) are in ID, which could be described as being exhortatory and of a military character; I list them below and provide a short description and comment on each:[388]

1. Cyrus invites the Persians to free themselves from their Median masters (1.126.5-6); an incitement to revolt, military in tone, but also political and not relating to a specific battle; deliberative (παρεγύμνου ... τὸν πάντα λόγον = 'began to disclose his total plan').

2. Dionysius, the Phocaean general, exhorts the Ionian fleet to fight (6.11.2-3). (λέγων τάδε); exhortatory.

3. Xerxes addresses the gathered Persians on invading Europe (7.8.α-δ); more an assertion of military policy than a harangue, but has elements of exhortation. (ἔλεγε ... εἴπας = speak/say); deliberative.

4. Xerxes exhorts the Persian nobles (7.53.1-2); a more immediate and personal exhortation than 7.8.α-δ and in a military context, being immediately prior to the invasion of Europe; (ἔλεγε ... speak/say); deliberative.

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[388]Zali (op.cit. 247-8) presents a similar list based on hortatory *topoi* she has detected in the speeches of H (both DD and ID).

5. Themistocles gives a pre-battle speech before Salamis (8.83.1-2); ID; a disappointingly brief report; it would have been interesting to have known more of what Themistocles actually said; why did Herodotus not take this opportunity to tell us? It is hard to imagine Thucydides not doing so. Maybe it was because Themistocles was not strictly a commander, his country having been conquered. It is difficult to categorise this as there is so little of it, but its context (being close to the battle) suggests its affinity to the Thucydidean model, which would be 'exhortatory', although παραινέσας indicates 'deliberative'.

6. Harmocydes rouses the Phocian troops (9.17.4); a short rallying speech of the type most like the Thucydidean model in tone and language, if not in length; παραίνεε indicates 'deliberative' but the overall 'do or die' tone of the speech suggests 'exhortatory'.

7. Hegesistratus of Samos urges Leotychidas and the Greek fleet to fight at Mycale (9.90.2-3); ID; πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος = 'fervently pleading' = deliberative/persuasive.

8. Mardonius encourages his generals on the eve of battle in the light of a favourable oracle (9.42.2-4); at 9.44.1 this speech is described by Herodotus as a παραίνεσιν (i.e. exhortatory).

Summary

Pre-battle speeches have been a recognised feature of the *History* for many years, but it is only recently that a similar genre has been acknowledged in Herodotus and adequately commented upon.[389] However, bearing in mind the military background of Thucydides and the lack of it in Herodotus, it cannot be argued that Thucydides derived the concept of this speech-type from his predecessor. Indeed Thucydides' harangues are more homogeneous in character than Herodotus', being delivered on the eve of battle, immediately before it or, in the case of Brasidas at Pylos, actually during it. Of the Herodotean version, only the speeches of Harmocydes (no. 6 above) and Mardonius (no. 8) come into this category.

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[389]E.g. by Zali (2014) as cited above at nn.376 and 388.

Chapter Nine: Characterisation

As long ago as the middle of the nineteenth century, Jules Girard, a Parisian professor of Greek literature, in a prize-winning essay on Thucydides (1860, 52), made a case for speeches in historical writing on the grounds that it created interest by bringing the 'actors' to life: 'History … owes us … interesting and animated scenes which make the individuals act and speak and give us the impression of reality'.

This chapter explores the differences and similarities in the techniques of our two historians in presenting the speech-making characters who 'appear' in their narratives. There are seven main sections: (i) character versus personality, (ii) realism and reliability, (iii) named individual speakers, (iv) national groups, (v) ethnic characterisation, (vi) comparable individual characters, (vii) the 'wise adviser' figure.

Character versus Personality

The close link historiographically between speech and characterisation is indisputable:[390] speeches are made by individuals and individuals have *character*. Here I draw a distinction between 'character' and 'personality'.[391] 'Character' is essentially a term involving a moral or ethical judgement which regards individuals as moral agents, thus holding them responsible for doing 'good' or 'bad' things. Such a portrait would be perfectly in place in the context of historiography, the primary purpose of which is to record events as accurately as possible, since in this kind of narrative individuals are introduced in order to explain the causes and outcomes of events, either directly by the author/narrator or indirectly by way of secondary focalisation. 'Personality' on the other hand is a term which suggests a more intimate portrait of an individual, such as we might find in a novel.

With this distinction in mind, even the casual reader might suggest that Herodotus comes closer to revealing the personality of his individuals than does Thucydides. Indeed, the comparison with Thucydides which I shall describe in this chapter shows

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[390]Close enough, indeed, and including enough controversial material to be the subject of a thesis in itself.

[391]As does C. Gill (in Pelling 1990, 1-31), whose distinction, although drawn in the context of a comparison between Homeric epic and tragedy, could equally well apply to historiography in general and to our two historians in particular.

that Herodotus *does* enlarge upon character, at least beyond the degree necessary for simple historical reference.[392] This is not to say that Thucydides' account lacks characterisation. Although some scholars have unreasonably minimised its importance in Thucydides,[393] my survey (Appendix E) argues quantitatively, and I shall further argue qualitatively, that Hornblower (1987, 57) is correct in saying 'there is more characterisation in Thucydides than is sometimes allowed'.[394]

Realism and Reliability

<u>Herodotus</u>

Are the characters in the *Histories* realistic? Can we be sure that they really were as they are portrayed?   Asheri (2007, 39), at least, is positive in his assessment of Herodotus' interpretation and understanding of human character. Herodotus, he notes, 'was impressed by the variety of human reactions just as much as by different human customs and beliefs; and he knew how to turn them into exemplary types, skilfully personify them, and suitably place them in his great paradigmatic history.' Guzie (1955) goes further by referring specifically to Herodotus' speeches: they offer instances, he suggests, of the 'poetic'.[395] As in Homer, they bring out the characters of the protagonists. The examples he gives involve the stating of γνῶμαι by leading individuals: Croesus at 1.87.4 ('in peace sons bury fathers, in war fathers bury sons'); Mardonius at 7.5.2 ('nothing comes of itself, all men's gains are the fruits of adventure'); Themistocles at 8.109.2-4 ('conquered men will take up the fight again and retrieve their previous disaster'). This kinship between the speeches of individuals and the 'poetic' is also remarked upon by Gomme (1954, 98): 'the key speech of Miltiades (6.109) would go admirably into verse', and (ibid. 100): 'it is Herodotus' method to write in the 'poetic' manner, as a creative artist ... This is

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[392]But cf. Hornblower (1987, 57), who plays down H's portrayal of individuals by e.g. citing Croesus, Xerxes, Cypselus and Demaratus as examples of how H. 'attempted characterisation of a sort'. I would agree that the latter two are 'minor', but the former two are surely 'major' characters, the object, therefore, of more than a mere 'attempt'. I cannot, in any case, accept here the inclusion of Cypselus, as we only hear about him relatively briefly in the analeptic speech of Socles (5.92).

[393]E.g. Cornford (1907, 146ff).

[394]Cf. also Westlake (1968), who specifically compares T's treatment of individuals with H's (16-17), although he does not limit his account to the speeches, either here or elsewhere.

[395]Cf. Aristotle's celebrated remark at *Poetics* 1457b2-4. The link between the Speeches and 'the poetic' of epic and drama is explored above (Chapter 3**,** pp.45-60 and Chapter 4**,** pp.82-122).

easiest to see in his speeches'. Gomme gives the story of Gyges and Candaules (1.7-13) and the discussion of Xerxes and Artabanus (7.46-52) as examples.

In neither of the Histories, however, are individuals portrayed entirely factually, as historically authentic characters; they, together with the words they speak, provide a vehicle for whatever explanation for events either author deems necessary. In the *Histories*, for instance, where both narrative and speeches are perfused by religious themes such as ὕβρις, φθόνος and τίσις, individuals are often portrayed as having little control over their own futures or that of others, since the destiny of the main participants is decided by a predetermined fate, the commandments of which are often transmitted through dreams, portents or oracles. Thus characters, such as Croesus and Xerxes, are typically motivated by their understanding, or more often their misunderstanding, of messages sent from some unexplained system of divine consciousness, which is beyond their control but which nevertheless determines the course of their lives, and thus their behaviour as individuals.[396]

But, unlike the gods in Homer, these divine powers are rarely referred to by Herodotus, or even named,[397] and take no overt or active part in affairs. This concession[398] allows Herodotus' characters some room to associate with, and to be influenced by, other real human beings. For instance, Croesus, while being all the time subject unwittingly to a wider fate, may show the generous side of his nature towards Adrastus, first at 1.35.4, where he welcomes him into his home, then again at 1.45.2, where he exonerates him from the death of his son; Xerxes, uncharacteristically perhaps as an autocrat, communes with his nobles and counsellors, albeit somewhat haughtily and undemocratically, in debate prior to his invasion of Greece (7.8-18). Furthermore, we are permitted to observe some emotional and intimate scenes, which involve such masterful character cameos as

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[396]For a full discussion of fate and human responsibility in H see Harrison (2000, 223-242). Powell (1979, 45-50), who deals esp. with T's opinion of oracles, correctly notes (49, n.9) that apparently disparaging references to divination in his speeches, e.g. in the Melian Dialogue at 5.103.2, while possibly reflecting T's opinion, cannot be used to establish his exact beliefs.

[397]Not even Zeus, to whom Croesus sent his shackles, is named at 1.90.2, but referred to as 'the god of the Greeks'; Apollo, however, is named at 1.87.1, when called upon to rescue Croesus, and Zeus mentioned, although not invoked, at 1.89.3 For the naming of gods see the index in Harrison (2000, 304).

[398]Which, despite T's criticism at 1.21.1, marks H as 'superior' to the poets and logographers (see my Chapter 3).

Mitradates' wife, who begs her husband not to expose the infant Cyrus (1.112.1); or Cleomenes' daughter Gorgo, who warns her father against being corrupted by the bribes of Aristagoras (5.51.2). Therefore, thanks to the speeches, made in the context of critical situations, which reveal the more intimate personalities of their protagonists, we observe in the *Histories* elements of τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, a term more usually applied to Thucydides.

Clearly, Herodotus derived his knowledge of his characters from his sources, along with the anecdotes that went with them. How reliable, therefore, were the character sketches he obtained? They would have been gathered partly on his travels, probably having been handed down through generations with their own private and, no doubt, prejudiced views of the people whose personalities they portrayed. How and Wells (1912, 47-48), somewhat unfairly on Herodotus in probably reflecting the nineteenth-century positivist concern for 'the truth', stress the dubious authenticity of oral character portraits, even of historical individuals such as Xerxes: 'it is to be feared that the noble traits in the character are fictitious' (48). Characters more remote from Herodotus' time, they continue, such as Croesus, 'are painted with a yet freer hand' (ibid.). Herodotus' character sketches, moreover, are more 'artistic than scientific' (47): for instance, we are not told whether Cambyses and Cleomenes were clinically insane or driven mad as a punishment for impiety. However, I do not believe we can reasonably expect Herodotus' portrayals of individuals to be perfectly accurate, since he was not close, as was Thucydides, either in time or space to his subjects.[399]

Thucydides

Although the question of the realism of Thucydides' characters may be moot, we should not be as unkind in our judgement as Cornford (1907, 146), who compares Thucydides' principal characters, among whom he numbers Pericles, Cleon and Alcibiades, with those of the early tragedians: '(they are) nearly as far removed from realism ... as the heroic characters in Aeschylus'. As with Herodotus, we surely cannot expect totally detailed and realistic characterisation from a historian: he is

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[399]For a general summary of characterisation in H, not just in the speeches, see Marincola (2001, 43-48).

not a novelist or a playwright.[400] He was writing a history, in which 'characters', if present at all, are there to serve the main purpose of the narrative, that is to illuminate and to help to explain the causes and consequences of events. The incomplete nature of Thucydides' character portrayals, of which Cornford complains, is no more than an inevitable consequence of the historiographical priority, whereby characterisation, although at times through the Speeches providing an enlightening accessory, is always subsidiary to the main discourse.[401]

The idea that characterisation is present in Thucydides, but only insofar as it assists in the explanation of the causation of events, is expressed by Macleod (1983, 53): 'the speakers (in Thucydides) have a character, at least in so far as they impinge on events'. As in a drama, Macleod suggests, it is the speeches which reveal, to a limited degree, the characters of the speakers and, through them, more importantly for the historian, the situations in which they are involved, thus enabling him to illustrate the motives and purposes which underlie decisions at critical moments in the narrative. In other words, characterisation is, for Macleod (ibid.), 'an essential part of Thucydidean history', not for its own sake, as perhaps it might be for a dramatist, but as a means to an end. I hope, however, to show in this chapter that there is more substance to Thucydides' characters than their mere assistance in the explanation of the causation of events.

As to reliability, Thucydides, unlike Herodotus, was able to rely on his own experiences and his personal knowledge, first- or second-hand, of most of his characters since they were his contemporaries. Therefore his portrayals were almost certainly more accurate. But he was under greater pressure than his predecessor on the political front. During his twenty year exile and, especially, on his return in 404 to an Athens which had changed in many ways, not least politically, he must have thought carefully about how he could, whether he should, set down a permanent representation of the characters of politicians of the day, particularly of those who

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[400]Cornford (ibid.) compares him unfavourably with Ibsen.
[401]But the speeches themselves are not subsidiary. T implies (1.22.1) that they are as much part of τῶν πραχθέντων as the narrative (ἔργα), as we are reminded by Macleod (1993, 146).

were opposed to one another and possibly to himself,[402] or even of statesmen of bygone times but whose influence was still felt, such as Pericles, Cleon or Nicias.

Marcellinus' account, in his *Life of Thucydides* (para.57), although written in the sixth century A.D. from unknown sources, gives us a clue to Thucydides' personal position as a recorder of character vis-à-vis such celebrated statesmen. While crediting the historian with a salutary modicum of political tact, it says unfortunately very little for his powers of characterisation:

> '... it would not have been proper to put into the mouths of Pericles, Archidamus, Nicias and Brasidas, noble men of great standing and heroic reputation, speeches of dissimulation and mischief ... Therefore, [in his speeches] he practised the uninventive and the characterless (τὸ ἄπλαστον καὶ ἀνηθοποίητον ἐπετήδευσε), preserving, however, even by these means what was fitting and appropriate to his art: that is to say, maintaining for his characters their fair share of honour and for their deeds an appropriate measure of credit.'

Curiously, Marcellinus (op.cit. para 50) states that Thucydides 'was clever at drawing characters' (δεινὸς δὲ ἠθογραφῆσαι). It is true that this may not apply to individual characters,[403] as opposed to general stylising, such as national and ethnic characteristics, but it is an unexpected contradiction of the statement at para. 57. There appears to be no obvious reason for this anomaly beyond the speculation that either Marcellinus was thinking of the narrative in para. 50 and the speeches in para. 57, or that he was simply confused.[404]

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[402]The controversial question of whether T finished his days as a supporter of oligarchy or democracy is explored by McGregor, M.F. (1956), The Politics of the Historian Thucydides, *Phoenix* 10: 93-102.
[403]Cf. Hornblower (1987, 58).
[404]Cf. Hornblower (1984, n.48). Further praise for T's characterisation may be found in Plutarch (*De Glor. Ath*. 3.347A-B), who compares the vividness (τὴν ἐνάργειαν) of T's writing with that of a painter. Plutarch (ibid.) recognises this quality as much in Thucydides' portrayal of battle commanders' speeches as in his narrative when he refers to the harangue Demosthenes gives to his troops at the water's edge at Pylos (4.10), and the corresponding exhortation to his crews by the yet-to-be-promoted Brasidas (4.11.4).

Named Individual Speakers

It can be seen from my Appendix E[405] that both Histories possess a plethora of named individual characters. In total, Herodotus has 469, of whom 125 speak; Thucydides has 365, of whom 34 speak. Thus, surprisingly perhaps, there are almost as many characters who do not speak in Thucydides (331) as in Herodotus (344); less surprisingly, the proportion of speakers to total characters is much higher in Herodotus (26.7%), compared to Thucydides (9.3%).

Both historians were writing substantially about war and its origins, but from differing perspectives. Herodotus wrote, as it were, retrospectively, and for two reasons: first in order that the great deeds of the past should not go unrecorded; secondly, to explain the origins of the conflict between the Persians and the Greeks (1.0). Thucydides wrote contemporaneously but with an eye to the future, contemporaneously because he believed his war would be the greatest so far experienced by the Hellenes (1.1.1) and also because, being alive at the time, he was confident that he could record its events accurately (1.22.2); and with an eye to the future (hence a κτῆμα ... ἐς αἰεί), so that others could understand what it was that motivated men (τὸ ἀνθρώπινον) to go to war and hence, perhaps, to learn from events, if not actually to prevent them from happening again (1.22.4). From these professed intentions it is reasonable to suppose that there was a strong motive for each historian to portray the characters of the respective proponents of their Histories as much as space in their narratives, and as accurately as their sources, allowed.

Herodotus' recording of great deeds and causes of conflict would have been pointless and, moreover, uninteresting to his audience without accrediting them to identifiable persons, whilst readers of Thucydides were more likely to benefit in the future from his examples of τὸ ἀνθρώπινον if this rather dull and abstract concept could be translated into living human exemplars. Moreover, I believe it was vital for both authors to describe their principal characters in some detail since, while the historian may use characterisation in a fashion similar to the dramatist or writer of

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[405]Taken from the Indexes in Strassler, (1996 and 2007); the name of each speaker is accompanied by the reference of his/her first speech as listed in my Appendix A.

epic, he carries the additional burden of establishing the authenticity and objective truth of the events about which he writes. Therefore, any major character involved in the narrative must be real, identifiable and, where possible, named. As we can ascertain from my survey (Appendix E), both our authors comfortably comply with this requirement.

In fact, Herodotus goes beyond this basic requirement by including a plethora of named individuals who speak: he has nearly four times as many named speakers as Thucydides. Not only does he exceed Thucydides numerically but also in the variety of types and roles he assigns to his characters, many of whom are people of low or subordinate status. There are many examples to illustrate this point, some of which fall into the 'wise adviser' category (which we consider in more detail below). We may take a few examples from the first third of Book One alone: Gyges (1.8.2-9/1.11.2-5); Bias of Priene (1.27.3-4); Atys (1.37-40); Chilon the Lacedaemonian (1.59.2); the Tegean smith (1.68.2-3); Sandanis (1.71.2-4).   Many characters of this type are 'one-offs' and take little or no further part in the account.

Gribble (2006, 440) perceptively notes two points which define the Thucydidean treatment of individual characters, and which conveniently summarise for us how his treatment differs from that of Herodotus: (a) the avoidance of personal detail and (b) the failure to develop the 'full' story of individuals. It seems that Thucydides made a conscious attempt to avoid personal anecdotal detail, possibly in compliance with his avowed intention to eschew τὸ μυθῶδες (1.22.4) and in keeping with his general principle of causation, which is tied to the collective politico-military character of 'the state' rather than to the Herodotean concept of personal moral responsibility.[406]

This theory is supported by Westlake (1968), who studies the characterisation of named individuals in Thucydides by comparing the speeches, and associated authorial comments, in the two 'halves' of the *History* (i.e. up to and including 5.25, and 5.26 onwards) and considering each in turn, in order to discover the extent to which they reveal the speakers' personalities. While I tend to agree with Westlake's conclusion (317) that 'speeches in the first half by eminent men, including even

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[406]Cf. Gribble (2006, 441) for an expansion of this line of thought in T; also Marincola (2001, 91).

Pericles, provide the reader with relatively little enlightenment on their personalities', we have to remember that the *History* is primarily concerned with the presentation and explanation of military and political affairs rather than with personal details. It is, therefore, surprising to my mind that as much evidence on character is to be gleaned from its DD speeches as is actually the case. In fact, my survey on Thucydides' speeches (Appendix A) shows that, of the 30 DD speech events in the first half of the work, only 7 do *not* contain a speech item made by a named individual. Many of these individuals, on Westlake's criterion, could be described as 'eminent': Pericles (4 major speeches, including the Funeral Oration); Brasidas (7); Archidamus (3); Cleon (2); Xerxes, Pausanias and Themistocles (one letter each); Demosthenes (1); Hermocrates (1) (although 3 later); Phormio (1).

Moreover, although Westlake uses authorial personal descriptions from within the narrative, his survey does not take sufficient account of ID speech items by named characters. My survey (Appendix A), on the other hand, shows that there are as many as thirty-one of these in the first half and no fewer than seventy in the second half.[407] Using even some of these 101 ID speech items, there is, I believe, an adequate source of material with which to make some kind of judgement concerning the character of individuals, even if, as Gribble asserts, Thucydides still falls short of recording their 'full story'.

Gribble (1999, 167-8), also notes that Thucydides is not diverted from his main purpose by desiring to tell the story of a single individual as, for example, is Herodotus, at length, with Croesus and Cyrus. Furthermore, he continues, because Thucydides' speeches are normally given by named individuals, it does not necessarily follow that the speaker 'also exercises a decisive and individual role on the events described ... The classic case of when it is historically important who speaks...is that of the "great man", who is actually seen decisively to influence or even control events'. Pelling (1991, 141) develops this point in relation to Thucydides by expanding on the relative importance of *who* speaks and *what* is said. By way of example he offers Diodotus' speech in the Mytilenean debate (3.42-48), where, he claims, what is said is more important than the speaker; nor is it

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[407]Of which 45 are in Book 8.

necessary, he further suggests, that the Athenian general's speech at Rhium (2.89) should have been made by Phormio.

In relation to the presentation of character, I do not entirely agree with these assessments. A problem arises with Gribble's argument when we come to define what is meant by a "great man": although he offers an explanation of the term and contrasts it with "individual personality", not enough examples are given of either category to establish a clear definition.[408] Nor am I convinced of Pelling's idea, since, in the cases he cites, it seems to me more likely that Thucydides intended to give credit where credit was due by specifically identifying and naming the individuals concerned in either event: Diodotus, who, in the Mytilenean debate, had the courage to counter the extreme position of Cleon; Phormio, who, in his pre-battle speech, displayed an exemplary ability to command the loyalty of his men. The importance of the two events as paradigms of their respective manly virtues outweighs the fact that they are the only speeches made by these characters. In short, they deserve the credit they are given by being named.

Where I connect once more with Gribble is in his comment (op.cit. 169) on the thematic significance of Thucydides' intervention in the narrative at 2.65 in order to explain the importance of Pericles' direction of the War and how things declined after his death 'due to private ambitions and individual gain' (κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἴδια κέρδη) (2.65.7). I would add to this that the inclusion of speeches thereafter by specific characters, often in situations of ἀγών,[409] emphasises this decline along with the inability of the Athenian democracy to halt it, which constitute one of the most important politically causative themes in the whole work.

National Groups

An outstanding feature of both works (although I believe it has not been sufficiently recognised in Herodotus) is how speeches are given to groups of unnamed citizens representing a variety of Greek *poleis*. These groups, often in the guise of

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[408]I return to this question below in my review of the character of Alcibiades in this chapter.
[409]For example Cleon v. Diodotus in the Mytilenean debate (3.37-48); Cleon v. Nicias in the debate on the Pylos campaign (4.27.3-28.4); Nicias v. Alcibiades in the Sicilian expedition debate (6.9-18).

ambassadorial delegations, commonly represent the policies and decisions of their respective cities.[410]

In terms of how speeches relate to overall narrative themes, this technique is especially important in the *History*: for instance, the Thucydidean leitmotif of the initial pre-eminence and subsequent decline of Athenian imperialism is not only conveyed successively through the speeches of individuals such as Pericles, Cleon and Alcibiades, but also by unnamed 'Athenians', e.g. at 1.53.4 and 1.73-78, who, Macleod (1983, 53) states, 'are still doing so with something to say, something to hide, something to achieve at a particular time and place' when they speak. These speeches are especially prevalent in the pre-Sicilian *logos* part of the narrative (Books 1-5), but I give a list here of all the fifteen major examples I have noted (see Appendix A), mostly in DD. There are thirteen distinct national groups mentioned (in bold):

1. The **Corcyreans** at Athens (1.32-36);

2. The **Corinthians** and **Athenians** at Sparta (1.68-78);

3. The **Corinthians** again at Sparta (1.120-4);

4. The **Spartan** ultimatum to Athens (1.139.3);

5. The **Plataeans** appeal to the Spartans against Theban accusations (2.71.2-4);

6. The **Mytileneans** at Olympia (3.9-14);

7. The **Plataeans**' defence at their 'trial' (3.53-59) (although Astymachus and Leon are named here as spokesmen);

8. The **Theban** response (3.61-67);

9. The **Spartans** sue for peace at Athens (4.17-20);

10. Interchange between **Athenians** and **Boeotians** after the battle of Delium (4.97.2-99);

11. **Corinthian** and **Spartan** envoys on the proposed Argos alliance (5.27.2-5.30.4 *passim*);

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[410]And hence have been designated in Appendix A as πρεσβευτικός.

12. The **Melians** and the **Athenians** in the 'Melian Dialogue' (5.84.3-113);

13. **Egestaean** and **Leontine** exiles ask for Athenian aid (6.19.1);

14. The **Rhegians** refuse an Athenian alliance (6.44.3);

15. **Syracusan** ambassadors announce victory (7.25.9).

The significance of these speeches is that Thucydides finds it unnecessary (except in example 7) to identify any individuals within these national groups; the delegations/embassies represent the collective view of their respective *poleis*, the resultant outcome, whether beneficial or disastrous, being therefore the responsibility of the 'state' and not of any particular person.

There is an important difference here with the practice of Herodotus, whose major national leaders (Croesus, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, Xerxes of the non-Greeks; Themistocles, Pausanias, Gelon, Demaratus of the Greeks) often speak in private to a single individual, usually of equal status, or to a small group, as opposed to the open, public-assembly type 'set' speeches in Thucydides. The effect is to create an intimate and exclusive scenario, emphasising the highly personalised nature of the decision making process, in which nobody other than the leader in question has a say. Even when others are allowed to contribute to a more inclusive discussion, as notably in the Persian Council scene, where Xerxes invites comments on his proposal to invade Greece (H 7.8), their contributions are either blatantly subservient, as with Mardonius, or ultimately rejected, as with Artabanus. I list below the principal speeches of this type which I have noted in my analysis (see Appendix A).

Croesus sends his (personal) agents to request an alliance with Sparta (1.69.2); persuades Cyrus not to enslave the Lydians (1.155); acts as Cyrus' personal 'wise adviser' (Book One *passim*).

Cyrus in person gives the orders for attacking the Lydian army (1.80.2-3); announces a reward for the first man to scale the wall at Sardis (1.84.1); invites the Persians to revolt from the Medes (1.126); warns Astyages of his coming (1.127.2); his poor judgement of Tomyris causes the Persian defeat and his own death (1.212.2-3).

Cambyses' personal vow to conquer Egypt (3.3.1) ('I shall turn Egypt upside down!' = Αἰγύπττου τὰ μὲν ἄνω κάτω θήσω, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἄνω).

Darius orders his attendant to remind him of the Athenians (5.105); orders Histiaeus to quell the Ionian revolt (5.106.1-6).

Xerxes explains his decision to invade Europe (7.8α-δ2); his indecision due to a dream (7.11-13); he lashes the sea (7.35)[411]; his personal fears revealed to Artabanus (7.46-52).

Demaratus explains Greek prowess to Xerxes (7.101-4); counters Mardonius' sneering (7.9); again praises the prowess of the Greeks (7.209.2-5).

Gelon offers to aid the Greeks in return for overall command and is refused (7.158-162).

Themistocles persuades Eurybiades to fight at Salamis (8.59-62 *passim*); gets a secret message to the Persians (8.75.2-3); invites Aristides to inform the Greek commanders of the situation at Salamis (8.79.3-81); his pre-battle speech (8.83.1-2).

Pausanias protects the woman of Cos (9.76.3); rejects the idea of impaling the corpse of Mardonius (9.79); compares the Persian and Spartan dinners (9.82.3).

However, despite this preference for individual political manoeuvring, a major point of comparison not often noted is that Herodotus too, like Thucydides, commonly includes ethnic or national groups as participators in speech events of importance in the narrative. I have accounted for twenty instances in all, with thirteen different nationalities (in bold) mentioned:

1. The **Greeks** and the **Trojans** in the myths of the abductions of Medea and Helen (1.2.3-3.2 *passim*).

2. The **Samians** give their opinion of Spartan laconism, the **Spartans** their opinion of Samian long-windedness (3.46.2).

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[411]H says here that no Greek would have used Xerxes' words (see Appendix A, H 208), an interesting authorial comment on Greeks versus 'other'.

3. The **Libyans** persuade the Greeks to move their colony to Apollo's Spring (4.158.3).

4. **Athenian** envoys offer Artaphrenes earth and water at Sardis (5.73.2) (important as the first mention by Herodotus of an Athenian alliance with Persia).

5. The **Thebans** send to Delphi to seek revenge on Athens (5.79-80).

6. The **Athenians** demand the return of statues from the **Aeginetans** (5.84) (the purported origin of Athenian/Aeginetan hostility).

7. The **Spartans** appeal to their allies for assistance in restoring Hippias as tyrant to Athens (5.91.2-3).

8. The **Spartans** refuse to aid Plataea prior to the battle of Marathon (6.108.2-3), thus driving the Plataeans into the Athenian camp (cf. later in T Book 2).

9. The Greek delegation to Gelon includes speeches by **Athenians** and **Spartans** (7.157-162.1).[412]

10. The **Corcyreans** promise to send help to the Greeks, and their imagined speech to Xerxes (7.168.1-3).

11. The **Phoenicians** accuse the Ionians of treachery at Salamis (8.90.1).

12. The **Athenians** assure both Alexander and the Spartans that they will never medise (8.143-4).

13. The **Boeotians** advise Mardonius to make his base in Boeotia (9.2).

14. An **Athenian** delegation complains to the ephors about lack of Spartan support (9.6-7).

15. Then they threaten to ally with Persia (9.11.1-2).

16. The **Megarians** request help from Pausanias against the Persian cavalry (9.21.2-3).

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[412]Significant as the first major recorded contact with western Greece, although the account is strictly unhistorical according to HW ii, 195.

17. The **Tegeans** and the Athenians dispute over holding the one wing of the Greek army at Plataea (9.26-7).

18. The **Athenians** accept Pausanias' verdict (9.46.2-3).

19. The **Thebans** advise Mardonius on his battle line (9.31.2).

20. The **Athenians** request their commanders be allowed to leave the siege of Sestos (9.117).

It will also be noted that, as in Thucydides, these groups (i) are Greek (apart from Trojans, Libyans and Phoenicians on one occasion each), (ii) are non-Persian[413] and (iii) in most instances (with the possible exceptions of 1, 11, 17 and 18) form ambassadorial embassies. Herodotus' major leaders who make speeches, however, are more often non-Greek and their speeches tend to be longer and more detailed than Greek speakers. An exception to this are the three closely connected speeches of Gelon (7.158.1-5, 160.1-5, 162.1), although, it is true to say, Gelon is a Sicilian Greek rather than a 'mainlander'. Themistocles, a major leader, 'appears' in 13 speech events but with relatively short speaking parts; therefore Gelon's are the only 'set' speeches made by a Greek character which are comparable to anything in Thucydides.

Ethnic characterisation

<u>By groups</u>

Allusions to specific national or ethnic characteristics by groups are rare in the Speeches. The most notable in each author are: (in Thucydides) the speech of the Corinthians at Sparta (1.68-71); (in Herodotus) the apparently light-hearted interchange between the Samians and the Spartans (3.46.2).[414]

In the Thucydidean example the Corinthians are urging the Spartans into war with Athens. They have already spoken at Athens (1.37-43) against the Corcyrean proposal of alliance with Athens, threatening retaliation if it took place. This later speech, which indisputably places them in the Peloponnesian camp, is designed to

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[413]Reflecting the autonomous nature of the Great King's rule.
[414]Cf. Appendix A, H 86, comprising three very short items in ID.

stir Sparta into action by highlighting some unpalatable home truths about the differences between the Athenian and the Spartan national character. This devastatingly unfavourable comparison[415] is presented in an extended litany of unmerciful rhetoric, marked by stark contrasts and antithetical phrasing (1.70.2-5). While the Athenians display innovation (νεωτεροποιοί), sharpness of thought and readiness to accomplish their purposes (ἐπινοῆσαι ὀξεῖς καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ἔργῳ ἃ ἂν γνῶσιν), are daring (τολμηταί) and willing to take risks (κινδυνευταί), the Spartans are over-cautious (μελληταί), inveterate stay-at-homes (ἐνδημοτάτους), and mistrustful of even their securest judgements (τῆς τε γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι). A further fulsome eulogy of Athenian virtues follows well into the next chapter (1.71.4).

The Herodotean example could scarcely be more of a contrast. It is casual and light-hearted, almost comical, exemplifying one important major difference in the purpose and tenor of the speeches in the respective works, namely a leaning towards the 'dramatic'. Here, one suspects, Herodotus is playing to his audience, as he makes fun of the well-known and popularly lampooned difference between the Dorian and Ionian races, that of laconism versus long-windedness. As in the Thucydidean passage, we see the use of contrast, but this time employed for a literary rather than for a rhetorical purpose. Herodotus here is not trying to persuade, but striving for an effect; the kind of effect, one of caricature, that we might expect to find in the old comedy, in Aristophanes perhaps. The long speech of the Samians is described briefly, not truly 'reported', [416] the retort of the Spartans that they had forgotten the beginning and not understood the rest of the Samians' speech is suitably blunt, the attempt at a laconic riposte by the Samians in producing a sack (θύλακος), to which only barley needed to be added, is laughable, and the parody is complete when the Spartans say that even the sack is superfluous to the speech.

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[415]We suspect a degree of invention with this speech: when addressing a prospective ally one normally tends towards flattery rather than opprobrium; thus the Corinthians are hardly speaking τὰ δέοντα.

[416]Qualifying arguably as an RSA (Reported Speech Act) in Laird's (1999, 99-101) terminology, and perhaps an attempt on H's part to anticipate the succinctness of the Spartan reply. See most recently Zali (2014, 4) in connection with reported speech acts in H.

<u>By individuals</u>

Ethnic characteristics may also be presented in speech by an individual, designated narratologically as a secondary focaliser. This may be accomplished (i) by direct reference on the part of the speaker to the characteristic of his/her own or another ethnic group, (ii) through characteristics of the speaker him/herself revealed by the narrator, either by what s/he says or by the way s/he says it.

These methods are present particularly in Thucydides. I give as an example of method (i) a speech of the Spartan king, Archidamus:

(i) At 1.80-85 Archidamus' makes a cautionary speech to the Spartans prior to the outbreak of war in which he warns his countrymen against an over-hasty entry into a war with a superior enemy:[417] The Spartan king (1.84.1) acknowledges the commonly expressed vice of the Spartans, viz. their slowness and hesitation (τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον), but makes no apology for it, preferring to turn it into a virtue, saying that it will make them 'look before they leap' into a war for which they are unprepared. He emphasises and lauds (84.2) the Spartan quality of 'sensible prudence' (σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων): '(it is) through our orderliness (that) we are rendered both warlike and wise' (84.3) (πολεμικοί τε καὶ εὔβουλοι διὰ τὸ εὔκοσμον γιγνόμεθα). In short, in a well composed display of rhetoric, he stresses Spartan and ignores Athenian virtues, thus countering the unflattering assessment of the Spartan character given earlier by the Corinthians (1.68-71) mentioned above.

In Thucydides, method (ii) is best illustrated by the way he portrays the Dorian character. We may point first to the example I have just given, Archidamus, who, in extolling the characteristic virtues of his homeland as well as by the well measured tone of his address, displays, unwittingly to himself perhaps if not to Thucydides, his own native Dorian caution and sagacity. In addition, despite the fact that Thucydides does not vary the language of his speeches even when a speaker would naturally be using a dialect form, for example Doric in the cases of Spartan speakers, Dorian characteristics come over on more than this one occasion in Thucydides' speeches.

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[417]Also used as a example of a 'wise adviser' speech, and as a parallel to the Herodotean Artabanus in this chapter.

For we also have the speech of Sthenelaidas (1.86), who speaks in a laconic, straight-to-the-point style, urging his fellow Spartans to war unhesitatingly, as if in defiance of Archidamus' recent advice to the contrary, and presenting the home-spun philosophy that if the Athenians had been correct in opposing the Persian empire, they now deserved double the penalty (διπλασίας ζημίας) for promoting their own.

Whereas it is difficult to find a parallel to the second of these types in Herodotus, examples of the first are plentiful. I record these here in note form:

1.153.1 (H48) Cyrus' put down of the Spartans.

3.21-23 (H78) the Ethiopian king criticises the Persian diet.

5.13-14.1 (H138) Darius praises Paeonian women.

5.105 (H162) Darius' opinion of the Athenians.

7.9 (H197) Mardonius' mistaken view of Greek prowess.

7.101-104 & 209.2-5 (H214 and 233) Demaratus (twice) explains Spartan martial prowess and pride to the unreceptive Xerxes.

9.18.3 (H279) Mardonius praises the courage of the Phocians.

9.48. (H288) Mardonius taunts the Spartans (this speech matches 7.9).

9.82.3 (H295) Pausanias derides Persian motives for invading Greece by comparing the quality of a Greek and a Persian meal.

Comparable individual characters

Although comparison is the primary concern of this thesis, any attempt, Plutarch-like, to find parallel characters across the two Histories, though methodologically tempting, is not particularly fruitful, apart from the single instance of Themistocles and Pausanias which I explain below.

In searching for comparisons, we come to realise two significant points. First, many of the major participants (e.g. Croesus, Cyrus and Cambyses in Herodotus; Pericles, Brasidas and Hermocrates in Thucydides) do not correspond easily with any others.

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Secondly, and contrastingly, there are a number of individuals who may be linked, in varying degrees of closeness, with more than just one other. For example, one might link Alcibiades with Mardonius as well as with Xerxes, as both advocating and planning for war. I therefore expand below on these three characters, in order to bring out some similarities and differences in treatment of character across the two works. Nicias, who likewise has much in common with two other characters, Artabanus and Archidamus, I describe in the section dedicated to the 'wise adviser' figure.

Themistocles and Pausanias

As a pair these two individuals are unique in the Histories, being the only two who are both roughly contemporaneous with both authors (and are therefore well known to them), and who also appear as speakers in both accounts. It is worthwhile, therefore, to note their contrasting treatments.

The character trait these individuals share above all others is that of 'trickster', a title which has been well defined by Dewald (1985, 54):

> 'The trickster figures know they cannot get what they want through open means; by looking at the elements of the situation carefully, they find a way to exploit its possibilities to their own advantage.'

Themistocles

In Herodotus, Themistocles is a major character in terms of the number of speech events (13) and items (16) in which he features, although his speeches are brief,[418] apart from 8.109.2-4, where he deliberately misleads the Athenians into allowing the Persians to escape, and also at 8.59-62 in his heated debate with the Corinthian commander Eurybiades. From the Herodotean speeches we derive a mixed impression of Themistocles' character: the verdict varies from favourable to condemnatory.[419] At 7.142.1-143.3, the interpretation of the 'wooden walls' oracle,

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[418]Fornara (1971, 73) explains this: 'H's treatment of Themistocles, like that of Pausanias, is directed at contemporaries well aware of what he leaves unsaid.'
[419]Cf. HW i, 42-43.

and at 7.144.1, his earlier investment in the Athenian navy, we see the power of his persuasiveness and wisdom. At 8.59 and 8.125.1-2 his swift responses to Adeimantus and Timodemus reveal his quick thinking and pithy wit. At 8.60 he displays a mastery of military strategy, although at 8.57.2 the credit for siting the decisive naval battle at Salamis would seem to go to Mnesiphilus, who persuades Themistocles not to fight at the Isthmus. On the other hand, at 8.79.2-3, in Themistocles' dealings with Aristides, and at 8.111.2-3 and 8.112.1, where he attempts to obtain money from the islanders with menaces, Herodotus draws our attention respectively to Themistocles' duplicity and greed. The charge of corruption against him is perhaps somewhat mitigated at 8.5.1-2, where, although he resorts to bribery in order to entice Adeimantus to stay at Artemisium, it is done to the ultimate benefit of Hellas.

We find a similar mixed view of Themistocles' character in Thucydides, although here the evidence must be drawn from a much thinner account, five events, of which only one is in DD. Even so, we can derive a clear enough impression of his foresightedness and diplomacy at 1.91.4-7, where he confidently tells the Spartans that Athens can defend herself against all-comers, and of his clever trickery at 1.90.3-4 in employing delaying tactics in order to win time for the Athenians to build their wall. This impression is supported by Thucydides' assessment of Themistocles in the narrative (1.138.3) as 'an excellent adviser ... and a fine judge of future events': κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ... ἄριστος εἰκαστής, a judgement which no doubt prompted How and Wells (i, 43) to remark that Thucydides 'has a juster appreciation of his originality as a statesman (than Herodotus)'. Contrast this positive portrayal with Themistocles' deceitful letter to Artaxerxes at 1.137.4, which seems to support the Herodotean view of Themistocles as self-seeking.

Finally, at 1.137.2, as if to emphasise the complexity of Themistocles' character, or perhaps rather the ambiguity of Thucydides' opinion of it, we find him at first threatening to accuse with bribery the captain of the ship taking him to a secure haven if he does not keep safe, but later rewarding him with money for successfully accomplishing his task.

Pausanias

To judge entirely from his speeches, we might suppose that Herodotus had not heard of the fall from grace of the victor of Plataea, or else was unwilling to record it. All four of his speech events involving the Spartan regent tell of a man of moral uprightness. He plays the part of the fair arbiter at 9.46.2-3, where he proposes that the Athenians swap wings prior to the battle of Plataea, and of a merciful potentate at 9.76.3, where he spares the daughter of a guest-friend from slavery. He boosts the morale of the Hellenic high command at 9.82.3 by comparing Persian food unfavourably with Greek, and even treads the moral high ground at 9.79 in his rejection of Lampon's suggestion to abuse the corpse of Mardonius.

A possible explanation for this apparent whitewashing of a known traitor is given by Fornara (1971, 62-66), who says that Herodotus' intention is artistic, tragic and ironic, rather than historical: his audience knew of Pausanias' treachery and Herodotus knew they knew.[420] Pausanias, therefore, like Oedipus, is unwittingly condemning himself when he berates Lampon (9.79.1) for suggesting he should maltreat the corpse of Mardonius with the words τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποιέειν ἤπερ Ἕλλησι ('this is something more fitting for a barbarian than for a Greek').

Thucydides' sole speech event concerning Pausanias is at 1.128.7, consisting of his letter to Xerxes, and it is from this alone, if we were to read only the Speeches, that we would learn of Pausanias' request to marry the Great King's daughter and his attempt to betray Hellas to the Persians. Thus we can glean some inkling of his ultimate demise. Herodotus, for his part, does not mention this letter, which is strange, since Pausanias was such a celebrated (and notorious) character in later years, and it seems improbable that Herodotus would not have known about it. Therefore, as I have intimated above, unless we believe it to be a Thucydidean fabrication, either Herodotus omitted mention of it in the knowledge that his readers were already well aware of Pausanias' fall from grace, or he did not want to stain his memory further, or both. He does, however, mention an unsubstantiated story that

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[420]See n.202 above for further comment by Fornara on H's portrayal of Pausanias.

Pausanias was already betrothed to a daughter of Megabates (5.32), a reference which does nothing to restore the disgraced king's reputation.

<u>Alcibiades</u>

While Aristotle may have given 'what Alcibiades did'[421] as a paradigm for the nature of historical enquiry, 'what Alcibiades said' and how he said it provided, in antiquity, as great an indication of his character. For Plutarch he was 'a powerful speaker, as the comic dramatists bear witness' (Alcibiades 10.4); Libanius recognises the celebrity of Alcibiades when he asks rhetorically, 'What play did not include (him) among the cast of characters? ... It is to him that comedy owed its success' (Lib.Fr.50.2.21), and Aristophanes himself confirms him as the darling of contemporary Athens in the Frogs (l. 1425): 'they love him, they hate him, they cannot do without him'. Alcibiades, in fact, is the predominant character in the second half of the History (i.e. from 5.25 onwards), as Westlake notes (1968, 319). It is therefore worthwhile to search his speeches for traces of character and to compare these with individuals in Herodotus, notably Xerxes and Mardonius.[422]

Gribble (1999, 2006, 462-4) differentiates between the 'great men' (type 1) and the 'differentiated' or 'individual' person (type 2), type 1 being empowered, confident and assertive, type 2 being distinguished by a distinct blend of characteristics which mark him from the crowd.[423] Of these I take Alcibiades to belong to the second category, while the Thucydidean Pericles, or the Herodotean Themistocles (in his early career), would be an example of the first. It is the individuality of Alcibiades, a figure who cannot be contained within the polis, which is claimed by Westlake (op.cit. 1-4, 319) and Hornblower (1987, 145-6) to be the cause of a change by Thucydides in his treatment of the rôles of individuals.[424]

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[421]*Poetics* 1451a86ff.
[422]As early as the beginning of the last century Cornford opines (1907, 213): 'there is hardly a point in the speeches of Mardonius and Xerxes which is not echoed in the words of Alcibiades'. Scardino (2007, 719-722) makes a similar comparison among these three.
[423]Cf. Ellis (1989).
[424]Westlake (ibid.) detects a more developed and personalised treatment of individuals in the second half of the *History*; Hornblower (ibid.) says: 'Perhaps Thucydides' thinking developed ... towards a realisation of the power for good or damage of an effective and persuasive individual'.

At 5.43.2-3 Alcibiades, in opposing the treaty with Sparta, shows his aggressive and contrary side. He is portrayed by Thucydides as personally slighted by the Athenian political establishment, especially Nicias, whom he sees as a rival. He feels he has been passed over on account of his youth and despite his distinguished aristocratic ancestry. The characterisation here is partly delivered through Alcibiades' brief speech in ID but also in the narrative, from which it is barely discernible.

In his response at 6.16-18 to Nicias' objection to the Sicilian expedition, Alcibiades shows himself to be a passionate proponent of the plan. He begins with a personal defence (λύσις διαβολῆς) in reply to Nicias' comments at 6.9-14 regarding his youth and suspect character; this is a persistent aspect of his speeches and recurs at 6.82-87, where he defends his reputation at Sparta. Alcibiades makes much of this theme of rejection and disrespect from his fellow citizens; such honour, he says (6.16.3), as he receives by tradition (νόμῳ) from his Olympic victories is offset naturally by envy (φθονεῖται φύσει) among the citizens. Compare this idea to a proverb in Herodotus (7.237.2) where Xerxes, speaking of Demaratus, concedes that a citizen will, as a matter of course, envy another successful citizen: πολιήτης μὲν πολιήτῃ εὖ πρήσσοντι φθονέει.

Alcibiades' sentiment in the very first words of his reply to Nicias 6.16.1, where he affirms his personal indisputable right to command (Καὶ προσήκει μοι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων … ἄρχειν), is comparable to that of Xerxes' egoism at 7.8.α-δ2, beginning with a diatribe on how he does not wish to be left behind by previous Persian kings (ἐγὼ δὲ … ἐφρόντιζον ὅκως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων) in conquering foreign lands.

On the same theme, Mardonius follows Xerxes' speech with a fawningly flattering reply (7.9), in which he completely underestimates the opposition awaiting any Persian expedition to Europe: the power (δύναμιν) of the Greeks is weak (ἀσθενέα); he got to Macedonia, almost as far as Athens, without opposition (οὐδεὶς ἠντιώθη ἐς μάχην); the Greeks wage their wars under a cloud of ignorance (ὑπό τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος). In just the same way Alcibiades disparages, in ornate language, the resources of the Sicilian cities at 6.17.2-5: their populations are mixed

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and heterogeneous (ὄχλοις ... ξυμμείκτοις πολυανδροῦσιν); such a mob (ὅμιλον) will not listen to any plan (οὔτε λόγου ... ἀκροᾶσθαι) with a united purpose or act in a common cause (οὔτε ... κοινῶς τρέπεσθαι); their hoplites are not as numerous as they boast (κομποῦνται).

Mardonius is an underling, a status that neither Alcibiades or Xerxes would brook or admit to; but he nevertheless has power, influence and the ability to persuade; in these respects he possesses traits similar to Alcibiades.

By contrast Alcibiades' demeanour at 6.29.1-2, in ID, displays self-possession and tenacity in denying his involvement in the affair of the Hermae and, at the same time, honesty and courage in offering to stand trial before embarking for Sicily.

In contrast to Xerxes, who is an absolute monarch, Alcibiades is a private citizen holding power only by democratic election. In theory he holds sway over nothing more than the minds of his fellow citizens, whereas Xerxes controls a great proportion of the known world. Despite this inequality, they both have seemingly boundless ambitions and energy, summed up by Thucydides, in the case of Alcibiades, as πολυπραγμοσύνη. Although this is not a term found in Herodotus, one could say that it applied to Xerxes,[425] in that, like Alcibiades, he is unwilling to sit back and do nothing, as we see in his first speech at 7.8α-δ2. They are both anxious about falling behind the tradition of expansionism and imperialism established by previous generations. Xerxes specifically mentions his own father Darius' part in this, as well as that of Cyrus and Cambyses (7.8α); Alcibiades at 6.16-18 refers, more generally, to 'our fathers' (οἱ γὰρ πατέρες ἡμῶν). But their intention is the same, to stir their people into action.[426]

There is, however, an important difference psychologically between these two characters: Herodotus' portrayal of Xerxes shows that he does not, unlike Thucydides' Alcibiades, regard the desire for expansionism as originating from

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[425]Although de Romilly (1985, 94) seems to deny πολυπραγμοσύνη to Xerxes when she states that 'Alcibiades is the first theoretician of (military) action': Alcibiade est le premier théoricien de l'activisme'.
[426]Cf. Scardino (2007, 724): 'Xerxes und Alkibiades leiten aus der Geschichte und Tradition ihres Volkes das Prinzip der rastlosen Dynamik (πολυπραγμοσύνη).

personal ambition, as an expression of human nature (φύσις), but as a custom or institution (νόμος) handed down through the generations.[427] Immerwahr (1966, 207) would see an additional contrast here: 'the activism (πολυπραγμοσύνη) of states in Herodotus is due ... to "hybris" in some form, and thus a moral judgement is always implied.' I do not think, however, that Alcibiades is totally free from a charge of 'hybris' in this connection, although the moral dimension is more understated in Thucydides than in Herodotus.

Xerxes

Xerxes is one of the Histories' most complex characters and, as with all characters in Herodotus, if we were only considering the historical value of his portrait, we should approach the question of its authenticity with caution. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, for instance, states (2002, 588) that Herodotus' portrait of Xerxes is 'as much a product of (his) sources as of the author's conscious construction of his narrative.' However, turning this statement around, we could interpret it as saying that the portrait of Xerxes owes as much to Herodotus' inventiveness as it does to that of any of his sources and this, as we have seen, could apply *a fortiori* to Xerxes' speeches as well as to the speeches of other characters.[428] Their dubious historical authenticity, however, does not diminish their artistic contribution to the overall account.

Some, again, have seen the portrait of Xerxes not only as complex but, to Herodotus' discredit, inconsistent, even contradictory. Scardino (2007, 340), for instance, points to the contrast between Herodotus' ideal, epic-like description of Xerxes at 7.187.2, where he suggests that the Great King's good looks and stature were enough to make him worthy of his position, and the many-sided and contradictory picture he paints of him in many of his speeches. However, Immerwahr (1966, 182) sees merit within this apparently contradictory picture, in the balance it affords to the overall assessment of Xerxes' nature (my interjectory examples): 'Xerxes' magnificence is balanced by weakness (and *hybris* e.g. scourging the sea at 7.35), his courage by fear (e.g. the retreat from Salamis at 8.100.2-5/8.101-102), his nobility by baseness (e.g. the story of Pythius the Lydian at 7.38-39).'

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[427]Cf. Evans (1991, 28).
[428]Cf. Harrison (2011) on the question of the historical accuracy of H's portrayal of Xerxes.

Abrahamson (1960, 8-9) sees even more merit in these speech events; there is a structured purpose behind Herodotus' use of Xerxes' character, namely to explain, like Thucydides, situations which occur in the narrative: '... he (Herodotus) connects with conscious and subtle artistry the various scenes in which he characterises Xerxes ... to show, in the king's character, the causes for the course and the outcome of the historical event.' Here we have an assessment which credits Herodotus with the kind of historiographical creativity more usually attributed to his successor.[429] Despite the objection of some scholars that Herodotus brings out only individual traits in Xerxes and does not develop them into a full description of his character,[430] I think most readers would agree that, by the end of Book 9, we have a more than adequate idea of the type of human being he was, even if we have to make some allowances for dramatic invention as, for instance, in his exchanges with Artabanus (7.11, 15, 47.1, 48, 50, 52) and with Demaratus (7.101, 103, 209, 234, 237). It would not be too difficult, in any event, as below (in bold type), to produce a list of individual traits from the Speeches which would amount to as near a full description as we could expect from a historian who was not writing a biography.

Xerxes shows **generosity** to those who have served him well, e.g. at 7.27-29 (DD), where Pythius, the rich Lydian, who offers Xerxes a large share of his wealth to finance his expedition against Greece, is rewarded by Xerxes by becoming his ξεῖνος. **Clemency** is displayed at 7.136, where Xerxes frees the two Spartan heralds, Sperthias and Bulis, who had come to Susa to pay the penalty for the death of Persian heralds sent earlier by Darius to Sparta, although Xerxes did have the possible ulterior motive of not wanting to absolve them or the Spartans of their guilt by killing them. Clemency is also evident at 7.146.2-147, but this time combined with foresight, when Xerxes releases Greek spies from a death sentence at Sardis in order to let them see his army and return to Greece with a report of its size. He recognises and shows **loyalty** to Demaratus at 7.237, whom he orders to be respected as his ξεῖνος despite not accepting his advice.

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[429]As noted, for example, by Hunter (1973) in *Thucydides: the Artful Reporter*.
[430]E.g. How and Wells (i, 47).

There are anomalies, also, in his character which are not unattractive: while he is **swift to anger**, as when he denounces Artabanus as a coward at 7.11, he is immediately **apologetic** at 7.13. The dark side of Xerxes' character, however, comes out at 7.39.1-2, where upon the request of Pythius for Xerxes to spare his eldest son from military service, he displays **cruelty** by seeking out the son and having him cut in half; also at 9.109-111 in his treatment of Masistes and his wife. **Arrogance** is shown at 7.35 with the infamous lashing of the sea; **cowardice** at 8.103.1 following earlier misplaced courage at 7.46-52, where he admonishes Artabanus for his pessimism regarding his invasion plans.

Perhaps Xerxes' greatest failing, however, is his **egoism** shown principally at 7.8α-δ2, where he calls a meeting ostensibly to consult his counsellors on his invasion plans but then proceeds simply to announce them. This forms part of Xerxes' main fault, his **obstinate** refusal to take advice from those well placed to give it; I shall deal with further examples of this in the later part of this chapter on the 'wise adviser'.

Mardonius

Of Mardonius, Evans (1991, 69) says: 'He was the last spokesman for Persian expansionism and its most important victim'. In this respect, Mardonius is comparable with Alcibiades on the first count (but not on the second, which can be claimed by Nicias). That they both advocated imperial expansionism is indisputable, but they did it in different ways: Mardonius, as the *spiritus rector* of Persian imperialism, appeals first to his cousin's family duty to punish Athens (7.5.2), and then to his egoism (7.5.3) by describing a Europe, rich in cultivated lands, as enticingly ripe for conquest; Alcibiades' address, at 6.16-18, in appealing to the wider audience of the Athenian assembly, is perforce more detailed and more rhetorical, although similar in that he too appeals to the Athenians' sense of duty by urging them not to neglect their promises made to support their Egestaean and Leontine allies. But what the two speeches have most in common, beside the fact that they are both successful in their persuasiveness, is the way in which they underestimate the resources of their potential enemy, the Hellenes in the one case, the Sicilians in the other.

In addition, Alcibiades was nobody's toady except perhaps, latterly, Tissaphernes', whereas the career of Mardonius, both military and political, was characterised by his obsequious deference to Xerxes,[431] to whom he was always conscious that he owed his elevated position. This is illustrated nowhere better than at 7.9 where he speaks up, all too readily, in favour of Xerxes' poorly thought out plans for the invasion of Europe.

The 'Wise Adviser' Figure

In his own take on characterisation, Asheri (1989, 41) says: 'Herodotus was interested in why and how the characters in his *Histories* are driven to act.' He goes on to list, what he calls, 'vehicles of thought', which precede action, among which are: political speeches, counsels and debates. Among the characters who help to create these 'vehicles of thought', I would include the ubiquitous Herodotean figure we have come to know as the 'wise adviser'.[432] It is a motif which Fornara (1971, 22) had earlier described as a 'momentous innovation'. Based on an epic antecedent,[433] it enabled Herodotus to clarify and point out the issues which he wished to emphasise in his narrative, and is especially relevant to this account since it is presented mainly through the medium of speech, whether long or short, DD or ID. The motif can also be detected, linked with certain key characters, in Thucydides.

In using the term 'wise adviser' I follow Lattimore (1939, 29), who gives the fullest account to date on this topic[434] and distinguishes two types: the 'tragic warner' and the 'practical adviser'. Although they may be easy to recognise as 'wise advisers' by virtue of the dramatic situation they are placed in and the fact that they are given speeches, it is not always an easy task to differentiate between these two types. The 'tragic warner' is decidedly the more dramatic of the two, and well named by

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[431]Scardino (2007, 342), marks him out as 'der Prototyp des schlecten und egoistischen Ratgebers' in Xerxes' court.

[432]My list of 'wise adviser' speeches for both authors, together with notes on each example, can be found in Appendix F, to which I refer henceforth, using italicised numbers in bold print.

[433]Unless we follow Kurke (2011, 429), who, in what I believe to be an overstated claim, sees the conversations of Aesop as a possible precedent. The dialogue between Croesus and the unnamed adviser (1.27.3-4, in the Herodotean version), she thinks, prefigures similar later encounters: 'this small fable ... encourages us to understand Herodotus' entire text as bouleutic fable writ large'. See above (p. 53ff.) for an account of the Homeric precedent.

[434]Surprisingly, in an otherwise comprehensive survey of rhetoric in Books 5-9 of H, Zali (2014) comments very little on this ubiquitous motif beyond fleeting references (136, 310) and footnotes.

Lattimore, since s/he gives a warning, sometimes derived from an oracle or a dream, which is intended to deter or encourage the recipient from or into a course of action which, if not desisted from or acted upon, could lead to a catastrophe. Any future tragic consequences depend, of course, upon the reaction of the recipient, according to whether they acquiesce to or reject the warning.

By way of contrast to the 'tragic warner', the 'practical adviser' is a milder character who relates more closely and personally with the recipient and who seeks to be sympathetic and resourceful rather than foreboding and didactic.[435] Finally, a noticeable characteristic of both types of 'wise adviser' figure, particularly in Herodotus, is that s/he is almost invariably inferior in status to the 'recipient' of the advice[436] but nevertheless enjoys a close relationship with him/her.

<u>The 'wise adviser' in Herodotus</u>

In the *Histories* I have identified (in Appendix F) 78 examples of speeches by 'wise adviser' figures, 26 by 'tragic warners' and 51 by 'practical advisers': one speech (*12*) I adjudge to contain elements of both types. I have noted no fewer than 45 different characters who at some time act as 'wise advisers'. Like Lattimore (op.cit. 29), who noted 56 instances altogether (21 'tragic warners' and 35 'practical advisers'), I recognise that any listing of these types depends on how they are defined. The difference between my overall number and Lattimore's calculation is also partly explained by the fact that I refer to the number of separate speech items given by each individual adviser[437] rather than the number either of individual characters or of complete conversations. There are also some I have added to Lattimore's list and some I have excluded.[438]

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[435]My survey, summarised in Appendix F, distinguishes between these types by indicating t/w or p/a. Bischoff (1932) described the 'warner' figure in Herodotus but, unlike Lattimore, did not differentiate between this and the 'practical adviser'.

[436]Slightly contra this cf. Lattimore (op.cit. 34), who includes a greater proportion of 'great names' in his own list as 'warners' than I do.

[437]E.g. Artabanus, who appears in the debate with Xerxes and Mardonius on the merits of Xerxes' plan to invade Europe at 7.46-51, gives three separate items of advice (*48-50*), whereas Lattimore counts them as one.

[438]Added is: Themistocles to Eurybiades at 8.62, since this is a definite stern warning; excluded is: Dionysius to the Ionians at 6.11.2-3, which I reckon to be a martial address.

It is a feature of this motif in Herodotus that some characters appear repeatedly, and almost exclusively, as adviser/warners: Demaratus (*40*, *51*, *52*, *56*, *57*, *58*, *66*), Artabanus (*25*, *46*, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*), Themistocles (*54*, *55*, *63*, *64*, *65*), and Croesus (*7*, *8*, *11*, *14*, *17*) are the best examples, while, of the female characters, Atossa (*20*, *21*) and Artemisia (*67*, *69*) feature strongly in this regard, although in three instances as a result of male instigation (Democedes and Mardonius respectively). Croesus (*3*, *5*, *7*, *8*, *11*, *14*, *17*) and Cleomenes (*22*, *30*) appear as both adviser/warners and as recipients. As may be expected, by far the greatest recipient of advice and warnings is Xerxes, who is engaged in no fewer than nineteen episodes of this type (*40-44*, *46-52*, *56-59*, *67-69*).

However, characters in Herodotus are by no means in danger of becoming 'type-cast' in the role of 'wise adviser'. Many appear as speakers in other guises throughout the course of the narrative, for example: Harpagus the Mede, who speaks at 1.108.4-5 agreeing to the orders of Astyages to kill the infant Cyrus; Zopyrus, who executes his plan to capture Babylon by duping the inhabitants with a speech at 3.156.3; Gobryas, who speaks fine words in support of Darius' claim to the throne at 3.71-73; Megabazus, who at 4.144.2 remarks on the blindness of the Chalcedonians for not choosing to settle at neighbouring Byzantium when they had the chance; Mardonius at 9.48 for his ill-timed mocking of the Spartans for retreating prior to the battle of Plataea.

As I have already intimated, there is a variety of situations thrown up by this motif in the *Histories*. A 'tragic warner' scenario, however, as the title suggests, is likely to have much more serious consequences than a 'practical adviser' event. The case *par excellence* which illustrates this is the failure of Xerxes' invasion of Greece. Here the Great King receives ten warnings of this type, but still proceeds with his plans. Herodotus clearly sees this kind of human error as an important causative factor in the course of historical events; where the recipient of a warning or, in Xerxes' case, multiple warnings, fails to heed the message and the consequences are particularly far-reaching, the author may introduce a Homeric-like theological moral. The character, for instance, may be considered to be guilty of ὕβρις, especially when an oracle or other divine message has been ignored.

But dire consequences in Herodotus do not always result from a character rejecting advice: sometimes the recipient accedes to the advice but the warner is simply wrong. The case of Xerxes is again a good example. Consider *43* and *44* in my list, where the dream figure supports Xerxes' scheme and hounds him to the point where Xerxes changes his mind twice, to his ultimate detriment. Even Xerxes' request to Artabanus, his closest adviser, to sleep in his bed and witness the same dream, results in Artabanus changing his mind and agreeing to the ill-fated expedition. We may wonder why Herodotus chose to complicate the plot, as it were, by creating this 'dream character'. It may have been to represent Xerxes' *alter ego* in conversation with himself and Artabanus, illustrating human indecisiveness and insecurity. Or perhaps the author was conscious, again, of an Homeric precedent in the *Iliad* (2.23-34), when Agamemnon is addressed in his sleep by a 'divine dream' (θεῖος Ὄνειρος, l.22), sent by Zeus to trick him into taking an errant course of action.

The variety of situations is increased when we include those involving the 'practical adviser'. The majority of this type (38 out of 51) give advice on military matters, including stratagems for engaging (or avoiding) the enemy and advice on gaining alliances, viz. numbers: *6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, 46, 50, 54, 55, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75*. This type of advice can vary from the mundanely strategic, such as *61*, Tellias' ideas for defeating the Thessalians, to the creatively innovative, such as *6*, Harpagus' stratagem to Cyrus for using camels to attack Croesus' army.

In the remaining thirteen instances (*3, 9, 13, 15, 22, 32, 36, 40, 47, 53, 60, 66, 76*), the advice itself might be quite low key, more in the nature of counselling than admonition, and arise from a variety of circumstances which cannot be classified, but which reflect the enormous range of personalities and situations to which Herodotus introduces us in the course of his account. The response evoked in the recipient is often no more than a casual remark; for example *47* in my list, where the response of Xerxes to Artabanus is merely to express a wish to cease harping on the vicissitudes of human existence: βιοτῆς μέν νυν ἀνθρωπηίης πέρι ... παυσώμεθα. By contrast, however, some instances of 'practical advice' result in consequences almost as dire as those following Xerxes' expedition, such as Croesus' advice to Cyrus

to invade the Massagetae (**14**) and Atossa's plea to Darius to abandon the Scythian campaign and invade Greece (**20**, **21**).

The 'wise adviser' in Thucydides

The 'wise adviser' figure is not so frequently found in Thucydides. Perhaps the later historian saw this motif as an example of the 'story-telling' style of his predecessors and so wished to eschew it. Lattimore (1939, 39n.), indeed, is of the opinion that 'this is a part of Herodotus' method which Thucydides carefully avoided'. This comment reflects the idea already noted that as well as the style, the purpose of Thucydides' *History* is at variance with Herodotus: being nowhere near as wide-ranging in its scope, it does not admit of the plethora of characters and the variety of situations which we meet in the *Histories*. The narrative rarely strays from the military or the political, and so lacks the personal and intimate touches we associate with Herodotus. Therefore, although traces of the 'wise adviser' can be detected in the *History*, the reader recognises the characters embodying this role[439] as being more evidently engaged in other, more public, situations. However, as in Herodotus, where they *are* portrayed as 'wise advisers' it is through their speeches.

My listing of the Thucydidean examples in Appendix F is presented in a similar format to the Herodotean list, except that I do not differentiate here between 'tragic warner' and 'practical adviser', as this is almost impossible to do with the Thucydidean characters. While, for instance, there is no doubt a 'tragic' element in Nicias' situation in **82**, or even **81**,[440] there are simply not enough examples of this type of character in the *History* to justify the categorisation I feel able to give to the Herodotean version.

Archidamus

Of the Thucydidean speakers in my list the one bearing the closest resemblance to a warner figure in Herodotus is Archidamus (**79**), whose cautionary character has been likened to that of Artabanus in the Histories, especially as Artabanus is portrayed in

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[439]E.g. Archidamus and Nicias. See below in this chapter.
[440]On Nicias as an example of both sub-types, cf. Marinatos (1980).

25, **42**, **48** and **49**.[441] Although not in the Herodotean position of inferiority which I remarked upon above, Archidamus fulfils a similar role to Xerxes' adviser. He warns his Spartan subjects against the dangers of underestimating an enemy with whom they are about to engage in a war. His argument, however, goes into much greater detail than that of Artabanus, probably because Thucydides was more knowledgeable than Herodotus in military and political affairs and had been personally involved in the events he was recounting. His speech (**79**) is therefore both more factual and realistic than the generalities concerning the sea and the land contained in the objections of Artabanus to Xerxes' plans (**48**, **49**).

The uncle of Xerxes, Artabanus is best known for his caution and rationality. He has been previously and exhaustively compared with Archidamus in an important article by Pelling (1991), who has pointed out their mature cautiousness and wisdom drawn from their experience in previous military campaigns, as well as their comparability as 'wise advisers'. Artabanus places his dependence on planning rather than chance as he declares himself at 7.10.δ2: τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλεύεσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὑρίσκω ἐόν.[442] In this respect, and in that of applying caution, he may as well be compared with Thucydides' Nicias as with his Archidamus.[443] Scardino counts him as a 'wise adviser' figure exclusively.[444]

In purely Thucydidean terms Archidamus is the Spartan Nicias, as well as being comparable in character to Artabanus. Caution and rationality are the hallmark of his speeches. He shows caution at 1.80-85, where he is careful to warn the Spartans not to underestimate their enemy; in this he is the antithesis of Alcibiades. We may also note his γνώμη at 2.11: 'in hostile territory it is always necessary to fight resolutely, but only after making preparations based on fear.' Compare the similarity between this sentiment and the judicious words of Artabanus at 7.49.5: 'if a man lays his plans in fear ... he will act with bravery.' Archidamus' rationality combines with

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[441]Cf. esp. Pelling (1991).

[442]Cf. Asheri (1989, 41): 'Artabano ... convinto che la validità della scelta non dipenda dai cappricci della fortuna' (general introduction).

[443]Cf. Frassoni (2005, 231), who notes the Homeric Nestor as a close antecedent in type: 'L'anziano e saggio consiglieri omerico costituisce ... il prestigioso antecedente epico per l'Artabano di Erodoto'.

[444]Cf. Scardino (2007, 343): 'von den übrigen Aspekten seines Charakters erfährt man so gut wie nichts'.

his caution and features at 2.72.1, 3 and 74.2 in the debate with the Plataeans prior to their trial before the Spartan judges. The essence of his first speech is conciliation when he offers to accept the Plataeans' neutrality, while in his second he makes an offer to hold Plataean land in trust and to hand it back over at the end of the war. It is not until the third speech, when his hand is forced, that he orders a siege, but only then after showing piety by appealing to the gods for justification.

Nicias

If there is a truly 'tragic warner' in the *History*, then it must be Nicias. It is important, however, to point out a major difference between Nicias in this role with comparable characters in Herodotus, such as Croesus and Xerxes. This is that, in Nicias' case, it is not the recipients of the warnings (*81*, *82*) who suffer from the ignoring of the advice but Nicias himself, unless we say either that Nicias brought his fate upon himself as a result of his indecision or that, in the end, it was the Athenian people, Athens herself perhaps, who suffered. Whether Thucydides himself was aware of these nuances it is impossible to know for sure, but I suspect he was. Like many other characters in the Histories, Nicias is multi-faceted.[445] We may be able to understand him best by reference to another Thucydidean figure, Alcibiades,[446] who in many ways is his opposite. In one respect, especially, they differ most importantly: if Alcibiades is celebrated for his πολυπραγμοσύνη, then Nicias is characterised by ἀπραγμοσύνη.

Gribble (1999, 212) is succinct on Nicias: 'Excessively cautious, timorous, superstitious.' But this assessment, tempting as it is to make in view of the Athenian disaster in Sicily, is surely incomplete and unfair. Remembering a time before the Sicilian War, when he brought back victories and established a restorative peace for his city, Williams (1998, 238) sees Nicias in a more positive light: 'successful in war, popular with the people, eager to benefit his πόλις'. Likewise Ellis (1979, 47), who 'looks to the end' before summing Nicias up: 'In every respect ... Nicias is correct in his prognostications and Alcibiades incorrect'. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted

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[445]As in the *Knights* of Aristophanes where, as Sommerstein (1981, 3) observes, he is portrayed unflatteringly as timid (ll. 16-18), excessively religious (ll. 30-33), pessimistic (ll. 34, 111-112), and morally conservative (ll. 87-88, 97). His timidity is also commented on in the *Birds* (l. 640).
[446]As Macleod (1983, 71) notes: 'the character of Alcibiades (is) ... illumined by the contrast with Nicias. Where Nicias is cautious, Alcibiades is impetuous. Where Nicias is motivated by patriotism and obedience to tradition, Alcibiades is loyal only to himself and confident in his own abilities'.

that Thucydides' portrayal of Nicias instils in the reader a sense of tragedy. If Nicias and Alcibiades were opposites, they had at least one characteristic in common, the desire for honour (τιμή), although in differing ways: Alcibiades through public ostentation; Nicias through quiet service to his πόλις. Thus Nicias was both φιλότιμος and ἀπράγμων, an unfortunate combination, as fate conspired to prove.

As for a comparison between Nicias and the Herodotean Artabanus, Marinatos (1980, 306) notes a clear contrast: 'Artabanus is a figure which remains outside political and military action ... Nicias is a general who leads an expedition for the failure of which he is, to some extent, responsible.' This judgement may seem harsh on Nicias, since he could not help being the character he was, but the point about their respective responsibilities is correct, and crucial. Whatever the extenuating circumstances may have been, Nicias was in charge, and failed; had he survived, he would certainly have been fined or exiled, or both. Artabanus was in the kind of privileged position that Nicias did not enjoy: he was, to all intents and purposes, an onlooker, and able to take advantage of his family connection in initially speaking out against Xerxes' plans.

Despite these differences, both appear as strong 'wise-adviser' figures. The fundamental goodwill of their nature is brought out in two remarks, made in their speeches, which express their wish that their respective expeditions should turn out as their people would want: Artabanus at 7.47.2 (ὡς βουλόμεθα τελευτήσειε); Nicias at 6.20.1 (ξυνενέγκοι μὲν ταῦτα ὡς βουλόμεθα). They also both display a determination, for which neither, perhaps, has been given sufficient credit, in their willingness to stand up against powerful adversaries. We may compare the effect of Nicias' reference to Alcibiades at 6.12.2, where he attacks his rival's egoism and expensive life-style as being incongruent with high military command, with the concluding address of Artabanus to Mardonius (7.10η-θ3), where he tests the overweening ambition of Mardonius by challenging him to take his own army to conquer Greece. Both, in addition, have courage enough to charge their opponents with underestimating the power of their potential enemies and the enormity of the task in hand.

Summary

In this chapter we have seen that characterisation is a major feature of both Histories, injecting dynamism into their on-going narratives, in a way similar to earlier and contemporary poetic epic and drama. Both historians, in their different ways, exploit the dramatic power of characterisation in order to explain the causes of historical events. Furthermore, it is through the medium of the Speeches that the authors are able to account for the motivation and purposes which prompt the principal characters of their dramas to act.
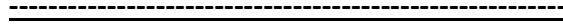
Chapter Ten: Thucydides' 'Uses of Herodotus'

This final chapter highlights two important and outstanding instances in the Histories which provide intertextual links and which may constitute examples of Thucydides using, or being influenced by, Herodotus.[447] Both are largely concerned with the Speeches, and both have been the subject of much discussion among scholars of recent time: they are therefore worthy of special consideration. The first is the comparable treatments of Herodotus' Persian Wars and Thucydides' Sicilian Expedition. The second is Hornblower's well known hypothesis (*CT* ii, 122-145) that Thucydides' speeches follow Herodotus[448] when dealing with past historical events. I shall comment on these two areas of comparison in turn, and deal with the second in some detail.

The Persian Wars and the Sicilian Expedition

Both Harrison (2000) and Rood (1999)[449] provide excellent analyses of the parallels between the accounts of these two key events, which are central to their respective histories. There is therefore no need for me to reiterate these parallels in detail, only to emphasise and to comment upon their significance in relation to the Speeches.

Rood (op.cit. 165) suggests: 'it is as valid to read Thucydides' Peloponnesian War as in some sense a commentary on the Persian War … as it is to read Herodotus' Persian Wars as in some sense a commentary on the Peloponnesian War'. Is, then, Thucydides picking up an idea from Herodotus when, as Rood (ibid.) notes, Sthenelaidas, the Spartan ephor, in response to the Athenian claim to be 'worthy of empire', says (1.86.1-2): 'if they were good (ἀγαθοί) then against the Medes, but bad (κακοί) now against us, they are worthy of double punishment, since they have become bad instead of good'. This does seem to echo the words of the Athenians in the debate over the holding of the left wing at Plataea (H 9.27.4), where the Athenians appear to anticipate, in an unusually defensive manner, the way in which

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[447]Rood (1999, 143) makes the caveat that 'intertextual relationships' do 'not strictly imply anything either about authorial intention or about authorial knowledge'.
[448]Rood (op.cit. 164) refers to this as an 'exploitation' of H by T.
[449]Cf. also Raaflaub (2002).

appeals to Athenian prowess at Marathon were later challenged, as by Sthenelaidas, as justification for Hellenic imperial hegemony: 'people who were good (χρηστοί) then might be worse now and those who were bad (φλαῦροι) then might be better now'.

It is noteworthy that both Herodotus and Thucydides express so much of the eagerness for, and the flawed nature of, these respective expeditions through the speeches of major characters. In the case of the frenzied desire for empire, this is achieved through the speeches of Xerxes (H 7.8.α-δ2), Mardonius (H 7.9) and Alcibiades (T 6.16-18). Articulation of the expeditions' disasters, meanwhile, both potential and actual, is conveyed to a great extent through the speeches of Artabanus (H 7.10, 16) and Nicias (T 6.9-14, 20-23; 7.11-15, 69.2, 77).[450]

Both Mardonius and Alcibiades, using similar language and sentiment, make the serious mistake of underestimating their enemy at a number of points in their speeches, the most striking strategically being their unthinking reliance on pure numbers as a determinant of power: Mardonius (7.9.α1) asks 'what strength in numbers? ... We know their power to be weak' (κοίην πλήθεος συστροφήν; ... ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα);[451] Alcibiades (7.17.5) professes to know that they (the Sicilians) 'do not have as many hoplites as they boast' (καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁπλῖται ... ἐκείνοις ὅσοιπερ κομποῦνται), and advises his countrymen (7.17.2) 'not to think that you are sailing against a great power' (τὸν ... πλοῦν μὴ μεταγιγνώσκετε ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλην δύναμιν ἐσομένον). Further criticism of their enemies descends, in both accounts, to virtual ridicule: Mardonius (7.9.β1) shows his disdain for Greek battle tactics as being 'very ill-advised' (ἀβουλότατα), arising from 'ignorance and stupidity' (ὑπό τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος). Likewise Alcibiades

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[450]See pp. 213-15 above for an outline of the similar over-optimistic attitude towards expansionism and conquest held by Xerxes, Mardonius and Alcibiades, and the comparable cautionary characteristics of Artabanus and Nicias. Rood (op.cit. 142-3) remarks generally upon the relationship between the Nicias/Alcibiades debate and that between Mardonius and Artabanus.

[451]Cf. similar circumstances in H's speeches: at 5.49.8, Aristagoras tempts Cleomenes with an 'easy' conquest of parts of the Persian empire; at 7.101.2, Xerxes expresses his belief in the weakness of the Greek cities; at 7.103.3-4, Xerxes refuses to take in Demaratus' insistence that the Greeks will put up a strong resistance.

(T 7.17.2 & 4), disparagingly, declares a Sicilian lack of unity and weakness of purpose: 'their cities are populated by disparate crowds (ὄχλοις) of all sorts of people … such a mob (ὄμιλον) are unlikely to obey a single command or to act together in concert'.

Further similarities within the context of the link between the Persian Wars and the Sicilian Expedition also come to light in the Speeches through the words of Xerxes (H 7.8.α-δ2) and Alcibiades (7.16-18), as they express their motives for foreign invasion. Although the portraits of both characters are complex,[452] these motives can be seen to fall into four interconnected categories: (i) immediate pretext, (ii) ancestral precedence, (iii) choice between expansion or atrophy, (iv) personal ambition.

(i) Xerxes' initially (7.8.β3) mentions the punishment of Athens as a prime reason for the invasion of Greece. There are two disasters to be avenged, both the responsibility, in Xerxes' eyes, of the Athenians: first (πρῶτα) at Sardis, where 'they burned the sacred groves and sanctuaries' (ἐνέπρησαν τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά); and secondly (δεύτερα) at Marathon, where (and here Xerxes does not dare to mention defeat) 'you all know very well what they did' (οἷα ἔρξαν … [τὰ] ἐπίστασθέ κου πάντες).

Alcibiades' immediate pretext for sending an expedition to Sicily is to fulfil an Athenian obligation to support Sicilian allies. This, he argues with strong rhetoric (6.18.1), is an inescapable duty, 'since we clearly swore an oath on it' (ἐπειδή γε καὶ ξυνωμόσαμεν). But Alcibiades' real intentions were not unknown to his enemies: although they make no specific mention of Alcibiades personally, Thucydides allows other important personalities to provide testimony as to the real motives and ambitions of Athens in regard to Sicily.[453] Hermocrates, for example, at 6.33.2, warns that their pretext (πρόφασιν) is alliance with Egesta, but in reality they come 'in their desire for Sicily and our city in particular' (Σικελίας ἐπιθυμίᾳ, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως); and again at 6.76.2, 'they come with a pretext (προφάσει) which you know, but with an intention (διανοίᾳ) we all suspect'; Gyllipus, at 7.66.2,

[452]See Chapter 9 on Characterisation.
[453]As Harrison (2000, 85) points out.

reaffirms the Athenian intention to enslave (καταδουλώσει) first Sicily, 'then the Peloponnese, then all Hellas'.

(ii) Xerxes, as an hereditary monarch, is conscious of his duty to his ancestors as well as to his people and, ostensibly, declares (7.8.β2) that he will capture and destroy Athens on behalf of Darius and all Persians: ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνου (Δαρείου) καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων (my brackets).

Alcibiades also displays a consciousness of his own heritage and that of his city; partly when he begins his reply to Nicias' attack on his eligibility to command (6.16.1) by protesting that the very accusations levelled against him (ταῦτα) in fact 'bring glory to myself and my forbears as well as benefit to the state': τοῖς μὲν προγόνοις μου καὶ ἐμοὶ δόξαν φέρει ταῦτα, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι καὶ ὠφελίαν; partly when he reminds his audience (6.17.7) that their fathers (οἱ γὰρ πατέρες) built an empire from naval power in the face of Persian and Peloponnesian opposition.

(iii) Harrison (2000, 84) summarises the common argument of both protagonists of the need to continue their conquests by describing Xerxes and Alcibiades as 'two impetuous young men ... translating imperial expansion into a matter of survival'. Indeed, the similarity between the foreign policies of the two leaders is striking. The nub of Alcibiades' argument (6.18. 2-3) is that the principal enemy of Athens in the situation she has reached, i.e. that of an imperial hegemon, is τὸ ἥσυχον (inaction): to do nothing is to invite domination by others.

Xerxes' overall strategy is similar but, befitting his superior status, is on a much grander scale and stated more positively and more ambitiously (7.8.γ2): in order to prevent any future opposition he will extend Persian territory to the sky's end by annexing all of Greece to his own land and 'sweeping through the whole of Europe' (διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης).

(iv) Even without further reference to these speeches we can be fairly sure that an element of private ambition exists in the respective plans for the conquest of Greece and Sicily. However, in the case of Xerxes, any doubt on this score is surely eliminated when he introduces a personal note into his reasoning at 7.8.α2:

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ἐφρόντιζον ὅκως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερων γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι ('I began to think how I wouldn't be left behind by my predecessors, or acquire any less power than they').

Although no such explicit personal statement is forthcoming from Alcibiades at this point in the narrative, we should note the self-congratulatory tone of the broader passage I referred to above (6.18), which, together with Thucydides' introductory authorial comment (6.15.2) that Alcibiades was 'in hopes of capturing Sicily and thereby even Carthage' (ἐλπίζων Σικελίαν τε δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ Καρχηδόνα λήψεσθαι), reinforces the idea of a personal, if not entirely private, agenda. However, there is greater conclusive evidence of such if we look at Alcibiades' later speech at Sparta (6.90.2-3), in which he reveals that the true Athenian ambition was not only to subdue Sicily but Italy as well, and then to conquer Carthage and her empire. Although he uses the 'we' form here (ἐπλεύσαμεν, δυναίμεθα, ἐμέλλομεν), it is not difficult to infer that Alcibiades' had close personal interests in the affair, especially as, in the context, he had nothing to lose in pouring out his frustrations to his erstwhile enemies.

Hornblower's Hypothesis

Hornblower's (1992) article 'Thucydides' Use of Herodotus'[454] contains a challenging question: 'Do the speeches in Thucydides contain any major item of information about earlier history, i.e. about the periods covered by Herodotus, which is not also known to us from Herodotus?' Hornblower goes further in his commentary[455] when he states that, if the answer to this original question is 'no', 'then there is surely a *prima facie* case for supposing that in speeches Thucydides was to an unusual degree dependent on Herodotus for his material about the past.' This statement backs up a hypothesis which he had made in his original article that 'Thucydides' speeches follow Herodotus when dealing with the past.' This in turn was the second of two hypotheses relevant to us concerning the relationship between the *Histories*, the first of which, 'Thucydides assumes knowledge of Herodotus', I have already acceded

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[454]Reprinted in *CT*, ii, introd. Annex A, 112-137.
[455]Op.cit. 25.

to,[456] as have most modern analysts and commentators. A notable exception is Kennelly (1992), who denies that Thucydides had any knowledge of Herodotus,[457] a notion against which Hornblower argues convincingly,[458] and one with which I find myself also in disagreement. However, I shall provide my own reply to Kennelly's thesis as a result of the analysis I undertake in this chapter.

The object of this chapter is to investigate the extent to which the speeches in Thucydides are paralleled intertextually with Herodotean passages of speech, or passages of narrative with associated speech, specifically with regard to knowledge of historical events. A list of possible parallels is to be found in *CT* ii, 137-145. This investigation will incidentally show up those speech passages, if any, in Thucydides, which are dependent on Herodotus for material relating to the past, and thereby help to provide evidence towards proving or disproving Hornblower's hypothesis stated above.

Although I do not agree entirely with Kennelly's thesis, I do submit that Thucydides was not wholly dependent on Herodotus for his information on pre-479 history. There were other possible sources available, not only the logographers, lyricists and dramatists that we know of,[459] but also the wealth of personal and collective memory that would still have been current in Athens at the time Thucydides was beginning to collect[460] material for his *History*. This was in 431, if we are to believe his proemic statement (1.1) that he began his account 'immediately the war started' (ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου), or possibly earlier if he saw the war coming. Even if he had not begun writing up his work until after the end of the war in 404, or later, as many scholars now believe,[461] he would surely have continued to collect material during the preceding twenty-seven years of the action. How else could he have

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[456]See my introduction above (p.14).
[457]Cf. Kennelly (1994, 1): '(T) worked largely, if not entirely, in independence (or even 'ignorance') of Herodotus'. Kennelly is not entirely alone in this belief: for a list of nineteenth century doubters see Jebb (1973, 233 n.1).
[458]*CT* ii, 25-37.
[459]See Chapters 3 and 4 above.
[460]This is my take on T's use of ξυνέγραψε, the ξυν of which implies that he 'gathered' information together first and then wrote it up. I believe this supports very closely the view that T was most likely collecting material throughout the twenty-seven years of the war, beginning in 431.
[461]See p.14 and n.21 above.

hoped to back up the prognosis (1.1) that his war was going to be 'more noteworthy than all that had gone before' (ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων)?

This accepted, although many of the generation who saw action in the Persian Wars may have died, those who could possibly have been present at, say, Salamis or Plataea would only have reached the age of 68 by 431, or 78 by 421. Life expectancy in Athens in the fifth century was not so short as to admit the impossibility of some veterans of the wars against the Persian invader having survived to recount such a memorable tale, either from personal experience or derived from others slightly senior to themselves, to anyone interested enough to listen; and Thucydides certainly comes into that category. In any case, the stories would also have been passed on, perhaps with a few exaggerations and inaccuracies, by the Persian War generation to their sons and daughters, that is to say to Thucydides' generation. So the likelihood is that he grew up listening to them just as I, who was born in 1945, was brought up with countless tales from my parents, and friends of my parents, about incidents to do with the Second World War. How much more likely, then, is it that, in an oral culture such as that of fifth-century Athens,[462] the memories of an event regarded with such fierce patriotic pride as the saving of the Greek world should be passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth, and that Thucydides, as an interested observer, should have been in a position to receive them?

I have reproduced below the list from *CT* ii, 137-145, which cites the passages from both authors considered to be parallel. I have selected only those passages from Thucydides which refer to speech and I have created two lists. In my List A Thucydidean speech passages are matched against supposed parallel Herodotean speech events or items; in List B they are matched against parallel narrative, or narrative plus related speech, passages from Herodotus. The items in the lists are numbered consecutively. A brief note on the right-hand side describes the context, followed in brackets by any related speech or narrative passage referred to in my

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[462]Cf. Chapter 2 above.

analysis. The text references in **bold** denote Thucydides, those in plain denote Herodotus.

A Speech events or items in Thucydides paralleled (=) to similar in Herodotus

1.	**1.32.1&4** = 7.168	Corcyrean isolationism (cf. H 7.145)
2.	**1.69.5** = 7.157,1	Xerxes' army from all Asia
3.	**1.74.1** = 8.60β	Salamis fought in 'narrow waters'
4.	**1.74.3** = 8.61.1	Athens, ' a city which did not exist'
5.	**1.80-85** = 7.10	Archidamus and Artabanus as 'warners'
6.	**1.137.4** = 8.75 & 110.3	Themistocles' letter
7.	**2.39.4** = 7.104	νόμος
8.	**2.41.1** = 1.32.8	self-sufficiency
9.	**2.62.1f.** = 7.49	imperialism/land and sea
10.	**3.55.1** = 6.108.2-3	Plataean rejection by Cleomenes in 519
11.	**3.62.3** = 5.92α1	'a form of government...'
12.	**3.64.3** = 5.80.1	Thebes-Aegina link
13.	**4.61.5** = 7.8α	rule of the stronger (**5.104**)
14.	**4.62.4** = 3.36,1	προμηθία/ προμηθίη
15.	**5.65.2** = 3.53.4	κακὸν κακῷ ἰᾶσθαι/ μῆ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ
16.	**5.104** = 8.143	Melian trust in the gods
17.	**5.105.2** = 7.8α	rule of the stronger (**4.61.5**)
18.	**6.9-18** = 7.8-18	Sicily debate/Xerxes' attack on Athens
19.	**6.18.7** = 7.8α	expansion (Alcibiades/Xerxes)
20.	**6.18.7** = 3.82.5	use of νόμος
21.	**6.33.5** = 8.109.2-4	preventing withdrawal of invader.

B Speech events/items in Thucydides which are paralleled to a narrative, or narrative + speech, passage in Herodotus

22.	**1.41.2** = 6.89	Corinthian loan of 20 ships to Athens (5.93; 6.108.2-3)
23.	**1.74.1** = 8.44,48 & 61	number of Athenian ships at Salamis (7.144.1)
24.	**1.74.1** = 7.139. 3-4 & 144.2	Themistocles saved the Peloponnese

25.	**1.75.2** = 8.3.2	beginning of the Delian League
26.	**1.128.7** = 5.32	Pausanias' marriage offer
27.	**2.12.3** = 5.30.1 & 97.3	ἀρχὴ κακῶν (6.67.2-3)
28.	**2.41.4** = proem	marvelling
29.	**3.58.5** = 9.61.3	Plataean gods (Hera) invoked in 479
30.	**3.62.2** = 9.86-87	Theban medising (9.87.1-2)
31.	**5.89ff**. = 8.111	Melian Dialogue (8.111.2-3)
32.	**5.112.2** = 2.145.4	date of foundation of Melos
33.	**6.76.3-77** = 1.169.1 & 6.32	slavery theme
34.	**6.76.3** = 8.3.2	beginning of Delian League (cf. **1.75.2**)
35.	**6.82.4** = 8.85.1	Ionians betrayed Athens in 480
36.	**6.89.4** = 6.123.1	Alcibiades' family (Alcmaeonids) as tyrant-haters.

I shall deal with each of these 36 examples in turn, indicating how closely I believe Thucydides' account follows or depends upon that of Herodotus.

<u>List A</u>

1.   In the issue of Corcyrean isolationism, their ambassadors to Athens confirm this general historical policy in their speech before the Athenian assembly at **1.32.1&4** by referring to their isolationism as ἄλογον (irrational) and ἀξύμφορον (inexpedient), and this is, indeed, how it would probably have appeared to the Athenians in 431, when the possibility of an alliance with the second most powerful navy in Greece would have seemed attractive. In the account of Herodotus, the Corcyreans are seen to be hedging their bets before the battle of Salamis by promising ships, then not sending them but communicating instead with Xerxes (7.168.1-3). But there is nothing to suggest that Thucydides may owe his account to this of Herodotus except the phrase ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ('in former times'). It is just possible that Thucydides may have the previous incident in mind but not necessarily that of Herodotus, I would suggest, as the embassy of the Hellenes to both Sicily and Corcyra prior to Salamis would have been a well-known historical event at Athens. Therefore there is only the faint possibility of an echo here.

2.   Another celebrated fact is referred to by Thucydides at **1.69.5** and by Herodotus at 7.157.1, namely that the army of Xerxes was raised from all Asia. The words used by Thucydides are ἐκ περάτων γῆς (from the furthest parts of the earth) and by Herodotus πάντα τὸν ἠῷον στρατὸν (the whole of [his] eastern army). Again, it is stretching a point to say that Thucydides needed to rely on Herodotus' account to be reminded of this well-known fact. Kennelly (1992,7) also makes the additional point, which could argue against dependence, that Thucydides' language here is prosaic whereas Herodotus' is elaborate, even poetic (e.g. ἠῷον), and that Herodotus typically refers to the invader as a person (Πέρσης ἀνὴρ ... i.e. Xerxes), whereas Thucydides uses the more general τὸν Μῆδον.

3.   Perhaps slightly less well-known to Athenians of Thucydides' day would have been the fact that the battle of Salamis was fought 'in narrow waters'. This is referred to by Thucydides at **1.74.1** (ἐν τῷ στενῷ) and twice by Herodotus through the mouth of Themistocles at 8.60β (ἐν στεινῷ). There is, therefore, some credibility in the argument that Thucydides adopted Herodotus' phrase; but why then did he add the definite article? Was it in order to emphasise the idea that, by his time, it was indeed a well-known fact that the battle was fought in *the* narrows? If this is true, then it seems that Thucydides did not need to rely on Herodotus for the *historicity* of this piece of information but was merely, at most, echoing his turn of phrase.

4.   The paralleling of the statement by the Athenian envoys to Sparta at **1.74.3** with that of the remark by Adeimantus, the Corinthian, in his challenge to Themistocles at 8.61.1 may well be based upon the same historical event, namely the abandonment of their city by the Athenians in the face of the Persian invasion of 480-479. This, however, is the total sum of any similarity between the two accounts that I can detect. Herodotus refers to the personal insult, directed by Adeimantus at Themistocles, that he was stateless (ἄπολις) and, therefore, by implication powerless, whereas the remark by the Athenian envoys was made in order to remind the Spartans of the Athenians' territorial sacrifice and the Peloponnesian tardiness in lending support at Salamis. The difference in intention and purpose between these

two references renders it unlikely that their relationship is anything more than coincidental.

5.   Hornblower has accredited the parallelism between the speech of Archidamus at **1.80-85** and that of Artabanus at 7.10 as strong. They can both be designated as 'wise adviser' type speeches.[463] However, although this genre is very common in Herodotus and well recognised as such by scholars as thematic, there are only four other characters in Thucydides, apart from Archidamus, whom I can equate with Herodotus' 'wise adviser' type: Nicias, Alcibiades, Phrynichus and Teutiaplus.[464] Of these only Nicias who, in his two speeches to the Athenian assembly in 415, warns against the advice of Alcibiades on the question of the proposed invasion of Sicily, can truly be said to be 'tragic' in anything approaching the Herodotean sense, and only then because of the eventual disastrous outcome of the expedition in which he himself was involved. In Herodotus, the tragic figure is invariably the receiver of the warning and not the giver. I therefore find it difficult to argue that Thucydides owed this particular characterisation to Herodotus or even 'followed' him. It is more likely that his reason for giving Archidamus this speech was to show up the deficiencies in the Spartan war plan and to contrast it with the more considered strategy of Pericles, whereas the warning of Artabanus and its attendant speeches (7.10.α-θ3) are intended by the author to highlight the weaknesses in Xerxes' character as much as in his military strategy.

6.   **1.137.4** puts into speech format the letter of Themistocles sent to Artaxerxes reminding him of Themistocles' good services to Artaxerxes' father, Xerxes, when he warned Xerxes to retreat from Salamis, while at the same time telling him that the bridges over the Hellespont would not be destroyed thanks to his, Themistocles', orders. There are two passages in Herodotus to which this account purportedly refers. The first is at 8.75.2-3, which is about a warning given to Xerxes concerning the impending retreat of the Greeks from Salamis, which, if it had been true, would have put the whole of Hellas in danger. For this reason it is thought by some that Themistocles could not in fact have sent this message. In reality, of course, the

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[463]Cf. Pelling 1991.
[464]Cf. Chapter 9, pp. 218ff, where I identify and discuss 78 speeches of this type.

message was a ruse designed to lure Xerxes into advancing on Salamis and destroying the Hellenic fleet while he had the chance.[465]

The second passage, at 8.110.3, refers to a message from Themistocles to Xerxes given by his servant Siccinus to the effect that Xerxes may now safely retreat from Europe as Themistocles has forbidden the Hellespontine bridges to be broken. The second passage clearly refers directly to the same event as the Thucydidean passage, while the first clearly does not. However, all three passages have in common the effect of illustrating the deceitfulness of Themistocles' character or, if one wishes to be more charitable, his cunning: Thucydides uses the phrase ἣν ψευδῶς προσποιήσατο ('which he disingenuously lied about') when referring to Themistocles' message to Xerxes. In this instance I find it quite possible that Thucydides derived his account from Herodotus even though the event was, like the previous examples, well celebrated, for two reasons: first, the part of the *History* in which this passage occurs is a diversion, in which the fate of Pausanias and Themistocles is being described, and not part of the mainstream account. Thus Thucydides may have felt inclined to rely upon Herodotus as being the most up-to-date and reliable source available, as far as we know. The second reason is that the accounts are very similar in tone with respect to Themistocles' subterfuge and blatant self-interest. Gomme (*HCT* i, 441) does point to a difference between the two speeches (the Herodotean was sent from Andros, the Thucydidean from Salamis), as well as indicating that Thucydides may be following a different authority and perhaps be correcting Herodotus.

But in other respects the two versions agree, particularly in respect of my second reason, the emphasis on the deceitfulness of Themistocles. Although Herodotus does not condemn him as blatantly as Thucydides, he does make it clear that it was Themistocles' original idea to destroy the Hellespontine bridge, but that it was Eurybiades and the Peloponnesian generals who decided against it (8.108.2-4). Themistocles then went on to persuade the Athenians to let the Persians escape

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[465]As is correctly noted by Gomme (*HCT* i, 440-441), although he does also believe that T is following this first passage in H, which refers to the 'impending retreat of the Greeks from Salamis' (τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως), a belief which I do not share.

from Europe (8.109.2-4) in order to ingratiate himself with Xerxes. There is, then, a close fit between the two passages, which could be construed as more than coincidental.

7. I do not understand how the passage from the Funeral Oration of Pericles (**2.39.4**) and Demaratus' speech to Xerxes (7.104) can be thought to be closely comparable.[466] True, both make reference to νόμος, but in contrasting ways. While Thucydides, through Pericles, is saying that Athenians follow the 'ways of manhood', i.e. 'do things naturally', and therefore do not need artificial laws to motivate themselves (μὴ μετὰ νόμων), Demaratus, in his capacity as 'wise adviser', is telling Xerxes that the Spartans fear their law more than Xerxes' men fear him. I do not feel that Thucydides needed to make any conscious allusion to Herodotus' passage here in order to have Pericles bring out the contrast between the Athenian and the Spartan character and way of life, if indeed that is what he is doing. This would have been sufficiently well known both to those hearing Pericles' speech and to Thucydides' readers or hearers. Thus a parallel or dependence here is only a remote possibility.

8. In his speech to Croesus on the subject of who is the happiest of men, Solon asserts at 1.32.8 that nobody can be completely self-sufficient but that what some have, others lack. Thucydides also, in Pericles' ἐπιτάφιος (**2.35-46**), refers to self-sufficiency (**2.41.1**). What makes it credible that Thucydides may here be echoing Herodotus is not just his use of the word αὔταρκες (self-sufficient) but its qualification of σῶμα (body). It is this reference by Pericles to Athenians offering their bodies as being self-sufficient (τὸ σῶμα αὔταρκες παρέχεσθαι) that leads me to think this may be a borrowing from Herodotus.[467] In the case of Herodotus, Solon refers generally to the human body (ἀνθρώπου σῶμα), which, he says, is not self-sufficient but relies on others, since no one person can have everything he needs to make him prosperous. Pericles, on the other hand, is challenging the teaching of his distinguished forbear by asserting that Athens' strength lies in the very individual autonomy and self-reliance that Solon denies. That Solon is stating a negative, and

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[466]Thus Macleod (1983, 145), who claims 'Pericles trumps the Herodotean Demaratus'.
[467]Macleod (1983, 151-2) agrees.

Pericles a positive, case does not detract from the likelihood of this being an echo, and it may be yet another example of Thucydidean antithesis.[468]

Another parallel between the speeches of Solon and Pericles is missed by Hornblower but remarked upon by Gomme (*HCT* ii, 140-141). This is the similarity in sentiments expressed both by Pericles (**2.44.1**) and by Solon (1.32.9) on the subject of what constitutes a blessing in life. Solon's point is that a 'good' death is only part of a good life, but nevertheless necessary for a man to be counted ὄλβιος. Similarly Pericles, in the Funeral Oration, comforts the bereaved of Athens with the thought that they can share the good fortune (τὸ εὐτυχές) of their fallen relatives who have died a noble death.

9. At 7.49 Artabanus warns Xerxes that he will encounter two enemies in attacking Greece, the land and the sea (γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα). By this he means that if Xerxes' army strays too much from its home bases into Europe (by land) it may not be able to feed itself, and that the fleet will not be able to supply it or transport it, if the supply line becomes overstretched or cut off by enemy action. Sound advice, and another example of the 'wise adviser' characterisation in Herodotus, but hardly a parallel one would think with Pericles' assertion at **2.62.2** that his fellow citizens can take comfort from the strength of their navy which allows them to go anywhere (by sea), in contrast to the Peloponnesians who, although superior in power on land, are limited in their scope of operations.

True, there is in both passages mention of the two environments. But Artabanus combines them into a single potential enemy to express a warning, whereas Pericles distinguishes between them in order to assuage the anger of the Athenians directed towards him as a result of his surrendering of their farms and country estates to the enemy. This he does by emphasising the strategic naval advantage the Athenians have over their adversaries.

Thus, there are only two similarities between the two passages that I can detect, neither of which supports the notion that Thucydides owed a historical fact or

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[468]See my Chapter 5, pp. 142ff.

reference here to Herodotus. One similarity is the juxtaposition of the two words 'land' and 'sea', at face value no more than a coincidence, unless one considers the other similarity, the persuasive intention of either speaker, in which case it could be argued that the combining of the two ideas, although commonplace in a purely literary context, creates in these passages a resonant antithesis which carries some rhetorical force.[469]

10. This paralleled passage concerns the Plataeans and is, I believe, a good illustration of how Thucydides may have followed Herodotus historically in his speeches. In their plea to their Spartan judges following the fall of their city at **3.55.1**, the Plataeans justify their alliance with Athens on the grounds that earlier, in 519, they had approached Cleomenes, then king of Sparta, with a view to an alliance against the threat of their neighbours Thebes. The approach was rejected, the Plataeans say, by Cleomenes, who explained that he could not guarantee that Sparta could muster a force in time to assist due to the distance between Sparta and Boeotia: Athens was nearer and would afford a better prospect as an ally, he argued. 6.108.2-3 has a short speech by Cleomenes using the same argument, although with the help of more colourful language, when he explains that any assistance the Spartans might give would be ἐπικουρίη ψυχρή ('cold comfort'). There is a good reason to suppose that Thucydides might have derived knowledge of this event from Herodotus as it is likely to have been less well known by Thucydides' time, having occurred 88 years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War and before the Persian Wars. Hornblower (*CT* ii, 131) concurs.[470]

11. At **3.62.3** the Thebans reply to the accusation of the Plataeans that they medised while the Plataeans remained loyal to the Greek cause by arguing that Thebes was under a tyrannical regime at the time and medised against the wishes of the majority of her citizens. At 5.92α1, Socles the Corinthian cynically challenges the Spartans to adopt a tyranny at home, since it seems they are so willing to impose it upon others. Both speeches provide strong anti-tyrannical statements, in a forensic situation in the case of the Thebans and, in Socles' case, in reply to a general Spartan request to

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[469]Cf. Connor (1984, 70 n.4), who notes 'an ominous echo' of H's passage in T.
[470]Cf. also *CT* i, 448-9.

other Greek cities to support their attempt to foil the perceived Alcmaeonid bid for power by reinstating the Peisistratid Hippias to the tyranny of Athens in 504. The strength of feeling expressed in these speeches may or may not provide sufficient evidence that both historians were opposed to tyranny as a form of government,[471] but it does not show that Thucydides necessarily owed this view to his predecessor: Alcmaeonid type anti-tyrannical government was well established at Athens by the time both historians were writing.

12. In the same speech (**3.64.3**) the Thebans go on to accuse the Plataeans of harming other Hellenes through their alliance with Athens, in particular Aegina, with whom Athens had long been in dispute. At 5.80.1, the Thebans decide to interpret an oracle as meaning that they should ally with Aegina in order to exact revenge on Athens for their defeats in Boeotia in 506. There is, however, no mention of Plataea in this passage unless the oracle intended Plataea to be included among those 'closest' to the Thebans: if so, Herodotus does not include them in the list of Thebes' neighbouring cities. If he had, it may have shown that Thebes thought it worthwhile to conclude an alliance with Plataea against Athens, which would not have been the case if Plataea had been allied with Athens against Aegina. The absence of Plataea from the list may be an oversight by Herodotus, or it may infer that, unlike the Tanagrans, the Coronaeans and the Thespians, all of whom *are* mentioned, the Plataeans never fought, or did not always fight, on the side of Thebes. It is just possible from this omission to infer that Thucydides picked up the origins of the Thebes-Plataea enmity from Herodotus. But it is often dangerous to argue *ex silentio*.

To be exact, the claim is that this parallel is evidence that Thucydides obtained the idea of an historical link between Thebes and Aegina rather than of hostility between Thebes and Plataea.[472] For this there is some circumstantial evidence but, again, it would have been well known to Athenians, without Herodotus' input, who Aegina's

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[471]In fact, in H's case much better proof is supplied at 5.78 where H says authorially that the Athenians were made strong in war by having an equal voice in government (ἰσηγορίη) and by getting rid of tyranny (ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων).

[472]Cf. *CT* i, 459.

allies, and therefore Athens' enemies, were in the long struggle between the two cities.

13. Hermocrates, described by Thucydides as the most persuasive of the Syracusans, does not blame the Athenians for wishing to rule the Sicilians at **4.61.5** since 'it is in men's nature to rule those who submit to them': πέφυκε γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ... ἄρχειν ... τοῦ εἴκοντος. We are invited to go to another speech in Thucydides, at **5.104** by way of comparison, the statement of the Athenian ambassadors in the Melian dialogue: 'it is in the nature of gods and men to rule wherever they have power' (τό τε θεῖον ... τὸ ἀνθρώπειόν τε ... οὖ ἂν κρατῇ, ἄρχειν). Along with this, at 7.8α, we have Xerxes' statement that 'the gods guide us (the Persians) and ensure things turn out well for us' (my brackets) in the context of extending the Persian empire into Europe and of gaining revenge on Athens.

Here I feel that the two Thucydidean passages owe more to each other, which is unsurprising, than either one to the passage from Herodotus. In Hermocrates' case it is the potential victim rather than the aspiring victor who makes the, perhaps surprising, admission that the strong have a right to rule. One is not so surprised that this sentiment is expressed either by the Athenians in the Melian dialogue or by the ambitious Xerxes. As for a parallel, it is more in the theme, that of empire and expansionism (τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν), that we see Thucydides following Herodotus' lead here. As has been well explained, especially by de Romilly (1963), the imperial ambition of a succession of Persian kings from Cyrus to Xerxes described by Herodotus becomes, in Thucydides, the imperial ambition of Athens. Surely, however, this is too large and too obvious a theme, pervading the whole of both *Histories*, for us to believe that Thucydides derived it solely from Herodotus.[473]

14. Croesus advises Cambyses not to commit outrageous atrocities such as burying twelve Persian nobles alive up to their heads but to exercise προμηθίη ('forethought') (3.36.1). Hermocrates, in the same speech as the last example (**4.62.4**), tells the conference of Sicilian states at Syracuse that the uncalculable element of the future (τὸ δὲ ἀστάθμητον τοῦ μέλλοντος) is best combated by our

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[473]Contra Connor (1984, 156), who describes the H passage as a 'parallel'. Cf. also Immerwahr (1966, 322 n.40), who notes a 'similarity', and Cornford (1907, 182), who refers to a 'reminiscence'.

using προμηθία when embarking upon any enterprise. The link must be unlikely on the basis of one word which is not uncommon (cf. LSJ, 1489).[474]

15. The phrase κακὸν κακῷ ἰᾶσθαι at **5.65.2** is 'clearly a proverbial phrase' according to Andrewes,[475] and he compares it with μῆ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ at 3.53.4. If the expression is indeed proverbial, as seems very probable, there is no reason to suppose that Thucydides is following Herodotus here or relying on him to supply it, as it would have been common currency. Despite this, the contexts in which the phrases are used are similar; both are employed in an attempt to persuade, even if one is expressed positively and the other negatively. In the Thucydides example a veteran Spartan soldier is trying to persuade Agis to attack a strong Argive position to make up for his retreat from Argos, in other words 'to cure one evil with another'. The Herodotean passage is spoken by Periander's daughter, who has been sent by him to persuade his son Lycophron, who up till now has obstinately refused, to return to Corinth to prevent his father being deposed; the words are best translated 'do not try to cure one evil with another'. Therefore, an intertextual link here is only a possibility.

16. Both the Melians at **5.104** and the Athenians at 8.143 affirm their trust in the gods, the Melians that the gods will bring them justice, the Athenians that they will rely on the gods and will never form an alliance with the Great King; in other words, they make avowals to or about the gods, but for different reasons and different purposes. Although Thucydides does not give us the impression of being a pious person himself or make as frequent references to divine matters as Herodotus, he does recognise the importance of religion within individual Greek communities and often makes mention of certain religious festivals: e.g. at Sparta, the Carneia (**5.75.2**) and the Hyacynthia (**5.23.4**); at Athens, the Panathenaea (**6.56.2**), the Dionysia (**5.23.4**), and the Eleusinian Mysteries (**8.53**). I therefore see no reason to suppose

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[474]Connor (1984, 125 n.37) notes this earlier use but does not claim any link.
[475]*HCT* iv, 97.

that Thucydides owes this affirmation of belief in the gods in the Melian dialogue to that of the Athenians in response to the offer of Mardonius.[476]

17. See 13

18. I have no argument against the idea that, on a large scale, the debate in the Athenian assembly between Nicias and Alcibiades at **6.9-18** parallels the discussion at the Persian council where Xerxes' proposes his attack on Greece (7.8-18). They are both to do with massive expeditions, which could decide the fate of their respective nations. However, I do not think that this really tells us much beyond the fact, which we already knew, that both *Histories* are concerned with major wars. Moreover, the two scenarii depicted in these speech events are politically very different. The final decision regarding the Persian expedition rests with one all-powerful man, Xerxes, whereas Nicias and Alcibiades, however well they may argue their respective cases, are subject to the will of a sovereign people's assembly. Additionally, in the Persian case there are three viewpoints put forward, those of Mardonius and Artabanus as well as that of Xerxes, as opposed to two at Athens.

Again, if we extend the parallel to 7.18 in Herodotus, as Hornblower proposes, we must include the dream sequence involving Xerxes, Artabanus and the mysterious tall and handsome apparition, to which there is no parallel in Thucydides. I should, therefore, prefer to limit the parameters under discussion to those parts devoted to the speeches of Alcibiades (**6.18.7**) and Xerxes (7.8α).

19. Looking, then, at these two speeches we find a distinct similarity of theme, namely the expansion of empire as the activity of an already powerful state. There is still, however, an important difference between the two situations. Xerxes' motivation is twofold: a desire to emulate or outdo his predecessors, coupled with the need to punish the Athenians for their support of the Ionian revolt and the burning of Sardis. Alcibiades (**6.18.7**), for his part, speaks of the dangers of ἀπραγμοσύνη ('inactivity'): a change to this state of affairs, he says, is the swiftest way for a city not previously infected to come to destruction (πόλιν μὴ ἀπράγμονα

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[476]Connor (1984, 156-7) notes a resemblance between the two passages; also Deininger (1939, repr. 1987), *Der Melier-Dialog*, diss, Erlangen.

τάχιστ' ἄν ... ἀπραγμοσύνης μεταβολῇ διαφθαρῆναι). He uses this as his prime argument for going ahead with the Sicilian expedition. This match I find perhaps the most convincing of those put forward by Hornblower, since Thucydides can hardly have failed to see the parallel between the imperial ambitions of Persia and those of Athens half a century later. It would have been a short step from here for Thucydides to recognise in the character of Alcibiades the self-confidence and arrogance of a Xerxes, and then have him make the kind of rhetorical tour-de-force which would have been necessary to win over the popular Athenian vote.

20. Again at **6.18.7** Alcibiades advocates that Athens live up to her existing institutions and customs (νόμοις), that is to say continue to develop her empire, in order to avoid stagnation. Darius, in his apology for monarchy at 3.82.5, similarly advises that the Persians should not let go of their ancestral customs (πατρίους νόμους) which are fine as they are (ἔχοντας εὖ). Does this tell us any more than that different cultures share a common respect for custom and tradition? I think not, and should not be inclined to imagine that Thucydides needed Herodotus to make him aware of this historical truism.[477]

21. The final match in List A is between the remarks of Hermocrates at **6.33.5** and those of Themistocles at 8.109.2-4. Hermocrates says the Athenian armada is so big that it may not be able to feed itself, and that it will create so much fear among the Sicilian cities that they will then unite against it. Themistocles' point is that such a large army as the Persian should be allowed to escape while it has a mind to, lest it renew itself and fight on (ἀναμάχεσθαι). Both refer to the problems of large armies and how to deal tactically with them. However, the military situations are quite different in kind. In Thucydides' account the Athenian armada has not arrived and is only, as yet, a distant threat. Hermocrates, then, is speaking of a hypothetical situation, which may or may not arise. Themistocles, on the other hand, is speaking after the battle of Salamis, proposing a plan, to allow the enemy to escape, which is not his and which he hopes will buy him favour with Xerxes. To say, therefore, that

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[477]We could as well propose a parallel between this T passage and H 7.8α (see case 13 above).

Thucydides is following Herodotus' account here is surely stretching a point too far.[478]

List B

22. In the case of the Corinthian loan[479] of 20 ships to Athens, the Corinthians in **1.41.2** remind the Athenians emphatically that 'you took' (ἐλάβετε) 20 ships from Corinth. In the Herodotean version (6. 89) the Athenians apparently requested a loan of ships which the Corinthians gave them (διδοῦσι) but charged them five drachmas each for them (πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι). Thucydides may possibly be correcting Herodotus here; at any rate the passage is good evidence that he was aware of Herodotus.[480] But, as Gomme notes (*HCT* i, 175), this favour is surely less important than the services rendered by the Corinthians to Athens in c.504 when they prevailed upon the Spartans not to restore the tyrant Hippias at Athens (5.93), or when they intervened in the dispute between Thebes and Athens over Plataea (6.108.2-3).

Why, then, does Thucydides prefer to put a lesser argument into the mouths of the Corinthian envoys to the Athenian assembly when they could so easily have amplified their case? Perhaps, as Gomme suggests,[481] Thucydides rejected Herodotus' account of the conference at Sparta of 504 as untrue. In which case, one wonders how many other accounts in Herodotus were disregarded by Thucydides by reason of historical inaccuracy.

23. At 8.44 Herodotus accounts for 180 Athenian ships, presumably triremes, present on the Greek side at the battle of Salamis. At 8.48 he tells us the total number of ships, not counting penteconters, came to 378. But at 8.61 Themistocles is made to say that Athens had 200 fully-armed ships, which leads us to ask whether there were twenty ships in reserve or whether Herodotus is being approximate with

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[478]Contra Hunter, J. (1977), The Composition of Thucydides' History, *Historia* 26, 287. Connor (1984, 198) contrasts rather than parallels the two accounts; cf. also Connor (1984, 175 n.44).

[479]I borrow the word 'loan' from Gomme (*HCT* i, 175, 41.2 n.), but the deal amounted to a 'rental' in reality.

[480]For the idea that H made insertions as a result of the historical Corinthians see Jeffery, L.H. (1962), 'The Campaign Between Athens and Aegina in the Years Before Salamis', *AJP*, 44ff.

[481]See n. 479 for ref.

his numbers. In fact, Herodotus tells us previously in a speech[482] that Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to use the income from the Laurium silver mine to build 200 ships for the war against Aegina. It seems reasonable to suppose, as Strassler (2007, 556, n. on 7.144.1) notes, that Themistocles must have known these ships would eventually be used against the Persians. Thucydides, at **1.74.1**, also refers to the Athenian ship numbers at Salamis, when the Athenian envoys in their speech at Sparta say that the number was 'little less than a third of the total 400' (ναῦς μέν γε ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τῶν δύο μοιρῶν).

On this calculation the Athenian contingent would have numbered slightly less than 266 ships. I would submit that 200 is considerably fewer than 260 and that 180 is self-evidently even fewer. On this basis, and because 300 is the 'usual' number given by other ancient sources,[483] an argument has existed in favour of reading τριακοσίας here rather than τετρακοσίας in the text.[484] This would square up the arithmetic and seem to suggest that Thucydides has borrowed the figure from Herodotus but, relying as it does on an emendation made in only one scholarly edition,[485] I am led to the conclusion that this example of Thucydides' indebtedness to Herodotus is possible but unproven.

24. This same speech by the Athenian envoys at Sparta at **1.74.1** is also paralleled with Herodotus 7.139.3-4 and 144.2 on the subject of how Themistocles saved the Peloponnese from Persian attack.[486] In the Thucydidean version the envoys remind the Spartans of how they, the Spartans, received Themistocles as an honoured guest in recognition of his having saved Hellas from the Persian invasion. Herodotus does not mention Themistocles by name at the two reference points stated, but gives his own opinion that Athens was responsible for saving Hellas. Themistocles, however, is mentioned by Herodotus at 7.144.1, as I have noted in the previous example above, where he persuades his fellow citizens to build 200 ships ostensibly for the war against Aegina but in the almost certain knowledge that they would eventually

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[482]At 7.144.1.
[483]E.g. Aeschylus, *Persae* 338; Democritus, 18.238; Nepos, *Themistocles* 3.
[484]Cf. *HCT* i, 234-5, 1.74,1 n.
[485]That of Poppo and Stahl (1821-40). See Kallett (2001) for full discussion of financial resources in T.
[486]Although Immerwahr (1966, 139 n.177) links the H topic with T 1.73.4.

be used to counter a Persian invasion. I do not believe that Thucydides needed to be reminded by Herodotus that it was Themistocles who led the fleet at Salamis, or that he needed his predecessor's prompting in showering praise upon the Athenian saviours of Hellas in a later speech by their descendants to the Spartans.

25. Both **1.75.2** and 8.3.2 refer to the beginnings of the Delian League. The references, however, arise from very different contexts and carry different inferences about the amount of guilt attached to Athens' acquisition of empire. The passage in Herodotus imputes blame, unusually in the *Histories*, upon Athens inasmuch as she 'took the leadership away from the Lacedaemonians' and, on top of that, 'using the pretext of Pausanias' arrogance' (πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίεω ὕβριν προϊσχόμενοι ἀπείλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους). Thucydides, on the other hand, by way of the Athenian envoys, justifies the takeover on the grounds that the Lacedaemonians did not pursue the Persian Wars to their conclusion and therefore forfeited the right to the hegemony of Hellas. Moreover, say the envoys, Athens assumed command 'at the approach and request of the allies' (προσελθόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ αὐτῶν δεηθέντων). We must, perhaps, make some allowance for the pro-Athenian tone in which the envoys speak, assuming that we accept that Thucydides had them say what he thought was 'appropriate for the occasion' (τὰ δέοντα).

26. Elsewhere, both authors show their distaste for the overweening ambition of Pausanias by referring to his proposal to marry the daughter of Megabates, in Herodotus' case (5.32) and, in the *History*, no less a personage than Xerxes' daughter according to **1.128.7**. Here, it looks at first sight as if Thucydides may have derived his story from Herodotus, but the fact that he proposes a loftier union than Herodotus suggests that he was following another source and possibly correcting him.

27. 'This day will be the beginning of great evils for the Greeks' (ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει) (**2.12.3**).[487] Such are the foreboding words of Melessipus, the last Spartan herald sent to Athens to forestall the war. Can we see a

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[487]Gomme (*HCT* i, 432, n. on 1.128.7) notes the formal tone of ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα and compares it with Aristophanes *Peace* 435-436, and Xenophon *Hellenica* 2.2.23.

parallel in Herodotus (5.97.3), where he describes the twenty Athenian ships sent to aid Ionia as 'being the beginning of bad times for both Hellenes and barbarians' (ἀρχὴ κακῶν ... Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροισι)? Also cited as a parallel are the reported words of Demaratus, insulted by his successor Leotychidas at 6.67.2-3, that 'this question (how much Demaratus enjoyed the office of magistrate after being king) will be the beginning either of a multitude of evils or a multitude of blessings for the Lacedaemonians' (τὴν ... ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρξειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἢ μυρίης κακότητος ἢ μυρίης εὐδαιμονίης). Linguistically, I can see the possibility of a genuine allusion in the first Herodotean passage, the juxtaposition of κακῶν with ἀρχὴ or ἄρξει being noticeable as well as the common presence of Ἕλλησι,[488] but not in the second, which only possesses one of these elements, as does the third cited passage of Herodotus (5.30.1), which is an authorial comment: ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολίων ὧδε ἤρχετο κακὰ ... τῇ Ἰωνίῃ.[489] We should also note that the original claim is for a dependence on historical fact and not a linguistic parallel.[490]

28. It is claimed to be able to detect[491] some common tone between the language of Pericles' Funeral Oration at **2.41.4** and the 'marvelous deeds' (ἔργα ... θωμαστά) of Greeks and barbarians in the proem of the *Histories* (1.1). Some have claimed[492] that Thucydides' use of the verb θαυμασθησόμεθα in conjunction with τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ('we shall be admired by both present and future generations') was influenced by his knowledge of this iconic passage in Herodotus especially if, as is widely thought, the *Histories* had only recently been written or were in the process of being written. If so, it may well be further evidence that Thucydides wrote the Funeral Oration soon after its dramatic date (i.e. c. 431) and not in 404 or later. But I consider this conclusion, based upon the coincidence of the cognate relationship of only one fairly common word, to be very flimsy evidence.

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[488]Also, for the use of κακοῦ ... ἀρχή, cf. *Iliad* 11.604, which describes the beginning of Patroclus' unlucky fate.

[489]Although note the absence of the definite article in H.

[490]See Sommerstein, A.H. (1985), who sees ll. 435-6 as an allusion to Melesippus' actual words.

[491]E.g. by Scanlon, T. (1994, 165); Cobet, J. (1986), in I. Moxon et al. (eds.), *Past Perspectives*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 8.

[492]E.g. *HCT* ii, 129, 2.41.4 n.

29. Better, I think, is the evidence for a direct parallel between **3.58.5** and Herodotus 9.61.3, where, at the battle of Plataea, when the Spartans are hard-pressed and the sacrifices are unfavourable, it is reported that 'Pausanias looked towards the Plataeans' sanctuary of Hera and invoked the goddess' (ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Παυσανίην πρὸς τὸ Ἥραιον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν). In Thucydides, the Plataeans tell the Spartans that, in laying waste Plataea, there is a danger 'you will make desolate the temples of the gods to whom they (the Hellenes led by Pausanias) prayed before overcoming the Persians' (ἱερά τε θεῶν οἷς εὐξάμενοι Μήδων ἐκράτησαν ἐρημοῦτε …). Inasmuch as this incident is a lesser known historical event, the possibility of Thucydides following Herodotus here is greater than in those examples previously mentioned.

30. On the topic of Theban medising, the Thebans at Plataea (**3.62.2**) defend the good name of their city by insisting that Thebes was at the time ruled by a dynastic oligarchy which amounted to a tyranny (ἐγγυτάτω δὲ τυράννου) and that therefore the general citizenry could not be held responsible for going over to the Persians. At 9.86-87, Herodotus typically describes the same event on a more personal level and introduces a speech, at 9.38.1, by Timagenides, one of the allegedly responsible oligarchs, who courageously offers to be handed over to the avenging Hellenic forces under Pausanias along with his colleague Attaginus. Unfortunately for the allies, Attaginus flees the city apparently escaping their wrath as we hear no more about him. The other members of the oligarchy are handed over and executed by Pausanias.

The fact that Thucydides does not mention any of the medisers by name is not proof that he did not obtain this reference from Herodotus. It is also possible that the Thebans giving the speech at Plataea may not have known or have been able to recall the names of their medising fellow citizens as the incident occurred some fifty-two years earlier. Thucydides would have realised this and decided to keep the reference in the mouths of the Theban apologists as short and concise as possible in

line again with his τὰ δέοντα policy. I therefore find Thucydides' dependence on Herodotus for this reference possible.[493]

31. There is an obvious similarity between the Athenian imperial attitude towards Melos, described by Thucydides in the 'Melian Dialogue' at **5.89** and that of Themistocles, in command of the Hellenic fleet, towards the islanders of Andros at 8.111.2-3.[494] In both cases the theme is the use of power and the concept of justifiable rule where the superior force shows no mercy towards its victims but justifies its aggression in terms of 'Persuasion and Necessity'[495] in the Andrian incident and by arguing, in the Melian case, that Athens is justified, even compelled, by circumstances to confirm her hegemony by force, or risk displaying a dangerous weakness to her subject states, who would then be induced into doing something rash and 'leading both themselves and us into a predictable danger' (σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς προῦπτον κίνδυνον [ἂν] καταστήσειαν) (5.99), i.e. by revolting.

The essence of the specious rhetoric in this latter case amounts to the use of the same argument as the former, namely that of necessity backed up by persuasion, if possible, or by force if the other party refuses to submit. In both cases force was indeed used, the Melian male population being executed while their women and children were sold into slavery. In the case of Andros, the island was besieged unsuccessfully, and Herodotus does not give us any further details about the island's relations with Athens or the future Delian League.

Despite these similarities there is no reason to suppose that Thucydides relied upon Herodotus for his story. Indeed, the stories relate to different historical events even if they do illustrate the excesses of Athenian imperialism. In the Herodotean case

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[493]But cf. Hornblower (*CT* ii, 131). Gomme (*HCT* ii, 348, 3.62.3 n.) claims that the account here by the Thebans of a small group of autocratic medisers 'must be far from the truth', but he neglects to tell us why. It is interesting to compare the attitude expressed here by H with 8.30 where he asserts the same fault of the Phocaeans, for which Plutarch takes him to task at *Moralia* 868B (*de Herodoti Malignitate* 35).

[494]Cf. my Chapter 7 (on DD and ID) where another aspect of the comparison between these two speeches is analysed. Cf. also Immerwahr (1966, 322 n.40), who notes this comparison.

[495]Themistocles slyly personifies these notions here as gods: 'Peitho' and 'Anankaie'. For further discussion of 'Peitho' in H see Comparini, B. (1977) *Peitho in Herodotus' Speeches*, PhD. diss. Yale University, 1970, Michigan: Universal Microfilms, Ann Arbor,

the Athenian empire is about to be born, in the Thucydidean case it has passed its maturity and is showing signs of decline.

32. At **5.112.2** the Melians say their city was founded by Sparta 700 years ago. This date cannot be ascertained exactly, but it has a connection with the return of the Heracleidae, the foundation of Sparta itself, and the fall of Troy. The chronological issue raised here is discussed by Andrewes,[496] who suggests that 'Thucydides had a relatively high date for the fall of Troy, something like the date implied in Herodotus 2.145.4'. Hornblower himself (*CT* ii, 130) points out that this may suggest a dependence on Herodotus.

33. The theme of slavery is picked up in the next pair of paralleled passages. Hermocrates, in his speech to the assembled Camarinaeans (**6.76.3-77**), warns of Athens' intention to enslave Sicily and calls for unity to thwart the Athenian invasion of their island. In Herodotus, at 1.169.1 and 6.32, we have an account of how Ionia was enslaved twice in succession by Harpagus, the Persian general and conqueror of Asia Minor. It is difficult to see how these events are related to each other, other than through the similarity they reveal between the earlier imperial ambitions of the Persians and those later of the Athenians. In the Persian instance the imposition of slavery was real, in the Sicilian instance it was only forewarned and possibly only imagined.

34. The references at **6.76.3** and 8.3.2 are brought together as parallels on the subject of the beginning of the Delian League and are compared also to **1.75.2**, cited in example 25 above. As I have already commented on all three of these references, I shall not dwell upon them except to say that, although they share common references to the origins of the Delian League, they are sufficiently lacking in detail or reference to any specific historical incident for it to be deduced that Thucydides derived the account he puts into the mouth of Hermocrates from Herodotus.

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[496]*HCT* iv, 180-1, 5.112.2 n.

35. The passages at **6.82.4** and 8.85.1 both refer to the alleged Ionian betrayal of Athens in 480.[497] The passage in Thucydides is from the speech of Euphemus, the Athenian ambassador at Camarina, made in response to the speech of Hermocrates cited above, in which Euphemus defends Athens' right to govern the Ionians and islanders 'since they medised and came against us, their mother city' (ἦλθον γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ Μήδου). The passage in Herodotus refers to most of the Ionians who, ignoring Themistocles' command to fight as cowards at the battle of Salamis, fought bravely against the Hellenes, thus betraying them, the Athenians included. Although it is true that both passages refer to the Ionians fighting on the Persian side, this, like other events mentioned above, would have been sufficiently well known to Thucydides through tradition for him not to have needed any prompting from previous written accounts.[498]

36. Alcibiades, in his speech to the Spartans (**6.89.4**), claims that his family had always been tyrant-haters (τοῖς γὰρ τυράννοις αἰεί ποτε διάφοροί ἐσμεν), but it is not clear whether this refers to his mother's side (the Alcmaeonids) or to his father's, because Thucydides does not make the connection. This could be a reference to, but hardly a dependence on, Herodotus' mention of the Alcmaeonids' hostility to tyranny at 6.123.1 (... οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ... ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι).

Summary

If we were coming to our two authors for the first time, with no other knowledge about them save the dates of their births and deaths, and that both were concerned with the recording of great wars separated by a time distance of roughly sixty years, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the second author might rely on factual historical information from his predecessor in order to help explain the causes of the later conflict, just as, for instance, in the past century historians of the

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[497]Cf. Immerwahr (1966, 232 n.128), who notes the similarity of topic but makes no comment on dependency.

[498]There is no doubt, however, that the supposed desertion of Athens by the Ionians baulked large in Athenian memory and resentment down to the fourth century, as is shown by Isocrates' heartfelt remark at 12.69 referring to the support Athens gave to Ionia, enabling it to recover and prosper following the Persian conquest: '(these events) caused the Ionian cities to revolt from the mother who had founded them and who had many times been the source of their salvation'.

Second World War might rely on their elder colleagues' accounts of the Great War of 1914-18. We should expect this to be even more likely if we knew that the lives of our two subjects overlapped to the extent that they were probably writing parts of their respective accounts simultaneously. Since, however, Thucydides, as we know (1.21), goes out of his way to dissociate himself and his work from much of what went before, his disavowal makes it more difficult for us to believe that, for historical facts, he in any way 'relied' upon or 'borrowed' from Herodotus.

Add to this the fact that, in comparisons of this type, the internal textual evidence for the dependence of one historian upon another is very thin, and it is almost impossible to come to definitive conclusions in specific cases such as the above: general impressions are about as much as can be expected. However, as generalities are unlikely to carry our knowledge much further forward, I offer the following assessment: in five of the 36 examples (6, 8, 10, 29 and 30) I judge the likelihood of dependence to be high; in seven cases (3, 4, 7, 20, 21, 33 and 34) I see nothing to convince me of their validity. As for the remaining 24 instances (i.e. two thirds of the sample), I am inescapably compelled to declare them 'unproven'.

Conclusion

This thesis contains the results of original research I have conducted in comparing the Speeches in the Histories of Herodotus and Thucydides. My stated purpose in undertaking this research has been twofold. First, to contribute to a field of enquiry which has, until very recently, been singularly neglected. Secondly, to support the post-positivist stance adopted by most scholars from the middle of the last century to the present date, namely that earlier thinking, well summarised by Fornara (1971a, 61) in the phrase 'if Thucydides is eminently "scientific", Herodotus is essentially an artist', was as crudely over-simplistic in relation to the Speeches as it was when applied to the Histories as a whole, recognising neither the precision of Herodotus nor the artistry of Thucydides.

The main points of difference and similarity between the Speeches of our two historians may be summarised as follows:

Differences

From the quantitative viewpoint, the *Histories* of Herodotus contain three times as many speech items as the *History* of Thucydides and twice as many speech events featuring more than one speaker (cf. Appendix A). These two simple facts, amplified by my statistics on *characterisation*, which tell us that there are nearly three times as many named speakers in Herodotus as in Thucydides (cf**.** Appendix E), support the idea, hinted at by Thucydides, that Herodotus used many of his speeches to create cameo portraits, often of relatively minor characters, in order to entertain his audience. This conclusion is supported by two further observations (again reported in Appendix A), the first that, on average, Herodotus' speeches are shorter and more varied in topic than those of Thucydides, the second that well over one half (65.78%) of speeches in the *Histories* can be categorised as 'conversational' (διαλεκτικός), as opposed to only 18.2% in the *History*. Another related feature, strikingly at variance with Thucydides' speeches, is Herodotus' usage of speeches to narrate stories, often themselves containing their own internal speeches, which, although apparently diversionary, do, however, provide an explanatory background to the main account.

Similarities

There are *four* principal functions, revealed in this thesis, which the Speeches hold in common. These functions are interrelated, although not all are found in the same proportion or given the same prominence in either work. They may be described as: the *dramatic*, the *explanatory*, the *didactic*, and the *rhetorical*.

To take the first point, I have shown how both authors have been influenced by the ancient epic poets and by the dramatists of fifth-century Athens, and how the Speeches, particularly those in DD and spoken by the leading characters, inform and enhance the dramatically tragic theme of both Histories. In the case of Herodotus in Books 7-9, this dramatic theme is the tragedy of Persia, personified and localised especially in the character of Xerxes and enhanced through his conversations with Artabanus and Mardonius; there are, however, other earlier *logoi* which recount tragic stories. The corresponding theme in Thucydides is the tragedy of Athens, which is enacted principally through the contrasting characters of Pericles, Cleon, Nicias and Alcibiades, but without the accompanying Herodotean mark of implied supernatural intervention. In addition to promoting the ongoing theme of tragedy, the Speeches provide interspersed episodes of high drama, which, but for the fact that they are written in prose, one might associate more with the work of an Aeschylus or a Euripides. Examples I have highlighted include the conversation between Xerxes and Artabanus on the meaning of life (H 7.46-52), and the speeches of Nicias to his men following the final defeat in Sicily (T 7.66-68/77).

The second similarity is the explanatory function. This I have explored principally in my chapter on λόγοι and ἔργα (Chapter 6), where I show that both authors employ the Speeches to supplement the narrative by enabling the reader/listener to understand how and why things happen. For Herodotus and Thucydides, although both retain a vestige of the Homeric idea of divine causality, it is *people* who are the primary instigators of action, and it is through the medium of their speeches that we discover the motives for their actions. More than this, we have seen examples in both works where the Speeches are used either to anticipate future action

(*prolepsis*) or to refer to an event already mentioned (*analepsis*) in order to emphasise the consequences of previously declared intentions and motives.

Thirdly, the Speeches in both historians are essentially didactic, a function which is closely linked with the dramatic. For just as the poets, previously and contemporaneously, were seen as the guardians and teachers of traditional moral codes, so our historians saw themselves as the transmitters of important precepts to do with the behaviour both of individuals and of society. The lessons to be learned from Herodotus' speeches are, for the most part, to do with personal and interpersonal ethics and fit in with the general moralistic tenor of his story-narrative. Thucydides, on the other hand, is concerned to record and to comment upon the broader, often political, repercussions of events which impinge upon the state and society as a whole for the benefit of any who will read his work in times to come. It has become a truism, but nevertheless one that is supported by a study of the Speeches, that Herodotus writes about the past in order to instruct the present, while Thucydides writes about the present in order to enlighten the future.

Fourthly, although Thucydides' speeches contain more rhetoric, I have shown (especially in Chapter 5) that its use in Herodotus, though not common, is not unknown, especially, as Zali (2014) has recently shown, in books 5-8, in particular in the speeches at the Persian courts of Darius and Xerxes. In the fifth century, rhetoric was a feature virtually indivisible from historiography, which even until well into the modern era was regarded as its offshoot. As statesmen and politicians of his day would have used rhetorical language, so Thucydides injected it into his speeches, the better to represent their authenticity, as well as to reproduce their argument.

In summary, this thesis has shown that, while they are clearly inventions, many of the speeches (*logoi*) in Herodotus are masterpieces of literary art, but that, despite Thucydides' inferred criticism, they are not mere adornments, intended solely for the entertainment of a contemporary audience. Like their counterparts in Thucydides, they elucidate and explain the motives and actions of characters in the main narrative (*erga*), contributing successfully to the shaping of the overall account and complementing its dramatic and didactic features. By the same token, I have argued

that Thucydides' speeches possess not only the rhetorical grandeur, for which they have been consistently and correctly celebrated over time, but also a creative quality, inherited in part from epic and dramatic poetry, which promotes them, along with the *History* in general, to the highest levels of literary excellence.

Survey of the Speeches

<u>Events and Items</u>

In this survey I divide speech phenomena into two parts: (1) speech *events*, (2) speech *items*. For brevity I shall refer to these henceforward simply as 'events' and 'items' except where the addition of the word 'speech' is required for the sake of clarity. I define an 'item' as a *unit of communication*. One or more items which deal with the same topic, such as question and answer or individual speeches within a debate, make up an 'event'.

<u>Types: Direct and Indirect Discourse</u>

Items conform to one of two 'types', either Direct Discourse (DD) or Indirect Discourse (ID) or, rarely, a combination of the two. Each item in the survey carries an indication of its type.

<u>Categories</u>

Each numbered event is categorised according as it comes closest to one of the seven rhetorical categories of speech I have derived from the works of ancient critics and which I describe in Chapter 5 on Rhetoric: διαλεκτικός; πρεσβευτικός; συμβουλευτικός; παρακλητικός; δημηγορικός; δικανικός; ἐπιδεικτικός. The category title appears last in the event description.

<u>Listing and Numbering of Events and Items</u>

Events are listed and numbered in sequence for example thus: **H24**, where **H =** Herodotus. The speech events in Thucydides are similarly listed, for example **T35**. Each number is followed by a brief description of the topic for that event. Where the event comprises more than one item, each item itself is numbered and supplied with its own brief description as well as being described as DD or ID. There may follow some comment(s) on the overall importance or significance of the event. Items are numbered according to the event in which they occur with their position marked in brackets e.g. **H7(2)**. Where the event contains only one item, i.e. where they are identical, they share the same number, e.g. **T76**.

N.B. For ease of reference in the main text of the thesis the conventional reference numbering is used in place of, or in addition to, this method.

<u>'Double',' Triple' and 'Multiple' Items and 'Complementary' Events</u>

West (1973, 6 nn. 2 & 3) attempts to mark 'paired' and 'complementary' speeches in Thucydides although his list is not necessarily complete, as his use of the word

'include' suggests. Except when linking two items in multiple-item events, I prefer not to use West's 'pairing' method; I refer in the summaries to all events comprising two items as 'doubles', as distinct from 'singles' and other combinations. Similarly, where an event contains three items I have named these 'triples', following in part the concept of 'triads' used by Lang (1984). All other combinations of items I refer to as 'multiples'.   I further use West's term 'complementary' (shortened to cpy. in the notes) where whole events or items in separate events link with each other.

Totals and Summary

The totals for the number of events, items, types and categories can be found at the end of each Book in both authors and the overall totals at the end of each complete work. A summary of statistics for both authors can be found in Appendix B.

HERODOTUS

Book 1

(H1) The Greeks refuse compensation to the king of Colchis (1.2.3); has two items in ID: (1) the king's demand via a herald for the return of his daughter (ID) ; (2) the Greeks' reply (ID) ; the Persian version of the abduction of Medea in return for that of Io; Herodotus' intention is clear here – straight into the cause(s) of the war between the Greeks and the barbarian; διαλεκτικός.

(H2) In turn the Greeks are refused Helen's return (1.3.2); has two items in ID: (1) the Greeks demand the return of Helen (ID); (2) the Trojans counter by charging the Greeks with the abduction of Medea (ID); this continues the tit-for-tat theme which pervades the 'proem'; διαλεκτικός.

(H3) Candaules encourages Gyges to see his wife naked (1.8.2-9); has three items in DD: (1) Candaules praises his wife and wants Gyges also to see her beauty (DD); (2) Gyges baulks at the idea (DD); (3) Candaules assures him that all will be well (DD); the dialogue is a vehicle for certain maxims (γνωμαί) to be presented, e.g. 'people trust their ears less than their eyes' (ὦτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν) (1.8.2); 'as soon as a woman sheds her clothes she sheds her modesty too' (ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή) (1.8.3); 'each should look to his own' (δεῖ...σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ) (1.8.4); the DD gives added credibility and drama to the incident and to the characters within it, as it does throughout the whole work, although H does not require either his reader or himself to believe it; διαλεκτικός.

(H4) Gyges is forced into killing Candaules (1.11.2-5); has four items: (1) Candaules' wife gives Gyges two choices, to kill Candaules or to commit suicide (DD); (2) Gyges

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begs not to have to choose (ID); (3) Gyges asks how it can be done (DD); (4) Candaules' wife tells him the plan (DD); important though this female character is, we are not told her name; διαλεκτικός.

(H5) Arion the singer is carried to Taenarum by a dolphin (1.24.2-7); this pendant story contains five items in ID (1) Arion begs the sailors to take his money for his life; (2) the sailors refuse and order him to kill himself or jump overboard; (3) Arion requests he be allowed to sing for them in full costume promising to kill himself afterwards; (4) Periander of Corinth questions the sailors on arrival; (5) the sailors said they had left Arion safe in Italy; διαλεκτικός.

(H6) Bias of Priene/Pittacus of Mytilene advises Croesus not to build a fleet (1.27.3-4); has three items in DD: (1) Bias warns of an attack by islanders with horses; (2) Croesus wishes they would come with horses; (3) Bias explains that the islanders' wish is that Croesus attacks them by sea; the result is that Croesus abandons his ship-building programme; διαλεκτικός.

(H7) Croesus and Solon (1.30.2-32.9); has eight items: (1) Croesus asks Solon who is the happiest man (DD); (2) Solon replies Tellus of Athens (DD); (3) Croesus asks why (DD); (4) Solon explains (DD); (5) Croesus asks who is the second happiest (ID); (6) Solon says Cleobis and Biton and tells their story (DD); (7) Croesus angrily asks why not him (DD); (8) Solon gives a long explanation on why a man should not be counted fortunate until death (DD); Solon's account in item 8 contains rhetorical language (antitheses); Croesus' flattery of Solon shows up his ὕβρις in contrast to Solon's plain language; there is a clear moral and didactic intention here in line with Herodotus' view that the fortunes of men and states (πόλεις) are similar: they rise, they prosper, they fall; this in parallel with Thucydides' views on states, especially Athens; διαλεκτικός.

(H8) Adrastus arrives at Croesus' home (1.35.3-4); has four items: (1) Croesus asks Adrastus who he is and where he is from (ID); (2) He repeats this in DD adding 'whom did you murder'; (3) Adrastus replies (DD); (4) Croesus welcomes him (DD); a Homeric (Odyssean) theme – the welcoming of a stranger; items 1 and 2 are curious in that they are almost identical in meaning, one in ID, one in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H9) Croesus will not allow his son to hunt the boar (1.36.2-3); has two items in DD: (1) Mysians report the presence of a boar; (2) Croesus refuses to send his son; διαλεκτικός.

(H10) Croesus gives in to Atys his son's request to go on the hunt (1.37-40); a duologue with four items in DD; characters speak alternately: (1) Atys argues a case for going on the hunt; (2) Croesus reveals his dream to Atys; (3) Atys points out a boar has no spear; (4) Croesus relents; evidence of rhetorical dialectic; διαλεκτικός.

(H11) Croesus asks Adrastus to protect Atys (1.41-42); has two items in DD forming a duologue; (1) Croesus charges Adrastus to protect his son; (2) Adrastus promises; διαλεκτικός.

(H12) Croesus exonerates Adrastus and blames one of the gods (1.45.1-2); has two items: (1) Adrasus requests Croesus to kill him in recompense for his son's death (ID); (2) Croesus replies exonerating him (DD); there is no human error here so Croesus is justified in blaming 'a god' (θεῶν κού τις); διαλεκτικός.

(H13) Chilon the Lacedaemonian advises Hippocrates not to take a wife or to disown any wife or son he already had (1.59.2); has one item in ID; advice given as a result of the omen of the boiling meat (see 1.59.1) but ignored by Hippocrates whose son Pisistratus becomes tyrant of Athens by trickery (see **H14**); διαλεκτικός.

(H14) Pisistratus tricks the Athenians into giving him a bodyguard (1.59.4); has one item in ID; part of a 'trickery' story; διαλεκτικός.

(H15) Messengers announce the arrival of Pisistratus escorted by 'Athena' (1.60.5); has one item in DD; a second trick cooked up by Pisistratus and Megacles to win over support from the Athenians; πρεσβευτικός.

(H16) A Tegean smith reveals the 'tomb' of Orestes to Lichas (1.68.2-3); has one item in DD; the emphasis in this speech is on the size of O's coffin (cf. large stature of Homeric heroes) ; this story explains the pre-eminence of Sparta over Tegea in the Peloponnese; διαλεκτικός.

(H17) Croesus' agents bring his request for an alliance to Sparta (1.69.2); has one item in DD; the last sentence contains the formulaic 'without treachery or guile' (ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης); cf. the formula δικαίως καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἀδόλως which occurs in the treaty of alliance between Athens and Sparta of 422/1 in T at 5.23; πρεσβευτικός.

(H18) The advice of Sandanis to Croesus not to invade Cappadocia (1.71.2-4); has one item in DD; a 'wise adviser' whose advice was not taken, backing up Croesus' misunderstanding of the oracle; διαλεκτικός.

(H19) Acting on the advice of Harpagus, Cyrus gives his orders for attacking Croesus' army (1.80.2-3); has three items in ID; (1) he orders his men to ride camels towards Croesus' cavalry; (2) he commands the infantry to follow; (3) he orders all Lydians to be killed except Croesus; a 'wise adviser' event; παρακλητικός.

(H20) Cyrus announces a reward to the first man to scale the walls of Sardis (1.84.1); has one item in ID; παρακλητικός.

(H21) Croesus on the pyre (1.86.3-6); has five items: (1) Croesus utters 'Solon' three times (ID); (2) Cyrus orders his interpreters to question Croesus on who this was (ID); (3) Croesus replies unclearly (DD); (4) again questioned he tells the whole story of Solon's visit and words (ID) ; (5) Cyrus orders the fire to be quenched and Croesus to be taken down (ID); διαλεκτικός.

(H22) Croesus is rescued from the fire (1.87); has three items: (1) Croesus calls upon Apollo (ID); (2) Cyrus asks Croesus who persuaded him to invade (DD); (3) Croesus blames it on 'the god of the Greeks', presumably Zeus (DD); this is the start of the *metagnosis* of Croesus; Croesus' last speech contains the γνώμη: 'in peace sons bury fathers; in war fathers bury sons' and expresses three Herodotean ideas: predestination, the responsibility of the gods, moral condemnation of war; διαλεκτικός.

(H23) Croesus begins to act as 'wise adviser' to Cyrus (1.88-90.3); has thirteen items; (1) Croesus asks if he can speak (DD); (2) Cyrus tells him to say what he wishes (ID); (3) Croesus asks what Cyrus' men are doing (DD); (4) Cyrus says 'they are sacking your city' (DD); (5) Croesus says it is now Cyrus' city (DD); (6) Cyrus asks him what he should do (ID); (7) Croesus advises him to take one tenth of the booty away as a gift to Zeus (DD); (8) Cyrus orders his men to do as Croesus said (ID); (9) Cyrus offers Croesus a gift in return for his aid (DD); (10) Croesus asks to be allowed to send his shackles to Zeus (DD); (11) Cyrus asks Croesus what is his complaint (ID); (12) Croesus asks again to reproach the god (ID); (13) Cyrus grants him this and any future request (DD); this event has an indeterminate complex pattern ; the purpose is to consolidate the transformation of Croesus from captive to confidant; διαλεκτικός.

(H24) The Pythia replies to Croesus' Lydian delegation (1.91); has one item in DD; speech as narrative; not categorised.

(H25) How Deioces became king of the Medes (1.97-99); has four items; (1) Deioces' friends speak for him (DD); (2) He orders the Medes to build him a residence (ID); (3) He then orders a capital city (Ecbatana) (ID); (4) He orders his people to build dwellings outside the walls and institutes other regulations (ID); συμβουλευτικός.

(H26) Astyages orders Harpagus to kill the baby Cyrus on the strength of two dreams (1.108.4-5); has two items in DD: (1) Astyages orders Harpagus to kill Cyrus (DD) ; (2) Harpagus says he will obey (DD); intended to be dramatic and builds up to two DD parts which give drama and plausibility ; start of the story of Cyrus' birth, upbringing and how he became king - continues to 1.130; διαλεκτικός.

(H27) Harpagus decides not to kill Cyrus himself (1.1092-3); has two items in DD; (1) Harpagus' wife asks what will be done; (2) Harpagus explains why he will not kill the boy; διαλεκτικός.

(H28) Harpagus entrusts the task to Mitradates, a herdsman of Astyages (1.110.3); has one item in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H29) Mitradates explains the order to his wife (1.111.2-5); has two items: (1) his wife asks why he was sent for (ID); (2) Mitradates explains and reveals the child (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H30) His wife proposes to replace Cyrus with her stillborn child (1.112); has three items: (1) the wife begs Mitradates not to expose the baby (ID); (2) He explains there is no choice (ID); (3) the wife proposes the switch (DD); drama dictates the last and longest speech be in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H31) Harpagus tells Astyages the deed is done (1.113.2); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H32) The ten year old Cyrus justifies his treatment of a playmate to Astyages (1.114.3-115); has four items: (1) Cyrus orders some boys to arrest another who refused to obey him (ID); (2) The father complains to Astyages (DD); (3) Astyages questions Cyrus (DD); (4) Cyrus defends his actions (DD); δικανικός.

(H33) Astyages questions Mitradates and gets the truth (1.116,2-5); has five items: (1) Astyages dismisses Artembares (DD); (2) Astyages questions Mitradates closely (ID); (3) Mitradates says Cyrus is his son (ID); (4) Astyages does not believe him and orders him to be seized(ID); (5) Mitradates finally tells the truth and pleads for mercy (ID); διαλεκτικός.

(H34) Harpagus reveals the true story (1.117,2-5); has three items: (1) Astyages orders Harpagus to be summoned (ID); (2) He asks him how he carried out his original order (DD); (3) Harpagus tells the story from his viewpoint (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H35) Astyages apparently forgives Harpagus and invites him to dinner (1.118,2); has one item in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H36) Harpagus remains calm at seeing his son's remains (1.119,5-7); has five items: (1) Astyages asks Harpagus if he enjoyed the meal (ID); (2) Harpagus replied that he had (ID); (3) Astyages' servants order Harpagus to uncover his son's bodyparts (ID); (4) Astyages asks if he recognises the meat (ID); (5) Harpagus says he is pleased with all the king does (ID); διαλεκτικός.

(H37) The Magi mistakenly advise that the dream's prophecy has already been fulfilled (1.120); has six items: (1) Astyages asks the Magi what they made of the dream (ID); (2) The Magi say that Cyrus would have been king had he survived (ID); (3) Astages tells them Cyrus is alive and became a sort of boy king (DD); (4) The Magi say there is now no threat of his becoming a second king (DD); (5) Astyages agrees (DD) ; (6) The Magi advise Cyrus' transportation to his parents in Persia (DD); the

Magi here act as credible but mistaken advisers; Astyages too is tragically deceived; διαλεκτικός.

(H38) Astyages ironically confesses and apologises to Cyrus (1.121); has one item in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H39) Cyrus tells his story to his parents (1.122.1-3); has two items: (1) His parents question Cyrus (ID); (2) Cyrus tells his story (ID); διαλεκτικός.

(H40) Cyrus receives a letter in a hare from Harpagus inciting rebellion (1.124); has one item counted as DD as Herodotus introduces the letter's contents with τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε, as if the letter were speaking; letters were regarded as the repositories of cunning and secretive messages; this is of obvious importance to Herodotus' description of the intrigue which brought Cyrus to power; διαλεκτικός.

(H41) Cyrus tricks the Persians into believing he has been appointed general (1.125.2); another letter trick; has two items: (1) Cyrus reads from a scroll purportedly from Astyages (ID); (2) Cyrus calls the Persians to arms (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H42) Cyrus invites the Persians to free themselves from their Median masters (1.126); has five items: (1) Cyrus orders the Persians to clear land for cultivation (ID); (2) He orders them to return washed on the next day to enjoy a feast (ID); (3) He asks them which day they preferred (ID); (4) They said the second day (ID); (5) Cyrus says if they follow him they will have many such good days (DD); an example of how items in ID within a speech event can lead up to an important speech in DD; more reminiscent of a martial address than anything so far in Herodotus; παρακλητικός.

(H43) Cyrus informs Astyages that he will come sooner than expected (1.127.2); has one item in ID; a pithy remark of a type common in Herodotus; διαλεκτικός.

(H44) Astyages sends his own threatening message to Cyrus (1.128.1); has one item in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H45) Astyages rebukes Harpagus for being both stupid and unjust (1.129); has four items of ID; (1) Harpagus asks Astyages how he likes being a slave instead of a king (ID); (2) He asks Harpagus if he had been responsible for Cyrus' success (ID); (3) Harpagus said he had indeed written to Cyrus (ID); (4) Astyages proceeds to show Harpagus how foolish and unjust he is (ID); a close dialectical encounter (it could have been rendered in DD), in which the apparent victor is brought down to earth; διαλεκτικός.

(H46) Cyrus tells the Ionians the parable of the dancing fish (1.141.1-2); has one item in ID; found also in Aesop; explained by Herodotus himself in 1.141.3-4; διαλεκτικός.

(H47) The Lacedaemonians warn Cyrus not to harm any Greeks (1.152.1-3); has two items in ID: (1) Pythermos, a Phocaean, asks the Spartans to aid the Ionians and Aeolians (ID); (2) The Spartans send a warning to Cyrus not to attack Greek cities (ID); πρεσβευτικός.

(H48) Cyrus' put down of the Lacedaemonians (and Greeks in general) (1.153.1); has two items: (1) Cyrus asks who and how many are the Spartans (ID); (2) He threatens to give the Spartans enough troubles of their own (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H49) Croesus persuades Cyrus not to enslave the Lydians (1.155); has two items in DD: (1) Cyrus asks Croesus how to handle the Lydian revolt; (2) Croesus advises him not to punish all the Lydians for the wrong of one man, Pactyes; Croesus continues his career as wise adviser but this time has an ulterior motive explained by Herodotus in 1.156; διαλεκτικός.

(H50) Cyrus has Croesus' proposals put to the Lydians (1.156.2); one item in ID: διαλεκτικός.

(H51) Harpagus provides an opportunity for the Phocaeans to evacuate their town (1.164.1-2); has three items in ID: (1) Harpagus tells the Phocaeans to consecrate one building (ID); (2) The Phocaeans ask for a day to decide and for Harpagus to lead his army away from the wall (ID); (3) Harpagus allows them to deliberate (ID); διαλεκτικός.

(H52) Bias and Thales make different suggestions on how the Ionians could prosper (1.170); has two items in ID: (1) Bias proposes the Ionians move en masse to Sardinia; (2) Thales proposes they establish a central council in Teos: an insight into the foresight and imagination of the Ionian community; διαλεκτικός.

(H53) Message of Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae, to Cyrus (1.206.1-3); has one item of DD: shows (a) Herodotus' admiration of women's cleverness and (b) Cyrus' gullibility; διαλεκτικός.

(H54) Advice of Croesus in light of Tomyris' challenge (1.207); one item in DD: not very wise advice but taken this time by Cyrus; all DD, giving Croesus great status; cf. how Sandanis refers to the Persians at 1.71; the idea is similar to Cyaxares' trick on the 'uncivilised' Scythians at 1.106; διαλεκτικός.

(H55) Cyrus speaks to Hystaspes following a dream he has about Darius (1.209); one item in DD: the purpose here is to foretell the coming rise to power of Darius pointing the narrative forward; typically, Cyrus misunderstands the dream and does not see it foretells his death; cpy. with **H56**; διαλεκτικός.

(H56) Hystaspes' reply (1.210.2-3); one item in DD: Hystaspes speaks as a loyal subject unaware of how events will turn out; cpy. with **H55**; διαλεκτικός.

(H57) Tomyris threatens Cyrus with defeat unless he returns her son (1.212.2-3); one item in DD; contrasts the bravery of Tomyris with the poor judgement of Cyrus who fails to take Tomyris' good advice; Tomyris' promise to 'quench Cyrus' thirst for blood' is fulfilled at 1.214; διαλεκτικός.

(H58) Tomyris addresses Cyrus' corpse (1.214.5); one item in DD; the promise is fulfilled; διαλεκτικός.

End of survey of Book 1: (58 events: 23 singles; 14 doubles; 8 triples; 13 multiples: 49 διαλεκτικός; 1 συμβουλευτικός; 3 πρεσβευτικός; 3 παρακλητικός; 1 δικανικός; 1 no cat.) (149 items: DD = 76; ID = 73)

<u>**Book 2**</u>

(H59) Cambyses orders his subjects to mourn for Cassadane (2.1.1); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H60) Psammetichus instructs the shepherd to perform his experiment (2.2.2); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H61) Saying made to guests at Egyptian dinner parties (2.78); has one item in DD; the Egyptian equivalent of 'eat, drink and be merry'; διαλεκτικός.

(H62) Perseus tells the inhabitants of Chemmis to hold games for him (2.91.6); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H63) Sesostris' wife suggests a way for him to escape the fire (2.107.2); has one item in ID; a woman's plan again; callous but effective; διαλεκτικός.

(H64) The priest of Hephaestus denies Darius the right to erect his statue in front of Sesostris' (2.110.2-3); has one item in DD; belittles Darius although he did concede the point; διαλεκτικός.

(H65) Proteus dismisses Alexander (Paris) from Egypt (2.114-115); has six items: (1) Thonis' message to Proteus (DD); (2) Proteus orders the arrest of Alexander (DD); (3) Proteus questions him (ID); (4) Alexander replies (ID); (5) Proteus questions him on where obtained Helen (ID); (6) Proteus denounces Alexander and dismisses him (DD); deals with the strong moral issue of disrespecting a host's hospitality; note the strong language (ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν... ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον); διαλεκτικός.

(H66) Rhampsinitus and the thief (2.121); has seven items in ID; (1) The builder instructs his sons on how to remove the stone (α,2); (2) The trapped thief tells his brother to cut off his head (β,2); (3) Rhampsinitus orders his guards to hang the headless body on the wall and to bring any lamenters to him (γ,1); (4) The mother orders her surviving son to find a way to release the body (γ,2); (5) The king's daughter is instructed to discover the thief by engaging men in a brothel and getting

them to tell their most daring deed (ε,2); (6) The brother tells his true story to the daughter (ε,4); (7) The king announces a pardon and rewards the thief for his bravery and cunning (ζ,1); διαλεκτικός.

(H67) Cheops orders his daughter to sell herself for silver to buy stone for his pyramid (2.126.1); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H68) Mycerinus' daughter asks to see the sun once a year (2.132.3); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H69) Advice to the Eleans by the Egyptians on their Olympic Games (2.160.2-4); has four items, all in ID; (1) The Eleans say they have come to find out if the Egyptians can offer any suggestions on how to improve their games; (2) The Egyptians ask if the Eleans' own citizens participate; (3) They say that anyone who wishes can take part; (4) The Egyptians suggest that no Elean citizens should take part out of fairness to the others; διαλεκτικός.

(H70) Apries sends Patarbemis to quell a rebellion by Amasis (2.162); has four items of ID; (1) Amasis tells Patarbemis to return to Apries; (2) Patarbemis nevertheless orders Amasis to the king; (3) Amasis replies that he will be there soon anyway (with his army); (4) Apries orders Patarbemis' ears and nose to be cut off; for final account of Amasis' rise to power see 2.169; διαλεκτικός.

(H71) Amasis likens his treatment by his Egyptian subjects to a foot-bath (2.172.4-5); has one item in ID; another clever stratagem to make a point and win over support; similar to Cyrus and the fish (1,141); διαλεκτικός.

(H72) Amasis replies to his friends' rebuke on how he spends his time (2.173.2-4); has two items in DD: (1) His friends and family criticise Amasis for his relaxed behaviour; (2) Amasis retorts that relaxation at the right time is good; a paired conversation; διαλεκτικός.

(H73) Amasis' cruel outburst at Ladice (2.181.3-4); has two items; (1) Amasis' outburst (DD); (2) Ladice's vow to Aphrodite (ID); again shows the woman in a good light; διαλεκτικός.

End of survey of Book 2 (15 events: 9 singles; 2 doubles; 4 multiples: 15 διαλεκτικός) (34 items: DD = 8 ; ID = 26)

Book 3

(H74) Nitetis tells Cambyses he has been deceived (3.1.4); has one item in DD; the dramatic 'cause' for Cambyses attacking Egypt; διαλεκτικός.

(H75) Conversation between Cassadane and Cambyses (3.3.2-3); has two items in DD: (1) Cassadane complains of how Cyrus favours his Egyptian wife; (2) Cambyses,

her son, vows to attack Egypt; provides another reason for Cambyses' attack ('I shall turn Egypt upside down!'), although Herodotus disbelieves this story (cf. 3.3.1); διαλεκτικός.

(H76) Phanes advises Cambyses on how to reach Egypt (3.4.3); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H77) Psammenitus cries over the fate of an old man but not his son or daughter (3.14.9-10); has three items; (1) Psammenitus is asked about this by Cambyses' messenger (DD); (2) He explains about the old man (DD); (3) Cambyses orders the release of Psammenitus' son (ID); this reveals the good side of Cambyses' character; διαλεκτικός.

(H78) The Fish-eaters communicate Cambyses' wish for an alliance to the Ethiopian king (3.21-23); has eight items: (1) The Fish-eaters greet the king (DD); (2) The king suspects them of spying and returns the message (DD); (3) The king asks how the purple cloak was made (ID); (4) He says the people are as deceitful as their cloaks (ID); (5) He says he thought the bracelets were shackles (ID); (6) He asks what the king ate and how long Persians lived (ID); (7) They said he ate bread, explained about wheat and set the longest Persian life at eighty years (ID); (8) He was not surprised they were short lived living on manure (ID); the purpose is to show how the Ethiopians disparaged the Persians and displayed no fear of them, angering Cambyses and giving him another reason to invade; it also allows Herodotus to compare the diet of the Persians unfavourably with the Ethiopians thus anticipating the failure of Cambyses' expedition; πρεσβευτικός.

(H79) The sacrilegious wounding of Apis by Cambyses (3.29.2); has two items; (1) Cambyses stops the Egyptian celebrations (DD); (2) He orders the Egyptian priests to be whipped (ID); this is the beginning of Cambyses' madness; it contrasts with the respectful behaviour of Darius (Polyaenus 7.11.7); διαλεκτικός.

(H80) Cambyses' wife/sister dies of a miscarriage caused by his rage (3.32.2-4); has four items: (1) Cambyses asks why his wife is crying (ID); (2) She replies it is because of the two puppies killing the lion cub (ID); (3) His wife asks Cambyses whether the lettuce was better stripped or full (ID); (4) To his answer 'full', she said 'but you have stripped the house of Cyrus bare' (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H81) Prexaspes and his son (3.34-35); contains seven items of DD; (1) Cambyses asks Prexaspes what his subjects think of him; (2) Prexaspes says they think he is too fond of wine; (3) Cambyses says their earlier assessment of him could not be true; (4) Croesus had disagreed with the idea that Cambyses was like his father (Cyrus); (5) Cambyses undertakes to shoot Prexaspes' son in the heart to prove he is not mad; (6) Cambyses boasts to Prexaspes of his prowess; (7) Prexaspes, in fear of his life,

cowtows; items 1, 2 & 3 are a triad (cf. Lang 1984); item 4 is a single 'wise' comment by Croesus ; 6 & 7 are cpy.; the whole vividly illustrates Cambyses' madness and the power he holds over his courtiers; διαλεκτικός.

(H82) Cambyses tries to shoot Croesus (3.36.1-6); has four items: (1) Croesus attempts to warn Cambyses about his behaviour (DD); (2) Cambyses is offended and reaches for his bow (DD); (3) His servants tell Cambyses that Croesus is still alive (ID); (4) Cambyses says he is glad (ID); item 2 recalls Croesus' previous poor advice to Cyrus over the Massagetae; διαλεκτικός.

(H83) Letter of Amasis to Polycrates (3.40.2-4); has one item in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H84) A fisherman returns Polycrates' ring (3.42.2); has two items in DD; (1) The fisherman presents the fish; (2) Polycrates invites him to dinner; emphasises the fact that Polycrates does not realise his fate is sealed; 'no man can escape his destiny'; διαλεκτικός.

(H85) Amasis sends a messenger to call off his alliance with Polycrates (3.43.2); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(H86) The Samian audience at Sparta (3.46.2); has three items in ID: (1) The Spartans remark that they have forgotten the beginning and do not understand the end of the Samians speech (ID); (2) In a second speech the Samians said nothing except that their sack needed some grain (ID); (3) The Spartans say that the sack is superfluous to the speech (ID); some humour intended here; comparison between the two races; διαλεκτικός.

(H87) Procles asks his grandsons if they know who killed their mother (3.50.3); has one item in DD; dramatic effect; διαλεκτικός.

(H88) Periander invites his son Lycophron back home (3.52.3-5); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H89) Periander's daughter tries to persuade Lycophron to take up his inheritance of the Corinthian tyranny (3.53,3-4); has two items; (1) The plea of Periander's daughter (DD); (2) Message from Periander to his son to return to Corinth (ID); concludes the tragedy of Periander; διαλεκτικός.

(H90) The discovery of the false Smerdis (3.62.2-4); has two items in DD; (1) Cambyses blames Prexaspes for not killing Smerdis; (2) Prexaspes insists that Smerdis is dead; διαλεκτικός.

(H91) Prexaspes ascertains the identity of Smerdis (3.63); has four items in DD; (1) Prexaspes questions the messenger; (2) The messenger reveals it is Patizeithes, the

king's steward, who has revolted; (3) Cambyses forgives Prexaspes; (4) Prexaspes deduces that the real Smerdis is Patizeithes' brother; διαλεκτικός.

(H92) Cambyses realises he is to die in Ecbatana (3.64.5); has one item in DD; another misunderstood oracle; διαλεκτικός.

(H93) Cambyses confesses to and regrets the unnecessary killing of his brother Smerdis (3.65); has one item in DD; Cambyses tells the Persians to go to any lengths to prevent the Achaemenid lineage from falling from power; again ironic, because they did; an unusually long monologue; διαλεκτικός.

(H94) The false Smerdis is exposed by a plot between Otanes and his daughter Phaedymia (3.68-69); has six items: (1) Otanes asks his daughter with whom she is sleeping (ID); (2) She replies she does not know (ID); (3) Otanes tells her to ask Atossa (DD); (4) She replies she cannot contact Atossa (DD); (5) Otanes tells her to feel the man's ears (DD); (6) She replies she will be in great danger but will do what her father says (ID); items 1 & 2, 3 & 4 and 5 & 6 are cpy., 1 & 2 for dramatic effect; διαλεκτικός.

(H95) Darius and the six plan to kill Smerdis and win back the throne (3.71-73); has six items in DD: (1) Darius proposes the seven act together; (2) Otanes thinks they need more men; (3) We cannot risk waiting; (4) Otanes asks how they can attack; (5) Darius says they can lie their way in; (6) Gobryas shows his support for Darius; note sophistic argument in Darius' response to Otanes (72.2-5); a genuine debate involving three speakers used to explain how Darius wins the confidence of the conspirators and thus the kingship; συμβουλευτικός.

(H96) Interchange of Darius and Gobryas in the battle with the Magi (3.78.5); has three items; (1) Gobryas asks why Darius does not strike (ID); (2) Darius is afraid he will strike Gobryas (DD); (3) Gobryas tells him to strike (DD); a short but dramatic episode; one of many versions of the Magus killing (cf. Asheri 1989, 470); διαλεκτικός.

(H97) The Constitutional Debate (3.80-82); has three items in DD forming an 'agon' of thesis and antithesis: (1) Otanes speaks for democracy; (2) Megabyxus for oligarchy; (3) Darius for monarchy; obviously a Greek set piece sophistic discussion; more comparable with Plato than Thucydides; cf. Asheri (2007, 471-473); διαλεκτικός.

(H98) Otanes opts out of the kingship (3.83.2); has one item in DD; for Otanes' love of the Athenian democratic ideal of 'living as one pleases'; cf. Thuc. 2.37.2; διαλεκτικός.

(H99) Oebares and Darius devise a plan (3.85.1-2); has three items in DD; (1) Darius consults his groom; (2) Oebares has a plan; (3) Darius tells him to use it; an 'aba' type duologue ; introduces another 'wise adviser' type, this time a servant; διαλεκτικός.

(H100) Darius executes Intaphrenes (3.119.3-6); has four items in DD; (1) Darius offers to save one of Intaphrenes' relatives; (2) The wife chooses her brother; (3) Darius asks why; (4) She explains that, as her parents are dead, she cannot have another brother; dramatic; takes form of 'abab' duologue between Darius and Intaphrenes' wife but through a messenger not face to face; for the sentiment of choosing a brother cf. the argument in Sophocles, *Antigone* 905-912; cf. also Asheri (2007, 506); διαλεκτικός.

(H101) Mitrobates taunts Oroetes to capture Samos (3.120.3); has one item in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H102) Oroetes via a message offers Polycrates money (3.122.3-4); has one item in DD; serves the story's moralising purpose viz. 'cupidity blinds and leads to catastrophe' (cf. Asheri 1989, 508); for clever trickery in H cf. Dewald in Waterfield (1998, 607); διαλεκτικός.

(H103) Polycrates' daughter tries to stop him going to Oroetes (3.124.2); has two items in ID; (1) Polycrates resists the warning; (2) His daughter repeats; διαλεκτικός.

(H104) Darius asks for a volunteer to kill Oroetes (3.127.2-3); has one item in DD ; characteristic of Darius' personality; cf. Asheri (1989, 510); διαλεκτικός.

(H105) Bagaeus takes scrolls to Sardis where the contents are read ordering the death of Oroetes (3.128.4-5); has two items in DD: (1) The first written message; (2) The second message; a device to persuade Oroetes' guards to respect the will of Darius over their allegiance to Oroetes; another instance of the power of letters; διαλεκτικός.

(H106) Following Democedes' orders Atossa proposes an attack on Greece and Darius agrees (3.134); has four items in DD; (1) Atossa proposes the attack; (2) Darius agrees; (3) Atossa proposes that Hellas be attacked first; (4) Darius decides to send spies; structured as a dramatic 'abab' duologue ; Atossa is seen to be a 'cause' of the Persian Wars (see Asheri 2007, 513-514); a 'wise adviser' type event; διαλεκτικός.

(H107) The Persians try to persuade the Crotonians to hand over Democedes (3.137.2-3); has one item in DD; but purportedly spoken by several people, therefore obviously false; has three rhetorical questions; its purpose may be to denigrate Darius by telling how an ordinary doctor could elude him; πρεσβευτικός.

(H108) Syloson, Polycrates' brother, gives Darius his red cloak for free (3.139.3); has one item in DD; it begins the story of Syloson's return to power on Samos; διαλεκτικός.

(H109) At Susa Darius asks how Syloson is his benefactor (3.140.2-5); has five items; (1) Darius to gatekeeper (DD); (2) The translators ask Syloson who he is (ID); (3) Syloson replies that he is the donor of the cloak (ID); (4) Darius offers him riches in return (DD); (5) Syloson prefers to be restored to Samos (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H110) Maeandrius explains his liberal regime to the Samians (3.142.3-5); has two items in DD; (1) Maeandrius wishes to abandon the throne for money; (2) A Samian says Maeandrius is not worthy of ruling and must account for the funds he controls; a good example of a fifth-century anti-tyrannical speech by Maeandrius; cf. use of the word ἰσονομίη; δημηγορικός.

(H111) Maeandrius is rebuked by his crazy brother Charilaus (3.145.2-3); has one item in DD; another in the line of (half-) mad brothers, sons etc.; διαλεκτικός.

(H112) Cleomenes advises the ephors to expel Maeandrius (3.148.2); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H113) A Babylonian inhabitant taunts Darius (3.151.2); has one item in DD; famous for the expression 'when mules bear young' = never; again a kind of prophecy which comes true in 3.153; διαλεκτικός.

(H114) Zopyrus reveals his strange plan to Darius for the capture of Babylon (3.155); has four items; (1) Darius asks how Zopyrus became mutilated (ID); (2) Zopyrus replies it was he himself (DD); (3) Darius rebukes him (DD); (4) Zopyrus nevertheless reveals his plan (DD); the idea goes back to Odysseus' entry to Troy (Il. 4, 242ff.) and Sinon prior to the wooden horse; 'wise adviser' type event; διαλεκτικός.

(H115) Zopyrus persuades the Babylonians of his hatred of Darius (3.156.3); has one item in DD; an example of how it is easier to fool a council than one person; δημηγορικός.

End of survey of Book 3: (42 events: 18 singles; 8 doubles; 5 triples; 11 multiples: 36 διαλεκτικός; 1 συμβουλευτικός; 3 πρεσβευτικός; 2 δημηγορικός) (105 items: DD = 76; ID = 29).

Book 4

(H116) A Scythian suggests how to defeat their slaves (4.3.3-4); has one item in DD; introduction to ethnographic survey; διαλεκτικός.

(H117) A Borysthenite summons the Scythians to witness their king in a Bacchic frenzy (4.79.4); has one item in DD; dramatic; διαλεκτικός.

(H118) Sitalces sends a message to Octamasades (4.80.3); has one item in DD; dramatic; enhances the narrative; emphasises the goodwill of Sitalces and bad faith of Octamasades; διαλεκτικός.

(H119) Artabanus pleads with Darius not to attack Scythia (4.83.1); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H120) Darius executes all three sons of Oeobazus, who asked that one be released from military service (4.84.1); has three items in ID: (1) Oeobazus makes his request; (2) Darius says he should leave all his sons behind; (3) Darius then orders the death of all three; cpy.to **H209**; διαλεκτικός.

(H121) Coes guardedly suggests to Darius that he leave the Ister bridge intact in case of emergencies (4.97.3-6); has two items in DD; (1) Coes suggests the bridge be left intact; (2) Darius later thanks him for the advice; 'wise adviser' type; advice taken; διαλεκτικός.

(H122) Darius orders Ionian rulers to guard the bridge for 60 days (4.98); has one item in DD; indicates a change of mind; διαλεκτικός.

(H123) The Scythian men agree to go and live with the Amazon women (4.114-115); has three items in DD: (1) The men propose to go back to their own community (DD); (2) The women refuse saying that their culture is different (DD); (3) The Amazons propose they and the men move location (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H124) The Scythians via messengers request their neighbours' aid against the Persians (4.118, 2-5); has one item in DD; cpy. to **H125**; cf. the 'agon' at 6.47-49-66 for rhetoric; πρεσβευτικός.

(H125) The kings give their response (4.119.2-4); has one item in DD; cpy.to **H124**; much evidence of rhetorical language here; antitheses and use of connecting particles; διαλεκτικός.

(H126) Darius' message to king Idanthyrsus of Scythia (4.126); has one item in DD; cpy. with **H127**; used to denote a turning point in the development of events; see note in Corcella (2007, 663); also Hunter (1982, 193-196); πρεσβευτικός.

(H127) The defiant reply of Idanthyrsus (4.127); has one item in DD; cpy. with **H126**; it sums up the importance of nomadism in warfare and the pride and defiance of the independent Scythians; contrasts with the Ionians; cf. Asheri (2007, n. on 126-127); διαλεκτικός.

(H128) Gobryas' interpretation of the Scythian kings' gifts (4.132.3); has one item in DD; Darius' confidence in his optimistic interpretation is contrasted by that of Gobryas; was Herodotus exaggerating Darius' misinterpretation by resembling a bird

to a horse (cf. Homer, Il. 2,764)? Gobryas is above suspicion of defeatism due to his past record as a conspirator; διαλεκτικός.

(H129) The First Scythian division persuade the Ionians to quit the bridge (4.133.2-3); has one item in DD; a skilful change of scene creates the effect of suspense (cf. Asheri 2007, n. on 133.1-3); the Scythians provide a kind of collective 'wise adviser'; διαλεκτικός.

(H130) Darius abandons his former arrogance and accepts Gobryas' proposal to withdraw (4.134.2-3); has two items in DD; (1) Darius recognises Gobryas' interpretation; (2) Gobryas reveals a plan to escape the Scythians; the hare may have some symbolic/religious significance; διαλεκτικός.

(H131) The combined Scythian forces ask the Ionians to break up the bridge and depart (4.136.3-4); has one item in DD; re-emphasises the Scythian demand at 133.3 to abandon the bridge; διαλεκτικός.

(H132) Histiaeus of Miletus responds to the Scythians (4.139.2-3); has one item in DD; Histiaeus easily tricks the Scythians; does Herodotus think so little of them? (cf. Hunter 1982, 210-213); διαλεκτικός.

(H133) Cutting remark of Megabazus on the founding of Chalcedon (4.144.2); has one item in ID; 'they must have been blind'; διαλεκτικός.

(H134) Theras' quip against his son (4.149.1); has one item in ID; for the saying 'a sheep left among wolves' cf. Asheri (2007, ad loc.); διαλεκτικός.

(H135) The Libyans persuade the Greeks to move their colony to Apollo's Spring (4.158.3); has one item in DD; Herodotus may be trying to involve the Libyans in the history of Cyrene; cf. Asheri (2007, n.on 4.158.1-2); πρεσβευτικός.

(H136) Pheretime asks Euelthon for an army but he refuses (4.162.3-5); has two items in ID; (1) Pheretime prefers an army to other gifts; (2) Euelthon says his gifts of spindle and distaff are more appropriate; begins the (interwoven) story of Pheretime and continues Herodotus' interest in the combative character of women (cf. Artemisia at 7.99 and in Bk. 8 passim and mention of Eryxo at 4.160.4); see 4.205 for Pheretime's end; διαλεκτικός.

(H137) The Barcaeans and Persians swear an oath (4.201.2); has one item in DD (the words of the oath); it illustrates the trickery and faithlessness of the Persians; for Herodotus' interest in tricks and deceits cf. Asheri (2007, n.on 201.1); for tricks as stratagems for war cf. Thuc. 3.34.3; δικανικός.

End of survey of Book 4 (22 events: 17 singles; 3 doubles; 2 triples: 18 διαλεκτικός; 3 πρεσβευτικός; 1 δικανικός.) (29 items: DD = 21; ID = 8).

(H138) Darius and Paeonian men, Pigres & Mastyes, in conversation about their sister (5.13-14.1); has eight items in ID: (1) Darius orders the women to be brought to him (ID); (2) He enquires where she has come from (ID); (3) The men say Paeonia (ID); (4) Darius asks more questions (ID); (5) They tell him about the origins of Paeonia (ID); (6) Darius asks if all their women are so industrious (ID); (7) They enthusiastically say yes (ID); (8) Darius instructs Megabazus by letter to transport all the Paeonians to him (ID); διαλεκτικός.

(H139) The Persians ask Amyntas to allow the Macedonian women to dine with them (5.18.2-5); has four items; (1) The Persians ask to be accompanied by Macedonian women after dinner (DD); (2) Amyntas agrees (DD); (3) The Persians say it was not a good idea for the women to sit opposite them (ID); (4) Amyntas orders the women to sit next to the Persians (ID); when the Persians begin to fondle the women this provides a motive for Alexander's plot; διαλεκτικός.

(H140) Alexander plots the death of the Persian diners (5.19-20); has four items in DD: (1) Alexander gets Amyntas to leave the dining room (DD); (2) Amyntas suspects his son's motives but goes (DD); (3) Alexander tricks the Persians into letting the real women exit (DD); (4) He introduces assassins disguised as women (DD); it builds up to a climax where the fourth item is the longest; this story illustrates Herodotus' fondness for recounting trickery; διαλεκτικός.

(H141) Megabazus advises Darius to stop Histiaeus fortifying Myrcinus (5.23.2-3); has one item in DD; is a 'wise adviser' type; διαλεκτικός.

(H142) Darius sends for Histiaeus by messenger and persuades him to return with him to Susa (5.24.1-4); has two items in DD: (1) Darius sends for Histiaeus (DD); (2) He offers him the position of personal counsellor (DD); this is a ruse/trick backed up by flattery to get Histaeus out of the way; Histiaeus takes the bait; διαλεκτικός.

(H143) Aristagoras agrees to assist the Naxian exiles to return home (5.30.3-5); has three items: (1) The Naxians ask Aristagoras for forces to return them to their homeland (ID); (2) Aristagoras promises to try to obtain Persian help via Artaphrenes (DD); (3) The Naxians tell him to promise expenses to Artaphrenes' army (ID); Aristagoras has designs on the kingship of Naxos and so enveigles the Naxians into his scheme; trickery; συμβουλευτικός.

(H144) Aristagoras and Artaphrenes plan to conquer Naxos (5.31); has three items: (1) Aristagoras describes the wealth of Naxos (ID); (2) He proposes Artaphrenes conquer it and go on from there to the Cyclades and Euboea (DD); (3) Artaphrenes offers 200 ships if the King agrees to the plan (DD); συμβουλευτικός.

(H145) Megabates and Aristagoras fall out (5.33.3-4); has two items: (1) Someone reports Megabates' ill treatment of Scylax (ID); (2) Aristagoras rails against Megabates (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H146) Histiaeus sends a message on a man's scalp to Aristagoras (5.35); has one item in ID: the strangest means of communication in Herodotus perhaps; διαλεκτικός.

(H147) Hecataeus, contrary to other opinion, advises the Milesians not to revolt but to gain control of the sea by seizing the treasure at Branchidae (5.36.2-3); has two items in ID; (1) The others order revolt (ID); (2) Hecataeus explains his opinion (ID); συμβουλευτικός.

(H148) The Spartan ephors advise Anaxandridas to give up his wife who is childless; he refuses; they propose he take another wife (5.39-40); has three items: (1) The ephors advise divorce and remarriage (DD); (2) Anaxandridas refuses to do either (ID); (3) The ephors propose he take a second wife, contrary to custom (DD); a flash-back explaining the origin of Cleomenes' kingship; συμβουλευτικός.

(H149) Aristagoras attempts unsuccessfully to persuade Cleomenes to free the Ionians from Persian rule (5.49-50); has five items (1) Aristagoras entices Cleomenes to aid the revolt (DD); (2) Cleomenes puts him off for two days (DD); (3) Cleomenes asks how far it is to the King (ID); (4) Aristagoras says it is three months' journey (ID); (5) Cleomenes refuses (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H150) Aristagoras tries one more time, as suppliant, to persuade Cleomenes by bribe; Cleomenes' daughter shames him (5.51); has three items: (1) Aristagoras asks Cleomenes to dismiss the child (ID); (2) Cleomenes asks him to speak out (ID); (3) Gorgo speaks up to shame Cleomenes (DD); the daughter's part in DD makes her the main player here; shows Herodotus' love of elevating the status of minor characters; διαλεκτικός.

(H151) The dream Hipparchus had before he was killed (5.56.1); has one item in DD (verse); delivered by 'a tall, good-looking man'; διαλεκτικός.

(H152) Cleomenes occupies the Acropolis (5.72.3-4); has two items in DD: (1) The priestess refuses Cleomenes entry as he is a Dorian (DD); (2) He claims to be an Achaean; evidence of early animosity between Dorian and Ionian races; διαλεκτικός.

(H153) The Athenian envoys offer Artaphrenes earth and water at Sardis (5.73.2); has three items in ID: (1) Artaphrenes asks who the Athenians are (ID); (2) He orders them to leave unless they give earth and water (ID); (3) The envoys agree (ID); this is the first mention of Athens by Herodotus in connection with an alliance with Persia; πρεσβευτικός.

(H154) The Theban emissary to Delphi on seeking revenge against Athens and the interpretation of the oracle (5.79-80); has five items; (1) The Pythia says revenge is not theirs (ID); (2) The Thebans try to work out who is 'closest' (DD); (3) Someone suggests Aegina (DD); (4) They send to Aegina for help (ID); (5) The Aeginetans agree to send the Aeacidae (ID); this exchange is important as the origin of hostility between Athens and Aegina; πρεσβευτικός.

(H155) The Athenians demand the return of statues from Aegina (5.84); has two items in ID; (1) The Epidaurians deny responsibility for the images stolen by the Aeginetans (ID); (2) So also do the Aeginetans (ID); πρεσβευτικός.

(H156) The Spartans ask for their allies' assistance in restoring Hippias to Athens (5.91.2-3); one item in DD; συμβουλευτικός.

(H157) Socles tells how Periander came to power in Corinth (5.92); one item in DD; an unusually long speech for Herodotus; it amounts to an invective against tyranny; it constitutes a single event but incorporates three oracles, one in response to Eetion, one to an earlier enquiry, one to Cypselus, which I do not include in my definition of 'speech' (see my introduction); counts as 'Speech as Narrative' (see Chapter 7 on DD & ID), since it is in DD and is clearly being used by Herodotus as a device for expressing authorial comment as well as a vehicle for enhancing the narrative. I therefore decline to categorise this event.

(H158) Hippias prophesises that the Corinthians will suffer at Athenian hands but the allies of the Lacedaemonians refuse to aid Hippias (5.93); has two items: (1) Hippias says the Corinthians would in time welcome the Pisistratids at Athens (ID); (2) The delegates earnestly call on Sparta not to restore the Athenian tyranny (ID); συμβουλευτικός.

(H159) Athenians reject Artaphrenes' message to reinstate Hippias (5.96); has two items: (1) The Athenian messengers dissuade the Persians from believing Athenian exiles (ID); (2) Artaphrenes orders them to take Hippias back (ID); πρεσβευτικός.

(H160) Aristagoras persuades the Athenians to attack the Persians (5.97.1-2); has one item in ID; he claims it would be easy to defeat the Persians and the Athenians owed the Milesians protection as Miletus was an Athenian colony; contains the famous maxim 'it seems easier to persuade the many than one' (πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἕνα); δημηγορικός.

(H161) Aristagoras' messenger offers escort to the Paeonians to return home (5.98.2); one item in DD; πρεσβευτικός.

(H162) Darius orders his attendant to remind him constantly of the Athenians (5.105); has three items: (1) Darius asks who the Athenians are (ID); (2) His appeal to

Zeus (DD); (3) His order to an attendant to remember the Athenians (ID); διαλεκτικός.

(H163) Darius allows Histiaeus to return to Ionia to restore order (5.106.1-6); has two items in DD; (1) Darius instructs Histiaeus to quell the revolt (DD); (2) Histiaeus agrees if he is permitted to go to Ionia (DD); this illustrates Darius' credulousness; διαλεκτικός.

(H164) The Cyprian tyrants give the Ionians the choice of fighting the Persians or the Phoenicians (5.109); has two items in DD: (1) The Cyprians offer the Ionians a choice of whom to fight at sea (DD); (2) The Ionians choose the Phoenicians (DD); συμβουλευτικός.

(H165) Onesilus and his Carian squire plan to unsettle Artybius' horse (5.111); has two items in DD: (1) Onesilus describes Artybius' horse (DD); (2) His attendant has a plan (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H166) Pixodarus advises the Carians to cross the river to fight the Persians (5.118.2); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H167) Aristagoras and Hecataeus differ about where Aristagoras should make a stand (5.124-125); has two items in ID: (1) Aristagoras makes two choices for the reestablishment of Miletus (ID); (2) Hecataeus proposes Aristagoras should fortify Leros (ID); συμβουλευτικός.

End of survey of Book 5 (30 events: 8 singles; 12 doubles; 5 triples; 5 multiples: 15 διαλεκτικός; 8 συμβουλευτικός; 5 πρεσβευτικός; 1 δημηγορικός; 1 uncategorised) (75 items: DD= 34 ; ID = 41)

Book 6

(H168) Artaphrenes accuses Histiaeus of instigating the Ionian revolt (6.1); has three items; (1) Artaphrenes asks Histiaeus how the Ionian revolt had come about (ID); (2) Histiaeus denies any knowledge (ID); (3) Artaphrenes pronounces the tag "you stitched the shoe, Aristagoras put it on" (τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σύ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης) (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H169) The Persian generals promise the Ionians good treatment if they surrender (6.9.3-4); has one item in DD; συμβουλευτικός.

(H170) Dionysius of Phocaea rallies the Ionian fleet (6.11.2-3); has one item in DD; a 'practical warning'; παρακλητικός.

(H171) The Ionians complain about the harshness of Dionysius' command (6.12.3); has one item in DD; illustrates the disunity of the Ionians and the consequent loss of the battle of Lade; διαλεκτικός.

(H172) Cleomenes' threat to Crius of Aegina (6.50,2); has four items in ID: (1) Crius says Cleomenes has no authority to arrest any Aeginetan (ID); (2) Cleomenes asks Crius' name (ID); (3) Crius tells him (ID); (4) Cleomenes tells him to cover his horns in bronze (as about to be killed in sacrifice) (ID); the story is based on a pun on Crius' name (κριός = 'ram'); see also 2.42.4 for this word; διαλεκτικός.

(H173) Panites advises the Lacedaemonians on the first-born (6.52.6); has one item in ID; a 'wise adviser' type; διαλεκτικός.

(H174) Ariston denies Demaratus is his son (6.63.2); has one item in DD; a dramatic exclamation; διαλεκτικός.

(H175) Leotychidas swears an oath against Demaratus (6.65.3-4); has one item in ID; cpy. **H176**; δικανικός.

(H176) Demaratus' reply to Leotychidas' mocking question (6.67.2-3); has two items in ID; (1) Leotychidas' servant asks Demaratus how it feels to be a slave (ID); (2) Demaratus says this question could be the beginning of either many woes or blessings for Sparta (ID); cpy. **H175**; διαλεκτικός.

(H177) Demaratus' mother's reply to his request to know who his father was (6.68-69); has two items in DD: (1) Demaratus asks his mother; (2) His mother says his father is either Astrabacus or Ariston; διαλεκτικός.

(H178) Cleomenes realises the truth of the oracle (6.80); has three items; (1) Cleomenes orders the helots to pile up wood around the grove (ID); (2) He asks to which god the grove belongs (ID); (3) Cleomenes addresses Apollo and realises his prophecy has been fulfilled (DD); a dramatic realisation/culmination scene; διαλεκτικός.

(H179) Cleomenes defends himself against the accusation of not taking Argos (6.82); has two items in ID: (1) His enemies accuse him of not capturing Argos (ID); (2) Cleomenes defends himself at length (ID); δικανικός.

(H180) The warning of Theasides persuades the Aeginetans not to remove Leotychidas (6.85.2); has one item in DD; a 'practical warner'; δικανικός.

(H181) Leotychidas' story to the Athenians of Glaucus fails to move them (6.86); has two items: (1) The Athenians refuse to hand back the Aeginetan hostages (ID); (2) Leotychidas tells the story (DD), which incorporates other speeches and an oracular response within a speech, none of which I have counted as separate items DD events since the whole constitutes Speech as Narrative (see Chapter 7); therefore, I have not categorised this speech.

(H182) Datis bids the fleeing Delians return (6.97.2); has one item in DD; δημηγορικός.

(H183) Philippides asks Sparta for help (6.106.2); has one item in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H184) The Spartans refused help to Plataea thirty years earlier (6.108.2-3); has one item in DD; it puts the Spartans in a bad light; πρεσβευτικός.

(H185) Miltiades persuades Callimachus to cast the tie-breaking vote and attack the Persians (6.109.3-6); has one item in DD; has rhetorical language; διαλεκτικός.

(H186) Cleisthenes invites suitors to sue for his daughter's hand (6.126.2); has one item in ID; it introduces the story of Megacles and Agariste; διαλεκτικός.

(H187) Short encounter between Cleisthenes and Hippocleides (6.129.4); has two items in DD: (1) Cleisthenes rejects Hippocleides suit; (2) Hippocleides says he doesn't care; it explains the origin of a proverb: 'Hippocleides doesn't care' (Οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ); διαλεκτικός.

(H188) Cleisthenes selects Megacles as his son-in-law (6.130); has one item in DD; confirms the spread of the fame and kudos of the Alcmaeonidae; διαλεκτικός.

(H189) Miltiades demands 100 talents from the Parians, who supported the Persian invasion (6.133.2); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H190) Timo gives Miltiades advice on how to take Paros (6.134.1); has one item in ID; practical adviser; again, a woman (a local under-priestess); διαλεκτικός.

(H191) The Pythia prevents the Parians from punishing Timo (6.135.3); has one item in ID; counts as speech as narrative, therefore has no category.

(H192) Miltiades, wounded in the thigh, is defended by his friends in court (6.136.2); one item in ID; δικανικός.

(H193) The Pelasgians respond to Athenian demands with an 'impossible' condition (6.139,3-4); has two items: (1) The Athenians order the Pelasgians to deliver up their land to them (ID); (2) The Pelasgians respond with an impossible condition (DD); again the impossible is achieved, this time by Miltiades crossing to Lemnos from the Chersonese (see 6.140); συμβουλευτικός.

End of survey of book 6 (26 events: 17 singles; 6 doubles; 2 triple; 1 multiple; 15 διαλεκτικός; 2 συμβουλευτικός; 4 δικανικός; 1 πρεσβευτικός; 1 παρακλητικός; 1 δημηγορικός; 2 uncategorised) (39 items: DD = 18; ID = 21).

(H194) Demaratus supports Xerxes in his claim to inheritance (7.3.2-3); has three items in ID: (1) Artobazanes claims to be the eldest; (2) Xerxes claims the right as the grandson of Cyrus; (3) Demaratus intervenes on the side of Xerxes; items 1 and 2 have no introductory verb of speaking but it can be understood; διαλεκτικός.

(H195) Mardonius advises Xerxes to attack Greece (7.5.2); has two items: (1) Mardonius advises revenge on Athens (DD); (2) Moreover, Europe is a beautiful and desirable place to conquer (ID); a 'practical adviser' speech; διαλεκτικός.

(H196) Xerxes addresses the gathered Persians on invading Europe (7.8.α- δ2): has one item in DD; cpy. to **H197**, **H198** and **H212**; a long speech with a rhetorical defence of his plans and a 'democratic' invitation for comment; παρακλητικός.

(H197) Mardonius makes a flattering response in support of Xerxes but fatefully underestimates Greek power and prowess (7.9); has one item in DD; cpy. to **H196** and **H198**; Mardonius' over confidence leads to disaster eventually; συμβουλευτικός.

(H198) Artabanus warns Xerxes about the dangers of an invasion (7.10.α-θ3); has one item in DD; 'wise adviser' speech; cpy. to **H196, H197** and **H199**; full of maxims and sayings on pride, fortune and the gods; moral and quasi-religious; συμβουλευτικός.

(H199) Xerxes denounces Artabanus as a coward (7.11); has one item in DD; cpy. to **H198**; συμβουλευτικός.

(H200) A man in Xerxes' dream encourages him to keep to his original plan (7.12.2); has one item in DD; it adds drama to Xerxes' indecisiveness; counts as 'wise adviser' type; διαλεκτικός.

(H201) Xerxes announces his intention not to go to war (7.13); has one item in DD; συμβουλευτικός.

(H202) The dream appears again to Xerxes with the same message (7.14); has one item in DD; this time as 'warner'; διαλεκτικός.

(H203) Xerxes takes fear and asks Artabanus to sleep in his place (7.15); has one item in DD; συμβουλευτικός.

(H204) Artabanus agrees reluctantly to this (7.16.α-γ); has one item in DD; συμβουλευτικός.

(H205) The dream admonishes Artabanus (7.17.2); has one item in DD; a 'practical warner' type; διαλεκτικός.

(H206) Artabanus tells Xerxes he has changed his mind (7.18.2-3); has one item in DD; this speech concludes the long sequence (7.12.2 to 7.18.2-3) to do with Xerxes' dream dramatising the Persian vacillation over the invasion of Greece and indicating that the gods willed it to happen and so it could not be avoided (a Homeric idea); however, as in tragedy, the human(s) involved, mainly Xerxes, cannot escape responsibility for failure; συμβουλευτικός.

(H207) Pythius offers Xerxes money and is made his guest-friend (7.27-29); has six items: (1) Pythius offers money to Xerxes (ID); (2) Xerxes asks who Pythius is (ID); (3) The Persians tell him Pythius is the second richest man in the world (DD); (4) Xerxes asks Pythius how rich he is (ID); (5) Pythius gives him an exact figure (DD); (6) Xerxes is delighted and makes him ξεῖνος (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H208) Xerxes has the Hellespont lashed (7.35); has four items: (1) Xerxes orders the Hellespont to be lashed and shackled (ID); (2) His men are ordered to revile the sea in barbarian language (ID); (3) What they said (DD); (4) Xerxes orders the beheading of the bridge builders (ID); note: Xerxes did not say the words himself; Herodotus comments that no Greek would have used these words which he describes as βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα; there is some repetition here; διαλεκτικός.

(H209) Pythius asks for his son to be spared military service to Xerxes' annoyance (7.38-39); has five items: (1) Pythius asks Xerxes for a favour (DD); (2) Xerxes tells him to say what he wants (ID); (3) He asks for his eldest son to be spared military service (DD); (4) Xerxes replies angrily that Pythius' eldest son must die (DD); (5) He orders the son to be cut in two and the army to march between the parts (ID); cpy. to **H120**; διαλεκτικός.

(H210) Xerxes and Artabanus discourse on the frailty of human life and the dangers of the coming war (7.46-52); a long discourse/conversation comprising 10 items in DD: (1) Artabanus notices Xerxes crying (DD); (2) Xerxes reflects on the shortness of human life (DD); (3) Artabanus notes there are sadder things than its shortness (DD); (4) Xerxes dismisses talk about 'bad' things; was Artabanus really convinced by the dream? (DD); (5) Artabanus says he was but still fears two enemies (DD); (6) Xerxes cannot understand what there is to fear (DD); (7) Artabanus explains the two enemies are the land and the sea (here he takes on the role of 'practical adviser' and shows a depth of strategic wisdom) (DD); (8) Xerxes adopts the optimistic view of 'nothing ventured nothing gained' and 'audere est facere' countering Artabanus' pessimism (DD); (9) Artabanus seems to accept this but counsels as 'wise adviser' not to allow the Ionians to march against their Athenian kinsmen (DD); (10) Xerxes balks against this as well, reminding Artabanus of the Ionians' loyalty during Darius' Scythian expedition (DD). There is much rhetorical usage in this passage, especially item 8: e.g. counter arguments and antitheses. It does not further the historical narrative but gives an insight into the psychological state of two important

protagonists. To this extent it is comparable to some speech events in Thucydides, notably the debate between Nicias and Alcibiades before the Sicilian expedition (Thuc.6.9-23), except for the fact that it is held in private; διαλεκτικός.

(H211) Xerxes exhorts the Persian nobles (7.53.1-2); has one item in DD; this ends the indecision, Artabanus having been posted back to Susa; παρακλητικός.

(H212) Xerxes prays to the sun to be allowed to conquer all of Europe (7.54.2); has one item in ID; cpy. to H196; διαλεκτικός.

(H213) A Hellespontine man believes Xerxes is Zeus in disguise (7.56.2); has one item in DD; it dramatically builds up the prowess and thereby the subsequent downfall of Xerxes ('the higher they rise the harder they fall'); διαλεκτικός.

(H214) Demaratus explains to Xerxes the prowess of the Greeks (7.101-104); has six items: (1) Xerxes asks Demaratus if the Greeks will stand (DD); (2) Demaratus asks if he should tell the truth (DD); (3) Xerxes orders him to do so (ID); (4) Demaratus says it is the Spartans who will fight (DD); (5) Xerxes does not believe he can lose (DD); (6) Demaratus says the Spartans fear their law more than the Persians fear their King (DD); a discourse on the subject of the Spartan (Greek) fighting spirit; Xerxes is still incredulous at the end; the event displays Xerxes' overconfidence and anticipates coming disasters; it counts as a 'wise adviser' type; διαλεκτικός.

(H215) Megacreon of Abdera is thankful the Persians take only one meal a day (7.120); has one item in ID; δημηγορικός.

(H216) Xerxes asks if the River Peneius can be diverted (7.128.2); has one item in ID; more evidence of Xerxes' arrogance; cpy. to H217; διαλεκτικός.

(H217) His guides reply that it can not: Xerxes understands why the Thessalians surrendered (7.130.1-2); has two items in DD: (1) The guides say the river has no other outlet (DD); (2) Xerxes says the Thessalians were wise to surrender (DD); although item 2 is prefixed by λέγεται, suggesting that Herodotus is unsure of the reliability of his source for this remark, I include it as being closely connected with item 1; cpy. to H216; διαλεκτικός.

(H218) The Greeks resisting the Persians swear an oath against those who gave earth and water (7.132.2); has one item in ID; συμβουλευτικός.

(H219) Hydarnes advises Sperthias and Bulis, two brave Spartans, to be on good terms with Xerxes (7.135.2-3); has two items in DD: (1) Hydarnes advises friendship with the King (DD); (2) The Spartans say they prefer freedom (DD); a 'wise adviser' type event; διαλεκτικός.

(H220)   Xerxes refuses to kill the Spartans in return for the death of his heralds (7.136); has four items: (1) The guards order them to kneel (ID); (2) They refuse (ID); (3) They explain why they have come (DD); (4) Xerxes lets them go (ID); this dialogue consists of two cpy. items (1+2) and (3+4); διαλεκτικός.

(H221)   Themistocles suggests the 'correct' interpretation of the oracle (7.142.1-143.3); has three items in ID: (1) Some elders interpret the oracle as referring to the Acropolis (ID); (2) Others think it refers to the ships (ID); (3) Themistocles interprets the oracle correctly (ID); cf. 8.51-53 regarding the fate of those Athenians who misread this oracle; συμβουλευτικός.

(H222) Themistocles advises Laureum silver be used to pay for ships (7.144.1); has one item in ID; δημηγορικός.

(H223)   Xerxes explains why he let three Athenian spies loose (7.146.2-147.1); has three items in ID: (1) Xerxes orders his guards to bring the spies to him (ID); (2) He further orders them to conduct the spies around the army (ID); (3) He explains they are more use alive in order to report the size of his army (ID); διαλεκτικός.

(H224)   Clever response of Xerxes to his courtiers over the grain ships (7.147.3); has three items: (1) Xerxes asks the destination of the ships (ID); (2) His courtiers reply (DD); (3) Xerxes says 'let them go' (DD); συμβουλευτικός.

(H225)   The Argive Council asks for a thirty year treaty with Sparta and half the land command (7.148.4); has one item in ID; συμβουλευτικός.

(H226)   Xerxes' messenger appeals to the Argives to stay neutral (7.150.2); has one item in DD; πρεσβευτικός.

(H227)   The Greek deputation to Syracuse fails to enlist the support of Gelon (7.157-162.1); has six items in DD: a long speech event giving the speeches of the Spartan and Athenian delegations and the responses of Gelon: (1) The messengers present the Greeks' proposal (DD); (2) Gelon's demand to command all forces (DD); (3) Syagrus of Sparta rejects Gelon's demand (DD); (4) Gelon then proposes he command the fleet (DD); (5) The Athenian envoy rejects this idea in turn (DD); (6) Gelon dismisses the delegation, who return home empty handed (DD); this is the first major political contact with the western Greeks recorded; there are different circumstances but the Athenian claim to naval superiority can be compared with Thucydides' account of the speech of Euphemus, the Athenian ambassador, at Camarina (6,82-87); πρεσβευτικός.

(H228)   The Corcyreans promise to send help to the Greeks (7.168.1); has one item in ID; συμβουλευτικός.

(H229) The imagined speech by the Corcyreans to Xerxes (7.168.3); has one item in DD; πρεσβευτικός.

(H230) The Thessalians bid the Greeks hold the pass at Thermopylae (7.172.2-3); has one item in DD; πρεσβευτικός.

(H231) Messengers from Alexander the Macedonian advise the Greeks to retreat before the Persian advance (7.173.3); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(H232) Message of the Greek alliance to the Locrians and Phocians (7.203); one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(H233) Xerxes does not believe Demaratus' account of the Lacedaemonians (7.209.2-5); has three items: (1) Demaratus praises the prowess of the Spartans as he had before (DD); (2) Xerxes asks again how these men can fight like that (ID); (3) Demaratus invites Xerxes to call him a liar (DD); counts as a 'wise adviser' type; διαλεκτικός.

(H234) The diviner Megistias predicts 'death at dawn' (7.219.1); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H235) Dieneces' quip about fighting in the shade (7.226.2); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H236) Xerxes adopts Achaemenes' advice over that of Demaratus (7.234-237); has six items: (1) Xerxes asks Demaratus about the remaining Lacedaemonians (DD); (2) Demaratus replies that there are about 8000 Spartans in all (DD); (3) Xerxes asks Demaratus how he can defeat them (DD); (4) Demaratus advises using Cythera as a base (ID); (5) Achaemenes advises Xerxes not to split up the fleet, any land battle will defeat the enemy (DD); (6) Xerxes adopts Achaemenes' plan but calls for Demaratus, as his ξεῖνος, to receive respect (DD); συμβουλευτικός.

(H237) Gorgo reveals a message (7.239.4); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

End of survey of book 7 (44 events: 28 singles; 3 doubles; 5 triples; 8 multiples; 21 διαλεκτικός; 13 συμβουλευτικός; 6 πρεσβευτικός; 2 παρακλητικός; 2 δημηγορικός) (95 items: DD = 59 ; ID = 36)

Book 8

(H238) Themistocles bribes Adeimantus to stay at Artemisium (8.5.1-2); has two items: (1) Adeimantus says he will sail away (ID); (2) Themistocles offers him a bribe (DD); the beginning of Themistocles' career of corruption; διαλεκτικός.

(H239) Xerxes invites men from his fleet to view the slain at Thermopylae (8.24.2); has one item in DD; through a messenger; παρακλητικός.

(H240) Tritantaechmes makes a noble comment on Olympic garlands (8.26.3); has one item in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H241) Tellias advises the Phocians against the Thessalians (8.27.3); has one item in ID; a 'wise adviser' event; συμβουλευτικός.

(H242) Message sent by the Thessalians to the Phocians demanding money (8.29); has one item in DD; by herald; πρεσβευτικός.

(H243) Surviving Persians claim to have been pursued by two superhumans (8.38); has one item in ID; see 8.39 for Herodotus' explanation of this; διαλεκτικός.

(H244) Mnesiphilus' advice to Themistocles to persuade the Greeks to fight at Salamis (8.57.2); has one item in DD; a 'wise adviser' event; διαλεκτικός.

(H245) Themistocles, despite opposition from Adeimantus, persuades Eurybiades to fight at Salamis (8.59-62); has six items: (1) An initial interruption by Adeimantus (DD); (2) A counter by Themistocles (DD); (3) Themistocles addresses Eurybiades (DD); (4) Adeimantus attacks Themistocles as being a stateless individual (ID); (5) Themistocles counters by saying that Athens is still stronger than others in ships (ID); (6) Themistocles continues to address Eurybiades saying the Athenians will sail to Italy if Eurybiades leaves Salamis (DD); this stresses the fact that Athens was still very much alive despite being overrun; also the vital importance of the Athenian fleet to the Greeks' resistance to the Persians; Herodotus describes this encounter as a 'verbal skirmishing' (ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι); διαλεκτικός.

(H246) A cry of 'Iacchus' foretells the defeat of Xerxes fleet to Dicaeus and Demaratus (8.65.2-5); has three items: (1) Demaratus asks what the cry means (ID); (2) Dicaeus explains the cry comes from Eleusis (DD); (3) Demaratus advises him to keep quiet about it (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H247) Artemisia, via Mardonius, advises Xerxes not to fight at Salamis (8.68.α-γ); has one item in DD; a 'wise adviser' event; Xerxes admires her stance but does not take her advice; συμβουλευτικός.

(H248) Sicinnus takes Themistocles' secret message to the Persians (8.75.2-3); has one item in DD; this illustrates Themistocles' duplicity but clever generalship; πρεσβευτικός.

(H249) Themistocles invites Aristeides to inform the Greek commanders of the situation at Salamis (8.79.3-81); has three items: (1) Aristeides tells Themistocles the Greek fleet is surrounded (DD); (2) Themistocles tells Aristeides to report the news to the fleet (DD); (3) Aristeides reports to the Peloponnesian generals (ID); this is an unlikely meeting done for dramatic effect; it emphasises the unity of Athenian effort against the enemy, as Themistocles and Aristeides normally had conflicting views;

there is a contrast in characters here between Themistocles' duplicity and Aristides' integrity (cf. Dewald in Waterfield 1998, n. on 8.70-83, p.715); συμβουλευτικός.

(H250) Pre-battle speech of Themistocles: a short report (8.83.1-2); has one item in ID; disappointingly brief; it would have been good to have known more of what Themistocles actually said; why did Herodotus not take this opportunity to tell us? It is hard to imagine Thucydides not doing so; maybe because Themistocles was not strictly a commander, his country having been technically conquered; παρακλητικός.

(H251) The apparition of a woman instigates the Hellenes to commit to battle at Salamis (8.84.2); one item in DD: is this intended to be a Homeric-like intervention by Athene? διαλεκτικός.

(H252) Xerxes comments on Artemisia's bravery (8.88.2-3); has three items: (1) One of Xerxes men sees Artemisia's ship (DD); (2) Xerxes asks if it is truly her (ID); (3) He then makes his famous declaration on women's courage (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H253) The Phoenicians traduce the Ionians (8.90.1); has two items in ID; (1) The Phoenicians accuse the Ionians of treachery (ID); (2) Xerxes orders the Phoenicians to be beheaded (ID); a 'reversal of fortune'; διαλεκτικός.

(H254) The Athenians say a 'divine' ship's crew remonstrates with Adeimantus and the fleeing Corinthian fleet (8.94.3); has two items: (1) The divine crew hails Adeimantus' ship (DD); (2) They offer to be put to death if the Greeks lose the battle (ID); Plutarch ('On the Malice of Herodotus', *Moralia*, 870E) quotes an inscription supporting the Corinthian claim that they played a full part in the battle of Salamis in contradiction to this passage; διαλεκτικός.

(H255) Mardonius offers to stay and defeat the Greeks while Xerxes retreats (8.100.2-5); has one item in DD; a 'wise adviser' speech; συμβουλευτικός.

(H256) Xerxes consults Artemisia on this offer: Artemisia replies (8.101-102); has three items: (1) Xerxes tells Mardonius he will consult his advisers (ID); (2) Xerxes consults Artemisia alone (DD); (3) Artemisia advises him to return home (DD); it shows Xerxes' weakness but also Artemisia's good use of persuasive argument, again as 'practical adviser'; συμβουλευτικός.

(H257) Hermotimus the eunuch takes revenge upon Panionius (8.106.3); has one item in DD; this event is a deviation from the ongoing historical narrative but complies with the promise of ἔργα θωμαστά in the proem and contains the theme of τίσις so common in Herodotus (for this pendant cf. Dewald n. on 8.97-107 in Waterfield 1998, 717); διαλεκτικός.

(H258) Disagreement between Themistocles and Eurybiades as to how to follow up their victory (8.108.2-4); has two items in ID: (1) Themistocles proposes destroying

the Hellespont bridges; (2) Eurybiades says it is better to leave the Persians a way out; συμβουλευτικός.

(H259) Themistocles misleads the Athenians by advising them to allow the Persians to escape (8.109.2-4); has one item in DD; another example of Themistocles' trickery (ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, 8.110.1); counts as a 'wise adviser' speech; συμβουλευτικός.

(H260) Sicinnus tells Xerxes that it is Themistocles who is allowing his escape (8.110.3); has one item in DD; Themistocles ingratiates himself with Xerxes; πρεσβευτικός.

(H261) The Andrians refuse to pay up to Themistocles (8.111.2-3); has two items: (1) Themistocles demands money with veiled threats (ID); (2) The Andrians counter his argument and refuse (DD); contains an element of courtroom rhetoric; δικανικός.

(H262) Messages of Themistocles to other islands to pay reparations under threat (8.112.1); has one item in ID; συμβουλευτικός.

(H263) Xerxes contemptuously dismisses a demand from Sparta for compensation for the death of Leonidas (8.114); has two items in DD: (1) A Lacedaemonian herald demands compensation from Xerxes (DD); (2) Xerxes ironically says Mardonius will repay them (DD); πρεσβευτικός.

(H264) Xerxes perversely executes his helmsman (8.118.2-3); has three items: (1) Xerxes asks the chances of surviving a storm (ID); (2) The helmsman says none (DD); (3) Xerxes appeals to his men to sacrifice themselves (DD); it shows Xerxes' fickleness and perversity; this is an alternative version of Xerxes' retreat (cf. 8.119); διαλεκτικός.

(H265) Themistocles' retort to Timodemus (8.125.1-2); has two items: (1) Timodemus taunts Themistocles (ID); (2) Themistocles retorts (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H266) Amphiaraus gives the Thebans the option of his being their oracle or ally (8.134.2); has one item in ID; a pendant; διαλεκτικός.

(H267) The boy Perdiccas accepts the gift of the king of Lebaea (8.137.3-5); a pendant in the story of Alexander of Macedon; has four items: (1) The king orders the Temenid brothers to leave (ID); (2) They demand their wages first (ID); (3) The king offers them sunlight (DD); (4) Perdiccas cleverly accepts (DD); διαλεκτικός.

(H268) Alexander advises the Athenians to accept the terms Xerxes is offering via Mardonius (8.140); has two items in DD: (1) Alexander gives the words of Mardonius' message which is from Xerxes (α); (2) Alexander expresses his own opinion (β); the Athenians purposely delayed the audience with Alexander so that the Spartans could

arrive and hear his message; 'wise adviser' type; cpy. to **H269** and **H270**; πρεσβευτικός.

(H269) The Spartan delegation entreats the Athenians not to accept Xerxes' offer (8.142); has one item in DD; cpy. to **H268** and **H270**; πρεσβευτικός.

(H270) The Athenians assure both Alexander and the Spartans in different ways that they will never go over to the Persians (8.143-144); has two items in DD: (1) The Athenians address Alexander; (2) They then address the Spartan messengers; cpy.to **H268** and **H269**; these are moving and statesmanlike speeches by the Athenians; πρεσβευτικός.

End of survey of Book 8 (33 events: 17 singles; 9 doubles; 5 triples; 2 multiples: 15 διαλεκτικός; 8 συμβουλευτικός; 7 πρεσβευτικός; 2 παρακλητικός; 1 δικανικός) (60 items: DD = 38; ID = 22)

Book 9

(H271) The Boeotians advise Mardonius to make his base in Boeotia (9.2); has two items: (1) Boeotians advise Mardonius to camp in Boeotia (ID); (2) They advise him to bribe the Hellenes (DD); practical adviser advice not taken; πρεσβευτικός.

(H272) Lycidas is stoned to death by the Athenians for suggesting they comply with Mardonius (9.5.1); has one item in ID; δημηγορικός.

(H273) The Athenian (+ allies) delegation complains to the ephors of lack of support (9.6-7); has two items: (1) Athenian messengers at Sparta reproach them for allowing the Persians to invade Attica (ID); (2) The Athenians describe the offer made to them by the Persians which they refused (DD); it builds up the idea of Greek disunity being the fault of the Lacedaemonians; cf. also 9.8 for further delay when the ephors put off giving an answer; πρεσβευτικός.

(H274) Chileus, a Tegean, urges the ephors to fall in with the Athenians (9.9.2); one item in DD; it takes a 'foreigner' to get the ephors to see sense; a 'practical adviser' event where the advice is taken; συμβουλευτικός.

(H275) The Athenian delegates, unaware of the Spartan expedition, press their point (9.11.1-2); has two items: (1) The Athenians threaten to ally with Persia (DD); (2) The ephors under oath declare their support (ID); πρεσβευτικός.

(H276) An Argive courier informs Mardonius of the Spartan expedition under Pausanias (9.12.2); has one item in DD: πρεσβευτικός.

(H277) A Persian informs Thersander of his forebodings (9.16.2-5); has five items as part of a reported story ; (1) A Persian asks Thersander where he comes from (ID); (2) He replies 'Orchomenus' (DD); (3) The Persian predicts disaster for his side (DD); (4)

Thersander suggests he tell Mardonius (DD); (5) He says it would do no good (DD); possibly another 'clairvoyant' type event anticipating the defeat at Plataea; although Dewald says there is not necessarily a mystical element here (op.cit. n. on 9.12-18, p. 724); διαλεκτικός.

(H278) Harmocydes rouses the Phocian troops (9.17.4); has one item in DD; a short rallying speech; παρακλητικός.

(H279) Mardonius praises the valour of the Phocians (9.18.3); has one item in DD; πρεσβευτικός.

(H280) The Megarians request help from Pausanias against the Persian cavalry (9.21.2-3); has two items: (1) The Megarians request help (DD); (2) Pausanias asks for volunteers (ID); πρεσβευτικός.

(H281) The Tegeans and the Athenians dispute the right to hold one wing of the army (9.26-27); has two items in DD: (1) The Tegean claim; (2) The Athenian claim; a long and interesting verbal contest with two courtroom-like speeches of about equal length; the respective arguments reveal the mytho-historical background to the claims of either side; the Athenians' magnanimous offer to stand aside again shows Herodotus' desire to favour Athens, particularly as their claim is ultimately successful (cf. 9.28,1); δικανικός.

(H282) The Thebans advise Mardonius on his battleline before Plataea (9.31.2); has one item in ID; συμβουλευτικός.

(H283) Timagenidas advises Mardonius to patrol Cithaeron (9.38.2); has one item in ID; a minor 'practical adviser'; διαλεκτικός.

(H284) Mardonius and Artabazus disagree over whether to withdraw or to force a battle (9.41.2-4); has two items in ID: (1) Artabazus argues for withdrawal into Thebes (ID); (2) Mardonius wants to bring the Greeks to battle; συμβουλευτικός.

(H285) Mardonius informs his officers of an adverse oracle (9.42.2-4); has one item in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H286) Alexander the Macedonian informs the Athenian commanders of Mardonius' coming attack (9.45); has one item in DD; a volte-face by Alexander hoping to obtain leniency if the Greeks win; διαλεκτικός.

(H287) The Athenians accept Pausanias' proposal to swap wings (9.46.2-3); has two items in DD: (1) Pausanias proposes the Athenians face the Persians and the Spartans face the Greeks; (2) The Athenians agree; συμβουλευτικός.

(H288) Mardonius taunts the Lacedaemonians for withdrawing from their wing (9.48); has one item in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H289) Amompheratus of Pitana disobeys Pausanias (9.53.2); has one item in ID; Thuc. (1.20) contradicts Herodotus by denying there was ever a detachment from Pitana (cf. Dewald op.cit. n. on 9.50-57, p.729); διαλεκτικός.

(H290) Mardonius proposes to advance against the Greek army, which he believes is in retreat (9.58.2-4); has one item in DD; a mistaken manoeuvre; stresses the wrongs the Greeks have done to Persia; παρακλητικός.

(H291) The Athenians are unable to send the help Pausanias asks for (9.60); has one item in DD; see 9.61 for why the Athenians could not support Pausanias; πρεσβευτικός.

(H292) Callicrates regrets he did not see action (9.72.2); has one item in ID; a minor character sketch; διαλεκτικός.

(H293) Pausanias saves a woman from Cos from slavery (9.76.2-3); has two items in DD: (1) The woman asks Pausanias to spare her; (2) Pausanias does so; διαλεκτικός.

(H294) Pausanias rejects Lampon's suggestion to abuse the corpse of Mardonius (9.78-79); has two items in DD: (1) Lampon suggests impaling the corpse; (2) Pausanias rejects this idea; contrasts Greek and Persian morals; διαλεκτικός.

(H295) Pausanias compares a Greek and a Persian meal (9.82.3); has one item in DD; διαλεκτικός.

(H296) Timagenidas advises the Thebans to give themselves up (9.87.1-2); has two items: (1) Timagenidas proposes the Theban leaders give themselves up (DD); (2) The Thebans send a message to Pausanias announcing surrender (ID); adviser type; πρεσβευτικός.

(H297) Artabazus misleads the Thessalians about the outcome of the battle of Plataea (9.89.3); has one item in DD; more on Artabazus' cowardly escape to Asia; διαλεκτικός.

(H298) Hegesistratus of Samos urges Leotychidas and the Greek fleet to fight (9.90.2-91); has four items: (1) Hegesistratus urges the Greek fleet under Leotychidas to revolt against Persia (ID); (2) Leotychidas asks him his name (DD); (3) He replies 'Hegesistratus' (DD); (4) Leotychidas accepts the omen (DD); this is a prelude to the battle of Mycale; διαλεκτικός.

(H299) Leotychidas gives the Ionians the watchword (9.98.3); has one item in DD; παρακλητικός.

(H300) Masistes heaps abuse upon Artayntes for his cowardice (9.107.1); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H301) The story of Xerxes and the wife of Masistes (9.109-111); an intricate story; has nine items: (1) Xerxes offers Artaynte anything she wants (ID); (2) She asks for confirmation of this (DD); (3) Xerxes gives it (ID); (4) She then asks for the shawl that Amestris has given Xerxes (ID); (5) Amestris asks for a gift Xerxes cannot refuse – Masistes' wife (ID); (6) Xerxes tells Masistes to divorce his wife and have Xerxes' own daughter (DD); (7) Masistes begs Xerxes to let him keep his wife (DD); (8) Xerxes angrily says Masistes will have neither woman (DD); (9) Masistes walks out (DD); see the rest of the story in the narrative at 9.112; διαλεκτικός.

(H302) Artayctes tricks Xerxes into giving him the house of Protesilaus (9.116.3); has one item in DD; typical Persian trickery; διαλεκτικός.

(H303) The Athenians request their commanders be allowed to leave the siege of Sestos (9.117); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(H304) Artembares has a proposal for Cyrus (9.122.2); has one item in DD; cpy. to **H305**; a flashback to two generations previously; proposes and foretells the later invasions of Europe; συμβουλευτικός.

(H305) Cyrus gives the go-ahead but warns against ruling such 'soft' lands (9.122.3); has one item in ID; cpy. to **H304**; Herodotus' way of eliminating Cyrus from the coming Persian catastrophes and a neat way of concluding his *Histories*; gives the lie to those who say the work is unfinished; counts as a 'wise adviser' speech because of future consequences; συμβουλευτικός.

End of Book 9   (35 events: 22 singles; 10 doubles; 3 multiples: 16 διαλεκτικός; 6 συμβουλευτικός; 8 πρεσβευτικός; 3 παρακλητικός; 1 δικανικός; 1 δημηγορικός; (60 items: DD = 39 ; ID = 21)

TOTALS

Total events = 305 (four not categorised)

Total types of speech: singles: 159/305 = 52.13%; doubles: 67/305 = 21.97%; triples: 32/305 = 10.49%; multiples: 47/305 = 15.41%.

Total categories of speech: διαλεκτικός: 200/305 = 65.67%; συμβουλευτικός: 42/305 = 13.77%; παρακλητικός: 11/305 = 3.61%; πρεσβευτικός: 33/305 = 10.82%; δικανικός: 8/305 = 2.62%; δημηγορικός: 7/305 = 2.30%; no categorisation: 1.31%.

Total Items = 646

Total Items in DD: 369/646 = 57.1 %; Total Items in ID: 277/646 = 42.9 %

THUCYDIDES

The speeches in Thucydides have been easier to identify, enumerate and classify than those in Herodotus as much of this work has already been done, notably by West (1973), who himself follows Jebb (1880) closely. In this revised, more detailed survey, I am therefore following his list but using my own categories of 'event' and 'item' to provide a working comparison with Herodotus. In effect each 'speech' identified by West will correspond roughly to an 'item' in my nomenclature, although my revised count comes to 143.

With some exceptions I also follow West in his categorisation of speeches as 'complementary' (see op.cit. p.6 nn. 2 & 3, where interestingly he uses the word 'include', suggesting there are others that he has not specified), which I mark for brevity as 'cpy.' in my notes, as I have done also for Herodotus above. In addition, I include my own categorisation of the seven rhetorical types, also used above, in order to provide a close comparison with Herodotus. As regards the differentiating of DD and ID, I have excluded many of the small items of ID (referred to as Recorded Speech Acts [RSA] by Laird [1999]) which exist in the text of Thucydides on the grounds that it seems clear that he did not intend them to be regarded as of major significance, but to be included as part of his narrative.

Book 1

(T1) The assembly at Athens (1.32-43); has two items in DD: (1) Speech of the Corcyreans; (2) Speech of the Corinthians; both delegations present their cases; πρεσβευτικός.

(T2) The exchange of messages at Sybota (1.53); has two items in DD: (1) message of the Corinthians; (2) reply of the Athenians; πρεσβευτικός.

(T3) The conference of the Peloponnesian League at Sparta (1.68-87.2); has five items in DD: (1) Speech of Corinthians; (2) Speech of Athenians; (3) Speech of Archidamus ; (4) Speech of Sthenelaidas; (5) motion of Sthenelaidas; 1 &2 and 3 & 4 are cpy. (cf. West [1973, 6] re. inclusion of item 5); συμβουλευτικός.

(T4) Themistocles gives instructions before leaving for Sparta (1.90.3-4); has one item in ID; not a speech 'at Sparta' as West suggests but at Athens to the Athenians; part of his delaying tactics to get the wall built; involves trickery (cf. this with incidents in H.); δημηγορικός.

(T5) Themistocles tells the Spartans that Athens will look after her own interests (1.91.4-7); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(T6) The Corinthians speak at the conference of the Peloponnesian League at Sparta (1.120-124); has one item in DD; cpy. with **T13**; συμβουλευτικός.

(T7) Pausanias' letter to Xerxes proposing Spartan submission to Persian rule (1.128.7); has one item in DD; συμβουλευτικός.

(T8) Xerxes replies favourably also by letter (1.129.3); has one item in DD; συμβουλευτικός.

(T9) Themistocles begs Admetus to protect him from the pursuing Athenian and Spartan arrest parties (1.136.4); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(T10) Remarks of Themistocles to a ship's captain (1.137.2); has one item in ID; it shows Themistocles' ruthlessness and underhand methods; διαλεκτικός.

(T11) Themistocles' letter to Artaxerxes offering his future services (1.137.4); has one item in DD; persuasive, referring to past favours conferred by Themistocles on Xerxes; διαλεκτικός.

(T12) The Spartan ultimatum is delivered at Athens by ambassadors (1.139.3); has one item in DD; πρεσβευτικός.

(T13) Speech of Pericles before the assembly at Athens (1.140-144); has one item in DD; a major discourse; cpy. with **T6**, since Pericles alludes to points made there; δημηγορικός.

End of survey of Book 1: (13 events: 10 singles; 2 doubles; 1 multiple: 4 πρεσβευτικός; 4 συμβουλευτικός; 2 δημηγορικός; 3 διαλεκτικός) (19 items: DD 14.5; ID 4.5).

Book 2

(T14) Proclamation by Theban herald at Plataea (2.2.4); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(T15) The Plataeans come to terms with the Theban invaders (2.3.1); has one item in ID; hardly noteworthy as a speech event but important in the narrative; counted by West (1973); amounts to conditional surrender; συμβουλευτικός.

(T16) The captured Thebans surrender unconditionally to the Plataeans (2.4.7); has one item in ID; συμβουλευτικός.

(T17) The Plataean herald warns the Thebans against harming any Plataeans outside the town (2.5.5); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(T18) King Archidamus addresses the Spartan army at the Isthmus (2.11); has one item in DD; cpy. with **T20**; δημηγορικός.

(T19) Melesippus, the Spartan herald, is dismissed by the Athenians (2.12.3); has one item in DD; famous saying; διαλεκτικός.

(T20) Pericles reminds the Athenians of their resources (2.13); has one item in ID; cpy. with **T18**, as references are made to points in that speech; exhortation and advice; not typical of a continuous ID format since it has a series of introductory verbs (cf. *HCT* v, 115); δημηγορικός.

(T21) Pericles' Funeral Oration (2.35-46); has one item in DD; unique type of speech in both authors; ἐπιδεικτικός.

(T22) Pericles exhorts the Athenians to fight on and win the war (2.60-64); has one item in DD; clever use of rhetoric to counter the anger of the Athenians; δημηγορικός.

(T23) The Spartans prepare to besiege Plataea (2.71.2-74.2); comprises eight items: (1) The Plataeans appeal to the Spartans (DD); (2) Archidamus offers neutrality (DD); (3) The Plataeans reply that they must consult Athens (ID); (4) Archidamus offers to hold Plataean land and property in trust (DD); (5) The Plataeans obtain a truce in order to consult (ID); (6) An Athenian message to the Plataeans to hold the alliance (DD); (7) The Plataeans' reply to the Spartans in the negative (ID); (8) Archidamus offers prayers to justify attacking Plataea (DD); the language is quasi-forensic, of negotiation, persuasion and pleading; δικανικός.

(T24) Combatants prepare for a naval battle near Rhium (2.87-89); has three items: (1) Cnemus, Brasidas and others encourage the Peloponnesian forces (DD); (2) Phormio had previously encouraged his men (ID); (3) He now proceeds at length (DD); pre-battle harangue; contains persuasion and rhetoric; παρακλητικός.

End of survey of Book 2: (11 events: 9 singles; 1 triple; 1 multiple: 1 διαλεκτικός; 2 πρεσβευτικός; 2 συμβουλευτικός; 1 παρακλητικός; 3 δημηγορικός; 1 δικανικός; 1 ἐπιδεικτικός) (20 items: DD = 11; ID = 9).

Book 3

(T25) Speech of the Mytileneans at Olympia (3.9-14); has one item in DD; justifies their revolt and appeals to Sparta for help; πρεσβευτικός.

(T26) A proposal by Teutiaplus of Elis to surprise the Athenians at Mytilene is rejected (3.30); has one item in DD; rhetorical and persuasive; to do with military tactics rather than a political debate; συμβουλευτικός.

(T27) The Mytilenean debate in the Athenian assembly (3.37-48); has two items in DD: (1) Cleon speaks for the execution of the Mytileneans; (2) Diodotus speaks for clemency; highly rhetorical and antithetical; δημηγορικός.

(T28) The trial of the Plataeans at Plataea (3.52.4-67.7); has four items: (1) The Spartan judges put questions to the Plataeans (ID); (2) The Plataeans argue that they

supported Sparta in the Persian Wars, unlike the Thebans (DD); (3) The Thebans argue that the Plataeans supported Athens in subjugating other Greek cities (DD); (4) The Spartan judges give their verdict (ID); δικανικός.

(T29) The Ambraciot herald learns that reinforcements from his city have been destroyed (3.113.3-4); has seven items: (1) The Ambraciot herald is asked how many were killed (ID); (2) He replies 'about 200' (DD); (3) Another asks 'why are the arms so many?' (DD); (4) The herald replies (DD); (5) The other replies (DD); (6) The herald replies (DD); (7) The other says they fought with the Ambraciot reinforcements (DD); a detailed conversation more reminiscent of Herodotus; διαλεκτικός.

End of survey of Book 3: (5 events: 2 singles; 1 double; 2 multiples: 1 πρεσβευτικός; 1 συμβουλευτικός; 1 δημηγορικός; 1 δικανικός; 1 διαλεκτικός) (15 items: DD =12; ID = 3).

Book 4

(T30) Demosthenes addresses his troops on Sphacteria (4.10); has one item in DD; a military address to raise morale; cpy. to **T31**; παρακλητικός.

(T31) Brasidas exhorts his fellow trierarchs and steersmen during the battle at Pylos (4.11.4); has one item in ID; a short exhortation; cpy. to **T32**; παρακλητικός.

(T32) Spartan envoys sue for a peace treaty unsuccessfully at Athens (4.17-20); has one item in DD; cpy. to **T33**; πρεσβευτικός.

(T33) The Spartans refuse Cleon's demands for the surrender of the Spartans at Pylos plus other territories (4.21.3-22); has three items in ID: (1) Cleon demands surrender; (2) The envoys ask for time to consider; (3) Cleon attacks envoys for talking in secret; cpy. to **T32**; Cleon has no intention of allowing the Athenian advantage to be wasted; δημηγορικός.

(T34) Cleon and Nicias clash over the Sphacteria question (4.27.3-28.4); has six items in ID: (1) Cleon blames Nicias for not capturing the Spartans on Sphacteria; (2) Nicias invites him to go himself; (3) Cleon says Nicias is general not he; (4) Nicias repeats his offer; (5) The crowd urge Cleon to go; (6) Cleon agrees to take only light forces but to capture or kill the Spartans within twenty days; δημηγορικός.

(T35) Letter of Artaphernes to the Spartans captured and translated by the Athenians (4.50.2); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(T36) Hermocrates at Gela calls upon the Sicilian cities to unite against Athens (4.59-64); has one item in DD; δημηγορικός.

(T37) Brasidas, from a position of strength, asks the Acanthians to support him against Athens (4.85-87); has one item in DD; rhetorical; δημηγορικός.

(T38) At Tanagra Pagondas the Boeotarch encourages the Boeotian army to attack Athens (4.92); has one item in DD; cpy. to **T39**; παρακλητικός.

(T39) Hippocrates encourages the Athenian army at Delium (4.95); has one item in DD; cpy. to **T38**; παρακλητικός.

(T40) Exchange between Athenian and Boeotian heralds after the battle of Delium (4.97.2-99); has three items of ID: (1) The Boeotian herald accuses the Athenians of misusing the temple at Delium; (2) The Athenians via a herald make a lengthy defence of their position; (3) The Boeotians insist the Athenians abandon that part of Boeotia if they wished to recover their dead; the language is of negotiation, accusation and counter-accusation, virtually courtroom; δικανικός.

(T41) Brasidas calms the Toroneans and wins their support (4.114.3-5); has one item in ID; persuasive and rhetorical; δημηγορικός.

(T42) Brasidas welcomes the Scionaeans as allies (4.120.3); has one item in ID; δημηγορικός.

(T43) Brasidas addresses the Peloponnesians at Lyncus (4.126); has one item in DD; military exhortation; rhetorical; παρακλητικός.

End of survey of Book 4: (14 events; 11 singles; 1 double; 2 triples: 5 παρακλητικός; 2 πρεσβευτικός; 6 δημηγορικός; 1 δικανικός) (23 items: DD =7; ID = 16).

Book 5

(T44) Brasidas reveals his plan of attack at Amphipolis (5.9); has one item in DD; a military address; παρακλητικός.

(T45) Corinthian envoys urge Argos to counter Spartan ambitions in the Peloponnese (5.27.2); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(T46) Spartan ambassadors tell the Corinthians to keep to the existing alliance (5.30.1); has one item in ID; cpy. with **T47**; political embassy; πρεσβευτικός.

(T47) The Corinthians reply that they are sworn against the alliance (5.30.2-4); has one item in ID; cpy. with **T46**; πρεσβευτικός.

(T48) Alcibiades opposes the treaty with Sparta (5.43.2-3); has one item in ID; δημηγορικός.

(T49) Debate in the Athenian assembly on the alliance with Argos (5.45.1-46.1); has three items in ID: (1) Spartan envoys try to persuade Athenians not to ally with Argos; (2) Alcibiades urges the assembly to ally with Argos; (3) Nicias opposes

Alcibiades and attempts but fails to obtain Spartan fulfilment of the treaty; δημηγορικός.

(T50) Euphamidas of Corinth urges a renewal of peace talks (5.55.1); has one item in ID; συμβουλευτικός.

(T51) The Peloponnesian army criticises Agis (5.60.2); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(T52) At Argos the Athenians, with Alcibiades as leader, call for the war to resume (5.61.2); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(T53) An elder Spartan soldier shouts an ironic message to Agis (5.65.2); has one item in ID; West's (1973) referencing is incorrect here – there is no mention of overall criticism until 5.65.5; διαλεκτικός.

(T54) Before Mantinea the Argives and Spartans rally their troops (5.69); has two items in ID: (1) Argives and allies exhorted; (2) Spartans exhorted by songs and reminders of prowess; παρακλητικός.

(T55) The Melian dialogue (5.84.3-113); has thirty items, one item in ID, twenty five items in dialogue, counting as DD, and four others in DD: (1) The Melians bid the Athenian envoys to state their mission before their magistrates (ID); (2) The Athenians offer to debate spontaneously (DD); (3) The Melians agree but say they have no choice between war and slavery (DD); (4-28) Dialogue (DD); (29) The Melians' final resolution (DD); (30) The Athenians final judgement (DD); this event is unique in both authors and difficult to categorise; in form nearest to drama, Platonic dialogue or courtroom trial; διαλεκτικός.

End of survey of Book 5: (12 events: 9 singles; 1 double; 1 triple; 1 multiple: 2 παρακλητικός; 4 πρεσβευτικός; 2 δημηγορικός; 1 συμβουλευτικός; 3 διαλεκτικός) (44 items: DD = 30; ID =14)

Book 6

(T56) Speech of Nicias at the Athenian assembly (6.9-14); has one item of DD; Nicias opposes the Sicilian Expedition; cpy. to **T57**; δημηγορικός.

(T57) Alcibiades opposes Nicias (6.16-18); has one item in DD; cpy. to **T56**; δημηγορικός.

(T58) Egestaeans and Leontine exiles implore the assistance of Athens (6.19.1); has one item in ID; δημηγορικός.

(T59) Nicias advocates a powerful Athenian force for the invasion of Sicily (6.20-23); has one item in DD; δημηγορικός.

(T60) An Athenian asks Nicias to say what forces he needs (6.25.1); has one item in ID; cpy. to **T61**; δημηγορικός.

(T61) Nicias asks for more time but gives rough estimates (6.25.2); has one item in ID; cpy. to **T60**; δημηγορικός.

(T62) The accusation of Alcibiades and his defence (6.28.2-29); has three items in ID; (1) His enemies make the initial accusation; (2) Alcibiades denies the charge but is willing to stand trial; (3) His enemies, fearing his support among the army, bring in orators to advocate sending Alcibiades to Sicily as a general; West (1973) omits this event; δικανικός.

(T63) The assembly at Syracuse (6.33-41.4); has three items in DD; (1) Hermocrates urges the Sicilians to unite against the Athenian threat but is confident; (2) Athenagoras does not believe the Athenians will attack; (3) A Syracusan general urges cautious defence and preparation for the worst; rhetorical; συμβουλευτικός.

(T64) The fruitless negotiations between the Athenians and the Rhegians (6.44.3); has two items in ID: (1) The Athenians call upon the Rhegians to support the Leontines; (2) The Rhegians refuse to take sides; συμβουλευτικός.

(T65) At Rhegium the Athenian generals discuss their plans (6.47-49); has three items in ID; (1) Nicias; (2) Alcibiades; (3) Lamachus; military strategy; συμβουλευτικός.

(T66) Nicias addresses his soldiers at Syracuse (6.68); has one item in DD; cpy. to **T67**; παρακλητικός.

(T67) Hermocrates reveals his plans for improving the Syracusan army (6.72.2-5); has one item in ID; cpy. to **T66**; παρακλητικός.

(T68) Hermocrates urges the Camarinaeans to join the Sicilian allies (6.76-80); has one item in DD; rhetorical; cpy. to **T69**; δημηγορικός.

(T69) Euphemus, the Athenian ambassador, assures the Camarinaeans of Athens' best intentions (6.82-87); has one item in DD; contains political rhetoric; cpy. to **T68**; πρεσβευτικός.

(T70) Alcibiades urges the Spartans to aid the Sicilians and to fortify Decelea; he defends his defection against accusations of treachery (6.89-92); has one item in DD; rhetorical; δημηγορικός.

End of survey of Book 6: (15 events: 11 singles; 1 double; 3 triples: 8 δημηγορικός; 3 συμβουλευτικός; 2 παρακλητικός; 1 πρεσβευτικός; 1 δικανικός (22 items: DD = 9; ID = 13).

Book 7

(T71) Gylippus addresses his soldiers after his abortive attack on the Athenian wall at Epipolae and prepares them for the next assault (7.5,3-4); has one item in ID; παρακλητικός.

(T72) Nicias' letter read at the Athenian assembly (7.11-15); has one item in DD; is a military report but intended to engender debate; therefore συμβουλευτικός.

(T73) Syracusan ambassadors announce the Athenian victory at Plemmyrium to allies (7.25.9); has one item in ID; not recognised by West (1973); Scardino (2012, 77) notes a double analepsis (a) to the letter of Nicias (**T72**) (in the use of the future perfect passive forms of the verb διαπολεμεῖν) and (b) to the narrative at 7.23.3 which has already described the victory; πρεσβευτικός.

(T74) Council of Athenian generals at Epipolae (7.47.3-49); has three items in ID; a military debate; (1) Demosthenes argues for abandoning the expedition; (2) Nicias disagrees; (3) Demosthenes proposes a tactical withdrawal; συμβουλευτικός.

(T75) Nicias addresses his troops before the final Sicilian sea battle (7.61-64); has one item in DD; cpy. to **T76**; παρακλητικός.

(T76) Gylippus and generals to Syracusan troops before the last sea fight (7.66-68); has one item in DD; cpy. to **T75**; παρακλητικός.

(T77) Nicias calls on his captains to remember their country and families (7.69.2); has one item in ID; παρακλητικός.

(T78) Nicias tries to raise morale despite the need to retreat (7.77); has one item in DD; a powerful exhortation with rhetoric; παρακλητικός.

End of survey of Book 7: (8 events: 7 singles; 1 triple: 5 παρακλητικός; 2 συμβουλευτικός; 1 πρεσβευτικός) (10 items: DD = 4; ID = 6)

Book 8

(T79) Alcibiades persuades the ephors to let him sail to Chios to bring Persia into the war (8.12); has one item in ID; συμβουλευτικός.

(T80) Alcibiades and Chalcideus persuade three Ionian cities to revolt from Athens (8.14.2); has one item in ID; δημηγορικός.

(T81) Phrynichus sensibly advocates Athenian withdrawal from Miletus to Samos (8.27.1-4); has one item in ID; close to a 'wise adviser' type speech as in Herodotus; συμβουλευτικός.

(T82) Astyochus, the Spartan admiral, seeks to persuade the Chians and Pedaritus to assist with a revolt at Lesbos (8.32.3); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(T83) The Chians and Pedaritus through messengers urge Astyochus to come to their assistance (8.40.1); has one item in ID cpy. to **T84**; πρεσβευτικός.

(T84) The Chians further press Astyochus (8.40.3); has one item in ID cpy. to **T83**; πρεσβευτικός.

(T85) Astyochus is compelled by the Cnidians to attack the Athenian fleet off the Lycian coast (8.41.3); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(T86) The Spartan commissioners, led by Lichas, reject both existing treaties with Persia, thus angering Tissaphernes (8.43.3-4); has one item in ID; West (1973) says 'Peloponnesian generals', which is clearly wrong, as Thucydides specifically refers to the eleven as ἄνδρας Σπαρτιατῶν ξυμβούλους at 8.39.2; πρεσβευτικός.

(T87) Letter from Sparta to Astyochus ordering the death of Alcibiades (8.45.1); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(T88) Alcibiades becomes Tissaphernes' adviser and plans a return to Athens (8.45.2-46); has three items in ID: (1) He advises Tissaphernes to cut Spartan pay and to bribe the officers in the cities; (2) He informs the Ionian cities that they will not receive money from Tissaphernes; (3) He advises Tissaphernes to allow Athens and Sparta to wear each other down; διαλεκτικός.

(T89) Alcibiades sends word to Athens that he will return if an oligarchy is formed (8.47.2); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(T90) At Samos Phrynichus argues unsuccessfully against Alcibiades' return (8.48.4-7); has one item in ID; exceptionally long for an ID speech; Andrewes and Dover (*HCT*, vol. 5, 113-116) discuss the idea of this as a fledgling DD speech; συμβουλευτικός.

(T91) Letter of Phrynichus to Astyochus warning him of Alcibiades' intrigues (8.50.2); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(T92) Alcibiades plays on the treaty disagreement between Tissaphernes and the Spartans to try to turn Tissaphernes to the Athenian cause (8.52); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(T93) At Athens Pisander and the Samian envoys persuade the assembly to vote in an oligarchy and to restore Alcibiades (8.53); has four items in ID; (1) The envoys argue for Alcibiades' return; (2) His opponents demur; (3) Pisander asks each opponent how Athens could be saved without Tissaphernes' help; (4) He then argues that the return of Alcibiades is the only answer; item four is counted as DD by West (1973,

13) by reason, I assume, of there being quotation marks in the text; I, however, count it as ID since it is introduced by (ἔλεγεν...) ὅτι; πρεσβευτικός.

(T94) At Rhodes Xenophantooas seeks help from the Peloponnesian fleet to relieve Chios (8.55.2); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(T95) Alcibiades presents the demands of Tissaphernes to the Athenians who find them unacceptable (8.56.4); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

(T96) The Samians adopt an oligarchy without Alcibiades (8.63.4); has two items in ID: (1) Pisander and the returning envoys help to form an oligarchy; (2) The Athenians at Samos determine to let Alcibiades alone; part of this (8.63.4) is described as 'narrative' by West (1973); I, however, count it as an item in ID, translating κοινολογούμενοι ἐσκέψαντο Ἀλκιβιάδην...ἐᾶν as 'they took common counsel and decided to let Alcibiades alone' where the participle clearly indicates speech; συμβουλευτικός.

(T97) The Athenian oligarchical conspirators make public demands (8.65.3); has one item in ID; δημηγορικός.

(T98) Pisander moves to elect commissioners to frame a new constitution (8.67.1); has one item in ID; δημηγορικός.

(T99) Entreaties of the Samians to Leon, Diomedon, Thrasybulus and Thrasylus to save the Samian democracy (8.73.4); has one item in ID; the participle ἀκούσαντες (8.73.4) implies that ἠξίουν involves speech; West (1973, 14) says the item includes some narrative, but I would argue it is separate; διαλεκτικός.

(T100) Chaereas draws an exaggerated picture of events at Athens to Samian soldiers (8.74.3); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(T101) Athenian soldiers at Samos elect new generals and vow to continue the war (8.76.3-7); has one item in ID; an exceptionally lengthy item of ID suggesting that it might have been intended as DD in a fully completed Book Eight; συμβουλευτικός.

(T102) Complaints by the Peloponnesian fleet against Astyochus and Tissaphernes (8.78); has one item in ID; another lengthy item in ID; συμβουλευτικός.

(T103) At Samos Alcibiades makes extravagant promises of Persian help (8.81.2); has one item in ID; δημηγορικός.

(T104) At Samos Alcibiades attempts a reconciliation of the two parties (8.86.3-7); has three items in ID: (1) The envoys' report from Athens is angrily received by the soldiery; (2) The envoys denied the wrong-doing reported by Chaereas; (3) Alcibiades tells them to hold out but to change the 400 back to 500; West (1973, 14) says this assembly took place 'at Delos', but this is wrong: the ten envoys had been sent to

Samos from Athens but had stopped off at Delos (cf. 8.77.1) when they heard of the Samian army's hostile opposition to the overthrow of democracy at Athens by the 400; they therefore arrived at Samos *from* Delos (see 8.86.1); δημηγορικός.

(T105) The envoys report back to Athenian assembly (8.89.1-2); has two items in ID: (1) The envoys report; (2) The oligarchs respond by criticizing the government; δημηγορικός.

(T106) Private remarks of Theramenes and his supporters (8.90.3); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(T107) Theramenes accuses the oligarchs of allowing a Peloponnesian fleet into the Piraeus (8.91.1-2); has one item in ID including some narrative; διαλεκτικός.

(T108) Theramenes further resists the oligarchy at Athens (8.92.3); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(T109) Theramenes defends his position against the 400 (8.92.6); has one item in ID; δημηγορικός.

(T110) Dialogue between Athenian hoplites and Theramenes (8.92.10); has two items in ID: (1) The hoplites question Theramenes on the usefulness of the wall; (2) Theramenes agreed it could be pulled down; διαλεκτικός.

(T111) Remarks of some of the 400 to Athenian hoplites (8.93.2-3); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(T112) A trick of Aristarchus to get the Athenian garrison in Oenoe to abandon the fort (8.98.3); has one item in ID; διαλεκτικός.

(T113) Alcibiades returns to Samos bringing good news (8.108.1); has one item in ID; πρεσβευτικός.

End of survey of Book 8: (35 events: 29 singles; 3 doubles; 2 triples; 1 multiple: 6 συμβουλευτικός; 7 δημηγορικός; 9 πρεσβευτικός; 13 διαλεκτικός) (45 items: ID = 45).

Conclusions

Number of speech events: 113; Number of items: 198

Categories/Events

Συμβουλευτικός: 19/113 = 16.81%; πρεσβευτικός: 24/113 = 21.24%; διαλεκτικός: 21/113 = 18.58%; δημηγορικός: 29/113 = 25.66%; παρακλητικός: 15/113 = 13.27%; δικανικός: 4/113 = 3.54%; ἐπιδεικτικός: 1/113 = 0.88%.

Types/Events

Singles: 88/113 = 77.88%; doubles: 9/113 = 7.96%; triples: 10/113 = 8.85%; multiples: 6/113 = 5.31%.

DD/items: 87.5/198 = 44.19%; ID/items: 110.5/198 = 55.81%.

APPENDIX B

Statistical Summary of Speech Survey in Appendix A

1.   Events and items

Total events: H = 305; T = 113, i.e. T = 37.05% of H.

Total items: H = 646; T = 198, i.e. T = 30.65% of H.

Average % = 33.85.

Conclusion: taking an average of events and items, there are roughly three times as many speeches overall in Herodotus as there are in Thucydides.

2.   DD and ID as % of total items

	Herodotus	Thucydides
% items in DD:	57.1	44.19
% items in ID:	42.9	55.81

Conclusion: In terms of %, DD items in Herodotus exceed those in Thucydides by roughly the same amount (i.e. about 25%) as ID items in Thucydides exceed those in Herodotus.

3.   Types as % of total events

	Herodotus	Thucydides
Singles*	52.13	77.88
Doubles*	21.97	7.96
Triples*	10.49	8.85
Multiples*	15.41	5.31

Conclusion: in Thucydides the single 'set' speech by an individual or group is the norm, although a number of such speeches may be complementary to others (marked 'cpy.' in Appendix A). In Herodotus this type is rarer, but still constitutes over half of all speech events, while doubled speeches make up roughly one quarter. These results are not surprising when we consider the different purpose and focus of the Speeches in either work.

(* see Appendix A for an explanation of these terms)

4.   <u>Categories as % of total events</u>

	Herodotus	Thucydides
δημηγορικός	1.66	25.66
διαλεκτικός	65.67	18.58
δικανικός	2.62	3.54
ἐπιδεικτικός	00.00	0.88
παρακλητικός	3.61	13.27
πρεσβευτικός	10.82	21.24
συμβουλευτικός	13.77	16.81
no category	1.31	00.00

Conclusion: the speeches in Herodotus are dominated by conversation-type dialogue (διαλεκτικός); in Thucydides the categories are much more evenly spread where the emphasis is on political oratory (δημηγορικός), debate (συμβουλευτικός) and ambassadorial reporting (πρεσβευτικός).

APPENDIX C

An interpretation of T. 1.22.1

<u>ἐμοὶ ... ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων</u>

This whole participial phrase qualifies ἐμοὶ (i.e. T), thus expressing a solemn personal commitment and, unless we doubt T's ingenuousness, the author's avowed intention. However, we begin to see the genuine difficulty that T has already admitted to earlier in the sentence (χαλεπόν) in fulfilling this intention because, if we split it up: ἐμοὶ ... ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα /   τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης /   τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων (= to me ... keeping as close as possible /   to the general gist   / of what was really said), the phrasing shows that T was *twice* removed from the 'real truth' (τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων) in the composition of his speeches.

The first removal is 'the general gist' (τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης) and refers, as I construe it, to what T could glean from various sources e.g. friends (such as Antiphon, who may have been T's tutor and was thought to be the first to have a verbatim record made of a speech), witnesses, records (if these existed) and general gossip.

The second removal is 'as close as possible' (ὅτι ἐγγύτατα), an adverbial phrase qualifying ἐχομένῳ, linked with τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης and making 'the actual words spoken' even remoter.

Therefore, T uses the qualifying phrase τὰ δέοντα ('what was appropriate in the circumstances') to come to his rescue; but even this itself is twice qualified, once by ἐδόκουν ('seemed') and again by μάλιστα ('for the most part').

Thus, by the time we reach the end of this sentence, the essence of what T intended to report in his speeches (οὕτως εἴρηται), has been effectively qualified (we may unkindly say 'watered down') no fewer than *four* times.

Can we really, then, expect T's speeches to be authentic or blame him if they are not? It was an impossible task, and T. is telling us "I will do my best".

In the event, then, he is not claiming absolute authenticity. What he is saying is that his speeches will vary in degrees of authenticity according to the accuracy (τὴν ἀκρίβειαν) with which either he himself (αὐτός) or his informants from anywhere else (ἄλλοθέν ποθεν) can recall them (διαμνημονεῦσαι).

This in itself allows for any number of removals from the 'truth', since any one of his informants could have derived their account from any other number of similar informants, thus creating an incalculable regression away from what was actually said by the original speaker.

APPENDIX D

Speeches found in the Homeric Hymns

To Dionysus

10-12: context unclear, possibly Zeus to Dionysus (ll.1-9 only in Diodorus Siculus 3.66.3); 17-21: Zeus to Dionysus.

To Demeter

54-58: Hecate to Demeter; 64-73: Demeter to Helios; 75-87: Helios to Demeter; 113-117: Celeus' daughters address Demeter; 120-144: Demeter replies; 147-168: Callidice to Demeter; 212-223: Metaneira to Demeter; 225-230: Demeter replies; 248-249: Metaneira to her son; 256-274: Demeter to Metaneira; 321-323: Iris to Demeter; 347-356: Hermes to Hades; 360-369: Hades to Persephone; 393-404: Demeter to Persephone; 406-433: Persephone replies; 460-469: Rhea to Demeter.

To Delian Apollo

51-60: Leto to Delos, the island; 62-82: Delos replies; 84-88: Leto swears oath; 131-132: Apollo makes a vow.

To Pythian Apollo

247-253: Apollo to Telphusa; 257-274: Telphusa replies; 287-293: Apollo vows to build a temple; 311-330: Hera to the assembled gods; 334-339: Hera prays for a child apart from Zeus; 363-369: Apollo boasts over corpse of the dragoness; 379-381: Apollo to Telphusa; 452-461: Apollo to Cretans; 464-473: Cretans reply; 475-501: Apollo answers; 526-530: Cretan master to Apollo; 532-544: Apollo to Cretans.

To Hermes

30-38: Zeus to tortoise; 90-93: Hermes to old man; 155-161: Maia to Hermes; 163-181: Hermes replies; 190-200: Apollo to old man; 202-211: old man replies; 219-226: Apollo (no listener); 254-259: Apollo to Hermes; 261-277: Hermes to Apollo; 281-292: Apollo to Hermes; 301-303: Apollo to Hermes; 307-312: Hermes to Apollo; 330-332: Zeus to Apollo; 334-364: Apollo to Zeus; 368-386: Hermes to Zeus; 405-408:

Apollo to Hermes; 436-462: Apollo to Hermes; 464-495: Hermes to Apollo; 514-520: Apollo to Hermes; 526-568: Apollo swears an oath.

To Aphrodite

91-106: Anchises to Aphrodite; 108-142: Aphrodite replies; 145-154: Anchises to Aphrodite; 177-179: Aphrodite to Anchises; 185-190: Anchises replies; 192-290: Aphrodite explains her shame.

To Dionysus (2)

17-24: helmsman to crew; 26-31: ship's master to helmsman; 55-57: Dionysus to helmsman.

Named Speakers in Herodotus (with the reference of their first speech)

Achaemenes (7.234-237)   Adeimantas (8.5.1-2)   Adrastus (1.35.3-4)

Alexander (Paris) (2.114-115)   Alexander (of Macedon) (5.19-20)   Amasis (2.162)

Amestris (9.109-111)   Amompheratus (9.53.2)   Amphiaraus (8.101-102)

Amyntas (5.18.2-5)   Apries (2.162)   Arion (1.24.2-7)

Aristagoras (deputy ruler of Miletus) (5.31)   Aristooes (8.79.3-81)

Ariston (6.67.2-3)   Artabanus (4.83.1)   Artabazus (9.89.3)

Artaphrenes (5.31)   Artayctes (9.116.3)   Artaynte (9.109-111)

Artembares (9.122.2)   Artemisia (8.68.A-G)   Artobazanes (7.3.2-3)

Astyages (1.108.4-5)   Atossa (3.134)   Bias (1.170)

Bulis (7.135.2-3)   Callicrates (9.72.2)   Cambyses (2.1.1)

Candaules (1.8.2-9)   Cassadane (3.3.2-3)   Charilaus (3.148.2)

Cheops (2.126.1)   Chileus (9.9.2)   Chilon (1.59.2)

Cleisthenes (tyrant of Sicyon) (6.126.2)   Cleomenes (5.49-50)

Coes (4.97.3-6)   Crius (6.50.2)   Croesus (1.30.2-32)

Cyrus (1.80.2-3)   Darius (3.71-73)   Datis (6.97.2)

Deioces (1.97-99)   Demaratus (6.67.2-3)   Dieneces (7.226.2)

Dicaeus (8.108.2-4)   Dionysius (6.11.2-3)   Euelthon (4.162.3-5)

Eurybiades (8.108.2-4)   Gelon (7.157-162.1)   Gobryas (3.71-73)

Gorgo (7.234-237)   Gyges (1.8.2-9)   Harmocydes (9.17.4)

Harpagus (relative of Astyages) (1.109.2-3)   Hecataeus (5.36.2-3)

Hegesistratus (son of Aristagoras) (9.90.2-91)   Hermotimus (8.137.3-5)

Hippias (5.72.3-4)   Hippoclides (6.129.4)   Histiaeus (4.149.1)

Hydarnes (7.135.2-3)   Hystaspes (1.210.2-3)   Idanthyrsus (4.127)

Ladice (2.181.3)   Lampon (9.78-79)   Leotychidas (6.65.3-4)

Lycidas (9.42.2-4)   Maeandrius (3.142.3-5)   Mardonius (7.5.2)

Masistes (9.107.1)   Mastyes (5.13-14.1)   Megabates (5.33.3-4)

Megabazus (3.80-82)   Megacreon (7.120)   Megistias (7.219.1)

Miltiades (6.109.3-6)   Mitradates (1.111.2-5)   Mitrobates (3.120.3)

Mnesiphilus (8.57.2)   Nitetis (3.1.4)   Oeobazus (4.84.1)

Onesilus (5.111)   Oroetes (3.120.3)   Otanes (3.68-69)

Panites (6.52.6)   Patarbemis (2.162)   Pausanias (9.46.2-3)

Perdiccas (8.137.3-5)   Periander (3.52.3-5)   Perseus (2.91.6)

Phaedymia (3.68-69)   Pheretime (4.162.3-5)   Philippides (6.106.2)

Pigres (5.13-14.1)   Pisistratus (1.59.4)   Polycrates (3.40.2-4)

Prexaspes (3.34-35)   Procles (3.50.3)   Proteus (2.114-115)

Psammetichus (2.2.2)   Pythermos (1.152.1-3)   Pythius (7.27-29)

Rhampsinitis (2.121)   Sandanis (1.71.2-4)   Sibalces (4.80.3)

Sicinnus (8.75.2-3)   Socles (5.92)   Solon (1.30.2-32)

Sperthias (7.135.2-3)   Syloson (3.139.3)   Tellias (8.27.3)

Thales (1.170)   Theasides (6.85.2)   Themistocles (7.142.1-143.3)

Theras (4.149.1)   Thersander (9.16.2-5)   Thomis (2.114-115)

Timagenidas (9.38.2)   Timodemus (8.125.1-2)   Tomyris (1.206.1-3)

Tritantaechmes (8.26.3)   Xerxes (7.8.A-D2)   Zopyrus (3.155). **= 125**

Named Speakers in Thucydides

Alcibiades (5.43.2-3)   Archidamus (1.68-87.2)   Aristarchus (8.98.3)

Artaphernes (4.50.2)   Astyochus (8.32.3)   Athenagoras (6.33-41.4)

Brasidas (2.87-89)   Chaereas (8.74.3)   Chalcideus (8.14.2)

Cleon (3.37-48)   Cnemus (2.87-89)   Demosthenes (4.10)

Diodotus (3.37-48)   Euphamidas (5.55.1)   Euphemus (6.82-87)

Gylippus (7.5.3-4)   Hermocrates (4.59-64)   Hippocrates (4.95)

Lamachus (6.47-49)   Lichas (8.43.3-4)   Melesippus (2.12.3)

Nicias (4.27.3-28.4)   Pausanias (1.128.7)   Pedaritus (8.40.1)

Pericles (1.140-144)   Phormio (2.87-89)   Phrynichus (8.27.1-4)

Pisander (8.53)   Sthenelaidas (1.68-87.2)   Teutiaplus (3.30)

Themistocles (1.90.3-4   Theramenes (8.90.3)   Xenophantidas (8.55.2)

Xerxes (1.129.3). **= 34**

APPENDIX F

'Wise Adviser' Speech Items (To be used with Chapter 9)

I here present a list of 'wise adviser' characters (in order of 'appearance'), together with their corresponding 'recipients', a short summary of the nature of the advice, whether the advice was taken (yes, no, n/a), the reference and whether they are t/w (tragic warner) or p/a (practical adviser). The speech is assumed to be in DD unless marked ID: letters count as DD.

Herodotus

1. Gyges – Candaules – do not make me see your wife – no – 1.8.3-4 - t/w.
2. Bias of Priene/Pittacus of Mytilene – Croesus – not to build a fleet – yes – 1.27.3-4 - t/w.
3. Solon – Croesus – count no man happy … – n/a – 1.30.2-32 – p/a.
4. Chilon the Lacedaemonian – Hippocrates – not to take a wife and to disown any wife or son he had – no – 1.59.2 – t/w - ID.
5. Sandanis – Croesus – not to invade Cappadocia – no – 1.71.2-4 – t/w.
6. Harpagus – Cyrus – stratagem using camels – yes – 1.80.2-3 – p/a - ID.
7. Croesus – Cyrus – it is not my city but yours – yes – 1.88.2 – p/a.
8. Croesus – Cyrus – how to recover the plunder of Sardis from his men – yes – 1.89.1-2 - p/a.
9. Magi – Astyages – the boy Cyrus is no longer a threat – yes – 1.120.3, 5-6 – p/a.
10. Harpagus – Cyrus – revolt against Astyages – yes – 1.124– p/a – letter.
11. Croesus – Cyrus – do not destroy Sardis – yes – 1.155.3-4 – p/a.
12. Bias – Ionians – found a new city, no freedom otherwise – no – 1.170.2 – p/a & t/w – ID.
13. Thales – Ionians – establish a council house at Teos – yes – 1.170.3 – p/a – ID.
14. Croesus – Cyrus – invade the territory of Tomyris – yes – 1.207 – p/a.
15. Egyptians – Eleans – how to conduct a fair Olympic games – n/a – 2.160.2-4 – p/a – ID.
16. Phanes – Cambyses – how to get to Egypt via Arabia – yes – 3.4.3 – p/a.
17. Croesus – Cambyses – do not commit any more crimes – no – 3.36.1-2 – t/w.
18. Amasis – Polycrates – beware of too much success – yes – 3.40.2-4 – t/w – letter.
19. Polycrates' daughter – Polycrates – do not sail to Oroites – no – 3.124.2 – t/w – ID.
20. Atossa/Democedes – Darius – expand your empire while you can – yes – 3.134.1-3 – p/a.
21. Atossa/ Democedes – Darius – leave Scythia and attack Greece – yes – 3.134.5 – p/a.

22. Cleomenes – Spartan ephors – expel Maeandrius – yes – 3.148.2 – p/a – ID.
23. Zopyrus – Darius – how to capture Babylon – yes – 3.155.1,4-6 – p/a.
24. Scythians – Scythians – we must stop killing our slaves – yes – 4.3.3-4 – p/a.
25. Artabanus – Darius – do not invade Scythia – no – 4.83.1 – t/w – ID.
26. Coes – Darius – leave the Ister bridge intact – yes – 4.97.3-6 – p/a.
27. Gobryas – Darius – plan to escape from the Scythians – yes – 4.134.2-3 – p/a.
28. Megabazus – Darius – stop Histaeus fortifying Myrcinus – yes – 5.23.2-3 – p/a.
29. Hecataeus – Ionians – do not revolt or, if you do, command the sea – no – 5.36.2-3 – t/w.
30. Gorgo – Cleomenes – do not allow Aristagoras to corrupt you – yes – 5.51.2 – t/w.
31. A Theban – Thebans - ally with Aegina against Athens – yes – 5.79-80 – p/a.
32. Thrasybulus – Periander – message from a cornfield – yes – 5.92ζ. 2- 3 – p/a – ID.
33. Socles – Peloponnesians – do not set up tyrants – yes – 5.92η.5 – t/w – ID.
34. Pixodarus – Carians – cross the river to fight the Persians – no – 5.118.2 – p/a – ID.
35. Hecataeus – Aristagoras – fortify Leros – no – 5.125 – p/a – ID.
36. Panites – Lacedaemonians – how to recognise the eldest child – 6.52.6 – p/a – ID.
37. Theasidas – Aeginetans – do not remove Leotychidas – yes – 6.85.2 – t/w.
38. Miltiades – Callimachus – cast your vote to attack the Persians – yes – 6.109.3-6 - p/a.
39. Timo – Miltiades – how to capture Paros – yes – 6.134.1 – p/a.
40. Demaratus – Xerxes – supports his claim to be king – yes – 7.3.2-3 – p/a – ID.
41. Mardonius – Xerxes – attack Greece – yes (eventually) – 7.5.2 – p/a.
42. Artabanus – Xerxes – beware of attacking Greece – no (eventually) – 7.10.α-θ – t/w.
43. Dream figure – Xerxes – keep to your original plan – no – 7.12.2 – t/w.
44. Dream figure – Xerxes – why did you not obey me? – yes – 7.14 – t/w.
45. Dream figure – Artabanus – do not try to change destiny – yes – 7.17.2 – t/w.
46. Artabanus – Xerxes – carry on with your plan – yes – 7.18.2-3 – p/a.
47. Artabanus - Xerxes – there are sadder things than the shortness of life – n/a – 7.46 - p/a.
48. Artabanus – Xerxes – you have two enemies to fear (land and sea) (part 1) – no – 7.47.2 – t/w.
49. Artabanus – Xerxes - you have two enemies (part 2) – no – 7.49 – t/w.
50. Artabanus –Xerxes – do not allow the Ionians to march against Athens – no – 7.51 – p/a.
51. Demaratus – Xerxes – beware the Lacedaemonians – no – 7.101.3-103 – t/w.

52. *Demaratus – Xerxes – the Lacedaemonians are strengthened by their law – no – 7.104 – t/w.*
53. *Hydarnes – Sperthias and Bulis – be on good terms with Xerxes – no – 7.135.3 – p/a.*
54. *Themistocles – Athenians – the 'wooden walls' – yes – 7.143.1-2 – p/a – ID.*
55. *Themistocles – Athenians – use Laurium silver to build ships – yes – 7.144.1 – p/a – ID.*
56. *Demaratus – Xerxes – conquer the Spartans to conquer Greece – no – 7.209.2-5 – t/w.*
57. *Demaratus – Xerxes – the remaining Spartans are formidable – n/a – 7.234.2 - t/w.*
58. *Demaratus – Xerxes – occupy Cythera to defeat Sparta – no – 7.235 - p/a.*
59. *Achaemenes – Xerxes – keep your army and navy together – yes – 7.236 – p/a.*
60. *Gorgo – Lacedaemonians – scrape the wax and discover the message – yes – 7.239.4 - p/a – ID.*
61. *Tellias – Phocians – stratagem for defeating the Thessalians – yes – 8.27.3 – p/a – ID.*
62. *Mnesiphilus – Themistocles – persuade the Greeks to stay at Salamis – yes – 8.57.2 – p/a.*
63. *Themistocles – Eurybiades & Greeks – stay and fight at Salamis – yes – 8.60α-γ – p/a – ID.*
64. *Themistocles – Eurybiades & Greeks – why you must fight at Salamis – yes – 8.61.2 - p/a.*
65. *Themistocles – Eurybiades – the Athenians will depart if the Peloponnesians desert – yes – 8.62 – t/w.*
66. *Demaratus – Dicaeus – do not report the Iachus cry to Xerxes – yes – 8.65.2-5 – p/a.*
67. *Artemisia (via Mardonius) – Xerxes – do not fight at Salamis – no – 8.68α-γ – t/w.*
68. *Mardonius – Xerxes – do not be discouraged by defeat at sea – yes – 8.100.2-5 – p/a.*
69. *Artemisia – Xerxes – go home and leave the campaign to Mardonius – yes – 8.102 – p/a.*
70. *Alexander – Athenians – accept the offer of Xerxes to ally with Persia – no – 8.140 – p/a.*
71. *Boeotian leaders – Mardonius – make your base in Boeotia – no – 9.2.2-3 – p/a – part ID.*
72. *Chileus – Spartans – an alliance with Athens is essential – yes – 9.9.2 – p/a.*
73. *Thebans – Mardonius – how to deploy forces at Plataea – yes – 9.31.2 – p/a – ID.*

74. Timagenidas – Mardonius – occupy the pass at Cithaeron – yes – 9.38.2 – p/a – ID.
75. Artabazus – Mardonius – retreat to Thebes – no – 9.41.2 – p/a – ID.
76. Timagenidas – Thebans – surrender our medizers to the Hellenes – yes – 9.87.1-2 – p/a.
77. Artembares – Persians– move to a richer country – yes – 9.122.2 – t/w.
78. Cyrus – Persians – do so but be prepared to be ruled by others – yes – 9.122.3 - t/w – ID.

Thucydides

79. Archidamus – the Peloponnesians – beware the power of Athens – no – 1.80-85.
80. Teutiaplus – Alcidas, the Peloponnesian admiral – surprise the Athenians – no – 3.30.
81. Nicias – Athenian assembly – do not attack Sicily – no – 6.9-14.
82. Nicias – Athenian assembly – send reinforcements or abandon – yes – 7.11-15 (letter).
83. Phrynichus – Athenian commanders – withdraw – yes – 8.27.1-4 – ID.
84. Alcibiades – Tissaphernes – cut Spartan pay and bribe generals – yes – 8.45.2-6 – ID.
85. Alcibiades – Tissaphernes – let Athens and Sparta wear each other down – yes – 8.46.1-4 - ID.
86. Phrynichus – Astyochus – informing against Alcibiades – no – 8.50.2 – ID.

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