UNDERSTANDING THE 'OTHER' IN AN EAST GREEK CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

This thesis looks to re-evaluate the East Greek intellectual view of non-Greeks in the middle to late fifth century. To do this I examine how ethnic difference is understood in the Hippocratic treatise *Airs, Waters, Places* (as well as the rest of the fifth-century Hippocratic corpus) and Herodotus' *Histories*, which together represent the new ethnographic thought of the fifth century. I will argue that neither author understood there to be any essential difference between Greeks and non-Greeks, nor represented non-Greeks as anti-Greeks, as many scholars today hold. Furthermore, I will argue that the idea of a Greek/barbarian dichotomy was to a considerable extent a construction of Athenian ideology, which stood in contrast to an East Greek cosmopolitanism that understood ethnic difference not in terms of differences in nature but of cultural variation within a common human condition.

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DECLARATION OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

The author declares that the content of this research has been completed by Jonathon Douglas Christopher McCallum, with recognition of the contributions of the supervisory committee comprising of Dr. Sean Corner, Dr. Claude Eilers, and Dr. Kathryn Mattison during the research and writing process.

Introduction

It has become something of an orthodoxy that after the Persian Wars there was a stark change in how Greeks viewed non-Greeks and concomitantly in how the Greeks defined themselves. There arose, so it is claimed, a new Greek identity based on a simple dichotomy of Greek vs barbarian. Thus, in her influential 1989 book, *Inventing the Barbarian*, Edith Hall argues that whereas before the Persian Wars, Greek culture placed little emphasis on the difference between the Greeks and the peoples of the Near East, after the wars we witness a new strain in Greek thought in which Greekness is defined in stark contradistinction to the Eastern barbarian. Thus, for example, Homer's Trojans in the *Iliad* are not essentially different in nature than the Greeks, in contrast to Aeschylus' Persians, who are represented as the national enemy and antithesis of the Greeks. Similarly, in *The Mirror of Herodotus* – this bipolarity lending itself to structuralist approaches – François Hartog argues that Herodotus' ethnographies approach foreign cultures according to an ethnocentric standard that assumes Greekness as normative. For example, Egyptian culture is understood in terms of inversions of Greek norms, and Scythian funerary practices are seen as primitive for lacking features found in Greek funerals, which are taken as a normative standard.

While there surely is an element of this dichotomy in Greek thought, there has been a push in recent years for a more nuanced evaluation of the Greeks' view of themselves and the other. Thus, for example, in *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity,* Erich

Gruen argues that the Greeks rather than always insisting on the distinctiveness of the other, were also concerned with links to, adaptation to, and even incorporation of the alien . For example, Herodotus' depiction of the Persians, who are the enemy of the Greeks in the main narrative of the *History*, is multi-layered and subtle, advancing a portrait of entanglement rather than enmity. Gruen argues that these subtle characterizations, rather than simplistic stereotypes, resist the reductive placement of the other into negative, or, for that matter, positive categories. Jonathan Hall's study of Greek notions of ethnicity significantly complicates the very terms in which the question can be addressed. Hall, in *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* and *Hellenicity*, argues first that in the case of Greek identity, it is important to distinguish between ethnic and cultural identities. That is to say, where Greeks ethnically identified as Dorian, Ionian, Achaean, or Aeolian, Greekness itself was conceived not in terms of common descent, but of certain common cultural traits. Hall argues that before the Persian Wars peer-polity rivalry between Greek poleis – rather than conflicts and comparisons with non-Greeks at margins of the Greek world – was the major condition for the emergence of a common Greek cultural identity. While he does accept that the Persian Wars were a watershed moment in the shaping of the common Greek identity, he argues that the ethnonym *Hellene* remained primarily a cultural distinction rather than an ethnic one. He argues that the notion of a diametric opposition of Greek and barbarian is too crude, as it does not allow for the crossover, multiplicity, and blurring of categories noted by himself and Gruen. In its place, he is

able to elucidate the richer and more complex set of terms by which the Greeks conceived of themselves and others.

Building on this, I will in my thesis re-evaluate the view of non-Greeks in fifth century Greek prose writing, specifically investigating the Hippocratic and Herodotean views of the other. Together the Hippocratic treatise *Airs, Waters, Places* and Herodotus' *Histories* represent the new ethnographic thought of the fifth century. While Herodotean ethnography has been the subject of much attention and discussion, the Hippocratics have been treated under the rubric of medicine, and hence their ethnography has been comparatively neglected. Elucidation of Hippocratic thought, moreover, will, by enriching our understanding of Herodotus' intellectual context, provide new vantage on Herodotus. In *Herodotus in Context*, Rosalind Thomas does treat the Hippocratics, but not as a central object of attention, and she assumes the orthodox view of Herodotean thought. However, it is my view that Hippocratic ethnography deserves further examination in its own right, and, moreover, that such examination supports and contributes to a new interpretation of Herodotus in line with the critique of the old orthodoxy argued by Gruen and others.

In my first chapter, I will treat the Hippocratic view of the other and of the causes of difference between peoples. I will also examine to what extent the model is Hellenocentric. The Hippocratic view of the other and its relation to our understanding of the Greek self-image has largely gone untreated in modern scholarship; however, I will be

making use of work on Greek science and medicine by G.E.R. Lloyd and Jacques Jouanna, whose insights into the goals of the Hippocratic school and other Greek scientists, and into the thinking of the Hippocratics in general, will be invaluable in determining and evaluating the Hippocratic model of ethnic difference. By understanding how the Hippocratics constructed their explanations of other natural phenomena, I will better be able to understand the mindset and intentions of Hippocratic writing about ethnicity.

I will focus on *Airs, Waters, Places*, the second half of which is an ethnography that describes the relationship between human beings and their environment, featuring detailed case studies. The author describes how the environment and the weather of a place affects the body and nature of the people who live there. While the author accepts that a people's character and physiology are to some extent determined by their environment, he also states that the customs and laws of a society can alter people, diminishing or increasing their natural tendencies. In addition to this treatise, I will examine all other Hippocratic treatises dating to the fifth century to show that the Hippocratic model which can be gleaned from *Airs, Waters, Places* is indicative of fifth century medical writings in general, rather than peculiar to this treatise. This model is not consistent with a simple dichotomy of Greek vs barbarian. Thus, for example, when the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* explicitly mentions Greeks, he puts them on equal footing with the Asians he discusses, saying that the environment has the same effect on the

characters of both, making them lazy and cowardly (12; 16).

In my second chapter I will focus on the Herodotean view of the other. In keeping with the general trend, the older opinion in scholarship – namely, that Herodotus describes foreign peoples and customs in terms of excesses, deficiencies, and inversions in relation to Greekness, which is assumed to represent a standard of normality and civilization (as argued by Hartog, as we have seen, and others such as John Gould [1989] and Paul Cartledge [1993]) – is now being challenged on the grounds that it is simplistic and overstates the contrasts between Greeks and non-Greeks. I will build on this more recent scholarship, especially the work of Gruen, to offer a more complex and nuanced understanding of Herodotus' conception of the other.

In my third chapter I will compare the ethnographies and the view of the other in Herodotus' *Histories* and the Hippocratic corpus, to show that they exist within the same East Greek intellectual background. Both make use of a theory of environmental determinism that must have predated them, and, as seen in the examples above, their ethnographies are just as concerned with making connections with the other as contrasting Greek and other. The thesis of this work is that in the middle of the fifth century there was a distinct East Greek intellectual culture, as represented by the Hippocratics and Herodotus, that differed from and was even at odds with Athenian culture, particularly in not believing that there was any essential difference between Greeks and non-Greeks, a dichotomy that was to a considerable extent a product of the ideology of the Athenian

state.

Chapter 1

The Hippocratic View of Non-Greeks

Introduction

The Greek theory of environmental determinism of peoples is most explicitly described in *Airs, Waters, Places*. Yet it is Herodotus that has dominated scholarly discussion, and *Airs, Waters, Places* is typically called upon only to clarify Herodotus' view (or later authors' views) of ethnic difference.[1] In this chapter, I will endeavour to explain the theory of difference as it appears and was understood in *Airs, Waters, Places*; to show that, while it is not explicit in other Hippocratic works, it is nevertheless consistent with, and perhaps even implicit in, the other fifth-century Hippocratic works; and to explore how the Hippocratics saw, approached, and dealt with non-Greeks, both as patients and as sources of medical knowledge.

Section 1.1: The Theory of Ethnic Difference in *Airs, Waters, Places*

In chapter 12 of *Airs, Waters, Places*, the author begins an extended ethnographic section, which ostensibly seeks to "to show how Asia and Europe differ from each other in every respect, and particularly in the physical shape of their peoples."[2] He states that "everything in Asia grows to greater beauty and size; [since Asia] is less wild than

1 Examples of *Airs, Waters, Places* being used in this way include: Rosalind Thomas, *Herodotus in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 42-49, 63-70; Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 60-69; "Proto-racism in Graeco-Roman antiquity," *World Archaeology* 38.1 (2006): 35, 37.

2 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 12. (All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.).

[Europe], the character of the inhabitants is milder and more gentle. The cause of this is the temperate climate ... Growth and tameness in all things are produced most wherever nothing is forcibly predominant, but equality prevails in all things."[3] Then the author turns from speaking about Asians generally to specifically those who live in the region "situated midway between the heat and the cold" which is a place he describes as being incredibly fruitful, well-watered, and very mild. Here harvests are naturally plentiful, and livestock are healthy and prolific. The people too "will be well nourished, the most beautiful in shape, the biggest in stature, and differ the least between each other in shape or stature," and "manliness, hardiness, willingness to do toilsome labour, and courage could not be innate in such an environment, in either natives or immigrants, but by necessity, pleasure rules."[4] Immediately after this passage is a lacuna which would have included a discussion on (at least) the Egyptians and Libyans.

Then the author turns his attention to the inhabitants of Europe, who are all those who live to the "right of the summer risings of the sun up to Lake Maeotis."[5]

> These peoples differ from each other more than those which have been described on account of the changes of season and the character of the land. This affects the land the same way that it affects the people. For where the changes in season are greatest and most frequent, there the land is very wild and very irregular ... but where the seasons do not differ much, there the land is very similar. It is also thus concerning the inhabitants, if one reflects on it deeply ... For the seasons which most change the characters of physical forms differ. If the differences are great between the seasons, the differences in the

3 Ibid. 12.
4 Ibid. 12.
5 Ibid. 13.

shapes will be greater.[6]

The first people that the author describes in detail is the Longheads, whose heads are unusually long. Their long heads were originally caused by wrapping the heads of babies with bandages to shape the soft skulls, but after many generations this became a hereditary trait. In recent years, however, the author avers, the long-headedness has become less prevalent due to intercourse with other peoples.[7] The next people that the author looks at are those who live on the Phasis river. "Their land is marshy, hot, wet, and wooded. Frequent and violent rains fall there during every season. The inhabitants live in the marshes, and their dwellings are made of wood and reeds, and built on the water."[8] Since they live on the river, and there are many canals, they travel by dug-out canoes more than by foot. The river itself is the most sluggish in the world, and so its waters (which the inhabitants drink) are hot and stagnant. The unique environment and way of life have caused the Phasians to differ physically from all other people: "They are tall in stature, and overly large stoutness, so that no joints or veins are visible. Their skin is yellowed, as if they suffered from jaundice. They speak with the deepest voices of all men, because the air they breathe is not fresh, but rather moist and turbid. The rather inactive men are not by nature disposed to do physically toilsome work."[9]

The author then moves from how the environment affects the bodies of Asians and

6 Ibid. 13.
7 Ibid. 14.
8 Ibid. 15.
9 Ibid. 15.

Europeans to how it affects their characters, using the lack of courage in Asians, compared to Europeans, as a case study.

> Concerning the faintheartedness and cowardice of the people, the greatest reason why Asians are less warlike and more gentle in character than Europeans is the seasons, which do not have violent changes either to the hot or to the cold, but are nearly equal. For no terrors to the mind or severe changes to the body occur, from which passion grows wild and recklessness and hotheadedness are added more likely than in monotonous sameness. For it is change in all things that rouses men and does not allow them to rest.[10]

Furthermore, Asians are less warlike than Europeans:

> ... over and above this, on account of their laws. For the majority of Asia is ruled by kings. Where men are not their own masters and independent, but are ruled by despots, their concern is not military training, but how to not seem fit for battle. For the risks are not similar. It is likely that by force they will be conscripted, suffer hardships, and die for the sake of their masters, having been separated from their children, wives, and friends. All the good and brave deeds done by them exalt and raise up their masters, while they reap danger and death for themselves. The temper of men of this sort must be stripped bare by their unwarlikeness and inactivity,[11] so that even if someone is naturally brave and stout of heart, his resolve would be changed by the laws. This is a great proof of this: any people in Asia, whether Greek or barbarian, who are not ruled by despots, but are independent and endure hardships for themselves, are the most warlike of all peoples. For it is their own risks that they run, and they themselves bear the prizes of their courage and likewise the penalty of their cowardice.[12]

The author then turns to a lengthy description of the Scythian race.[13] The Scythians differ very little from one another because of the extreme cold, just like the

10 Ibid. 16.

11 Translation is based on ἡμεροῦσθαι τὴν ὀργὴν ὑπό τε ἀπολεμίων, which is how it appears in Zwinger's and Ilberg's editions, which I believe is to be preferred to ἐρημοῦσθαι τὴν γῆν ὑπό τε πολεμίων, (The land of this sort of people must be desert, owing to their enemies and to their laziness) as it appears in most manuscripts, because, following the idea of a people's environment affecting their courageousness, a lack of resources would necessarily promote courageousness.

12 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 16.

13 Ibid. 17-22.

Egyptians on account of the extreme heat.[14] Their environment, which is level, well-watered grassland, with seasons which are all similarly cold, and their customs, a nomadic life, where year-round they wear the same clothes, eat the same food, and travel the same way (men on horses, women on ox-led waggons), both make the Scythians a flabby, ruddy-skinned, fat race of people.[15] The majority of the description of the Scythians focuses on medical questions and curiosities. These include the Scythian practice of cauterizing of the joints, which dries out their excess moisture and allows them to build muscles,[16] their high levels of infertility, which is caused by the moistness of the air, and their inactive life styles,[17] and the custom wherein men who become stricken impotent by a so-called "divine" disease (which is actually a side-effect of their medical treatment for the swelling at their joints caused by constant riding) take up women's work and are called "Anaries".[18]

Moving forward, the author turns his attention to explaining why Europeans in general differ from each other so much. Europeans differ from each other physically because the seasons differ from each other, and from year to year, causing heat waves, rough winters, frequent rains, long droughts, and differing winds. "On account of this," the author proceeds to argue:

It is clear to see that one generation differs from another in the development

14 Ibid. 18, 19.
15 Ibid. 18-19.
16 Ibid. 20.
17 Ibid. 21.
18 Ibid. 22.

> of the foetus, and that it is not the same in the summer as in the winter, nor in rain as in drought. It is for this reason, I think that the physique of Europeans differs more than that of Asians, and that statures are very different in each city. For more gradations arise in the development of the foetus where changes in season are frequent than where they are similar or alike. The same reasoning also applies to their dispositions. Savagery, unsociability, and hot-temperedness arise in such a climate. For this reason I think those that inhabit Europe are of stouter heart than inhabitants of Asia. For in continual sameness, relaxation is in abundant supply, while in continual change, hard work for the body and the mind is in abundance. Cowardice is increased by rest and relaxation, courage by hard work and bodily exertion.[19]

The author then reiterates how independent rule, unlike monarchy, fosters courage in its people, concluding that "customs thus do not minimally produce spirit."[20]

Next he lists a series of typical European environments, along with the kind of people that are typically found there:

> In Europe there are tribes which differ from each other in stature, stoutness, and courage. They are differentiated by the the same factors as I mentioned earlier, but I will now point them out more clearly. Those who live in mountainous lands that are harsh, high, and well watered, where the changes in seasons are at great variance with one another, are likely to have large figures, to be by nature well disposed to hard work and courage, and as such possess not a little wildness and savagery. Whereas those who live in valley lands that are grassy, stifling, with a greater share of hot winds than cold, and furnished with hot water, will not be tall nor entirely on the level, but inclined to be broad, fleshy, and dark-haired. They themselves are darker rather than fair, and suffer less from phlegm than bile. Hard work and courage are not commonly inspired in their spirit by nature, but the imposition of law can add them. If rivers should run through the land, that draw off the stagnant and rainy water from the land, they will be healthy and of bright complexion. But if there are no rivers, and the water drunk there is marshy, stagnant, and fenny, the figures of those people will necessarily have rather distended bellies and diseased spleens. Those who live on highlands, that are level, windy, and well watered, will have tall figures and will resemble each other,

19 Ibid. 23.
20 Ibid. 23.

> but their minds are rather unmanly and gentle. As for those who live on thin, waterless, and bare lands, where the changes in season are not mild, it is likely that in such a land they will be hard, fairer rather than dark, and wilful and self-opinionated in character and temper.[21]

The author concludes by restating that the physique and character of a people are, in general, assimilated to the nature of the land, and advises the reader: "Take these observations as standard when drawing all other conclusions, and you will not err in your judgement."[22]

The most recent and extensive treatment of *Airs, Waters, Places* in relation to the question of the Greek view of non-Greeks is found in Benjamin Isaac's *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*.[23] Isaac primarily uses this treatise to clarify Greco-Roman ideas regarding the relationship between man and his physical environment, as part of his larger discussion about the creation and existence of (proto-)racism in classical antiquity. Isaac argues that the treatise is both a key step in the development of the rationalization for (proto-)racism in Classical thought and is itself racist.

Isaac begins his discussion by citing a passage from chapter 12: "Now I wish to show how Asia and Europe differ from one another in every respect and particularly in the physical shape of their peoples,"[24] and notes that this is the first time we see this bipolarity between Asia and Europe.[25] He highlights the treatise's characterization of

21 Ibid. 24.
22 Ibid. 24. ἀ
23 Isaac, (2004), 60-69.
24 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 12. βούλομαι δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης δεῖξαι ὁκόσον διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων ἐς τὰ πάντα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐθνέων τῆς μορφῆς, ὅτι διαλλάσσει καὶ μηδὲν ἔοικεν ἀλλήλοισιν.
25 Isaac, (2004), 61.

Asians as gentle, lazy, and unwarlike. He notes that this is the earliest text that attributes Asian softness to climate and monarchy, comparing this with Isocrates' account of Asian softness in *Panegyricus* and the last chapter of the *Cyropaedia*, in which the Persian way of life, including its luxury, is seen as the cause, and the environment or other external factors are not mentioned.[26] By contrast, as Isaac notes, in *Airs, Waters, Places* way of life figures only as a secondary cause (and wealth does not figure at all).[27] The physical, spiritual, and moral qualities of Asians are all determined by the climate. The paradox is that since the climate is fine, the people are healthy and well off – and the result of that is they are feeble.[28] Noting that the treatise also attributes the character of the "hard and warlike" Europeans to climate and to political institutions, Isaac argues that there existed such a consensus in Greek thought about the importance of the latter that it could not be ignored, as reluctant as the author may have been to include it.[29]

Isaac then looks to the series of descriptions of environments in Europe, and the impact they have on their peoples. Isaac sees the first two descriptions, namely the mountaineers and plainsmen, as archetypes which were to have a long history in classical antiquity.[30] The group Isaac calls mountaineers are tall, well suited for endurance and courage, and likely to be wild and ferocious. The plainsmen are neither tall nor well

26 Ibid. 62-63.
27 I would argue, however, that although the author makes no mention of monetary wealth, the climate is said to be directly responsible for the abundance of crops and livestock, a source and form of wealth, which in turn affects the character of the people. Isaac fails to notice the implied intermediate steps.
28 Isaac, (2004), 63.
29 Isaac, (2004), 64.; cf. Thomas, (2000), 97.
30 Ibid. (2004), 65.; Elsewhere in Antiquity : 406-410.

shaped, but stocky and fleshy, dark-haired and dark-skinned, and not courageous by nature (although they may become so with proper laws).[31] Isaac states that the climate, geography, and institutions all go together here to create peoples of either uniformly good or bad character.[32] He also notes that hair and skin colour are important: the fighters are blonde and light, the weak kind are dark.[33] He calls the following environments listed by the author "mixed types", and goes on to say that to the "unprejudiced reader" these are all based purely on theory and not on actual observation, as may be seen from the fact that the model fits together so nicely; that no people are named in this section; and that the description of the climates is entirely stereotypical.[34] Isaac then looks at a few specific examples of peoples described in detail within the treatise, and argues that none of these descriptions demonstrates any actual observation.[35]

31 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 24.

32 Isaac, (2004), 65.

33 The overwhelmingly negative colour prejudice - that Isaac is describing here - was unknown in Greek (and Roman) thought. Frank M Snowden, *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 85.; "Greeks and Ethiopians," in *Greeks and Barbarians: Essays on the Interactions between Greeks and Non-Greeks in Antiquity and the Consequences for Eurocentrism*. ed. John Coleman and Clark Walz, (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1997), 111-113.; Erich Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 197-222.

34 Isaac, (2004), 65-66. Oddly Isaac claims that the climates are stereotypical, as would be obvious to "anyone who has ever travelled through Turkey and the Near East."(66) even though the passage he is referring to specifically talks about European environments. He may have mixed this up with Herodotus' comparison (9.122) between mountaineers and plainsmen, which Isaac alludes to on the beginning of the previous page, where Cyrus advises the Persians to "choose rather to live in a rough land and be rulers, than to cultivate plains and be the slaves of others."

35 Isaac, (2004), 66-67. This goes against the scholarly tradition, which tends to emphasize the veracity of the author's observations. I tend to agree with this tradition C. Van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography,* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1957), 317-328.; Jacques Jouanna, *Airs, Eaux, Lieux*, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1996), 54-71.; *Hippocrates*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999), 216-231. One example that Isaac calls stereotypical, and therefore unlikely to come from actual observation is the idea of Scythian sterility or impotence. (66) Yet the author's attribution of this impotence to the Scythian practice of treating sores on the hip and lameness by cutting the vein directly behind the ear (22) bespeaks actual knowledge of the particulars of Scythian medicine, an interest unlikely to have

Isaac then notes that it is curious and significant that the treatise does not describe Greeks and how they are influenced by their environment.[36] Indeed, the only (explicit) mention of the Greeks concerns those living in Asia: "All the Greeks and barbarians in Asia who are not ruled by despots, but are independent and work for themselves, are the most bellicose of all."[37] Isaac concludes that the author is following the custom in Greek geographical discussions of focusing on non-Greeks and ignoring Greeks.[38] Isaac concludes by stating that this treatise is "the first work in Greek literature ... which consistently describes peoples in terms of stereotypes that are said to describe all of the individual members of the groups it describes. It leaves no room for individuality. As such it is a significant milestone in the rationalization of discriminatory thinking."[39]

There are several major problems with this reading of *Airs, Waters, Places*. Firstly, Isaac wrongly identifies the focus of the author, which leads him to overstate the importance of the differences the author notes between Europeans and Asians. It is true

been written about by a non-doctor.

36 Isaac, (2004), 67-68.

37 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 16 (Translation by Isaac). Isaac calls this statement "quite inconsistent", since earlier in the same chapter the author states that the primary reason that Asians are less warlike than Europeans is the uniformity of the seasons. However, this tension between the primacy of climate (or more generally nature), and the ability of customs and laws to overcome the influence of climate is present throughout the treatise (as I will argue later on in this section), and is an important aspect in all Hippocratic thought of this time (as I will argue in the following section).

38 Isaac, (2004), 68. Isaac states, "It is probably wrong to look for a specific reason why Greeks are absent from the treatise, for the same absence has been noted in all Greek geographical surveys from Hecataeus onwards ... Polybius [being] an exception." Cf. Yuval Shahar, *Josephus Geographicus: The Classical Context of Geography in Josephus*, (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 25-39.

39 Isaac, (2004), 68-69. Cf. Christopher Tuplin, "Greek Racism? Observations on the Character and Limits of Greek Ethnic Prejudice," in *Ancient Greeks West and East*, ed. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 68-69. Tuplin concludes that the treatise is not racist, although it manifests a strong ethnic prejudice.

that at the beginning of the ethnographic section of *Airs, Waters, Places* the author says that he intends to compare Asia and Europe to show that the nations and the people differ entirely from one another.[40] However, the author does not seek to describe the differences simply for the sake of describing them, but rather to teach a travelling doctor the effects of environment and customs have on people so that when he arrives in a new area, after taking a quick survey of these things, he may know what kinds of diseases prevail in the area, how best to treat the people there, and not make blunders he would not make at home.[41] While Isaac makes note of recent scholarship that has concluded that the ethnographic section does rightly belong in the same treatise as the first section,[42] which deals with what sorts of things a doctor should find out before he begins working in a new city, he does not seem to pay any attention to this first half. He also treats the treatise simply as an expression of general Greco-Roman attitudes, neglecting its status as specifically a work of Hippocratic medicine. This is partially because he believes this treatise stood apart from other Hippocratic works, but as I will argue in the next section, the model of difference between people within this treatise is a natural extension of other models of thought in Hippocratic treatises of the fifth century. Furthermore, Isaac assumes that all Hippocratic ideas that would inspire later more explicit (proto)racist

40 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 12.
41 Ibid. 1-2.
42 Various scholars have argued that the two halves of the treatise came from different treatises, and even that they were written by different authors. This has been since been rejected. Isaac notes: H. Grensemann, "Das 24. Kapitel von De aeribus, aquibus, locis," *Hermes* 107 (1979), 423-441. Jouanna, (1996), 15-21. See also: Jouanna, (1999), 217-218, 374-375.

thought are necessarily complicit in and share similar aims to those of these later authors. Lastly, by focusing on the examples and following the text, rather than considering the model at work in it, Isaac overstates the divide between European and Asian in the treatise.

The model at work in the treatise is far more subtle than Isaac appreciates. *Phusis* (the climate, geography, and winds of a land) doubtlessly has a major impact on the formation of a person's (and a people's) physique and character, but *nomos* (institutions, laws, and customs) can and does circumvent and reverse the effects of *phusis*. The text allows for, and tells of, people doing exactly that, and does not just reduce them to schematic stereotypes of soft Asians and hard Europeans.

According to the author of *Airs, Waters, Places*, major differences in the physique and character of peoples, and indeed of all living things,[43] are chiefly due to the environmental conditions of their place of origin.[44] The determining factors include: heat or cold, humidity or aridity, the degree of difference between the seasons, the kinds of winds which blow there, and position in relation to the path of the sun and bodies of waters. This can be seen in the general descriptions of the climates and peoples of Asia and Europe. In Asia, because of the temperateness of the climate and the slight changes in

43 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 12. The vegetation and fauna also benefit from Asia's fair climate; in fact "everything in Asia grows to far greater beauty and size." πολὺ γὰρ καλλίονα καὶ μέζονα πάντα γίνεται ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ; cf.. 13, 15, 18, 19.

44 Ibid. 24. "[The changes in the season] are the most important factors that create differences in men's constitutions; next come the land in which a man is reared, and the water. For in general you will find assimilated to the nature of the land both the physique and the characteristics of the inhabitants." Cf. 13, 16, 23.

seasons, everything grows larger, more beautifully, and more uniformly than in Europe, the inhabitants of which, because of the sharp contrasts between seasons, are generally more varied and more wild,[45] owing to the fact that "growth and freedom from wildness are most fostered when nothing is forcibly predominant."[46] When changes are gradual and when the climate is balanced (not too hot or cold, too wet or dry, etc), energy is not spent reacting to these changes or compensating for the imbalance, and instead all energy is dedicated to growth without interruptions.

These factors are also the central cause for the general characters of Asians and Europeans. The people of Asia generally are lazy, self-indulgent, and cowardly, while Europeans are hardworking and warlike.[47] While the author does not explicitly explain the causes of all these characteristics, they may be inferred from the kind of causal steps that the author does explain. It follows that since in Asia the climate is so mild, and all things grow with very little work,[48] Asians never need to work and become lazy out of habit. Since they are lazy and enjoy plenty, it is only natural that they should be self-indulgent. Lastly, since they live in a land of abundance, which they did not work for, they never need to fight, since should what they have be taken away, they can always find more, and so are not accustomed to violence. The author also explains that since there are no

45 Ibid. 12, 13, 23, 24.
46 Ibid. 12, τὴν δὲ αὔξησιν καὶ ἡμερότητα παρέχει πλεῖστον ἁπάντων, ὁκόταν μηδὲν ᾖ ἐπικρατέον βιαίως.
47 Ibid. 12, 13, 16, 23, 24.
48 Ibid. 12: "Here the harvests are likely to be plentiful, both those from seed and those which the earth bestows of her own accord, the fruit of which men use, turning the wild to cultivated and transplanting them to a suitable soil. The cattle too reared there are likely to flourish, and especially to bring forth the sturdiest young and rear them to be very fine creatures." (Translation by Jones, 1923).

shocking or violent physical changes in the season, which steel the tempers of men, Asians are less able to deal with all other forms of mental shock and physical violence.[49] Since in Europe the climatic changes interrupt the growth of crops, Europeans, on the other hand, must work tirelessly and so become hardworking. Also, unlike Asians, Europeans have worked for what little they have, and so are more willing and more likely to fight to keep their products and land.[50] The author also sees courage as a natural extension of endurance and hard work (war is not easy after all), and cowardice of rest and leisure.[51] Clearly these characteristics follow from the conditions of life the climate creates, not from the climate itself.[52]

There are, of course, outliers within both Asia and Europe. These most notably include the Scythians, on account of the extreme cold of their climate,[53] and presumably the Egyptians and Libyans, on account of the extreme heat.[54] These examples Isaac acknowledges. However, variation is not limited only to these extremes. We are told that the nations of Europe differ from each other more than those in Asia, and the peoples' physiques resemble the land in which they live.[55] While the nations of Asia differ less

49 Ibid. 16, 23.

50 Elsewhere the author states that men are more willing to fight when the gain or loss is their own, so this naturally follows. Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 16.

51 Ibid. 23.

52 Compare this with Isaac, (2004), 61-64. Isaac does not make note of these intermediate steps, and so sees the relationship as directly causal: if in a moderate climate then cowardly.

53 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 18, 19.

54 The discussion of the Egyptians and the Libyans (which would have appeared at the end of section 12) is missing; however, reference is made to these peoples as contrasting to the Scythians. Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 18, 19.

55 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 13. Examples of European people resembling their climate: 13. This section includes a list of kinds of terrain matched to people's physiques: eg. “Some physiques resemble wooded, well-watered mountains, others light, dry land...” 15. The Phasians are slow-moving and lazy

from each other,[56] and the author makes some general claims about Asia as a whole,[57] there is variation in Asia too. Perhaps the most important is that found after the general description of Asia at the beginning of chapter 12: the author states, "Asia, however, is not everywhere uniform; the region situated midway between the heat and the cold is very fruitful, very wooded and very mild ..."[58] He goes on to list many of the attributes that Isaac understands as pertaining to all Asians, even though this transitional sentence clearly separates this from the general discussion of Asians.[59] Also, while the missing section at the end of chapter 12 must discuss the Egyptians and the Libyans,[60] there is no reason to assume that they were the only Asian peoples discussed. The author says that the Asians are less varied that Europeans, not that they do not vary.

In addition to the climate, customs and laws may also affect a peoples' physique

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like the river they live on, they are tall because there is little change in the seasons to stop their growing, flabby because the area is overly wet, and because of the hot and damp air they have deeper voices. 19. The Scythians are flabby and look the same because they live in an unchanging cold and wet area. Since it is so incredibly wet the Scythians, as well as the native animals, are the least prolific.; 20. The Scythians are ruddy-skinned because the cold burns it. 24. People from watered, mountainous regions with sharp changes in seasons, are large, courageous and fierce. People from hot meadowy areas are short but broad, dark-haired, and not naturally courageous. People from high lands that are windy and watered are tall but unmanly. People from areas with thin and dry soil, where there are abrupt changes in the seasons, are hard in physique, fair-haired, and stubborn in character.

56 Ibid. 13.

57 E.g. Ibid. 12: "For everything in Asia grows to far greater beauty and size; the region is less wild than the other, the character of the inhabitants is milder and more gentle." (Translation by Jones, 1923).

58 Ibid. 12: " ἔχει δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίηνοὐ πανταχῇ ὁμοίως, ἀλλ᾽ ὅση μὲν τῆς χώρης ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ψυχροῦ, αὕτη μὲν εὐκαρποτάτη ἐστὶ καὶ εὐδενδροτάτη καὶ εὐδιεστάτη ..." (Translation by Jones, 1923). See also: *Idem*, 16: "You will find that Asians also differ from one another, some being better, others worse. The reason for this, as I have said before, is the changes in the seasons." εὑρήσεις δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀσιηνοὺς διαφέροντας αὐτοὺς ἑωυτῶν, τοὺς μὲν βελτίονας, τοὺς δὲ φαυλοτέρους ἐόντας. τούτων δὲ αἱ μεταβολαὶ αἴτιαι τῶν ὡρέων, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς προτέροισι.

59 Isaac, (2004), 61-63.

60 The text picks back up saying "... for this reason in the beasts they are of many shapes. Such in my opinion is the condition of the Egyptians and the Libyans." Ibid. 12-13.

and characteristics.[61] This can be seen most clearly in the author's descriptions of the influence monarchy has on a people. In a monarchy, because the individual members of a society go to war for their master's interests, rather than their own, they are not as invested in the battle, and so become less warlike, whereas when people from independent states go to war, they fight for their own interests, and so are more invested in the battle and become more courageous.[62] While it is more apparent that customs influence the character of a people, they may also affect the body. One example of this is the so-called Longheads. The author says that that since the Longheads found elongated heads noble-looking, they started wrapping the heads of babies with bandages, which spoiled their roundness.[63]

Customs and laws usually reinforce characteristics that are already present due to the influence of the environment. Thus the tendency toward monarchical government reinforces the cowardice engendered by the Asian climate.[64] They can, however, overcome the influence of climate. Hence "all inhabitants of Asia, whether Greek or barbarian, who are not ruled by despots, but are independent ... are the most warlike of all

61 Ibid. 23. "So institutions (*nomoi*) contribute a great deal to the formation of courageousness."; cf. 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

62 Ibid. 16, 23, 24.

63 Ibid. 14. Also see: 16. Sauromatian women do not have right breasts because they cauterize the breasts as babies, so that the growth is stunted, and the strength and bulk are instead diverted to the right shoulder and arm. 20. The majority of Scythians cauterize their shoulders, arms, wrists, breast, hips and loins, to dry up the excess moisture in the joints so that their muscles may grow, rather than just fat. They are squat because they rarely walk as they are always riding horses.

64 Ibid. 16. See also: 20. Scythians, who are already not very fertile due to the climate, constantly ride horses, which increases infertility in males, and in oxen-drawn wagons, so that the women never move, and so become exceptionally fat, which in turn blocks the seed from the womb. 22. In addition, the "cure" that the Scythians use to reduce the swelling of joints brought on by constant horseback riding, causes impotence in the men.

men."[65] While the Asian climate predisposes a person to be cowardly, the proper *nomoi*, here living in a free-state, can completely negate the environment's effect. Conversely, we are told that all traits, even those that are acquired by custom, can be passed down from parent to child, and so custom can be "reinforced by nature."[66] Consequently, the longer a people live in same area with the same customs, the more affected they will become.[67] Lastly, while custom may become nature, intermingling with other peoples will reduce these traits.[68]

Thus there is far more interplay between *phusis* and *nomos* than is allowed for in Isaac's reading. In typical Hippocratic fashion, as I will argue in the following section, the author acknowledges the power of *phusis*, but ultimately the proper application of *nomos* can lessen or even reverse the effects of *phusis*.

Section 1.2: *Airs, Waters, Places'* Theory of Ethnic Difference in Fifth-Century Hippocratic Treatises

In addition to *Airs, Waters, Places*, there are a number of Hippocratic treatises which are dated to the fifth-century BCE; they are: *Ancient Medicine*, *The Art*, *Breaths*, *Diseases II, III*, and *IV*, *Eight Months' Child* (which contains *Seven Months' Child*),

65 Ibid. 16. See also: 20. As stated in note 63, the Scythians cauterize their muscles and joints, which dries their bodies and allows them to grow stronger, thus subverting the effect of the climate. 24. People from hot meadowy areas are not naturally courageous, but can become so artificially with proper customs.

66 Ibid. 14. While the Longheads originally got their long heads from the custom of wrapping them, eventually the trait began to be passed hereditarily, just like (and explicitly compared to) baldness and having blue eyes.

67 Ibid. 16. We are told that because of the climate of Asia, immigrants who live there (presumably who came from a differing climate) are not courageous or industrious.

68 Ibid. 14. Longheads do not have as long heads as they used to due to intermarrying with other peoples.

Epidemics I and *III*, and *II*, *IV*, and *VI*, *Generation / Nature of the Child*, *Humours*, *Internal Affections*, *Nature of Man*, *On Fractures / On Joints*, *On Wounds in the Head*, *Prognostic*, *Prorrhetic I* and *II*, *Regimen*, *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, *The Sacred Disease*, *Sight*, and *Ulcers*.[69] Within this group of treatises, *Airs, Waters, Places* is often treated separately, and called "a work *sui generis*."[70] Its position as a genuine Hippocratic treatise has also been occasionally called into doubt and rejected.[71] This is despite the likelihood that the same author wrote *Airs, Waters, Places* and *The Sacred Disease*.[72] I would not only argue, however, that the work shares many common thoughts, interests, and facts with other fifth-century treatises, but also that its theory of ethnic difference, while not explicit in other fifth- century Hippocratic works, is nevertheless consistent with, and perhaps even implicit in, them.

The author of *Airs, Waters, Places* begins by stating:

> Anyone who truly wants to examine the art of medicine ought to do this. First he should reflect on the seasons of the year, and what each one can cause, for the seasons are not similar to each other at all, but differ greatly in themselves and at their changes. Then he should consider the hot and cold winds, especially those which are common to all peoples, but also those that are native to each land. There is also a need to examine the properties of water, for just as they differ in taste and weight, they also differ greatly in property from one another.[73]

69 The dating of Hippocratic treatises is always contestable and inexact, but for the purposes of this study I have taken the dating found in appendix 3 of Jouanna, (1999), 373-416, as correct. Several treatises that I have included are roughly dated to "end of fifth-century or beginning of the fourth" (e.g. *Diseases IV*).

70 Jouanna, (1996), 71-79. See also: Isaac, (2004), 60-61.

71 Ex. Hyun Jin Kim, *Ethnicity and Foreigners in Ancient Greece and China*, (London: Duckworth, 2009), 14.

72 Jouanna, (1996), 71-73.; (1999), 66-67, 375, 412.

73 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 1, ἰητρικὴν ὅστις βούλεται ὀρθῶς ζητεῖν, τάδε χρὴ ποιεῖν: πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὰς **ὥρας τοῦ ἔτεος**, ὅ τι δύναται ἀπεργάζεσθαι ἑκάστη: οὐ γὰρ ἐοίκασιν ἀλλήλοισιν

He lays out the most important factors a doctor must consider when making a diagnosis or prescription, namely the season, the winds, and the water. These are key in all Hippocratic medicine. The idea that diseases react with the body and manifest themselves differently during different seasons,[74] and that there is the greatest risk of sudden attacks of the disease or changes in how it manifests in the body at the changes between seasons,[75] is common.[76] The term that the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* uses for the change of season, μεταβολαί τῶν ὡρέων, is also commonly used throughout the Hippocratic corpus.[77] Similarly the importance of winds (hot, cold, damp, or arid) is commonly noted, as these, especially when they differ from the season, can cause rapid changes to the body and change how the body reacts to a disease.[78] The quality of the water and how

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οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ διαφέρουσιν αὐταί τε ἐφ᾽ ἑωυτέων καὶ ἐν τῇσι **μεταβολῇσιν**: ἔπειτα δὲ **τὰ πνεύματα τὰ θερμά τε καὶ τὰ ψυχρά**, μάλιστα μὲν τὰ κοινὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν ἑκάστῃ χώρῃ ἐπιχώρια ἐόντα. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν **ὑδάτων** ἐνθυ μεῖσθαι τὰς δυνάμιας: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ στόματι διαφέρουσι καὶ ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ δύναμις διαφέρει πολὺ ἑκάστου.

74 Ex. "Of old patients the greatest enemy is winter. For when an old man has been heated in the head and brain by a large fire, and then comes into the cold and is chilled, or if he leave the cold for warmth and a large fire, he experiences the same symptoms and has a seizure, according to what has been said already. There is a serious risk of the same thing happening in the spring also, if the head be struck by the sun. In summer the risk is least, as there are no sudden changes." Hippocrates, *The Sacred Disease*, 13. (Translation by Jones, 1923).

75 Ex. "But when summer came ... [there] occurred many continuous but not violent fevers, which attacked persons who were long ailing without suffering distress in any other particular manner; for the bowels were in most cases quite easy, and hurt in no appreciable way." Hippocrates, *Epidemics I*, 3. (Translation by Jones, 1923).

76 Other examples of this: Hippocrates, *Ancient Medicine*, 16.; *Epidemics I*, 2, 5, 6, 13, 15, 22.; *Epidemics III*, 2, 3, 13, 15, 16.; *Epidemics II*, 1.1-6, and passim; *Epidemics IV*, passim.; *Epidemics VI*, passim.; *Humours*, 7, 13, 15.; *On Wounds in the Head*, 2, 14, 19.; *On Fractures*, 29.; *On Joints*, 8.; *Nature of Man*, 2, 7, 9, 15.; *Regimen*, 1.2, 1.32, 3.67, 3.68.

77 For a full list of its use within the corpus, see: K. Alpers et al, eds, *Index Hippocraticus*, (Gottingae: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 502-503.

78 Ex. "But persons in whom pains arise in the head and forehead as the result of violent winds, or from coldness when they have been strongly heated, are usually relieved by fully developed coryzas ..."

it affects people are also frequently noted;[79] in *Airs, Waters, Places*, mixed stagnant water is seen as the cause of kidney stones just as it is elsewhere in the corpus.[80]

The use of astronomy as a ways to keep track of dates and progress through the year is also standard within the Hippocratic corpus.[81] Jouanna, however, believes that the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* uniquely understands the movement of the stars to have a direct effect on health, an effect as great as that of the changes in season.[82] He points to passages such as the following: "For knowing the changes of the seasons, and the risings and settings of the stars, with the circumstances of each of these phenomena, he will know beforehand the kind

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Hippocrates, *Prorrhetic II*, 30. See also: Hippocrates, *The Sacred Disease*, 11, 13, 14, 16, 21.; *Breaths*, passim.; *Epidemics I*, 1, 4, 13.; *Epidemics III*, 2.; *Epidemics II*, passim.; *Epidemics IV*, passim.; *Regimen*, 2.37, 2.38, 3.67.; *Humours*, 14.

79 *Index Hippocraticus*, (1989), 813-814.

80 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 9: "Stone, kidney disease, strangury, and sciatica are very apt to attack people, and ruptures occur, when they drink water of very many different kinds, whether from large rivers into which other rivers flow, or from a lake fed by many streams of various sorts, and whenever they use foreign waters coming from a great, not a short, distance ... Children get stone also from the milk, if it be unhealthy, too hot, and bilious." (Translation by Jones, 1923).Compare Hippocrates, *Diseases IV*, 24: "Lithiasis: this disease arises from milk, when an infant is suckled on milk that is not clean ... the infant, if suckling from its nurse milk that is not clean, but bilious, becomes itself, as I have said, sickly and weak, and suffers pain for as long as it continues to suck injurious and unhealthy milk ... Just as when water that is not clean is stirred up in a wine cup or a bronze vessel and then allowed to stand, it forms a compact sediment in its centre, so too the same thing happens in the bladder from urine that is not clean." (Translation by Potter, 1995).

81 Ex. "During the period that follows let regimen consist of things soft, moist, cooling, white, and pure, for ninety-three days until the rising of Arcturus and the equinox. From the equinox regimen should be as follows, with a gradation during the autumn season to the winter, and with the use of a thick garment to guard against sudden changes of heat and cold." Hippocrates, *Regimen*, 3.68. (Translation by Jones, 1931). See also: Hippocrates, *The Sacred Disease*, 13, 16, 21.; *Epidemics I*, passim.; *Epidemics III*, passim.; *Epidemics IV*, passim.; *Regimen*, 1.2, 4.89.

82 Jouanna, (1999), 215-216.

of year that is likely to come."[83] The circumstances to which the author refers, however, are not astronomical but meteorological. The risings and settings of the stars are not effects in themselves, but simply mark the time of year. Thus the author later states, "If at the rising of the Dog star, cold rains fall and the Etesian winds blow, there is a hope they will stop and the autumn will be healthy."[84] The author is not saying that the movement of these stars itself has an effect on patients, he is simply saying that the changes in the season can be tracked by these stars. This is his meaning when he states: "It is also necessary to guard against the risings of the stars, especially the Dog star, then Arcturus, and also the setting of the Pleiades. For it is especially at these times that diseases come into a crisis."[85] The acronycal rising of Arcturus, on February 25th, marked the beginning of spring, the heliacal rising of Arcturus, on September 25th,[86] marked the beginning of autumn, and the setting of the Pleiades, on November 6th, marked the beginning of winter. While the rising of the Dog star, on July 19th, does not correspond to the beginning of a new season, it does act as a near

83 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 2. εἰδὼς γὰρ τῶν ὡρέων τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ τῶν ἄστρων τὰς ἐπιτολάς τε καὶ δύσιας, καθότι ἕκαστον τούτων γίνεται, προειδείη ἂν τὸ ἔτος ὁκοῖόν τι μέλλει γίνεσθαι.

84 Ibid. 10.

85 Ibid. 11. Cf. Homer, *Iliad*, 22.25-31. "Him the old man Priam was first to behold with his eyes, as he sped all-gleaming over the plain, like to the star that cometh forth at harvest-time, and brightly do his rays shine amid the host of stars in the darkness of night, the star that men call by name the Dog of Orion. Brightest of all is he, yet withal is he a sign of evil, and bringeth much fever upon wretched mortals." (Translation by A.T. Murray, 1924).

86 A heliacally risen star is far enough in front of the sun that it is visible before dawn, whereas a an acronychally risen star is visible all night, and unlike a heliacal in that it quickly disappears in the sun's rays.

middle point in the summer, when it would be hottest and most humid (i.e. the dog days of summer),[87] so it is likely that it is still meant as a signifier of the date and season, rather than as having a direct causal effect on patients.[88]

In addition, the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* participates in the Hippocratic re-appropriation of "divine" knowledge.[89] When describing a disease that the Scythians believe is brought about by the gods, the author says, "It seems to me as well that these diseases are divine, and all others, none being more divine or more human than another, all are alike, and all are divine. Each of them has its own nature, and none arise without its natural cause."[90] The author then goes on to describe its natural cause, and then gives this further proof that it is no more divine than other diseases: the richest Scythians tend to get this affliction more than the poor,

> But, if this disease was more divine than the rest, it should not attack the most noble and rich Scythians alone, but all alike, or rather they should fall sick the least, if truly the gods, when honoured and worshipped by men, are pleased, and give favour in return. For naturally rich men sacrifice many things to the gods, and give them votives and honours, on account of their wealth, things which the poor are less able to do, on account of their poverty. Furthermore they blame the gods that they did not give them wealth, so the punishments for these sins are more likely given to the poor

87 The days of the summer when the Dog star rises before, or at the same time as, the sun: a phrase originating in Greek. Ex. Aristotle, *Physics*, 199a2.

88 Information about the days is taken from this treatise's introduction by Jones, (Loeb, 1923), 67-69. All conclusions are my own.

89 G.E.R. Lloyd, *In the Grip of Disease: Studies in the Greek Imagination*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 43-50.

90 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 22. ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ταῦτα τὰ πάθεα θεῖα εἶναι καὶ τἆλλα πάντα καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἑτέρου θειότερον οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπινώτερον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοῖα καὶ πάντα θεῖα. ἕκαστον δὲ αὐτῶν ἔχει φύσιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν ἄνευ φύσιος γίνεται.

than the rich.[91]

This is, of course, very reminiscent of the sorts of arguments made in *The Sacred Disease* (which is likely written by the same author),[92] but also those in *Regimen*. The author of the latter compares the ability of the doctor, who learns of the invisible by interpreting the visible signs of *phusis* at work, to a soothsayer: "The properties of the craft of divination and the nature of man are the same: for those that know, it is always correctly interpreted; for those that do not know, sometimes correctly and sometimes not."[93] The Hippocratics of the fifth-century, looked to both dismiss faith healers, who claimed to have secret knowledge of certain diseases and the ways to cure them by appeal to the gods, and to appropriate their role as interpreters of the divine, which they internalize in *phusis*.

The author of *Airs, Waters, Places* also shares the interest in Scythians that can be seen in other fifth-century treatises. For instance, in his description of the Scythian way of life, he refers to "*hippace*, which is a cheese made from horse milk,"[94] the production of which the author of *Diseases IV* likens to the separation of humours in the human body when it is stirred.[95] Similarly, the

91 Ibid. 22.
92 Jouanna, (1996), 71-73.; (1999), 66-67, 375, 412.
93 Hippocrates, *Regimen*, 1.12.
94 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 18.
95 Hippocrates, *Diseases IV*, 20. "This phenomenon resembles what the Scythians do with mare's milk: for they pour milk into a hollow wooden container and shake it; as the milk is shaken it foams and separates, and the fatty component, which they call "butter", rises to the top because it is light. The heavy and thick component stays near the bottom, and this they separate and dry; when it has coagulated

practise of the Scythians of cauterizing their weak and flabby joints so that they become better braced, and so they can properly wield their weapons, is adopted by the author of *On Joints* for the treatment of shoulders that frequently dislocate.[96] The vein that the Scythians cut to treat swelling of the joints, which the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* tells us is the cause of their impotence,[97] is also mentioned in *Generation* and in *The Nature of Man*.[98] The author of the *Prognostic* states that one must be on the lookout for certain signs which mean the same thing in every year and season, and "in Libya, in Delos, and in Scythia."[99]

Similarly, the theory of ethnic difference in *Airs, Waters, Places* is consistent with the other fifth-century Hippocratic treatises. One thought in the theory that can be seen

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and becomes dry, they call it "*hippace*"; in the middle is the milk's whey." (Translation by Potter, 2012).

96 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters,Places*, 20. "The majority of Scythians , all that are Nomads, you will find have their shoulders cauterized, as well as their arms, wrists, breast, hips and loins, simply because of the moistness and softness of their constitution. For owing to their moistness and flabbiness they have not the strength to either draw a bow or throw a javelin from the shoulder. But when they have been cauterized the excess of moisture dries up from their joints, and their bodies become more braced, more nourished, and better articulated." (Translation by Jones, 1923). Compare: Hippocrates, *On Joints*, 11. "The proper treatment of those whose shoulders are often being dislocated is a thing worth learning. For many have been debarred from gymnastic contests, though well fitted in all other respects, and many have become worthless in warfare and have perished through misfortune... (the author then goes on to describe how to cauterize shoulders that dislocate in different ways)." (Translation by Withington, 1947). See also: Hippocrates, *On Joints*, 40, 50.

97 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 22.

98 Hippocrates, *Generation*, 2. "Persons who are incised beside the ears are able to have intercourse and to ejaculate, but it is small in amount, weak, and sterile; for the greatest part of the seed flows from the head past the ears into the spinal marrow, and this passageway becomes solid on account of the scarring from the incision." (Translation by Potter, (2012). Hippocrates, *The Nature of Man*, 11.

99 Hippocrates, *Prognostic*, 25. This passage may point to a similar common interest in Libyans, as they are also commonly referred to in other treatises, but since the section of *Airs, Waters, Places* that deals with the Libyans is missing (12-13), we are unaware of any correspondences. For Libyans in fifth century treatises see: Hippocrates, *The Sacred Disease*, 2-4.; *Diseases IV*, 3, 56.; *Regimen*, 2.37, 2.38.

elsewhere is that the flora and fauna of a land tends to mirror it in hotness or coldness, and dryness or moistness,[100] and moreover that all life is affected by the environment (and other elements of *phusis*) in the same way as humans are.[101] An example of this can be found in *Regimen*: "The southern lands are hotter and drier than the northern, because they are very near the sun. The races of men and plants in these lands must necessarily be drier, hotter, and harder than those in lands of a contrasting nature."[102] In addition, the idea that some traits and diseases can be passed on hereditarily, which is part of the theory,[103] can be found elsewhere. For instance, "Further, cases of impending mental derangement will not escape anyone's notice often, if he knows to whom this disease is hereditary, or who has been deranged before."[104]

The interplay we see between *phusis* and *nomos* in *Airs, Waters, Places* can clearly be seen at work in the *Regimen:* "For *nomos* and *phusis*, with which we bring about all things, are not in agreement, although they agree. For men set up *nomos* for themselves, not knowing about what they set up, while the gods ordered the *phusis* of all things. Now,

100 See also: Hippocrates, *Regimen*, 2.56. "Things coming from waterless, dry, and torrid regions are all drier and warmer, and provide the body with more strength, because bulk for bulk, they are heavier, more compact, and more compressed than those from moist regions that are well-watered and cold, the latter being moister, lighter, and colder." (Translation by Jones, 1931).; *Humours*, 12.

101 Ex. Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 12. The vegetation and creatures also benefit from Asia's fair climate, in fact “everything in Asia grows to far greater beauty and size.”; cf.13, 15, 18, 19.

102 Hippocrates, *Regimen*, 2.37. See also: Hippocrates, *Regimen*, 1.3, 1.6, 1.7, 1.28, 2.38.; *Nature of the Child*, 16.; *Diseases IV*, 3.; *Humours*, 11.

103 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 14. "For the seed comes from all parts of the body, healthy seeds from healthy parts, diseased seed from diseased parts. If, therefore, bald parents have for the most part bald children, grey-eyed parents grey-eyed children, squinting parents squinting children, and so on with other physical peculiarities, what prevents a long-headed parent from having a long-headed child?"

104 Hippocrates, *Prorrhetic II*, 2. See also: Hippocrates, *Prorrhetic II*, 5.; *The Sacred Disease*, 5.; *Epidemics*, case 4.; *On Joints*, 12, 28, 53.; *Humours*, 12.

the things which men managed never remains constant, rightly or not, whereas everything gods managed always remains right."[105] While *phusis* is immutable and always "right", it is by both *phusis* and *nomos* that things are the way they are, and so the power of *nomos* is that it is changeable. Just as in *Airs, Waters, Places* the Scythians can dry their moist joints with cauterization, by the implication of a regimen geared towards increasing heat or coldness, dryness or moistness, a man may increase what is deficient by nature. "If one follows the right regimen, he may become more sensible and sharper beyond *phusis*."[106] This basic tenet is the idea behind (much of) Hippocratic medicine. Doctors use regimen and various treatments, like letting blood or using various other substances to purge the other humours (phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile), to increase that which is deficient, or to decrease that which is in excess, which is the principal cause of the disease.[107] Doctors' cures are *nomos* on the level of the individual, which is deliberately being used to work with and against *phusis*.

Nomos, however, is not usually purposely directed towards the manipulation and subversion of *phusis*; people tend towards regimen that reinforces what is natural. The

105Hippocrates, *Regimen*, 1.11.

106 Ibid. 1.35. See also: 1.28, 1.32, 1.33, 1.34, 1.36.

107 The authors within the Hippocratic corpus famously disagree with each other over the causes of certain diseases, and what it is that is in excess or in a deficiency. (Lloyd, (2007), 41-43.) However, the idea of excess and deficiency of something as the root cause of disease (ex. fire or water in *Regimen*, and the four humours in *Nature of Man, Ancient Medicine*, etc), and the excess or deficiency is usually is analyzed in terms of heat, coldness, dryness, or moisture in the body (ex. In *Regimen* (4), fire is hot and dry (but has some moisture), and water is cold and moist (but has some dryness); In *Nature of Man* and *Ancient Medicine*, blood is hot and moist, phlegm is cold and moist, yellow bile is hot and dry, and black bile is cold and dry.)

description of regimen in *Regimen*,[108] is essentially congruent with the effects seen in the theory of *Airs, Waters, Places*. To show this I will use the Scythians, the people most thoroughly described in *Airs, Waters, Places*, as a case study. We are told that Scythians drink mare's milk and eat boiled meats and *hippace*.[109] The meats that they eat must include the sheep and cattle that follow their waggons,[110] but may also include game. Mutton and beef is naturally dry and hard,[111] however it is moistened and loses its strength when they boil it.[112] Milk and cheese is normally strong, hot, and nourishing, but because it comes from tame, probably grass-fed,[113] animals,[114] which live in a cold and moist environment,[115] they are moister, colder, and lighter than they normally would be. The Scythians spend most of their life either sitting in waggons or riding horses,[116] and we are told that the men "abstain from fatigue."[117] Exercising has a warming and drying effect on the body,[118] but since the Scythians do not exercise, their untrained flesh is left moist,[119] all

108 I will be using the *Regimen* as it provides the most complete list of effects of different foods and exercise; however, it should be noted that similar descriptions of regimen exist scattered throughout many treatises. Ex. "Very weak foods contain short-lived nutrition ... Much sleep reduces one who has been emptied by purge. The coldest foods: lentils, millet, cucumber." Hippocrates, *Epidemics VI*, 5.14-15.

109 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 18.

110 Ibid. 18.

111 Hippocrates, *Regimen*, 2.46.

112 Ibid. 2.56.

113 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 18. "They remain in the same place just as long as there is sufficient fodder for the animals; when it gives out they migrate."

114 Hippocrates, *Regimen*, 2.49. "Wild animals are drier than tame, ... hay eaters than grass eaters."

115 Ibid. 2.56. "Things coming from waterless, dry, and torrid regions are all drier and warmer, and provide the body with more strength, because, bulk for bulk, they are heavier, more compact, and more nutritious than those from moist regions that are well-watered and cold, the latter foods being moister, lighter, and colder." (Translation by Jones, 1931).

116 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 20.

117 Ibid. 19.

118 Hippocrates, *Regimen*, 2.61.

119 Ibid. 2.66.

the more so because of their cold and moist diets. Such a moist body would tire quickly from any physical exertion,[120] which is why the Scythians are unable to draw a bow or throw a javelin before they artificially dry and warm their joints and muscles through cauterization.[121] Thus, the daily regimen (i.e. *nomos*) of the Scythians leaves their bodies cold and moist, which is precisely how the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* describes their environment (i.e. *phusis*).[122]

The common interests and particulars that *Airs, Waters, Places* shares with the rest of the fifth-century treatises safely secures its position as a genuine Hippocratic text. Moreover, its theory of ethnic difference can be seen as a natural extension of the Hippocratic understanding of the body and health. The environment and laws and customs of a people are what constitute *phusis* and *nomos*, just as the season and regimen are on the scale of the individual patient. Thus, when discussing the view of non-Greeks in fifth-century Hippocratic thought, one may safely draw examples from all treatises of the time.

Section 1.3: The Fifth-Century Hippocratic View of Non-Greeks

I have shown in the previous sections that the theory of ethnic difference that is explicit in *Airs, Waters, Places* does not merely divide people into simplistic stereotypes

120 Ibid, 2.66.
121 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 20.
122 Ibid. 18, 19.

of soft Asians and hard Europeans, and is compatible with, and perhaps implicit in, the other fifth-century Hippocratic works. In this section I will look more closely at how the Hippocratics saw, approached, and dealt with non-Greeks, both as possible sources of medical knowledge and as patients.

The Hippocratics certainly did not have any objection to recommending treatments from non-Greek sources. As I have mentioned in the previous section, it appears that the Hippocratic treatment for shoulders which frequently dislocate,[123] namely cauterization of the muscles around the joint, may have been influenced by the similar Scythian practice.[124] Additionally, the cure for *kedmata*, which is likely a swelling in the joints in the inguinal area,[125] as it appears in *Epidemics VI*, "for *kedmata*, cut the veins behind the ears,"[126] seems also to have been taken from the Scythians.[127] The Egyptians clearly had some influence on Hippocratic medicine, although to what extent is frequently debated.[128] The clearest connection was made by the editor of the Carlsberg papyrus, E. Iversen. In the Carlsberg papyrus, the author lists the following test to determine if a

123 Hippocrates, *On Joints*, 11, 40, 50.
124 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 20.
125 Hippocrates, *Epidemics VII*, 122.: "The boy of about six years had *hippouris*, and gladular swelling in the groin on the same side, and *kedmata*." (Translation and comparison by Smith, 1994)
126 Hippocrates, *Epidemics VI*, 5.15.
127 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 22.: "*Kedmata* takes hold of them from their horse-back riding, because they are always astride their horses, and it causes lameness and sores on the hips, for those who suffer the worst cases. They treat themselves in the following way. When the disease begins, they cut the veins behind each ear. After the blood has streamed forth, sleep seizes them from their weak state and they pass out. Then they wake up, some having been made healthy, and some not."
128 For a summary of this see: Jacques Jouanna, "Egyptian Medicine and Greek Medicine," in *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 3-20, who ultimately concludes that it is impossible to determine the extent of Egypt's influence, and instead looks at the Greeks' image of Egyptian medicine.

woman will give birth normally or not: “Another method. Leave overnight a clove of garlic moistened (with...) in the body (i.e. in the vagina). If you smell garlic on her breath, she will give birth (normally). If you cannot smell it, she will not give birth normally, and this is always the case.”[129] Similarly in the treatise *On Sterile Women*,[130] the author lists this test to see if a woman can conceive or not: “Another (method): take a clove of garlic that you have cleaned and peeled, apply it through a pessary into the uterus, and the next day check if the smell of garlic is exhaled from the mouth; if it is exhaled, the woman will conceive; if not she will not conceive.”[131] The test is evidently similar, and in both cases the test presupposes that the woman's body has some sort of passage between the vagina and the mouth. To what extent the Hippocratics were influenced by other peoples' medicines is unclear, but they did clearly appropriate some medical knowledge and treatments from non-Greek medicine.

The Greek/barbarian dichotomy found elsewhere in Greek literature is either not present in, or not significant to, Hippocratic thought. The term “*barbaros*”, appears only once in fifth-century treatises: “Any people in Asia, whether Greek or barbarian, who are not ruled by despots, but are independent and endure hardships for themselves, are the most warlike of all peoples.”[132] Here, rather than saying there is something fundamentally

129 Carlsberg papyrus (also known as Kahun 28) (Translation by E. Iversen, 1939)
130 This treatise is likely from the mid-fifth century, but some or all of the rewriting in it is from the fourth century. Jouanna (1999), 385-386.
131 Hippocrates, *On Sterile Women*, 214. (Translation Jouanna, 2012).
132 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 16, ὁκόσοι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἕλληνες ἢ βάρβαροι μὴ δεσπόζονται, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτόνομοί εἰσι καὶ ἑωυτοῖσι ταλαιπωρεῦσιν, οὗτοι μαχιμώτατοί εἰσι πάντων.

different about Greeks and non-Greeks, the author is instead saying that they both react to the same *nomos* the same way, obviating any essential difference. Likewise, the term Greek, "*Hellene*", is rarely seen in fifth-century treatises: the only other occurrence of the term (beyond the example above) is quite innocuous: "There are some arts, which, to those who make a living off them, are wearisome, but, to those who make some use of them, are helpful; to the common man they are a public good, but to the practitioners of them they are distressing. Of such arts, there is one which the Greeks call medicine."[133]

There does seem to be a structural dichotomy in *Airs, Waters, Places* between the Europeans and the Asians, even if, as I have argued earlier, this is not an inescapable or uncomplicated difference. The hard Europeans seem ostensibly to be preferred to the soft Asians in *Airs, Waters, Places*;[134] however, this is an overly simple reading of the text. Physically, the Asians are obviously superior. They "grow to far greater beauty and size," and the men are "very well nourished, of very fine physique, and very tall."[135] In respect of the terms used to describe the characters of Asians and Europeans the case is more unclear. Certainly, some terms to describe the Asians, such as *analkis* (feeble or unwarlike),[136] and some terms used to describe the Europeans, such as *thumoeides* (high-spirited, passionate, or hot-tempered), *eupsuchios* (of good courage or stout of heart), and

133 Hippocrates, *Breaths*, 1.
134 Isaac, (2004), 60-69.
135 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 12, πολὺ γὰρ καλλίονα καὶ μέζονα πάντα γίνεται ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ... τούς τε ἀνθρώπους εὐτραφέας εἶναι καὶ τὰ εἴδεα καλλίστους καὶ μεγέθει μεγίστους.
136 Ibid. 16. (All definitions taken from LSJ)

machimos (fit for battle or warlike),[137] are clearly negative and positive, respectively. However, other terms that are used complicate this simple characterization. For instance, the Asian character is called *epios* (gentle or kind),[138] a word commonly used by Homer and Hesiod when referring to gods and kings,[139] and *euorgstos* (good-tempered).[140] The European character is called *agrios* (wild, savage, or fierce),[141] a word Homer uses to describe cyclopes, stranger-hating men, and anger;[142] *amiktos* (unsociable or savage),[143] a word used by tragedians to describe cyclopes, guest-murderers, and centaurs;[144] and *theriodes* (brutal or savage),[145] used by Euripides to describe animals who lack sense,[146] and in other Hippocratic treatises to describe malignant cases of intestinal worms[147] or delirium.[148] So the structural dichotomy in the ethnographic section of *Airs, Waters, Places* is not between soft Asians and hard Europeans, but uniformly beautiful, unwarlike, civilized Asians, and physically varied, warlike, savage Europeans.

137 Ibid. 23.
138 Ibid. 12.
139 Homer, *Iliad*, 8.40, 22.184, 24.770, 24.775; *Odyssey*, 2.47, 2.230, 2.234, 5.8, 5.12, 10.337, 11.441, 14.139, 15.152, 15.490, 20.327.; Homeric Hymns, 2.361, 4.466.; Hesiod, *Theogony*, 235, 407; *Works and Days*, 787.
140 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 12. Compare: Thucydides, *The Peloponesian War*, 1.122.1. "For war of all things proceeds least upon definite rules, but draws principally upon itself for contrivances to meet an emergency; and in such cases the party who faces the struggle and **keeps his temper best (*euorgstos*)** meets with most security, and he who loses his temper about it with correspondent disaster." (Translation by E.P. Dutton, 1910.)
141 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 23.
142 *Argios*: cyclopes: Homer, *Odyssey*, 2.19, 9.175; stranger-hating men: Homer, *Odyssey*, 8.575. Cf. 1.199, 6.120, 13.201.; and anger: Homer, *Odyssey*, 8.305.; *Iliad*, 4.23, 8.460, 17.398.
143 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 23.
144 *Amikos*:cyclopes: Euripides, *Cyclops*, 429.; guest-murderers: Euripides, *Heracles*, 393.; and centaurs: Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 403.
145 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*,
146 Euripides, *Trojan Women*, 671.; *Supplicants*, 202.; cf. Hippocrates, *Ancient Medicine*, 3, 7.
147 Hippocrates, *Epidemics II*, 3.; *Epidemics IV*, 16. *Epidemics VI*, 1.11, 2.6, 2.11.
148 Hippocrates, *Prorrhetic I*, 26, 123.

Furthermore, these generalizations do not hold for all Asians or Europeans. The author does not look to describe all peoples, but to teach the reader through a few examples how to interpret *phusis* and *nomos* and properly apply this theory to other peoples. He selects the starkest examples by virtue of their being the most exemplary: "Those peoples that differ slightly I will pass over, and I will describe those which differ greatly, whether it be through *phusis* or *nomos*."[149] As stated in the first section, the theory allows for and describes people that differ from their environment through the use of *nomos*, and does not relegate people to simple stereotypes. It is intended to serve diagnostic purposes, enabling the doctor to better understand the conditions of different peoples in order to better treat them. It is this context that we can appreciate the force of the statement with which the author concludes the ethnographic section of the treatise: "Take these observations as standard when drawing all other conclusions, and you will not err in your judgement."[150]

We know that some Greek doctors treated non-Greeks. For example, Democedes of Croton worked in the court of Darius, and cured him with Greek remedies after the Egyptian doctors failed.[151] The Hippocratics talk about treating slaves, who would regularly have been non-Greeks, throughout the *Epidemics*.[152] Of course, one of the

149 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 14, καὶ ὁκόσα μὲν ὀλίγον διαφέρει τῶν ἐθνέων παραλείψω, ὁκόσα δὲ μεγάλα ἢ φύσει ἢ νόμῳ, ἐρέω περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἔχει. See also: 12. "This would be a long treatise if it was about all peoples, so I will describe the greatest and most different peoples, as it seems to me." περὶ μὲν οὖν ἁπάντων πολὺς ἂν εἴη λόγος, περὶ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ πλεῖστον διαφερόντων ἐρέω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἔχειν.

150 Ibid. 24. πὸ δὲ τούτων τεκμαιρόμενος τὰ λοιπὰ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσῃ.

151 Herodotus, 3.125, 3.129-132.

152 Ex. Hippocrates, *Epidemics II*, 4.5; *Epidemics IV*, 2, 38, *et passim*.

difficulties in determining whether or not an author is referring to a slave is the ambiguity of the Greek term *pais*, which could mean slave or child. However, in some cases, it is clear:

> The branded slave at Antiphilus', who had caustic crisis on the seventh day, biliousness and delirium, had the same evacuation on the third day after the crisis. He spat up blood. He survived the a later relapse. It is likely that the first crisis was around the setting of the Pleiades. And after the setting of the Pleiades he was bilious to the extent of madness. A crisis about the ninth day, without sweating.[153]

What is especially telling is that, even though this is a slave, and one that had deserved the rather extreme punishment of branding, he is as closely monitored by the physician as are the doctor's other, clearly free, patients.[154] The author mentions the branding to identify the patient, not to call attention to his social background. In the rare case that an author distinguishes out slaves from free patients, it is for medical purposes. So, when the author of *Epidemics IV* describes an epidemic cough accompanied with various complications, he states: "Women did not suffer from the cough ... I attributed this to their not going out as the men did and because they were not otherwise susceptible like the men. Two free women got quincy, and that was of the mildest sort. Slave women got it in a more extreme way, and those with very violent cases died very quickly. But many men got it; some survived, some died."[155] The slave women got sick where the free women did not, because unlike the free women, the slaves had more reason to leave the house, and so

153 Hippocrates, *Epidemics IV*, 2. (Translation by W. D. Smith, 1994)
154 Jouanna (1999), 115.
155 Hippocrates, *Epidemics IV*, 7.1. (Translation by W. D. Smith, 1994)

come into contact with the disease, not because they were in some way inferior to the free Greek women.[156] In one case (albeit in a fourth century treatise), the author specifically mentions that the slave he was treating was a *barbaros*.[157]

Indeed, since, as I have argued, *Airs, Waters,Places* is intended for practical application in diagnosis and treatment, the theory of ethnic difference must have been purposed for the treatment of non-Greeks. Some may understand this theory merely as a way of better treating Greeks in whatever environ they may find themselves, however, while Greeks had colonies all over the Mediterranean, their *nomoi* did not differ greatly, so the theory would not need to include the effect of *nomos*, and could limit itself to the effect of the environment if it were made only to be used on Greek patients. Also, why would the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* use the Scythians as a case study if a Greek people could fill the role?[158] While surely the majority of most doctors' patients were Greeks, that does not mean that they only treated Greeks.[159]

The Hippocratics did not believe that different peoples had essentially different natures, such that different treatments would need to be applied for the same disease. A

156 Jouanna (1999), 116.

157 Hippocrates, *Epidemics V*, 35.

158 Additionally, there are passages like *Prognostic* 30, which states that one must be on the lookout for certain signs which mean the same thing in every year and season, and "in Libya, in Delos, and in Scythia," that, if the author has the same understanding as Herodotus (that lands are wherever a people live (2.17)), at least suggests that a Hippocratic doctor may find himself working in a non-Greek context.

159 For a more complete survey and treatment of the subject see: Jouanna (1999), 112-125, who concludes: "To summarize our discussion of the patients whom the Hippocratic physician observed or treated, within the context of life of the Greek city in which he practised, we may say that the physician cared – to be sure for a fee – for men and women, citizens and foreigners, free persons and slaves, Greeks and non-Greeks. The Hippocratic physician regarded the patients who came before him, first and foremost, as human beings."

disease, for example, that was caused by an excess of heat, would be cured by decreasing the heat of a person, regardless of ethnicity. While it is true that specific environments or ways of life may cause people to be more susceptible to certain diseases than others, this is merely because a person in, for example, a hot and dry environment, who was subject to a hot and dry regimen, would naturally be more likely to suffer from a disease that was caused by an excess of heat or dryness – not because the patient himself was inherently inferior. Whether Greek or barbarian, European or Asian, free or slave, to a Hippocratic doctor, a patient was merely a patient.

Chapter 2

The Herodotean View of Non-Greeks

Introduction

Herodotus' narrative of the Persian Wars is often described as a clash between freedom and autocracy, between reason and arbitrariness, and, so, between western values and oriental barbarism.[1] However, Herodotus' portrayal of barbarians throughout his history is far more complex and nuanced.[2] In this chapter I will attempt: to explain, as much as is possible, Herodotus' understanding of ethnic difference; to show that he was as interested in making connections between Greeks and non-Greeks as contrasting the two, that his *barbaroi* are not merely anti-Greeks; and, furthermore, to show that he in fact problematizes such polarizing conceptions of self and other.

Section 2.1: The Theory of Ethnic Difference in Herodotus' *Histories*

Herodotus does not have a single, unified theory working behind his narrative of why one people differs from another. It is clear that environment and customs do have an effect on peoples; however, Herodotus does not give enough examples, nor are the examples he does provide consistent enough to allow his reader to infer a

1 For example by: Gerold Walser, *Hellas und Iran : Studien zu den griechisch-persischen Beziehungen vor Alexander*, (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 1-8; François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: the representation of the other in the writing of history,* Trans. Janet Lloyd, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1988), 40, 333-339; Edmond Levy, "Hérodote *Philobarbaros* ou las vision du barbare chez Hérodote," in *L'Estranger dans le monde grec*, vol. 2, ed. Raoul Lonis (Nancy: Presses Universitares de Nancy, 1992), 242-244; Paul Cartledge, *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 60-62, 143-145.

2 As Gruen cogently argued: Erich S. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 21-39, 76-90.

systematic, general theory of ethnicity.

Herodotus clearly thinks that the environment can affect physical characteristics, as he states that the Egyptians are so healthy because the Egyptian climate does not differ season to season,[3] and that the Ethiopians are black because of the heat.[4] He also reasons that the skulls of Egyptians are far stronger than the skulls of Persians because: “the Egyptians shave their heads from childhood, and the bone thickens by exposure to the sun. This is also the reason why they do not grow bald; for nowhere can one see so few bald heads as in Egypt. Their skulls then are strong for this reason. And the cause of the Persians' skulls being weak is that they shelter their heads through their lives with the felt hats, called tiaras, which they wear.”[5] While this passage clearly points to a difference in custom, it follows that the strength and amount of sun a location had would also affect the thickness of a people's skulls and the fullness of their hair.

Herodotus also posits a relationship between environment and a people's moral character. Herodotus famously puts the following speech into Cyrus' mouth in the final chapter of the work, in response to the suggestion that the Persians move into a more fertile land: "Go ahead and do this, but if you do prepare yourselves to no longer be rulers but subjects, for soft men grow from soft lands: the same soil cannot grow wonderful fruits and courageous warriors."[6] The Persians follow his advice and choose

3 Herodotus, 2.77.
4 Ibid. 2.22.
5 Ibid. 3.12. (Translation by A. D. Godley, 1921).
6 Ibid. 9.122.3: Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ᾽ ἀρξομένους: φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι: οὐ γὰρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπόν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια..

"rather to be rulers living in a poor land than to be slaves to others tilling fields."[7] Seemingly, there is a direct correlation between living in fertile lands and being poor soldiers. Yet we must not ignore the broader context of the passage in the work. For, despite not moving, Cyrus' Persians still enjoyed the luxuries that came from empire, and are defeated by Massagetae, who "have no experience of the good things of Persia."[8] Furthermore, when Cyrus is plagued by rebellious activity in Sardis, instead of enslaving (as he originally plans) or deporting the Lydians, he follows the advice of Croesus who tells him that he can best prevent rebelliousness in his Lydian subjects by encouraging them to wear fine dress, play the lute and harp, and teach their children to be retail merchants. Soon they will turn from men to women and cease to be a threat to his rule.[9] Their environment does not change but their character fundamentally does. It seems that for Herodotus, environment only affects a people's ethical character in as much as it influences their customs and practices (*nomos*), and way of life (*diaita*),[10] which is the principal cause of difference in ethnic character.[11]

Thus Herodotus' assessment of the Ionians living in Asia, for example, has been misinterpreted. Herodotus tells us that the Ionians have "built their cities in a land with the most beautiful climate and seasons of all that I know."[12] In the following chapter, Herodotus states that in the time of Cyrus all of Greece was politically and

7 Ibid. 9.122.4: ὥστε συγγνόντες Πέρσαι οἴχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρου, ἄρχειν τε εἵλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.
8 Ibid. 1.207.
9 Ibid. 1.155.
10 So in the case of Darius' speech, lands that grow fine fruits make poor warriors because fine foods are a form of luxury. Poor lands produce better warriors because they have no indigenous luxury items.
11 Rosalind Thomas, *Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science, and the Art of Persuasion*, (Cambridge: Cambrige University Press, 2000), 106-110.
12 Herodotus, 1.142.

militarily weak, but the Ionians were by far the weakest and least respected.[13] There is no reason to infer from this that Herodotus thinks that the primary reason that the Ionians are softer is that they live in such a fine land.[14] Herodotus clearly had subtler views about the relationship between environment and ethic, as can be seen in passages like 3.106, where Herodotus says that "Greece has been assigned by lot a climate more beautifully tempered (than all others)," just like the extreme regions of the world: India and Arabia. The implication is certainly that it is fortunate that Greece has a good climate,[15] but as we have just seen, there is not necessarily a simple deterministic relationship between climate and character. It would clearly be going too far to assume that because of their beautiful climate, mainland Greeks are soft by nature.

The luxury/softness motif in Herodotus is well documented.[16] Yet although it is true as a broad generalization that a luxurious way of life creates poor soldiers, by itself this is too simple. At the battle at Plataea, while the hardier Greeks did win over the Persians, the Persians did not lose because they were any less physically strong or courageous than the Greeks.[17] Furthermore, the Persian commander Mardonius is said

13 Ibid. 1.143: ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος, πολλῷ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστου.

14 Peter Hunt, *Slaves, Warfare, and Ideology in the Greek Historians*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 146; with reference to Stewart F. Flory, *The Archaic Smile of Herodotus*, (Detroit: Wayne St University Press, 1987), 48.

15 Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 59.

16 Cf. James Redfield, "Herodotus the Tourist," *Classical Philology* 80 (1985), 109-114; John Gould, *Herodotus*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), 59-60; Pericles Georges, *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience: From the Archaic Period to the Age of Xenophon,* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 181-186.

17 Herodotus, 9.62.3: λήματι μέν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἥσσονες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίην, προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ᾽ ἕνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ διεφθείροντο. Cf. 9.71.1.

to have been the bravest fighter among the Persians,[18] despite his tent and usual dinner standing as the height of eastern luxury against Greek austerity.[19] These passages will be discussed in more detail in the following section, but here it suffices to say that, just as is the case with the effect of the environment, Herodotus does not strictly follow a set deterministic theory of difference. While there are certainly general tendencies, they do not rise to the level of rules.

Nor indeed is the very status of *ethnos* clear or uncomplicated in Herodotus. He seemingly gives a definition when the Athenians explain that they could not make a deal with the foreigners even if they wanted, primarily because of the destruction of Greek temples, but also because of their Hellenic ties (Ἑλληνικὸν), which include "having common blood and language, and the common temples and sacrifice to the gods, and our same way of life."[20] Apparently the most important aspects in distinguishing an *ethnos* is common language, kinship, religion, and customs, yet the Scythians, who make up one *ethnos*, have seven different languages, which are distinct enough they require seven interpreters to do business with one another.[21] Furthermore, the Athenians did not always speak Greek, but were Pelegsi and spoke a barbarian language.[22] The Pelegsi, and many other peoples have joined the Hellenic stock, so, clearly, neither is kinship always necessary to be included in an *ethnos*. For Herodotus, all people worship the same gods but with different names, and he includes

18 Ibid. 9.71.
19 Ibid. 9.82.
20 Ibid. 8.144: αὖτις δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα.
21 Ibid. 4.23.
22 Ibid. 1.56-57.

examples of the same rituals for the same gods happening across cultures. Similarly, he tells of some peoples who have the same customs, frequently with a single difference, as another people. For instance, the Lydians have Greek customs, except that they sell their daughters as prostitutes,[23] and the Black-cloaks have Scythian customs, except they only wear black clothing.[24] Different Greek cities, of course, had different customs, some of which were more significant than the colour of clothing.

Section 2.2: The View of Non-Greeks in Herodotus' *Histories*

It has become orthodoxy to read Greek, and specifically Herodotus', descriptions of non-Greeks and their customs as being framed in terms of excesses, deficiencies, and inversions of Greekness.[25] This idea, however, has recently been challenged by Erich Gruen, who argues that Herodotus is as interested in making connections between Greeks and non-Greeks as he is in showing the differences.[26] In this section I will build on Gruen's work, to show that the descriptions of the three non-Greek peoples most discussed by Herodotus – the Persians, the Egyptians, and the Scythians – are not just articulated simply in terms of negative contrasts with the Greeks, and that these peoples are not merely represented as anti-Greeks. Furthermore, I will be laying the groundwork for an argument that I will come to later, namely that Herodotus is seeking to subvert the Greek *topos* of the Greek/"barbarian" antithesis.

23 Ibid. 1.94.
24 Ibid. 4.107.
25 Eg. Hartog (1988), *passim*; Cartledge (1993), 51-77.
26 Gruen (2011), 21-39, 76-90.

Throughout my argument I will make reference to what Hartog calls "the mirror of Herodotus," in which Greeks saw in the "other" an inverted and distorted picture of themselves, which they used to define themselves, never looking to understand the actual people on their own terms.[27] Hartog explains the model thus: "In the course of some of the *logoi* devoted to 'others,' Herodotus treats his text as a traveller's tale, that is to say, as a narrative at pains to translate 'others' into terms of the knowledge shared by all Greeks, and which, in order to make credible these 'others' whom it is constructing, elaborates a whole rhetoric of 'otherness.'"[28] What is at stake becomes clearer when he puts the model to work:

> Aiming, as it does, to make explicit at least a part of the implicit knowledge to which the narrative refers or upon which it draws, it reconstructs a calculation which a fifth-century Greek listening to Herodotus did not need to make. Of course, it is not really possible to separate these two approaches, the one directed toward the context (the constraints of the narrative), the other involving the shared knowledge of the audience. Both draw modern historians not along the way leading to the Scythians but along the Greek "way," and they can thereby apprehend Herodotus' Scythians – that is to say, the Scythians as imagined by the Greeks, each group reflecting the other. In other words, they too construct the Scythian mirror. The point is, how did such people as the Greeks, who were forever declaring that city life was the only life worth living, imagine this figure of the Scythian, the essence of whose life was to keep constantly on the move? To put the question another way, how must the Athenians, who so insistently claimed to be of autochthonous birth,[29] have represented this alien figure whose whole being consisted in having no attachment to any place? It is not hard to foresee that the discourse of autochthony was bound to reflect on the representation of nomadism and that the Athenian, that imaginary

27 Hartog's analogy of the mirror is actually used in the understanding of three identities: first, Herodotus' understanding of his role in writing the *Histories*; second, the Greeks' understanding of their own and other's ethnicity; and third, the Greeks' understanding *Histories* in the context of Greek knowledge. It is this second mirror that I am here interested in.

28 Hartog (1988), xxiii-xxiv.

29 Nicole Loraux, "L'Autochthonie: Une Topique athénienne," *Annales E.S.C.* 1 (1979): 3-26.

> autochthonous being, had need of an equally imaginary nomad. The Scythian conveniently fitted the bill.[30]

While I think this mirror is certainly present in Greek (albeit mainly Athenian) thought, I contend that, far from being the "mirror of Herodotus," such mirroring features in his text only to be problematized, and that he consistently subverts this gulf between the self and other by making connections with and undercutting differences between Greeks and non-Greeks.

Persians

The statement in Herodotus' narrative most commonly used by scholars to demonstrate the antithesis between the Greeks and the Persians is found in the seventh book, following Xerxes' crossing of the Hellespont. Herodotus constructs a dialogue between Xerxes, the Persian king, and Demaratus, the exiled Spartan king, who now acts as an adviser to Xerxes. Xerxes, having reviewed his unprecedentedly massive military force, asks Demaratus how he can possibly believe that the Greeks will dare to stand against this juggernaut. Demaratus firsts asks if the king would prefer to hear something true or something pleasant. Xerxes insists on the former, and Demaratus responds that, while he cannot speak for all Greeks, the Spartans will resist him regardless of the number of the enemy, for they will not accept any terms that would bring slavery to Greece, and will not surrender even if all other Greeks accede to Persian demands.[31] Xerxes laughs at this. Perhaps, he says, men hopelessly

30 Hartog (1988), 10-11.
31 Herodotus, 7.101-102.

outnumbered would defy a force such as his if they had a single ruler, and acted out of fear or were compelled to by the lash, but certainly not of their own free will. Demaratus replies that while the Spartans are free, they are not wholly so, for Law is their master, one whom they fear far more than the Persians fear Xerxes. They obey its commands unequivocally, and its most basic command is that they should never flee, no matter how great the foe, but remain in their ranks and fight, until they either prevail or perish.[32] Xerxes, again, laughs at Demaratus, whom he gently dismisses.[33]

This often-cited passage has long served as the *locus classicus* for scholars who interpret Herodotus' as pitting Greek against Persian, freedom against slavery, and free choice against tyrannical compulsion as a linchpin of Hellenic identity, constructed in contradistinction to eastern barbarism.[34] It cannot, however, bear such interpretive weight.[35] Demaratus is not speaking for all Greeks, but rather just the Spartans, whom he specifically contrasts with other Greeks.[36] Moreover, Demaratus is not praising a constitutional order, but rather a system of discipline.[37] While Xerxes does draw a distinction between men who fight on the orders of an absolute ruler, and men who do so of their own volition, Demaratus asserts that though the Spartans are

32 Ibid. 7.103-104.

33 Ibid. 7.105.

34 Eg. Redfield (1985), 115-116; Hartog (1988), 334; Donald Lateiner, "The Empirical Element in the Methods of Early Greek Medical Writers and Herodotus: A Shared Epistemological Response," *Antichthon* 20 (1986), 160; Cartledge (1993), 61-62.

35 Gruen (2011), 22.

36 Herodotus, 7.102.2: "Now, I praise all Hellenes who live in those Dorian lands, but I speak these words not about them all, but concerning the Lacedaimonians in particular. First, they will not accept your terms that bring slavery to Hellas, and seccond, they will oppose you in battle, even if all other Greeks have agreed with you." αἰνέω μέν νυν πάντας Ἕλληνας τοὺς περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς Δωρικοὺς χώρους οἰκημένους, ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τούσδε τοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μούνων, πρῶτα μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως κοτὲ σοὺς δέξονται λόγους δουλοσύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἑλλάδι, αὖτις δὲ ὡς ἀντιώσονταί τοι ἐς μάχην καὶ ἢν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι

37 Isaac (2004), 264-266. Cf. Thomas (2000), 109-112; Gruen (2011), 22.

free, they are far from entirely so. “Law is their despot, which they fear far more than your men do you.”[38] The Law may have been made by them, but it is just as authoritarian a ruler as Xerxes is. Herodotus places emphasis not on political liberty, let alone on democracy, but on undeviating obedience to Spartan *nomos*. Furthermore, Herodotus' allusion to slavery refers to potential Persian subjugation of Greece, not the subjugation of free men to a despot.[39] The famous exchange in no way suggests that the Greeks fought to preserve their free system against Persian tyranny.

This is also true for another well-known statement in Herodotus' work. He states his opinion, which he notes is likely to be unpopular, that Greece could not have resisted the Persian invasion without the actions of the Athenians, who alone had a navy strong enough to resist the Persian fleet. Had they chosen to submit to the Persians, the results would have been fatal for Hellas. The Athenians, says Herodotus, held the balance in their hands, and it was they who chose that the Greeks should be free.[40] The freedom, however, to which he refers is again not that of republican government, but rather freedom from subjugation to a foreign power.[41]

One section may give us pause. Spartan envoys on their way to Susa, stop along the way as guests of Hydarnes, the commander of Persian forces on the coastlines of Asia. Hydarnes asks why the Spartans refuse Xerxes' friendship when they can see how profitable it could be to good men like himself. The Spartan

38 Herodotus, 7.104.4: ἔπεστι γάρ σφι δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοὶ σέ.
39 Herodotus, 7.102.2. as noted by Thomas, (2000), 109-110.
40 Herodotus, 7.139.5: ἑλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην.
41 Isaac (2004), 270. See also: Herodotus, 7.157.2, where Greek envoys seek the support of Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, to help those fighting for Greek freedom.

delegates reply that the Persian satrap cannot give a balanced judgement, "for you know well how to be a slave, but you, who have not yet tried freedom, do not know if it is sweet or not."[42] This has been read as a clear condemnation of the Persian system in favour of the Greek.[43] This, however, is too strong a claim.[44] Reference to a Persian official, high up in the hierarchical chain, as a "slave" is not meant literally. The terminology is often used in reference to officials serving under a monarch, even by the Halicarnassian ruler Artemisia to designate Mardonius.[45] The Spartan delegates do draw a contrast between the absolutist rule of Xerxes, where everyone technically serves the king, and a society whose members are free to make their own decisions (the envoys volunteered for their mission, on which they expected to die). It goes too far, however, to claim this contrast goes to the heart of Herodotus' message in the narrative.[46] It is important to note that these Spartan representatives receive far better treatment from Xerxes than Xerxes' envoys received in Sparta.[47] This episode certainly does not serve as an uncomplicated advertisement of Greek values over Persian.

Herodotus provides one extended passage in which the relative merits of different forms of government are debated, and it is in a Persian context. The Persian constitutional debate provides no explicit comparison between Greek and Persian institutions, although it is clearly heavily influenced by Greek political philosophy. Following the overthrow of the usurpers of the Achaemenid throne, the seven

42 Herodotus, 7.135.3: τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος εἶναι ἐξεπίστεαι, ἐλευθερίης δὲ οὔκω ἐπειρήθης, οὔτ᾽ εἰ ἔστι γλυκὺ οὔτ᾽ εἰ μή.
43 Cartledge (1993), 143-145.
44 Gruen (2011), 23. Cf. Isaac (2004), 266-267.
45 Herodotus, 8.102. See also 7.39, 7.96, 8.68, 8.116.
46 Gruen (2011), 23.
47 Herodotus, 7.136.

conspirators hold a discussion to determine the best way to administer the Persian empire. The first speaker, Otanes, argues that they should give the rule to the Persian people. He argues that in a monarchy, even the best man is corrupted. Absolute power reinforces hubris and jealously in the monarch. He becomes hostile to the best men, and cultivates the worst, distrustful of those who show him proper respect, and angrier still at those who flatter him. The monarch will eventually destroys traditional customs and laws. In monarchy's place, Otanes argues for the institution of *isonomia*, whereby magistrates are picked by lot and are held responsible for their actions, and all decisions are subject to popular consent.[48] The next speaker, Megabyzus, argues that Persia should be ruled by the best men. While he agrees with Otanes' criticism of monarchy, he starkly denounces democracy because there is nothing more stupid and arrogant than the uneducated masses. It would be unacceptable to escape the hubris of a monarch, only to fall victim to the rule of the useless mob. It is better to let the best men rule, for they will make the best decisions.[49] Lastly, Darius argues for the continuation of monarchy. Oligarchy breeds private jealousies and rivalries, which leads to partisan violence, which in turn results in monarchy. Democracy leads the worst men to band together to get their way, until a champion of the people arises to stop them, who then is awarded monarchic power. Darius further associates the institution of monarchy with liberation. Under Cyrus, Persia was emancipated from the Medes, and from then on, monarchy was Persia's ancestral tradition.[50] Darius, of course, wins the majority vote, and is shortly after made king.

48 Ibid. 3.80.
49 Ibid. 3.81.
50 Ibid. 3.82.

Whether or not this debate (or anything like it) actually happened,[51] is less interesting than the fact that Herodotus insists that it did, even though he knew some Greeks would find this unlikely.[52] He either believed it himself, or, at least, wanted to assure his reader that the ideas were authentically Persian.[53] For Herodotus, autocracy is not essential to the Persian national character. Even the one possible implicit comparison made with Greek custom, the allusion to Persia's enemies having democracies, is put in the mouth of Megabyzus, the advocate for oligarchy (the form of government of many Greek states).[54] This story shows the Persians reaching a decision by rational debate and majority vote. Though monarchy is chosen, democracy and oligarchy are viable options.[55] This can hardly represent an essentialist impulse to slavery in Persia and to freedom in Greece.[56]

While Herodotus frequently draws attention to notable differences between Greeks and Persians, both within the historical narrative itself and in the ethnographic

51 A topic that has been long desputed. For example: F. Lassere, "Hérodote et Protagoras: le débat sur le constitutions," *MH* 33 (1976), 65-85; C. Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1983), 164-165; Donald Lateiner, "Herodotean Historiographical Patterning: The Constitutional Debate," *Quaderni di Storia* 20 (1984), 257-284; *The Historical Method of Herodotus*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 163-186; Martin Ostwald, *Oligarchia: the Development of the Constitutional form in ancient Greece*, (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), 17-20; Christopher Pelling, "Speech and Action: Herodotus' Debate on the Constitutions" *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 48 (2002), 123-158.

52 Herodotus, 3.80.1.

53 Gruen (2011), 24.

54 Herodotus, 3.81.3.

55 See also Herodotus, 1.96-97. where Deioces became the ruler of Media after the Medes deliberated and decided to install him in the position.

56 Isaac (2004), 268-269. Cf. Pelling (2002), 123-158, who notes that Mardonius, in fact, removed monarchical governments in Ionia and established democracies in their place (6.43); James Romm,"Continents, Climates, and Cultures: Greek Theories of Global Structure," in *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies* (ed.) Kurt A. Raaflaub nd Richard J. A. Talbert, (Chichester: Blackwell Publishing, 2010), 176-190, Romm notes that the debate focuses mostly on pragmatic considerations, which would further diminish any ideological component. Thomas (2000), 113-117, observes that Herodotus believes in the changeability of ethnic character, which corresponds to the changeability of political *nomoi* as well; Ann Ward, *Herodotus and the Philosophy of Empire*, (Waco: Baylor University Press,2008), 90-100.

exegeses, the advantage, when there is one, does not always lie with the Greeks. Even where it does, the comparison is rarely constructed in simple terms of polar opposition, and often at other points in the text the comparison is turned on its head. For instance, after the battle of Artemisium, Xerxes asks an Arcadian deserter just what the Greeks are doing. The Arcadian explains that they are engaging in the Olympic Games and watching the athletic and equestrian contests. Xerxes asks what prizes are given to the victors, and is told that they receive a crown of olive leaves. On hearing this, one of the Persians turns to the general Mardonius and cries out: "against what kind of men do you lead us into battle? Men who compete in contests not for money but for honour!"[57] Seemingly, this is an attack at Persians, who could only understand competing if they stood to gain more than mere accolades, whereas to win only honour is a distinctively Greek motivation. Yet the remark earns for the Persian a stern rebuke from Xerxes, who evidently understands the desire for honour that drives the Greeks to compete.[58]

In a story told by Herodotus about Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian empire, Cyrus receives a Spartan envoy in Sardis, who threatens that Cyrus will have to answer to the Lacedaimonians if he does not leave Ionia untouched. Cyrus asks who these Lacedaimonians are, and, learning their identities, mocks the envoy, saying that he had never yet had reason to fear men who designate a place in the middle of their city where they swear oaths only to break them later. Herodotus explains that Cyrus really addressed those words to all Greeks because they have markets for

57 Herodotus, 8.26.
58 Ibid. 8.26.

buying and selling, whereas Persians do not make transactions in markets and have none of their own.[59] If the Persians are seen as avaricious in the first anecdote, it is the Greeks who appear so in the second. This is not mere inconsistency or absentmindedness; rather, Herodotus plays with national character, to show that the Persians are liable to view Greeks in the same light as the Greeks view Persians. The contrast between cultures can work both ways.[60]

Another episode illustrates the nuances in Herodotus' representations of national character. After the decisive Greek win at Plataea, Xerxes' forces are evacuated from Greece. The Spartan king, Pausanias, enters the abandoned tent of Mardonius. Upon finding it filled with expensive adornments and furnishings, Pausanias commands Mardonius' chefs to prepare a standard meal such as their former master would have them make, while at the same time instructing his own servants to prepare the customary Spartan meal. The discrepancy between Persian lavishness and Spartan austerity is so great that Pausanias, having summoned his officers to view the meals, quips: "Men, I have brought you here to display the irrationality of the Persians who, enjoying such an opulent lifestyle, came here to rob us of our dreary existence."[61] Ostensibly Herodotus is remarking on the discrepancy between eastern luxury and Hellenic hardiness.

However, this is only ostensibly what he is doing. Herodotus spends much of his text on the luxury/softness motif,[62] but the portrayal of the Persians in these terms

59 Ibid. 1.153.
60 Gruen (2011), 26.
61 Herodotus, 9.82.2-3.
62 Redfield (1985), 109-114; Gould (1989), 59-60; Georges (1994), 181-186.

is variable.[63] Cyrus himself exemplifies the ambiguity and inversions in Herodotus' treatment of the motif. Cyrus stirs up the Persians to revolt against their Median rulers by producing a demonstration of Median wealth, which also includes an extravagant feast, and promises them a prosperous and affluent life rather than one of toil and sacrifice.[64] This is the same Cyrus who chastises the Spartans for their avidity.[65] When Croesus, the extremely wealthy king of Lydia, prepares to go to war against Cyrus and Persia, he ignores his counsellor who soberly advises that since he was attacking a people who dress in leather, drink water rather than wine, never have enough to eat, and enjoy no luxury, he risks everything, but stands to gain nothing. The Persians, Herodotus adds, enjoyed no material comfort until they conquered Lydia.[66] Later, when Cyrus is plagued by rebellious activity in Sardis, he considers enslaving the city, but is dissuaded by Croesus, who is now a trusted adviser to the king. Croesus tells him that he can best prevent rebelliousness in his Lydian subjects by encouraging them to wear fine dress, play the lute and harp, and teach their children to be retail merchants. Soon they will turn from men to women and cease to be a threat to his rule.[67] This advice suits Herodotus' schema. Cyrus follows the advice, reaffirming the representation of Persians as tough, rigorous, and severe in comparison to the effeminate, soft, and commercial-minded Lydians.[68]

Later in the narrative roles are reversed and the advantage is turned against the

63 Gruen (2011), 27.
64 Herodotus, 1.126.
65 Ibid. 1.153.
66 Ibid. 1.71.
67 Ibid. 1.155.
68 Ibid. 1.156.

Persians. Cyrus, in his final campaign, attacks the fierce Massagetae. Croesus warns Cyrus that the Massagetae have no experience of the goods the Persians enjoy, or indeed of any material pleasures in life. Cyrus attempts to use this to his advantage and sets out a sumptuous banquet to lure the Massagetae into a trap, but to little avail: Cyrus is slain and the hardier people prevail.[69] Yet Cyrus appears once more at the very end of the work. Herodotus flashes back to a conversation between the king and a counsellor who urges him to further his conquests and to move from their small and rugged country to a more prosperous land. Cyrus, however, spurns the advice, warning that, if they were to do so, the Persians would go from ruling to being ruled, because: "Soft countries produce soft men."[70] The convoluted conversions and inversions have come full circle yet again.[71] Also, by reminding the reader of Persia's strength at the beginning of the narrative compared to their condition at the end of the war, Herodotus underlines the mutability of fate and of man, which serves as an implicit warning to the Greeks about their own possible future.

Thus, there is no uncomplicated antithesis of hard Greek and soft Persian. Mardonius' tent may represent the peak of the infiltration of luxury into Persia (and Greece for that matter), at least as it is displayed for ridicule by Pausanias, but, as Herodotus' readers would know, it was exactly these Persian luxuries that Pausanias succumbs to. While he may have personified Greekness at Plataea, shortly after the war he led armies to the east, where he was accused of dictatorial behaviour, arbitrary punishments, and treasonable negotiations with Persia. Though a Spartan tribunal

69 Ibid. 1.204-214.
70 Ibid. 9.122: φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι.
71 Gruen (2011), 28.

acquitted him of the charges, he was still held in suspicion. Later, Pausanias returned to Asia without official sanction, treated further with the Persian king, adopted Persian clothing, employed Persian bodyguards, and indulged in the very feasts he lambasted at Plataea. This led to his arrest, imprisonment, and execution by the Spartans.[72] These events took place after Herodotus' narrative, and are only referenced once, and indirectly, in his work.[73] Nevertheless, few readers would fail to notice the irony of Herodotus' portrayal of Pausanias as a champion of Hellenic hardiness, a man whom everyone knew as a Medizer and emblematic of indulgence in “Oriental” luxury.[74] Herodotus' manipulation of the luxury/softness motif entangles Greeks and Persians alike in ways that defy the reduction of peoples into positive or negative ethnic stereotypes.

The deconstruction of the mirror image of Greeks and Persians can be seen in another episode featuring Pausanias. After the victory at Plataea, a Greek soldier approaches Pausanias and urges him to avenge the wrong done to Leonidas, the leader of the resistance at Thermopylae, whose head Mardonius and Xerxes had affixed to a pike, asking that the same treatment be meted out to Mardonius' corpse. Pausanias, however, tells the soldier that such an act is more appropriate for barbarians to

72 Thucydides, 1.94-95, 1.128-135; See esp., 1.130.1: "Before held in high honor by the Hellenes as the hero of Plataea, Pausanias, after the receipt of this letter, became prouder than ever, and could no longer live in the usual style, but went out of Byzantium in a Median dress, was attended on his march through Thrace by a bodyguard of Medes and Egyptians, kept a Persian table, and was quite unable to contain his intentions, but betrayed by his conduct in trifles what his ambition looked one day to enact on a grander scale." (Translation by J. M. Dent, 1910)

73 Herodotus, 5.32: "This was he [Megabates] whose daughter (if indeed the tale is true) Pausanias the Lacedaemonian, son of Cleombrotus, at a later day betrothed to himself, since it was his wish to possess the sovereignty of Hellas." (Translation by A. D. Godley, 1920)

74 Fornara (1971), 62-66.

perform than for Greeks.[75] Herodotus seems to be saying that Greek values are decidedly different from, and are preferable to, Persian practices. However, an earlier event seems to imply the opposite. Xerxes sent envoys to the Greek states, asking for earth and water as tokens of submission, and when the representatives arrived at Sparta, they were hurled into a well, told to seek their earth and water there, and left to die. This violation of diplomatic immunity angered the gods, who from then on scorned Spartan sacrifices and sent bad omens. To rectify themselves in the eyes of the gods, the Spartans called for volunteers to be sent to Persia and yield themselves to the king's punishment. When the two volunteers arrived at Xerxes' court and prepared themselves to be sacrificed for the good of the state, however, Xerxes magnanimously refused to treat the Spartan envoys as the Spartans had treated his, saying that he would keep faith with a practice honoured by all nations, and would not relieve Sparta of its guilt.[76] While the last motive adds a note of pragmatism to the decision, regardless of motive, Xerxes here plays the role of the high-minded leader who adheres to principle and refuses to imitate the savage behaviour of his adversary: exactly the stance of Pausanias when roles are reversed.[77] Herodotus adeptly undercuts the notion that Greeks and Persians are inherently and essentially different.

Furthermore, Herodotus finds many Persian practices to be praiseworthy. In the ethnographic excursus on the Persians, he lists many customs that are both quite different from Greek customs, and are plainly commendable.[78] “Persians teach their

75 Herodotus, 9.78-79.
76 Ibid. 7.133-136.
77 Gruen (2011), 29.
78 Herodotus, 1.131-140.

sons only three things: to ride a horse, to use a bow, and to speak the truth."[79] "They regard lying as the most shameful act, and owing a debt the next worse ... [since] it is inevitable that the debtor will speak some falsehood."[80] In matters of justice, no one, even the king or a slave master, may execute a person for a single offence. Instead, they weigh the person's good deeds against his crimes before translating their anger into punishment, a practise which Herodotus explicitly approves.[81] It was on account of these sorts of statements that Plutarch labelled Herodotus a *philobarbaros*.[82]

This is, of course, far too simple a judgement. Herodotus' ethnographic exegeses are not mere lists of customs and practices without context. While Herodotus clearly approved of Persia's principle of truth-telling, he was not unaware of, nor shied from relating, the many occasions on which the Persians violate their own precepts.[83] Perhaps the most interesting case is the speech given by the Persian king Darius, in which he justifies resorting to lying when it is necessary or advantageous. Everyone, he asserts, lies or tells the truth according to his own advantage: "if the hope of advantage were taken away, the truthful man would be as ready to lie as the liar would be to tell the truth."[84] The ban against arbitrary or disproportionate punishment is often broken by Persian kings, none more so than Xerxes. For instance, when Pythius, a wealthy old Lydian man, asks Xerxes to let one of his five sons forgo military service so that he might take care of his estate, Xerxes responds by cutting the man's eldest

79 Ibid. 1.136.2.
80 Ibid. 1.138.1.
81 Ibid. 1.137.1: αἰνέω μέν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον.
82 Plutarch, *On The Malignity of Herodotus*, 857a.
83 Gould (1989), 26-27; Ward (2008), 100-106.
84 Herodotus, 3.72.4-5.

son in half and having the army march between the two halves.[85] Later in the narrative, as Xerxes retreats from Greece after the battle of Salamis, he would have been shipwrecked by a storm if it were not for the advice of the ship's captain, who tells the king that there is no hope but to clear the deck of men, and so lighten the ship. Xerxes follows the advice and orders his troops to jump into the stormy sea. Then, as soon as they land, Xerxes awards the captain a golden crown for saving his life and has him beheaded for killing so many Persians.[86] The great reward and severe punishment given together can be read as a perverse and distorted image of the Persian principle praised by Herodotus. Herodotus does not himself believe this account of events, and even attempts to refute it,[87] but its inclusion works to subvert the idea that the Persians universally adhered to their own laws and customs.

While it is clear that Herodotus does not intend to merely praise Persian values, it is just as clear that he does not expose lapses by the Persians from their own lofty principles in order to praise Greek steadfastness. Herodotus just as often relates times when Greeks fail to live up to their avowed ideals. Here again we see the mirror of Herodotus falling away, allowing each society to subtly reflect the other through ambiguities and inconsistencies.[88] For instance, when a new king in Sparta ascends to his office, it is customary for him to remit all debts owed to either the crown or the state. This same custom is observed by the Persians, says Herodotus, and the king will

85 Ibid. 7.38-39. Cf. 4.84-85: Darius responds similarly when a close friend asks him to release one of his sons from military service. Some have read this as a standard Persian punishment for those who sought exemption from military service. Gruen (2011), 30.
86 Herodotus, 8.118.
87 Ibid. 8.119.
88 Gruen (2011), 30-31.

forgive the tribute for all citizens in the empire.[89] However, another shared custom is not so clearly positive. Herodotus states that, of all peoples, Persians are the most accepting of foreign customs. They have adopted Median clothing, Egyptian armour, and Greek pederasty.[90] Both cultures share customs, some laudable and some problematic, discrediting the polarizing vision some scholars attribute to Herodotus.[91]

The idea that Herodotus represents the Persians as yielding slaves of a tyrannical king, acting as a foil to the Greek freedom fighters, that is at the centre of many scholars' reading,[92] ignores many episodes in the narrative. The Persians highly valued courage in battle, and brave Persians won great respect – a national trait which Herodotus praises. One such example is Boges, the satrap of Eion, who was besieged by a Greek invading force several years after the war. Despite there being no chance of victory, he refused to surrender and fought until the city ran out of food, when he destroyed everything of worth so that the Greeks might gain no advantage when they took the city. Herodotus observes that the Persians justly praise Boges' name even to his day.[93] The Persians likewise showed respect for brave enemies. Pytheas, an Aeginetan sailor, who, despite his ship having already been taken, would not stop fighting until he fell from his massive wounds, so impressed the Persians with his valour that they tended to his wounds, nursed him back to health, and treated him with respect, whereas his shipmates who surrendered were taken as slaves.[94] Herodotus

89 Herodotus, 6.58-59.
90 Ibid. 1.135.
91 Gruen (2011), 31.
92 Ex. Walser (1984), 1-8; Hartog (1988), 40, 333-339; Levy (1992), 242-244; Cartledge, (1993), 60-62, 143-145.
93 Herodotus, 7.107.
94 Ibid. 7.181, 8.92.1.

cites Xerxes' mutilation of Leonidas' corpse as evidence of extraordinary anger, since: "he had never dealt so outrageously with a dead body; for the Persians are the most accustomed of all men that I know of to respect courageous enemies."[95] They even are accustomed to grant this honour to the sons of fallen foreign kings, to the point of giving the throne to them after their fathers revolt.[96] At the climactic battle at Plataea, avers Herodotus, the Persians lost because they had inferior armour, training, and group tactics, not because they were in any way less courageous or strong than the Greeks.[97]

Persian kings did often rule in an arbitrary, despotic, and sometimes brutal manner, as Herodotus frequently highlights.[98] However, despotism does not depend on ethnicity. Herodotus is just as interested in pointing out examples of Greek tyranny as of Persian despotism.[99] For example, there are few more "barbaric" acts of cruelty in the *Histories* than that performed by the Athenian commander Xanthippus at the end of the war, when he crucified the satrap Artayctes and executed his son before him.[100] By having Xanthippus, Pericles' father, perform a brutal Persian form of punishment upon a non-Greek, Herodotus warns the Greeks that what they find barbaric about

95 Ibid. 7.238.

96 Ibid. 3.15: "For the Persians are accustomed to honour kings' sons; even though kings revolt from them, yet they give back to their sons the sovereign power. There are many instances showing that if is their custom so to do, and notably the giving back of his father's power to Thannyras, son of Inaros, and Pausiris, son of Amyrtaeus; yet none ever did the Persians more harm than Inaros and Amyrtaeus." (Translation by A. D.Godley, 1921)

97 Ibid. 9.62.3: λήματι μέν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἥσσονες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίην, προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ᾽ ἕνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ διεφθείροντο. Cf. 9.71.1.

98 Lateiner (1989), 153-155.

99 See recent survey in: Carolyn Dewald, "Form and Content: The Question of Tyranny in Herodotus," in *Popular Tyranny: Sovereignty and its Discontents in Ancient Greece,* (ed.) Kathryn A. Morgan, (Austin: University of Texas, 2003), 25-58.

100 Herodotus, 9,120.

their national enemy is not owing to some essential distinction. If a people who are concerned with truth and fair punishment become emblematic of brutality, then how much more susceptible might the Greeks be if put in the same position?

Nor are Herodotus' characterizations of the Persian kings simply negative. For instance, the shifting portrait of Cyrus is complex, and features several positive qualities.[101] The Persians consider Cyrus a father to them because of his kindness and his continual efforts to bring them all advantages.[102] Cyrus also shows himself to be compassionate to his fallen enemy. Although he orders that Croesus, the king of Lydia, be burned alive after the capture of Sardis, as the flames begin to rise he has a change of heart. As he consigns a man to his doom who had recently enjoyed good fortune such as now he himself enjoys, he apprehends the fragility of human fortune, and orders that the flames be put out.[103] Similarly, although he leads the Persian revolt against the Median regime and King Astyages, he nevertheless inflicts no harm upon the captive king, but keeps him as an adviser in his court until Astyages' death.[104] Cyrus in these examples exemplifies the lessons of human fragility and the mutability of fate which Herodotus seeks to teach his reader, and so further undercuts the idea that there is some essential difference between Greek and Persian.

In addition, Cyrus is admired by Herodotus for his wit and perceptiveness.[105] When Astyages learns of the revolt, he sends a messenger to summon Cyrus. Cyrus

101 Cf. J.A.S. Evans, *Herodotus: Explorer of the Past,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 51-56; Georges (1994), 180-186; Gruen (2011), 33-34.
102 Herodotus, 3.89.3.
103 Ibid. 1.86.6.
104 Ibid. 1.130.
105 Kenneth H. Waters, *Herodotus on Tyrants and Despots: A Study in Objectivity*, (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1971), 51.

responds that he will arrive sooner than Astyages wishes.[106] After having saved Croesus from the pyre and made him an adviser, he offers to grant Croesus any wish. Croesus, believing himself tricked by the Delphic oracle into going to war with Persia (since he misinterpreted her warning), asks Cyrus to reprimand the god on his behalf by placing chains at the entrance of the temple, symbolizing his own captive status. Cyrus grants the wish, but, understanding the oracle, laughs at Croesus.[107] In this particular case, Cyrus shows himself to be wiser than his adviser.[108] Another showcase for Cyrus' wit can be seen when the Ionians and Aeolians send envoys requesting to keep the same terms as his subjects as they had under the rule of Croesus. Cyrus responds with a fable: once a flute-player tried to tempt the fish in the sea onto the land with his playing. When the playing failed to bring any to him, he caught them with a net and dumped the net onto the shore, where the fish began to jump about. The flute-player mocked them, saying it was too late to dance now. Cyrus, Herodotus explains, thus mocked the Greeks for refusing to join his assault against Lydia and now wanting fair treatment from him.[109] We might again in this context also cite Cyrus' repudiation of the Spartan envoys' demand that he leave the Ionian Greeks alone, saying that he could not take anyone seriously who spent their days lying to each other in a marketplace.[110] Finally, as we have seen, Cyrus returns at the end of his histories to impart a final piece of wisdom, rebuking his counsellor for advising that he move the Persians to a more productive land, unless he wants the Persians to stop

106 Herodotus, 1.127.1-2.
107 Ibid. 1.90.
108 Waters, (1971), 51.
109 Herodotus, 1.141.
110 Ibid. 1.153.

being rulers and start being the ruled, since no land produces both fine fruits and fine warriors.[111] Thus Cyrus often functions as the very embodiment of wisdom.[112]

Cyrus, to be sure, is the most positively-viewed Persian king, and the rest of his dynasty do not fare as well. Cambyses' characterization is nearly unconditionally dark.[113] Darius too seems to be a despicable character. He is ruthless, unprincipled, and ferociously ambitious in his imperial expansionism. It is fitting that he was the mouthpiece of the maxim that to lie or tell the truth is a question only of advantage.[114] Yet Herodotus also uses Darius in surprising ways. He employs him as his mouthpiece for the quintessential expression in the *Histories* of the principle of cultural relativism: every nation believes that their own customs are the better than all others, and find all alien practices that violate their own sensibilities horrific. This is especially significant because Darius delivers this lesson to the Greeks.[115] The fact that Herodotus presents a Persian with a keener insight into cultural sensitivities than the Greeks in his court further subverts any Greek/Persian dichotomy. Herodotus' cultural relativism also problematizes this dichotomy. The customs of a people are, of course, variable and mutable, and here Herodotus once again warns the Greeks, that if they do not actively guard against it, they themselves could easily become what they now hate.

The figure of Xerxes is generally taken as the archetype of the hubristic ruler, a

111 Ibid. 9.122.
112 Gruen (2011), 27, 34.
113 Ex. Herodotus, 3.14, 3.25, 3.30-38; For a survey see Waters (1971), 53-56.
114 Herodotus 3.72, 3.84-87; For general survey of Darius'characterization, see Waters (1971), 57-65; Evans (1991), 56-60.
115 Herodotus, 3.38.

foolish aggrandizer, overconfident in the numbers and powers of his forces, cruel, and alternatively overweening in victory and cowardly in defeat, who epitomizes eastern despotism as a foil to Hellenic freedom.[116] However, there is reason to doubt whether so stark an antithesis is present. While there is no doubt that Xerxes' flaws are vividly described throughout the narrative, it is precisely this general characterization that makes the times that Xerxes is shown in a different light all the more arresting.[117] Xerxes' virtues become apparent in a variety of contexts. While it is frequently observed that the king acts impetuously, it is often overlooked that he does on occasion realize this and feel remorse. He expresses regret at his intemperate dismissal of Artabanus' counsel against invading Greece. In the presence of an assembly of Persian leaders he asks for forgiveness for his hasty judgement and rude treatment of Artabanus, formally acknowledging his uncle's wisdom.[118] Xerxes' most notorious act of hubris is his order to his men to lash the Hellespont three hundred times and to throw a pair of fetters into its waters after the bridge he had built across it was destroyed in a storm.[119] It is often forgotten, however, that after the bridge is repaired, and the army is about to cross it, Xerxes pours a libation from a golden cup into the

116 For example, Hartog (1988) 330-334, finds no redeeming features: "Among those who, quite literally, transgress and who generation after generation repeat the transgressions are, first and foremost, the Great Kings. To trangress means, through *hubris*, to step outside one's own space and enter a foreign one, and the material sign of such transgression is the construction of a bridge over a river or, worse still, over a stretch of sea... Xerxes succeeds in linking the two shores of the Hellespont only at the second attempt ... This spatial transgression is also a transgression of divine space and aggression against the gods. *Etc.*" Cf. The more balanced views of : Waters (1971), 65-80; Evans (1991), 60-67; James Romm, *Herodotus*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 166-170.

117 Gruen (2011), 35.

118 Herodotus, 7.13. Xerxes reverses his position again after having an ominous dream, but even then, he did not do so until he took counsel with his uncle, who agreed with him. 7.15-18.

119 Ibid. 7.35.

Hellespont, prays to the sun for no further hindrances, and throws the goblet, a golden bowl, and a Persian sword into the waters. Herodotus suggests that he did this either as an offering to the sun, or in repentance for his treatment of the Hellespont, giving the gifts to the sea as atonement.[120] Herodotus leaves his reader with the impression that Xerxes could acknowledge his own failings: hardly the stereotypical tyrant.[121] So too Herodotus describes Xerxes' sparing of the Spartan envoys as a gesture of noble high-mindedness.[122]

Herodotus, after he calculates the astonishing numbers of Xerxes' army, navy, and support personnel, remarks that "among the myriad of so many men, there was no one, in beauty or stature, who was more worthy to rule than Xerxes."[123] Elsewhere, surveying his vast force covering the beaches and plains around the Hellespont, Xerxes at first rejoices, but shortly afterwards bursts into tears. His uncle Artabanus, perplexed by this, asks him why he reacted as he did. Xerxes explains that, as he looked over the thousands of men, he was struck by the thought that they would all be dead in a century and so was reminded of the brevity of human life.[124] It is striking that this insight concerning human fragility, which goes beyond enmity and cultural difference, is given by Herodotus to the Persian Great King.[125] At this moment, far from embodying the barbarous "other," Xerxes stands before the Greeks as a universal figure, embodying tragic wisdom: as he surveys his unequalled power, upon the point

120 Ibid. 7.54.
121 Gruen (2011), 36-37.
122 Herodotus, 7.136.2: ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης.
123 Ibid. 7.187.2: ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἐουσέων τοσουτέων μυριάδων, κάλλεός τε εἵνεκα καὶ μεγάθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.
124 Ibid. 7.45-46.
125 Gould (1989), 133-134.

of invading Greece and so seeking universal dominion, over both Europe and Asia, he is given an insight into the frailty of the human condition, which he himself will, of course, soon experience in his own humbling and reversal of fortune. It is not important that he is Persian, but rather that he committed an act of hubristic overstretch, something which, Herodotus warns, Greeks could very well do themselves.

This is not to say, of course, that Herodotus is interested in exonerating Persia or defending its kings. Herodotus' depictions of the kings play multiple roles, shift between being admirable and objectionable, and upset expectations. Their actions could as easily be ascribed to Greeks as to Persians, and they can hardly be seen as exemplars of an alien society representing practices and values that are simply non-Greek or essentially alien to the Greeks.[126] Herodotus even reports a genealogical connection between Greeks and Persians. The Argive hero Perseus, whose mother, Danaë, was impregnated by Zeus in the form of a golden shower, married Andromeda after saving her, and had several children. One of these children was Perses, from whom the Persians took their name.[127] Xerxes himself accepts the kinship, citing it in negotiations to procure Argos' neutrality in the war. Herodotus notes that he is not sure if a Persian envoy was actually sent to Argos, but he does not cast any doubt on the kinship itself.[128] The idea that Greeks and Persians shared a common ancestor seemed to be perfectly acceptable to both peoples, and Herodotus transmits it without any

126 Ibid. (2011), 37.
127 Herodotus, 7.61. Cf. Apollodorus, 2.4.1-5.
128 Herodotus, 7.150-152.

hesitation or embarrassment.[129]

Egyptians

An offhand remark by Herodotus in his Egyptian ethnographic treatise is of special concern in this discussion. Necos having inherited the kingdom of Egypt from his father, began work on a canal that was to connect the Nile river with the Red Sea. However, he ceased work on it when he received a prophecy that it would only benefit the barbarian, alluding to the fact that Darius of Persia would complete the canal for the benefit of his empire. Herodotus then adds: "Egyptians call all people who do not share their language barbarians."[130] Just as the Greeks divided the world into themselves and "barbarians", a designation, which if not necessarily pejorative, was at least a signifier of "otherness," so did the Egyptians (according to Herodotus).[131] This both disjoins and draws together Greeks and Egyptians. Thus, rather than Herodotus, the Greek, simply relegating the Egyptian to the category of "other," he shows the Egyptians doing this to others, so confronting the Greeks with an image of their own othering, as practised reciprocally on the other side of the divide.[132] And at the same

129 Georges (1994), 66-71; Gruen (2011), 38.

130 Herodotus, 2.158.5: βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους. Cf. RosariaV. Munson, *Black Doves Speak: Herodotus and the Languages of Barbarians*, (Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2005), 65-66. Munson finds another possible place where non-Greeks describe others as "barbarians." Herodotus states at 1.4.4. that the Persians claim dominion over the "barbarian peoples" of Asia. Whether this refers to the non-Persian nations of Asia (and so includes the Asian Greeks), or takes the interlocutor's point of view (i.e. "We are barbarians (meaning non-Greeks) and other barbarians are our affair") is unclear. Beyond these two (one?) examples, Munson says that the term *barbaros* is always used in relation to Greeks or Greek-speakers.

131 According to A.B. Lloyd (1988), III, 157-158, the words which Egyptians referred to non-Egyptians did not encode the notion of language difference the way *barbaros* did in Greek. This observation itself points to Herodotus' desire to build connections between Greeks and Egyptians.

132 Gruen (2011), 76-77.

time he repeatedly problematizes the notion of polar distinctions of "self" and "other" by returning to instances of interplay and overlap between these two cultures given to cultural exceptionalism.

Assuredly, Herodotus stresses the distinctive character of Egypt and its people, which has led many to interpret Herodotus' Egyptians as the prime example of "other."[133] A famous passage gives a long list of practices that set Egyptians apart from all other people, just as their physical environment does:

> Just as the Egyptians have a climate of their own kind, and a river that differs in nature from all other rivers, they have instituted customs and laws wholly contrary to those of all other peoples. Among them, women buy and sell in the marketplace, and men weave at home: and whereas when weaving all others push the woof upwards, the Egyptians push it downwards. Men carry loads on their heads, and women on their shoulders. Women urinate standing up, men while seated. They ease their bowels indoors, and eat outdoors in the streets, saying that things which are ugly but necessary ought to be done in private, and those which are not shameful in the open. There are no female priests for any god or goddess, but male priests serve all gods, male or female. Sons are not forced to take care of their father if they are unwilling, but daughters are even if they are unwilling. The priests in other lands wear their hair long, in Egypt they shave themselves. For all other men, the custom while mourning the dead is for those most affected to shave their heads; but Egyptians, who are shaved at all other times, when someone dies allow the hair to grow on their heads and chins. Whereas all other men keep their animals outside of their house, the Egyptians live in the same building. While others live on a diet of wheat and barley, it is the greatest disgrace for an Egyptian to live so; their grain is made from rice-wheat, which some call spelt. They knead dough with their feet, and gather clay and manure with their hands. Egyptians, and those who have learned it from them, are the only people who practice circumcision. Each man has two garments, but women only one. Others bind the rings of a sail and the reefing rope from outside of the ship, the Egyptians from within. Greeks write letters and count pebbles moving the hand from

133 Ex. Lateiner (1985), 81-89; (1989), 147-152; Cartledge (1993), 56-59; Phiroze Vasunia, *The Gift of the Nile: Hellenizing Egypt from Aeschylus to Alexander*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 2001), 75-82, 93-109.

> left to right, whereas the Egyptians do so from right to left, and doing this they say they write to the right, and the Greeks to the left. They make use of two kinds of writing; one is called sacred and the other demotic. [134]

In only one case does Herodotus specifically differentiate the Egyptians from Greeks in particular: Greeks write from left to right, the Egyptians the reverse. Even left and right are opposite in Egypt. Furthermore, Egyptians insist on holding on to their ancestral customs, and guard against any foreign customs.[135] Egyptians refuse to kiss Greeks, eat meat cut with a Greek knife, or use a Greek spit or cauldron, for fear of religious contamination.[136] While the Greeks are specifically mentioned, the Egyptian probably have the same restrictions with regard to all non-Egyptians (or at least to all those that eat cows).[137] Herodotus makes this point directly when he states: “They avoid using Greek customs, and, generally speaking, the customs of all other peoples."[138] All are to the Egyptians equally "barbaric".

The most notorious Egyptian particularity was their worship of animals. Herodotus claims that Egyptians held all animals to be sacred (although some animals were only thought so in certain parts of the country). He goes on at length to list sacred animals and the individual cult practices associated with them.[139] While he does not explicitly say that the Egyptian reverence of animals puts them at odds with the rest of mankind, no reader would fail to notice this.[140] For example, Egyptians execute

134 Herodotus, 2.35-36.
135 Ibid. 2.79.
136 Ibid. 2.41.
137 Cf. *Genesis*, 43:32: Egyptians refuse to sit at meals with Hebrews.
138 Herodotus, 2.91.1.
139 Ibid. 2.65-76. See the extensive commentary of A.B. Lloyd (1976), II, 291-330.
140 Gruen (2011), 78.

anyone who deliberately kills a sacred animal, and, in the case of especially sacred animals, like the ibis and the hawk, even accidental killings can result in execution.[141] Their concern for cats is greater than for their property: should a fire break out, they spend more energy keeping cats from jumping into the flames then they do fighting the fire. When cats do die, they are embalmed and buried in caskets like humans.[142] Sacred snakes are buried in the temple of Zeus/Amun.[143] In a particular region, the death of a he-goat is met with a public decree of mourning.[144] The very idea of regarding animals as sacred, even when presented as matter-of-factly as Herodotus does, was clearly outlandish and foreign to the Greek reader.

Another feature of the Egyptian mentality that Herodotus mentions that is seemingly problematic is their penchant for monarchic rule. He observes for a brief period in their history the Egyptians were given freedom, following the reign of a priest of Hephaestus, but they reverted to monarchic rule because they could not endure being without a king.[145] Later, as Herodotus describes King Amasis' rise to power from humble roots, Herodotus states that he convinced the Egyptians "to agree to be his slaves."[146]

It is of little surprise then that the recurrent interpretation has Herodotus perceive the Egyptians as a prime example of the "other."[147] The Egyptians insisted on

141 Herodotus, 2.65.
142 Ibid. 2.66-67.
143 Ibid. 2.74.
144 Ibid. 2.46.
145 Ibid. 2.147.
146 Ibid. 2.172.
147 Ex: Lateiner (1985), 81-86; (1989), 147-152; Cartledge (1993), 56-59';Vausania (2001), 75-82, 93-109.

the distinction; their customs and beliefs contrasted with those of the Greeks (and all other peoples) in every way; they shunned all principles and practices that originated elsewhere; they regarded common animals as holy; and they could not live without subjecting themselves to a king. Yet, of course, Herodotus' portrait of the Egyptians is far from negative. There are many admiring remarks about the land of Egypt and its people. Herodotus begins his account with the Egyptian boast that they are the oldest nation of men.[148] He later endorses this claim, stating that they have existed from the first ages of man.[149] A famous anecdote makes this point vividly. Herodotus relates that Hecataeus, the chronicler, while visiting Thebes, brags to the Egyptian priests that he traced his genealogy back sixteen generations to a god. The priests, in response, lead him into their temple where they have wooden statues of the past high priests, each one handing his position down to his son, and count back 345 generations without having to resort to an ancestral god or hero. Hecataeus was firmly put in his place. Herodotus tells us that he got the same tour, but adds that he had the good sense not to flaunt his own lineage.[150] This passage is often discussed in relation to Herodotus' dependence on Hecataeus, the accuracy of the narrative, and the degree to which it is an invention of the historian's.[151] While the figures may be exaggerated and the dig at Hecataeus is clear, the anecdote cannot be dismissed as pure fiction.[152] Egyptian priests had good reason to claim great antiquity, the number of generations

148 Herodotus, 2.2.
149 Ibid. 2.15.
150 Ibid. 2.143-144.
151 Ex: Detlev Fehling, *Herodotus and his 'Sources': Citation, Invention and Narrative Art*, (trans) J.G. Howie (New York: Francis Cairns, 1989), 59-66; Stephanie West, "Herodotus' Portrait of Hecataeus", *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991), 145-154.
152 As do Fehling (1989), 62-66, and S. West (1991), 145-154.

is reasonable enough (even though Herodotus' calculation of over eleven thousand years is fallacious), and large numbers of statues are attested in Egyptian shrines.[153] The priests themselves may be responsible for any hyperbole. It suffices to say here that the antiquity of Egypt is of great interest to Herodotus (as well as other Ionian thinkers, for that matter),[154] and it demands his respect.[155]

Herodotus justifies the length of his Egyptian excursus by appeal to the countless wonders of the land, to which no description can do justice.[156] The Egyptians are the most pious by far of all peoples.[157] Egyptians have the reputation of being the wisest people of all, a point which Herodotus does not dispute.[158] Egyptians are by far the most scrupulous of men in maintaining records of the past.[159] Unlike all Greeks save the Spartans, they greatly admire and respect their elders, stepping aside for them in the streets and giving up seats for them when they enter a room.[160] Herodotus also makes a point of refuting the legend of the Egyptian king Busiris who purportedly tried in vain to sacrifice the Greek hero Herakles. Herodotus scorns Greeks who believe such a story and fail to take into account that the Egyptians do not even sacrifice animals, let alone human beings.[161] It was again statements of this sort that

153 Ian S. Moyer, "Herodotus and an Egyptian Mirage: The Genealogies of the Theban Priests," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 122 (2002): 75-82.
154 Christian Froidefond, *Le Mirage Égyptien Dans La Littérature Grecque D'Homére A Aristote*, (Aix-en-Provence: 1971), 140-145.
155 Gruen (2011), 80.
156 Herodotus, 2.35.
157 Ibid. 2.37: θεοσεβέες δὲ περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων.
158 Ibid. 2.160: τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους. See also 2.121. An Egyptian king gives his daughter as a wife to a thief for his surpassing cleverness, for "just as Egyptians excelled all others in this craft, so did he excel the Egyptians."
159 Ibid. 2.77.
160 Ibid. 2.80.
161 Ibid. 2.45.

caused Plutarch to label the historian a *philobarbaros*, preferring to criticize fellow Greeks than find fault with barbarians.[162] Of course, this is far from an accurate reading. Herodotus no more composed the exegesis to elevate the Egyptians as a model for Greeks to emulate than he did to reprimand them as bizarre and insular aliens that preferred slavery to freedom. Herodotus saw the Egyptians in a much more nuanced light.[163]

Egyptian "otherness" resists any simple reductionism. The lengthy list of Egyptian differences from the rest of the world (which I quoted above) does not have any pejorative connotations. Having women as merchants and men as weavers, keeping animals in the house, and writing right to left may be curious and backwards, but are hardly obviously deplorable, and Herodotus himself makes no judgement.[164] Herodotus mentions the Egyptian penchant for monarchy in a passing remark, not to censure them.[165] Even on the most un-Hellenic of practices, the worship of animals, he carefully describes the specifics of each practice without ever casting aspersion or expressing aversion.[166] Herodotus does not deploy the exegesis on Egypt as a vehicle for political or religious ideology.[167] Certainly the Egyptians stand apart from the rest of the world, and they hold onto their own ways and shun others,[168] but Herodotus

162 Plutarch, *On The Malignity of Herodotus*, 857a.
163 Gruen (2011), 81.
164 Herodotus, 2.35-37.
165 Ibid. 2.147.
166 Ibid. 2.65-76. He does at one point describes a woman and a goat having intercourse as a τέρας (2.46), ie. a wonder or a portent, but even this was just a strange occurrence and had no direct ties to ritual anial worship.
167 On Egyptian monarchy: Thomas Harrison, "Upside Down and Back to Front: Herodotus and the Greek Encounter with Egypt," in *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt,* (eds.) R. Matthews and C. Roemer (London: UCL Press, 2003), 149-150. On Egyptian religion: *Idem*, *Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 182-189, 208-222.
168 Herodotus, 2.41, 2.91.

aims to complicate and subvert the very "otherness" that he identifies.[169]

This is most clear in Herodotus' insistence on the interlocking character of Egyptian and Greek gods. He regularly amalgamates comparable deities, a form of syncretism, or simply applies Hellenic names to Egyptian gods. If this is mere *interpretatio Graeca*, however, it is a peculiar form of it, as Herodotus consistently emphasizes Egyptian priority.[170] Herodotus says that the "names" of nearly all the gods came from Egypt to Hellas. While he acknowledges some may be native Greek gods, the rest have forever been in Egypt.[171] Whether τὰ οὐνόματα is best understood simply as "names" or characteristics and personalities of the gods is still debated,[172] but either way the Greeks have adopted Egyptian models and conceptions of the gods. Herodotus, unsurprisingly, cites Egyptian sources for this information, and even explicitly agrees with the Egyptian conceptualization.[173]

Intersections between divinities are clearly an interest for Herodotus.[174] For example, he supplies several arguments for the claim that Heracles (and his parents) are Egyptian, and was worshipped first by the Egyptians as a god, and was only later adopted by the Greeks, who have a hero by the same name.[175] The Egyptians also gave Greece festival rites and oracles. The Thesmophoria of Demeter was taken from the Egyptian Mysteries of Isis by the daughters of Danaus.[176] The famed oracle at Dodona

169 Gruen (2011), 82.
170 Gruen (2011), 82-83.
171 Herodotus, 2.50. See also concerning Herakles specifically: 2.43.
172 For example in: Froidefond (1971), 151-152; A. B. Lloyd (1976), II, 203-205; Thomas (2000), 274-282; Harrison, (2000), 251-264.
173 Herodotus, 2.50: δοκέω δ' ὧν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῖχθαι.
174 Gruen (2011), 83.
175 Herodotus, 2.43-44.
176 Ibid. 2.171.

originally came from Egypt. Herodotus relates a conflicting account from the prophetess at Dodona, but prefers the rationalistic explanation given by the Theban priests, who say Theban priestesses were kidnapped by Phoenicians and dropped off at Dodona and Libya (in the latter case, establishing the oracle at Siwah.) Egypt is the source of not only Greek oracular prophesy, but also extispicy, sacred festivals, processions, and offerings. Herodotus took the transition of customs from ancient Egypt to youthful Greece for granted.[177] The Egyptians were the first people to prohibit sexual intercourse in temples and entrance into temples after intercourse before washing. The Greeks adopted the same prohibitions.[178] The Egyptians have the same restrictions against wearing wool in temples and being buried in wool shrouds as the Bacchics and Orphics, whose rituals themselves stem from Egyptian and Pythagorean rules.[179] Moreover, Egypt's influence on Greece was not merely religious. King Amasis made the law that every Egyptian should declare to his nomarch his means of earning annually to prove it was lawful or risk execution. This law, highly praised by Herodotus, acted as the inspiration for Solon's similar law in Athens.[180]

Surely priority is prized by Herodotus, but that is not to say that Herodotus aims to stress the superiority of the older nation and humble the Greeks. Rather, Herodotus is interested in making connections between peoples. This is most clear when the connection is not binary, but rather entangled and complex.[181] The tangle of stories about Perseus illustrates the connection between Greek and non-Greek, not

177 Ibid. 2.54-58.
178 Ibid. 2.65.
179 Ibid. 2.81. See also the discussion of Froidefond (1971), 190-192.
180 Herodotus, 2.177.
181 Gruen (2011), 84-85.

only Greek and Persian, but also Greek and Egyptian. Immediately after stating that the Egyptians reject Greek and all other non-Egyptian customs, Herodotus admits an exception. In the city of Chemmis, in the Theban province, is a square temple of Perseus, son of Danae, in a grove of palm trees. The temple includes a statue of Perseus. The inhabitants tell Herodotus that Perseus is often seen in the land and the temple itself, where his huge sandal, two cubits long, was found. Furthermore, they celebrate Perseus with Greek games. When Herodotus asked why this was so, the people of Chemmis explained that Perseus was by descent of their city, since Danaus and Lyceus, who voyaged to Greece, were from Chemmis. Also, they said that when Perseus came to Egypt to bring the Gorgon's head from Libya (just as the Greek tradition has it), he stopped in Chemmis and recognized the people as his kin. Perseus himself ordered them to celebrate games.[182] The Hellenic legend of Perseus is clearly appropriated by the Egyptians, belying the conventional insularity of the people. The people of Chemmis did not convert Perseus into a culturally Egyptian hero, but attached themselves to the Greek story. The unabashed celebration of Greek games underscores the fact.[183]

There is further entanglement of peoples in relation to the festivals of Dionysus, which are closely parallel in Greece and Egypt. Herodotus states that the Greeks were taught the rites by the famed healer and prophet Melampus of Pylos.[184] He rejects the idea that the transfer could have gone from Greece to Egypt, or that the similarities between the Greek and Egyptian rites are mere coincidence, and reiterates

182 Herodotus, 2.91.
183 Gruen (2011), 86.
184 Herodotus, 2.48-49.

that the Egyptians have received nothing from the Greeks. Yet Melampus did not get his knowledge directly from the Egyptians. He learned it primarily from Cadmus of Tyre and those that came with him from Phoenicia to settle in Boeotia.[185] In this explanation, Cadmus must have learned about Dionysus and his rites from the Egyptians who passed it down to Melampus, who in turn passed it down to the Greeks. Possibly, since some Hellenic legends have Cadmus as Dionysus' grandfather, Herodotus may have made the connection but muddled the chronology.[186] He has, in any case, complicated the transfer of culture. The Greek prophet drew on Phoenician learning to convey Egyptian rites to Hellas.[187]

Herodotus' excursus on Egypt is a layered exposition. He draws attention to Egyptian distinctiveness, only then to focus on intersections between the Egyptians and other peoples. He points out religious uniqueness and then amalgamates gods and draws attention to shared religious rites. Thus, Herodotus makes the idea of distinction a topic for reflection, challenging simple oppositions, which are understood to be simplified constructs, in favour of a more complex picture of similarity and difference, distinction and interconnection.

Scythians

The Scythians are modern scholarship's original “mirror of Herodotus”. Their nomadism is entirely alien and unrecognizable to the *polis*-minded Greeks. Scythian

185 Ibid. 2.49: πυθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκέει μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην χώρην.
186 Froidefond (1971), 158.
187 Gruen (2011), 85.

religion is primitive and described as, at times, a horrible inversion of Greek rites. Scythia is a land of paradoxes, where one makes mud by lighting a fire rather than adding water to soil and where mules cannot stand the cold but horses can, whereas the opposite is true in all other places,[188] just as its people live by customs that are opposite and inverted version of Greek practices.[189] Yet, while certainly Herodotus points out differences between Scythian and Greek (and all other people for that matter), he is again just as interested in making connections between the two.

Firstly, there is a possible genealogical connection between the Scythians and the Greeks. In the longest of four possible origin stories for the Scythians, which is given the approval of the Black Sea Greeks, although not of Herodotus, Heracles is seen as the progenitor of their royal line,[190] just as he is for the Spartans.[191] Heracles, having arrived in the uninhabited land, fell asleep and as he slept his horses got free and ran off. While searching for them, he came across a creature that was a woman from the waist up, and a snake from the below the waist. She, calling herself the queen of this country, promised to give him his horses back, but only after he had intercourse with her. Knowing that she was pregnant with three sons, she asked him what she should do with them when they were grown. Heracles gave her one of his bows, and told her when the boys became men, she should have them attempt to bend his bow and if any should fail, she should send him out of the country. When they were grown, only the youngest, Scythes, succeeded in bending the bow, who gave his name to the

188 Herodotus, 4.28.
189 Hartog (1988), *passim*.
190 Herodotus, 4.8-10.
191 Ibid. 7.204.

Scythian people, and from him comes the whole line of Scythian kings.[192] Hartog asserts that the Black Sea Greeks included the monstrous hybrid mother of the Scythians as a way of indicating their distance both spatially and culturally from the Greeks, and a way of pointing to a certain Scythian primitivism.[193] However, her inclusion need not be so pregnant. Many Greek origin myths included human-hybrids. For example, the Athenians' first king, Cecrops, was half-human and half-serpent, and is mentioned several times in the narrative without the implication that the Athenians are in anyway primitive.[194]

Nomadism may well be the most un-Hellenic quality of the Scythians, but Herodotus does much to bridge the divide. To show how he does this, I must first show how Darius' invasion of Scythia figures in the narrative as a small-scale version of Xerxes' invasion of Greece, with the Scythians playing the same role in the former as the Athenians do in the latter.[195] Both expeditions start with the bridging of a river: Darius has Mandrocles of Samos build a bridge over the Bosphorus and Xerxes builds a bridge over the Hellespont.[196] Before crossing into Europe Darius momentarily stops to contemplate the Black Sea, just as Xerxes contemplates the Hellespont and the brevity of human life in the second narrative.[197] Both narratives end with a retreat to these liminal spaces: Darius' flight to his threatened bridge is parallelled by Xerxes'

192 Ibid. 4.8-10.
193 Hartog, 22-27.
194 Herodotus, 7.141, 8.53; and in 8.44 the Athenians are referred to as the Cecropidae.
195 This narrative parallel is well documented, for example see: P. Amandry, "Athènes au lendemain des guerres médiques," *Revue de l'Université de Brucelles* (1961), 198-223; N. Loraux, "Marathon ou l'histoire idéologique," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 75 (1973), 13-42.; Hartog (1988), 35-40.
196 Herodotus, 4.87, 7.45.
197 Ibid. 4.85, 7.46.

flight to the Hellespont.[198] Similarly both expeditions begin with homologous episodes. Oeobazus, a Persian with all three of his sons in the army, entreats Darius to leave one of them behind. Darius responds "No, you are my friend and your desire is reasonable, I will leave you all your sons," and then puts all of Oeobazus' sons to death.[199] Correspondingly, Pythius, a Lydian with all five of his sons in the army, asks Xerxes to exempt the eldest so that he can look after the family estate. Xerxes, as we have seen, has the eldest killed and cut in half, and has his army march between the two halves.[200]

The connection between the two expeditions is further strengthened by the presence of Artabanus, Darius' brother and Xerxes' uncle, playing the role of adviser to the king. When Xerxes gathers important Persians to propose attacking the Greeks, Artabanus, the only one to oppose the king's suggestion, does so by explicitly making the connection with Darius' invasion of Scythia.

> Now, I forbade Darius, your father and my brother, to lead his army against the Scythians, who have cities nowhere in their land to live in. But he, in hopes of subduing the nomadic Scythians, would not be persuaded by me. He led his army, and returned having lost many good men from his army. You, oh king, are purposing to lead your armies against men who are stronger by far than the Scythians – men who are said to be the the best at sea and land. It is right that I show you what danger lies therein. You say that you will bridge the Hellespont and march your army through Europe to Hellas. Now I will suppose that it is so that you are bested either at land or at sea, or even both; for the men are said to be stout; seeing that so great an army as came with Datis and Artaphrenes into Attica was destroyed by the Athenians alone. Be it that they not win with both, but if they attack with their ships and win a sea-battle, and then sail to the Hellespont and break your bridge, that, oh king, is a terrible

198 Ibid. 4.142, 8.100-107.
199 Ibid. 4.84.
200 Ibid. 7.38-39.

> moment. It is not from my own wisdom that I advise you, it is because I know what disaster nearly overtook us, when your father yoked the Thracian Bosporus, made a bridge over the river Ister, and crossed over to Scythia. At that point the Scythians used every means of loosening the Ionians from their duty, who had been charged to guard the bridges of the Ister; and then if Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, had followed the wishes of the other tyrants and not opposed them, Persian power would have been destroyed.[201]

Artabanus emphasizes the repetitive nature of history and Persian monarchy: the Scythian war prefigures Xerxes' expedition, and the Persian war repeats Darius' expedition. Each king is compelled to affirm his own power, and, by doing so, destroys it.[202]

In these wars the Scythians and Athenians play the same roles, and have similar conversations with their neighbours. The alleged motive of the invasion in both cases is vengeance. Darius seeks revenge on the Scythians for their invasion of Asia.[203] Xerxes, resurrecting his father's plans, seeks to punish the Athenians for having setting fire to Sardis and invading Asia.[204] In response, the Scythians tell their assembled neighbours: “The Persian has come to attack you no less than us, and he will not be content to let you alone having subdued us.”[205] Similarly, the Athenians tell the ambassadors from Syracuse that, while the Persian pretends to march against Athens, he in truth intends to “subdue all of Hellas to his will.”[206] The Scythians warn their neighbours that, if they do not join forces to repel the Persians, they will make

201 Ibid. 7.10.
202 Hartog (1988), 37.
203 Herodotus, 4.1.
204 Ibid. 7.43.
205 Ibid. 4.118.
206 Ibid. 7.157.

terms with the king or abandon the land altogether.[207] The Athenians on several occasions also threaten to come to terms with Xerxes or to leave Attica altogether.[208] In both cases, some neighbours respond the same way. The kings of the Agathyrisi, Neuri, Man-eaters, Black-cloaks and the Tauri tell the Scythian envoys that since they were the first to invade Persian lands, they should not be surprised the the Persians invaded them in turn, nor expect their help before the Persians have done them any wrong.[209] Similarly, the Spartans reproach the Athenians, saying: "it was you who stirred up this war, with us unwilling, and your lands were first the stake of that battle, in which now all Hellas is engaged."[210]

Having grasped this parallel, we can return to the idea of nomadism. For Herodotus Scythian nomadism is a strategy.

> The most important and wisest matter of all human affairs that we know of was invented by the Scythian race, although I do not praise everything about them. However, in this greatest matter they have so devised that no attacker can escape them, nor catch them when they do not wish to be found. For when men do not populate cities nor fortifications, but all are house-bearers and mounted bowmen, feed themselves not from ploughed fields but from flocks and herds, and carry their dwellings on waggons, how can these men not be unconquerable and unapproachable?[211]

Thus, when Darius invades, the Scythians follow this strategy. They send the waggons with their women and children and their flocks northward out of harm's way, and

207 Ibid. 4.118.
208 Ibid. 8.62.: Themistocles tells the Spartan Eurybiades that "If you do not do so, then without more ado, we will take our households and voyage to Siris in Italy, which has been ours from old time, and the oracles tell that we must there plant a colony." (Translation by A. D. Godley, 1925) Cf. 7.139, 9.11.
209 Ibid. 4.119.
210 Ibid. 8.142.
211 Ibid. 4.46.

retreat, agreeing only to turn and fight when they have the advantage.[212] This is precisely the strategy that the Athenians take up during Xerxes' invasion. Faced with Xerxes' forces, the Athenians consult the Pythian oracle, and the priestess tells them to flee to the ends of the earth, for their city will fall and their shrines will be burned by the incoming king.[213] Hoping for a less catastrophic reply, the Athenians make an additional offering, and are told that they should not remain in the city, but flee and turn their backs to their foes, at least for the time being. She also tells them that only the wooden wall will remain unraveged.[214] As is well known, Themistocles alone correctly interpreted the oracle: the Athenians should retreat from Athens and its territory, sending their women and children to Salamis out of harm's way,[215] and they should prepare for a battle with their ships, Athens' "wooden wall."[216] Just like the Scythians, this began by sending their women and children out of harm's way. Scythians and Athenians are both making use of the same tactic, and both to great effect.

However, Herodotus does more than merely show that Athens used a "Scythian" strategy, he gives the Greeks a way to conceptualize nomadism in Greek terms. During a debate, the Corinthian Adimantus attempts to dismiss Themistocles' counsel, since he was landless and without a *polis* (*apolis*), taunting him because the enemy held Athens. Themistocles replies bitterly and at length, saying that the

212 Ibid. 4.120-121.
213 Ibid. 7.140.
214 Ibid. 7.141.
215 Ibid. 8.40.
216 Ibid. 7.143.

Athenians still have a *polis* and a land, so long as they have their ships.[217] Athens may have lost its *astu* and its lands may be held by the enemy, but it nevertheless remains a *polis*. Herodotus clearly shows that an *astu* is not necessary for a *polis* to be a *polis*. Athens has its people and a means to wage war with the enemy, which is all that is required to be a *polis*. Thus, we need not see Scythian nomadism and their lack of cities as antithetical to the *polis*.

The Scythians at the same time have burial rites for their kings that resemble those of the Spartans. The Scythians who act as corpse bearers cut off part of their ears, shave their heads, and make cuts on their arms, foreheads, and noses. They then carry the body of their king around the country and to each of the tribes under their rule, and everyone who sees the body follows the procession.[218] The Spartans, for their part, send out horsemen throughout Laconia to announce the death of the king. Two of every household are required to ritually defile themselves in mourning, or face severe punishment. A large number of the subject neighbours are forced to attend the funeral, as well as Helots by the thousands, who zealously beat their foreheads and lament loudly. Whenever a king dies in battle, they make an image of him and carry it around on a bier.[219] Considering the time in which Herodotus was writing, and his adopted home, it is unsurprising that this connection is often read as Herodotus trying to barbarize the Spartans rather than closing the divide between Greek and Scythian.[220] However, if this is the case, he also does this with the Athenians. Pericles' city-island

217 Ibid. 8.61.
218 Ibid. 4.71.
219 Ibid. 6.58.
220 Hartog (1988), 152-156: who also points out similarities in Spartan burial practices with those of the Egyptians and the Persians.

strategy, which had the Athenians retreat behind their walls, avoid pitched battles, and pester the enemy with their navy, is certainly more "Scythian" than traditional Greek strategy. If Herodotus means to "barbarize" both sides of a war that includes nearly all the Greeks, what and who can be called Hellenic?

Most important to my reading of Herodotus, the Scythians consider the taking of foreign, and especially Greek, customs to be a form of treason, just as the Greeks saw the adoption of Persian customs. Herodotus records two examples of this. Anacharsis, the brother of the Scythian king Saulius, having travelled around much of the world, stopped on his way back home at Cyzicus, where, seeing the Cyzicenes celebrating the Mother of the Gods with a feast and great pomp, he swore to the Goddess that if he returned safely back to his home, he would sacrifice to her in the way the Cyzicenes do and establish a nightly rite of worship. Later, having arrived back in Scythia, he took himself out into the wilderness and began performing the ritual as he had vowed to. Some Scythians seeing him do this, alerted the king, who after seeing it himself shot an arrow and killed him.[221]

Similarly, Scyles, the son of king Ariapithes, was half Greek by way of his mother, who taught him to speak and read Greek when he was a child. He ascended to the throne at his father's death, and took his father's wife, a Scythian woman, as his wife. However, Scyles was not content with living by Scythian customs, since he preferred the Greek way of life, so he would lead his army to the city of the Borythenites, and then, leaving his army in the suburbs of the city, would enter within

221 Ibid. 4.76.

the walls alone, don Greek apparel, follow Greek customs, and worship the gods following Greek rites. After a month or so, he would put his Scythian garb back on and return to his army. He did this often enough that he built himself a house within the city and married a Greek wife, but was careful to not let any Scythian learn about his double life.[222] The problem came when Scyles decided, despite an ominous vision, to be initiated into the Bacchic rites. The Scythians were accustomed to mock their Greek neighbours for worshipping a god like Dionysus that fills them with madness, and once when they did this, one of the Borysthenites scoffed at them in return, telling them that their own king was currently engaged in Bacchic revelry, and led a few of the Scythians to see.[223] The Scythians rebelled and placed Scyles' brother on the throne. Scyles attempted to flee, but was caught and executed for his adoption of Greek customs.[224] The Scythians are vigilant against their prominent citizens engaging in "barbaric" Greek practices and punish infractions severely, just as many of the prominent Greek figures in the narrative would be after the war, as the reader well knew.

The Scythians appear on the surface wholly alien to the Greeks, yet Herodotus does much to bridge the gulf between the two. They share a common ancestor, a way of doing battle with the Athenians, a way of honouring their kings with the Spartans, and they have the same harsh restrictions against adopting foreign customs.

222 Ibid. 4.78.
223 Ibid. 4.79.
224 Ibid. 4.80.

Conclusion

I will speak more generally about Herodotus' place in the Greek understanding of non-Greeks in the following chapter; however, as I have shown, Herodotus, rather than merely describing non-Greeks in terms of inversions, excesses, and deficiencies of Greekness, has a deeper understanding of non-Greeks. He seeks to bridge differences between peoples that he himself makes note of, and in fact problematizes polar conceptions of the other and essentialist notion of ethnicity.

Chapter 3

The East Greek Intellectual View of Non-Greeks

Introduction

As I have shown in the previous two chapters, neither the Hippocratics (at least of the fifth century) nor Herodotus believe that there is any essential difference between Greeks and non-Greeks. In this chapter I will show that: the Hippocratics and Herodotus are coming from the same East Greek (Ionian) intellectual tradition, one that was still at work in the middle to late fifth century when they wrote; and that they both disagree with, and, though to different degrees, work to subvert the common mainland Greek (principally Athenian) notion that the barbarian is a sort of anti-Greek, a rhetoric which the Athenians were able to employ to unite the Greeks under their leadership in opposition to the Persian enemy.

Section 3.1: Herodotus and the Hippocratics as East Greek Intellectuals

The Hippocratics and Herodotus share many common interests, data, conceptions and theories. These similarities have sparked debate among scholars concerning the direction of the transfer of ideas between Herodotus and the Hippocratic treatises, in particular *Airs, Waters, Places*. The Hippocratic treatises are notoriously hard to date accurately, but generally it is assumed that Herodotus' work was earlier, and *Airs, Waters, Places* came after and built a complete theory of environmental determinism where

Herodotus treated only isolated instances.[1] However, I would argue that the similarities need not have been owing only to direct transfer, but, as I will show, are better explained in terms of a common intellectual heritage.

Similarities in Ethnography

The first similarity I will address is between Herodotus' and the Hippocratics' ideas concerning the causes of ethnic difference. As I have shown in the previous chapters, the environment, and more generally *phusis*, has a clear influence on the body and character in both schemata. For instance, Herodotus explains that the Ethiopians have black skin on account of the great heat of their land.[2] The author of *Airs, Waters, Places* writes: "The Scythian race is ruddy because of the cold, not through any fierceness in the sun's heat. It is the cold that burns their skin white and makes it ruddy."[3] Conversely, presumably, the sun's heat is thought to blacken the skin. More strikingly, we find in both bodies of work the belief that good lands produce poor warriors. We have seen the classic expression of this in Herodotus, put into the mouth of Cyrus.[4] Cyrus' statement that "soft

1 Ex. Jacques Jouanna (ed.), *Airs, Eaux, Lieux*, (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1996), 82; *idem*, *Hippocrates*, (trans) M. B. DeBevoise, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999), 229-231.; Benjamin Isaac*, The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 60-61. Alternatively, Rosalind Thomas, *Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science, and the Art of Persuasion*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 21-24, sees the influence of medical writing on Herodotus, although it need not necessarily be *Airs, Waters, Places*.

2 Herodotus, 2.22.

3 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 20.

4 Herodotus 9.122.3: Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ᾽ ἀρξομένους: φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι: οὐ γὰρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπόν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια..

men grow from soft lands" brings to mind the statement following the description in *Airs, Waters, Places* of Ionia. The author tells us that the land has plentiful harvests and a beautifully mild climate perfectly balanced between the hot and the cold, the wet and the dry (which Herodotus also notes),[5] and then states: "manliness, hardiness, willingness to do toilsome labour, and courage could not be innate in such an environment, in either natives or immigrants, but by necessity, pleasure rules."[6] In both cases the idea that a good environment produces poor warriors is presented as a hard and fast rule, yet, as I have argued in the previous chapters, in both the Herodotean and Hippocratic conceptions *physis* can be subverted by laws (*nomos*) and way of life (*diaita*). For instance, Cyrus' Persians, who did not move lands, nonetheless lost their edge as warriors after enjoying the riches that come along with empire,[7] and the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* tells us that those who live in Asia but have independent government are the most warlike of all men.[8]

Both theories of ethnic difference allow, indeed, for *nomos* and *diaita* to affect not only a people's ethical character but also its physique. For instance, Herodotus theorizes that the reason why the Egyptian skulls he found on an ancient battlefield were so much

5 Ibid. 1.142: "Now these Ionians, who possessed the Panionion, had settled cities is places more favoured by the skies and seasons than any other country that I know. For neither to the north of them nor to the south nor to the east nor to the west does any land accomplish the same effect as Ionia, being afflicted here by the cold and wet, there by the heat and drought."

6 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 12. ὸ δὲ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ τὸ ταλαίπωρον καὶ τὸ ἔμπονον καὶ τὸ θυμοειδὲς οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἐν τοιαύτῃ φύσει ἐγγίνεσθαι οὔτε ὁμοφύλου οὔτε ἀλλοφύλου, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀνάγκη κρατεῖν

7 Herodotus, 1.207.

8 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 16.

stronger than the Persian skulls is that Egyptians shave their head from birth, whereas Persians wear hats, as discussed above.[9] Similarly, the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* describes the cause of the Long-heads' elongated forehead was that they bandaged the heads of their babies.[10] In addition, this passage shows the Hippocratic idea of hereditary traits, since as he explains later in the chapter: "If, therefore, bald parents often have bald children, and grey-eyed parents grey-eyed children,and squinting parents squinting children, and so on with other physical peculiarities, what prevents a long-headed parent from having a long-headed child?"[11] Similarly, Herodotus describes the Agrippaioi, who are bald ἐκ γενεῆς ("by descent" or "from the family".)[12]

The second major similarity is the shared interest in Scythia and the Pontic region and in Libya and Egypt, and the conception of these regions as inverse reflections of one another. Long sections of Herodotus' *Histories* and *Airs, Waters, Places* are devoted to descriptions of the Scythians, their land, and the surrounding area and peoples[13]. Both authors share an interest in the Sauromatai, whose women, while they are still virgins, ride horses, hunt, and fight in war just as the men do, and do not marry until they have killed the required number of enemies in war (although the authors disagree on the

9 Ibid. 3.12. (Translation by A. D. Godley, 1921).
10 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 14.
11 Ibid. 14. Cf. Hippocrates, *Generation*, 9: "but if it does have open space, and is not ill, it is reasonable that a child born of large parents will be large." (Translation by Potter, 2012).
12 Herodotus, 4.23.2. Admittedly, this could also mean as "from time of birth", as it appears in the LSJ. However, even if this is so, "from time of birth" strongly implies heredity as the cause of the hairlessness of the Agrippaioi. Thomas (2000), 35.
13 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 17-22; Herodotus, 4, *passim*.

number).[14] Both authors are also interested in the Scythian's nomadism, but give different reasons for it: the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* believes that they move to ensure sufficient fodder for their animals, whereas Herodotus, as we have seen, sees it as a strategic choice.[15] Both authors describe the lands in terms of extreme cold and dampness,[16] and even identify the extreme cold as the reason for the lack of horns of Scythian oxen.[17] They also both mention the "female disease", which the Scythians believe is divine retribution and leaves men impotent, such that they then take up women's work and are called "Anareis/Enareis".[18]

In addition, the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* notes that the Scythians eat *hippace*,[19] about the making of which the author of *Diseases IV* goes into great detail, comparing *hippace*'s manufacture to the separation of humours in the human body when it is stirred.

> This phenomenon resembles what the Scythians do with mare's milk: for they pour milk into a hollow wooden container and shake it; as the milk is shaken it foams and separates, and the fatty component, which they call butter, rises to the top because it is light. The heavy and thick component stays near the bottom, and this they separate and dry; when it has coagulated and become dry, they call it *hippace*; in the middle of the milk's whey.[20]

Herodotus' Scythian exegesis begins with a description of another step in the creation of

14 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 17; Herodotus, 4.116-117.
15 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 18; Herodotus, 4.46.
16 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 18-19; Herodotus, 4.28, 47-58.
17 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 18; Herodotus, 4.29.
18 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 22; Herodotus, 1.105.
19 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 18.
20 Hippocrates, *Diseases IV*, 20 (Translation by Potter, 2012).

hippace, the milking process:

> The Scythians blind all their slaves in protection of the milk which they drink; and this is their way of getting it: taking bone pipes which are very similar to flutes, they thrust these into the genitals of the mares and blow into them, some blowing and others milking. According to them, their reason for doing so is that the blowing makes the mare's veins swell and her udder come down. When milking is done, they pour the milk into deep wooden buckets, and make their slaves stand around the buckets and shake the milk; the surface part of it they draw off, and this they value most; what lies at the bottom is less esteemed. It is for this reason that the Scythians blind all prisoners whom they take; for they are not tillers of soil but wandering graziers.[21]

The similarities in the language and style of these two passages have been well documented.[22]

The Libyans also figure in both Herodotus and the Hippocratics. Herodotus gives a lengthy discussion of Libya and its tribes.[23] The author of *Airs, Waters, Places*, also included a section on Libya, and although it is now lost to us, we are aware that he took an interest in the great variety of wild animals there,[24] just as Herodotus did.[25] Herodotus mentions that the Libyans are considered, and are in fact, the healthiest people on earth, and proceeds to detail a Libyan treatment for spasms by anointing the patient with goat's

21 Herodotus, 4.2.

22 Ex: Iain M. Lonie, *The Hippocratic treatises, "On generation," "On the nature of the child," "Diseases IV": a commentary,* (New York : De Gruyter, 1981), 339-340; D. Braund, "Greeks, Scythians, and *Hippace*, or Reading Mare's-Cheese," in *Ancient Greeks West and East*, (ed) Gocha R. Tsetskhladze (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 523-526; Thomas (2000), 58; Alan Griffiths, "Kissing Cousins: Some Curious Cases of Adjacent Material in Herodotus," in *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus,* (ed.) Nino Luraghi, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 169.

23 Herodotus, 4.168-200.

24 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 12-13: the text picks up after the ellipsis: "for this reason they are many-shaped in reference to the wild beasts. Such is my opinion concerning the condition of the Egyptians and Libyans."

25 Herodotus, 4.191-192.

urine.[26] Similarly, in *On the Sacred Disease*, the author, discussing the belief that the avoidance of goat meat and skin works as a remedy for epilepsy, incredulously remarks, "So, I suppose no Libyan living in the interior can enjoy good health, since they sleep on goat-skins and eat goats' meat, owning no clothing, cloak, nor footwear that is not made from goats. In fact, they have no cattle other than oxen and goats."[27] The remark seems to imply that we all know that Libyans are, in fact, healthy. Either the Libyans are thought to have had excellent health, or there was some controversy about it (as there certainly was about the causes), but either way Libyan health was a matter of discussion in the Hippocratic circle.[28]

Libya is seen as a place of extreme heat and dryness by Herodotus and the Hippocratics. Herodotus conveys this principally through anecdotes. For instance, the Psylloi disappeared when they foolishly decided to march against the south wind which had dried up all their reservoirs,[29] and the Atarantes curse the sun because it burns the people and the land.[30] He says that at the furthest reaches of Libya: "just beyond this ridge, the area towards the south and into the interior of Libya, the land is desert, without

26 Ibid. 4.187: "For the practice of many Libyan nomads (I cannot with exactness say whether it is the practice of all) is to take their children when four years old, and with grease of sheep's wool to burn the veins of their scalps or sometimes the temples, so that the children may be never afterwards be afflicted by phlegm running down from the head. They say this makes their children most healthy. In truth not men known to us are so healthy as the Libyans; whether it be by reason of this practice, I cannot say with exactness; but most healthy they certainly are. When the children smart from the pain of the burning the Libyans have found a remedy, which is, to heal them by moistening with goat's urine." (Translation by A. D. Godley, 1921)

27 Hippocrates, *The Sacred Disease*, 2. Cf. *Diseases IV*, 56.

28 Thomas (2000), 46.

29 Herodotus, 4.173. Cf. *Idem* 4.175.

30 Ibid. 4.184.

water, without animals, without rain, and without trees, and there is no moisture (*ikmas*) in it."[31] These passages clearly convey the same ideas that are present in the Hippocratic treatise *Regimen*, where the author describes the dessication of the south wind by the sun: "Therefore in the nearest countries [the wind] must import such a hot and dry quality, as it does in Libya. For there it parches the plants and insensibly dries up the human inhabitants. For it cannot get moisture (*ikmas*) from the sea, nor from any river, and so it drinks up the moisture from the living animals and from the plants."[32]

The Egyptians are also subjects of interest for Herodotus and for the author of *Airs, Waters, Places*. Herodotus devotes an entire book the Egyptians' land, customs, and history.[33] The author of *Airs, Waters, Places*, also devotes a section to the Egyptians, but it is again unfortunately lost;[34] passing remarks in what survives of the work describe the Egyptians as "distressed by the heat"[35] and physically similar to one another,[36] and the author makes note of their practice in respect of swaddling.[37] In these three extant examples the Egyptians are discussed alongside the Scythians.

In both Herodotus and the Hippocratics the extreme cold and dampness of Scythia and the Pontic region stands in opposition to Libya and Egypt.. This treatment of Scythia and Egypt in terms of reflection, at the same time resembling and the inversion of one

31 Ibid. 4.185.
32 Hippocrates, *Regimen*, 2.38. (Translation by W. H. S. Jones, 1923) Cf. *Idem*, 37.
33 Herodotus, 2.2-182.
34 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 12-13.
35 Ibid. 18.
36 Ibid. 18, 19.
37 Ibid. 20. There is a gap in the text. From what remains it reads as if the Egyptians do swaddle their children, but Jones and Coray both amend the text to read that the Egyptians did not.

another, is well documented in Herodotus.[38] For instance, Scythia's remarkable rivers are described in relation to the Nile,[39] whose path Herodotus determines by reasoning that it should cross Libya the same way the Ister crosses Europe.[40] Scythia's rivers, which are as numerous as Egypt's canals, are its only marvel,[41] whereas Egypt has so many great marvels that no description could do it justice.[42] The Scythians are the youngest race,[43] whereas the Egyptians are (nearly) the oldest race.[44] The people of the Pontic region, although not the Scythians themselves, are the least intelligent of all men,[45] while the Egyptians are often described as the wisest and most intellectual of all peoples.[46]

The Hippocratics also treat the lands and peoples of Scythia and of Egypt and Libya as opposites. Thus in *Airs, Waters, Places* it is said that "concerning the shape of the rest of the Scythians, the same remark applies to them as the Egyptians, that they are similar to one another but not at all similar to others, save that the latter are oppressed by the heat, whereas the former by the cold."[47] This remark may also have applied to the

38 Eg. François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, (trans) Janet Lloyd, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1988), 15-19; Donald Lateiner, *The Historical Method of Herodotus*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 155-157; James Redfield, "Herodotus the Tourist," in *Greeks and Barbarians*, (ed) Thomas Harrison, (New York: Routledge, 2002), 31-39.
39 Herodotus, 4.50, 4.53.
40 Ibid, 2.33.
41 Ibid. 4.47.
42 Ibid. 2.35.
43 Ibid. 4.5.
44 Ibid. 2.2.
45 Ibid. 4.46.
46 Ibid. 2.160: τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους. See also 2.121. An Egyptian king gives his daughter as a wife to a thief for his surpassing cleverness, for "just as Egyptians excelled all others in this craft, so did he excel the Egyptians."; 2.77.
47 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 18. Cf. 19, 20.

Libyans, as they and the Egyptians were seemingly discussed together.[48] This comparison between Scythia and Libya is implicit in *Prognostic* in the warning that the same symptoms for a particular disease will be "the same in Libya, Delos, and Scythia,"[49] i.e. in cold and damp areas (Scythia), hot and dry areas (Libya), and lands with a mixture of these qualities (Delos). It is made explicit in *Regimen*, when the author states:

> The southern lands are hotter and drier than the northern, for they are closer to the course of the sun. The races of men and the plants of these lands must be, by necessity, drier, hotter, and stronger than those which are in the opposite lands. For example, compare the Libyan people against the Pontic, and also the peoples nearest to each.[50]

Furthermore, the Scythians and Libyans are, outside of *Airs, Waters, Places*, the only non-Greek peoples that are explicitly mentioned within the fifth-century Hippocratic texts.[51]

Herodotus also coincides with the Hippocratics in his particular attention, in his ethnography, to health and medicine. For instance, he notes that some Indians have no medical skill at all, and when someone becomes sick, they bring them out to a deserted place to die.[52] The Padaeans sacrifice anyone who falls sick and eat their flesh before it is spoilt, thus few reach old age.[53] The Scythians believe that if the king grows sick, it is because someone swore a false oath, and so the matter is dealt with by soothsayers.[54] The Babylonians take their sick out into the marketplace, and get advice for treatment from

48 Ibid. 13: "Such in my opinion is the condition of the Egyptians and the Libyans."
49 Hippocrates, *Prognostic*, 25.
50 Hippocrates, *Regimen*, 2.37.
51 Egyptian products, but not Egyptians themselves, are often mentioned in the treatment of certain ailments and injuries. Ex: Hippocrates, *Ulcers*, 14, 17, 18; *Epidemics II*, 6.9, 6.29; *On Fractures*, 30.
52 Herodotus, 3.100.
53 Ibid. 3.99.
54 Ibid. 4.68-69.

passersby who have had the same illness.[55] The Persians do not allow anyone with leprosy or the "white disease" to enter their cities,[56] and successfully treat the near mortal battle wounds of a Greek soldier.[57] Egyptians only have specialists who only learn to treat a single illness.[58] Furthermore, doctors working outside of their home cities are featured prominently. The advice and the grudge of an Egyptian eye-doctor is given as the immediate cause of Cambyses' invasion of Egypt.[59] In addition, Democedes of Croton is summoned by Darius to treat his injured foot – making use of the Greek cures, which stands in stark contrast with the methods of the Egyptian doctors who only made the injury worse – and upon completion is compelled to stay in Persia against his will. When he successfully escapes his Persian captor, having secured the help of Atossa, Darius' wife, after curing a swelling in her breast, Darius is given the idea to invade Greece.[60] These examples may well show that in the fifth century medicine was a key area for cultural interaction, so when Herodotus sought sources on other peoples, many were medical, which explains the conspicuous representation of medicine and health in his ethnography.

55 Ibid. 1.197.
56 Ibid. 1.138.
57 Ibid. 7.181.
58 Ibid. 2.84.
59 Ibid. 3.1.
60 Ibid. 3.129-138.

The Influence of Medicine on Herodotus

Moreover, the understanding of disease, health, and medicine implicit in Herodotus' narrative coincides in a number of respects with that of the Hippocratics.[61] For instance, Herodotus' understanding of diet seems to have been influenced by contemporary medical theory.[62] During its retreat, Xerxes' army runs out of produce to plunder, and so it turns to eating all the grass, bark, and leaves it comes across. The army is then struck with pestilence and dysentery.[63] When it finally arrives in Abydos, it gorges itself, on account of which and of a change in the water, many die.[64] The understanding of dietary regimen demonstrated here has parallels in the Hippocratic texts. For instance, the author of *Ancient Medicine* theorizes that man originally ate the same primitive foods as other animals (fruits, woods, and grasses), but moved to eating more complex and cooked foods because the crude foods affected them just as "men would suffer today, falling into violent pains and diseases quickly followed by death."[65] At the same time, the Hippocratics note that diseases can arise from an excess of food or drink, and from a change in water or regimen.[66]

More particularly, Herodotus' use of medical terminology shows a familiarity with Hippocratic medicine and theory. For instance, when Herodotus states that Egyptian

61 Thomas (2000), 34-42.
62 Paul Demont, "Hérodote et les pestilences: Note sur Hérodote vi, 27 ; vii, 171 et viii, 115-117," *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 62 (1988): 7-13.
63 Herodotus, 8.115.
64 Ibid. 8.117.
65 Hippocrates, *Ancient Medicine*, 3.
66 Hippocrates, *Diseases II*, 2.55; *Ancient Medicine*, 10.

doctors are all specialists, he mentions not only common types – eye-doctors, doctors for the head, teeth, intestines – but also the more peculiar designation, "doctors for the invisible diseases."[67] This term is found in the Hippocratic corpus,[68] and the very way that Herodotus stresses the Egyptian specialism implies a contrast with Greek doctors.[69] Herodotus' description of how Scythian slaves milk mares, seemingly draws on the Hippocratic understanding of how milk appears in the breast during pregnancy. Herodotus, as we have seen, explains that the slave blows through a bone tube placed in the mare's genitals, and that: "they say they do this for the following reason: the veins (φλέβας) of the horse are filled with air and the udder is extended."[70] Similarly, the author of *Nature of the Child* explains that when the foetus begins to move it creates pressure in the mother's body, and: "a small amount [of milk] passes to the uterus through the same kind of veins (φλέβια); for these same small veins and others like them extend to the breasts and the uterus. When some of the milk arrives in a woman's uterus, her foetus takes up a little bit of it, while her breasts, on receiving the milk, fill up and become raised."[71] The texts share the idea that veins (*phlebes*) connect the womb and the breasts, and that pressure in the womb affects the breasts.[72] Herodotus also makes mention of the humours, phlegm and bile.[73] His use of *ikmas* at times also appears to be similar to the

67 Herodotus, 2.84.
68 Hippocrates, *The Art*, 10.
69 Thomas (2000), 41.
70 Herodotus, 4.2: φασὶ δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τοῦτο ποιέειν: **τὰς φλέβας** τε πίμπλασθαι φυσωμένας τῆς ἵππου καὶ τὸ οὖθαρ κατίεσθαι.
71 Hippocrates, *Nature of the Child*, 11.
72 Thomas (2000), 60.
73 Herodotus, 4.187, 4.58.

Hippocratic use of it.[74]

In his account of Democedes' treatment of Atossa,[75] Herodotus refers to the queen's tumour as a *phuma*, which the LSJ lists as the first occurrence of the word with the sense of "diseased growth;" it is later so used by the Hippocratics.[76] Also, throughout the episode, medicine is referred to as the *techne*, "the art." For instance, when Darius calls Democedes to his presence, hoping that he can heal his injured foot, he asks him: "Do you know the art?"[77] It is obvious that medical skill is the *techne* in question, but the lack of qualification of *techne* in the story is highly reminiscent of the language of the Hippocratics, especially in, of course, *The Art*.[78] By his use of *techne* to mean the art of medicine, Herodotus seemingly agrees with the doctors that medicine is the art *par excellence*.[79]

Further similarities can be seen in the case of Cambyses' madness. Herodotus notes that Cambyses may have suffered from epilepsy:

> Such were the mad acts that Cambyses did to his own household, whether because of the Apis bull, or because of the many calamities that tend to beset men; for they say that Cambyses suffered by descent the disease which some call "sacred." For it is not likely that the mind should remain healthy when the body is grievously afflicted.[80]

74 Thomas (2000), 49-54.
75 Herodotus, 3.133.
76 Alongside its derivatives, Ex: Hippocrates, *Ancient Medicine*, 22.8; *Prorrhetic II*, 10, 11; *The Art*, 41; *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, 26.
77 Herodotus, 3.130.1: ὁ Δαρεῖος τὴν τέχνην εἰ ἐπίσταιτο; See also: 3.129.3, 3.130.2.
78 Thomas (2000), 41.
79 Cf. The importance of the way *Ancient Medicine* had a "developed notion of medicine as an art," G. E. R. Lloyd, "Who is attacked in *On Ancient Medicine*?" in *Methods and Problems in Greek Science* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), 68.
80 Herodotus, 3.33: ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκηίους ὁ Καμβύσης ἐξεμάνη, εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὸν Ἆπιν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως,

Herodotus' use of the expression "the disease which some call sacred," rather than merely "the sacred disease," clearly shows that he had some reservations about it being truly divine. This is, of course, the position held by the author of *The Sacred Disease*. Herodotus attributes the disease to heredity (ἐκ γενεῆς),[81] just as the author of *The Sacred Disease* does.[82] Herodotus also suggests a link between physical illness and mental illness, so linking Cambyses' epilepsy with his madness. The link between epilepsy and madness is noted in *The Sacred Disease*,[83] and other Hippocratic works make note of mental and emotional states alongside physical symptoms, clearly making the same connection.[84]

Another connection between Herodotean and Hippocratic conceptions is evident in Herodotus' discussion of the health of the Egyptians:

> For three straight days each month [the Egyptians] purge themselves, claiming that they are pursuing good health through purges and drenches; for they think that all sickness comes to men from the foods they eat. Regardless of this, Egyptians are the healthiest of all men after the Libyans; and it seems to me to be because the seasons do not differ from one another; for it is in change, especially of seasons, that men

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οἷα πολλὰ ἔωθε ἀνθρώπους κακὰ καταλαμβάνειν: καὶ γὰρ τινὰ **ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦσον** μεγάλην λέγεται ἔχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, **τὴν ἱρὴν ὀνομάζουσι τινές**. **οὔ νύν τοι ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἦν τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέοντος μηδὲ τὰς φρένας ὑγιαίνειν.**

81 See note 12 above.

82 Hippocrates, *The Sacred Disease*, 5: "Its origin, like that of other diseases, lies in heredity. For if a phlegmatic parent has a phlegmatic child, a bilious parent a bilious child, a consumptive parent a consumptive child, and a splenetic parent a splenetic child, there is nothing to prevent some of the children suffering from this disease when one or the other of the parents suffered from it; for the seed comes from every part of the body, healthy seed from the healthy parts, diseased seed from the diseased parts." (Translation by W. H.S. Jones, 1923).

83 Ibid. 17-18. See also, 13, 15, 16.

84 Ex. Hippocrates, *Epidemics III*, 1 case 11; 17 case 15; *On Regimen*, *passim*.

most often fall ill.[85]

For Herodotus, the foremost cause of disease is the change of the seasons (μεταβολῇσι ... τῶν ὡρέων). This too is the primary cause of disease in *Airs, Waters, Places*: "It is necessary to especially guard against the most violent changes in the seasons (μεταβολὰς τῶν ὡρέων), and unless compelled one should not purge, nor cauterize or apply a knife to the bowels, until at least ten days have passed."[86] Furthermore, the idea that diseases react with the body and manifest themselves differently during different seasons is common in Hippocratic medicine,[87] as is the notion that the greatest risk of sudden attacks of disease and the greatest change in how disease manifests in the body occurs at the changes between seasons.[88]

Here Herodotus is not only giving voice to and confirming (δοκέειν ἐμοὶ) a seemingly Hippocratic view of health, but also contradicts the Egyptians' own view that

85 Herodotus, 2.77: συρμαΐζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἑκάστου, ἐμέτοισι θηρώμενοι τὴν ὑγιείην καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τρεφόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς νούσους τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ Λίβυας ὑγιηρέστατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὡρέων δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἵνεκα, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσουσι αἱ ὧραι: ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῇσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίνονται τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὡρέων μάλιστα.

86 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 11, *et passim*.

87 Ex. "Of old patients the greatest enemy is winter. For when an old man has been heated in the head and brain by a large fire, and then comes into the cold and is chilled, or if he leave the cold for warmth and a large fire, he experiences the same symptoms and has a seizure, according to what has been said already. There is a serious risk of the same thing happening in the spring also, if the head be struck by the sun. In summer the risk is least, as there are no sudden changes." Hippocrates, *The Sacred Disease*, 13. (Translation by Jones, 1923).

88 Ex. "But when summer came ... [there] occurred many continuous but not violent fevers, which attacked persons who were long ailing without suffering distress in any other particular manner; for the bowels were in most cases quite easy, and hurt in no appreciable way." Hippocrates, *Epidemics I*, 3. (Translation by Jones, 1923). Other examples of this: Hippocrates, *Ancient Medicine*, 16.; *Epidemics I*, 2, 5, 6, 13, 15, 22.; *Epidemics III*, 2, 3, 13, 15, 16.; *Epidemics II*, 1.1-6, and passim; *Epidemics IV*, passim.; *Epidemics VI*, passim.; *Humours*, 7, 13, 15.; *On Wounds in the Head*, 2, 14, 19.; *On Fractures*, 29.; *On Joints*, 8.; *Nature of Man*, 2, 7, 9, 15.; *Regimen*, 1.2, 1.32, 3.67, 3.68.

all diseases are caused by food. The view that diet was the main cause of disease, which is attributed to the Egyptians, is also held by the Cnidian school of Greek medicine.[89] What we may be seeing here, then, is Herodotus picking sides in a controversy in middle to late fifth century Greek medicine.[90]

Herodotus and the Hippocratics as East Greek Intellectuals

Despite these important similarities, there are many differences which suggest that, although there may have been some direct transfer between Herodotus and the Hippocratics, their connection is better understood as coming from a common intellectual heritage and culture (and that both were drawing on a richer body of predecessors work than is commonly thought to have existed.) This becomes clear when we compare *Airs, Waters, Places* with Herodotus. For example, the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* divides the world into two continents, Europe and Asia, whereas Herodotus divides it into three: Europe, Asia, and Libya; and while Herodotus locates the boundary between Europe and Asia along the Phasis river,[91] the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* locates it at Lake Maeotis.[92] Similarly although there are many similarities between the two authors'

89 Jaap Mansfeld, "Theoretical and empirical attitudes in early Greek scientific medicine," in *Hippocratica: Actes du Colloque hippocratique de Paris*, (ed) M. D. Grmek (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1980), 388-390: Mansfeld, however, writes that Herodotus' view is the same as the Egyptian/Cnidian view, despite the fact that he clearly presents his actual, contradictory, view immediately after.
90 Thomas (2000), 39.
91 Herodotus, 4.45.
92 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 13.

treatments of the Scythians, they disagree on whether or not the Sauromates are rightly called Scythian,[93] how many men the Sauromate women must kill in order to marry,[94] and the reason for their nomadism.[95] From these discrepancies, it is clear that the author of *Airs, Waters, Places* did not solely use Herodotus as a source of information (or vice versa), and that Hecataeus of Miletus' *Periegesis*, which is often thought to be the earliest work of geography and ethnography by modern scholars, was not the only source that either writer made use of. The ethnographic, historical, and medical sources that they had available to them must have been much richer and more varied than what is extant in the few fragments of Hecataeus.[96]

If the works were composed independently of one another (or, at least, not slavishly following the other), yet share so many facts, thoughts, terms, interests, and theories, these must have already been current in (Eastern) Greek science, philosophy, and knowledge.[97] This need not be explained, however, by looking back to sixth-century Ionic sources of the Greek Enlightenment;[98] rather, I agree with Rosalind Thomas that there was still a thriving Eastern Greek intellectual tradition in the middle to late fifth century, from

93 Herodotus (4.102) says they are a distant race, and a neighbour of the Scythians, whereas the physician (17) says they are a Scythian race.
94 Herodotus (4.117) says one, but the physician (17) says three.
95 For Herodotus (4.46) Scythian nomadism is a military tactic, whereas for the physician (18) they move around so that their cattle may have enough fodder.
96 Jacques Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, (trans) M.B. DeBevoise, (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 225-226.
97 Jouanna (1999), 229. Although Jouanna only says this in reference to the shared belief that the environment had an effect on a people's character and body.
98 As Gould does for Herodotus: John Gould, *Herodotus*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), 8; and as (less rigidly so) Jouanna does for the Hippocratics: Jouanna (1999), 259-262.

which the fathers of history and medicine both arose.[99] Athenocentrism has led modern scholars to underestimate the importance of Eastern Greek intellectualism in the second half of the fifth century. In the common view, Athens was the premier and really only place where intellectual activity was thriving at the time, whereas Ionia was, since the Persian conquest, in a state of decline, causing the remnants of the "Ionian Enlightenment" to emigrate westwards. This view is at work in the common assumption, for example, that Herodotus' knowledge of natural and political philosophy could only have come from his time in Athens (or Thurii, the Athenian-led colony).[100] Yet, we know that at the time there were travelling thinkers, and Athens was only one of several stops on their circuit. For example, Zeno's ideas were first introduced when he, along with Parmenides, visited there for the Great Panathenaia.[101] In Plato's *Protagoras*, Protagoras arrives in Athens again after several years away.[102] Some thinkers came to Athens not because it was a cultural or intellectual centre, but rather on official business. For instance, Gorgias' visited in 427 as part of an embassy, and Prodicus is said to have been on many embassies to Athens for Keos.[103] Both were clearly fully active and important citizens of their own cities, so we need not understand the visits of thinkers to Athens in

99 Thomas (2000), 1-27.

100 Ex: A. Dihle, "Herodot und die Sophistik," *Philologus* 106 (1962), 207-220; Gould (1989), 11-16; cf. M. Pohlenz, "Nomos und Physis," *Hermes* 81 (1953), 341-360; C. Fornara, *Herodotus: An Interpretive Essay*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); M. Ostwald, "Herodotus and Athens," *Illinois Classical Studies* 16 (1991), 137-148.

101 Plato, *Parmenides*, 127b-d.

102 Plato, *Protagoras*, 309d3, 310e5.

103 G. B. Kerferd, *The Sophistic Movement*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981), 22-23.

terms of gravitation to a uniquely intellectual city.[104] Even Sparta listened to Hippias' lectures.[105] Among these travelling intellectuals we may be able to include doctors. That the author of *Epidemics III* records cases from Thasos, Abdera on the Thracian coast across from Thasos, Cyzicus on the Propontis, and Larissa and Meliboea in Thessaly suggests that he may have been such an itinerant physician[106]

Many of these travelling intellectuals – natural philosophers, sophists, mathematicians, and the like – were native to East Greece and were part of an Ionian tradition that still flourished in the middle to late fifth century. Also, it is far from clear that all prominent East Greek intellectuals moved west to Sicily or Athens.[107] Melissos the Eleatic philosopher was a native of Samos.[108] Euthydemos and Dionysodoros, the sophists, were originally from Chios.[109] There is no tradition of emigration for Hippokrates of Samos, the mathematician, Hippon of Samos, the philosopher, nor Archelaos of Miletus, who is said to have been Socrates' teacher.[110] Oinopides, a

104 Further examples of non-Athenian travelling intellectuals: Melissos (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 26-28; DK 30 a3); Gorgias (DK II 425.26; Plato, *Apology,* 19e2-20a2; *Meno*, 70a-71b); Democritus (DK 68, b299; DK 68, b116) Prodicus and Hippias (Plato, *Apology*, 19e3-20a2)

105 Thomas (2000), 12.

106 Hippocrates, *Epidemics III*, 17: Thasos: cases 1, 2, 3, 11, 15; Abdera: cases 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13; Larisa: 5, 12; Cyizicus: case 14; Meliboea: case 16.

107 As argued by Chris Emlyn-Jones, *The Ionians and Hellenism: A study of the cultural achievement of the early Greek inhabitants of Asia Minor*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 170: "A reason for the lack of distinction in the cultural life of fifth-century Ionia may have been the migration of the majority of her more remarkable citizens to Athens."; See also: John Manuel Cook, "The Problem of Classical Ionia," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 287 (1961), 9-18; *The Greeks in Ionia and the East*, (London: Thames & Hudson 1962).

108 Plutarch, *Pericles*, 26-28; DK 30 a3.

109 Rosamond Kent Sprague, *The Older Sophists*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 294-301; Kerferd (1981), 53-54.

110 Thomas (2000), 13.

mathematician and astronomer, came form Chios.[111] Anaxagoras, was originally from Clazomenae on the Ionian coast, and, after a stay at Athens, ended his life in Lampsakos.[112] Also, Hippodamus of Miletus, the designer of the Piraeus and writer on the ideal state, never became a permanent immigrant of Athens.[113] Somewhat earlier, Ion of Chios, the poet and philosopher, certainly had close ties with Athens, but there is no evidence of him emigrating there.[114]

Alongside these East Greek thinkers, we can place Herodotus of Halicarnassus and Hippocrates of Cos. While, admittedly, it is impossible to tell where each author that wrote under the name of Hippocrates originated, it is enough to say that the school of thought that they worked in originated there, and that this area of East Greece was important in the development of medicine and natural philosophy. The ties between Herodotus and the Hippocratics with these East Greek, largely Ionian, thinkers can be seen in their choice of dialect to write in. Although Halicarnassus and Cos were culturally (or at least historically founded as) Doric, both Herodotus' *Histories* and the Hippocratic Corpus are written in Ionic Greek. Furthermore, connections between Hippocratic thought and other natural philosophers of the fifth century have been well recorded.[115] That

111 DK 41.

112 W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy, vol. 2: The Presocratic Tradition from Parmenides to Democritus*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 266-269, 322-327; cf. Plato, *Parmenides*, 126a-126b: Celphalus, who arrives from Clazomenae, introduces a group of his friends whom he calls lovers of philosophy.

113 Aristotle, *Politics*, 2.1267b.

114 Athenaeus, 13.603e-604d (=*FGrH* 392, f6). Cf. George Huxley, "Ion of Chios," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*. 6 (1965), 29-46, who sees him as a counter-balance to Athenian cultural activity, simply visiting Athens, as indeed the *Epidemiai* would suggest.

115 The connection between current thinkers, which is absent in Herodotean scholarship, is well recorded

Herodotus shows such an interest in medicine and health, and shares a number of views and concepts with the Hippocratics, may be well explained by their belonging to this same tradition and intellectual milieu.

Section 3.2: The East Greek Intellectual View of Non-Greeks

What, then, follows from all that we have seen in this thesis, in terms of our understanding of Herodotus, the Hippocratics, and their context? The Persian Wars are usually seen as a watershed moment in the Greek understanding of themselves in relation to the other.[116] I think, rather, it was primarily used as such in Athenian rhetoric. Clearly, the victory at Salamis marked the beginning of Athenian naval dominance in the Aegean, and the Athenians used their victory as justification for their growing preeminence among the Greeks and for their empire.[117] By describing non-Greeks as anti-Greeks, Athens was creating an "other" in opposition to which she could unite the Greeks against under her leadership. Such was the basis of the Delian League. Athens' consistent retelling of Xerxes' invasion, which was as Thucydides notes a short war with only four real battles, as a great clash between Greek freedom fighters and a tyrannical Persian slave driver,

in Hippocratic scholarship. Ex: G. E. R. Lloyd, "Experiment in early Greek philosophy and science," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 10 (1964), 50-72; "The social background of early Greek philosophy and science," in *Methods and Problems in Greek Science*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 121-140; Jouanna (1999), 262-285.

116 Ex. Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 1-2, *et passim*; Jonathan Hall, *Hellenicity*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 172-189.

117 As, for example, in Thucydides, 1.73-75.

looked to convince the Greeks that *barbaroi* were "bogeymen," and so justify the League and, later, Athens' suppression of attempts by allies to secede.

Mainland Greeks, who had limited direct contact with Persia, may have been more susceptible to this discourse. For the Ionians, preserving their new-found independence would have been sufficient to encourage them to join the League, even if they were not as susceptible to this caricature of a "barbarian other." Once liberation from Persia began to give way to a new Athenian hegemony, it must have seemed to the Ionians that little had actually changed. If under Persian rule, Herodotus' Halicarnassus and Hippocrates' Cos were made to pay tribute and to participate in Xerxes' war,[118] so too they would be forced into the Peloponnesian War and made to pay tribute by Athens.[119] The exact amount of tribute paid is debated,[120] but the accumulated amount must have been substantial, since, in Thucydides' narrative, Ionian exiles urge the Spartan Alcidas to encourage an Ionian revolt in order to "deprive Athens of her chief source of income."[121] Cos may not have been "freed" by the "Delian League" until 451/0,[122] three years after Pericles moved the treasury to Athens, the symbolic beginning of the Athenian Empire.[123] The Athenian claim

118 Herodotus, 6.42., 7.99.

119 Thucydides, 7.41.

120 Russell Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*, (New York : Clarendon Press ; 1972), 327. Meiggs gives an increase for the Ionian-Carian area from approximately 110 talents to 500 talents in 425, which roughly coincides with the completion of Herodotus and the earliest Hippocratic works. For other views, see: Cook, (1961), 17; *The Greeks in Ionia and the East*, (London: Thames & Hudson 1962); Cook thinks that the formerly Persian controlled Athenian subjects had to pay tribute to both. But: Oswyn Murray, "Ὁ ἀρχαῖος δασμός," *Historia* 15 (1966), 143, disagrees.

121 Thucydides, 3.31.

122 The first year the Coans appear on the Athenian Quota Lists. Susan M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos: An historical study from the Dorian settlement to the Imperial period*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 34; ATL *iii* p. 11, *QL* IV, 4, 15.

123 Thucydides, 1.96.

that they were liberators may well have sounded preposterous to the Eastern Greeks.

Furthermore, Halicarnassus and Cos were ethnically mixed cities, both having large numbers of permanent foreign, mostly Carian, residents.[124] In Halicarnassus in particular, it has been calculated that almost half of the 250 known names of citizens from the fifth century are Carian; in many cases Greek and Carian names are found in the same family, with examples of Carians giving their sons Greek names and vice versa.[125] Herodotus' cousin or uncle, Panyassis, also had a Carian name.[126] So it should not be surprising that Herodotus and the Hippocratics, presumably among other East Greek intellectuals, did not adopt the Athenian idea that there was an essential difference between Greeks and non-Greeks.

The Hippocratic treatises, being technical in nature, are largely apolitical. Thus it is unsurprising that *barbaros*, a highly charged term in the fifth century, only appears once in the treatises of this time. However, the one time it is used, *barbaroi* are said to react in exactly the same way to *nomos* as do Greeks. The author of *Airs, Waters, Places*, as we have seen, states that: "Any people in Asia, whether Greek or barbarian, who are not ruled by despots, but are independent and endure hardships for themselves, are the most warlike of all peoples. For it is their own risks that they run, and they themselves bear the prizes of their courage and likewise the penalty of their cowardice."[127] This

124 Gould (1989), 5-7; Sherwin-White (1978), 245.
125 G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, "The Halicarnassus Peninsula," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 50 (1955), 96; S. Hornblower, *Mausolus*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 4-31; Gould (1989), 6.
126 Gould (1989), 7.
127 Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 16.

statement, to at least some Greeks, would be highly political and subversive.

As I argued in chapter two, the so-called "mirror of Herodotus," in which Herodotus consistently describes non-Greeks in terms of inversions, excesses, and deficiencies relative to a normative standard that is Greekness, is not rightly called Herodotus'. It might better be called the "mirror of the Athenians" (though it may have been shared by many mainland Greeks), and it is a phenomenon that Herodotus problematizes. Herodotus continually makes connections between Greeks and non-Greeks, and undermines the differences that he himself reports. At the same time, Herodotus has non-Greeks other Greeks in just the same way he represents Greeks other non-Greeks: "Egyptians call all people who do not share their language barbarians."[128] Similarly, Scythians regard the adoption of Greek customs, clothing, language, and the like a form of treason,[129] which clearly corresponds to the Greek charge of medizing, something several of the hardy Hellenic heroes in the narrative would find themselves charged with later in their lives. Ethnic difference for Herodotus is more a matter of *nomos* than *physis*, and the notion of a dichotomy of "self" and "other" is revealed as itself an artificial construct, one that is common across a number of cultures.

Herodotus' history is not a triumphalist account of the Persian Wars and a demonstration of a Greek racial superiority, but ultimately represents an inquiry into the rise and fall of states and the changeability of human affairs. Herodotus gives us a

128 Ibid. 2.158.5: βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους.
129 Ibid. 4.76, 4.78-80.

universalizing theory of cultural relativism and an understanding of the mutability of fate and of national character that, while embracing difference, connects Greeks and non-Greeks rather than distinguishes them as essentially different. Cyrus, the first Persian king, liberates his people from the despotic rule of a foreign power, and from his newfound position of strength, leads his hardy people to comfort, wealth, and empire. This empire under Cyrus and his successors continually looks to expand, culminating in Xerxes' invasion of Greece, in which the Persians now play the role of despotic imperialists who hubristically overreach and are humbled. Herodotus sees Athens now treading the same path. Just as the Persians went from overthrowers of despots to being despots themselves, so too have the Athenians. As Herodotus writes, Athens stands on the brink of the Peloponnesian War, aims at universal rule, and faces the prospect of a reversal akin to that which the Greeks, the Athenians most of all, inflicted on the Persians. Greeks and non-Greeks, as the Hippocratics also saw, share a common, human frailty.

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