

**'Romantic poet-sage of history':
Herodotus and his Arion in the long 19th Century**

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This article uses the figure of Arion, the lyric poet from Methymna whose story is told early in Herodotus' *Histories*, to explore the adoption of Herodotus, in the long 19th century, as the 'Romantic poet-sage of History'. This is the title bestowed upon him by the Anglican priest and hymn-writer John Ernest Bode, who in 1853 adapted tales from Herodotus into old English and Scottish ballad forms.¹ Herodotus was seen as the prose avatar of poets—of medieval balladeers, lyric singers, epic bards, and even authors of verse drama. These configurations of Herodotus are cast into sharp relief by comparing them with his previous incarnation, in the Early Modern and earlier 18th century, as a writer who most strongly resembled a novelist. Isaac Littlebury, Herodotus' 1709 translator, was attracted to the historian for the simple reason that in 1701 he had enjoyed success with a previous translation. But the earlier work was certainly not a translation of an ancient historian. Littlebury had translated Fénelon's *Télémaque*, a work of fantasy fiction derived ultimately from the *Posthomerica*, perhaps better described as a novel combing a rites-of-passage theme with an exciting travelogue.²

Herodotus-the-novelist did not disappear altogether in the 19th century; one of his most revealing Victorian receptions occurred, in 1855, when he was turned himself into the hero of a travelogue combined with semi-fictionalised biography, J. Talboys Wheeler's two-volume *The Life and Travels of Herodotus in the Fifth Century before Christ; an Imaginary Biography based on Fact* (1855). This is an intriguing attempt to use the form of the French novel, stiffened with what is claimed are intensive researches in rigorous British and German classical scholarship, to produce a work both entertaining and instructive, or (to use the ancient critical vocabulary), both

hēdu/dulce and *ōphelimon/utile*. In his 'Preface', Wheeler says he has used Grote, Thirlwall, Müller, Heeren, Rawlinson, Fergusson, Wachsmuth, Becker and Jacobs, the dictionaries of William Smith, and Mr Rich's *Illustrated Companion to the Greek Lexicon and Latin Dictionary*.³ But the more telling sentence records that he 'might likewise name the "Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece," by the Abbé Barthelemy; but, though he partly taken the idea of the present biography from that celebrated performance, yet he has borrowed none of its materials.'⁴ The 'celebrated performance' which he is imitating is the four-volume canonical French fictional work Enlightenment ethnography, *Voyage du jeune Anarcharsis en Grèce*, published shortly before the French revolution, in 1787.

Wheeler's Preface rewards careful reading. He makes it clear that his intended audience consists of young children, and that he has endeavoured to 'clean up' Herodotus morally for young minds. Indeed, he has taken pains to keep the Old Testament antecedents of the Christian religion firmly on his young audience's horizon:

The present work is an attempt to give in popular form a complete survey of the principal nations of the ancient world as they were in the days of Pericles and Nehemiah. With this view, the author has written an imaginary biography of Herodotus, the Greek historian and geographer, who flourished in the fifth century before Christ... Such a work is peculiarly open to criticism. The author's anxious desire to render it as popular as possible has led him to take such freedoms as may probably be censured by the severer scholar. He has taken Herodotus to Persepolis and Jerusalem, and brought him into contact with Nehemiah, for the sake of connecting the sacred history of the world with the profane. He /p.vi/has been compelled to throw a thick veil over the dark vices of the ancient world that he might fit his book for general perusal.... He can, however, declare that he has

conscientiously laboured to compile such an introduction to ancient history as should both amuse and instruct the general reader, and lead him to the study of that higher class of historical, geographical, and critical works which has yet he may not have had the courage to undertake. In a word, the author has sought to clear ancient history from the dust of the schools, and teach it in shady playgrounds and flowery gardens.⁵

The identity of the 'general reader' whom Wheeler wants, through his 'popular' book, to encourage to study a 'higher class' of works, is explicitly male. Yet the last phrase—the 'flowery gardens'—surely insinuates an image of a fond mama or governess reading to her young charges. I think Wheeler is implying that Herodotus, at least when shorn of all references to camel's genitals, castration and homosexuality, is safe reading for both women and children in Christian nurseries. The list of headings and sub-sections which follows the Preface adds another inducement: the promise of occasional humour. Herodotus will be taken in the course of this docufiction to a symposium at Corinth, where he will reside at the 'nautical Tavern of the Golden Fleece', and participate in an episode where the question at issue will be 'Boeotian eels better than Black Puddings?'⁶

Having taken note of Wheeler's perception of Herodotus as suitable for children and women of the Christian religion, and potentially comedic, we can begin to explore the Halicarnassian's pervasive 19th-century association with poetry. This was not, technically speaking, a late Georgian or Victorian innovation; rather, it represented a revival, replacing the earlier, Enlightenment, novelistic Herodotus, of the very ancient conceptual links binding Herodotus with literature in *verse*. In antiquity, Herodotus was often discussed in language which suggested that his *Histories* possessed qualities which made them resemble poetry. Aristotle, when attempting to draw a firm distinction between the content of history and the

content of poetry, imagines a metrical version of Herodotus with little difficulty (*Poetics* 9.1451b2). Heracleodorus said, 'The works of Demosthenes and Xenophon are "poems", and even more so those of Herodotus, though each of these is a prose-writer according to the convention'.⁷ Aelius Aristides cited Herodotus as an example of a history-writer 'between the poets and the orators' (28.68). Some of the mythical traditions preserved in Herodotus already informed tragedy in the 5th century BC, good examples being the manner in which his description of the Taurians of the Black Sea informs Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, and the resurfacing of his Salamis scenes in Timotheus' dithyrambic *Persians*.⁸ Episodes from Herodotus were adapted into tragic dialogue, evidenced by the fragment of a play about Gyges and Candaules, and strongly suggested by titles such as Moschion's *Themistocles*.⁹ The great Hellenistic scholar Aristarchus chose Herodotus' text as the basis of the first known commentary on any *prose* author, and his rival Hellanicus the Grammarian lectured on Herodotus; Alexandrian poems in all kinds of genres, with their geographical and aetiological obsessions, were deeply influenced by Herodotus.¹⁰ His *Histories* also informed Hellenistic and Imperial prose genres, some of which were produced primarily for the entertainment of their consumers rather than their historical instruction—one example is provided by the escapist ancient novel's oriental backdrops and descriptions of marvels.

Herodotus' perceived poeticism, and susceptibility to adaptation into other genres and media, were fundamental to his *Histories*' reception in the long 19th century. The poeticism and protean quality played a significant role in perpetuating the assumption that Herodotus was somehow lightweight and unreliable as a historian, at least when compared, as he so routinely was, with the Athenian historiographer Thucydides. After some general observations on the type of language conventionally used about Herodotus in Victorian poetry, my case study of the specific receptions of the story of Arion (here mostly confined to British receptions) will explore how one of the embedded tales in Herodotus fared in contexts beyond the Academy and amongst

social groups very different from male undergraduates reading him in Greek at universities, or male academics labouring at learned translations and histories or topographies of the ancient Mediterranean worlds. The case is argued that we need to take Herodotus' 'unserious' reception seriously. His appeal to poets and women, association with children, apparent ability to be accommodated to Christianity, as well as his adaptability into diverse genres, as light as musical comedy and burlesque, meant that his overall influence and depth of cultural penetration in the 19th century were far more substantial than those of Thucydides. The one constituency which represents an exception to this rule is the educated men who had received extensive exposure to the *History of the Peloponnesian War* as part of the elite curriculum.

It is difficult to imagine a late Georgian, Victorian or Edwardian sonnet delivered in the voice of Thucydides. But a significant way in which Herodotus' presence is felt in the 19th century is as an avatar of the poet's lyric sensibility and consciousness. A series of poems entitled 'Tales from Herodotus' was published in 1868 by Robert Lytton, who chose on this occasion to use his own name rather than his usual poetic pseudonym Owen Meredith. The series opens with a 'Prelude', a lyric poem written in a first-person voice which seems to merge the consciousness of the Victorian author-poet with that of Herodotus the narrator:

With fancies that, like phantoms, near
 The bodies of long-buried men,
Whose bones are dust, whose spirits are air,
Whose dwellings are the days that were,--
 The sins that will not rise again,--
A bark, dream-built to drift along
The tides of other times, I throng;

And, helmless, here and there am blown
Beyond my will, by the Power of Song...¹¹

The 'I' here, suspended until the seventh line in the sentence, is the narrator of the poem, blown like a ship without a captain. He has little control over his verbal output. A less appropriate congener of Herodotus it may seem difficult to conceive today, in the 21st century, when his role in the Anatolian intellectual vanguard and his controlled literary craft have begun to be properly appreciated.¹² But several of the key terms in the romantic poets' vocabulary of self-definition—especially 'phantoms,' and 'fancy' as a code-word for 'imaginative capacity'—create an unmistakable image of a poetic bard-historian on the tracks of the long-dead of the 'days that were', at the mercy of buffeting winds of lyric inspiration—the 'Power of Song.'

The image of the lyric Herodotus emerged in the late 18th century, but came fully into his own during the 19th, when his Victorian translator Canon George Rawlinson subscribed to the view that Herodotus, rather than writing skilful prose, disgorged 'a spontaneous outpouring'.¹³ One factor in this characterisation of Herodotus was that the self-contained narratives (especially those perceived as most mythical and 'naïve'), so attractively embedded by Herodotus in his work, were jumped upon by Romantic poets rediscovering oral traditions. A notable example is Schiller's catchy ballad *Der Ring des Polykrates* (1798), which was repeatedly set to be sung to music and translated very soon into English.

One of the first such embedded narratives in the *Histories* (I.23-4), and one particularly beloved of poets because it featured the life-story of a poet, was the story of the supposed inventor of the dithyramb, Arion of Methymna in Lesbos. August Wilhelm von Schlegel's 'Romanze' *Arion*, an upbeat, atmospheric 23-stanza ballad, was set to music by Gottlob Bachmann in 1803.¹⁴ This Schlegel, the brother of the important Romantic poet Karl Friedrich

Schlegel, was a highly respected literary figure, whose famous lectures on drama were translated into English and read by every serious school or university



student of poetry or drama.¹⁵ It may have been Schlegel's *Romanze* (evidence of the high popularity of Arion amongst the German Romantics¹⁶), quite as much as Herodotus book I's important place in place on the school classical curriculum,¹⁷ which made Arion's story familiar enough to be

referenced in British political cartoons. See, for example, this satirical print by John Doyle showing Prime Minister Robert Peel as Arion, escaping the wrath of his own backbench MPs (the crewmen) with the help of a school of dolphins, representing prominent members of the Anti-Corn-Law League (1844).

It is scarcely surprising that the arresting figure of the *Ur*-lyricist, who sings as he plunges into the waves, made such an impression on John Ruskin. His poem 'The Last Song of Arion' was written in 1841 when the impressionable and rather neurasthenic young Englishman was only 22. He introduced the poem by saying that he had sent Arion to Sicily with Herodotus, but preferred to send him straight home (the account he found in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* 8), and bypass the Corinthian episode. In Ruskin's poem, Arion, still stranded at sea, contemplates his poetic vocation, his lost love, his lost homeland, and his mortality. He expresses his subjective aesthetics in by now conventional Romantic terms of the elements and the Aegean seascape. The journey on the dolphin's back, in the alternative, turbulent element of the seawater, is a narrative equivalent of the poet's experience as he journeys through the transcendent moment of lyric creativity. Here, for example, Ruskin's Arion addresses the ocean winds:

I heard ye murmur through the Etnæan caves,

When joyful dawn had touched the topmost dome;---
I saw ye light, along the mountain waves
Far to the east, your beacon-fires of foam,
And deemed ye rose to bear your weary minstrel home.
Home? it shall be that home indeed,
Where tears attend and shadows lead
The steps of man's return;
Home! woe is me, no home I need,
Except the urn.¹⁸

The poems of Robert Browning, similarly, are suffused with Herodotean resonances, and include, in 'Fifine at the Fair,' an important appropriation of Arion as archetype of the figure of the sexually and aesthetically liberated poet-prophet.¹⁹

Herodotus himself is never explicitly figured in such an aesthetically or sexually avant-garde a light as his embedded dithyrambic avatar. He tended to be discussed in language which domesticated him and presented him as both anodyne and cosy. The 'family-friendly' Herodotus is typified in another early Victorian poem, published just three years after Ruskin's 'The Last Song of Arion', by Henry Ellison, eminent churchman and temperance campaigner:

Herodotus, old, chatty, neighboursome,
And naive companion: of thine antique tale
The primitive, rich colors grow not pale
Or dim, though of its mythic graces some
Time has disproved, and others have become
Too simple for an age that holds all stale,
Flat, and unprofitable, of no avail,

Without immediate uses---yet, though dumb
Thy picturesque, old language, long outworn,
And spoken now by none of woman born,
Thy work, like some naive, early fresco, keeps
Its first, quaint charm---its feelings, fresh as morn:
Its mythic flowers, whose roots are in the deeps
Of Truth: and from which, though they seem t' adorn
Alone, deep, inward meanings Wisdom reaps!²⁰

This Herodotus is discussed in Shakespearean blank verse and poetic diction strongly reminiscent of famous speeches in Shakespeare ('stale/Flat, and unprofitable' echoes *Hamlet* Act I scene 2, 133). But he is garrulous, open to approach and accessible—*neighboursome*. He is as familiar not only as the national Bard but as the proverbial old man 'who lives next door'. His work is an 'antique tale', 'primitive' in its rich colouring; some of it has been 'disproved' as myth. It is 'naïve', like 'an early fresco', but 'quaint' in its charm and is the vehicle for a kind of 'Truth' and 'Wisdom'—key terms in Victorian Christian moral self-fashioning.

The easy slippage for Christian poets between the figure of Herodotus and the figure of Arion is apparent when we turn from Ellison's domesticated Herodotus, with his capacity for proto-Christian truth and wisdom, to the blank-verse 'Arion' of Henry Alford (1810-1871, churchman, hymn-writer, Herodotus scholar, and Homeric translator). Alford intuitively thinks of Arion when enquiring into the relationship between the beauty of nature and moral virtue—in this case love and 'inward gentleness'.²¹

Not song, nor beauty, nor the wondrous power
Of the clear sky, nor stream, nor mountain glen,

Nor the wide Ocean, turn the hearts of men
To love, nor give the world-embracing dower
Of inward gentleness: up from the bed
Blest by chaste beauty, men have risen to blood,
And life hath perished in the flowery wood,
And the poor traveller beneath starlight bled.
Thus that musician, in his wealth of song
Pouring his numbers, even with the sound
Swimming around them, would the heartless throng
Have thrust unto his death; but with a bound
Spurning the cursed ship, he sought the wave,
And Nature's children did her poet save.

The 'chaste beauty' of the natural world, landscape and seascape, is sadly not sufficient to inculcate the Christian virtues of love and gentleness in humankind. But in a soteriological parable, Alford sees the 'children' of Nature—dolphins—as exemplifying these virtues while they save Arion, in contrast with the corrupted bloodlust and of the 'heartless throng' of sailors who threatened his life.

A bard-like Herodotus, rather than Arion's dolphins, but similarly figured as a prophet of Christian values, provides the climax to Martin Farquhar Tupper's mid-Victorian sonnet 'Herodotus'. This addresses the 'eldest historian' in a rapturously appreciative second person singular, and imagines him injecting the breath of proto-Christian virtues into his 'modest narratives', with 'sweet simplicity', while reciting his *Histories* at the festival of Zeus at Olympia:

Olympia, with her festal multitude,
Beheld thy triumph first, in glad acclaim
Hailing thy nascent dawn of endless fame,
Eldest historian, --while Jove's sacred wood
And vocal statue sounded out thy name,
As gather'd Græcia's all of wise and good
Inscribed upon those modest narratives
The hallowed titles of the classic Nine:
For, sweet simplicity through every line,
With graphic phrase and talent, breathes and lives,---
Truth, tolerance, pow'r, and patience, these are thine:
And let not pedants to thy blame recall
That thy fresh mind such ready credence gives,
For thou art Charity, believing all.²²

Herodotus possesses the signal virtues of Truth, tolerance, and patience. But he also comes almost to embody the great Christian principle of Charity, displayed in his willingness to give credence to all kinds of data and narratives. Tupper confronts head-on the conventional criticisms of Herodotus as a historian, which centred on the characteristic usually denigrated as 'unreliability' or 'credulity'. This becomes, for Tupper, an exemplary Christian virtue: Herodotus is *charitable* towards the versions of history which he has heard from others.

Yet Tupper's poem also achieves a strange fusion of Christian moral sensibility with the key early Romantic trope of the performing oral bard (informed above all by the Celtic revival), British Philhellenism, and Gothic style.²³ In one sense it is a Herodotean and Victorian successor

to Collins' Druidic temple of freedom in the British woodland, allegorically also representing the renewal of English poetry ('Ode to Liberty', 1746):

In Gothic pride it seems to rise,
Yet Graecia's graceful orders join
Majestic through the mixed design.

Making connections between ancient Britons and ancient Greeks had, in the mid-18th century, seemed appropriate since Britain was opposing Rome's descendants in the 'ancient regimes' of Europe. The most influential text, although now neglected, was a musical drama by William Mason entitled *Caractacus* (1776). This hit used the form of *Greek* tragedy to stage the defiance of ancient Britons of Anglesey, complete with a chorus of druids and bards, against the Romans. Audiences were enticed into the theatre by the scenery painter Nicholas Dall's depiction of Mona. The chorus performed rites to the 'immortal strains' of pseudo-Hellenic harp-strumming bards. The play left unresolved the tension between the early British and Roman ways of life. *Caractacus* embodies a superior spirituality, and an admirable independence.²⁴

The success of *Caractacus* was partly a result of the mid-eighteenth-century craze for druids, and the festivals and rites they were believed to have held in ancient stone circles at Stonehenge, Avebury, and Anglesey. The craze was complemented by an interest in musical traditions believed to be inherited from the ancient Celtic bards. Just as Homeric scholars in the 1930s were enthralled to discover the epic singing of the Muslim guslars of Serbia, so Mason's friend Thomas Gray was affected by a blind Welsh harper called John Parry; he wrote to Mason in 1757, while he was working on *Caractacus*, that Parry's 'ravishing blind harmony, such tunes of a thousand years old...have set all this learned body a-dancing'.²⁵ Gray was inspired by Parry to complete his visionary poem *The Bard* (1757), on the theme of Edward I's alleged

extermination of the Welsh bards. Another friend of Mason who combined Greek and druidical interests, William Whitehead, produced a version of old Welsh verses, *The Battle of Argoed Llwfain*, scored for harp, harpsichord, violin, or flute; this trend culminated in a popular scoring of Welsh songs supposedly derived from ancient bards. Paintings and engravings of Gray's bard, imagined to be pouring out lyric effusions and chronicles of olden times, were extremely fashionable.

The most important factor in the fusion of classical and ancient British revivalism, which eventually resulted in Herodotus being imagined as akin to the already familiar figure of the rapturous Celtic bard, was the stir caused by James Macpherson's 'translations' of old Gaelic poetry in the 1760s, culminating in *The Works of Ossian, Son of Fingal* in 1765. The debate over



the authenticity of these works, which began almost as soon as they appeared, long obscured their importance as a cultural phenomenon.

But recent scholarship has reinstated Macpherson as a seminal influence on the Romantic poets and British cultural life in general.²⁶

The vogue for Mason's plays had consequences more important than the plays themselves. The plays were translated into both ancient

Greek and Latin, making the reputation of at least one 'Grecian' at Oxford. Moreover, the druidical chorus remained popular. John Fisher's *Masque of the Druids*, complete with a Greek-style chorus, was a long-running success at Covent Garden. James Boaden's chorus of bards in *Cambro-Britons* enjoyed a run in 1798 at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket: Act III scene 5, set on Snowdon, dramatizes Gray's *The Bard*. As late as 1808 a balletic version of Caractacus was performed at Drury Lane. It opened on Mona with a 'Grecian' chorus of harp-strumming bards, and concluded with another bardic chorus singing defiantly in the Roman forum.

We have seen how the bard-like Herodotus, understood in part by reference to the pre-existing imagery of the early British bard, was sometimes conceptually elided with Arion, the

singer of Methymna whose story features early in the *Histories* (I.23-4). Rawlinson's translation of the episode begins as follows:

This Periander, who apprised Thrasybulus of the oracle, was son of Cypselus, and tyrant of Corinth. In his time a very wonderful thing [θῶμα μέγιστον] is said to have happened. The Corinthians and the Lesbians agree in their account of the matter. They relate that Arion of Methymna, who as a player on the harp, was second to no man living at that time, and who was, so far as we know, the first to invent the dithyrambic measure, to give it its name, and to recite in it at Corinth, was carried to Taenarum on the back of a dolphin...

This story was often cited as the ultimate test-case of Herodotean veracity. If it could be believed that Arion really had taken a ride on a dolphin, then many other episodes in Herodotus which, at first sight, seem more akin to folktale than 'scientific' historiography, might have to be taken seriously. The dolphin issue clearly troubled some 19th-century scholars resident far inland, who felt the need to *demonstrate* that the dolphin-ride was scientifically impossible. Karl Klement's Vienna dissertation on Arion, in 1898, argued earnestly that Arion's ride on the dolphin cannot be regarded as historical. Although he admits that some people in antiquity may have believed that such a feat was possible, Klement feels the need to emphasise that the dolphin is really 'eine gefräßige wilde Bestie' and so could not be ridden. Nevertheless, he could not responsibly exclude the possibility that the dolphin ride should be regarded as a 'bildliche Einkleidung des historischen Factums.'²⁷

If the story of Arion's ride on the dolphin could not be regarded as serious history, or more likely *because* it could not be regarded as serious history, it was seized on by publishers exploiting the new market for children's books on classical themes. This market had opened up dramatically in the first decade of the 19th century with William Godwin's *Aesop, Fables*,

Ancient and Modern, Adapted for the use of Children from Three and Eight Years of Age, which first appeared in 1805, under the pseudonym of Edward Baldwin.²⁸ It was followed swiftly by Charles Lamb's *The Adventures of Ulysses* (1808), written with the help of his sister Mary Lamb.²⁹ The story of Arion offered both an animal interest (like Aesop's *Fables*) and the theme of the sea voyage (like the *Odyssey*), and occurred obligingly early in Herodotus' *Histories*. This made it a perfect choice as the opener in any collection of Herodotean tales excerpted for children, and indeed provided perfect subject-matter for an attractive frontispiece. Take the pleasing engraved frontispiece from the 1847 *Stories from Herodotus* by Charles Moberly, who takes care to assure parents who might be persuaded to purchase the book that he is at Balliol College, Oxford, and that Herodotus could offer moral improvement to Christian children.³⁰

Half a century later, a similar collection was published simultaneously in London and New York, *Wonder Stories from Herodotus*, with decorative illustrations by H. Granville Fell. It contains six stories, 'Arion and the Dolphin', 'Ladronius Prince of Thieves', 'The dream of Astyages', 'The story of Croesus', 'The conspiracy of the Magi', and 'The story of Polycrates of Samos'. They may focus on wonders, but they are conspicuously censored: in Astyages' dream, for example, Mandane does not urinate but is, more aesthetically, transformed into a river. The story of Arion, once again, is selected to entice the purchaser or reader as the subject-matter of the frontispiece, 'Arion sings on the prow of the ship.'³¹ In this collection, the retelling of the Arion story reveals signs of its authors' Christianity-related epistemological anxiety about Herodotus. It stresses the issue of truth and lies and whether it is important to distinguish between them.

Periander, rather bizarrely, is characterised as a kindly father figure who takes an interest in a poor orphaned goat-herd named Arion. The important point is that Periander is shown, in the gentlest fatherly manner, accusing Aron of telling fibs: 'Are you so little satisfied with your victories over the musicians, Arion, that you have determined to be king of story-tellers also?'³²

The issue of whether Arion was telling the truth or a story is left unresolved; when the sailors turn up, and say Arion is still in Italy, Periander reveals Arion to them. They think he is a ghost and are terrified. Arion now assumes the moral high ground, by persuading Periander to show mercy and let them go. The story concludes: 'And lest any man should doubt the truth of the story in time to come, Arion erected at Taenarus a statue in bronze, representing a man riding on a dolphin's back.'³³ The reader is left with two alternative interpretations to ponder. Perhaps Arion really was saved by some kind of proto-Christian miracle, in a 'wonder story' as promised by the book's title, in order to carry on doing good in the world. Or perhaps he did tell lies about how he survived, but his culpability was ameliorated by his generosity and mercy towards the sailors: questionable means to achieve virtuous ends. Arion's tale has been successfully transformed into quite a complicated lesson in morality for the very young.

The perceived suitability of Arion's tale, as a story about a story-teller, to preface or introduce collections of reading matter for children, is also evidenced in much more encyclopaedic children's books than selections from Herodotus alone. The story, perceived as being somehow 'programmatically' to Herodotus' *Histories*, had an 'inaugural' quality in relation to western myth and history as much more widely defined. Thus when James Johonnot compiled his *Stories of the Olden Time* for the American Book Company in 1889, he divided the (hi)stories of the west into five sections, covering prehistory to the Battle of Agincourt, with a different noun to describe the type of 'documentation' in each section. The nouns show Johonnot struggling at the limits of definition of historical account and evidence; he sections confuse distinctions between pagan and Christian tales, between myth and history, and between western and eastern geopolitical zones.

The first group was labelled 'Myths', and included Greek and Norse narratives: Arion, Arachne, Polyphemus, Ulysses' Return, and Thor's Visit to Jotunheim. Section 2, 'Parables and Fables', combined Aesopic and New Testament material. Section 3, 'Legends', consists

dominantly of tales of northern European medieval monarchs such as Canute and Macbeth. Section 4 consists of just two items labelled 'Old Ballads', one of which is *Chevy Chase*, an ancient English narrative poem possibly based on historical events which took place in the 14th century. From medieval ballads, the next section loops back vertiginously to the 'Early Eastern Record', incorporating Sennacharib, the Assyrian king of the early 7th century BC, Herodotus' Cyrus, Alexander the Great and Judas Maccabeus. Then comes the more factual-sounding 'Roman Record', taking the reader from Livy's Tarquin to the death of Julius Caesar, and the 'Medieval Record,' covering the 'historical' conversion to Christianity of the English, the Moors in Spain, and Charlemagne. The final section, 'Western Record', tries to explain the moment when authentic, reliable history begins; it is shortly before the arrival of Norman the Conqueror in England, climaxing in Magna Charta, Cressy and Agincourt. All of eastern, Greek, Roman and western 'myths', 'fables', 'legends', and 'records' are thus presented as leading to the emergence of reliable 'history' in time to record the triumph of England over France under Henry V. But the precedent for this entire process was set, according to this history of stories, or story of histories, by Arion's *Ur*-leap from the prow into the Mediterranean Sea. His story thus becomes the originating myth of historiography, the earliest ancestor of factual accounts of the human past. To underscore its antique and ancestral status, Johonnot retells the story of Arion in the kind of archaising patois, reminiscent of the King James bible, customary amongst translators of Herodotus in the 19th century: Arion 'dwelt' at the court of Periander; Periander 'besought' him to stay in Corinth; Arion responded, 'A talent which a god bestowed upon me I would fain make a source of pleasure to others.' Any child in doubt of the high antiquity of the story of Arion would have been left in no doubt at the end of this laboured and wordy retelling.

We shall return to the notion of Arion as the originating figure in the history of proto-history in later paragraphs, when we come to consider George Eliot's poetry. But before we leave the presence of Herodotus in literature for young children, it is important to note that this

presence must have been related to the perceived suitability of his more fantastic tales, most of them occurring in the earlier books, as a medium for teaching Greek to boys in the middle forms at school. One influential mid-Victorian textbook makes this perception explicit. It is the work of the Revd. E. St. John Parry, then a teacher at a minor public school near Warwick, Leamington College for Boys (he subsequently became the headmaster of a school near Slough). It is entitled *Reges et Heroes; or, Kings and Heroes of Greece and the East: A Selection of Tales from Herodotus. With Notes for the Use of Schools* (1862). In his 'Introduction', Parry explains that he has produced the book because there is a problem with teaching ancient Greek to the 'middle forms' Greek. Xenophon's *Anabasis* is not interesting enough and the *Cyropaedia*, 'worthless as history', has lighter parts regarded by boys as 'silly'.³⁴ Parry has therefore selected tales from Herodotus which he thinks are both simple and entertaining, but also 'full of poetry', allowing the reader to imbibe 'something of the grace and epical tone which animates the poetry of Greece'.³⁵ He has confined himself 'to that portion of Herodotus which may be fairly considered as a Fairy Land, where Truth is no doubt to be met with, but under the guise of Fiction; and I would rather leave the rest for that mature period of study, when the later Books of Herodotus will be read for the sake of, and as a portion of, Greek History.'³⁶ Indeed, he has deliberately avoided the later books of Herodotus because that would 'spoil for after reading the Great Tale of the Persian War'.³⁷ This is his 'Contents' page:

- 1 Rhampsinitus
- 2 Arion
- 3 Periander and Lycophron
- 4 Glaucus
- 5 Amasis
- 6 Croesus and Solon
- 7 Atys and Adrastus
- 8 Cyrus' birth and youth
- 9 Cyrus gains the throne
- 10 Taking of Sardes [sic]
- 11 Capture of Babylon
- 12 Death of Cyrus
- 13 Psammenitus
- 14 Madness of Cambyses

15	Polycrates' Ring
16	Intaphernes
17	Death of Oroetes
19	Demokedes
20	Syloson
21	Zopyrus

All these stories come from the first three books of Herodotus. If read in Greek in such selections, these offered a transitional step between the 'Fairy Land' Herodotus, consumed in the nursery in English paraphrase, and the Herodotus of 'real' history—narratives about empires and battles and the defence of Greece against Persian invasions, which are suitable for older boys in the upper forms at school and young men at university. But the transitions from fairyland to history, childhood to adulthood, and English to ancient Greek, are paralleled by a transition from the 'poetic' (broadly conceived) and the 'prosaic'. All except the first five of his tales, he says, although in prose, 'may be read as a continuous epic tale, or rather as cantos of one epic'.³⁸

In the ordering of his Herodotean excerpts, Parry does, however, make one significant alteration which shows him hoping to wean schoolboys away from 'literary' and mythical thinking towards empirical and rational history. He has attempted to rewrite events from Herodotus' first three books in their 'true' chronological order. This means, most importantly, that he has put the story of Rampsinit from the Egyptian *logos* in book II ahead of the story of Arion, because he calculates it must have taken place earlier. Arion's foundational status, in both Herodotus and the books for young children, is here challenged in the name of something approximating to scientific history.

In chapter 48 of George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871), the Greek-language curriculum that Edward Casaubon sets for Dorothea includes Herodotus' account of the Persian king Cyrus: he is perhaps treating his wife like a boy in a middle form. Although her intellectual accomplishments, knowledge of ancient Greek, scandalous domestic arrangements and masculine *nom-de-plume* mean that she is hardly typical of Victorian womanhood, Eliot's

interest in the figure of Arion is indeed symptomatic of the perceived accessibility of Herodotus to women in the 19th century. British women touring the empire felt able to compare their travelogues with those of Herodotus, for example F.D. Bridges in her *Journal of a Lady's Travels Round the World* (1883). Agnata Butler (née Ramsay), who read 'a great deal of Greek' with her much older husband (the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge) on her honeymoon, presented him in 1892 with her school edition of Herodotus VII; I doubt if she would have felt entitled to edit Thucydides. The preface to Lucy Snowe's *Croesus: A Classical Play* (1903) explains that it is designed for staging in both girls' and boys' schools where the pupils 'have neither time nor talent to read Herodotus in the original.'

Eliot's own poetry is generally considered inferior to her novels, and somewhat pedestrian, but she used the medium, especially in the poems written shortly before and after *Middlemarch*, to reflect on the responsibility of the artist and writer to herself and society—on her own literary vocation. In 'Arion' (April 1873), the *Ur*-author, Arion, is not in fact rescued; the poem ends with his defiant, art-affirming but life-annihilating leap into the beyond:

In flowing stole, his eyes aglow
With inward fire, he neared the prow
And took his god-like stand,
The cithara in hand.

The wolfish men all shrank aloof,
And feared this singer might be proof
Against their murderous power,
After his lyric hour.

But he, in liberty of song,
Fearless of death or other wrong,
With full spondaic toll
Poured forth his mighty soul:

Poured forth the strain his dream had taught,

A nome with lofty passion fraught

Such as makes battles won

On fields of Marathon.

The last long vowels trembled then

As awe within those wolfish men:

They said, with mutual stare,

Some god was present there.

But lo! Arion leaped on high

Ready, his descant done, to die;

Not asking, "Is it well?"

Like a pierced eagle fell.³⁹

Feminist critics have seen in 'Aron' the artistic autobiography of Eliot—Mary Ann Evans—herself: the leap of Arion marks the moment when she abandoned the guilt and societal pressures which blocked her creativity and allowed her to 'take the plunge' into the waters of professional writing.⁴⁰ But Eliot also sees Arion's step towards 'liberty' in terms of a 'lofty passion' of the type that made 'battles won/ On fields of Marathon.' This reminds her reader of the later books of Herodotus, Arion's original biographer. They contain the 'real history' of the Persian Wars,

which, it is implied, is equivalent to the heavyweight 'adult' discourse which she, the feminine equivalent of the poet-sage, has aspired to create in her own prose works. The striking image also allows her to imply that the heroic quest for real freedom, on which her literary career has taken her, is motivated by the inspirational love of freedom displayed by the Greeks at Marathon.

It was probably Eliot's poem which prompted the Edwardian poetess Kitty Balbernie to write 'Arion of Lesbos', an implicitly Christian reading of the tale.⁴¹ It opens,

Still corn grows ripe in Lesbos, still bloom grapes
On purple Lesbos in the Aegean sea;
But no man counts the harvests since that time
When young Arion sailed for Italy;
Arion, her true son, at his youth's prime.

Balbernie implies that Arion achieved immortality because he 'sang in the face of death' and some say he was brought to wild Taenarus, because 'Song dreads no doom'. One of the pirates also saw a vision: Arion's dolphin ride is interpreted as an allegory of the virtuous soul's survival after death, a reading facilitated by the perceived parallels with the Old Testament story of Jonah and the whale.⁴²

If moralising and Christian female poets and writers felt at home with Herodotus, his name was also on the lips of the more declass  star singing dancers—including women—of the Victorian popular stage. No difference between the 19th-century reception of Herodotus and Thucydides is more telling than the appeal of the former to writers of burlesque, the genre of musical comedy which dominated the popular theatre from the mid-1830s until the 1870s. Burlesque was a distinctive theatrical genre which provided entertaining semi-musical travesties

of well-known texts and stories, from Greek tragedy and Ovid to Shakespeare and the *Arabian Nights*. During these early and mid-Victorian decades, neither ancient drama nor serious drama on ancient Greek and Roman themes was much performed in Britain, but burlesques of classical material were so popular that in some years several new examples came before the public. In 1865, for example, the London playhouses offered no fewer than five new classical burlesques: these featured Pirithous, the ancient mariner Glaucus, and Echo and Narcissus, along with the *Odyssey* and the Aeschylean *Prometheus Bound*.⁴³

Burlesques often opened at holiday times, when they reached large audiences: in the 1850s it was estimated that over 60,000 people visited the London theatres and places of amusement each Boxing Night alone. The burlesque theatre transcended class barriers. Unlike virtually all other professionals, actors were recruited from across the class spectrum. Henry Morley, Professor of English Literature at University College, London, wrote in the early 1850s, 'There is a large half-intelligent population in London that by bold puffing can be got into a theatre. It numbers golden lads and lasses as well as chimney sweeps.'⁴⁴ Yet the audience also often included leisured aristocrats and this worthy academic. The burlesque of classical texts must ultimately be placed in the context of the Victorians' profound taste for comedy, to which their dominant sense of affluence and progress seems to have provided a special backdrop, almost regardless of their social position: Gilbert Abott à Beckett took pains to defend the contemporary taste for comic expression, even in works of instruction, in his *The Comic History of Rome* (1852). Yet he is aware that 'Comic Literature' is still despised in certain quarters, 'since that class of writing obtained the popularity which as especially attended it within the last few years'.⁴⁵ In an important study of the all-pervasiveness of the comic spirit in Victorian culture, Roger Henkle defines the Victorians' 'comic attitude' as the avoidance of the upsetting aspects of a subject, or a reduction in the consumers' confrontation with its social implications.⁴⁶ This is exactly what the burlesques of ancient texts did with their harsher aspects, although it is

quite impossible to imagine Thucydidean scenes from the Peloponnesian War proving susceptible to burlesque rewriting.

Herodotus—at least his story of Arion—was a different matter. In 1872, one of the most dazzling and famous of all the burlesque dramatists, F.C. Burnand, authored *Arion; or, the Story of a Lyre: a New and Entirely Original Burlesque*. Perhaps Burnand was aware that one ancient tradition made Arion the original inventor of (tragic) drama.⁴⁷ His *Arion* was performed at the Strand Theatre in central London in 1872. The burlesque deserves much more detailed consideration than is possible in this article: Burnand's capacity for puns, evidenced even in the *Lyre/Liar* of the title, never found more eloquent expression. The best short-cut to an appreciation of its tone is the cast list of the original production:⁴⁸

Periwigander	Mr H J Turner
Prince Dappermeibomenos	Miss Topsy Venn
Tommidoddimos	Miss O. Armstrong
Arion	Miss Augusta Rhomson
Fizgiggos	Miss Rose Cullen
Larkos	Miss Pascol
Poluphoisboio	[sic] Mr Edward Terry
Molasses	Mr Henry Paulton
Menin Aeidé	Miss Rosina Ranoe
Incognita	Mrs F. Raymond
Ariel	Miss H. Lennox
Pirates, Guards, Courtiers, Greek Boys, &c.	

The first thing to notice is that some of the characters are cross-dressed: the Victorian audience particularly liked seeing pretty young women in breeches **roles**, and so the Corinthian prince, Arion and three of the pirates are transvestite roles. Miss Augusta Rhomson could put on her CV that she had starred as Herodotus' Arion. But Molasses, a female role, is played by a man, offering the potential for humour of the kind provided by the transvestite actors of the roles of pantomime 'dames'. The relatively large group of pirates offers a wonderful opportunity for comic choruses. But it is also interesting to see Burnand displaying his (not advanced) acquaintance with schoolboy Greek to advantage. He takes the name of Periander direct from Herodotus, alters it just enough to sound like a familiar English word (periwig) and no doubt provide the costuming department with an idea for the appearance of the Corinthian tyrant. Some of the invented names create puns out of the most famous formulae in Homer (Prince Dappermeibomenos, the pirate Poluphoisboio). The pirate's hostage slave-girl Menin Aeidé gets her name from the very first words of the *Iliad*, while others (Tommidoddimos, Fizgiggos, Larkos) add pseudo-Greek endings to the sort of names traditional for low-class minor characters in Victorian musical comedy. Molasses, while lending a suitably merchant-navy tone to the cast list, also sounds a bit like *Thalassa*, making her a suitable partner to *Polyphoisboio*, jointly reminding anyone who had studied even elementary Homer of the formula *poluphoisboio thalasses*, or 'loud-resounding sea'.

The following fourteen-line excerpt offers a flamboyant example of the verbal entertainment offered by burlesquing Herodotus. Arion, after several adventures, is under threat from the pirates who will kill him if he doesn't jump overboard:

MOL. P'raps you know how to dive into the sea?

POL. And swim?

ARION I don't, I've taken my degree,

Doctor of Music but there's no affinity,
T'wixt that and being learned in Dive-in-ity.
Music hath charms to soothe the beasts I've tried,
MENIN Then play the tune of which the old cow died,
ARION No, my harp's charmed: and by Apollo's wishes,
It pleases all the gods and little fishes.
And big ones too-Sharks, Dolphins, Whales, Pike, Carp!
MENIN If you catch Whales—It must be the “Welsh Harp”
Or a harpoon well-sharpened.
ARION I shall go
Into the waves. The fish look out below!
And on a dolphin's back I'll reach the land,
You'll see me if you're going to the Strand.⁴⁹

Ponderous and pedantic as it may be to detail why these jokes are funny, the excerpt does offer a representative example of the different means by which Burnand has transformed his Herodotean episode into typical burlesque dialogue. The rhyming iambic couplets include several puns ('Dive-in-ity'/'Divinity'; Whales/Wales, and referring the audience at the theatre on the Strand back to its original meaning as a strand or shoreline). Phenomena out of place in archaic Greece are included to absurdly anachronistic effect (university degrees; Divinity as understood by Anglican Christians). Routine jokes against women ('the old cow died') jostle with subverted echoes of famous phrases from canonical earlier drama **Shakespeare** ('Music hath charms to soothe', the opening words of William Congreve's *The Mourning Bride* of 1697). Such joke-intensive verse requires skilled delivery and close attention from the audience. It must be one of the most bizarre vocal idioms into which Herodotus has ever been adapted.

The pirate chorus of Burnand's *Arion*, the descendants of Herodotus' Mediterranean crewmen, almost certainly had an impact on British popular culture which lasted long beyond the 19th century. They seem to have been imitated in the chorus of *Pirates of Penzance* by W.S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan. In 1866, Burnand had written the libretto for the operetta *Cox and Box*, and thus collaborated with Arthur Sullivan, who provided the music. There is no possibility that Gilbert and Sullivan were unaware of Burnand's Strand *Arion* of 1872, and *Pirates of Penzance* premiered in 1879. But the appealing concept of the chorus of pirates has an even more complicated history in relation to the story of Arion than this implies. For there was a slightly earlier *amateur* burlesque of the Arion tale, complete with pirate chorus, which seems to lie behind Burnand's discovery of Herodotus.

Thomas F. Plowman, a newspaper editor who lived in Oxford, recalls that his *Arion; or, a Leap for Life: A Classical Burlesque* (published in Oxford in 1870) had been 'successfully produced in the provinces' before.⁵⁰ His *Acis and Galatea* burlesque had been performed at the Victoria Theatre in Red Lion Yard, in aid of Plowman's favourite Oxford charity (the Radcliffe Infirmary), but his *Arion* premiered (for the same financial cause), in a performance on Thursday December 15th 1870, by the boys of Christ Church Cathedral School. Family members (almost certainly including mothers and sisters) were amongst the spectators. Plowman himself took the role of the tyrant Periander.⁵¹ He later claimed, not implausibly, that he had submitted his *Arion* to the management of the Strand Theatre; he apparently believed that the professional theatre man Burnand had stolen the idea. It may well be the case that the original impulse behind Burnand's own burlesque was reading Plowman's manuscript, but the quality of Burnand's punning rhymed couplets is palpably superior, and the content of the two works is significantly different. Burnand's version introduces much more material, including the spectacular catasterism of Arion at its climax,⁵² from the version of the Arion story in the *Fasti* book 2 of Ovid. Ovid's wit made him the classical darling of all the burlesque writers.

Plowman's version uses far less ancient Greek in its proper names and puns than does Burnand's burlesque, and turns the Arion story into a conventional tale of heterosexual young love triumphing over adversity. Periander wants his daughter Myrrhine to marry a rich suitor (the Chancellor of the Corinthian Exchequer), but she is already in love with Arion. In the second scene, set in her boudoir, the princess sings an air to the tune of a well-known song called 'The Jolly Waterman':

Of course you've all heard of that famous musician
And poet, Arion, renown'd throughout Greece;
You'll find in Herodotus something about him,
While Ovid contributes his fame to increase.

Not Sims Reeves nor Santley [famous opera singers] can warble more sweetly;
Nor Tennyson, even, pen stanzas more neatly,
And then, too, he has such an elegant air;
No man I e'er met with can with him compare;
In fact, *entre nous*, 'tis a settled affair.

The pirate chorus is introduced in a drinking scene outside the public house in Tarentum in south Italy, but does not come into its own until the on-deck episodes aboard the ship, *The Lively Sally*. Several rumbustious songs are performed before Arion is dragged up from the lower deck and threatened with death. At the climax, he sings, to the tune of the 'The Death of Nelson',

I'll die, though, like a Grecian,
Corinth expects I'll play the man;

To die game is my dooty.

To die game is my dooty.

Herodotus' Arion has here well and truly been turned into an Englishman as defined by 19th-century popular song culture, worthy of Horatio Nelson, H.M.S. Victory, and the Battle of Trafalgar. Although Plowman's amateur show was far less technically brilliant, and less funny, than Burnand's stellar burlesque in the heart of London theatreland, it throws another kind of light on Herodotus' susceptibility to popular theatrical realisation. All those boys at Christ Church School had learned to think about Herodotus as accessible and performable, even by amateurs, amidst the Oxford colleges where the very different, academic reception of the ancient historian was going on simultaneously.

To conclude: merely by concentrating on the figure of Arion, we have been able to see how Herodotus penetrated to many cultural levels and milieux which no other ancient Greek historian—and few enough ancient authors in any genre—were able to reach in the 19th century. Herodotus was by turns seen as an inspired epic bard, a balladeer, a romantic sonneteer, a chatty neighbour-next-door easily accommodated to Christian moralising, a children's storyteller who provided striking visual scenes tempting to book illustrators, a middle-school pedagogue, a suitable model for women poets, and a source of comical burlesque libretti. If we turned our attention to the 19th-century reception of other tales from Herodotus than that of Arion, the snowfall of evidence from children's books and different dramatic genres might threaten to turn into an avalanche.

Let us return to Plowman's amateur *Arion* at Christ Church School in the Christmas vacation of 1870, and ask whether the Irish scholar Reginald Macan (1848-1941) might not have purchased a ticket, attended the performance, and laughed at the boys impersonating drunken pirates of Tarentum. At the time Macan was an undergraduate at University College, but he later

enjoyed a distinguished academic career (at both Christ Church and University College) and produced, in 1895, his commentary on books IV-VI of Herodotus. Three years later he published, privately, *Hellenikon. A Sheaf of Sonnets after Herodotus*: only 125 copies were printed. The final poem, entitled simply 'Logography,' sums up perfectly the fundamental matrix of associations centred on Herodotus in the long 19th century which I have tried to outline in this article. What does it matter, he asks, if most of Herodotus was a record of lies ancient Greeks had told one another,

if wonders, jests, adventures, day and night,
made up a merry or a moral tale,
that kept all free-men spell-bound audients
in Greece, in Italy—Brave Herodotus!

What boots it with censorious tests assail
Thy work which, after Homer's, represents
Europe's divine adolescence to us?

Herodotus tells tales of wonder, jest and adventure that are 'merry and moral'; he kept his audiences, who extended to 'all' free men 'spell-bound'; and his work, like Homer's, will ever be associated with youth because it was in fact itself a product of Europe's own 'divine adolescence.' Perhaps the simplest way to begin to appreciate the sheer complexity and scale of the cultural presence of Herodotus in the 19th century is to read Macan's *Hellenikon*, as well as the *Arion* burlesque he just may have witnessed in company with its youthful performers' families, alongside his learned commentaries.

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¹ Bode (1854) 'Introduction', 6 (the second, expanded edition, published a year after the first collection of ballads).

² See further Hall (2008) 26-7, 90-1.

³ Wheeler (1855) v-vi.

⁴ Wheeler (1855) vii.

⁵ Wheeler (1855) v-vi.

⁶ Wheeler (1855) xi.

⁷ In Philodemus *On Poems* 1.199, ed. Janko (2000) 429. I am very grateful indeed to Peter Wiseman for this reference.

⁸ Hall (1989) 186 and (2013) 66-8' Hall (2006) ch. 9.

⁹ Fr. Adesp. 664 and Moschion 74 fr. 1 *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*.

¹⁰ Murray (1972).

¹¹ Lytton (1868) vol. I, book 1, 5-6.

¹² Amongst a plethora of recent scholarly works see the excellent study by Thomas (2000).

¹³ Rawlinson (1875) vol. I, 136.

¹⁴ Published in Kluckhohn (1933).

¹⁵ Schlegel (1815), the first of several publications of the lectures in English translation.

¹⁶ Goethe's private collection of paintings included an arresting portrayal of the dolphin-ride, on display today in the Goethe Museum in Weimar.

¹⁷ See e.g. the school edition by Drury (1835). Herodotus books I and V were selected for inclusion in Anon. (1835). The available 'cribs' for Herodotus I on its own include Prout (1848, in the series Kelly's Keys to the Classics) and Owgan (1950).

¹⁸ Ruskin (1891) vol. II, 266.

¹⁹ Hood (1922).

²⁰ Ellison (1844) ***

²¹ Alford (1868) 186.

²² Tupper (1860) 56.

²³ On the parallels drawn by Victorian architects between Greek and Gothic—for example the comparison of Herodotus with Froissart—see Jenkyns (1980) 300-1.

²⁴ For a full discussion of Mason's *Caractacus* in its various contexts see Hall and Macintosh (2005) chapter 7.

²⁵ Gray in Gosse (1884) vol. II, 312.

²⁶ Stafford (1988).

²⁷ Klement (1896) 15-16.

²⁸ See Hall (2015).

²⁹ Hall (2008) 26-7, 91-2.

³⁰ Moberly (1847) iv.

³¹ Boden and D'Almeida (1900).

³² Boden and D'Almeida (1900) 14.

³³ Boden and D'Almeida (1900) 17

³⁴ Parry (1862) v.

³⁵ Parry (1862) vi.

³⁶ Parry (1862) vii.

³⁷ Parry (1862) vi.

³⁸ Parry (1862) vii.

³⁹ George Eliot, 'Arion' (April 1873), lines 41-64. The poem is published in Eliot (1989) 152-3.

⁴⁰ Lisle (1984) 271-2.

⁴¹ Balbernie (1910) 1-7. The same collection of poems includes one on another Herodotean theme, Themistocles at Salamis (10-14).

⁴² See e.g. Carus (1911).

⁴³ The fullest account of the nature of Victorian classical burlesque is Hall (1999); see also Hall and Macintosh (2005) chs. 12-14.

⁴⁴ Morley (1866) 23.

⁴⁵ See à Beckett (1852), p. v. This author also wrote burlesques for the theatre.

⁴⁶ Henkle (1980) 4-6.

⁴⁷ The tradition is recorded in a very suspect fragment of Solon (30a *IEG*) quoted by John the Deacon: see Csapo and Miller (2007) 10.

⁴⁸ This is printed at the beginning of Burnand (1872).

⁴⁹ Burnand (1872) 14.

⁵⁰ Plowman (1918) 206.

⁵¹ Anon. (1870).

⁵² Burnand (1872) 32.