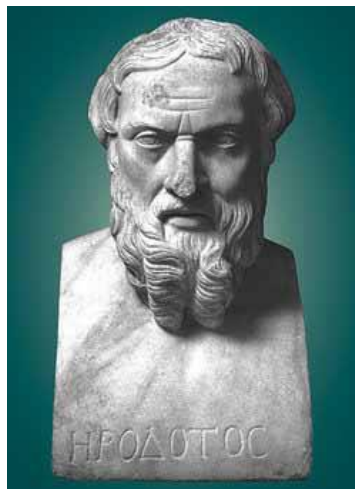




INTERNATIONAL  
HELLENIC  
UNIVERSITY

# The Rhetoric of Otherness in Herodotus Histories



**Bourntouli Sofia**

**SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES**

A thesis submitted for the degree of

*Master of Arts (MA) in Black Sea Cultural Studies*

January 2016

Thessaloniki – Greece

Student Name: Sofia Bourntouli

SID: 2201130026

Supervisor: Prof. Yiannis Xydopoulos

I hereby declare that the work submitted is mine and that where I have made use of another's work; I have attributed the source(s) according to the Regulations set in the Student's Handbook.

© 30.01.2016, Sofia Bourntouli, 2201130026

No part of this dissertation may be copied, reproduced or transmitted without the author's prior permission.

January 2016

Thessaloniki-Greece

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation was written as part of the MA in Black Sea Cultural Studies at the International Hellenic University.

The dissertation is composed of two main parts. The first part deals with Herodotus, his life in general and his travels that played the most important role for the enrichment of his work. It also gives elements about his historical method, the sources, the way of writing and the language that he used. Continuing, it also gives some information about the first publication of the *Histories* and the circumstances under which the craft was created, analyzing the content of each Book. Finally, it mentions the *nomos* or custom, which constitutes the core of the rhetoric of otherness that is described in *Histories*. It is claimed that the ethnic character of a person is developed being based on the customs of the society that he belongs in and not on the environment and that the *nomos* is the “king” of all in each society.

In the second part the dissertation deals with the rhetoric of otherness that dominates in *Histories*. It refers that the *Histories* are also connected with the science as they include geographical and ethnographic elements, medical or philosophical and were written after being examined and proved to be closer to the truth. There are also referred the methods that Herodotus uses to transmit the customs of the others, like for example the inversion, the comparison and the analogy, the measuring scale of *thoma*, the translation, naming and classifying, the description of what is seen and make it seen by others and finally, the excluded middle part, using in each case examples from the *Histories*. Then, follow two chapters related to tribes that were closely connected with the Black Sea region, the Thracians who according to Greeks were barbarians but they treated them with tolerance and none Thracian *logos* was devoted to them and the Massagetae with their ferocious customs.

Keywords: Greekness, *aitie*, *opsis*, *theoria*, *gnome*, *apodexis*, *historie*, *thoma*, *other*, *nomos*.

Sofia Bourntouli

30.01.2016



## PREFACE

First of all, I would like to acknowledge and express my sincere thanks to my professor Mr. Yiannis Xydopoulos, who is also professor at the MA in Black Sea Cultural Studies, for his great understanding, support and guidance during all the period that I was planning and preparing my master dissertation, by proposing me a proper bibliography and sharing his viewpoints in order my dissertation to be as far as possible, more comprehensive.

Secondly, I would like to express my acknowledgement to all the professors of the International Hellenic University that through their great skills and professionalism disseminated me their knowledge around the Black Sea area which was so unfamiliar to me before my studies.

Finally, I would also like to say a big thank you to my family and my great friends A., V., C. and E. who stood always by me, any time I needed their moral or practical support.

## **Table of contents**

Abstract .....	3
Preface.....	5
Introduction.....	7
The Herodotus.....	7
The Historical Method and the Language of Herodotus .....	11
The “Histories” of Herodotus .....	15
The Rhetoric of Otherness .....	22
The Thracians.....	59
The Massagetae.....	65
Conclusion .....	68
Bibliography .....	70

## INTRODUCTION

The *Histories* were created after the Persian Wars, during the period that the sentiment of Greekness started to be highly expressed. The Greeks felt superior from the other people and tried to be discriminated from the barbarians or the so-called *others*. This discrimination was connected mainly with the borders.

Even if Herodotus warns already from the preface of his work that he is going to deal with the war, what is obvious is that he pays more attention on the cultures and their customs which according to him is the basic criterion that differentiates the societies. Herodotus created a work that belongs to the scientific historiography and is called by him *historie*. It is full of geographical and ethnographic descriptions and has elements from philosophy and medicine. His main concern is to search the truth of the events and then provide it to his readers.

The *Histories* deal with people that have cultural differences. The historian stresses the *nomoi* of each community which he regards necessary for the development of a society's features. In his work he tries to transfer the different customs of each community by using techniques that would make them more understandable and reliable. One of those techniques is for example the measuring scale of *thoma*. The *thomata* (wonders) are connected with the rarity and the *other*, as much further away a place is the more marvels it contains. For example, Egyptian *logos* is an extensive *logos* that describes the plenty of miracles that are met in Egypt, the Scythian *logos* on the other hand, has none.

Finally, it must be also referred that all the information that Herodotus provides about the cultures and their customs through his work, was collected during his travels and proved by him as true. The rhetoric of otherness is expressed through the cultural differences and principally through the differences that occur in the *nomoi* of each community. Herodotus supports that all the *nomoi* are equal and valid as they have the same place in each society. He does not show any explicit aversion to them even in cases that an ordinary Greek would, like for example the Massagetae. However, his real standpoint is visible in the way of his writing as well as the different way in which are treated the people with whom the Greeks had close relations, as for example the Thracians.

## THE HERODOTUS

Herodotus was born between 490-480 B.C in Halikarnassus, a port of Minor Asia located on the coasts of Caria which for a long period constituted a Dorian colony. The historian belonged to a prominent family which took part in the revolutionary movements against the tyrant Lygdamis probably around 460 B.C. After this, Herodotus was exiled to Samos and when he returned to Halikarnassus he took part in a second revolution, before 454 B.C, which overthrew Lygdamis<sup>1</sup>.

Herodotus was also given the name “Father of History” and the first who called him with that name was Cicero. During Herodotus times nobody was against his primacy although some scholars of later days considered that this title must have been given to Hecataeus. In 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. most people believed that the myths were part of the history and accepted them as events of recent days, the history on the other hand was what differentiated the myths from the history. Herodotus was the first who achieved this kind of distinction and that was the reason that he was the first who deserved the name “Father of History”<sup>2</sup>. The historian is also met with the name “Father of Lies” due to the fictional character of some of his stories<sup>3</sup>.

The way that the history is represented through Herodotus work, the chronological representation and the causality have nothing to do with the strictness of the productions of the other historiographers. The chronological order in which the events took place is visible only in the second part of the work with the narrative of the Persian Wars. The first part is related to the descriptions which are made with the help of *logoi*<sup>4</sup>. Herodotus was suggested to belong to the last of the Ionian prose writers and was also accepted as *logios*, an oral storyteller of the past and by some others more a storyteller than a historian<sup>5</sup>. He was regarded as an old-fashioned writer in contrast with the period that he was still producing his works. The elements categorizing Herodotus among the old-fashioned writers can be visible from his attempt to preserve memories and some similarities with Homer in the narration of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Montanari 2008, 494-495

<sup>2</sup> Luce 1997, 36

<sup>3</sup> Rawlinson 1996, vii

<sup>4</sup> Montanari 2008, 511

<sup>5</sup> Thomas 2000, 5



Persian invasion. The way he asks criticism to Homer and Homeric texts reminds us the Homeric criticism in Platonic dialogues and Thucydides<sup>6</sup>.

The historian was popular for his travels and that was the reason why he was so well informed about the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea<sup>7</sup>. During Herodotus times the travels were not made for pleasure and were regarded as something necessary and compulsory<sup>8</sup>. Some of the places that he had visited were the Sardis, the capital of Lydia in Asia Minor, the Phoenician city of Tyre (2.49), the Egypt and the first cataract on the Nile at the island Elephantine, the Black Sea and many places of Greece one of which was the oracle of the Apollo at Delphi. The travels in his days were extremely difficult, however as it seems he reached the Euphrates river where he describes the boats that were used for the travels loaded with cargoes (1.194). In his work he also talks about the Mediterranean giving emphasis on the Persians and the eastern part in general and finally he talks about the west making some mistakes concerning the geography something that shows that he was poorly informed about it<sup>9</sup>. What must be said is that Herodotus never explored places that were not related to Greek or Persian element and that he lived in societies where it was easy for him to find an audience and thus the theory that his travels served the purpose of exploring unknown locations must be rejected<sup>10</sup>. The historian was so passionate with the navigation, the boats and the trade that one could think that he was working as a trader after leaving from Halikarnassus. Finally, it must also be mentioned that the travels in the East and the territories of the Thrace and the Pontus were completed before his settlement in Athens around the 455 B.C. His acquaintance with the West on the other hand, probably was made after he moved to Thurii<sup>11</sup>. The material of the *Histories* was enriched by his travels<sup>12</sup>.

Talking about the written sources that Herodotus used to create his work it is important to refer that the logographers' work was lost and there was no element that could prove how much those sources were used in his ethnographical and geographical descriptions<sup>13</sup>. Hecataeus was the only prose writer that Herodotus

---

<sup>6</sup>Thomas 2000, 5

<sup>7</sup>Luce 1997, 20

<sup>8</sup>Montanari 2008, 498

<sup>9</sup>Luce 1997, 20

<sup>10</sup> Montanari 2008, 499

<sup>11</sup>Montanari 2008, 498-499

<sup>12</sup>Luce 1997, 20

<sup>13</sup>Montanari 2008, 509

mentions and it seems that he was used by him as there were few poets that could provide him the same extensive information as Hecataeus did<sup>14</sup>. The sources that Herodotus used for the more detailed parts and were connected with military and political affairs like the battles, the dialogues and juxtapositions between the characters were also difficult to be specified. What must have played an important role on him maybe was the poetry production if we keep in mind that the narrative of the Salamina's battleship is presented having as a standard the "Persians" of Aeschylus<sup>15</sup>. Finally, it is almost sure that another source of the historian was the Persian informants who gave him information the most of which were extremely detailed and had to do with "official" sources. For example, the list of tribute of Dareios (3.89-96), the Royal Road that led from Sardis to the Persian capital at Susa (5.52-54) and the list of the ships and the army that Xerxes brought to Europe from Asia (7.59-99). Herodotus did not speak any other language except the Greek and the informants that came in touch with him, in order to be understood, used the Greek language or the interpreters something that in many cases led him to the wrong conclusion of what he had heard, for instance in 2.125 where the historian is informed about an inscription on the pyramid of Cheops<sup>16</sup>.

---

<sup>14</sup> Luce 1997, 20

<sup>15</sup> Montanari 2008, 510

<sup>16</sup> Luce 1997, 21

## THE HISTORICAL METHOD AND THE LANGUAGE OF HERODOTUS

Concerning the historical method of Herodotus it must be referred that being historian is not as easy as it seems. A great historian has to create a work that puts the details of the history into a simpler story and at the same time uses some incidents that highlight the nation, its past, its posterity and the others. The method about writing history is so difficult that many times it is misinterpreted with the technique of legend<sup>17</sup>.

Herodotus was extremely impressed by the Hellenic victory in 490 and 480-479 and intended to create an unforgettable record about the past histories. The historian mentions his purpose already from the beginning with the opening sentence. He achieved to transfer in his stories all the catalogues and the closed-ended descriptions of his predecessors and contemporaries who recorded the information and tried to justify all the lands, the myths and the people that they learned about, but without giving clues about their historical development<sup>18</sup>. The historian before creating his work observed the cultures that were living far or near to him and the elements that led to their creation and then tried to turn his material into a literary production. He preferred to call his work “a demonstration of his research” (*ἱστορίης ἀπόδειξις*) rather than “research” or “history” and he recounted what had happened (*τὰ γεγόμενα*). His main concern was to preserve his craft from obliviousness, unfairness and false conclusions so the examination of the events was one of his main techniques<sup>19</sup>.

Herodotus was the first that achieved to create a new era for the investigation. He was different from his predecessors and successors not only in the way that he organized the subjects that he dealt with, but also in the way that he approached his material. The historian does not make the same mistakes that Thucydides and his other successors do, as he does not change his subjects enriching them with political and ethical elements. He talks about the past in a way that makes it memorable highlighting not only the Greek achievements but also the barbarian, especially the Persian Wars. The subject of Herodotus’ work is not mentioned as “The War” or

---

<sup>17</sup>Lateiner 1991, 6-7

<sup>18</sup> Lateiner 1991, 7-8

<sup>19</sup>Lateiner 1991, 7

“Wars” he says that he is going to talk about the Greek and barbarian attainments, but especially the so-called *aitie*, the explanation of why they were led to the War. The truth is that he pays more attention on the cultural environment and the differences between the Greeks and the barbarians than to the War something that is obvious even in the last part of his work<sup>20</sup>.

Talking about the text of Herodotus it has to be referred that he created a work with historical sources of logographical and ethno-geographical form and poetical standards, sources that come from his own autopsies or from oral testimonies and documents. The passage 2.99 constitutes the most important part to understand the method that uses the great historian. In this part he makes a distinction between the two main sources of his work, the autopsies and the traditions that he hears<sup>21</sup>.

Many of the information are of oral origins as for instance when he talks about the information that he got from his informants about ethnic traditions and the conversations with those who had seen the facts by their own eyes. Many times also, in order to give more detailed information he uses an extended prose<sup>22</sup>.

The historical facts that were recounted by the historian were extremely “flexible” and Herodotus was trying to transfer the truth through his work with special attention by preserving the events and not letting them to deteriorate. He included various versions of the stories which constituted not only a new method of the history, but also something completely different from the falsely concerned reliable local traditions. His stories were not able to represent the history completely as it was held or even to give the descriptions that other were supplied with, it was just giving an abstract with less words. Also, this work does not include all the accounts that he heard and all the things that he had observed, because as even an annalist did, he absorbed his information, made a summary of them rejecting some of them and finally changed the order of what he had heard before proceeding in writing it. He kept in mind the context of the times within which he talked about his thoughts, the prejudices of those that were giving him the information and sought to create a work that could talk about the actions of the men. All these were connected with his sources

---

<sup>20</sup>Lateiner 1991, 8

<sup>21</sup> Montanari 2008, 510

<sup>22</sup>Lateiner 1991, 8-9

that he got from that period, the period during which he was living and the period of his later audience<sup>23</sup>.

Herodotus was completely informed about the existence of the economical, social and other reasons that could lead to wars or plenty of other actions but for him they are not so important. The Greek literature had developed beginning from the era of Homer and thereafter had developed the term of “double incentive” according to which the action could be explained with the divine and the human element at the same time. This scheme was also used from Herodotus. So, in Herodotus work appear three types of actions’ explanation, the human, the metaphysical and the specific. There always shows up a certain metaphysical element which evinces that the things that happened “must have happened”, that this was their mission in order to conserve the order of the world. At the same time the people are depicted as entirely responsible about their actions with the moral criticism being expressed implicitly or explicitly<sup>24</sup>.

Talking about the phrase *ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις*, it means on the one hand that what he wrote was related to the objectivity that the historical investigation could give and on the other hand that it was also related to the subjectivity of historian’s own thoughts and reports that were also included in his craft. His proem has to do with the recollection. He uses the possessive genitive pointing that his intention is the memorial and the acceptance of the events rather than the correction. He emphasizes on the accomplishments of the people and the reasons of the Wars rather than on stories connected with the god and the world (*logoi*) putting himself out of the events that he talks about<sup>25</sup>.

Herodotus’ proof (*apodexis*) shows the events that he has chosen (*ἔργα...ἀποδεχθέντα*) and had been proved by him, in a manner that is closely to the truth. When he refers to the word correctness he does not mean what Thucydides meant with *ἀκρίβεια* which means accuracy, but *ἀτρεκείη*, a work without a defacement and a diversion on purpose. He reports what he had heard or seen and after this he tries to make historical the conflicting, incomplete stories. For example, he will not say that the victory deserves only to the Athenians or say that this city does not deserve the victory completely, but he presents each view making the truth about

---

<sup>23</sup>Lateiner 1991, 8-9

<sup>24</sup>Easterling-Knox 2006, 581

<sup>25</sup> Lateiner 1991, 8-9

the *Hellenic* victory more simple and objective and less renowned and difficult to be understood<sup>26</sup>.

Other expressions that are met in Herodotus and in other writers have to do with the accusation of ignorance, which according to Herodotus equates with the most ignorant view in II 21 (*γνώμη ἀνεπισημονέστερη*). Herodotus occurs following if not deeply then apparently, the early medical and philosophical opinions about the sources of knowledge<sup>27</sup>.

Finally, it also must be mentioned that the historian wrote in Ionian dialect which he mixed with other forms and poeticisms. His style was often the style of *parataxis* giving the sense of architectural effect due to its simple linearity leading from one subject to another with concordance. Aristotle called this style “strung along”<sup>28</sup>. The *Histories* are well known about their great narrative skills, the art of oral narrator<sup>29</sup>. What impresses the most in this work is that the author uses many types of writing like for example the one with an archaic style (*λέξις εἰρομένη*), a syntax with simple and small sentences and sometimes also with long and complicated sentences and more modern which is called *λέξις κατέστραμμενη*<sup>30</sup>, turning the language in a language of proof with features from Greek nature, science, natural philosophy and Thucydides<sup>31</sup>. This method presents a different Herodotus who as claims in VII 152.3 is not any more anxious to entertain his audience and repeat what he had heard<sup>32</sup>.

Herodotus was familiar with many terms associated with philosophy and science of later 5<sup>th</sup> century. For example, he was one of the first writers who used the term *elenchus* in a discuss that had to do with the possibility of knowledge. He also knew the term of *tekmeria* or in other words proof that was often used in philosophical theories, *marturia* or testimony, *akanke* which meant logical necessity and used the *epideixis* or *apodeixis* in a way that was used by the writers of his era. The method of distinguishing the invisible from the visible is similar to the ways that are used by medical writers<sup>33</sup>.

---

<sup>26</sup>Lateiner 1991, 10

<sup>27</sup>Thomas 2000, 169

<sup>28</sup>Luce 1997, 18

<sup>29</sup>Thomas 2000, 168

<sup>30</sup>Montanari 2008, 512

<sup>31</sup>Thomas 2000, 168

<sup>32</sup>Thomas 2000, 168

<sup>33</sup>Thomas 2000, 168-169

## THE “HISTORIES” OF HERODOTUS

The *Histories* could not have been published before 425 B.C. , the first years of the Peloponnesian War, however this date was not so significant as the work was already known among the Athenians before the publication, it had a long history in oral tradition, it was probably partially prepublicated and finally the period in which it was finally published, the way in which it was written and the worldview that it reflected were closer to the decade of 440 than that of 420. According to the scholars, one of the main reasons of the work’s late publication was its extremely big extent<sup>34</sup>. The *Histories* were structured according to their subjects in *logoi* that focused on the cultures with which Persians came in touch during their marches from the East to the West (Books 1-5) until their conflicts with the Greek *poleis* of the Minor Asia and the mainland, which are recounted in the last Books (6-9)<sup>35</sup>. The *Histories* the same as the “Homeric issue” created considerations concerning the composition of the craft, whether it was undivided in its overall structure or not and there were plenty of theories formulated around this<sup>36</sup>.

Herodotus included in his craft all the forms of literary work that Greeks had used before of him. In this sense, his work was connected if not with the worldwide perception then definitely with the universal. The *Histories* were written not because of his dealing with the history and the ethnography of eastern places or for his pleasure, but because he used those places as “building tracks” for the human history. The variety of human existence and the rise and fall of great forces depicted the permanence of historical course. So, his craft was specific as it dealt with the history of eastern tragedy the same as general as it proved that in history prevails an order<sup>37</sup>.

The *Histories* were divided in nine Books and each of them took its name from the nine Muses. The arrangement of the Books and the protection was certified by Lucian in 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D<sup>38</sup>. The whole work recounts the Persian Empire from generation to generation and ends with the defeat of the Greeks upon them. The Book

---

<sup>34</sup>Easterling-Knox, 2006, 568

<sup>35</sup> Montanari 2008, 500

<sup>36</sup> Montanari 2008, 506

<sup>37</sup>Easterling-Knox 2006, 580

<sup>38</sup>Hartog 1988, xvii

I deals with Cyrus, giving a special emphasis on the defeat of him by the King of Lydia Croesus and how the Greek cities that were conquered by Croesus passed under the control of Persians. There is also mentioned the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus and his death after fighting the Massagetae. The Book II and part of III deal with the Egypt that reaches its peak after being conquered by the Cyrus' successor Cambyses. After Cambyses the throne was occupied for a small period by the "false Smerdis" and then it passed to Dareios. Book IV deals with the campaign of Dareios against the Scythians in south Russia, the first part of the book V talks about the subjection of the Aegean area by Persians and the rest of it together with book VI recount the Ionian Revolution in 499 B.C. and the results that it had for the rest nine years. When the Revolution failed Dareios was angry because Athens and Eretria helped the Ionians, so he decided to punish them but his first expedition concluded to a disaster with a storm at the sea, near to the Mountain Athos. The second expedition concluded with the defeat of Persians from the Athenians at Marathon. In Book VII it is recounted how after the death of Dareios and the battle at Marathon Xerxes organized a campaign in Greece in order to take revenge which came to an end with the victory of the Persians at Thermopylai. The Persians also were defeated at the battle at Salamis that was recounted in Book VIII and in the battles of Plataea and Mycale recounted in Book IX. Finally, the work ends with the emancipation of the Ionian cities from the Persian dynasty<sup>39</sup>.

The work of Herodotus became known by parts through recitations and he called them *logoi* or accounts. It seems that it needed a lot of years to be written but in reality many of its parts were enriched with other parts as for instance, in 7.93 where is a back reference to 1.173<sup>40</sup>.

The *Histories* of Herodotus are part of the intellectual and the cultural developments of the middle and late 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>41</sup>. The *Histories* would not be written in such way without the developments of this era according to which Herodotus also is concerned as a part of the Ionian and East Greek science of the last part of 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>42</sup>.

Concerning the wonders and the natural world, there are parts in the *Histories'* books of Herodotus where occur many tales and theories that have to do with the

---

<sup>39</sup>Luce 1997, 15-16

<sup>40</sup>Luce 1997, 17

<sup>41</sup>Thomas 2000, 2

<sup>42</sup>Thomas 2000, 4



physical world with elements of *physiologoi*, the natural philosophers that dealt with the visible and the vital parts of the nature. His connection with the geographical theories of the early *physiologoi* is something that is well known. For example, the important role that the fossils played in order to unveil the development of the world, his theory about the Egypt that according to him was earlier a gulf of the sea and all the theories that have been developed about the flooding of the Nile (II 19-27). It is significant to say that the *psysiologoi* have many common elements with the medical writers concerning the methodology. The description that Herodotus uses in his work shows a continuity of the late 5<sup>th</sup> century's crafts and early mid-4<sup>th</sup> century's writers<sup>43</sup>.

Also, regarding the biology, when Herodotus talks about the animal world he uses theories about the substance of the natural world and the humans that are connected with the contemporary and later Greek natural philosophy and medicine. The historian talks about the so called "wonders" or *thaumata*, the descriptions of the marvelous things. The marvels are extremely used in his Books as for example, when he talks about the extending of Egypt's coverage (II 35.1). The marvels are significant also for the Greek natural philosophy, were they are used for something more than to keep excited the audience. The Nile is considered as a *thauma* the same as its summer flooding in contrast with the other rivers (II 19.3), but what is important to be said is that the flooding experience of Nile is explained through the river Ister. The historian claims that exactly the same could happen to the Ister trying to explain it by nature laws of heavens and winds (II 24-7, esp. 26.2)<sup>44</sup>.

Finally, as it has already been discussed in early and later times of 5<sup>th</sup> century plenty of issues connected to the nature and its species were discussed not only by the so-called *physiologoi*, but also by writers and thinkers. Anyone who considered of himself as a *sophos* dealt with this kind of issues and so did also Herodotus in issues like the animal world or the geography of Nile<sup>45</sup>.

Herodotus called his work *historie* and this word included all the "enquiries" of his era which had to do with the natural world and the human. The word *historie* as it can also be obvious from the Book II has to do with what the author observed with his own eyes (*opsis*), had judged it (*gnome*) and afterwards he had raised his own enquiries (*historie*). So, the author uses the word *historie* when he is not referring to

---

<sup>43</sup>Thomas 2000, 135-136

<sup>44</sup>Thomas 2000, 138-139

<sup>45</sup>Thomas 2000, 161-163

the past or to the history. Another important thing that must be mentioned is that Herodotus wanted to be differentiated from those who were called *logopoi* and that was the reason that he called with that name his work. This name is linked to the contemporary period and was connecting him directly with the world of scientific “enquiries”<sup>46</sup>.

## 1) NOMOS, ENVIRONMENT AND ETHNIC CHARACTER IN HERODOTUS HISTORIES

The father of history pays big attention to the role that play the customs, which he knew that varied from people to people and sometimes were also equal. According to Herodotus geography played a significant role in explaining the people, something that is more visible in the last chapter of the *Histories* where he talks about how the people are treated as part of their environment that they grow in, in order to be achieved some goals of the Persians and others<sup>47</sup>.

In general, what is obvious is that the great historian does not believe that the environment influences in so large scale the physical character of the people that live in it. Even when he talks about the dry climate of Libya and how they affect their inhabitants something that shows the influence of the medicine of his days, what he wants more to do is to emphasize on the customs, *nomoi* of the residents and on how they are affected by their surroundings and not on how their surroundings affect the creation of their physical character. For example, when he talks about Scythia he gives details about the climate in which Scythians live, but he also mentions their nomadic way of life and their customs that are connected to the environment that they choose to live.

When Herodotus talks about the historical achievements and the ethnic character of people what interests him the most are the customs and the *nomoi* and not the biological and geographical factors. This leads to the conclusion, that according to the great historian the elements that influence the ethnic character of the people living

---

<sup>46</sup>Thomas 2000, 163-167

<sup>47</sup>Thomas 2000, 103

in an environment are changeable and non static and they are connected with their customs or in other words with their *nomoi*<sup>48</sup>.

In Book V Herodotus talks about the democracy and how Athens after getting rid of tyrants and *isegoria* started gaining its neighbours with first the Chalkis and Boiotia. According to Herodotus, democracy has to do with how good you work with yourself and this can bring better gains even during the wars. Democracy for Herodotus is also a *nomos*. He says that Greeks as well as barbarians can have the same customs and ethnic character and he gives as an example the Ionians of Book VI who after their revolt gained the rule of democracy which was allowed to them from the Persians. The democracy as he claims is not a monopoly of the Greeks but privilege of everyone and everyone can follow this rule and change also its customs and habits<sup>49</sup>.

It must also be said that the father of the history was aware of the Athenian autochthony which is well obvious in book I, saying that they always lived in their land in contrast with the Spartans. He also mentions all the myths about Athenians according to which the Athenians helped other people or drove away the barbarians. These myths made them feel superior against the others, for example against the Arcadians in book IX<sup>50</sup>.

The autochthony, was giving to Athenians except of the feeling of superiority against the others, the feeling that they were the first people that had been civilized and that their *polis* was the first Greek *polis* created, with the more democratic ideas than the other. However, what must be said is that Herodotus does not show his viewpoint directly in his Books, but he expresses it through Athenian speeches and links their military ability with the *isonomia* that they had due to their democratic constitution<sup>51</sup>.

In Book I the main character Croesus talks about the origin of Spartans and the Athenians and as it is obvious here Herodotus deals with ethnic issues, the *ethnos*. Croesus says that Athenians were of Pelasgian origin and spoke barbarian language with a part of them being Greeks that changed their language completely after becoming part of Greeks. On the other hand, the Spartans were of Dorian origin and were Greeks. So, what Herodotus says here is that Athenians at first were not Greeks

---

<sup>48</sup>Thomas 2000,103-105

<sup>49</sup>Thomas 2000, 114-117

<sup>50</sup>Thomas 2000, 117-118

<sup>51</sup>Thomas 2000, 118

as was believed in general. The myths that were used by other writers like Thucydides and Isocrates for stressing the stability of the Athenian *ethnos* and to create a connection between the present and the past, were expressed by Herodotus through Athenian speakers (Books VI, IX). So, what comes out concerning the Athenians is that he believed that they were not always Greeks and that their ethnic character was unstable. He wanted to make clear that the Greekness can be acquired and the boundaries between barbarians and Greeks could be easily broken<sup>52</sup>.

## 2) THE “NOMOS” AND THE BARBARIANS

As it was already mentioned Herodotus believes that the customs or the *nomoi* play important role on people. Among those *nomoi* is also the Athenian democracy and the Spartan discipline. He believes that the *nomoi* of the place that a person lives and not the *physis*, the characteristics of the environment, create his features. According to him the ethnic character is strongly connected to the *nomoi* and so it is unstable. The customs of one society have no limits and what makes a person Greek can make another person too. The examples of Spartans and Athenians are two of the most typical examples that he uses<sup>53</sup>.

Herodotus narrates a story which is connected with Darius I who ruled from 522 to 486. According to it, Darius called some Greeks at Susa and asked them what recompense they would like to take if they accepted to eat their dead. After the Greeks refused to do so, Darius addressed the same question to the Indians who ate their dead by custom. What can be observed here is that Herodotus does not show any abhorrence to the cannibalism of the Indians even if the Greek perception would lead him to do so, conversely all that he does to explain the behavior of the Indians is to use a phrase of Pindar which says that “*nomos* is the *basileus* (king) of all”. This means that every society Greek or barbarian has its own customs which it follows and regards as the best and superior from all the other<sup>54</sup>.

In *Histories* he describes many kinds of customs for example he mentions the Androfagoi who had no customs and laws (IV 106) and the Atarantes in Libya that had no names (IV 174). What occurs very frequently is the participation of the

---

<sup>52</sup>Thomas 2000, 119-122

<sup>53</sup>Thomas 2000, 123

<sup>54</sup>Cartledge 1993, 59

women in citizenship as did the women of Massagetai. The features of the Babylonian marriages described in the work are also interesting as he depicts how the beautiful women exploited their characteristics in order to marry and on the other hand how dowries were provided for a less beautiful woman (I 196). Finally, there are plenty of examples in *Histories* that show people behaving like animals (I 203.2, III 101.1, II 64)<sup>55</sup>.

Concerning the Greeks and the barbarians, the historian also claims that barbarians as well as Greeks have also a degree of barbarizing and they own barbarians. The Egyptians for example use the word *barbarians* (II 158.5) for those who did not speak their language and the Persians characterize the people that surround them *kakistoi* and show no respect to them (I 134.2-3)<sup>56</sup>.

---

<sup>55</sup> Thomas 2000, 129-130

<sup>56</sup> Thomas 2000, 131-132

## THE RHETORIC OF OTHERNESS

From the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century the Greeks started to criticize, examine and contradict with their theories all the information that they were taking from their surroundings, related to the wisdom and the view of the world. After this century started being created the scientific historiography having as main representatives the Herodotus, the Thucydides and the Hecataeus. The scientific historiography was created mainly because there was a big necessity to study the truth as the various traditions were not so easily accepted any more. Thus it began to be necessary to examine what was hiding behind a story compared with the information that were already provided and sometimes the knowledge that existed was replaced with something new that was proved to be closer to the truth. The knowledge of many Greeks about the world was not adequate such as the Hesiod's. Those people were affected from the changes and started having a view for humankind as a whole consisting of many people who had differences in the way they appeared, in the language that they spoke and other things<sup>57</sup>.

During the Archaic times and according to the sources that were provided from Anakreon, Pindar and Homer there were no obvious elements that could stress the differences between the Greeks and the Thracians. The clues that are provided from the poets are not only connected with their notions but also consist the notions of the Greek natives. The ethnic feeling was unheard not only during the earlier ages but also during the ages of the colonization even if it could easily be developed against those that dwelled the areas of the north part of the Aegean and the Black Sea, where the Greeks had been installed. That feeling started to exist after the Persian Wars, in 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. when the relationships between the Greeks and the foreign cultures started to change. It is easy to say that this kind of change was necessary to strengthen the socio-political elements but regardless of this, it was also giving a feeling of a superiority of Greeks against the other cultures. The Greeks tried to define their identity using it as a criterion in order to be discriminated from the barbarians or the so-called "others". As it comes out, there was a modification in the way that the Greeks defined themselves from the Archaic period until the period after the Persian

---

<sup>57</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 594

Wars and this modification was connected with the borders that characterized a nation and not with the differences related to the language, the appearance or the culture<sup>58</sup>.

One of the main reasons that the stereotype Greeks-barbarians was accepted is because the biggest part of the slaves that existed in Greece was barbarians. Even those Greeks that did not have in their possession slaves considered themselves the same as their compatriots that had slaves by supporting the idea of freedom. The Greeks according to this idea would never be slaves, as being slave was a barbarian quality. Losing their freedom literally and metaphorically was one of the biggest fears that a Greek citizen had. This theory which was spread among the Greeks was shortly called *pan-Hellenism*<sup>59</sup>.

The term “other” means to claim that something is different and that there are two terms the *a* and the *b* and the *a* is completely different from the *b* for example, the difference between the Greeks and the barbarians. What is important is to make the difference clear and after this the distinction can be easily made. The rhetoric of otherness between these two terms is developed after the recounts about the “others” and are mainly stories told by travelers. The person that belongs to the *a* group recounts to the people of the group *a* what he had heard about the people that belong to the group *b*. The traveler shows the difference by creating an otherness that is clear to his audience as it is represented as “antisameness”<sup>60</sup>.

Herodotus helped through his work the knowledge of the world to be extended by providing more geographical and ethnographic elements about the people that the Persian Empire got in touch. These elements were related to their religion, to their customs, especially those connected to the sexual sphere and the funerary rituals and finally to the way that they were dressed and their eating habits. What comes out from his work is that Herodotus was not only a historiographer but also an anthropologist and a geographer. Even if he describes in his stories the differences of each nation he does it with an appreciation to the particularities that each nation is reasonable to have. The permissiveness of the barbarian *nomoi* from Herodotus, even of the most extreme like the cannibalism, led many people to believe that he was *philobarbaros*. However, it must not be considered that the historian believed that every custom of each society was good and there can be obvious the different behavior that he showed

---

<sup>58</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 594-595

<sup>59</sup>Cartledge 1993, 41-43

<sup>60</sup>Hartog 1988, 213

towards each community's customs. The *nomos* for him was the most important factor for the creation of the ethnic character, the governance success or failure of a society. For instance when he refers to the *Androphagoi* in VI.106 who are called by him as the most savage of all the people (*agriotata*) he does not criticize their customs and shows great respect to them even if the Greek perceptions of his days would not support it<sup>61</sup>. Finally, it must be added that already from the prologue the historian tries to create his work by giving the answers to the question why the Greeks and the barbarians compete each other<sup>62</sup>.

Herodotus chose the subjects that he wanted to be analyzed in his stories and this is observed if keeping in mind the higher meaning that they could get supposing that their audience would be Athenians. He put in his stories what was logical according to his perception. The examples that talk about the Scythians and the Egyptians are the most characteristic depicting the opposites between the two nations related to their geographical surrounding which led to the creation of the cold and heat conditions in each case, the one nation being situated in the very north part and the other in the very south part<sup>63</sup>.

In Book I Herodotus gives some information about the Persian customs (I.131). There occurs an Egyptian catalogue with Persian customs as controversial to Greek, nevertheless it is inadequate to reject the Persians as many of them looked like Greeks having similar theories with many Greek philosophers of Herodotus' times. For example, the "Persian debate"(3.80-2) which is made by aristocratic Persian speakers. On the other hand, when the historian deals with the Persian monarchy which is connected to the despotic tyranny, he shows his disagreement and depicts the antithesis between the Greek rule related to freedom and the Persian *basileia* related to oriental tyranny beginning from Cyrus and reaching till the times of Xerxes. For instance, one of Xerxes' consultant was the Spartan Demaratos who was also an ex-king. In 7.104 Herodotus recounts that Demaratos had made a speech about *Hellenism* by giving to it Spartan elements. He says that the Persians consider Xerxes as *despotes* and those who he governs are no freer than the slaves. The Spartans on the

---

<sup>61</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 595

<sup>62</sup>Cartledge 1993, 60

<sup>63</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 595-596



other hand, as he says, have no *despotes* but only the *nomos* or Law and the legislations provided by being a citizen<sup>64</sup>.

Concerning passage 99, the historian describes the intellectual and the physical environment of the Egypt and says that this is his own *opsis*, *gnome* and *historie* but from this part and after he is going to talk about the Egyptian *logoi* as he has been informed about them. In the passage 147 he says that the sources that he used for his narrative were not only the Egyptians but other people also, who had the same viewpoint. Finally, he refers that he should talk from his own *opsis* too. It was accepted in general that Herodotus converted the exercise into estimation (*gnome*) and the experience into enquiry (*historie*). However, for many years there was a controversy about whether Herodotus was the eyewitness of what he described, if he truly had spoken with the Egyptian *logioi*, such as the priests of “Hephaistos” at Memphis through interpreters as he did not know any language except the Greek or if he had spoken with people who had visited Egypt and had read the appropriate accounts<sup>65</sup>.

Herodotus thought that the wonder was the point from where the wisdom began as it promoted the thought. Herodotus was led to the big amount of his theories beginning from the *theoria* (examination) of Egypt’s *thomata* or maybe by adopting this way of thinking from his surroundings and found in Egypt the appropriate environment to unfold it<sup>66</sup>.

The opposition is what characterizes the whole Egyptian *logos* where not only the weather conditions and the rivers are different from those of the rest world but also the *nomoi* and the behaviors (*ethea*). What is important to mention are two of the eighteen Egyptian oppositions. The first example is related to the Egyptian women who urinate standing while the men on the other hand sitting, Herodotus as it is obvious uses this example to give the cultural elements of a society. Nevertheless this example shows not only the contrast between the Greeks and barbarians but also the differences between men and women. The second example has to do with the calculation and the writing. When the Greeks calculate or write they go from the left to the right, on the other hand the Egyptians move from the right to the left. This example beside the different way of Egyptian writing and calculation gives also

---

<sup>64</sup>Cartledge 1993, 61-62

<sup>65</sup>Cartledge 1993, 57-58

<sup>66</sup>Cartledge 1933, 59

elements for the universal rule of the human kind which is better explained with an anecdote in Book 3<sup>67</sup>.

## 1) THE FIGURE OF THE INVERSION

The *Histories* many times express the issue of Otherness by referring at first the difference and then by making it clear using the technique of the inversion. For instance, when the historian mentions the Egyptians, he says that they dwell in “other” (*eteros*) climate conditions, on the banks of a river that is different (*allos*) from all the other rivers and their customs and laws are different from the customs that all the other humans follow. So, Herodotus continues by using the inversion and when he mentions all the other humans he is talking first of all about the Greeks. The second term can be skipped and in this case the difference would be visible again but with an implicit inversion. Such example is the recounting of the Scythians where Herodotus talks about their climate conditions. The technique of the inversion makes more visible the difference between the nations and helps to work out some kind of a depiction of the world<sup>68</sup>.

Nevertheless the method of the inversion is not always enough to produce all the ethnographic elements that Herodotus talks about. For instance, there are inversions between the Greek *nomoi* and the others’ *nomoi*, between the north and the south *oikoumene* where the conditions are justified by the cold and the heat respectively. In Herodotus’ craft there are the main “others” as the Egyptians, the Scythians and the Persians, but there are also details for other people that are considered “others”. The Scythian *logos* is one of the examples that shows that the method of the inversion is not the appropriate to clarify a big part of the Scythian *nomoi*. For example, if somebody says that the Scythian sacrifice is the converse of the civic sacrifices, this would not fall into sense. Only one feature of the ceremony as for example the bones that were burned for fuel below the shrine could be used for the inversion but that does not mean that what happens before and after this in the ceremony could be also used. Concerning the funeral ceremonies they could also be used partially in the method of the inversion as the *eschata* can take the place of the center and the

---

<sup>67</sup>Cartledge 1993, 58-59

<sup>68</sup>Hartog 1988, 212-214

*prothesis*, the demonstration of the body, can be also replaced by a *prothesis*, where the dead king comes in touch with his subjects. But there are also many of the elements that the ceremony has and they cannot be included in the schema as for example the use of the way a dead body is treated, the mutilation of those that take part in the ceremony, the sacrifices by the strangulation and finally the procession of the dead horsemen on their full-stuffed horses. The conclusion into which we are led is that the method of the inversion is something that defines one action or practice and through the tale of the traveler this procedure makes the recounting more visible and makes easier the transfer from the world that the story is recounted to the world where all these things are recounted<sup>69</sup>.

Talking about the meaning of all those characteristics that are not included into the figure of the inversion, it is important to say that the features that are recounted by the traveler as credible, are presented as something “idiotic” and as they have nothing to support them in some way but on the other hand they also cannot be fabricated. These elements function as a guarantee about their otherness like it was already said in the example about the funeral ritual of the Scythian kings<sup>70</sup>.

Another one example that suits with the technique of the inversion is that of the Amazons. Here is met the antagonism between the war and the marriage. The war and the marriage constituted something that both women and men tried to achieve. The inversion of the roles meant that the woman was abandoning the idea of the marriage and was replacing the role of the man in the war excluding them from it. Regarding the issue of the marriage the first explanation is that the women were refusing the idea of the marriage and were determined to live without it. As the Strabo mentions, the Amazons were spending the most of their time among themselves and the only men with whom they had contacts once a year were their neighbors, the Gargarians. The Amazons come in touch with the men into the dark and in random and after being pregnant they drove them away. The females that were born were grown up by them while the males were given to the Gargarians, who raise the child as their own taking the place of the mother. So, the second explanation is that even if they did marry, the Gargarians were those that took care of the children doing what a woman should do. However, according to Diodorus Siculus even if the roles in this case have been reversed, the method of the inversion can be still used here as according to him the

---

<sup>69</sup>Hartog 1988, 215-216

<sup>70</sup>Hartog 1988, 216

Amazons' participate in wars until the period that they are no longer virgins, after this they stop fighting. Continuing talking about the inversion of the roles he states that the Amazons stop fighting some time but then they act like magistrates and they take part and decisions in public affairs (*ta koina*) as they have no men citizens in their homeland. What comes out is that Amazons take part in wars as virgins and this period of *ephebeia* stops after they are married<sup>71</sup>.

The narrative of Herodotus about the Amazons is quite different from what has been said above. It has to do with the war *and* the marriage and not the war *or* the marriage. The texts of Diodorus Siculus and Strabo begin with the phrase "It is said that the Amazons..." something that means that they introduce only the Amazons and the Greeks who are depicted in the background. Herodotus on the other hand begins by introducing firstly the Amazons and then the Scythians, the youngest group of Scythians and finally the Greek who play the role of the observer that organizes everything that he sees. In Diodorus and Strabo there are two "persons" presented, the Amazons and the Greeks that are not so visible and the figure of the inversion can be used easily, in Herodotus on the other hand are presented more than two "persons" so there are developed relations between the Amazons and the Scythians, the Amazons and the Greeks and the Scythians and the Greeks that are at the background. This shows that the figure of the inversion cannot be applied in this case, but that does not mean that it cannot be applied in specific conditions<sup>72</sup>.

Also, Herodotus' passage about the Amazons does not give details about the Amazons and their customs, but it refers to the origin of the Sauromatae whom the Scythians visited to ask for help against the Darius' invasion. Firstly, the historian talks about the origin of the Amazons and how they escaped from the Greeks after killing them, then he talks about how the Scythians came up against the Amazons about the birth of the Sauromatae and finally he gives details about how the Sauromatae lived<sup>73</sup>.

After escaping from the Greeks the Amazons reached Scythia and started plundering. The Amazons took the first horses that they met and by riding them they invaded the Scythian lands. The Scythians had no idea about who those people were as their dresses, speech and nation was unknown to them. They thought that they were

---

<sup>71</sup>Hartog 1988, 216-217

<sup>72</sup>Hartog 1988, 218

<sup>73</sup>Hartog 1988, 218

men of young age because they had no beards on their faces and only after fighting them and taking possession of the dead as was the custom, they understood that their enemies were women deciding to stop the war and send to those women the same men in number in order to born children together. So, from this case it is understood that a man makes with a woman children and not war<sup>74</sup>.

In ancient Greece the *ephebeia* was different from the marriage. When somebody was *ephebos* he could not get married and if he did so then he was no longer *ephebos*. According to the passage that talks about the marriage of Scythians, the youngest Scythians are depicted as the available to be married on the Amazons however it is unknown whether the youngest were chosen because all the older were married and also if after their marriage these men were considered still *neotatoi* or not. The way that the Amazons lived based on hunting and plundering, had more common elements with the *ephebes* that were accustomed to them because of their life at border places, than with the adults. From this narrative comes out that the Scythians change into Greeks when they face the Amazons. In order to overbear the Amazons the Scythians adopt a behavior that is more close to *ephebeia* than to the adult life. If the Amazons were men, the Scythians would fight them, if they were the common women they would rape them, but in this case they were warrior women so they needed different approach. So, the elder Scythians thought to follow a policy of imitation, they chose the youngest men to approach the Amazon women that had features of virility together with femininity. The plan included to encamp near the women and after driving them off leaving without fighting them and after a while returning and encamping again near to them. When after this policy the Amazons understood that those men had not in their mind to harm them they left them to live close to them following the same customs<sup>75</sup>.

The men approached the women during the day and while the Amazons were doing their established functions which were completely opposite to the Greek customs. What impresses the most is that this scene of “seduction” is not depicted as such a scene, but the woman leaves the man do to her whatever he wants<sup>76</sup>.

It is also important to say that as the uncertainty that gives the *ephebeia* to those men functioned as a criterion in order to be chosen to approach the Amazons thus the

---

<sup>74</sup>Hartog 1988, 218-219

<sup>75</sup>Hartog 1988, 220-221

<sup>76</sup>Hartog 1988, 221

marriage with them does not make them adult but instead it stresses the feminine side of their age. When they propose to the Amazons to live their life at boundaries and leave with them to have a “normal” way of living this shows that the Scythians have taken the place of the Greeks in this part as it is connected to the Greek normal way of living that was related to the marriage. The Amazons give the answer that there is no way they could live like the ordinary Scythian women and continue by saying that they should go to their parents and ask them for the possession that they deserve and after this let them go and live alone. The men followed the advice of the women. What is obvious here is that the one that brings the dowry is the husband and not the bride. Another element that is not normal here is that the bride does not leave her *oikos* in order to enter her husband’s *oikos* by refusing to do so and as for the husband he cannot be introduced in his bride’s *oikos* also as the Amazons have not a specific place where they live. They decide to leave and go to inhabit in the place across the river Tanais and the men followed<sup>77</sup>.

In Strabo is mentioned that the Amazons after giving the birth to their child if it was a girl they were raising it by themselves and if it was a boy the father assumed the role of the mother. In Herodotus work there is no reference that shows that only the girls were grown up with their mother. Even when he refers to the Sauromatae he says that the women and the men of this tribe lived altogether. The only custom that differed was the one according to which no woman could get married if she had not at first killed a man belonging to their foes and many women died unmarried because they could not follow the custom. In the case of the Sauromatae are also connected the terms marriage and war as a virgin in order to be married should have kill a man and confirm with this way their name *oiorpata*, which in Scythian language meant “killers of man”. In this case the war is that which leads to the marriage in contrast with the texts of Diodorus and Strabo where after losing her virginity the woman abstained from the war. Among the Scythians a man is accepted as a warrior after he kills his first man and drinks his blood. After passes a year in order to celebrate the murder, he drinks wine mixed with water. The Sauromatae also “starts” a war like in the case of Scythians with a murder but in order to be married. Also, a man that is preparing to

---

<sup>77</sup>Hartog 1988, 221-222

become a warrior must bring the scalp of the person that he kills and the woman that is preparing to be married must kill a man<sup>78</sup>.

The Amazons refuse to follow the young Scythians because they do not want to leave their warrior life. They say that they cannot live with the other Scythian women as they have different customs (*nomoi*). They know the art of the war and not the work of their women (*erga gunaikeai*). They go out for hunting or for anything else and the Scythian women sit inside the wagons. The Amazons claim they would never manage to live together with them. The Scythian women who deal with their work have the features of the Greek women they live in their wagons just like the Greek women in their houses. So, again the Scythian women such as earlier the Scythian men acquire Greek features and take the place of the Greeks in the story<sup>79</sup>.

Finally, it must be said that when the inversion contains more than two persons it becomes more complicated. As it was analyzed earlier the inversion was connected with the Amazons and the “Greeks”. The Amazons were presented as warriors they did not know how to navigate, how to ride the horses and they had no idea of the Athena and who deals with the guiding of the ships. After it, in the narrative of Herodotus the inversion consisted of more than two parts and in this case the explanation became more complicated. The author presents the Amazons and Scythians separated in *ephebes*, adults and women and the most interesting part in the narrative is that the Scythian women and men turn into quasi-Greeks in order to stress the otherness of the Amazons in compare with the Greeks that are represented through the Scythians<sup>80</sup>.

---

<sup>78</sup>Hartog 1988, 222-223

<sup>79</sup>Hartog 1988, 223

<sup>80</sup>Hartog 1988, 224

## 2) THE SCHEME OF COMPARISON AND ANALOGY

Another way that the historian uses to depict the otherness and make it more explicit is the technique of comparison. The comparison is a technique with which the world that is recounted is connected with the world in which it is recounted and appears a passing from the one world to the other. It is like the historian throws a net in the water of the “other” world and tries to bring it closer to what is considered as “same”<sup>81</sup>.

This method was not used only by Herodotus but it is also known from the Archaic times and more specifically from the descriptions of Homer in epic. It is also met in the works of the Ionian writers and helps the depiction of unknown things and facts. The traveler in his tale sets the similarities and the diversities between the two worlds and makes some classifications. In order the comparison to be made the second element must be something that is accepted in general from the people that he mentions. For example, when Herodotus talks about the river Araxes across which the Massagetae inhabit he refers that many of the islands that cover the area along it are “comparable” (*paraplesiai*) according to the size to those of Lesbos. When he mentions the Nile River he talks about its twisting “like” (*kataper*) the Meander’s. The question that arises from here is to whom the citations to Lesbos and Meander have a special meaning. For example, what this story does mean for an Athenian who would read it<sup>82</sup>.

Secondly, we must also refer that even if those comparisons stress the diversities they also point out the similarities. This kind of comparison is visible in the description of the customs as for example the sexual *mores*. The author says that some people come in touch “like” (*kataper*) the animals or he talks about *nomoi* of Lydians that are “more or less the same” (*paraplesioi*) with the Greeks’ except the one that has to do with the prostitution of their daughters. There are also the Giligamae that are neighbors of the Lidyans and belong to a Libyan tribe and have “more or less the same” *nomoi* with the Libyans, which were described by the historian earlier. The

---

<sup>81</sup>Hartog 1988, 225

<sup>82</sup>Hartog 1988, 225-226



Greeks in that kind of comparisons always belong to the second term that is compared<sup>83</sup>.

Except the comparisons where the *a* is like the *b* but they are completely different from each other there are also other ways of comparisons where the traveler has to be more cautious when he recounts the story. This happens when the first term that is compared has no relation with the world where it is narrated or the world in which it is narrated cannot be used straightly as a reference. Thus, the way in which the story is translated has to be changed. For instance, Herodotus recounts of the relay team of the Persian messengers spanning on the whole regal route till the Susa where was settled the dwelling of the King. In order to make more obvious what he meant to his audience and because in Greece there was no relay team that could be compared with this, he says that this team is like the *lampadephoría* taking place in Athens where the first passes the torch to the second, the second to the third and so on passing from hand to hand as it happens also during the Greek torch-bearers' competition that was taking place in honor of Hephaestus<sup>84</sup>.

The team of the messengers of course has nothing to do with the *lampadephoría*, but the historian had to find something to help his reader to make a comparison by understanding better the reference that he makes about the other. The way that the messengers passed the message to each other until the royal residence was compared with the way that the torches were passed from one hand to another during the *lampadephoría*<sup>85</sup>.

Another example is that of Issedones, who dwelled at the northeastern boundaries of Scythia. The Issedones after losing their fathers organized a cannibal feast eating their fathers' parts combined with the meat of other animals, as for the head they cleaned it and kept it as a holy remnant to which they made formal sacrifices once a year. Even if this passage has non-Greek elements, Herodotus makes a comparison by saying that the Issedones were showing in that way their respect for their fathers such as (*kataper*) the Greeks celebrated the anniversary of a dead person (*genesia*). Maybe these rituals are completely uncommon but they have the same purpose in both cases. This kind of comparison that is made by putting the one term beside the other and by

---

<sup>83</sup>Hartog 1988, 226

<sup>84</sup>Hartog 1988, 226

<sup>85</sup>Hartog 1988, 226-227

transfer can be called a parallel. The parallel manages to make the reader think how it would be if he was present there by describing to him something else<sup>86</sup>.

Afterwards, the author tries to describe Scythia and comes upon the foreland of the Tauris' country. Tauris is for the Scythians what the Sunium is for the Attica. So, the first parallel that is mentioned to the audience is that between the Tauris and the Sunium even if the the Tauris is bigger in size than the Sunium the historian claims that they are similar. The second parallel has to do with those who have not travelled longwise (*parapeploke*) the part of the Attica and Herodotus makes it clear with another way (*allos deloso*). He says that it is like if (*hos ei*) in Iapygia (Apulia) some other people and not Iapygian lived at the foreland within the boundaries that extended from the harbor of Brentesium (Brindisi) up to Taras (Tarentum). So, according to this example the connection of the Tauris with the Scythia is the same as is the heel of the Italy's boot with the Apulia. The second parallel is related to different geographical knowledge. The questions that arise from this parallel is if it is related only to the Greeks of Magna Graecia or whether with the phrase "those who have not coasted along that part of Attica" it is referred only to the dwellers of the Magna Graecia that have made the cruise by traveling to the Greece or from the Greece to that part or to the sailors generally. This example ends with the possibility of using other parallels too in order to understand the case. As Herodotus says he could give plenty of examples something that gives to his audience the opportunity to construct as many parallels as they wish if they still are not seeing explicitly what he means<sup>87</sup>.

In the parallels that are used are depicted four terms. There is the *a* with the *b* and the *c* with the *d*. In other words here the comparisons have the style of the analogy. The writer wants to show the connection of the Tauris with the Scythia by mentioning the connection of the Sunium and the Attica and in this way he creates an analogy or as Anaxagoras said an *opsis adelon ta phainomena* which means that he wants to lead someone from what he sees to what he does not see<sup>88</sup>.

The method of the analogy was considered very significant at the first stages of the Greek science where it had two roles the one of the fabrication and the other of the translation. So, it is very important to see how this technique is used in the *Histories*

---

<sup>86</sup>Hartog 1988, 227-228

<sup>87</sup> Hartog 1988, 228-229

<sup>88</sup>Hartog 1988, 229

through the comparison. Another great example is the parallel that is made between the Ister River (Danube) and the Nile. The Ister is a River that passes through many places that are habitable the Nile on the other hand, passes through Libya which consists of an uninhabited desert. So, the author transfers the readers from what they see to what they do not see. This example is important as the Nile resembles the Ister and the Ister means for the people that live in north and Europe the same as Nile means for the people that live in the south part and Libya. Secondly, it is completely different from the example that connects the Sunium and the Attica because it has not to do only with the knowledge of the Greeks nor it is something that only the traveler had seen. It has to do with what the traveler saw but what he saw is also well known to many other people<sup>89</sup>.

What comes out is that the comparison is a method that is invented by the world into which the story is recounted and makes understandable the world of “others” by direct comparison (the *a* is the *b*) or by analogy (the *a* is to *b* what the *c* is to *d*). The main purpose of the comparison is to make believable to the audience what the traveler or the author had seen<sup>90</sup>.

### 3) THE MEASURING SCALE OF THE *THOMA*

As a traveler’s tale must contain a *thoma* or a marvel in order to be reliable the same do the *Histories* as a work that has the purpose to be accepted as reliable. The *logoi* that are related to the ethnography as has been showed have been organized in the following way: Firstly, the author puts an introduction that refers to the nature of the country that is going to be analyzed, then follows an account of its so-called *nomoi*, an account of its *thomasia* (marvels) and finally, there is a narrative about its political history. The introduction of the part that talks about the Scythia shows that the *thoma* is indeed a *topos* of the ethnographic recounting. The passage begins by mentioning that about Lydia there are not so many marvelous things to be told as for the other countries except of the story about the gold dust that comes from Tmolos. The evidence that express that indeed the marvels where *topos* in Herodotus *Histories* come also from the story about the Scythians where is met a sentence with the same

---

<sup>89</sup>Hartog 1988, 229-230

<sup>90</sup>Hartog 1988, 230

structure and a reference to the lack of the marvels that they offered to the traveler<sup>91</sup>. Also the fact that the author deals extremely with the marvels is obvious from the prologue of the *Histories* where he says that he is going to refer and describe *erga megala te kai thomasta* of Greeks and barbarians<sup>92</sup>. But what does the historian mean by mentioning the word *erga*? There have been many viewpoints expressed according to this question. If this word means observable monuments barbarian or Greek, important actions or a mixture of the marvels of the nature, the monuments and the great accomplishments has no significance. What is really worthy in this phrase is the word *thomasta* and the historian feels that it is important to mention them as there is no danger for them to be forgotten (*aklea*)<sup>93</sup>.

*Thomata* are strongly connected with the more distant countries and the “other” and the usage of them is one of the rhetoric of the otherness. The absence of the marvels reduces the reliability of the text. The description of the *eschatia*, which are the furthest points of the inhabited world, justifies what had been said above about the connection of the distant places with the marvels, while in Greece the seasons have the most of times the best temperature. Also, it must be said that the most distant places are those that surround the other countries and they contain the best and the most scarce things. The beauty and the rarity are two of the most important features of the marvels. Summarily, the *thoma* is explaining the difference by giving two pictures, of here and there that is far away<sup>94</sup>.

As the *thoma* is included in the ethnographic description of Herodotus it cannot be an invention as it is regarded in epic and in Hesiod where it is not only a marvel but also an object of sottishness. In those cases, when the marvel is related to the gods then it is used for it the word *sema*, the word *thoma* on the other hand, is used when it is related to the mortals. In *Histories*, no relation of the marvels with the divine element is visible and the *thoma* appears as something notable and abnormal<sup>95</sup>.

The *eschatia* of the world are the parts that contain the most extraordinary spices. For instance, the Arabs light fires in order to smoke out the incense of their harvest and the winged snakes that appear like the guardians of the tree or the Cassia that has to be gathered in a lake in which dwell many species of bat and from which one can

---

<sup>91</sup>Hartog 1988, 230-231

<sup>92</sup>Cartledge 1993, 58, Hartog 1988, 231

<sup>93</sup>Hartog 1988, 231

<sup>94</sup>Hartog 1988, 231-232

<sup>95</sup>Hartog 1988, 232

be protected by covering his body with oxen leather. However, the most remarkable example of *thomata* (*thomastoterion*) is the cropping of the cinnamon. There are specific birds that use the cinnamon to build their nests and a special trick has to be used in order to make the nests fall on the ground and be unreachable from the birds. Finally another extraordinary thing that is depicted is the perfume of the laudanum, which becomes entangled on the goats' beards and they stink terribly. The products that have been analyzed above can be found only in unusual places<sup>96</sup>.

Regarding the harvesting of the species it is clear that the historian starts talking about the unusual species and then passes to the narrative of the more unusual. For example, the Myrrh which harvesting has nothing strange is just mentioned without specific attention paid. The scale of the measuring of *thoma* is connected with what according to "us" is regarded as unusual and then more unusual so it has to do with the viewpoint of the audience. In some cases the *thoma* needs the schema of inversion. In the example of the laudanum's harvesting that is found on the goats' beards something that has such a good smell like it becomes entangled in something that has bad smell as the goats' beards. The combination of the converses in that case is admirable. After Herodotus refers that the Egypt is the place where the most of the marvels happen he continues by recounting how different Egypt is and in such a way the *thoma* develops into an inversion<sup>97</sup>.

*Thoma* also can be called a phenomenon that is not easy to be explained as for example the case of the absence of mules in Elis. When Herodotus talks about Scythia's climate he adds that only the horses are able to accept the cold weather conditions that prevail there something that the mules and the donkeys cannot. Exactly the opposite occurs in other countries where the horses in contrast with the mules or the donkeys are not able to accept the cold. Herodotus continues with mentioning the oxen's horns, he says that the reason why the oxen in Scythia have no horns on their foreheads is because of the cold weather conditions and this is justified by the existence according to Homer, of horns on the foreheads of the lambs in Libya. The historian supposes that there obtains a symmetry together with an inversion between the hot and the cold weather conditions of Scythia and Libya and he is led into the conclusion that what happens there (*enthauta*) is because of the cold. Herodotus feels surprised (*thomazo*) that in whole Elis no mules can be found as it is

---

<sup>96</sup>Hartog 1988, 232

<sup>97</sup>Hartog 1988, 233

not cold country and there is no obvious reason to explain this. He says that if Elis was a cold country then what had been said before for Scythia could be used in order to explain the absence of the mules but since Elis has not similar climate with Scythia all he can do is to show his amazement (*thomazo*). These comments that are presented as a “digression” (*prostheke*) from the author show that the digression is related to *thoma* as it can describe a *thoma* and a *thoma* can define the type of it<sup>98</sup>.

Concerning the question that arises whether the *thoma* must be connected with quality or quantity, the collection of spices has shown that the quality can be described as quantity through the measurement of the *thoma*. In *Histories* the *thoma* is described mainly by quantity using numbers and measurements giving the sense that they are strongly connected with its features. The bigger are the numbers and the measurements the bigger is the *thoma*. The historian gives the impression that he uses the number in order to stress the importance of the *thoma* that has been already described implicitly through the measurements and seems untrustworthy. For instance, he says that the Arabs have two admirable sorts of sheep that nowhere else exist. Those sheep are described by the historian connected with the quantity saying that one of these has a tail approximately to three cubits at length and the other’s tail is a full cubit in width. Also, as a similar example must be referred one of the Scythia’s marvels, the existence of a footprint that is two cubits in length and regarded as being left by Heracles. Herodotus does not raise any objections about this because according to the Black Sea Greeks Heracles had truly passed from Scythia. Generally speaking the Greeks used frequently the heroes in order to explain every event and make the world easier to be explained<sup>99</sup>.

Homer and Hesiod in order to depict the *thoma* use the word great (*megas*) but the size of the *thoma* cannot be exactly measured. It is also found the word *deinos* which is related to *megas* and means terrible. In this way, the wonder is great and terrible and great because it is discouraging. In *Histories* as it has been already said, the *thoma* is frequently described through numbers. One more example depicting that is the labyrinth of Egypt which according to Herodotus generates thousand of marvels (*thoma murion*) for those who visit it. Even from the prologue with the phrase *megala te kai thomasta* Herodotus connects the word *thoma* with the explicit measurement. Finally, it is important to say that concerning the labyrinth of Egypt the historian says

---

<sup>98</sup>Hartog 1988, 233-234

<sup>99</sup>Hartog 1988, 234-235

that what he recounts about its marvels has been observed by his own eyes and this appears as a proof for the *thoma*<sup>100</sup>.

Talking about the Tartarus Hesiod says that it is considered a marvel even for the immortal gods. Herodotus in his recounting says that it is he who describes something as remarkable and phenomenon and becomes the measurement of the *thoma*. He says that the most admirable thing in Babylon (*thoma megiston*) for him is that the visitor sees the *thoma*, can judge its measurement and then he can also make his audience imagine it and feeling that they are there. He connects the *thoma* with the researcher's method<sup>101</sup>.

The *thoma* is that which generates the recounting. Speaking about the Egypt Herodotus says that he will speak a lot as there are so many wonders to be described (*pleista thomasia*) and there is no place in the world where so many extraordinary things are gathered altogether. The size of the recounting has to do with the size of the miracle. As bigger the *thoma* is such bigger the narrative will be. However, it is significant to refer that the recounting regardless its size will never be enough to express satisfactorily the size of a *thoma*, there will always be something above the *verba*. According to the above what comes out is that the Egypt is a place with plenty of marvels of indescribable greatness (*erga logou mezzo*) which can only be expressed in the narrative through numbers and measurements<sup>102</sup>.

*Thoma* is something that explains the difference of the "here" world with the world of "there" giving a picture of credibility and actuality. It shows the reality of the otherness through the *there* things (*erga*) that have to be *thomasta*. The *thoma* together with the traveler's judge about the measurement of the wonder which he sees by his own eyes constitute a technique used to prove the reliability of the story that the traveler narrates<sup>103</sup>.

---

<sup>100</sup>Hartog 1988, 235-236

<sup>101</sup>Hartog 1988, 236

<sup>102</sup>Hartog 1988, 236-237

<sup>103</sup>Hartog 1988, 237

#### 4) THE TECHNIQUES OF TRANSLATION, NAMING AND CLASSIFYING

The rhetoric of otherness explains the difference and transmits the “other” to the “same” but what about the literal meaning of the translation in *Histories* and if the historian is capable to transfer from one language to another and still keep the important elements in his narrative? During the era of Herodotus there was no phrase book for the Egyptian and Greek, for the Persian and Greek and especially for the Scythian and Greek. Herodotus spoke only Greek and the Greeks of his times also spoke mainly Greek. As Momigliano says there was no way for the Greeks to speak the languages of the other natives and there was no tradition for translating in Greek the books that were written in other languages. There was no wish for the people to meet the other civilizations especially by learning their languages<sup>104</sup>.

Herodotus conversed with people who were Greeks, knew Greek or with foreigners by interpreters as for example, when he traveled in countries like Egypt. After his visit to the pyramid of Cheops, he refers an inscription and says the phrase “So far as I remember the interpreter when he read me the writing”. However, this does not happen often as when he talks about other inscriptions he does not refer to issues like translations. The Greeks in *Histories* are not presented having other connection with the Persians except of that through the mediators and the interpreters. The only exception is the Histiaeus of Miletus who was a tyrant and a puppet of the Great King and knew some Persian words. Book II gives some interesting elements about the training of the interpreters. Psammetichus who took the rule with the help of the Ionians and the Carians, gave land to them and sent with them Egyptian boys in order to learn the Greek language. These boys were the predecessors of the Egyptian interpreters of nowadays. The interpreter’s knowledge passed from generation to generation and what impresses the most from this story is that the Egyptians were those who learned the Greek language and not the Greek who learned the Egyptian<sup>105</sup>.

*Histories* contain around thirty translations. The question is what kind of translations do they contain and what do they point out about the “others”? The biggest part of the translations has to do with nouns, suitable nouns. There were no

---

<sup>104</sup>Hartog 1988, 238-239

<sup>105</sup>Hartog 1988, 239



exact translations of statements so they were connected with the naming of objects mainly in the narration about the “others”<sup>106</sup>.

The suitable nouns have a specific meaning. For example, names like those of the Great Kings, Darius, Xerxes and Atarxerxes, when they are translated into the Greek language they mean “the Repressor”, “the Warrior” and “the Great Warrior” and these were the names that the Greeks used to call them. During the translation a name does not only took a form of a noun but also a label giving to them a special meaning. Those nouns not only classify the people but also give some clues about their owners. For instance, Xerxes does not appear only as the third ruler of the Empire but also as a “Warrior”<sup>107</sup>.

Another example of naming or giving a label is that of the Amazons. The Scythians have given to the Amazons the name *Oiorpata* which in Greek meant the women who killed the men as in Scythian language *oior* means a man and *pata* means to kill. So, this word has been translated two times, at first in Scythian and then in Greek. Even if the name *Oiorpata* was the meaning of the name Amazons, these two words have no etymological connection. However in Greek language, something that Herodotus does not mention, the word *A-mazos* means “breastless”. So, in this case also the translation of the naming helps to imagine how the Amazons looked like<sup>108</sup>.

The last example is of Battus, who was the one who installed the colony of the Cyrene in Libya. In Greek language Battus was called the one who spoke stuttering. According to the Theraeans and Cyrenaeans he had another name and after he came to Libya his name was changed in Battus. The word *battus* also in Libyan language meant the king. What makes the Greek viewpoint prevailing is the historian who mentions his opinion about the explanation of the name (“to my thinking”) in the narrative<sup>109</sup>.

It must also be referred that except of the examples that have been mentioned above, the naming in the translation appears also in the names of the gods. But what do the names of the gods mean? Are they certain nouns, do they give a label or are they ordinary nouns? The translations of the names are taking place not only in the Greek language but also in the foreign. The name that a god is given that is firstly presented in Greek, can be also presented in barbarian language and the opposite. The

---

<sup>106</sup>Hartog 239-240

<sup>107</sup>Hartog 1988, 240

<sup>108</sup> Hartog 1988, 240-241

<sup>109</sup>Hartog 1988, 241

examples that have to do with the translations from the foreign language into the Greek appear mostly in the Egyptian *logos* where it is referred the name of the god in barbarian language and after this the name in the Greek language (*kata Hellada glossan*). However, on the other hand, according to Scythian pantheon, the Scythians gods are presented with Greek names and Scythian features<sup>110</sup>.

Another thing important to say is that even from the Genesis the knowing of the names and the naming was something very significant and could give power to someone. The privacy of the names is also another feature that shows the significance of the names. There were for instance dome communities that knew the names of the men but they revealed them only after a certain ceremony<sup>111</sup>.

Democritus who had created an *Onomastikon* mentions that the names that the gods are given are holy statues that have a speech (*agalmata phoneenta*). This means that the name of the god is his representation that can be heard, while his statue is his representation that can be seen. Pythagoras had also stated all the names were depictions of the things. From this point of view the gods' names show the characteristics of the gods and the things' names the characteristics of the things<sup>112</sup>.

The *ounomata* of the gods seem to have a strong connection with certain nouns. The name that is given proves that an individual has a status that has been decided already before and it is of gods. The gods cannot be given an ordinary name, their name acts like the reflection of the whole so they must be proper nouns. Nevertheless, the translation from Egyptian into Greek language and from Greek language into Scythian shows that it puts these nouns among the ordinary. According to what has to do with the Herodotus' list of names, it occurs that it is incomplete in many parts as there are a lot of names that have not been translated. For example, even if we know that the Libyans have the same gods as the Greeks talking about Athena, Zeus, Helios, Poseidon and other, we do not know their names in Libyan, as they appear only in Greek. Why Herodotus chose not to include the translations of the names in his recounting? Did he not know them or he knew them but decided not to include them because the pantheon about which he talked was Greek and he found it needless to refer the Libyan naming<sup>113</sup>?

---

<sup>110</sup>Hartog 1988, 241-242

<sup>111</sup>Hartog 1988, 242

<sup>112</sup>Hartog 1988, 242

<sup>113</sup>Hartog 1988, 244

Concerning the absence of the translation of the foreign names of the gods there is one more kind of absence and this can be explained. This absence is related to the deities Zalmoxis, Pleisthorus and Kybele. These three deities are regarded native (*theos epichorios*) and because of that they cannot be translated in other language. Kybele is explained as “the native goddess of the Sardis”. The question that arises is why this goddess cannot be translated as Cybele or as Mother of the Gods. There are two explanations for this, the first is that when the Ionians made the revolution against the King after they reached Sardis they put fire on her sanctuary, so that location was not Greek. The Persians took their revenge using it as a pretense for the destruction of the Greek sanctuaries, so that deity was a Persian possession. Talking about Pleisthorus, he was a deity of the Thracian Apsinthians and people made sacrifices of human in his honor and maybe the reason why there is no translation for him is because there was no Greek god that could be equal to him. Finally, talking about Salmoxis, there is a question about whether he was a god, a human or a *daimon*. The translation for this deity is difficult not only for this reason but also because he is called with two names, Salmoxis and Gebeleizis which is a name that sounds very bizarre. So, these three reasons explain why there are no correspondences of those names in Greek, as there are no words that could be considered similar to those in the Greek language<sup>114</sup>.

The blank spaces of *Histories*’ translation list show that the “other” is explained thanks to its classification. The three examples above about the deities show that the absence of the translation is also a classification not only of the deities but also of the local people. The otherness of the name is nothing more than the depiction of the otherness of the people. The storyteller passes into the classification by keeping in mind firstly the Greek element and it seems like the translation is made from the Greek language to the local which is also the reason of the absences and the presences of Greek versions in the “dictionary”. For instance, the Massagetae have only the “sun” to pray to and the Scythians have only eight deities in their pantheon. In any case that is studied, the barbarians have less gods in their pantheon than the Greeks whose pantheon includes twelve gods. Finally, it must be mentioned that there is also supported that the deities of each nation were the same with another’s nation and the translation of the names helped in order to understand to which god is made the

---

<sup>114</sup>Hartog 1988, 244-245

reference. Such examples are the Aphrodite Ourania in Assyrian language is named Mylitta, in Arabian Alilat and in Persian Mitra. The historian also talks about a “local goddess” (authigenes) of the Auseans and the Machyles and he refers the phrase “whom we call Athena”. The “we” is related to the Greeks and differentiates them from the *them* who are the Libyans, but both of them refer to the same deity. The same is true for the character and the song of Linus whose celebration takes part in Greece, Egypt, Cyprus, Phoenicia and other places. In Greek he is called Linus, in Egyptian Manerus and in other languages in another way but each nation sings the same song<sup>115</sup>.

On the other hand, there are also the Geloni who dwell in the north part of Scythia and behave completely contrary to what was said previously. They pray in Greek way (*hellenikos*) to Greek gods (*hellenikoi theoi*). According to Herodotus the Geloni had Greek predecessors. Talking about Xerxes he recommends praying to the gods for their kingdom and he is not presented to believe in the unity of the divine space before reaching the Europe above Hellespont<sup>116</sup>.

The translation had led to the naming and the naming in its turn to the classifying. The one who does the assortment is the traveler who is aware of the manes of the places that he visited, the names of the main personages and the names of gods so he is the most appropriate to choose among them. Herodotus often mentions that he has the knowledge of the names that reach until the Atlantes of Libya. In another part he says that he is capable to say all the names of the soldiers that participated in some specific combats. He is the one who knows the two names of Battus, the King and the stutterer and that the goddess of the Auseans and the Machyles is the same that in Greek is called Athena. The historian is the one that is able to give labels to the name and passing from the one meaning to another being the *poros* and the bondsman of the transfer<sup>117</sup>.

---

<sup>115</sup>Hartog 1988, 245-246

<sup>116</sup>Hartog 1988, 246-247

<sup>117</sup>Hartog 1988, 247-248

## 5) THE DESCRIPTION. WHAT IS SEEN AND HOW IT IS MADE SEEN TO THE OTHERS

The description is connected with all the details that someone sees with his own eyes and after this tries to explain them and talk about them. Herodotus' descriptions are considered as a contradistinction. His first four books give details about the uncommon *nomoi* that are met among the non-Greek people. The other five books mention the Persian Wars. The descriptions that are connected with each other are those from the part 2 until the 82 of the Book 4 that give elements about the Scythia and his *nomoi* and the part 1 with the part 83 until 144 which constitute the recounting of Darius' campaign<sup>118</sup>.

In a traveler's description it is very frequent to exist a description that is connected with a "seeing". For instance, the hippopotamus met in Egypt is described having four feet, cloven hooves like the oxen have, flat nose and tail, whinny and mane like horse. Its largeness is like oxen's and its hide is thick. The same method is used when is depicted the nature (*physis*) of a crocodile. The narrator says that the animal has four feet, inhabits both in water and outside of it, its eggs have the same size with a goose's but that after a crocodile is born it reaches the seventeen cubits and more than that. He also adds that its eyes are similar to pigs, its teeth are big and stick out and it has no tongue<sup>119</sup>.

Between the world from which one describes and the world that is described by him exists a distinction. The representation of the things that have been seen somewhere are connected with the things that exist "here", in the world that the representation is made. So, the hippopotamus is presented having the characteristics of an ox, a horse or a pig but it does not look like any of them. The features of the monster that is described should be familiar so that their mixture would make the creature monstrous. The description is made by an eyewitness who is whether the one that tells the story (I have seen) whether the one who has heard the story by someone else that was the eyewitness of something (he says that he has seen)<sup>120</sup>.

Herodotus passes to the recounting of the burial ceremonies of the kings and he begins by saying that the points where the kings are buried exist in the place where Gerrhi live and where Borysthenes stops being passable. The phrase that is related to

---

<sup>118</sup>Hartog 1988, 248-249

<sup>119</sup>Hartog 1988, 249

<sup>120</sup>Hartog 1988, 249-250

the point that is no longer passable, as it is obvious refers to Greeks as the Scythians were not dealing with navigation and their way of life was completely different, related to horses and wagons. The word there (*entautha*) that follows after the phrase creates an uncertainty, being important for the Scythians (them) and the Greeks (*us*). The same has to do with the characterization of the Gerrhis's location as *eschata*. For the Scythians this place is a normal place where they dwell and that's the reason why they selected it to bury their kings. According to the one that tells the story or listens to the story (me), who is a Greek, the place is called *eschata*<sup>121</sup>.

However, the usage of the word *eschata* has to do with more things than have been said. The country of the Gerrhi indirectly constitutes for the Scythia the same that constitutes for the Greeks, it is also *eschata*. Scythia changes the meaning of the place into something like center but in order the Greeks to understand the burial ceremonies there must be an analogical connection of the location of Gerrhi with the *eschata* on the one hand and of Scythia and the region of the city on the other. Another element that appears at the end of the passage is the word *toioutous* which into the phrase "So, having set horsemen *toioutous* round about the tomb [talking about the bodies of the fifty young horsemen that surround the tomb] they leave away" means "of this sort". The word *toioutous* on the one hand gives the chance to the author to transmit the depiction and on the other hand to separate himself from all this. The last element has to do with the slavery. He mentions that these are local Scythians that perform their services to the king, they were bidden to do so and none of the Scythians have servants (*therapontes*) that were bought by money (*arguronetoi*). It is clear that this comment was made for his Greek audience and specifically for the Athenians who considered the slavers as a product of trade. This comment also points out the discrimination between the "them" and the "us"<sup>122</sup>.

Concerning the narrative about Salmoxis, Herodotus mentions: "For myself, I neither disbelieve nor fully believe... but I think". In the first part of the narrative there is no evidence about who is speaking even if it is more mysterious than this part since as exactly in the narrative of the burial ceremonies there is no evidence about the speaker. Herodotus starts talking about the Getae using the word *hoi athanatizontes*. This word that is used to characterize the Getae not only arises a surprise but also categorizes them. It must also kept in mind the use of the word *theos*

---

<sup>121</sup>Hartog 1988, 252-253

<sup>122</sup>Hartog 1988, 253-254

or heaven by the historian, which is important to understand how the Greeks see the world and to justify the needless action of the Getae throwing arrows to the sky without knowing what they are doing. So, what comes out is that even if it is no clear who is speaking there are many evidence for the audience to be based on<sup>123</sup>.

All the evidence that are provided whether the witness is obvious or not are expressed through the present tense which according to Grevisse is called “gnomic present”. These descriptions are made between the events that are in action. For example, the depiction the Scythian *nomoi* takes place between the decision of Darius to take revenge for the Scythians and the preparations of him to start it. The present tense is also accompanied by pronouns like *tode*, *tonde ton tropon*, *toionde*, *hode* that introduce the representation and mean “this”, “in this way”, “thus”, “this is how” respectively and the conclusion is made by words like *houto*, *toiououtos* and *houtos* that mean “that is how” and “that”. The main purpose of the storyteller’s descriptions is to create and transfer an effect of otherness. One of the ways to succeed it is through the description of things that are the most strange for the Greeks and by using a vocabulary that makes all this description to look like something ordinary. This kind of description of the barbarians and the “others” is made whether by elements provided by the one that is speaking whether by some hidden clues<sup>124</sup>.

The first way of description is made explicitly and it gives the impression that it indicates to the reader how to perceive something that is considered “other”. For example, when Herodotus refers to the *nomoi* of the Scythians related to the sacrifices he says that the Scythians strangle the person that is going to be sacrificed without lighting fire, devoting fruits or drinking wine. These elements stress the difference of the Scythian sacrifice and give an image showing how the story should be accepted. The second way of description conversely is expressed implicitly without making the viewpoint so clear or giving directions about how the story should be read. There is no image given and the reader can be based only on the number of some rhetorical figures. There is no use of the method of comparison, analogy or denial, however sometimes is visible the technique of the inversion<sup>125</sup>.

Finally, it must be said that the description is not only the procedure of seeing something and then making is seen by others but it also has to do with knowing

---

<sup>123</sup>Hartog 1988, 254

<sup>124</sup>Hartog 1988, 256-257

<sup>125</sup>Hartog 1988, 257

something and making it known by others or at least let someone to come in touch with the knowledge. Nevertheless, the acquired knowledge through the description constitutes an important part throughout the narrative as for example the depiction of the rituals that are made in honor of Salmoxis. The rituals justify the reason why only the Getai among all the Thracians decided to encounter Darius, because they believed that they had Salmoxis on their side<sup>126</sup>.

---

<sup>126</sup>Hartog 1988, 258



## 6) THE EXCLUDED MIDDLE PART

Considering the rhetoric of otherness of Herodotus *Histories* there is another one method of recounting that defines the “other” and must be referred. It is not regarded so a technique as a rhythm that exists in the story and it is related to the narrator who is not able to deal with more than two terms at the same time when he tries to describe the “otherness”, for example the Greeks, the Scythians and the Persians. The Persians conflict the Scythians and the Greeks with the Persians. In Greece the Persians have the behavior of a Persian, appearing as not knowing how to confront the Greeks and are anti-*hoplites*. In Scythian *logos* on the other hand, the Persians fight the Scythians according to the traditional Greek tactics and are represented as *hoplites* and “Greeks”<sup>127</sup>.

In the final part of my thesis, I will present specific peoples whose image is represented in Herodotus, in order to show the “otherness” discussed above. Needless to say, these peoples are case-studies closely linked with the Black Sea. We shall begin with the Scythian *Logos* of Herodotus (Book 4) and his perception of the Other.

«As for marvels -*thômasia*-, this land has none».<sup>128</sup> If, as Herodotus himself writes it, there is nothing to catch one’s eye in Scythia, why then dedicate to this land the second longest digression to be found in the *Histories*, after the one dedicated to Egypt?<sup>129</sup>

It is proper to start by remembering that the greatest part of the *Histories* is covered with the so-called “barbarian *logoi*”, ethnographic descriptions of peoples such as the Persians, the Egyptians, the Scythians and the Libyans»,<sup>130</sup> followed by the recounting of the Persian war. The link between the two halves of Herodotus’ work, does not immediately meet the eye. Besides, the purpose of the Scythian *logos* is all the more obscure as it does not seem to include any «great deed»- *erga megala* - or marvel - *thaumasta* - that Herodotus claims to have interest in the preface. The question is further complicated by the loose status of historical texts in classical Antiquity - as opposed to other genres with a more explicit function.<sup>131</sup>

The question has thus often been raised of the function of this sequence raising in

---

<sup>127</sup>Hartog 1988, 258-259

<sup>128</sup>Hdt. 4.82.1: *θωμάσια δὲ ἡ χώρα αὐτῆ οὐκ ἔχει*

<sup>129</sup>A question asked by Hartog 1988, 30

<sup>130</sup>Xydopoulos 2005, 695

<sup>131</sup>see Momigliano, 1978 (*non vidi*)

its turn, the question of the status of Scythia in relation to Greece. From an intrinsic point of view, the paradox of Scythia could be briefly summarized as follows: on the one hand it is opposed to Greece as a nomad people, as people under the yoke of a king and as, geographically speaking, foreigners, and linguistically speaking, barbarians. On the other hand, Scythia is opposed through war and their quest of liberty, to Persia, Greece's archenemy in the *Histories*. From an extrinsic point of view, the Scythian *logos* should be understood in the troubled context of the aftermath of the Persian wars, and the intellectual changes it triggers in terms of Greek self-identity mostly.

Hence in our study of the Scythian *logos* we will concentrate our interest in the means whereby otherness, or conversely similarity - is presented and set into relief. We shall argue that despite the relevance of «Other» to term the Scythian's status regarding Greeks, the text displays a more finely-shaded perception than a bland binary opposition. To do so, we shall firstly discuss the intentions that might underlie this ethnographic digression in connection with the chronological background and the overall economy of the narrative. Secondly, we shall focus on the narrator's staging of differences in the core of the Scythian *logos*. This will lead us to examine the dynamism of the characterizations and the emphasis on the self-ascriptive value of cultural boundaries.

Because of the striking dichotomy inside the *Histories*, the Scythian *logos* has been thought to have different status varying between two extremes: from a learned and detailed depiction of reality motivated by a voyager's interest to a complete literary fabrication fashioned for ideological purposes. In his entry of the *Realencyclopädie* on Herodotus,<sup>132</sup> F. Jacoby states that the *Histories* stemmed from two distinct intentions: the barbarian *logoi* being the recounting of the author's travels, disconnected from the narration of the Persian war. Although this irreconcilable discrepancy has been criticized since then, there is some genuine curiosity at stake in the Scythian *logos*. It would be out of place to go here through the long history of Greek colonization, but let it be summarized that by the 5<sup>th</sup> century, Greeks had been brought into contact with most countries of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. This expansion of the geographical and cultural horizons through colonization and journeys of exploration led both to a demand for ideas that were usable in practice and to a strengthened theoretical curiosity».<sup>133</sup> This would

---

<sup>132</sup>Jacoby 1912

<sup>133</sup>Nippel 2002, 282

furthermore be in accordance with the narrator's claim in the preface that he wishes to record and broadcast what is worth knowing and remembering.

To what extent did these discoveries challenge or trigger a sense of collective identity among Greeks? Greece does not discover its neighbors during the Persian war. A sense of distance from the *barbaroi*, a feeling of contrast, can be detected from the archaic period onwards<sup>134</sup> in literature, where the important criteria for the distinction are language, as well as clothing and education. Now, the «Distanzgefühl» does not necessarily imply a unified sense of self-identity. Conversely, the archaic and early classical Greek sense of identity was characterized by a plurality of «intrahellenic» identities, as Hall calls them.<sup>135</sup> “It is clear that some of these intrahellenic ethnic identities may have existed prior to the emergence of a fully blown Hellenic consciousness which sought to subsume them”, he writes.

However, Herodotus does state a distinction from the beginning of his work between the Greeks - *Hellisi* - and others called «barbarians» - *barbaroisi*. He also states that he intends to record “the causes of the war they fought against each other”.<sup>136</sup> Accordingly, there is no denying that “Greek” meant something for the 5<sup>th</sup> century audiences and that something like a common - if not collective - identity existed. Besides, as “barbarians” and “Greeks” are the two antecedents of the pronoun *ἀλλήλοισι* that means «one another», it is striking that Herodotus makes little case of assimilating the whole barbarians whose deeds he records to the enemy of the Persian war. The thought of the war thus significantly distorts -or influences- the perception of the world and of Greece as opposed to the rest of the world. We should accordingly turn to the impact of the war on thinkers, and the way in which the Scythian *logos* is linked to the narrative of the war in the *Histories*.

The Scythian *logos* should be construed with consideration with the Persian war both as a narratological and a historical element. With respect to narratology, it is worth noting that the peoples mentioned in the Barbarian *logoi* are all people that Persia interacted with before it turned to Greece for war.<sup>137</sup> Foremost, it has been argued -most radically by F. Hartog<sup>138</sup> - that the Scythian *logos* was only a narrative anticipation of the Persian war narrative, that provided both dramatic effects and models of understanding. The arguments adduced are mostly the similarities in the

---

<sup>134</sup>Weiler 1968

<sup>135</sup>Hall 1997

<sup>136</sup>Hdt. I.1. *αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι*.

<sup>137</sup>Nippel 2002, 283

<sup>138</sup>Hartog 1988

narratives' structures<sup>139</sup> and the fact that the nomad strategy of hunting through fleeing supports the Periclean strategy of "hiding behind the wooden walls" - for as Scythians who carry their home cannot be defeated through the destruction of their territory, Athenian on boats could have survived the destruction of their home. If there is indeed a parallel between the war that Darius fought against the Scythians and the war fought by Xerxes against Greece, a shortcoming of Hartog's theory, is that it accounts for the Scythian *logos* only and not for any other barbarian *logos*. Therefore it might be interesting to also try to look for the the Scythian *logos* function as one of the barbarian *logoi*.

To do so, one might consider the link between those digressions and the aftermath of the Persian war. Evidences can be found throughout classical literature of a turn in the characterization of Hellenism in the wake of the Persian wars, and mostly in the tragedy.<sup>140</sup> On the tragic stage, vivid depictions of a shift from liberty to a state of barbarian slavery abound. A new image of the barbarian thus emerges as a literary *topos*. Concomitantly, as J. de Romilly puts it, it is not only the barbarians who are invented but also the "Hellenism". The two groups are characterized in constant opposition, staged in tragedy in constant opposition.

However, it has often been argued that this new characterization of what being Greek meant, as opposed to a barbarian way of life, was fashioned in an ideological way that constantly assessed Greeks' superiority over others. Such a contempt - or sense of superiority - is not reflected in the Scythian *logos*, which is why, now that we hope to have outlined the place of the Scythian *logos* in the historic and textual context of the *Histories*, we turn to an examination of the ways in which foreignness is set into relief in the Scythian *logos*.

The Scythians are presented as a group with its own land, history, and customs. The Scythian *logos* is made of an introductory sentence: "After taking Babylon, Darius himself turned to march against the Scythians",<sup>141</sup> followed by a long digression<sup>142</sup> on Scythia, its custom and some of its history. Then the recounting of the war between Persia and Scythia starts again interrupted by two smaller digressions on the size of Scythia<sup>143</sup> and the encounter of the Scythians with the Amazons<sup>144</sup>. The

---

<sup>139</sup>for the complete list see *ibid.* P.101

<sup>140</sup> see e.g. Hall, 1989 for an extensive analysis of the tragic corpus, or De Romilly 1993 for a comparison a shorter survey of a few striking occurrence of «barbarians» in the historical and tragic texts.

<sup>141</sup>Hdt. 4.1.1. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἴρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις.

<sup>142</sup>Hdt 4.1 -82

<sup>143</sup>Hdt. 4. 99-101

specificity and curiosity of Scythia are quite detailed and well set into relief. However, for different as they might be shown, it would be untrue to state that Herodotus' narrative consists in assessing the Greeks' superiority over the foreigners.

The following conclusion of Nippel: "However strange they may appear, the various customs are respected as an expression of the system currently in force among each people",<sup>145</sup> expresses most efficiently that there is no link in the *logos* between how different from what the narrator knows something is, and a supposed contempt on his part. On the contrary many hints at a form of respectful distance are to be found as for example when the narrator mentions that he thinks that the name given by the Scythian to Zeus is a very sensible one.<sup>146</sup>

Although difference is not the measure of contempt, Herodotus' work is not yet deprived of a certain sense of superiority as shown by the following sentence: "The Euxine Pontus, apart from Scythia, of all lands holds the most ignorant nations".<sup>147</sup> It is worth noting that Scythia has a particular status among foreigners. We can hence assess a particular status of Scythia, and the fact that Herodotus is capable of distinguishing among foreigners, and does not simply confuse them all under the superiority of Greece. Neither does he use Scythia's difference from Greece as an argument of inferiority.

Not only does the tone tend toward objectivity - as opposed to the accusations of cruelty<sup>148</sup> one may expect to find in the description of the warrior's tradition of scalping the enemies for instance-, also, the narrative conveys a genuine curiosity rather than an ideologically biased fiction in three ways. Firstly, the deconstruction of the prejudices on Scythia among which we can quote the endeavor to organize Scythia into centers and peripheries, whereas Scythia commonly epitomizes the *eschatia*.<sup>149</sup> Secondly, we now know with strong certainty<sup>150</sup> that at least the first two versions of the myth of the Scythian's origin are very close to their sources. We can assume that Herodotus tried with some honesty to give a perception as close to reality as possible

---

<sup>144</sup>Hdt. 4.110-117

<sup>145</sup>Nippel 2002, 284.

<sup>146</sup>Hdt. 4.59 « ὀνομάζεται δὲ σκυθιστὶ (...), Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλούμενος Παπαῖος.»

<sup>147</sup>Hdt. 4.46 «ὁ δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὐξεινος, (...) χωρέων πασῶν παρέχεται ἔξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεα ἀμαθέστατα.»

<sup>148</sup>on cruelty as a distinctive topos on Barbarian, see e.g. De Romily 1993 or Hall, 1989.

<sup>149</sup>on this topos on Scythia see Hartog, 1988.

<sup>150</sup>cf. Ivantchik 1999 where is shown that Herodotus' version of the first myth is a very precise transmission of an Iranian legend on the origin of the world and 2001 where is shown from an analyses of Scythians vases that the "greek version" of the Scythian's origin stems from Scythian myth.

of the others that are the Scythians. Lastly, the recurrence in the narrative structure of the ethnographical digressions of the *Histories* that address successively the same subjects - religion, clothing, funeral and marital customs mainly - conveys a certain distance from the topics it addresses.

No matter the intentions- which is always a risky question in literature - and despite the lack of strong ideological contempt, Scythia is seen through Greek eyes, and is only depicted using, one could say, Greek colors. As W. Nippel puts it: “It is evident that even for Herodotus the description of foreign culture could not do without interpretative models shaped according to his own standards”.

In *The mirror of Herodotus*, Hartog devotes his analysis to the whole process of making foreignness understandable. Let aside the question of knowing if the Scythians are literary creations for the sole purpose of handling a mirror to the Greeks, his analyses of the translation from the “opaque” to the “understandable” remain valid. Making a group *b* understandable for a group *a* to whom the narrator belongs, requires a *translation* of *b* in terms of *a*. The resort of this conversion is to transform “non-coincidence” into a “difference”,<sup>151</sup> that is to say an understandable distance. To do so, the foreignness cannot be conveyed anyhow else than by being filtered through Greek models of interpretation. As a matter of course, the very act of naming using Greek words is a way of working Scythia into Greek standards.

The means of the perception of the Scythian other are numerous and vary from explicit remarks to innuendos. The epitome of the former can be found in the sequence on the Scythian demography and the description of the bronze vessel that is “as much as six times greater than the cauldron dedicated by Pausanias son of Cleombrotus at the entrance of the Pontus”. It is plain here, how Greece is the unit of measure, the familiar element through which everything makes sense. Conversely, the sequence dedicated to sacrifices has to be deciphered using the Greek ritual of sacrifice as a «ghost text». Despite the difficulty seize the implicit shared knowledge of a group we don't belong to, we can still assess that the shift from instance to instance from explicit translation to implicit, creates varying effects of distance. To paraphrase Hartog, explicit translation reduces the gap between the two groups and the sense of foreignness. On the opposite, when the Greek standard is silenced, the effect of distance and the sense of foreignness is emphasized.

It should be noted that in *The mirror of Herodotus*, those reflections are

---

<sup>151</sup>Hartog 1988, 330

addressed in an overall discussion on the possibility of making the reader believe in the fictional Scythia. Even if we disagree with that proviso, the analysis remains valid as to the means by which otherness is perceived and rendered.

There is no doubt that the Scythian *logos* unfolds itself in constant dialog with Greek standards. Besides, the emphasis falls on the discrepancy between the two cultures and their seeming impermeability. Such is the case of the episodes of Anacharsis and Skyles which illustrate the fact that the Scythian flee with dread the use of foreign customs, and those of Greece most of all.<sup>152</sup> Anacharsis the learned traveler, and Skyles the *biglossus* are two Scythians who worship a Greek god - respectively the Mother of Gods, on the very Scythian territory and Dionysos, in a Greek city. In the two episodes the emphasis falls on the the act of transgression embodied in topographical terms - the hideout that is the forest, or the walls of the city - and on the hostile reaction of the rest of the Scythians. Thus it seems there is a conflictual opposition between Greeks and Scythian, underlined, Hartog argues, by the misunderstanding of the dionysiac mysteries by the Scythians who thinks the worshipper of Dionysos are crazy.

However, the opposite conclusion could be drawn from the analysis of this narrative elements, and the whole idea that the Scythian are presented as the Greek “Other” - in the sense of the latin *alter*: “of two” - can be criticized. Herodotus remark could indeed point at the consciousness of the relativity of custom, an idea reflected in the following words “They think that no other gods than their own exist”<sup>153</sup>. Furthermore, the two episodes could be construed not so much as tales of exclusions than as a proof that despite some kind of “Puritanism” the barrier between the two peoples is permeable - Anacharsis embodies the possibility of syncretism, and Skyles is *biglossos*.

The Greeks indeed are not in truth that hostile to foreign cultures: “There was constant awareness of how much of their own material and spiritual evolution was owed to the great eastern civilizations”.<sup>154</sup> Hall even argues that Greek self-definition is “aggregative”. Greek literature on foreign cultures shows strategies of “appropriation”, through myth of origins mostly.<sup>155</sup> The idea can be ventured that the

---

<sup>152</sup>Hdt. 4.76 « ζεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὗτοι φεύγουσι αἰνῶς χρᾶσθαι» ... Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἦκιστα».

<sup>153</sup>Hdt. 4.94. οὐδένα ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον. of « puritanism » the barrier between the two peoples is permeable - Anacharsis embodies the possibility of syncretism, and Skyles is *biglossos*.

<sup>154</sup>Nippel 2002, 281

<sup>155</sup>Hall 1997, 36 «A close examination of the constitutive myth of the Athenian, the Dorians and the Herakleidai shows how these groups used and manipulated ethnographic and genealogical traditions

recounting of the myths of origins play that part, whether Scythian are said to be descending from Zeus, or Heracles. The episode of Anacharsis and Skyles could also be understood as elements of common history. However, Hall herself, as opposed as she is to the idea of Greek constructing the foreigners as inferior “others”, admits that the Persian war induced a change: if Greek self-definition was aggregative prior to the war, after the war it become also oppositional. He nonetheless rejects the idea of “otherness” and the dichotomy it implies, and prefers the notion of “alien” - i.e. “other” in a context where there is more than two terms.

This idea of the other being perceived as an alien has some relevance in the Scythian *logos*. Thus, even Hartog is at pains to understand why Scythians are sometimes presented rather close to than opposed to Greece. A significant amount of sequences display a shift in the delimitation of the “Other”. In the preface, Greek and Barbarian are strongly opposed, grammatically and semantically. The world seems to fall into two categories as Herodotus claims he wants to record on the other hand the deeds of the Greeks, and on the other hand the deeds of the barbarians, and evokes the war the one against the other. Nevertheless, as the Scythian *logos* opens, the Scythian are not opposed to Greece anymore, but through the same idea of war, they are opposed to Persia. Then, in IV.28, Scythians are opposed to Egyptians<sup>156</sup>.

Elsewhere, the Scythians even seem to be assimilated to Greeks in the contrast they participate in with Amazons or Persia. Hartog shows that to set into relief the inversion at stake in the Amazons’ society, Scythians are made to behave like Greeks by Herodotus. Then again, when it comes to war strategy, the traditional opposition between Greek hoplites and Persian archers is replaced by an opposition between the Persian infantry and the Scythian cavalry. This shows the heuristic value of the use of “otherness” in the *Histories*. The establishing of symmetry serves a double purpose. Firstly, it has been shown that Herodotus made a great use of maps when writing, and that he believed in a symmetrical organization of the world<sup>157</sup>. Secondly, and in consequence, “otherness” functions as a further explication, a further understanding of what it is opposed to. There is therefore a pervasive rhetoric of otherness, and a strong sense of radical alterity throughout the Scythian *logos*, because this kind of narrative effects has a strong heuristic power. Herodotus strives to situate Scythia with regards

---

not only to carve out distinct identities, but also to affect assimilation with ( and differentiation from ) other ethnic groups.»

<sup>156</sup>see Hartog 1988, 83 on how Scythians and Egyptians are symmetrical on the matters of north/south, young/ old, cold/hot, Istros/Nile.

<sup>157</sup>Hartog 1988, 80 who quotes Myres, *Geographical History in Greek Lands*, 1953 (*non vidi*).



to elements from without, most of the time Greece but not always.

It seems to us that the emphasis falls on the ascriptive dimensions of cultural boundaries. The reader of the *Histories* is provided with a map of the world that records marvels, topographic elements, customs and cultural elements such as the way people see themselves and are seen by their neighbors.

This idea is supported by the analyses of Hall on what «culture» might have meant in Greek classical Antiquity. He argues that to a Greek mind, genetic, linguistic, religious or common cultural features do not ultimately define the ethnic group. These are symbols that are manipulated according to subjectively constructed ascriptive boundaries. Thus, because “The ethnic group is distinguished from other social and associative groups by virtue of association with a specific territory and a shared myth of descent rather putative than actual, and judged by consensus”, to define the Scythians as people, to get as close as possible to their reality as a group, Herodotus has to discuss the self-ascriptive boundaries not only of Scythians themselves but also of their neighbors to understand where the limit passes between them and others.

All those elements, whether topographical or cultural have an intellectual value that satisfies the Greeks’ growing curiosity for their neighbors but also more pragmatic values. In the *logos*, the knowledge of geography is an asset in war, and one might think that the *Histories* provide the Greeks with a great strategic asset. Another idea has been quite convincingly ventured by J. Hall<sup>158</sup> that before democracy was introduced in Greece at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, knowledge of the eastern neighbors, and the correlative *philoxenia*, was the privilege of aristocracy. The interest in barbarian neighbors might also have this political aspect.

Lastly, it should be argued that the emphasis seems to fall all the more on the ascriptive value of cultural boundaries as the whole Scythian *logos*, is an invitation to reflect on cultural boundaries through the description of the subgroups of Scythians, the staging of the Assembly of Scythia and their neighbors, the collocation of tree versions of the myth of history, and the constant staging of the act of enquiring.

To conclude, there is a change after Persian war, but it does not erase the previous way of thoughts. Furthermore the only effect of the war was not only to give Greece a sense of superiority: it also brought in its wake a growth of empirical knowledge on foreign lands. One must not forget that despite a strong dichotomy displayed

---

<sup>158</sup>Hall 2002, 199

contemporarily in tragedy the 5<sup>th</sup> century is also still marked by a more finely-shaded notion of otherness and a less conflictuous link with neighbors.

Thus, the perception of the other in Scythian *logos* is a dynamic one. The Scythians are not described as a bland reverse of the Greek, neither as an epitome of the barbarian. The *logos* displays a lot of different points of view that associate to outline Scythia as a geographical, historical, political, and religious whole. The means of the perception of otherness vary from explicit to implicit. We might argue that implicitness favors the evocation of the Greek self because Greek self-identity is still fragile, complex, and uncertain. A significant amount of symmetrical effect with unifying elements in Greece: ritual for example. Thus the depiction of the Scythian other also functions as a mean of stabilizing an upset world by the upheavals of the war.

## THE THRACIANS

Continuing, it must be referred that the *Histories* of Herodotus could be connected with the *Dissoi logoi* where the author depicts the customs that are considered “shameful” by the Ionians and “good” by the Lacedaemonians or “good” by the Ionians and “shameful” by the Lacedaimonians in 2.9-10 and then talks about the customs of the Thracians, the Persians and other nations’ to make clear that there are two aspects of the good and the shameful in each case. From 1.134.2-3 where the Persians are presented as respecting all their neighbors except of those that dwelled away and from 2.158.5 where it is mentioned that the Egyptians characterized all the people that did not know their language *barbaroi*<sup>159</sup>, it could be supposed that Herodotus’ knowledge about the barbarism was relative and with those references he comes up against the general idea that the Greeks were superior from the other nations, an idea that dominated after the Persian Wars<sup>160</sup>.

Moreover, it was also supported from Hartog that Herodotus in his work was representing the barbarian customs as they were reflected on a “mirror” of Greek customs. Hartog in an effort to show how Herodotus should be read talks about a three way mirror reflection. First of all, it is important to mention that the whole craft of the historian was preserved and not only parts or terms and through its passages the Greeks were trying to find elements for their identity by finding who they are and by their abilities. The question that arises through this procedure according to Hartog is whether the idol that is reflected on the “mirror” is real or not. Secondly, Herodotus turns the “mirror” to his audience who in those days were the Greeks of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. As it is reasonable for every mirror to reflect something, the same happens in this case. The “historical mirror” of the author reflects the various customs of the barbarians or in other words the “other”. For instance, the biggest part of the Scythians represented the so-called other, because they had not developed any kind of agriculture or they had not installed *poleis*, they were uncivilized and nomads. Thirdly, the mirror of Herodotus also reflected the physical world and the Hellenic and Barbaric past by using rhetorical schemes and ways such as the analogy and the

---

<sup>159</sup>Thomas 2000, 131, Xydopoulos 2007, 596

<sup>160</sup>Cartledge 1993, 55-56, Thomas 2000, 134, Xydopoulos 2007, 596

concern about the proportion and the numbers, his interest about the wonders and with lists including customs that are connected by the reverse<sup>161</sup>.

Finally, it was also supported that the stories that were connected to the ethnography were fabricated because Herodotus' community consisted of Classical Greeks who had the need to be considered as superior through the features of their environment being compared with the features of the foreigners' environment. Hartog claims that the problem starts from the historian who is not clear enough when he talks about the group *b* which consists of the others to the group *a* while he belongs to the group *a* which consists of Greeks something that means that he must be extremely persuasive in his narrative<sup>162</sup>.

Talking about the Thracians it must be mentioned the paper of Nippels of 1990 which referred to Herodotus and the Thracian history and community. Even if it was dealing with Herodotus' way of thinking, his sources and the topics that interested him, it also provided significant elements about the Thracians depicting them as a Greek of the author's times would do<sup>163</sup>. D.Asheri making some comments on the way that Herodotus represents the Thracian community said that what had the historian in his mind when he dealt with topics connected with the ethnography was to present some issues from the everyday life and customs of the northern tribes that inhabited between the Scythia and the Greece. The result of this representation was to be created a portrait of a world that depicted the features that scrambled both the imagination and the realistic coarseness<sup>164</sup>.

The biggest part of the Herodotus *Histories* as it was already mentioned is occupied by the "barbarian *logoi*" which consist of the ethnographic representations of the people that were considered as barbarians like for instance the Persians, the Egyptians, the Scythians and the Libyans. Nevertheless, there is no Thracian *logos* included among them, something that leads us to the following questions: 1) Why there is no *logos* referring to them as was for the other people? The answer to this question could be connected with the area that the Thracians dwelled which was near to Athens and the southern Greece in contrast with the Egypt and the Libya which were far away and the colonies that were founded in the area of northern Aegean could prove easily this case. It is also important to add that Herodotus could gather all

---

<sup>161</sup>Hartog 1988, xxiii-xxiv, Xydopoulos 2007, 24-25

<sup>162</sup>Hartog 1988, 212, Xydopoulos 2007, 596-597

<sup>163</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 597,

<sup>164</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 597

the clues that he needed about the Thrace without leaving from Athens, as during his era there had already been created a Thracian society with its own cults and *nomoi* and Herodotus could derive the information that he needed by examining it<sup>165</sup>. Finally, Thrace was also stated in *Περίοδος Γης* of Hecataeus so the historian had also in his disposal whatever he needed regarding to toponyms or ethnics<sup>166</sup>.

The ethnography as it was presented by Herodotus must not be referred again as it has already been debated<sup>167</sup>. However, there are some parts that must be observed again from the beginning taking into consideration the viewpoint of Hartog. Firstly, talking about the territory, the historian mentions that the Thrace was a location with four sides neighboring at the south and east with the Aegean Sea and the Euxine and at the north and west with the rivers Ister and Strymon (VI.99.1-2 and V.1-2)<sup>168</sup>. According to Asheri these two rivers were not referred by chance by Herodotus. Talking specifically about the river Strymon it must be said that it constituted the western border even before it had entered in Greece<sup>169</sup>. It is not clear what Asheri meant when he was referring to Greece. Herodotus mentioned in his Books the Thermopylae as *τὴν ἔσοδον ἐς τὴν Ελλάδα* (VII.176.2) and if the word entering had the meaning of entering in a different cultural background, then the kind of the relationships between that Thrace and the Greek colonies that were founded on Thracian shores should be reviewed. Secondly, concerning the Thracians, they were characterized as the greatest in number of all the humankind such as the Indians (V.3.1). When Herodotus starts to talk about the Thracians he uses the general word *Θρήικες* but later he passes to the reference of some Thracian tribes like were the Gettae, the Tausi and those who dwelled above Crestonai being extremely detailed when he talked about their *nomoi* and ceremonies. Some of these tribes are treated with approval like for instance the Chersonite Dolonci who appear as being civilized because they had kings to govern them (VI.34.1- *οἱ βασιλεύοντες*). This reference is quite bizarre as Herodotus also mentioned that the Thracians were not able to be gathered all together and be governed by the same ruler (V.3.2). The reason that Herodotus makes such a reference probably must be his Athenian sources, as the Athenians had good relationships with the Chersonite Dolonci and they had

---

<sup>165</sup>Asheri 1990, 133, Xydopoulos 2007, 597-598

<sup>166</sup>Asheri 1990, 134, Xydopoulos 2007, 598

<sup>167</sup>Asheri 1990, 134, Xydopoulos 2007, 598

<sup>168</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 598

<sup>169</sup>Asheri 1990, 136, Xydopoulos 2007, 598

participated together in a colonial undertaking<sup>170</sup>. On the other hand, tribes like the Brygoi, Edones and Apsinthians are treated with completely different way, mainly the Apsinthians who were foes of the Chersonite Dolonci and for this reason they were also dangerous for the Athenian plans in the area<sup>171</sup>.

Thirdly, when Herodotus deals with different people he always makes some references to their appearance. Concerning the Thracians the historian does not make any statement about their appearance except the way that they were dressed (VII.75.1). The thing that impressed Herodotus the most were the tattoos of the Thracians for which he mentions that they were signs of good origin (V.6.2) while in other parts of his work he mentions that only the slaves were branded (II.132.2, V.35.3, VII.35.1, VIII.233.2). In the *Dissoi logoi*, where are depicted some statements about the shamefulness and the good the issue about the Thracian tattoos is not commented in bad way. For instance, it is said that the tattoos that were made on the Thracian daughters was a mark of beauty even if it was believed by others that the people that had tattoos on their bodies were criminals (FSV 90.2.13). When the author of the *Dissoi logoi* mentioned the word the other or ἄλλοις he must have been referred to the other Greeks and the non-Greeks. It is significant to mention that in the examples that uses the author about the shamefulness and the good to show the differences of the nations as for Scythians-Greeks, Macedonians-Greeks, Lydians-Greeks, Ionians-Spartans, Persian-Greeks and Thessalians-Sicilian Greeks, there is no use of the word the others in the way that it is used in his narrative about the Thracians. What is obvious in the example of the Thracian tattoos is the “ethnological relativism” which means that the tattooing is one of many other things that belong to the list of the characteristics of that society<sup>172</sup>.

Fourthly, talking about the Thracian polygamy (V.5.1) which is accepted by the Greeks as one of their characteristics, in Herodotus it is depicted like something that diversified them from the other people and not as something that showed how inferior their culture was compared to others<sup>173</sup>. Also, Herodotus refers to the sale of the Thracian children as slaves ὑπ’ ἐξαγωγῆ, something that was a common practice between Athenians and Thracians as the Athens was the biggest importer of slaves.

---

<sup>170</sup>Asheri 1990, 139, Xydopoulos 2007, 598

<sup>171</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 598-599

<sup>172</sup>Asheri 1990, 143, Xydopoulos 2007, 599

<sup>173</sup>Asheri 1990, 145, Xydopoulos 2007, 599

Finally, it is good to mention that this custom depicted the pro-Solonian conditions in Athens<sup>174</sup>.

Fifthly, there must also be referred the funeral customs of the Thracian tribes like were the Gettae, the Trausi and those who dwelled above the Crestonai. The Gettae had the conviction that they could become immortal through a special ceremony that was connected to their god Zalmoxis (VI.94). Herodotus in this case neither refuses this story neither accepts it something that shows again that he didn't want to follow the Greek models of interpretation. Talking about the Trausi is mentioned their mourning when a baby is born because of all the bad things that it is going to meet and the laughter of them when somebody dies because as they believed he gets free from all the suffering that he met during his life. Concerning this, it could be said that this was something that was believed in general by many people and in all times<sup>175</sup>. Finally, talking about the tribe that dwelled above the Crestonai Herodotus says that for those people it was a dishonor when a man died his wife not to be buried with him and this was a prerogative only of the woman that the dead husband loved the most (V.5). This last Greek-centered example of Herodotus with barbarian elements is connected only with the specific tribe<sup>176</sup>.

Finally, to conclude, what comes out from the cases about the Thracians that were studied is that during the times that the Greeks had determined their ethnic identity and had given enough emphasis on the different elements of the barbarians compared with them, Herodotus being referred to the Thracians depicts them completely different. The picture that the historian tries to give about the Thracians is closer to the picture of the Greeks before reaching high levels of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The Thracians never had been characterized as the "others" from Herodotus and the other classical literary sources. When Herodotus was mentioning the other foreign people he was always showing the differences between them as the reflection of the customs on a mirror, a way that was not followed in the case of Thracians which makes clear that they were not considered as barbarians or foreigners. The three things that played an important role in the way that Herodotus represented the Thracians must have been: a) the colonization of the Greeks in the north part of the Aegean and the Euxine coast, b) the diffusion of the Athenian strength to the Thracian area something that reduced the

---

<sup>174</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 599

<sup>175</sup>Asheri 1990, 149, Xydopoulos 2007, 600

<sup>176</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 600

distance that separated the two nations and made their contacts more frequent. Also, the Athenians were accustomed to the existence of the Thracians in their country either as *metoikoi* either as slaves using their funerary and religious customs and simultaneously respecting their identity and ethnic feelings, c) Finally, it must also be said that there were plenty of references of Thrace in Greek mythology. For example, Diomedes, Orpheus and Dionysus appeared as having origin from there. Their presence in Greek mythology was also proved through archaeological findings with depictions on vases so there was plenty of evidence for the Thracians and Herodotus as well as the people of his era were well informed about it<sup>177</sup>.

---

<sup>177</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 600-601



## THE MASSAGETTAE

In some cases the term ‘barbarian’ was used to indicate people that were completely different from Greeks and their Greek past was unthinkable, such as Massagettae who were recategorized as semi-exotic together with other Scythian tribes, which meant that they could never be re-categorized as Greeks. The ethnicity of the Massagettae was unquestionable, their customs and habits were completely different not only from the Greek, but also from the Egyptian and Persian<sup>178</sup>. The language that they spoke could be a good example of their distinction, but there were other factors also that made those people “barbarians” in the notion of the Greeks, such as their social behavior and the *apoikiai* that were settled after 750 B.C. and during colonization were *poleis* with characteristics of city-state judging the Massagettae and the others as barbarians<sup>179</sup>.

Herodotus is the first that offers full accounts about the people that inhabited the area of the Black sea fringes and makes references to Massagettae in his *logoi* from 2.201-216. The famous historian divides the Scythia in three parts, the civilized part of Greek colonies near the Black sea, the nomads who were located in the area between the colonies and the interior of the country and to those who lived at the fringes, the so-called “utter barbarians”. The Massagettae according to Herodotus, were big in number and had a strong nation. They were located around the river Araxes, opposite the Issedones and were considered to be of Scythian origin. The biggest part of the Herodotus narration about this nation is connected with the war with Cyrus I, the great king of Persians<sup>180</sup>.

After the death of the Massagettae king, his wife Tomyris succeeded him on the throne. Firstly, Cyrus made a wedding proposal to Tomyris and after her rejection he tried to conquer her land something that he insisted even after her warnings. After deceiving the Massagettae and having them drunk with wine, Cyrus destroyed a big part of the army, taking also as a prisoner Tomyris’ son, who killed himself as soon as he realized the disaster of his army. After the death of her son, Tomyris united her

---

<sup>178</sup>Xydopoulos 2010, 27-28

<sup>179</sup>Xydopoulos 2010, 26-27

<sup>180</sup>Xydopoulos 2010, 20

whole army and after the big battle with the Persians, she defeated them. Cyrus was killed and Tomyris decapitated him and placed his head in a basket full of blood<sup>181</sup>.

After this narration about the war between the Persians and the Massagetae nation from 1.205 to 214, the historian describes the customs and the way Massagetae looked. He says that their clothes had similarities with those of Scythians as they were dressed with gold and silver ornaments. They had only one wife, but their women were common to everybody, they made sex openly without shame and after their parents grew old their closest relatives sacrificed them and their parts were mixed with the parts of other animals, boiled and eaten. In case that someone died from a disease, he was buried<sup>182</sup>.

Also, another important thing that must be referred is that according to Herodotus, in *logoi* from 1.215 to 216, Massagetae were nomads, they lived in wagons, did not cultivate the soil, ate meat and fish and drunk milk. The Sun was their only god and they sacrificed horses in his honor<sup>183</sup>.

Herodotus *Histories* give us many cases of people that were living in the fringe areas above the Black sea. These cases are the most appropriate to give as a picture of the criteria that the Greeks used in order to define the *Other*. The Scythian tribes of Massagetae and Issedones consumed the parts of their dead relatives while Tauroi on the other hand sacrificed all their foreign slaves, to a Greek goddess, Iphigeneia. What is a common factor in all these cases is the factor of savagery<sup>184</sup>.

According to the Massagetae example, Massagetae were deceived by Cyrus drinking the wine. The wine is connected with civilization and was given to them by Persians who were also barbarians. The fact that Massagetae got so easily drunk shows also how unfamiliar they were with wine that was connected to civilization, so they were “uncivilized”. The advice for offering them wine was given to Cyrus by the king of Lydia, who was aware of the Greek customs and their way of living<sup>185</sup>.

Another thing that classifies Massagetae to barbarians is the expression “blood-thirsty” that connects them with cannibals something from which Greeks abstained

---

<sup>181</sup>Xydopoulos 2010, 21

<sup>182</sup>Xydopoulos 2010, 21

<sup>183</sup>Xydopoulos 2010, 21

<sup>184</sup>Xydopoulos 2010, 23

<sup>185</sup>Xydopoulos 2010, 23

long time ago. Finally, another barbarian habit was the way that they behaved to their women, which was primeval like an animal's behavior<sup>186</sup>.

---

<sup>186</sup>Xydopoulos 2010, 23

## CONCLUSION

The conclusion of all that had been said above about the “Greekness” is that it was something very complicated and fluid according to what it had to do with its formation. The people that were considered as Greeks were those who thought of themselves that they were Greeks and this notion was also shared by those who had the main role of “controlling” the limits of the so-called Greekness, such as were in 5<sup>th</sup> century the *Hellanodikai* who were responsible for the participation in the Olympic Games. These people that thought that they were Greeks belonged to a group who concerned themselves Greeks through some features that were uniting them and these features were related to their notion about their ancestors, their language and religious rituals. The culture material was not so strong in order to define the Greekness as it could be adopted by non-Greek people. The ancestry was one of the main elements that were used by those that had the special role of “controlling” the boundaries of Greekness however it was not the basic criterion for defining the ethnicity of someone. So, as the ancestry did not play so important role in order to define if someone was Greek or not it is easy to understand that since the Pelasgian Athenians according to Herodotus became Greeks they were no longer considered Pelasgians and they were completely different from them<sup>187</sup>.

Concerning the Greek mythological discourses it is important to mention, that through their representations it was very easy to understand how the Greeks developed their notions related to the world, the identity and the ethnicity. These discourses included information not only about the Greek ancestors, but also about the barbarian kings as for instance the Pelops and Danaos and for barbarian people that dwelled in Greece during the heroic age. The myths about the Pelasgians mentioned all these details. As the ancestry that was based on blood was not *the* criterion for someone to be thought as Greek, the barbarians could easily be regarded as Greeks and it *was* important for the perception of those barbarians to become Greeks to be helped blur the perception about what it was to be Greek as well<sup>188</sup>.

Herodotus, through his work which is called the *Histories* and was connected with the Persian Wars deals with the Greek and barbarian accomplishments and the

---

<sup>187</sup>Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 140-141

<sup>188</sup>Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 143-144

cultural differences in general, giving emphasis on the people and the reasons of the war and tries to depict the characteristics of the otherness by analyzing the customs or *nomoi* of the people that the Persians met during their marches. His main concern was to create a work that would remain memorable, presenting after an examination the events that were proved more logical, overlooking sometimes some parts. Herodotus, describes the *nomoi* of each society with various methods such as for example, the methods of inversion, comparison and analogy, the measuring scale of *thoma*, of translation, naming and classifying, the description of what is seen and how it is made seen to the others and finally, of the excluded middle, trying his best to transmit and make understandable all the information that he had collected by his own autopsies or by other informants. He supports that the *nomos* is the king of all and it and not the environment creates the features of a person. That all the *nomoi* are unstable and do not belong exclusively to any society. The democracy for example, according to Herodotus is a custom it is not an Athenian possession and can be obtained by barbarians as well.

The historian presents the customs without criticizing them even if some of them are extremely ferocious and would evoke the abhorrence of Greeks, such as for example, the cannibalism. However, even if he does not take a stand for something explicitly, he does not accept each custom in the same way. So, what comes out is that even if Herodotus tries to be more intransigent, he does not cease being Greek and not showing aversion to some customs that exceed the human reason. Moreover, it is important to say that he shows also a different attitude towards barbarians with whom the Greeks had good relations as for example the Thracians, whose tattoos are accepted as something good, in contrast with other points in the craft where they are depicted as something criminal, and the Chersonite Dolonci.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Asheri, D., “Herodotus on Thracian society and History”, in Burkett W. *et al* (ed.), *Herodote et les peuples non Grecs*, Entretiens Hardt 35, 1990, 133-134, 136, 139, 143, 145, 149.
- Cartledge, P., *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*, Cambridge, 1993 (ελλ. μτφ. 2002), 41-43, 55-62.
- De Jacoby, F., “Herodotos”, RE Suppl.2, 1912, 205-520.
- De Romilly, J., « Les barbares dans la pensée de la Grèce classique », Phoenix 47, 1993, 283-292.
- Easterling, P.E & Knox, B.M.W., *Ιστορία της Αρχαίας Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας*, Αθήνα, 2006, 568, 580-581.
- Gruen, S.E., *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, Princeton-Oxford, 2011.
- Hall, E. *Inventing the Barbarian. Greek Self-definition through Tragedy*, Oxford, 1989.
- Hall, J.M., *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge, 1997, xiii, 36.
- Hall, J.M., *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*, Chicago-London, 2002, 199.
- Hartog, F., *The Mirror of Herodotus. The Representation of the Other in the Writing of the History* (tr. Lloyd J.), Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1988, xvii,xxiii-xxiv, 80, 83, 212-242, 244-250, 252-254, 256-259, 330.
- Ivantchik, A., « Une légende sur l'origine des Scythes (Hdt. IV, 5-7) et le problème des sources du Scythikos logos d'Hérodote » in *Revue des études grecques* 112, 1999, 141-192.
- Ivantchik, A., « La légende "grecque" sur l'origine des Scythes (Hérodote 4.8-10) » in *Origines gentium* (Ausonius – Publications, Etudes 7), Fromentin V. and Gotteland S. (ed.), 2001, Bourdeaux-Paris, 207-220.
- Lateiner, D., *The Historical Method of Herodotus*, Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1989, 6-10.
- Luce, J.T., *The Greek Historians*, New York, 1997, 15-18, 20-21, 36.
- Momigliano, A., “The Historians of the Classical World and Their Audiences: some Suggestions”, *ASNP* 8.1, 1978, 59-75.
- Montanari, F., *Ιστορία της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας: Από τον 8<sup>ο</sup> αι. π.Χ έως τον 6<sup>ο</sup> αι. μ.Χ.*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 2008, 494-495, 498-500, 506, 509-512.
- Nippel, W., “The Construction of the Other”, *Greeks and Barbarians*, in Harrison T. (ed.), New York, 2002, 281-284.
- Rawlinson, G., *Herodotus Histories*, Hertfordshire, 1996, vii.

- Sourvinou-Inwood, C., “Herodotos (and others) on Pelasgians: Some Perceptions of Ethnicity”, in Derow P.-Parker R. (ed.), *Herodotus and his world*, Oxford, 2003, 140-141, 143-144.
- Thomas, R., *Herodotus in Context. Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion*, Cambridge, 2000, 2, 4-5, 103-105, 114-123, 129-132, 134-136, 138-139, 161-169.
- Weiler, I., “The Greek and non-Greek in the Archaic Period” *GRBS* 9, 1968, 21-29.
- Xydopoulos, I., “The Thracian image in Herodotus and the Rhetoric of otherness”: *Proceedings of the Mediterranean Crossroads Conference (MCC): New Trends in the Study of the Mediterranean and its History at the Onset of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 10-13 May 2005, Athens-Oxford, 2007, 594-601.
- Xydopoulos, I., “The Thracian image in Herodotus and the Rhetoric of otherness”: *Proceedings of the 10th international congress of Thracology*, 18-23 Octobre 2005, Komotini-Alexandroupolis, 693-697.
- Xydopoulos, I., «Η εικόνα των Μακεδόνων στη Γραμματειακή Παράδοση της Κλασικής Έποχης, Όψεις του Άλλου, Η Περίπτωση του Ηροδότου», *Αρχαία Μακεδονία VII, Πρακτικά Ζ' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για την Αρχαία Μακεδονία*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 2007, 24-25.
- Xydopoulos, I., “Defining Identities in the Black Sea Region: The Case of the Massagetae in the Greek Literary Sources”, Θεσσαλονίκη, 2010, 20-21, 23, 26-28.