

An exploration for the Characteristics of Amphibious Nature of Gods and Humans and Moral Implication of the Divine Historical View——Based on the oracles in The Histories

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Abstract

Herodotus, as the "father of history" in the West, had an influential work called The Histories. The divine historical view of Herodotus had diversified characteristics, among which the amphibious nature of gods and humans was the key core, and the moral implication was the important purpose. The divine historical view of Herodotus had the typical characteristics of the integration and interweaving of gods and mans, which was highly consistent with the characteristics of the theory of "homomorphism between gods and humans" in the ancient Greek religion. The historical and cultural logic formed by it could be analyzed from Herodotus's religious concept and Ionian scepticism at that time. At the same time, The divine historical view of Herodotus had a strong moral implication, and contained theistic thought and non-theistic thought, as well as the principle of compensation.

Keywords

Herodotus; the Histories; divine historical view; amphibious nature of gods and humans; moral implication

1 Introduction

There is currently no systematic summary on the research of the characteristics of Herodotus's divine historical view in domestic and foreign academic circles, but some enlightening monographs and papers involve this issue. Some scholars deem that Herodotus believed in divine will, such as domestic scholars, such as Guo Hailiang, Wu Xiaoqun, Ruan Fen, Xu Songyan, and foreign scholars, such as Arthur Fairbanks and Solomón Yakovlevich Luré. Some scholars also believe that Herodotus does not believe in divine will, such as Yang Junming. Some scholars believe that Herodotus's attitude towards divine will is varied, such as Maurice Hutton. The views of these scholars are helpful for understanding the characteristics of the divine historical view of Herodotus. In fact, Herodotus's attitude towards divine will was complex, and his view of history had the intersection and coexistence of divine will and human will. In the process of compiling The Histories, his thought



had certain variation, his historical view had a phased characteristic of gradually weakening the color of divine will and gradually increasing the color of human will, for example, The Histories in the first half (from the first volume to the fifth volume, section 27) in the description for the divine will were more than the second half (from the fifth volume, section 28 to the end of the book), which to some extent reflected the fluctuation of the proportion of Herodotus's religious, theological and humanistic consciousness in his personal thought under the continuous influence and impact of increasingly strengthened humanistic ideas, which conformed to the general stage characteristics of human cognition. Herodotus in the classical Greek era, was influenced by myths and religion, which made his Histories with divine color, showed the communication between humans and gods, but the gods described by Herodotus were not like the gods in Homer's epics which often directly involved in people's life and wars, but rather retreat their specific images and appear in the form of oracles and other forms. Herodotus's basic viewpoint of using divine will to view social and historical issues as reflected in The Histories, namely the divine historical view, is closely linked to the social background and his knowledge composition at that time, and is enlightening for the understanding of many related problems at that time and even later generations. On the whole, Herodotus's divine historical view had the characteristics of authority, flexibility, causality, amphibious nature of gods and humans, moral implication and so on. Among them, the characteristic of amphibious nature of gods and humans and the characteristic of moral implication respectively occupied a crucial position.

2 The amphibious Nature of Gods and Humans of divine historical view

In The Histories, although Herodotus often spoke and emphasized the influence of divine will, but it revealed the light of human nature and also emphasized the role of man. Therefore, the divine will and human will in The Histories were often integrated and intertwined, which reflected the characteristic of the amphibious nature of gods and humans of Herodotus's divine historical view.

When Speaking of the colonization of the Cyreneans, Herodotus wrote: that when Grinnus, the King of the island of Thera, and a citizen called Battus, and others, went to Delphi to offer sacrifices, the Priestess of the Pythia asked them to go to Libya to found a city, but the Therans did not comply with the instructions, and the god punished the Therans by letting the island they inhabited go without a single drop of rain for seven years. When the Therans went to Delphi to ask for an oracle, the priestess rebuked them and asked them to go on to Libya to build a city; When Battus went to the oracle to ask for an oracle about his mouth and teeth, the answer from the priestess was the same, still asking him to colonize Libya; when Battus still did not colonize Libya, the god made things bad for the Therans in every way; When Battus and some other Therans lived on Platea for nearly two years and still faced constant misfortune, they turned to deceiving the god by claiming that they had arrived in Libya, but this could not deceive the god, so the priestess replied:

"I am most impressed with your knowledge, if you know

sheep-breeding Libya

Better than I, when you have not been there and I have. "

Through this incident, Battus and others knew that it was impossible to fool the god, so they left the island of Platea and, according to the request of the god, established a colony called Aziris on the Libya continent opposite the island. It could be seen that the personalities of gods and humans were very similar, with typical anthropomorphic characteristics and stubborn personality traits: the god would punish them when the Therans did not go to Libya; when the Therans tried to deceive the god, the god would expose their trick and continued to hold the same view; when the Therans truly fulfilled the demand of the divine will, the god finally gave up. Another example is the oracle about Croesus written by Herodotus. When Croesus asked the god if his rule would last, the priestess replied to him:

*“When a mule becomes Persian king, it is time,
Tender-footed Lydian, for you to flee beside the pebbly Hermus
Without delay, and without worrying about cowardice.”*

Taken literally, Croesus thought that a mule could not become a Persian king, and that he and his descendants would always be the ruler in Lydia. Afterwards, it became clear that the mule mentioned by the priestess here was not a biological mule, but a offspring produced by the combination of people from different ethnic groups. When Croesus wanted to go to war against the Persians, Croesus sent for an oracle, and the Delphic oracle gave an ambiguous answer: he would destroy an empire. He thought that the divine will was for him to destroy the empire of Cyrus and establish a great achievement. So he launched an attack on Persia, and then became a prisoner himself, which could be said that it was self inflicted humiliation. When Croesus, who was a prisoner, sent someone to inquire about this matter, the priestess told him that the empire here was in fact his own empire, but he did not understand the oracle correctly and did not ask further questions, therefore, he deserved what happened to him. From this, we can see that oracles sometimes had ambiguity and sophistry. The ambiguity of the oracle would prompt people to have different understandings of the oracle, in which the god was just like a person who deliberately left room for his own opinion by making things complicated; while the sophistry of the oracle would make the god like a person who argued for his own opinion. Another example is the oracle about the “wooden wall”. On the eve of the Persian invasion of Attica, Athenians generally felt threatened and sent messengers to consult the Delphi priestess. At first, the priestess gave them the oracle to flee, for the war would destroy the city and their temples. But the Athenian messengers were not satisfied with this oracle, and, following the advice of Timon, a celebrity in Delphi, took some olive branches and requested the oracle again as a shelters, affirming that if they did not receive a better oracle, they would not leave the temple. At this point, the Pythia Priestess gave them the oracle of the “wooden wall”:

*“No, Pallas Athena cannot placate Olympian Zeus,
Though she begs him with many words and cunning arguments.
I shall tell you once more, and endue my words with adamant:
While all else that lies within the borders of Cecrops’ land
And the vale of holy Cithaeron is falling to the enemy,
Far-seeing Zeus gives you, Tritogeneia, a wall of wood.*



*Only this will stand intact and help you and your children.
 You should not abide and await the advance of the vast host
 Of horse and foot from the mainland, but turn your back
 And yield. The time will come for you to confront them.
 Blessed Salamis, you will be the death of mothers' sons
 Either when the seed is scattered or when it is gathered in."*

From this point of view, people could request the oracle more than once for the same issue, and the oracle's reply was not fixed, while the content of the reply was related to the skill of requesting the oracle, which had a certain space of flexibility. In fact, when we analyze many oracles in The Histories, we often find that the contents of many oracles were characterized by the amphibious nature of gods and humans¹, in which the gods played the dual roles of gods and humans, which was highly consistent with the characteristic of the theory of "homomorphism between gods and humans" in ancient Greek religion, and it was the embodiment of the religious thought of ancient Greek characteristics in The Histories, so Herodotus's divine historical view contained humanism to a certain extent, emphasizing both the role and influence of gods and the value and significance of human beings, and this amphibious nature of the gods and human beings in which the gods and human beings coexist was an important feature of his divine historical view. Of course, compared with the Christian theology formed later, Herodotus's divine historical view was still in its infancy and did not form a complete system, which was a more common way of thinking in line with the psychological expectations of the people of the Greek city-state at that time.

The deep historical and cultural logic formed by the amphibious characteristic of gods and humans of Herodotus's divine historical view could be analyzed from his religious beliefs and Ionian skepticism at that time. In the classical Greek era where Herodotus lived, the religion still had a broad and profound influence on people. At that time, because of the small production and natural economy dominant, People of various classes and social classes were constrained by personal attachment relationships, and their social lives were full of uncertainty, therefore people were inclined to perceive destiny or divine will as a pivotal influence, dictating the ultimate reasons and underlying principles of various social and historical phenomena."The entire life of the polis was permeated with divinity, and the Greeks lived with the gods", Herodotus was no exception. Although he saw and valued the power of human beings, and had a humanistic tendency, he could not get rid of the divine tendency, so there was a mystical color to his thought, and could even be called the special defender of the oracles. Herodotus was influenced by the dual religious beliefs of Aeschylus's theistic thought and relatively backward non-theistic thought, which led him to believe in various types of generalized oracles. He believed in both the oracles from the temples and omens, prophecies, dreams, visions, etc. He believed that the oracle would eventually come true, so when he mentioned the sacred objects, rituals, and the secret names of the gods, he always carried a devout heart and hoped for gods' understanding and forgiveness every time, as did other ancient Greeks. For example, when Herodotus talked about Heracles, he said, " Anyway, that is all I have to say about this matter; I trust the gods and he-

1 The theory of "Homomorphism between gods and humans" refers to the Greek gods having the same body, appearance, and image as mortals. Like humans, gods need to go through birth and growth, as well as sleep, food, clothing, and also feel pain and harm; "The same-sex relationship between gods and humans" refers to the fact that the gods and mortals share the same temperament and qualities. The gods are not more noble or virtuous than mortals, and they have their own preferences and weaknesses, as well as their own likes and dislikes, anger, sadness, joy, and sometimes also engage in bad habits. Derived from Wu Xiaoguo, Greek Thought and Culture, p.114.

roes will look kindly on my words." For example, when ancient Greeks submitted proposals to the Citizen Assembly, they could not submit proposals related to sacred objects and violations of current laws, as these proposals were blasphemous. In fact, The religion had a great influence in political, economic, military, cultural, and social life on people at that time. In The Histories, we often see descriptions of people's awe and trust in gods. Before and during the vast majority of wars, people often used rituals such as seeking oracles, divination, and offering sacrifices to gods as important criteria for determining war and peace, with the aim of obtaining gods' approval and protection. In the wars between Croesus, the king of Lydia, and Persia, as well as in the wars between Persia and Greece, such as the Battle of Thermopylae, the Battle of Salamis, both sides engaged in activities such as seeking oracles, divination, and offering sacrifices to gods, before and during the wars. After the wars, the victorious side often held gratitude ceremonies to thank gods for the protection and verify the authority of the divine will, while the survivors of the defeated side often examined and reflected on whether their actions violated the god or correctly understood the divine will. Of course, Herodotus's thought was also influenced by Ionian scepticism, which made him often show more rational thinking and judgment when recording texts, with the color of scientific empiricism of the sophist school. When explaining the madness of Cambyses, on one hand, Herodotus said that it might be the result of the influence of the Egyptian bull god, on the other hand, he said that it might be the result of many unfortunate events that troubled him, and also said that it might also be because he had epilepsy from an early age. When Artabanus advised Xerxes not to go on an expedition to Greece, Herodotus should have spoken his view out on the omens through Artabanus: "what these dreams are that drift into us". However, he then came up with a way to verify whether the expedition to Greece was divine will: let the phantom appeared in his own dream and issued a command to himself, which should be the same as what the phantom issued to Xerxes. The Persian fleet encountered an irresistible storm mixed with fierce easterly winds in the early hours of the second day entering the coastal area of Magnesia, causing huge losses to the Persians. Later, after worshipping the wind god, reciting the spell to calm the wind and sacrificing to Thetis and Nereids, by Magi, the storm finally stopped. Regarding this matter, Herodotus said, "maybe it did so of its own accord". From these examples, we can learn that Herodotus had a certain degree of empirical rationality color when analyzing things, which was the result of his influence on Ionian skepticism and had a kind of color with human will, but at the same time, his analysis also had a kind of color with divine will. In addition, Ionian skepticism also made him become a fairly impartial observer and recorder, which made him dare to fairly record the characters and events he observed that exhibited human weakness, compromise, cowardice, greed, and other shortcomings, and that demonstrated human greatness, which helped to generate and develop his own sense of seeking truth. So, in a sense, Herodotus's divine historical view was a product of the dual influence of coexisting religious concept and Ionian skepticism with a certain scientific color at that time. This kind of religious concept of mixing theistic thought and non-theistic thought was the main reason for the emergence of his divine historical view, and Ionian skepticism became an important factor in the humanistic color of his divine historical view. Of course, the formation and development of the amphibious nature of gods and humans were also influenced to some extent by the awareness of the city-state community, his academic background, traditional narrative methods, and his personal experience at that time, and even had a certain connection with his catering to the need of the audience. In The Histories, Herodotus's divine historical view not only had the characteristic of the amphibious nature of gods and humans, but also



contained a kind of color with strong moral implication. Of course, the formation and development of the amphibious characteristics of the divine man were also influenced to some extent by the consciousness of the city community, academic background, traditional narrative mode, his personal experience, and even related to his catering to the needs of the audience. In *The Histories*, Herodotus's view of divine history not only had the characteristics of amphibious, but also had the amphibious characteristics of divine human, which contains strong moral implication.

3 The moral implication of the divine view of history

"The question of moral didacticism has in recent years increasingly become part of the discussion of Herodotus's *Histories*". However, there is disagreement in the academic community about the moral implication of Herodotus's *Histories*. Waters and Shimron strongly were opposed the moralization of History, while Harrison and Fisher believed that Herodotus's writing had at least partly moral implication, and Grethlein limited the discussion of moral implication to the analysis of the characters. Lisa Irene Hau analyzed the moral implications of the theme and related events of *The Histories* from the perspectives of moralization in narrative pauses, moralization in statements, and moral digression. Through the correlation between action and outcome, she explained the moral order of a world with moral character, and conveyed a moral message through patterns and repetition. She believed that the moral implication of *The Histories* were in line with the theme of history and should not be separated, but should be regarded as an organic component of *The Histories*.

The moral meaning of the divine meaning in *The Histories* was different from the moral implication in Aeschylus, but there were also overlaps. Compared with Aeschylus, the moral implication of the god Herodotus had one more meaning and a double connotation. On the one hand, Herodotus's moral implication had the color of Aeschylus tragedy, had the characteristic of theistic thought, and had a certain moral guiding effect. One of his favorite themes was that evil would eventually be punished. In the tragedy created by Aeschylus, many events reflect the theistic thought. "The misfortunes suffered by a person were always depicted as the result of their own or their ancestors committing crimes before gods, as usual; gods punished himself and his family for the crimes he had committed." Herodotus's account in *The Histories* was often the same, and he believed that the gods would punish inhumane and unjust acts that violated social rules. The divine will was the moral compass of the Greeks, and punishment from the gods was a way to urge people to abide by moral rules. The result of many divine actions described by Herodotus was that criminals or their descendants received punishment. For example, the defeat of Croesus was due to the crime of his fifth ancestor, Gyges; who, while serving as a guard for the King of the Heraclidae, Candaules, was under pressure from Candaules to peek at the naked body of his mistress. However, he was discovered and coerced by her, and eventually conspired with his mistress to kill Candaules and usurp his throne. For example, for Cambyses, on the one hand, due to his personal brutal killing, on the other hand, due to his mockery of the statue of Hephaestus, mockery and burning of the statue of the Temple of Cabiri, killing of the calf symbolizing the god called Apis, and other blasphemous acts against gods, coupled with his misunderstanding of the oracle and killing of his own brother Smerdis, he suffered retribution such as losing state power.

For another example, Glaucus was entrusted to help a Milesian keep the money equivalent to half of his property, and take the token, promising to return the money when someone took the same token. But when the sons of the Milesian came with the token, Glaucus denied any commission; and then went to Delphi to ask the oracle, and the priestess of Pythia replied:

*Yes, Glaucus, Epicydas' son, in the short time you will gain
If you use an oath to have your way and steal the money.
Swear an oath: after all, death awaits even an honest man.
But Oath has a nameless child. Though it has no hands
Or feet, it is swift in pursuit, until it has seized
All a man's offspring, all his house, and destroyed them.
But an honest man's offspring will gain in the long run.*

With this oracle, Glaucus was so regretful that he returned the money to the sons of the Milesian, hoping for forgiveness, but the god did not forgive her, and still made him punished, so that he had no posterity now, and his name disappeared in Sparta. "Central to justice and good behaviour are keeping one's word", so Glaucus, who did not keep his promise, was punished by the god. For example, Xerxes' expedition was the largest in the history of the Persian army at that time, but he was punished by gods due to his neglect of divine implications, painful whipping and insulting of the strait, plundering and burning of the Temples, as well as arrogance and brutality, and finally failed. For example, when the Persian army led by Mardonius was defeated by the Greek coalition, Herodotus wrote: "Here the process of compensating the Spartiates for the murder of Leonidas was fulfilled by Mardonius, just as the oracle had predicted"; In the Battle of Plataea, Herodotus wrote: "I find it surprising that although the battle took place by the grove of Demeter not a single Persian, as it turned out, either entered the precinct or died in there; most of them fell around the outside of the sanctuary on unconsecrated ground. In so far as one may speculate about divine matters, I think the goddess herself kept them away because they had burnt her temple in Eleusis." From this, it can be seen that Herodotus believed that the reason for Mardonius's defeat was twofold: firstly, because the Persians had committed unjust acts against Leonidas; secondly, because the Persians had burned temples, which contained the theistic thought of gods punishing unjust acts. On the other hand, Herodotus's moral symbolism was closer to the original viewpoint of Aeschylus, containing non-theistic orthodoxy and compensatory principles. "The public assumption of ethics was an invalid hypothesis. From a practical perspective, it could be seen that innocent people often suffered greatly, while those with bad deeds enjoyed happiness. The excuse that our ancestors had committed sins contradicted new moral concepts. The backward primitive viewpoint provided the most satisfactory explanation for the vast majority of facts: the gods, like rulers on earth, did whatever they had wanted to do when distributing welfare to people, without moral principles. Evil existed and even occupied a dominant position on the earth, indicating that the gods could not be both omniscient, omnipotent, and just and compassionate." In the historical writings of Herodotus, gods liked to punish those who appeared to have great power and wealth but have an arrogant attitude. Therefore, those who appeared to be powerful, wealthy but proud were often likely to face disasters or even death, which was largely due to gods' jealousy and their own fear. The reason for Croesus's loss of country was due to the

sins of his fifth ancestor, as well as his immense power, wealth, arrogance, and misreading of divine will. As Solon said, gods were very fond of jealousy, they liked to intervene in human affairs, and often gave people the illusion of happiness, and then pushed them into the abyss. In fact, as long as humans were not too outstanding, not too arrogant, and not exceed the limits of their own way of survival, gods would not strike them for no reason, but humans found it difficult to achieve these goals. "You can see how the god blasts living things that are prominent and prevents their display of superiority, while small creatures don't irritate him at all; you can see that it is always the largest building and the tallest trees on which he hurls his thunderbolts. It is the god's way to curtail anything excessive. ... This happens because the god does not allow anyone but himself to feel pride." Because gods were powerful but jealous, and Croesus was arrogant after his success, and the guilt of his ancestors; the combination of these factors caused his personal tragedy. As a result, the powerful Persian army was defeated by the relatively weak Greek coalition. Herodotus thought that gods were jealous, which actually contained a just and bright side, and gradually evolved into the more deeply rooted compensation principle in his mind; "Again, the battle is not to the strong; it is the meek who inherit the earth, the weak and meek who multiply while the ravening and dangerous multiply slowly or not at all (and the proud and over-civilized commit race suicide); " Herodotus illustrated the compensation principle through the reproductive ability of rabbits and lions, the reproductive ability of different kinds of snakes, and a farmer who accidentally killed his son and got a windfall; Until the last moment before his death, He was still pondering the principle, and this principle loomed over and over again in *The Histories*. Therefore, the moral implication of the divine historical view contained both the characteristics of the theistic thought and the non-theistic thought, which were two aspects of the contradictory unity of Herodotus's own religious belief and ethics and morality.

In fact, the gods described in *The Histories* mainly helped the Greeks to defeat the Persians, and whether people could get divine help mainly depended on their attitude towards gods. Although Greek gods also helped Persians in early Persia, when it came to the conflict between Greece and Persia, the divine will often stood on the side of the Greeks, helping them on land and sea; But there was no conclusive evidence to suggest that these gods favored the Greeks because they belonged to Greece, mainly based on their respect and blasphemy towards the divine will. In *The Histories*, the gods helped the Greeks to defeat the Persians, mainly because the Persians disrespect for the Greek gods, and even robbed, destroyed and burned their temples. Herodotus repeatedly spoke in *The Histories* about the blasphemy of Xerxes and his subordinates. On the march of Xerxes, at the place called Chersonese in Hellespont, the Greeks captured Artayctes—the governor of Sestus in Persia, and nailed him, the reason why Artayctes suffered from this retribution was because he often brought women to the temple of Protesilaus and committed blasphemy. When Xerxes learned that the bridge across the Hellespont was destroyed by the storm, he ordered the whipping of the strait, threw the shackles into the strait, added a brand to the strait, and said some rude words to the strait. When Xerxes's army entered the Apollo temple in Abae, they plundered it and burnt it down. In short, in Herodotus's view, a series of blasphemy acts of Xerxes and their subordinates foreshadowed the failure of their actions, formed a certain chain of cause and effect, and reflected the moral implication of Herodotus's divine historical view: for those who worshiped the god, the god revered them, while for those who blasphemed the god, the god detested them.

It was Herodotus's the main purpose of moral implication in his divine historical view who wanted to inspire human beings through divine will. Firstly, people should do good deeds, and perform benevolence and righteousness, for gods tended to punish evil and promote good, which embodied his own view of justice, and was also an important social purpose of his writing of history. Secondly, people should be satisfied with their own happiness, maintain humility and prudence, maintain virtues, and not abuse violence, not be arrogant or complacent, also not covet happiness that did not belong to them, because gods were prone to jealousy. If people abused violence, were arrogant or complacent, it could easily lead to gods' dissatisfaction with people, and thus would cause people to be punished by gods. Thirdly, people must worship gods and not commit themselves to blasphemy, for God was just like man, also had their own dignity, and hoped that people could worship them and respect them. Furthermore, "The world was unpredictable, and the person with the most wealth was not the happiest one, because wealth was fleeting and the times were changing. It was best to actively adjust our behavior when things show a trend of change to prevent this trend from spreading." To some extent, the social purpose of practical application reflected the good intention and excellent quality of Herodotus to guide social practice and lead moral demeanor, which conformed to the basic principles of history to educate human beings and learn from the past, and could also be regarded as a kind of evidence that Herodotus could become the "father of history". In The Histories, there are many examples of moral implication. The characters and examples involving divine historical view of Herodotus often shone with moral implication. Moral implication was an important purpose of Herodotus to write the divine will, while the amphibious nature of gods and humans was the key core of his writing of the divine will. At the same time, the amphibious nature of gods and humans and moral implication of Herodotus often followed closely. The events of the persons at Thera and Glaucus not only reflected the amphibious nature of gods and humans, but also reminded people to maintain the moral quality of being honest and trustworthy. The events of Croesus, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, Xerxes, Mardonius not only reflected the amphibious nature of gods and humans, but also reminded people to be modest, cautious, and not to do evil. The oracle of the "wall of wood" not only reflected the amphibious nature of gods and humans, but also reminded people to correctly exert their subjective initiative, to strive to learn relevant knowledge, and not to stop at superficial understanding.

In addition, Herodotus's divine historical view was also characterized by authority, flexibility, and causality. The authority of the divine historical view meant that the divine will was powerful and irresistible, and people must follow the divine will. The rise and fall of countries and the fate of people were often determined by the divine will. The flexibility of the divine historical view meant that many instructions of the divine will were ambiguous and vague, and people could have many dimensions of understanding. The causal relationship of the divine historical view was an important clue of Herodotus's writing history, which was mainly reflected in the causal retribution and causal cyclicity. The authority, flexibility and causality of the divine historical view are often aimed at moral implication, which could often reflect the amphibious nature of gods and humans.



4 Epilogue

Like many Greeks of the classical period, Herodotus, who was born in the city-state of Halicarnassus and died in the Thurii city-state, was particularly dependent on the oracle, and thought it was the divine will that indicated the success or failure of things, and it was the divine will that inspired and guided people in political, military, economic, cultural, social life and other practices. Therefore the examples which could reflect Herodotus's divine historical view were repeated in *The Histories*, constituting an important clue of Herodotus's writing and narrative. As a result, we must properly understand the role and value of gods and humans in the social practice of the Greeks in the classical period, and only in this way could we accurately understand the characteristics of Herodotus's divine historical view, and also accurately understand the words and actions of the Greeks at that time in a true sense. However, when Herodotus made a relevant analysis of divine will, he occasionally intentionally or unintentionally changed the age of certain characters, the time or order of certain events, so that the oracles' prediction was consistent with the occurrence of events.¹ So, or as Reinhardt and Pearson pointed out, "...the story told by Herodotus has a universal significance through its artistic composition and through the introduction of the concept of fate". The approach of Herodotus was largely based on moral cognition, which gave Herodotus's textual narrative some subjective colors. Moral implication was an important social purpose of Herodotus's divine historical view and a means of his commitment to punish evil-doers and encouraged people to do good. He hoped that people could be modest, prudent and devout, and adjust their behavior timely. In general, Herodotus's divine historical view often based on the amphibious nature of gods and humans and aimed at moral implication, simultaneously possessing characteristics such as authority, flexibility, and causality, which reflected the empiricism and moral tendencies of the ancient Greeks at that time, and also reflected the simple ideological and cultural concepts of the ancient Greeks like a mirror.

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¹ For example, the conversation between Croesus and Solon in Sardis recorded in *The Histories* may not necessarily be true; Furthermore, the record in *The Histories* that Croesus was executed at the stake after his defeat and later saved by Apollo is likely an example constructed by Herodotus. This similar example can illustrate the causality and moral implication of Herodotus's divine historical view. Maurice Hutton believed that "...Herodotus is careful to keep alive this discredited king, this living instance of the vanity of riches and power, long after his fall, in order to preach this moral" (Maurice Hutton, "The Mind of Herodotus", p.40).



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