ON SPACE, PLACE, AND FORM IN HERODOTUS' *HISTORIES**

Abstract: This article reflects on how our own technological developments can help us see Herodotus' archetype of historical inquiry in a new light. It explores various aspects of place in the *Histories*—as spaces that are lived, constructed, and relational—to show how and why the idea of place can be such a powerful means for linking information and understanding the past. In discussing the role of place in structuring Herodotus' narrative, it argues that the potential for linking is afforded by the new prose medium. By virtue of those linkages, Herodotus' account differs in its spatial configurations from earlier, oral-based narratives.

> Had to get the train / From Potsdamer Platz / You never knew that /
> That I could do that / Just walking the dead
> David Bowie, *Where Are We Now?*

What with one thing and another, we live in interesting times.[1] The last decade or so has witnessed the greatest economic crash since the 1930s, civil war on Mediterranean shores, fascists in the US Capitol, and the upheaval[2] of a global pandemic. Add to this the revolution at home, where, thanks to modern technology and social media, a bedroom is a world stage.[3] Perhaps Bowie really was holding the universe together.[4]

Place matters in all this. To home in on the past year: COVID-19 has revealed fundamental disparities in global responses in spite of the extent to which we are interconnected. We are not (and never have been) in this together.[5] Closer to home: with our places of work shut or severely compromised, online spaces such as the 'Liverpool list' and BMCR have become

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[1] Remarkable times: Thuc. 1.1.1, 23.

[2] κίνησις (Thuc. 1.1.2); cf. καταστρέφω (Hdt. 1.6.2).

[3] The politics of the bedroom: Herodotus 1.9–11, with Purves (2014).

[4] https://www.indy100.com/people/david-bowie-glue-holding-universe-together-7409001, accessed 14 January 2021.

[5] The fault-line between rhetoric and reality shifts and cracks around certain places, say, Barnard Castle.

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ever more valuable marketplaces for the exchange of materials and ideas, and ever more fraught as a consequence.[6] On social media, classicists participating in the commons[7] man the barricades.[8] At home, the house as a boundary *from* work has proven only too leaky, the study as a boundary in the house *to* work not so much crossed as trampled underfoot.[9] And, with the collapse of the space separating work from leisure,[10] finding the right headspace to work has been quite the challenge.

In spite (because?) of lockdown, I find myself thinking again[11] about space and place. The topic is, from one perspective, so well-trodden there seems little room for breaking new ground; from another, so thickly plotted as to make picking a path through it full of risk.[12] The past decade has seen no fewer than fifteen books on space in Greek and Latin literature.[13] Included in this catalogue is my 2016 co-edited volume, a culmination of sorts of the Herodotus 'Hestia project' which brought together scholars from Classical Studies, Geography, and Archaeological Computing.[14] Now with sufficient distance

[6] The former exposes vast divisions in resource, the latter in attitude.

[7] *es meson*, an important idea for and space in the egalitarian polis: Vernant (1983) 190; Detienne (1996) 91–102.

[8] In its last post, founder and editor-in-chief Donna Zuckerberg of eidolon.pub reaffirmed its place in the public discourse over Classics as a place where anyone in Classics 'regardless of gender, race, class, sexuality, and disability' could have a voice: https://eidolon.pub/my-classics-will-be-intersectional-or-14ed6e0bcd1c (accessed 14 January 2021).

[9] As my bookshelves testify: books on Homer, Herodotus, and the like jostle for attention amidst the regalia and detritus of 'home schooling' projects—robots and crocodiles, peppa pigs and pandas …

[10] A distinction anyway of (Western) modernity? On the need to re-examine the ontologies we use to study non-modern cultures: Anderson (2018)—an important book, which I am still trying to place.

[11] A sign of the times? Three speakers at the lockdown-inspired *Herodotus Helpline* have given papers 'revisiting' work, including Dewald on *that* article (below, p. 91).

[12] To convey the enormity of the bibliography on time, Feeney (2007) 1 turns to the example of its twinning with space and place.

[13] Clarke (1999); Purves (2010); Raaflaub–Talbert (2010); Dueck (2012); Heirman (2012); de Jong (2012a); Heirman–Klooster (2013); Geus–Irwin–Poiss (2013); Geus–Thiering (2014); Gilhuly–Worman (2014a); Skempis–Ziogas (2014); Johnson (2016); Hawes (2017b); Fitzgerald–Spentzou (2018). Of these, Gilhuly–Worman (2014a) 1–2 are particularly good on space as being a more abstract, encompassing, and fluid notion than place (6–7), while Hawes (2017b) is alert to the wide-ranging impact of spatial thinking on human experience: 'stories—quite literally—take place' (2). On spatial language and narrative see especially Purves (2010) 14–15, with n. 35.

[14] Barker–Bouzarovski–Pelling–Isaksen (2016). AHRC reference AH/F019459/1. Website and resources (archived 2015): http://hestia.open.ac.uk/. Shout-outs also to Jessica

from it, I want to revisit arguments I made there with my Hestia co-authors, as well as invaluable perspectives offered in the book from scholars whose research intersected with, and in important ways departed from, ours.[15]

My reason for doing so relates to the different perspective afforded by Hestia's use of digital technology for analysing an ancient Greek narrative.[16] Experimenting with standard web mapping software, Geographical Information Systems (GIS), we explored the value of 'locating historical and cultural exegesis more explicitly in space and time',[17] while alert to its conceptual limitations.[18] GIS allowed us to highlight spatial patterns in the *Histories* (the clustering of settlements around the Aegean; the preponderance of natural features beyond that core focus; etc.); but it failed to provide much insight into how the *Histories* organised this information as a narrative. This shouldn't come as a surprise: inevitably the technology inherits ideological bias from dominant Cartesian modes of mapping.[19] A misstep, then.

Yes, and no. In the first place, what this dead-end showed us was the importance of developing different kinds of modelling that could better reveal the underlying ways in which Herodotus constructs space in terms of relations between peoples and places rather than by topographic proximity.[20] In turn, the ability to locate places in, and extract spatial information from, a document demonstrated the value of digital methods for analysing not only single texts but especially large text, and non-text, corpora. Bringing these two ideas together—places as concepts rather than coordinates; places as potential metadata hooks—formed the basis of Pelagios. Established to address fundamental issues facing scholars as work pivots online—namely disciplinary division, fragmentation of sources, different data standards—Pelagios uses Linked Open Data (LOD) technology to enable resources as diverse as text corpora, image collections, inscription records, or archaeological databases to be interlinked.[21] The simplicity and power of its method comes from the use of lightweight semantic annotation of common references to places, in contrast

Ogden, Nick Rabinowitz, and Scott Weingart for their technical contributions (to database implementation, timeline visualisation, and network analysis respectively).

[15] Cf. Pelling (2016) for his on-the-spot 'view from the boundary'.

[16] See Palladino (2016). For the argument here: Barker–Isaksen–Odgen (2016).

[17] Bodenhamer (2010) 28.

[18] Such as uncertainty and ambiguity: Gregory–Healey (2007) 641. Harris–Bergeron–Rouse (2011) 228 note that text-based studies 'raise fundamental epistemological and ontological issues for GIS applications'.

[19] Harvey (1996) 4–5; Wood–Fels–Krygier (2010).

[20] Relational maps and their theorisation: Bouzarovski–Barker (2016).

[21] LOD is a mechanism for creating typed links between data from different sources on the Web, using a set of 'publishing rules': Bizer–Heath–Berners-Lee (2009).

to mandating the adoption of specific data models.[22] Seen in these terms, place is not only a locus for historical action (the spatial turn in the Humanities), or the topic and means for analysing patterns in data (the digital turn in the Spatial Humanities), but also as a key method of linking data (the Semantic Web).[23]

In raising the transformative potential of digital technology (specifically LOD) here, I want to reorient analysis towards how places function in Herodotus. Thinking about his inquiry as negotiating a comparable medium shift, from oral poetics to prose writing,[24] can, I suggest, help us better grasp not only the different forms of space and place in the narrative, but also how the narrative is structured by them, as pathways through data. In taking this course, I follow three scholars who in different ways have staked out the ground before me. Carolyn Dewald's 1987 *Arethusa* article first set me on my path by introducing me to an author whose open-textured account of different *logoi* invites the reader to join in the inquiry.[25] On a similar track Emily Greenwood emphasises the reading experience: how 'we can read to the end…, crossing backwards and forwards between *logoi* …, a never-ending occupation'.[26] Underpinning both is Alex Purves' 2010 study of Herodotus' route-based narrative.[27]

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[22] Simon–Barker–Isaksen–de Soto Cañamares (2017). A forthcoming (2021) special issue of the International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing (*IJHAC*) is dedicated to the history, evolution and application of Pelagios.

[23] Now a formal association, the 'Pelagios Network' has over forty global partners, spanning various humanities disciplines and cultural heritage organisations. See https://pelagios.org/.

[24] Place as tied to the medium (and/or technology) in which it is represented: Dunn (2019).

[25] Such was the thrill that I still remember *where* I read it—a secluded corner of the University of Leeds' Brotherton Library, alone in the half-light. The memory serves as a reminder of how much the *experience* of space and place has been lost from the material record or occluded in our sources: e.g., Betts (2017).

[26] Greenwood (2007) 145. Reading to the end: Barker (2006). On ways Herodotus trains a reader: Baragwanath (2008). See also Greenwood (2006) 19–41 for an invaluable discussion of vantage points (in Thucydides).

[27] Purves (2010) 116–67—pathfinding I had anticipated in my 2011 *JHS* review. For the analogy between geographical and textual space: Hartog (1988) 354–55; Greenwood (2007) 128–9 and n. 3, with further bibliography. Boedeker (2002) discusses an inscription from Halicarnassus that identifies Herodotus as the 'prose ($\pi\epsilon\zeta\acute{o}\nu$) Homer of historiography', where the adjective *pezon* (prose; on foot) connects 'Herodotus' practice as a historian with the act of walking': Purves (2010) 122.

At the end of the *Lydios logos*, Herodotus sets out where he will go next, using, as both Purves and Dewald notice, the metaphor of the 'path of words' (*logōn hodos*, 1.95.1):[28]

ἐπιδίζηται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τόν τε Κῦρον ὅστις ἐὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατεῖλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίης. ὡς ὦν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω, ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας <u>λόγων ὁδοὺς</u> φῆναι.

From here our account goes on to inquire into both Cyrus—who this man was who took down Croesus' rule—and the Persians—in what way they came to rule over Asia. So, according to what some of the Persians say, those who don't want to exalt Cyrus' affairs but rather speak the real account, that's what I'll write, knowing there are three other *paths of words* about Cyrus that I could mention.[29]

Using the spatial adverb ἐνθεῦτεν, 'from here', Herodotus marks out this turning point to a new subject (Cyrus), before immediately acknowledging other paths he could pursue.[30] It is as if he were indicating to the reader the physical scroll in their possession, like one of those helping hands that spring out from the marginalia of mediaeval manuscripts to remind the reader to pay attention. Following this lead, in this essay I trek Herodotus' path of words to map the role place, and linked places in particular, play in structuring and giving meaning to his *Histories*.

1. Opening Manoeuvres

Place headlines the *Histories*, as Herodotus first names himself, then his city of origin, Halicarnassus. The personal signing of his work, like Hecataeus' similar inscribing move before him,[31] represents an important break from oral-based

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[28] Purves (2010) 126 n. 21; Dewald (1987) 165. The 'path of *song*' (*oimē*) has a longer history, cited by both of Homer's singers: Demodocus (*Od.* 8.481); Phemius (*Od.* 22.347). Cf. Hes. *Op.* 659. See Ford (1992) 42–7; Purves (2010) 67.

[29] Translations are mine.

[30] Route-based metaphor runs through Pausanias' *Description of Greece* (e.g., ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἐξέβην τοῦ λόγου, 1.4.6). By contrast, Thucydides even avoids describing his narrative as a *logos*. As Rusten (2020) 233–4 argues, the metaphor Thucydides uses at 1.97.2—τὴν <u>ἐκβολὴν</u> τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην—must mean something like 'I *discarded* my plan'.

[31] 'Hecataeus of Miletus thus asserts: these things I write (γράφω), as they seem to me to be true. For the accounts (λόγοι) of the Greeks are many and laughable (γελοῖοι), as they

poetry, specifically epic's hold on the past.[32] Based on personal inquiry rather than poetic tradition, Herodotus' account belongs to the Ionian science movement, when prose writing first contests poetry's authority.[33] It is easy to overstate this medial turn or the difference between oral and written semiotic codes.[34] It is also important to note writing's associations with kingly displays of authority, as much as with the publication of laws in Greek poleis or with the Ionian new wave.[35] Nevertheless, like Hecataeus, Herodotus stands outside a place-based performance context that could lend meaning to interpretation.[36] In comparison to hexameter epic in particular, Herodotus' prose narrative lacks the echo chamber of resonances within an enclosed tradition, out of which poets weaved their song and in response to which audiences generated meaning.[37] Instead, Herodotus stitches together his epic from the accounts (*logoi*) of others, based on his research, structured by concepts he chooses to highlight, and expressed through his vocabulary.[38]

Important, too, is the particular place that Herodotus cites, *Halicarnassus*. One of the cities primarily but not exclusively made up of Greeks on the Asia Minor coast, it is a place 'geographically and culturally between east and west [and] part of what is being fought over in the history he narrates'.[39] Herodotus not only comes from a place that stood on the front-line of the Greek engagement with others; by citing his origins there, he alerts us to his in-

appear': *FGrHist* 1 F 1. The inscribed historian's voice: Svenbro (1993) 149–50; cf. Bakker (2006) especially 113–16, 123–7.

[32] Epic as foundational poems that explain where we come from: Graziosi–Haubold (2005); Barker–Christensen (2019). The Trojan War, when time ('history') begins: Feeney (2007) 82–6, 118.

[33] Goldhill (2002) 1: 'in archaic Greece, what's *authoritative*, what *matters*, is performed and recorded *in verse*'. On this stage prose enters 'as a trendy, provocative, modern and highly intellectualized form of writing'. Cf. Marincola (2001) 42.

[34] Pelling (2019) 59–60, though he concedes writing may have facilitated Herodotus' 'chronological endeavors' (60). Cf. R. Thomas (1989) 15–34. To my mind the qualitative difference—in the sense of there being a *difference in quality*, of having a particular property or trait—has been best articulated by scholarship not on prose writing but on epic poetry, which has helped us better listen to the echoic nature of its units of utterance.

[35] Inscriptions by Near-Eastern monarchs: Corcella (1996) 296. Writing by autocrats in Herodotus: Steiner (1994).

[36] The lack of an institutional context: Kurke (2001) 122; Barker (2009) ch. 3.

[37] The re-use of 'units of utterance' as part of a long-established repertoire of performance creates an 'aesthetics of repetition' (Kelly (2007) 4), where every unit is potentially 'thick with echoes of other contexts' (Kirk (1976) 6). Cf. Foley, e.g. (1991). See below, p. 109.

[38] Self-authority: Cartledge–Greenwood (2002) 352; cf. Marincola (1987). The traveller-investigator: Hawes (2016).

[39] Barker (2006) 5.

betweenness, his position, that is, in between the cultures of the Greeks and others. Both sides, tellingly, are identified as his opening statement unfolds: this is an inquiry 'so that the happenings of *people* don't fade over time, that the deeds (both great and wondrous) of *both Greeks and barbarians* don't lose their glory'. Just as 'happenings' not being erased by time becomes sharpened to 'deeds' not being without fame, so too, 'people' (*anthrōpoi*) is further articulated, and defined, as Greeks and barbarians.[40] From the beginning, place is more than a matter of location, it is about people: from the *Halicarnassean* Herodotus (Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσέος) and people in general, to ethnic groups and the relations between them. What distinguishes (relates) Greeks and barbarians? Where do we place Herodotus of Halicarnassus? Where ourselves?[41]

Herodotus underlines the importance of place when he next steps into his narrative (1.5.3–4):

ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σμικρὰ γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά.

For my part, I'm not going to say whether these things happened in this or some other way. Rather, I'll mark him whom I know first acted unjustly against the Greeks, and step forward farther into my account, going through both small and great cities alike. For those cities that were once great have now become small, while those that were great in my time were before small.

We might gloss Herodotus' formulation here in terms of *space*: an awareness that space is not simply a passive setting for historical action, but, in the words of Michel de Certeau, 'the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalise it, and make it function as a polyvalent unity of

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[40] Homeric and contemporary echoes: Goldhill (2002) 12–13. The thought becomes further sharpened: why the war? Pelling (2019) 24.

[41] 'Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free of the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons, but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings': Saïd (1993) 7. On the importance of the place from which one views: Goldhill (2010) 46; de Jong (2012a). Even theories pertaining to universality (such as Marxism) are grounded in a place of origin (e.g., Europe): Chakrabarty (2000).

conflictual programs or contractual proximities'.[42] Or we may align closer to Yi-Fu Tuan's distinction between space and *place*: 'What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value.'[43] Either way, by promising an inquiry that will address 'small and great cities of people alike' (1.5.3), Herodotus locates the study of places—as the result of the shifting relationships between people and the environments around them—at the heart of historical explanation in the *Histories*.

That is not all. The idea of place informs Herodotus' conception of his work. He marks (σημήνας) the *temporal* distinction between what he won't comment on and what he will by using *spatial* language: he is not *going to* (ἔρχομαι) confirm the truth or otherwise of events of the distant past; rather, he will start with what he knows and *step forward (προβήσομαι) farther (πρόσω)* by *approaching (ἐπεξιών*[44]) cities small and great.[45] In this way Herodotus literally marks out the space for his account: he promises a historical inquiry that is spatial not only in conception but in *construction*. If there is an echo of the wanderings of Odysseus, who 'saw the cities of many peoples and learned their minds' (Hom. *Od.* 1.3),[46] Herodotus' assertion of impartiality (ὁμοίως)[47] is as much a lure as it is a concession.[48] A warning too, as spatial language bleeds into conventional wisdom on the vicissitudes of life: human fortune 'resides not in the same place' (οὐδαμὰ ἐν τὠυτῷ μένουσαν). When all is in flux, taking a position carries risk for historical agent and reader alike. We may find the ground shifting beneath our feet.

We have already been afforded a glimpse of the territorial claims that can influence, and unavoidably frame, historical explanation, when Herodotus' 'learned' (*logioi*) Persians sum up their account of the origins of their war with the Greeks. In their view, the abductions of women, and the varying responses provoked, demonstrate that Asia belongs to them, Europe to the Greeks (1.4.3–4). Even as this division reworks the opening distinction between Greeks and barbarians (1.1.1),[49] the language here is less decisive. Herodotus eschews

[42] de Certeau (1984) 117–18.

[43] Tuan (1977) 6. Skempis–Ziogas (2014a) 1 stress 'the interrelated notions of human agency and experience that turn space into place and vindicate the necessity of plural "places"'.

[44] Thucydides uses the same verb of motion (ἐπεξελθών, 1.22.2) to describe 'going through' the (reports of) the events that make up his narrative. Its pointed use in both authors is indicated by its deployment elsewhere by them to denote military assault: Hdt. 3.54; 6.101; Th. 3.26, etc. Cf. Connor (1984) 27–8.

[45] These verbs activate the metaphor of travel: Wood (2016).

[46] Marincola (2007).

[47] Friedman (2006) 166.

[48] Goldhill (2002) 28. An alluring authority: Barker (2009) ch. 3, esp. 198–202.

[49] On this identity distinction: Saïd (1978); E. Hall (1989); Cartledge (1993).

describing either Greece or its peoples in favour of the neuter τὸ Ἑλληνικόν—
a phrase that, far from neutrally, must mean something like 'the Greeks
collectively'.[50] Nor does he quite make the Persians claim hegemony over the
Greeks in Asia.[51] Where, how, we place the Asia Minor Greeks marks a fault-
line that opens as soon as Herodotus singles out Croesus as the first who took
away their freedom.[52]

In fact, Herodotus has already complicated a simple mapping from
Greek–barbarian to Greek–Persian to begin with. Beginning with
Phoenicians, a *third*-party barbarian, immediately mediates and complicates
the opening frame. This other 'other' is promptly described as trading with the
wares of *other* 'others' (Egyptians and Assyrians), before even making contact
with the Greeks (1.1–4). What's more, a Greek 'other' is soon introduced—the
Cretans—who add to and further fragment a Greek–barbarian heuristic. The
headline distinction, supplemented by the Persian worldview, poses a simple
and static place-based binary; the events themselves, emerging from the
movement and relations between different peoples, slip and slide between
categories, anatomising both otherness and judgement of it.

When Herodotus introduces the Persian *logos*-experts, the promise, much
as in the *Iliad*, had been for a swift and definitive answer to the question why
the Greeks and Persians had come into conflict. Much as in the *Iliad*, the
reader is frustrated.[53] The *aitiē* of the question is answered by *aitioi*, as singular
noun gives way to plural adjective, attributed by one group to another.[54]
Moreover, blame shifts as the account unwinds: from the Phoenicians being
initially marked it is the Greeks who make the decisive, divisive, break by
retaliating to Helen's abduction. By explaining this action as revenge, the
Persian 'experts in making arguments' (*logioi*) ultimately trace the conflict back
to the Greeks,[55] which provides the basis for their dividing up of the world
(1.4.3–4). They would say this, wouldn't they?[56]

But this is only one aspect of the positioning taking place. When Herodotus
introduces the Persian account, he describes it accounting for the διαφορή
(1.1.1) between Greeks and barbarians. How do we translate (interpret) this
word? Is it (merely) 'difference'? Or should it be stronger somehow, 'rupture'

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[50] The idea of *to Hellēnikon* ('Greekness') becomes the clarion call for the Athenians in
their rejection of Persian overtures, not without irony: Pelling (2006) 113–14; Barker (2009)
195–8. Cf. Baragwanath (2008) chs 6 and 7.

[51] I owe this observation to Chris Pelling. Cf. Pelling (1997).

[52] Hdt. 1.6, 27, or when Cyrus enslaves them for a second time (1.141–169.2): Rood (2010) 51.

[53] The Pelling diptych: (2019) 22–39 on Herodotus, (2020) on Homer.

[54] Cf. Pelling (2019) 24, 26.

[55] Rood (2010) 56, 62.

[56] By weighing different accounts, Herodotus 'discovers the *problem* of sources': Fowler
(1996) 86. Cf. Dewald (2002) 271; Rood (2010) 63.

perhaps?[57] It's a word that performs its meaning: it differentiates—forces us to differentiate, make a difference. Howsoever we choose to, the narrative of abductions culminates in a global schism.[58] The Persians not only assert a topographically based separation; it's a political discrimination based on the reading of past events. The position we hold, the place from which we are coming, how we enter the interpretative space left by Herodotus, all matters.

2. Image and Text, Cartography and Hodology

We have just seen Persian *logioi* use the past to explain (and advocate) a territorial division between Asia and Europe. Where that leaves the Ionian Greeks is moot. Matters come to a head in Book 5, as Persians and mainland Greeks come into contact and conflict for the first time over the Ionians. The figure pushing freedom is, ironically, an individual reigning over a city at the behest of another: Aristagoras, steward (*epitropos*) of Miletus for its tyrant, Histaeus (5.30.2).

Aristagoras' movements in Book 5 have been widely traced, including by the Hestia team.[59] Nevertheless, I think it worth revisiting Aristagoras, not least as an opportunity to reflect on my own positioning in view of recent work. In particular, I reconsider the division that we (among others) have drawn between a route-based 'hodological' view of space, on the one hand, and a synoptic, or cartographic, view on the other.[60]

Motivated by personal gain,[61] Aristagoras first goes east to Sardis, the Persian foothold in and powerbase over Ionia ever since its capture from Croesus. With the aim of persuading the Persian satrap Artaphrenes to launch an expedition against the Greek mainland, the way Aristagoras describes the

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[57] I thank Emily Baragwanath for making me dwell upon how to translate this divisive word.

[58] Friedman (2006) 165 reads the narrative of abductions as transforming διαφορή into a global schism, evidently taking the term more lightly.

[59] See, e.g., Barker–Bouzarovski–Pelling–Isaksen (2013); Barker–Bouzarovski–Isaksen (2016) 3–6; Bouzarovski–Barker (2016); Barker–Pelling (2016) 226–36, 244–51. Cf. Branscome (2010); Purves (2010) 132–8, 144–50; Ceccarelli (2016) 77–9; de Bakker (2016) 92–6; Neer–Kurke (2019) 13–30.

[60] The dialectic between synoptic cartographic and hodological countercartographic views of space: Purves (2010). On hodology: Janni (1984), for whom the conception of space as a series of places, listed as and when they are encountered, characterises ancient Greek 'mapping' more generally, especially text-based *periploi*. Cf. Broderson (2003). Cartographic representation seems to have remained largely abstract, and played little role in practical mapping, particularly at sea: Arnaud (2005). See n. 84.

[61] He sees an opportunity to take over the rule in Naxos by interceding on their behalf (5.30.3).

intervening space is revealing (5.31). In misrepresenting Naxos as 'near Ionia' (ἀγχοῦ Ἰωνίης, 5.31.1),[62] and Euboia as no smaller than Cyprus (5.31.3),[63] Aristagoras draws upon Persian familiarity with the eastern Aegean and compresses the space of its western part (with which they were less familiar), to imply the Greek mainland was closer than in fact it was. Complementing this minimising of spatial distance (and risk), Aristagoras maximises expectations of territorial gain[64] to win Artaphrenes' tacit support. Whether this success reveals Persian expansionist ambitions or their ignorance of the Aegean, or both, is unclear. What is clear is that the reader is invited to understand Aristagoras' description of the Aegean space as both a distortion of its topography and a reflection of the Persian spatial imagination. When events aren't as speedy and decisive as hoped—places and people are more difficult to manage than rhetoric might suggest—Aristagoras turns to the Greeks.[65]

Aristagoras' reverse movement from east to west, from Miletus to Sparta, is mirrored by seemingly contrary aims—to persuade the Greeks to make the journey back (from west to east) to take the fight to the Persians. That we question his objective owes much to having just seen him in the other camp arguing the opposite case. His movement in space (first to Sardis, then to Sparta) and his use of places (as stepping-stones to material gain) expose his true intentions.

The particular aspect of this episode I wish to revisit is the prop Aristagoras brings to his negotiations in Sparta: 'He entered into words with Cleomenes, so the Lacedaimonians say, *holding a bronze picture on which all the world's ways were etched, as well as all its rivers and all its seas*' (ἔχων χάλκεον πίνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἁπάσης περίοδος ἐνετέτμητο καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες, 5.49.1). This is the second mention of a pictorial representation of space in the *Histories*. Earlier, when confronting the extent of the Persian Empire, Herodotus had laughed 'to see how many before now have drawn *the ways of the world* [γῆς περίοδοι] none intelligently; for they draw the world circular as if with a compass, the Ocean running all round, and make Asia and Europe equal' (4.36.2). Hecataeus also represents himself as laughing at the ignorance of fellow Greeks in a work apparently titled Περίοδος Γῆς.[66] Whether Herodotus is specifically targeting Hecataeus or schematic representations more gen-

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[62] 'misleadingly', since it is roughly halfway to the Greek mainland: Ceccarelli (2016) 77 n. 70.

[63] 'It is not: Cyprus is almost three times as big': Barker–Pelling (2016) 231.

[64] In justifying his assault against the Greek mainland, Xerxes acknowledges the importance of the Persian tradition for territorial gain (7.8).

[65] Barker–Pelling (2016) 231–2.

[66] Hecataeus, *FGrHist* 1 F 1. See above, n. 31. Dillery (2018) reads Herodotus' Egyptian *logos* as a response to that laughter.

erally, when fellow Ionian, Aristagoras, arrives in Sparta, we recognise he brings with him the latest technology from home. This sets up a clash not only of cultures, between the forward-looking, worldly Milesians and the backward-looking, internally-facing Spartans—an opposition that can easily be overstated[67]—but also of forms of spatial representation, the discursive and the cartographic.

The fact that Aristagoras brings a map with him to Sparta, when, apparently, he had relied on words alone in his meeting with Artaphrenes, invites us to reflect on what is different. One response might be to view, with Mathieu de Bakker, Aristagoras' visit to Sparta as representing the culminating episode in a series of embassies, in which each petitioner—seemingly aware of Spartan mistrust of words—comes bearing a prop.[68] Linked to those previous attempts, Aristagoras' bronze 'picture' (*pinax*) is one more example of an Ionian device that fails to impress a Spartan. If anything, as the final event of a series, even more weight is placed on this object. In his opening frame, Herodotus describes Aristagoras' picture as embodying the conceit that its representation of the world and its bodies of water is somehow whole and complete (ἁπάσης … πᾶσα … πάντες).[69] Straightaway, Aristagoras exploits its very form as an object that can be held, turned around, pointed to. Deictic pronouns collapse distance and minimise distinction—'next to the Ionians are *these here Lydians* …; *these here Phrygians* …; the Cilicians possess land that reaches *this sea* …', and so on (οἵδε Λυδοί; οἵδε Φρύγες; ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τήνδε, 5.49.5–6). In his hands, the *total* representation becomes a *totalising* weapon, emphasising frictionless movement to sell an imperialist project.

It is all too easy to contrast this cartographic representation of space with Herodotus' own discursive articulations of space as route-based, or *hodological*, especially when immediately afterwards (5.50–2) he goes over the same *ground* in a different *way*—by providing a discursive account of a journey. Where Cleomenes is unable to extrapolate from Aristagoras' map and accompanying explanation a sense of geographic distance, Herodotus counts off the days.[70] The peculiar quality of narrative, in which space is allocated time in linear sequence, disrupts the static, timeless surface of the map.[71] In this way, Aristagoras' 'complete' (ἁπάσης … πᾶσα… πάντες, 5.49.1) picture is answered,

[67] E.g., the (mis)adventures of the Spartan Dorieus (5.42–8): Barker–Pelling (2016) 237–41.

[68] de Bakker (2016) 93–4 on 1.152.1–2; 3.46.1; 3.148. All are connected by *place*: eastern Greek island communities.

[69] Rood (2012) 132; cf. Purves (2010) 135.

[70] 5.53–4. Cf. the area of Asia (1.72.3) or the journey from Lake Maeotis to the river Phasis (1.104.1): Geus (2014).

[71] Hence Cleomenes' question (5.50.2): how many days' journey from the Ionian Sea is it to the king?

and corrected, by the 'complete compulsion' (πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, 5.52.2, 4) of the barriers that (Herodotus describes) require surmounting. Herodotus' translation of space into text emphasises the complexity of the geography, the difficulty of apprehending it, the effort required to move through it. Combining this reading of Aristagoras' map with Herodotus' earlier laughter, it is possible not only to draw a contrast between cartographic and discursive spatial representation, but also to rank the one over the other.[72] Put simply, a narrative can provide a better (more accurate, more detailed) representation of what it is like to be in space, what a place is like.

Would that it were so simple.[73] On the one hand, Aristagoras *also* exploits a grounded route-based (hodological) view,[74] and does so precisely to facilitate conquest. While handling the map, he traces a path through all the various peoples on the way to Susa, just as earlier he depicts 'an *interlinked* (ἠρτημένας) chain of islands' to lure the Persians across the Aegean.[75] On the other hand, Herodotus' spatial representation draws on the synoptic gaze, as when trying to give a sense of the two spaces on the fringes of Greek knowledge: the width of Egypt (2.5–9) or the shape of Scythia (4.99–101). It remains the case, though, that Herodotus largely exposes a total vision of events as both unreal—such a view is only really accessible to the gods on Olympus—and *dangerous*, precisely because of its fiction of totality.[76] Without the oral tradition's muse, Herodotus cannot recount all events with authority: it's quite possible he may take the wrong path.[77]

It is worthwhile pausing to view Herodotus' juxtaposition of map and text through the lens of Lars Elleström's media modalities: the material, sensorial, spatiotemporal, and semiotic.[78] From the perspective of the spatiotemporal and semiotic modalities, text and map fundamentally differ from each other. Where the map represents space and time using a semiotic system strongly

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[72] As I had done: Barker–Bouzarovski–Isaksen (2016) 4–5. Cf. Purves (2010) 135, 145.

[73] To paraphrase Neer–Kurke (2019) 19, channelling the Coens.

[74] As I had implied: Barker–Bouzarovski–Isaksen (2016) 6.

[75] Ceccarelli (2016) 77 (my italics). Cf. de Bakker (2016) 95–6; Pelling (2016) 329. de Bakker (2016) 91 shows how Herodotus relates knowledge of the world to (route-based) mapping expeditions conducted by kings (4.42–4).

[76] Reviewing the troops at Abydos, Xerxes exults from on high, even as Artabanus warns about the mouths to feed (a particularly grounded view of space) (7.45–6). At Salamis, even though (because?) he has an overview, Xerxes continually gets things wrong: de Bakker (2016) 97. Cf. Pelling (2016) 330.

[77] About Salamis Herodotus concedes that he is 'unable to speak *on track* (ἀτρεκές) about the rest of [the combatants]' (8.87.1): de Bakker (2016) 98. Keeping to his path, Herodotus likes to use the spatial adjective *atrekes* ('on track') to denote what is true: Cartledge–Greenwood (2002) 361–2; cf. Purves (2010) 122.

[78] See Elleström (2010). I am indebted to Øyvind Eide for the discussion here.

influenced by icon and indexes, the written text, like its oral counterpart, organises words in fixed sequence—word after word, sentence after sentence, verse after verse, and so on.[79] From the perspective of the material and sensorial, however, a written text differs markedly from an orally-performed one. The latter is consumed through hearing words in a linear sequence, whereas with a written text one can not only follow the linear sequence, but go back or leap forward through it, pause, re-read.[80] And this sensorial contact is made possible by virtue of its *materiality*: the written page or visible part of a scroll.

Though fundamental, the spatiality of the written text is often overlooked (and has been by me). It's important, because from the perspective of the material and sensorial, the text is *like* the map. Both are objects to be held, turned around, pored over—as, indeed, we see Aristagoras doing with the map. Moreover, it's a similarity that is very much alive in the Greek. The same verb, γράφω, is used for both drawing a map and writing. Writing *is* a form of drawing, of tracing a line.[81]

So, map and text are alike. The juxtaposition between the description of Aristagoras describing the *pinax* and Herodotus' description of the same space then becomes highly charged: we are invited to consider the difference between these spatial representations, and what's at stake. I use a clunky description of what is being juxtaposed because Herodotus studiously *avoids* describing the *pinax* himself. After the briefest introduction—a map of the whole world with all its rivers and seas—he shifts attention instead on to its reader, Aristagoras, and what he *does* with it. We simply don't know what form the map takes.[82] I confess: I had imagined it as a bird's-eye synoptic view of space.[83] But it is equally possible that Aristagoras' map was modelled as a route. Evidence of early maps are thin on the ground, but, if surviving examples are anything to go by, 'route-based' maps were just as popular as the bird's-eye views we all too easily imagine as part of our Cartesian map-making

[79] The fundamental similarity makes it hard to differentiate oral and written 'texts': Olson (1994).

[80] For the linearisation problem in classical rhetoric: Levelt (1981).

[81] Purves (2010) 128.

[82] Though I find Neer and Kurke's analysis invaluable for helping me see my own missteps, they have to work hard to fill in the picture of the map: '[the map] *will have had to* start from Persian units of measure' (20); 'the information it encoded, or was imagined to encode, *must have* come from Persian, not Greek, sources, hence *must have* originated in Persian, not Greek, units' (20); 'it *must have* encoded time at some remove' (22); 'In short, the map *cannot have been* in any sense antithetical to time' (22) (my italics).

[83] So too Purves (2010) whose discussion assumes a synoptic cartography to compare Herodotus' hodological description.

heritage.[84] This is another one of those interpretative gaps which the reader must fill.

What Herodotus draws attention to is Aristagoras' rhetoric. As de Bakker writes: 'The problem with his map lies not in the nature of cartography per se, but in the crude way in which he tries to exploit the map for a political purpose that the narrator finds suspicious.'[85] Or Neer and Kurke: 'The result is a duel of *logoi*, not of word and image.'[86] This point emerges clearest when we study the rhetoric of spatial description in detail. Aristagoras draws on certain elements of a 'geographical style', such as the use of forms of ἐχόμαι to mean 'be next to' (e.g. 5.49.5, 6, 7; cf. 5.17.2) and superlatives (peoples 'most rich in silver/flocks/crops', 5.49.5).[87] Herodotus uses others forms—namely the second-person διεξελάσαι ('you will pass through', 5.52.2) and dative generalising participles διαβάντι, πορευομένῳ, διεξελάσαντι, ἐσβάλλοντι, μεταβαίνοντι, and ἀναβαίνοντι, which denote respectively a person crossing, marching, passing through, entering, changing, or going up (5.52.2–6). The effect could not be more different. Where Aristagoras emphasises least effort and maximum gain (as he had done previously in Sardis), Herodotus emphasises the effort of moving through space, how it is engaged with, *experienced*.[88]

The distinction lies, then, not so much in the medium—though certainly the map plays an important role as a tool of persuasion, and Herodotus' discursive space *does* depart significantly from it—as in the manner in which the linking is described. It is to this idea—of linking places—that I now turn.

3. Linking Places

Thus far I have been using the *Histories* to show the historical value of thinking about space and place. In this section, I turn the focus on to their role in the text's organisation—not so much the forms of space in, as the spatial form of,

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[84] See n. 60. The most famous map from Greco-Roman antiquity is the route-based *Tabula Peutingeriana*. The travel-based view can be overstated: the joke in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (200–17) only works if the map shown to Strepsiades is a view from above: hence his panicked reaction at seeing Sparta 'so close!'. For a discussion of that passage and a helpful classification of Greco-Roman geographic knowledge: Dan–Geus–Guckelsberger (2014). Cf. Poiss (2014).

[85] de Bakker (2016) 96.

[86] Neer–Kurke (2019) 27. So also Purves (2010) 132, though her subsequent analysis stresses the problem with the cartographic form per se.

[87] Rood (2012) 127–9, who notes that this use of ἐχόμαι is found in Hecataeus, *FGrHist* 1 F 207.

[88] Barker–Bouzarovski–Pelling–Isaken (2013). I maintain that this emphasis holds, in spite of the passing criticism of Neer–Kurke (2019) 19.

the narrative.[89] In particular, I want to dwell on Aristagoras as a linking agent[90] and what consequences that has for reading the *Histories*. But first I trace in more detail the relationship between geography, power, and narrative form.

The global power in Herodotus is Persia. Importantly, Herodotus uses Persia's growing empire as the spatial superstructure underpinning his historical inquiry. The first geography that Herodotus describes in the fullest sense—encompassing not only topography but also ethnography—is Lydia's (1.94).[91] In one way, this account typifies his geographical description: a concern for marvels, great works, and customs—elements trailed at the outset (1.1.1). In another way, it is anomalous, since it occurs only once this people have been defeated. Or, to put that the other way around: it is only once Persia has conquered Lydia, and they have become the dominant superpower, that Herodotus uses geographical description to introduce the peoples who fall under its sway. With the capture of Sardis, Herodotus thereafter records peoples and their geography as and when they come under Persian attack or control: so, for example, Ionians (1.142–8); Aeolians (1.149–51); Carians, Caunians and Lycians (1.171–3); Babylon and Assyria (1.178–87, 192–200); Egypt (2.1–98); Scythia (4.1–82).[92] Some of these peoples resist by manipulating their environment (e.g., the Babylonians redirect the Euphrates to create a barrier, 1.185–6); others flee (e.g., the Phocaeans, 1.165–8);[93] most are swept up by this centrifugal force. Indeed, the narrative marks a 'thickening of individual contacts'[94] as different people(s) are drawn into the ever-expanding eddy of Persian influence, even (especially) those trying to escape.[95]

In his 'view from the boundary', which concluded our Hestia volume, Chris Pelling compared Herodotus to Polybius, for whom Rome's expansion made grand narrative history possible.[96] 'One way of looking at Herodotus' project', he writes, 'bringing so much of the known world together into a single work, is to see it as reflecting a similar phenomenon—or what so nearly became a similar phenomenon'. That is to say, 'as Persia reached each region in turn, Herodotus can tell us about it'. 'But', Pelling continues, 'what does not

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[89] On the conceptual equivalence of topographical and textual boundaries in Herodotus' 'narrative geography': Chamberlain (2001) 7.

[90] 'If Aristagoras were a website, he would be full of links': Pelling (2007) 179.

[91] The discussion here is indebted to Rood (2006).

[92] Rood (2012) 126.

[93] On the Phocaeans and the extent of their 'staggering' networks: Malkin (2011) 50, 143–70.

[94] Harrison (2007) 54.

[95] E.g., the Paeonians: Barker–Bouzarovski–Pelling–Isaksen (2013); Barker–Pelling (2016) 227, 249 n. 56. The *Histories'* centrifugal pull: Hawes (2016).

[96] Pelling (2016) 331. Grand narrative history: Clarke (1999). Geography and power: Strabo 1.1.16–18.

happen is the accompanying imposition of a centre-based viewpoint on the world'. This is a critical observation. Persian expansion provides an organisational principle for Herodotus' narrative. It clearly acts as a catalyst for the inquiry itself, as Herodotus set out to explain why the Greeks and barbarians came to war with each other. But what that imperialist drive does *not* provide is 'an organisational principle for viewing the world itself'.

Occasionally Herodotus' spatial description appears to map on to a Persian viewpoint, especially when recording the extent and depth of Persian hegemony, as in the lists of peoples who give tribute to Darius (3.89–97) or supply men to Xerxes' overseas expeditionary force (7.61–95). The catalogue is a familiar trope from early Greek hexameter poetry for communicating power and authority.[97] Herodotus represents Persian power, not only by virtue of the form itself but through echoes of Greek catalogic poetry, specifically the *Iliad*'s catalogue of ships.[98] But there may be more to it than that. Anca Dan has surveyed a number of Persian royal inscriptions, which present each king in relation to his genealogy and the Empire over which he reigns. One such example, the Bisitun inscription, depicts a centre with four symmetrical corners, which are 'connected through a radial system of itineraries suggested by the names of various ethnic groups and places'.[99] According to Dan, Herodotus' Persian catalogues strikingly resemble this schematic, as if we catch a glimpse of an Achaemenid world mental map of the satrapies composing the empire.[100]

It remains only a glimpse. The narrative if anything focalises space from the perspective of those peoples being brought under, or trying to resist, Persian rule. A good example of this focalisation was separately discussed in the Hestia volume by both Oliver Thomas and Paola Ceccarelli. After Salamis, Ionian messengers come to beg the Greek fleet to sail against the tyrant of Chios. Responding, they get only so far as Delos: 'For everything that was farther on was terrifying to the Greeks, who had no experience of those places, and it seemed that everywhere was full of armies. Samos in their opinion they felt sure was as far away as the Pillars of Heracles' (8.132.3). Ceccarelli notes that '[t]he space of the Aegean, a space that we must suppose well-known … is mapped in a symbolic way', while Thomas observes how Herodotus uses Delos 'as a psychologically incisive expression of the Greek world being shattered, mentally if not militarily, by Xerxes' campaign'.[101]

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[97] E.g., Sammons (2010).

[98] Haubold (2007).

[99] Dan (2013) 92.

[100] On Xerxes' catalogue of troops, cavalry and ships: Dan (2013) 107–10; on Darius' satrapies: 110–15.

[101] Ceccarelli (2016) 79; O. Thomas (2016) 41.

Their past experience of conflict with the Persians (which we have been reading about) has the effect of limiting their spatial horizons.[102] Paradoxically, the way Herodotus describes the closing of the Greek mind is expressed by an imaginative bound across the Mediterranean, as far west as you can go—to the Pillars of Herakles. Herodotus' giant leap simultaneously exposes the extent to which the Greek view is now limited spatially *and* demonstrates his command over space. Additionally, the reader is invited to make that step in the very process of understanding that these views are limited. The minds of both sets of historical agents may be closed, but Herodotus' certainly isn't, nor should ours be.

While the narrative mimics Persian expansion, by reproducing the centrifugal impulse towards confrontation with the Greeks, at the same time it also *resists* that imperialist march.[103] Resistance takes various forms. Herodotus lingers on the customs of those whom the Persians overcome (or who fight back).[104] In episodes of focalised space, which come, by and large, at those moments when the imperial force encounters local spaces, the text reproduces ways of seeing from below. In Egypt, Herodotus uses the *schoinos*, a specifically Egyptian measure, to describe the land, pointedly relating its massive size to other measures, both Greek and Persian.[105] Explaining its use, de Bakker cites Herodotus' local sources.[106] That may be true, but the effect is to reproduce the magnitude of Egypt. Such a vast, seemingly boundless territory proves as elusive for Herodotus to pin down in measurement—unless one uses Egyptian standards, that is—as it does to Cambyses, whose armies get lost in its deserts (3.25–6). Similarly, in Scythia, Herodotus describes a land without obvious markers, to reproduce Darius' own sense of bewilderment. The historian's uncertainty is enacted by a series of sentences that peter out 'so far as we know …' (ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, 4.17.2, 18.3, 20.2). Lost in these landscapes are Persian king and reader alike.[107]

Another form of resistance, I suggest, is activated by the phenomenon of linking places. Herodotus' linked-up geography can both facilitate pathways

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[102] Not only the Greeks: ever even-handed, Herodotus notes the Persians felt similarly vulnerable (8.32.3). Living in lockdown in fear of COVID starkly reveals how drastically one's spatial horizons can change. Where before I gave (too) little thought to flying internationally once a month, I now think twice about a twenty-minute walk from home.

[103] Payen (1997).

[104] Rood (2012) 133–4.

[105] 2.6.2–3: 'Those who are land poor measure their land by outstretched arms (*orguia*); those who are less land poor, in *stades*; those who have a lot, in *parasangs*; and those who have unenviable plenty, in *schoinoi*. A *parasang* is equal to thirty *stades*; each *schoinos*, an Egyptian unit of measure, is equal to sixty *stades*.'

[106] de Bakker (2016) 87–8.

[107] On Scythia: Hartog (1988); Purves (2010) 131–2.

through the historical material *and* disrupt control of it. We have already observed an example of how Herodotus relates places to one another in a way that does not lay the ground for conquest. In the Persian logos that launches the *Histories*, we are afforded a glimpse of Phoenicians, trading their wares in various places before arriving in Argos and thence returning to Egypt (1.1.2– 4). After them, we learn of Greeks travelling to Tyre in Phoenicia and Aea, a city of the Colchians (1.2). All these movements likely gesture towards real-life Mediterranean trade and social networks. Another picture of linked places with a historical footing occurs explicitly in the context of resisting Persia. Even as Xerxes sacks the acropolis, with the Greek coalition forces bickering at Salamis, Themistocles threatens to relocate Athens to Siris in Italy (8.62.2). The threat has force because it draws on the intersection of real-life networks (Colophon as the founder of Siris) with symbolic ones (Athens as the mother city of all Ionians, including Colophon).[108]

Herodotus is an important resource for tracing networks across the Mediterranean, particularly Greek foundational stories which draw on the movements of mythical heroes.[109] 'Conquest, exploration, voyages of discovery are about the meeting-up of histories, not merely a pushing out "across space".'[110] But the networks that I have in mind are of a rather different order. In fact, what I am really talking about are relations, links, and connections that Herodotus draws between places: whether or to what these form 'networks' in the modern sense is arguable, though I make the case below for a particular application of network thinking.[111] In any case, those links relate back to the path of words with which I began this essay, not to (real-life) travel paths.

To explain I turn again to Aristagoras. As we observed above, Aristagoras goes first to Sardis to persuade the Persians to attack the Greek mainland, then back the other way to Sparta to propose the reverse. Underlying, as well as undercutting and cutting across, the connections that Aristagoras articulates and forges—that is, the daisy chain of Aegean islands leading the Persians to the Greek mainland; the connected peoples of Asia leading the Spartans to Susa—is the link between these two places themselves. This linkage is at one remove from those which Aristagoras exploits: it is, as it were, a meta link, drawing an implicit connection between Sardis and Sparta, which in turn represents opposing, if somehow balanced, power bases, one Persian (in Asia), one Greek (in Europe), as well as a conceptual axis around which the people

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[108] Malkin (2011) 50.

[109] Malkin (1998); Vlassopoulos (2013) chs. 3–5.

[110] Massey (2005) 120.

[111] At the launch of Hestia, which had been funded to explore networks in the *Histories*, Nicholas Purcell cheerfully pronounced that there *were* 'no networks' in Herodotus.

and places of the Aegean may be said to revolve.[112] In between is Aristagoras' Miletus, a city which faces both east and west, and acts as the bridge between both worlds.[113]

That is not all. Above we noticed other conceptual links: eastern Greek communities who came to Sparta bearing objects. Soon Aristagoras too will make another journey, and forge another connection, this time to Athens (5.97). In Athens, Aristagoras' story of Ionian suffering *connects* with its audience, in part no doubt due to real-life affiliations between Athenians and Ionians.[114] In part, too, the Athenians are more receptive because they share Aristagoras' broad spatial horizons. And we know this (or *we make this connection*) because, before we follow Aristagoras to Athens, Herodotus first takes us back in time to the birth of Athenian democracy, where he explicitly *links* their new-found internal freedom to external military success over their neighbours (5.78).[115] And from here: another set of linkages is set in motion, as Athenian support spurs Aristagoras back to Miletus to ignite the Ionian revolt, with almost immediate (and disastrous) consequences: within the space of four chapters Sardis is (accidentally) ablaze (5.101). With the destruction of Sardis, the revolt appears to fizzle out; Athenian involvement seems minimal and is over almost as soon as it began (5.103). Yet the connections forged in and through it remain imprinted on the worlds and minds of people in both East and West,[116] tying Greeks and barbarians together in war. Linking places matters. There are consequences.

Nor does the setting ablaze of Sardis exhaust the intricate structuring of the narrative realised by linking places across the *Histories*, to other places, once great. The mention of Sardis ought to recall Croesus' Lydia, with which the *Histories* began and whose story ends with the Persian capture of Sardis. So: we can trace more or less a direct line from the first sack of Sardis to its second, and from there to the sack of the acropolis on Athens—a route of leaping flame (akin to the famous beacon speech in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*) bringing the fires from Troy to the Greek mainland.[117]

Croesus too had petitioned both Spartans and Athenians (1.56–69). Though neither come to his aid, the connections between Sardis, the Persians

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[112] Munn (2006) 196–203; cf. Ceccarelli (2016) 65 (with n. 19), 77.

[113] Bouzarovski–Barker (2016) 178. Cf. Greenwood (2007).

[114] Aristagoras' appeal 'fell on deaf Dorian ears in Sparta (5.49.2)': Barker–Pelling (2016) 246.

[115] Barker–Pelling (2016) 245–8.

[116] Darius has a slave whisper daily in his ear to remember the Athenians (5.105.2).

[117] '[The Athenian] ships were the beginning of troubles for both Greeks and foreigners' (αὗται δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροισι, 5.97.3), activating another link, this time to the 'fair-balanced trouble-beginning ships' of Paris (νῆας ἐΐσας ἀρχεκάκους, Hom. *Il.* 5.62–3): Pelling (2007) 186; Henderson (2007) 305; Barker–Pelling (2016) 244.

and the two primary mainland Greek powers are already made, primed to flare up again when Aristagoras comes calling. Aristagoras' trip to Sparta also turns out to be a dead end: the Spartans don't travel back along his path. But they will find their connections to Athens—whose incipient democracy they are already involved in trying to strangle at birth—harder to ignore. Initially for the greater good of the 'Greek thing', but before too long, in the lifetime of Herodotus' reader ….[118]

The kind of linking I am talking about here is again route-based (hodological), but in a very different way from how I had explained it above in the episode involving Aristagoras. There I had described historical agent and historian alike tracing a path to Susa, which has its basis in routes on the ground (as Herodotus makes clear in his description of the journey from the sea to Susa). What I am talking about here is the manner in which Herodotus more generally plots out a path, *encoding his narrative space as hodology*, as he stitches together places and peoples in a 'continuous style' to form his text.[119] This is not to say that these links reveal or represent real paths along which people travelled; on the contrary, connecting places often far-flung geographically these are conceptual links that offer *pathways through the data*.

This conception of the text as a path marks a departure from where this essay began, with Alex Purves' path-finding analysis of the *Histories*. Herodotus' narratees may follow a 'path of words (*logōn hodos*)', an 'understanding of space [that] follows a trajectory from A to B', but many of these paths do *not* '[follow] the traveller's experience and perspective'.[120] While it is possible to consider his 'textual "map" [as] a "hodological" tracing out of space on the ground as if one were following a path',[121] that path is as frequently conceptual or symbolic as it is real.[122] Or, to put that another way, Herodotus' spatial representation owes as much to a panoramic, if not a panoptic, vision of the path of words, as it does to a view from the prospective traveller.[123]

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[118] Spartan intervention in Athenian affairs meets with the stern disapproval of the Corinthians. How they will regret this, Hippias, the spurned would-be (again) tyrant of Athens promises (5.92–3). Contemporary (i.e., Peloponnesian War) allusions: Fornara (1971); Moles (1996); and especially Irwin, e.g. (2009). Judiciously surveyed (as usual): Pelling (2019) 214–31.

[119] Herodotus' 'continuous style': Arist. *Rhet.* 3.9, 1409a27–b1; cf. Purves (2010) 15, 123–5.

[120] Purves (2010) 122, 145.

[121] As I wrote: Barker–Pelling (2016) 229.

[122] de Bakker (2016) 87, though right to observe that 'Herodotus' presentation of the world around him is not exclusively "hodological"', nevertheless glosses hodology as the 'perspective of the wandering traveller'.

[123] Herodotus' bird's-eye viewing: Rood (2012) 133–5; Poiss (2014); de Bakker (2016).

How unusual (strange, even) it is to strike out on this path becomes clearer when we compare Herodotus' place-linking to the strategies of his poetic predecessors.

4. A Detour through Paths of Song

In the last section I showed the importance of place not only as a concept in the *Histories* but also for structuring the narrative. In these final two sections I step back to consider the form and function of linking places more broadly. I end by speculating on some of the ways thinking with Herodotus can help us better understand, and make use of, our own medial shift to digital data. But first I consider the extent to which Herodotus' depiction of an interconnected world draws on, and departs from, his poetic predecessors.

In §2 I touched on the role different modalities play in spatial representation and understanding. Here I want to press a little harder on Herodotus' potential difference from rival oral-based verse productions. In the Hestia volume, Øyvind Eide had used the mnemonic famously invented by the sixth-century BCE poet Simonides as a springboard to trace the differences between textual and cartographic mapping. The mnemonic works, Eide explains, by 'forming mental images of things to remember and then connecting them to places'. That is, Simonides draws on 'spatial memory by organizing the speech as an itinerary—a "walk" through'.[124]

What I find particularly arresting in this anecdote is the fact that it is Simonides to whom mental mapping of this kind is attributed. In a recent book on his relationship to tradition, Richard Rawles has drawn attention to the degree to which Simonides cites other poets by name.[125] The Plataea elegy, for example, reveals dense intertextual engagement with the *Iliad* through precise verbal referencing that departs significantly from the practice of earlier poets.[126] I say intertextual intentionally: it's a concept that Joel Christensen and I avoid when discussing Homeric epic, precisely because we see the dynamics of traditional referentiality operating rather differently. We understand Homeric engagement with rivals as being less about the quotation of one text by another, and more about a unit of utterance (delivered during a poem composed-in-performance) resonating with its traditional usage—being heard, that is, by an audience vis-à-vis its occurrences in other performances (making up that traditional usage), and interpreted depending on their experience and expertise.[127] According to Rawles, Simonides represents strong

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[124] Eide (2016) 304 on Cicero *de Oratore* 2.361–4. See also Eide (2015).

[125] Rawles (2018).

[126] I have benefitted from discussion with Thomas Nelson on this point.

[127] See above, n. 37.

evidence for an emerging culture of specific citation, in which authors demonstrate a growing concern about naming predecessors and texts. Another way to frame Eide's point, then, is to place Simonides, with Herodotus, on the cusp of a change in compositional practice, where there is more awareness of the presence of specific texts circulating independently—independently, that is, from a performance context (the festival or symposium) or their author.[128] This is what makes the description of Simonides' mapping practice so suggestive for thinking about Herodotus.

I don't wish to suggest that this medial transition happened abruptly or that the boundaries between, say, oral and written texts was ever hard and fast. Nor am I claiming that linking places as a mechanism for structuring and organising a narrative had been absent from, or not featured in complex ways in, verse productions. Still, it is worth pondering what form those spatial representations tend to take.[129]

In the Hestia volume, for example, Oliver Thomas had compared the spatial representation of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* to its Callimachean counterpart. The former charts out, Thomas relates, a 'fairly neat clockwise tour of the Aegean seaboard' as Leto searches for a place to give birth to her son. We should not lose sight of how the oral poem's spatial modelling presents a sideways view on likely cult networks at the time of the notional performance, when Delos was clearly 'the prestigious hub of radial pilgrimages'.[130] (Delos' centrality would have been first questioned then (re)established by the hymn's performance on the island.) Still, the organisational principle behind the linking of places in and across the Aegean is geographical proximity. Significantly, Callimachus' written reworking of Leto's journey differs markedly. His hymn reconfigures her route as a 'frenzied zigzag' across the Aegean, which, according to Thomas, symbolises the new 'instability of an enlarged Greek world'.[131] Be that as it may, its idiosyncratic (and intertextual) movement through space visibly departs from the topographical-based itinerary of its Homeric antecedent.

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[128] The name Homer emerges when poet and poem become separated in rhapsodic re-performance: Graziosi (2002). On Herodotus operating outside an institutional context, see above, n. 36. On the independence of written words more generally: Ferrari (1987) (on Plato's *Phaedrus*).

[129] I await with excitement (and trepidation) for Ben Folit-Weinberg's book on Parmenides' use of the path metaphor for setting out the logical steps in his argument, and for linking to other authors, especially Homer. (A sneak preview has afforded me a glimpse of Parmenides (FF 1, 2, 6, 7, 8) re-treading the way home that Circe maps out for Odysseus: *Od.* 12.25–149.)

[130] O. Thomas (2016) 38. The hymn negotiates local cult and panhellenic networks: McInerney (2015).

[131] O. Thomas (2016) 40.

Of all early Greek oral poems, the *Odyssey* shows most interest in moving through space and, by extension, linking places. Its complicated tale of Odysseus' return home from war follows the hero's travels and travails from Troy to Ithaca, through places both known and unknown, rooted in the Mediterranean landscape or Greek imaginary. Further itineraries are represented by Telemachus' own odyssey, as well as by the stories he hears about his father (in Troy), the accounts of other heroes (like Menelaus in Egypt), and Odysseus' 'Cretan' tales when back home on (but not yet at home in) Ithaca. Yet, even when Odysseus and his men are blown off course (and off the map) to encounter fantastical beasts and the like, their voyaging remains topographically connected—after the Cicones come the Lotus Eaters, then the Cyclops, etc.[132] As Bob Fowler suggests, the *Odyssey* retains 'an aura of mystery and magic, of being just beyond the reach of ordinary measures', precisely by drawing upon and subverting conventional motifs of navigation.[133] Only in his final voyage home, where the Phaeacians return Odysseus to Ithaca in no time (or space) at all, do his wanderings break decisively from the usual rules of travel.[134]

Depicting a complementary spatial perspective, the *Iliad* focuses on the narrow space of land between the Achaean ships and Troy and the bodies of the heroes who fight there.[135] As Purves has shown, where the *Odyssey*'s view is steadfastly hodological, the *Iliad* affords a synoptic gaze on the events at Troy, encapsulated in the shield of Achilles but present too at other moments (the Teichoskopia, Helen's tapestries, the zooming out at the beginning of Book 12, etc.).[136] Even so, the views afforded (of battle, of Priam's journey to Achilles' tent, etc.) are hazy.[137] The audience rarely attains a vision of events from Olympus: for the most part, we have to muddle through like the poem's human agents. The one exception is the Catalogue of Ships, which marks a notable broadening of horizons on both spatial and temporal planes, made possible by a second invocation to the Muses. By recounting all the men who

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[132] Along with indications of a real journey: after escaping the Kikones, Odysseus and his men *would have* arrived home, but the current and the North Wind beat them back as they rounded the Cape of Maleia, drove them past Kythera, and for nine days swept them over the sea until they reached the land of the Lotus Eaters (*Od.* 9.79–84). 'From there we sailed further along' (ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω πλέομεν, *Od.* 9.16) until they reached Cyclops' land. And so on.

[133] Fowler (2017) 246. The *Odyssey* as foundational for the Greek experience of voyaging: Barker–Christensen (2019) 269–70.

[134] Homer turns to metaphor to convey the speed of the ship: first four yoked stallions, then a hawk (*Od.* 13.81–6).

[135] Iliadic space: Clay (2011); Tsagalis (2012). The movement of bodies: Purves (2019).

[136] Purves (2010) ch. 1.

[137] Purves (2010) 5.

fought at Troy (even those now dead), and by focusing on group commemoration over the celebration of individual heroes, this catalogue is more suggestive of a contemporary polis-world than the myth-scape of Troy.[138] Yet for all that, its mapping of mainland Greek settlements, while by no means simple or rigid, again largely unfolds according to hodological routes and topographical proximity.[139]

Topographically-based itineraries also form the dominant model in Attic tragedy, though often with significant deviation. The second choral stasimon of Aeschylus' *Persians* (852–907), for example, represents island groupings that make little geographical sense. One group, said to be 'near this land [Asia]' (τᾷδε γᾷ προσήμεναι, 881), include not only Lesbos, Samos, and Chios but also Paros, Naxos, Mykonos, Tenos, and Andros; another, located 'between the shores' (μέσακτος, 890), includes not only Lemnos and Icaria, but also Rhodes, Cnidos, and Cyprus.[140] While formal aspects of spatial representation may play a role,[141] Ceccarelli is probably right to identify shifting focalisation, from the Persians wishfully thinking the Cycladic islands as theirs, to the Athenians viewing Cyprus, which it had recently won, as a steppingstone to Asia.[142] The famous beacon speech in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (281–316) similarly represents an itinerary, whose manipulated form comes heavy with symbolism. Their initial barely credible leaps in space[143] aptly manifest Clytemnestra's power; once they make landfall in central Greece, the fires come thick and fast, as doom closes in on Agamemnon.

Extant tragedy's most detailed and wide ranging engagement in spatial mapping takes place in *Prometheus Bound* (705–35, 790–815). In spite of its complexity, the prophecy of Io's wanderings again takes the form of a route-based itinerary, first through Europe, then through Asia, as Prometheus maps out in speech the scope and extent of the two continents. Their geographic description mirrors each other, moving from the more historically grounded to the more mythical (Scythians to Amazons), and back again (Gorgons to the Nile). Ironically, it is in the less fantastical 'Europe' section[144] where topographical alignment goes most awry, as the Caucasus and Colchis are

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[138] Heiden (2008).

[139] Using digital mapping, Clay and her team reveal a discernible departure from this itinerary in the representation of the Boeotian contingent, whose places cluster around Thebes though the city itself is not mentioned: Jasnow–Evans–Clay (2018). See also the online exhibit produced by: http://staging.ships.lib.virginia.edu/home. On the 'absent presence' of Thebes: Barker–Christensen (2019).

[140] Ceccarelli (2016) 72–3; cf. Sommerstein (2008) 113.

[141] Such as the periplus convention of coast first, then islands: Ceccarelli (2016) 72.

[142] Ceccarelli (2016) 72, 73

[143] Raeburn–Thomas (2011) 100.

[144] Griffith (1983) 214.

both misplaced somewhere north of the Black Sea, while Io's famous 'Bosporos' crossing into Asia is relocated from Thrace to the Cimmerian strait (730–4).[145] Nevertheless, as in the *Odyssey*, Io's journey is recounted as if real, no matter how outlandish the places or peoples encountered, replete with instructions (e.g. 'first, from here turn', 707–8; 'you will come', 709), guides (the Amazons!, 728), and a culminating foundational act, as if Io were a proto-colonist (815). Of particular interest are Prometheus' instructions to Io to 'inscribe [this itinerary] on the remembering writing tablets of your mind' (ἐγγράφου σὺ μνήμοσιν δέλτοις φρενῶν, 789). Aara Suksi relates this suggestive metaphor to Prometheus' earlier boast of the gifts he has bestowed on humankind: 'I discovered for them the composition of letters, memory of all things, worker mother of the Muses' (ἐξηῦρον αὐτοῖς, γραμμάτων τε συνθέσεις, | μνήμην ἀπάντων, μουσομήτορ' ἐργάνην, 460–1).[146] Writing as the new form of memorialisation (replacing the Muse). A map on a writing tablet. Geographic description that both follows and departs from conventional modes of spatial representation. Yet, for all this recalls Herodotus, the mapping remains rooted in the mechanics of real travel and, simultaneously, belongs to the realm of myth—a world away from Herodotus' *logos*-based inquiry.[147]

Arguably, the literary form that best represents movement through space is lyric, through which Richard Neer and Leslie Kurke have recently blazed a trail. In their final chapter, they explore Pindar's spatial imaginary through the vast array and range of places linked together in *Olympian* 6. From the Greek mainland to the Greek West, a dense, supra-polis network emerges linking locations in the Peloponnese (Olympia, Pitane, Phaisana, Stymphalos) to ones in Sicily (Syracuse, Aitna). Lacking a synoptic overview, his poem nevertheless manages 'to overlay a conceptual network—a *kosmêsis*—upon the rocky (πετράεις, *O.* 6.48) and obdurate Greek landscape … by unspooling in time a set of journeys along roads and rivers, both real and metaphorical.'[148] So far, so Herodotean. Yet, according to Neer and Kurke, the organising principle of Pindar's landscape 'is not the coordinate grid of a modern map,

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[145] Griffith (1983) 218. Cf. Sommerstein (2008) 522. The confused geography may mark an attempt to reimagine the world from an earlier time when places were—quite literally—elsewhere.

[146] Suksi (2017) 212. Although Griffith (1983) 227 considers the metaphor conventional (citing Pind. *Ol.* 10.2; Aesch. *Cho.* 450; *Eum.* 275; Soph. *Ph.* 1325), in the context of this play it becomes highly charged.

[147] Futo-Kennedy (2014) identifies another kind of tragic mapping, where places are connected by thematics. While closer to the phenomenon we have been tracing in Herodotus, these linkages are ultimately limited to the Athenian spatial imaginary, refracted through the lens of imperialism or claims to autochthony: e.g., Futo-Kennedy (2006) on *Eumenides*.

[148] Neer–Kurke (2019) 255.

but the network of kinship, pilgrimage, and myth that the poet articulates'. Thus, the systems that Pindar mobilises in order to create his conceptual topographies 'are *traditional* Greek ways of linking discontinuous places'.[149] They are, first, theoric or pilgrimage routes, which serve to connect and organise interpoleis space in the Greek world; and, second, the complex kinship ties of mythological figures.[150] What they are not are products of an inquiry into the past, using and testing different accounts. They do not go beyond a 'mythographic' model.

This hasn't been an exhaustive survey: I don't have the space to go beyond a brief sketch of the various ways traditional poetic forms mapped places. Nevertheless, in spite of the individual differences, a clear picture has emerged of a consistent approach to spatial representation, whereby places are linked either by topographic proximity or else by pre-existing political, economic and/or religious networks. As we have seen, these ties exist in Herodotus too: but place linking in his inquiry occurs on a much greater scale, in much greater detail, and with far greater complexity and variation. Closest in outlook are precisely the new prose outputs coming out of Ionia at the time. As Rosalind Thomas has shown, these varied evidence-based inquiries provide a critical context for reading Herodotus, and the same is true for questions of space and place.[151] The Hippocratic treatise known as *Airs, Waters, Places*, for example, uses geography to account for differences in human ways of life, including success in military affairs—the harsher the climate, the more warrior-like the people.[152] Herodotus, typically, refrains from using geography as quite such a blunt explanatory tool; it becomes another aspect to investigate and test.[153]

This idea of testing perhaps takes us closer to identifying Herodotus' contribution. His linking of places bears many of the hallmarks considered fundamental to the development of prose—namely, a concern to take up a position, make evidence-based claims, and establish one's authority.[154] One important aspect of the new argumentative prose is analogy.[155] While often discussed in terms of Herodotus' Ionian setting, it is less commonly observed that his use of analogy is itself grounded in space: for Herodotus the centrality of the Aegean and Mediterranean means they serve as the hub through which

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[149] Neer–Kurke (2019) 256 (my italics).

[150] Neer–Kurke (2019) 256–8. Another is provided by the games themselves, in which Pindar's poems are embedded, whose very performance (re)enacts the linking of the local to the panhellenic: cf. Scott (2010) on Delphi and Olympia.

[151] R. Thomas (2000). Cf. Pelling (2019) 80–105.

[152] *Airs, Waters, Places* 16.

[153] Pelling (2019) 91–3.

[154] Goldhill (2002) 10–44; Feeney (2007) 76–7. Cf. Lloyd (1979) 250; id. (1987) 70.

[155] Fowler (1996) 79 notes the role of analogy in Herodotus' 'voiceprint'.

places can be drawn together and compared.[156] Thus Herodotus draws analogies between the Nile and the Ister, as if these two rivers ran in counterbalance to each other, marking out the boundaries of the inhabited world.[157] He compares the cities of the Nile, which on higher ground remain visible when the river is in flood, to islands in the Aegean (2.97). He also connects the walls of Ecbatana to those in Athens (1.98.5); the Araxes islands to Lesbos (1.202.1); a sacred lake in Egypt to one on Delos (2.170.2); and the shape of the Crimea to Cape Sunium or southern Italy (4.99.4–5).[158]

This last case is a good example of the extent to which Herodotus' conceptual place linking reaches far and wide, beyond the topographic imaginary of earlier poetic productions. To describe the Scythian coast (4.99.2), Herodotus first draws a connection between Scythia and Attica (the sea as a boundary: 99.4), before drawing out the difference: in this part of Scythia, which is like Attica, dwell the Tauri—as if some people other than the Athenians inhabited Sunium. He continues (99.5):

λέγω δὲ ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβάλλειν· τοιοῦτον ἡ Ταυρική ἐστι. ὃς δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω· ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἰηπυγίης ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἰήπυγες ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρεντεσίου λιμένος ἀποταμοίατο μέχρι Τάραντος καὶ νεμοίατο τὴν ἄκρην.

I say this, as it were, to compare small things with great. Such is the Tauric land. But, for those who haven't sailed along the coast of Attica, I'll put it differently: it's as though in Iapygia some people other than the Iapygians were to live on the promontory within a line drawn from the harbour of Brundisium to Tarentum.

Here Herodotus pointedly draws attention to his strategy of comparing places. The idea of comparison, literally a 'putting together' (συμβάλλειν) of different elements, is an act that elsewhere I have ascribed to the reader, who learns from the historical agents the process of interpretation.[159] In this case, Herodotus explains how he puts together 'small [places] with great', a sentiment that revisits his initial methodological description of 'going through

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[156] A Mediterranean-centric lens: Gottesman (2015) 90–9. Mapping places reveals Herodotus' Aegean focus: Barker–Isaksen–Ogden (2016) 196–7; cf. 192–3. Analogy affords a rather different view of the connective properties of these seas.

[157] The mouth of the Ister is said to lie directly 'opposite' the Nile delta (2.33–4; cf. 4.50, 53): Lloyd (1966) 342–5. Working within this symmetrical frame, Herodotus posits the existence of Hypernotians ('those beyond the south'), if Hyperboreans ('those beyond the north') existed (4.36): Romm (1989).

[158] Rood (2012) 130.

[159] Barker (2006) 16–17, 21 with n. 73.

cities both small and great' (1.5.3).[160] He proceeds to double down on his place-based analogic strategy by providing (for those readers who haven't sailed along Attica's coast) an example of the same phenomenon from southern Italy. Ceccarelli aptly describes Herodotus' linking of places here as 'a grandiose sweep that moves from the extreme east to the far west'.[161] Elsewhere, to explain why the Ionians formed a league of twelve cities, Herodotus notes they also had twelve divisions back in the Peloponnese, adding that one of these is on the 'ever-flowing river Crathis, from which the river in Italy has its name' (1.145). 'In this passage', writes Rosaria Munson, 'we were speaking of Ionia, then jump to central Greece, then all of a sudden, for one brief moment, we are in the West as if this were home.'[162]

Frequently these conceptual ties appear more evident or more important in Herodotus than what must have been real-life connections. In the Hestia volume, Chris Pelling notes the curious case of Samos. On the one hand, Samos enjoys 'more narrative links with Egypt than one would expect'. There are also 'a noticeably high number of narrative juxtapositions with events in the far west, as with Democedes of Croton at 3.125–8 or in the apparently tangential material on Euenius of Apollonia in the middle of a Samian panel at 9.93–5'. By the same token, on the other, 'there are fewer narrative links with places where we know there to have been close historical connections—Cyrene and Thera, despite the strong 'friendships' which Herodotus himself mentions at 4.152.5; Caria; the Black Sea; or even other islands, with no narrative links at all with Rhodes, Amorgos, or Patmos.'[163]

Herodotus' mechanism of relating places to each other and tracing their movement provides *structure* to his written text. As Caroline Levine has argued, 'narrative form affords … a careful attention to the ways in which forms come together, and to what happens when and after they meet'; and of all literary

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[160] Thucydides reworks this formulation as ὡς μικρὸν μεγάλῳ εἰκάσαι (4.36.3) at the point when his narrative comes closest to Herodotus': his (Thermo)Pylos account of Spartans betrayed by a path and surrounded on all sides. The pointed reuse of Herodotus' idea of comparison *as a means to invite comparison* suggests the importance of Herodotus' linked places strategy for Thucydides in setting written prose productions in direct relationship to each other. Typically, in Thucydides' ironising account, the comparison only goes so far: *his* Spartans don't mount any heroic defence to the last man.

[161] Ceccarelli (2016) 74.

[162] Munson (2006) 258. See also Munson (2001) on wonders—an important basis for conceptual linking. Jody Cundy identifies cases of analogy in that most pedestrian and hodological of texts, the *Periegesis*. As she puts it, Pausanias uses 'hyperbatic logoi as an analogic technique to incorporate exotic marvels into the narrower geographical scope of his topographical frame narrative': Cundy (2016) 145; cf. 141.

[163] Pelling (2016) 320–1. That Samos' connections appear particularly tendentious may in part be a provocation to scrutinise its post-Persian War encounters with Athens, as exemplified by Irwin, e.g. (2009).

and social forms 'networks afford connection and circulation'.[164] When the Hestia team set out to record all instances of places *and the relations between them* in *Histories* Book 5, we were largely inspired by Franco Moretti's analysis of 'the *ortsgebunden*, place-bound nature' of nineteenth-century novels, for which he uses maps as 'narrative X-rays' to reveal the spatial logic underlying texts.[165] While going some way to revealing the place-boundedness of the *Histories*, in hindsight our graphs (e.g., Fig. 1, p. 118) share more in common with Moretti's social network of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, which presents a drama stilled, the links between characters left as traces long after they have departed the stage.[166] It would be easy (and not unreasonable) to criticise such graphs for making static a far more complex and dynamic picture. Yet, creating graphs where the places remain in view can, I suggest, usefully draw attention to the underlying spatial structure of the narrative—how, in effect, the text is underpinned by place relations. The stilled image of *Histories* Book 5 paradoxically captures a world reimagined around action and influence rather than by cartographic location, a world coming together through the movement of peoples and places and being transformed as a result.[167] In this relational understanding, places are, as Doreen Massey has remarked, 'criss-crossings in the wider power-geometries that constitute both themselves and "the global" … Understanding space as the constant open production of the topologies of power points to the fact that different "places" will stand in contrasting relations to the global.'[168]

Linked places organise and structure the text. Herodotus takes us on a path that criss-crosses space, back and forth across the Aegean Sea, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, or the world beyond. These routes bring us into contact with places and peoples often far apart from each other topographically, but somehow connected, *linked*, in Herodotus' inquiry. Through these geographic-based annotations, Herodotus provides pathways through historical data (1.5.3) that lead us, via a series of overlapping, evolving, and increasingly complicated and involved—*involving*—relations, to a more informed, if precarious, sense of what it is to be Greek or other in this rapidly changing world.[169] Together linked places challenge the notion of an abstract, mappable topography, leaving readers to grapple with the multidimensions of the space

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[164] Levine (2015) 19, 6.

[165] Moretti (1998) 5, 130.

[166] Moretti (2011) 84.

[167] See Bouzarovski–Barker (2016). Cf. Turnbull (2007).

[168] Massey (2005) 101.

[169] On the complexities of Hellenic ethnicity: J. Hall (2002).

around them in the world of the text, as well as the ethical complexities
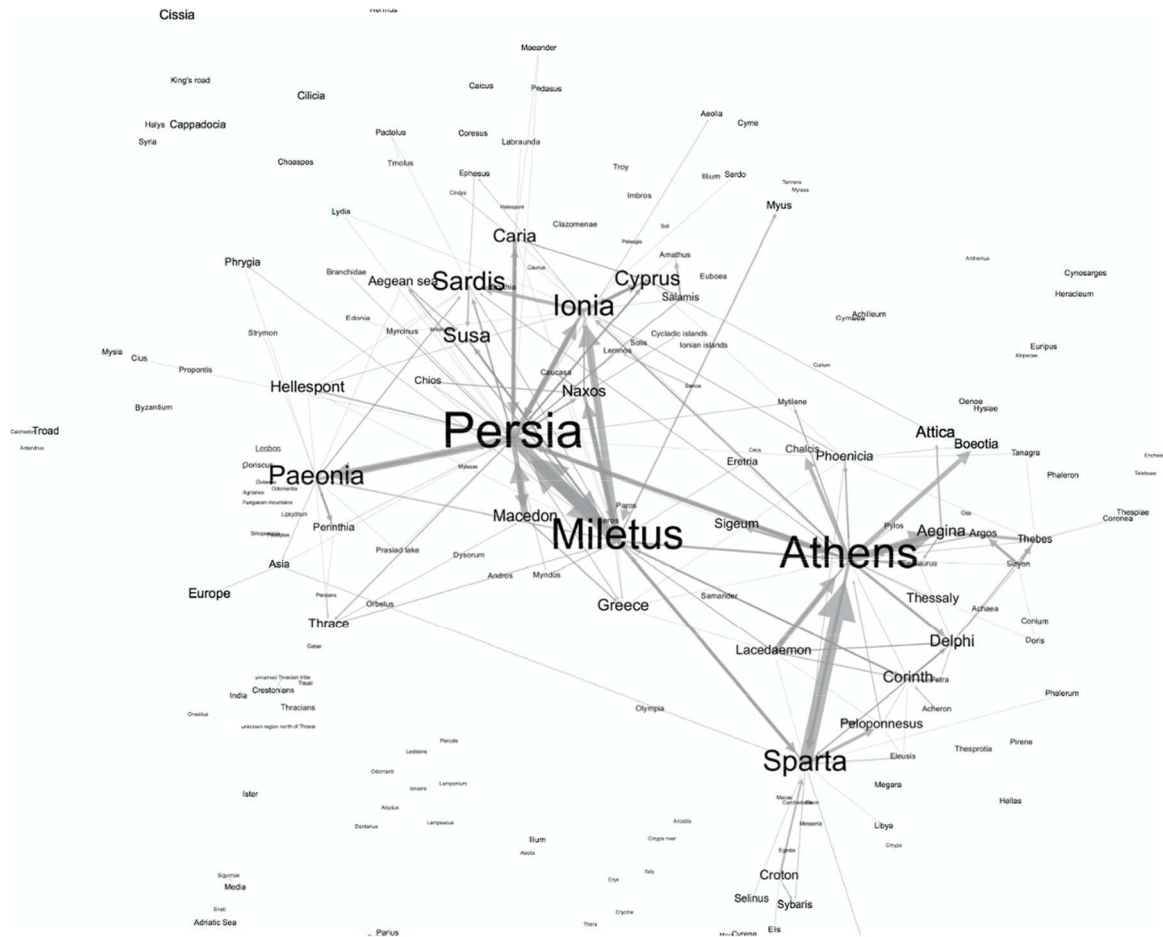suggested by comparative ethnology.[170]

Figure 1. A 'network' graph showing the relatedness of places in Herodotus' *Histories*
Book 5. A place's centrality in the network (the frequency with which it is
mentioned in relation to other places) is indicated by size of font and position. The
graph reorients Herodotus' world around what a place does in the text rather than
where it is on a map.

My suggestion is not only that places are a fundamental historical concept
for thinking about the main issues of Herodotus' narrative *and* that they
structure the *Histories, but also* that the method of linking them is related to, or
made possible (demanded even?) by, the shift from poetry to prose. In light of
efforts to deconstruct the map, Doreen Massey has argued in favour of
recognising the 'throwntogetherness' of place:

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[170] Cf. Barker and Pelling (2016) 252.

One way of seeing 'places' is as on the surface of maps … But to escape from an imagination of space as a surface is to abandon also that view of place. If space is rather a simultaneity of stories-so-far, then places are collections of those stories, articulations within the wider power-geometries of space. Their character will be a product of these intersections within that wider setting, and of what is made of them. And, too, of the non-meetings-up, the disconnections and the relations not established, the exclusions.[171]

In this view, space is not a sphere 'of a discrete multiplicity of inert *things*', but 'a heterogeneity of practices and *processes*', 'not an already-interconnected whole but an ongoing product of interconnections and not'. Space will be 'always unfinished and open'. 'There are always connections *yet to be* made, juxtapositions yet to flower into interaction, or not, potential links which may never be established. Loose ends and ongoing stories.'[172] Massey could be talking as much about place and space in Herodotus as its analysis in a digital environment. Whatever form that will take, the ability to facilitate and make use of linked places will be critical for historical inquiry.

5. A Mediating Disruption?

In the last section I drew a contrast between, on the one hand, oral poetry with its sequential lists of, or circuits through, places, and Herodotus' pathways, on the other. In the former, places tended to be organised by topographic proximity, or, in those case where they weren't, then by a spatial imaginary that, although varied (political, economic, religious) represented and consolidated pre-existing connections. The case of Herodotus is more complex, where linked places represent criss-crossing routes that can run counter to inherited, authoritative representations. While canonical list-making and hierarchical forms of spatial representation exist in written as well as oral modes, it nevertheless seems possible, if not likely, that the *Histories* reveal the narrative possibilities afforded by prose writing.[173] Herodotus faced the challenge of composing a narrative without the interpretative framework established by traditional referentiality. In response he exploits the new

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[171] Massey (2005) 130.

[172] Massey (2005) 107.

[173] If catalogues represent traditional poetic forms of authorising discourse, it is interesting to consider that on the two occasions when Hecataeus enters Herodotus' text it is as a cataloguer (of genealogy: 2.143; of places: 5.36). Cf. Ceccarelli (2016) 70. One might say that as an early adopter of written technology, Hecataeus is found still using such oral-based techniques (like the catalogue), still reproducing the structures of authority inherent in them.

technology to provide structure to his narrative, using place references (as well as other entities) to link different parts of the narrative in ways that were less accessible to (or useful for) oral poets.

Thus, we have found that place is important not only as where stuff happens, but especially as a means of structuring Herodotus' inquiry. In a similar way to the dynamics of traditional referentiality, reading Herodotus requires (learning) the act of 'putting together' places that are in some way at some level for some reason connected.[174] In this context, it is interesting to consider the text's variant beginning, preserved in Aristotle and Plutarch, 'Herodotus of Thurii'.[175] Thurii, located in Magna Graecia on the Tarentine gulf, was a city founded during Herodotus' lifetime. Such a place can be seen as a counterpart, and counterpoint, to Halicarnassus: one east, one west, one old, one new, both mixed communities of Greeks. Where Halicarnassus represents what is being fought over in the *Histories*, Thurii projects the *Histories* as a possession 'for all Greeks, internally mixed, egalitarian'.[176] In other words, the two places associated with Herodotus forge a link from the subject matter of the text to its reception. Linked together in manuscripts of the *Histories*, these two places are not only a demonstration of the text's wide-ranging appeal to mixed communities from across the Greek world; they represent a tangible instantiation of Herodotus' strategy of linking places.

What might we learn from Herodotus for the digital turn? Place will always be an important concept because it represents the intersection between people, time and event. More specifically, place can enable interlinking of online materials. The prospect of being able to bring together heterogenous information—text, image, database—for analysis is both exciting and daunting. On the positive side, Linked Open Data (LOD) has the potential to help us rethink the notion, even the very materiality, of the text, as the bordered page of the bounded book is rent open to reveal links to many different kinds of material (stressing the *linked* part of LOD), in a potentially democratising gesture (stressing the *open* aspect).[177] The closest glimpse of this vision is currently afforded by the 'deep map', a method and technology for defamiliarising topographic space to reveal 'a multi-layered network of connections between people and places, past and present'.[178] We can imagine such maps enabling exploration of potential connections by presenting 'a point

[174] 'Putting together' (*sumballesthai*): above, nn. 159–60.

[175] Ἡροδότου Θουρίου: Arist. *Rhet.* 3.9, 1409a34; Plut. *Mor.* 604.

[176] For these descriptions of Halicarnassus and Thurii, see respectively: Goldhill (2002) 11; Munson (2006) 257.

[177] Barker–Terras (2016).

[178] Gregory-Guider (2004) 1–2. Cf. Ridge–Lanfreniere–Nesbit (2013).

of view on all the entities taken severally and not as a totality'.[179] Above all, such maps would be tools for investigation, not the end point of analysis but provocations.[180] The challenges to using LOD, however, are equally significant: How can one organise the potentially endless masses of data? Why bring these different data together in the first place?[181] Who judges the validity of the linking? And, as Herodotus knew very well, how do you bring your reader/user with you? As Lorna Hardwick has written, the affordances offered by technology for challenging scholarship's inherited structures of knowledge can be liberating, 'if—and only if—the students and other users are equipped to reflect on the new clusters that they create'.[182] Critical to LOD are users who do the linking, following or forging pathways through the data.

Hardwick raises another important issue, on which I want to end. LOD has potential for enabling new ways of putting together historical materials, and new questions to ask of them. But what's to stop this new heuristic simply reworking and reinforcing traditional structures of knowledge? What information is left by the wayside in the forging of these new pathways? What does one lose when moving to a new means of preserving past deeds, or adopting a new mode of inquiry into them?

When it will be possible to link and bring together potentially boundless data, one challenge will be to notice absence. Herodotus, facing a similar challenge, offers, I think, a caveat for his reader. At the beginning of his *Histories*, Herodotus delivers an instantaneous answer to his question: why did Greeks and barbarians come into conflict? The problem is that it's an answer provided by certain Persian *logioi*, one which, as we have seen, Herodotus refrains from judging either way. This isn't, in fact, where *he* will begin: it's a false start.[183] Judging what makes it a false start though is much harder. We have already considered one aspect to this: the Persians read the abductions as a series, which escalates once the Greeks retaliate for the seizure of Helen.[184]

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[179] Latour, et al. (2012) 14, cited in Dörk–Comber–Dade-Robertson (2014) 1.

[180] Barker–Bouzarovski–Isaksen (2016) 18. Cf. Bodenhamer (2015). Using digital visualisation to challenge the logocentricity of humanities scholarship: Drucker–Nowviskie (2004).

[181] As Andrew Prescott wrote (back in 2013): 'Linked data is definitely one of the topics of the day in humanities scholarship and elsewhere, but I think there is a tendency to think that if we link a random group of resources together, somehow the magic of linked data will give us instantly new perspectives and new understandings for a particular place or period … Sadly, scholarship is much harder.' (http://digitalriffs.blogspot.com/2013/01/the-function-structure-and-future-of.html, accessed 1 December 2020).

[182] In Barker, et al. (2012) 191.

[183] Węcowski (2004).

[184] See Rood (2010). The 'false move' is even more striking if, with Purves (2010) 126–7, we hear an echo of the periplus tradition of linking places by literal routes. Rood is more sceptical.

They read into the event of the Trojan War a justification for thinking in terms of geographical difference—why, that is, Asia is theirs and Europe belongs to the Greeks. As Rood notices, however, Herodotus' account of how the Persians reach this conclusion involves the suppression of other ways of articulating spatial meaning, namely myth. In earlier mythical recountings, after leaving Colchis with Medea, Jason is said to have passed through the Planctae (*Od.* 12.69–72) or across the Ocean and then the Libyan desert (Hes. F 241 M–W; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.25–8, 251). Io is a particularly interesting case, not only because she is represented in myth as a paradigmatic wanderer, but because, as we also saw above, 'Io's travels were an important part of the story of the demarcation of the division between Asia and Europe'.[185] Instead, the Persians produce their own justification for that division, based on a re-reading of this mythical material.[186]

It's important to note what is happening here. We are left with an account that flattens out the spatial dynamics, or at least reworks the data to make a different point or lend a different emphasis to it. And, we should note, this new account is a product of (and arguably made possible by) *writers*, Persian *logioi*, who replace the oral heritage of myth with a new way of packaging the data.[187] Their account *leaves out* the links from the inherited oral tradition, which could have provided a more nuanced reading of the events. We would do well to listen to Herodotus, as we go forward in our inquiries.

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[185] Rood (2010) 50; see above, p. 112.

[186] Rood (2010) 63.

[187] As Vlassopoulos (2013) 151 argues, 'Greek myth was a very peculiar communicative system … in being located in space and time'. Rood (2010) 48 attributes the idea here of 'presence through absence' to Dewald (1999) 226. All roads …

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