In Chapter 21, Sarah Broadie observes the relation between the nature of the heavens and the search for first principles in Aristotle (a theme which originates to some degree with Thales) and his distinctions with Theophrastus and Plato. While this is clearly a thought-provoking essay, I tend to disagree with her contention (contra Bos) that the sun does not play a dominant rôle in the physical universe for Plato.

In Chapter 22, William J. Prior argues that the Great Speech in Plato's *Protagoras* in favour of democracy is not only a powerful challenge to Socratic moral philosophy, but it shows that Plato is sympathetic to certain aspects of Athenian democracy, aspects that he will incorporate in his own theory of justice in the *Republic*. An important point that Prior appears to miss (and that may strengthen his argument) is that the seeds of the tripartite structure of the future city of the *Republic* (including the political, military, and productive arts) can already be discerned in Protagoras' myth on the origin of society.

In the final analysis, this is a rich display of exceptional essays by distinguished scholars worthy of any mentor (*chapeau* Professor Mourelatos). Caston and Graham must be highly commended for putting ths truly outstanding volume together.

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A HERODOTEAN COMPANION

E. J. Bakker, I. J. F. de Jong, H. van Wees (edd.): *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*. Pp. xx + 652, maps. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 2002. Cased, €179, US$208. ISBN: 90-04-12060-2.

Brill's Companion to Herodotus presents a rich and stimulating range of essays on many aspects of Herodotus' *Histories*, a very important collection and a considerable achievement on the part of the three editors and contributors. With its 672 pages in all, thirty-seven-page bibliography and *index locorum* as well as general index, it is weighty in literal terms too, but it is a pity that its price may discourage even some libraries. It reflects the vitality and exciting nature of current work on Herodotus. Indeed, it is more than a Companion: rather, it is a collection of essays by known Herodotean specialists, and refreshingly, others less closely associated with Herodotean scholarship, of which most are good and many really excellent. Thematic sections treat 'Herodotus and his work', 'Herodotus and his world', 'The Histories as narrative', 'The Historical method', and 'History and Ethnography'.

Despite the editors' valiant efforts, the *Companion* cannot be comprehensive. The slightly awkward final section gathers together useful chapters on elements of Herodotus' ethnography, including an overview of his Egyptian *logos* by A. Lloyd, and a critical evaluation of his Scythian one by S. West, and on periods of Greek history for which Herodotus is a crucial source (Osborne, Fordyce, Harrison). But there is no one chapter, for instance, discussing his approach to (or inclusion of) ethnography as a whole (Kartunnen calls the ethnography of the fringes merely 'entertaining', p. 459), and no chapter on Persia itself, which was to have been provided by Sancisi-Weerdenburg. Other gaps are perhaps surprising: there is no dedicated treatment of Herodotus' language or style (except that of Slings), his speeches, his political stance, his predecessors apart from Homer, little attempt by most contributors to examine in any sustained way his achievement in comparison to

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what was available before. But there are some very fine, stimulating and original essays (of which I mention only a few), some synoptic, some idiosyncratic, on a wide and imaginatively chosen range of topics.

Saïd produces a particularly interesting reevaluation of the relationship of the *Histories* to tragedy, emphasizing the dissimilarities as well as the similarities between his account of the Persian Wars, and Aeschylus' *Persai*, and offering a welcome appreciation of how Herodotus' political and moral attitudes depart from tragic expectations. She points to the significant disagreements between critics over which Herodotean stories are indeed 'tragic', and concludes that Herodotus could not be a 'tragic historian' in the Thucydidean mould. Homeric influences and resonances are usefully discussed by Boedeker, and in a particularly interesting chapter Raaflaub examines the *Histories* in relation to the philosophical and intellectual trends of the time. It is particularly suggestive on the political resonances of Herodotus' narrative, presenting a writer much closer to Thucydides than earlier scholars would have assumed. It is here that we get most analysis of Herodotus' political acumen, 'the depth of Herodotus' political thinking' (p. 174), which is otherwise rather oddly neglected in a volume on a writer so interested in freedom.

Moles's chapter is an excellent, trenchant exploration of where and how the material in the *Histories* might be read as indirect comment on post-Persian War Athens, and (compellingly) how complex Herodotus' attitudes were to Athens, Athens being not the *central* concern but 'a paradigm of universal processes' (p. 52). There are also good chapters by Cobet on Herodotus' construction of chronology and by Hornblower, from an interestingly Thucydidean perspective, on Herodotus' sources of information. Hornblower concentrates on the wider question of intertextuality rather than *Quellenforschung*, though he might perhaps have gone further in questioning the very idea that Herodotus gave 'source-citations' in the modern sense. Under the deceptive title 'Herodotus and the Past', van Wees's synoptic view of the *Histories* concentrates particularly on asking where and why Herodotus is so absorbed in the question of origins, the nature of successive empires, and the rise and fall of great powers. There remains the problem that it is not always so easy to discern Herodotus' authorial intentions from the surface narrative (compare 'Yet Herodotus took every opportunity to show that the Persian War had not been inevitable', p. 344; contrast Harrison, Chapter 24). Some of the subtleties illuminated elsewhere (e.g. by Fisher) seem neglected, but the argument is bracing nevertheless.

In an intriguing chapter on 'oral style', Slings tries to show certain very precise features of Herodotus' style to be those of informal oral speech in the only chapter closely studying his style. But one would have liked more discussion to set this in context: how far, for example, might rhetoric, quintessentially oral in production, fit this framework and if not, why not? There is an unbridgeable gap between this chapter and Rösler's on writing.

Bakker opens the volume appropriately with an analysis of Herodotus' opening expression *histories apodexis*: in a lengthy, sometimes somewhat circuitous discussion, he stresses the 'deictic' emphasis of the opening, and the use of 'apodexis' as a signal of Herodotus' achievement, as well as of the possibly controversial nature of the *Histories* (apodexis is 'the enactment of an accomplishment' in the *Histories* [p. 29], an *act* of proof, rather than just proof). In the end, his conclusion that Herodotus was adopting the 'intellectual stance of the day (p. 29) is most welcome, but this reviewer at least thought he was more comfortable on the Homeric resonances of Herodotus' task (recording the *klea andron*) than the contemporary ones. For all the subtle linguistic illumination here, he draws a misleading antithesis between a view of

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Herodotus as storyteller interested in the past and one as a 'modern scientist' and seems to think that to see his work as influenced by contemporary 'science' (as suggested by R. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context*) is to think him uninterested in the past, which is patently mistaken.

In the Narrative section, de Jong produces a masterly chapter on the history of scholarly approaches to the unity of the *Histories*, various attempts to characterize the different narrative units, and ideas about how they link. Much of this is illuminating on his relation to Homer, and it strongly attacks the idea of 'digression'/*Exkurs* (one may add that the self-indulgent, irrelevant digression *can* be denoted by the vivid phrase, not used by Herodotus, 'wandering from the logos', ἀποπλανᾶν τοῦ λόγου, Hipp. *Joints* 34.4–6). de Jong deals the novella a mortal blow in pointing out that the Herodotean novella originated in 1870 out of an idea that sixth-century Greece should have had narrative units analogous to those of fourteenth-century Italy. This complements nicely the fine chapter by Dewald on Herodotus' authorial persona, a dense, narratalogically inclined development of her work on the authorial 'I' and the historian's creation of narrative.

Some chapters approach the same topic or the same *logos* from quite different angles or even under different categories. This can be enriching but also disconcerting, and raises fundamental questions about how to approach the *Histories*. 'Wise adviser' narratives, for instance, are categorized as 'short stories' by Gray, to avoid the terms *logos* or novella, but there seems a danger here of leaving them in a cultural no-man's land. The same tales are treated as 'tragic' by others (see Saïd's critique, pp. 119–22), or again as part of Herodotus' political wisdom, a way of learning from the past. Or are they oral traditions (van Wees)? If such tales have an important rôle within the larger scheme of the *Histories*, to what extent have they been shaped by Herodotus (a question Gray raises only at the end, p. 316)? If Herodotus was interested in the past, as he clearly was, then surely it is difficult to deal with these *logoi* on an exclusively literary level without some awareness of the nature of Greek cultural memory and Greek habits of moulding a story which may already have been at work even before Herodotus heard it. What some scholars see as an Homeric or tragic way of shaping a story in Herodotus may well have deeper and wider cultural origins and a less literary pedigree. Accounts of historical events may have been moulded by the same cultural perceptions, then picked up by Herodotus. I raise this because the volume offers an illuminating microcosm of approaches to Herodotus where historians and literary scholars meet, and a certain tension remains. This rich and suggestive collection points forward to new areas of investigation and fittingly reflects the complexity of the *Histories* themselves.

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OVERLAPPING WORLDS

S. HORNBLOWER: *Thucydides and Pindar. Historical Narrative and the World of Epinikian Poetry.* Pp. xviii + 454, map, ills. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Cased, £60. ISBN: 0-19-924919-9.

I should begin with a disclaimer. Although Thucydides was of considerable interest to me many years ago, I have not paid much attention to him since. Perhaps, without my realizing it, my move from Thucydides to Pindar was prompted in part at least by

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