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978-1-108-47275-3 — Herodotus in the Long Nineteenth Century
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Introduction

Thomas Harrison and Joseph Skinner

At least since the best-known attempt to locate the 'place of Herodotus in the history of historiography' – that of Arnaldo Momigliano, now more than sixty years ago – the story of Herodotus's afterlife has tended to be told in linear terms. Herodotus had barely laid down his pen before Thucydides began highlighting his shortcomings. From that point on, the Father of History was 'cut off from the stream of ancient historiography', admired for his style rather than his reliability. 'Defeated in antiquity', however, Herodotus 'triumphed in the sixteenth century'. Ethnography came back into vogue following the 'discovery' of the Americas and, as the explorers of the New World reported customs even more extraordinary than those described in the *Histories*, Herodotus was vindicated.[1]

Herodotus's vindication, for Momigliano, appears to have continued seamlessly until the present, 'with the help of archaeology and with the knowledge of languages that [Herodotus himself] could not understand'.[2] The challenges that Herodotus faced from his nineteenth-century detractors – and the struggles faced by Orientalists when confronted with discrepancies between Herodotus, biblical narratives and the newly deciphered texts of Egypt and the Near East[3] – are all elided here. By contrast, another account of Herodotus's fortunes – that offered by François Hartog in his *Mirror of Herodotus* – sees this later period as one in which Herodotus's narrative went from being largely undisputed to being *buried*. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was concluded, Herodotus 'lived by borrowing, if not plagiarising'.[4] Neither of these narratives is lacking in

[1] Momigliano 1958; quotations from pp. 5, 9, 2. Other summary accounts of Herodotus's reception include Bichler and Rollinger 2000: 114–169; for a balanced account of Herodotus's and Thucydides's fortunes in antiquity which differs from Momigliano, Muhlack 2011: 182–183.
[2] Momigliano 1958: 2. [3] See later in the chapter.
[4] Hartog 1988: 372–373, following Hauvette 1894: 114–115. See also Bichler and Rollinger 2000: 114–169 for a commendable survey of Herodotean reception (surely unique amongst introductory handbooks).

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supporting evidence. So how should we respond? Should we seek simply to assess which position (critical or affirming) gained the greater traction in any period, tracking the rise and fall of Herodotus's reputation for reliability – and that of Thucydides – like stocks and shares?

Despite the beguiling nature of Momigliano's thesis this volume eschews any single overarching narrative. Instead, it seeks to demonstrate the complexity of engagement with Herodotus's text through the examination of one particular receiving context: that of the long nineteenth century (broadly speaking from the French Revolution until the aftermath of the Great War). Broader surveys of the reception of any ancient author may turn up striking patterns and concentrations of material which transcend a particular time or period. By their nature, however, such treatments are somewhat eclectic, reducing an author's afterlife to a series of fractured images divorced from their wider context. Such surveys also run the risk of privileging particular narratives of an author's fortunes and thus telling the story from a perceived end-point.[5] Narrowing the chronological parameters of any given study can, in contrast, present certain advantages, the most significant of which is that it allows for a far greater depth of analysis: for the exploration of different facets of engagement that were occurring more or less concurrently in a variety of contexts across a variety of media. In line with a recent trend towards more widely cultural and less purely literary 'reception studies',[6] this volume then seeks to situate our author in the context of wider intellectual currents, shifting trends and events more broadly. The contributions to the volume examine engagements with Herodotus within the school classroom,[7] at university[8] or in the music hall.[9] The sources discussed include school primers, more

[5] See here the observations of Priestley and Zali 2016: 3–4. Other in-depth assessments of Herodotean reception in particular contexts are Longo 2012 and Priestley 2014; Ellis 2015, by contrast, adopts a themed approach.

[6] So see, for example, Martindale 2006: 9; Goldhill 2002: 10, 12; Hardwick 2003: 5 (although Hardwick still largely conceives of reception as a relationship between [literary] texts). For dissatisfaction with the term 'reception' as passive ('too blunt, too *passive* a term for the dynamics of resistance and appropriation, recognition and self-aggrandisement . . .'), see Goldhill 2002: 297 with the response of Martindale 2006: 11; see also the observations of Silk et al. 2014:10, breaking down the common contrast between 'active reception' and a 'classical tradition conceived of as inherently monolithic, "conservative", elitist, and caught up in the passive worship of past masters'.

[7] See esp. chapters by Skinner and Harrison (Chapters 5 and 10, this volume); for the German context; see Kipf 1999.

[8] See esp. Skinner, Chapter 5, this volume; for the reading of Herodotus in Black Colleges and Universities in the United States, Orrells et al. 2011: 100.

[9] See Chapter 2 (Hall), this volume; see Richardson 2013: 6 ('Burlesque writers have nudged into place next to elder statesmen, working-class readers next to the elite').

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or less learned commentaries and light-hearted pastiches; print journalism, poetry (some of it close to doggerel), paintings, geographical treatises and novels – Barthélemy's *Voyage du jeune Anarcharsis*, for example, or Talboys Wheeler's *Life and Travels of Herodotus*.[10] Herodotus's readership during this period was equally varied: schoolboys enrolled in elite public schools but also those attending Irish hedge-schools,[11] scholars and autodidacts, non-conformists and high-Anglican traditionalists.[12] Although certain aspects of Herodotus's reception constitute all-male preserves (for example, the Greek prose compositions discussed by Harrison, Chapter 11, this volume), in other contexts we encounter women readers as well as men. In fact, Herodotus was typically portrayed as more fitting for female readers than other authors due to the range of his subject matter.[13] Indeed, since the form in which Herodotus was conveyed was often oral (even amongst the literary elite: Thomas Arnold, for example, read his favourite stories from Herodotus to his children on holiday[14]), and since episodes from the *Histories* were – like bible stories – frequently represented in visual form,[15] we should not think exclusively of a literary or even a *literate* audience or readership for his work.[16]

The different audiences or readerships for Herodotus in this period are unlikely to have formed sharply demarcated constituencies. The Herodotean burlesques (discussed by Hall, Chapter 2, this volume) appear to have attracted patrons of every level of education.[17] The existence of middle-brow parodies of the *Histories* for a wider audience – for example, Andrew Lang's letter to Herodotus in his *Letters to Dead Authors*[18] – also suggests that there was a continuity between music-hall, on the one hand, and the

[10] See further Hall, Marchand and Skinner, Chapters 2, 3 and 5, this volume. The forthcoming Liverpool PhD of Lucy Quine looks especially at the reception of Herodotus in historical fiction and travel-writing from the nineteenth century to the present day.

[11] Hedge-schools: McElduff 2006: 185. For non-elite consumption of Classics, see, for example, the observations of Silk et al. 2014: 120.

[12] So, for example, Kenrick (e.g., 1841), discussed by Gange, Chapter 6, this volume, and Gange 2013: 105–109, or George Rawlinson, author of one of the key commentaries of the period (Rawlinson 1858–1860).

[13] So, for example, Edith Hall suggests in this volume that Herodotus's one female editor in this period, Agnata Ramsay (Chapter 2; see also Skinner, Chapter 5), might not have felt 'entitled' to edit Thucydides. On women's exclusion, see Silk et al. 2014: 35.

[14] Stanley 1877: 211, cited by W. D. Anderson 1965: 2. For non-professional readers and oral storytelling (and the difficulty of tracking them) see esp. McElduff 2006: 180–181, 189.

[15] For an initial survey, Liuzzo 2014.

[16] For a broad survey of popular engagement with Herodotus via print media see the forthcoming Newcastle PhD thesis by Jordan Bayley.

[17] See also Hardwick 2015: 30.

[18] Lang 1886; McElduff 2006: 187 for the comparable example of an eighteenth-century Gaelic parody of Virgil.

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parodies of Etonians and 'Balliol men', on the other. We can usefully conceive of different types of use of, or engagement with, Herodotus's text, some relatively superficial or second-hand, others more intense: the uses of travellers; tourists; scholars; students.[19] (Books can be divided into four classes, it has been suggested: read books, forgotten books, books one has heard about and unknown books.[20]) It would be wrong, however, to approach any such group, or subset, with preconceived ideas as to their overall levels of engagement. For those Oxford undergraduates who studied Herodotus before reforms enacted in 1807, the *viva voce* examination would have consisted of no more than translation exercises. Ancient historical writers were read in college lectures without interpretation or scholarly context until at least the 1840s.[21] In contrast, the prize-winning prose compositions in the style of Herodotus which survive from the mid-century indicate an altogether more sophisticated level of understanding, including a marked sensitivity towards questions of Herodotean epistemology, narratorial authority or the rhetoric of proof, that is more reminiscent of recent scholarship.[22] For every super-human compositor of Greek prose (Gilbert Murray, J. D. Beazley and others), however, there were countless more 'averagely idle undergraduates' of the sort depicted in Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown at Oxford*, for whom a classical education represented rote learning and a mine of stock allusions with which to pepper their repartee.[23]

No collection such as this could provide an exhaustive account of engagement with so central a classical author in any period. Though this volume includes discussion of contexts as geographically scattered as late Tsarist Russia (Chapter 8, Meyer), Ireland (Chapter 10, Harrison) and Turkey (Chapter 9, Mac Sweeney), there is a marked concentration on Western Europe and especially on Britain. Further work might look more closely at other contexts dealt with only in passing here, for example nineteenth-century France or Italy. It might also examine some media less

[19] See here the excellent discussion of Silk et al. 2014: 166 ff.; see pp. 393, 429 identifying, for example, 'archetypes', 'reflexes', 'engagements with earlier engagements' and 'responses to responses', and critiquing 'reception' as a kind of catch-all for 'any instance or aspect of the tradition that comes to scholarly notice' (p. 393 n. 1).

[20] Bayard 2007: 17 n. 1, cited by Racine 2016: 197 in the context of discussion of levels of awareness of Herodotus in the Latin Middle Ages.

[21] M. L. Clarke 1959: 102, 204–205 n.

[22] They also reflect and process – more or less distantly – the intellectual and political developments of their day. See further Harrison, Chapter 10, this volume.

[23] So, for example, Hughes 1861: ch. 5: 'It's worth learning how to play tennis, and how to speak the truth'); see further Jenkyns 1980: 216. See further Harrison and Skinner, Chapters 10 and 5, this volume.

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systematically discussed in the following pages: for example, the deployment of episodes from Herodotus (or the Persian Wars) in the visual arts.[24] The story of Candaules's wife is just one example of a Herodotean scene explored by a number of artists. All explore the visual aspects of Herodotus's narration (Gyges' looking on the naked Queen, who in turn glimpses him), but in strikingly different ways: compare, for example, William Etty's version (discussed by Skinner, Chapter 5, this volume) with that of Degas, who appears to have left his version unfinished due to a sense of unease at its voyeuristic undertones.[25]

Though there is a danger implicit in single-author reception studies of finding precisely what we have set out to look for,[26] one of the central conclusions to arise from this book is the apparent ubiquity and sheer variety of Herodotean-inspired texts and images during the nineteenth century. So what did Herodotus specifically have to offer in this period? What was at stake in reading or responding to his text?

Even if we should be wary of any simplistic narrative of Herodotus's value rising and falling in a direct relationship to contemporary events, it is clear that – in this period as in the Hellenistic age, or the context of the discovery of the New World[27] – the wide scope of his inquiries was a central attraction to many readers. In part, this is a matter merely of the general pertinence of his themes and of the range of his geographical coverage. The *Histories* were an inevitable point of comparison, as Phiroze Vasunia discusses in Chapter 7, this volume, at a point at which Europeans are travelling to the same lands. Herodotus, in Vasunia's phrase, 'gave Europeans a chance of understanding the world'. His *Histories* were of foundational importance for a number of emerging disciplines – Anthropology, Geography, as well as 'Near-Eastern Studies' – not only as 'an old, blackened idol to be ritually saluted'[28] but for the knowledge they contained. So, for example, early anthropologists such as E. B. Tylor looked back to Herodotus as someone who shared the 'larger view of an

[24] See Liuzzo 2014 for an initial survey.

[25] Edgar Degas (1834–1917), 'La Femme de Candaule' (c. 1855–1856), oil on canvas, 29 × 22 cm, Private collection, Lesser 1991: 61–2; see also Reff 1976: 150–152. Degas' inspiration (not least for the Queen's startled expression) was, in the first instance, Théophile Gautier's 1844 novel *Le Roi Candaule*.

[26] See, for example, concerns of Hexter 2006 (with comments of Priestley 2014: 11–12) on single-author reception.

[27] O. Murray 1972; Priestley 2014: 1–4.

[28] Hartog 1988: 379. See Momigliano 1958: 13 for the work of anthropologists and others as a development of Herodotean historiography.

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anthropologist to whom all knowledge of mankind was interesting',[29] but also as a mine of examples of the continuity in human customs across centuries, of how 'the modern barbarian represents the ancient'.[30] Andrew Lang, likewise, not only envisaged Herodotus as a collector of folktales akin to himself, but drew on Herodotean examples to counter contemporary diffusionist theorizing.[31] As a number of contributors in this volume describe, travellers to Egypt and other lands did so with Herodotus in their pockets (Herodotus was 'an ethnographically informed proto-Baedeker', in the words of Suzanne Marchand). An edition of Book 2 was even produced specifically for this purpose by Cassell.[32] At the same time, Henry Rawlinson and others worked meticulously to match their local knowledge of the Near East with the 'indistinct and partial notices' of Herodotus and other ancient authors in what they termed 'Comparative Geography'.[33]

Then as now, the events which Herodotus described were often imbued with a far wider significance, whether as part of a titanic struggle between East and West that was still ongoing,[34] or as a decisive episode in a conflict of more cosmic or eschatological proportions. Writing in the preface to his 'family' edition of Herodotus, Isaac Taylor informs the lay reader that the

[29] Tylor 1881: 385–386. As part of his broader thesis of how 'on the whole things went wrong' in the development of science from antiquity to the present day (pp. 337–338), Tylor contrasts Herodotus's speculations on the alluvial deposits of the Nile with the rude theories of primitive tribes: 'two thousand years had to pass before these lines of thought were followed up by modern geologists' (Tylor 1881: 336). J. L. Myres claimed (over-exuberantly) that 'so far as Herodotus presents us . . . with a science of anthropology . . . he is little, if at all, behind the best thought of our own day', 1908: 135; see, however, the cold water of Morley 2016: 166 ('anthropologists themselves seem to have been unimpressed, and Herodotus was not taken up as a model or a significant founding figure'.)

[30] Tylor 1881: 347. See Tylor 1871: i. 40–41 (Scythian hideboiling), 283 (werewolves), 439 (Scythian grave goods), 1881: 402 (matrilineal descent), 411 (eating the dead), 424. Similar continuities from Herodotus were the stuff of popular coverage also, for example of travel in Kashgar (*Manchester Guardian* 18 Mar. 1874, p. 7, or in North America (*New York Times* 13 Aug. 1899, p. 6).

[31] Lang, 'Household tales', in Teverson, Warwick and Wilson 2015: 112 ('if all evidence from all quarters and all ages, evidence learned and unlearned, ancient, mediaeval, and modern agrees in certain points . . . then let the undesigned coincidence itself stand for confirmation.') His elevation of Herodotus as a model is perhaps especially evident in the introduction to his reissuing of B. R.'s translation of Book 2, Lang 1888.

[32] See further Hall, Marchand and Skinner, Chapters 2, 3 and 5, this volume; for the Cassell edition, Gange, Chapter 6.

[33] H. C. Rawlinson, 'Comparative geography of Persia', Royal Geographical Society papers HCR/11 file 1 of 2, p. 43. See further Harrison 2013; for a shift in attitudes to historical geography from the eighteenth century, McGregor Morris 2007: 248. For the work of James Rennell 1800, see further Marchand, Gange and Vasunia, Chapters 3, 6 and 7, this volume.

[34] Swayne 1870: 5–6: 'The latter [Battle of Mycale] was fought out on Asiatic ground – the beginning of the great retribution which has continued even to the present time, represented by uncertain tides of Western conquest gradually gaining ground on the East.' See, for example, Hanson 1999, 2001, Pagden 2008.

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battles of the Persian War formed a pivotal point in world history upon which even the successful diffusion of Christianity depended, at least in part.[35] A similar line is adopted by George Swayne in the preface to his *Herodotus* published some twenty years later: by breaking the spell of Persian invincibility the 'champions of intelligence and liberty'[36] prevented the entire world from being 'bound in the immobility of China' (i.e., 'orientalised') for perpetuity.[37] The relationship between ancient and modern is envisaged, moreover, not only in terms of a chain of contingent conditions but also as a prefigurement. So, for example, Swayne saw the victories of Plataea and Mycale as '[indicating] for ever the superiority of Europeans over Asiatics'. As such, they anticipated the victory of Charles Martel at Tours or the repulse of the Turks from Vienna:[38] 'Marathon made Morgarten possible'.[39] There is a sense here in which the Persian Wars appear to stand outside time. For many readers, then, Herodotus's value lay in his having preserved this miraculous tale for future generations; at the same time, however, one can detect signs of an underlying anxiety surrounding the (distant, yet somehow imminent) threat posed by the 'uncivilized mass of the human family' who, like Herodotus's Thracians (5.3), needed only to unite behind a single ruler for them to become the dominant player on the world stage.[40]

[35] Taylor 1829: xiv: 'it was in fact by the preservation of the independence of Greece, when almost crushed by the Asiatic hordes, that the western world was held in preparation for the diffusion of Christianity.'

[36] Taylor 1829: xiv.

[37] Swayne 1870: 6. For example, Taylor (1829: xiv) sees the *Histories* as providing 'a narrative, undoubtedly authentic, of the great conflict to the successful issue of which the modern nations of Europe are directly indebted for their possession of all that is valuable in philosophy, poetry, art, and civil liberty.' Preserving the intellectual treasures and liberal enlightenment of Athens meant they could be passed on, via Rome, to the medieval West. So, for example, Creasy 1851: 35. The most famous formulation of the consequences of the Persian Wars (in this case, specifically Marathon) is of course that of J. S. Mill, 1846: 343, though cf. Demandt 1993: 16, 70–72, Harrison forthcoming b for further instances and analysis.

[38] Swayne 1870: 5–6; see Pagden 2008: xvii for different conflicts as manifestations of a timeless enmity between East and West.

[39] Morgarten (clearly an obsession of Swayne) was the 1315 victory of the Swiss confederacy over the Habsburg Leopold I. See also Swayne 1870: 138 ('Marathon . . . stands almost alone by the side of Morgarten among the miracles achieved by the inspiration of freedom').

[40] So, for example, Taylor 1829: xv: the 'uncivilized millions of mankind' were now 'almost as much at the disposal of a semi-barbarous power as they were when the bones of every people of Asia whitened the way between Athens and the Hellespont'. Again, then as now: the spectre of Islamic extremism clearly lurks beneath the imagined Persian occupation of Greece of Victor Davis Hanson 1999, 2001. For Herodotus's Thracians as a power in waiting, see Harrison 2009; for parallels between Herodotus's Thracians and contemporary external threats, see Harrison, Chapter 10, this volume.

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Herodotus and the Persian Wars proved far more flexible and adaptable, however, than this picture suggests. Even where apparently straightforward analogies between ancient and modern East and West were drawn, they allowed for ironic effects. So, in the case of Naoise Mac Sweeney's chapter in this volume (Chapter 9), the Greco-Turkish conflict of 1919–1922 may have been conceived by some as a continuation of the Persian Wars, but its outcome (Greek or 'Western' defeat) encouraged an altogether more positive assessment of 'Orientals'. Such analogies could also be adapted for different effect, or straightforwardly inverted. Herodotus's Achaemenid empire could be figured not only as the Ottoman or Napoleonic empires[41] but as the British Raj; the Ionian revolt (flawed as it was in Herodotus's account) served as an analogy not only for the secession of Smyrna but also the so-called Indian Mutiny (Mac Sweeney and Harrison, Chapters 9 and 10, this volume). In one striking deployment of Herodotus, an 1812 speech for the foundation day of the University of Dorpat (Tartu), Karl Ludwig Struve aligned Darius's Scythian campaign (and the Scythians' strategy for defence) with Napoleon's march on Moscow (which he was razing in the same week) to create an anthem of (Scythian-Russian) resistance to imperial power; for their failure to demolish the Danube bridge the Ionian Greeks are held up for shame.[42] In more scholarly contexts also, as Suzanne Marchand demonstrates in this volume, it was not at all clear to all (especially to those Orientalists who held Herodotus as a hero) that he 'was the right man for the post' of distinguishing East and West. Herodotus served both (in Marchand's phrases) as an 'anti-classical toolbox' for chipping away at the centrality of the Greek and as an 'anti-scriptural wedge'. And you did not need to style yourself an Orientalist, breaking free from the rote learning of a Classical childhood, to view the claims made for the Persian Wars with scepticism. The Dublin scholar J. P. Mahaffy questioned how it was that Marathon, 'where a few thousand ill-disciplined men repulsed a larger number of worse disciplined Orientals, without any recondite tactics – perhaps even without any very extraordinary heroism . . ., [had] maintained a celebrity which has not been equalled by any of the great battles of the world, from that day down to our own!'[43]

[41] Hall 2007: 177–178, van Steen 2007 in the context of performances of Aeschylus's *Persae*; see also Hall's observations, p. 186.

[42] *Der Feldzug des Darius gegen des Scythen* (15 Sep. 1812), for which see Wes 1992: 125–126; see Hartog 1988 for parallels between the Scythian and Athenian resistance to Persian power.

[43] Mahaffy 1876 191, cited by Rood 2007: 292. One nineteenth-century traveller to Persia, Edward Eastwick (1864: 26–27) similarly observed: 'The real fact is, young Europe is whipped and schooled

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Another instance of how the Classical can be deployed for multiple, ideologically diffuse (indeed contradictory) uses is Herodotus's role in nineteenth-century debates on race.[44] On the one hand, his *Histories* could be used to reinforce contemporary ideas of racial hierarchy.[45] In the context of the ante-bellum American South, his text was used – alongside the Bible – to mount a defence of the institution of slavery. Josiah Priest's notorious *Bible Defence of Slavery*, for example, repeatedly cites Herodotus both as proof that the people of Africa had always been 'negroes with black skins, and wooly heads' and as evidence that the ancient inhabitants of Africa were sexually promiscuous and prone to cannibalism. 'When Herodotus travelled in Africa . . ., he says that he found the negro inhabitants living like animals, with respect to chastity. . . . Was this induced by slavery, as abolitionists say it is in America?'[46] (Or, implicitly, was slavery justified by such behaviour?) Morton's 1844 *Crania Aegyptiaca*, meanwhile, had used the analysis of ancient Egyptian skulls to claim that the ruling class of the Egyptians had been white, and that any blacks in Egypt had been there only as servants and slaves to white masters.[47] In doing so, however, he was arguing against a contrary tradition which used Herodotus's description of the physiognomy of the ancient Egyptians as evidence that the builders of the pyramids had been negroes,[48] and so to counter any claims of the inevitable, natural inferiority of Africans. 'The ancient Egyptians were not white people', Frederick Douglass wrote, 'but were, undoubtedly, just about as dark in complexion as many in this country who are considered genuine negroes . . . The Egyptians were once superior to the Greeks, and the Greeks to the Romans, and the Romans were superior to the Normans and the Normans superior to

into admiration of Greece, till no one dares give a candid opinion. Otherwise, how can men in their senses affect to believe all that stuff about the invasion of Xerxes?'

[44] See here the observations of Silk et al. 2014: 11, E. Richardson 2013: 3, Stead and Hall 2015: 2, 4.

[45] In addition to the debate on slavery discussed here, see also, for example, the debate over Long's *Babylonian Wife Market* (for which see Skinner, Chapter 5, this volume), or the evolutionary model of ethnology developed by George Rawlinson in his commentary, for which see Rawlinson 1858–1860: i. 643–676, with Harrison 2013: 233–234 and n. 100. More broadly, see Marchand 2009: 128–129, and this volume, suggesting that a more overtly racialized approach, as well as a narrowing of the conception of history, impacted on Herodotus's status in this period; see also Skinner, Chapter 5, this volume, for the concern with race in Herodotean text books.

[46] Priest 1851: 196–197; see pp. 60, 70, 179, 182, 186, 238–239. See here also Winterer 2002: 74–75, citing Wiesen 1980: 12; see also Wiesen 1976: 207–209.

[47] For further examples, see Richard 2009: 190. For a later (British) spate of craniology, Gange 2013: 300.

[48] For example, Child 1833: 150. See further here the forthcoming Liverpool PhD thesis of Lucy Quine.

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the Saxons, and now the Anglo-Saxon is boasting his superiority to the negro and the Irishman.'[49]

These debates on race and a supposed East–West clash were, predictably, enmeshed with questions of empire – a theme explored in a number of the contributions to this volume. As Skinner shows (Chapter 5), nineteenth-century encounters with Herodotus were often framed in language designed to reinforce a sense of imperial mission; conversely, imperial contexts influenced the way in which Herodotus's text was read and interpreted.[50] Strikingly, for example, at the end of our period, Gilbert Murray envisaged Herodotus operating as an agent in an ancient Great Game, supposing that he refrained from publishing some information on foreign lands and peoples but chose to pass it on instead to the 'Athenian Foreign Office' in the manner of a character in a John Buchan 'shocker'.[51] A number of other contributions (Vasunia, Meyer and Mac Sweeney, Chapters 8, 9 and 10) demonstrate the influence of the emergence and spread of nationalisms across Europe (and in Turkey).[52] Other, more scholarly, developments and imperatives also impacted on engagement with Herodotus in this period, however: the rise of the study of Greek through the nineteenth century[53] or the interface between German and British critical thought, discussed especially by Marchand and Gange in Chapters 4 and 7. Another critical factor impinging on the reading of Herodotus was the decipherment, in turn, of hieroglyphs and cuneiform script. Momigliano, as we have seen, saw the discovery of new languages as serving merely to vindicate Herodotus's authority. More normally, the story is told as one of the erosion of classical and biblical authority, but (if so) it was a long, complex and fitful process rather than a single

[49] Cited by Richard 2009: 194–195. See Douglass in Blassingame 1982: 515–520 (quote at p. 517): 'while it may not be claimed that the ancient Egyptians were negroes, — viz — answering in all respects to the nations and tribes ranged under the general appellation negro, still, it may be safely affirmed, that a strong affinity and a direct relationship may be claimed by the negro race, to THAT GRANDEST OF ALL THE NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, THE BUILDERS OF THE PYRAMIDS.' On the 'black vindicationists' and the debate on slavery, see Adler 2016: 137–138, Malamud 2011. The question of Egyptian and Near-Eastern influence was intimately tied up with the question of trust in Herodotus's veracity: for the Black Athena debate, see Rankine 2011: 46–47.

[50] See also Vasunia and Harrison, Chapters 7 and 10, this volume. Contrast Bell 2007, positing a turn away from (even an 'exorcism' of) Rome and Greece as models for a greater Britain towards America.

[51] G. Murray 1908: 135–136. See also here Rood, ch. 1.

[52] See here the observations of Most 2011: 44–46.

[53] M. L. Clarke 1959: 76; when Henry Liddell was at the Charterhouse of the late 1820s, Herodotus and Thucydides were known only by name (p. 80).

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