

**1. Herodotus 3.154.1, 3.160.1:**

[154] As soon as he thought that it was Babylon's fate to fall, he came and inquired of Darius if taking Babylon were very important to him [περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιέεται τὴν Βαβυλῶνα εἰλεῖν]; and when he was assured that it was [πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς πολλοῦ τιμῶτο], he then cast about for a plan by which the city's fall would be accomplished by him alone; for good service among the Persians is very much esteemed [*timan*], and rewarded by high preferment.

[160] There never was in Darius' judgment any Persian before or after who did better service than Zopyrus, except Cyrus, with whom no Persian could compare himself. Many times Darius is said to have declared that he would rather Zopyrus were free of disfigurement than have twenty Babylons on top of the one he had.

**2. Herodotus 5.24.3:**

Darius to Histiaeus: κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τιμώτατον ἀνὴρ φίλος συνετός τε καὶ εὖνοος (an intelligent and loyal friend is the most valuable (*timiôtaton*) of all possessions).

**3.** The Persians 'honour' (*timan*) their own birthdays above all other days (1.133.1; cf. 3.79.3 for the same idea with *therapeuein*). Cf. 2.179: οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο.

**4. Interaction ritual – demeanour, deference, and the 'sacred self':** Goffman 1967.

**5. *Timê* as 'deference' (respect):** e.g. the heroic honours, *timai*, conferred on Timesius at Abdera, 1.168. For deference expressed as *aidôs* see 3.72.3, 3.77.1. Bidirectionality of *aidôs*: Cairns 1993.

**6. *Timê* as claim to deference/quality to which deference responds:** e.g. *Il.* 9.498 – gods surpass mortals in *timê*, *aretê*, and *biê*. Cf. Herodotus 9.28.3 – the Spartans at Plataea station the Tegeans next to themselves in the line of battle 'on account of both *timê* and *aretê*'.

**7. *Iliad* 15.185–93 (Poseidon):**

'No, no. Great though he [Zeus] is, this that he has said is too much, if he will force me against my will, me, who am his equal in rank. Since we are three brothers born by Rheia to Kronos, Zeus, and I, and the third is Hades, lord of the dead men. All was divided among us three ways, each given his *timê*. I when the lots were shaken drew the grey sea to live in forever; Hades drew the lot of the mists and the darkness, and Zeus was allotted the wide sky, in the cloud and the bright air. But earth and high Olympos are common to all three.'

Cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 71–4, 112, 203–4, 421–2, 452, 462, 490–1, 881–5, 892–3; Herodotus 1.118.2, 2.53.2.

**8. *Timê* as 'prerogative', 'status', or 'office':** see e.g. Herodotus 1.59.5 (Athens under Pisistratus), Plato *Apology* 35b1–3 (Athens), and especially Aristotle, *Politics* 3.10, 1281a31–2: τιμὰς γὰρ λέγομεν εἶναι τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀρχόντων δ' αἰεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτίμους (for we say that offices are *timai*, but if the same people are always in office the others are necessarily without *timê*). Cf. *timê* as the office/dignity of a king in *Pol.* 5.10 (1310b36, 1313a13). For *timê* as the mark of citizenship, see *Pol.* 3.5, 1278a35–36 (λέγεται μάλιστα πολίτης ὁ μετέχων τῶν τιμῶν). Cf. Herodotus 4.145.4, where *timai* are the privileges and prerogatives that come with membership of the citizen community at Sparta. For loss of such *timê* (*atimia*) see (e.g.) [Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 22.8, 53.5–6, 63.3, 67.5, Andocides 1.74, Aeschines 1.19, 21, Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 9.6, Demosthenes 9.44; cf. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 40. 6–7, 33–4, 74 (and often in Attic inscriptions).

**9. *Timê* as claim in Herodotus:** see 5.92β.2 (οὔτις σε τίει πολύτιμον ἔόντα, 'no one honours you though you are much to be honoured'). **As office (job, task):** see 6.66.3 (Pythian priestess, Perialla, removed from her *timê*); cf. 1.59.5 (magistracies of the archaic Athenian *polis*); 2. 65. 3 (hereditary Egyptian priesthood); 7.36.1 (ironically, of the 'honour without *charis*' of lashing the Hellespont: οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίεον τοῖσι προσέκειτο αὕτη ἢ ἄχαρις τιμή).

**10. Prerogatives of gods:** 1.118.2, 2.53.2; **of kings:** 1.91.1, 4.155.2, 4.162.1–2, 7.8α.2, 7.104.1 (cf. the *gereai*, 'privileges', of Spartan kings at 6.56–8); **membership of citizen community:** 4.145.4 (Sparta).

**11. Kings and their retainers:** king honours retainer with office (3.34.1: ... Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα καὶ οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐ<σε>φόρεε οὗτος, τούτου τε ὁ παῖς οἰνοχόος ἦν τῷ Καμβύσῃ, τιμὴ δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ σμικρὴ ...); retainer rewarded *qua* 'good man' (3.154.1, 3.160.1–2, 4.143, 7.107.1, 7.135, 8.69.1–2, 8.105.2); retainer's service recognizes king's honour (2.79, 2.172, 3.15, 6.51–2, 6.57).

**12. Darius and Zopyrus:** 'Among the Persians benefactions are greatly honoured in return, in proportion to their magnitude' (κάριτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσησι αἱ ἀγαθουργίαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται, 3.154.1).

Zopyrus wins Darius' undying esteem (*timê*) as Persia's greatest benefactor (3.160.1): Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθουργίην Περσέων ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ Δαρείῳ κριτῇ, οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων οὔτε τῶν πρότερον, ὅτι μὴ Κύρος μόνος· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐδεὶς Περσέων ἠξίωσε κω ἐωυτὸν συμβαλεῖν. πολλάκις δὲ Δαρεῖον λέγεται γνώμην τήνδε ἀποδέξασθαι, ὡς βούλοιο ἂν Ζώπυρον εἶναι ἀπαθέα τῆς ἀεικείης μάλλον ἢ Βαβυλωνάς οἱ εἴκοσι πρὸς τῇ εἰούσῃ προσγενέσθαι· ἐτίμησε δὲ μιν μεγάλως.

Cf. normal Greek practice (e.g. 7.213.3).

**13. Darius and Syloson (3.140.4):**

'Most generous man,' said Darius, 'it was you who gave me a present when I had as yet no power; and if it was a small one, I was none the less grateful than I am now when I get a big one. In return, I give you gold and silver in abundance so you may never be sorry that you did Darius son of Hystaspes good.'

**14. Xerxes and Pythius (7.29, 7.39):**

[29] Thus he spoke. Xerxes was pleased with what he said and replied: 'My Lydian friend, since I came out of Persia I have so far met with no man who was willing to give hospitality to my army, nor who came into my presence unsummoned and offered to furnish money for the war, besides you. [2] But you have entertained my army nobly and offer me great sums. In return for this I give you these **privileges [gereia]**: I make you my guest-friend, and out of my own wealth I give you the seven thousand staters which will complete your total of four million, so that your four million not lack the seven thousand and the even number be reached by my completing it. [3] Remain in possession of what you now possess, and be mindful to be always such as you are; neither for the present nor in time will you regret what you now do.'

[39] Xerxes became very angry [*thymos*] and thus replied: 'Villain, you see me marching against Hellas myself, and taking with me my sons and brothers and relations and friends; do you, **my slave**, who should have followed me with all your household and your very wife, **dare [tolma]** to speak to me of your son? Be well assured of this, that a man's spirit dwells in his ears; when it hears good words it fills the whole body with delight, but when it hears the opposite it swells with anger. [2] When you did me good service and promised more, you will never boast that you outdid your king in the matter of benefits; and now that you have turned aside to the way of **shamelessness [anaideia]**, you will receive a lesser requital than you merit. You and four of your sons are saved by your hospitality; but you shall be punished by the life of that one you most desire to keep.' [3] With that reply, he immediately ordered those who were assigned to do these things to find the eldest of Pythius' sons and cut him in half, then to set one half of his body on the right side of the road and the other on the left, so that the army would pass between them.

Contrast Xerxes' honouring of Boges for his loyalty and self-sacrifice (7.107).

**15. Herodotus 7.135**

On their way to Susa, they came to Hydarnes, a Persian, who was general of the coast of Asia. He entertained and feasted them as his guests, and as they sat at his board, he asked: [2] 'Lacedaemonians, why do you shun the king's **friendship**? You can judge from what you see of me and my condition how well the king can **honour [timan] good men**. So might it be with you if you would but put yourselves in the king's hands, being as you are of proven worth in his eyes, and every one of you might by his commission be a ruler of Hellas.' [3] To this the Spartans answered: 'Your advice to us, Hydarnes, is not completely sound; one half of it rests on knowledge, but the other on ignorance. You know well **how to be a slave**, but you, who have never tasted freedom, do not know whether it is sweet or not. Were you to taste of it, not with spears you would counsel us to fight for it, no, but with axes.'

**16. Recognition vs appraisal respect:** Darwall 1977.

**17. Herodotus 7.101–4:**

Especially 7.102.1–3 (Demaratus):

‘O King, since you bid me by all means to speak the whole truth, and to say what you will not later prove to be false, in Hellas poverty is always endemic, but courage is acquired as the fruit of wisdom and strong law; by use of this courage Hellas defends herself from poverty and tyranny. [2] Now I praise all the Greeks who dwell in those Dorian lands, yet I am not going to speak these words about all of them, but only about the Lacedaemonians. First, they will never accept conditions from you that **bring slavery upon Hellas**;<sup>1</sup> and second, they will meet you in battle even if all the other Greeks are on your side. [3] Do not ask me how many these men are who can do this; they will fight with you whether they have an army of a thousand men, or more than that, or less.’

#### 7.103.3–4 (Xerxes):

‘Let us look at it with all reasonableness: how could a thousand, or ten thousand, or even fifty thousand men, if they are **all equally free and not under the rule of one man**, withstand so great an army as mine? If you Greeks are five thousand, we still would be more than a thousand to one. [4] If they were **under the rule of one man** according to our custom, they might **out of fear of him** become better than they naturally are, and under **compulsion of the lash** they might go against greater numbers of inferior men; but if they are **allowed to go free** they would do neither. I myself think that even if they were equal in numbers it would be hard for the Greeks to fight just against the Persians.’

#### 7.104.4–5 (Demaratus):

‘So is it with the Lacedaemonians; fighting singly they are as brave as any man living, and together they are the best warriors on earth. They are **free, yet not wholly free**: law [*nomos*] is their master, whom they fear much more than your men fear you. [5] They do whatever it bids; and its bidding is always the same, that they must never flee from the battle before any multitude of men, but must abide at their post and there conquer or die.’

**18. *Isokratia*** (extolled by Corinthian Socleas at 5.92a.1); **Athenian *isêgoria*** (extolled by Herodotus himself at 5.78).

**19. Freedom of citizens in Greek states linked to freedom (independence) of Greek states:** see 5.78 (authorial voice), 5.92 (character-speech), 6.109.3 (ditto), 7.135.3 (ditto), 7.147.1 (indirect discourse), 8.140–4 (character-speech). NB the authorial aside, at 9.19.1, that those Peloponnesian cities that opted in the end to resist Persian domination and not to betray Greece were ‘those who were persuaded by the better course’, τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἐάνδανε. Cf. e.g. the authorial condemnation of Medism at 8.73.3.

#### 20 Xerxes’ motives for invasion:

##### 7.8α.2:

‘Ever since I came to this throne, I have considered how I might not fall short of those who preceded me in this *timê*, and not add less power to the Persians; and my considerations persuade me that we may win not only renown, but a land neither less nor worse, and more fertile, than that which we now possess; and we would also gain *timôria* and *tisis*.’

##### 7.8β.1–2:

‘It is my intent to bridge the Hellespont and lead my army through Europe to Hellas, so I may punish [*timôreisthai*] the Athenians for what they have done to the Persians and to my father. [2] You saw that Darius my father was set on making an expedition against these men. But he is dead, and it was not granted him to punish [*timôreisthai*] them.’<sup>2</sup>

##### 7.8γ.1–3:

‘If we subdue those men, and their neighbours who dwell in the land of Pelops the Phrygian, we will make the borders of Persian territory and of the firmament of heaven be the same. [2] No land that the sun beholds will border ours, but I will make all into one country, when I have passed over the whole of Europe. [3] I learn that this is the situation: no city of men or any human nation which is able to meet us in battle will be left, if those of whom I speak are taken out of our way. Thus the guilty and the innocent will alike bear the yoke of slavery.’

Cf. Mardonius at 7.9.2:

<sup>1</sup> Greek determination to resist ‘slavery’: cf. 7.135.3 (above), 7.139.5–6 (with implicit authorial endorsement), 8.144.2–3, 9.45.1–2, 9.98.3. Cf. 6.109.3 (on the earlier invasion by Darius).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mardonius at 7.5.3 and 7.9.2, Xerxes again at 7.11.2–4. Darius also wanted *tisis* against the Athenians for their part in Ionian revolt (5.105.2, cf. 6.94.1, 6.101.3); was incensed by defeat at Marathon (7.1.1); but did not live to obtain *timôria* (7.4.1).

‘It would be strange indeed if we who have subdued and made slaves of Sacae and Indians and Ethiopians and Assyrians and many other great nations, for no wrong done to the Persians but of mere desire to add to our power, will not take vengeance [*timôreisthai*] on the Greeks for unprovoked wrongs.’<sup>3</sup>

Xerxes to Artabanus, **7.11.1**:

‘But for your cowardly lack of spirit I lay upon you this disgrace, that you will not go with me and my army against Hellas, but will stay here with the women; I myself will accomplish all that I have said, with no help from you.’

**21. Who started it?** See 1.1–5, esp. 1.5.3 and cf. (e.g.) the differing Athenian and Pelasgian versions of the latter’s expulsion from Attica at 6. 137.1–138.1. For *tisis* and *timôria* as reactions to injustice (*adikia*) see 1.4.1, 2.115.3–4, 2.120.5, 5.56.1, 7.9.2, 8.105.1; cf. ‘pay the penalty (*dikê*)’, 3.69.2 = *tisis*, 3.75.3.

## **22. Artabanus’ opposition:**

### **(a) 7.10α–ε:**

[7.10α] ‘Now I advised Darius, your father and my brother, not to lead his army against the Scythians, who have no cities anywhere to dwell in. But he hoped to subdue the nomadic Scythians and would not obey me; he went on the expedition and returned after losing many gallant men from his army. [3] You, O king, are proposing to lead your armies against far better men than the Scythians—men who are said to be excellent warriors by sea and land. It is right that I should show you what danger there is in this. [7.10β] You say that you will bridge the Hellespont and march your army through Europe to Hellas. Now suppose you happen to be defeated either by land or by sea, or even both; the men are said to be valiant, and we may well guess that it is so, since the Athenians alone destroyed the great army that followed Datis and Artaphrenes to Attica. [2] Suppose they do not succeed in both ways; but if they attack with their ships and prevail in a sea-fight, and then sail to the Hellespont and destroy your bridge, that, O king, is the hour of peril. [7.10γ] It is from no wisdom of my own that I thus conjecture; it is because I know what disaster once almost overtook us, when your father, making a highway over the Thracian Bosphorus and bridging the river Ister, crossed over to attack the Scythians. At that time the Scythians used every means of entreating the Ionians, who had been charged to guard the bridges of the Ister, to destroy the way of passage. ... [7.10ε] You see how the god smites with his thunderbolt creatures of greatness and does not suffer them to display their pride [*phantazesthai*], while little ones do not move him to anger; and you see how it is always on the tallest buildings and trees that his bolts fall; for the god is wont to bring low all things of surpassing greatness. Thus a large army is destroyed by a smaller, when the jealous god [ὁ θεὸς φθόνησας] sends panic or the thunderbolt among them, and they perish unworthily; for the god suffers pride [*mega phronein*] in none but himself.’

### **(b) 7.16α.2:**

‘It was not that I heard harsh words from you that stung me so much as that, when two opinions were laid before the Persians, one tending to the increase of *hybris*, the other to its abatement, showing how evil a thing it is to teach the *psychê* always to desire more than what is present, of these two opinions you preferred that one which was more fraught with danger to yourself and to the Persians.’

### **(c) 7.18.2–3:**

‘O King, since I have seen, as much as a man may, how the greater has often been brought low by the lesser, I forbade you to always give rein to your youthful spirit, knowing how evil a thing it is to desire many things, and remembering the end of Cyrus’ expedition against the Massagetae and of Cambyses’ against the Ethiopians, and I myself marched with Darius against the Scythians. [3] Knowing this, I judged that you had only to keep quiet for all men to deem you fortunate.’

Cf. Cairns 1996.

## **23. Artabanus’ warnings fulfilled:**

E.g. crossing the Hellespont, **7.34–35**:

But no sooner had the strait been bridged than a great storm swept down, breaking and scattering everything. [7.35] When Xerxes heard of this, he was very angry and commanded that the Hellespont be whipped with three hundred lashes, and a pair of fetters be thrown into the sea. I have even heard that he sent branders with them to

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Xerxes at 7.8γ.3. For Persian subject peoples as ‘slaves’, cf. 1.89.1, 1.94.7, 1.95.2, 1.120.5, 1.129.3, 1.164.2, 1.169.1–2, 1.174.1, 2.1.2, 3.19.3, 3.21.2, 3.88.1, 4.93, 4.128.1, 5.49.2–3, 5.109.2–3, 5.116.1, 6.11.2, 6.12.3, 6.22.1, 6.44.1, 6.45.6, 6.106.2, 6.109.3, 7.1.3, 7.7, 7.8γ.3, 7.19.1, 7.51.2, 7.96.2, 7.102, 7.108.1, 7.147.1, 7.168.1, 7.235.3, 8.22.1, 8.100.5, 8.101.3, 8.142.3, 8.144.1, 9.45.2, 9.48.1, 9.60.1, 9.90.2.

brand the Hellespont. [2] He commanded them while they whipped to utter words unGreek and outrageous [βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀπάσθαλα], ‘Bitter water, our master thus punishes you, because you did him wrong though he had done you none. Xerxes the king will pass over you, whether you want it or not; in accordance with justice no one offers you sacrifice, for you are a turbid and briny river.’ [3] He commanded that the sea receive these punishments and that the overseers of the bridge over the Hellespont be beheaded.

### Oracles, 8.77:

I cannot say against oracles that they are not true, and I do not wish to try to discredit them when they speak plainly. Look at the following matter:

When the sacred headland of golden-sworded Artemis and Cynosura by the sea they bridge with ships,  
After sacking shiny Athens in mad hope,  
Divine Justice will extinguish mighty Greed (Koros) the son of Hybris  
Lusting terribly, thinking to devour all.  
Bronze will come together with bronze, and Ares  
Will redden the sea with blood. To Hellas the day of freedom  
Far-seeing Zeus and august Victory will bring.

Considering this, I dare to say nothing against Bacis concerning oracles when he speaks so plainly, nor will I consent to it by others.

### Themistocles, 8.109.3:

‘It is not we who have won this victory, but the gods and the heroes, who deemed Asia and Europe too great a realm for one man to rule [lit. begrudged – ἐφθόνησαν – one man kingship of Asia and Europe], and that a wicked [*atasthalos*] man and an impious one who dealt alike with temples and bones, burning and overthrowing the images of the gods,—yes, and one who scourged the sea and threw fetters into it.’

**Omens, miracles, and other signs:** sun disappears, 7.37.2; divine weapons appear before the temple of Apollo at Delphi, 8.37.1 (with authorial endorsement at 8.37.2); thunderbolt, landslide, shout from the temple, 8.37.3; Dicaeus and Demaratus hear a divine voice (portending Persian defeat) from Eleusis, 8.65.2; cloud settles on Salamis, indicating that Xerxes’ fleet is destined to be destroyed, 8.65.6, because the expedition’s fate is the gods’ concern, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει, 8.65.5; bad omens, prayer, good omens before Plataea, 9.61.3–62.1; somehow Greeks at Mycale get word (on same day) that Mardonius has been defeated at Plataea that very day; a herald’s wand is found on the beach, 9.100.1, confirming divine involvement, in Hdt.’s view, 100.2; storms (7.188–91, including a reference at 7.189 to Boreas, the god of the north wind, as the Athenians’ son-in-law; 8.12.1, divinely caused, Herodotus suggests, to reduce the Persian fleet to roughly the same size as the Greek; 8.129.3, flood tide caused by desecration of a temple of Poseidon, explanation endorsed by author); oracles, 8.53.1, 8.77; epiphanies, 8.38–39.1. Cf. 9.65.2 (no Persian entered or died in a precinct of Demeter near Plataea because the goddess herself refused entry to those who burned her temple at Eleusis); Artabanus on how the land itself becomes Xerxes’ enemy at 7.49.4. See Harrison 2000; cf. and contrast Romm 2006; Scullion 2006, 193–5.

**24. Persian norms and Greek values:** see (e.g.) Cyrus’ warning at 9.122 (growth of wealth and power leads to decadence, decline, and becoming others’ slaves); Xerxes on brevity of human life and vulnerability of all human endeavour (7.45); possible compunction at burning of sanctuary on Athenian acropolis (8.54). Yet Xerxes violates even Persian norms on the respect one owes others (mutilation of Leonidas’ body, 7.238.2).

### 25. Limits to *tisis* and *timôria*:

#### 9.78–9:

There was at Plataea in the army of the Aeginetans one Lampon, son of Pytheas, a leading man of Aegina. He hastened to Pausanias with most unholy counsel and coming upon him, said to him: [2] ‘Son of Cleombrotus, you have done a deed of surpassing greatness and glory; the god has granted to you in saving Hellas to have won greater renown than any Greek whom we know. But now you must finish what remains for the rest, so that your fame may be greater still and so that no barbarian will hereafter begin doing reckless deeds against the Greeks. [3] When Leonidas was killed at Thermopylae, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head and set it on a pole; make them a like return, and you will win praise from all Spartans and the rest of Hellas besides. For if you impale Mardonius, you will be avenged for your father’s brother Leonidas.’

[79] This is what Lampon, thinking to please, said. Pausanias, however, answered him as follows: ‘Aeginetan, I thank you for your goodwill and forethought, but you have missed the mark of right judgment. First you exalt me and my fatherland and my deeds, yet next you cast me down to mere nothingness when you advise me to insult the dead, and say that I shall win more praise if I do so. That would be an act more proper for barbarians than for Greeks and one that we consider worthy of censure even in barbarians. [2] No, as for

myself, I would prefer to find no favour either with the people of Aegina or anyone else who is pleased by such acts. It is enough for me if I please the Spartans by righteous deeds and speech. As for Leonidas, whom you would have me avenge [*timôrein*], I think that he has received a full measure of vengeance [*timôreisthai*]; the uncounted souls of these that you see have done honour [*timan*] to him and the rest of those who died at Thermopylae. But to you this is my warning: do not come again to me with words like these nor give me such counsel. Be thankful now that you go unpunished.'

**26. 'Excessive *timôriai* are subject to divine resentment'** ([Pheretime] ζώουσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἐξέξεσε, ὡς ἄρα ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ τιμωραὶ πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται, 4.205).

**27. 'Every unjust man will pay back *tisis*'** (οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσει, Hipparchus' dream, 5.56.1); cf. (e.g.) 2.120.5 (destruction of Troy is, according to narrative, divine *timôria* for a great *adikêma*); 3.127.1–3 (Darius exacts *tisis* for Oroetes' *adikêmata* and *hybris*, but this is also *tisis* – not part of Darius' motivation at all – for Oroetes' murder and crucifixion of Polycrates). Cf. Hermotimus' *tisis* of Panionius: 'the greatest *tisis* for *adikia*' of which Herodotus has ever heard (8.105.1); for Hermotimus himself the gods themselves have delivered Panionius to him for retribution (*dikê*, 8.106.3), so that, for Herodotus, it was 'both *tisis* and Hermotimus' that overtook Panionius (8.106.4).

## 28. Natural order:

### 3.108–9:

[108.3] Somehow the forethought of God (just as is reasonable) being wise has made all creatures prolific that are timid and edible, so that they do not become extinct through being eaten, whereas few young are born to hardy and vexatious creatures. [...]

[109] So too if the vipers and the winged serpents of Arabia were born in the natural manner of serpents life would be impossible for men; but as it is, when they copulate, while the male is in the act of procreation and as soon as he has ejaculated his seed, the female seizes him by the neck, and does not let go until she has bitten through. [2] The male dies in the way described, but the female pays in return the following *tisis* to the male: avenging [*timôrein*] their father, the young while they are still within the womb gnaw at their mother and eating through her bowels thus make their way out. [3] Other snakes, that do no harm to men, lay eggs and hatch out a vast number of young. The Arabian winged serpents do indeed seem to be numerous; but that is because (although there are vipers in every land) these are all in Arabia and are found nowhere else.

Cf. **Anaximander B 1 DK** (= Simplic. *Phys.* 24.13):

'Anaximander said that the *apeiron* is the origin of things that exist. But whence things have their coming to be, thither too their passing away must occur, according to necessity. For they pay the penalty and *tisis* to each other for their injustice, in accordance with the order of time.'

### Select bibliography

- Cairns, D. L. (1993) *Aidôs: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature*, Oxford.  
 Cairns, D. L. (1996) 'Hybris, Dishonour, and Thinking Big', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 116: 1–32.  
 Cairns, D. L. (2003) 'The Politics of Envy: Envy and Equality in Ancient Greece', in D. Konstan and K. Rutter (eds), *Envy, Spite, and Jealousy: The Rivalrous Emotions in Ancient Greece*, Edinburgh, 235–52.  
 Cairns, D. L. (2011) 'Honour and Shame: Modern Controversies and Ancient Values.' *Critical Quarterly* 53: 1–19.  
 Darwall, S. (1977) 'Two Kinds of Respect.' *Ethics*, 88: 36–49.  
 Fisher, N. R. E. (2002) 'Popular Morality in Herodotus', in E. J. Bakker, I. J. F. de Jong, and H. van Wees (eds), *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*, Leiden, 199–224.  
 Froehlich, S. (2013) *Handlungsmotive bei Herodot*, Stuttgart.  
 Goffman, E. (1967) *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face to Face Behavior*, New York.  
 Gould, J. (1989) *Herodotus*, London.  
 Harrison, T. E. (2000) *Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus*, Oxford.  
 Hartog, F. (1988) *The Mirror of Herodotus*, Berkeley and LA.  
 Immerwahr, H. R. (1966) *Form and Thought in Herodotus*, Cleveland.  
 Lateiner, D. A. (1989) *The Historical Method of Herodotus*, Ann Arbor.  
 Lloyd-Jones, H. (1983) *The Justice of Zeus?* Berkeley and LA.  
 MacDowell, D. M. (1986) *Spartan Law*, Edinburgh.  
 Macleod, C. W. (1982) 'Politics and the *Oresteia*', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 102: 124–44.  
 Munson, R. V. (2001) *Telling Wonders: Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Work of Herodotus*, Ann Arbor.  
 Romm, J. (2006) 'Herodotus and the Natural World', in C. Dewald and J. Marincola (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus*, Cambridge, 178–91.  
 Scullion, S. (2006) 'Herodotus and Greek Religion', in C. Dewald and J. Marincola (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus*, Cambridge, 192–208.  
 Van Wees, H. (1992) *Status Warriors: War, Violence, and Society in Homer and History*, Amsterdam.