

Agariste of Sicyon and the contest for Greece*

Thomas Harrison

ABSTRACT: This paper re-examines Herodotus' account of the marriage contest held by Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, for the hand of his daughter Agariste. It focuses less on the episode's historicity or its literary antecedents than on the story's position in the *Histories* more widely, and the background knowledge of leading Athenian families that might be taken for granted by Herodotus in his readers/audience. The paper suggests a cynical perspective on the historian's part towards both the development of Athenian democracy and aristocratic sporting competition, and argues for the importance of patterns of prefiguration across the *Histories* as a whole.

KEYWORDS: Agariste of Sicyon, Cleisthenes of Sicyon, Hippocleides, Alcmaeon, Megacles, Alcmaeonids, Pericles, Cimon, medism, proleptic references, prefiguration, Olympics.

The story of the contest held by Cleisthenes of Sicyon for the hand of his daughter Agariste is an episode of the *Histories* that has long attracted intense attention. It has been explored, for example, for what it may yield about the exercise of foreign policy in the Greek world,¹ codes of 'politeness',² or the origins and development of sporting and dramatic festivals.³ A central focus has also been on its relationship with other traditions and genres (to the extent that, in Rebecca Laemmlé's phrase, the courtship of Agariste becomes 'a kind of metacourtship'):⁴ its epic background (and its subversion),⁵ the parallels between Hippocleides' display and vase scenes of dancing dwarves,⁶ or its connection to the 'low genres' of comedy, satyr-drama,⁷ or beast fables — in particular, its uncanny similarity to the Indian story of the 'dancing peacock'.⁸

* This paper was delivered to the Herodotus Helpline seminar on 26 January 2022. I am immensely grateful to the two anonymous readers for their suggestions and challenges, and for the comments of a number of discussants at the original seminar, not least Carolyn Dewald, Jan Haywood, Alexander Hollmann, Sue Marchand, Rosaria Munson and especially Liz Irwin.

¹ So, for Beck 2016: 75, the story 'displays the full array of the defining protocols and normative patterns of foreign policy exchange in the late-Achaic period'; cf. McGregor 1941: 268.

² Francesco Mari forthcoming.

³ For the Olympic background, and the wider contrast between Greek competition and Persian, Hornblower 2014: 229–30.

⁴ Laemmlé 2021: 361.

⁵ So e.g. Griffiths 2006: 136, Müller 2006: 225–76, Kurke 2011: 420–1, Hornblower 2014: 219–20, S. West 2015: 20, 28. Contrast Murray 1993: 212–13, seeing the epic background in terms of Cleisthenes' deliberate imitation ('everything that is known of the life style of the aristocracy suggests that it is true'); cf. Griffin 1982: 56.

⁶ Ogden 1997: 118; cf. Kurke 2011: 422 n. 61, Olsen 2016: 163, Laemmlé 2021: 370–4.

⁷ See esp. Laemmlé 2021 (for the connection of the number of suitors with a dramatic chorus, p. 376).

⁸ Macan 1895: ii. 304–311, Kurke 2011: 357–60, Hornblower 2014: 219, S. West 2015, though see Levaniouk 2022: 157–8 for reasoned scepticism. The dancing peacock is a story with a personal connection for both Hornblower and West: <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2001/jan/12/highereducation.donaldmacleod>, last accessed 18 July 2022.

The responses of readers to the episode vary widely. Whereas Simon Hornblower, by comparing the geographical backgrounds of the suitors drawn to Sicyon with contemporary Olympic victor lists, has suggested that the event may be based on ‘an actual event involving real people’, others have doubted the historicity of anything beyond the bare fact of Agariste’s marriage.⁹ The way in which Herodotus’ narrative ‘teases us with moments of false closure’, in the words of Laemmle,¹⁰ has the result that there is no consensus even on the identity of the ‘winner’ of the contest. It is Megacles, of course, who wins the contest in a narrow sense, but for most readers,¹¹ Hippocleides steals the show — and then Cleisthenes has the last word with what some have seen as a lewd put-down.¹² Where readers find common ground is in seeing the story as an episode of comic relief from the intensity of the account of Marathon that precedes it: a vignette of an unruffled archaic Greece on the verge of the war that would explode it.¹³ (A tone of seriousness is only allowed to intrude at the notorious proleptic reference to Pericles, 6.131.) Hornblower and Pelling for example — representing the Highest Common Factor of Oxford opinion — term the story ‘this amusing and lengthy excursus’, one which conveys a ‘sense of remoteness from the Athenian politics of 490 BC’.¹⁴

The reading of Agariste’s marriage proposed in the following pages is darker and more serious. Rather than concentrating on the question of historicity, or on the episode’s literary background — although both will be touched on — the prime focus will instead be on the story’s historical background and its position within the wider *Histories*. Beginning from the foundations of the families and associations of the main figures of the story, the argument moves on to explore the implications of those family ties: for Herodotus’ portrayal of the Olympian class that make up the suitors, of the origins of Athenian democracy, and of the role and reputation of Athens down to his own day; for the story’s closural function as we approach the shift of scene at the end of book 6; and finally, and most fundamentally, for Herodotus’ composition of his text.

Some preliminary observations may be useful. First, it is important to lay out upfront the story’s position in the aftermath of Marathon at the end of Book 6. The contest for Agariste forms part of a sequence of biographical notes that constitute a kind of interlude between the narrative of Marathon, on the one hand, and the renewed focus on Persian expansionism at the beginning of Book 7, on

⁹ Hornblower 2014: 218, 219; contrast S. West 2015: 33, and see now Levaniouk for a defence of historicity based on modern Indian parallels. For the range of suitors, cf. Alexander 1959 (for the comparable geographical arrangement of the suitors of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, Cingano 2005: 127–8).

¹⁰ Laemmle 2021: 365; cf. p. 367.

¹¹ So, e.g. Kurke 1999: 361, Fowler 2003: 313–14 (‘the true hero of the story; the man who beats all those would-be tyrants at their own game, and then shows he doesn’t give a fig for the prize’), Biebas-Richter 2016: 289 (with muted support of Levaniouk 2022: 162).

¹² Ogden 1997: 117, Macía Aparicio 2006: 21, Lateiner 2015: 108, 120 nn. 58–61, 2017: 46, Laemmle 2021: 366–7; but now see Levaniouk 2022: 158–9 for a counterargument (Herodotus is ‘not prissy about nakedness’, so would have made such themes explicit).

¹³ Cf. Thomas 1989: 167 (‘so redolent of archaic Greece’).

¹⁴ Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 275; cf. Hornblower 2014: 217, Griffiths 2006: 133–4 terming the stories of Alcmaeon in Sardis and Agariste’s marriage a ‘comic diptych’.

the other.¹⁵ If we see Books 5–6 as representing a — relatively¹⁶ — discrete unit within the *Histories*, then the story of Agariste’s marriage forms part of a kind of closural phase. Hornblower and Pelling suggest a mirroring relationship between this episode and that of the Persian ambassadors who are given hospitality (and meet their death) at the court of Amyntas and Alexander of Macedon towards the beginning of Book 5.¹⁷

THE *LOGOI* OF THE END OF BOOK 6

- 6.114–120 Aftermath of Marathon (shield-signal: 6.115); famous Athenian dead from the battle
- 6.121–4 Alcmaeonid medism (Callias: 6.122)
- 6.125 Origins of Alcmaeonid wealth: Alcmaeon in Sardis
- 6.126–131 Agariste’s suitors (Agariste’s dream of Pericles: 6.131)
- 6.132–6 Miltiades’ adventures in Paros (Miltiades’ trial: 6.136)
- 6.137–140 Miltiades’ conquest of Lemnos

Next, the reading that follows begins from and argues for two fundamental, related propositions. First of these is that it is legitimate to trace thematic patterns across the *Histories*, to suppose that passages on related themes are in some sense in dialogue with one another. Where, in the absence of an explicit cross-reference, some scholars conclude that Herodotus has overlooked a related passage within his work,¹⁸ I prefer to suppose that he has remembered, and that he thinks that we might do so also. Such echoes and connections across the text are not mere formal patterns but bear an interpretative burden: we, the readers, are enjoined to read one passage in the context of others.

Secondly, I propose, Herodotus’ contemporary readers/audience brought a high level of background knowledge with them, especially in relation to famous individuals and their families. Where our author refers, for example, to a Cleinias, son of Alcibiades, who provided two hundred men and a ship at his own expense (8.17), the thoughts of his contemporaries — and not only Athenians — would, I suggest, have been drawn to Alcibiades, son of Cleinias.¹⁹ How can we be confident that such biographical references would have been picked up by

¹⁵ So e.g. S. West 2015: 9–10: ‘as often, Herodotus marks the end of an important section with an anecdote or biographical note. Here a series of stories about the Alcmaeonids and Philaids highlights the end of one phase of Greco-Persian hostilities.’

¹⁶ Compare discussions of the ‘relative unity’ of the *Histories* (Fornara 1971: 3), in the context of the Egyptian *logos*, for which see Harrison and Irwin 2018: 2–4 and esp. Bichler 2018.

¹⁷ Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 284; cf. more widely Irwin and Greenwood 2007: 16–17. See also Hornblower 2004: 170 for implicit parallelism between Dorieus and Miltiades.

¹⁸ So, e.g. S. West 2015: 9n6, 16.

¹⁹ Hornblower 2004: 178. Contrast S. West 2015: 18, suggesting the limited nature of such knowledge.

Herodotus' readers/audience? The case is, in part, a cumulative one: it rests on the quality of the interpretative results that the assumption (that such biographical references were comprehensible) yields. This approach finds support, moreover, in the existence of a number of authors whose works operated as vectors for similar kinds of biographical traditions across the Greek world: Ion of Chios, Stesimbrotus of Thasos, or (not least) Pindar.²⁰ 'What country, what family can you name that is more illustrious' (ἐπιφανέστερον) than the Alcmaeonids in all of Greece, Pindar asked in his seventh *Pythian* (Pind. *Pyth.* 5–10)? 'For in all cities the report of the citizens of Erechtheus gets about' (πάσαισι γὰρ πολίεσι λόγος | Ἐρεχθεὸς ἀστῶν, Pind. *Pyth.* 9–10). Such knowledge of 'who was who' in the Greek world formed what Robert Fowler has termed a 'common language'²¹ between audience and author, a language of which (Fowler adds), we understand no more than one word in ten — and which, as a result, we must labour at length to reconstruct.

THE SUITORS (I): MEGACLES AND THE ALCMAEONIDS

We begin with the suitors, and especially the two central figures, the Athenians Megacles and Hippocleides. Cleisthenes, according to Herodotus' account of his procedure, first 'discovered the countries [of the suitors] and the family of each' (ὁ Κλεισθένης πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπύθετο καὶ γένος ἐκάστου, 6.128.1); and, accordingly, a central focus in the following pages will be on genealogy.

Details of the other suitors, first, are spare. Stephanie West has plausibly suggested that Herodotus is offering extracts from a longer cycle of stories.²² It has been well observed, however, that a number of them (there are others who are no more than names) represent particular qualities:²³ luxurious (or just 'fine'), living (Smindyrides of Sybaris),²⁴ wisdom (Damasos of Siris), strength (Males the Aetolian), *hybris* (Leocedes son of Pheidon), hospitality (Laphaneus of Paeus). (Hornblower has compared them, in this context, to the seven dwarves.)²⁵ These virtues or vices, however, attach in general not to the suitors themselves but to their fathers (or a brother); the suitors themselves represent paradigms at one remove. Megacles, the eventual winner, is no exception: he is the son of 'this Alcmaeon who had visited Croesus'. The one figure who excels in his own right is, for most readers, the story's hero, Hippocleides son of Teisander: pre-eminent amongst

²⁰ For Ion, see esp. Blanshard's 2007 reading of the fragments as subtly subversive of Athens and empire (esp. pp. 173–4); for Ion's audience as Chian or more broadly Ionian, see M.L. West 1985a: 76, relying on F6 (on Sophocles), Geddes 2007: 129. For a review of Stesimbrotus' political fragments, see Pownall 2020; and see below for the uncanny overlap of interests between Stesimbrotus and Herodotus.

²¹ Fowler 2003: 313, cautioning: 'We understand only one word in ten of this language, and when we pick up one of those words, it sounds to us like a dropped hint; to native speakers the dialogue is continuous and transparent.' Of course, in speaking of a common language, I do not mean to suggest that it is static or uncontested.

²² S. West 2015: 17, 28, comparing Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

²³ Müller 2006: 230; cf. Fowler 2003: 313.

²⁴ For Smindyrides as *arbiter elegantiae*, S. West 2015: 14–15. Gorman and Gorman, 2007: 40 and n. 13, also suppose that χλιδῆς need not be pejorative, though on the *a priori* grounds that Cleisthenes is seeking the 'best' of the Greeks to marry his daughter. See further below.

²⁵ Hornblower 2014: 220.

the Athenians in wealth and beauty (πλούτῳ καὶ εἶδει προφέρων Ἀθηναίων). Cleisthenes' responses to the suitors only shed a little extra light on the two Athenians' (perceived) qualities. He particularly likes the Athenian suitors, and especially Hippocleides, because of his *andragathie* and his family relationship with the Cypselids of Corinth. Megacles' qualities, by contrast, are ill-defined. He is the grey man who gets the girl by default;²⁶ his role is to be second-best. He is Athenian, and he is the son of his father.

AGARISTE'S SUITORS

Smindyrides of Sybaris: 'son of Hippocrates, who arrived at the highest point of fine living of any man' (ὄς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀπῖκετο); cf. Athen. 12.541 b–c, Arist. *EE* 1216a16–19 (Sybaris was especially at its peak at this time, ἡ δὲ Σύβαρις ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα).

Damasos of Siris: son of Amyris 'called the wise' (τοῦ σοφοῦ λεγομένου παῖς); cf. Athen. 520 ab, Suda s.v. Ἄμυρις μαίνεται.

Amphimnestos of Epidamnus: from the Ionian gulf.

Males of Aetolia: the brother of Titormus, who excelled the Greeks in strength (τοῦ ὑπερφύοντος τε Ἑλληνας ἰσχύϊ), and 'fled from men to the furthest reaches of the Aetolian territory'; cf. Ael. *VH* 12.22 defeated Mylon in trial of strength (cf. 3.137.5).

Leocedes: the son of Pheidon, tyrant of the Argives, who 'created measures for the Peloponnesians and who committed the greatest act of *hybris* of all Greeks (ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων), when he expelled the *agonothetai* of the Eleians and established the contest in Olympia himself'.

Amiantus of Trapezus in Arcadia.

Laphanes from Paeus in Azenia: son of Euphorion, 'who received, as the story has it in Arcadia, the Dioscuri in his house, and from this point gave hospitality to all men' (ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπους).

Onomastos, the son of Agaios, of Elis ('Famous', son of 'Enviably': S. West 2015: 17).

Megacles of Athens: the son of this Alcmaeon who had visited Croesus.

Hippocleides, the son of Tisander: 'pre-eminent amongst the Athenians in wealth and beauty' (πλούτῳ καὶ εἶδει προφέρων Ἀθηναίων).

Lysanias 'from Eretria, flourishing at this time' (ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρετρίας ἀνθεύσης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον).

Diactordes of Crannon in Thessaly.

Alkon the Molossian.

²⁶ S. West 2015: 32. Cf. Laemmle 2021: 364: 'Agariste's Alkmaionid suitor plays such a marginal role in the narrative that it certainly does not do much "to make the fame of the Alkmaionids resound".'

Megacles' father Alcmaeon is introduced, immediately in advance of the contest of suitors, as the figure who transformed the Alcmaeonid family from being renowned (λαμπροί) to being highly renowned (κάρτα λαμπροί) (6.125). By acting enthusiastically as the agent of the Lydians sent by Croesus to Delphi (the term for agent, συμπρήκτωρ, a potentially demeaning one, 6.125.2),²⁷ Alcmaeon attracted the attention of the king, who invited him to Sardis and rewarded him for his service.²⁸ Apart from the dubious historicity of the episode, what have drawn attention are its comic aspects: the absurd lengths to which Alcmaeon goes to grab hold of the greatest quantity of gold. For Hornblower, the chapter is 'marked by broad and simple humour'.²⁹ But there are other elements that are worth highlighting.

First, as Leslie Kurke has observed, Alcmaeon's outfit (the baggy tunic and the buskins, *kothornoi*) is precisely that which Croesus recommends that Cyrus should impose on the Lydians to preserve their freedom after his conquest (1.155.4).³⁰ This dress, in that earlier passage, is the alternative to carrying arms, now forbidden. The shift to wearing it will result in the Lydians becoming cithara-playing traders. (The term for trading, *καπηλεύειν*, has strong associations, again well explored by Kurke.³¹) It renders them women instead of men and prevents them from revolting. Alcmaeon's visit to Sardis results in his becoming a Lydian, in his becoming unfree. His showering of gold dust in his hair, as well as cramming it in his boots, renders him 'like anything other than a human being', physically distended and grotesque — the very reverse of a Greek aristocratic or civic ideal, as Kurke has emphasized;³² it also makes him at one even with the Lydian landscape: this is the same gold dust, carried down from Mt. Tmolus, that constitutes a rare Lydian *thoma* (1.93).

A second passage with which this portrait of Alcmaeon's visit must surely be in dialogue — a connection made by Hermann Strasburger — is that other Athenian visit to the treasury of Sardis, that of Solon.³³ The parallel between the arrival of Megacles at Sicyon and of Alcmaeon at Sardis is underlined by Herodotus through verbal repetition: 'from Athens came Megacles the son of this Alcmaeon who had come to Croesus' (ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκοντο Μεγακλῆς τε ὁ Ἀλκμῆωνος τούτου τοῦ παρὰ Κροῖσον ἀπικομένου; compare 6.125.2).³⁴ But this

²⁷ Kurke 2011: 425.

²⁸ See S. West 2015: 11 for remarks on the historicity of the episode.

²⁹ Hornblower 2014: 217. The story forms part of a genre of tales of the wealth of individuals: see further Thomas 1989: 268.

³⁰ Cf. Kurke 1999: 145–6. Tzetzes ascribes the narrative of this tale to 'some poem of Pindar' (*Chiliades* 1.8), cited by Kurke 1999: 144 n. 41. One problem here is that Alcmaeon's dress corresponds to the Lydian men's dress *after* Cyrus' conquest: either we accept this as a minor continuity error on Herodotus' part, or we rely on Croesus' intention to render the Lydians 'women instead of men' and suppose that Alcmaeon's garb is that of a Lydian woman.

³¹ Kurke 1999: esp. ch. 3.

³² Kurke 1999: 144–5, contrasting his body to the perfect nude bodies of the sculpted Cleobis and Biton (147 n. 49). For the description of the dance of Hippocleides as similarly dehumanizing, Laemmle 2021: 366; cf. Griffiths 2001: 167 for both stories concerning 'aristocratic legs in motion'.

³³ A connection made by Strasburger 2013: 313, Kurke 1999: 146–7.

³⁴ Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 281.

also recalls the arrival of Solon and the other ‘sophists’ at Sardis in Book 1, at a point at which Sardis was ‘at its peak of wealth’ (1.29.1).³⁵ Solon too, of course, had been entertained by the king, and then (‘on the third or fourth day’) led around the treasuries and shown his great fortunes (1.29–30). But, unlike Alcmaeon (his younger contemporary, since we can anchor the contest for Agariste to the 570s),³⁶ Solon does not emerge laden with gold but, seeing through the king’s treasure, speaks truth to power. The contrast could not be more striking: Alcmaeon is nothing less than the anti-Solon.

Given the fundamental programmatic role of Solon’s wisdom within the *Histories* — wisdom that was ‘spoken to all mankind’, as Croesus expresses it on the pyre (1.86) —, the contrast between Solon and Alcmaeon lends the latter a significance that is greater than immediately apparent. Croesus, moreover, is not just any eastern king. He is ‘the first man we know to have subdued the Greeks to the point of the payment of tribute’ (πρώτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐξ φόρου ἀπαγωγῆν, 1.6); he is the paradigm within the *Histories* of the ruler — or the *archē*³⁷ — that overreaches and meets reversal. If we read the history of Croesus’ interactions with the Greeks with the knowledge of Alcmaeon’s role as intermediary in mind, this gives Alcmaeon even further significance. If Alcmaeon was the eager broker for the immense dedications of Croesus at Delphi, he was complicit in some sense in the overconfidence in divine support that those dedications bred (1.48–54).

As a coda to Alcmaeon’s (unstated) role in Book 1, we can observe that the very Megacles who wins Agariste’s hand plays a similar enabling role in relation to another tyrant, Peisistratus. He is the leader of one of the three parties (the coastal party) in the run-up to Peisistratus’ first period of tyranny (1.59). By forming a marriage alliance with Peisistratus, he is instrumental in the second period of tyranny, and helps to devise the trick (μηχανῶνται) — dressing Phye as Athena — that persuades the Athenians to take the tyrant back (1.60). Agariste herself — albeit unnamed — plays a small role then in the collapse of the second period of tyranny when her daughter discloses the fact that Peisistratus has slept with her ‘not in the usual manner’ (οὐ κατὰ νόμον) (on account of the Cylonian curse, and the fact that he already had grown-up sons), and she discloses that in turn to her husband Megacles (1.61). We might suppose that these events of Book 1 may have been forgotten by the reader of later sections of the *Histories*. Stephanie West judges that Herodotus has ‘overlook[ed] Megacles’ daughter’s marriage to Peisistratos’.³⁸ But the close parallels between Alcmaeon’s and Solon’s visits to Sardis, or between Alcmaeon’s dress and that of post-Croesus Lydians, suggests otherwise. And one ancient reader, at least, had no difficulty in connecting these disparate passages: Plutarch, in his outrage at Herodotus’ account of the Alcmaeonids (*Mor.* 858b–c, 863a–b).

³⁵ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμαζούσας πλοῦτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἱ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγχανον ἐόντες... (‘all the other sophists who were living at this time arrived at Sardis, at its peak of wealth’).

³⁶ Via the date for Cleisthenes’ Olympic victory (572): Moretti 1957, no. 96. Hart (1982: 20) speculates that the two may have been political allies.

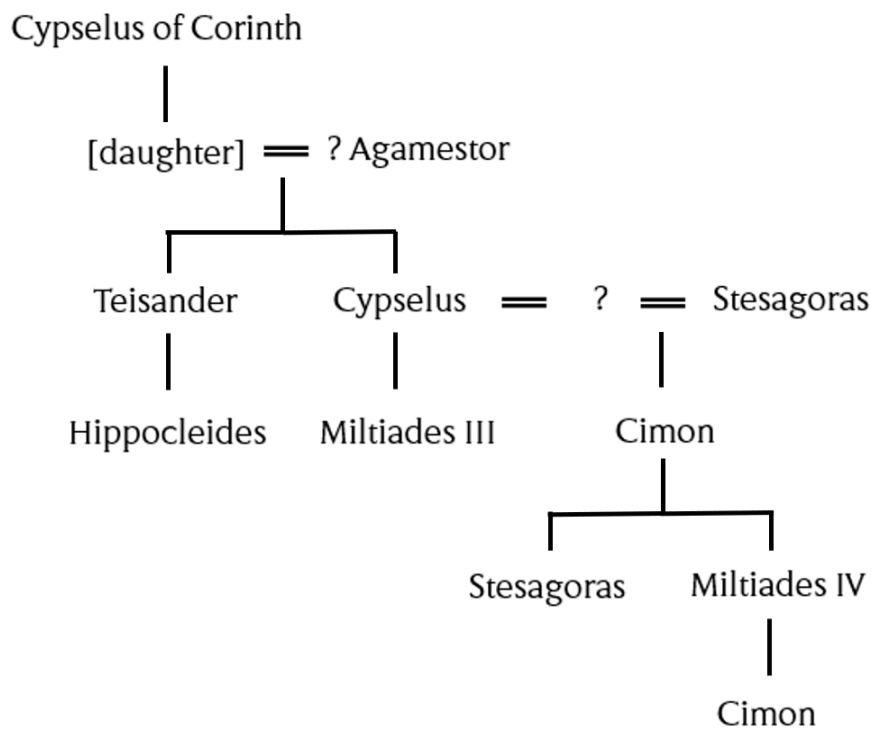
³⁷ For the implicit analogy with the Athenian empire, see esp. Irwin 2007b: 201, 2013.

³⁸ S. West 2015: 9n6.

THE SUITORS (II): HIPPOCLEIDES AND THE PHILAIDS

What then of Hippocleides? What we are told of Hippocleides is only that he is the son of Teisander, and that he has a connection with the Cypselids of Corinth that impresses Cleisthenes. The connection with the Cypselids is hazy, but it seems that Cypselus married his daughter to the father of the Athenian Cypselus, in turn the father of Miltiades, the oikist of the Chersonese.³⁹ Cypselus has forged a marriage alliance with the Philaids then, as Cleisthenes of Sicyon did with the Alcmaeonids or Theagenes of Megara with the would-be tyrant Cylon (Thuc. 1.126). John Davies hypothesizes that this Athenian Cypselus was the brother of Teisander, the father of Hippocleides.

HIPPOCLEIDES AND THE PHILAIDS



A side-question is whether there is a relationship between Hippocleides and Cleisthenes' rival in the critical year for Athenian history of 508 BC, Isagoras, son of Teisander. It is very unlikely that the two Teisanders are one and the same, and that Hippocleides and Isagoras were brothers.⁴⁰ The chronological gap between the putative date of Cleisthenes' competition in the 570s and 508 is just too large. But Nicholas Hammond suggested that the father of Isagoras may have

³⁹ Davies 1971: 295–6.

⁴⁰ Surprisingly countenanced by Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 281: 'he [Hippocleides' father] may be the father of Isagoras'; contrast Hornblower 2014: 195 on 5.66.1: 'The patronym Teisandros should probably not be connected to that of the Philaid Hippocleides at 6.127.4'.

been a younger member of the same family as — maybe the grandson of? — the older one: ‘It is likely that a distinguished man of a distinguished family with that distinguished name belonged to the Philaid house’.⁴¹ Against the pattern of names, Herodotus declares himself unable to relate Isagoras’ antecedents (5.66.1)⁴² — although the phrase used, τὰ ἀνέκαθεν, can mean immediate antecedents (as it appears to do with Hippocleides’ Cypselid background), as well as wider family background or more distant antecedents.⁴³

In summary, the happy-go-lucky Hippocleides of the marriage contest is a member of the Philaid clan, and — more questionably — may have been a relative of Cleisthenes’ rival Isagoras. To be clear, Herodotus does not make any mention of this connection; Stephanie West has asked whether any but the most informed of Athenian receivers of Herodotus would have appreciated the fact.⁴⁴ The case that we should read the text with this connection in mind is one based partly on circumstantial evidence — the prominence of Hippocleides in later family tradition⁴⁵ — and partly a cumulative one based on the omnipresence of the Philaids in surrounding chapters, both earlier in Book 6 and after Marathon.

Hippocleides is the cousin of the Miltiades, son of Cypselus, whom the Dolonicians invited to the Chersonese and set up as tyrant (6.34–6), and a more distant cousin (second cousin once removed) of the Miltiades who fought at Marathon and who had inherited the Chersonese. Although Herodotus’ account puts emphasis on the uncomfortable relationship between the Philaids and the Peisistratid tyrants, and indeed with Darius, Herodotus is straightforward about terming his rule in the Chersonese a tyranny.⁴⁶ And the elder Miltiades also, like Alcmaeon, had a close relationship to Croesus. After the Lampsacenes had taken him prisoner, it was Croesus’ threat, that he would rub out Lampsacus like a pine tree (that is, destroy it utterly), which ensured his release (6.37).

The story of the marriage contest follows on, of course, from the account of Marathon in which Miltiades is such a pivotal figure, but it also directly precedes

⁴¹ Hammond 1956: 127–8, conceding other possibilities (‘descent from Cypselus’ sister or brother, Miltiades I’s [III’s] sister or brother, and even at a pinch Miltiades II’s [IV’s] sister or brother’). See also Sealey 1960: 172 (‘Presumably Isagoras was a Philaid’; ‘another son of another Teisander’); but contrast the reasoned scepticism of Lewis 1963: 25–6 (= 1997: 81), Hart 1982: 36, Davies 1971: s.v. 8429 III.

⁴² And the additional detail that his family worship Zeus Karios (cf. 1.171.6). As Gray observes (2007: 212), ‘There must be a reason why Herodotus develops some lineages and leaves others undeveloped ...’

⁴³ So, e.g., of Miltiades, son of Cypselus, 6.35.1, contrasting τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν and τὰ δὲ νεώτερα.

⁴⁴ S. West 2015: 18.

⁴⁵ Pherecydes *BNJ* 3 F 2, from Marcellinus *Vit. Thuc.* 2–3, with Lavelle 2014: 321 (‘Hippokleides was included among these luminaries because he was an ornament on the family tree, not a disgrace’). For discrepancies between Pherecydes and Herodotus, see esp. Thomas 1989: 161–73.

⁴⁶ Miltiades (son of Cimon), as tyrant: 6.34.1 (prosecuted for tyranny, 6.104). An uneasy relationship between the Philaids and Peisistratids: 6.35 (Miltiades son of Cypselus keen to be out of Athens), 6.103 (Cimon Koalemos), but contrast 6.35 (for the elder Miltiades’ power alongside Peisistratus). An anonymous reader makes the reasonable suggestion that the story of the younger Miltiades’ support for breaking up Darius’ bridge (4.137–8, 6.41.3) may have its origins in part in his later trial; the earlier account also includes, however, a detailed list of those who followed Histiaeus’ contrary position.

the story of Miltiades' post-Marathon career. Miltiades' request for seventy ships, an army and money — promising only that 'they would get rich if they followed him' (αὐτοὺς καταπλουτιεῖν ἦν οἱ ἔπωνται, 6.132.1), and that he was taking them somewhere 'from which they would easily take endless gold' (ὄθεν χρυσὸν εὐπετέως ἄφθονον οἴσονται) —, recalls the blithe promises of Aristagoras, swallowed by the 30,000 Athenians (5.49, 97).⁴⁷ His use of Parian medism (a single ship sent to Marathon) as a pretext (*prophasis*) — for personal motives (out of a grudge against a Parian who had badmouthed him), and for demanding money with menaces — prefigures not only the more successful extortions of Themistocles after Salamis (8.111–12)⁴⁸ but the wider 'racket' of Athenian imperialism (6.133).

The subsequent account of Miltiades' capture of Lemnos from the Pelasgians takes us back to the very first focus on the Athenians within the *Histories*, when — in response to Croesus' enquiry into the identity of the strongest of the Greeks (ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἔόντας, 1.56) — Herodotus describes the transition of the Athenians from Pelasgian to Greek (1.56–8).⁴⁹ At the end of Book 6, we hear — at least in the account credited to Hecataeus — of what we might think of as the primal act of Athenian *archē*. The Athenians had given land to the Pelasgians as payment for the wall they built around the Acropolis, but when they see 'it is well managed, when formerly it was wretched and worth nothing, envy and the desire for land seizes them', and they do not put forward any explanation or *prophasis* for doing so (6.137). Desire (*himeros*) is a quality clearly characteristic of tyrants within the *Histories*.⁵⁰ For anyone, moreover, who had lived through the first phase of the Atheno-Peloponnesian wars, the Pelasgian wall (or Pelargikon) would have had particular resonance when its occupation seemed to infringe (or, for Thucydides, *fulfil*) the terms of a Delphic oracle: 'better that the Pelargikon be idle' (τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον, 2.17.1–2).⁵¹ When the Pelasgians then seize Attic women from Brauron and make them their *pallakai*, the response of the resulting children — to keep themselves apart from the children of the Pelasgian wives, and to presume their rule over the Pelasgian children (6.138) — again speaks to Athenian exceptionalism of the later fifth century:⁵² it is Athenian blood and Athenian freedom of spirit that predominates in the children.⁵³

⁴⁷ Cf. Munson 2001: 210. See also Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 287, Griffiths 1989 for parallels between Miltiades and Cambyses.

⁴⁸ Hdt. 8.112. For the fruitless end of Miltiades' expedition, 6.135.1: 'So Miltiades sailed back in a sorry state, neither bringing money to the Athenians, nor having taken possession of Paros, but having besieged the town for 26 days and having ravaged the island.' The association of land and wealth is a repeated one, e.g. 3.122, 8.144.1.

⁴⁹ See here the observations of Fowler 2003: 309, and more widely for the Pelasgian theory Sourvinou-Inwood 2003.

⁵⁰ It is a term used, e.g., of Croesus' desire to ask about his own fortune (1.30.2), his desire for land (1.73.1), Xerxes' wish to see Priam's citadel (7.43.1), or the terrible desire (δεινὸς ... ἴμερος) of Mardonius to destroy Athens for a second time (9.3.1).

⁵¹ For the character and extent of the Pelargikon, and its relationship with an archaic 'city' wall, see Papadopoulos 2008, esp. 39–44.

⁵² In Book 1 the Athenians are initially themselves Pelasgian (1.57); here they are already neatly distinct.

⁵³ For the wider ideological context see, e.g., Osborne 1997 on the Periclean citizenship law,

In short, without labouring the point further,⁵⁴ this whole wider section of the *Histories* — from Miltiades’ speech to Callimachus before Marathon, in which he projects the prospect that Athens can be the first of the Greek cities (πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολιῶν, πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, 6.109),⁵⁵ to the final chapter of Book 6 — is rich in suggestions both of tyranny and of Athens’ developing *archē*.⁵⁶ Two families weave in and out of this section of the *Histories*. Both have associations with tyrannies of other cities (Sicyon and Corinth). Both have close connections to Croesus. Both share the stigma of religious pollution: in one case, the Cylonian curse (5.71), in the other case the crime of Miltiades on Paros (6.134).⁵⁷ In both cases also, Herodotus offers a glimpse of future generations of the families: through the dream that a younger Agariste, the granddaughter of the daughter of Cleisthenes, had of her son Pericles (6.131); or the fine of fifty talents that Miltiades’ son, Cimon, paid on his behalf after his death (6.136). (This pairing of proleptic references to leading figures of a later generation will be explored further below.) The two families intersect, finally, at a number of points: first, if we allow ourselves to put weight on the coincidence of his father’s name, in the rivalry of Isagoras with Cleisthenes (5.66.1); secondly, and unquestionably, when (just a few chapters after the fateful mention of his son Pericles), it is Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, who prosecutes Miltiades for his deception of the Athenians in his Parian adventure (6.136); and, thirdly, in the contest for Agariste’s hand. To be clear, the fact that the two Athenians at the centre of the contest for Agariste are representatives of the same families who have been struggling for control of Athens across much of Books 5 and 6 cannot be a coincidence.⁵⁸

MEDISM AND ITS DENIAL

How then should we interpret such parallelisms? To begin to unpack what the meaning of this otherwise merely formal patterning might be, we first take a step back to the *logos* in Book 5 that, it has been suggested, provides a mirror to the story

or Mills 1997: ch. 2.

⁵⁴ Miltiades’ device for capturing Lemnos in the final chapter of Book 6 — when the Lemnians had promised to hand over their territory when a ship crossed ‘from your land to our land’ in a single day with a northerly wind — is predicated on a maximalist notion of the Athenians’ territory: deeming the Chersonese to be Athenian land, 6.140. We might add finally that the Athenians’ demand to the Pelasgians — setting up a table covered in all good things and asking for their land in similar state — looks forward again: to Mardonius’ fixation on the fertility of Europe (7.5; for this as deluded, see Harrison 2015: 26–9), or to Pausanias’ loaded comparison of Spartan and Persian tables after Plataea, 9.82. As an anonymous reader comments, the fact that the sequence of Herodotus’ episodes on Miltiades does not follow chronological order has the effect of allowing him to leave the narrative on a more positive (or, at least, a more forward-looking) note.

⁵⁵ Clearly an *ex post facto* prediction: Fowler 2003: 310.

⁵⁶ Herodotus’ strong pattern of association of the Philaids and tyranny render any suggestion that Hippocleides’ retort should be understood as a democratic rejoinder to the Sicyonian tyrant either far-fetched or ironic. Biebas-Richter 2016, esp. 289 (with the muted support of Levaniouk 2022: 162); see also Fowler 2003: 313–14.

⁵⁷ The negative force of most of these traditions make the suggestion of Biebas-Richter (2016: 283), that the presence of Philaids and Alcmaeonids in Herodotus’ audience operated as a control on the historicity of his account less likely.

⁵⁸ See here also Sfyroeras 2013: 77–8.

of the suitors for Agariste: the hospitality shown to the Persians by Alexander and Amyntas of Macedon. Hornblower and Pelling suggest a structural connection, but they do not develop this observation.⁵⁹

At a superficial level, both episodes involve magnificent hospitality lavished by a ruler (Amyntas, Cleisthenes) on a group (the seven Persians or the thirteen suitors). Both stories involve questions of decorum — how to behave at dinner parties — and they both go badly awry. And both stories end in lots of gifts being given out and a single marriage (in the Macedonian case, the marriage of the Macedonian Gygaie to the Persian general Boubares, 5.21.2). I have argued elsewhere that this episode reflects, in distorted fashion, the memory of a large-scale marriage of Persian and Macedonian elites.⁶⁰ Since marriage contests often give a key role to brothers as well as fathers of the bride,⁶¹ we might also look at the story as a kind of inverted suitor-narrative: one in which the grooms' intentions are dishonourable, in which the brides turn out to be smooth-skinned young men (with concealed daggers), and in which (as so often in similar contests) all but one of the 'suitors' end up dead. Things are also not as they seem in another respect. The crowning irony of the Macedonian story is that, after his outrage at the indignity of his female relatives being molested at a banquet, and after his disposing of all traces of the initial Persian party, Alexander nevertheless concedes his sister's marriage to the Persian sent to investigate his disappeared compatriots (5.21.2). When this sequel is taken into account, the episode is transformed: it is a story of a Persian alliance, wrapped up in one of anti-Persian outrage. Historical readings of the passage have tended to see it — together with later traditions of Alexander I in the *Histories* — as part of that ruler's attempts at post-war reputation-management. (Hammond and Griffith in their history of Macedonia even posited a Macedonian charm offensive on Herodotus.⁶²) A more satisfying reading, however, might lay more emphasis on its closing irony, and suppose that for Herodotus this conclusion is intended to undermine what goes before: that it is precisely 'reputation-management' and the falsity of initial appearances that are the themes of the story.

At the close of the 'unit' of Books 5 and 6, things are also not as they seem. Medism and the denial of medism are at stake here too: Herodotus' ostensible motive, in the chapters leading up to the marriage contest (6.115, 121–4), is to deny the possibility of the Alcmaeonids' having given a shield signal to the Persians at Marathon.⁶³ The parallel with the Macedonian banquet, however, gives support to a more ironic reading of the passage, one associated with Hermann Strasburger or John Moles,⁶⁴ and edged towards in a fine section of Rosalind Thomas' *Oral*

⁵⁹ Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 284; see also Fearn 2007.

⁶⁰ Harrison 2019.

⁶¹ Cingano 2005: 134.

⁶² Hammond and Griffith 1979: 98–9.

⁶³ Hornblower and Pelling 2017, Levaniouk 2022: 148.

⁶⁴ Strasburger 2013: 310–11, suggesting that the reader is left with 'complete freedom of thought concerning the nature of their [the Alcmaeonids'] fame', and that the stories of Alcmaeon and the marriage contest are 'mocking anecdotes...' (p. 311), but conceding (p. 310) that the defence against medism can 'seriously be considered partisanship'. Cf. Moles 2002: 40–2.

*Tradition and Written Record.*⁶⁵ In general, first, we might adduce the relentless association of the Alcmaeonids with tyranny — with Peisistratus,⁶⁶ Croesus and with Cleisthenes of Sicyon⁶⁷ — and especially the account of Alcmaeon’s visit to Sardis. What chance is there that this Alcmaeonid — his mouth actually gagged with treasure — could ever have expressed independence of mind in the face of a wealthy Eastern king?⁶⁸ In so far as Alcmaeon is presented (tendentiously) as the originator of the family, this is also a comment on the Alcmaeonids more broadly.⁶⁹

The case for an ironic reading, however, is also one that can be based on the terms of Herodotus’ denial of Alcmaeonid medism itself. Most obviously, why bother raising the question of Alcmaeonid medism unless to give the possibility an airing? (Or, in Plutarch’s apt response, invoking a ditty about a man who tells a crab that he will let him go if only he just waits: ‘why have you made such efforts to catch it, if, having caught it, you intend to let it go?’, Plut. *Mor.* 862f–863a?⁷⁰) In particular, then, we might draw attention to Herodotus’ slippery use of comparatives. The Alcmaeonids ‘are clearly tyrant-haters more or equally to Callias son of Phaenippus’ (μᾶλλον ἢ ὁμοίως, 6.121). The comparison with Callias is then restated, but with a subtly different emphasis: they were ‘equally or no less tyrant-haters than this man’ (ὁμοίως ἢ οὐδὲν ἥσσον, 6.123). Finally, he makes the seemingly more emphatic assertion of their innocence: that it was the Alcmaeonids ‘much more’ (πολλῶ μᾶλλον) even than Harmodius and Aristogeiton who were responsible for freeing Athens.

Herodotus’ supporting arguments for these claims are all also artfully double-edged. The proof of Callias’ hatred of tyranny is that he purchased Peisistratus’ possessions when they were put up for sale during his exile, and in other respects proved to be hostile to the Peisistratids — in other words, proofs of factional enmity rather than of hatred of tyranny on principle. His comparison with the tyrannicides also rests on a distinctly uncomfortable distinction between means and ends.⁷¹ Their intervention aggravated the remaining Peisistratids, and

⁶⁵ Thomas 1989: 247–51, 264–72; cf. Hart 1982: 31 (‘a dazzling piece of irony’; Hdt. ‘did not aim to convince, but to ridicule the “official” defence put forward by the Alcmaeonidae’).

⁶⁶ ‘Is the earlier account forgotten?’ (Moles 2002: 40).

⁶⁷ Cf. Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 275, conceding ‘it may still be that this picture of Megakles getting into bed with a tyrant’s daughter complicates the claim that the family were *misoturannoí*’.

⁶⁸ Cf. Thomas 1989: 266–7 (following Strasburger 1965: 598), S. West 2015: 11 (‘Consorting with an eastern potentate would not naturally be taken as evidence of hostility towards tyranny’). If, with Kurke (1999: 146–7), we read the encounter in terms of an act of gift-exchange in which Croesus is an active and knowing participant (and, by contrast, we see Solon’s visit as an aborted gift exchange), then *buying* Alcmaeon is the fundamental rationale. The effect of a king’s rewards is also played out in the story of Democedes’ golden fetters, 3.130.

⁶⁹ S. West 2015: 10 notes the false impression given that the Alcmaeonids drew their name from this Alcmaeon, but cf. Thomas 1989: 146 for the convenience of resetting the Alcmaeonid *genos* at a date after the Cylonian curse.

⁷⁰ Contrast S. West 2015: 9: ‘we might think that he would have done better to pass over the suspicion of Alcmaeonid treachery as too absurd to deserve discussion, but presumably it was too well established a part of the legend of Marathon to be ignored’.

⁷¹ One reminiscent of Darius’ speech on the effectiveness of lying at 3.72.

did not shorten their period of tyranny; the Alcmaeonids, however, freed Athens but did so by inducing the Pythia to instruct the Spartans to free Athens.⁷² Herodotus refers here only to the Alcmaeonids' 'persuasion' of the Pythia (ἀναπείσαντες); he does not make explicit that their persuasion was reinforced with money (5.62–3), although he cross-refers to his earlier account.⁷³ So he casts a veil over the full scandal of Alcmaeonid bribery of Delphi, whilst gesturing towards it.⁷⁴ Even after these two comparisons with Callias and the tyrannicides (and after two seemingly emphatic statements that the report of their medism is a marvel to him, that he will not accept the *logos*, that he will not allow the slander), still he returns to a possible counterargument: that someone might say that the Alcmaeonids betrayed their fatherland out of a grievance against the people — an argument that again he rejects on the basis that no men were more reputed or honoured than them.

Even his assertions that he will not accept the *logos* are a little less than perfectly straightforward. The proposition that he rejects initially is not simply that the Alcmaeonids may have raised a shield by arrangement but that they did so for a particular motive: 'wishing that the Athenians be subject to the Persians and subject to Hippias' (βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι τε εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἴππίη, 6.121). Herodotus' formulation leaves open the slight possibility that they may have had some other motivation: for example, for the Athenians to be free but subject to them. Herodotus' second denial of the 'slander' describes it again in specific terms: that these men raised the shield, who for the whole time fled the tyrants, and from whose device the Peisistratids had left Athens (ἐκ μηχανῆς τε τῆς τούτων, 6.123).⁷⁵ The claim that the Alcmaeonids fled the tyrants 'for the entire time', needs to be read against his account that they were instrumental in establishing the tyranny in the first place (1.64.3).⁷⁶ The reference to their *device* (μηχανῆς, that is, the persuasion of the Pythia) might arguably recall both the 'device' of the raising of the shield (6.115), and their role in devising the Phye charade in Book 1 (μηχανῶνται τοιάδε). This is language that is redolent of tricksters and tyrants such as Deioces.⁷⁷

Finally, after all this slipping back and forth, Herodotus ends with an elaborate *non liquet*, rather more balanced than his opening denials:

⁷² Herodotus does, however, concede the possibility that this report may not have been true (εἰ δὴ οὗτοι γε ἀληθῆώς ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπείσαντες).

⁷³ Cf. Fowler 2003: 316: 'We have the Alkmaionidai, noble tyrant-haters, achieving the noble end of their expulsion by bribing the Pythia'. The Alcmaeonids' use of bribery is connected to a wider theme in the *Histories*, of the effectiveness of deceit: so, e.g., 3.72, 8.59–60, 9.2.

⁷⁴ See here Thomas 1989: 249 for other examples of the likely stigma. Of course, a more innocent explanation might be possible (reflected in Pindar *Pyth.* 7.10–12, i.e. that they exceeded the terms of the contract they had been given by facing the temple with Parian marble through piety; my understanding is that the bribery consists in their contribution to Delphi [as Robinson 1994: 368–9]).

⁷⁵ For traditions of the Alcmaeonid exile, see esp. Thomas 1989: 150–1, 263.

⁷⁶ Even without Herodotus showing knowledge of Meiggs-Lewis 6, which reveals that Cleisthenes was archon in 525 BC.

⁷⁷ See further the distinction of tricksters and savants of Dewald 1985.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδοσαν τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ μὲν ὧν ἦσαν σφέων ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἔν γε Ἀθηναίοισι ἄνδρες οὐδ' οἱ μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο. οὕτω οὐδέ λόγος αἰρέει ἀναδεχθῆναι ἔκ γε ἂν τούτων ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ. ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν· ἐγένετο γάρ· ὅς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας, οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν τούτων.

Perhaps somehow out of a grudge against the Athenian people they betrayed their fatherland. But no other people were more esteemed or more honoured among the Athenians than they were; and so reason does not allow that a shield was held up by these men for such a reason. But a shield was held up; it is not possible to say otherwise. For it happened. Who it was, however, who held it up, I cannot say further than this.

The overall effect then is a poised one: Herodotus protests one position whilst suggesting another that is diametrically opposed to it and survives all attempts at suppression.⁷⁸ This is, of course, exactly how his approach is characterized by Plutarch: Herodotus, according to the *de malignitate Herodoti* (856c), is one of those who fires from ambush and then withdraws, ‘saying they don’t believe what they absolutely want you to believe’ (τῷ φάσκειν ἀπιστεῖν ἅ πάνυ πιστεύεσθαι θέλουσιν, *Mor.* 856c; compare 862f–863a).

THE RULES OF THE GAME

This elaborate game of reputations is one that plays out much more widely in the later chapters of Book 6. Harmodius and Aristogeiton have been introduced once before in argument within Book 6. On the eve of Marathon, Miltiades sets up the choice open to the polemarch Callimachus as one between, on the one hand, enslaving Athens and, on the other hand, freeing it, so leaving a memorial ‘for all of human history’ such as not even Harmodius and Aristogeiton had left (ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον, 6.109). The events of Marathon, in short, are framed as a battle of reputations even in anticipation. The conflicting claims of responsibility for the liberation of Athens that make up the ‘excursus’ on Alcmaeonid bribery are not only to be explained in terms of Herodotus’ recording of disparate oral traditions,⁷⁹ but also as part of a deliberate problematization of Athenian aristocratic reputations.

The same uneasy relationship between reputation and reality can be seen at play in the marriage contest itself. At first sight, the contest — announced by Cleisthenes after his victory in the four-horse chariot (6.126.2) — appears to be the apogee of a heroic *andragathie*: the gathering together of the best men — young and not so young — of the Greek world for a whole year of competition,⁸⁰

⁷⁸ As Thomas puts it (1989: 272), he ‘provides the information we need to discern [the] falsity’ of the Alcmaeonid defence.

⁷⁹ As Thomas 1989: 250–1.

⁸⁰ For the age of athletes, see Golden 1997.

a systematic assessment of their background, character and manners.⁸¹ On closer inspection, both suitors and host appear rather less brilliant. The suitors are those who are ‘puffed out⁸² with themselves or their country’ (σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν καὶ πάτρῃ ἐξωγκωμένοι, 6.126.3). As for Cleisthenes, his self-appointed role as impresario of games and banquet is also open to question. Marek Węcowski has highlighted how, according to aristocratic ideals, it was for the fellow competitors to determine the victor, not for any single tyrant figure. In Węcowski’s words, the banquet is an ‘anti-symposion’.⁸³ If we can adduce what we know of Cleisthenes from earlier sections of the *Histories* — and the traditions of Alcmaeon and the Alcmaeonids discussed above suggest that we can and should — then we learn he is the same man who ‘de-platformed’ rhapsodes in Sicyon on the grounds that Homeric poetry tended to praise Argives and that he did not like Argives (5.67).⁸⁴ One Argive suitor, Leocedes, made it into the contest, nonetheless.⁸⁵ His identity, however, points again to the tyrannical subversion of proper competition: he is the son of the Pheidon ‘who committed the greatest act of *hybris* of all Greeks’ (ὕβρισαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων), when he expelled the *agonothetai* of the Eleians and established the contest in Olympia himself’.

Proper competitions require rules, something of which Herodotus reveals a sharp awareness. How is it that the people of Elis can compete in the games that they themselves run? This is the objection brought up, in a striking passage of the Egyptian *logos*, by the Egyptians to a group of Eleian ambassadors (2.160).⁸⁶ Disproportionate power can also distort competition: Cimon Koalemos (the father of Miltiades, the victor of Marathon) allows his Olympic victory to be credited to Peisistratus, as part of a truce under which he can return to Athens (6.103). And then there is the corrupting effect of wealth.⁸⁷ Competing in the four-horse chariot race — ‘the one event in which money could be made to yield victory in a pretty

⁸¹ Emphasized rightly by Laemmle 2021: 363–4.

⁸² The term ἐξωγκωμένοι, ‘puffed out’, used also of Alcmaeon in Sardis, has been deployed by Kurke as evidence that Herodotus was conscious of the origins of the story as a ‘beast fable’, Kurke 2011: 417–18 (cf. p. 413), although see now Levaniouk 2022: 152.

⁸³ Węcowski 2014: 69–70; the same point could be made about the mirroring ‘anti-symposion’, that of Alexander and Amyntas.

⁸⁴ How we should make sense of the relationship of this story with the tradition of Cleisthenes’ inauguration of the Sicyonian Pythia, whether it is mere coincidence that it was in the year of Hippocleides’ archonship in Athens that the Panathenaea was established, is obscure. Pythia: Scholion to Pind. *Nem.* 9 (Drachmann, 3.149). Panathenaea: Pherecydes *BNJ* 3 F 2. See here e.g. Ogden 1997: 117, Laemmle 2021: 374–5.

⁸⁵ Cf. S. West 2015: 16: ‘Herodotus seems to have forgotten what he said earlier about Cleisthenes’ extraordinary hostility to Argos’; contrast Alexander 1959: 133. McGregor 1941: 274–6 offers a plausible rationalization, that Leocedes was in fact the son of a different Pheidon (of Cleonae), epigraphically attested.

⁸⁶ Cf. Hornblower 2014: 225 for the historical predominance of Eleian victors in the early Olympic victor lists. See also 5.22, 6.38 for exclusion from competition on different grounds; or the traditions of the prizes given to Themistocles after Salamis (8.123, 125).

⁸⁷ For ambivalent Greek reactions to chariot-racing, Golden 1997: 337–9, citing e.g. the ostrakon (cf. Siewert 1991: 10) that reproaches Megacles for *hippotrophia*; more widely, for negative associations of *hippotrophia*, cf. Griffith 2006: 202 and n. 74, 321–2, 342 (terming Hippias and Hipparchus ‘those horsey-named disappointments’).

direct, if not entirely reliable, way⁸⁸ — demands extravagant resources. Disparate sources suggest that of all events this attracted resentment. Alcibiades might have desired, according to Thucydides' Nicias, 'to be admired for his keeping of horses', his *hippotrophia* (ὅπως θαυμασθῆ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἵπποτροφίας, Thuc. 6.12.2), but the terms of Nicias' speech, and of Thucydides' subsequent judgement (6.15.2–3), suggest that it could be turned against him for its associations with tyranny and extravagance beyond his means.⁸⁹ Earlier in the fifth century, *hippotrophia* was in the minds of a healthy number of Athenian citizens when they cast their votes for the ostracism of Megacles son of Hippocrates (either a few years after Marathon in 487, or in 471).⁹⁰ Megacles is termed *hippotrophos* on two ostraca, a knight on two more;⁹¹ one individual, after writing out 'Megacles son of Hippocrates' was moved to add 'and the horse'.⁹² (The traditions of Peisistratus' first two attempts at tyranny — his arrival on a mule-cart, claiming that he had been attacked by his enemies, or in a chariot with Phye — equally perhaps reflect the inversion of a heroic image of the victor-tyrant.⁹³)

Against this background, when Herodotus concludes his account of Alcmaeon's visit to Sardis by observing that it was 'by these means that his household became so wealthy and that Alcmaeon won the four-horse chariot competition at Olympia' (6.125.5),⁹⁴ how should we interpret this? Is the fact of Alcmaeon's Olympic victory straightforwardly positive, a qualification that somehow balances the craven manner by which the family acquired its wealth? (A descendant of Alcmaeon, the younger Alcibiades, could point to this moment with uncomplicated pride as the first victory with a team of horses by any Athenian citizen, Isoc. 17.25). Or does Herodotus instead mean to detract from the victory by pointing to its foundations? Given that Alcmaeon's victory is followed shortly after by notice of Cleisthenes' own, does he in fact mean to puncture the pretensions not only of Alcmaeon and the Alcmaeonids but of an entire Olympian class?⁹⁵ The association of Olympic victories (and especially the four-horse chariot) and tyranny within the *Histories* could be interpreted in purely historical terms, as a marker of the class from which potential tyrants came: on this basis, the fact that Cylon, for example, the Athenian whose attempt at tyranny resulted in the Alcmaeonid curse, is designated an ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης (5.71), 'cannot be derogatory'.⁹⁶ Herodotus' presentation of Alcmaeon and Cleisthenes

⁸⁸ Osborne 1993: 29.

⁸⁹ Cf. Plut. *Them.* 25.1, citing Theophrastus, for the tradition of how Themistocles tried to prevent Hiero from competing with his horses at Olympia, calling on the Greeks to tear down his elaborate pavilion.

⁹⁰ For Megacles' second ostracism, Sickinger 2017: 450–1.

⁹¹ Brenne 2002: T1/101–2, 1/104–5.

⁹² Brenne 2002: T1/103.

⁹³ So also perhaps the tradition that Themistocles drove four hetairai into the agora on a four-horse chariot, either yoked to the chariot or on it: Idomeneus of Lampsacus *FGrHist* 338 F 4a–b (=Ath. 576c, 533d).

⁹⁴ Οὕτω μὲν ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκίη αὐτῆ μεγάλως, καὶ ὁ Ἄλκμῆων οὗτος οὕτω τεθριπποτροφήσας Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέεται.

⁹⁵ The 'exclusive club of blueblooded tyrants': Fowler 2003: 313. Cf. Callias, 6.122 (though this passage is often seen as interpolated).

⁹⁶ Thomas 1989 275. So also, e.g., Peisistratus, 1.59, Miltiades tyrant of the Chersonese, 6.36.

may suggest, however, that this strong pattern of association should be read in historiographical — and more shaded — terms.

What is the end of competition? Before Salamis, the Persian Tritantaechmes expresses his shock that the Greeks⁹⁷ are competing in the games at Olympia only for an olive crown, for virtue rather than money (8.26). Cleisthenes' games defy this neat binary. Even if the ultimate prize, the hand of Agariste, is not a monetary one, the implication may be that more is at stake.⁹⁸ The unsuccessful competitors each leave with the prize of one talent. And, of course, the competition is itself nothing if not a magnificent (or grotesque) display of wealth and aristocratic ease. Cleisthenes' alternative games are arguably less in line with the assumed Greek ideal than they are with the assumptions of the Persian Tritantaechmes⁹⁹ — or with the model of the Sybarites (or Crotoniates), who, in a later tradition, proposed a lavish set of games to run against the Olympics, with large cash prizes (Athen. 522c–d = Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F 45).¹⁰⁰ Herodotus' implicit exploration of these themes indeed sets his work alongside other critiques of traditional models of athletic competitions: Xenophanes' critique of the honour given to strength over wisdom (Athen. 10.413c–414c), or Tyrtaeus' commentary on the overrating of athletic as opposed to martial prowess (fr. 12 West).

THE FORCE OF DEMOCRACY

How then should we interpret the pairing of two Athenians as the leading suitors? For Hornblower, the fact that there are two representatives from Athens but only one from Sybaris, Siris, Epidamnus and so on is an 'untidiness' that serves as an 'indication of [the story's basic] authenticity'.¹⁰¹ The omnipresence of Alcmaeonid and Philaid material in surrounding chapters of Book 6 suggests that the central presence of two Athenians, one of each family, is an instance of deliberate patterning on Herodotus' part.¹⁰² Just as the marriage contest is preceded by two mentions of the increase in reputation of the Alcmaeonids — that, formerly 'renowned' (λαμπροί), they became more so — it is followed by the similar report that after the battle (the τρῶμα) of Marathon, Miltiades, who had formerly been of

Less clearly problematic: Demaratus, 6.70, Philip of Croton, 5.47. For the political use of athletic success, Osborne 1993: 28.

⁹⁷ All Greeks in this external perspective: Weçowski 2022: 65.

⁹⁸ S. West 2015: 20.

⁹⁹ See also Hornblower 2014: 229 for the suggestion that Cleisthenes of Sicyon is 'doing a Pheidon' by creating his own wrestling area and running track for his marriage contest (6.126.3) — albeit 'in a mild and acceptable fashion'.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Plutarch *Sol.* 22.3 with Osborne 1993: 35, for the tradition of Solon's institution of state rewards for victors, and its impact. Strikingly, a recently published Oxyrhynchus papyrus seems to be a rhetorical exercise in which Cleisthenes and Periander are condemned for corrupting the Isthmian games by introducing prizes: P.Oxy. 5193 (Henry and Parsons 2014).

¹⁰¹ Hornblower 2014: 221 ('The double representation of Athens is ... not an obvious signifier for some famous rivalry between great Athenian houses').

¹⁰² No matter the difficulty in interpreting the meaning of that pattern: cf. S. West 2015: 32, suggesting that 'it is probably futile to try to pin down more exactly how Philaid/Alkmaionid rivalry was absorbed into the story'.

good repute (εὐδοκίμων), then grew more so (τότε μᾶλλον αὐξέτο).¹⁰³ Herodotus is doing much more than simply indulging in a ‘knowing nudge and wink at the expense of’ the Alcmaeonids;¹⁰⁴ he is developing an implicit thesis on the development and character of Athens.

Herodotus’ epigrammatic judgement on Cleisthenes’ victory in 508 — that, defeated in the *stasis* for power, he ‘added the *demos* to his *hetaireia*’ (or aristocratic club) (ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται, 5.66.1) — is often taken to suggest that his recruitment of the *demos* was an extension of aristocratic competition.¹⁰⁵ This is not an isolated observation, however, but forms part of a sustained account of Athenian history. The succinct judgement on Cleisthenes is recapitulated a few chapters later: Cleisthenes added the *demos* to his own *moira* or ‘share’ (τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ... πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν προσεθήκατο, 5.69); by doing so he became much above his rivals in *stasis* (Ἦν ... πολλῶ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων). His tribal reforms, of course, are presented as an imitation of his maternal grandfather, the Sicyonian Cleisthenes, ‘reminding us of tyrannical connections unsuitable for ... the initiator of the democracy itself’.¹⁰⁶ The language of the *hetaireia* is used very soon after in description of the attempted tyranny of Cylon (5.71): Cylon ‘fashioned a *hetaireia* of his age-group’ (προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἑταιρηίην τῶν ἡλικιωτέων), and attempted to seize the Acropolis, an attempt that was thwarted, of course, by none other than the Alcmaeonids.¹⁰⁷ Just as at Athens’ first appearance in Book 1 the city is dominated by three factions, each with a regional base (led respectively by Peisistratus, Megacles and Lycurgus), so at the end of Book 6 Athens remains dominated by a small group of families, three if we still include Hippias and the Peisistratids: only now, for the Boutadaei of Lycurgus, we can substitute the Philaids/Cimonids of Miltiades. The battle for control of Athens goes on, and in waging it the protagonists will scramble for any allies: the Persian King or the Athenian *demos*.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ 6.125.1: οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῆσι Ἀθήνησι, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος καὶ αὐτῆς Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροὶ (‘Now the Alcmaeonids were renowned in Athens from the earliest times, and from the time of Alcmaeon and then Megacles, they became very renowned’) / 6.126.1: μετὰ δὲ γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυώνιος τύραννος ἐξῆειρε, ὥστε πολλῶ ὀνομαστοτέρην γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἢ πρότερον ἦν (‘Then in the next generation after this, Cleisthenes the Sicyonian tyrant raised up the family, so that it became much more famous among the Greeks than before’) / 6.132: μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρῶμα γεγόμενον Μιλτιάδης, καὶ πρότερον εὐδοκίμων παρὰ Ἀθηναίοισι, τότε μᾶλλον αὐξέτο (‘After the defeat at Marathon, Miltiades, who even before this was well-reputed among the Athenians, then grew greater in reputation’).

¹⁰⁴ Fowler 2003: 313–14.

¹⁰⁵ See Hornblower 2013: 196; cf. Rhodes 1981: 243.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas 1989: 270.

¹⁰⁷ We might possibly see some parallel in the way in which Alcmaeonid responsibility for the Cylonian curse and the shield signal are introduced: φονεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτή ἔχει Ἀλκμεωνίδας (‘and the Alcmaeonids are accused of killing them’, 5.71), Αἰτή δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι (‘And an accusation became current among the Athenians that they formed this design because of a device of the Alcmaeonids’, 6.115).

¹⁰⁸ Contrast Gray 2007: 222: ‘I resist the temptation to take the comparison [between the two Cleisthenes] beyond the motives for tribal reform and see general implications of tyranny in an Athenian democratic reformer being inspired by a tyrannical ancestor’.

This sceptical view of democracy might be thought surprising, in the light of Herodotus' seeming praise of *isegoriē* or equality of speech at 5.78, a passage again framed in terms of growth:

Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νῦν ἠϋξήντο. δηλοῖ δὲ οὐ κατ' ἓν μόνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῆ ἢ ἰσηγορίῃ ὡς ἔστι χρῆμα σπουδαῖον, εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννευόμενοι μὲν οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικεόντων ἦσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους, ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῶ πρώτοι ἐγένοντο. δηλοῖ ὧν ταῦτα ὅτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεον ὡς δεσπότη ἐργαζόμενοι, ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐωυτῷ προεθυμέετο κατεργάζεσθαι.

The Athenians now grew in power. And it is clear not in one respect only but in every way that *isegoriē* is a powerful thing. For while they were ruled by tyrants they were no better in war than any of those that lived around, but once they had been set free from tyrants they were first by a long way. This makes clear then that while they were held down they were cowardly, as they were working for a master, but when they had been freed each person was eager to work for himself.

This passage, however, is more poised in its meaning than might, at first sight, appear. In particular, the range of meanings of σπουδαῖον clearly range beyond merely 'good' or 'goodly' (Godley and Blanco, respectively), to include a sense of importance, urgency or impact.¹⁰⁹ The conclusion that *isegoriē* is a χρῆμα σπουδαῖον is the Athenians' military success, evidenced by their quick succession of victories over the Chalcidians and Boeotians. Herodotus' judgement, in other words, may be a strong comment on the effectiveness of *isegoriē* rather than a statement of preference.¹¹⁰

Herodotus' judgement of *isegoriē* is balanced, moreover, by similar expressions of the effectiveness of a monarchic model. In response to Demaratus' certainty over the superiority of Spartan manpower, Xerxes questions whether the Spartans might be even more effective if they subscribed to Persian custom: 'if they were ruled by one man (ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἑνὸς ἀρχόμενοι), according to our custom, they might, out of fear of that man, be better than their own nature (γενοίατ' ἂν δειμαίνοντες τοῦτον καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐωυτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες); compelled by the whip, they might go against more men when they were fewer, whereas, let go in their freedom, they would do neither of these things' (ἀνειμένοι δὲ ἐξ

¹⁰⁹ Cf. 8.69, Xerxes' judgement on Artemisia: νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην εἶναι τότε πολλῶ μᾶλλον αἶνε; 1.8.1, Candaules entrusts most serious matters to Gyges, τοῦτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων; 1.133, Persians debate most important issues when drunk, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βουλευέσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων; 4.23.4, Argippaei's pastures not 'good', οὐ γάρ τι σπουδαῖα αἰ νομαὶ αὐτόθι εἰσὶ; 2.86, the best model of embalming, καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶ εἶναι τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι τὸ οὖνομα ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν.

¹¹⁰ We might compare the perspective of the Old Oligarch ([Xen.] *Ath. Pol.*), except that that author's position on the effectiveness of Athenian democracy is framed by clear disapproval.

τὸ ἐλεύθερον, 7.103.4). Xerxes' confidence is, in fact, strikingly vindicated in two instances by Herodotus' own narrative of Persian military effectiveness.¹¹¹ His account of the mustering of Xerxes' expeditionary force shows how 'everyone (πᾶς ἀνὴρ) used all their eagerness to do what they had been told (προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι), each man wishing himself to receive the gifts that had been promised' (θέλων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα λαβεῖν, 7.19). The Persian fleet at Salamis were, in Herodotus' judgement, 'by a long way better than themselves at Euboea (μακρῶ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ), each one of them eager and in fear of Xerxes' (πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην); and 'each one thought that the King was watching him' (ἐδόκεέ τε ἕκαστος ἑωυτὸν θεήσασθαι βασιλέα, 8.86).¹¹²

This set of passages presents striking parallels with Herodotus' 'praise' of *isegoriē* in the focus on comparative bravery and on the motivating effect of reward or fear on the individual. Is the promise of reward more powerful as a motive force than fear of punishment? Is working for yourself more energizing than for a master? Can freedom, in fact, be enervating, as Xerxes suggests? (Or as the behaviour of the Ionians before Lade might confirm, who balk at the hard work that freedom entails, and ultimately listen to the threats of their former tyrants, 6.9–13?) Demaratus' response to Xerxes goes some way to offering a resolution of such questions by positioning the Spartans as an intermediate category, 'free and yet not wholly free' (ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἐόντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροι εἰσὶ): 'for *nomos* is a master for them, which they fear much more than your men fear you [Xerxes]' (ἔπεστι γὰρ σφι δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοὶ σέ, 7.104.4). This renders the Spartans collectively the 'best of all men', whereas, individually, they are simply no worse than others. There may be ways, then, in which a given constitution may prove more effective than another, at least for a given people. And yet, as the example of the Thracians testifies — the Thracians who would be the strongest of all peoples 'if they were ruled by one man or could come to a common understanding (5.3.1; compare 3.94.1), — strength can be built on different foundations.¹¹³

PERICLES AND CIMON

The focus on Athenian divisions, represented through the parallelism between two dominant families, has a life in Herodotus' account beyond the time of the Persian wars. The possibility of 'some great *stasis*' falling upon and shaking the Athenians' minds is held out by Miltiades in his speech to Callimachus before Marathon (ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην διασεῖσιν ἐμπεσοῦσαν, 6.109).¹¹⁴ In its immediate context, the threat of *stasis* is one linked to the Persian threat, a threat that can be addressed only by the Athenians' prompt commitment to

¹¹¹ Contrast, however, 8.89.2 where the desire to display 'some deed' to the King is counterproductive.

¹¹² But for competition turned inwards, through slander, e.g., 7.10, 237.

¹¹³ See here the nuanced reading of Irwin 2007a: 79–83.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 248 ('As often, Hdt. injects a note of realism even into Greece's greatest moments, and the subsequent narrative bears him out: *someone*, he is clear, held up the treacherous shield ...').

battle. Given the long-range proleptic orientation of Miltiades' speech — with its focus on Athens' future supremacy within Greece — it is hard to resist the possibility of a secondary reference. A suggestion of later rivalries may also be implicit in the artfully balanced proleptic references to Pericles and Cimon in the aftermath of the marriage contest. The famous reference to Pericles at 6.131 is widely understood to refer to the Athenian empire of the period of Pericles' dominance.¹¹⁵ By contrast, Cimon's veiled presence within the *Histories* has perhaps been underestimated.

The reason for this, of course, lies in the difference in their presence within the surviving sources. Cimon, as Rosalind Thomas observed, has all but disappeared from the record of history, frequently confused in later traditions with his father Miltiades.¹¹⁶ The bare bones of his career, however, and his centrality to the history of Athenian power in the fifth century, can still be read from Thucydides and Plutarch. Cimon not only defeated the Persians and besieged the city of Eion in Thrace, an event also described in the *Histories* (Plut. *Cim.* 7.1, Thuc. 1.97; compare Hdt. 7.171), but he subsequently drove out the Persians and Thracians from the Chersonese, suppressed the revolt of Thasos and took over the Thasian gold mines on the mainland (Plut. *Cim.* 14.1, Thuc. 1.100–101). He was then the driving force behind Athenian adventures in Cyprus and Egypt in 451, in the course of which he met his death (Plut. *Cim.* 18.2). Even through the telegraphic account of Thucydides' *Pentakontaetia*, the subjugation of Thasos after a siege that lasted three years appears as a significant staging-post (Thuc. 1.100–101). It is important also to underline the scale and ambition of Athenian imperialism, as reflected in Cimon's expeditions to Cyprus and Egypt, and described by Thucydides, Plutarch and Diodorus. For Diodorus, Cimon's motive for the siege of Cypriot Salamis was to show that the King could not support his allies, to undermine their trust in him, and so to decide the entire outcome of the war between them (12.4; compare Plut. *Cim.* 18, Thuc. 1.112). This is consonant with images of Athenian imperialism from subsequent decades of the fifth century: Demosthenes in Aristophanes' *Knights* encouraging the Sausage-Seller to turn his right eye towards Caria and his left to Carthage (Ar. *Eq.* 173–6),¹¹⁷ or Thucydides' portrayal of Alcibiades' ambitions to conquer not only Sicily but also Carthage (Thuc. 6.15.2, 90.2; compare Plut. *Per.* 20.3).¹¹⁸

Beyond the few explicit references already discussed, where might we be able to detect Cimon's shadow in the *Histories*? To diagnose proleptic references within the text, to match events of the Persian wars with those of a subsequent generation known only from other sources, is necessarily a fraught exercise: a 'laborious one at odds with the immediacy of Herodotus' text'.¹¹⁹ From

¹¹⁵ For the interpretation of the dream, see e.g. Dyson 1929, Strasburger 2013: 298, 311–12, Fornara 1971: 53–4, Thomas 1989: 270, Moles 2007: 262.

¹¹⁶ Thomas 1989: 203–5.

¹¹⁷ See Irwin 2014: 63–4. Persia provides a model for this wide scope of empire: cf. Hdt. 1.209.1, 7.8.γ, 19.1, 54.2, 8.53.2, 109.3; Aesch. *Pers.* 189–99.

¹¹⁸ Thucydides' brief account of the first Athenian expedition to Egypt seems indeed to prefigure the Sicilian disaster in the totality of the destruction of Athens' forces: 1.111; cf. 7.77. Consider e.g. the repetition of ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν.

¹¹⁹ Harrison and Irwin 2018: 13. (The thought and phrase were Irwin's.)

partial evidence, we are making explicit what in most circumstances would have constituted the assumed knowledge of Herodotus' contemporary audience/readers. But, given the self-evident fact that they approached the text with such assumed knowledge,¹²⁰ to abandon the attempt to reconstruct it would be perverse.¹²¹ We see perhaps the clearest glimpse of an implicit connection with Cimon's subsequent career in the case of the Thasian mines. Herodotus himself gives a detailed account of their importance earlier in Book 6: taken together, he says, they yielded, he says, a revenue of 200 talents a year, 300 at their peak. The context for Herodotus' notice is Darius' demand that the Thasians destroy their walls and hand over the ships that they had built in response to having been besieged by Histiaeus (6.46–7). For Herodotus' contemporaries, this would easily have brought to mind the Athenian siege of Thasos, which ends precisely in the razing of their walls, the transfer of their ships, the surrender of their mainland possessions together with the mine and the setting of tribute.¹²² Herodotus' eye-witness account of the Thasian mines directs the reader towards the ongoing significance of the site (6.47.1) — even as he also looks back to the Phoenician foundations of Thasos:

εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα, καὶ μακρῶ ἤν αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα
τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνεῦρον οἱ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταύτην,
ἣτις νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ οὖνομα ἔσχε.

I myself saw these mines, and by a long way the most marvellous of these are those which the Phoenicians discovered who with Thasos founded this island, which now has its name from this Thasos the Phoenician.

Similar parallels with later history might have been brought to contemporaries' minds by other Philaid interventions in the *Histories*. Miltiades' apparently homespun imperialist venture, for example, might represent a first awkward step: an inaugural attempt at the kind of extortion that could be achieved through unquestioned control of the sea.¹²³ (Cimon's involvement in the Chersonese and with the Thracians, by contrast, is simply a continuation of the family interests that Herodotus relates in Books 5–6.) Miltiades' adventures on Paros may be fulfilled by Cimon's career in another way. Cimon paid (ἐξέτεισε) the fine of fifty talents after Miltiades' death (6.136). The verb ἐξέτεισε, as Hornblower and Pelling put it, may '[hint] at moral or religious requital'.¹²⁴ Was the requital that he made more than simply monetary? (For parallels, we might look to other

¹²⁰ See e.g. the classic formulation of Fornara 1971: 40–1.

¹²¹ Even if, self-evidently also, the assumed knowledge of Herodotus' audience would have varied.

¹²² Cf. Raaflaub 2009: 110 (his emphasis on Athenian borrowing of Persian 'instruments of empire'). Cf. Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 148 ('Hdt. may intend an unspoken parallel between the two surrenders, both of which also entailed the handing over of the Thasian fleet').

¹²³ Cf. Plut. *Cim.* 18.2 for the financial motives of Cimon's campaigns.

¹²⁴ Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 294.

instances of deferred divine vengeance in the *Histories*: that deflected onto Mardonius by Xerxes, 9.64,¹²⁵ or the vengeance that Herodotus assumes is waiting for the Athenians for their killing of heralds, 7.137.) Plutarch's account of Cimon's final campaign — one which seems to draw on fifth-century material — is rich in omens of his coming death (Plut. *Cim.* 18.3–4). It also notes two traditions of how he died: by disease or — like his father — from a wound that gave him the opportunity to make a final speech (Plut. *Cim.* 19.1). Plutarch does not record where on his body Cimon received his fatal injury. Miltiades' wound has been prefigured within the *Histories* by the use of the term τρωμα to describe Marathon at the very opening of the section on Miltiades (6.132.2).¹²⁶ Was knowledge of Cimon's subsequent career and death as fundamental to the contemporary reception of the aftermath of Marathon as Pausanias' to the understanding of the aftermath of Plataea?¹²⁷

Finally, might it be legitimate to look for the origins of the stories of the close of Book 6 in this later history? The story of the Lydian origins of Alcmaeon's wealth, although it also forms part of a minor genre of similar traditions about the easy or reprehensible origins of family fortunes (for example, 7.190), would reasonably have been fed by later associations of the family with tyranny and medism. The ostraca cast for Megacles son of Hippocrates referred not only to his horses but to the Cylonian curse (1/91; compare 1/92–3), and to the Alcmaeonid family (1/89, 90), to adultery (1/106), his new hair (1/107–8), his mother Coesyra (1/94–100, 158) and his love of money (1/111). One scratched sketch of a horseman with a shield may, it has been suggested, make allusion to the notorious shield-signal (1/158).¹²⁸ This is the seedbed from which the story of the family founder's visit to Sardis took root. Moreover, if the Kroisos associated with a famous *kouros* was — as has plausibly been suggested — the son of Megacles, there was a permanent reminder of the family's Lydian connections on display.¹²⁹

Can we see the origins of the tradition of the marriage contest in this later history? Although Megacles was clearly a sufficiently significant figure to merit a strategic alliance from a foreign tyrant (a plausible tyrant himself, in other words),¹³⁰ there was nothing so remarkable about him that might reasonably generate such an elaborate story, or that might dictate that such a story should stick specifically to his (unquestionably, historical) marriage. Given what we know of the patterns of oral deformation, it may be more plausible to look to later contexts for the story's

¹²⁵ With Asheri 1998.

¹²⁶ Cf. Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 288. And talk of Miltiades' 'growth' or increase prompts thought of his subsequent decline: for an analysis of the fluctuation of size and power in the *Histories*, see Greenwood 2018.

¹²⁷ See the classic demonstration of Fornara 1971: 64–5.

¹²⁸ Cf. Athanassaki 2013: 102. See also Sfyroeras 2013: 76 for the striking silence on Marathon of Pind. *Pyth.* 7 in praise of Alcmaeonid Megacles.

¹²⁹ See e.g. Eliot 1967; cf. Hart 1982: 24, Moles 2002: 36 (“Croesus” is an Athenian [Alcmaeonid] name’). Eliot hypothesizes (pp. 283–4), that Kroisos might have been killed at Pallene, and his monument only erected after the Alcmaeonids' return.

¹³⁰ For contrasting views of the opportunism of the match, Alexander 1959: 133–4, Beck 2016: 78.

origins or evolution.¹³¹ First, as we have seen, the evidence of ostraca reveals a popular discourse that focused on stories of financial corruption, treachery and family relationships. We have the multiple mentions of Megacles' mother, for example, the accusation of adultery or the instruction to Cimon to 'take Elpinice [the sister with whom he was reputed to have had incestuous relations¹³²] and go away'.¹³³ At the same time, even if it seems clear that we should not look to aristocratic family tradition for the origins of these stories, we also know that aristocratic families sought to promote their ancestors' achievements: that the younger Alcibiades boasted of his ancestor Alcmaeon's Olympic victory, or that Cimon highlighted his dynastic background through public art.¹³⁴ This industry of self-promotion can be seen as operating in dialogue with the popular discourse revealed through ostraca and the Plutarchan lives. Comedy provides another occasional window: we know, for example, from the *Suda* that Hippocleides' punchline (οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ, or 'Hippocleides doesn't care') was referred to by the comic poet Hermippus in his play *Demesmen*.¹³⁵

All this provided the seedbed, but we perhaps need something more basic to have been the seed. We might look simply to the prominence of Pericles (and, indeed, earlier controversial members of the Alcmaeonid family), and suggest that this fed the generation and 'deformation' of the marriage contest. Agariste's name — pretty certainly historical — might have given impetus. ('The name of the princess chooses its own history', as Müller puts it.¹³⁶) Alternatively, the story's twin focus on two leading Athenians might encourage us to look to the later history of rivalry of the same families.¹³⁷ The contrast and rivalry between Cimon and Pericles is one of the structuring themes of Plutarch's fifth-century lives. On the one hand we have Cimon, with his reputation for a dissolute and bibulous life (Plut. *Cim.* 4.3, compare 15.3),¹³⁸ his Laconizing, or his lack of Attic 'cleverness and fluency' (Plut. *Cim.* 4.4; compare 15.3, 16.1); on the other hand, Pericles, initially austere, who turns to courting the *demos* only when he sees that Cimon is winning (Plut. *Per.* 7.2). Just as Xanthippus prosecuted Miltiades for 'deceit' of the people, Pericles accused Cimon of treason; it was Cimon's sister Elpinice who intervened with Pericles to ensure his leniency (Plut. *Per.* 10.4–5; compare *Cim.* 9.1). In the brief period after his return from ostracism, Plutarch presents a picture of a shared leadership, with Cimon holding command abroad and Pericles supreme power at home (Plut. *Per.* 10.4–5).¹³⁹

¹³¹ See here, however, the well-made warnings of Levaniouk (2022: 150–1) against a stratigraphic approach to oral traditions.

¹³² A regular theme of Plutarch's life.

¹³³ Brenne 2002: T1/67, ?471.

¹³⁴ Raaflaub 2009: 92, citing Miller 1997: 31–2, 39–40.

¹³⁵ *Suda* ο978; cf. Hesychius ο1920, Photius ο363. See here Kurke 2011: 419–20, Laemmle 2021: 370–1.

¹³⁶ Müller 2006: 231 ('Der Name der Prinzessin sucht sich seine eigene Geschichte').

¹³⁷ McGregor 1941: 269: 'The old rivalry, continued into his own day, must have been well known in the Athens of Herodotus.'

¹³⁸ For the marriage contest and different models of drinking, Papakonstantinou 2010: 78–80.

¹³⁹ But contrast Plut. *Per.* 28.3–5 for Elpinice's response to Pericles' Samian oration, contrasting Cimon's achievements against Phoenicians and Medes with Pericles' against an allied city.

Plutarch is drawn to similar rivalries within his other lives, of course (Solon's childhood love affair with Peisistratus, for example, in the life of Solon); Cimon's lifestyle is contrasted with that of Themistocles as well as Pericles.¹⁴⁰ The story of Cimon's and Pericles' brief collaboration recalls Herodotus' own account of Themistocles' and Aristides' rivalry: 'it is necessary that we should have a *stasis* (Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεόν)', Aristides is portrayed addressing Themistocles, 'at all times and especially now, over which of us can work more benefit for our fatherland' (8.79.3; compare Thuc. 1.91). Nevertheless, as the example of Aristides and Themistocles suggests, such pairings of leading Athenians were not merely projected by Plutarch; Plutarch draws heavily in his fifth-century lives on Stesimbrotus, an author who shares a striking number of concerns with Herodotus (the Samothracian mysteries, Homeric criticism, the death of Polycrates).¹⁴¹ Rather than simply that the audience for Herodotus' *logos* may have heard the marriage contest through the filter of more recent history (and that Herodotus has selected and shaped his narrative with a view to that effect), it is possible that the rivalries of later political figures of the same families helped to shape the *logos* in the first place: that the party-animal Hippocleides and the grey Megacles, representatives each of a different brand of aristocracy (or, in the ultimate analysis, all the same?),¹⁴² were, at least in part, projections of a later contrast.

Other genealogical connections may be relevant. Cimon himself married an Alcmaeonid: the well-named Isodike, the daughter of Euryptolemus, the son of Megacles (which Megacles?).¹⁴³ And, in one tradition, the fine of fifty talents inherited by Cimon from his father was paid off by Callias in exchange for the hand of Cimon's notorious sister Elpinice (Plut. *Cim.* 7): the same Callias whose tyrant-hatred is compared to that of the Alcmaeonids a few pages before the marriage contest at 6.121, and who is also marked out (in a passage often deleted) for allowing his daughters to marry whomever they chose (6.122).¹⁴⁴ Cimon's laconizing streak (at odds with his extravagance), opens up another possible angle: Cimon professed the fear, according to Ion of Chios, that, with Athens and Sparta at odds, Greece would become lame, and that Athens would be robbed of its 'yoke-fellow' (Plut. *Cim.* 16.1 = Ion *FGrHist* 392 F 14). Athens and Sparta, portrayed as two legs of the same body: is there significance in the sequence of dances that Hippocleides goes through after he has asked for the table to be brought in — first the Laconic σχημάτια, and then the Attic, before he plants his head on the table and kicks his legs in the air (6.129)?¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ So, e.g., the tradition that Themistocles got into trouble for ostentation when he went to Olympia, as he did not come from a great house, Plut. *Them.* 5.3; cf. *Cim.* 9.1.

¹⁴¹ *FGrHist* 107 F 20, 21, 29; for Stesimbrotus as a contemporary of Pericles and Cimon, T1, 2; for his *On Themistocles, Thucydides [of Melesias] and Pericles*, F10a. Cf. here Pelling's astute observations (2007: 85–6) on the underestimation of the biographic strand within Herodotus' work, developed also at 2016: 117–19 (with a warning not to exclude oral transmission).

¹⁴² Cf. Hart 1982: 22 for the Philaids as a "Tory" element of Athenian society'.

¹⁴³ See Davies 1971: 303–5 for the surrounding issues. Isodike was not the mother of his three sons, according to Stesimbrotus: Plut. *Cim.* 16.1 with Pownall 2020: 131–2.

¹⁴⁴ By contrast to the situation of Agariste: cf. S. West 2015: 19.

¹⁴⁵ For his third dance as a Theban Kabeiric ritual, Cook 1907 (answered by Solomon 1907). For other speculation on the dance moves (e.g., the proposition that his initial dances represent

At this point, like Hippocleides, we should calm down. There is too much going on here for us to be able to chart any simple route through. Ultimately, in the absence of a fuller picture of the prosopographical and other points of reference available to Herodotus' contemporaries, these details can be no more than suggestive. What is clearer, however, is that such assumed knowledge of later history, including family history, forms a significant background to these chapters.

'THE BEGINNING OF SLAUGHTER'

Alongside all these background associations, however, the main message of the marriage contest is perhaps more straightforward. Far from the common picture of the episode as a light-hearted excursus (with a tone of gravity only emerging with the reference to Pericles at 6.131),¹⁴⁶ an overwhelming sense of foreboding colours the whole contest.

The reader is primed here by the story of Alcmaeon's visit to Sardis: both its recall of the visit of Solon, and Alcmaeon's association with Croesus' Delphic dedications and fall. Solon had been only one of a number of sophists who had visited Sardis at the point at which it was 'peaking in wealth' (ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι, 1.29); the procession of sophists is also arguably recalled by the procession of puffed-up suitors. The list of suitors then presents more signs of impending disaster. First, in the references to Sybaris as 'especially at its peak at that time' (ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα), or Eretria as blooming (ἀνθεύσης).¹⁴⁷ Next, if the story of the suitors was excerpted from a longer cycle that dwelt on the back stories of a wider range of the individuals named, then a contemporary audience might also have brought to bear their knowledge of wider traditions around Amyris, the father of Damasos.¹⁴⁸ Amyris earned his reputation for wisdom by being the one man to understand an oracle foretelling the fall of Sybaris (Athen. 520a–c; Suda s.v. Ἄμυρις μαίνεται).¹⁴⁹ When asked how long the Sybarites' prosperity would last, the Pythia had replied that their parties would go on forever, 'provided that you honour the immortals, but when you show more respect for a mortal man than for a god then war and internal *stasis* (πόλεμός τε καὶ ἔμφυλος στάσις) will come to you'. Predicting the outcome, Amyris sold up his property and went to the safety of the Peloponnese.

tragedy [the *emmeleia*], comedy and satyr play), Kurke 2011: 421–2; for a strong statement of the impossibility of reconstructing ancient dance, Naerebout 1997: 167–73.

¹⁴⁶ Fowler 2003: 314.

¹⁴⁷ For similarly pessimistic botanical imagery, cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 59, 252, 821–2, 925, with Dué 2006: ch. 2 for wider context. Amasis' Egypt was at the greatest extent of its good fortune just before Cambyses' invasion (ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι, 2.177). See Shapiro 1996: 357 for a range of Herodotean examples of good fortune juxtaposed with bad.

¹⁴⁸ Contrast S. West 2015: 15 ('we might expect an anecdote illustrating his shrewdness').

¹⁴⁹ The story of Amyris seems to have been one of a number that concerned individuals' response to the instability of political life. It is of a piece, for example, with the story of Glaucus — three generations before Marathon, but in narrative terms closely preceding it, 6.86 — in which a wealthy Milesian, convinced that Ionia would 'always be unsafe, but the Peloponnese firmly established' (6.86. a), asked Glaucus to look after his money. What, we might speculate, led Males the Aetolian to flee all society?

The subsequent fate of Sybaris, conquered by its neighbours the Crotoniates and its population driven out in 510, became, of course, an emblematic morality tale in antiquity — and there are signs in the representation of Smindyrides that some of that was already in train by Herodotus' time.¹⁵⁰ (As a citizen of Thuri, Herodotus, of course, was enmeshed in the later history of the dispute.) Eretria ceased to 'bloom' when its territory was captured by the Persian Datis, its temples destroyed and its population enslaved and transferred to Ardericca near Susa — a transfer Herodotus describes in instalments up to a few chapters before the marriage contest (6.100–102, 106, 107, 115, 119). The marriage contest, however, does not only prefigure these specific reversals but a much wider pattern of events.

Near the outset of Book 5, we are given similar signals of dangerous good fortune for two other Greek cities: Miletus and Naxos. Miletus was then 'especially at its peak' (μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀκμάσασα, 5.28), the model, the glory of Ionia (τῆς Ἰωνίης ... πρόσχημα); 'Naxos excelled other islands in good fortune (ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίῃ τῶν νήσων προέφερε). Both in due course meet their expected reversal. Miletus was 'emptied of Milesians' in the course of the Ionian revolt (Μίλητος μὲν νυν Μιλησίων ἠρήμωτο, 6.21–22.1), its citizens transferred to the Red Sea. Naxos initially suffered, but survived, a lengthy siege (5.30–4), only later to see the capture of some of its citizens and the destruction of its temples during the Marathon campaign (6.96). More significantly, however, Naxos and Miletus are marked out as the origin of a kind of rising tide of more general misfortune, of κακά.

μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν, καὶ ἦρχετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου Ἴωσι γίνεσθαι κακά.

Then after a short letting up of evils, for a second time evils began to happen for the Ionians from Naxos and Miletus.

Herodotus' formulation is repeated with variations on a number of occasions. When, a couple of chapters later, a group of rich Naxian exiles arrive in Miletus to plead their case with Aristagoras, he repeats that 'then from these cities evils began to happen for Ionia' (τότε δὲ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολιῶν ὧδε ἦρχετο κακά γίνεσθαι τῇ Ἰωνίῃ, 5.30.1). When Aristagoras draws in the Athenians, Herodotus comments that these ships were the 'beginning of evils for both Greeks and barbarians' (αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἑλλησὶ τε καὶ βαρβάροισι, 5.97.2).¹⁵¹ And then, finally, shortly before Marathon, Herodotus' notice of the Delos earthquake points to yet further 'evils' that now reach beyond the chronological confines of his narrative:

¹⁵⁰ Later traditions describe how he was accompanied by 1,000 cooks and fowlers (Athen. 12.541 b–c), or equate him with Sardanapalus (Ar. *EE* 1216a16–19). Contrast S. West 2015: 14–15. Cf. Gorman and Gorman 2007, emphasizing that *tryphē* was not an agent of historical change until the first century BC. For Kurke (2011: 418), the mention of Smindyrides is a narrative feint, setting up the false expectation that he may be the 'peacock of the fable'. For the rivalry of Sybaris and Croton in the *Histories* (and the role of the Spartan Dorieus), see esp. Hornblower 2004: 299, 301–6, 2007.

¹⁵¹ For the connection between these passages, Hornblower 2013: 125.

ἐγένετο πλέω κακά τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεάς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων αὐτῇ γενόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περι τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμεόντων.

For more evils happened to Greece in the generations [of Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes] than in the twenty generations that occurred before Darius, some of them coming about as a result of the Persians, some from the chiefs of [the Greeks] themselves fighting for rule.¹⁵²

There is a clear chain of contingency, at least until this last step, that connects these passages: the κακά begin from Naxos and Miletus; they lead to the Athenian participation in the revolt, which leads in turn to a 'sea of troubles'.¹⁵³ The fates of different cities are also connected, however, more indirectly through patterns of mirroring or prefigurement. In particular, the fates of Miletus, Sybaris and Athens are connected through their citizens' responses to the others' misfortunes. Whereas the Milesians had loudly lamented the destruction of Sybaris, the Sybarites did not reciprocate on the occasion of the sack of Miletus (6.22.1). The Athenians, by contrast, displayed their grief for Miletus by their punishment of Phrynichus for reminding them of their οἰκῆια κακά.¹⁵⁴ Should we understand these οἰκῆια κακά as the misfortunes that have befallen their Ionian kinsmen (as Hornblower and Pelling), or as their own faults? (The latter would be a reasonable interpretation of the same phrase at 7.152, where the discussion is triggered by mention of Argive medism, and where a translation as 'misfortunes' would make no sense.) Or does the phrase recall for the Athenians the misfortunes that were *about* to befall them? The expression is perhaps deliberately poised and ambiguous.

With its multiple indications of future reversal, the marriage contest fits into this wider pattern. Its allusions to the destruction of Sybaris or Eretria are like pre-shocks of the larger earthquake to come. It is not only isolated references within the *logos*, however, but the contest as a whole that prefigures the later course of events.

Sporting contests provide an easy analogy for military conflict. When the seer Teisamenus was told by the Pythia that he would win the five greatest 'contests' (ἀγῶνας), he initially set his mind to athletics; but the Spartans then recognized that the oracle 'referred not to athletic but to military contests' (οὐκ ἐς γυμνικούς ἀλλ' ἐς ἀρτίους ἀγῶνας φέρον), and so recruited him to their cause (9.33).¹⁵⁵ At the same time, in Herodotus' world as in the world of fairy tales, marrying the ruler's daughter standardly carries with it the implication of adopting their rule. Megacles asks Peisistratus in Book 1 'if he might like to have his daughter as his wife together with the tyranny' (εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι, 1.60.1; compare for example 1.11.2). Cleisthenes himself, it has been

¹⁵² See Hornblower 2004: 176 for 6.98 as inclusive of the misfortunes that befell Sybaris and Croton.

¹⁵³ Aesch. *Pers.* 433–4.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. the translations of Purvis (afflictions), Godley (ills), (Waterfield) problems, and cf. the discussion of Hornblower and Pelling 2017: ad loc. (p. 112).

¹⁵⁵ For attempts to arrange alternatives to military conflict, cf. 1.82, 5.49, 7.9.

suggested, is selecting a successor as much as a son-in-law.¹⁵⁶ We might also point to two traditions of the Persian wars: the first, from Herodotus, that Pausanias wanted to marry the daughter of the Persian Megabates, because ‘he had the desire to be the tyrant of Greece’ (ἔρωτα σχῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι, 5.32); the second (from Stesimbrotus), that Themistocles asked Hiero for his daughter’s hand, promising to make the Greeks subject to him (Plut. *Them.* 24.4). The historicity of these last traditions is, to be clear, immaterial. They speak to a wider pattern of characterizing the struggle for supremacy in Greece through the lens of (would-be) dynastic marriages; they provide a context in which to understand the marriage contest. Cleisthenes’ search for ‘who was the best of all Greeks’ (Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων ἔξυρών τὸν ἄριστον, 6.126.1) forms one of a sequence of similar questions through the *Histories*. In Book 1, Croesus’ enquiry into who were ‘the most powerful of the Greeks’ (ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἄν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἔοντας προσκτῆσαιτο φίλους, 1.56) leads to Herodotus’ first paired notices of Athens and Sparta. When Aristagoras sets off in search of ‘some strong alliance’ (5.38.2), the issue of the relative strength of Sparta and Athens is still unresolved (Athens is the ‘strongest of the rest’, αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπέων ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστον, 5.97); the focus is on which of the two will take the bait hung out by Aristagoras (5.49, 97). Cleisthenes’ choice now points to the identity of the city that will achieve supremacy — that will be, like Agariste’s name, best of all.¹⁵⁷ The suitors, in short, are competing not only for Agariste or Sicyon but for Greece.

As in the case of Megacles, we might note that Athens too only achieves command as second choice. When there was talk of their taking the naval command from the Spartans, the Athenians bided their time (8.3),

μέγα τε ποιεύμενοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι
περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ
ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσοῦτῳ κάκιόν ἐστι ὄσφ πόλεμος
εἰρήνης

making a big thing of the survival of Greece and knowing that, if they
engaged in *stasis* over the leadership, Greece would be destroyed,
thinking rightly: for *stasis* within a people is as much worse than a
war where you are of one mind as war is worse than peace.

Only once they had pushed back ‘the Persian’, and the *agon* was over Persian land rather than their own, did they hold out the explanation or pretext (πρόφασιν) of the *hybris* of Pausanias to take the leadership. Herodotus’ aphorism about civil war in fact fits its ostensible context poorly. If the Athenians had disputed the command, after all, it would presumably simply have facilitated the Persian

¹⁵⁶ So, e.g., S. West 2015: 20 (‘The thoroughness of the procedure might give the impression that Kleisthenes’ primary concern was the choice of his successor’); cf. Ogden 1997: 117, Lateiner 2017: 45.

¹⁵⁷ S. West 2015: 13. The fact that the Athens chosen was that of (the nouveau-riche?) Megacles rather than (the seemingly model aristocrat) Hippocleides may also just possibly be significant.

conquest; στάσις ἔμφυλος (the same poetic formulation used in the oracle to the Sybarites)¹⁵⁸ is not a clean alternative to war. It makes sense predominantly for its proleptic significance — for its reference, in line with the explicit inference from the Delos earthquake, to the even greater misfortunes of the wars of Herodotus' own time: a dispute about leadership that risks the destruction of Greece. Here, at last, we touch on the literary antecedents for Cleisthenes' marriage contest. If previous contests have any common feature, it is that the majority of competitors end up dead.¹⁵⁹ The wedding of Helen is 'an event of fatal significance for the whole age of heroes', according to Martin West.¹⁶⁰ Likewise, the competition for Penelope marks the 'beginning of slaughter' (ἀέθλια καὶ φόνου ἀρχήν, *Od.* 21.4).

PATTERNS OF PREFIGUREMENT

It may be wise to summarize. Narrowly, this paper has proposed that a reading of the story of Agariste, and of the *logoi* that surround it, relies upon a familiarity with the prosopography of the two leading Athenian families of the Alcmaeonids and the Philaids — and of the parts they played beyond the ostensible time period of the *Histories*. It has argued in support of an ironic reading of Herodotus' denial of Alcmaeonid medism, and for a more cynical construal of Herodotus' seeming praise of Athenian *isegoriē*; and it has suggested that the *Histories* contain sustained critiques both of the development of Athenian democracy and of the value of Olympic victories. More widely, it has aimed to demonstrate that the story of Agariste's marriage and the closing chapters of Book 6 are much more than a loose sequence of biographical notes, still less a passage of comic relief, but instead a section deeply connected to the wider themes of Books 5 and 6 and the *Histories*. Just as we should be wary of characterizing Herodotean ethnographies as 'digressions' — digressions from what?¹⁶¹ — we should be cautious of the implications of terming any section of the *Histories* an 'excursus', or of labelling it as serious or comic. Herodotus is never more serious than when he is smiling.

Perhaps the most far-reaching conclusion that emerges, however, concerns the architecture of the text.¹⁶² At one level, the story of Agariste and her suitors is an artful analepsis to (what seems to be) an archaic golden age, one which takes the reader back to the crucial historical nexus of Book 1 — the time of Croesus and Peisistratus — and which then casts an ironic glance forward to all the events from the liberation of Athens from tyranny through to Marathon and beyond. The story of Agariste, together with the following *logoi* on Miltiades, serves a closural function not only for Books 5 to 6 but for all of the first six books of the *Histories*. And yet it also looks forward, not only to the destruction of the Greek world in the

¹⁵⁸ Bowie 2007: 92 notes as parallels Solon fr. 4.19 (slavery 'awakens strife among a people and slumbering war', ἢ στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμόν θ' εὔδοντ' ἐπεγείρει), Theognis l. 51 ('from bad men come internal strifes and killings among a people', ἐκ τῶν γὰρ στάσιές τε καὶ ἔμφυλοι φόνοι ἀνδρῶν).

¹⁵⁹ Cingano 2005: 125–6, with further examples, Laemmle 2021: 344.

¹⁶⁰ M.L. West 1985b: 115.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Lattimore's observations (1958: 14) on the Arabian *logos*.

¹⁶² I have in mind Myres' much-derided analysis of the *Histories*' pedimental structure, Myres 1953.

course of the Persian wars, but to the fight for supremacy in Greece that follows down to Herodotus' own time. That, at least, is a reasonable summary of the story's position within the *Histories* — if you follow the arguments proposed in the preceding pages.

Such a summary, however, masks a quite extraordinary proliferation of narrative patterning. The preceding pages have referred repeatedly to prefigurement within the text. So, it has been claimed, Miltiades' Parian expedition prefigures later Athenian imperial ventures; the Athenian expedition to Egypt prefigures the Sicilian disaster (in Thucydides); or Herodotus' reference to the τρῶμα of Marathon prefigures the injury suffered by Miltiades. This idea requires considerable unpacking, however. We might distinguish, first, in temporal terms between vertical connections between events (for example, between events across generations), and horizontal connections (connections made or implied between geographically disparate events without any causal link). To take horizontal connections first, the contest for Agariste and the Macedonian banquet of Book 5 can be said to be connected only in so far as they present thematic parallels, and in their paired locations near the beginning and end of the 'unit' of Books 5 to 6.¹⁶³ This parallelism is a one-off. (Some readers, it is conceded, might not accept a connection between these or other *logoi* at all.) In other instances, parallelisms structure the text more widely. Cleisthenes' search for the best of the Greeks (6.126), narrowed down to two Athenians, anchors a sustained focus on two leading Athenian families that runs across much of the close of Book 6. Croesus' question of who are the 'most powerful of the Greeks' (1.56) initiates a parallelism between Athenians and Spartans, one refreshed by Aristagoras' search for allies in Book 5 (5.49, 97), that forms a thread through the *Histories*. Other comparative connections are established that are more than merely binary. Who are the greatest tyrant-haters, μισοτύραννοι (a question that runs through the majority of the culmination of Book 6)? Shared associations (with acts of sacrilege, with tyranny, with Croesus' Lydia, with Olympic victories) all set up more fleeting comparisons between our *dramatis personae*.

Vertical connections between events present a more elaborate range of forms. Some extend beyond the endpoint of Herodotus' narrative (that is, in narratological terms, they are 'extradiegetic'); it is these references (for example, the famous dream of Pericles' birth at 6.131) that are commonly envisaged as representing 'warnings' to Herodotus' contemporaries.¹⁶⁴ In other instances, however, such patterns establish a cross-generational connection *within* the compass of the *Histories* (they are 'intradiegetic'). We can also distinguish between events. In his classic essay 'Figura', Erich Auerbach reserved the term 'figural interpretation' for a pair of events that 'are linked neither temporally nor causally'; instead, the 'first signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second involves or *fulfils* the first'.¹⁶⁵ When 'misfortunes' are said to have arisen

¹⁶³ Although the two events would have occurred some decades apart, the parallelism between the two episodes is, in effect, timeless.

¹⁶⁴ So, trenchantly, e.g. Moles 1996; see the cautions of Harrison and Irwin 2018: 12–15.

¹⁶⁵ Auerbach 1959, paraphrased 1953: 73–4 (the emphasis is mine); for its application to Herodotus, cf. Harrison 2003: 246–7.

for the Ionians, or the twenty ships sent by Athens are judged the 'beginning of misfortunes' for Greeks and barbarians, a chain of contingency connects the initial 'trigger-event' and its consequences. In other instances, however, an event prefigures a subsequent event without a causal relationship: so, for example, we might judge that the στάσις ἔμφυλος of the Sybarites is ominous of the wider civil war that will befall the Greek world more generally (8.3).

This contrast between causal and non-causal (or figural) connections is only the beginning of the story, however. First, there is the possibility of what we might term a non-human causal relationship between events: if, for example, we suppose that Cimon's delayed death by injury was a form of further *tisis* or reprisal for his father Miltiades' act of sacrilege, then there is a direct causal relationship between events, only it was the goddess Demeter who was the agent. (Alternatively, Cimon's manner of death could be seen simply as an uncanny cross-generational repetition.) Next, it is not always a matter of one-to-one correspondence between two discrete events. In so far as the story of Agariste may be said to prefigure a later competition for the possession of Greece, it must be conceded that such a case is based on a complex nexus of allusions (for example, on the analogy between different forms of contest). In other cases, for example the pattern of recurring (thigh-)wounds, we are dealing with a more complex sequence: if Cimon's wound 'fulfils' or repeats Miltiades' earlier injury, and Cambyses' thigh-wound is 'in the same spot' that he had injured Apis (3.64, 66; compare 3.29), is Herodotus also pointing to a parallelism between Cambyses and Miltiades?¹⁶⁶ If we understand the acts of sacrilege of Miltiades or Cambyses not simply in isolation but as representing a wider pattern of imperial transgression, then the moments of injury and death merely anchor a much wider parallelism (between Miltiades and Cimon, Miltiades and Cambyses).¹⁶⁷ In short, there is not always a clear distinction possible between a causal link, on the one hand, and prefiguration, on the other. The twenty Athenian ships are judged to be the beginning of evils not only because they initiated a chain reaction of events but also because they had disproportionate consequences.¹⁶⁸ The events of Naxos and Miletus may both be the trigger for a series of contingencies and at the same time prefigure a wider tide of misfortunes to follow. The concentration of misfortunes in the generations of Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes is suggestive of further suffering to come (the concentration has a magnifying effect): in cases like this, or the misfortunes that afflict Miletus, Sybaris and Athens, a horizontal parallel works alongside a vertical connection.

The connection between events can also be made in a number of different ways. In the case of horizontal connections, we have seen how parallels can be established by means of structuring questions (the most powerful, the best of the Greeks, and so on), by thematic parallels or associations (sacrilege, medism) and/or by the paired position of *logoi* within the text. A connection between the events of Sybaris, Miletus and Athens is prompted by the historical moment of

¹⁶⁶ See e.g. Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 287, Griffiths 1989.

¹⁶⁷ For this pattern of injuries (and the association of thigh-wounds with impotence), see Felton 2014, 2016, introducing also the weaker cases of Histiaeus and Cleomenes, 6.5.2, 75.3.

¹⁶⁸ For this pattern more widely, see van der Veen 1996.

Phrynichus' dramatization of the sack of Miletus, prompting Athenian (and the readers' own) reflections on their οικήματα κακά. In the case of vertical connections between events, a common vector is a genealogical chain: from Agariste to her namesake grand-daughter's dream of Pericles, from Miltiades to Cimon, Cleinias to Alcibiades; or, in reverse, from Megacles to Alcmaeon. Such genealogical connections form a narrow bridge between generations but can create much wider connections: the step back to Alcmaeon ('son of this Alcmaeon who visited Croesus') evokes a whole ethos of subservience to wealth; the step forward to Cimon or Pericles evokes later Athenian dominance. What does Herodotus mean when he says that the Athenian Cleisthenes copied (ἐμίμητο, 5.67.1, 69.1) his maternal grandfather and namesake in his tribal reforms, that he 'imitated' him or followed after him?¹⁶⁹ (Does the family connection prompt his initiative, or does it in fact in some sense determine it?) A connection can also be made via a cycle of human reciprocity: so, for example, the notice of Miltiades' reconquest of Lemnos frames the disputed earlier history of the Athenians' dispute with the Pelasgians. Herodotus can also highlight a sequence of comparable events explicitly (this was the fourth time that the Dorians had invaded Attica; this was the greatest expedition: 5.76, 7.20) or in more understated fashion. A prominent example not covered in previous pages might be the close of the *Histories*: here Herodotus establishes a parallelism between Persian and Trojan wars, and between the excesses of Persian and Athenian imperialism,¹⁷⁰ through the cult of the Trojan-War hero Protesilaus at the Hellespont and through the identity of an Athenian general, Xanthippus (the father of Pericles, 9.120).¹⁷¹ Place also provides the 'bridge' between chronologically disparate events in the case of the Thasian mines, where Herodotus' autopsy prompts reflection on the striking similarity in the behaviour of Darius and the Athenians.

Finally, this range of parallelisms or prefigurements also appear to serve different functions within the narrative. How, for example, should we read the (horizontal) parallelism between the sophists flocking to the court of Croesus' Sardis and the suitors to Cleisthenes' Sicyon? Or between the Macedonian banquet of Amyntas and Alexander and the contest for Agariste? In both cases, the formal mirroring is subtly suggestive of wider thematic parallels: of the puffed-up nature of the suitors/sophists, or the layered falsity of the spectacle put on by Macedonian and Sicyonian monarchs. In such cases, in short, implicit similarity provides a kind of interpretative key. Such parallels can also evoke contrasts: so, for example, the biographical connection between Alcmaeon and Croesus prompts the secondary comparison between Alcmaeon and Solon. Vertical connections, by contrast, predominantly highlight significant moments of

¹⁶⁹ I am grateful to an anonymous reader for highlighting Herodotus' use of μιμέομαι. Similar questions can be raised at 9.34.1 (Teisamenus' *mimesis* of Melampus), or in the term's usage for ethnographic parallels (1.176.3, 2.104.4, 4.170). Deliberate imitation is more easily seen in the case of Aryandes' coinage (4.166.1), but conversely it is impossible in the case of Cambyses' wife's lettuce-stripping (3.24.1): here the lettuce-stripping postdates the stripping of Cyrus' household that 'imitates' it.

¹⁷⁰ And, arguably, with the end of the Atheno-Peloponnesian wars, which played out in the same location: Irwin 2018.

¹⁷¹ See further Boedeker 1988, Dewald 1997.

contingency, and establish a diachronic structure for the *Histories*. Comparison and contrast between particular historical moments on this vertical level is perhaps rare, although we may be hampered here by the limits of our knowledge. These vertical connections, however, create a powerful sense of historical waves, of repetition in the *longue durée*: sequences of expeditions, or the succession of empires (from Median to Persian to Athenian).

This is not the place to attempt a more detailed anatomy of such patterns within the text. What matters most, perhaps, is simply to underline their extraordinary pervasiveness. Our attention has perhaps concentrated disproportionately on the few explicit proleptic references to events that fall beyond the chronological scope of the text.¹⁷² By contrast to Herodotus' original audience/readers, of course, we are hampered in identifying more veiled references to later events. In particular, we have perhaps privileged references to the history of Athens at the expense of other cities. (As Kurke has written, there are ample indications in the text that Sparta too was 'a great power in need of fabular advising.'¹⁷³) Moreover, proleptic references to subsequent events form only a part — and a small part at that — of the much wider body of prefigurements, mirrorings, pairings within the text as a whole.

It remains a powerful temptation to project our own assumptions of historical writing onto Herodotus: to suppose that the father of history was concerned (as we might be) to fill in his reader's knowledge with biographical notices, to 'tell us what we need to know' about x or y event and its background. The pervasive 'patterns of prefigurement' within the text speak, by contrast, to a very different historical mindset. Herodotus' historical imagination is clearly rooted in a cultural milieu in which prophetic signs were omnipresent.¹⁷⁴ But this suggests neither that he is arrogating to himself the function of the prophet,¹⁷⁵ nor that he is merely passively reflecting cultural trends. His designation of Marathon as a *τῶμα*, for example, in anticipation of the wound suffered by Miltiades, is an instance of narrative craft that precisely presumes a different model of historical causation.¹⁷⁶ A central element in the composition of the *Histories* is the arrangement of his material into patterns of prefigurement.

Department of Greece and Rome
British Museum
tharrison@britishmuseum.org

¹⁷² See further Schmid and Stählin 1920–48: i. 2. 590 n. 9, Cobet 1971: 59–71.

¹⁷³ Kurke 2011: 430, and more widely now Luraghi 2018, reacting against the analogy of Herodotus' Persia and contemporary Athens. Cf. Rood 1999: 142 for the irony of the replacement of Jacoby's Athenocentric story with the thesis of the critique of Athens.

¹⁷⁴ And in which polarity was a prevailing pattern of thought: see Lloyd 1966, Corcella 1984.

¹⁷⁵ Griffiths 2006: 134 (continuing: he 'projects a more modest persona than that of the omniscient time-lord').

¹⁷⁶ Harrison 2018: 337–41 on ring composition.

Bibliography

- Alexander, J.W. (1959), 'The Marriage of Megacles', *Classical Journal* 55: 129–34.
- Asheri, David (1998), 'Platea vendetta delle Termopili: alle origini di un motivo teologico erodoteo', in Marta Sordi (ed.), *Responsabilità, perdono e vendetta nel mondo antico* (Milan), 65–86.
- Athanassaki, Lucia (2013), 'Rekindling the memory of the alleged treason of the Alcmaeonids at Marathon: from Megacles to Alcibiades', in Kostas Buraselis and Elias Koulakiotis (eds.), *Marathon the Day After: Symposium Proceedings Delphi 2–4 July 2010* (Athens), 95–116.
- Auerbach, Erich (1953), *Mimesis. The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, tr. W.R. Trask (Princeton NJ).
- (1959), 'Figura', in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (New York), 21–76.
- Beck, Hans (2016), 'Between demarcation and integration: the context of foreign policy in ancient Greece', in Gunther Hellmann, Andreas Fahrmeir, and Miloš Vec (eds.), *The Transformation of Foreign Policy: Drawing and Managing Boundaries from Antiquity to the Present* (Oxford), 75–104.
- Bichler, Reinhold (2018), 'Herodotus' Book 2 and the unity of the work', in Thomas Harrison and Elizabeth Irwin (eds.), *Interpreting Herodotus* (Oxford), 75–98.
- Biebas-Richter, Janice (2016), 'Was kümmert den Hippokleides? Überlegungen zu einem internationalen Spektakel und einer vertanzten Hochzeit', *Hermes* 44: 279–98.
- Blanco, Walter (1992), *Herodotus. The Histories*, eds. Walter Blanco and Jennifer Tolbert Roberts (New York).
- Blanshard, Alastair (2007), 'Trapped between Athens and Chios: a relationship in fragments', in Victoria Jennings and Andrea Katsaros (eds.), *The World of Ion of Chios* (Leiden), 155–75.
- Boedeker, Deborah (1988), 'Protesilaos and the end of Herodotus' *Histories*', *Classical Antiquity* 7: 30–48.
- Bowie, A.M. (2007) *Herodotus Histories Book VIII* (Cambridge).
- Brenne, Stefan (2002), 'Die Ostraka (487–ca. 416 v. Chr.), als Testimonien (T 1), in P. Siewert (ed.), *Ostrakismos-Testimonien 1. Die Zeugnisse antiker Autoren, der Inschriften und Ostraka über das Athenische Scherbengericht aus Vorhellenistischer Zeit (487–322 v. Chr.)* (Stuttgart), 36–166.
- Cingano, Ettore (2005), 'A catalogue within a catalogue: Helen's suitors in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women', in Richard Hunter (ed.), *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Constructions and Reconstructions* (Cambridge), 118–152.
- Cobet, Justus (1971), *Herodots Exkurse und die Frage der Einheit seines Werkes*, (Wiesbaden).
- Cook, A.B. (1907), 'Hippokleides' dance', *Classical Review* 21: 169–70.
- Corcella, Aldo (1984), *Erodoto e l'analogia* (Palermo).
- Davies, J.K. (1971), *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford).
- Dewald, Carolyn (1985), 'Practical knowledge and the historian's role in Herodotus and Thucydides', in Michael H. Jameson (ed.), *The Greek Historians: Literature and History. Papers presented to A.E. Raubitschek* (Palo Alto CA), 47–63.

- (1997), 'Wanton kings, pickled heroes and gnomic founding fathers: strategies of meaning at the end of Herodotus' *Histories*', in Deborah H. Roberts, Francis M. Dunn, and Don Fowler (eds.), *Classical Closure. Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature* (Princeton NJ), 62–82.
- Du , Casey (2006), *The Captive Woman's Lament in Greek Tragedy* (Austin TX).
- Dyson, G.W. (1929), 'Λ οντα τεκεΐν', *Classical Quarterly* 23: 186–95.
- Eliot, C.W.T. (1967), 'Where did the Alkmeonidai live?', *Historia* 16: 279–86
- Fearn, David (2007), 'Herodotos 5.17–22. Narrating ambiguity: murder and Macedonian allegiance', in Elizabeth Irwin and Emily Greenwood (eds.), *Reading Herodotus: A Study of the Logoi in Book 5 of Herodotus' Histories* (Cambridge), 98–127.
- Felton, Debbie (2014), 'The motif of the "mutilated hero" in Herodotus', *Phoenix* 68: 47–61.
- (2016), 'Thigh wounds in Homer and Vergil: cultural reality and literary metaphor', in Arum Park (ed.), *Resemblance and Reality in Greek Thought. Essays in Honor of Peter M. Smith* (London), 239–58.
- Fornara, Charles W. (1971), *Herodotus. An Interpretive Essay* (Oxford).
- Fowler, Robert (2003), 'Herodotus and Athens', in Peter Derow and Robert Parker (eds.), *Herodotus and his World. Essays from a Conference in Memory of George Forrest* (Oxford), 305–18.
- Geddes, Anne (2007), 'Ion of Chios and politics', in Victoria Jennings and Andrea Katsaros (eds.), *The World of Ion of Chios* (Leiden), 110–38.
- Godley, A.D. (1921–25), *Herodotus, with an English Translation* (London).
- Golden, Mark (1997), 'Equestrian competition in Ancient Greece: difference, dissent, democracy', *Phoenix* 51: 327–44.
- Gorman, Robert J., and Vanessa B. (2007), 'The *tryph * of the Sybarites: a historiographical problem in Athenaeus', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 127: 38–60.
- Gray, Vivienne (2007), 'Structure and significance' (5.55–69)', in Elizabeth Irwin and Emily Greenwood (eds.), *Reading Herodotus. A Study of the Logoi in Book 5 of Herodotus' Histories* (Cambridge), 202–25.
- Greenwood, Emily (2018), 'Surveying greatness and magnitude in Herodotus', in Thomas Harrison and Elizabeth Irwin (eds.), *Interpreting Herodotus* (Oxford), 163–86.
- Griffin, Audrey (1982), *Sikyon* (Oxford).
- Griffith, Mark (2006), 'Horsepower and donkeywork: equids and the ancient Greek imagination', *Classical Philology* 101: 185–246, 307–58.
- Griffiths, Alan (1989), 'Was Kleomenes mad?' in Anton Powell (ed.), *Classical Sparta. Techniques Behind her Success* (London), 51–78.
- (2001), 'Kissing cousins: some curious cases of adjacent material in Herodotus', in Nino Luraghi (ed.), *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus* (Oxford), 161–78.
- (2006), 'Stories and storytelling in the *Histories*', in Carolyn Dewald and John Marincola (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus* (Cambridge), 130–144.
- Hammond, N.G.L. (1956), 'The Philaids and the Chersonese', *Classical Quarterly* 6: 113–29.
- Hammond, N.G.L., and G.T. Griffith (1979), *A History of Macedonia. Volume II 550–336 B.C.* (Oxford).

-
- Harrison, Thomas (2003), “‘Prophecy in reverse’? Herodotus and the origins of history’, in Peter Derow and Robert Parker (eds.), *Herodotus and his World. Essays from a Conference in Memory of George Forrest* (Oxford), 237–55.
- (2015), ‘Herodotus on the character of Persian imperialism (7.5–11), in Anne Fitzpatrick-McKinley (eds.), *Assessing Biblical and Classical Sources for the Reconstruction of Persian Influence, History and Culture* (Wiesbaden), 9–48.
- (2018), ‘The moral of history’, in Thomas Harrison and Elizabeth Irwin (eds.), *Interpreting Herodotus* (Oxford), 335–55.
- (2019), ‘A Persian marriage feast in Macedon (Hdt. 5.17–21)’, *Classical Quarterly* 69.2: 507–14.
- Harrison, Thomas, and Elizabeth Irwin (2018), ‘Introduction’ in T. Harrison and E. Irwin (eds.), *Interpreting Herodotus* (Oxford), 1–16.
- Hart, John (1982), *Herodotus and Greek History* (London).
- Henry, W. B., and P. J. Parsons (2014), ‘[P.Oxy.] 5193. History of Games’, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* vol. 79, 74–9.
- Hornblower, Simon (2004), *Thucydides and Pindar* (Oxford).
- (2007), ‘The Dorieus episode and the Ionian revolt (5.42–8)’, in Elizabeth Irwin and Emily Greenwood (eds.), *Reading Herodotus. A Study of the Logoi in Book 5 of Herodotus’ Histories* (Cambridge), 168–78.
- (2013), *Herodotus Histories Book V* (Cambridge).
- (2014), ‘Agariste’s Suitors: an Olympic note’, in Alfonso Moreno and Rosalind Thomas (eds.), *Patterns of the Past. Epitêdeumata in the Greek Tradition* (Oxford), 217–31.
- Hornblower, Simon, and Christopher Pelling (2017), *Herodotus Histories Book VI* (Cambridge).
- Irwin, Elizabeth (2007a), ‘What’s in a name?’ and exploring the comparable: onomastics, ethnography, and kratos in Thrace (5.1–2, and 3–10), in Elizabeth Irwin and Emily Greenwood (eds.), *Reading Herodotus. A Study of the Logoi in Book 5 of Herodotus’ Histories* (Cambridge), 41–87.
- (2007b), ‘The politics of precedence: first “historians” on first “thalassocrats”’, in Robin Osborne (ed.), *Debating the Athenian Cultural Revolution: Arts, Literature, Philosophy, and Politics 430–380 BC* (Cambridge), 188–223.
- (2013), ‘To whom does Solon speak? Conceptions of happiness and ending life well in the late fifth century: contemporary allusions in Herodotus’ Croesus *logos*’, in Klaus Geus, Elizabeth Irwin and Thomas Poiss (eds.), (2013), *Herodots Wege des Erzählens. Logos und Topos in den Historien* (Frankfurt am Main), 261–321.
- (2014), ‘Ethnography and empire: Homer and the Hippocratics in Herodotus’ Ethiopian *logos*, 3.17–26’, *Histos* 8: 25–75.
- (2018), ‘The end of the *Histories* and the end of the Atheno-Peloponnesian wars’, in Thomas Harrison and Elizabeth Irwin (eds.), *Interpreting Herodotus* (Oxford), 279–334.
- Irwin, Elizabeth and Emily Greenwood (2007), ‘Introduction. Reading Herodotus, reading Book 5’, in Elizabeth Irwin and Emily Greenwood (eds.), *Reading Herodotus. A Study of the Logoi in Book 5 of Herodotus’ Histories* (Cambridge), 1–40.
- Kurke, Leslie (1999), *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold. The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece* (Princeton NJ).

- (2011), *Aesopic Conversations: Popular Tradition, Cultural Dialogue, and the Invention of Greek Prose* (Princeton NJ).
- Laemmle, Rebecca (2021), 'Courtship and its discontents in Greek literature', *American Journal of Philology* 142.3: 343–86.
- Lateiner, Donald (2015), 'Ou kata nomon. Obscene Acts and Objects in Herodotus' *Histories*', in Dorota Dutsch and Ann Suter (eds.), *Ancient Obscenities. Their Nature and Use in the Ancient Greek and Roman Worlds* (Ann Arbor MI), 91–124.
- (2017), 'Insults and humiliation in fifth-century historiography and comedy', in E. Baragwanath and E. Foster (eds.), *Clio and Thalia. Attic Comedy and Historiography (Histos Supplement 6)*, 31–66.
- Lattimore, Richmond (1958), 'The composition of the *History* of Herodotus', *Classical Philology* 53: 9–21.
- Lavelle, Brian M. (2014), 'Hippocleides, "the dance", and the Panathenaia', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 54: 313–341.
- Levaniouk, Olga (2022), 'Seeking Agariste', in Menelaos Christopoulos, Athina Papachrysostomou and Andreas P. Antonopoulos (eds.), *Myth and History: Close Encounters* (Berlin), 147–65.
- Lewis, D.M. (1963), 'Cleisthenes and Attica', *Historia* 12: 22–40.
- Lloyd, G.E.R. (1966), *Polarity and Analogy. Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought* (Cambridge).
- Luraghi, Nino (2018), 'Reading Herodotus during the Archidamian war', *Quaderni Urbinati di cultura classica* 118: 11–44.
- McGregor, M.F. (1941), 'Cleisthenes of Sicyon and the Panhellenic festivals', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 72: 266–87.
- Macan, Reginald Walter (1895), *Herodotus. The Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Books* (London).
- Macía Aparicio, Luis M. (2006), 'Una conversación obscena?', *Exemplaria Classica* 10: 19–26.
- Mari, Francesco (forthcoming), 'The tyrant and the busker: causes and effects of Hippocleides' behaviour in Hdt. 6.126–130'.
- Miller, Margaret C. (1997), *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century. A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge).
- Mills, Sophie (1997), *Theseus, Tragedy and the Athenian Empire* (Oxford).
- Moles, John (1996), 'Herodotus warns the Athenians', *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 9: 259–84.
- (2002), 'Herodotus and Athens', in Egbert J. Bakker, Irene J.F. de Jong and Hans van Wees (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Herodotus* (Leiden), 33–52
- (2007), "'Saving" Greece from the "ignominy" of tyranny? The "famous" and "wonderful" speech of Socles (5.92)', in Elizabeth Irwin and Emily Greenwood (eds.), *Reading Herodotus. A Study of the Logoi in Book 5 of Herodotus' Histories* (Cambridge), 245–68.
- Moretti, Luigi (1957), *Olympionikai. I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici* (Rome).
- Müller, Carl Werner (2006), *Legende - Novelle - Roman. Dreizehn Kapitel zur erzählenden Prosaliteratur der Antike* (Göttingen).
- Munson, Rosaria Vignolo (2001), *Telling Wonders. Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Work of Herodotus* (Ann Arbor MI).
- Murray, Oswyn (1993), *Early Greece*, second edn. (London).
- Myres, J.L. (1953), *Herodotus. The Father of History* (Oxford).

- Naerebout, F.G. (1997), *Attractive Performances. Ancient Greek Dance: Three Preliminary Studies* (Amsterdam).
- Ogden, Daniel (1997), *The Crooked Kings of Ancient Greece* (London).
- Olsen, Sarah Elizabeth (2016), *Beyond Choreia: Dance in Ancient Greek Literature and Culture* (PhD, Berkeley).
- Osborne, Robin (1993), 'Competitive festivals and the polis: a context for dramatic festivals at Athens', in Alan H. Sommerstein et al. (eds.), *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis* (Bari), 21–38.
- (1997), 'Law, the Democratic Citizen and the Representation of Women in Classical Athens', *Past & Present* 155: 3–33.
- Papadopoulos, John K. (2008), 'The archaic wall of Athens: reality or myth?', *Opuscula* 1: 31–46.
- Papakonstantinou, Zinon (2010), 'Agariste's suitors: sport, feasting and elite politics in sixth-century Greece', *Nikephoros* 23: 71–93.
- Pelling, Christopher (2007), 'Ion's *Epidemiai* and Plutarch's Ion' in Victoria Jennings and Andrea Katsaros (eds.), *The World of Ion of Chios* (Leiden), 75–109.
- (2016), 'Herodotus, Polycrates – and maybe Stesimbrotus too?', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 136: 113–20.
- Pownall, Frances (2020), 'Politics and the pamphlet of Stesimbrotus of Thasos', *Mouseion* Ser. 3.17, Supplement 1: 125–49.
- Purvis, Andrea L. (2008) *The Landmark Herodotus: The Histories*, ed. Robert B. Strassler (London).
- Raaflaub, Kurt (2009), 'Learning from the enemy: Athenian and Persian "instruments of empire"', in John Ma, Nikolaos Papazarkadas and Robert Parker (eds.), *Interpreting the Athenian Empire* (London), 89–124.
- Rhodes, P.J. (1981) *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford).
- Robinson, Eric W. (1994), 'Reexamining the Alcmeonid role in the liberation of Athens', *Historia* 43.3: 363–9.
- Rood, Tim (1999), 'Thucydides' Persian Wars', in Christina Shuttleworth Kraus (ed.), *The Limits of Historiography. Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts* (Leiden), 141–68.
- Schmid, Wilhelm and Otto Stählin (1920–48), *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, 7 vols. (Munich).
- Sealey, Raphael (1960), 'Regionalism in archaic Athens', *Historia* 9: 155–80.
- Sfyroeras, Pavlos (2013), 'The battle of Marathon: poetry, ideology, politics', in Kostas Buraselis and Elias Koulakiotis (eds.), *Marathon. The Day After* (Athens), 75–94.
- Shapiro, Susan O. (1996), 'Herodotus and Solon', *Classical Antiquity* 15: 348–64.
- Sickinger, James P. (2017), 'New ostraka from the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia* 86: 443–508.
- Siewert, Peter (1991), 'Accuse contro i "candidati" all'ostracismo per la loro condotta politica e morale', in Marta Sordi (ed.), *L'immagine dell'uomo politico. Vita pubblica e morale nell'antichità* (Milan), 3–14.
- Solomon, Lawrence (1907), 'Hippokleides' dance', *Classical Review* 21: 232–3.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Christiane (2003), 'Herodotus (and others) on Pelasgians: some perceptions of ethnicity', in Peter Derow and Robert Parker (eds.), *Herodotus and his World. Essays from a Conference in Memory of George Forrest* (Oxford), 103–44.

- Strasburger, Hermann (2013), 'Herodotus and Periclean Athens', trs. Jay Kardan and E. Foster, in Rosaria Munson (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies. Herodotus Vol. 1. Herodotus and the Narrative of the Past* (Oxford), 296–320. Originally published in German, *Historia* 4 (1955), 1–25.
- Thomas, Rosalind (1989), *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge).
- Veen, Jan van der (1996), *The Significant and the Insignificant: Five Studies in Herodotus' View of History* (Amsterdam).
- Waterfield, Robin (2008) *Herodotus. The Histories*, ed. Carolyn Dewald (Oxford).
- Węcowski, Marek (2014), *The Rise of the Aristocratic Greek Banquet* (Oxford).
- (2022), 'Aristocracy, aristocratic culture, and the symposium', in Laura Swift (ed.), *Blackwell's Companion to Greek Lyric* (Oxford), 62–75.
- West, M.L. (1985a), 'Ion of Chios', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 32: 71–8.
- (1985b), *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford).
- West, Stephanie (2015), 'Agariste's Betrothal: the adaptability of a cautionary tale', *Lucida intervalla* 44, 7–35.