A Stormy Relationship:

The weather at Artemisium and its connection to other passages in Herodotus' work Paul P. Moran (University of Virginia)

In the seventh and eighth books of his *Histories* Herodotus recounts the severe damage inflicted on the Persian fleet by a pair of storms before and during the battle of Artemisium (7.188-191, 8.12-14). Scholars such as Immerwahr and Bowie have seen that these storms, with their vivid and detailed treatments, are central events in the narratives they occupy. The storms, moreover, are not isolated incidents. On the contrary. Herodotus establishes clear connections between these passages and a variety of other episodes occurring earlier in the work in which natural phenomena directly affect the course of human events. My paper demonstrates these connections and explores their significance for the account of the storms at Artemisium. I focus especially on the impact of four earlier passages: the rainstorm that saves Croesus from immolation on the pyre (1.87), the storm that damages Mardonius' fleet off the Athos peninsula (6.44), and the pair of admonitory statements from Artabanus at the beginning of Xerxes' expedition (7.10e, 7.49). These warnings in particular are interesting because we find that, while they are later "fulfilled" in a general sense by the simple occurrence of the paired storms, in addition each warning has a specific connection with one of the two storms, giving the paired phenomena additional facets of significance.

The connections Herodotus forges between the storms and other weather episodes also have implications for his treatment of divine activity at a point that has been approached by scholars in a variety of ways (e.g. Mikalson's focus on the significance of local cult or Romm's suggestion of intentional ambiguity), namely the apparent divergence between Herodotus' stance on the weather's relationship to divine intervention in the first storm, in which he is carefully non-committal, and the second, in which he declares the entire episode to be a divine attempt to reduce the overwhelming numerical advantage of the Persian fleet.

Selected Bibliography

Bowie, A. M. (2007). *Herodotus* Histories *Book VIII*. Cambridge Immerwahr, H. R. (1966). *Form and Thought in Herodotus*. Cleveland (1965) 'Tat und Geschichte bei Herodot', in *Herodot* (ed. W. Marg) 497-540. Darmstadt

Long, T. (1987). Repetition and Variation in the Short Stories of Herodotus. Frankfurt am Main

Mikalson, J. D. (2002). 'Religion in Herodotus', in *Brill's Companion to Herodotus* (ed. E. J. Bakker, I. J. F. de Jong, H. van Wees) 187-198. Leiden

Romm, J. (2006). 'Herodotus and the Natural World', in *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus* (ed. C. Dewald, J. Marincola). Cambridge