

to each other ethnically or culturally. The confusion between Aethiopia and India (and their respective peoples) was, for instance, very frequent. The usefulness of all these far-away realms was, of course, that they could be imaginatively used as a heuristic tool to discuss the limits of societal and political organization models. Bichler is also able to point out divergences in the imagery of the three respective areas, especially in Augustan material like Diodorus. Finally, this enjoyable and insightful volume is brought to a close by 'Der Antagonismus von Asien und Europa – eine historiographische Konzeption aus Kleinasien?' (236–252), another diachronic and comparative look into a historiographical concept – this time one that has been studied by other scholars as well, especially in the case of Herodotus and the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places*. Yet the juxtaposition of Asia and Europe is such a vital one, not only for ancient Greek identity-building, but for the very foundations of later Western thought-patterns, that it behoves re-visiting. As in so many of the articles in this volume, Bichler's ability to follow the *longue durée* of the literary tradition enriches our understanding of the question in ways that are most welcome.

Antti Lampinen

*Herodots Quellen – Die Quellen Herodots*. Herausgegeben von BORIS DUNSCH – KAI RUFFING. *Classica et Orientalia* 6. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013. ISBN 978-3-447-06884-0. VIII, 352 S., 9 Tabellen, 4 Diagramme. EUR 58.

JOHANNES BREHM: *Generationenbeziehungen in den Historien Herodots*. *Classica et Orientalia* 8. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013. ISBN 978-3-447-06960-1. XIV, 285 S. 5 Abb. EUR 64.

The current reviewer does not particularly envy Herodotus specialists. An important, fascinating, and influential ancient writer quite naturally generates vast amounts of scholarship, but Herodotus studies are a particularly voluminous field – its edited volumes and conference proceedings often exhibiting a mixture of truly brilliant and utterly anodyne contributions commingled cheek-by-jowl. For someone who would need to go through most of the new scholarship as a point of professional practice, this could easily become frustrating. For scholars who, on the other hand, only need to dip into the steady stream of *Herodoteana* for their research purposes, the effect can be disorienting, and often results in voluminous excursions and much back-up reading. To be sure, there are approachable and concise introductions and companion-volumes to Herodotus – with academic publishers increasingly favouring such fast-profit formats ordered *en masse* to university libraries – but these can hardly be expected to correspond to the needs of most scholars. It is thus the edited volumes such as the two published in Harrassowitz's series *Classica et Orientalia* in 2013, that the average ancient historian with a need to read up on Herodotean themes will turn to.

Johannes Brehm's *Generationenbeziehungen in den Historien Herodots* is (to this reviewer's knowledge) the first study to expressly address the concept of inter- and intragenerational dynamics in Herodotus' work. It is this double viewpoint that makes the work particularly fascinating: on the one hand, Brehm is interested in Herodotean indications of feelings of commonality between members of the same generation, and on the other, in the descriptions of diachronic relationships between successive generations. This aim is not an unproblematic one, however, and leads Brehm

by necessity to deal with the ancient theories of life stages (30–37) simply because this might come closest to helping him define which individuals would have been perceived as being of the same generation. Yet Brehm does show that the ideas of both 'sociological generation' and 'genealogical generation' seem close to perceptions that Greeks themselves already shared. Among its myriad pleasures, Brehm's book does a very good job in exploring questions such as the narrative theme of 'intergenerational warners' – think of Croesus or Artabanus – to whom Part 3 (65–193) is devoted, or the tensions between continuity and rupture in the narratives of the Median, Lydian, and Persian royal houses (Part 4, 195–258). The pedagogical aspects of the intergenerational warners and the ruptures often depicted as taking place during the succession to power of the next generation are also used to show the way in which Herodotus was able to make these tensions into narratological devices, often involving the sketching out and assessment of the (mostly barbarian) elite individuals' ethical character. If stories about barbarian rulers' successes and failures were 'good to think with' for Herodotus' contemporaries, it also seems that inter- and intragenerational dynamics provided much fodder for the historiographer's craft. The 'Personenkonstellationen' are a hitherto unexamined network (or chain), the linkages of which enabled Herodotus to insert his moral drama into the royal histories.

Boris Dunsch and Kai Ruffing's inspiring miscellany *Herodots Quellen – Die Quellen Herodots* is based on a conference held in 2011 in Marburg to mark the fortieth anniversary of the publication of Detlev Fehling's *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot* (Berlin & New York 1971). Fehling's scholarship – together with that of François Hartog – did much to emphasize the literary and fictive aspect of Herodotus' *Histories*. Subsequent generations of researchers have continued to debate and reassess these originally rather controversial contributions, and as the volume at hand testifies, it seems that a more balanced appreciation of Fehling's (like Hartog's) ideas is finally possible. As Sabine Föllinger's afterword to the volume makes clear, the current scholarship tends not to be overly doctrinal about the truth value of Herodotus' data, avoiding the old 'Father of History/Father of Lies' paradigm altogether. The book represents a heterogeneous collection, in three languages, and the internal division of the volume seems slightly awkward (three of its five subsections consist of only one article), but almost anybody working on Herodotus' narrative, sources, or use of local traditions will find something stimulating in it. After Ruffing's introduction, the volume kicks off with a section on the formation of *Histories*, consisting solely of an impressive and lengthy study by Elizabeth Irwin on the dating and context of Herodotus' text. Irwin argues that on the basis of 9,73, a *logos* on Decelea and its role in the mythical episode of Theseus' abduction of Helen, Herodotus was anticipating the sort of narratives on the Athenian past and present that were to become enshrined in his younger contemporary Thucydides' work, and sought to complicate and undermine them. This suggests a *terminus post quem* of 413 BCE for the received version of the *Histories*. The article also includes an appendix on the available sources for the abduction myth.

The volume's next section is devoted to the relationship of Herodotus to his sources. First, Heinz-Günther Nesselrath examines some of the ambiguities inherent in Herodotus' many references to allegedly indigenous sources: the focus is on the redoubled salvation of Croesus from being burned at the stake by Cyrus, and the assertion of Egyptian origins to the Colchians. Next, Robert Rollinger's study of the Herodotean portrayal of Darius' and Xerxes' oikoumenic dominion discusses the alignments between Herodotus' narrative and the ancient Near Eastern epigraphic sources. He demonstrates how many of the acts by the Persian rulers narrated by Herodotus can be compared

with Assyrian constructions of royal authority; to the theme of 'conquest of the sea', so clearly present in the *Histories*, one might – in the light of later Greek sources such as the *Ninos Romance* (F B2–3) and others – also add the similarly topographical symbol of domination, the 'conquest of the mountains'. Stephanie West's piece likewise deals with Darius' pontoon-bridge, though from the starting-point of Herodotus' ekphrasis of a picture of the deed, dedicated in the Samian Heraeum by the bridge's designer himself. She notes that both the image and the bridge itself need to be interpreted in the light of the Near Eastern traditions, and suggests that it may have been the picture that informed Herodotus' belief that Darius' army included soldiers from every people his empire ruled (4,87). This is a tantalizing possibility, since it conjures up one possible iconographic route of transmission from the Imperial Persian to Classical Greek ethnographical thinking. The section concludes with Francesco Prontera's brief but inspired look into dates and sources in the Herodotean origin-stories of different peoples: the case studies he foregrounds are the Cretan origins of Messapian Iapygians, the Egyptian origins of Colchians, and – turning to autoethnography – the origins of the Greeks themselves.

The next section, 'Herodot als Literat', seems very much like the conceptual heart of the volume. Reinhold Bichler provides a fine look into Herodotus' autoptic (or perhaps more aptly, 'autacoustic') narratology. It is the role of autopsy as a part of chronological arguments that Bichler devotes most attention to: the *Aigyptios logos* of Book 2. But it was not just the immensity of the Egyptian civilization's past that required autopsy-based authority-building from Herodotus; another topic that Bichler examines is the theriomorphic representations of Egyptian religion. Both topics could have appeared so thaumasiographic that the historian found it better to corroborate them with claims of autopsy – which poses the further question (left unexamined by Bichler) of why do topics which could seem equally wondrous sometimes lack autoptic confirmation? Next, Boris Dunsch contributes a chapter on Cicero's references to Herodotus and his renderings of Herodotean material. Here, we already find the 'Father of History'/'Father of Lies' theme well established, even if the extent (and depth) of Cicero's knowledge of Herodotus can be questioned, as Dunsch demonstrates. He also examines Cicero's stylistic judgments on Herodotus, and surmises that some of them must derive from Hellenistic critics, such as Theophrastus.

Ruffing's '300' is a reading of Herodotus' description of the battle of Thermopylae – and in particularly the famous 300 Lacedaemonians – not only in comparison with the Thucydidean and Xenophontic versions of it, but also juxtaposed to other Herodotean listings of Hellenic armies and navies, which reveals the literary aspects of his most memorable and influential tally. Narratological considerations are also high on the agenda of Marco Dorati, whose methodologically sophisticated contribution focuses on Herodotus' source references as both a literary and an epistemic device. The case study that Dorati concentrates on is the story of the mysterious vanishing and reappearance Aristeas of Proconnesus, as told in his home town and in Metapontum in Italy (4,14–15). Wolfgang Rösler, examines Hdt. 8,35–9 as an example of 'Quellenfiktion', and in so doing engages perhaps most overtly of all the contributions with the arguments of Detlev Fehling. He ends up disagreeing with Fehling's views on Herodotus as almost a pseudohistorian (251) – perhaps anachronistically – especially in the light of the episode of the Delphic defence from the Persians, which, interestingly, later emerged as a powerful model for historians describing the *soteria* of the sanctuary from later barbarian attacks, such as the Galatae. The section is concluded by Wolfgang Blösel's article on Herodotus' representation of the Athenians, approached with a

similarly critical attitude to Fehling's ideas of Herodotus' supreme creative licence in shaping his *Histories*. Blösel reviews the available evidence for the influence of local Athenian traditions and family partisanship in Herodotus' text.

According to the book's list of contents, Josef Wiesehöfer's article 'Herodot und ein persisches Hellas' is the sole occupant of the section 'Herodot und die Nachbarn der Griechen', which seems more like box-ticking than anything else. That said, the article itself is very fascinating indeed, juxtaposing Herodotus' textual construction of the Persian plans for the conquest of Greece with the epigraphic evidence and testimonies in other writers. The question goes right to the heart of the Greek creation, in the decades following the Persian Wars, of the existentialist danger represented by the Achaemenid empire, and a literary work putting as much weight upon the moralizing debates about *hubris* and tyranny as the *Histories* does will by necessity be a very challenging source for Persian *realpolitik* – yet it is at the same time quite clear that the Achaemenids projected an impressively articulated rhetorical stance about their world-domination. Before Föllinger's closing words, Arbogast Schmidt explores whether Aristotelian literary theory and philosophy of history might offer new ways of understanding Herodotus' project, with convincing results.

Both of these books will enrich a Herodotean scholar's (or a generalist's, for that matter) conception of the fluctuating viewpoints and partisan narratives that became crystallized, through Herodotus' far-from-innocent shaping process, into one of the most influential literary works of any ancient genre.

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THOMAS R. LAEHN: *Pliny's Defense of Empire*. Routledge, New York – Abingdon 2013. ISBN 978-0-415-81850-6. XV, 152 pp. GBP 110.

The title of Thomas Laehn's book has a certain instinctive plausibility. We expect Pliny the Elder to emerge as a passionate defender of the Roman Empire – even if this is only because the findings of several excellent studies from the previous couple of decades have preconditioned us to think so – yet not only so. Mary Beagon (1992: *Roman Nature: the Thought of Pliny the Elder*), Trevor Murphy (2004, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: the Empire in Encyclopaedia*), and Valérie Naas (2002: *Le projet encyclopédique de Pline l'ancien*) – the last of the three left unconsulted by Laehn – all grappled with Pliny's compilatory strategies, authority-building, and nature/culture division in order to contextualize his thinking not only about the human animal, but also about what he saw as the greatest and most providential 'empire of knowledge' created by humans. Aude Doody, Katherine Clarke and many others have studied topics expanding our knowledge of the intellectual forebears and inheritors of Pliny, and helped foster an extraordinary quickening of interest in the *Natural History*.

Reinforced as we are with such a wealth of nuanced recent scholarship, it is with a jolt of disbelief that one reads Laehn characterize the "contemporary Plinian scholarship" as "dominated by an image of Pliny as an inept and neurotic compiler of facts and prodigies" (5). Incidentally, the endnote to this claim does not give any concrete examples to back the allegation up, but gestures